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Sacrifice and Redemption in the Hamburg Miscellany

The Illustrations of a Fifteenth-century Ashkenazi Manuscript

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TABLE OF CONTENT

HEBREW TRANSLITERATION

א	silent/appropriate vowel
ב/בּ	b/v
ג	g
ד	d
ה	h
ו	w/appropriate vowel
ח	h
ט	t
י	y/i
כ/כּ	kh/k
ל	l
מ	m
ס	s
ע	silent/appropriate vowel
פ/פּ	f/p
צ	tz
ק	q
ר	r
שׁ	sh
שׂ	s
ת	t

ABBREVIATIONS

BJRUL	***Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester***
BL	British Library
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
BP	Bibliotheca Palatina
BR	***Bereshit Rabbah (Genesis Rabbah)***
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
EJ	***Encyclopaedia Judaica***. CD-ROM Edition Version 1.0, Copyright © 1997.Judaica Multimedia (Israel), Text Copyright © Keter Publishing House.
HIM	***Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts***
HLHB	Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek
HUC	Hebrew Union College
HUCA	***Hebrew Union College Annual***

IM	Israel Museum
JJA/JA	***Journal of Jewish Art/Jewish Art***
JNUL	Jewish National and University Library
JTS	Jewish Theological Seminary
MhG	***Midrash ha-Gadol***
MMW	Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum
MTA	Magyar Tudományos Akadémia (Hungarian Academy of Sciences)
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
PML	Pierpont Morgan Library
RGALI	Russian State Archive of Literature and Art
PRE	***Pirqei de-Rabbi Eliezer***
SUB	Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek
TM	Textus Masoreticus
UB	Universitätsbibliothek

LIST OF FIGURES

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INTRODUCTION

As probably happens with many PhD students, at a certain point in my studies, I came to the conclusion that my original dissertation topic had to be modified. I had applied to the doctoral program at the CEU with a proposal about the representation of kingship in Jewish and in Christian art. The focus of my research would have been a comparative analysis of the different iconographical attitudes towards the representation of kingship in Jewish and in Christian art. Soon, however, I realized that the iconography of kingship in medieval Jewish art is too restricted and does not provide sufficient material for a dissertation. Thus, I decided to modify the topic: instead of studying a specific iconographic motif, but still remaining in the field of visual polemic, I decided to concentrate on the illustration of a single manuscript. Shalom Sabar of Hebrew University drew my attention to the still poorly studied Hamburg Miscellany as an ideal dissertation subject (Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Cod. Hebr. 37), and I accepted his suggestion.

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Nurtured from the same source and with a large number of their members living in the same society, Judaism and Christianity could never ignore each other. There was an ongoing dialogue between them which had a decisive impact on the development of both religions. After Christianity became the dominant religion, the voice of its representatives in this dialogue became louder. Jews, on the other hand, had to be much more circumspect about the way they expressed opinions about the other party. Nevertheless, anti-Jewish propaganda did not remain unanswered. As a response, Jews composed poems describing pogroms; polemical writings were conceived to confute Christian theological arguments. These polemical works, just like the Christian ones, were not

primarily directed to the members of the rival religion, but to the Jews themselves to strengthen them in their faith and to prevent conversion.[1]

Religious polemics were not confined to theology and to written works. They impacted other spheres of life as well. Art was no exception either. There is a long history of the study of the visual expression of attitudes towards Jews within Christian art. These studies focused on how Jews were imagined and depicted by Christians and how they appear in their works of art.[2] In these studies, Jews were merely seen as objects of representations. In the last two decades, some scholars have also started to search for expressions about Christians in Jewish art, seeing it as a possible medium for the Jewish party to argue with the Christian side and/or to strengthen the Jewish side.[3]

The illustration program of the Hamburg Miscellany—produced in the second quarter of the fifteenth century in the area of Mainz—contains numerous scenes which demand a martyrological and/or an eschatological interpretation. Due to the interdependent nature of such Jewish and Christian concepts, besides "articulating" special Jewish ideas, these miniatures are likely to contain criticism of Christian beliefs. On the other hand, its images often show the influence of Christian art in their iconography. These features make the Miscellany an excellent candidate for an iconographical study focusing on the messages carried by its miniatures in relationship with Christian visual art and concepts.

[1] Samuel Krauss and William Horbury, *The Jewish-Christian Controversy from the Earliest Times to 1789* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1995); Hanne Trautner-Kromann, *Shield and Sword: Jewish Polemics Against Christianity and the Christians in France and Spain from 1100-1500* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1993).

[2] For instance, Heinz Schreckenberg, *The Jews in Christian Art: An Illustrated History* (New York: Continuum, 1996); Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, & Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003).

[3] For instance, Marc Michael Epstein, *Dreams of Subversion in Medieval Jewish Art and Literature* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997) (hereafter Epstein, *Dreams of Subversion*); idem, "Another Flight Into Egypt: Confluence, Coincidence, the Cross-Cultural Dialectics of Messianism and Iconographic Appropriation in Medieval Jewish and Christian Culture," in *Imagining the Self, Imagining the Other. Visual Representation and Jewish-Christian Dynamics in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period*, ed. Eva Frojmovic (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 48-50 (hereafter Epstein, "Another Flight"). Katrin Kogman-Appel, "Coping with Christian Pictorial Sources: What Did Jewish Miniaturists Not Paint?" *Speculum* 75, no. 4 (2000): 816-858; Sarit Shalev-Eyni, "Who Are the Heirs of the Hebrew Bible? Sephardic Visual Historiography in a Christian Context." *Medieval Encounters* 16 (2010): 23-63.

Although, both from the viewpoint of art history and manuscript studies, the Miscellany is a fascinating work of art, no monograph has yet been devoted to it.[4] Nevertheless, it is not entirely unknown. Bezalel Narkiss and Joseph Gutmann included it in their important summarizing works on Hebrew book illumination, and some of its miniatures have been discussed in iconographical studies. Its most studied images are the depictions of the Maccabean heroes illustrating the *piyyut* composed by Joseph bar Solomon of Carcassone for the first eve of Hanukkah (fols. 78v-81r) and the Messiah entering Jerusalem (fol. 35v).[5]

Kurt Schubert has surveyed how the story of the Maccabean heroes and that of Judith could be conflated in Jewish tradition, and has provided an iconographical analysis of the miniatures. His study is mainly descriptive and focuses on the exploration of the written sources used by the painters. The miniatures are not discussed in the context of the entire illustration program of the Miscellany.[6]

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[4] Bezalel Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts* (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1992 [1969]), 118 (hereafter Narkiss, *HIM*); Joseph Gutmann, *Hebrew Manuscript Painting* (New York: G. Braziller, 1978), 98-101. See also the following exhibition catalogues: Kurt Schubert, catalogue entry 14a in *Judentum im Mittelalter*. Ausstellung im Schloss Halbturn 4. Mai - 26. Oktober 1978, ed. idem (Eisenstadt: Burgenländische Landesregierung, 1978), 236-237 (hereafter Schubert, *Judentum im Mittelalter*); *Blicke in verborgene Schatzkammern. Mittelalterliche Handschriften und Miniaturen aus Hamburger Sammlungen*: eine Ausstellung im Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, 26. Juni-26. Juli 1998, ed. Ines Dickmann and Hans-Walter Stork (Hamburg: J. Günther, 1998), 78.

[5] Joseph Gutmann, "The Messiah at Seder: a Fifteenth Century Motif in Jewish Art," in *Sefer Rafael Mahler ḳovets meḥḳarim be-toldot Yiśrael, mugash lo bi-melot lo shiv'im ṿe-ḥamesh shanah* [Studies in Jewish History: Presented to Professor Raphael Mahler on His Seventy-fifth Birthday], ed. Raphael Mahler and Shmuel Yeivin (Merḥavyah: Sifriyat Poalim, 1974), 29-38 (hereafter Gutmann, "Messiah at Seder"); idem, "When the kingdom comes: Messianic Themes in Medieval Jewish Art." *Art Journal* 27 (1967-1968): 168-175; idem, "Return in Mercy to Zion: A Messianic Dream in Jewish Art." in *Sacred Images: Studies in Jewish Art From Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (Northampton: Variorum Reprints, 1989), 242; idem, "Haggadah art," in *Passover and Easter: the Symbolic Structuring of Sacred Seasons*, ed. Paul F. Bradshaw and Lawrence A. Hoffman (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), 142; David J. Malkiel, "Infanticide in Passover Iconography," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 56 (1993): 95 (hereafter Malkiel, "Infanticide"): 85-99. Malkiel also describes briefly the miniature of the Aqedah in his article about the Sacrifice of Isaac, idem, "The Sacrifice of Isaac in Medieval Jewish Art," *Artibus et Historiae* 8, no. 16 (1987): 83-84; fig. 14.
Several other illustrations in the Miscellany have been mentioned in iconographic studies as have studies on daily life and material culture, see, for instance, Joseph Gutmann, "The Sacrifice of Isaac in Medieval Jewish Art," *Artibus et Historiae* 8, no.16 (1987): 83-84; fig.14 (hereafter Gutmann, "Sacrifice of Isaac"), Mendel Metzger, *La Haggada Enluminée*.(Leiden: Brill, 1973), Theresa and Mendel Metzger, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages: Illuminated Hebrew Manuscripts of the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Centuries* (New York: Alpine Fine Arts Collection, 1982), 301; Malka Rozenthal, "Hakhnes et 'ami" (Let my people in," in eadem, *Qovetz maamrim al pulmus we-apologetica be-ammanut ha-yehudit we-'od* [Collection of articles on polemics and apologetics in Jewish art and more] (43 Jerusalem: Akademon, 2000), 39-43.

[6] Kurt Schubert "Die Chanukka-Szenen im Cod. hebr. 37 der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg," *Kairos* 23, ½ (1981): 108-112; idem, "Apokryphe Motive in der Mittelalterlichen Jüdischen Buchmalerei,"

Mira Friedman has also attempted to establish the connection between Judith and the Maccabean heroes, and has followed the development of the motif in Jewish art.[7] She has considers the miniatures of the Miscellany as an early example of Judith being regarded as one of the Maccabean heroes. Shalom Sabar, in his article on the representation of the Maccabees in Jewish art during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, has compared the Jewish depictions of the Maccabees to those of the Christians. He noted that while in Christian art, the Maccebean victory over the forces of evil was emphasized, the Jewish images such as those in the Hamburg Miscellany rather highlighted the heroes readiness to suffer and their hope in the divine revenge.[8] Both Friedman and Sabar analyzed the illustrations of the piyyut as a stage in the development of the Maccabean iconography, and neither of them investigated the miniatures in the context of the Miscellany's entire illustration program.

One of Sarit Shalev-Eyni's most recent studies has been devoted to Joseph bar Solomon of Carcassone's piyyut and its illustration program in the Miscellany.[9] Her study focuses on the relationship between the concepts of martyrdom and sexuality as it appears in the eleventh-century piyyut and in its fifteenth-century visual representation in the Miscellany. She points out how contemporary Christian visual expressions of martyrdom had a significant impact on the miniatures. The authorship of the illustration program appropriated Christian iconographical motifs to express its own martyrological ideal. Although, there are many common features between the Jewish and the Christian concept of martyrdom, they necessarily compete with each other, and thus any appropriation of the other's iconography may be interpreted polemically.

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in *Les Juifs au regard de l'histoire: melanges en l'honneur de Bernhard Blumenkranz,* ed Gilbert Dahan (Paris: Picard, 1985), 249-254; idem, "Makkabäer- und Judithmotive in der jüdischen Buchmalerei," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 60 (1994): 333-342.

[7] MiraFriedman, "The Metamorhposes of Judith," *Journal of Jewish Art* 12/13 (1986/87): 225-246.

[8] Shalom Sabar, "Gevurat ha-Hashmonayim be-Omanut ha-Yehudit shel Yemei ha-Benayim we-Tequfat ha-Renesans" [The Bravery of the Hashmoneans in Jewish Art in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance Period], in *The Days of the Hashmonean dynasty,* ed. David Amit and Hanan Eshel. (Jerusalem: Yad Jitzhak Ben-Zvi, 1996), 277-290 [Hebrew].

[9] Sarit Shalev-Eyni, "Martyrdom and Sexuality: The Case of an Eleventh Century *Piyyut* for Hanukah and Its Visual Interpretation in the Fifteenth Century," in *Conflict and Conversation: Religious Encounters in Latin Christendom, Studies in Honour of Ora Limor* (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming). Eadem, "Purity and Impurity. The Naked Woman Bathing in Jewish and Christian Art," in *Between Judaism and Christianity. Art Historical Essays in Honor of Elisheva (Elisabeth) Revel-Neher*, ed. Katrin Kogman-Appel and Mati Meyer (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2009), 191-213.

Another miniature, discussed in several publications, is the depiction of the Messiah entering Jerusalem (fol. 35v). Joseph Gutmann has explained the emergence of this new iconographic theme in light of contemporary Christian-Jewish theological controversies and developments in the liturgy for Seder eve.[10] He has also emphasized the influence of Christian visual culture such as the depiction of Christ entering Jerusalem and the Palm Sunday procession with the ***Palmesel*** on the emergence of the new Jewish eschatological iconography. Gutmann, thus, interpreted the Jewish iconography of the Messiah as a visual response to Christian theological claims and their cultural manifestations.

The third miniature of the Miscellany which received a considerable attention is the depiction of Pharaoh's blood bath (fols. 27v-28r).[11] David J. Malkiel studied the depiction of infanticide in Passover iconography. He speaks about a miniature of the Miscellany.[12] He revealed its midrashic sources and offered two explanations for the emergence of the motif in fifteenth-century Germany. First, the motif of the leprous Pharaoh was suitable for expressing contemporary calamities suffered by German Jews as well as Jewish expectations concerning the divine revenge awaiting their enemies. Second, the motif can be connected to the Ashkenazi martyrological tradition. It may have expressed the Jews' readiness to sacrifice their own children to God during persecutions. Consequently, in his understanding, the very same motif would symbolize the demonic Christians murdering Jews and God-fearing Jews murdering their own children at the same time.

These individual studies provided important contributions to the iconographical interpretation of certain miniatures in the Miscellany. Sarit Shalev-Eyni's study on the illustration program of the Hanukkah piyyut provides deep insight into the nature of a

[10] Joseph Gutmann, "The Messiah at Seder: a Fifteenth Century Motif in Jewish Art," in. ***Sefer Rafael Mahler ḳovets meḥḳarim be-toldot Yiśrael, mugash lo bi-melot lo shiv'im ṿe-ḥamesh shanah,*** ed. Raphael Mahler, and Shmuel Yeivin (Merḥavyah: Sifriyat Poalim, 1974), 29-38. Joseph Gutmann, "When the kingdom comes: messianic themes in medieval Jewish art." ***Art Journal*** 27 (1967-1968): 168-175; idem, "Return in Mercy to Zion: A Messianic Dream in Jewish Art." in ***Sacred Images: studies in Jewish art from antiquity to the Middle Ages*** (Northampton: Variorum Reprints, 1989), 242; idem, "Haggadah art," in ***Passover and Easter: the Symbolic Structuring of Sacred Seasons***, ed. Paul F. Bradshaw and Lawrence A. Hoffman (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), 142.

[11] In the Hebrew text, the word "Pharaoh" does not possess an article. It is considered a personal name. Therefore, I will write it without the article and with capital P.

[12] David J. Malkiel, "Infanticide in Passover Iconography," ***Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*** 56 (1993): 89 (hereafter Malkiel, "Infanticide").

Jewish-Christian visual symbiosis. Nonetheless, none of these scholars placed the images they investigated within the context of the entire illustration program of the Miscellany, something indispensable for a full understanding of the iconographic significance of these miniatures. In my thesis, I provide a monographic research study of the Miscellany, investigating its iconographic particularities within the manuscript as a whole as well as in the wider context of fifteenth-century Ashkenaz.

* * *

Book illumination is not only a fabulous genre of medieval art but also an important source for historians in various fields from daily life to theology. This statement is even more valid for Jewish book illumination, as practically the only figurative genre in medieval Jewish art. Still, its importance in the study of medieval Jewish culture has only gradually been recognized. Even after the publication of the Sarajevo Haggadah in 1898, the existence of Jewish visual art continued to be questioned.[13] The presumption that visuality was alien for Jews was so deeply rooted in modern thinking that discussion of the nature of Jewish art has been a primary agenda for art historians in the field for a long period. Although the problem sometimes reappears in the secondary literature, the existence of Jewish art and its legitimacy has not been seriously challenged since the second half of the twentieth century.[14]

The deficient provenance of medieval Jewish codices created another aspect of this issue. The artists of most of these illuminated manuscripts are unknown; primary evidence such as colophons, instructions for the painter, or contracts of commission

[13] Sarajevo Haggadah: Sarajevo, National Museum; David Heinrich Müller and Julius von Schlosser, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo. Ein spanisch-jüdische Bilderhandschrift des Mittelalters* (Vienna: Hölder, 1898).
[14] Consequently, "Is there Jewish art?" and "What is a Jewish art?" were the two most important questions and they were considered to be closely related to the identity of the artist. At last, Marc Michael Epstein offered a solution to sever the Gordian knot by saying that whoever the artist was, if a work of art was produced for a Jewish audience under the supervision of a Jewish patron, then it can be considered a Jewish work of art. Epstein, *Dreams of Subversion*; Kalman P. Bland, *The Artless Jew: Medieval and Modern Affirmations and Denials of the Visual* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000).

usually do not exist.[15] Thus, one of the questions that frequently arise in discussions on Jewish illuminated manuscripts concerns the identity of the painter. Was he Jewish or Christian? Scholars who wish to shed some light on the identity of the illuminators have turned to secondary evidence such as iconographical details or stylistic features. Having discovered motifs based on Jewish textual sources such as the use of midrashic elements or the precise depiction of certain rituals, they tended to assume the artist was Jewish. High quality stylistic elements, on the other hand, have been interpreted as meaning a Christian painter carried out the work.[16]

Furthermore, if there is a possibility that the painter was Christian, it is still reasonable to search for expressions of special Jewish messages or polemicising voices in his work. The illustration program of a manuscript cannot be considered exclusively as the work of its painter. The "authorship" of an illuminated codex is much more complex. To cite Marc Epstein, it is "a collaboration between Jewish patrons who sponsored and conceptualized the manuscript (in some cases, it seems, with the aid of rabbinic advisers), and artists (Jewish or non-Jewish) who executed the commission."[17] Thus, if the artist was not the only one responsible for the illustration, one cannot draw far-reaching conclusions concerning the message these miniatures carry exclusively from the religious/cultural identity of the artist.

The intercultural nature of Jewish book illumination makes the problem even more intricate. Jewish manuscripts produced in medieval Christian Europe were inevitably influenced by the art of the majority and to a certain degree they used the same "visual vocabulary." Therefore, instead of focusing only on the Jewish or Christian origin of certain motifs, it is more fruitful to study the integration of these elements within their present context, namely, how this visual vocabulary was used, according to what sort of "grammatical rules," and in what structures. The painters may have provided the visual

[15] There are a few cases when instructions for the painter are seen in the manuscript itself, such as the Würzburg Rashi bible commentary (Munich, BSB, MS cod. Heb. 5) and the Laud Mahzor (Oxford, Boldeian Library, MS Laud Or. 321).

[16] See, for example, Franz Landsberger, "The Illumination of Hebrew Manuscripts in the Middle Ages and Renaissance" in *Jewish Art. An Illustrated History*, ed. Cecil Roth (Tel Aviv: Massadah, 1961), 415-421; Bezalel Narkiss, *The Golden Haggadah* (London: The British Library, 1997), 66-67.

[17] Marc Michael Epstein, *The Medieval Haggadah: Art, Narrative & Religious Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 6 (hereafter Epstein, *Medieval Haggadah*). I am grateful to Marc Epstein, for sharing with me his as-yet-unpublished work.

vocabulary, but the way they were constructed into meaningful units, that is, "sentences" was determined not exclusively by them but also by other parts of the authorship such as the scribe, the patron, or a Jewish advisor.

There are different degrees in the integration of a foreign element, that is, different levels of intercultural appropriation. A motif adopted from another culture can be placed into the new context untouched. It can be also modified, transformed in order to fit within its new context. An excellent example for taking over a motif untouched is the scribe writing from left to right, that is, in the "Christian" way. There are four such scribes among the illustrations of the Rothschild Miscellany, a lavishly illuminated manuscript from fifteenth-century Italy.[18] This tiny, and from the point of view of the illustration program irrelevant detail, sheds light on the Christian identity of the painter but it does not automatically mean that the artists did not receive instructions from a Jewish advisor concerning the themes or compositions of the illustration program. Neither does it exclude Jewish influence on the iconography.[19]

A much more significant "blooper" can be found in the fourteenth-century Catalan Kaufmann Haggadah, in its miniature of Moses before the Burning Bush (fol. 59v).[20] In contrast with the still occurring mistaken belief in Jewish resistance to any kind of visual representation, Jews did depict human figures and even heavenly creatures such as angels or cherubs. The only segment of the prohibition that was taken absolutely seriously in all circumstances was the prohibition against representation of God. Accordingly, Jewish images of God speaking to Moses from the Burning Bush substitute an angel for Him or even only a wing symbolizing the angel.[21] The artist of the Kaufmann Haggadah, however, was not a whit troubled about these restrictions and illustrated the scene with a haloed Christ in the bush. This "brave" decision to depict the incarnated God reveals the

[18] Jerusalem, IM, MS 180/51.

[19] Rothschild Miscellany, fols. 65v, 174v, 369r, 418v, 464v (Jerusalem, IM, MS 180/51); see, Colette Sirat, ***Hebrew Manuscripts of the Middle Ages*** (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 175 n. 56. On the Jewish patron's direct influence on and control over the iconographic program of the Miscellany, see Louisella Mortara-Ottolenghi, "The Illumination and the Artists," in ***The Rothschild Miscellany*** (Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1989), 129-251.

[20] Budapest, MTA, Kaufmann Collection, MS A422.

[21] The biblical text mentions both the angel of God (Ex. 3:2), and God Himself (Ex. 3:4). See, for example, the miniature in the Golden Haggadah depicting the Deity as a haloed angel (London, BL, MS Add. 27210, fol. 10v) or the image of the Sarajevo Haggadah where even the representation of an angel was avoided and only a wing was shown in the bush (fol. 21v).

Christian identity of the painter. It also seems likely he was working without any Jewish guidance.[22] Other depictions in the manuscript which require familiarity with midrashic traditions challenge this assumption.[23]

Again, another aspect of Christian-Jewish collaboration occurs in a late thirteenth-century Northern French codex, the Kaufmann Mishneh Torah.[24] The beginning of the twelfth book, the Book of Acquisitions, is illustrated by Moses offering the tablets of the Law to the children of Israel who stand *verbatim* beneath the mountain (IV, fol. 32r). The motif of the Israelites being covered by the mount originated from a midrash, according to which God placed the mount above Israel and did not remove it until they accepted the Torah.[25] A closer look, however, reveals that Moses has horns and he receives the tablets from a haloed heavenly figure whose hand is still visible. The scene thus originally depicted Moses receiving the Torah from heaven according to the Christian iconographic

[22] Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, ***Kaufmann Haggáda*** [The Kaufmann Haggadah of Budapest] (Budapest: Kultura International, 1990), 19. Kogman-Appel lists several other reasons that justify the supposition that the miniatures in it were made by a Christian painter. One reasonis the fact that the image cycle contains only one midrashic element which had a Christian version as well. Therefore it could have been available to the painter without a Jewish agent. Katrin Kogman-Appel, ***Illuminated Haggadot from Medieval Spain. Biblical Imagery and the Passover Holiday*** (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 14 n. 9 (hereafter Kogman-Appel, ***Illuminated Haggadot***).

[23] The iconography of the fourth plague, the plague of the ***arov***, for instance, attests that Jewish sources were available to the painter. The meaning of the Hebrew word ***arov*** was already unclear in the Mishnaic period. Jewish commentators explained it as "wild beasts," while in Christian tradition it was understood as flies (***muscae***), see Exodus Rabbah 11:4, ***Midrash Tanhuma***, Bo. Accordingly, in Christian manuscripts, the fourth plague is depicted as an invasion of flies while in Jewish manuscripts, just as in the Kaufmann Haggadah, the plague is represented as an attack of different kinds of beasts. Thus, the Christian painter must have been instructed by a person familiar with Jewish biblical exegesis, or as Katrin Kogman-Appel suggests, he may have followed a Jewish visual model for this composition, see eadem, ***Illuminated Haggadot***, 236 n. 9. If the painter received the information from a Jewish advisor, one can legitimately ask why this Jewish advisor did not veto the representation of the Divinity like the haloed Jesus in the miniature of the Burning Bush. A detailed analysis of the iconography of the Kaufmann Haggadah would exceed the limits of this paper. By raising the question I simply intend to point out the intricate nature of the relationship between the different members of the "authorship team."

[24] Budapest, MTA, Kaufmann Collection, MS A77/I-IV.

[25] Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, "A budapesti 'Misné Tóra' festményei és díszítése" [The paintings and the decoration of the Mishneh Torah of Budapest], in ***A Májmúni kódex [Móse Májmuni törvénykódexe] A budapesti 'Misné Tóra' legszebb lapjai*** (Budapest: Corvina, 1980). The story can be found in several different sources, for instance, in the Babylonian Talmud, Avodah Zarah 2b: "For in commenting on the verse, 'And they stood at the nether part of the mountain' (Ex. 19:17) Rabbi Dimi ben Hama said, 'This teaches us that the Holy One, blessed be He, suspended the mountain over Israel like a vault, and said to them. 'If ye accept the Torah, it will be well with you, but if not, there will be ye find your grave.'" For further sources, see Louis Ginzberg, ***The Legends of the Jews*** (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2003), II, 600, 602 n. 202 (hereafter Ginzberg, ***Legends of the Jews***).

tradition and therefore was presumably painted by a Christian hand.[26] In addition, the original scene of Moses receiving the Law from heaven would fit more closely to the content of the chapter it illustrates since it is about acquisitions and the Law giving is certainly the greatest acquisition of the Jewish people. Seeing the composition, however, the patron or the Jewish instructor of the artist, must have been shocked and made the artist modify the miniature. Thus, the horns were deleted and the heavenly figure was covered by the hill. As a result, the Christian iconography was transformed into a unique representation of a midrashic motif. This last example not only provides a clue about the Christian background of the artist, but also the intervention by the patrons, whether he was the scribe or another representative of the prospective owner.

The quintessence of integrating a Christian element into a Jewish context is the case where by transformation of the motif the message it carries is turned entirely upside down. That is, the authorship of these images used Christian visual "vocabulary" not only to construct special Jewish but at the same time anti-Christian "sentences." At first glance, the illustration in the Hamburg Miscellany seems to have contained several images of martyrological scenes or scenes of divine redemption where elements borrowed from Christian iconography were used. In my study, I will examine the nature of Jewish appropriation of Christian iconographical motifs in the Hamburg Miscellany and show whether they became the bearers of special Jewish messages or not through their transformation.

In the first part of my dissertation, I will provide a detailed description of the manuscript both as a literary work and as a material object. The survey of its paleographical and codicological features will be followed by a compendium of its illustration program. The

[26] Evelyn M. Cohen, who discovered traces of a previous composition beneath the present layer, compares the original composition to certain contemporary French Christian miniatures which depict God giving the Tablets to Moses. She therefore identifies the heavenly figure in the Mishneh Torah with God and concludes that it must have been painted by a Christian artist; Evelyn M. Cohen, "The Artist of the Kaufmann Mishneh Torah," in *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies.* Division D, volume II (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1986), 26-30. However, there are numerous Jewish representations of the ***Matan Torah***, the Giving of the Law, which portray an angel extending the Tablets/Tablet to Moses (e.g., Laud Mahzor, fol. 127v; Forli Siddur, London, BL, MS Add. 26968, fol. 145r). Therefore, in my opinion, the horns of Moses as well as the fact that the scene was modified, point more convincingly to a Christian artist than simply the fact that there was a representation of a heavenly figure.

available data on its authorship and its provenance will be also discussed here. A detailed iconographical analysis of the miniatures will constitute the second part of the thesis. The images will be examined in comparison with other Jewish depictions as well as with Christian iconographical traditions. The analysis will not be limited to the possible polemical aspects of the miniatures, but will provide a comprehensive picture of the iconographical characteristics of the illustration program. In the third part, I will assess the results of the iconographical analysis within the wider context of Jewish martyrological literature, on the one hand, and Jewish-Christian relations in fifteenth-century Ashkenaz, on the other hand.

I. THE CODEX

I first saw the original manuscript in January 2009, that is, ten months after I had begun to deal with it. Until that moment, I had studied the Miscellany in digital photos and already knew a lot about it. Still, in this first encounter, I felt like Abbott's Square from Flatland when he visited Spaceland and discovered the third dimension. The object, which was until then had comprised independent flat images on a screen, suddenly became a "flesh and blood" three dimensional object, which has "Upward, and yet not Northward."

The almost six-hundred-year old Miscellany has been preserved in good condition, although as the later notes as well as the wine and food stains in the Haggadah show, it did not lie untouched on a shelf. Moreover, over the centuries, it was rebound at least twice. From the eighteenth century, the manuscript has been housed in the State Library of Hamburg (today State and University Library). How it came to be there is not known.[27]

I. 1. CONTENT

The Miscellany contains a mahzor, that is, a festival prayer book (the beginning of which is missing) with a Haggadah (fols. 1r-120v), a calendar (fols. 121r-132v), lamentations and biblical readings for the Ninth of Av (fols. 133r-187v and fols. 188r-190v), and finally a *minhagim* book (customs) composed by Rabbi Avraham Hildiq complemented with the *hagahot* of the Maharil and his circle (fols. 191r-205r). The different parts almost always constitute separate codicological units.

[27] A large part of the Hebrew manuscript collection of the Library originated in the collection of a famous bibliophile, Zacharias Conrad Uffenbach (1683–1734). The Hamburg Miscellany, however, is not found in the catalogue of his collection (*Bibliotheca Uffenbachiana seu Catalogus et Recensio Msstorum Codicum qui in Bibliotheca Zachariae Conradi ab Uffenbach*, Halae Hermundurorum: Impensis Novi bibliopolii, 1720).

I. 1. 1. Prayer book

The first part of the codex is a ***Mahzor*** according to the Western Ashkenazi rite. It contains ***piyyutim*** (various kinds of liturgical poems) and a few prayers for New Year, Yom Kippur, Pesah, Shavuot, Sukkot, and Hanukkah as well as blessings, prayers and liturgical poems for various other festive occasions such as circumcision, wedding, burial, etc. In addition, there is a Pesah Haggadah included. The ***mahzor*** does not provide detailed instructions or commentaries for the worshipper.

Medieval Ashkenazi ***mahzorim*** do not have a uniform structure. Apart of them contain only the liturgical material (in most part ***piyyutim***) to be added to the regular prayers on holidays, others offer some of the prayers, biblical readings or ***piyyut*** commentaries as well. There is no uniformity concerning the order of the feasts either. As a general rule, two main kinds of ***mahzorim*** can be differentiated: those in which the winter festivals (from Rosh ha-Shanah till Sukkot) and the summer festivals (from Parashat Sheqalim/Special Shabbatot until the Ninth of Av) constitute separate groups; and those in which the Fearful Days (Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur), on the one hand, and the Pilgrim Feasts (Pesah, Shavuot and Sukkot), on the other hand, are grouped together. Many of the remnant ***mahzorim***, however, do not have an entirely consistent structure.[28]

Although the order of the feasts in the Miscellany may have been modified in later bindings, the primary principle, namely that the Fearful Days and Pilgrim Feasts constitute separate groups, must reflect the original intention since Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur run parallel to each other, and the texts of the Pilgrim Feasts stick together, extending over multiple quires (see quires VII-VIII-IX). The quires containing the ***Hoshanot*** for Hoshanah Rabbah as well as most of the texts for Simhat Torah were not parts of the prayer book's original composition; they were inserted into it at a later point (see I. 2. 2.). This insertion may have taken place even before the first binding as a supplement or correction of the ***mahzor***.

After the short section of texts for the Fearful Days and a collection of ***Hoshanot***

[28] Ezra Fleischer, "Prayer and Piyyut in the Worms Mahzor," in ***Worms "Mahzor," MS. Jewish National and University Library Heb 4° 781/1***. Introductory Volume, ed. Malachi Beit-Arié (Vaduz and Jerusalem: JNUL, 1985), 36.

for Sukkot, follows the Haggadah for Pesah starting with the instructions and benedictions for *eruv* (fol. 22v). Just as in other Ashkenazi Haggadot, different *piyyutim* were added to the end of the main text: ***Of old, You performed many miracles by night*** (fols. 39v-40r: אז רוב ניסים הפלאת בלילה; Davidson 2175 א), ***The strength of Your powers You wondrously displayed on Pesah*** (fols. 40r-40v: אומץ גבורותיך הפלאת בפסח; no Davidson number, Goldschmidt, ***Haggadah***, 96 and 138), and ***To Him praise is due, to Him praise is fitting*** (fol. 40v: ***Ki lo naeh ki lo yaeh***; Davidson 215 כ). The last folios of the Haggadah are missing.[29] The last folio of the prayer book (fol. 120v) contains a pen drawing portraying an execution: a human figure is about to decapitate a human-headed—lion-bodied creature with a long saber.

The prayer book is not complete, a number of quires are missing from its beginning and there is a lacuna (of 9 folios) between fols. 40 and 41. Since it entirely lacks texts for the Special Shabbatot and because several Ashkenazi ***mahzorim*** start with these texts, it is plausible that they might have constituted the now missing quires at the beginning of the manuscript.[30]

I. 1. 2. Calendar manual (*Sefer ibbur*)[31]

A calendar manual is inserted between the prayer book and a compilation of liturgical texts for the Ninth of Av.[32] Its first section deals with the forecasted weather for twelve months. Then, the zodiac constellations are discussed and presented in small charts (fols. 121r-121v). The next section is a big chart showing thirteen nineteenth-year cycles. This big chart is followed by two others, both of which are connected to the calculation of the calendar (the ***keviah*** of the year and the ***molad*** of each month). Finally, the calendar ends

[29] See collation in Appendix 1. I refer to the ***piyyutim*** by their Davidson number; see Israel Davidson, ***Otzar ha-shirah we-ha-piyyut*** [The Thesaurus of Medieval Hebrew Poetry], vols. 4 (New York: JTS: 1924-1933).
[30] According to the Hebrew foliation, 48 folios, that is, 6 quires (constituted of 8 folios), while according to the quire numbers, 7 quires, that is, 56 folios are missing from the beginning. For example, the first volume of the Worms Mahzor and that of the Tripartite Mahzor begin with texts for the Special Shabbatot including Purim.
[31] About medieval Jewish calendar manuals, see Elisheva Carlebach, ***Palaces of Time. Jewish Calendar and Culture in Early Modern Europe*** (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011), 14-27 (hereafter Carlebach, ***Palaces of Time***).
[32] Its location is not unusual. Free-standing treatises on the calendar are very rare in medieval Ashkenaz. The majority of the extant Ashkenazi treatises are embedded within larger codices, mainly liturgical texts and/or works on ***minhagim***; see Carlebach, ***Palaces of Time***, 27, Colette Sirat, ***Hebrew Manuscripts of the Middle Ages*** (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 93.

with the description of the thirteen kinds of year (in the Jewish calendar, there are fourteen kinds, but one [גכ] is missing from the Miscellany) surrounded by a continuous commentary on the use of the charts and their description.[33]

I. 1. 3. Texts for the Ninth of Av

Following the calendar, there is a section devoted to the Ninth of Av, one of the most important fast days of the Jewish calendar. This part contains prayers, ***kinot*** (lamentations) and biblical readings for the Ninth of Av. It is constituted of two codicological units: fols. 133-188: prayers, kinot and Isaiah 34-35; fols. 189-190: the ***parashah*** (reading from the Torah, Deut. 4:25-40) and the ***haftarah*** (reading from the Prophets, Jeremiah 8:13-9:23) for the Ninth of Av.

A large part of the lamentations were composed by one of the classical ***payytanim***, Eleazar ha-Kallir, but there are poems penned by later medieval, mainly Ashkenazi authors as well.[34] Many of these speak of contemporary persecutions that fell upon the Jewry of Ashkenaz. Among others the ***kinot*** by Menahem bar Makhir and Kalonymos bar Judah of Mainz deal with the tragic events of the First Crusade (fols. 160r, 166v); Joel ha-Levi of Bonn wrote about the massacre during the Second Crusade (fol. 161v); Judah ha-Cohen bar Moses lamented on the murdered Jews of Frankfurt, 1241 (fol. 162r); and Moses bar Eleazar ha-Cohen on the victims of the Rindfleisch persecutions in Würzburg, Rothenburg and Nuremberg, 1298 (fols. 170r, 171r).[35] The order of the lamentations follows the order described in the ***minhagim*** book (fol. 203v)

The lamentations are followed by biblical readings for the same fast day. The second and the third readings are the "official" ***parashah*** and the ***haftarah*** for the Ninth of Av, while

[33] On fol. 125v, there is a piece of parchment from a Tefillin (Ex. 13:11-16) glued onto the margin. The parchment, which contains the Divine Name, must be buried. Thus, it may have been fixed on the folio instead of simply being thrown away. That is, the codex may have served as a sort of ***genizah***. I thank Judith Schlanger for sharing her suggestion with me.

[34] The names of certain authors appear in a form of acrostics: fol. 8v: יעקב, fols. 17r-18r: פרי מעיר בונא אפרים; fol. 92v: משלם, fols. 136v-139r: אלעזר ב אזעק ירביקלי; fols. 148v-149r: אלעזר; fols. 155v-156r: קלונימוש הקטן; fols. 159v-160r: מנם בן רבי יעקב; fols. 168v-169r: יהודה; fols. 169r-169v: למה[ש], fol. 169v: שלמה; fols. 170r-171r: משה הקטן; fols. 178v-179r: יהודה חזק ואמץ; fols. 180r-180v: אלעזר הקטן העלוב אלעזר חזק; fol. 187r: אפרים בר יעקב; fol. 187v: שלמה.

[35] By the lamentation starting on fol. 170r, a marginal note says, "This lamentation was created by Rabbi Moses bar Eleazar ha-Cohen about the communities of Würzburg, Rothenburg and Nuremberg, may the Lord avenge their blood" (קינה זה יסד הר' משה בר אלעזר הכהן על קהלת ווירצבורק רוטנבורק נורבערק הי"ד) [my own translation].

the first one, Isaiah 34-35 is mentioned in the last part of the manuscript: Avraham Hildiq instructs the observants to read this section from the Bible on the Ninth of Av (fol. 204r, first column). The *parashah* and the *haftarah* are completed with masoretic notes in the margins.

I. 1. 4. *Minhagim* book

The codex ends with a collection of *minhagim* composed by the little known Rabbi Avraham Hildiq (aka Hladiq, Hladik) and complemented with the customs of Mainz, especially with the *hagahot* of the Maharil (R. Jacob ben Moses ha-Levi Mölin, aka **M**oreh **ha**-**R**av **Y**aakov ha-**L**evi, 1360?-1427).[36] Here and there some other authorities are also referred to including Avraham Klausner (aka the Maharaq, fol. 194v), Barukh of Mainz (identical with Barukh ben Samuel of Mainz? d.1221, fol. 193v), the Maharam (fol. 194r), the Mordekhai (fol. 194v), the *Sefer Parnas* (fols. 203v, 204r), and the Rokeah (fols. 203v, 204r). The customs are discussed according to the annual order of the feasts starting with the month Elul.

The author, Rabbi Avraham Hildiq is mentioned in a commentary to a *selihah* for Yom Kippur in the *Arugat ha-Bosem* ("Spice Garden"), a commentary on liturgical poems written by Rabbi Abraham bar Azariel around 1234.[37] As his name suggests, he was Bohemian in origin and he lived around the middle of the thirteenth century. His teachings were not as influential as those of his contemporary, Rabbi Meir ben Baruch of Rothenburg (aka the Maharam). Nevertheless, according to Shlomo Spitzer, his customs constituted the basis for the Austrian customs as shown by its impact on the *minhagim* book of Rabbi Abraham Klausner (d. 1407/8), an important Austrian Talmudist, and a

[36] Concerning his name, see Samuel Kohn, "Mardochai ben Hillel, sein Leben, seine Schriften und die von ihm citirten Autoritäten. Ein Eintrag zur jüdischen Literaturgeschichte," *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 26 (1877): 560-561.
Shlomo Spitzer, who published the *minhagim* book, based his work on three extant manuscripts, of which the Miscellany is the latest (the two other manuscripts are Parma, De Rossi 2 [fols. 8-24]; Parma De Rossi 1131 [fols. 1-18]). See Shlomo Spitzer, *Sefer ha-Minhagim le-Rabbenu Avraham Qloyzner* [Rabbenu Abraham Kausner's Book of Customs] (Jerusalem: Mifal Torat Hakhamei Ashkenaz, 2006), 191-253 (hereafter Spitzer, *Qloyzner*). I found one more extant copy of Hildiq's *minhagim* book as part of an Ashkenazi prayer book written in 1419 (Jerusalem, JNUL, MS Heb. 34°1114, fols. 253r-260v).
[37] Ephraim E. Urbach, *Sefer Arugat ha-Bosem* [Spice Garden] (Jerusalem: Mekize Nirdamim, 1963), IV, 123-126. Urbach, the editor of the modern edition of *Arugat ha-Bosem* collected the various sources that may be attributed to Rabbi Hildiq or speak about him. Shlomo Spitzer also provides a collection of sources that mention the rabbi, see Spitzer, *Qloyzner*, 193 n. 2.

teacher of the Maharil.

I. 2. CODICOLOGICAL AND PALEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES

Containing five different codicological units as well as five different groups of texts, the structure of the codex is very complex and a thorough examination of its codicological and paleographical features is essential for the understanding of the relationship between the various parts as well as for the dating of the manuscript. A detailed description of the codex cannot therefore be avoided. It might make for dry reading, but it provides indispensable data for further analysis. Alternatively, I advise reading it as an introductory part of a detective story. Investigating the manuscript with a strong magnifying glass, I at least could feel like Sherlock Holmes at a crime scene.

I. 2. 1. Codicology

The Miscellany is a medium size codex (295-301×220-227 mm) comprising 203 folios of vellum, bound in 26 quires mostly of eight leaves with one unfoliated paper flyleaf at the beginning and at the end.[38] It is written in Ashkenazi square and semi-cursive script in dark and light brown ink mostly in 22 (prayer book, lamentations, biblical readings) and 30 (*minhagim* book) lines in one or two columns. The rubrics were written in Ashkenazi square or semi-cursive script in red ink. The ruling was in plummet; horizontal and vertical lines are visible to a certain degree except in the fourth codicological unit (fols. 189-190). Pricking marks may be observed in the upper (e.g., fols. 10r, 11r), inner (e.g., fols. 114, 121-129, 200-205) and, more rarely, in the outer margins (e.g., fol. 34), but not in the third and fourth codicological units (fols. 133-188 and 189-190: lamentations and biblical readings).

The quire system was modified during subsequent rebindings. In its present form, the codex contains 26 quires, mostly of 8 leaves each except for II^{8-1}, IX^{10-1}, XV^{8-1}, and $XXVI^{8-1}$. In all these four quires, the last folio is excised, but since the text is uninterrupted, these excised folios were presumably blank. In one case, an extra folio was

[38] Text space (187-190)×(135-140) mm (fols.1-120—prayer book; fols. 133-188—lamentations and Isaiah 34-35, and fols. 189-190—biblical readings) or (265)×(185) mm (fols. 122-132—calendar) or (190-210)×(135-155) mm (fols.191-205—*minhagim* book).

glued to the quire (V^{8+1}: from quire xiii only the first folio survived, which was glued to the last folio of quire xii).[39] Quire IX^{10-1}, and probably quire II^{8-1} were inserted somewhat later.

There are catchwords at the end of most of the quires, except I, II, III, IX, XV, XVI, XXI, XXIII, and XXIV. On fol. 120v, there is no text only a pen-drawing and two sentences (the upper sentence is practically identical to that of the calendar on fol. 121r, while the lower one contains the beginning of *parashat mishpatim*).[40] These sentences, at least the first sentence of the calendar, might have served as a sort of catch phrase to show the binder the correct order of the quires.

There are five different codicological units that can be distinguished within the codex, and these are the following:

Unit 1: fols. 1-120: Mahzor with Haggadah for Pesah

This unit can be dated to before 1427.[41] The text ends on fol. 119v. Fol. 120 is browner, more worn than the previous folios, and except for the catchphrases and a scatchy pen drawing on the verso side, it is blank. All these details suggest that it was the last folio of a manuscript for some time. The Hebrew foliation ends on f. 120r.

Unit 2: fols. 121-132: calendar

This unit was written in 1434. It comprises a single quire containing 5 bifolios, which is unusual in Ashkenaz and suggests that the scribe wished to include everything within one quire, and extended it accordingly. There is no catchword at the end.

Unit 3: fols. 133-188: liturgical texts for the Ninth of Av and Isaiah 34-35

[39] I mark the quire numbering, written on the folios and reflecting a previous state, with small Roman numbers, and the numbering that reflects the present state of the codex with capital Roman numbers.
[40] There is one tiny difference between the upper sentence and the first sentence of the calendar: on fol.120v: יודע, while on fol.121r: יודעו.
[41] On dating, see I. 2. 7.

Hebrew foliation restarts from 1. There is no catchword at the end of this section either.

Unit 4: fols. 189-190: ***parashah*** and ***haftarah*** for the Ninth of Av

This unit constitutes only a single bifolio. The quality and the size of the parchment are different: It is darker and a bit smaller than the parchments in the other parts, and its edges are irregular. It is not connected to the following unit by a catchword.

Unit 5: fols. 191-205: ***minhagim*** of Rabbi Avraham Hildiq. This unit is written in semi-cursive script, different from the script of the calendar, and dated to after 1427.

Within the first codicological unit, the prayer book, there are two quires that do not match the others perfectly. Quire II$^{8-1}$ containing the ***Hoshanot*** for Hoshanah Rabbah (fols. 9-15) does not connect to its neighboring quires neither with catchwords nor in its content. Furthermore, the quire is not a regular one constituted by 8 biofolios, but since the text ended on the seventh folio, the eighth one must have been cut off. Finally, the first several folios of the quire were written in a much lighter brown ink than the surrounding quires. The other "odd-one-out" quire is quire IX containing most of the material for Simhat Torah. As several signs show, it was inserted between quires VIII and X. The second half of an ***ofan*** for the intermediary days of Sukkot (1475 מ) can be found on its first folio as a continuation of the poem from the end of the previous quire. There is even a catchword connecting the two quires together. However, this continuation of the ***ofan*** can be found at the beginning of quire X as well. Quire IX ends with an empty folio, and at the very beginning of quire X, the text is only a fragment missing its first half. The color of the ink, the size of the letters as well as the unpunctuated text on quires VIII and X show that quire VIII had originally been followed by quire X. Furthermore, unlike the majority of the quires in the prayer book, quire IX consists of ten, not eight, bifolios. Based on these observations, it seems that these two quires, quires II and IX were added to the existing collation somewhat later.

In the description of the manuscript, I refer to these various units separately only when there is a significant difference between them.

I. 2. 2. Numeration

Foliation

There is a continuous foliation with Arabic numerals from 1-205 running throughout the entire codex. In addition, there is an earlier, Hebrew foliation throughout the prayer book, which reveals that several quires are missing from the beginning of the manuscript: the first folio of the present codex is foliated as מט, that is, 49. Both the Arabic and the Hebrew foliations are written in ink in the top left corner of each recto side. On the verso sides, there is an Arabic foliation written in pencil (starting with fol. "1b"). The end of the Haggadah is missing, but the lacuna is reflected only in the Hebrew foliation (Hebrew fols. 88-103 are missing), while the Arabic foliation is consecutive. Accordingly, the Hebrew foliation preceded the Arabic one, which must have been added during a rebinding at a time when the beginning of the codex and the last part of the Haggadah were already missing.[42]

Based on the Arabic foliation, one bifolio (fols. 126-127) is missing from the middle of quire XVII, but the text is not broken since nothing is missing. On the recto side of some pages there are remains of another foliation in Arabic numerals written in pencil.[43] This latter pencil foliation is seemingly the continuation of the Hebrew numeration of the prayer book with Arabic numerals. In the first part of the lamentations (fols. 133-156), there is another Hebrew foliation starting numbered 1 to 24 written by another hand than the Hebrew foliation of the prayer book.

Numeration of the quires

There is a continuous quire numbering (in Arabic numerals starting from quire viii that is quire I in the present codex) throughout the entire manuscript, which is not consistent with the present collation of the codex, but reflects a previous collation. Based on this

[42] I refer to the folios according to the Arabic numerals.
[43] Fol.121r is numbered in pencil as 184, fol.123r as 186, fol. 124r as 187, fol.125r as 188, fol. 128r as 190.

numbering, there are six quires missing from the beginning of the codex and two (quires xiv, xxvi) from inside. In addition, the present quires V, IX and XXVI were composed from two quires (xii+xiii, xviii+xix and xxxvii+xxxviii).[44]

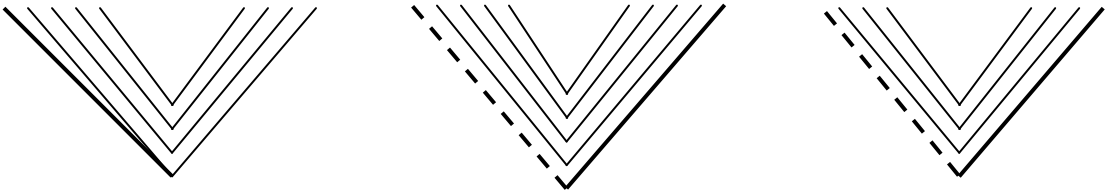


Fig. 1. Quires V^{8+1} (xii+xiii), IX^{10-1} (xviii+xix), and $XXVI^{8-1}$(xxxvii+xxxviii)

Quire V comprises quires xii and the first folio of quire xiii. The other seven folios of quire xiii are missing. In the case of quires IX^{10-1} and $XXVI^{8-1}$, although based on the numeration, they were put together from two separate quires (quires xviii + xix and xxxviii + xxxviii) during a later binding, nothing is missing from the text. It is plausible to assume therefore that in both cases the two quires originally constituted one quire (quires IX^{10-1} and $XXVI^{8-1}$), and since in both quires a section of the text ended on the recto of the penultimate folio, there was no need for the last folio, and it was cut off. Later, the first, odd folio of the quire may have been disconnected from it, and before rebinding it received its own quire number in order to help the binder maintain the proper order of the folios. All in all, the compound nature of the manuscript's numeration shows first that in its present form, the codex is not complete and second, that its collation was modified.

I. 2. 3. Binding

The inconsistencies of the multi-layered numeration/foliation and of the quires show that the codex was rebound at least twice. The present cover is a white leather binding with green edges and spine, dating most probably from the beginning of the nineteenth century and bound in the library.

[44] The missing quire xiv contained the end of the Haggadah. Concerning quire xxvi, it might have contained some biblical texts beginning with *Parashat Mishpatim* (Ex. 21-24), because on the last folio of quire XVI (xxv) there is the beginning of this *parashah*, and it seems to be a mark for the binder that follows. However, since the first line of quire XVII (xxvii) is also written on the same last folio, the earlier arrangement cannot be determined with certainty.

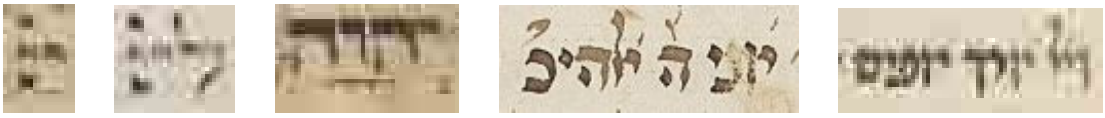
I. 2. 4. Punctuation

The codex is punctuated in most of its part, but there are sections of both square and semi-cursive script which were left unpunctuated (e.g., fols. 1v, 15v, 16v, 18v, 20v, 22v-23v, 33v-35v, 115v), and there is no punctuation at all in the calendar and in the *minhagim* book (except a paragraph on fol. 193v). Among the lamentations, there are some, which are not vocalized, and from the bottom of folio 177v there is no punctuation at all until the end of fol.187v. The biblical reading of Isaiah 34-35 is not punctuated either (fols. 188r-188v).[45]

I. 2. 5. Scripts

The main text of the codex was written in Ashkenazi square (units 1, 3, and 4) and semi-cursive script (units 2 and 5). The rubrics to mark refrains or to emphasize words are in square and semi-cursive script. The main text was written by one scribe.[46] The most important scribal practices which were used in the manuscript are listed below:

- In the prayer book and in the lamentations, four yods forming a lozenge (e.g., fols. 1v, 39r, 70v, 146v; fig. 2) substitutes for the Tetragrammaton, while in the biblical reading of Isaiah 34-35 (fols. 188r-188v) the scribe sometimes used this method (fig. 3) and sometimes wrote all the four letters of the Divine Name; in part 4 (fols. 189-190; fig. 4), only the four-letter form is present. In the *minhagim* book, unit 5, the name is substituted with a ה (e.g., fol. 192r; fig. 5) or two י (e.g., fol. 193v; fig. 6).



Figs. 2-6. Hamburg Miscellany, fols. 70v, 188r, 189r, 192r, 193v: Tetragrammaton

- In the prayer book, the lamentations, and the biblical readings (units 1, 3, 4, that is, all the units written mainly in square script) the same devices are used for producing

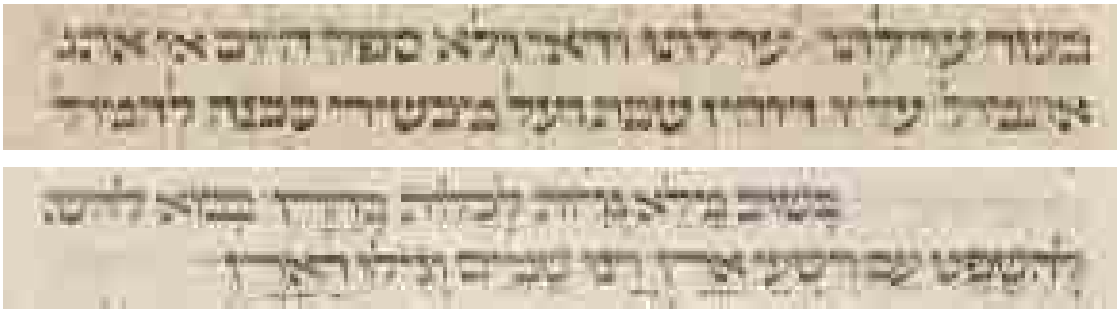
[45] The absence of the punctuation in an otherwise punctuated text may be the result of an unfinished working process or a sign to show that the unpunctuated text does not constitute an integral part of the text. Such may be the case on folio 169r. There, the last two stanzas of the lamentation, which do not appear in the printed editions of the poem and were probably additions by a later author, are not punctuated.

[46] See also the as yet unpublished documentation of the Paleography Project housed and available in the JNUL, Jerusalem (no. 0G169).

even left margins, most often by using graphic fillers (e.g., fols. 7r, 37r, 71v, 150v, 181r).

Other methods that are used include:

- anticipating the beginning of the next word either by or without truncating the last letter (e.g., fols. 17r, 87r, 92v, 134r, 158r, 177r; figs. 7-8),



Figs. 7-8. Hamburg Miscellany, fols. 17r and 158r: Anticipating the beginning of the word

- the dilatation of the horizontal bar of one of the letters of the last word (e.g., fols. 3r, 3v, 58v, 137v, 143r, 164r; figs. 9-10),

Figs. 9-10. Hamburg Miscellany, fols. 58v and 143r: Dilatation of the horizontal bar

- shortening words by omitting last letters (e.g., fols. 1r, 39v, 97v, 138v, 144v, 151r; fig. 11),

Fig. 11. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 97v: Shortening a word by omitting the last letters

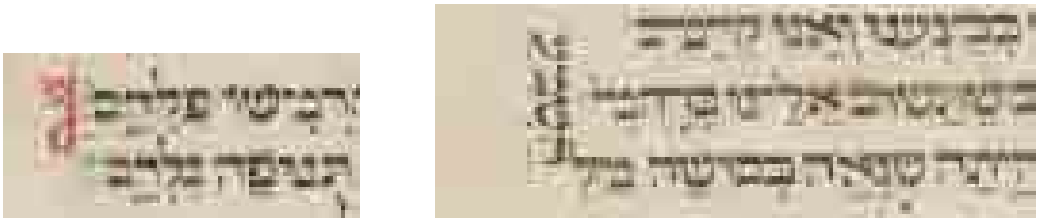
- writing the part of the last word exceeding the available space at a distance in the margin (e.g., fols. 2r, 61v, 90r, 133r, 156r, 166v; figs. 12-13),

Figs. 12-13. Hamburg Miscellany, fols. 90r and 166v: The last word at a distance in the margin

- writing the last letter(s) in a smaller/narrower format (e.g., fols. 1r, 6v, 11r, 179r, 189r; figs. 14-15),

Figs, 14-15. Hamburg Miscellany, fols. 6v and 179r: Last letters in a smaller format

- writing the last letters/word vertically (e.g., fols. 42r, 66v, 153r; figs. 16-17):



Figs. 16-17. Hamburg Miscellany, fols. 42r and 153r: Writing the last letters/word vertically

- or dividing the word by writing the second syllable at the beginning of the next line (e.g., fol. 172v; fig. 18).

Fig. 18. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 172v: Dividing the word

- In the calendar and in the *minhagim* book (units 2 and 5, written mainly in semi-cursive script), the preference of devices for producing even left margins is slightly different. In the calendar, it is achieved mostly by shortening words through omitting last letters, by anticipating the beginning of the next word with/without truncating the last letter and by using graphic fillers. Occasionally, other methods are used such as dilatation of the horizontal bar of one of the letters of the last word.

- Catchword decoration and its placement: the catchwords are written vertically in the bottom left corner of the verso of the last folio of the quire. Except for the first three catchwords and the last one, all are decorated (figs. 19-22). They are shown as inscriptions on small banderoles.

- 

Figs. 19-22. Hamburg Miscellany, fols. 31v, 89v, 156v and 198v: Catchwords

- Indication of abbreviations or numbers written in Hebrew letters by a vertical line above the last letter (e.g., fols. 1r, 69r, 161r, 181v; fig. 23), or by a small 'v' above the letter (e.g., fols. 41r, 186r, 189v; fig. 24). In the calendar and in the *minhagim* book, abbreviations are indicated by one or several small strike(s) (e.g., fol. 123r; fig. 25) or a hook above the last letter (fol. 193r; fig. 26).

Figs, 23-26. Hamburg Miscellany, fols. 1r, 41r, 123r, 193r: Methods of abbreviation

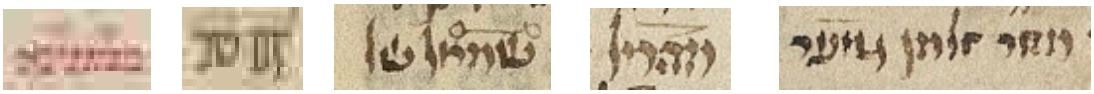
- Signalizing corrections (made by the scribe): marking the incorrect word with a tiny circle or a circle with a short horizontal line and writing the correct version on the margin (e.g., fols. 3v, 70v; fig. 27); marking the incorrect or incomplete part with a small line with hook/hooks at its end/ends (e.g., fols. 2r, 137v; fig. 28); marking the word in the text and the correction in the margins with a small curved strike facing each other (e.g., fols. 53v, 124v, 128r; fig. 29). Sometimes, the incorrect word is not even punctuated (e.g., fols. 3r, 15r, 70v; fig. 30).

Figs. 27-30. Hamburg Miscellany, fols. 70v, 137v, 124v, and 15v: Methods of correction

- Indication of another version (ס"א, *sefarim aherim*, that is, [in] other books): by marking the word with a tiny circle and writing the other version in the margin (fol. 143r; fig. 31).

Fig. 31. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 143r: Indication of another version

- Marking of citations of biblical verses: in quotation marks.
- Emphasizing words: putting hash marks (e.g., fols. 55r, 77r, 104r, 135r; fig. 32), a curved strike (e.g., fols. 21v, 192v; fig. 33), a vertical line with a circle on both ends (this method prevails in the calendar, e.g., fols. 124v, 125v; fig. 34.), a longish hook or peak (e.g., fols. 121r, 191v; fig. 35), or a vertical line above the word (e.g., fol. 131r; fig. 36).



Figs. 32-36. Hamburg Miscellany, fols. 77r, 192v, 125v, 191v, and 131r: Words with emphasis

- Indication of a masoretic note: marking the word with a tiny circle (fols.189-190).

The five codicological units have distinctive features concerning scribal practices. The prayer book (unit 1) and the lamentations for the Ninth of Av with the first biblical reading (unit 3), written in a large square script and in the same arrangement, are almost identical from a paleographical point of view. The calendar (unit 2) and the *minhagim* book (unit 5), written in a smaller semi-cursive script in two columns, have very similar paleographic features, too. However, these variations in the scribal practices do not lead inescapably to the conclusion that the units were written by different scribes, but can be explained by the use of the different types of scripts.

I. 2. 6. Glosses

There are

- additions and corrections of the text by the scribe (e.g., fols. 2v, 3r, 10v, 11v, 137v, 145v, 167v, 192r, 195r, 203r, 204r),
- glosses suggesting a different formulation or another version of the text (e.g., fols. 9v, 64v, 68r),
- liturgical notes and instructions—usually referring to the custom of Mainz, and various customs of certain rabbis (the Maharil, the Rokeah). (e.g., fols. 6r, 8v, 22r, 32r, 58v, 66r, 75r, 82r, 91r, 114r, 139v, 154v),
- owner's inscriptions (fols. 24r, 36v, 122r, 139v, 205r),
- additions complementing the calendar (mostly on the day of ***Lag ba-omer***: fols. 124r, 124v, 125v),
- notes on the calendar (fols. 128r, 128v),
- a Yiddish gloss in the margin of the calendar on folio 122r:
  דען מאן וָאלְט מִיך גערן זַיְיחְן דער מִיך מושְט אַבְּ מעקְן צוּ שְׁרִיבְּן דש פּרַט אוף מַיְין שְׁטַט
  [Den man volt ikh gern zeyhen, der mikh must ab-mekn tsu shriben das prat uf mayn shtat]
  'I would like to see the man who will have to erase my name and write the date in its place (=instead of my name).'[47]
- On fol. 154v, a note inserted into the body of the main text was deleted and overwritten with a liturgical note about the Mainz custom.
- In the same part, there are geometric drawings in the margin (fols. 145r, 146r, 186v).
- There are masoretic notes (***masorah parva***), cantillation, and some liturgical notes in the ***parashah*** and ***haftarah*** for the Ninth of Av (fols.189-190).

In addition, in the lamentations, there are marginal remarks written in the early modern period (probably in the 18th century) commenting on the arrangement of the ***kinot*** (fols.

[47] I am indebted to Marion Aptroot and Simon Neuberg for their indispensable help with the translation of the text.

134r, 145v, 188r – the same hand marked or framed some words e.g., on fol. 140v, 143r-144v, 147v), and providing additions to the text (fols. 141r, 143r, 147r, 154r, 184v).

I. 2. 7. Scribe, dating, and ownership

Colophon

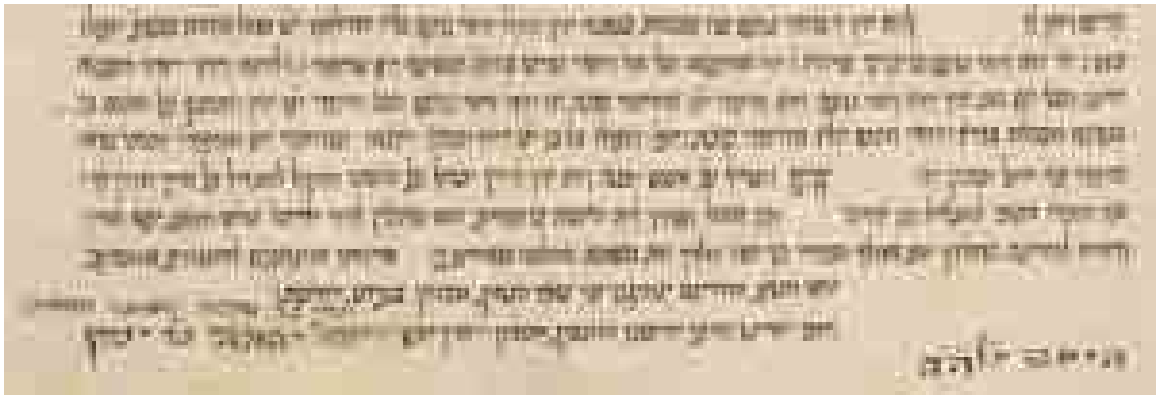


Fig. 37. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 205r: Colophon

fol.205r (Fig. 37)*:*

סיימתי המנהגים להתוודע המנהיג' אחר מנהג המדינה ינהיגנו עד שנא' מנהיג הנאמן בעיתו אחישנו

ואני יחיינו וזרעי ארשנו המנהיג הנאמן יחזק[ינו נאום יהודה בר יצחק היפה זלה"ה] *יצחק בר שמחה הסופר האמתי*

I finished the customs to announce to the leaders who lead us according to the custom of the medinah *until it [the custom] will be said [by] the true leader who will hasten it in its time (cf. Is. 60:22). And he will make me alive and my offspring will inherit – let the true leader strengthen us [this is the word of Judah b"r Isaac]* *the real scribe is Isaac bar Simhah*[48]

- The last part of the colophon was modified: the name of the scribe was deleted and another name was added by a second hand: *this is the word of Judah b"r Isaac*. Above this name there is a correction by a third hand denying the previous claim by stating that *the real scribe is Isaac bar Simhah*. Isaac bar Simhah will turn up in several other parts of the manuscript, sometimes as the scribe sometimes as the owner, and he must be considered a central figure in the production of the Miscellany. The original name of the scribe cannot be seen under the deletion. Only small fragments of the letters remained visible. One of these seems to be a letter with a long vertical stroke that may easily be a ק. There is enough space before this letter for the

[48] I thank Shlomo Zucker for helping me to translate the colophon.

first three letters of Isaac (יצחק). In addition, a rhyme can be discovered in the colophon: *…yanhigenu—…'ahishenu, … ha-ne'eman— … [Gansman?],* that is, the name, Isaac bar Simhah Gansman just fits in. Thus, I leaning toward the interpretation that the third hand was right in claiming that Isaac bar Simhah Gansman was the scribe of the manuscript, and it is his name written in the original colophon as the scribe.[49]

Ownership inscriptions

There are a number of inscriptions written presumably by later owners of the manuscript:

Fol. 24r: within the miniature under the Seder table, hardly visible: *Nahum bar J[acob blessed be his pious memory,] ha-Levi [the truthful*] ([צדיק] הלוי [עקב זצ"ל] נחום בר י)

Fol. 36v: under a semi cursive note*: I am Nahum bar Jacob ha-Levi blessed be his pious memory from the town of A…* (...אני נחום ב"ר יעקב הלוי זצ"ל מעיר א). Steinschneider reads the name of the town as אוטינגן, that is, Öttingen but with a question mark. I can identify only the first letter of the word for sure, that is, an *alef*.

Fol. 122r: above the chart, in the upper margin: *This chart was written in the year of [5]194 [1434], and the scribe is Isaac bar Simhah Gansman* (בשנת קצד נכתב התבלה הזאת והסופר הוא יצחק בר שמחה גנשמן). This note was written in the same hand that corrected the end of the colophon on folio 205r. The person who wrote these comments was not the scribe himself but a later owner who wanted to confirm the identity of the scribe, since as the correction at the end of the colophon proves there was a disagreement over the name of the real scribe.

Fol. 139v: there is a remark by a later owner commenting on a liturgical note: *this is the same in Frankfurt and here in the holy congregation of Fulda* (וכן בורנקפורט וכן בכאן קק בולדא).

Fol. 205r (Fig. 38):

אבינו מלכינו חרש עלינו שנה טובה ופתח לנו ידך הקדושה והרחבה וכפר על חטאתינו וקבל
שב"ים א"מ כתבינו בספר חיים טובים אני **י**ודע לכל שער עמי **ע**מלי ונחלתי וחלקי שמתי עליו

[49] Thanks to Dr Israel Peles for drawing my attention to the rhyme.

שמי **ק**דם החתימה חלפו עידין ועירנין רבות **ב**יגיעה גדולה והוצאה מרובות חנני אלקי את זה לי ולזרעי אחרי ב"ר יונתן זצ"ל הלוי ציון

Our Father, Our King, give us a good year, and open for us your holy and generous hand, and forgive our sins, and accept those who repent![50] Our Father, Our King, write us into the Book of Good Life! I—"the whole city of my people knows" (Ruth 3:11) my labors and my inheritance and my portion— put my name before the ending. Many ages and periods have passed in great efforts and with multiple expenses. Have mercy upon me, my God because of this, upon myself and upon my offspring after me, bar Jonathan blessed be his pious memory, ha-Levi Zion

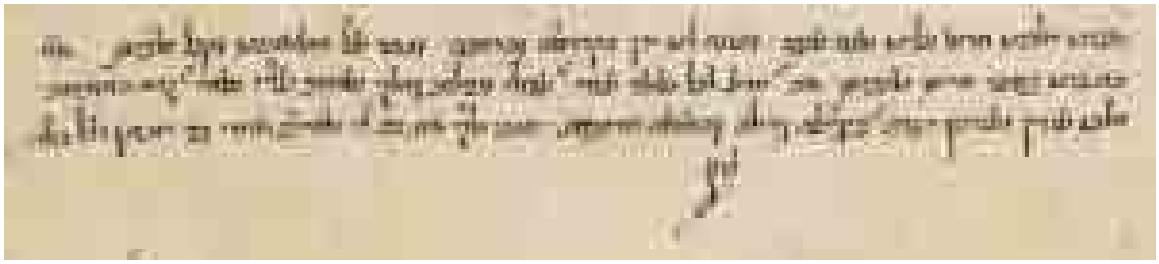


Fig. 38. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 205r: Owner's inscription, Jacob bar Jonathan ha-Levi

"I put my name before the ending"—accordingly the first name of the man who penned the note is hidden—like an acrostic in the text: **Y**odea…**A**mali…**Q**edem…**B**e-yegyah, that is, Jacob.

As the ownership inscription on fol. 205r and the two marginal notes (fols. 24r, 36v) testify, the manuscript later the property of the ha-Levi Zion family: Jacob bar Jonathan ha-Levi Zion (fol. 205r), and Nahum bar Jacob ha-Levi (fols. 24r, 36v) recorded their names in the codex. These notes are not dated but based on the writing, they are perhaps from the sixteenth century.

In this context, another dated manuscript should be mentioned here: an Ashkenazi Mahzor written in 1535, today also held in the Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek.[51] The owner's inscription at the end of the mahzor says (fol. 110v): *Goitlein bat [the daughter of] Eliezer blessed be his pious memory of Illingen and Jacob bar Johonathan ha-Levi, let him live for long good days, of the Zion family* (גייטלן בת אליעזר זצ"ל אילינגן ויעקב בר יהונתן הלוי שלי"ט משפחת ציון). It is plausible to assume that Jacob bar Jonathan of the Miscellany and Jacob bar Johonathan mentioned in the mahzor

[50] The word can be interpreted verbatim as *those who repent*. However, there is a sign over it—a sign that is identical to the one over ב"ר and ז"ל , which suggests that it is also an abbreviation.
[51] Hamburg, SUB, Cod. Hebr. 133, Steinschneider 119.

are the same person. As the inscription in the Mahzor demonstrates, in 1535 Jacob's father Jonathan, *may he live for long, good days,* was still alive, while at the time the inscription at the end of the Miscellany was penned, he was already dead, ***blessed be his pious memory***. Therefore the latter inscription must come from after 1535.

Further evidence concerning the scribes and owners of the Miscellany

Besides the colophon and the owners' inscriptions, the manuscript provides some indirect information concerning its scribes and owners:

- The name Isaac appears in a decorated form several times throughout the codex (fols. 4v, 16v, 71v, 107r, 108r, 136v, 154v, 192r; Figs. 39-41). In addition, the word, Etzaq appears decorated on fol. 143r (Fig. 42). The latter may be read as 'Itzek,' a version of Isaac.

Figs. 39-41. Hamburg Miscellany, fols. 4v, 136v, 192r: the name Isaac decorated
Fig. 42. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 143r: the word, *etzaq* decorated

- In the calendar, in the first six cells of the chart on folio 122r instead of the year, a name is inserted: *Yiz-hak bar Sim-hah Gansman*.
- In a ***reshut*** (prelude) for Simhat Torah (Davidson 2473מ), instead of the usual ***ploni ben ploni*** (that is an unidentified person) the ***hatan torah*** has got a real name: Isaac bar Simhah (fol.69r-69v). Moreover, in the next ***reshut*** (fols. 69v-70v, Davidson 2456מ), the ***hatan bereshit*** is a certain Rabbi Abraham be A"M rabbi Simhah, who was probably Isaac's brother. These two ***reshuts*** are in quire IX, which was added to the codex somewhat later. The letters of the name Jacob are marked on folio 8v (at the end of quire I).

The following hypothesis follow from these data: two persons can be suggested as identifiable scribes. Jacob, wrote parts of the mahzor sometime in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Then, Isaac acquired the codex and decided to add comments in the margins referring to the Maharil and the custom of Mainz, and with more texts for Simhat Torah and Hoshanah Rabbah. He inserted quires II and IX into the mahzor, and in the latter quire he mentioned his own name and that of his relative, Abraham. He also added the other four codicological units to this prayer book.

A comparative study of the paleographical features of quires II and IX and the rest of the mahzor does not entirely support this assumption, however. Both the scribal practices as well as the shapes of the letters are very similar throughout the entire Mahzor.

Isaac bar Simhah Gansman was the scribe and the first owner of the manuscript, that is, he wrote it for himself and his family.[52] Referring constantly to the custom of Mainz in the codicological units 1, 3, and 5, the codex reveals its possible place of origin. In the prayer book it is usually mentioned in the marginal notes (e.g., fols. 11v, 58v, 68v); in the lamentations, it can be found in the rubrics (e.g., fols. 135r, 154v); while in the *minhagim* book, the ***hagahot*** refer continuously to the custom of Mainz. Thus, it was produced most probably in the area of Mainz.

Dating

Secondary literature relying on the calendar usually dates the Miscellany to 1434 or 1427-1428.[53] The different codicological units within the codex were not written exactly at the same time, however, and 1434 refers only to the calendar. This date appears three times there: in the first chart, in the marginal commentary, and in an owner's inscription. As for the chart, it appears to start in the year 1428 as understood by Kurt Schubert and

[52] The medium size of the codex places doubt on whether it was privately used. Nevertheless, the measures, together with certain elements in the content such as the wine-stained Haggadah, suggest private use. About the connection between size and usage, see Sarit Shalev-Eyni, *Jews Among Christians: Hebrew Book Illumination from Lake Constance* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 14, 159 n. 101 (hereafter Shalev-Eyni, *Jews Among Christians*).

[53] Kurt Schubert and Bezalel Narkiss dated it around 1427 based on the calendar; see Narkiss, ***HIM***, 118. Schubert, *Judentum im Mittelalter*, 237, catalog entry 14a. In the documentation of the Paleography Project, it is dated to 1433/1434, again on the basis of the calendar.

Bezalel Narkiss. However, the first six cells of the chart had been drawn only to create a complete nineteen-year cycle (fig. 43). The years are not given in the first six cells; instead, they are filled with the syllables of the scribe's name, *Yiz-hak-bar-Sim-hah-Gansman*. The first actual year written in the seventh cell is 1434. This date is mentioned once more in the marginal commentary on folio 131v: *…the cycle ARD in which we are standing now for the seventh year, in [5]194 [1434]*.[54] Finally, above the chart, an owner's inscription refers to the scribe saying, *This chart was written in the year of [5]194 [1434], and the scribe is Isaac bar Simhah Gansman.* Thus, the calendar (codicological unit 2) was written in 1434.

Fig. 43. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 122r: Chart with the name, Isaac bar Simhah Gansman; owner's inscription; Yiddish marginal note

Other parts of the codex can be dated based on secondary evidence. The prayer book mentions the Maharil, who died in 1427, as being alive. Thus, it must have been produced before 1427 (מהרי"ל שי[חיה] *Maharil, let him live* – e.g., fols. 23r, 23v). The *minhagim* book mentions him as being deceased so that it must have been produced after 1427 (מהרי"ל ז"ל, מהרי"ל נ"ע

Maharil, let him rest in Eden; Maharil blessed be his memory—e.g., 192v, 193r, 203v, 204v). In the case of the lamentations and Isaiah 34-35 (unit 3) there is no such evidence, however, the paleographical features are practically identical with those of the prayer book. Consequently, one can assume that they were produced roughly at the same time.

[54] … למחזור ערד אשר אנו עומדים עכשיו בתוכו שבע שנים קצד לפרט…

Given the fact that their contents complement each other, the biblical readings for the Ninth of Av (unit 4) must have belonged to the lamentations from the beginning. That would mean that units 1, 3 and 4 may be dated to the 1420s. Finally, the expulsion of the Jews from Mainz in 1438 provides a possible *terminus ante quem* for the production of the entire manuscript.

In conclusion: the present structure of the codex was developed in several stages, not at once. Chronologically the oldest part is the prayer book produced before the death of the Maharil, that is, before 1427. This prayer book then was complemented by two more quires, quire II^{8-1} (a collection of Hoshanot) and quire X^{10-1} (texts for Simhat Torah and for several special Shabbatot). Besides these insertions into the prayer book, the codex was soon enriched with other texts as well including a collection of lamentations and biblical readings for the Ninth of Av. Finally, in the mid-1430s, two more parts were added: a calendrical treatise and a halakhical work about *minhagim*.

I. 3. THE ILLUMINATION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The illustrations are concentrated in two parts in the Miscellany: the prayer book and lamentations for the Ninth of Av. Within the prayer book not all the feasts are illuminated to the same degree. While in the Haggadah and in the *yozer* for the first Shabbat of Hanukkah almost every folio received one or more miniatures, other parts of the *mahzor* are only decorated with one or two images, while other parts are not illuminated at all. In addition, there are some miniatures in other parts of the prayer book, usually marking the beginning of a new section, such as for Shavuot or Rosh ha-Shanah. The calendar only received some geometrical ornamentation, while the *minhagim* book is not decorated at all.

In the prayer book, the lamentations, and the biblical readings for the Ninth of Av, many initial words, have red or violet pen-flourished decorations, perhaps added sometime later and displaying an Italian stylistic influence.

The decoration of the manuscript was not completed and there are a significant number of unfinished illuminations (fols. 9r, 16r, 23r, 23v, 32r, 32v, 38r, 39v, 40r, 40v, 45v, 50r, 55v, 63v, 65r, 72r, 74v, 133r, 173r, 188r) and empty spaces within the text, which were left blank for images (fols. 16r, 33v, 34r, 38r, 45v, 106v).

I. 3. 1. Decoration program

Text illustrations

The text illustrations are placed within the body of the text or in the margins. They depict biblical scenes (fols. 1r, 26r, 26v, 27r, 27v, 28r, 28v, 29v, 32v, 49v, 50r), extra-biblical narratives (fols. 1r, 27v, 28r, 35v, 78v, 79r, 79v, 80r, 80v, 81r, 114r, 133r, 154r, 167v, 168v), midrashic illustrations (fols. 1r, 25r, 25v, 27v, 28r, 29r, 31r, 161v) and ritual scenes (fols. 23r, 23v, 24r, 24v, 31v, 32r).

Most are unframed (e.g., fols.23r, 25v, 79r, 154r), some are surrounded by a pink frame (e.g., fols. 29r, 31v, 79v) and some are placed within an architectural structure (e.g., fols. 24v, 27r, 28r, 167v). The unframed scenes are placed in landscapes. The scenes are painted in different shades of brown, green, pink, vermilion, blue, white, grey, and black. Sometimes gold was also used (fols. 1r, 79r, 79v, 80r, 80v, 81r, 168v). Several miniatures remained unfinished (e.g., fols. 23r, 23v, 32r, 32v).

The architectural structures are rich in gothic elements. Certain scenes are represented in the interior of buildings that are usually painted grey (e.g., fol. 31r) or a pinkish-brownish color (e.g., fol. 27r). The castles and towns in the landscape have pinkish or grey walls with long, small windows and many towers. The roofs of the towers are illuminated in red, green, and blue, or gold (fol. 81r). The scenes placed in landscapes have a colored background (e.g., fols. 27r, 78v) or are just placed on the neutral vellum (e.g., fols. 49v, 50r, 154r). In some of the midrashic illustrations there are banderoles with inscriptions (Four Sons—fols. 25r-v, Coming of the Messiah—fol. 35v).

The composition of the scenes varies, but in general, human figures occupy most of the space. They are disproportionately large in relation to the buildings in which they act (e.g., fol. 28r) or to the trees surrounding them (e.g., fol. 79r). Their faces are painted in different shades of pink (e.g., fol. 24v) or white (e.g., fol. 79r). Their facial features are

added in black drawing, and their hair and beards are striated. Garments are shown in different colors, the drapery is outlined and the pleats in either black (e.g., fol. 1r) or in a darker shade of the same color as the garment itself (e.g., fol. 26r). Animals are often grouped close together and have a natural color.

Painted initial-word panels

There are four initial-word panels in the manuscript with narrative depictions; three are finished (fols. 1r, 24r, 35v), and one is unfinished (fol. 133r). All of them extend across the text, but their length varies. They are not framed. They are painted in different shades of green, pink, brown, blue, grey, and vermilion. There is also black and white, and some gold (fols. 1r, 24r). In two cases, the background is painted (fols. 1r, 24r). On fol. 35v, the background is unpainted.

Decorated initials and initial words

The decorated initials and initial words are unfinished (fols. 9r**,** 11v, 16r, 32r, 32v, 38r, 39v, 40r, 40v, *45v*, 48v, 49r, 50r 55v, 63v, 65r, 72r, 74v, 99r, *101v,* 109v, 173r, 188r) except for one (fol. 78v). Most are decorated with ornamental motifs (e.g., fol. 38r), sometimes leaves or floral forms (e.g., fols. 72r, 109v). There is one initial word. Its letters are inhabited by animals and hybrids (fol. 40v); and there is one initial included within an architectural structure (fol. 173r). Sometimes they have frames decorated with the same motifs as the letter/letters (e.g., fols. 9r, 188r).

Penwork initial-word panels

The penwork initial-word panels and initials are mostly red (e.g., fols. 12r, 62v, 115r) but there are some violet (e.g., fols. 134r, 160r) and bicolor ones (fol. 140r) as well. They almost always have a rectangular form (except e.g., fol. 48v). The penwork motifs are variations of curly foliage or palmette scrolls and geometrical motifs. Many panels have flourishing extending into the margins with additional pen drawings: ornamental motifs (e.g., fols. 12r, 57r, 62v, 180v) and a human face (fol. 57r).

I. 3. 2. Stylistic features of the illumination

The study focuses primarily on the iconographical characteristics of the Miscellany, however, it is also necessary to discuss briefly the style of its illumination. From a stylistic viewpoint, the illumination of the manuscript raises three main questions. First, how many hands can be distinguished in the miniatures as well as in the decorative elements; second, are there stylistic parallels to the illuminations; third, what is the stylistic relationship between the illuminations of the various codicological units?

The different stylistic groups of the illuminations

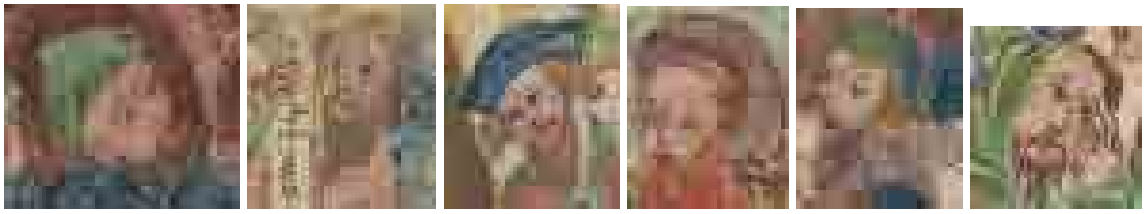
As for the first question, two significantly distinct styles can be distinguished within the illustrations. One stylistic group comprises four miniatures: the Day of Judgment (fol.1r), Crossing the Red Sea (fol.29v), Entering of the Messiah into Jerusalem (fol.35v), and Receiving of the Torah (49v-50r). These miniatures are very similar to each other in many respects: faces, draperies, natural elements of the background, and coloration (Figs. 44-47). Moreover, the arrangement of these compositions on the folio is also similar: they occupy the entire width of the body of the text except for the depiction of Moses receiving the Tablets, which was placed in the margin. The miniatures are characterized by the greenish rocks of the background and the dominance of green, blue and burgundy red. Because of the distinctive green stone in the background, I will refer to this group as the "green stone group."

Within the "green stone group," two different hands can be distinguished: one is responsible for the Day of Judgment and the Entering of the Messiah into Jerusalem, while the other painted the Crossing of the Red Sea and the Receiving of the Torah. The main differences include the different shade of the greenish rocks, the facial features of the figures, especially the eyes and the shading of the skin (Figs. 48-53).

Figs. 44-45. Hamburg Miscellany, fols. 1r and 35v: Sacrifice of Isaac and the Coming of the Messiah

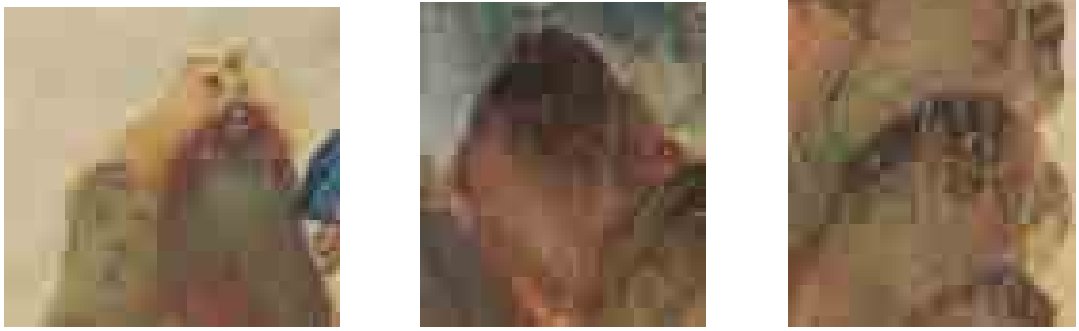
Figs. 46-47. Hamburg Miscellany, fols. 29v and 49v: Crossing the Red Sea and the Israelites waiting for the Torah at the foot of Mount Sinai

Figs. 48-50. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 1r: Day of Judgment, details
Figs. 51-53. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 29v: Crossing the Red Sea, details



Figs. 54-59. Hamburg Miscellany, fols. 24v, 25v, 26v, 31v, 80r, 161v: Faces

All other miniatures belong to the second stylistic group, which differs from the first group in many respects and has several common features: the arrangement of the images on the folio, the depiction of faces, background, and the colors the artists used (Figs. 54-59). The draperies are often folded in a way that seems project unnecessary motion (for instance, on fol. 25v, the garments of the Four Sons and their companions). The reason for this might be that these figures were copied from a visual model. The scenes are placed within a natural background or architectural structure. In the former, the brownish-yellowish ground is covered by small colored flowers, mountains rise on the horizon and blossoming trees surround the scene (fols. 26v, 79r, 154r; fols. 25v, 27r, 28r, 79v, 81r; figs. 60-64). In two compositions an interesting detail shows small rabbits on the flowery field (fols. 26v, 154r; figs. 65-69). In some cases, there are castles needled with towers in the background (fols. 27r, 27v, 28r, 81r, 154r; figs. 70-72). The architectural structures are also built along the same lines with dark grey arches and turrets at their corners (fols. 28r, 31r, 167v; figs. 73-75). To distinguish them from the "green stone group," I will refer to these miniatures as the "flowery field group."

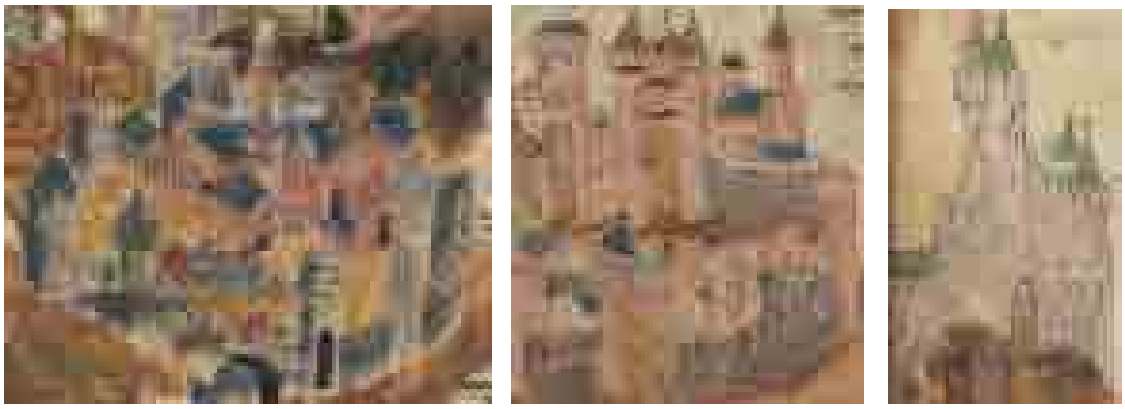


Figs. 60-62. Hamburg Miscellany, fols. 26v, 27r, 154r: Details of the background: mountains

Figs. 63-64. Hamburg Miscellany, fols. 25v and 79r: Details of the background: flowers

Figs. 65-66. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 26v: Details of the background: rabbits
Figs. 67-69. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 154r: Details of the background: rabbits

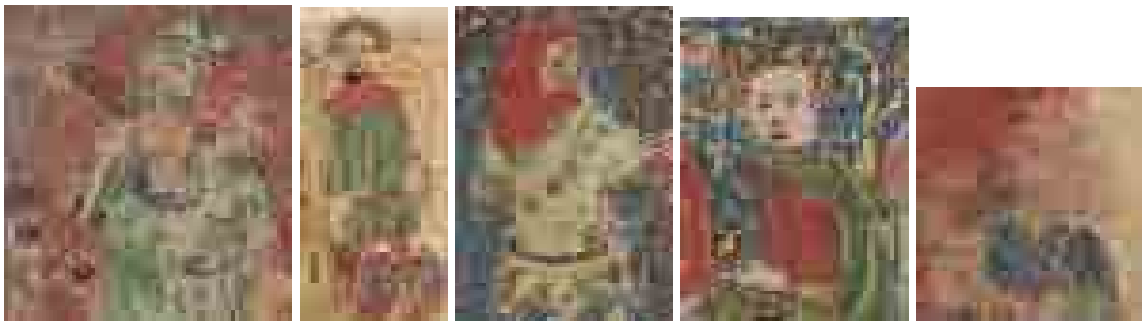
The dominant colors are green, blue, red, and brown. In addition, human skin is represented in various shades of pinkish color, while architectural structures are dark grey or pinkish. The arrangement of the miniatures on the page diverges from that of the "green stone group:" the scribe left some space out for them in the body of the text, but they also extended onto the margins. The only exception to this pattern is the illustration of the lamentation where these miniatures are placed exclusively in the margins.



Figs. 70-72. Hamburg Miscellany, fols. 27v, 81r, 154r: Castles

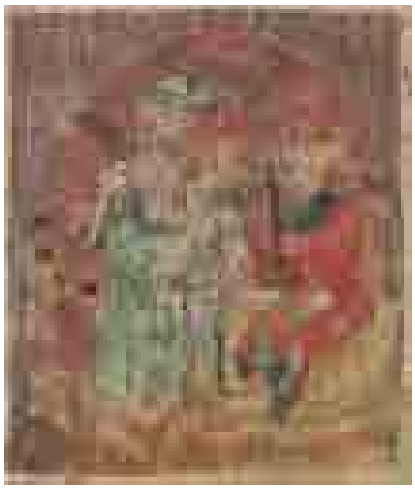
Figs. 73-75. Hamburg Miscellany, fols. 167v, 31r, 28r: Architectural structures

Certain elements in the clothing also create stylistic connections between these miniatures. These elements include: fur embellishment on garments (e.g., grey fur: fols. 24r, 79v, 168v, brown fur: fols. 81r, 167v) and straps with golden buckles (fols. 27r, 79r, 168v; figs. 76-80).

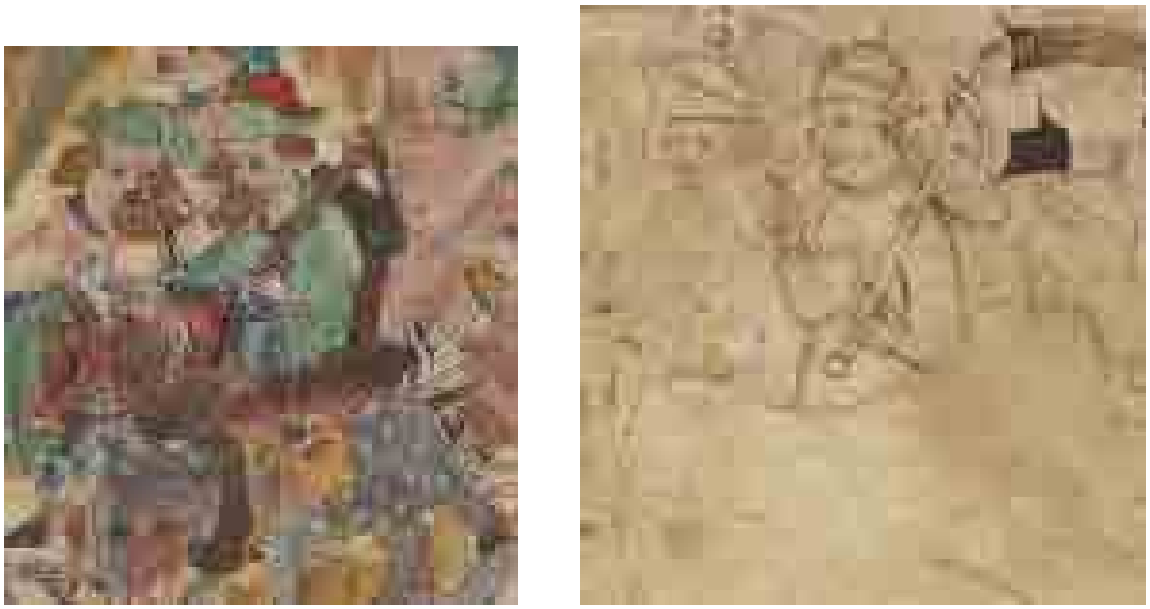


Figs. 76-80. Hamburg Miscellany, fols. 27r, 79v, 168v, 79r, 24r: Details of clothing with fur and golden embellishment

In two cases, the same composition was used twice which may reflect the use of visual models. The scenes on folio 27r and 29v depict some men standing before the ruler, that is, Pharaoh and his counselors and Pharaoh and his magicians respectively (figs. 81-82). The movements of the visitors and the position of the king are practically identical—although on fol. 27r there is one more visitor. The architectural structure reveals that the composition on fol. 29v must have been one that followed the model more properly. Here, the two arches in the foreground are supported by a column. On fol. 27r, the column is missing and the arches appear to hover in the air. The other such pair is the miniature on folio 27r of Jacob and his household going down to Egypt and fol. 32v depicting the Exodus from Egypt (figs. 83-84). In this instance, only certain small details are identical, not the entire composition. The most conspicuous of these details is the figure in the foreground carrying a vessel slung over his shoulder on a stick.

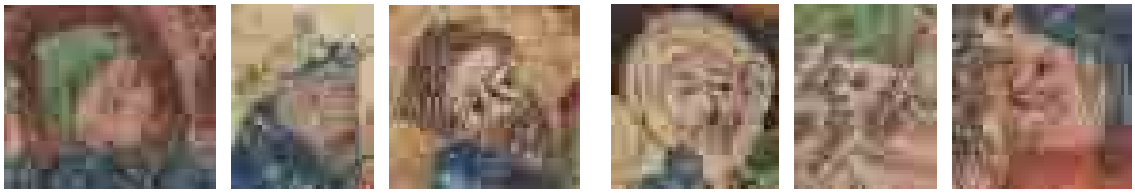


Figs. 81-82. Hamburg Miscellany, fols. 27r and 29v: Pharaoh and his men



Figs. 83-84. Hamburg Miscellany, fols. 27r and 32r: Marching Israel

Just as within the "green stone group," various hands can be distinguished within the "flowery field group" primarily by comparing the facial features of the figures (figs. 85-90). The most characteristic difference appears between the miniatures of the lamentations and the rest. In addition, the fact that these latter images were placed exclusively in the margins suggests that there no space was left out for them in the body of the text. Consequently, they were not part of the original illustration program but were added after the scribe had finished his work. Nevertheless, the many details presented above make plausible the suggestion that the entire second stylistic group was painted by the same "workshop" in the same period.

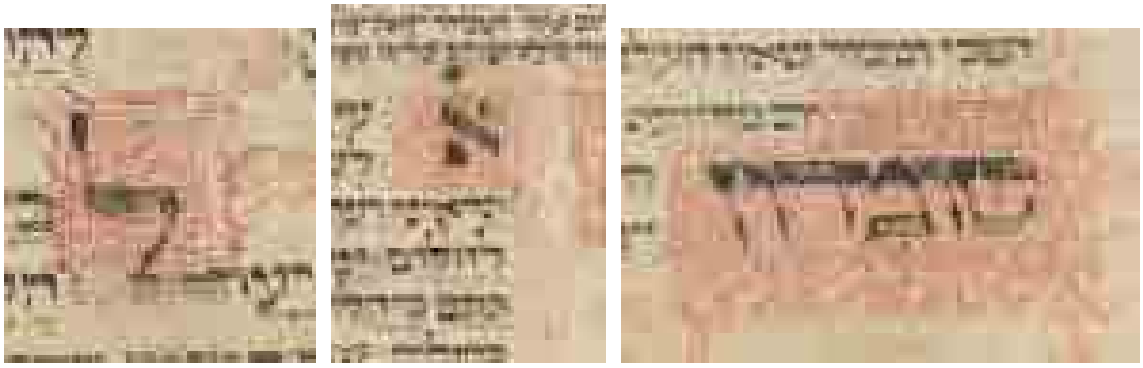


Figs. 85-90. Hamburg Miscellany, fols. 24v, 27v, 79r, 154r, 167v, 168v: Faces

Decoration

The style of the decorative elements should also be mentioned. These elements can be divided again into two main groups. The first group mostly contains unfinished initial-word panels with foliate motifs (e.g., fols. 9r, 16r, 32v, 38r, 99r, 109v) that constituted part of the original illumination plan of the codex. On fol. 32v there is a clue that may clarify the connection between the figurative miniatures and the decorations. The 'ה' initial is embellished with a leafy branch from which a small castle emerges. The style of this castle is identical with the castles in the narrative miniatures of the second stylistic group. Some motifs of these initial words and initial-word panels can be found in other contemporary Ashkenazi manuscripts.[55]

The second group contains penwork decorations around initial words reflecting Italian stylistic influences. The later addition of these penwork decorations sometimes clearly shows up since the frame they create around the words is distorted in order to fit the available space. For instance, on fols. 44v, 48v, and 169r, there was not enough space for the frame and the shape is therefore distorted (Figs. 91-93).



Figs. 91-93. Hamburg Miscellany, fols. 44v, 48v, 169r: Initial-word panels with penwork decoration

The artists

Suggestions concerning the painters have been raised only in connection to the miniatures of the Hanukkah *piyyut* and not to the entire Miscellany. Kurt Schubert says that the scribe and owner, Isaac bar Simhah Gansman, designed the illustrations and left space

[55] See, for instance, the lion heads and decorative elements at the meeting points of the strokes in an Ashkenazi prayer book (Hamburg, SUB, cod. hebr. 243, compare fol. 41r to Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 9r, and fol. 158v to Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 63v).

out in the text for them. He might also have provided visual models for the illustrations.[56] Joseph Gutmann represents a similar standpoint, assuming that Isaac the scribe planned the illustrations which were then executed by different hands. Sarit Shalev-Eyni holds that because of the close relationship of the text and images, the scribe himself may have painted the miniatures.[57]

I agree with the supposition that Isaac planned the illustrations at least in terms of their arrangement. The scribe must have known where they were going to be placed so that he could leave the necessary space for them. I also accept the possibility that some of the miniatures from the second, "flowery field" group, may have been painted by Isaac himself. The first, "green stone" group, however, both because of the better compositions and because of the higher quality of the figures, must have been painted by more professional artists.

Since the codex constitutes five codicological units and illumination can be found both in units 1 and 3, the relationship between these should be examined. On a stylistic basis, I conclude that the miniatures in units 1 and 3 are closely related. In unit 3, the miniatures on fols. 154r and 161v were probably painted by the same hand or hands as the miniatures of the "flowery field" group in unit 1. The images on fols. 167v and 168v also have a lot of common features with the images in former ones and may be categorized as part of the "flowery field" group. The figures depicted in these images, however, are of somewhat lower quality and may have been painted by a different hand.

[56] Kurt Schubert, "Die Chanukka-Szenen im Cod. hebr. 37 der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg," *Kairos* 23 (1981): 108. In another article, Schubert did not discuss the identity of the painter, but in the captions of the illustrations he named Simhah Gansman (he probably meant Isaac ben Simhah Gansman) as the artist; see idem, "Makkabäer- und Judithmotive in der jüdischen Buchmalerei," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 60 (1994): 334-337.

[57] Joseph Gutmann, *Hebrew Manuscript Painting* (New York: Geroge Braziller, 1978), 101; Shalev-Eyni, "Martyrdom and Sexuality."

Stylistic parallels

The second question that arises concerning the stylistic features of the Miscellany is the question of parallels. The search for such parallels among the extant illuminated manuscripts from early fifteenth-century Ashkenaz has not been entirely fruitful. The closest Jewish stylistic parallel I found is the illustration of the Ashkenazi Rylands Haggadah, dated also approximately to the 1430s (Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Ryl. Hebrew 7). Some details of its miniatures are similar to the "flowery field group" of the Miscellany. On folio 33r, embellishing the *Shefokh*, the introduction to the second part of the Hallel, the Coming of the Messiah is depicted (Fig. 94). The Messiah and his entourage approach a castle set in a green field. The castle, with its pinkish walls and many towers, recalls the castles in the Miscellany. Among the fellows escorting the Savior, a female figure next to the tall angel is reminiscent of the ladies baking matzot in the Miscellany (fol. 31v). The overall impression, however, is that its style is somewhat different from that found in the Miscellany.

Fig. 94. Rylands Ashkenazi Haggadah, Manchester, John Rylands Library, cod. hebr. 7, fol. 33r: Coming of the Messiah

Although the exact style itself cannot be defined, certain elements in the Miscellany's illumination display connections in contemporary illuminated Christian manuscripts. The curved hats and the sabers that feature evil characters in the Miscellany show up in German codices from the first half of the fifteenth century, such as in a German history bible from the beginning of the fifteenth century (*Deutsche Historienbibel*, Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek—Staats- und

Universitätsbibliothek, Mscr.Dresd. A.50, figs. 95-96). Another such element that is common in the Miscellany and in German codices is the depiction of water. The artists of the Miscellany represented water with wide blue lines and fish, in the same way as in the so-called *Elsässische Legenda aurea* of 1419 from Strassburg (figs. 97-98; Heidelberg, UB, Cod. Pal. germ. 144, fol. 13r).

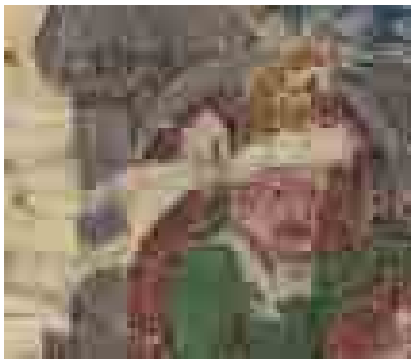
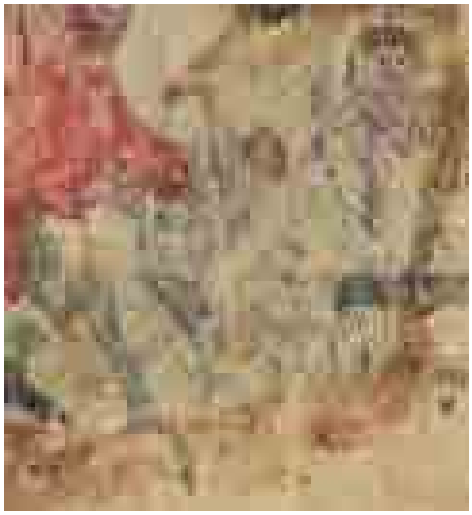


Fig. 95. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 28r: Man with pointed hat with a kerchief
Fig. 96. *Deutsche Historienbibel*, Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek—SUB, Mscr.Dresd. A.50, fol. 73: Man with pointed hat with a kerchief



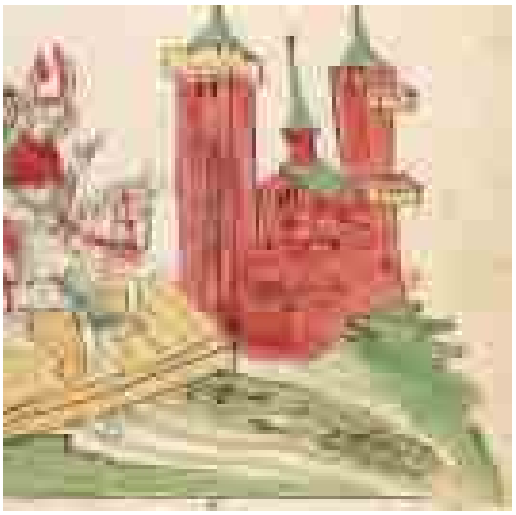


Fig. 97. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 28r: Fish in the river
Fig. 98. *Elsässische Legenda aurea,* Heidelberg, UB, Cod. Pal. germ. 144, fol. 13r: Fish in the river

The structure of the compositions in the second stylistic group also matches elements in contemporary German art. The absence of a proper frame around the scene; placing the scene in a natural setting, sometimes only a green field dotted with trees and sometimes with castles in the background. The above mentioned *Elsässische Legenda aurea* offers again a nice parallel (figs. 99-100; Heidelberg, UB, Cod. Pal. germ. 144, fols. 93r, 19r).

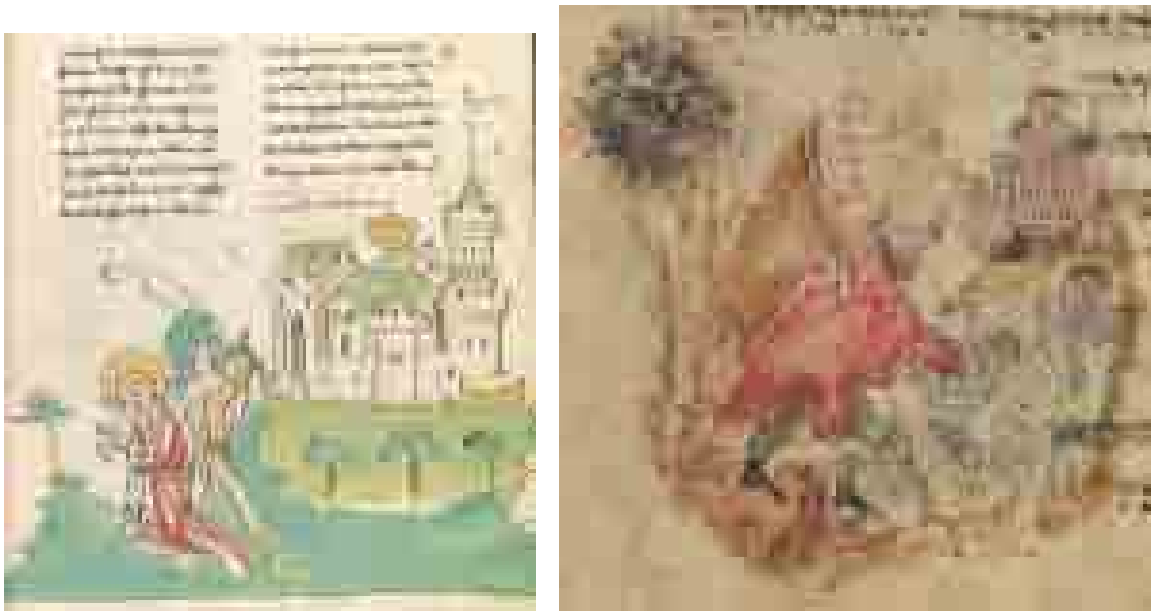


Fig. 99. *Elsässische Legenda aurea*, Heidelberg, UB, Cod. Pal. germ. 144, fol. 93r: Castle in the background
Fig. 100. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 28r: Castle in the background

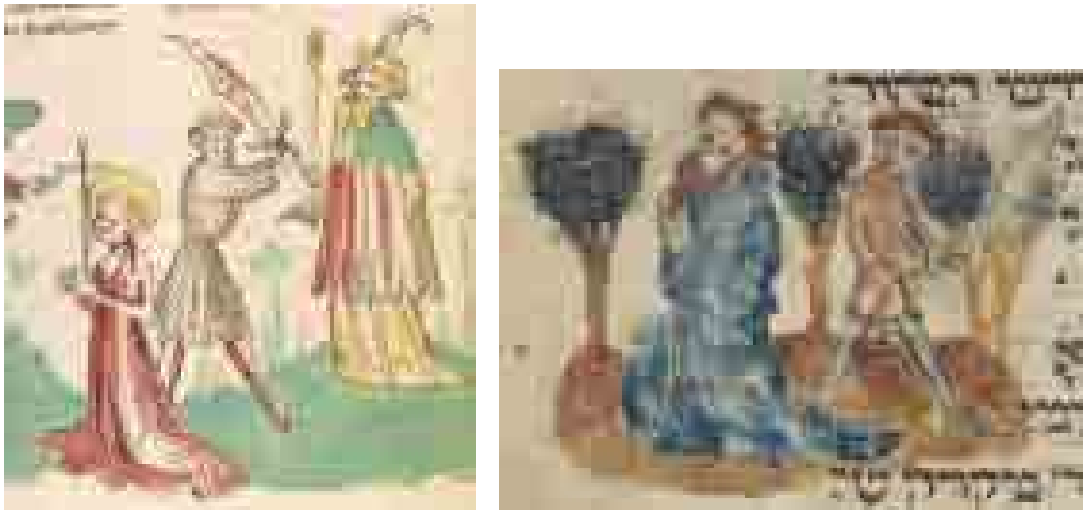


Fig. 101. *Elsässische Legenda Aurea*, Heidelberg, UB, Cod. Pal. germ. 144, fol. 19r: Execution of St Margrede
Fig. 102. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 79r: Execution of Eleazar

The same colors and draperies appear in an early fifteenth-century Bavarian codex, Heinrich von Mügeln's *Der meide Kranz* (Heidelberg, UB, Cod. Pal. germ. 14, fol. 2v). The manuscript was produced in 1407, and contains illustrations of the personifications of Virtues and Arts. The faces of the figures are different from those in the Miscellany, but the green and the pinkish colors of their garment as well as the fold lines are reminiscent of the way clothing folds in second stylistic group are depicted (fig. 103).

Fig. 103. Heinrich von Mügeln, *Der meide Kranz,* Heidelberg, UB, Cod. Pal. germ. 14, fol. 2v: Personifications of Virtues and Arts

This brief analysis is not sufficient to determine the exact stylistic orientation of the Miscellany's illustration program. Only general observations can be made. Besides these south/southwest German examples, I found no close stylistic parallels either for the "green stone" or the "flowery field" group in the Miscellany. However, even the above-mentioned motifs and compositions show that the artists of the Miscellany were familiar with the visual language of contemporary German Christian codices, used its vocabulary, and their work comported with the surrounding culture of that time.

I. 4. THE HOMOGENEITY OF THE MISCELLANY

Links between the various parts

As the codicological and paleographical study of the Miscellany has demonstrated, there are several common features within the Miscellany which create a strong connection between the five parts:

1. Units 1 and 3 complement each other from the viewpoint of their content as well as their codicological and paleographical features. Thus, they can be considered two sections of the same prayer book separated by unit 2, the calendar. They were most probably produced at approximately the same time.
2. Although, there are some hints, which suggest that the prayer book might have been written at least partially by a certain Jacob and the original work complemented by Isaac, the paleographical features of quires II and IX and those of the remainder of the quires are practically identical. Moreover, the decoration of the name, Isaac, can be found several times in the rest of the quires. Thus, even if this Jacob had written parts of the prayer book (unit 1), there cannot have been a significant gap between his contribution and Isaac bar Simhah's contribution.
3. In addition, the stylistic features of the illuminations in units 1 and 3 are also closely related. The miniatures in the lamentations and the second stylistic group in the prayer book were at least partially painted by the same artists.
4. Although the codicological features of units 3 and 4 are different, their paleographical characteristics are similar and their contents complement each other. In all likelihood unit 4 derived from a different manuscript and was added to unit 3 to complement its content.
5. The Maharil and the town of Mainz are mentioned numerous times in units 1 and 5, and once in part 3. All three units are, thus, connected to this geographical area.
6. The order of the *kinot* in part 3 is identical with the order described in the *minhagim* book, part 5 (fol. 203v).
7. Isaac bar Simhah Gansman's name is inscribed in units 1, 2 and 5: The owner's notes clarifying the identity of the scribe, one in unit 2 and one in unit 5, both mention Isaac

bar Simhah as being the scribe (fols. 122r, 205r). Moreover, in unit 2, the scribe identifies himself as Isaac bar Simhah Gansman in a chart (fol. 122r). In unit 1, referring to the same person, the ***hatan torah*** is named as Isaac bar Simhah (fols.69r-69v). Finally, the name Isaac appears decorated in the text a few times in parts 1, 2 and 5. Thus, all three units can be connected to the same person, Isaac bar Simhah Gansman.

8. The composition of the Miscellany is not unusual. Jewish prayer books often consisted of ***sifrei ibbur*** and sometimes ***minhagim*** books.[58]

Thus, although the manuscript can be divided into separate codicological units, the features listed above create strong connections between them. It seems possible that they were produced by and for the same person, Isaac bar Simhah Gansman during the 1420s-1430s. The codicological units of the manuscript are almost identical with its division in content; the only exception is in the biblical readings which are split into two codigological units. Thus, it is likely that Isaac bar Simhah completed his prayer book in time including some important texts such as a calendar and a ***minhagim*** book, thus, creating a sort of miscellany for himself.

[58] See for example, another Ashkenazi prayer book from 1419 (Jerusalem, JNUL, MS Heb. 34°1114) containing a calendar (fols. 242r-248r) and the ***minhagim*** book of Abraham Hildiq (fols. 253r-260v).

I. 5. ISAAC BAR SIMHAH GANSMAN

We know very little about Isaac bar Simhah Gansman, the scribe and owner of the Hamburg Miscellany, but it is still more than for most of the Hebrew illuminated manuscripts. The Miscellany itself provides certain information about Isaac:

- In the commentary of the calendar, on folio 131r, he says that "I received these seasons and yitronot and moladot from the teacher, Rabbi Zalman Goyer, and he made this commentary on them" (זה התקופות והיתרונות והמולדות קבלתי מה"ר זלמן גויער ועשה זה הפרוש עליהם.). Zalman Goyer can be identified with Zalman of Saint Goar, a famous student of the Maharil.[59]

- In the last part of the manuscript, Isaac added notes to the ***minhagim*** book of Rabbi Hildiq referring to the custom of the Maharil. In these notes he speaks about the Maharil as if he personally knew him: "I saw in this way from the Maharil" (fol.192v: כך ראיתי ממהר"ל נ"ע); "I have not heard from the Maharil that it was a custom to say it. Once I asked the Maharil about…" (fol. 198v: אבל לא שמעתי בימי מהרי"ל ז"ל שנהגים לומר. פ"א שאלתי מהרי"ל על מה...); "Once it happened with me that I ate the ***afikoman***, which was hidden under the tablecloth, and I did not know that it was the ***afikoman***. So when arrived the time to eat the ***afikoman***, it had been already eaten. I asked the Maharil, blessed be his memory, and he said…" (fol. 201r: מעשה ארע לי שאכלתי האפיקומין תחת המפה ולא ידעתי שאפיקמין טמון שם וכשהגיע זמן לאכול האפיקומין היה נאכל כבר ושאלתי מהרי"ל ז"ל אומר...).

Isaac's name emerges in two other fifteenth-century documents:

- in a divorce letter (***get***) to Rabbi Jacob Cohen signed by Isaac bar Simhah and Zalman of Saint Goar in Mainz, 1431:[60]

  באחד בשבת בשבעה ימים לירח תשרי שנת חמשת אלפים ומאה ותשעים ואחת כו" מנין בו כאן במדינת מגנצא כו" אנא שלמה המכונה זלמן בן אהרן הלוי כו" אנתתי טוייבלין בת שמואל המכונה בונפנט כו" אלזער בן יעקב עד, יצחק בן שמחה עד

[59] I would like to thank Israel Peles for his help in this issue. He strengthened my supposition that Zalman Goyer was an alternative version of Zalman of Saint Goar.

[60] Jaakov Margolith of Regensburg, ***Seder ha-Get ha-arokh we-ha-qatzar*** (Jerusalem: Mifal Torat Hakhmei Ashkenaz, 1983), 1430, no. 33.

- and in a fifteenth-century copy of the ***Sefer Nizzahon*** (The Book of Disputation) a polemical treatise written by Yom Tov Lippman Mühlhausen. On its last folio (page 193) in a coat of arms, there is a goose standing on a tripartite hill (Gans means goose in German), and around the goose it is written: ***[…] this Sefer Nizzahon, it is the word of Isaac bar Simhah Gansman***.[61]
- Israel Peles, who dealt with the Maharil and his circle in great detail, established that Isaac was a student of the Maharil.[62] His point of departure was a note by Juda Liva Kirchheim, namely, that three students of the Maharil recorded his customs. Peles, who published and annotated the work of Kirchheim, identifies one of these students with Isaac basing his statement on the above personal notes in the ***minhagim*** book of the Miscellany mentioned above and on the divorce letter.[63]

The same family name, Gansman, can be found in two other Ashkenazi manuscripts.[64] The earlier one is a fifteenth-century copy of David Kimhi's commentary on the Prophets. Based on the contents of the manuscript itself, its owner was a certain Simhah bar Isaac called Bonam Gansman from the town of Gundelsheim.[65] The other manuscript, an ethical work composed by Jedaiah ben Abraham Bedersi, a late thirteenth, early fourteenth-century south French scholar, was produced in Kolin in 1587 and it mentions Issachar bar Simhah Gansman twice in its colophons.[66]

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[61] Budapest, MTA, Kaufmann A 306, p. 140: זה ספר נצחון נאום יצחק ב"ר שמחה גנסמן.

[62] Israel Mordekhai Peles, "Yahasei Maharil we-talmidaw we-hashpaatam al ha-pesiqah ha-ashkenazit le-or meqorot hadashim" [The mutual relations of the Maharil and his disciples and their influence on Ashkenazi ruling in the light of new sources], MA thesis, Bar Ilan University, (Tel Aviv, 1999), 32 (hereafter Peles, Yahasei Maharil).

[63] ***Minhagot Wormzaya. Minhagim we-hagahot she-asaf we-hibber Rabbi Juda Liwa Kircheim*** [The Customs of Worms. Customs and Commentaries that were collected and composed by Rabbi Juda Liwa Kircheim], ed. Israel Peles (Jerusalem: Mifal Torat Hakhamei Ashkenaz, 1987), 17-18 n. 12; ***Germania Judaica***, ed. Arye Maimon (Tübingen: Mohr 1995), III/2, 798.

[64] According to the database of the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts.

[65] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Mich. 554; owner's inscription on fol.35a: אני שמחה בר יצחק שליט המכונה מק"ק גונדילשום ועתה מיושב בנהר אלטמויל בכפר אולימום **גנשמן** בונם.

[66] Vienna, ÖNB, Cod hebr. 79, fol. 56r: ***I wrote this book during summer in the sacred community of Kolin … on Wednesday,*** parashat ***"The Lord shall fight for you, and you shall hold your peace" in the year of [5]347, [that is 1587]…I Issachar ben Simhah blessed be his pious memory of the Gansman family*** (כתבתי זה הספר בזמן הקיץ בק"ק קעלין נשלום ביום ד' פרשת ה' יחלם לכם ואתם תחרישון בשנת יוסף ה' לנו ברכה ו'ש'ל'ו'ה' ... אני ישששכר בן לא"א שמחה זצ"ל איש גנשמן); and fol. 56v: …***[in] [5]347 [1587] according to the small counting, here [in] the sacred community of Kolin in the country of Bohemia, Issachar bar Simhah blessed be his memory, from the Gans-mann family from the land of Ashkenaz*** (שנת שמ"ז לפ"ק פה ק"ק קעלין במדינות פיהם ישששכר בר שמחה ז"ל איש **גנש מאן** ממדינת אשכנז).

While no further detail refers to his person directly, it is clear from the above-mentioned data that there are three contemporary figures who can be connected to him and through whom it is possible to roughly sketch his intellectual background. His master, the Maharil, that is, Jacob ben Moses ha-Levi Möllin, was probably the most important figure in Jewish intellectual life in Mainz in the first half of the fifteenth century. He was born in Mainz, the son of Rabbi Moses Möllin ben Yekutiel ha-Levi. After his studies in Austria, he returned to Mainz around 1390, became a rabbi and established a yeshivah.[67] He lived in Mainz until the death of his second wife, 1425, when he moved to Worms and died there. He was already considered a great halakhic authority in his lifetime. Through his numerous disciples he had a significant influence all through over Ashkenaz. During the Hussite wars, the Maharil was concerned about the fate of the Ashkenazi Jewry and the possible consequences of the war. Two of his letters which deal with the peril hovering over the heads of the Jews survived in the so-called ***Sefer Maharil*** written by one of his students, Zalman of Saint Goar. [68]

The second person, who can be connected to Isaac is this same Zalman of Goar. His full name was Rabbi Eleazar Zalman ben Jacob of Saint Goar. He was a student of the Maharil in Mainz, but around 1420, he went to Erfurt and studied with Rabbi Yom Tov Lipman Mühlhausen, presumably until the latter's death.[69]

The third person, who should be mentioned in connection with Isaac, is Yom Tov Lipman Mühlhausen. In his case, the connection is more indirect. Isaac presumably possessed a copy of Yom Tov's polemical treatise, the ***Sefer Nizzahon.*** Whether they knew each other personally or not cannot be demonstrated. Yom Tov Lipman

[67] Ludwig Falck, „Glanz und Elend," 38.

[68] On the Maharil, see Sidney Steinman, ***Custom and Survival: a Study of the Life and work of Rabbi Jacob Molin (Moelln) known as the Maharil (c.1360-1427), and his Influence in Establishing the Ashkenazic Minhag (Customs of German Jewry)*** (New York: Bloch, 1963); Israel Jacob Yuval, "Yehudim, Husitim we-germaniyim al pi ha-kroniqa 'gilgul benei husim'" [Jews, Hussites and Germans According to the Chronicle 'Gilgul benei husim']. ***Zion*** 54 (1989): 275-319; idem, ***Hakhamim be-doram***: ***ha-manhigut ha-ruhanit shel yehudei Germania be-shilhei yemei ha-benayim*** [Sages in the Time: The Spiritual Activities of the Jews of Germany at the End of the Middle Ages] (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1989), 273-319 (hereafter Yuval, ***Hakhamim***).

[69] Peles, "Yahasei Maharil," 19; idem, "Sefer Maharil al pi kitvei ha-yad ha-otografiyim shelo" [The Customs of the Maharil according to his autography manuscripts], Ph.D dissertation, Bar Ilan University (Tel Aviv, 2005), 2-3; Yuval, ***Hakhamim***, 97-114. Zalman was a descendant of Asher ha-Levi, a founding father of the Worms Jewish community so the legend goes; see Lucia Raspe, "Asher Halevi and the Founding of Jewish Worms: Genealogy, Liturgy, and Historiography in Medieval Ashkenaz," in ***Iggud: Selected Essays in Jewish Studies***, vol. 2, ed. Gershon Bacon (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 2009), 46*-47*.

Mühlhausen was a leading rabbinical authority in Bohemia in the first half of the fifteenth century. He was mainly active in Prague, where in 1407 he was appointed to *Judex Judeorum* although he also stayed in other towns in Bohemia, Poland, Austria and Germany.[70]

* * *

So, what do we know about Isaac? First, based on the contents of the manuscript itself, he was not only a scribe but also the owner of the Hamburg Miscellany.[71] His connections to the Maharil and Zalman of Saint Goar as well as the constant mention of Mainz in the Miscellany link him to this city. The functions of *hatan torah* and *hatan bereshit* were preserved for distinguished community members. Therefore it is plausible that Isaac and his family played a leading role in the Jewish community of Mainz.[72] The absence of commentaries or detailed instructions in the prayer book also indicate that this was a learned owner who knew exactly how to pray.[73] As the possession of the *Sefer Nizzahon* shows, he had also an interest in Jewish-Christian relations.

[70] Ephraim Talmage, ed., *Sefer ha-Nitzahon. Rabbi Yom Tov Lipman Milhoyzen* (Jerusalem: Merkaz Dinur, 1984), 12-16.
[71] Due to the fact that Jews did not have a system of professional scriptoria, it was not unusual among Jews of the medieval Europe to produce manuscripts for themselves; see Malachi Beit-Arie,
[72] Leon J. Weinberger, *Jewish Hymnography. A Literary History* (London: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1998), 181.
[73] Ezra Fleischer, "Prayer and Piyyut in the Worms Mahzor," in *Worms "Mahzor," MS. Jewish National and University Library Heb 4° 781/1*. Introductory Volume, ed. Malachi Beit-Arié (Vaduz and Jerusalem: Jewish National and University Library, 1985), 37 n. 5.

II. ICONOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS

The Hamburg Miscellany belonged to Isaac bar Simhah Gansman, a learned Jew from Mainz, who wanted it to be illustrated. What was his intention with the illumination of the codex? Generally speaking, the function of illumination within a prayer book is threefold: structural, aesthetic, and interpretative. Perhaps, the primary role is to reveal the structure of the book and make orientation within the text easier for the reader. Apart from this, the illumination makes the codex aesthetically valuable and represents the social status or standpoint of the patron. Last, but not least, the images serve as visual commentaries to the text.[74]

While certain miniatures in the Miscellany fulfill the function of aesthetic embellishment and structural marker, seem to carry important messages interpreting the written words they accompany. Through the analysis of its iconographical characteristics, I would like to see the degree to which the Miscellany's illustration program follows earlier traditions and brings new concepts and attitudes to Ashkenazi book illumination. To stick with the grammatical analogy I used in the introduction, this chapter will explore the visual "vocabulary" the artists used and recover the kinds of grammatical rules followed by the authorship in constructing "Jewish sentences" from this vocabulary.

II. 1. ROSH HA-SHANAH

Fol. 1r: Day of Judgment—Sacrifice of Isaac

The codex in its present form starts with an additional prayer (***Musaf***) for the New Year. Above the initial word ***Barukh*** (Blessed) of the ***Amidah*** prayer, the sacrifice of Isaac is depicted (fig. 104) in the center of the miniature. Abraham stands by the altar and approaches the neck of his son with a big knife who lies bound on the altar. An angel hovering on the sky above Abraham points toward a ram standing on the slopes of the hill. In the lower left corner another scene takes place simultaneously: an angel approaches leading Isaac by his hand. In the upper right corner, a

[74] Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, "The Image in the Text: Methodological Aspects of the Analysis of Illustrations and Their Relation to the Text," ***BJRUL*** 75 (1993): 25; David Stern, "'Jewish' Art and the Making of the Medieval Prayerbook," ***Ars Judaica*** 6 (2010): 41.

third angel hovers in the sky blowing a ***shofar*** and holding scales. A small black devil tries to pull down the left-hand pan of the scales. There is a soldier near the altar. He holds a spear and a scroll, and there is a badge on his chest. All the three angels have halos. The sky is covered by golden stars.

The depictions on the margin of the text and on the bottom of the page are in very bad condition. On the left margin, there is Sarah watching the sacrifice of Isaac. Behind her peeps out a hairy devil. At the bottom of the page are Abraham's two servants and a donkey. The servant in the right corner with an axe in his hand seems to be cutting down a tree. The other servant is hard to make out.

The theme of the Sacrifice of Isaac has been present in Jewish art from a very early date. It appears on the walls of the third-century synagogue in Dura Europos, on the mosaic floor of the fifth-century synagogue in Sepphoris, and on that of the sixth-century synagogue in Beth Alpha.[75] The motif also frequently occurs in medieval Jewish illuminated manuscripts and is depicted in liturgical, exegetical, and legal works alike.[76]

Although the event is not mentioned in the text of the Haggadah, traces of a relationship between the ***Aqedah*** and Passover can be detected, and it is included in the illustrative program of several Haggadot.[77] In Bibles, it decorates chapter 22 of Genesis

[75] The synagogue in Sepphoris was discovered only in 1993. For this reason earlier studies mention only Beit Alpha and Dura Europos. For Sepphoris, see Zeev Wiess and Ehud Netzer, ***Promise and Redemption: A Synagogue Mosaic from Sepphoris*** (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1996); for a recent study of the iconography, see Edward Kessler, "The Sacrifice of Isaac (Akedah) in Christian and Jewish Tradition: Artistic Representations," in ***Borders, Boundaries and the Bible***, ed. Martin O'Kane (New York: Sheffield Academy Press, 2002), 74-98 (hereafter Kessler, "The Sacrifice of Isaac").

[76] Joseph Gutmann collected twenty-seven illustrations dating from the thirteenth until the fifteenth century, most of them from Ashkenaz; Joseph Gutmann, "The Sacrifice of Isaac in Medieval Jewish Art," ***Artibus et Historiae*** 8, no. 16 (1987): 68. The collection is not complete. It does not contain, for example, the ***Aqedah***-scene in a Southern French Gershonides' Torah commentary (London, BL Add. 14759; Avignon, 1429, fol. 1v).

[77] Birds' Head Haggadah (Jerusalem, IM, MS 180/57, fol. 15), Second Nuremberg Haggadah Jerusalem, Schocken Library, MS 24087; fol. 31r), Yahuda Haggadah (Jerusalem, IM, MS 180/50, fol. 30r), Golden Haggadah (fol. 4v), Sarajevo Haggadah (Sarajevo, National Museum, fols. 7v-8r). According to Yael Zirlin, the depiction of the scene derives from the mention of the three patriarchs in the text of the Haggadah; while Shlomo Spiegel argues for a deep and ancient connection between the ***Aqedah*** and the feast of Passover. See Yael Zirlin, "The Schocken Italian Haggadah of c.1400 and Its Origins," ***Jewish Art*** 12-13 (1986/87): 66; Shlomo Spiegel, ***The Last Trial: on the Legends and Lore of the Command to Abraham to Offer Isaac as a Sacrifice: the Akedah*** (New York: Pantheon Books, 1967), 51-59 (hereafter, Spiegel, ***Last Trial***). On the relationship between Pesah and the ***Aqedah***, see Kessler, "The Sacrifice of Isaac," 86. For the ***Aqedah*** in the liturgy of Pesah, and in Jewish liturgy in general, see Frédéric Manns, "The Binding of Isaac in Jewish Liturgy," in ***The Sacrifice of Isaac in the Three Monotheistic Religions.*** Proceedings of a symposium on the interpretation of the Scriptures held in Jerusalem, March 16-17, 1995, ed. Frédéric Manns (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1995), 59-67.

Fig. 104. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 1: Sacrifice of Isaac and the Day of Judgment

or the beginning of the Book of Leviticus representing the perfect sacrifice.[78] Most of the time, the representation of the Sacrifice of Isaac is placed in the feast of the New Year in prayer books which are in this case mainly Ashkenazi festival prayer books (*mahzorim*).[79]

By the medieval period, the biblical scene was increasingly linked to Rosh Ha-Shanah (New Year). According to rabbinical tradition, the sacrifice took place during Rosh Ha-Shanah.[80] In addition, the ***shofar***, which is blown during the festival, symbolizes the horn of the very ram offered as a substitute for Isaac.[81] Since the festival of New Year is considered to be a day of judgment, when God measures the deeds of men, the sound of this ***shofar*** is intended to remind God of the great sacrifice that Abraham was prepared to make and to persuade Him to forgive the Patriarch's descendants because of his obedience.[82] This connection is reflected in the relevant liturgical texts: the biblical reading for the second day of Rosh Ha-Shanah is the Sacrifice of Isaac and prayers and liturgical poems mention the Sacrifice several times.[83] It

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[78]Leviticus Rabbah 2:11:

> The Sages said: When Abraham, our father, bound Isaac his son, the Holy One, blessed be He, instituted the sacrifice of two he-lambs, one in the morning and one in the evening. Why did He do this?—When Israel offers up the daily sacrifices on the altar, and read this verse, viz. ***'Zafonah before the Lord'*** the Holy One, blessed be He, remembers the binding of Isaac, as it is said, 'Zafonah before the Lord'

Translation is from , ***The Midrash Rabbah. Translated into English with notes, glossary and indices under the editorship of H. Freedman and Maurice Simon***, volume 2: Exodus. Leviticus [London: Soncino Press, 1977], 31.

[79] There are some exceptions: In the Heilbronn Mahzor (Budapest, MTA, Kaufmann Collection, MS A 387, fol. 403v), the scene is connected to the feast of Yom Kippur (the Day of Atonement), and in a late thirteenth-century collection of liturgical texts (New York, JTS, MS 8972, fol. 121r), it is related to Shavuot (The Feast of Weeks). The appearance of the scene at these festivals is due to the fact that the ***Aqedah*** is mentioned in the afternoon prayer for Yom Kippur, as well as in a liturgical poem for Shavuot. See Gutmann, "The Sacrifice of Isaac," 75.

[80] Louis Ginzburg, ***The Legends of the Jews***, vols. 1-7 (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1998), V, 252 n. 248.

[81] ***Midrash Tanhuma***, Wayyira 23. According to another tradition, "The horn of the ram of the left side (was the one) wherein He blew upon Mount Sinai… (The horn) of the right side, which is larger that that of the left, is destined in the future to be sounded in the world that is to come…" (***PRE*** 31).

[82] The significance of Abraham's sacrifice at the divine judgment is excellently formulated in the ***Midrash Tanhuma***: "[Abraham:] 'Thou, when the children of Isaac commit trespasses and because of them fall upon evil times, be mindful of the offering of their father Isaac, and forgive their sins and deliver them from their suffering.' God: 'Thou hast said what thou hadst to say, and I will now say what I have to say. Thy children will sin before me in time to come, and I will sit in judgment upon them on the New Year's Day. If they desire that I should grant them pardon, they shall blow the ram's horn on that day, and I, mindful of the ram that was substituted for Isaac as a sacrifice, will forgive them for their sins.'" ***Midrash Tanhuma***, Wayyira 23. The translation is from Ginzberg, ***The Legends of the Jews***, I, 248-249.

[83] The ***zikhronot*** of the additional prayer for the feast, for instance, says, "Our God and God of our fathers, let us be remembered by thee for good: grant us a visitation of salvation and mercy from thy heavens, the heavens of old; and remember unto us, O Lord our God, the covenant and the loving kindness and the oath which thou swearest unto Abraham our father on Mount Moriah: and may the binding with which Abraham our father bound his son Isaac on the altar appear before thee." Trans. From S. Singer, ed., ***The Standard Prayer Book. Authorized English Translation*** (New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1915), 368.

comes as no surprise, then, that in medieval illuminated *mahzorim*, the representation of the Sacrifice of Isaac usually illustrates liturgical texts for Rosh Ha-Shanah.

Gabrielle Sed-Rajna divided the medieval representations of the *Aqedah* into three categories.[84] The images of the first category do not depict a narrative scene, only the main symbolic motifs of the *Aqedah*, such as the shofar or the ram. These images can be found mainly in thirteenth-fourteenth-century Ashkenazi prayer books, in the margins of the liturgical texts for the New Year. Sed-Rajna does not mention any examples, but the decoration of a *piyyut* for the New Year in the Leipzig Mahzor fits her definition (fol. 26v).[85] The second category contains the narrative sequences that visualize the story scene by scene. Such narrative cycles can be found in Haggadot produced in Sepharad, such as the Sarajevo or the Golden Haggadah. The representations belonging to the third category unify several important elements into one single narrative depiction "with a doctrinal or symbolic purpose" (e.g., Laud Mahzor, fol. 184r).[86]

The miniature of the Hamburg Miscellany certainly fits in the third category. The composition of the miniature is compound. The two main characters of the *Aqedah*, Abraham and Isaac, are placed in the middle of the composition. Abraham is about to cut Isaac's throat with a large knife. The depiction of the instrument which Abraham uses for the sacrifice varies in Jewish miniatures. Usually, it is depicted as a knife, but sometimes it appears as a sword. The former tradition is based on Rashi's commentary on Gen. 22:6 where he interprets *maakhelet*, the word used in the biblical text for knife (*sakin*). The latter tradition shows the influence of Chrisitan iconographical tradition, which is based on the Vulgata. In it, *maakhelet* is translated as *gladius*, that is, sword.[87] On folio 31r of the Miscellany, the high priest uses the same kind of knife for offering the lamb in the Temple. The movements of Abraham and those of the high priest are also very similar: Abraham, just as the high priest, holds the knife in his right hand, and

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On the interpretations of the Aqedah in rabbinical literature, see W. J. van Bekkum, "The Aqedah and Its Interpretations in Midrash and Piyyut," in *The Sacrifice of Isaac: the Aqedah (Genesis 22) and Its Interpretations*, ed. Ed Noort and Eibert Tigchelaar (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 86-95.

[84] Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, *The Hebraic Bible in Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts* (Tel Aviv: Steimatzky, 1987), 34-35.

[85] Leipzig Mahzor, Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS V. 1102.

[86] Laud Mahzor, Oxford, Boldeian Library, MS Laud Or. 321.

[87] Some Hebrew sources such as the Pirkei de Rabbi Eliezer also use the word *herev* meaning sword or blade, probably referring metaphorically to the blade of the knife. In a number of Jewish depictions, a sword is shown instead of a knife; see, for example, Kaufmann Mishneh Torah (fol. 81r), Birds' Head Haggadah (fol. 15v), Leipzig Mahzor (fol. 66r), Wroclaw Mahzor (fol. 46v).

touches the victim's head with his left.[88] The motif of placing one hand on the sacrifice victim's head is based on the biblical text describing the proper way to offer a burnt offering, "You shall lay your hand on the head of the burnt-offering, and it shall be acceptable in your behalf as atonement for you" (Lev. 1:4).[89] Above Abraham and Isaac, in the middle of the upper register, an angel hovers pointing with his right hand to the ram on the slope of the hill.[90] There is a less usual element in the miniature of the Miscellany. While in most of the depictions of the scene, Abraham turns away from Isaac towards the angel who arrives just in time to prevent the sacrifice (e.g. Leipzig Mahzor, fol.66r; Wroclaw Mahzor, fol. 46v),[91] in the Miscellany, he looks towards the soldier on the right side of the composition. Is he aware of the angel? Is he going to go through with the sacrifice?

Isaac is usually represented lying on his back, kneeling on the altar, bending over on all fours, or more rarely, kneeling on or in front of the altar praying. By showing him on all fours, as, for example, in the Birds' Head Haggadah (fol. 15v, fig. 106) or in the Regensburg Pentateuch (fol. 18v),[92] the artist emphasized the parallel between him and a sacrificial animal. This parallel is even more conspicuous in a fourteenth-century Ashkenazi Pentateuch, in which Isaac is lying on his back, but his legs and hands are tied separately, and stick up in

Fig. 105. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 1r: Isaac upon the altar

[88] Abraham was considered a priest, see BR 55:7: R. Judah said: He [Abraham] said to Him: "Sovereign of the Universe! Can there be a sacrifice without a priest?" "I have already appointed thee to be a priest," replied the Holy One, blessed be He: thus it is written, "Thou art a priest for ever" (Ps. 110:4). Translation is from *Midrash Rabbah. Genesis* vol. 1, trans. H. Freedman and Maurice Simon (London: Soncino, 1951), 488.

[89] The motif of Abraham placing his hand on the head of Isaac can be found in most of the Jewish representations. Sometimes, Abraham touches the head of Isaac and sometimes covers his eyes. In an early fourteenth-century Pentateuch, instead of a gentle gesture, Abraham grasps Isaac's hair roughly (Hamburg SUB, Cod. Levy 19, fol. 34v). The Golden Haggadah is one of the few exceptions where this gesture is missing (fol. 4v).

[90] The appearance of an angel in this scene is based on the biblical text which attributes the intervention to an angel of God (Gen.22:11). Post-biblical sources specify which angel carried out the order of God. See for example, *Pesiqta Rabbati*: "When the angels saw lifting his hand to slaughter his son, they started to weep, and said, 'The knife is right at his neck; how long are you going to wait?' The Holy One Blessed be He immediately said to Michael, 'Why are you standing around? Don't allow him.' Michael at once began to call him." (*Pesiqta Rabbati* 40:8).

[91] Wroclaw Mahzor, Wroclaw University Library, MS M. 1106.

[92] Birds' Head Haggadah, Jerusalem, IM, MS 180/57; Regensburg Pentateuch, Jerusalem, IM, MS 180/52.

the air (fig. 107).[93] In the latter example, the emphasis on Isaac as sacrificial animal can be explained by the place of the illustration within the manuscript: it decorates the beginning of the Book of Leviticus, which opens with a discussion of how to sacrifice burnt offerings, of which Isaac is the ultimate example. The kneeling and praying Isaac, on the other hand, emphasizes his active role and his heroic self-sacrifice. Although in the Hamburg Miscellany, Isaac is lying on an altar upon a pile of wood with his hands bound, he does not resemble a sacrificial animal, but is portrayed instead as a human victim fully conscious of what is about to happen and ready to endure death (fig. 105).[94] His sad but steadfast gaze is fixed on an angel holding a set of scales to which a tiny, hairy devil clings.

Fig. 106. Birds' Head Haggadah, fol. 15v: Isaac upon the altar
Fig. 107. Pentateuch, Oxford, BL, MS Opp. 14, fol. 120r: Isaac upon the altar

[93] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Opp. 14, fol. 120r.
[94] He is depicted in a similar position, for example, in the Hammelburg Mahzor (Hessische Lands- und Hochschulbibliothek, Cod. Or. 13, fol. 202v) and in the Heilbronn Mahzor (Budapest, MTA, Kaufmann Collection, MS A 387, fol. 403v).
The martyrological aspect of the scene is present in Christian depictions as well. While early Christian depictions show Isaac in various positions: mostly kneeling on the altar, often with Abraham pushing him down (Morgan Picture Bible, fol. 3r, Paris 1240s), or lying bound on it (Klosterneuburg Altarpiece by Nicholas of Verdun, 1181), in the fifteenth century, another type became widespread in Western Europe: Isaac kneeling in front of the altar with folded hands praying. This position is reminiscent of representations of Christian martyrs praying before their execution. The motif appears in some Jewish depictions as well such as in the Kaufmann Mishneh Torah, in the Leipzig Mahzor, and in the Gersonides' Torah commentary of Avignon (London, BL, MS Add. 14759, fol. 1v).

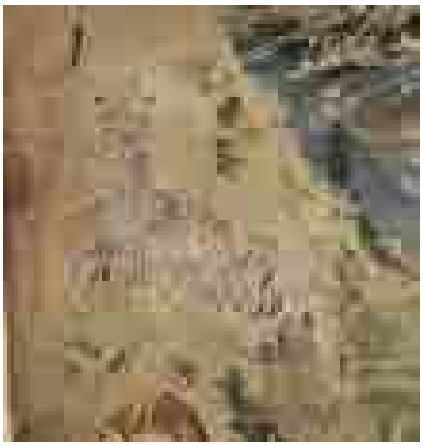

Fig. 108. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 1r: Ram
Fig. 109. Golden Haggadah, fol. 4v: Ram
Fig. 110. Deutsche Historienbibel, Vienna, ÖNB, cod. 2774, fol. 21v: Ram

The protagonists of the scene seem not to notice the ram, the substitute for Isaac, depicted in the upper left corner of the miniature (fig. 108). It stands on the hill, and turns its head towards a second angel, whose task is to intercept Abraham, and to prevent the sacrifice. This part of the folio, which has suffered severe losses of pigment from abrasion, is in a very poor condition; neither the horns of the ram, nor the bush is visible. In all other Jewish images of the *Aqedah* known to me, the ram is depicted with its horns caught in a bush or a tree, and it might have been shown in the Miscellany in the same way. Nevertheless, because in Christian typology, the ram caught in the bush symbolizes the Crucifixion, and accordingly, in Christian representations this parallel is emphasized, one cannot exclude the possibility that the painter intentionally omitted the motif and depicted the ram simply standing on the slope.[95]

[95] The Sacrifice of Isaac is a central event in Christian typological thinking. The idea, that the Sacrifice of Isaac is a prefiguration of the Crucifixion and the Redemption was already present in early Christian literature (see, for instance, a fragment from a "catena in Genesin" taken from Melito of Sardis: *Excerptorum libri sex*, Migne PG 5, 1216). In typological compendia such as the late thirteenth-century *Biblia Pauperum* and the early fourteenth-century *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, the archetypical connection between the two events is also represented in a visual way.

> According to Genesis xxii, when Abraham and Isaac went on together Abraham carried a sword and the fire: it was Isaac who carried the pieces of wood by which he was himself to be sacrificed. This Isaac who carried the wood signifies Christ who on his own body carried the wood of the cross on which he wanted to be sacrificed for us.
> (Legitur in genesi [xxii] capitulo quod cum Abraham et Isaac pergerunt simul Abraham portavit gladium et ignem Isaac vero ligna portabat per quam ipse immolari debuit: iste Isaac qui lignum portavit Christum significant qui lignum crucis in quo pro nobis immolari voluit)… …According to Genesis xxi, when Abraham had raised his sword to sacrifice his son, an angel of the Lord prevented him from heaven, saying: 'Do not lift your hand against the boy.' Abraham signifies the heavenly Father, who

Beneath the ram, in the lower right corner a third angel stands holding the hand of a small boy dressed in a red garment similar to the one worn by Isaac on the altar (fig. 111). This motif has its basis in the *midrash*. According to several *midrashim,* Abraham inflicted a wound upon Isaac, and in other versions, he actually killed his son, who was then carried by an angel to Paradise where he remained for three years. [96] Similarly, Isaac is slaughtered in the poem composed by Ephraim ben Jacob of Bonn about the *Aqedah*:

> He [Abraham] made haste, he pinned him down with his knees,
> He made his two arms strong.
> With steady hands he slaughtered him according to the rite,
> Full right was the slaughter.[97]

The miniature also recalls the *Amidah* prayer, specifically, the second benediction in which God is praised as the reviver of the dead.[98] The small boy in the Hamburg Miscellany thus

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sacrificed his son [that is, Christ] on the cross for us all, so that in this way he might give an indication of the Father's love.

(Legitur in genesi xxii capitulo cum Abraham gladium extendisset ut filium immolaret angelus domini ipsum de caelo prohibuit: dicens ne extendas manum tuam super puerum Abraham patrem celestem significant qui filium sum scilicet Cristum pro nobis omnibus in cruce immolavit ut per hoc innueret signum amoris paterni). (Latin text and translation from Henry Avril ed., ***Biblia Pauperum: A Facsimile and Edition*** [Adlershot: Scolar Press, 1987], 95, 98, 156.)

For a detailed description of the typological identification, see Isabel Speyart van Woerden, "The Iconography of the Sacrifice of Abraham," ***Vigiliae Christianae*** 15, no. 4 (1961): 251-252, Appendix A. For the different attitudes of the Jews and Christians to the ***Aqedah,*** see Robin M. Jensen, "The Binding or Sacrifice of Isaac: How Jews and Christians See Differently," ***Bible Review*** 9, no. 5 (1993): 42-52.

In spite of its Christological connotation, the ram is often depicted in Jewish manuscripts caught hanging in the bush or sometimes tree. In the Golden Haggadah, the ram hanging vertically on a tree occupies the middle of the composition and is reminiscent of those Christian representations where the typological connection between the ram and Christ on the Cross is emphasized by the former's position (fol. 4v, fig. 109). See, for example: ***Biblia Pauperum*** (Vienna, ÖNB, cod. 1198, fol. 6v), ***Deutsche Historienbibel*** (Vienna, ÖNB, cod. 2774, fol. 21v, fig. 110).

[96] For sources speaking about the wounded Isaac see Yalkut Shimoni 101, ***Midrash ha-Gadol*** (on Gen. 22:19), ***Hadar Zekenim*** 10b, in ***Beth ha-Midrash***, ed. Jellinek, V, 157; ***Minhat Jehudah***, Toledot, Gen. 25:27; ***Midrash Tanhuma,*** Wayyira 23. The ***Shibbolei ha-Leket*** (9a-b) goes further and says that "When Father Isaac was bound on the altar and reduced to ashes and his sacrificial dust was cast on to Mount Moriah, the Holy One Blessed be He, immediately brought upon him dew and revived him." Abraham ibn Ezra commented on the legend according to which Abraham slaughtered Isaac saying whoever asserts this "is speaking contrary to Writ" (ibn Ezra's commentary on Gen. 22:19). Shalom Spiegel, interpreting this source, says that the text does not state that Abraham committed the sacrifice and by this transgressed the divine commandment, "Lay not your hand on the lad," but the flames of the fire on the altar consumed him (see idem, ***The Last Trial***, 35-37).

[97] Translation from Spiegel, ***Last Trial***, 148.

[98] The concept of the resurrection also occurs in those ***midrashim*** that do not refer to Abraham hurting or killing Isaac. The ***PRE*** puts the second benediction of the ***Amidah*** into the mouth of Isaac: "Rabbi Jehudah said: when the blade touched his neck, the soul of Isaac fled and departed, [but] when he heard his voice from between the two Cherubim, saying [to Abraham] 'Lay not thine hand upon the lad' his soul returned to his body, and [Abraham] set him free, and Isaac stood upon his feet. And Isaac knew that in this manner the dead in the future will be quickened. He opened [his mouth], and said: Blessed art thou, O Lord, who quickeneth the dead." ***PRE*** 31, translation is from ***Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer (the chapters of Rabbi Eliezer the Great) according to the text of the manuscript belonging to Abraham Epstein of Vienna***, introduction and translation by Gerald Friedlander (New York: Hermon Press, 1970),

represents the resurrected Isaac returning from the Garden of Eden. The image, which takes a counter-scriptural turn, suggests that Isaac did indeed die on Mount Moriah.[99]




Fig. 111. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 1r: Isaac and an angel
Fig. 112. Second Nuremberg Haggadah, fol. 31v: Isaac
Fig. 113. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 1r: Sarah and Satan
Fig. 114. Second Nuremberg Haggadah, fol. 31v: Sarah and Satan

Further characters mentioned in the *Aqedah* are also represented on the leaf. Abraham's two servants and the donkey are shown in the lower margin, and his wife, Sarah, in the outer one. Sarah plays no part in the biblical narrative, but is featured in *midrashim*. Having been unable to stop the sacrifice, Satan approached her and told her about Isaac's impending death. Hearing these horrible news, Sarah dropped dead.[100] In the Miscellany, she is depicted with her hands folded together in prayer, gazing up towards the sacrifice (fig. 113). This iconography is very rare. Sarah is portrayed in only one other extant medieval representation of the *Aqedah*: the

228. See also *Yalkut Shimoni* Bereshit 101, *MhG* on Gen. 22:12. On the different versions, see Spiegel, *The Last Trial*, 28-37.

[99] There is only one other depiction of Isaac's return from Paradise found in the Second Nuremberg Haggadah (Jerusalem, Schocken Institute, MS 24087, fol. 31v, fig. 112). The representation of the latter, however, follows another midrashic tradition and portrays Isaac as an adult approaching Rebecca upside down, the way the dead walk, that is, head down and feet up. See *Panaeah Raza* by Rabbi Isaac bar Judah ha-Levi (Tarnapol, 1813) 29a; *Minhat Jehudah* by Judah bar Eliezer on Gen. 24:64. See Shalom Spiegel, *The Last Trial*, 6 n. 14. On the depiction in the Second Nuremberg Haggadah, see Katrin Kogman-Appel, *Die Zweite Nürnberger und die Yehuda Haggada* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1999), 71-73.

[100] *PRE* 32, *Midrash Tanhuma*, Wayyira 23.

Regensburg Pentateuch (fol. 18v, fig. 114).[101] There, she is carried by a giant monster (representing Satan), who lifts her up so she can witness the death of her son.[102] Although only traces of paint remain on the badly damaged miniature, the devil also appears in the Hamburg Miscellany where he peers out from behind Sarah.

Fig. 115. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 1r: The donkey and the servants

The lower margin representing the foot of the mountain is occupied by a donkey and Abraham's two servants (fig. 115).[103] The servant in the right corner with an axe in his hand seems to be chopping down a tree with a hatchet. Behind him the ass lowers its head and finally, the other servant follows the ass. While the servant as well as the ass are barely visible, other depictions can help in their reconstruction. The servant holds something in his hand, perhaps an instrument to prod the donkey, as in the Wroclaw Mahzor. The donkey carries a pair of faggots just as in the Hammelburg (fol. 202v) and in the Wroclaw Mahzor (fol. 46v, fig. 116). Some of the sticks shown tied to its back are still visible. The large size and the central position of the animal recall

[101] For the depiction of Sarah and Satan at the Sacrifice of Isaac see Michal Sternthal, "Humash Regensburg—Humash Ashkenazi meuyyar—Jerusalaim, Muzeon Yisra'el ktav yad 180/52" [The Regensburg Bible—An illuminated Ashkenazi Bible—Jerusalem, Israel Museum ms 180/52], M.A. Thesis (Jerusalem, 2008), 8-10. In the wall painting from Dura Europos, a figure stands in the opening of a tent in the background of the *Aqedah*. The identification of this figure is debated. Erwin Goodenough interpreted the figure as Sarah, but since the figure wears a male garment, his assumption is unlikely (see idem, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-roman Period*, vol. 9 [New York: Pantheon Books, 1964], 72). For the various theories concerning the identity of the figure, see Kessler, "The Sacrifice of Isaac," 90; Louis Arthur Berman, *The Akedah: the Binding of Isaac* (Northvale, N.J. Jason Aronson, 1997), 219.
There are three early Christian representations of the *Aqedah* in which Sarah appears. Sarah stands next to Isaac under a tree in the frescoes of the fourth century C.E. necropolis of El Bagawat. In addition, there are two early Christian sarcophagi on which Sarah is depicted in the *Aqedah*. For the Christian depictions of Sarah at the Sacrifice of Isaac, see Michal Sternthal, "Humash Regensburg," 9-10 n. 50.

[102] This representation is based on another source according to which Satan lifts Sarah up so she can see the sacrifice. Joseph Gutmann identified this source with a legend recorded in an Ashkenazi bible commentary written in 1233 probably in Würzburg (Munich BSB, cod. hebr. 5/I, fol. 18v), see idem, "The Sacrifice of Isaac," 80.

[103] A similar arrangement of the servants on the lower register of the depiction can be found in the Avignon Torah commentary, but the servants there are not working but having a rest (London, BL, MS Add. 14759, fol. 1v).

its eschatological significance. According to the *Pirkei de Rabbi Eliezer*, the donkey on which Abraham rode to Moriah was the same one on which Moses and his family went down to Egypt and on which the Messiah will ride.[104] The donkey thus establishes a "bridge" between central events of the biblical past and the eschatological future, between the *Aqedah*, the Exodus, and the coming of the Messiah—events that speak of redemption. This "bridge" has been incorporated in the illustrative program of the Miscellany: the *Aqedah* scene (fol. 1r) and the Coming of the Messiah in the Haggadah (fol. 35v) are linked by the donkey, which occupies a central place in both compositions.[105]

All the characters discussed above are connected to the *Aqedah* narrative. There is, however, another group on the right side of the main composition without a direct relationship with the biblical narrative: the angel blowing a *shofar* and holding a balance with a small devil hanging on its left pan, and the soldier situated directly beneath them. Thanks to his attributes, the scales and the *shofar*, the angel can be easily identified as an assistant on the Day of Judgment. The scales, on which the deeds of men are weighed, are the essential equipment of the divine judgment. The blowing of the *shofar*, made from the horn of the ram substituted for Isaac, as mentioned above, reminds God of the *Aqedah*, and prompts Him to forgive the sins of Israel. Therefore, it is blown at New Year, when the deeds of man are measured just as in the End of Days, during the Last Judgment.

Fig. 116. Wroclaw Mahzor, fol. 46v: The donkey and a servant

[104] *PRE* 31.

[105] On the donkey in Ashkenazi images of the Coming of the Messiah, see Anat Kutner, "Hamoro shel Meshiah: te'urei Meshiah rokhev al hamoro ba-kitvei yad 'Ashkenaziim biyemei ha-benayim" [The Messiah's Ass: Representations of the Messiah Riding on His Donkey in Medieval Ashkenazi Manuscripts] (M.A. Thesis, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2003), 47-50 (hereafter Kutner, "Hamoro shel ha-Meshiah"). On the visual expression of the donkey's eschatological significance in Sephardi Haggadot, see Epstein, "Another flight into Egypt: Confluence, Coincidence, the Cross-Cultural Dialectics of Messianism and Iconographic Appropriation in Medieval Jewish and Christian Culture," in *Imagining the Self, Imagining the Other,* ed. Eva Frojmovic, (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 48-50 and idem, *Medieval Haggadah*, 262-264.

The motif of blowing the ***shofar*** appears in several Ashkenazi ***Aqedah*** representations, such as in two Mahzorim produced in Southern Germany in the first half of the fourteenth century as well as at the beginning of a ***piyyut*** for the first day of Rosh Ha-Shanah in the Leipzig Mahzor, where the ***Aqedah*** itself is not represented, only the ram caught in an apple-tree and a man blowing a ***shofar*** (Davidson 1529מ, fol. 26v, fig. 117).[106] However, in these miniatures, the ***shofar*** is not blown by an angel but by a man. The two visual motifs have different connotations: when the ***shofar*** is blown by a man, it recalls first and foremost of the festival of the New Year, and creates a connection between the biblical story and the contemporary feast that is beautifully formulated in the ***Midrash Tanhuma***:

Fig. 117. Leipzig Mahzor, fol. 26v: Man with shofar

> [Abraham:] "Thou, when the children of Isaac commit trespasses and because of them fall upon evil times, be mindful of the offering of their father Isaac, and forgive their sins and deliver them from their suffering." God: "Thou hast said what thou hadst to say, and I will now say what I have to say. Thy children will sin before me in time to come, and I will sit in judgment upon them on the New Year's Day. If they desire that I should grant them pardon, they shall blow the ram's horn on that day, and I, mindful of the ram that was substituted for Isaac as a sacrifice, will forgive them for their sins."[107]

The ***minhagim*** book at the end of the Miscellany refers to the same concept (fols. 191v-192r):

> …God said to Israel, my sons, [when] you are standing in front of me to be judged, remind me of the sacrifice of Isaac so that you are remembered as worthy people. And how shall you remind me of his sacrifice? With the shofar of a ram…[108] [own translation]

When the shofar is blown by an angel, the connotation is different: it alludes to the connection between biblical and the eschatological events, that is, the Last Judgment and not

[106] Ashkenazi Mahzor, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Reggio 1 (fol. 159v), Ashkenazi mahzor, Oxford, Boldeian Library, MS Can. 140 (fol. 35v; Davidson 1529 מ). In the Leipzig Mahzor, the ***Aqedah*** itself is not represented, only the ram caught in an apple-tree and a man blowing a shofar. Anat Kutner remarks that the first representation of a figure blowing a shofar while riding on a donkey is one from the latter Mahzor, and she considers it as a forerunner of the depictions of the Messianic rider blowing a shofar in fifteenth-century Ashkenazi Haggadot. See Kutner, "Hamoro shel ha-Meshiah," 48-49.

[107] ***Midrash Tanhuma***, Wayyira 23. The translation is from Ginzberg, ***Legends of the Jews***, I, 248-249.

[108] Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 192r: יצחק כדי שיעלה שאמ' הקב"ה לישראל בניי אתם עומ' לפניי לדין תזכרו לפני עקיד' זכרונכם לטובה וכמה תזכרו עקידתו בשופר של איל...

simply the annual day of judgment. An angelic agent blowing a wind instrument as a sign of divine presence and more specifically divine judgment is a wide-spread concept in Christian thought, but not so much in Jewish thought. It appears at several *loci* in the New Testament, and it is a standard motif of Christian representations of the Day of Judgment.[109] Thus, the angel blowing a shofar on the miniature of the Miscellany might have been taken from Christian visual representations.

Fig. 118. Worms Mahzor, fol. 1v: Scales, detail of the initial-word panel at the beginning of *Shabbat Sheqalim*

Another reference to the final Day of Judgment is the motif of the scales with the devil pulling down one of its pans. While for Christians, the balance was an attribute of the Archangel Michael who measures the souls on the Last Judgment, in Jewish art it became the main element

[109] It is important to differentiate between the horn (Vulgata: ***bucina***, TM: שופר) and trumpet (Vulgata: ***tuba***, TM: חצוצרה). In the context of divine judgment, he Hebrew Bible speaks about a horn/shofar to be blown on Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur, while the New Testament speaks about trumpets/***tubae*** and not horns/shofars blown on the Day of Judgment (Matth. 24:31, Rev. 8-10). From a visual point of view, the main difference between them is that the shofar/horn has a crooked shape, while trumpet is straight and longish. In depictions of the Last Judgment, angels usually blow longish, straight instruments, which can be identified with trumpets rather than shofars; see, for example, Queen Mary Psalter (London BL, Royal 2 B VII, fol. 302v), a fourteenth-century ***Speculum Humanae Salvationis*** (Vienna, ÖNB cod. s. n. 2612), and Dubois Hours (London, BL, MS Yates Thompson 3, fol. 32v). Shorter, curved instruments, which may be identified with shofars, also appear in scenes of the Last Judgment; for example in a late fifteenth-century Dutch prayer book (London, BL, Harley 2943, fol. 112v). Many times however, the wind instruments are longish with curved end, and in these cases they cannot be identified unambiguously.
Jewish illustrations related to Rosh ha-Shanah, always portray shofar. Trumpets appear for instanced in depictions of the Temple instruments in Sephardi Hebrew Bible manuscripts (e.g., Duke of Sussex's Catalan Bible, London, BL, Add. 15250, fol. 4r).

of the iconography of *Shabbat Sheqalim*. This Shabbat, the one immediately preceding the month of Adar, commemorates the custom according to which, on the first of Adar, Jews were required to pay half a *sheqel* towards the upkeep of the Tabernacle/Temple as ransom for their souls.[110] In the Worms Mahzor (fol. 1v, fig. 118), the pans of the scales are labeled "*sheqel*" (left pan) and "Israel" (right pan), and by the left pan there is a lion-like monster, probably fulfilling the same mission as the hairy devil in the Miscellany: to degrade the merits of Israel.[111]

The motif of the scales decorates the initial-word panel for a *piyyut* for the first day of the New Year in a fourteenth-century German Mahzor. The left pan of the scales is labeled guilt (*hovot*).[112] Moreover, the zodiac sign for the first month of the Jewish calendar, Tishri, or the scales. For the motif of the balance, therefore, the authorship did not have to draw directly from Christian tradition, but could use an already existing Jewish iconographical element. However, the placement of the scales in the hand of an angel who is blowing a shofar, recalls the Christian context of the motif: Michael Archangel and Christian depictions of the Last Judgment.

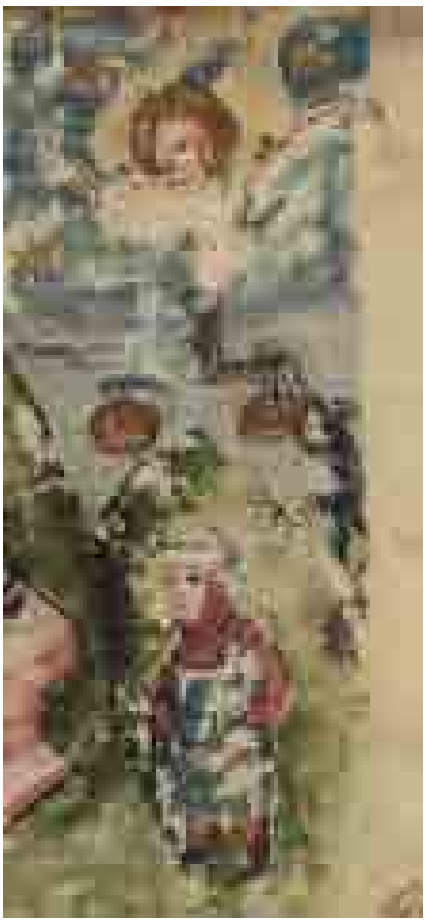

Fig. 119. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 1r: The accuser at the Day of Judgment

Beneath the angel and the devil, a soldier stands holding a spear and a scroll in his hands. He wears a heraldic badge with traces of a spread eagle on his garment (fig. 119). Scholarly opinions are divided about his identity. According to Kurt Schubert, he may be Eliezer, the servant of Abraham, or, more probably, his firstborn son, Ishmael. The suggestion

[110] The motif appears, for instance, in the Worms (Jerusalem, JNUL, Ms Heb. 4°781/I, fol. 1v) and in the Leipzig Mahzor (Leipzig, University Library, Ms. V. 1102/I-II, fol. 31v). On the iconography of the miniature in the Leipzig Mahzor, see Katrin Kogman-Appel, "The Scales in the Leipzig Mahzor. Penance and Eschatology in Early Fourteenth-Century Germany," in *Between Judaism and Christianity. Art Historical Essays in Honor of Elisheva (Elisabeth) Revel-Neher*, ed. eadem and Mati Meyer (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2009), 307-318.

[111] A similar small devil appears hanging from the left pan of the scales held by the divine hand in the early fourteenth-century Ashkenazi Reggio Mahzor (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Reggio 1; in a historiated initial-word panel of a *piyyut* for the morning service of the second day of Rosh ha-Shanah on fol. 207v).

[112] (Davidson 1529מ; Mahzor, Vienna, ÖNB, cod. hebr. 174, fol. 1v).

that the figure is Ishmael is based on the rabbinical story of a debate between the two brothers over the rights of the firstborn, mentioned in several post-biblical sources.[113] In the Talmudic version of the story, Ishmael boasted to Isaac saying that he was circumcised when he was thirteen years old, and although at this age he could have protested against the ritual, he did not do so because he was willing to accept God's commandment. Isaac replied, "Were the Holy One, blessed be He, to say unto me, Sacrifice thyself before Me, I would obey." Immediately after this conversation, God asked Abraham to offer up his son, Isaac. [114] In light of this tradition, Schubert interpreted the scroll in the figure's hand as a testament or written proof that he was the firstborn son. Joseph Gutmann, on the other hand, suggests that the mysterious figure may be one of Abraham's servants.[115] However, since two servants are already portrayed in the lower margin of the folio, it seems unlikely that another would be represented elsewhere on the page. Moreover, the figure in question is dressed differently from the servants. Finally, as stated in the story, the servants, who remained behind, were not present at the sacrifice.[116] Concerning Eliezer, Schubert never explains why this figure may be identified with him.

If we examine the figure more carefully, another possibility presents itself. His garment and spear seem to indicate that he is a soldier and his scroll that he is a messenger.[117] In addition, the badge on his chest with traces of a spread eagle (an imperial sign) suggests that he is in service of non-Jewish authorities. What role does such an outsider play in the scene of the sacrifice of Isaac? If we consider the miniature not simply as a depiction of the *Aqedah* but as a representation of the/a Day of Judgment with an eschatologically central scene—the Sacrifice of Isaac—the presence of the soldier can be explained. The *Pesikta Rabbati*, a medieval *midrash* on the festivals of the year elaborating on Rosh ha-Shanah says the following:

[113] Schubert, *Judentum im Mittelalter*, 237, catalog entry 14a. For the rabbinical sources of the debate between the brothers, see, e.g., bSanh. 89b; *Targum Jonathan* Gen. 22:1; *Midrash Tanhuma,* Wayyira 18.
[114] bSanh. 89b, *Midrash Tanhuma,* Wayyira 18.
[115] Gutmann, "The Sacrifice of Isaac," 84.
[116] In addition, according to some midrashim, the two servants Abraham brought with himself, were Ishmael and Eliezer. This interpretation would exclude the identifications of Schubert as well. Ginzburg, *The Legends of the Jews*, I, 276. *PRE* 31.
[117] In the mosaic floor at Sepphoris, the *Aqedah* is depicted in two panels. One represents two figures and the donkey, while the other badly damaged panel depicts the actual *Aqedah*. On the first panel, one of the figures holds a spear. Zeev Weiss and Ehud Netzer identified the figure as one of the servants, while according to Edward Kessler, he is Abraham instructing his servant to remain behind, see Kessler, "The Sacrifice of Isaac," 94; Zeev Weiss and Ehud Netzer, *Promise and Redemption. A Synagogue Mosaic from Sepphoris* (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1996), 30. A very similar figure appears in the Second Nuremberg Haggadah portraying Moses as a shepherd (fol. 11v).

> According to r. Jeremiah, Abraham said: Master of the universe, it is revealed unto Thee that I could have given Thee an answer when Thou didst command me to sacrifice Isaac. If I had given Thee this answer, Thou wouldst have been left without an answer in return. For my answer could have been this: "Yesterday Thou didst tell me, *In Isaac shall seed be called to thee* (Gen. 21:12), and now Thou commandest me to cut Isaac's throat!" But I did not voice this answer. Instead I acted like a man who is dumb or one who is deaf: *But I am as a deaf man, I hear not; and I am as a dumb man that openeth not his mouth* (Ps. 38:14). Now each year on this day, when Isaac's children are called to account before Thee, **no matter how many accusers bring charges against them** (*afilu yesh lahem kamah qategorim meqatrim otam*), do Thou listen in silence and give no heed to the accusers, just as I kept silent and gave Thee no answer….[God answered to Abraham] behold what is to come! Thy children who will succeed thee will one day be entangled and caught in sins like the ram in the thicket. What use are they then to make of a ram's horns? They are to lift up the horns and blow them. Whereupon I will be reminded of the binding of Isaac and will acquit them in the judgment. For what happens with a shofar? A man blows into it from one end and his breath comes out of the other. Even so it will be with Me in regard to thy children. No matter how many their accusers, I will let their charges in one ear and out of the other.[118]

Thus, the messenger with the scroll in his hand, standing beneath the angel with the scales does not relate directly to the sacrifice scene, but to the Day of Judgment (*yom ha-din*) that takes place every New Year. As a soldier in service of the authorities, he can be identified as an accuser, a *kategor*, bringing charges—written on the scroll—against the children of Israel. His negative status is emphasized by the composition. All three figures: the soldier/accuser, the angel with the scales, and the small devil on the left side of the *Aqedah* symbolize Divine Justice (*middat ha-din*), that is, the Divine Severity, while the angel escorting a resurrected Isaac and the ram on its right side represent the mercy of God (*middat ha-hesed*). The painter does not leave the observer in doubt concerning the final outcome of the judgment: the star-studded sky refers to the divine promise: "I will make your offspring as numerous as the stars of heaven" (Gen. 22:17).

The identification of the figure as the soldier/accuser helps to explain the attitudes of Abraham and Isaac represented in the scene: they are gazing at the scales and the accuser because they are aware of the far-reaching consequences of the sacrifice. They know that God will have mercy on future generations of the Jewish people and will redeem them because of Abraham's act. The interpretation of the miniature as a representation of the Day of Judgment

[118] *Pesikta Rabbati* 40. The translation is from *Pesikta Rabbati. Discourses for Feast, Fasts, and Special Sabbaths*, vol. 2. Trans. William G. Braude (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968): 719-720.

sheds light on the counter-scriptural reference to Isaac's death and resurrection. He had to die so that God could bring him back. His resurrection carries the promise of the final resurrection and redemption awaiting the Jewish people.

II. 2. SUKKOT

Fol. 9r: Hoshanah Rabbah

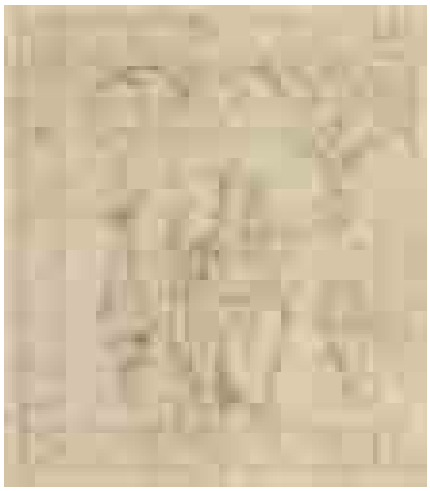

Fig. 120. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 9r: Initial-word panel at the beginning of the Hoshanot
Fig. 121. Leipzig Mahzor, vol. 2, fol. 181v: The beginning of a *yotzer* for Sukkot[119]

Texts connected to the feast of Sukkot are located in two different parts of the Miscellany. The second quire is devoted to the *Hoshanot* for Hoshanah Rabbah, the seventh day of the feast of Sukkot, while further texts for Sukkot, Shemini Atzeret and Simhat Torah can be found much later, in quires VII-IX. The *Hoshanot* start with a decorated initial-word, "ה" (fig. 120). The letter is included into a frame filled with acanthus leaves. The upper strike of the letter is similarly ornamented with leaves, while on the two vertical strikes, there are two lion heads, and their lower ends form grotesque faces. Inside the letter, a man in praying shawl stands holding and *etrog* and a bunch of *lulav*.

The two main symbols of Sukkot are the four species (*lulav* [palm leaves], *aravot* [willow], *etrog* [citrus], *hadassim* [murthle]) and the sukkah, both play an essentail role in the celebration, and both appear in medieval Ashkenazi as well as Italo-Ashkenazi liturgical codices. In the fourteenth century, usually the first day of Sukkot was illustrated, probably because the main purpose of the illustration program was to provide

[119] Note that the figure holds the *etrog* in his right and the *lulav* in his left hand, which is contradictory to the custom.

a visual aid for a better navigation within the various parts of the book. In the Leipzig Mahzor (vol. 2, fol. 181v, fig. 121) and in the Tripartite Mahzor, a man is depicted holding *lulav* (the bunch made of *lulav*, *aravot*, and *hadassim* is also called *lulav*)and *etrog* at the beginning of the *yotzer*, *Akhtir* ("I will crown with the wreath of praise") for the first day of Sukkot (Davidson 3301א).[120]

Later at the end of the fourteenth-beginning of the fifteenth century, the figure holding *lulav* and *etrog* was relocated and appeared most of the times at the beginning of Hoshanah Rabbah, the seventh day of Sukkot (e.g., Miscellany, Ashkenaz, 1393, Cincinnati HUC MS 652, fol. 109r; Vienna Siddur and SeMaQ, fol. 66r; Rothschild Miscellany, fol. 147r).[121] The depiction of the *lulav* at Hoshanah Rabbah rather than the beginning of Sukkot is indicated by the fact that while on other days of the feast the congregation circumambulated the bimah with the Torah scroll, *lulav* and *etrog* only once, on Hoshanah Rabbah they did seven circuits.[122] Although the Miscellany does not contain the poem *Akhtir*, it has several poems for Sukkot. Nevertheless, in accordance with the new custom, the authorship chose to illustrate Hoshanah Rabbah instead of the first day of Sukkot.

[120] These symbols can be found not only in liturgical codices. The chapter on Sukkot in a late fourteenth-century Italian halakhical work, the Decisions of Isaiah of Trani the Younger is illustrated with a sukkah and a bust holding the four species (***Pisqei Rabbi Yeshayah Aharon***) from Central Italy (London, BL, Or. 5024, fol. 70v).

[121] Vienna Siddur and SeMaQ, Vienna, ÖNB, MS cod. hebr. 75; Rothschild Miscellany, Jerusalem, IM, MS 180/51.

[122] During the procession, they sing special piyyutim called Hoshanot ("O save"). The association of the bunch of *lulav* with Hoshanah Rabbah was so strong that Talmud refers to four species or to the willow alone as hoshanah (e.g., bSuk 30b); see Ismar Elbogen, ***Jewish Liturgy. A Comprehensive History*** (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1993), 175.

II. 3. THE HAGGADAH FOR PESAH (FOLS. 22V-40V)

The Haggadah, a special liturgical book for the festival of Pesah, was compiled as a separate work by the *geonim* in the seventh or eighth century although most of its components emerged in the Late Antique period. Its oldest extant version can be found in the prayer book of Saadiah Gaon from the tenth century, and its earliest copy as a separate book dates from the turn of the thirteenth century, the so-called Birds' Head Haggadah, which is also the first extant Haggadah in a separate volume to be illustrated. By the fourteenth century, the custom of illuminating the manuscripts of the Haggadah became widespread both in Sephardi as well as Ashkenazi lands. The extant illuminated Italian Haggadot come mainly from the fifteenth century. The emergence of the illustrated Haggadot may have been encouraged by the appearance of richly illuminated Christian private liturgical books, such as the Psalter or the Breviary.[123]

In her dissertation on the early works of Joel ben Simeon, Yael Zirlin surveyed the development of the illumination in Ashkenazi Haggadot.[124] Only two illustrated Haggadot have survived from the thirteenth century, none as an independent manuscript, but rather as part of a codex: the North French Miscellany, and the Dragons' Haggadah.[125] After the Birds' Head Haggadah, there is approximately a hundred year hiatus when the next surviving dated illustrated Ashkenazi Haggadot come from the early fifteenth century. The Erna-Michael Haggadah, Rylands Ashkenazi Haggadah and the Hamburg Miscellany are among the most important examples.[126] As I will later discuss, the Hamburg Miscellany, the most richly illustrated among the three, displays certain similarities with both the Erna-Michael and the Ashkenazi Rylands Haggadah.

Haggadah illustration in Ashkenaz and in Northern Italy reached its heyday after 1450. Compared to previous periods, illustrated Haggadot produced in the second half of the fifteenth century survived in larger numbers and their illustration programs are more abundant and often richer in narrative scenes. The Second Nuremberg Haggadah and Yahuda Haggadah from the 1460s present

[123] Joseph Gutmann, "Haggadah Art," in *Passover and Easter: the Symbolic Structuring of Sacred Seasons,* ed. Paul F. Bradshaw and Lawrence A. Hoffman (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), 132.
[124] Yael Zirlin, "Avodotaw ha-Muqdamot shel Yoel ben Shimeon: sofer we-oman yehudi ba-meah ha-15 [The Early Works of Joel ben Simeon: Jewish Scribe and Artist in the Fifteenth Century]," PhD dissertation (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1995), 120-126 (hereafter Zirlin, PhD).
[125] North French Miscellany: London, BL, MS Add. 11639; Dragons' Haggadah: Hamburg, SUB, MS cod. hebr. 155.
[126] Erna-Michael Haggadah, Jerusalem, IM, MS 180/58. Narkiss located the manuscript to the Middle Rhine area ca. 1400; see Narkiss, HIM 116. In her recent M.A. thesis, Talit Goitein offered a later date, the first quarter of the fifteenth century. She based her dating on stylistic features of the illustrations and on the minhagim represented in the codex, see Talit Goitein, "Haggadat Erna-Michael" [The Erna-Michael Haggadah] M.A. Thesis, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 2010, 161.
Rylands Ashkenazi Haggadah, Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Ryl. Hebrew 6. This Haggadah is still to be researched. According to Narkiss, it was produced in the Middle Rhine region around 1430.

numerous scenes from Exodus based on the Bible as well as on *midrashim*. These scenes together with ritual illustrations are placed in the margins. However, while the ritual images are usually placed next to the passage they refer to, the narrative scenes do not have a direct link to the neighboring texts. Another characteristic element of these codices is a detailed depiction of the preparation of the *matzot* in the first several folios. There are also a number of illustrated Italo-Ashkenazi Haggadot from this period such as the Second Darmstadt and the Floersheim Haggadah, and the illustrated Haggadah within the Rothschild Miscellany.[127] The illustration of the two former Haggadot are very similar to each other: the ritual images are mainly at the beginning and at the end of the Haggadah, in between there are narrative scenes (including stories from Genesis as well as Exodus), the connection of which to the surrounding texts is much stronger than it is in the Second Nuremberg or Yahuda Haggadot. Haggadot illustrated by Joel ben Simeon, an Ashkenazi artist and scribe travelling between his homeland and Northern Italy, again constitute another group with distinctive iconography and style. His oeuvre clearly demonstrates the close cultural connection between Ashkenazi and Northern Italian Jewry.[128]

The Hamburg Miscellany comprises a bridge between the early Ashkenazi Haggadot and the ones produced in the second half of the fifteenth century. First, it devotes a much greater emphasis on narrative scenes—both those of the Genesis and Exodus—than the earlier codices. Second, it offers the first dated example of many iconographical elements found in later Haggadot. In addition to the innovative iconographical features, the arrangement of the images is also worthy of attention. While in most of the Ashkenazi Haggadot, no matter which period they were produced in, the decoration is placed in the margins, and with the exception of the initial-word panels, does not extend into the body of the text, in the Miscellany, the scribe left space for the images within the body of the text. Moreover, although it does not contain full-page decoration, in some cases the image is just as emphasized as the text, if not more so (see, for example, fol. 27v).

The *Maggid*, that is, the recitation of the Haggadah received the richest decoration.[129] The previous sections (*Kaddesh*, *U'rehatz*, *Karpas*, *Yahatz*) were illustrated with one depiction each (fols. 23r-23v), all of them unfinished with only their outlines drawn. The first word of the different sections in the text are written in bigger letters, and in six cases, the initial words/initials were planned to

[127] Second Darmstadt Haggadah, Darmstadt, HLHB, MS Cod. Or. 28; Floersheim Haggadah, Zurich, private collection.
[128] About the manuscripts Joel worked on, see Bezalel Narkiss, "The Art of the Washington Haggadah," in *The Washington Haggadah: a Facsimile Edition of an Illuminated Fifteenth-century Hebrew Manuscript at the Library of Congress* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1991), 31-42.
[129] For the different components of the text of the Haggadah, see Daniel Goldschmidt, *Haggadah shel Pesah* we-*toldotekhah* [The Pesah Haggadah and Its History] (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1960).

receive decoration but remained unfinished. Two initial words, *Ha* [*lahma*] and the *Shefokh* are decorated as part of a larger composition constituting historiated initial-word panels.

Bezalel Narkiss divided the Haggadah illustrations into four main categories: ritual, textual, biblical, and eschatological.[130] Ritual illustrations are to instruct the celebrant how to carry out the Seder service (such as preparation of the matzot, elevating of the matzah, etc.); textual illustrations are to provide a visual representation of certain passages (e.g., the Four Sons, the rabbis mentioned in the Haggadah); biblical illustrations depict scenes from the Bible (stories from Genesis and Exodus); while eschatological images visualize events that should happen in messianic times (the rebuilt Jerusalem, coming of the Messiah, the messianic beasts, etc.). Although Narkiss meant to apply these categories to all medieval Haggadot produced in medieval Europe, they universal validity is questionable. Narkiss' division may have been based primarily on Sephardi Haggadot, in which the illustration program is divided into two main parts: there is a picture cycle at the beginning of the manuscript preceding the text and there are decorations and illustrations in the text pages. In these Haggadot biblical and textual images are clearly separable. In Ashkenazi and Italo-Ashkenazi Haggadot, in which there is no separate picture cycle preceding the text and many biblical illustrations are placed next to the paragraph they illustrate, this division is enforced. Furthermore, in the context of Christian book illumination, text illustration or textual illustration is a general term for narrative representation versus decoration. Thus, in this sense of the term, biblical and eschatological scenes as well as ritual images in Ashkenazi Haggadot can be categorized as textual illustrations. For these reasons, I will refrain using the category 'textual illustration.' Since all of the images that Narkiss put into this category are illustrations of midrashic explanations which do not constitute part of a biblical scene (the dictum of Rabban Gamaliel: ***pesah, matzah, maror***, other rabbis mentioned in the text, and the four sons), I will use the term 'midrashic illustrations.'[131]

Furthermore, for both Ashkenazi and Sephardi Haggadot, biblical and eschatological miniatures are intertwined and cannot be unambiguously separated: biblical images often contain eschatological references (for instance, the Sacrifice Isaac as a typological precedent for the final redemption) and eschatological images are based on the biblical text, Thus, in a sense, they can be considered biblical illustrations (for example, the coming of the Messiah on donkey-back is based on biblical prophetic text of Zechariah).

[130] Narkiss, ***HIM***, 26.
[131] Note that midrashic elements often show up in biblical scenes as well, but they will be analyzed here within the 'biblical illustrations' section.

The categories 'ritual' and 'textual,' again, partially overlap: a ritual image can be at the same time textual illustration and vice versa. If the preparation of the *matzah*, primarily a ritual image, is placed next to the text *And they baked unleavened cakes of the dough*, a biblical citation from Exodus (12:39), as may be found in the Miscellany, it is also a textual (or perhaps even biblical) illustration. Furthermore, the depictions of figures lifting up *matzah* and *maror* illustrate the text *This matzah* and *These bitter herbs*, but at the same time, represent a moment in the liturgy when the leader of the Seder raises these symbolic foods, and therefore can be considered a ritual image.[132]

Therefore, in my analysis of the illustration program I distinguish between ritual, midrashic and biblical-eschatological images. Since in the Miscellany these miniatures—the *matzah*, the *maror*, and the preparation of the *matzah*—illustrating the same text are closely tied together, I will not separate them, but will discuss all of them within the section on ritual images. In the following, I will analyze the ritual, textual, and biblical-eschatological images miniature by miniature.

II. 3. 1. Ritual illustrations

Ritual images in the Haggadah are connected to the liturgy of the Seder eve. They illustrate certain important moments in the service, providing visual aid for participants in the ceremony. The proportion of ritual depictions *vis-à-vis* narrative scenes varies in illuminated Haggadot of the Middle Ages. In Sephardi Haggadot produced in the fourteenth century, ritual scenes are usually placed at the end of the picture cycle preceding the text itself (Golden Haggadah, fol. 15r; Kaufmann Haggadah, fols. 2r, 3v; Sarajevo Haggadah, fols. 33v-34r). Detached from the text, their primary function cannot have been helping the user of the book in performance of the service. Constituting a visual bridge between past and present events, they rather serve as an ideological statement: they draw a parallel between the biblical event of Exodus and their own contemporary time, the first Pesah and its celebration by later generations. Besides, they visualize the main obligation of this night: *in every generation let each man look on himself as if he came forth out of Egypt.*

In fifteenth-century Ashkenazi and Italo-Ashkenazi Haggadot, the ritual illustrations are usually connected to the relevant text, but the proportion of ritual images and historical depictions varies. The Erna Michael Haggadah produced sometime at the beginning of the century contains exclusively ritual images and some initial words with ornamental decoration, while in the Italo-Ashkenazi Lombard

[132] The translation of the Haggadah is from *The Passover Haggadah with English Translation*, ed. Nahum Norbert Glatzer (New York: Schocken, 1969).

Haggadah from approximately 1400, historical miniatures constitute the larger part of the illustration program.[133] In later Ashkenazi Haggadot from the second half of the fifteenth century, ritual depictions become more and more elaborate. Among several other examples, the Second Nuremberg Haggadah and its sibling, the Yahuda Haggadah, offer a detailed visual representation of the preparation of the *matzah*, searching for *hametz*, as well as the various blessings and other acts performed during the Seder eve.

Ritual illustrations in the Hamburg Miscellany are far from this elaboration and have a less important role than that of the biblical-eschatological miniatures. They are fewer in number and, except the initial-word panel *Ha Lahma*, smaller in size. Comparing them to the ritual illustrations of the early fourteenth-century Birds' Head Haggadah or to the Second Nuremberg Haggadah of the 1460s, the Miscellany contains only the "basic set" of ritual images marking some main sections in the text: *Kaddesh*, *U'rehatz*, *Karpas*, *Yahatz*, and within the *Maggid Ha Lahma*, *Ma Nishtanah*, the dictum of Rabban Gamaliel and *Lefikakh*. At some points, the text of the Haggadah is accompanied by instructions concerning the Seder service written in smaller semi-cursive characters: before the *Maggid*, by the different sorts of preparations for Pesah (fols. 22v-23v: *eruv*, removal of the leaven, etc.), before *Ma Nishtanah* (fol. 24v) concerning the *Hallel* (fol. 32v); and from the drinking of the second cup until the *birkat ha-mazon* (blessing after meal). The texts repeatedly refer to the Maharil as the authority they are based on. Indeed, the instructions given in the Haggadah are in accord with the customs of the Maharil recorded in the *Sefer Maharil* by his student, Zalman of St Goar. Moreover, as I will demonstrate, the customs of the Maharil are reflected in the iconography of the ritual illustrations as well.

[133] Lombard Haggadah, Jerusalem, Schocken Library, MS 24085.

Fol. 23r: Pouring of the first cup

Fig. 122. North French Miscellany, fol. 205r: The first cup
Fig. 123. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 23r: The first cup

The illustration of the blessing over the first cup belonged to the basic set of ritual images in Ashkenazi and Sephardi Haggadot. Several different iconographical traditions of the theme developed.[134] One is the depiction of a family sitting at the Seder table with the celebrants and another comprises only the *paterfamilias* lifting a cup. It already appears in the North French Miscellany (fol. 205r, fig. 122) and the Birds' Head Haggadah (fol. 2r). In the latter manuscript, the miniature is placed in the lower margin under the blessing over the wine. Two figures, a man and a woman, are seated at a table and the man lifts up his cup above which it is written, "Kiddush."[135] Another type already present in the Dragons' Haggadah (fol. 2r), is the depiction of a single figure, sitting or standing and lifting a cup.[136] Two less popular subcategories of the latter type are the image of a single man pouring out the wine or drinking it. In the Hamburg Miscellany, a bearded man stands pouring wine from a jar into a chalice above the blessing over the first cup (fig. 123).[137] The image is unfinished; the coloring is missing. According to Narkiss, the traditional way of illustrating the Kiddush is with the raising of the first cup. The pouring of the wine is depicted before the Four Questions. Thus, Narkiss suggests that it is as a result of

[134] Katrin Kogman-Appel, "Haggadat Nirnberg ha-Shniyah: nituah signoni we-ikonografi shel ha-iyyurim [The Second Nuremberg Haggadah: A Stylistic and Iconographic Analysis of the Illustrations]," PhD. Dissertation (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1993), 147 (hereafter Kogman-Appel, PhD). For examples, see Metzger, *Le Haggada*, figs. 51-78.
[135] Further examples of this type, e.g., First Cincinnati Haggadah (Cincinnati, HUC MS 444, fol. 2v), Barcelona Haggadah (London, BL, MS Add. 14761, fol. 21v).
[136] Lombard Haggadah (fol. 2v), First Darmstadt Haggadah (fol. 5r), Parma 2895 (p. 233), Floersheim Haggadah (p. 3), Ashkenazi Siddur with Haggadah (Paris, BnF, MS hèbr. 640, fol. 85r).
[137] Narkiss, "Washington Haggadah," 60.

confusion that the wine pourer appears at both texts (fols. 23r, 24v) in the Miscellany.[138] However, the motif can be found in some Sephardi Haggadot as well: in the Rylands Sephardi Haggadah (fol. 20r) coming from Sepharad, the Kiddush is similarly represented by the pouring of the wine; while in the Kaufmann Haggadah, both the pouring and the lifting are depicted (fol. 11v). While it would be far-fetched to assume a direct connection between these fourteenth-century Spanish examples and the Miscellany, the presence of the motif in these Haggadot demonstrates that the double appearance did not result from confusion but was simply a less widespread subcategory.

Fol. 23v: The washing of the hands—karpas—afikoman

The texts *U'rehatz*, *Karpas*, and *Yahatz*, the introductory parts of the Haggadah, are often illustrated with depictions presenting ritual actions. In the Miscellany, there are the barely visible outlines of three compositions embedded within the body of the text (fig. 124).

Fig. 124. Erna-Michael Haggadah fol. 9v: Washing of the hands

Washing the hands (*netilat yadayim*): The washing of the hands before the first dipping was illustrated in many Haggadot.[139] The most widespread type was the depiction of a servant pouring water from a ewer onto the hands of the head of the family.[140] In the Miscellany, the image is hardly visible, only vague contours of two figures can be detected in the inner margin: one of them

[138] Ibidem, 60.
[139] For example, see Metzger, *Le Haggada*, figs. 82-86.
[140] Exceptions, for example, the Birds' Head Haggadah, in which a pot is shown hanging from above, and a man holds his hand under it (fol. 6r), and Parma MS 3143, in which a man washes his hands in a fountain (fol. 4v).

holds a vessel to his lips, most probably a cup. The other figure washes his hands with water from a ewer with two dragon-shaped spouts.[141] There is probably a third figure, barely visible, pours the water from the ewer for him.[142] In the Erna-Michael Haggadah, there is a similar composition with a man washing his hands with the help of a servant (fol. 9v, fig. 125).

Fig. 125. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 23v: Washing of the hands, *karpas, afikoman*

[141] A similar ewer from fifteenth-century Germany with a dragonhead-shaped peak was displayed in the Metropolitan Museum at an exhibition on the Washington Haggadah (Washington, Library of Congress, MS 1), April 5, 2011–July 4, 2011.

[142] Two halakhic problems were connected to the washing of the hands before the first dipping: whether one should speak the blessing before the dipping, and whether only the ***paterfamilias*** should wash his hands or all the participants. For a survey of the opinions of the halakhic authorities, see Talit Goitein, "Haggadat Erna-Michael" [The Erna-Michael Haggadah] M.A. Thesis, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 42-47; Kogman-Appel, Ph.D, 151. For further literature and about the inclusion of the blessing into the text of the Haggadah, see Mordechai Glatzer, "Haggadot of Joel ben Simeon," in ***Washington Haggadah***, 151, 166 n. 53. The instruction in the Miscellany follows the opinion of the Maharil (***Sefer Maharil***, Hilkhot ha-Haggadah 13), according to whom one does not have to say the blessing (see the instruction on fol. 23v).

Karpas: *And he takes an* eyypakha *from the plate or if he does not have one, he takes a* lawikh*, and says the blessing: Blessed are You, Hashem, our God, King of the Universe, who creates the fruit of the earth* (instruction from the Miscellany, fol. 23v, my own translation).[143] The word *karpas* is usually explained by use of the vernacular name of the vegetable. The Hamburg Miscellany follows the widespread custom of using *eyypakha,* that is parsley (from the German "Eppich") or *lawikh,* that is leek (from the German 'Lauch') or lettuce (from the German word 'Lattich') for *karpas*. This explanation is congruent with that of the Maharil, who identifies the karpas as *eypakh* (*Sefer Maharil,* Hilkhot ha-Haggadah 14), as well as with the explanation of Avraham Hildiq (*aypikh*, in the Miscellany, fol. 201r, top of the second column).[144]

Figs. 126-127. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 23r and Erna-Michael Haggadah, fol. 9v: Man holding a *karpas*

The text is usually illustrated by the dipping of the *karpas* into a dish.[145] In the Birds' Head Haggadah, a man is seated at a table eating a piece of vegetable and dipping another into the dish offered by a servant (fol. 6v). In the Second Nuremberg Haggadah (fol. 6r) and in the Floersheim Haggadah (p4), a wife and her child watch the *paterfamilias* dipping the *karpas* into a dish. In the Erna-Michael Haggadah, another iconographical type can be found depicting a single male figure sitting. However, instead of dipping or eating the *karpas*, he lifts the vegetable and holds a dish (fol. 9v; fig. 127). The illustration of the Hamburg Miscellany seems to follow this latter tradition: in the

[143] ונוטל מן הקערה אֶיְפכא אם אין לו יקח לאוֶויך ומברך ברוך אתה יי אלהינו מלך העול' בורא פרי האדמה.

[144] Thanks to Gerhard Jaritz to help me identifying the German words. The first explanation is given in some other Haggadot as well with a slightly different orthography; see, e.g., Birds' Head Haggadah (fol. 6v), Murphy Haggadah (fol. 1r), Tegernsee Haggadah (Munich, BSB, MS cod. Heb. 200, fol. 9v), Rothschild Miscellany (fol. 156v). See also Myron M. Weinstein, "Introduction," in *Washington Haggadah*, 12-13. For more about the rabbinical explanations of *karpas*, see Yisrael Jaakov Kanivsky, *Haggadah shel Pesah* [Pesah Haggadah] (Jerusalem: Bronstein, 2005), 135-138 (hereafter Kanivsky, *Haggadah*).

[145] There was a disagreement among the halakhic authorities as to what the *karpas* should be dipped into vinegar or *haroset*. The instruction in the Miscellany corresponds with the Maharil saying that one dips the *karpas* into vinegar (fol. 23v).

outer margin there is a man lifting the *karpas*—a plant reminiscent of a parsley flower—in his right hand (fig. 126). The position of the figure is almost identical with the one in the Erna Michael Haggadah: he is seated with his right hand lifting the *karpas* while his left hand rests on his lap. No dish can be seen in his other hand, but the image is unfinished and the contours of the figure can only be vaguely seen.

Fig. 128. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 23r: A man taking the *afikoman*
Fig. 129. Erna-Michael Haggadah, fol. 9v: A man taking the *afikoman*
Fig. 130. Second Nuremberg Haggadah, fol. 6v: The children waiting for the *afikoman*

Afikoman: The first dipping is followed by the breaking of one of the *matzot* for *afikoman*. The hiding of the *afikoman* was not an ancient custom. It is described first in the Mahzor Vitry.[146] If the relevant text received an illustration in the Haggadot, which was not always the case, the hiding of the *afikoman* under the tablecloth (e.g., Birds' Head Haggadah, fol. 6v; Second Nuremberg Haggadah, fol. 6v, fig. 130; Yahuda Haggadah, fol. 6r), or the taking of one of the *matzot* out of the three were depicted (Erna-Michael Haggadah, fol. 9v; fig. 129). In the Miscellany, the illustration is located next to the instruction, *and he takes the second matzah as afikoman, and breaks it into two, and puts one half between the two whole matzot, and puts the other half, the afikoman under the tablecloth in front of him* (fol. 23v; my own translation). Because of the very bad state of the draft, the representation is barely visible. It depicts a sitting or standing figure lifting a round object, presumably a *matzah*, in his right hand while holding another *matzah*/half-*matzah* (?) in his left hand. The figure's movements cannot be identified precisely, but he is probably taking one of the *matzot* out of the three, just as in the Erna-Michael Haggadah.

[146] Kogman-Appel, PhD, 152-153.

Fig. 131: Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 24r: *Ha lahma*—Seder table

Fol. 24r: Ha Lahma—Seder table

The next section is the *Maggid*, the main narrative part of the Haggadah. It contains biblical citations and midrashic elements connected to the Exodus story starting with the sentence, *This is the bread of poverty which our forefathers ate in the land of Egypt.* This part is one of the most frequently decorated sections in illustrated Haggadot.[147] In Sephardi manuscripts, one figure usually stands or sits holding a *matzah* in his hand next to the initial-word panel (e.g., Rylands Sephardi Haggadah, fol. 21v), while the popular Ashkenazi iconography, which already appears in the North French Miscellany, depicts a whole family around the Seder table (fol. 205r, fig. 122). Although the text mentions the biblical ancestors in Egypt, the *Ha Lahma*, unlike many other parts of the *Maggid*, is not illustrated with a historical scene, but with a scene of celebrants contemporary to the reader of the book. The Hamburg Miscellany followed the Ashkenazi iconographical tradition: beneath the initial word included into a panel, six people are portrayed sitting by a spread table (fig. 131). The page is rather worn so that many details of the miniature can no longer be seen. A bearded man is seated on the left side of the table and seems to hold an open book, the Haggadah. There are four persons next to him on the longer side of the table. The first is a bearded man while the face of the second person is indistinct. Both of them turn toward a young boy and seem to explain to him something about the Haggadah. The lad pays attention to them and points to an open Haggadah in front of him. The *paterfamilias* sits on the right end of the table and is about to lift up the Seder plate together with his wife as the instruction on the bottom of the previous folio says: *And then he removes the meat and the egg from the plate and lifts up the plate saying, 'This is poor [man's] bread,' and hold it until 'In what respect is this night different.'* (fol. 23v, my own

Fig. 132. Second Nuremberg Haggadah, fol. 6v: Seder plate

[147] The Second Darmstadt Haggadah is one of the rare exceptions in which the initial word הא, is not emphasized by being embedded within a separate panel (Darmstadt, HLHB, MS Cod. Or. 28, fol. 3r). Only the Seder table is depicted in the lower margin. In the Erna-Michael Haggadah, the Seder table received a full-page illustration preceding the delicately ornamented initial-word panel included within an architectural frame (fols. 10r-10v).

translation).[148] Before the head of the house, lies another open Haggadah. Beneath the table, there is an inscription from a later owner, Nahum [bar Jacob] ha-Levi, presumably from the sixteenth century (see I. 2. 7).

Similarly in the Second Nuremberg Haggadah (fol. 6v; fig. 132), a man and a woman lift up the plate although there the ***matzot*** are covered with a cloth, while in the Murphy and in the Floersheim Haggadot (p. 4), husband and wife lift a plate containing not only the ***matzot***, but all the other symbolic food.[149] In the Hamburg Miscellany, the plate is not covered. These differences may reflect various customs, since there was a division of opinions among the rabbinical authorities concerning the covering of the plate. The Maharil says that it should be covered before the recitation of ***Why does this night differ from all other nights?***, that is, only after the ***Ha Lahma.***[150] Thus, the depiction in the Miscellany is in accord with the opinion of the Maharil.

The objects on the table, the jars, the cups and the candlesticks are familiar from other fifteenth-century Ashkenazi and Italo-Ashkenazi manuscripts. The candlestick, for instance, is very similar to the ones in the Rothschild Miscellany (fol. 156v), while the same stubby jar appears on the table in the Second Nuremberg Haggadah (fol. 6v). Above the table, by the head of the man in the left corner, there is a brownish object, which on the basis of the illustrations in other Haggadot, might be identified as a Shabbat lamp hanging above the table.[151] Books were not always depicted on the Seder table, but in our Haggadah, there are altogether three open books in front of the male members of the family. Since books were expensive, usually not every participant had his or her own copy. In the North French Miscellany (fol. 205r), in the Lombard Haggadah (fol. 4v), Erna-Michael Haggadah (fol. 10r), in the Second Nuremberg Haggadah, and in the Rothschild Miscellany (fol. 156v) there is no book on the table at all; in the Birds' Head Haggadah (fol. 7r), only the husband has a codex and his wife is listening to him reading it out loud. In the Second Darmstadt Haggadah (fol. 3r,), in Parma MS 2895 (p. 235) and in the Floersheim Haggadah every participant has a book. The number of available books might be a reference to the financial situation of the family or perhaps a difference in local customs.

[148] ואז יקח מהקערה הבשר וביצה ויגביה הקערה ויאמר הא לחמא עדמה נשתנה
The motif of lifting up the plate is not always present in the depictions. In the decoration of the Birds' Head Haggadah, in which the instruction of the lifting is missing from the text, there is no plate at all. In the Second Darmstadt Haggadah, on the other hand, the text contains instructions to lift the plate up, and accordingly in its decoration, the head of the house is shown lifting the plate up. In addition, above the plate, a small inscription repeats the instruction. The lifting of the plate is discussed in a response of the Maharil as well (***Shut Maharil*** no. 58).

[149] Murphy Haggadah, Jerusalem, JNUL, MS Heb Ms. Heb 4° 6130.

[150] ***Shut Maharil*** no. 58, see Sefer ***Sheelot u-Teshuvot Maharil***, ed. Yosef Fisher and Saul Deutscher (Krakow, 1881), 22a. See Kogman-Appel, PhD, 154; Daniel Sperber, ***Minhagei Yisrael. Meqorot we-Toldot***, vol. 4 [Customs of Israel: Origins and History] (Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1989), 161-166.

[151] A star-shaped lamp is hanging above the table in several illustrations of the Seder table (e.g., Second Nuremberg Haggadah, Murphy Haggadah, Second Darmstadt Haggadah).

Outside the initial-word panel, in the external margin and at the bottom of the page, there is some further decoration. Its core is an exuberant tendril inhabited by different figures. The depiction is worn out, but the outline of two figures still can be seen among some green leaves. The upper figure wearing headgear faces upwards; the lower figure seems to be blowing a *shofar*. Between the two figures on the margin a third man can be surmised. He holds a bird on his arm. Due to the poor condition of the illustration, its connection to the ritual scene cannot be reconstructed.

Fig. 133. First Darmstadt Haggadah fol. 11r: Second cup
Fig. 134. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 24v: *Ma nishtanah*

Fol. 24v: Ma Nishtanah—Pouring of the second cup

While in Sepharad, the second cup should be poured out before the *Ha Lahma*, in Ashkenaz it should only take place after it. Therefore in Ashkenazi Haggadot the text of the *Ma Nishtanah* is usually accompanied by the depiction of a man pouring the second cup. The iconography is already present in the North French Miscellany (fol. 205v), the Birds' Head Haggadah (fol. 7v), and in most of the later, fifteenth-century Ashkenazi Haggadot.[152] In the Second Nuremberg Haggadah, two scenes are depicted around the text of *Ma Nishtanah*: in the outer margin a man pours out the second cup while in the lower margin, a boy queries his father about Seder eve.

In the Miscellany, within the body of the text, three figures are seated in a vaulted room (fig. 134). On the left side there is a bearded man holding a cup and a jar in his hands. He turns to two young boys, who ask him something. The image is placed before *Ma Nishtanah*, next to an instruction

[152] See, for example: Erna-Michael Haggadah, fol. 11r; First Darmstadt Haggadah, fol. 11r, fig. 133; Parma 2895, p. 236; Second Nuremberg Haggadah, fol. 7r; Second Darmstadt Haggadah (although in this miniature there is a servant pouring wine into the cup of his lord), fol. 3r. Italian example: Lombard Haggadah, fol. 5r—here a hand stretches out of the page holding the cup.

given in the name of the Maharil saying that *and the second cup should be lifted up, and after Ha Lahma the plate should be removed to the end of the table in order to actuate the children to ask 'Ma nishtanah…'* (fol. 24v, my own translation)[153] The instruction is indeed in accord with the *Sefer Maharil*, which adds that the second cup should be poured out before the *Ma Nishtanah* in order to make the children ask why they pour out one more cup of wine if they have not started to eat yet.[154] The unusual acts of Seder eve are thus meant to raise the curiosity of the young participants so that they ask questions. The unique iconography of the Hamburg Miscellany unifies two different moments in one image: the pouring of the second cup and the question of the son to his father, *Why does this night differ from all other nights?* emphasizing that the reason for pouring at that moment is to provoke the children into asking questions.

Fol. 31r: Pesah—Sacrifice in the Temple

Rabban Gamaliel used to say: 'Whoever does not make mention of the following three things on Passover has not fulfilled his obligation: namely, the Passover Sacrifice, unleavened bread, and bitter herbs'— says the Haggadah quoting the Mishnah.[155] According to many halakhic authorities, among them the Maharil, when one says, *This matzah*, one has to lift up the *matzah*—the upper one, and then at the passage *These bitter herbs*, similarly lift up the *maror*. However, the Pesah lamb should not be lifted up, "because it looks as though he is sanctifying his animal and eating sacred flesh without [the Temple]," as the *Sefer Maharil* puts it. Though not to be lifted up, the Pesah lamb should be visible.[156]

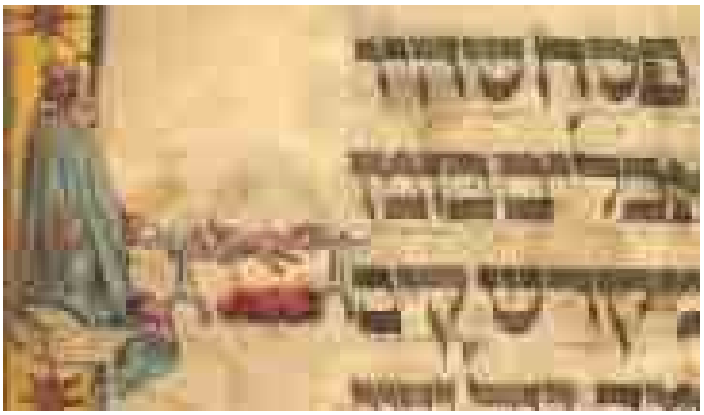

Fig. 135: First Cincinnati Haggadah, fol. 30r: Pesah lamb
Fig. 136: Kaufmann Haggadah, fol. 38r: Pesah lamb

[153] Fol. 24v, next to the miniature: ...ומוזגין גוס שני ויסיר הקערה מעל פניו עד סוף השולחן כדי שישאלו התנוקות ויאמר מה נשתנה
The beginning of the instruction, *and pour the second cup*, is embedded within the upper part of the miniature.
[154] *Sefer Maharil*, Hiklhot ha-Haggadah 22.
[155] mPesahim 10:5.
[156] *Sefer Maharil*, Hilkhot ha-Haggadah 26. The *Sefer Maharil* quotes the bPesahim 53a. See also *Shut Maharil* 58. For more halakhic sources, see Kanivsky, *Haggadah*, 195 n. 564.

The text of the Haggadah itself differentiates between ***matzah*** and ***maror***, which are still consumed on Seder eve, on the one hand, and the ***pesah*** lamb which "our father used to eat" on the other.[157]

The mishnaic citation on Rabban Gamaliel's dictum was almost always decorated, however, in slightly different ways in Ashkenazi and in Sephardi Haggadot. In Sephardi manuscripts, it was one of the most often illustrated parts of the Haggadah. The initial-word, ***Rabban Gamaliel*** was decorated usually with an image of Rabban Gamaliel himself, seated alone or teaching some students, while ***Pesah*** was illustrated with a still living lamb.[158] In contrast, in Ashkenazi lands, the lamb was depicted as having just been killed or already roasting on the spit. It is not indicated where the sacrifice took place and usually only the cook and the animal can be seen.[159] Whether depicting the lamb either alive or already on the spit, these scenes lack any indication of historicity. They may represent Israelites preparing the first pesah lamb at the Exodus from Egypt (***Pesah Mitzrayim***), "our fathers" preparing the sacrifice in the time of the Temple, or "us" the contemporary observer preparing the ***zeroa***, the lamb shank symbolizing the ***pesah*** sacrifice offered in the Temple (two types of ***Pesah dorot***).[160]

The miniature from the Hamburg Miscellany is unique in the sense that its depiction is neither ***Pesah Mitzraim*** nor the classical case of ***Pesah Dorot***, but the Pesah lamb being sacrificed by the high priest in the Temple illustrating the sentence, ***The Passover Sacrifice which our fathers used to eat at the time when the Holy Temple still stood*** (fig. 137). The priest stands before the altar, just about to cut the throat of a lamb with a ***halaf*** (knife for sacrifices) with his hand held upon the animal's head. He wears the special priestly garment described in Exodus 28: the ***ephod*** and the ***hoshen***, the blue robe of

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[157] ***The Passover lamb which our fathers used to eat at the time when the Holy Temple still stood.…This matzah which we eat.…These bitter herbs we eat.…***

[158] For the depiction of Rabban Gamaliel see, for example, Prato Haggadah (New York, JTS, MS 9478, fol. 27v), Sarajevo Haggadah (fol. 25r), Sister Haggadah (London, BL, MS Or. 2884, fol. 50v), Barcelona Haggadah (fol. 59v), Hispano-Moresque Haggadah (London, BL, MS Or. 2737, fol. 20v), Forli Siddur (fol. 118r), Lombard Haggadah (fol. 23v). For the depiction of a live lamb by the word ***Pesah***: Prato Haggadah (fol. 28r), Sarajevo Haggadah (fol. 25v), Kaufmann Haggadah (fol. 38r, fig. 136), Hispano-Moresque Haggadah (fol. 21r).

[159] For roasting the lamb over an open fire see for example: Birds' Head Haggadah (fol. 23r), First Cincinnati Haggadah (fol. 30r fig. 135); Washington Haggadah (fol. 14v), Parma 3143 (Parma, BP, MS Parm. 3143 [De Rossi 958], fol. 11v), Hileq Bileq Haggadah (Paris, BnF, MS hèbr. 1333, fol. 19r), Second Darmstadt Haggadah (fol. 10r). The roasting scene sometimes appears in Sephardi Haggadot as well (e.g., Haggadah, Jerusalem, Israel Museum, 180/41, p. 110). According to Yael Zirlin, this is the established iconography of the "Pesah of the subsequent generations," see Zirlin, PhD, 143.
Both types can be found in the Bird's Head Haggadah, , but in another part of the Haggadah. At the beginning of the ***Dayyenu*** a man is shown cutting the throat of a ram (fol. 21r) while at the end of it a seated figure is depicted turning the carcass of the ram on a spit (fol. 23r). In the fifteenth-century Second Nuremberg and Yahuda Haggadot, the sacrifice of the Pesah lamb was placed just before the ***Dayyenu***.

[160] ***Pesah Mitzrayim*** is the historical Pesah celebration that took place during the Exodus, while ***Pesah dorot***, that is, the Pesah of the [subsequent] generations, is the annual commemoration of the biblical event. About the depiction of the Pesah lamb in Sephardi Haggadot, and its role as a possible expression of the continuity between the biblical past and the observer's own time, see Sarit Shalev-Eyni, "Who Are the Heirs of the Hebrew Bible? Sephardic Visual Historiography in a Christian Context." ***Medieval Encounters*** 16 (2010): 23-63. About Pesah Mitzrayim versus Pesah dorot in the illustration program of the Birds' Head Haggadah, see Epstein, ***Medieval Haggadah***, 85-91.

the *ephod* decorated with pomegranate designs and bells on its hem. He is barefoot, as would have been mandatory on the Temple Mount and in other holy places (see Ex. 3:5; Ex. Rabbah 2:6). There is a menorah on the left side of the altar and a *ner tamid* above it. To the right of the menorah, a young man sits and plays a musical instrument that looks like a *hydraulus*, although according to the Mishnah, the sacrifice of the first Pesah lamb was accompanied by flute music (Arachin 2:3).[161] By the vaulted gate of the Temple, three men wait, each holding a lamb in his arms to be offered as sacrifice. The sacrificial ritual appears in a few early Jewish representations, such as on the walls of Dura Europos and on the mosaic floor of Sepphoris, however, its depiction was more widespread in Christian art [162]

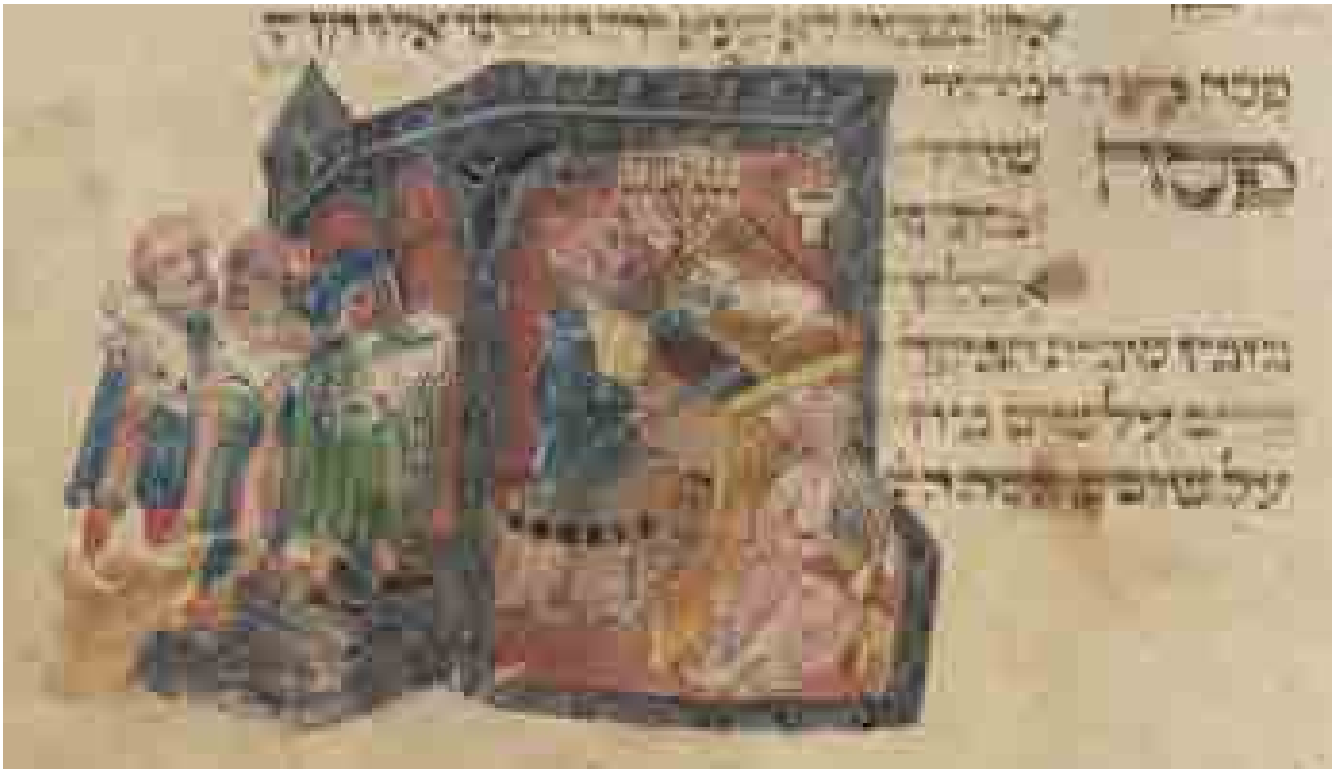


Fig. 137: Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 31r The Sacrifice of the Pesah lamb in the Temple

[161] There has been disagreement in the mishnaic tractate on the identity of the players. Rabbi Meir states that the priests' slaves were playing, Rabbi Jose says that these musicians were members of noble families from which the priests took their wives, while Rabbi Hanania ben Antigonos says that they were Levites (mArachin 2:4).

[162] See Andreina Contessa, "An Uncommon Representation of the Temple Implements in a Fifteenth-century Hebrew Sephardi Bible," *Ars Judaica* 5 (2009): 52. A close iconographical parallel to the miniature can be found in the Alba Bible, a Castilian translation and commentary of the Bible written and illustrated between 1422-1433 under the supervision of a Sephardi rabbi, Moses Arragel of Guadalajara (fol. 88v) (On the Alba Bible, see Carl-Otto Nordström, ***The Duke of Alba's Castilian Bible: a Study of the Rabbinical Features of the Miniatures*** (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1967); about this miniature see, ibidem, 102-108). The miniature of the Alba Bible illustrates the Tabernacle. In the bottom left corner of the representation, inside the tent, a priest performs the sacrifice by cutting the throat of a lamb while laying his hand on the animal's head. The scene is surrounded by implements from the Tabernacle, among them a large menorah. In the upper part of the tent, Aaron burns incense on another altar. In spite of these similarities, the compositions of the two miniatures differ from each other and they are divided by great geographical distance, so no direct connection can be assumed to exist between them.

Besides reflecting on the text of the Haggadah referring to those ancient times when the Temple still existed and sacrifices were performed there, this unique iconography may have been derived from the explanations of the ritual accompanying this part of the text. During the recitation of Rabban Gamaliel's dictum, certain acts should take place: the head of the family lifts up first the ***matzah*** and then the ***maror*** to present it for the participants. These two acts are visualized in the miniatures of the Haggadah (fol. 31v). Saying Pesah sacrifice, however, one should not lift the fried meat, lest—as I mentioned above, the rabbis, among them the Maharil, indicate it—"it looks as though he is sanctifying his animal and eating sacred flesh outside [the Temple]."[163] The depiction of the sacrifice within the Temple—which thanks to the presence of the menorah and the fully dressed high priest every observer can identify immediately—constitutes a sort of visual commentary on the text emphasizing that the Pesah sacrifice can only take place exclusively in the Temple, and this piece of flesh at the Seder table in front of us should not be considered equivalent to that sacrifice.

A glimpse at the larger context of the manuscript suggests further possible interpretations. The sacrifice of the Paschal lamb was a crucial point in Jewish-Christian polemics where it had a range of diversified meanings. For Christians, ***pesah*** or the paschal lamb, referred to the Agnus Dei, to the sacrifice of Christ, the Messiah. For Jews, on the one hand, it was a sign or reminder of the miraculous rescue of the first-born of Israel; on the other hand, since the deliverance from the Egyptian bondage is considered a prefiguration of the final redemption, the paschal lamb may have been considered a sign of this Jewish messianic redemption.[164] The miniature may thus have contained a double meaning: it may represent the Temple from the Jewish past, the destroyed one, and it may represent the future one

[163] ***Sefer Maharil***, Hilkhot ha-Haggadah 26.

[164] For early Christians, or as Shalom Yehudah Fisher calls them, messianic Jews, who celebrated the Pesah, the importance assigned to the Pesah sacrifice, the ***matzah***, and the ***maror*** was essentially different from their significance for Jews. For Christians, the Pesah sacrifice symbolized Jesus Christ, the matzah Jesus' flesh and the ***maror*** his suffering. Therefore, the dictum of Rabban Gamaliel instructing the Jews to say these three things and their proper Jewish interpretation may have been meant to be a declaration of one's loyalty to Judaism, and denial of Christianity (Shalom Yehudah Fisher, "Sheloshah Devarim," ***Hatzofeh le-Hokhmat Yisrael*** 10 (1926): 240. Israel Jacob Yuval, "Easter and Passover as Early Jewish Christian Dialogue," in ***Passover and Easter: Origin and History to Modern Times***, ed. Paul F. Bradshaw and Lawrence A. Hoffman [Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999], 106-107).
The same typology lies behind one of the central teachings of the Christian Church, the transubstantiation. Moreover, the typological parallel between Passover and Easter, and between the Eucharist and the Seder was an essential element in the medieval host accusations and blood libels. The typological relationship between the two feasts and their components can be discovered in medieval works of art, both Christian and Jewish. For the nexus between the ***pesah*** sacrifice and the sacrifice of Christ, see, for instance, a Bible Moralisée produced around 1220s-1230s in Paris depicting the sacrifice of the Pesah lamb as a parallel of the sacrifice of Christ (Vienna, ONB, Cod. 2554, fol. 20r); for a Jewish visual response on the dogma of Eucharist and its anti-Jewish connotations from medieval Ashkenaz, see Epstein, ***Medieval Haggadah***, 92-104. On the relationship of matzah and host in the Sephardi context, see Michael Batterman, "Bread of Affliction, Emblem of Power: The Passover Matzah in Haggadah Manuscripts from Christian Spain," in ***Imagining the Self, Imagining the Other***, ed. Eva Frojmovic (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 53-89.

as well, which will be rebuilt with the coming of the Messiah. Moreover, in Ashkenazi Haggadot the depiction of the sacrifice of the paschal lamb may be interpreted as a visual metaphor for the sacrifice of one's own child as a *kiddush ha-Shem*.[165]

Fol. 31v: …Matzah and maror and the preparation of the matzah

This folio is decorated with ritual illustrations (fig. 138). Next to the text, ***This is matzah which we eat, what is the reason for it?*** there is a bearded man sitting in a wooden chair and lifting up the ***matzah*** in front of a blue background. The miniature is embedded within the body of the text. Below the text, ***and they baked unleavened cakes of the dough,*** there is a depiction of baking the ***matzah***. The long and narrow composition spreads onto the margin. Eight people are shown working: on the left side, there is a young man, perhaps a servant carrying a jar of water on his shoulder to a woman who is making the dough in a tub, kneeling on a pillow. Another young boy or servant carries the dough to the table where two women are forming the ***matzot***. The last step is the baking itself: a young man places the ***matzot*** into the oven with the help of a long shovel. Two women are standing next to him and holding some ***matzot*** in their hands. The composition has a narrow, pink frame. The last image on this folio is connected to

[165] Malkiel, "Infanticide," 89.

Fig. 138: Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 31v

the verse, *These bitter herbs we eat, what is the reason for them?* It portrays a bearded man sitting on a chair and lifting up a bunch of green leaves.

Matzah and *maror*: The depiction of the *matzah* and the *maror* are the earliest known textual illustrations of the Haggadah. Their depiction was found in a manuscript from the ninth or tenth century in the Cairo Genizah.[166] In the majority of Sephardi manuscripts, the prevalent iconography of the Mishnaic dictum, *Rabban Gamaliel used to say*, was the depiction of the Pesah lamb by the explanation of Pesah, a giant, round-shaped *matzah* by the explanation of the *matzah*, and a huge tree-like plant by the explanation of the *maror*.[167] In addition, the initial words *This matzah*, and *These bitter herbs* were often included within an ornamented panel. In Ashkenazi Haggadot, a different iconography became prevalent: a man holding the *matzah* or the *maror* in his hand, while in the Italian Haggadot, often only a hand is represented lifting them up.[168] The painter of the Hamburg Miscellany portraying two sitting figures holding the *matzah* and the *maror* followed the Ashkenazi iconography (figs. 139-140).

Figs. 139-140. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 31v *Maror* and *matzah*

Fig. 141: Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 31v: The preparation of the *matzah*

[166]Bezalel Narkiss, "Haggadah: Passover," *EJ*.

[167] E.g., Kaufmann Haggadah, fols. 38r, 39r, 40r; Sephardi Haggadah, Jerusalem IM 180/41; Prato Haggadah, New York, JTS MS 9478, fols. 28r; Sarajevo Haggadah, fols. 25v-26r and 27r.

[168] Zirlin, PhD, 144. It is this way in the Dragons' Haggadah but in the Forli Siddur (fol. 118v) as well as in the Farissol Haggadah (New York, JTS, MS Mic. 4817, fols. 12v-13r) e.g., entire figures are present. Also in an Ashkenazi Siddur with Haggadah, (Paris, BnF, MS hèbr. 640, fol. 103r-103v).

The preparation of the ***matzah***: When illustrated, it was placed either at the beginning of the Haggadah or as it often happens in Haggadot from the first half of the fifteenth century, next to the dictum of Rabban Gamaliel. The Birds' Head Haggadah displays the making of the ***matzah*** first in a historical context as part of the Pesah of Egypt (***Pesah Mitzraim***) by the passage, ***This matzah*** occupying an entire double opening: The Egyptian army marches in the bottom margin chasing the children of Israel (fol. 24v) who are about to leave the country and hurriedly distribute the ***matzot*** from a tub (fol. 25r). One opening later, by the text, ***In every generation let each man look on himself as if he came forth out of Egypt.*** (fols. 25v-26r), the Pesah of the subsequent generations (***Pesah dorot***) is represented: Men and women bustle about kneading the dough, forming it and baking the ***matzot***.[169] Sometimes, as in the Lombard Haggadah (fol. 1v) or in the Murphy Haggadah (fol. 21r), the historical depiction is missing; only the Pesah of subsequent generations is portrayed.

In later Haggadot from the second half of the fifteenth century, this image is often placed at the beginning of the manuscript and usually received a more detailed representation. In the Second Darmstadt Haggadah (fol. 2r), in the Floersheim Haggadah (p. 2), and in the Rothschild Miscellany (fol. 155v), the various stages of the work are depicted in the outer and the bottom margins of the text. A far more detailed representation of the preparation of the ***matzot*** appears in the Second Nuremberg Haggadah (fols. 1v-2v) and the Yehudah Haggadah (fols. 1v-2r) displaying the different stages in its preparation in full-page depictions at the very beginning of the manuscript. These images range from bringing the wheat to the mill through the kneading the dough until baking the ***matzot***. In all these miniatures both men and women participate in the work although but those parts in the process requiring harder physical efforts are carried out by men (carrying the flour or the water, handling the oven). In the Hamburg Miscellany, the scene illustrates the text of ***Rabban Gamaliel used to say*** (fig. 141). Four various stages are portrayed in a single longish composition starting from the left to the right: bringing the water, kneading the dough, shaping the ***matzot***, and putting it in the oven. Both the lifting of the ***matzah*** and the ***maror*** and the preparation of the matzah are depicted in small-scale images in the Miscellany, and received much smaller emphasis than the biblical-eschatological scenes of the ***Maggid***.

[169] On the possible polemical aspects of the ***matzah*** baking scene in the Birds' Head Haggadah, see Epstein, ***Medieval Haggadah***, 101-104.

Fol. 32r: Lefikakh—Raising the second cup

Therefore we are bound to thank. In Sephardi Haggadot, the initial word of this part, the introduction to the last section of the *Maggid*, was usually written in larger letters, sometimes with ornamental decoration, but the text was not accompanied by any further ritual depiction. In Ashkenazi Haggadot, *Lefikakh* was one of the most often illustrated parts of the text. This is the moment when the participants lift the second cup of wine; its representation thus pictures the lifting of the cup. Two various iconographical traditions are revealed: one portrays a man sitting or standing on the margin lifting his cup; the other depicts an entire family around the Seder table lifting their cups or watching the head of the house lifting it.[170]

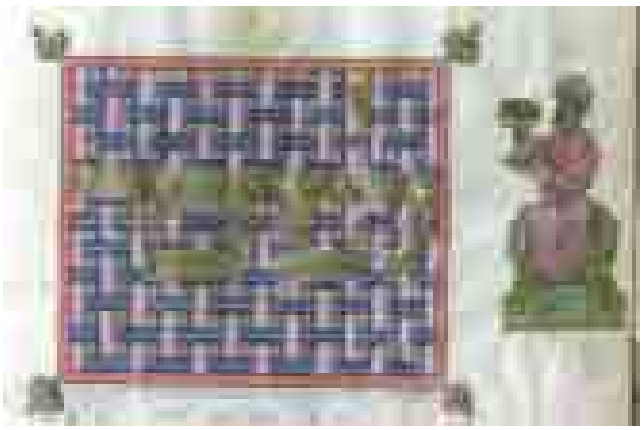


Fig. 142: Erna-Michael Haggadah, fol. 34v

In the Miscellany, the initial word is not complete with only the 'lamed' finished. Interestingly, however, the illustration of the text was already drawn (fig. 143). It depicts a man sitting and lifting the cup with both hands. Due to the proximity of the figure to the first letter, 'lamed' the remaining four letters were probably planned to be smaller and perhaps less decorated.[171] Holding the cup with both hands is a common feature in this type of depiction. In the other type portraying the entire family at the table, the participants usually grasp the cup with only one hand.

[170] A single man lifts his cup, for example, in the North French Miscellany (fol. 208r), in the Erna Michael Haggadah (fol. 34v, fig. 142), and in several of Joel ben Simeon's Haggadot such as the Washington Haggadah (fol. 17r) or Parma 2998 (Parma, BP, MS Parm. 2998 [De Rossi 111], fol. 11v). The entire celebrating family is depicted for instance in the Birds' Head Haggadah (fol. 26v), in the Second Darmstadt Haggadah (fol. 10v), in Parma 3143 (fol. 12v), and in the Rothschild Miscellany (fol. 160v). Both types appear in the First Nuremberg Haggadah (Jerusalem, Schocken Library, MS 24086, p. 26) as well as in the Second Nuremberg Haggadah (fol. 22v).

[171] As with Parma 2895 (Parma, BP, Parm. 2895 [De Rossi 653], p. 251), in which only the "lamed" has a bigger format—that is, an initial, not an initial-word. A man sits next to it and holds a cup. The other letters of "לפיכך" were written in the same format as the text and constitute a part of it.

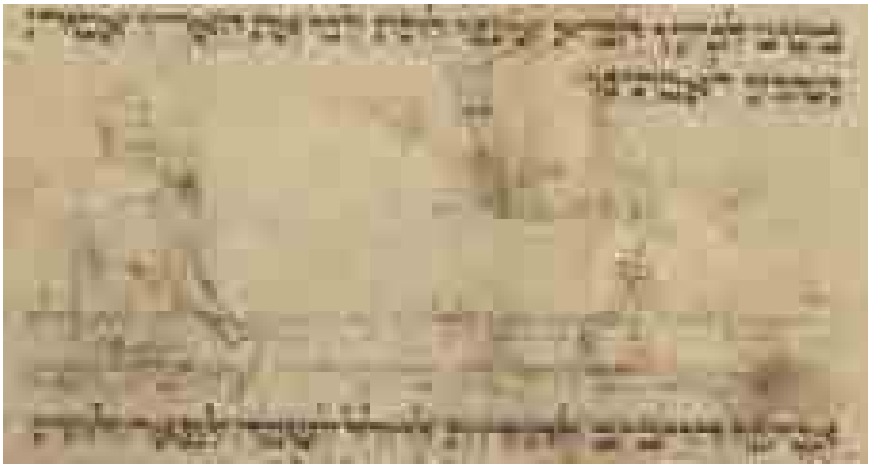


Fig. 143: Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 32r

* * *

In the Hamburg Miscellany, all the different sections in the Haggadah—from the ***Kiddush*** to the ***Maggid***—had one or more ritual illustrations, some of which are unfinished with only the outlines of the composition.[172] The ritual depictions follow the traditional Ashkenazi iconography, which had become well developed by the fifteenth century. This iconography is not uniform. Sometimes there were different variations on the same theme reflecting various customs (***minhagim***) or simply another moment in the same ritual. The artist of the Miscellany chose the version which was in accordance with the ***minhag*** of the Maharil. For instance, on the miniature illustrating the ***Ha Lahma***, the Seder plate is still uncovered.

In the selection of scenes and versions, the ritual illustrations of the Miscellany is similar to that of the Erna-Michael Haggadah produced sometime in the first half of the fifteenth century in Bohemia.[173] The sections ***Kaddesh***, ***U'rehatz***, ***Karpas***, and ***Yahatz*** in the Miscellany and in the Erna-Michael Haggadah are illustrated with very similar representations usually choosing the same variation of the iconographical theme. Moreover, the composition of the figure lifting the ***karpas*** is almost identical in the two codices.

The only exception, not following the classical Ashkenazi iconography is the depiction of the Pesah lamb being sacrificed in the Temple. The dictum of Rabban Gamaliel is usually illustrated with ritual scenes of celebrants lifting the ***matzah*** and the ***maror*** and preparing the Pesah lamb (***Pesah***). These depictions represent scenes contemporary with the celebrants. In the Miscellany, however, the

[172] In its present state, the Haggadah spread over three quires of the codex: III^{8}-IV^{8}-V^{8+1}. The unfinished depictions can be found in quires III^{8} and V^{8+1}. The only finished representation is the Messiah entering Jerusalem on fol. 35v, which was painted at a different stage in the production.
[173] Goitein, MA Thesis, 133-134.

explanation of Pesah is decorated with a historical scene taking place in the biblical past or in the eschatological future. In this way, the image is connected more to the next group of illustrations representing biblical and eschatological scenes.

II. 3. 2. Midrashic illustrations

There are images in illustrated Haggadot that do not serve as visual aid instructing the celebrants how or when to perform certain rituals. Either they provide a visual commentary on the feast by depicting scenes from the biblical past or eschatological future and thus highlight the wider context and significance of Pesah. These images illustrate some midrashic elements in the Haggadah text which do not connect directly to the mentioned biblical events such as the parable about the Four Sons or various rabbis (e.g. the five rabbis in Benei Braq, Rabbi Yose ha-Galili, Rabbi Akivah, etc.). In the Miscellany, the Four Sons and Rabbi Yose ha-Galili are portrayed. In addition, there is a marginal drawing illustrating one of the five explanations of how God brought the Israelites out of Egypt.

FOLS. 25R-25V: THE FOUR SONS

The Haggadah contains a midrashic exposition on Deut. 6:20-24 that speaks about how a father should instruct his sons in answering the different types of questions they would ask him.[174] In a literal sense the Four Sons are four children with various intellectual and moral capabilities. The rabbinical interpretations of the Four Sons present them as representatives of four different attitudes towards Jewish tradition. These rabbinical explanations had an impact on the visual representation of the Four Sons. As a consequence, in illustrated Haggadot, both Ashkenazi and Sephardi, the sons are not portrayed as children but as adults.

The first portraits indubitably depicting the sons appear in mid-fourteenth-century Sephardi Haggadot such as the Barcelona Haggadah or the Sister Haggadah.[175] In Ashkenaz, the first dated example of the iconography is the illustration in the Hamburg Miscellany depicted on two sequential pages.[176] Considering the fourteenth-century Sephardi depictions as well as the later Ashkenazi development of the iconography, representations of the sons in the Miscellany are rather unusual.

[174] Mekhilta de Rabbi Yishmael, *parashat* Bo 18; see also mPesahim 10:4.

[175] In the North French Miscellany there is a figure standing in the inner margin turning away from the text about the Four Sons, but his identification with one of them is very problematic (fol. 205v). In the two other extant early dated Haggadot, in the Dragons' Haggadah and in the Birds' Head Haggadah, the text is not decorated at all. Mira Friedman, who has studied the development of the iconography of the Four Sons, suggests that pictures of all four sons perhaps appear first in the Barcelona Haggadah produced at the beginning of the fourteenth century. See Mira Friedman, "The Four Sons of the Haggadah and the Ages of Man," *Journal of Jewish Art* 11 (1985): 16-40 (hereafter Friedman, "Four Sons"). This primacy wavers if one takes Bezalel Narkiss' dating. He places the Barcelona Haggadah in the mid-fourteenth century. There is already another manuscript containing images of all four sons in this period, namely the Sister Haggadah. See Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Isles* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1982), 84 (hereafter Narkiss, *British Isles*).

[176] In the early fifteenth-century Erna Michel Haggadah, the Wise Son is illustrated in the margin although the drawing was added later. See Zirlin, PhD, 133.

While, in most cases, the Wise Son and the Simple Son are depicted alone, and the Wicked Son and the One Who Does Not Know How To Ask sometimes have a partner, in the Miscellany all the sons have a companion. Moreover, these companions received as big an emphasis as the sons themselves: they have equal importance in the composition and are shown holding a scroll or a book with the proper answer to their questions.[177] In the case of the Wise Son, the companion is larger and seated in the foreground of the composition. This positioning causes the son to appear underplayed. All of the partners are elderly, bearded men representing the father who tells his son the about the festival.

Fol. 25r: The Wise Son

In medieval Haggadot, the question of the Wise Son has two versions: *What mean the testimonies, and the statutes, and the ordinances which the Lord our God, hath commanded us (otanu)?* and *What mean the testimonies, and the statutes, and the ordinances which the Lord our God, hath commanded you (etkhem)?* Among the Ashkenazi manuscripts, the first version prevailed.[178] The Miscellany also contains the first version, but the text has been corrected. The version "you" has been added above the word "us" in cursive script (fol.25v). In any case, this question was considered to be a proper expression of Jewish identity, that is, a sense of belonging to the Jewish community.[179]

Accordingly, the Wise Son was depicted as a positive and learned figure, as a proper Jewish scholar. In Sepharad, he appeared as an old man with beard seated in front of a lectern reading a book, in Ashkenazi lands, he was sometimes portrayed standing with or without a book in his hand, or making a speaking or teaching gesture.[180] Again another tradition is connected to the name of a fifteenth-century Jewish artist, Joel ben Simeon, who was active both in Germany and Italy. He often depicted the Wise Son pointing to his nose (e.g., Murphy Haggadah, fol. 4v, fig. 146).[181] This motif can be interpreted in several ways. It can derive from a pun on a word from the Haggadah text, *af* (ואף

[177] The inscriptions are from the Haggadah, which itself quotes from the *Mekhilta* (Bo 18.). The banderole appears in a mid-fifteenth-century Haggadah (Parma 2895, pp238-239), but there the inscriptions are missing. Three of the Four Sons are depicted with companions in the Barcelona Haggadah (fols. 34v-35v).

[178] Mordechai Glatzer, "The Ashkenazic and Italian Haggadah and the Haggadot of Joel ben Simeon," in *The Washington Haggadah*, ed. Myron M. Weinstein (Washington: Library of Congress, 1991), 154.

[179] According to Rashi, even if the first version of his question is in second person singular, it does not mean that he divorces himself from the Jewish community. It simply means that he refers to the generation of the Exodus asking which commandments they received from God. Moreover, he says "the Lord, *our* God," so he does consider himself part of the Jewish community (Siddur Rashi 391; Mahzor Vitry). In addition, he is curious about *the testimonies, statutes and laws,* so he is able to ask properly and differentiate between the three types of commandments (Mahzor Vitry; *Seder Haggadah shel Pesah im Perushim maspiq me-rabbeynu Rashbatz* [Haggadah for Pesah with the Explanations of Rabbenu Rashbatz] [Warsaw: R. Josef Lebenzehn, 1875], 25).

[180] Friedman, "Four Sons," 25-26. The Wise Son in the Second Nuremberg Haggadah and in the Yahuda is also an exception with his gesture of touching two fingers together. See Kogman-Appel, PhD, 161.

[181] E.g., Murphy Haggadah (fol. 4v). The motif also appears in other manuscripts not illustrated by Joel, such as an Ashkenazi Siddur with Haggadah (Paris, BnF, MS hèbr. 640, fol. 91r).

אתה אמור לו להלכות הפסח), which has several meanings. In the text of the Haggadah it serves as a conjunction "in turn" or "even," but it can also mean "nose," thus, the motif can play with this meaning of the word. On the other hand, it may be a rhetorical gesture displaying the Wise Son as a teacher. [182]



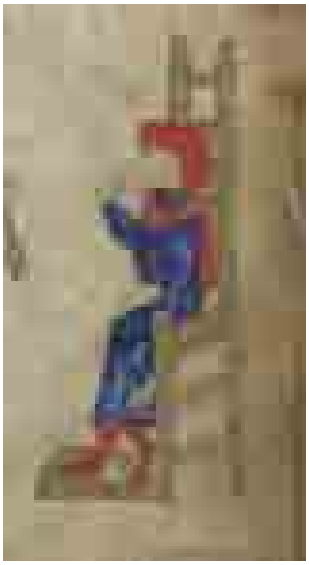


Fig. 144. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 25r: The Wise Son
Fig. 145. Second Nuremberg Haggadah, fol. 9r: The Wise Son
Fig. 146. Murphy Haggadah, fol. 4v: The Wise Son

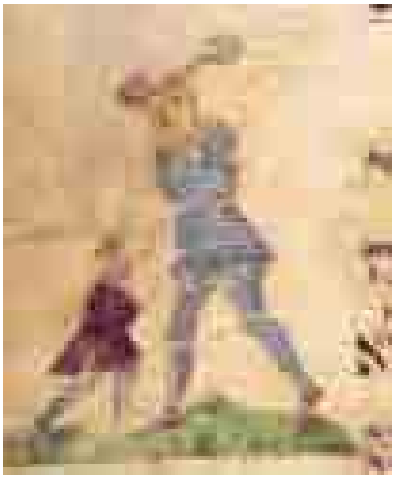
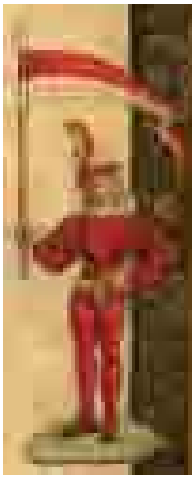
In the Hamburg Miscellany, on the bottom of folio 25r and partially in the body of the text and partially on the margin, the Wise Son is portrayed as an adult man sitting in a vaulted room (fig. 144). He wears a blue robe with hood and instead of pointing to his nose he lifts his hand to his mouth. Opposite to him under another vault, a bearded man holds a scroll. The inscription of the scroll reads, [אפיקומן] "אין מפטירון אחר הפסח וכו'."[183] This depiction does not follow any of the usual iconographical types. Pointing to the mouth became the attribute of the Son Who Does Not Know How to Ask implying that he is physically unable to ask.[184] However, the Son in the Miscellany seems rather to be putting something into his mouth rather than simply pointing to it. The inscription on the banderole speaks about *afikoman*. Thus, if *afikoman* is understood as dessert, the Son's gesture might be interpreted as a sign of having the last bite of the meal. A similar interpretation would be sealing his

[182] According to A. and W. Cahn, this is a rhetorical gesture; see Annabelle and Walter Cahn, "An Illuminated Haggadah of the fifteenth Century," *Yale University Library Gazette* 41 (1967): 172, in Narkiss, "Washington Haggadah," 61-62.
[183] The translation of this sentence varies from translation to translation to a significant degree depending on the interpretation of the word afikoman: *one may not conclude after Paschal meat [by saying], Now to the entertainment!* or *one is not to eat any dessert after the Paschal-meat*.
[184] See for example, the Washington Haggadah 6r (Washington, Library of Congress, Hebr. ms 1); Tegernsee Haggadah (fol. 12v)

mouth so as not to eat more.[185] A comparison with the depiction of the Second Nuremberg Haggadah offers another possible interpretation: there, the Wise Son makes a similar gesture touching two of his fingers together (fig. 145). Kogman-Appel interpreted this as a gesture of discussion and debate. It is possible that the Wise Son of the Miscellany is not touching his mouth but rather lifts his hands, touching his fingers together as a sign of arguement.[186].

Fol. 25v: The Wicked Son

Rabbinical interpretations emphasized that the Wicked Son is the one who divorces himself entirely from the tradition of his forefathers.[187] His negative attitude toward the Jewish customs is reflected in his question, *What is this service to you?*, that is, to you and not to me. Two parallel iconographical traditions of the Wicked Son developed, both portraying a morally reprehensible personality. On the one hand, there was the image of the soldier embodying the enemy of the Jews. In certain Ashkenazi territories from the thirteenth century, the Jews were no longer allowed to bear arms; therefore, the soldier became a symbol of the persecutors of the Jews.[188]As a soldier he is sometimes portrayed together with his victim to emphasize his aggressive and harmful behavior (Barcelona Haggadah, fol. 43v, fig. 147; Murphy Haggadah, fol. 5r; Tegernsee Haggadah, fol. 12; London Ashkenazi Haggadah, fol. 9r, fig. 148).[189] On the other hand, there was the tradition to depict him as a negligent dandy, who with his fashionable dress, transgressed the sumptuary laws concerning Jewish dress issued either by

Figs. 147-149. Barcelona Haggadah, fol. 43v, London Ashkenazi Haggadah, fol. 9r, First Cincinnati Haggadah, fol. 10v: The Wicked Son

[185] Thanks to Eva Frojmovic for her suggestion.
[186] Kogman-Appel, PhD, 161.
[187] E.g., Rashbam, Rokeah, see ibidem, 163.
[188] Ibidem, 162 n. 231.
[189] London Ashkenazi Haggadah: London, BL, MS Add. 14762.

the Jewish leadership or by the non-Jewish authorities.[190] Thus, both traditions emphasized that the Wicked Son either did not belong to the Jewish nation or that he rejected it. In Sephardi Haggadot, the Wicked Son is usually a soldier, while in Ashkenazi Haggadot, the two traditions are sometimes unified, such as in the Second Nuremberg Haggadah (fol. 9v) and the First Cincinnati Haggadah (fol.10v, fig. 149) in which the Wicked Son is dressed in the most recent fashion, but at the same time he is a soldier.

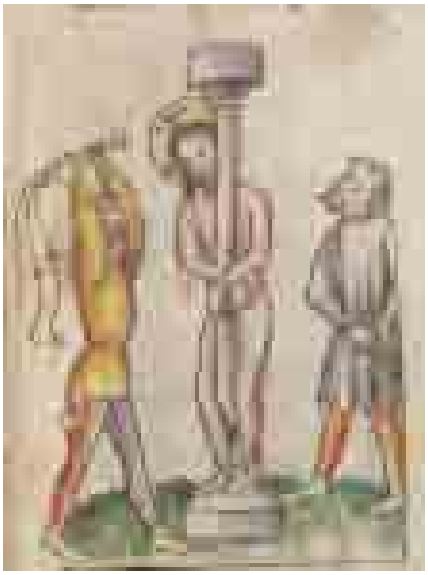


Fig. 150. Master Francke: Flagellation of Christ, ca.1425; Hamburg, Kunsthalle
Fig. 151. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 25v: The Wicked Son
Fig. 152. Heidelberg, UB, Cod. Pal. germ. 432, fol. 26r: The Flagellation of Christ

The Hamburg Miscellany offers a unique depiction of the Wicked Son representing him not just as someone who turns away from the Jewish tradition but as someone whose intellectual capabilities are also questionable (fig. 151). He wears bicolor (*miparti*) green-pink trousers that slip off his bottom and he is shown angrily lifting a club to hit the man who is showing him the banderole.[191] The latter's mouth is open as if saying something to the Wicked Son. The scroll he holds says, It is because of that which the Lord did for me (בעבור זה עשה י לי). The two figures are standing on a meadow covered by flowers. The Wicked Son has a big nose and he snarls displaying blunt looking teeth. The latter feature

[190] Ibidem, 162. Moreover, during the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries patterned clothing among the upper class gradually became less popular and accepted. It was downgraded as the costume of the despised, and polychrome dress was often a characteristic of the executioners' habit; see Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 23-27 (hereafter Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*); Hannele Klemettilä, *Epitomes of Evil: Representation of Executioners in Northern France and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 110-116 (hereafter Klemettilä, *Epitomes of Evil*).

[191] The Wicked Son also wears bicolor pants in the Second Nuremberg Haggadah (fol. 9v) and in the Rothschild Miscellany (fol. 157v). In the latter depiction, another motif, the club in his hand is also similar to the image in the Hamburg Miscellany. The Wicked Son of the Rylands Ashkenazi Haggadah is unambiguously a soldier; however he is also characterized by ragged clothes: one of his socks has slipped down and his trousers are torn at the knee (fol. 10r).

might refer to the text of the Haggadah, which says, *you in return must set his teeth on edge*, that is, you refute the 'Wicked Son's arguments representing the expression verbatim.

In Jewish depictions of the sons, the bicolor dress and the trousers slipping down usually characterize the Simple Son or the One Who Does Not Know How to Ask as expressions of their intellectual deficiency.[192] In Christian tradition, trousers slipping down, in the same way as particolored dress besides being characteristic features of fools are closely connected to evil figures.[193] Slipping trousers reveal one's buttocks, the most inferior part of the body. Martha Bayless, investigating the exposure of the lower part of the body as a sign of one's sinfulness, has surveyed the development of the concept through textual sources and visual depictions.[194] Since sinful thoughts originated from various parts of the body, carnality is something shameful that must be veiled. Bayless has claimed that showing the buttocks "could bear a specifically anti-religious sentiment." "It is the fleshliness, the disgusting material corruptibility exemplified by the rear, as well as the rear itself, that confronts God: the most impure of impure flesh against God's pure spirit."[195]

Fig. 153. Master of the View of St Gudule: Flagellation of Christ, North-Germany, ca. 1480-1500

In Christian written sources, the motif of showing the bottom already appears in the sixth century, while its visual expression became widespread in religious images of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These representations are usually torture scenes in which a pure and holy person is tormented by sinful evildoers. Besides the distorted physiognomy, unwitting exposure of the buttocks is another characteristic feature of the persecutors of Christ in depictions of the Passion. The motif is meant to represent the moral corruption and ungodly nature of these persecutors. One example offered by Bayless is the Carrying of the Cross by the Master of the Worchester Panel painted sometime in the first third of the fifteenth century. It portrays one of Christ's tormentors with his trousers slipping down from the rear letting his

[192] The Son Who Does Not Know How to Ask is portrayed as a fool in other fifteenth-century Ashkenazi Haggadot, for example: Washington Haggadah (fol. 6r), Second Nuremberg Haggadah (fol. 10r), First Cincinnati Haggadah (HUC, MS 444, fol. 11v), a Siddur with Haggadah (Paris, BnF, MS hèbr. 640; fol. 92r), Schocken Haggadah, (MS Parma 2998, fol. 4r). In the last two examples, just as in the Hamburg Miscellany, his trousers were depicted as slipping down.
The Simple Son is portrayed as a fool only in the Ashkenazi tradition, for example in the Ashkenazi Haggadah (Parma, Ms 2895, p239) and in the Rylands Ashkenazi Haggadah (John Rylands Library, Ryl. Hebrew Ms. 7, fol. 10v). Friedman, "Four Sons," 27.

[193] Particolored dress could have several various meanings depending on the context. See Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, 7-31.

[194] Martha Bayless, "Clothing, Exposure, and the Depiction of Sin in Passion Iconography," in *Weaving, Veiling, and Dressing. Textiles and their Metaphors in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Kathryn M. Rudy and Barbara Baert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 289-306.

[195] Ibidem, 297-298.

underwear and part of his bottom show out.[196] While he is occupied in dragging at Christ's robe, he does not notice that his carnality, which should be veiled, had been exposed. In the Flagellation of Christ in a German copy of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* produced in the Middle-Rhine region around 1420-1430, one of the torturers is depicted with bicolor trousers slipping down from his bottom (fig. 152).[197]

In addition to the sagging trousers, further similarities can be discovered between the tormentors of Christ and the Wicked Son of the Miscellany. In a Flagellation of Christ painted by Master Francke from ca.1425, the tormentor on Christ's left is portrayed in the same posture: he is about to smite Christ while lifting one of his legs. His facial features with, the distorted physiognomy and especially the pig-like rounded nose, is also very similar to that of the Wicked Son (fig. 150).[198] The artist of the Miscellany thus applied elements of his time's common visual language—stripped clothing, uncovered buttocks, a distorted body—to express the Wicked Son's crookedness.

Fol. 25v: The Simple Son

The iconographical tradition of the Simple Son and the Son Who Does Not Know How to Ask cannot be strictly separated. Due to their very similar characterization—both of them are featured with limited intellectual capacity—their visual representation is interchangeable. What does the Simple Son ask? *What is this?* He is not able to ask a wise and detailed question like the Wise Son but neither does he intend to deny "the foundation of the faith" as the Wicked Son does.[199] He is the one, who makes efforts to behave properly, according to the laws although he lacks the intellectual capacity to comprehend their meaning and study them.

The iconography of the Simple Son is not unified; his ignorance and simple-minded character were expressed in various ways. In a few cases, he is depicted as a youth (Second Nuremberg Haggadah, fol. 10r, fig. 154; Yahuda Haggadah, fol. 9v) or as a man holding a book as a sign of his readiness to learn (London Ashkenazi Haggadah, fol. 9v, fig. 155; Lombard Haggadah, fol. 8v).[200]

[196] Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago, for the reproduction, see ibidem, 299, fig. 79.
[197] *Spiegel menschlicher gesuntheit*, Heidelberg, UB, Cod. Pal. germ. 432, fol. 26r.
[198] This type of tormentor appears in a number of examples. See, for instance, Flagellation of Christ by the Master of the View of St Gudule (Northern Germany, ca. 1480-1500; Winnipeg, Winnipeg Art Gallery).
[199] See the explanation of this passage, e.g., in *Shibbolei ha-Leqet*, Mahzor Vitry, Rokeah.
[200] According to Metzger, showing the Simple Son with the attribute of the Wise Son which he is not able to understand is an ironic motif. Metzger, *Haggadah*, 157-158.

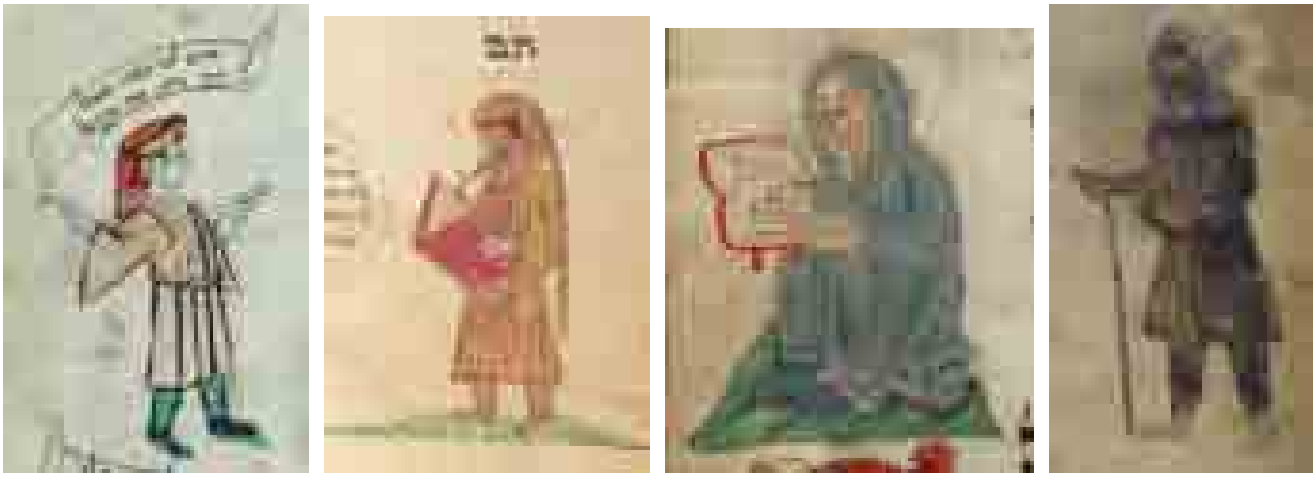


Fig. 154-157. Second Nuremberg Haggadah, fol. 10r, Ashkenazi Haggadah, fol. 9v, Washington Haggadah, fol. 6r, Murphy Haggadah, 5v: The Simple Son

A more widespread representation of the Simple Son depicts him as a jester (Parma 2895, p.239; Manchester, John Rylands Library, Ryl. Hebrew MS 7, fol. 10v).[201] In the Haggadot decorated by Joel ben Simeon, there is another type where he is clothed in a cloak with a hood on his head and a book in his hand (Bodmer Haggadah, fol. 7v, Washington Haggadah, fol. 6r, fig. 156)[202] or sometimes wandering about with a stick (Stuttgart Haggadah, fol. 5v; Parma 2998, fol. 4r; Murphy Haggadah fol. 5v, fig. 157).[203] The austere cloak, the hood, and the stick present him as someone who is quite poor and wanders from one place to another. Bezalel Narkiss called this type the wandering beggar, while according to Mira Friedman the baldness, the stick as well as the hood are also attributes of fools. Narkiss assumes that Joel may have had a direct model for this type of the Simple Son "fashioned after the simple son as depicted in the Hamburg Miscellany."[204] Indeed, the painter of the Hamburg Miscellany approaches the Simple Son from a similar point of view. He and his companion sits in a meadow facing each other (fig. 158). The son wears a robe with a hood, but it does not cover his partially bald head. A bearded man sits next to him, and explaining something and gesticulating with

Fig. 158. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 25v: The Simple Son

[201] Friedman, "Four Sons," 27-28.
[202] *Bodmer Haggadah:* Cologny-Geneva, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana-Foundation Martin Bodmer, MS Cod. Bodmer 81
[203] Stuttgart Haggadah, Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Or. Q I, fol. 5v; Ashkenazi Haggadah, Parma, BP, MS Parm. 2998 [De Rossi 111]; Murphy Haggadah,
[204] Mira Friedman considers the bald Simple Son of Parma 2998 to be an exceptional example and does not mention the Hamburg Miscellany. Friedman, "Four Sons," 38 n. 94. About the type of a wandering beggar, see Narkiss, "Washington Haggadah," 66.

his hands. There is a scroll above him on which it is written, *By strength of hand the Lord brought us out from Egypt* (*בחוזק יד הוציאנו יי ממצרים*). His lower social status as a beggar may express his poorer intellectual capability and his rather low level of erudition.

Fol. 25v: The Son Who Does Not Know How to Ask

The last son possesses the lowest intellectual capacity to the extent that he is not able to ask any questions at all. His visual representation is as rich in variations as that of the Simple Son. He often appears as a jester wearing a cap with asses' ears (Washington Haggadah, fol. 6r, fig. 159; Second Nuremberg Haggadah, fol. 10r; An-sky Haggadah, fol.),[205] or holding a stick with a fool's head at the end (Rothschild Miscellany, fol. 157v). A variant of this type is a jester riding on a stick (Parma 2998, fol. 4r; Paris 640, fol. 92r; Murphy Haggadah, fol. 6r, fig. 160). Mendel Metzger held that the jester costume does not fit the text of the Haggadah and that it derived from the folk literature of medieval Germany.[206] Mira Friedman investigating the origins of the iconography of the Four Sons, suggests that originally the Simple Son was portrayed as a fool, as a jester, and it was borrowed later for the representation of the Son Who Does Not Know How To Ask.[207] While in Ashkenaz, this iconography of the fool in the clothes of a jester was very widespread but was not present in Sephardi Haggadot.[208] There, another type was popular, namely, the depiction of the last son as a young boy or a youth sometimes shown alone (Parma 2895, p. 239; Kaufmann Haggadah, fol. 19v, fig. 162; Prato Haggadah, fol. 6v; Farissol Haggadah, fol. 8r), sometimes turning to an adult (Barcelona Haggadah, fol. 35v). This type conformed to the widespread interpretation according to which he does not know how to ask because he is too young.[209] Again another iconographical type derives from the wording of the Haggadah. *And with him who does not know how to ask you must open and begin yourself*, literally, you must open [the conversation or his mouth] for him (*פתח לו*). The images depicting him with a companion opening his mouth derive from this literal understanding of the text (First Cincinnati Haggadah, fol. 11v; Second Darmstadt Haggadah, fol. 4v; Floersheim Haggadah, p. 7, fig. 161).[210]

[205] An-sky Haggadah, Moscow, RGALI f. 2583 An-sky op. I ed. khr. I_Haggadah.
[206] Metzger, *La Haggadah Enluminée*, 166.
[207] Friedman, "Four Sons," 29.
[208] Nevertheless, in the Sister Haggadah, the fourth son looks like a fool: he has a strange hat, he stretches his arms in a comical way, and push out his tongue (fol. 36v).
[209] On the connection between the Four Sons of the Haggadah and the Four Ages of Man, see Friedmann, "Four Sons."
[210] The Four Sons are depicted in all the early printed Haggadot (Prague 1526, Mantua 1560, Venice 1609 and 1629, Amsterdam 1695). The earliest one, the Prague Haggadah, still followed the tradition developed in the manuscripts: the Wise Son is an elder bearded figure making gestures of explanation; the Wicked Son is an elegantly dressed soldier; the Simple Son is a man in simple clothes looking down humbly; and the Son Who Does Not Know How To Ask is a small boy standing in front of an adult man, who educates him on the feast of Pesah. In the Mantua Haggadah, only the figure of the

Figs. 159-162. Washington Haggadah, fol. 6r, Murphy Haggadah, fol. 6r, Floersheim Haggadah, p. 7, Kaufmann Haggadah, fol. 19v: The Son Who Does Not Know How To Ask

In the Miscellany, the depiction of the Son Who Does Not Know How to Ask, unlike the portraits of the first three sons, is more traditional (fig. 163). It followed the tradition of representing him as a youth. He and his companion are sitting in a meadow under a tree. The son touches his mouth with his left hand expressing by this gesture that he is unable to come up with any sort of question. The man in front of him explains to the son using vivid gestures. He has an open book in his lap. Its two open braces are seen on the right side of the book. The text of the book is barely legible, *It is because of that which the Lord did for me* (בעבור זה עשה י לי). The jester in the Washington Haggadah acts similarly, pointing to his tongue. According to Narkiss, Joel ben Simeon, who sometimes used this motif, may have been influenced by the miniature of the Hamburg Miscellany or a similar representation.[211]

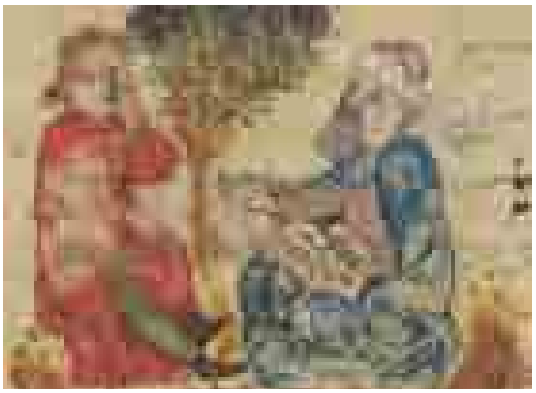


Fig. 163. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 25v: The Son Who Does Not Know How To Ask

* * *

While in Sepharad, the Four Sons became part of the basis set of images used in Haggadah illustration by the mid-fourteenth century, they did not receive such attention in early Ashkenaz Haggadot. The first dated representation of all Four Sons in Ashkenazi lands can be found in the

fourth son is entirely different from those in the Prague Haggadah: here he is a wild Indian. The iconography is based on the jester, but it was translated into contemporary language. The Venice Haggadah offers an entirely original solution: the sons are portrayed through the various stages of the making of the Pesah lamb. Finally, in the Amsterdam Haggadah of 1695, the approximately two hundred fifty years old iconographical tradition undergoes a great change: from this point on, all the four sons are depicted in a single composition and they differ according to their age.

[211] Narkiss, "Washington Haggadah," 68.

Hamburg Miscellany. The overall compositions of the latter portraits are different from the Sephardi examples: the Sons are accompanied by their "mentors," who hold banderoles with their answers written on them. In iconographical details, however, certain similarities can be discovered between the representations of the Spanish Haggadot and that of the Miscellany: the sons are not children but rather adults except for the rather adolescent-looking fourth son; the Wicked Son is characterized by aggressive behavior, etc. These common features most likely result from the use of the same commentaries and other textual sources and not from using directly Sephardic manuscripts as visual models. [212] The representation of the Miscellany also exhibit strong links with later Ashkenazi and Italo-Ashkenazi depictions of the Four Sons. Since these latter codices were produced in the same geo-cultural area only some decades later, some sort of direct influence can be easily assumed in their case.[213] Due to the scarcity of documentary evidence, however, such connections cannot be demonstrated.

Fig. 164. Hamburg Miscellany fol. 29r: Rabbi Yosi ha-Galili

Fol. 29r: Rabbi Yosi ha-Galili

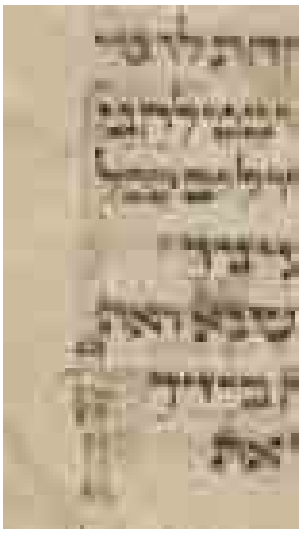
A usual element in the illustrated Haggadot is the portraits of various rabbis mentioned in the text: the rabbis of Bnei Braq, R. Elazar ben Azarya and Ben Zoma, R. Yehudah and R. Yosi ha-Galili, R. Eliezer, R. Akiva, and Rabban Gamliel. After the five explanations of the way God brought the Israelites out from Egypt, the Haggadah speaks about the ten plagues and mentions the dictum of two rabbis, Rabbi Yehudah and Rabbi Yosi concerning the issue. These two rabbis are often depicted in the Haggadot, sometimes both of them (two Greek Haggadot: Paris, fol. 12r; Chantilly, fol. 17r),[214] sometimes only the one (R. Yosi: Sephardi Rylands Haggadah, fol. 28r, Murphy Haggadah, fol. 15r; R. Yehudah: Yahuda Haggadah, fol. 16r).[215] They are usually portrayed as elderly men with beards sitting on chairs with an open book in their hands.[216] In the Miscellany, the only portrait of a rabbi is the one of Rabbi Yosi ha-Galili (fig. 164). Its depiction does not follow the usual iconography; the rabbi,

[212] Although the latter cannot be excluded either since there is still no thorough study of the possible influence of fourteenth century Sephardi Haggadah illustration on early fifteenth century Ashkenazi Haggadot.
[213] See n 167 on the Miscellany being a possible model for Joel ben Simeon.
[214] *Paris Greek Haggadah:* Paris, BnF, MS hèbr. 1388*; Chantilly Greek Haggadah:* Chantilly, Musee Conde MS 732.
[215] In other Haggadot, the portraits of these rabbis are missing and the illustration concentrates exclusively on the ten plagues (First Cincinnati Haggadah, fols. 23r-23v; Second Nuremberg Haggadah, fol. 16v).
[216] Steinmann, MA Thesis, 123-129.

seated on a chair, does not hold an open book but rather the book is closed. The only image which is similar to this depiction is the portrait of R. Yosi in the Prague Haggadah of 1526. Here, R. Yosi holds an object in his right hand, while his left hand lies over the object.[217]

Fol. 29r: 'And with signs'—this refers to the staff

The Haggadah offers five explanations of the way God brought the Israelites out from the land of Egypt: with a strong hand—this refers to the pestilence; an outstretched arm—this refers to the sword; with a great manifestation—this refers to the revelation of the Shekhinah; with signs—this refers to the staff; with wonders—this refers to the blood. In Sephardi Haggadot, these explanations are usually not illustrated, but in Ashkenazi Haggadot, several of them are.[218] Usually only the second explanation, *'And with an outstretched arm:' this is the sword, as it is said: 'Having a drawn sword in his hand stretched out over Jerusalem"* (1Chron. 21:16) was illustrated, and its iconography was rather uniform, representing a hand stretching out a huge sword above a fortified city, apparently Jerusalem (Murphy Haggadah, fol. 13v; Parma 2998, fol. 7r; Paris and Chantilly Greek Haggadot, fols. 11r and 16r).[219] Later, in some early printed Haggadot, an angel appears holding a huge sword in his hand (Mantua Haggadah, Prague Haggadah). The most complete illustration can be found in the Second Darmstadt and in the Floersheim Haggadot, both with have four decorated explanations: the pestilence, the sword, the stick, and the blood.



Figs. 165-166. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 29r, Paris BnF 640, fol. 98v: "Take this staff in your hand"

[217] The rabbi of the Miscellany is seated on a chair decorated with carvings. The same carved motif decorates the chair of R. Yehudah in the two sixteenth-century Greek Haggadot (Paris, fol. 12r; Chantilly, fol. 17r).
[218] About the illustration of the five explanations see Steinmann, MA Thesis, 147-152.
[219] The depiction in the Ryzhin Siddur is different. Here a soldier stands in the other margin grasping a longish sword (fol. 165v).

In the Miscellany, there are only two decorated explanations, the first and the third. The illustration of the first explanation is a biblical scene to be discussed in the next subchapter (see entry for folio 28v). The third explanation says that *'And with signs:' this is the rod, as it is said: 'And thou shalt take in thy hand this rod, wherewith thou shalt do the signs'* (Ex. 4:17). Next to the word *your hand*, there is a drawing of a hand grasping a finely carved stick (fig. 165). This explanation was less often decorated than the second one, and lacks a uniform iconography. The Second Darmstadt (fol. 7v) and the Floersheim Haggadot (p. 12)—and later the Amsterdam Haggadah adopted this tradition—illustrate it with a biblical narrative, with the scene of Moses and Aaron performing the miracle of the stick before Pharaoh and his magicians, a scene often depicted in the picture cycles of Sephardi Haggadot. In the Lombard Haggadah (fols. 17v-18r), only Moses is portrayed performing miracles with the stick. The two sixteenth-century Greek Haggadot (Paris, fol. 11v; Chantilly, fol. 16r) offer another iconography, which later also appears in the Prague Haggadah of 1526 (fol. 14v): Moses is portrayed taking the stick from the hand of an angel. Close parallels to the depiction of the Miscellany can be found in two Ashkenazi Haggadot from the mid-fifteenth century. In the Hileq Bileq Haggadah (fol. 14v), a hand stretches out from a cloud holding a nicely decorated stick, while in Paris BnF 640, a hand holds a naked spray (fol. 98v, fig. 166).

II. 3. 3. BIBLICAL-ESCHATOLOGICAL SCENES

Miniatures belonging to this category prevail in the illustration program of the Haggadah. In addition, many of these images occupy a large part of the folio, sometimes appearing as large as the text or even larger (e.g., fols. 27r, 27v, 29v). The biblical and eschatological scenes are closely related to the text of the Haggadah, and all such scenes were placed close to the paragraph or wording which they refer to. This close symbiosis between text and image characterizes, the Second Darmstadt and the Floersheim Haggadot, although probably not to the same degree. In later richly illustrated Haggadot such as in the Second Nuremberg and Yahuda Haggadot or the Hileq Bileq Haggadah, the arrangement of the scenes is less strict, that is, the images do not always accompany the text they are connected to. Moreover, there are scenes that have no direct connection to the text of the Haggadah at all, such as midrashic scenes from the life of Moses.

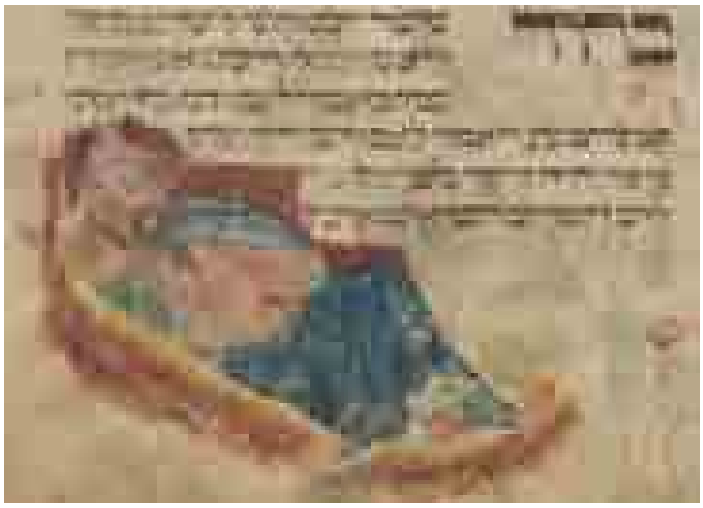
The Miscellany's iconographical program of biblical and eschatological scenes is an innovation. Besides the traditional scenes such as the Hard Work in Egypt or Crossing the Red Sea, the Miscellany contains several new scenes that appear here for the first time. They do not appear among the extant illuminated Haggadot in either Ashkenaz or Italy nor in Sepharad works.. These new iconographies, the sleeping Abraham, Laban pursuing Jacob, Pharaoh's blood bath, and the Messiah entering into Jerusalem have been built into the traditional iconography of illustrated Haggadot and occur in manuscripts from the second half of the fifteenth century as well as in printed Haggadot.

Fol. 26r: Sleeping Abraham—The Covenant of the Pieces

> **Blessed be He who keeps His promise to Israel,** blessed be He. For the Holy One, blessed be He, premeditated the end of the bondage, thus doing that which he said as He had said to Abraham at the Covenant between the Sections, as it is said: "And he said unto Abram: 'Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred years; and also that nation, whom they shall serve, will I judge; and afterward shall they come out with great substance' (Gen. 15:13-14)

The Haggadah here is reminiscent of the Covenant of the Pieces in Genesis 15, when God promised Abraham that he would have offspring and then ordered him to offer a sacrifice

of several animals to Him. After performing the sacrifice, Abraham falls asleep and has a dream in which God tells him about the future sufferings of his offspring but also about their consolation and their redemption. The Haggadah commentaries explain that ***Blessed be He who keeps his promise*** refers not only to the redemption from Egypt, but also to the final redemption.[175]



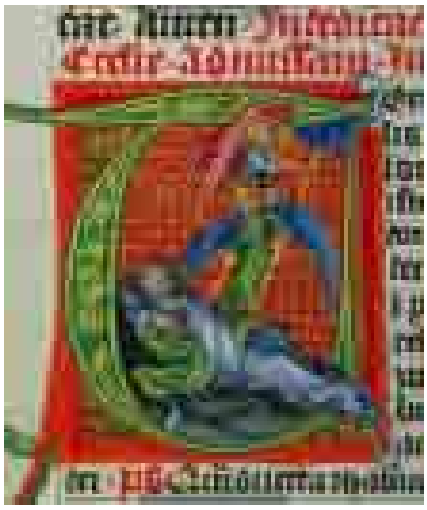


Fig. 167. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 26r: Abraham sleeping
Fig. 168. *Hasenburg Missale*, Vienna, ÖNB cod. 1844, fol. 153v: Jacob's ladder

In the Miscellany, the paragraph is accompanied by an image of the sleeping Abraham depicting the moment when the forefather fell asleep after the sacrifice (fig. 167). The miniature is embedded within the body of the text. The figure, a bearded old man, is shown lying on the ground leaning against a small mound and holding his head with his right hand. His eyes are closed, he is sleeping.

This part of the Haggadah was not always illustrated. The miniature of the Miscellany is the first example of this iconography, and although the theme of the Covenant of the Pieces as an illustration later became a standard part of the Haggadah illustration, the figure of the sleeping forefather has only two parallels.[176] The earlier one

[175] E.g., *Shibbolei ha-Leqet* on this paragraph, see *Otzar Perushim we-Tziyyurim el Haggadah shel Pesah* [The Treasure of explanations and illustrations in the Haggadah for Pesah] (New York: Wolfes Sales, 1947), 154.

[176] The scene appears outside the Ashkenazi-Italian tradition as well. Illustrating the text, ***Blessed be He who keeps His promise to Israel***, two sixteenth-century Greek Haggadot depict Abraham kneeling in front of an angel, who speaks in the name of God, and promises the forefather that he will have children (Paris, BnF, cod. hebr. 1388, fol. 7v; Chantilly Mus. Conde 732, fol. 11v). This composition is rather similar to Byzantine and early Christian depictions of the scene. About these two Greek Haggadot, see Steinmann, MA Thesis.
The scene was missing only in the Amsterdam Haggadah among the four early printed Haggadot. In the

is in the so-called Second Darmstadt Haggadah (fol. 5r) from the end of the fifteenth century, while the later one is in the Floersheim Haggadah from 1502 (p. 8). These two miniatures are very similar to each other from an iconographical point of view but their styles are very different.

In the Second Darmstadt Haggadah (fol. 5r, fig. 169), Abraham is shown sleeping on the bottom of the page. Next to him is the heifer divided into two with the flaming torch between the two halves of its body, while birds of prey hover above the forefather. Abraham's figure and the position of his hands—one is shown holding his head, the other depicted lying next to his side—are very similar to the figure of Abraham in the Hamburg Miscellany. The composition in the Floersheim Haggadah (p. 8, fig. 170) is more detailed, and there are small explanatory labels placed here and there. All the sacrificed animals mentioned in the biblical text are shown: the heifer, the goat, the ram (each split into two parts) and the two birds, a turtle-dove and a pigeon. The smoking oven and the flaming torch are shown passing through the two halves of each animal.

What might the model for this new iconography have been? One possibility is that the artist simply cast his net into the pool of visual motifs shared by Jews and Christians alike and adopted the wide-spread formula of sleep, a widely used visual *topos*: a recumbent figure with legs a bit pulled up and with his/her head resting on his palm. To stay with biblical examples, another forefather, Jacob, and his dream about the ladder was a popular topic in Christian art from Late Antiquity and was depicted at Dura-Europos as well as in Jewish manuscripts, mainly in the biblical cycles in fourteenth-century Sephardi Haggadot.[177] There are indeed strong similarities between Abraham in the Miscellany and its coeval depictions of Jacob. In the early fifteenth- century ***Hasenburg***

Prague and in the Mantua Haggadah, Abraham is depicted standing and lifting his arms towards the cloudy sky as if praying. The Venice Haggadah has more of a compound composition: Abraham is still awake and driving away the birds of prey above the pieces. The sun is already going down in the background and the smoking oven is approaching.

[177] "Jakob: Jakobs Traum," in ***Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie***, ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum (Freiburg: Herder, 1974), 373-375. For Jacob's Ladder in Sephardi Haggadot, see, for example, Golden Haggadah, fol. 4v; Sarajevo Haggadah, fol. 10r; Sister Haggadah, fol. 4v. An Ashkenazi example of the iconography can be found in a thirteenth-century biblical commentary of Rashi produced in Würzburg, 1233 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. Heb. 5, fol. 25v). It is plausible that the primary model for these representations was indeed the Christian iconography of Jacob's ladder.

Missale for example, an old bearded Jacob reclines on his side with one hand under his head in the same way as Abraham in the Hamburg Miscellany (fig. 168).[178]

Nevertheless, due to its significance in Jewish salvation history, the covenant of the Pieces, the authorship might have wanted to exploit the opportunity offered by certain Christian iconographical types and the meaning they bore. The Covenant of the Pieces was quite rarely depicted in Christian art, and I have not found any representations similar to the Jewish ones.


Figs. 169-170. Second Darmstadt Haggadah, fol. 5r, Floersheim Haggadah, p. 8: The Covenant of the Pieces

There was, however, another available iconographical type, an element which could have served as a model for the artists preparing to represent the sleeping Abraham. This is Jesse, the ancestor of Christ, who appears in depictions of the Tree of Jesse. From about the eleventh century, this theme was present in numerous genres of Christian art, from book illumination to architectural sculpture and stained glass windows. [179]

[178] *Hasenburg Missale*, Vienna, ÖNB cod. 1844, fol. 153v.
[179] Arthur Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), 1-

Comparing the miniature of the Hamburg Miscellany to a contemporary Christian representation, a miniature in a *Speculum humanae salvationis*, the similarity between the sleeping Abraham and the sleeping Jesse is conspicuous (fig. 171).[180]

Fig. 171. *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, Copenhagen, The Royal Library, GKS 79 2º, fol. 21r: The Tree of Jesse

Besides the formal similarity between the two biblical figures, they played similar roles since Jesse is the forefather of Jesus Christ, by whom the Christians believed themselves to be redeemed and Abraham is the forefather of Isaac, whose sacrifice means that God will forgive the sins of the succeeding generations. Thus, if the artist indeed used the image of Jesse as a model for the depiction of Abraham, he could have added a polemical strain to the composition. By transferring Jesse to Abraham, he may have been challenging the Christian claim that salvation would come from the stem of Jesse. The image might have served as confirmation the Jews would indeed be redeemed by the virtue of Abraham and his offspring as the Scripture says, "Blessed be He who keeps His promise to Israel, blessed be He!…."

Fol. 26v: Laban pursuing Jacob

"Go forth and learn what Laban the Aramean planned to do to our father Jacob"—this is the introduction to a biblical verse (Deut. 26:5) cited in the Haggadah. The biblical verse can be interpreted in several ways, depending on how one defines the predicative (*avad*—wandering or destroying) and the subject (Jacob or Laban). Accordingly, the sentence

2. As has been pointed out, the iconography of Jesse's Tree may have derived from the older composition of Jacob's ladder, see ibidem, 51-52.

[180] *Speculum humanae salvationis*, Copenhagen, The Royal Library, GKS 79 2º.

may mean, "A wandering Aramean was my father; or the Aramean sought to destroy my father" (e.g., Rashi on Deut. 26:5; Abraham Ibn Ezra on Deut. 26:5).[181] The Haggadah as well as prominent rabbinical authorities followed the later interpretation, as is clear from the introductory words cited above.[182]

The paragraph was not always illustrated, but when it was, two kinds of iconography prevailed: the biblical story of Laban pursuing Jacob from Genesis 31 or a wandering figure. The motif of the wandering figure derives from the literal meaning of the expression, "Go forth and learn," and it is usually interpreted as the portrait of someone who starts off on a journey of learning.[183] However, this iconography can be explained in another way. It may be a depiction of the wandering Jacob, thus offering a parallel interpretation of the biblical verse in a visual form. [184] The iconography of the wanderer appeared first in manuscripts illustrated by Joel ben Simeon, a Jewish artist of the second half of the fifteenth century active in Germany and in Italy. It became a popular motif in later illustrated Haggadot (fig. 172).[185]

Fig. 172. Washington Haggadah, fol. 7v: Wanderer

[181] Modern Jewish English translations are not uniform in this respect. The Jewish Publication Society Bible (1917) for example offers the first interpretation, while the Judaica Press goes with the second one.
[182] See also Haggadah commentaries, e.g., Mahzor Vitry, *Shibbolei ha-Leqet*.
[183] Zirlin, PhD, 136.
[184] Since the wanderer was often portrayed as a warrior, a third possibility arises: may he also be interpreted as Laban? In the Lombard Haggadah, there is a bearded man wearing a simple robe standing in the margin (fol. 6v). He does not have anything in his hands. In this manuscript, those words to which the illustration is connected are marked with a fine pen-flourished decoration. In this folio, the word "Laban" is marked, which may suggests that the figure represents Laban.
[185] The Haggadot of Joel ben Simeon in which the motif appears: First Nuremberg Haggadah (fol. 6v); Murphy Haggadah (fol. 8r); Bodmer Haggadah (Cologny-Geneva, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana-Foundation Martin Bodmer, MS Cod. Bodmer 81, fol. 8v); Ashkenazi Haggadah (fol. 11v); Washington Haggadah (fol. 7v), see Zirlin, PhD, 136. Other examples not painted by Joel: First Cincinnati Haggadah (produced by Meir Jaffe the scribe, late fifteenth century, fol. 14v), Ashkenazi Siddur (Paris, BnF MS hèbr. 640, fol. 94r), Rothschild Miscellany (fol. 158r), two Greek Haggadot of the fifteenth century (Paris, BnF, cod. hebr. 1388, fol. 8r; Chantilly Mus. Conde 732, fol. 12r). Narkiss, "Washington Haggadah," 70.


Figs. 173-174. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 26v, Parma 3143, fol. 6v: Laban pursuing Jacob

In the Miscellany, the text is illustrated with a large miniature showing a group of soldiers approaching a camp (fig. 173). Kurt Schubert and Yael Zirlin identified the scene with Jacob and his household going down to Egypt, perhaps because part of the miniature is next to the paragraph, "And he went down to Egypt."[186] Jacob going down to Egypt with his household, however, is depicted in the next folio (the recto side of the same double opening) and follows the traditional iconography (see the next entry on fol. 27r). In my opinion, the miniature is connected to the previous paragraph, "Go forth and learn," and shows Laban pursuing Jacob, more precisely the moment when Laban and Jacob meet in Jacob's camp by Mount Gilead, providing the first dated Ashkenazi example of this iconography. There is a place for the decoration in the body of the text, but, as it often happens in the Miscellany, the miniature also occupies part of the margin. Jacob's camp is depicted in the upper register. The forefather stands in front of the tents

[186] Kurt Schubert's handwritten notes in the documentation of the manuscript in the Ursula and Kurt Schubert (Vienna) Archive of Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts in the Center for Jewish Art; Zirlin, PhD, 124.

amidst various animals and greets Laban who is escorted by his armed troop. Four men are shown approaching on horseback although one also rides a camel. All wear helmet-like hats and armor. The first soldier, probably Laban himself, has already addressed Jacob stretching his arm towards him.[187]

Figs. 175-176. Barcelona Haggadah, fol. 39v, Floersheim Haggadah, p. 9: Laban pursuing Jacob

The scene of Laban chasing Jacob occurs in a number of manuscripts, both Ashkenazi and Italian Haggadot and one of the early printed Haggadot. One of the earliest examples is the illustration in the Barcelona Haggadah, produced in fourteenth-century Catalonia (fol. 39v, fig. 175).[188] In the lower margin, Jacob is shown departing with Laban and his soldier pursuing him from behind. Jacob holds a stick and looks back anxiously. In the Second Darmstadt Haggadah (fol. 5v), the paragraph received two illustrations placed in the outer margin. The upper one represents a boy holding an open book and standing before a bearded man. Even if the topic of the image had not been clear for the celebrants there is an inscription above the composition, *Go and learn*.

[187] On the basis of a midrash, Laban may be identified with the fourth, penultimate figure as well. The *Torah Shlemah* relates that Laban's brothers were dogs and he gathered them for the chase by blowing his horn like a hunter. Although there are no dogs depicted in the miniature, the penultimate soldier has a horn hanging from his belt, and his figure is a bit larger than the others, therefore he also may represent Laban. In this scenario, the gesture of the first soldier is to be interpreted as pointing to the target, Jacob, rather than greeting him. The Torah Shlemah does not give a full reference to the source of the midrash, and I was not able to trace it. See Menahem Kasher, *Torah Shlemah. Bereshit* [The Complete Pentateuch. Genesis] (Jerusalem: Makhon Torah Shlemah), vol. 5, 1232 n. 55 (on Genesis 31).

[188] The decoration of the Barcelona Haggadah and the Sephardi Sassoon Haggadah (Jerusalem, IM, MS 180/41) is unique from a compositional point of view. While the other extant Sephardi Haggadot are characterized by their picture cycle proceeding the text itself, in these two codices, similarly to Ashkenazi manuscripts, the miniatures are placed next to the text they illustrate. Narkiss, *British Isles*, I, 83.
In the *Sephardi Sassoon Haggadah* connected to the initial-word panel, *Go forth* there are two figures, a soldier and an unarmed man in a long robe, probably Laban and Jacob turning towards each other (p. 68).

Beneath this depiction, stands a group of fully armored soldiers. As the caption says, "Laban" is depicted here along with his well-equipped army. Jacob and his camp are not depicted at all. In the Floersheim Haggadah only one image was devoted to this part of the Haggadah portraying according to the inscription "Laban, the Aramean" and his army (p. 9, fig. 176). Jacob and his camp again were not represented.

The Italian Parma 3143 from the end of the fifteenth century offers a closer compositional parallel to the image of the Miscellany (fol. 6v, fig. 174). Its miniature depicts Laban's army as well as Jacob's camp. The outer margin is occupied by the castle of Laban in front of which his army gathers, while Jacob's camp is placed in the lower margin. Jacob stands in front of the tents wearing armor and a helmet. Behind him, his men hold their weapons. Rachel peeps out from one of the tents.

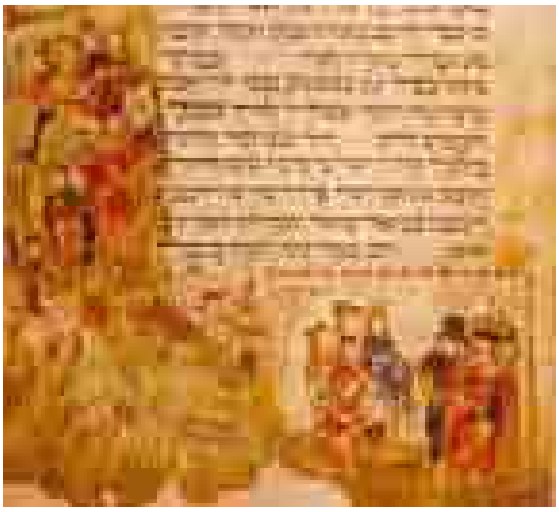
Fig. 177. Venice Haggadah: Laban and Jacob

The iconography reappears in the early seventeenth century on the pages of the Venice Haggadah, and surprisingly, it provides most of iconographical motifs also to be found on the miniature of the Miscellany. It again portrays both groups. Laban is represented as a commander arriving at Jacob's camp with his armed soldiers, while, just as in the Miscellany, Jacob is shown weaponless, holding only a stick (fig. 177). The tents behind the two protagonists are open with the wives of Jacob coming out of them, except for one tent, in which the woman, certainly Rachel, remains seated. On the left side of the image, opposite to the armed soldiers, Jacob's weaponless men are lying on

the ground among the sheep. Similarly to the image of the Miscellany thus, the artist emphasizes the difference between the two groups: Laban's offensive, belligerent troops and the defenseless Jacob, who lacks any weapons. Nor is he surrounded by armed men, but is willing to permit Laban to investigate his tents. Moreover, both images illustrate the precise moment when the two protagonists of the event meet in Jacob's tent.

Fol. 27r: Jacob and his household going down to Egypt

The story of Jacob continues in the Haggadah following the biblical story: "'And he went down to Egypt' … 'With few in number'—as it is said: 'Your fathers went down to Egypt with seventy persons…'" (Deut. 26:5). The paragraph was not always illustrated. The scene is presented in those Sephardi Haggadot where the picture cycle includes stories from Genesis (e.g., Sarajevo Haggadah, fol. 18r; Sister Haggadah, fol. 10v). In Ashkenazi and Italo-Ashkenazi manuscripts, the scene appears next to the text cited above.[189] Early printed Haggadot do not illustrate the story at all.

Figs. 178-179. Lombard Haggadah, fol. 11v, Floersheim Haggadah, p. 9: Jacob and his household going down to Egypt

The iconography of the scene is quite uniform. Jacob and his household are shown travelling on a horse-drawn carriage portrayed in various sizes. The motif of the carriage derives from the biblical text, "and the sons of Israel carried Jacob their father, and their little ones, and their wives, in the wagons which Pharaoh had sent to carry him"

[189] The image was also placed next to the relevant text (fol. 40r). in the Sephardi Barcelona Haggadah.

(Gen. 46:5). One of the early Italo-Ashkenazi depictions of the scene can be found in the Lombard Haggadah from the beginning of the fifteenth century. Next to the initial-word, "And he went down," a small miniature portrays Jacob sitting in a carriage together with two other people (fol. 11v, fig. 178). In the First Cincinnati Haggadah, there is a similarly simple representation: Jacob's household consists of three souls only, two of them seated next to him in the carriage and the third shown driving the horses (fol. 13r). The composition of the Second Darmstadt Haggadah is more detailed, there are four figures in the wagon and a servant drives the horses. Two couples riding on camels (fol. 5v) are shown beside the wagon. The early sixteenth-century Italian Floersheim Haggadah again provides some new details (p. 9, fig. 179). In front of the carriage are Jacob's sheep while the right corner of the miniature is occupied by the presentation of Joseph's five brothers before Pharaoh (Gen.47:2). The scene did not survive in early printed Haggadot.

There are a few representations in which the iconography does not follow the pattern described above. In the Sassoon Haggadah from fourteenth-century Sepharad, in the initial-word panel "And he went down" there is a figure descending a ladder (p. 70). The Hileq Bileq Haggadah depicts Jacob and his armed household marching down to Egypt (fol. 9v), while in two sixteenth-century Greek Haggadot, Jacob and his household approach a castle on foot (Paris 1388, fol. 8r; Chantilly 732, fol. 12r).[190]

The painter of the Hamburg Miscellany used the more widespread iconography depicting Jacob and his household travelling in a carriage (fig. 180). The depiction—just as on the previous page—occupies the margin as well. The composition is built around a diagonal axis constituted by the carriage full of people, which is depicted literally going downwards. Similarly to the Second Darmstadt Haggadah and to the Floersheim Haggadah, it is rich in details. In the center of the composition Jacob's

[190] The Hileq Bileq Haggadah diverges from the popular pattern in another respect as well: the illustration of Jacob going down to Egypt is linked to an earlier part of the text (fol. 9v), the paragraph beginning "And I took your father Abraham from beyond the river." The miniature fits this part as well since it ends "and I gave to Esau Mount Seir, to possess it, and Jacob and his sons went down to Egypt."

Fig. 180. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 27r: Jacob and his household going down to Egypt

family and household appear. They are sitting in a wagon or walking. In the wagon there are three women, three children and a bearded man. A hoary bearded man, probably Jacob sitting on the coach box, leads the wagon. On the right side of the carriage walk four men. The first two men seem to be having a discussion. They turn toward each other gesticulating. The human company is escorted by animals including lambs in the back, donkeys, and a small cow or ox. The background of the image is also finely elaborated. The path of the travelers leads through mountains and by castles. On the left, is a sail billowing on a pole.

The presence of the animals is not only a genre motif. It is based on the biblical text which explicitly says that Jacob "took their cattle, and their goods which they had gained in the land of Canaan" (Gen. 46:6). Moreover, it emphasizes an important element of their journey. As the Haggadah itself puts it, "our father Jacob did not go down to

Egypt to settle, but only to live there temporarily. Thus it is said, 'They said to Pharaoh, We have come to sojourn in the land for there is no pasture for your servants' flocks because the hunger is severe in the land of Canaan.'" That is, the primary aim of Jacob was to find good pasturage for his animals and not to abandon his homeland.

Fol. 27r: Pharaoh and his counselors

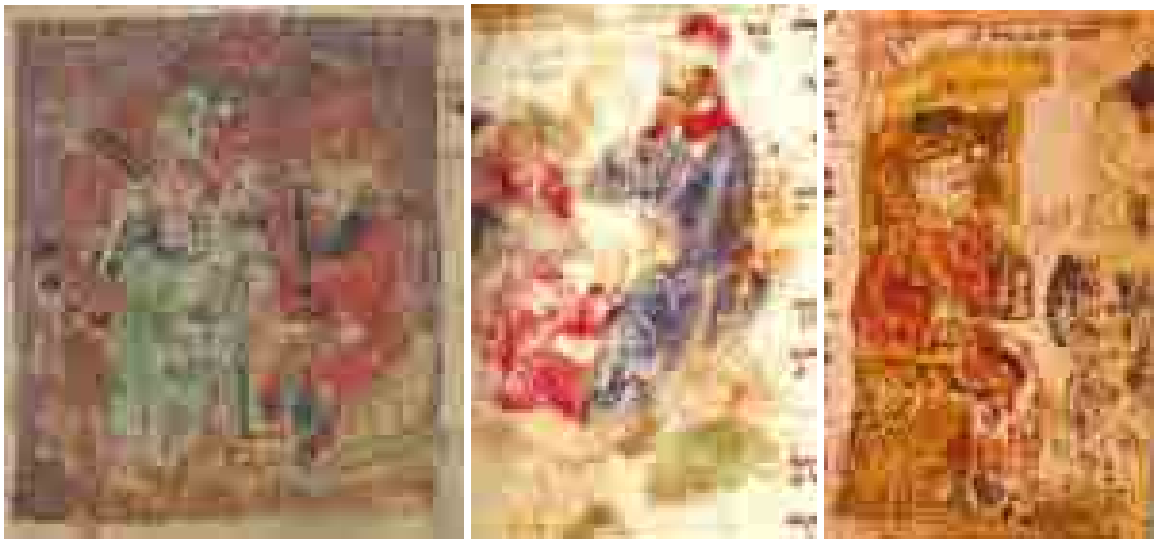
One enemy of Israel, Laban, is followed by another enemy, Pharaoh. "The Egyptians ill-treated us, as it is said: 'Come, let us deal cunningly with them; lest they multiply, and, if we should happen to have war, they will join our enemies, and fight against us and go out of the country'" *(Ex. 1:10).* After Joseph's death, the fate of the Israelites began to deteriorate. Pharaoh and his counselors wish to make their life bitter and prevent them from growing bigger. The midrashic literature identified the three advisors as Jethro, Job, and Baalam.[191]

In the Miscellany, the composition is embedded within the body of the text (fig. 181). It depicts a vaulted room. On the right side, Pharaoh is sitting on a gothic throne. He holds a long black sword raised up in his right hand. His three counselors stand before him. One explains something to Pharaoh in lively gestures. The same composition returns in another image on folio 29v depicting Pharaoh and his magicians. The two scenes may have been copied from the same model.

This part of the Haggadah was usually not illustrated.[192] Besides the miniature in the Miscellany, I found only two other images representing Pharaoh and his advisors at this event, and these are the images from the Second Darmstadt Haggadah (fol. 6r, fig. 182) and the Floersheim Haggadah (p. 10, fig. 183). Both have a composition similar to the one in the Miscellany with Pharaoh seated on his throne consulting with his counselors.

[191] E.g., bSotah 11a: "R. Hiyya b. Abba said in the name of R. Simai: There were three in that plan, Balaam, Job and Jethro. Balaam who devised it was slain; Job who silently acquiesced was afflicted with sufferings; Jethro, who fled, merited that his descendants should sit in the Chamber of Hewn Stone." The same names are mentioned, e.g., in *Yalkut Shimoni*, Chronicles 1:2.

[192] Instead, the previous paragraph about the exuberance of the Israelites in Egypt was illustrated. See, for instance, Lombard Haggadah (fol. 13r), Prague Haggadah.



Figs. 181-183. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 27r, Second Darmstadt Haggadah, fol. 6v, Floersheim Haggadah, p. 10: Pharaoh and his counselors

Fol. 27v: Hard work in Egypt

The next two folios depict the suffering of the Jews in Egypt. The calamities of the Israelites in foreign bondage are mentioned several times in the text of the Haggadah, and they were often illustrated in manuscripts of Ashkenazi or Italo-Ashkenazi origin. The illustration of the Jews working hard for the Egyptians is usually linked to the beginning of the *Maggid*, to the text, "We were once slaves of Pharaoh in Egypt," and/or a later paragraph saying "They oppressed us, as it is said, 'They placed taskmasters over them, to oppress them with their impositions, and they built store-cities for Pharaoh, Pitom and Ramses'" (Gen. 1:11).

The motif already appears in the earliest illustrated Haggadot and can be linked to two parts of the text: in the North French Miscellany next to "We were once slaves of Pharaoh," (fol. 205v), while in the Dragons' Haggadah (fol. 24r) and in the Birds' Head Haggadah (fol. 15r), the miniature decorates the margins of "They oppressed us." The first paragraph does not detail what kind of work the Israelites had to do in Egypt, and does not speak about Pitom and Ramses. Therefore its illustration usually depicts only workers (Parma 2998, fol. 2v; First Cincinnati Haggadah, fol. 7v, fig. 184), sometimes showing the taskmasters hitting them (Hileq Bileq Haggadah, fol. 6v; Farissol Haggadah, fol. 5r, although in this last example, the taskmaster only instructs the workers) and the two cities are not represented. In the Second Darmstadt (fol. 3v) and in the Floersheim

Haggadah (p. 5, fig. 185), the assault upon the Jews takes place in front of the royal throne.[193]

Figs. 184-186. First Cincinnati Haggadah, fol. 7v, Floersheim Haggadah, p. 5, Birds' Head Haggadah, fol. 15r: Hard work
Fig. 187. Doctrinale of Alexander De Villa Dei, Vienna, ÖNB, cod. 2289, fol. 37v: Building construction

The second paragraph however mentions Ramses and Pitom, and thus, in most cases, it is illustrated with the construction of one or two buildings symbolizing the Egyptian cities (Birds' Head Haggadah, fol. 15r, fig. 186; Parma 2998, fol. 6r).[194] The composition of the construction varies, but most of the miniatures contain certain common motifs such as workers mixing mortar, carrying building material, climbing up on a ladder, working on the walls, or handling cranes for lifting materials. The askmasters are not always represented.

In the Hamburg Miscellany, only the second paragraph received an illustration. It represents the construction of two walled towns (fig. 188). The depiction of the workers follows the popular pattern. A figure on the walls handles the crane shown pulling up a giant brick or a box full of building material, another worker is shown mixing the mortar

[193] The scene was not so popular in Sephardi Haggadot, but can be found for instance in the picture cycle of the Golden Haggadah (fol. 11r). The Barcelona Haggadah constitutes an exception; here both paragraphs are illustrated with the construction of a tower (fols. 30v and 43r).
[194] In other cases, the illustration of the first and the second paragraph is very similar (Lombard Haggadah, fols. 5v and 13v; the two Greek Haggadot, Paris: fols. 5r and 9r, Chantilly, fols. 8r and 13r).

Fig. 188. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 27v: Hark work

with a hoe and putting it into a sack next to him, one is shown carrying building material in a sack slung over his shoulder, two workers are shown carving or breaking a huge piece of stone with pickaxes. Above them a figure is depicted carrying a loaded wooden trough on his shoulders towards the city. The worker on the wall, the one mixing the mortar and the one carrying building material are present in numerous Jewish depictions.[195] I did not find stone masons, however, in Jewish manuscripts. In Christian manuscripts, on the other hand, the motif is widespread. A similar figure sitting on a foot-stool working a piece of stone is depicted, for example, in the *Weltchronik* in Versen of ca.1370 (Meister der Weltenchronik, Tower of Babel, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek) or in the *Doctrinale of Alexander De Villa Dei* of ca.1470 (Vienna, ÖNB, cod. 2289, fol. 37v, fig. 187).

The two cities contain typical Gothic buildings with narrow, longish windows and many towers. Several similar architectural structures appear in other miniatures of the manuscript depicted either from far off in the background (e.g., fol. 27r: Jacob going

[195]For the motifs appearing in other Jewish manuscripts see, for example, Parma 2998 (fol. 6r), Birds' Head Haggadah, Hileq Bileq Haggadah (fol. 11v), Parma 3143 (fol. 4v), First Cincinnati Haggadah (fol. 7v). Of these Haggadot, Parma 2998 contains the motifs most similar to those in the Miscellany: there are two towns, a figure mixing mortar, another one carrying some material and leaning on a stick, and a third figure handling the crane on the walls. The figure carrying material and leaning on a stick also appears in another manuscript illustrated by Joel ben Simeon, the Murphy Haggadah (fol. 10v).

down to Egypt; fol. 28r: throwing the Jewish male babies into the Nile) or in the architectural frame for the scene (fol. 28v: Moses in front of Pharaoh; fol. 81r: Judith and her handmaid in front of the gates of Bethulia).[196] An odd motif in the miniature is a burning tower in the lower city.

[196] A rising cloud of smoke is even shown above the tower. It may simply be a genre motif, but it might also refer to an actual conflagration.

Fols. 27v-28r: Pharaoh's blood bath and the slaughter of the children

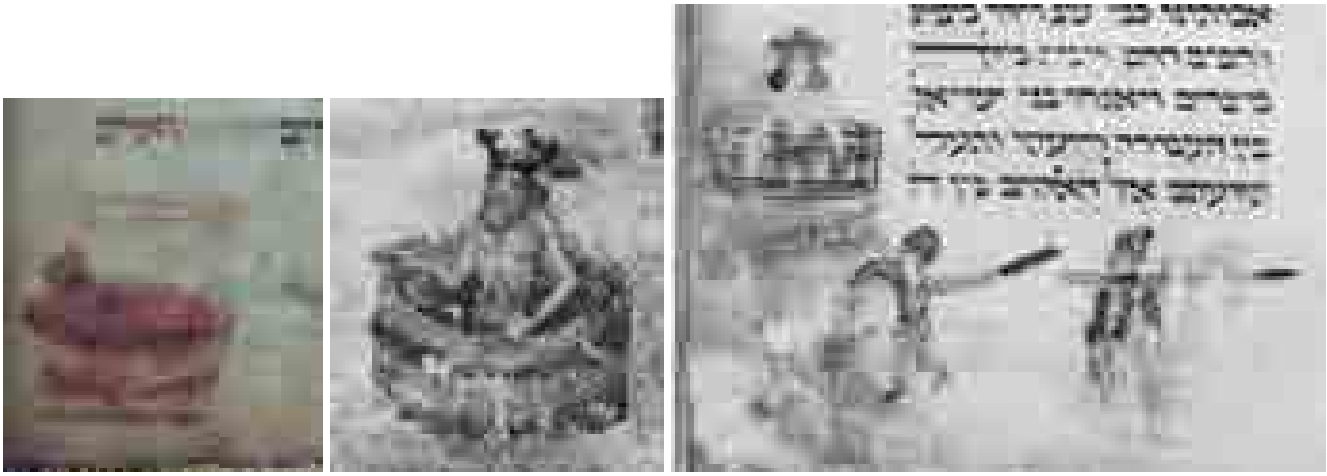
Beneath the text telling of the building of the two cities, Ramses and Pitom, there is one more miniature further elaborating on the suffering of the Israelites in Egypt (fig. 189). The image consists of two separate scenes. On the left side of the lower margin, the depiction of a midrashic story can be seen. Bearded Pharaoh sits naked in a large tub wearing only his crown. On his right side, a soldier on his left side is shown pouring blood into the tub while a musician plays the bagpipes. The liquid that the soldier pours from a bucket is not red, but this may be the result of the rather worn-out state of the miniature. To the right of the bath, under the word *and we cried out*, a soldier beats a group of Jews with a long staff. With folded hands they appear to beg the soldier to stop striking them.

Fig. 189. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 27v: Pharaoh's blood bath

The scene on the left side is connected to Exodus 2:23 cited in the Haggadah saying, "And it came to pass in process of time, that the king of Egypt died; and the people of Israel sighed because of the slavery, and they cried…" According to several midrashim and biblical commentaries, the Israelites cried out, not because Pharaoh had indeed died which would have been a strange reaction given the fact that he was their oppressor, but because he contracted leprosy and, following the instruction of his advisers, he ordered his soldiers to slaughter children of the Israelites and had a bath every day in their blood to cure his decease.[197]

[197] See, e.g., *Exodus Rabbah* 1:34; *MhG*, Shemot 2:23; Rashi's commentary on Ex. 2:23. For more textual sources of the legend, see also Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, II, 296-300 and V, 412-413. In most versions of the legend, the infants of the Israelites are slaughtered for the bath although other sources do not specify the victims as children, only as Israelites.

The blood bath of Pharaoh can be found in four other fifteenth-century Ashkenazi Haggadot, as well as in most of the early printed Haggadot (Prague Haggadah of 1526 and of 1590, Mantua Haggadah, Venice Haggadah), while Sephardi Haggadot do not depict it at all.[198] According to David Malkiel, the first appearance of the iconography is the image found in the Hileq Bileq Haggadah (fig. 190) although the dating of the manuscripts contradicts his claim. Except for the Hamburg Miscellany, all of the Haggadot including the Hileq Bileq are dated to the second half of the century. Thus, the miniature of the Hamburg Miscellany actually provides the first example of the iconography.



Figs. 190-192. Hileq Bileq Haggadah, fol. 12v, Ryzhin Siddur, fol. 163v, Yahuda Haggadah, fol. 13r: Pharaoh's blood bath

Malkiel studying the motif surveyed the different versions of its textual sources, and analyzed its visual representations.[199] He gives two explanations for the emergence of the motif of infanticide in fifteenth-century Germany. First, the motif of leprous Pharaoh was suitable for expressing contemporary calamities suffered by German Jews as well as Jewish expectations concerning the divine revenge awaiting their enemies. He refers to the increasing number of blood libels against Jews during this period and says that this motif may have been a kind of response to these accusations. Second, the motif can be connected to the Ashkenazi martyrological tradition. It could express the Jews' readiness to sacrifice their own children to God during persecutions. Consequently, the very same motif might symbolize the demonic Christians murdering Jews and God-fearing Jews murdering their own children at the same time.

The figure of Pharaoh is very similar in all the known depictions of the scene. He is seated naked in the tub wearing only his crown. The movements of his arms are varied, and sometimes he has

[198] Joseph Gutmann, "The Haggadic Motif in Jewish Iconography," *Eretz Israel* 6 (1961): *20-21.
[199] Malkiel, "Infanticide," 85-99.

a beard (Hamburg Miscellany; Ryzhin Siddur, fol. 163v, fig. 191),[200] sometimes not (Second Nuremberg Haggadah, fol. 14r, fig. 194; Yahuda Haggadah, fol. 13r, fig. 192; Hilel Bileq Haggadah, fol. 12v). Except for the Hamburg Miscellany, Pharaoh is portrayed alone in the manuscripts; none of his servants is present to help him with the bath. The servant with the bucket shows up again only much later, in the Prague Haggadah of 1526 and of 1590. In the Mantua Haggadah, the servant pours the blood from a jar. The musician entertaining the bathing Pharaoh is missing, not only from the manuscripts, but also from the early printed Haggadot. This unique motif may have been added to the scene in order to demonstrate the dispassionate and ruthless character of the ruler who is able to listen to music while bathing in the blood of children.

Bath culture was popular in medieval Germany, and there are a number of sources describing the conditions in public baths.[201] Some of these texts declared public bath houses as shameless and immoral places, hotbeds of carnal sin. Bath scenes depicted in visual representations of the period often emphasized the licentiousness of these institutions and the carnal, especially sexual sins, that proliferated in them. For instance, the late antique Roman author, Valerius Maximus' *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* has some stories exemplifying the sexual vices taken place in public bath houses.[202] This work was very popular during the Middle Ages and its manuscripts were often illustrated. Such moralizing images may have served as a model for Pharaoh's blood bath, presenting him as a depraved person. One significant element, however, is missing from Pharaoh's story: the presence of the other sex, and thus, sexuality.

Pharaoh's bath scene has another possible connotation.[203] According to an earlier, Christian version of the legend, Emperor Constantine was stricken with leprosy as punishment for persecuting Christians. When he refused the advise to bath in children's blood, he was miraculously cured by Jesus, and that is why he decided to concert to Christianity. Israel Yuval suggested a "close and intimate dialogue" between the Jewish legend about Pharaoh and the Christian legend about Constantine. In his interpretation, the Jewish midrash is a reaction to the Christian one. At the end of the story about

[200] Ryzhin Siddur, Jerusalem, IM, MS 180/53.
[201] Giovanni Francesco Poggio Bracciolini, the Italian humanist, visited Baden in 1414. He produced a long report on the baths there, praising the innocent behavior of the bathers; see Braunstein, Philippe, "Toward Intimacy: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in *A History of Private Life: Volume 2: Revelations of the Medieval World.* Georges Duby, ed. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press, 1988), p. 535-632
[202] For illuminated copies of the Facta, *see* Paul Saenger, "Books of Hours and the Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages," in *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, ed. ed. Roger Chartier, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), 156, 173 n. 119. Another scene often loaded with sexual overtones was the story of Bathseba. The images depicting Bathseba taking her bath were sometimes based on representations of holy baptism; see ibidem, 156.
[203] Israel Jacob Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb. Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 251 (hereafter Yuval, *Two Nations*).
2006), 177-178, n95,

Fig. 193. Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Willehalm* Vienna, ÖNB, cod. s. n. 2643, fol. 216r: The baptism of St Pantanis
Fig. 194. Second Nuremberg Haggadah, fol. 14r: Pharaoh's blood bath

Constantine, he turned out to be a moral human being and a good Christian who was deterred from ordering the slaughter. Pharaoh, in the eye of medieval Ashkenazim symbolized the Christian oppressor who did not change but cold-heartedly agreed upon bathing in human blood. Might the visual depiction of Pharaoh's blood bath represent a similar counterpoint to Christian depictions of baptism?

A naked figure sitting or standing in a tub recalls a Christian motif of adult baptism. The Jews of Ashkenaz were exposed to forced baptism. The danger of being polluted by the Christians' "wicked waters" is an characteristic motif of martyrological literature. Although forced baptisms often took place in rivers, there were cases when the Christian brought the Jews into the church most probably to baptize them in the baptismal font. Rabbi in his chronicle Solomon bar Simson, for instance, describe how a group of women who were dragged to the church to be baptized and refused to enter were beaten to death.[204] Besides their own experience, Jews could not have much possibility to witness adult baptism, since these were quite rare events during the late Middle Ages. Baptismal scenes however, appeared in many genres of Christian art starting from the famous biblical episodes such as the baptism

[204] Haberman, *Gezerot*, 38; on the Jewish attitude towards baptism, see Susan L. Einbinder, *Beautiful Death: Jewish Poetry and Martyrdom in Medieval France* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2002), 31-36; Sarit Shalev-Eyni, "Purity and Impurity. The Naked Woman Bathing in Jewish and Christian Art," in *Between Judaism and Christianity. Art Historical Essays in Honor of Elisheva (Elisabeth) Revel-Neher*, ed. Katrin Kogman-Appel and Mati Meyer (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 197-198.

of Jesus in the Jordan to later martyrological or hagiographical stories. A miniature from the fourteenth-century illuminated manuscript of Wolfram von Eschenbach's ***Willehalm***, shows the baptism of Saint Pantanis and on another folio a group of pagan kings. In both pictures the figures, about to be baptized, stand nude in a giant tub wearing only a crown, while the tub is surrounded by ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries (Vienna, ÖNB, cod. s. n. 2643, fols. 216r and 291r, fig. 193). Another example, nearer in time to the Jewish depictions, is a mid-fifteenth-century altarpiece depicting the Saint Ursula legend from Klosterneuburg from 1459. It portrays Ursula's fiancé, the king's son, being baptized. The young prince stands in a huge tub surrounded by the bishop, the king, and his courtiers. The authorship of the Hamburg Miscellany might have had in mind an image of Christian baptism scenes and used them in their portrayal of Pharaoh's blood bath.[205]

Three of the five manuscripts illustrating the blood bath leave the viewer in no doubt as to the origin of the blood. As David Malkiel has pointed out, although textual sources do not always specify that the blood came from babies, the visual depictions exclusively show children.[206] In the Second Nuremberg and in the Yahuda Haggadah, the massacre is represented beneath the tub where soldiers slaughter babies for their blood. In the early printed Haggadot, the slaughtering of the children was already an integral element of the composition (figs. 195-198). The two Prague Haggadot follow in the steps of the Yahuda Haggadah, and represent the murder as an extremely brutal and chaotic massacre. The Mantua Haggadah, where the massacre occupied the central position in the composition, depicting it as a ritual. The babies are slaughtered on an altar, and the soldiers act in a more organized way. The atmosphere of the scene in the Venice Haggadah suggests a similarly systematic execution of the babies.[207]

While in the Second Nuremberg and the Yahuda Haggadah, the location of the massacre is not indicated, in the Miscellany the event takes places indoor within a gothic architectural structure with vaulted ceiling and small turrets on the outside. A soldier stands in the left hand corner of the room holding a naked baby. Another young soldier holds a bucket under the baby in order to catch its blood. There are two other naked babies behind him. The upper baby hands a round red object to the other infant.

[205]

[206] Ibidem, 88.

[207] Ibidem, 89 n. 22.

Figs. 195-198. Prague I, Prague II, Mantua and Venice Haggadot: Pharaoh's blood bath

Although according to the chronology of the legend, the slaughter of the Jewish babies and the collection of their blood should have preceded the blood bath, in the Miscellany, the slaughter is located on the next folio (fol. 28r, fig. 199). This chronological inconsistency is due to the fact that the painter placed the illustrations strictly next to the text to which they refer. The image of the blood bath on the bottom of the folio 27v is linked to the clause, "During that long period, the king of Egypt died," while the infanticide is on the next folio illustrating the text, "and the children of Israel were groaning under the bondage and cried out."

In contrast to the cruel representation of the massacre in some other Haggadot, the soldiers in the Miscellany do not use or even carry any weapons; moreover, the babies do not bleed. The only instrument present is a bucket held by the shorter soldier. Malkiel interpreted this scene as a more formal, more organized slaughter in contrast with the "chaotic atmosphere of the scene in the Yahuda manuscript."[208] However, one cannot speak of slaughter without weapons and without the actual act of killing. I have not yet found a satisfactory explanation for this oddity in the iconography. [209]

Fig. 199. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 28r: Infanticide

[208] Ibidem 89.

[209] Other Jewish scenes of the massacre of the babies have visual parallels in Christian art such as depictions of the Massacre of the Innocents in Bethlehem. The brutish soldiers slaughtering children in the Yahuda Haggadah especially echoes depictions of the Massacre of the Innocents. The soldier who grabs a child by its hair and is about to cut it appears in a late fourteenth-century French Book of Hours (London, British Library, Harley 2979, fol. 57r), while soldiers with babies pierced on their spears may be found in the wall painting in the parish church of Gestratz (St. Gallus church, ca.1440) or at another parish church in Apfeltrach (St Leonard church, ca. mid-fifteenth century, fig. 200). The similarity of the scene to its Christian parallel is more conspicuous in the representations of the printed Haggadot. The composition in the Venice Haggadah, for example, emphasizes that the massacre occurred in the presence of the ruler who ordered it. The mothers, who try to save their babies and whose figures are a characteristic element in the Christian images, also appear in some of the printed Haggadot.

Fig. 200. Apfeltrach, St Leonard parish church, wall painting: Massacre of the Innocents

The group of Jews beaten by a soldier is a unique iconographical element, but praying Jews appear in several other manuscripts illustrating one of the two paragraphs beginning "and we cried to the Lord" in Ashkenazi, Italian and Sephardi Haggadot as well (Birds' Head Haggadah, fol. 14v; Kaufmann Haggadah, fol. 26r; Lombard Haggadah, fols. 14r-15r; Hileq Bileq Haggadah, fol. 12r, Moscow, RGALI f. 2583).[210] In the Second Nuremberg Haggadah and in the Yahuda Haggadah, two men are portrayed kneeling and praying towards heaven (fig. 194). Among the printed Haggadot, the Venice Haggadah included the motif of a praying man, presumably a father, within the massacre of the children.

Jews being beaten is a different motif that often appeared in depictions of the hard work in Egypt (Hileq Bileq Haggadah, fol. 6v; Second Darmstadt Haggadah, fols. 3v and 6r; Floersheim Haggadah, pp. 5 and 10, figs. 185, 201). In these images, the Jews always constitute part of the composition as the builders of the two cities. In the Miscellany, the Jews apparently are not among the laborers from the cities of Ramses and Pitom since they are not depicted carrying any tools or building material. The Miscellany thus combined the two motifs, the praying figures and the Israelites beaten by the taskmasters within one scene.

Fig. 201. Floersheim Haggadah, p. 10: Taskmaster is beating an Israelite

Fol. 28r: Throwing the male children into the Nile

Describing the suffering of the Israelites in Egypt, the Haggadah cites the biblical verse "Every son who is born you shall throw into the river, and every daughter you shall let live" (Ex. 1:22). This part of the Exodus story was very rarely illustrated in Christian art, but it appears in a number of Jewish Haggadot.[211] In the Golden Haggadah (fol. 8v) and in the Sister Haggadah (fol. 11v), the scene is depicted in a restrained way with the servant of Pharaoh carrying a baby carefully to the river. The image in the Hispano-Moresque Haggadah is harsher (fol. 64v). Two men throw babies into the river by their legs.

[210] Moscow, RGALI, f.2583 (An-sky), op. I, ed. khr. I is a fragmentary Haggadah written in fourteenth-century Sepharad and probably illustrated in the fifteenth-sixteenth century. A. Kantsedikas and I. Serheyeva, *The Jewish Artistic Heritage Album by Semyon An-Sky* (Moscow: Mosty kul´tury, 2001), figs. 1-19.

[211] One of the few Christian examples can be found in the Pamplona Bible of King Sancho (Amiens, Bibliothèque Communale, MS Latin 108, fol. 38v). On the Jewish iconography of the scene, see Kogman-Appel, PhD, 59-60; Steinmann, MA Thesis, 146-147.

In an early fifteenth-century Italo-Ashkenazi Lombard Haggadah, the iconography is very similar to the Hispano-Moresque Haggadah with the two soldiers casting the babies into the water (fol. 15v). In later Ashkenazi and Italo-Ashkenazi Haggadot, the composition usually became more complex. Three main types can be distinguished. In the Second Nuremberg Haggadah (fol. 14v, fig. 203), in the Yahuda Haggadah (fol. 13v), and in the Hileq Bileq Haggadah (fol. 13r), the men of Pharaoh cast the babies from a high building or from the walls of a castle. In the Second Darmstadt (fol. 6v, fig. 205) and in the Floersheim Haggadot (p. 11), the men throw the children into the river from a bridge and the parents/a mother also appear. Both the bridge and the moaning mothers constitute characteristic elements in the later depictions of the scene.[212] A third type places the event within a natural landscape, such as the image in the Ryzhin Siddur (fol. 164r, fig. 204) or in the Rothschild Miscellany (fol. 158v).[213]

Fig. 202. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 28r: Throwing the male children into the Nile

Just as in most cases, the miniature of the Miscellany is connected to the sentence, "Every boy that is born, you shall throw into the river," and placed within the body of the text without a frame (fig. 202). A man laden a giant basket on his back approaches the river. He holds a stick and proceeds with his body curved forward. The basket on his back is full of babies, and there are babies already in the river as well. A baby is about to fall down from the basket. In the background on the bank of the river, there is a gothic castle with high towers. Its big arched gate is open. The children in the river among the fish, the castle in the landscape, and the castle background are motifs that appear in several later depictions. As for the basket, I found the motif only in one other representation of the scene, in the Mantua Haggadah, which was produced much later than the Miscellany. There, a servant of Pharaoh comes to a bridge with a basket on his back full of children.

[212] See, for example, Prague Haggadah, Mantua Haggadah.
[213] In Parma 3143, the bridge is placed diagonally into a green landscape (fol. 8r). The Amsterdam Haggadah also unites the bridge with the landscape background.

Figs. 203-204. Second Nuremberg Haggadah, fol. 14v, Ryzhin Siddur, fol. 164r: Throwing the male children into the Nile

Fig. 205. Second Darmstadt Haggadah, fol. 6v: Throwing the male children into the Nile

Fol. 28v: Moses in front of Pharaoh

As mentioned before, the Haggadah offers five explanations of how God brought the Israelites out of Egypt, two of which are illustrated in the Miscellany. The illustration connected to the third explanation has been discussed in the previous subchapter (III. 3. 2 on fol. 29r). There is one more scene relating to the five explanations. On folio 28v, there is an image of a man standing in front of Pharaoh (fig. 206). It is placed next to the paragraphs about the first three explanations. The man wears a pointed hat, holds a small golden object in his hand, and gazes upwards. Jews and their enemies wear different kind of hats in the miniatures of the Miscellany, and the headgear of Pharaoh's visitor identifies him as a Jew. Since the related text cites God's instruction to Moses, "With a strong hand, this refers to the pestilence as it is said: 'Behold, the hand of the L-rd will be upon your livestock in the field, upon the horses, the donkeys, the camels, the herds and the flocks, a very severe pestilence'" (Ex. 9:3), the figure with the pointed hat is most probably him warning Pharaoh about the fifth plague. Thus, the scene is connected to the first explanation.

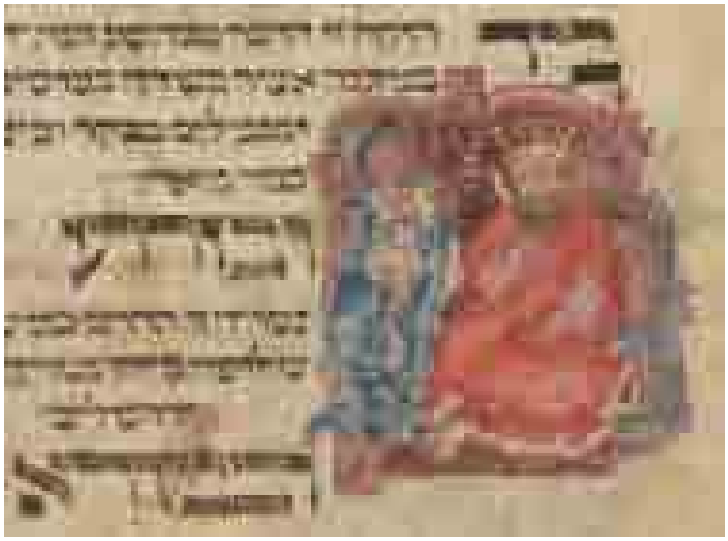


Fig. 206. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 28v: Moses in front of Pharaoh

The first explanation is illustrated in a few other Ashkenazi and Italo-Ashkenazi manuscripts as well as printed Haggadot. Since the paragraph speaks of the fifth plague, these images usually show dead animals, victims of the pestilence, lying on the ground as in Parma 3143 (fol. 8v), in the Floersheim (p. 12) and Second Darmstadt Haggadot (fol. 7r), and in the Venice Haggadah (fol. 9r). The illustration of the Second Nuremberg (fols. 14v-15r) and the Yahuda Haggadot (fols. 13v-14r), which do not portray the dead animals, but Moses and Aaron in front of Pharaoh, is much closer to the miniature of the Miscellany. However, the composition of these latter two images is more complex and includes some midrashic elements.[214]

[214] Kogman-Appel, PhD, 60-61. The meeting of Moses and the Egyptian ruler is widespread in Sephardi Haggadot, however, it is depicted at the beginning of the manuscript within the picture cycle, and it represents the scene, when Moses and Aaron demonstrate the power of God by turning the stick into a snake (Golden Haggadah, fol. 11r; Hispano-Moresque Haggadah, fol. 63v).

Fol. 29v: "This is the finger of God"—Pharaoh and his magicians

Fig. 207. Second Darmstadt Haggadah fol. 8r: Pharaoh and his magicians

"In Egypt it says of them, 'The magicians said to Pharaoh, This is the finger of God'" (Ex. 8:15). The Haggadah cites the reaction of the court magicians to the third plague, the lice. In the Lombard Haggadah, the miniature next to the text depicts the third plague displaying Moses and Aaron sprinkling the lice over the Egyptians (fol. 19v).[215] The Second Darmstadt Haggadah, illustrates the passage in a different way. Here Pharaoh is portrayed with two men standing in front of his throne (fol. 8r, fig. 207). One of them points to heaven. A small inscription in the upper part of the scene helps to identify the event. ***Kinim***, that is, the plague of lice. Indeed, a closer look reveals the small parasites around and on Pharaoh. The figures of the two men standing before him are in very bad condition, but some lice can also be seen on the dress of the individual nearer to the ruler. Felicitas Heimann and later Ilona Steinmann identified the man wearing a blue robe and standing closer to Pharaoh in the Second Darmstadt Haggadah with Aaron, while the other figure next to him appears closer to Moses.[216] However, there are several elements in the miniature that challenge this identification. First, Aaron's attribute, the stick is missing from the hand of the figure in the blue robe. He gesticulates with his hands and points towards the sky with his left hand while stretching out his right hand. Second, the fact that he himself is smitten by the plague demonstrates that he belongs to the Egyptians. Consequently, these figures are not Moses and Aaron performing the miracle, but the magicians of Pharaoh, or given their different clothes, a magician and a servant. This identification matches the text itself, which here speaks of the magicians. The pointing movement of one of the magicians expresses their opinion on the state of affairs "This is the finger of God."[217]

The miniature of the Floersheim Haggadah strengthens my interpretation. In this manuscript, the paragraph is decorated with an almost identical miniature (p. 13, fig. 208). Pharaoh sits on his

[215] During the third plague, Moses and Aaron perform the miracle and smote Pharaoh and his people and cattle with lice. While the Egyptians became infested with lice, the forefathers themselves are not affected by the plague. In Sephardi Haggadot, the depiction of the ten plagues is part of the picture cycle (e.g., Sarajevo Haggadah, fol. 23v, Golden Haggadah, fol. 12v).

[216] Felicitas Heimann, "Die Illustrationen in der 2. Darmstädter Pesach Haggadah," *Kairos* 25 (1983): 30; Steinmann, MA Thesis, 151.

[217] The paragraph is decorated with the same scene in the two Greek Haggadot from the sixteenth century (Paris, fol. 12r; Chantilly, fol. 17v): Pharaoh sits on the throne attacked by the lice in the company of two men, one of whom points with his finger as if explaining something. According to Ilona Steimann, these two men are again Moses and Aaron. Since neither of them has a stick, I assume that they are more likely to be the magicians; see Steinmann, MA Thesis, 154.

throne and a man stands in front of him pointing toward the sky. Both of them are attacked by the lice. The inscription is different from the one in the Second Darmstadt Haggadah: *etzba Eloqim hu*, that is, "this is the finger of God." Thus, as the inscription and the fact that not only Pharaoh but the man before him is also attacked by the insects show that the visitor before the ruler must be one of his magicians. Since from an iconographical point of view, the two Haggadot are very close relatives, it can be legitimately suggested that the miniature of the Second Darmstadt Haggadah also depicts the magicians and not Moses and Aaron before the ruler.

Figs. 208-209. Floersheim Haggadah, p. 13, Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 29v: Pharaoh and his magicians

In the Miscellany, the miniature is embedded in the body of the text and depicts the same scene of Pharaoh sitting on his throne and listening to the two magicians who stand before him in a vaulted hall (fig. 209). Pharaoh holds a long sword in his hand. His magicians, as their lively gestures show, explain something to the ruler. None of them has a stick. Moreover, their headgear, especially the yellow curved one, is a characteristic feature of the Egyptians in the Miscellany. Pharaoh himself wears the same yellow curved hat under his crown and it appears in other miniatures as well, just as on the Blood bath (fol. 27v) or on the Throwing the children into the Nile (fol. 28r). The architectonical structure in which the scene takes place is almost identical with the structure in a similar scene depicting Pharaoh with his three counselors on folio 27r, just as the entire composition of the two miniatures does.

Fol. 29v: Crossing the Re[e]d Sea

> Rabbi Yose the Galilean said: How can you come to say that the Egyptians were struck by ten plagues in Egypt, but by fifty plagues at the Sea? Of the plagues in Egypt it says: 'And the magicians said to Pharaoh, it is the finger of God' (Ex. 8:15). Of those by the sea, however, it is said: 'When Israel saw the great hand which the Lord laid upon the Egyptians, the people feared the Lord, and believed in the Lord and in His servant Moses' (Ex. 14:31).

This paragraph in the Miscellany is illustrated with three miniatures: Rabbi Yose (see previous subchapter on fol. 29r), the magicians before Pharaoh (see previous entry), and the Crossing the Red Sea. The last miniature occupies approximately two third of the folio depicting the Egyptians and the Israelites in the Red Sea surrounded by giant green rocks.

The Crossing of the Red Sea is an often depicted scene in Jewish art. It was already included in the picture cycle of Dura Europos. Later, in the medieval period, it is represented numerous times in illuminated manuscripts.[218] The event was a central motif in the Exodus story, not only from the viewpoint of the biblical narrative, but also as a symbol of fulfillment of the divine promise of redemption.[219] Consequently, it became a crucial element in Haggadah iconography, both the Haggadot of Sephardi and of Ashkenazi origin. In a number of codices, the event is divided into two or three different episodes all of them receiving a separate miniature, such as the Egyptian army pursuing the Israelites, the Israelites crossing the sea, or the Egyptians drowning into the water. These separate scenes are usually placed in the lower margins of a double opening.[220]

In Sephardi Haggadot, the scene is included within the narrative picture cycles (Sarajevo Haggadah, fol. 28r; Kaufmann Haggadah, fol. 58r; Golden Haggadah, fol. 14v), while in Ashkenazi Haggadot it can illustrate various parts of the text. In one of the Haggadot of Joel ben Simeon, for example, it is placed at the very beginning of the *Maggid*; in another Haggadah illustrated by him, it is placed next to the five explanations of how God rescued Israel from Egypt (London Ashkenazi Haggadah, fols. 14v-15r); in the Ryzhin Siddur, it illustrates the *Dayyenu*, a song of thanksgiving to God for the redemption of Israel from Egyptian bondage (fol. 168v), while in the Second Darmstadt

[218] In the Tripartite Mahzor, for instance, it is connected to a *piyyut* for the seventh day of Pesah (fol. 197r; Davidson 2451); in the Leipzig Mahzor to a *piyyut* for the first day of Pesah (fols. 72v-73r; Davidson 1962א), while in the Rothschild Miscellany, it decorates the daily morning prayer (fol. 90r).

[219] Goldschmidt, *Haggadah*, 48.

[220] For example, Joel ben Simeon's Murphy Haggadah (in the first part of the *Hallel*, detached folio: the pursuing Egyptians, fol. 23r: Moses dividing the sea), Second Nuremberg Haggadah (fol. 20v: pursuing Egyptian army, fol. 21r: crossing the sea, fol. 21v: drowning Egyptians in the water), the Floersheim Haggadah (p. 18: Moses closing the sea upon the Egyptian army, p. 19: pursuing Egyptians).
In the Birds' Head Haggadah, the arrangement is unusual. The dividing of the Sea is placed in the bottom margin of the *Dayyenu* (fol. 21v), while the Israelites leaving Egypt and Egyptian army pursuing them appears only three folios later, next to the text about the dictum of Rabban Gamilel (fol. 24v). On the sequence of the scenes in the Birds' Head Haggadah, see Epstein, *Medieval Haggadah*, 77-104.

Haggadah (fol. 11r) and in the Floersheim Haggadah (pp. 18-19), it is connected to the first part of the *Hallel*.

Fig. 210. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 29v: Crossing the Red Sea

In the Miscellany, the Crossing the Red Sea occupies more than half of the page (fig. 210). The scene is framed by two huge green rocks which constitute the channel of the sea. There are two groups of people in the red-colored water. At the bottom, there are the Israelites led by Moses, while above them the Egyptian army is being drowned. The Israelites, men and women with babies in their arms, follow Moses who holds his staff in front of himself dividing the waters. At their feet, cattle and horses wallow in the water. By Moses' head there is a tongue of flame on the rock, probably symbolizing the column of fire which the Israelites followed during the night. As for the Egyptian army, besides Pharaoh there are six soldiers still alive but struggling in the sea and the head of an already dead figure appears from under the water. Pharaoh can be identified by his crown and from the fact that he is the

only one on horseback. His soldiers wear helmets and chain mail, but no weapons appear in their hands or at their sides.

Compared to other Jewish depictions of the scene, the miniature in the Miscellany is unique in several aspects. First, its location within the Haggadah is unusual. As far as I know this is the only example of this iconography decorating the paragraph cited above. Second, its composition within the scene, embedded within a U-shape rock formation representing the seabed, is unparalleled. These two features may be connected. The relevant paragraph compares the plagues smiting the Egyptians to the finger of God. Accordingly, the biblical verse, "And Israel saw the great hand which the Lord laid on Egyptians" (Ex. 14:31) means that they were smitten with all five fingers by the Red Sea (five times ten plagues) that is, with fifty plagues. The shape of the rock forming the bed of the Red Sea as well as a frame for the whole composition may be reminicent of a great hand crushing the Egyptians with its fingers while letting the Israelites go through. The midrashic literature on the Crossing the Red Sea perhaps offers another possible interpretation of the rock in which the water is embedded. According to several midrashim, the wall of waters transformed into rocks. Thus, the rocks surrounding the two parties may be understood as solidified water: *Ten miracles were performed for Israel at the sea…It turned into rocks, as it is said: 'Thou didst shatter the heads of the sea-monsters upon the water'* (Ps 74.13) [221]

The composition is arranged along a vertical axis. At the upper end there is the Egyptian army being slowly swallowed by the waves of the sea while at the lower end, the Israelites are shown wading through what seems to be waist-deep water. Pharaoh leads his army sitting on horseback. One soldier arrives in a chariot, a common motif of the iconography based on the biblical description according to which Pharaoh chased the Israelites taking "all the horses and chariots of Pharaoh, and his horsemen, and his army" (Ex. 14:9).

According to some midrashic sources, Pharaoh did not drown, but survived and was brought down into the depths of the sea by Gabriel, was tortured for fifty days, and then became the king of Ninive. He is shown still alive, standing in the gates of Hell and praising God before the kings who enter there. This midrashic motif appears in several Christian as well as Jewish depictions of the scene.[222] In the Tripartite Mahzor, for example, he is sitting on his horse already passing through the water safely. He lifts his hands towards heavens to praise God. The miniature of the Miscellany is not

[221] עשרה נסים נעשו לישראל על הים...נעשה סלעים סלעים שנאמר שברת ראשי תנינים על המים
Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael, Beshallah 5, see *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael*, vol. 1, ed. Jacob Z. Lauterbach (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 2004), 148;for more sources, see also Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, II, 556 and 557 n. 36.
[222] *PRE* 41-42; *Midrash va-Yoshah* 52-53, in *Bet-ha Midrasch* (Jellinek). Jewish miniatures depicting the midrash: Sarajevo Haggadah, Tripartite Mahzor. For Christian examples and other midrashic sources, see Bezalel Narkiss, "Pharaoh is Dead and Living at the Gates of Hell," *JJA* 10 (1984): 6-13.

so unambiguous concerning the fate of Pharaoh. He still sitssteadily on horseback although the water already covers his horse to itsbreast. Was he about to drown or remain alive to praise God?

The group of the Israelites consists of Moses at its head and two men followed by four women, two of whom carry babies in their arms. The whole group is escorted by their cattle. The slight separation of the two sexes, the larger number of the women, as well as the presence of the animals are not widespread features in Ashkenazi illustrations of the scene. In a number of the Jewish depictions, mostly Ashkenazi codices, the Israelites are represented only by men sometimes unarmed (Leipzig Mahzor, fol. 73r; Birds' Head Haggadah, fol. 25r; Second Nuremberg Haggadah, fol. 21r) sometimes armed (Dura-Europos, Second Darmstadt Haggadah, fol. 11r; Ryzhin Siddur, fol. 168v).[223] In Sephardi as well as in Italo-Ashkenazi miniatures, usually both men and women and sometimes also children are depicted constituting one mixed group (Kaufmann Haggadah, fol. 58r; Murphy Haggadah, fol. 23r).[224] Animals escorting the Israelites are rarely depicted on their passage of the Red Sea, probably because the biblical text relating this scene does not mention them. One of the rare examples is the London Ashkenazi Haggadah in which there is a donkey carrying luggage on its back.

Finally, there are two further unique motifs in the miniature, the depiction of the column of fire and the red color of the sea. The pillar of fire leading the Israelites through the sea is represented by small flames on the side of the rock over the head of Moses. The columns of fire and of cloud are not essential elements of the iconography. If they appear, they are usually depicted as architectonic columns with flames at the top (Joel ben Simeon's various Haggadot: Murphy Haggadah, fol. 23r; London Ashkenazi Haggadah, fol. 15r, fig. 211) or as columns formed entirely of flames (Floersheim Haggadah, p. 18).[225]

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[223] On the idea that the Jews came out of Egypt fully armed, see next entry on fol. 32v.

[224] Men and women are arranged into different groups in the representation of the Tripartite Mahzor. This composition is due to the fact that the image depicts several episodes from the event at once, from the dividing of the sea until the song of thanksgiving. The division of the Israelites can be connected to this latter episode about which a midrash says that first the men and then the women sang. ***Midrash Tanhuma*** (Buber) II, 60-61; Exodus Rabba 23.7. Ginzberg, ***Legends of the Jews***, vol. 3, 33-34. Sarit Shalev-Eyni, "Ha-mahzor ha-meshullash" [The Tripartite Mahzor], PhD dissertation (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2001), 152 (hereafter Shalev-Eyni, PhD). In the Miscellany, however, men and women do not constitute entirely separate groups, and are still on their way through the waters followed hard by the Egyptian army. None of the details refers to the Song of Thanksgiving.

[225] One exception is the depiction from the Second Darmstadt Haggadah, in which the column of fire is represented by a naked male figure holding a torch in his hand. See Felicitas Heimann, "Die Illustrationen in der 2. Darmstädter Pesach Haggadah," ***Kairos*** 25 (1983): 33.
In Christian art, the column is connected more to another iconographical type, to the Exodus from Egypt. For the different traditions of its representation, see Shalev-Eyni, PhD, 144. The column appears sometimes in Jewish depictions of the scene (e.g., Dura Europos; Tripartite Mahzor, fol. 228r).
Concerning Christian iconography of the column of fire Early Christian-Byzantine miniatures often depict the columns of fire as being formed from flames (Paris Psalter, Paris BnF MS. grec. 139, fol. 419v). In later Christian representations, the columns rarely appear in the scene of the Crossing of the Red Sea.

The red color of the sea is another unusual feature of the miniature. While in Christian depictions of the period, the color of the sea is often red referring to the name of the sea, in the Jewish iconography of the scene, it is not a common feature.[226] The reason for this might be that in classical Hebrew sources the Red Sea is almost always called as ים סוף, that is, Reed Sea, and not as ים אדום, that is, Red Sea.[227] A possible explanation for the red color of the sea is the influence of a Christian visual model.

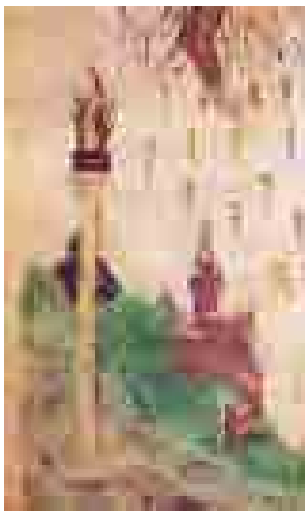


Fig. 211. Ashkenazi Haggadah fol. 15r: Column of Fire

Fol. 32v: Exodus from Egypt

"When Israel went from Egypt, the house of Jacob from a people of foreign language; Judah was his sanctuary, and Israel his dominion" (Ps. 114:1-2). The first part of the *Hallel* with Psalm 113 and Psalm 114 begins on this folio. The latter psalm starting with "When Israel went from Egypt" is decorated with the Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt. Only a draft can be seen around the initial word depicting the Israelites coming out of Egypt (fig. 214). A group of people and animals appear under the word coming from right to left. At the head of the procession there are several men in pointed hats. There are a few animals behind them.

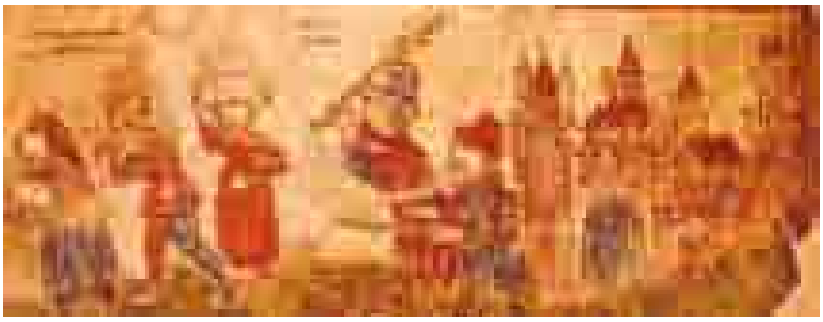
While in Sephardi Haggadot, the Exodus is a permanent part of the picture cycle, in Ashkenazi Haggadot, it is not always represented.[228] Instead, since it is closely connected to another iconographical type, the Crossing the Red Sea, the two can be and indeed were merged into a single scene. In some manuscripts, both (e.g., Second Nuremberg Haggadah, fols. 19v-20r and 20v-22r), in some others only the former type is represented (e.g., Joel ben Simeon's London Ashkenazi Haggadah, fols. 14v-15r; Murphy Haggadah, fols. 23r). If both of them are depicted, the Exodus is usually placed to decorate the *Dayyenu*, the "This is matzah," or—as it happened in the Miscellany—Psalm 114, the second psalm in the *Hallel*.[229]

[226] For Christian images depicting the sea as red, see for example: Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, c. 1435 (The Hague, MMW 10A 18, fol. 107r); Guyart des Moulins, *Bible historiale*, Paris; first quarter of the fifteenth century (London, BL, Royal 15 D III, fol. 78r)

[227] One of the earliest uses of the expression 'Red Sea' in Jewish literature can be found in the Psalms commentary of Abraham ibn Ezra (on Psalm 72:8). I would like to thank Professor Shalom Sabar for sharing this information with me.

[228] Kogman-Appel, PhD, 71.

[229] The scene of Exodus decorates *Dayyenu*, in the Hileq Bileq Haggadah for example, fol. 18r; the Second Nuremberg Haggadah, fols. 19v-20r; and the Yahuda Haggadah, fols. 18v-19r. It decorates "This is matzah" for instance in the Birds' Head Haggadah (fols. 24v-25r), in the Second Darmstadt Haggadah (fol. 10r), and in the Floersheim Haggadah (fol. 16v). It is linked to the first part of the *Hallel*, to Psalm 114 in the Barcelona Haggadah (fol. 66v) and in the Chantilly Greek



Figs. 212-213. Floersheim Haggadah, p. 18, Golden Haggadah, fol. 14v: Exodus from Egypt

There are two main types of representation of the Exodus. The first type, which prevails in Sephardi Haggadot, depicts the Israelites driven out by the Egyptians from a castle symbolizing Egypt. While in the Sephardi Haggadot, the Egyptians rather express their relief that the Israelites are leaving (Golden Haggadah, fol. 14v, fig. 213; Sarajevo Haggadah, fol. 27v), there are some Ashkenazi Haggadot of this type, where they expressly expel the Israelites using physical force (Floersheim Haggadah, p. 16, fig. 212). This kind of representation focuses on the expulsion of Israel from the land of Egypt, "because they were thrust out of Egypt" (Ex. 12:39). The second type represents only the marching Israelites; Egypt and the Egyptians are not depicted and the emphasis is on the Israelites' wandering rather than on their expulsion.[230]

Fig. 214. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 32v: Exodus from Egypt

Haggadah (Chantilly, Musee Conde MS 732, fol. 23r). In the Ryzhin Siddur (fols. 172v-173r), two miniatures decorate Psalm 114, both representing two armies confronting each other.

[230] From a Christian point of view, the main event in the Exodus was the Crossing the Red Sea. On the one hand since it was a divine miracle and on the other hand because it was considered the typological antitype of baptism. See Kogman-Appel, PhD, 71 n. 268.

Fig. 215. Tripartite Mahzor, vol. 1, fol. 228r: Exodus from Egypt

The artist of the Miscellany chose this second type illustrating the Exodus of Israel from Egypt with a group of people accompanied by donkeys carrying sacks. He omitted the Egyptians (fig. 214). Some elements of its composition are reminiscent of another image in the Miscellany portraying Jacob and his household going down to Egypt. The figure carrying a jar hanging on a stick held over his shoulder, the two other figures before him and the outlines of a donkey next to him constitute a group that is very similar to the one in the miniature of Jacob going down to Egypt. It is possible that just as in the case of Pharaoh and his counselors and magicians (fols. 27r and 29v) they both used the same visual model (see also I. 3. 2).

Although the image is unfinished and only a sketch of the miniature can be seen with a few of its details elaborated, there are some motifs that are worth mentioning. According to the biblical text, "the people of Israel journeyed from Ramses to Sukkot, about six hundred thousand on foot, who were men, beside children. And a mixed multitude went up also with them; and sheep [צאן], and cattle [בקר], and very many livestock [מקנה]" (Ex.12:37-38). It is not clear from the image if there are children and women among the Israelites, but some donkeys can be identified beyond doubt. The biblical text, on the other hand, speaks only about sheep, cattle, and livestock. However, donkeys are mentioned in

some midrashic interpretation of the passage.[231] In most of the Jewish depictions, the Israelites leave Egypt without their livestock. If they are represented, they are represented by various kinds of animals. Donkeys, however, are present only in Ashkenazi Haggadot such as in the Second Nuremberg Haggadah (fol. 20r) and in the Tripartite Mahzor (fig. 215).[232] In both examples, the donkeys carry luggage on their backs. In the Miscellany, there are two donkeys at the right hand side of the image and one of them carries a sack on his back. Its figure is very similar to the donkeys of the Tripartite Mahzor. However, while the people in the Mahzor also carry sacks on their shoulder, the artist of the Miscellany seems to follow another tradition depicting the wandering Israelites with their luggage tied to a stick. Carrying sacks on the shoulder is nearer to the biblical description which says that "the people took their dough before it was leavened, their kneading troughs being bound up in their clothes upon their shoulders" (Ex. 12:34).[233]

Finally, one more detail. The biblical text relates that "the people of Israel went up armed [חמשים] out of the land of Egypt" (Ex. 13:18). The interpretation of the word ***hamushim*** is not unambiguous. Among others, according to Rashi, it means that the Israelites were armed.[234] Among the Jewish depictions of the event, there are two types: those which portray the Israelites well armed, and those which rather emphasize the carrying of the dough, and are not concerned about the weaponry. In Dura Europos and in most of the Sephardi Haggadot (e.g., Sarajevo Haggadah, fol. 27v; Sister Haggadah, fol. 16r), the Israelites are portrayed as being armed although the motif is present in Ashkenazi manuscripts as well (e.g., Second Nuremberg Haggadah, fols. 19v-20r). On the basis of the rudimentary sketch in the Miscellany, one cannot decide unambiguously if the Israelites were armed or not. By the right half of the image beneath the letter "***bet***," the outlines of a longish object with a sharp end are visible. If it was meant to be a lance or only a stick is not clear.

Fol. 35v: The Messiah entering Jerusalem and the resurrection of the dead

"Pour forth Your wrath upon the nations that do not recognize You, and upon the kingdoms that do not invoke Your name" (Ps. 79: 6). This verse from Psalms is the introductory sentence to the second part of the ***Hallel*** in the Haggadah. Ashkenazi Haggadot in general add two other biblical verses to Psalms

[231] *MhG* on Ex. 12:37-38 (Margalioth, p. 215), *Mekhilta de Rabbi Simeon ben Yokhai* (Epstein, p. 33). On the midrashic tradition, see Shalev-Eyni, PhD, 142. The donkeys and the camels are present in Christian representations of the Exodus as well. For these Christian images, see ibidem, 142-143.
[232] In the Sarajevo Haggadah, some sheep follow the Israelites while some larger animals go before them. They cannot be identified since their heads are beyond the frame of the composition. In the Barcelona Haggadah, a few of the Israelites escort the people on horseback.
[233] About the origin of these two traditions, see Shalev-Eyni, PhD, 144 n. 23.
[234] Rashi, Biblical commentary on Ex. 13:18.

79:6, but the scribe of the Miscellany omitted them.[235] This short version of the ***Shefokh*** is in accordance with the customs of Rabbi Abraham Hildiq included in the codex, "and they fill the fourth cup and say 'Pour out your wrath' until 'do not invoke'" (fol. 201r).

The recitation of the ***Shefokh*** was not part of the Haggadah text from the beginning. It is mentioned neither by the ***geonim*** nor by Maimonides, and most of the early medieval Ashkenazi authorities are silent about it. Although, Rabbi Judah bar Isaac Sir Leon of Paris claims that it was already recited in Talmudic times, it must have been inserted into the text of the Haggadah in early medieval Ashkenaz. The first remnant Haggadah that contains this text is the Mahzor Vitry from the eleventh century.[236]

In time, a special ritual became connected to this introductory verse of the ***Hallel***. Rabbi Moses Isserles, the Rema is one of the first who relates the custom. During the recitation of the ***Shefokh***, the Rema says, someone among the participants opens the door of the house as a symbol of their faith in the coming of the Messiah, the Savior.[237] Another source from the seventeenth century relates that during the recitation of this text, one of the participants at the Seder opened the door, and another one entered the room as if he were Elijah himself proclaiming the coming of the Messiah. "This custom performed in memory of the Messiah, is good and pleasing."[238]

The first hint of this ritual, however, comes not from written but from visual sources. In approximately a dozen fifteenth-century Ashkenazi and northern Italian Haggadot, this text was decorated by a special iconography. The coming of the Messiah was sometimes accompanied by the celebrating family opening the door for him.[239] The earliest dated example of this iconography is the miniature in the Miscellany decorating the beginning of the second part of the ***Hallel***. The initial-word, ***Shefokh*** (pour out) is richly decorated (fig. 216). Beneath the initial word, a crowned man approaches a fortified town riding on a donkey. The town is located on top of a hill and three of its inhabitants peep out from the windows. A man stands at the foot of the hill and greets the approaching figure, while above the initial word, there are three prophets hovering in the sky. All four figures hold a banderole

[235] In the Roman (Italian) rite, ***Shefokh*** consists only of Ps. 79:6; in the Sephardi rite it consists of Ps. 79:6-7; in Ashkenaz the following two verses were added: Ps. 69:25 and Lam. 3:66. For other rites, see Kasher, ***Haggadah Shlemah***, 177-178.
[236] Goldschmidt, ***Haggadah***, 62.
[237] Ha-Rema, ***Mateh Moshe*** 480; see Kasher, ***Haggadah Shlemah***, 177. The Raban ha-Yarhi, an important Provencal rabbinic authority (ca. 1155-1215), already mentions that in some places it is a custom not to lock the door at Seder eve as a declaration of the faith that Elijah would come and the Jews would be redeemed in the month of Nisan during Pesah. ***Sefer ha-Manhig***, Hilkhot Pesah 427; see Kogman-Appel, PhD, 168 n. 274.
[238] Joseph Yuspa Hahn, ***Sefer Yosif Ometz*** (Frankfurt am Main, 1928), 172 no. 788; see Gutmann, "The Messiah at Seder," 29-30.
[239] For the list of these Jewish miniatures, see Gutmann, "The Messiah at Seder," 29-38.

Fig. 216. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 35v: The Coming of the Messiah and the Resurrection of the Dead

with inscriptions announcing the coming of the Messiah. Beneath, in the lower margin of the page, another eschatological scene occurs. The resurrection of the dead is represented by three men in shrouds and caps rising out of their graves.

Fig. 217. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 325v, detail: Banderoles with inscriptions

The biblical quotations written on the banderoles are prophetic passages that were understood by Jews and Christians alike as references to the Messiah. Between the Messiah-Elijah and the man greeting him there is a quotation from Isaiah, "Announce to Fair Zion, Your Deliverer is coming!" (Is. 62:11). On the top of the miniature there are biblical quotations (fig. 217); to the right, "Rejoice greatly, Fair Zion; Raise a shout, Fair Jerusalem! Lo, your king is coming to you. He is victorious, triumphant, Yet humble, riding on an ass" (Zech. 9:9) is written. On the left side is written "And you, O Bethlehem of Ephrath … From you one shall come forth To rule Israel for Me" (Michah 5:1) and "Fear not, for I will redeem you…" (Is. 43:1). In Christian biblical exegesis, these verses were understood as prophecies about Jesus Christ.

In the middle, part of the inscription is probably missing due to a trimming during later rebinding work (fig. 217). The first two words however remained, "Rejoice, O rose." Its identification is ambiguous. According to Bezalel Narkiss, the first word, rejoice [*aluzei*] on the banderole could be an allusion to Zephaniah 3:14-15, which refers to messianic times and exclaims "Sing, O daughter of Zion; shout, O Israel; be glad and rejoice with all your heart, O daughter of Jerusalem." Concerning the second word, rose [*havatzelet*], it may refer to Song of Songs 2:1, "I am the rose of Sharon," since it was interpreted as the community of Israel in relation to the Lord. Another possible explanation offered by Narkiss is that the inscription is an acclamation for the coming of the Messiah.[240]

Anat Kutner identified the inscription on the middle banderole differently. She claimed that it is a citation from a *hoshanah* (a poetic prayer for the feast of Sukkot) composed by Eleazar ha-Kallir, who describes the messianic times in this poem (Davidson 1857א, in the Miscellany on fols. 15r-15v). He speaks among other things about the gathering of the nations and the resurrection of the dead. His

[240] Narkiss, "Washington Haggadah," 100 n. 196.

description leans on Zechariah 14. Kutner assumes that the fact that the artist of the Miscellany put a citation from the ***hoshanah*** among biblical verses—intentionally or not—shows the greatly respected status of this poem and that this expression, "rejoice, o rose" recalled salvational concepts.[241]

The figure on the ass bears attributes of both Elijah and the Messiah. His red cloak and the crown on his head and the ass on which he rides are symbols of royalty, moreover, the red cloak and the ass are symbols of the Messianic King for Jews and Christians alike. The crown indicates that the Messiah will come from the royal dynasty of David. The motif of the red cloak derives from Jacob's blessing on his son, Judah: "Binding his foal to the vine, and his ass's colt to the choice vine; he washed his garments in wine and his clothes in the blood of grapes" (Gen. 49:11). The same concept returns in Isaiah 63:2 connecting the red robe explicitly to the Messiah: "the garments of Messiah will be like the garments of him that pressed wine." Ashkenazi ***piyyutim*** used the motif and say that the martyrs blood will be sprayed on the garment of God and this will trigger the final divine vengeance.[242]

The key passage for the association of the ass with the Messiah is Zechariah 9:9: "Lo, your king is coming to you. He is victorious, triumphant, yet humble, riding on a donkey." The Gospels of John and Matthew both refer to it in connection with Jesus Christ (Matth. 21:5; John 12:15). In his commentary on Exodus 4:20, "so Moses took his wife and his sons, mounted them upon the donkey, and he returned to the land of Egypt…," Rashi explains that the donkey is with an article here, since the text refers to one particular donkey: "the designated donkey, that is the donkey that Abraham saddled for the binding of Isaac, and that is the one upon whom the King Messiah is destined to appear, as it is said, 'humble, and riding a donkey' (Zech. 9:9)."[243] Zechariah 9:9 was a key passage for Christians and Jews alike. Yom Tov Lipmann Mülhausen speaks about Zechariah 9:9 in his ***Sefer Nizzahon***: "The Christians interpret this reference to Christ, basing their interpretation on the fact that there is a cross-like design on the ass' shoulders."[244] Mühlhausen's comment demonstrates that the Jewish side was aware of the Christian messianic interpretations of certain biblical passages.

On the other hand, the shofar that the figure in the miniature blows is the attribute of Elijah, the herald of the Messiah. According to Bezalel Narkiss, there was already confusion between the Messiah

[241] Anat Kutner, "Hamoro shel Meshiah: teurei Meshiah rokhev al hamoro ba-kitvei yad Ashkenaziim biyemei ha-benayim" [The Messiah's donkey: depictions of the Messiah riding on his donkey in Ashkenazi manuscripts of the Middle Ages] (MA Thesis for the Hebrew University at Jerusalem, 2003), 16-17.
[242] Yuval, ***Two Nations***, 96-100.
[243] Rashi's commentary on Exodus 4:20.
[244] ***Sefer Nizzahon*** 262; translation is from Ora Limor and Israel Jacob Yuval, "Skepticism and Conversion: Jews, Christians, and Doubters in Sefer ha-Nizzahon," in ***Hebraica Veritas?: Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe***, ed. Allison P. Coudert and Jeffrey S. Shoulson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 168.
About the donkey and its messianic interpretation, see Epstein, "Another Flight," 48-50.

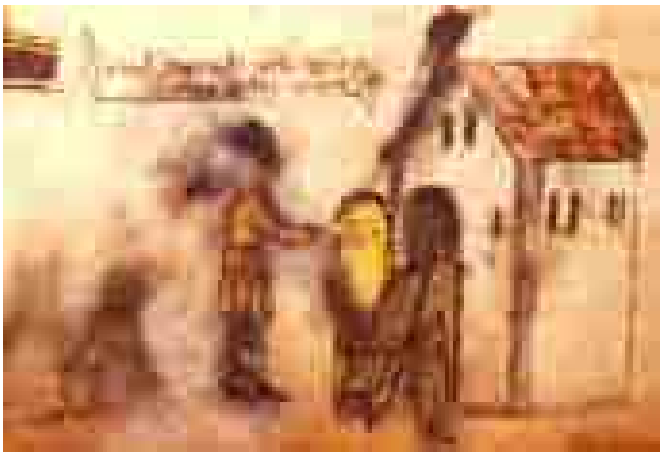
and Elijah in the Jewish religion in Antiquity. This confusion influenced Christian concepts of the New Testament and Jewish messianistic beliefs throughout the Middle Ages. The written sources about opening the door mentioned above also shows this confusion concerning the identity of the expected one: Is he Elijah or the Messiah himself? Moreover, this is the reason why the Messiah and his herald Elijah are mixed in some Jewish depictions of the Coming of the Messiah.[245]

Fig. 218. Stuttgart Haggadah, fol. 15v: The Messiah (?) riding a donkey

As I mentioned, the miniature of the Miscellany is the first known example of an iconographical type that had a great career in Jewish art. Besides the Miscellany, there are at least thirteen manuscripts illustrating the *Shefokh* with a similar scene. The simplest representations can be found in two undated manuscripts produced sometime in the second half of the fifteenth century. They depict only a man on an ass/horse. In the Stuttgart Haggadah, the bearded man is riding upon an animal that looks more like a mule than a donkey (fol. 15v, fig. 218). He is probably the Messiah himself. In Paris MS hebr. 640, on the other hand the young man riding upon an ass blows a shofar. Thus, he is rather Elijah than the Messiah (fol. 107v).

The other examples depict the messianic figure approaching a house or a town. In the First Nuremberg Haggadah, an early work of Joel ben Simeon from approximately 1445, a man blowing a shofar riding upon an ass approaches a house. By the open door, a young man awaits his arrival (fol. 14v). The inscription above the riding figure identifies him as the Messiah. The Tegernsee Haggadah produced in the last third of the fifteenth century avoids the confusion of Elijah and the Messiah by representing them both. Elijah approaches an open gate blowing a shofar, while the Messiah follows him riding on an ass (fol. 24v).

[245] Narkiss, "The Washington Haggadah," 77-78. A further depiction in which the attributes of the Messiah and Elijah are mixed can be found in the First New York Haggadah (New York, JTS, MS Mic. 4481, fol. 14v).

Figs. 219-220. Second Nuremberg Haggadah, fol. 29v and Yahudah Haggadah, fol. 29r: *Shefokh*

A mysterious type of this iconography represents Elijah-Messiah coming out from a house. In the Yahudah Haggadah, a young man escorted by a dog opens the door of a house, and an ass appears in its gate (fol. 29r, fig. 220). The Second Nuremberg Haggadah has the same composition, but here the rider of the donkey can also be seen (fol. 29v, fig. 219). The inscription above the scene is identical in the two manuscripts: "The boy opens the doors of the house to admit the Messiah and Elijah the prophet."[246] Parma 3143 has a very similar miniature portraying the Messiah coming out from a house (fol. 17v). The boy opening the door for him and the dog are also present. No explanation has been offered for the strange iconography of coming out from the house instead of entering it. Changing perspective might help to find a possible solution of this odd depiction. If one considers the folio as the inner world, as an interior and not simply a surface to carry words and images, then the Messiah indeed enters into the world of the manuscript and virtually into the space of the celebrants through a gateway. Another possibility is that the building is not the house but a entrance structure leading into the courtyard.[247]

In the Rylands Ashkenazi Haggadah produced around 1430 in the Middle Rhine region, the Messiah is escorted by a colorful entourage (fol. 33r, fig. 94). He is portrayed as a bellicose warrior raising his sword, surrounded by people, and his donkey is lead by a tall angel. At the very end of the procession, there is a column with a cloud on top of it from which a shofar extends. The parade of characters approaches a city. The Messiah, thus, already started to gather the Jews and lead them to Jerusalem as Isaiah puts it, "Lift up your eyes [Jerusalem] around, and see; all they gather themselves together, they come to you; your sons shall come from far, and your daughters shall be nursed at your side" (Is. 60:4).

[246] הנער פותח דלתי הבית להביא המשיח ואליהו הנביא
[247] I am indebted to Eva Frojmovic for sharing her suggestion with me.

The Messiah has companions in the Washington Haggadah as well. Moreover, they travel on the ass behind the Messiah with one exception who managed to grab only the tail of the animal. The parade has almost arrived at a house where a young man waits for them at the open door with a glass of wine in his hands. I quoted above a written source about the opening of the door at the recitation of the ***Shefokh***. There is another text, also from the sixteenth century written by the convert Antonius Margaritha, describing the same custom in the following way, "At the moment they open the door, someone who has disguised himself comes quickly into the room, as if he were Elijah himself who had to proclaim the gospel of their Messiah's [coming]."[248] According to this source the figure for whom the participants of the Seder are waiting is not the Messiah himself, but his herald, Elijah.

The Messiah, accompanied by the gathering of Israel, appears in the Second Nuremberg and the Yahudah Haggadah, however, not in the ***Shefokh*** but some folios later, in the margins of the ***piyyut***, "To Him praise is due, to Him praise is fitting" (כי לו נאה כי לו יאה; Davidson 215 כ). The composition of the two manuscripts is identical: Elijah blows the shofar in the outer margin, while in the lower margin the Messiah rides the ass with the people of Israel sitting on its long tail (Second Nuremberg Haggadah, fol. 41v; Yahudah Haggadah, fol. 40v). The inscription for the miniature says, "The Messiah rides an ass and reigns, all Israel follows behind in skeins."

Another iconography connected to the ***Shefokh*** can be found in some Sephardi Haggadot such as in the fourteenth-century Barcelona Haggadah (fol. 71v), the Kaufmann Haggadah (fol. 47r, fig. 221), and the Sassoon Haggadah (p. 128).[249] In these manuscripts, in the initial word panel ***Shefokh*** there is an angel (in the Kaufmann Haggadah, only two hands can be seen) pouring some liquid upon a group of people symbolizing the nations who do not recognize God's name.[250]

[248] Antonius Margaritha, ***Der ganze jüdische Glaube*** (Leipzig, 1705), 47-48; see in Gutmann, "Messiah at the Seder," 30.

[249] However, two of these Haggadot, the Barcelona and the Sassoon Haggadah, are not typical examples of Sephardi Haggadot. They do not have a picture cycle preceding the Haggadah itself; the illustrations are embedded in the text in an "Ashkenazi way." Joseph Gutmann sees in this iconography the influence of such scholars as David Abudarham, a fourteenth-century Spanish liturgical commentator, who says that the four cups of wine symbolize the four cups of wrath that God will pour out over the idolaters; see Gutmann, "Messiah at Seder," 36. On the connection between these three Sephardi Haggadot, see Evelyn M. Cohen, "Three Sephardic Haggadot and a Possible Missing Link," in ***Jewish Studies in a New Europe. Proceedings of the Fifth Congress of Jewish Studies in Copenhagen 1994 under the auspices of the European Association for Jewish Studies***, ed. Ulf Haxen, Hanne Trautner-Kromann, and Karen Lisa Goldschmidt Salamon (Copenhagen: Der Kongelige Bibliotek, 1998), 142-151.

[250] About the nature of the liquid, see Cohen, "Three Sephardic Haggadot," 147-148.

Fig. 221. The Kaufmann Haggadah, fol. 47r: *Shefokh*
Fig. 222.The Second Darmstadt Haggadah, fol. 12v: *Shefokh*

Again, another type of iconography combines two motifs, the coming of the Messiah and the pouring out of the divine wrath upon the nations. The Second Darmstadt Haggadah (fol. 12v, fig. 222) and the Floersheim Haggadah (p. 20) included this Sephardi motif into their illustration of the *Shefokh*. Both of them devote a whole opening to the miniature. On one folio there is a house with a family inside sitting at a table and opening the door. On the opposite folio, there is the Messiah approaching the house on a donkey. In the Second Darmstadt Haggadah, the disobedient nations are gathered behind the Messiah and a hand from heaven pours out wrath upon them. In the Floersheim Haggadah, they are depicted behind the house. These representations thus illustrate both aspects of the coming of the Messiah, the joyful one, that is redemption, and the penal one, that is, revenge.

The illustration in the Hileq Bileq Haggadah combines the coming of the Messiah and the pouring of wrath in a humorous way. In the low right hand corner, the Messiah is arriving on an ass' back. Above him a figure pours something from a jar. "Says he who opens the door: how far do you carry the joke, you nearly poured water on the king Messiah"—says the inscription. On the left hand side, three men sit at a table pointing to the banderoles floating over them. Although the miniature is "commented" on with inscriptions just as in the Miscellany, these inscriptions are not direct citations from the Bible but rather small poems referring to the coming of the Messiah.[251]

[251] For a detailed description of the miniature including the inscriptions, see Bezalel Narkiss and Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, *The Hileq Bileq Haggadah Index of Jewish Art: Iconographical Index of Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts* II/2 (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences, 1978) cards 74-78.

In printed Haggadot, the iconography underwent a great change. The Prague and the Mantua Haggadah remained faithful to the Ashkenazi tradition and illustrated the *Shefokh* with the Coming of the Messiah. The turning point occurred in the Venice Haggadah of 1609 in which the coming of the Messiah and Elijah does not decorate the *Shefokh* but the *piyyut*, "He who is most mighty, may he soon rebuild His House…" (*Adir hu,* Davidson 1086 א). This poem speaks of the rebuilding of the Temple and praises God for being merciful and compassionate. Divine revenge is not mentioned at all. The illustration in the Venice Haggadah depicts the Messiah and his herald approaching the still empty city of Jerusalem together with various groups of people arriving from the surrounding mountains. Shalom Sabar, analyzing the representation of Jerusalem in the Venice Haggadah, pointed out that this change in placement and in the composition of the coming of the Messiah reflects an entirely different, more positive Jewish attitude towards the majority among which they lived.[252]

Fig. 223. *Palmesel*, Veringendorf, end of fourteenth century Stuttgart, Württenbergisches Landesmuseum

The origins of the iconography

As mentioned, there is no consensus as to when the *Shefokh* entered the text of the Haggadah or when the custom of opening the door started. Joseph Gutmann claims that both the custom and its visual illustration originated in fifteenth-century Germany.[253] The "constant persecutions and vicious vilifications such as blood-libels prompted these images"—he says.[254] The Jews felt that only the Messiah could bring release from this unbearable situation. Moreover, besides the ever-present claim

[252] Shalom Sabar, "Messianic Aspirations and Renaissance Urban Ideals: the Image of Jerusalem in the Venice Haggadah, 1609," in *The Real and the Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Art. Studies in Honor of Bezalel Narkiss on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Bianca Kühnel (Jerusalem: Center for Jewish Art, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1998), 298.

[253] Gutmann, "Messiah at the Seder," 37-38; idem, "When the Kingdom Comes, Messianic Themes in Medieval Jewish Art," *Art Journal* 27, no. 2 (1967-1968): 173-174; idem, "Return in Mercy to Zion: A Messianic Dream in Jewish Art," in *The Land of Israel: Jewish Perspectives,* ed. Lawrence A. Hoffman (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986), 240-242. Reprinted in idem, *Sacred Images: Studies in Jewish Art from Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (Northampton: Variorum Reprints, 1989), XVII.

[254] Gutmann, "Messiah at the Seder," 37.

that the Old Testament prophecies are about Jesus, his activity and passion, there was a popular custom in late medieval Germany that on Palm Sunday processions, a wooden figure of Christ, the so-called *Palmesel*, was wheeled to the church as a commemoration of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem (fig. 223).[255] The persecutions and the overwhelming presence of Christian theological claims awoke strong messianic expectations in the Jews as the only way to escape from this pressure and triggered articulation of their viewpoint concerning biblical exegesis and the faith of the Jewish nation. Both the custom of opening the door and the iconographical motif of the approaching Messiah underscored the Jewish belief that the Messiah was yet to come.

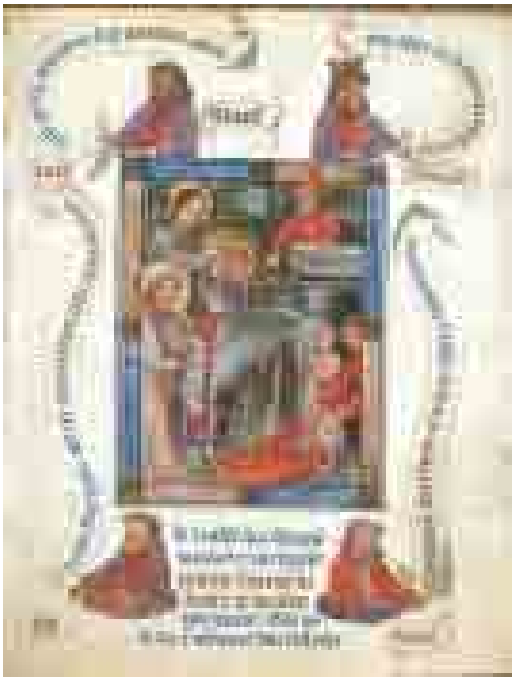


Fig. 224. *Biblia Pauperum*, London, BL, King's 5, fol. 9r: Jesus entering Jerusalem

Gutmann named two possible visual models for the Jewish iconography of the Messiah: the procession of the *Palmesel* and Christian iconography of Christ's entry into Jerusalem.[256] The Palmesel processions could partially have been responsible for familiarizing the Jews with the image of the Christian savior coming on a donkey to fulfill his mission. The Entry into Jerusalem similarly portrays Jesus approaching Jerusalem riding on an ass. Among the Jewish depictions of the coming of the Messiah, the miniature of the Miscellany displays the closest similarity with the Christian representation. Besides the overall composition in its center with a figure heading towards a town riding upon a donkey, there are certain motifs, which can be identified as slightly changed forms of the Christian iconography. First, Christ with his right hand lifted in blessing became the Jewish Messiah blowing a shofar. Second, the three prophet-like figures on the top register of the miniature are also often present in typological representations of the coming of the Messiah. They are usually outside the main composition holding banderoles with passages from the Old Testament interpreted as prophecies about Jesus.

Copies of the *biblia pauperum*, one of the most popular typological books of the period, for instance, surround the scene with four citations accompanied by four portraits of the authors: David, Solomon, Isaiah and Zachariah with citations from Ps. 149:2, Cant. 3:11, Matth. 21:5 referring to Isa.

[255] Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), 94-98.
[256] See the examples from the Index of Christian Art (http://ica.princeton.edu/).

62:11, and Zech. 9:9.[257] The fact that they were embedded within these typological representations shows that their Christological meaning was well known. The painter of the Miscellany included two of these passages in the Coming of the Messiah: Isaiah 62:11 and Zechariah 9:9.

Yom Tov Lipmann Mühlhausen in his *Sefer Nizzahon* analyses most of the biblical citations embedded in the miniature and speaking about Isaiah 62:11, he says the following:

> *Build up, build up the highway; gather out the stones; lift up a standard for the people. Behold, the Lord has proclaimed to the end of the world, Say to the daughter of Zion, Behold, your salvation comes...* [Isa. 62:10-11] *And they shall call them, The holy people, the redeemed of the Lord* [Isa. 62:12]. The Christians mistake also concerning these verses saying that the Nazzrene [Jesus] is the standard for the nations and will rescue them and redeem them. And this is the verse they build their interpretation on, *Who is this who comes from Edom, in crimsoned garments* [Isa. 63:1]… *Why is your apparel red* [Isa. 63:2]. They read [it] on the seventh day before Easter when they bring out the statue of the figure of the Christian, and they imagine that since the Christian was murdered, his clothes were colored with the blood. And behold, they do not understand that what is before and what is after [this verse] that is about the redemption.[258]

I cited this passage from that manuscript of the *Sefer Nizzahon* which was in the property of Isaac bar Simhah Gansman, reputedly the same individual as the scribe and the owner of the Miscellany. The statue of the figure of the Nazarene, which the Christians carried on the seventh day before Pesah is probably a reference to the *Palmesel*, while the seventh day before Easter is likely Palm Sunday. This paragraph demonstrates not only that the custom of the *Palmesel* was known in the circle of Mühlhausen, but that the choice of Isaiah 62:11 in the miniature was probably not accidental. Among the many prophetic verses having Christological interpretations, the painter chose this passage because it played a central role during Christian Easter, more exactly in the procession of Palm Sunday. Moreover, the Messiah, wearing a red robe, is not a common feature of this Jewish iconography. Thus, it might also be an influence from the *Sefer Nizzahon*. Moreover, the cloak of Jesus on the Palmesel was often painted red too.[259] The miniature of the Miscellany represents the Jewish Messiah in the costume of the Christian Messiah: the composition is appropriated from Christian depictions of Palm

[257] For example, *Biblia Pauperum*, Netherlands, ca. 1405 (London, BL, King's 5, fol. 9r, fig. 224); *Biblia Pauperum*, Bavaria, ca. 1430 (Heidelberg, UB, Cod. Pal. germ, 148, fol. 61r). The earliest remnant example is from around 1300. The book became very popular in German and French-speaking territories of Europe, and more than eighty copies survive today. Its primary purpose was probably to help the reader meditate. Avril Henry, *Biblia Pauperum. A Facsimile Edition* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1987), 3-18.

[258] סולו סולו המסילה סקלו מאבן הרימו נס על העמים וגו"...אמרו לבת ציון הנה ישעך בא הנה וגו". וקראו להם עם הקדוש גאולי ה"- גם בזה טעו הנוצרים לומר שהנוצרי נס העמים וישעם וגאלם וכן הפרשה הסמוכה לזה דכתיב מי זה בא מאדום חמוץ בגדים וגו" מדוע אדום ללבושיך. קוראין ביום ז קודם כסח כשמוציאים הפסל דמות הנוצרי ומדמין לומר שמחמת שנהרג הנוצרי נוצבעו בגדיו בדם והנה לא הבינו מה שלפנים ומה שלאחור שעל הגאולה... (Yom Tov Lipmann Mühlhausen, *Sefer Nizzahon* 240, Budapest, MTA Kaufmann Collection A 306, p. 140).
Kesakh must be an intentional distortion of the word ***Pesah*** in order to differentiate Christian Pesah, that is, Easter from the Jewish feast.

[259] Palmesel, Germany, ca. 1380; Hechingen, Hohenzollerisches Landesmuseum; Palmesel, Lower Franconica, 1470-1480; The Cloisters, New York.

Sunday while the biblical verses above the protagonist are the same as those interpreted by the Christians as prophecies about Jesus Christ.

In the Miscellany, the scene is combined with another scene, the resurrection of the dead represented on the bottom of the same folio (fig. 226). To the best of my knowledge, the representation of the resurrection of the dead is without parallel in medieval Hebrew book illumination.[260] In Christian art, however, it was a frequently depicted motif and an integral part of the iconography of the Last Judgment. The resurrecting dead were often portrayed as praying to Christ. In the *Fürstenportal* of the Bamberg cathedral produced in approximately the 1220s, for example, the resurrecting dead clasp their hands in prayer and turn towards Christ (fig. 225). The dead in the Miscellany are depicted in the same position of prayer, although the God they are giving thanks to is not present in the miniature.

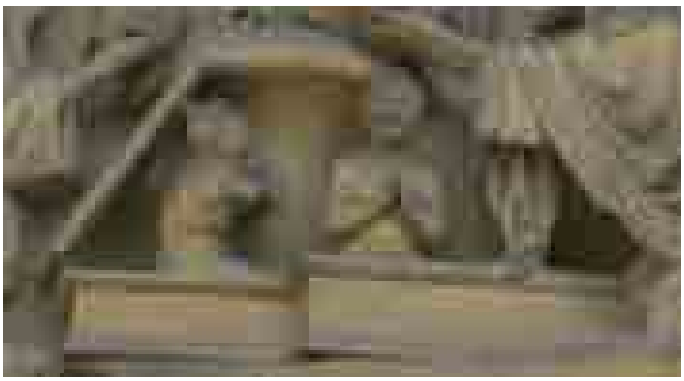


Fig. 225. Bamberg, Cathedral, *Fürstenportal*, tympanon, detail: Resurrection of the dead
Fig. 226. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 35v: Resurrection of the dead

The illustration of the *Shefokh* in the Miscellany was thus strongly influenced by the Christian iconographical tradition. Both parts of the decoration in the folio are constructed on corresponding Christian compositions. The fact that the illuminator of the Miscellany used these Christian models cannot be explained exclusively as a lack of Jewish visual tradition. The miniature is not simply a copy of the Christian model. On the one hand, the painter changed some important details concerning the figure of the Messiah depicting him as an elderly man with crown, who instead of blessing the people blows a shofar. On the other hand, he added an eschatological event, the resurrection of the dead to the composition, and by this, he placed the coming of the Messiah in the future refuting the Christian claim according to which the Messiah had already arrived. This miniature can be understood as a declaration

[260] It appears on the walls of the synagogue in Dura Europos, but in a totally different composition illustrating the vision of Ezekiel. Rachel Wischnitzer-Bernstein, "The Conception of the Resurrection in the Ezekiel Panel of the Dura Synagogue," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 60, no. 1 (1941): 43-55.

of the Jewish belief that the Jews are still favored by God and they will be resurrected by the Messiah who is still to come.

II. 3. 4. Conclusion

The Haggadah in the Hamburg Miscellany is an important link in the chain in the development of the illumination of Haggadot. As presented in this chapter, its decoration program, on the one hand, follows the already existing Ashkenazi tradition of Haggadah illustration; on the other hand, it offers novelties both in terms of arrangement of the images and iconography.

The scribe left some space blank for the illustrations within the body of the text. The images however, are sometimes larger than these blank spaces and expand into the margins. They are placed directly next to the paragraph they illustrate. However, the strong connection between text and image does not only manifest itself in the arrangement of the miniatures. All the images except the Coming of the Messiah are based on the content of the text or on words mentioned in it. This feature is not universal in Ashkenazi Haggadot. In the Second Nuremberg Haggadah, for instance, the text is accompanied by ritual depictions and numerous scenes from the life of Moses. The latter miniatures sometimes represent biblical and sometimes midrashic events in the forefather's life that are not mentioned in the text of the Haggadah at all.

The depictions of Pharaoh's blood bath and the massacre of the Jewish children clearly exemplify this method of text-image arrangement. Both miniatures are based on midrashic interpretations of certain words in the text, but follow each other in a counter-chronological order to keep close to the word they are linked to: Pharaoh bathing in blood is connected to the word, [Pharaoh] ***died***, while the infanticide is connected to the word, [the Israelites] ***cried out***. They constitute a sort of visual commentary, a visual midrash of the biblical text quoted in the Haggadah. The only illustration that seems to lack this kind of direct link to the text it illustrates is the Coming of the Messiah complemented with the Resurrection of the Dead. Indeed, it is not connected to the content or to the wording of the paragraph, that is, not directly to the text of the Haggadah but to the ritual that is connected to the passage. The miniature is based on the custom of opening the door during the recitation of the text as a symbol of faith in the coming of the Messiah.

Besides the arrangement of the images, the choice of scenes also has some odd features. In comparison with numerous Ashkenazi manuscripts, earlier and later alike, the

Miscellany has a limited set of ritual depictions illustrating only the most important moments of the Seder, usually at the beginning of a new section. The first three images illustrate the first three sections of the Haggadah, the remaining ones mark subsections within the ***Maggid***, the main part of the Haggadah. Compared to the biblical-eschatological miniatures, the ritual illustrations are fewer in number and, except for the ***Ha Lahma*** (fol. 24r), they are smaller in size.

Moreover, most of the unfinished illustrations show rituals. Perhaps this means that the painters paid more heed to the biblical-eschatological narratives. An additional reason for the division of finished and unfinished images can be found in the quire system. In the present state of the manuscript, the Haggadah occupies 3 quires: III-V. All the images on quire III^{8} are unfinished and all the images on quire IV^{8} are finished. In quire V^{8+1}, all are unfinished with the exception of the Coming of the Messiah on fol. 35v, which, as the stylistic analysis has shown, was painted by another hand. Thus, it appears that the artists began the coloring of the sketches with quire IV^{8} starting with the ***Maggid*** and for some reason did not have time to finish the other two quires.

Iconographical oddities can be found in all types of illustration: ritual, midrashic and biblical-eschatological. The Hamburg Miscellany was produced by and for a person who belonged to the circle of the Maharil. It is not surprising then that the codex contains references to the Maharil. The instructions added to the Haggadah frequently refer to the customs of Rabbi Möllin, and although the ritual illustrations of the Haggadah follow an already established iconographical tradition, the Maharil's influence can be detected in a number of details. Such iconographical elements include the uncovered plate at the ***Ha Lahma*** or the presence of the children during the pouring of the second cup before ***Ma Nishtanah***. Among the midrashic illustrations, the depiction of the Four Sons, especially the Wicked Son, has a unique iconography. He is not a typical soldier, but with his striped habit, uncovered buttock, distorted body and face he displays the characteristics of an aggressive and blood-thirsty fool. The biblical-eschatological scenes equally provide some iconographical types that appear here for the first time or sometimes even the only time. The scenes of the Sacrifice of the Passover lamb or the Resurrection of the Dead do not have any parallel composition in the extant corpus of medieval Jewish illuminated

codices. Some other iconographical types such as the Sleeping Abraham, Pharaoh's blood bath, and the Coming of the Messiah, have their first dated instances here. They found their way to the pages of later Ashkenazi and Italo-Ashkenazi Haggadot as well as those of printed Haggadot. Although the subsequent history of the codex is not known—as Bezalel Narkiss has already suggested—the reappearance of these types in later codices raises the possibility that later artists used it as a model.[261]

The iconographical novelties within the biblical-eschatological scenes often contain a messianic or martyrological aspect. The Sacrifice of the Passover lamb in the Temple and Pharaoh's blood bath may be interpreted as allegories for recent historical events, allusions to those who suffered death either sacrificing their own lives or their children's lives or being killed during persecutions in medieval Ashkenaz. The sleeping Abraham recalls the Covenant of the Pieces and the first divine promise of messianic redemption. Laban and Pharaoh represent Israel's two sworn enemies, who though menacingly threatening all of Israel, were finally subjugated. They should be seen as archetypes and a promise of future messianic revenge on the oppressors of the Jews. Finally, the ultimate lesson of the entire Exodus story is manifested in the depiction of the Coming of the Messiah accompanied by the resurrection of the dead. This image was meant to show that none of the calamities afflicting the Jews are in vain. It symbolizes the Jewish hope of still being the chosen people, about to be redeemed and a response to the Christian claim that the Jews had already fallen from divine favor.

The iconography of some of these new themes may have been based on Christian representations. The Sleeping Abraham appears in the guise of Jesse, Pharaoh having a blood bath is reminiscent of Christian baptismal scenes, and the composition of the Coming of the Messiah is built on Jesus' entry into Jerusalem. However, the reason for appropriating elements from the Christian pool of motifs was not simply due to an impoverished visual tradition. By using Christian models or forms, these Jewish depictions enter into a more or less hidden dialogue or even dispute with their models and the ideas they express. In this way, the ancient liturgical text of the Seder eve, which itself developed in interaction with parallel Christian customs and concepts, was given a

[261] For Bezalel Narkiss, see n204.

new, contemporary aspect.[262] Without the pictures, the text speaks about the past, the Exodus from Egypt, and about the distant future, the final redemption of the Jews. The images as a kind of commentary, interpret the text and the whole feast with reference to the present, not only by depicting the biblical figures in contemporary clothing in front of contemporary buildings, but by referring to actual conflicts between Jews and Christians.

The polemical atmosphere of the Haggadah illustration smoothly fits the overall decoration program of the Miscellany. Traces of this atmosphere can be found in other contemporary Hebrew codices as well. What makes the illustration of the Hamburg Miscellany and within it the Haggadah special is its emphasis on sacrifice and its ultimate reward, redemption by God. Looking at the illustrations, the users of this liturgical guidebook in fifteenth-century Ashkenaz could feel that they were in the same position—enslaved—like their ancestors in Egypt but with their slave masters, their "Egyptians," being contemporary Christians. Just as their ancestors suffered in Egypt, so they themselves suffered under Christian rule. In addition, since the biblical Exodus story was considered a prefiguration of Israel's final redemption, the fifteenth-century Jews celebrating Seder could tell their children that their present-day calamities would not be in vain, but would ultimately result in their vindication when God would bring divine revenge upon their enemies and final redemption upon themselves.

[262] For the development of the Haggadah and the Seder liturgy and their relationship with the development of Easter, see Israel Jacob Yuval, "Easter and Passover as Early Jewish-Christian Dialogue," ***Passover and Easter: the Symbolic Structuring of Sacred Seasons*** (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press ,1999): 98-124; idem, "Passover in the Middle Ages," ***Passover and Easter: Origin and History to Modern Times*** (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999) 127-160.

II. 4. SHAVUOT

Fols. 49v-50r: Matan Torah

The next feast that was given a miniature is Shavuot, illustrated with the scene of Moses receiving the Law (figs. 47, 227). This episode in the biblical story was often illustrated in Ashkenazi manuscripts. With the exception of the Sarajevo Haggadah (fol. 30r), the scene is not depicted in the picture cycles of Sephardi Haggadot. These Haggadot usually end with the scene of the Crossing the Red Sea or the Song of Miriam.[263]

In Ashkenazi Haggadot, this scene usually illustrates the piyyut, *Dayyenu*, which mentions the Giving of the Torah to the Israelites (Birds' Head Haggadah, fol. 23r; Greek Haggadot, Paris: fol. 14r; Chantilly: fol. 19v). In most Ashkenazi and Italo-Ashkenazi *mahzorim*, it illustrates a *yozer* for the first day of Shavuot, *The Lord was my faithful companion* (Davidson 484א; Leipzig Mahzor, fol. 130v) or, if it is included within the codex, the mishnaic tractate of *Pirqei Avot* (Forli Siddur, fol. 145r; Rothschild Mahzor, fol. 139r). Outside the liturgical context, the scene was depicted, for example, at the beginning of the twelfth book of Maimonides' Mishneh Torah in the late thirteenth-century Kaufmann Mishneh Torah (vol. III, fol. 32r).

In the Hamburg Miscellany, only two *maarivim* for Shavuot are included for the first and the second day of the feast. These were written in two parallel columns, both of which mention God announcing the Ten Commandments. The representation of the Giving of the Law is connected to these *maarivim* (Davidson 257ו and 3423א). The scene is divided into two parts: in the lower margin of folio 49v, at the end of the *Maariv* for the seventh day of Passover (Davidson 257ו), there is a depiction of Israel

praying at the foot of Mount Sinai. A group of people, five men and two women are standing in front of a huge green rock praying with clasped hands; while in the outer margin of folio 50r, above the *maaravim* for Shavuot, there is a depiction of Moses receiving the Law from heaven. Moses stands at the foot of a huge green

[263] Metzger, *La Haggada*, 301-302. The popularity of the scene in Ashkenazi manuscripts might be connected to the fact that the Lawgiving was a relevant topic in Jewish-Christian polemics. According to Christian theologians, the validity of the Mosaic Law ended with the coming of Christ. This idea was known to Jewish thinkers since one of the first Jewish polemical treatises, the twelfth-century Joseph Kimhi's Sefer ha-Berit testifies: יתנחם הבורא כי נתן התורה עד זמן ידוע; see Josef Kimhi, *Sefer ha-Berit u-vikkuḥei Radaq im ha-natzrut,* ed. Efraim Talmage (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1974), 39.

rock and stretches his hand to reach the tablets of Laws descending from the blue clouds.

Fig. 227. Hamburg Miscellany, fols. 49v-50r: *Matan Torah*

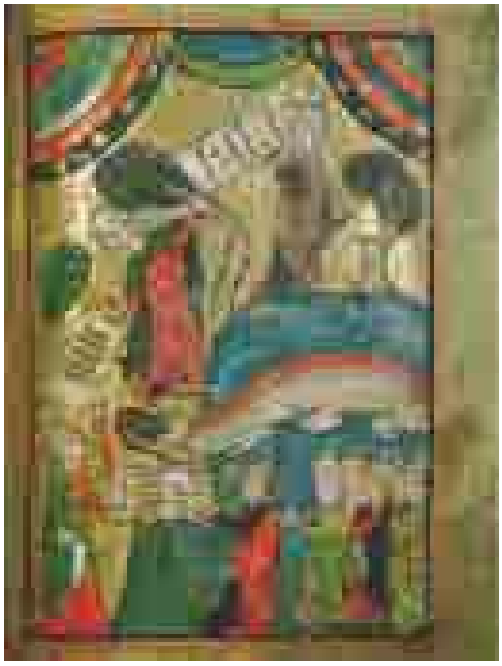
The Jewish representations of the event at Mount Sinai are divided into two basic groups: the depictions of Moses receiving the Law from heaven and the depictions of Moses delivering the Law to the Israelites. The *Pirqei Avot* is always illustrated with the first episode since this is the moment the mishnaic text begins with, *Moses received the Torah at Sinai…* (Avot 1:1; Fig. 228).[264] In the Haggadah and in prayer books, the relevant texts do not concentrate on this moment, but speak about God giving the Torah to his people. The *Dayyenu* says, *If He had given us the Torah*, that is, to the Israelites, while in the *yozer* for the first day of Shavuot, the Torah speaks in first person singular saying that God

Fig. 228. Rothschild Mahzor, fol. 139r: *Matan Torah*

[264] See, for example, the Rothschild Mahzor, fol. 139r.

gave her to humans, which again refers to the Israelites. The artists could then decide which episode they wanted to depict.

Sometimes, such as in the Birds' Head Haggadah or in the Regensburg Pentateuch, both moments are illustrated in the same miniature (fol. 23r and fol. 154v respectively; figs. 229-230). The choice of the episode must have been influenced by an important factor: by choosing the later episode of the story, the artist had an easy way to avoid having to represent God.[265] According to the biblical text, between the revelation on Mount Sinai and the transmission of the Law to the Israelites, some significant events happened. Moses built an altar and read the Book of the Covenant to the people (Ex. 24:4-7); he spent forty days on the mount and received the first Tablets of Law (Ex. 31:18); the Israelites worshiped the Golden



Figs. 229-230. The Birds' Head Haggadah, fol. 23r and the Regensburg Pentateuch, fol. 154v: *Matan Torah*

Calf (Ex. 32); Moses broke the first tablets (Ex. 32:19); Moses went back to the mountain and wrote the second set of tablets (Ex. 34:27-28); and he commanded the Israelites to obey these divine Laws (Ex. 34:32). Visual depictions of the scene, either of Moses receiving the Law from heaven or transmitting it to the Israelites usually merge these different episodes into one composition.

[265] Hannelore Künzl, "Jewish Artists and the Representation of God," in *Representation in Religion. Studies in Honor of Moshe Barasch*, ed. Jan Assmann and Albert I. Baumgarten (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 151.

Fig. 231. Forli Siddur, fol. 145r: *Matan Torah*

According to the logic of the biblical text, Moses receiving the Tablets from heaven should depict the first Tablets written by God Himself and not the second set noted down by Moses as opposed to the Israelites waiting patiently at the feet of the mount, which fits the revelation but not the reception of the first Tablets, when they made the Golden Calf under the leadership of Aaron.[266] This melding of different episodes in the story characterizes the miniature in the Hamburg Miscellany as well. On the one hand it portrays the Israelites praying at the foot of the mountain and on the other hand, Moses receiving the Tablets of Law from heaven.

In the scene of Moses receiving the Law from heaven, the divinity was represented in various ways. In the Birds' Head Haggadah and in the Regensburg Pentateuch, for example, a hand stretching out of a cloud delivers the tablets to the forefather. The presence of angels and shofars, however, was a more popular solution. In the Laud Mahzor as well as in the Forli Siddur, an angel delivers the tablets (fol. 127v and fol. 145r; fig. 231). In the two sixteenth-century Greek Haggadot, Moses has already received the Law, and delivers it to the people of Israel, but heaven is still open revealing three angels playing on wind instruments which are trumpets rather than shofars (Paris: fol. 14r; Chantilly: fol. 19v). In some other cases, no angel is present, only shofar or shofars extending out from a cloud symbolizing the divine presence (e.g., Second Darmstadt Haggadah, fol. 9v; Floersheim Haggadah, p. 15; fig. 232). In the Hamburg Miscellany as well as in an Ashkenazi Mahzor (Budapest, MTA, A 383, fol. 69r), roughly from the same period and area, angels and shofars are both missing. Moses receives the Law from a cloud without any intermediary (figs. 233-234).

[266] About the order of the episodes in the midrashic literature, see Shalev-Eyni, PhD, 165. In the Tripartite Mahzor, Moses wears gloves, also referring to the sacred, divine origin of the tablets written by God Himself.

The different ways of representing the divine presence came from different sources. The hand as a substitute for God is a long-standing visual tradition, which was already used in Dura-Europos. The shofar and the cloud are mentioned in the biblical text itself for the revelation on Mount Sinai, "And it came to pass on the third day in the morning that there were thunders and lightning, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the sound of a shofar exceedingly loud;" (Ex. 19:16), while the angels are, on the one hand, traditional substitutes for God in visual depictions, and on the other hand, their presence is mentioned in the midrashic sources on the Receiving the Torah.[267]



Figs. 232-234. Floersheim Haggadah, p. 15, Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 50r, Ashkenazi Mahzor MTA A 383, fol. 69r: Details from the *Matan Torah*

In the Miscellany, the Tablets of the Law are represented as a round-topped diptych. Since the biblical description does not give details concerning the shape of the stone tablets, various iconographical traditions developed in Christian and in Jewish art.[268] The earliest Christian and Jewish representations depicted the Law in the form of a scroll while in Byzantine art, it appeared either as a scroll or a

[267] About angels in Jewish book illumination, see Zsofia Buda, "Heavenly Envoys: Angels in Jewish Art," in *Angels, Devils: The Supernatural and Its Visual Representation (CEU Medievalia)*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2011), 117-134; about the presence of angels at Mount Sinai, see Ginzburg, *Legends of the Jews*, I, 601.

[268] The question concerning the shape of the Tablets arose in Talmudic literature. Both in the Babylonian and in the Palestinian Talmud, the sages suggested that they were square (see BB 14a). For more textual sources, see Sarfatti, "Luhot ha-Berit ke-semel ha-Yahadut" [The Tablets of the Covenant as a Symbol of Judaism], *Tarbiz* 29 (1960): 371-372. The concept of the Tablets of the Law as a diptych already appears in the writings of Augustine (*Contra Faustum Manichaeum* XV:4; see Ruth Mellinkoff, "The Round-topped Tablets of the Law: Sacred Symbol and Emblem of Evil," *JJA* 1 [1974]: 28-43).

rectangular tablet. In Carolingian art, the square tablets were sometimes turned facing a large codex.[269] Ruth Mellinkoff investigated the development of the iconography of the Tablets and pinpointed the origin of the round-topped tablet to eleventh-century England. She pointed out that although the round-topped tablets became dominant in Western Christian art, the two traditions—round-topped and rectangular—coexisted in Jewish art (figs. 235-237).[270]



Figs. 235-237. Textbook for Maximillian I., Vienna, ÖNB, cod. 2368, fol. 4r: Receiving the Law *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, Vienna, ÖNB, cod. s. n. 2612, fol. 37r: Receiving the Law *Spiegel Menschlicher Gesuntheit,* Heidelberg, UB, Cod. Pal. germ. 432, fol. 43r: Receiving the Law

Placing the different iconographical traditions of the Tablets in the wider context of Jewish biblical interpretation raises a further issue. Rabbinical literature is divided on the question of what Moses received on Mount Sinai, the Ten Commandments alone or the entire Torah?[271] The visual representation of the Tablets as scrolls, such as in the Second Nuremberg Haggadah (fig. 238) or in the Ashkenazi Mahzor MTA A383, may lend weight to the later opinion. The miniature in the Birds' Head Haggadah expresses the same view in another form. Moses receives two tablets from the divine hand and transmits five tablets symbolizing the five books of the Torah to the Israelites (fig. 229). Although in the Miscellany the Law is depicted

[269] For the analysis of the different iconographical traditions concerning the Tablets, see Sarfatti, "Luhot ha-Berit," 373-38, and Mellinkoff, "The Round-topped Tablets," especially 28-29.

[270] Ruth Mellinkoff, "The Round-topped Tablets," 28-43. The role of the round-topped Tablets in Christian art was bifacial, or more precisely, ambivalent. On the one hand, it was considered a sacred object as an attribute of Moses, on the other hand, it was associated with *Synagoga vis-à-vis Ecclesia* symbolizing the invalidity of the Old Law. Consequently, n this context it had negative connotations. Besides the iconography of *Ecclesia-Synagoga*, the round-topped Tablets were used as attributes of the stubborn Jews who do not intend to convert. This ambivalent nature of the Tablets in art is a consequence of the various meanings ascribed to them: they represented the actual tablets Moses received on Mount Sinai, the five books, the legislative parts of the Old Testament, and finally the entire Old Testament.

[271] Philo was the first to claim that the Ten Commandments included the entire Torah. Sarfatti, "Luhot ha-Berit," 373. Rashi shared the same opinion (see his commentary on Ex.24:12).

simply as two round-topped stone tablets, one of the *maarivim* also supports the second view: "God wrote ten words, which include in themselves the six hundred thirteen orders."[272]

The way in which the Law reached the people was also subject of discussion in rabbinical literature and is also echoed in visual depictions to a certain degree. In some Jewish representations of the scene, the Israelites do not constitute a homogeneous group but are arranged in a hierarchical order, meant to reflect the gradual process of receiving the Torah. In the Tripartite Mahzor, for instance, Moses is depicted as being much taller than the others. He stands on the hillside receiving the Torah from heaven. Behind him, are Aaron and the Israelites, divided into two groups: first the men and then the women (fig. 240). In the Miscellany, the group of the Israelites is not as structured as in some other depictions (fig. 239).[273] Unlike the

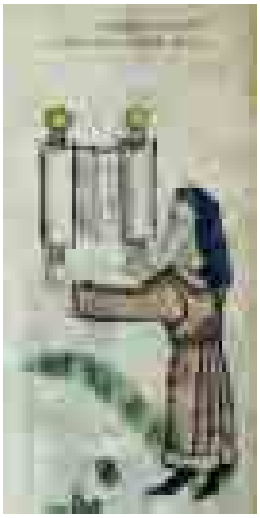


Fig. 238. Second Nuremberg Haggadah, fol. 9v: *Matan Torah*
Fig. 239. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 49v: *Matan Torah*, Israel waiting at the feet of Mt Sinai

Tripartite Mahzor, men and women do not constitute separate groups but stand together in prayer. There is one figure, a man at the head of the row closer to the observer wearing green clothing, who diverges from the others on the account of his vestment and the gesture he makes. Unlike his fellows, he does not wear a simple cloak, but a more complex vestment, reminiscent of a Christian ecclesiastical vestment. Above his tunic is a shorter piece of cloth, probably a surplice, and around

[272] fol. 50v: דברות עשרה כתב אל להמניי כליל בהם שש מאות ושלוש עשרה פקדונייי (Davidson 3423א) The Song of Songs where Rabbah offers another explanation for the scroll-shape of the Law. Although they are fashioned out of the hardest stone, they can still be rolled up like a scroll. (ShSR 5:14, see Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, I, 618 and 619 n. 259.
[273] See Shalev-Eyni, PhD, 162-164, especially 163 n. 118.

the shoulders is a sort of bishop's *rationale*. His headgear is also odd since it has two knobs on both sides and a small circular top. Although it cannot be identified with any particular ecclesiastical hat, the two knobs suggest the horns of an Episcopal mitre.[274] Based on these distinctive features, he can be identified with Aaron who was often portrayed as a Christian priest in Christian art, which then had an impact on Jewish depictions of him. The iconography derived from the typological interpretation of the Old Testament, according to which Aaron, the first Jewish high priest was considered a prototype of Christian priesthood. In a *Biblia Pauperum* from Bavaria produced around 1430-1450, Aaron stands behind the kneeling Moses on Mount Sinai. He wears the blue robe of the high priest (Ex. 28) and a proper Episcopal mitre (fig. 241).[275] A further distinctive feature of the figure, which supports his identification as Aaron, is the gesture he makes. While the rest of the Israelites pray with their hands held together, this figure spreads out his hands probably as he waits to receive the Law. In the fourteenth-century Leipzig Mahzor, Aaron, the figure standing at the head of the Israelites just about to receive the Law from Moses, is portrayed making a similar gesture.

Fig. 240. Tripartite Mahzor, vol. 2, fol. 3r: Moses and Aaron on Mt Sinai, detail
Fig. 241. *Biblia Pauperum*, Heidelberg, UB, Cod. Pal. germ. 148, fol. 162v: Moses, Aaron and the Elders on Mt Sinai

[274] Ruth Mellinkoff, *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970): 94-106.
[275] The odd-looking headgear also recalls a royal crown, which again may identify the figure as Aaron. Rabbinical literature often described Aaron as having a crown, the crown of priesthood.

The Ashkenazi iconography of the Matan Torah was not uniform. The authorship of the Miscellany had a rather wide range of possible ways to portray the scene, including which moment in the event to depict, what shape the tablets should be, and how they were handed to Moses, etc. Altogether, the depiction in Hamburg Miscellany, apart from its peculiar arrangement in the outer margins of the opening, fits well into the Ashkenazi iconographical tradition.

II. 5. THE *PIYYUT* FOR HANUKKAH

The feast of Hanukkah is the commemoration of the re-dedication of the Temple after the victorious Maccabean revolt. It is held for eight days starting on the 25th of Kislev. It does not have as great influence on the liturgy as the three pilgrim feasts or the Days of Awe, but there are certain insertions for the ***Amidah***, and special biblical readings and liturgical poems are cited during these days.

An important result of the medieval development of the Hanukkah narrative is the inclusion of the Judith-legend into the Maccabean saga.[276] The story of Judith was originally an independent narrative chronicled in the apocryphal Book of Judith and set in the time of Nebucadnezzar, the "king of the Assyrians, who reigned in Niniveh." The book was most probably composed in the Hashmonean period, in the second half of the second century CE. Later, during the Middle Ages, the Judith-legend entered into the Hanukkah-tradition and Judith became a heroine of the Maccabean resistance.[277]

I will distinguish between the victims who died during the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes—calling them Maccabean martyrs—and the Maccabean warriors who fought and eventually defeated Antiochus—calling them the Maccabees/Maccabean heroes. Until the mid-twelfth century, Greek homilies and Latin poetry admired for the most part the Maccabean martyrs who belong to the pre-history of the revolt, such as the mother and her seven sons. They were venerated "as exemplars of loyalty to God," and their relics were kept in a church of Antioch dedicated especially to the memory of these martyrs.[278] The feast of the Maccabean martyrs falls on 1 August, and it is celebrated to this very day both in the Eastern and in the Western Church. The cult of the Maccabean

[276] See, for example, Midrash le-Hanukkah in Jellinek, ***Beit ha-Midrasch***, I, 133-134. Friedmann, "Metamorphoses," 225.
[277] On the interweaving of the legend of Judith with the Maccabean heroes, see David Flusser, ***Judaism of the Second Temple Period. The Jewish Sages and Their Literature***, 2 vols (Jerusalem: Magnes, 2009), II, 147; Mira Friedman, „The Metamorphoses of Judith," ***Jewish Art*** 12/13 (1986/1987): 225-227 (hereafter Friedmann, „Metamorphoses").
[278] Daniel Joslyn-Siemaitkoski, ***Christian Memories of the Maccabean Martyrs*** (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 9 (hereafter Joslyn-Siemaitkoski, ***Christian Memories***). On the memory of the Maccabean martyrs in Christian literature, see ibidem.

martyrs existed in the Rhineland as well. The bishop of Cologne translated their relics to his cathedral in 1164, and they became patron saints of the town.[279]

Christian visual art can offer a good number of representations of the Maccabean martyrs and heroes. Martyrs such as Eleazar and the mother with her seven sons are more characteristic of early medieval iconography. In Byzantine manuscript illumination, they were portrayed mainly in Psalter illustrations to Psalm 70.[280] Western Crusade propaganda, on the other hand, preferred to depict the zealous Maccabean knights fighting the enemy on the battlefield.[281]

Fig. 243. Tripartite Mahzor, vol. 1, Budapest, MTA A 384, fol. 18r: Poem for Hanukkah, "I will give thanks to you"

In Jewish tradition, although, Hanukkah at its heart is occupied by the heroic deeds of the Maccabees and the miracles performed by God; the illustrations of texts for the feast are not always connected to these biblical characters. First, in medieval codices,

[279] Ibidem, 125.
[280] For instance, Gregory Nazianzen's Homilies from eleventh century Constantinople (Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchy Library, Taphou 14, fol. 47r: Martyrdom of the seven sons and Eleazar).
[281] About the representation of the Maccabees in Christian visual arts, see McGrath, "The Romance of the Maccabees," esp. 86-89 and 149-151.

texts for Hanukkah are usually only ornamentally decorated. Those few, which received some figural illustration can be divided into two main groups. On the one hand, there are symbolic illustrations depicting a deer hunt or simply a deer, just as in the Tripartite Mahzor (vol. 1, fol. 18r. fig. 243) and in the Leipzig Mahzor (fol. 27v).[282] On the other hand, there are two extant codices in which Hanukkah is illustrated with historical events actually related to the feast. One of them is the Hamburg Miscellany, while the other is the Rothschild Miscellany (fol. 217r). In the latter, the beginning of the same *piyyut* is embellished with a historiated initial-word panel depicting Judith as she decapitates Holofernes. In the outer margin, within the text of the *Sefer Josippon*, Judah Maccabee is portrayed standing in armor holding a shield with a golden lion.[283]

The illustration in the Miscellany can be found by a *piyyut* for the first Shabbat of Hanukkah composed by the eleventh-century Joseph ben Solomon of Carcassone (Davidson 1651א). It was written in Provence and became an integral part of the liturgy of Hanukkah in Ashkenaz. While the *piyyut* was widely known and included into prayer books all over Ashkenaz, to the best of my knowledge, apart from these two manuscripts there is no other example for its illustration with the martyrs and heroes it speaks of. Outside the context of Hanukkah, these heroes appear rarely in Jewish book illumination. There is only two such representations, that of Judah Maccabee in the thirteenth-century Kaufmann Mishneh Torah (fol. 2r) from Northern France and that of Judith standing before Holofernes in the North French Miscellany (fol. 121r).[284]

[282] Since the Hebrew word 'deer' means also 'beauty', 2Sam. 1:19 can be interpreted as "the deer, Israel." Thus, the deer became a symbol for the people of Israel. Consequently, deer hunting is often a symbolic representation of the persecuted Jews, see Marc Michael Epstein, ***Dreams of Subversion in Medieval Jewish Art and Literature*** (State College, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 128 n. 21; Sarit Shalev-Eyni, ***Jews among Christians. Hebrew Book Illumination from Lake Constance*** (London: Harvey Miller, 2010), 71-76.

[283] The ninth/tenth-century historiographic work, the ***Sefer Josippon*** written in southern Italy discusses in detail the martyrdom of Eleazar, the scribe, the mother and her seven sons as well as the revolution. See David Flusser, ***Sefer Yosippon,*** 2 vols (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1981), I, 66-75 (hereafter Flusser, ***Sefer Yosippon***); Steven Bowman, "Sefer Josippon: History and Midrash," in ***The Midrashic Imagination: Jewish Exegesis, Thought, and History***, ed. Michael A. Fishbane (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 280-294.

[284] In the Mishneh Torah, Judah Maccabee appears at the beginning of the introduction as a marignal illustration portrayed as a knight riding a horse and lifting his sword (Budapest, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, MS 77/1). About the interpretation of Judah Maccabee in relation to the introduction of the Mishneh Torah it illustrates, see Gabrilelle Sed-Rajna, "The Illustrations of the Kaufmann ***Mishneh Torah,***" ***Journal of Jewish Art*** 6 (1979): 76.

As mentioned in the introduction, several articles have been devoted to this part of the Miscellany's illustration program. Kurt Shubert, Shalom Sabar, and Mira Friedman discuss the miniatures within a broader context of written sources and the Jewish as well as the Christian iconographical tradition of the Maccabees and Judith.[285] Sarit Shalev-Eyni in her as yet unpublished article analyzes the miniatures from a martyrological viewpoint.[286] She compares on the one hand the eleventh-century liturgical poem to its fifteenth-century illustrations and, on the other hand, these illustrations and the coeval Christian iconographical tradition of martyrdom. Her conclusion is that the authorship of the illustration program appropriated Christian iconographical elements to express its own martyrological ideal. Although, there are many common features between the Jewish and the Christian concept of martyrdom, they are necessarily in competition with each other, and thus, the appropriation of one's iconography may be interpreted polemically.

* * *

"I will give thanks to you for though you were angry with me, your anger is turned away."

The liturgical poem illustrated in the Hamburg Miscellany relates the pre-history of the Maccabean revolt. In its first part it relates the persecutions that the Jews had to suffer from the decrees of the Seleucid ruler, Antiochus Epiphanes IV, in the second century BCE. In its second part, the poet describes the miracles God performed to sabotage the decrees of the evil Hellenistic ruler. The poet used several earlier literary works as source material: the first part of the *piyyut* is based primarily on the *Sefer Josippon*, while its

Later, from the sixteenth century onward, the Maccabees together with Judith occupy a significant place in the decoration of *hanukkiyot* (candle sticks for Hanukkah). On the representation of Judith in Jewish and Christian art, see Friedmann, „Metamorphoses," 225-246.

[285] See nn 6-8.

[286] Sarit Shalev-Eyni, "Martyrdom and Sexuality: The Case of an Eleventh Century Piyyut for Hanukkah and Its Visual Interpretation in the Fifteenth Century," in *Conflict and Conversation: Religious Encounters in Latin Christendom, Studies in Honour of Ora Limor*, ed. R. Ben-Shalom and I. Yuval (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming) (hereafter Shalev-Eyni, "Martyrdom and Sexuality"); see also n 9. I am indebted to Sarit Shalev-Eyni for allowing me to read her still unpublished article.

second part draws more on a commentary on Tractate Taanit of the Babylonian Talmud, and Hanukkah *midrashim*.[287]

The picture cycle of the Miscellany is indeed a unique illustration example of the representation of the events preceding the Maccabean revolt. Its beginning is embellished by an initial, א decorated with acanthus scrolls. The narrative is illustrated with eleven miniatures partially embedded into the body of the text, partially expanding onto the margins. The first five images are devoted to the calamities the Israelites had to suffer under Antiochus. The sixth miniature already shows the miracle of the *miqveh* (ritual bath), one of the divine miracles God enlightened the fate of their people in their oppression. This is followed by a depiction of the wedding of a Maccabean daughter, a turning point in the Maccabean saga. Sealizing the intolerable nature of the *ius primae noctis*, the Maccabean brothers realized that they must resist the royal decrees imposed upon them. Finally, the last three images carry an even more positive message: the active resistance of Judith displayed against the tyrant.

Fig. 244. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 78v: Israelites hiding in the forest

[287] Shalev-Eyni, "Martyrdom and Sexuality."

Fol. 78v

Hiding in the forest

The first narrative miniature is inserted into the text beneath the ornamentally decorated initial letter א. It illustrates the line, "I had to hide in the woods and roamed there like an animal" depicting the people of Israel hiding in the forest. (fig. 244)[288] Among the trees, in the darkness there are eleven people, men and women alike; in the middle there is a small child crawling on the ground. The frightened figures peep from behind the trees. The Second Book of Maccabees gives a bit more detailed description: "But Judas Maccabee with nine others or thereabout, withdrew himself into the wilderness and lived in the mountains after the manner of beasts, with his company, who fed on herbs continually, lest they should be partakers of the pollution" (2Macc. 5:27). The ***Sefer Josippon*** provides a similar description, but without mentioning Judah Maccabee. It says that "the pious ones escaped into the forest and ate grass like animals and roamed like wild beasts."[289] Indeed, in the miniature, some of the figures are standing on all fours like an animal. Nonetheless, none of them looks more distinguished than the other, so identifying which one is Judah Maccabee becomes impossible. The refugees do not seem to be eating the grass either. Thus, the painter apparently based his composition on the text of the ***piyyut*** and did not add more details mentioned by these other sources.

Fol. 79r: Maccabean Martyrs meet their death

Execution of mothers who circumcised their sons

The scene of fear is followed by a scene of martyrdom and heroism. There are four miniatures inserted into the body of the text on this folio but that also extend into the margins. The upper one illustrates the fate of those mothers who circumcised their sons in spite of the prohibition of the emperor: "Two women circumcised their sons, because of that they were hung by their breasts, babies and mothers were thrown from a tower." Two

[288] The poem was written in first person singular as if the personification of the people of Israel was telling her story.
[289] Flusser, *Sefer Yosippon*, I, 67.

mothers are shown half-naked, hanging from a tree by their breast (fig. 245). In the background, two boys and their mothers are thrown out from a tower.

The Second Book of Maccabees and the *Sefer Josippon* also chronicle the story. However, their versions slightly differ from the poem. According to the *Sefer Josippon*, the two mothers were first hanged by their breasts and then thrown out from a tower. The Second Book of Maccabees, on the other hand, says that "they were paraded publicly round the town, with their babies at their breasts and then hurled over the city wall" (2Macc. 6:10). Here again, the illustrator followed the text of the *piyyut*. The pictures can be identified and understood purely on the basis of the poem, no other textual sources were necessary, not for the viewer and not for the painter.

Sarit Shalev-Eyni in her article about the *piyyut* and its illustration in the Hamburg Miscellany analyzes the miniature in detail and finds several different parallels to it as well as possible models they may be related to.[290] First, she mentions the female virgin martyrs of Christianity such as Saint Agatha or Saint Barbara (fig. 246) who were often tortured by having their breasts torn.[291] The motif in this context referred to the

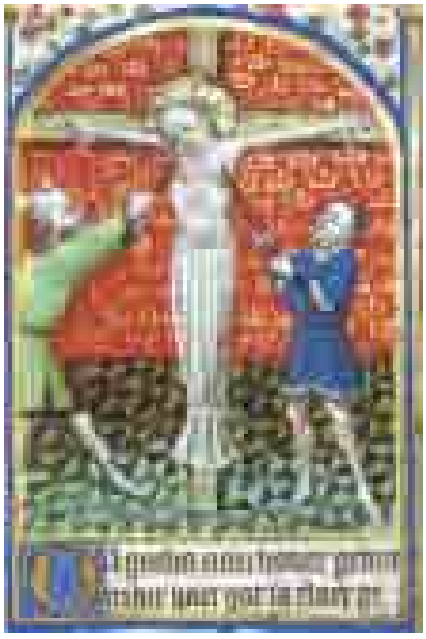


Fig. 245. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 79r: Punishments for circumcising babies
Fig. 246. Prayers to the Saints, London, BL, Egerton 859, fol. 29r: Martyrdom of Saint Agatha

[290] Shalev-Eyni, "Martyrdom and Sexuality."
[291] See, for instance, the execution of Saint Agatha in a Prayers to the Saints, London, BL, Egerton 859, fol. 29r.

preservation of their virginity. The breasts are signs of sexuality as well as motherhood, thus, their destruction or removal annuls these aspects of the female saint in a bizarre way and becomes the guarantee of her purity

Secondly, Shalev-Eyni compares the ideal of eternal virginity in Christianity to the sanctity of childbirth and motherhood in Judaism, and claims that the same visual motif has been used to express these two opposed values. While the destruction of the Christian saint's breast is an annulment of her and thus, preservation of her virginity, the mauling of the Jewish female martyrs' breast expresses the annulment of their future as mothers.[292] Moreover, Shalev-Eyni says, possibly because of its association with motherhood and female values, the authorship favored this moment in the story over the part where the mothers and children are thrown from the tower which he placed in the background. The difference between Christian and Jewish female ideal can be detected more explicitly in literary sources. The abundance of married and pregnant women who were made heroines of Jewish martyrological stories has its counterpart in the primarily sexually inactive, virgin martyrs of Christian legends.[293]

Fig. 247. Prague Haggadah, 1526: "...you were naked"

While the motif of having one's breast torn has clear parallels in Christian tradition, the composition of the miniature itself is not similar to the representation of tortured virgin martyr saints. The latter are usually bound to a cross or another wooden structure or a column and their tormentors tear at their breasts using metal forceps. The two mothers in the Miscellany, on the other hand, are hanged by the left breast from two sides of a tree, and their torturers are not seen. They are as tall as the tree, and thus, look like they are standing rather than hanging.

The depiction of nudity is not unparalleled in Jewish art. There are two sorts of representations that often portray naked or semi-naked females. One is the scene

[292] Shalev-Eyni brings some parallel motifs from the other extreme of the moral scale as well: in Hell such a punishment was to be inflicted on those women who committed adultery, see ibidem.
[293] Susan L. Einbinder, *Beautiful Death: Jewish Poetry and Martyrdom in Medieval France* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2002), 10.

depicting Pharaoh's daughter and her maidservants fishing baby Moses' basket out of the Nile. In this scene, the princess and her maids are portrayed naked on the western wall of the synagogue in Dura Europos as well as in the picture cycles of some Sephardi Haggadot.[294] The other representation that sometimes displays nudity is the illustration of the following passage in Ashkenazi and Italian Haggadot: "I caused you to thrive like the plants of the field, and you increased and grew and became very beautiful your bosom fashioned and your hair grown long, but you were naked and bare" (fig. 247).[295] Female nudity in this context can be interpreted in two ways: first, as a literal depiction of the nakedness the text refers to; second, as a reference to the fertility of the Jewish people. Unlike the illustrations of the Miscellany, however, neither of these two sorts of representations of nudity is associated with shame or suffering.

The degree of nudity in the miniature of the Miscellany—the women are wearing only a piece of cloth to cover their genitals and their legs on display—is not only justified by the way these mothers were tortured. It can be explained by the same reason as the nudity of Christian female virgin martyrs who were often represented seminude even if their upper body was not tortured. In both cases, the nakedness of the protagonists does not serve a narrative role, but—as Madeline Harrison Caviness puts it in her book on visualizing women in the Middle Ages—"this humiliation was part of their suffering."[296]

Eleazar, the priest

> They planned to taint Eleazar with their sacrifices. But girded with strength, he kept the Law, and contemptuously rejected the brute's command. 'I am concerned about your life. All I request of your sacred personage is that you pretend to act according to my belief. I will then leave you in peace.'
> 'I am ninety years old,' Eleazar tearfully replied. 'Do you suggest that I trick my Lord? Rescind your words, I reject them and will not go against

[294] In Sephardi picture cycles, see, for instance, the Golden Haggadah (fol. 9r) and the Sister Haggadah (fol. 12r); Kaufmann Haggadah (fol. 10r). About the different interpretations of the naked princess in the Dura Europos synagoge (CW4), see, for example, Warren G. Moon, "Nudity and Narrative: Observations on the Frescoes from the Dura Synagogue," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 60, no. 4 (1992).
[295] For example, Lombard Haggadah (fol. 13r), Ruhzin Siddur (fol. 162v), Prague Haggadah (fig. 247), Mantua Haggadah.
[296] Madeline Harrison Caviness, *Visualizing Women in the Middle Ages: Sight, Spectacle, and Scopic Economy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania. Press, 2001), 108 (hereafter Caviness, *Visualizing Women*).

> my faith. It is for this reason that the devout one must cling to his way the youth's knee will be more courageous when he sees the aged killed in worthy manner.'

The second and the third scenes on the folio relate the story of Eleazar the priest (figs. 248-249). Beneath the hanged mothers, on the right side a miniature represents Eleazar standing in front of the king who is seated on the throne holding his scepter with two courtiers behind him. The *piyyut* says, "They planned to taint Eleazar with their sacrifices." That is, they wanted Elazar to eat from the sacrifical meat in public and thus transgress the Laws of the Torah. The king and the faithful priest have an argument as their vividly gesticulating hands show. Eleazar insists on keeping the Laws of the Torah, with tragic results for him when the king finally tired of his stubborn behavior and sentenced him to death. Consequently, the next scene depicts the old Eleazar kneeling with folded hands, Behind him, the executor is about to cut his head off with a huge curved sword.

Figs. 248-249. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 79r: Eleazar in front of the emperor and his execution

In the case of the two other martyrdoms depicted in this folio—that of the mothers and that of the first son—the painter followed descriptions in written sources. The martyrdom of Eleazar in the Miscellany is not based on any textual description. None of the written sources I am aware of mentions the decapitation of the martyr or even killing him with a sword. According to the Second Book of the Maccabees and the *Sefer Josippon*, Eleazar was beaten to death, while according to the Fourth Book of Maccabees,

he was first beaten and then put on fire.[297] The *piyyut* itself ends the story of Eleazar with his exclamation saying that he is ready to die rather than be a bad example to his young fellows. It does not mention the execution at all.

Visual representations of the scene are very rare. To the best of my knowledge, the depiction in the Miscellany is unique in Jewish book illumination; the scene is not represented in any other medieval Hebrew manuscript. Those few Christian representations that depict the scene follow the description of the Books of Maccabees, and, at the same time, emphasize the similarity of the martyr's suffering to that of Christ. For example, in the miniature of a Book of Hours produced in the Île-de-France around 1500, a half-naked Eleazar is bound to a column—recalling the image of Jesus Christ bound to a column—and his executioners are beating him with clubs (New York, Morgan Library H. 5, fol. 26v, fig. 251). [298]

What was then the source of the miniature in the Miscellany? Why was Eleazar portrayed as being decapitated if neither written sources nor visual representations depict the scene in this way? My suggestion is that the painter used a well-known formula of Christian martyrdom depictions. Compare the image in the Miscellany, for instance, to the Martyrdom of Saint Agnes in a *Legenda Aurea* produced in Frederick the III's court atelier in 1446 (fig. 250).[299] The composition of the two miniatures is very similar. This appropriation of the Christian visual formula may have been deliberate. Another possible reason for the deviance from the written text is the fact that being killed by a sword is a noble death while beaten to death is ignominious way to die and being burnt was the way heretics and witches were executed.[300]

[297] Second Book of Maccabees 6:18-31, Fourth Book of Maccabees 5:1-7:23.

[298] For further examples, see "Eleazar the scribe: Martyrdom," in the online database of *Index of Christian Art* (http://icadb.princeton.edu).

[299] *Legenda Aurea,* Vienna, ÖNB, cod. 326, fol. 37r.

[300] Thomas Head, "Saint, Heretics, and Fire: Finding Meaning through the Ordeal," in *Monks and Nuns, Saints and Outcasts: Religious Expression and Social Meaning in the Middle Ages*, ed. Barbara Rosenwein and Sharon Farmer (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), 234. In the *Legenda Aurea*, Jacobus de Voragine sometimes differs from the late antique sources in the way it describes the method of certain saints' execution. He prefers beheading or burning, since besides hanging which was too ignoble for martyrs, the late medieval audience was familiar with these forms of execution. See Esther Cohen, *The Modulated Scream : Pain in Late Medieval Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 238-239 (hereafter Cohen, Modulated Scream").

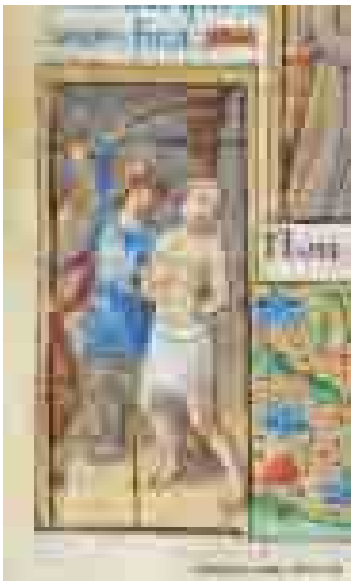


Fig. 250. ***Legenda Aurea,*** **Vienna, ÖNB, cod. 326, fol. 37r: Martyrdom of Saint Agnes**
Fig. 251. Book of Hours, New York, Morgan Library H. 5, fol. 26v: Execution of Eleazar

The lack of a detailed description in the written sources shows that the way in which Eleazar was executed was not as relevant as his willingness to die for his faith or as his concern about being a good example to the youth. This, and the fact that there was no well-established iconographical tradition attached to the story, might have offered the illustrator freedom to use a well-known Christian visual formula of martyrdom. The Maccabean martyrs were important role models in Jewish literature commemorating the persecutions during the Crusades. By using a Christian motif of martyrdom, and by inserting it into a series of martyrological scenes, the painter could draw a parallel between Christian and Jewish martyrs, ascribing the latter the same importance. Furthermore, the Christian cult of the Maccabean martyrs flourishing in late medieval Rhineland may have triggered a Jewish reaction. For Christians, the Maccabean martyrs had a typological interpretation. They were not considered to be martyrs dying for the Law, but martyrs dying for Christ the Lawgiver and exemplars of proper Christian behavior. At the same time, their Jewishness was entirely neutralized. In this historical context, the Jewish representation of the Maccabean martyrs may be interpreted as reclamation of their heroes.

The mother and her seven sons

The legend of the mother and her seven sons exists in several different versions within Judeo-Christian tradition. For Jews, the story is known primarily not from the Books of Maccabees, but from the Babylonian Talmud, from midrashim, and from the ***Sefer Josippon***.[301] From the twelfth century on, it became an important narrative in Jewish texts concerned with the calamities the Jews suffered during the Crusades. These authors used the rabbinical narratives as a device for justifying the slaughter of children by their parents in danger during the First Crusade.[302]

These martyrdom stories depict the concept of voluntary death as an ultimate means for those who are ready to obey the laws of God even if the earthly authorities took their life. The association with the ***Aqedah*** strengthens the theological necessity for these martyrdoms. There is a chain of references and archetypes in rabbinical literature connecting the biblical story of Abraham's sacrifice to the Maccabean martyrs and then to the martyrs of the Crusades. In the Talmudic version, the mother says to her seventh son, "Go and say to Abraham your father, 'You bound one altar while I have bound seven altars.'"[303] In a similar way, the Mainz Anonymus and Solomon bar Samson—two Jewish chronicles of the First Crusade—compared the brave behavior of a certain Mistress Rachel of Mainz, a mother, who sacrificed her four sons to the name of God to the "righteous woman" who died with her seven sons.[304]

Just as Eleazar, the mother and her sons became venerated saints of Christianity from an early period. They are mentioned in treatises on martyrdom, sermons, and liturgical calendars of both Eastern and western churches and traces of their venerations

[301] The most detailed account is provided by the Lamentation Rabbah (1:16) and the Seder Eliyahu (28). The Talmud, in a series of martyrdom stories, relates a briefer version of the legend (bGittin 57b). Again a third version can be found in the Pesiqta Rabbati (43). About the rabbinical sources, see Gershon David Cohen, "Maaseh Hannah we-shivat beneihah ba-sifrut ha-ivrit" [The story of Hannah and her seven sons in Hebrew literature] in ***Sefer ha-yovel lekavod Mordechai Menahem Kaplan*** [Mordechai Menahem Kaplan Jubilee Volume], ed. M. Davis (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1953), 109-122.

[302] Shmuel Shepkaru argues that the late antique rabbis who created midrashim about the Jewish martyrs of the Hellenistic period used the Christian concept of martyrdom to save Judaism from disintegration after the Hurban. As a first step however, they had to justify self-destruction halakhically. The legend of the mother and her seven sons was an excellent means to this justification. See Shmuel Shepkaru, ***Jewish Martyrs in the Pagan and Christian Worlds*** (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 69-73 (hereafter Shepkaru, ***Jewish Martyrs***).

[303] Ibidem, 71.

[304] Jeremy Cohen, ***Sanctifying the Name of God. Jewish Martyrs and Jewish Memories of the First Crusade (***Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 117-120.

can be documented from the late fourth century onward.[305] As mentioned above, the Jewishness of the Maccabean martyrs was blurred in as much as they became exemplary representatives of the early Christian martyrs who sacrificed their lives for the true religion. Some Christian theologians saw in the mother and her sons the symbol of Mother Church and the seven sacraments.[306]

In addition, as an ultimate stage of their appropriation by Christianity, the Jewish mother and her seven sons turned into proper Christian saints with no Jewish connotation whatsoever: Felicitas and her seven sons. The legend of Felicitas emerged in fourth century Rome just at the time when the veneration of the Maccabean martyrs arrived from Antioch to the West. According to the story, a Roman matriarch, Felicitas and her sons, all faithful followers of Christianity, resist the unjust king's command to worship pagan gods and were thus sentenced to death.[307] Most probably, Felicitas and her sons never existed, but they were invented as the Christian version of the Maccabean heroes.[308]

Visual depictions again display a much poorer picture. In Jewish art, the miniatures of the Miscellany are the only example of their representation. There are a few images depicting the mother and her sons in Christian art, sometimes together with Eleazar, the priest or Saint Felicitas and her seven sons. These representations are partially portrait-like images displaying the martyrs in a group, partially they are narrative pictures representing the future victims before the ruler or their actual execution.[309] I did not find any characteristic motif indicating an iconographical relationship between the Christian depictions of the martyrs and the miniatures of the Miscellany.

[305] Gerard Rouwhorst, "The Cult of the Maccabean Brothers and Their Mother in Christian Tradition," in *Saints and Role Models in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. Joshua Schwartz and Marcel Poorthuis (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 183-185 (hereafter Rouwhorst, "The Cult of the Maccabean Brothers").
[306] In some sources, the mother is called Miriam. On the relationship between Miriam and Virgin Mary, see Cohen, *Sanctifying the name of God*, 120-128.
[307] Joslyn-Siemiatkoski, *Christian Memories*, 70-72.
[308] Rouwhorst, "The Cult of the Maccabean Brothers," 199 n. 65.
[309] For examples, see the online database of the Index of Christian Art.

The execution of the first son

The *piyyut* chronicles the legend as the following,

> …let me recount the fate of the seven pious brothers, perfect in mind, whom the infidel condemned to die by fire because they would not stray after falsehood. They would not eat from his sacrifice and clung to Him who with His commands created the world. The monster had them killed, consistent to his cruel nature. He had a copper pan heated until it was red hot and after tearing the first of them into pieces, pulled the skin off his head with a sword.
> The arrogant scoundrel, enraged, planned to slay the other six brothers, like sheep and oxen in a slaughter yard. The seventh, the youngest of them, however, he tried to entice. 'I will enrich you with gold,' he said to him. 'I swear to appoint you my nearest counselor.' The good lad hastened to make his choice: 'Kill me now,' he cried. 'Why the delay? I refuse to bow down to a false god.'
> The wicked ruler was very enraged and intensified the innocent child's torments. Bravely the lad endured the tortures, even accepting them cheerfully. The mother beheld the sentences of her sons, and her soul gave way on account of her offspring; her spirit returned to her Creator. Even if my misdeeds were grave enough to justify such misery, remember these saints and their deaths and be gracious once more to those acquired with a ***lethach*** and a ***cor***.

The narrative was illustrated in two scenes. On folio 79r, beneath the mothers hanged by their breasts and the story of Eleazar, the fourth scene represents the execution of the first son (fig. 252). The son is lying on a platform. His hands and feet are already cut off and thrown away. His executor is heating a pan on fire and holding the victim's mutilated arm. The other six brothers are sitting on the ground next to the platform awaiting their turns.

Some iconographical details derive not from the ***piyyut***, but from earlier midrashic descriptions. The platform recalls an altar, and may be a visual reference to the above mentioned comparison in the Talmudic version between the ***Aqedah*** and the sacrifice of the mother. The ***piyyut*** says that the first son was torn into pieces, the ***Sefer Josippon*** gives us a more detailed account: "And he [the king] ordered to cut off his tongue and his hands and legs." Sarit Shalev-Eyni compared the composition of the miniature to a panel painting produced for the Dominican Saint Gertrud monastery in Cologne depicting the execution of the seven brothers. In this panel, the seven brothers are being cut into pieces

and their limbs are shown lying on the ground. The mother stands nearby watching their agony.[310]

Fig. 252. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 79r: The martyrdom of the first son

Fol. 79v

There are two miniatures on this folio inserted into the body of the text. On the first miniature the story of the mother and her seven sons continues with the execution of the youngest (fig. 253). The second image depicts the miracle of the *miqveh* (fig. 254), a miracle that took place during the same persecutions.

[310] Shalev-Eyni, "Martyrdom and Sexuality." For the reproduction of the panel, see *Krone und Schleier: Kunst aus mittelalterlichen Frauenklöstern*, ed. Jeffery F. Hamburger et alia (Munich: Hirmer, 2005), 482 no. 421.

The mother and her seven sons—the seventh son

Fig. 253. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 79v: The martyrdom of the seventh son

"The good lad hastened to make his choice: 'Kill me now,' he cried. 'Why the delay? I refuse to bow down to a false god.'" The seventh son stands before the ruler, who is surrounded by his armed soldiers. In the foreground, the mother is mourning her murdered sons, who are only five instead of six. A soldier with a big saber is approaching the corpses. Shalev-Eyni emphasized that the notion of painless torture that is so characteristic of Christian martyrdom legends can be detected in the Jewish story as well. The poet describing the youngest son's fate says, "Bravely the lad endured the tortures, even accepting them cheerfully." That is, similarly to Christian heroes, these Jewish martyrs were privileged not to feel the pain. [311]

The miracle of the miqveh

> He [Antiochus] deprived them [the Jews] from purification in ritual baths, whereupon holy men kept apart from their wives. Aware of their burden, You Eternal, performed great miracles on their behalf. The one and exalted God who dwells in heaven provided for all of them mikvahs of water because of His saints who proclaim His unity twice daily.

After the story of the seven brothers and their mother, the dark atmosphere of the *piyyut* changes and instead of sufferings, the poet begins to recount the divine miracles that

[311] Cohen, *Modulated Scream.*, 227-230; Shalev-Eyni, "Martyrdom and Sexuality."

finally saved the Jewish people from ultimate destruction. From this point, the *paytan* (composer of *piyyutim*) leans primarily not on the *Sefer Josippon* but on *midrashim* and the *Scholion* and the related stories became more optimistic presenting, on the one hand, divine intervention on behalf of the Jews and, on the other hand, their active resistance against oppression. The ban on the usage of ritual baths is missing from the late antique sources dealing with the tyrannical decrees of Antiochus and is chronicled exclusively in medieval texts.[312]

The second scene on the folio depicts the miracle of the *miqveh* that is chronicled only in the Hanukkah *midrashim*. Antiochus Epiphanes issued a decree that banned the use of public ritual baths. In this way, Jewish women were not able to become ritually cleansed after their menses and have sex with their husbands. In this way, the tyrant wanted to prevent them from having children and multiplying. God, however, performed a miracle and "provided for all of them ritual baths of water…" within their homes. The miniature depicts the emergence of such a private *miqveh* inside a bedroom. The image is surrounded by a pink frame, in the upper part of which there is a view of a town with small houses. In the lower register of the miniature, a naked woman is bathing in the *miqveh*, while in the upper register, a man lies in bed naked holding candles in his hands awaiting his wife.[313]

Fig. 254. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 79v: The miracle of the *miqveh*

Anat Kutner, in her study of the customs and halakhic rules connected to the night in late medieval Ashkenaz, pointed out that the man holding candles in the miniature seems to contradict the halakhah.

[312] See Adolph Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch,* vols 6 (Jerusalem: Wahrmann, 1967), I, 133-136, 137-141 and VI, 1-3.

[313] The candle in his right hand is clearly visible, while his left hand is blurred. Only the lower end of that candle can be identified.

Already, in the Babylonian Talmud there are warnings about having sexual intercourse by candle light, saying that it should take place in darkness (bPesahim 112b, bNiddah 17a) otherwise the child begotten under such circumstances will be ill. Thus, in the miniature, the candle in the hand of the husband who is waiting for his wife to have sex requires some explanation. Kutner suggests three possible interpretations. In my opinion, the first seems most plausible. It says that the candle may refer to the husband's desire to be together with his wife at last or more concretely to the male sexual organ. However, as Kutner demonstrated in several narratives, in Hebrew literature a candle usually refers to the female sexual organ or female lust and not male desire.[314]

In her analysis of the figure of the naked woman bathing, Shalev-Eyni discusses the miniature in detail. Besides discussing the meaning of the candle and offering the same suggestion for the candle as a symbol of male sexuality, she highlighted another important aspect of the representation: its possible polemical connotations. The reason why ritual purification is strongly emphasized in Joseph ben Solomon of Carcassone's poem (both in the miracle of the ritual baths, and in the story of Judith) is that as anti-Christian polemical works show, it was considered an antimodel for baptism. The concept of *niddah* immersion and baptism are similar in the sense that both are based on the belief in the purifying power of water. An often-mentioned Christian claim was that while baptism is valid for both sexes, circumcision is possible only for men. The Jewish

[314] Thus, finding the first possible explanation not convincing enough, Kutner offered a second proposal. In some Christian representations, she claims, the long, thin candle—similar to those used during service in Christian churches—has a sacral meaning. For example, on the miniature of David and Bathsheba in bed in the Morgan Bible, there is such a candle behind their bed symbolizing the sacred nature of their relationship (New York, Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.638, fol. 41v). This explanation, however, is also not really plausible since there are no other examples of the depiction of such candles in Hebrew compositions. Kutner's third interpretation is that the candle refers to one of the three ***mitzvot*** a woman must accomplish: the ***niddah*** (the menstruating and therefore ritually impure woman). Anat Kutner, "Be-neshef be-erev yom: ha-laylah be-motzei yemei ha-benayim be-Ashkenaz" [The Night in the Late Middle Ages in Ashkenaz], PhD dissertation (Tel Aviv: Bar Ilan University, 2008), 177-182. She also mentioned the miniature as an example of a visual representation of a bed that can be turned upside down during mourning, see ibidem, 162-163.
Sarit Shalev-Eyni proposed the same possible explanation of the candle as a symbol of male sexuality and used the same Christian parallel from the Morgan Bible. Sarit Shalev-Eyni, "Purity and Impurity. The Naked Woman Bathing in Jewish and Christian Art," in ***Between Judaism and Christianity. Art Historical Essays in Honor of Elisheva (Elisabeth) Revel-Neher***, ed. Katrin Kogman-Appel and Mati Meyer (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 200 (hereafter Shalev-Eyni, "Purity and Impurity"). In addition, Shalev-Eyni referred to the opinion of Madeleine Harrison Caviness, who in her book about visualizing women in the Middle Ages, pointed out that "rods and candles invoke male sexuality, whereas exposed breasts evoke male desire;" see Caviness, ***Visualizing Women***, 98.

response, on the other hand, emphasized that ***niddah*** immersion is the one way women can express their commitment to Judaism. Moreover, this commitment of theirs is essential for the entire Jewish community, since without it, every newborn baby would be son of a ***niddah***, that is, ritually impure. Since according to Jews Christians did not pay attention to menstruation and did not avoid sexual relations with a menstruating woman, in their eyes they were all sons of ***niddah***.[315] Expanding on Shalev-Eyni's argument, the scene of the ***miqveh*** might have been a response to the miniature of Pharaoh having the blood bath. If Pharaoh in the tub was indeed meant to be a critique on baptism, the mikveh scene would represent the proper Jewish way to purify oneself through water.

Fol. 80r: Ius primae noctis

Calamities smiting Jewish women did not end with the problems caused by the ban on ritual baths. Since the Greek King saw that the Jews did not suffer enough from the decree, they issued another, even more severe one:

> The tyrant ill-treated the people, evermore shamefully: whenever a woman got married, the Greek commander had to live with the bride first. Firm as a deeply inserted peg, this abomination continued on for forty-four months. Judah, the holy priest, put an end to it when the sinner's measure was at last full, and the Almighty had mercy on us. A Hasmonean married Yohanan's daughter. The huppah was performed and there was much rejoicing at the wedding feast. But the bride removed all her ornaments when she filled the glasses of the guests. They lowered their eyes lest they gaze at her image. Her brother turned to her severely angry: 'How dare you appear like a naked harlot before the distinguished guests who have been invited to offer their congratulations?' The beauty destined for domestic bliss replied: 'How can you deceitfully deliver me tonight to the embrace of one uncircumcised and unclean?' The spirit which then enveloped Judah inspired him with additional strength; in his zeal he plotted revenge. He gathered myrtle and various spices, prepared them as if to indicate joy and nuptial festivity, to delude the evil man that the decree was being obeyed.

[315] Shalev-Eyni, "Purity and Impurity," 195-198. The idea appears in Jewish sermons as well, see Marc Saperstein, ***"Your Voice Like a Ram's Horn:" Themes and Texts in Traditional Jewish Preaching*** (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1996), 65- 67. This Jewish concept of Christian negligence of menstruation period is not entirely true. Penitential books warn against having sexual relations between a married couple during this period, see James A. Brundage, ***Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe*** (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 156.

Fig. 255. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 80r: The wedding of the Maccabean daughter—*ius primae noctis*

The story ends with Judah Maccabee killing the commander. The miniature illustrates the wedding feast with all the illustrious guests (fig. 255). There are eight elegantly dressed people sitting at a longish table and two servants serving food and drink to them. Judah Maccabee stands in front of the table arguing with his sister. The miniature is embedded within a frame with an urban street in its upper part.

The composition of the miniature raises several questions and I cannot answer all of them. First, there are two main characters in the story, the bride and Judah Maccabee. Despite this, the identification of the bride in the picture is ambiguous. There are two female figures, both on the left side (fig. 257). One of them is an elegantly dressed lady in long green garment with fur on its sleeves, a golden belt and headgear. The other woman in blue dress is partially covered by the others. Only her bust with its décolletage is visible. I identify the bride with the elegant lady who is gesticulating in a lively manner and seems to immerse herself in the dispute with her brother. The other bare-headed

woman may be her maidservant. One question is why the bride is not presented as a naked or half-dressed woman pouring wine as the story relates? Why a servant is filling the glasses?

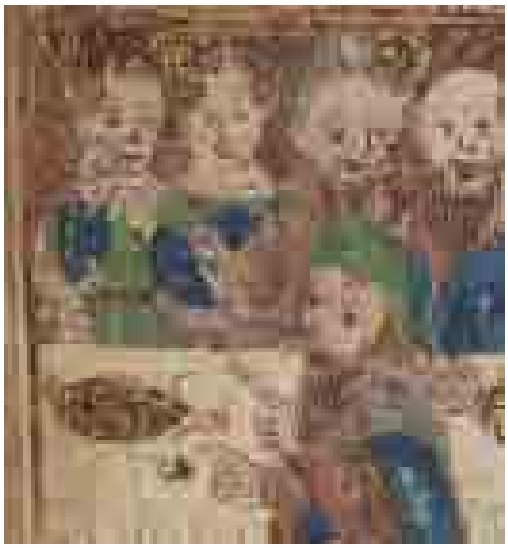


Fig. 256. *Vita Christi*, Vienna, ÖNB, cod. 485, fol. 11r: The temptation of Christ
Fig. 257. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 80r: The wedding of the Maccabean daughter

My suggestion is that the moment the miniature depicts is the moment when the bride starts her "protest." While the *piyyut* only says that she removed all her ornaments, one of the versions of Midrash le-Hanukkah formulates it in slightly different way: "…she clapped her hands and tore her purple robe and stood uncovered in front of all Israel as if in front of her father and mother and bridegroom." The hand gestures of the elegant lady may be interpreted as clapping hands.[316] Another possibility that nonetheless supports this identification is her movement that can be interpreted as a gesture of rejection.[317] Touching the tips of the index finger and the thumb of the hand and putting the index finger of the other hand on top was a frequently employed as an expression of rejection.[318] In a contemporary Christian book about the life of Jesus, Christ is depicted using this hand gesture during the temptation scenes (fig. 256).[319] The gesture may also

[316] Sarit Shalev-Eyni identified the bride with the second woman from the left. She is mostly covered by the others but her breasts are clearly visible. Seeing her improper clothing, the woman next to her covers her eyes with her hands; see Shalev-Eyni, "Martyrdom and Sexuality."
[317] I thank Gerhard Jaritz to draw my attention to this possibility.
[318] Clifford Davidson, "Gestures in Medieval British Drama," in *Gesture in Medieval Drama and Art*, ed. idem (Kalamazoo, Mich..: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2001), 108.
[319] *Vita Christi*, Vienna, ÖNB, cod. 485, fol. 11r.

be seen as a *comput digital*, that is, placing the forefinger to the palm. This gesture was a common motif of disputation and can be found on numerous images of disputes.[320]

In any case, together with the *miqveh* miracle, the scene is a key moment in the Hanukkah story. According to the midrashic tradition, this was the final trigger for the revolt that made the Maccabees launch an armed resistance against the tyrant.

The story of Judith and Holofernes

The murder of the tyrant was reported to Holofernes—the *piyyut* continues—who gathered his army and went to take revenge. "That night Judith shielded me. With her blessed counsel and her noble manner, she protected her people and became a flame of disaster for the Greeks." She and her maid servant visited the enemy's camp and offered him a bargain. She would give herself to him if he had mercy on her family after defeating the town. She just had to go to the *miqveh* to go through the necessary ritual purification. Holofernes allowed her to go to the ritual bath and in the meantime, getting drunk as he enjoyed himself at a feast. "Meanwhile, the wise and devout maiden severed his head as if it had been the top of an ear of grain, and conveyed it to those who were longing for good news. They saw it but could hardly believe her…"

Judith is represented in Jewish book illumination only a few times. Besides the picture cycle in the Hamburg Miscellany, she appears in the North French Miscellany (fol. 121r) and in the Rothschild Miscellany (fol. 217r; fig. 258). In the thirteenth-century French codex, a full-page miniature divided into two registers was devoted to her. In the upper register, Judith stands before Holofernes; in the lower register, she is shown cutting off the commander's head. In the Rothschild Miscellany, the representations of Judith are embedded in the context of the Maccabean heroes, portraying her severing Holofernes head. The depiction illustrates the initial-word panel from the same *piyyut* by Joseph ben Solomon of Carcassone. On the margin, inserted into the text of the *Sefer Josippon*, Judah Maccabee is standing in armor from head to foot. In the early printed Prague Haggadah, Judith was given another companion, Samson. They stand on two sides of the richly illustrated frame around the *Shefokh*. Within the frame, next to the text, the

[320] Michael Camille, "'Seeing and Lecturing:' Disputation in a Twelfth-Century Tympanum from Reims," in *Reading Medieval Images. The Art Historian and the Object*, ed. Elizabeth Sears and Thelma K. Thomas (University of Michigan Press, 2002), 78-79.

Messiah/Elijah arriveson donkey-back. In this context, thus, both biblical heroes represent prototypes of the final redemption.[321]

Fig. 258. Rothschild Miscellany, fol. 217r: Judith decapitating Holofernes and Judah Maccabee

As part of the Catholic canon, Judith became a popular topic for medieval Christian art as well. In Christian typology, Judith was interpreted as the prefiguration of Virgin Mary defeating Evil. This concept is visualized on depictions of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* in which her figure is accompanied by Mary fighting the Devil.[322] This eschatological connotation is very similar to the internal typology of the above mentioned Jewish Prague Haggadah. She also symbolized Chastity, Humility and Ecclesia. Thus, her heroic deed was an archetype of the victorious war against the enemy of the Church, or in a more universal language, the triumph of Virtue over Vice.[323]

[321] For the later developments of the Judith iconography in Jewish art, see Friedmann, "Metamorphoses," 226-232.
[322] For example, Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. s. n. 2612, fol. 32v.
[323] Leslie Abend Callahan, „Ambiguity and Appropriation: The Story of Judith in Medieval Narrative and Iconographic Traditions," in *Telling Tales: Medieval Narratives and the Folk Tradition*, ed. Francesca

In the Miscellany, the story of Judith is illustrated in three miniatures. Judith sees Holofernes in front of his tent; Judith severs Holofernes' head, Judith and her maidservant return to Bethulia. All three miniatures are embedded into the body of the text. The last two placed that were placed in the outer margin are slightly mutilated due to subsequent trimming of the folio. The miniatures are placed again next to those passages of the text which they were meant to illustrate.

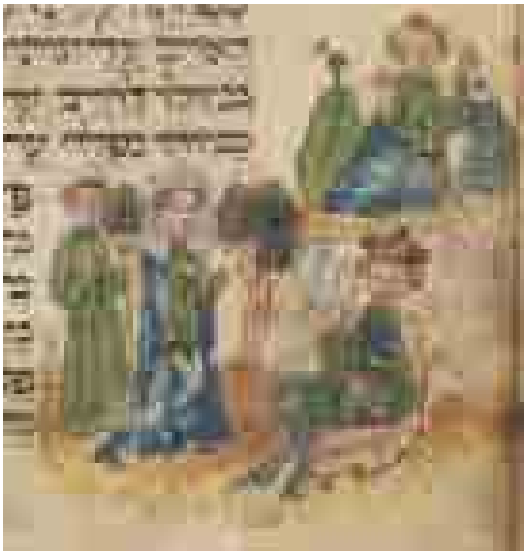


Fig. 259. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 80v: Judith in front of Holofernes' tent
Fig. 260. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 81r: Judith decapitating Holofernes

Fol. 80v: Judith in front of Holofernes

"Tell me your reason for being here, he began. I belong to a family of prophets, she replied..." Judith and her maidservant stand before a crowned Holofernes, who sits in front of his camp (fig. 259). The commander and the heroine are shown having a lively discussion. They have probably agreed upon Judith having a ritual bath and then returning to offer herself to Holofernes. This would explain the presence of a man carrying a scroll behind the tent. He may be the messenger spreading Holofernes' command in the camp not to hurt the two ladies who were allowed to approach the spring and return to the camp freely. As the Midrash le-Hanukkah says, "Send a ***karuz*** (כרוז; public announcement) to the entire camp that everyone who sees two women going to the spring shall leave them alone unharmed."

Canadé Sautman, Diana Conchado, and Giuseppe Carlo Di Scipio (London: Macmillan, 1998), 83-84. On the development of the Judith-iconography in Christian art, see Friedmann, „Metamorphoses," 232-246.

Fol. 81r: Judith accomplishes her mission

Judith severing Holofernes' head

There are two miniatures on this folio. The upper one represents the murder of Holofernes illustrating the *piyyut*, "Meanwhile the wise and devout maiden severed his head as if it had been the top of an ear of grain…" The general is sleeping in his bed surrounded by curtains. Beneath the bed, there is a chamber pot. Judith is standing next to the sleeping Holofernes cutting off his head with a giant knife (fig. 260). In front of the tents, there are the commander's men sunk in a drunken stupor on the ground and behind them some horses.

On the left side of the miniature there is a stork standing on top of a tree. The Hebrew word for stork is ***hasidah*** and the word for a pious, devout person is ***hasid***. Thus, the stork became a symbol of piety and pious persons. Its presence in the miniature can be interpreted as a reference to the virtues of Judith.[324]

Judith presenting the severed head at the gates

The second miniature depicts Judith and her maiden approaching the gate of a fortified town and presenting the head of Holofernes to the guard, who peeps out from a tower (fig. 261). In the Septuagint and in the Vulgate, the inhabitants of Bethulia greet the returning Judith with joy and let her reenter the town without hesitation. [325] In the midrash and in the *piyyut,* however, they are more suspicious and "could hardly believe her." The miniature is in accord with these Jewish sources depicting Judith and her maidservant waiting in front of the gate and being questioned. Judith holds Holofernes' head in her right hand and puts her left on the handle of the still closed gate. She still has to convince the guard to let them in.

[324] In Christianity, the stork has a similar positive symbolic meaning referring to piety and chastity. Since it was known to eat snakes, it had protective connotations as the enemy of Evil, defender of humanity, thus, Christ himself.

[325] The story of Judith is rather regarded a moral parable than a historical account. Judith's victory over the Assyrian commander might represent the reward God delivers to the faithful and observant believers. Accordingly, Bethulia may be simply a symbolic denomination referring to the chastity of the protagonist: Bethulia recalls the Hebrew word ***betulah***, "virgin". Another possible explanation of Bethulia, is ***beit Eloah***, "the House of the Lord," that is, the Temple and thus, Jerusalem. Judith's victory over the Assyrian commander represents the reward God delivers to the faithful and observant believers.

Fig. 261. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 81r: Judith returning to Bethulia

Besides the probable association with the final redemption, the story of Judith represents a more active kind of resistance than those of the martyrs who chose death over defeat but did not actually fight as Judith did. Such an active resistance appears only very rarely in sources about Ashkenazi Jews who were exposed to persecution. Nevertheless, there are some reports that relate such stories.[326]

Conclusion

The illustration of the *piyyut* composed by Joseph ben Solomon of Carcassone is in accordance with the general structure of the poem built upon three themes: martyrdom, miracles, and redemption. The first six miniatures depict the martyrs who sacrificed their life for the Law; the seventh and the eighth images represent, on the one hand, divine intervention and, on the other hand, the moment when the necessity for resistance to the oppression had been awoken. Finally, the last three miniatures about Judith chronicle the successful actualization of this resistance. The sweep of the narrative as well as its

[326] In the *Maaseh Nissim* (Tales of miracles), a seventeenth-century collection of tales compiled by Yuzpa Shammes, there is a story about the Jews of Worms taking revenge on their attackers during the persecutions of 1349; see Lucia Raspe, "The Black Death in Jewish Sources. A Second Look at Mayse Nisim," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 94, no. 3 (2004): 473.

illustration thus recalls the Pesah Haggadah. There, the Israelites similarly go through suffering and persecution which then bring them redemption at the end.

Beside the parallel Jewish redemption stories, the first part of the poem and especially its illustration is in dialogue with the Christian notion of martyrdom. In fifteenth-century Germany, the cult of the Maccabean martyrs flourished in both Jewish and Christian communities. Jewish literary works that composed to preserve the memory of the victims who died in the persecutions during the Crusades and who were often referred to as the Maccabean martyrs were widespread in Ashkenaz. As for the Christian church, these Old Testament martyrs were venerated among the patron saints of Cologne together with Saint Ursula and the Three Magi. According to Daniel Joslyn-Siemiatkoski, there is no evidence that "Jews and Christians had any significant interactions or shared knowledge about the figures of the Maccabean martyrs." He added however, that since Ashkenazi Jews were not "hermetically sealed" from the surrounding culture, they must have been aware of many such Christian concepts and often internalized them for their own use.[327]

Even if there were no written sources demonstrating Jewish awareness of Maccabean martyrs in the service of Christendom, their depiction in the Miscellany presumes such knowledge. The correspondences between these Jewish depictions and parallel Christian representations points to an ongoing visual dialogue between the two cultures. Through the example of the Maccabean martyrs, the authorship could demonstrate that the suffering of the Jewish martyrs is just as precious in the eyes of God as that of the Christian martyrs and that God did not look upon it dispassionately, but intervened in their protection. Keeping the faith, resistance unto death will not go unrewarded. This divine intervention is not realized only through miracles—like the emergence of the ritual baths within the houses, but through victory for the heroes who actively resist—like Judith. Since she protected her town by killing the enemy, Judith became a prototype of the Messiah and her presence in the *piyyut* and in its illustration may be a reference to this internal typological interpretation.

[327] Daniel Joslyn-Siemiatkoski, "The Maccabean Martyrs in Medieval Christianity and Judaism," Ph.D Dissertation for Boston College, 2005, 15. On the Christian cult of the Maccabees in Cologne, see ibidem, 156-199.

II. 6. A PIYYUT FOR WEDDING

Fol. 114r: Bridegroom at the bimah

The *reshut* (permission request) for a wedding (Davidson 431ו) has an unfinished illustration depicting the bridegroom reading the Torah before the congregation (fig. 262). In Ashkenaz, on the day of the wedding in the morning service, the bridegroom was called to the *bimah* to read a Torah portion. To make the invitation more ceremonial, it was accompanied by a *reshut*. The *reshut* in the Miscellany was written by Rabbi Simeon ben Isaac, and it is one of the earliest such *reshuyyot* from the Rhineland.[328]

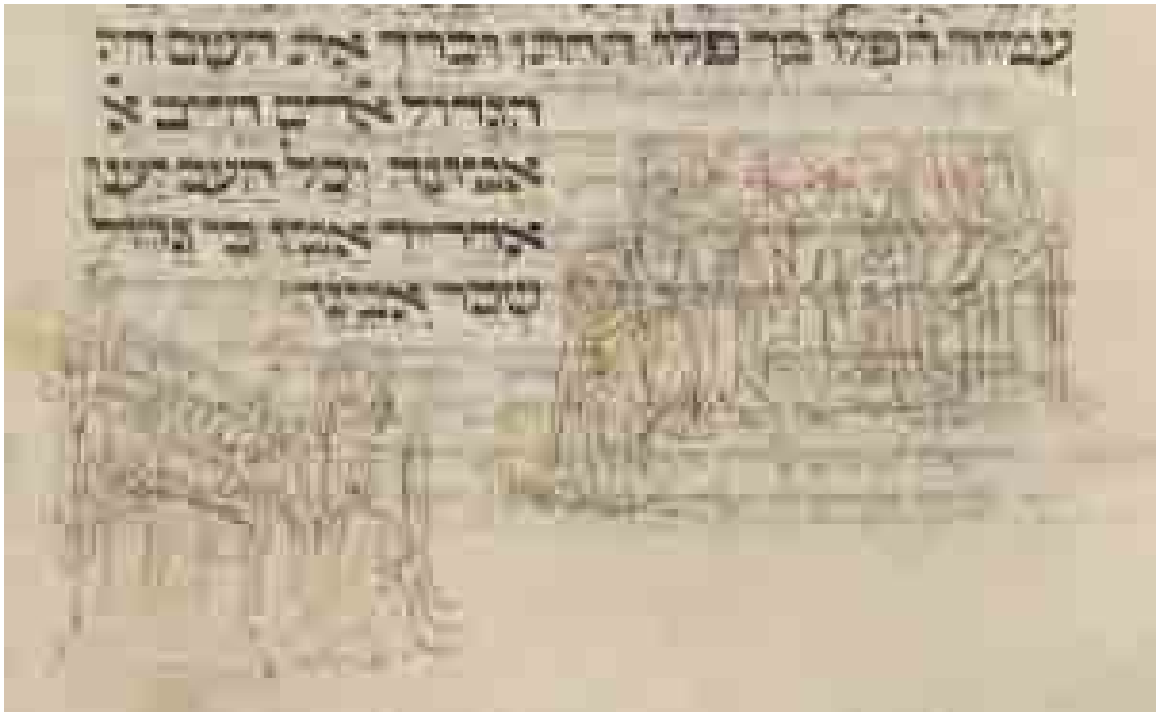


Fig. 262. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 114r: Bridegroom at the *bimah*

> With the permission of the holy remnant gathered here, replete with merit like a pomegranate, trustworthy in their dealings…With their permission, rise up Mr. XY the bridegroom from among the people uncounted [Num. 23:10], and stand by me on the wooden platform as decreed by custom; let your groomsmen accompany you with song and refrain; open your lips to recite the proper blessing of praise before and after [the Torah reading], and read the select

[328] Leon J. Weinberger, *Jewish Hymnography. A Literary History* (London: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1998), 179-180.

> section from the true testimony … and let the people respond with, 'Amen," after you, for great is the reward of the covenant [observed].[329]

The miniature, which remained unfinished with only drawn outlines, is partially placed into the body of the text and partially in the lower margin. It depicts a scene in the synagogue with the groom already standing at the ***bimah*** reading his portion from a large Torah-scroll, with seven men behind him. They represent either the groomsmen or the entire congregation. All of the figures wear prayer shawls. The ***bimah*** is a Gothic structure ornamented with pointed arches on its side and four turrets on corners. The event obviously takes place in a synagogue although it is not indicated at all in the miniature in its unfinished state.

[329] Translation is from ibidem, 180.

II. 7. THE LAMENTATIONS FOR THE NINTH OF AV

The Ninth of Av is one of the most important fast days in the Jewish calendar. It commemorates the destruction of the First and the Second Temple in Jerusalem although later on, other tragic events of Jewish history were also linked to this date.[330] A special service on this day is first mentioned in the tractate of Soferim (18:4-5), which says that the Book of Lamentations and certain other biblical passages, like Jeremiah 14:19-22 and Psalms 79 and 137, should be read on this day. In the geonic period, the service for the Ninth of Av was expanded by the addition of *kinot* (lamentations). *Kinot* constituted a new poetic genre lamenting the destruction of the Temple and the exile of the people of Israel from the Holy Land. Many of the earliest *kinot* are attributed to Eleazar ha-Kallir, one of the most productive and influential *payytanim* (poets composing liturgical poems). Later poets augmented the number of lamentations as well as broadened their thematic scope composing poems on later calamities of the Jews.

The Hamburg Miscellany contains a collection of such *kinot*, lamentations spreading over more than 50 folios constituting approximately one fourth of the entire codex (fols. 133-187v). Almost half of them were composed by Eleazar ha-Kallir, and they usually grieve for the destruction of the First and Second Temple and Jerusalem. Besides Kallir's classical poems, the codex contains lamentations written by later medieval, mainly Ashkenazi, authors. The latter poems often commemorate more recent calamities and persecutions that befell certain Ashkenazi communities (e.g., fol. 160r, Davidson 596מ) or poeticize older aggadic material relating the bitter fate of the Jews (e.g., fol. 167v, Davidson 781ו).[331]

As far as I know, there is no other illustrated collection of lamentations for the Ninth of Av from medieval Europe. Five of these poems are illustrated in the Miscellany. Except for the first one, meant to decorate an initial word (fol. 133r), the miniatures are

[330] mTaan. 4:6: "On the Ninth of Av, it was decreed that our fathers should not enter the [promised] land, the Temple was destroyed the first and the second time, Bethar was captured and the city [Jerusalem] was ploughed up." Later, the expulsions from England in 1290 and from Spain in 1492 were also linked to this day.

[331] Elisabeth Hollender, "Midrashic Tradition in Ashkenazic Piyyut—An Example," in *Jewish Studies in a New Europe: Proceedings of the Fifth Congress of Jewish Studies in Copenhagen 1994 under the Auspices of the European Association for Jewish Studies*, ed. Ulf Haxen, Hanne Trautner-Kromann, and Karen Lisa Goldschmidt Salamon (Copenhagen: C.A.Reitzel A/S International Publishers, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, 1998), 372-378.

placed in the margins. One small composition was placed in the outer margin (fol. 161v) and three larger ones on the lower margin (fols. 154r, 167v, 168v).

Fol. 133r: The occupation of the Temple and the murder of the priests

The first lamentation for Ninth of Av was composed by Eleazar ha-Kallir, mourning the destruction of the Temple. Kallir describes in detail how various holy implements were desecrated and destroyed and how the enemy behaved during the conquest of this sacred place:

> *For these things and for these things I weep, my eye, my eye runs down with water* (cf. Lament. 1:16). Each year a new dirge will I sing for the destruction of the Temple, for the Holy [Temple] and the Holy of holies that were demolished and trampled down.
>
> […… …… ……]
>
> The Seraphim, though long they had stood firm, staggered from their stations when the bases [of the wash-stands] were destroyed from the Temple of [God's], [and when] the enemy proclaimed days of destruction.
>
> […… …… ……]
>
> The Priests were slaughtered while serving their watches; while the Roman soldiers trampled [into the Temple] they stood at their divisions, and they asked: "Where is the King who is held captive in the chambers [of the Temple]?"
>
> The vessels with their attendants were led away to captivity, the princes and the deputies were drawn along in chains, and the very angels girded themselves with sack-cloth in place of linen. [332]
>
> […… …… ……]

The illustration is placed at the beginning of the *piyyut* as an initial word decoration, although the initial word itself, "על", is missing and is indicated only by a later hand next to the image (fig. 263). The miniature depicts a castle-like Gothic building with three big and numerous smaller towers and turrets. There is a guard in each big tower. Two guards are shown blowing horns. The third big tower on the right is again occupied by a man,

[332] Davidson 410ת. The translation of the lamentations in this chapter are based on the bilingual edition of Abraham Rosenfeld's *The Authorised Kinot for the Ninth of Av* (London: C. Labworth, 1970) (hereafter Rosenfeld, *Authorised Kinot*). I modified Rosenfeld's translation on those points where the Miscellany's version departed significantly from the text Rosenfeld used. In these cases, I put the Miscellany's version in the original Hebrew in the footnotes. The translation of Davidson 410ת is based on Rosenfeld, *Authorised Kinot*, 130-131. For the entire lamentation, see ibidem. For a critical edition of the *piyyut*, see Goldschmidt, *Seder ha-Kinot*, 90-93, no. 25. For commentaries on this *piyyut*, see Hollender, *Clavis Commentariorum*, 938-939.

Fig. 263. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 133r: The occupation of the Temple

but his figure has been mutilated when the folio was trimmed at some later date. There is a group of people whose figures are significantly bigger than all the others in the courtyard of the building, at the heart of the image. The miniature remained unfinished, only the outlines were drawn, and some of the colors were added.

The identification of the scene is ambiguous. The men in the towers and on the walls wearing different kinds of helmets must be soldiers. The three bigger figures in the middle of the courtyard do not constitute a homogeneous group. On the contrary, the figure on the right side holds a sword in his right hand and grabs the beard of the figure next to him with his left hand. The latter figure has no weapon and seems defenseless against the attack. This motif of attack and violence may provide a clue to the identification of the scene. Since the poem speaks of the destruction of the Temple and mentions the slaughter of its priests "while serving their watches," I propose that the miniature depicts the Temple or all of Jerusalem occupied by the soldiers of the enemy and the priests being killed at its center.

Fol. 154r: Jeremiah at the grave of the forefathers

The next illustration in the collection of lamentations ornaments a ***kinah*** about Jeremiah visiting the graves of the forefathers, which is the continuation of the ***piyyut*** starting on fol. 153v (2108 א). It was again composed by Eleazar ha-Kallir, and its topic is based on a midrashic story. The Lamentation Rabbah elaborating on Isaiah 22:12 relates that God upon seeing what the enemy did with His Temple wept and said to Jeremiah, "I am now like a man who had an only son, for whom he prepared a marriage-canopy, but he died under it. Feelest thou no anguish for Me and My children? Go, summon Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and Moses from their sepulchers, for they know how to weep."[333] Thereupon Jeremiah goes to the cave of Makhpelah and called the forefathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and proceeds then to the Jordan, and called Moses. When the patriarchs learn what happened with their offspring, that they were brought into captivity, they start to lament upon their fate, and confront God with His previous promise concerning the future of the Israelites. However, their reproach is in vain. Finally, Rachel raises her voice, and manages to convince God to "restore Israel to their place."

The ***piyyut*** makes the story shorter and includes four foremothers, the wives and concubines of Jacob,[334]

> *Reader or Narrator:* Then when Jeremiah went to the burial place of the ancestors, and declared: 'O bones of [our] beloved [Sires], why lie you [still]? Your children are exiled and were stabbed with swords;[335] O what is become of the merit of the ancestors in the land of drought? [Then] all of them burst forth into lamentations over the loss of the children; they whispered in a voice of supplication before him who dwells in heaven [saying]: "O where is the promise, 'the covenant with their ancestors?'" [Whereupon God answered:] "They have exchanged my glory for nought, they did not fear [me], nor they were afraid [of me], and when I hid my eyes, they still did they yearn [for me!]. How shall I restrain myself [hearing] what they said, 'that he is no [God.'" Then Abraham], the father of the great multitudes cried for their sake, and implored the Presence of God on High: "In vain was I tested [with] ten [trials] in order to

[333] Lamentations Rabbah, Petikhah 24:17. Translation is from *Midrash Rabbah. Lamentations.* Translated into English with notes, glossary and indices under the editorship of H. Freedman and Maurice Simon, trans. Dr. A. Cohen (London: The Soncino Press, 1961), 42.
[334] In the rabbinical literature, various sources list different women as matriarchs. See Leonard Victor Rutgers, *The Use of Sacred Books in the Ancient World* (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 114 n. 12.
[335] וכתקום בחרבות

praise them,[336] for behold, I now look on at their disaster! O where is thy promise: 'Fear not O Abram?'" [Whereupon God answered:] "They erred in being dispersed in the worship of idols, [they have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters] and split to hew [them] broken cisterns.[337] How then shall I restrain myself [seeing] that they abolished the Ten Commandments?" [Next] did Isaac cry out "Thus," to him who dwells in Heaven: "In vain was [my willingness to submit to the] slaughter decreed for me, for behold, my seed are being crushed and annihilated; O where is the promise: 'And I will establish my covenant with Isaac?'" [Whereupon God answered:] "They have rebelled against Jeremiah and defiled the Mount of Moriah; I am weary of bearing their moan which rises from the earth,[338] and how shall I restrain myself over the murder of Zechariah?" [Jacob,] who was reared in the academy poured forth[339] tears like the serpent's [fountain]; "The little ones,[340] whom I nurtured [and O how] in a faint, alas, they are cut off [from me][341] by the butcher's knife, and how payment was demanded from me [by shedding] copious blood of many thousands for the blood [of Zechariah]! The faithful shepherd [Moses] wallowing in ashes and dust, opened [his lips][342] [and said]: "The sheep that were tended in my bosom, alas! They are sheared before their time! O what of the promise: "That [Israel] is not widowed?" Leah, beating her breast, sobbed [bitterly]; her sister, Rachel, wept for her children, and Zilpah was bruising her face, while Bilhah wailed with both hands [uplifted in grief]. "Return to your resting-place, O perfect ones, [the Divine Presence interjected;] I will surely fulfill your requests! It was for your sake I was sent to Babylon, behold[343] I will bring back your children from exile!"[344]

The miniature depicts six figures, three men and three women in a cave (fig. 264). I identify the scene with the patriarchs and matriarchs in the cave of Makhpelah. They are listening to the words of a fourth man, Jeremiah, who is shown standing outside the entrance of the cave holding a stick in his right hand, moralizing. They stand in shock hearing the tragic news. An unfinished figure of a woman, perhaps the fourth foremother,

[336] הנם עשר לי ניסתי לפארם
[337] טעו להזרות בעבודות זרות יחצו לחצוב בורות משברות
[338] מעוללי נשייה
[339] דמע כתנין דולף
[340] עוללים
[341] om.
[342] מטמן
[343] היות
[344] There are a few discrepancies between the published texts of the *piyyutim* and the texts copied in the Miscellany. In those cases, where these discrepancies were not only typographical but modified the meaning, I changed the translation, and indicate the version of the Miscellany in the footnotes. The translation of this poem is from Rosenfeld, *Authorised Kinot*, 135-136. For the Hebrew original, see Goldschmidt, *Seder ha-Kinot*, 98-100, no. 27. According to Hollender's *Clavis*, there are only two Ashkenazi commentaries on this *piyyut* (Hollender, *Clavis Commentariorum*, 176).

appears on Jeremiah's right side. A fortress rises in the background beyond the brown hills on the horizon.

Fig. 264. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 154r: Jeremiah at the grave of the forefathers

The poem concentrates more on the words of the forefathers and not on how they behave, and says only that "all of them burst forth into lamentations over the loss of their children." While the account in the midrash provides a more visual depiction of their behavior, it still speaks about them in collective terms: after gathering—says the Lamentation Rabbah—the patriarchs "rent their garments, placed their hands upon their heads, and cried out and wept" (Lam. R. p. 43). Thus, these sources do not help in identifying the individual forefathers in the miniature.

Concerning the female figures, the lamentation provides more details. Leah beats her breast, Rachel weeps, Zilpah bruises her face, and Bilhah wails with her hands. The description of the lamentation does not fit the depiction of the matriarchs in the miniature perfectly. Nevertheless, since their depiction is more diversified, an attempt can be made to identify them. The woman on the left lifts may be Leah, the middle one touching her face with her hand could be Zilpah, the woman praying with folded hands in the right

corner of the cave may be Bilhah, and since Rachel was not buried in the cave of Makhpelah, but near Bethlehem, the unfinished female figure outside the cave may be her.

Fol. 161v: The mourning forefathers

The next illustrated lamentation was composed by Joel ha-Levi ben Isaac of Bonn, a twelfth-century Talmudic scholar from Mainz. He wrote several liturgical poems about the persecution of the Jews during the second Crusade in 1147. This particular piece of work pays tribute to the murdered ones of Cologne. It refers to forced baptism, speaks of parents sacrificing their children (***kiddush ha-Shem***), and Jews being tortured and slaughtered in the most terrible ways. It seems no English translation of the text has ever been published.[345]

The miniature in the margin does not depict the horrible events described in the poem, but illustrates its introductory line, "The angels of peace (***malakhei ha-shalom***) and the three forefathers are crying bitterly and put on sackcloth…" The miniature depicts four figures, three of them are humans and one is an angel (fig. 265). Above them, there is a banderole with the inscription, יצחק ויעקב יבכו ומלאכי השרת הריגת אבתינו ועל צרות נפשינו ("Isaac and Jacob and the ministering angels are crying [on] the murder of our forefathers and on the distress of our souls").[346] The forefathers accompanied by the angel are barefoot, wear simple robes and their vivid gesticulations express great sorrow.

Fig. 265. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 161v: Mourning forefathers

[345] The ***kinah*** in original Hebrew was published in Haberman, ***Sefer Gezerot Tzarfat we-Ashkenaz***, 109. The last part of the ***kinah*** in Haberman's book (p. 110) is considered to be a separate poem in the Miscellany (fol. 161r). Goldschmidt's ***Seder ha-Kinot*** does not contain it and Elisabeth Hollender has no commentary on it in her ***Clavis Commentariorum***.

[346] The inscription above the figures names the wailing patriarchs, although apparently the first name is missing due to a later trimming of the folio: "[Abraham], Isaac and Jacob and the ministering angels…". יצחק ויעקב יבכו ומלאכי השרת [על] הריגת אבתינו ועל צרות נפשינו…[אברהם]. The words in square brackets are my additions.

The expression, *malakhei shalom* occurs once in the Bible, in Isaiah 33:7, saying, "Behold, their brave ones shall cry outside; the ambassadors of peace (*malakhei shalom*) shall weep bitterly." The rabbinical commentators usually interpreted *malakhei shalom* in this passage as referring to human messengers. Rashi says that they are the ambassadors who usually announced peace.[347]

In the miniature, however, the *maleakh* of peace is represented as a winged angel. Moreover, the inscription above the figures does not speak about *malakhei ha-shalom*, but about *malakhei ha-sharet*, that is, about ministering angels. The expression "ministering angels" does not occur in the Bible, only in later texts, and it always refers to supernatural creatures. It seems that the illustrator of the text identified *malakhei ha-shalom* with *malakhei ha-sharet*, and depicted them as a winged angels.

Fol. 167v: The children of R. Yishmael

The next illustrated lamentation (Davidson 781) poeticizes a midrashic story related in the Babylonian Talmud, in the Tractate Gittin, among a series of tales explaining the causes of the destruction of the Temple.[348] It relates the story of the son and the daughter of Rabbi Ishmael the priest, who were caught as captives during the fall of Bethar, the last stronghold of the Jews, in the Bar Kokhba revolt. The author of the lamentation is not indicated in the Miscellany.[349] The lamentation starts with two introductory stanzas describing how great is the sorrow of the author concerning the events he is about to relate. The next seven stanzas tell the tragic story of the children of Rabbi Ishmael, the High Priest, and finally, the closing stanza once more laments their fate.

> *Reader or Narrator:* My sin brought about the desolation of my abode, [therefore] will I make my tears to stream down my cheeks, and on this day, I will take up a bitter wailing; *Cong:* Indeed I will moan from year to year.

[347] Rashi on Isa. 33:7.
[348] bGittin 58a. Another version of the story can be found in Lamentation Rabbah (I §46). Several other lamentations have been written on the same topic. For a thorough analysis of the variant in the Lamentation Rabbah and its comparison to the other versions, see Galit Hasan-Rokem, *Folklore and Midrash in Rabbinic Literature* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 16-38, for the lamentations, see ibidem, 209 n. 41.
[349] Daniel Goldschmidt attributed it to Eleazar ha-Kallir, while Davidson to Yehiel. See Goldschmidt, *Seder ha-Kinot*, 88, no. 24.

Reader or Narrator: Mournful is my heart, consolation has ceased completely, and my pain is utterly different from every pain, [as I lament the loss of] the son and daughter of Rabbi Yishmael, the High Priest, I will take their memory burnt in my heart; *Cong:* Indeed, I will moan from year to year.
Reader or Narrator: When they were taken captive, they fell[350] to [the lot of] two masters, who were neighbors, living opposite[351] each other, and they related to one another matters [concerning their captives]; one[352] said: "Among the captives of Zion, I have taken a maid-servant dressed in scarlet, in feature fair as the shining moon, comely as [Job's daughters] Keziah and Jemimah!"[353]
Reader or Narrator: His fellow then out-bid him [in boasting] twice as bold:" "Here[354] I also come from the [sale of the] captivity of Jerusalem, [where] I have taken captive a most beautiful slave, majestic as the sun at noon. Come, and let us pair them together, and share their offspring, [which must be fair] as the stars' of heaven;" every ear that hears this [tale] will tingle, I will rend my garments in remembrance thereof; *Cong:* Indeed, I will moan from year to year.
Reader or Narrator: When both of them had agreed on this [plan] they put them together in the evening in one chamber; while the masters were exulting together without,[355] they were weeping in bitterness of soul and foreboding; they did not silence their weeping till morning; *Cong:* Indeed I will moan from year to year.
Reader or Narrator: The trembling lad wailed with an aching heart:[356] "How can [I,] a descendant of Aaron [defile myself] by union with a female slave?" While she too bewailed herself at the compact of her captor: "How can [I,] an offspring of Jochebed[357] be wedded to a slave?" For this the very planets weep; *Cong:* Indeed, I will moan from year to year.
Reader or Narrator: When morning broke and they recognized each other, they increased [their wailing even more]; "Alas, my brother,[358] woe my sister!" They embraced each other,[359] and became united together until their souls departed in the same breath; *Cong:* Indeed, I will moan from year to year.
Reader or Narrator: It was of this that Jeremiah lamented in the ruins, "[for] this [cruel] decree will I ever weep, and a searing fire shall burn fierce in my heart; I shall set the world a shudder [with] lamentation for [this] son and daughter [of one father]; and I will moan from year to year;"[360]

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[350] נפלו
[351] כנגד
[352] אחד
[353] Keziah and Jemimah were Job's first two daughters. His daughters were the most beautiful women *in all the land* (Job 42:14) About their beauty, see also bBB 16a.
[354] הן
[355] בחוץ
[356] בכל לבב
[357] Jochebed was the daughter of Levi, and the mother of Moses, Aharon and Miriam.
[358] אחי
[359] נדבקו
[360] The translation is from Rosenfeld, *Authorised Kinot*, 129-130. For a critical edition, see Goldschmidt, *Seder ha-Kinot*, 88-90, no. 24. For a commentary on this *piyyut*, see Hollender, *Clavis Commentariorum*, 513.

The miniature placed in the lower margin of the folio illustrates several different moments of the story within an architectural structure with turrets on both sides (fig. 266). The two lords of the captives are discussing the possibilities their extraordinarily beautiful slaves may offer them. The one on the left side explains his plans to his fellow with lively gestures while the other listens to him with great interest. Next door, in a differently vaulted room, sit the two captives, embracing each other.

Fig. 266. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 167v: The children of Rabbi Yishmael

The girl strokes her brother's face while the latter grasps her arm. The Talmudic version of the story says that the boy and the girl sat in different corners of the room, and they approach to each other only after they recognized one another. The *piyyut* does not mention different corners, but says that at dawn they recognized each other and rushed into each other's arms. All in all, the right side of the miniature depicting the two lords represents an earlier episode of the story, the moment when they agree upon mating their captives, while the left side shows a later episode, when the two victims identify each other. In addition, by placing the lords next to the room in which the captives are locked, the composition unifies the two scenes, and depicts a third moment in the story, the two exulting lords.

Comparing the three textual sources of the story—the Babylonian Talmud, the Lamentation Rabbah, and the medieval lamentation—one can conclude that the illustration is based on the text of the *piyyut*. The Talmud does not mention the two lords waiting outside the room, while according to the version of the Lamentation Rabbah, the

agreement to mate the slaves was made between a harlot and a shopkeeper and not two men.

Fol. 168r: The murder of Zechariah and its revenge

The last illustrated lamentation is about the far-reaching consequences of the murder of Zechariah reported in the Bible:

> And they conspired against him, and stoned him with stones at the commandment of the king in the court of the house of the Lord. Thus Joash the king did not remember the kindness which Jehoiada his father had shown him, but slew his son. And when he [Zechariah] died, he said, May the Lord see and avenge! (2Chron. 24:21-22).

This short biblical passage occupied the minds of the sages, and they elaborated the story further in later rabbinical literature, focusing on two main issues: the exact site of the murder in the Temple and the revenge.[361] The consequences of Zechariah's slaughter were indeed serious. When the commander of Nebuchadneccar conquered Jerusalem and entered the Temple, he saw blood bubbling from the ground and started an investigation to ascertain its origin and to stop the bubbling. During the investigation, it was revealed that the blood was the blood of Zechariah, the priest and prophet, murdered in the Temple. Nevuzaradan wishing to stop the bubbling kept killing many Israelites, but the blood did not want to stop. Finally, he recoiled from continuing the slaughter, and exclaimed to Zechariah, asking if it was still not enough revenge for him. Various sources conclude the story slightly differently. For instance, according to the Babylonian Talmud and the Lamentation Rabbah (Proem 23), Nevuzaradan repented and converted to Judaism. The Ecclesiastes Rabbah and the Pesikta de-Rav Kahana place God at the center of events as the manipulator, who orders the blood to bubble out in order to bring the revenge. The main lesson of this latter version of the story is that God, seeing that even Nevuzaradan, cruel enemy of the Israelites, commiserated over their sufferings, has mercy upon His nation, and makes the blood stop.[362]

[361] E.g., jTaanit 69b; bGittin 57b; Sanh 96b; Ecclesiastes Rabbah on 3:16 and on 10:4; Lamentations Rabbah Proems 5 and 23, and on 2:4, 2:23, 4:16; Pesikta de Rav Kahana 15:7; Targum Lamentations 2:20, etc.

[362] Josef Heinman, *Aggadot we-Toldotehen.* [Aggadah and its development] (Jerusalem: Keter, 1974), 38.

Halevi's poem illustrated in the Miscellany is based on the rabbinical accounts mentioned above, but its narrative ends with the exclamation of Nevuzaradan towards Zechariah asking him if this slaughter was not enough. Therefore neither the fate of the commander—namely if he converts—nor that of the blood become clear:[363]

> *Reader or Narrator:* I made my burden heavy and my iniquity was doubled on the day when I stretched out my hand against the blood of the Prophet, in the court of [God], the Sanctuary of the Lord; and the earth did not cover him until the sword of my oppressors arrived, neither did it rest until it had avenged. *Cong:* And he increased mourning and lamentation amid the daughter of Judah. *Reader or Narrator:* [The blood] foamed more and more, till the captain of the guard came, and entered the Sanctuary of the Lord; and when he found the blood seething, he enquired the cause[364] thereof from the priests that were making sacrifice; and they answered him: "This is[365] but the blood of the sacrifices that were offered;" so he tried [a comparison] with the blood of oxen, blood of rams fattened for slaughter,[366] and many sacrifices[367] to find out the reason [that it kept on bubbling]. Cong: And he increased mourning and lamentation amid the daughter of Judah. Reader or Narrator: Yet for all this it did not rest, but continued like the raging sea, and when the matter was investigated, it was found to be clear beyond doubt that [this was] the blood of the man of God, who was thus destroyed without cause; then Nevuzaradan said: "Now therefore[368] shall come a reckoning for his blood! Gather to me the priests, and bring them forth from the House of the Lord, for I will not rest until the blood of the prophet Zechariah remains still." Cong: And he increased mourning and lamentation amid the daughter of Judah. Reader or Narrator: He proceeded to stab the aged by the hundred, and young men by the myriads; yet it was a miracle, and a sign, that the prophet's blood was not stilled, and the priests were killed[369] and the fathers' eyes on them, and a voice sounded lamenting with a doleful lamentation, there has never been the like,[370] and I said to myself: "This is your guilt, and this is its reward!" Cong: And he increased mourning and lamentation amid the daughter of Judah. Reader or Narrator: He continued slaying women together with their suckling babes, and the blood

[363] The two last stanzas closing the poem in the Miscellany do not continue the narrative; the first laments over the blood which was shed while the second one is a more general invocation to God for redemption. As far as I know, they are not found in published editions of Halevi's poems or editions of Lamentations for the Ninth of Av, nor are they translated into English. They are not punctuated - unlike other parts of the poem. They are most probably later additions composed by another author.

[364] וישאל לבעבור מה זה

[365] אתו כי הוא זה

[366] שחוט מחים

[367] וגם זבח רב זבח לחקור

[368] הלא

[369] והכהנים נהרגים

[370] ונשמע קול נהי נהיה וכמוהו לא נהיה

poured out among them like the blood of the river of Egypt until[371] Nevuzaradan lifted up his heart towards heaven, and he said: "Is it not enough[372] that I killed the daughters of Jerusalem? Dost thou intend to consume the [entire] remnant of the captivity?" *Cong:* And he increased mourning and lamentation amid the daughters of Judah.[373]

Fig. 267. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 168v: The murder of Zechariah and its revenge

In the Miscellany, the miniature occupies the lower margin, and it relates several different episodes of the story embedded within an architectural structure symbolizing the Sanctuary (fig. 267). The different episodes are separated from each other with the help of the architectural frame. On the left side, the murder of Zechariah is depicted; in the middle of the picture, Nebuzaradan, Nebuchadnezzar's commander and a priest are

[371] עדי

[372] הלא דיי להם

[373] Davidson 1605י. The translation is based on Rosenfeld, ***Authorized Kinot***, 150. For a critical edition, see Goldschmidt, ***Seder ha-Kinot***, 120-122, no. 35. Hollender lists only two seventeenth-century Yemenite commentaries on this ***piyyut***, (Hollender, ***Clavis Commentariorum***, 646).

discussing the mystery of the bubbling blood, while on the right side, priests are being slaughtered at Nebuzaradan's command.

In addition to the passage in 2 Chronicles, there is another biblical verse which was associated with the murder of Zechariah, and that is Lamentations 2:20: "…shall the priest and the prophet be slain in the sanctuary of the Lord?" This chapter of Lamentations bewails the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, painting a very vivid picture of the tragic events, among them the slaughter of the priests in the Sanctuary by the enemy. Rashi and many midrashic interpretations, however, understood the verse as an allusion to the murder of Zechariah.[374] Sources, like the Targum Lamentations and another *locus* in the Lamentations Rabbah (on 2:23) taking this verse as a point of departure, suggest a causal relationship between the murder of Zechariah and the suffering of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, as if Zechariah's murder would be the ultimate cause of the destruction of the Temple and the exile of the Jews from the Land of Israel.[375] In this way, God cannot be blamed for the calamities of the Israelites, but they themselves are responsible for the bad turn of the events:[376]

> See, O Lord, and observe from heaven against whom you have turned. Thus, is it right for the daughters of Israel to eat the fruit of their wombs due to starvation, lovely children wrapped in fine linen? The Attribute of Justice replied, and said, "Is it right to kill priest and prophet in the Temple of the Lord, as when you killed Zechariah son of Iddo, the High Priest and faithful prophet in the Temple of the Lord on the Day of Atonement because he told you not to do evil before the Lord?"[377]

Moreover, to make the sin of Israel, the murder of Zechariah even graver, the midrashic tradition explains that by murdering him, Israel committed seven sins: they killed a priest,

[374] Rashi's commentary on Lam. 2:20.
[375] Chronologically, the murder of Zechariah is connected to the destruction of the First Temple, but since that tragedy had already been explained in later biblical books, the primary role of the story in the rabbinical literature is to explain the destruction of the Second Temple. See, Josef Heinman, *Aggadot we-Toldotehen.* [Aggadah and its development] (Jerusalem: Keter, 1974), 32.
[376] Christian M. M. Brady, *The Rabbinic Targum of Lamentations. Vindicating God* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 56-57.
[377] Tod Linafelt argues that the targumist main concern here is the fate of the children. It is not clear that the reference to Zechariah's murder in this passage "is meant to be a justification for the 'punishment' now meted out on Israel," since the Attribute of Justice does not explicitly say *because of this*, that is because of the murder of Zechariah, you must suffer. It is rather a rhetorical question on God's part, which was meant to override the voice of his disputant. See Tod Linafelt, *Surviving Lamentations. Catastrophe, Lament, and Protest in the Afterlife of a Biblical Book* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 92-93.

a prophet, a judge; they spilled innocent blood; they polluted the Sanctuary; and they committed this crime on the Day of Atonement that fell on a Shabbat.[378]

The murder of Zechariah was not an indifferent tale for the Christians either. In the Gospel of Matthew (23:34-35) as well as that of Luke (11:51-52), Jesus reproaches the Pharisees, among others, with shedding the blood of prophets like Zechariah: "That upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar." The Jewish and the Christian cognizance of the event, however, differ utterly from each other. For Christians, the Jews' greatest sin, the ultimate cause of their exile and their dismissal as chosen people, was the murder of Jesus. The murder of Zechariah the prophet was only its prototype.[379] The Jews, however, while they admit that they themselves brought the catastrophe of the Exile upon themselves with their transgressions and sins, deny the role of Jesus' death in their fate and regard the slaughter of Zechariah in the Sanctuary as the ultimate cause of their calamities.

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[378] E.g., Lamentation Rabbah Proem 23, 2:4; Ecclesiastes Rabbah 3:16, 10:4.

[379] Philip S. Alexander, "Introduction," in ***The Targum of Lamentations*** (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2007), 35 and 66. The motif emerges in late antique sources, such as the ***Vitae Prophetarum*** (23:1-2) and Josephus' ***Antiquitates*** (9, 168). While Josephus, in accordance with the biblical passage, says that Zechariah was stoned to death, the Vitae only says that King Joash killed him near the altar. See Anna Maria Schwemer, ***Studien zu den frühjüdischen Prophetenlegenden Vitae Prophetarum.*** Band 2: ***Die Viten der kleinen Propheten und der Propheten aus den Geschichtsbüchern.*** (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1996), 285-321; David Satran, "The Lives of the Prophets," in ***Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period. Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectrarian Writings, Philo, Josephus***, ed. Michael E. Stone (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 56-60.

In early Christian writings, such as the Protoevangelium of John or in the writings of the Church Fathers, Zechariah appears as the father of John the Baptist. This tradition survives in later periods. Jean-Daniel Dubois, "La mort de Zacharie: mémoire juive et mémoire chrétienne," ***Revue des Études Augustiniennes*** 40 (1994): 23-30. Here it is worthwhile mentioning that various sources refer to Zechariah by different names: 2 Chronicles names the murdered as Zechariah son of Jehojadah the priest; Targum Lamentation calls him Zechariah son of Iddo, while in the Gospel of Matthew, he is Zechariah son of Berechiah. In the midrashic stories about Nevuzaradan trying to silent Zechariah's blood mentioned above, he is simply called Zechariah the priest or/and prophet without any further hint as to his affiliation. Sheldon H. Blank attempted to disentangle the confusion around Zechariah, and he concluded that Zechariah ben Berachiah ben Iddo, one of the Minor Prophets was mistakenly connected to the murder in the Sanctuary, and that the victim was Zechariah, the priest, the son of Jehojadah. Zechariah ben Berachiah in the Gospel of Matthew was originally only Zechariah, and the affiliation is a later gloss. Sheldon H. Blank, "The Death of Zechariah in Rabbinic Literature," ***Hebrew Union College Annual*** 12-13 (1937-1938): 328-334. See also John Macpherson, "Zacharias: A Study of Matthew 23:35," ***The Biblical Word*** 9, no. 1 (1897): 26-31. Leo Baeck, "Secharja ben Berechja," ***Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*** 76, no.4 (1932): 313-319. As Galit Hasan-Rokem notes, classical Jewish commentators did not pay as much attention to the question of Zechariah's identity as Christian exegetes; see eadem, ***Folklore and Midrash in Rabbinic Literature*** (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 170.

The miniature depicts three episodes from the story in chronological order from left to right. The first episode is the murder of Zechariah on the left (fig. 268). Zechariah is shown kneeling, surrounded by two attackers whose gestures cannot be clearly identified. The one on his left is about to smite him with a trap, while grabbing his hair or hitting him with a stone. The man on his right lifts an axe to the head of the victim; the metal head of the axe had not been finished, and only its outline can be seen.[380] This depiction is not in conformity with the biblical text according to which Zechariah was stoned to death (ירגמהו אבן). The later Jewish sources mentioned above do not help clarify this iconography since they are not concerned with how he was killed, rather where he was killed, in which courtyard of the Sanctuary.[381]

It seems that since for rabbinical scholars, the way in which Zechariah was killed was secondary compared to the location of the murder the artist could allow himself to diverge from the scriptural tradition. He depicted Zechariah's execution in a way that expressed the causal relationship between his murder and Nebuzaradan's order to slaughter the priests represented on the other of the composition as an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.

The Gospel of Matthew offers another possible explanation. In the Gospel, the murder of Abel and the murder of Zechariah are mentioned together representing the crookedness of the Jews. Moreover, there are certain common features in the story of these two murders. Abel's blood fell on a stone, while Zechariah's blood poured upon a stone instead of upon the soil. Abel's blood cried from the ground to God for revenge just

[380] Anat Kutner in her PhD on night in late medieval Ashkenaz says that the figure holds a torch. However, looking closer, the head of the axe can be clearly seen. See Anat Kutner, "Be-neshef be-erev yom: ha-laylah be-motzei yemei ha-benayim be-Ashkenaz" [The Night in the Late Middle Ages in Ashkenaz], PhD dissertation (Tel Aviv: Bar Ilan University, 2008), 19-20.

[381] They use the verb הרג, the primary meaning of which is to kill without specifying the method. The Mishnah used this root mostly for killing with a sword, or for decapitation, a method of execution by the authorities as opposed to stoning or strangulation. mSanh. 7:3 and 9:1. The late antique *Vitae Prophetarum* uses the word *aponteino*, the Hebrew equivalent of which is again הרג, and it has been assumed that the *Vitae* use s the verb in the same sense as the Mishnah, see Schwemer, *Vitae Prophetarum*, 290. In the midrashim, however, the root was most probably used in its primary sense, and simply meant to kill.

as did Zechariah's bubbling blood.[382] The biblical passage relating the murder of

Fig. 268. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 168v: The murder of Zechariah
Fig. 269. *Sachsenspiegel*, Heidelberg, UB, Cod. Pal. germ. 164, fol. 18v: The murder of Cain

Abel does not specify how Cain killed his brother or what instrument he used; it says simply that he killed his brother expressed with the verb הרג. The Genesis Rabbah transmits different opinions concerning the killing tool. According to Rabbi Simeon, Cain killed Abel with a staff; according to the Rabbis, with a stone; while Rabbi Azariah and Rabbi Jonathan in the name of Rabbi Isaac says that he "had closely observed" how his father slew the bullock as a sacrifice and then killed Abel in the same way, that is, "by the throat and its organs."[383]

Certain visual representations of Cain killing Abel share some common features with the miniature of the Miscellany depicting the murder of Zechariah. In an early fourteenth-century *Sachsenspiegel*, Abel is shown kneeling in front of Cain, who grabs his hair with one hand and is about to smite him with a rake (Heidelberg Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. germ. 164, fol. 18v fig. 269.). The victim's pose and the gestures of his hand are also very similar to Zechariah's posture in the Miscellany. The motif of grabbing the hair might be a visual reference to the last of the three views

[382] Gen. 4:10: *the voice of your brother's blood cries to me from the ground*. Genesis Rabbah 22:9: *the blood lay spattered on the trees and the stones.* Lamentations Rabbah, Proem 5: of this incident it is written, 'For her blood is in the midst of her, she set it upon the bare rock; she poured it not upon the ground, to cover it with dust' (Ez. 24:7).
[383] Genesis Rabbah 22:8.

mentioned above according to which Cain killed Abel as his father killed the sacrificial victim. The axe in the hand of Zechariah's other attacker may also be reminder of the Cain iconography. Zechariah was murdered by order of the king. In such a context an axe does not seem a very professional killing tool. It looks more like those agricultural implements Cain uses in Christian depictions of the murder, and is almost identical to his "weapon" in the Golden Haggadah (fol. 2v). A further common feature of the two murders is that the attackers aim at the victims' head.

In medieval Christian art, Zechariah as the father of John the Baptist was portrayed mostly in scenes from the New Testament, such as the Annunciation to Zechariah, or Zechariah with Elisabeth. However, in some rare cases, his slaughter was depicted in parallel with the slaughter of Abel. In these images, there is usually one attacker smiting the head of Zechariah or cutting his throat, just as in the case of Abel.[384] In Jewish art up to the end of the Middle Ages, except in the miniature in the Miscellany, there is no other depiction of the scene except a wall painting in the Dura synagogue, which was interpreted by Eleazar Lipa Sukenik as the death of Zechariah. This interpretation has been questioned however.[385]

The second episode is separated by a column and it illustrates the commander Nevuzaradan discussing the issue of the bubbling blood with a priest. Nevuzaradan, the commander of Nebucadnezzar's guard is shown as a soldier in a short tunic, richly decorated with golden medals and with fur on its sleeves. He is listening to a bearded priest, who explains something with lively gestures or still trys to mislead him or already confesses the old sin.

[384] For the different iconographies in which Zechariah appears, see the entries on "Zechariah" and Zacharias" in the Index of Christian Art. For the slaughter of Zechariah, see entries "Zacharias: slain" and "Zechariah: Scene, Death", for example, Gospel Book of John Alexander London, British Library MS Add 39627, fol. 69r, Byzantium, 1356; Holkham Picture Bible, London, British Library MS Add. 47682, fol. 126r. In the Amiens Pamplona Bible, the depiction of the murder followed the scriptural text more faithfully depicting Zechariah being stoned by a group of men on the order of the king (fol. 126r).

[385] Eleazar Lipa Sukenik, "The Ezekiel Panel in the Wall Decoration of the Synagogue of Dura Europos," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 18 (1938): 57-62. About the identification of the scene in Dura, see idem, B*eit ha-Kneset shel Dura Europos we-tziyyuraw* [The Synagogue of Dura Europos and Its Paintings] (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1947), 116; Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Graeco-Roman Period*, vol. 10 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1964), 185-191; Kurt Weitzmann and Herbert L. Kessler, *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1989), 119-125..

The third episode on the right side illustrates the massacre ordered by Nevuzaradan to silence the bubbling of Zechariah's blood. A man in black clothing, presumably the executioner, bows over the corpse of a victim he just decapitated and who now lies on the floor next to the spot from which the blood is bubbling. Behind the executioner lies another beheaded corpse on the ground. [386]

Speaking about the revenge of Nevuzaradan, the midrashic versions usually use the verb, קטל meaning "to cut" or "to kill," while Halevi uses the verb דקר, that is, "to pierce, to stab."[387] Thus, in this respect, the image is based on the midrashic descriptions. Furthermore, Nevuzaradan was a foreign commander, and according to the Mishnah, gentile authorities executed the convicted by beheading them with a sword.[388] Another lamentation for the Ninth of Av, also included in the Miscellany says, "When [I think now] the necks of eighty thousand anointed [young] priests were broken, [falsely accused] of shedding [Zechariah's] innocent blood…." Here the verb, *נערף* is used, which means "to divide, to cut" or "to break the neck of" especially to atone for a murder when the author of it is unknown (Deut. 21:1-9).[389]

Conclusion

The collection of lamentations for the Ninth of Av is sporadically illuminated. Nevertheless, its illustrations visualize central themes of the fast day. The first image, most probably illustrating killing the priests and the occupation of the Sanctuary by the enemy, recalls the event that is at the core of the Ninth of Av, namely, the Hurban, the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem. Most of the lamentations for the Ninth of Av, especially those composed by Eleazar ha-Kallir, elaborate on the despoiling of the Temple, the slaughter of its priests, and the demolition of the building. Thus, this miniature is a perfect proem for the entire feast.

[386] The executioners' costume is often bizarre, exaggerated, parti-colored, see Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, 24-26. Hannele Klemettilä says hangmen's clothing was typically black, possibly referring to his lower social status; see eadem, *Epitomes of Evil,* 123.
[387] Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (New York: Judaica Press, 1996).
[388] mSanh. 7:3.
[389] Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim,* 1122.

The images on folios 154r and 161v still directly connected to the Hurban, provide insight into the deep mourning of the forefathers over the fate of their descendants. In the miniature on folio 154r, the mourning patriarchs are depicted as the protagonists of the narrative; the *kinah* is about them and their reaction to the Hurban and the Exile. The miniature on folio 161v is different. Here, the patriarchs belong to the introduction of the story. With their presence, the contemporary tragedy of the Jews of Cologne is lifted to the level of the ancient catastrophe. Nevertheless, while there are several poems dealing with persecutions of the Jews in the recent past among the lamentations collected in the Miscellany, these stories were not visualized at all.

The miniature on folio 167v offers a sort of explanation for how the destruction of the Temple might have taken place despite the divine promise concerning the future of the Israelites. The explanation was that the Hurban was the consequence of Zechariah's slaughter. His murder often mentioned in the context of the Hurban and therefore is a popular motif in the lamentations for the Ninth of Av. In the Miscellany, in addition to the poem it illustrates, it is mentioned in three more *kinot.*[390] The last miniature on folio 168r demonstrates the calamities endured by the captives who were brought into exile.

Concerning the arrangement of the images, there is an apparent difference between the miniatures located within the *kinot* and those in the Haggadah. The former illustrations are placed in the margin, and consequently except for the wailing forefathers on folio 161v, they are not exactly next to those parts of the text they illustrate. In addition, the two last miniatures depict several different moments in the *kinah's* narrative.

One way or another, all the illustrations of the *kinot* are connected to the concept of martyrdom. The priests of the Temple were killed while doing their duty in the Sanctuary. The Jews of Cologne were slaughtered because they clung to their faith. The themes of the last two miniatures are taken from the Tractate Gittin in the Babylonian Talmud. This tractate contains numerous legends of the Hurban including stories of martyrdom such as the executions of the Maccabean martyrs and the death of Rabbi Akivah. These stories were recalled ever and again in rabbinical texts dealing with

[390] Fols. 145v-147r, Davidson 2904א; fols. 147r-147v, Davidson 5503א; fols. 154r-154v, Davidson 2098א.

committing suicide or allowing oneself to be killed for one's faith.[391] The Maccabean martyrs were strongly associated with Hanukkah, and their depiction appears in another part of the Miscellany, as shown in illustrations in a *piyyut* for the Feast of Lights (see II. 5. on fol. 78v-81r).

For the Ninth of Av, the authorship chose to illustrate lamentations which poeticize other narratives of martyrdom from the Tractate Gittin including the story of Rabbi Yishmael's children and Zechariah's murder. They were popular narratives in liturgical poems for the Ninth of Av. [392] The last image, Zechariah's death and its consequences is exceptional in the sense that in this story it was not an external enemy of Israel but primarily Israel herself who commits the sin for which the people have to suffer later. They preserved what happened with them, as the poet says, "This is your guilt, and this is its reward!"

Although the story of Zechariah's murder shed a negative light on the people of Israel, recalling it may be interpreted as a counter-explanation for the ill-fortune of the Jews. It states that the people of Israel did commit sins and thus must be punished, but their sins are not those claimed by the Christians.

[391] Haym Solovetchik, "Haggadah, Hermeneutics and Martyrdom in Medieval Ashkenaz," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 94, no. 1 (2004): 77-108.

[392] A Judaeo-Spanish homily for the Ninth of Av from approximately the second half of the fourteenth century includes the same topics, such as the destruction of the temple, Nevuzaradan's massacre in order to stop Zechariah's blood from bubbling, and Jeremiah's visit to the graves of the forefathers; see Alan D. Corré, "A Judaeo-Spanish Homily for Ninth of Ab," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 56, no. 3 (1966): 212-224.

II. 8. CONCLUSION

The illumination of the Hamburg Miscellany fulfills various functions. The colored and sometimes gilt illustrations improve the aesthetic value of the codex. In the prayer book, the illustrated and decorated initial-word panels as liturgical markers at the beginning of the *piyyutim* fit into the Ashkenazi tradition developed in early *mahzorim* of the mid-thirteenth century. Besides fulfilling these functions, certain images work as visual commentaries interpreting the text they belong with.

These messages that the miniatures carry sometimes fit in smoothly with the earlier tradition of Ashkenazi book illumination. Sometimes, however, they approach the text to be illustrated from a new angle and offer an innovative interpretation. The choice for illustrating the texts for Sukkot (Hoshanot) and Shavuot follow the traditional iconography of these feasts. The miniature for Rosh ha-Shanah with the *Akedah* in its center is also based on Ashkenazi tradition, but it already musters numerous new elements. In general, the illustration program of the Haggadah was again built upon earlier models, but also presents a significant number of innovative elements. Innovations manifest in the choice of scenes and compositions as well as of particular motifs. Many of these new elements require an eschatological or martyrological interpretation, which necessarily challenge Christian theological claims sometimes and have polemical connotations. What more, these new elements in the illustration of the Miscellany are often appropriated from the repertoire of Christian visual art, either entire compositions or as only single motifs.

From an iconographical viewpoint, two important characteristics of the illustration program, thus, are the direct connection between the miniatures and the passages they are linked to, and the martyrological and eschatological references the images possess together with their polemical aspects. These features make it plausible to assume that the painters of the manuscript were Jews or at least that a strong Jewish influence prevailed on the illustration program, presumably coming from the side of the patron/scribe, Isaac bar Simhah Gansman. How does the appropriation of Christian iconography, the palpable influence of Christian visual culture fit into this Jewish context?

III. JEWISH-CHRISTIAN CLOSENESS—JEWISH-CHRISTIAN DISTANCE

Ivan G. Marcus differentiates between two types of acculturation: inward/premodern and outward/modern acculturation. The latter may also be termed assimilation, a process mainly taking place in modern, secular societies. During this process, Jews "dilute their Judaism and collective identities as Jews by borrowing elements from the non-Jewish majority culture, thus, drawing closer to that culture."[394] Inward acculturation, on the other hand, means taking elements from the other and incorporating them into one's own culture. Inward acculturation takes different forms. One of them is adaptation by polemic: "Sometimes, these adaptations took the form of internalizing the company's elite symbolic vocabularies that Jews transformed into a Jewish idiom that challenged the truth claims of the majority culture. Not every adapted similarity was a polemic. On the other hand, some cases reveal a complex argument, expressed in gestures, against the majority's symbols and truth claims."[395] The same process can be discovered in the Miscellany: the elements adapted from Christian culture are deeply integrated within their new, Jewish context, and transform or sometimes challenge the messages they originally carried. The next question that must be asked now is what was this new, Jewish context was and how was expressed in the illumination program of the Miscellany?

Ashkenazi Jewry had to cope with tumultuous periods during the Middle Ages.[396] In order to understand the calamities that befell them and the contradiction between the

[394] Ivan G. Marcus, *Rituals of Childhood. Jewish Acculturation in Medieval Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 11.

[395] Idem, *The Jewish Life Cycle. Rite of Passage from Biblical to Modern Times* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004), 5-6.

[396] From the end of the fourteenth century, an increasing number of German towns expelled their Jews (e.g., 1388: Strassburg, 1428: archishopric of Trier, 1405: Speyer [temporary expulsion], 1424: Cologne, 1429: Ravensburg, 1432: Constance, 1435: Speyer [final expulsion], 1437: Heilbronn, 1438: Augsburg; Ludwig Falck, "Glanz und Elend der mittelalterlichen Judengemeinde," in *Juden in Mainz* (Mainz: Stadtverwaltung Mainz, 1979)," 38. In 1420, Duke Albert V of Austria, later Emperor Albert II, expelled Jews from Austria. In the same year, the archbishopric of Mainz also banished Jews from his territory except in the city of Mainz. In 1438, the city council expelled Jews from the city of Mainz itself. The Jewish cemetery was destroyed and its stones used for building purposes. The synagogue was transformed to an urban coal store. According to the order of the city council, no citizen was allowed to accommodate a Jew or store his goods in his house. Some Jews returned to the city in 1445, but not for a long time. In 1470, they were again expelled by the archbishop. By 1471, even the last Jews had left Mainz, and the community ceased to exist; ibidem, 39. About the earlier history of the Jews in Mainz, see ibidem 25-30; *Germania Judaica, 3 vols. ed.* Arye Maimon, Mordechai Breuer, and Yacov Guggenheim (Tübingen: Mohr, 1995), III/2, 786-831.

notion of being the chosen people and, at the same time, being subjugated. They interpreted history within a biblical framework. As Robert Chazan puts it, "medieval Jews saw themselves and their neighbors in highly archetypical paradigms, in terms drawn from the vast reservoir of biblical and rabbinic imagery."[397] In written sources, the parallel between these old stories and recent events was spelled out: the poets and chroniclers compared the heroes and heroines of their own era to figures from biblical and rabbinical times.

The two main types of narrative sources devoted to the commemoration of the ***kiddush ha-shem*** are chronicles and liturgical poems. Chronicles cover only the persecutions during the first and the second Crusades, liturgical poems relate about later catastrophes as well.[398] These ***piyyutim*** became integral part of the Ashkenazi liturgy and were included in festival prayer books, among them the Miscellany. In addition, the names of the victims were recorded in lists, so called ***Memorbücher***, which were then recited twice in every year: on the Shabbat before the Ninth of Av and on the Shabbat before Shavuot.[399] Although the attitude towards ***kiddush ha-shem*** and martyrs changed over the centuries, the presence of the ***piyyutim*** and the ***Memorbücher*** in the liturgy demonstrates that the memory of these events had not faded away by the fifteenth century.[400]

Another source of information about the preservation of the martyrs' memory is provided by Ashkenazi minhagim books that speak about annual fast days for the

[397] Robert Chazan, "Representation of Events in the Middle Ages," ***History and Theory*** 27 (1988): 42 (hereafter Chazan, "Representation").

[398] For the Hebrew crusade chronicles, see Adolf Neubauer and Moritz Stern, ed., ***Hebräische Berichte über die Judenverfolgung während der Kreuzzüge*** (Berlin: Simion 1892); Abraham Habermann, ***Sefer Gezerot Ashkenaz we-Zarfat*** [Book of Persecutions in Ashkenaz and France] (Jerusalem: Tarshish, 1945).

[399] These lists were always updated and the names of the new martyrs incorporated. After a certain time, the victims were so many, that it was impossible to include all of them into the document, so the content of the ***Memorbuch*** changed. There were prayers and blessings for the community and for the martyrs in general, then some more specific prayers came mentioning the towns and settlements in which the massacres had taken place. See Cecil Roth, "The Frankfurt Memorbuch," in ***In commemoration of the Frankfurt Jewish community on the occasion of the acquisition of the "Frankfurt Memorbuch,"*** ed. Cecil Roth and Eugen Mayer (The Jewish National and University Library, 1965), 9-10; Ivan G. Marcus, "A Jewish-Christian Symbiosis. The Culture of Early Ashkenaz," in ***Cultures of the Jews: A New History***, ed. David Biale (New York: Schocken Books. 2002), 464-465 (hereafter Marcusl, "Jewish-Christian Symbiosis").

[400] About the change in the attitude, see Susan L. Einbinder, ***Beautiful Death: Jewish Poetry and Martyrdom in Medieval France*** (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

commemoration of the victims killed in local persecutions.[401] Collective processions to the cemetery were part of the ritual on these fast days on the eve of Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur and on the eve of *rosh hodesh*. Several copies of the *Sefer Maharil* relate the fast to the memory of the so-called "Gezerat Parnasim."[402] In the minhagim book of the Miscellany, within the *hagahot* of the Maharil, there are two such remarks referring to fast days in memory of martyrs. One of them speaks about reciting *selihot* on 8 Elul in memory of *gezerah QT*, that is, the persecutions in 1349 (fol. 191r).[403] The second remark refers to the fast day to the memory of *gezerah TaTNU* (sic!), that is, the persecutions that took place during the First Crusade in 1096 (fol. 202v).[404]

Some motifs were used over and over again in chronicles and liturgical poems commemorating the persecutions. Such a motif was the story of the Maccabees. Texts commemorating the Ninth of Av presented the Maccabean martyrs as prototypes for contemporary martyrs.[405] Mothers who killed their children were compared to the mother and her seven sons. Mistress Rachel sacrificed her four children,

[401] See Lucia Raspe, The Black Death in Jewish Sources: A Second Look at *Mayse Nissim*," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 94 (2004): 471-489 (hereafter, Raspe, "Black Death"); eadem, "Sacred Space, Local History, and Diasporic Identity: The Graves of the Righteous in Medieval and Early Modern Ashkenaz," in *Jewish Studies at the Crossroads of Anthropology and History*, ed. Ra'anan S. Boustan, Oren Kosansky, and Marina Rustow (Philadephia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 147-163.

[402] Raspe, "Black Death," 484 n49.

[403] וכן נוהג' האידנ' במגנצ' דמתענין גזירה קְטָ לפרט שהוא חֹ באלול (fol. 191r).

[404] וכן נוהג' האידנ' במגנצא דאי' אומ' תחימה עד עבור תענית גזירה תְּתָּנוֹ שהוא גֹ סיון (fol. 202v).

[405] They play a similar role as models in Christian literature. Several secular poems written in the vernacular discuss the deeds of Judah Maccabee, the great hero. He and Joshua appear in Dante's Divine Comedy in Paradise, although as Old Testament figures, they should rather be in the Limbo of the outer circle of the Hell (Paradise, canto XVIII, 34-48); see Robert Leon McGrath, "The Romance of the Maccabees in Mediaeval Art and Literature," Ph.D. Dissertation (Princeton University, 1963), 1-2.
The crusaders who died on the battlefield would be given the same rank in heaven as saints, martyrs and past heroes, such as the Maccabees. Describing the siege of Antioch, an eyewitness of the First Crusade, Raymond d'Aguilers says, "I do not indeed, belittle the valor of the Maccabees, nor exalt the valor of our knights, but I say that God, then marvelous in Maccabeus, was no more marvelous in our troops." See Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, see in *The First Crusade: the Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials*, ed. Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 193. The Italian chronicler Caffaro di Rustico da Caschifellone believed that those knights who met their death in the battle of Anticoch would be seated in heaven with the Maccabees; see Shmuel Shepkaru, „To Die for God: Martyrs' Heaven in Hebrew and Latin Crusade Narratives," *Speculum* 77, no. 2 (2002): 320.

> I have four children. Even on them have no mercy, lest these uncircumcised ones come and take them alive and they be maintained in their error…
> …then placed them on her lap in her two arms, two on one side and two on the other, and they were writhing on her until the enemy took the room and they found her sitting and lamenting over them. They said to her, "Show us the treasure that you have in your arms." When they saw the children and they were slaughtered, they beat her and killed her along with them; her soul expired, and she died. Of her it is written in Scripture, "Mothers and babes were dashed to death together," as was she along with her four children, just as the righteous woman died with her seven sons….[406]

The Maccabean martyrs appear in the illustration of the Miscellany as well. The visual depictions of their executions were built on Christian models. The miniatures recall representations of Christian martyrdoms, the execution of a virgin saint, such as Agatha, saints being torn apart or beheaded on the order of a pagan ruler. The artists of the Miscellany appropriated the visual language of Christian martyrdom to depict Jewish witnesses to Judaism, and by doing this they elevated the latter to the same level. Unlike the written sources, there was no direct reference here to contemporary Jewish martyrs. Such a direct reference was not even necessary. Being familiar with the lamentations and other narratives about ***kiddush ha-Shem,*** the fifteenth-century Ashkenazi beholder who saw the images of these martyrs could easily make the association with events taking place in their own time. Two of the miniatures illustrating the ***kinot*** also speak of martyrdom and choosing death over trespass against the Law. Zechariah was murdered because he raised his voice against the sinful practice of idol worship. The two children of Rabbi Yishmael died in captivity and in this way avoided incest.

As the chronicler puts it into Mistress Rachel's mouth, the primary reason of her cruel decision is "lest these uncircumcised ones come and take them alive and they be maintained in their error." The fear of the children being baptized and living their life erroneously lay in the background of such infanticide. Accordingly, the story of the Maccabean mother and her seven sons was suitable for providing a role model for Ashkenazi martyrology for two reasons: the brothers choose death over transgression

[406] Solomon bar ***Samson***'s chronicle, Haberman, ***Gezerot***, 34; translation is from Cohen, "Sanctifying the Name of God," 108-109.

against Divine Law and their mother was ready to sacrifice them even if only in a passive form. Both decisions were considered normative in medieval Ashkenazi circles.[407]

The depiction of the first son's execution contains another potential connection between the late antique martyrs venerated by both Christians and Jews and contemporary victims. According to the legend, the bishop of Mainz sought in vain to convert Rabbi Amnon of Mainz. Finally, Amnon was arrested and tortured by the bishop. His hands and feet were cut off and he was sent home with his limbs beside him. Before his death he composed the hymn, ***Unetanneh toqef***, which is recited on Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur. The legend first is recorded by the twelfth-century Ephraim of Bonn and later shows up in the collection of the late sixteenth-century Gedalia ibn Yahia's ***Shalshelet ha-Qabbalah*** and the early seventeenth-century Yiddish ***Mayseh bukh***.[408]

The execution of first son in the Miscellany is depicted in a similar way, with his hands and feet cut off and placed next to him. The sources about the mother and her seven sons, mention him being chopped up but do not specify cutting off the hands and the feet no placing them next to the martyr. The authorship of the Miscellany may have been familiar with the legend of this local martyr and decided to incorporate a visual reference to him in the representation of the late antique martyr in order to allude to the equal worth of their sacrifice.

Although church leaders, even the pope, raised their voices against forced baptism several times, in reality these objections were not always effective and Jews were exposed to such atrocities from time to time.[409] In medieval Ashkenaz, the most famous forced conversions were connected to the period of the First Crusade. The Jewish

[407] Goldin, "Socialisation," 134-136.

[408] Lucia Raspe, "Jewish Saints in Medieval Ashkenaz–A Contradiction in Terms?" ***Frankfurter Judaistische Beiträge*** 31 (2004): 84-85. For an English translation of the story in the Mayseh Bukh, see ***Ma'aseh Book. Book of Jewish Tales and Legends translated from the Judeo-German by Moses Gaster*** (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1981), no. 212, 514-518. On Christological references in Amnon's legend and the transformation of these Christian symbols into anti-Christian polemics, see Marcus, "Jewish-Christian Symbiosis," 495-496.

[409] In the ***Constitutio pro Judaeis***, a protective papal bull which was reissued several times between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, the popes directly forbade the forced baptism of Jews, see Stephen R. Haynes, ***Reluctant Witnesses. Jews and the Christian Imagination*** (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995), 40-41; Solomon Grayzel, "The Papal Bull Sicut Judeis," in ***Studies and Essays in Honor of Abraham A. Neuman*** (Leiden: E.J. Brill,1962), 242-280.

Crusade chronicles speak of cases of forced baptism or about cases where Jews killed themselves or their relatives just to escape being baptized. As Rabbi Eliezer bar Nathan writes, "It is better that we die here… so that the impure, uncircumcised ones will not take us and *contaminate us unwillingly in their wicked waters*…"[410] Another story about a Jewess of Aschaffenburg relates that "she did not wish *to be polluted in the bitter accursed waters*, and she sanctified the Holy Name and drowned in the river."[411] The Christian holy water, which in Christian eyes was supposed to bring eternal life to the baptized ones, became wicked water for the Jews, water that contaminated people who came into contact with it.[412] The motif of naked Pharaoh in the tub might have been built on the Christian iconography of baptism. If so, this parallelism between the two iconographical types would reflect the Jews' strong aversion to baptism and conversion.

Another nevertheless closely connected aspect of *kiddush ha-Shem* is the victim as a sacrifice. In martyrdom, the act of killing as a sacrifice was just as important as the subject of the sacrifice being one's own child. Martyrs who committed suicide or were killed by their parents were compared to the sacrifice brought to the Temple.

> …we were sacrificed as whole offerings, we were desired in God's abode/ . . . / their sacrifice was found worthy as if it were made on God's altar / . . . / the storm was too fierce to receive the blood of our sacrifice / blood mixed with blood and our sacrifices were deemed sweet'. (Eliezer ben Nathan)[413]

> ..Each one possesses eight vestments, as did the High Priest, and two crowns. Their honour was greater than that of the High Priest for the latter sprinkled the blood of the sacrifices, and they sprinkled their own blood and that of their dear

[410] Chronicle of Rabbi Eliezer bar Nathan. See Israel Jacob Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb. Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 177-178, n95, emphasis added.
[411] Ephraim ben Jacob of Bonn, *Sefer Zekhirah* 21, ed. Abraham Haberman, *Sefer Zechirah. Selichot we-qinot le-Rabbi Efraim b.Ya'akov* [Book of Memory. Prayers and Elegies of Rabbi Ephraim of Bonn] (Jerusalem, 1970), see in Yuval, "Two Nations," 178 n96
[412] For Christianity, an association between baptism and the blood bath is not a foreign notion. The idea of baptism in blood was present in Christian literature from early Christian times and it had a central importance for thirteenth-century Saint Catherine of Siena. "We are not Jews or Saracens, but Christians ransomed and *baptized in blood*." Speaking of Jesus Christ, she said, he "shed his life's blood and with that has *baptized and bathed us*." See David Biale, *Blood and Belief: the Circulation of a Symbol between Jews and Christians* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 73. For more about the Ashkenazi attitude towards baptism, see Shepkaru, *Jewish Martyrs*, 206-209; Einbinder, *Beautiful Death*, 34-39.
[413] Davidson 4709, translation is from Goldin, "Socialisation," 130.

children, and bound sacrifices, and built altars, and prepared offerings.' (Rabbi Ephraim ben Jacob of Bonn, *Sefer Zekhirah*)[414]

Such imagery appears in the Miscellany itself. One of the poems by R. Ephraim ben R. Jacob of Bonn in the collection of Lamentations for the Ninth of Av says,

> The entire family, parents and children, offer a sacrifice / skinning and taking apart and burning entirely / thirty-two offerings were made as a burnt offering, / and new mothers hurried before their friends to be burnt / and sent their children up in fire as a voluntary offering / a nursing child offered up as a whole sacrifice, an important offering.[415]

The *par excellence* sacrifice and the ultimate archetype of Jewish martyrdom was the Sacrifice of Isaac. References to the *Aqedah* appear numerous times both in chronicles as well as in liturgical texts. The medieval heroes and heroines of these works re-enacted the biblical story and slaughtered their children following Abraham's example.[416] One of the twelfth-century chronicles, the *Mainz Anonymus* reports about a *kiddush ha-Shem* that took place in Worms during the First Crusade,

> There was a certain young man, named R. Meshullam ben Isaac. He called out loudly to all those standing there and to Zipporah his helpmate: "Listen to me both great and small. This son God gave me. My wife Zipporah bore him in her old age and his name is Isaac. Now I shall offer him up as did our ancestor Abraham with his son Isaac."…He then bound Isaac his son and took in his hand the knife with which to slaughter his son and made the benediction for slaughtering. The lad answered amen. He then slaughtered the lad. He took his screaming wife. The two of them departed together from the chamber and the crusaders killed them.[417]

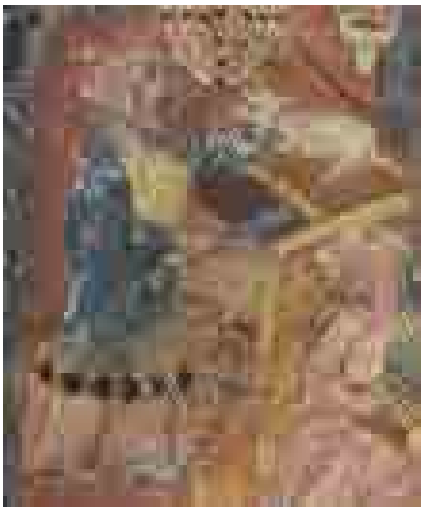
Another chronicler, Solomon bar Simson describing the martyrdom of the Mainz community compares their deeds to Abraham's:

> They cried out loudly: 'Behold and see our Lord, what we do for the sanctification of Your holy Name without exchanging You with the crucified one… The precious children of Zion, the children of Mainz, were tested ten times, like our ancestor Abraham and like Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. They sacrificed [עקדו] their children as Abraham had sacrificed [עקד] his son Isaac.[418]

[414], Hereafter Haberman, *Gezerot*, 123.
[415] Fol. 185v, Davidson 1086ל.
[416] Simha Goldin, "The Socialisation for Kiddush ha-Shem Among Medieval Jews," *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997): 123-127 (hereafter Goldin, "Socialisation").
[417] Translation from Chazan, "Representation," 45.
[418] Haberman, Gezerot, 31-32; translation is from Shepkaru, *Jewish Martyrs*, 175.

The imagery of the *Aqedah* and sacrifice in the Temple easily brings us to another typological motif, the Pesah lamb. Jewish tradition linked the Sacrifice of Isaac not only to Rosh ha-Shanah but also to Pesah. What is more, as early rabbinical literature shows, Isaac was sometimes identified with the Pesah lamb. The *Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael*, for instance, says: *And when I see the blood (of the Passover lamb), I will pass over you (Exod. 12:13)—I see the blood of Isaac's Aqedah.*[419] The children slaughtered in the name of *kiddush ha-Shem*, were also compared to the Pesah lamb as the ultimate animal sacrifice. The unique depiction of the Pesah lamb by the dictum of Rabban Gamliel may have a martyrological aspect. The three men bringing their offerings waiting their turn at the doorway of the Sanctuary may evoke in the beholder the image of fathers getting ready to sacrifice their sons in times of persecution. Comparing the figure of the High Priest to Abraham at the *Aqedah* makes this connection stronger (figs. 270-271).

Apart from being a central motif of Ashkenazi martyrology, both the *Aqedah* and the Pesah lamb were associated closely with redemption. Recollection of these sacrifices was meant to remind God of His promise to Israel on the Day of Judgment. God was thought to take the sacrifice into account and have mercy upon His people. Since medieval Jews interpreted the calamities they had to suffer by using biblical and rabbinic



Figs. 270-271. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 1r and 31r: Abraham and the High Priest

[419] *Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael* 7, lines 78-79; see Robert Hayward, "The Present State of Research into the Targumic Account of the Sacrifice of Isaac," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 32 (1981): 139-140. A visual expression of the same relationship can be found in the late thirteenth-century Italian Dragons' Haggadah (fol. 39v). In the margin of the *mishnaic* dictum of Rabban Gamliel, a ram is depicted as being caught in a bush. This image is a clear reference to the *Aqedah* in the context of the Pesah lamb. See also Malkiel, "Infanticide," 92-92.

patterns, for them ***kiddush ha-Shem*** was meant to generate a similar result.[420] The sacrifice made by Ashkenazi Jewry was expected to bring redemption upon Israel. These are the worlds of Rabbi Solomon bar Samson reporting on the fate of the Jews in Xanten, 1096:

> Let not the wicked hands of the impure defile us with their abominable rites, but let us offer ourselves as a sacrifice to God brought on the altar of God, total burnt offerings to the most high. And we shall live on in that world of eternal daylight, in the Garden of Eden, in the illuminating radiance of God……Each and every one of us shall point him out with his finger and proclaim, 'This is our God; we trusted in him, and he delivered us….'[421]

The poem of Rabbi Ephraim ben Jacob of Bonn about the ***Aqedah*** ends with a statement of the same expectation:

Thus prayed the binder and the bound,
That when their descendants commit a wrong
This act be called to save them from disaster,
From all their transgressions and sins.

O Righteous One, do us this grace!
You promised our fathers mercy to Abraham.
Let then their merit stand as our witness,
And pardon our iniquity and our sin, and take us for Thine
Inheritance.

Recall to our credit to many ***Aqedahs***,
The saints, men and women, slain for Thy sake.
Remember the righteous martyrs of Judah,
Those that were bound of Jacob.

Be Thou the shepherd of the surviving flock
Scattered and dispersed among the nations.
Break the yoke and snap the bands
Of the bound flock that yearns towards Thee
O God! O King...[422]

[420] As Shmuel Shepkaru pointed out, in Jewish martyrological thought the idea of divine compensation developed as a result of the experiences Ashkenazi Jewry suffered during the Crusades; idem, "From After Death to Afterlife: Martyrdom and Its Recompense," ***AJS Review*** 24, no. 1 (1999): 1-44.
[421] Chronicle of R. Solomon bar Samson, see Haberman, ***Gezerot***, 48-49. Translation is from Cohen, ***Sanctifying the Name of God***, 74.
[422] Translation is from Spiegel, ***Last Trial***, 151-152.

The representation of the *Aqedah* in the Miscellany fits smoothly within this context. By placing the Sacrifice of Isaac at the center of divine judgment—with *middat ha-din* on one side and *middat ha-hesed* on the other— it expresses the interdependence of martyrdom and redemption. The prayer speaks about God who resurrects the dead. Accordingly, in the miniature Isaac is depicted for a second time as resurrected and coming back from the Garden of Eden. His miraculous rescue was considered to be a prototype for Israel's future redemption and the resurrection of the dead at the end of time. In addition, the motif of the angel with scales and shofar may be a conscious reference to the Christian concept of divine judgment and, thus, after all, it may have a polemical edge.[423] In contrast to the Christian scenario, this eschatological vision favors the Jewish people. Just like Isaac, the Jews will rise again and, thanks to the Sacrifice, God will ignore the accusations—brought by an imperial soldier, a representative of Christendom!—against Israel, and will bring redemption to his chosen people.

"That night Judith shielded me. With her blessed counsel and her noble manner, she protected her people and became a flame of disaster for the Greeks"—says the *piyyut* for Hanukkah. Its illustration emphasizes the same course of events as found in the text: sacrifice, redemption, and revenge. The sacrifice of the Maccabean martyrs was followed by a miracle, already a sign of divine mercy, and then by the redemption of the people from their oppressors, who would be punished. Judith, the protector of Bethulia/Jerusalem became a prototype of the Messiah. Her act—saving her people and smiting on the enemy—can be interpreted as a typological parallel for the final redemption to be carried out by the Messiah.

Redemption and resurrection is represented in the Miscellany in a straightforward way in the Haggadah also. The Coming of the Messiah complemented with the Resurrection of the dead is the direct visualization of what the miniature of *Aqedah*-Day of Judgment at Rosh ha-Shanah only foreshadows: the Messiah is approaching to a town and brings redemption with him: the dead resurrect and emerge from their tombs.

[423] The "baptized" balance is not the only reminder of the Christian Last Judgment. The angel escorting at resurrected Isaac is reminiscent of the angel letting the good through the gate of Paradise.

Apart from the importance of martyrdom in bringing redemption, divine revenge upon ones enemies was also an expected reward.[424] The blood of the innocent martyrs eventually awoke divine wrath and brought vengeance upon those who caused the death of the martyrs. In one of his poems, composed to commemorate the pogroms in 1096, included the following among the lamentations in the Miscellany, Rabbi Kalonymos ben Judah formulated this relationship between martyrdom and revenge in brave words,

> For how long shall You be like a warrior who knows not how
> to deliver!
> Make known the vengeance from the Gentiles for the blood
> of Your servants before our very eyes…
> …
> Drops of my blood are counted one by one
> And spray their life-blood on your *prophyrion*
> 'He will execute judgment among the nations, filing them with
> Corpses' (Ps. 110:7).
> …
> Hasten the redemption and speed the vision,
> For the day of vengeance in my heart and the year of my
> redemption comes near.[425]

The same concept of vengeance upon Israel's enemy can be detected in the illustration program of the Miscellany. The composition of the miniature is built upon the Christian iconography of Jesus' Entry into Jerusalem and the Resurrection of the Dead. Beyond the visual connection, the illustration of the ***Shefokh*** in the Miscellany is reminiscent of one more Christian iconographical type. The upper part of the page is occupied by the coming of the Messiah. The inscriptions on the banderoles around him announce that he will redeem the Jews. The text beneath the image speaks about divine revenge on the enemies of God, that is, the enemies of His chosen nation. Thus, both the reward for the good and punishment for the evil are present here, complemented the resurrection of the dead on the bottom . These elements constitute the main parts of the traditional medieval Christian iconography of the Last Judgment, where the upper sphere is occupied by Christ the Messiah judging the world; with the righteous on his right and

[424] A hope for redemption was strongly intermingled with the hope for divine revenge on enemies and oppressors. See Avraham Grossman, "The Cultural and Social Background of Jewish Martyrdom in Germany in 1096," in *Juden und Christen zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1999), 73-86;
[425] Fol. 154v, Davidson 5971ʁ. The translation is from Yuval, *Two Nations*, 105.

the sinful on his left, and in the lower, earthly, sphere the dead emerge from their graves (figs. 274-275). In the Hamburg Miscellany, text and image complement each other, constituting a kind of counter-last judgment, where the Jews are the blessed ones and the Christians are the condemned ones. Thus, the painter of the Miscellany chose these Christian models in order to transform them into bearers of a Jewish message and by this transformation challenge their original meaning.

Fig. 272. Hamburg Miscellany, fol. 35v: Coming of the Messiah and the Resurrection of the Dead
Fig. 273. Bamberg, cathedral, Fürstenportal, tympanon: Last Judgment

Thinking in the biblical and rabbinical, or rather eschatological, imagery so characteristic of medieval Ashkenazi, Judaism can be also discovered in the illustration program of the Miscellany. Analyzing its miniatures, the same notions of sacrifice, redemption and revenge came to light as prevail in written sources of the period. The slaughter of the Maccabean Eleazar and the seven brothers by the Greeks, the slaughter of Jewish babies for Pharaoh's blood bath, the sacrifice of the Pesah lamb all reflect martyrdom and sacrifice. The Day of Judgment with the *Aqedah* at its center and the coming of the Messiah recall the divine redemption of Israel and divine judgment over her enemies as a reward to those who offered up their lives for the sanctification of the Name of God.

Jewish notions of martyrdom, redemption and revenge *ipso facto* were in clash with the Christian definition of the same notions; consequently, they exhibited a polemical side. Visual depictions of these ideas added another facet to this controversy. The

authorship of the Miscellany took symbols, expressions from the majority's visual vocabulary, and built them into the representation of special Ashkenazi paradigm of biblical and eschatological imagery. Therefore, the presence of Christian elements in the illumination of the Miscellany can be described as an excellent example of "inward acculturation:" the "vocabulary" of the images is sometimes Christian, but the "sentences" were written in "Jewish."

CONCLUSION

The Hamburg Miscellany was produced in the area of Mainz in the 1420s–1430s. Two persons have been identified as its scribes: a certain Jacob and Isaac bar Simhah Gansman. The latter could also be recognized as having been responsible for the production of the entire final Miscellany and as its original owner. Isaac belonged to the circle of the Maharil, a great halakhic authority of fifteenth-century Rhineland. Isaac and his family may have had a prominent role in the Jewish community of Mainz. A copy of the Jewish polemical treatise, the ***Sefer Nizzahon*** by Yom Tov Lipmann Mühlhausen, was owned by Isaac indicating his interest in interreligious affairs.

The Miscellany was put together from different codicological units and consists of various works including a prayer book, a ***sefer ibbur***, a collection of lamentations and biblical readings for the Ninth of Av, and the ***Sefer minhagim*** of Abraham Hildiq. Since codicological and paleographical features create strong connections between these units, it seems that they were produced by and for the same person, Isaac bar Simhah Gansman at slightly different times. The earliest unit may have been the prayer book that Isaac completed in time comprising a calendar, a collection of ***kinot***, and a ***minhagim*** book creating a sort of miscellany for himself.

The codex is illuminated, and its illustration program contains initial words/initial-word panels and miniatures inserted into the body of the text. The largest number of miniatures is found in the prayer book, especially in the Haggadah and a ***piyyut*** for Hanukkah. The figurative representations are mostly biblical and eschatological in nature although there are some ritual scenes and midrashic illustrations as well. As a number of unfinished illustrations and decorations indicate, the illumination of the codex was never completed. At least two different artists or groups of artists worked on the illustrations. Although no close stylistic parallels have been found, numerous motifs and compositions show that the artists of the Miscellany were familiar with the visual language of contemporary German Christian codices, used their vocabulary, and produced work that comported with the surrounding culture of that time.

The illustration program is remarkable from an iconographical point of view. It constitutes an important link in the chain of the development of illuminated Haggadot. On the one hand, the images exhibit already existing iconographical types and on the other hand, they introduce several new scenes and motifs. The ritual scenes of the Haggadah follow traditional Ashkenazi iconography. When there were different available variations the authorship chose in accordance with the ***minhagim*** of the Maharil. In the selection of scenes and versions, the closest relative to the ritual illustrations of the Miscellany is the Erna-Michael Haggadah produced sometime in the first half of the fifteenth century in Bohemia.[426]

The only exception, when the classical Ashkenazi iconography was not followed is the depiction of the Pesah lamb being sacrificed in the Temple at the command of Rabban Gamaliel. This part is usually illustrated with ritual scenes of celebrants lifting the ***matzah*** and the ***maror*** and preparing the Pesah lamb (***Pesah***), however, the explanation for Pesah is decorated with a historical scene taking place in the biblical past or in the eschatological future. In this way, the image is connected more to the next group of illustrations representing biblical and eschatological scenes.

The Miscellany enriched the still underdeveloped Ashkenazi iconography of the representation of the Four Sons. While in Sepharad the Four Sons became part of the basic set of images used in Haggadah illustration by the mid-fourteenth century, they did not receive such attention in early Ashkenaz Haggadot. The first dated representation of all Four Sons in Ashkenazi lands can be found in the Hamburg Miscellany. The overall compositions of the latter portraits are different from the Sephardi examples. The Sons are accompanied by their "mentors," who hold banderoles with their answers written on them. In iconographical details, however, certain similarities can be discovered between the representations of the Spanish Haggadot and that of the Miscellany that are most likely a result of the use of the same commentaries and other textual sources and not from directly using Sephardic manuscripts as visual models. The representation of the Miscellany also exhibit strong links with later Ashkenazi and Italo-Ashkenazi depictions of the Four Sons. Since these latter codices were produced in the same geo-cultural area only some decades later, some sort of direct influence can be easily assumed in their case.

[426] Goitein, MA Thesis, 133-134.

The biblical-eschatological and the midrashic depictions offer particularly many innovative or unique solutions. Similarly to written genres, these visual representations express notions relevant to the contemporary Ashkenazi society in the guise of biblical and rabbinical/midrashic imagery. Most of the new elements in the illustration program may be interpreted in the context of Ashkenazi martyrdom. The innovative iconographical solutions in the Miscellany emphasize sacrifice, redemption and revenge, key motifs in medieval literature on ***kiddush ha-Shem.*** From the perspective of Isaac, martyrdom and salvation must have been more than merely internal Jewish issues. On the contrary, they became meaningful only in relation with the beliefs of the dominant Christian majority. Jewish notions of martyrdom, redemption and revenge ***ipso facto*** clashed with the Christian definition of the same notions; consequently, they exhibited a polemical side.

The illustration of the Miscellany exemplifies how these polemical connotations emerged in Jewish visual representations. Iconographical analysis has revealed a number of Christian elements in several miniatures. Sometimes, they do not have any specific meaning but come from the pool of visual motifs shared by Christian and Jews in medieval Christendom. In other cases, one can assume that particular motifs or compositions were chosen intentionally to challenge the meaning they had expressed originally. They were taken over from the Christian pictorial vocabulary and transformed into Jewish idioms—as a kind of "inward acculturation."

The first miniature depicts the Sacrifice of Isaac as the focal point of the Day of Judgment. The image of the ***'Akedah*** with the resurrected Isaac, the donkey and the starry sky allude to God's compassion and everlasting mercy towards the Jews. Isaac's sacrifice for the salvation of Israel challenges Christ's sacrifice for the salvation of humankind. The image illustrates the fundamental belief that in spite of malevolent forces, including the accusations of the Christians (represented here by the imperial soldier), the Jewish people have not been forgotten or condemned by God. Their obedience will be rewarded, and they will participate in the messianic redemption: their sacrifices have been weighed in the balance and not found wanting.

Also, the iconographical novelties within the biblical-eschatological scenes often contain a messianic or martyrological aspect. The Sacrifice of the Passover lamb in the Temple and Pharaoh's blood bath may be interpreted as allegories for recent historical events, allusions to those who suffered death either sacrificing their own lives or their children's lives or being killed during persecutions in medieval Ashkenaz. The sleeping Abraham recalls the Covenant of the Pieces and the first divine promise of messianic redemption. Laban and Pharaoh represent Israel's two sworn enemies, who though menacingly threatening all of Israel, were finally subjugated. They should be seen as archetypes and a promise of future messianic revenge on the oppressors of the Jews. Finally, the ultimate lesson of the entire Exodus story is manifested in the depiction of the Coming of the Messiah accompanied by the resurrection of the dead. This image was meant to show that none of the calamities afflicting the Jews are in vain. In accordance with the first miniature of the Miscellany of the sacrifice of Isaac, it symbolizes the Jewish hope of remaining the chosen people, about to be redeemed and a response to the Christian claim that the Jews had already fallen from divine favor.

The concepts of martyrdom gain straightforward expression in the pictures relating the fate of the Maccabean martyrs and the representation of the aggadic stories in the lamentations. The sweep of the narrative as well as the illustration of the *piyyut* composed by Joseph ben Solomon of Carcassone recalls the Pesah Haggadah. There the Israelites similarly go through suffering and persecution which at last bring them redemption. In fifteenth-century Germany, the cult of the Maccabean martyrs flourished both in the Jewish and Christian communities. Even if there were no written sources demonstratingJewish awareness of Maccabean martyrs in the service of Christendom, their depiction in the Miscellany presumes such knowledge. The authorship appropriated Christian iconographical elements for the representation of their martyrdom. The correspondences between the Jewish depictions and parallel Christian images point to an ongoing visual dialogue between the two cultures. Through the example of the Maccabean martyrs, the authorship could demonstrate that the suffering of the Jewish martyrs is just as precious in the eyes of God as that of the Christian martyrs, and God does not look at it dispassionately, but intervenes in their protection. Keeping the faith, resistance even to death will not be unrewarded. This divine intervention is not only

realized through miracles—like the emergence of ritual baths within houses, but by achieving victory for the heroes who actively resist such as Judith. Since she protected her town by killing the enemy, Judith became a prototype for the Messiah and her presence in the *piyyut* and in its illustration may be a reference to this internal typological interpretation.

One way or another, all the illustrations of the *kinot* are connected to the concept of martyrdom. The priests of the Temple were killed while doing their duty in the Sanctuary. The Jews of Cologne were slaughtered because they clung to their faith. The themes of the last two miniatures, the story of Rabbi Yishmael's children and Zechariah's murder, are taken from the Tractate Gittin in the Babylonian Talmud. This tractate contains numerous legends of the Hurban, including stories of martyrdom such as the executions of the Maccabean martyrs and the death of Rabbi Akivah. These stories were recalled over and over again in rabbinical texts dealing with committing suicide or allowing oneself to be killed for one's faith.

Martyrological concepts and the motivation and need to deal with them can be found in the cultural expressions of Ashkenazi Jewry repeatedly. This concept received its particular expression in maintaining the memory of the victims. Commemoration served as self-justification to explain the discrepancy between being the chosen nation and being subjugated. The Jews of Ashkenaz saw in their martyrs a proof of ever lasting, divine mercy. Consequently, it also functioned as exempla and as a tool of resistance to pressures for conversion. Thus, the story of these Jewish martyrs could also be used in a polemical context to refute the idea of Christian superiority.

The centrality of martyrdom in medieval Ashkenazi culture is reflected not only in textual sources, but also in products of visual culture. The Hamburg Miscellany demonstrates that these ideas were manifested in book illumination. The presence of concepts such as sacrifice, redemption and revenge in the illustration program shows that it was not only a prayer book, a calendar manual and a halakhical guide. It also served as a visual form of commemoration together with its therapeutic and polemical implications. Besides his connection to the Maharil and his circle, no further firm evidence exists to provide a more detailed picture about Isaac bar Simhah Gansman and his family. Under

these circumstances, it is not possible to establish his exact motivation for engaging in such a project. However, the few bits of information we do have seem sufficient to assume that being a learned man living within a Christian environment and interested in polemics, Isaac was aware of certain Christian theological claims and their manifestation in visual culture. Knowing its interpretative potentials, he could have turned to the medium of book illumination to reflect his firm conviction in the truth of Jewish faith.

APPENDIX

1. COLLATION

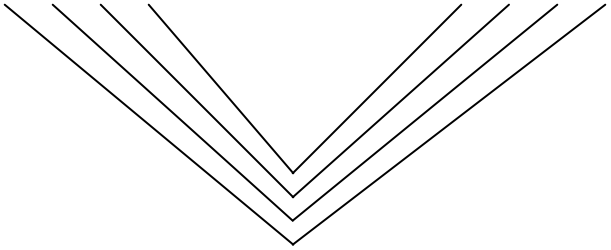
Legend:

1-8 – Arabic folio numbers **I^8 – quire I consisting of 8 folios** **– missing folio**

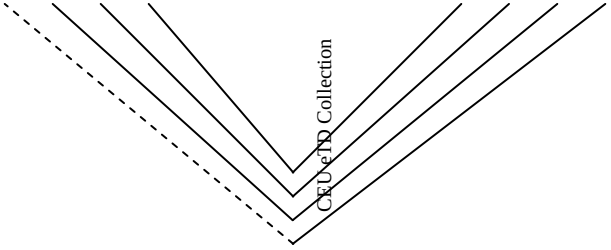
(viii) – older quire numeration **@ – catchword**

PART 1

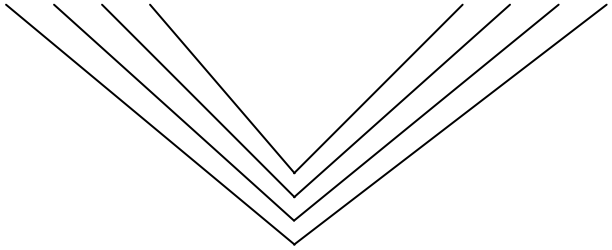
fols. 1-8: I^8 (viii)



fols. 9-15: II^{8-1} (ix)

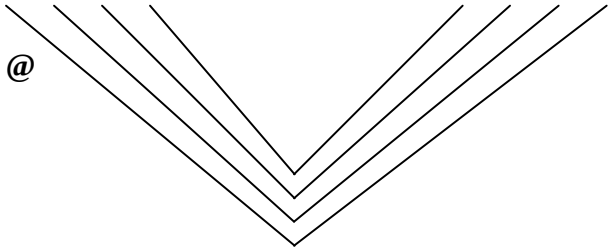


fols. 16-23: III^8 (x)

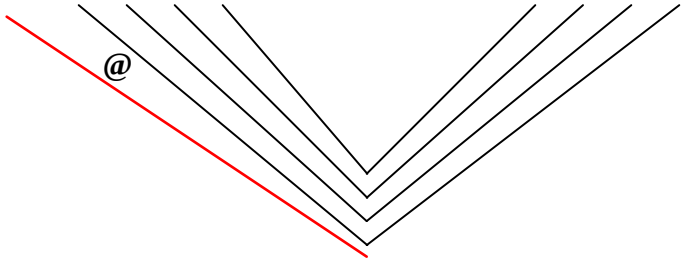


fols. 24-31: IV^8 (xi)

@



fols. 32-40: $V^{8\ +1}$ (xii+xiii)



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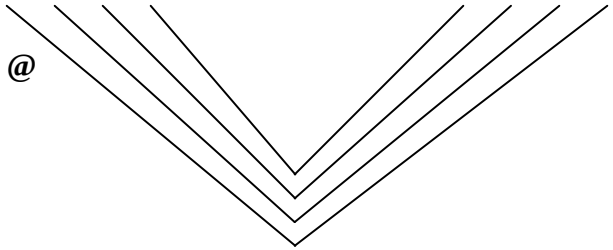
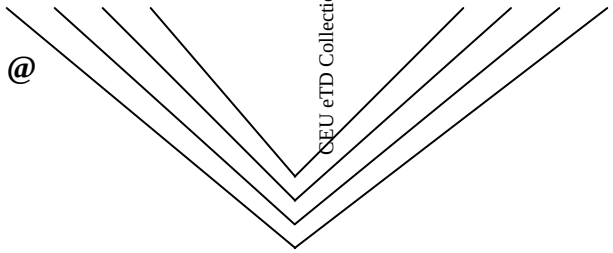
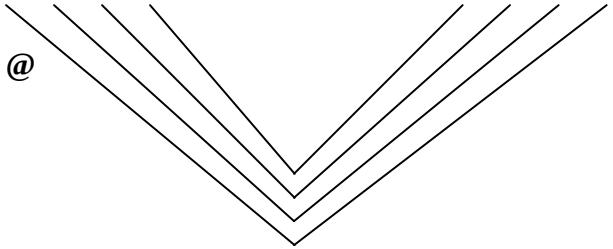
fols. 41-48: VI^{8} (xv)



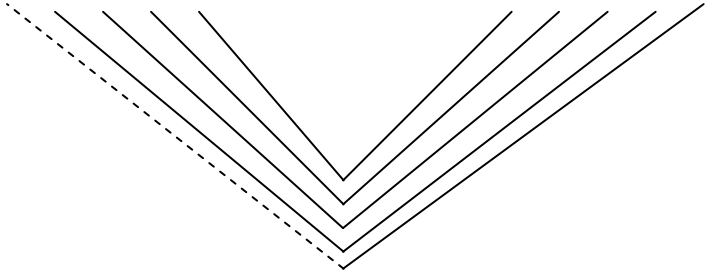
fols. 49-56: VII^{8} (xvi)



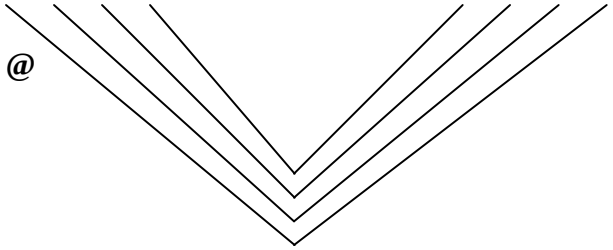
fols. 57-64: $VIII^{8}$ (xvii)



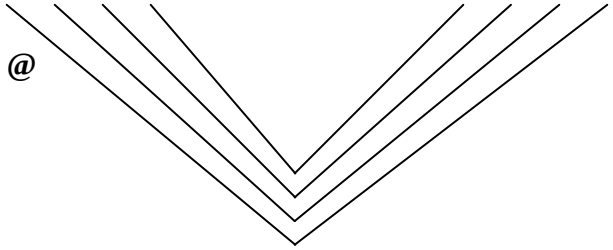
fols. 65-73: IX^{10-1} (xviii+xix)



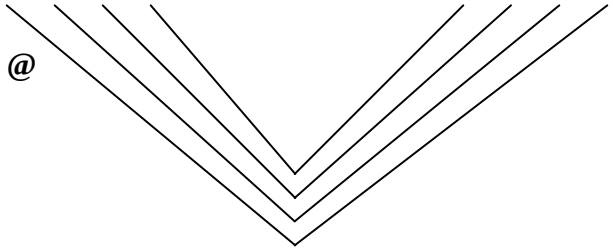
fols. 74-81: X^{8} (xx)



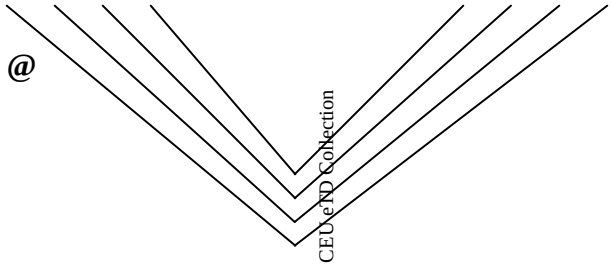
fols. 82-89: XI^{8} (xxi)



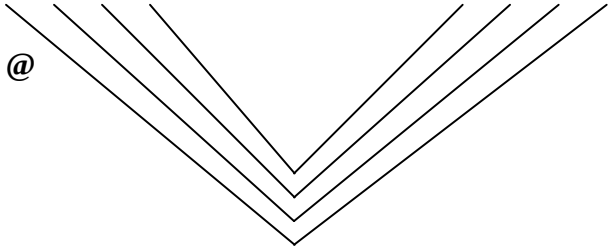
fols. 90-97: XII^{8} (xxii)



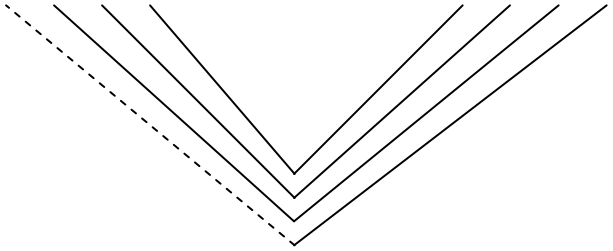
fols. 98-105: $XIII^{8}$ (xxiii)



fols. 106-113: XIV^{8} (xxiv)



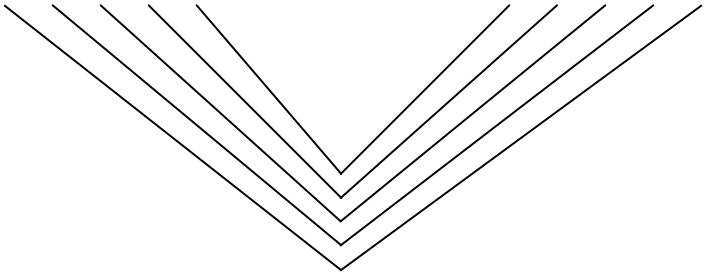
fols. 114-120: XV^{8-1} (xxv)



PART 2 – *SEFER IBBUR*

(missing: xvi)

fols. 121-132: XVI[10] (xxvii)



PART 3 - LAMENTATIONS

fols. 133-140: XVII[8] (xxviii)

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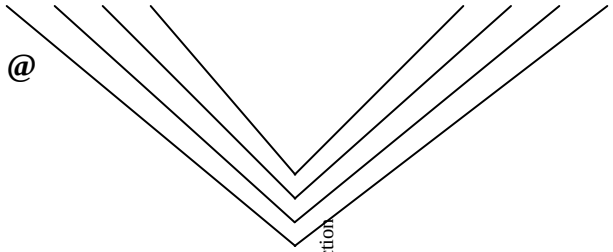

fols. 141-148: XVIII[8] (xxix)

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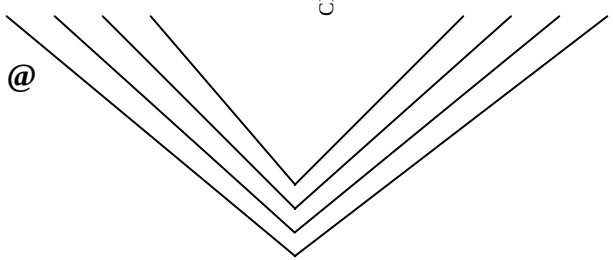

fols. 149-156: XIX[8] (xxx)

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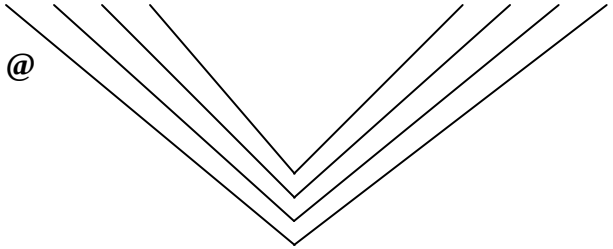

fols. 157-164: XX[8] (xxxi)

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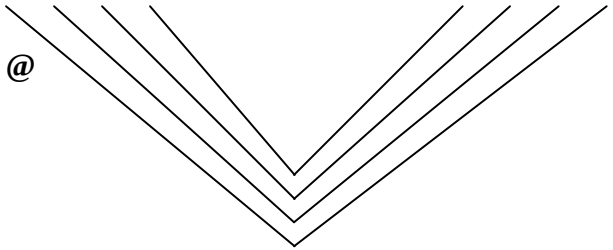
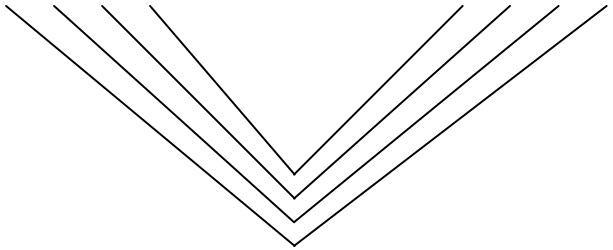


fols. 165-172: XXI[8] (xxxii)



fols. 173-180: XXII^{8} (xxxiii)

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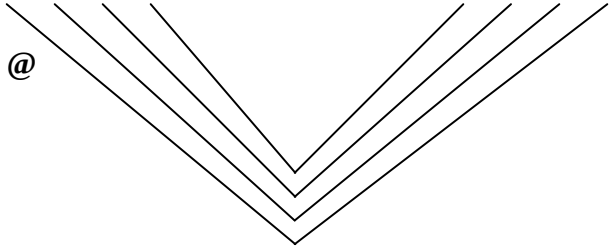
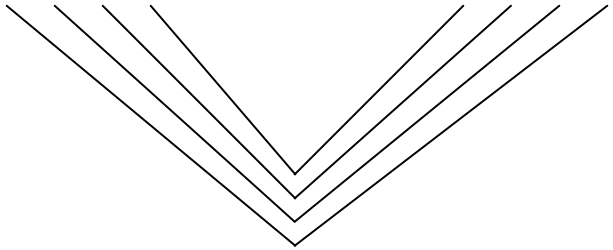
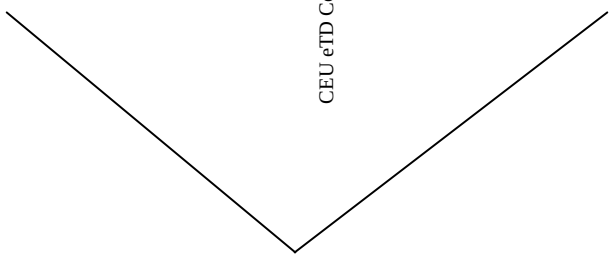


fols. 181-188: XXIII^{8} (xxxiv)



PART 4 - *PARASHAH* AND *HAFTARAH* FOR THE NINTH OF AV

fols. 189-190: XXIV^{2} (xxxv)



PART 5 - MINHAGIM

fols. 191-198: XXV^{8} (xxxvi)

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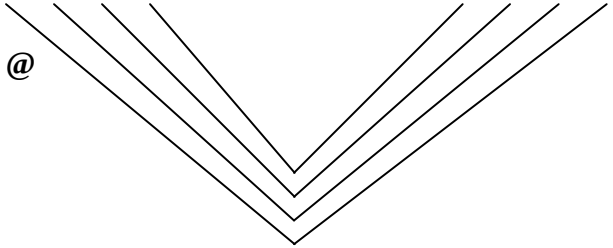
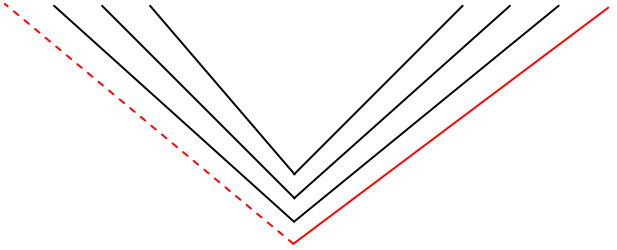


fols. 199-205: XXVI$^{8-1}$ (xxxvii + xxxviii)



2. CONTENT

Folio[427]	Davidson number	Incipit	Author	Designation	Designation in English
1r-8v: Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom ha-Kippurim					
1r		בא"י אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו האל הגדול והגיבור והנורא...			Blessing before the *Amida* for the *Musaf* of Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur
1r	ז 164	זכרנו לחיים מלך חפץ בחיים		הוספה בתפלות של עשי"ת מוספים	Addition to the prayers of the *Musaf* on the Ten Days of Penitence
1r	מ 1142	מי כמוך אב הרחמים		הוספה בתפלות של עשי"ת מוספים	Addition to the prayers of the *Musaf* on the Ten Days of Penitence
1v-2v	ו122	ובכן תן פחדך		תפילה באמצה קדושת השם בתפילת שמ"ע של ר"ה ויוכ"פ	Prayer in *Amidah* for Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur
2r	ו 414	(ו)מפני חטאינו גלינו מארצינו		חלק מקדושת היום בתפלת מוסף של כל מועדי השנה	*Musaf* prayer for all festivals of the year
2r	א 4824	או"א יעלה ויבא יגיע [ו]יראה		תפילה לראש חודשים וימים טובים בשמ"ע ובברכת המזון	Prayer for *rosh hodashim* and feast days, within *Amidah*
3r	ע 676	עלינו לשבח לאדון הכל לתת גדלה		תפילת זו הפתיחה למלכויות במוסף ר"ה. תקיעתא דבי רב	*Musaf* prayer for Rosh ha-Shanah
3r	א 4827	או"א מלוך על כל העולם כלו בכבודך		החתימה למלכויות שבתפלות ר"ה המיוחסת לרב ונמצא בכל המנהגים.	*Musaf* prayer for Rosh ha-Shanah
3r	א 4826	או"א מחל(ל) לעונותינו		תפלת ליוכ"פ הכל המנהגים	Prayer for Yom Kippur
3v	ע 676	על כן נקוה לך		מלכויות	*Musaf* prayer for Rosh ha-Shanah
4r	א 8795	אתה זוכר מעשה עולם		ח"ב מתקיעתא דבי רב, והוא הקדמה לזכרונות. נמצא בכל מנהגים בתפלת מוסף דר"ה	*Musaf* prayer for Rosh ha-Shanah
4v	א 8828	אתה נגלית בענן כבודך		ח"ג מתקיעתא דבי רב, והוא הקדמה לזכרונות. נמצא בכל מנהגים בתפלת מוסף דר"ה	*Musaf* prayer for Rosh ha-Shanah
5r	ה 468	היום הרת עולם		פיוט קדמון שנוסד לומר אחרי התקיעות במלכויות זכרונות ושופרות	*Piyyut* for Rosh ha-Shanah

[427] Folio in which the text begins.

Prayer before the blessing of the priests (Ashkenazi rite)	תפילה לפיי מנהג אשכנז כשהכהנים עולים לדוכן		ותערב לפניך עתידינו כעולה וכקרבן	ו 534	5r
Seventh blessing for *Shema*	ברכה י"ז של תפילת שמ"ע, נקראת "עבובה"		רצה אל אלהינו בעמך ישראל	ר 1013	5r
Prayer for Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur	תפילה לר"ה ויוכ"פ		אבינו מלכינו חטאנו לפניך	א 216	5v
Vidduy, Yom Kippur	פתיחה לווידוי הרגיל		או"א תבא לפניך תפילתינו	א 4840	5v
Vidduy, Yom Kippur	ווידוי שתקנו רב		אתה יודע רזי עולם	א 8808	6v
Neilah, Yom Kippur	תפילה לנעילה		אתה נותן יד לפושעים	א 8833	6v
Vidduy in the prayer for Yom Kippur, called *Vidduy ha-Gadol*	ווידוי שבכל תפלות יוכ"פ, ונקרא "ווידוי הגדול"		על חטא שחטאנו לפניך באנוס וברצון	ע 505	7r
Blessing of the Moon-prayer	ברכת הלבנה	רב יהודה Rav Jehudah	בא"י אמ"ה אשר במאמרו ברא שחקים	ב 1452	8v
9r-15v: Hoshanot for Hoshanah Rabbah					
Hoshanah for Sukkot	הושענא		הושענא הושענא למענך אלהינו למענך בוראינו		9r
Hoshanah for Sukkot	הושענא	anonym	למען אמיתך למען בריתך	ל 1151	9r
Hoshanah for Sukkot	הושענא	anonym	אדון המושיע בלתך אין להושיע גבור	א 523	9r
Hoshanah for Sukkot	הושענא	anonym	אבן שתיה בית הבחירה	א 319	9v
Hoshanah for Sukkot	הושענא	anonym	אום אני חומה	א 1829	9v
Hoshanah for Sukkot	הושענא	קליר Kallir	אדם ובהמה בשר ורוח	א 1165	9v
Hoshanah for Sukkot	הושענא	anonym	למען איתן הנזרק בלהב אש	ל 1149	10r
Hoshanah for Sukkot	הושענא	קליר Kallir	תתנינו לשם ולתהלה	ת 594	10r
Hoshanah for Sukkot	הושענא	קליר Kallir	אדמה מארר בהמה ממשכלת	א 198	10v
Hoshanah for Sukkot (Western Ashkenazi rite)	הושענא	anonym	אערוך שועי בבית ש(יו)ועי	א 2071	10v
Hoshanah for Sukkot	הושענא	anonym	אל למושעות בארבע שבועות	א 3754	11r
Hoshanah for Shabbat (Sukkot)	הושענא לשבת (בסוכות)	anonym	אום נצורה ככבבת בונגת בדת נפש	א 1838	11r
Hoshanah for Sukkot	הושענא	anonym	כהושעת(ה) אלים בלוד עמך	כ 110	11v

11v	כ 108	כהושעתה אב המון	שמואל ב"ר קלונימוס משפירא Samuel bar Kalonymos of Speyer	הושענא	*Hoshanah* for Sukkot
12r	א 6171	אנא אזון חין תבאי ישעך	anonym	הושענא	*Hoshanah* for Sukkot
12r	א 3886	אל נא תעינו	קליר Kallir	הושענא	*Hoshanah* for Sukkot
12v	א 1159	למען תמים בד[ו]ר[ו]תיו	קליר Kallir	הושענא	*Hoshanah* for Sukkot
14r	ת 437	תענה אמונים שופכי(ם) לב	anonym	הושענא	*Hoshanah* for Sukkot
14v	א 2142	אז כעיני עבדים אל יד אדונים	anonym	הושענא	*Hoshanah* for Sukkot
15r	א 1857	אומן ישעך בא קול דודי	אלעזר בירבי קליר Eleazar ha-Kallir	הושענא	*Hoshanah* for Sukkot
16r-22v: Blessings for various occasions					
16r	ב 1508	בא"י אמ"ה אקב"ו		ברכה למוהל	Blessing of the *mohel*
16r	ב 1540	בא"י אמ"ה בורא פרי הגפן		ברכת היין	Blessing over wine
16r	ב 1479	בא"י אמ"ה אשר קדש ידיד נבטן		ברכה לברית מילה	Blessing of circumcision
16v	א 4781	אלהים צויתה לידידך בחירך	אפרים מעיר בונא Ephraim of Bonn	לבהמ"ז של ברית מילה	Grace after the meal for circumcision
17v	ה 1049	הרחמן הוא אשר חנן את הילד הזה לאביו ולאמו	אפרים בר יעקוב מבונא Ephraim bar Jacob of Bonn	פזמון לבהמ"ז של ברית מילה	Refrain of the Grace after meal for circumcision
18r	ב 1540	בא"י אמ"ה בורא פרי הגפן		ברכת היין	Blessing over wine
18r	ד 180	דוי הסר וגם הרון		לבהמ"ז לחתונה	Grace after meal for wedding
19r		חלמה טבא הזאי		צידוק הדין	"Acknowledgment of justice"— prayer for burial service
19v	ה 994	הצור תמים פעלו כי כל דבריו משפט אל אמונה		ברכת אבילים	Blessing of the mourners,
20v	ב 1466	בא"י אמ"ה אשר יצר אתכם בדין		ברכה לרואה קברי ישראל	Blessing, burial service
21v	ב1478	בא"י אמ"ה אשר צג		ברכה לחתן הרואה דם בתולים	Blessing over the first blood, wedding
21v	ר 606	רבונו של עולם עשינו מה שגזרת עלינו		תפילת הכהנים אחר הדוכן	Prayer of the priests after the blessing of the priests
22r	ב 1463	בא"י אמ"ה אשר יצר את האדם החכמה		ברכה ליוצא מן בית הכסא	Blessing after coming out from the toilet
Fols. 23r-40r: Haggadah for Pesah					
38r	נ 769	נשמת כל חי תברך את שמך		הגדה	Haggadah
39r		ובמקהלות רבבות עמך בחת ישראל		הגדה	Haggadah

Keruvah for the first night of Pesah	הגדה, ח"ה מן הקרובה "אוני פטרי". רהיט לשבת הגדול	ינאי Jannai	אז רוב ניסים הפלאת בלילה	א 2175	39v
Piyyut for the second night of Pesah	ח"ו מן הקרובה "אסירים אשר בכושר שעשעת" לקליר. נמצא ג"כ בהגדה כפיוט בפני עצמו	רבי אלעזר הקליר Eleazar ha-Kallir	אומץ גבורותיך הפלאת בפסח	א 1871	40r
Fols. 41r-49v: Pesah					
Piyyut for the evening of Pesah, end is missing	פיוט לליל פסח		כי לו נאה כי לו יאה אדיר	כ 215	40v
Maariv for the first evening of Pesah, beginning is missing	מעריב ליל א פסח		פסח אכלו פחוזים	פ 140	41r
Maariv for the second evening of Pesah, beginning is missing	מעריב ליל ב פסח	רמב"י Rabbi Meir ben Rabbi Isaac	ליל שימורים אדיר ונאה	ל 723	41r
Addition to the second evening of Pesah	תוספת לליל ב פסח	רמב"י Rabbi Meir ben Rabbi Isaac	אור יום הנף ספירה	א 1958	43r
Addition to the first evening of Pesah	תוספת לליל א בפסח	רמב"י Rabbi Meir ben Rabbi Isaac	אזכרה שנ[ו]ת עולמים	א 2302	43v
Maariv for the seventh day of Pesah (Ashkenazi rite)	מעריב ז דפסח (מנהג אשכנז)	מנהם בר יעקב Menahem bar Jacob	אורי וישעי על הים נגלה	א 2026	45v
Maariv for the eighth day of Pesah	מעריב ח דפסח	אלעזר הרוקח Elazar ha-Rokeah	אמונת אומן לעם זו	א 5636	45v
For the eighth evening of Pesah, Western Ashkenazi rite	חלק ג למעריב אמונת אומן לעם לח" של פסח		אשירה ליי בשירה	א 8011	46r
Fols. 50r-55r: Shavuot					
Maariv for the first day of Shavuot (Ashkenazi rite)	מעריב א שבועות (מנהג אשכנז)	יוסף (טוב עלם) בר שמואל Joseph (Tov Elem) bar Samuel	וירד אביר יעקב	ו 257	50r
Maariv for the second day of Shavuot (Western Ashkenazi rite, rite of QQ)	מעריב ב שבועות	אליעזר בר נתן Eliezer bar Nathan	אל אלהים יי דבר ויקרא	א 3423	50r
Fols. 55r-72r: Sukkot, Shemini Atzeret, Simhat Torah					
Maariv for the first day of Sukkot	מעריב א דסוכות	יוסף בר שמואל Joseph bar Samuel	אוחזי הידם [בידם] ארבעה מינים	א 1691	55v
Maariv for the second day of Sukkot (Western Ashkenazi rite)	מעריב ב דסוכות	אליעזר בר שמשון Eliezer bar Samson	חג האסיף תקופת השנה	ח 41	55v
Maariv for the second day of Sukkot	מעריב ב דסוכות	אליעזר בר שמשון Eliezer bar Samson	אדברה ואעירה בירחי קדם	א 467	57v
Maariv for Shemini Atzeret (Western Ashkenazi rite)	מעריב שע"צ	יוסף בר נתן מטרנא Joseph bar Nathan of Tirna	שמיני אותאותיו ומעשיו בספר כתובים	ש 1602	58v

58v	א 7575	ארחמך יי חזקי אתה משגבי לגוי	אלעזר בן יחודה Elazar ben Judah	מעריב שמע"צ	*Maariv* for Shemini Atzeret (rite of Worms and QQ)
63v	א 8523	את השם הנכבד נאה	מאיר בר יצחק Meir bar Isaac	יוצר לסוכות	*Yotzer* for Sukkot (Western Ashkenaz rite)
64v	מ 1475	מלאכי צבאות	מאיר בר יצחק Meir bar Isaac	אופן לשבת חתונה או לחו"המ סוכות	*Ofan* for the intermediary days of Sukkot
65r	א 8400	אשרי העם שלו ככה מאלהיו	משה בר שמואל בר אבשלום Moses bar Samuel bar Avsholom	יוצר לשמ"ת	*Yotzer* for Simhat Torah
66r	א 8453	אשריך ישראל מי כמוך אשר כל סתום		לשמ"ת	*Piyyut* for Simhat Torah (Western Ashkenazi rite)
66v	א 8443	אשריך אום קדוש	מנחם בן אביתר בן לוי בר יוסף Menahem ben Aviter ben Levi	אופן לשמ"ת	*Ofan* for Simhat Torah (Western Ashenazi rite)
67r	א 2120	אז בקשוב עניו עלי אל [הר] העברים	משה בר שמואל בר אבשלום Moses bar Samuel bar Avsholom	זולת לשמ"ת	*Zulat* for Simhat Torah
69r	מ 2473	מרשות האל [הגדול] הגבור והנורא		רשות לחתן תורה	*Resut* for the *hatan torah*
69v	מ 2456	מרשות אלהי האלהים ואדוני האדונים		לחתן בראשית	Reshut for the *hatan torah* (Western Ashenazi rite)
70v	א 8188	אשר בגלל אבות בנים דגלו		לשמחת תורה	*Piyyut* for Simhat Torah
71r	ה 1261	התקבצו מלאכים זה אל זה		פיוט מזמן הגאונים לשמחת תורה	*Piyyut* for Simhat Torah
71v	א 1453	אהלל אלהי ואשימה תקותי		פיוט	*Piyyut*
71v	א 438	אגיל ואשמח בשמחת תורה		הקפות לשמ"ת	*Piyyut* for the encirclement of the synagogue at Simhat Torah
72r	א 4588	אלהיכם ישיב שלום כסו ומעונתו	יהודה בר שמואל Judah bar Samuel	קדושה לשבת חוה"מ סוכות	*Kedushah* for the intermediary days of Sukkot (Western Ashkenazi rite)
72r	א 4589	אלהיכם ישכיל עבדו	יהודה בר שמואל Judah bar Samuel	יוצר לשבת בראשית	*Yotzer* for Shabbat Bereshit
72r	א 4576	אלהיכם יביא משיחו	יהודה Judah	קדושה לשבת חנוכה	*Kedushah* for Shabbat Hanukkah
72r	א 4577	אלהיכם יוסיף ידו ויקבץ [לקבץ]	יהודה בר שמואל Judah bar Samuel	קדושה לשבת נחמו	*Kedushah* for Shabbat Nahamu
		Fols. 72v-77r: *Piyyutim* for various shabbatot			
72v	א 4581	אלהיכם יזריח שמשו	יהודה חזק Judah	יוצר לשבת ר"ח	*Yotzer* for *rosh hodesh*
72v	א 4587	אלהיכם יצרי מבטן	יקר הלוי בן שמואל Yakar ha-Levi ben Samuel	קדושה	*Kedushah*

73r	א 4576	אלהיכם זרוייו (יקבוץ) ויאסוף	זכריה Zechariah	קדושה למוסף של שבת וברית מילה	*Kedushah* for the *Musaf* of Shabbat and circumcision
73r	א 4601	אלהיכם שכנו	שמואל Samuel	קדושה לשבת חתונה	*Kedushah* for the Shabbat of a wedding
74r	א 2292	אזכרה מקדם פ(י)לאיך לשמך		זולת לשבת חוה"מ סוכות	*Zulat* for the intermediary Shabbat of Sukkot
74r	מ 983	מי אדר והוד עליו		יוצר לשבת בראשית	*Yotzer* for Shabbat Bereshit
74v	א 3945	אל נ(י)שא ארנן	שלמה Solomon	יוצר לשבת בראשית	*Yotzer* for Shabbat Bereshit
75r	א 447	לבעל התפארת מתקן	בנימן בר זרח Benjamin bar Zerah	אופן	*Ofan*
75v	א 2595	אחשבה לדעת עמל	שלמה Solomon	זולת לשבת בראשית	*Zulat* for Shabbat Bereshit
76v	א 8068	אשישת שלוחתו בקטב		יוצר לשבת בראשית	*Yotzer* for Shabbat Bereshit
Fols. 77r-86r: Hanukkah					
77r	א 6998	אעדיף כל שמונה	קליר Kallir	קרובה לחנוכה	*Keruvah* for Hanukkah
77v	נ 597	נר חנוכה אסור בו להשתמש	קליר Kallir	לחנוכה	*Keruvah* for Hanukkah
78r	א 108	ובכן אתה פני משיחו	קליר Kallir	" סליק לקרובה "אעדיף	*Keruvah* for Hanukkah
78v	א 1651	אודך כי אנפת בי	יוסף בר שלמה מקרקשונה Joseph bar Solomon of Carcassone	יוצר לשבת ראשון של חנוכה	*Yotzer* for the first Shabbat of Hanukkah
81v	ש 1960	שני זיתים	שלמה Solomon	יוצר לשבת חנוכה	*Yotzer* for Shabbat Hanukkah
82r	א 3079	אין צור חלף תבנית	שלמה Solomon	זולת לשבת דחנוכה	*Zulat* for Shabbat Hanukkah
83r	א 1654	אודך כי עניתני חייתני	מנחם בר מכיר Menahem bar Makhir	יוצר לשבת שני של חנוכה	*Yotzer* for the second Shabbat of Hanukkah
Fols. 86r-102v: *Piyyutim* for various shabbatot					
86r	א 1951	אור זרוע זרוח כבודו	מנחם בר מכיר Menahem bar Makhir	יוצר להפסקה א	*Yotzer* for the first Hafsaqah
87v	א 2004	אורות מאופל הזריח	מאיר בר ברוך מרוטנברג Meir ben Rabbi Barukh of Rothenburg	יוצר שבת הפסקה ב	*Yotzer* for the Shabbat of the second Hafsaqah
91r	א 2304	אזכרך דורי מארץ ירדן וחרמונים	משלם בן קלונימוס Meshallem ben Kalonymos	זולת לשבת ראשונה של אייר	*Zulat* for the first Shabbat of Iyyar
91v	א 8688	אתה אלהים	משלם בן קלונימוס Meshallem ben Kalonymos	זולת לשבת שני אחר פסח	*Zulat* for the second Shabbat after Pesah

92v	א 2587	אחרי נמכר גאלה	ברוך בר שמואל Barukh bar Samuel	*זולת*	*Zulat*
93v	א 2084	אותך כל היום	אפרים בר יצחק Ephraim bar Isaac	זולת לשבת לפני שבועות ויוצר לשבת איכה	*Zulat* for the Shabbat before Shavuot and Shabbat Ekhah
95r	א 4678	אלהים באוזנינו שמענו	עזר בר נתן Ezer bar Nathan	זולת לשבת איכה	*Zulat* for Shabbat Ekhah
95r	א 7609	אריות הדיחו פזורה	יוסף בר שמואל טוב עלם Joseph bar Samuel Tov Elem	יוצר לשבת שלישי אחרי פסח	*Yotzer* for the third Shabbat after Pesah
97v	א 4628	אלהים אל דמי לך אל תשקוט	בנימן בר זרח Benjamin bar Zerah	זולת לשבת שבין פסח ועצרת	*Zulat* for the Shabbat between Pesah and Atzeret
98r	א 3377	אל אל חי ארנן	שמעון בר יצחק [בן אבון] Samson bar Isaac [ben Abun]	יוצר לשבת אחר פסח	*Yotzer* for the Shabbat after Pesah
99r	א 7530	ארוממך אל חי אספרה	מאיר בר יצחק Meir bar Isaac	יוצר לשבת נחמו	*Yotzer* for Shabbat Nahamu
100r	ש 33	שאו מנחה משבחה	מנחם בר מכיר Menahem bar Makhir	אופן לשבת נחמו	*Ofan* for Shabbat Nahamu
101r	א 6060	אמת משל היה לאמיתת	מאיר בר יצחק Meir bar Isaac	זולת לשבת נחמו	*Zulat* for the Shabbat Nahamu
101v	א 1982	אור עולם קראו אחריו	אליעזר בר נתן Eliezer bar Nathan	יוצר לשבת שובה	*Yotzer* for Shabbat Shuvah
Fols. 102v-120r: Piyyutim for various occasions					
102v	א 182	כי אם שם אדיר יי	נתן בר יצחק Nathan bar Isaac	קרובה לתענית אסתר	*Keruvah* for the fast of Esther
104r	א 4794	אלהינו אלהים אמת	בנימן בר זרח Benjamin bar Zerah	יוצר לשבת בראשית מנהג רומא ולשבת ר"ח	*Yotzer* for *rosh hodesh*
105v	ל 810	לך אלים אלפי אלפים	בנימן בר זרח? ?Benjamin bar Zerah	יוצר לשבת ור"ח	*Yotzer* for *rosh hodesh*
106r	א 5652	אמונתך אמיתי רבה	מאיר בר יצחק Meir bar Isaac	יוצר לשבת ור"ח	*Yotzer* for *rosh hodesh*
106v	א 7114	אפוני אימיו בטל	אליעזר בר נתן Eliezer bar Nathan	יוצר לברית מילה	*Yotzer* for circumcision
108r	א 7200	אזורי אימה ברואי (ב)יראה אמיצי כח	אליעזר Eliezer	אופן לברית מילה	*Ofan* for circumcision
108v	א 2047	אות ברית שלשית	אליקים Elyakim	זולת לברית מילה	*Zulat* for circumcision
109v	א 2730	אי[י]חד שם שוכן תרשישים	שמעון בר יצחק [בן אבון] Samson bar Isaac [ben Abun]	יוצר לנשואין	*Yotzer* for wedding
110v	ש 271	שביבי שלהבות חצובי להבות	שמעון בר יצחק [בן אבון] Samson bar Isaac [ben Abun]	אופן לנשואין	*Ofan* for wedding

Zulat for wedding	זולת לנשואין	שמעון בר יצחק [בן אבון] Samson bar Isaac [ben Abun]	אמהות עת נכבשה הבת הנאה	א 5573	111r
Reshut for wedding	רשות לחתן	שמעון בר יצחק [בן אבון] Samson bar Isaac [ben Abun]	מרשות שוכן עד	מ 2512	112r
Reshut for wedding	ח"ב מן הרשות: מרשות שוכן עד	שמעון בר יצחק [בן אבון] Samson bar Isaac [ben Abun]	ומרשות שלומת אומן	ו 433	113r
Reshut for wedding	ח"ג מן הרשות: מרשות שוכן עד	שמעון בר יצחק [בן אבון] Samson bar Isaac [ben Abun]	ומרשות שותי מימיה	ו 432	113r
Reshut for wedding	ח"ד מן הרשות: מרשות שוכן עד	שמעון בר יצחק [בן אבון] Samson bar Isaac [ben Abun]	ומרשות שארית עם קדוש	ו 431	113v
Piyyut			אתניה שבחיה דחיי עלמה		114v
For Shabbat Hanukkah	לשבת חנוכה [יהוספיה הנר]--במחזור: וילך החתן מן המגדל		יה בשר שר צבאיך	י 806	115r
Piyyut			דבוק חתן בדת(י)ך יברך אל	ד 11	115v
Reshut for “ha-Melekh ha-yoshev”	רשות ל"המלך היושב"	שלמה Solomon	המלך שיר נדבות	ה 775	115v
Piyyut		שלמה Solomon	שבעה שחקים לא יכלכלוך להם	ש 285	116r
Reshut for *Maariv*	רשות למעריב	יוסף [קמחי?] Joseph [Kimhi?]	יחדיו בשיר מעלות	י 2454	116r
Piyyut			אל אדון על כל המעשים בחפת חתנינו [חתנים]	א 3319	116v
Nishmat for Shabbat of wedding	נשמת לשבת חתונה	שמואל Samuel	שבח מי יגמור ליוצר אור	ש 226	116v
Selihah	ליחה	השניירי [יצחק בן יהודה] ha-Shneiri [Isaac ben Judah]	האל העירה וראה צר על עם	ה 63	117r
Kiddush	קדיש		יתגדל ויתקדש שמיה רבה	י 4320	117r
Piyyut			אבי ראה אורך שביי ודלותי	א 794	117v
Piyyut		שמשון Samson	שלך אמתך ואורך הודך	ש 1326	117v
Kiddush	קדיש	אברם Avram	ארוממך כי נשגב כבוד שמך	א 2547	118r
Piyyut	לשים שלום [יהוספיה הנר]		יפרח לנוחי שר משיחי	י 3437	118r
For circumcision on feast days	לברית מילה: ביום טוב	דוד David	דמי הבן ומילתו	ד 278	118v
Reshut	רשות לנשמת	שלמה Solomon	שחרתיך בכל שחר[י]	ש 865	118v

118v	מ 1931	מס(י)לות לבבי אחת עולה בית אל		לברכו	*Piyyut*
118v	ל 626	לחוצה בא(ו)רך גלות	לוי חזק [בן יעקב אלתבאן] Levi ben Jacob Altban	אהבה	*Ahavah*
119r	ק 244	קוראים (קוראים) בלבב שלם	יהודה Judah		*Piyyut*
119r	א 3629	אל חי הבט ממרומים			*Piyyut*
119v	מ 1433	מכתם לשדיה כמגדלות	משה Moses	לשבת חתונה	For Shabbat of wedding
120r	י 1814	רם [יום] ליבשה נהפכו	יהודה הלוי Judah Halevi	גאולה לז" פסח	*Geulah* for the seventh day of Pesah
Fols. 121r-132v: Calendar					
Fols. 133r-187v: Lamentations for the Ninth of Av					
133r		על אלה ועל אלה אני בוכיה		פתיחה לקינה: תסתר לאלם	Lamentation
133r	ת 410	תסתר לאלם תרשישים מרון	קליר Kallir	קינה	Lamentation
134r	ב 721	בליל זה יבכיון	anonym	קינה לת"ב [קנית]	Lamentation
134r	ה 531	ה[י]לילו הה ליום כי קצף	קליר Kallir	קינה	Lamentation
135r	א 2104	אז בחטאינו חרב מקדש	אברהם אבן עזרא Abraham ibn Ezra	קינה	Lamentation
136r				Zech 1:16-17 + Isa.51:3	Biblical reading
136r	ו 99	ואתה קדוש יושב תהלות ישראל		תפילה מלוקטה מפסוקים	Prayer
136v	א 3	אאביך ביום מבך עוגל חצי גרני	קליר Kallir	קרובה לת"ב	*Keruvah* for Ninth of Av
137r-139v				שמונה עשרה עם קרובות	Amida with Kerovot (prayers of approach to God)
139v	א 3468	אל ארך אפים ורב חסד ואמת אל אפיך		תפילה לב' וה' לפני קריאת התורה לפי נוסח אשכנז	Prayer preceeding the recitation of the Torah, Ashkenazi rite
140r	ש 837	שבת סורו מני שמעוני	אלעזר Elazar [ben Kallir]	מחלקה שניה מן הקרובה לת"ב: "זכור איכה אנו שפתנו", במנהג אשכנז כפיוט בפני אצמו	Piyyut for Ninth of Av
140v	א 2875	איכה אצתה באפך לאבד ביד אדומים	אלעזר [קליר] Elazar Kallir	קינה	Lamentation
141r	א 5	אאדה עד חוג שמים	קליר Kallir	קינה	Lamentation
141v	א 2923	איכה תפארתי מראשותיי השליכו (ן)[כ]נגד [כסא] הכבוד	קליר Kallir	קינה	Lamentation

Lamentation	קינה	קליר Kallir	איכה אשפת פתוח כקבר	א 2881	143r
Lamentation	קינה	קליר Kallir	איכה ישבה חבצלת	א 2904	145v
Lamentation	קינה	קליר Kallir	אם תאכלנה נשים פרים	א 5503	147r
Lamentation	קינה	קליר Kallir	איכה אלי קוננו	א 2871	147v
Lamentation	קינה	אלעזר [קליר] Elazar [Kallir]	אהלי אשר תאבתה	א 1432	148r
Lamentation	פתיחה לקינה: איכה את אשר כבד עשוהו	אלעזר [קליר] Elazar [Kallir]	אחר וקדם מפה ומפה	א 2444	148v
Lamentation, initial word is missing	קינה	אלעזר בר קליר Elazar ben Kallir	איכה את אשר כבד עשוהו	א 2882	149r
Lamentation		אלעזר הקלירי Kallir	אי\כה אומר כורת	א2624	150v
Lamentation	קינה	קליר Kallir	זכור את אשר עשה צר בפנים	ז 111	151r
Lamentation	קינה		אתה אמרת ה(י)טב איט[י]ב עמך	א 8700	151v
Lamentation	קינה	קליר Kallir	לך יי הצדקה באותות אשר הפלאתה	ל 765	152v
Lamentation	קינה	קליר Kallir	הטה אלהי אוזנך [ושמע] לתפלצת	ה 392	153r
Lamentation	קינה	קליר Kallir	אז במלאות ספק יפה כתרצה	א 2108	153v
Lamentation	קינה	קליר Kallir	אז בהלוך ירמיה	א 2098	154r
Lamentation	קינה	קלונימוס הקטן [בר יהודה] Kalonymos [bar Judah]	אמרתי שעו מני	א 5971	154v
Lamentation	קינה	קליר Kallir	איך תנחמוני הבל	א 2860	156 r
Lamentation	קינה	יעקב ברבי יצחק הלוי Jacob be-rabbi Isaac ha-Levi	אוי לי על שברי נחלה וגברה	א 1744	157r
Lamentation			אריד בשיחי ובקולי אהימה יום זה(הקיפוני) [רדפוני]	א 2593	158v
Lamentation for Ninth of Av	קינה לת"ב	מנחם בר יעקב בר שלמה Menahem bar Jacob bar Solomon	אשים לבי ולספר	א 7915	159r
Lamentation for the murdered ones of 1096	קינה על הרוגי תתנ"ו	קלונימוס בר יהודה Kalonymus bar Judah	מי יתן ראשי מים ועיני מקור נ(ו)זלי	מ 1122	160r

161r		ועל אלה אני בוכיה ולבי נוהם נהימות	חלק מ"מי יתן ראשי"		Lamentation, part of the previous poem, but in the MS it received a separate number
161v	י 152	יבכיון מר מלאכי שלום ואבות שלישיה	יואל הלוי [בן יצחק מבונא] Joel ha-Levi [ben Isaac of Bonn]	קינה להרוגי תתק"ז "על גזירת קלוניא"	Lamentation for the murdered ones of 1147
162r	ו 79	ואתאונן ואקונן	יהודה הכהן בר משה Judah ha-kohen bar Moses	קינה על הרצח בפרנקפורט בשנת 1241	Lamentation for the murdered ones in Frankfurt, 1241
163r	א 7736	אש תוקד בקרבי בעלותי על לבי בצאתי ממצרים		קינה	Lamentation
164r	א 5634	אמונים ש[ו]ררו בתוך ים	דוד הלוי David ha-Levi	קינה	Lamentation
165r	א 7244	אצבעותי שפלו ואשיותי נפלו	ברוך בן שמואל ממינץ Baruch ben Samuel of Mainz	קינה	Lamentation
166r	ש 2203	שרפו הבירה להכעיס אל (ה)נורא	שלום? Shalom?	קינה	Lamentation
166v	א 288	אבל אעורר אנינות אגרר	מנחם העלוב ברבי מכיר Menahem be-rabbi Makhir	קינה על גזירת תתנ"ו	Lamentation for the persecutions of 1096
167v	ו 78[428]	ואת נוי חטאתי השמימה	יחיאל Yehiel	קינה	Lamentation
168r	מ 1987	מעוני שמים שחקים	מנחם בר (כפול) יעקב Menahem bar Jacob	קינה	Lamentation
168v	י 1605	יום אכפי הכבדתי ויכפלו עוני	יהודה Judah	קינה	Lamentation
169r	ש 686	שומרון קול תתן	שלמה [רשב"ג] Solomon [ibn Gabirol]	קינה	Lamentation
169v	ש 1158	שכורת לא מיין השליכי	שלמה [בן יצחק נירונדי] Solomon [ben Isaac Nerondi]	קינה לת"ב	Lamentation
170r	מ596	מה קול הצאן הזה אשר באזנינו	משה בר אלעזר הכהן Moses bar Elazar ha-Kohen	קינה על גזירות ווירצבורק, רוטנבורק ונורבערק	Lamentation on the persecutions in Würzburg, Rothenburg and Nürnberg
171r	ש 96	שאלו נא וראו	משה בר אלעזר הכהן Moses bar Elazar ha-Kohen	קינה על הרוגי ווירצבורק במאה הי"ג	Lamentation for the murdered ones in Würzburg during the thirteenth century
173r	צ 292	ציון הלא תשאלי לשלום אסיריך דורשי שלומך	יהודה בן שמואל הלוי Judah Halevi	קינה [רי"ה]	Lamentation
174r	צ 290	ציון הלא (תשאלי) [תדרשי] לשלום ידידך	יהודה ברבי שניאור Judah be-rabbi Shneur	קינה	Lamentation
176r	צ 318	ציון קחי כל צרי גלעד	אברהם החוזה Abraham ha-Hozeh	קינה	Lamentation

[428] In Sephardi tradition, it starts as ***ekh noy***, and the Davidson number of this version is 2828א.

176v	ש 132	שאלי שרופה באש לשלום אבילך	מאיר בן ברוך מרוטנברג Meir ben Baruch of Rothenburg	קינה על שריפת התלמוד בפריש בשנת 1244	Lamentation on the burning of the Talmud in Paris in 1244
177v	צ 284	ציון בעת זכרי חבלך וציריך	יהודה חזק ואמץ Judah	קינה	Lamentation
179r	צ 294	ציון הלא תשאלי לשלום עלוביך שלם בכי	אלעזר [הרקח] Eleazar, the Rokeah	קינה	Lamentation
180 v	צ 277	ציון יי לכם בחר מעוניך	יקר בר שמואל הלוי Yakar bar Samuel ha-Levi	קינה	Lamentation
182r	צ 280	ציון אריוויך בכי אשר	ישראל בן יואל זוסל Israel ben Joel Zusl	קינה על גזירות המאה הי"ד	Lamentation on the persecutions of the fourteenth century
184r	א 4980	אלי ציון ועריה		קינה	Lamentation
184v	א 2255	אזכיר רהב ובבל	יצחק Isaac	קינה	Lamentation
185v	ל 1086	למי אוי ולמי אבוי	אפרים בר יעקב מבונא Ephraim bar Jacob of Bonn	קינה	Lamentation
187v	ש 646	שלומית הולת אהבה שולמית!	שלמה Solomon	קינה	Lamentation
Fols. 188r-189v: Biblical Readings for the Ninth of Av					
188r				Isaiah 34-35	Biblical reading for Ninth of Av
189r				Deut. 4:25-40	*Parashah* for Ninth of Av
189v				Jeremiah 8:13-9:23	*Haftarah* for Ninth of Av
Fols. 191r-205r: Mihagim book of Avraham Hildiq					

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