

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF JEWISH ICONOGRAPHY ¹

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THIS study is divided into two parts: I. Cosmic Elements in the Haggadah of Sarayevo, and II. Architectural Tendencies and their Interpretation. Its object is an attempt to throw light on the development of Jewish Iconography. By "Jewish iconography" a type of relationship is implied which goes farther than that of mere copying of isolated forms which is universally found throughout the evolution of art. The question of formal priority cannot be a primary concern here since, in many instances, it is merely chance survival which affords knowledge of the relevant prototypes. Similarly, the individual work of a great artist, which cannot be regarded as expressing a typical attitude, has also to be excluded. The purpose of this study is rather to concentrate on a number of artistic themes which reveal the religious significance, and the impact on art, of the tradition of Judaism. A specific example will first be discussed, and then the scope extended in order to embrace more widespread but related themes.

I. Cosmic Elements in the Haggadah of Sarayevo

Of all the extant Jewish illuminated manuscripts, the Haggadah of Sarayevo is outstanding, not only for its elaborate ornamentation, but also for its full pictorial cycle and its artistic

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quality. It has no fixed date, but can be assigned to the fourteenth century on stylistic grounds. It was connected with, or written in, Barcelona,¹ and is a fine example of the flourishing schools of Jewish illuminators of the period. The Days of Creation, forming part of the pictorial decoration, represent an unusual theme in a Jewish manuscript; furthermore, they are shown in a form unknown in Christian illumination. It therefore seems rewarding to describe the relevant folios and to enquire into the iconographic origin of the type.

The cycle is seen on two pages, which are sub-divided into four panels.² The First Day is represented by two miniatures forming the upper half of the picture, while the lower shows the Second and Third Days. The next page describes the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Days. The First Day represents the spirit of God as a flame on the waters and the contrast between darkness and light. In the following pictures, the globes of the earth are described according to the Old Testament with their appropriate details. Contrary to the usual iconography, the figure of God is omitted in order not to show the Creator, even though the representation of human beings was regarded as permissible in Jewish art. The Divine Presence is clarified and emphasised by rays and the universe suggested by planetary

¹ D. H. Müller and J. von Schlosser, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo* (Vienna, 1898). A number of coloured reproductions are found in S. Radojic, *Haggadah of Sarajevo* (Beograd, 1953), but no reference is here made to the Days of Creation. A good survey of references concerning pictorial representations is found in J. Leveen, *The Hebrew Bible in Art* (London, 1944), pp. 11 ff.

² J. J. Tikkanen, in *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae* (Helsingfors, xvii, 1889), *passim*. Also J. Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom*. (Leipzig, 1901) and C. R. Morey, *Early Christian Art* (Princeton, 1941). J. Garber, *Wirkungen der frühchristlichen Gemäldecyclen* (Berlin-Vienna, 1918); O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford, 1911) and *Early Christian Art* (Oxford, 1925); F. W. Deichmann, *Frühchristliche Kirchen* (Basle, 1948). Cf. also D. C. Hesselning, *Miniatures de l'octotéuque de Smyrne* (Leyden, 1909). J. Strzygowski in *Byzantinisches Archiv*, (Leipzig, 1899); P. Buberl, *Die illuminierten Handschriften in Steiermark* (Leipzig, 1911), pp. 17 ff., also pp. 152 f. *Die Byzantinischen Handschriften* (Leipzig, 1937), *passim*. H. Gerstinger, *Die Wiener Genesis* (Vienna, 1931); O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London, 1949), especially with reference to iconography and chronology; cf. also Th. Ehrenstein, *Das Alte Testament im Bilde* (Berlin, 1923); O. Dalton, *East Christian Art* (Oxford, 1925).

spheres which form the upper regions of the illuminations of all but the first and last panels and the Sun and Moon found on the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Days. In one case only—the first illumination of the First Day—is the spirit of God represented by fire, as mentioned above. On the Seventh Day, when the Creation is completed, the rays are omitted and a male figure is seen, seated on a bench, resting in an aedicula with Gothic arches. According to the Byzantine tradition, as found in Palermo and Monreale, the prototype is the Creator resting;¹ but the Jewish Illuminator has transformed this into a Jew keeping the Sabbath, in order not to infringe on the pictorial prohibition concerning God. The contrary view, first suggested by Schlosser and almost universally accepted, is disproved by the elimination of the cosmic elements and the substitution of an intimate interior. Were Schlosser's theory correct, the whole series of pictures which so carefully avoids the Divine Image would be meaningless. This cycle of the Days of Creation in the Haggadah of Sarayevó appears, on a superficial consideration only, to be a secularisation of the theme, but careful study shows that it is meant to represent a spiritual and non-human interpretation of the effects of divine power, a type of interpretation familiar from Jewish representations of an architectural nature, the Heavenly Jerusalem, Babylon and the Temple.

¹ Cf. H. Rosenau, in BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, xxxvi (1954), 468 ff. where bibliographical references may be found. M. Rostovtzeff, *Dura-Europos and its Art* (Oxford, 1938); H. Rosenau, *A Short History of Jewish Art* (London, 1948); J. Leveen, op. cit.; H. Rosenau in *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement* (1936), pp. 157 ff. C. Roth in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xvi (1953), 24 ff. All these works include bibliographical references. C. Wendel, *Der Thoraschrein im Altertum*, Halle (1950), especially pp. 18 ff. This excellent study contains a specialized bibliography. Also F. Landsberger in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, xx (1947), 227 ff. C. Orfali, *Capharnäum et ses ruines* (Paris, 1922); also F. Landsberger, *A History of Jewish Art* (Cincinnati, 1946), p. 147 and *passim*. Sloane in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, n.s. xxv. 1 ff. fails to recognize the Temple. For a convenient summary cf. Leveen, op. cit. pp. 2 ff. The most up-to-date work on the whole problem concerned is E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, Bollingen Foundation (Toronto, 1953), especially pp. 65 ff. On the possible relationship between the opening of Genesis and Hesiod cf. F. M. Cornford, *Principium Sapientiae* (Cambridge, 1952).

The first question which comes to mind in this context is whether a Jewish prototype existed for this cycle ; but this is not so, as far as is known at present, although this lack of knowledge does not preclude the existence of kindred illuminations unfortunately destroyed. A manuscript which shows considerable Jewish pictorial influence—the Ashburnham Pentateuch, presumably of the seventh century—contains the cycle of the Days of Creation.¹ In it is found a sequence of illuminations, showing God the Creator, the earth being represented in a rectangular shape, and the inscription “ terra ” added in order to clarify the meaning. This interpretation may be based on the reference to the “ four corners ” or ends of the earth, found in Isa. xi. 12 and Ezek. vii. 2. Therefore a Jewish pictorial source may have existed, as it did for the more usual arrangement of the Temple and its fittings. The addition of the figure of God, on the other hand, must be derived from a Christian tradition, since it is alien to Jewish iconography which included no representation of the Deity except by inference from the symbol of the hand, as seen in the Dura paintings and the mosaics of Beth Alpha, of the third and sixth centuries respectively. These works reflect earlier traditions, as is shown in the similarity of the representations of the sacrifice of Isaac and of the Temple, the latter appearing prominently in the Ashburnham Pentateuch. It is therefore suggested that a Jewish prototype for the Days of Creation may have existed, but, if it did, it showed no similarity to the representations of the Haggadah of Sarayevo.

The question has now to be asked whether it was a Christian cycle which influenced this iconography. For this purpose the evolution of the type has to be considered. In this evolution four phases can be distinguished.

Since Early Christian examples have so far not been discovered, it may be assumed that the cycle was created in the fifth century, presumably due to St. Jerome's translation of the Bible, which familiarized a larger public with the text of the Old Testament. The earliest type, represented by the Cotton Bible, the Byzantine Octateuchs and the mosaics derived from

¹ Cf. note above and O. von Gebhardt, *The Miniatures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch* (London, 1883).

this prototype, shows the Creator within the Creation seen related to a naturalistic setting. These works express a continuous tradition, extending from the fifth century to the late Romanesque and Gothic periods.¹

The second phase, derived from the first, clearly reveals God or Christ as the Creator, since realistic details are eliminated and the scale of the Deity enhanced. To this type belong the Early Gothic *Bible Historiée* in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, (Pl. I), the Bible of Robert de Bello and the late thirteenth century French Bible (Add. MS. 38114) in the British Museum, and the Lothian Bible in the Pierpont Morgan Library, to quote only a few outstanding examples. The type is also reflected in the wall paintings of the Convent Church in Wienhausen in Lower Saxony, a fourteenth century work, following and adapting earlier prototypes. In the Bible of Robert de Bello and the Wienhausen paintings the Deity is seen beside the globe, whilst in the more usual type, represented in the other examples of manuscripts mentioned, God or Christ is shown holding or touching the globe. These gestures are based on Hellenistic and Roman traditions of iconography, expressing the rulers' supporting power.² The globe itself is described according to the Book of Genesis, showing minor variations of detail, but

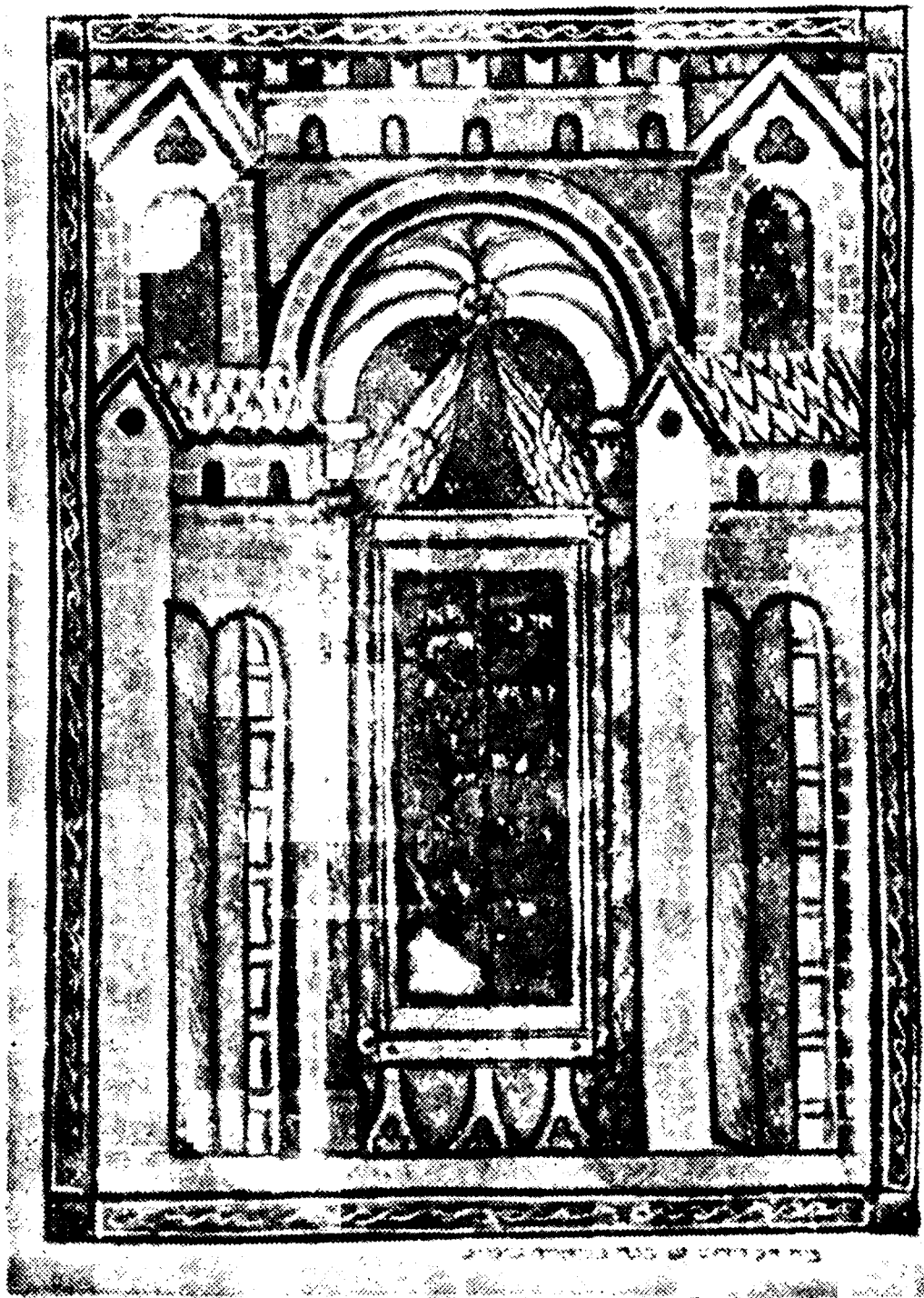
¹ Cf. p. 467, n. 2. No influence from Early Christian Sarcophagi can be traced. Cf. F. Gerke, *Die christlichen Sarkophage* (Berlin, 1940). On the iconography of the Roman emperors cf. J. Charbonneaux, *L'art au siècle d'Auguste* (Lausanne, 1948), pp. 78 ff. Also "Globus" in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopædie*.

² R. Fawtier, *La bible historiée . . . de la John Rylands Library* (Paris, 1924). E. G. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts* (Paris and Brussels, 1926), *passim*, and in *Souvenir de l'exposition de manuscrits français à peintures organisée à la Grenville Library*, British Museum (1932-3), p. 19, Pl. XII, reproducing fol. v.; *The Pierpont Morgan Library Review* (1930-5), *passim*. Cf. also note above, and especially G. Bovini, *I Sarcophagi Paleocristiani, Città del Vaticano* (1949), *passim*, is particularly valuable, because here a survey is made of the dated monuments. K. Weitzmann in *Münchner Jahrbuch für Bildende Kunst* (1954), pp. 96 ff. and in *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honour of A. M. Friend, Jr.* (Princeton, 1955), pp. 112 ff. W. Pächt and A. Grabar in *Cahiers Archéologiques* (Paris, 1954), pp. 35 ff. and 171 ff. respectively. I owe this reference to Dr. O. Buchthal. Also A. Shapiro in *Gazette des Beaux Arts* (1952), pp. 27 ff. It is worth noting that the presumably Christian mosaic floor in the basilica of Aquileia lays emphasis on the Jonah story.

¶ Il cria le ciel e la terre el premier jour .



PL. I.—Christ as Creator. From a *Bible Historiée*.
(Rylands French MS. 5, f. lv).



PL. II.—The Messianic Temple. From the Haggadah of Sarayevó.
(National Museum, Sarayevó, f. xxxii of full-page illuminations).

repeating the more essential elements, the earth, water, sky and clouds. It is worth noting that the three first Days of Creation are combined in two illuminations in the Rylands *Bible Historiée*, an uncommon feature since, although combinations of scenes are frequent in medieval illustrations, this cycle usually appears in an unabridged form. Stranger still, the sixth Day is entirely absent.

During the next phase, mainly in the fourteenth century, the Gothic prototypes were adapted in a variety of ways in the sense of secularization or of personal mysticism, or, to put it in another way, the substitution of an hieratic form by an individualized type takes place. It is at this period that the taking over of the Christian prototype by the Jewish illuminator can be expected.

Lastly, Michelangelo's interpretation of the Creation in the Sistine Chapel creates a novel form in which the human figure is emphasized against a background of barren rock or cloud formations. This type and those derived from it play no part in our present study, since they are later than the Haggadah concerned.¹

When considering the Days of Creation of the Haggadah of Sarayevo in the light of the evolution just outlined, it is apparent that the Jewish illuminator adapted the Gothic prototype by eliminating the figure of the Creator, in this way strengthening the cosmic elements in the scenes described.

A similar interpretation is seen in the closed vollets of Jerome Bosch's *Millennium*, now in the Prado Museum in Madrid. These show in grisaille the lower half of the earth, revealing plants and the encircling sea, the upper half representing the sky as typical of the iconography of the Third Day; although the inscription "Ipse dixit et facta sunt; ipse mandavit et creata sunt" (Psalm xxxiii. 9) refers to the Creation in general. The earth is not shown as a globe, but as a planisphere, contrary to the suggestion of Fränger, who assumes that sensual forces of the underworld are indicated in the lower portion of the picture.²

¹ R. Todd, *Tracks in the Snow* (London, 1946). Fig. 13 shows a design by Blake representing God in the Michelangelesque tradition.

² W. Fränger, *The Millennium of H. Bosch* (London, 1952), pp. 32 ff. and Ch. de Tolnay, *H. Bosch* (Basle, 1937), especially p. 34. The picture has been examined for the writer by the authorities of the Prado and by Dr. J. Gonzalez Muela.

Indeed, there is no reason to suppose that Bosch followed the pre-Ptolemaic, so-called "Homeric" tradition, since it is well known and clear from the subject here discussed, that the Middle Ages were familiar with the global form of the earth. As in so many of his other paintings, Bosch thus reveals himself as a continuator of medieval thought rather than the precursor of a modern age. To see in these vollets a picture of pure landscape, as suggested by Tolnay, is therefore misleading—a fact which is underlined by the retention of the small figure of the Creator, almost like an afterthought, in the top left-hand corner of the painting. The emphasis on the isolated globe achieves an effect similar to the series in the Haggadah of Sarayevó, and indeed Jewish pictorial sources and religious influences may well play a part in Bosch's outlook and oeuvre. This may well have been particularly apparent in the altar of the Cathedral of St. John in s'Hertogenbosch, which had as its theme the Seven Days of Creation.¹

It may be useful to compare the Days of Creation in the Haggadah of Sarayevó with two characteristic examples of the same period in order to clarify better its place in iconographic development. In this context the illumination of the frontispiece of the manuscript of John Gower's "Vox Clamantis" in the British Museum and the altar of the Church of St. Peter in Hamburg should be considered.

In the former manuscript and others derived from it John Gower is shown shooting at the world. The world is represented as a globe, divided into two halves, the lower representing the sea and the upper sub-divided into earth and sky, according to the astronomical tradition of the time as seen, for example, in Gossouin's *Image du Monde*, similarly

¹ On Jewish influences on Christian sects cf. B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1952). A specialized and detailed study of the influence of Jewish thought on Bosch may well be rewarding. His knowledge of the Old Testament is clear; he could have derived it from Jewish sources. A connection with Jewish legends is found in an article on Bosch by L. Brand Philip in the *Art Bulletin*, xxxv, 1953, p. 267 ff. which is based on written sources and therefore corroborates our findings with regard to iconographic sources. Professor E. Panofsky kindly drew the writer's attention to this publication after the completion of this study.

found in Wienhausen.¹ The earth is characterized by vegetation, the sky by clouds. It is clear, therefore, that John Gower takes the place of God the Creator in this traditional portrayal of the Third Day as suggested by the main details of the globe.² The prototype has been freely adapted here, the sub-division of the upper part of the earth being derived from geographical and astronomical sources. The bearded figure of John Gower, exactly repeated in the manuscript of the Hunterian Museum in Glasgow, may well be the poet's portrait. From a painting expressing a religious meaning, therefore, the illuminator has formed a secular one, stressing the dissatisfaction of the poet with his environment and his vigorous attempt to alter it. The question may be asked whether it was John Gower himself who suggested the subject to the illuminators, since this expressed his thoughts so cogently. The hypothesis is strengthened by the early date of the manuscripts which appear to have been executed in the poet's lifetime.

A mystical interpretation of the scenes of the Days of Creation is found in an Altar by Master Bertram in Hamburg's Church of St. Peter and now in the Art Gallery of that city.³ Its date is 1379. The first panel of the series shows God, the Creator, in a position similar to that of the Christ of the Third Day of the Rylands Library *Bible Historiée*, alluded to above. Christ is present also, as suggested by His head—a duality of figures, not the Trinity. This head is seen in an aureole of clouds from which devils descend towards the earthly globe on their way to

¹ Cf. the *Works of John Gower*, edited by G. C. Macaulay, vol. iv, *passim*. The subdivision of the world is already found in antique prototypes. Cf. p. 470, n. 1.

² Edited by O. H. Prior (Lausanne and Paris, 1913). H. Liebeschütz, *Kosmologische Motive in der Bildungswelt der Frühscholastik* (Hamburg, 1926), especially pp. 111 ff. and *Das Allegorische Weltbild der Heiligen Hildegard von Bingen* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1930), especially pp. 59 ff. Burne-Jones's angels holding the globes seem to be influenced by the angels of the Apocalypse, merged with the iconography of the Creation. A similar synthesis is observed in a manuscript by Margaret Macdonald of 1895. Cf. Th. Howarth, *C. R. Mackintosh* (London, 1952), Pl. VIII, c. and d.

³ A. Rohde, *Der Hamburger Petri-Altar* (Marburg, 1916); F. Burger, "Die Deutsche Malerei", in *Handbuch der Deutschen Kunstwissenschaft*, pp. 164 ff. This represents a rare duality, as opposed to the Trinity, studied by A. Heimann in the *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, ii (1938-9), 42 ff.

hell. One of these devils, Lucifer, is crowned and holds in his hand a scroll reading "Ascendam super altitudinem nubium similis ero altissimo" (Isa. xiv. 14). To understand the panel, it has to be remembered that the Fall of the Angels antedates, or accompanies, the creation of the world, according to the Church Fathers. It is worth noting that Master Bertram's scene is based on a combination of the Third Day and the Fall of the Angels, as earlier seen, for example, in the paraphrase of Genesis and Joshua by Aelfric in the British Museum (Cotton MS. Claudius B. IV), dated by Professor Wormald between 1025 and 1050. Here, the globe of the earth is absent and the naturalistic setting simplified by a linear style which forms a striking contrast to the non-realistic use of colour typical of the Canterbury School. In the Lothian Bible, mentioned above, the Creation is also preceded by the Fall of the Angels. This tradition is found earlier in the Moslem "Libro della Scala", which served as one of the sources of Dante's "Divine Comedy", where the Fall towards the centre of the earth is described, similar to Master Bertram's panel.¹

Through the iconographic adaptations of the Days of Creation, new light is thrown on the understanding of the designs of a vastly different nature and of a later date, such as are found in Boullée's "Cenotaph of Newton" (1784) and the works derived from it.² Here, a circular world is represented, showing the earth in its centre, undisturbed by the change in the interpretation of the universe from a Ptolemaic to a Copernican system. In Boullée's "Cenotaph" the sun, radiating behind the globe,

¹ E. Cerulli's edition of *Il Libro della Scala* (Rome, 1949), *passim*. On Dante's astronomy, cf. M. A. Orr, *Dante and the Early Astronomers* (London, 1913). The basic difference of point of view with regard to the Christian interpretation of the Fall of the Angels is based on Augustine versus Origen, cf. M. Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena* (Princeton, 1951); F. Antal, *Florentine Painting and its Social Background* (London, 1947). On the Fallen Angels in Jewish, Christian and Moslem tradition, cf. L. Jung in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, n.s., xv (1924-5), pp. 467 ff. and xvi (1926-7), pp. 45 ff., 171 ff., 287 ff. As a source, the most important for later medieval developments is St. Anselm's *De Casu Diaboli*. Cf. also F. Wormald, *English Drawings of the 10th and 11th Centuries* (London, 1953), pp. 39 ff., and *Pierpont Morgan Library Review* (1930-5), p. 21.

² H. Rosenau, *Boullée's Treatise on Architecture* (London, 1953), *passim*.

forms a luminous circle round the earth, reminiscent of a halo. Another design by Boullée, for a façade of the National Library, is indebted to the astrological tradition since it shows the signs of the zodiac on a globe carried by twin Atlas figures (c. 1785). These facts indicate that in the late eighteenth century, when classical antiquity was being rediscovered and functional austerity permeated many of the most significant drawings, the medieval astronomical and astrological conceptions were not entirely obliterated but still played a part in the execution of works which appeared startlingly novel and unprecedented.

It may be worth noting that the type of cosmic iconography, sparingly figurative and eliminating the Creator, is congenial to the contemporary mind, as is well illustrated in Paul Nash's remarkable series of woodcuts representing the Creation from the First Book of Genesis. Here the scenes are rendered in a complex and highly dynamic style, stressing curvilinear composition, the very opposite of the earlier static interpretations. Independent of Nash's series, but equally significant as a re-interpretation of an old theme, is a Jewish artist's, Alva's, sequence of serigraphs of the Creation, accompanied by the well designed Hebrew text, illustration and lettering forming one artistic unit.¹

II *Architectural Tendencies and their Interpretation*

The conception of the synagogue as an architectural unit implies a place of assembly for the whole congregation as opposed to the small meeting halls of sectarian worshippers. It thus forms, perhaps, one of the most significant contributions to the history of architecture and art in general. It foreshadows Christian church building; a typical example is found in Jerash, the church being literally built on synagogue foundations.² The earliest synagogues, based as they are on Hellenistic and Roman prototypes, develop characteristic, novel features, among which the change from a "cosmological" orientation, based on sun worship, is replaced by the historical orientation towards

¹ P. Nash, *Genesis* (London, 1924); Alva, *The Story of the Creation* (New York, 1953).

² J. W. Crowfoot, *Churches at Jerash* (London, 1931), pp. 16 ff.

Jerusalem, thus expressing the spiritual centre symbolised by this city.¹

Two types of synagogue orientation can be distinguished, the earlier one, reminiscent of the Temple, emphasizing the light coming from the eastern direction by its façade, while the later examples orient the apse or niche towards Jerusalem. The latter arrangement, directing the worshipper from the entrance towards the focus of orientation, the Torah Shrine, was adapted from Jewish to Christian use with regard to the altar. It can be shown that the synagogues frequently adopted basic architectural features from the Temple, such as the fore-courts, the orientation, and the prevalent use of longitudinal direction. In the course of its history the synagogue was more and more regarded as a holy building, and this is exemplified in the inscriptions “*ἅγιος*” in Stobi, “*sancta sinagoga*” in Hammam Lif and “*קדישה*” in Na’aran.² Thus the features which characterize the Early Christian church are, in fact, represented in a prior state of development in the synagogue. There, the direction towards the wall of the Torah Shrine is emphasized, whilst abstract decoration is mainly used to express the holiness of the building in the Palestinian synagogues. Against this background, four main architectural themes in the iconography can be distinguished—the Temple and the Torah Shrine on the one hand, and twin cities, Good and Evil, on the other.

The earliest coins representing distinctly Jewish motives belong to the Maccabean period. They show the Menorah, the lamp-stand with seven branches, which remained the symbol for Judaism throughout the centuries.³ Incidentally, the Menorah came to be regarded as the lamp or candlestick *par excellence*, and this led to its inclusion in, for example, Leone Battista Alberti’s *De l’art de bien bâtir*, which was translated by Jean Martin and published in 1553. A more ambitious scheme, the representation of the Jewish Temple, is found on the coins of Bar Kokba

¹ Rosenau, *Jewish Art*, p. 15; also in *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, xvi. (1936,) 33 ff.

² Cf. above note.

³ A good survey is found in A. Reifenberg, *Ancient Hebrew Arts* (New York, 1950).

(132-5). The building is adorned by four columns and surmounted by a flat roof. It can be regarded as an adaptation of a Graeco-Roman prototype, but is significant iconographically in its emphasis on an architectural motive. The influence of this type of coin is apparent in Dura-Europos (A.D. 244).¹ The painted panel over the niche for the scrolls is described by Sloane and Rostovtzeff as containing the Ark of the Torah. Thus, the picture of the shrine for the scrolls would be painted above their receptacle and, as a result, an unlikely and meaningless repetition achieved.² It is the Temple which is seen, a type of building closely related to the representation on the Bar Kokba coins, using the same flat ending instead of the gabled roof and two side columns, the only difference being that the doors are closed.³

The four pillars are also seen in the newly discovered tomb in Sheq-Abreq (Beth Shearim) for example. The arrangement on coins and in Dura does not reproduce the earlier Temples, except with regard to the flat roof, and can be best explained by the vision of the reconstructed, and, in a wider sense, the Messianic Temple, retaining the traditional features of the flat roof, but adding the "normal" pillars of a Greek façade.

In Rome, the picture of the Temple recurs on gold glasses but is generally represented in the conventional Hellenistic shape with gabled roof. One exceptional gold glass, now preserved in the Vatican, shows not only the building itself, the lamp-stand with the seven branches, the columns "Jachin" and "Boaz" and the sacred vessels, but also the "diplostoon"—the colonnade built by Herod. Incidentally, this type of "diplostoon" should not be confused with the architectural disposition in the synagogues of Alexandria, Antioch and Tiberias which are described as double "stoa", i.e., having a principal nave and

¹ Cf. M. Rostovtzeff, *Dura-Europos and its Art* (Oxford, 1938), pp. 104 ff; still by far the best survey of the subject. Cf. also E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbolism in the Graeco-Roman Period* (New York, 1953); R. Wischnitzer, *The Messianic Theme in the Paintings of Dura-Europos* (Chicago, 1948), *passim*. Also Du Mesnil Du Buisson, *Les peintures de la synagogue de Doura-Europos* (Rome, 1939), Sloane in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, n.s. xxv (1934), pp. 6 ff.

² A full discussion is found in Leveen, *op. cit.* p. 23 and pp. 14 f., n. 4.

³ Cf. the present writer in *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, *op. cit.*

two aisles on each side, as became typical of the larger Christian basilicas. The iconographic theme of the Temple survived in the Middle Ages and is clearly recognizable in the adaptations of the Ashburnham Pentateuch and the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore. In Palestine, the Theotokos Chapel on Mount Nebo and mosaic representing the altar in El-Mehayet also reflect the same prototype. It is found as a full page illumination in the Haggadah of Sarayevo. (Pl. II.) Even in the "Liber Floridus" of Gand, the interior of the Church of St. Omer is depicted in a similar way, as in some of the Jewish gold glasses representing the Torah Shrine, the difference being that the altar takes the place of the shrine and the two candlesticks take the place of the lampstand with seven branches; but a view of the exterior is added to the interior, a typical feature of Romanesque art not found in Antiquity.¹

The Messianic Temple is located in, and stands for, the holy city of Jerusalem, based on the tradition found in Ezekiel, 40-3. In a slow process during the Middle Ages, it is the latter type which gains in iconographic importance. Its prototypes are found in Roman mosaics and wall decorations which fall into two clearly divided types: the perspective and evocative views which are popular in Pompeii,² and the geographical description representing individual towns according to their captions, as found in the Madaba mosaics. In the representations of the heavenly Jerusalem, the two types converge, since the former provides the architectural pattern whereas the emphasis on meaning connects it with the latter. A classical tradition survives pictorially in the confrontation of two cities, similar to that described by Homer on the shield of Achilles.³ This is seen in the representation of the new Rome, Byzantium, as contrasted with the old city, or in the coupling of Bethlehem or Rome and Jerusalem on the triumphal arches of basilicas in Rome and Ravenna.⁴ In Jewish iconography, a similar contrast is found in Dura, where a pagan temple

¹ Cf. the present writer's *Design and Medieval Architecture* (London, 1934).

² Cf. L. Curtius, *Die Wandmalereien in Pompeji* (Leipzig, 1929); and P. W. Lehmann, *Roman Wall Paintings from Boscoreale* (1953).

³ This contrast is still alive in Lorenzetti's rendering of the Good and Bad Governments in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena, of the fourteenth century.

⁴ Morey, *op. cit.* pp. 168 ff.

confronts the Tabernacle on the opposite wall. Idols are omitted since their glorification was to be avoided, but the fallen Dagon is represented before another picture of a pagan temple. The arrangement of two related cities remains customary for the representation of Sodom and Gomorrah and this is found, for example, in the Ashburnham Pentateuch and, at a later period, in a Judaeo-French Bible compilation (Add. MS. 11639) of the thirteenth century in the British Museum.¹ Its place in the former corroborates the well-known Jewish element in this manuscript's iconography.

The heavenly Jerusalem was, on the other hand, a popular subject in Christian art, as may be seen in the "Liber Floridus" of Gand and the *Stuttgart Passionale*, to quote only two examples. In both these it is round; the latter a ground plan with interspersed side elevations, the other a circle of walls and towers. A correct square interpretation, according to the Apocalypse of St. John, is found in the Beatus of St. Sever, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The city of Jerusalem as an isolated symbol does not appear in the Haggadoth, although the Haggadah of Sarayevo² retains an illumination of the Messianic Temple, as stated above. In Polish and South German seventeenth and eighteenth century timber synagogues, the heavenly Jerusalem formed part of the wall decorations as, for example, in the synagogue of Chodorow; it was preserved in Unterlimpurg, and, until destroyed in the last war, was found in the synagogue of Kirchheim in the Wuerzburg Museum.³

The Middle Ages knew frequent representations of the Virgin and St. Michael standing on the snake in Christian art, whilst the evil city is frequently accompanied by the representation of snakes and fire; for example, in the Spanish Beatus manuscript of the Rylands Library (Latin MS. 8), with regard to Babylon, a city associated with a dragon whose mouth forms the gate. It

¹ Leveen, op. cit. Pl. XXVI, 1.

² It goes without saying that Jerusalem appears frequently as the background of the prophet Elijah and is also suggested when representing the mourning of the Jews of Babylon in the 19th century. But these themes are of a totally different character from the ones dealt with in this study.

³ Cf. A. Breier, M. Eisler and M. Grunwald, *Holzsynagogen in Polen* (Vienna, 1934), p. 3 of the Appendix.

is by a fusion of these two elements that a new type emerges—the evil city on a snake. Literary traditions also abound: The Apocalypse of Abraham states, “The world rests upon Leviathan.” Another source exists in the New Testament Apocrypha: “Divus pisces jacentes super aquas . . . tenentes totam terram.” Reference to snakes and Babylon are also found in Jewish legends and in Christian writers such as Vincent of Beauvais.¹

These different elements gave rise to a type represented in the Hebrew-French biblical compilation Add. MS. 11639 in the British Museum dated about 1277/8. This shows an evil city standing on a dragon or serpent. It is unlikely to represent Sodom, as suggested by Leveen, but is more likely to signify Babylon; this may also be suggested by the later caption, which quotes a verse from Isa. lxvi. 24, a book in which Babylon is referred to as evil. Intermediary examples belonging to this type are unknown at present, but the continuation of the tradition is apparent when comparing the almost identical painting of Worms in the synagogue of Mohilev with that of the miniature mentioned above. Here again may be seen a city standing on a snake, the evil character of which is emphasized by its arrow-like tongue. The caption ווירמו, a pun on “worms”, gives the name of the German city of Worms, a town from which the Jews had been expelled.

The cities of Babylon and Worms thus conform to the same prototype. Whether there existed cycles contrasting good and evil in Jewish illumination, it is impossible to decide with certainty, in view of the destruction of so many monuments and manuscripts, but this is by no means unlikely since the theme was set in Dura and may have existed in Kirchheim,² where the

¹ M. R. James, *A Catalogue of the Latin Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library* (Manchester, 1921); Rosenau, *Jewish Art*, p. 75, n. 11; J. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, i, pp. 26 ff. and v, pp. 41 ff. notes 116–46. Leveen, op. cit. p. 128. Professor Wormald kindly draws my attention to the relationship with the “mouth of Hell”, which is apparent in the dragon’s teeth.

² Cf. M. Lowenthal, *A World Passed By* (New York and London, 1933), p. 307 mentions two views of Jerusalem in Kirchheim. This seems unlikely as a meaningless duplication and the contrast between the former and Babylon appears more likely. Cf. also p. 308 which seems a slip of the pen with regard to the synagogue in Bechhofen’s decoration by Jerusalem (?) flanking lions.

continuation of iconographic tradition is exemplified. At any rate, the elements Babylon and Jerusalem, evil and holy, can be reconstructed from the scanty examples preserved.

It is clear from the evidence here presented that the Jewish tradition in Palestine emphasized architectural elements. The question may be asked whether full pictorial cycles existed there in the early Christian period.¹ It seems that the Temple picture is Palestinian, but the rich cycles as found in Dura and suggested in the sarcophagi are contributions of the Diaspora. That the Scrolls of the Law were ever decorated with pictures is out of the question. It is the decoration of synagogues, the cycles of the sarcophagi and the manuscripts of the "Haggadoth" with reference to Passover and to other happenings which appear as the obvious means for pictorial expression. Indeed, wall paintings, mosaics, manuscripts, and sarcophagi should be studied conjointly. In this light many of the early Christian sarcophagi have to be reconsidered, since they show quite clearly the superimposition of a Christian content on a Jewish prototype, as when in the "Jonah" sarcophagus, for example, the "Raising of Lazarus" is added to the Jewish subject matter, and the bucolic background.

The extant examples of Jewish and Jewish influenced art point to the Diaspora. The mosaics of the Palestinian synagogues so far discovered belong to the fifth and sixth centuries, that is, a later date, and therefore fail to invalidate this statement.

In this connection the interpretation of the central panels in Na'aran and Beth Alpha, as describing the sun god, has to be reconsidered. Surely, even for the upholders of the laxest of Jewish interpretation, this subject appears to be entirely out of place in a synagogue. Its meaning must be in some way related to the teaching of Judaism, and thus in Beth Alpha a sequence progressing from God as the Saviour, depicted in the panel of the "Akedah", as God as the ruler of the universe, as suggested by the representation of sun, moon and stars in the second panel,

¹ This problem is not considered in C. Roth's article on Jewish iconography in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, quoted above.

and God as the Giver of the Law, by the representation of the Temple, is indicated.¹

It is thus likely that it was the emphasis on the architectural theme which formed the Palestinian contribution, whilst the Diaspora developed the illuminated cycles. This hypothesis, based on the extant material, is also likely on religious grounds since for the latter the Hellenistic influence was most significant, as so typically seen in Philo of Alexandria. It is therefore in the architectural representations that the primary contributions to Jewish iconography may be found.

In order to assess the Jewish contribution to late classical art the lack of a centralized organization of the synagogue has also to be considered. From this, broad variations in outlook were derived, and these had their influence also on the attitude towards art. It is quite possible, therefore, that in Palestine the attitude was more rigorous than in Alexandria, Antioch or Rome, although at the present time no final answer can be given in this respect.²

In conclusion, a number of facts emerge from the works of art studied. Jewish artists, under the influence of religious inspiration, transformed current architectural and cosmological motives in a novel manner. They orientated their synagogues and directed them towards the Ark, thus producing a significant prototype for the Christian church. By constantly eliminating the figure of the Creator and isolating from Hellenistic and Roman iconography, the Temple and the Holy City, they emphasised an abstract spirituality and a universal tendency in art.³

¹ On the interpretation of God as ruler of the cosmos compare E. R. Goodenough, *By Light, Light* (New Haven, 1935).

² This point is illuminated from inscriptions by J. B. Frey, *Inscriptionum Judaicarum, Città del Vaticano* (1936-52).

³ The universal tendencies in Judaism are clearly described in their beginnings by Professor W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, 3rd edn. (Baltimore, 1953).