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WARBURG INSTITUTE SURVEYS

Edited by E. H. Gombrich and J. B. Trapp

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THE *JUDENSAU*

A MEDIEVAL ANTI-JEWISH MOTIF AND ITS HISTORY

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THE *JUDENSAU*

A MEDIEVAL ANTI-JEWISH MOTIF AND ITS HISTORY

BY

ISAIAH SHACHAR

LONDON
THE WARBURG INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
1974

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FOR MY TEACHERS AND FRIENDS
OF THE WARBURG INSTITUTE

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PREFACE

THIS book is a survey of an anti-Jewish motif current in Germany for six hundred years. It bears on Jewish history and on the history of anti-Semitism as well as on aspects of animal symbolism and allegories of virtues and vices. But its chief aim is to present a case study of an abusive stereotype and its development.

The Introduction outlines the problems involved in the study of this particular stereotype and defines its relevance. Chapter II is an attempt to locate a textual source for the *Judensau*, and to determine the influence of visual models as well as of historical, folk, and legal traditions on its emergence and subsequent embodiment. Chapters III–V are devoted to a more or less chronologically arranged examination—necessarily involving detailed descriptions—of the sculptures, carvings, and early prints of the motif. Chapters VI and VII are concerned with the dissemination of the *Judensau*, Chapter VIII traces its last phase, and the Conclusion summarizes the main developments of its history.

The distribution of the motif up to the seventeenth century is illustrated by a map. The sculptures discussed—except those at Brandenburg, Eberswalde, Uppsala, Gniezno, Wiener Neustadt and Aerschot—were examined *in situ*; their description, as well as of *Judensäue* that have not survived, is supported by the plates. Bibliographical pointers to fields and problems related to the subject are given in the notes. The notes also include English translations of texts cited in Latin or German. The translations of the German texts are literal: they may nevertheless be helpful. Their clumsiness and unpleasantness mirror their originals.

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I am greatly indebted for information and references to the following scholars: the late Professor Dr.Th. Fritz Blanke, Zürich (who died on 4 March 1967, and whose own file on the *Judensau* was kindly put at my disposal last year by his son Dr. Huldrych Blanke, Riehen); Professor B. Blumenkranz, Paris; Dr. R. Bührlen, Bad Wimpfen; Dr. K. Bulling, Jena; Dr. von Euw, Cologne; Dr. J. Fait, Berlin; Dr. A. Horn, Munich; Professor G. Kisch, Basle; Dr. R. G. Lucke, Erfurt; Dr. K. J. Maercker, Halle; Dr. H. Medele, Freising; Dr. W. Meyer, Munich; Dr. F. Nordström, Umeå; Simon Pembroke, London; Professor A. Scheiber, Budapest; Professor P. Skubiszewski, Warsaw; Professor M. Stern, Jerusalem; Dr. K. A. Wirth, Munich; Eric M. Zafran, New York; Dr. F. Zink, Nuremberg.

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But for the help and the encouragement given to me at the Warburg Institute by every member—especially by the editors of this series, by Michael Baxandall, Anne Marie Meyer, and Christopher Ligota—this book would not have been written.

September, 1972. I.S.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Bergner	H. Bergner, *Handbuch der kirchlichen Kunstaltertümer in Deutschland*, Leipzig 1905.
BM	British Museum.
Bösigk	F. L. Bösigk, 'Ueber die Judenspottbilder des Mittelalters in Deutschland', *Zeitschrift für deutsche Kulturgeschichte*, i, 1856.
Evans	E. P. Evans, *Animal Symbolism in ecclesiastical Architecture*, London 1896.
Fuchs	E. Fuchs, *Die Juden in der Karikatur*, Munich 1921.
GJ	*Germania Judaica*, i, ed. I. Elbogen *et al.*, Tübingen 1963; ii, 1–2, ed. Z. Avneri, Tübingen 1968.
GNM	Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg, Kupferstichkabinett.
HM	Historisches Museum, Frankfurt a. M.
Hind	A. M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, London and New York 1938ff.
Holdschmidt	H. C. Holdschmidt, *Der Jude auf dem Theater des deutschen Mittelalters*, Emsdetten 1935 (Die Schaubühne, xii).
Liebe	G. Liebe, *Das Judentum in der deutschen Vergangenheit*, Leipzig 1903 (Monographien zur deutschen Kulturgeschichte, xi).
Nordström	F. Nordström, *Virtues and Vices on the fourteenth-century Corbels in the Choir of Uppsala Cathedral*, Stockholm 1956 (Figura, vii).
Otte (1841)	H. Otte, 'Ueber die Deutung der Thiergestalten an den Kirchengebäuden des Mittelalters', *Neue Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiet historisch-antiquarischer Forschungen*, vi/1, Halle 1841.
Otte (1883)	H. Otte, *Handbuch der kirchlichen Kunst-Archäologie des deutschen Mittelalters*, Fifth edition, Leipzig 1883.
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus, accurante J.-P. Migne, Series Latina*, Paris 1842ff.
Schreiber	W. L. Schreiber, *Handbuch der Holz- und Metallschnitte des 15. Jahrhunderts*, i–viii, Leipzig 1926–1930.

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I. INTRODUCTION

THE representation of Jews sucking at the teats of a sow, known in German as the *Judensau*, occurs in German architectural sculpture from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century in a variety of forms. It was carved on corbels and choir stalls in several cathedrals and churches, and on buttresses and gutter spouts of others. It appeared on gates, on public and private buildings, and became the subject of a wall painting in the passage of a Frankfurt bridge-tower as well as of later paintings. In the fifteenth century the new graphic arts adopted the representation, elaborated and prolifically perpetuated it until the nineteenth century. From its earliest occurrences the *Judensau* was confined to German-speaking territories, within which it spread widely and from which it rarely found its way abroad.

The *Judensau* was by no means the only anti-Jewish image of the Middle Ages, but it was the most uninhibited one. The allegorical representation of Ecclesia and Synagoga, current in Germany, France, England, and Italy from the ninth to the sixteenth century, was more common and, indeed, more prominent.[1] This representation of the New and the Old Faith, in all its mutations, had a predominantly, if not exclusively, theological meaning. It depicted the chosen, triumphant Church against the rejected, blind and vanquished Synagogue. It was not and could not be understood as an anti-Jewish symbol outside this explicit context, and the hostility it expressed was inevitably confined to religious symbolism. The *Judensau*, on the other hand, although it grew out of a religious concept, was from the beginning potentially free from a limited context, and thus lent itself to use as a motif of abuse on an entirely different level.

There were other minor medieval symbols representing the Jews, such as the owl[2] and the scorpion,[3] but they were less common and comparatively short-lived. The Golden Calf, current in scenes of Biblical history without contemporary polemical connotations,[4] also came to be used sometimes as an anti-Jewish symbol outside this context, mostly in some connection with a *Judensau*.[5]

It is noticeable that the explicit accusations that were voiced during the Middle Ages against Jews[6] were hardly ever prominently depicted. There are hardly any sculptures showing the Jew as the usurer, as a poisoner of wells, as a desecrator of the Host, or as a kidnapper and murderer of Christian children.[7] The only surviving carved allusion to the last of these was, significantly, inserted into a *Judensau* scene.[8] The depiction of such allegations in illuminated manuscripts is on the whole rare.[9] Some early woodcut broadsheets and book-illustrations depict Jewish horrors, and the most popular of these was the alleged martyrdom of Simon of Trent. It is shown in some fifteenth-century woodcuts, but owed its subsequent popularity to the *Judensau*, to which it was added as a secondary scene.[10]

The main significance of the *Judensau* lies beyond its immediate period

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applications. The particular insult to Jews it embodied, the shifts and changes in its meaning, and its adoption and use in established allegorical cycles as well as in popular modes of representation, may all partly explain its extraordinary longevity and popularity. Yet essentially the *Judensau* is a visual stereotype in a simple sense: a fixed motif or symbol repetitively reproduced. It is examined here not only for the interest of individual examples, but as a case study of the development and metamorphoses of an abusive stereotype.

Recent theories explain the persistence of modern anti-Semitism and its relative independence of economic and intellectual changes by assuming the existence of a negative stereotype of the Jew, rooted since the Middle Ages in literary, dramatic and visual imagery. The explanation also involves the assumption that attitudes are transmitted unchanged from generation to generation through cultural stereotypes. This may well be so, but the historical as well as the social-psychological validity of the term 'stereotype' has not been sufficiently defined or proved.[11] The concrete case of the *Judensau* provides an insight into the processes, social and cultural, that build up and create abusive stereotypes.

At the same time the *Judensau* displays peculiarities which prohibit the expansion of its single example into a general theory of stereotypes, and which underline the decisive role of local and also, perhaps, accidental factors. It is exclusively a German phenomenon, unlike other medieval anti-Jewish themes and attitudes, and it is visual rather than literary. Its literary dimension is clearly inspired by existing visual examples, unlike such other anti-Jewish themes as allegations of ritual murder and even the symbol of Ecclesia and Synagoga, which were mainly literary or closely supported by texts. It is also unique in its longevity as an image of animal abuse and in that, as such, it involves or 'stereotypes' an entire group rather than individuals.

The relation of the *Judensau* to anti-Semitism is not simple. Although uninhibited in its abuse the motif was not originally conceived as a polemic image, nor was it intended or used to insult Jews throughout its early development. It took on defamatory features with the general vulgarization of public style brought about by the Reformation, and it neatly fitted into the manner of *Schandbilder* and popular *Kampfbilder*. Yet throughout its history individual examples of the *Judensau* were not necessarily produced as result of a local clash with Jews, and must not be too readily interpreted even as a self-evident proof of the existence of a local Jewish community.

The constant repetition, indeed the stereotypic character, of the *Judensau* was chiefly due to its aggressive obscenity. It is noticeable that, in spite of local and period variations, all examples of the motif share clear common features of rudimentary obscenity. The sucking of the sow's teats is shown in all but two, which show the sow embraced and kissed. Additional occupation with the animal's hind quarters, and the eating and drinking of its excrement, are shown in most. While the meanings attached to the *Judensau* changed considerably over the years, these obvious elements of oral and anal obscenity were always retained and,

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indeed, elaborated. This seems to suggest strongly that it was the extreme obscenity of the representation itself that made it so popular for some six hundred years.

But although this seems to have been the main reason for its popularity, and although many beholders must have enjoyed it as a broad joke, the attitude expressed in the *Judensau* towards the Jews is not just scurrilous. There was a further element or sub-motif present in all its representations: the Jews belong to the sow, the sow to the Jews. These people, in other words, belong to another and abominable category of beings; they are the sow's offspring and turn to their mother for their proper nourishment. Although this may well have been regarded as an additional joke against the Jews, it has a more serious aspect. The Jews are, by this association with the animal, implicitly but clearly labelled as not being human 'like us': not, as the German would put it, *unsereiner*. It is not that a consciously racialist attitude is to be seen here; one wishes to avoid loaded and anachronistic terms and not to read more unpleasant meanings into the *Judensau* than it openly manifests. Yet it seems that in the intimate association of Jews and sow there is an element similar to such verbal animal-abuse as 'son of a bitch'. Both essentially transfer hated persons to a distinctly different and loathsome natural category[12]—by implication sanctioning aggression, and then in itself expressing an aggressive attitude. It would not be necessary to mention this partly concealed meaning if the question of the common humanity of the Jews had not become so important in Germany since the eighteenth century. In that connection the long association of Jew and sow assumes historical significance, for it was then that its latent psychological impact became clear. If it was so impossible for men in the age of enlightenment, and later, to conceive of the Jews as their fellow humans, it was not just because of religious differences but also because of rather less conscious factors. These Jews had in earlier centuries been regarded as different, as malign and dangerous, chiefly because of their adherence to a rival faith. But it seems that the notion of their totally alien quality could not have persisted beyond the Middle Ages had it not been stereotyped at various cultural levels, including verbal abuse, proverbs, and jokes. It seems clear that the *Judensau* —honouring the Jews more or sometimes less humorously with a porcine ancestry —had been contributing towards a transfer of the Jews to a totally different, non-human, category. I say 'contributing' because the repetitive motif was not only a symptom of a hostile folk spirit during all those centuries, but a forceful image which kept imprinting itself on the mind, conditioning, indeed stereotyping, an attitude towards Jews. The appeal of the *Judensau* lay in its obscenity; its effect was to help in fixing the idea of Jews being absolutely not 'of us'.[13]

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II. SOURCES AND ORIGINS

THE early carved examples of the *Judensau* occur in a number of different places, often quite distant from one another. This may be accounted for in more than one way. It might be suggested that the motif originated independently at several places. Or, perhaps with more probability, that it could have originated in one place and then been disseminated by wandering artists, through drawings or by word of mouth. But was it, in either case, a free invention, or was there a source or model? Was the Capitoline Wolf such a model? Or was it the story, told by Jerome, of a carved pig set on one of the gates of the Aelia Capitolina by the Emperor Hadrian? These are relevant questions. Indeed, scholars since the seventeenth century have been quick to relate the medieval representations of the *Judensau* to these models. But I wish to concentrate first on the immediate context in which the *Judensau* occurs.

All the early *Judensau* scenes, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, occur in or on places of worship, and usually in connection with allegorical cycles. The first question, therefore, is: what was the allegorical meaning of the sow? The next is: how, when, and by whom were the Jews associated with it?

Allegorical representations of sows without Jews are quite uncommon in German religious sculpture. In English churches and cathedrals, however, the motif of sow and piglets is quite frequent. In fact, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the latter had been as common in England as the sow and Jews had been in Germany. The English motif has been studied by G. C. Druce who recorded many carved examples and published two medieval texts in which it was illustrated.[14] These texts are identical passages dealing with swine (*sus*) in two Latin bestiaries written and illuminated in England in the late twelfth century —MS. Harley 4751 in the British Museum and MS. Bodley 764 in Oxford. Both entries are headed by similar illustrations of a sow suckling its young (Pl. 1a, b). Druce pointed out that these or other such illustrations were the source of the later carved representations in England, and his translation of the text shows what use the medieval moralist made of the sow and what it came to symbolize:

Sus. The sow is so named because it roots up (*subigat*) the pastures, that is, it seeks food by rooting up the ground. Boars (*verres*) are so named because they have great strength (*vires*). The pig (*porcus*), as if named from *spurcus* (filthy), wallows for it buries itself in filth and mud and covers itself with mire. Thus in Horace: 'Mud is dear to the sow'. Hence, also, we get the forms for filth and bastard persons (*spurcitia; spurii*). We call pigs' bristles 'setae' and 'setae' as derived from 'sus'; from these also 'sutores' (shoemakers) are named because they sew with hairs, that is they sew together skins of leather. Swine signify sinners and unclean persons or heretics, about which it is laid down in the law 'because they divide the hoof and do not chew the cud let not their flesh be touched

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by true believers' [Deut. xiv: 8]. Though these men take upon themselves each Testament of the Law and of the Gospel yet because they do not ruminate upon spiritual food, they are unclean. Again swine signify penitents who have become slack and still have an eye for those sins which they have wept for, as Peter says in his Epistle 'The dog is returned to his vomit and the washed sow to her slough of mud'. The dog I say when it vomits the food which was oppressing its stomach is certainly wise, but when it returns again to its vomit from which it was lightened, it is sickened again. Thus those who bewail their crimes, that is to say, the wickedness of their mind, with which they were evilly satiated and which oppressed them inwardly, show wisdom in going to confession; but if after their confession they return to their sin, they take upon them again (the oppression of mind). The sow which is washed, if it is bathed in a slough of mud, becomes again more filthy—and he who bewails his sin committed, but nevertheless does not give it up, subjects himself to an almost greater fault in that he despises the very forgiveness itself which he was able to obtain by repentance, and rolls himself as it were in dirty water. Because, while he washes off the filthiness of his life with his tears, before God's eyes he makes the very tears themselves filthy. Again pigs are the unclean and wanton men in the Gospel: 'If thou cast us out, send us into the herd of swine'. Again in the same: 'Cast not thy pearls before swine'. Swine are the unclean spirits in the Gospel. 'And he sent him into his fields to feed swine'. The pig also similarly signifies the unclean men and sinners about whom it is written in the Psalm 'With thy hid treasure is their belly filled—they are filled with swine's flesh and have left what they have over to their little ones'. For this speaks of uncleannesses which are hidden from God, that is, which are known to be forbidden. Swine's flesh belongs to polluted things, which, among other precepts of the Old Testament, are prescribed as unclean. They have moreover, passed on the remains of their sins to their children when they cried out 'His blood be on us and on our children'. Again the sow (denotes) the sinner of good understanding and living in luxury as in Solomon: 'A gold ring in the nostrils of a sow is as a fair woman who is foolish'. Again the sow signifies foul thoughts of fleshly lusts, from which proceed unproductive works as though boiled away. In Isaiah: 'They which eat swine's flesh, and unholy broth in their vessels'.

Although the text is not homogeneous there is a certain consistency in the argument. It begins with etymological observations directly derived from the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville, partly stressing the filthiness of swine. The ensuing metaphorical elaboration—based on a diligent compilation of nearly all the Biblical references to swine—retains this emphasis and gives it religious significance. The unclean animal is taken to symbolize unclean persons, unclean spirits, and thus also heretics and negligent penitents. Subsequently it stands for sinners living in luxury or for the 'foul thoughts of fleshly lust' which animate them. The animal, in short, symbolizes the vices of *Luxuria* and *Gula*.

The illustrator of the text, who had before him a number of possibilities, chose to depict a sow, though an illustration of any pig would have been adequate, and he chose to depict it with suckling piglets, of which there is no mention in the text. This was no major invention, but it determined the form of carved representations deriving from it. There was perhaps even more to the illustrator's

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choice: one wonders whether the artist did not intend the upstanding piglets as sinners clinging to their vice.

It seems that the motif of sow-and-pigs did not always suffice to convey clearly the moral it had been intended to allegorize. In later centuries, mainly during the fifteenth, the additional motif appeared in England of a sow playing a musical instrument, either while suckling her young or not. The text of the bestiaries contained all the elements for such representations: the pig being, according to the text, a symbol of *luxuria* it was apt for playing music, dancing, and indulging in erotic activity.[15]

So far the symbolic meaning of the sow-and-pigs motif as conveyed by the two English bestiaries of the twelfth century. But the author of the text copied in these bestiaries is Magnentius Hrabanus Maurus (780–856). In his encyclopaedia *De rerum naturis* (usually referred to as *De universo*), composed between 842–7, we read (Bk. VII, cap. viii: *De pecoribus et iumentis*):

Sus dicta, quod pascua subigat: id est, terra subacta escas iquirat. Verres eo, quod grandes habeat vires. Porcus, quasi spurcus; ingurgitat enim se coeno; luto immergit; limo illinit. Horatius: *Et amica luto sus.* Hinc etiam spurcitiam vel spurios nuncupamus. Porcorum pilos setas vocamus; setas a sue dictas, a quibus et sutores vocantur, quod ex setis suant, id est, consuant pelles. Sues peccatores significant, et immundos vel haereticos, de quibus in lege praecipitur, ob hoc, quod ungulam findunt, et non ruminant, ne a fidelibus carnes eorum contingantur. Hi licet utrumque testamentum Legis et Evangelii suscipiant, sed quia spiritalem cibum non ruminant, immundi sunt. Item sues poenitentes negligentes, et ad ea, quae fleverant, revertentes significant: sicut Petrus in Epistola sua ait: *Canis reversus ad vomitum suum, et sus lota in volutabro luti* (*II Petr. ii*). Canis ergo cum vomit, profecto cibum, qui pectus deprimebat, projicit; sed cum ad vomitum revertitur, unde levigatus fuerat, rursus oneratur. Sic qui admissa plangunt, profecto mentis nequitiam, de qua male saturati fuerant, quae eos intus deprimebat, projiciunt confitendo; quam post confessionem, dum repetunt, resumunt. Sus lota in volutabro luti, dum lavatur, sordidior redditur: et qui admissum plangit, nec tamen deserit, graviori culpae se subjicit, qui et ipsam veniam contemnit, quam flendo impetrare potuit; et quasi in lutosa aqua semetipsum involvit, quia dum suis lacrymis vitae munditiam subtrahit, ante Dei oculos sordidas ipsas lacrymas facit. Item porci, homines immundi atque luxuriosi. In Evangelio: *Si ejicis nos, mitte in porcos* (*Matth. viii*). Item ibi: *Ne mittatis margaritas vestras ante porcos* (*Matth. vii*). Porcus similiter immundi spiritus. In Evangelio: *Et misit illum in villam suam; ut pasceret porcos* (*Luc. xv*). Porcus similiter immundos significat et peccatores: de quibus in psalmo scriptum est: *De absconditis tuis adimpletus est venter eorum: saturati sunt porcina, et relinquentur, quae superfuerant parvulis suis* (*Psal. xvi*). Judaeos dicit de immunditiis, quae a Domino abscondita, id est, noscuntur esse prohibita. Porcina ad polluta respicit, quae inter caetera Veteris Testamenti praecepta immunda praenotatur. Transmiserunt autem reliquias peccatorum filiis suis, quando clamabant: *Sanguis ejus super nos et super filios nostros* (*Matth. xxvii*). Item sus peccator recte intelligens, et luxuriose vivens in Salomone: *Circulus aureus in naribus suis mulier pulchra et fatua* (*Prov. xi*). Item sus carnalium cogitationes sordidae, ex quibus opera prava velut decocta procedunt, in Isaia: *Qui comedunt carnem suillam, et jus profanum in vasis eorum* (*Isa. lxv*).

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Aper a feritate vocatus, ablata *f* littera et subrogata *p*. Unde et apud Graecos suagros, id est ferus dicitur. Omne enim, quod ferum est et immite abusive agreste vocamus. Alii autem aprum dicunt esse nuncupatum, quod in locis asperis commoratur. Significat autem aper ferocitatem principum hujus saeculi. Unde in psalmo de vinea Domini scriptum est: *Exterminavit eam aper de silva, et singularis ferus depastus est eam* (*Psal. lxxix*). Exterminavit extra terminos atque patriam suam ubique, dispersit quod, in gente contingit Judaeorum. Aprum Vespasianum forsitan debemus accipere, qui illis existit fortis et saevus. Per hoc autem nomen significat Judaeis esse contrarium, quia hoc animal inter caetera habere videbatur immunditiam de silva, scilicet de gentibus, quae merito silvis squalidis comparantur, quia adhuc insitae fructuoso germine non fuerunt. Singularem autem ferum Titum filium ejus memorat, qui reliquas belli tanta populatione contrivit, ut gentem et civitatem, quasi herbarum pabula, terribili depastione consumeret. Necesse enim fuit hoc vineae contingere, cujus maceria videbatur esse deposita. Spiritaliter autem aper propter ferocitatem et fortitudinem nimiam diabolus intelligi potest.[16]

The entries quoted here for *sus*, *porcus* and *aper* form one passage in the *Etymologiae* of Isidorus which served Hrabanus as a starting point. The last of the three contains, in Hrabanus's elaboration, references to Jews, to be discussed below.

The most significant difference between the two versions of Hrabanus's passage is the omission, in the two English bestiaries, of the first explicit reference to Jews:

De universo (Migne, *PL*, cxi, col. 206D)	Bestiaries (Brit. Mus. MS. Harl. 4751, fols. 20v–21r; Bodl. MS. 764, fols. 38r–38v.)[17]
Porcus similiter immundos significat et peccatores: de quibus in psalmo scriptum est: *De absconditis tuis adimpletus est venter eorum: saturati sunt porcina, et reliquentur, quae superfuerant parvulis suis*. Judaeos dicit de immunditiis, quae a Domino abscondita id est noscuntur esse prohibita. Porcina ad polluta respicit, quae inter caetera Veteris Testamenti praecepta immunda praenotatur. Transmiserunt autem reliquias peccatorum filiis suis, quando clamabant: *Sanguis ejus super nos et super filios nostros*.	Porcus quoque similiter inmundos significat & peccatores de quibus in psalmo scriptum est. *De absconditis tuis adimpletus est uenter eorum, saturati sunt porcina & reliquentur que superfuerunt paruulis suis*. Hoc enim dicit de inmundiciis, que a domino abscondite id est noscuntur esse prohibite. Porcina ad polluta respicit, que inter cetera ueteris testamenti praecepta inmunda praenotatur. Transmiserunt autem reliquias peccatorum filiis suis, quando clamabant. *Sanguis eius super nos & super filios nostros*.

The reading 'Hoc enim dicit . . .' in the two bestiaries instead of 'Judaeos dicit . . .' is curious. It does not look like a miscopying of the other version, nor could it have been copied from an earlier Latin bestiary.[18] As it happens, the two bestiaries are in this respect in harmony with the textual tradition of all the known manuscripts of *De universo* produced in England, the earliest being of the twelfth

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century. These contain the reading 'Hoc enim dicit . . .' at striking variance with 'Iudeos dicit . . .' in the early, and most probably original textual tradition of *De universo,* represented by the German manuscripts—the earliest produced in Reichenau probably in Hrabanus's lifetime—as well as by the earliest known Italian manuscript based on a German model.[19]

It is difficult to explain why the Jews were omitted from the entries for *sus* and *porcus* in the bestiaries as well as from all the English manuscripts of *De universo*, and why, for that matter, they were not omitted from the subsequent *aper* entry. Perhaps it was felt at one point, in England, that the Jews did not belong there. The *sus-porcus* entries consist of a moralistic text intended for Christian readers; its exhortations are directed to the faithful, warning them of lapsing into sin or taking their confession light-heartedly. It is the Christian reader who is being addressed and, since it is to him that 'the pig signifies the unclean and the sinners', he should not be told that this in fact applies to the Jews, not to himself. The editor may have attempted here to make the moral metaphor exclusively applicable to his readers by omitting the mention of the Jews, thus rendering the otherwise concrete 'when they exclaimed *His blood be on us* . . .' exemplary and metaphorical. In the ensuing entry there was no such place for misapprehension. There the Jews are mentioned in an entirely different context, as an historical example to illustrate an etymological point, and for no moral or religious purpose whatever.

But however intriguing the omission, its cause is less important than its existence. For the illustrator of the bestiaries had been denied one option. The omission eliminated from the text he had before him a suggestive association of pigs and Jews. The absence of the Jews from the illustrations and text of the two English bestiaries of the late twelfth century may well have been a main cause of the absence of the *Judensau* motif from English ecclesiastical sculpture in the following centuries.

Returning to the original version of the *sus* and *porcus* entries of Hrabanus's *De universo*, the first question is whether Hrabanus himself was the originator of the crucial phrase 'Judaeos dicit . . .'; and, if not, whether he copied it from an earlier text in which swine and Jews are mentioned in a symbolic association.

A brief comparison with his sources shows that Hrabanus did not invent the phrase,[20] but that by setting it in his own work he endowed it with connotations which it hardly had before. The basis of the entries in *De universo* is Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*.[21]

Most of the symbolism of the swine added by Hrabanus to Isidore's etymology was drawn directly, as it is throughout *De universo*, from the anonymous Carolingian exegetic glossary known as *Clavis Melitonis*.[22] From this source Hrabanus copied with very little alteration:

15. Sues, haeretici, de quibus in lege praecipitur, ob hoc quod ungulam findunt, et non ruminant, ne a fidelibus eorum carnes contingantur, quia iidem haeretici, licet utrumque

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Testamentum Legis et Evangelii suscipiant, sed quia spiritaliter non ruminant, immundi sunt.

16. Porci, homines immundi et luxuriosi. In Evangelio: *Si ejicis nos, mitte nos in porcos.* Item ibi: *Ne mittatis margaritas vestras ante porcos.*

17. Sues, poenitentes negligentes, ad ea qua fleverant revertentes. In Epistola Petri: *Canis reversus ad suum vomitum, et sus lota in volutabro ceni.*

18. Porci, immundi spiritus. In Evangelio: *Et misit illum in villam suam; ut parceret porcos.*

19. Sus, peccator recte intelligens et luxuriose vivens. In Salomone: *Circulus aureus in naribus suis, mulier pulchra et fatua.*

20. Porcina, peccata. In Psalmo: *Saturati sunt porcina.*

21. Jus carnium, cogitationes sordidae, ex quibus opera prava velut decocta procedunt. In Esaia: *Qui comedunt carnem suillam et jus profanum in vasis eorum,* id est in cordibus eorum.[23]

Hrabanus combines no. 17 with a longer allegory copied verbatim from Bede's *Expositio in Epistolam II Petri.*[24] Towards the end of the *sus-porcus* entry he writes, perhaps without a precise model but in repetition of his characterization of the sow: 'Porcus similiter immundos significat et peccatores', introducing a verse in the Psalms with a commentary that refers to the Jews.

The primary source of this reference to the Jews is St. Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos*:

Et de absconditis tuis adimpletus est uenter eorum. Non solum autem ista poena eos consequetur uisibilis, sed etiam de peccatis, quae tamquam tenebrae absconduntur a lumine ueritatis tuae, adimpleta est memoria eorum, ut obliuiscantur Deum. *Saturati sunt porcina.* Saturati sunt immunditia, conculcantes margaritas sermonum Dei. *Et reliquerunt reliquias paruulis suis,* clamantes: *Peccatum hoc super nos et super filios nostros.*[25]

But St. Augustine did not neglect to comment on the difficulty presented by the Biblical reading itself:

Sane in illo uersu ubi dictum est: *Saturati sunt porcina,* nonnulla exemplaria *Saturati sunt filiis* habent. Ex ambiguo enim graeco [υἱων-ὑειῶν] interpretatio duplex euenit. Filios autem opera intellegimus; et sicut bona opera bonos filios, ita malos mala.[26]

Before him St. Jerome, who in his own translation of the Bible followed the Hebrew and correctly used 'filiis', made a similar comment in his *Commentarioli in Psalmos*:

Saturati sunt filiis, et reliquerunt residua paruulis suis. Propter ambiguitatem uerbi, quidam

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pro filiis 'porcinam' scriptam arbitrantur. Quod Symmachus hebraeam experimens ueritatem transtulit: 'Saturabantur filii, et relinquent residua sua paruulis suis'.[27]

Here Hrabanus made his own choice: of the *duplex interpretatio*, of which he could hardly be unaware, he preferred 'saturati sunt porcina', most probably because he needed it for his symbolism of swine. His ensuing commentary as well as the reference to the Jews came from an elaborated commentary containing the same reading, the *Expositio Psalmorum* by Cassiodorus Senator:

. . . *Saturatos* ergo Iudaeos dicit de immunditiis, quae a Domino abscondita, id est noscuntur esse prohibita . . . *Ventrem ipsorum*, sensum significat omnino carnalem in quo mandata Domini tamquam in ventre recondita sunt . . . *saturati sunt porcina.* O iniquitas exsecranda! Audiebat sensus eorum mandata Dei, et illi saturabantur sordibus peccatorum, nouoque modo bonis caelestibus pasti, malorum faecibus explebantur. *Porcina* enim ad polluta respicit, quae inter cetera ueteris testamenti praecepta immunda praenotatur. Transmiserunt autem reliquias peccatorum filiis suis quando clamabant: *Sanguis huius super nos et super filios nostros.*[28]

It seems Hrabanus intentionally selected from this commentary sections he considered relevant for his entry on the symbolism of pigs. Among these was also the reference to the Jews, which Hrabanus copied in a mutilated form, without the preceding, and syntactically necessary, word: 'saturatos'.

The insertion by Hrabanus of the reference to the Jews, then, does not reveal great originality. Yet the reference was by no means accidental.[29] It was not simply copied along with, but actually cut out of, a previous context. Moreover, this reference fits well into Hrabanus's encyclo-allegorical system. In the prefatory passage of Chapter viii, *De pecoribus et iumentis,* the following dicta occur:

Animalia, quae ruminant, quae in lege munda describuntur, homines sunt sancti divina praecepta ore et corde sive opere semper meditantes; ut est illud in psalmo: *Meditatio cordis mei in conspectu tuo semper* [*Psal. vulg.,* xviii:15] Animalia vero, quae non ruminant, peccatores sunt et immundi, minime legi Dei operam dantes, nec in ejus meditatione studentes . . . Animalia enim quae ruminant et ungulam non findunt, quae immunda narrantur, populi sunt Judaeorum, qui testamentum vetus ore meditantur: sed novum minime recipiunt.[30]

The reference to the Jews in our entry, then, seems much more intrinsically necessary than other references to them dispersed throughout the animal sections of *De universo*.[31] Its significance lies in the particular context in which Hrabanus chose to make it. The unclean animal symbolizes unclean persons and sinners, and swine stand for Jews. It was the first time that Jews were associated with the symbolism of the swine. This association, being part of a wider range of swine symbolism, could expand and, in agreement with the peculiar logic of symbolism, also associate most of the swine symbols with one another.

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The context in which that reference was made is also important in other respects. *De universo* was a very central and popular book.[32] From the ninth century onwards, it became a leading encyclopaedia of Christian knowledge, and was still copied long after the appearance of the more comprehensive *Liber floridus* and *Hortus deliciarum*. There are manuscripts of *De universo* from as late as the fifteenth century. In other words, the work was a most prominent one, and was widely known among clerics for some six centuries. It must have inspired, along with bestiaries and animal fables, many allegorical representations in manuscripts as well as in sculpture.

There is a problem, however, about the illustrations of *De universo* itself. Illustrators of the work were offered an opportunity to depict numerous creatures —animals, beasts, birds, reptiles, insects, and fishes of all sorts—in the light of Hrabanus's allegories. In fact, it seems this opportunity was not taken. The illustrator of the earliest extant illuminated manuscript of *De universo* (Cod. Cassinensis 132, completed in Montecassino in 1022–3) seems not to have been influenced by the text he was illustrating. His numerous miniatures for the animal sections have no symbolic attributions. Illustrators of later manuscripts of *De universo* follow the same tradition, in different styles but with little deviation.[33] The fact that the illustrator of Cassinensis 132 does not moralize his illustrations after Hrabanus's text, while contemporary bestiaries contain illuminations reflecting its literary contents, supports the view that the Southern Italian artist was following not the text but a tradition of illustration which had begun even before Hrabanus himself was born. For the puzzling discrepancy between illumination and text could well be explained by Fritz Saxl's conclusion that an illustrated version of Isidore's *Etymologiae* existed, and that it was this version which subsequently served as a model for the now missing Carolingian Hrabanus MS. from Fulda, which in its turn influenced the artist at Montecassino.[34] The existence of such an early model is further suggested by the non-symbolic manner of illustration of the fifteenth-century German manuscript.

The miniatures in the various Hrabanus MSS. are, in fact, not illustrations of his own encyclopaedia but rather of Isidore's. The illumination of *De pecoribus et jumentis* in the Montecassino MS. 132 (fol. 171) depicts, among other animals with no symbolic attributes, a standing boar, which is also represented in the equivalent illustration in the German manuscript of 1425 (Vatican, Pal. lat. 291, fol. 77v). There is moreover, to the best of my knowledge, no example of a visual association of swine and Jews in any other illuminated manuscript. It is not until the thirteenth century, among German stone carvings, that this motif first appears.

Yet, in spite of this negative result, the search for a textual source of the *Judensau* motif must end here. The verbal association of swine and Jews was Hrabanus's own innovation, and was present and available in his book from the ninth century onwards, and in his book only.[35] The passage in which it occurred made it possible for illustrators and carvers who followed it to make their own selection and ignore the reference to the Jews altogether. That very passage, however, equally allowed for the inclusion of Jews in the representation of swine,

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when allegorically meant, as personifying sinners and the unclean. Furthermore, Hrabanus's swine offered a possibility, evident in some *Judensau* reliefs, for the specific motif to expand to symbolize vices with which the Jews had not been explicitly charged by Hrabanus. It seems, then, that if there was a textual source at all for the earliest *Judensau* sculptures, it was Hrabanus's *De universo*.

Before turning to the carved examples of the *Judensau* it is necessary to take up questions about their visual models, about alternative sources for the motif itself, and about the time of its emergence.

Shortly before the appearance of the first sow-and-Jews sculptures there occurred in Germany reliefs of the sow-and-pigs motif. Their extreme scarcity has already been mentioned:[36] only two have come to my knowledge. Both are in the Rhineland and both date from the twelfth century. The better-known relief is an allegorical representation decorating a Romanesque gate of the late twelfth century at Remagen on the Rhine (Pl. 2a, b). It shows a sow suckling three piglets, in a manner reminiscent of the illustrations of the two English bestiaries of the same period (Pl. 1a, b). The context in which it appears—a cycle of vices, most probably the eight cardinal vices (*octo principalia vitia*)—leaves no doubt as to its meaning. It is the symbol of *Gula*, and the sucking piglets perhaps stand for related vices, one of them *Luxuria*. The text on which this representation is based is probably the passage in the *Clavis Melitonis* already quoted.[37] Another example of this motif in Germany is on a Romanesque capital preserved in the Schnütgen Museum in Cologne (Pl. 3b). It comes originally from the Church of St. Severin in Cologne and dates from the first half of the twelfth century.[38] The capital is carved on all four sides, one showing a sow half standing to the left and suckling four piglets. At least one more relief on the same capital is very similar to one of the representations at Remagen—a naked man in a barrel: most probably a depiction of a heresy connected with disputes over baptism (Pl. 3a, c)—and it seems quite clear that the allegories in both places are the same. In Cologne, as in Remagen the sow-and-pigs relief is the symbol of *Gula*.[39]

Are there any grounds to suppose that the carvers of the *Judensau* reliefs were influenced by earlier visual models? The most plausible analogy for the representation of humans sucking milk from the teats of an animal would be the Capitoline Wolf,[40] but an attempt to link the Wolf and the Sow seems neither necessary nor sound. The representations of sow-suckling-pigs and sow-suckling-pig-and-Jew are very close in concept as well as in form. There is no reason to neglect this proximity in a context common to both representations, and to seek a remote link which would have been far less easily available to the carvers. Secondly, all the early *Judensau* reliefs—significantly not quoted by the most explicit exponent of the theory of the ancient model[41]—have little or no formal similarity to the Capitoline Wolf, and it is difficult to consider them as being derived from it.

Scholars have also suggested that the *Judensau* is a descendant of a carved sow which the Emperor Hadrian is said to have placed on a gate of the city of

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Jerusalem. This genealogy has itself an interesting history, almost identical with the literary history of the *Judensau* of Wittenberg which will occupy us later. Both histories are chiefly characterized by the disposition of scholars to copy uncritically from one another. But while the literary history of the sow of Wittenberg ended in the eighteenth century, the Hadrianic sow was taken seriously as an explanation of the *Judensau*'s origin until as late as 1935. The idea was first put forward in 1596 by Laurentius Fabricius in his book *De Schemhamphorasch usu, et abusu apud Iudaeos,* published at Wittenberg.[42] It related the *Judensau* scenes of the day to a story about a carved relief of a sow in second-century Jerusalem that Fabricius had read in a popular book by Adrichomius,[43] which utilized in turn the *Chronicon* of Eusebius and Jerome. But before Adrichomius the story is quite different. The *Chronicon* states that Hadrian built on the ruins of Jerusalem a city which he called Aelia [Capitolina] after Aelius, and that 'in front of the gate which led to Bethlehem he placed a *pig* carved [or engraved] in marble, signifying that the Jews were subject to the Romans. Some Jews believed it had been erected by Titus Aelius, son of Vespasian'.[44] This story, as it appears in the historical work of St. Jerome, is quite credible. The emblem of the *Legio decima fretensis* was a boar, and this symbol might well have been set on the gate as a sign of Roman authority.[45] What we learn from the comparison is that the story about an anti-Jewish Hadrianic *sow* emerged only after the German *Judensau* motif had already existed for more than three centuries. We may therefore disregard this long-lived story as a potential source or an explanation of the *Judensau*. The same story also tells that the sow on the Bethlehem gate served to repel the Jews from entering Jerusalem. Such a usage, as we shall see, could not have been intended by any of the carvers or the commissioners of the early *Judensau* reliefs. There are, however, a few fifteenth-century examples which are on gates,[46] and one wonders whether the idea of 'repelling' the Jews was not in the mind of their erectors. This would suggest a similarity of interpretation between local readers of the *Chronicon* and Adrichomius.

A further possibility is that, when carvers of the earliest reliefs represented the Jews as sucking milk from a sow, they were following, in addition to Hrabanus, a popular oral tradition. A widely diffused Christian legend offers itself as a possible source. It is a legend, traced by Dähnhardt in numerous variants all over Europe, explaining the Jewish abstention from swine's flesh. The Jews, tells the legend, once tried Christ's omniscience. They hid a Jewess with children (in some variants, a Jew or children alone) behind a wall (in other variants, in a pigsty, barrel, trough, oven, or pail) and asked him what was there. Jesus replied, 'A woman with children', to which the Jews falsely replied, 'No, these are sow and pigs', and mocked him. Christ said, 'If so, let them be sow and pigs', and the Jewess with the children were accordingly transformed.[47] The legend is undoubtedly derived from a Muslim source of the tenth or eleventh century, the *Qisas al-anbiyā* by Ahmed Ibn Muhammad al-Tha'labi.[48] Another story of Christ turning Jews into pigs occurs in the Arabic Infancy Gospel.[49] Similar as the motif of the legend seems to be, it is difficult to accept the story as a source for the carvings. The

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reliefs do not represent a legend in the manner of other animal fables carved at the time. The figure of Christ and the transformation do not appear in these or later reliefs of the *Judensau*. The ubiquity of the legend may nevertheless illuminate the popular association of Jews with swine, an association that could be 'verified' daily in the Jewish abhorrence of pork. Such a widely spread association may well explain why Jews were added to sows serving as *Gula* animals in allegorical cycles of vices.

The preoccupation, sometimes satirical or polemical, with Jewish abstention from pork is quite old. Classical references to it cannot, however, be firmly connected with our motif.[50] Christian attitudes, on the theological and legislative level, were on the whole not satirical.[51]

In the thirteenth century, almost concurrently with the emergence of the *Judensau* representations, another association of Jews with sows appeared in Germany. From that time, some of the ceremonials forming part of the Jewry-oath (*Judeneid, iuramentum Iudeorum, sacramentum Hebreorum*: 'the oath that Jews had to take to establish proof in lawsuits with Christians')[52] demanded that the Jew stand barefoot on a sow's skin to swear. An earlier ceremonial, recorded in one manuscript of the twelfth century, made the Jew stand on a goat's skin: 'sub pedibus suis habeat pellem caprinam'.[53] It seems likely that this ceremonial was altered in the thirteenth century, and that the sow's skin was then introduced into the juridical procedure. In the manuscripts of the fuller version of the *Schwabenspiegel*, beginning in the 1380s, it is specified that the Jew taking the *Judeneid* 'shall stand on a sow's skin'.[54] The ceremonial of the oath in the *Sachsenspiegel* is more detailed:

> He schal stan up einer soghen hut, de iunghen heuet gehat binnen virtein nachten. Dy hut schal men upschlippen by me ruggen, unde spreiden sy up de tydten, dar schal dy yude up stan barfuet. . . [55].

And the *Berliner Stadtbuch* of 1397 describes the old ceremony in very similar terms, emphasizing that 'Up di tytten muste di jode barft stan'.[56]

Visual depictions of such ceremonies are all late and omit some of the details (Pl. 4).[57]

This part of the ceremonial, like others, has its roots in ancient procedures of solemnizing the oath.[58] But if the sow's skin was indeed an innovation of the thirteenth century, replacing the goat's skin, it would call for a comparison with the *Judensau* motif. In both, the maternity of the sow is emphasized, as is the physical contact of the Jew with the animal's teats. Though the two reflect a similar idea, it is uncertain whether the ceremonial of the *Judeneid* echoed *Judensau* representations, or whether the two were independently conceived.[59]

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III. THE EARLIEST SCULPTURES

THE following are the six earliest known examples of the *Judensau*. They all date from the thirteenth century, but the precise date of most is difficult to establish with certainty. They are treated here in an approximately chronological sequence.

BRANDENBURG (Pls. 5 and 6)

The earliest surviving *Judensau* representation seems to be that at the Cathedral of Brandenburg on the Havel. It is the subject of a capital on a column between the third and fourth arches (from the south) in the eastern wing of the Cathedral's cloisters. The relief is modelled in terracotta, and measures 24 cm. in height (the sow itself is 32·5 cm. long). The capital is datable to about 1230.[60]

The scene is very weathered and in parts damaged, and many of its details are blurred. A huge sow, characterized by a marked crest along its back, stands to the left suckling five piglets. One of these, on the right, is different from the others: its hind leg as well as its head seem to be human. The sow has a human head, with long hair, and wears a rimless pointed Jewish hat,[61] the pointed knob of which extends across the edge of the fillet above. Next to the pointed knob there is a crack in the fillet, of no significance. The sow lifts its right foreleg, which is shaped like a human arm with an open hand. Under that arm another piglet approaches the sow; only his legs are discernible, the rest is broken and missing. Behind the sow a crouching man, clad in a long gown, lifts the tail with his (broken) right hand and reaches with his left hand towards the animal's hind-quarters. The tip of the tail touches the man's head, which appears to be covered by what seems to be a flat hat under which, on the right, his hair shows. What may be a small trefoil-shaped ornament is engraved above his head on the fillet. In front of the sow, and facing it, stands a woman. She wears a head-covering and her hands, partly broken and missing, are extended towards the sow. She is probably holding the edge of her apron and offers food to the sow. On the ground behind the woman are what may be three large acorns. Further to the left stands a pig or boar with a marked crest; its head is broken and missing.

A neighbouring capital in the Cathedral cloisters may have been conceived in relation to our scene. It shows a knight in full armour, with shield and helmet, lying dead on his back. Under him four small, long-tailed dragons are biting at his body (Pl. 6a, b). On the left a battle between a dragon and a knight is depicted. The dragon bites at a horse, lifting it up by its neck. A knight in armour is struggling with the dragon from behind but, enfolded by its tail, he is unable to move his arms; he seems to hold a sword in his left hand.

The *Judensau* capital is reminiscent of the frieze in Magdeburg (Pls. 13 and 14)

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as well as of later *Judensau* scenes. Its occurrence in proximity to the capital with the knight and dragons is similar to its placing on the corbels in Xanten (Pl. 10) and Eberswalde (Pl. 11a, b), and suggests that, as in Xanten, the two capitals are allegories of vices.

The hybrid of man and sow in Brandenburg, unique among all *Judensau* scenes, seems indicative of a development in the slightly older motif of sow-and-pigs, its adaptation into the new motif of sow-and-Jews. The somewhat crude and confused characterization of the sow as 'Jewish' by the addition of an identifiable human head—something in itself not uncommon in Romanesque sculpture—chronologically and stylistically fits the emergence in Germany of the *Judensau*. It may be assumed, however, that this fairly fully developed scene was not the oldest link between the two motifs.

On the fillet above the scene is an inscription which is difficult to read. I would suggest the reading PINNECAS, in spite of the difficulty that this Hebrew name would present.[62] This would suggest that the inscription was meant to connect the relief with a particular Jew, which in turn would raise doubts about its precise contemporaneity with the relief.

The representation cannot be related to local tension between Christians and Jews: the latter seem to have settled in Brandenburg only at the beginning of the fourteenth century.[63]

LEMGO (Pls. 7 and 8)

In the western atrium of the Marienkirche (formerly Stiftskirche) at Lemgo, there are two half-columns, 190 cm. high, attached to the West wall, each supporting a sculpture. On the northern one there is a sculpture of a seated man with crossed hands, recently described as an 'enthroned Christ'.[64] On the southern half-column there is a sculpture traditionally known as *Judensau*[65] or *Judenschwein*.[66] It is carved, like the other sculptures in the church, out of hard reddish sandstone, and is badly weathered. Some parts of it are repaired and some are broken. It depicts a kneeling man, wearing a hat with a long central shaft, similar to Jewish hats in a relief of the Flagellation in the nave of the same church (Pl. 8b). The man's hair is long, and his face, badly weathered, is very schematized. He is wearing a cape flying over his left shoulder on to the arch rib behind him. Kneeling, his knees wide apart, the Jew hugs an animal half turned towards him. The triangular head of the animal, leaning against the Jew's cape, is turned to the left. The animal's head itself is broken and missing, but the triangular shape of the snout, as well as the traditional name of the sculpture, point to its identification as a swine. The tail of the swine, partly broken off, rests next to the Jew's left knee, and its hind leg, ending curiously in a repaired part of the sculpture like a tail, is stretched in the opposite direction.

The sculpture (height 93 cm., width 42 cm., depth 29 cm.) belongs to the architecture of the atrium and is carved out of the arch rib behind it. The

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Marienkirche was built between the last quarter of the thirteenth century and the very beginning of the fourteenth.

The sculpture is a unique *Judensau* in that it does not depict sucking at the sow, but it is nevertheless obscene in the depiction of the man's embrace and attitude. It may represent a variant or an early phase of development that did not catch on. In itself it may have been influenced directly, without a visual model, by Hrabanus's text.

The other sculpture does not help the explanation of this *Judensau*. Its identification as the enthroned Christ is questionable, and it seems far-fetched to interpret the pair as 'a confrontation of Ecclesia and Synagoga'.[67] There is no trace of Jews in medieval Lemgo.[68]

XANTEN (Pls. 9 and 10)

On the twin corbels which support the sculptured figures of Mary and Elizabeth (the Visitation group) on the north side of the choir in the Cathedral at Xanten, two carved scenes reflect each other. The left scene, under the sculpture of Mary, depicts a Jew, a sow and a little monster. The Jew, half-kneeling on the right, bends towards the centre. He is half-naked and wears only short pleated trousers, fastened with a belt. His face, with side-locks, chin-beard, drooping eyebrows and open mouth, is turned towards the beholder. His Jewish hat is being bitten at its pointed end by a sow which stands upright on the left, her foreleg resting on his shoulder. At the same time one of the sow's teats is being sucked by a small Jew who crouches under it. This piglet-Jew is naked apart from a trefoil leaf covering his buttocks and the hat on his head. His side-locks are discernible, and his hat is similar to the hat of the bearded Jew, though its shaft is broken.

On the adjacent corbel, under the figure of Elizabeth, is a fight between a lion and a dragon. The lion, its claw on the dragon's wing, bites at its lower neck, while the dragon is biting the lion's hind leg. The dating of the two corbels, as well as that of all other corbels and canopies inside the choir of Xanten Cathedral, is fairly precise. It had already been noticed that they date from the time of the building 'that is, already before 1300',[69] and it was recently shown that their date is 'shortly after 1263' and in any case not later than 1267.[70]

Both the *drôlerie*-like corbels are to be interpreted through their relation to each other and to the sculptures they support. The encounters between the Jew and the sow, and between the dragon and the lion were apparently meant as a reversed representation of the Visitation scene sculptured above them.[71] There—a meeting of Mary and Elizabeth; here, in the 'topsyturvy world'—two evil encounters. The similarity in composition between the latter is so close that there can be no doubt about their being complementary. The fight between the lion and the dragon represents a battle between forces of evil. Both combatants are symbols of the devil and the scene brings to mind the words of St. Augustine: 'Videris unde, videris quomodo; diabolus ille biformis est. Leo est in impetu, draco in

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insidiis. Leo minetur, inimicus est; draco insidietur, inimicus est'.[72] The two stand for the dual threat of the devil, the arch-enemy who openly attacks the faithful or lies in ambush for them.[73] The encounter between the sow and the Jew is a scene of evil as well, but with a satirical note. The sow, it seems, has mistaken the Jew's knobbed hat for food and, being eager to feed, she bites it; at the same time she herself is the target of another glutton, the Jew-animal, which eagerly sucks her teat. Both the Jew and the sow are, so to speak, simultaneously sucked, just as in the neighbouring scene the lion and the dragon are bitten. Greed is here the animating motive, while there it is ferocity. In other words, while one scene represents evil ferocity (or possibly *Discordia*) the other stresses the vice of *Gula* or *Luxuria*. The half-naked body of the Jew and the naked body of the Jew-piglet, being attributes of the drunkard or the promiscuous, point to the same.

There are documents recording the presence of Jews in Xanten at least from the first Crusade of 1096 onwards, when Jews from Cologne found refuge there from attacks by crusaders. In the same year, however, they were attacked by crusaders in Xanten itself and some sixty Jews committed suicide to avoid forced conversion. In 1197 six Jews from Neuss were buried there after their execution for an alleged murder of a Christian girl. There are traces of a Jewish community here at the end of the thirteenth century and during the fourteenth.[74]

EBERSWALDE (Pl. 11)

A small and crude representation of a Jew with a sow occurs in Eberswalde. It is carved in terracotta, in an oblique triangle of the easternmost corbel of the north arcade of the nave in the church of St. Maria Magdalena. The building of the church began in 1284, and the corbel seems to originate not much later. It measures 22 cm. in height.[75] On the left a sow stands up and leans on a Jew, her snout touching, as if kissing, his face. The man wears a Jewish hat with a high central shaft and folded rim, similar to the hats in Lemgo (Pls. 7 and 8). He has long hair or side lock, and wears a pleated skirt fastened by a wide belt. It seems that the upper part of his body is naked. This, the pleated garment and the composition of the scene are reminiscent of the *Judensau* in Xanten (Pls. 9 and 10) although the sucking is missing here. The proximity of the corbel to another, showing two dragons with joined tails on the next column of the arcade (Pl. 11b) is also similar to Xanten, and, in a sense, to Brandenburg (Pls. 5 and 6). It seems that the representation is an allegory of *Luxuria*.

WIMPFEN (Pl. 12)

After his visit to the Ritterstiftskirche St. Peter at Wimpfen im Thal in 1827, Franz Kugler noted in his diary a description of the gutter-spouts among which he saw 'a representation of a sow suckling a Jew who is recognizable by his pointed hat and who pushes away a piglet'.[76] This gargoyle is still where Kugler

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saw it, high up on a buttress of the south-eastern choir of the church. It is carved in grey sandstone, measures about 140 cm. in length, and is quite well preserved. The choir was built between 1269 and 1300,[77] and was probably completed, as was the whole east facade, between 1280–1300.[78]

The sow-Jew scene is fairly simple. A huge sow, with a distinct crest and a widely opened mouth, emerges out of the buttress. Her right front leg rests on the right knee of a Jew who is seated beside her and is sucking at a teat which he holds with his right hand. The Jew wears a long mantle held by a girdle and a cape which spreads partly on to the wall. He wears a Jewish hat and has a full beard. The treatment of the folds as well as the shape of the hat resembles the sculptures of Naumburg. With his outstretched left hand the Jew is pushing away a piglet sucking a teat on the opposite side of the sow. The sow's foreleg rests on the piglet which rests its own foreleg on the Jew's knee. Under the hind legs of this piglet, the back of yet another piglet is shown.

Other gargoyles on the church similarly symbolize with animals or grotesques, vices like Avarice, Envy and Rapacity. There are four such gargoyles on the main choir and three on the side choir, one of which is the *Judensau*. Although the precise identification of these gargoyles as vices is not conclusive,[79] it seems clear that the *Judensau* is an inseparable part of the cycle, and is most probably meant to symbolize the vice of *Gula*.

Jews are documented in Wimpfen only from the beginning of the fourteenth century.[80]

MAGDEBURG (Pls. 13, 14, 15a)

The most elaborate *Judensau* of the thirteenth century is carved on a frieze of the south wall inside the Ernestine Chapel, formerly the atrium of Magdeburg Cathedral. Various datings have been suggested for this carved frieze;[81] Brandt, the only scholar who has studied the reliefs in detail, and Güdemann, who wrote the history of the Jews in Magdeburg, link the *Judensau* with a local persecution of the Jews, and date it to 1266–7.[82] There were, however, anti-Jewish riots at Magdeburg also in 1285, 1287, and 1301,[83] and this would invalidate the correlation as evidence for precise dating. The reliefs clearly belong to the architecture of the atrium. From the fragmentary building history and the evidence of style, it would be safe to assume that the reliefs originated in the last third of the thirteenth century, more probably about 1270.[84]

As one enters the Cathedral through the main entrance, the *Judensau* is the first on the right, and is placed on two sides of a rectangular corner. The chief side shows a huge sow standing to the right. Behind it stands a bearded, long-haired Jew, in a conical Jewish hat and a long two-part garment. His right arm is broken off and it is impossible to say from the position of the remaining sleeve whether he was originally touching the sow. Beneath the sow there is a kneeling Jew, dressed similarly to the standing one but without beard, who holds and sucks a teat. Next to him is a seated piglet, its head broken off, and a similarly mutilated

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piglet approaches. The head of the sow reaches the corner of the corbel, where a diminutive oak tree is carved. Round the corner the sow is seen *en face* near the oak tree, from which a standing woman is picking an acorn. In her right hand she seems to hold a bowl with acorns. This woman is cloaked in a long dress fastened with a girdle, and wears a long veil and perhaps a necklace. Behind her stands a long-haired and beardless Jew, dressed like the two men on the other side, holding an open scroll. Behind the man with the scroll there is a relief of stylized foliage.

Brandt sees the frieze as a visual representation of Revelation, xxii:15, 'And without the city there are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and idolaters, and whoever loveth and maketh a lie', and suggests that it depicts Judaism and paganism. This deserves further elaboration. The whole frieze, in my view, combines a representation of several vices with their addicts. The symbols of *Luxuria* are the most conspicuous (Pl. 15a): the ram with the naked girl rider together with the music-making ape.[85] Ferocity or cruelty are symbolized by the predatory bird above its helpless victim, as well as by the lion who is about to strike down his prey. The hunting dogs may be a similar symbol of ferocity, but could also perhaps stand here for the heathens.[86] If so, *Luxuria* is represented together with the heathens (the naked girl herself would signify to medieval beholders not just a whore but a pagan deity, Venus).[87] *Gula* is shown together with the Jews.

In both cases the vice is represented by an animal and accompanied by its addicts: *Luxuria*—ram, naked girl, monkey, and, possibly, dogs; *Gula*—sow, piglets, Jews. In the case of the Jews there is a clear reference to their teaching, the scroll. The man who holds it is not, however, distinguished by old age or scale as a spiritual leader. He is one of those sinners who, according to Hrabanus, 'even though they would accept both the Testament of the Law and of the Gospel, are unclean because they do not ruminate spiritual food'.

The representation is centred round the sow. The woman is picking acorns for the greedy animal, which in its turn is being sucked by greedy Jews and piglets. The motif of pigs feeding on acorns was by that time quite popular and was frequently connected in fables with the gluttony of swine. The Magdeburg relief, like those of Xanten and Wimpfen im Thal, represents the vice of *Gula* in association with Jews.

In summing up the six thirteenth-century examples the lack of evidence about links and context allows no more than a tentative outline of the *Judensau*'s early development. Formally all but one of the examples show Jews, recognizable by distinctive hats and sometimes also by beards and side-locks, in close association with sows. At Brandenburg (Pl. 5) it is the sow itself that is characterized as Jewish in this way. In two instances the sow is not sucked at but embraced (Lemgo, Pls. 7 and 8, where it is not clear whether the swine is female) or kissed

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(Eberswalde, Pl. 11a). The sculpture at Lemgo seems to be of a different type from the other *Judensau* examples, whereas that at Eberswalde could be a cruder representation perhaps connected with, and certainly conceived in the same mood as, the one at Xanten (Pl. 10). The other four examples, although differing from one another, all seem to constitute one type in its variations. The corbel at Brandenburg (Pl. 5) and the frieze in Magdeburg (Pls. 13 and 14) are similar both in the depiction of a larger group of humans and in their arrangement, and they show the feeding of the sow. The corbel at Xanten also shows feeding, but in a humorous manner which suggests a derivation from a larger scene; the Jew-piglet also seems to indicate the influence of *Judensau* scenes with Jews and pigs alike sucking at a sow. The gargoyle at Wimpfen (Pl. 12), showing the same feature, may be connected with scenes like that at Magdeburg.

One notes that all the examples show sinners with an animal which, in four examples, very clearly symbolizes a vice. The allegory is least explicit in Lemgo (Pls. 7 and 8) and at Brandenburg (Pl. 5); but in the case of the latter a similarity of presentation with Magdeburg (Pls. 13 and 14) and of context with Xanten (Pl. 10) elucidates the allegory. The context of the corbel at Eberswalde (Pl. 11b) is also similar to Xanten.

The Xanten corbel clearly represents the vice of *Gula* in its wider sense of greed.[88] It makes an equally sharp joke against each participant in the depicted vicious circle, and underlines the symbolic equation of greed = pig = greedy person = Jew. The *Judensau* at Wimpfen is part of a cycle of vices symbolized by animals. There, again, the sow stands for greed and is accompanied by sinners sucking at it, two symbolized by a piglet, the third personified by a Jew. It is in Magdeburg Cathedral that the representation undergoes a transformation, and while the scene retains the greed symbolism and the animal-sinner equation, the manner in which the Jews are brought in upsets the balance present in the other reliefs. Here the sow is surrounded by a whole company of Jews, an old man, two young persons and a woman; they are not only depicted as children of the sow but make a representative appearance with the scroll of their Law. In this new, emphatic context, the sow is invested with yet another symbolic meaning; it becomes—what would explicitly be said of it a century later—a symbol or emblem of Judaism.

The two distinctly different types of the early *Judensau* motif may well represent different visual derivations of Hrabanus's swine entry. The development of the second, lasting, type seems a result of the combination of that source with previous carved allegories of *Gula*. But the shifts in its meaning cannot be related to a precise chronology, nor can they be regarded as clear-cut and general.

The emergence of the Jew as a type of a sinner and his depiction together with an animal symbol of a vice are not accidental. From the beginning of the thirteenth century there is a tendency in Gothic church sculpture to include animal emblems in the representation of virtues and vices. In Notre Dame at Paris the virtues, traditionally represented as pious virgins, hold round shields on which their symbols, mostly animals, are carved (for instance *Humilitas*—dove, *Fortitudo*—

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lion).[89] The vices are exemplified by scenes of daily life (for instance, *Discordia*—domestic brawl), while the only two animals which occur in the cycle have no moral connotation (*Superbia*—rider falling off his horse; *Ignavia*—warrior scared away by hare). The Notre Dame cycle was copied about twenty years later in Amiens and Chartres Cathedrals,[90] but from the middle of the century the symbolic animals of the bestiaries, of Hrabanus, and of animal-fables came to accompany and represent the vices, which in their turn resumed in many cases the appearance of sinners, a role in which they had appeared before, in the twelfth century.[91] This shift was neither carried through completely nor standardized. Some vices, such as *Discordia* and *Homicidium* were still represented by examples from human experience, while others came to be symbolized by half-human creatures or by animals acting the human sinner. This is another aspect of the intention of bringing the horrid example of sin nearer to the beholder. The everyday sinners who in Notre Dame and its derivative cycles stand for the vices, are associated towards the close of the century with the animals which symbolize their vices. They appear either in human shape, or as half human, or as animals acting like humans. The culmination of this mixed manner is illustrated by the carved frieze on the south façade of Strasbourg Cathedral, where the representation of the various vices is most varied. It is certainly not a coincidence that, on the extreme left of this frieze, the arch-sinner is exemplified by a Jew (Pl. 15b). But for his Jewish hat the man is naked (the attribute of the wanton), and is dragged, head down, by one demon while another devil, ram-horned and pig-eared, who is clutching his own buttock, excretes on his face.[92] The German reliefs of the late thirteenth century clearly fit into the trend of moralizing representation which attempted to 'animalize' the vices and stress the bestiality of the sinners by depicting them either as animals or as humans clinging to vice-animals.

If this trend accounts for the emergence of the personified sinners with their animal-symbolized sins, why are they depicted as Jews—if Christian churchgoers were to imagine themselves in the place of the sinners? It may help to look at the two trees of virtues and vices as depicted in a manuscript of the *Liber Floridus* of about 1120. The prominent captions read: *Arbor bona: Ecclesia fidel*[*ium*], and *Arbor mala: Synagoga*.[93] Synagogue, to Church theologians, was the root of all evil, and it was therefore in order to have the Jew as the type of the sinner. Why then were Jews chosen to be depicted as sinners adhering to *Luxuria* and *Gula* rather than, for instance, as misers-usurers? The reason for this could lie in the fact that Hrabanus Maurus included the Jews explicitly in that category of sinners which he metaphorically equated with pigs.

It may be difficult to believe that the *Judensau* was not invented as an anti-Jewish satire. But the six German thirteenth-century reliefs could hardly be meant to be seen by Jews, since five of them were placed *inside* churches and the sixth (at Wimpfen) set so high up that one needs binoculars to make out its details; it also forms part of a cycle of vices which was not invented in derision of Jews. It was not mockery that begot the earlier *Judensau* reliefs, but moral example.

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That the thirteenth-century reliefs depict the Jew unfavourably is undeniable, but their negative attitude is directed against him in so far as he personifies the sinner. There is no joke in these reliefs about contemporary Jews breaking the sacred law by eating pork. On the other hand, there are certainly elements of a potential 'anti-Jewish' rather than 'anti-sinner' condemnation, as well as of a potential secular joke against Jews. But it takes these elements some time to come to the fore, and turn the Jews as such into the main target. This change took place during the following century.

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IV. THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

HEILIGENSTADT (Pl. 16a)

ONE of the gargoyles on the Chapel of St. Anne next to the Marienkirche (Altstadtkirche) in Heiligenstadt is a fragment of a *Judensau*. It is on a northern corner of the building, some eight metres above ground. The sculptured gargoyle, now broken and badly damaged, shows a large sow with a crest leaping forward; the head and parts of the front legs broken off. Under the sow, to her right, a man lies on his back sucking a teat. His leg rests on the wall of the building, and his hand holds the sow. Details of his dress and head are much weathered. It is possible that next to him there was originally another man or a piglet under the sow.

The octagonal chapel originally had eight animal-shaped gargoyles—among which a ram, a monkey, a dog and perhaps a lion are still identifiable—symbolizing the vices. The date of the building is most probably about 1300 and the *Judensau* gargoyle should be dated accordingly.[94]

During the Black Death most of the Jewish community of Heiligenstadt was massacred. Jews were readmitted only in 1469.[95]

COLOGNE (Pls. 16b and 17)

The *Judensau* at Cologne is one of three reliefs carved on a wing of the choir stalls in the Cathedral.[96] The date of the reliefs is 1322 or shortly after.[97] Two scenes are carved on the front of the wing, and the third is on the back. In the first scene, on the left of the front, a standing Jew holds up a sow in mid-air, another Jew is feeding the animal while a third Jew kneels in front of it and sucks a teat. In the second scene two standing Jews are turning over a big trough, out of which a dead sow and piglets fall. The Jew on the right holds by the hand a boy who carries a bag. All five adult Jews in the two scenes have long beards and side-locks, and wear tall conical hats. They are all clad in long cloaks and capes. The depiction of their faces and dress is identical with that of 'historical' Jews on other wings of the choir stalls.[98] The third scene shows an oak tree from whose foliage a pig is feeding on the right; on the left a sow stands up on its hind legs with a similar intention. At the same time this sow is suckling a pig. A monk is watching the scene from behind a volute—a motif which recurs similarly in most of the wings of the choir stalls.

The meaning of the first two scenes has been variously interpreted.[99] One explanation—by Bernhard von Tieschowitz—is that the second scene refers to an allegation that local Jews carried off and murdered a Christian child.[100] This seems convincing. The boy in the second scene is a Christian [101] and is depicted

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with a halo as if he were a saint. The scene could be taken to suggest that the Jews are kidnapping the holy boy with the intention of murder, to which the dead animals may allude. We do not know of any such allegation of murder against the Jews at that time in Cologne itself, but there were such allegations in towns and villages all along the Rhine.[102] One of the most popular legends of the time was that of Werner of Oberwesel. Werner was a boy of fourteen allegedly martyred and murdered by Jews at Oberwesel in 1286. When his body was disposed of in the Rhine it did not sink but floated along the river to Bacharach, radiating light and working miracles. 'Good Werner', according to contemporary sources, was held to be a saint by many Christians.[103]

But the scene at the back must be taken into account, being a reflection or summary of the two front scenes. It is reminiscent of the older *Gula* allegories from the Rhineland (Pls. 2 and 3) and makes it clear that all three represent the vice of greed. There are some other wings in the choir stalls with representations of virtues and vices by narrative examples. Avarice is the subject of one such wing, on which two scenes from the life of a miser are carved, combined with the story of Lazarus.[104] Justice is the subject of another wing, where it is exemplified by the Trial of Solomon and the Justice of Trajan.[105] One wing is also narrative, but unlike the others is centred round an animal representative of a vice, the sow, which appears in all three reliefs. It is quite possible that the second scene does carry an allusion to 'Good Werner', and that the pig depicted in it denotes, as in Hrabanus Maurus 'the sordid thoughts of carnal men, out of which depraved as well as diminished works proceed, in Isaiah: "They who eat swine's flesh, and unholy broth in their vessels"'.

The Cologne group is quite different from the earlier *Judensau* reliefs, both in the arrangement of the sucking scene and in the inclusion of 'Good Werner'.

If any precedent influenced the Cologne carver, it was probably the Magdeburg relief (Pls. 13 and 14), where the oak tree, the feeding, and the large number of Jews are already present. But compared with earlier *Judensau* reliefs, the Cologne representation gives the Jews a larger scale and a more prominent role. The Jews are condemned here as Jews rather than adherents of a vice. The scene with the haloed boy is another considerable modification of the motif in that direction. Yet the group remains an allegory of *Gula* in the form of a *Judensau* scene, and does not turn into anything else. The gifted artist of the choir-stalls wing at Cologne was perfectly capable, had it been his intention, of depicting a straightforward ritual murder. He seemed nevertheless to concentrate on the vicious-symbolic dimension of the scenes, even when more directly aiming at the Jews.

METZ (Pl. 18a)

A far simpler example of the *Judensau* occurs on a corbel in the Chapelle du Mont-Carmel in the Cathedral at Metz, but has not been identified as such. It was first published as 'une truie qui allaite deux enfants';[106] later it was explained

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as 'une fantaisie champêtre: un paysan donne à boire à une truie que tettent deux garçons' and as a copy after Roman models.[107] Recently it was noted that 'there is no sign to show that the persons represented are Jews'.[108] But the two persons sucking at the sow's teats wear distinctive Jewish hats with rims and central knobs. The adherents of the sow at Metz, as elsewhere, are Jews.

On the left of the corbel a half-kneeling man holds a trough into which a sow puts its snout. The man is clad in a short costume and a cape, and seems to have long hair and a beard and to wear a typical pointed hat. Under the sow, their backs to the beholder, two Jews are sitting and sucking at its teats. They lift the animal up so that its hoofs are suspended in mid-air. The man feeding the sow, a Jew and not a 'peasant', is larger than the other two and his dress is more elaborate; he may therefore be a leader.

The date of the carved corbel is, according to the building history of the Chapel, roughly the first third of the fourteenth century.[109] The context is not helpful, the only other carving in the Chapel being a counter corbel on the opposite side, with a bust of a long-haired and bearded man who rests his chin on his interlocked hands—perhaps a portrait of the master mason.

REGENSBURG (Pl. 18b)

A similar group of three Jews with a sow appears on the fourth buttress from the left on the south wall of Regensburg Cathedral.[110] It is some seven metres above ground, and partially mutilated. On the left a Jew sits on the ground, his back to the wall, and seizes the ear of the big sow. The man wears a long dress and a Jewish hat with a central shaft and a knob, and has side-locks and a beard. His mouth is open. The two other Jews are similarly dressed; parts of one head and hat are broken off and the other head is altogether missing. They sit on the ground, their backs to the beholder. The Jew on the left sucks at the sow's teat while the other holds its hind leg and reaches for a teat. The sow turns its head towards the beholder with a gaping mouth. Its crest is partially broken and the tail is missing.

The sculpture is one of a series decorating the buttresses of the south wall at the same level. The other sculptures are allegories of virtues and vices: a dragon, a virgin with a unicorn, Samson and the lion. Above this series is a row of animal-shaped gargoyles supported by human figures. All the sculptures on the south wall date from shortly after 1350.[111] The sow here clearly stands for the vice of *Gula*, the Jews for its addicts.

A satirical note, the gesture of holding the sow's ear, is here added to the representation of the *Judensau*.[112] In this scene the sow is not being fed, and this is the main difference from the Metz corbel. Both could have been influenced by the Magdeburg example, but a direct link between the two seems equally possible.

The fact that the scene was shown outside the Cathedral does not necessarily imply that it was intended as anti-Jewish mockery.[113] It is still, as in Wimpfen and

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Heiligenstadt, part of a cycle of vices, and its moral relates mainly to *Gula*, not to contemporary Jews. Nor can the relief be convincingly related to any persecution of Jews. Regensburg, which had the oldest and most prominent Jewish community in Southern Germany, was consistent in preserving its Jews from threats of popular riots. This was the case in 1298 during the Rindfleisch riots, which resulted in the massacre of thousands of Jews all over Bavaria, Franconia and Swabia. Similarly, when Jews were attacked and expelled throughout Germany during the Black Death, the magistrates and citizens of Regensburg issued a decree protecting local Jews from unlawful assaults. The Jewry of Regensburg were not expelled until 1519.[114]

On the Cathedral of Regensburg there is also a sculpture representing the Worship of the Golden Calf. It is on a buttress left of the tympanum of the north tower which represents Moses receiving the Law on Mount Sinai. Both these sculptures are by the same artist, while a third, the Sacrifice of Isaac, on the buttress right of the tympanum, is the work of a contemporary artist, who was also responsible for a Biblical scene inside the Cathedral. All three sculptures, apparently related to one another in a Biblical context, date from about 1410,[115] that is, some fifty or sixty years later than the series of vices with the *Judensau* on the south wall.

UPPSALA (Pls. 19–21)

The *Judensau* carving in the Cathedral at Uppsala has been studied in detail by Folke Nordström in his book on the iconography of the corbels in the choir of the Cathedral.[116] The corbels are traditionally dated in the 1340s or about 1350.[117]

The subject is carved on three sides of corbel IV.[118] On the extreme left grows a diminutive oak tree bearing many acorns. A bearded Jew with side-locks, pointed conical hat, an open garment and a flying cape, sits next to the tree and leans sharply to the right. He holds acorns in his hand and is about to add them to the full bowl which he has placed under the snout of a huge sow. The sow, whose head is on the left corner of the corbel, devours the offered acorns. Under the bowl another Jew is lying on the ground. He stretches from the far left, where his feet are seen near the oak tree, to suck one of the sow's teats. His right hand rests on the conical hat of a third Jew who has similar side-curls and who sucks the next teat as he lies on his back. This third Jew is naked; his neck stretches between the hind legs of the sow. His legs are held by a fourth Jew who lies above him on his stomach, and whose head and breast are prominent in the right corner of the corbel. This man is considerably bigger than the other three and his clothes are more elaborate. His hat, an ornamental version of the *Judenhut*, is falling off his head, but still attached to his neck with a ribbon; he wears an ornament on his chest, his cape flutters behind him, and his feet show on the right. He has long curly hair and prominent arched nose and chin. He stares forward with a grin, and his right hand holds the sow's tail.

Nordström shows beyond doubt that the corbels in the choir of Uppsala

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Cathedral represent cycles of virtues and vices, but his interpretation of this particular corbel does not seem conclusive.[119] The *Judensau*, like another corbel with a girl on a ram and a music-making ape,[120] seems directly influenced by or borrowed from Magdeburg (Pl. 15a). Similarly, the *Judensau* symbolizes *Gula* in the cycle at Uppsala. *Superbia*, the vice Nordström identifies in the allegory of sow and Jews, was never symbolized by swine or by sinners clinging to them.[121] Nordström's parallels from manuscripts of *Somme le Roy* do not include their one clear piece of swine symbolism. For the illuminators of *Somme le Roy* the swine was an emblem of *Luxuria*, as may be seen in an illustration by the miniaturist Honoré in Cambridge (Pl. 22a): *Castitas* on the upper left treads on a pig, thus vanquishing the animal of her rival *Luxuria*.[122]

Yet the symbolism of the *Judensau* scene is not to be determined simply through the symbolism of the pig in French illuminated manuscripts; like earlier *Judensau* scenes of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the corbel at Uppsala represents *Gula*. The animal is fed to satisfy its gluttony and is at the same time sucked at by its addicts, one of them manifestly a drunkard. There are no references here—as there are at Magdeburg—to Judaism as such. The last-mentioned figure seems, on account of size and elaborate costume, the leader of the Jewish group and holds the sow for his followers to suck. There is, however, nothing to characterize him as a rabbi or spiritual leader rather than a worldly one—as there also is nothing to support Nordström's reference to the late text by Luther for the interpretation of the sow as symbol of the Talmud.

GNIEZNO (Pls. 22b and 23a)

On the portal leading to the Chapel of St. Andrew (Olszowski Chapel) in the Cathedral at Gniezno in Poland are two capitals carved with Jewish figures.[123] They rest on two wall posts supporting a pointed arch.

The capital on the left represents the Worship of the Golden Calf (Pl. 22b). Seven Jews—all with beards, side-locks, and conical Jewish hats—hold hands and are dancing in a line. The Calf stands, facing left, in front of three central Jews.

On the right-hand capital a *Judensau* scene is carved (Pl. 23a). A huge hairy sow stands, facing right, and suckles seven piglets: six stand under her and the seventh rushes from the right through her front legs. Behind the sow kneels a Jew. He wears a mantle with a girdle and a Jewish hat. He holds the sow, his hand on her hind leg, and his face lifted towards her rectum; the tail of the sow rests on the rim of his hat. In front, another Jew is pushed towards the sow by a horned demon. This Jew—with full beard, Jewish hat, and short mantle with a girdle—opens the sow's snout with his hands; the two look as if they are about to kiss.

The corbels under the wall posts are carved with two human heads which do not seem to belong to the scene above. On the left is a woman's head; on the right a man's, both smiling.

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The representation of the *Judensau* in Gniezno is clearly of German origin. Like the Golden Calf capital, it is very similar to other carvings in the Cathedral, and is datable to the middle of the fourteenth century.

The two capitals occur in the vicinity, though not in the context, of a series of vice symbols on the walls of the nave, opposite the Chapel.

The *Judensau* at Gniezno is reminiscent of features present in the examples at Brandenburg (Pl. 5), Magdeburg (Pls. 13 and 14), and Wittenberg (Pls. 26 and 27). Its stress on the close, obscene, contact of the Jews with the sow seems, however, more explicit and emphatic.

There is no reliable evidence about Jews in medieval Gniezno; some may have lived in neighbouring Zidowo during the thirteenth century.[124]

COLMAR (Pls. 23b, 24 and 25a)

On the Minster of St. Martin in Colmar there are two examples of the *Judensau*. The earlier is on the west façade of the building, tucked in a corner between the wall and the buttress and supporting a blind arch to the right of the portal.[125] It is a fragment, 60 cm. high, placed about four metres above ground-level. It shows a bearded man wearing a pointed Jewish hat of a triangular shape, shirt and perhaps trousers. The man half kneels, his back to the wall. With his right hand he lifts up a small sow and sucks at a teat. The body of the animal is badly broken and only its upper half survives

The fragment is datable, from the building history, to the middle of the fourteenth century.[126] Its relation, if any, to the tympanum of the west façade, is obscure.

The other *Judensau* on the Minster is a gargoyle on the south-east corner of the choir.[127] It is of sandstone and is about 130 cm. long, set some eight metres above ground. A huge sow with a gaping mouth is flanked by two Jews, each with one hand on the sow's crested back and another reaching for her teats. Two more Jews crouch under the sow's fore-legs and suck at its teats. All four wear Jewish hats with central shafts and knobs, and long mantles, quite different from those of the Jews on the west façade; their hair is long, and they are bearded.

The choir of St. Martin's was completed towards the end of the fourteenth century,[128] and this seems also to be the date of the gargoyle. There are many other gargoyles representing, in animal symbols and grotesques, the cardinal vices. There can be little doubt that the *Judensau* gargoyle is part of this series, obscenely representing the vice of *Gula*.[129]

A Jewish community existed in Colmar from the middle of the thirteenth century, when Jews lived near the Dominican convent. In the 1330s Jews found shelter in the city from menacing accusations, but in 1348, following an allegation of well-poisoning, the entire Jewish population was put to death by fire. New Jewish settlement began in 1360.[130]

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NORDHAUSEN (Pl. 25b, c)

The elaborate choir stalls in the Cathedral at Nordhausen include a minute representation of the *Judensau*.[131] It is carved on the lower part of the second wing of the north side, and shows a sow with a marked crest walking left and eating off the ground. Under the sow, their backs to the beholder, are two figures—one kneeling and one seated—holding teats in their hands to suck them. They wear long mantles, and Jewish hats with central knobs. The carving measures about 20 cm. by 20 cm. and is set in rich foliage. Above it are four eagles supporting the principal scene: a boy and a monk officiating at mass.

The *Judensau* may be related to other animal symbols on the stalls,[132] and be taken to symbolize *Gula*. The scale and style suggest an incidental use of a familiar and common motif.

The choir stalls of Nordhausen date from about 1380.[133] The Jews of Nordhausen were exterminated, probably by fire, in 1349. A year later, however, a Jew was admitted to citizenship of the city.[134]

WITTENBERG (Pls. 26 and 27)

A *Judensau* sculpture is set on the south-eastern corner of the choir of the Stadtkirche at Wittenberg, approximately eight metres above ground-level.[135] Above it is a narrow tiled roof and a two-line inscription:

Rabini
Schem HaMphora[s]

The scene is badly weathered and parts of it are broken and missing.[136] A large sow stands to the right, its head reaching the corner (the snout, made of metal, is partially broken). Two Jews kneel, backs to the beholder, and suck; a third crouches under the sow's neck, and holds in his left hand the ear of an approaching piglet. All three wear Jewish hats with central horn-like shafts, long hair and long robes. On the left a fourth Jew is seated. He is twice as big as the others, wears a similar hat (central knob broken) and robe, and his hair is similarly long. None wears a beard. The seated man holds up the sow's right hind-leg with his right hand, and his left arm is placed on top of the animal's tail. Both his left hand and the end of the tail are broken off, but it seems fairly certain the man is lifting the tail up. He is leaning and inclines his head to the right.

The dating of the relief is not easy; most scholars have put it in the fifteenth century.[137] Two clues hint at an earlier dating: the choir of the Stadtkirche was completed around 1300.[138] This, since the relief seems to be closely related to the architecture, furnishes an approximate *terminus a quo*. The bad state of the carving does not allow stylistic analysis, but the shape of the hats (flat and thin brims, central conical shafts) and the long hair and position of the hats on the men's

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heads are very similar to the gargoyle at Wimpfen and to the Jewish hats in the choir of Naumburg Cathedral, from the third quarter of the thirteenth century.[139] A striking parallel to this shape of *Judenhut* is in an illuminated Hebrew manuscript from the beginning of the fourteenth century.[140] These comparisons suggest a date early in the fourteenth century, roughly in the first third.

The *Judensau* at Wittenberg was interpreted in 1543 by Martin Luther; but since his interpretation was written two hundred years after the carving of the scene and conceived in a polemical context, it does not shed light on the original meaning of the relief. The inscription *Rabini Schem HaMphoras* (The Rabbi's expounded Name of God), at least two hundred years later than the relief, is clearly inspired by Luther's passage (see below, pp. 43f.).

This *Judensau* is placed outside the church but is not part of an allegorical cycle of vices. The emphasis on the activity round the animal's tail and hind-quarters which occurs here leaves little doubt about a derisive intention. The man lifting the tail is, judging by his prominence, probably a leader. In other words, it was at Wittenberg for the first time, as far as we know, that the motif was publicly exhibited not as a symbol of a particular vice but as a defamatory representation of the Jews. Here the isolation of the motif from a wider moralizing context and the elaboration of the obscene theme make the Jews sole target. There is no point in trying to elucidate this scene further, for there is no evidence to suggest that the sow of Wittenberg, or, in fact, any sow of the following century, was meant to stand for Judaism or Jewish teaching.[141]

The Jews were expelled from Wittenberg in 1304, but were allowed to re-settle there a short time after; evidence exists of a community in 1339.[142] A folk-tale, recorded in the late nineteenth century connects the *Judensau* with the expulsion of the Jews;[143] but sixteenth-century interpretations present it quite differently.[144] A link between the expulsion and the sculpture should not be totally discounted The special location of the sculpture and its lack of a symbolic context suggest such a link.

The ten fourteenth-century *Judensau* reliefs can be related to earlier representations of the motif. Brandenburg (Pl. 5) and Magdeburg (Pls. 13 and 14) are the most likely models for those at Cologne (Pl. 16b), Uppsala (Pl. 19–21), Gniezno (Pl. 23a), and Wittenberg (Pls. 26 and 27). Either of the sculptures at Regensburg (Pl. 18b) and Metz (Pl. 18a) may have inspired the other, but their features are also traceable to the older representations. The small sculpture at Colmar (Pl. 23b) and the carving at Nordhausen (Pl. 25b, c) may be regarded as reductions in scale of the motif and indicate its growing popularity. The gargoyles at Heiligenstadt (Pl. 16a) and Colmar (Pls. 24 and 25a) clearly continue the tradition of Wimpfen (Pl. 12) both in context and form.

About half of the extant fourteenth-century *Judensäue* still form part of cycles or a context of vices, but a shift in the meaning of the motif is most noticeable in

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two which occur without this emphasis on the obscene, at Gniezno (Pl. 23a) and Wittenberg (Pls. 26 and 27). The latter, without a broader context and outside a church, may be regarded as the first representation with an explicit abusive intention. Although probably one of the earliest reliefs of the fourteenth century, it has features in common with many examples of the following century similarly without moralizing context, on churches or on secular buildings.

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V. THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

ERFURT (Pl. 28)

THE earliest fifteenth-century *Judensau* is quite different from all previous examples. It is a relief on the north wing of the choir stalls in Erfurt Cathedral,[145] of 1400 to 1410.[146] At the foot of a high tree—whose branches form eight medallions in which King David, three musicians, and four angels are playing various musical instruments—a battle is raging between two riders. A young knight on a galloping horse and with a shield bearing the device of a fish is pointing a lance at the head of a Jew, who rides a bridled sow, wears a Jewish hat with a pointed horn, and is unarmed. The Jew holds the rein loose in his right hand and supports himself by holding with his left to a lower branch of the tree.

At first glance this jousting scene seems like a battle between Church and Synagogue, and so it has been interpreted.[147] But juxtaposed as in medieval representations Church and Synagogue are depicted as women;[148] whenever they are shown riding, their encounter takes place under the Living Cross, and their mounts are an ass or a ram for Synagoga and a tetramorphic animal for Ecclesia.[149] They are never depicted as riding a horse or sow, or as engaged in combat. Further doubts arise from a closer examination of the relief. There are none of the typical attributes of either Ecclesia (crown, chalice, sceptre, banner) or Synagoga (veiled eyes, falling crown, tables of the Law or a book, broken sceptre etc.). This lack of attributes and the inclusion, on the other hand, of a heraldic device, suggest a particular rather than a general meaning. The fish on the knight's shield probably denotes a definite family, and the scene represents or alludes to an actual clash. The representation is derogatory to Jew or Jews and is very similar to contemporary *Schandbilder* with victims often represented as riding a bitch, sow, or cow. I cannot identify the owner of the fish device.[150]

The Erfurt relief is the first representation of a Jew riding on a sow, and is in this respect an adaptation of the vice *Judensau*—perhaps also influenced by representations of *Gula* and *Luxuria* riding swine[151]—to a more specific, abusive, end.

FREISING

A similar example, last referred to in 1921, does not seem to exist today.[152] It had been in the Cathedral at Freising—it is not clear whether on a corbel or on a choir stall—since the fifteenth century, and showed a Jew riding a sow.[153] An inscription attached to it read: *So wahr die Maus die Katz nit frisst/wird der Jud kein wahrer Christ.*[154]

BRATISLAVA

There exists a short description of yet another similar *Judensau*, a gargoyle on a

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medieval tower of the Franciscan church at Bratislava (Pozsony), Hungary. A Jew, wearing a mantle with a girdle, rides a sow.[155] The description suggests that the gargoyle is fifteenth-century work.

BASLE (Pl. 29a)

Among the carvings on the choir stalls of the Minster of Basle is a *Judensau*.[156] It represents a large sow standing to the right; under it two Jews—wearing beards, long hair and Jewish hats—are sitting and sucking its teats. The stalls date from 1432 (some parts are perhaps somewhat earlier),[157] and the misericords carved on them seem to lack a definite scheme. Many are purely ornamental, some are heraldic, and a few represent the labours of the months. One carving represents *Discordia*—a couple quarrelling at a meal.[158] The *Judensau* seems to be an allegory of *Gula*, but it could have been adapted to symbolize the month of December.

THE FIRST *JUDENSAU* WOODCUTS (Pls. 29b and 30)

A woodcut,[159] instrumental in further disseminating the *Judensau* motif, was produced probably during the first half of the fifteenth century.[160] It survives only in a few uncoloured copies, all reprinted from the original wood-block during the seventeenth or eighteenth century (Pl. 30). The woodcut is of considerable size, 27 cm. by 42 cm., and shows a large sow surrounded by nine Jews, of whom two stand in the background and seven are caressing or sucking the animal. The first two are bearded and are twice as big as the other, beardless, young Jews. The figure on the left has a long beard, wears an oriental head-dress and holds a banderol inscribed: *wir iuden söllen all ansehen wie untz mit der su ist geschehen*. The other bearded man, whose head and shoulders are seen above the sow's crest, wears a shawl and holds a scroll with the inscription: *des söllen wir nit vergessen swinen fleisch söllen mir nit essen*. The caption running across the bottom of the sheet reads: *vm dz wir nit essen swinin brotten · dar vmb sind wir gel vnd stinckt vntz der oten*. One boy, seated on the left, is caressing and kissing the sow's snout. The scroll attached to him says: *nun sehen lieben lüt · wie ich vnser mutter trütt*. A group of four boys sit under the sow and suck. Another young Jew, the border of whose drapery is adorned with mock-Hebrew letters,[161] sits facing backwards on the sow, holds up the tail and sucks its tip. Under the lifted tail another boy sticks out his tongue, caressing with his left hand the sow's hind-leg and pointing with his right to its rectum .His *Spruchband* reads: *Sug liber bruder hartz, so bloß ich ir in der arß*.[162]

The woodcut was not an entirely original invention, but a free copy after an earlier one now only fragmentarily preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale.[163] The fifteenth-century coloured fragment shows the head and shoulders of the second bearded man above the sow's crest. What is left of his scroll reads, not unlike the one in the later woodcut: *wir suln des nit vorg*[*essen*] . . . (Pl. 29b).

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Wilhelm Bühler, who was the first to link the fragment with the large *Judensau* woodcut, also attempted to determine what changes had been introduced into the latter.[164] These, according to him, were: *a.* emphasis on Jewish expression by making the beard and nose longer; *b.* modernization of the inscription; *c.* enlargement of the woodcut by adding a whole section on the right—the rider, the boy behind the sow, and the dragon terminating the caption; *d.* the hind-quarters were moved a little to the right (the group of boys sucking teats was perhaps not in the original woodcut at all); *e.* perhaps also the addition of the boy at the snout.

Bühler's examination convinced him that the figure in the fragment and its counterpart in the later woodcut were of the same scale. If we were to deduce from this that the later woodcut had been copied in reverse, we would have to assume that certain additions were made, but we cannot take exact copying for granted. It is difficult to decide on the basis of the Paris fragment even whether the rider was missing in the earlier woodcut, and it is certainly impossible to make inferences about other figures in the later woodcut.[165]

Some late reprints, such as one in Frankfurt,[166] occur on the back of a Crucifixion scene, similarly reprinted from a fifteenth-century wood-block (Pl. 31a). This block, Bühler showed, was cut at Breisach; it bears the signature of one Claus, and its measurements, 41·9 cm. by 26·9 cm., are almost identical with the *Judensau* woodcut.[167] This led Bühler to suppose that the *Judensau* wood-block had been meant to be thus printed originally. At least in one instance, in the fifteenth-century wall paintings in the passage of the Frankfurt Brückenturm, Crucifixion and *Judensau* were indeed juxtaposed.[168] A juxtaposition of the two original woodcuts is therefore not entirely impossible. It could be explained as a depiction, side by side, of holy religion and the unholy faith.

As it stands, the woodcut is a single big anti-Jewish joke centred on associating the Jews, in an intimate and obscene manner, with the animal they most abhor. The inscriptions make the joke quite explicit. The caption reads: 'This is why we do not eat roast pork. And thus we are lustful and our breath stinks'. While one Jew, probably the religious teacher, pronounces the exhortation 'This we should not forget—swine's flesh we must not eat', the other elderly man invites 'all the Jews' to 'behold what came to pass between us and the sow'. While most of the youngsters take the part of sucking piglets, one calls the sow 'our mother' and another encourages his brother to suck the tail so as to uncover the rectum. The tenor of the joke is profane and, while there are no allusions to Judaism as such, the Jews are explicitly the target.

ZERBST (Pl. 31b)

A *Judensau* stone relief is placed on a buttress on the north-eastern side of the choir of the Nikolaikirche in Zerbst.[169] The choir was completed in 1446,[170] but from the way the relief is laid in, it seems that it was not strictly contemporary with the building, and that it was erected at some point between 1446 and 1488, when the western parts of the church were completed. Some scholars have mistakenly

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associated this relief with an expulsion of the Jews from Zerbst, but there is evidence from 1440, 1460 and 1488 of the existence of a Jewish community.[171]

The relief shows a big sow, marked with a Jewish badge, standing to the right; two Jews sit under it and suck, a third stands behind and lifts up the tail while holding with his right the sow's hind-leg, and a fourth Jew, prominent and bearded, sits on the right hugging the animal's head. This *Judensau* forms no part of a cycle, and seems, on the whole, a reduction of the *Judensau* woodcut.

HEILSBRONN (Pl. 32)

One corbel in the southern aisle of the church (formerly Klosterkirche) at Heilsbronn consists of a *Judensau* relief.[172] This and the other carved corbels in the nave, depicting such animal fables as the Fox preaching to the Geese, date from the fifteenth century. The statues above the corbels are modern and their bases are too large for the supports. The *Judensau* corbel is 26 cm. high, 27 cm. wide and 26 cm. deep. Six small Jews are clinging to an enormous sow. Two are behind, leaning against the hind-quarters, one holding on to the tail; three are sucking the gigantic teats, and one is seated under the sow's neck. The general impression is of a sow with a litter of Jew-pigs, and the carving, reminiscent of the *Judensau* woodcut, may have been shown as an animal fable. There are no Jews documented in medieval Heilsbronn.

FRANKFURT (cf. Pls. 41–45)

From the late fifteenth century until the early nineteenth the public passage of the Old Brückenturm—one of the busiest in Frankfurt—displayed a wall painting of an elaborate *Judensau* scene. The painting, originally next to a painting of the Crucifixion, combined two themes: the martyrdom of Simon of Trent and the *Judensau*—a combination which sets 1475 as its earliest possible date and which calls attention to a number of somewhat later prints on the subject of alleged ritual murder. The upper section of the picture at Frankfurt, depicting the body of Simon, seems to derive from similar Italian and German woodcuts of about 1479[173] (Pl. 33a), and not directly from contemporary prints depicting the actual torture inflicted on the child by the Jews (Schreiber, Nos. 1967, 1969, 1969a, 1970; Hind, E.III.45 and A.I.78). Still, one of these (Hind, A.I.78), probably Florentine and of about 1475–85 (Pl. 33b), contains a detail which may hint at a possible link: the Jews wear circular badges with small but clear pictures of boars.[174] This might have given the Frankfurt painter the idea of combining the story of Simon with a *Judensau* scene.

The history of the painting is only fragmentarily documented and we know more about its later restorations than its origin. Apart from the fact of its having combined the *Judensau* with Simon, little is known about the original state of the picture. Nothing is known about the painter[175]—there being no evidence to support Kirchner's remark that it was invented and painted by one Sebold who

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was paid six gold *Gulden* for it[176]—but it seems certain that the picture was commissioned by the city. The first recorded restoration—paid for, as all subsequent ones, by the city council—was carried out in 1507,[177] and this date serves as a *terminus ad quem* for the original painting. In 1610, the Frankfurt painter Philipp Uffenbach was paid for having restored the 'creutz' and the 'Juden gemelt' of the Brückenturm in the preceding year.[178] Further restorations were made in 1678[179] and 1709.[180] The Old Brückenturm was demolished in 1801.[181] The various changes introduced by the restorers will be discussed later, with the later history of the Frankfurt *Judensau*.

The juxtaposition with a Crucifixion was brought about when the Simon-*Judensau* picture replaced a painting of Christ on the Mount of Olives, next to an existing painting of the Crucifixion which had been there since 1430.[182] The analogy intended—crucifixion of Christ: martyrdom of Simon—is clear. An analogy between the Christ Child and the child Simon was also made in an Italian print of about 1475–85, where the scenes were interwoven.[183] At Frankfurt, *Judensau* and Jews are juxtaposed, emphatically so in the original painting.[184] As far as we can make out from later descriptions and prints, it was well in the tradition of contemporary *Schandbilder*.

SALZBURG

According to the account books of Salzburg, the sculptor Valknawer and the painter Hainrich were paid in 1487 for 'the Jews and sow on the tower of the Town Hall',[185] which does not survive. Only a few details of that lost sculpture are preserved in later accounts. It was near the clock, on top of the eastern wall of the tower,[186] depicted a sow suckling 'a few Jews',[187] bore the inscribed date 1520—most probably the date of restoration—and was removed, with the magistrates' consent, in 1785.[188]

No particular event in the history of the local Jews relates to the erection of the *Judensau*, but it was during a period of growing hostility. The Jews were expelled from Salzburg in 1498 after tension arising from the case of Simon of Trent in 1475 and with the alleged *Hostienschändung* at Passau in 1477, which directly involved the Salzburg community.[189]

CADOLZBURG (Pl. 34)

A *Judensau* is prominent on the gate of the late fourteenth-century castle at Cadolzburg,[190] next to the coats of arms of the owners, the Hohenzollern of Nuremberg. The relief measures 100 cm. by 140 cm. (inner frame), and is much weathered. Inhabitants of Cadolzburg, although unable to make out its contents, still refer to the relief as 'die Judensau'. With some effort one can see the large sow, standing to the right, together with the surrounding figures. A standing Jew, his hand on the animal's hind-leg, leans towards, and probably kisses, the

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rectum. A second Jew kneels on the ground and sucks one of the sow's teats. A third, bearded, Jew stands at the sow's head and hugs its neck. On the right another scene is depicted: the Golden Calf stands on a tall pillar round which three small Jews are dancing. The relief may well be a combination of two subjects made popular by woodcut broadsheets. The Golden Calf figures prominently in such a broadsheet of about 1475.[191]

There is evidence of Jews living in Cadolzburg during the first half of the fourteenth century, but not later.[192]

ASCHERSLEBEN

In 1893 E. Strassburger recorded a local story in the town of Aschersleben concerning the name of an entrance gate to the street *hinter der Darre* from the direction of the local fortress. The name of the gate was *Sautor*. When the Jews, the story has it, were expelled from Aschersleben in the year 1494 they left the town through this gate. To prevent their return forever a representation of a sow was put on it, whence the name of the gate.[193]

Two facts in the story are ascertainable: that the Jews were expelled in 1494,[194] and that there was a gate called *Sautor* in Aschersleben. The story about the gate is not doubted in Aschersleben today. The gate itself did not survive long.[195]

The story resembles that of the Hadrianic sow put up to repel Jews from coming back to their conquered city. Another version of the *Sautor* story was recorded in Wittenberg, connecting, with less plausibility, the local *Judensau* with an expulsion of the Jews.[196]

SPALT (Pl. 35a)

A fifteenth-century stone relief adorns the corner of a private house in the Herrengasse at Spalt[197] (today Stiftsgasse 147). It measures 38 cm. by 56 cm., and is set in the wall two metres above the ground.

A large sow stands to the left. Under it a Jew wearing a conical hat lies on his back. He sucks at a teat which he holds, with his left hand, pushing up the sow's fore-leg with his right.

WIENER NEUSTADT (Pl. 35b)

A further example of a *Judensau* from a private house is now in the Stadtmuseum at Wiener Neustadt in Austria. It is a relief carved in sandstone (height 40 cm., width 42 cm., depth 13 cm.), bears marks of old polychrome paint, and seems much weathered. The scene is crowded: a large sow stands to the left, four Jews suck at its teats, a fifth is on the ground and a sixth is clinging to the tail. The representation is agitated, with abrupt and emphatic movement.

The relief is of the fifteenth century. It was originally on no. 16, Hauptplatz,

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in Wiener Neustadt, which then belonged to the local patrician family of Haiden. Later the house belonged to a Georg Hartung von Kapellen, who sold it in 1495 to Wolfgang Haug.[198]

KELHEIM (Pl. 36a)

A third *Judensau* on a private house could be seen in Kelheim, near Regensburg, until the end of the Second World War. It has since disappeared, and the description is based on photographic reproductions.[199]

The carved stone (*c.* 70 cm. by 50 cm.) bears an inscription in four lines:

Año dni 1519 iar
wordē die ivdē zv̄
rengspv̄rg av̄sgesch
fft[200]

Under the inscription there is a *Judensau* scene in which three men handle the animal. Two stand lifting the sow, one of them holds the head of the sow to the right and makes her read a tablet inscribed with Hebrew letters which he is holding. The other man pulls at the hind-leg of the sow and puts his seal to its rectum. A third man sits on the ground and sucks at a teat in his hand. On the ground behind him is a closed book, and next to it a shield bearing a simple version of the coat of arms of Regensburg.

The representation is simpler than some interpretations of it.[201] It is an outright mockery of the Jews and their Law, conceived in the conventional style of the *Schandbilder* of the time: it shows a Jew putting his seal to the genitals of a female animal. The sow is also made by the Jews to read their Hebrew Law, symbolized by the tablet.[202]

But the relief is in the first place a commemoration of the expulsion of the Jews from Regensburg, and as such is in a local tradition, although the Jews seem to have been expelled from Kelheim in 1442.[203] There were some similar inscriptions in Kelheim celebrating the event; the house of the mayor, who came originally from Regensburg, had the following inscription:

Kaspar Amann
Anno dom. 1519 am Montag am Abent Petri
Stuhlfeyer sein die Juden aus der Stadt
Regensburg geshafft und am achten tag
gar keiner mer gesehen
LAUS DEO[204]

A number of Hebrew tombstones from the Jewish cemetery of Regensburg were brought to Kelheim, as to other places in the area, and were put upon façades of private houses. Under one of these another commemorative inscription was carved:

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Im 1519 Iar am 22 Hormung sindt die Iuden
hie zu Regensburg vertreiben worden[205]

The *Judensau* was originally placed on the façade of a private house facing a main road. It was removed during the first half of the nineteenth century by order of a local judge (Königlicher Landrichter von Wels) at the request of Jews who must have been offended by it. Subsequently the stone was transferred to the hall (*Hausfletz*) of the local pharmacy (*Stadtapotheke*), and, following the rebuilding of the house in 1895, it was put up on the façade of the pharmacy.[206] It remained there until 1945, when it was removed—probably chiselled off—by order of an officer of the U.S. Army.[207]

AERSCHOT (Pl. 36b)

One of the misericords (about 1510–25) in the choir stalls of Notre Dame at Aerschot, Belgium, seems a derivative of the *Judensau* motif. It shows a Jew, wearing a Jewish hat and a long robe, riding backwards on a nondescript animal and holding its tail.[208]

Isolated references to examples which have not survived illustrate the further dissemination of the *Judensau* in the fifteenth century. According to sources which cannot always be corroborated the motif occurred on the main church at Anhalt-Köthen,[209] 'on inns from which one wished to exclude Jews in Berlin and elsewhere'[210] at Dessau,[211] at Diesdorf near Magdeburg,[212] on the Mainz Gate at Friedberg (some twenty-five kilometres north of Frankfurt),[213] on a synagogue at Heidingsfeld near Würzburg,[214] at Torgau,[215] and at Zerbst.[215a]

No longer part of allegorical moralizing cycles, most of the examples in the last sections were intended as outright pictures of abuse. The *Judensau* appears now on secular public and private buildings with an apparently defamatory and derisive intention. Many of its examples show features identical to those of contemporary *Schandbilder*. Some were apparently influenced by *Judensau* woodcuts, themselves *Schandbild*-like representations.

The *Schandbild*, a defamatory picture, became in the fifteenth century a judicial instrument by which reluctant debtors or fugitive criminals were punished. The offenders were depicted in these pictures in a degrading manner. One way was to represent them putting their seal to the rectum and genitals of a female domestic animal—a mare, a cow, a sow, or a bitch—and sometimes riding it backwards (in itself a penalty for prostitutes and charlatans). Sometimes they were shown castrating their horses, on the wheel, or on the gallows.[216] By such pictures, which were circulated or exhibited in public, the honour of those depicted and of their families was destroyed—a serious punishment in a society that held family and personal honour as one of the most sacred values.

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The *Judensau* had been a potential *Schandbild* long before this judicial usage, and in the fifteenth century it readily merged with it. In fact the *Schandbild* representations may have partly utilized the *Judensau* motif against non-Jews. A satirical carving in the town hall of Damme, Belgium (Pl. 38a), apparently not connected with Jews,[217] shows like some *Judensäue*, and especially that of Frankfurt (Pls. 41–5), a man kneeling behind a sow. Some *Schandbilder* with sows (Pl. 37) are reminiscent of the *Judensau*, while the *Judensau* at Kelheim (Pl. 36a) seems a copy of a *Schandbild*.

This development is significant. The tenor of the *Judensau* pictures is entirely profane, not religious, and they clearly express the social rejection of the Jews. It is not by accident that some *Judensäue* were commissioned by cities and displayed in prominent places. In spite of the new theological meaning given to the motif in the following century by Luther, the secular character of the *Judensau* was not to be overshadowed. As late as 1618 it was utilized by the city of Poznań in an intentionally provocative manner against local Jews.[218]

The spread of the *Judensau* is also noticeable in other fields. Towards the end of the fifteenth century it was put on the stage. In a *Fastnachtspiel* entitled *Ein Spiel von dem Herzogen von Burgund*,[219] ascribed to Hans Folz, the Jews having announced the arrival of their Messiah, the Duke consults his knights on how to punish them for the blasphemy. The seventh knight suggests:

> Ich sprich, das man vor allen ding
> Die allergrost schweinsmutter pring,
> Darunter sie sich schmigen all,
> Saug ieder ein tutten mit schall;
> Der Messias lig unter dem schwanz!
> Was ir enpfall, das sol er ganz
> Zusammen in ein secklein pinden
> Und dann dasselb zu einem mal verschlinden.[220]

His advice is accepted, and 'Hie legen sich die juden unter die sau und der messias unter den zagel'.[221] The court fools, the *Narr* and *Nerrin*, mock the punished Jews:

> . . . Ir must ein wenig ein gedult han
> Und ie von der sau vor anspeissen,
> Solt sie euch allen in die meuler scheissen.[222]

The crude humour, typical of the genre, is basically the same as that of the *Judensau* scenes of the period.

The circumstances in which the scenes were exhibited vary from place to place, and local motives were not uniform. The *Judensau* was adapted to a variety of purposes—which underlines its prominence both as *the* anti-Jewish joke of the time, and as an association with 'the Jews'. This is illustrated by some contemporary German playing cards. The smallest value in cards, the Two (= *Zwei*,

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Daus), was called all over Southern Germany, for etymological and folkloristic reasons, *Sau*.[223] As a result swine were depicted in woodcut playing cards of *Zwei*, in all suits, not only in *Eichel*.[224] By association, attributes were added: the pig eating dirt, attacked by a dog, or bearing a small bell on its ear as an attribute of *Antoniusschwein*. In the same way the Jew was brought in to accompany the pig. Among the woodcut playing cards by Hans Leonhard Schäuffelein (about 1483–1540) preserved in Nuremberg, a Jew, complete with beard, circular badge and money bag, is depicted with an *Antoniusschwein* on a *Sau Eichel* card[225] (Pl. 38b). The association Jew-sow is certainly due to the many *Judensau* representations.

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VI. THE LATER HISTORY OF THE WITTENBERG SOW

MARTIN Luther's originally benevolent attitude towards Jews later underwent a thorough change. Once he gave up hope of converting them to reformed Christianity, Luther began to regard and treat the Jews as professed enemies of Christianity and Christians. During the last ten years of his life he repeatedly advocated that severe and ruthless measures be taken against them.[226] In 1543 he devoted two books to a bitter attack. While in the first, *Von den Juden und ihren Lügen*,[227] he produced a comprehensive anti-Jewish polemic, the second, *Vom Schem Hamphoras und vom Geschlecht Christi*,[228] was intended to refute a particular Jewish book, the *History of Jesus* (*Toldot Yeshu*).[229] It was in the second that Luther referred, in a passage that was to inspire many later writers, to the *Judensau* relief of Wittenberg. That passage, considered out of its context, also gave rise to many modern misinterpretations of the *Judensau* motif in general.

On the title page of *Von den Juden und ihren Lügen* the illustrator, Lucas Cranach, depicted a horned, full-bearded Moses in a fool's dress playing a keyboard instrument[230]—the only illustration to accompany any of Luther's books bearing on Jews. But though he never made use of illustrated broadsheets against them as he did in his attacks on the Roman Catholic Church,[231] Luther constantly used anti-Jewish metaphors that were very similar to visual depictions—not just in the vulgar language and obscene expressions with which many of Luther's writings abound, but in passages that could be described as verbal *Kampfbilder*. When scolding the Jews, in the first book, for obstinate misinterpretation of the Bible, Luther makes use of this vivid scene.

> Pfu euch hie, pfu euch dort, und wo ir seid, ir verdampten Jüden, das ir diese ernste, herrliche, tröstliche wort Gottes so schendlich auff ewern sterblichen, madichten, Geitzwanst zihen thüret, und schemet euch nicht, ewern Geitz so gröblich an den tag zu geben. Seid ir doch nicht werd, das ir die Biblia von aussen sollet ansehen, schweige, das ir drinnen lesen sollet. Ir soltet allein die Biblia lesen, die der Saw unter dem Schwantz stehet, und die buchstaben, so da selbs heraus fallen, fressen und sauffen, das were eine Bibel fur solche Propheten, die der Göttlichen Maiestet wort, so man mit allen ehren, zittern und freuden hören solt, so sewisch zu wülen und so schweinisch zu reissen.[232]

Similar imagery prevails when Luther describes, in the second book, the foul spiritual nourishment of the Jews.

> Wo sind sie nu, die losen Christen, so Jüden worden sind oder werden wollen, Hieher zum kuss, der Teuffel hat in die N. geschmissen und den bauch abermal geleert, Das ist ein recht Heiligthumb, das die Jüden, und was Jüde sein wil, küssen, fressen, sauffen und anbeten sollen. Und widderumb der Teuffel auch fressen und sauffen, was solche seine Jünger speien, oben und unten auswerffen können.[233]

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Metaphors similar to the last were also used by Luther, verbally[234] as well as visually,[235] to describe Popish and devilish teachings (Pl. 47b). It is not surprising, therefore, that when Luther referred later to the *Judensau* relief on the church at Wittenberg he deliberately used it as a *Kampfbild* to illustrate a similar point.

The Jews claimed in their *Toldot Yeshu* that Jesus could perform miracles merely because he craftily copied the *shem ha-meforash* (the mystically expounded Name of God) which had been carefully guarded, carved in stone, in the Temple. Luther, after explaining what the Jews mean by *shem ha-meforash* and how they compose it out of the names of seventy-two angels, proceeds to a dialogue with his reader.

Hie wirstu mich vielleicht fragen: Woher haben die Jüden diese hohe weisheit, das man Mosi Text, die heiligen unschuldigen Buchstaben, so sol teilen inn drey Vers und Arithmetische oder zalbuchstaben draus machen, Auch 72. Engel nennen, Und Summa, das gantze Schem Hamphoras der gestalt stellen? Da las mich mit zu frieden, frage die Rabinen drümb, die werden dirs wol sagen. Ja, ich wil zuvor von dir hören deine meinung, ehe ich ein Jüde werde, Denn darnach weis ich wol, das ich den Rabinen gleuben mus, Aber du hast mir der Jüden Catechismum verheissen, das halt auch.

Wolan, ich weis nicht sonderlich, wo sie es her haben, Aber nahe hinzu wil ich wol raten. Es ist hie zu Wittemberg an unser Pfarrkirchen eine Saw inn stein gehawen, da ligen junge Ferckel und Jüden unter, die saugen, Hinder der Saw stehet ein Rabin, der hebt der Saw das rechte bein empor, und mit seiner lincken hand zeucht er den pirtzel uber sich, bückt und kuckt mit grossem vleis der Saw unter dem pirtzel inn den Thalmud hinein, als wolt er etwas scharffes und sonderlichs lesen und ersehen. Daselbsher haben sie gewislich ir Schem Hamphoras. Denn es sind vorzeiten seer viel Jüden inn diesen Landen gewest, das beweisen die namen der Flecken, Dörffer, auch Bürger und Baur, die Ebreisch sind noch heutiges tages, Das etwa ein gelerter ehrlicher Man solch Bild hat angeben und abreissen lassen, der den unfletigen lügen der Jüden feind gewest ist. Denn also redet man bey den Deudschen von einem, der grosse klugheit on grund furgibt: Wo hat ers gelesen? Der Saw im (grob heraus) hindern.[236]

The culminating, derisive, point in Luther's 'reply' to his reader follows:

Hie zu möcht man leicht das wort Schem Hamphoras zihen und keren, nemlich 'Peres schama', oder, wie sie thun, künlich meistern und machen 'Schamha Peres', so lautets nahe zu samen. Gleich, als wenn ein Deudscher im hören oder lesen verstünde Nerren fur Neeren, Item, Er hat mir mein gütlein fein gebessert, ja gewessert. Also spottet der leidige böse Geist seiner gefangen Jüden, lesst sie sagen Schem Hamphoras und grosse ding drinnen gleuben und hoffen, Er aber meinet 'Scham Haperes', das heisst: Hie dreck, nicht der auff der Gassen Ligt, Sondern aus dem bauch kompt. . . [237].

The passage clearly reveals how Luther's peculiar interpretation of the Wittenberg relief came about. He applied a metaphor coupled with its underlying proverb of the sow[238] for an acid answer to the question about the origin of Jewish magical wisdom. Then he brought in the relief on the local church as an enlightening visual illustration, and by association followed it with a witty word play based on

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altered pronunciation of the two Hebrew words. There is no need for us to take that interpretation more seriously than its author meant it and turn his joke into a valid explanation of a scene carved more than two centuries earlier. It would certainly be wrong to use the witticism as a general explanation of the *Judensau* motif as such.

But the reference to the Wittenberg *Judensau* was taken seriously by Luther's followers, as well as by some influential Catholic writers, and as a result the relief became for a long time to come a *Kampfbild* with an explicit meaning. For Luther's reference to the sow as the Talmud in which the Jews, deceived by the Devil, find their great mysteries was regarded as profound and authoritative, and learned elaborations soon followed.

In 1596 Laurentius Fabricius, Professor of Hebrew at the University of Wittenberg, published *Oratio de Schemhamphorasch usu et abusu*, devoting a whole section to the *Judensau* relief. I shall quote it at length to show how Luther's reference was here seriously elaborated, how the *Judensau* was endowed with significant religious symbolism, how its origins were explained, and how the contemporary use of the motif was accounted for.

For Fabricius the *Shem ha-meforash* was a religious concept, a mystical doctrine whose true and false application he traced to the original schism between Judaism and Christianity.

Quid dicemus de hac profunda Iudaeorum ἀναισθησία? Venerat Filius Dei saluare populum suum, at sui eum non agnouerunt: venit Dominus in propria sua, & sui eum non receperunt. Ad instructas nuptias rex coelestis vocauit Iudaeos: at illi caeperunt se excusare. Dignatus illos fuerat Deus vita aeterna: Verum illi se indignos vita aeterna fecerunt. Elegerat Deus semen Abrahae in populum suum, ut essent sancti, sicut Deus ipsorum sanctus, at illi per incredulitatem exciderunt. Vocati erant & ad id electi, ut os Dei essent, quod replere suo verbo gestiebat Dominus: sed illi ora obstruxerunt Deo infusori omnia bona, & diabolo aperuerunt os & omnes sensus, qui eos impleuit omni mendacio, impietate, & blasphemia. Quia enim amorem veritatis non receperunt, ut salui fierent, ideo efficaces deceptiones illis misit Deus, ut credant mendacio, & damnetur omnes, qui veritati credere noluerunt, sed potius acquieuerunt in iniusticia.

Degenerauit primum illud sanctum Schemhamphoras, non est amplius nomen Dei expositum Sancta Trinitate, non est symbolum absconditi mysterii, & secretioris scientiae, quo soli pii ante Christum incarnatum gaudebant. Factum est Schemhamphorasch nunc Schamhapperesch, quod excaecatis Iudaeis ille dux tenebrarum pro sancto Schemhamphorasch obiecit. Est Schemhamphorasch, ad profanitates adhibitum, extra mysticum usum frequentatum, ad magiam usurpatum (quo omnes angelos in ordinem cogere, ut confestim omnia eis pro illorum lubitu faciant, & Deum ipsum illigare conantur) nihil aliud quam שם Scham, quod est ibi, & הפרש stercus, & foetidum animalium excrementum, quod Satanas Judaeis excaecatis lingendum & degustandum apponit, ut saturentur excrementis foedissimis, qui nauseabant ad fercula mysteriorum diuinorum.

After this description of the degeneration of *shem ha-meforash*, once a true mystical

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concept, into a black-magical Jewish usage—a description he derived from Luther by taking seriously the jocular word-play and appropriately inserting the Hebrew characters—Fabricius proceeds to explain the occurrence of carved sows on Christian churches.

Hanc foeditatem abusus faedissimi Schemhamphorasch, ut religiosi Christiani Iudaeis sibi cohabitantibus ob oculos ponerent, atque illos a suis aris & ritibus arcerent, neue sacras aedes ingressi aduersus Sanctam Trinitatem, aduersus Christum unigenitum Dei Filium, nascentem, patientem & ad caelos adscendentem, aduersus Mariam castissimam Christi genitricem, blasphemias eiacularentur, Scrofam aut porcam saxo incisam aut pictam in frontispicio portarum aut Templorum collocabant, & eorum conspectui obiiciebant. . . .

Cum ergo Christiani scirent, non solum esum & sacrificium Porcorum, sed etiam imaginem suis, in loco Sacro Iudaeis esse inuisam: Ideo locis sacris, quae intacta ab accessu Iudaeorum blasphemorum esse volebant, scrofas apponebant, non ut sacrum locum foedarent, vel Deum in suis sanctionibus illuderent, aut quaedam sacrificia probare, nonnulla improbare viderentur, sed ut loca diuinis cultibus dicata impuris Iudaeis inuisa redderent, ut Porcae imagine ab eorum ingressu arcerentur. Iudaei enim hodierni non solum Christianos: sed & loca in quibus conuenitur, ad praestandum Deo cultum, extreme oderunt & abominantur. Haec fuit causa scrofae templo Wittebergae affixae, cuius imaginem paululum (si placet) intuebimur.

The description which follows, as well as the interpretation of the relief, are quite independent of Luther's text.

Cum te iter a Collegiis publicis per crates in Caemiterium detulit, videre licebit, si oculos eleuaberis, in extremitate muri prope tectum, porcam saxo insculptam cum hac inscriptione: *Rabini Schemhamphorasch*. Docet te inscriptio non verum usum sed abusum Schemhamphorasch, non eo modo intellectum, quem priore oratione explicatum audiuisti: sed quem hac posteriore Oratione sum persecutus. Eam ob causam non nuda supra Porcam ponitur inscriptio *Schemhamphorasch*: sed adiectum est vocabulum, *Rabinorum*, per quos non antiquissimos, eosque religiosissimos Doctores Iudaeos, qui, ut supra ostendimus, religiosissime de Iehoua & eius expositione sentiebant: intelliges: Verum per Rabinos intelligendi tibi veniunt Doctores Iudaei illi reprobi, excaecati, & infensissimi Messiae hostes: qui virtutem edendorum miraculorum Christo ereptam, in blasphemum & mendacissimum suum Schemhamphorasch, cum summa ignominia Dei, & extrema sua pernitie transtulerunt.

Sed quid occurit sub inscriptione illa? Offertur porcae sculptae imago: videas ibi, ingentem Scrofam mammillis dependentibus stare, non alio modo, quam cum porcae lactantes, grunnitu seu screatu blandiore lac nutrimentale porcellis propinant. Habet vero haec scrofa sub se tres puerulos Iudaicos, quorum duo auersa facie ex scrofae sugunt mammillis, tertius vero horum, aperta facie sub aluo scrofae ad spectatores prospectat. Sub collo vero scrofae accurrit porcellus, ut cum pueris mammillas suis una sugat.

An nihil praeterea cernere est? Immo, in parte scrofae posteriore videbis grandiorem Iudaeum mitra professionis Rabbinicae ornatum, hic accumbens, videtur sinistra porcae

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caudam eleuare, & dextra pedem dextrum suis, non in codicem, sed in eius podicem limis oculis prospectare, & meditabundus intentis sensibus nescio quae mysteria in Thalmud scrofae rimari, tumultuantesque intestinorum flatus audire, ut horum oraculis edoctus noui quippiam ad suos auditores Iudaeos referre queat. Postquam imaginis singulas partes, contemplatus fuisti, siste nonnihil gradum, & singularum partium interpretationem meditare.

Totam hanc sculpturam in odium Rabinorum osorum Dei, & blasphematorum Messiae, & eius sanctissimae matris, esse collocatam certum est: Qui cum toto grege Iudaico nihil diuini sapiunt, nihil oraculorum diuinorum Sacris Bibliis comprehensorum intelligunt, sed mera *Rabbinica*, seu potius Ethnica & diabolica tradunt & hauriunt dogmata: quique pro scaturientibus aquis in vitam aeternam sugunt lac suillum: qui pro articulis Euangelicis, qui & ipsis in salutem cedere debebant, si Messiam natum fide exoscularentur, vorant non nisi Schamhapperesch, fimos & sterquilinia.

Attende vero ipsorum παιδείαν: habent porcam magistram, porcarium paedagogum, & ut uno dicam verbo, tota ipsorum disciplina est porculatio, omnes illorum Doctores, porculatores. Quam enim porcam pii Iudaei olim ad esum & sacrificium non admittebant, illam hodie Iudaei ignari, magistram sibi constituerunt. Qui relicto sacro Codice, occupantur in magistrae suae podice. Nec iuniores Iudaei salubrius lac sugunt, quam grandiores suppeditant. Quaerunt hi omnia sua mysteria in Thalmud porcino: sugunt illi omnem impuritatem ex mammillis porcinis. Sic resecti ab Olea & vite Christo per incredulitatem, non nisi impurissimas foeditates sectantur. Deserto Christo adhaerent scrofae, spreta doctrina Messiae, stercora vorant, neglecto verbo vitae lac suum lutulentarum sorbent. Haec voluerunt Christiani religiosi hostium Iudaeorum hostes, hac porcaria imagine & Iudaeis & fideli populo ob oculos ponere.

Here Fabricius, turning to trace the origins of the Wittenberg *Judensau* relief, quotes Luther, mainly to show that he was not its originator:

Sed quis est primus inventor huius picturae? Non certe Diuus Lutherus, qui hanc saxeam scrofam cum Wittebergam veniret, Wittebergae inuenit, & de hac in suis Polemicis scriptis aduersus Iudaeos ita scriptum reliquit: [Here follows a translation of part of Luther's reference to the relief, namely, from 'Est hic Wittebergae ad templum Parochiale porca saxo incisa . . .' up to '. . . ubi legit hanc? In Podice, sine verecundia satis rustice, scrofae'.] Haec Lutherus de scrofa.

Unde manifestum, iam olim hanc saxeam scrofam hic fuisse. Sic enim illi, qui nomen Christi professi erant, Iudaeos nominis Christi hostes perpetuos, lacessere & a suis focis arcere consueuerant. Hoc enim nomine in hospitiorum publicorum, a quibus Iudaeos exulare uoluerunt, suem pictum aut sculptum prostibulis collocabant, ut videre est Berlini & alibi. Hoc modo etiam Iudaeos Germani a suis aris & templis abigebant, a quibus suum cultum irrideri, dum & matrem eius blasphemari etiam in Sacris Templis audiebant. Iam enim olim cum in his regionibus dominaretur Antichristus Romanus, ex indultu Pontificis Romani, & quorundam principum, multi habitaverunt in his locis Iudaei, non solum Iudaismum propalantes: sed iuxta, Christianorum sacras Ceremonias irridentes, qui non raro solebant, in eorum irruere templa, & suas blasphemias eructare.

Further examples of the motif known to Fabricius are enumerated:

Hoc fine etiam apud nos Wittebergae sus lapideus templo adhaeret: eadem de causa in

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antiqua Soraborum urbe in ducatu vicino Anhaldino, columnae templi exteriori suem lapidi incisum spectamus: talem scrofam Iudaeos lactantem videre licet Magdeburgi in templo magno Canonicorum in sacello in quo versus occidentem, Imperatoris Romani Ottonis primi sepulchrum ostenditur. huiusmodi porcam videbis in Bavaria Salisburgi curiae incisam in ignominiam Iudaeorum, qui aliquando hostiam coene consecratam, & emptam a Monacho, ibi consciderunt: & procul dubio in aliis locis, eiusmodi porcae plures imagines reperire licebit.

Finally, the usage is traced back to the Hadrianic sow of the second century.

Tales vero Porcarum sculpturas in ignominiam Iudaeorum efformatas, publicis locis, ut portis, & templis apponere coeperunt, imitati exemplum Hadriani Imperatoris, qui circa annum Christi 139 non solum legem tulit, nequis Iudaeorum in Ierusalem, a se novo restauratam, & a suo nomine Aeliam dictam ingrederetur, cum urbem solis Christianis inhabitandum [*sic*] concessisset: sed etiam, ne quis illorum ex locis sublimioribus & longinquis terram Palaestinam spectaret, seuere interdixit: Et quo magis ab accessu & introitu in urbem, Iudaeos deterreret, in publicam gentis Iudaicae ignominiam portae, qua Bethlehem itur, ante annos 1450 plus minus, annis ab hoc 96 retro computatis, suem marmoreum imposuit.

Hoc terriculamento a locis sacris Iudaeos abigendi ab eo usque tempore Christiani uti caeperunt, & ex Iudaea in Graeciam, ex Graecia in Germaniam transtulerunt, quo signo publice professi sunt, se alienos a Iudaica religione, & optare ne ab impiis Iudaeis in suis ritibus turbentur, quoue tutiores esse possent a sannis & blasphemiis Iudaeorum, in suis templis illos hac suis sculptae imagine a Caemiteriis, a foribus, & aris templorum suorum arcere voluerunt.[239]

The entire *Judensau* section of Fabricius was soon repeated in two learned and widely read works. In 1600 Johannes Wolf, a retired jurist and once a student at Wittenberg (1537–1600), included it in his *Lectiones memorabiles,* published at Louvain.[240] In 1614, and again in 1615, the section was reprinted at Mainz in 'De perfidia Judaeorum', a lengthy chapter anonymously added to an earlier book, the *Dies caniculares*[241] of Simon Maiolus (*c.* 1520–*c.*1597), bishop of Volturara. The author of this addition, the prolific Lutheran pastor Georg Draud (1573–*c.* 1630), was ostensibly quoting Fabricius in full ('Non pigebit autem integra eius [i.e. Fabricii] verba recensere, continent enim plurima memoranda'),[242] but he omitted the references to Luther. He also left out the Hebrew words and misspelled their transliteration, thus rendering the crude word-play meaningless.

It was from this book that another Catholic writer borrowed the *Judensau.* In 1622 Pierre de l'Ancre utilized the motif in his *L'incrédulité et mescréance du sortilège pleinement convaincue,* published in Paris. De l'Ancre, 'conseilleur du Roy en son Conseil d'Estat', was the Grand Inquisitor of witches in France, and his book was intended not only to report his past achievements, but also to serve as a weapon against sorcery in all its forms.[243] The Jews were just another kind of witch, and hence his treatment of the passage he found in Maiolus. Dropping the *shem hameforash* point altogether, he describes the motif as a *Kampfbild* against blaspheming Jews, emphasizing filth as the attribute common to Jews and pigs.[244]

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So widely known was Maiolus' book that when Hermann Hermes—a Salzburg jurist, and author of *Fasciculus juris publicis* (Salzburg, 1663)—described a *Judensau* relief in his own city, he preferred to do so by copying the description of the Wittenberg relief he had found in Maiolus' volume.[245]

In the same year, 1663, Maiolus was also copied by the German popular poet and humorist Johannes Praetorius in his *Saturnalia*, published at Leipzig.[246] Praetorius gathered much material on the *Judensau* and did not fail to include in his book Luther's original reference to it as well.[247] In 1671 the *Lectiones memorabiles* of Wolf were published again at Frankfurt. Maiolus' book was re-issued at Frankfurt in 1642 and in 1667, and at Offenbach in 1691.[248]

A piece of evidence shows how popular and wide-spread this anti-Jewish emblem now was. Johann Christoph Wagenseil recounts in 1693 a conversation with a German painter. The man told him how he played a trick on some Jews who had commissioned him to decorate the interior of their synagogue. In the most sacred part, near the holy ark, where the Jews keep their sacred scrolls—he told Wagenseil—he painted, with oil, the 'Judaicum Schem Hamphorasch' and covered it with water-colours which would eventually flake away, and reveal the 'Emblem'.

> Ego [continues Wagenseil], cum non statim perciperem, quid ille significaret, quaeso te, inquiebam, Amice, quis te edocuit Judaeorum illa mysteria, quae Schem Hamphorasch complectitur, vix uni aut alteri, etiam inter ipsos cognita? Tum is: apage illorum mysteria, Schem Hamphorasch Wittebergense ego intelligo, sive veterem & ingentem lapideam Scrofam, quam ibi Templi Parochialis paries exterior exhibet, cum inscriptione, *Rabini Schem Hamphorasch*. Repraesentabat deinde verbis illud Simulacrum, sed confuse. Ha ha ha! respondebam ego, fateor, me Wittebergae nunquam fuisse, sed nunc redit in memoriam, vidisse me ectypum illius Schem Hamphorasch apud Wolfium in Lectionibus Memorabilibus, et legisse explicationem; ac ad patremfamilias, qui inter doctos nomen profitebatur, & bibliotheca instructus erat, converso sermone, fac, precor, dicebam, nobis Wolfii copiam, ut convivium hoc, aspectu rei lepidae, fiat jucundius. Allato libro, omnium oculis subjiciebam figuram scitam, & praelegebam. . . [249].

The *Judensau* relief of Wittenberg was also briefly described and presented as an anti-Jewish emblem in guides for pilgrims [250] and in treatises chiefly intended for antiquaries.[251] The latest reference to it combined that genre with the original tradition of Fabricius. In *Centuria epistolarum itinerariarum*, which F. E. Brückmann published at Wolffenbüttel (and dedicated to the President of the Royal Society, Sir Hans Sloane), the *Judensau* of Wittenberg, although treated as a curiosity worth the antiquary's while, was described in Fabricius's fanatic words, a substantial number of them copied out of Praetorius's compilation.[252] Like the works of Wolf and Praetorius, Brückmann's description is illustrated with a picture of the Wittenberg sculpture (Pl. 39). In all the illustrations the scene is shown in a natural setting, and not as a relief on a church. In most of them the rabbi and one of the younger Jews are shown drinking the animal's urine.

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The *Judensau* of Wittenberg, in a greatly simplified form, was also incorporated in an eighteenth-century print satirizing two false Messiahs, Sabbathai Zevi and 'Jacobus Melstinius' (Pl. 40).[253]

The history of the Wittenberg sow from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries is not merely one of consecutive borrowing, copying and modifying. To see how it inspired jokes, word-play and rhymes—or to see how the motif was established and became popular—we should turn again to the 1633 compilation by Praetorius, not considered in detail so far. *Saturnalia: das ist eine Compagnie Weihnachts-Fratzen oder Centner-Lügen und possierliche Propositiones* is a humorous collection, and its anti-Jewish remarks are unrestrained. They occur in two chapters; the first, 'Propositio VI. Die verfluchten Jüden sagen, dass Christus in der Weihnachts-Nacht, durch alle heimliche Gemächer krichen müsse',[254] abounds in derisive word-play and epithets, for example: 'Judaeus = Ei du Sau';[255] 'Sus ad volutabro luti = volutate vos ad suem';[256] 'Wenn wir unsere heiligen Weyhnachten celebriren, so haben sie ihre heuligen oder heulenden Schweinachten'.[257] Some of the epithets are: 'Saufreunde',[258] 'Schweinfürtische Juden',[259] 'stinckende Leute und Sau-Männer'.[260] Granting that Praetorius himself could be the author of some of them, one can still assume that such things had been current in Germany before him. We know Luther equated the preaching of the Gospel to the Jews with preaching it to a sow,[261] and that, in another place, he jokingly took *Rabinen* (rabbis) as *Rangen* (old swine), and referred to Jews as 'Sew Jüden inn irer Sawschulen'.[262]

In the same chapter Praetorius also quotes at length the old legend, discussed above, of the transformation of a Jewess into a sow giving suck.[263] Finally, before quoting Luther's famous reference to the Wittenberg sow, Praetorius cites a Latin poem devoted to that relief by Petrus Winstrupius Danus, who must have derived his inspiration from Fabricius.

SCHEMHAMPHORASCH

Plurima, quae laudatorem mereant, *Witebergae* sunt. . . .
  Plurima sunt illic, quae memorabilia;
Non memorare lubet jam singula versibus, unum
  Commemorabo tamen, quod mihi praecipuum:
In templo Witebergensi, quod cingitur urbis
  Moenibus & domibus, schema videre licet:
Finxerunt illic Veteres in dedecus ipsis
  Judaeis, quoniam sunt athei nimium:
Rabbinos vero *bis binos* exprimit illud
  atque *sues*, inter quas minor una, duas.
Rabbini bini curvato poplite, flexi
  Ceu porci sugunt ubera bina *Suis*.
Tertius attollit caudam *Suis* hujus, ocellis
  Inspiciens culum, seu speculum, patulis:

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Quartus scurra *Suis* contrectat colla minoris
  Laeva, sed dextra vellicat auriculam.
Tale repraesentat tibi subsequa pagina schema,
  Quod tu subrides Lector amice, vide.
Ridiculum sane nobis hoc schema videtur,
  Quod momenta tamen maxima significat.
Sunt etenim Rabbinorum commenta nefanda,
  Stercoribus foedae, non meliora, *Suis*:
Thalmudicum syntagma velut culus *suis* est, quem
  Inspiciunt isti χρισομάχοι rigidi:
Discipulos Rabbinorum *porcos* reor esse,
  Rabbinosque *sues* esse reor bipedes:
Quando Rabbinos figmenta docet sua, scurras,
  Procelli sugunt ubera bina *suis*.
Cur vero perridiculae vox sancta figurae
  Additur? estne nefas addere sacra *sui*?
Nonne Dei sancti *nomen* notat *expositum Schem*
  Hamphorasch? cur haec vox tamen adjicitur?
Unio non spurcis procellis projicienda
  Est, cur adjicitur vocula sancta *Sui*?
Non modo *Schem* (nomen) pariunt haec grammata, *Schin; mem*
  Sed *Scham* (quod notat *hic*, *huc*) etiam pariunt:
Pe, *Resch*, *Schin*, faciunt *Pharasch*, faciunt quoque *peresch*,
  Hoc *Stercum* notat, id denotat *exposuit*:
Iudaeis equidem dictat fallax Satanas *Schem*
  Hamphorasch ut eos decipiat facile.
Sed niger iste sophista, putat non absque dolo *Scham*
  Happeresch, illic, nil cupit ille boni.
Sic istam gentem recutitam mancipat, atque
  Literulis dubiis ludificat Satanas:
Nil pro servitio nisi *stercora* foeda rependit
  Porcinae genti sordida *scrofa* stygis.[264]

The other relevant chapter in *Saturnalia* is not primarily concerned with Jews. It is 'Propostio XIV: Auf Weyhnachten soll man Schweine schlachten'.[265] Here, after quoting Fabricius's section (in Maiolus' version), Praetorius copies the German poem on the *Judensau* of Frankfurt, which will occupy the next chapter. This poem was the first to mention the two chief *Judensau* scenes together, and Praetorius was the first to bring together in his book materials relating to both. Otherwise the histories of these two *Judensäue* were largely independent of each other, and developed along completely different lines.

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VII. THE LATER HISTORY OF THE FRANKFURT SOW

IF THE sow of Wittenberg owed its popularity to Luther and Fabricius, who turned it into a theological emblem, the sow at Frankfurt became equally if not more famous, chiefly on its own merits. Its popularity, in fact, saved it from oblivion. For, when the public passage on which it was painted was demolished, there were already many prints to record the picture.

The prints seem to reflect two phases of the painting. The earlier is represented by a seventeenth-century glass painting [266] (Pl. 41a) as well as by two contemporary engraved broadsheets (Pl. 41b[267] and Pl. 41c[268]). The last of these contains a rhymed explanation in which we read that the picture shows the usury and malice of the Jews.

A. Siehe wie auff einer Saw hie sitzt
Ein Jüd, und reüter das er schwitzt,
Dem Pferd gibt er die sporen hart,
Hebt hinden auff das röslein zart.
B. Ein ander Moscht kompt auch herbeÿ
Halts Maul auff, ist den guten breÿ,
So die saw richt hinden auß,
C. Der schwartz Caspar helt ihn beÿ strauß
Hilft ihn beiden wacker zu recht,
Weil sie sind sein getrewe knecht.
D. Die dutten saugt des Mosches kind
E. Sara reütt auff dem Bock geschwind.
F. Das kindlein aber, so da leÿt
Gebunden, ist vor langer zeit,
Zu Trient von den Juden ermordt
G. Mit pfriemenn, wie auff seinem ort,
Die histori bezeuget gut,
Von dieses Jungen Märters blüt
* Hierdurch wirt vns klar angedeut
Der Juden wucher vnd boßheit,
Soll sich dan nicht schemen ein Christ,
Welcher auch selbst behafftet ist
Mit diesem laster, ob er schon
Kein küglein tragt als d'Juden thun.[269]

Despite some differences of detail, the two engravings and the glass painting agree on the main features. The changes introduced by the restorers in 1678 were recorded by a contemporary broadsheet[270] issued to commemorate the 'renewal' (Pl. 42a). The horned devil does not assist here in lifting the sow's tail; he has lost some devil-witch attributes (tail, goat-legs, claws, breasts) and is now completely

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dressed, looking more like a horned Jew. Sara the Jewess is differently clad; she does not ride the goat but is standing by it and holding its horn. The costume of the two adult Jews is completely changed, and so is the posture of the boy lying under the sow. The rhymes present the rider as Rabbi Shilo (a name with messianic connotations) and the Jewess (riding a ram like a witch) as his wife.

Der *Rabbi Schilo* ich bin lang herumb geritten,
Uff dieser bürsen Sau, und habe sehr gestritten,
Vor meine Brůder all, nun sie erlöset seyn,
So schenck ich ihnen gern auß diesem Becher ein.
Den Schwantz ich hebe auff, der Teuffel wolle halten,
Eines jeden *Juden Kopff*, von Jungen und von Alten,
So spritzt die liebe *Muck* von hinden ihren Safft,
Dem *Schmülgen* in die *Gosch*, es giebet ihnen Krafft.
Die allerliebste Milch läßt sie ein jeden saugen,
Sie heilet euren *Krind*, sie dienet euch zur Laugen,
Zu zwangen eure Bårt, zu reinigen den Wust,
Ach allersüste Milch, O lieblich Schweinen-Brust.
Die *Sarle* meine Frau, bemäntelt und zerschleyert,
Auff einem weissen Hengst, andächtig reit und feyert,
Zwey Hörner hat das Roß, als wie der Sünden-Bock
Mit dem sie durch die Lufft, fåhrt über Stein und Stock.
Ihr Brüder kommt herbey, auch brauchet solche Pferde,
Versammlet euch zu mir, daß wir nun eine Heerde,
Uffs zierlichst machen all, denn es ist die hohe Zeit,
Daß wir ins Heilig-Land Marchieren ohngescheut.
Es möcht sonst unser Mord, den wir von längst erweisen,
An eines Gärbers Kind, kundt werden und verdriessen
Die *Goyen* wiederumb, die That dort zu Trient
Gar brechen Hals und Bein, und machen uns ein End.
Drumb fort und sämbt euch nicht, wir haben lang gestuncken,
Verderben manchen Mann, entzogen sein Gewerb,
Eilt euch so viel ihr könnt, wir seind allschon zu merb.
Den Galgen— und das Rad, wir haben längst verschuldet
Ob schon zu einer Straff wir worden sein gedultet,
So ist es nun mehr auß, weil wir so unverschambt,
Kein Buß nicht nehmen an, so sein wir all verdambt.[271]

The broadsheet also imitates the Jewish dialect. A diminutive Jew, looking at the wall-painting in the Brückenturm passage says, 'Au wei wo Reit du'. The inscription above the Judensau scene in the print reads 'Au Weyh Rabb Ansch au au mauschi au weyh au au'. The tendency to characterize the Jews by adapting their dress to current Jewish fashion, by giving them Jewish names, and by copying their odd language increases in later prints. 'Typical' Jewish facial traits are similarly emphasized.

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The Jews of Frankfurt tried to get the painting removed from the Bridge Tower passage, but in vain. The source of this trace of Jewish reaction to the *Judensau* is not quite clear. It seems to record a rumour rather than exact information. On the other hand, it certainly describes the painting as it was after the restoration of 1678.[272]

Of two later engravings, probably originating after the restoration of 1709,[273] one (signed 'L. D. Jost scul.')[274] (Pls. 42b, 43a) includes the following crude rhyme:

Sauff du die Milch friss du den dreck,
das ist doch euer bestes geschleck.

In 1714 Schudt illustrated his *Jüdische Merckwürdigkeiten* with a print copied after the group, but took out the rhyme (Pl. 43b). Still, the obscene verse was to recur in every future print, and it is very possible that it had been part of the wall-painting in the early eighteenth century.

Compared with the print of 1678, the three last-mentioned engravings show the Jewess in a somewhat different costume and attitude; the boy under the sow underwent similar changes. The rider (now wearing eye-glasses), the devil and the Jew kneeling behind the animal, were all endowed with prominent hooked noses.

Further modifications are shown in two more prints[275] and a derivative water-colour[276] (Pls. 43c, d; 44a), the major difference being the altered position of the boy under the sow. (One of this group was copied in a German lithograph of the nineteenth century, with a modified inscription. Pl. 44c)[277] In a later elaborate etching the devil was endowed with spectacles and with a label 'Dieses ist der Juden Teuffel'[278] (the same coloured with tempera: HM, N. 54040;[279] watercolour after it: HM, C. 19830.[280] Pls. 45b; 44b, d). The inscriptions are here both in German and French, and are amplified:

Sauff Mauschi sauff die Milch friss du Rabbi den Dreck,
es ist doch alle zeit euer bestes Geschleck!
Bois Mauche, bois ce lait! Manges Juifs ces ordures!
Ces sont friands pour vous, de bonnes confitures.

All the prints of the Frankfurt wall-painting were produced in Germany with the exception of one Dutch illustration of 1747,[281] which, missing so many points, must have been based on a verbal description (Pl. 45a).

Apart from the engravings and etchings (and, we have to assume, applied arts like glass-painting), prints had been produced earlier in which the influence of the Frankfurt *Judensau* is apparent. They illuminate another interesting aspect of the history of the Frankfurt sow. For, if its graphic reproductions indicate by their number and repetition the popularity of the Brückenturm painting, these show

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to what variety of purposes it was applied, and in what wider connections it occurred.

The earliest print using the Frankfurt *Judensau* is a large broadsheet of 1563, the upper part occupied by an intricate woodcut representation, the lower by related verses [282] (Pl. 46). The rhymed title reads:

> Der Juden zukünfftiger Messias gross,
> Sein Hoffgesind vnd Schelmen genoss,
> Welche vnsern Herrn Christum verspeyen,
> All Christen vnd Oberkeyt vermaledeyen,
> Sie kommen auff irem Talmuth reyten,
> Jucken jn wol auff allen seyten,
> Sie folgen jrem Engel der sie fürt,
> Wie jetzt hernach gelesen würt.[283]

The woodcut depicts a procession of Jews advancing, beneath a flame-spitting scorpion and between two devils, to hell. In the centre the Frankfurt sow, slightly modified, carries on her back the false Messiah and his friend; she suckles one Jew, is milked by another, and excretes into the mouth of a third.

Apart from the sow and the two devils there are fourteen characters in the scene, thirteen of whom are numbered and have rhymed parts in the corresponding text. The devil in front urges the Jews to follow him to hell, the 'Badstub' he hopes to heat for them. 'Open up, we are not far from hell!' exclaims *Schulklepper* (= *Schulklopfer*, the synagogue sexton:[284] 2) while the trumpeter (3) says 'Ich pfeyff vnserm Messias disen Tantz. . . . Er bessicht im Talmuth buch gar fein, Wie vil der Schelmen noch dahinden sein'. The herald (4) and the Messiah (5) again state the destination of the procession. The Jew who rides the sow backwards and lifts its tail is called Rabi Jekoff (Jacob: 6). He explains:

> Ich reyt auff vnserm Talmuth auch,
> Vnd befind, das er will werden schwach,
> Darumb kompt her jr Raben all,[285]
> Versucht wie eüch der Talmuth gefall,
> Ich thu auch den fürhang die auffdecken,
> Rabi Süsskind soll jn zum ersten schmecken,
> Damit er könn anzeigen frey,
> Wie doch der Talmuth geschehen sey.[286]

Rabbi Dofuth (David: 7) urges Rabbi Süsskind (8) to open his mouth wide, to prevent any of the 'holy teachings' from falling to the ground. Rabbi Senderlein (Sender, Alexander: 9), after Süsskind has reported that the sow-Talmud is indeed ill, milks it and hopes to get from it the right means for causing harm to Christians. But 'Je mehr wir fluchen, thun sie sich stercken', and the physician Joseph (10) is

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called in to help the sick sow. After uttering a stark blasphemy ('All goym mit jrem gehenckten Gott') the doctor refers to Rabbi Feidel (Feitl: 11) who professionally recommends more efficient means against Christians, namely falsifying deeds and forging seals. He presents two thievish charlatans, Juncker Siegeldieb (12) and his friend Mannus Jud (13). Rabbi Leser (Eliezer: 14) sums up the Jewish attitude:

> Wir müssen eins beym andern treiben,
> Auff das keyn Goy bey vns thu bleiben,
> Des Talmuths hab ich gesoffen so viel,
> Darumb verfluch ich sie ohn mass vnd ziel,
> Darzu die höchste Oberkeit,
> Hat es kein krafft so ist mirs leidt,
> Auch Keyser, König, Fürsten und Herren,
> Thut uns der heylig Talmuth lernen.[287]

The 'poor sow' (15) bewails her fate. She knows she must supply the good roast pork for the hellish banquet Lucifer (16) is preparing for the Jews.

The identification of the sow with the Talmud, which had been invented by Luther for the sow of Wittenberg, was here applied to a picture in which the sow of Frankfurt prominently figures. This identification, to be sure, was here exploited to the end, and not without talent and sophistication. The Talmud, source of all Jewish evil, is held up to the utmost derision. The Jews, both as a whole community and as vivid and recognizable types, are similarly ridiculed. The Jewish sexton, rabbis, physician and criminals have familiar Jewish names; they stress their solidarity in common hatred of Christians, and support one another in actual acts of enmity against them. They have collectively rejected the true Messiah, and now plot against his followers and blaspheme against Him; they cling to a false one who leads them to hell. There are echoes here of satires on the Jews who accept charlatans as redeemers; there are features strongly reminiscent of theatrical settings like the *Fastnachtspiel*; there are clear allusions to, if not a summary of, recent fifteenth- and sixteenth-century broadsheets, pamphlets and books against Jewish usury, extortion, dishonesty, and malice; the satirical motif of the *Badstub* also appears. That all these arguments and traditions were brought together round the *Judensau* is a tribute to its status as a comprehensive symbol of Jews and Judaism in the sixteenth century.

Two more woodcuts illustrate, in a different manner, both the popularity of the *Judensau* as an anti-Jewish motif and its relation to former non-Jewish sows. The title page of *Der Juden Erbarkeit*, a rhymed booklet against Jewish usury published in 1571, is illustrated with a woodcut depicting three Jewish demons, one of which is riding a sow and playing the bagpipes (Pl. 47a). The figure of the riding Jew is certainly derived from a Lutheran double *Kampfbild* of 1545, depicting, on the left side, the Pope riding a sow and holding dung in his hand (Pl. 47b)

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and, on the right, the ass-headed Pope (or *Papst-Esel*) playing the bagpipes.[288] On the other hand, the *Wunderzeitung* of 1574, reporting the birth to a Jewess near Augsburg of twin piglets[289] (Pl. 48) draws on an older tradition. Its author, Johann Fischart, basically repeats what Sebastian Brant began about eighty years earlier. When Brant published his broadsheet about the 'wunderbare Su zu Landser' in 1496, he took the birth of the double-sow as a warning for the approach of the Turks:

> . . . Ein Su ist eyn wüst vnreyn thier
> Die in vnflat sücht all ir zier,
> Als düt der Türcken vnreyn schar
> In allem vnflat leben gar,
> Die Su der Türcken bruter ist,
> Wol würd verglicht sie dem endkrist. . . .[290]

Fischart's broadsheet is moralizing rather than political. It combines anti-Jewish satire—the piglets are 'Judenfärlin vnd Säujüdlin', and Jewry is 'Judisch Talmutgschlecht' wallowing in sow's dirt, symbol of worldly desires—with an interpretation of the monstrous birth as a warning to all:

> . . . Derhalben sollen dise zaichen
> Christen vnd Juden zur warnung raichen,
> Vom säulichen leben zulasen. . . .

'Non-Jewish' swine so to speak were readily associated here, as in the former example, with Jews.

The *Judensau*, however, seems to have held sway as a central, comprehensive symbol throughout the sixteenth century, for it figures prominently in a number of prints from the beginning of the following century. In a particularly unpleasant broadsheet entitled *Der Juden Synagog*[291] (Pl. 49) the Frankfurt sow was adapted in a manner similar to that of the 1563 woodcut. The broadsheet combines a rhymed text with an engraved illustration signed by 'HA Wo: GLASMALLER'. This seems to be the glass painter Hans Wolff, who had come from Mainz[292] to Frankfurt and became a citizen there in 1612; he died between 1618 and April 1627.[293] The broadsheet, then, is of Frankfurt origin, which explains its affinity to the Brückenturm wall painting. The *Judensau* figures here again as the symbol *par excellence* of perverted Judaism and Jews. The obscenity is carried, both in text and illustration, to a nauseating extreme. The synagogue is a pigsty, and the gigantic sow in the centre is surrounded by minor emblems of Judaism, such as the Golden Calf, Simon of Trent, and Jewish books, as well as by many Jews, all of criminal professions, who are given derisive names. Like the older woodcut, the broadsheet is marked by the derisory attitude towards Jewry as a whole, recording all its evils and presenting a picture of it which is at the same time hateful and jocular. The text, which is closely connected with the picture, reads:

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DER JUDEN SYNAGOG,

Vff Teutsch Kirch oder Schul genandt,
Damit es werd im Reich bekandt,

Zu gefallen also des erdicht,
Der Leser wolts verachten nicht.

A. Arawenos der gelehrte Narr
Zeigt an den Seckel vnd Brieffe ferr,
Die Spitzköpff zu vnterweisen,
Wie sie die Christen sollen bescheissen.
B. Butzmann der galgendieb,
Stöst den Heber in Arß fein tieff.
C. Cuntzmann schleckt auß, wart mit fleiß,
Biß die Sauw jhm ins Maul scheiß,
D. Doctor Hünereyer kam auch herbey,
Damit der Rath fein gantz sey,
E. Ertzmann spitzbub in der Karten,
Thut des fressens vn schlemens auch wartē.
F. Fortz fresser fang auff, friß geschwindt,
Es ist gut für vnser Gesindt.
G. Gumbel zum Sewtrog macht sich leicht,
Freylich ein Sauw die ander reucht.
H. Hermann Stutz ist mein Namen,
So kompt die Gesellschafft zusammen.
I. Iudas verrieth Christum behendt,
Auch das Kindlein zu Tryent.
K. Krotzebeisser steht mit weil,
Sicht an das Kalb an der Seul.
L. Lortzarß Kotzaff heiß ich,
Die Sauw mit dem Strick führ ich.
M. Mutzkopff bey der Stiegen,
Hat ein Buch, kan frey drauß liegen,
Letzlich vnser Freyheit nichts benommen,
Weil die Gesellschafft ist beynander komen.
Also bleibt wer jr seydt,
Das euch der Teuffel reit.
Ein Ehrliebenden Christ die Noth zwingt,
Der Iude singt,
Vnd der Teuffel springt,
Letzlich das Fewr brint.[294]

The *Judensau* of Frankfurt was also added to an early seventeenth-century picture-story, *Der Juden Badstub*[295] (Pl. 51) and another, probably earlier, version[296] (Pl. 50).

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The three scenes depicting the martyr of Trent, the Jew-suckling sow, and the riding Jewess (nos. 17–19), all clearly engraved after the wall painting, do not belong to the *Badſtub* story at all. They are not even numbered in the later version of the print, nor referred to in the explanatory text at the bottom of the page in either version. It is clear that the *Judensau*, now eſtablished and popular, was added to heighten the satire of a ſtory whose motif can be traced back at leaſt to 1535.[297] The inscription which appears in the print under the martyred child ('So lang Trient vnd dis Kind wird gnant, Der Juden Schelmſtück bleibt bekant') is mentioned by Wagenseil when describing the wall painting in 1707,[298] and we may assume, therefore, that the other two inscriptions were likewise copied from the wall of the Brückenturm passage.[299]

There can be no doubt that the long poem *Deliciae Judaicae* by Laurentius Tauwelius, quoted by Praetorius in his *Saturnalia*, refers to this *Badſtub* print, and not directly to the wall painting. The poem explains the three scenes in reversed order:

1. Erſtlich auf eim ſtinckenden Bock
  Ein Iüdin sitzt im rothen Rock.
Gott nennt die Iüden selbſt ein Hur, Hos. 2.
  Viel sie das Gesetzt zwar geben für
Vnd treiben doch Abgötterey,
  Weil Bosheit, Sünd und Schand darbey.
Ob sie gleich führen einn grossen Schein,
  Für Gott sie doch gantz *ſtinckend* seyn.[300]

For the explanation of the second scene the author made full use of Fabricius, from whom he borrowed the information about other examples of the motif as well as the elaborate theological interpretation:

2. Die *Saw*, darauff ein Rabbi reit,
  Dadurch wird mancherley bedeut,
Vnd ſteht solch Bild zu *Magdeburg*,
  Vnd an dem Rathaus zu *Saltzburg*,
Vnd auch zu *Wittenberg*: darbey,
  Daß diß ihr Schemhamphoras sey:
Darvon sie rühmen grosse Sachn;
  Der Teuffel aber thut ihr lachn.
Gibt ihnn *Schamhaperes* dafür,
  Daß sie gnug haben für der Thür,
Denn *Schamhaperes* heiſt: *da dreck*,
  Drumb iſt ein Iüd des Teuffels Iäck.
Gott hat gethan sein Wort ihnn kunt
  Vnd daß er füllen wolt ihrn Mund. Ps. 81.
Weil sie sich aber wanten ab,
  Vnd lieber folgten ihrem Rab;

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Dem sie glauben ohn Vnterscheid,
Wie er sie mit der Nasen leit:
So hat der Teuffel gewonnen Spiel,
Vnd zeigt ihn ihr begertes Ziel.
Ein Rabbi fasset er beym Schopff,
Vnd wendet ſtracks desselben Kopff,
Für des *Schweins* Loch; drein siht er scharff,
Vnd hört wie lieblich klingt solch Harff.
Das faſst er alles mit Begirn,
Dann das sind sein Propheten Birn,
Die er in ihren Talmut setzt. . . .[301]

The third part of the picture, Simon of Trent's martyrdom, is not described, but its moral is nevertheless explained at length, beginning with, 'Ihr Wucher wird im dritten Bild gedeutet an . . .'[302].

Two of the three parts of the Frankfurt *Judensau* affixed to the *Badſtub* prints were subsequently brought together and reconstructed in an enlarged engraved copy[303] (Pl. 52). The same scenes, differently arranged, were also combined in a small print of the same period [304] (Pl. 61a).

By the time the Frankfurt *Judensau* was added to the *Badſtub* ſtory, it was also included in a print devoted to ridiculing the Rabbinic teachings on the coming of the Messiah.[305] *Detectum velum Mosaicum Judaeorum* by the converted Jew Diethrich Schwab, published at Mainz in 1619 and again in 1666, had a special section on Jewish messianic hopes and false Messiahs. In the print (Pl. 53) caricaturing the future arrival of the Jewish redeemer, the *Judensau* is utilized, as the author says in his explanation, to mock the expected sumptuous messianic meal so magnifiicently described in Rabbinic writings. Schwab proudly emphasizes the source of this idea and thus discloses some of its popularity:

. . . Welch schönes Conterfeyt in der Keys. Reichs-Stadt Fridberg in der Wetterau am Mayntzer Thor soll angemallt ſtehen, und ich auch in der hochberühmten Kayserl. Freyen Reichs- Wahl- und Handelſtadt Franckfurt am Mayn, unter dem Brücken-Thurn, noch neulicher Zeit in der jetzigen Oster-Mess gesehen habe, wiewol es wegen Alterthums und anligenden Staubs und Koths nit gar kennlich mehr iſt, und wiederum renoviret werden solte.[306]

In 1671, the Frankfurt *Judensau* also inspired the illuſtration of a broadsheet with a satirical 'tombſtone inscription' of the 'arch-thief Amschel'[307] (Pl. 54). The Jew and his wife are shown with a pig and a ram. They point to a tombſtone whose inscription, similar to one in the 1678 print of the Frankfurt painting, imitates a Jewish exclamation ('Au wey Rab Amschel'). The final lines of the broadsheet address the satire to 'Schilo Sabathoy', a combination with obvious messianic overtones, whose firſt part also recurs in the firſt couplet of the 1678 print (p. 53).

It should not be surprising that the Frankfurt *Judensau* was so widely and

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diversely applied. Its own appearance in the original (and regularly restored) wall painting was not, to be sure, independent: it was there joined to the picture of the martyr from Trent. But from the prints reproducing the wall painting, as well as from those borrowing from it, it becomes quite clear which part of the Brückenturm show piece carried more weight with the spectators. The predominance of the derogative *Judensau* scene is also confirmed by spectators like the Frankfurter Johann Jacob Schudt who, in 1714, stressed that 'Es seye aber mit dem Gemählde und der Historie der Ermordung des Knaben Simeon von Trient, wie es wolle, so ist darauf diesesmahl eigentlich unser absehen nicht, sondern auf der Juden Beschimpffung durch dieses Gemählde . . .'[308]. In referring to the wall painting in his great *Histoire des Juifs*, Jacques Basnage, a French visitor, mentioned only that 'On peint en divers endroits des Juifs, qui servent de jouet aux démons et aux porceaux . . .'[309].

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VIII. DECLINE AND DISAPPEARANCE

APART from the Frankfurt *Judensau*, which survived until the beginning of the nineteenth century, and apart from its numerous eighteenth-century graphic reproductions, the *Judensau* motif kept alive also in other forms. Its appearances are sometimes cryptic, like the inclusion of a swine in an illustration of a Jewish ritual slaughterhouse in Bodenschatz's *Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden*.[310] On the whole, however, they are clear and unambiguous.

The Jew riding a pig was a popular theme. Sometimes he was holding an open book. The Jewish criminals in an eighteenth-century print are depicted in this way (Pl. 55a); the text accompanying the print is connected with many of the previous examples:

> Wir Mauschel müssen jetzt in Chalers Loche sitzen;
> Au weymer, noch darzu auff Schweinen Leder schwitzen
> Warum wir haben einst zu vielen Schmuh gemacht,
> Und biß an Galgen hin der Gojim Gott veracht.[311]

The Jew on *Sau* playing-cards, a theme encountered in the sixteenth century, is now riding the pig and reads his book (Pl. 56b). The inscription introducing him is not abusive and the joke lies in the fact that the Jew rides a pig, his most abhorred animal. A similar Nuremberg print of 1785 (Pl. 55b) and an early nineteenth-century lithograph (Pl. 56c) repeat the motif and apply it, it seems, to Jewish cattle dealers. Such satires were not confined to prints. The handle of a walking stick of the late eighteenth century was carved in the form of a postman-Jew riding backwards on a boar[312] (Pl. 56a). A repulsive polychrome faience group, influenced by the Frankfurt *Judensau*,[313] depicts a Jew riding a sow, lifting the tail with his right hand and holding a bowl full of dung in his left. A young man is lying on the ground sucking at the sow; his hat, placed under the animal's tail, is full of excrement (Pl. 56d). The group may have been influenced also by a contemporary derivative from the anti-Papal *Kampfbild*[314] (Pl. 57a).

If the last examples suggest that the traditional *Judensau* motif was by no means forgotten in the late eighteenth century, other prints show how it was later used for anti-Jewish satire. It figured centrally in an etching printed at Hamburg in 1799, in which vaccination was represented as a Jewish-inspired invention (Pl. 57b); and it appeared in a renewed form on a frontispiece of the anti-Semetic book *Die Judenschule*[315] published in Aarau in 1823 (Pl. 58b). After that, however, the motif seems to disappear completely. We meet with it only once more in the nineteenth century in a watercolour by Georg Emanuel Opitz (1775–1841) (Pl. 58c). In the Jewish school the boys, paying no attention to their Rabbi, commit all sorts of misdeeds. One of them is drawing on the blackboard a bearded Jew

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kneeling behind a pig.[316] This minute *Judensau*, in that particular setting, represents the final decline of the motif. It is no longer acceptable to public taste, and can appear only as a childish and unimportant joke.

Is it possible that such a long-lived motif, based on a deeply rooted association between Jews and swine, ceased all at once? Assuming that its anal features rendered it unacceptable in the nineteenth century, did its suppression also eliminate the underlying association?

In England, where the medieval *Judensau* had not struck root, there is an enlightening comparison. Here quite a number of jokes on Jews and pork, as well as two cartoons depicting Jews riding pigs (Pl. 58a),[317] gained circulation during the Jew Bill clamour of 1753–4. The prohibition of swine's flesh and the commandment of circumcision were the best known facts about Jewish existence, and these emerged as a popular subject for satire when the naturalization of Jews became a public issue.[318] English cartoonists also drew on the joke later. In 1795, Richard Newton designed and etched a caricature entitled *Tricks upon Travellers* (Pl. 59a),[319] where a Jewish pedlar is shocked to find a piglet emerging from the box on his shoulders and its mother hastening to its rescue. Similar to this innocent 'pig kidnapper' is the Jewish pig thief. An anonymous etching of the early nineteenth century shows a Jew about to eat a piglet which, as shown on the wall behind, he had stolen from its mother (Pl. 59b). In 1813 Rowlandson, who had also produced caricatures of Jews eating pork, obscenely elaborated the pig-stealing theme (Pl. 60a). A Jewish pedlar who has just stolen a 'sow and seven pigs', as the announcement on the wall states, holds a pig up to the lips of 'Mrs. Shevi in a longing condition'. Finally, when the emancipation of the English Jews was last discussed, in the nineteenth century, the Jew-pig appeared again, in a manner strongly suggesting a direct influence from Rowlandson's caricature (Pl. 60b).

In Germany the same theme of pork eating occurred in very similar circumstances. When the 1848 Revolution brought temporary emancipation to German Jews, its opponents produced caricatures in which that privilege was ridiculed as a general licence for Jews to eat pork. In one of these (Pl. 61b) a garnished pig dish is depicted as a national emblem of the Jews; in another, the emancipated consuming of pork is grotesquely shown in an agitated Jewish domestic scene (Pl. 62).

Should we regard this theme as the last, modified, phase of the old *Judensau* motif? In England this kind of anti-Jewish satire stemmed directly from the association between Jews and pork that had never been expressed there before in a *Judensau* scene. With the Germans, however, the *Judensau* had been current for so long that the later pork caricatures may be assumed to be its heirs. Satirical references to Jewish pork-eating had accompanied some major *Judensäue* since the fifteenth century. The *Judensau* woodcut (Pl. 30) referred to it verbally twice, and so, in a different manner, did the large broadsheet of 1563 (Pl. 46). The print in Schwab's book of 1619 and 1666 showed the Jews holding a pig's head, a ham,

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and pork sausages (Pl. 53). The end of the *Judensau* motif in Germany was not marked by the disappearance of its crudest representation.

The modern movement of political anti-Semitism which emerged in Germany in the 1860s and 1870s did not utilize the pictorial motif in its propaganda. The *Judensau* was also not incorporated into the later *völkisch*, racist and Nazi propaganda. Yet, if the picture was by that time no more in keeping with good taste, the *Judensau* did persist as an expression of abuse in the German language until the present century.[320] Folk-songs and children's rhymes still current at the beginning of the twentieth century describe how 'Itzig came riding on a fat sow', 'Hiob mounted on a wild boar', or how the Jews lost a contest of cleanliness against the swine.[321] The abusive cry 'Saujud!' became common alongside the popular anti-Semitic 'Hepp-hepp!' Theodor Herzl, hurt by both, understood them as the expression of intense hatred.[322] Years later, when extremist propaganda against Germany's Jewish Foreign Minister came to a head, the slogan was chanted all over the country:

Schlag tot den Walther Rathenau
Die gottverdammte Judensau.[323]

Similar Nazi abuse was levelled at 'Aryan' women married or related to Jews.

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IX. CONCLUSION

THE shifts in the symbolism of the *Judensau* are no less significant for its having remained externally very much the same throughout its long history. Inspired probably by a piece of animal symbolism invented by Hrabanus Maurus, German carvers in the thirteenth century attached the sow, a current symbol of *Gula* and *Luxuria*, to the Jews. It was not invented as an abusive anti-Jewish picture. It was an allegorical representation, in the style of the period, of a vice-animal with its adherents. The potentially anti-Jewish aspect of the allegory became more explicit when the number, scale and role of the Jews depicted in it increased, and the anti-Jewish animus became overt when the sow ceased to stand for a particular vice.

When it was detached from cycles of vices the *Judensau* became an abusive image. This phase is characterized by growing elaboration on obscenities potentially present in the early reliefs: the Jews not only suck the teats of the animal, but kiss and hug it, busy themselves with its rear, eat its excrement and drink its urine. This clearly reflected a popular and profane humour, and clearly fitted the manner of *Schandbilder*, whether circulated in woodcuts or painted and carved on secular buildings. Such pictures, occasionally marking a local expulsion of the Jews or a wish to exclude them, were not merely derisive. Without evoking the traditional theological indictment, they stamped contemporary Jews as social outcasts.

Once Luther had given the *Judensau* of Wittenberg his peculiar theological interpretation, the motif also came to be seen as an emblem of Judaism—'The Expounded Divine Name' or 'The Talmud'—and was utilized as a *Kampfbild* against the corrupted religion and its adherents, and was also adapted to satirize their messianic hopes. But this neither hindered nor altered the profane course of the *Judensau*. The famous Frankfurt representation, combined with that of the martyrdom of Simon, gradually shed its religious connotations, a process perhaps best summarized by the manuscript addition to one print, 'The Jewish Coffee House' (Pl. 61a).

The visual motif even penetrated into drama and popular poetry and illustrated broadsheets and playing cards. It also struck root in the language, and from the sixteenth century gave rise to the abusive label *Saujuden*. What had begun as a Christian allegory of a vice developed over the centuries into a stereotype of anti-Semitic abuse.

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NOTES

NOTES 1–4 TO P. 1

[1] Ch. Cahier and A. Martin, *Monographie de la cathédrale de Bourges*, i, Paris 1841–4, pp. 51 ff.; E. E. Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle*, v, Paris 1861 (also 1868), pp. 154–61; P. Weber, *Geistliches Schauspiel und kirchliche Kunst in ihrem Verhältnis erläutert an einer Ikonographie der Kirche und Synagoge*, Stuttgart 1894; P. Hildenfinger, 'La figure de la Synagogue dans l'art du Moyen Âge', *Revue des études juives*, xlvii, 1903, pp. 187–96; A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen . . .*, i–iv, Berlin 1914–26, passim; J. Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes und seiner Ausstattung in der Auffassung des Mittelalters*, 2nd edition, Freiburg i. B. 1924, esp. pp. 246–99; H. Pflaum, *Die religiöse Disputation in der europäischen Dichtung des Mittelalters*, i, *Der allegorische Streit zwischen Synagoge und Kirche*, Geneva and Florence 1935; M. Schlauch, 'The Allegory of Church and Synagogue', *Speculum*, xiv, 1939, pp. 448–64; A. Oepke, *Das neue Gottesvolk in Schrifttum, Schauspiel, bildender Kunst . . .*, Gütersloh 1950; A. Weis, 'Ekklesia und Synagoge', *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, iv (ed. E. Gall and L. H. Heydenreich), Stuttgart 1958, cols. 1189–1215 (with bibliography); L. Edwards, 'Some English examples of the medieval representation of Church and Synagogue, *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, xviii, 1958, pp. 63–75; P. Bloch, 'Ekklesia und Synagoga', *Monumenta Judaica, Handbuch*, ed. K. Schilling, Cologne 1963, pp. 751–5; R. L. Füglister, *Das lebende Kreuz*, Einsiedeln 1964 (with bibliography); W. Seiferth, *Synagoge und Kirche im Mittelalter*, Munich 1964 (with bibliography); B. Blumenkranz, 'La polémique antijuive dans l'art chrétien du Moyen Âge', *Bullettino dell' Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo*, lxxvii, 1965, pp. 21–43; *id.*, *Juden und Judentum in der mittelalterlichen Kunst*, Stuttgart, 1965 (Franz Delitzsch-Vorlesungen an der Universität Münster, 1963), esp. pp. 55 ff.; *id.*, *Le juif médiéval au miroir de l'art chrétien*, Paris 1966, esp. pp. 105 ff. (bibliography: pp. 137–8. The author here announces the publication of his comprehensive study to be entitled *Synagoga, mutation d'un thème de l'iconographie médiévale*); *id.*, 'Géographie historique d'un thème de l'iconographie religieuse: les représentations de *Synagoga* en France', *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, Poitiers 1966, pp. 1141–57 (with a detailed 'Topo-iconographie française de *Synagoga*'); *id.*, 'La représentation de *Synagoga* dans les Bibles moralisées françaises du XIIIe au XVe siècle', *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, v/2, Jerusalem 1970, pp. 70–91 (also separate preprint); *id.* and D. Bozo, '*Synagoga* méconnue—*Synagoga* inconnue', *Revue des études juives—Historia Judaica*, cxxv (Mémorial Maurice Liber), 1966, pp. 35–48.

[2] M. D. Anderson, *Animal Carvings in British Churches*, Cambridge 1938, p. 54, fig. 31, p. 56; *id.*, *Misericords*, Harmondsworth 1954 (reprint 1956), p. 15 and fig. 26; T. H. White (transl. and ed.), *The Book of Beasts, being a translation from a Latin Bestiary of the twelfth century*, London 1954, p. 134; G. L. Remnant, *A Catalogue of Misericords in Great Britain*, Oxford 1969, p. 212, pls. 12*a*, 24*c*, 44*b*; F. McCulloch, *Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries*, Chapel Hill 1960 (University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 33), p. 147; D. Schmidtke, *Geistliche Tierinterpretation in der deutschsprachigen Literatur des Mittelalters* (*1100–1500*), Diss. (mimeographed), Berlin 1968, pp. 284–5; E. Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, Princeton 1943, i, p. 103, ii, ill. 143 (*Betrothal of the Virgin*); V. H. Debidour, *Le bestiaire sculpté du Moyen Âge en France*, Paris 1961, pp. 212–15, figs. 300, 301, 307.

[3] M. Bulard, *Le scorpion symbole du peuple juif dans l'art religieux des XIVe, XVe, XVIe siècles*, Paris 1935 (Annales de l'Est, Mémoires, 6).

[4] E.g. A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, ii, Boston 1923, pl. 39 (Vézelay); same in P. Deschamps, *Die Romanische Plastik Frankreichs*, Berlin 1930, pl. 38*b*; Th. Ehrenstein, *Das Alte Testament im Bilde*, Vienna 1923, pp. 407–13, figs. 79–92.

[5] See below, p. 27 (Regensburg), p. 28 (Gniezno), p. 38 (Cadolzburg), p. 57 (*Der Juden Synagog*).

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[6] For such accusations see S. Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century*, revised edition, New York 1966, esp. p. 72 f.; J. Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*, New Haven 1943; H. Hayn, *Uebersicht der . . . Litteratur über die angeblich von Juden verübten Ritualmorde und Hostienfrevel*, Jena 1906; S. H. Lieben, 'Blutbeschuldigung, Blutmärchen', *Jüdisches Lexikon* (ed. G. Herlitz and B. Kirschner), i, Berlin 1927, cols. 1084–6 (with bibliography); W. E. Peuckert, 'Ritualmord', *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* (ed. E. Hoffmann-Krayer and H. Bächtold-Stäubli), vii, Berlin and Leipzig, cols. 727–39 (with bibliography); *id.*, *ibid.*, iv, col. 811 f. (with bibliography); H. L. Strack, *Das Blut im Glauben und Aberglauben der Menschheit*, 5th–7th edition, Munich 1900 (with bibliography. Schriften des Institutum Judaicum in Berlin, xiv).

For relevant aspects of medieval Jewish history see especially J. Parkes, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue*, London 1934; *id.*, *The Jew in the Medieval Community*, London 1938; A. L. Williams, *Adversus Judaeos: A Bird's-Eye View of Christian Apologiae until the Renaissance*, Cambridge 1935; B. Blumenkranz, *Juifs et chrétiens dans le monde occidental 430–1096*, Paris-La Haye 1960 (Études juives, ii); *id.*, *Les auteurs chrétiens latins du Moyen Âge sur les juifs et le judaïsme*, Paris-La Haye 1963 (Études juives, iv); *id.*, 'Anti-Jewish Polemics and Legislation in the Middle Ages: Literary Fiction or Reality?' *Journal of Jewish Studies*, xv, 1964, pp. 125–40; L. Dasberg, *Untersuchungen über die Entwertung des Judenstatuts im 11. Jahrhundert*, Paris-La Haye 1965 (Études juives, xi); C. Roth, 'The Medieval Conception of the Jew', *Personalities and Events in Jewish History*, Philadelphia 1961, pp. 53–68; *id.*, 'European Jewry in the Dark Ages: A Revised Picture', in his *Gleanings*, New York 1967, pp. 1–19; H. Liebeschütz, 'The Crusading Movement in its Bearing on the Christian Attitude towards Jewry', *Journal of Jewish Studies*, x, 1959, pp. 97–111; A. Leschnitzer, *Das Judentum im Weltbild des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1935.

For the history of the Jews in medieval Germany see G. Kisch, *The Jews in Medieval Germany: A Study of their legal and social Status*, 2nd edition, New York 1970 (with detailed bibliography); I. R. Wolff (ed.), *German Jewry: its History, Life and Culture*, London 1958 (Wiener Library Catalogue Series, iii); G. Kisch, *Jewry-Law in Medieval Germany*, New York 1949 (American Academy for Jewish Research, Texts and Studies, iii).

The most comprehensive history of the Jews in the Middle Ages is S. W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, 2nd edition, iii–xiv, New York, etc. 1957–69 (with extensive bibliography in notes).

[7] Cf. gargoyle from the parish church of Rouffach, Alsace, probably from the fifteenth century or later, showing a demon and a Jew (usurer?) with a money bag—now at Musée d'Unterlinden, Colmar (kind communication of P. Schmitt, curator at the Museum). The gargoyle was recently published, with an illustration, by F. Raphaël, 'La représentation des Juifs dans l'art médiéval en Alsace', *Revue des sciences sociales de la France de l'Est*, i, 1972, esp. pp. 34–42, fig. 2.

For representations of the Desecration of the Host see Schreiber no. 1965 (broadsheet, Passau, 1477; ill. in Liebe, Beilage 2 facing p. 20); *Sterneberch, von den bösen Juden folgt hier eine Geschichte*, Vienna 1889 (fascimile of the unique original of about 1492); J. Pope-Hennessy, *Paolo Uccello*, 2nd edition, London–New York, 1969, pls. 87–100 (*Profanation of the Host*, Urbino); M. Aronberg Lavin, 'The Altar of Corpus Domini in Urbino', *The Art Bulletin*, xlix, 1967, pp. 1–24; J. Helbig, *De Glasschilderkunst in België*, (i), Antwerp 1943, p. 85 f., nos. 360 f. (stained glass windows in St. Gudula, Brussels, 1540 and later); P. de Cafmeyer, *Hooghweirdighe historie van het alder-heylighste Sacrament van Mirakel*, Brussels 1720 (with engravings); *id.*, *Vénérable histoire du très-saint sacrement du miracle*, Brussels 1720.

[8] See below, p. 24 (Cologne). Cf. M. D. Anderson, *A Saint at Stake: The Strange Death of William of Norwich*, London 1964, pls. I, II, VII.

[9] See, e.g., Blumenkranz, *Le juif médiéval . . .* (*op. cit.*, n. 1), figs. 9–12, 15 (= *id.*, *Juden und Judentum . . .*, figs. 8–11, 13). Cf. two miniatures in the Vernon MS. (Oxford, Bodleian Library), fols. 124v–125r.

The whole, immense problem of the 'Jewish image' in Christian art has been only partly

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treated. See Blumenkranz, *op. cit.*, passim; Ehrenstein (*op. cit.* Note 6), passim; and, for a generalizing and one-sided view, J. Reider, 'Jews in Medieval Art', *Essays on Anti-Semitism*, ed. K. S. Pinson, 2nd edition, New York 1946, pp. 93–102.

[10] See below, p. 36 f. and p. 52 f. (Frankfurt).

[11] For a useful critical examination of the term 'stereotype' see W. Manz, *Das Stereotyp. Zur Operationalisierung eines sozialwissenschaftlichen Begriffs*, Meisenheim am Glan 1968 (Kölner Beiträge zur Sozialforschung und angewandten Soziologie, viii). For a survey of psychological research see H. C. J. Duijker and N. H. Frijda, *National Character and national Stereotypes*, Amsterdam 1960 (Confluence; Surveys of Research in the Social Sciences, i).

For a preliminary discussion of the role of stereotypes in modern anti-Semitism see S. Ettinger, *The Conventional and the New in modern anti-Semitism* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem 1968. Cf. I. Shachar, *Studies in the Emergence and Dissemination of the Modern Jewish Stereotype in Western Europe*, typescript Ph.D. thesis, University of London 1967.

For Jewish figures in medieval literature and drama see O. Frankl, *Der Jude in den deutschen Dichtungen des* 15., 16., *und* 17. *Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1905; L. Geiger, 'Die Juden und die deutsche Literatur des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, ii, 1888, pp. 308–74; iii, 1889, pp. 295–8 (also as separate book); H. Pflaum, 'Les scènes des juifs dans la littérature dramatique du Moyen Âge', *Revue des études juives*, lxxxix, 1930, pp. 111–34; H. C. Holdschmidt, *Der Jude auf dem Theater des deutschen Mittelalters*, Emsdetten 1935 (with bibliography); E. Frenzel, *Judengestalten auf der deutschen Bühne*, Munich n.d. (with bibliography); H. Loewe, *Die Juden in der katholischen Legende*, Berlin 1912 (= *id.*, *Die Juden in der Marienlegende*, Berlin 1912; the same also in *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, lvi, 1912, pp. 257–84, 385–416, 612–21); F. M. Goebel, *Jüdische Motive im märchenhaften Erzählungsgut* (Diss. Greifswald), Gleiwitz 1932, esp. pp. 281–8 ('Die Gestalt des Juden im deutschen Märchen'); F. Kynass, *Der Jude im deutschen Volkslied: Eine Teilstudie*, Diss., Greifswald 1934 (with bibliography); M. Lifschitz-Golden, *Les juifs dans la littérature du Moyen Âge*, New York 1935; L. A. Klein, *Portrait de la Juive dans la littérature française*, Paris 1970, pp. 12–33 (with bibliography, p. 209 f.); M. F. Modder, *The Jew in the Literature of England*, New York–Philadelphia 1960 (with bibliography); H. Fisch, *The Dual Image*, New York 1971 (with bibliography); M. J. Landa, *The Jew in Drama*, London 1926 (2nd ed., 1969); E. D. Coleman, *The Jew in English Drama*, New York 1943 (2nd ed., 1970).

[12] For an anthropological analysis of animal abuse see E. Leach, 'Anthropological Aspects of Language: Animal Categories and Verbal Abuse', *New Directions in the Study of Language* (ed. E. H. Lenneberg), Cambridge Mass. 1964, pp. 23–63.

[13] No history of the *Judensau* motif has been written. H. Otte (1841) was, as far as I know, the first modern scholar to deal with the *Judensau* as a motif. His article centres on the examples of Magdeburg and Wittenberg, but also draws attention to two other reliefs and attempts a comprehensive interpretation. Bösigk (1856) who borrowed heavily, and without acknowledgement, from Otte, listed in his article eleven stone reliefs as well as the Frankfurt wall painting. His article may be regarded as the only original attempt at a full survey of the sculpted examples. J. Müller, 'Zu den Judenspottbildern', *Zeitschrift für deutsche Kulturgeschichte*, i, 1856, pp. 703–11, briefly remarked on graphic representations of the motif. Evans (1896) translated Bösigk without acknowledgement but with some augmentation, both of misunderstanding and of useful details, and incorporated the article in his own book. D. Kaufmann, 'La truie de Wittenberg', *Revue des études juives*, xx, 1890, pp. 269–74 (= *id.*, 'Die Sau von Wittenberg', *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, lix, pp. 614–16; reprinted in Kaufmann's *Gesammelte Schriften*, i, Frankfurt 1908, pp. 161–8) paid attention to another aspect. He followed and enlarged an eighteenth-century compilation by Schudt, and wrote a useful article on the literary borrowings of Luther's reference to the *Judensau* at Wittenberg.

[14] G. C. Druce, 'The Sow and Pigs: A Study in Metaphor', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, xlvi, 1934,

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pp. 1–7. For examples of sow and pig carvings see Remnant (*op. cit.* Note 2), pp. 24, 26, 170, 174, 196; see illustrations in F. C. Sillar and R. M. Meyler, *The Symbolic Pig: an Anthology of Pigs in Literature and Art*, Edinburgh and London 1961, pls. 25–27, 45(2). This motif seems to be scarce in France, see Debidour (*op. cit.*, Note 2), p. 398.

[15] Druce, *op. cit.*, p. 6, offers an explanation which ignores the bestiary text itself. He writes: 'The occurrence of the sow playing music to her little dancing pigs is more difficult to account for. Possibly it was a mere variant forming a skit on the unmelodious squealing of pigs which was held to resemble the tones of bagpipes . . .'. Compare the misericord in Winchester Cathedral (Druce, pl. ii), where pigs clearly symbolize *Luxuria*. On the right there is a sow playing double pipes and at the same time kissing a pig and suckling her piglets; on the left, two pigs kissing, one of them playing a stringed instrument; in the centre, two pigs kissing. Druce ignored the erotic element in this and similar carvings, and did not associate it, along with the music making, with symbols of *Luxuria*. Pigs playing instruments occur in England only on choir stalls. See illustrations in Sillar and Meyler, *op. cit.*, pls. 9–13; Debidour (*op. cit.*, Note 2), fig. 364.

[16] *PL*, cxi, cols. 206A–207B. Translation:

The sow (*sus*) is so named because it turns up (*subigat*) pastures, that is, it searches for food by turning up the soil. The boat (*verres*) is so named because it has great strength (*vires*). Pig (*porcus*) is as if 'dirty' (*spurcus*); indeed it gorges itself with filth, plunges into mire, smears itself with dirt. Horace: *And the sow is friend to mire* (*Epist.* I, 2, 26). Hence we also name 'dirt' (*spurcitia*) and 'bastards' (*spurii*). We call the hair of pigs bristle (*seta*); 'bristle' is derived from 'swine', and after them cobblers (*sutores*) are called, because they sew with bristles, that is they sew hides together. Swine signify sinners and the unclean or heretics, for the Law says of them, on the ground that they divide the hoof and do not ruminate, that their flesh must not be touched by the faithful. Even though these [sinners] would accept both the Testament of the Law and of the Gospel, they are unclean, since they do not ruminate spiritual food. Likewise sows signify negligent penitents who return to what they deplore, as Peter says in his Epistle: *The dog is turned to his own vomit again, and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire* (II *Peter* ii, 22). When, therefore, the dog vomits, he really throws up the food which oppressed the stomach; but when he returns to the vomit from which he was freed, he burdens himself again with what he rejected. Thus those who repent their sins really throw away, by confessing, the wickedness of their soul, of which evil they were full [and] which oppressed them inwardly; which wickedness they resume if they repeat it after confession. The sow wallowing in the slough of mud grows filthier as she wallows. And he who deplores his sin but nevertheless does not give it up, incurs heavier guilt; he scorns the forgiveness he could obtain by tears, and thus as it were is wading in muddy water, because while he withdraws the cleanliness of life from his tears he makes the same tears filthy before the eyes of God. Likewise pigs [signify] unclean and immoderate men. In the Gospel: *If you cast us out, suffer us to go away into the herd of swine* (*Matth.* viii, 31). Likewise there: *Neither cast ye your pearls before swine* (*Matth.* vii, 6). Similarly the pig stands for unclean spirits. In the Gospel: *And he sent him into his fields to feed swine* (*Luke*, xv, 15). The pig similarly signifies the unclean and the sinners of whom it is written in the Psalm: *Their belly is full with your hid* (*things*). *They are sated with swine's flesh and they leave what is superfluous to them for their children* (*Ps.* xvii, 14). He says the Jews [are full] of unclean [things] which are hidden by the Lord, that is things which are known to be prohibited. By swine's flesh he means polluted things which are named unclean among other precepts of the Old Testament. They [the Jews] transmitted however the remnant of their sins to their sons when they exclaimed: *His blood be on us and on our children* (*Matth.* xxvii, 25). Likewise the sow stands for a sinner who understands rightly [who is acquainted with the right way] and lives immoderately, in Solomon: *As a jewel of gold in a swine's snout, so is a fair woman without discretion* (*Prov.* xi, 22). Again, swine stand for the sordid thoughts of carnal men, out of which depraved as well as diminished works proceed, in Isaiah: *Which eat swine's flesh, and broth of abominable things is in their vessels* (*Isa.* lxv, 4). The boar (*aper*) is so named from 'ferocity' (*feritas*), the letter F being taken away and replaced by P. Hence also among the Greeks it is called *suagros*, that is 'ferocious'. We call in fact anything which is ferocious or rather savage 'wild'. Others however say the boar is so named because it lives in rough places. The boar stands, moreover, for the ferocity of the rulers of this world. Hence it is written about the vineyard of the Lord in the Psalm: *The boar out of the wood doth waste it and the wild beast of the field doth devour it* (*Ps.* lxxx, 14). He has driven [them] out everywhere beyond bounds and beyond their fatherland, he has dispersed [them] in every direction, which happens to the nation of the Jews. We should perhaps take the boar as Vespasian who [was] strong and fierce to them. By this name however the Psalmist indicated that [the animal] is hostile to the Jews, because this animal appears to have among other things the uncleanliness of the forest, that it so say of the gentiles, who are rightly compared with rough forests because till now those had not been implanted with fruitful seed. He describes as particularly ferocious Titus his son, who crushed the remaining [resistance] of the war with such devastation that he devoured, as it were, the nation and the state as if it were grass for fodder, in a terrible devouring. It was inevitable that this would happen to the vineyard, whose fence was apparently taken down. Spiritually the boar can be understood, on account of its ferocity and great strength, as the Devil.

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[17] Transcribed here with abbreviations silently expanded. The texts in both bestiaries are practically identical, apart from very slight differences in the abbreviations.

[18] I rely for this statement on the comprehensive works on English bestiaries by M. R. James, *The Bestiary*, Oxford 1928, pp. 5–6, and on medieval bestiaries in Latin and French by F. McCulloch (*op. cit.* Note 2), pp. 16, 26–7, 78–192. There is no mention of swine in their useful lists of animals described in medieval bestiaries. I am indebted to Julian Brown for confirmation that 'Judeos' and 'Hoc enim' could hardly be mistaken, and subsequently miscopied, for each other.

[19] Manuscripts of *De universo* with the reading 'Hoc enim dicit . . .', of English origin: London, British Museum, MS. Royal 12.G.XIV, fol. 91v, col. 2 (twelfth century); Cambridge, MS. Corpus Christi College 11, fol. 72v, col. 2 (twelfth century); Oxford, Library of St. John's College, Cod. MS. 88, (unnumbered fols.; twelfth century); Glasgow, University Library, MS. Hunter 366, fol. 80r, col. 2 (late twelfth century); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Trinity College 64, fol. 49v, col. 2 (confused sequence of fols.; thirteenth century); MS. New College 159, fol. 97v, col. 1 (fourteenth century). Of Italian origin: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 2420, fol. 43r, col. 1 (fourteenth century); Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS. Voss. lat. F.5, fol. 56v, col. 1 (probably Italian, fourteenth–fifteenth century). Also: Escorial, Real Biblioteca, MS. f–I–12, col. 239 (pagination by columns; Italian?).

Manuscripts of *De universo* with the reading 'Iudeos dicit . . .': Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS. Cod. Aug. perg. 96, fol. 293, col. 2 (Reichenau, second third of ninth century); Montecassino, Cod. MS. Cassinensis 132, fol. 183, col. 2 (= fol. 178, col. 2 in parallel pagination; Montecassino, dated 1022–3); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 16879, fol. 90r, col. 2 (twelfth century); MS. lat. 7608, fol. 61r, col. 2 (early thirteenth century); Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS. Car. C. 97, fol. 89r, col. 1 (fifteenth century); Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, MS. Cod. theol. et phil. 2° 45, fol. 87v (German, dated 1457, scribe: Johannes Frantz von Leypphain); Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Pal. lat. 291, fol. 811, col. 1 (German, dated 8 November 1425); MS. Reg. lat. 391, fol. 46v, col. 1 (most probably Italian, early fifteenth century); Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS. lat. II, 56 (= 2094), fol. 94v, col. 2.

Manuscripts of *De universo* which do not contain our passage: Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. MS. 121 (Phil. 113) (ninth century, most probably oldest extant MS. of the work; *libri* xii–xxii); Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS. Cod. Aug. perg. 68 (Reichenau, second third of ninth century; *libri* xiii–xii); London, British Museum, MS. Harley 3092 (eleventh century; *libri* xii–xxii); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 2024 (eleventh century; fragments); Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. MS. theol. et phil. 218 (twelfth century; excerpts from *libri* iii, ix, xviii, xxi, with glosses in German); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 2439 (twelfth century; fragment); MS. lat. 17177 (German, *c.* 1200; two leaves of *liber* iv); Worcester Cathedral, Chapter Library, MS. F. 21 (English, thirteenth century; unnumbered fols., missing sections; *liber* vii *caput* iii—*liber* viii *caput* i [Migne, *PL*, cxi, cols. 189A–218B], and *liber* xx *caput* xl ff.); Berlin, Staatsbibliothek d. Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS. lat. 2° 930 (Catalan, late fourteenth century; over 100 pages and clippings, our passage missing between fols. 29v–30r); Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 31 sin. 1 (the chapter *De pecoribus et iumentis* does not occur. Kind communication of the Director).

[Manuscripts of *De universo* kindly brought to my knowledge by Professor Bernhard Blumenkranz, which I was unable to examine: Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 506 (eleventh century); Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 1926 (twelfth century; excerpts); Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 441 (twelfth century); Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, BPL 120 (thirteenth century); Cambridge, University Library, MS. Dd XIII 4 (thirteenth century); Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 31 (27), (fifteenth century); Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 442.]

There is no critical edition of *De universo*. The text in Migne, *PL*, xci, cols. 106–7 is a reprint, with minor spelling alterations, of *Hrabani Mavri . . . Opera . . . Omnia collecta primum industria*

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[23] *Clavis*, Codex Claromontanus, in *Analecta sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, ed. J. B. Pitra, ii, Typis Tusculanis 1884, XII, ii, 15–21, p. 98 f. Cf. former edition by Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, iii, Paris 1855, IX, xxxvi, 1–7, p. 47 f. Translation:

15. Sows, heretics, of whom the Law says, on the ground that they divide the hoof and do not ruminate, that their flesh must not be touched by the faithful; even though these very heretics would accept both the Testament of the Law and of the Gospel, because they do not ruminate spiritually, they are unclean.

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Middle Ages. It is not in Lambert's *Liber Floridus* (cf. ed. A. Derolez, Ghent 1968, pp. 114–17), nor in Herrad of Landsberg's *Hortus Deliciarum* (cf. ed. A. Straub and G. Keller, Strasbourg 1899); it is also not in pseudo-Hugo of St. Victor's *De bestiis et aliis rebus* (cf. *PL*, clxxii, cols. 9–164), or in Alexander Neckam's *De naturis rerum libri duo* (cf. ed. Th. Wright, London 1863), or Bartholomaeus Anglicus' *De . . . rerum . . . proprietatibus libri XVIII* (cf. ed. Frankfurt 1601, reprinted Frankfurt 1964, Book XVIII, Chapters vi, lxxxv, xcvii). Vincent of Beauvais included in his massive *Speculum* many interesting details about swine, partly drawn from Isidore and Hrabanus, but does not have that association (cf. Vincentius Bellovacensis, *Speculum quadruplex*, i, *Speculum naturale*, Douai 1624, reprinted Graz 1964, Book XVIII, Chapters v–vi, lxxviii–lxxxvi). Cf. Konrad von Megenberg, *Buch der Natur* (ed. F. Pfeiffer, Stuttgart 1861), III, 2, p. 121.

[36] R. Hamann, 'Motivwanderung von West nach Osten', *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, iii/iv, 1926–7, p. 58.

[37] A. M. Koeniger, *Die Rätsel des romanischen Pfarrhoftores in Remagen*, Munich-Pasing 1947, esp. p. 57 f. This is the most comprehensive study of the gate.

[38] Cologne, Schnütgen Museum, K 130. Sow relief: height 28 cm., width 26 cm. I am indebted to Dr. von Euw of the Museum for his kind help.

[39] The unpublished capital is mentioned briefly in *Katedra Gnieźnieńska* (*op. cit.* Note 123), i, p. 125 n. 169; the reference there to its origin, date and present location is vague, and the description of its symbols inconclusive. It seems that the reliefs on the capital, including the two which seem less similar to representations there, can be deciphered by reference to the Remagen gate.

[40] J. Baltrušaitis, *Le Moyen-Âge fantastique: antiquités et exotismes dans l'art gothique*, Paris 1955, pp. 64–7, advocates this link which also implies 'reversed' copying with the intention of representing 'burlesque monstrosity' instead of noble suckling. Baltrušaitis also underlines the role of ancient coins and gems in the transmission of images. Holdschmidt, pp. 134–6, suggests a similar explanation, and also refers to Roman coins with swine. For examples of Roman coins with the Capitoline Wolf see L. Kadman, *The Coins of Aelia Capitolina* (Corpus nummorum Palestinensium, i), Jerusalem 1956, nos. 20, 21, 72, 102, 110, 138–45, 185, 201, 202.

It is necessary to discard the legend of a Romanesque stone carving representing the Capitoline Wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, on the north wall of the abbatial Church of St. Benoît-sur-Loire. The report has been repeated at least since G. J. Witkowski, *L'art profane à l'Église*, (i), *France*, Paris 1908, p. 272, described it simply as 'bas-relief de la Louve allaitant Rémus et Romulus'. H. Leclercq, *Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire*, Paris 1925, p. 80, calls it 'une louve allaite trois enfants . . .', and the same information is repeated in the monograph on the church by M. Aubert, *Congrès archéologique de France*, xciii, 1931, p. 599. Debidour (*cit.* Note 2), p. 398 connects the relief to a *Judensau* scene which he does not identify as such in Metz: 'Un curieux culot de la Cathédrale de Metz (chapelle de Mont-Carmel) montre une truie que tettent deux petits bonshommes (tandis qu'un autre lui apporte à manger): souvenir certain de la louve romaine, qu'on trouve aussi sur une pierre du XIe s. remployée à la face N. du narthex de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire'. Having examined the relief in search of a Romanesque model for the *Judensau* motif, I am convinced that it represents an animal with an elaborate mane standing to the right and suckling three little animals, all sitting up, showing their hind and front legs. The animal suckles its young, not humans. It does not bear any resemblence to a wolf, Capitoline or otherwise. In a recent guide to the church, *Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire*, 'par les moines Bénédictins', 1970 (La France illustrée), p. 22, at least the most misleading description is omitted; it reads: 'une louve allaitant ses petits'.

[41] Baltrušaitis, *loc. cit.*, quotes and reproduces the carved example of Metz (which he does not identify as a *Judensau*) and the mid-fifteenth century German woodcut.

[42] L. Fabricius, *De Schemhamphorasch usu, et abusu apud Iudaeos, orationes duae*, Wittenberg 1596, fols. F[6r]–F[7r] (quoted below, p. 48). The passage was copied by Wolf (1600, *op. cit.* Note 240), p. 1033, by Mailous (1614–15, *op. cit.* Note 241), p. 814, and again in Wolf (1671, *op. cit.*,

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p. 49), p. 1098. The explanation itself (for which see next Note), was copied by Schudt (1700, *op. cit.* Note 50), p. 242, and by J. Lund, *Die alten jüdischen Heiligthümer*, Hamburg 1704, p. 403 (later editions: Hamburg 1711, 1722), and again by Schudt (1714, *op. cit.* Note 113), p. 257. Bösigk, pp. 465–6, adopts the explanation, and Evans, p. 294, copies it. A. Altmann, *Das früheste Vorkommen der Juden in Deutschland: Juden in Trier*, Trier 1932, p. 29 n. 123, generally accepts this explanation (for which he also quotes Renan), but also draws attention to Roman coins bearing the boar emblem of the Xth Legion as a possible source. Holdschmidt, p. 134, borrows both explanations.

[43] Chr. Adrichomius, *Ierusalem, sicut Christi tempore floruit* . . . , Cologne 1584, p. 39: '[Hadrianus] . . . in fronte eius portae, qua Bethleem ibatur, suem in marmore sculpsit, Iudaeis eidem subjectis hoc modo significans, eos Romanae subiacere potestati. quibus & edicto interdixit, ne amplius urbem illam introirent, aut ex loco quopiam excelsiore eminus aspicerent . . .' Later editions: *Urbis Hierosolymae . . . descriptio* . . . , Cologne 1585 (p. 39); and Cologne 1592 (p. 5). English translation: *A Briefe Description of Hierusalem* . . . , London 1595, p. 5:

'. . . and set the picture of a sow cut in marble upon the forefront of that gate, by which men go to Bethleem, thereby giuing to understande, that the Iewes subject to that law of swines flesh, were under the power of the Romaines: whom by an *Edict* he forbad neuer more to enter into that cittie, or looke into the same from the top of any higher place. . . .'

[44] Hieronymus, *Eusebii Pamphili Chronicorum liber secundus*, *PL*, xxvii, col. 469: 'Aelia ab Aelio condita: et in fronte ejus portae, qua Bethlehem egredimur, sus scalptus [one variant reads *sulcatus* and omits *prominens*] in marmore prominens, significans Romanis subjacere Judaeos. Judaeorum nonnulli a Tito Aelio filio Vespasiani extructam arbitrantur . . .'.

[45] The Tenth Legion conquered the city and was stationed in and around it. For the latest examination of the historical situation see D. Rokeah, 'Comments on the Revolt of Bar-Kochba' (Hebrew, with English summary), *Tarbiz*, xxxv, 1965, p. 122 f. For the emblems of the Legion see D. Barag, 'Brick Stamp-Impressions of the *Legio X Fretensis*', *E. L. Sukenik Memorial Volume*, Jerusalem 1967 (Eretz Israel, viii), pp. 168–82 (Hebrew, with English summary on p. 73*).

[46] See above, pp. 37 (Cadolzburg), 38 (Aschersleben), and perhaps also 36 (Frankfurt).

[47] O. Dähnhardt (ed.), *Natursagen*, ii, *Sagen zum Neuen Testament*, Leipzig and Berlin 1909, pp. 102–7 (VI, 1–10), 279–81 (1–7).

[48] H. A. Winkler, 'Eine Zusammenstellung christlicher Geschichten im Artikel über das Schwein in Damiri's Tierbuch', *Der Islam*, xviii, 1929, pp. 285–93, esp. 293. A. I. Sabra kindly helped me in checking the Arabic version of Tha'labi, *Qisas al-anbiyā*, Cairo A. H. 1331 (= 1913), p. 271. On Tha'labi see *Enzyklopaedie des Islam*, iv, Leiden-Leipzig 1934, pp. 696–7.

[49] Dähnhardt, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 281; cf. M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford 1924, pp. 67–8; E. Hennecke–W. Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, i, London 1963, pp. 363 f., 369, 409. Cf. Note 101 below.

[50] Classical references to the attitude of Jews to pork are incompletely collected in the following: J. J. Schudt, *Compendium historiae judaicae*, Frankfurt a. M. 1700, chapter XXII ('De cultu porcorum, Judaeis per calumniam imputato'), pp. 236–45; J. Ph. Cassel, *Disquisitio philologica de Iudaeorum odio et abstinentia a porcina eiusque causis*, Magdeburg 1740; Th. Reinach, *Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au judaïsme*, Paris 1895 (photographic reprint, Hildesheim 1963), index, s.v. porc; J. Juster, *Les juifs dans l'Empire romain*, i, Paris 1914, p. 45 n. 1°g, p. 58 n. 5; I. Heinemann, 'Antisemitismus', in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. W. Kroll, Supplementband V, Stuttgart 1931, esp. col. 19 ff. Cf. also R. de Vaux, 'Les sacrifices de porcs en Palestine et dans l'Ancien Orient', *Von Ugarit nach Qumran* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, lxxvii), Berlin 1961, esp. p. 258 ff. I am indebted to Simon Pembroke and Menahem Stern who gave and explained to me many references not mentioned in the above-quoted literature. A comprehensive corpus, *Texts of the Greek and Latin Authors relating to Jews and Judaism*, edited with a commentary by M. Stern, is shortly to be published by the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Jerusalem.

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[51] Novatianus, *De cibis judaicis epistola, PL*, iii, cols. 981–92; Williams (*op. cit.* Note 6), pp. 165–6, 179, 303; Blumenkranz, *Juifs et chrétiens* (*cit.* Note 6), pp. 114, 116 f., 124, 157, 307 n. 50.

[52] G. Kisch, *The Jews in Medieval Germany: A Study of their legal and social Status*, second edition, New York 1970, p. 275.

[53] *Id.* 'Studien zur Geschichte des Judeneides im Mittelalter', *Forschungen zur Rechts- und Sozialgeschichte der Juden in Deutschland während des Mittelalters*, Zürich 1955, p. 161 n. 82.

[54] *Id.* (*op. cit.* Note 52), p. 278.

[55] *Id.*, *Jewry-Law in Medieval Germany: Laws and Court Decisions concerning Jews* (American Academy for Jewish Research, Texts and Studies, iii), New York 1949, p. 51. Translation: 'He shall stand on a skin of a sow that had born young within fourteen nights. The skin shall be split up along the back and be spread on [displaying?] the teats, on it shall the Jew stand barefoot . . .'; cf. *op. cit.* (Note 53), p. 282.

[56] *Id.*, *Jewry-Law* . . . , p. 97: 'On the teats must the Jew stand barefoot'.

[57] Cf. another illustration: O. Muneles (ed.), *Prague Ghetto in the Renaissance Period*, Prague 1965 (Jewish Monuments in Bohemia and Moravia, iv), p. 37, pl. 19 (woodcut, 16th century).

[58] O. Böcher, 'Der Judeneid', *Evangelische Theologie*, xxx/12, (Munich) 1970, pp. 671–81 (esp. 676–7).

[59] A detailed comparison of the dress prescribed for Jews taking the oath with some representations of the *Judensau* may further suggest a link between the two. Professor Guido Kisch kindly answered my queries and expressed disbelief in a connection.

[60] Details derived from P. Eichholz *et al.*, *Die Kunstdenkmäler von Stadt und Dom Brandenburg* (Die Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Brandenburg, ii, 3), Berlin 1912, pp. 336, 340–2, fig. 242, pl. 43; further information by kind communication of Dr. Joachim Fait, Institut für Denkmalpflege, Berlin.

[61] There is no comprehensive study of the medieval Jewish hat; preliminary studies are R. Strauss, 'The "Jewish Hat" as an Aspect of Social History', *Jewish Social Studies*, iv, 1942, pp. 59–72; R. E. Aronstein, 'The Jew's Hat', *Zion*, xiii–xiv, 1948–9, pp. 33–42 (Hebrew with English summary); *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, vi, 1904, p. 292; A. Rubens, *A History of Jewish Costume*, London 1967, pp. 91 ff. (with illustrations and bibliography); 2nd ed., London 1973, pp. 91 ff.

[62] My reading of the inscription is based on the photograph (Pl. 5a) as well as on Eichholz, *op. cit.*, fig. 242. The Biblical name Pinhas seems to have been very rare in thirteenth-century Germany, and is absent from the name-indices of *GJ* as well as J. Aronius, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden im fränkischen und deutschen Reiche bis zum Jahre 1273*, Berlin 1902. Cf. L. Zunz, 'Namen der Juden', *Gesammelte Schriften*, ii, Berlin 1876, pp. 1–82; and M. Grunwald, 'Zur jüdischen Namenskunde', *Mitteilungen zur jüdischen Volkskunde*, xix, 1911, p. 22.

[63] *GJ*, ii, p. 105 f.

[64] O. Gaul, 'Die Marienkirche zu Lemgo: Der Bau und seine Ausstattung', *St. Marien zu Lemgo*, Lemgo 1967, pp. 6, 17, fig. 2. Description repeated in G. Dehio, *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler, Westfalen*, ed. D. Kluge and W. Hansmann, 1969, p. 286.

[65] Bergner, p. 572.

[66] G. Dehio, *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler*, v, Berlin 1928, p. 306.

[67] *Loc. cit.* (Note 64).

[68] Cf. *GJ*, i–ii (negative).

[69] R. Klapheck, *Der Dom zu Xanten und seine Kunstschätze*, Berlin 1930, p. 57 f.

[70] W. Bader, 'Vom ersten Baumeister der gotischen Stiftskirche (1263 bis 1280)', *Sechzehnhundert Jahre Xantener Dom*, Cologne 1964, pp. 103–20 (for dating see esp. pp. 109 and 112).

[71] Klapheck, *loc. cit.*, suggests that the definite dating of the corbels and canopies could not be taken to date the statues, which he puts in the first half of the fourteenth century. Bader, *op. cit.*, p. 112, on the other hand, sees a perfectly preconceived correlation between the Visitation

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group and its supporting corbels, and therefore puts all the choir statues in the last third of the thirteenth century.

[72] Augustinus, *Enarrationes* (*cit.* Note 25), pars 2, p. 931.

[73] There is a striking analogy to the lion-dragon scene on a carved stone corbel at Beverley Minster (ill. in Anderson, *Animal Carvings, cit.* Note 2, p. 37, fig. 19) but there it is said to represent 'the power of good combating evil' (*ibid.*, p. 41). In Xanten, however, there is no reason to identify the lion as a symbol of good. Among the many contradictory symbolic meanings attached to the lion is that of the Devil, cf. Hrabanus, *De universo, PL*, cxi, col. 219: 'Leo, Diabolus ob fortitudinem et crudelitatem . . . Catuli leonum, daemones sive pravi homines'. According to the same author (*In Jeremiam, PL*, cxii, col. 906) the dragon signifies Antichrist, or the Jews. For further evil connotations of the dragon see *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, iv, Stuttgart 1958, cols. 347–8.

[74] *GJ*, i, p. 497 f.; ii, p. 936.

[75] J. A. Schmoll gen. Eisenwerth, *Das Kloster Chorin und die askanische Architektur in der Mark Brandenburg 1260–1320*, Berlin 1961, pp. 190 ff., esp. 194 and 201. Measurements and information kindly conveyed by Dr. J. Fait, Institut für Denkmalpflege, Berlin.

[76] F. Kugler, *Kleine Schriften und Studien zur Kunstgeschichte*, i, Stuttgart 1853, p. 100. Bösigk, pp. 467–8, copied the last two sentences; Evans, p. 297, translated them into English. Other brief mentions of the gargoyle: Otte (1883), p. 494; Bergner, p. 572; Holdschmidt, p. 135 n. 124. Wimpfen im Thal together with Wimpfen am Berg form the town of Wimpfen am Neckar.

[77] R. Kautsch, *Die Kunstdenkmäler in Wimpfen am Neckar*, Wimpfen a. N. 1920, p. 101; G. Dehio, *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler: Baden-Württemberg*, ed. F. Piel, Munich 1964, pp. 544–5.

[78] G. Schäfer, *Kunstdenkmäler im Grossherzogtum Hessen. Ehemaliger Kreis Wimpfen*, Darmstadt 1898, p. 212 f.

[79] *Ibid.*

[80] *GJ*, ii, p. 906.

[81] Otte (1841), p. 61, mistakenly gave the year 1493 as the date of the reliefs. He was corrected by F. Wiggert, 'Miszellen', *Neue Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiet historisch-antiquarischer Forschungen*, Halle (Thüringisch-Sächsischer Verein), vi/2, 1842, pp. 169–70. Wiggert himself dated all the capitals of the atrium 'before 1270'. Bösick, p. 467, overlooking Wiggert's correction, copies Otte's mistake, whence Evans, p. 297, translated it into English. Other datings: Fuchs, p. 114 (earliest *Judensau*, end of thirteenth century); W. Molsdorf, *Christliche Symbolik der mittelalterlichen Kunst*, Leipzig 1926, p. 183 (one of the earliest examples, thirteenth century); Nordström, p. 55 ('from *c.* 1320').

[82] C. L. Brandt, 'Einige Worte über die Thiergestalten an Kapitälen der Ernestinischen Kapelle des Doms zu Magdeburg', *Neue Mittheilungen . . .* (*op. cit.*), vii/3, 1845, p. 137 f. Cf. *id.*, *Der Dom zu Magdeburg*, Magdeburg 1863, p. 50 f.; M. Güdemann, *Zur Geschichte der Juden in Magdeburg*, Breslau 1866, p. 12, corrects Brandt's notion of an anti-Jewish persecution and the resulting dating of the *Judensau* '1260–6' to '1266–7'.

[83] Güdemann, *op. cit.*, p. 13; *Jüdisches Lexikon*, iii, col. 1280; *GJ*, i, p. 163 f.; ii, p. 505 f.

[84] From a document of 1274 it seems evident that the outer walls of the Cathedral were already erected, many capitals still incomplete, and the vaults and ceiling missing. Documents of 1306 and 1310 already refer to works above the level of the first storey. See R. Hamann and F. Rosenfeld, *Der Magdeburger Dom*, Berlin 1910, pp. 74, 139–42, 157 n. 54, 158 n. 63. Hamann shows that the oldest capitals in the Cathedral are those of the entrance hall. He also sees in them a stylistic connection with, if not the influence of, some mid-thirteenth century reliefs in Naumburg Cathedral. See *ibid.*, pp. 113–4, 134.

[85] For this aspect of ape symbolism see H. W. Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore* (Studies of the Warburg Institute, xx) London 1952, p. 51 and pls. XXIII–XXIV.

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[86] For dog symbolism see Hrabanus, *op. cit.*, *PL*, cxi, col. 224 f.: 'In canibus duo sunt expectanda: aut fortitudo, aut velocitas. Canis autem diversas significationes habet. Nam aut diabolum vel Judaeum, sive gentilem populum significat . . . Nam in meliore parte canis ponitur, ut in Ecclesiaste, ubi scriptum est: 'Melior est canis vivus leone mortuo' (Eccl. XI). Hic Leonem diabolum, canem vero gentilem vel hominem peccatorem accipiendum puto . . .'. See also: 'Canes, Judaei'. But this symbolism is hardly applicable to the Magdeburg frieze where Jews are explicitly depicted. In the New Testament dogs and swine make a proverbial pair: *II Petr.*, ii, 22; *Matth.*, vii, 6. The explicit reference to gentiles as dogs is in *Matth.*, xv, 26.

[87] R. Hamann, 'The Girl and the Ram', *Burlington Magazine*, lx, 1932, pp. 91–7; Nordström, p. 94 f. It should be added, however, that the ram itself was the earlier symbol of *Luxuria* as can be seen in Isidore's and Hrabanus' works as well as from later bestiaries. Cf. also Hanson, *loc. cit.* The last metamorphosis of the motif of the girl on the ram was to be connected with the Judensau: Sarah the Jewess riding a ram. See above, p. 52f. and Pls. 15a and 41–45.

[88] In *Hortus deliciarum*, *sus* is one of the animals symbolizing *avaritia*; see A. Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art* (Studies of the Warburg Institute, x), London 1939, p. 61, fig. 60.

[89] Katzenellenbogen, *op. cit.*, pp. 60 f., 75 f., figs. 72–3, 76.

[90] *Ibid.*, p. 82 f. A similar cycle was intended for the northern porch of Magdeburg Cathedral, and most of its reliefs were copied after Notre-Dame's western porch around 1230, but were subsequently placed on the choir walls instead. Cf. A. Goldschmidt, 'Französische Einflüsse in der frühgotischen Skulptur Sachsens', *Jahrbuch der königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xx, 1899, pp. 285–300, pls. I–II.

[91] In particular the Wanton and the Miser (the promiscuous and the usurer symbolizing *Luxuria* and *Avaritia*), e.g. Katzenellenbogen, *op. cit.*, figs. 56–7 and pp. 58–9 with references to south-western French examples of the twelfth century.

[92] The animal characteristics of the second demon seem significant. There is at least one twelfth-century example of the Wanton (woman) being 'distorted into a horned demon' in the Cathedral of Vienne (Isère), *ibid.*, p. 59 n. 3 I. In twelfth-century France the usurer (*Avaritia*) is depicted with a purse or serpents or both, and it is always a woman, *ibid.*, n. 3 II. Cf. Note 7 above.

[93] *Liber Floridus*, Ghent, Bibliothèque de l'Université et de la Ville, MS. 16, fol. 231v. Reproduced in Katzenellenbogen, *op. cit.*, figs. 64–5. Cf. *Liber Floridus*, ed. A. Derolez, Ghent 1968, pp. 462–3.

[94] Brief mentions of the *Judensau* in Heiligenstadt, without description or dating: Bösigk, p. 468; Evans, p. 297; Otte, p. 494; Bergner, p. 572; Holdschmidt, p. 135 n. 124. Mentions of the building, various datings: E. Förster, ed., *Denkmale der deutschen Baukunst* . . ., vii, Leipzig 1861, pp. 13–14, plate; G. Dehio, *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler*, i, Berlin 1905, p. 137; cf. *id.*, *op. cit.*, edition 1924, Berlin, p. 161; G. Piltz, *Kunstführer durch die DDR*, Leipzig-Jena-Berlin, 1969, p. 323.

[95] *GJ*, ii, p. 350.

[96] B. von Tieschowitz, *Das Chorgestühl des Kölner Domes*, Marburg & Berlin (Jahresausgabe des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft, 1930), Plan, wing N.C.

[97] The choir was consecrated by Archbishop Heinrich von Virneburg in 1322. Tieschowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 45, argued for dating the stalls towards the middle of the fourteenth century, but was corrected by P. Clemen, *Der Dom zu Köln*, Düsseldorf 1937 (Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Köln, i, 3), p. 157 (with further bibliography); and in his second abbreviated publication, of the same title, Berlin 1948 (Der Kunstbrief, xliii), p. 4, Tieschowitz accepts the view that the stalls were completed for the consecration of the choir or immediately after it. F. Neugass, *Mittelalterliches Chorgestühl in Deutschland*, Strassburg 1927 (Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte, ccil), p. 155 offers a dating to 1325–35.

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[98] The Sacrifice of Isaac, Isaac Blessing Jacob, Tree of Jesse. Tieschowitz (*op. cit.* Note 96), pls. 22–3.

[99] H. Reiners, *Die Rheinischen Chorgestühle der Frühgotik*, Strassburg 1909 (Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte, cxiii), p. 64 and pl. XIX, interprets the second scene as showing the Jews casting away (thus abiding by their law) pork conserved by others, and showing by this act how frugal they are. Their true intemperance, however, is exposed by the next scene, where they suck the teat of a sow. Neugass, *op. cit.*, p. 127, explains the first scene, with some other examples of the motif, as a satirical product of anti-Semitic attitudes. It represents the uncleanliness and inappropriateness of the Jewish law.

[100] Tieschowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 9; abbreviated version (1948), p. 15. His alternative explanation of the second scene as a mere counter-scene to the first is most probably derived from Reiners, *loc. cit.*

[101] The scene might be related to a popular legend about Jesus transforming a Jewess and her children into swine (see above, p. 13).

[102] Bächtold-Stäubli (*op. cit.* Note 6), ii, col. 728 f.

[103] Strack (*op. cit.* Note 6), p. 140 f.

[104] Tieschowitz (*op. cit.* Note 96) p. 7, pls. 5–6. The representation of *Avaritia* by the exemplary story of Lazarus had a long tradition; see Katzenellenbogen (*op. cit.*, Note 88), p. 58.

[105] Tieschowitz, *op. cit.*, pl. 18.

[106] A. Boinet, 'Metz', *Congrès archéologique de France*, lxxxiii, 1921, p. 21 f.

[107] Baltrušaitis (*op. cit.* Note 40), p. 64, fig. 28a.

[108] Nordström, p. 52 n. 3 (after quoting Baltrušaitis *loc. cit.*). Another curious reference to the corbel is made by P. Vitry, *La Cathédrale de Metz*, ed. M. Aubert, Paris 1931, p. 209: '. . . une truie qui allaite deux garçons, tandis qu'un troisième personnage lui présente un récipient dans lequel elle plonge son grouin, sujet familier et réaliste qui est bien dans l'esprit de ce temps'. On p. 199, *ibid.*, there is a line-drawing of the corbel which clearly shows the hats of the sucking figures. For a further misleading interpretation see Debidour (*cit.* Note 40).

[109] Boinet, Baltrušaitis, Nordström, *loc. cit.*; but for an argued dating see Vitry, *op. cit.*, pp. 200, 209.

[110] J. R. Schuegraf, *Geschichte des Domes von Regensburg und der dazu gehörigen Gebäude*, ii, Regensburg 1849, p. 64 f. (with a lithograph which is not necessarily a reliable record); A. Niedermayer, *Künstler und Kunstwerke der Stadt Regensburg*, Landshut 1857, p. 53 f. Short references: Bösigk, p. 468; Otte (1883), p. 494; Evans, p. 297; Bergner, p. 572; Fuchs, p. 114; etc.

[111] F. Mader, *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Oberpfalz*, xxii: *Stadt Regensburg, I. Dom und St. Emmeram*, Munich 1933, p. 68.

[112] It is difficult to know whether the Jew who holds the sow's ear is talking into it, or whether both he and the animal are making their 'typical' grunting noises, to the discredit of Jewish prayers (as is not uncommon in medieval drama). Even if not, and even if the gesture does not reflect the idiom 'preach to a sow' (for which see below, Note 238), the gesture is satirical.

[113] J. J. Schudt, *Jüdische Merckwürdigkeiten*, Frankfurt and Leipzig 1714–18, IV, ii, chapter 15, p. 94, says that the sculpture of the sow on the Cathedral of Regensburg was originally placed *vis à vis* the Jewish houses of the city with a derisive intention.

[114] *GJ*, ii, p. 679 f.; thus the explanations of Schuegraf and of Niedermayer, *loc. cit.*, do not seem relevant.

[115] Mader, *op. cit.*, p. 76 f., fig. 31; J. Schinnerer, *Die gotische Plastik in Regensburg*, Strassburg 1918 (Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte, ccvii), pp. 104–5.

[116] Nordström, pp. 51–8 (where earlier studies of the corbels are also quoted), pls. B, I V a–c.

[117] Nordström, p. 114; cf. Blumenkranz, *Juden* . . . (*cit.* Note 1), p. 42.

[118] See ground plan of the choir in Nordström, fig. 31 (facing p. 136).

[119] Nordström quotes a polemical pamphlet by Martin Luther of 1543 which refers to the

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Judensau of Wittenberg (for which see above, p. 43f.), and accepts it as a true explanation of the scene, in spite of both the lapse of time between the sculpture and the explanation, and Luther's biased attitude. Luther says the sow in Wittenberg is the Talmud and the man behind it is a Rabbi who peers into its rectum, as though he strove to see and read there something minute and exceptional, and Nordström applies this to the Uppsala scene. The figure in that scene, however, holds the tail but looks away. Nordström suggests that the man 'looks so excited that it seems quite possible that he may have seen "etwas scharffes und sonderliches" in the rectum of the sow'. Nordström reproduces a full-page illustration from *Somme le Roy* (B.M. Add. MS. 28162, fol. 5v; Nordström, fig. 26, p. 57), which shows two opposed pairs: *humilite* versus *orgueil*, and *le pecheeur* versus *l'ippocrite*. In this Nordström sees the kneeling *ippocrite* 'as a kneeling Jew, who has turned his head from the altar with its representation of Christ. The Jew here is said to be the hypocrite. Thus he can also be the antithesis of *Humilitas*'. The kneeling man, however, is not a Jew but an insincere penitent, opposed to the truly repentant sinner who is depicted opposite him. Nordström relates the 'rabbi' to the 'Jewish' hypocrite: 'The rabbi on the Uppsala corbel, instead of being Christian in humility, is proud enough to refuse Christ and read the Talmud instead.' This is not convincing. A quotation from Robert Grosseteste which Nordström uses, p. 55, to show that 'the comparison between Jews and the hypocrite is not uncommon at the height of the Middle Ages' is also unconvincing, for the quotation does not seem to refer to Jews. A further parallel by which Nordström explains the symbolic significance of the 'rabbi' is that he falls down, losing his hat just as King Ochosias falls off his castle. 'The connection between the two motifs is this, that as Ahasuerus consulted Beelzebub instead of God, so the rabbi consults the Talmud instead of Christ and the New Testament. Just as Ahasuerus (Ochosias) is a symbol of *Superbia*, so can the rabbi just as well be one' (Nordström, p. 56).

[120] 'The girl on the ram', which is on corbel X, is discussed and reproduced in Nordström, pp. 94–103.

[121] Nordström tried to trace *Superbia* symbolism in the *Judensau* corbel because it faces corbel III with the Dormition of the Virgin, which he interpets as symbolizing the virtue of *humilitas*. But the 'Rabbi', is not a King and he is not falling down. The falling hat does not seem to signify chastened pride in this representation more than in other corbels at Uppsala: hats fall off the heads of St. Stephen, the stable groom (*Castitas;* pl. IX b), as well as of Jacob the Patriarch (*timor Domini;* pl. VII c). Surely this is a stylistic idiosyncrasy of the Uppsala master rather than meaningful iconography.

[122] Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 368 (single leaf); see F. Wormald and P. M. Giles, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge 1966, p. 21, no. 46. A similar full-page miniature in *Somme le Roy*, Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS. 870, fol. 147.

[123] J. Kohte, *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Regierungsbezirks Bromberg*, Berlin 1897 (Verzeichnis der Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Posen, iv), pp. 73–81; A. Świechowska, ed., *Katedra Gnieźnieńska*, Poznań-Warszawa-Lublin 1968–70, i, pp. 119–21, 124–5, pls. LIV–LV, ii, ills. 118–19.

[124] *GJ*, i, pp. 115 f., 500.

[125] Gerson Waechter kindly drew my attention to this unknown *Judensau*.

[126] For the building history see P. Anstett, *Das Martinsmünster zu Kolmar*, Berlin 1966 (Forschungen zur Geschichte der Kunst am Oberrhein, viii), pp. 49–52.

[127] Brief reference to the gargoyle in Świechowska, *op. cit.*, p. 125 n. 170. The piece, however, is in its original site, not—as there indicated—'at the Museum of Colmar'.

[128] Anstett, *op. cit.*, pp. 59–60, 77–9.

[129] Recently the gargoyle was published by F. Raphaël, (*op. cit.* Note 7), esp. pp. 26–34. Raphaël ignores the other gargoyles on the Minster (as well as the earlier *Judensau* on the west façade) and thinks that the representation was intentionally placed to face the medieval Jewish street (*ibid.*, p. 31).

[130] *GJ*, ii, pp. 416–18.

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[131] Brief references: Bergner, p. 572; Neugass (*op. cit.* Note 97), p. 127; J. Schmidt, *Bau- und Kunst-Denkmäler der Provinz Sachsen*, xi, *Die Stadt Nordhausen*, 1887, p. 73.

[132] Cf. *1000 Jahre Dom zu Nordhaussen*, Heiligenstadt 1961 (Jubilee Brochure), p. 24 f.

[133] *Ibid.*, p. 22; later dating by Neugass (*op. cit.* Note 97), p. 55 (1390–1400).

[134] *GJ*, ii, p. 591.

[135] Otte (1841), p. 59.

[136] Photographic reproductions: Martin Luther, *Werke*, Kritische Gesamtausgabe, liii, Weimar 1920, p. 600; *Jüdisches Lexikon*, iii, Berlin 1929, col. 597; Holdschmidt (1935), frontispiece. Faulty line-drawing: Evans (1896), p. 290, reproduced in Nordström, p. 54 fig. 14.

[137] Otte (1841), p. 61; Bösigk, p. 463 f.; Liebe, p. 34; Fuchs, p. 114; *Jüdisches Lexikon, loc. cit.*; *et al.*

[138] G. Dehio, *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler*, i, third edition, Berlin 1934, p. 395; Oskar Thulin, *Die Lutherstadt Wittenberg und Torgau*. Berlin 1936, pp. 22 f.; Nordström, p. 54.

[139] See for instance Wilhelm Pinder, *Der Naumburger Dom* . . . Berlin 1925, pls. 23 ff.; Hermann Beenken, *Der Meister von Naumburg*, Berlin 1939, figs. 81 ff.

[140] Pentateuch and *Haftarot*, Jerusalem, Israel Museum, MS. 180/52, fol. 154v (German hand). For reproductions and dating see *Monumenta Judaica, Katalog*, ed. K. Schilling, Cologne 1963, no. D 5, pls. D 2, 3; B. Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*, Jerusalem 1969, pp. 98–9. See also Note 61.

[141] As Otte (1841) p. 61 suggests, following Luther's interpretation.

[142] *GJ*, ii, p. 915.

[143] See Note 211.

[144] See above, p. 47 and Note. 239.

[145] Illustrations: (line-drawing:) W. von Tettau, *Beschreibende Darstellung der älteren . . . Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Erfurt*, Halle 1890 (Beschreibende Darstellung der. . . . Denkmäler der Provinz Sachsen, xiii), fig. 29 facing p. 100; Bergner, p. 572; (photograph:) C. Gurlitt, *Historische Städtebilder*, i, *Erfurt*, Berlin 1901, pl. 9; A. Overmann, *Die älteren Denkmäler der Plastik, der Malerei und des Kunstgewerbes der Stadt Erfurt*, Erfurt 1911, fig. 172 p. 334, fig. 12 p. XXXVII; H. Sachs, *Mittelalterliches Chorgestühl*, Heidelberg 1964, pl. 43. For a detailed description and stylistic examination see I. L. Vorbrodt, *Die Mitteldeutschen Chorgestühle des* 13. *und* 14. *Jahrhunderts*, Diss. Jena 1957, pp. 52–3.

[146] Overmann, *op. cit.*, p. 332, dates it *c.* 1400–10; Neugass (*op. cit.* Note 97), p. 83 n. 278, discusses earlier wrong datings and dates the choir stalls shortly after 1400, or, p. 155, to 1400–5.

[147] Tettau, *op. cit.*, pp. 97–9; Overmann, *op. cit.*, pp. XXVII, 334; Molsdorf (*op. cit.* Note 81), p. 183; Vorbrodt, *loc. cit.*; Sachs, *op. cit.*, p. 32 f.

[148] See illustrations in works quoted in Note 1. The latest writer on the Erfurt *Judensau*, H. Sachs, *op. cit.*, pp. 33–4 emphasizes the uniqueness of the representation of 'Church and Synagogue'.

[149] *Hortus deliciarum*, fol. 150r (ed. A. Straub and G. Keller, Strasbourg, pl. XXXVIII) where the explanatory inscriptions read: quatuor eu[an]g[e]list[a]e animal ecclesi[a]e—animal synagog[a]e asinus stultus et laxus. Cf. also the fifteenth-century painting in S. Petronio, Bologna, and the late fifteenth-century MS., Munich, Staatsbibliothek, lat. 23041, fol. 3v (ill.: Seiferth [*op. cit.* Note 1] pl. 59) and fol. 181v (ill.: Blumenkranz, *Juden* . . . [*cit.* Note 1], p. 59, fig. 71).

[150] A similar coat of arms, but with two fish, of the family of von Weissensee, occurs on an epitaph dated 1429 in Erfurt Cathedral, see Tettau, *op. cit.*, p. 92, fig. 27; Overmann, *op. cit.*, 82–3, fig. 72. In 1303 the Jews of Erfurt were threatened by rioters from Weissensee (some twenty kilometres north of Erfurt), see *GJ*, ii, 1, p. 216. Coats of arms with two fish were borne in Erfurt also by the families of Wysse, Hausen, Piscator, and Volske (kind communication of Professor Wiegand, Director of the City Archives of Erfurt). Fourteenth-century French seals with coats of arms with one fish, as well as with a mounted knight with shield bearing the same, in G. Schlumberger *et al.*, *Sigillographie de l'Orient latin*, Paris 1943, pp. 210–11. A coat of arms

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with one fish from Donaueschingen, 1515, in *Sammlung Dr. Albert Figdor*, v, Vienna 1930, no. 533, pl. CXCIII. The interpretation of the coat of arms in the *Judensau* carving as a symbol of Christ (Sachs, *op. cit.*, p. 32; Vorbrodt, *loc. cit.*) seems anachronistic when applied to a fifteenth-century representation.

[151] For some fifteenth-century examples see R. Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery: Some Medieval Books and their Posterity*, Princeton 1966, figs. 23, 50–1, 56–7.

[152] The absence of a *Judensau* in Freising was kindly confirmed for me by Dr. W. Meyer of Munich and Dr. H. Medele of Freising.

[153] Fuchs, pp. 114, 116, tentatively dating the representation to the beginning of the fifteenth century.

[154] Bösigk, p. 468; Evans, p. 299; Otte (1883), p. 495; Bergner, p. 572. For similar inscriptions on medals of the seventeenth century, as well as for medieval parallels, see B. Kirschner, *Spottmedaillen auf Juden*, ed. A. Kindler, München 1968, p. 27 (but disregard mistake concerning the Freising *Judensau*).

[155] A. Scheiber, 'Von zwei mittelalterlichen Darstellungen des Juden', *Orientalia Suecana*, xvi, 1967, p. 97 and n. 5.

[156] Mentioned by Otte (1841), p. 61; Bösigk, p. 467; Evans, p. 297; Otte (1883), p. 494; Bergner, p. 572; Holdschmidt, p. 135 n. 124; P. L. Ganz and T. Seeger, *Das Chorgestühl in der Schweiz*, Frauenfeld 1946, p. 64.

[157] Ganz-Seeger, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

[158] *Ibid.*, pls. 17, 19.

[159] Schreiber, no. 1961. Illustrations: Liebe, p. 16, fig. 11; Fuchs, opp. p. 8; *et al.*

[160] W. Bühler, 'Mittelalterliche Holzschnittkunst in Breisach i. B.', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst*, xlviii, 4, Vienna 1925, pp. 68–71, offers a convincing dating to *c.* 1420–30; Schreiber, *loc. cit.*, describes it as of *c.* 1470–80.

[161] Bühler's interpretation of the Hebrew letters (p. 71) is wrong; the letters do not make sense, either in their present or in reversed form.

[162] At the boy's feet a garment lies on the ground. I doubt whether it can be taken, as Bühler suggests (p. 70), for a 'heap of dung'.

[163] Schreiber, no. 1850 (= 1961a). Illustrated in Bühler, *op. cit.*, fig. 4.

[164] *Ibid.*, pp. 70–1.

[165] The differences in the gesture of the hand, in the shape of the shoulder, in the distance of the head from the frame, and in the shape of the head itself, make the assumption of direct copying less probable.

[166] HM, N. 45411. Cf. Schreiber, edition 1926, p. 80. Ill. in Bühler, *op. cit.*, p. 68, fig. 1.

[167] Schreiber, no. 947.

[168] S. Beeh-Lustenberger, *Glasgemälde aus Frankfurter Sammlungen*, Frankfurt 1965, p. 243.

[169] Illustration in L. Puttrich, *Denkmale der Baukunst des Mittelalters in den Herzoglich Anhalt'schen Landen* (i, 3), Leipzig 1841, pl. 7.

[170] *Ibid.*, p. 4; W. van Kempen, *Zerbst in Anhalt*, Augsburg 1929 (Deutsche Kunstführer, il) p. 13.

[171] See L. Baneth's article on Anhalt in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, ii, Berlin, col. 842 f.; cf. *GJ*, ii, p. 939. Evans, p. 292, mistranslated Bösigk, p. 465 f., on this point, and was later copied by Nordström, p. 54. Earlier mentions of the *Judensau* in Zerbst occur in Schudt (*op. cit.* Note 113), IV, i, p. 249, who quotes from J. Chr. Beckmann, *Anhaltische Historie*, Zerbst 1710, III, ii, chapter I, p. 217).

[172] The carving was first mentioned by L. Bechstein, *Deutsches Sagenbuch*, Leipzig 1853, p. 717; Bösigk, p. 468.

[173] Schreiber, no. 1967a; illustration: Liebe, p. 19, fig. 14.

[174] This type directly influenced the woodcut (by Wohlgemut?) in Hartmann Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum*, Cologne (A. Koberger), 1493, fol. CCLIVv.

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[175] W. K. Zülch, *Frankfurter Künstler 1223–1700*, Frankfurt a. M., 1935, p. 143.

[176] A. Kirchner, *Geschichte der Stadt Franckfurt am Main*, Frankfurt, 1807, p. 450 n. The mistake stems perhaps from the confusion of Conrad Fyoll with his father Sebold. Conrad, however, did nothing more than restore another picture in the same passage in 1466, and that was mistakenly confused with the authorship of the *Judensau*. See Zülch, *loc. cit.*

[177] Beeh-Lustenberger (*op. cit.* Note 168), p. 245.

[178] O. Donner-von Richter, 'Philipp Uffenbach 1566–1636 und andere gleichzeitig in Frankfurt a. M. lebende Maler', *Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst* (3. Folge), vii, 1901, pp. 80, 82 (where the accounts are quoted); Beeh-Lustenberger, *loc. cit.*

[179] Cf. title of the print HM, C.11363 (Pl. 42a); Beeh-Lustenberger, *loc. cit.*, mistakenly gives 1677 as the date of this restoration; Schudt (*op. cit.* Note 113), II, p. 258 seems to have been her source on this point. Reliable source for 1678 in H. J. Schoeps, *Philosemitismus im Barock*, Tübingen 1952, p. 182.

[180] Kirchner, Schudt, *loc. cit.*

[181] Beeh-Lustenberger, *loc. cit.*

[182] O. Donner-von Richter, 'Die Maler-Familie Fyoll und der Römerbau', *Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst* (3. Folge), v, 1896, p. 64 and n. 3.

[183] Hind, E.III.45.

[184] From all later descriptions and prints it is clear that the upper section representing Simon constituted a quarter of the painting. The Jews and the sow occupy the rest.

[185] *Stadtkammeramtsrechnungen*, 1487, fol. 16 (Salzburger Museum Carolino-Augusteum): 'Ausgabe der stat Notturft 87 . . . Vermerkt Hannsen Glanensperger Burgermaister Raittum (= Rechnung) von zwin jarn vergangen des Burgermaister des 86 und 87 jarn item dem Volknawer und Hainrich maler vmb den Juden und saw Ratturn . . . 6 f. 28 d.' (Quoted in A. Altmann, *Geschichte der Juden in Stadt und Land Salzburg*, i, Berlin 1913, p. 162, n. 4). Altmann, *op. cit.*, p. 161, n., identifies the sculptor with Valcknawer who was later commissioned by the Emperor Maximilian I to adorn the Imperial tombs in Speyer Cathedral. Cf. P. M. Halm, *Studien zur Süddeutschen Plastik*, i, Augsburg 1926, p. 210.

[186] H. Hermes, *Fasciculus juris publici*, Salzburg 1663, p. 422: 'Curiosum hic est videre in muro curiae, vel domus civicae juxta horologium si oculos elevaveris in extremitate muri Orientem . . .'; the rest of his description is rendered irrelevant by its being directly copied from Maiolus (see above, p. 49).

[187] J. Petzl, *Reise durch den Bayerischen Kreis*, Salzburg and Leipzig 1784, p. 236 (quoted by Altmann, *op. cit.*, p. 182): 'Ein Denkmal von anderen Art, ein barbarischer Beweis von dem ehemaligen Hasse gegen die Enkel Abrahams, findet sich an einer Ecke des Rathauses. Es ist ein aus Stein gehauenes Schwein an dessen Zitzen einige Juden saugen. Mich wundert es, dass unter der jetztigen erleuchteten Regierung, diese stumpfe Platitüde noch nicht auf die Seite geschafft wurde'.

[188] L. Hübner, *Beschreibung der hochfürstlich-erzbischöflichen Haupt- und Residenzstadt Salzburg*, i, Salzburg 1792, p. 146 f. The relief has since disappeared. It is not in the Salzburg Museum.

[189] Altmann, *op. cit.*, p. 156 f.; *Jüdisches Lexikon*, s. v. 'Salzburg'.

[190] Fritz Zink kindly drew my attention to this relief. Brief mention in K. Gröber and F. Mader, *Die Kunstdenkmäler von Mittelfranken*, vii: *Stadt und Landkreis Schwabach*, Munich 1939, p. 376.

[191] F. M. Haberditzl, *Die Einblattdrucke des XV. Jahrhunderts in der Kupferstichsammlung der Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, i, Vienna 1920, no. 179, pp. 40–1, pl. CXIX; Schreiber, no. 1964; illustrations (mislabelled): Liebe, p. 36, fig. 29; Fuchs, p. 5, fig. 11.

[192] *GJ*, ii, p. 148. Cf. also *ibid.*, i, p. 249 f.; ii, p. 598 f. (Nuremberg).

[193] E. Strassburger, 'Volkstümliche Bräuche und Aberglauben in Aschersleben', *Archiv für Landes- und Volkskunde der Provinz Sachsen*, iii, 1893, p. 157.

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[194] *GJ*, ii, p. 28.

[195] The facts are confirmed by the Stadtarchiv of Aschersleben (letter to the late Professor Fritz Blanke, 20 March, 1965): the gate was last repaired in 1770, and 'today it does not exist any more'.

[196] Strassburger, *loc cit.*

[197] Brief description and drawing: Gröber and Mader (*op. cit.* Note 190), pp. 375–6, fig. 381.

[198] Details from kind communication of Dr. Gerhartl, Archivist of Wiener Neustadt (in a letter to Fritz Blanke, 5 March, 1965). The relief seems to have been copied by plaster cast. Both original and cast are in the museum at Wiener Neustadt (Inv. no. 1096a–b; height 37 cm., width 45 c., depth 18 cm.). The Jewish Community of Wiener Neustadt, which was saved from massacre during the Black Death, flourished in the fifteenth century until the expulsion of the Jews in 1496; cf. *GJ*, i, p. 425 f.; ii, p. 903 f.; Ben Sasson in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, xvi, Jerusalem, cols. 505–6.

[199] W. Schefbeck, 'Die Judensteine in Kelheim', *Niederbayerische Monatschrift*, i, 1912, p. 171 f.; F. Mader, *Die Kunstdenkmäler von Niederbayern. VII. Bezirksamt Kelheim*, Munich 1922, pp. 207–8, fig. 178; Fuchs, fig. 9 (with a wrong reference on p. 117). Brief mentions: Otte (1883), p. 494; Holdschmidt, p. 135 n. 124.

[200] Translation:

In the year 1519 A.D. the Jews of Regensburg were expelled.

[201] See Schuegraf (*op. cit.* Note 110), ii, p. 65. A different, fantastic and apologetic, interpretation by M. Rosenfeld (in *Israelitische Wochenschrift*, viii, no. 41), is quoted by Schefbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

[202] The Hebrew 'inscription' on the tablet does not make sense. It seems to be a random copying of letters and (in the first line) perhaps of a word from a medieval Hebrew tombstone:

Line 1: *est*: 'the wife of' or 'a woman of'
Line 2: *vmr*: meaningless, perhaps corruption of *kmr*, being the abbreviation of 'the honourable'
Line 3: *kn*?: or *pg*?, *kg*?, all without meaning. The last letter is illegible
Line 4: *szt*: or perhaps *s'at*, both meaningless, and, if read as Hebrew dates of A.C. 5396 or 5376, unacceptable.

[203] Schefbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 173; whence Mader (*loc. cit.* Note 199).

[204] Translation:

Kaspar Amman/In the year of Our Lord 1519, on Monday on the eve of the festival of Peter's Throne, the Jews were expelled from the city of Regensburg, and on the eighth day not one of them was seen any more/Praise be to God.

[205] Translation:

In the year 1519 on 22 February the Jews here in Regensburg were expelled.

[206] Details and texts of the inscriptions from Schefbeck, *loc. cit.*, who draws partly from Scheugraf, *loc. cit.*

[207] By kind communication of Dr. A. Horn, Institut für Denkmalpflege, Munich.

[208] An altered reproduction by line-drawing in L. Maeterlinck, *Le genre satirique fantastique et licencieux dans la sculpture flamande et wallonne*, Paris 1910, p. 160, fig. 96, whence Fuchs p. 2, fig. 7. There are two more misericords in Aerschot with, perhaps, Jewish figures. One shows a kneeling man kissing a dog, Maeterlinck, *op. cit.*, p. 158, fig. 94; the other illustrates a local proverb 'roses not pearls for swine' most probably derived from 'ne mittatis margaritas vestras ante porcos', 'margaritae' being replaced by 'marganitae'. For this motif in misericords in the Netherlands see *ibid.*, figs. 122, 154, 178, pl. IV. Another misericord showing a man, perhaps a Jew, with a dog, is at Diest, see *ibid.*, p. 133 fig. 83. Cf. also Druce (*op. cit.* Note 14), p. 5; P. H. van Moerkerken, *De Satire in de Nederlandsche Kunst der Middeleeuwen*, Amsterdam 1904, p. 190 and fig. 8.

[209] Schuegraf (*op. cit.* Note 110), ii, p. 65.

[210] Fabricius, above, p. 47 and Note 239.

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[211] Hoffmann-Krayer and Bächtold-Stäubli (*op. cit.* Note 6), iv, col. 827.

[212] 'In Diesdorf, einem Vorort von Magdeburg, war auch ein "Judenbild" an der Kirche angebracht; es ist jedoch nicht erhalten.' Kind communication of Dr. K. J. Maercker.

[213] D. Schwab, *Detectum velum Mosaicum*, Mainz 1619, second edition 1666. For text see above, p. 6 and Note 306.

[214] A. Schöppner, *Sagenbuch der Bayerischen Lande*, Munich 1852–3, p. 219, no. 669: 'Das Synagogenwappen'; summarized in Bösigk, 466.

[215] Praetorius (*op. cit.* Note 246), pp. 144–5.

[215a] Kempen (*op. cit.* Note 170), p. 15: 'Es ist dieses Motiv auch anderwärts zu belegen. In Zerbst selbst findet es sich noch einmal an einer gotischen Balkenschnitzerei im Hofe des Hauses Markt 16'.

[216] O. Hupp, *Scheltbriefe und Schandbilder, ein Rechtsbehelf aus dem* 15. *und* 16. *Jahrhundert*, Munich-Regensburg 1930, esp. pp. 15, 36, 51, 64, 66, 71, 78, 83.

[217] Carved by Wautier van Inghen in 1465, see Maeterlinck (*op. cit.* Note 208), pp. 114–15, pl. II and fig. 68; cf. *id.*, *Péchés primitifs*, Paris 1912, fig. 61.

[218] In 1618 the Jewish community of Poznań, then the principal community in Great Poland, lodged a complaint at the court of the Wojewoda against the Mayor of Poznań, Christoph Arnold, the councillors, bailiffs, and heads of all the guilds, for having commissioned a painter, one Armon, to paint abusive pictures on the wall of the Town Hall, namely, Christ expelling the money-lenders from the Temple, a portrait of a Jewess (who was forcibly held for the purpose), and a Jew riding a swine. These were painted in the public place three days after the Jews had prevailed upon, and paid, the painter to erase other such paintings, especially Jews and Jewesses riding swine, which he had painted there that week. The Jews described how the painter's apprentice, Szostowicz, and the town crier, Lucas, took the opportunity to attack Jews passing by the Town Hall, and how they chased after them into the Jewish quarter, wounding their victims, damaging the synagogue and plundering houses. The accused admitted the facts but claimed that the Jews themselves provoked the disturbance by trying to interfere with the painter and prevent him from completing the pictures they deemed offensive. See J. Łukaszewicz, *Historisch-statistisches Bild der Stadt Posen*, i, Posen 1878, pp. 66–9. This was reprinted in A. Heppner and J. Herzberg, *Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der Juden und der jüdischen Gemeinden in den Posener Landen*, Koschmin-Bromberg 1909, pp. 127–33.

[219] *Fastnachtspiele aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, ed. A. v. Keller, i, Stuttgart 1853 (Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, xxviii), pp. 169–90.

[220] *Ibid.*, p. 184, line 21 f. Translation:

> I say that first of all
> The biggest mother-swine must be brought,
> Under her they all must crouch,
> Each must suck a teat loudly;
> The Messiah must lie under the tail!
> What falls down from her he should all
> Together pack in a small bag,
> And then in one gulp swallow it down.

[221] *Ibid.*, p. 186, line 14. Translation:

Here the Jews put themselves under the sow, and the Messiah under the tail.

[222] *Ibid.*, p. 188, line 8 f.; cf. Frankl (*op. cit.* Note 11), pp. 45–9; Holdschmidt, pp. 136–7. Translation:

> . . . You must have a little patience
> And each from the sow shall feed
> When she excretes into the mouths of you all.

[223] See H. Rosenfeld, 'Das Schwein im Volksglauben und in der Spielkartenillustration', *Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel* (Frankfurt), 4 April 1962, Nr. 27a, pp. 622–5; cf. A. Schlieben, *Das Schwein in der Kulturgeschichte*, Wiesbaden [1891], p. 37.

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[224] Rosenfeld, *op. cit.*, figs. 1, 2, 4, 7, 9.

[225] GNM 516. Sp. 7078. Woodcut, hand-coloured; 9,5 cm. by 6 cm.

[226] R. Lewin, *Luthers Stellung zu den Juden*, Berlin 1911. The anti-Semitic book by A. Falb, *Luther und die Juden*, Munich 1921 (Deutschlands führende Männer und das Judentum, iv), is useful for its collection of quotations. Extensive bibliography in J. Brosseder, *Luthers Stellung zu den Juden im Spiegel seiner Interpreten*, Munich 1972 (Beiträge zur ökumenischen Theologie, viii).

[227] Wittenberg 1543. Second enlarged edition, Wittenberg 1543. Latin translation by Justus Jonas, Frankfurt a. M., 1544. Cf. Luther's *Werke*, Kritische Gesamtausgabe, liii, Weimar 1920, pp. 412–552.

[228] For a bibliography of early editions see Weimar edition, pp. 573ff.

[229] For Hebrew text and Latin translation of *Toldot Yeshu* see J. C. Wagenseil, *Tela ignea Satanae*, Altdorf 1681 (with separate pagination). Luther's own book contains a German narrative after the Latin version of Borchetus; cf. Weimar edition, liii, pp. 580–6. For studies of the book see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Berlin, ix, cols. 78–9 (with bibliography), *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Jerusalem, xv, cols. 1208–9.

[230] Illustration in Liebe, p. 38, fig. 31.

[231] H. Grisar and F. Heege, *Luthers Kampfbilder*, iv, '*Die Abbildung des Papsttums*' *und andere Kampfbilder in Flugblättern 1538–45*, Freiburg 1923, *passim* and esp. p. 16.

[232] *Von den Juden* . . . , Weimar edition, liii, p. 478, lines 27–36. Translation:

Shame on you here, shame on you there and wherever you are, you damned Jews, for you have ventured to interpret this solemn, magnificent, consoling word of God so shamefully to satisfy your mortal, maggotty, greedy belly, and for that you are not ashamed of displaying your greed so vulgarly. You are unworthy to look at the outside of a Bible, let alone read inside it. You should read only that Bible which is under the sow's tail, and the letters that fall from there you should gobble up and gulp down; this would be a proper Bible for such prophets, who so sow-like root up and so swine-like tear apart the word of God which one should listen to with all honour, trembling, and joy.

[233] *Vom Schem Hamphoras* . . . , *ibid.*, p. 587. Translation (lines 1–6):

Now where are they, the immoral Christians who have or want to become Jews? Hither! To the kiss! [that is, worship]; the Devil has flung in the *N.* [meaning unknown] and emptied his belly once more. This is a proper sacred relic which the Jews, and whoever wants to be Jew, should kiss, gobble up and drink and adore. And, in turn, the Devil may gobble up and drink that which his disciples spew out, above and below.

[234] E. g. *Von den Konziliis* . . . , 1539, Weimar edition, l, pp. 619 line 34—620 line 1.

[235] Grisar-Heege, *op. cit.*, iv, p. 31, pl. III a–b.

[236] *Vom Schem Hamphoras* . . . , Weimar edition, liii, pp. 600 line 7—601 line 5. Translation:

Here you may perhaps ask me: where have the Jews got this high wisdom, that they so divide the words of Moses, the holy blameless letters, into three verses and make out of it arithmetical signs or numbers, and also name seventy-two angels and, in short, reconstruct the whole *Shem hameforash*? Leave me in peace with it, ask the Rabbis about it, they will certainly tell you. 'Yes, I want first to hear from you your opinion before I become a Jew, for afterwards I know very well I shall have to believe in the Rabbis, but you have promised me the Catechism of the Jews, and therefore keep this promise'. Well then, I do not know in detail where they got it from, but I shall explain to you roughly. There is here in Wittenberg, on our parish church, a sow carved in stone, young piglets and Jews lie under it and suck teats. Behind the sow stands a Rabbi who lifts the sow's right leg up, and with his left hand pulls the tail over himself, bows and stares with great attentiveness under the tail of the sow into the Talmud, as if he wanted to read and understand something intricate and extraordinary. From this, certainly, they got their *Shem hameforash*. For in the past there have been very many Jews in these lands, as is indicated by the names of hamlets and villages, also of burghers and peasants, which are Hebrew to this day; and some learned and esteemed man, who was an enemy to the dirty lies of the Jews, had such a sculpture made. For the same is said similarly among the Germans of one who shows off wisdom without justification: Where has he read this? In the sow's (to be crude) behind.

[237] *Ibid.*, p. 601, lines 6–13. Translation:

In this way one may also easily relate, and turn round, the word *Shemhamphoras* namely, 'Peres schama' or, as they do, master it boldly and make it into 'Schamha Peres'; so that it sounds very similar. Just as when a German understands, when hearing or reading, 'Nerren' for 'Neeren' or . . . 'gebessert' for 'gewessert'. This is how the Devil makes fun of the Jews his prisoners; he lets them say *Shem hameforash*, believe in it and hope for great things.

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But *he* means 'Sham haperesh', meaning [in Hebrew]: 'here is dirt'; not the kind that lies in the streets, but that which comes out of the belly . . .

238 Cf. E. Thiele, *Luthers Sprichwörtersammlung*, Weimar 1900, no. 398. For more examples of Luther's predilection for idioms centring on sow, 'under the tail', dirt, dung, etc., see Thiele's index, and H. Preuss, *Martin Luther: Der Künstler*, Gütersloh 1931, p. 251 f.; Grisar-Heege, *op. cit.*, iv, p. 32.

239 L. Fabricius, *De Shembamphorasch usu, et abusu apud Iudaeos, orationes duae*, Wittenberg 1596, fols. (E8)r–(F7)r (abbreviations silently expanded). Translation:

What shall we say to that deep obtuseness of the Jews! The Son of God came to save his people, but they would not recognize him; the Lord came specially for them, but they would not accept him; the King of Heaven called the Jews to the prepared Wedding [that is, the Wedding of the Lamb, symbolizing the beginning of the heavenly Kingdom, cf. Revelation XIX, 9, XXI, 9 f.], but they began to excuse themselves. God had deemed them worthy of eternal life: but they made themselves unworthy of eternal life. God elected the seed of Abaraham to be His people, and to be holy, like their God, but they failed because of their incredulity. They had been called and elected to be God's mouth, to fulfil God's word; but they closed their mouths to the flow of all the good from God, and opened their mouths and all their senses to the Devil who filled them with all the lies, impiety, and blasphemy. They did not accept the love of truth by which they would be saved, therefore God sent them powerful deceptions, so that they who refused to believe in the truth and were more satisfied with injustice, should believe in lies and be all damned.

First, the sacred *Schembamphorasch* went to the bad; it is no more the name of God expounded in the Holy Trinity, it is not the symbol of the hidden mystery and secret knowledge, in which only the pious rejoiced before the Incarnation of Christ. *Schembamphorasch* was now turned into *Schambaperesch*, which that Prince of Darkness put before the blind Jews instead of the sacred *Schembamphorasch*. *Schembamphorasch*—profaned and put to frequent use outside its mystical sense, perverted to magic (with which they try to reduce all the angels to order, so that they may make them do at once everything according to their wish, and even try to constrain God himself)—nothing else but 'scham', which means 'there', and 'haperesch', meaning 'dung', stinking animal excrement, which Satan has set before the blind Jews to drink and eat, so as to make those who were nauseated by the dishes of divine mysteries sated with the most stinking excrements.

This foulness of the foul abuse of the *Schembamphorasch* observant Christians put before the eyes of the Jews who live with them, and they keep them from their altars and ceremonies, lest having entered the holy places they shout blasphemies against the Holy Trinity, against Christ the only son of God, who was born and suffered and ascended to heaven, or against the most chaste Mary, Mother of God; and they set up a breeding-sow, or a sow, carved in stone, or painted, in front of their gates and churches. . . .

As Christians know that not only the eating and sacrifice of swine, but also their images in a holy place are hateful to the Jews, they placed sows in holy places which they wanted to keep clear of approach by Jews—not to defile the sacred place or to mock God in the sanctuaries, nor to be seen as approving of certain sacrifices which are not approved of, but in order to render the said places of divine worship hateful to the Jews, whose coming there will be prevented by the image of a sow. Jews of the present time much hate and abominate not only Christians, but also the places in which they assemble to perform the cult of God. This was the reason for the sow affixed on the church at Wittenberg, to whose image (if you please) we shall give a little attention.

When you come from the public college through the gate into the churchyard, you will see, if you lift your eyes, on the highest part of the wall near the roof, a sow carved in stone with this inscription: *Rabini Schembamphorasch*. This inscription teaches you not the true use but rather the abuse of *Schembamphorasch*. It should not be understood as you have seen explained in the first discourse, but rather as in the second discourse. For the same reason the inscription *Schembamphorasch* does not stand alone above the sow, but the word *Rabinorum* is added. By the last term are not meant the most ancient, most religious Jewish teachers who, as we have shown before, conceived most religiously of Jehovah and of his revelation. Indeed by 'Rabbis' you should understand those Jewish teachers who are false, blind, and the worst enemies of the Messiah, who, snatching away the power of working miracles from Christ, transferred it, to the utmost disgrace of God, and to their own ruin, to their blasphemous and most false *Schembamphorasch*.

But what happens under that inscription? The sculpture shows an image: you see a huge sow standing with hanging teats like suckling sows who, grunting and slavering, offer their piglets the pleasant nourishing milk. There are under that sow three Jewish boys, of whom two, with faces turned away, suck at the teats of the sow; the third one, full-face, is under the belly of the sow and looks at the spectators. Under the neck of the sow a piglet comes running to suck her teats together with the boys.

Is there nothing more to perceive? Certainly there is. At the rear of the sow you will see an older Jew wearing the mitre of the Rabbinic profession; reclining, he seems to be lifting with his left hand the sow's tail, and with his right her right leg; with a sidelong glance he seems to be scanning not a book but her rectum and, his faculties concentrated in earnest meditation, to be laying open I do not know what mysteries in the Talmud of the sow. He listens to the tumultous winds of the intestines so that, instructed by their oracles, he may have something new

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to convey to his Jewish pupils. After you have contemplated the details of the sculpture, pause now and meditate on the meaning of the various parts.

It is obvious that this entire sculpture was set up in hate towards the Rabbis, enemies of God and blasphemers against the Messiah and his most Holy Mother, who, together with the whole Jewish flock, do not understand anything divine and do not learn anything from the divine oracles contained in the Holy Bible, but merely draw and take in Rabbinic, or rather pagan and diabolical, doctrines. Instead of the flowing water of eternal life they suck the milk of a sow. Instead of the Gospels, which could have brought them to salvation had they adored with faith the Messiah made flesh they eat nothing but *Schembamphorasch*, excrement and dung.

Consider their own learning: they have a sow as mistress, a swinish pedagogue, and in brief, their whole discipline is swine breeding, and all their teachers swine-breeders. For once upon a time the pious Jews did not approve of the sow for eating and sacrifice; today the Jews ignore this and make her their mistress. Having neglected the Sacred Book, they occupy themselves with the rectum of the sow. Nor do the young Jews drink the milk to healthier purpose than the old ones supply it. They take all their mysteries from the piggish Talmud, they suck all the impurity from the teats of swine. Thus cut off through incredulity from the olive and vine of Christ, they eagerly pursue only the most impure filthiness. Having deserted Christ, they adhere to a sow; having despised the doctrine of the Messiah, they devour dung; having neglected the Word of Life, they suck in their muddy milk. It is these things that religious Christians, enemies of their Jewish enemies, wanted to show by displaying that swine image in front of the Jews and the faithful.

But who was the inventor of that picture? Certainly not the holy Luther who, when he came to Wittenberg, discovered it there, and wrote about it in his polemical writings against the Jews as follows . . . . That is what Luther wrote regarding the sow.

By this it is made clear that this stone sow had been here formerly [that is, before Luther]. For this is how those who were adherents of the Name of Christ contrived to irritate the Jews, eternal enemies of the Name of Christ, and keep them from their houses. They also put up a swine, painted or sculptured, at the entrance to public inns from which they wanted to exclude the Jews—as is seen in Berlin and elsewhere. In the same manner the Germans drive away the Jews from their altars and churches, in which they had heard their own cult mocked at and the mother of Jesus blasphemed against. For when in the past the Roman Antichrist dominated these regions, many Jews lived in these places by the indulgence of the Roman Pontificate as well as of the princes; and they not only professed Judaism openly, but also at the same time mocked at the sacred ceremonies of the Christians, and often used to intrude into churches and utter their blasphemies.

Apart from the stone sow on the church at Wittenberg, there is a similar one carved in stone, for the same reason, at Zerbst in the Duchy of Anhalt, on an outer column [that is, buttresses]. Another similar sow sucking Jews one can see at Magdeburg in the large church of the canons, in the chapel on the west side of which is the sepulchre of the Roman Emperor Otto. Similarly you will see a carved sow on the town hall of Salzburg in Bavaria, to the disgrace of the Jews who once bought the Holy Host at Munich and desecrated it there. And I am sure many similar images of sows can be found in other places.

Indeed, such sculptures of swine, made in dishonour of the Jews, which they placed in public places like gates and churches, imitate the example of the Emperor Hadrian who, about A.D. 139, not only issued a law forbidding any Jew to enter Jerusalem—which he rebuilt anew and called Aelia after his own name—for he wanted to ensure that the city be inhabited by Christians only, but also forbidding that any Jew should look at Palestine from elevated places far away. And, in order to deter more effectively the entry of Jews into the city, he put up on the gate that led to Bethlehem a sow made of marble, to the open disgrace of the Jewish people. . . .

This image for repelling Jews which the Christians began using from that time was transferred from Judea to Greece and from Greece to Germany; by this public sign they professed publicly to be hostile to the Jewish religion, and to desire that no unbelieving Jews should disturb their rites. To be safe in their churches from the mockery and blasphemies of the Jews, they put the sculptured image of the sow in churchyards, on doors and on altars of their shrines.

240 *Lectionum memorabilium et reconditarum tomus secundus*, Lauingae 1600, pp. 1031–3.

241 *Dies caniculares . . . tertia editio . . .*, Mainz 1614, tom. iii, colloq. I, pp. 807–934 (*Judensan* section: pp. 812–4). Same in 'ultima editio', Mainz 1615. Editions of Maiolus' original work (XXIII colloquia): Rome 1597, Ursel 1600, Mainz 1607. Later editions, with additions, all published by J. T. Schönwetter (and his heirs): Cologne 1608, Mainz 1610, Franfurt 1612 ('Opus nunc primo editum opera et studio M.G.D.' [=Magistri Georgii Draudii]), Mainz 1614, 1615, Frankfurt 1619, 1642, 1667 ('opus . . . reductum . . . Georgio Draudio'), Offenbach 1691. French translations: Paris 1609, 1610, 1612.

242 Maiolus, *op. cit.* (1614), p. 813, col. a.

243 On de l'Ancre's activity see H. R. Trevor-Roper, *Religion, the Reformation and Social Change*, 2nd edition, London 1972, pp. 112 f.

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[244] For quotations see I. Lévi, 'Le traité sur les juifs de Pierre de l'Ancre', *Revue des études juives*, xix, 1889, pp. 233–45.

[245] Hermes (*op. cit.* Note 186), pp. 422–3, clause 11.

[246] J. Praetorius, *Saturnalia: Das ist eine Compagnie Weihnachts-Fratzen oder Centner-Lügen . . .*, Leipzig 1663, pp. 304–6.

[247] *Ibid.*, pp. 140–2.

[248] See Note 241.

[249] J. C. Wagenseil, *Ad Johannem Fechtium . . . Epistola*, n.p. 1693, p. 71 f.; extensive summary in W. E. Tentzel (ed.) *Monatliche Unterredungen*, Leipzig 1693, pp. 534–5. Translation:

As I did not understand immediately what he meant, I asked him, 'Who taught you, my friend, that secret mystery of *Schemhamphorasch* which is known only to very few people even among the Jews?' Then he: 'Away with their secrets! I understand the *Schemhamphorasch* of Wittenberg; there stands a great sow made of stone fully displayed on the parish church, with the inscription "Rabini Schemhamphorasch"; these words describe the sculpture, but confusedly.' 'Ha, ha!' I laughed, 'I admit I was never in Wittenberg, but now I remember having seen that carving of *Schemhamphorasch* in Wolf's *Lectiones memorabiles*, and read the explanation. Then I asked our host to bring Wolf's volume so that all the guests at the table would delight in the sight of the carved stone. The book having arrived, I showed them all the witty figure, and read aloud. . . .

[250] Such as D. Fröhlich, *Bibliothecae seu cynosurae peregrinantium*, iii, Ulm 1643, p. 324.

[251] Such as A. Sennert, *Athenae: Itemque inscriptiones Wittebergenses*, Wittenberg 1678, p. 172. Also, Schudt (*op. cit.* Note 50), p. 242.

[252] Vol. ii, epistola LXXX (separately published, 1739).

[253] Jerusalem, Israel Museum, 177/49 (757–3–55). Etching (frame): 17·5 cm. by 13·5 cm. Text:

Sabathai Sevi ein falscher Mesias // Jacobus Melstinius ein falscher Mesias,
Zweÿ erz Betrüger sieht man hier beÿsammen stehen,
Die blinde Juden Schaar die hat sie angesehen,
Vor dem, der wahrer Gott, und aller Heÿland ist,
Mein Christ! bejammre doch des Teuffels Trug und List,
Der wahrer Mesias der soll beÿ sie noch kommen
So sehr hat Aberwitz die Juden eingenommen

The print could be a corrupted derivative of a seventeenth-century satire on Sabbathai Zevi and the Quaker Jacob Naylor. See Liebe, fig. 60, p. 74.

[254] p. 127 f.

[255] p. 136.

[256] p. 138.

[257] p. 146.

[258] p. 137.

[259] p. 143.

[260] p. 146.

[261] *Von den Juden . . .*, Weimar edition, liii, p. 444, lines 31–4: 'Aber dis stückt ist den blinden, verstocken Juden viel zu hoch, Und wenn du mit jnen soltest davon reden, so were es eben, als wenn du für einer Saw das Euangelium predigetest. Sie können nicht wissen, was Gottes gebot sey, schweige das sie wissen solten, wie es zu halten sey'.

[262] *Vom Schem Hamphoras . . .*, Weimar edition, liii, p. 619, line 28 f.: 'Lieber, sage mir, wie es möglich sey, das die Rangen (Rabinen wolt ich sagen) und Sew Jüden inn irer Sawschulen solche hohe wort verstehen solten? welche ir lebenlang nichts gethan und doch nicht anders thun, denn mit ihrem rüssel im Scham Haperes wülen'.

[263] Praetorius, (*op. cit.* Note 246), p. 137.

[264] Praetorius *op. cit.*, pp. 138–40. Translation:

SCHEMHAMPHORASCH

Very many are the things in Wittenberg that merit a panegyrist . . .
Very many things are there which are memorable;
I wish not to enumerate now all of them separately, but

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One which is outstanding I shall however commemorate:
At the church of Wittenberg, which is surrounded by the city's
Walls and houses, an image can be seen:
It was fixed there by the ancients in dishonour of those
Jews, excessively godless that they are:
Rabbis, indeed twice two it portrays,
And also swine; among them one of the two smaller
Two of the Rabbis on bent knees, with turned faces,
Just like pigs suck two teats of the sow.
The third lifts high the tail of the sow, and with wide-open eyes
inspects the rectum, as if it were a mirror.
The fourth buffoon caresses the neck of a piglet
With the left hand, but with his right he pinches its ear.
Behold, this figure is represented to you on the following page
to make you smile, dear reader.
Ridiculous, no doubt, this figure seems to us,
Yet nevertheless it has a most serious meaning.
The most impious fabrications of the Rabbis are derived
From the stinking dung, none better, of the sow:
The rectum of the sow is the Talmud, which
These stern teachers look into:
The disciples of the Rabbis are pigs, I reckon,
And the Rabbis, I think, are two-legged sows:
While she teaches the buffoon Rabbis her new creation,
The piglets suck the two teats of the sow.
Why then was a holy word added to this most ridiculous figure?
Is it not impious to add holiness to the sow?
Does not *Schem Hamphorasch* mean the holy 'Expounded Name' of God?
Why should this word be added?
Is not a prime pearl cast before swine
When sacred words are added to the sow?
Not only for *Schem* (name) do the letters *Schin* and *mem* stand,
but also for *Scham* (which means 'there' or 'here').
Pe, resch, schin, makes *Pharasch*, but also *Peresch*,
That last means 'dung', the former means 'expounded'.
Deceitful Satan composed for the Jews the *Schem*
Hamphorasch in order to entrap them easily.
For this dark sophist thought of it not without the deception of *Scham*
Haperesch, that way he wished it, not in the good sense.
By this he took possession of that circumcised tribe and
by ambiguous little letters turned them to ridicule.
Nothing for their servitude but foul dung
Does the sordid Stygian sow pay the swinish tribe.

[265] *Ibid.*, p. 299 f.

[266] HM, X.1628. Diameter 10·5 cm. Described, illustrated and thoroughly studied in Beeh-Lustenberger (*op. cit.* Note 168), no. 97, pp. 243–5.

[267] HM, C.14425. Engraving (two plates), 29·1 cm. by 24·4 cm. Title: Zu lob vnd gedenckwürdigen ehren dem gantzen wol/riechenten Jüdischen volck zu Francfort am tag gegeben. Similar print in Gotha, Kupferstichkabinett, illustrated in Liebe, p. 35, fig. 28.

[268] GNM, H.B. 53/1279. Etching, 20·6 cm. by 12·8 cm. Text beginning: A° 1476 ward dz kindelein von Trient Simeon. . . .

[269] Translation:

A. Behold how on a sow here sits
A Jew, and rides so that he sweats,
He digs his spurs into the horse,
And tenderly lifts up the tail behind.

B. Another Moishe also comes here,
Opens wide his mouth, eats the good pulp
Which the sow offers out of the rectum.

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C. Black Caspar holds him by the head,
Helps both of them very thoroughly,
For they are his faithful servants.

D. Moishe's child sucks the teats.

E. Sara rides a billy-goat swiftly.

F. The little child, that here lies
Bound, was a long time ago
Murdered in Trent by Jews.

G. With daggers, as there
The histories proved well,
They drew blood from this young martyr.

* By this is clearly shown
The usury and wickedness of the Jews.
Should not then a Christian be ashamed
Who is himself addicted to
This vice, even if he
Wears no ring (–badge) as the Jews do?

270 HM, C.11363. Engraving, etching and letterpress (plate: 19·5 cm. by 16·4 cm., sheet: 38·7 cm. by 31·7 cm.). Title: Zu Ehren dem Gemäld, so erst renoviret unter dem/Franckfurter Brücken=Thurn, Anno 1578. im May. End of text: Gedruckt und zu finden in der Juden Gassen am obersten, mittelsten und untersten Thor, wo man bey dem Wollgraben hinein gehet.

271 Translation:

Rabbi Shilo: I have long been riding about
On this bristly sow, and have much striven,
For all my brethren, that they should be saved,
I pour willingly out of this cup.
The tail I lift up, may the Devil hold,
For every Jewish head, young and old,
So spurts the lovely sow her juice from behind,
Into the mouths of the Schmuels, it gives them strength.
She lets everyone suck the most delightful milk,
It heals your scab, it serves you for suds,
To wash your beards, to clean the dirt,
Ah, sweetest milk, oh, lovely swine-breast.
Sarah my wife, clad in mantle and veiled,
On a white stallion rides pious and celebrates,
Two horns has the mare, like the scape-goat
With which she flies in the air at full speed.
You brethren come hither, and have such horses,
Assemble around me, that we all now one herd
Shall form in the prettiest manner, for it is high time
That we marched fearlessly into the Holy Land.
Otherwise our murder, which was proved long ago,
of a tanner's child, will be made known and annoy
The gentiles in turn, that misdeed there in Trent,
And they will break our bones, and bring an end to us.
Therefore, be quick! and tarry not; we have long been stinking,
Corrupted many men, stripped them of their livelihood;
Make haste as much as you can, we are already too late.
The gallows and the wheel we have long deserved
And if we were tolerated and saved from one punishment
It is now all over, for we so shamelessly
Do not repent, and are therefore all damned.

272 From a diary by Mårten Törnhielm, quoted by H. J. Schoeps (*loc. cit.* Note 179):

Frankfurt/Main 1684: Am 8. September . . . Im Turm der Frankfurter Brücke findet man ein Gemälde, den Juden zur ewigen Schande und Erinnerung an den Mord, den sie an einem kleinen Christenkind im Jahre 1475

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verübt haben. Es hiess Simon und war zweieinhalb Jahre alt. Diese Malerei ist 1678 renoviert worden. Sie stellt das Kind dar, ausgestreckt und festgebunden auf einem Tisch von vielen Nadeln durchstochen, darunter ist ein Jude dargestellt, der rücklings auf einem Schwein reitet und den Schwanz des Schweines hochhält, hinter ihm ein anderer Jude, dieser liegt und nimmt den ausfliessenden Kot mit dem Mund auf, ihm zur Seite reitet eine Jüdin auf einem Bock usw. Diese Malerei haben die Juden oft abzuschaffen versucht, indem sie viele Tausende von Talern anboten, aber sie haben es nicht durchsetzen können.

[273] GNM, H.B. 7105/1279. Etching, 21·7 cm. by 14·7 cm. Text beginning: Auweih Rabb: Anschl:... End of text: Diese Abbildung stehet zu Franckfurt am Meÿn am Brücken Thurn abgemalet.

[274] HM, C.1585. Etching, 22·7 cm. by 14.6 cm., signed: L. D. Jost scul. Damaged in centre and in upper part. Text beginning as in print mentioned in Note 273.

[275] HM, C.1583. Etching, 15·7 cm. by 8·8 cm. Text beginning: Au weih Rabb: Anschl... End of text: Sauff... geschleck. HM, C.22977. Etching, 22·8 cm. by 14.3 cm. Text beginning: Au weih Rabb: Anchl... End of text as in print mentioned in Note 273.

[276] HM, N.42568. Watercolour (black and grey wash), 21·9 cm. by 13·5 cm. Torn and repaired in upper part.

[277] HM, N.42570. Lithograph, 16·1 cm. by 10·6 cm. Title: Ein Bild des Fanatissmuß anno Domini 1475. End of text: Sauf... für euch... Das beste Geschmeck. Probably after a print in J. A. Stock, *Kurz gefaßte Franckfurter Chronik*, Frankfurt 1745, facing p. 14.

[278] HM, C.17271. Etching, 28·2 cm. by 16·1 cm. Text beginning: Anno 1475. am Grünen Donnerstag... Illustrated in Fuchs, p. 31, fig. 50. An identical print in Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, University Library, Amsterdam, B.17–12.

[279] HM, N.54040. Etching, identical to print mentioned in Note 278; edges slightly cut, overpainted with tempera.

[280] HM, C.19830. Watercolour (line-frame: 29·2 cm. by 15·8 cm.).

[281] HM, N.46137. Engraving, 8·2 cm. by 11·9 cm. Text (upper right corner): Pag: 41 (below): Het Bespottelyk Ioodsche gedenk teken te Francfort aan de Main. The print was originally part of *Een Brief of korte Reisebeschryvinge... door Mr. S,V,P. toegesonden aan zyn Goede Vrind Dt G.E.O....* Te Harderwik by Willem Brinkink, ... 1747.

[282] The complete broadsheet is in Halle, Staatliche Gallerie Moritzburg, F.907. It measures 52·5 cm. by 41 cm.; cf. *Monumenta Judaica* (*cit.* Note 284), No. B. 311. The upper section of the broadsheet, including the woodcut (slightly cut on the right edge), is preserved in HM, C.1590, measuring 24 cm. by 40·8 cm.

[283] Translation:

The great future Messiah of the Jews,
His establishment of servants and roguish comrades,
Who spit at our Lord Christ,
Curse the Christians and all authority,
They come riding on the Talmud,
And on every side prick it,
Following their Angel who leads them
As may be now read below.

[284] The joke is based on some knowledge of Jewish life. The synagogue sexton in German Jewish communities used to knock every morning on doors, or windows, of members urging them to wake for the morning service. Some examples of special wooden knockers, called *Schulklopfer*, are preserved from the eighteenth century. Cf. *Monumenta Judaica*, ed. K. Schilling, Cologne 1963, no. E. 493. This reference is certainly earlier than any known synagogue-knocker. The illustration in our woodcut is perhaps the earliest record of such utensils.

[285] Pun on *Raben*—*Rabbiner* (ravens—Rabbis).

[286] Translation:

I also ride on our Talmud
And feel that it is about to break [with diarrhoea]
Therefore come here all you Ravens [= Rabbis]

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Taste how you like the Talmud,
I am lifting the curtain for you.
Rabbi Süskind shall taste it first
And so will be able to show freely
How the Talmud came to be.

[287] Translation:

We must stick to one another,
So that no Gentile stays near us;
From the Talmud I boozed so much
Therefore I curse them no end
And also the highest authority;
If it has no effect, I am sorry;
Also the Emperor, the king, princes and noblemen
Does the Talmud teach us to curse.

[288] *Abbildung des Papsttums*, 7–8. Illustrated in the facsimile edition, n.p. n.d., as well as in Grisar-Heege (*op. cit.* Note 231), iv, pp. 28–9.

[289] Second edition, 1575. Cf. E. Weller, *Die ersten deutschen Zeitungen*, Tübingen 1872 (Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins Stuttgart, cxl), p. 237, no. 443. Illustrated in Liebe, p. 57, fig. 46. GNM, HB. 28/1279; woodcut and letterpress (woodcut: 10·7 cm. by 14·2 cm., sheet: 37 cm. by 26 cm.).

[290] *Flugblätter des Sebastian Brant*, ed. P. Heitz, Strassburg 1915, no. 10. See also F. Saxl, 'Illustrated pamphlets of the Reformation , *Lectures*, i, London 1957, p. 259. Translation:

. . . The sow is a repulsive unclean animal
That searches in the dirt for all its delights
As does the unclean Turkish tribe
Live in all sorts of dirtiness,
The sow is brother to the Turks,
Well could she be compared to the Antichrist. . . .

[291] GNM, H.B. 24839/1279. Engraving and letterpress (plate: 15·9 cm. by 19·5 cm., sheet: 32 cm. by 22 cm.). Illustrated in Fuchs, p. 21, fig. 42.

[292] He is traceable in Mainz during 1602–7; cf. Thieme-Becker, xxxvi, p. 207.

[293] Zülch (*op. cit.* Note 175), p. 494.

[294] Translation:

THE JEWISH SYNAGOGUE

. . . .

A. Arawenos the learned fool
Shows the purse and the letters,
To instruct the point-heads,
How they should excrete on the Christians.

B. Butzmann the gallow-worthy thief,
Sticks the tube right up in the arse.

C. Cuntzmann (Trickster) licks his lips, waits anxiously,
For the sow to excrete into his mouth.

D. Doctor Hünereyer (Hen-eggs) came also here,
So that the counsel should be quite fine.

E. Ertzmann, the card swindler,
Also awaits the gobble-up feast.

F. Fortzfresser (Fart-glutton) begin! gobble up quickly,
It is good for our servants [or: health].

G. Gumbel excretes into the sow's trough,
Surely one sow smells the other.

H. Hermann Stutz is my name,
So comes the company together.

I. Judas betrayed Christ swiftly,
And also the child in Trent.

K. Krotzebeisser stands leisurely,
Looks at the (Golden) Calf on the column.

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L. Lortzarse Kotsaff [Hebrew: Butcher] is my name,
I lead the sow by the rope.
M. Mutzkopf [Hat-Head] at the stairs
Has a book, can freely lie from it;
Finally, nothing spoils our freedom
While this company is assembled together;
So stay as you are,
And may the Devil ride you.
When need presses an honourable Christian,
The Jew sings,
The devil jumps and springs,
And in the end the fire [of hell] burns.

[295] GNM, H.B. 7101/1279. Etching, 33 cm. by 25·8 cm. This page is defective: it does not contain the last, bottom left, square. It was reproduced in a mutilated and misleading manner in Liebe, pp. 30–1, figs. 25–6; whence Fuchs, pp. 18–19, figs. 24–41; whence Trachtenberg (*op. cit.* Note 6), pp. 28–9. A complete sheet is preserved in BM, Foreign History 1476, 1880.7.10.895. A fragment, HM, C.1581, also contains the last square.

[296] GNM, H.B. 25355/1279. Etching, 35·9 cm. by 28·3 cm. Same as HM, C.1589 (measurements of clipped sheet slightly different: 36 cm. by 27·9 cm.). Title: DER IVDEN BADSTVB at variance with title of prints mentioned in Note 295 which reads: Der Juden Badstub. Similar variants between the two versions occur throughout their texts.

[297] *Der Judenbadstub*; n.p. 1535. Cf. Liebe, p. 42. fig. 33, and Fuchs, p. 6, fig. 12.

[298] J. C. Wagenseil, *Hoffnung der Erlösung Israelis*, Nuremberg and Altdorf 1707, Part II, p. 109. The faulty date ('1476') which he mentions occurs in both *Badstub* versions as well as in earlier prints described above, Schudt (*op. cit.* Note 113), II, p. 256, reports that the date was corrected to '1475'. This is also borne out by prints originating from after the restoration of 1709.

[299] I. e. 'Saug du die Milch etc.' and 'Sara den Bock trieb nicht zu schnell, Dass er dich nicht stos in die Hell'.

[300] Praetorius (*op. cit.* Note 246), p. 312. Translation:

1. First on a stinking billy-goat
Sits a Jewess in a red dress.
God called the Jews themselves a whore (Hos. II)
Because they pretend to accept the Law
And yet practise idolatry
With wickedness and sin and shame.
Although they pretend to be honourable
They are quite stinking to God.

[301] *Ibid.*, p. 312f. Translation:

2. The sow on which a Rabbi rides
Signifies several things,
And such a picture stands in Magdeburg
And on the town hall of Salzburg
And also at Wittenberg, and next to it it says
That this is their *Schemhamphorasch*,
For which they claim great things.
But the Devil mocks them:
He gives them *Schamhaperesch* instead,
That they should have enough on their doorstep,
For *Schamhaperesch* means 'there dung'
Therefore the Jew is the Devil's fool.
God has revealed to them his word
That He shall fill their mouth. (Ps. LXXXI)
But they turned away
And preferred to follow their Rabbi
In whom they believe without discernment
As he leads them by the nose.
So the Devil wins his game,

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And shows them their coveted aim.
He grabs a Rabbi by his hair
And quickly turns his head
Towards the sow's hole; into it he stares
And hears how lovely such a harp sounds.
All this he grasps with eagerness,
For these are his prophetic views
Which he puts into their Talmud. . . .

302 *Ibid.*, p. 314.

303 GNM, H.B. 3489/1279. Engraving, 31·2 cm. by 25 cm., clipped, once folded and now slightly damaged. Same prints in superior condition: HM, C.1587, 34·3 cm. by 25·3 cm., and BM, Foreign History 1476, 1876.5.10.518, 34·5 cm. by 25·3 cm.

304 HM, C. 1582. Engraving, 5 cm. by 8·3 cm.

305 HM, C.10154. Etching, hand-coloured, 11·9–12·1 cm. by 33 cm. Same print, uncoloured, in D. Schwab, *Detectum velum Mosaicum Judaeorum nostri temporis* . . . , second edition, Mainz 1666 (Parkes Library, now at University of Southampton Library).

306 Schwab, *op. cit.*, 'Auszlegung desz Kupfer-Bildes'. Translation:

. . . Which beautiful representation is said to be painted on the Mainz Gate at Friedberg in the Wetterau, and I have seen a similar one recently, at the last Easter Fair, under the tower bridge at Frankfurt-on-Main, notwithstanding its being hardly decipherable at present due to its age and the dust and dirt that cling to it; it was to be restored.

307 GNM, H.B. 2774/1279. Woodcut and letterpress. Hand-coloured; an illustration in Liebe, p. 105, fig. 85, purporting to be of the broadsheet in GNM, is greatly altered.

308 Schudt (*op. cit.* Note 113), II, p. 257.

309 J. Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs* . . . , vii, Rotterdam 1706, p. 2089, quoted in Schudt, *op. cit.*, p. 258. Schudt's criticism of Basnage's remark that the pictures were painted in various places should be modified: we know at least of a seventeenth-century glass painting on that subject (Pl. 41a).

310 (Erlangen), Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1748–9, pl. IV. An earlier example of a 'marginal' pig is in Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus*, Nuremberg 1684. Illustration: Liebe, p. 70, fig. 56.

311 Translation:

We Moishes must now sit in the Devil's Hole,
Oy Vey to us, and furthermore sweat on a swine's skin
Because we have once made too much dishonest gain
And right up to the gallows we despised the God of the Gentiles.

312 HM, X.25787. Carved wood, height 8 cm., length 10 cm., width 3·2 cm.

313 HM, X.25892. Faience group, height 18·5 cm., base: 16 cm. by 7·8 cm. Colours: black (sow), brown, blue, green, yellow, pink. Broken and repaired.

314 GNM, H.B. 5446. Etching, 13 cm. by 15·7 cm.

315 Hartwig Hundt von Radowsky, *Die Judenschule*, London [=Aarau], 1823. First edition: Jerusalem [=Aarau], 5582 [=1822]. Mis-labelled illustration, Fuchs, p. 65, fig. 82.

316 Description and illustration, Klipstein & Kornfeld, *Auktion 101: Graphik und Handzeichnungen alter Meister*, Bern 1961, no. 159, pl. 19.

317 A. Rubens, *A Jewish Iconography*, London 1954, no. 1448; *Shylock's Race from the Checquer Inn to Paris*, *ibid.*, no. 1449.

318 Shachar (*op. cit.* Note 11), pp. 14–160 and tables I–III.

319 Rubens, *op. cit.*, p. 44, no. 1501 offers another description of this caricature.

320 Of earlier, non-verbal, abuse connected perhaps with the *Judensau*, we learn from J. Ch. Wagenseil, *Denunciatio Christiana* (1705), as reprinted by Schudt (*op. cit.* Note 113), III, p. 346: Jews' mouths are smeared with lard, swine's tails are affixed to their garments, the noise of grunting pigs is made at them.

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[321] Kynass (*op. cit.* Note 11), p. 81 and n. 353, p. 133; for variants of 'Itzig riding a ram' see *ibid.*, pp. 134–5.

[322] *Theodor Herzls Tagebücher*, i, Berlin 1922, p. 6 (1895).

[323] Some remember the slogan in the variant '. . . Die unverschämte Judensau'.

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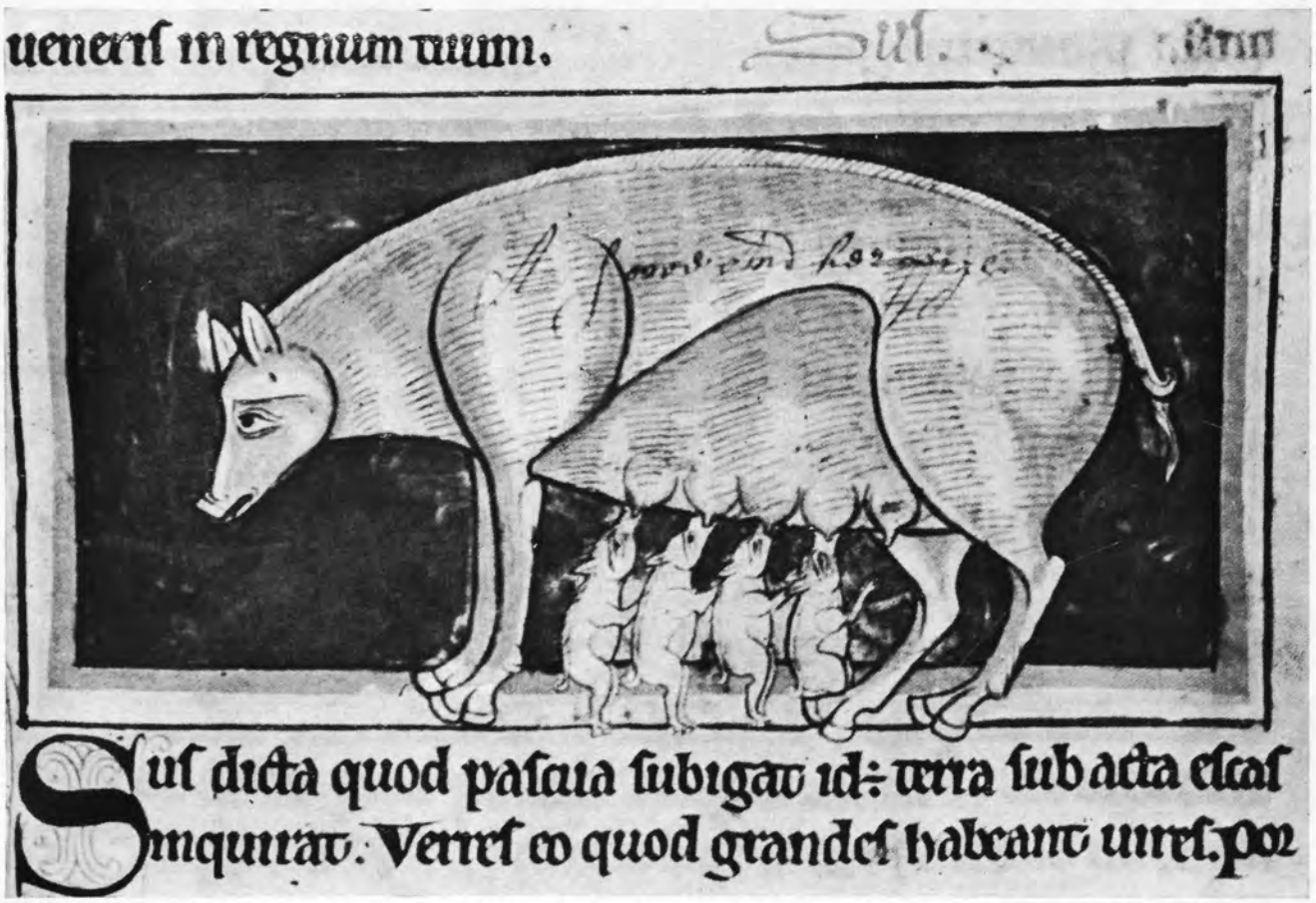
a—Sow and piglets. Bestiary, Oxford, MS. Bodl. 746, fol. 37v. English, late twelfth century.



b—Sow and piglets. Bestiary, British Museum, MS. Harl. 4751, fol. 20r. English, late twelfth century.

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a—Gate (*Pfarrhoftor*), Remagen, Rhineland. Second half of twelfth century.

b—Sow and piglets. Gate in Remagen (detail).

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a—Baptism. Gate, Remagen, Rhineland (detail). Second half of twelfth century.

b—Sow and piglets.

c—Baptism.

b–c. Capital from St. Severin, Cologne. Mid-twelfth century.

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Vorstellung/
Wie ein Jud vor Christlicher Obrigkeit in Breßlau den Eyd zu schweren hat.

Erstlich wird der Jude vō den Gerichten nothdürfftig erinnert/ dafern er einen falschē Eyd thun werde/ daß nicht allein des Allmächtigen Gottes/ sondern auch der weltlichen Gerichte Strafe/ zum wenigsten die Abschlagung der Faust/ damit er geschworen/ folgen würde.

Hernachmals wird ihm die Weise/ so in Vollziehung des Eydes gehalten wird/ angezeiget/ als nemlich/ daß er seinē rechten Arm bis an die Brust entblössen/ und dieselbige Hand auf die Hebräischen Zehen Gebot legen/ auch auf einer Säu-Haut stehend schweren soll.

Auf dieses wird ihm die Form des Eydes fürgelesen/ nachmals auch beschrieben zugestellt/ sich über Quer-Nacht/ oder auch nach der Gerichte Erkänntniß länger darüber zu bedencken. Und wann er sich alsdenn zum Eyde geschickt gemachet hat/ so muß er zuvor das andere Gebot in den Zehen Geboten in Hebräischer Sprache lesen/ darnach muß er auf die Schwein-Haut mit blossen Füssen tretten/ und mit entblöstem rechten Arm/ dieselbige Hand auf die Zehen Gebot legen/ und nachfolgender gestalt schweren.

Der Juden-Eyd.

ICh N.N. Jude/ schwere bey dem Allmächtigen GOTT Adonai, der Himmel und Erden/ auch alles/ so darinnen ist/ erschaffen hat/ der HErr ist über alle Malachim, der seinem auserwehlten Volck die heiligen Torah gegeben hat/ die auch in diesem Buch/ darinnen ich meine rechte Hand liegen habe/ recht und warhafftig beschrieben sind/ daß ꝛc. (hier wird die Sache ausgesprochen/ worüber geschworen wird.) und daß in der Warheit also/ und nicht anders sey/ denn wie ich jetzo ausgesagt habe/ das bezeuge ich mit dem Allmächtigen GOTT/ Abraham/ Isaac und Jacob/ der sein auserwehltes Volck aus Egypten/ durchs rothe Meer/ in das Gelobte Land geführet hat/ auch dem Mose im Pusch erschienen ist. Da ich aber die rechte lautere Warheit/ wie mir dieselbige aus eigener Wissenschafft bewust ist/ nicht ausgesaget habe/ so sey ich Heram und verflucht ewiglich. Es soll mich auch von Stund an anfallen der Aussatz/ mit dem Naëman der Syrer ist geschlagen gewesen/ und soll mich verzehren das Feuer/ das Sodoma und Gomorra verzehret hat/ oder mich soll das Erdreich/ wie Dathan und Abiram/ in meiner Feinde Lande verschlingen/ und sollen mich von Stund an überfallen alle Flüche/ die an der Torah geschrieben stehen/ darwider ich nicht begehren/ bitten noch aufnehmen will einige Erklärung/ Auslegung/ Abnehmung/ oder Vergebung von keinem Juden noch andern Menschen/ als mir der GOtt Adonai helffe/ der Himmel und Erden/ auch alles/ was darinnen ist/ erschaffen hat/ Amen!

Gedruckt zu Breßlau.

Jewry Oath. Broadsheet. Breslau, seventeenth century.

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a—Sow with Jewish hat and piglets.

b—Woman and Pigs.

a–b. Capital, Brandenburg Cathedral. *c.* 1230.

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a—Dragon overpowering Knight and Horse.

b—Dead Knight with Dragons.

a–b. Capital, Brandenburg Cathedral. *c.* 1230.

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Kneeling Jew embracing a Pig. Lemgo, Marienkirche. Last quarter of thirteenth century.

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a—Kneeling Jew embracing a Pig.

b—The Flagellation.

a–b. Lemgo, Marienkirche. Last quarter of thirteenth century.

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The Visitation (The Virgin and St. Elizabeth). Xanten Cathedral. Last third of thirteenth century.

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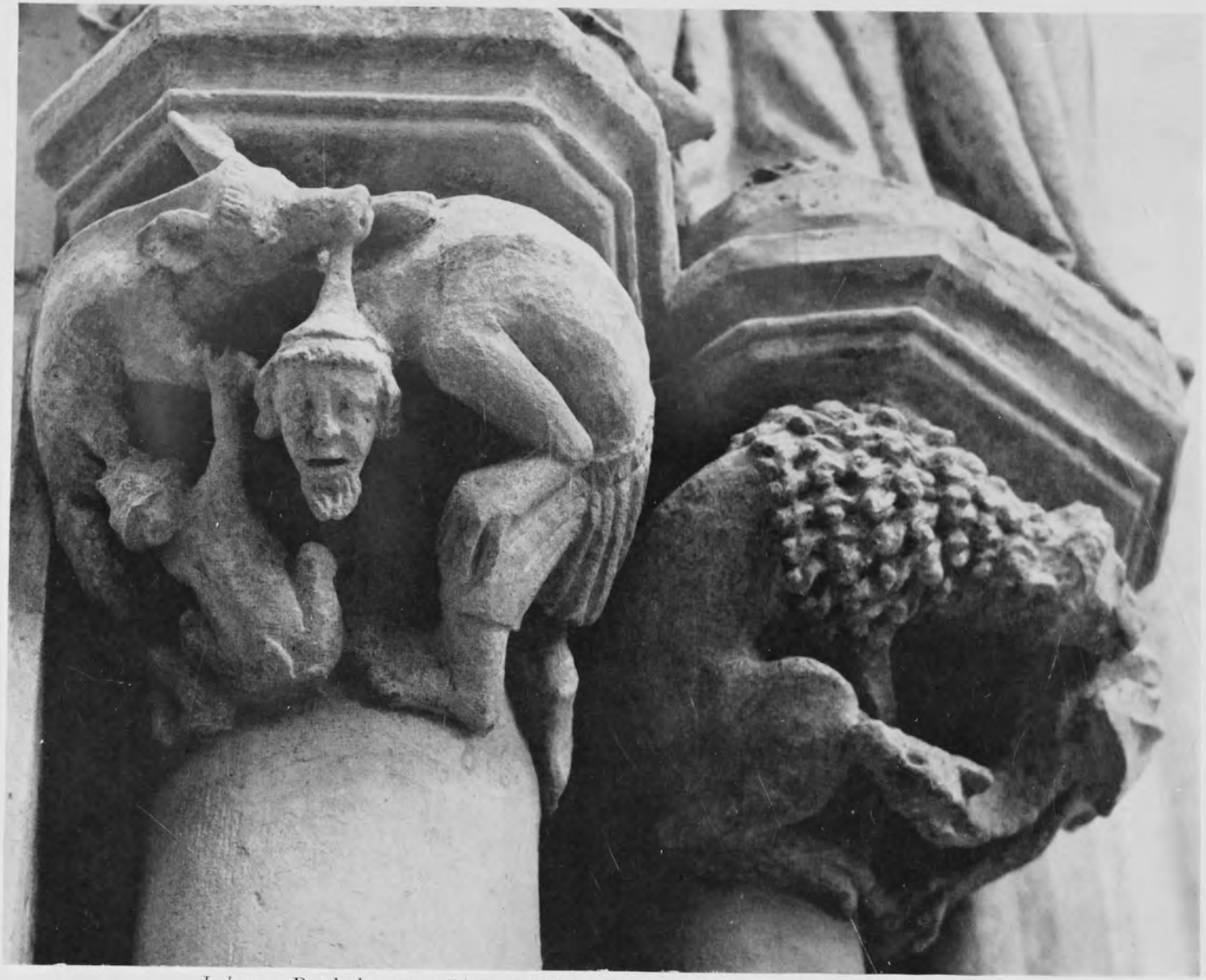

Judensau; Battle between Lion and Dragon. Corbels, Xanten Cathedral. *c.* 1265.

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a—Jew and Sow.

b—Two Dragons.

a–b. Corbels, Eberswalde, St. Maria Magdalena. Late thirteenth century.

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a

b

a–b. *Judensau*. Gargoyle, Wimpfen, Ritterstiftskirche St. Peter.
Last quarter of thirteenth century.

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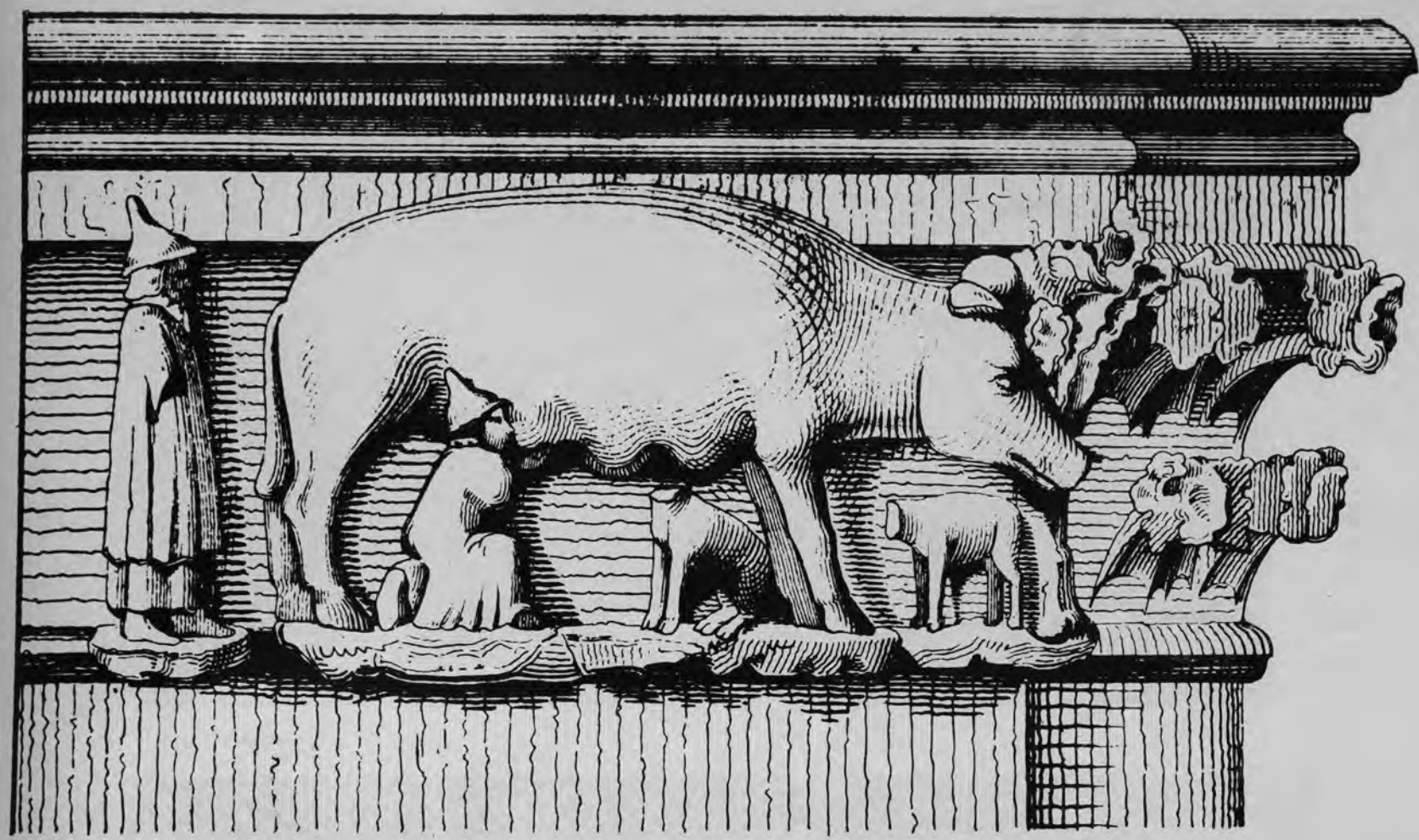

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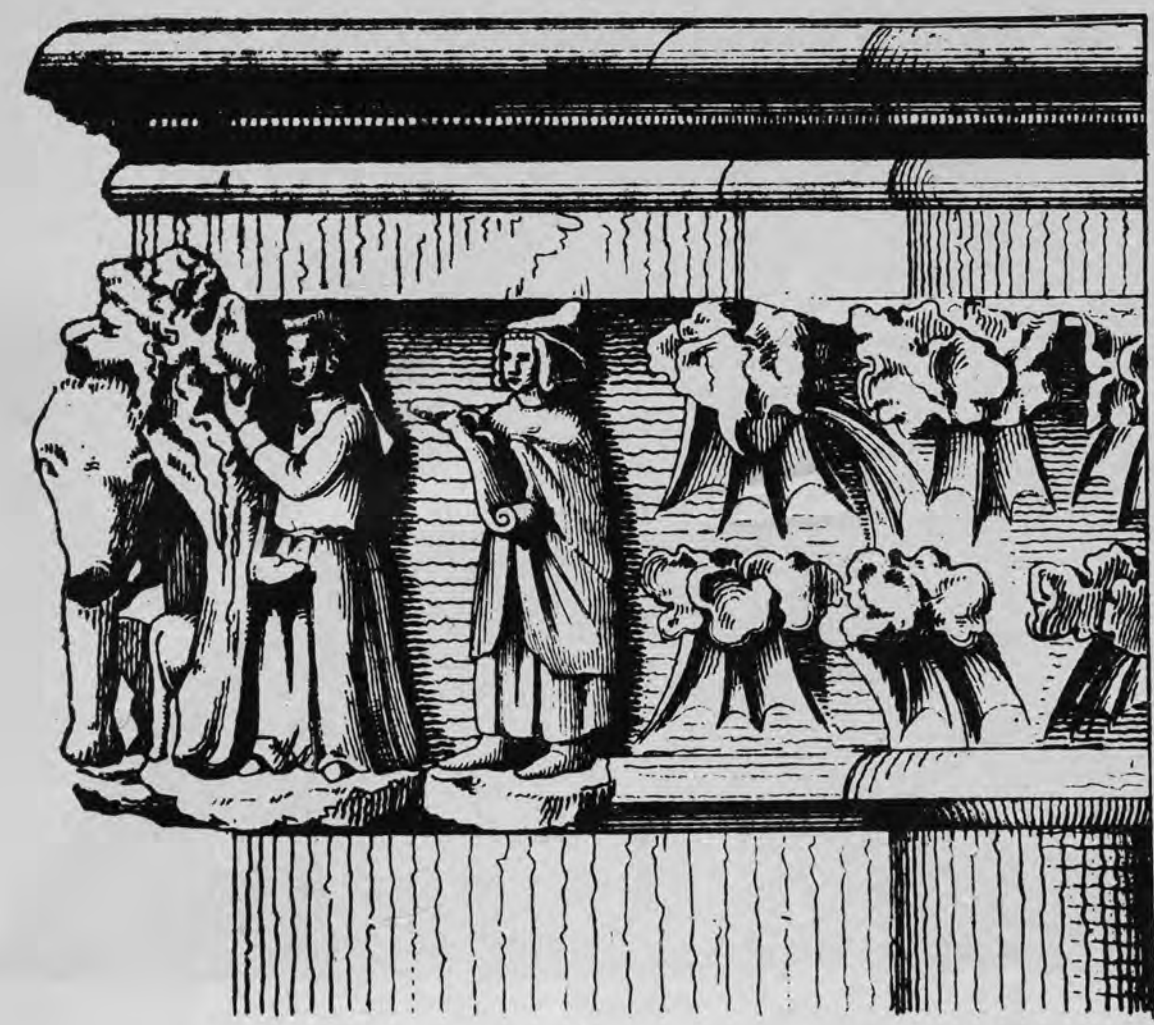

b

a–b. *Judensau.* Frieze, Magdeburg Cathedral.
Last quarter of thirteenth century.

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a

b

a–b. *Judensau*. Frieze, Magdeburg Cathedral. Last quarter of thirteenth century.

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a—Girl on Ram, Ape playing an instrument, Bird of Prey, Dogs. Frieze, Magdeburg Cathedral. Last quarter of thirteenth century.

b—Jew dragged away by Demons. Frieze, Strasbourg Cathedral, *c.* 1300.

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a—*Judensau*. Gargoyle, Heiligenstadt, Annenkapelle. *c.* 1300.

b—*Judensau*, and a scene alluding to the kidnapping of Good Werner(?). Choir stalls, Cologne Cathedral. First quarter of fourteenth century.

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a—Wings of Choir stalls.

b—Pigs Feeding. Back of Wing of Choir stalls.

a–b. Cologne Cathedral. First quarter of fourteenth century.

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a—*Judensau*. Corbel, Metz Cathedral. First third of fourteenth century.

b—*Judensau*. Buttress, Regensburg Cathedral. Mid-fourteenth century.

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Judensau. Corbel, Uppsala Cathedral. Mid-fourteenth century.

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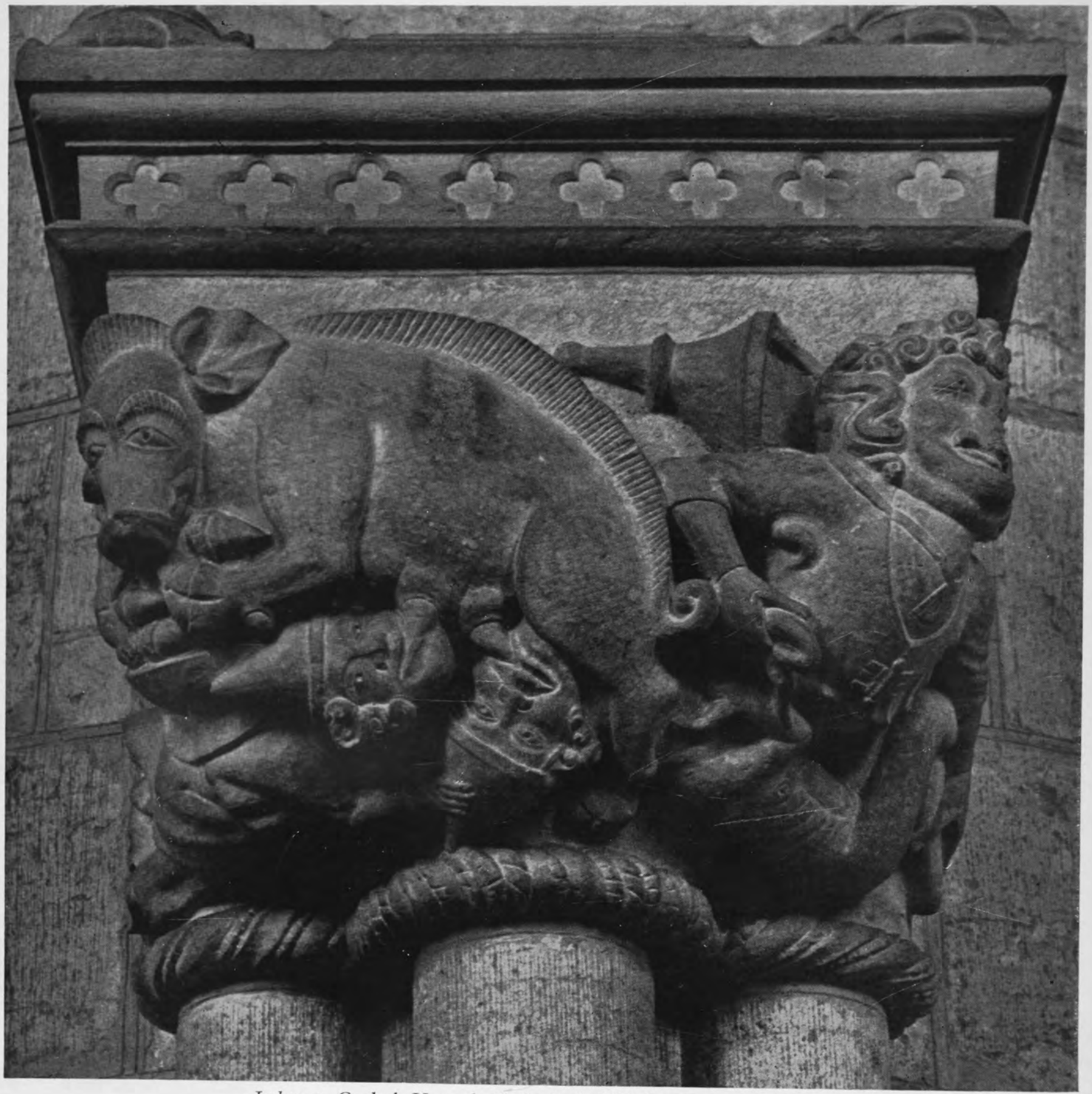

Judensau. Corbel, Uppsala Cathedral. Mid-fourteenth century.

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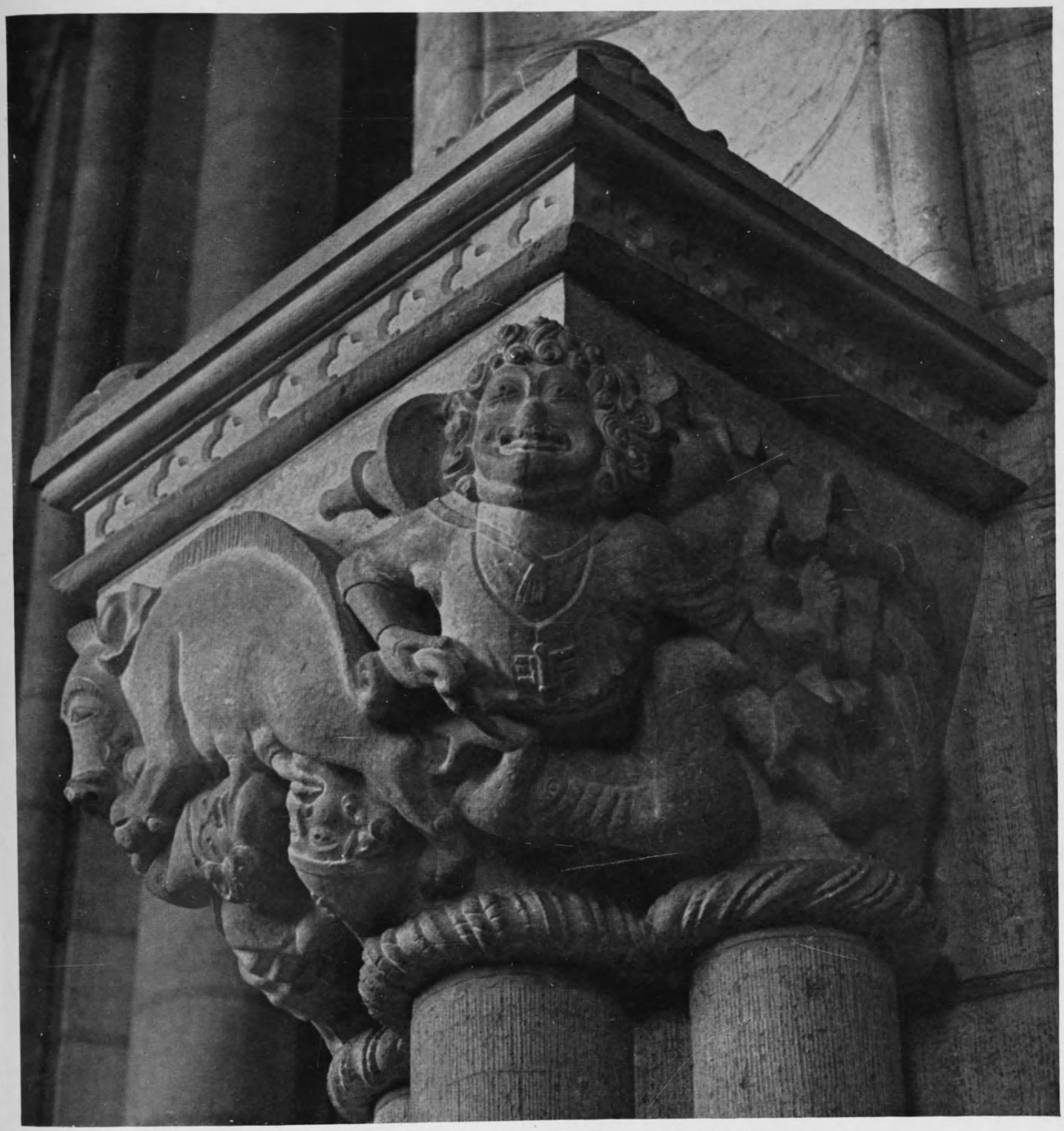

Judensau. Corbel, Uppsala Cathedral. Mid-fourteenth century.

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a—Chastity and Lust, by the miniaturist Honoré. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 368 (single leaf of *Somme le Roy*). French, *c.* 1300.

b—The Worship of the Golden Calf. Corbel, Gniezno Cathedral. Mid-fourteenth century.

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a—*Judensau*. Corbel, Gniezno Cathedral. Mid-fourteenth century.

b—*Judensau*. West façade, Colmar, St. Martin's Minster. Mid-fourteenth century.

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Judeneau Gargoyle, Colmar, St. Martin's Minster. Late fourteenth century

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a—*Judensau*. Gargoyle, Colmar, St. Martin's Minster (detail). Late fourteenth century.

b–c. Nordhausen Cathedral. *c*. 1380.

b—Wing of Choir stalls.

c—*Judensau*. (Detail of b).

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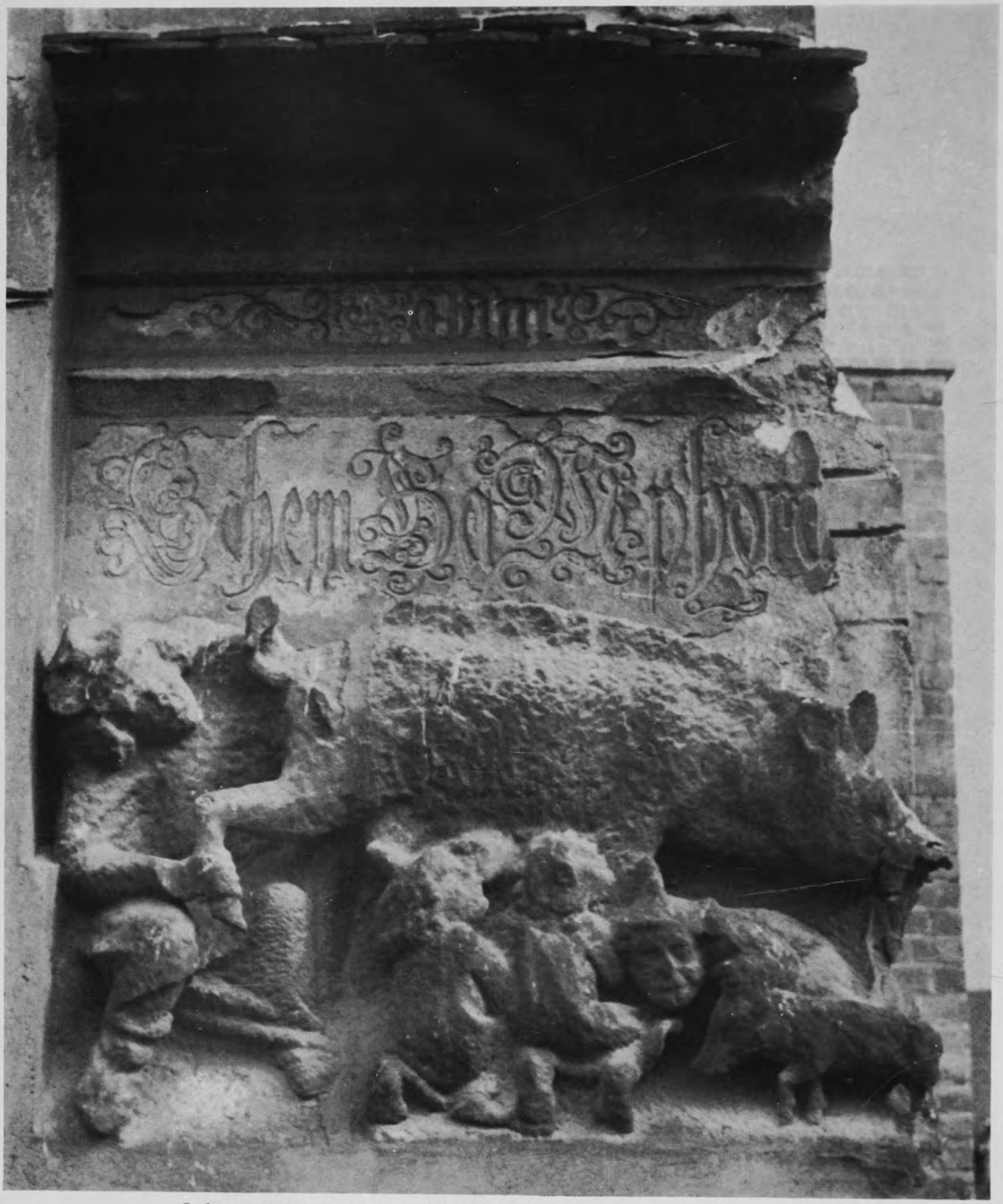

Judensau. Wittenberg, Stadtkirche. First third of fourteenth century.

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a

b

a–b. Details of *Judensau*. Wittenberg, Stadtkirche. First third of fourteenth century.

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Judensau. Wing of Choir stalls, Erfurt Cathedral. Early fifteenth century.

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a—*Judensau*. Misericord, Basle, Minster. 1432.

b—*Judensau* (fragment). Coloured woodcut. German, fifteenth century.

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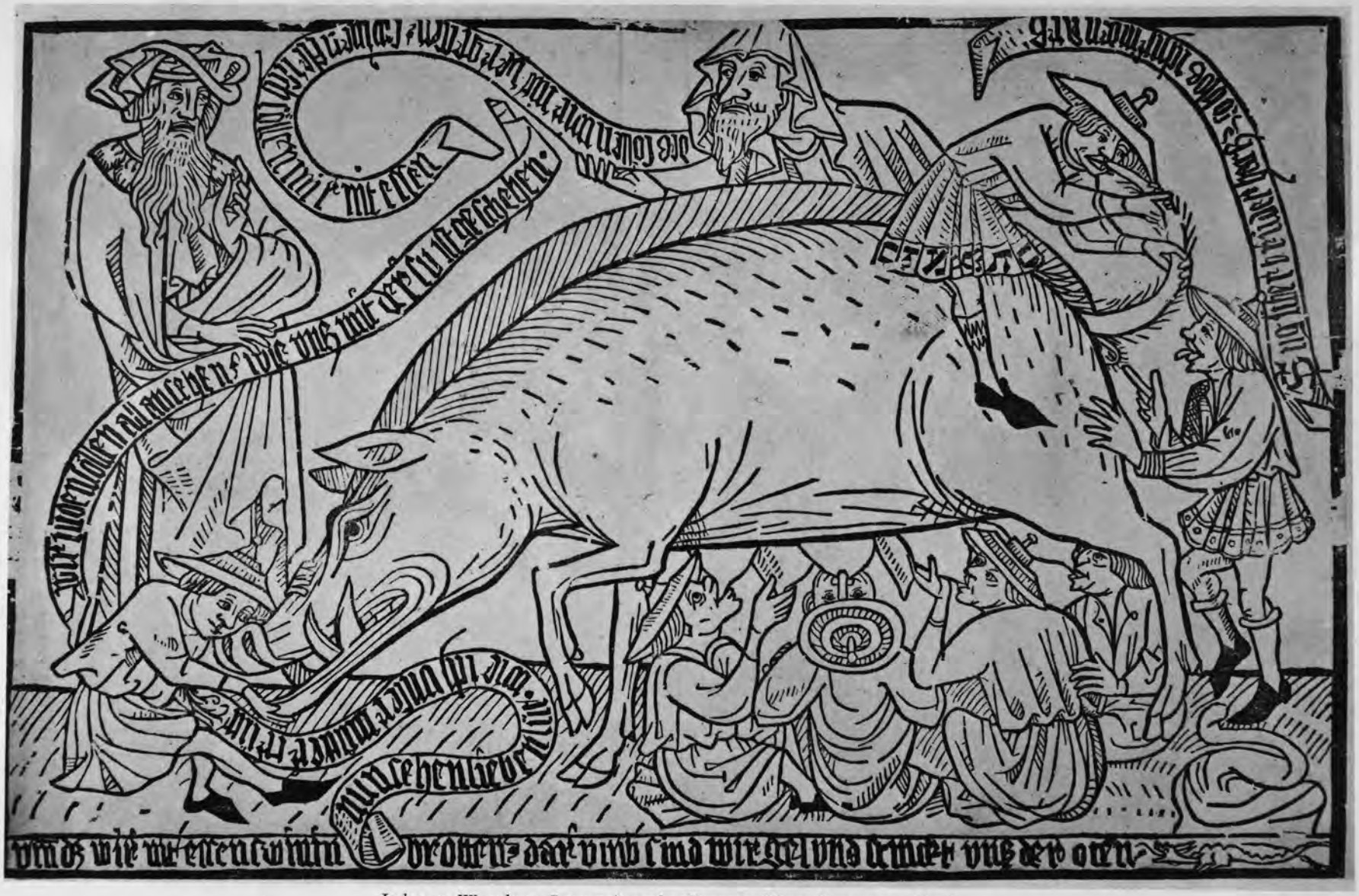

Judensau. Woodcut. Late print of a German fifteenth-century block.

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a—Claus (of Breisach), Crucifixion. Woodcut.
Late print of German fifteenth-century block.

b—*Judensau*. Buttress, Zerbst, Nikolaikirche. Fifteenth century.

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a

b

c

a–c. *Judensau*. Corbel, Heilsbronn, Klosterkirche. Fifteenth century.

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a—*Beatvs Simon Martir*. Coloured woodcut. German, *c.* 1475.

b—Jews with Pig-Badges. Detail from *The Martyrdom of Simon of Trent*. Engraving, probably Florence, *c.* 1475–1485.

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a—Outer Gate, Cadolzburg Castle.

b—*Judensau*. Outer Gate of Cadolzburg Castle. Fifteenth century.

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a—*Judensau*. Spalt, on private house. Fifteenth century.

b—*Judensau*. Wiener Neustadt, once on a private house. Fifteenth century.

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a—*Judensau*. Kelheim, once on a private house. Sixteenth century.

b—Jew riding backwards. Misericord, Aerschot, Notre Dame. Sixteenth century.

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a—*Schandbild* against Johann von Bayern-Holland, *c.* 1420.

b—*Schmähbrief* against Friedrich von Niehausen, 1525–26.

c—*Schmähbrief* against the Barons of Stolberg, 1559.

Pl. 37

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a—Wautier van Inghen, Satirical wood carving. Damme, 1465.

b—H. L. Schäuffelein, Playing Cards. Coloured woodcuts, fifteenth century.

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a

b

c

d

a–d. The Wittenberg *Judensau*. Book illustrations. Seventeenth–eighteenth centuries.

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False Messiahs and the *Judensau*. Broadsheet, Germany, eighteenth century.

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a—The Frankfurt *Judensau*. Glass painting, seventeenth century.

b—The Frankfurt *Judensau*. Engraving, seventeenth century.

c—The Frankfurt *Judensau*. Etching, seventeenth century.

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a

b

c

d

a–d. The Frankfurt *Judensau*. Eighteenth–nineteenth centuries.

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a—The Frankfurt *Judensau*. Dutch book illustration, 1747.

b—The Frankfurt *Judensau*. Eighteenth century.

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Der Juden zukünfftiger Messias groß/
Sein Hoffgesind vnd Schelmen genoß/
Welche vnsern Herrn Christum verspeyen/
All Christen vnd Oberkeyt vermaledeyen/

Die kommen auff jrem Talmuth reyten/
Jucken jn wol auff allen seyten/
Sie folgen jrem Engel der sie fürt/
Wie jetzt hernach gelesen würt.

Teuffel. 1.

Hernach/hernach/jr lieben Gesellen/
All mit einander in die Hellen/
Da will ich euch gut kurtzweil machen/
Das ewer keiner nit soll lachen.
Jch hab so lang darnach gerungen/
Biß das es mir einmal ist gelungen.
Ewer Messias soll der erste sein/
Die Badstub will ich eüch wermen ein.

Schalkeyt. 2.

Thu gemach/thu gemach/mein lieber gesell/
Wir seind nit weit mehr von der Hell/
Thu vns so gesind vnd vberylen nit/
Auff das wir bringen den anhang mit.
Das Thier/so vnser Messias reyt/
Das kan geschreiten nit so weit/
Es hat anhangen ein wüste rotz/
Daran es gmeg zuziehen haz.

Trommeter. 3.

Jch pfeyff vnserm Messias disen Tanz/
Wiewol der Rey ist noch nit ganz/
Wir wöllen allgemach hiernit fort trollen/
Bruder Rausch würt die andern auch holl
Die vnserm Messias nach sollen kummen/
Auff das erfüllet werd die summen/
Er besicht im Talmuth buch gar fein |
Wie vil der Schelmen noch dahinden sein.

Herolt. 4.

Wir werden scher willkom vnsern Gott/
Der vnser so lang begeret hat/
Sich erfrewen vnsers Messias hoch/
Weil er mit bringt solch ehrlich geloch/
Denn sie sind alle von eßler art/
Mit jm genommen auff dise fart/
Bey jm zuhaben solch Ritterschafft/
Den zybe der Talmuth grosse krafft.

Messias. 5.

Jch reyt daher/doch nit allein/
Vnd bring mit mir ein arg gemein/
Die ich meim Vorfar dem Lucifer/
Jns Reich der Hell zustellen beger.
Am berg Horeb haben wir so lang gebrochen/
Biß das wir seind herdurch gekrochen/
Mit trucknem fuß durchs Rote meer/
Bring ich das heylig Volck hieher.

Rabi Jekoff. 6.

Jch reyt auff vnserm Talmuth auch/
Vnd befind/das er will werden schwach/
Darumb kompt her jr Raben all/
Versuche wie eüch der Talmuth gefall/
Jch thu auch den fürhang hie auff decken/
Rabi Süßkind soll jn zum erst schmecken/
Damit er khnn anzeigen frey/
Wie doch dem Talmuth geschehen sey.

Rabi Deffuch. 7.

Mich dunckt bey Adonay auch wol/
Das der Talmuth schwach sein soll/
Darumb Süßkind will ich dir zeigen/
Wo du jm die schell solt feygen/
Halt eylends dem groß Waffel dar/
Damit nichts auff die erden far/
Er gehört in solchen heylgen Mann/
Der die schrifft so wol gemeystern kan.

Rabi Süßkind. 8.

Amen der Talmuth ist sehr kranck/
Sein athem hat ein bösen gestanck/
Jch glaub es machs das warm gewitter/
Dieweyl er schmeckt so bärb vnd bitter/
Oder ist mit Schelmen so hart beschwert/
Darvon sich also sein kranckheit mehrt/
Er solt sonst schmecken wie süsse milch/
Senderlein dunckts dich nit auch billich.

Rabi Sandtlein. 9.

Jch will jn melcken in disen Krug/
Mein Findling sauge jm auch genug/
Ob er ein krafft davon mög bekummen/
Christen zuverfluchen mit grossen summen/
Er will bey vns so gar nit wircken/
Je mehr wir fluchen/thun sie sich stercken/
Joseph Artze soll jn besehen wol/
Wie man dem Talmuth helffen soll.

Joseph Artz. 10.

Jch besehe wol das er krafftloß ist/
Jm gebrechen noch mehr Flüch vnd list/
Es erscheint mir hie der Engel im glaß/
Der vns eingibt zuverfluchen daß
All Gottn/ mit jrem gehenckten Gott/
Mit dem wir treiben vnsern spott/
Rabi Feydel in vnser Canzley soll bleiben/
Den Talmuth noch vil stercker beschreiben.

Rabi Feydel. 11.

Was ich zuvor darinn hab vergessen/
Soll jetzunde doppel werden gemessen/
Mit fluchen/lestern/vermaledeyen/
An sie mit vns all Teüfel speyen/
Ist dann der fluch nit kreftig gnug/
So finden wir ein andern fug/
Mit falschen bueffen vnd stegeln fein/
Juncker Siegeldieb kan des meister sein.

Juncker Siegeldieb. 12.

Die Siegel wie ich sie schneiden thu/
Bringen mir gar viel Ducaten zu/
Jch beschiß damit groß Fürsten vnd Herren/
Kan sie gar fein vnd meisterlich narren/
Das sie nit anderst können dencken/
Jch brauch mit jnen kein falsche rencken/
Mannus der fromme nachbaur mein/
Jn vnser gesellschafft auch soll sein.

Mannus Jud. 13.

Juncker Siegeldieb lieber nachbaur mein/
Wir wöllen nun mehr gut gesellen sein/
Wir haben einander offt selbs belogen/
Falschlich verbaren/vñ dieblich betrogen/
Biß wir das handwerck recht gelehrt/
Dz wir fur meisterlich Dieb seind geweht/
Jch zund dir/daß das Siegel wol gerath/
Zu wem wir kommen frü vnd spath.

Rabi Lefer. 14.

Wir müssen eins beym andern treiben/
Auff das keyn Gott bey vns thu bleiben/
Des Talmuths hab ich gesoffen so viel/
Darumb verfluch ich sie ohn maß vnd ziel/
Darzu die höchste Oberkeit/
Hat es kein krafft so ist mirs leidt/
Auch Keyser/König/Fürsten vnd Herren/
Thur vns der heylig Talmuth lernen.

Die arme Saw. 15.

Ach wehe/ach wehe/mir armes Thier/
Das ich die hellisch gesellschafft für/
Zum Lucifer gar in die Hellen/
Ein bancket mit jm sie halten wöllen/
Sein will ist jm ganz wol gerbaten/
Jch muß jn geben ein guten Braten/
Das sie von mir haben zufressen/
Bruder Rausch würt jr auch nit vergessen.

Bruder Rausch. 16.

Jch will eüch dem Braten recht zuschneiden/
Das ewer keiner soll erfrewen/
Wil auch in solchem geloch mit frin/
Den hellisch fewr eüch schrecken ein/
Daran solt jr kein mangel haben/
Fort fort, vnd laßt vnn rylends traben/
Dann ich der Gesellen mehr muß bringen/
Vor vns den Beinrock beissen singen/
Da wöllen wir santzen vnd Jubiliren/
Ob weh jem klappen/das bell hofieren/
Das wöret dann sein jr rechter lohn/
Den sie so lang verdienet hon/
So hab solt ich des spils nit lachen/
Jch köndts doch besser nit gemachen/
Dann wir alldar zusamen ? ab bracht/
Ade mit mir kein guter nacht.

1563.

Der Juden zukünfftiger Messias . . . Broadsheet. Woodcut, 1563.

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a—Jewish Demons and Sow. Woodcut title-page of *Der Juden Erbarkeit*, 1571.

b—The Pope on Sow's back. Woodcut illustration to Luther's pamphlet, 1545.

Pl. 47

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Ain Gewisse Wunderzeitung von ainer Schwangeren Judin zu Binzwangen/vir meil von Augspurg/welche kurzlich den 12. Decembris/des nächstverschinenen 74. Jars/an statt zwaier Kinder zwai leibhafte Schweinlin oder Färlin gepracht hat.

O wunderlich laut die geschicht
Das wa ichs nicht wer wolbericht
Würd ich mich scheuen die zuschreiben/
Dan man möcht denken/das wirs treiben
Vilicht den Juden nur zu spott:
Aber es hat der ware Got
For augen es so klar gestelt
Das daraus greif die gantze Welt
Wie Christus der Messias recht/
Das verplent Judisch Talmutgschlecht
For seiner andern zukunft nun
Zur lez will zu spott pringen thun:
In for der ganzen Welt nun weisen
Das da sie seine Ehr nicht preisen
Was sie sind für Messias werd/
Namlich der Säu/der wüsten herd/
Weil sie ain Irdisch Reich doch warten
Da sie im wollust nur erzarten:
Weil sie den Höchstgsalbten entehren/
Mögen mit Sauschmär sie sich schmeren:
Dan die sind nicht werd Christi Gaist
So sinnen flaischlichait vnd flaisch.
Derwegen wißt/Sich hat begeben
Den nächstverschinen Christmont eben
Vir meil von Augspurg zu Binzwangen
Aim Dorf/welches thut angelangen
Dem Hauptman Ludwig Schärtlin aigt/
Da that ain Jüdin sich erzaigen
Sehr schwäres leibs/vnd ging damit
Nach schwanger Weiber Monatsitt/
Als nun die zeit verloffen war/
Da kam sie nider vnd gebar.
Was aber? Da hört libe Leut
Was Juden Kinder deiten heut:
Zwai Säulin namlich sie gebar
Für jr zwai Sönlin/das ist war:
Ja zwai Natürlich Färklin recht
Daran kain Menschlich glid war schlecht/
Gar glatt von haut/vnd gar nichts harig/
Wie solchs ward vilen offenbarig.
Das erst ist von stundan gestorben/
So bald es das Licht hat erworben/
Das ander hat gelebt ain stund/
Darnach zum Säuhauf es verschwund:
Darauf hat man dis Judenplütlin
Die Judenfärlin vnd Säujüdlin
Im ainen garten bald vergraben/
Da sie dan jre rhu noch haben:
Auch ithen täglich Leut dahin
Zu sehen die Säubetterin/
Vnd all vmständ recht zuerfaren/
Bei allen die dabei auch waren.

Vnd gwiß es ist ain wundergschicht
Wan man es im dem grund besicht.
Dan wer erschrocken schon das Weib
So wer kain Sau doch der ganz leib/
Vileicht so wer ain glid daran
Welchs Menschenart möcht zaigen an:
Zu dem so wer es nicht ain par/
Auch mißgeboren mit gefar:
Aber da sicht man nichts dergleichen
Damit es sich lis was verstreichen:
Drum ists zuhalten für ain wunder
Welchs vns zur warnung gschicht besunder:
Was nun dasselbige bedeit
Hab ich for etwas angedeit:
Doch ists am besten Got bekant
Der nie vmsonst kain wunder sant/
Der auch durch vngläubige ermanet
Das man auf Gläubiger siras recht banet:
Dan vns der Juden stockverplenden
Soll zu dem waren Licht meh wenden/
Vnd denken/was dort Paulus spricht/
Das so Got hat geschonet nicht
Seim Volk/den Natürlichen Zweigen/
Was er den Einimpfling werd zaigen/
Vns die wir an jr stat sind komen
Vnd nicht thun was wir han vernommen.
Derhalben sollen dise zaichen
Christen vnd Juden zur warnung raichen/
Vom Säuischen leben zulasen
Vnd nach nüchterem vns zumasen/
Das wir wacker mit Nüchterkait
Erwarten Gots zukunft berait.

anno 1574 Jar.

Zu Strasburg.

Broadsheet by Johann Fischart. Strasbourg, 1574.

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Der Juden Synagog/

Vff Teutsch Kirch oder Schul genandt/
Damit es werd im Reich bekandt/
Zu gefallen also das erdicht/
Der Leser wolts verachten nicht.

A Arawenos der gelehrte Narr
Zeigt an den Seckel vnd Brieffe fern/
Die Spitzköpff zu vnterweisen/
Wie sie die Christen sollen bescheissen.

B Butzmann der galgendieb/
Stöst den Heber in Arß fein tieff.

C Cuntzmann schlecktauß / wart mit fleiß/
Biß die Sauw jhm ins Maul scheiß/

D Doctor Hünereyer kam auch herbey/
Damit der Rath fein gantz sey.

E Ertzmann spitzbub in der Karten/
Thut des fressens vñ schlemmens auch wartt.

F Fortz fresser fangauff/ friß geschwindt/
Es ist gut für vnser Gesindt.

G Gumbel zum Sewtrog macht sich leicht/
Freylich ein Sauw die ander reucht.

H Hermann Stutz ist mein Namen/
So kompt die Gesellschafft zusammen.

I Judas verrieth Christum behendt/
Auch das Kindlem zu Tryent.

K Krotzebeisser steht mit weil/
Sicht an das Kalb an der Seul.

L Lortzarß Rotzaff heiß ich/
Die Sauw mit dem Strick führ ich.

M Mutzkopff bey der Stiegen/
Hat ein Buch/ kan frey drauß liegen/
Letzlich vnser Freyheit nichts benommen/
Weil die Gesellschafft ist beynander kömen.
Also bleibt wer jhr seydt/
Daß euch der Teuffel reit.

Ein Ehrliebenden Christ die Noth zwingt/
Der Judt singt/
Vnd der Teuffel springt/
Letzlich das Fewr brint.

Der Juden Synagog. Broadsheet, with engraving by Hans Wolff. Frankfurt, first quarter of seventeenth century.

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Der Ivden Badstvb. Broadsheet. Seventeenth century.

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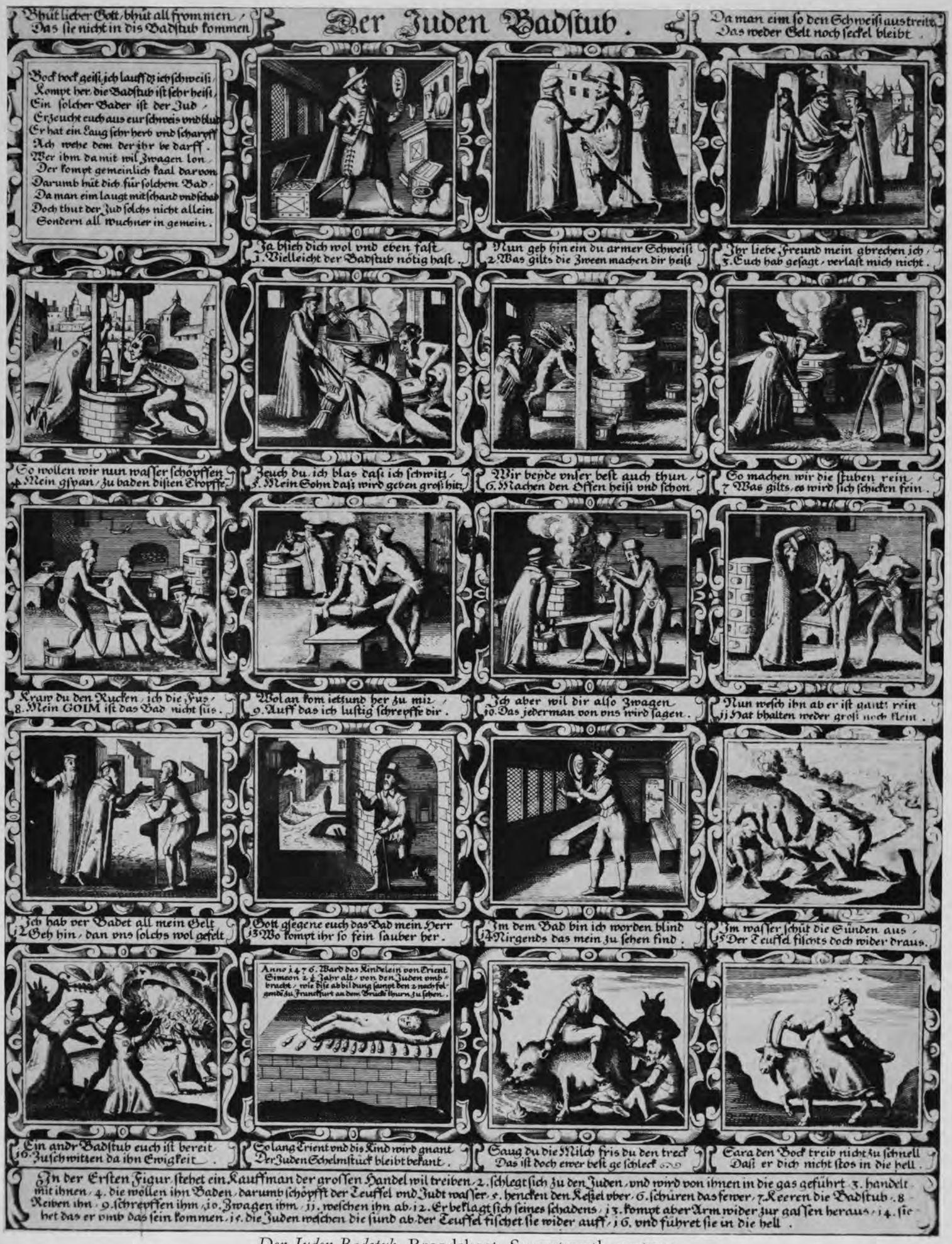

Der Juden Badstub. Broadsheet. Seventeenth century.

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The Frankfurt *Judensau*. Broadsheet. Seventeenth century.

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The Messianic Procession. Illustration in D. Schwab, *Detectum velum Mosaicum*, Mainz, 1666.

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Deß Jüngsthin Abgestandenen überall wol bekandten Ertz-Diebischen

Juden Amschel zum Schuck und seines verdambten

Jünglings Wölffgern traurige Grabschrifft; Welche zu Ehren dem noch Lebend-herum Schwebend-hin und wieder Land-Verwiesenen Ertz-Betrieger Löwgen / als hinderlassenen / betrübten / jedoch vermaledeyten redlichen Erben / auffgesetzt

An die

Judische Anverwandten / vornemlich an den Reiffer talma toucsem dem Rabbi Abraham zum Trachen gehorsamlich geschrieben / darbey gebotten worden solches in den Grabstein mit schönen Buchstaben den Vorübergehenden zur Nachricht auffs fleissigste außhauen zu lassen.

1.

STeh still und lese doch / was hie geschrieben steht /
Wer dieses nur anschaut / nicht leicht vorüber gehet /
Hier unter disem Stein / liegt was verschart begraben /
Ein Amschel / Teuffels Kind / viel schwärtzer als die Raben /
Sang als sie lebte noch / ein solchen bösen Gesang /
Der durch der Christen Schweiß / und Blut mit Wunden trang /
Sie legte wie ein Hun / viel hell und klare Eyer /
Die machten manchen Menschen / so naschicht und so geyer /
Daß zwey und dreyssig Mann / die schwere rothe Ruhr
Daran gefressen satt / daß noch an dero Chur
Die Kinder liegen kranck / sind schwertlich zu Curiren /
Der Diebisch Vogel wust / die Welt so zu verführen.

2.

Das Hindle lieget auch / in diesem Teuffels Nest /
Trug selbst die Eyer auff / den armen Christen Gest /
Sie sahen auß wie Golt / und war doch Bley darinnen /
Offt solt es Silber seyn, so war es doch nur Zinnen /
Sie ist der Cleberas / ob sie nun schon entsehlet /
Hat ihrer dannoch nicht / der Teuffel gar gefehlet /
Das Hindle schüttet auß / zu unterschiedlich mahlen
Ein Wölffgen / Löwgen / gar / die wie die Amschel stahlen /
Das Wölffgen leider auch / in dieser Diebes Kauth /
Verschart / vermodert ligt / mit der verfluchten Haut /
Die Seelen alle drey / seynd Judisch wol verwahret /
Der Teuffel selbsten sich mit ihnen schon geparet.

3.

Ou Wey der Vogel wird gerupft / das Hindle auch
Geschunten in der Höll / dem Wölffgen wie Gebrauch
Der Beltz wird abgezerrt / das Losament zu ziehrn
Ist das nicht immer schad / die Bälg so zu verliehrn /
Das Hindle Handschuch giebt / ihr zehes Hexen Fell
Den Teuffels Klauen wird anstehen in der Hell.

4.

Das Löwgen aber ach / daß wandert noch auff Erden /
Darff wie ich sorge recht / gar nicht verscharret werden /
Deß Gersons seine Straß / hat es sehr wol verdient /
Der Hencker wird ihm zwagen / sein Schelmen Diebes Grint /
Es treibt von Tag zu Tag / dergleichen Diebes Stück /
Betrieget Jung und Alt / führt sie am Diebes Strick /
Zu Hanau fing es an / er war schon an dem Tanz
Das Meister Hemerle / den Rück wolt segen ganz.

5.

Ist das nicht Wunderwerck / ein Ambschel hat bestiegen
Ein Teuffels Händelein / das kam ins Bett zu liegen /
Mit einem Wölffgen bald / darbey es noch nicht blieben
Sie warff ein Löwgen auch das lauter Boßheit trieben /
Auch Zauten hatten sie / das Hexen DiebsGesind /
Daß nunmehr wird zu streut / wie Spreu vom starcken Wind /
Drumb ist es wunderlich / ein Amsel / Hund / und Zaut.
O Schachele Mocheyum Ou weh deß Wölffgens Haut
Seynd Dieb wie man weiß / von böser Art und Sitten /
Die / welche die Natur mit Diebes Griff beschritten /
Gehören all hieher / grad unter diesen Stein
Der schwartze Teuffel wil / ihr rechter Hüter seyn.

6.

Beth lieber Leser beth / daß doch der Diebes Samen
Gerottet werde auß / und dieses Amschels Namen
Mit Löwgen seinem Sohn / mög kommen auff den Brand /
Daß dieses Diebs Geschlecht / nicht werde mehr genandt /
Die Juden selbsten auch seynd froh daß er verrecket /
Er machte Christ und Juden / daß sie sich verstecket /
Der Armen Christen Schweiß / saugt er in seinen Schlund /
Nun frist deß Teuffels Aaß / der Juden Metzger Hund /
Am andern Zweiffel nicht / sie werden ewig schwitzen /
Vnd vor der Welt Betrug / im hellen Ofen glitzen /
Diß war der Oberst Schaum / gar wider die Vernunffe
Ein Scheim und essig Dieb auß aller Teuffels Zunfft /
Denck lieber Leser doch / was dieser Jud geschlichtet /
Er hat deß Henckers Ampt / an Juden auch verrichtet /
Dieselb gepeinigt gar / hüt dich vor solchem Dieb /
Der diese Laster all biß an sein Ende trieb.

Vff der Juden Schabes den 14. Jan. 1671.
In die Judische Synagogen überschicket / darbey gebeten solches dem N. Prophen Schilo Sabathoy auffs ehste zu communiciren.

The Arch-Thief Amschel. German Broadsheet. 1671.

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a—Jews in Hell. German Engraving. Eighteenth century.

b—Jew Riding a Pig. German print. Eighteenth century.

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a—Handle of walking stick. German, eighteenth century.

b—Game card. German, seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

c—Coloured print. German, eighteenth century.

d—*Judensau* scene. Faience. German, nineteenth century.

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a—The Pope on Sow's back. German print, eighteenth century.

b—Satire on Jewish support of vaccination. Etching. Hamburg, probably 1799.

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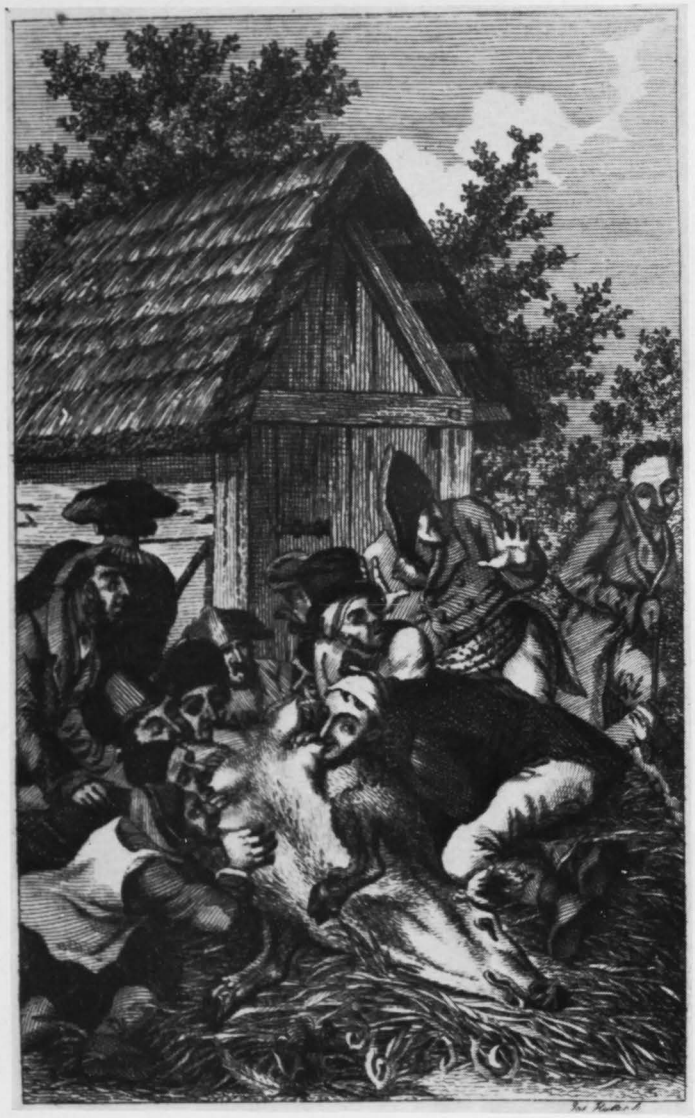
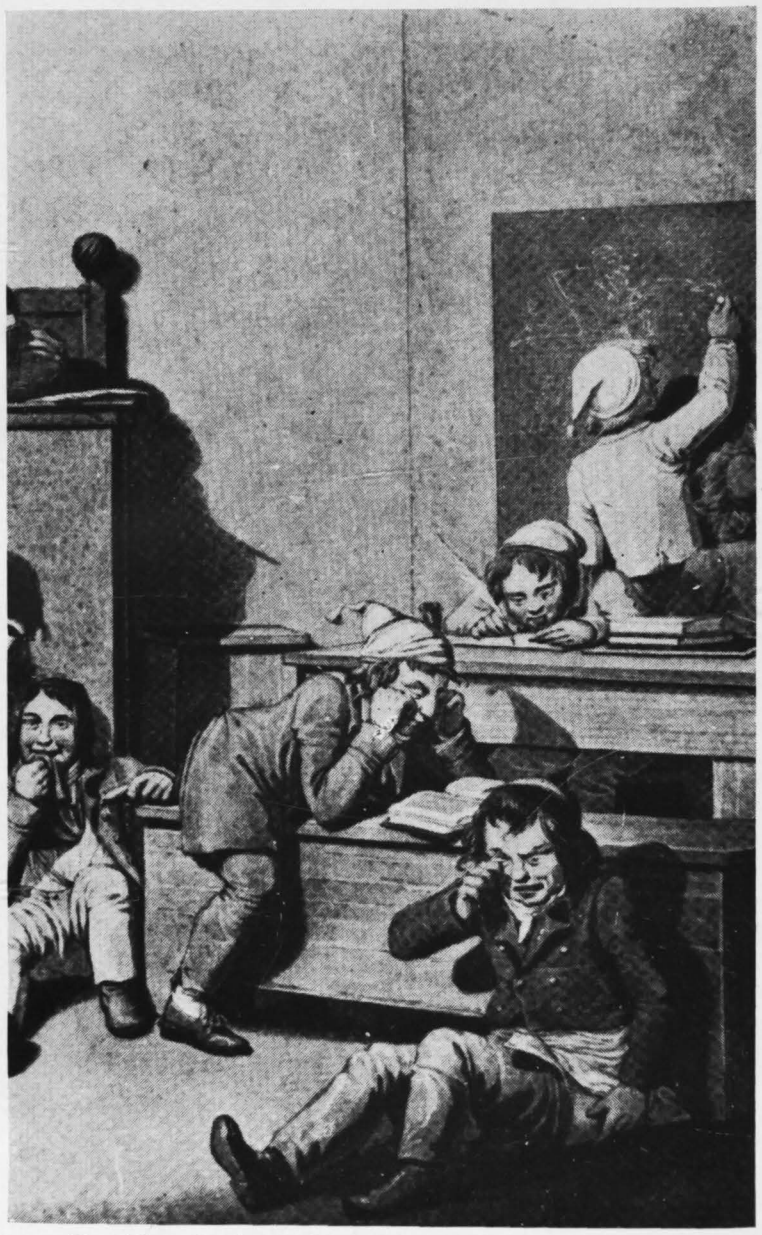
a—*The Jew Naturilized*. English etching, 1753–54.



b—*Judensau*. Frontispiece to *Die Judenschule*, Aarau, 1822.



c—G. E. Opitz, *Die Judenschule*. Watercolour (detail).

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a—R. Newton, *Tricks upon Travellers*. London, 1795.

b—*Doing*. English caricature, eighteenth century.

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a—Rowlandson, *Humours of Houndsditch*. London, 1813.

b—*One of the Benefits of the Jewish Emancipation*. London, nineteenth century.

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a—The Frankfurt *Judensau*. German print, eighteenth century.

b—Emancipation. Broadsheet. Frankfurt, 1848.

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Amancibation. German satire, nineteenth century.

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