Naomi Feuchtwanger-Sarig
Thy Father's Instruction

Studia Judaica

Forschungen zur Wissenschaft des Judentums

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Rethinking Diaspora

Edited by
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Volume 2

Naomi Feuchtwanger-Sarig

Thy Father's Instruction

Reading the Nuremberg Miscellany as Jewish
Cultural History

DE GRUYTER

The subseries *Rethinking Diaspora* is published on behalf of the Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University.

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שְׁמַע בְּנִי מוּסַר אָבִיךָ וְאַל-תִּטֹּשׁ תּוֹרַת אִמֶּךָ
משלי א, ט'

To my parents, Dina ז"ל and Moshe Michael Feuchtwanger יבל"א
For guiding me through my journey in life
All that I am I owe to your giving, your love, and your legacy
In your living memory, with endless love

Acknowledgements

Writing a book commands an immeasurable amount of conviction. While studying the wonders of the *Nuremberg Miscellany*, I was blessed, time and again, with encouragement from so many people, near and far, who were available whenever I sought their help or advice, and who have shared my enthusiasm for the manuscript and its marvels.

The present study could not have seen the light of day without the support of several institutions, which not only believed in me as a scholar, but also granted me the financial help that provided me with carefree time to conduct the research for this book. First, my deepest thanks go to the Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center at Tel Aviv University and its director, Prof. Simha Goldin, who recruited me to conduct my study under the aegis of the Center. The Jewish Art and Visual Culture Research Project within the Goldstein-Goren Center has been my home-away-from-home, and the Mehlman Library of the Center, headed by Evelyn Ofer and her successor Sofia Tels-Abramov, has been a treasure trove of countless invaluable resources. Many thanks go to Prof. Goldin for his conviction that visual culture in general and the *Nuremberg Miscellany* in particular, have a legitimate place in the historical span of research at the Center. Ora Azta and the entire administrative team at the Center have spared no effort to walk me through official and technical issues that came along the way and deserve every word of gratitude. My very special appreciation is extended to Sara Appel, Center's Senior Administrative Assistant, and to the Conference and Publications Coordinator, Adi Moskovitz (and, in her brief absence, Roni Gamlieli). Their constant succour, encouragement and sound advice compare only to their endless support towards the publication of this book with patience, wisdom, and competence.

Two post-doctoral fellowships have sustained this research and have had an immense impact on it. In 2005–2006, I spent a most enriching year at the Center for Advanced Judaic Studies (now known as the Katz Center) at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, under the direction of Prof. David Ruderman. The inspiring intellectual encounters with colleagues, each studying a different aspect of the Hebrew book, have deepened my understanding of its physical attributes, illustrations, readership, and beyond. The 2009–2010 Frankel Center for Advanced Judaic Studies fellowship at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, under Prof. Deborah Dash Moore, brought me together with stimulating scholars focusing on material culture. Discussing with them the materiality of objects and artefacts within the setting of their cultural background added new insights and perspectives to my researcher toolbox.

A grant from the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture has made it possible for me to enjoy the world of scholarship, and specifically enabled me to relish the

Foreword

For more than 400 years, the *Nuremberg Miscellany* awaited its due recognition as a masterpiece of Jewish visual culture. Its unassuming format, simple cardboard secondary binding, and naïvely executed illustrations attracted little attention from scholars, though certainly not enough for anyone to dedicate an entire monograph to its iconographically rich, often enigmatic illustrations. Something about it, perhaps its modesty, struck a chord in my heart nearly thirty-five years ago. It was love-at-first-sight, which matured and ripened along the years until the time has come for its realisation. Little did I know then what I have recently discovered: that the progenitor of the family of proprietors of the *Nuremberg Miscellany*, Eli'ezer Abraham, father of Simeon and of Jacob of the Günzburg family, born in 1477 in Porto, in the Veneto region of Italy, was my fourteenth great-grandfather!

As a child, I often visited the Bezalel Museum in Jerusalem, the forerunner of the present Israel Museum. One particular object on display aroused my curiosity. It was a pink sandstone slab, carved and decorated with an eight-pointed star, two cornucopia and several Hebrew letters in relief. Its caption read "marriage stone" from Bingen on the Rhine, dated 1700, and the brief comment explained that in that region it was customary for the bridegroom to shatter the glass against such a "marriage stone" as part of the wedding ceremony (see Figure 1).[1]

Figure 1: *Ḥuppah* stone (*Traustein*), Bingen (Germany), 1700 [Jerusalem, The Israel Museum, 199/022; B66.09.1409, Gift of the Bingen Municipality through the Jewish community of Cologne, Germany] (Photo by Elie Posner)

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1 *Ḥuppah* stone (*Traustein*), Bingen (Germany), 1700 [Jerusalem, The Israel Museum, 199/022; (B66.09.1409, Gift of the Bingen Municipality through the Jewish community of Cologne, Germany)].

The stone from Bingen am Rhein was included in the exhibition "Monumenta Judaica: 2000 Jahre Geschichte und Kultur der Juden am Rhein," shown in Cologne in 1963–1964. The brief catalogue entry no. E154 sheds little light on the unique custom pertaining to this stone.

In the mid-1980s, I finally began to decipher this enigma thanks to a text—rather than an illustration—in the *Nuremberg Miscellany*. In the manuscript, I found the clue to the exhibit that had perplexed me since my childhood. As an art-historian, I was more inclined to look for visual clues. Finding a textual allusion for a visual-physical artefact led me to focus my research on cultural history.

With this perspective in mind, I ventured into the process of unraveling the cognitive iconographic creative process of the *Nuremberg Miscellany*'s artist. The challenge was to enter the secret of his inner world. After the obvious steps of studying the apparently clear questions, namely *what* is the object of our observation and *who* are the protagonists, a third question emerged, namely *why* the artist inserted a particular image in a certain composition and specific iconography within the complete decorative scheme. This last question proved to be not only exceptionally rewarding but also a challenging and intriguing one in this journey. It necessitated an in-depth examination of the text-image relationship of each individual image and a probe into the pattern of associations between the verbal and the visual throughout the manuscript. Often, I was under the impression that the artist's choices of visual material drew more on his inner cultural world than on Jewish textual tradition in general and the manuscript's text in particular.

The artist of the *Nuremberg Miscellany* was by no means a passive player deferring to a patron and relying on model books for his visual vocabulary; he followed his eyes, knowledge, and original phantasy alone. This was an extraordinary task in my attempt to interpret the images, their iconographic reading, and, furthermore—their social, religious, and cultural context.

Delving into every image in the manuscript, layer after layer of insight emerged, leading to a clearer understanding of the artist's mind. This process of deciphering was by far the most gratifying aspect of the excursion through the *Miscellany*. Over the course of time, it became clear that the most imperative task was to become acquainted with the artist and his cultural milieu. In the process of revealing him as an artist and an educated person, his breadth of knowledge, both as a man-of-the-world and as a literate Jew, his rich associative universe, and even his refined sense of humour became more and more apparent. Penetrating the inner world of this amazingly multifarious man was the greatest reward of this research.

Consequently, sharing this journey of exploration among the images became more important than treating the manuscript monolithically. The purpose of the analysis was to retrace the artist's cognitive-conceptual process, which resulted in this visual and iconographic wealth intertwined with wisdom and wit.

My love for this manuscript would not have been possible without the spirit of my late grandfather, Dr. Heinrich Feuchtwanger. A dentist and a true lover of Jewish art and visual culture, he, along with a group of other professionals and enthusiasts, passionately collected and documented, in the 1920s and 1930s, relics of the Jewish past in Southern Germany. Together they searched for these visual remnants in the then already desolate small Jewish communities, shovelling through the dust of ages in their synagogue attics, and recording, photographing, drawing, and measuring every cherished memento. To them these were living remains, testimonials of the rural communities that had once flourished in Bavaria, Swabia, and other extinct places of Jewish settlement. Some of the artefacts eventually ended up in my grandfather's Judaica collection, the largest of its kind at the time. Others found their way, through his agency, to the Bezalel Museum in Jerusalem, including the Bingen marriage stone.

The backdrop of my childhood was one overflowing with artefacts of Jewish tradition. My grandparents' home in Jerusalem was replete with Jewish ritual objects and adornments of Jewish folk art. Cabinets lined the walls displaying articles made of silver and parchment, glass and clay, tin and fine fabrics. Many of them were very valuable, but their real importance lay in the stories behind them and their provenance. It was quite normal for my grandfather to use an eighteenth-century *kiddush* goblet to welcome Shabbat, or for me to sit on a circumcision bench from his collection. Both—like hundreds of other relics— enjoyed love and reverence in the home of Heini (Heinrich) and Henni (Henriette) Feuchtwanger as the setting for all our family events.

Appointed acting curator of Judaica of the Bezalel Museum after the death of its founding director, Mordechai Narkiss, Grandfather visited the museum daily, including every Shabbat. Eventually, the entire family followed, and thus, along with the playground and school, the Bezalel Museum became part of my early life and the artefacts were my close friends.

I owe much of my vocational choices to my grandfather. He was only sixty-five years old when he died and I was too young to savour his knowledge and expertise, but probably not too young to absorb his enthusiasm and intellectual curiosity at the sight of an old wooden mezuzah, a silver amulet, or a parchment Esther Scroll. This is how my love of Jewish visual culture was born.

My maternal grandfather, Advocate Mordechai Levanon, played a very different role in my life. Attorney and judge, he was my model of an intellectual and a Jewish scholar, tirelessly studying another page of Talmud, another biblical exegesis, or another midrash, while equally inquisitive about all the secular sciences. He was as familiar with the Jewish Bible as with the Christian Scriptures and the Quran. Over ninety years old, already conversant in nine languages, he was determined to teach himself yet another. He read every printed word on a

scrap of paper that lay in front of him, unable to quench his thirst for erudition. From him I learned perseverance and true humanism, but above all, the love and appreciation for our religious and intellectual heritage.

My parents raised me to seek knowledge everywhere. My father, Prof. Moshe Michael Feuchtwanger, is a role model for intellectual wealth ranging from music and history to his profession, medicine, and surgery, his specialty. My late mother, Dina ז"ל née Levanon, an educator by profession and social worker by vocation, was a true *mater familias*, my paradigm for the values of truthfulness, honesty, and unmatched integrity. Together they taught me to challenge my intellectual capacity, to seek new horizons, to broaden and deepen my scope of interest, to strive for academic accuracy, and to show excellence in any endeavour. I am grateful to them for my quest of scholarship. This book is a token of my love and appreciation for them and for their encouragement.

Entering the groves of academia, I was fortunate to have come under the tutelage of the finest teacher and mentor, Prof. Bezalel Narkiss ז"ל. A vessel of incredible understanding and knowledge, studying and working under him was as challenging as it was fulfilling. With awe, he introduced me to the fascinating world of illuminated manuscripts. The embellishments, micrographic images, and text illustrations found in a manuscript still excite me as in my first probes into research. Through Prof. Narkiss, I learned not only to see the physical book with its quires, script, and illuminations. Looking beyond the immediately comprehensible, he taught me to view the embellishments as texts, reflecting a world gone by, which was a mélange of religious belief, customs, and history. He was overjoyed with the *Nuremberg Miscellany* and my research project, but regretfully did not live to see its fruition. His death in 2008 left me, like so many other students and colleagues of his, feeling like an orphaned child. God rest his soul.

Contents

Transliteration

As a Semitic language, Hebrew has a consonantal alphabet with vowels implied or added on as diacritical marks. Most consonants have equivalents in European languages.

Hebrew vowels are the equivalents of *ah*, *eh*, *ee*, *oh*, and *oo*. Their transliteration is *a, e, i, o,* and *u*. For each sound there are between two and five different diacritical marks, representing a historical differentiation between short and long vowels. In addition, there is a special diacritic, the *shva*, which is either silent or vocal, pronounced like a very brief *eh*. In this book, the spelling of the *shva* follows current Israeli pronunciation.

Hebrew does not distinguish between nuances of the five pure sounds, such as between "a" as in "bar" and in "bat." Some letters (י, ו) serve both as consonants (y=י, v=ו) and as vowels (ee=י, oh=ו, oo=ו). Some Hebrew letters have two modes of pronunciation, aspirated (v=ב, kh=כ, f/ph=פ) and non-aspirated (b=ב, k=כ, p=פ).

Also, some consonants are represented by more than one letter, as a relic of the distant past, when they were differently pronounced. The transliteration for the k-sounding letters is k=כ and q=ק. For t-sounding letters the transliteration here is t=ת and ṭ=ט.

While the letters ח and כ have the same pronunciation in Modern Hebrew, their differentiation among some people originating in Arab and Mediterranean countries is in the process of disappearing. Their pronunciation is similar to "ch" in the German "acht" or English "loch," and their transliteration is kh=כ and ḥ=ח.

Hebrew has letters for consonants that are "invisible" in European languages: the air stoppage in syllables that seem to begin with a vowel. Like ḥ and kh, their differentiation is disappearing in Modern Hebrew, but transliteration maintains the distinction between them as ' before the vowel for א and ' before the vowel for ע. Thus, for example, the word עיר (city) will be transliterated as "'*ir*" and the word אור will be transliterated as "'*or*."

The consonants א and ה are mostly silent when in the terminal position. In order to distinguish between the letters that create the "ah" sound, the terminal א will not be transliterated, while an "h" will be appended to words ending in ה.

Doubling of consonants in the transliteration occurs when the Hebrew original contains a *dagesh ḥazaq* (literally "strong dot," often referred to as "geminating dagesh," or "dagesh forte"). The *dagesh ḥazaq* is a diacritic vocalisation mark that may occur in most letters of the Hebrew alphabet. In transliteration, the dagesh doubles the letter in which it appears.

Some Hebrew prepositions (-ב, -כ, -ל, -מ) and particles, including the definite article (-ה) and conjunctive vav (-ו) are not discrete words but prefixes. Their transliteration will appear in lowercase letters followed by a part of speech begin-

ning with an upper case letter. For example, the word הַמֶּלֶךְ (the king) will appear, unhyphenated, as *haMelekh*.

For some Hebrew terms there are accepted conventions in modern scholarship. This study will follow those conventions rather than adhere to the described transcription rules.

The transliteration rules applied in this work do not relate to Hebrew words that appear in citations from other sources. In this case, the original orthography remains unaltered.

Transliteration Table

Consonants				Vowels	
Name	**Notation**	**Letter**	**Sound**	**Notation**	**with א or Letter**
'Aleph	'	א	bar	*a*	אַ, אָ, אֲ
			get	*e*	אֶ, אֵ, אֱ, (אֶי)
Bet (dagesh)	*B b*	בּ			
Vet	*V v*	ב			
Gimel	*G g*	ג	go		
Dalet	*D d*	ד			
He	*H h*	ה			
Vav	*V v*	ו	zoo	*u*	אֻ, או
			loch	*o*	אׁ, אָ, אֳ, אוֹ
Zayin	*Z z*	ז			
Ḥet	*Ḥ ḥ*	ח	loch		
Ṭet	*Ṭ ṭ*	ט			
Yod	*Y y*	י	see	*i*	אִ, אִי
Kaf	*K k*	כ, ך			
Khaf	*KH kh*	כ, ך	loch		
Lamed	*L l*	ל			
Mem	*M m*	מ, ם			
Nun	*N n*	נ, ן			

Samekh	*S s*	ס	
'Ayin	**'**	ע	Deep א
Peh	*P p*	ף ,פ	
Pheh	*F f*	ף ,פ	
Ẓadi	*Ẓ ẓ*	ץ ,צ	bi**ts**
Qof	*Q q*	ק	
Resh	*R r*	ר	
Shin	*SH sh*	שׁ	
Sin	*S s*	שׂ	
Tav	*T t*	ת	

Frequently Used Abbreviations

Ara.	Aramaic
b.	*ben* (Heb.), *bar* (Ara.) = son [of] (patronymic)
BT	Babylonian Talmud
Cod.	Codex
Fol.	Folio
Fols.	Folios
Fr.	French
Ger.	German
GNM	Germanisches Nationalmuseum
Gr.	Greek
Heb.	Hebrew
JT	Jerusalem Talmud
Lat.	Latin
Lit.	Literally (used when translating non-English words)
M	Mishnah
MS	Manuscript
MSS	Manuscripts
NLI	National Library of Israel (formerly JNUL – Jewish National and University Library)
Par.	*Parashah* (Heb.) = section, pericope
Pl.	Plate, Planche (Fr.)
Plur.	Plural
R.	Rabbi
Sing.	Singular
Yid.	Yiddish

Introduction: Text, Image, and Message

The interrelationship between text and image in illuminated manuscripts has long been the subject of conversation. The supremacy of the one over the other was, and is to this day, a major point of argument among scholars. The main concerns in these discussions are the perception of the message, the effectiveness of its transmission, and the target audience.

The world of imagery is like a kaleidoscope, with endless possibilities of interpretation and representation. When depicting a "story," the artist can choose to create a composition and iconography to his or her liking. The visual rendering is often subjective—though much less so in the Middle Ages—using artistic conventions and model books.[1] In most books, the hierarchy is clear: the text is the master, the image is its slave. Conversely, in picture books, the opposite is true: the image is master, and the text is there mainly to help understand what the image conveys. A very different relationship exists in illuminated manuscripts. Here, the narrative and the image are typically closely knit, and the illustrations, or at least most of them, have a direct bearing on the text.[2] Illustrations are adjacent to the text, or remain within close proximity to the relevant passage in it. They complement it by adding a visual dimension to the account, thus augmenting and enriching the textual message conveyed to the reader-beholder.[3]

"The easiest way of conveying thoughts and messages, is through pictures that transcend linguistic boundaries," says Michelle P. Brown in *The British Library Guide to Writing and Scripts*.[4] While this may well be the case in some cultural contexts, the interpretation of an image is culture-bound and therefore not universally and unequivocally intelligible outside that context; in Brown's words: ". . .

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[1] On the use of model books in the Middle Ages as agents of iconographic transferral of ideas and beliefs, including an extensive study and catalogue of medieval model books, see Robert W. Scheller, *Exemplum: Model-Book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages (ca. 900–ca. 1470)*, trans. Michael Hoyle (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995).
[2] A distinction should be made between "illustrations" that display an iconographic charge and "decorations," which are fanciful embellishments of a neutral nature with no relevance to the text.
[3] Patricia Basing, describing and illustrating the interdependence between text and image in her *Trades and Crafts in Medieval Manuscripts* (London: The British Library, 1990), 15, correctly singles out the textual marginalia that began appearing in manuscripts as of the thirteenth century and became widespread in subsequent centuries, whose bearing on the text is often remote.
[4] Michelle P. Brown, *The British Library Guide to Writing and Scripts. History and Techniques* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 12. See her chapter on "Why Writing," 7–49, in which she describes various forms of interaction between "thought, sound, word and image."

advanced systems of image-based communication require an underlying system of reference, as does writing."[5]

In the case of communication through images without an accompanying text, the artist faces an enormous challenge. Limited by nature of his skill, the artist must perform an act that is by far more demanding than that of the writer. In every image, he must convey both fact or narrative and interpretation. His account is visual, and therefore static. It does not occur along time and space, but it ought to contain reference to both, within a confined nutshell. Though expressed visually, the work of art is lacking vocal elements, contemplations and sentiments, as well as changing live facial expressions and bodily movements that "can amplify, modify, confirm, or subvert verbal utterance," as stated by Sir Keith Thomas in his introduction to Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg's *A Cultural History of Gesture*, published in 1991.[6]

Narrowing the scope of discussion in terms of geography and chronology, Jean-Claude Schmitt notes that profound changes in religious life, the growth of mysticism, and an increasingly complex society in Europe substantially redefined the role and meaning of gesture by the late Middle Ages. In this sense, the medieval vocabulary of gesture was much richer. New definitions evolved in terms of society, theology, ritual, and the arts, thereby confirming St. Augustine's earlier distinction between superstitious and legitimate gesture and broadening the scope of both beyond the traditional realm of gesticulations.[7]

Every oral discourse draws, primarily, on a message or an idea. The narrator transmits it by the word and its lexical meaning, as well as by his intonation, gesticulation, and mimicry. A visually portrayed dialogue, on the other hand, lacks these live constituents, and must suffice with the image, possibly an artistic interpretation of a concrete or abstract nature.[8] It is important to note, though,

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5 Ibid., 1.

6 Keith Thomas, "Introduction," *A Cultural History of Gesture from Antiquity to the Present Day*, ed. Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), 6. One of the pioneering works on gesture in art is the study by Ernst H. Gombrich, "Ritualized Gesture and Expression in Art," *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* B 251, no. 772 (1966): 393–401. See further Max S. Kirch, "Non-Verbal Communication Across Cultures," *The Modern Language Journal* 63, no. 8 (1979): 416–423.

7 Jean-Claude Schmitt, *La raison des gestes dans l'Occident mediéval* (Paris: Gallimard, 1990), offers an important contribution to the history of gesture and its relationship to the artist's role in conveying a non-verbal message to the beholder. See especially 59–70.

8 André Chastel discusses the importance of physiognomy and gestures in conveying a visual message in Renaissance art in his *Le geste dans l'art* (Paris: Edition Liana Levi, 2001). His essay includes a bibliographic survey of some major works pertaining to theory on gestures, found in 18–22.

that it is the weakness of literacy—or rather illiteracy—which predominated in Western society up to modern times and rendered the image in all its components so important for the simple folk.[9] In a way, we still abide by some gestures, whose origins lie in medieval conventions. Such are, for example, the handshake, or the salute. Having become norms, gestures may be included in the iconographic vocabulary of its society and thus become an integral component of the artist's visual language.

Through explicit choice of iconographic detail, composition, and colour, the artist adds to his work deeper meanings that, however, leave it open to subjective reading of the beholder. Interpretation of a work of art is spectator-centred and hence inherently subjective: it is a blend of the historical, social, and cultural background of the artist on the one hand, and of the observer on the other. Nonetheless, in the case of text illustrations, we can assume that, typically, the artist is the one who chooses which episodes to depict, presumably those that he/she considers particularly evocative of the account. He or she would often focus on important turning points in the narrative or the climax of a story, highlighting the main figures in the plot. As in the theatre, these would include the protagonist(s), as well as other individuals, objects, or elements that are essential for the accurate decoding of the illustration. The artist's mastery lies in his or her ability to depict them in order to allow the observer to comprehend their content and meaning instantaneously and unmistakably. The artist, working within the confines of visual content, may find it difficult to cope with the non-perceptible, such as thoughts and ideas, conversations, or character traits.

An equal emphasis in a book on both modes of transmission, scriptural-verbal and pictorial-visual, is relatively rare. It is therefore important to understand the relationship between the narrative and the imagery that accompanies it. A book, in essence, is a communicating agent between the author, the scribe or copyist,[10] the artist, and the recipient. Moreover, interpretation of the text-image relationship must not be restricted to a linear—though perhaps bilateral—dialogue between

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9 Inclusion in the notion of "gesture" of illustrations in manuscripts, whether for mere embellishment or for any other reason, mainly from the standpoint of Islamic art, was challenged by Oleg Grabar, "Seeing Things: Why Pictures in Texts?" in *Islamic Art and Literature*, ed. Oleg Grabar and Cynthia Robinson (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener, 2001), 1–4.

10 It is important to distinguish between the scribe or copyist who reproduces an existing text, and the author who produces an original text, thus creating an autograph. Here, and throughout the present work, the terms "scribe" and "copyist" are interchangeable, referring to the person responsible for the transcription of the text.

the scribe and the artist. The production of a book is the beginning of the process, which also includes its reception by its target audience as the final, though temporary result, as each beholder "reads" the visual message with different eyes and in light of his or her own time and culture.

The debate over the respective importance of word and image and their role in the religious life of the believer has had an important place in the history of Christianity. It played a predominant role in the schism between the Catholics and the Protestants in the sixteenth century. Whereas Catholic churches and cathedrals were heavily ornamented, many Protestants, especially Calvinists, considered the use of visual imagery in religion distracting. Some, however— beginning with Martin Luther, who included illustrations in his Bible—valued their didactic importance. One Protestant advocate of images, the Bavarian humanist Jakob Ziegler, quoted St. Augustine and Gregory the Great, who had considered images as being more powerful than words for the transmission of a message, because anyone can understand them and they require no interpretation.[11]

The wide spectrum of modern theories on the interrelationship between text and image fall into one of two main categories. For the most part, text historians consider the word as the principal bearer of the message and regard verbal media as the prime means of communication between humans. Art historians, by contrast, favour the transmission of the message through the eye, explaining that the image offers a more universal "reading" and conception. This differentiation lies in the training of scholars and their respective disciplines and methodologies.

Discussing the thirteenth-century *Roman de la Rose* (*Romance of the Rose*), composed by Guillaume de Lorris with subsequent additions by Jean de Meun, the literary historian Stephen G. Nichols explicitly positions the word in the foreground and regards the image as ancillary.[12] Placing the verbal message high above the visual, he claims, "Figural language places the image in the service of the word, thereby privileging the sensual and immediate over the rational and conceptual." To him, this is "the conflict between figural versus rational language," which he traces back to Plato.[13] Nichols' approach clearly reflects his area of expertise as a literary historian.

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11 See, at length, Sergiusz Michelski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts. The Protestant Image Question in Western and Eastern Europe* (London: Routledge, 1993), especially 169–194.
12 Stephen G. Nichols, "Ekphrasis, Iconoclasm, and Desire," in *Rethinking the Romance of the Rose. Text, Image, Reception*, ed. Kevin Brownlee and Sylvia Huot (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), 133–160.
13 Ibid., 133.

Art-centred scholars quite naturally have a very different perspective. In her article on "Art as Symbolic Speech,"[14] the art therapist Margaret Naumburg argues that

> Art as symbolic speech has played a major role in both the conscious and unconscious cultural expression of man throughout the ages. In order to become more clearly aware, from the vantage point of today, of the myriad ways by which universal picturisation has been for man a means of profound communication, it is necessary to re-assess the diverse and often contradictory estimates of such symbolic expression in our own time as well as in ages past.[15]

Hence, in an attempt to obtain a complete and correct understanding of a symbolic message in a particular work of art, one must consider its timeframe and religious-cultural milieu in depth and breadth alike.

The art critic Leo Steinberg explicitly argues that works of art are primary sources, as valid as any written document, if only "read" and interpreted correctly. Moreover, he claims in his book, *The Sexuality of Jesus in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion*,[16] just as a written text is a world in itself and simultaneously reflective of the world from which it comes, so, too, the work of art is a multi-facetted and multi-layered visual message.

Following Steinberg's example, Doug Adams and Diane Apostolos-Cappadona, in the introduction to their jointly edited book, *Art as Religious Studies*,[17] further reflect on the importance of looking upon art beyond its aesthetic value:

> . . . works of art are neither illustrations nor evidence that validates a particular interpretation of a theological or cultural arrangement. Rather, works of art are in their own right a mode of human expression that generates theological interpretation and reflection, and that reveals its cultural and theological milieu . . .[18]

In other words, works of art are an independent—rather than subordinate—means of expression in their own right.

The complex interaction between text and image in any kind of an illustrated written text, be it an illuminated manuscript or a printed book, is convincingly

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14 Margaret Naumburg, "Art as Symbolic Speech," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 13, no. 4 (1955): 435–450.

15 Ibid., 435.

16 Leo Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion*, 2nd ed., revised and expanded (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

17 Doug Adams and Diane Apostolos-Cappadona, eds., *Art as Religious Studies* (New York: Crossroad, 1987).

18 Ibid., 4.

summarised by David Adams with a particular focus on the French and English printed books:

> It might be said that the meaning of an illustration is located precisely in the gap between what is said and what is shown, and that both these elements contribute to the creation of a signifier, which could not exist without their presence. Certainly, the illustrations supplement the text, but it can also be argued that the text supplements the illustrations, in that it offers a set of signifiers which enable us to "make sense" of these scenes, actions and characters depicted in a way which would not be possible otherwise. The fact that text and image supplement each other, and create a meaning which is not wholly coterminous with either of them, acts as a powerful corrective to the Derridean notion that a supplement is necessarily subordinate to that which it supplements.[19]

Carrying the discussion over to the Jewish realm, another art historian, Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, one of the leading authorities on the art of Hebrew illuminated manuscripts, dedicated an essay to the relationship between text and image in medieval Hebrew Bible manuscripts. Her view is explicitly reflected in the title of the study, "The Image as Exegetical Tool: Painting in Medieval Hebrew Manuscripts of the Bible." In her words:

> In Medieval manuscripts in general, in Hebrew manuscripts in particular, ornaments and illustrations were not considered merely aesthetical components, with the sole aim of enhancing the artistic value of the book. Visual complements often had an intellectual function as well, one that varied according to the nature of these complements.[20]

Sed-Rajna regards the non-verbal constituents of the physical book as "visual additions," and calls for a distinction between "non-significant decoration, generally called ornaments," and "significant decoration, including all types of illustrations."[21] Both categories of embellishments, though, remain for her an "exegetical tool," which is, by definition, secondary to the main content of the book—the text.

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19 David Adams, "Introduction: Text, Image and Contemporary Society," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31, no. 3 (2008): 308. Cf. Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 152–157.
20 Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, "The Image as Exegetical Tool: Painting in Medieval Hebrew Manuscripts of the Bible," in *The Bible as Book. The Manuscript Tradition*, ed. John L. Sharpe III and Kimberly van Kampen (London: The British Library / Oak Knoll, 1998), 215.
21 Ibid. An interesting study regarding text-image relationship in a particular printed Hebrew book—the *Venice Haggadah* of 1609—was carried out by Rafael Arnold and Esther Graf, "Text-Bild-Bezug in der venezianischen Haggadah von 1609," in *Judentum zwischen Tradition und Moderne (Schriften der Hochscule für Jüdische Studien)*, ed. Gerd Biegel and Michel Graetz (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2002), 161–178.

From a different perspective, Richard I. Cohen, a historian with a strong feel for and deep knowledge of visual art, highlights the importance of examining visual materials as part of a relevant historical study, especially in the context of cultural history. In his opinion, the two types of sources complement one another and are equally valid documents. "Overlooking the visual dimension by scholars of the modern period," he says, "is tantamount to denying a source, created by Jews and non-Jews, which inevitably enriches our insight into the modern Jewish experience."[22]

The selected views presented above are illustrative of the fact that evaluation and interpretation are a matter of context. To quote Anthony Grafton in his book on scholarship and Humanism, *Defenders of the Text*, "contexts, of course, are personal and social as well as technical and intellectual."[23] Beyond the original intention of the producers of the book, its posthumous interpretation, as that of any work of cultural heritage, is subject to the influence of the interpreter's temporal, cultural, religious, and other sediments.

Looking into the Binding of Isaac in Jewish and Christian art as a test case, Edward Kessler makes the following statement: "The biblical story should not be viewed solely from a literary perspective. Artists who created images based on the biblical story are, in essence, exegetes in their own right and their interpretations sometimes vary considerably from the better-known interpretations found in the writings of the church fathers or the rabbis."[24]

The very notion that, while biblical imagery is naturally dependent on the text it also draws on other interpretative exegetical materials, is central to the present study. Extending this understanding to any text-based visual representations and, in particular, those depicting cultural or religious phenomena, is the foundation of the methodology applied here. It draws not only on the text and the images appended to it as a matter of course but also on other observations and considerations. To texts and paratexts[25] as shapers of visual iconography in

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22 Richard I. Cohen, "Where History and Visual Culture Intersect," *Images* 1 (2007): 3.

23 Anthony Grafton, *Defenders of the Text. The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450–1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), 17.

24 Edward Kessler, "A Response to Marc Bregman," *The Journal of the Society for Textual Reasoning* 2, no. 1 (2003), published electronically, http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/journals/tr/volume2/kessler.html (accessed February 27, 2020).

25 The term "paratext" was coined and described by Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) (originally published in French under the title *Seuils*, Paris: Seuil, 1987). According to the author (p. 2), paratexts, or those portions of the book that are not part of the main narrative, are "a zone between text and off-text, a zone not only of transition but also of transaction: a privileged place of pragmatics and a strategy, of an influence on the public, an influence that . . . is at the service of a

general, one should add the "absent text," namely the text that exists not in the manuscript itself, but is part of the cultural heritage of the artist or the person instructing him and thereby influencing his iconographic rendering. Additionally, direct pictorial models or such available to the artist that have become part of his own vocabulary, also shape the visual expression.

Another source of influence are "para-images," which are often only remotely connected to the image or subject matter the artist is about to depict, but do exist in his imagination, association, and repository of cultural background. All these verbal, visual, and intellectual-cultural sources are the ingredients that shape the personal expression of the artist in his work. For the cultural historian, then, deciphering the multi-layered illustration is crucial for understanding it fully and correctly.

The awareness that the evaluation of the interrelation between text and image is subjective and culture-bound[26] underlies of the study of the *Nuremberg Miscellany*, its embellishments and illustrations. They are essential to decoding how the visual elements in the book interact with the written text and how the artist conveyed the message to the reader and onlooker, from the original owner of the manuscript down to the present day. Living in a different culture and society centuries later, our challenge is to reconstruct as accurately as possible the transformation of ideas into words and their presentation in images by the originators of the manuscript in Southern Germany in 1589.

While this study of the *Nuremberg Miscellany* focuses predominantly on the visual, we are also concerned with the identification of its textual compilation and components, and the interrelation between the two. The imagery of the manuscript presents a whole world of Jewish life, with its customs, beliefs, tradition and lore. The images go far beyond mere embellishments; they are a legacy, handed over to another generation—an additional link in a perpetual chain of proud Jewish existence aspiring to carry over its heritage as a people without land, a nation moulded in variegated host societies as a more or less persecuted, segregated minority. The coexistence of Jews among gentiles left a strong mark

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better reception for the text and a more pertinent reading of it." Cf. also Gérard Genette and Marie Maclean, "Introduction to the Paratext," *New Literary History* 22, no. 2: *Probings: Art, Criticism, Genre* (Spring, 1991): 261–272.

26 From a different approach, the focal point of which is memory, Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski express similar ideas in their introduction to *The Medieval Craft of Memory. An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 7, namely, "Pictures give the inventing recollection specific locations." See also William Albert Graham, *Beyond the Written Word: Oral Aspects of Scripture in the History of Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987; first paperback edition, 1993).

on Jewish life in every part of the Diaspora. Dwindling between tolerance, hope and stability on the one hand, and oppression and often annihilation on the other hand, the Jews nurtured a rich inner world of religious life and culture.

Reading the illustrations in the *Nuremberg Miscellany* as a history book, therefore, seems to be the preferred way to tackle the often-enigmatic embellishments interspersed within the leaves of the manuscript. The art-historical approach, focusing mainly on aspects of technique and style, the compositional placement of the illustrations within the manuscript's decorative scheme, or a plain iconographic interpretation of the image, does not provide a complete understanding of its context. These considerations are certainly important, but to give a full view of the manuscript it is essential to study its literary and artistic components such as the two faces of Janus, complemented by a reconstruction of the general and specific circumstances of its creation.

In order to offer the reader an experience as close to the original as possible, the book follows the flow of the text. In a few cases, though, it deviates from the scribe's order in favour of a coherent discussion of a particular topic.

Chapter 1
Physical Description of the *Nuremberg Miscellany*

The *Nuremberg Miscellany*—Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, 8° Hs. 7058 (Rl. 203)—follows a long tradition of Hebrew manuscripts from all parts of the Jewish Diaspora. It is, however, a work of scribal art and illumination that has largely fallen out of fashion with the introduction and proliferation of printed books in the Jewish world.[1]

Very few Hebrew manuscripts survived from the late sixteenth century that originate in the German-speaking realm. Most of the extant manuscripts are autographs copied and illustrated by unskilled individuals, and therefore unrepresentative of professional norms of that time. Neither these manuscripts nor the *Miscellany* shed significant light on contemporary Hebrew manuscript production in Germany.

In its present state, the manuscript is comprised of a total of forty-six parchment folios, forty-four of which are part of the original codex, and an additional bifolio attached to it immediately or soon after its production.[2] Currently, the manuscript has a nineteenth-century cardboard binding,[3] replacing the original one or a subsequent binding that had been missing when the manuscript came into the possession of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum.[4]

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1 The production and techniques involved in the preparation of Hebrew manuscripts are described by Malachi Beit Arié, "How Hebrew Manuscripts Are Made," in *A Sign and a Witness. 2000 Years of Hebrew Books and Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. Leonard Singer Gold (New York: New York Public Library / Oxford University Press, 1988), 35–46; idem, *Hebrew Manuscripts of East and West: Towards a Comparative Codicology* (*The Panizzi Lectures*). London: The British Library, 1992. See also idem, *The Makings of the Medieval Hebrew Book. Studies in Paleography and Codicology* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1993).
2 The parchment material of the bifolio that was added to the last quire compares in quality and thickness to the original sheets of the manuscript.
3 Binding techniques (including "forwarding" and "finishing") are discussed by Philippa J. M. Marks, *The British Library Guide to Bookbinding. History and Techniques* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998). The diagrams on 30 are especially useful in clarifying the terminology of bookbinding. See also the diagrams included in Michelle P. Brown, *Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts. A Guide to Technical Terms* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Trust; the British Museum, 1994), 6–7.
4 This statement is based on the manuscript's current state. For further details, see below in the chapter on the history and provenance of the *Nuremberg Miscellany*, 51. All the images taken from the Nuremberg Miscellany are courtesy of the GNM and with the permission of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

The added bifolio is shorter than the leaves of the original manuscript; however, it is unclear whether this was its original state or outcome of later cropping (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: *Nuremberg Miscellany*, Swabia (?), Germany, 1589, fols. 44v-45r [Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Bibliothek, 8⁰ Hs. 7058 (Rl. 203)]

The paper pastedowns protecting the front and the back of the *Miscellany* are contemporary with the binding.[5] The process of this eventual binding (if not earlier) involved evening out the leaves,[6] thereby cropping their margins at the expense of the completeness of some illustrations and parts of the text—mainly catchwords. The damage was more severe to the upper and lower margins than to the outer margins.[7] Most of the illustrations, however, are either complete or not

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5 There is, of course, no way of knowing how many times the manuscript was rebound before the present-day cardboard binding.

6 The present average size of the pages after the cropping for the subsequent binding is 14.5 × 22.5 cm.

7 See, for example, fols. 1v, 2v, 3r, 3v, 10r, 10v, 11v, and 35v.

so seriously impaired as to prevent the full iconographic reading of the images and their details (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: *Nuremberg Miscellany*, Swabia (?), Germany, 1589, fol. 10r [Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Bibliothek, 8⁰ Hs. 7058 (Rl. 203)]

Cropping is not the only damage that occurred to the manuscript in over four centuries of its existence. Time has left its mark on it in many ways. Tears on folios 34r and 44v have undergone repair by pieces of parchment glued onto the leaves. Folio 1r has a small fold along part of its lower left (vertical) edge that most probably predates the nineteenth-century binding. Some leaves show signs of crumpling from an unknown point in time, probably due to exposure to excessive humidity.[8] Wormholes are scattered throughout the manuscript, although they have affected mainly the beginning and the end of the book, namely fols. 1–2 and 43–46.

The state of the *Nuremberg Miscellany* when it emerged and its subsequent binding at some point in its history make the reconstruction of its initial arrangement challenging. It is possible, however, that its current structure, with seven quires, is as it was in the first phase as well. The first six quires date back to the

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8 Such as fols. 17, 43, and 44.

original production time, whereas the bifolio, fols. 45r-46v, contains inscriptions from various dates, from the late sixteenth century onward, without discolouring or imprints that could have indicated a relationship between the original quires and the appendage.[9]

The first three quires form groups of six sheets. Two extra sheets, glued to the beginning of the first quire, are a separate, though concurrent, textual entity with the main body of the manuscript and were originally intended to become part of it, as will be explained later.[10] The following three quires are of eight sheets each, the last of which concludes the initial text of the book and contains the scribe's colophon.

In order to safeguard the correctness of the textual sequence for the book-binder, the scribe added catchwords in line with the medieval tradition of manu-script production.[11] Catchwords appear quite regularly throughout the manuscript at the bottom of the verso of the folios,[12] usually only in the first part of the quires (see Figure 4).[13]

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9 Fol. 44v is soiled at its bottom and right margins, however no conclusion can be drawn from this observation.

10 See pp. 423–425.

11 The modes and methods employed by Hebrew scribes and copyists to safeguard the correct sequence of the pages and of the quires while binding a manuscript are the subject of the study by Malachi Beit Arié, "Les procédés qui garantissent l'ordre des cahiers, des bifeuillets et des feu-illets dans les codices hébreux," in *Recherches de codicologie comparée: La composition du codex au Moyen Âge*, ed. Ph. Hoffmann (Paris: Presses de l'École normale supérieure, 1998), 137–151.

12 The first catchword in the manuscript, on fol. 1v, is the indicator of the middle of quire I; quires II and III lack catchwords altogether; quire IV contains a catchword at the bottom left of its first three folios; quire V has a catchword on the second, third, and fourth folios: fol. 21v contains the longest text in the entire manuscript, comprising nineteen lines and occupying the largest text-space. This may suggest the possible existence of a catchword inscribed below the main text-space, perhaps in smaller script, in an area that was eventually cropped due to later binding, or that in this case no catchword was inscribed on the page. Additional catchwords in this quire are on the sixth and seventh folios (this is the first quire comprising eight sheets); quire V has a catchword on its first, third, and seventh folios: fols. 30v, 33v, and 34v contain an extend-ed secondary text at the bottom of the folio, exceeding the regular text-space. The same holds true for fol. 35v, although here the scribe did include a catchword, in semi-cursive script; quire VI contains catchwords on its first, second, and fourth folios: the third leaf fol. 39v, contains a text that occupies a slightly longer text-space than usual. There may have been a cropped catch-word, although there is no indication for this conjecture in the manuscript itself. Fol. 43v has a bottom-margin illustration that would presumably rule out the inclusion of a catchword. The last quire, namely the additional bifolio at the end of the manuscript, obviously has no catchword.

13 There are catchwords on fols. 1v, 15v, 16v (in the middle of the present-day quire), 17v, 22v, 23v, 24v (in the middle of the present-day quire), 26v, 27v, 29v, 31v, 32v, 37v, 38v (in the middle of the present-day quire), 40v (in the middle of the present-day quire), and 41v.
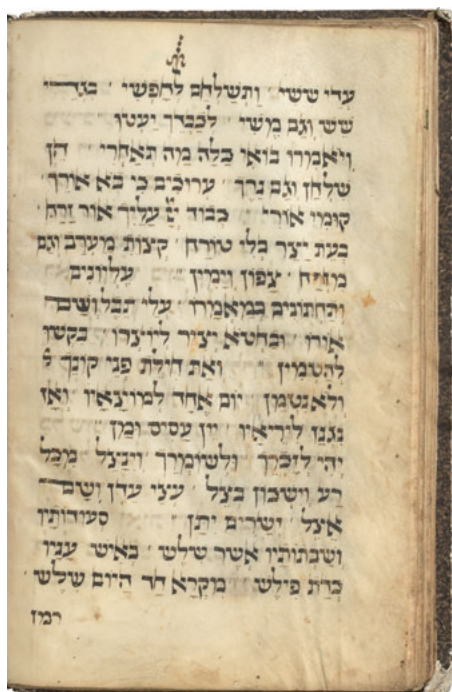
Figure 4: *Nuremberg Miscellany*, Swabia (?), Germany, 1589, fol. 15v [Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Bibliothek, 8⁰ Hs. 7058 (Rl. 203)]

The cropping of the manuscript during its subsequent binding (or bindings) may have eliminated some of the catchwords, especially on pages where the text overflows its regularly allotted space.[14] The same holds true for the pricking, which is still noticeable irregularly throughout the manuscript.

In order to justify the margins on both sides of the text,[15] the scribe employed a traditional medieval device of inserting line fillers to adjust the left margins. His familiarity with a variety of methods of traditional scriptural aesthetics seems to indicate that he was, indeed, a skilled scribe. When a line in the text was too short, leaving too much space before the left vertical ruling, he inscribed the first letter of the word opening the following line as filler.[16] Additional types of fillers he used are the pseudo-letter and a randomly added letter that does not appear

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14 The scribe did so, for example, on fols. 16r, 23v, 39v, and elsewhere.

15 Such concerns did not entail texts written in a semi-cursive script in medieval Hebrew manuscripts. They are also absent from the secondary texts rendered in semi-cursive in the *Nuremberg Miscellany*.

16 For example, see fols. 3v, 4r, or 19r.

in the ensuing text.[17] Graphic fillers, often simulating letters, frequently appear in the text as well (see Figure 5).[18]

Figure 5: *Nuremberg Miscellany*, Swabia (?), Germany, 1589, fol. 17v [Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Bibliothek, 8⁰ Hs. 7058 (Rl. 203)]

Other methods of keeping an even left margin have to do with the form of the letters themselves. In some instances, the scribe utilised smaller-scale characters at the end of the line,[19] and in one instance, he did so for a number of words.[20] Dilatation, or extending the length of letters toward the end of the line, appears in the *Nuremberg Miscellany* several times.[21] Further techniques used in it are widening the space between the words,[22] or dividing words leaving the beginning of the last word in one line and continuing it in the following line, without

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17 Such as on fol. 35r, where the scribe curiously inserted a ת after the word מְשַׂמֵּחַ that concludes the line and the word חָתָן with which the following line begins.

18 See fols. 6r, 27v, 31r, and other pages.

19 As on fols. 42r-v.

20 On fol. 8v.

21 As on fols. 5r, 16r, 26v, and other instances.

22 For example, on fols. 7r, 19v, or 21v.

hyphenation.[23] When the word exceeded the left vertical ruling line, the scribe sometimes abbreviated it and omitted its last letter altogether.[24]

In line with the Ashkenazi medieval tradition of Hebrew manuscripts,[25] the scribe—or the parchmenter (parchment-maker)—carefully prepared the sheets of the manuscript before he began writing on them.[26] To this end, he treated the parchment to such a point that the flesh and skin sides are hardly discernible. He further employed a hard drypoint or stylus for ruling that is still apparent in the horizontal and vertical lines alike. The horizontal ruling is not as consistent. Most pages of the main text have eighteen lines per page, with some pages showing fewer ruling lines and, accordingly, less text. No horizontal ruling is apparent for the secondary texts, written in smaller-sized characters, usually in a different font from the main text. The secondary texts or those inscribed in semi-cursive script do not follow the same arrangement and number of lines as those of the main text, even when they fill the entire page, as is the case, for example, in fols. 1v-2v. The vertical lines—one at each end—mark the breadth of the text-space to secure its full justification on both sides (see Figure 6).

Traces of pricking are sometimes discernible in the inner margins[27] and usually also in the lower margins.[28] The absence of pricking in the upper margins further supports the hypothesis that a subsequent cropping was more substantial in the upper part of the manuscript than in its bottom part. The preserved pricking situation, therefore, cannot serve as any indication of the original manner in which the manuscript was prepared for the application of the text.

For the most part, the scribe employed the typical Ashkenazi style, with letters "hanging" underneath the ruling lines, although occasionally the text occupies the interlinear space, usually in a smaller font (see Figure 7). The secondary text,

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23 As he did, for example, on fols. 11r, 15r or 19v. An even more striking example is visible on fols. 14r-v. The last word on fol. 14r is divided so that its first letters are inscribed on this page, while the last letters follow on the overleaf, on fol. 14v. The term used for this method is "anticipating the beginning of the next word" in Malachi Beit Arié, *Hebrew Codicology. Tentative Typology of Technical Practices Employed in Hebrew Dated Medieval Manuscripts* (*Études de paléographie hébraïque*) (Paris: Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes 1976; reprint with addenda and corrigenda, Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1981), 88.
24 This is the case in fol. 17r.
25 For technical issues in the production of Hebrew manuscripts, see Beit Arié, *Hebrew Codicology*.
26 The numerous stages of preparation for the production of an illuminated manuscript in the medieval west exceed the scope of this study. See, however, Brown, *British Library Guide*, 66–69. Not all of the stages delineated in this study are present in the *Nuremberg Miscellany*.
27 As in fol. 22r.
28 For example, on fol. 29r.

Figure 6: *Nuremberg Miscellany*, Swabia (?), Germany, 1589, fol. 1v [Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Bibliothek, 8⁰ Hs. 7058 (Rl. 203)]

Figure 7: *Nuremberg Miscellany*, Swabia (?), Germany, 1589, fol. 25v [Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Bibliothek, 8⁰ Hs. 7058 (Rl. 203)]

on the other hand, does not adhere to the ruling lines at all and, in fact, has no fixed or regular number of lines per page.

The scribe of the *Nuremberg Miscellany* did not limit himself to one type of lettering.[29] The main text throughout the manuscript uses the Ashkenazi square script. Mastering yet another style, the scribe employed the semi-cursive script that is traditionally used in medieval manuscripts for commentaries (such as in Bibles and in Talmudic texts), secondary texts or instructions, or sometimes paratexts. Occasionally, he used it also for the time-bound variations within the main text (see Figure 8). In a few cases, he preferred display script that is heavily dependent on the Latin Gothic letters with their elongated proportions and swaying lines with which he may have been familiar both from earlier Hebrew manuscripts,[30] as well as from the vernacular.[31]

For initial words and letters, the scribe displayed his familiarity with a myriad of formal fonts, such as the folded-ribbon, spare-ground initials, zoomorphic or anthropomorphic letters, or the regular block-form letters, embellished with decorations of a diverse nature.[32] Adding a different form of ornamentation, he used scribbling or tendrils at beginnings of words, mostly in brown-black ink, but sometimes also in red with touches of green.[33] These embellishments often

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29 Of the studies on Hebrew palaeography, see mainly Malachi Beit-Arié, "Stereotypes and Individuality in Medieval Handwritings," *Alei Sefer* 5 (1978), 54–72 (Hebrew); idem, "Stéréotypes et individualité dans les écritures des copistes hébraïques du Moyen Âge," in *L'écriture: le cerveau, l'œil et la main; Actes du colloque international du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, Collège de France 2, 3, et 4 mai 1988* (*Bibliologia*, 10), ed. C. Sirat, J. Irigoin, and E. Poulle, 201–219 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1990), 201–219; Ada Yardeni, *The Book of Hebrew Script: History, Palaeography, Script Styles, Calligraphy and Design* (Jerusalem: Carta, 2002); Colette Sirat, *Writing as Handwork: A History of Handwriting in Mediterranean and Western Culture* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006); as well as Malachi Beit Arié, "The Script and Book Craft in the Hebrew Medieval Codex," in *Crossing Borders: Hebrew Manuscripts as a Meeting-place of Cultures*, ed. Piet van Boxel and Sabine Arndt (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2009), 21–34.
30 This kind of script is utilised, for example, in the posthumously written book of *dinim* or ritual decisions according to R. Meir of Rothenburg (ca. 1215–1293) from Germany, dated to 1342, in Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, MS Bodl. Or. 146. See excerpt of fol. 39v in van Boxel and Arndt, *Crossing Borders*, 29, compared to a Bohemian/Moravian Latin missal of the fourteenth century, Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, MS. Lat. liturg. d.11, fol. 89v.
31 This type of font was widely used in Latin and other European manuscripts in the Gothic period. See Brown, *British Library Guide*, 79, mainly no. 12: Gothic Book Script (used around 1200–1600) and no. 17: Humanistic Book Script (used between 1400 and 1700).
32 Further discussion on the historiated initial words and letters is included below as part of the iconography of each particular illustrated page.
33 As on fols. 13r-14v and 18r-19v. In some cases, the scribe failed to inscribe the initial letters and only the demarcations of the stanzas exist, as on fol. 30r.

Figure 8: *Nuremberg Miscellany*, Swabia (?), Germany, 1589, fol. 39v-40r [Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Bibliothek, 8⁰ Hs. 7058 (Rl. 203)]

indicate an acrostic or stanzas in a liturgical hymn (*piyyut*) (see Figure 9). Consequently, the pages are often not visually uniform, changing with the contents of each particular text and the scribe's artistic whimsy.

Another medieval tradition prevalent in the *Nuremberg Miscellany* is the use of ligatures for the letters aleph (א) and lamed (ל) in the Hebrew words for "God," *elohim* (אֱלֹהִים) or *el* (אֵל). An additional frequent ligature presents two adjacent yod (י) characters, used as a euphemism for the tetragrammaton.[34]

The ink used for the text throughout the manuscript is of varying shades of brown, from a dark brown to an almost black tone. Lighter brown is more prevalent in the diacritic marks,[35] and in later additions (or paratexts) that are not part

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34 The tetragrammaton is the biblical name of God, represented by the letters *yod he vav he*, which may not be pronounced according to the Jewish tradition. See, for the aleph-lamed ligature, fols. 19v, 23r, 42v, 44r, and other places. For the yod-yod ligature, see fols. 4r, 28r, 43r, and more.
35 For example, on fols. 3v-4r.

Figure 9: *Nuremberg Miscellany*, Swabia (?), Germany, 1589, fol. 20r [Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Bibliothek, 8⁰ Hs. 7058 (Rl. 203)]

of the original text.[36] The general impression of many pages is colourful thanks to the execution of the initial letters and words in a variety of colors that offer further ornamentation. In two instances, the artist used powdered gold, also known as gold dust or shell gold, for the most sumptuous initials. Fol. 4v contains the initial word *nevarekh* (נְבָרֵךְ = let us bless) (see Figure 10), and on fol. 19v, only the first initial letter of the word *barukh* (בָּרוּךְ = blessed [be]) has a gold tincture.

Figure 10: *Nuremberg Miscellany*, Swabia (?), Germany, 1589, fol. 4v (detail) [Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Bibliothek, 8⁰ Hs. 7058 (Rl. 203)]

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36 Such as the added instructions לכשיגיע לוככתוב ואכלת on fol. 38r after the termination of the first paragraph.

Occasionally, colour staining is present on some leaves of the *Nuremberg Miscellany*. Such staining occurred when wet paint from the illustrations or decorations left its mark on an adjacent page, either on the opposite page of the opening or even as traces, visible on the reverse side of the parchment of the same leaf. For example, folios 4r, 29r, 30r, 37r, and 40v bear traces of paint or smudges that do not belong to their decorative scheme.[37] Arguably, the fact that foreign colouring is visible also on undecorated pages may suggest that the artist used slow-drying paint that ran through the parchment to the other side of the page, or that he was not fully aware of the time needed for the paint to dry thoroughly before proceeding with his work, indicating lack of expertise. It is important to note that the bright red-orange was especially susceptible for seepage, and to a lesser degree also the green, proposing that the artist's composition and administration of these pigments and their solvents was not very successful (see Figure 11).[38]
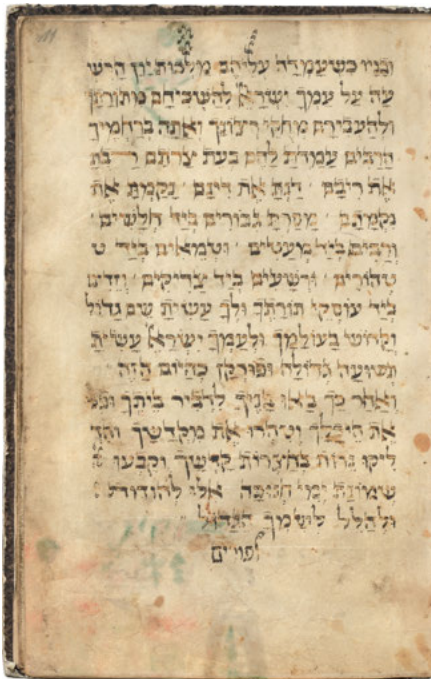
Figure 11: *Nuremberg Miscellany*, Swabia (?), Germany, 1589, fol. 11r [Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Bibliothek, 8⁰ Hs. 7058 (Rl. 203)]

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37 A similar phenomenon occurs on fol. 42v which shows marks of a leak from fol. 43r. The illustration, however, may belong a later phase than the original decoration of the manuscript.
38 Coloring on the reverse side of the page can, of course, occur when the parchment sheet is particularly thin. Stains probably caused by spilling of some liquid on the manuscript, occur, for example, on fols. 5v-6r, 14v, 29r, and elsewhere.

Chapter 2
Historical and Art-Historical Background
of the *Nuremberg Miscellany*

Changes in European visual art of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries may have had their strongest impact in the German-speaking lands more than in any other part of Europe. The political scene in Germany was that of small, independent fiefdoms under the loose overarching umbrella of the Holy Roman Empire. Toward the end of the Gothic period, which roughly spanned the twelfth to sixteenth centuries, the older north-Gothic art centres of Germany and the Netherlands went into decline. Towns such as Bruges, and later Antwerp and Nuremberg, soon took over as main propagators of the Renaissance style north of the Alps in all art forms.

Two revolutions in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Germany strongly influenced its art. The first was the development of the moveable type printing press around 1440 by Johannes Gensfleisch zur Laden zum Gutenberg (ca. 1398–1468) of Mainz and its dissemination to various other cities all over the country. The other revolution was the Protestant Reformation which began in 1517.[1]

In the early fifteenth century, German artists, like those all across Europe, were creating delicate courtly art in the International Style, with its graceful elongated figures and lavish gold decorations and patterned surfaces, and preference for abstract ornamentation over realism. By the mid-fifteenth century, German artists embraced a more naturalistic expressive style, adopting the artistic vocabulary of the Dutch painting.[2] German painters tended to emphasise line and pattern over three-dimensionality. They were therefore particularly attracted to woodcuts and engravings that were not as costly as handwritten and painted materials and could be mass-produced and distributed. Consequently, such reproducible works of art were by far more affordable to a larger stratum within cultured society than painting, sculpture, and other more traditional art media.

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1 Of the numerous studies on German art in the Early Modern period and the impact of the Reformation in the German-speaking lands, see mainly Bernd Moeller, *Deutschland im Zeitalter der Reformation* (*Deutsche Geschichte* 4, *Kleine Vandenhoeck Reihe*) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977); Carl Christiansen, *Art and Reformation in Germany* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1979); idem, *Kunst der Reformationszeit* (Berlin: Elefanten, 1983); Ernst Ullmann, *Kunst und Reformation* (Leipzig: VEB Seeman-Verlag, 1983).
2 Giulia Bartrum, *German Renaissance Prints, 1490–1550* (Catalogue of an exhibition held at the British Museum) (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by the British Museum Press, 1995), 221–237.

The art of printmaking left a decisive mark on art in Germany.[3] Before the invention of the printing press, people did not consider printmaking as an art form. The first woodcuts printed on paper were playing cards produced in Germany at the beginning of the fifteenth century.[4] Printing from metal engravings emerged a few decades later, greatly refining the results. Restricted at first to goldsmiths and armourers, skilled in the mastery of delicate incision on metal, it soon became the most popular form of serial reproduction, enabling the dissemination of artwork, style, iconography, and message even far beyond its original cultural boundaries.

The metal engraving technique reached its apex with Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), a painter, draughtsman, and printmaker. Dürer himself first apprenticed in Nuremberg with his father, the goldsmith Albrecht Dürer the Elder, and with the local painter and printmaker Michael Wolgemut. More than any other northern European artist, Dürer was fascinated with Italian Renaissance artistic practices and theories. His visits to Venice, in 1494–1495 and in 1505–1507, had a great impact on his work, and, in fact, changed the nature of artistic creation in Germany altogether. Inspired by the revival of the ancient classical heritage, he brought the new style across the Alps and fused it with German Gothic traditions into a new form of visual expression. Dürer thus became the founder of the German Renaissance.[5]

Other artists, too, developed an interest in the art of the Italian Renaissance to a greater or lesser degree. To mention but one of them: in Augsburg and Basel, Hans Holbein the Elder (ca. 1460–1524), a woodcut artist, book illustrator, and designer of church windows, was another pioneer and leader in the

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3 See mainly Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); idem, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd, rev. ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); specifically on Gutenberg's contribution to the dissemination of the art of printing and to Western culture and civilization, Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962); and, more recently, John Man, *The Gutenberg Revolution: The Story of a Genius and an Invention that Changed the World* (London: Headline Review, 2002).

4 Detlef Hoffmann, Ursula Tiemann, and Rainer Schoch, *Altdeutsche Spielkarten 1500–1650. Katalog der Holzschnittkarten mit deutschen Farben aus dem Deutschen Spielkarten-Museum Leinfelden-Echterdingen und dem Germanischen Nationalmuseum Nürnberg* (Nuremberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 1993).

5 On the impact of Italy and its art on Dürer, see Ulrich G. Großmann, "Albrecht Dürer in Innsbruck. Zur Datierung der ersten italienischen Reise." In *Das Dürer-Haus. Neue Ergebnisse der Forschung* (*Dürer-Forschungen*, Bd. 1), edited by Ulrich G. Großmann and Franz Sonnenberger, (Nuremberg: Verlag des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, 2007), 227–240; and Katherine Crawford Luber, *Albrecht Dürer and the Venetian Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

transformation of German art from the Gothic style into the Renaissance. Other artists followed suit, altering the visual expression of German art.

Occurring slightly later in time, a religious crisis arose in the early sixteenth century that was to cleave the western Church into two major denominations from then on. In 1517, Martin Luther launched the Protestant revolt when he composed his *Disputatio pro declaratione virtutis indulgentiarum* (also known—in translation—as the *Ninety-Five Theses on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgences*), in which he poignantly criticised acts of greed and corruption in the Catholic Church.[6] The emphasis on direct experience of God that is not dependent on the clergy shifted the spiritual focus to private devotion. Publishing his translation of the Hebrew Bible and Christian Scriptures, namely the New Testament, into German in 1522 rendered the sacred texts accessible to a larger public, eroding the power of the Church and the people's reliance on the ministers.

Political changes amplified the power of secular rulers at the expense of the church, and emerging nationalism made prosperous northern cities increasingly reluctant to share their wealth with the Pope. The ideas of the Reformation swept rapidly through Germany and into the Low Countries in the 1520s. Largely, its swift proliferation benefitted from the fact that religious propaganda was readily accessible to the masses through the new media of printed books, broadsheets, and other forms of graphic art.

As with other instances of cultural transition, the introduction of the Renaissance into German art was by no means abrupt or conclusive. Traces of the Gothic continued to exist for a long period, well into the sixteenth century, mainly in the use of elaborate ornamentation in all forms of decorative art.

After the introduction of the moveable type by Gutenberg in 1440, this technique became an important factor not only in the dissemination of ideas—including those of the emerging Lutheranism—but also in German art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. During the early decades of printing, it was almost exclusively a German specialty. Embellishment of books by woodcut and engraving had already begun in Germany around the turn of the fifteenth century. Leading the way for other parts of Europe and boasting skilfully fashioned art, German printers often

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6 See Erwin Iserloh, *The Theses Were Not Posted: Luther between Reform and Reformation*, trans. Jared Wicks (Boston: Beacon, 1968). For an English translation of Luther's *Theses*, see Adolph Spaeth, L. D. Reed, Henry Eyster Jacobs et al., eds. and trans., "Disputation of Doctor Martin Luther on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgences (1517)," in *Works of Martin Luther: With Introduction and Notes*, ed. Henry Eyster Jacobs and Adolph Spaeth (Philadelphia: Holman, 1915), vol. 1, 29–38.

lent woodblocks to printers outside of Germany or traded in them.[7] The combination of the two phenomena, namely the use of moveable type and the liberty taken by the owners of this material to pass over the typographic embellishments and artistic creations like merchandise from one printing press to another, changed the history of transmission of knowledge, ideas, and imagery throughout Europe.[8]

The Jews of Germany in the Early Modern Period

The legal and civic status of the Jews underwent transformations since their earliest settlement in the Germanic region, documented from as early as the fourth century.[9] Often, they found a certain degree of protection with the emperor or local ruler, and in other cases, local or eminent clergy—bishops and archbishops—provided them with some safety. Rulers granted favourable conditions to the Jews mainly to levy them, predominantly due to dwindling fiscal revenues rather than out of enlightened or benevolent attitudes.[10]

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7 Suzanne Boorsch and Nadine M. Orenstein "The Print in the North: The Age of Albrecht Dürer and Lucas van Leyden," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 54, no. 4 (Spring, 1997): 3–12.

8 David S. Areford offers a thorough study of the impact of printed artworks and their circulation in the fifteenth century in *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

9 Contesting the continuity of Jewish presence in Germany as of the fourth century, Alfred Haverkamp argues that Jewish settlement of Jews in Germany can only be substantiated from the ninth century onwards. See his entry "Germany," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism* VI – *The Middle Ages: The Christian World* ed. Robert Chazan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 243–251, especially 243–246. The nascence of Jewish communities in medieval Germany has been recently described also by Lucia Raspe, "Jerusalem am Rhein, Anfänge jüdischen Lebens in Deutschland im Mittelalter," in *Innere Räume – äußere Zäune; jüdischer Alltag im Rheingebiet im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Ludolf Pelizaeus (Mainz: Verein für Sozialgeschichte, 2010), 13–27. See also Alfred Haverkamp, "The Beginning of Jewish Life North of the Alps with Comparative Glances at Italy (ca. 900–1100)," in *Diversi angoli di visuale. Fra Storia Medievale e Storia degli Ebrei" in ricordo di Michele Luzzati (Atti del Convegno di studi, Pisa, 13 febbraio 2016) (Biblioteca del Bollettino Storico Pisano, Società Storica Pisano 62)*, ed. Anna Maria Pult Quaglia and Alessandra Veronese (Pisa: Pacini, 2016), 85–102. See, more generally, the important work by Guido Kisch, "The Jews in Medieval Germany. A Bibliography of Publications on Their Legal and Social Status, 1949–1969." *Revue des Études Juives* 130 (1971): 271–294.

10 On the fiscal and economic relationship between Jews and Christians in medieval Germany, see mainly Eveline Brugger, "*Zinsverbot und Judenschaden. Jüdisches Geldgeschäft im mittelalterlichen Aschkenas,*" Proceedings of the Conference on *Zinsverbot und Judenschaden: jüdisches Geldgeschäft im mittelalterlichen Aschkenas* (Vienna: Institut für jüdische Geschichte Österreichs, 2010), 1–8; and Martha Keil, "Geldleihe und mittelalterliche jüdische Gemeinde," ibid., 28–35.

As soon as they acquired some wealth, when their services became unnecessary, or in times of political instability, the Jews were once again at risk. They suffered plunders, annulment of debts owed to them, and expulsions from their towns of residence. The situation seriously deteriorated in times of great crisis, such as the Black Death, while political and religious upheavals triggered waves of hostility against the "nonbelievers." The terrors of massacres, forced baptism, or immolation and martyrdom for the sake of the Jewish faith, expulsions, confiscation of goods, and torture forged, in many ways, Jewish life in Germany in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern era.

Despite the constant angst hovering over their heads, the Jews of Germany kept their faith and their intellectual activity, and flourished primarily on the cultural and religious levels.[11] Lacking a central self-government, they maintained a local and regional leadership in their communities.[12] In a way, they constituted "a sub-group of society"—a term coined by Jacob Katz to describe the unique interaction between the local society and the Jews, which has been challenged by recent scholarship. Living in close proximity to their Christian neighbours, the Jews shared or witnessed most aspects of their life. Speaking the German vernacular and adopting non-Hebrew or non-Jewish names for daily use in their dealings outside the Jewish community, especially in official matters, are typical of this relationship.[13] The same applies to their attire, a significant departure from the special costumes Jews were compelled to wear from the early thirteenth

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11 The history of Jewish settlement in Germany in the Middle Ages is delineated by Michael Toch, "The Formation of a Diaspora: The Settlement of Jews in the Medieval German 'Reich'," *Aschkenas; Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der Juden* 7, 1 (1997): 55–78. The maps and diagrams of the Jewish population in the relevant period are especially instructive. Compare also J. [Isak] Münz. *Jüdisches Leben im Mittelalter. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte der Deutschen Juden.* Leipzig: M. W. Kaufmann, 1930.

12 On the role of the rabbis in Germany in the Early Modern period, see Eric Zimmer, "Government and Leadership in the Communities of Germany in the 16th–17th Centuries," in *Kehal Yisrael. Jewish Self-Rule through the Ages*, vol. 2: *The Middle Ages and Early Modern Period*, ed. Avraham Grossman and Yosef Kaplan (Jerusalem: The Zalman Shazar Center for Jewish History, 2004), 270–274 (Hebrew).

13 See Israel Jacob Yuval, "Jews and Christians in the Middle Ages: Shared Myths, Common Language," in Robert S. Westrich, ed., *Demonizing the Other: Antisemitism, Racism and Xenophobia* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1999), 88–107. On the description of Jews as minority within Christian society and the various shades of Jewish involvement in the local society, see Gerd Mentgen, "'Die Juden waren stets eine Randgruppe'. Über eine fragwürdige Prämisse der aktuellen Judenforschung," in *Liber amicorum necnon et amicarum für Alfred Heit: Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte und geschichtlichen Landeskunde* (Trierer historische Forschungen 28), ed. Friedhelm Burgard, Christoph Cluse, Alfred Haverkamp (Trier: THF, Verlag Trierer historische Forschungen, 1996), 393–411.

century onward as a visual distinction between them and the Christians.[14] Contacts between the Jews and their German compatriots existed on many levels,[15] mainly, but not exclusively, to meet mutual economic needs.

Although more or less socially marginalised, stereotyped, and often persecuted, the Jews in medieval and Early Modern Germany did not remain outside the parameters of local culture.[16] During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they were still subject to the will of the local monarchs and the free cities.[17]

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14 For the historical details, see Raphael Strauss, "The Jewish Hat as an Aspect of Social History," *Jewish Social Studies*, 4 (1942): 59–72.

15 Some enlightening examples, especially regarding monetary transactions and Christian household helpers working in Jewish homes, are given by Martha Keil, "Nähe und Abgrenzung: die mittelalterliche Stadt als Raum der Begegnung," in *Nicht in einem Bett; Juden und Christen in Mittelalter und Frühneuzeit* (Vienna: Institut für Geschichte der Juden in Österreich, 2005), 2–8.

16 On the interrelations between Jews and Christians in the Middle Ages, see Jonathan M. Elukin, *Living Together, Living Apart: Rethinking Jewish-Christian Relations in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2007). For a more specific scope, see Rotraud Ries, "German Territorial Princes and the Jews," in *In and Out of the Ghetto. Jewish-Gentile Relations in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany*, ed. Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia and Hartmut Lehmann (Washington, DC: German Historical Institute / Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 215–245. See further Anna Sapir Abulafia, "From Northern Europe to Southern Europe and from the General to the Particular: Recent Research on Jewish-Christian Coexistence in Medieval Europe," *Journal of Medieval History* 23, no. 2 (1997): 179–190. For a study of Jewish life in the Early Modern Period, see Dean Phillip Bell, *Jewish Identity in Early Modern Germany: Memory, Power and Community* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). See also idem, "The Little Ice Age and the Jews: Environmental History and the Mercurial Nature of Jewish-Christian Relations in Early Modern Germany," *AJS Review* 32, no. 1 (2008): 1–27, especially his chapter on "Assessing Jewish and Christian Relations in Early Modern Germany," 1–8.

17 A vast resource for the history of the Jews in Germany in the Middle Ages can be found in Guido Kisch, *The Jews in Medieval Germany: A Study of Their Legal and Social Status* (2nd ed.; New York: Ktav, 1970). See also Simon Schwarzfuchs, "Les communautés en Allemagne (XIVe–XVIIe siècles)," in *Mille ans de cultures ashkénazes* (*Librairie européenne des idées*), ed. Jean Baumgarten et al. (Paris: Liana Levi, 1994), 76–81; idem, "Naissance, développement et organization des communautés ashkénazes," op. cit., 15–23. Of the important studies on the Jews in Early Modern Europe, with a special emphasis on Germany, see mainly Friedrich Battenberg, *Das Europäische Zeitalter der Juden; Zur Entwicklung einer Minderheit in der nichtjüdischen Umwelt Europas (erw. Aufl.)* (Darmstadt: Primus, 2000 [©1990]); as well as idem, "Des Kaisers Kammerknechte. Gedanken zur rechtlich-sozialen Situation der Juden in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit," *Historische Zeitschrift* 145 (1987): 545–599. See also Shlomo Eidelberg. *Medieval Ashkenazic History: Studies on German Jewry in the Middle Ages*. An I. Edward Kiev Library Foundation volume. (Brooklyn: Sepher-Hermon, 2001) vol. 2: *Hebrew Essays*, 1–10 (Hebrew); and Stefan Rohrbacher, "Die jüdischen Gemeinden in den Medinot Ashkenas zwischen Spätmittelalter und Dreißigjährigen Krieg," in *Jüdische Gemeinden und ihr christlicher Kontext in kulturräumlich vergleichender Betrachtung von der Spätantike bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Christoph Cluse, Alfred Haverkamp, and Israel J. Yuval (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2003), 451–463; and

Christian interest in Hebrew and Judaism gained impetus toward the end of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century as a byproduct of Renaissance Humanism and the Reformation.[18] Christian Hebraists and theologians entertained, albeit on a relatively modest scale, fruitful scholastic and intellectual interaction with their Jewish contemporaries who tutored them in the Hebrew language, the Hebrew Bible, fundamental Jewish texts, and kabbalah. As Jerome Friedman has noted, "paradoxically, these efforts entailed close intellectual cooperation with Jewish scholars who opposed Christianity in all its forms."[19]

The simple folks of the Jewish community were also familiar with life in non-Jewish circles. Daily encounters with the surrounding Christian society on countless levels exposed them to norms and customs, folklore and beliefs that gradually seeped into their own world and eventually found their way into Jewish popular culture.[20] In Joseph Gutmann's words, "Jews shared not only Christian

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Alfred Haverkamp, "Lebensbedingungen der Juden im spätmittelalterlichen Deutschland," in *Zerbrochene Geschichte. Leben und Selbstverständnis der Juden in Deutschland*, ed. Dirk Blasius and Dan Diner (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch, 1991), 11–31. Eric Zimmer attends to the religious-spiritual life in the relevant period in his discussion on the rabbinate in Germany in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See his book *Gahaltan Shel Hakhamim: Perakim be-Toldot haRabbanut beGermanyah baMe'ah haShesh-'Esreh uvaMe'ah haSheva'-'Esreh* (Beersheba: Ben-Gurion University Press, 1999) (Hebrew).

18 An interesting evaluation of the phenomenon is brought by Stephen E. Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies: Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629) and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth Century* (*Studies in the History of Christian Thought* 68) (Leiden: Brill, 1996); and idem, "Jüdische Vermittler des Hebräischen und ihre christlichen Schüler im Spätmittelalter," in *Wechselseitige Wahrnehmung der Religionen im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit Konzeptionelle Grundfragen und Fallstudien. I. (Heiden, Barbaren, Juden)*, ed. Ludger Grenzmann et al. (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2009), 173–188. See also the study of the rise of "German ethnography" by Fabrizio Lelli; Review of *The Jew's Mirror (Der Juden Spiegel)* by Johannes Pfefferkorn, translated by Ruth I. Cape, with a Historical Introduction by Maria Diemling, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*, 390 (Tempe, AZ: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2012), *The Catholic Historical Review* 99, no. 1 (2013): 149; and Yaacov Deutsch, *Judaism in Christian Eyes: Ethnographic Descriptions of Jews and Judaism in Early Modern Europe*, translated from Hebrew by Avi Aronsky (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), who, in his introduction (especially 4–12), links the phenomenon to the the upwelling of ethnographic interest in Europe as a result of colonialism and exposure to foreign cultures, and illustrates the Hebraist ethnographies of the Early Modern period in this context.

19 Jerome Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony, Sixteenth-Century Christian Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press 1983), 1.

20 The impact of folk culture on "normative" Judaism is illustrated by Joshua Trachtenberg, "The Folk Element in Judaism," *The Journal of Religion* 22, no. 2 (Apr., 1942), 173–186.

fears and anxieties, but also Christian folk life, superstitions, and customs which were ingeniously adapted and transformed for Jewish use."[21]

Ivan G. Marcus further maintains that there were, in effect, two levels of acculturation among the Ashkenazi Jews. In his words:

> I propose, then, that we distinguish between modern or outward acculturation, and premodern or inward acculturation. The former refers to . . . the processes of modernization and secularization during the last two centuries . . . The latter refers to premodern cases . . . when Jews who did not assimilate or convert to the majority culture retained an unequivocal Jewish identity . . . I will argue [that] Jews adopted Christian themes . . . and fused them – often in inverted and parodied ways – with ancient Jewish customs and traditions.[22]

This was a slow, subconscious process that occured mainly in the realm of the life cycle, so heavily laden with joys, but equally marked with awe and fear that resulted in resorting to magic and apotropaic measures to overcome any potential detriment. Whether taken over from the Germanic culture or from Christianity, generally the explicit foreign attribute was eventually substitutted by a new Jewish interpretation.[23]

There can be little doubt, therefore, that the Jews who lived in Germany in the Middle Ages and Early Modern period were in many ways part of the general culture, despite their forced exclusion from many trades, including most forms of active artistic production.[24] Prevented from joining artisans' guilds due to their Christian nature and the prescribed Christian vow of allegiance to the union by

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21 Joseph Gutmann, "Christian Influences on Jewish Customs," in *Spirituality and Prayer. Jewish and Christian Understandings*, ed. Leon Klenicki and Gabe Huck (New York: Paulist, 1983), 130. See also Christoph Daxelmüller. "Jewish Popular Culture in the Research Perspective of European Ethnology." *Ethnologia Europea* 16 (1986): 97–116; and more specifically with regards to the German culture, idem. "Die deutschsprachige Volkskunde und die Juden. Zur Geschichte und den Folgen einer kulturellen Ausklammerung." *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 83 (1987): 1–20. Two important studies on German folk art are Konrad Hahm, *Deutsche Volkskunst* (Berlin: Deutsche Buch-Gemeinschaft GmbH, 1928); and Hans Karlinger, *Deutsche Volkskunst* (Berlin: Propyläen, 1938).
22 Ivan G. Marcus, *Rituals of Childhood: Jewish Acculturation in Medieval Europe* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), 10–11.
23 The *Hollekreisch* is one such example, discussed by Gutmann, "Christian Influences," 130–132. Another example is the ceremony of breaking the glass at weddings, which Gutmann mentions briefly on p. 133. See also idem, *The Jewish Life Cycle* (*Iconography of Religions*, Section XXIII: Judaism, Fasc. 4) (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 8.
24 A valuable source on intercultural influence is Katrin Kogman-Appel, "Christianity, Idolatry, and the Question of Jewish Figural Painting in the Middle Ages," *Speculum; a Journal of Medieval Studies* 84, 1 (2009), 73–107. See also idem, "Jewish Art and Cultural Exchange: Theoretical Perspectives," *Medieval Encounters; Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue* 17, nos. 1–2 (2011), 1–26.

no means implied blindness of the Jews to current artistic trends.[25] Whenever they wished to commission a sumptuous ritual object made of precious metals, they were compelled to order it from a Christian goldsmith. Looking into his inventory of objects, the items for sale in his shop, or his model book, they then described the modifications and required adaptations for their particular use, while delineating the decorative scheme so that nothing offensive to their beliefs would embellish their new acquisition.

The same is true for ceremonial objects for home use, which were fashioned by Christian masters as a matter of course, albeit with the necessary adjustments to Jewish prescriptions and iconographic vocabulary. Obviously, this applied only to members of the Jewish economic elite, who rose to significant material possessions due to their dealings with the local sovereign and the nobility, and who could afford such expenditures. The simple folk, on the other hand, produced its own ceremonial and ritual objects and settled for objects made of lesser materials. Many such items were mass-produced for the entire population—Christian and Jewish alike—and were often utilised for mundane purposes with no religious intention. Jews who bought such objects either used them in their original form, or added some Jewish features—whether decorative or inscribed—to designate them for special use. Such are, for example, pewter plates with added inscriptions in Hebrew, marking them as dairy or meat dishes or for use on particular occasions such as Shabbat, *Purim* or Passover. Similarly, adding a depiction of an

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25 The occupations of the Jews within official frameworks of craftsmanship are discussed extensively by Mark Wischnitzer, *A History of Jewish Crafts and Guilds* (New York: J. David, 1965). The author does mention Jewish participation in the bookbinding and printing trades, but does not relate to training towards manuscript production—neither scribal art of copying nor illustrating—under the aegis of the guilds in any part of Europe. For an earlier study by the same author, see Mark Wischnitzer, "Notes to a History of the Jewish Guilds," in *Beauty in Holiness. Studies in Jewish Customs and Ceremonial Art*, ed. Joseph Gutmann (New York: Ktav, 1970), 15–33. On the specific situation of the Jewish craftsmen in Germany in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period, see Michael Haendel, *Melakhah uVa'alei Melakhah be'Am Yisra'el. leToldot haMelakhah beQerev haYehudim miYemei Qedem ve'Ad Yamenu.* (Tel Aviv: Chechik, 5716 [1954–1955]), 40–42 (Hebrew). For Bohemia and Moravia, see Mark Wischnitzer, *Origins of the Jewish Artisan Class in Bohemia and Moravia, 1500–1648* (New York: Conference on Jewish Relations, 1954) (rep. from *Jewish Social Studies* 16, no. 4), 335–350. See further Birgit Wiedl, "Eine zünftige Gemeinde. Handwerkszünfte und jüdische Gemeindeorganisation im Vergleich", in *Nicht in einem Bett*, 44–49. Maria Stürzebecher and Andreas Lehnertz are currently collecting material on Jewish artisans and their participation in the artistic scene in the Middle Ages within the framework of guilds. Their preliminary findings seriously question this conclusive all-encompassing statement.

etrog (citron) onto a sugar bowl could easily "convert" it into an etrog box for the Feast of Tabernacles (*Sukkot*).[26]

Mordechai Narkiss described the complexity of the interaction between European Jews who commissioned ritual objects and Christian goldsmiths based on isolated cases in his article "The Origin of the Spicebox Known as the 'Hadas,'" published originally in Hebrew in 1960 and later translated into English and augmented by Bezalel Narkiss in 1981.[27] Particularly enlightening are his examples of spice boxes used for *Havdalah* at the close of Shabbat. Citing from the *Probiermusterbuch der Goldschmiede 1512–76* from Frankfurt am Main, Narkiss found references to spice boxes commissioned by wealthy Jews from local Christian artisans. In 1550, for example, the master Johannes Stroklhäkker brought in for registration by the city council a "*Juddenn monstranz*" (Jewish monstrance), using Christian ecclesiastic nomenclature to describe a Jewish ceremonial object of a similar form.[28]

Another instance of using terms pertaining to Christian ecclesiastic ritual objects for Jewish religious objects includes the "*Rauchfass*" (censer), mentioned in 1532 as the colloquial parallel to "*ein Hedes*" in the registry made by the goldsmith Stefan Altman.[29] In this specific context, the terms *Hedes* and *Rauchfass*, used in early documents as interchangeable equals, denote one and the same object. *Hedes* is a corrupt form of pronunciation for the Hebrew word הֲדַס —*hadas* or myrtle—the most common sweet-smelling herb used for the havdalah ceremony.[30] Another alternative was to smell dried aromatic plants for the same purpose. As both the *Rauchfass* and the herbs for havdalah serve for ritual olfactory sensations, the shape of the vessel for the Jewish ritual could naturally follow the well-established form of the Christian liturgical censer. For this reason, the terminology in the court registry regarding the lawsuit filed by the Jew Joseph Goldschmidt against a Christian goldsmith from whom he had ordered a *Hedes*

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26 On Jewish ceremonial art, mainly of German origin, housed in Bavariaian collections, see Bernward Deneke. "Jüdische Zeremonialgeräte in Bayern," in *Geschichte und Kultur der Juden in Bayern*, *Aufsätze*, edited by Manfred Tremmel and Josef Kirmeier (Munich: K. G. Saur, 1988), 51–70.

27 Mordechai Narkiss, "The Origin of the Spicebox Known as the 'Hadas,'" *Eretz Israel* 6 (1960): 189–198 (Hebrew); and a later version, idem, "Origins of the Spice Box," *Journal of Jewish Art* 8 (1981): 28–41 (completed and augmented by Bezalel Narkiss).

28 See in greater detail in the chapter on havdalah, 249–261.

29 Narkiss, "Origins of the Spicebox,": 37–8.

30 The *Probiermusterbuch* is kept in the City Archive of Frankfurt am Main.

oder Rauchfass maintains the typical Jewish *terminus technicus* alongside the colloquial terminology with which the court was surely familiar.[31]

This and other instances prove that European Jews, including those living in Germany, witnessed works of art and artisanship in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period as a matter of course. They encountered artistic grandeur by merely passing through towns and villages with their flowering churches, ornate city halls and other public buildings, and even private palaces and homes of the local financial elite. Their sculpted facades, stained glass windows, and ornamental latticework gratings offered the finest examples of contemporary art. Moreover, daily life in a German town entailed constant interaction with art also in the vicinity of the central fountain or in the marketplace, where they could find printed broadsheets, or through the acquisition of printed books.[32] In some cases, manuscripts, primarily in the Middle Ages, were the product of collaboration between Jewish patrons or scribes and Christian artists.[33] Other Jews, mainly pawnbrokers, had access to both secular and sacred Christian works of art. In short, art was visually present in every city, town, or even village in Germany. Wherever they lived, or in places they traversed, the Jews observed, absorbed, appropriated, and adapted current artistic trends to their own creativity and subsequent use.[34] To quote Katrin Kogman-Appel, "The process of creating Jewish

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31 Narkiss, "Origins of the Spicebox," 38. For more on the lawsuit, see Walther Karl Zülch, "Das Hedes. Ein rätselhaftes Werk der Frankfurter Goldschmiedekunst," *Alt-Frankfurt* I–lI (1928–1929): 61–62.

32 Kalman P. Bland illustrates additional modes of interaction between Jews and Christian works of art in *The Artless Jew: Medieval and Modern Affirmations and Denials of the Visual* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 141.

33 See the discussion by Jacob Leveen, *The Hebrew Bible in Art* (*The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy*) (New York: Hermon, 1974), 83–85. Eva Frojmovic convincingly demonstrates the collaboration between Jewish and Christian makers of Hebrew manuscripts in "Early Ashkenazic Prayer Books and Their Christian Illuminators," in van Boxel and Arndt, *Crossing Borders*, 45–56. Compare Sarit Shalev-Eyni, *Jews among Christians: A Hebrew School of Illuminations of the Lake Constance Region* (Turnhout: Brepols / London: Harvey Miller, 2010).

34 See further Dean Phillip Bell, "Jewish Settlement, Politics, and the Reformation," in *Jews, Judaism, and the Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Germany*, ed. Dean Phillip Bell and Stephen G. Burnett (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 421–450.

In fact, exposure to art as such and the symbolism it presents was inevitable in medieval society (as it is nowadays). See Madeline Harrison Caviness, "Reception of Images by Medieval Viewers," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 65–85. On Jewish reception of Christian art, see Sara Offenberg, "Staging the Blindfold Bride: Between Medieval Drama and Piyyut Illumination in the Levy Mahzor," in *Resounding Images: Medieval Intersections of Art, Music and Sound*, ed. Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (Turnhout: Brepols 2015) 288–299.

narrative art in Hebrew manuscripts . . . often appears as a process of translating non-Jewish pictorial sources into a Jewish pictorial language."[35]

Jewish life is forged by two channels of directives, proscriptions and restrictions, which have a distinctively different nature. The Jewish code of law, or *halakhah*, plays an extremely important role in Jewish existence, as does *minhag* (Hebrew for "custom"), a set of religious obligations without the authority of the formal halakhah, but to which practising Jews adhere with equal zeal. Custom generally evolves in different ways, often emanating from the community and then seeking rabbinic ratification (and legislation), or by simply emulating rabbinic celebrities and their particular conduct.[36]

Often, minhag shows a high degree of local specificity. In fact, the multiple forms of contact between the Jews and their surrounding society resulted in the absorption and adoption of rites and customs of both Germanic and Christian origin much by way of osmosis and gradual adaptation to a Jewish way of living.[37] It was only natural, then, that Jewish art and visual culture underwent a process similar to what André Grabar calls, albeit discussing an entirely different cultural milieu, "assimilation of contemporary imagery."[38]

While the debate over the actual existence and essence of Jewish art had been raised by numerous scholars,[39] one of the first being Bezalel Narkiss in his

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35 Katrin Kogman-Appel, "Jewish Art and Non-Jewish Culture: The Dynamics of Artistic Borrowing in Medieval Hebrew Manuscript Illumination," *Jewish History* 15 (2001), 189.

36 On the dynamics of halakha and minhag, see Ephraim Kanarfogel, "Progress and Tradition in Medieval Ashkenaz," *Jewish History*, 14, no. 3, *Time, Progress, and Memory: Between Jewish and Christian Time* (2000), 287–315. The ways in which customs evolved and were maintained in Ashkenaz are further described by Joseph Isaac Lifshitz. "Custom in Ashkenaz in the Middle Ages," in *Minhagim: Custom and Practice in Jewish Life* (*Rethinking Diaspora* 3), ed. by Joseph Isaac Lifshitz, Naomi Feuchtwanger-Sarig, Simha Goldin, et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), 73–81.

37 See Richard Andree, *Zur Volkskunde der Juden* (Bielefled: von Velhagen and Klasing, 1881), 129–193. The author convincingly argues that only through an in-depth study of Jewish involvement with the Christian society can one obtain a full understanding of local minhag.

38 André Grabar, *Christian Iconography. A Study of its Origins* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), 31–54.

39 One of the relatively recent studies on the theme, summarising and evaluating the state of research, is the aforementioned study by Bland, *Artless Jew*. A dissimilar view in many ways is offered in a review of the book by Gerald Blidstein, "Art and the Jew," Review Essay on Kalman P. Bland, *The Artless Jew: Medieval and Modern Affirmations and Denials of the Visual* (2000), *The Torah u-Madda Journal* 10 (2001): 163–172. See also Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek, "Judaica: An Interface between Jewish and Non-Jewish Culture in Central Europe," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 37 (2004): 147–162, especially her introductory discussion on 147–150. On limited periods in Jewish history, see Steven Fine, *Art and Judaism in the Greco-Roman World: Toward a New Jewish Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 5–21; Fergus Millar, "Jews of the Graeco-Roman Diaspora," in *The Jews Among Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire,* ed. Judith Liew, Johan

challenging article "Does Jewish Art Exist?"[40] Joseph Gutmann's evaluation is, perhaps, the most instructive for our discussion. His thesis is that

> The history of Jewish art has been a manifestation of the historical processes that Jews have undergone. Because Jewish history, unlike that of other continuous entities, developed and evolved primarily within multiple societies, cultures and civilisations, it bears the imprimatur of this long and diverse multicultural experience . . . the style, decoration, and, often even the subject matter of the art of the Jews have always been rooted in and adapted from the dominant contemporary non-Jewish society.[41]

Incorporating indigenous Jewish religious codes, traditions, and lore with formal-stylistic infiltrations from the local society by means of appropriation but even more so—through adaptation—created a no less unique manifestation of Jewish art. Its components are, to a degree, fused from a variety of sources of influence, modified to comply with Jewish law and custom. In other words, the Jews created a visual aesthetic language that echoed contemporary artistic trends in distinctive harmony, content, message, and usage that is often not clearly distinguishable from the artistic vocabulary of their non-Jewish environment.

The *Nuremberg Miscellany* and the Art of the Hebrew Book

Unlike the mass-produced books of our time, an illuminated manuscript is a unique, handmade object. In its structure, layout, script, and decoration, every manuscript bears the hallmarks of the distinctive set of circumstances involved in its production, as it moved successively through the hands of the parchmenter, the scribe or copyist, one or more decorators or illuminators, and possibly other participants in the process of making the physical book.[42] Yet, despite the gradually escalating popularity of printed books in the sixteenth century, many of

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North, and Tessa Rajak (London and New York: Routledge 2013), 312–438; and Margaret Olin, *The Nation without Art: Examining Modern Discourses on Jewish Art* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001).

40 Bezalel Narkiss, "Does Jewish Art Exist?" *Hauniversita* 11, nos. 2–3 (1965): 31–40 (Hebrew).

41 Joseph Gutmann, "Is There a Jewish Art?" in *The Visual Dimension: Aspects of Jewish Art, Published in Memory of Isaiah Shachar (1935–1977)*, ed. Clare Moore (Boulder: Westview Press, in cooperation with the Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies, 1993), 14.

42 On the role division between the professionals who typically took part in the making of a Hebrew manuscript, see Bezalel Narkiss, "The Relation between the Author, Scribe, Massorator and Illuminator in Medieval Manuscripts," in *La Paléographie Hébraïque Médiévale* (*actes du Colloque, Paris 11–13 Septembre 1972*) (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique 1974), 79–86.

Europe's monarchs, courtiers, and aristocrats continued to commission manuscripts, mainly books of hours, for private devotion.[43]

While the popularity of the printed book was rising among the Jews as well,[44] some documents continued to be handwritten, including community statutes, contracts, personal registries, private letters, and other forms of written communication. Most importantly, sacred texts, such as Torah scrolls for liturgical reading in the synagogue, continued to be handwritten in ink on parchment. In addition, select passages from the Torah inserted into the *tefillin* (phylacteries), and the text of *mezuzot* fastened to doorposts of the Jewish home, necessitated the work of a professional scribe. Furthermore, halakhah or minhag require the use of handwriting for other documents, such as *ketubbot* (sing. *ketubbah*, marriage contract), and *giṭṭin* (sing. *geṭ*, bill of divorce). For those and other special documents, such as *mohel*-books (circumcision manuals and registries), *sifrei 'evronot* (books for intercalating, or reconciling, the Jewish lunisolar and the Christian solar calendars),[45] and amulets, people often ordered them to be professionally inscribed, and others were inscribed as autographs by their authors or owners.

The Jewish intellectual elite, too, commissioned manuscripts, either for special occasions such as prayer books to give out as wedding gifts or to expand their libraries with books of special content, like astronomy or medicine. Others, influenced by the Christian courtly and bourgeois fashion, ordered lavishly executed manuscripts as presentation pieces or status symbols.[46] In Germany, as a case in point, magnificent non-Jewish manuscripts continued to be produced through-

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43 The *Bischofschronik des Lorenz Fries* (Mergentheim, 1489–Würzburg, 1550), written and illustrated in Würzburg in 1546, kept in Würzburg, Stadtarchiv, Ratsbuch 412, is one such example. See Bernward Deneke, ed., *Siehe, der Stein schreit aus der Mauer: Geschichte und Kultur der Juden in Bayern. Eine Ausstellung veranstaltet vom Germanischen Nationalmuseum und vom Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte* (Nuremberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 1988), no. 4/34, 181, photo on 183.

44 In the Jewish world, too, the new art of printing was readily adopted as a means of dissemination of ideas and knowledge in the sacred and secular realms alike. To the best of our knowledge, the first printed Hebrew books were issued shortly before the mid-fifteenth century. See Abraham M. Habermann, "The Jewish Art of the Printed Book," in *Jewish Art. An Illustrated History*, ed. Cecil Roth, 458–470 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961).

45 On this literary genre, see Elisheva Carlebach, "Palaces of Time: Illustration of *Sifre Evronot*," *Images: A Journal of Jewish Art and Visual Culture* 2 (2008): 21–44; and idem, *Palaces of Time: Jewish Calendar and Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011).

46 For the early history of manuscript illumination in the Jewish world, see Aron Freimann, "Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Buchillustration bis 1540," *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie* 21 (1918): 25–32.

out the sixteenth century—well into the age of printing. For example, the British Library's German manuscript of the treatise on alchemy, *Splendor Solis* from 1582, a contemporary of the Hebrew *Nuremberg Miscellany*, presents superb artistic skill in its finely detailed illustrations of an extremely high quality.[47] The *Miscellany*, in comparison, is by far more modest and of a much less masterful nature.

The *Nuremberg Miscellany*, 8° Hs. 7058 (Rl. 203) of the Germanisches National-museum in Nuremberg, is a parchment manuscript. According to the scribe's colophon, found at the bottom of fol. 44v, beneath the concluding text of the book, its completion dates to 1589 (see Figure 12). The colophon, however, provides only partial information on the circumstances that led to the production of the manuscript, including the scribe's name and patronymic,[48] and the manuscript's exact completion date. According to the inscription the copyist, who was presumably the compiler and possibly also the illustrator of the manuscript, was a certain Eli'ezer b. Mordechai the Martyr.[49] He signed his colophon on Monday, 26 Kislev 1589 [December 3, 1589]. An attempt to find further information about this person

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47 Solomon Trismosin, *Splendor Solis*, London, The British Library, Harley MS 3469, fol. 13b, shown in Janet Backhouse, *The Illuminated Page. Ten Centuries of Manuscript Painting* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 234 and reproduction on 235.

48 In Jewish tradition, patronyms predate the use of family names and have their origin already in biblical times. Thus, the names of the master artisans of the Temple were Bezalel b. Uri and Oholiav b. Achisamach (Ex 31:6). Surnames appeared in the Jewish world only in the Middle Ages and in some places as late as the nineteenth century. On Jewish surnames, see the ground-breaking scholarly study by Leopold Zunz, *Namen der Juden. Eine geschichtliche Untersuchung* (Leipzig: L. Fort, 1837; reprint, Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1971). A brief essay on the subject is included in Johann Jakob Schudt, *Jüdische Merckwürdigkeiten vorstellende was sich Curieuses und Denckwürdiges in den neuern Zeiten bey einigen Jahr-hunderten mit denen in alle IV. Theile der Welt, sonderlich durch Teutschland, zerstreuten Juden zugetragen, sammt einer vollständigen Franckfurter Juden-Chronick, darinnen der zu Franckfurt am Mayn wohnenden Juden, von einigen Jahr-hunderten, biss auff unsere Zeiten, merckwürdigste Begebenheiten enthalten . . . / beschrie-ben von Johann Jacob Schudt* (Frankfurt am Main: S. T. Hocker, 1714–1718; reprint, Berlin: Lamm, 1922), Bd. 3 (1714): 151–154.

49 It is customary to append the word הַקָּדוֹשׁ (lit. Heb. = the holy) to the name of Jewish martyrs. It derives from the concept of *Kiddush haShem*, namely martyrdom for the sanctification of God's Name in time of persecution. The term was particularly frequent in the context of the encounter between the Crusaders and the Jews of Europe. Both Latin and Hebrew narrative accounts reveal that Jews killed their own families and then themselves in order to avoid forced baptism. See further Simha Goldin, "The Socialisation for Kiddush ha-Shem among Medieval Jews," *Journal of Medieval History* 23, no. 2 (1997): 117–138; and on the concept of Jewish martyrology in general, idem, *The Ways of Jewish Martyrdom*, ed. C. Michael Copeland and trans. Yigal Levin (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).

Figure 12: *Nuremberg Miscellany*, Swabia (?), Germany, 1589, fol. 44v [Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Bibliothek, 8⁰ Hs. 7058 (Rl. 203)]

yielded no results. To date, there is no record of the scribe in other catalogued or otherwise known manuscripts.[50]

It is not clear into which category the *Nuremberg Miscellany* should fall. Its unparalleled text compilation on the one hand, and the naïve, untrained illustrations executed on the costly parchment on the other hand, are a puzzling example of Hebrew manuscript production. Its illustrations are hardly mindful of volume, depth, or perspective, and their folk art nature suggests that an unprofessional artist, possibly even the scribe himself, may have executed them. The painted pen drawings reflect contemporary stylistic trends, which clearly show the inspiration of hand-coloured woodcut and engraved illustrations, introduced

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50 The main search for comparative manuscripts took place at the Institute for Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscript (IMHM) in the National Library of Israel, Jerusalem. I wish to extend my thanks to the staff of the IMHM, especially to Dr. Avraham David, Benjamin Richler and Yael Okun for their assistance along my many years of studying Hebrew illuminated manuscripts in general and during the preparation of this book in particular.

into printed books decades earlier,[51] though still prevalent in both manuscripts and prints in the late sixteenth century.[52]

Bearing in mind that printing had already been employed in Ashkenazi Jewish book making in Central Europe more than a century earlier,[53] the existence of a parchment Hebrew manuscript of such unique content and nature is rather uncommon. The *Miscellany*, richly adorned and illustrated with multicolour paint and powdered gold,[54] stands out as a relic of traditional manuscript production that was commonplace in Ashkenaz in the Middle Ages. In fact, the scarcity of handwritten codices of Ashkenazi origin from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century—namely manuscripts from the age of printing—is striking.[55] Of the

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51 See, for example, the hand-coloured woodcut showing a comet over Nuremberg in October 1580, cut by Hans Mack in Nuremberg shortly thereafter, presently kept in Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Inv. No. HB2806. It is reproduced in Hermann Maué and Christine Kupper, eds., *Treasures of German Art and History in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg* (Nuremberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 2001), 94; or the *Gebet zu Sankt Dionysius um Schutz gegen die Krankheit Malafranzos*, printed in Nuremberg by Georg Stuchs ca. 1497, shown in Bettina Wagner, ed., *Als die Lettern laufen lernten. Medienwandel im 15. Jahrhundert. Inkunabeln aus der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München* (*Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München. Ausstellungskataloge*, No. 81) (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 2009), no. 66, 172 and reproduction on 173.

52 One such Hebrew manuscript in which contours surround even the tiniest painted unit in the composition with totally flat colouring is the grammatical miscellany, probably from 1543, currently in Berlin Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. or. quart. 2, described by Petra Werner, *Kitwe-Jad. Jüdische Handschriften. Restaurieren-Bewahren-Präsentieren* (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ausstellungskataloge N.F. 47a), *Ausstellungskatalog der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 4. Juli 2002–17. August 2002* (Berlin: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 2002), 142 and photos on 134 and 143.

53 On Hebrew incunables, see Lazarus Goldschmidt, *Hebrew Incunables: A Bibliographical Essay*, trans. from the German manuscript by Immanuel Goldsmith (Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1948); David Fränkel, *Hebräische Inkunabeln, 1475–1494* (Vienna: D. Fränkel [1932?]). By the early sixteenth century, the trade of book production had spread to the north and east into Central Europe. See Moshe Rosenfeld, *Hebrew Printing from its Beginning until 1948: A Gazetteer of Printing, the First Books and Their Dates with Photographed Title-Pages and Bibliographical Notes* (Jerusalem: M. Rosenfeld, 1992) (Introduction in English and Hebrew, bibliographical notes in Hebrew); Yeshayahu Vinograd, "Hebrew Press in the Sixteenth Century (1540–1640)," *Alei Sefer* 15 (1988–1989): 129–132 (Hebrew); as well as Stephen G. Burnett, "German Jewish Printing in the Reformation Era (1530–1633)," in Bell and Burnett, *Jews, Judaism, and the Reformation*, 503–527.

54 Preparation and application of this special kind of tint involves the mixture of powdered gold with Gum Arabic, resulting in a kind of gold ink applied with a pen or brush. This type of gold tint is inferior to the more lavish use of burnished gold.

55 For a study delineating the production of manuscripts in the age of printing in general, being a chapter in the history of the Jewish book, see Emile G. L. Schrijver, "Jewish Book Culture since

few coeval existing manuscripts from the German-speaking realm, registered at the Institute for Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts of the National Library of Israel in Jerusalem, many are in Old Yiddish,[56] compared to the *Nuremberg Miscellany* which is in Hebrew. Others are on paper, unlike the parchment *Miscellany*, and they are generally unadorned or have only sparse feather-drawn ink embellishments.

Some Ashkenazi manuscripts from around the turn of the seventeenth century contain biblical texts or paraphrases in Yiddish, as in the book of Job of 1578–1589,[57] or the Pentateuch with the traditional readings from the Prophets following the public chanting of the weekly Torah portion, written for women in Germany in the sixteenth century.[58] Other manuscripts of that period are mostly liturgical texts, copied on paper with no illustrations or decorations whatsoever.[59]

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the Invention of Printing (1469 – c. 1815)," in Jonathan Karp and Adam Sutcliffe (eds.) *The Cambridge History of Judaism*. Vol. VII. *The Early Modern World, 1500–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 291–315. The inclusion of illustrations in such manuscripts is described in general in Ernest Naményi, "The Illumination of Hebrew Manuscripts after the Invention of Printing," in *Jewish Art. An Illustrated History*, ed. Cecil Roth (Tel Aviv: Massadah, 1961), cols. 423–454; and regarding the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, idem, "La miniature juive au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècle," *Revue des Études Juives* CXVI (N.S. XVI) (1957): 27–41. See also Marc Michael Epstein, "In the Royal Court: Jewish Illumination in an Age of Printing," in *Skies of Parchment, Seas of Ink. Jewish Illuminated Manuscripts*, edited by Diane Wolfthal, 215–228 (Princeton, NJ; Oxford, UK: Princeton University Press, 2015).

56 Such as the festival prayer book according to the German rite, copied around 1560 by Isaac b. Mordechai haKohen, alias Isaac Lankosh of Krakow, kept in London, The British Library, MS Add. 27071. Fol. 2r of the manuscript is shown in Ilana Tahan, *Hebrew Manuscripts. The Power of Script and Image* (London: The British Library, 2007), no. 76, 89. See also the miscellany of tales in Yiddish from Germany, probably from the sixteenth century, currently in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Hebr. 100, described in Andreas Nachama and Gereon Sievernich, eds., *Jüdische Lebenswelten. Katalog* (Berlin: Berliner Festspiele) (Frankfurt am Main: Jüdischer Verlag / Berlin: Suhrkamp, 1991), 123, no. 6/38.

57 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Hebr. 306. The manuscript was copied on paper in Rückingen by Abraham b. Samuel from Picardie and was intended for women. It does not include any decoration at all. Another manuscript, probably from the sixteenth century, is a Pentateuch with *hafṭarot* (the weekly liturgical reading from the Prophets) in Yiddish translation, currently in Tübingen, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Or. qu. 691. This paper manuscript contains only a single feather drawing at the beginning of Deuteronomy, on fol. 239v.

58 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. or. quart. 691, described in Werner, *Kitwe-Jad*, 50 and photo on 51.

59 Such as the *maḥzor* (prayer book for the festivals) for the High Holidays with a Yiddish translation, completed by Eliaqim b. Simeon, alias Zalman Auerbach in 1590, currently in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Hebr. 89. Another example is a miscellany that includes a mys-

Another category of late sixteenth and early seventeenth century Jewish manuscripts from the German-speaking realm is of halakhic nature, including books of customs,[60] kabbalistic texts, astronomic and astrologic books for the calculation of the Jewish calendar,[61] and ritual prescriptions.[62] This is the largest body of Hebrew and Yiddish manuscripts preserved from that period. Hardly any of these books is on parchment and—with the exception of the calendric genre—most of them do not contain any illustrations. They were certainly not status symbols for the aristocracy or intended as splendid gifts. Rather, they may have been created to satisfy a need for collections of texts for a particular *yeshivah* (rabbinical academy), *beit midrash* (institute for religious study), or for special use by an individual. In short, these manuscripts are all relatively simple in their material and technique, quite unlike the lavish *Nuremberg Miscellany*, with its parchment leaves and elaborate decorative scheme.

Another group of Early Modern manuscripts is that of miscellanies, probably used as private anthologies or manuals. The patrons who commissioned them, or the scribes themselves in cases of an autograph, were interested in the various texts and wished to have them all inscribed in a sequence in one manuscript, according to their personal liking or need. Alternatively, these were gatherings of separate oeuvres from different sources and by different scribes bound

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tical commentary on the Pentateuch, *Leqet Qaẓar,* and glosses to the Prophets. The miscellany was copied on paper around 1550 and includes no decorations whatsoever. It, too, is currently in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Hebr. 66.

60 On custom-related books in Yiddish in general, see Jean Baumgarten, "La tradition des livres de coutumes (Sifrei minhagim) en yiddish dans le monde ashkénaze (XVIe–XVIIIe siècles)," in *Storie di Ebrei fra Asburgo e l'Italia: Diaspore/Galuyyot*, ed. Cristina Benussi (Udine: Gaspari, 2003), 15–22; as well as the study of the persistence of this type of literature into the age of printing; idem, "Prières, rituels, pratiques: la tradition des livres de coutumes en langue yiddish (XVIe siècle)," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 3 (2001): 369–403 (English version: "Prayer, Ritual and Practice in Ashkenazic Jewish Society: The Tradition of Yiddish Custom Books in the Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 36 (2003): 111–146). See also Herman Pollak, "An Historical Explanation of the Origin and Development of Jewish Books of Customs ('Sifre Minhagim')," *Jewish Social Studies* 49, nos. 3–4 (1987): 195–216.

61 Studied by Carlebach, *Palaces of Time*.

62 An early example of this literary genre is a book that contains *Minhagei Maharil*, *Berakhot of Maharam*, *She'arei Dura,* and a *ketubbah* which is dated 1526. It was compiled in Worms by Judah b. Abraham between 24 Kislev 5277 and 14 Shvaṭ 5277, corresponding to November 29, 1516 to January 7, 1517. The halakhic miscellany is currently in Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Inv. No. B.H. 26. Another manuscript, a *Minhogim* in Yiddish from Germany, presumably of the sixteenth century, preserved only as a fragment of a large-scale opus, and to-date includes comparisons from aggadic literature. It is presently in Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Hebr. oct. 34.

together by their owners.[63] Other collections, such as mohel-books, were typically inscribed by the mohel (circumciser) for himself and included the liturgy to be recited on the occasion and the details of the infants he circumcised.[64] Another example is a medical prescription handbook in Yiddish from Germany, copied in the early sixteenth century, probably after 1505.[65] Such books often included private, secret remedy formulae. They were consequently produced in a single copy, an autograph, compiled for strictly personal use.

Privately collected compendia also included secular texts. German tales rendered in Yiddish, compiled in Tannhausen in the sixteenth century by Isaac b. Judah Reutlingen and Binyamin b. Joseph Rofé of the Merks family, are one such example.[66] Another sixteenth-century literary collection in Yiddish is the work of an anonymous scribe.[67] Additional contemporary manuscripts are in Hebrew, such as the grammatical compendium, copied in sixteenth-century Germany, which includes works by twelfth-century Jewish scholar R. Moses Qimḥi.[68]

Of particular importance on the local level is the genre of the *Memorbuch* (Book of Remembrance, plur. *Memorbücher*).[69] The tradition of recording names of martyred victims in a Memorbuch dates back to the days of the first crusade

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63 One personally devised miscellany, for example, contains diverse texts, such as kabbalistic writings, the testament of R. Judah heHasid, and mathematical treatises, and includes the inscriptions from the synagogue and *miqveh* (ritual bath) of Worms. It was copied in Worms by Eli'ezer b. Samuel Braunschweig of Worms in the mid-sixteenth century, and is kept in Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Hebr. oct. 256. Another manuscript of this kind is a miscellany that contains colophons of two different scribes. It includes, among others, poetical texts, *She'arei Ẓion*—a treatise on rituals of the Rhineland by Zalman Zion of Bingen—and a compendium of rituals, *Sefer Ḥayei 'Olam*. The manuscript is kept in Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, CH 136 (Uff. 87).

64 Unlike church records, these books were not the property of the community but belonged to the mohel.

65 Stuttgart, Württembergishes Landesbibliothek, H.B. XI. Phys. med. math. 18.

66 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Hebr. 100. The scribe's name is written on fol. 191r.

67 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Hebr. 347.

68 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, Ms. or. quart. 2, described in Nachama and Sievernich, *Jüdische Lebenswelten*, 124, no. 6/40.

69 A *Memorbuch* is a book of local nature, dedicated to the memory of martyrs. The first known Memorbuch is from Nuremberg. It was initiated in 1296 by Isaac b. Samuel of Meiningen (d. 1298) and includes events that took place between 1296 and the late fourteenth century. See *Juden in Deutschland* (*Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, 3), ed. Siegmund Salfeld, Berlin: Leonhard Simion, 1898; Rainer Barzen, "Das Nürnberger Memorbuch. Eine Einführung." in *Corpus der Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden im spätmittelalterlichen Reich*, edited by Alfred Haverkamp and Jörg R. Müller, Trier, Mainz 2011, http://www.medieval-ashkenaz.org/NM01/einleitung.html (accessed April 29, 2020). On Memorbücher in general, see Magnus Weinberg, "Das Memorbuch," in *Buch der Erinnerung: das Wiener Memorbuch der Fürther Klaus-Synagoge*, ed. Bern-

(1096 CE) and became widespread in Jewish communities in central Europe especially after pogroms. The Memorbücher, which were unique to each community, were used on specific occasions, particularly on days of remembrance in community life, and became part of the synagogue liturgy when the custom was to read the names of the martyrs publically from the *bimah* (the platform in the synagogue for the recitation of Scripture). Naturally, therefore, they were handwritten, with documentation of later atrocities added subsequently.[70]

Other genres of literature appeared in print from the late sixteenth century onwards, gaining popularity in the seventeenth century and later. One such type is the *Techines*, or supplications, intended primarily for women.[71] Their focal point is—though not exclusively—the three major religious temporal obligations incumbent upon Jewish women, namely time-bound positive *miẓvot*:[72] These are **Ḥ**allah, **N**iddah, and **H**adlaqat haNer, abbreviated as ḤaNaH. Ḥallah consists of the separation of a small part of the dough before it is baked into bread in remembrance of the earlier custom of donating it to the priests;[73] *Niddah* (Heb. lit. "moved," "separated") refers to the time in which the woman is considered impure and forbidden to her husband, implying prohibition of sexual intercourse

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hard Purin (Fürth: Jüdisches Museum Franken – Fürth und Schnaittach, 1999), 9–26; Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek, "Memorbücher: 'milieux de mémoire,'" in ibid., 27–38.

70 This was the case, for example, with the Memorbuch from Minden from the early seventeenth century. The paper manuscript was copied in 1615 by Ya'aqov Ganz in Franko-Burg. It is in Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. hebr. oct. 97.

71 *Techines* (Yiddish pronunciation for the Hebrew *teḥinot* or supplications) are private devotions and paraliturgical prayers in Yiddish, the *lingua franca* of the Jews of Central Europe, recited primarily by women. They became popular in the seventeenth century. On the genre, see Chava Weissler, "Women's Studies and Women's Prayers: Reconstructing the Religious History of Ashkenazic Women," *Jewish Social Studies* n.s. 1:2 (winter, 1995), 28–47; and in a broader study by the same author, *Voices of the Matriarchs: Listening to the Prayers of Early Modern Jewish Women* (Boston: Beacon, 1999). See also Simon Neuberg, "*Tkhines* Revisited: MS Oppenheim 666 and the Printed Context," in *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 26 (2019): 243–257.

72 Based on *M. Kiddushin* 1:7. Most religious obligations in Judaism are incumbent on men, whereas women are generally exempt from the positive commandments that are bound to a particular time or place, yet they may choose to comply with them with certain limitations. The three temporal obligations described here remained the most significant ones applying exclusively to women. See Shalom Sabar, "Mitzvot Hannah: Visual Depictions of the 'Three Women's Commandments' among the Jews of Europe from the Middle Ages to Late Nineteenth Century," in *Textures – Culture, Literature, Folklore for Galit Hasan-Rokem*, eds. Hagar Salamon and Avigdor Shinan (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2013), vol. 2, 383–413 (Hebrew). Compare the chapter "Positive Time-Bound Commandments: Class, Gender, and Transformation" in Elisheva Baumgarten, *Practicing Piety in Medieval Ashkenaz: Men, Women, and Everyday Religious Observance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 2014), 138–171.

73 Based on Num 15:19–20.