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THE FIRST CINCINNATI HAGGADAH: THE STUDY OF A MEDIEVAL ILLUMINATED HEBREW MANUSCRIPT

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Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of
Requirements for Ordination

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Perhaps the most important thing that I discovered while writing a rabbinic thesis on a medieval illuminated Hebrew manuscript is that the fusion of the Jewish world with the art world is a most complicated endeavour, and one which might not have come to fruition were it not for the support and assistance of a great number of people.

To begin with, I wish to offer a general statement of thanks to the members of the faculty of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion for believing in my scholastic abilities and for encouraging me to pursue my interest in Jewish Art, even though this field of study is not a part of the rabbinic curriculum.

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Finally, I wish to thank my family and friends whose love and support have been of inestimable value during this most trying and exciting period.

Eric Scott Wittstein

March 28, 1988

THE FIRST CINCINNATI HAGGADAH:
ITS PLACE IN THE STUDY OF JEWISH ART
AND MEDIEVAL ILLUMINATED HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS

Housed in the rare book room of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati, Ohio, is a German, illuminated Haggadah from the last quarter of the fifteenth century. Known as the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* (Ms. 444), this illuminated Hebrew manuscript holds somewhat of a unique position in the world of Hebrew manuscript illumination; for though it has been studied twice previously, it is still relatively unfamiliar to historians of Jewish art, and virtually unknown to world Jewry. Clearly, this lack of familiarity with such a rare, Jewish treasure is most unfortunate. Yet its lack of exposure seems somehow even more tragic when one discovers that it has resulted, in part, from the reluctance on the part of Jewish scholars to question the conclusions posited in one seminal article. [1]

When Franz Landsberger's article on the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* appeared in 1940, so many of the questions that had centered around this manuscript seemed to resolve, that historians of Jewish art quickly surmised that the research of this illuminated text had been completed. As a result, the findings in this article came to be quoted repeatedly, so much so, that in the last forty years, scholars of Jewish art have turned far more readily to Landsberger's article than to the manuscript itself. Surely, after nearly half a century, another look at this manuscript is in order. Consequently, I shall turn my attentions in this thesis to an investigation of the *First Cincinnati Haggadah*.

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1 Franz Landsberger, "The Cincinnati Haggadah and its Decorator," Hebrew Union College Annual, XV (1940).

In researching any medieval illuminated Haggadah manuscript, one must realize that illuminated Haggadot did not develop in a vacuum. Rather, the category of illuminated Haggadot is a subset of the more general category of illuminated Hebrew manuscripts; this includes not only Haggadot, but Bibles, Mahzorim, Ketubot, legal texts, and philosophical treatises. Moreover, the development of Haggadah illumination must be viewed as an integral part of the growth and evolution of Hebrew manuscript illumination from the tenth through the eighteenth century.

In truth, the discipline of researching an illuminated Haggadah manuscript is the same discipline that is required for the study of any other illuminated Hebrew text. One begins in each case with certain fundamental assumptions:

1) like all other examples of Jewish artistic expression, illuminated Hebrew manuscripts attest to the fact that throughout Jewish history, Jewish communities have scarcely heeded the biblical injunction prohibiting the creation of graven images, and have, to a greater or lesser degree, been involved in the realm of artistic production;

2) illuminated Hebrew manuscripts are related stylistically to contemporary non-Hebrew manuscripts, as Jewish artists adapted the dominant artistic styles of their environment;

3) the artists of these illuminated texts thus incorporated elements of Christian iconography into their works to suit a particularly Jewish taste;

4) these manuscripts serve as historical documents refracting the general socio-economic conditions of the countries in which Jews lived;

5) the miniatures in these manuscripts serve as genre scenes, revealing not only the lifestyles and customs of the Jewish communities that produced them, but their theological and eschatological beliefs as well.

Before turning to the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* itself, we should begin our investigation with a study of these assumptions.

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Ever since Muhammad spoke of the Jews as a "people of the Book," the idea has persisted that these inheritors of a sensitive and intense literary tradition have a blind spot where visual receptivity is concerned. Numerous critics have made the claim that a literal interpretation of the Second Commandment has always been integral to Judaism, thus making it impossible for the visual arts to be a part of the Jewish heritage. Others contend that this Jewish iconoclasm has been a direct result of a conscious effort on the part of Jews to preserve their identity. Still others, those more critical of Judaism, explain that the abstinence from visual production is the result of a biological deformity which has left the Jew devoid of a sense of color. [2]

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2 Joseph Gutmann, "The 'Second Commandment" and the Image in Judaism." No Graven Images, Studies in Art and the Hebrew Bible, Joseph Gutmann, ed. (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1971). Herbert Howarth, "Jewish Art and the Fear of the Image," Commentary, IX, No. 2 (1958), pp. 142-150.

For no single reason, therefore, literature has caused us to assume that Jews have so thoroughly delighted in the splendor of the word that they are content to ignore the artistic, and thus have never developed a talent for the visual. Sir Herbert Read, in his *The Meaning of Art*, for example, states that "relatively speaking, there is no Jewish art," [3] while Mathew Arnold holds that Jews have excelled in the realm of ethics and not aesthetics. [4] Sigmund Freud asserted that the biblical injunction againt graven images "signified subordinating sense perception to an abstract idea; it was a triumph of spirituality over the sense...," [5] while for Bernard Berenson, the "Jews...have displayed little talent for the visual, and almost none for the figurative arts....To the Jews belonged the splendours and raptures of the word." [6]

Yet this pervading attitude that Judaism, for psychological, biological, or spiritual reasons, was unable to embrace the image, must be rejected in favor of the substantial collection of historical documentation which suggests that the Second Commandment was never viewed as a monolithic concept; rather, throughout Jewish history, varying Jewish communities have presented various interpretations of this commandment, thus showing varying degrees of adherence to this biblical injunction:

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3 Sir Herbert Read, The Meaning of Art (New York: Horizon Press, 1968), p. 49.

4 Joseph Gutmann, Hebrew Manuscript Painting (New York: George Braziller, 1978), p. 8.

5 Sigmund Freud, Moses and Monotheism (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), P. 144.

6 Bernard Berenson, Aesthetics and History (New York: Doubleday, 1954), p. 180.

> Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, nor any manner of likeness, of anything that is in the heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, nor that is in the water under the earth; thou shalt not bow down unto them, nor serve them.... [7]

The Book of Exodus is clear in informing us that artistic production was an integral part of the desert sojourn. In Exodus 31:3 we read that Bezalel, a simple artist of the desert experience, is praised for having received direct inspiration from God in as much as God Himself "filled him with the spirit of God, in wisdom, and in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship, to devise skillful works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, and in cutting of stones for setting, and in carving wood, to work in all manner of workmanship." In Exodus 25:18-22, God gives Moses detailed instructions on how to build the Tabernacle and its implements which included the specification to adorn the ark with two winged cherubim. [8]

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7 This translation, and all subsequent translations, have been taken from The Holy Scriptures (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1967).

8 A number of scholars have argued that a sizeable portion of the material that appears in the Book of Exodus resulted from later Deuteronomic additions set forth in the seventh century B.C.E. by Josiah's monarchy. Samuel R. Driver asserts that only "Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image" should be associated with the desert sojourn, for "it is an old and probable supposition suggested in part by the fact of this varying text, that in the original form the Decalogue consisted merely of the Commandments themselves, and that the explanatory comments appended in certain cases were only added subsequently....It has further been conjectured that, as the comments in verses 9, 10, 12 bear a single resemblance to the style of Deuteronomy, they were in the first instance added to that book, and thence transferred susequently to Exodus; and that [they] ...may have been only introduced into the text of Exodus after Deuteronomy was written." Samuel R. Driver, An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament

From I Kings, chapter 7 we learn that artwork was characteristic of the Solomonic period. I Kings 7:14 characterizes Hiram, a Phoenecian court artist, as "filled with wisdom and understanding and skill, to work all works of brass," while the entire chapter attests to the glories of the Solomonic Temple--the elaborate graven images such as the cherubim and the brazen sea suspended by twelve oxen, the golden altar, the many vessels of pure gold, the columns with decorated pomegranate capitals, and the golden doors of the inner house.

Philo, Josephus, and the Talmud inform us that artistic production abounded during the Hellenistic period. In *Gigantibus* XIII, 59, Philo presents his attitude toward the visual arts when he says that "Moses banished painting and sculpture from his commonwealth since their attractive and charming artistry belies the truth," while in *De Decalogo* XIV, 66f he denounces "...others...who filled the habitable world with images...fashioned by the craftsmanship of painting and sculpture, arts which have wrought great mischief in the life of mankind. For these idolators cut away the most excellent support of the soul, the rightful

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(New York: Meridian Books, 1956), p. 34. Expanding upon Driver's hypothesis, Joseph Gutmann argued that the biblical accounts of a decorated tent with ornate ceremonial objects were much later additions which were inserted to legitimize existing temple practices and growing artistic production, as well as to glorify the past. By projecting an artistic tradition back to the desert experience, Gutmann argues, Israel suddenly became a nation with a rich artistic heritage which glorified the Yahweh cult, linked the desert experience to the monarchy, thereby assuaging the guilt they felt for violating the Second Commandment, and paved the road for artistic production. Joseph Gutmann, The Forgotten Image, Studies in Illustrated Medieval Hebrew Manuscripts, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio (1960).

conception of the everliving God." [9] Though these statements seem to agree with the Pentateuchal aniconic attitudes, they are, in actuality, radically different. Philo is presenting the Platonic concept that in order that certain passions be controlled, particular arts should be removed from the ideal state. And though writers have cited Philo as proof that Jewish iconoclasm was secure within the Greco-Roman period, Philo fervently described the synagogue in Alexandria in his *Legatio ad Gaium* 133 as having "ornaments in honor of the emperor...such as gilded shields, and gilded crowns and pillars." [10]

Josephus, by contrast, was unconcerned with Platonic philosophy. But torn between his loyalty to his fellow Jews and the passions he felt for the Roman world, Josephus' works reveal the more general conflicts of a Jewish Hellenist. Nowhere is this more apparent than in his comments concerning the visual arts. In *Against Apion*, II, 6, for example, Josephus accredits the many demonstrations against Roman standards and images as the ubiquitous, strict concern for upholding the Second Commandment. Yet in *Antiquities*, XIX, 9, 1, he is forced to acknowledge that the Jewish king,

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9 Harry A. Wolfson, Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947), pp. 29-30; and Erwin R. Goodenough, By Light, Light (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935), pp. 256-59; and Goodenough, An Introduction to Philo Judaeus (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1962), pp. 12-18.

10 Philo, with an English translation by F. H. Colson (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937), p. 269.

Herod Agrippa I, violated biblical injunction by having statues of his daughters produced to beautify the court. [11]

The Talmudic decisions regarding the visual arts varied from generation to generation, but in each instance the laws dealt with the most pressing concerns--whether Jews could produce vessels and statuary for pagans, whether Jews could attend public places such as baths, sports arenas, and theaters which had idols present, and what artistic decoration could be used within Jewish rituals. In most cases, working with images received rabbinical sanction as long as the Jews who fashioned and traded vessels and statuary did so for their non-Jewish patrons.

Yet there are a number of citations in the Talmud that inform us that art was incorporated into the religious realm, that such art posed no danger of idolatry, but rather that it was useful for instructing the worshipper, and thus served a religious purpose. In the Babylonian Talmud, [12] for example, we are informed that the Nasi Rabban Gamaliel II had drawings of various phases of the moon on a tablet in the upper chamber of his house. His purpose in so doing was to obtain from his inexperienced witnesses the exact shape of the moon they had seen since it was of utmost importance to Jewish law to know the exact time that the New Moon appeared. Consequently, his actions were sanctioned. The same Rabban Gamaliel II had himself used a signet ring with a human head engraved on it, and

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11 Frederick J. Foakes-Jackson, Josephus and the Jews, the Religion and the History of the Jews as Explained by Flavius Josephus (New York: R.R. Smith, inc., 1930) pp. 31-47.

12 Abhodah Zarah 24a-b, Jerusalem Talmud, Rabbi Edward Seiligmann, ed. (New York: Bentham Press, 1959).

when questioned as to why he did not refrain from frequenting the public bath of Aphrodite he answered, "I did not come into her domain, she came into mine. No one would say, the bathhouse was made to adorn Aphrodite, but rather Aphrodite was installed to beautify the bath." [13] Thus, by rationalizing that the visual image was meant to beautify and instruct, Jewish artistic expression became more and more a part of Jewish ritual and an accepted and integral part of many Jewish communities; and though many Rabbis could not accept the sculpted image, there developed during the Greco-Roman period a fairly liberal attitude towards two-dimensional art. [14]

The tension that emerged full-blown in the Hellenistic period over the desire for artistic production on the one hand, and the need for an adherence to the Second Commandment on the other, continued throughout the Middle Ages. In the twelfth century, for example, Eliakim ben Joseph of

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13 Abhodah Zarah 44b, and is cited in Bezalel Narkiss, Hebrew Illuminated Manuscritps (New York: Leon Amiel Publisher, 1974); Cecil Roth, "The Problem of 'Jewish Art,'" Jewish Art, Cecil Roth, ed. (London: Vellentian, Mitchell, 1971); and Jacob Leveen, The Hebrew Bible in Art (New York: Hermon Press, 1974).

14 Also from tractate Abhodah Zarah, 48d, one finds two passages which sanction painting and the use of mosaics respectively: "In the days of Rabbi Jochanan men began to paint pictures on the walls, and he did not hinder them;" and "in the days of Rabbi Abbun men began to make designs on mosaics and he did not hinder them." This translation has been taken from Jacob Leveen's The Hebrew Bible in Art; see also Robert Gordis, "Jewish Art and the Second Commandment," Art in Judaism, Studies in the Jewish Artistic Experience (New York: National Council on Art in Jewish Life and Judaism, 1975), and Roth, "the Problem of 'Jewish Art.'" For a thorough study of Jewish attitudes toward art making in the Greco-Roman period see Erwin R. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period, Vols. 13 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1953-58).

Mainz ordered that all stained glass windows with pictures of lions and snakes be removed from the synagogue, while his younger colleague, Ephraim ben Isaac of Regensburg, permitted the painting of figures, animals, and birds on the walls of the sanctuary. Rabbi Isaac ben Moses of Vienna stated that when he was a youth he remembered seeing paintings of nature scenes in a synagogue at Meissen, while Meir ben Barukh of Rothenburg objected to illuminated prayer books on the grounds that they did "not seem fitting...since when they [the readers] contemplate these figures they will not incline their hearts to their Father in heaven" [15] The Northern French scholars of the twelfth century permitted the creation of sculpture in the round, as long as the works remained incomplete, while the famous biblical scholar, Rashi, had no objection to wall frescoes which illustrated biblical scenes. [16] The *Sefer Hachinukh* (ascribed to Aaron of Barcelona, thirteenth century), on the other hand, stated emphatically that it was forbidden to make likenesses of humans no matter what the medium, and Moses Maimonides stressed an intermediate position which forbade the human figure in the round, but permitted the sculpting of animals, and the representation of any living thing in painting or tapestry. [17]

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Outright denial of the existence of figurative art among Jews is no longer as widespread as it once was. A number of scholars are now

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15 Tosafot, Babylonian Talmud, Yoma 54a. The Babylonian Talmud, Leo Auerbach, ed. (New York: Philosophical Library, 1944).

16 Roth, p. 68.

17 Boaz Cohen, "Art in Jewish Law," Art in Judaism, p. 48.

convinced that Josef Strzygowski was correct when he asserted in his *Orient oder Rom?* in 1901 that the ultimate source of many Old Testament scenes in early and medieval Christian art may be rooted in pre-existent Hellenistic Jewish illustrated manuscripts. Archeological discoveries of Near Eastern remains in the twentieth century--such as the third-century Dura-Europos synagogue paintings in Syria and the Palestinian floor mosaics of Bet Shearim and Bet Alpha--as well as the *aggadic* and *midrashic* elements appearing in Christian art are frequently cited in support of Strzygowski's hypothesis. [18]

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18 For an in-depth analysis of the Dura Europos paintings see Carl H. Krealing, The Synagogue (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956); Jacob Leveen, The Hebrew Bible in Art; and M. Rostovtzeff, Dura Europos and its Art (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938). For a study of the *aggadic* motif in Jewish and Christian iconography see such classic works as Joseph Gutmann "The Haggadic Motif in Jewish Iconography," Eretz Israel, VI, (1959); "The Jewish Origin of the Ashburnham Pentateuch Miniatures," Jewish Quarterly Review, XLIV (1953); and "Jewish Elements in the Paris Psalter," Marsyas, VI (1950-53). See also Kurt Weitzmann, "The Illustration of the Septuagint," Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination, Herbert Kessler, ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971; "The Question of the Influence of Jewish Pictorial Sources on Old Testament Illustrations," Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination. Also see Carl-Otto Nordstrom, "Some Jewish Legends in Byzantine Art," Byzantion, XXV-XXVII:2 (1955-57); "Rabbinic Features in Byzantine and Catalan Art," Cahiers Archeologiques, XV (1965); and "The Water Miracles of Moses in Jewish Legend and Byzantine Art," Orientalia Suecana, VII (1958). A number of these scholars have accepted the thesis that in the early Christian period illuminated Hebrew manuscripts may have existed in the Syro-Palestinian region and that such manuscripts were later copied by Christians. In all likelihood, some of these lost manuscripts were *targumim* with *aggadic* embellishments and paraphrases of the biblical narrative. They may have appeared as early as the second century C.E. in the codex form which had begun to supersede the papyrus roll as the preferred form of the book. They were undoubtedly made for rich Jewish bibliophiles who

Yet neither the Durene frescoes nor this extra-canonical literary material can be called upon as witnesses to lost ancient Jewish illustrated manuscript cycles. Unlike manuscript cycles, the paintings of the Dura synagogue follow no narrative sequential order and were not meant to enhance and explain the biblical text; rather, these paintings are bound by definite themes purposely chosen from different books of the Bible and from extra-biblical literature in order to spell out a liturgical-theological program. [19] With regard to the exegetical and homiletical material, it is well-documented that Origen, Eusebius, Jerome, and pseudo-Jerome all incorporated Jewish legends into their writings, and that this Jewish lore was later adopted by Muslim writers as well. What's more, all the images of basic Jewish legendary motifs in the three religions reveal such a rich diversity of iconography and styles as to refute the claim of a common, linear descent from lost Jewish manuscript models. In truth, of the twenty identifiable subjects that appear in the Dura frescoes, only eight appear in Christian art before the tenth century. And of the sixty-five biblical scenes which appear in the nineteen miniatures of the *Ashburnham Pentateuch*--the manuscript that offers the greatest support for Strzygowski's argument--over a third do not reappear in Christian art until roughly that same period.

Writings emanating from the Jewish world also fail to substantiate this hypothesis. In the entire body of Talmudic literature, there is not a single reference to illuminated Hebrew texts. Even the famous *Letter of*

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resided in the Syro-Palestinian region in imitation of the classical codices illuminated for non-Jewish bibliophiles.

19 See Gutmann, Hebrew Manuscript Painting, p. 10.

Aristeas of the second century B.C.E. or the special tractate *Sopherim* refers only to the practice of writing in gold the tetragrammaton in Torah scrolls. Nowhere do these sources mention illustrated Septuagints or particular manuscript cycles. [20] Consequently, we must acknowledge that the hypothesis of illustrated Hebrew manuscripts in classical antiquity rests largely on an *argumentum ex silentio* as no such manuscripts are known to exist.

Thus, whether Christian manuscript illumination is truly rooted in Hebrew manuscript illumination must remain an unanswered question. Yet there can be no doubt that neither the desert experience, the period of the monarchy, nor the Greco-Roman period offered a single, uniform interpretation of the Second Commandment. Whether it was the influence of the Deuteronomic reform, Solomonic or Josaic reinterpretations, or the

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20 The text on p. 169, par. 176 of the Letter of Aristeas reads: "And when they entered with the gifts which had been sent and the precious parchments, whereon was inscribed the law in gold in the Jewish characters..."
The references to gold writing listed in the Talmud:
a. Shabbat 103b, Babylonian Talmud.
Any scroll of the law with the names of God written in gold must be hidden.
b. Recension I, Sopherim I, 8.
The Torah must not be written in gold. There was a case of a copy of the Torah belonging to Alexandrians, where the names of God were all written in gold. The matter was brought before the sages, who ordered the copy to be hidden.
c. Recension II, Sopherim I, 1.
It is forbidden to read a scroll of the Law where the names of God are suspended in gold. There was a case of a scroll belonging to Alexandrians where the names of God were suspended in gold. The matter was brought before the sages who prohibited it use.
Leveen, The Hebrew Bible in Art, pp. 3-6.

penetration of Greek philosophy and Greek culture, Jewish religious leaders paid relatively little heed to this biblical prohibition, and more often than not encouraged the members of their Jewish communities to engage in artistic production. Viewed in this light, it becomes quite apparent that the creation of art has, to a greater or lesser degree, always been a part of the Jewish experience.

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As it is clear that Jewish communities of the desert experience, the monarchy, and the Greco-Roman period engaged in artistic production, and that the artwork produced in these periods reflected the prevailing styles of non-Jewish communities, it should not seem at all surprising that regardless of what was the case in early Jewish manuscript art, by the medieval period a large body of illuminated Hebrew manuscripts definitely existed. These illuminated texts are related stylistically to contemporary non-Hebrew manuscripts. [21]

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21 For a thorough study of the various schools of illuminated Hebrew manuscripts from the Middle Ages see Bezalel Narkiss, Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts, and Joseph Gutmann, Hebrew Manuscript Painting. As it is not my intention to review each school of illumination in the body of the text, I offer a brief summary in this note. The material presented below is a compilation of both sources.

The earliest known school is the Oriental whose manuscripts date from the ninth century and probably originated in Mesopotamia, later spreading to Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. In most cases, the style corresponds to general Muslim art of the same period. The abstract, geometric patterns and motifs with vegetal and floral suggestions and the palmette *ansa* attached to the outer design of the carpet page, typical of Persian, Syrian, or Egyptian Arabic Koran illumination, may also be found in the Hebrew Bible manuscripts. Typical of Oriental illumination is the complete lack of human figures and the paucity of text illustrations.

Hebrew miniatures did not appear in Spain until the thirteenth century, when Jews experienced their second Golden Age, this time in Christian Spain. Here the artistic traditions of Gothic Europe and Mudejar existed side by side. Spanish Bibles, like Oriental ones, have mainly Islamic decorative elements, such as carpet pages, the Tabernacle implements, micrography, decorated *masorah parashot* indicators and, at the end of the book, decorated frames indicating the number of verses. The models for the decorations in these manuscripts were probably Muslim decorations found on buildings, stucco work, tiles, wood carvings, and in manuscripts. The northern Spanish school, directly related to Provence and influenced by the northern French school, is the earliest Spanish style of which we have a record. The work of this school is characterized by Bibles of large format. In them the foliage decoration, comprised of interlacing scrolls, is reminiscent of Muslim arabesques. The Mudejar filigree ornament of thin, elegant, undulating scrolls, with paisley and round flower designs, remained in fashion in other Spanish schools up to the fifteenth century. The Catalan and Castilian schools of Hebrew illumination in the fourteenth century were probably directly influenced by the traditional elements of local Spanish and northern-French styles. Italian influence was more pronounced in the Kingdom of Majorca and in Catalonia . The penetration of Italian elements to Castile came a generation later, and the traditional French Gothic style prevailed even in the middle of the fourteenth century. The destruction of most of the Jewish communities in the Kingdoms of Castile and Aragon in 1391 brought to an end some of the most important schools of Hebrew illumination in these areas. During the fifteenth century, however, new schools developed, the most important being that of Lisbon, Portugal. The manuscripts from this school are decorated with wide border frames on their opening pages, with initial-words written in gold within very large panels decorated with Mudejar filigree work. No text illustrations are found in these manuscripts.

The northern French school of Hebrew illumination seems to have been one of the most important in the Ashkenazi communities. It was apparently closely related in style and iconography to English and German Hebrew schools. Of the few surviving illuminated French manuscripts, most are sparsely decorated. However, some are sumptuous and reveal the high quality and sophistication of French illumination. Undoubtedly the richest Hebrew biblical illuminations from French Ashkenaz are found in a Miscellany whose illuminations reveal the Parisian, High Gothic style.

Written by Solomon ben R. Samuel in Wurzburg in 1233, a two-volume Rashi commentary to the Bible (Munich, Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Hebr. 5/11) which is the oldest illuminated Hebrew manuscript from Christian Europe, reflects the prevailing Romanesque style. Figures bearing scrolls, the use of diminution to separate figures of greater and lesser importance, and the violation of the picture plane by breaking through the frame, are all characteristic features of Romanesque art. (fig. 1) Also

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The oldest German Hebrew manuscripts hail from Southern Germany, and they reflect the late Romanesque style of that region. The artistic style of these manuscripts shows no specifically Jewish characteristics save for the featureless human faces. The Jewish school of illumination in Southern Germany adopted this motif and used it not only for righteous people and angels, but also sometimes to portray gentiles. Since there was no direct official prohibition against the depiction of the human form in illuminated manuscripts, it would appear that the Southern German Jews imposed this restriction upon themselves out of some iconophobic notion that may have developed here in the twelfth century from the pietistic movement headed by Judah and Samuel "the Pious." The south German school of illumination was the most prominent and prolific of the Ashkenazi schools. The soft undulating drapery, bright colors with dark outlines, expressive gestures, and acorn scrolls with large leaves and open composite flowers seen from above, are but a few of the south German stylistic features to be found in Hebrew as well as in Latin illumination of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The mid-Rhenish school of illumination was influenced by south German as well as by Northern French illumination, while the lower Rhine area was most strongly influenced by the French Gothic. During the fifteenth century, Italian influence is evident in manuscripts executed in Southern as well as central Germany.

As Italian Hebrew manuscript illumination emerged in the thirteenth century and continued through the Renaissance, it is impossible to speak of an Italian style. In truth, many styles are exhibited, ranging from those brought by Jewish artists from Germany and Spain to those reflecting the work of such famous artists and ateliers as Niccolo di Giacomo da Bologna and Matteo di Ser Cambio in the fourteenth century, and Leonardo da Besozzo, the "Uccelesque Master," and Attavante in the fifteenth century. See below for a description of these and other Italian art styles.

reflective of the Romanesque style are the illustrations in the *Worms Mahzor* (Jerusalem, National and University Library, Ms. Heb. 4 781/I,II). (figs. 2, 3) Here, middle-Rhenish, Romanesque architecture is depicted most accurately through the detailed illuminations of buildings with massive pillars, cubic capitals, and semi-circular arches, all covered with the sprawling vegetal and monstrous designs which appeared on the capitals in church cloisters and on numerous tympana until the beginning of the thirteenth century. [22]

By the end of the twelfth century, the Gothic style had emerged in monumental architecture based on high, austere facades and stories of bays pierced by lancet, trilobed and starred windows beneath soaring gables, pinnacles, and crockets. Partitioned vaulting, multiple ribbing, slender support systems interwoven with huge panes of stained glass, created structures which were at once delicate and brilliant. These buildings were meant to entrance all who perceived them, and it is no wonder that the Gothic style, marvelled at by both Christian and Jewish manuscript painters, pervaded the pages of illuminated Hebrew texts from the middle of the thirteenth through the middle of the fifteenth century. (fig. 4) [23]

An excellent example of the depiction of Gothic architecture in Hebrew manuscript painting is to be found in the *Duke of Sussex*

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22 For excellent studies of Romanesque art see George Zarnecki, Romanesque Art (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), and Henri Focillon, The Art of the West in the Middle Ages (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980).

23 For a complete study of Gothic art see Henri Focillon, The Art of the West in the Middle Ages and Emile Male, The Gothic Image, Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century, trans. D. Nussey (New York: Harper and Row, 1972).

Pentateuch from Southern Germany, illustrated around the year 1300 (London, B.L. Add. Ms. 15282). (fig. 5) Though still reflecting the blocky compartmentalization which was characteristic of Romanesque architecture, the portal in folio 238r shows a definite tendency toward the Gothic. The architectural design reveals a recessed brick gable and tower above the nave, and within the gable are the lancet and trilobed windows which soar upward as a complete unit, crowned with piercing pinnacles. Were it not for the initial-word *eleh*, which identifies this illustration as the frontispiece to the Book of Deuteronomy, there would be little to distinguish it from a frontispiece of a Latin, German manuscript, such as the Southern Germanic *Aich Bible* of 1310 (Kremsmunster, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 351-354). [24]

Another example of the Gothic influence on Hebrew manuscript illumination is the *Kaufman Mishne Torah* (Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Kaufman Collection, Ms. A 77/I-IV), executed in Cologne, and completed in 1295-96. Like Christian illuminators who created bestiaries during this period, Nathan ben Simon ha-Levi decorated his initial-words with a menagerie of fanciful creatures, some with animal heads and human bodies, others with human heads and animal bodies, others as demonic beasts, which grow out of the gracefully curling ivy tendrils of the panels. Placed upon the ends of these tendrils, humorous scenes are revealed which have been taken directly from the large repetoire of *obscaena* found in the margins of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Gothic manuscripts from England and the Franco-Flemish provinces. In the frontispiece to the second volume, a man stands on the

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24 Gutmann, Hebrew Manuscript Painting, p. 77.

right tendril, shooting an arrow into the exposed buttocks of the figure on the left tendril. On the lower left tendril, at the bottom of the page, a fox with a goose in its mouth is being chased by an angry woman who hurls a spindle at the animal. (fig. 6) The anecdote of the fox and the goose--symbolic of demonic desires, vanity and pomposity respectively--suggests that the Jewish illuminator must have been influenced by the fascinating use of *exempla* employed by the Franciscans and Dominicans to embellish their sermons. [25]

The depiction of knights in tournament was also chracteristic of Gothic manuscript illumination. In the *Tripartite Mahzor* (Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Kaufman Collection, Ms. A 384) (fig. 7), two knights are depicted in fierce combat as an illustration of the text "come with me from Lebanon, my bride" (Song of Songs), while in a miniature in the *British Library Miscellany* (London, B.L. Add. Ms. 11639), David and Goliath stand poised, ready for the confrontation. Placed within a roundel framed by gold, the two figures stand against a light red, diapered background, with the armored figure of Goliath dominating the scene. The Philistine holds a large blue and gold shield and a huge lance which pierces through the roundel. His helmet, face guard, and protective plates which cover his arms and legs are the contemporary protective coverings of the medieval knight. (fig. 8) Stylistically, this miniature bears similarity to the *David and Goliath* scenes in the *Pierpont Morgan Picture Bible* (N.Y., Pierp. Mor. Lib. Ms. 638, fol. 28v) and in the *Breviary of Phillipe le Bel* (Paris, Bib.

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25 Lilian Randall, "Exempla as a Source of Gothic Marginal Illuminations," Art Bulletin, XXXIX, No. 1 (1957), p. 103.

Nat. Ms. lat. 1023, fol. 1v). [26] In comparing the armor of Goliath and the sway and softly modelled drapery of David with these other manuscripts, it becomes apparent that a Parisian High Gothic school of illumination was the model for this Hebrew miniature.

Like their German and French contemporaries, Spanish illuminators leaned heavily on the mature Gothic style. Yet the Spanish schools were not limited to Gothic influences, as many of the stylistic and iconographic features which served to establish a uniquely Spanish artistic tradition were derived from Oriental prototypes. Hebrew Spanish Bibles, for example, incorporated many Egyptian decorative elements including complete carpet pages, decorative chapter indicators, and elaborate forms of micrography written in intricate floral and geometric patterns. Even the Northern Spanish school, related to Provence and influenced directly by the French Gothic, exhibits a strong affinity for the Muslim arabesque tradition. In the Castilian and Catalan schools of the fourteenth century, the local Spanish and Northern French styles fused, and it was not unusual to find miniatures which depict lyric, swaying figures in graceful, Gothic garments set against a gold or diapered background surrounded by Mudejar filigree ornament--interlacing scrolls, circular floral arrangements, and elegant geometric patterning.

Copied in Burgos by Menachem b. Abraham ibn Malik in 1260, the *Damascus Keter* (Jerusalem, National and University Library, Ms. Heb. 4 790) (fig. 9) is an excellent example of the early Spanish-Oriental style developed in Castile in the second half of the thirteenth century. Like

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26 Gutmann, Hebrew Manuscript Painting, p. 80.

Oriental Bibles, the *Damascus Keter* has carpet pages which precede the main divisions of the Bible, a practice which the Castilian school probably inherited from Islamic Hebrew texts or illuminated Koran manuscripts. In a number of examples, the carpet page is framed by one line of biblical verse in bold Sephardi script, lodged between two lines of micrographic *masorah*. Elegant scrolls bursting from the stem located in the middle of the page, weave an interlace pattern culminating in palmette and floral arrangements. The scroll work is filled in with gold, and it is wedged in between two lines of micrography which indicate the *parashot* and the *sidrot*. The background is painted with various color washes of brown, green, purple, and magenta which, coupled with the burnished gold of the scroll work, indicates that even this early Spanish-Oriental style was greatly influenced by the schools of Gothic illumination of Christian Spain.

The full-blown French Gothic style fills the miniatures of the *Golden Haggadah* from 1320 (London, B.L. Add. Ms. 27210) (fig. 10). [27] The figural scenes are set against gold, diapered and studded backgrounds, the frame is embellished with delicate *rinceaux* and gold squares at each corner, while fanciful, leafy tendrils spring forth from the four corners of the folios. In a miniature depicting the *Plagues of Egypt*, fol. 12v, the delicate Gothic sway of the bodies, the flowing folds of the figures' garments, the wavy, puffy hair styles, the exaggerated gestures, and the Gothic architectural settings fuse to form a grand conflation of the Gothic

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27 For a complete analysis of this manuscript and other Hebrew manuscripts in this style see Bezalel Narkiss' The Illustrations to the Haggadah [B.M. Ms. 27210], and its Relation to Other Jewish and Christian Biblical Cycles, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, London, England, 1963.

idiom. (fig. 11) There is no question that the miniaturists of the *Golden Haggadah* were inspired by mid-thirteenth century Christian manuscripts, such as the *Psalter of St. Louis* (Paris, Bib. Nat., Ms. lat. 10525). Yet the soft drapery, the coffered ceilings set within quasi-Italianate architectural structures, and the more intricate spatial settings suggest Italian influences which emerged in the early fourteenth century Catalan school under the patronage of James II (1291-1337). In style, the miniatures of this manuscript are most closely related to a group of miniatures found in a Catalan law manuscript (Paris, Bib. Nat., Ms. lat. 4670A), executed in Barcelona between 1320 and 1335. [28]

The *Copenhagen Moreh Nevukhim* (Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliothek, Cod. Heb. 37), written and illuminated in Barcelona in 1348, is another excellent example wherein Italian artistic conventions are beginning to supplant the French Gothic style. On folio 114r, the frontispiece to the second section of the *Guide*, an astronomer is depicted holding an astrolobe, discussing the laws of nature and the attributes of God with the other philosophers present. (fig. 12) Like Italian illumination from this period, the miniature presents a scene in which the weighty, well-proportioned figures recede fairly naturally into space. Overlapping has become much more sophisticated, and the artist pays particular attention to the individual characters of the philosophers, meticulously modeling their individual physiognomies. The incorporation of darker colors, the detailed depiction of the flora and fauna, the liberal use of gold in the four medallions and in the star-like decoration which fills the border, the fleshy

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28 Gutmann, Hebrew Manuscript Painting, p. 62.

acanthus leaves, and the cursive script, fused to form an Italo-Spanish style which existed in Spanish Hebrew illumination until the end of the fourteenth century. [29]

From the end of the thirteenth century and extending to the beginning of the sixteenth century, Italian schools of Hebrew illumination produced numerous manuscripts which varied in style and type, ranging from marginal illustrations and initial-word panels to full- page decorations and miniatures. In the 1400s, Bologna became the center of Hebrew manuscript illumination. Strongly influenced by Christian workshops, Jewish illuminators turned their attentions to the illustration of Hebrew legal texts in much the same manner as the Bolognese Latin school specialized in the decoration of Papal decrees and other legal documents. The legal code of Isaiah Trani the Younger (London, B.L. Ms. Or. 5024), copied in Bologna in 1397, for example, with its rich foliated borders of thick leaves, bright colored flowers, gold dots and a stag, is reminiscent of the Bolognese school of Niccolo di Giacomo da Bologna. (fig. 13) While another legal codex from the same region, the *Jerusalem Mishneh Torah* (Jerusalem, National and University Library, Ms. Hebr. 4 1193), with its sumptuous borders of scrolls and fleshy leaves interspersed with playful figures, grotesques, gold dots, and delicate geometrical interlace, shows a striking similarity to the artistic productions that hailed from the workshop of Matteo di Ser Cambio. (fig. 14) [30]

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29 Narkiss, Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts, p. 27.

30 Narkiss, Ibid., p. 132.

The most brilliant and sumptuous manuscripts were executed in the fifteenth century against the backdrop of the emerging Italian Renaissance. [31] Like their non-Jewish contemporaries, the Jewish artists sought to utilize the most advanced styles which appeared in panel painting and Italian frescoes. In almost every miniature, the flat backdrop of the Gothic style has disappeared, having been replaced with weighty, three-dimensional figures set within a well-balanced scene which recedes naturally into space. Gentile and Jewish artists alike realized that the incorporation of these three-dimensional vistas into their manuscripts might prove cumbersome and detract from the reading of the text. Whereas the reader had previously but to skim across the page, taking in text and artwork simultaneously, these new artistic techniques required that readers constantly readjust their vision to alternating two- and three-dimensional space. Aware of this conflict, these artists developed extremely elaborate borders, usually of white interlacing vines, scrolls, and fleshy leaves interspersed with naked putti and medallions with pictures of humans and animals, which created a natural transition between the flat

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31 For a complete study of Jewish artistic production in the Renaissance see Menachem A. Schulvas, "Books and Libraries of Italian Jews in the Period of the Renaissance, " Talpiot, IV No. 3-4 (1949) (Hebrew); and Franz Landsberger, "Jewish Artists Before the Period of Emancipation," Hebrew Union College Annual, XVI (1941). See also the two most comprehensive studies of Jewish religious and secular life in Italy, Cecil Roth, The History of the Jews in Italy (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1946), and Roth, The Jews of the Renaissance (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1959).

quality of the vellum and text, and the spatial quality of the miniatures. [32]

There are many Italian illuminated Hebrew manuscripts which would illustrate our point; for the sake of brevity, however, I will list only those that have been associated with a particular artist or atelier. The *Arba'a Turim* of Jacob ben Asher, written and illuminated in Mantua in 1435 (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Ross. 555), reveals a delicacy and refinement in both the miniatures and border decorations which is characteristic of the International Gothic style of Lombardy. In particular, the artist of this manuscript shows a close affinity to the styles of such workshops as those of the Zavattari brothers of Monza and Bonifacio Bembo of Cremona. (fig. 15) *The Canon of Medicine* by Avicenna (Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna, Ms. 2197), from the third quarter of the fifteenth century, exhibits an accuracy for minute detail in both its figures and its landscapes which was characteristic of Flemish illumination and which was later incorporated into the Lombard school. The *Canon* is aligned stylistically with the ateliers of Leonardo da Besozzo and Cristoforo Cortese. (fig. 16) The *Sefer ha-Ikkarim* of Joseph Albo (Rovigo, Biblioteca Silvestriana, Ms. 220) is known for its elaborate borders of interlacing white vines and scrolls which have been filled with a complete menagerie of animals, mythological creatures, naked putti, and the busts of contemporary men and women lodged in roundels. This manuscript has been attributed to the "Uccelesque Master," a student of Paolo Uccello, and

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32 For a more detailed discussion of the development of border decoration in Italian manuscript production see David Diringer, The Illuminated Book, its History and Production (New York: Philosophical Library, 1955).

it is similar in style to Ser Ricciardo di Naani and Filippo de Matteo Torelli. (fig. 17) The most prolific school was the Florentine school, and a number of lavish manuscripts, such as the *Portuguese Bible* (Paris, Bibl. Nat., Ms. Heb. 15), brought from Portugal to Italy, and illuminated toward the end of the fifteenth century, reflect the painting style of Attavante degli Attavanti. (fig. 18) [33]

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Not only did Jewish artists adopt the contemporary artistic styles, but they also incorporated various elements of Christian iconography into their works to suit a particularly Jewish taste. In a number of Hebrew manuscripts illustrating the biblical narrative of Ex. 4:20 (Moses taking his wife and sons back to Egypt on a donkey) one finds a remarkable adaptation of depictions of the *Flight into Egypt*. Like the Gospel story in which Joseph leads Mary and the child Jesus into Egypt on a donkey, the artist of the *Golden Haggadah*, for example, has depicted Moses before the donkey upon which Zipporah and her two sons are sitting. (fig. 19) A similar scene appears on folio 14r of the *Rylands Haggadah* (Manchester, The John Rylands University Library, Lib. Ms. 6) which was undoubtedly based on a Christian model of the *Flight*. (fig. 20)

In a number of *Mahzorim* the verse "Come with me from Lebanon, my bride" (Song of Songs 4:8), which is recited on the pre-paschal *Shabbat*

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33 These, and other examples, are to be found in both Gutmann's Hebrew Manuscript Painting, and Narkiss' Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts. For a study of Italian miniatures and famous ateliers see Mario Salmi, Italian Miniatures (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1954); and Mirella Levi D'Ancona, The Garden of the Renaissance: Botanical Symbolism in Italian Painting (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1977).

Hagadol is illustrated with a wedding scene. In some of these scenes, as in a fourteenth-century *Mahzor* (Leipzig, Universitatsbibliothek, Ms. V. 1102/I-II) the bride is adorned with a crown and is seated to the right of the groom, a scene which is strikingly similar to the well known compositional types for the Coronation of the Virgin by Christ (symbolizing the marriage of the Church, the bride, to Christ), found on church tympana and in Christian manuscripts. In actuality, this is a most logical parallel. Jewish theologians have quite frequently interpreted the bride from the Song of Songs as Israel, and her groom as God. (fig. 21) [34]

Also drawn from Christian iconography and adapted to Hebrew themes were the figures of the Four Evangelists. In a German Mahzor from the fourteenth century (Wroclaw, University Library, Ms. Or. I, fol. 89v) the miniaturist depicts the *Gates of Mercy* to which are attached five medallions, four representing the beasts from Ezekiel's vision, and the fifth, the judgment seat of God. (fig. 22) The figures in the medallions, the eagle, the angel, the winged lion, and the winged bull, are taken directly from a Christian source where the beasts in Ezekiel are symbols of the Evangelists. This is confirmed by the fact that the artist has depicted the beasts with one face each (see the Book of Revelation 4:7) instead of the four faces recounted in Ezekiel, 1:8-1:10. The fifth medallion, placed at the center of the portal and usually reserved for the Christ figure in Christian manuscripts, has been incorporated into this manuscript to elucidate the

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34 Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer 41; Targum 4.8; and Louis Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1942-47) Vol. III, p. 92, Vol. IV, p. 36.

idea of the morning service of *Yom Kippur:* "the Lord, above the holy beasts, is exalted...." [35]

The use of heraldry in Hebrew illuminated manuscripts was also taken directly from Christian manuscripts. The castle of Castile, the lion of Leon, and the red stripes on a gold field, the arms of Aragon, appear in many Spanish Hebrew manuscripts. Most often, heraldic shields appeared in Haggadot at the point of describing the *matzah*, which was round and reminded the artists of family shields and insignias. In the *Barcelona Haggadah* (London, B.L. Add. Ms. 14761), for example, the escutcheon of Aragon appears several times within the decorated *matzah* (fig. 23) [36]

Many scenes of the Passover *Seder* depicted in Haggadot relied on Christian models of the *Last Supper*; while representations of the *Wise Son* often bear a striking resemblance to illustrations of St. Jerome in his study. Where Spanish Haggadot of the fourteenth century are concerned, we often find a cycle of biblical illustrations, unrelated in many of its scenes to the text proper, preceding the Haggadah's text; such was a common practice in the decoration of the luxurious psalters which came primarily from thirteenth-century France.

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Not every country that produced illuminated Hebrew manuscripts created works as sumptuous and as elaborate as these Spanish Haggadot.

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35 Zofja Ameisenowa, "Animal-Headed Gods, Evangelists, Saints and Righteous Men," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XII (1949), p. 28.

36 Therese and Mendel Metzger, Jewish Life in the Middle Ages (New York: Publishers of Fine Art Books, 1982), pp. 42-44.

Most of the manuscripts from fifteenth century Germany, for example, reflect a much more straitened economic situation. A comparison of these illuminated texts reveals that Hebrew manuscripts serve as historical documents refracting the general socio-economic conditions of the countries in which Jews lived.

The manuscripts from fourteenth-century Spain are often sumptuous and sophisticated, using the most advanced styles. They are luxurious codices which were commissioned from Jewish and non-Jewish artists by Spanish Jewish aristocrats, who prized such editions for their private libraries and personal devotions. In this way, the Spanish Jewish aristocrat imitated the practice of the wealthy Christian nobility, which began, in the thirteenth century, to demand handsome private books for their worship services. Prior to the thirteenth century, very few Christian liturgical books were in private hands. The monasteries had been the cultural centers and had, as such, monopolized book production. The growth of universities in the cities, however, encouraged the development of lay book owners, while the formation of guilds gradually brought into prominence the lay artist, capable of meeting the new demand for books. Just as elegant, private editions of the psalter and breviary satisfied the cravings of Christian noblemen, so personally commissioned editions of Jewish books like the Haggadah and the Hebrew Bible gratified the desire of Spain's Jewish aristocracy. [37]

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37 To date, the most comprehensive study of Jewish life in Medieval Spain is the work of Yitzhak Baer, The History of the Jews in Christian Spain (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1961).

A number of Spanish Jewish aristocrats illustrated their own manuscripts. Elisha Crescas, for example, devoted seventeen years of his life, from 1366 to 1383, to copying and illuminating a Bible which included more than thirty decorated pages, lavishly adorned with gold. In pursuing such projects, these Jewish artists followed the recommendation of Profiat Duran (ca. 1350-1415), the Spanish Jewish grammarian and philosopher, who asserted that it was "necessary and obligatory to adorn sacred books and to pay special heed to the beauty, splendor and loveliness in them. As with God, who wanted to beautify His holy place with gold, silver, jewels, and with precious objects, so it should be with His holy books." [38]

Unlike Spanish Hebrew manuscripts of the fourteenth century which testify to the prosperous and favored situation of Spanish Jewry, German Hebrew manuscripts of the fifteenth century testify to the breakdown of feudalism in Germany and the resulting cruelties, persecutions, and tortures to which German Jews were subjected. These manuscripts express this tragedy through scenes of martyrdom and depictions of the Coming of the Messiah, whose advent would afford relief from contemporary miseries and usher in an era of peace and plenty. The sketchy, crude, naive figures in these manuscripts reflect the influence of new graphic techniques and cheaper, swifter methods of production; but they also attest to the difficult economic circumstances of the German Jews who could no longer afford the

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38 Profiat Duran, Ma'aseh Efod (Vienna: no publisher listed, 1865).

magnificent codices that had been among the glories of their Spanish co-religionists. [39]

The deep resentments that the Jew harbored against his persecuting neighbor found some release in the *Galgenhumor*; the grim folkist humor, pervading the marginal illustrations and rhymes of the fifteenth-century Haggadot. [40] Thus we find that at the point at which the *Seder* ritual displays the *maror*; the *Munich Haggadah* (Munich, Bayrische Staatsbibliothiek Cod. Hebr. 200, fol. 21v) depicts a man pointing to his wife, an allusion to the verse in Ecclesiates 7:26 that a bad woman "is more bitter than death." (fig. 24) [41] In the *Washington Haggadah* (Washington, Library of Congress) the same theme has a slight variation. On folio 16r a man places his right hand on his wife, while he holds the *maror* in his left. The wife, on the other hand, holds a two-edged sword which no doubt alludes to the verse in Proverbs 5:3-4, "And her mouth is smoother than oil; But in the end she is bitter as wormwood, Sharp as a two-edged sword." (fig 25) [42] Often these illustrations were accompanied by sardonic verses. In the *Second Nuremberg Haggadah* (Jerusalem, Schocken Library, Ms. 24087,

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39 For a thorough study of Jewish life in Medieval Germany see Guido Kisch, The Jews in Medieval Germany (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949).

40 For a complete study of folk humor in German illumination see Joseph Gutmann, Images of the Jewish Past (New York: Society of Jewish Bibliophiles, 1965). The most comprehensive treatment of illuminated Medieval Haggadot is the work of Mendel Metzger, La Haggada Enluminee. Etude Iconographique et Stylistique des Manuscrits Enlumines et Decores de la Haggada du XII au XVI Siecle (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973).

41 Ibid., p. 92.

42 Franz Lansberger, "The Washington Haggadah and its Illuminator," Hebrew Union College Annual, XXI (1948), p. 76.

fol. 2v), for example, where two boys are seen stealing the freshly baked *matzah*, it reads "Look and view the thief, the *matzah* is still between his teeth," and "In secret before the *Seder* the *matzah* they ate, like bridegrooms consumating vows before the marriage fete." (fig. 26) Furthermore, on folio 10r, embellishing the depiction of Moses slaying an Egyptian, one is presented with the rhyme: "The poor one stands in the midst of clay while his wife, the Egyptian, lies down to play." (fig. 27) [43]

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Like the sardonic rhymes and the sketchy painting style in Germany and the sumptuous and lavish decorations in Spain which help to convey the general socio-economic conditions of these countries, so the miniatures found in these manuscripts serve as genre scenes, revealing the lifestyles and customs of the varying Jewish communities, and conveying their guiding theological attitudes and particular eschatological beliefs. In particular, these miniatures reveal a commitment to Jewish Law in all aspects of daily life, and an obsession with the World to Come.

No matter in which period or country, the very existence of a Jewish community, founded on the observance of the Law and its precepts in the religious, moral, and social spheres, required that some of the community members engage in a unique set of functions, different from those found in the greater Christian culture. On folio 127v of the Mantua *Arba'ah Turim*, for example, one finds a full genre scene of the art of *Shechitah* (fig. 28) In

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43 These rhymes have been recounted in numerous sources. The first study and translation of the Hebrew was presented by D. H. Mueller and J. V. Schlosser in their Die Haggadah von Sarajevo (Vienna: A. Holder, 1898), pp. 129 and 139-40.

this depiction of a slaughterhouse, we see the *Shochet* fell an ox, and the *Bodek* examining the lungs of a second ox that has been cut open and hung from its hind legs to facilitate the draining of the blood. In the center, two other individuals perform *Shechitah* on two fowls hanging by their feet; they have been brought by the woman who peers into the slaughtering room to check on the progress of the operation.

Also from this manuscript is an illustration of several cases being judged in the same law court before a number of tribunals. In keeping with Jewish judicial tradition, the miniature depicts the judges seated on raised benches of two levels before which both the plaintiff and the accused stand and plead their cases. On the left, a judge delivers his sentence, while the plaintiffs argue in the foreground. In the center, a case between two parties assisted by lawyers is being heard. On the right, a condemned man is being led off to prison. (fig. 29)

Like the *Shochet* and the *Dayyan*, the *Mohel* was also of great significance to the Jewish community. Occasionally, illustrations depict the *Mohel* operating on the child laid across his lap. More often, however, the scenes show the godfather seated with the child on his knees while the *Mohel*, standing or kneeling in front of him, operated with the ritual knife (Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Ms. 3596, fol. 267r). (fig. 30) Sometimes a scene from the first or last phase of the ceremony was also illustrated. In the *Regensburg Bible* (Jerusalem, Israel Museum, Ms. 180/52, fol. 18v) we see the godmother bringing the child to the synagogue, while in the *Nimes Bible* (Nimes, Bibliotheque Municipale, Ms. 13, fol. 181v), the *Mohel* is shown reciting the *Kiddush*. (figs. 31,32)

Other genre scenes such as the entrance of a young boy into *Heder*; engagement, marriage, and death also helped to reveal the characters of the communities that depicted them, but none of these illustrations conveyed the religious attitudes of these peoples quite like the illustrations that speculated on what life would be like in the World to Come. Manuscripts from German territories of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries placed emphasis on the delicacies to be served the righteous at the messianic banquet. [44] In the *Ambrosian Bible* of the thirteenth century (Milan, Ambrosian Library, Ms. B 32, fol. 136r), we find a graphic depiction of the messianic vision. In the upper panel are the three primeval beasts on which the righteous would feast in the World to Come--the *Behemot* or *Shor ha-Bar*; represented as a giant steer with raised head and fiery eyes; the giant fish, *Leviathan*, rolled up within ocean waves; and the giant bird, *Ziz* or *Bar-yokni*, depicted as a composite of griffin, eagle and lion. In the lower panel, five righteous people with animal heads and crowns sit at a long table spread with a white cloth and golden vessels. Off to either side, a musician entertains the righteous dining at the messianic banquet. (fig. 33)

Messianic speculations in Hebrew manuscripts from Spain and Provence during the same centuries took the form of golden illuminations of the Sanctuary vessels described in the books of Exodus and Leviticus. [45] Illustrations included the seven-branched lampstand with its tongs

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44 Joseph Gutmann, "When the Kingdom Comes, Messianic Themes in Medieval Jewish Art," Art Journal, XXVII (1967-68), pp. 168-75. See also Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, Vol. I, p. 28; Vol. VI, pp. 310-12; and Leviticus Rabbah, 13:3.

45 Gutmann, Images of the Jewish Past, p. 7.

and fire pans, the *cherubim* over the ark cover, the tablets of the Ten Commandments and the twelve loaves on the table of showbread. These depictions were usually placed on the prelimiary pages preceding the text of the Hebrew Bible, and did not accompany the appropriate descriptive passages of the vessels (see the *Farhi Bible*, Letchworth, Sassoon Collection, Ms. 368, fols. 182/3). (fig. 34)

A more sophisticated and complex variant of this messianic theme is found in those Spanish Bibles which depict the Mount of Olives in addition to the Sanctuary vessels. In a Bible from Saragossa (Paris, Bibl. Nat. Cod. Hebr. 31), (fig. 35) verse 14:4 from Zachariah runs the border of the illustration and reads "And his feet shall stand in that day upon the Mount of Olives, Which is before Jerusalem on the east, And the Mount of Olives shall be cleft in the midst thereof, Toward the east and the west." According to *Pesikta Rabbati*, which offers eschatological explanation for this verse, God will create great caverns in the earth and will breathe life into the righteous dead who are buried in exile, causing them to roll until they come to the Mount of Olives. God will then appear on Judgment Day at the Mount of Olives, the mountains will be thrown open, and the dead will emerge, taking their place in the World to Come. [46]

Clearly, these illustrations, and others like them, give visual testimony of the Spanish Jew's hope for the speedy arrival of the Messianic age and the restoration of the Sanctuary. Further confirmation may be

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46 Pesikta Rabbati 31, Meir Friedmann, ed. Vienna, 1880; see also, John B. Curtis, "The Mount of Olives in Tradition," Hebrew Union College Annual, XXVIII (1957), pp. 168-72.

drawn from the fact that in Spain, the Holy Scripture itself was known as the "Sanctuary of God" (*mikdashyah*), and its threefold division was likened to the divisions of the ancient Sanctuary. By inserting the vessels of the Sanctuary into the *Mikdashyah* of this world, the Spanish Jews were preparing for the splendor of the *Mikdashyah* of the World to Come.

In fifteenth-century Germany and those parts of Northern Italy influenced by German customs through the German Jewish congregations settled there, the messianic speculations in Hebrew manuscripts no longer focused on the delicacies to be consumed at the messianic meal. Instead, the Jew yearned for Elijah, who would herald the coming of the messianic Redeemer. To accompany the text, "Pour out Thy wrath upon the nations that do not know You" (Ps. 79:6), recited at the *Seder*; the artist sometimes depicted Elijah or the Messiah, or both. In a German Miscellany from the second quarter of the fifteenth century (Hamburg, Staats-und Universitatsbibliothek, Ms. Hebr. 37, fol. 35v), for example, a man, with outstretched arms, stands at the base of a large mountain, prepared to welcome a crowned figure blowing the *Shofar* and riding an ass. As the ass and the crown are clearly the attributes of the Messiah, and the *Shofar* the symbolic tool of Elijah, we must conclude that our miniaturist has presented a figure that is a combination of these two characters. This is confirmed by the scroll that flies above the head of the standing figure that reads "Say to the daughter of Zion, behold your salvation comes...." (Is. 62:11). (fig. 36)

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There are, of course, many other examples that could be brought to further elucidate the supposition that the lifestyles and eschatological

beliefs of varying Jewish communities are captured in the illustrations of the illuminated manuscripts which they created. Yet to do so would be to belabor the obvious. For we have seen that the illustrations from a cross-section of medieval illuminated Hebrew manuscripts do indeed substantiate this hypothesis; and not only this hypothesis, but all of the hypotheses discussed above. Consequently, we may now reassert unequivocally that there are certain axioms about medieval illuminated Hebrew manuscripts which must serve as the foundation for any study of an illuminated Hebrew manuscript--namely, that these manuscripts are representational of the Jew's historic and on-going desire for artistic production; that they reveal a borrowing of styles and iconography from the dominant, non-Jewish cultures; and that they are historical documents reflecting the socio-economic conditions, the lifestyles, and religious attitudes of the Jewish communities which produced them.

Yet since illuminated Hebrew manuscripts vary from culture to culture and century to century, the questions that emerge while analyzing these texts vary as well. Consequently, though each study assumes these particular axioms, and uses these axioms as its place of departure, not every study of illuminated Hebrew manuscripts requires the same emphasis on each of these individual considerations. Such is the case in our study of the *First Cincinnati Haggadah*. For though we will not be considering each axiom separately in our discussion of this Haggadah manuscript, we will be drawing upon, or assuming an understanding of, this body of information throughout our investigation. With this understanding, we are now prepared to direct our attentions to a study of this fifteenth-

century Haggadah manuscript; as with any study of a medieval illuminated Hebrew manuscript, this requires that we continue with a description of the manuscript in question.

THE FIRST CINCINNATI HAGGADAH:
A DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Like a description of any medieval illuminated Haggadah manuscript, a description of the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* requires a survey of four distinct categories of manuscript analysis: codicology, paleography, liturgy, and art. With few exceptions, no single category offers sufficient evidence to allow an investigator to assert conclusively that a given manuscript was executed in a particular period and locale. The ever-changing, socio-economic and political conditions in medieval Europe impacted heavily upon its Jewish communities, forcing the Jew to move from principality to principality, and from state to state. In their new homelands, Jewish scribes and artists often adopted the local scripts, painting styles, and manuscript techniques which were native to those regions.

Yet more often than not, these scribes and artists were selective, adopting only some of the new techniques while frequently maintaining those which they brought with them from their native lands. What's more, the liturgy of the Haggadah developed over many centuries, and often varied in its details from region to region. Consequently, it is not unusual to discover contemporary medieval Haggadah manuscripts which reveal similar scripts, painting styles, and techniques, but varying rites and customs. Therefore, in an attempt to pinpoint the provenance of an unlocalized Haggadah manuscript, one must examine each of these four specific categories, for only the collective information gleaned from them all will offer sufficient evidence to localize a text to a particular time and place.

A codicological investigation of the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* suggests that this manuscript is an Ashkenazi text, [1] Consisting of sixty-nine paginated folios, 13 and 3/8 inches high by 9 and 7/8 inches wide, this manuscript is constructed of a vellum that is known as Ashkenazi parchment. Unlike the parchment from Spain, Italy, and the Orient where the flesh-side is distinguishable from the hair-side, the Ashkenazi parchment is shaved, scratched, and rubbed thoroughly so that both sides are very rough and seem completely alike. In the *First Cincinnati Haggadah*, it is nearly impossible to distinguish the hair-side from the flesh-side, and one has to examine the vellum quite closely in order to identify an occasional hair follicle.

Additional support for the supposition that this mansucript is of Ashkenazi origin may be drawn from its composition. Throughout the Middle Ages, the common composition of quires in Ashkenaz was four sheets, or eight leaves. Of the ten quires that appear in this Haggadah manuscript, seven of the ten quires are constructed of four sheets: the first quire contains three sheets (folios 1-5); the second quire contains an uncommon one sheet (folios 6-7); the next seven quires all possess the standard four sheets (folios 8-15, 16-23, 24-31, 32-39, 40-47, 48-55, 56-

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1 For a general discussion of Hebrew codicology, as well as a detailed description of such categories as varying types of parchment, the arrangement of quires, and ruling techniques, see Malachi Beit-Arie's Hebrew Codicology (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1981). It should be noted that Beit-Arie includes under the heading "Ashkenaz," any manuscript that comes from Central and Northern medieval France, England, or Germany.

63); while the last quire contains three sheets (folios 64-69). Clearly, the first and second quire were intended to be a single quire of four sheets that was to initiate this manuscript. Why these two quires were constructed as they were must remain an open question. Yet one must speculate that in its design, this manuscript was to possess only the traditional Ashkenazi four-sheet quires, except for the final quire which was to contain as many sheets as would be necessary to complete the text. [2]

An examination of the ruling and pricking in this manuscript lends still further support to the notion that this manuscript was created in Ashkenaz. From the beginning of the fourteenth century through till the latter decades of the sixteenth century, when hand-written manuscripts came to be replaced with printed texts, all manuscripts in Ashkenaz were ruled with a lead pencil on each page, and pricked in both the inner and

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2 It should be noted that the layout and construction of the first and second quires prevent one from drawing the hasty conclusion that, at some point in time, all four sheets were bound together. Though nearly all of the conjugate leaf of the external sheet of the first quire is now missing, a small strip of parchment from that leaf has been pasted over the now-exposed second leaf to secure it to the rest of the quire. This confirms that the flyleaf to this manuscript was part of the third sheet. Had there been a fourth sheet added to this quire, there would have been an additional blank leaf preceding the flyleaf, or a total of five blank pages preceding the first text page. Clearly, to a scribe who was quite aware of the value of parchment, five blank pages would have been excessive. What's more, the single-sheet second quire fills all four of its pages with Haggadah text, and this text continues without interruption from the end of the second quire through the first leaf of the third. Consequently, there can be no question that the second quire was inserted as a single sheet, and though it seems most likely that the scribe merely forgot to include it in the first quire, it should be stated that at no point in this manuscript's history was this second quire ever connected to the first, or removed from it.

outer margins. In the *First Cincinnati Haggadah*, we see that the ruling has been done with a lead stylus, page by page, and though the decorative borders often make it difficult to discern, a close examination reveals that the parchment has indeed been pricked along both sides of the page.

Yet where the parchment, the arrangement of quires, and the rulings of individual pages suggest that this manuscript was executed in Ashkenaz, it is the colophon and the owner entries which are probative in localizing this manuscript. According to the colophon, the scribe who wrote this manuscript was named Meir, and he was the son of the copyist, Israel Jaffe, of Heidelberg, who was no longer living at the time that this manuscript was created. Furthermore, the colophon informs us that this Haggadah was created for a Rabbi Enschen of Schiffermuehl:

> I, Meir the copyist, son of Israel Jaffe, the copyist (honor be his repose), of Heidelberg, has produced this work(?) in token of esteem for Rabbi. Enschen (?), the Levite, of Schiffermuehl(?), son of Aaron, the Levite. May his be long life and happiness. God grant unto him the grace to narrate herefrom the story of the Exodus from Egypt. And praise be God in Heaven. [3]

Further indication that this manuscript was created in Germany may be derived from the owner entries. On the second page of the two-page colophon, there is a shield with an inscription indicating that this manuscript had changed hands, and was now in the possession of a new owner. According to the inscription, the manuscript belonged in the year

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3 This translation has been taken from Landsberger's article, "The Cincinnati Haggadah and its Decorator."

5319 (1559) to a certain Taeublein, the daughter of a deceased Rabbi Issachar, with the name Taeublein being illustrated by a pecking dove. A year later, in 5320 (1560), there occured another shift of possession inasmuch as, on the same page in the upper left-hand corner, the notice appears that Madame Leah, the daughter of Rabbi Moses, had presented this manuscript to her son-in-law Abraham, son of a deceased Jacob in Huerben. Yet a third inscription, which appears on fol. 1r, apprises us that in 1689 the Haggadah was the property of an Eliezer, son of Moses Mainz Kanstatt. These are the only true owner entries which appear in this manuscript. The few additional Hebrew notations which appear on the parchment-covered paste-board binding--as well as the binding, which is not the original--do not contribute to the identification of provenance.

The hypothesis derived from the codicological study, namely, that the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* is an Ashkenazi manuscript, gains support from an investigation of the paleography. [4] The scribe, Meir Jaffe, has employed two distinct scripts in the execution of this Haggadah, the predominant script being the contemporary Ashkenazi Square. The second script is a calligraphic Gothic script which may be identified as a fusion of the Zarphatic Mashait and the Ashkenazi Mashait styles. [5] This script was

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4 For an in-depth discussion of medieval Hebrew paleography, see Jean Glenisson, ed., La Paleographie Hebraique Medievale (Paris: The National Center for Scientific Research, 1974). This book is a reprinting of the papers presented at an international symposium on medieval Hebrew paleography held at the center in September of 1972.

5 For a comparison of these two styles, as well as for pictures of both, see Solomon A. Birnbaum, The Hebrew Scripts (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971), pp. 295-326.

used primarily for the insertion of material which was not a part of the Haggadah text proper, the most common examples being the notes to the patron which Meir inserted to instruct him on how he was to carry out the *Seder* service. For example, on folio 5v, following the completion of the *Kiddush*, one finds a notation in calligraphic script which reads:

> And afterwards you wash your hands and make the blessing (and there are those amongst our rabbis who say that we don't wash at all); and he [the leader of the *Seder*] takes the parsley or turnip greens and dips [them] in vinegar and makes the blessing: "Blessed are You, Lord our God, King of the universe, who creates the fruit of the earth." And [the leader] eats the equivalent of one olive, and gives to everyone. And afterwards he [the leader] takes the middle *matzah* and breaks it in two, and places half of it between the two whole ones, and half he hides under the tablecloth for the *afikoman*. Afterwards he will raise the plate with the *matzot*, and he will begin out loud with the telling of the story.

In addition to the notes to the patron, the prayer for the recitation of the *Hallel*, the conclusion to the *Birkat HaMazon*, the concluding lines of the psalms of the second section of the *Hallel*, and the colophon were all written in this calligraphic Gothic script. Interestingly, each of these sections is part of the Haggadah liturgy, or a moment in the *Seder* service, where a certain levity and airy quality is permitted. Meir chose to decorate these sections with this playful, fanciful script, because for him, this script communicated the same sense of relaxation and ease which the passages themselves expressed. Clearly, this calligraphic Gothic was the scribe's native script, the one to which he willingly returned whenever he was

afforded the opportunity. Therefore, when Meir was called upon to reveal his identity in the colophon, he turned to the only script that seemed appropriate, the calligraphic Gothic script with which he was most familiar and most comfortable.

Yet the assertion that Meir possessed a particular affinity for this second script is by no means meant to suggest that he was any less masterful in his rendering of the Ashkenazi Square. In truth, Meir was an excellent scribe who employed all of the scribal techniques that were characteristic of one who had developed a sophisticated adroitness for this art form. Like other skillful, contemporary Ashkenazi scribes, Meir diligently observed the lefthand marginal bounding line, and arranged his text so that all lines might end at the same point. Often, there was not sufficient text to reach the lefthand margin, and in order to fill out these shorter lines, Meir would either enlarge one of the letters of the last word of the line (usually the last letter), leave a space before the last word, or insert graphic fillers at the end of the line. In most instances, these graphic fillers were decorative, but sometimes they were actually letters, such as the *zayin* that was used as a graphic filler throughout the manuscript.

In other instances, Meir had to be concerned with preventing the text from extending beyond the margin line. To accomplish this task, Meir would frequently compress letters or words, write a word to the end of a line and then insert an abbreviation mark over the last letter, write a few letters of the last word of the line and then insert a *zayin* which served as a stopper mark, or write as many letters of a given word as would fit the line, and then repeat the whole word on the next line. Occasionally, though

Meir was quite precise, letters and words did overreach the margin line. When this occurred, Meir resolved the problem in a somewhat less conventional manner. In these instances, the extending letters were written in the margins themselves, either above the end of the line, or, in a few cases, vertically along the ruling.

Perhaps somewhat less immediately apparent than Meir's concern for marginal neatness, though equally as significant to him, was his dedication to revealing the decorative nature of the Hebrew letter. To ensure that there would be sufficient room on each page to create the decorative script that he viewed as paramount, Meir assigned all illustrations to the margins, and ruled the parchment with wide lines so as to allow for only nine lines of large Ashkenazi Square script per page. What's more, these wide lines afforded Meir the space required to insert those scribal features which accentuated the decorative character of the letters. In particular, these ornamental features included fanciful vocalization marks placed below the words, intricate designs that weave around the ascenders and descenders of certain letters (most frequently the *lamed*), delicate outlining and filling in of certain letters with floral and geometrical detail, and the continual juxtaposition of larger letters against smaller letters in sentences, and even in single words.

Still further indication of Meir's commitment to the decorative quality of the Hebrew script may be derived from the animated character of the letters themselves. Meir has caused his letters to be suspended from the ruled line, allowing them to dangle freely, much like marionettes. What's more, with the use of his quill, Meir has created fine, pristine

strokes at the heads and the feet of many letters that cause them to dart upward and downward with such power that one expects them to free themselves not only from the ruled line, but from the page itself. Yet to free themselves would be impossible; for in the end, the limitless animation that these letters exude is contained by the framing parchment which quiets their movements, and contributes to the creation of a dynamic tension which is a trademark of this scribe.

This tension, however, is not the only tension which Meir has created. The combining of words, resulting from the last letter of one word serving simultaneously as the first letter of the second, and the fusion of letters, most frequently seen in the word *el* where the *aleph* and *lamed* unite to form a decorative motif, creates the sense of whimsical, metamorphic letters which move quite freely across the page. This horizontal undulation is only restrained by the lefthand margin line, creating a dynamic tension along the horizontal ruling that, when coupled with the vertical movement discussed above, results in an animation of Hebrew characters that can be felt throughout the page.

Time, however, has not been good to this manuscript. Wine stains resulting from frequent usage, and the retracing of faded letters by later hands, often makes it difficult to sense the power and animation of Meir's script. Ironically, it was the vitriolic ink which Meir used to create his Hebrew characters that has caused the greatest damage. Unlike inks that are made primarily from coal, metal-base mixtures, such as the one used by Meir, eat away at parchment over time, and it is for this reason that so many holes appear in this manuscript, especially in those areas where large

amounts of ink have been employed. [6] Yet even with these openings in the parchment, it is still evident that Meir's script is a fine example of the full-blown Ashkenazi Square which did not emerge until the beginning of the fifteenth century. Consequently, from nothing more than a paleographic analysis, we must conclude that this manuscript could not have been executed before 1400.

An analysis of the liturgy confirms that the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* is an Ashkenazi manuscript that was produced in Germany. Containing nearly all of the material found in a traditional Ashkenazi Haggadah text of today, the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* lacks only those segments of the liturgy, and those rites, that were either widely debated at the time that this manuscript was created, or that were introduced to the *Seder* service only in later centuries. Specifically, this manuscript makes no mention of the custom of filling a cup for the prophet Elijah, nor of opening the door for this messianic harbinger at the commencement of the second section of the *Hallel*, the traditional moment that Elijah is recalled. In addition, it is the blessing over the fourth cup of wine that concludes this service, rather than the *piyyutim*. In this text, the *piyyutim Az Rov Nisim*, *Ometz Gevuratekha*, and *Ki Lo Na'eh* appear directly before the passage "Next year in Jerusalem," which has been inserted directly before the final blessing over wine. Neither the *piyyutim Chasal Siddur Pesach* and *Adir Hu*, nor the folk songs *Echad Mi Yode'a* and *Chad Gadya*, appear anywhere

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6 It is interesting to note that there are a number of pages that bear no such apertures, suggesting that in the writing of this manuscript, Meir utilized various inks with varying compositions.

in this manuscript. These omissions, however, are not really that unusual given that both the paleography and the artwork, as we shall see below, suggest that this manuscript should be ascribed to the fifteenth century. In truth, there are a number of Haggadah manuscripts from that period that make no mention of Elijah and contain neither the *piyyut Chasal Siddur Pesach*, nor *Adir Hu*. Furthermore, none of the manuscripts from the fifteenth century contain either of the two folk songs. [7]

Aside from the omission of these poetic passages, only a few lines from the well-established Seder liturgy have been left out. From the section beginning *Vehi Sheamdah*, the line that has omitted is "but in every generation they rise up against us to destroy us;" from the *midrashic* comment on the word *varov*, the Ezekiel passage "And I passed over you and I saw you downtrodden in your blood and I said to you: 'through your blood you shall live,' and I said to you 'through your blood you shall live;'" (16:6) has been left out; from the *midrashic* comment on the word *vaye'anunu*, the beginning of the verse "They placed taskmasters over them" (Ex. 1:11) has been left out; while from the section beginning *Shefokh Chamatkha* the scribe has omitted the sentences, "For they have devoured Jacob and destroyed his habitation. Pour out Thy wrath upon them and let Your burning wrath overtake them. Pursue them with anger and destroy

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7 For a discussion of the development of the poetical material in the Haggadah, and the development of the Haggadah in general, see Daniel Goldschmidt, The Passover Haggadah, its Sources and History (in Hebrew)(Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1960); and Menahem M. Kasher, Haggadah Shelemah (in Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 1955).

them from beneath the heavens of God." [8] As one might expect, there are a number of passages in this manuscript where single words have been left out, or where synonyms have been employed. Yet in truth, the only other significant difference between this text and the traditional Haggadah text which is used today, is that Meir's Aramaic introduction begins not with the standard *Ha Lachma*, but rather with *Keha Lachma*. Once again, however, this variation is to be found in other fifteenth century Ashkenazi Haggadot. [9]

The liturgical evidence that the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* originated in Germany is underscored by the liturgical notes written to the patron which offer conclusive evidence that this manuscript was indeed created by a German scribe for a German bibliophile. On folio 2v, in a note discussing which foods should appear on the *Seder* plate, Meir informs the patron of the German rite of including specific greens: "Passover evening, when you return from the synagogue, bring to the table the dish and on it three *matzot* that are reserved for the fulfillment of the *mitzvah*, and on it two types of greens, *lituga* and *aifyeh* and *karbelah*. Meir, it would seem, has

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8 Though it is just speculation, it is worth considering the possibility that these verses may have been omitted because of their potentially offensive nature to the Gentiles in the community. It is clear from such a lavish manuscript that conditions were relatively good for the Jews of Meir's region, and the scribe may have made these alterations to preserve the relationship between his people and his Gentile neighbors. Yet in truth, it seems much more likely that Meir simply forgot to include them, given that these passages do appear in other German Haggadot from the same time period.

9 See, for example, the London Haggadah of Joel ben Simeon (B.L. Add. Ms. 14762).

miscounted, for he has listed three vegetables rather than two. Nevertheless, the three words that he has written in transliterated Hebrew, are the German words for lettuce, parsley, and turnip greens.

These notes prove to be invaluable historical evidence of the German rite of the region and time period in which Meir lived. From just these few liturgical notations, we learn that the prescribed format for observing the Passover and for conducting the *Seder* service in this particular German region included the following rituals: the checking for leaven with a wax candle; the establishment of an *Eruv Tavshilin* and an *Eruv Chatserot;* the placement of a plate on the *Seder* table that carried three *matzot,* two or three types of vegetables (lettuce, parsley, and turnip greens), and two cooked dishes (a leg of lamb, and an egg); the recitation of three distinct formats of the *Kiddush,* depending upon whether the holiday fell on a weekday, Shabbat, or *Motza'ei Shabbat;* the washing of the hands and the reciting of the blessing at the commencement of the service; the dipping of the vegetables into vinegar and the reciting of the blessing; the breaking of the middle *matzah* and the hiding of half for the *afikoman;* the washing of the hands and the reciting of the blessing directly before the meal; the making of a blessing over the complete upper *matzah* followed immediately by a blessing over the broken middle *matzah;* the making of a blessing for *maror* over lettuce; the creation of a sandwich made from the third *matzah* and the lettuce in remembrance of Rabbi Hillel; the eating of the *afikoman* at the conclusion of the meal followed directly by the washing of the hands, but without a blessing; the drinking of the wine and the eating of the ritual foods while reclining on one's left; the recitation of

the *piyyut Az Rov Nisim* on the first night and *Ometz Gevuratekha* on the second; and the drinking of four cups of wine.

Like these liturgical notations which reveal that the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* was created for a patron who lived in a German community, the artwork that fills this manuscript reflects a German hand, and thus offers the final evidence needed to assert that this Haggadah was executed in Germany. In truth, the artwork conveys this information on two levels. On the one hand, the style of the art reflects the naive, folkish style of contemporary German art, while on the other, the illustrations themselves serve as genre scenes, providing us with an entree into the lifestyle of a particular German, Jewish community.

Twenty-nine marginal illustrations, nineteen initial-word panels, and two initial-letters comprise the artwork of this manuscript. Usually, the marginal illustrations of Ashkenazi Haggadot fall into four general categories: textual, ritual, biblical, and eschatological. In this manuscript, however, only textual and ritual illustrations are to be found. Nevertheless, it is through these textual and ritual illustrations that one is exposed to the daily and festive dress of this German Jewish community, to their household utensils, to their ritual and ceremonial objects, to their furniture, and even to their architecture. In the textual illustrations of the *pesach*, *matzah*, and *maror*; for example, one man is shown turning a lamb on a spit over an open fire, while the other two are shown seated, one holding a raised, stylized *matzah*, the other holding a leafy green vegetable. From the category of ritual illustrations, we see such scenes as a man with a candle

checking for leaven before a wooden cabinet, and a family gathered around a *Seder* table, prepared to begin the recitation of the Haggadah.

In addition to serving as genre scenes, these marginal illustrations and initial-panels reveal much about the artist himself. In general, the stocky figures with relatively expressionless faces, the heavy drapery with large folds, the detailed interior settings and decorative designs, and the use of bright colors throughout, suggest that the artist of this manuscript was quite comfortable with the contemporary style of Southern Germany of the latter half of the fifteenth century. They also reveal that this artist, though more at home with the pen than the brush, possessed an incredibly steady hand which was capable of rendering minute detail. In addition, they reveal the artist's proficiency at modeling both flesh and drapery. By fusing varying shades of color with black and white highlights, this artist has created three-dimensional figures that wear clothing that conform to, and help to reveal, the contours of the body. What's more, the artwork also reveals that this artist was fascinated with the interplay of two- and three-dimensional space, and that he delighted in testing the limits of the two-dimensional parchment. In most of the initial panels, for example, the planes seem to be caught in a dynamic tension, simultaneously stationary and receding into space. Often, the entire panel seems to encroach upon the marginal illustrations and upon the Hebrew characters.

Yet not all of the illustrations in this Haggadah reflect these observations equally. Some of them seem to suggest an artist who was less precise and less sophisticated than the one who designed and illuminated the initial panels, and one is led to consider the possibility that the artistic

program of the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* may have been carried out by more than one hand. Still, none of the illustrations seem glaringly out of place; and before we pursue this complex and pivotal issue any further, we must pause to examine each of the initial-panels and marginal illustrations which appear in this manuscript. For the sake of clarity, I will discuss them in the order in which they appear in the text:

Or, initial-word panel, (fol. 1v):

Placed on a maroon background decorated with a gold, open-petal floral pattern and a band of vertical gold squiggly lines, are the letters of the word *or*. These letters, which have been painted white, blue, and green respectively, have been filled in with acanthus leaf decoration which, except for the *aleph* which is all white, have been highlighted with black and white paint. Below the letters is a horizontal band of bright red and white checkerboard, and directly below the checkerboard is a strip of painted gold leaf. This gold band, the maroon background, and the letters that sit upon this background are framed by two vertical bands of blue acanthus leaf decoration that run the length of the panel. At the top of the panel, three birds perch upon a strip of painted gold leaf which serves as a curtain rod from which the decorated maroon background hangs. The entire panel is outlined in black. Clearly, the artist who executed this panel had an extremely steady hand and a passion for detail. The naturalism of the birds, the highlighting of the foliage, and the intricate goldwork reveal an artist who was quite proficient with pen and brush.

Bedikat Chamets, figural illustration, (fol. 1v):

Placed on a green ground with yellow hatch marks and an orange base line, is a yellow, German Gothic cabinet, highlighted with tans, browns, and whites. On the far right, holding a maroon and white feather in his right hand and a tan wooden bowl in his left, is a bearded man, depicted in profile, wearing black shoes, a blue robe, a maroon mantle, and a maroon and white hat, sweeping bread crumbs from the upper chamber of the cabinet. The light from the yellow candle, which is suspended above the man's head, reveals that the upper shelf, which is being dusted with the feather, is empty, while the bottom shelf, which is still filled with various jars and utensils, is yet to be dusted. Clearly, this illustration reveals the artist's ability to fuse paint and ink; yet in addition, it reveals his ability to model flesh and drapery. Using pinks and browns for facial contours, whites and blacks to highlight and detail the eyes, eyebrows, and nose, and reds to accentuate cheeks and lips, this artist has created a physiognomy that is fairly realistic. What's more, by modeling the garments with varying shades of color, this artist has created the illusion of drapery that reflects light and shadow and reveals the contours of the human body. The entire illustration is outlined in black.

Eruv Tavshilin, figural illustration, (fol. 2r):

Placed on a green ground with brown and black hatch marks are two bearded figures. Facing each other, these two figures extend their hands to support a round, tan, stylized *matzah* that has a piece of pinkish brown meat sitting in its center. The figure on the left wears pointed black shoes, a

blue robe, an orange cloak, and a hat that is orange and blue. The figure on the right wears pointed black shoes, a green and red hat, an overcoat that is red with white at its collar, center, and base, and a long-sleeved, yellow undergarment. The faces and hands of both figures have been painted pink and have been highlighted with brown and white paint (the manner in which flesh is depicted throughout the manuscript), the hair, beards, eyebrows, eyes, and noses have been rendered with black ink, while the lips have been accentuated with bright red. Black paint has been used to outline the entire illustration.

Kiddush At the Seder Table, figural illustration, (fol. 2v):

Placed on a green ground with yellow and black hatch marks are three family members and a *Seder* table. The table, which recedes somewhat awkwardly into space, has been painted brown and tan, and has been highlighted with a light, yellow green. It is covered with a white tablecloth with four blue stripes, and on the tablecloth rests a gold plate with *matzah* that is partially covered with a white and blue-striped linen covering. The three figures in this scene have all been placed on the far side of the table. The father, who is dressed in a red garment with yellow trim and a black kettledrum hat, stands at the far left holding a golden wine goblet in his left hand that he points to with his right; the son, who is dressed in a blue robe with yellow trim, stands in the middle and points with his right hand to his dark brown wine cup that sits on the table in front of him; and the mother, who wears a white headdress and a brown dress with yellow trim, yellow buttons, and a red belt, stands at the far right and points with her

left hand to her son's wine glass, not to the dark brown wine cup that sits on the table in front of her. The father's hair and beard are brown, with a hint of yellow, the son's hair is a dirty blond, and all three figures have extended and unusually long forefingers. Nowhere in this manuscript are faces modelled more artistically than in this illustration. Brown and black ink is used to depict hair and to add detail to such facial features as the nose, the eyebrows, the mouth, and the pupils; white is used to highlight the eyes, facial contours, and bone structures, and red hatch marks are used to accentuate the rosy coloring of the lips and cheeks. The entire illustration is outlined in black.

Yakenhaz, figural illustration, (fol. 4r):

Placed on a green, tan, and yellow ground highlighted with black hatch marks, is a hunter, three dogs, and two hares that move in this scene from right to left. This hare chase scene is a mnemonic of the sequence of the benedictions to be recited when the *Seder* and the termination of the Shabbat coincide. The hunter, who enters from the right, is dressed in black boots, blue trousers, a red tunic with a blue collar, and a red hat. As he darts after the dogs in pursuit of the hares, this figure brandishes a lance in his left hand, while his right hand and his right leg lunge forward as if to simulate that this scene has been frozen *in medias res*. Directly to the hunter's left, and highlighted with yellow hatch marks, is a tan dog that is sniffing the ground; and further to the left are two white dogs that are running up a steep green hill after two tan hares at the top. In the foreground, in front of the white dogs and the steep green hill, are tannish

brown and pinkish white rocks, a thin tree with feathery, tan leaves, a few short, green bushes, highlighted with yellow hatching, and a green ground streaked with black and yellow. In the background, beyond the dogs and the hunter, are still other hills with green bushes and thin feathery leaf trees, that begin to recede into space. The use of black line to render detail, the highlighting with yellow hatch marks, and the use of greens, tans, browns, and yellows in various combinations are characteristic features of the stage-like landscapes that this artist creates.

Bet, initial-letter of "Baruch," (fol. 4r):

Placed on a gold-leaf background, is a blue *bet* that has been outlined in orange, and filled in with blue acanthus leaves, highlighted with heavy white. Surrounding the background is an inner frame composed of two half-frames of two different colors. The bottom and the left side of the frame are painted orange with white outline, and the top and the right side of the frame are painted dark green with orange outline. The light and the dark placed side by side in this manner combine to create a *trompe l'oeil* that leads one to believe that the background, and the letter placed upon it, are receding into space. This interplay of light and dark and of two- and three-dimensional space is a trademark of our artist. Beyond this two-color inner frame is an outer frame that has been painted light green, and beyond that light green frame is a thin, black border that encases the entire panel.

Keha, initial-word panel, (fol. 6r):

Placed on a black background with gold starburst decoration are the three letters of the word *keha*, rendered in gold leaf. At the edge of the starburst background is a band of white paint that surrounds the background, and separates it from the mat-blue frame. Surrounding the entire panel is a thin band of black, and perched upon this band, at the top of the panel, are two birds, a blue jay and a robin. Here again, our artist's ability to integrate pen and ink with varying shades of paint reveals his commitment to naturalism and to the depiction of accurate and minute detail.

Mah, initial-word panel, (fol. 6v):

Placed on a background of two separate panels--the one on the left painted reddish orange and decorated with gold, exploding tear-drop decoration, and the one on the right painted royal blue and decorated with six-pointed gold stars--are the letters of the word *mah*. The *mem* has been painted green, the *hei* has been painted blue, and both letters have been filled in with acanthus leaves, highlighted with black and white. Both the letters and the background panels have been outlined with a thin gold band, and beyond the band of the background is an inner frame that is composed of two half-frames of two different colors. The bottom and the right side of the frame are painted white, and the top and the left side of the frame are painted maroon. Once again, the union of half-frames creates the illusion of backgrounds and letters receding into space. Yet the space into which these panels may recede is limited. For the artist, by allowing the letters to break

into the stationary outer frame, has tied these letters to a two-dimensional surface. The result is a delightful play of overlapping planes, and a panel filled with dynamic tension, which is another trademark of this artist. Beyond this two-color inner frame, is an outer frame that has been painted pinkish maroon, and beyond this outer frame is a thin, black border upon which is perched a black and white bird with a red face.

Avadim, initial-word panel, (fol. 7v):

Placed on a pink background decorated with gold starbursts and tendrils, are the letters of the word *avadim*, that have been painted a greenish yellow, and have been decorated with a gold floral motif. Nestled amongst these letters is a scene of a man chopping wood. The figure, who has been set on a green ground with brown hatch marks, is wearing brown shoes, pink trousers, and a blue tunic that has been highlighted with black and heavy white. He holds an axe in his hands, and he is bent over the brown and tan wood which appears on the left-hand side of the green ground. Beyond this scene, and beyond the pink background, is a band of white that surrounds the panel and separates the background from the mat-blue outer frame. Beyond the blue frame is a thin black line that surrounds the entire panel. This is the only historiated panel in the entire manuscript.

Rabbi Elazar ben Azariah, figural illustration, (fol. 9r):

Seated on a gray, stone-like chair decorated with three posts with trefoil capitals is the figure of Rabbi Elazar ben Azzariah. The figure has been depicted with greenish turquoise hair, suggesting his instant aging, and he

is wearing a blue hat and a matching blue robe that are highlighted with black and white. Both hands of the rabbi are extended, and in his right hand he holds a blue book with light green pages. As was the case in earlier illustrations, the figure's face has been modelled with pinks, browns, whites and reds, and the entire illustration is outlined in black.

The Wise Son, figural illustration, (fol. 10r):

Seated in a yellow, high-backed Gothic chair before a yellow reading stand, is a figure clad in a reddish orange robe with white trim. The right hand of this figure is extended as if to indicate that he is instructing others, and his left hand rests upon the white pages of a book that rests on the reading stand. This book is outlined in red and black, and though the Hebrew words on the left page are too small to make out, the right page reads *chakham ani*, "I am the wise (son)." The figure is wearing a reddish maroon hat, and he has gray hair and a clean-shaven face that has been modelled with pink, brown, white, and red. In the background is a detailed depiction of a Gothic interior. Using gray as the primary color, with white, black, and dark gray for highlighting and detail, our artist has created an architectural setting which includes buttresses with soaring pinnacles, an arch, a nave (or an aisle), and a far wall with niches, stringcourses, and stained glass windows. A black line is used to outline the entire scene, and in this illustration, an orangish red and maroon frame surrounds the black outline. As such a frame does not appear in any of the other illustrations of the Four Sons, one is led at first to consider the possibility that it may have been added later. However, this frame is the same orangish red and maroon as the robe of

the Wise Son, and there are places where the Gothic interior bleeds into the frame. Consequently, there is no question that this border was executed as part of this illustration.

The Wicked Son, figural illustration, (fol. 10v):

Placed on a green ground with black hatching and purple underlining is the *rasha* figure who, instead of being depicted as a warrior, which is typical of medieval Ashkenazi Haggadot, has been depicted as a courtier. The figure is wearing brown shoes, red leggings, and a red upper garment with puffed red sleeves. In his right hand he holds a yellow staff, and at the end of the staff is a flag that is divided into two colors, the upper part red, and the bottom white. On the white section of the banner it reads: *Rasheti, Hatorah lo shamati,* "I have done wickedly; I have not listened to (the ways of) the Torah." The hat that the figure wears is red, the plume that extends upward from the hat is red, yellow, and tan, while the hair that descends from the hat to the shoulders is blond. At the figure's waist is a brown sword with a yellow handle, and on his waist rests his left hand. The depiction of the courtier's costume in this illustration is excellent, and as this form of dress did not come into vogue until the end of the fifteenth century, we must conclude that this manuscript was executed in the last decades of that century. Black paint has been used to outline the entire illustration.

The Simple Son, figural illustration, (fol. 11r):

Placed on a green ground with purple underlining, the *tam* figure sits on a stone bench, and rests his head on his left hand. In his right hand, he holds

a light green book that rests gently on a red garment that covers his lap and his legs. The blouse that he wears is, like the book, light green, and the cap, that partially covers his brown hair, is purple. The figure's face appears dark brown, and at first glance, it does not seem to have been executed in the traditional pinks, browns, and whites that we see in the faces of the other interrogators. In reality, the *tam's* face was depicted in the traditional manner, but at some point in this manuscript's history it was discolored by an ill-fated cup of wine. The entire illustration is outlined in black.

The One Who Does Not Know How To Ask, figural illustration, (fol. 11v): Placed on a green ground with black hatch marks are two male figures facing each other. The one on the left, who is clad in a purple tunic, a reddish orange cap, reddish orange stockings, and black shoes, extends his hands and opens the large red mouth of the figure on the right, thereby complying with the phrase *at petakh lo* "you shall open for him." The figure on the right, the one who does not know how to ask, has been depicted as a jester. He is wearing a jester's hat that is reddish orange and yellowish tan with bells extending from its ends, a tan tunic, highlighted with yellow and brown, and a black leather purse that hangs over the tunic at his waist. The jester is bare-footed and bare-legged, and the skin has been rendered with a mat-pink highlighted with brown. In his left hand he holds a staff that is crowned with a crescent-shaped decoration bearing a face in profile. Black outlines the illustration.

Jacob Going Down To Egypt, figural illustration, (fol. 13r):

Placed at the base of the folio on the left-hand side is a scene that is composed of four figures, a cart, and a donkey. Three figures sit in the cart that the donkey pulls, while a fourth figure walks alongside the animal on its far side. Both the donkey and the cart have been outlined in black, and though the cart has been partially painted brown and yellow, and the donkey a greenish gray, there are unpainted regions in both that bear the off-white of the vellum. The figure walking alongside the cart has purple shoes, a light blue cloak with a purple collar, and a purple hat. In his raised left hand he holds a whip, and with his right hand he supports a basket that rests on the donkey's back. Moving from right to left, the first figure sitting in the cart wears a green cloak and a purple hat; the second figure wears a bright red cloak and a bright red hat; and the third figure wears a purple cloak and a light blue head-covering that resembles a scarf. All the figures in this illustration have dark brown hair, brown eyes, and some red on the lips for highlighting. The entire illustration is outlined in black.

Mirror Image Of The Jacob Scene, figural illustration, (fol. 13v):

Placed at the base of the folio on the righthand side is a sketch of the Jacob Scene that appeared on the previous page. Here, however, the scene is an incomplete sketch. Only the figure with the whip, the donkey, and half the cart have been reproduced, and they have been rendered with brown ink and an orangish brown wash, rather than with the rich pigment that is employed throughout the manuscript. Furthermore, the figure and the whip that fit so neatly with the text in the Jacob Scene have here been replaced

with a figure and a whip that overlap the Hebrew characters. As it is clear that no illuminator would have obscured the Hebrew text deliberately, one is forced to conclude that this sketch was created out of necessity, once the Jacob Scene had bled through to this page. Clearly, this illustration was not a part of the artist's original program.

Tzei Ulemad, figural illustration, (fol. 14v):

Placed on a green ground of two small mounds, highlighted with black, brown, and yellow hatching, is a figure that has one foot on either mound to simulate walking. The figure is dressed in a blue tunic, brown shoes, purple stockings, and a purple hat, and he wears a brown sword with a yellow handle on his hip. In his left hand he carries a yellow lance with a gray tip, while with his right he clutches a green book. Black outline surrounds the illustration.

Naked Figures Under A Fruit Tree, figural illustration, (fol. 16v):

Placed under a green-leafed apple tree that grows from a green ground with black and yellow hatch marks are three naked figures. Each figure has blond hair, pink skin, and a pink face that has been modelled with brown and white, and in each face, brown has been used to depict the eyes, while red has been used to render the mouth. Clearly, the artist who created these figures was fascinated with the human form and with the various artistic techniques, such as foreshortening, which allowed him to depict his figures in varying and interesting positions. To date, it is still unclear as to which part of the Ezekiel passage (16:7) this scene was meant to illustrate.

Though it stands directly to the right of the words "I made of thee myriads like the sprouts of the fields," it also illustrates the rest of the verse, "Thou wast naked and bare." Once again, black ink outlines the entire illustration.

Building Pithom and Raamses, figural illustration, (fol.17v):
Placed on a tan and green ground with brown and black hatch marks are four figures who are engaged in the building of a German town. In the foreground, a man wearing yellowish tan leggings, an orangish red coat, and a tan hat mixes mortar in a tan trough that will soon be emptied into the bucket next to him. In the background, brown wooden beams and grayish white blocks rest on the ground at the foot of an open, rounded-arch gateway. This is the gateway to a typical, medieval German town, one that has heavy, modular edifices with narrow windows, crenellated parapets, and slanted roofs, all characteristic of the German expression of the Gothic idiom. Beyond the walls, three laborers can be seen building a tower. The one climbing a ladder and the one standing behind the crane's wheel are both wearing reddish orange clothing; the one leaning over the tower reaching for the end of the crane is wearing a blue coat and a blue hat. The entire scene is outlined in black.

Casting Children Into The Nile, figural illustration, (fol. 19r):
Placed on a green and tan ground with brown and black hatch marks are the king and queen of Egypt, and a servant of the royal couple who is casting first-born Hebrew male children into the Nile. One child is already partially consumed by the water, as only his feet remain visible, while a

second child is being held upside down by the servant at the river's edge. This servant has blond hair and is wearing red clothing, and he stands in front of the royal couple who are clad in green robes with red sleeves. Here again, we see the artist's interest in depicting realistic anatomy and his delight in rendering the naked human form in unusual and contorted positions. The entire scene is outlined in black.

The Plagues, Plateblock I, figural illustrations, (fol. 23r):

Presented in the form of a plateblock, the first five plague scenes appear as five separate vignettes that have been stacked one on top of the other. The five individual boxes and the whole plateblock have been outlined in black and reddish orange paint. *Blood:* Seated on a bench on a blood-covered green ground is a bearded figure who holds a brown staff in his right hand, and wears a purple cloak and a black hat. In the background, heavy, German architecture is being showered with blood that falls from the red and white snake-shaped cloud that hovers above. *Frogs:* Lying on a green ground is a figure in a reddish orange shirt who is being smothered by brown frogs that are falling from a snake-shaped blue and white cloud. On the far righthand side of the scene, a grayish water well is filling with frogs. *Lice:* Seated on a green ground, and covered from waist down with a reddish orange garment, is a figure with a bare torso who is being attacked by a swarm of lice that emanate from the maroon and white snake-shaped cloud that hovers above. Lice fill the air, and this figure's hands have been placed at his head as if to indicate that there are lice in his hair. *Wild Beasts:* On the left side of the frame, standing on a green ground and wearing a

blue tunic, reddish orange stockings, and a reddish orange hat, is a figure being attacked by three wild animals. Clawing at this figure is a grayish green wolf, while a lion, painted yellow gold, and a wolf, painted grayish brown, are in hot pursuit. Above the scene is a snake-shaped white cloud on a mat-blue background. *Pestilence:* Lying on a green ground are three animals, each only moments from death. The animal in the background, the one painted grayish white, is lying on its back and will soon expire. The other two animals, the one in the middle ground painted tan, and the one in the foreground painted dark gray, have been caught in their moment of collapse. A snake-shaped white cloud on a blue background hovers above.

The Plagues, Plateblock II, figural illustrations, (fol. 23v):

The second five plague scenes are also presented as a plateblock of five individual vignettes which, like the first five scenes, are outlined in black and reddish orange paint. *Boils:* Sitting on a tan bench that rests on a tan and green ground, is a man whose lower body is covered with a blue garment and whose upper body is infested with boils. Above the figure is a snake-shaped, white cloud, outlined in maroon, resting on a blue background. *Hail:* Lying on a tan and green ground is a man in a reddish orange cloak and a large-eared animal. Both have been pelted to death by the fiery hail that streams forth from the large, snake-shaped white cloud that rests on a blue background, and gives off red streaks of fire. *Locusts:* Descending upon a green and tan landscape are brownish red locusts that emanate from a snake-shaped white cloud that is outlined in black and is placed upon a mat-blue background. *Darkness:* Placed upon a green ground

are two figures, one male and one female, that have extended their arms to find each other in the heavy darkness. They are, however, unable to do so. For in the upper register, below the snake-shaped white cloud, is a yellow sun that has been partially overpainted with black to symbolize the darkness that is upon them. *Death of the First Born:* Three figures, one in the foreground wearing a reddish orange tunic and light blue stockings, and two in the background wearing maroon stockings, lie motionless on a green and tan ground. They have been smitten by the Angel of Death, represented here by a hand grasping a knife emerging from the maroon and white snake-shaped cloud.

Kamah, initial-word panel, (fol. 26v):

Placed on a pink background with six-pointed star and exploding tear-drop decoration, are the three letters of the word *kamah.* The blue *kaf* and the green *hei* have both been filled in with acanthus leaf decoration, highlighted with black and white. The *mem,* which is gold, has been decorated with a gold filigree motif. The initial-word itself is surrounded by a gold leaf frame, and the entire panel is outlined in black.

Pesach, figural illustration, (fol. 30r):

Standing on a stone block before a bluish gray roasting stand, is a figure wearing a blue robe with a pinkish purple lining, a pinkish purple under garment, and a pinkish purple hat. With his right hand, this long-haired man turns the spit upon which the *pesach* has been placed. The animal is pink with black and white highlights, and it is suspended above an open

reddish orange fire that is shaded with black. The entire scene is outlined in black.

Matzah, figural illustration, (fol. 30v):

Seated in a rounded, high-backed, light gray chair is a brown-haired figure wearing a hat composed of varying shades of red, orange, and tannish yellow, and a green robe with a white collar. As he leans back against a large patch of black, symbolizing either a carved niche, or a pillow, this figure gestures with his left hand to the raised, stylized purplish *matzah*, that is held aloft in his right. The hands and the face have been painted pink, and the eyes and the mouth have been highlighted with red. Here again, the artist has created the illusion of volume and plasticity by creating an interplay of light and shadow. The entire illustration is outlined in black.

Maror, figural illustration, (fol. 31v):

Seated on a wooden bench, highlighted with light tan, is a brown-haired figure holding a leafy green vegetable in his raised right hand that he motions to with his left. The hands and the face of this man have been painted pink, his lips have been painted red, and his eyes have been painted brown, and he wears a reddish orange robe, a light blue hat, and a light blue scarf. Once again, the artist has, through the use of black line and varying shades of pigment, created the illusion of drapery that conforms to the contours of the body. Black is used to outline the entire illustration.

Lefikhakh, initial-word panel, (fol. 33r):

Set on a black background with various forms of gold starburst decoration are the pink letters of the word *lefikhakh*. Outlined in gold, and decorated with gold filigree, these letters break through an inner frame that is composed of two half-panels of two different colors. The top and the right side of the frame have been painted dark blue while the bottom and the left side of the frame have been painted white. Once again, this technique creates the illusion of receding space, yet again, a space which is limited by the letters that burst beyond the panel, onto the two-dimensional parchment. The outer frame is painted light blue, and the panel is outlined in black.

Halleluyah, initial-word panel, (fol. 34r):

On a black background with gold open-petal floral decoration are the gold letters of the word *halleluyah*, outlined in black. Below the black background is a band of white, followed by a band of reddish orange, while above the background is another band of reddish orange. A thin yellow line cuts through the reddish orange band on the top, while a thin black band separates the reddish orange from the white on the bottom. Once again, the letters surge beyond the panel to the parchment, and once again, a black line surrounds the panel, encasing the illumination.

Betseit, initial-word panel, (fol. 35r):

Placed on a pink background with gold starburst decoration are the gold letters of the word *betseit*, outlined in black. Though the base of the inner

frame is white and the top is blue, the artist has altered his technique of creating an inner frame from two half-frames by eliminating corresponding side panels. Here, the sides have been decorated with royal blue acanthus leaf decoration, highlighted with black and white. This alteration does not, however, deny the artist the opportunity to create the *trompe l'oeil* that he is so fond of creating. The pink background still seems to recede into space, while the gold letters again jut beyond the panel into the blank parchment. The entire panel is outlined in black.

Shefokh initial-word panel, (fol. 42r):

On a black background with an exploding tear drop design done in gold are the three letters of the word *shefokh*. Outlined in gold, and filled in with fleshy acanthus leaf decoration, these three letters are painted green, blue, and red respectively. The foliage in the *shin* and the *pei* have been modelled with black and white highlights, while in the *kaf*, only white has been employed. The background is encased by a gold frame, and this frame is outlined in black. Once again, the letters violate the frame.

Lo, initial-word panel, (fol. 42v):

Placed on a pink background decorated with delicate gold tendrils are the letters of the word *lo*, outlined in gold. The *lamed*, which has a royal blue background, is decorated with gold tendrils; the *aleph*, which has a gold background, is decorated with a gold floral motif. Beyond the pink background is an inner frame constructed of two half frames: the left and top are dark blue, and the right and base are bluish white. A thin white line

outlines this inner frame, and beyond this white band is a mat-blue outer frame, encased by the traditional black line. Here again, the letters jut through the frames to the parchment.

Adonai, initial-word panel, (fol. 44r):

On a black background with gold floral decoration are the abbreviated letters of the word *Adonai*, outlined in gold. These three *yods* are arranged blue, gold, blue, and the blue letters have been filled in with blue acanthus leaf decoration, highlighted with black and white. Beyond the background is a pinkish red frame, and in the middle of the frame is a gold, chain-like decoration. The third, and most decorative, letter breaks through the frame. The entire panel is outlined in black.

Aleph, initial-letter of Ahavti, (fol. 45r):

Placed on a red background decorated with gold filigree is a royal blue *aleph*, decorated with six-pointed gold stars. Both the letter and the background are outlined by a thin gold band, and beyond the background is a gold frame that is encased by a black border. Perched on the top of this initial-letter are two birds, a blue jay and a robin. Like the other depictions of birds in this manuscript, these birds reveal the artist's passion for realism and detail.

Mah, initial-word panel, (fol. 46r):

Placed on a red background with gold starbursts are the gold letters of the word *mah*. The illusion of a frame is created by four thin gold bands that go

around the sides of the panel. These bands are violated at the top and the base by the *mem* and the *hei*, reflecting, once again, the artist's commitment to the creation of tension-filled space. The entire panel is outlined in black.

Min, initial-word panel, (fol. 48v):

Placed on a red background with gold starburst decoration are the letters of the word *min*, rendered in a gold leaf which has partially flaked away. These letters have been outlined by a thin band of gold, much like the one that outlines the red background, and separates it from the blue, acanthus-filled frame. The entire panel is outlined in black.

Barukh, initial-word panel, (fol. 51r):

Placed on a pink background with gold starburst decoration are the four letters of the word *barukh:* the *bet* and the final *kaf* are gold, the *resh*, which is outlined in gold and painted royal blue, is decorated with gold *fleur-de-lis* designs, while the *vav*, which is painted green, is decorated with green acanthus leaves and highlighted in black and white. Here again, we see the artist's fascination with the interplay of two- and three-dimensional space. For as the white and the light blue of the inner frame creates the illusion of a receding pink ground, the letters jut forward into the stationary, outer blue frame. The result is a heightened tension and dynamism, one which is only controlled by the black line that surrounds this illumination.

Hodu, initial-word panel, (fol. 52r):

Placed on a light green background with gold floral decoration are the gold letters of the word *hodu*, outlined in black. The frame that surrounds the green background is orange, and either side of this frame is outlined in black.

Nishmat, initial-word panel, (fol. 54r):

Placed on a gold background with white tendrils are the four letters of the word *nishmat*, outlined in black. Arranged blue, pink, blue, pink, the blue letters have been decorated with acanthus leaves, highlighted with black and white, while the pink letters have been decorated with large, sprawling leaves, sketched in gold. The frame, which is painted blue, has a green and white band in its middle that is punctuated by leafy gold tendrils on all four sides. The panel is outlined in black.

Az, initial-word panel, (fol. 60r):

Placed on a blue background decorated with gold *fleur-de-lis* designs are the two letters of the word *az*, executed in a gold leaf which has partially flaked away. Beyond the blue background is a red frame that is outlined on either side with black paint. An ascender from the *aleph* breaks through the red frame.

Omets, initial-word panel, (fol. 62v):

Placed on a black background decorated with gold starbursts and tendrils are the three letters of the word *omets:* the *aleph*, painted blue, and

decorated with six-pointed gold stars; the *mem*, painted green, and decorated with acanthus leaves, highlighted with black and white; and the final *tsadi*, painted maroon, and decorated with white acanthus leaves. A thin gold band outlines each of these letters, and a similar gold band outlines the background, and separates it from the blue frame. Though this frame is completely blue, the artist has maintained his two-color inner frame by outlining the top and the right in black, and the left and the bottom in white. All three letters break into this frame which is encased entirely in black.

Ki, initial-word panel, (fol. 65r):

Placed on a red background covered with gold tendril decoration are the two letters of the word *ki*. Outlined in gold, these letters have been painted green, and have been filled with green acanthus leaves, highlighted with black and white. At the edge of red background is a thin gold band that separates the red from the two-tone inner frame--the top and the right painted dark blue, and the bottom and the left painted white. Adjacent to this two-tone inner frame is the outer frame which has been painted mat-blue, and beyond this outer frame is a black line that surrounds the entire panel. For the final time, our artist reveals his concern for the interplay of two- and three-dimensional space. Though the letters in this panel seem confined by the heavy, stationary outer frame, the two-tone inner frame creates a *trompe l'oeil* that leads one to believe that these letters sit upon a background that is receding into space. The result is a heightened tension

between planes, a dynamism that can only be controlled by the outermost, black border that encases this explosive panel.

Surrounding this folio, and surrounding every page in this manuscript, is a decorative border that frames the parchment on all four sides. The backgrounds of these borders have been painted red, maroon, orange, yellow, green, and black, and each has been decorated with stars, fleshy tendrils, or willow catkins whose branches criss-cross in a delicate and artful manner. Clearly, these borders do much to contribute to the beauty of this manuscript. Yet an examination of these frames suggests that they were not executed by the same steady hand that produced the initial-panels and marginal illustrations. In truth, the decoration that sits upon the backgrounds of these frames was rendered in a hurried, slap-dash manner. Furthermore, where the marginal illustrations and the initial-panels were rendered with rich pigments, the backgrounds of the borders were painted in a light wash.

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Having subjected the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* to codicological, paleographic, liturgical and artistic analysis, we have learned that this Haggadah manuscript was executed in Germany in the latter decades of the fifteenth century. In particular, our in-depth examination of the artwork has led us to surmise that this manuscript was executed in the Upper Rhenish region. Moreover, our comparison of the textual illustrations and the border decoration has suggested the possibility that this Haggadah was illuminated by more than one artist. As scholars have assumed, for nearly

half a century, that the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* was written and illuminated exclusively by Meir ben Israel Jaffe of Heidelberg, our assertion to the contrary clearly requires a more detailed investigation. And it is with the hope that we may shed some new light on this manuscript that we now turn our attentions to an evaluation of previous scholarship.

THE FIRST CINCINNATI HAGGADAH:
A REINVESTIGATION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Until Franz Landsberger's article, "The Cincinnati Haggadah and its Decorator," appeared in 1940, it had been generally assumed that the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* was produced at the end of the fourteenth century, and illustrated over the next century and a half. In 1927, while engaged in their now-famous study *Die Darmstadter Pessach-Haggadah*, [1] the scholars Bruno Italiener and August L. Mayer turned their attention to an examination of the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* since, as they asserted, the colophons revealed that the scribe of the *First Cincinnati Haggadah*, Meir ben Israel Jaffe of Heidelberg, was the son of the copyist of the *Darmstadt Haggadah*, Israel ben Meir of Heidelberg. Working from this assumption, and following an examination of the ritual and contents of both manuscripts, Italiener concluded that the *Darmstadt Haggadah* should be assigned to the first half of the fourteenth century, while the son's Haggadah, which bears the more sophisticated ritual, should be assigned to the end of that century. The art historian, Mayer, on the other hand, assigned the illustrations of the *Darmstadt Haggadah* to the second or third decade of the fifteenth century, and argued that the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* was executed by a number of hands, spanning from the end of the fourteenth century to the middle of the sixteenth century. In his opinion, the primary artist was the copyist, who most likely produced the initial-word panels and initial-letters at the end of the fourteenth century.

In 1940, Landsberger reasserted that the scribe of the *First Cincinnati Haggadah*, Meir ben Israel Jaffe, was indeed the son of the

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1 Bruno Italiener, Aron Freimann, August L. Mayer, Die Darmstadter Pessach-Haggadah, Codex Orientalis 8 der Landesbibliothek zu Darmstadt, 2 Vols. (Liepzig: K.W. Hiersemann, 1927-28)

copyist of the *Darmstadt Haggadah*, Israel ben Meir. Yet in contradistinction to the previous findings, Landsberger argued that Meir ben Israel Jaffe was not only the scribe-artist of the entire manuscript, but that he was a sophisticated leather-tooler who worked in the latter half of the fifteenth century, and hailed from the Southern German community of Ulm. In support of this argument, Landsberger asserted that Italiener's dating of the *Darmstadt Haggadah* to the end of the fourteenth century, and Mayer's dating of the illustrations of the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* to the end of the fifteenth century, placed a hundred years between father and son. This, he argued, would be quite impossible. However, by coopting Mayer's assertion that the sophisticated nature of the figures' garments in the *Darmstadt Haggadah* suggests that the mansucript may be dated to the second or third decade of the fifteenth century, Landsberger concluded that there existed no more than fifty years between the creation of Israel's manuscript and the execution of Meir's text. Customarily, a span of fifty years between the production of two manuscripts would, as Landsberger acknowledged, be too great a period to ascribe one manuscript to the father and the other to the son. In this instance, however, the fact that the colophon of the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* indicates that Meir's father was already deceased at the time that this manuscript was fashioned enabled Landsberger to do just that.

In his study of the artwork of the *First Cincinnati Haggadah*, August L. Mayer asserted that Meir ben Israel Jaffe was, most probably, responsible for the creation of the initial-words and initial-letters at the close of the fourteenth century, but clearly played no part in the execution

of the marginal illustrations which were painted during the last three decades of the fifteenth century. The majority of the illustrations, Mayer argued, were painted by a second artist around 1470, while the illustrations of *Jacob's Journey* (which he calls the *Exodus Scene*) (fig. 37), the *Building of Pithom and Ramses* (fig. 38), and the *Casting of the Jewish First Born into the Nile* (fig. 39), were the work of a third hand who added these illustrations around 1490. In addition, Mayer assigned the illustration of the *Wicked Son* (fig. 40) to the sixteenth century on the basis of his garb, and argued that aside from the three borders which date from the fifteenth century (2v, 13r, 14r), the borders, because of their Renaissance and, in places, early Baroque character, were created in the second half of the sixteenth century. Mayer's assertion that the borders were painted in the second half of the sixteenth century was based on his observation that there exists an owner entry dating 1560 on the second page of the colophon which interrupts the border in the top lefthand corner of the page. (fig. 41)

In response to this study, Landsberger argued that to accept Mayer's assertions would be to conclude that in the course of about one hundred and fifty years, no fewer than four hands worked on the ornamentation of the manuscript; that when presented to Rabbi Enschen, the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* had only initial-panels and none of the illustrations; that some sixty or seventy years later the illustrations were added, except for one of the illustrations of the Four Sons which was omitted; and that in the middle of the next century it occurred to some new owner to insert a complete border program. Landsberger argued that these conclusions were quite untenable, and asserted that although Mayer was correct in assigning the

marginal illustrations to the last quarter of the fifteenth century, he failed to realize that the initial-panels and the decorative borders were the product of the same hand, that of the copyist, Meir ben Israel Jaffe.

That the illustrations originated in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, Landsberger argued, is revealed by the accurate proportions and the aesthetic types of the figures and by the broken folds of their garments (fig. 42), and by the realistic perspectives which appear in the landscape of the *yakenhaz* scene (fig. 43) and in the cityscape of the Pithom and Ramses scene (see fig. 38). Yet there is also evidence that these illustrations and the initial-panels were executed by the same hand. Proof for this assertion, Landsberger argued, may be derived from a comparison of the letters in the colophon with the letters in the initial-panels. Both sets of letters, he noted, reveal the same type of highlighting with the exterior being highlighted with black, and the interior being highlighted with heavy white. Further confirmation, Landsberger noted, may be obtained from an examination of the *avadim* historiated initial-panel (fig. 44). In this panel, the woodcutter stands on a green ground which is the same type of green ground that appears in a number of marginal illustrations throughout the entire manuscript. What's more, the violet trousers and the blue jacket which the woodcutter wears in this panel appear in identical combination in the illustration of the roving scholar (fig. 45). In both illustrations, the blue jackets are highlighted with patches of heavy white, the same heavy white which has been used to highlight the ascender of the *lamed* in the colophon, and the majority of the letters in the initial-panels throughout the text.

Landsberger also rejected Mayer's assertion that the *Wicked Son* originated not earlier than the sixteenth century. Landsberger noted that no scribe-artist would have painted only three of the four interrogators, and asserted that since it is clear that the other interrogators were executed in the last decades of the fifteenth century, one must conclude that the illustration of the *Wicked Son* was executed in the fifteenth century as well. In addition, Landsberger noted that the long curly hair, the puffed sleeves, and the plumed hat of the *Wicked Son* were already extant at the end of the fifteenth century. In support of this assertion, Landsberger draws the reader's attention to the illustrations of soldiers that the youthful Durer was so fond of portraying, in particular the *Cavalcade in Hilly Landscape* of 1489, and the engraving of *The Six Soldiers* of about 1496. Furthermore, Landsberger argued that the *Wicked Son* retains the stiff posture of the fourteen hundreds, with his head, torso, and legs occupying the same plane; a figure stepping forward beyond the surface of the plane, in counterposition, which was characteristic of the sixteenth century, is nowhere to be found in this illustration. Finally, Landsberger noted that there are sufficient similarities between the illustration of the *Wicked Son* and the illustration of the *Simple Son* (fig. 46) on the opposite page to assert that both were executed by the same hand: the facial contours, the piece of green at their feet, and the red in their attire attest to the fact that the *Wicked Son* "is not to be separated from the

other pictures. Rather, it obliges us to set the time of our Haggadah's origin not earlier than 1480-1490." [2]

In contradistinction to Mayer's assertion that the majority of the border decoration was not added until the second half of the sixteenth century, Landsberger argued that Meir prepared for this decoration from the outset, and like the initial-panels and marginal illustrations, the borders were clearly an integral part of Meir's artistic program. In support of this assertion, Landsberger noted that whenever the border comes in contact with one of the marginal illustrations, it bends out of the way of the illustration, so that the illustration is simultaneously standing in the main body of the parchment, and invading the border, thus creating the effect of ampler space (fig. 47). In addition, one need only glance at the first page of the manuscript to realize that it was Meir's intention to integrate all the artwork. Beneath the strip of green ground in the *Bedikat Chamets* scene, Meir has placed an orange-colored stroke which he extends along the inner side of the border, thereby integrating the border with the illustration. This example would, by itself, indicate that the same hand produced both the marginal illustrations and the borders. Yet, in addition, Landsberger noted, the borders share stylistic features with the initial-panels. Star patterns appear in both, and in both, the color black, striking because it is rarely used, functions as a foil.

Further support for his hypothesis that the borders were a part of Meir's artistic program is derived from an analysis of the borders

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2 Franz Landsberger, "The First Cincinnati Haggadah and its Decorator," p. p.11.

themselves. Realizing that star decoration was employed as a decorative motif throughout the manuscript, Landsberger rejected Mayer's assumption that the three borders with star decoration (2v, 13r, 14r) were executed separately from the rest of the borders. In addition, Landsberger noted that the thin, bright orange stripe which underlines the green ground of the *Bedikat Chamets* scene and extends along the inner edge of the first page, also extends along the inner edge of the next two pages. As these three pages include folio 2v, Landsberger concluded that these three pages were painted at the same time, proving that either all three borders, and thus, all the borders in the manuscript, were created in the fifteenth century, or all the borders were created in the sixteenth century.

Clearly, it was Landsberger's contention that all the border decoration was executed in the fifteenth century, and as a concluding argument to his discussion of these borders, Landsberger asserted that sections of the black border, which surrounds the second page of the colophon, were erased by the owners of 1559 and 1560 to allow for their particular entries. This, Landsberger argued, is evinced by the fact that if the border had been added subsequently, the artist would have made the upper margin symmetrical like the others. In this instance, he argued, the symmetry of the upper margin can only be inferred, as the actual symmetry has been marred by the erasure. What's more, had the border not been in place in 1560, there would have been nothing to have induced this owner to insert his entry in a three-line format. "He did that," argued

Landsberger, "only in view of the border. He filled the gap which he had himself, in a measure, caused." (fig. 48) [3]

In conclusion, then, Landsberger asserted that the initial-panels, the marginal illustrations, and the border decorations were all part of Meir's artistic program, and were thus inserted into the manuscript at some point near the end of the fifteenth century when this scribe-artist transcribed the Haggadah text.

Due in part to their incidental treatment of the *First Cincinnati Haggadah*, and in part to their belief that the artwork in this mansucript was executed over a period of a century and a half, neither Italiener nor Mayer made any attempt to pinpoint the manuscript's place of origin. Landsberger, however, drawing primarily on an inscription on a tooled-leather binding of the Bavarian State Library (Cod. Hebr. 212), and on a document of the Nuremberg Council of 1468, concluded that Meir ben Israel Jaffe was both a leather-tooler and a scribe-artist who resided in the town of Ulm.

From the inscription on the tooled-leather binding (fig. 49), Landsberger concluded that the copyist, Meir, was skilled in yet a third medium, leather-tooling: "Pentateuch for the Nuremberg Council (to whom may life be granted). Meir Jaffe, the designer." [4] From a decree of the Nuremberg Council, issued July 4, 1468, Landsberger inferred that Meir was merely visiting that city, and actually resided in Ulm: "Item Meyerlein, Jew of Ulm, is permitted to remain here until St. Martin's day next and is to

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3 Ibid., p.12.

4 The Hebrew inscription reads: החומש להעיצה מנורנבערקא שיחי מאיר יפי המצייד

bind some library books for this Council. The secretaries of this Council shall take note." In support of this theory, Landsberger argued that there exist stylistic similarites between the letters on the binding and the script of the Haggadah, and in particular, he compares the letters *mem*, *shin*, and *aleph* in the colophon with those in the tooled-leather inscription of the Pentateuch. [5] Further testimony, he asserted, comes from the fact that on the Pentateuch binding Meir refers to himself as the *metsayyer*. Landsberger acknowledged that there exists the slight possibility that this term refers only to this particular binding, and that Meir is claiming only this binding as his product. However, Landsberger rejected this supposition, and asserted, alternatively, that in the fifteenth century, the word *metsayyer* was clearly associated with the art of illumination. Meir, Landsberger noted, was merely visiting Nuremberg, and was, at that time,

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5 Though Landsberger argued that this tooled-leather binding and the First Cincinnati Haggadah were both executed by the same hand, he offered no stylistic comparison of these works. In truth, Landsberger offered nothing more than a description of the binding, and left it to the reader to infer that there were stylistic similarities between the ornamentation on this binding and the decoration in the Haggadah manuscript. Landsberger's description reads as follows:

> On the front cover, the binding shows on top the Nuernberg coat of arms surrounded by the band-like inscription; while below, striding amid delicate tendrils, is to be seen a stag whose body, we grant, has been somewhat elongated in order to fill out the space. The back cover presents that same surface as a single field, abounding in broad tendrils with heavy leaves, restlessly rolling and intertwining and terminating in fantastic human faces.

Clearly, as this description offers neither stylistic analysis of the binding, nor a comparison with the artwork of the Haggadah manuscript, one is forced to conclude that this question of attribution must be considered in greater depth.

engaged in an artistic activity for which he was less well known. Consequently, Landsberger concluded that Meir must have employed the term *metsayyer* to identify his true calling and to designate the profession with which he was identified in his place of residence. [6]

In an attempt to secure this argument of provenance, Landsberger noted that there exist stylistic and iconographic similarities between the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* and the non-Jewish art of Ulm from that period. In particular, Landsberger cited the incunabula and woodcuts to which, he argued, Jewish miniaturists may well have had easy access. In a woodcut found in the *Aesop*, published in Ulm in 1476/77, an illustration of the

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6 In his attempt to prove that Meir Jaffe was a sophisticated leather-tooler, Landsberger himself acknowledged that "the discovery of that cover was not accidental," but "rather the result of planned investigation conducted in the field of leather tooling in the course of recent decades." (p.15) The truth is that prior to the appearance of Landsberger's article a number of scholars had published articles asserting that Meir Jaffe was not only a master bookbinder responsible for as many as twenty bindings, but that he was known by a second name, Mair b. b. (bookbinder).(For a more detailed discussion see pp 98-99) Landsberger, however, rejected these conclusions, asserting that a stylistic analysis of these bindings reveals that Meir Jaffe was only responsible for the Pentateuch which was presented to the Nuremberg Council. As an example, Landsberger compared the Nuremberg Pentateuch with one of Mair's bindings, housed in the Wolfenbuettel Landsbibliothek (11.15 Jur. 2). In sum, Landsberger asserted that where Meir Jaffe's binding exhibits a *horror vacui* characteristic of Jewish art, the Mair binding is open and airy; where Meir's artwork is heavy and somewhat primitive, the artwork on the Mair binding is sharper and more elegant. Said Landsberger, "the caliber of Mair is distinctly superior to that of Meir....Mair b.b. was, accordingly, an artist separate and distinct and, by no means, a Jew." (p. 18) With regard to these two bindings, Landsberger's stylistic analysis seems fairly sound. Yet as other bindings have yet to be studied, it is clear that one is once again forced to conclude that this entire discussion requires further consideration.

fable of the hares and the frogs appears which bears striking similarity to the *Yakenhaz* scene which appears in the Haggadah text (fig. 50). Also in the *Aesop*, as well as in the book *Beispiele der alter Weisen*, published in Ulm in 1483, one finds illustrations of trees that have been depicted in the same fashion as those that appear in Meir's landscapes--slender trunks with light, feathery foliage which has been rendered by a few disconnected, hastily sketched lines (fig. 51). In addition, the various types of headgear which appear in the marginal illustrations of the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* are to be found once again in the illustrated incunabula from that city.

Having argued that Meir hailed from Ulm, and that the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* was produced in that city, Landsberger asserted that the words "from Heidelberg," which appear in Meir's colophon, refer not to Meir, but to his father, the copyist of the *Darmstadt Haggadah*. Realizing that the Jews were expelled from Heidelberg in 1391, Landsberger concluded that Israel ben Meir must have come south after his expulsion from his home town, and there, in the Upper Rhenish region, developed his trade as scribe-artist. Years later, Israel must have taught his trade to his son, Meir, who, in turn, must have begun his career as scribe-artist in a southern German town, such as Ulm, around the middle of the century. [7]

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7 It is interesting to note that in his creation of this scenario, and in his assertion that Israel ben Meir was the illuminator of the Darmstadt Haggadah, Landsberger completely ignored August Mayer's conclusion that this manuscript was illuminated in the first twenty years of the fifteenth century, and that it was illustrated by a number of hands working in the Middle Rhine region. In particular, Mayer asserted that two master-artists can be distinguished, Master A and Master B.

In support of this scenario, Landsberger noted that in the fifteenth century, Ulm was both a center of religious tolerance and a city which was known to have had artists who engaged in Hebrew manuscript production. In particular, Landsberger cited the Parma Library illuminated *Mahzor* which was illustrated in 1450 by some unknown artist of Ulm and finished in Treviso in 1453 (Cod. Ross. 653), and a two-volume *Mahzor* in the State Library of Munich (Cod. Hebr. 3, known generally as the *Munich Mahzor*) which was transcribed in 1459 by a copyist named Isaac for the Rabbi Jacob Mattathiah in Ulm and adorned by the copyist with initial-panels and marginal illustrations. In the colophon, Isaac writes that although he is sixty-one years of age, he did his transcribing without spectacles. It is not surprising that Landsberger was tempted to speculate that Meir may well have been engaged by the community of Ulm following Isaac's death.

Though Landsberger never pursued this assumption, his general conclusion seemed cogent and convincing; seemingly, they resolved so many unanswered questions that for nearly half a century Jewish scholars have assumed that the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* was written and illuminated by the scribe-artist, Meir ben Israel Jaffe, that this Meir Jaffe was a sophisticated leather-tooler who resided in Ulm, and that he was the son of the scribe-artist of the *Darmstadt Haggadah*, Israel ben Meir of Heidelberg. Indeed, Landsberger's conclusions are most compelling. Nevertheless, a reexamination of his arguments forces me to assert that a number of his conclusions seem somewhat speculative.

Landsberger had asserted that the words "from Heidelberg," which appear in Meir's colophon, refer not to Meir, but to Meir's father the

copyist, Israel ben Meir. He also asserted that these words referred to Israel's place of birth, and not to the place where Israel developed his trade as scribe. On both counts Landsberger is quite correct. It is a well- known fact that it was customary in the Middle Ages to identify one's place of origin primarily when one was no longer residing in that particular community. Had Meir's family still been residents of Heidelberg at the time that he produced his manuscript, he probably would not have found it necessary to identify the fact that his father hailed from that city. In addition, though we possess no information that would help us to identify Meir's age at the time that he executed the *First Cincinnati Haggdah*, it is clear from the illustrations in the manuscript that Meir was active in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. Given that no more than about fifty years could separate father and son, it is also clear that Israel could not have been active as a scribe much before the second quarter of that century. As the Jews were expelled from Heidelberg in 1391, one is led to conclude that though Israel the copyist came from Heidelberg, it seems highly unlikely that he ever worked as a scribe in that community.

On the one hand, then, we may conclude that Landsberger was quite correct when he argued that Israel developed his trade only after his family had been expelled from their Middle Rhenish hometown. Yet one must recall that Landsberger's conclusion was based not merely on the logical assumption that the father would have had to have been active in the same century as the son, but on the supposition that Meir's father was responsible for the execution of the *Darmstadt Haggadah*, whose artwork Mayer had previously assigned to the second or third decade of the

fifteenth century. A recent investigation of the *Darmstadt Haggadah* has, however, revealed that the copyist of that manuscript was not responsible for its sumptuous illustrations, and one is left to question whether Israel ben Meir and, in turn, Meir Jaffe were actually the sophisticated scribe-artists that Landsberger would have us believe.

Writing for the facsimile edition of the *Darmstadt Haggadah*, Paul Peiper asserted that the illustrations were indeed the work of more than one hand as Mayer had previously suggested. Yet in contradiction to Mayer who argued that these illustrations were executed by Jewish artists in the Middle Rhine region, Peiper concluded that they were the product of a Christian workshop located in the Southwestern region of the Upper Rhine. The agility of the many figures, the developed facial types, the fashionable garments, and the loose, watercolor painting technique which simultaneously outlines the figures and fuses them with the dark background, is consistent, Peiper argued, with the artists who decorated the Postille of Nikolaus of Lyra and an early pack of playing cards, now housed in the Stuttgart Landesmuseum, dating between 1427 and 1431. Furthermore, the numerous irregularities within the *Darmstadt Haggadah*, the irregular positioning of large architectural scenes around central initial-panels, the existence of lines of text beneath illustrations, and the blurring of the Hebrew text by marginal illustrations, caused Peiper to conclude not only that the writing of the script and the painting of the miniatures were not under the direction of a single personality, but that the scribe and the artists worked separately, in different regions of Germany (figs. 52, 53). Peiper concluded that the scribe, who was responsible for the text and, in

all probability, oversaw the illustration of the initial-words and initial-letters, must have left Heidelberg toward the end of the fourteenth century, sojourned to the South, and taken up residence in a Southwestern town such as Freiburg or Ulm. How the manuscript found its way into the hands of a Christian workshop remains an unanswered question.

Clearly, Peiper's conclusion that the scribe of the *Darmstadt Haggadah* was responsible for the text and the initial-panels only, and that the sumptuous illustrations which appear in this manuscript were the product of a Christian workshop, forces one to consider a number of very real possibilities. First, that Israel ben Meir may not have been the masterful artist who illuminated the *Darmstadt Haggadah*, as Landsberger suggested, but rather, as Mayer and Peiper have argued, that he was a sophisticated scribe who possessed a proficiency for the rendering of initial-panels. Second, that given the likelihood that this copyist never became an accomplished illuminator, it seems logical to conclude that he taught Meir only the art of copying, and not the fine art of illumination. And third, since it is probable that Israel never taught Meir the art of painting, it is equally possible that Meir, like Israel, never became an accomplished illuminator, and thus, was not responsible for the entire decorative program of his manuscript. Obviously, none of these considerations can be determined one way or another without further evaluation of the relationship between these two copyists, and the relationship of each to his particular oeuvre. At present, however, there is sufficient evidence to assert that these considerations warrant further study, and to argue that Landsberger's conclusion that Israel ben Meir and

Meir Jaffe were the illuminators of their respective manuscripts seems highly speculative. [8]

Not unlike his assertion that Israel and Meir were father and son and that they were masterful illuminators, Landsberger's conclusion that Meir Jaffe hailed from Ulm warrants further consideration. It should be recalled

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8 In truth, it is even possible that there existed no filial relationship between Israel and Meir. August Mayer argued that the Darmstadt Haggadah was most probably written in the first two decades of the fifteenth century; and Paul Pieper argued that the illustrations were added around 1425-30, only after the text had been completed. In short, both scholars suggest that Israel wrote this manuscript earlier in the fifteenth century than Landsberger would have us believe. And if we accept their dating of the Darmstadt Haggadah, we must realize that a period of nearly seventy years separated these two copyists, thus making a filial relationship quite improbable. What's more, we have no knowledge of Meir's age at the time of his writing of the First Cincinnati Haggadah around 1480. Though Landsberger suggested that Meir was already in the latter years of his life when he executed his text, the acknowledgement, *a la* Mayer and Pieper, that too many years separated these two personalities, forces one to consider the possibility that Meir may have been at any of a number of stages in his career when the First Cincinnati Haggadah was completed. It should also be noted, if just in passing, that "Israel" and "Meir" were very common Hebrew names in the Middle Ages, and the fact that Meir's father was named Israel may be sheer coincidence. In truth, this assertion lends greater significance to the fact that the names of the two copyists are not identical. The colophon of the Darmstadt Haggadah reads Israel ben Meir of Heidelberg, while the colophon of the First Cincinnati Haggadah reads Meir ben Israel Jaffe of Heidelberg. On the other hand, it was not uncommon for Jews in medieval Europe to make no mention of the family name, and it seems quite possible that the colophons of these two manuscripts designate the names of male personalities from three generations of the Jaffe family. This is supported by the historical fact that only twelve families were expelled from Heidelberg in 1391. It would seem most unlikely that a Jewish community of that size would possess more than one family that was engaged in scribal arts. In sum, the argument that Israel ben Meir and Meir Jaffe were father and son requires further consideration.

that Landsberger placed Meir Jaffe in Ulm by way of inference. From an inscription on a leather binding that states that Meir Jaffe executed the binding for the Nuremberg Council, and from a Nuremberg Council decree which granted permission to a certain "Meyerlein, Jew of Ulm" to remain in Nuremberg until the following St. Martin's day, Landsberger concluded that Meir Jaffe must have lived in Ulm. Though Landsberger's conclusion is not beyond the realm of possibility, the truth is that in his inscription on the binding, Meir identifies himself only as the *metsayyer*; not as a Jew from Ulm, while the decree of the Nuremberg Council states that a certain "Meyerlein" was permitted to stay in that city, and does not identify that "Meyerlein" as Meir Jaffe. Clearly, the question before us is whether Meir Jaffe is the "Meyerlein" to which the Nuremberg decree refers.

For nearly a century, scholars have debated whether Meir was a masterful leather-tooler, responsible for the production of a whole collection of leather bindings, or whether he was responsible merely for the single binding which bears his name. [9] In 1927, Herman Herbst published an article in which he asserted that the blind stampings on the eleven volumes which he had assembled were the product of a single craftsman, probably someone living in Nuremberg in the second half of the fifteenth century. As the name Mair b.b. (buchbinder) was stamped on two of the volumes, Herbst concluded that Mair must have been responsible for the entire group. In 1928, Ernst Philipp Goldschmidt enlarged the collection of

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9 For a summary of the arguments dealing with fifteenth-century German Jewish bookbinding, and with the specific question of Meir Jaffe's relationship to this particular trade, see Ursula Ephraim Katzenstein's "Mair Jaffe and Bookbinding Research," Studies in Bibliography and Booklore, XIV (1982).

bindings to twenty-two, and asserted not only that Mair b.b. and Meir Jaffe were one and the same, but that Meir Jaffe was the head of a bookbinding workshop. In 1930, Max Joseph Husung published an article which supported Goldschmidt's conclusion, asserting that "Mair" was nothing more than the German variant of "Meir." In 1940, however, Landsberger asserted that Meir Jaffe was responsible for only the binding which bears his name, and on stylisitc grounds, rejected the theory that Meir Jaffe and Mair b.b. were one and the same. [10]

Since Landsberger's publication, a number of additional studies have appeared which have sought to resolve the question of the number of Meirs who worked as bookbinders in fifteenth-century Germany. In truth, however, these studies have served only to complicate the question even further. By 1949, Husung and Goldschmidt had concluded that over thirty leather bindings should be ascribed to Meir Jaffe. In 1950, however, Ernst Kyriss rejected the assertion that the Husung-Goldschmidt group of bindings should be credited to Meir, and asserted that these bindings were the product of three distinct masters. In addition, Kyriss boldly reasserted Landsberger's supposition that only the Pentateuch binding could, with certainty, be ascribed to Meir Jaffe. In 1953, Ferdinand Geldner supported Kyriss' conclusion that only Hebr. Cod. 212 may be assigned to Meir Jaffe, and argued that Mair b.b. was the bookbinder Ulrich Meyer who, he argued, executed the Bamberg Court Register of 1481-97. In 1979, Hermann Knaus reaffirmed that Meir Jaffe executed only one binding, and that like Meir Jaffe, Ulrich Meyer hailed from Ulm. However, in 1982, the contemporary

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10 See Footnote #6.

notion that Meir Jaffe was responsible for only the one binding that is housed in the Staatsbibliothek in Munich was once again rejected. In her article, Ursula Katzenstein concluded that Meir Jaffe was the head of a bookbinding workshop, that he was indeed Mair b.b., and that he executed the more than thirty bookbindings ascribed to him by scholars until 1949. [11]

Clearly, our knowledge of fifteenth-century Jewish bookbinders and their relationship to non-Jewish bookbinders of that century is far from complete. Nevertheless, for our purposes, the studies presented here suggest that Landsberger's conclusion that Meir Jaffe hailed from Ulm may be premature. For it is these studies which suggest not only that there were a number of Meirs, or Mairs, who worked as bookbinders in fifteenth-century Germany, but that these binders seem to have, at some point in their careers, worked in Nuremberg and resided in Ulm. In sum, unless it is possible for us to assert, with complete assuredness, that these various Meirs were, in truth, one and the same person, there is nothing to suggest that the words "Item Meyerlein, Jew of Ulm," did not refer to someone other than Meir Jaffe.

In addition, it must be argued that Landsberger's attempt to establish provenance based on stylistic and iconographic similarities

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11 It is interesting to note that a number of the bindings which Otto Kurz argues were copies after the Master E.S. were the same bindings which scholars had asserted were executed by Meir Jaffe. In his article, Kurz argues that Meir Jaffe's "style comes very close to that group here discussed (those bindings after the Master E.S.), but does not seem to be identical." (p.10) See Otto Kurz, "A Copy After the Master E.S. on a Jewish Bookbinding," Records of the Art Museum, Princeton, XXIV (1965).

between the illustrations in the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* and Christian art from Ulm is inconclusive. For it is a well-established fact that by the latter decades of the fifteenth century, woodcuts and incunabula were circulated throughout that region, and there is nothing to suggest that Meir had to have seen the illustrations of the *Aesop*, or the book *Beispiele der Weisen* in that particular city. Furthermore, there is very little evidence that these particular texts were the sources of the illustrations which appeared in Meir's Haggadah text. From the end of that century, a large number of woodcuts appeared depicting hare chase scenes, and from approximately 1470 onward, most of the architecture, landscapes, and costumes which appeared in the woodcuts and printblocks were stylistically similar to the architecture, landscapes, and costumes which appeared in the illustrations of Meir's manuscript. [12]

In sum, then, as neither his iconographic nor stylistic analysis of the illustrations of the *First Cincinnati Haggadah*, nor his assertion that Meir produced the Pentateuch binding for the Nuremberg Council on one of his sojourns from his hometown, prove, conclusively, that Meir Jaffe lived in Ulm, it should be argued that Landsberger's conclusion that Meir Jaffe resided in Ulm should be considered tentative.

Turning now from an analysis of those findings which have left us to question the validity of Landsberger's assertions that Meir Jaffe hailed

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12 See, for example, the woodcuts and printblocks found in Die Vier Historien and Biblia Pauperum, produced in Bamberg by Albrecht Pfister in 1462; Das Goldene Spiel and Leben Der Heiligen,Sommerteil, produced in Augsburg by Gunther Zainer in1472; and Plenarium and Melusine, produced in Augsburg by Johannes Bamler in 1473 and 1474.

from Ulm and that Meir Jaffe was the son of the copyist of the *Darmstadt Haggadah*, we must now examine evidence which will force us to reject his general conclusion that Meir Jaffe executed the entire artistic program of the *First Cincinnati Haggadah*.

As was noted above, even a simple stylistic comparison of the borders on the one hand, and the marginal illustrations and initial-panels on the other, seems to reveal that the borders could not have been executed by the primary artist. Both the colorful backgrounds of the borders and their decorative motifs have been executed in a slap-dash, hurried manner which is quite unlike the exacting and detailed style which is so characteristic of the initial-panels and the marginal illustrations. In addition, these initial-panels and marginal illustrations were created from rich, bright pigments which are creamy and luxurious and reveal a dazzling brightness and luster. The borders, on the other hand, have been rendered in a light wash, a paint which possesses none of the richness or brilliance which is to be found in the rest of the artwork in this Haggadah manuscript. Clearly, this general comparison offers insufficient evidence to assert, conclusively, that the border decoration was rendered by an artist other than Meir. Nevertheless, a thorough examination of these borders will reveal that they were not a part of Meir's artistic program, and that they were, as August Mayer had originally argued, painted after 1560.

In his study of the relationship between the borders and the marginal illustrations, Landsberger argued that Meir intentionally straddled the marginal illustration between the border and the parchment in order to simulate ampler space. Though his argument is both interesting

and unique, the truth remains that a close observation of the borders in relation to the illustrations reveals three stylisitc phenomena which confirm that the borders were inserted after the marginal illustrations were already completed. First, in those instances where the marginal illustrations begin at the edge of the page no border decoration is to be found. Clearly, the border artist was forced to interrupt his colored frame when it came in contact with one of the illustrations which, having been inserted at an earlier point in time, stood in its path. Second, the decoration which the border artist placed upon these colored frames was always designed to be symmetrical. Frequently, however, the symmetry was abandoned, and this occurred when the marginal illustration, which was already on the page and in the path of the frame, prevented the completion of the decorative pattern. Third, the border artist always painted a black line followed by a white line along the inner edge of each border. Occasionally, this artist would allow these lines to turn in at the top or at the base of a marginal illustration, and cut across the band of color to the edge of the page. In so doing, the border artist was outlining those illustrations which preceded his work.

The finest examples of this first model are the two plateblocks depicting the *Plagues* (fig. 54, 55), the *Building of Pithom and Ramses*, the *Wise Son* (fig. 56), and *Rabbi Elazar ben Azariah* (fig. 57). Each of these illustrations begins at the edge of the page, and runs flush along the edge of the parchment for the length of the scene. As all of these illustrations occupy space which would otherwise have been filled with border decoration, it is clear that the border program must have been decided

upon only after these illustrations were already in place. The clearest examples of the second model are to be found in the marginal illustrations of the *Simple Son*, the *One Who Does Not Know How To Ask* (fig. 58), the *Naked Figures Under a Fruit Tree* (fig. 59), and in the depictions of the *Pesach* (fig. 60), *Matzah* (fig. 61), and *Maror* (fig. 62). Each of these illustrations appears on a page whose border has been decorated with alternating stars and lilies, and each illustration has prevented the insertion of one or the other of these decorative motifs. In the scene of the *Naked Figures Under a Fruit Tree*, for example, the head of one of the seated figures has prevented the insertion of a black and white star. On the other hand, in the *Pesach* scene, the figure shown roasting the *pesach* has denied the inclusion of a red and black lily. As all of the border decoration in the Haggadah is symmetrical except in these types of panels where marginal illustrations are to be found, one must conclude that the border artist worked after the marginal illustrations were already in place. The third model bears only three examples, the *Wise Son*, the *Simple Son*, and the *Maror* scene. In the *Wise Son*, the black line cuts across the border at the top of the scene, while in the *Simple Son* and the *Maror* illustrations, the black line moves across the border at the base of the illustrations. As this black line has, in these particular instances, been used to outline these illustrations, it must again be concluded that these illustrations were in place prior to the execution of the border decoration.

Yet this inner black line does more than just reveal to us that the borders were painted after the marginal illustrations were already completed. It confirms that the borders were executed by a later artist. A

close examination of this inner black line reveals that in a number of instances, when this line comes in contact with the illustrations, it overlaps the illustrations, marring the quality of the pictures. As it is clear that no artist would have defaced his own illustrations, or, for that matter, have allowed another artist to deface his work, one must conclude that the borders were painted by a later hand, after Meir had already completed his manuscript. Interestingly enough, intense magnification reveals that this inner black line overlaps almost every marginal illustration in this manuscript. However, as such enlargements are difficult to reproduce, we will examine here only those examples which are most clearly visible with the naked eye: the *Kiddush at the Seder Table* (fig. 63), *Rabbi Elazar ben Azariah*, *Jacob Going Down to Egypt*, the illustration depicting the words *Tsei Ulemad*, the *Building of Pithom and Ramses*, and the *Keha* initial-word panel (fig. 64). In the *Kiddush* scene, the black line overlaps the base of the green ground and the right arm of the female figure, while in the *Rabbi Elazar ben Azariah* illustration, the black line breaks through the top of the chair-like structure upon which the young sage is seated. In the *Jacob Going Down to Egypt* scene, the black line bleeds into the light blue head-covering of the figure seated in the cart, and cuts across the hind legs of the donkey, while in the *Tsei Ulemad* illustration, the black line overlaps the tip of the roving scholar's lance and the base of his left leg. In the *Building of Pithom and Ramses* illustration, the black line cuts across both the crane and the rope that hangs from the crane, while in the *Keha* initial-panel, the black line bleeds into both the blue jay and the robin that are perched at the top of the panel.

Though all of these illustrations offer substantial evidence that the borders were added by an artist who worked after Meir Jaffe, the most blatant and convincing example is the *Vakenhaz* scene. Once again, the inner black line can be seen bleeding into the illustration, in this case violating the green and yellow bush that sits at the top of the hill on the far left-hand side of the landscape. Yet beyond this bush, rising almost to the top of the page, is a brown, feathery-leafed tree whose top half has been nearly obliterated by the maroon border and the black and white lotus decoration that fills the color band (fig. 65). Clearly, as the artist who painted this intricate landscape would never have painted over, or allowed another artist to paint over, one of his trees, one must conclude that Meir never intended for borders to appear in his Haggadah, and that these borders must have been created at some point in time after Meir had completed his manuscript.

Still further confirmation that borders were never a part of Meir's artistic program may be derived from a close examination of the first folio of the manuscript. Directly above the head of the center bird perched on the gold band at the top of the *or* initial-word panel, and bleeding through the orange border, is the remnant of a lotus and vine decoration, rendered in gold leaf. In addition, though somewhat more difficult to detect with the naked eye, there exists a gold-leaf foliage decorations in each of the corners at the top of the page, which were clearly intended to accompany the gold lotus and vine decoration placed between them. Furthermore, close examination of the central gold decoration reveals that though it has been placed dangerously close to the head of the middle bird, it never touches

that illustration. Here again, we are exposed to another delightful example of the primary artist testing the limits of his two-dimensional parchment. (fig. 66) Clearly, there can be no doubt that this gold-leaf decoration was intended by Meir to introduce his Haggadah manuscript; and one can be quite sure that once Meir had completed the painstaking process of creating such an intricate and delicate heading, he did not then turn around and paint over it with a light orange wash. No, Meir never intended for borders to appear in his manuscript; and when he presented this Haggadah with its luxurious gold-leaf heading to Rabbi Enschen, none were to be found.

Obviously, then, if it can be argued conclusively that the borders were not a part of Meir's artistic program, the question that remains is when were these borders inserted into this Haggadah manuscript? Landsberger, it will be recalled, argued that sections of the black border which frames the second page of the colophon were erased to allow for the insertion of the owner entries of 1559 and 1560. Turning first to the owner entry of 1559, Landsberger argued that in order for the escutcheon bearing that owner entry to be wedged between the black border on the left, and Meir's script on the right, part of the left frame had to be erased. The truth is, however, that this escutcheon has not been wedged between the border and the text. There is ample room to the right of the shield, such that if the border had indeed existed in 1559, the shield could have been inserted without coming into contact with the border. Furthermore, close observation of this escutcheon reveals not only that no such erasure ever took place, but that, in actuality, it is the border that overlaps the lefthand side of the shield. (fig. 67)

Landsberger also asserted that the owner entry of 1560 was inserted after a piece of the border was erased, and offered as evidence the fact that the symmetry of the border decoration at the top of the page was marred by this erasure. Though Landsberger's scenario is quite interesting it must, nevertheless, be rejected. To begin with, it has already been demonstrated that the border artist was often forced to paint asymmetrical decorations whenever marginal illustrations obstructed the borders, and it is quite clear that this is just another instance where an obstruction forced the border artist to render an asymmetrical decorative pattern. Furthermore, as there is ample room between the top colored frame and the first row of Meir's calligraphic script to allow for the inclusion of this second notation, it seems most unlikely that the third owner would have chosen to involve himself in an act which would have proven painstaking, and would have detracted from the beauty of the manuscript.

Yet neither one of these logical conclusions offers the irrefutable evidence necessary to assert, unequivocally, that these borders were added not before 1560. Rather, that proof is derived from a close examination of the place where the owner entry and the border meet, for it is there, in the top left-hand corner of the page, that one discovers that none of the border decoration was ever erased. As was discussed above, it was customary for the artist who created these borders to paint a black line on the inside of the colored frame, followed by a thin white line. On this final folio, where the background of the borders have been executed in black, no such black line was possible. However, the traditional white line has been maintained, and not only does it run along the inner edge of the frame, but it turns

upward at exactly the place where the border comes in contact with this second notation. Clearly, had the borders been painted by Meir, this white line would have run the entire inner frame, and would have ceased, abruptly, where the border ceases. However, the fact that this thin white line turns upward, and outlines the edge of the border that runs up against the blank parchment and the text, proves, beyond a shadow of a doubt, that these borders were added after this second inscription, and thus after 1560. (fig. 68)

Yet what was it that compelled this owner of the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* to alter his manuscript so drastically by inserting a complete border program? Most likely, this owner was strongly influenced by the full-length, symmetrical borders which became a standard feature in printed Hebrew manuscripts by the middle of the sixteenth century. Though the printing press was in operation in Germany by 1475, Hebrew printing was not established in Western Europe until approximately 1520. At that time, borders were created by placing woodblocks in random fashion around the page, frequently using the same woodblock more than once on a single folio. This early style can be seen in the *Prague Haggadah* of 1526 (Jerusalem, National and University Library) (fig. 69). However, by the middle of the century, this type of border decoration was replaced with full-length, symmetrical borders such as those that appear in the *Mantua Haggadah* (Jerusalem, National and University Library) from about 1550 (fig. 70). From that time forward, full-length borders were a common feature in printed books, and one must conclude that the owner of the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* wishing to bring his Haggadah text into vogue,

commissioned the painting of this type of border decoration so that his manuscript would appear appropriately contemporary. [13]

Yet whatever the reason, the fact remains that the border decoration was not inserted into the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* until after the middle of the sixteenth century. And since it is clear that borders were not a part of Meir's artistic program, it must be argued that the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* is not an oddity of Ashkenazi manuscript illumination, but rather a conventional Haggadah manuscript whose layout is consistent with all other German illuminated Hebrew manuscripts produced in the latter half of the fifteenth century--a single column of Ashkenazi Square script placed in the middle of the page, decorated initial-panels interspersed throughout the text, and illustrations in the margins, all of which have been set against a plain vellum background. [14]

In addition, the fact that the borders were not inserted into the manuscript until after 1560 not only confirms that Meir was in no way responsible for all of the artwork accredited to him, but it forces us to reexamine the possibility that when the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* was being prepared for the patron Rabbi Enschen, it may have been illuminated by a number of artists. Careful stylistic analysis of the initial-panels and

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13 For a general study of the development of Hebrew printing see the article in the Encyclopaedia Judaica, Vol. 13 pp. 1096-1116. For a thorough study of printed Haggadot see Yoseph Yerushalmi, Haggadah and History (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1975); and Charles Wengrov, Haggadah and Woodcut: An Introduction to the Passover Haggadah Completed by Gershom Cohen in Prague, 1526 (New York: Shulsinger, 1967).

14 There are no extant illuminated Ashkenazi manuscripts from the fifteenth century which possess full border decorations.

the marginal illustrations, and close examination of the paints used in the creation of both, reveal that with the exception of the borders, and perhaps the mirror image of the Jacob scene, all of the artwork in this Haggadah was part of the original program, and was thus executed at the same time. However, a careful study of the marginal illustrations reveals that although all of these illustrations reflect the same general style, not all of them bear the same degree of virtuosity. As a result, one is led to the interesting conclusion that a number of artists must have been responsible for the creation of these miniatures.

In truth, one need only compare the *Kiddush at the Seder Table* scene and the plateblocks of the *Plagues* to illustrate this point sufficiently (see figs. 54, 55, 63). Though both the *Kiddush* scene and the *Plagues* were rendered with the same color scheme, set upon green grounds highlighted with black hatch marks, and outlined in black, the *Plagues* bear none of the sophistication and virtuosity of the *Kiddush* illustration. The precise and accurate rendering of facial contours and physical details, and the superb modeling of drapery with varying shades of color, which reveals the plasticity of the human forms beneath, are stylistic features of the *Kiddush* scene artist, and are nowhere to be found in the illustrations of the *Plagues*. In those illustrations, the figures are much more squat and caricature-like, lacking illusionistic proportionality and possessing none of the modeling of contours and clothing which are the trademarks of the figural illustrations of the *Kiddush* scene.

Yet where the *Plagues* and the *Kiddush at the Seder Table* scene bear sufficient stylistic differences to allow us to conclude that these

illustrations were executed by different artists, the fact exists that the majority of the marginal illustrations reveal only minor variations, making it impossible to isolate the exact number of artists who worked on these miniatures. Nevertheless, as it is clear that more than one hand was responsible for the execution of these illustrations, we are once again forced to return to our perennial question--what role did Meir Jaffe play in the creation of the artwork of the *First Cincinnati Haggadah*?

As the copyist of this manuscript, there can be no doubt that Meir was responsible for the layout of the artistic program. Yet even a cursory study of this manuscript reveals that Meir wrote his text prior to the insertion of either the initial-panels or the marginal illustrations. And as it is clear that a number of hands were responsible for the marginal illustrations, one must conclude that Meir turned over the illumination of these illustrations, or at the very least, some of these illustrations, to other artists. [15] Who these artists were we can only speculate. If we accept Landsberger's basic premise that Meir Jaffe was a masterful scribe-artist, we must consider the possibility that Meir had in his employ a number of apprentices who trained at his workshop, and helped him to complete commissioned works, such as the *First Cincinnati Haggadah*. However, as no other illuminated manuscripts bear Meir's signature, it seems equally possible that no such workshop ever existed. An equally plausible scenario is that Meir worked with Christian illuminators who lived in his region. As

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15 A comparison of the Haggadah text and the initial-panels reveals that these decorative headings could only have been rendered by the copyist, and lends support to the argument that Meir must have possessed sufficient artistic skill to have produced a number of the marginal illustrations.

it is a well-documented fact that by the end of the fifteenth century Jewish artists worked alongside non-Jewish artists, it is possible that Meir employed Gentile assistants, that he worked in a Christian workshop, or even that he turned over the painting of these illustrations to Christian artists.

Though we may never know for sure which scenario is correct, it is interesting to note that the *London Haggadah*, the only illuminated Ashkenazi manuscript that bears any true stylistic and iconographic similarity to the *First Cincinnati Haggadah*, may help to shed some light on this unresolved issue of attribution. (see figs. 71-78) [16] As one of thirteen manuscripts ascribed to the itinerant scribe-artist, Joel ben Simeon, the

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16 It is interesting to note that the majority of the London Haggadah is Italianate in style. Only the "German" sections of this manuscript are stylistically similar to the First Cincinnati Hagagdah, and as we shall below, those sections were not executed by Joel ben Simeon. However, one need only glance at the iconographies of these two manuscripts to realize that Joel and Meir must have executed their manuscripts in the same region. Like the First Cincinnati Haggadah, the London Haggadah contains a *Bedikat Chametz* scene which depicts a man standing to the right of a wooden cabinet with a bowl in his left hand and a feather in his right; an *Eruv Tavshilin* scene in which two male figures are shown facing each other, each holding part of a stylized *matzah* that has a piece of meat at its center; a *Yakenhaz* scene which moves from right to left where the hunter on the right brandishing a lance, the dogs at the center, and the hares at the left at the top of the hill have been set upon a green ground; a scene depicting the building of a city with one figure placed outside the walls mixing mortar in a trough with a hoe, a second figure climbing a ladder, and a third figure above the city working the crane; an illustration of a clean-shaven Wise Son; a figure of a traveller on a green ground before the words "Go and Learn;" individual plague scenes, in this instance ten individual roundels instead of two plateblocks; and *Matzah* and *Maror* illustrations being depicted by seated figures holding aloft in their right hands a stylized *matzah* and a leafy green vegetable respectively.

London Haggadah (B.L. Ms. Add. 14762) has been studied by a number of scholars of Jewish art. Joseph Gutmann, while asserting that Joel ben Simeon's career ranged from the middle of the fifteenth century to 1485, argued that though the majority of the *London Haggadah* was executed by Joel in Italy around 1470, a few of the miniatures were executed in Southern Germany. As these heavy, German illustrations bear a style which is identical to the style of the illustrations found in the *Munich Mahzor*; Gutmann argued that part of the *London Haggadah* had to have been executed by the illuminator, or illuminators, of that manuscript. What's more, as the *Munich Mahzor* was executed in Ulm in 1459/60, Gutmann concluded that the *London Haggadah* was written and partially illustrated by Joel in Northern Italy, and then, at the request of the patron, or of Joel himself, was sent to Germany where the artist, or artists, who illustrated the *Munich Mahzor* inserted the German-style miniatures. [17]

In contradiction to Gutmann's stylistic analysis, the codicological research of Malachi Beit-Arie has suggested that the *London Haggadah* had to have been executed in Germany. Arguing that it is possible to divide Joel's work into two distinct groups, one which is exclusively German, and the other which is exclusively Italian, Beit-Arie asserted that the German works included the *Parma Biblioteca Palatina MS. 3144* (Cod. de Rossi 1274), the *First Nuremberg Haggadah* (New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, Ms. 24086), the *First New York Haggadah* (New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, Acc. No. 75048), the *Washington Haggadah*

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17 Joseph Gutmann, "Thirteen Manuscripts in Search of an Author: Joel Ben Simeon, 15th-Century Scribe-Artist," Studies in Bibliography and Booklore, IX (1970).

(Washington, Library of Congress, Ms. Hebr. I), and the *London Haggadah*. By analyzing both the Hebrew script and the layout of the manuscript, Beit-Arie concluded that the *London Haggadah*, like the *Washington Haggadah*, had to have been executed around 1478 in Southern Germany, during one of Joel's extended visits to the North. [18]

Shiela Edmunds, however, rejected both Gutmann's and Beit-Arie's conclusions, and in her most provocative article, asserted that the *London Haggadah* fell victim to overpainting. Arguing that the artist who was responsible for the overpainting was familiar with neither the Hebrew script nor the tradition of vocalization, Edmunds asserted that the "German" illustrations in this manuscript could not have been Joel's work, and had to have been executed after Joel had completed the text. Based on her investigation of painting styles from Southern Germany, Edmunds concluded that the "German" work was executed by the artist, Johannes Bamler of Augsburg, who began his career in the 1450s as a scribe and illuminator, and continued on into the 1470s as a leading publisher of illustrated books. The real and imaginery flowers, the fleshy foliage, the lace-like trim, and the radiating dots which are characteristic of Bamler's decorations from the late 1460s are to be found, Edmunds argued, in both the *London Haggadah* and the *Munich Mahzor*. (see figs. 79-86) And as it is clear that Joel had to have illustrated his manuscript prior to the end of the 1460s when Bamler added his illustrations, Edmunds concluded that Joel must have created the *London Haggadah* on an earlier trip to Southern

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18 Malachi Beit-Arie, "Joel Ben Simeon's Manuscripts: A Codicologer's View," Journal of Jewish Art, III/IV (1977).

Germany--a sojourn which had been considered by neither Gutmann nor Beit Arie. In support of this assertion, Edmunds noted that between 1454 and 1469, the period during which Joel ben Simeon must have made his first sojourn back to Germany, the Rabbi Jacob Mattathiah of Ulm commissioned both the *Munich Mahzor* and the *London Haggadah*. When the *London Haggadah* was delivered to Rabbi Mattathiah by Joel in the early 1460s, it was undoubtedly complete, and probably resembled Joel's *Second New York Haggadah* with its many Italianate features, generously spaced text, wide margins, and judicious use of line and color. Toward the end of the decade, this Rabbi Mattathiah, for whatever reason, decided that this manuscript required additional decoration, and turned the Haggadah over to Bamler. [19]

Clearly, none of these studies offers sufficient evidence to permit us to recreate Joel ben Simeon's illustrious career. However, for our study of the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* no such Herculean task is required. Each of the investigations of the *London Haggadah*, though differing in opinion as to where Joel painted the majority of his manuscript, concluded that the heavy German sections of the *London Haggadah* were executed in Southern Germany, most probably in the Ulm-Augsburg region. Edmunds even went so far as to assert that these German sections were the work of a particular artist from that locale. Yet whether these illustrations were executed by Johannes Bamler or by some other artist working in Southern Germany, there can be no doubt that the artist who produced the figure emerging

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19 Shiela Edmunds, "The Place of the London Haggadah in the Work of Joel ben Simeon," Journal of Jewish Art, VII (1980).

from the fleshy-leafed plant decoration at the left side of the *Omets* initial-word panel in the *London Haggadah* (fol. 45r) was trained in the same style as the artist of the *Kiddush at the Seder Table* illustration of the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* (figs. 87, 88). In both miniatures, black hatch marks have been used to depict the hair and the beard, while black pen line has been used to create such facial features as the lips, the nose, the eyebrows, and the pupils. White has been used to highlight the nose and eyes, and red hatch marks have been used to accentuate the lips and cheeks. Furthermore, the garments in both illustrations have been modelled with varying shades of color, and in each illustration this modeling creates the illusion of flowing drapery which conforms to the contours of the bodies which exist beneath. Finally, the figures' hands in both of these illustrations have been rendered in identical fashion. The hands which grasp the scroll in the *London Haggadah* and the *Kiddush* Cup in the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* show four fingers, knuckles to finger tips; while the opposite hands which point at these items show three curled fingers and one unnaturally long forefinger which nearly touches the item being identified. In truth, these illustrations are so similar that one is tempted to argue that they may have been executed by the same artist. Be that as it may, there can be no doubt that the artwork in these two manuscripts was produced in the same locale, and thus no doubt that the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* was produced in Southern Germany, probably in the Ulm-Augsburg region.

In conclusion, then, our study of the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* has revealed that this Haggadah manuscript was produced in Southern Germany in the latter decades of the fifteenth century. That this

manuscript was written and constructed by the copyist Meir Jaffe, there can be no doubt. However, a close analysis of the artistic program reveals that Meir was not the only artist who contributed to this manuscript. A stylistic comparison of the Hebrew text and the initial-panels suggests that Meir was responsible for these decorative headings. However, a thorough investigation of the marginal illustrations reveals that Meir could not have been the only artist who rendered these miniatures. These illustrations reflect a number of artists, artists who may have been in Meir's employ, or who may have worked for a local workshop. In truth, as the manuscript was laid out by Meir prior to the insertion of the miniatures, there is a strong possibility that these marginal illustrations were executed by Gentile artists who received their instructions from Meir. Be that as it may, there can be no doubt that when this manuscript was presented to the patron, Rabbi Enschen, it possessed only those features which were characteristic of illuminated Hebrew manuscripts from that period--Ashkenazi Square script, initial-panels, and marginal illustrations. Nowhere were borders to be found. The borders which appear in this manuscript were not inserted until after 1560, not until the third, or perhaps fourth, owner of this manuscript concluded that the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* should appear stylistically similar to the border-laden printed texts which were characteristic of the latter half of the sixteenth century.

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It is most unfortunate that the constraints of time force us to conclude our investigation at this particular juncture; for there are a number of outstanding questions which must be considered if one is to

obtain a complete picture of the history of the *First Cincinnati Haggadah*. To begin with, Landsberger asserted that Meir Jaffe was the son of the copyist of the *Darmstadt Haggadah*. Though a stylistic comparison of these two mansucripts suggests otherwise, no definitive claims may be made until an investigation of the records of Heidelberg prior to the expulsion of the Jewish community in 1391 has been completed. Similarly, though Landsberger's assertion that Meir was a sophisticated leather-tooler seems highly speculative, a thorough investigation of Jewish and Gentile leather-tooling from fifteenth-century Germany is required. In particular, one must reexamine the works of Mair b.b. and Master E.S., as their works have been associated with, or ascribed to, Meir Jaffe, and one must compare their bindings with the only binding that bears Meir's name. What's more, one must examine the extant documents produced in Nuremberg in the latter half of the fifteenth century for they might help to clarify which Meirs were truly sophisticated leather-toolers, and which Meirs worked for that town's Council.

Most importantly, however, the study of this manuscript must proceed with a thorough investigation of non-Jewish art from Southern Germany from the latter half of the fifteenth century. One should recall that the artwork in the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* is stylistically similar to the "German" work of the *London Haggadah* and the *Munich Mahzor*. As the *London Haggadah* was produced by the master scribe-artist, Joel ben Simeon, and as the *Munich Mahzor* was executed by the scribe, Isaac of Ulm, and as it is quite possible that both manuscripts received later additions from the Gentile artist from Augsburg, Johannes Bamler, one must

consider the very likely possibility that there existed some sort of connection between Meir, Bamler, Joel, Isaac, and Rabbi Mattathiah. In truth, it is equally possible that even with a thorough study of Southern German Christian miniatures, one may never know if these personalities actually interacted. However, as the artwork of the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* clearly reflects the general style of fifteenth-century Southern German illumination, there can be no doubt that if the question of attribution is to be resolved, one must study the art of this region. Furthermore, in conjunction with this investigation of non-Jewish art, a thorough study of the records of the Ulm-Augsburg region is also required. As it was customary for Germans to keep extensive records, it is fairly likely that some sort of documentation exists indicating which Jewish artists worked in this region, and which Christian workshops interacted with these Jewish illuminators. Finally, these records may also tell us whether there existed a Jewish workshop and, if such a workshop did exist, who the master scribe-artist was, and what relationship he had with the Christian illuminators of Southern Germany.

Obviously, not all of this information will ever be obtained, and much of what will be discovered may not help to resolve our general question of attribution. However, as the history of the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* is so clearly and intricately imbedded in that Southern region of Germany where Jewish and Gentile artists flourished and co-existed, one must realize that an ongoing study of the *First Cincinnati Haggadah* should reveal more than just the particular history of this manuscript, it should begin to unravel the intricate and complicated structures of Southern German Jewish

communities from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and thus help to paint a more comprehensive picture of the ongoing Jewish experience. May this be the challenge for future studies of this manuscript.

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PLATES

בעזרת מושיע וגואל
אתחיל ספר רניאל

שלש למלכות יהויקים כא
נכוכר נצר וגו׳ וכי יוסיפתי ז
לוחר כן ואליו הויו הלך בע׳ז
כשנת ירבע למלכות יהויקים
של כשנה הרביעית ליהויקים
בן יושיהו מלך יהודה היא
השנה הרישונה לנבוכר נצר
מלך בבל וזה הוא כשנת שלש
לחרדן ויהי לו יהויקים עבד־
שלש שנים וישב ויחורד בו
ויחרד בו שלש שנים ובשנה
שלש עלה עליו והייו שנים
שיושנה לנבוכר נצר ריושל ויר
שנה רישונה כיבש נינוה ז
שנייה עלה וכיבש יהויקים
ושלש שנים עבדו ושלש עז
שנים ויחרד בו ויקעקע כלי בית
היולהים ויקעקע נשיורו ז
מיו של נירוזיה כה יוחר ייל
יול העוזים ויול הים ויול החכו
החכועות ויול יתר הכלים יוש
ישר ליו הגלה נבוכר נצר וגו
ויכייום יורין שנער בית יוז
יולהיו לקלם לעז של הפיא
יות השכיה מלה יוב היונשי

היונשים ויות הכלים הכיין ז
בית היוער המרוזייס רוכז
רופסים ויישר כח בידו לעשר

רבותינו

פרשן שוועיירדין עינין נש
כשנערכין לנקביהם וללומד
ספר מוסב על יושר כח כהם
ויתן לשון הזוהר פתנב הש
היו שם ויוכל הולך בלשון
נשדים כך הוין ישוטען

ויש פותרים

פת נגם הולך ונותן להם ורז
ורעונם ויתן ורעונם הליפי
לחם יוליו חליפי תבשיל בלש
בלשינר על שם עון של בבל
הקרויה בל שנ ושוויה בלעז
בלשער כשם יולהיה יתגדל
לשון ליכלוך שם הפריסים
שהויו שר על וישרתי הולך
יושר ויזה יושר הויין ופיין
פולנם רוגויתכם והו ושויען

ולשון משנה

הויו בן גלוי וחייבתם יות רז
ריושי תהיו גוריים לי להתחי
להתחייב הותו ריושי הולער
שיהויזה על כל הזיזונם שכז
שבכיתי שיניישקל בלשון לעז
נם ני לשון ניפיון מן הוזעז
הורעונם וכישור תריזה לפי
ויה שתריזה עשה נושיו יות
פת נגם טטל לעשון יושר יוז
יוזר הולך להכייזם שיטאן
לפנו הארטוויב ששויולים
בשיתי היות בעשות היות
כזה ריזת יוזר שחיק טוייו
היושפים יולן שדוחקים יז
יות הזיזלות בכשפיהם

כר מפורשבז

במדרש תנחומ

ויהי דנייול בגדולה בבבל עד
שנה ילמלכות כורש לרבי ז
היוזור הזך וה דנייול ולזרך
נקרין שזיו הזך שהתכזהו וג
ומגדולתן עריכין יוע לזור שזה
טרש הריושון שלם יוחשוז
יוחטוזוש ולדברי היוזור נ
שכל דברי ילמלכות יהתכין על
פין ניזור כורש וה היו דריוש
השיני שיוזר יוחשוזוש ני
ביזמי דריוש המדי שהשליטו
שהשליטו הו לגוב יוריות ולו
ירד ומגדולתן של ודנייול ורנד
היעלה במלכות דריוש ובמלכות
טרש פרסאה ולזדע שיוא ז
ביזמי טרש ושניני היה בגדולה
ובשנת שתים לטבוכר נער חלם
ויפשור לזור כן יולין בשנרך
שתים לחורבן הבית

כח־יא שני

בסדר עולם ז

ויקריזו ומלכות נבוכר נער על

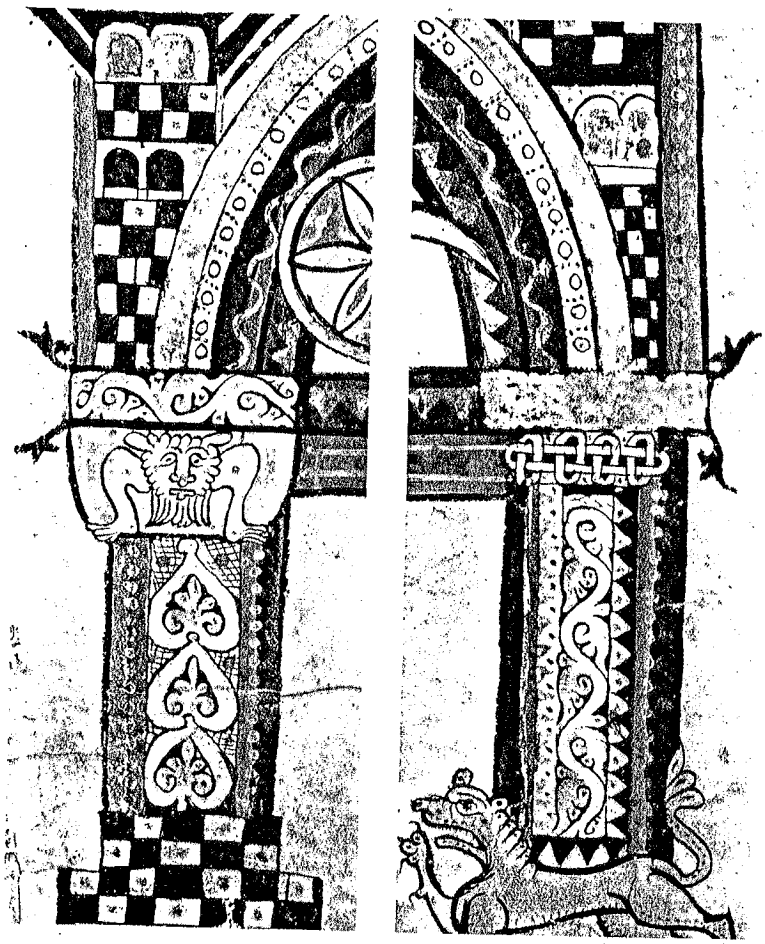


fig. 2
Worms Mahzor
Jerusalem, National and University Library
Ms. Heb. 4 781/I,II, fol. 39v

fig. 3
Worms Mahzor
Jerusalem, National and University Library
Ms. Heb. 4 781/I,II, fol. 73r

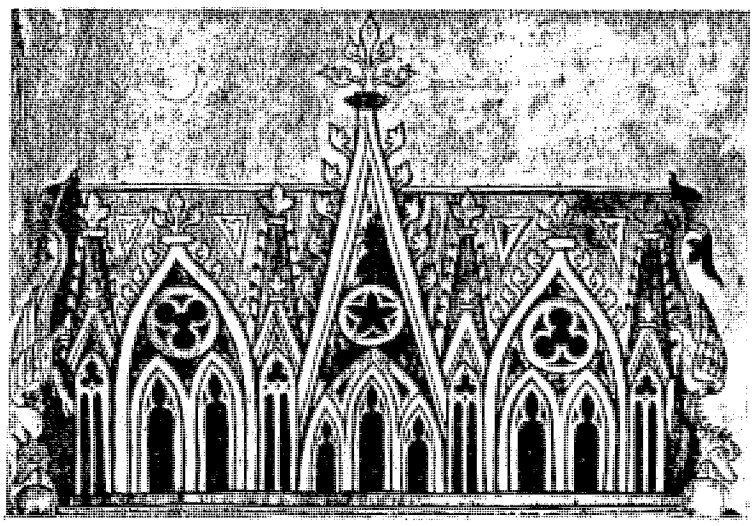


fig. 4
Duke of Sussex Pentateuch
London, B.L. Add. Ms. 15282
fol. 1v

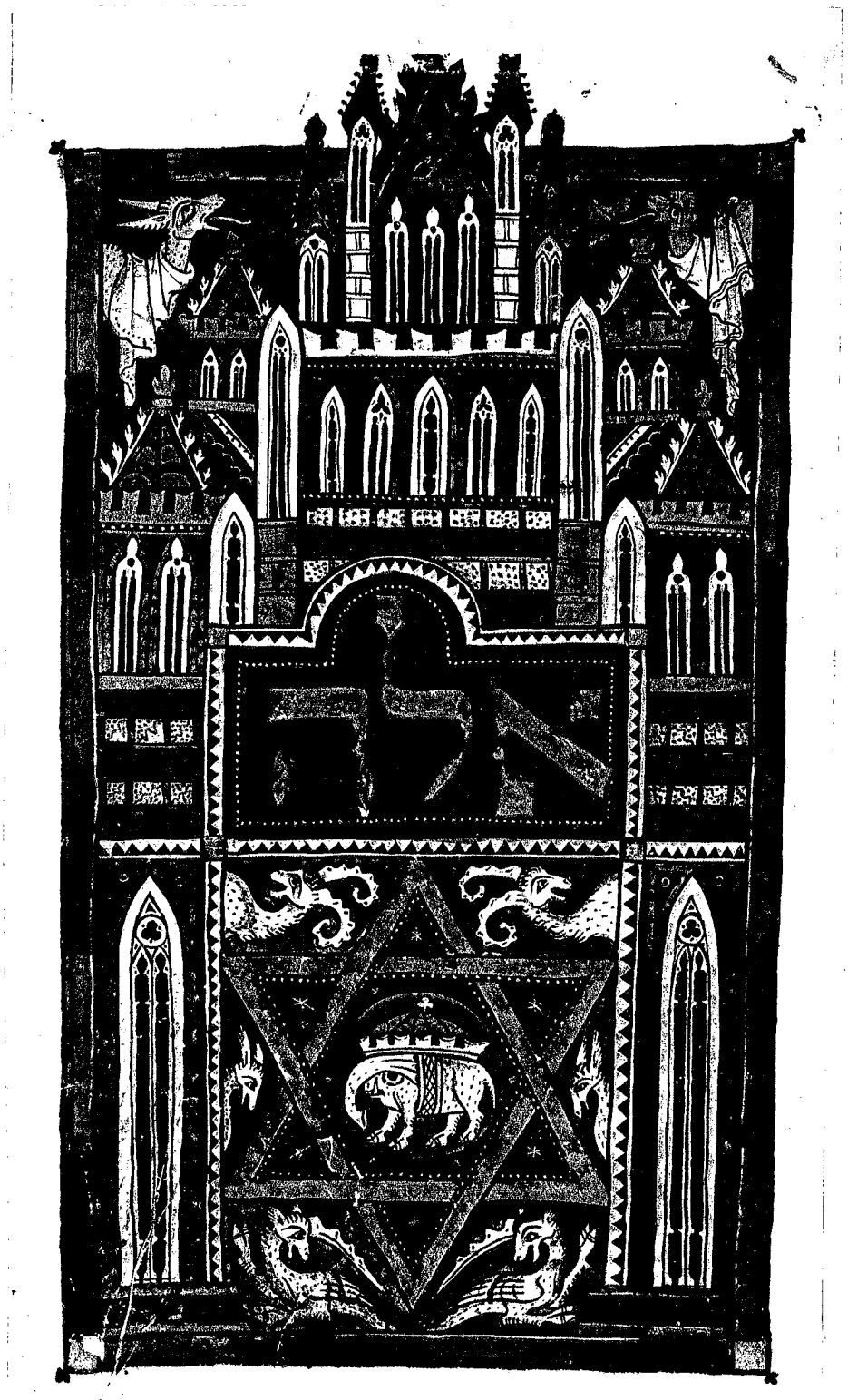


fig. 5
Duke of Sussex Pentateuch
London, B.L. Add. Ms. 15282, fol. 238r

fig. 6
Kaufman Mishne Torah
Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences,
Kaufman Collection, Ms. A 77/I-IV, fol. 46v

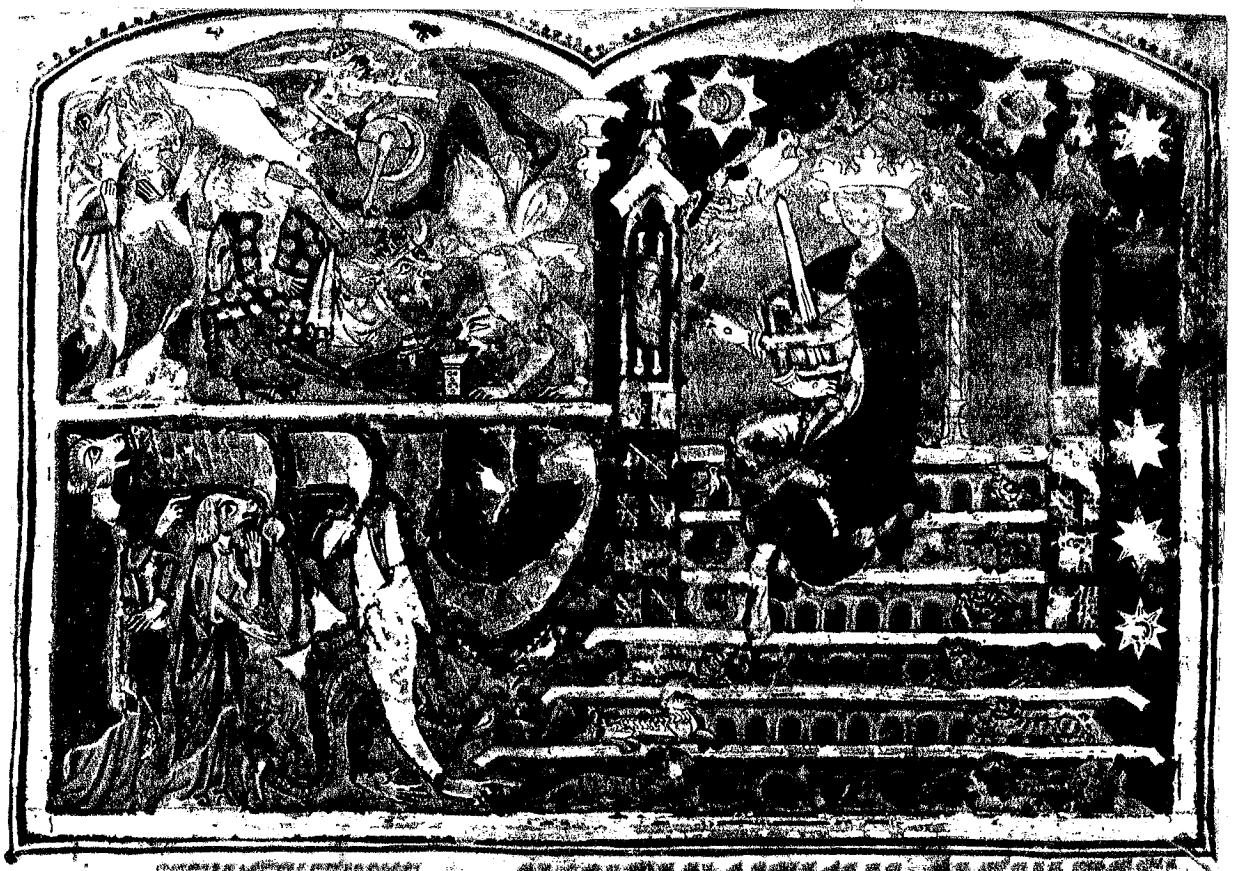


fig. 7
Tripartite Mahzor
Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences,
Kaufman Collection, Ms. A 384, fol. 183r

fig. 8
British Library Miscellany
London, B.L. Add. Ms. 11639, fol. 523v

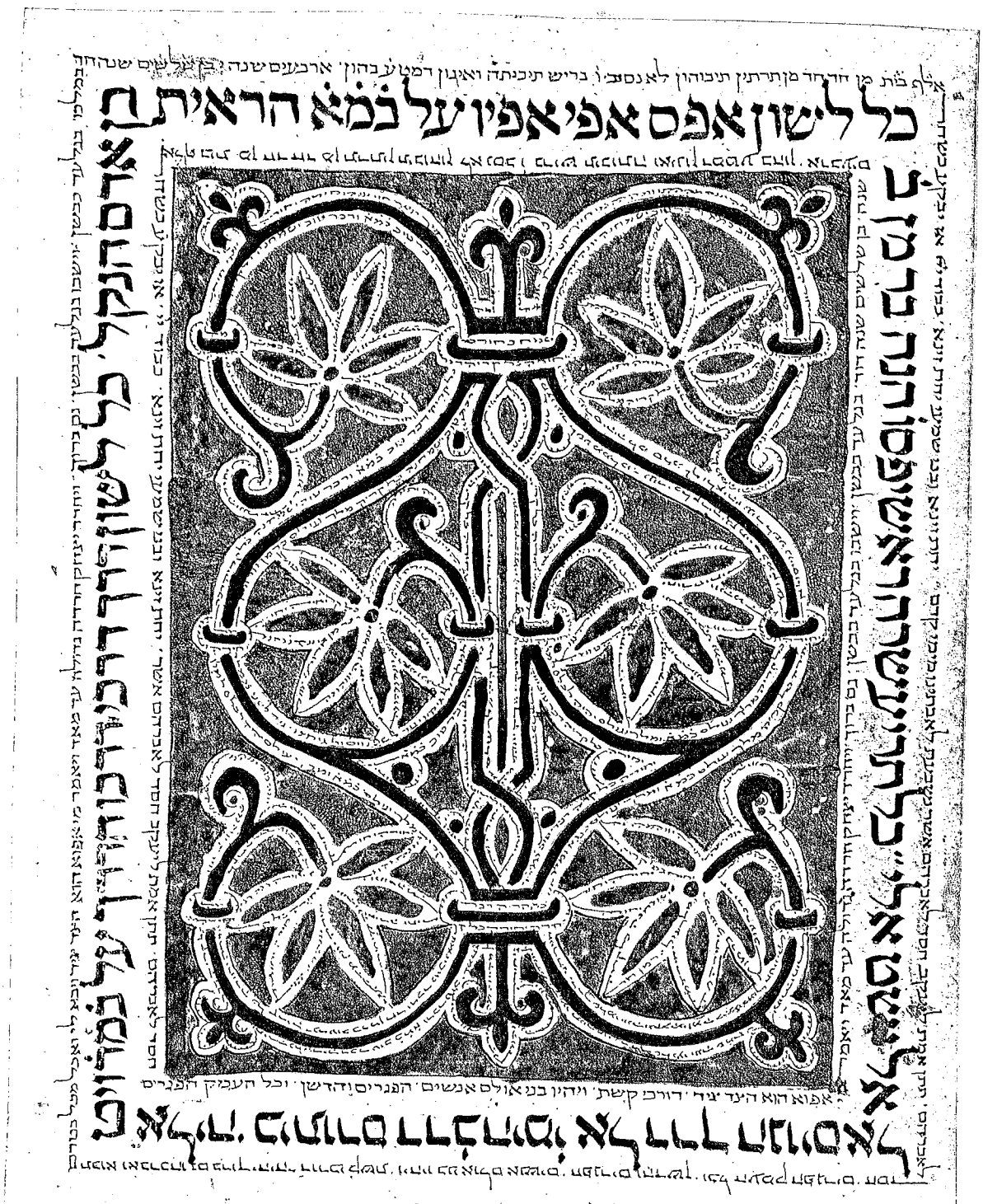


fig. 9
Damascus Keter
Jerusalem, National and University Library
Ms. Heb. 4 790, fol. 114r

fig. 10
Golden Haggadah
London, B.L. Add. Ms. 27210, fol. 9r

fig. 11
Golden Haggadah
London, B.L. Ms. Add. 27210, fol 12v

fig. 12
Copenhagen Moreh Nevukhim
Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliothek
Cod. Heb. 37, fol 114r

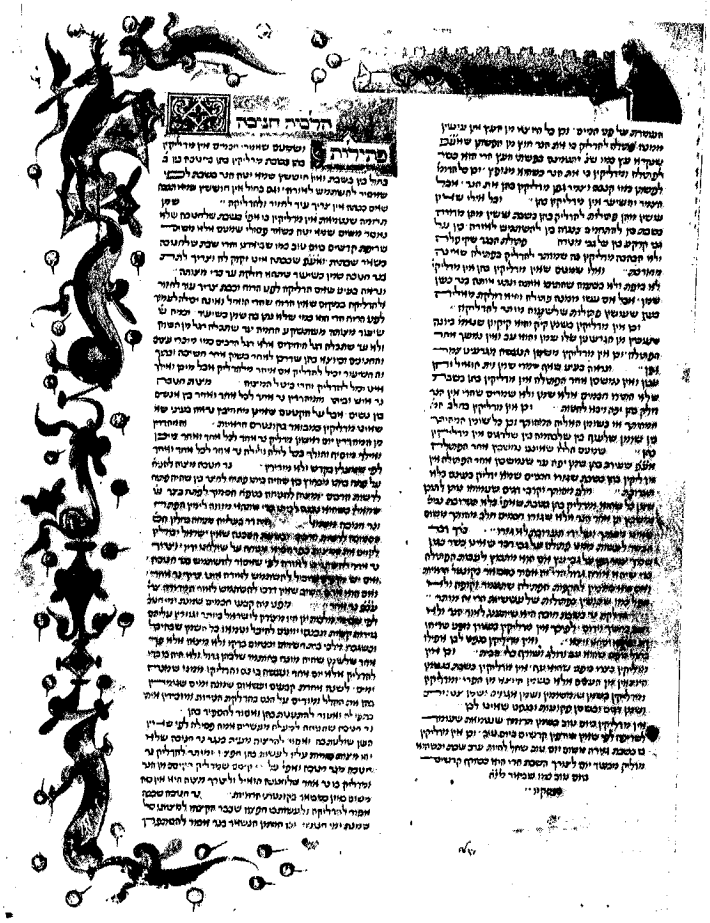


fig. 13
Legal Code of Isaiah Trani the Younger
London, B.L. Ms. Or. 5024, fol. 19v

fig. 14
Jerusalem Mishne Torah
Jerusalem, National and University Library
Ms. Hebr. 4 1193, fol. 32r

fig. 15
Arba'a Turim of Jacob ben Asher
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
Ms. Ross. 555, fol. 220r

fig. 16
Canon of Medicine of Avicenna, Book I
Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna
Ms. 2197, fol. 23v

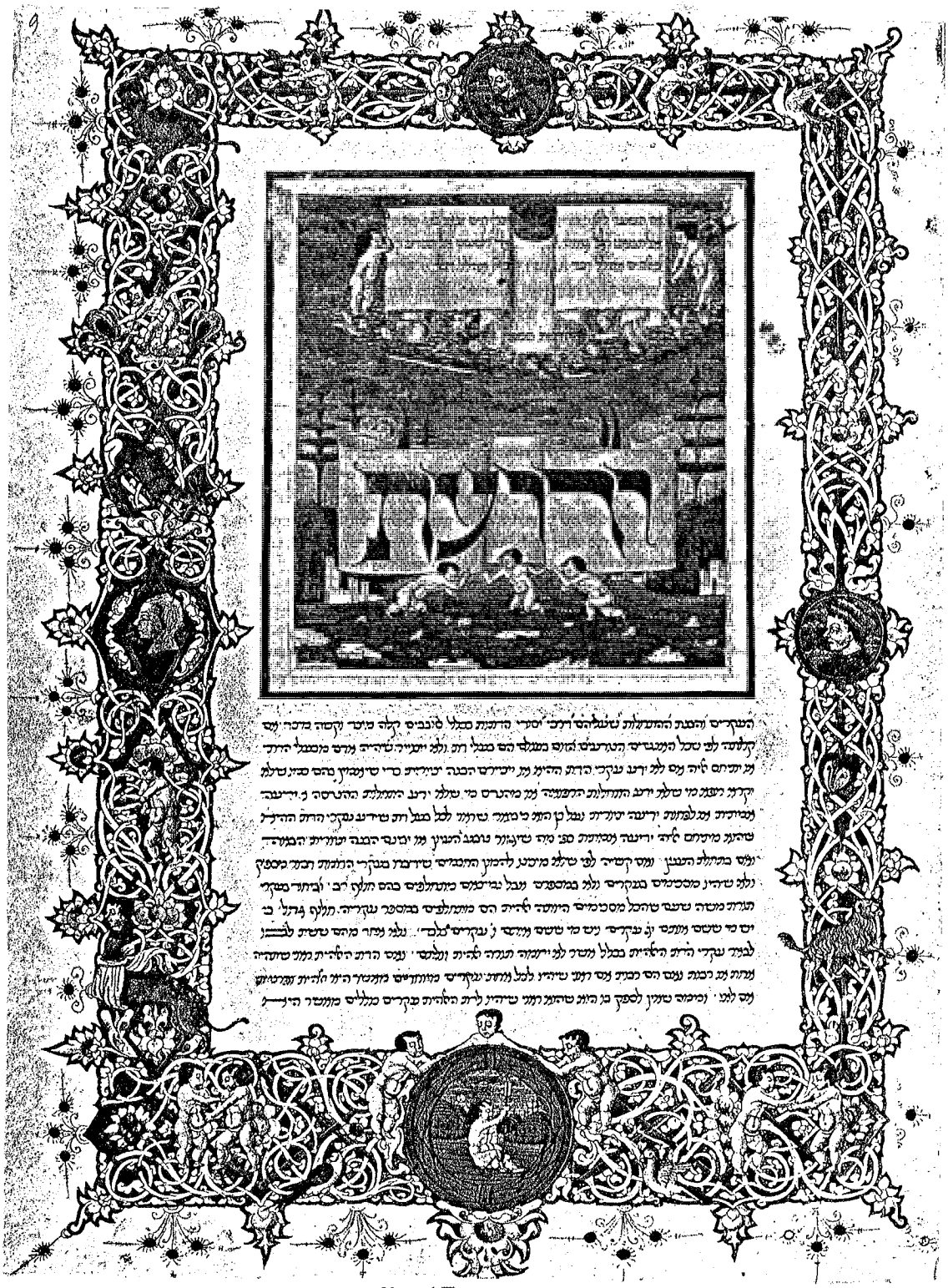


fig. 17
Sefer Ha-Ikkarim of Joseph Albo, Book I
Rovigo, Biblioteca Silvestriana
Ms. 220, fol. 9r

fig. 18
Portuguese Bible
Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale
Ms. Heb. 15, fol. 137v

fig. 19
Golden Haggadah
London, B.L. Add. Ms. 27210, fol. 10v

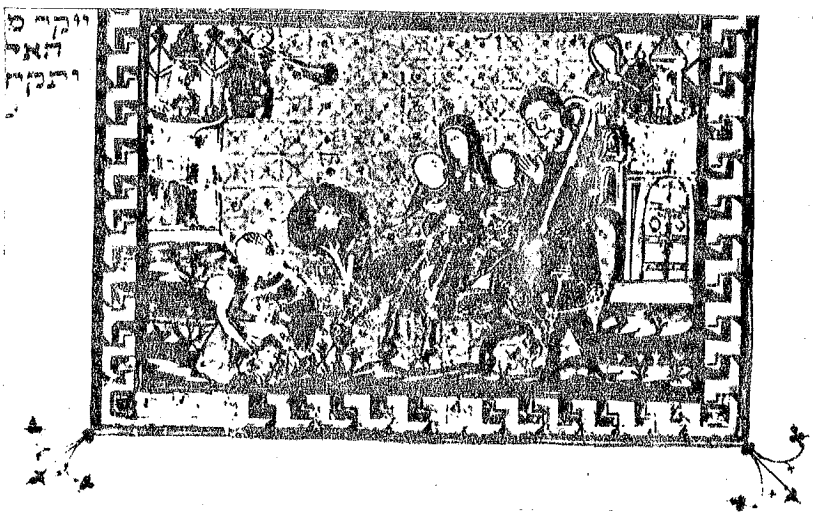


fig. 20
Rylands Haggadah
Manchester, The John Rylands University Library
Lib. Ms. 6, fol. 14r

fig. 21
Leipzig Mahzor
Leipzig, Universitatsbibliothek
Ms. V 1102/I-II, fol. 64v

fig. 22
Wroclaw Mahzor
Wroclaw, University Library
Ms. Or. I, fol 89v

fig. 23
Barcelona Haggadah
London, B.L. Add. Ms. 14761, fol. 61r

fig. 24
Munich Haggadah
Munich, Bayrische Staatsbibliothek
Cod. Hebr. 200, fol. 21v

fig. 25
Washington Haggadah
Washington, Library of Congress, fol. 16r

fig. 26
Nuremberg Haggadah
Jerusalem, Schocken Library
Ms. 24087, fol. 2v

fig. 27
Nuremberg Haggadah
Jerusalem, Schocken Library
Ms. 24087, fol. 10r

fig. 28
Arba'a Turim of Jacob ben Asher
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
Ms. Ross. 555, fol. 127v

fig. 29
Arba'a Turim of Jacob ben Asher
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
Ms. Ross. 555, unpaginated folio

fig. 30
Parma, Biblioteca Palatina
Ms. 3596, fol 267r

fig. 31
Regensburg Bible
Jerusalem, Israel Museum
Ms. 180/52, fol. 18v

fig. 32
Nimes Bible
Nimes, Biblioteque Municipale
Ms. 13, fol. 181v

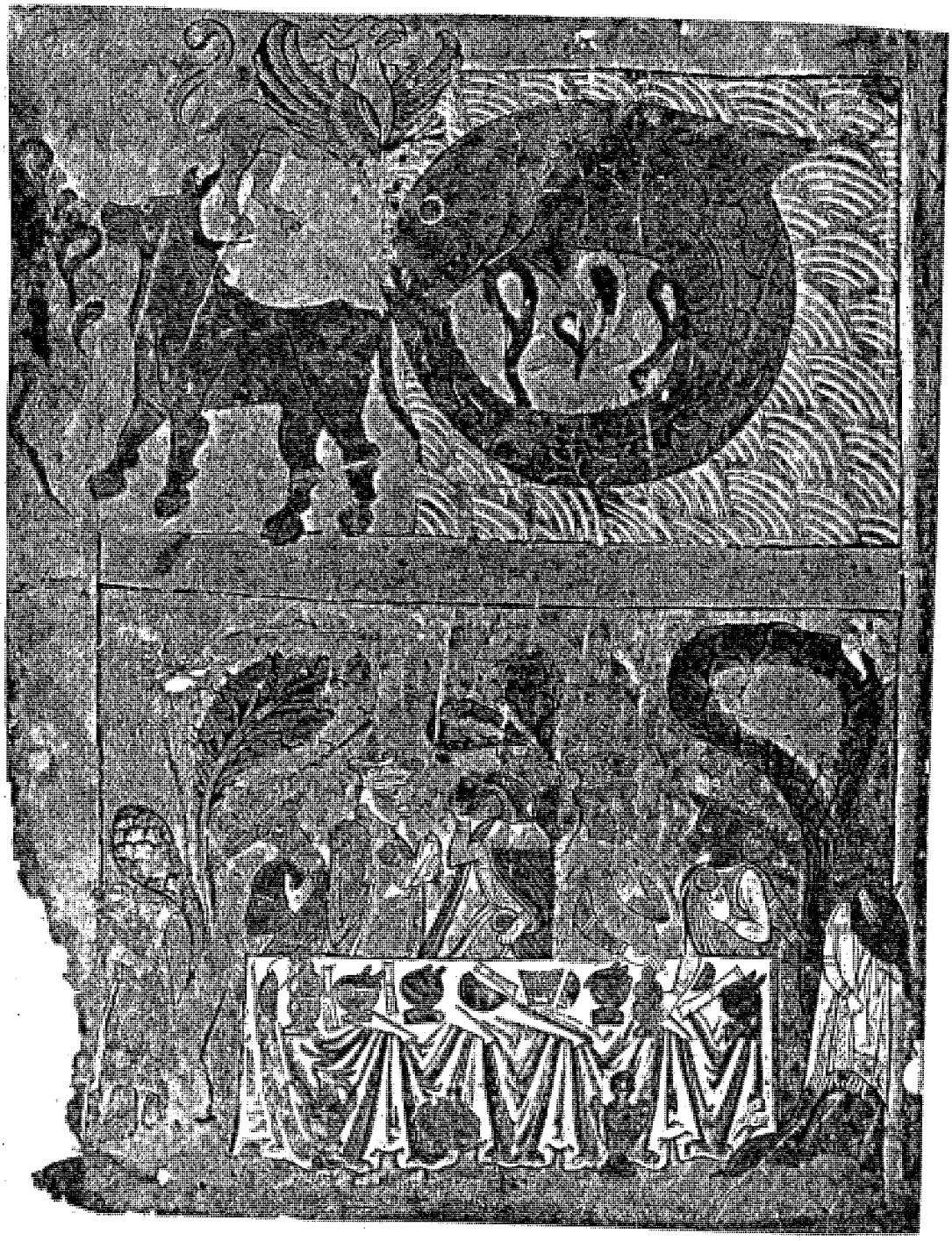


fig. 33
Ambrosian Bible
Milan, Ambrosian Library
Ms. B 32, fol. 136r

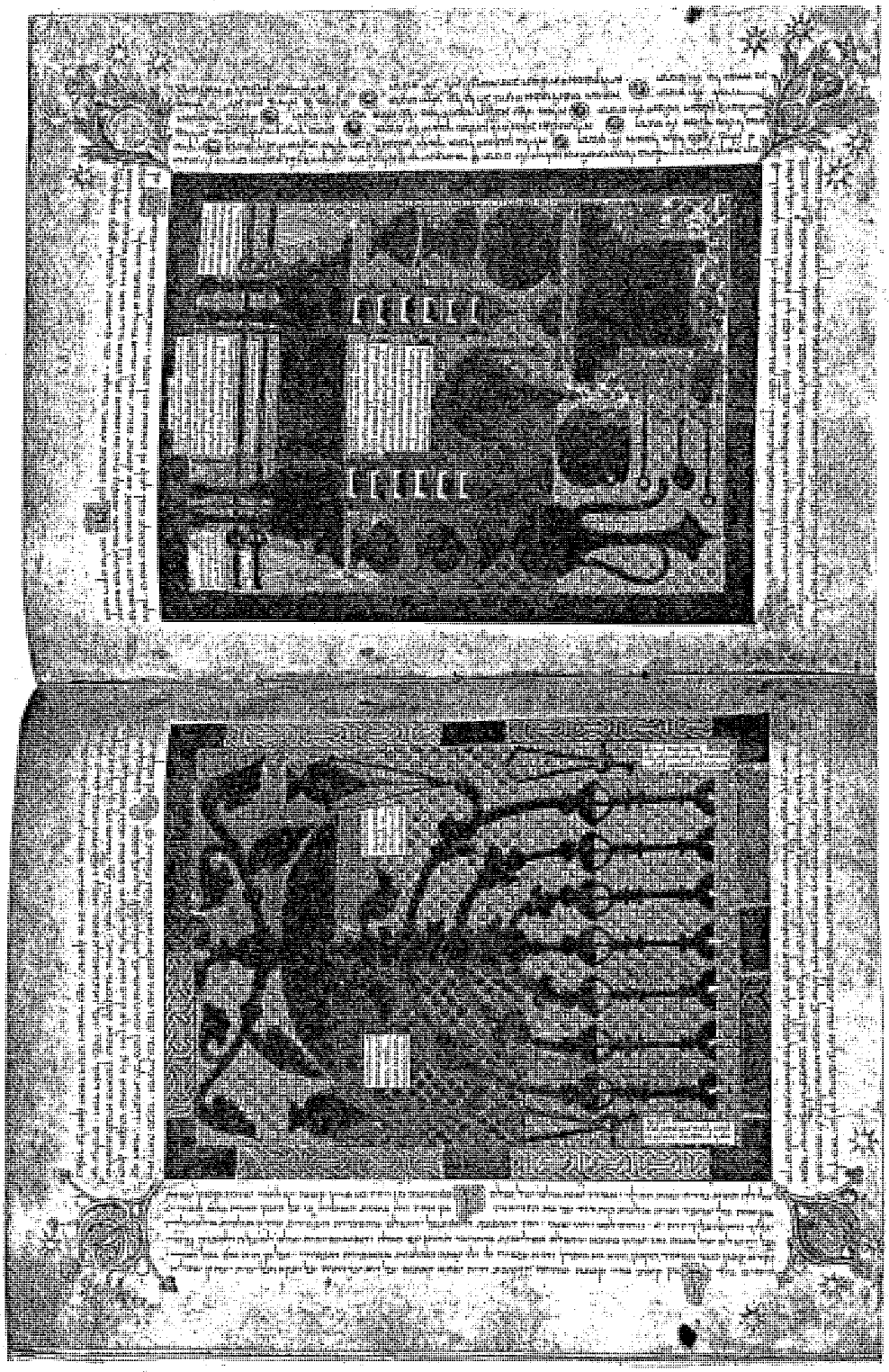


fig. 34
Farhi Bible
Letchworth, Sassoon Collection
Ms. 368, fols. 182, 183

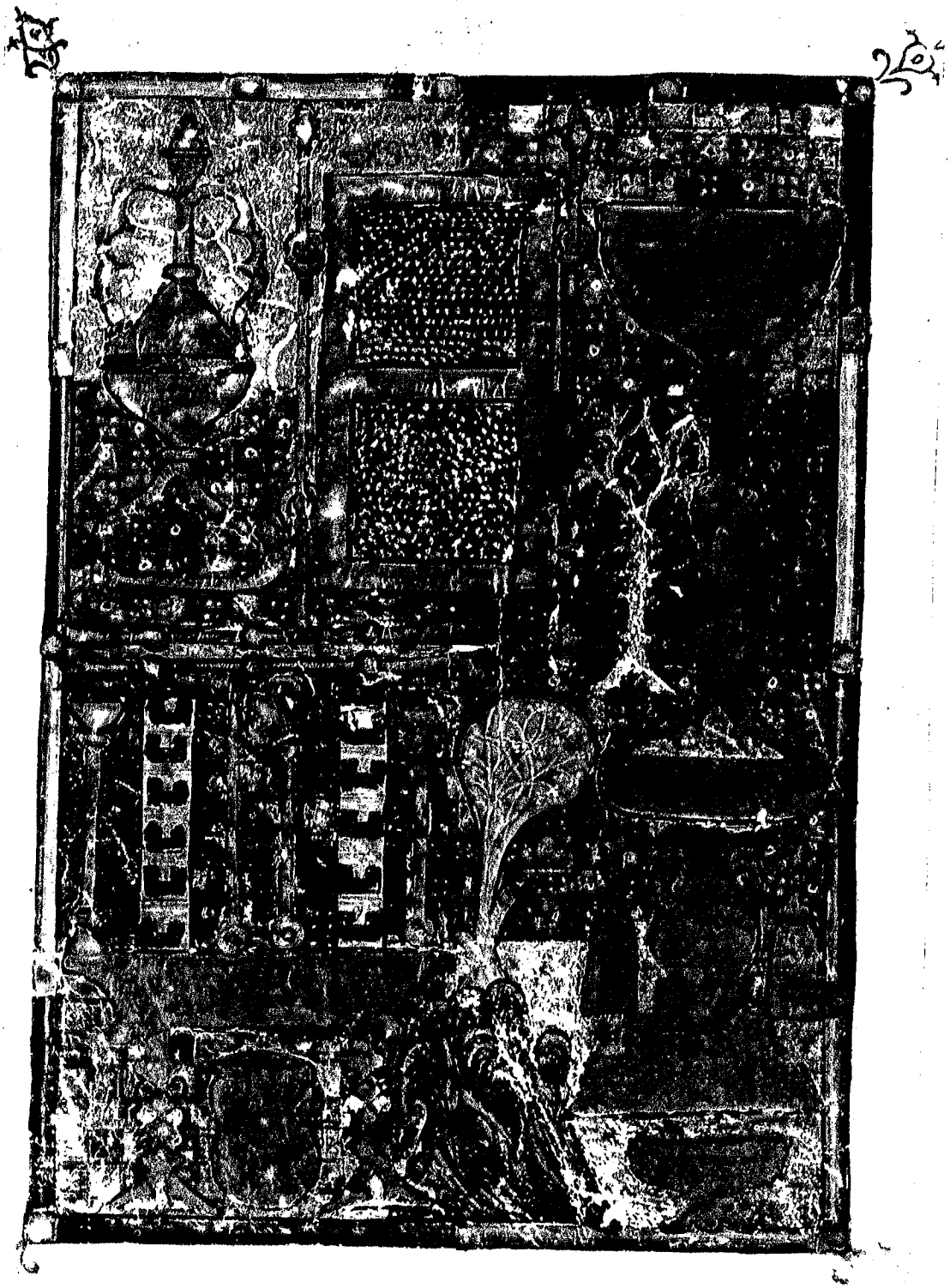


fig. 35
Saragossa Bible
Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale
Cod. Hebr. 31, fol. 8r

fig. 36
Miscellany
Hamburg, Staats-und Universitatsbibliothek
Ms. Hebr. 37, fol. 35v

fig. 37
First Cincinnati Haggadah
Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College
Ms. 444, fol. 13r

fig. 38
First Cincinnati Haggadah
Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College
Ms. 444, fol. 17v

fig. 39
First Cincinnati Haggadah
Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College
Ms. 444, fol. 19r

fig. 40
First Cincinnati Haggadah
Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College
Ms. 444, fol. 10v

fig. 41
First Cincinnati Haggadah
Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College
Ms. 444, Colophon

fig. 42
First Cincinnati Haggadah
Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College
Ms. 444, fol. 2r

fig. 43
First Cincinnati Haggadah
Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College
Ms. 444, fol. 4r

fig. 44
First Cincinnati Haggadah
Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College
Ms. 444, fol. 7v

fig. 45
First Cincinnati Haggadah
Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College
Ms. 444, fol. 14v

fig. 46
First Cincinnati Haggadah
Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College
Ms. 444, fol. 11r

fig. 47
First Cincinnati Haggadah
Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College
Ms. 444, fol. 1v

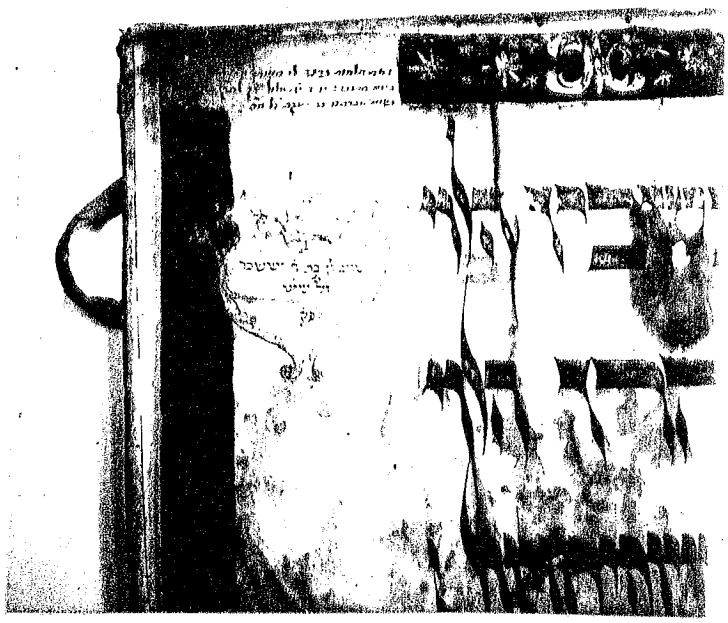


fig. 48
First Cincinnati Haggadah
Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College
Ms. 444, Colophon

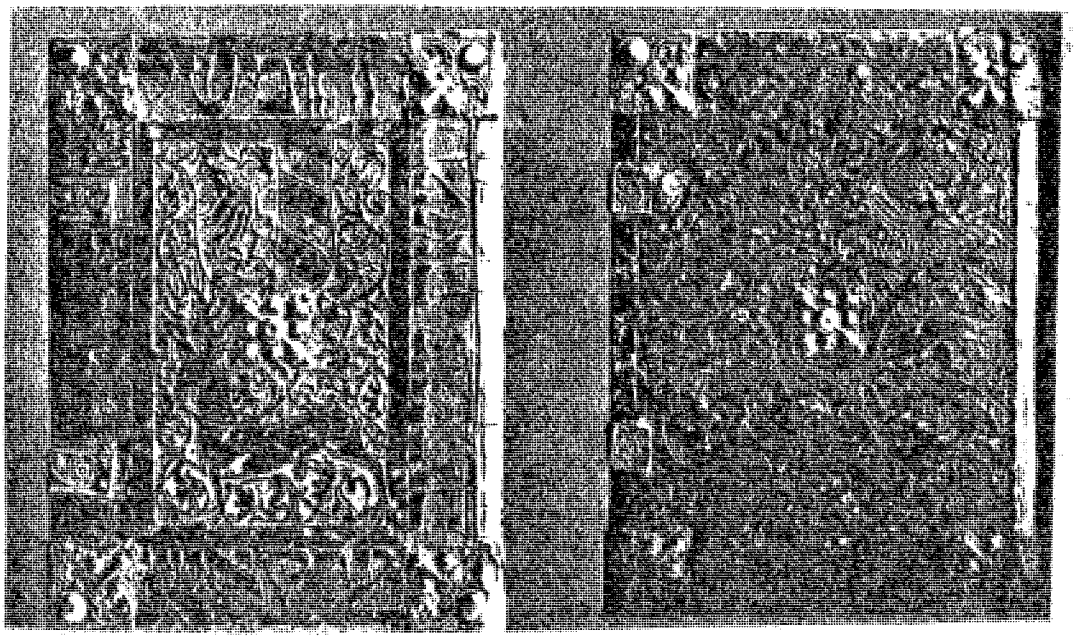


fig. 49
Pentateuch Binding
Munich, Staatsbibliothek
Cod. Heb. 212

fig. 50
Aesop, The Hares and the Frogs
fol. 50r

fig. 51
Aesop, The Poor Man and the Serpent
fol. 51r

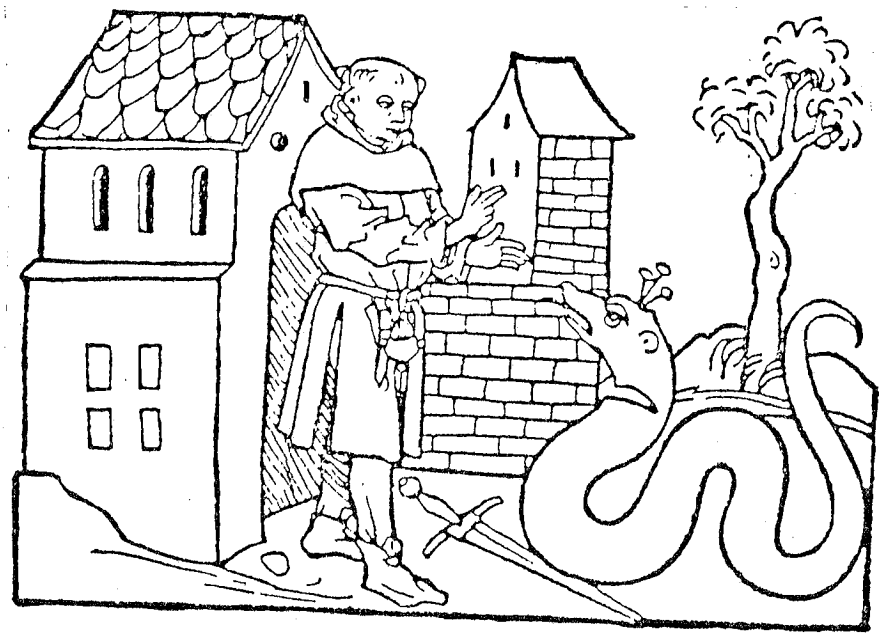


fig. 52
Darmstadt Haggadah
Darmstadt, Hessische Landes-und Hochschulbibliothek
Cod. Or. 8, fol. 37v

fig. 53
Darmstadt Haggadah
Darmstadt, Hessische Landes-und Hochschulbibliothek
Cod. Or. 8, fol. 48r

fig. 54
First Cincinnati Haggadah
Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College
Ms. 444, fol. 23r

fig. 55
First Cincinnati Haggadah
Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College
Ms. 444, fol. 23v

fig. 56
First Cincinnati Haggadah
Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College
Ms. 444, fol. 10r

fig. 57
First Cincinnati Haggadah
Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College
Ms. 444, fol. 9r

fig. 58
First Cincinnati Haggadah
Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College
Ms. 444, fol. 11v

fig. 59
First Cincinnati Haggadah
Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College
Ms. 444, fol. 16v

fig. 60
First Cincinnati Haggadah
Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College
Ms. 444, fol. 30r

fig. 61
First Cincinnati Haggadah
Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College
Ms. 444, fol. 30v

fig. 62
First Cincinnati Haggadah
Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College
Ms. 444, fol. 31v

fig. 63
First Cincinnati Haggadah
Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College
Ms. 444, fol. 2v

fig. 64
First Cincinnati Haggadah
Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College
Ms. 444, fol. 6r

fig. 65
First Cincinnati Haggadah
Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College
Ms. 444, fol. 4r

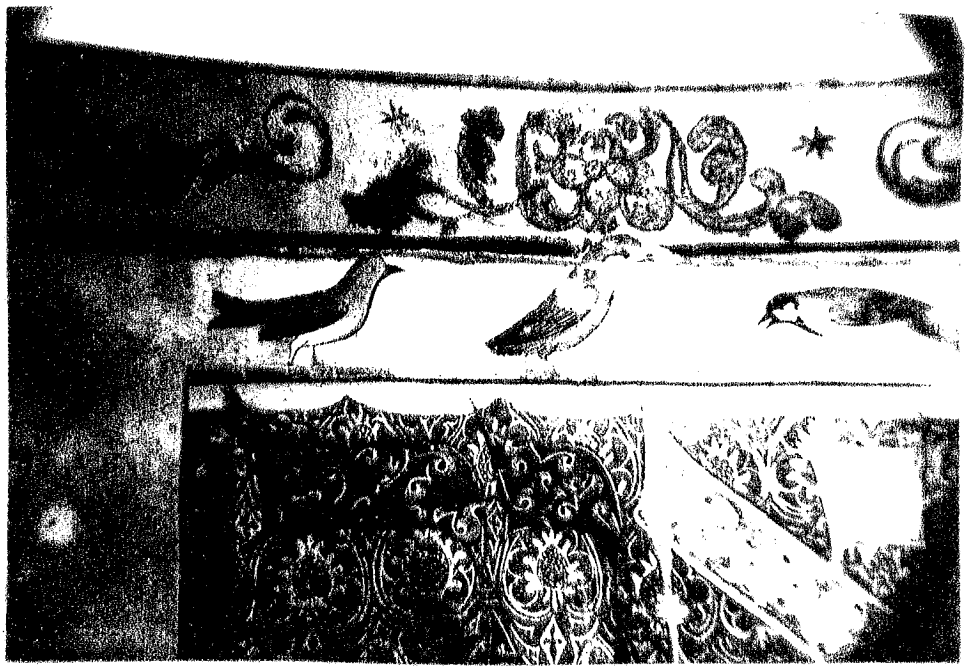
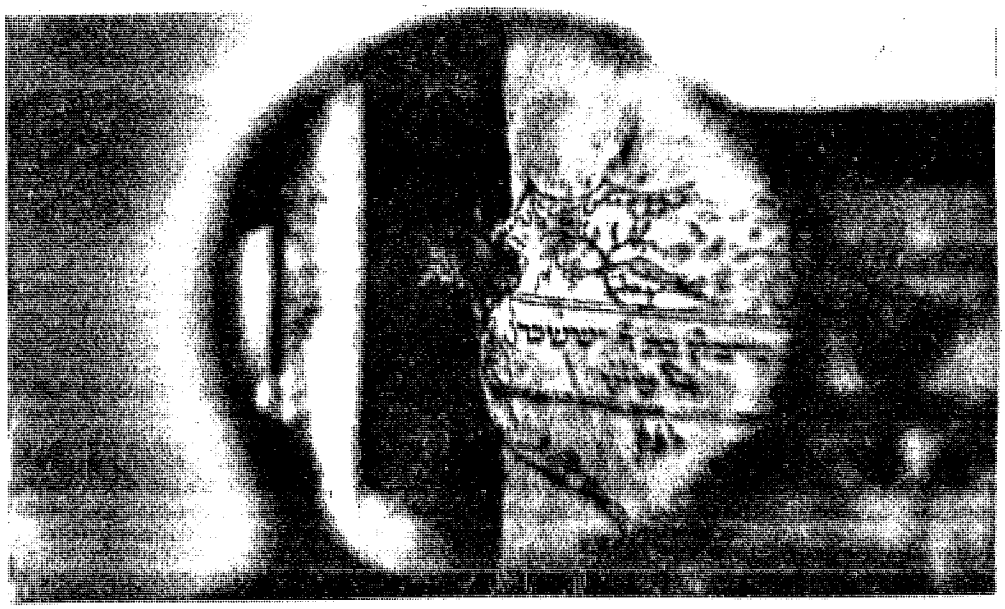


fig. 66
First Cincinnati Haggadah
Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College
Ms. 444, fol. 1v

fig. 67
First Cincinnati Haggadah
Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College
Ms. 444, Colophon



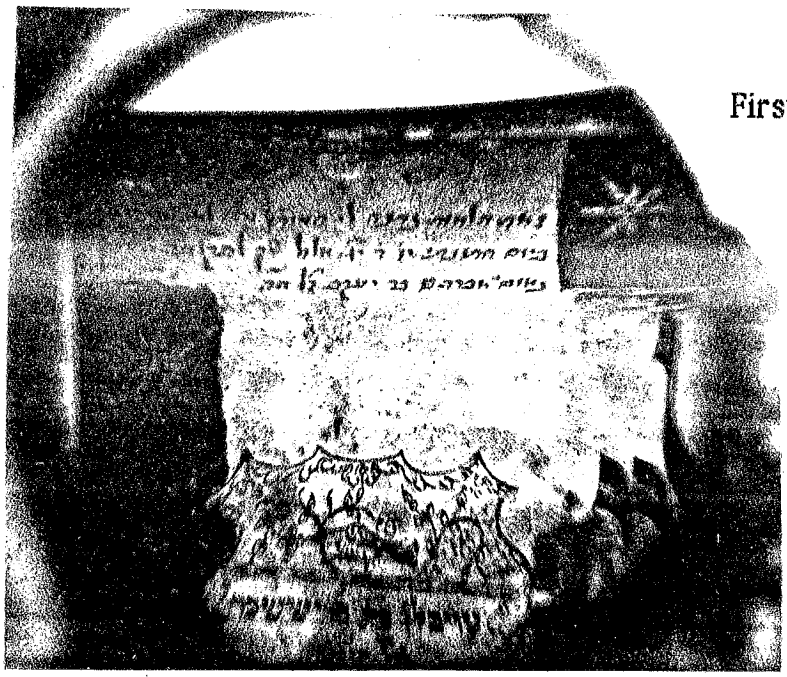
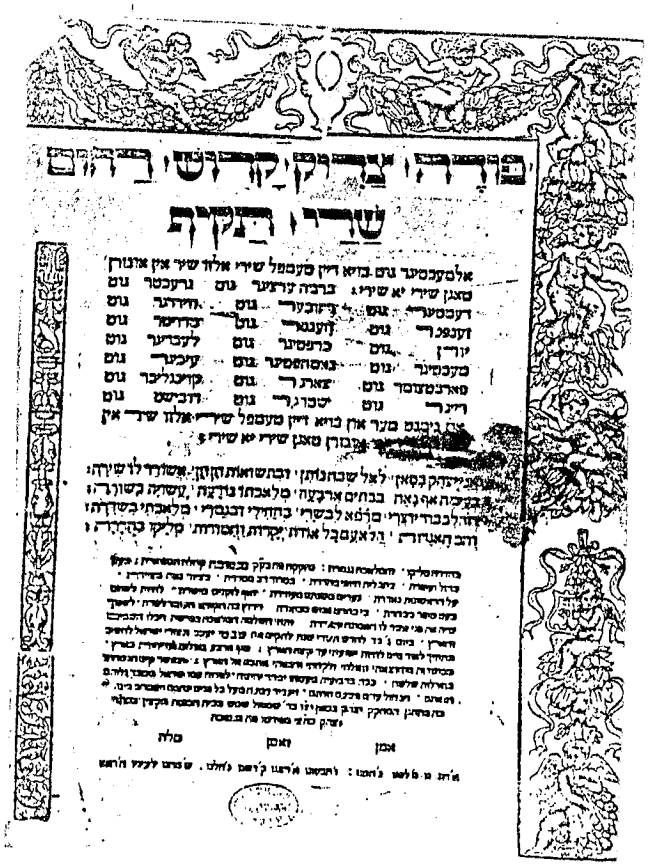


fig. 68
First Cincinnati Haggadah
Cincinnati, Hebrew
Union College
Ms. 444, Colophon

fig. 69
Prague Haggadah
Jerusalem, National and
University Library



שירי תקות

fig. 70
Prague Haggadah
Jerusalem, National and
University Library

fig. 71
London Haggadah
London B. L. Add
Ms. 14762, fol. 1r

fig. 72
London Haggadah
London, B.L. Add. Ms. 14762
fol. 2v

fig. 73
London Haggadah
London, B.L. Add. Ms. 14762
fol. 4r

fig. 74
London Haggadah
London, B.L. Add. Ms. 14762
fol. 7r

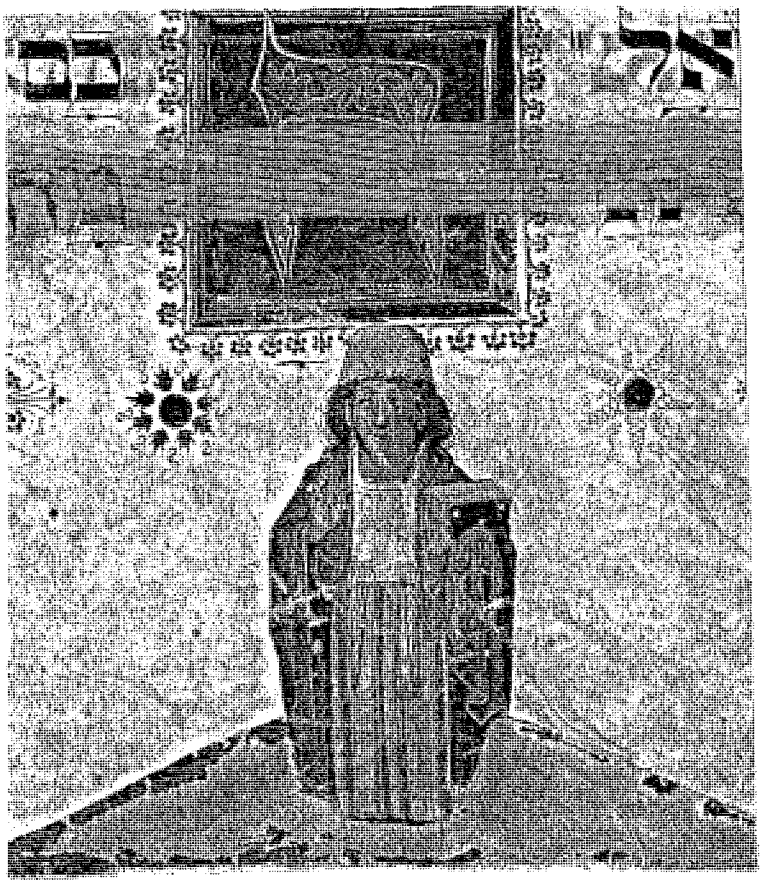
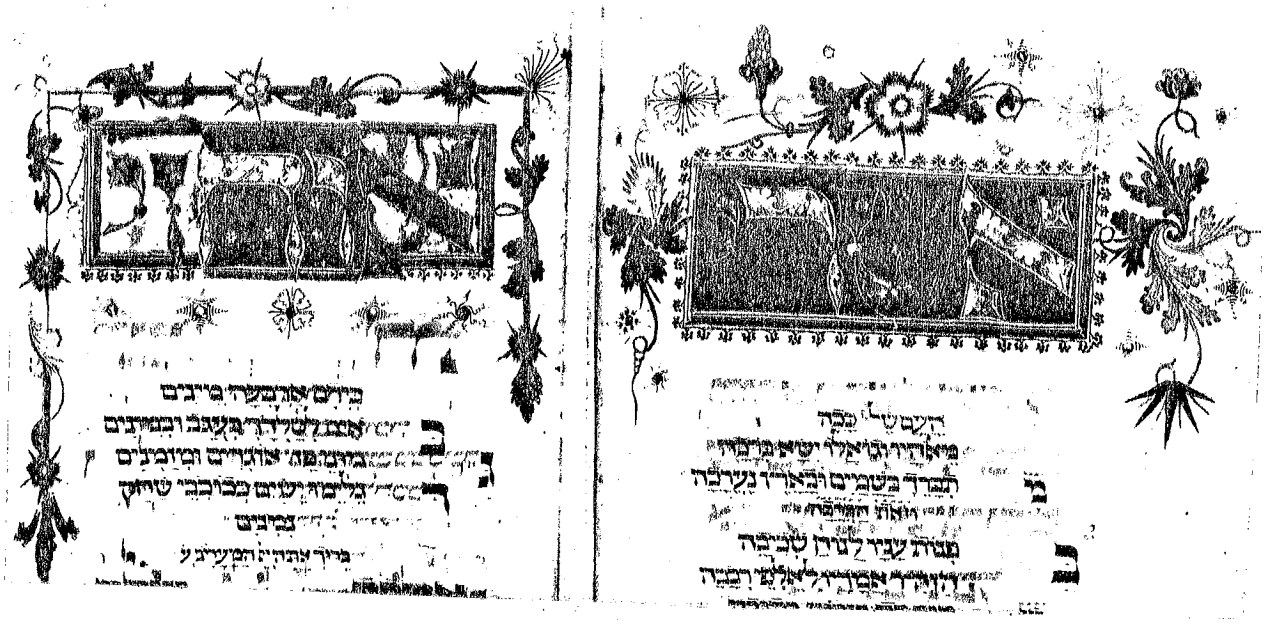


fig. 75
London Haggadah
London, B.L. Add.
Ms. 14762, fol. 8v

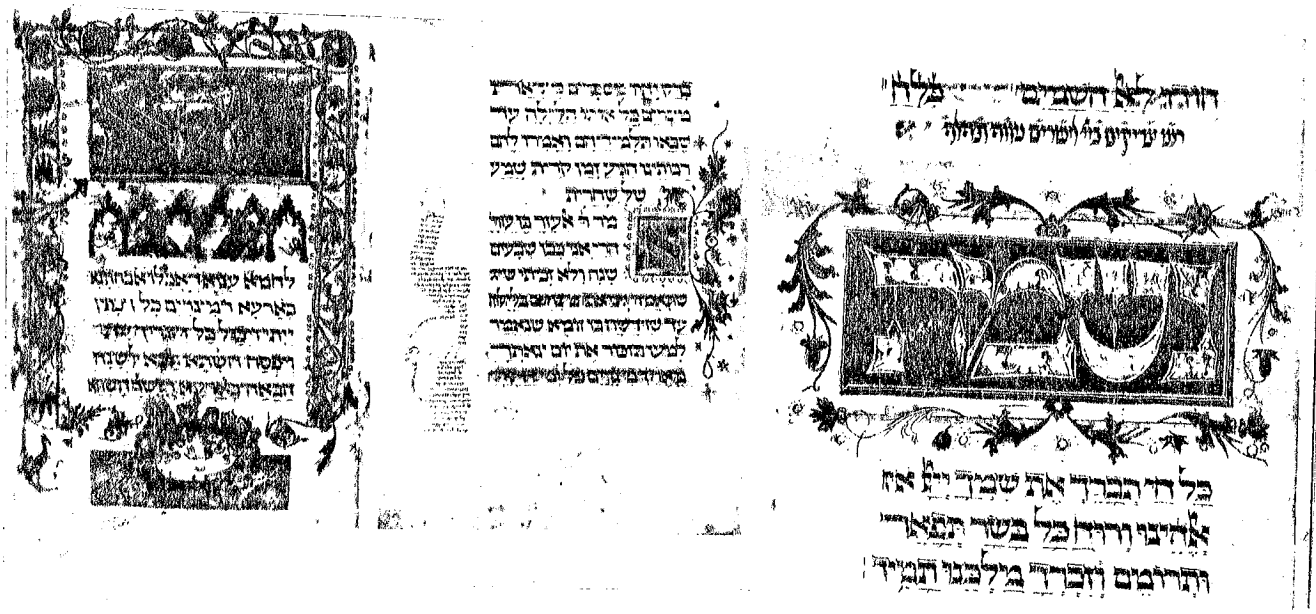
fig. 76
London Haggadah
London, B.L. Add.
Ms. 14762, fol. 11v

fig. 77
London Haggadah
London, B.L. Add.
Ms. 14762, fol. 22r

fig. 78
London Haggadah
London, B.L. Add.
Ms. 14762, fol. 22v



figs. 79, 80
Munich Mahzor
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
Cod. Hebr. 3, II, fols. 2r, 315v



figs. 81, 82, 83
London Haggadah
London, B.L. Add. Ms. 14762
fols. 6r, 8r, 39r

figs. 84, 85, 86
London Haggadah
London, B.L. Add. Ms. 14762
fols. 13v, 46v

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Bifolio with Crucifixion and St. Leonard
Johannes Bamler
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library
Ms. M. 45, fol. 1v

fig. 87
First Cincinnati Haggadah
Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College
Ms. 444, fol. 2v

fig. 88
London Haggadah
London, B.L. Add. Ms. 14762
fol. 45r