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SATURN AND THE JEWS¹

By Eric Zafran

In their extensive study on the imagery and meaning of the melancholic Saturn, Klibansky, Panofsky and Saxl² touch only indirectly upon one significant aspect or transformation of the ancient planetary deity—the inter-relationship and even identification between Saturn and the Jews. They note that St. Augustine considered Saturn a god of the Jews³ and also quote two texts in which this connection is explicit. The earlier is a treatise of the ninth or tenth century by Alcabitus which claims for Saturn ‘the faith of Judaism’.⁴ The later source is an eighteenth-century work by J. W. Appellius who finds the melancholy temperament which derives from the influence of Saturn ultimately responsible for the ‘“despicable timidity” of the Jews as a race.’⁵

It seems therefore that a current of thought, over a great span of time, relates the Jews and Saturn. To anyone familiar with the imagery and concept of Saturn in the Middle Ages, and the attitude of Christian Europe during the same time towards the Jews, this identification will come as no surprise. Saturn was ‘the representative of the lowest rung of medieval society’.⁶ Individuals born under his influence were held in scant regard until with the last quarter of the fifteenth century the neo-Platonic elevation of the deity somewhat reformed their character.⁷ Alcabitus’s description can serve as a prototypical example of the negative concept of Saturn:

He is bad, masculine, in daytime cold, dry, melancholy, presides over fathers . . . over old age, and dotage . . . the worried, the low born, the heavy, the dead, magicians, demons, devils, and people of ill fame—all this when his condition is good. But when he is evil, he presides over hatred, obstinacy, care, grief, lamenting, evil opinion, suspicion . . . further he presides over miserly gains, over old and impossible things, far travels, long absence, great poverty, avarice. . . . He has the faith of Judaism, black clothing; of days Saturday, and the night of Wednesday. . . . To him belong . . . everything whatsoever that is black, and goats and bullocks. . . .⁸

Much the same traits were assigned to the Jews. Their blood was thought ‘black and putrid’, they were, for the most part, confined to ‘an ignoble and

¹ This study is in part drawn from the author’s unpublished doctoral dissertation, *The Iconography of Anti-Semitism, 1400–1600*, Institute of Fine Arts, New York, 1973. Grateful thanks for encouragement are due to Professor Colin Eisler and the late Dr. Isaiah Shachar.

² Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky and Fritz Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy*, London 1964 (hereafter Klibansky *et al.*)

³ *Ibid.*, p. 161, n. 115. The identification of Saturn as the ‘Star of Israel’ and its ‘domination of the Judaic religion’ has been made in a different context by Emma Jung and Marie Louise von Franz, *The Grail*

Legend, New York 1970, pp. 205–6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 132; Alcabitus, *Introductorium maius*, MS at Oxford (Bodl. Marsh 663).

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 121; J. W. Appellius, *Historisch-moralischer Entwurf der Temperamenten*, 2nd edn., 1737. A 17th-century professor of mathematics at Frankfurt, David Origanus, wrote that ‘Saturn is the significator of the Jews’. See Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, Columbia University Press, 1934, vol. vii, pp. 145–6.

⁶ Klibansky *et al.*, p. 203.

⁷ See Erwin Panofsky, ‘Father Time’, *Studies in Iconology*, New York 1962, p. 77.

⁸ Klibansky *et al.*, pp. 131–2.

degraded estate', and were to be avoided 'as a pest'.⁹ They were even, as Trachtenberg has well demonstrated, often considered representatives of the devil, or worse still, demons and devils themselves.¹⁰ Characteristic is the description of the Jews in an anti-Semitic tract of the late fifteenth century. The author writes: 'there is no people more wicked, more cunning, more avaricious, more impudent, more troublesome, more venomous, more wrathful, more deceptive and more ignominious.'¹¹

The fact that Saturday, the Jews' sacred day of prayer and rest, was, as Alcabitius noted, ruled by Saturn—and actually derived its name from the malevolent planet—was but one more of many obvious connections. In the treatise on Saturn by the ninth-century Arab astrologer Abu Ma'shar, which served as the model for Alcabitius,¹² the Jews are not mentioned; but among the qualities controlled by the planet are several that were to become synonymous with them. For Abu Ma'shar Saturn presides over 'avarice . . . blindness, corruption, hatred, guile . . . haughtiness . . .'; and one of the qualities of his nature is its 'stinking wind'.¹³

Haughtiness and a profound hatred of Christianity were charges often levelled at the Jews, while guile and corruption were perhaps best embodied by the worst of all Jews, Judas Iscariot.¹⁴ The proverbial Jewish avarice we shall see frequently in later images. More noteworthy in Abu Ma'shar's description is blindness, for this was to provide one of the most popular epithets or metaphors in anti-Jewish polemics and imagery,¹⁵ and be epitomized in the blindfold figure of Synagoga.¹⁶

The 'stinking wind' mentioned by Abu Ma'shar was already in Roman

⁹ Israel Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, (orig. edn. 1896), Meridian Books reprint 1961, pp. 407–8. Malcolm Hay, *Europe and the Jews*, Beacon Paperback, Boston 1961, p. 91 goes so far as to say that, 'in the view of the mediaeval age, Jews were allowed a status not much higher than that enjoyed by domestic animals of the present day.'

¹⁰ Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*, (orig. edn. 1943), Meridian Books reprint 1961.

¹¹ Petrus Nigri, *Stern der Meschia*, publ. Conrad Fyner, 1477. See Oskar Frankl, *Der Jude in der deutschen Dichtung*, Mähr-Ostrau 1905, p. 37; and Leon Poliakov, *A History of Anti-Semitism*, vol. i, New York 1965, p. 211.

¹² Klibansky *et al.*, p. 130.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ On Judas as the prototype of the evil Jew see Hijman Nichelson, *The Jew in Early English Literature*, Amsterdam 1926, p. 9; G. K. Hunter, 'The Theology of Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*', this *Journal*, XXVII, 1964, p. 221; and W. Porte, *Judas Ischarioth in der bildenden Kunst*, Berlin 1883, p. 73. Judas was also to become an example of the melancholic temperament. See Klibansky *et al.*, pp. 121, 195 and 286.

¹⁵ See Bernhard Blumenkranz, *Le Juif médiéval au miroir de l'art chrétien*, Paris 1966, pp. 53–54, 72 and 74–75. A reference to the blind Jews occurs in the *Lamentations* of the Pseudo-Jeremiah. (See Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, Paris 1955, vol. ii, 2, p. 745.) When a Jewish delegation met with Pope Martin V in 1417, he voiced this attitude, saying, 'May the all powerful God remove the covering from your eyes, so that you may see the eternal life.' (See *Monumenta Judaica, Katalog*, Stadtmuseum, Cologne 1963, ii, B, no. 278.) Partly for the same reason the owl, a bird of darkness, came to be identified with the Jews. (See Heinrich Schwarz, 'Eule', *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, Stuttgart 1970, cols. 299–302.)

¹⁶ Blumenkranz, pp. 53–54, 64–66, 105–10; see also Wolfgang Seiferth, *Synagoge und Kirche im Mittelalter*, Munich 1965; Paul Hildenfinger, 'La Figuration de la Synagogue dans l'art du moyen-âge', *Revue des Études Juives*, 1903, pp. 187–96; H. Pflaum, 'Der Allegorische Streit zwischen Synagoge und Kirche. . .', *Archivum Romanicum*, xviii, 1934, pp. 243–340; and M. Schlauch, 'The Allegory of Church and Synagogue', *Speculum*, xiv, 1939, pp. 448–64.

times an established feature of the Saturnine personality.¹⁷ This belief in a Saturnine or melancholic odour, 'foetidus', was later enlarged upon by Guido Bonatti who characterized it as 'goatlike'.¹⁸ Jews too, according to medieval belief, had a characteristic stench, the 'foetor judaicus' which would only vanish upon baptism.¹⁹ Further this 'Jewish odour' was also often described as goatlike.²⁰ As Trachtenberg points out, this is not the only link between goats and the Jews. The latter were said to have goatish beards, or were depicted with goat horns, or riding upon a goat, one of the traditional mounts of the devil.²¹ That the goat was not only, as Alcabitus noted, an animal belonging to Saturn but was also, in the form of the zodiacal sign of Capricorn, one of the two signs or houses associated with Saturn,²² draws the knot of relationships still tighter.

By the fifteenth century a variety of almanacs, prognostications and popular images explicitly state or show that the planet which controls the fate of the Jews is the most malign—Saturn. For example, the text of an almanac printed by Johannes Otmar at Reutlingen²³ predicts that Christians through the influence of their planets Mercury and the Sun will have a lucky year, but that the Jews through Saturn will be much beset and suffer misfortunes by fire and wind.²⁴

A similar connection with the fate of the Jews was made by Johannes Lichtenberg in his popular *Prognosticatio* first published at Strasbourg in 1488.²⁵ In this work, detailing the future of the world, Lichtenberg predicted that with the arrival of false prophets the Jews, through the elevated position of Saturn in the astrological constellation, would attain great power in many lands but ultimately would be defeated. He therefore advised the princes of Germany to act immediately to exterminate what he called 'these poisonous roots'.²⁶

Likewise, the *Prognosticon* by Johann Virdung, which appeared in both German and Latin editions in 1521, foresaw a conjunction of planets that would bring violent destruction upon the Jews, but claimed Saturn would

¹⁷ Klibansky *et al.*, p. 146.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 147 and 189.

¹⁹ Abrahams, p. 408; Trachtenberg, pp. 46–50, 227; Thorndike, vol. vii, pp. 325–6; Israel Levi, 'L'Odeur des Juifs', *Revue des Études Juives*, xx, 1890, pp. 249ff. A bad odour was in general characteristic of a 'morally dubious' individual. See Lotte Brand Philip, 'The Peddler by Hieronymous Bosch,' *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, ix, 1958, p. 38. It is noteworthy that in several depictions of the Last Supper, such as the engraving by Master IAM of Zwolle (Lehrs 2: Hollstein, vol. xii, p. 254), a Spanish altar painting derived from it (reproduced in R. M. Quinn, *Fernando Gallego and the Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo*, Tucson 1961, pl. xiv), and a painting by Jorg Ratgeb in the Altmuseum, Stuttgart, the disciple shown sitting next to Judas conspicuously holds his nose in disgust.

²⁰ Trachtenberg, pp. 47–48, 227–8.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 46–47, ill. p. 45. In some representations of Synagoga she clutches a goat's head. See Blumenkranz, figs. 70 and 123; and *Monumenta Judaica, Handbuch*, pl. 68.

²² Klibansky *et al.*, pp. 138, 144 and 203.

²³ Albert Schramm, *Der Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke*, Leipzig 1926, vol. ix, no. 844.

²⁴ The section on the Jews appears in the third line of the last paragraph beginning with the words 'Die Juden durch Saturnum . . .'

²⁵ Thorndike, vol. iv, pp. 473–9. A facsimile reproduction of the original edited by J. Harry Rylands was published by the Holbein Society, London 1890.

²⁶ Dietrich Kurze, 'Johannes Lichtenberger', *Historische Studien*, vol. 379, 1960, p. 25; Selma Stern, *Josel of Rosheim*, Philadelphia 1965, p. 91.

protect them from total annihilation.²⁷ In this work a vigorous woodcut (Pl. 5b), based on Dürer's *Battle of the Angels* from his *Apocalypse* series, depicts the massacre of the Jews, who are recognizable from the round badges worn on their outer garments. Such badges, mandatory by this time for Jews throughout most parts of Europe,²⁸ provided, as we shall see, a clear means of identification in both life and art.

No images better illustrate the control the planetary deities had over mankind than the *Planetenkinder* or *Children of the Planets* which first appeared in the West in the fourteenth century.²⁹ Saturn's children were, as was to be expected, 'the most miserable and undesirable mortals'.³⁰ Typical examples, such as a drawing by the Hausbach Master³¹ and a blockbook illustration of about 1470,³² include practitioners of such humble professions as field labourers and slaughterers, as well as the aged, beggars, cripples and criminals. There is no Jew in sight.

But, in a later *Children of Saturn* woodcut (Pl. 5c) from a series which has been attributed to both Hans Sebald Beham³³ and Georg Pencz,³⁴ the case is different. The bearded figure talking to the prisoner in the stocks not only has, as seen clearly in a detail (Pl. 5a), the stereotyped features reserved for Jews but wears upon his outer cloak the circular badge. A handcoloured impression in Berlin confirms this is a Jewish 'child' of Saturn, for the badge is painted yellow, the colour of treachery and ignominy.³⁵

The identification of this Jewish figure gives perhaps an added significance to another detail usually found in scenes of the *Children of Saturn*—the pig shown feeding or being slaughtered. Pig and Jews, as Isaiah Schachar has shown, had long been associated in the motif of the *Judensau*;³⁶ and the pig, because of its close relation to the earth, was considered an animal of Saturn.³⁷ In a mid-fifteenth-century German MS at Cassel (Pl. 5e) Saturn actually holds a banner bearing a pig.³⁸ The pig was also sometimes the animal attribute

²⁷ A copy of the German edition is in the British Library, C130bb16, fol. C; and one of the Latin in the Library of the Warburg Institute.

²⁸ See Guido Kisch, 'The Yellow Badge in History', *Historia Judaica*, Oct. 1942, pp. 95–144; and Salo W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, Columbia University Press, 2nd edn., 1967, vol. xi, pp. 96–106.

²⁹ Klibansky *et al.*, p. 204.

³⁰ Panofsky, p. 77.

³¹ In the Hausbuch manuscript at Schloss Wolfegg. See Alfred Stange, *Der Hausbuchmeister*, Strasbourg 1958, pp. 42 and 109, pl. 104.

³² See Klibansky *et al.*, pl. 38.

³³ Adolf Rosenberg, *Sebald and Barthel Beham*, Leipzig 1875, p. 76; F. Lippman, *The Seven Planets*, London 1895, pp. 12–13.

³⁴ Heinrich Rottingen, *Die Holzschnitte des Georg Pencz*, Leipzig 1914, nos. 4–11; *Meister um Albrecht Dürer*, exhibition catalogue, Germanisches National Museum, Nuremberg,

July–Sept. 1961, no. 286. The series was reprinted by Wolf Drechsel at Nuremberg in 1587. See Walter L. Strauss, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut, 1550–1600*, New York 1975, vol. i, p. 180, no. 7.

³⁵ Marie C. Linthicum, *Costumes in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries*, Oxford 1936, p. 47. This figure was already identified as a Jew by Eugen Diederichs, *Deutsche Lebendes Vergangenheit in Bildern*, Jena 1908, vol. i, p. 55, ill. 178.

³⁶ Isaiah Shachar, *The Judensau*, Warburg Institute Surveys, v, London 1974. Review by the present author in *The Art Bulletin*, March 1976, pp. 123–4.

³⁷ Erwin Panofsky and Fritz Saxl, *Dürer's Melencolia I*, Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, ii, Berlin 1923, pp. 23 and 132; Andrew Pigler, 'Astrology and Jerome Bosch', *The Burlington Magazine*, May 1950, p. 132; Philip, p. 10.

³⁸ R. Kautzsche, 'Planetendarstellungen aus dem Jahr 1445', *Repertorium für Kunst-*

of the melancholy humour, as seen for example in a woodcut from the French Calendar of the Shepherds of 1493.³⁹

During the fifteenth century the planetary deities were merged with aspects of the liberal arts; as a result Saturn took on the appearance of 'an accountant or arithmetician . . . the god of the coffers'.⁴⁰ It is in this role that he appears in the upper left corner of a *Children of Saturn* in a fifteenth-century manuscript at Tübingen (Pl. 6a)⁴¹ and at Erfurt,⁴² as well as in a manuscript on the planets in the Vatican Library (Pl. 5d).⁴³ To a contemporary viewer, however, these depictions would have brought to mind the unpleasant character of the Jewish moneylender or usurer. The latter was an established type by the thirteenth century when one of the chief attributes of Jewish figures in the *Bible moralisée* was the money-bag.⁴⁴ Saturn, as we have seen, engendered miserliness and avarice: thus the melancholy temperament which he also controlled came to be represented, as in a mid-fifteenth-century broadsheet of *The Four Temperaments* (Pl. 6b), by a despondent figure holding a large money-bag, with coins dispersed on his desk.⁴⁵ Ripa's *Iconologia* served to reinforce the image of the miserly melancholic.⁴⁶

By the fifteenth century the Jews of Germany existed almost solely by moneylending⁴⁷ and the word 'usurer' was practically synonymous with 'Jew'.⁴⁸ Pamphlets, broadsheets and woodcuts attacked the Jews' alleged

wissenschaft, xx, 1897, p. 37. Reproduced in A. Hauber, *Planetenkinderbilder und Sternbilder*, Strasbourg 1916, p. 106 and pl. xv, no. 20.

³⁹ H. W. Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore*, London 1952, p. 248 and fig. 17; the pig as the attribute of melancholy also appears in the *Hours* of Simon Vostre of 1502 and a swine ridden by a witch appears in conjunction with Cranach's painted figure of Melancholia in Copenhagen. See Klibansky *et al.*, pls. 82 and 129.

⁴⁰ Klibansky *et al.*, p. 206.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pl. 40, Universitätsbibliothek, Tübingen, MS Md 2, fol. 267. See also Hauber, pp. 22 and 93ff.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pl. 42, Anger-Museum, Erfurt. See also Hauber, pp. 62–63.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pl. 43, Biblioteca Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1369, fol. 144^v.

⁴⁴ Blumenkranz, p. 42. The money-bag as a Jewish attribute also found its way into the Dance of Death cycles such as that of Basle. See Hellmut Rosenfeld, *Der Mittelalterliche Totentanz*, Cologne 1968, p. 103.

⁴⁵ An example in the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich (Schreiber 1922m) is reproduced in Klibansky *et al.*, pl. 78.

⁴⁶ See Klibansky *et al.*, pl. 68 and Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*, ed. Venice 1645, p. 96 and fig. p. 100.

⁴⁷ J. Gilchrist, *The Church and Economic Activity in the Middle Ages*, New York 1969, p. 72; Guido Kisch, *The Jews in Medieval*

Germany, Chicago 1949, p. 318; and Baron vol. xii, p. 151.

⁴⁸ See Erwin Gustav Gudde, *Social Conflicts in Medieval German Poetry*, University of California Publications in Modern Philology, vol. xviii, no. 1, 1934, pp. 39–41; H. J. Zimmels, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland im 13. Jahrhundert*, Vienna 1926, p. 108; J. Aronius, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden*. . . , Berlin 1902, p. 319; and R. Cruel, *Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter*, Detmond 1879. The term *Juden spiess* (the Jewish spear) to denote usury or unfair financial practices occurs in Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* of 1493 (see text ed. by Karl Goedeke, Leipzig 1872, pp. 148 and 188) and was the subject of several 16th-century pamphlets and broadsheets (Geisberg no. 1582 and Ludwig Geiger, 'Die Juden und die deutsche Literatur des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, ii, 1888, p. 335). Some noteworthy depictions of the Jew as usurer are found in Jost Amman's *Eygentliche beschreibung aller stände* of 1568 (see George Liebe, *Das Judentum in der deutschen Vergangenheit*, Leipzig 1903, ill. 19–20); a woodcut by Hans Wandereisen (Geisberg, no. 941); in a broadsheet from Augsburg by Heinrich Vogtherr the Younger (Geisberg, nos. 1472–4); another of 1525 attributed to Peter Flötner or Hans Goldenmund with a text by Hans Sachs (Geisberg, no. 813, see Diederiches, pl. 199, ill. 675);

exorbitant rates of interest. Several show the Jewish usurer, like Saturn and the melancholic, at a desk counting out his money (Pl. 6c).⁴⁹

One woodcut of c. 1475 (Pl. 6f)⁵⁰ enlarges the attack on usury to a condemnation of the Jewish faith. According to the text the Jewish father is shown instructing his son in the principles of usury as they are supposedly set down in the Thalmud. The large goblet, which the Christian at the left hopes to pawn, is reminiscent of that seen with the figure of Saturn in the Tübingen manuscript (Pl. 6a). Even more noteworthy here, however, is the slumbering figure of the Jew's wife seen at the lower left corner. Her attitude is characteristic of another negative aspect of melancholy, self-indulgent sloth or *acedia*,⁵¹ as portrayed for example in a woodcut of melancholics in the *Augsburg Calendar* of c. 1480 (Pl. 6d).⁵²

Up to this point we have dealt with the Saturnine features of the Jews; we should now turn the tables and examine how Saturn himself assumed 'Jewish' characteristics. Until the fifteenth century the traditional image of the god was generally that of a somewhat 'morose, sickly old man, more often than not of rustic appearance',⁵³ carrying a sickle or spade—in essence a kind of Father Time. Gradually the negative and malevolent nature of the planet who was responsible for an increasing number of disasters came to predominate and Saturn was endowed with decidedly caricatured features.

The caricatures most resemble those employed at the same time for the Jews. For example, in an illustration from Martin van Landsberg's *Almanac* showing the planetary deities on the wheel of fortune (Pl. 6e),⁵⁴ Saturn alone appears in profile—a method traditionally used to stigmatize evil figures⁵⁵ and one which allowed the artist to emphasize the unpleasant facial characteristics. The sharp nose and goatlike beard recall innumerable Jewish caricatures such as the Jews debating with Christ in a woodcut by Bernhard Richel (Pl. 7a).⁵⁶

Die Welsch-Gattung, that work of Christian and astrological lore, published at Strasbourg in 1513, has woodcut illustrations by Hans Baldung Grien,⁵⁷ one of which shows Saturn with several other planetary gods (Pl. 7d). In this case the menacing figure not only has a goatish beard, but wears a hat like an inverted plate, identical with a common variety of the *Judenhut*, another

and one by Peter Schoffer (see Herman Wäscher, *Das deutsche illustrierte Flugblatt*, Dresden 1955, pl. 5).

⁴⁹ See Liebe, pp. 10–13, ills. 7–8; and Eduard Fuchs, *Die Juden in der Karikatur*, Munich 1921, ills. 13–14, and between pages 16–17. One of the most widely circulated of such images was that in Bernard von Breydenbach's *Sanctae Peregrinationes* of 1486. (See Hugh Wm. Davies, *Bernard von Breydenbach and His Journey*, London 1911; and Elizabeth Geck, *Bernard von Breydenbach*, Wiesbaden 1961, p. 26.) It purported to depict Jews in Jerusalem but showed them practising usury just as if they were in Germany.

⁵⁰ Schreiber, no. 1962; Liebe, ill. 5.

⁵¹ Klibansky *et al.*, pp. 300–301.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pl. 89b; see also the woodcut illustrations of the Strasbourg Calendar of about 1500, pl. 90d.

⁵³ Panofsky, p. 77.

⁵⁴ Schramm, vol. xiii, no. 118.

⁵⁵ See Otto Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*, London 1953, p. 8.

⁵⁶ From the *Spiegel Menschlicher Behältnis* of 1476. See Schramm, vol. xxi, no. 66.

⁵⁷ See Paul Kristeller, *Die Strassburger Bücherillustration im XV und im Anfange des XVI Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig (orig. edn. 1888) reprint 1966, p. 141; M. Consuelo Oldenbourg, *Die Buchholzschnitte des Hans Baldung Grien*, Strasbourg 1962, p. 90; F. Waga, ed., *Die Welsch-Gattung*, Germanistische Abhandlungen 34, Breslau 1910.

of the distinguishing signs required of Jews.⁵⁸ This Saturn carries a scythe and more significantly a banner bearing the image of a scorpion. Scorpio was not one of the prime zodiacal signs of Saturn, but according to some astrological systems the 'termini' of the scorpion belonged to Saturn and engendered melancholics as well as other undesirable types.⁵⁹ But aside from astrological considerations, the scorpion banner was also an established symbol of perfidy and one associated with the Jews and their betrayal of Christ.⁶⁰

In other images of Saturn the scythe was transformed into a staff, cane or crutch (Pl. 5e). The cane or crutch became a common attribute of pilgrims, vagabonds, beggars—the children of Saturn who must make their way upon earth.⁶¹ Frequently in anti-Semitic propaganda Jews were also depicted supporting themselves with canes (Pl. 7b)⁶² but here clearly to indicate a moral and spiritual decrepitude. More importantly the staff was also a symbol of exile.⁶³ Certainly the best known exiles were the Jews; and of them the most famous, the Wandering Jew whose legend gained great currency in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,⁶⁴ was usually shown with walking staff.⁶⁵

Saturn himself 'adumbrating his even more repulsive mutilation',⁶⁶ came to be depicted as a cripple with a wooden leg (Pl. 7c),⁶⁷ and as in other cases what was true for Saturn was also true for melancholics, as can be seen in the woodcut depiction of two of them by Hans Leonhard Schäußelein of c. 1525 (Pl. 7e).⁶⁸ Such an image must have been the basis for one more work connecting the attributes of Saturn and the Jews, i.e. the title-page woodcut of a 1571 booklet entitled *Der Juden Erbarkeit* (Pl. 8d) which attacked Jewish usury.⁶⁹ Here the hybrid caricature of the Jews combines devil, pig and cripple as well as lechery (suggested by the bagpipes) into a visual catalogue of Jewish and Saturnine traits.

This identification of Saturn with the Jews might still appear conjecture

⁵⁸ Kisch, *Jews*, p. 226; Alfred Rubens, *A History of Jewish Costumes*, London 1967, pp. 106–10. The Saturn in the *Children of Saturn* by the Hausbach Master (cf. n. 31 above) also seems to wear a variety of *Judenhut*.

⁵⁹ Klibansky *et al.*, p. 147.

⁶⁰ See Marcel Bulard, *Le Scorpion symbole au peuple juif dans l'art religieux des XIV^e, XV^e, XVI^e siècles*, Paris 1935.

⁶¹ Philip, p. 11. See the illustrations for the section on Wanderers and Pilgrims in *Emblemata, Handbuch*. . . , ed. Arthur G. Henkel, Stuttgart 1967, cols. 982–3; and Lawrence A. Silver, 'Of Beggars—Lucas van Leyden and Sebastian Brant,' this *Journal*, XXXIX, 1976, p. 254.

⁶² This example is from Johann Pfefferkorn's *Zu Lob und Ere* of 1510. See James L. Crawford, *Catalogue of a Collection of 1500 Tracts by Martin Luther and His Contemporaries*, 1903; and S. A. Hirsch, 'Johann Pfefferkorn and the Battle of the Books', *A Book of Essays*, London 1905, p. 92. This bent figure with staff is also similar to the *Kornjude*, an anti-Semitic type who appears on 17th-century

medallions. See Fuchs, ill. 47. For another example of Jews with canes see Nigri's *Stern der Meschia* of 1477 which shows the author debating with the rabbis of Regensburg. See Schramm, vol. ix, no. 6.

⁶³ Used for example by the figure of 'Esilio' in *Le Sorti di Francesco Marcolino de Forli*, 1540, p. 47. Interestingly this rather Semitic looking figure also carries a blind-folded falcon.

⁶⁴ See L. Neubaur, *Die Sage von ewigen Juden*, Leipzig 1893; and George K. Anderson, *The Legend of the Wandering Jew*, Brown University Press, 1965.

⁶⁵ See Champfleury, *Histoire de l'imagerie populaire*, Paris 1869, pp. 50–53.

⁶⁶ Panofsky, p. 78.

⁶⁷ This illustration is taken from the first (1488) edition of Lichtenberg's *Pronosticatio*. In the many later editions certain details are elaborated but the basic features of the crippled Saturn remain the same.

⁶⁸ Klibansky *et al.*, pl. 74; Philip, p. 10.

⁶⁹ Fuchs, p. 13, fig. 20; and Shachar, p. 56, fig. 47a.

without one image that proves the case. This is a woodcut from an almanac for the year 1492, issued in both German and Latin by the Nuremberg printer-publisher Peter Wagner (Pl. 8b).⁷⁰ According to astrological predictions 1492 was to be dominated by the ill-omened influence of Saturn who, as seen in another almanac woodcut of the same year (Pl. 8a),⁷¹ rains death and destruction upon the earth and sea. Wagner's woodcut, however, shows the god not as controller of natural forces, but rather as the ancient deity Kronos—Saturn who devoured his own children to maintain his power. The motif of the child-eating Saturn had appeared earlier in the fifteenth century⁷² but, as Warburg discovered, it was probably introduced to Nuremberg about 1490⁷³ through an Italian *tarocchi* card of c. 1465.⁷⁴ This helmeted, scythe-bearing Saturn was certainly the model used by Wagner for another astrological woodcut which he published in 1493,⁷⁵ but in the woodcut of 1492 Saturn is clearly identified by his hat and badge as a Jew. The grotesque features he possesses were employed in a number of anti-Semitic images also published at Nuremberg.

Nuremberg had, in fact, long been a centre of anti-Semitic activity since the local merchants sought the expulsion of Jewish moneylenders to whom they were in debt.⁷⁶ One of those who capitalized on this sentiment was the publisher Anton Koberger. He had the violently anti-Semitic work the *Fortalitium fidei* by the Spanish Franciscan Alfonso de Espina printed there,⁷⁷ and it was also he who published a series of propaganda attacks on Jewish usurers by the barber-poet Hans Folz, some examples of which have been previously noted (cf. Pl. 6c).⁷⁸ Other pamphlets by Folz published in Nuremberg further satirized the faith of the Jews. One of 1479 contained an account of a supposed debate (Krieg) between the poet and a Jew on the divinity of Christ.⁷⁹ In vain did the former argue that Jesus was indeed the Messiah

⁷⁰ Schramm, vol. xviii, p. 7 and ill. no. 409; Paul Heitz and Konrad Haebler, *Hundert Kalender Inkunabeln*, Strasbourg 1905, p. 29, pls. 72 and 73. The cock who seems to announce the tidings of the new year in the German version may also be related to Saturn. See Philip, p. 6.

⁷¹ Schramm, vol. xviii, no. 119.

⁷² Klibansky *et al.*, pp. 208–9, pls. 46–49. It became common practice for Saturn to be shown as the devourer of his children in the *Children of the Planets* series in the sixteenth century, such as the Pencil woodcut (Pl. 5c) where the presence of the Jew may have been intended to make the same connection to ritual murder as Wagner's woodcut. The subject of Saturn eating his children continued to be popular in later centuries and was given powerful form by Rubens and Goya (both examples in the Prado). A drawing by the latter, also in the Prado (repr. Folke Nordström, *Goya, Saturn, and Melancholy, Figura* new series 3, Uppsala, 1962, p. 193, fig. 94) seems to give Semitic or at least highly caricatured features to Saturn.

⁷³ Aby Warburg, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Leipzig 1932, vol. i, p. 485.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 507, no. 128; see also the versions illustrated in Paul Kristeller, *Die Tarocchi*, Berlin 1910.

⁷⁵ Schramm, vol. xviii, no. 411.

⁷⁶ See 'Nuremberg', *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Jerusalem 1971, vol. 12, col. 1278; and Arnd Muller, *Geschichte der Juden in Nürnberg*, Nuremberg 1968, p. 81ff.

⁷⁷ Heinrich Graetz, *History of the Jews*, vol. iv, Philadelphia 1894, p. 415.

⁷⁸ Schramm, vol. xviii, *Monumenta Judaica, Katalog*, B. 207–8. W. L. Schreiber, *Manuel de l'amateur de la gravure . . . au XV^e siècle*, Berlin 1911, vol. v, no. 4025, attributes the woodcut illustrations to Peter Wagner. For Folz's attack on the Jews' usury see Gudde, p. 97; Hans Fischer, *Hans Folz Die Reimpaarsprüche*, Munich 1961, pp. xxix and 310–18.

⁷⁹ The full title is *Ite ei Krieg de der dichter dises spruchs gehapt hat wid einen iuden*; Schreiber, no. 4005; Schramm, vol. xviii, no. 360; Fischer, pp. 226–42; Pflaum, p. 130. Similar debates are found in various *Fastnachtspiele*

prophesized in the Old Testament. A work of the 1480s entitled *Die Worper*⁸⁰ showed how the Jews' stubbornness on this subject could lead them astray. As seen in the titlepage woodcut (Pl. 8e), a crafty Christian merchant convinced the three rich Jews that the contents (*Wahrsagebeeren*) of a certain jug would allow the drinker to prophesy the time of the Messiah's arrival. The gullible Jews purchased the jug for a large sum and brought it to their Rabbi who discovered its contents were nothing but excrement.⁸¹ The Jews shown in the woodcuts illustrating these works by Folz, have fat bodies and ugly faces so similar to that of the Saturn in the woodcut of 1492 that one would almost suspect they were designed by the same artist.

The implications of representing the child-eating Saturn as a Jew, however, go far beyond a simple attack upon usury or a warning against lack of true faith. According to Greek myth Kronos, the ruler of the universe, was overthrown by his son Zeus, who had escaped the fate of being eaten by his father when Rhea substituted a stone for the baby. In some accounts Zeus actually castrated Kronos and the defeated Titan retired to the west.⁸² Over the course of centuries the figure of Kronos was combined with the Roman Saturn, who then in his planetary form appropriately controlled, as Alcabitius described, 'fathers, old age . . . old and impossible things'.⁸³ This connection with age, outdated, dying things and the displacement of one god by another provides an analogy to the relationship between Christianity and Judaism. It was the Jews who, according to the dominant medieval concept, sought to destroy their own offspring or son, Christ, but he was miraculously resurrected and a new era born. Thus Saturn and the Jews both represent the unworthy fathers, who are rejected, defeated and displaced by their sons who establish new orders (Christianity and the reign of the Olympian gods). The rejected parents cannot accept this new order but remain isolated misanthropes nurturing their vengeful resentment and hatred.⁸⁴ They are thought of as the embodiments of all that is worst in mankind and become the archetypal pariahs of the world.

If not quite for these reasons the uniting of Jew and Kronos-Saturn in Peter Wagner's woodcut of 1492 would, nevertheless, have seemed appropriate to a fifteenth-century viewer, for there can be little doubt that the horrific image of the Jew as child-eater would have immediately brought to mind the

(Shrovetide plays). See Gudde, p. 84; and A. von Keller, 'Fastnachtspiele aus dem funfzehnten jahrhundert', *Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, xxx, 1853, pp. 115ff.

⁸⁰ Schramm, vol. xviii, no. 397; Fischer, pp. xviii and 60-72; Keller, p. 1301.

⁸¹ This trick upon the Jews is also attributed to that arch-prankster Til Eulenspiegel, in the illustrated edition prepared by Thomas Murner and printed by Gruninger at Strasbourg in 1515. See J. M. Lappenberg, *Dr. Thomas Murners Ulenspiegel*, Leipzig 1854; Frankl, p. 66. A later German edition of Til with more caricatured Jewish types was printed by Melcher Sachssen at Erfurt in

1532.

⁸² Klibansky *et al.*, pp. 134-7.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 131-2.

⁸⁴ With regard to the Jews this is evident in the legend of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel who were identified as those allies of the Anti-Christ Gog and Magog. Because of their evil ways they were said to have been imprisoned by Alexander the Great within the Caspian mountains, and remained there awaiting their day of freedom with the advent of the Anti-Christ. See Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millenium*, New York 1961, p. 63; and Andrew P. Anderson, *Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog and the Inclosed Nations*, Cambridge 1932, p. 81.

most serious and pernicious charge lodged against the Jews in this period, namely ritual murder. It was alleged that Jews periodically murdered Christian children in deliberate mockery of Christ's death and that the blood taken from these victims served various ceremonial purposes.⁸⁵ The bodies of the supposed victims were revered and cults established to perpetuate their memories and thereby propagate ever new anti-Semitic outbursts. By far the most important case was the ritual murder of 'Saint' Simon of Trent which occurred in the North Italian town in 1475.⁸⁶ Because of the almost instant beatification of the child and the wide dissemination of his story in numerous printed booklets, the case had reverberations throughout all of Europe.⁸⁷ The first illustrated history of the case appeared within the year at Trent⁸⁸ and two of its crude woodcuts depict the Jews first murdering the child and then celebrating their Passover ceremonies with his blood. Many individual broadsheets concentrated on the martyrdom⁸⁹ and one North Italian engraving (Pl. 9a)⁹⁰ is fascinating not only for the fantastic caricatures of the Jews stabbing the oversize boy but also because the Jewish badges contain the image of a pig.⁹¹

The case of Simon of Trent found a particularly receptive audience in Nuremberg. In the late 1470s the printer Friedrich Creussner published there an account illustrated with a large fold-out woodcut of the martyrdom

⁸⁵ See Trachtenberg, pp. 124ff; Baron, vol. xi, pp. 146-57; also H. L. Strack, *Das Blut im Glauben und Aberglauben der Menschheit*, Munich 1900 (and the English edition *The Jew and Human Sacrifice*, London 1909); Cecil Roth, *The Ritual Murder Libel and the Jews*, London 1935; and Morton Seiden, *The Paradox of Hate, A Study in Ritual Murder*, London 1967.

⁸⁶ The chief contemporary record of the supposed ritual murder and the resulting trial and execution of the Jews is a Latin manuscript in the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, no. 5360, and a contemporary chronicle account is given in F. J. Mone, *Quellensammlung der badischer Landesgeschichte*, Karlsruhe 1848, vol. i, pp. 514-16, no. 287. An account in a Jewish chronicle of the following century is Joseph ha Cohen's *Emek Habakha*. See *La Vallée de pleurs*, trans. by Julien See, Paris 1881, pp. 94-95. The case has most recently and extensively been studied by Pater W. P. Eckert through whose efforts the charge was finally condemned by the Vatican on 29 October 1965, the Jews cleared of guilt and the saint's cult disbanded. See 'Der Justizmord von Trient', *Theologisch-praktische Quartalschrift*, 1969, pp. 334ff; 'Beatus Simoninus — Aus der Akten des Trienter Judenprozesses', in *Judenhass—Schuld der Christen*, ed. Eckert and E. L. Ehrlich, Essen 1964, pp. 329-58; and 'Aus den Akten des Trienter Judenprozesses', *Judentum im Mittelalter in Miscellanea Mediaevalia*, vol. iv, ed. P. Wilpert,

Berlin 1966, pp. 283-336. See also Robert C. Doty in *The New York Times*, 1 Nov. 1965, p. 1; and Arthur Gilbert, *The Vatican Council and the Jews*, Cleveland 1968, pp. 194-5, 300.

⁸⁷ A German poem on the subject by Mathaus Kunig is given in R. von Liliencron, *Die historischen Volkslieder der Deutschen vom 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert*, 1866, vol. ii, pp. 13-20. The definitive version of Simon's story, the *Historia Completa* by Johannes Mathias Tubertinus, which first appeared in 1476 went through nearly a dozen different editions in Germany, Austria and Italy before the end of the century (Hain, nos. 7733, 15648-61). A Latin work *I duo libri Symonidis* written by Ubertinus Pusculus was published in 1511 at Augsburg. See Fritz Saxl, 'Pagan Sacrifice in the Italian Renaissance', this *Journal*, II, April 1939, pp. 365ff.

⁸⁸ *Geschichte des Zu Trient ermordeten Christuskind*, printed by Albertus Duderstadt von Eiksvelt (Schreiber 5257; Hain 7733); for its importance in the history of anti-Semitic propaganda see Lee M. Friedman, 'The First Printed Picture of a Jew', *Hebrew Union College Annual*, vol. xxiii, part ii, 1950, p. 176. Duderstadt's work was followed by one printed in Augsburg by Gunther Zainer (Schreiber 5258, Schramm, vol. ii, p. 15).

⁸⁹ Schreiber, nos. 1969, 1969a and 1970.

⁹⁰ Arthur M. Hind, *Early Italian Engravings*, New York 1938, vol. i, p. 55.

⁹¹ Shachar, p. 36, pl. 33b.

(Pl. 9b).⁹² When vividly hand-coloured, as in the impressions in Munich and Paris,⁹³ this work makes a powerful impact. The scene, as in the earlier book, is obviously conceived as a parody of Christ's crucifixion. Creussner's woodcut in turn was adopted as the model for the depiction of the event in the most popular German book of the fifteenth century, Hartmann Schedel's *Liber Chronicarum* (*Nuremberg Chronicle*), which was published by Anton Koberger in 1493.⁹⁴ A further indication of Simon of Trent's rapid acceptance is the inclusion of his story in the *Passional der Hylghen*, a German version of Jacob de Voragine's *Golden Legend* published by Steffan Arndes at Lubeck in 1492.⁹⁵

Peter Wagner was undoubtedly aware of the Simon of Trent case and these representations of it. By uniting this anti-Semitic propaganda and the concept of the malevolent Saturn he created a seemingly unique image which manages to encapsulate the mental attitude of an entire period. To the late Middle Ages only a Jew, the insatiable devourer of Christian blood, would be capable of the atrocity of infanticide and the only deity who would countenance it was Saturn. Wagner's woodcut is a remarkable instance of how a contemporary belief can transform an ancient image.

This transformation could evolve even further in popular imagery and folklore. At least this seems to be the implication of the imaginary character called either the *Kinderfresser* or *Kindlifresser*. This variety of ogre or bogymen eats children (usually recalcitrant ones),⁹⁶ and appears during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the festival floats of the Nuremberg Schembart carnival⁹⁷ and in various woodcuts⁹⁸ and broadsheets.⁹⁹ This wild, grotesque figure devouring the children he gathers in his sack is obviously an outgrowth of the child-eating Saturn, and it is, therefore, not surprising that what is perhaps the most famous representation of the *Kinderfresser*, a wooden sculp-

⁹² Schreiber 1967; Hain 15654; Schramm vol. xviii, p. 16; Arthur M. Hind, *An Introduction to a History of the Woodcut*, (orig. edn. 1935) reprint New York 1963, vol. i, pp. 368–369. Another edition of the Simon story printed by Creussner c. 1477 (Schreiber 5258a; Hain 15657) contains a woodcut showing Simon's miracle-working body placed on an altar approached by pilgrims.

⁹³ Georg Leidinger, *Einzel Holzschnitte des Funfzehnten Jahrhunderts in der Kgl. Hoff. und Staatsbibliothek Munchen*, Strasbourg 1907, vol. i, pp. 24–26, no. 45; and Henri Bouchot, *Les Deux Cents Incunables Xylographique de Department des Estampes Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris (nd), pl. 66.

⁹⁴ See Charles Ephrussi, *Etude sur la Chronique de Nuremberg*, Paris 1894, p. 52. Ellen Shaffer, *The Nuremberg Chronicle*, Los Angeles 1950, pp. 1–3. The Nuremberg Chronicle also included a depiction of the first recorded case of ritual murder, that of William of Norwich, and also a woodcut repeated three times showing Jews being burnt for a variety of crimes. See Liebe, ills. 15 and 16. A drawing of Simon of Trent's

martyrdom of c. 1515 at Copenhagen fairly certainly attributed to Schäußelein elaborates upon the Chronicle's woodcut. See Friedrich Winkler, *Die Zeichnungen Hans Süss von Kulmbach und Hans Leonard Schäußeleins*, Berlin 1942, pp. 154–5, no. 57.

⁹⁵ Schramm, vol. xi, fig. 866; *Monumenta Judaica*, Kat. B. 302; and Eckert, *Judenprozess*, p. 288.

⁹⁶ Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, vol. v, Leipzig 1873, cols. 736–7.

⁹⁷ See Karl Drescher, *Das Nürnbergsche Schönbartbuch*, Weimar 1908, p. 14, and ills. 50 and 240; and Samuel L. Sumberg, *The Nuremberg Schembart Carnival*, Columbia University Press 1941, pp. 151–3, 172, figs. 40 and 52 and, particularly interesting, fig. 23 which is a pig demon abducting a child.

⁹⁸ Examples are Hans Weiditz's *Der Kinderschreck* of c. 1520 (Geisberg no. 1520) and Lucas Cranach's *Der Werwolf* (Geisberg 619; Hollstein 107), which is a variant of the same theme.

⁹⁹ One such is Lorenz Schultes's *Der Kinderfresser*, Augsburg 1590. See Wäscher, pl. 13. A later example, as well as one found

ture of about 1545 surmounting the fountain in the Kornhausmarkt in Bern (Pl. 8c),¹⁰⁰ has often been regarded as anti-Semitic.¹⁰¹ It has been related to a case of ritual murder which occurred in 1294 and supposedly led to the Jews' expulsion from the city, but this story was not fully developed until the fifteenth century.¹⁰² An illustrated Swiss chronicle of the late fifteenth century depicts the scene of martyrdom (Pl. 9c)¹⁰³ in a manner similar to that employed in the engraving of Simon of Trent (Pl. 9a). Although there is a definite resemblance between the tall hat with overhanging brim worn by the Jew at the left of the Swiss miniature and that of the Bern *Kindlifresser*, the idea of erecting a statue of a Jewish *Kindlifresser* to commemorate this event seems somewhat subtle. Rather, it is likely that the conception of the Jews and Saturn, as embodied in Wagner's woodcut (Pl. 8b), to which the Bern sculpture also bears a strong resemblance, had simply become totally interchangeable in the popular imagination.

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in the work *Hans Hinderfür und die Buzenbrecht*, are illustrated in Hans Boesch, *Kinderleben in der deutschen Vergangenheit*, Leipzig 1900, pp. 87–88, ills. 101–2.

¹⁰⁰ Paul Hofer, *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Bern*, Basle 1952, vol. i, pp. 276–83. The connection between Kronos eating his children and the *Kinderfresser* of Bern has been noted by Hauber, p. 125.

¹⁰¹ Karl Howald, *Der Kindlifresser auf dem Kornhausplatz*, Bern 1847, pp. 23ff; and *Album des Litterarischen Vereins in Bern*, 1858, pp. 134–140; and Joseph Messinger, 'Berner Brunnen mit jüdischen Motiven', *Jüdisches Jahrbuch für die Schweiz*, Lucerne 1916–17, pp. 63–64; M. D. Hottinger, *The Stories of Basel, Bern, and*

Zürich, (orig. edn. 1933) reprint 1970, p. 214.

¹⁰² See G. Studer, *Die Berner-Chronik von Conrad Justinger*, Bern 1870, p. 29; M. Kayserling, 'Die Juden in Bern', *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 1864, p. 47.

¹⁰³ Diebold Schilling's *Chronicle for Rudolf von Erlach of Spiez*, 1484 in the Burgerbibliothek, Bern. Other depictions of the ritual murder of the boy Rudolph of Bern occur in Benedict Tschachtlan's *Berner Chronik* of 1470 in the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich and in Diebold Schilling's *Amtliche Berner Chronik* of 1478. See W. Muschg, *Die Schweizer Bildenchroniker*, Zurich 1941, pp. 166 and 173.



a—Detail of Pl. 5c (p. 19)



b—Destruction of the Jews. J. Virdung, *Prognosticon*, 1521 (p. 19)



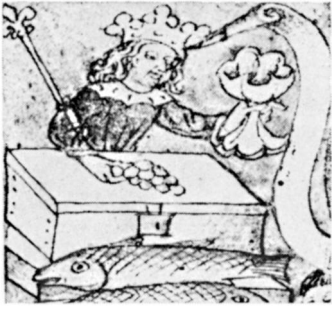
c—Hans Sebald Beham or Georg Pencz; *Children of Saturn* (pp. 19, 23n.)



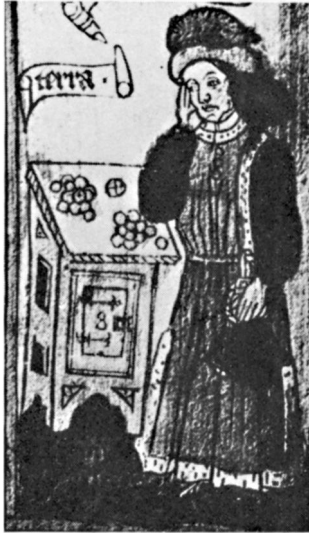
d—*Children of Saturn*. Vatican, MS Pal. lat. 1369, fol. 144^v (p. 20)



e—*Children of Saturn*. German, 1445. Cassel, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, I. 2° (pp. 19, 22)



a—*Children of Saturn*, detail; German, early 15th cent. Tübingen, Univ.-bibl., MS Md.2, fol. 267 (pp. 20f.)



b—*The Four Temperaments*, detail. German, mid-15th cent. (p. 20)



d—*Melancholics*. Augsburg Calendar, ca. 1480 (p. 21)



c—*Jewish Usurer and Family*. H. Folz, *Die Rechnung Kolberger . . .*, 1491 (p. 21)



e—*The Wheel of Fortune*. Martin van Landsberg's *Almanac*, 1490 (p. 21)



f—*Jewish Usurer with Family*. German, ca. 1475 (p. 21)



a—Christ among the Doctors. *Spiegel Menschlicher Behältnis*, 1476 (p. 21)



b—A Jew. J. Pfefferkorn, *Zu Lob und Ere*, 1510 (p. 22)



c—Jupiter and Saturn in the Sign of Scorpio. J. Lichtenberg, *Pronosticatio*, 1488 (p. 22)



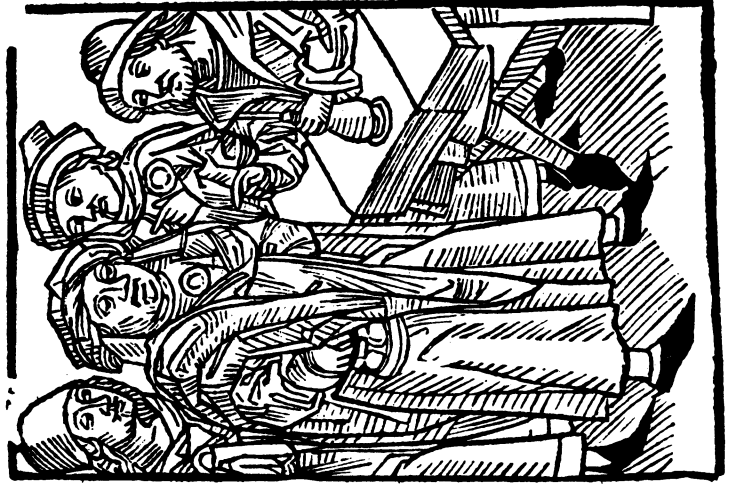
d—Hans Baldung Grien; *Four Planetary Deities*. *Die Welsch Gattung*, 1513 (p. 21)



e—Hans Leonhard Schöfflein, *Melancholics*. *De conservanda bona valetudine*, 1557 (p. 22)



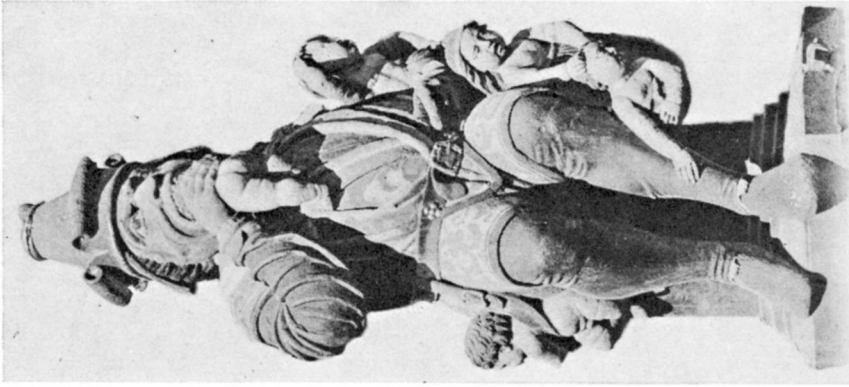
b—Saturn. Peter Wagner's Almanac, 1492 (pp. 23, 27)



a—Martin van Landsberg, Saturn. *Judicium Wenceslai*, 1972 (p. 23)



d—Title-page, *Der Juden Erbbarkeit*, 1571 (p. 22)

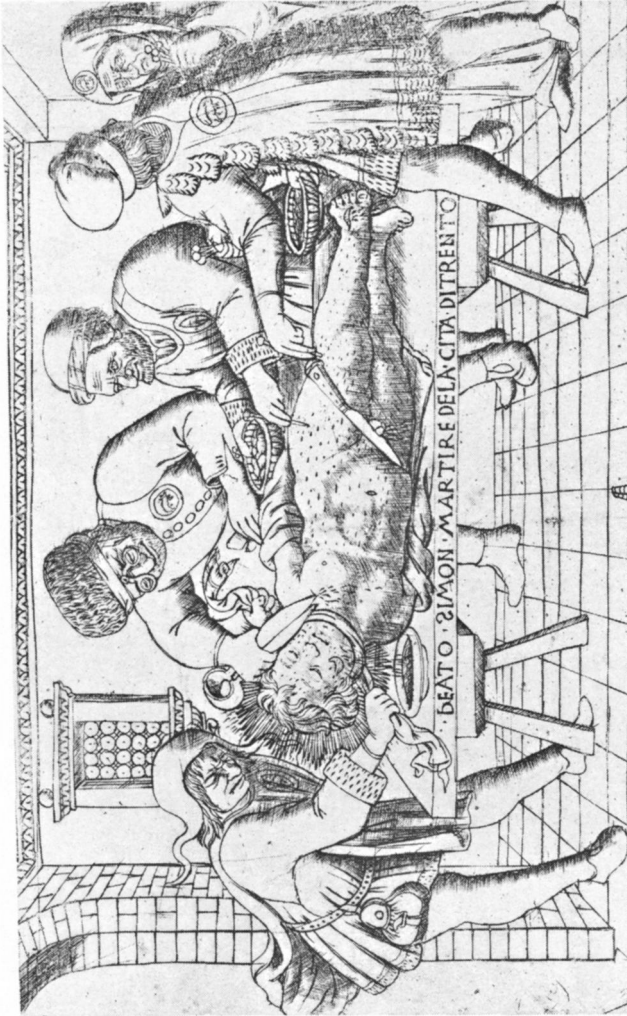


c—*Kindlifresser*. Bern, Kornhausplatz, fountain figure, ca. 1545 (p. 27)

e—Title-page, *Die Juden Erbbarkeit*, 1571 (p. 22)

e—Title-page, Hans Folz, *Die Wopfer*, ca. 1480 (p. 24)

a—Ritual Murder of Simon of Trent. North Italian, 1470s (pp. 25, 27)



b—Friedrich Creussner, *Ritual Murder of Simon of Trent*; late 1470s (p. 26)

c—*Ritual Murder at Bern*. Diebold Schilling, *Chronicle*, 1484. Bern, Bürgerbibl. (p. 27)

