

## The London Haggadah Revisited

Katrin Kogman-Appel

The London Haggadah in the British Library is among the most published of the extant fifteenth-century Hebrew illuminated manuscripts (Add. MS 14762), but its date and the specifics of its production are still cast in shadow.<sup>1</sup> Produced around the middle of the fifteenth century in the Swabian town of Ulm, it consists of fifty folios and measures almost 40 cm in height (375 × 275 mm), which makes it one of the larger of the surviving haggadah manuscripts. Relatively small text blocks on each page (215 × 135/145 mm) leave abundant room for marginal illustrations. Indeed, the book has only few pages that do not include decorations of some kind. The manuscript opens with the instructions for the search for leaven and the *eruv tavshilim* (“mixing of cooked dishes”), a ritual required when Passover is immediately followed by a Shabbat. The text of the haggadah is accompanied by a marginal commentary, which was described in detail by David Goldstein, who associates most of it with El’azar b. Judah of Worms (d. after 1230).<sup>2</sup>

Throughout the manuscript we find twenty-three painted initial words embellished with rich scrollwork (fols 1v, 3r–v, 4v and 6r), numerous unframed painted initial words or letters (fols 9v and 10v), and nineteen unframed miniatures in the margins (fols 1v, 11v and 14v). One of the initial panels is accompanied by a drawing in purple ink (fol. 23v). On folio 48v we read “Next year in Jerusalem” in enlarged

<sup>1</sup> The Ashkenazi Haggadah: A Hebrew Manuscript of the Mid-15th Century From the Collections of the British Library, ed. by David GOLDSTEIN, London, 1985. Due to space limits this paper includes only images from manuscripts mentioned here for comparison and background. For images from the London Haggadah the reader is advised to use the British Library website (<[www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add\\_MS\\_14762](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_14762)>) and to consult the miniatures online.

<sup>2</sup> GOLDSTEIN, Ashkenazi Haggadah (as in n. 1), p. 14.

script decorated in green and yellow paint with various floral decorations. In the adjacent margin we read a rhymed note:

My heart counsels how to reply to him who asks and says, “who painted these [pages]?”  
I shall answer him: “I am he, Feibush, called Joel, for Jacob Mattatiya, may he live long,  
the son of MHRZ, a pious man.”<sup>3</sup>

“Feibush, called Joel” ben Simeon<sup>4</sup> is a well-known figure of fifteenth-century Ashkenazi book culture. Born around 1420, perhaps in Cologne, he seems to have been raised in Bonn. He was trained as a scribe at a young age and also acquired some basic skills in illustration. He began a professional career during the later 1440s. Three manuscripts associated with his hand have come down to us from this early period, one of them dated to the year 5209 (which began in September 1448).<sup>5</sup> At some point, perhaps in the summer of 1449, Joel left the Rhineland to travel southward. In the years 1453 (or the end of 1452) and 1454 he signed at least three books in Italy.<sup>6</sup> Almost thirty manuscripts can be associated with his hand one way or the other—by signature, by paleography, or by drawing style. The last book bearing his

<sup>3</sup> The translation follows GOLDSTEIN, *Ashkenazi Haggadah* (as in n. 1), p. 40; the Hebrew text reads as follows: | יעצני לבי להשיב לשו=אל | ויאמר מי צייר את=אל[ה] | אענה אני הוא ויבש הנרשם י=אל | לרי יעקב מתתיה שי' עולם בן מהר"ז איש=לאל

<sup>4</sup> In another haggadah, *Cologne-Genève*, Fondation Bodmer, MS 81 (online at <[www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/fmb/cb-0081](http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/fmb/cb-0081)>), Joel mentions (fol. 34r) that he is called “Feibush Ashkenazi,” hence the occasional designation “Ashkenazi Haggadah” for the London Haggadah, even though he does not mention his Ashkenazi origin there; he did that only while residing outside Ashkenaz.

<sup>5</sup> Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Cod. Parm 3144 (online at <[web.nli.org.il/sites/NLIS/en/ManuScript/Pages/Item.aspx?ItemID=PNX\\_MANUSCRIPTS990000914320205171](http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLIS/en/ManuScript/Pages/Item.aspx?ItemID=PNX_MANUSCRIPTS990000914320205171)>), described in Benjamin RICHLER and Malachi BEIT-ARIÉ: *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma, Jerusalem*, 2001, no. 1037. Joel wrote fols 79–188 and added marginal drawings for the haggadah on fols 56–71.

<sup>6</sup> Dated: Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, MS A. III. 14, which was largely destroyed in a fire in 1904. Before the fire Abraham BERLINER, in: *Hebräische Bibliographie* 20 (1880), p. 129, read the date in the colophon as 5213 (Sept. 1452–Sept. 1453); its remains were discussed in a conference presentation by Evelyn Cohen at Bar Ilan University, Ramat Gan on 25 June 2018; Parma, Biblioteca palatina, Cod. Parm 2845 (online at <[web.nli.org.il/sites/NLIS/en/ManuScript/Pages/Item.aspx?ItemID=PNX\\_MANUSCRIPTS990000913990205171](http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLIS/en/ManuScript/Pages/Item.aspx?ItemID=PNX_MANUSCRIPTS990000913990205171)>), whose colophon includes a date, but not the name of the scribe; for the identification of Joel, see RICHLER and BEIT-ARIÉ, *Parma* (as in n. 5), no. 618; New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, MS 8279, fol. 59r (online at <[web.nli.org.il/sites/NLIS/en/ManuScript/Pages/Item.aspx?ItemID=PNX\\_MANUSCRIPTS990001112210205171](http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLIS/en/ManuScript/Pages/Item.aspx?ItemID=PNX_MANUSCRIPTS990001112210205171)>).

imprint was finished in 1490 in Florence.<sup>7</sup> He seems never to have settled, but moved continually about Lombardy and Tuscany in search of clientele, and returned to the German lands at least twice during his career. Judging from a sharp shift in his drawing style he must have received further artistic training after his arrival in Italy<sup>8</sup>, and this change is apparent in the London Haggadah indicating that it was illustrated after Joel first crossed the Alps.

Malachi Beit-Arié has followed Joel's career in the book trade from a codicological perspective. Through a meticulous analysis of the material features of the books attributed to Joel he was able to shed further light on the latter's moves. Beit-Arié found that the London and the Washington Haggadot were penned on German parchment.<sup>9</sup> Of these only the latter is dated to show us that Joel spent some time to the north of the Alps around 1478. Yael Zirlin added the undated Rothschild Haggadah to this group of books originating in the German lands, again on codicological grounds.<sup>10</sup> It indeed reflects some stylistic and technical similarities with the Washington Haggadah and might have been produced during the same sojourn. Not so the London Haggadah. For several reasons, the London Haggadah cannot be dated to the late 1470s and thus suggests another, yet earlier, journey across the Alps.

Leafing through the London Haggadah, the reader easily recognizes Joel's hand time and again (fols 11v, 14v–15r, 22r, 23v). Yet, it is clear that some of the miniatures

<sup>7</sup> New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, MS Mic. 8892 (online at <garfield.jtsa.edu:8881/R/-?func=dbin-jump-full&object\_id=320007&silolibrary=GENO1>); Menachem SCHMELZER and Evelyn COHEN: *The Rothschild Mahzor*, New York, 1983; David WACHTEL: *How to date a Rothschild*, in: *Omnia in Eo. Studies on Jewish Books and Libraries in Honour of Adri Offenberg*, Amsterdam 2005–06 (*Studia Rosenthaliana* 38–39), pp. 163–68.

<sup>8</sup> The literature on Joel ben Simeon is too vast to be cited here in full; see the bibliography in Katrin KOGMAN-APPEL and David STERN: *The Washington Haggadah. A Fifteenth-Century Manuscript from the Library of Congress*, Cambridge/MA 2011, pp. 115–20.

<sup>9</sup> Malachi BEIT-ARIÉ, *Joel ben Simeon's Manuscripts. A Codicologist's View*, *Journal of Jewish Art* 3–4 (1977), pp. 25–39, repr. in: *The Making of the Medieval Hebrew Book. Studies in Palaeography and Codicology*, ed. by Malachi BEIT-ARIÉ, Jerusalem, 1993, pp. 93–108; on the Washington Haggadah: Washington, Library of Congress, MS hebr. 1; there are two facsimile versions: *The Washington Haggadah. A Facsimile Edition of an Illuminated Fifteenth-Century Hebrew Manuscript at the Library of Congress Signed by Joel ben Simeon*, ed. by Myron M. WEINSTEIN, Washington, 1991; KOGMAN-APPEL and STERN, Washington (as in n. 8); in the catalogue of the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts at the National Library of Israel, it is listed under Hebr. MS 181 (digital version: <lcweb4.loc.gov/service/amed/amed0001/2004/20040730001wh/20040730001wh.pdf>).

<sup>10</sup> Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, MS hebr. 4° 6130 (online at <web.nli.org.il/sites/NLIS/en/Manuscript/Pages/Item.aspx?ItemID=PNX\_MANUSCRIPTS990000416670205171>); Yael ZIRLIN, *Joel Meets Johannes: A Fifteenth-Century Jewish Christian Collaboration in Manuscript Illumination*, in: *Viator* 26 (1995), pp. 265–282, at 281, n. 29.

and in particular many of the initial panels stand out in both style and painting technique (fols iv, 2v, 6r). In 1980 Sheila Edmunds attributed these works to the illuminator and printer Johannes Bämle (d. 1504), whose work is traceable in Augsburg since 1457.<sup>11</sup>

Even though Joel was a skilled scribe, he was not commissioned to copy the London Haggadah. Rather, as Mordechai Glatzer was able to show, it was written by Meir ben Israel Jaffe<sup>12</sup>, a scribe and bookbinder, known to have lived in Ulm before he moved to Nuremberg to take on bookbinding projects for the city council there. A document in Nuremberg mentions Meir being there in 1468.<sup>13</sup> As the book's patron, Jacob Mattatiya, can also be traced in Ulm, it is a logical and reasonable assumption that the London Haggadah was produced in that city prior to Meir Jaffe's move to Nuremberg.

The present paper revisits the London Haggadah, deals with the question of its date, and discusses several observations that shed light on the parts played by both Joel and Bämle in the history of its production. The colophon does not state explicitly when Joel completed his part of the work. Since his drawings unmistakably betray the training he must have received in Italy, his contribution to the manuscript must have occurred at some point after 1450. Assuming that producing the haggadah implied some collaboration between Meir and Joel, we can establish a rough time frame between approximately the fall of 1451 and 1468. If we assume that Joel traveled to Italy in the summer of 1449, it is possible that he crossed the Alps again in the summer of 1451.

## 1 The Family of Jacob Mattatiya

Previous scholarship has suggested three dates for the London Haggadah. In 1985 Kurt Schubert noted that the abbreviation "MHRZ" for the patron's patronym in the

<sup>11</sup> Sheila EDMUNDS: *The Place of the London Haggadah in the Work of Joel Ben Simeon*, *Journal of Jewish Art* 7 (1980), pp. 25–34.

<sup>12</sup> Mordechai GLATZER: *The Ashkenazi and Italian Haggadah and the Haggadot of Joel ben Simeon*, in: WEINSTEIN, Washington (as in n. 9), pp. 137–169.

<sup>13</sup> For further background, see on Meir Jaffe, cf. *Germania Judaica*, vol. 3: 1350–1519, part 2, ed. by Arye MAIMON, Mordechai BREUER and Yacov GUGGENHEIM, Tübingen 1995, p. 1505; Christian SCHOLL: *Die Judengemeinde der Reichsstadt Ulm im späten Mittelalter. Innerjüdische Verhältnisse und christlich-jüdische Beziehungen in süddeutschen Zusammenhängen*, Hannover 2012 (FGJ A23), pp. 166–68. For some thoughts on the collaboration between Joel ben Simeon and Meir Jaffe, based, however, on an erroneous dating of the London Haggadah, see Susan NASHMAN FRAIMAN: *Marginal Images of a Marginal People*, in: *The Metamorphosis of Marginal Images from Antiquity to Present Time*, ed. by Nurit KENAAN-KADAR and Asher OVADIAH, Tel Aviv 2001, pp. 103–18, at pp. 108–13.

colophon (fol. 48v) shows small strokes on three of the letters (*he*, *resh*, and *zayin*). Counting the numeric value of these letters one reaches the number 212, which can be translated to the period between September 1451 and September 1452.<sup>14</sup>

In 1992 Glatzer dated the London Haggadah to the 1470s. As Jaffe was in Ulm until 1468, Glatzer argues, that was the latest possible date that he could have copied the haggadah. As far as Joel ben Simeon is concerned, Glatzer assumed that he did not travel back and forth but remained in the German lands for a continuous period until at least 1478, when he copied and illustrated the Washington Haggadah. As Joel signed another book in Italy in November 1469, he could have crossed the Alps only thereafter (and certainly not in the winter).<sup>15</sup> There is, however, no reason to assume that he traveled back to the German lands only once. He is known to have been constantly on the road: no place is mentioned more than once in any of his colophons.

In 1995 Yael Zirlin focused on folio 11v, which refers to Jacob going down to Egypt and shows the figure of a traveler in the margin. The word *vayered* (“went down”) was delicately decorated in red pen, and this was interpreted by Zirlin as a reference by Jaffe to the numeric value of the word and thus the date of production, 1459–60.<sup>16</sup>

None of these suggestions is fully convincing. There is, however, some circumstantial evidence that leads us to the patron and his family and may prove to be of help. Jacob Mattatiya, who commissioned Joel to illustrate the London Haggadah, was the son of Isaac Zeligman, a rabbi and one of the wealthiest Jewish bankers in the southern German lands, who had lived in Ulm since 1431.<sup>17</sup> MHRZ is thus an abbreviation of his name, *our teacher and rabbi Zeligman*. Of Isaac’s four sons at least two seem to have been wealthy bibliophiles. Jacob Mattatiya commissioned not only the London Haggadah but also a *mahzor* dated to 1459/60, now in Munich (fig. 2)<sup>18</sup>, and an undecorated *siddur* in New York, copied by Meir Jaffe.<sup>19</sup> Jacob’s brother Moses ben Isaac is associated with several books. A *siddur* copied for him and perhaps

<sup>14</sup> Kurt Schubert in an exchange with David Goldstein, quoted in GOLDSTEIN, Ashkenazi Haggadah (as in n. 1), p. 10.

<sup>15</sup> GLATZER, Haggadot (as in n. 12), p. 147.

<sup>16</sup> ZIRLIN, Joel (as in n. 10).

<sup>17</sup> Germania Judaica 3.2 (as in n. 13), pp. 1506–07; SCHOLL, Ulm (as in n. 13), p. 158; on Zeligman’s career as banker, see pp. 229–45; on his rabbinic position, see p. 163.

<sup>18</sup> Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. heb. 3/I–II.

<sup>19</sup> New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, MS 4057 (online at <web.nli.org.il/sites/NLIS/en/ManuScript/Pages/Item.aspx?ItemID=PNX\_MANUSCRIPTS990000544260205171>); Jacob is mentioned on fol. 322r as the “groom of Torah”; for the identification of Meir’s hand in the New York Siddur, see Yael ZIRLIN: Meir Jaffe and Joel ben Simeon. Working Relations between Jewish Scribes and a Christian Atelier, in: *Auskunft* 26 (2006), pp. 287–309.

by himself in 1450 in Ulm was illustrated in a Christian workshop either in the same city or in Augsburg. Its text was completed three years later, in the spring of 1453, in Treviso, testifying to Moses's immigration to northern Italy that same year at the latest.<sup>20</sup> Two months later a *minhagim* collection by Samuel of Ulm copied by a son of Rabbi Zeligman—most likely Moses—was signed as well in Treviso.<sup>21</sup> The family had earlier connections with Treviso, and Isaac had lived there for some time during the 1420s before his move to Ulm.<sup>22</sup> Later, in 1474, Moses appeared in Mestre, where he commissioned an anonymous scribe to record medical recipes in Yiddish.<sup>23</sup>

Let us look more closely at the colophons of these books. That of the 1453 *minhagim* book reads as follows:

These customs were established by the honorable, pleasant nobleman, my mentor and teacher, Rabbi Samuel, of blessed memory, based on [the teachings of] my father, my master, the crown of my head, our teacher Rabbi Zeligman Coburg, may he live ... I, the humble, lowly one, copied them here, in the city of Treviso, and I began writing Monday, 1 Iyyar [5]213, and finished, with the help of the Rock, may He be blessed, Wednesday, 1 Sivan [5]213.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Parma, Biblioteca palatina, Cod. Parm 2895 (online at <web.nli.org.il/sites/NLIS/en/Manuscript/Pages/Item.aspx?ItemID=PNX\_MANUSCRIPTS990001023920205171>); cf. RICHLER and BEIT-ARIÉ, Parma (as in n. 5), no. 1038; Katrin KOGMAN-APPEL: Ritual Imagery Gone Wrong: A Fifteenth-Century Siddur in a Christian Workshop, in: Polemical and Exegetical Polarities in Medieval Jewish Cultures—Studies in Honour of Daniel J. Lasker, ed. by Ehud KRINIS et al., Berlin (forthcoming).

<sup>21</sup> Private collection, formerly London, Beit Din, MS 28; the manuscript was sold at Sotheby's, Important Judaica on 20 December 2017, lot 171, with a detailed description (<www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/lot.171.html/2017/important-judaica-no9687>); for the colophon, see fol. 43r. The author of the catalogue of microfilmed Hebrew manuscripts at the National Library of Israel assumes that Jacob Zeligman wrote the text (see also the description in the website entry for Sotheby's lot 171). This is doubtful, as Jacob is otherwise not known as scribe; moreover he is documented in Ulm at least until 1459/60. The copy of a related text, perhaps also attributable to Samuel of Ulm, with drawings by Joel ben Simeon is now also in Zurich, Braginsky Collection, Ms.B 252 (online at <e-codices.ch/en/list/one/bc/b-0252>), where it is attributed to northern Italy.

<sup>22</sup> Germania Judaica 3.2 (as in n. 13), p. 1506; SCHOLL, Ulm (as in n. 13), pp. 230–31.

<sup>23</sup> Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, MS HB XI 17; the manuscript is described in Ernst RÓTH: Hebräische Handschriften, part 2, Wiesbaden 1965 (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland 6), no. 605, without a mention of the colophon. For a complete description, see <sfardata.nli.org.il>, record key 'oG074' (accessed August 2018).

<sup>24</sup> Private collection, formerly London, Beit Din, MS 28, fol. 43r; the translation follows the description of Sotheby's Important Judaica, see n. 21.

In 1453, while in Treviso, Moses inserted his name in red letters in one of the black initials in the second part of the Ulm Siddur. The insertion reads as follows:

From Moses the son of MHRZ (our teacher and rabbi Zeligman), may he live long.<sup>25</sup>

The first volume of the Munich Maḥzor (1459/60) was copied by one Isaac the scribe, who also left a detailed colophon claiming proudly that at the age of sixty he was able to complete the work without the help of eyeglasses:

I copied and vocalized ... on Thursday, 12 Tammuz in the year 219 ... for R. Jacob Mattatiya, the son of MHRZ Isaac, may his memory be for a blessing ...<sup>26</sup>

Moreover, in 1474 Moses ben Isaac is described as the owner of the medical collection as “Moses, the son of MHRZ, may his memory be for a blessing”.<sup>27</sup>

The evidence is quite clear: whereas in 1459 Isaac Zeligman was dead, six years earlier he was still among the living. Finally, the London Haggadah refers to Zeligman as a pious man still alive. The same applies to Jacob’s siddur in New York, which simply names Jacob Mattatiya “the son of our teacher and rabbi Isaac”.<sup>28</sup>

Archival evidence tells us that Isaac Zeligman must have died around 1455. On 13 July 1453 he is mentioned in a privilege given by Frederick III<sup>29</sup>, and in 1455 in a financial transaction, but after that date he disappeared from the sources, and Jacob Mattatiya began to handle the family’s banking transactions and loans. Isaac was perhaps less than 55 years of age at the time of his death. The family was outstandingly wealthy in both generations. Isaac’s rabbinic functions were assumed by R. Barukh from Augsburg, a relative of Jacob ben Judah Weil (d. before 1456).<sup>30</sup> Thus in all likelihood, Jacob was not a rabbi.

The date of the London Haggadah can thus be narrowed down to between the fall of 1451 and 1455. Whether the date proposed by Schubert is correct is not certain, as the strokes on top of the letters *he*, *resh*, *zayin* are typical of abbreviations and do not commonly mark dates. However, Schubert’s suggestion is the only one of the three that falls within the range of these three years. Elsewhere I have suggested that

<sup>25</sup> Parma, Biblioteca palatina, Cod. Parm 2895, p. 375.

<sup>26</sup> Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. heb. 3/I–II, fol. 488r, published in part by ZIRLIN, Joel (as in n. 10), p. 266, n. 9.

<sup>27</sup> Stuttgart, WLB, MS HB XI 17, fol. 68r.

<sup>28</sup> New York, JTSa, MS 4057, fol. 321v.

<sup>29</sup> Meir WIENER: Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland während des Mittelalters, Hannover 1862, p. 83.

<sup>30</sup> Germania Judaica 3.2 (as in n. 13), pp. 1504–06, assuming that Isaac was born shortly after 1400; SCHOLL, Ulm (as in n. 13), pp. 163 and 229–245.

Joel's work must have been known in Ulm prior to 1453. The siddur mentioned above, copied in 1450 in Ulm, apparently by Jacob's brother Moses, includes a haggadah with illustrations that must have been produced in a Christian workshop, but are in many ways indebted to Joel ben Simeon's imagery. Since Moses is documented in Treviso in the spring of 1453, where, according to a second colophon, he finished the siddur, these illustrations must have been added before that date.<sup>31</sup> These circumstances suggest that Joel resided in Ulm for some time between the fall of 1451 and the spring of 1453. A manuscript in Turin, largely destroyed by fire in 1904, was written in Italy and contained a date read in 1880 by Abraham Berliner as 5213 (Sept. 1452—Sept. 1453).<sup>32</sup>

## 2 The London Haggadah and the Munich Maḥzor

Zirlin's suggestion can be dismissed on further grounds. The decoration of *vayered* was in all likelihood not added by Meir Jaffe, but rather by Joel (fol. 11v). The same decorative motif recurs several times for other words at the beginning of the manuscript, and one of them also incorporates a small face in profile, which is very typical of Joel's repertoire (fol. 3r).<sup>33</sup> Elsewhere I have speculated that the figure of the traveler, which recurs frequently in Joel's haggadot, can be understood as some sort of self-reference, as he was constantly *en route*.<sup>34</sup> The decoration of *vayered* could thus serve as a further hint of such a self-reference. This can be supported by the fact that in the Washington Haggadah, which was also penned in the German lands, *vayered* is similarly decorated (fig. 1). Did Joel mean to tell his Ashkenazi patrons of his intention to leave the region and go south again to Italy?<sup>35</sup>

Moreover, Zirlin's dating was also based on the assumption that the London Haggadah was produced around the same time that Jacob Mattatiya commissioned the maḥzor in Munich, whose first volume is dated by colophon to 1459/60. The reason for this is the fact that the decoration of the second volume of this maḥzor is—like parts of the London Haggadah—also attributed to Johannes Bämmler's workshop. In Zirlin's opinion this suggests that the London Haggadah and the Munich Maḥzor

<sup>31</sup> KOGMAN-APPEL, Ritual Imagery (as in n. 20).

<sup>32</sup> As in n. 6.

<sup>33</sup> An Italian maḥzor attributed to Joel ben Simeon in Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Cod. heb. 4° 1384 (online at <web.nli.org.il/sites/NLIS/en/ManuScript/Pages/Item.aspx?ItemID=PNX\_MANUSCRIPTS990000448660205171>), displays particularly rich pen work and numerous such faces, Shlomo ZUCKER: The Moskowitz Maḥzor of Joel ben Simeon, Jerusalem 2005.

<sup>34</sup> See my remarks in KOGMAN-APPEL and STERN (as in n. 8), pp. 105–06.

<sup>35</sup> This manuscript was laid out and written by Joel himself and he thus left ample space for rich flourishing decoration around the word *vayered*.



Fig. 1: Washington, Library of Congress, MS heb. 1 ("Washington Haggadah"), fol. 7v, Germany, 1478.





Fig. 3: Washington, Library of Congress, MS heb. 1 ("Washington Haggadah"), fol. 15v, German Lands, 1478.



Fig. 4: Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Levy 115, fol. 158r, northern Italy, second half of the fifteenth century.

were produced around the same time, and that the two men collaborated closely.<sup>36</sup> This assumption is, among others, also based on a small detail in the decoration of the mahzor (fig. 2). Here we find El'azar ha-Qallir's prayer for rain with a painted initial panel for the word *af[beri]*—"the angel of rain." The panel painted by Bämler or one of the members of his workshop occupies only about three quarters of the

<sup>36</sup> ZIRLIN, Joel (as in n. 10); already earlier Robert Suckale had suggested with regard to the Munich Mahzor, that Christian painters worked for Jacob Mattatiya; Robert SUCKALE: *Torarollen im Schrein*, in: *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 im Germanischen Nationalmuseum Nürnberg*, 25.10.1988 bis 22.1.1989, Nürnberg 1988, p. 157; see also Franziska AMIROV: *Jüdisch-christliche Buchmalerei im Spätmittelalter. Aschkenasische Haggadah-Handschriften aus Süddeutschland und Norditalien*, Berlin 2018, p. 175, who also believes that Meir Jaffe supplied models and motifs for the illustration, an assumption for which no support can be found; she grounds her observation on the iconographic similarities with the Cincinnati Haggadah, another book penned by Meir. The Cincinnati Haggadah indeed shares a similar repertoire of iconographic motifs, but seems to be of a later date; its illuminator was undoubtedly familiar with Joel's imagery.

width of the text columns. To the left of the panel we find an ink drawing of a monkey eating from a bowl with a spoon. As Susan Nashman Fraiman points out, the Ashkenazi pronunciation of the title would have sounded like *Affe brie esas*, which in Yiddish is “a monkey eating porridge”.<sup>37</sup>

Joel ben Simeon’s fancy for puns has often been pointed out, and both Zirlin and Nashman Fraiman have suggested that he was the author of the little drawing, which also includes several birds as well as human faces, even though his hand cannot be traced anywhere else in the maḥzor. In 1478 Joel rendered a monkey holding a *mazza* in the Washington Haggadah, an observation that added its share to the attribution of the Munich monkey to Joel (fig. 3).<sup>38</sup> A closer look at the initial panel, however, reveals that the drawing was most likely part of the original layout of the page. The placement of the painted parts of the panel above the right-hand side of the text column left ample space for the drawing, which naturally and quite elegantly continues the design of the painted section. Moreover, all the motifs in the drawing are very common in southern German book art. In fact, they appear similarly in the frame of a double leaf now in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, signed by Bämmler in 1457 (figs. 5–7).<sup>39</sup> Monkeys in particular were very popular figures in Bämmler’s repertoire, and one of them appears in the London Haggadah (fol. 13v).

Birds are also often found in Bämmler’s work.<sup>40</sup> The prominent motif in the Munich drawing is acanthus leaf, which likewise dominates all of Bämmler’s other works with decorative scrolls. Joel occasionally uses acanthus leaves, but not to the same extent and they are designed differently.

Moreover, several stylistic observations support the assumption that the Munich decoration is not from Joel’s hand. The nature of the pen strokes is completely different. Unlike Joel’s drawings with their closed, disciplined strokes of more or less equal thickness, those on the Munich page are more fuzzy and nervous, evidencing

<sup>37</sup> NASHMAN FRAIMAN, *Marginal Images* (as in n. 13), p. 105.

<sup>38</sup> ZIRLIN, Joel (as in n. 10), p. 278 basing her argument on the motifs employed in the drawing: leaves, scrolls, the monkey, other (smaller) animals; she did, however, not offer a full stylistic analysis; AMIROV, *Buchmalerei* (as in n. 36), p. 179; NASHMAN FRAIMAN, *Marginal Images* (as in n. 13), p. 111, supports the 1460 date for the London Haggadah, asserting that it contains instructions for the *eruv tavshilin*, which would have been required in 1461, 1465, and 1468. The appearance of the *eruv tavshilin* blessing is, however, not more indicative of the date of the haggadah than the inclusion of the *havdalah* blessing; the *eruv tavshilin* was also required in 1451 and 1455. The instructions and the benediction also appear in another of Joel’s haggadot, now in New York (as in n. 5).

<sup>39</sup> New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.45 (<[www.themorgan.org/manuscript/77489](http://www.themorgan.org/manuscript/77489)>).

<sup>40</sup> London Haggadah (as in n. 1), fol. 13v; see also Christine BEIER: *Missalien massenhaft. Die Bämmler-Werkstatt und die Augsburger Buchmalerei im 15. Jahrhundert*, in: *Codices Manuscripti* 48/49 (2004), pp. 55–72, figs. 15, 20, 28, and 32.

both thick and thin strokes. Moreover, whereas Joel's hatching technique is marked by neatly organized crisscross patterns or parallel lines (fig. 4 and fol. 23v of the London Haggadah), the hatching in the Munich drawing is more spontaneous, and designed for a stronger sense of plasticity. This technique comes particularly to the fore on the back of the monkey; similar effects are found in Bämmler's painted monkeys (figs. 5–7). Franziska Amirov recently credited Joel with the marginal drawings in a copy of Maimonides's *Guide for the Perplexed*, now in Hamburg<sup>41</sup>, as those figures also include a crouching monkey (fig. 4). That attribution to Joel is perfectly convincing, and, further, it makes it all the more clear that the Munich drawing cannot possibly be from his hand. Even though the position of the monkey is similar, the drawing technique is not. The Hamburg monkey displays Joel's typical hatching technique of carefully placed parallel lines. The facial traits are entirely different, and those of the Hamburg monkey can easily be compared to those of the monkey in the Washington Haggadah (fig. 3).

The anatomy of the animals is also different from those observable in Joel's work. For example, in the Munich drawing (as in works attributed to Bämmler) a bird is shown spreading its wings growing out of its lower body (fig. 2). Joel also made frequent use of this motif, but always has birds' wings growing out of their shoulders (fig. 4).<sup>42</sup> In terms of style, however, the drawing does not seem to be from Bämmler's hand either. At this point we cannot assign attribution, but a careful comparison with Joel's work indicates that he had nothing to do with it.<sup>43</sup>

Further evidence comes from the adjacent caption "the angel of rain" in cursive script applied by a thin pen. Unlike square and semi cursive scripts, cursive ones betray personal traits. Comparing the caption to similar thin cursive inscriptions in

<sup>41</sup> AMIROV, *Buchmalerei* (as in n. 36), pp. 193–194.

<sup>42</sup> ZIRLIN, Joel (as in n. 10), p. 248, noted prominently the various mask-like faces that appear in the Munich drawing, a motif which is extremely frequent in Joel's work; see, e.g., the *Moskovitz Mahzor* in Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, MS heb. 4° 1384 (online at <[web.nli.org.il/sites/NLIS/en/ManuScript/Pages/Item.aspx?ItemID=PNX\\_MANUSCRIPTS990000448660205171](http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLIS/en/ManuScript/Pages/Item.aspx?ItemID=PNX_MANUSCRIPTS990000448660205171)>), and in the Braginsky *minhagim* book (BCB 252, as in n. 21). The facial traits in the Munich images are different from Joel's so characteristic facial traits. Mask-like motifs were, in fact frequent in Swabian book art: see, e.g., Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS germ. fol. 1191 (online at <[resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0000167900000000](http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0000167900000000)>). Bämmler himself used the same motif, e.g., in Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, MS HB XIV 20, vol. 2, fol. 171v, BEIER, *Missalien* (as in n. 40), fig. 16; on the mask-like faces in Joel ben Simeon's repertoire, see also AMIROV, *Buchmalerei* (as in n. 36), pp. 178–81.

<sup>43</sup> I am grateful to Christine Beier for briefly discussing with me the Munich drawing in August 2018. She does not exclude the possibility that it was meant as an under-drawing. Owing to the lack of drawings other than filigree pen work in the marginal decoration of manuscripts from that period, it is particularly difficult to establish a stylistic attribution.



Fig. 5: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.45, fol. 2r, Johannes Bämle, Augsburg, 1457.



Fig. 6: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.45, fol. 2r, Johannes Bämle, Augsburg, 1457.



Fig. 7: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.45, fol. 2r, Johannes Bämle, Augsburg, 1457.

a siddur Joel ben Simeon wrote and illustrated in 1449<sup>44</sup>, shows clearly that the latter captions were applied by a different hand.

### 3 Johannes Bämle

It is doubtful that Joel ben Simeon was in any way involved in the making of the Munich Maḥzor in 1459/60, which conclusion leads us back to the London Haggadah. Whereas in general scholars are convinced by Edmunds's suggestion about Bämle's involvement in its decoration, there are different views about how exactly we have to imagine its production. Edmunds proposes that a few years after the haggadah was delivered to its patron, it required restoration and was entrusted to Bämle, who painted several of the initial panels, adding abundant scrollwork, and repainted some, but not all of the miniatures. Bezalel Narkiss, and later Yael Zirlin in more detail imagined another scenario and assumed that Bämle collaborated closely with Joel, who served as an instructor in matters of Jewish ritual and imagery.<sup>45</sup>

Let me first survey the evidence. The London Haggadah consists of six quires.<sup>46</sup> Not all of the quires were subject to the same artistic treatment. The style and the technique of the Bämle workshop can easily be seen on all the pages of the first quire, which ends on fol. 8, and it is there where we find all the features that caused Edmunds to suggest Bämle's hand. The design of the initial panels with their adjacent scroll work, the motifs displayed, and the painting technique employed have clear equivalents in manuscripts attributed to Bämle's workshop. It is in the iconography of the marginal miniatures that a faint echo of Joel's hand can be discerned. The imagery was unmistakably designed by a person intimately familiar with Jewish ritual, and some iconographic elements specifically betray Joel's work, a point to which I return shortly.

<sup>44</sup> Parma, Biblioteca palatina, Cod. Parm 3144, fol. 58r. Joel's letters are longer and more narrow, they tend to lean leftwards, and their morphology is different.

<sup>45</sup> Bezalel NARKISS: *The Relation between the Author, Scribe, Massoretor and Illuminator in Medieval Manuscripts*, in: *La paléographie hébraïque médiévale*, Paris, 1972, pp. 79–85, at p. 82; ZIRLIN, Joel (as in n. 10); ZIRLIN, Meir Jaffe (as in n. 19), where she also suggested that Bämle did not work by himself on the London Haggadah, but that it was entrusted into the hands of members of his workshop.

<sup>46</sup> It is difficult to reconstruct the arrangement of the quires, since the book is very tightly bound; there are no catchwords, but occasionally we find a truncated word at the end of a page, which is then repeated in full on the next page; such truncated words were occasionally applied to function in lieu of catchwords, and GLATZER, *Haggadot* (as in n. 12), pp. 139–45, observed that this was typical of Meir Jaffe's work; however the London Haggadah has numerous such truncated words and they do not appear only at the end of quires. While some irregularities can be observed in the quire structure, it is still clear that the book consisted of six quires.

When we move on to the other quires, however, the approach to the decoration of initials changes significantly. For example, in the second quire, the style of Bämmler's workshop so common in the first quire appears here on only two openings (fols 12v–14r), and it is obvious that another, much inferior hand was at work. On all the other pages, however, Joel's hand is clearly visible. Throughout the quire we find numerous enlarged initials not set in panels. The letters are decorated in delicate paint with floral designs, faces of humans and animals, and various other motifs all betraying Joel's taste and style. All of them are painted in one base color, green, purple, or red, respectively, used in three shades from dark to light with delicate white or yellow lines similar to the treatment common for highlights (as in the painted letters on fols 11v, 21r, and 23v). These lines produce a sophisticated effect of *grisaille*. Some of these initials were designed as framed panels (fol. 23v). Whereas the motifs can easily be identified as Joel's, the painting technique is not, which becomes apparent when we look at similar motifs for letter decorations in several other manuscripts attributed to him (figs. 8 and 9).<sup>47</sup> The painting technique is similar to the one observed in the London Haggadah, but significantly less accomplished and much simpler.

The second quire also displays numerous marginal miniatures. As in the first quire they all belong to Joel's well-known repertoire of haggadah illustration. However, whereas in the first quire it is only in the iconography that reminds us of Joel's art, while the paint is clearly someone else's, his style is apparent throughout the second quire (fols 9–16). In all but one miniature we find his characteristic facial traits, his protagonists' typical body language and postures, and his compositions. All the miniatures are at least partially painted. In the large-scale double-page composition of the departure from Egypt, for example, it is obvious that some paint was applied, but not in all parts of the miniature (fols 14v–15r). The palette used for the initials and the miniatures is basically the same, even though in the miniatures a wider range of colors is employed than in the initials. This palette is slightly different from that of the first quire. Leafing through the third and the fourth quire we find the same initial decorations and the same type of miniatures, with no hint of Bämmler's style. The fifth and the sixth quires have three Bämmler-style initial panels, whereas Joel's hand is visible everywhere else.

Before I try to come to grips with the rationale behind the choices made by the people in Bämmler's atelier, Narkiss's and Zirlin's suggestions of a close collaboration between them and Joel should be revisited. Not much is known about Bämmler's life, but the available information was meticulously analyzed in 1993 by Sheila Edmunds.<sup>48</sup> During the entire period from 1453 to 1503, Bämmler was registered as a

<sup>47</sup> Rothschild Haggadah (as in n. 10); New York, JTSa, MS 8279 (as in n. 6).

<sup>48</sup> Sheila EDMUNDS: New Light on Johannes Bämmler, *Journal of the Printing Historical Society* 22 (1993), pp. 29–53.

taxpayer in Augsburg. In the winter of 1450, as he later wrote in the *Chronik von allen Kaisern, Königen und Päpsten*, he was in Rome, where he witnessed the disaster of a collapsing bridge during celebrations in honor of Pope Nicholas V.<sup>49</sup> The long time span between 1453 and 1503, attesting to a career of fifty years, suggests that in 1453 Bämle was a rather young man at the very beginning of his professional life.<sup>50</sup> After his marriage in 1454/55 he could enter the guild of painters and it is after that year that he would have begun building an atelier specializing first in illuminated manuscripts and later in prints. A whole group of manuscripts discussed in quite some detail by Christine Beier dates from the period between 1457 and 1477.<sup>51</sup> He or painters in his workshop decorated the Munich Maḥzor in 1459/60 (fig. 2). In 1477 he opened a print shop, which prospered until the later 1490s. Thus, during the period from 1451 to 1455, when Meir Jaffe and Joel ben Simeon must have worked on the London Haggadah, Bämle was in all likelihood not yet an established professional with a flourishing atelier with co-workers and apprentices. This casts some doubt on the scenario of a close collaboration between Joel and Bämle's people. By the time Bämle did run an illumination workshop and was commissioned to do work on the London Haggadah, it was likely that Joel had long gone back to Italy.

#### 4 Joel ben Simeon

There must have been another scenario that caused Jacob Mattatiya to require Bämle's services. Edmunds's suggestion that the London Haggadah was damaged in some way and needed repair is also doubtful, as only ten years had passed since the haggadah was copied. Moreover, the above observation that the quires differ in colorization suggests that by the time the book was passed to Bämle it was still unbound and, thus, not in use.

There is another possibility: the way Joel usually colored his illustrations may not have been to Jacob's liking. He may perhaps even have been under the impression that the book was left unfinished. This suggestion requires a closer look at Joel's painting techniques. Joel's strength was drawing. Many of his works display a mixed technique of drawing with occasional paint to enhance the appearance of the drawings. He generally used paint infrequently, and then in a rather simple technique with

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 29 with an English translation of the relevant passage. The chronicle was printed at Augsburg in 1476.

<sup>50</sup> As Edmunds noted, as a taxpayer Bämle must have been at least eighteen years old; in 1454/55, however, he appeared in the registers as a married man; *ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>51</sup> BEIER, Missalien (as in n. 40).



Fig. 8: Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, cod. hebr. 4°6130 (“Rothschild Haggadah”), fol. 10v, Germany, second half of the fifteenth century.



Fig. 9: New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, MS 8279 (Haggadah), fol. 43v.

minimal shading and only occasional highlights.<sup>52</sup> Joel’s miniatures were meticulously drawn in pen, included careful hatching, and often employed inks in different colors—brown, red and purple.<sup>53</sup> Paint was applied only occasionally, and numerous figures appear in a mixed technique of partially colorized drawings. In the London Haggadah there are only a very few miniatures displaying this technique untouched.

Traces of Joel’s method of partly painted drawings are found, among others, in the image of the Egyptians pursuing the Israelites (fol. 14v). Some parts remain without color, others, as Pharaoh’s horse in the foreground received a light wash. Costumes are often fully painted. In the background, where a dense crowd of soldiers is shown we find traces of purple and red ink, typical of works by Joel that were not meant to be colored. One of the pages in the third quire shows a small drawing adjacent to an initial word executed entirely in purple ink. Very densely drawn, there was obviously no intention to paint it (unlike the letters within the panel; fol. 23v).

<sup>52</sup> Bodmer Haggadah (as in n. 4), facsimile edition: Haggadah de Pessah. La Pâque juive. Manuscrit du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle copié et enluminé par Joël ben Siméon Feibusch Ashkénazi, ed. by Maurice-Ruben HAYOUN, Geneva 2011; Parma, Biblioteca palatina, Cod. Parm 2998 (online at <web.nli.org.il/sites/NLIS/en/ManuScript/Pages/Item.aspx?ItemID=PNX\_MANUSCRIPTS990000914670205171>); RICHLER and BEIT-ARIÉ, Parma (as in n. 5), no. 1120; Washington Haggadah (as in n. 9); New York Haggadah (as in n. 6); Rothschild Haggadah (as in n. 10).

<sup>53</sup> See, e.g., London, British Library, Add. MS 26957 (online at <www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add\_MS\_26957>); the Braginsky *minhagim* book (BCB 252, as in n. 22); the same also applies to most of the illustrations in the Bodmer Haggadah (as in n. 4).

It is possible that when Jacob Mattatiya commissioned Joel's work, he had a more lavish book in mind, and one can speculate that this may have been the reason behind his decision to commission Bämmler. The repainting was not done by a single hand. Whereas the style of Bämmler's atelier is clearly visible throughout the first quire and in the few initial panels in the fifth and the sixth quire, another, less skilled hand repainted a few such panels in the second quire. The painted letters in all but the first quires, finally, and perhaps some of the miniatures in these quires, must have been the work of yet another hand. This colorist did not overpaint Joel's work in an effort to make the latter's features disappear, but using an impressive grisaille technique he left Joel's motifs visible throughout. It would be tempting to suggest that Joel himself painted these initials, but the above comparison with such letters in other manuscripts associated with him makes it quite clear that this is not the case (figs. 8 and 9). Nowhere in Joel's work can we find the grisaille technique of the London Haggadah. Moreover, many of Bämmler's works reflect such a grisaille technique, albeit with a different set of motifs. In two of Bämmler's panels in the London Haggadah we also find a face in profile of the sort we often see in Joel's work, but it is clearly not from his hand (fol. 8v); another such face appears in the decoration of the Munich Maḥzor (fol. 315v).<sup>54</sup> It is thus more reasonable to assume that one of the painters in Bämmler's workshop took it upon himself to paint these letters, while leaving Joel's imprint clearly visible.<sup>55</sup>

The fact that Bämmler's style and technique is more dominant in the first quire than in all others, hiding as it does any of Joel's features under opaque paint, leads one to wonder if it is feasible to assume that Joel had left that quire altogether undecorated. This, however, is unlikely. First of all, as Amirov observes, there are pen decorations for some of the letters that can easily be attributed to Joel.<sup>56</sup> Second, as Zirlin and Beier observe<sup>57</sup>, the very stocky proportions of the figures are unlike any of those in Bämmler's other works, where we find taller and slimmer images. Moreover, the sensitivity to Jewish custom evident in all of the miniatures in the first quire is striking. Many of them clearly belong to Joel's haggadah repertoire: the cleaning of the house of leaven (fol. 1v); the *qiddush* showing a man holding the goblet on the palm of his hand (fol. 2v); the *havdalah* exhibiting another man holding his fingernails up as if toward a light source (fol. 4r); and the details of the *eruv tavshilim* (fol. 2r). In such

<sup>54</sup> AMIROV, Buchmalerei (as in n. 36), p. 168 suggests that these panels in the London Haggadah were also painted by Joe ben Simeon.

<sup>55</sup> AMIROV, *ibid.*, pp. 167, 197, suggests that one letter (fol. 12r) was decorated by Meir Jaffe; it remained unpainted.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 195.

<sup>57</sup> ZIRLIN, Joel (as in n. 10), p. 268; BEIER, *Missalien* (as in n. 39), 65.

details as well as in some other features, Joel's "handwriting" can be detected underneath Bämmler's thick layers of color. The portrayal of the *seder* table includes numerous items required for the Passover ceremony and shows the *seder* bowl covered with a small cloth as is customary in Ashkenazi communities (fol. 6r).<sup>58</sup> Striking, however, is the fact that only men appear to participate in the ceremony, apparently owing to a misunderstanding on the part of the colorist in Bämmler's workshop. Other elements typical of Joel's imagery are the green grounds on which many of the figures are standing and the way they are shaped; the design of the tables and stools, where the upper end of the legs are visible on the tops of these pieces of furniture, also frequently discernible in Joel's drawings in other manuscripts<sup>59</sup>; or the design of books with their clasps and colorful bindings at the edges, while ruling and script are visible on their pages.<sup>60</sup>

Occasionally Joel's hand can be detected also on the pen lines and even the brush strokes of the first quire. The man performing the *qiddush* (fol. 2v) wears one of Bämmler typical heavy garments in gold and blue. Beneath the seam, however, we see the faint traces of finely drawn drapery in black ink, betraying Joel's hand. Signs of repainting also appear in the cleaning scene at the beginning of the quire (fol. 1v). The closet to be cleaned is shown in inverted perspective with diverging orthogonals. Its lower left part, however, corresponds with a vertical ruling line, faintly visible underneath the brown paint and indicating that the back of the closet was supposed to follow a straight vertical line. After the addition of paint in Bämmler's workshop the upper part of the closet appears much broader and its corner goes much beyond the ruling line. The man performing the *havdalah* wears a tunic painted in Joel's drapery style instead of Bämmler's heavy garment style (fol. 4r).<sup>61</sup> The same applies to the hunting scene on the same page, where only the hunter's face seems to be repainted. The colorization in the other parts of the miniature, especially where the animals are shown, is typical for Joel's technique.

<sup>58</sup> For details about the ceremony, see Katrin KOGMAN-APPEL, *Books for Communal Liturgy and Domestic Worship. Structure, Function, and Illustration of the Mahzor and the Haggadah*, in: *Liturgische Bücher in der Kulturgeschichte Europas*, ed. by Hanns-Peter NEUHEUSER, Wiesbaden 2018, pp. 101–37.

<sup>59</sup> London Haggadah (as in n. 1), fol. 4v, compare to Parma Haggadah (as in n. 51), fol. 23v; Washington Haggadah (as in n. 9), fol. 17r.

<sup>60</sup> London Haggadah (as in n. 1), fols 6r and 7v; Washington Haggadah (as in n. 9), fol. 5v.

<sup>61</sup> The drapery of the tunic can be compared to that of the cloak of the Simple Son in the Washington Haggadah (as in n. 9), fol. 6r.

It is thus likely that the images were composed and drawn by Joel, who determined their iconography.<sup>62</sup> Such a high degree of sensitivity to the Jewish ritual cannot necessarily be expected from members of a Christian workshop. The siddur of Moses ben Isaac, mentioned above, illustrated in its entirety in a Christian workshop, exhibits a whole series of glitches in relation to the Passover ritual. I have discussed them elsewhere and they demonstrate that details such as the *qiddush* cup on the man's palm did not come naturally to Christian illustrators, even if they were supplied with models and received instructions.<sup>63</sup> Since Zirlin's complex scheme of collaboration cannot be supported by chronology, I submit that all Bämmler's people did was to overpaint Joel's partly colored drawings.

In conclusion, I suggest the following scenario: After a brief career as a scribe and illustrator, Joel left the Lower Rhine perhaps in the summer of 1449. He traveled to Tuscany, where he received further training as an artist and produced some haggadot around 1450. Perhaps in the summer of 1451 he went back to the German lands and we find him in Ulm in 1452, where Jacob Mattatiya commissioned him to illustrate the London Haggadah. The following year he seems to have moved to Italy more or less permanently<sup>64</sup>, and in 1453 we find him signing manuscripts there.

As far as the London Haggadah is concerned, he illustrated the book carefully and creatively employing a wide range of motifs. Inferring from many of his other works, I suggest that these images were primarily drawings with occasional colorization, leaving Jacob Mattatiya apparently wishing for a more lavish version of the book. Thus he might have decided to entrust it into Bämmler's hands. There is, however, no a priori reason to assume that this happened immediately after Joel had finished his work. Rather, it is entirely possible that Jacob sent the London Haggadah to Augsburg several years later, perhaps together with the second volume of the Munich Maḥzor.<sup>65</sup> In this case, then, the involvement of Christian artists in the production of Hebrew books did not imply any close collaboration, but was negotiated primarily on the level of business transaction.

<sup>62</sup> This challenges Amirov's suggestion that the first quire was decorated in all its aspects in Bämmler's workshop (AMIROV, *Buchmalerei* [as in n. 35], p. 175).

<sup>63</sup> KOGMAN-APPEL, *Ritual Imagery* (as in n. 20).

<sup>64</sup> The trip from Ulm to Lombardy would have taken about two or three weeks.

<sup>65</sup> EDMUNDS, *Place* (as in n. 11), p. 33, does not even exclude the possibility that Bämmler's additions were made during the late 1460s; Christine Beier, who discussed one of the initial panels with me in August 2018, finally, suggests that the Munich Maḥzor was likewise decorated during the 1460s. Joseph GUTMANN: *Thirteen Manuscripts in Search of an Author: Joel ben Simeon, 15th-Century Scribe-Artist*, in: *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore* 9.2–3 (1970), pp. 76–95, was the first to note a close stylistic kinship between the two manuscripts.

FORSCHUNGEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DER JUDEN

Schriftenreihe der  
Gesellschaft zur Erforschung der Geschichte der Juden e. V.  
und des Arye Maimon-Instituts für Geschichte der Juden

Herausgegeben von  
Alfred Haverkamp und Sabine Ullmann

in Verbindung mit  
Andreas Brämer, Christoph Cluse,  
Johannes Hahn und Franz Irsigler

Abteilung A: Abhandlungen

Band 31

2021

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

# Medieval Ashkenaz

Papers in Honour of Alfred Haverkamp  
Presented at the 17th World Congress  
of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem 2017

Edited by  
Christoph Cluse and Jörg R. Müller

2021

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden