

THE JOHN RYLANDS HAGGADAH

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ONE of the treasures of the John Rylands Library is an illuminated codex (Hebrew MS. 6) of the *Haggadah* or domestic service for Passover Eve (together with other liturgical materials for this season of the Jewish religious year), formerly in the collection of that great bibliophile, the twenty-fifth Earl of Crawford.¹ It is of importance not only for its intrinsic beauty and for various textual details, but also for the light which it throws on the history of the illumination of Hebrew manuscripts in general, and in particular on the tradition of Biblical illustration among the Jews of the Middle Ages. It is mainly in this connection that it will be considered here.

It is unnecessary to touch at present on the much-discussed problem, whether or no illuminated Hebrew manuscripts existed in classical antiquity; there is strong reason to believe that this was the case,² but no actual specimens survive. In the tenth century at the latest, richly decorated Hebrew Biblical manuscripts begin to make their appearance in the Moslem world without, however, any trace of illuminations in the stricter sense, embodying, that is, scenes with representations of the human figure; the oldest such specimens from Christian Europe now extant go back apparently only to the thirteenth, or perhaps late twelfth, century. This does not indeed imply that such

¹ It is referred to in the following pages (as it is generally) as *the* John Rylands Haggadah, being the most significant as well as the best known codex of this nature in the Library. There are, however, in the Rylands Library three more important illuminated Haggadah codices. Hebrew MS. 29 (fragmentary) has been ascribed to as early as the tenth century though in the opinion of the present writer it is considerably later, an archaistic style having been preserved in Jewish book-art until relatively late in the Middle Ages. For Hebrew MSS. 7 (fifteenth century) and 39 (1710) see below pages 133 and 132, n. 1.

² See my article "Jewish Antecedents of Christian Art", in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xvi (1953), 24-44.

productions were unknown before this period, for owing to the circumstances of Jewish history the rate of the wastage and destruction of Hebrew manuscripts was particularly high, and the technical standard and execution of the manuscripts in question suggest a lengthy anterior development.

The Passover Haggadah—a much-loved domestic ritual, not conveyed into the synagogue and not therefore subject to the same inhibitions as synagogal codices; small in bulk, and therefore lending itself to calligraphic or pictorial expansion; with a special appeal to the women-folk and the children, and not merely to the scholar piously interested in textual minutiae—was an obvious object for special embellishment. The earliest manifestations are in fragments found in the Cairo Genizah, in which the prescribed passages which speak of the Unleavened Bread and the Bitter Herb—two of the essential features of the Paschal ritual—are decorated with stylized representations of these objects. This feature henceforth became commonplace, being formally or decoratively interpreted in many other codices, whether fully illuminated or not, including that which is engaging our attention in particular here.

From this time onwards, the tradition of illuminating the Passover Haggadah developed lavishly and continuously; and after the invention of printing it was maintained in a series of finely illustrated editions produced in Prague, Mantua, Venice, Amsterdam and so on, as well as in archaistic manuscript renderings throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and down to our own day.¹ The number of illuminated medieval codices of the Haggadah extant, written before the sixteenth century, probably exceeds that of any other category of Hebrew illuminated manuscripts other than the Bible. They are from many countries and are in some cases wholly individual, expressing the personal inclinations of the scribe or illuminator, except in certain details (such as that mentioned above) in which tradition tended to assert itself. Thus, for example, the fifteenth-century Darmstadt Haggadah (which is available in a colour

¹ A particular fine instance is John Rylands Hebrew MS. 39, formerly in the Spencer Collection—an outstanding example of the craft of the well-known book-illustrator Joseph ben David Leipnick, completed at Altona (Hamburg) in 1710.

reproduction—¹, one of the few Hebrew manuscripts of the Middle Ages which has been made generally accessible to study in this fashion) follows from beginning to end a style and convention of its own, and is a notable monument to the originality and ability of its creator, the scribe (who may also have been the illuminator) Israel b. Meir Jaffe of Heidelberg. The fairly considerable production of the scribe-illuminator Joel (Phoebus) ben Simeon, who worked in Germany and North Italy in the mid-fifteenth century,² shows as is to be anticipated many constant details, but these are personal rather than traditional. The charming fifteenth century Ashkenazi Haggadah in the John Rylands Library (Hebrew MS. 7) shows some affinities with his work. Certainly unique is another German Haggadah now in the Bezalel Museum, Jerusalem, in which the characters in the illuminations are shown with birds' heads (except in the case of non-Hebrews, who paradoxically are shown as normal mortals!) thus naively evading in a fashion the traditional inhibition against the representation of human beings.

Leaving such individual achievements on one side, two main groups or patterns emerge among the extant Haggadah codices of European origin—the one northern or Ashkenazi (more specifically, German), the other southern or Sephardi (more specifically, Provençal or Spanish), the John Rylands Haggadah being one of the finest examples of the second group.

The former is represented by what was once known as the Second Nuremberg Haggadah, being formerly MS. 7121 in the German National Museum in that city, but now in the Schocken Library, Jerusalem; by Cod. Heb. 1333 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; and by the Yahuda Haggadah (named after the former owner) now in the Bezalel Museum in Jerusalem. There are also some others (e.g. Codex de' Rossi 958 in Parma, and MS. Sassoon 511 in Letchworth) which share some of the same features, but cannot be considered as constituents of the

¹ *Die Darmstädter Pessach-Haggadah*, ed. Bruno Italianer, etc. (2 vols., Leipzig, 1927).

² See for him [or them: there may have been two illuminators of the same name, grandfather and grandson] F. Landsberger, "The Washington Haggadah and its illuminator", in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, xxi (1948), 73-103, and M. Fooner, in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, n.s. xxvii (1937), 217-32.

group. These manuscripts are illuminated in the fullest sense of the word ; that is to say, the entire text, almost from beginning to end, is accompanied by coloured drawings, mainly marginal, illustrating and elaborating the text, their significance being generally indicated by crude verses. Three distinct cycles succeed one another in the subject-matter. The first depicts the preliminary Paschal ceremonials, including the preparation of the unleavened bread ; the second illustrates the text of the Haggadah itself, together with a series of events from the career of Moses as elaborated in Jewish tradition ; the third, which covers the concluding part of the service (after the ritual meal), the matter of which is liturgical rather than narrative, illustrates the lives of the patriarchs and other Biblical figures, and ends with the coming of the Messiah. Several scenes figure consecutively round the side and bottom margins of each double page, the opening rather than the folio being the artistic unit. The execution of the work is vivacious, but not masterly ; it is folk-art, though sometimes highly sophisticated.¹ The conception conforms to the general tradition of Ashkenazi or German-Jewish book-art, which, not being subject to the Islamic iconoclastic influences that continued to affect Spanish Jewry even after the Islamic domination ended (as will be seen below), had largely discarded the traditional inhibitions against representational art. In these Ashkenazi Haggadahs representations of the human form appear, in fact, on almost every page.

The tradition of the group of Spanish illuminated Haggadahs which will engage us especially here is quite different. In these, the actual text tends to be decorated rather than illuminated : though text-illuminations, too, figure, in varying number, in most of these as well.² The essential illuminations on the other

¹ For the fullest description of the cycle cf. D. Kaufmann in *Revue des Études Juives*, xxxviii (1899), 74-102, and in his *Gesammelte Schriften*, iii (1915), 229-61.

² It is natural that there should have been some degree of cross-fertilization between the two traditions. Thus a Spanish Haggadah codex, formerly in the collection of the Jewish Historical-Ethnographical Society in Leningrad, obviously reproduces elements from the classical German tradition ; compare the marginal illumination of the Exodus and the angel inspiring it in this codex as reproduced in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, vii, s.v. Haggada, illustration 12, and the scene from the Yahuda Haggadah in Narkiss's monograph on it (reprinted from the *Jerusalem Post*, etc., of 6 April 1944), p. 11.

hand, all or almost all illustrating the Biblical narrative, are not integrated with the text, but are comprised in panels, sometimes two to the page and sometimes four to the page (a characteristic usage which probably began in France in the late twelfth century, thence spreading elsewhere). Moreover, in the manuscripts in question these are all grouped together in the preliminary (and/or sometimes the concluding) pages. They thus constitute, as it were, a pictorial supplement quite divorced from the text artistically and only loosely connected with the subject matter.¹ It would be possible to remove these pages from the codices without impairing in any degree the apparent integrity of the manuscript. Indeed, there are a number of Haggadah manuscripts standing in close relation to these so far as the textual portion is concerned, which perhaps were originally provided with the supplement of illustrations, now lost.²

Of the group of manuscripts in question the following are known to me :

1. Hebrew MS. 6 in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, with which we are here principally concerned.

¹ This system follows a convention fairly common in French codices of the thirteenth century in which the illuminations are similarly assembled at the beginning of the volume, *hors texte*, sometimes facing one another in pairs almost like diptyches. Contrary however to what might be anticipated, this follows or renews a very early convention, found for example in the sixth century "Purple Codex" of the Greek Gospels at Rossano, in which similarly almost all the pictures are in a cycle at the beginning of the manuscript, which can be "read" without the assistance of the text. (cf. A. Muñoz, *Il codice purpureo di Rossano*, Rome, 1907). The medieval Jewish convention may conceivably therefore go back to the late Classical period.

² Illuminated Haggadahs were produced also in some outlying Jewish centres. Thus Cod. Heb. 1388 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, dated 1583 (cf. *Notices et extraits des MSS. de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, xxxviii. 1-26; *Revue des Études Juives*, xlv. 115 ff.) follows the Byzantine rite, is written in a Spanish hand, and is illuminated in the Italian style but according to the German tradition. Its provenance has long been inconclusively discussed, and it is definitely described as French in B. Italianer, *Die Darmstädter Pessach-Haggadah*, Textband, pp. 267-72. The mystery of origin is however easily solved. The scribe-illuminator(?) gives his name as Mattathias son of David Spagnuolo. Mattathias b. David Spagnuolo was Secretary of the community of Candia in 1564-7 (cf. E. S. Artom and U. Cassuto, *Statuta Iudaeorum Candiae* (Jerusalem, 1943), pp. 145 ff.). This manuscript is thus of importance as a specimen of Cretan book-art in the late Venetian period.

2. The Sarajevo Haggadah, in the National Museum, Sarajevo. This, the most famous of all illuminated Hebrew manuscripts, has been exhaustively described by D. H. Müller and J. von Schlosser in a lavishly illustrated standard work *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo* (2 vols., Vienna, 1898): a selection of reproductions in colour with an introduction by S. Radojčić was published in Belgrade in 1953. What will be said in the following pages will be based largely on notes made when I had the privilege of inspecting this remarkable volume during a visit to Sarajevo in October 1959.

3. MS. 422 of the Kaufmann Collection in the Oriental Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest ("The Kaufmann Haggadah"). This has now been reproduced in colour facsimile by the publishing house of the Academy, accompanied by an erudite monograph by Alexander Scheiber (Budapest, 1957).

4. British Museum, MS. Add. 27210: cf. Margoliouth, *Catalogue of Hebrew and Samaritan MSS. in the British Museum*, ii. 200-2 (n. 607); R. Vishnitzer (Wischnitzer-Bernstein) in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, n.s. xiii. 204 ff. (as also for the manuscripts to be mentioned immediately below); and J. Leveen, *The Hebrew Bible in Art* (London, 1944), pp. 99-104, with the four pages reproduced *ibid.*, plates xxxi and xxxii. In this magnificent manuscript, probably the finest of all in execution so far as this part is concerned, the illuminated pages which precede the text are divided into four rectangular panels, with a separate scene on gold ground on each, in a style highly reminiscent of the work of the illuminators of the thirteenth-century Paris School; they cover the Biblical history from the last day of the Creation to the Exodus. There are, however, no miniatures in the actual liturgical text.

5. British Museum, MS. Or. 2884 (*Catalogue*, ii. 197-8, n. 608). The somewhat crude Biblical illuminations on fols. 1^v-17^r, this time two to the page, similarly begin with the creation of Adam and end with the preparations for the Passover (search for and burning of leaven); there are also two full-page illuminations in the text.

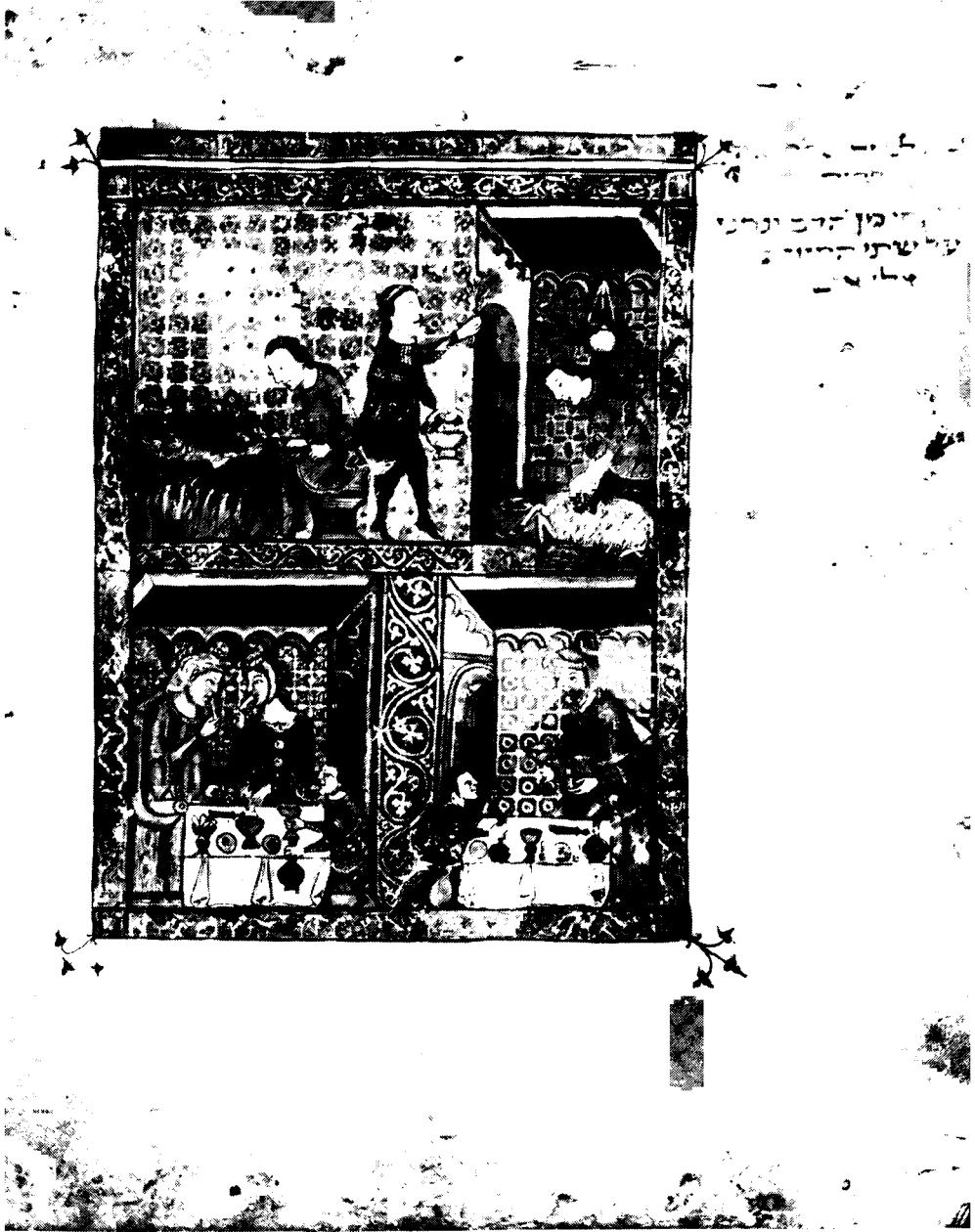
6. British Museum, MS. Or. 1404 (*Catalogue*, ii. 198-200). The Biblical illuminations on fols. 1^v-7^v, two to the page, begin



The Fourth and Fifth Plagues.
(Ravens Beasts and Murrain).
Rylands Hebrew MS. 6, fol. 16^v.



The Miracle of the Red Sea.
Rylands Hebrew MS. 6, fol. 19^r.



The Observance of the Passover.
Rylands Hebrew MS. 6, fol. 19^v.



Page of *Dayyenu* Hymn.
Rylands Hebrew MS. 6, fol. 29^v.

with Moses at the Burning Bush, and end with representations of the Passover service. This manuscript bears, as we shall see, a striking similarity in certain details (especially the preliminary illuminations) to the Rylands Haggadah, and is obviously copied from it, though not probably emanating from the same atelier.¹

7. British Museum MS. Or. 2737 (*Catalogue*, ii. 200-2). In this manuscript the full-page Bible illuminations, naive but very attractive, are on fols. 62^v-93^v—that is, at the conclusion of the text only; they illustrate the history of the Exodus, beginning with the Egyptian bondage and ending with the preparations for the Passover, here treated in rather greater detail than in other manuscripts of the series (ten pages out of the thirty, or a third of the whole number). The last four miniatures, however, conceivably misplaced, revert to the story of the Sacrifice of Isaac. In addition, one full-page miniature and several decorations accompany the text. This manuscript is octavo and probably of the fifteenth century—in any case, somewhat later and smaller in size than the rest of the series, which it imitates at a conscious distance (particularly MS. 2884); it is, as it were, a new composite production along the old lines rather than a late work in the same tradition.

8. University of Bologna, MS. 2559: Haggadah (incomplete) included in prayer-book: cf. Sergio J. Sierra, "Hebrew Codices with miniatures belonging to the University of Bologna", *Jewish Quarterly Review*, n.s. xliii (1953), 229-43.

9. Private possession, Jerusalem (formerly collection of L. Pollack, Rome): cf. article by M. Narkiss offprinted from *Ha-Aaretz*, 26 March 1956.

10. Biblioteca Palatina, Parma, MS. 2411 (= Codex de' Rossi, 1107): cf. E. Munkácsi, *Miniatürművészet itália könyvtáiraiban héber kódexek*, p. 71. I owe to M. M. Metzger information regarding this codex, in which (if it is complete) the illustrations are more limited in number, the old tradition having apparently waned: it is very similar in execution to B.M. MS. Or. 2884.

¹ Dr. H. Rosenau in her learned article on this codex in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xxxviii (2), 1954, to which the reader is referred for further details, appears to me to over-stress the resemblances.

Our principal interest here, however, is in the Rylands Haggadah, and before going further it is desirable to give a fuller account of it.¹ The manuscript is contained on 57 leaves of vellum, measuring approximately 270 mm. × 225 mm.: the preliminary Biblical illuminations are all in rectangular panels, two to the page (sometimes subdivided vertically), the illuminated area covering approximately 132 mm. × 180 mm. A Biblical verse or caption indicating the subject-matter is written in small characters in a narrow oblong panel at the top and bottom of the patterned border in which the illuminations are contained; this has been repeated by a later hand in coarse characters in the outer margin. The illuminations are in gold and colour (scarlet predominating for the costumes). Many of the text-pages, moreover, are lavishly decorated in the margins with floral motifs and drolleries—centaurs, archers, birds, animals and grotesques—in the prevailing Gothic style; these are mainly in blue, mauve and red. Throughout the manuscript, but especially in the actual Haggadah text, initial words or phrases are written, in monumental characters, in letters of burnished gold within finely ornamented panels.

The manuscript opens (like some other Spanish Haggadahs) with a series of hymns, not essentially part of the Passover Eve service.² These—which are apparently in a somewhat later hand, and have their own colophon—are decorated by panels and bands in purple and blue tracery, those in the lateral margins embodying Rabbinical texts in miniscular characters (after the manner of the so-called “Figured Masorah”).

fols. 2^r-4^v Two Passover Eve hymns: see below.

fols. 5^v-7^v Rhymed laws (אזהרות) for the “Great Sabbath” before Passover.

fols. 8^r-10^v Hymns (מערכות) for the evening service on Passover Eve, as in the Ashkenazi rite.

The pages entirely devoted to illuminations now follow, each divided horizontally into two panels, sometimes subdivided:

¹ See for a more detailed description Dr. Rosenau's article referred to above.

² Some of these, of considerable literary importance, are published by Dr. M. Wallenstein in an article in this BULLETIN.

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| fol. 13 ^v | I | The Burning Bush (2 scenes). |
| | II | Moses' rod turned into a serpent. |
| fol. 14 ^r | I | Moses' hand becomes leprous and is cured (2 scenes). |
| | | The return to Egypt. |
| fol. 14 ^v | I | Moses meets Aaron (2 scenes). |
| | II | Signs convince the Children of Israel. |
| fol. 15 ^r | I | Moses and Aaron appear before Pharaoh. |
| | II | The Oppression. |
| fol. 15 ^v | I | Moses and the sorcerers : his rod swallows theirs. |
| | II | First Plague : Blood. |
| fol. 16 ^r | I | Second Plague : Frogs. |
| | II | Third Plague : Lice. |
| fol. 16 ^v | I | Fourth Plague : Ravening Beasts. |
| | II | Fifth Plague : Murrain. |
| fol. 17 ^r | I | Sixth Plague : Boils. |
| | II | Seventh Plague : Hail. |
| fol. 17 ^v | I | Eighth Plague : Locusts. |
| | II | Ninth Plague : Darkness. |
| fol. 18 ^r | I | Tenth Plague : Slaying of the First-Born. |
| | II | The Spoiling of the Egyptians. |
| fol. 18 ^v | I | The Exodus. |
| | II | The Pursuit. |
| fol. 19 ^r | | The Miracle of the Red Sea. |
| | | The Drowning of the Egyptians. |
| fol. 19 ^v | I | Observance of the First Passover. |
| | II | (Divided vertically) Two domestic Passover scenes. |

The text of the Haggadah service then begins, with frequent elaborately-decorated panels containing initial words or phrases. All illuminations are now marginal, sometimes impinging slightly on the text :

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| fol. 20 ^r | A servitor pours wine (illustrating the <i>Kiddush</i> or Sanctification). |
| fol. 21 ^v | The celebrant reclining holds the basket of Unleavened Bread. |
| fol. 22 ^v | R. Eleazar. |
| fol. 23 ^r | The Wise Son. |
| | The Wicked Son, presented as a Warrior. (The Simple and the Inarticulate sons mentioned in the text, usual in later Haggadahs—e.g. the Kaufmann Haggadah—are not represented here). |
| fol. 28 ^r | R. Jose the Galilaeen. |
| fol. 28 ^v | R. Eliezer : R. Akiba. |
| fols. 29 ^r -30 ^r | Illuminated pages for the <i>Dayyenu</i> hymn (see below). |
| fol. 30 ^v | R. Gamaliel sitting in a canopied chair—the most prominent of the marginal figures. |
| fol. 31 ^r | The Unleavened Bread (panel in the middle of the page). |
| fol. 31 ^v | The Bitter Herb (panel in the middle of the page). |

With fol. 36^v the Haggadah ritual ends. There now follow on fols. 37^v to 53^v various hymns for the synagogue service on Passover, and, on fols. 54^r to 57^v, the Grace after meals (omitted at its proper place in the service): at the beginning of this, on fol. 54^r, there is a marginal figure of the officiant reciting the Grace.

In the text, the most lavishly ornamented pages are those which contain the very ancient hymn *Dayyenu* ("It had sufficed us"), which word ends every verse: alternate hemistiches begin with the slightly similar words אלו ("If He had . . .") and ולא ("Yet had not . . .") which comprises the same three letters in reversed order: thus:

If He had brought us out of Egypt
Yet had not executed judgement on them
It had sufficed us.

The scribes and decorators of the Sephardi Haggadahs early realized, perhaps in the pre-iconographic period, the decorative potentialities of this arrangement of words. Hence a feature of the illuminated Haggadah manuscripts of the Spanish school (including not only B.M. MSS. Or. 2884, Or. 1404 and Add. 27210—the oldest of the series—but also those which do not follow the tradition represented in the Rylands Haggadah, such as a manuscript in the Hamilton Collection in the Berlin Stadtbibliothek, with remarkable anthropomorphic lettering, and the fine Provençal Haggadah in the Mocatta Library, University College, London) often devoted two or more entire pages to the decorative engrossing of these verses. (This is not so, however, always: the Sarajevo Haggadah and B.M. MSS. Or. 2737 and Add. 14761 both lack this feature, while in the Kaufmann Haggadah it is somewhat less developed). In the Rylands Haggadah the text of the hymn is indited between two columns, in the first of which the word אלו is written repeatedly in letters of gold one below the other, while a similar column with ולא flanks it on the left-hand side: דינו figures less prominently and in smaller characters within a panel. (The derivative B.M. MS. Or. 1404 has a similar but not identical arrangement). The borders in each case are decorated with characteristic drolleries, which include a centaur-archer aiming an arrow heavenwards, a

crane apparently removing a bone from the throat of a bearded old man, and a huntsman, game hung over his shoulder, directing a hound as it courses a hare. This feature is reminiscent of the conventional representation of a hare-hunt, which is almost invariably inserted at the beginning of the traditional Ashkenazi illuminated Haggadah, the German term *Jahkenhaas* or "hunt the hare" having been interpreted as a mnemonic for the initial letters giving the sequence of the benedictions in this part of the service. (יין - קדוש - נר - הבדלה - זמן)¹

It might be imagined that this fact suggests the dependence on the Ashkenazi tradition in this respect at least of the Rylands Haggadah (and less immediately the Kaufmann Haggadah, which exhibits the same feature, though modified, and with a deer substituted for the hare). But here the Hunt is inserted at a point in the service where the significance vanishes. It seems that we have here, as indeed in the Ashkenazi convention, no more than a pictorial echo of the widespread European practice of a hare-hunt at this season of the year, at Eastertide: a practice itself doubtless rooted in pagan antiquity. (The hare was in fact the sacred animal of the Teutonic goddess of the spring Eostre or Ostâra, from which derives the name Easter, and in Continental Europe is still as characteristic of the season as the egg, which likewise survives in the Jewish Passover observances). On the other hand, the possibility of direct influence (which in this case can only have been from Germany southwards, not *vice versa*) is not wholly to be excluded: a point which should be borne in mind when we consider the origins of this tradition as a whole.

All the Haggadahs in the group under consideration are approximately of the same provenance. When the Sarajevo Haggadah first received the attention of scholars, at the close of the last century, there was some uncertainty about its origin, but it can now be stated unequivocally that the calligraphy as well as the tradition followed in the ritual is without any doubt whatsoever Sephardi—i.e. deriving from Spain or the immediately adjacent areas, such as Portugal or Provence. It was formerly believed that possibly the work might have been executed by

¹ A sort of hare-hunt is comprised also in a drollery on fol. 33^v.

exiles from Spain abroad, e.g. in south Italy. But at the time when the manuscript was executed no such exile-colonies existed, although of course it can never be proved positively that an anonymous scribe or artist did not perform some given piece of work away from his native country. On the other hand, there is some reason to believe that the place of origin of this series of Sephardi Haggadahs was not in fact the Iberian Peninsula but Provence, which in the Middle Ages was culturally and linguistically nearer to Spain than to France, and in Jewish life was more closely allied to Sephardi (Spanish) than to Ashkenazi (Franco-German) Jewry; the Hebrew culture of the area was humanistic rather than Talmudic, the liturgy was, in its main lines, of the Babylonian (i.e. Sephardi) type. In the liturgical appendices to several of the Haggadahs of the series here under consideration there are various elements which seem specifically to point to Provence as the place of origin. For example, in the Rylands Haggadah and in B.M. MS. Or. 1404 there figure among the hymns two (פסח מצרים, מבית און)¹ which are characteristic of the Provençal rite and which persisted in the Comtat Venaissin down to the last century (the former is to be found also in the Sarajevo Haggadah). More significant: these Haggadahs include a special hymn for the Intermediate Sabbath of Passover when that day coincided with the Catholic Holy Saturday (ושמח הדופים רדופים), referring to the enforced segregation of the Jews at this time of the Christian religious year². This, too, later preserved only in the rites of Avignon and Carpentras, has some interesting variants referring to the traditional stoning of the Jews by the mob on this season; the author is the Provençal poet Isaac haSheniri (i.e. of Mt. Ventoux, which overhangs Carpentras) who flourished in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. There thus seems some reason to imagine that the Rylands manuscript, as well as others of the series, originated in this area, with which the tradition of the Sephardi illuminated Haggadah was therefore particularly strongly associated. In view of the obvious French influences in the earliest

¹ I. Davidson, *Thesaurus of Hebrew Poetry*, iii, p. 303, n. 145, p. 77, n. 166.

² Y. Schirman, *Hebrew Poetry in Spain and Provence*, II, pp. 275 ff.; Landshut, *Amude haAbodah*, i. 118-20. Cf. Davidson, *Thesaurus*, iii, p. 227, n. 678.

work of the series, B.M. MS. Or. 27210, and certain other incidental features which seem to show northern analogies, this is particularly interesting. If not Provençal, these manuscripts are presumably Aragonese rather than Castilian—a fact which is emphasized by the prominent engrossing in one of the magnificent opening pages of the Sarajevo Haggadah of what seems to be the coat-of-arms of the City of Barcelona.

The series of the Spanish Haggadah manuscripts that we are considering may be subdivided into two categories. The one, represented by the Sarajevo Haggadah, B.M. MS. Or. 2884, B.M. MS. Add. 27210, and the unfinished Pollack MS., now in Jerusalem, begins the series of illustrations with the Creation and continues to the Exodus (Sarajevo, which is in some respects in a separate category, carries on to the end of the Pentateuch, with the finding of the Manna, the giving of the Ten Commandments, the appointment of Joshua, and the passing of Moses). The other category, represented by the Kaufmann Haggadah, the Rylands Haggadah, B.M. MS. Add. 1404, the Parma¹ and Bologna MSS. and B.M. MS. Or. 2737 (except for the appendix dealing with the sacrifice of Isaac), has a more restricted scope, with greater affinities to the Passover, dealing only with the events of the Book of Exodus, from the birth of Moses down to the triumph at the Dead Sea. Frequently, there is included also in the cycle (in some manuscripts it figures separately) a representation of the Seder meal, no doubt originally intended to represent the first Passover (i.e. one of the Exodus cycle), but afterwards turned into a contemporary scene. It may be observed that there is some affinity between these table-scenes and those shown in some contemporary non-Jewish manuscripts depicting the entertaining of the angels by Abraham (as well as sometimes the Last Supper!).²

¹ M. Metzger informs me that the Biblical illuminations here, very crude, show the Burning Bush, the Plagues, the Exodus, Miriam's dance and the Passover Sacrifice.

² A dog is frequently shown under the table in these scenes. While without question illustrating actual social practice, this may also allude to the reward of the dogs who did not bay after the departing Israelites (cf. Exod. xi. 7). An amateurish Italian Haggadah manuscript in the British Museum shows under the table a scrawny cat, affectionately described. In the Rylands Haggadah, fol. 15r, etc., Pharaoh is shown with a dog on his lap.

It is noteworthy that B.M. MS. Add. 27210, which is apparently the oldest of the series, by far the best executed and one of the fullest, confines itself rigorously to the Biblical story, from the Creation (to be precise, the naming of the animals by Adam; could some earlier pages have been lost?) to the Triumph at the Red Sea (followed by the Passover preparations). This is almost the only manuscript in this sequence which has no illuminations whatsoever, and indeed not many ornamentations, in the text, other than the conventional cake of unleavened bread and bitter herb. The miniature showing Moses' voyage from Midian with his household has a striking affinity to the representations of the Flight into Egypt found in so many contemporary Gospel illuminations.

The Rylands Haggadah, which on stylistic grounds is apparently to be dated in the early fourteenth century (perhaps c. 1320-30), is, as has been mentioned, very similar indeed to the slightly younger B.M. MS. Add. 1404. The subject and general arrangement of the preliminary Bible illuminations is identical in the two manuscripts; and some of the decorated pages bear a similarity down to the most insignificant details, verging on identity, which cannot conceivably be the result of accident. Even the choice, the disposition, the calligraphy and the decoration of the hymns, etc., before and after the text of the Haggadah is strikingly similar; though in the case of the Rylands Haggadah the decoration is richer, while the British Museum manuscript lacks the handsomely decorated Grace after Meals added by way of afterthought at the close of the other.

On the other hand, among the other British Museum Haggadahs a close relationship may be discerned between MSS. Or. 2884 and Add. 27210. The choice of subjects for illustration is very similar (though not identical, more attention being paid in the former to the life of Jacob). In the story of Moses and Jethro's daughters the Well is shown with an almost identical parapet, Moses actually sitting on it in accordance with the strict interpretation of the Hebrew text. In the miniature of the finding of Moses, Pharaoh's daughter does not bathe together with her handmaidens, who are embarrassingly naked beneath the surface of the water, and so on. There can hardly be any doubt that the

clumsily executed B.M. MS. Or. 2884 is based on or copied from or has an immediate common ancestry with the superb Add. 27210. So far as the text is concerned, moreover, the latter displays a very considerable calligraphic similarity—especially in a detail which will be described immediately below—with the Sarajevo Haggadah on the one hand and with part at least (the first pages) of the Adler Haggadah now in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. This was seen on close inspection (March 1958) to be made up of portions of two different Spanish manuscripts (fols. 1 to 13, fols. 14 onwards). It may be conjectured that when complete the first part, at least, embodied also a series of illuminations similar to those in the closely allied MS. Add. 27210, apparently from the same hand, in the British Museum. The same is possibly the case also with a very fine Spanish codex of the Haggadah which has not been mentioned hitherto—B.M. MS. Add. 14761—which, though including a number of admirably executed liturgical scenes and the like (perhaps one half of the total number of the pages are indeed illuminated in one way or another) has no preliminary historical miniatures. In this case, too, there is the conceivability of the loss at the beginning and end of the pages embodying the Biblical cycle.

The sub-group of manuscripts under consideration (i.e. B.M. MSS. Or. 2737, Add. 27210, Or. 2884 and the Sarajevo Haggadah, as well as the first half of the incomplete Adler Haggadah) are distinguished also by the characteristic panels with floral designs, etc., enclosing many of the initial words, the heavy burnished silver enhancing some of these, and especially the fantastically elongated vertical strokes of others, reaching throughout the pages in the middle of the text to the top or bottom margin. This last is a feature I have seen in this form in no other Hebrew manuscripts whatsoever so far as I recall—only in these Haggadah codices.¹ It is significant that

¹ Non-Jewish codices of the thirteenth century very often have somewhat similar elongated strokes of letters descending in the lateral margins, but this is quite different from those here which interrupt the text; a feature unknown, as Dr. Pächt assures me, in non-Jewish manuscripts. The reproductions from MS. Add. 14761 and the Adler Haggadah in *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft zur Erforschung jüdischer Kunstdenkmäler*, vi/vi (Frankfort on Main, 1909), plates 41, 42, and 44, give a somewhat inadequate impression of this detail.

all the Haggadahs embodying this feature (except the derivative B.M. MS. Or. 2737 and the incomplete Adler manuscript) are those which include the full cycle of Bible illuminations, from the Creation onwards. They thus constitute a category of their own, perhaps harking back to a very early prototype.¹ This is a point which demands very careful investigation; it is enough here to point out that the Rylands Haggadah follows a slightly different, perhaps a slightly posterior, tradition.

None of the manuscripts that we have been considering is signed or dated. MS. Add. 27210 is, it seems, the oldest in the series, to judge from the style of the illuminations, which suggest a date towards the end of the thirteenth century. The others are all posterior—the Rylands Haggadah, dating probably, as we have seen, to c. 1320-30, the B.M. MS. Or. 1404 somewhat later still, the Kaufmann Haggadah being ascribed to the third quarter of the fourteenth century or a trifle after, and all the rest belonging similarly to this century.

It was at one time taken for granted that the illuminations in the group of codices represented by the Rylands Haggadah must necessarily be the work of Christian, not of Jewish, artists. This opinion was based not only on the fact that they are so much in the style and tradition of contemporary Christian book-illumination, but also on the prevailing view, that figurative art was not practised by Jews in the Middle Ages; hence any figurative art that appeared in a Jewish context must necessarily be by non-Jewish hands, Christian illuminators being called on to complete the work of puritanic Jewish scribes. The investigations of the past couple of generations have shown that there is no basis for this view. In fact, as we have seen, the tradition of Jewish Bible illuminations goes back to a remote period. Moreover, we know by name numerous Jewish illuminators, with no

¹ On the other hand, so far as the text-illuminations are concerned many features are shared by MS. Add. 14761 in the British Museum (the fine Spanish manuscript mentioned above, lacking the preliminary Bible cycle) and the Kaufmann Haggadah—e.g. the inclusion of the textual illumination in oblong panels, the angelic fanfare which surrounds the representation of the unleavened bread, etc. M. Metzger informs me that there is a close similarity also between the Parma Haggadah and B.M. MS. Or. 2884. We thus seem to be faced with three or four sub-groups of the conventional Spanish Haggadah codex.

iconophobic inhibitions, who were at work in the Middle Ages. (One may instance Nathan ben Simeon, who illuminated, at Cologne in 1295, the Kaufmann Maimonides Codex, now in the Academy of Sciences, Budapest: or the thirteenth-century Spaniard Isaac ibn Sahula, who is known to have illustrated his collection of fables, *Meshal haKadmoni*). Hence there is no *a priori* reason to question that Jewish artists were responsible for the illumination of Hebrew books. Sometimes, certainly, this was not the case. But conversely it may well be that some illuminated non-Jewish codices of the Middle Ages may have been the work of anonymous Jewish illuminators whose identity was perhaps deliberately suppressed.¹

On the other hand, in this Haggadah series there are various features which seem to suggest positively that the illustrations, or at all events their prototypes, were the work of Jews. Not infrequently they shew familiarity with the rabbinic elaboration of the Bible story, as reflected in the Midrashic literature. Thus (to take one example from the Rylands Haggadah, repeated in others of the series) the infant Moses is shown removing the crown from the head of Pharaoh, who is advised by his three counsellors to test the child with a burning brand so as to ascertain whether he was tempted by ambition or by the brightness; in fact he puts the brand to his mouth, this being the reason for his defective speech in later life (Exodus Rabbah, i. 18). Again, in the miniature showing Moses and the Burning Bush, a human figure appears in the midst of the flame, in accordance with the legend (Canticles Rabbah ii. 5, etc.) that the fire which Moses saw here was the Angel Gabriel. Such legends penetrated of course into the Christian folklore of the Middle Ages,² but it is less likely that a non-Jew would have included them consistently in his pictorial representation of the Bible story. Moreover,

¹ For a consideration of this problem see the preliminary essay and Dr. F. Landsberger's enlightening chapter in my *History of Jewish Art* (Jerusalem, 1959: shortly to appear also in English).

² For example, the "man" who finds Joseph wandering in the field (Gen. xxxvii. 15-16) is depicted as an Angel in accordance with the Midrashic story not only in the Haggadah B.M. MS. Or. 2884, but also in other illustration cycles, Christian as well as Jewish: cf. O. Pächt, *Ephraim-illustration, Haggadah und Wiener Genesis*, in *Festschrift Karl M. Swoboda* (1959), pp. 213-21.

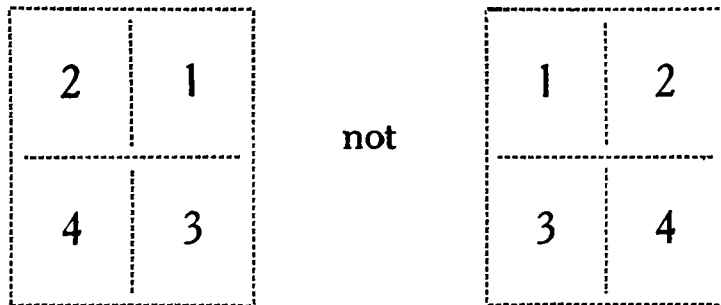
occasionally the illuminations seem to show familiarity with the Hebrew text, which they illustrate literally: thus, as has been mentioned, in B.M. MSS. Or. 2884 and Add. 14761, Moses is shown sitting on the parapet of the well in Midian, in literal conformity with the Hebrew text of Exodus ii. 15. The representation of the Fourth Plague is another significant point. According to the prevalent Jewish interpretation, it consisted of an inroad of ravening animals, while according to the Vulgate and Christian tradition the plague was of flies. In all the Haggadah manuscripts belonging to this group the illumination follows the Jewish tradition; thus in the Rylands Haggadah and its faithful follower, B.M. MS. Or. 1404, beasts and reptiles are seen attacking Pharaoh and his Court.¹ The Sarajevo Haggadah similarly depicts at this stage thick-bodied legged serpents, pulling down their prey. Apparently, the intention was to represent the crocodile, the traditional beast of the Nile—again perhaps an indication of a remote, possibly Oriental origin for the pictorial tradition here in question. The “serpents” in the Rylands Haggadah and its derivative may also be explained sometimes in this manner, but are less distinctive.²

What is perhaps the most important evidence of the ultimate Jewish authorship of these illuminations is their orientation. In a Latin work, beginning from the left of a volume, and with the script running from left to right, the illuminations naturally tend to follow the same direction; that is to say, the story is unfolded from left to right, and the climax is on the right, where the most important figure serves as the focus of the whole. Similarly, if two scenes are represented in one panel, that which is later in time is normally on the right, and that which is earlier on the left. In a Hebrew work, all this is naturally reversed.

¹ Dr. Rosenau, in her article referred to above, states that a plague of flies is depicted: she seems to have misinterpreted the background. In fact, the serpents and scorpions shown in the illumination are the creatures specifically mentioned in the Rabbinic sources.

² I have found no indication in any ancient Jewish authority of such an interpretation of the Fourth Plague. The “serpent” of Aaron’s Rod is also shown as a crocodile in the Sarajevo Haggadah; that a crocodile should swallow up mere serpents seemed perhaps rational. These details suggest that the medieval Jewish iconographic tradition as manifested in these manuscripts has a literary importance also, illustrating legends for which no written evidence survives.

Now, in the tradition followed by the works in this group (though less markedly in the Rylands Haggadah), the Hebrew sequence is generally followed. The characters proceed most frequently from right to left. The climax is reached on the left. Where there are two scenes in one panel, or a panel is divided into two sections, that on the left is the later. B.M. MS. Or. 27210 is particularly important from this point of view, with its fifty-six miniatures, four to the page, disposed in the way which would be natural only for a Jew. Not only are the individual illuminations conceived in the Hebrew fashion, proceeding from right to left, but they are consistently grouped in the way which would come automatically to the Jewish but not to the Christian scribe, as it were thus :



Not once, in the whole of this protracted series of illuminations, has the artist reverted to the order which would be a matter of course to a Christian scribe—though it was not a detail of fundamental importance, and a mistake would presumably have been allowed to remain.¹ In this manuscript, moreover, in the miniature depicting Jacob's Dream the name of the patriarch figures in Hebrew lettering. Thus there seems to be every reason to believe that this most important and competent series of illuminations, notwithstanding their particularly close analogies to contemporary Christian book-art, are the work of a Jewish artist.

To be sure, there are in some of these Haggadahs certain features which seem to suggest at least strong non-Jewish influences. For example, in B.M. MS. Or. 2884 the naked Noah is shown holding his penis, and the maidservants of Pharaoh's

¹ This is the case also at the beginning of the Sarajevo Haggadah, where the Creation scenes are similarly grouped four to the page.

daughter are shown not merely naked, but *visis genitalibus* (so also in the allied B.M. MS. Add. 27210). At one point at least in the Rylands Haggadah, illustrating the plague of frogs, and more than once in the Sarajevo Haggadah, the narrative moves from left to right (though in other manuscripts of the series the Hebrew order still persists). Of course, excessive importance should not be attached to this consideration, as conversely in a number of Christian manuscripts the narrative proceeds in fact in the Jewish order, from right to left. Some of these as it happens depict Old Testament subjects¹ and it is interesting to speculate whether this may not perhaps imply Jewish iconographic antecedents. Another significant detail is the fact that in copying B.M. MS. Or. 1404 from the Rylands Haggadah the artist introduced some tell-tale variations. For example, Biblical or Jewish characters, shown with covered heads in the Rylands Haggadah (though not in the case of the marginal figures of Rabbis!), are bareheaded in the copy, contrary to Jewish tradition.

What seems to result from these evidences is that the illuminations of the Spanish Haggadah cycle probably go back to Jewish prototypes and may well be in many cases the work of Jewish artists, though sometimes they perhaps emanate immediately from Gentile artists who may have departed here and there from their originals. On the other hand, it is not to be excluded that there may have been a non-Jewish link somewhere in the chain of transmission.²

¹ Cf. for example some of the scenes of the Joseph cycle in the *Histoire Universelle* reproduced in H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957).

² A proof that the Sarajevo Haggadah (and by implication the sister-codices) cannot have been the work of a Jewish illuminator has been seen in the fact that the seventh day of creation, the Sabbath, is here represented by a man seated in repose. This was alleged to represent God: and no Jewish artist would have represented God, even had the visual arts been tolerated in his environment. This is not so certain, for the Deity is certainly represented in the Vision of Ezekiel included in the engraved title-page to the Mantua edition of the Hebrew Bible, *Minhat Shai*, of 1742. However, the discussion is beside the point. The Master of the Sarajevo Haggadah represents the idea of Sabbath repose by the figure of a man resting, and that this is intended to represent the Deity is improbable in the extreme.

When, on the other hand, we turn from the preliminary pages to the text of these Haggadahs, it is difficult to imagine that the illuminator could have been a non-Jew. In the Rylands Haggadah, as in the other works in the series, the incidental ornamentations and drolleries are fully integrated with the Hebrew lettering. The marginal illuminations scattered throughout the work form harmonious parts of the pages on which they figure. In the splendidly-balanced pages devoted to the *Dayyenu* hymn, above all, it would be impossible to divorce the elegant text from the decorations (again including the human figure) which flow out into the margins. It can hardly be doubted that here at least scribe and illuminator were identical; and if here, why not elsewhere? It is arguable perhaps that the preliminary pages with the Biblical illuminations are from one hand, and the text-pages from another. But this explanation is not only hypothetical but also superfluous.

The pattern of the manuscripts belonging to this group is the same in every case. There are close similarities, as has been mentioned, in the presentation, arrangement and decoration of the text-pages. But the distinguishing feature is that which has been described already, i.e. the presence, either before, or before and after the text, of a supplement of illustrations devoted to the Pentateuchal story, concentrating on but not restricted to the Exodus and the life of Moses. In the arrangement of these volumes, moreover, these illustrations are wholly divorced in every sense from the text, their bearing on which is only tangential.

This absence of correlation between illumination and text is characteristic of another class of Spanish Hebrew manuscripts, and seems therefore to be a result of the circumstances and environment of Spanish Jewish history. We must revert for a moment to the general consideration of the problem of Jewish book-art in the Middle Ages. It has become increasingly evident of recent years that the conventional story which so long prevailed, that before their Emancipation in the nineteenth century the Jews were excluded from representational art by their strict interpretation of the Ten Commandments, has only a restricted validity. In fact, from a remote antiquity (as the

synagogue frescoes of Dura Europos have made clear) representational art flourished among the Jews at certain periods and under certain conditions. However, when their neighbours objected to this (as during the iconoclastic reaction in the Byzantine Empire, or during the period of Moslem domination in Africa and Spain) the Jews, with their specific tradition, could not afford as it were to be more tolerant or more negligent in this respect than others were, and they too became iconoclastic, this influence continuing perhaps for a while after the original justification had passed. This is presumably the reason why the earliest and freest examples of Hebrew manuscript illumination emerge surprisingly enough as has been indicated above in the less humanistic German-Ashkenazi, not in the more humanistic Spanish-Sephardi, environment. Moreover, when at last, and tardily, manuscript illuminations emerge in the last-mentioned area, there was a tendency, first, to keep them as far as possible non-representational, and secondly to divorce them from the actual text. Thus the classical type of the Spanish Hebrew illuminated Bible manuscript has no, or few, illuminations to the text. The ornamental portion is hence restricted to a series of lavish decorations in preliminary or appended pages; these display, moreover, only the slenderest relation to the text, which itself is only anaemically and sporadically decorated. Thus, in these illuminated Hebrew Bibles, some of them very magnificent and obviously produced regardless of expense (such as the Kennicott Bible in the Bodleian Library, the Lisbon Bible MS. Or. 2626 in the British Museum, the Farhi Bible in the Sassoon Collection, the Ibn Gaon Bible in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Hebrew Bible of the University of Aberdeen, and so on), there are to all intents and purposes no illuminations whatsoever accompanying the actual text, while the superb illuminations which figure before and after this have no physical or contextual relationship to the pages which are the reason for the existence of the manuscript.¹

¹ See my monographs *The Aberdeen Codex of the Hebrew Bible* (Edinburgh, 1958), *The Kennicott Bible* (Oxford, 1957), "A Masterpiece of Spanish Jewish Art" in *Sefarad*, xii (1952), 351-68. There is a close parallel to this convention in the inclusion at the beginning of some contemporary Christian Gospel manuscripts of the Canonical Tables of Eusebius, sumptuously indited within

The same *mutatis mutandis* may be said of the classical Spanish Haggadah manuscripts. Here, too, there are in most cases few or no illuminations illustrating the text; and those illuminations which exist are (as in the case of the Bibles) at the beginning or end, standing quite apart physically and contextually from the Haggadah liturgy which is the subject-matter of the volume. One cannot but imagine that the similarity of pattern is derived from the same circumstances. But we are faced with the extraordinary paradox that in the Biblical manuscripts, where one would expect to find illustrations of the Bible story, they are illogically excluded, whereas they are inconsequentially appended to the Haggadah manuscripts with which their connection is incidental or even absent!

In connection with this we have to take into consideration the fact already alluded to, that it now seems to be pretty well established that in antiquity there existed a conventional Jewish book-art, centering on the illumination of the Bible, and particularly of the Pentateuch. This is testified most clearly in a Jewish context in the Dura Europos synagogue frescoes, which in the opinion of some scholars were conceived in the first place as book- rather than as wall-pictures: while Christian sacred codices such as the Codex Amiatinus, the Ashburnham Pentateuch, the Vienna Genesis and so on provide parallel evidence transferred into a European context.

Apart from the cycle of Pentateuchal illustrations, there are some other points in which the conventional Haggadah of the Spanish tradition seems to link up with the primitive tradition of Hebrew illuminated Bibles. In the Rylands Haggadah, the textual illuminations are confined to marginal representations of Rabbis, always seated on what may be termed a Chair of Instruction or Cathedra, at almost every point where a specific scholar is mentioned in the text. This is the case also where the text mentions the Wise Son as one of the prototypes of the four types of child to whom the Passover story is to be expounded.

ornamental borders and comprising thus the most elaborate decorations of many codices. Some of the Hebrew Bibles (e.g. the Aberdeen Bible) sometimes concentrate likewise on purely formal materials or even lists of a somewhat similar type disposed in an analogous fashion.

The case is similar in most of the other classical-type Spanish Haggadahs. In the Sarajevo Haggadah this feature is particularly prominent. Here, apart from the Biblical illuminations there are only two or three full page miniatures ; one of these is devoted to a much-copied representation of Rabban Gamaliel sternly seated before his pupils.¹ Now, there is good reason to imagine that a seated figure of a scribe figured in the primitive Hebrew illuminated Bibles in the early centuries, analogous to the model of the seated figure of the evangelist who conventionally figures in Byzantine and early Latin codices of the Gospels. Indeed, in that prefixed to the Codex Amiatinus, believed to represent Ezra the Scribe, what can hardly be other than a phylactery is clearly to be observed on the forehead, surely a definite indication of a Jewish prototype, especially as the Torah-scribe traditionally wore the phylacteries when copying the sacred scriptures.² It can hardly be mere coincidence that the Spanish Haggadah codices, which perpetuated, as it seems, the tradition of the Hebrew Bible illuminations of the early centuries, preserve also the seated figure of the Teacher-scribe which figured likewise in them.³

The conventional illuminated Hebrew codex of the classical period seems to have comprised also a representation of the Tabernacle, which in due course became transformed into the

¹ R. Gamaliel also figures specifically in the Rylands Haggadah, the Pollack Haggadah, the Sassoon MS. 514, Parma MS. 2411, the Adler Haggadah, etc. The prominence this scholar receives may be due to the fact that in the Middle Ages he was associated with Jewish scholarship in a unique fashion, the Talmud being popularly called—at least among Gentiles—Gamaliel!

² See my article " Jewish Antecedents of Christian Art ", *ut supra*.

³ The Ashkenazi Haggadahs also conventionally show representations of various Rabbis and of the " wise " Rabbinical son, but the *cathedra* is less in evidence, and R. Gamaliel is not singled out as in the Sephardi tradition. A similar figure of the Teacher occurs also at the end of Leviticus as one of the sparse illuminations to the Pentateuch MS. Add. 15282 in the British Museum (German, fourteenth century).

Another classical reminiscence which persisted in the German (and N. Italian) Haggadah manuscripts is a sort of columbarium or chequer-board depicting the (caricatured) *dramatis personae*. This figures not only in the privately-owned Haggadah illustrated in my article in the *Warburg Journal*, but also in a Haggadah formerly in the Dyson Perrins Collection and one in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York.

Torah-shrine and thereafter in some circumstances into a book-chest, figuring as such in association with the Evangelist in the early Gospel manuscripts. In the Jewish tradition, this feature was possibly perpetuated in the stylized representation of the Tabernacle and its vessels which was a usual feature of the illuminated Spanish and Provençal Bible manuscripts.¹ This might conceivably be the reason why it does not figure generally in the Haggadah manuscripts of this school. However, in the Sarajevo Haggadah a whole page at the end of the Biblical cycle is devoted to the representation of a shrine inscribed with the first words of the Ten Commandments; although labelled as the Temple that was to be rebuilt, it is in fact no other than a stylized Torah-shrine such as is to be found in some of the Bible manuscripts.² This is inserted in the Sarajevo Haggadah so inconsequentially and one might say illogically that the most ready explanation for its presence is that it represents a tradition which the artist blindly and uncritically followed. It is remarkable in any case that the Sarajevo Haggadah devotes two full pages—out of the three or four in the entire manuscript—to illustrations reproducing features which are believed to have figured in the Hebrew illuminated Bibles of classical antiquity.³ And it is perhaps significant, too, that this manuscript contains the most complete cycle of illustrations of the entire series—with least relevance to the Passover—extending from the Creation over the whole of the Pentateuch. There is thus some reason to imagine that here we have the most faithful reflection of the illuminated Pentateuchal manuscript of the classical period, now lost, which the Rylands Haggadah reproduces also but somewhat less fully.

The existence of the family of Spanish Haggadah manuscripts, accompanied by a series of Pentateuchal illustrations,

¹ See my article in the *Warburg Journal*, *ut supra*.

² Reproduced in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xxxviii (1950), facing p. 470.

³ The other full-page illumination at the beginning of the Sarajevo Haggadah, after the "Temple" page, shows a Synagogue interior, wholly superfluous in the context, the open Torah-shrine figuring prominently. It is conceivable that this duplicates the Tabernacle page of the early prototype. This hypothesis could explain the presence of Synagogue scenes, somewhat incongruously, in a relatively large number of these purely domestic Haggadah rituals.

can, as it seems to me, be explained in only two ways. The first is highly improbable: it is, that some individual in this orbit had this novel idea, and that the manuscript which he commissioned or inspired or executed was thereafter copied and recopied by others, notwithstanding the general prejudice in this environment against any delineation of the human form in normal circumstances. The only alternative explanation that readily occurs is that all this represents an older tradition, other and earlier manifestations of which are no longer preserved.

This series of illustrations does not, however, belong basically to the tradition of Haggadah illumination. If this were the case, the text and the subject-matter of the Haggadah would obviously provide the essential material for the illustrations. But the fact is very different. In the later manuscripts, such as the Kaufmann Codex, the Biblical illuminations serve indeed, as it were, as a prelude to the consistent illumination of the Haggadah. But, as we have seen, in the oldest and finest—the Sarajevo Haggadah, the Rylands Haggadah, B.M. MS. Add. 27210—the text of the Haggadah is on the whole only decorated (in the last-mentioned no illuminations whatsoever figure) and even in the illuminated preliminary pages there is nothing illustrating the actual observance of the feast, other than the original Passover in Egypt, now given here as it were a contemporary relevance. Moreover, in those of the series which cover also the Book of Genesis, only a minority of the illustrations deal with the Exodus, the majority being devoted to the story of the Patriarchs, with certain significant stresses. Thus, in the Sarajevo Haggadah, 18 or 20 miniatures out of a total of 66, and in B.M. MS. Add. 27210, about 12 out of 56—in either case a disproportionate number, in a work dealing specifically with the Passover—are devoted to the story of Joseph, which is believed (again on the analogy of early Christian art) to have contributed particularly to the subject-matter of the primitive Jewish cycle of Bible illumination.¹ A cycle of illuminations originally planned to illustrate

¹ See for this and for some striking instances of interdependence, O. Pächt, *Ephraim-illustration, Haggadah, und Wiener Genesis in Festschrift Karl M. Swoboda* (1959), pp. 213-21.

the Haggadah must have been differently planned and would have had a better balance.¹

We are compelled to the conclusion that this series of illuminations of the Pentateuchal story was originally developed in connection with the Pentateuch rather than the Haggadah, being placed together in the manner of the early Gospel manuscripts, such as the Purple Codex of Rossano mentioned above: whether the usage originated with the Jews or Christians is another question, but the former possibility is not perhaps to be wholly disregarded. This conclusion is reinforced by various facts mentioned above, e.g. that in some of these works the seated figure of the Scribe which apparently figured in early Hebrew Biblical manuscripts survives, accompanied, in the case of the Sarajevo Haggadah at least, also by the representation of the Ark (Book-Chest) which was a conventional feature of these manuscripts; and that the story of Joseph, which is believed to have been so prominent in this early Jewish cycle of illuminations, is so extremely and unnecessarily prominent also in the Haggadah sequence.²

How, however, the cycle can have been transferred from one category of manuscript to the other is very difficult to comprehend. With all possible diffidence, the following explanation of the

¹ There are two more cycles of Bible illustrations in Ashkenazi illuminated manuscripts. The very fine (and in the context of Hebrew illuminated manuscripts very early) miscellaneous volume Add. 11639 (thirteenth century: approximately 1278) in the British Museum comprises among its 41 fine illuminations (some multiple) at least 33 illustrating various episodes in the Pentateuchal and Biblical story, in no logical or chronological order, but possibly deriving nevertheless from a methodically illuminated Bible codex. A Franco-German manuscript Pentateuch of about 1300, now in the Schocken Library, Jerusalem, has on its opening page 46 roundels representing the entire Pentateuchal story from the Creation to the Death of Moses, paying very special attention (20 scenes) to the career of Joseph, as in Spanish Haggadahs.

² The evidence assembled by Joseph Guttmann, in "The Jewish Origin of the Ashburnham Pentateuch Miniatures", *Jewish Quarterly Review*, n.s. xliv (1953), pp. 65-9, gives reason to believe that there is some connection between the picture-cycle of the Ashkenazi Haggadah and a primitive cycle of Jewish Bible illuminations (see also O. Pächt's important article cited above). An entirely different line of transmission must have been followed in this case. This would strengthen the arguments proposed above, yet at the same time suggest even more remote origin, for by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the disparity between the two traditions, Sephardi and Ashkenazi, was vast.

transition is suggested. As has been shown, these Haggadah illuminations perpetuate in a modified form the traditional illustrations to the Hebrew Pentateuchal codex of antiquity. The triumph of iconoclastic principles, after the rise of Islam, resulted in the omission of these illustrations from the traditional Sephardi Bible codex. Their place here was now taken by the purely decorative pages which thereafter became characteristic of Spanish Hebrew Bible illuminations, even these, however, being placed before and after the text so as not to impinge on the Bible itself. The entire cycle of illuminations was nevertheless preserved—perhaps in Provence, outside the iconoclastic Moslem orbit. Here, however, it was utilized to illustrate not the Bible but the somewhat less sacred Passover ritual, part of the cycle having some bearing on the Haggadah text. In due course, the series in question came to be modified by omissions and additions which adapted it more to the Paschal setting. Of the codices which now emerged, one of the finest specimens extant is the Rylands Haggadah.

ADDITIONAL NOTE : THE SCROLL TRADITION.

Professor Kurt Weitzmann has put forward the view (especially in his *Ancient Book Illumination*, Harvard University Press, 1959) that illuminated scrolls of literary works were known in Hellenistic Alexandria, these being the precursors of the illuminated codex of late classical times and the Middle Ages. This form was long traditional with one Hebrew work, the Megillah or Scroll of Esther, many hundred illuminated specimens of which are extant. The earliest dated specimen known to me (other than some purely fantastic) is in the Library of the Liverpool Athenaeum, ostensibly of 1453, but certainly much posterior ; Hebrew MS. 22 in the Rylands Library, dated 1511—a remarkably fine example of this art form—similarly appears from the costumes, etc., to belong to the close of the century. Hence the handsomely decorated (rather than illuminated) Megillah now in the Library of the University of Jerusalem (formerly at Frankfort), written at Castelnuovo near Sienna in 1557, seems to be the oldest extant of assured date. On the other hand, it obviously reflected a well-established tradition,

presumably going back to the Middle Ages. Of this we apparently have evidence also in a marginal illustration showing the Ten Sons of Haman in a Hebrew Bible manuscript of 1238 in the Breslau Stadtbibliothek, codex 1106 (reproduced in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, vi. 805-6: but the illumination does not seem to be so early) and less positively in the three miniatures depicting the story of Esther included in the rich series in British Museum MS. Add. 11639 of 1277/8. The illuminations to the Book of Esther in the fifteenth-century Alva Bible also show affinities to the later convention of the illuminated Megillah (e.g. in the illustration of the Rabbinic legend that Zeresh threw the household slops over her husband's head imagining that he was Mordecai). The panel devoted to the story of Esther in the third-century Dura Europos synagogue frescoes suggest a contemporary tradition of illumination, possibly in scroll form: it is significant that the same episodes figure as in the thirteenth century British Museum manuscript referred to above. A gap of almost 1,000 years remains to be filled, but as in the case of the Passover Haggadah continuity of tradition is not impossible. That the Bible illustrations preserved in the Rylands Haggadah, etc., originated similarly in illuminated scrolls is a possibility which should not be overlooked¹.

¹ A significant although late instance in the tradition of Jewish book-art of the transference of illuminations from scroll to volume is to be found in the mediaeval illustrated handbooks to the Holy Places of Palestine, possibly based on earlier prototypes: cf. the reproduction in my work *The Casale Pilgrim* (London, 1929), originally conceived in scroll-form.