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OBSERVATIONS ON THE BIBLICAL MINIATURES IN SPANISH *HAGGADOT*

Abstract

This essay discusses the last two centuries of medieval Spanish art, and demonstrates that cooperative relations existed between Christians and Jews who worked either independently or together to create art both for the Church and the Jewish community. Artists of different faiths worked together in ateliers such as that headed by Ferrer Bassa (d. 1348), producing both retablos (altarpieces) as well as Latin and Hebrew manuscripts.

The work of such mixed ateliers is of great significance when considering the genesis ca. 1300 of illuminated haggadot with prefatory biblical cycles and genre scenes that were produced in Spain until ca. 1360. These service books for Passover have always been viewed as a unique phenomenon within the Jewish art of Spain, their origins inexplicable. When the biblical scenes, however, are viewed in the context of contemporaneous Spanish art for the Church, their sources become more transparent.

We now know that the haggadah, the service book for the Passover seder, became an independent codex—no longer always attached to a prayer book—around the year 1000.¹ Three centuries later, it was transformed again. In this second reformulation, which took place in both Ashkenaz and Spain, the haggadah became a lavishly illuminated manuscript. This paper concentrates on the Spanish examples produced during the fourteenth century, largely in Barcelona and the region surrounding it. These *haggadot* were decorated with text illustrations, such as the Drinking of the Four Cups of Wine, and with the symbols of ritual foods like the matzah and bitter herbs,² and were often furnished with prefatory biblical scenes that range from the Creation to the Death of Moses, and with genre scenes showing preparations for the Passover holiday as well as

the seder itself. Illuminated borders and word panels completed the program of illumination.

In all, there remain some seven *haggadot* from Spain produced from ca. 1300 to ca. 1360 in the Crown of Aragon and Castile in which biblical miniatures precede the text of the haggadah. In an additional example, the Barcelona Haggadah (British Library, Add. 14761), the biblical scenes serve as text illustrations.³ The number and contents of these illustrations are not uniform. The Hispano-Moresque Haggadah (British Library, Or. 2737), the Rylands (Rylands Library, JRL Heb. 6), and its related brother manuscript (British Library, Or. 1404) adhere most closely to the text of the haggadah since their miniatures are based solely on the book of Exodus, while the illustrations in the Sarajevo Haggadah (Sarajevo, National Museum), as well as the Golden Haggadah (British Library, Add. 27010) and its sister manuscript (British Library, Or. 8448) begin with the Creation described in Genesis. The most extensive biblical cycle is in the Sarajevo Haggadah; it begins with Creation and ends with the Death of Moses. Two *haggadot* with a limited number of biblical illustrations, the Prato (Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, Mic. 9478) and a partial manuscript in Bologna (Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 2559)⁴ are related iconographically to the illuminations of the Sarajevo Haggadah. There may have been similar manuscripts that were lost in the upheaval of the Expulsion from Spain in 1492 or the Expulsion from Portugal in 1496/7 (where Spanish Jews had found a temporary refuge). Manuscripts were virtually the only artistic genre

¹ For the earliest *haggadot* manuscripts, see Jay Rovner, “An Early Passover Hagaddah according to the Palestinian Rite,” *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 3–4 (2000): 337–96. I want to thank Dr. Rovner for answering my questions pertaining to the earliest *haggadot*.

² Representations of the symbolic foods eaten at the seder appear in eleventh-century *haggadot*, but are isolated illustrations. For examples, see David Kaufmann, “Notes to the Egyptian

Fragments of the Haggadah,” *Jewish Quarterly Review* 10 (1898): 381.

³ Bezalel Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Isles*, vol. 1, *Spanish and Portuguese Manuscripts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), figs. 230–235, 239.

⁴ The second half of the Bologna manuscript is in Modena (Biblioteca Estense, cod. A–K. 1-22-Or. 92). This haggadah is part of a *mahzor*, a prayer book for holy days.

that the Jews of Spain were allowed to carry with them into exile.⁵ All works in precious metals were confiscated; even synagogue textiles woven or embroidered with silver and gold were seized and burned to extract their bullion.⁶

Popular literature, like the recent novel recounting a “history” of the Sarajevo Haggadah,⁷ has made the public aware that medieval manuscripts may suddenly appear. Those made for private use are generally small works of art. The reappearance of the Sarajevo Haggadah in the nineteenth century, brought to Hebrew school by a young boy, inspired the writing of the first monograph on Jewish art in 1898 by the eminent art historians David Heinrich Müller and Julius von Schlosser, with an additional essay by the collector and bibliophile David Kaufmann.⁸ Their study was the first to consider a work of Jewish art from an art historical perspective, although the text was not devoid of the prejudices of its writers.⁹ Since the Sarajevo Haggadah became known, there have been no other “miraculous” discoveries of hitherto unknown illuminated Sephardi manuscripts. Recently, Spanish and Italian conservators have begun the painstaking process of retrieving lost pages by exploring book bindings made of folios of medieval Hebrew manuscripts. These investigations have yielded some illuminated pages and marginalia, although not entire manuscripts.¹⁰ To understand the biblical miniatures in the Spanish *haggadot*, we are confined to seven fourteenth-century manuscripts and to works related to them.

The major question treated in previous literature is the identification of “related works,” whose study would allow an understanding of the sudden appear-

ance of richly illuminated *haggadot* ca. 1300 with their extensive cycles of biblical and genre scenes. One would expect such lavishly decorated manuscripts to be preceded by tentative experiments with only a few miniatures, but that is not the case. The illuminated *haggadot* from fourteenth-century Spain appear complete with three types of miniatures and text decoration, as if “sprung full-blown from the head of Olympian Zeus.”¹¹ Art historians have given various explanations to the sudden appearance of this new type of manuscript. One approach emphasizes the fact that the biblical and genre miniatures of the *haggadot* precede the text and are not integrated with it, as is also the case with Books of Hours and Psalms, or manuscripts that contain both Hours and Psalms.¹² Although the placement of the miniatures in both the *haggadot* and the Latin prayer books is the same, and the latter may have inspired the positioning of the former, their content is very different. The prefatory biblical scenes in Books of Hours and Psalms also include individualized subjects according to the history and religious preferences of the patron or recipient, while the themes of the *haggadot* illustrations are universal. In Spain, a Book of Hours was written for Ferdinand I of León and Castile in the eleventh century that included prefatory miniatures (Santiago de Compostela, University Library, Res.1). Ferrer Bassa (d. 1348), head of an atelier that produced Latin texts as well as Hebrew books—such as Maimonides’ *Guide for the Perplexed* (Copenhagen, Koniglege Bibliothek, Hebr. XXXVII) and a medical treatise in Hebrew (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Hébreu 1203)¹³—created a Book of Hours for Mary of Navarre, wife of Pedro IV, between 1338 and 1342. Ferrer was also responsible for

⁵ The number of manuscripts carried into exile is a matter of dispute among scholars. Gabrielle Sed-Rajna noted that very few Hebrew manuscripts remain on the Iberian peninsula; therefore most must have been carried into exile. “Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts from the Iberian Peninsula,” in Vivian B. Mann et al, eds., *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain* (New York: George Braziller, 1992), 133.

⁶ Henry Kamen, “Toward Expulsion,” in Elie Kedourie, ed., *Spain and the Jews: The Sephardi Experience, 1492 and After* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992), 71.

⁷ Geraldine Brooks, *People of the Book: A Novel* (New York: Viking, 2008).

⁸ David Heinrich Müller and Julius von Schlosser, with an appendix by David Kaufmann, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo: Eine spanisch-jüdische Bilderhandschrift des Mittelalters* (Vienna, 1898).

⁹ For a critical view of the first publication on the Sarajevo Haggadah, see Eva Fromovicj, “Buber in Basel, Schlosser in

Sarajevo, Wischnitzer in Weimar: The Politics of Writing about Medieval Jewish Art,” in Eva Fromovicj, ed., *Imagining the Self, Imagining the Other: Visual Representation and Jewish-Christian Dynamics in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 8–19.

¹⁰ For an account of this research, see *Fragments from the “Italian Genizah,” an Exhibition* (Jerusalem: Jewish National and University Library, 1999). Among the works published is a marginal depiction of David and Goliath, as well as illuminated word panels. The manuscripts stem from all over the Jewish world, including Spain.

¹¹ Aeschylus, *Eumenides*.

¹² This approach is taken by Michael Batterman, “The Emergence of the Spanish Illuminated Haggadah Manuscript” (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 2000).

¹³ Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, “Hebrew Manuscripts of Fourteenth-Century Catalonia and the Workshop of the Master of St. Mark,” *Jewish Art* 18 (1992): 117–128.

completing the decoration of the Anglo-Catalan Psalter (Biblio-thèque nationale, Lat. 8846), a work with many biblical scenes based on Genesis and Exodus that was begun in Canterbury in the thirteenth century and arrived in Spain by the fourteenth. Although there is no evidence for a haggadah from Bassa's atelier, the portion of the Anglo-Catalan Psalter he painted may have been based on an earlier manuscript available to the atelier. The Pamplona Bibles (Amiens, Bibliothèque, Ms. Lat. 108 and Harburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. I, 2, lat. 4°, 15) completed in 1235 for King Sancho el Fuerte of Navarre (1153–1234) contain 365 compositions on biblical subjects that could have served as an iconographic model.¹⁴

Another explanation for the sudden appearance of illuminated *haggadot* with a well-developed program of illustrations is to postulate that they represent the reappearance of biblical iconography that is known from early Jewish and Christian art, which is best represented by the large number of biblical scenes painted on the walls of the synagogue in Dura Europos ca. 245 and found in later Christian monuments such as the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore, ca. 432–440. There are some striking correspondences between the iconography of works from the earlier period and the Spanish *haggadot*, and between the Roman-era works and works of Christian art created in Spain during the late Middle Ages. A noteworthy example is the reappearance of the nude Egyptian princess who bathes in the Nile, sometimes with her handmaidens, and finds the baby Moses in his basket. This version of the subject appeared in the synagogue of Dura Europos, then in the Pamplona Bibles, and in the Golden Haggadah ca. 1320 and its related manuscript, the Sister of the Golden Haggadah.¹⁵ Another scene with a similar history is Abraham's Hospitality to the Three Angels, in which Sarah stands at left

within a building and Abraham serves the three angels who sit at a table occupying the right half of the composition. Occasionally, Sarah is omitted from the scene. A tree in the background represents the terebinths of Mamre that figure prominently in the story (Genesis 18:1–6). Abraham's Hospitality is depicted in the fourth-century catacomb of Via Latina and is one of the mosaics in Santa Maria Maggiore.¹⁶ A fragment of the composition remains in the mosaic floor of the synagogue at Sepphoris, dated to the early fifth century.¹⁷ It then appears in San Vitale in Ravenna (526–547), in the Pamplona Bibles, on a twelfth-century capital in the cathedral of Valencia,¹⁸ the Golden Haggadah, and in the Sister of the Golden Haggadah.¹⁹ During their visit, the angels foretell the birth of a son to the aged Sarah. Subsequently, Abraham is commanded to sacrifice his son, but is prevented from doing so by an angel. In the mosaics of Sepphoris and San Vitale, the Offering of Isaac is juxtaposed to the Hospitality scene, linking the prophecy of Isaac's birth to a dramatic moment of his life.

Another scene with roots in early Jewish and Christian art is the Crossing of the Red Sea and the Drowning of the Egyptians. In its antique form, this composition is divided diagonally into two wedges: one occupied by the fleeing Israelites and the other by the drowning Egyptians. The nexus between the two is the figure of Moses, who points his staff toward the sea to effectuate the return of the waters and the drowning of the Egyptians. The composition appears in the fourth-century Via Latina catacomb and among the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore.²⁰ A variant, also seen in classical art, appears in the Golden Haggadah: Moses points his staff toward the drowning Egyptians, but the composition lacks a clear diagonal division between the two groups.²¹ A century and a half later, a version of the first classical composition appears on the

¹⁴ François Bucher, *The Pamplona Bibles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), pls. 1–365.

¹⁵ Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, *Ancient Jewish Art: East and West* (Paris: Flammarion, 1975), 74; Bucher, *The Pamplona Bibles*, pls. 98–99; Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*, figs. 131 and 176.

¹⁶ Jeffrey Spier, *Picturing the Bible: The Earliest Christian Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), figs. 48–49.

¹⁷ Ze'ev Weiss and Ehud Netzer, *Promise and Redemption: A Synagogue Mosaic from Sepphoris* (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1996), 32–33.

¹⁸ See pp. 11–15 below for a discussion of all the Valencia capitals.

¹⁹ For the scene in San Vitale, see Spier, *Picturing the Bible*,

fig. 50; for the depiction in the Pamplona Bibles, see Bucher, *The Pamplona Bibles*, pl. 32; for the *haggadot*, see Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*, pls. XXIX and XLVII.

²⁰ For the catacomb fresco, see Henry N. Claman, *Jewish Images in the Christian Church: Art as the Mirror of the Jewish-Christian Conflict, 200–1250 C.E.* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2000), figs. 2–4; and for the mosaic in Santa Maria Maggiore, see Wolfgang Volbach and Max Hirmer, *Early Christian Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1961), pl. 129.

²¹ For classical examples, see a fourth-century Roman sarcophagus now in the Vatican Museums, no. 31434, and the doors of Santa Sabina, dated ca. 432 (Spier, *Picturing the Bible*, cat. no. 43 and fig. 88).



Fig. 1. Atelier of Jaime Huguet, The Crossing of the Red Sea and the Drowning of the Egyptians, *Retablo de San Bernardi i l'Angel Custodi*, 1462–1482. Barcelona: Diocesan Museum.

Retablo de San Bernardi i l'Angel Custodi of 1462–1482 (Barcelona: Diocesan Museum), which is the work of a painter from the atelier of Jaime Huguet (Fig. 1).²² The drowning Egyptians appear in a lower corner, while the Israelites stride along the Red Sea. Although composed traditionally, the Israelites on the *retablo* are represented as contemporary Jews, and in this they are different from all the actors in the biblical scenes of the *haggadot*, who are generalized figures dressed in indistinguishable tunics. The painter of the altarpiece took great care to

individualize the faces of the Israelites and to vary their dress. The foremost Jewish figures, representing Moses and Aaron, are thought to be portraits of the leading Jewish residents of Banyoles, where the *retablo* first hung. The figure guided by the guardian angel is tentatively identified as Bonjuà Cabrit, who was doctor-surgeon to the royal house of Barcelona.²³ He wears a striped garment over his head, probably a *tallit* or prayer shawl, and a gold-bordered cloak, and carries a codex with gilt edges. Although most of the women leaving Egypt wear simple scarves

²² Joan Molina i Figueras, “Al Voltant de Jaume Huguet,” *L'Art Gòtic a Catalunya: Pintura III. Darreres manifestacions* (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2006), 142–143.

²³ Bonjuà Cabrit is cited in legal records as possessing a copy of Avicenna that was stolen from Meir of Figueras, the son of a deceased physician. Robert I. Burns, *Jews in the*

over their heads, one near the end of the procession wears an elaborate headdress with a chin strap that forms a roll around her head and has a protruding element on top that is dotted with pearls. Attention is drawn to this elaborately dressed woman by her bright red cloak, which links her visually to Bonjuà Cabrit, the man at the head of the procession who may have been her husband.²⁴ The same headdress worn in this Exodus scene is used on Christian sculptures and on altarpieces to identify Jewish women, which indicates that it was considered distinctive. It appears, for example, on a *retablo* panel of the Massacre of the Innocents dated 1390–1400, now in the Saragossa Museum,²⁵ and is worn by a group of women on a fourteenth-century capital in the cloister of Barcelona Cathedral.²⁶ These particularized details of dress combine with individualized representations of the figures involved. They are truly portraits, which might be explained in terms of Gothic naturalism, but they are also evidence for the artist's knowledge of his Jewish contemporaries and signify the continuation of *convivencia*, living together, in the century of the Expulsion.

How would this biblical iconography—known from the frescoes and mosaics of immovable buildings—have been transmitted to medieval Spain? The key monument, the synagogue of Dura Europos with its many biblical scenes, lay hidden from the year 256 CE, when the city was destroyed during a hostile attack, until its discovery in 1932 by a team from Yale University. The usual answer to the question of transmission is a manuscript intermediary, although as Robert Scheller has noted, “The

investigator generally turns to a lost model hypothesis as a last resort when other explanations have proved fruitless.”²⁷

That one work of art can serve as a model for another has long been known, but is not always obvious for the *haggadot*. The choice of scenes and style differ from cycle to cycle, except for the Rylands and Brother *haggadot*, which are stylistically related,²⁸ and the iconography of the Sister of the Golden Haggadah, which is based on the earlier Golden Haggadah dated ca. 1320, but these two manuscripts are unrelated stylistically. An example of copying from one manuscript to another dating shortly after the period of the *haggadot* is described in the preamble to a Bible now in the Palacio de Liria, Madrid (no. 399). In 1422 Don Guzman, master of the Order of Calatrava, commissioned a new translation of the Hebrew Bible into Castilian from Moses of Arragel, which became known as *La Biblia de Alba*.²⁹ Don Guzman wished the text to be accompanied by a commentary and illustrations, but the rabbi was reluctant to violate what he understood to be the biblical prohibition against images. In response, Don Guzman agreed to provide several illuminators from Toledo and to provide them with a manuscript from the cathedral to serve as a model for the miniatures. Thus, the model was another, preexistent manuscript containing illustrations of the Hebrew Bible. That this manuscript from Toledo was replete with illuminations may be presumed from the fact that the completed Alba Bible contains 334 miniatures. It must be noted that a significant number of these scenes include midrashic material

Notarial Culture: Latinate Wills in Mediterranean Spain, 1250–1350 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), 64.

²⁴ Her headdress is similar to that worn by the mistress of the household in the seder scenes of the Sarajevo Haggadah and the Sister of the Golden Haggadah. See Cecil Roth, *The Sarajevo Haggada* (Belgrade: Beogradski Izdavač-Grafički Zavod, 1975), n.p.; Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*, fig. 188. Knowledge of this headdress had even spread to Germany by the beginning of the 15th century. In a scene of the birth of Mary on the Buxtehuder Altar, Meister Bertram painted one of the women serving Elizabeth wearing a headdress with a chin strap and a circular element at top. See Jürgen Wittstock, ed., *Aus dem Alltag der mittelalterlichen Stadt*, Hefte des Focke Museums 62 (Bremen: Das Landesmuseum, 1982), 165, fig. 7.

²⁵ Alfredo Romero Santamaría, ed., *Hebraica aragonalia: El legado judío en Aragón* (Saragossa, Palacio de Sastago: Diputación de Zaragoza, 2002), 1:155.

²⁶ For the capital, see Elena Romero, ed., *La vida judía en Sefarad* (Toledo: Ministerio de Cultura, Dirección General de Bellas Artes y Archivos, Centro Nacional de Exposiciones, 1991), 60. Until early in the twentieth century, the Jewish women of Salonica wore headdresses whose constituent elements were similar to those depicted in Spanish art, but whose proportions were somewhat different. See Batsheva Goldman-Ida, “The Sephardic Woman’s Head-Dress,” in *From Iberia to Diaspora: Studies in Sephardic History and Culture*, ed. Yedida K. Stillman and Norman A. Stillman (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 525–530.

²⁷ Robert W. Scheller, *Exemplum: Model-book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages (ca. 900–ca. 1470)*, trans. Michael Hoyle (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995), 27.

²⁸ Sed-Rajna, “Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts from the Iberian Peninsula,” 145.

²⁹ A facsimile of the Alba Bible has been published, accompanied by essays on the manuscript: Moses of Arragel, trans., *La Biblia de Alba*, ed. Jeremy Schonfeld (Madrid: Fundación Amigos de Sefarad, 1992); see there the older bibliography.

that may have been present in the model or was added by Moses of Arragel.³⁰

The existence of Ferrer Bassa's atelier is of great significance when considering the genesis of the illuminated *haggadot* produced in Spain during the fourteenth century. Given the fact that medieval Spanish ateliers like Bassa's (and there are others) produced works for both Christian and Jewish patrons,³¹ and that one can demonstrate the influence of originally Jewish or Christian compositions on works made for patrons of another faith—as in the scene of the Finding of Moses—we can postulate that medieval artists may have had before them both earlier Jewish and Christian works that served as models. The interreligious character of the Bassa workshop explains how a miniature of Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed* could be based on a Byzantine composition of the four Evangelist symbols.³² The simultaneous presence of the same creatures in Jewish lore (Ezekiel 1) would have facilitated the transfer of the composition to Maimonides' *Guide*. With both Christian and Jewish works available, the likelihood of the transmission of iconography from the period of the early synagogues and the early churches becomes more plausible.

Manuscripts were not the only illustrated works based on earlier art. The contracts that govern the production of Spanish altarpieces of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries sometimes specify the exact work of art on which the new work was to be modeled. Consider, for example, a portion of the contract written in 1483 for the painter Pere Cabanes, who was to create an altarpiece in a Valencian funerary chapel. It reads: "First, in the center, the image of the most glorious Virgin Mary that is [the same

as the image of Mary] in the *retablo mayor* of the Cathedral of Valencia."³³

Another path for the transmission of biblical iconography is the movement of small works of art, such as textiles with cycles of scenes from the lives of Abraham and Joseph that were woven in Coptic Egypt during the eighth to tenth centuries.³⁴ It must be recognized, however, that the Coptic textile scenes are abbreviated, showing only the essential elements necessary to an understanding of the subject. Another genre of small works with both biblical scenes and Hebrew inscriptions, which has not been discussed in relation to the *haggadot*, is a group of cameos from southern Italy, dated to the mid-thirteenth century, whose exact purpose is unknown.³⁵ The extant scenes include an enthroned figure of King David (Madrid: Prado Museum); Noah's Ark, the only cameo lacking an inscription (British Museum, Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities, Inv. Nr. M&L 90, 9-1); Joseph and his Brothers (St. Petersburg: the Hermitage, Inv. Nr. K 690); Jacob Blessing the Sons of Jacob (Private Collection, on loan to the Metropolitan Museum of Art; Fig. 2); and Samson and the Lion (Vienna, Kunsthistorische Museum, Sammlung für Plastik und Kunstgewerbe, Inv. Nr. IX 1949).³⁶ Similar to this group are two inscribed cameos attributed to thirteenth-century France: Ahasueros and Mordecai, and King Jehu. The scenes that are found in Spanish *haggadot* are very different in style and composition from those on the cameos—for example, the scene of Joseph Revealing Himself to his Brothers that is found in the Sarajevo Haggadah and in the Golden, and that of Noah and the Ark that appears in the Golden and Prato *haggadot*.³⁷ On the basis of the

³⁰ Carl-Otto Nordström, *The Duke of Alba's Castilian Bible: A Study of the Rabbinical Features of the Miniatures* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksells, 1967).

³¹ Vivian B. Mann, "Jews and Altarpieces in Medieval Spain," *Uneasy Communion: Jews, Christians and Altarpieces in Medieval Spain* (New York: Museum of Biblical Art, 2010), 106–118.

³² Rosa Alcoy i Pedrós, "Ferrer Bassa, un creador d'estil," *L'Art Gòtic a Catalunya: Pintura I, De l'inici a l'italianisme* (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2005), 162.

³³ Judith Berg Sobrè, *Behind the Altar Table: The Development of the Painted Retable in Spain, 1300–1500* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1989), 36–37.

³⁴ See Marie-Hélène Rutschowskaya, *Coptic Fabrics* (Paris: Adam Biro, 1990), 78–79 and 129–131.

³⁵ I want to thank Charles Little of the Metropolitan Museum of Art for sharing his research on the cameos.

³⁶ For the figure of King David, see José Luis Lacave et al.,

Sefarad, Sefarad: La España Judía (Madrid: Lunewerg Editores, 1992), 212; for the others, see Rainer Hausherr, ed., *Die Zeit der Staufer: Geschichte-Kunst-Kultur* (Stuttgart: Württembergisches Landesmuseum, 1977), cat. nos. 881, 885, 889, 898, 899; and Hans Wentzel, "Die Kamee mit dem ägyptischen Joseph in Leningrad," *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien für H. Kaufmann* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1956), 85–100. The cameos of King Jehu and Ahasveros and Mordecai are attributed by Rainer Hausherr to thirteenth-century France (cat. nos. 898 and 899), and the Samson and the Lion cameo is attributed to Italy or Germany (cat. no. 889).

³⁷ For Joseph Revealing Himself, see Cecil Roth, *The Sarajevo Haggadah*, n.p., and Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*, fig. 130; for Noah, see Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*, fig. 125, and Naomi M. Steinberger, ed., *The Prato Haggadah: Facsimile* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 2007), fol. 84r.



Fig. 2. Cameo with Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph, Southern Italy, mid-13th century. Private collection, on loan to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

extant scenes, the Hohenstaufen cameos appear to belong to a different tradition of biblical iconography than the Spanish *haggadot*, although it is worth noting that Gabrielle Sed-Rajna proposed that Jewish communities in southern Italy or North Africa were intermediaries in passing on the art of the classical period to Spain during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as can be demonstrated for other literary and artistic traditions.³⁸

Recently, Katrin Kogman-Appel proposed that the *haggadot* miniatures were composed in Spain of iconographic details seen by artists on their travels and remembered, particularly the reliefs of San Restituta in Naples and the capitals of the Cathedral of Monreale.³⁹ Although a famous example of an itinerant artist who transmitted iconography and style is the English artist who worked on both the thirteenth-century English *Winchester Bible* and the

frescoes in the Spanish monastery of Sigüenza,⁴⁰ there is no evidence that artists of the *haggadot* traveled to Naples and Monreale, although Monreale was part of the Crown of Aragón in the fourteenth century (but Naples was not). Indeed, there are biblical cycles closer to “home,” in the area in which most of the *haggadot* were created, namely altarpieces and the cloister reliefs of Girona Cathedral and the twelfth-century portal of the cathedral in Valencia.

The sculptures of Girona and Valencia and other Spanish art of the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries provide a context for understanding the *haggadot* that has not been discussed in the scholarly literature. Important to an understanding of this context is Millard Meiss’s 1941 essay that drew attention to the close stylistic relationship between an altarpiece dedicated to St. Mark, now in the Morgan Library, and the *Ceremonial de consagración y*

³⁸ Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, *The Kaufmann Haggadah* (Budapest: Kultura International, 1990), 12.

³⁹ Katrin Kogman-Appel, *Illuminated Haggadot from Medieval Spain: Biblical Imagery and the Passover Holiday* (University Park,

PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 56–61.

⁴⁰ For an account of the extant frescoes from Sigüenza, see Eduard Carbonell i Esteller et al., *Guía arte románico* (Barcelona: Museu Nacional d’art de Catalunya, 1998), 170–175.

coronación de los Reyes de Aragón in the Museo Lazar Galdiano in Madrid (R.14.425).⁴¹ Meiss analyzed the figure style and the compositions and concluded that both types of work had been created in the same atelier, which he named the St. Mark's workshop. Meiss's thesis revolutionized the customary view that workshops were devoted to producing single types of art, and emphasized the stylistic link between *retablos* (altarpieces) and miniatures. Francis Wormald added another innovative insight to Meiss's work by demonstrating that a Hebrew manuscript of Maimonides, the *Guide for the Perplexed* in the Royal Library, Copenhagen (Hebr. XXXVII), was a product of the same workshop.⁴² Since the publication of Wormald's article in 1953, other art historians have added both Hebrew and Latin manuscripts to the corpus of works produced by the St. Mark's atelier, whose chief artist is now identified as Ferrer Bassa, who died in 1348, presumably a victim of the Black Plague.⁴³ The result of all this scholarship was to link manuscripts to altarpieces, and works for Jewish patrons to those for Christians as the products of a single workshop, thereby enabling comparison of the style and iconography of different types of art.⁴⁴ Another atelier that produced two different media created the frescoes in the *sala capitular* of the Monastery of Sta. Maria of Sigena, dated 1190–1194 (Museo Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, MNAC/MAC 68703-68709),⁴⁵ as well as the Winchester Bible (Winchester Cathedral Library) and the mid-thirteenth century Morgan Picture Bible (New York, Morgan Library and Museum, Ms. M.638). An itinerant English artist contributed to the three works, resulting in stylistic relationships between the two manuscripts and the frescoes.

With this understanding that Jewish artists and scribes worked together with Christians, it is possible to develop the Spanish context for the appearance of the *haggadot*. For example, the earliest surviving

manuscript, the Hispano-Moresque Haggadah in the British Library (Or. 2737) is stylistically related to scenes from the Life of Christ on a fragmentary late thirteenth-century altarpiece in the Cloisters (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 55.62 a, b and 1977.94; Figs. 3 and 4) and to similar *retablos*. In these works, the scenes are set in architectural frames, often painted a deep red, above which are rubrics indicating their content (in Latin on the altarpieces; Hebrew in the haggadah). The languages of these rubrics, assuming they served as instructions to the artists, indicate that Jewish artists created the haggadah scenes and Christian artists worked on the altarpiece.⁴⁶ The action takes place against blank backgrounds with only the minimal props required by the narrative. Terracotta and ochre are the dominant colors on both works, and they appear saturated rather than shaded. Through-out, the size of key figures such as Jesus or Moses and Aaron, or even the baker of *matzot* (the unleavened bread for Passover), is enlarged to indicate a subject's importance. Still, differences between the two works indicate that more than one artist was responsible for the haggadah and the *retablo*. Although the heads and hands of the figures of both works are outlined rather than modeled, the painter of the Christian scenes often added a small circle of red paint to indicate a protruding cheek and furnished his figures with eyebrows, details absent on the haggadah figures. As is typical of the art of this period, figures are slim and drapery hides the body in both works, but the cloaks of the altarpiece figures are slightly more detailed, with a white highlight along the edge of the material. The haggadah and the *retablo* fragments in the Cloisters belong to a group of works whose style has been termed "linear Gothic," nearly all of them dated to the first half of the fourteenth century.⁴⁷

A frequently made observation about the *haggadot* is the inclusion of biblical scenes without any

⁴¹ Millard Meiss, "Italian Style in Catalonia and a Fourteenth-Century Catalan Workshop," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 4 (1941): 45–87.

⁴² F. Wormald, "Afterthoughts on the Stockholm Exhibition," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 22 (1953): 74–78.

⁴³ Sed-Rajna, "Hebrew Manuscripts of Fourteenth-Century Catalonia and the Workshop of the Master of St. Mark," 116–128; Rosa Alcoy i Pedrós, "Ferrer Bassa, un creador d'estil," *L'Art Gòtic a Catalunya. Pintura I*, 162–163.

⁴⁴ Mann, "Jews and Altarpieces in Medieval Spain," 112–118.

⁴⁵ See Eduard Carbonell i Esteller et al., *Guia arte romànica*, 170–175.

⁴⁶ That they were not titles for the finished miniatures is indicated by the discrepancies between the texts and the subjects depicted.

⁴⁷ The architectural frame and drapery style of the Cloisters *retablo* panels are particularly close to those on the *frontale* (altar frontal) of Santa Perpetua de Mogoda of the first or second quarter of the fourteenth century (Barcelona, Museo Diocesano, Inv. MDB/400). See Marisa Melero-Monea, "La Pintura sobre tabla del Gótico lineal. Frontales, laterales de altar y retablos en el reino de Mallorca y los condados catalanes," *Memoria Artium* 3 (2005): 72–79.

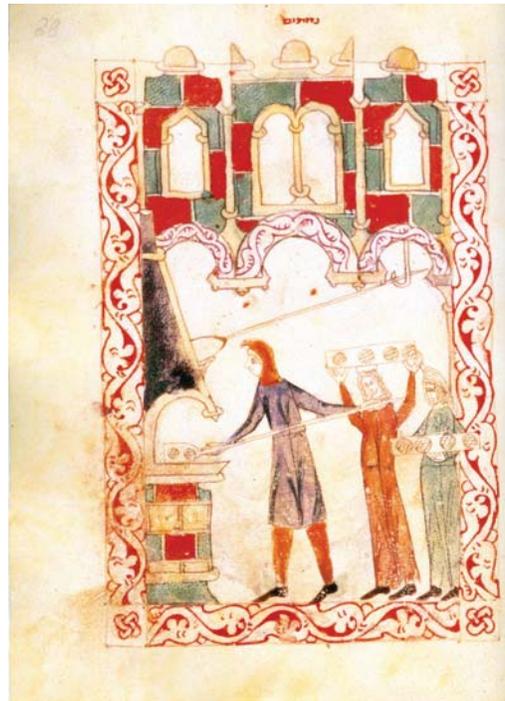


Fig. 3. Preparations for Passover, *Hispano-Moresque Haggadah*, Castile, ca. 1300. British Library, Or. 2737.



Fig. 4. Anonymous, *Panels with Scenes from the Life of Christ*, Castile, 13th century. Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1977.94, Bequest of Carl Otto von Kienbusch.

relationship to the text, which focuses on the Israelites' bondage in Egypt and their Exodus. Among the most commonly added miniatures are scenes of the Creation, sometimes with the addition of the Expulsion from the Garden of Eden and Cain's murder of his brother Abel. A highly compressed account appears in the early Golden Haggadah in which five episodes in the Garden of Eden occupy two frames: Adam Naming the Animals is in its own frame, while the remaining four occupy a single frame of the four fields found on each page (Fig. 5). The sequence reads chronologically from right to left, the direction in which Hebrew is read: Adam Naming the Animals (Genesis 2:20), the Creation of Eve (2:21–22), the Temptation of Eve (3:1–5), Adam and Eve Covering their Nakedness (3:7) and God (in the guise of an angel) Reproaching Adam and Eve (3:16–18). In the second, composite frame, the figure of Eve is shown tempted by the serpent and simultaneously covering herself with a large leaf, while Adam both covers himself and raises his head as an angel reproaches him. Nevertheless, the rubric for the second frame refers only to the third episode, Adam and his Wife Naked. The Golden Haggadah is dated ca. 1320 based on its figure style, which is similar to that of the *Usatges de Paris* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ms. lat 4670) and like the Latin work was produced in Barcelona or nearby Lleida.⁴⁸

A *retablo* dedicated to St. Andrew with scenes of the Creation (Fig. 6) has both stylistic and iconographic connections to the Golden Haggadah (Fig. 5). The altarpiece originally included seven Creation scenes, but the location of three of them is today unknown. With one exception, each of the altarpiece scenes is given its own pictorial space: God Creates the Creatures of the Waters and the Birds (Day 5; Genesis 1:20–23), the Creation of Man (Day 6; 1:26–27), God Casts a Deep Sleep on Adam (2:21), God Presents Eve to Adam (2:22), God Commands Adam and Eve Not to Eat from

the Tree of Knowledge (2:16–17), the Temptation and Reproach (3:1–6; 11), and the Expulsion (3:24). Both the *retablo* and haggadah scenes are set against diapered gold backgrounds, with the foregrounds made up of landscape elements: earth and stylized trees. The patches of earth on the *retablo* are composed of stylized forms stacked against one another, while in the haggadah the landscape is a continuous, shaded mass. On the altarpiece, God dominates through his size or his appearance in a mandorla; he is absent from the haggadah scenes. Despite differences in the figure style and iconography between the haggadah and the altarpiece—the *retablo* figures are more linear—there are striking stylistic and iconographic similarities between the two works, in particular their devotion of considerable space to the story of Creation in works whose primary subject has no connection to the text of the Bible. Both works also share an emphasis on a few important figures in scenes set against a diapered background and anchored to a foreground of earth and stylized trees.

The biblical story of Creation has a special place in Spanish art, appearing in frescoes, textiles, miniatures, metalwork, and sculpture from the eleventh century on. Among the early works with multiple scenes are the Shrine for the Relics of San Isodoro dated 1063,⁴⁹ the frescoes from San Martín de Sescorts (province of Barcelona) dated late eleventh to early twelfth century,⁵⁰ and the early twelfth-century *Tapiz de la Creación* in the museum of Girona Cathedral.⁵¹ Scenes of Adam and Eve also appear on a corner pillar of the cloister at Girona dated shortly before 1150.⁵² They include the Creation of Eve, God Showing Adam and Eve the Tree of Knowledge, and a composite scene of the Temptation of Eve, Adam Eating the Apple, and Adam and Eve covering their Nakedness and Hiding from God. These are followed by scenes occurring after the Expulsion: Adam and Eve Working, and the Story of Cain and Abel. Other corner pillars in

⁴⁸ Kim Dame, “Les haggadot catalanes,” *L'Art Gòtic a Catalunya. Pintura I*, 106.

⁴⁹ Creation scenes on the reliquary include The Creation of Adam, The Temptation, God Admonishing Adam and Eve, God Clothing Adam and Eve, and the Expulsion from Paradise (De Palol and Hirmer, *Early Medieval Art in Spain*, figs. 71–73).

⁵⁰ The remaining frescoes are Adam and Eve Hiding from God and the Expulsion from Paradise. They are now in the Museo Episcopal in Vich (De Palol and Hirmer, *Early Medieval Art in Spain*, pl. XXVI).

⁵¹ The Third Day of Creation: Separation of the Waters from the Dry Land; Fourth Day: Creation of the Sun and Moon; Fifth Day: Creation of the Birds and of the Deep Waters; Sixth Day: The Creation of Adam; The Creation of Eve, Adam Naming the Animals (De Palol and Hirmer, *Early Medieval Art in Spain*, pl. XXXV, figs. 132–133).

⁵² For the scenes of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, and Noah, see De Palol and Hirmer, *Early Medieval Art in Spain*, figs. 144–147. Also, Josep Calzada i Oliveras, *Die Kathedrale von Girona*, 2nd ed. (Barcelona: Editorial Escudo de Oro, 1988), 14.

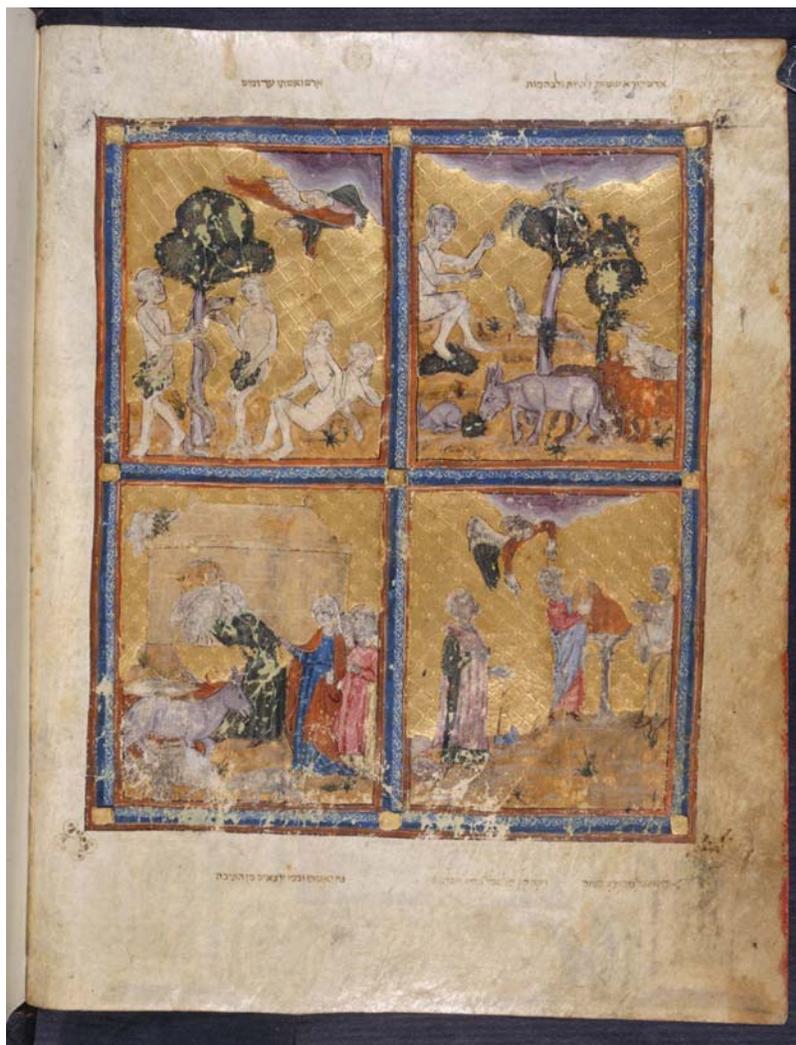


Fig. 5. Scenes of Creation, *The Golden Haggadah*, ca. 1320. British Library, Add. 27010.

the cloister are devoted to twelve biblical scenes: the story of Noah, scenes from the lives of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and scenes of Samson, Daniel, and Habakkuk. A biblical cycle was also created on the capitals of the twelfth-century Palau Portal of the cathedral in Valencia (Fig. 7).

The extensive array of scenes from Genesis sculpted in the cloister of Girona Cathedral and the Palau Portal in Valencia (the latter never before mentioned in the *haggadot* literature) provide several interesting comparisons to those found in the Sarajevo, Golden, and Sister of the Golden *haggadot*.

First, there is the compression of scenes in both the sculptures in Girona and the Golden Haggadah. In the cloister, one capital presents the Temptation of Eve, Adam Eating the Fruit from the Tree of Knowledge, and its consequences: the Nakedness of Adam and Eve, and God in the form of an Angel Reproaching Them. Two more scenes appear: the Temptation and Adam and Eve Hiding their Nakedness with large leaves.⁵³ Presumably, the artist of both works felt impelled to include as many episodes as possible within a limited area, despite the fact that the rubric above the frame in the Golden Haggadah

⁵³ John Reeve, ed., *Sacred: Books of the Three Faiths: Judaism,*

Christianity, Islam (London: The British Library, 2007), 152.

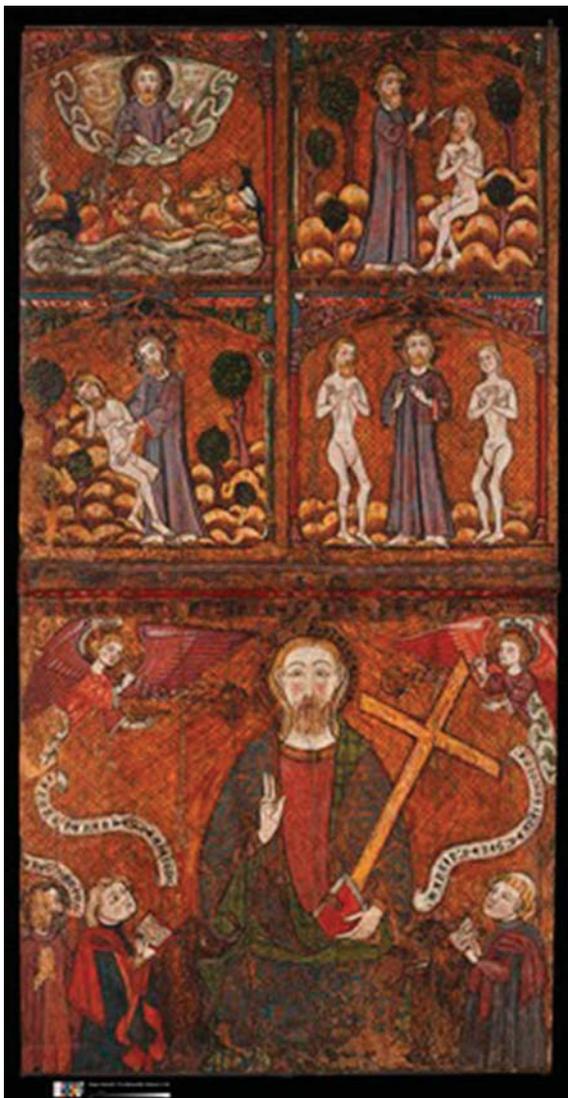


Fig. 6. Anonymous Castilian Painter, *Scenes from the Creation; Scenes from the Life of Saint Andrew*, Añastro, Castile, late fourteenth century. Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1925 (25.120.257).

refers only to one subject, the Nakedness of Adam and Eve. Each of the capitals at Valencia bears two or more scenes, yet their presentation is more detailed. A major difference between the sculptures and the

haggadot is the presence of a figure who is God or Jesus in the carvings, while only an occasional angel appears in the *haggadot*. The figure of God at Girona is unusual for a Christian work: he has no halo and is the same size as the humans with whom he interacts, while the “God” figure at Valencia always has a cruciform nimbus identifying him as Jesus.

The more than twenty biblical scenes at Valencia are distributed on twelve capitals and begin with the Fifth Day of Creation and end with Moses Receiving the Tablets of the Law. The temporal scope of its subjects is nearly equal to those in the Sarajevo Haggadah, and the iconography of some scenes is strikingly similar to that of the miniatures in the manuscript. In both representations of the Fifth Day of Creation, the earth is a sphere whose bottom half is occupied by the waters, above which flies a bird or birds (Fig. 8, left).⁵⁴ The same sphere appears on the next capital, this time accompanied by the figure of Jesus who points to it, a scene that may represent the phrase that occurs repeatedly in the account of Creation, “And God saw that this was good” (Fig. 8, right). This phrase follows the textual account of the fifth day that appears on the first capital (Genesis 1:21).⁵⁵ Other scenes whose iconography is shared by the capitals and the Golden Haggadah are the Creation of Eve and the Temptation (Fig. 9), which on both works appear in the same spatial unit, and the Offering of Isaac, where the Sarajevo scene appears to be a reverse of the capital depiction. Sometimes the same subject appears in both works, but their iconography differs.⁵⁶ The capitals include scenes that are not found in the fourteenth-century *haggadot*, for example God Discussing with the Angels the Creation of Man (Genesis 1:26, Fig. 10). A very unusual detail of this scene is that the foremost angel wears a *Judenhut*,⁵⁷ a hat that sometimes identified the wearer as a Jew, a symbol unusual for Spanish art but common in contemporaneous Ashkenazi miniatures and sculpture. Other unusual iconography is that Abraham rides a camel to Shechem—a detail absent from

⁵⁴ On the representation of the earth as a sphere in the Sarajevo Haggadah and its relationship to other manuscripts, see Herbert Broderick, “Observations on the Creation Cycle of the Sarajevo Haggadah,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 3 (1984): 320–334.

⁵⁵ The phrase also appears in the account of the first day of Creation (Genesis 1:10) and following the account of the sixth day (1:25).

⁵⁶ For example, Adam and Eve Covering Themselves, The Offering of Abel and his Killing by Cain, The Drunkenness of Noah, and Moses at the Burning Bush.

⁵⁷ In the scene of the Second Council of Joseph’s Brothers in the Golden Haggadah (fol. 6v), one of the brothers wears a *Judenhut*.



Fig. 7. The Palau Portal, Valencia Cathedral, 12th century. Photo by author.



Fig. 8. The First Two Days of Creation, Palau Portal, Valencia Cathedral, 12th century. Photo by author.



Fig. 9. Scenes of Adam and Eve, Palau Portal, Valencia Cathedral, 12th century. Photo by author.



Fig. 10. God Discussing with the Angels the Creation of Man, Palau Portal, Valencia Cathedral, 12th century. Photo by author.

the biblical text (Genesis 12:6–7, Fig. 11)—and the representation of a horned Moses in the scene of the Receiving of the Law (Fig. 12)⁵⁸ There are also other parallels between the capitals and *haggadot* with biblical cycles, but we will limit this aspect of the discussion and list scenes absent from the Sarajevo Haggadah but sculpted on the Valencia capitals: Abraham Entertaining the Three Angels who foretold the birth of Isaac, which is also in the Golden Haggadah (fol. 3r). (This is the only capital that is out of order according to the biblical narrative.) The gaps in the narrative presented by the capitals, for example the omission of any subjects that took place in Egypt concerning the salvation of the Israelites, and the concentration on scenes of the Creation and on others that prefigure Christian history, like the Sacrifice of Isaac, the Giving of the Law (a parallel of the Giving of the New Law), Abraham Rides a Camel to Shechem (hinting at Jesus' Entry into Jerusalem), and Abraham Entertaining the Three Angels, a symbol of the Trinity, suggest a thoughtful choice by the patron or sculptor to concentrate on the biblical content that had the most meaning for the cathedral's worshippers. In 1909, José Sanchis y Silva, who identified the subjects on the Valencia capitals, interpreted even those that were faithful to the biblical narrative as Christological scenes.⁵⁹ For example, the fifth day of creation, represented on the first capital by a bird hovering over the waters of the earth, as in the Sarajevo Haggadah, is identified by Sanchis y Silva as the creation of the Holy Spirit.

The story of Adam and Eve was also painted on church walls and in Christian manuscripts.⁶⁰ One mural, in the Capilla de la Vera Cruz de Maderuelo (Segovia) of the third quarter of the twelfth century, includes a composite Temptation and Adam and Eve Hiding their Nakedness whose iconography is identical to that on the St. Andrew *retablo* in the Cloisters.⁶¹ An extensive biblical cycle was also painted in the chapter house of the convent of

Sigena (Huesca) ca. 1230. The scenes included the Creation of Adam, the Creation of Eve, God Pointing to the Tree of Knowledge, the Temptation, and the Expulsion, followed by later biblical subjects such as Moses Receiving the Tablets of the Law and the Anointing of David as King,⁶² repeating the choice of subjects on the Valencia sculptures with their Christological emphasis.

Another Genesis cycle appears in the profusely illustrated Pamplona Bibles. In the Bibles, Jesus is the God of Creation and is furnished with a cruciform nimbus. He is always larger than Adam and Eve, his bulk enhanced by a dark mantle over a lighter tunic. As noted earlier, the Pamplona Bibles consist of two copies of the same work, one in Amiens and the other in Harburg. Collating the two works yields a total of 262 images based on Genesis, Exodus, and other books of the Hebrew Bible. Besides the scene of the Finding of Moses mentioned earlier, the Pamplona Bibles manifest other correspondences with the iconography of the *haggadot*. For example, the third day of creation is represented by an orb whose bottom half is covered with wavy lines, while the top half is monochromatic. The same form of the earth appears in the Sarajevo Haggadah⁶³ and on the first two twelfth-century capitals of the Palau Portal of Valencia Cathedral (Fig. 8). In scenes of Moses at the Burning Bush in the Pamplona Bibles, God's presence is rendered as a youthful head emerging from the shrubbery, and the same is true in the Golden Haggadah (fol. 10v), in its Sister manuscript (fol. 13r), and in the Brother of the Rylands Haggadah (fol. 1v). The Crossing of the Red Sea in the Pamplona Bible shows the waters divided into different zones, but not the pairing of the tribes with individual zones as in the Brother Haggadah, whose composition is based on a *midrash*.⁶⁴

The Spanish *haggadot* and related works incorporate iconography from various sources. The oldest are works of early Jewish and Christian art that were

⁵⁸ Camels figure prominently in a later episode, Eliezer's search for a bride for Isaac (Genesis 24:10–14). On the horned Moses, see Ruth Melnikoff, *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970).

⁵⁹ José Sanchis y Silva, *La Catedral de Valencia: Guía histórica y artística* (Valencia: F. Vives Mora, 1909), 72–73.

⁶⁰ For example, a Bible from the Monastery of San Pedro de Cardena in Burgos, ca. 1175 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500–1200*, no. 152).

⁶¹ Palol and Hirmer, *Early Medieval Art in Spain*, pls. XL and XLI. Adam and Eve also appear in frescoes from Vich (Barcelona), late eleventh to early twelfth century (ibid., pl. XXVI).

⁶² See above, n. 40.

⁶³ Bucher, *The Pamplona Bibles*, pl. 3, and Roth, *The Sarajevo Haggada*, n.p.

⁶⁴ Bucher, *The Pamplona Bibles*, pl. 118; Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*, fig. 294.



Fig. 11. Abraham Riding to Shechem, Palau Portal, Valencia Cathedral, 12th century. Photo by author.



Fig. 12. Moses Receiving the Tablets of the Law, Palau Portal, Valencia Cathedral, 12th century. Photo by author.

transmitted through intermediate works to late medieval Spain. As many have said, Christian art may have served to transfer compositions developed in the ancient Land of Israel and surrounding areas to Europe, with southern Italy playing a key role, but the remarkable thirteenth-century cameos with Hebrew inscriptions indicate that Jews also commissioned and created portable works in the same region. Ferrer Bassa was one of the Spanish artists who journeyed to Italy and absorbed its painting style before returning to work in the region of Barcelona where his workshop created art for both Christians and Jews.

The most important and significant parallels occur in Spanish art that was created from the twelfth century onward. The works that were installed in public spaces such as the Valencia portal and church frescoes were available as models for

those creating miniatures for *haggadot*. (Jews are known to have frequented churches when forced to hear conversionist sermons, or attended on their own out of interest in intellectual discourse.)⁶⁵ Jews who were artists employed by the Church created works of art on Christian themes⁶⁶ and the mixed ateliers like that of Ferrer Bassa provided other avenues by which Jewish and Christian iconography could have been exchanged during the fourteenth century, when illuminated *haggadot* were popular among those able to afford them.

The result of all these influences was a very creative, productive period in Hebrew manuscript painting. The production of illuminated *haggadot* ceased in Spain, even before the destruction of the Jewish quarter of Barcelona during the pogroms of 1391, for reasons that are still inexplicable.

⁶⁵ Mann, "Jews and Altarpieces in Medieval Spain," 119.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 86–92.