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# A Court Jew's Silver Cup

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In 1917, J. Pierpont Morgan Jr. gave seven thousand works collected by his father to The Metropolitan Museum of Art.<sup>1</sup> Among those thousands is a covered silver-gilt cup that rests on a low, collared foot with gadrooning around its base (Figure 1).<sup>2</sup> Engraved cartouches appear above and below the collar. The cup proper is decorated with repoussé figures of the twelve sons of Jacob holding attributes that symbolize their eponymous tribes. They are arranged in the following order, reading from left to right according to the direction of the Hebrew inscriptions: Reuben, with a fountain; Joseph, an ox; Asher, a sheaf of wheat; Gad, a city and tree; Naphtali, a stag; Dan, a serpent; Benjamin, a wolf; Zevulun, a haven by the sea; Issachar, an ass; Juda[h], a lion's whelp; Levi, regalia of the High Priest; and Simeon, a sword. Jacob's sons are set within an arcade formed of cast and engraved elements. An engraved band above the arcade fills the space below the lip. Another band of gadrooning marks the edge of the cover. Above are engraved zodiac signs that circle the lid. Cast rococo elements (brackets, scrolls, and masks, plus a knob) form its handle. According to the marks on the base (Figure 2), the cup was made in Vienna in 1723 by the silversmith Joachim Michael Salecker (active 1723–52).<sup>3</sup> The cup is probably unique among the Morgan gifts for having originally been made for a Jewish patron, and it is also a link to the culture of the central European courts of the period and to the Jews who served their rulers.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the numerous courts that governed central Europe were centers of political activity, as the rulers and their subjects jockeyed for power and position according to their own needs and ambitions.<sup>4</sup> At the end of the Thirty Years War in 1648, these governments sought changes that would centralize their authority, create new political and administrative institutions, and in the process, shift power away from the nobility and the guilds. To achieve these ends, the monarchs of German-speaking lands welcomed members of religious minorities, who had been expelled from their countries in the sixteenth century and who were, as a result, indepen-

dent agents unrelated to the established sectors of society. Jews were attractive candidates for the new positions at court since they had developed versatile means of doing business and handling money and would be capable of furnishing economic and financial services at a time when existing economies and administrations were in need of modernization. Also, in an age characterized by nationalism, Jews possessed far-reaching, international contacts with other Jews. Samuel Oppenheimer (d. 1704), for example, organized an international network of more than one hundred suppliers who provisioned the Habsburg armies with items ranging from uniforms to horses.<sup>5</sup> He arranged loans to fill the empty imperial coffers by working with other court factors, with Jewish and Christian merchants, and with financiers as far away as London and Amsterdam. His distant relative Jud Süß Oppenheimer (d. 1738) was finance minister of Württemberg from 1734 to 1737, the only *Hofjude*, or Court Jew, to attain political office. Later in the century, Chaila Kaulla (1739–1809), mother of six and wife of full-time scholar Akiva Auerbach, became the first woman to serve as a court supplier in southern Germany. She was eventually appointed an army supplier to Duke Frederick III of Württemberg and, together with her brother Jakob and the duke, established the Königliche Württembergische Hofbank, which flourished until 1906. Jews like these, who achieved positions of influence (and affluence) at German courts, were officially designated *Hofjuden*.<sup>6</sup>

This paper focuses on another aspect of the court, the court as a locus of conspicuous consumption, particularly of art and jewels, and the role of Court Jews as dealers and patrons. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the period when Court Jews were significant in the economic life of central Europe, was also the period when great rulers as well as people of means collected art and natural specimens, which they displayed in *Kunstammern*, designated rooms or galleries.<sup>7</sup> The formation of a *Kunstammer* or *Wunderkammer* became an appropriate activity and a virtual necessity for the ruling class. A well-chosen collection of what could be found in nature or made by man was



1. Joachim Michael Salecker (active 1723–52). Covered cup of Behrend Lehmann. Vienna, 1723. Silver-gilt; H. 14 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (37.8 cm), Diam. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (16.5 cm). Maker's mark, city mark, and date on base. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.575a, b)

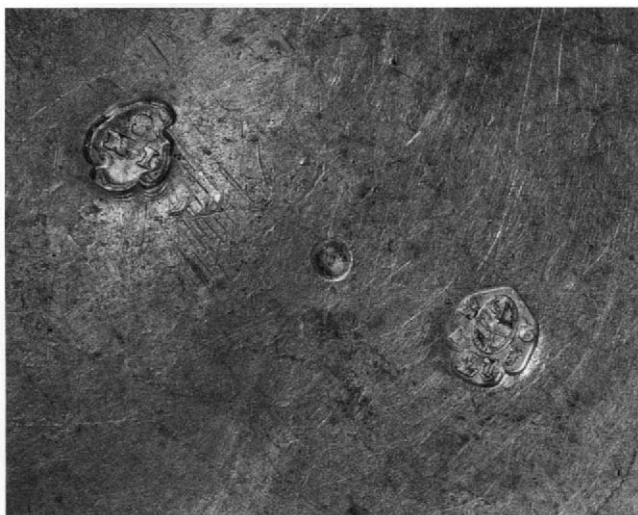
viewed as a microcosm of the greater world, the macrocosm.<sup>8</sup> The collector who was master of the microcosmic *Kunstkammer* was, by analogy, master of the macrocosm. Rulers used the display of their collections for educational purposes, but especially for political effect.<sup>9</sup>

Court Jews played various roles—dealers, artists, and patrons—in the formation of their rulers' collections. A portrait that Anton Schoonjans (1655–1726), court painter to Frederick III, elector of Brandenburg (r. 1688–1713), and, from 1701, to King Frederick I of Prussia, painted in Berlin during the years 1702–5 shows a well-dressed man proffering a ring (Figure 3). In the 1793 inventory of Charlottenburg Palace, erected by Frederick, the sitter is called a “Court Jew.”<sup>10</sup> An inventory of Jud Süß Oppenheimer's possessions after his removal from office as finance minister of Württemberg included thousands of paintings and prints, suggesting that he must have been dealing in art.<sup>11</sup> Among the Jewish artists who served European courts was Salomon Phillip Abraham (1758–1793), who carved cameos of Dowager Holy Roman Empress Maria Theresa and of her son Leopold II, despite the empress's notorious anti-Jewish sentiments,<sup>12</sup> an illustration of the ambiguous position of Court Jews. Jacob Abraham (1723–1800) and his son Abraham Abrahamson (1754–1811) were medalists for various rulers, Karl August of Saxony, King Frederick William II of Prussia, and Marie Antoinette, among others, during the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>13</sup>

Perhaps as a result of their role as dealers, Court Jews eventually became patrons, presenting gifts to their rulers as well as to important institutions within the Jewish communities to which they belonged. An early example of their patronage is grounded in the relationship between Mordecai Meisel (1528–1601) of Prague and Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II, who moved his capital from Vienna to Prague in 1583. Meisel financed various of the emperor's enterprises. He was also a dealer in works of art and a patron of architecture and art within the Jewish community, responsible for building and furnishing two synagogues and other Jewish communal buildings. In addition, Meisel donated funds toward building Saint Salvator Church, which was adjacent to the Jewish quarter. Given his prominence within the Jewish community and his relationship to the emperor, it is likely that Meisel had a role in commissioning the *Hoshen*, an amuletic work presented to the emperor by Prague Jewry about 1600 (Figure 4).<sup>14</sup> In the center of the obverse is a circular onyx engraved with a seven-branched menorah surrounded by a Hebrew prayer for the emperor's well-being. The prayer reads (in translation):

Rudolf, the Emperor: /Y[ou] a[re mighty] f[orever] my  
[lord] / God Almighty, show grace, strengthen, and  
bless / this emperor,<sup>15</sup> and may his grace and fe[ar] be  
over all his subject peoples<sup>16</sup> through the [help of





2. Detail of marks on the base of the cup in Figure 1



3. Anton Schoonjans (1655–1726). *Portrait of a Court Jew with a Ring*. 1702(?). Oil on canvas, 31 1/8 x 22 7/8 in. (79 x 58 cm). Stiftung Preussische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Potsdam (GK I 6067).

the]/holy angels: Hadarniel,/Gabriel and Nuriel. A[men] S[elah]./"B[lessed be His] g[lorious] s[overeign] n[ame] f[orever] and [ever]."<sup>17</sup>

Three concentric circles surround the menorah and the prayer for Rudolf on the onyx: one bears the names of twelve angels, one the twelve signs of the zodiac, and one the names of the twelve sons of Jacob. The enameled circle of zodiac signs lies between the monochromatic onyx and the bright colors of the precious and semiprecious stones that represent those of the original *Hoshen*, the breastplate of the High Priest, on which they symbolized the twelve tribes.<sup>18</sup> The composition of Rudolf's *Hoshen* stresses the relationship between the sons of Jacob, the tribes that descended from them, and the zodiac. For the donors, the menorah symbolized the Jerusalem Temple, the ancient center of Jewish worship; for Rudolf, the recipient, the menorah may have signified the Church as successor to the Synagogue. As early as the Ottonian period, the placement of large menorot in churches and cathedrals symbolized the triumph of the New Law, embodied in the Church, over the Old Law of the synagogue.<sup>19</sup> One such large menorah was installed in Prague's Saint Vitus's Cathedral during the twelfth century.<sup>20</sup> Walter Cahn has recently emphasized the presence of diagrams of the menorah in manuscripts of the *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi*, where they served as mnemonic devices summarizing the genealogy from Adam to Christ.<sup>21</sup> The choice of the menorah as the central symbol on the gift to Rudolf was masterful: it was a meaningful image both to the recipient, the Christian ruler of Prague, and to its Jewish donors. United in a single work,



4. *Hoshen*. Prague, ca. 1600. Onyx, emerald, ruby, sapphire, coral, black onyx, heliotrope, hyacinth, amethyst, agate, turquoise, carnelian, gold, with enamel, 2 5/8 x 2 1/4 in. (6.8 x 5.8 cm). Kunstkammer, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (XII.383)



5. Jonas Silber. *Weltallschale*. Nürnberg, 1589. Silver-gilt, H. 13½ in. (34.3 cm). Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin (K 3885)

the onyx and its colorful circle of stones resemble the carved cameos in polychrome frames that were produced in Rudolf's court during the same period, when works in precious stones were prized by the emperor.<sup>22</sup>

Hinged to the back of the *Hoshen* is a gold plate with enameled magical inscriptions organized around a pentagram enclosed in a hexagram. Both Latin and Hebrew letters accompany the diagrams, while the letters of the tetragrammaton and kabbalistic formulas form the inner border of a square framing the symbols; each of its corners is marked by a Greek cross. The inscriptions acknowledge Rudolf's interest in the occult,<sup>23</sup> while the signs, known as the Shield of David and the Shield of Solomon, associate him with the kings of Israel, a literary and artistic conceit common in the courts of Europe from the reign of Charlemagne. During the sixteenth century, the hexagram and the pentagram served both as signs of the Prague Jewish community and as messianic symbols during a period when the study of

mysticism (*kabbalah*) was expanding under the leadership of Rabbi Judah Loew ben Bezalel (1520–1609).<sup>24</sup> An enameled representation of Jesus as *Salvator Mundi* on the inner side of the hinged gold plate may be a later addition.<sup>25</sup>

A little more than a century later, in 1703, the Jews of Halberstadt gave their ruler, King Frederick I of Prussia, a gift that was said to have come from Rudolf II's *Kunstammer*. The gift marked a momentous year in the relationship between Frederick and his *Hofjude* Behrend Lehmann (1661–1730). In 1698 Lehmann had successfully petitioned Frederick, then Elector Frederick III of Brandenburg, for permission to open a *klaus*, an institution of higher learning to be staffed by four esteemed rabbinic scholars, but the building of the school was delayed until 1703.<sup>26</sup> The Court Jew had argued that without such an institution Jewish families would be forced to continue the practice of sending their sons to schools in Poland and elsewhere, causing an outflow of money from Prussia. The *klaus* complex consisted of a synagogue and a library that fronted on a garden, as well as a residence for the scholars and their families. In creating the Halberstadt *klaus*, Lehmann strengthened higher Jewish studies in the German lands and transformed Halberstadt into a center of Jewish scholarship. That same year, Lehmann petitioned Frederick to allow the Jews who were his subjects to continue reciting the *Aleinu* prayer, which was then under attack by Christians who objected to its negative reference to other faiths.<sup>27</sup> He was able to persuade Frederick that the Jews of Halberstadt did not recite the prayer in the odious manner practiced elsewhere, a fact cited in the king's decree allowing its continued recitation. Given the events of 1703, it is hardly surprising that in that year the Jews of Halberstadt gave Frederick a masterpiece of the goldsmiths' art, the *Weltallschale*, or bowl of the world, that had been made for Emperor Rudolf II by the silversmith Jonas Silber in 1589 to celebrate Rudolf's forthcoming marriage to Infanta Isabella of Spain, a marriage that never took place (Figure 5).<sup>28</sup> Behrend Lehmann, the leading member of the Jewish community and its principal supplicant in matters that came to Frederick's attention, must have played a major role in the presentation of this gem to the king of Prussia.

The theme of the bowl is the universe and the prospect of a revitalized Holy Roman Empire that would include the expanded Spanish territories. The base is engraved with the continents of Africa, Asia, and America (labeled *Hispania Nova*), on which stand three-dimensional figures of Adam and Eve accompanied by the animals of Eden. The Tree of Knowledge serves as the shaft and as the support for a model of the Temple in Jerusalem. On the underside of the bowl are the electors of the Habsburg empire, and within the bowl is a female figure representing Europe in the guise of the infanta. Twelve figures of actual and legendary Teutonic



kings dressed in antique garb and carrying shields with insignia surround a female figure personifying Germania on the underside of the cover (Figure 6), creating, together with the figures of the electors, a collective allegory of the German *Volck*. Beneath each king are his name and a cartouche enclosing a text. The signs of the zodiac appear on the top of the cover, from which rise two crossed arches supporting a triumphant Jesus enthroned on an orb with three small angels “flying” below (only one remains). In sum, the decoration of the bowl expresses the view that the newly strengthened Holy Roman Empire, forged by the proposed marriage between Rudolf and the infanta, would be based both on Christianity and on the legendary origins of the German people in the time of the Teutonic kings. Read vertically, the *Weltallschale* presents the non-Christian world of Africa, Asia, and America on the base; the period of the Old Law, on the stem; the Christian empire of the Habsburgs on the underside of the bowl; their domain, Europe, within the bowl; their predecessors, the Teutonic kings of Germania, on the inside of the cover, just below heaven represented by the zodiac and the regnant Jesus.<sup>29</sup>

Elaborate allegorical and hierarchically composed cups had appeared by the twelfth century, for example the Communion chalice of the Abbey Church of Saint Peter in Salzburg dating to about 1160–80.<sup>30</sup> Biblical figures surround the cup, and other figures are depicted on the foot. The paten covering both groups of figures is decorated with the New Testament subject of the Last Supper. Cups whose basins were decorated with figures of the Twelve Apostles had been made as early as the twelfth century and continued to be made in the seventeenth.<sup>31</sup>

These works form the artistic context of both the *Weltallschale* (Figure 5) and the Metropolitan Museum’s silver-gilt cup of 1723 (Figure 1), which is outstanding among similar cups for its Hebrew inscriptions. It bears three related iconographic themes: the sons of Jacob, the twelve tribes, and the zodiac, which repeat the iconographic themes of the *Hoshen* given to Rudolf II by the Jewish community of Prague about 1600 (Figure 4). The sons of Jacob appear around the exterior of the cup dressed in classical garb and holding shields with their insignia, the symbols of the tribes formed by their descendants. They resemble the Teutonic kings on the *Weltallschale*, who also wear antique garb and hold shields bearing their insignia, their names engraved below. On the cover, above Jacob’s sons, are the signs of the zodiac (Figure 7), in a position similar to those of the zodiac on the *Weltallschale* where they likewise signify heaven. The relationship between the sons of Jacob, the tribes, and the zodiac first appeared in Hebrew literature in the *Yalkut Shimoni*, a thirteenth-century compilation of biblical commentaries composed by Simeon of Frankfurt, known as the *darshan*, or preacher. The theme then appeared in medieval

prayer books for the Jewish holiday of *Sh’mini Azeret* but was later dropped from the liturgy.

On the Metropolitan Museum’s cup, each son with his attribute is individualized according to one of two biblical sources, the text of Jacob’s blessing (Genesis 49:2–27) or Moses’ blessing of the tribes descended from them (Deuteronomy 33:1–29). For example, Reuben, who is described by Jacob as “exceeding in rank... [but u]nstable as water,”<sup>32</sup> is a dignified bearded figure carrying a pitcher of water and holding a shield depicting a fountain. Judah,



6. Detail of the underside of the cover of the *Weltallschale* in Figure 5



7. Detail of the cover of the cup in Figure 1



8. Detail of the figures around the cup in Figure 1, showing Issachar (right), Judah (center), and Levi (left)



9. Detail of the figure of Gad on the cup in Figure 1



called by his father “a lion’s whelp,” has a lion on his shield and wears the pelt of a lion, in a manner similar to representations of Hercules in antique and later art (Figure 8, center). Jacob also said, “The scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor the ruler’s staff.” The figure of Judah accordingly holds a staff, and his dress and crown are patterned on representations of King David in contemporary manuscripts and printed books.<sup>33</sup> Levi, who was not counted among the twelve tribes, holds a shield bearing no symbol but wears the *Hoshen*, the breastplate with stones described in Exodus (28:15–30) as part of the regalia of the High Priest (Figure 8, left). One more example of the dependence of these depictions on biblical texts is Gad, who is radically different in pose and form from his brothers (Figure 9). Instead of standing as an erect, well-proportioned, noble figure, Gad sits, his fat, overblown form holding a shield, illustrating Moses’ words “Blessed be He who enlarges Gad” (Deuteronomy 33:20).

The artist or patron who determined the symbolism to accompany the figures of Jacob’s sons did so by choosing phrases from the blessing of Jacob or of Moses that could be rendered pictorially. Other details reflect engravings in contemporary Bibles and other texts, many printed under Christian auspices. The oriental headgear of the sons was often used as a mark of Jewish identity in printed sources.<sup>34</sup>

For whom was this cup made? Anomalies in the order of the sons and their Hebrew names lead us to the answer. The figures of Jacob’s sons are arranged neither in birth order nor in the order of the tribes as they marched in the wilderness. The specific placement of three of the figures suggests the reason for this apparently random positioning. These three are, from right to left, Issachar, “Juda,” and Levi (Figure 8). The Judeo-German spelling of Juda is in marked contrast to the biblical spelling of all the other sons’ names, suggesting that the names of these three brothers signal the name of the cup’s owner: Issachar [ben] Juda [ha]Levi, known in German as Behrend Lehmann.<sup>35</sup> The care with which all the iconographic and artistic elements of this cup were made (for example, the pairing of the sons of Jacob with the signs of the zodiac, a common theme in Jewish liturgical works since the thirteenth century), its cost, and the spelling of Juda preclude viewing the order of the sons as anything other than deliberate.

By the early eighteenth century, Lehmann was one of the three most powerful Court Jews of his time; the other two were Samson Wertheimer (1658–1724) and Leffmann Behrens (1634–1714). His career began in earnest in 1692, when he became a *Schutzjude*, or protected Jew,<sup>36</sup> of Elector Frederick III of Brandenburg. He also served Elector Frederick Augustus I of Saxony (r. 1694–1733), for whom he acquired the Polish crown in 1697, after raising ten million Polish gulden from both Christian and Jewish sources.

Augustus became known as Augustus II the Strong as a result of this coup, and Lehmann became his Polish Resident and was given leave to purchase towns and a castle in the region of Leszno in western Poland.

Whether the cup was a gift to Behrend Lehmann or whether he ordered it for himself has not been determined. The year the cup was made, 1723, saw the beginning of a period of grave problems for Lehmann's family. Residents of Dresden escalated their campaign to restrict the ability of Lehmann's son, Lehmann Behrend, to engage in trade, ultimately leading to financial difficulties for the father and to Lehmann Behrend's bankruptcy a year following the father's death.<sup>37</sup> So far, no singular event has been connected to the cup's commission. It may simply have been an offering of thanks from the Jews of Halberstadt to their most generous member in his sixty-second year. The community had a long tradition of acquiring fine silver. As early as 1679, the Benevolent Society of the community, which was then made up of only eighteen members and was responsible for sustaining the poor, acquired an extraordinarily beautiful engraved silver cup, described as half the height of a man.<sup>38</sup> It bore a Hebrew inscription in rhyme. In the early eighteenth century, the community acquired a silver-gilt cup from a Berlin silversmith, for which a local artist made a silver cover. And in 1703, the Halberstadt Jewry acquired the *Weltallschale* belonging to Rudolf II to present to Frederick I. The *Weltallschale* may have been one of the models for the iconography of the Metropolitan's covered cup with its Hebrew inscriptions. Even after its presentation to Frederick, the *Weltallschale* could be seen in his *Kunst-kammer* by Court Jews who visited the palace. Lehmann was the foremost patron of his community.<sup>39</sup> What more worthy gift to the man who built their communal institutions, who transformed Halberstadt into a center of Jewish scholarship, who served as a community functionary, and whose business interests reached throughout Habsburg Europe and beyond could there be than a superbly crafted cup made of precious metal in a design based on imperial art, on the *Weltallschale*?

There is also a possibility that Court Jews exchanged gifts with one another. In 1711, the Halberstadt silversmith T. Tübener (active 1692–1728) produced four splendid Hanukkah lamps of a novel design.<sup>40</sup> Their arcaded backplates enclose engraved blessings and hymns that are recited on lighting the candles. Two of the lamps, one in the Jewish Museum, New York (Figure 10), and a second in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, are crowned by a pair of lions and have bears flanking the central emblem, the double-headed eagle of the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>41</sup> The prominence of the bears on two of the lamps suggests a connection to Behrend Lehmann, who adopted the bear as a symbol on his coat of arms, devised at least by 1696, when it appeared on the



frontispiece of the volumes of Talmud whose printing he sponsored.<sup>42</sup> Another of the four lamps, one without the animals, descended in the family of Imperial Court Factor Samson Wertheimer.<sup>43</sup> Wertheimer was Court Jew to three emperors: Leopold I, Joseph I, and Charles VI. He lived and worked in Vienna, a more prominent center of silversmithing than Halberstadt, which suggests that his having a Hanukkah lamp made by a Halberstadt silversmith was the result of a gift. It may even have been a gift from Behrend Lehmann.<sup>44</sup> At the time the lamps were made, there was one other Court Jew of the stature of Wertheimer and Lehmann, Leffmann Behrens of Hannover. If Lehmann commissioned the four Hanukkah lamps, the two with bears would have been appropriate for a member of his family and himself, while those without such personal symbols could have been gifts for colleagues and business partners. Similarly, the cup now in the Metropolitan made by a Viennese silversmith in 1723 could have been a gift to Behrend Lehmann from Wertheimer or another Court Jew resident in Vienna, such as Herz Lehmann, Behrend's brother.

A gift of fine silver would have been appropriate for Lehmann, who was a connoisseur of materials and workmanship. When building Halberstadt's new synagogue between 1709 and 1712, he imported twelve marble columns from Russia, some of which flanked the Torah ark. These columns were overlaid with spiraling silver-gilt vines,

10. T. Tübener (active 1692–1728). Hanukkah lamp. Halberstadt, 1711. Silver worked with repoussé, engraving, chasing, punching, appliqué, parcel-gilding, and casting; 11 3/4 x 11 1/2 x 3 1/4 in. (29.7 x 29.2 x 8.3 cm). Jewish Museum, New York, Gift of Samuel Lemberg (JM 27-53)

and a silver-gilt bunch of grapes weighing a hundred pounds hung from the cupola of the ark. At the inauguration of the synagogue, Lehmann donated a Torah scroll with gold ornaments: a shield, finials, and a pointer. Extant black-and-white photographs of two curtains for the Torah ark that Lehmann donated in 1709 and 1720 give but pale testimony to the magnificence of his gifts to his synagogue, for according to the community's *Memorbuch* detailing the donations, they were woven of gilt threads.

Many Court Jews procured art and jewels for their noble patrons. But Lehmann's chief patrons, Frederick I of Prussia and Augustus the Strong of Saxony, were owners of outstanding *Kunstkammern*.<sup>45</sup> Augustus was not only a passionate collector, he also promoted the arts by establishing the Meissen porcelain manufactory (in 1710) and other workshops to produce fine furniture, glass, and silver tableware. Augustus was one of the first to abandon the concept of the *Wunderkammer*, or mixed *Kunstkammer*, with its mélange of natural specimens and art that was common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He established separate galleries in his palace in Dresden each devoted to a single art form: paintings, prints and drawings, sculpture, silver.<sup>46</sup> Through his association with Frederick I and Augustus, Lehmann was exposed to the most sophisticated thinking about art of his day and to two of the most outstanding European collections. It was therefore appropriate that he be the owner of a work of fine Viennese silver, one with a sophisticated iconographic theme that echoes important earlier works.

Lehmann's cup belonged previously to two major collectors of works of art. J. Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913) often purchased whole collections from others rather than forming his own in a slower, incremental way. One of his wholesale purchases was the collection of silver plate, including the covered cup, formed by the banker Eugene Gutmann (1840–1925), who established the Dresdner Bank and then headed its office in Berlin.<sup>47</sup> In a letter to J. and S. Goldschmidt Antiquitäten, dated April 23, 1902, Gutmann wrote that he had collected the works over a period of thirty years but was now forced to sell owing to family difficulties.<sup>48</sup> The Goldschmidt firm served as the intermediary between Gutmann and Morgan, and it described the Gutmann collection in a letter to Morgan, dated May 2, 1902, as the "most beautiful of its kind on the continent" and "consisting of only first-class art objects." Four years after Morgan's death, the Behrend Lehmann cup became part of the Metropolitan Museum's small collection of Judaica.

## NOTES

I thank Clare Vincent of the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, who constantly encouraged me to complete this study.

1. On the gift of J. Pierpont Morgan's collection to the Metropolitan Museum in 1917, see, for example, Jean Strouse, "J. Pierpont Morgan, Financier and Collector," *MMAB* 57, no. 3 (Winter 2000).
2. Selected references for the cup: J. Starkie Gardner, *Old Silver-Work, Chiefly English from the XVth to the XVIIIth Centuries: A Catalogue of the Unique Loan Collection Exhibited in 1902 . . .*, exh. cat., St. James's Court, London (London and New York, 1903), pp. 16, 104, pl. xii; E. Alfred Jones, *Catalogue of the Gutmann Collection of Plate now the Property of J. Pierpont Morgan, Esquire* (London, 1907), p. 41, pl. xliii; Irene Winter with assistance of Stephanie Rachum, *Ingathering: Ceremony and Tradition in New York Public Collections*, exh. cat., The Jewish Museum, New York (New York, 1968), no. 109; Vivian B. Mann and Richard I. Cohen, eds., *From Court Jews to the Rothschilds: Art, Patronage, and Power, 1600–1800*, exh. cat., Jewish Museum, New York (Munich and New York, 1996), pp. 186–87, no. 132.
3. The maker's hallmark was correctly interpreted for the first time in Mann and Cohen, *From Court Jews to the Rothschilds*, pp. 186–87, no. 132. A capital R, apparently a mark of ownership, is engraved on the cup and cover. On Salecker, see Viktor Reitzner, *Alt-Wien-Lexikon für österreichische und süddeutsche Kunst und Kunstgewerbe*, vol. 3, *Edelmetalle und deren Punzen* (Vienna, 1952), p. 171, no. 552.
4. This discussion is based on Mann and Cohen, *From Court Jews to the Rothschilds*, passim, and the sources cited in note 6 below.
5. Michael Gaetz, "Court Jews in Economics and Politics," in Mann and Cohen, *From Court Jews to the Rothschilds*, p. 37.
6. Selected references concerning Court Jews: Selma Stern, *The Court Jew: A Contribution to the History of the Period of Absolutism in Central Europe*, trans. from German by Ralph Weiman (Philadelphia, 1950), trans. to German, annotated, and ed. by Marina Sassenberg, as *Der Hofjude im Zeitalter des Absolutismus: Ein Beitrag zur europäischen Geschichte im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 2001); Heinrich Schnee, *Die Hoffinanz und der moderne Staat*, 6 vols. (Berlin, 1953–67); Selma Stern and Max Kreutzberger, *Die preussische Staat und die Juden*, 4 vols. in 8 (Tübingen, 1962–71).
7. On the *Kunstkammer* in central Europe, see Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister, and City: The Art and Culture of Central Europe, 1450–1800* (Chicago, 1995), pp. 167–83.
8. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, "Remarks on the Collections of Rudolf II: The *Kunstkammer* as a Form of Representation," *Art Journal* 38, no. 1 (Autumn 1978), p. 24.
9. Joachim Menzhausen, "Five Centuries of Art Collecting in Dresden," in *The Splendor of Dresden: Five Centuries of Art Collecting*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; MMA, New York; Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco (New York, 1978), pp. 19–22.
10. The inventory entry suggests the sitter's identity as "der hof Jude zu hannover Liebmann Behrends (?)," i.e., Behrend Lehmann, who was in close contact with the Berlin court. That the subject is clean-shaven, signifying a relaxation of traditional Jewish piety, however, is inconsistent with Lehmann's devotion to Jewish law, and the identity of the sitter remains uncertain. See Cohen in



- Mann and Cohen, *From Court Jews to the Rothschilds*, p. 191, no. 144, with bibliography.
11. In addition to paintings, Jud Süß owned 4,256 prints, according to "Süss-Oppenheimerische Inventar-Deputation zu Stuttgart," 1737–51, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, Cod. hist. 2° 1022. This copy of the inventory contains details not included in other versions. See Cohen in Mann and Cohen, *From Court Jews to the Rothschilds*, pp. 151–52, no. 49; Selma Stern, *Jud Süß: Ein Beitrag zur deutschen und zur jüdischen Geschichte* (Berlin, 1929; Munich, 1973), pp. 288–303 (partial listing of the inventory in modern German); Cornelia Foerster, "Inventar der Wohnung Joseph Süß Oppenheimers," in *Siehe der Stein schreit aus der Mauer: Geschichte und Kultur der Juden in Bayern*, ed. Bernward Deneke, exh. cat., Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg (Nürnberg, 1988), p. 285.
  12. For instances of Maria Theresa's anti-Jewishness, see Graetz, "Court Jews in Economics and Politics," p. 39; Cohen and Mann, "Melding Worlds: Court Jews and the Arts of the Baroque," in Mann and Cohen, *From Court Jews to the Rothschilds*, pp. 114–15; Cohen in Mann and Cohen, *From Court Jews to the Rothschilds*, pp. 142, 224, nos. 19, 224.
  13. See Mann in Mann and Cohen, *From Court Jews to the Rothschilds*, pp. 144–46, nos. 23–27, 30, 31. For other examples, see Tassilo Hoffmann, *Jacob Abraham und Abraham Abramson: 55 Jahre Berliner Medaillenkunst, 1755–1810* (Frankfurt am Main, 1927).
  14. The word *Hoshen* alludes to the breastplate worn by the High Priest in the Jerusalem Temple. On that, however, the twelve stones were arranged in four rows (Exodus 28:17), not in a circle as here. See Mann and Cohen in Mann and Cohen, *From Court Jews to the Rothschilds*, p. 181, no. 115, with bibliography.
  15. Literally, the emperor named above.
  16. The second part of this sentence is a variant on Psalm 47:4.
  17. The last line is part of the prayer "Hear O Israel" (*Shema*), where it refers to God. It is taken from Mishnah Yoma 3:8.
  18. The stones on Rudolf's *Hoshen* are emerald, brown amethyst, ruby, sapphire, coral, black onyx, heliotrope, hyacinth, amethyst, agate, turquoise, and carnelian. The exact identification of the stones on the original *Hoshen* of the High Priest is uncertain.
  19. Peter Bloch, "Siebenarmige Leuchter in christlichen Kirchen," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 23 (1961), pp. 55–190.
  20. *Ibid.*, pp. 135–40.
  21. Walter Cahn, "The Allegorical Menorah," in *Tributes in Honor of James H. Marrow: Studies in Painting and Manuscript Illumination of the Late Middle Ages and Northern Renaissance*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne S. Korteweg (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 117–26.
  22. For examples of framed cameos, see *Prag um 1600: Kunst und Kultur am Hofe Kaiser Rudolfs II*, exh. cat., Kulturstiftung Ruhr, Villa Hügel, Essen (Freren, 1988), vol. 1, p. 468, no. 338, pl. 70/2, and p. 475, no. 351, pl. 70/4. On Rudolf's preference for works in precious stones, see Eliška Fučíková, "Prague Castle under Rudolf II, His Predecessors and Successors, 1530–1648," in *Rudolf II and Prague: The Court and the City*, ed. Eliška Fučíková et al. (Prague and London, 1997), pp. 24–25.
  23. On Rudolf's interest in the occult, see György E. Szönyi, "Scientific and Magical Humanism at the Court of Rudolf II," in *Rudolf II and Prague*, pp. 223–30.
  24. By 1625, the hexagram had become the exclusive symbol of the Prague Jewish community. As the Shield of David, the hexagram also represented messianic beliefs since, in Jewish lore, the messiah will stem from the house of David. In Prague, the symbol appeared on synagogue banners and tombstones beginning in 1529. See Alexander Putík, "The Origin of the Symbols of the Prague Jewish Town. The Banner of the Old-New Synagogue. David's Shield and the 'Swedish Hat,'" *Judaica Bohemiae* 29, nos. 1–2 (1993), pp. 4–37 (especially pp. 30–37), pls. A1–A14.
  25. Jana Doleželová in *Prag um 1600*, vol. 1, p. 603, no. 505, pl. 70/3.
  26. Pierre Saville, *Le Juif de Cour: Histoire du résident royal Berend Lehman (1661–1730)* (Paris, 1970), pp. 121–23, with quotations from Lehmann's petitions translated into French.
  27. The main theme of the *Aleinu* prayer is the kingdom of God. One of its passages refers to those who "prostrate themselves before vanity and emptiness and pray to a God who does not save." Medieval Christians interpreted this phrase as a reference to Jesus, despite the fact that the *Aleinu* was probably written before the rise of Christianity, perhaps in Babylonia. As late as the eighteenth century, rulers such as Frederick forbade recitation of the prayer, and church censors ordered the passage deleted from Hebrew prayer books. See *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem, 1971), vol. 2, cols. 555–59.
  28. Franz Adrian Dreier in *Die Brandenburgisch-Preussische Kunstkammer: Eine Auswahl aus den alten Beständen*, ed. Josephine Hildebrand and Christian Theuerkauff (Berlin, 1981), pp. 114–17, no. 41; Franz Adrian Dreier, *Die Weltallschale Kaiser Rudolfs II*, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin, pamphlet 1441 (Berlin, n.d.), with bibliography.
  29. Other gifts from grateful Court Jews or their communities are known from documents, as well as a few extant examples. An elaborate seventeenth-century *Nef*, a drinking vessel in the form of a ship, was given by the Court Jew Veitel David to Landgrave Friedrich II of Hesse. The ship was the type used in trade with the Levant, the sailors are depicted wearing Ottoman dress, and a pennant with a crescent moon is attached to the mast, details that represent the Levantine trade that was one of Veitel David's major economic activities. The 1786 inventory of the Hessian *Kunstkammer* lists the *Nef*, as well as a second gift from David, a green glass bearing the coat of arms of the imperial Diet, which does not seem to have survived. See Mann in Mann and Cohen, *From Court Jews to Rothschilds*, p. 184, no. 126.
  30. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, *Katalog der Sammlung für Plastik und Kunstgewerbe*, vol. 1, *Mittelalter* (Vienna, 1964– ), no. 70, pl. 7. Another example is the *Siebenbrüderkelch*, or Seven Brothers' chalice, from Swabia (Kathedral Kirchenstiftung, Ottobeuren), which features martyrs on the foot, the signs of the Evangelists on the stem, and the Twelve Apostles framed by an arcade on the outside of the cup; Reiner Hausscherr, ed., *Die Zeit der Stauer: Geschichte — Kunst — Kultur*, exh. cat., Altes Schloss und Kunstgebäude Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum (Stuttgart Cannstatt, 1977), vol. 1, pp. 470–71, no. 596, vol. 2, fig. 411.
  31. For example, see the *Siebenbrüderkelch*, Swabia, ca. 1220, mentioned in note 30 above, and the *Apostelkrug*, or Apostles' tankard, ca. 1670/80 (Tragheimer Kirche, Königsberg). For the latter, see Eugen von Czihak, *Die Edelschmiedekunst früherer Zeiten in Preussen*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1903), p. 84, no. 157, pl. 19.
  32. The biblical quotations in this article are from the Jewish Publication Society's *Tanakh: A New Translation of the Holy Scriptures According to the Traditional Hebrew Text* (Philadelphia, 1985).
  33. For a sampling of similar figures of a crowned David with his harp in both manuscripts and printed books of the eighteenth century, see Iris Fishof, *Jüdische Buchmalerei in Hamburg und Altona: Zur Geschichte der Illumination hebräischer Handschriften im 18. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg, 1999), p. 54, fig. 16, p. 93, fig. 45, p. 204, fig. 130. Most relevant is the figure of David on the frontispiece to the Talmud, whose printing was sponsored by Behrend Lehmann

- in 1696; Mann and Cohen, *From Court Jews to the Rothschilds*, p. 122, pl. 92.
34. For example, Heimo Reinitzer, *Biblia deutsch: Luthers Bibelübersetzung und ihre Tradition*, exh. cat., Zeughaushalle der Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, and Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg (Wolfenbüttel and Hamburg, 1983), p. 118.
  35. In the *Memorbuch* of the Halberstadt Klaus, Lehmann's Hebrew name is written the same way, but with the addition of his and his father's second names: "Issachar Berman son of Rabbi Juda Lima"; B. H. Auerbach, *Geschichte der israelitischen Gemeinde Halberstadt: Nebst einem Anhang ungedruckter, die Literatur, wie die religiösen und politischen Verhältnisse der Juden in Deutschland in den letzten zwei Jahrhunderte betreffender Briefe und Urkunden* (Halberstadt, 1866), p. 81.
  36. A *Schutzjude* was a Jew who purchased a letter of protection from a ruler, thereby becoming his or her subject. The *Schutzjude* was granted specific rights such as trading privileges, and these had to be repurchased at regular intervals.
  37. Saville, *Juif de Cour*, pp. 244–47. See also Auerbach, *Geschichte der israelitischen Gemeinde Halberstadt*, pp. 82–85.
  38. Auerbach, *Geschichte der israelitischen Gemeinde Halberstadt*, p. 39.
  39. Among Lehmann's other cultural achievements was printing five thousand sets of the Talmud, the first edition in three hundred years (see note 33 above). He also donated large sums to charity and served as the community's *mohel*, or circumciser.
  40. For two of the lamps, see Susan L. Braunstein, *Five Centuries of Hanukkah Lamps from the Jewish Museum: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New York and New Haven, 2004), p. 68, no. 14, p. 237, no. 163. For the Wertheimer lamp, see Sotheby's, New York, sale cat., December 13, 2006, lot 53. The fourth lamp, in the Israel Museum, is published in Karl Katz, P. P. Kahane, and Magen Broshi, *From the Beginning: Archaeology and Art in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem* ([Clifton, N.J.], 1968), no. 155.
  41. One of the lamps in the Jewish Museum (Braunstein, *Five Centuries of Hanukkah Lamps*, no. 14) bears a plaque and ribbon with a Latin motto instead of the imperial symbol found on the other three examples of the group. The lesser quality of the silver and the uniqueness of this element indicate that it is probably a later addition.
  42. The incident with a bear that led Lehmann to adopt it as his personal symbol is recounted in Auerbach, *Geschichte der israelitischen Gemeinde Halberstadt*, pp. 49–50. For the frontispiece in the Talmud, see note 33 above.
  43. The provenance of the Wertheimer lamp is recorded in a letter dated February 19, 1929, from Dr. Michael Berolzheimer, *Hofrat*, or privy counselor, to Dr. Theodor Harburger (1887–1949), a Munich art historian. A microfilm of their correspondence is in the Leo Baeck Institute Archives, New York, Michael Berolzheimer Collection (microform) 1925–45, MF550. I thank Dr. Bernhard Purin of Munich for telling me of the letters' existence.  
Dr. Harburger spent years recording Jewish monuments and art in Bavaria and escaped from Germany to Palestine in 1933 with his records and photographs. These have been published as Theodor Harburger, *Die Inventarisierung jüdischer Kunst- und Kulturdenkmäler in Bayern*, 3 vols. (Jerusalem and Fürth, 1998). None of the four related Hanukkah lamps is included in this publication of Harburger's inventory.
  44. Berolzheimer suggested in a letter dated January 27, 1929, that Wertheimer may have acquired the Hanukkah lamp in Frankfurt in 1711, when he attended the coronation of Emperor Charles VI, a supposition that would have required that the Halberstadt silversmith Tübener was in Frankfurt at the same time. Harburger responded affirmatively to Berolzheimer's suggestion in a letter to Dr. Oppler of Hannover, the last prewar owner of the Wertheimer lamp. Leo Baeck Institute Archives, New York, Michael Berolzheimer Collection (microform) 1925–45, MF550, reel.
  45. On the history of Frederick's *Kunstammer*, see Hildebrand and Theuerkauff, *Brandenburgisch-Preussische Kunstammer*, especially Christian Theuerkauff, "Zur Geschichte der Brandenburgisch-Preussischen Kunstammer bis gegen 1800," pp. 13–33. For the Saxon *Kunstammer*, see, for example, *Splendor of Dresden*.
  46. *Splendor of Dresden*, pp. 22–23.
  47. On Gutmann, see Siegmund Kaznelson, *Juden im deutschen Kulturbereich: Ein Sammelwerk*, 2nd ed., rev. and enl. (Berlin, 1959), pp. 743–45. On his collection of silver, see Jones, *Catalogue of the Gutmann Collection of Plate*. That Morgan had acquired the Gutmann collection by 1902 is indicated by the covered cup's exhibition that year as the property of Morgan; Gardner, *Old Silver-Work*, no. 103, pl. xii.
  48. The letters from the Goldschmidt firm to Morgan of April 23, 1902, and of May 2, 1902, are in the Pierpont Morgan Library Archives, New York, Morgan Collections Correspondence 1887–1948, G Goldschmidt J S 1902.