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Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

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God, Self and Other in the Sarajevo Haggadah: An Iconographic Analysis

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Supervisor:
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Bog, samoprezentacija i prikaz Drugoga u Sarajevskoj Hagadi: Ikonografska analiza

DOKTORSKI RAD

Mentor:
Dr. sc. Dino Milinović

Zagreb, 2015

To the first mentors in my life,

My parents

For Dino who initiated the steps and
For Paola who encouraged me to travel further,
With greatest appreciation

For Kamesh
Whom I met on the journey

INFORMATION ON MENTOR

Dino Milinović, PhD

Dino Milinović was born on 14 October 1959 in Zagreb. After completing the Classical Gymnasium he has graduated the Archeology and Art History from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb (1984). He has finished his postgraduate studies in "Civilization of the Late Antiquity" in Paris (Paris IV-Sorbonne), where he acquired his Diploma of Advanced Studies (*Diplome des études approfondies*) (1986) and the doctoral diploma (*Doctorat du IIIe cycle*, 1989), which has been recognized as the MA in human sciences in Zagreb (1998).

He has submitted and defended his doctoral thesis (An Ivory Plenarium from the Treasury of the Zagreb Cathedral) at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb (2005). From 1992 to 1998 he worked in the public administration as a Secretary General of the Croatian Commission for Cooperation with UNESCO; and during the period 1999-2001 he was a cultural attaché in the Croatian Embassy in France. From the academic year 2001/2002 he lectures at the Department of Art History of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb, where he has been elected to the associate title of senior teaching assistant (2006), then to the scientific title of assistant professor of human sciences (2007) and in 2013 to the scientific-teaching title of associate professor. At the Department of Art History he is lecturer at the following study programs: "Introduction to iconology" (from 2001), "Art of Antiquity" (from 2004) and "The Transformation of the Antique World" (from 2008). He has created and held a number of elective courses within the undergraduate and graduate studies. He lectured at the postgraduate doctoral studies in art history, at the postgraduate doctoral medieval studies and at the postgraduate doctoral studies in Croatian culture (2011). From 2007 Professor Milinović works as a guest professor at the Department of Art History at the Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities in Mostar; he was head of the postgraduate doctoral art history studies from 2008 to 2012. He has participated in more than fifteen international and domestic scientific conferences. Professor Milinović was awarded two scholarships abroad, both times at *Ecole Française de Rome* (October 1987 and February 1997). He officially represented Republic of Croatia at the session of the World Heritage Committee of UNESCO (2014).

Dino Milinović has published his work in Croatian, French and English language. He is fluent in German language as well.

1) *Nova post vetera coepit. Iconography of the first Christian Art,* FF Press, Zagreb, 2015 (printed);

2) *«An Unknown Ivory Carver from the Treasury of Zagreb Cathedral»*, in: *Ars auro gemmisque prior, Mélanges en hommage à Jean-Pierre Caillet*, ICLAMA, Zagreb – Motovun, 2013, pp. 293-300;

3) *«Writing History, Shaping Images in Later Roman Empire»*, in: *IKON*, 5, Rijeka, 2012, pp. 15-28;

4) *«Triton: the Taming of the Antique Monster »*, in: D. Milinović and J. Belamarić (ed.), *The Metamorphosis of Myth. Mythology in art from the Middle Ages to modern art. Zbornik Dana Cvita Fiskovića IV*, Zagreb, 2012, pp. 77-90;

5) *«The Reliefs of the Ivory Plenarium from the Treasury of Zagreb Cathedral: Problems of Interpretation*, in: *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 35, Zagreb, 2011, pp. 7-18;

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1) D. Milinović, A. Marinković, A. Munk (ed.), *Master Workshops in the Croatian Art Heritage, Zbornik Dana Cvita Fiskovića V*, Zagreb, 2014.

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APSTRACT

This dissertation examines the various ways in which God's presence and Jews and non-Jews were depicted in an extraordinary manuscript produced for Jews known as the Sarajevo Haggadah, through a consideration of the manuscript's art historical, intellectual and local contexts.

Through a careful iconographic analysis, my dissertation explores the various ways in which God's presence was depicted in the images illustrating the key biblical events. My research argues the meaning of the different depictions of God's presence (for example, golden rays) and their correspondence to different attributes or actions of God (such as act of creation or communication). Another intrigue aspect of the illuminations of the Sarajevo Haggadah is the lack of distinction in portrayals of Jews and non-Jews. My research interprets these differences as images of self-perception of Jews in medieval Catalonia as well as the state of Jewish-Christian relations. Engaged study of these aspects (God, Self and Other) with the study of medieval book workshop allows me to contrast artistic and intellectual dynamics between Jews and Christians and to better understand representational choices in medieval illuminated manuscripts. By examining the images in the Sarajevo Haggadah my dissertation provides the key to unlocking some of the Sarajevo Haggadah's most intractable iconographic mysteries.

KEYWORDS

The Sarajevo Haggadah, illuminated manuscripts produced for Jews, the National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, book art of the fourteenth century, Joseph R. Kohen, depictions of God's presence, depictions of Jews and non-Jews, Catalonia, *haggadot*, Sephardic *haggadot*, the ten plagues.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI

Sarajevska hagada, iluminirani rukopisi napravljeni za Židove, Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Herzegovine, umjetnost knjige četrnaestog stoljeća, Josef R. Kohen, prikazi Božjeg prisustva, prikazi Židova i ne-Židova, Katalonija, hagade, sefardske hagade, deset pošasti.

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INTRODUCTION

The Sarajevo Haggadah, an extraordinary fourteenth-century illuminated manuscript produced for Jews, appeared for the first time in the records of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the late nineteenth century. It was purchased in 1893 from the Sephardic Kohen family. From the time of its purchase to the present day, the Sarajevo Haggadah is considered to be one of the most valuable artifacts in the collection of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Sarajevo Haggadah became a part of the National Museum's permanent collection after it was returned from Vienna where it was scientifically examined by the team of three international scholars (1895 – 1913). After the examination of the manuscript, the first publication on the Sarajevo Haggadah (1898) was published. This publication prompted the scholarly interest on the Sarajevo Haggadah in particular, and on the other illuminated manuscripts for Jewish commissioners in general. Several studies appeared after the 1898 publication. Written by scholars from the United Kingdom, Germany and Israel, they contained mainly general observations of the historical and art-historical contexts of the Sarajevo Haggadah. Parallel to these publications domestic scholars introduced the Sarajevo Haggadah to the Yugoslavian public. The first study by Svetozar Radojčić (1953) contained general observations on the manuscript. However, its importance lies in the fact that for the first time the illuminations of the Sarajevo Haggadah were published and introduced to the scholarly and general public in Yugoslavia. The second study by Eugen Verber (1983), a researcher of Jewish culture, appeared as a preface to the facsimile edition of the Sarajevo Haggadah. Both publications yield a valuable insight into the history of the Sarajevo Haggadah, possible artistic influences on its narrative cycle and decorations, and specific interpretations of the biblical text. The latter one, in addition, contains a short description of the images, introduction to the parts of the Seder dinner and the history of the Passover holiday as well as an overview on liturgical poems appearing at the end of the manuscript. Despite of all these studies many questions about the manuscript still remain unanswered. Additionally, no detailed iconographic interpretation of the images of the Sarajevo Haggadah or systematic study is written on the manuscript. Even though the descriptions of particular

episodes of the narrative cycle of the Sarajevo Haggadah exist, they are often examined in relation to the other manuscripts or *haggadot*, with little focus on the findings as whole.

Each chapter of this dissertation introduces a new perspective on the Sarajevo Haggadah. The first chapter provides an account of the history of the Sarajevo Haggadah, and its relation to the other Spanish medieval *haggadot.* It gives an overview on the development of the *haggadah* as a ceremonial book for the Passover, its structure and content. This chapter also introduces the materials and techniques used for the production of books made for Jews, particularly in medieval Spain, and contrasts these findings to the existing knowledge about the production of the books for Christians. In addition, the political and social circumstances in medieval Spain, in particular Catalonia, are briefly reviewed. The last part of this chapter is dedicated to the early research on the Sarajevo Haggadah and its origin. Besides this, it also includes a detailed description of the physical characteristics of the manuscript, the different types of the decoration appearing in the illuminated folios as well as the description of the present condition of the manuscript.

The second, central chapter of the dissertation entitled "Depicting God's presence in the Sarajevo Haggadah," offers an iconographic analysis of fifteenth images representing different portrayals of God's presence. In no other known illuminated medieval manuscript are representations of God's presence so varied, ranging from golden rays to possibly even a fully anthropomorphic figure of God. Some of these images, such as the images illustrating God's spirit hovering over the waters (Gen. 1:2), and human figure on the day of rest (Gen. 2:2), have no parallels in Jewish art from antiquity till the medieval period. The question that this chapter poses is: why was God's presence depicted in these images and what is the nature of His presence in each one? I show that the illuminator made intentional use of different representational choices where different depictions of God's presence correspond to different natures or actions of God. In my analysis of the extraordinary range of visual representations of God's presence in the Sarajevo Haggadah, I parse the different possible motivations driving the illuminator's choice of iconographic diversity. As mentioned, I raise the possibility that the various depictions of God's presence (golden, white and red rays, a cloud, a hand, angels and a horn) are used to portray different natures or actions of God. I suggest, for example, that the golden rays descending from Heaven and illuminating Earth represent divine speech and an act of creation. Furthermore, the illuminator sometimes used

the same visual motif to represent two different actions of God. For example, the images illustrating the destruction of the biblical town of Sodom, on the one hand and Moses and the burning bush, on the other, demonstrate the two different meanings of the red dashes. In the first image, the dashes signal an act of destruction, whereas in the second one they represent an act of communication. In addition, I contrast the images of the Sarajevo Haggadah's narrative cycle with those in the manuscripts made for Christians. In doing so, I explore the similarity and differences in the iconography of the images in the manuscripts made for Jews and Christians, respectfully. The similarities and differences between these images reflect knowledgeable usage of the visual language and influence of the theological differences, living religious practices and additional texts that inspired the iconography of the certain episode.

The third chapter, "Portraying Self and Other in the Medieval Workshop" explores how the creators of the Sarajevo Haggadah understood their moment in history. It argues that the iconography of the images could be interpreted not only as a reaction to contemporary circumstances but also as a reaction to Christian models and doctrine. I used the images of the cycle of the ten plagues to illuminate these attitudes. By exploring the punishments that God sent to Egyptians and the plagues that befallen to Egypt, this part of thesis explores Jewish-Christian relations (as the biblical Egyptians/Israelites could be understood as contemporary Christians/Jews in the fourteenth-century Catalonia), and internal Jewish debates regarding representational strategies (the style and iconography). This chapter shows that the creators of the Sarajevo Haggadah deliberately used the iconography and the visual language to portray the differences between Jews and Christians in a subtle way. The differences are the most apparent in a way the biblical protagonists are dressed and in head coverings (for example, while the Pharaoh has a crown, Moses and Aaron wear the hoods). I argue that the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah made an intentional choice in portraying these differences. Another intriguing aspect that this chapter examines is the portrayal of the differences among Jews themselves in a more apparent way. As my research proposes, the hooded figures among the Jews represent the most important protagonists of the biblical narrative. Furthermore, as the iconographic analysis suggests, these figures directly or indirectly communicated with God and witnessed His presence (for example, God communicated with Moses in the episode of the burning bush and instructed him to lead the

Israelites out of Egypt). In addition, this chapter gives an overview on theological concerns regarding the biblical prohibitions against making and worshiping images. I explored these questions in connection with the "portraying Self and Other" by contrasting the images of the ten plagues from the Sarajevo Haggadah with the images in other *haggadot*. The primarily reason for contrasting the images from *haggadot* and not from the manuscripts made for Christians is the different historical value, the place and the role of this narrative cycle for their audiences.

Finally, the concluding chapter analyzes the dissertation's findings as a whole, reflecting on the meanings of different depictions of God's presence and their connection to contemporary Jewish life in medieval Catalonia, the state of Jewish-Christian relations and differences in representations of the Jews and non-Jews.

POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES

During a few centuries of the Spanish Middle Ages, the Iberian Peninsula was a scene of a decisive territorial conquests and changes in the religious character of the ruling kingdoms. These changes had a great impact not only on modification of socio-political structure, but also on the territorial division of the peninsula, social and political circumstances and cultural and religious life.

The Muslim conquest of Spain, which started in 711 with battle of *Guadelete*, formally marked the collapse of the weakened Hispanic Visigothic kingdom and foundation of Al-Andalus (the Arabic name for the parts of Iberian Peninsula under the rule of Spanish Muslims). The main goal of the Muslim conquest was enlargement of the Islamic caliphate. In addition, the conquest ensured the presence of the Islamic socio-political and cultural-religious organization on the European continent. After defeat (711), the remaining Visigothic nobility retreated to northwestern part of the peninsula and founded the Kingdom of Asturias. The Christian population of this kingdom would initiate the so-called "Reconquista" – the campaign for overthrowing Muslim rule.

Muslim presence on the peninsula lasted almost eight centuries, and the Christian kingdoms would need the same time to weaken and finally destroy it. The Battle of Poitiers (732) marked the end of the Muslim territorial conquests in Western Europe. However, due to the mutual conflicts between Christian kingdoms, further Christian successes on the battlefield did not occur before the eleventh century (when Toledo, at the time under the Islamic rule, was conquered in 1085). The caliphate was gradually suppressed in seven phases towards the south of the peninsula (map 1), and re-conquered territory was divided between the Christian Kingdoms of Castile, Leon, Catalonia and Aragon. The turning point of the Reconquista was the *Las Navas de Tolosa* battle (1212), which enabled Catholic kingdoms to put the major part of Al-Andalus under their rule (with the exception of the powerful Granada caliphate which was ruled by the Nasrid dynasty). In the next centuries, during the last phase of the Reconquista, Christian kingdoms tried to expel Muslims from the Iberian Peninsula, but succeeded only in the sixteenth century. The troops of the so-called

Catholic kings (*Los Reyes Católicos*), Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabela of Castile defeated Granada emirate (1492) and centralized the government.

The Reconquista ensured the modification of political and territorial organization of the Christian kingdoms. In contrast to the early Middle Ages when the Iberian Peninsula was divided into many small independent states, after the Reconquista (during the late Middle Ages) they were united. The political map of medieval Spain in the thirteenth century reveals the new situation of the united Christian kingdoms with dominant Kingdoms of Castile and Leon (united in Kingdom of Castile in 1230), Navarre, Portugal and Crown of Aragon (map 1a). Kingdoms differed in language, customs, religion and ethnic composition. [1]

Unlike the other Christian kingdoms with centralized governance, the Crown of Aragon was a complex political entity. It was founded in 1137 by the unification of the Kingdom of Aragon and the Catalonian Counties (Barcelona, Gerona, Vic, Besalú and Cardagne). Each kingdom kept its political, cultural and social characteristics, language and governing institutions. Also, Barcelona remained the capital of Catalonia and Saragossa the capital of Aragon.[2] The Crown of Aragon did not establish the permanent capital, although the political center was the city of Saragossa (the site of the coronation of kings), and the economic centers were the cities of Barcelona and Valencia. In the next two centuries, the Crown of Aragon grew into a politically stabile and powerful federation. The conquest of the Balearic Islands, Valencia and Sardinia, would expand the Crown's possessions along the southwestern part of the Mediterranean coast, thus establishing successful state ties with France and improving trade relations with the towns in Italy. Expansion of Aragonese power along the Mediterranean coast would initiate demographic changes and cultural exchange between the countries, as well.[3] On the other hand, the Kingdom of Castile, founded in 1230 by unification of Kingdoms of Castile and Leon, dominates the central part of the Iberian Peninsula. Unification, after more than seventy years of secession, allowed change and stabilization of political power that will last throughout middle ages.[1] In that way, already at the beginning of thirteenth century, the political and territorial frame of the medieval Spain,

[1] Joseph O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (1975), 428.

[2] Katrin Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Between Islam and Christianity*, *The Decoration of Hebrew Bibles in Medieval Spain* (2004), 12-13; O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (1975), 225.

[3] Katrin Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Between Islam and Christianity* (2004), 12-13.

with two powerful kingdoms – Crown of Aragon and Kingdom of Castile with the capital in Toledo – was concluded.

The success of the Reconquista, economic expansion and the development of international trade during the thirteenth and fourteenth century accelerated demographic transformations. Muslims and Jews remained in the Christian kingdoms after the Reconquista,[4] helping to preserve its diverse population.[5] However, it is important to mention that changes in the population structure and its growth (doubled in period from 1130 to 1340) were part of the general economic and social changes that swept Europe.

Various written sources and chronicles from the thirteenth and fourteenth century enabled the estimation of the number and structure of the population in some Iberian Kingdoms.[6] Population estimates, including certain minorities in the Crown of Aragon were made on the basis of population censuses taken in 1359 and 1365-1370. According to these sources, the population of Catalonia in the fourteenth century amounted to 450 000 approximately, including 18 000 Jews and 9 000 Muslims, mostly residing in the south of the country.[7] Although the Jewish community in the Iberian Peninsula was larger and more prosperous than in other European regions, at the end of the thirteenth century it did not exceed, for example, the number of 400 families in Toledo (where the Jewish community was largest). Yitzhak Baer, a historian of the Jews in medieval Spain, studied the Jewish population in the two most influential kingdoms (Castile and the Crown of Aragon) and introduced valuable information. His estimate of the Jewish population was based on the list

[4] Joseph O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (1975), 459.

[5] Details on the population in the Iberian Peninsula see in Joseph O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (1975), 459; J. N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms*, 1250 – 1516, Volume I, 1250 – 1410, *Precarious Balance* (1976), 30; Angus MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages. From frontier to Empire, 1000 – 1500* (1991), 58-78.

[6] At this point, three Catalonian chronicles written during the thirteenth and fourteenth century, should be mentioned. They contain valuable information about the development of the Catalonian kingdom during the thirteenth and fourteenth century. Chronicle of King Jaume I *Libre deles feyts* (Book of Deeds), is valuable and detailed source, especially for the period from 1228 to 1240, and from 1265 to 1274. Second chronicle is mainly dedicated to the rule of Peter the Great (Peter III or Aragon), descendant of Jaume I. It is believed that chronicle was written between 1283 and 1288 by Bernat Desclot (who was probably priest at the royal court). The third chronicle was written by Remon Muntaner, and covers two time periods – first from 1205 to 1327, and second from 1325 to 1327. J. N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms*, 1250 – 1516, Volume I (1976), 233.

[7] Joseph O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (1975), 459.

of tax payers for 1290. Baer also noted that the estimated number is not final, since it was not possible to determine the number of children and servants in the household, nor the number of families that were too poor to pay taxes.[8] According to Baer's study, in the Crown of Aragon, Jews formed a large community, which constituted between 2 and 6 percent of Crown's total population. Following this estimate, it is also possible to conclude that Jews constituted "perhaps more than 10 percent of the population of large cities."[9] Jews mainly lived in cities where they established Jewish quarters (*juderias, call dels jueus*) with self-government. The *aljama* (Hebrew - *Kahal*), the council of old and wise men governed the life organization inside and outside the community.[10] Beside the *aljama,* king appointed the chief rabbi who had judicial powers and was responsible for the Jewish population in several regions.

Historical sources confirm that the Jewish community was paying taxes to the Christian kingdoms, and an additional thirty *dineros* monthly in a symbolic memory of the thirty silver coins paid to Judas to betray Jesus Christ. The payment of an additional fee was introduced, as described by Fernando IV, "in memory of the death of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom the Jews condemned to the Cross."[11] In Castile, specific regulations, as this one, that governed the organization of life in the kingdoms were compiled in the late thirteenth century into a constitutional codex know as *Siete Partidas.* This codex is valuable for several reasons: along with the consolidation and regulation of different aspects of socio-political life, the codex of *Siete Partidas* enables us to examine the relationship between the dominant and minority religious groups in the Iberian Peninsula.[12] For example, Chapter VII, 24, 1 explains the reasons why the "church, emperors, kings and princes" allowed the Jews to live with Christians ("the reason why the Jews were permitted to dwell among them and with Christians is because they have always lived, as it were, in captivity, as it was constantly in the minds of men that they were descended from those who crucified our Lord Jesus

[8] J. N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms*, 1250 – 1516, Volume I (1976), 30-31.

[9] Paola Tartakoff, *Between Christian and Jew, Conversion and Inquisition in the Crown of Aragon 1250-1391* (2012), 5.

[10] Joseph O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (1975), 464.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Katrin Kogman-Appel, *The Sephardic Picture Cycles and the Rabbinic Tradition: Continuity and Innovation in Jewish Iconography*, Zeitschrift für Gunstgeschichte, 60 Bd., H. 4 (1997), 451.

Christ").[13] In addition, the same Chapter (VII, 24, 4) reminds Christians of the sanctity of the synagogue: "Because a synagogue is a place where the name of God is praised, we forbid any Christian to deface it or remove anything from it or take anything out of it by force." These regulations also confirm that, with certain restrictions, Jews were guaranteed religious freedom.[14] In simplified terms, this meant, on the one hand, that during Shabbat Jews "were not to be summoned to court." On the other, the erection of new or the enlargement of old synagogues could be made only with royal approval.[15] Jews' subordinate status is evident also in royal regulations requiring Jews to dress distinctively. According to these regulations, Jews were obligated to wear yellow badges or six-pointed stars on the front and the back of their clothes. However, even the rulers did not abide to these regulations. The fact that the Jews had a decisive role in the development of re-conquered towns of Lerida, Tortosa and Huesca (in the twelfth century)[16] Majorca and Valencia, as well as in finances and the administration at the royal courts might be a part of the explanation why the regulations regarding distinctive clothing for Jews were not adhered to.

Following the rapid growth of the population, in 1348, the Black Death (*La gran mortandad*), spread through Europe. In some cities of the Iberian Peninsula (for example, in the cities of Catalonia, which were the most exposed to the plague), the population was reduced by one quarter. The situation reduced incomes and prices. In addition, the Black Death led to another fluctuation of population and the arrival of a large number of merchants and artisans from other countries and cities, mainly from Genoa. Although these fluctuations

[13] Joseph O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (1975), 464-465.

[14] In one of the earliest research on medieval Spanish Jews entitled *Estudios históricos, políticos y literarios sobre los Judíos de España* (1848), José Amador de los Rios noted "the shift from the "tolerance" of Alfonso VIII, Ferdinand III and the stipulations of the *siete partidas* to the "persecutions of minorities" under Ferdinand IV and Alfonso XI." After Alex Novikoff, *"Between Tolerance and Intolerance in medieval Spain: An Historiographic Enigma*," in Medieval Encounters 11, 1-2 (2005), 15. Similar arguments are found in the later research describing medieval Spanish society either as society of "tolerance" or "intolerance." For general overview on topic, see Jonathan Ray, "*Beyond Tolerance and Persecution: Reassessing Our Approach to Medieval Convivencia*," in Jewish Social Studies 11, no. 2 (Winter 2005), 1–18; Maya Soifer, *"Beyond convivencia: critical reflections on the historiography of interfaith relations in Christian Spain,"* in Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies, 1:1 (2009), 19-35.

[15] Joseph O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (1975), 465.

[16] J. N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms*, 1250 – 1516, Volume I (1976), 239.

did not affect the ethnic structure of the peninsula overall, they affected the class structure and lifestyle.[17] More concretely, in Catalonia, the merchant population with "more cosmopolitan attitudes" increased due to commercial relations with the Mediterranean, while an "aristocracy jealous of their privileges" inhabited Aragon.[18]

Although the end of thirteenth century marked political victory and the conquest of the Christian kingdoms, the Islamic presence (territorially suppressed to the south of the peninsula, and politically and military weakened) remained throughout the next two centuries. Map of the Iberian Peninsula from 1212 (map 1a), shows that the peninsula during this period, was more than ever in its history the land of the three monotheistic religions.[19]

[17] Joseph O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (1975), 461.

[18] Ibid., 429.

[19] J. N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms*, 1250 – 1516, Volume I (1976), 16.

HISTORY OF BIBLICAL PROHIBITION AGAINST MAKING AND WORSHIPING IMAGES

A prohibition against graven images was recorded for the first time in the Book of Exodus (20:3-4) which forbade making "anything that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth." This verse is also known as the Second Commandment. The prohibition is mentioned again in other books of the Tanakh and, with minor differences regarding the type of forbidden things, it contains the same message forbidding idolatry.[20]

If the prohibition had been observed scrupulously, there would be no figurative art among Jews.[21] However, Jewish art since biblical times indicates otherwise. It seems that interpretations of the Second Commandment were influenced by cultural and artistic norms in the places where the Jews lived. Art from periods that interpreted the Second Commandment liberally depicts human and animal forms.

During the biblical period, the prohibition against graven images was not strictly enforced. The Tanakh itself provides details about Hebrews who were skilled in a range of crafts (Ex. 35:31-35). In particular, Bezalel and Oholiab, who decorated the sanctuary in the wilderness, are mentioned by their names in the Tanakh. It is plausible that these "desert artists" followed Egyptian artistic forms in decorating the sanctuary and that the Hebrews took these forms with them to Canaan. The pair of cherubim placed over the Ark of the Covenant confirms that ancient Hebrews did not strictly follow the prohibition against making heavenly beings. Later, this pair of cherubim was included in the inventory of

[20] While the Book of Exodus (20:3-4) gives "general" prohibition of graven image and making anything that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth, Book of Leviticus (26:1) mentions, in addition, making no idols, or pillar of figured stone. Book of Deuteronomy (5:7-8) repeats prohibition from Ex. 20:3-4 but also mentions no making form of any figure, likenesses of male or female, likenesses of any beast, or winged fowl, anything that creepeth on the ground, or any likeness of fish that is under the water (4:16-19). The prohibitions against making and worshiping images are described in detail in different parts of the Book of Isaiah 41:29; 42:8,17; 44:9-20; 45:20 and they emphasize adhering to single God.

[21] Figural art is art in which recognizable figures or objects are portrayed. The term "representational art" is used synonymously. *The Oxford Dictionary of Art,* Third edition, (2004).

Solomon's Temple and existed till its destruction together with other examples of figurative art such as depictions of twelve oxen and palms.

After the Hebrews returned from the Babylonian exile, artistic development was opened to the other influences, first from Persia and then from Greece. Following the invasion of Alexander the Great and hellenization, however, the Jewish people in the Land of Israel started to interpret the Second Commandment more strictly, as a sign of revolt against Greek rule. They began to eschew Greek art and culture because of its idolatry and representations of human forms. When the Greek king Antiochus IV decorated public spaces and even the Temple itself with statues and images for adoration, "the religious reaction against this, under the Hasmoneans, inevitably fortified the Jewish opposition to any form of representational art."[22]

During the rule of King Herod (37 – 4 B.C.E.) attitudes towards the Second Commandment varied greatly. Herod himself did not permit any imagery in his fortress in Masada, but he tolerated placing statues and images in other non-Jewish parts of his kingdom with substantial Jewish populations. On the other hand, nationalist extremists used rigid interpretation of the prohibition against images to express their disapproval of the Romans. Some even refused to handle coins with the emperor's effigy. When King Herod placed an eagle over the Temple gate as a symbol of Rome, the Jewish community reacted against this. Josephus justified the revolt by way of reference to observance of the Second Commandment. Moreover, he led a campaign of iconoclasm which resulted in forbidding all images.[23]

The prohibition against images existed over the next two centuries, but it was interpreted in a wide variety of ways, applying primarily to the images whose purpose was idolatry. It is known that rabbis did not object to statues of heathen deities placed in baths emphasizing their decorative purpose. For example, when Rabban Gamliel was asked how could it be proper for him to frequent a Roman bath at Acre with the statue of goddess Aphrodite he retorted: "There is no goddess. […] In the Torah it is only stated their gods, meaning what is treated as a god is prohibited, what is not treated as a god is permitted" (TB

[22] *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Second edition, (2007), 493.

[23] Encyclopaedia Judaica, Second edition, (2007), 493; Joseph Gutmann, *"The Second Commandment and the image in Judaism"* in *No graven images* (New York, 1970), 10.

AZ 44b).[24] Other talmudic sources (TJ, Av. Zar. 3:1, 42c) also confirm a more tolerant attitude towards the Second Commandment, stating that all likenesses were to be found in Jerusalem before the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. except those of human beings.

Preserved artifacts from antiquity can also confirm more tolerant attitude toward the biblical prohibitions against making and worshiping images. Decorative symbols and figures of animals and humans were found in the synagogues of the second to fifth centuries. For example, human forms were found in the mosaics of the sixth-century Bet Alpha synagogue in Israel where the biblical event of the Binding of Isaac is complemented by figures of Abraham and Isaac. Another example where the human figures are even more explicit are in fresco paintings from the third-century synagogue at Dura-Europos in Syria. In these frescos, biblical events were depicted in a very hellenized style, directly violating the verse from Tanakh.[25] According to some scholars, the depiction of human forms at the place of worship makes it likely that human forms might have also been depicted in the biblical codices.[26] In addition, the discovery of frescoes in Dura Europos gave rise to the theory that Hebrew illuminated biblical codices existed and that they influenced early Christian manuscripts. The close similarity between the frescos of the synagogue at Dura Europos and early Christian manuscripts (for example, sixth-century Vienna Genesis) supports this theory. Not many examples of figurative art have been found in the diaspora synagogues of the classical period. However, a few mythological figures were found in Jewish catacombs in Rome. It is believed they were primarily used for decorative purposes without any biblical connotations.

Practice and attitudes in following the Second Commandment among Jews under the Islamic rule in Spain was variable. As mentioned above, religious authorities had varying levels of tolerance towards figurative art. For some, making any likenesses of human forms out of any material, even for decorative purposes, was strictly prohibited while others were more tolerant, forbidding only human but not animal figures.[27] Preserved medieval Spanish

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[24] Lionel Kochan, *Beyond the Graven Image. A Jewish View* (New York, 1997), 95.

[25] Carl S. Ehrlich, *"Make yourself no graven image:" The Second Commandment and Judaism*: http://www.umass.edu/judaic/anniversaryvolume/articles/18-D1-CEhrlich.pdf, accessed on November 10, 2013.

[26] *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Second edition, (2007), 494.

[27] *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Second edition, (2007), 495.

art and architecture show a range of practices, as well. For example, manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible were under the influence of non-representational Islamic art and contained geometric decorative panels (see, for example, the Parma Bible),[28] while *haggadot,* under the influence of Christian Psalters, contained miniatures with representations of biblical events and figures.[29]

[28] Parma Bible, Parma: Biblioteca Palatina, MS Parm 2668.

[29] Katrin Kogman-Appel, "*Hebrew Manuscript Painting in Late Medieval Spain: Signs of a Culture in Transition*" in The Art Bulletin, 84, (2002), 246.

THE TRADITION OF ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS PRODUCED FOR JEWS IN THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

Book production in the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages flourished between the beginning of the fourteenth century, following the general development of the book production and the end of the same century when it was violently stopped by unfavorable political circumstances. At the beginning, during the fourteenth century, the Sephardic book production started to develop parallel to political, cultural and scientific development of the Jewish communities, reaching its peak during this period. This development was abruptly stopped by the outbreak of the Christian violence towards Jewish communities in 1391, never reviving to the same extent as before.[30] Discussing the development of illuminated manuscripts produced for Jewish commissioners in the Iberian Peninsula, Katrin Kogman-Appel notes in her study on the *Jewish book between Islam and Christianity* that, during the reign of Jaime II (1291 - 1327), Alfonso IV (1327 - 1336) and Pedro IV (1336 - 1387), numerous Jewish schools for illumination were founded. During this period, until the outbreak of plague (1348), "the most impressive manuscripts in the history of the Spanish Jewish illumination were produced."[31]

Even though there is a scholarly consensus about the existence of workshops for Jewish commissioners in the medieval Iberia, little is known about them, as none of them has been identified. Thus many questions remain unanswered. However, preserved manuscripts and other documents from the period allow us to indirectly study some of the questions related to Sephardic book production.

In Spain, the medieval period was marked by intensive cultural exchange between three religions, Islam, Judaism and Catholicism on the one hand, and changes and

[30] David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of the Minorities in the Middle Ages* (1996). For details, please see the epilogue and the chapters three and seven.

[31] Katrin Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Between Islam and Christianity, The Decoration of Hebrew Bibles in Medieval Spain* (2004), 14.

transformations of their cultures and lifestyles on the other.[32] In the sphere of art, these changes enabled intertwining different artistic heritage and attitudes towards arts. Such mixture, in turn, resulted in creating specific visual traditions in Spain. The visual vocabulary of Jewish art in Spain illustrates this point. The style and iconography of various art objects, in particular the style and iconography of the Jewish illuminated manuscripts produced during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, show an interesting link with both Islamic and Christian artistic heritage.[33]

On the one hand, the production and decoration of the Hebrew Bibles was strongly influenced by Islamic art, characterized by geometric and floral decoration, abstraction and ornaments one finds on carpets, while, on the other, the style of the narrative cycles of *haggadot* "echoes the artistic taste of Christian Europe."[34] Researching the development of these book types, scholars noted that the production of the Hebrew Bibles started in Castile during reigns of Fernando III (1217-1252) and his successor Alfonso X the Wise of Castile (1252-1284), and around 1300 in Roussillon.[35] From the regions of Castile and Roussillon the production expanded to Catalonia and Aragon, where it continued during the fourteenth century. The earliest examples of Hebrew Bibles, of which the oldest one, known as the Castilian Bible, dates back to 1232, show common visual language expressed by a non-figurative approach.[36] Beside this common preference for non-figuration, other motifs of decoration, such as the implements of the Tabernacle, the plans of the Temple, the tree on the

[32] For an overview on the topic, please see Vivian B. Mann, Thomas F. Glick, Jerrilynn Dense Doods, *Convivencia*: *Jews, Muslims and Christians in Medieval Spain* (2007) and Joseph Shatzmiller, *Cultural Exchange: Jews, Christians and Art in the Medieval Market Place* (2013).

[33] Katrin Kogman-Appel, *Hebrew Manuscript Painting in Late Medieval Spain: Signs of a Culture in Transition*, The Art Bulletin, Vol. 84, No. 2 (Jun., 2002), 246.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Katrin Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Between Islam and Christianity, The Decoration of Hebrew Bibles in Medieval Spain* (2004), 14.

[36] The earliest decorated Bibles from Castile are the Castilian Bible produced in 1232 in Toledo (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, hebr. 25), the Damascus Keter produced in 1260 in Burgos (Jerusalem, Jewish National and University Library, cod. 4^0 790) and the First and Second Cambridge Castilian Bibles (Cambridge University Llibrary, Add. 465 and Cambridge University Library, Add. 3203).

top of the Mount of Olives and the usage of micrography, are found among the Spanish Hebrew Bibles from the period (fig. 1, 2 and 3).

The same study shows that the development of *haggadot* also started in Castile in the late thirteenth century and flourished in Catalonia between 1320 and 1375.[37] This group of illuminated manuscripts is characterized by the narrative cycles that illustrate the biblical history of the Jews. In other words, the visual vocabulary is mainly figurative. The common feature of these *haggadot* is that their narrative cycles are completely disconnected from the text, often appearing at the beginning of the manuscripts, rarely at their end. Besides the narrative cycles, the decoration program of some *haggadot* contains text illustrations in margins while others are characterized by aniconic approach recognizable in floral, geometrical or micrographic motifs.[38]

Observing the development of the Hebrew Bibles and *haggadot* in Spain raises the following interesting questions: how did these two completely different visual traditions appear in medieval illuminated manuscripts produced for Jews and how did they exist side by side in the same geographical region and at the same time? Even though there is intense scholarly debate about these questions, there is a consensus that the visual language of Jewish art was developed under the influence of the environment where the Jews lived. In other words, Spanish Jewry was an integral part of the Islamic Empire, and later an integral part of the Christian Kingdoms. In a cultural sense, the Islamic dominance, even though suppressed at the end of the thirteenth century to the south of the Peninsula, was present in the next two centuries. However, later territorial conquests by Christians, as some historians such as Joseph F. O'Callaghan argued, changed the status of Spain from the western outpost of the Islamic Empire to a group of Christian Kingdoms, and Christian Spain, previously a minority

[37] Katrin Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Between Islam and Christianity, The Decoration of Hebrew Bibles in Medieval Spain* (2004), 14.

[38] For the first group, see London: British Library, MS Add. 14761 and Jerusalem: Israel Museum, MS 180/41, formerly in the Sassoon collection MS 514. For the second, see so-called Mocatta Haggadah, London: University College Library MS 1 or the Poblet Haggadah. After Katrin Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Between Islam and Christianity, The Decoration of Hebrew Bibles in Medieval Spain* (2004), 182.

of the frontier, became part of the Christian Europe.[39] New circumstances that lead to Spain's territorial partition also forced the migration of the population and demographic, socioeconomic and cultural changes. Researching Sephardic book production in this specific historical moment, scholars as Bezalel Narkiss argued that the Jewish schools of illumination were "the transmitters of Jewish art from the Muslim east to the western Europe." Hebrew Bibles, whose decorative program is characterized by a non-figural approach as one finds in Islamic art and the style of the *haggadot* that reflects the influence of Christian gothic art, illustrate this point.

Also, discussing the general development of the medieval manuscripts produced for Jews, scholars such as Kurt Weitzmann and Joseph Gutmann introduced a theory about their existence from the early period of antiquity, whose iconography, it is believed, influenced both the early Christian and the Late Antique Jewish narrative cycles.[40] The same theory argued for the existence of Jewish interpretations of the biblical text, which influenced the early Christian Old Testament iconography (Christian and Byzantine manuscripts). If so, early and medieval Christian art was a transmitter of iconographical patterns which once existed in Jewish art and which re-appeared in the decorative programs of medieval illuminated manuscripts for Jewish audiences, in particular in *haggadot*.[41]

All these interpretations about different artistic influences encourage detailed analysis of medieval Jewish book production in Spain. Although very few Spanish Jewish manuscripts were preserved from the Islamic period (and no decorated ones), they attest to the existence of Sephardic book production, which continued to develop during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The majority of preserved manuscripts were produced in the period

[39] Joseph. F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (1975).

[40] This theory is highly questionable as there are no preserved examples of illustrated Jewish manuscripts from antiquity. On major opinions regarding this matter see, Joseph Gutmann, "*The Illustrated Jewish Manuscript in Antiquity: The Present State of the Question,* in No Graven Images. Studies in Art and the Hebrew Bible (1971), 232-242.

[41] For early studies on this topic see, Kurt Weitzmann, "*The Question of the Influence of Jewish Pictorial Sources on Old Testament Illustration,*" in Joseph Gutmann (ed.), No Graven Images. Studies in Art and the Hebrew Bible (1971), 309-328. For recent studies see, for example, Katrin Kogman-Appel, "*Bible Illustration and the Jewish Tradition*," in John Williams (ed.), Imaging the Early Medieval Bible (1998), 61-96.

of Christian rule in Spain and their style is "directly related to major schools of the Christian illumination, although it maintained its own special Jewish tradition in decorative program, in certain motifs and in its iconographical repertoire."[42] Bezalel Narkiss first introduced this viewpoint, and although it is a broad observation, which lacks further explanations, it allows a consideration of general characteristics of the manuscripts produced for the Jewish commissioners in Spain.

Common features of illuminated manuscripts produced for Jews can be found in, among other things, motifs of decoration and the sources on which the illustrations were based. The Hebrew script does not have capital letters and therefore decoration of the initial letters in the classical sense (as in the manuscripts produced for Christians) did not exist.[43] Instead, the initial words or even the entire paragraphs in illuminated manuscripts for Jewish audiences were decorated, as it is case with the illuminated Qur'ans. Apart from initial word panels, micrography or precise text writing in the form of geometric or floral motifs was used for the decoration of the individual units in the text or the entire folios.[44] The primary source for the illumination of the manuscripts for Jewish commissioners was the text of the Tanakh (the Hebrew Bible). Important additions to the biblical text were legends based on the midrashic comments and texts of which the two most frequently quoted were *Genesis Rabbah* and *Exodus Rabbah.*

In addition, through the analysis of the style and content it is possible to study specific characteristics of the manuscripts produced in certain Spanish regions. One of the main problems of this approach is that the scholarship was focused more on the research of the particular manuscripts and specific problems and less on the general research of the specific schools of illumination. However, a few classifications of medieval Sephardic schools of illumination were introduced to the scholarly world.

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[42] Bezalel Narkiss, Aliza Cohen-Mushlin and Anat Tcherikover, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Isles* (1982), 15.

[43] Initials as a graphic decoration appear rarely in Jewish manuscripts, such as in the later the Darmstadt *haggadah* from the fifteenth century. Eugen Verber, *The Sarajevo Haggadah*, preface to the facsimile edition (1999), 20.

[44] Comments and the list of irregularities in writing, spelling and reading of the biblical text known as *masorah magna* were preserved in micrographic motifs in text margins.

In one of the first studies on *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*, Bezalel Narkiss distinguished two schools of Spanish illumination – the Northern-Spanish school and the Catalan and Castilian schools. His classification was based on the geographical region as well as on the artistic influences to which these schools were exposed.[45] In other words, the style and iconography of the manuscripts produced in the Sephardic schools of illumination were inspired by visual heritage of both the East and the West.

The style of the Northern-Spanish school is the oldest known Spanish style preserved in the illuminated manuscripts produced for Jews. Narkiss argued that the style of the Northern-Spanish schools was a product of the cultural exchange of the northern parts of Spain and Provence with a dominant influence of the Northern-French school. The majority of the preserved manuscripts of this school are large format Bibles, whose folios were decorated as carpet pages or arabesques (for example, manuscript known under the label cod. hébr. 1314, hosted in the National Library of France in Paris). [46]

The Northern-French style is also preserved in the manuscripts of the fourteenth-century Catalan and Castilian schools, with the elements of classical, local Spanish style. In addition, the French, Italian and Byzantine influence can be found in this group of manuscripts. For example, shading the figures and dividing the pages with the fields for the images show the Italian (Byzantine) influence, decoration of initial words panels and arches French one, and in some manuscripts arabesque is executed in the local characteristics of the Spanish-gothic style. Often, in the one the same manuscripts different influences can be identified. For example, in the Golden and Sister *haggadot*, Byzantine and Italian influences, in the Sarajevo Haggadah French (mainly in style) and Italian, while in the Farhi Bible prevails Spanish gothic style.[47]

As Jewish illuminated manuscript made in Catalonia is the topic of this dissertation, the following discussion will be focused on the tradition of illuminated manuscripts produced for Jewish commissioners in Catalonia. The development and production of the illuminated Bibles, *haggadot* and other documents in Catalonia followed the general development of the book production in other Spanish regions. Still, the book production for Jewish

[45] Bezalel Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts* (1969), 21-28.

[46] Ibid., 21.

[47] Ibid., 22.

commissioners in Catalonia started only at the end of the thirteenth century, reaching its peak already during the fourteenth century, when various types of the manuscripts and documents were produced and decorated.[48] The earliest examples of medieval Jewish manuscripts produced in Catalonia include the Perpignan Bible dating from 1299 and the Golden Haggadah dating from the period 1320-1330 (fig. 4 and 5). In quality of illumination, the medieval manuscripts made for Jewish commissioners in Catalonia followed contemporary Christian ones. Furthermore, their visual language often shared the same artistic influences, in particular the style (French and Italian Gothic due to close ties with France and Italy). The analysis of the style was one of the key elements in attribution of these manuscripts to the Catalan workshops, as none of them was identified.[49]

Scholarly studies indicate that schools for the production and illumination of the manuscripts for the Jewish audiences were concentrated around the cities of Barcelona (the capital and economic center of Catalonia and the seat of the influential Jewish community), Perpignan (in the region of Roussillon) and Cervera.[50] As mentioned before, the question about the existence of Sephardic workshops for book production, including the Catalan ones, is still open to scholarly discussion, and many other questions, such as who worked in these workshops and did they produce exclusively for the Jewish commissioners, still remain unanswered.

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[48] Bezalel Narkiss, Aliza Cohen-Mushlin and Anat Tcherikover, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Isles* (1982), 57.

[49] Scholars such as Millard Meiss discussed the possibility that workshops were engaged in producing more than one type of art. Meiss studied the connection between images in illuminated manuscripts and altarpieces attributed to the so-called workshop of St. Mark. In the same workshop Gabrielle Sed-Rajna identified manuscripts produced for Jewish patrons, in another study. Millard Meiss, "*Italian Style in Catalonia and a Fourteenth-Century Catalan Workshop*," Journal of the Walters Art Gallery 4 (1941), 45–87; Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, "*Hebrew Manuscripts of Fourteenth-Century Catalonia and the Workshop of the Master of St. Mark*," Jewish Art 18 (1992), 117–128.

[50] Bezalel Narkiss, Aliza Cohen-Mushlin and Anat Tcherikover, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Isles* (1982), 57.

THE *HAGGADAH,* A PASSOVER CEREMONIAL BOOK

A *haggadah* (pl. *haggadot*) is a Jewish liturgical text read during the Passover Seder, the ritual meal that marks the beginning of the Jewish holiday Passover (*Pesah* in Hebrew), which commemorates the Exodus, the liberation of the Israelites from their four-hundred-year captivity in Egypt. The *haggadah* is intended for family use and consists of passages from the Tanakh, Midrash[51] and Talmud,[52] together with songs of praise and blessings recited over wine and unleavened bread, when washing hands, and at the end of the meal. As Bezalel Narkiss observed: "Such a book, the record of the most important private, domestic ritual, performed with the entire family gathered around the Passover table, was a much more personal object, less subject to communal prescription and prohibition, and so lent itself to the expression of personal taste in enrichment more than any other sacred codex."[53]

[51] A term occurring as early as II Chron. xiii. 22, xxiv. 27, though perhaps not in the sense in which it came to be used later, and denoting "exposition," "exegesis," especially that of the Tanakh. In contradistinction to literal interpretation, subsequently called "peshaṭ" the term "midrash" designates an exegesis which, going more deeply than the mere literal sense, attempts to penetrate into the spirit of the Tanakh, to examine the text from all sides, and thereby to derive interpretations which are not immediately obvious. For details, please see online edition of the Jewish Encyclopedia: http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/10805-midrash, accessed on May 17, 2014.

[52] The Talmud is the most extensive work of rabbinic literature, with two components: the Mishnah and the Gemara. The Mishnah is the first written compendium of Judaism's Oral Law, setting down the various laws that had evolved over the centuries from the application of the prescriptions of the Torah to everyday life. It was completed in or around 200 CE. The Gemara is a discussion of the Mishnah and related writings compiled over the next two centuries; the Palestinian Talmud was completed in or around 425 CE and the Babylonian Talmud, compiled in Babylon under Persian rule in the rabbinical Babylonian Academies, was completed in the early sixteenth century. Vidosava Nedomački, *Oblik, oprema i povez jevrejskih knjiga,* in: Zbornik primenjene umetnosti, (1974), 95.

[53] *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Second edition, (2007), 212.

Passover

Passover is a spring festival that begins on the eve of the fourteenth day of the month Nisan in Hebrew calendar (March-April in the Georgian calendar) and lasts utill the twenty-first day of the same month.[54] It is observed for seven days in Israel and eight days in the *galut* (diaspora). The first and the seventh day (the first two and the last two in the diaspora) are known as *yom tov* (or days when the work is prohibited), while on the other days ("intermediate days" or *ḥol ha-mo'ed*), work is permitted."[55] In addition, in diaspora communities, the Seder dinner is held on the first two nights of Passover.

The Hebrew noun *pesah*, as some scholars such as Eugen Veber suggested, originally referred to the sacrificial one-year-old male lamb or goat whose blood was used to mark the houses of the Israelites, so God would "pass over" them and would not send the Angel of destruction to smite them (Ex 12:11; 12:13; 12:23).[56]

The narrative of the Tanakh used different names to mark *Pesah*, the feast that will be "observed after the Exodus from Egypt, from captivity to freedom."[57] While the Book of Exodus (34:25) uses the name *ḥag ha-Pesaḥ* (or "the feast of the Passover"), other books of the Tanakh (Ex. 23:15; Lev. 23:6; Deut. 16:16) labels it as *ḥag ha-Maẓẓot* (or "the feast of Unleavened Bread)."[58] Sometimes, the *Pesah* is referred to as *hag ha-Aviv* (or "the feast of spring"), or *z'man harutenu* (the time, the hour of Our Freedom).[59] The *Pesahim*, the ninth chapter of the Talmud, the central text of Rabbinic Judaism, distinguishes the *Pesah Mizraim* or the Egyptian Passover from the *Pasah Dorot* or the Passover of the Future Generations. According to Eugen Verber, the former refers to the Passover sacrifice on the eve of the Exodus, while the latter refers to the celebration of Passover after the deliverance.[60]

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[54] The instruction for the length of the festival one finds, for example, in Ex. 12:18-20.

[55] *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Second edition, (2007), 678.

[56] Eugen Verber, *The Sarajevo Haggadah*, preface to the facsimile edition (1983), 5.

[57] Ibid., 6.

[58] *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Second edition, (2007), 678.

[59] *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Second edition, (2007), 678; Eugen Verber, *The Sarajevo Haggadah*, preface to the facsimile edition (1983), 6.

[60] Eugen Verber, *The Sarajevo Haggadah*, preface to the facsimile edition (1983), 6.

Seder

As previously mentioned, the Seder dinner marks the beginning of Passover, which is celebrated among the family members at home. The Hebrew word *seder* (order or arrangement) implies that the ritual acts performed before and during the Seder dinner were prescribed and organized in particular order by religious authorities.

Before Passover starts, the household is cleaned and inspected for yeast and leavened food (*b'dikath hamez*), and if found, it is burned afterwards (*bi'ur hamez*). Also, the Passover table is set and the symbolic food is prepared and arranged. In the past, the symbolic food was placed in a particular order directly on the table, while in later periods it was placed on a special type of plate with a marked place for each of the symbolic foods.

A tray of three pieces of unleavened bread covered with an embroidered towel or napkin is placed on the table. The *haroseth* is placed in bowls, towards the front of the table/plate. The *haroseth* is a mixture of apples, nuts and wine or grape juice, symbolizing the clay that was used by Israelites to form bricks and build while they were slaves in Egypt. The *z'roah* or roasted lamb or shank bone, placed towards the rear of the table, symbolizes the *Korban Pesah* (or the Passover sacrifice). The *z'roah* is observed as a symbol of sacrifice and not meant to be eaten. On the left side towards the front of the table/plate the *karpas*, a sprig of herbs (usually celery, parsley, lettuce or any other non-bitter vegetable), is placed. Dipped in salt water the *karpas* symbolizes tears of the Israelites while in Egypt. The *beza*, a hard-boiled or roasted egg, is placed towards the back of the table/plate. There are two different interpretations of the *beza* – the first one is that it symbolizes the sacrifice brought by Israelites to the First and Second Temples in Jerusalem in biblical times, and the second is that it symbolizes mourning because of their destruction.[61] Lastly, in the middle of the table, towards the host or in the center of the plate, the *maror* or bitter herbs (such as horseradish) are placed. The *maror* symbolizes the bitter life of Israelites enslaved in Egypt.

With minor exceptions, the Jews worldwide perform the same rituals of the Seder and eat the symbolic food. Also, it is a custom that servants sit at the table during the Seder because of the belief that no one should be put in the position of a slave or servant during the

[61] In 587 BCE Babylonians destroyed the First Temple, while Romans in 70 CE destroyed the Second one.

celebration of the freedom. In addition, all participants in the Seder are required to recline on their left side when drinking the four cups of wine, eating *matzah*, *korekh* and *afikoman*. This custom was probably derived from the ancient times when the Roman patricians ate and drunk in a reclining position at the table as free men.[62] However, certain communities and individuals have some particular customs and traditions for the Seder dinner. For example, it is a custom for the person who leads the Seder to wear white cotton cloak known as *kittel*.

All these traditions, the oldest of which originated in the first millennium BC, were included in the *haggadah*, and became an integral part of festival and everyday prayer books.[63]

The origins of *haggadot*

The development of *haggadot* is closely related to the instructions for the celebration of the Seder dinner on the first two nights of Passover, prescribed in the Mishnah's chapter Pesachim 10.[64] The text of the *haggadah* was based on these instructions and regulations, and

[62] Eugen Verber, *The Sarajevo Haggadah*, preface to the facsimile edition (1983), 8. In his commentary to the Mishnah, in chapter *Pesachim*, Maimonides notes that: "One is required to see himself as if he had just now left Egyptian slavery. Hence, when a person eats on this night, he is required to eat and drink while reclining, as a sign of freedom […] In the manner that kings and important people eat." Also, when reclining one should lean to the left, eating and drinking with the right hand. However, it is customary not to recline when eating *maror* and *karpas* as these symbolic dishes serve to commemorate the fact that the Egyptians embittered lives of Israelites.

[63] Eugen Verber, *The Sarajevo Haggadah*, preface to the facsimile edition (1983), 10.

[64] The term "Mishnah" is used in a number of different ways, but when used as a proper noun ("the Mishnah") it designates the collection of rabbinic traditions redacted by Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi (usually called simply "Rabbi") at the beginning of the third century CE. The Mishnah supplements, complements, clarifies and systematizes the commandments of the Torah. The tenth chapter of Mishnah Pesahim prescribed the eating of the *pesah* (the paschal sacrifice), *matzah* (unleavened bread) and *maror* (bitter herbs); the drinking of *arba kosot* (four cups of wine); and the recital of the story of the exodus from Egypt (the narrative of the *haggadah*) during the Seder dinner. In addition, the text of the *haggadah* mentions words of rabbi Gamliel who said that one who has not said these

it was first recorded and appeared as a part of a siddur, a daily prayer book and a mahzor, a prayer book for the Jewish High Holidays.[65] It is believed that geonim[66] compiled the text of the *haggadah* in a separate book in the next stage of the development, during seventh or eighth century.

The word *haggadah* (Hebrew) was derived from the central narrative of the story of the Exodus and it means story or narration. As there is a narrative part of the Talmud called *aggadah* (Aramaic), the book that commemorates the Exodus of the Israelites was often called the *Haggadah shel Pesah* (or the Passover Haggadah), in order to avoid ambiguity.[67]

The role of the *haggadah*

The essential purpose of the *haggadah* was defined in the Exodus 13:8 and 13:14: "And thou shalt tell thy son in that day, saying: It is because of that which the LORD did for me when I came forth out of Egypt. And it shall be when thy son asketh thee in time to come, saying: What is this? That thou shalt say unto him: By strength of hand the LORD brought us out from Egypt, from the house of bondage." In other words, the *haggadah* has educational purpose to retell and transmit the narrative and messages of the Exodus story to the

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three words on Passover (*pesah, matzah* and *maror*) has not done his duty. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Second edition, (2007), 208; 320.

[65] The oldest known version of the text of the *haggadah* as a part of the prayer book is preserved in the tenth-century siddur of Sadiah Gaon. Other early versions are found in the eleventh-century *Maḥzor Vitry* and the twelfth-century Maimonides' the *Mishneh Torah. Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Second edition, (2007), 210. 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.

[66] Gaon (pl. Geonim) is a formal title of the heads of the academies of Sura and Pumbedita in Babylonia. The *geonim* were recognized by the Jews as the highest authority of institution from the end of the sixth century or somewhat later to the middle of the eleventh. […] It eventually became an honorific title for any rabbi or anyone who had a great knowledge of Torah. Apparently, the term *gaon* was shortened from *rosh yeshivat ge'on Ya'akov* (cf. "the pride of Jacob", Ps. 47:4). *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Second edition, (2007), 380.

[67] Eugen Verber, *The Sarajevo Haggadah*, preface to the facsimile edition (1983), 5.

succeeding generations. Through the detailed Exodus narration, an individual is able to study and link the Jewish past (from the time of slavery in Egypt), to the Jewish present (sometimes a time of freedom and its celebration) and to future Messianic times.[68] The educational purpose of the *haggadah* is further stressed by the obligation that "in each and every generation, one is required to view oneself (*lirʾot et ʿatsmo*) as if one has personally come forth from Egypt." In other words, retelling the story of Exodus ensures the continuity of Passover and re-experiencing the liberation from Egypt.

Apart from its educational role, the *haggadah* has an instructive character. Its purpose is to guide an individual through different parts of the Seder dinner. Each part is marked by its Hebrew name and introduces the following part of the Seder and its corresponding rituals. Fifteen parts of the *haggadah* text, whose order is not supposed to be changed, are connected to ritual acts of the Seder, prescribed and ordered by religious authorities.

Structure and content

The fourteenth-century illuminated Iberian *haggadot*, of which only fifteenth are known to survive, usually consist of three parts. In the first part, usually at the beginning of the manuscript, the illustrations of events from the books of Genesis and Exodus, or Exodus alone are depicted. As previously mentioned, scholars believe that these full-page images preceding the text of *haggadah* were influenced by the tradition of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century illuminated English and French Psalters and Books of Hours, which also include a prefatory cycle of miniatures. Another similarity between the *haggadot* and Christian manuscripts is the organization of illuminated full-pages, which are divided usually into two miniatures by a horizontal line. Prefatory images are followed by the text of the Passover *haggadah* in the second part of manuscript, usually containing readings symbolically connected to the ritual acts of the Seder dinner.

The textual part of the Passover *haggadah* starts with the *Kiddush*, a blessing that is recited at all Jewish holidays, including the Seder dinner, in the name of God's deeds. After *Kiddush*, the *haggadah* text opens with the declaration in Aramaic known as *Ha Lahma Anya* ("This is the bread of affliction"), designating the *matzah* as the bread of affliction and

[68] http://www.angelfire.com/pa2/passover/faq/haggadah.html, accessed on September 17, 2014.

inviting the needy to join the meal.[69] *Ha Lahma Anya* concludes with a prayer for redemption "*This year we are here, next year - in Eretz Israel. This year, we are slaves, next year - noblemen*."

In the following part of the text of the *haggadah* known as *Mah Nishtannah* ("How is this night different") the youngest child at the Seder dinner asks the "four questions" which invoke the explanation of why the Seder night is different from all other nights.[70] This section leads to the next part of the *haggadah* text known as *Avadim Hayinu* ("We were bondmen"). The text was based on Samuel (Pes. 116a) and marks the start of the formal narration of the Exodus from Egypt. The narration on the Exodus is further stressed in the part of the *haggadah* called *Ma'aseh be-Rabbi Eli'ezer... Amar Rabbi Elazar* ("It is told of R. Eliezer... R. Eleazar b. Azariah said"), which describes the discussion of two rabbinic scholars or *tannaim* emphasizing the importance of the Exodus narration. Following the discussion of the *tannaim*, the *haggadah* text introduces the part known as the *baraita*[71] of the Four Sons or simply the Four Sons, which also discusses the importance of Passover. It is a story about the four types of son's personalities: the wise, the wicked, the simple, and the disinterested. As the *halakhah* or Jewish law teaches, each son should be instructed in the Passover story according to his personality and understanding (Pes. 10:4). The narration of the story of the Exodus on the eve of Passover is obligatory, as the following *tannaitic* commentary on the Exodus 13:8 (Mekhilta, Pisḥa 17), known as *Yakhol me-Rosh Ḥodesh* ("It might be thought that [this exposition should begin] from the New Moon [of Nisan]"), teaches us. After this part, the *haggadah* story proceeds to another introduction to the narration of the Exodus (as opposed to the already mentioned Samuel's view (*Avadim Hayinu)*). It is known as *Mi-*

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[69] *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Second edition, (2007), 208.

[70] "What distinguishes this night from all other nights?

On all other nights, we do not dip even once; but tonight, we dip twice.

On all other nights, we eat leavened bread and *matzah*; but tonight, all is *matzah*.

On all other nights, we eat any vegetable; but tonight, we eat *maror.*

On all other nights, we eat sitting or reclining; but tonight, we all recline."

Pesach Haggadah according to Mishneh Torah, http://www.mechon-mamre.org/phgdh.htm accessed on February 1, 2015.

[71] Baraita is an Aramaic word designating a tannaite tradition not incorporated in the Mishnah.

Teḥillah Ovedei Avodah Zarah Hayu Avoteinu ("In the beginning, our fathers worshipped idols") and was based on Rav.[72] Following this part, the text of the *haggadah* introduces verses from Deuteronomy 26:5-8. These verses, known as *Arami oved avi,* were translated and interpreted differently within the texts of the Hebrew Bible and the Passover *haggadah*. While in the Hebrew Bible this verse is translated as "A wandering Aramean was my father", the *haggadah* text translates it as "An Aramean tried to destroy my father". The latter translation was based on the *tannaitic* Midrash or exegetical commentary, which introduces the story of Laban, the Aramean who tried to destroy all the Hebrews. According to the tenth chapter of Mishnah tractate *Pesachim* (10:4), everyone is obliged to discuss this commentary in detail. Following this Midrash, the *haggadah* text notes the commentaries of the *tannaim* on the miracle of the ten plagues and the division of the Red Sea during the Exodus from Egypt (based on the *Mekhilta* (*Va-Yehi be-Shallaḥ* 6). A poem known as *Kammah Ma'alot Tovot la-Makom Aleinu* ("How many goodly favors has the Almighty bestowed upon us") appears in the following part, as the conclusion of the recitation on the miracles that God performed during the Exodus from Egypt. This verse, praising God's power and glory, combines the two versions of the poem recorded during the period of the Second Temple, preserved only in the text of the Passover *haggadah*. However, "rabbinic scholars have not determined that these poems have a direct connection with the Passover Seder service."[73] The following part of the *haggadah* text is known as the Mishnah of Rabban Gamliel. According to this Mishnah (Pes. 10:5), during the Seder dinner it is obligatory to mention the following three words and to explain their importance to Passover – the Passover sacrifice, *matzah* (the unleavened bread) and *maror* (the bitter herbs). The same chapter explains why this food is eaten: the lamb because God "passed over" (*pasaḥ*); the *matzah* because God redeemed the Israelites from Egypt (Ex. 12:39); and the *maror* because the Egyptians embittered their lives (Ex. 1:14).[74] The text on Rabban Gamliel originates from the Mishnah (Pes. 10:5), but it was reworded (in a question-and-answer form) during the post-talmudic period.[75] The Mishnah of Rabban Gamliel is followed by the text of the *haggadah*, known as *Khol Dor va-Dor* ("In

[72] Abba Arkikha (175 – 247), simply known as Rav, was a Jewish Talmudist.

[73] *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Second edition, (2007), 208.

[74] Ibid., 678.

[75] Ibid., 209.

every single generation"). This text was also taken from the same chapter of the Mishnah (Pes. 10:5, or from an expanded Mishnah known as *baraita*) and was supplemented by a statement of Rava (Pes. 116b).[76] After reading these two parts of the *haggadah*, the Mishnah (Pes. 10:6) prescribes reciting of the first two chapters of *Hallel*, a recitation from the Psalms 113-118. The recitation of the first two verses from Psalms is followed by the benediction for redemption known as "Who redeemed us", which was based on the ruling of Rabbi Tarfon (70 CE – 135 CE) and Rabbi Akiva (40 CE – 137 CE) in the Mishnah. The *haggadah* text then proceeds to the part known as *Shefokh Ḥamatkha* ("Pour out Thy wrath"), which contains verses about vengeance on the nations that have oppressed Israel. Scholars believe that the custom to recite these verses started during medieval period.[77] According to the Mishnah (Pes. 10:7), the last part of the *Hallel* should be recited after *Shefokh Ḥamatkha*. Concluding the Seder dinner, the last parts of the *haggadah* are recited. The text contains various verses discussed by rabbis and recorded in Mishnah, including *Yehallelukha Adonai Eloheinu al Kol Ma'asekha* ("All Thy works shall praise Thee"), a benediction of praise ("*Birkat ha-Shir*") in accordance with Rabbi Judah's view (Pes. 118a), the Great *Hallel* or the "Great Prise" (Ps. 136), reflection on the miracles God performed to free the Hebrews from the slavery in Egypt, based on the *baraita* of Rabbi Tarfon, and the last part *Nishmat KolḤai* ("The breath of all that lives"), another version of the *Birkat ha-Shir* ("Benediction over the Song") in accordance with the Rabbi Johanan's view (180 – 279 CE).

As previously mentioned, these parts of the *haggadah* text are symbolically connected to the rituals performed during the Seder dinner, which are structured in a strict order in Talmudic Babylonian academies of Pumbedita and Sura.[78] These include *kaddesh* (the *Kiddush*), *u-reḥaẓ* ("washing" of the hands),[79] *karpas* (eating the "herbs" dipped in saltwater), *yaḥaẓ* ("dividing" the middle *matzah*)[80], *maggid* (the "narration"), *raḥaẓ*

[76] Ibid.

[77] *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Second edition, (2007), 209.

[78] The two most distinguished Talmudic academies in Babylonia, active from 589 CE to 1038 CE.

[79] The hands are washed in accordance with the ancient practice of ritual purification before partaking of anything dipped in liquid. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Second edition, (2007), 679.

[80] The middle *matzah* is broken in two and one half is hidden. This latter portion is known as the *afikoman* ("the after-meal") and is eaten at the end of the meal, as a reminder of the paschal lamb

("washing" the hands for the meal)[81], *moẓi-matzah* (the "benediction" over the *matzah*), *maror* (eating the "bitter herbs"), *korekh* (eating "bitter herbs with *matzah*")[82], *shulḥan orekh* (the "meal"), *ẓafun* (eating of the *afikoman* – the "last *matzah*"), *barekh* ("Grace after Meals"), *hallel* (recitation of the second part of *Hallel*), and *nirẓah* (the closing formula).[83] In addition, the four cups of wine are drunk during the Seder dinner. Some medieval commentators of the Hebrew Bible and Talmud, such as Rashi (1040 - 1105), connected the number of cups to be drunk during the Seder with the four verbs for salvation used in the Book of Exodus (6:6,7): *I will bring you out*, *I will deliver you*, *I will redeem you*, *I will take you to Me*.[84] The ritual acts of the Seder dinner are, in addition, supplemented by *didascalies* or instructions before each ritual act and considered to be special characteristics of *haggadot.*

Finally, the first two parts of the *haggadah* conclude with a collection of *piyyutim* (or liturgical poems)[85] and prayers to be read during the days of Passover. During the Middle Ages, *piyyutim* were the most popular forms of Hebrew literature, reaching their peak in Spain during the Golden Age (from tenth to thirteenth century). During this period, several generations of the *paytanim* (or composers), including Joseph Ibn Abitur (tenth century), Solomon Ibn Gabirol (1021 – 1058), Isaac Ibn Ghayyat (1038 – 1089), Moses Ibn Ezra (1070

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which was eaten at the end so that its taste would remain in the mouth. It is customary for children to look for the *afikoman*, and a prize is given to the successful finder. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Second edition, (2007), 679.

[81] The hands are washed before breaking the bread. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Second edition, (2007), 679.

[82] *Korekh* is a sandwich made of *matzah* and bitter herbs. This is a reminder of Hillel's practice in Temple times, based on the verse: "They shall eat it [the paschal lamb] with unleavened bread and bitter herbs" (Num. 9:11).

[83] *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Second edition, (2007), 679.

[84] Eugen Verber, *The Sarajevo Haggadah*, preface to the facsimile edition (1983), 8.

[85] Hebrew word *piyyut* is derived from the Greek term for poetry "*poietes.*" In a wider sense, *piyyut* is the totality of compositions composed in various genres of Hebrew liturgical poetry from the first centuries of the Common Era until the beginning of the *Haskalah*, or Jewish Enlightenment. They contain the obligatory prayers, usually for Sabbaths and festivals. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Second edition, (2007), 192.

– died after 1138), Judah Halevi (1075 – 1141), and Abraham Ibn Ezra (1089 – 1164), composed the best known *piyyutim.*

Depending on the length of a particular *haggadah*, making one manuscript would take up to a few months, even a year. It was an elaborate, carefully planed process, which involved scribes, illuminators, religious advisors, and patron.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ILLUMINATED SEPHARDIC *HAGGADOT*

Haggadot, as separate book volumes, emerged in Europe in the early Middle Ages. Major changes in European book production during the Middle Ages influenced the development of *haggadot* as independent illuminated books. These changes started as a part of the general development of the medieval towns when book production moved from the *scriptoria* in monasteries to the secular urban workshops. The manuscripts from the city workshops "increasingly reflected the growing secularization of society and its culture."[86] With the development of urban culture, interest in learning also increased, leading to the foundation of the first universities.[87] New approaches to knowledge expanded the fields of study and book production started to focus on variety of topics, and not on sacred texts alone. Also, the techniques and materials for book production improved and books became available to a greater number of people. In spite of this, only wealthy patrons could afford handmade illuminated manuscripts, since the production of even one volume was a great undertaking, both financially and logistically.

During the thirteenth to fifteenth century, the *haggadah* was one of the most prolifically produced illuminated books for Jews in the medieval world. Relatively small in content, the *haggadah* was especially suitable for illumination. Recent studies of its development show that the production and illumination of *haggadot* started under the influence of the thirteenth and fourteenth-century books made for Christians, in particular Psalters and Book of Hours.[88] In addition, it is widely believed that the organization of medieval *haggadot* was also influenced by Psalters and Books of Hours, due to several similarities such as the separate placement of the miniatures illustrating biblical events and the text.

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[86] Ingo F. Walther and Norbert Wolf, *Masterpieces of Illumination. The world's most beautiful manuscripts from 400 to 1600* (2005), 35.

[87] Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (2006), 12.

[88] Sarit Shalev-Eyni, *"Who were the Heirs of the Hebrew Bible? Sephardic Visual Historiography in a Christian Contex"* in Medieval Encounters 16 (2010), 23-63.

The production and illumination of *haggadot*, as well as other books made for Jews in the Iberian Peninsula (Bibles, scientific and legal works, *ketubot* (wedding agreements), and other documents) reached its peak during the fourteenth century. Discussing medieval book production in his book, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*, Bezalel Narkiss notes that the style and iconography of Hebrew books produced in Spain derived from both the East and the West. Two different traditions of book illumination in Spain – one almost aniconic (preserved in Hebrew Bibles influenced by Islamic art), and the other with narrative cycles of biblical events influenced by Christian book art preserved in *haggadot* – illustrate this point.[89] The latter, as Sarit Shalev-Eyni observed, "belongs to the same tradition developed in different versions according to the intentions and tastes of the patrons and designers of each manuscript, even though there are individual divergences in text, style, iconography and selection of the illustrations."[90]

The identity of the patrons and designers of Iberian *haggadot*, as well as the date, place of origin and circumstances of production of these manuscripts will probably never be revealed, as no colophon has been preserved. Despite the lack of colophons, scholarly analysis of the artistic qualities of this group of *haggadot* has allowed for their classification.

Materials and techniques

The majority of fourteenth-century Spanish manuscripts (including *haggadot*) produced for Jewish commissioners were made out of animal skin. The animal skins were defleshed in a bath of lime, stretched on a frame, and scraped with a lunular knife while damp. They could then be treated with pumice (the volcanic glass used to scrape parchment), whitened with a chemical substance, and cut to size.[91] As Malachi Beit-Arié's study on *Hebrew Codicology* has shown, several types of animal skin could be distinguished according to different processes of manufacture, mainly in the treatment of the hide. In

[89] Katrin Kogman-Appel, *Hebrew Manuscript Painting in Late Medieval Spain: Signs of a Culture in Transition*, The Art Bulletin, Vol. 84, No. 2 (Jun., 2002), 246.

[90] Sarit Shalev-Eyni, *"Who were the Heirs of the Hebrew Bible? Sephardic Visual Historiography in a Christian Contex"* in Medieval Encounters 16 (2010), 23-24.

[91] http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/GlossP.asp, accessed on April 12, 2014.

Sephardic manuscripts, the hair-side, generally not scratched with grain patterns hardly visible, is easily distinguished from the flesh-side, which is very bright and glossy.[92] By definition, sheep and goat skin prepared for writing and illumination is called parchment, while the term *vellum* is reserved for calfskin. Once the animal skin is prepared, it is cut and arranged into quires according to "Gregory's rule," with hair-side facing hair-side, and flesh-side facing flesh-side.[93] Medieval Sephardic manuscripts were usually gathered into four sheets (eight leaves). After cutting, the manuscript was prepared for writing, which always occurred before decorating. Space for writing would be marked by a frame and/or horizontal lines in order to guide the hand in process of writing.[94] In this process, known as ruling, different techniques could be distinguished according to the instruments employed, the ruling unit and the side of the sheet or the leaf ruled.[95] Medieval scribes who executed manuscripts for Jewish commissioners usually used ruling instruments such as hard point, lead pencil, pen-and-ink and ruling-board.[96] Ruling by a hard point was the most common technique employed by the Sephardic scribes until the middle of the fourteenth century.[97] From the middle of the fourteenth century on, in addition to ruling by a hard point on each leaf on

[92] Malachi Beit Arié, *Hebrew Codicology, Tentative Typology of Technical Practices Employed in Hebrew Dated Manuscripts* (1981), 26.

[93] Malachi Beit Arié, *Hebrew Codicology, Tentative Typology of Technical Practices Employed in Hebrew Dated Manuscripts* (1981), 41.

[94] http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/GlossR.asp, accessed on April 12, 2014.

[95] Ruling can be applied to each single sheet (folded or unfolded), to each single leaf or each page, but also to a group of sheets or leaves together. Ruling can be carried out either on the hair-side or the flesh side of parchment sheets and leaves, and either on the recto side or the verso side of parchment. Malachi Beit Arié, *Hebrew Codicology, Tentative Typology of Technical Practices Employed in Hebrew Dated Manuscripts* (Jerusalem, 1981), 71-73.

[96] Malachi Beit-Arié noted that hard point was the oldest instrument, commonly used in all areas for ruling parchment manuscripts, while pen (with ink) was the latest one. Malachi Beit Arié, *Hebrew Codicology, Tentative Typology of Technical Practices Employed in Hebrew Dated Manuscripts* (1981), 72.

[97] Malachi Beit Arié, *Hebrew Codicology, Tentative Typology of Technical Practices Employed in Hebrew Dated Manuscripts* (Jerusalem, 1981), 85. Leila Avrin, *Scribes, Script and Books. The Book Arts from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (1991), 101-129.

verso or recto side, the technique of ruling each sheet on its hair-side was also practiced.[98] In addition, the scribe had penknife that was used for erasing errors.

Different writing tools, inks and colors were used in the process of writing and decorating one manuscript. Inks were prepared from carbon, iron gall or plants mixed with water, while colors were extracted from natural components such as earth, mineral and lead-based pigments.[99]

As already mentioned, the decoration of a manuscript was executed after the writing was done. The decoration included, for example, the painting of images, text illustrations, bordures, ascending and descending letters or word panels. In the first stage, the illuminators would make sketches by a needle or a pen, after which the colors were added.[100] If gold leaves or other precious metals were used for the decoration, they were added before the colors.[101] The gold could be inserted in folios in form of leaf or powder.[102] In the first stage, the illuminator would put the base consisting of *gesso* or gum, inserting the gold leaves on the top. After the base was dry, the illuminator would use a brush to remove small pieces of gold dust. Finally, he would use a burnishing tool (traditionally a dog's tooth mounted on a handle) for polishing.

The last stage in producing a manuscript was binding. The folded groups of folios (called gatherings) were sewn together with strong linen thread onto flexible supports such as bands, thongs or cords running at right angles horizontally across the spine.[103] To tighten up these supports, the binder would use carved channels in the wood boards that served as

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[98] Malachi Beit Arié, *Hebrew Codicology, Tentative Typology of Technical Practices Employed in Hebrew Dated Manuscripts* (Jerusalem, 1981), 85.

[99] https://www.asba-art.org/article/color-medieval-manuscript-painting, accessed on September 17, 2014.

[100] Iva Pasini, *Strossmayerov časoslov u Hrvatskoj akademiji znanosti i umjetnosti* (unpublished doctoral disertation, University of Zagreb, 2011), 22.

[101] Getty Museum movie: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1aDHJu9J10o, accessed on April 12, 2014.

[102] Iva Pasini, *Strossmayerov časoslov u Hrvatskoj akademiji znanosti i umjetnosti* (unpublished doctoral disertation, University of Zagreb, 2011), 25. Daniel V. Thompson, *The Materials and Techniques of Medieval Painting* (1956), 194-210.

[103] http://web.ceu.hu/medstud/manual/MMM/frame11.html , accessed on February 1, 2015.

covers of the manuscript.[104] The folios were prevented from expanding and contracting under the changes of the temperature and humidity by additional pressure form clasps or strops that enabled the book to be closed. The wood boards of the manuscripts were decorated in a variety of materials such as leather, silk or precious metals. The materials used for decoration depended on the wealth of the patron, the type of manuscript and its intended use.

Historiography of the research on *haggadot*

At the end of the nineteenth century (1894), a team of scholars, gathered in Vienna, examined a fascinating fourteenth-century Spanish manuscript produced for Jews later to be known as the Sarajevo Haggadah.[105] This was the first time that the team of scholars undertook scientific analysis of one medieval illuminated manuscript produced for Jewish commissioners. Decades later, Joseph Gutmann (1965) described this pioneer work noting that Müller and Schlosser "had broken ground in an uncultivated area of research."[106] The results of their research on this, back then unknown topic, were collected into two-volume publication *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo.*[107] This publication prompted scholarly interest on medieval illuminated *haggadot* in particular, and on medieval illuminated manuscripts produced for Jews in general. Started a century ago, scholarly fascination on these manuscripts, to this day has never faded.

The two-volume publication on the Sarajevo Haggadah included detailed paleographical and art historical analysis of the manuscript. It was supplemented by an overview on the other medieval illuminated manuscripts produced for Jews and their main characteristics.

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[104] The boards of medieval manuscripts were usually made of wood, leather or pasteboards (a kind of cardboard formed of layers of waste paper or parchment glued together).
http://web.ceu.hu/medstud/manual/MMM/frame11.html, accessed on February 1, 2015.

[105] David Heinrich Müller, Julius von Schlosser, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo* (1898).

[106] Joseph Gutmann, *The illuminated Medieval Passover Haggadah: Investigations and Research Problems.* Studies in Bibliography and Booklore, 7, (1965), 2.

[107] David Heinrich Müller, Julius von Schlosser, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo* (1898).

More than two decades later, Rachel Vishnitzer (1922) in her study on *Illuminated Haggadahs*, introduced preserved *haggadot*, mostly produced in fourtheenth-century Spain.[108] Vishnitzer's study included basic description and main caracteristics of the narrative programs of these manuscripts. Besides this, she argued the dating of the *haggadot*, their style as well as possible influences on the iconography. She also shortly noted that neither *haggadah* is dated nor signed. In years to come, other scholars further developed this preliminary study.

In the discussion on *The Sarajevo Haggadah and its importance to the art history*, Cecil Roth (1960) gave an overview on medieval illuminated *haggadot* from Spain.[109] He introduced main characteristics of these *haggadot*, including the observation of their style and iconography, as well as the relation of the Sarajevo Haggadah to these manuscripts. Roth's discussion was supplemented with the bibliography on the particular *haggadah* and the information that neither *haggadah* has a colophon.

More studious approach to this topic had Joseph Gutmann (1965). In his study *The illuminated Medieval Passover Haggadah: Investigations and Research Problems,* Gutmann summarized historiography on the *haggadot*.[110] In addition, he discussed research problems connected to the origin of the *haggadot*, their style and iconography and the illuminators engaged in their depiction. This study also contains an expanded list of *haggadot* in the private and public collections, information on each and the bibliography on certain *haggadot* and tentative list of dates and places of production. In some cases, Gutmann tried to relate certain *haggadot* according to their style and iconography as well as provenance.

Five years later, a facsimile edition on Sephardic *haggadah* known as the Golden Haggadah was published with the preface of Bezalel Narkiss (1970).[111] Even though his

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[108] Rachel Vishnitzer, *Illuminated Haggadahs*, The Jewish Quarterly Review, New Series, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Oct., 1922).

[109] Cecil Roth, *Sarajevska hagada i njen značaj u istoriji umjetnosti*. Savez jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije: Jevrejski almanah 1959 – 1960.

[110] Joseph Gutmann, *The illuminated Medieval Passover Haggadah: Investigations and Research Problems.* Studies in Bibliography and Booklore, 7, 1965.

[111] Bezalel Narkiss, The Golden Haggadah. A fourteenth-century Hebrew manuscript in the British Museum, London: Eugramia Press, 1970.

study was dedicated to particular *haggadah*, providing information on the history of the manuscript and discussion on the style and the iconography, Narkiss also included brief introduction to the history of medieval illuminated manuscripts made for Jews. He argued the possibility that the iconography of these manuscripts was under the influence of the late antique illuminated manuscripts made for Jews that are not preserved to the present date. Other scholars further discussed this possibility as well as the artistic influences on the narrative programs of medieval illuminated *haggadot*.

In 1973, Mandel Metzger published the detailed study on forty-five illuminated *haggadot*, some of them completely unknown to the scholarly world. This comprehensive study entitled *La Haggada Enluminée. Étude Iconographique et Stylistique des Manuscripts enluminés et décores de la haggada du XIIIe au XVIe siècle*, had an important role for the future development of the field of medieval illuminated manuscripts.[112] The study contains detail iconographic and comparative analysis of the images – ceremonial, textual and biblical, appearing in these *haggadot*. In addition, Metzger included a short stylistic analysis of these manuscripts.

Whereas these first studies on the medieval illuminated *haggadot*, dealt mainly with the general characteristics of the manuscripts, their basic description and relation to the other *haggadot*/manuscripts, more recent scholarship is focused primarily on the contexts such as socio-cultural, artistic, intellectual or local in which these *haggadot* were produced.

After more than thirty years of "silence" and sporadic articles on the topic, in 2006, Katrin Kogman-Appel introduced this new approach to the study of medieval illuminated *haggadot*. Her book *Illuminated Haggadot from medieval Spain*, *Biblical Imagery and the Passover Holiday* examined seven *haggadot* produced in the Crown of Aragon. Her focus was on the analisys of the narrative cicles in *haggadot* and how these cycles reflect contemporary life of the Jewish comunity in historicly challenging moment. Moreover, Kogman-Appel used the narrative cycles to illuminate "acculturation and dialogue, polemics with Christianity and cultural struggles within Sephardic Jewry."[113] She believes that

[112] Mandel Metzger, *La Haggada Enluminée. Étude Iconographique et Stylistique des Manuscripts enluminés et décores de la haggada du XIIIe au XVIe siècle.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973.

[113] Kogman-Appel, Katrin. *Illuminated Haggadot from medieval Spain*, *Biblical Imagery and the Passover Holiday*, The Pennssylvania State University Press, 2006.

pictorial sources in *haggadot* were primarily inspired with contemporary sources of Christian origin, but that these "underwent significant changes in the process of translating the Christian sources into recognizably Jewish pictorial language."[114] In the research of this particular aspect of the iconography of *haggadot*, Kogman-Appel also introduced a possibility that the illuminators of the *haggadot* did not use only pictorial models, but that they also draw from the memory.

Marc Michael Epstein contextualized these questions in a completely different manner. His book *The Medieval Haggadah. Art, Narrative & Religious Imagination* differs significantly from the previous studies in methods of research and interpretation of the *haggadot* iconography.[115] Epstein investigated four the early fourteenth-century *haggadot* in the light of their authorship exploring how the iconography of these haggadot reflects "a particular ideological, theological, philosophical, historiosophical, political, and social agenda," and how the images served as "a way of telling the tale of the relationship of Jews with God, their neighbors, and each other through their exegesis of the narratives of sacred scripture."[116] Through a careful consideration of the *haggadot* illuminations and particular iconographic features, Epstein argued the Jewish book production in general and development of Jewish visual culture in surrounding visual culture(s) of medieval Europe in particular.

The majority of the preserved *haggadot* from Spain were produced during the fourteenth century in the region of the Crown of Aragon (such as the Barcelona Haggadah), and some in the Kingdom of Castile (for example, the Hispano-Moresque Haggadah). This general observation is made according to the style and the iconography of the haggadot. As previously mentioned, none of these manuscripts has preserved colophon and it is not possible to determine for whom or when and where the certain *haggadah* was produced.

As it will be shown later, the preserved *haggadot* can be divided into two groups according to the illustrations of the biblical narrative. The first group contains illustration of

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[114] Katrin Kogman-Appel, *Hebrew Manuscript Painting in Late Medieval Spain: Signs of a Culture in Transition*, The Art Bulletin, Vol. 84, No. 2, Jun., 2002, 256.

[115] Marc Michael Epstein, *The Medieval Haggadah. Art, Narrative & Religious Imagination.* New Heaven and London: Yale University Press, 2011.

[116] Ibid.

the biblical events from both the Book of Genesis and the Book of Exodus, while the second one contains illustrations of the Book of Exodus only. Also, these narrative cycles in majority of cases precede the text of the *haggadah* while in some manuscripts they appear at the end (as it is the case with the Prato Haggadah). Some *haggadot*, such as the Barcelona Haggadah, does not contain the narrative cycles. Instead, they have only the illustrations appearing in the text.

In some medieval *haggadot*, the text of the *haggadah* is also decorated. Professor Marc Michael Epstein from Vassar College distinguishes four types of illustrations present in the illuminated and printed *haggadot* – "haggadic illustration" (narratives or ideas found in the *haggadah* text itself), "extrahaggadic illustration" (illustrations of biblical and midrashic texts not actually referred to in the text of the *haggadah*), and illustrations of Seder rituals and eschatological illustrations.[117] Beside different kinds of illustrations, the pages of the text of the *haggadah* are decorated with initial word panels. Initial word panels are the most common type of decoration in the text of the *haggadah*. As Bezalel Narkis noted, in Catalan workshops for book production, initial word panels were painted either in the Spanish gothic colors of magenta, blue and burnished gold, or they are highly decorative pen work panels in red, violet, blue, brown and green.[118] The most common illustrations appearing in the *haggadot* are the *matzah* (the unleavened bread) and the *maror* (the bitter herbs), the four sons and the rabbis mentioned in the text of the *haggadah*.

[117] Marc Michael Epstein, "*Illustrating History and Illuminating Identity in the Art of the Passover Haggadah*" in Judaism in Practice (2001), 299.

[118] Bazalel Narkiss. *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Isles*, (1982), 44.

LIST OF THE SEPHARDIC ILLUMINATED *HAGGADOT*

1. The Golden Haggadah, London: The British Library, Add. MS. 27210, 1320, 101 folios, 247 x 195 mm.

   The manuscript has three parts – the full-page images illustrating biblical events, the text of the haggadah, and the section with *piyyutim*; it is written in Sephardi square script, 10 lines on pages with the text of the haggadah (fol. 24v-55v) and 26 lines in the section with piyutim (fol. 16v-23v, 56v-101v).

2. The so-called "Sister" Haggadah, London: The British Library, Or. MS. 2884, 1320-1330, 64 folios, 233 x 190 mm.

   The manuscript is written in Sephardi square script, in one column with 10 lines per folio. It contains the full-page cycle of images illustrating biblical events and the text of the haggadah.

3. The Sarajevo Haggadah, Sarajevo: The National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, fourteenth century, 141 folios +2 +1, 228 x 162 mm.

   The manuscript is written in in Sephardi square script, in one column with 10 lines per folio. It contains the full-page cycle of images illustrating biblical events and the text of the haggadah.

4. The Sasson Haggadah, Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, MS 181/41 (Former location: Letchworth, Sassoon collection, MS. 514), c. 1320, 336 folios, 210 x 165 mm.

   The manuscript contains the regulations for Passover, *piyutim* for the Shabbat before Passover, the text of the haggadah, parashot for Passover and Shavuot. It does not contain full-pages images. Instead, it has depictions of biblical scenes appearing as text illustrations. Folios 1-51 were written in Sephardi square script, while folios 253-336 in cursive, Avignon script in 19 lines per folio.

5. The Barcelona Haggadah, London: The British Library, Add. MS 14761, c. 1340, I+161+I folios, 255 x 190 mm.

   Written in Sephardi square script, mostly in eight lines per folio. The manuscrtipt contains piyutim for the Shabbat before Passover, the text of the haggadah, *piyutim* and parashot for the Passover week. It has text illustrations, without full-page images.

6. The Rylands Haggadah, Manchester: The University of Manchester Library, MS. 6, 1330-1349, I+57+II folios, 280 x 230 mm.

   The haggadah is written in Sephardi square script, mostly in 17 lines per folio. It contains cycle of full-page images illustrating biblical events, *piyutim* for the Shabbat before Passover, the text of the haggadah with the comentraries and the piyutim for the week of Passover.

7. The so-called "Brother" Haggadah, London: The British Library, Or. MS. 1404, c. 1330, 50 folios, 275 x 235 mm.

   It is written in Sephardi square script, in 15 lines per folio in the section with the text of the haggadah (fol. 8-22) and 26 lines in the section with *piyutim* (fol. 23v – 50v). It contains full-page images illustrating biblical events, the text of the haggadah, *piyutim* and parashot for the week of Passover.

8. The Kaufmann Haggadah, Budapest: Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, MS. A422, late fourteenth century, 60 folios, 220 x 190 mm.

   The manuscript is written in Sephardi square script. It contains cycle of full-page images illustrating biblical events and the text of the haggadah.

9. The Hispano-Moresque Haggadah, London: The British Library, Or. MS. 2737, late 13th century or early 14th century, 93 (+) folios, 160 x 120 mm.

The manuscript is written in Sephardi square script, in 13 lines per folio (in the section with the text of the haggadah) and in 14 lines in the rest of the manuscript. It contains cycle of images illustrating biblical events, the text of the haggadah and texts to be read on Passover.

10. The Mocatta Haggadah, London: Library of University College London, MS Mocatta 1, early 14th century (1300?), 58 folios, 242 x 188 mm.

    The manuscript is written in Sephardi square script in 21, 17 or 11 lines per folio. It contains the text of the haggadah, *piyutim*, Passover laws with midrashim, the Five Megillot and parts of the Mishnah in margins.

11. The Cambridge Haggadah, Cambridge: University Library, Ms. Add. 1203, close of the 14th or early 15th century, I+164 folios (missing folios after f.136 and f.138), 205 x 160 mm.

    The manuscript is written in Sephardi script, in 19 lines per folio. It contains *piyutim* for the festivals and special Shabbats (without prayers) and the text of the haggadah; many titles and initial word panels are illuminated.

12. The Prato Haggadah, New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary, MS. 9478, 1325-1350, 85 folios, 210 x 150 mm.

    Unfinished. It contains cycle of full-page images illustrating biblical events.

13. The Bologna-Modena Mahzor, Bologna: Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna, MS. 2559 and Modena: Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, MS. Cod. A. K. I. 22-Or. 92, 1325-1350, 245-48 x 175-78 mm. The Modena fragment has only 15 folios and the Bologna fragment 205 folios.

    The manuscript is written in Sephardi script, mostly in nine lines per page. It consists of three parts: full-page images illustrating the biblical events, the text of the haggadah and *piyutim*.

14. The Poblet Haggadah, Poblet: Biblioteca del Monestir Poblet, MS. 100, the end of the fourteenth century, 38 folios, 170 x 125 mm.

    The manuscript is written is square Sephardi script, mostly in 12 lines per folio. It contains the text of the haggadah followed by the *piyutim* for the Passover, additional prayers and selection of the texts from the Tanakh. The colophon, barely visible even under ultraviolet light is identified on folio 33. It contains only a few illustrations (appearing mostly on the text) and a full-page image with the text of the *Ha lahma anya* similar to that of the Sarajevo Haggadah.

15. The Graziano Haggadah, New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary, MS. 9300, 1300-1328, 35 folios, 255 x 200 mm.

    The manuscript is written in clear Sephardic square script. The text of the haggadah is preceded by *piyutim*. The manuscript does not have full-page images. Instead, illustrations appear in the text and they are illuminated, as well as initial word panels.

THE SARAJEVO HAGGADAH

Legends about the journey of the Sarajevo Haggadah

Numerous accounts abound regarding the centuries-long passage of the Sarajevo Haggadah from Spain to Sarajevo, its purchase by the National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its rescue during the Second World War. Little is known about the Sarajevo Haggadah in period from 1609 when a censor of the Roman-Catholic Church examined the manuscript and by his signature confirmed that it has nothing against the Church, and 1893 when it was purchased for the National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. One legend says that young Jew from Bosnia, a student in Padua, received the *haggadah* as his wedding present. Another legend regards that a Jewish merchant from Sarajevo has saved his Italian companion from a bad business deal in Florence and received the *haggadah* as reward.[119] The manuscript was bought for the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo in 1893 from the Sephardic Kohen family, and according to the archival documents the son offered to sell the manuscript after his father's death to support the family (fig. 6 and 7).[120] Legend says that he offered first to sell the manuscript to Sarajevo's Jewish Community but since the community did not have money for such purchase he turned to newly founded museum (which at that time had call for collecting antiquities). The manuscript is famous also because of its mysterious recent history. Jozo Petrović, the director of the National museum, saved the Sarajevo Haggadah from being confiscated by the Nazi officer Johann Fortner, by falsely informing him that another officer had already confiscated the Haggadah. However, it is not known for certain where the Sarajevo Haggadah was kept afterwards. Various accounts of its rescue and subsequent location appeared in the popular press and other sources after the Second World War. According to one story, the Sarajevo Haggadah was immediately evacuated from the National Museum after Johann Fortner's visit. The

[119] Ladislav Šik, *"Zašto skrivamo Sarajevsku Hagadu,"* in Jevrejski glas (1931).

[120] ABH (The Archive of Bosnia and Herzegovina), ZMF. 2407/B. H. 1904. The letter is signed on 22. February 1904 by Josef R. Kohen. I would like to thank to Mr. Boro Jurišić from the Archive of the Bosnia and Herzegovina for his generous help in documents search.

museum staff and Derviš M. Korkut, a curator of the museum, then hid the manuscript under the threshold of a village imam's house near Sarajevo.[121] According to another story Derviš M. Korkut "has hid and camouflaged the most valuable books among other books in the basement of the museum library."[122] A third story tells that the Sarajevo Haggadah was evacuated with other valuable artifacts from the National museum and stored in the Sarajevo National Bank's safe box on 9th December 1943.[123] The manuscript was returned to the museum after the war (1945). However, the most recent story claims that Vejsil Ćurčić, the director of the museum (1943-1945) took the Sarajevo Haggadah on revers in 1943 and buried it in the museum's botanical garden.[124] Even though each of these stories give disparate accounts of where the Sarajevo Haggadah was stored during the Second World War, they all agree that the manuscript was returned to the National museum after the War, where it remains till today.

Early research on the Sarajevo Haggadah

Scholarship on the Sarajevo Haggadah and Jewish illuminated manuscripts in general began at the end of nineteenth century when the first publication on scholarly study of the Sarajevo Haggadah was published (1898). Shortly after the manuscript was purchased for the newly founded National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which at the time was under

[121] Vlajko Palavestra, *"Pričanja o sudbini Sarajevske hagade,"* in Muhamed Nezirović (ed.), Sefarad 92 (1995), 305-312.

[122] Ljubinka Petrić, *"Djelatnost naučne biblioteke Zemaljskog muzeja,"* in Vlajko Palavestra (ed.), Spomenica stogodišnjice rada Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine 1888-1988, (1988), 366-384.

[123] Almaz Dautbegović, "Uz stogodišnjicu Zemaljskog muzeja," in Vlajko Palavestra (ed.), Spomenica stogodišnjice rada Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Herzegovine 1888-1988 (1988), 13-56; Kemal Bakaršić, "*Never ending story of C – 4436 A.K.A. the Sarajevo's Haggada Codex,"* in Wiener Slawistisher Almanach, Sonderband 52 (2001), 267-289.

[124] In the article published in Bosnia and Herzegovinia's daily newspaper Oslobođenje, Ćurčić's grandson claims that he found new documents confirming that the Sarajevo Haggadah was buried in the botanical garden of the National Museum. For details, see: http://www.oslobodjenje.ba/vijesti/bih/najljepsi-poklon-jevrejima-na-pesah-pronadjeni-novi-dokumenti-o-hagadi, accessed on April 15, 2014.

Austro-Hungarian rule, it was marked and taken to Vienna as *Eine Spanisch-Judische Bilderhandschrift des Mittelalters* (a Spanish-Jewish manuscript from the Middle Ages). In Vienna, the royal scholars conducted a detailed study of the manuscript and renamed it "the Sarajevo Haggadah."[125] David Heinrich Müller, a Jewish liturgical expert, analyzed the paleography of the Sarajevo Haggadah, and Julius von Schlosser, an art historian and a member of Vienna School of Arts, examined the iconographical and stylistic features of the manuscript (fig. 8). David Kaufmann, Budapest scholar, supplemented this research with the study of other medieval Hebrew illuminated manuscripts, which at that time was the only systematic study on this subject.[126] The observations of these three scholars were collected in the two-volume publication, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo,* which was published in Vienna in 1898.[127] This was the first scholarly publication dedicated to Jewish illuminated manuscripts and it had an important impact. It challenged the scholarly consensus about the existence of figurative art among Jews since it was commonly believed that this form of art does not exist in Jewish art because of the biblical *"prohibitions"* against making and worshiping images.[128] This publication also introduced medieval Jewish book art to the scholarly world and prompted scholars to take up the study of Jewish illuminated manuscripts.[129]

Origins of the Sarajevo Haggadah

The debate over the time and place of origin of the Sarajevo Haggadah arose among the scholars from the time of its first examination. The first scholars dated the Sarajevo

[125] The correspondence between the government in Sarajevo and the Joint Ministry of Finance in Vienna confirms that the manuscript was in Vienna from 1894 to 1913. The Sarajevo Haggadah was taken to Vienna to determine the place of its origin, author and date. For details see, Samija Sarić, Vera Štimac, "*Gdje je bila Sarajevska Hagada od 1984. do 1913. godine?"* in Prilozi 34 (2005), 113-117.

[126] Cecil Roth, *The Sarajevo Haggadah*, preface to the facsimile edition (1962), 8.

[127] David Heinrich Müller, Julius von Schlsser, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo* (1898).

[128] Cecil Roth, *Sarajevska hagada i njen značaj u istoriji umetnosti* in Jevrejski almanah (1959-1960), 7.

[129] Ibid., 8.

Haggadah to the late thirteenth century or to the beginning of the fourteenth century.[130] Their conclusion was based on the handwritten note in Hebrew on a flyleaf at the end of the manuscript which declares that it was sold on 25th August 1314. Therefore, the first scholars believed that the manuscript was produced before the 1314.[131] In the analysis of the provenance of the manuscript, Müller and Schlosser were less precise than in the analysis of the year of manuscript's production and shortly noted that the Sarajevo Haggadah "presumed provenance from a borderland of western art".[132]

In October of the same year (1898), an unknown author of the article in *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja* (the quarterly of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina) dated the Sarajevo Haggadah to sixteenth century and connected its origin to Western Europe, probably Holland.[133] However, two years later, another scholar made attempt to estimate a more accurate date and place of origin of the Sarajevo Haggadah.

Adolph Goldschmidt, a German art historian discarded previous dating of the manuscript and fixed it to the fourteenth century. He noted that the Sarajevo Haggadah was produced in advanced stages of fourteenth century, and not thirteenth century as Schlosser proposed it, adding that the mixture of French and Italian elements in style can confirm its Spanish origin.[134]

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[130] David Heinrich Müller, Julius von Schlosser, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo* (1898), 24.

[131] In alternative reading of year in the note, which was later adopted by other scholars, Müller and Schlosser proposed 25th August 1510 as the date of the manuscript's sell. David Heinrich Müller, Julius von Schlsser, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo* (1898), 26.

[132] David Heinrich Müller, Julius von Schlsser, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo* (1898), 25; Translation of the text is taken from Eva Frojmovic, "*Buber in Basle, Schlosser in Sarajevo, Wischnitzer in Weimar: The politics of writing about medieval Jewish art,"* in *Imagining the Self, Imagining the Other. Visual Representation and Jewish-Christian Dynamics in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period* (2002), 8.

[133] *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja*, (1898), 707.

[134] For details, see Repertorium für kunstwissenschaft 23 (1900), 64 and Adolph Goldschmidt, *"Die Haggadah von Sarajevo. Eine spanish-jüdische Bilderhandschrift des Mittealtres,"* in Repertorium für kunstwissenschaft 23 (1900), 333.

The first domestic (Yugoslavian) scholarly study of the Sarajevo Haggadah was published in 1953.[135] Svetozar Radojčić, a Serbian art historian involved in the study of medieval Serbian art disagreed with the opinion of the Müller and Schlosser who dated the Sarajevo Haggadah to the end of thirteenth century, and accepted the later dating made by Goldschmidt who believed that the manuscript was executed in late fourteenth century in northern Spain.

In 1960, a further seven years after Radojčić's publication, Cecil Roth, a British art historian, in discussion on the Sarajevo Haggadah and its importance to the history of art argued that the Sarajevo Haggadah was executed in northern Spain in the second half of the fourteenth century, agreeing with the earlier study of Radojčić.[136] Two years later, when the first facsimile edition of the Sarajevo Haggadah was in preparation, Cecil Roth wrote another detailed study based on his own observations and research of previous scholars.[137] In this more recent study, Roth used new information about the coats of arms, organization of the images, liturgical section and fashion to refine his estimate of the place and date of the manuscript, to northern Spain (or near this geographical region), shortly after 1350.[138]

Bezalel Narkiss, an art historian from Hebrew University in Jerusalem, introduced a similar opinion regarding the date and origin of the Sarajevo Haggadah. In his book *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts,* Narkiss suggested the Kingdom of Aragon as the manuscript's place of origin and proposed Barcelona as possible city of its production. Narkiss supported his opinion by the already mentioned coats of arms depicted on folio 3r* and also mentioned other coats of arms preserved on the same page (fig. 10). He connects these coats of arms to the family Sanz (escutcheon with wing) and Margaret of Aragon (rose).[139]

In 1992, Muhamed Karamehmedović, a Bosnian art historian, suggested an interesting possibility that the Sarajevo Haggadah was depicted in workshop of Rabbi Moshe

[135] Svetozar Radojčić, *Haggadah of Sarajevo* (1953).

[136] Cecil Roth, *Sarajevska hagada i njen značaj u istoriji umetnosti* (1959-1960), 8.

[137] Cecil Roth, *The Sarajevo haggadah*, preface to facsimile edition (1962).

[138] Ibid., 8, 14-16.

[139] Bezalel Narkiss, *Hebrew illuminated manuscripts* (1974).

Kohen in Saragossa in 1350.[140] Unfortunately, the author did not provide any reference or explanation regarding his claims.

Recent studies on Jewish illuminated manuscripts have revealed some new conclusions about the date and origin of the Sarajevo Haggadah. Katrin Kogman-Appel, an art historian from the University Ben Gurion in Beer Sheva, believes that the manuscript of the Sarajevo Haggadah was produced around the 1330s in the region of northwestern Aragon, near the border to Navarre and France. Kogman-Appel concludes that the style of the Sarajevo Haggadah was deeply influenced by French gothic art and supports her opinion by the analysis of the illuminations style and with comparison with the other Navarrese manuscripts such as 1332 Breviary in Pamplona.[141]

New proposal of the origin of the Sarajevo Haggadah

My dissertation proposes a new place of origin of the Sarajevo Haggadah. A variety of evidence suggests that the Sarajevo Haggadah was produced in the northeast of the Crown of Aragon, probably in or near the city of Gerona, around the mid-fourteenth century. I structured the argument in support of my proposition based on the position of the city, the artistic influence from Italy and France. In addition, I argue whether the images of the Sarajevo Haggadah reflect particular schools of biblical exegesis and the violence against Jewish community.

During the medieval period, the city of Gerona was the site of rich artistic production. The geographical position of the city situated close to the sea near the border between Catalonia and the south of France, exposed it to different cultural and artistic influences from France and Italy. In this region, book production reached its peak during the fourteenth century. A few monasteries in the broader region of Gerona had continuous book production from the early medieval period (for example, the monastery of Ripoll). A few later dated manuscripts were also executed in the same region. These manuscripts were produced for

[140] Muhamed Karamehmedović, *Likovna impresija sarajevskom Hagadom* in Sefarad 92 (1995), 279.

[141] Katrin Kogman Appel, *Illuminated haggadot from Medieval Spain: Biblical imagenary and Passover Holiday* (2006), 30.

both Christian and Jewish audiences and some of them bear similarities with the Sarajevo Haggadah.

The first manuscript is the fourteenth-century *Breviari d'amor*, attributed to the workshop of a Catalan master (fig. 11). It is believed that it was produced in Gerona. [142] It is interesting to note some close similarities, which the Sarajevo Haggadah has with this manuscripts. For example, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah painted seven spheres in the Creation cycle (folios 1v and 2r) using a combination of white and light blue semi-circles (fig. 12, 13, 14 and 15).[143] In a similar manner, and using almost identical color pattern, the illuminator of the *Breviari d'amor,* on folio 66 painted a cosmological diagram of seven spheres.[144] As in the spheres of the Sarajevo Haggadah, this cosmological diagram contains golden stars, dispersed in each sphere also executed in similar manner as in the Sarajevo Haggadah (in which the stars are distributed without discernable order, while in the *Breviari d'amor* they are painted one below another).

Another manuscript is the fourteenth-century Poblet Haggadah produced near Gerona for a Jewish patron (fig. 16).[145] Its owner might have been a member of the Jewish community in Gerona, which was the second largest in medieval Catalonia.[146] The Poblet Haggadah "opens with a page decorated with an architectural frame similar to that in the Sarajevo Haggadah. […] In both manuscripts, the opening page of *haggadah*, *ha-Lahma*, is a fully framed page with the initial-word panel in the upper part, flanked by turrets and two gables. In the case of the Poblet Haggadah the initial word-panel rests "on two dragons at the

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[142] *Breviari d'amor*, London: British library, Yates Thomson 31.

[143] The Sarajevo Haggadah, Sarajevo: The National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

[144] *Breviari d'amor*, London: The British library, Yates Thomson 31, folio 66.

[145] The colophon of the manuscript, the only one known to be preserved among other Sephardic *haggadot*, testifies that the Poblet Haggadah was produced in Paralada a village near Gerona for the "esteemed Don Mmt de Paralada." For details, see José Ramón Magdalena Nom de Déu, "*The Poblet Haggadah: An unknown fourteenth-century illuminated Sephardi Manuscript,"* in Jewish Art 18: Sepharad (1992), 109-116.

[146] The village of Paralada did not have organized aljama (Jewish community). For details, see José Ramón Magdalena Nom de Déu, "*The Poblet Haggadah: An unknown fourteenth-century illuminated Sephardi Manuscript,"* in Jewish Art 18: Sepharad (1992), 112.

bottom of the page, crouching back to back, with intertwined foliate tails."[147] In the Sarajevo Haggadah, birds and coat of arms frame the page. In addition, in both manuscripts the opening word of *ha-Lahma* is painted in gold. The detailed examination of production history suggests that the illuminators of both the manuscripts lived in the same region and were familiar with a similar model(s) in depicting the opening page of *haggadah* text.

In addition to the analysis of the particular similarities between the Sarajevo Haggadah and manuscripts produced in the broader region of Gerona, I argue that the iconography of the Sarajevo Haggadah reflects influences of both French gothic art and Italian *Trecento*, present in this region during the fourteenth century. Previous scholars have already identified the mixture of these styles in the Sarajevo Haggadah arguing that "the relation of the figures to the space in the Sarajevo images recalls the Italian *Trecento*, but the landscape details, and the architectural background are more reminiscent of France."[148]

Beside a rich tradition of art production, Gerona became an important center of kabbalistic teachings during late medieval period, and the Kabbalistic center, founded in the thirteenth century played a major role in spreading teachings and writings of Kabbalah throughout the Spain. Two opposite approaches to kabbalah existed in Gerona: One group of kabbalists wanted to limit teachings of Kabbalah to closed circles of scholars, while the other wanted to spread teachings among the people. However, both circles had same approach to interpretations of Judaism and its way of life, as well as the rejection of rationalist interpretations of the Torah and the Commandments.[149] Some scholars believe that the iconography of some images in the Sarajevo Haggadah was influenced by the Kabbalistic biblical exegesis.[150] Whereas Katrin Kogman-Appel and Shulamit Laderman discussed the

[147] José Ramón Magdalena Nom de Déu, "*The Poblet Haggadah: An unknown fourteenth-century illuminated Sephardi Manuscript,"* in Jewish Art 18: Sepharad (1992), 115.

[148] Svetozar Radojčić, *Haggadah of Sarajevo* (1953).

[149] *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Second Edition (2007), 606.

[150] For details, see Katrin Kogman-Appel and Shulamit Laderman, "*The Sarajevo Haggadah: Creation ex Nihilo and the Hermeneutical Concept Behind It,*" in Studies in Iconography 25 (2004): 89-128. In more recent article, Dalia Ruth Halperin proposes the interpretation of the iconography of the Sarajevo Haggadah creation cycle in accordance with the teachings of the Kabbalistic school of thought. For details, see Dalia Ruth Halperin, "*The Sarajevo Haggadah Creation Cycle and the Nahmanides School of Theosophical-Kabbalah*," in Studies in Iconography 35 (2014).

possibility that the creation cycle of the Sarajevo Haggadah was influenced by the Nachmanides' interpretation of the Book of Genesis, in a more recent article, Dalia Ruth Halperin proposes the interpretation of the iconography of the Sarajevo Haggadah creation cycle in accordance with the teachings of the Kabbalistic school of thought. Although such possibilities exist and they are still open to the scholarly discussion, I found the iconography of other images in the manuscript as not corresponding to specific kabbalistic school of thought.

I contextualized the Sarajevo Haggadah in the light of contemporary historical circumstances in the fourteenth-century Gerona. The Sarajevo Haggadah, a book that accompanies celebration of Passover, the holiday of freedom, was commissioned in the period of violence against the community for which it was produced. As already mentioned, Christian violence against Jewish communities was escalating during the fourteenth century. In 1331, the violence in Gerona resulted in the massacre of Jews. However, I could not find enough supporting arguments in the iconography of the images under consideration to interpret these images as a Jewish response to the violence against the Gerona's community in Jewish-Christian volatile context (for example, images of the ten plagues).

Classification of the Sarajevo Haggadah among other Sephardic *haggadot*

The Sarajevo Haggadah belongs to a group of medieval illuminated *haggadot* from Spain. These manuscripts were classified in various ways, depending on place of origin and content. Joseph Gutmann listed the Sarajevo Haggadah in the general catalogue of illuminated medieval Passover *haggadot*.[151] In a more precise classification, which distinguished *haggadot* according to their narrative cycles into two groups – one illustrating both the Book of Genesis and Exodus, and one with depictions of the Book of Exodus only – Cecil Roth placed the Sarajevo Haggadah in the first group with three other *haggadot*.[152] In a more recent classification by Katrin Kogman-Appel the Sarajevo Haggadah is placed in a group with six other *haggadot*, produced in the Crown of Aragon, with "introductory cycles of images depicting the history of the Israelites from creation up to liberation from Egypt bondage".[153]

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[151] Joseph Gutmann, "*The Illuminated Medieval Passover Haggadah: Investigations and Research Problems*" in Studies in Bibliography and Booklore 7 (1965), 3-25.

[152] According to Cecil Roth's classification *haggadot* depicting both Book of Genesis and Book of Exodus are: The Sarajevo Haggadah (National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina), The MS Or 2884 (so called "Sister" to Golden Haggadah, British Library), The Golden Haggadah (MS Or 27210, British Library), MS Pollack (for which Roth states that is unfinished in private collection in Jerusalem; later the manuscript was acquired by The Jewish Theological Seminary, New York and today is known as the Prato Haggadah). The *haggadot* depicting only Book of Exodus are: The Kaufmann Haggadah (MS 422, Library of Hungarian Academy of Sciences), The Rylands Haggadah (Hebrew MS 6, University of Manchester), MS 1404 (British Library), Parma MS 2411 (Biblioteca Palatina), Bologna MS (Bologna University library) and MS Or 2737 (London, British Library). Cecil Roth, "*Sarajevska hagada i njen značaj u istoriji umetnosti"* in Jevrejski almanah (1960), 18-19.

[153] Katrin Kogman-Appel's list includes: The Golden Haggadah (MS Or 27210, British Library), The MS Or 2884 (so called "Sister" to the Golden Haggadah, British Library), The Prato Haggadah (MS 9478, New York, Jewish Theological Seminary), The Bologna-Modena Mahzor (Bologna: Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2559 and Modena: Biblioteca Estanse, cod. A-K – Or. 92), The Rylands Haggadah (Hebrew MS 6, University of Manchester), The MS 1404 (so called "Brother" to the Rylands Haggadah British Library). Katrin Kogman Appel, *Illuminated haggadot from Medieval Spain: Biblical imagenary and Passover Holiday* (2006), 15-19.

Description of the manuscript

The Sarajevo Haggadah consists of three parts. The first part begins with the full-page images illustrating the biblical stories from the Book of Genesis and the Book of Exodus (folios 1- 34). The second part (folios 1r* - 50r*) contains the text of the *haggadah* that is read during the first night of Passover eve, the Seder dinner. The third, liturgical part of the manuscript (folios 52r*, 53v* - 104v*), gathers *piyutim* (liturgical poems) and daily readings for seven days of the Passover.

The manuscript has two separate numerations, one for the part with the images (folios 1-34) and another for the part with the text of the *haggadah* and liturgical poems (folios 1r*-104v*).[154] In this part, nine folios were left blank: 47v*, 50v*, 51r*, 51v*, 52v*, 53r*, 101r*, 105r*, and 106r*.[155]

The Sarajevo Haggadah is a relatively small manuscript whose text-block measures 228 x 162 x 37 mm (h x w x d). Andrea Pataki, a conservator of the Sarajevo Haggadah noted that its binders heavily cropped the manuscript, probably in the nineteenth century.[156] The measurements of the binding are 240 x 166 x 40 mm. The manuscript is bound using a modern the nineteenth-century technique called "half leather binding." The binding consists of cardboard covers, a spine and four corners in dark brown calfskin. The cardboard is covered with a Turkish printed paper of blue floral pattern on yellowish ground. The spine of the binding is gold tooled with one line above and under the four single raised hemp cords.

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* I would like to thank to prof. Marc Michael Epstein for his encouragement and numerous suggestions and comments on this part of the thesis.

[154] As the manuscript has two separate numerations, in order to avoid confusion, I marked numeration of the second part with folio number, its side and star symbol.

[155] Andrea Pataki noted that four folios were not numbered (folios 105*, 107* and folios 50v*, 53v*). When examining the manuscript I identified folios 105* and 107* as not numbered. However, folios 50v* and 53v* do contain numeration written in the upper left corner.

[156] Andrea Pataki, Bezalel Narkiss and Jean-Marie Arnoult, *"The Conservation of the Sarajevo Haggadah,"* in The Paper Conservator 29, Issue 1 (2005), 63-66.

The quires are sewn with linen thread in four holes as part of the nineteenth-century binding.[157] (fig. 17, 18, 19 and 20).

A green square label appears on the left upper corner of the board as follows:
B - H. zem. muz.
9034.

This is an original inventory number of the manuscript noted in the Museum's registry book of 1914. The inventory number was later changed into 9313 as appear in the Museum's registry book of 1946 (fig. 21).

The Sarajevo Haggadah contains 141 vellum folios with two end rug leaves and one handmade leaf detached from the text-block with chain lines which probably originates from the earlier binding. It is bounded in 20 quires, mostly of 8 leaves per quire, with flesh side facing flesh and hair side facing hair. Quires III, IV, XI, XII, XIII are of 6 original leaves. Quire V is of 4 leaves (folios 29* to 32*). Quire VI is of 6-2 (folios 33 to 2*, proving that the two first sections were created together). Quire **IXX (sic!)** is of 8 leaves (folios 93* to 100*) plus one additional single leaf (folio 101*) hooked around. Quire XX is of 8-2 (folios 102* to 107*).[158]

The Sarajevo Haggadah is richly illuminated, containing the most extensive cycle of the biblical events of all the Iberian *haggadot.* The total of 69 images painted only on flesh side of vellum appear on the first 34 folios of the manuscript. The full-page images measure 140-142 x 102-104 mm. The first two folios are divided into four images, the next 29 folios are divided horizontally into two images (separated by a golden stripe) and on folios 30r, 32r and 34r one vertical full-page image was painted.

The rest of the manuscript (except of the last section with *piyyutim*) is richly illuminated with full-page images, text illustrations, initial word-panels, ascending and descending letters, and motifs of fantastic animals and vegetation. There are two full-page images in the section with the text of the *haggadah*. The first one, on folio 3r* frames the text of *Ha Lahma* and it is believed to represent heavenly Jerusalem, and the second, on folio

[157] Andrea Pataki, Bezalel Narkiss and Jean-Marie Arnoult, *The Sarajevo Haggadah, Proposals for conservation*, April 2001.

[158] Ibid.

25r* represents Rabban Gamliel and his students. Beside the full-page images numerous text illustrations appear throughout the manuscript. Three of them are illuminated. The first one, representing two full-length figures holding a round unleavened bread appears on the lower part of folio 26r*, the second, on the upper part of folio 27r*, with the depiction of two seated figures who hold an oversized lettuce symbolically representing the bitter herb, and the third, painted in the upper part of folio 31*v representing a family gathered around the Seder table. Other text illustrations, appear in the following folios:

- At the top of the folio 13v* hare-hunt is illustrated. A skinny dog, on the left hand side, executed in pencil, is chasing a hare (painted in brown with small black dots). Between them, the following words are written: מן הארץ. At the bottom of the same folio, the Egyptian cities of Pithom and Raamses mentioned in the text of Ex. 1:11 are illustrated. Both cities are painted in a same manner as a square with arched openings. The only difference is that the city on the left has three windows on the top, while the right one has only two. Between the cities grass painted as green and black vertical lines appears.
- In the upper left corner of the folio 20r*, dead firstborn Egyptian is portrayed. The figure is reclining, dressed in a red garment with blond wavy hair. His closed eyes signal that he is dead.
- On folio 25v*, on the left upper part of the panel with word *Pesah*, the paschal lamb appears in pencil drawing,
- On folio 31r*, the blessing over wine is adorned by an encompassing grape vine at the bottom of folio,
- In the lower part of the folio 36v*, two figures flanking the first word of Psalm 118:5 ("out of my straits I called upon the Lord"); the right one holds an opened book, and the left one is "in an act of supplication;" the background is red with equally dispersed white stars painted in pen drawing; letter ן descends to the bottom of the folio and forms a floral ornament,
- On folio 39v*, below the last word of the benediction which closes the Thanksgiving psalms, there is a later addition of male and female figures executed in pen drawing, possibly in Italy during the fifteenth century,

- On folio 47r*, a fig tree in full bloom is painted at the bottom of the page illustrates the text of the Song of Songs (fig. 22).

Different types of decoration appear throughout the manuscript. They range from floral motifs to fantastic animals, usually executed in color or pencil drawing. The decorations appear in the following folios:

- Folio 3v*, a dog, in pencil drawing and surrounded by two golden circles, appears in the upper left part of the panel with word מה.
- The lower part of the folio 4v* depicts a dragon, whose tail branches into leaves. Three golden circles appear next to leaves, while a fourth leans on the dragon (fig. 23).
- Folio 6r*, three leaves appear on the upper frame of the panel with word ברוך. Two of them are on the left side, connected by the golden circle, and one on the right hand side, also with a golden circle attached to its twig.
- The lower part of the folio 8r* contains a blue snake, whose tail end branches into leaves. Two golden circles are painted next to its head, and one in the middle of the tail.
- The bottom of the folio 10r* depicts two dragons with interlaced tails. Both of them have head coverings; the dragons "lean" on two golden circles.
- The bottom of the folio 10v* contains a dragon with a golden circle in his mouth. As in the previous images, his tail is branched into leaves (two on each side). A golden leaf surrounded by two circles caps the end of its tail.
- On folio 11r* two fantastic animals are painted on the upper frame of the panel containing the word וירד. The one on the right has a golden circle in its mouth.
- Folio 11v* depicts a golden cloverleaf in the upper left side of the panel containing the word תימב.
- Folio 12v* contains a golden clover-like leaf,
- Folio 13r*, a dragon with open mouth and surrounded by two golden circles is painted in the upper part of the folio,
- Folio 14v*, two leaves connected by two golden circles are painted in the upper left part of the panel with word ונצעק.

- Folio 15r*, a dog is drawn in pencil drawing in the left upper side of the panel with word וישמע. Three golden circles surround him. On the bottom of the folio, on the left hand side a bird with a golden circle in its mouth is depicted.
- Folio 15v*, a dog with open mouth is executed in pencil drawing on the upper left hand side of the panel with word ואת.
- Folio 17r*, a green bird appears in the upper left side of the panel with word ועברתי. On the upper right side of the panel, a clover with a golden circle attached to its twig is painted.
- On the bottom of the folio 17v* a dragon is painted. It has an open mouth from which two branches with two leaves appear. Its tail finishes with two branches with two leaves.
- Folio 19r*, three dragons appear on this folio, two on each end side of the frame of the panel with word ובמופתים, and one on the left hand bottom. In addition, there is a light brown bird on the bottom of the right hand side.
- Folio 21v* a fantastic animal is painted in the upper left part of the panel with initial word ר׳עקיבא. On the right side of the same word panel, at top, the head of lion appears in a pencil drawing.
- Folio 22r*, a golden cloverleaf is painted on the lower left hand side.
- On the bottom of the folio 24v* a snake appears, painted in dark blue and surrounded by five golden circles.
- On the bottom of the folio 26v* a fantastic animal with a human head covered with a hood is depicted. Its tail forms two branches with one leaf on each branch. Next to its body a single golden circle is painted.
- On the bottom of the folio 28r* there are two dragons with interlaced tails. Five golden circles appear, one in each dragon's mouth, one in space between neck and wings, and one in the place where their tails interlace (fig. 24).
- Folio 29v*, a red cloverleaf appears in the upper left hand side of the panel with initial word בצאת. Next to it, at the very end of the folio there is a golden circle.
- Folio 30r*, a fantastic animal surrounded by two golden circles appears in the left hand bottom of the folio.

- Folio 33v*, three leaves appear on the upper side of the panel with an initial word. Two, on the left hand side, connected by a golden circle and one on the right side, with a golden circle attached to its twig.
- Folio 34r*, a fantastic animal is depicted on the bottom of the folio.
- Folio 35v*, a golden cloverleaf is shown on the right side bottom of the folio and a curved leaf on the left hand side.

In the entire section with the text of the *haggadah*, the four groups of initial word-panels can be identified: word-panels without and with decoration, word-panels with letters forming decoration, and word-panels with both decoration and ascending and descending letters. Sometimes two types of initial word panels appear on same folio, and some folios could be grouped in more than one type.

Initial word-panels are painted in the following folios:

- Folios:
    - 5v*, a blue background painted as small squares with black border lines,
    - 11r*, a blue background painted as small squares with black border lines,
    - 14r*, two initial word panels; a background of the first one is painted as small squares with black border lines; a background of the second one is executed in red ink drawing and it forms floral and geometrical decoration; in addition letter ק descends and it forms floral ornament which branches into three twigs with three leaves on the left hand side bottom of the folio,
    - 15v*, two initial word panels; a background of the first one is painted as small squares with black border lines; a background of the second one was executed in red ink drawing and it forms floral and geometrical decoration,
    - 16r*, two initial word panels; a background of the first one is painted as small squares with black border lines; a background of the second one was executed in red ink drawing and it forms floral and geometrical decoration,
    - 22v*, a blue background painted as small squares with black border lines.

Initial word-panels with decoration:

- Folios:
    - 3r*, a background executed in red ink forms geometrical motifs; in addition, three golden motifs appear on the folio: the first one at the very right, as a cloverleaf with a long twig and two circles attached to it; the second, a clover like leaf, inside the letter מ, and the third below the letter ח, painted as a fantastic animal whose tail forms clover leaf with a twig;
    - 4r*, a blue background with floral decoration executed in white; below the letter ר, a dragon was painted, also in white,
    - 5r*, a background executed in red ink drawing forms floral decoration,
    - 6v*, a blue background on which floral motifs are painted in white ink,
    - 7r*, white floral motifs on a red background; in addition seven golden motifs appear, three clover leaves below the letter ר, one golden circle between letters ש and ע, and three other on the left side of the letter ע (two golden circles and one cloverleaf),
    - 7v*, two initial word panels appear on this folio; a background of the first one is painted in blue with white floral motifs; floral motifs appear on the second word panel too, but this time they are executed in red ink drawing,
    - 10r*, white floral ornaments appear in a blue background of this initial word panel; also, three dragons, in white ink drawing appear interlaced with floral motifs: one on the right side of the letter ח, one below it, and one on the left side of the letter א.
    - 10v*, floral motifs forming circles and painted in red ink drawing appear on this folio,
    - 11v*, floral and geometrical motifs executed in red ink drawing are painted on this folio,
    - 12r*, on a blue background white floral motifs painted in pen drawing appear; in addition, red dots were equally dispersed all over the initial word panel; a dragon, painted in a same manner as floral motifs, appears below the letter ח,
    - 12v*, two initial word panels are painted in this folio; the background of the first one, painted in red ink drawing forms floral motifs; in addition, two

golden motifs are painted: clover leaf below the letter ר, and twig with two leaves positioned on the left side of the letter ב; a background of the lower initial word panel is blue with white floral motifs painted as pencil drawing; a dragon, painted in a same manner as the rest of the decoration appears below the letter ר,

- 13r*, a floral background painted in red ink; in addition one fantastic animal painted in gold, appears below the letter ר,
- 13v*, on a blue background white floral motifs painted in pencil drawing appear; in addition, one dragon, painted in a same manner as the rest of decoration, appears on the right hand side of the initial word panel,
- 14v*, floral motifs executed in white ink drawing on a blue background are painted on this folio,
- 15r*, red ink floral drawings form background of this initial word panel,
- 16v*, floral motifs executed in white ink drawing on a blue background; in addition, two dragons executed in a same manner as the rest of the decoration, appear on this initial word panel: one on the right, below letters ו and י and one leaned on the letter נ, on the left hand side of the folio,
- 17r*, red ink floral drawings form background of this initial word panel; in addition, six golden motifs were painted: one as a clover like leaf, and five as golden circles (one below letter ב, and two below letters ר and ת),
- 18r*, two initial word panels appear on this folio; the background of the first one is painted in red ink and forms floral and geometrical ornaments; floral ornaments painted as drawings by a white pen appear on a blue background on the initial word panel positioned on the bottom of the folio,
- 18v*, floral motifs executed in a red ink drawing form background of this initial word panel,
- 19r*, floral motifs executed in a white ink drawing on a blue background appear on this initial word panel,
- 19v*, red ink floral drawings form a background of this initial word panel; in addition, next to each letter in the panel, a golden motif appears; below letter ד, a rosette, inside letter ב, a circle and below letter ר, a wing,

- 20r*, one large initial word panel consisting of three small ones in painted on this folio; a background of each word panel is executed in a different manner, in blue and red, with floral ornaments painted in white pencil.
- 20v*, floral motifs executed in white ink drawing on a blue background are painted in this initial word panel,
- 25v*, a floral background is painted in red ink; in addition, two motifs painted in gold appear: the first one, a circle below the letter ס, and the second one, a clover leaf with circle attached on its twig below the letter ח,
- 29v*, white floral ornaments on the blue background are executed on this initial word panel,
- 33v*, red ink floral drawings form a background of this initial word panel,
- 34v*, white floral ornaments on the blue background are painted in this initial word panel,
- 35r*, floral background is painted in red ink; in addition four golden motifs appear, on the right hand side a vertically positioned fish, on the left a fantastic animal, a clover like leaf below letter מ, and clover leaf with twig below letter ח.
- 39v*, white floral ornaments on a blue background are painted in this initial word panel,
- 47r*, white floral ornaments on a blue background are painted in this initial word panel,
- 48v*, red pen drawings form a background of this initial word panel.

Initial word-panels with ascending and descending letters forming decoration:

- Folios:
  - 1r*, white floral ornaments on a blue background; a dragon painted in the same manner, appears below the letter ת; letter ן descends and branches into two leaves,
  - 14v*, white floral ornaments on a blue background are painted in this initial word panel.

Initial word-panels with both decoration and letters:

- Folios:
    - 6r*, a background forming floral motifs is painted in red ink; in addition, three motifs painted in gold appear: a circle inside the letter ב, and two fantastic animals, one below the letter ר and one below the letter ך. Letter ך descends and forms a floral motif which branches into two opposing sides on the bottom of the folio,
    - 8v*, white floral ornaments on a blue background are painted in this word initial panel; letter ל ascends outside the upper frame of the panel,
    - 9r*, red ink drawings form floral background of this initial word panel; in addition, three golden motifs appear: a circle inside the letter ב, a cloverleaf below the letter ר, and a fantastic animal bellow the letter ך. Letter ך descends towards the bottom of the folio and branches into two leaves,
    - 21r*, red ink drawings form floral background of this initial word panel; the letter ל ascends over the upper frame of the panel,
    - 21v*, white floral ornaments on the blue background; the letter ק descends towards the bottom of the folio,
    - 24r*, red ink drawings form floral background of this initial word panel; letter ל ascends over the upper frame of the panel,
    - 27v*, white floral ornaments and three dragons, each inside different letter were painted on a blue background appear on this initial word panel; in addition, letter ל ascends over the upper frame of the panel, towards the left hand corner of the folio,
    - 28r*, a background is painted in red ink forming floral and geometric motifs; in this initial word panel two fantastic animals, one circle and one reversed triangle painted in gold also appear; the letter ל ascends towards the center of the upper part of the folio and finishes with *fleur-de-lis*; two smaller leaves (?) are painted on both sides of *fleur-de-lis*; however, only their parts are visible as the folio was cropped (possibly during the re-binding at the beginning of the nineteenth century),

- 28v*, white floral ornaments and three dragons, each below different letter are painted on a blue background; the letter ל ascends and forms leaf which ends by a golden circle on the upper part of the folio, while the letter ך descends towards bottom of the folio and forms a bird which leans on a golden circle; in addition, three golden circles were painted inside of the bird's beak,
- 29r*, a background is painted in red ink forming floral and geometric motifs; two letters ל ascend over the upper frame of the initial word panel, and both are finished in a same manner, by a cloverleaf,
- 30v*, a background is painted in red ink forming floral and geometric motifs; in addition, three golden motifs appear inside/below the letters, two golden cloverleaves below letters ר and ך, and a golden circle inside the letter ב. Letter ך descends to an open mouth of a dragon at the bottom of the folio (fig. 25).
- 32v*, two initial word panels appear on this folio; a background of the first one is painted by a red ink and forms floral ornaments; below the letter ך there is a golden *fleur-de-lis*; This letter descends towards the lower initial word panel and connects with the letter ל. The floral ornaments painted by a white pen as drawings appear on a blue background; in addition, a head of a fantastic animal executed in a similar manner to that on folio 21v* appear in this initial word panel,
- 36r*, white floral ornaments and four fantastic animals, each below different letter are painted on a blue background of this initial word panel; in addition, two letters ל ascend towards the upper part of the folio; both letters end with a head of a fantastic animal from whose mouth twig with three leaves branches,
- 38v*, white floral ornaments are painted on a blue background; the letter ך descends to bottom of the folio and forms a leaf which branches into three other leaves towards the right side of the folio,
- 39r*, a background is painted in red ink forming floral motifs; in addition, a dragon-like (?), partly visible animal is painted below the letter ך. This letter descends and forms a floral ornament consisted of two twigs with leaves; two

letters ל ascend and their ends form two separate twigs with three leaves on each of them (fig. 26).

A wide variety of colors were used in the manuscript's illumination and decoration: red, vermilion, blue lapis lazuli, green, ochre, yellow and lead white and gold leaf applied on a thin layer of pink gesso mixed with size.[159]

The Sarajevo Haggadah was written by a single scribe in square Hebrew writing of the Sephardic (medieval Spanish) type in a variety of script sizes.[160] The inscriptions from Tanakh were written above and below the images in dark brown ink (which in later sections of text of the *haggadah* and *piyutim* is almost black). The text of the *haggadah* was written in one column, mostly 10 lines per page, while the text in the liturgical section was written mostly in one column with average of 23 lines per page. The text space measures 130-134 x 94-100 mm. During the examination of the original, Andrea Pataki noted that:

"Ruling[161] by stylus[162] is noticeable in some folios of all three sections, always on flesh side. They are determining the frames of the full-page images, 10 horizontal and 1+1 vertical in

[159] Jean-Marie Arnoult, Bezalel Narkiss and Andrea Pataki, *The Sarajevo Haggadah, Proposals for conservation* (2001), 6.

[160] Andrea Pataki, Bezalel Narkiss and Jean-Marie Arnoult, *"The Conservation of the Sarajevo Haggadah,"* in The Paper Conservator 29, Issue 1 (2005), 64.

[161] The process by which a frame and/or horizontal lines are produced to guide the hand in writing; the word also refers to the linear guide thus produced. Ruling was guided by pricking. Glossary for the British Library Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts: http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/GlossR.asp#RULING, accessed on May 27, 2014.

[162] A pointed implement, generally of metal or bone, used for writing on wax tablets. A stylus can also be used for pricking and ruling a manuscript. Glossary for the British Library Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts: http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/GlossS.asp, accessed on May 27, 2014.

the *haggadah* and 23 horizontal and 1+1 vertical in the liturgical section. No pricking[163] is noticeable."[164]

The style and the coherency of the depictions in the first part with the full-page images indicate that a single illuminator engaged in their execution. However, more skillful depiction of folio 3r* with the opening text of the *haggadah*, *Ha lahma anya*, might suggests another illuminator who was engaged in depiction of this particular folio only.

During the examination of the manuscript, later additions in form of doodles, notes and signatures were identified in the following folios:

- Folio 1r, a doodle,
- Folio 10r, a number two or a Hebrew letter gimmel (ג),
- Folio 11r, on a blank side of the folio, a barely visible number two in a reversed position (?),
- Folio 16v, doodles identified on a blank side,
- Folio 23r, on the upper right corner of the blank side number two (?),
- Folio 25r, on the upper right corner of the blank side a Hebrew word (?)
- Folio 26v (traces of gold?),
- Folio 27v, numbers two (?) written on the entire folio; a line in the lower part of the folio (fig. 27).
- Folio 29r, on a blank side of the folio lines were identified,
- Folio 29r, doodles or number two,
- Folio 30r, number two (?),
- Folio 70v*, print of letters (?)
- Folio 71r*, print of letters (?),
- On folio 104r*, a signature of a censor of the Roman-Catholic Church:

[163] The marking of folio or bifolium by a point or knife to guide ruling. The term also refers to the series of marks that resulted. Pricking was generally conducted before the bfolia were folded to form a quire. Glossary for the British Library Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts: http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/GlossP.asp#PRICKING, accessed on May 27, 2014.

[164] Jean-Marie Arnoult, Bezalel Narkiss and Andrea Pataki, *The Sarajevo Haggadah, Proposals for conservation* (2001).

Revisto per mi gio: dom: (?) vistorini 1609[165] (fig. 28).

- On flyleaves at the end of the manuscript a note of sale "in which the names of both seller and buyer are scratched out and painted over with white paint, in which the seller states and certifies that: This Haggadah was sold today, on Sunday the 25th of August 5270 to …"[166]

Current condition of the manuscript[167]

The findings of on-site inspection of the manuscript conducted on 31 March 2009 and 14 July 2015 are as follows:

- Condition of the binding:

  The binding is in good condition due to conservator works carried out from 13 to 22 December 2001.[168]

- Condition of the manuscript:

  The manuscript is in good condition. Main damages are identified as the stains from the liquids spilled on the folios usually on ones where the ritual calls for washing the hands, drinking four cups of fine or eating different symbolic food. The liquids or the colors that did not dry, in addition, caused smear of some colors in folios thus smudging the facing page (for example, 34v* - 1r*, 8v* - 9r*, 10v* - 11r*, 30v* - 31r*). During the preparation of the skin, some pages were not scarped enough, which left visible veins to the present date.

[165] The note states that Giovanni Domenico Vistorini examined the manuscript in 1609. Vistorini was active as a censor from 1609 to 1620, probably in the region of the cities of Modena and Venice. For details, see William Pooper, *The Censorship of Hebrew Books* (1899), appendix § 85-87, and http://numelyo.bm-lyon.fr/f_view/BML:BML_06PRV01000SJE669213894, accessed on May 4, 2013.

[166] Eugen Verber, *The Sarajevo Haggadah*, preface to the facsimile edition (1983), 20.

[167] I would like to thank to Dr. Adnan Busuladžić, the director of the National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina for enabling me to examine the original on a several occasions.

[168] For details on the conservation of the manuscript, please see Andrea Pataki, Bezalel Narkiss and Jean-Marie Arnoult, *"The Conservation of the Sarajevo Haggadah,"* in The Paper Conservator 29, Issue 1 (2005), 64.

The full-page illuminations (folio 1 - 34) are in good condition; the colors are bright, fixed well, golden leaves also fixed well; minor cracks in pigments are identified; they appear due to use of the manuscript over the centuries.

Traces of boring holes of insects are identified mainly in lower inner parts of the margins; they are very small and pose no danger to the parchment.

On several folios traces of oxidation are visible in the inner margin.

During the examination of the original and its comparison with the facsimile editions from 1999 and 2010, I identified slight deviations. The facsimile editions are not 1:1 copies of the original since the images in the original are smaller.

DEPICTING GOD'S PRESENCE IN THE SARAJEVO HAGGADAH

In the Sarajevo Haggadah, God's presence is visually indicated in an extremely varied manner throughout twenty-four images. The modes of indicating the presence of God range from golden lines, red dashes, a combination of golden and red lines, white lines with black dots and horns to a cloud with the hand of an angel or of God emerging from it, faceless angels, and most astoundingly (and controversially) what is possibly a fully anthropomorphic depiction of God reclining on a square yellow or golden throne wearing a red robe.

This dissertation examines why God's presence is depicted in such a great variety of ways and whether there was a special significance to the particular kinds of depictions. Exploring these questions promises to elucidate connections between the iconography of God's presence in medieval manuscripts created for the Jewish and Christian audiences, respectively.

The lines

The illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah painted God's presence as golden and white lines in all seven of the images, illustrating events from the Book of Genesis and one event from the Book of Exodus. Illuminators of the earlier medieval manuscripts, such as the twelfth-century Byzantine Octateuch, produced in Constantinopolis, had already portrayed God's presence using golden lines.[169] However, the repertoire of the biblical events where the golden lines appear, the way in which they were executed and how they vary in the images of the Sarajevo Haggadah might be unique in medieval art. It should also be noted that the illuminator used golden lines to separate images in the folios. I suggest that the purpose of these golden lines, however, is not only to separate the images but also to indicate God's presence throughout the manuscript, so to speak, an indication of God's presence throughout the Jewish biblical past.

[169] Octateuch, ca. 1150, Biblioteca Vaticana, Codex graecus 746, folio 30r. Octateuch is a compendium of the first eight books of the Bible according to the traditional Orthodox Christian order.

When studying these particular characteristics of the golden and white lines in the Sarajevo Haggadah, the following question arise: if the modes of representation of the presence of God vary, then what can we learn about the nature of the presence of God from these different forms? As it will be shown, different modes represent different actions of God in the images in which they appear.

f.1v [וְהָאָרֶץ הָיְתָה תֹהוּ], fig. 29
And the earth was unformed (Gen. 1:2)

The primary literal source for the first image of the Sarajevo Haggadah's creation cycle is verse two of the Genesis, which describes the pre creation moment and the earth as *unformed* and *void*, with darkness "upon the face of the deep," and God's spirit "over the face of the waters." God's presence is represented in this image by the wavy golden and white lines. These lines portray God's presence in the very first moment of creation and their function is to transform the earth, which was *unformed and void,* into a formed shape, so the other elements could be created on each day, as the subsequent verses of the Tanakh teach us. The depiction of the presence of God, as described in this verse, may be unique in medieval art, as I have encountered no other representations of God's presence as the golden lines at the very first moment of creation. This illustrated moment is characterized by a very significant development. Emerging from the chaos, the golden lines indicate that it is from that particular moment that we count time and record our past. God's presence as the evenly dispersed golden lines contrasts with two other elements mentioned in the verse – waters, depicted as white and light blue waves, and darkness, executed in black.

The Sarajevo Haggadah's cycle of creation of the world in general and the image of the earth as unformed in particular have attracted a great deal of interest among scholars. Even though one of the first studies by professor Herbert Broderick (1984) examined specifically the Sarajevo Haggadah's cycle of creation, linking the possible influences of the Sarajevo Haggadah to Byzantine pictorial sources and Western European manuscripts, it did not include a detailed discussion of the first image illustrating the earth as unformed.[170] A

[170] Herbert R. Broderick, "*Observations on the Creation Cycle of the Sarajevo Haggadah,"* in Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, 47 (1984), 322 – 324.

decade later (2004), another study by professors Katrin Kogman-Appel and Schulamit Laderman introduced a new theory which maintained that the iconography of the Sarajevo Haggadah creation cycle was inspired by a school of biblical exegesis of the thirteenth-century Catalan scholar Nachmanides and his disciples, who advocated for the creation of the world *ex-nihilo* or out of nothing.[171] Furthermore, Kogman-Appel and Laderman argued that the iconography of the unformed earth was influenced by a discussion of the first verse in Genesis by Bahye ben Asher, one of Nachmanides' disciples, who defined unformed earth (*tohu*) as "the formless empty mass that has no name."[172] Kogman-Appel and Laderman conclude that "this kind of visualization of Genesis 1:1 can only be understood, it would seem, in the light of Nachmanides or Bahye, who separate the *tohu*, the shapeless, initially created substance, from the *bohu*, the form that substance received."[173]

The iconographical study of this image shows that the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah illustrated all the elements mentioned in verse two, and not only the one written by the scribe in the inscription above the image (*And the earth was unformed*). In other words, to my understanding, this image is not necessary connected to the particular school of thought and its interpretation of the text of the Genesis 1:1. I would suggest instead that the illustrated image reveals artistic freedom of interpretation of this biblical verse and the illuminator's imagination. Particularly because the illuminator illustrated all elements mentioned in the text of verse two – unformed and void earth, darkness and God's spirit hovering "over the face of the waters."[174]

Having in mind that no other illustrations of this episode are known to exist in medieval art, it is important to note that the interpretation of this verse is still the topic of the scholarly study and still there is no consensus on it. Whereas some studies, as aforementioned by Kogman-Appel and Laderman argue for the possibility that the illuminator followed a

[171] Nachmanides' commentary on the Genesis 1:1 opens with the following words: "The Holy One, blessed be He, created all things from absolute non-existence." Nachmanides, *Commentary on the Torah* (1971), 17.

[172] Bahye ben Asher, also known as Bahya (Behai) ben Asher ben Halawa (1255 – 1340). Katrin Kogman Appel and Shulamit Laderman, *The Sarajevo Haggadah: Creation ex Nihilo and the Hermeneutical Concept Behind It*", in Studies in Iconography 25 (2004), 110.

[173] Ibid.

[174] A Hebrew – English Bible according to the Masoretic Text and the JPS 1917 Edition, Genesis 1:2. http://www.mechon-mamre.org/p/pt/pt0.htm , accessed on November 17, 2013.

specific school of thought when illustrating this image, I would suggest the possibility that the illuminator simply painted his own visualization of the words of the Tanakh. There are several reasons for this. First, we do not know who was involved in the manuscript production and whether the illuminator illustrated this biblical episode by his own volition or it was a request from his commissioners. Second, there are no other evidences of the influence of this particular school of thought (Nachmanides') in the rest of the manuscript. Lastly, as mentioned earlier, there are no other preserved examples of this biblical episode in other medieval manuscripts (nor we have knowledge about the models for this episode from the period). Thus it could be concluded that when illustrating this episode, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah heavily relied on the text of the Tanakh as a primary source on which the iconography was based. By visually defining "the spirit of God" as the golden lines he also chosen a subtle way to portray His presence (and in doing so, he avoided an anthropomorphic depiction of God, common in manuscripts made for Christians). However, even with such, so to speak an abstract representational choice, the illuminator succeeded to illustrate a strong transforming action of God that is occurring at the very first moment of creation. Finally, the role of the golden lines is not only to show an action of God at this particular moment, but also, as the other images of the creation cycle demonstrate, to introduce the continuation of God's actions with specific outcomes on each day.

f. 1v [יוֹם שֵׁנִיְהִי רָקִיעַ בְּתוֹךְ הַמָּיִם], fig. 30
Second day … Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters (Gen. 1:6)

On the second day, as the text of the Tanakh teaches us, God created the firmament. Similar to the previous image, the illuminator of this biblical episode indicated God's presence by the golden lines that, it seems, create the firmament. In contrast to the first image, the lines are now structured in a beam of seven thick golden lines descending from the center of the heavens. The change in shape of the golden lines indicates the change from the unformed to the formed (the wavy golden lines illuminating the unformed earth in the first miniature are focused now as a beam, as they illuminate the newly formed earth). The tips of the lines are unfinished and it seems that they are only lightly touching the earth. However, they are directed straight down, and their function is to emphasize the newly created heavens.

Careful analysis of these golden lines and the text of the Tanakh reveals that their function is to demonstrate: a) the idea of creating the firmament, expressed through Divine speech noted in the text of the Tanakh (Gen. 1:6), b) a specific action of God, namely, the creation of the firmament and c) the realization of the idea, or the product of that action: the heavens.

Comparing this image with the images of the second day in the manuscripts made for Christians, for example the thirteenth-century Morgan Bible,[175] three interesting observations appear. First, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah chose subtle way to portray God's presence, substituting an anthropomorphic depiction of God who creates the world, common in the contemporaneous Christian manuscripts, with the golden lines. Scholars such as Eugen Verber believe that the golden lines in the Sarajevo Haggadah are "in spirit of Jewish beliefs." [176] In other words, to my understanding, the golden lines used instead of an anthropomorphic depiction of God, indirectly witness illuminator's and/or patron's awareness of the biblical commandments which prohibit making and worshiping images and visual representations of the Divine.[177] Second, in the majority of Christian examples, the earth, depicted as a sphere, levitates and it seems that it could fall down and be destroyed any minute, while in the Sarajevo Haggadah it is leans on a frame of an image, making it stable. Third, the firmament in the Sarajevo Haggadah is represented at the top of the image by concentric semi-cycles executed in royal and light blue. In addition, the round-topped rectangular shape is defined by thin white line, and "enhanced by a series of white dots along its inner border."[178] Scholars such as Herbert Broderick, who previously studied the creation cycle of the Sarajevo Haggadah, connected the round-topped rectangular form with the similar *schema* found in the illustrated copies of the *Christian Topography* of Cosmas

[175] The Morgan Bible, c. 1244-54, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 638, folio 7v.

[176] Eugen Verber, *The Sarajevo Haggadah*, preface to the facsimile edition (1983), 23.

[177] While the Book of Exodus (20:3-4) gives "general" prohibition of graven image and making anything that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth, Book of Leviticus (26:1) mentions, in addition, making no idols, or pillar of figured stone. Book of Deuteronomy (5:7-8) repeats prohibition from Ex. 20:3-4 but also mentions no making form of any figure, likenesses of male or female, likenesses of any beast, or winged fowl, anything that creepeth on the ground, or any likeness of fish that is under the water (4:16-19). The prohibitions against making and worshiping images are described in detail in different parts of the Book of Isaiah 41:29; 42:8,17; 44:9-20; 45:20 and they emphasize adhering to single God.

[178] Herbert R. Broderick, "*Observations on the Creation Cycle of the Sarajevo Haggadah,"* in Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, 47 (1984), 322.

Indicopleustes, "where it is meant to represent the universe, which, as described in Cosmas' text, is divided in half horizontally by the firmament of Genesis I:8 with heaven above and the earthly realm below."[179] Further analysis of the round-topped rectangle by scholars such as Wanda Wolska-Conus and Shulamit Laderman suggests that this form also represents the Ark of the Covenant.[180]

Even though the white line with small white dots within its inner border can be interpreted as depiction of the universe or of the Ark of the Covenant, I would not observe it isolated from the other images in this manuscript. The white line with small white dots in its inner border also appears in other images of the manuscript, but it does not have the round-topped rectangular shape. For example, already in the illustration of the seventh day of creation, it outlines the Gothic arch and the borders of the frame, while in the image of the expulsion from the garden of Eden, it outlines the square shape of the image's frame. I would suggest the possibility that the illuminator used this pattern only as a graphic decoration and not as a shape with symbolic meaning.

Returning to the depiction of the firmament as royal and light blue semi-cycles in the illustrations from the first to the sixth day in the Sarajevo Haggadah, I would like to draw the attention to another fourteenth-century manuscript known as the Breviari d'Amour,[181] also produced in fourteenth-century Catalonia (possibly Gerona). Comparing the depiction of the firmament from the Sarajevo Haggadah with the image of Ptolemaic system from the Breviari d'Amour a striking similarity appears. In both manuscripts, the spheres are painted in the same manner – as royal and light blue lines. In the Breviari d'Amour they are executed in a form of a circular diagram, while in the Sarajevo Haggadah we see only a segment of them (fig. 12, 13, 14 and 15). This similarity could indicate that the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah was familiar with the depiction of the spheres as one found in the Breviari d'Amour, especially when we know that both manuscripts were produced in the same region and at the same time.

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[179] Herbert R. Broderick, "*Observations on the Creation Cycle of the Sarajevo Haggadah,"* in Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, 47 (1984), 322.

[180] For the recent research on this topic see, for example Shulamit Laderman, *Images of Cosmology in Jewish and Byzantine Art. God's Blueprint of Creation* (2013), 121 – 137.

[181] Breviari d'Amour by Matfré Ermengau of Béziers's, The British Library, Yates Thompson 31, f. 66.

Using what we might describe as an abstract geometrical vocabulary, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah painted the golden lines to indicate the presence of God. As in the previous image, the golden lines also represent an action of God with significant outcomes. In this image, the golden lines emphasize the ability of God to transform the earth from unformed to formed and to create the firmament. Despite its abstract visual representation, in this way, the presence of God and the cognition of His nature as the One Who creates are fully reveled to the observer. In that regard, there is no doubt that the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah, unlike the illuminators of the manuscripts made for Christians, more consciously approached to the depiction of the presence of God. Despite this, certain iconographical aspects of the creation cycle in the Sarajevo Haggadah (such as the depiction of the firmament) and their comparison with others in the manuscripts produced for Christians, demonstrate the existence of similar/same models available to the fourteenth-century illuminators. This opens the possibility that the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah was also familiar with them. On basis of similar representational choices, in this particular case, regarding the depiction of the firmament, in the Sarajevo Haggadah and the Breviari d'Amour, we may determinate the province of the Sarajevo Haggadah to Catalonia, and possibly to broader region of the city of Gerona.

f. 1v [יוֹם שְׁלִישִׁיקָווּ הַמַּיִמוְתֵרָאֶה, הַיַּבָּשָׁה/וּתַדְשֵׁא הָאָרֶץ], fig. 31
Third day ... Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear ... Let the earth bring forth grass (Gen. 1:9, 11, 13)

On the third day, as the text of the Tanakh notes, God made dry land to appear. The function of the golden lines in this image, illustrating the act of God's creation of nature, is to illustrate the presence of God and to emphasize the act of creation, which brings an important change – the earth without life turned into the earth with living beings. The composition of the image is painted in the same manner as the previous one: the earth is represented as a sphere, the heavens as the semi-circles of royal and light blue, and the waters as blue and white waves. There are only two differences between the images. First, the golden lines are now thinner and diffused rather than thick and dense as in the previous image. They are descending in a beam of seven golden lines and freely touch the newly created natural

elements on the earth – the trees and the grass. Second, the earth is now divided into "seas" and dry land. Illustrating the text of the Tanakh, the illuminator depicted dry land as a green grass field with black vertical lines over it. Two threes are placed on the upper part of the earth, and one between them, in the lower part of the earth. In this way, the position of these three trees forms the shape of a reversed triangle. In addition, three stars appear in the sky, one on the second, one on the third, and one on the fifth sphere.

This manner of illustrating the third day of creation by depicting the earth as a sphere and golden lines emerging from the heavens and illuminating nature is, to my best knowledge, unique among Sephardic *haggadot*. Also, the iconography of this image, to some extent follows the iconography found in the Christian art (for example, the earth as a sphere or three trees appearing on the dry land as found in the thirteenth-century Morgan Bible, fig. 32). However, the Sarajevo Haggadah image shows an iconographic deviation from the common Christian examples. While majority of medieval manuscripts made for Christians contain an anthropomorphic depiction of God who makes dry land to appear, as for example in the aforementioned Morgan Bible, in the Sarajevo Haggadah it is rather an abstract form which has the same role and function. As in the previous images, the golden lines here indicate not only the presence of God and an act of the creation, but they also signal a transformation, in this particular image, from dry land into the land with the nature. Furthermore, I would like to note that this transformation is followed by the transformation of the visual vocabulary. More precisely, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah transformed common visual vocabulary found in the manuscripts made for Christians, for example the previously mentioned Morgan Bible, where an anthropomorphic God who creates appears, into an acceptable visual language, painting the golden lines instead. It seems reasonable to assume that the usage of the golden lines instead of an anthropomorphic depiction of God indirectly indicate that the illuminator and/or the patron were highly aware of the prohibitions regarding visual representations of the divine. However, the usage of the golden lines instead of an anthropomorphic depiction of God also demonstrates that the illuminator and patron did not completely dismiss the possibility to represent God. They rather negotiated with both the prohibitions and common representational choices and in doing so they created more acceptable visual representation of the presence of God.

f. 2r [יוֹם רְבִיעִי יהי מאורות שמש וירת ובובבים], fig. 33

Fourth day … Let there be lights … The sun, the moon and the stars (1:14, 19)

On the fourth day, God created *lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night* (Gen. 1:14-19). The illuminator painted again all things created during the previous days, adding only luminaries – the sun, the moon and the stars. The bigger light on the right side, depicted as a golden sphere with small rays inside of it, represents the sun, and the smaller one on the left side, painted as a black sphere with a tiny white line in the form of a crescent, represents the moon. According to the Tanakh (Gen. 1:16), the greater light will rule the day and the smaller will rule the night. In addition, four six-pointed stars are painted in the spheres of the heaven.

There is a puzzling difference between this image and the previous ones: in this one the illuminator painted curved golden lines descending from the luminaries and lighting up the earth. The golden lines are now gathered in the center of the earth and not in the center of heaven as in the previous images. Discussing this iconographic motif, Broderick argued, in the already mentioned study (1984), that the golden lines come from the earth up to the heavens and possibly illustrate the Genesis 2:5-6, which mentions mist rising from the earth and irrigating its surface.[182] Kogman-Appel and Laderman maintained, by contrast, that the reversed direction of the golden lines "emphasize two important issues of the creation concept, as explained by Bahye", which refers "to the reliance of earthly existence on the two luminaries above", which "now enable the controlling of time on earth."[183] Dalia-Ruth Halperin further discussed the motif of the golden lines, which were painted in the reversed position in regard to the previous interpretations - from the earth upwards toward the luminaries. However, Halperin suggested that "these rays should be understood as emanating simultaneously from the two luminaries to Earth", and introduced a possible link between the

[182] "And every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew: for the Lord God has not caused it to rain upon the earth and there was not a man to till the ground.
But there went up a mist from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground." After Herbert R. Broderick, "*Observations on the Creation Cycle of the Sarajevo Haggadah,"* in Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, 47 (1984), 326.

[183] Katrin Kogman Appel and Shulamit Laderman, *The Sarajevo Haggadah: Creation ex Nihilo and the Hermeneutical Concept Behind It*", in Studies in Iconography 25 (2004), 115.

depiction of the golden lines in the Sarajevo Haggadah and *Sefer Me'irat 'Einayim* by Rabbi Isaac of Acre. According to Halperin, the golden lines indicate that luminaries - the two powers - "rule as equals," as discussed by Rabbi Isaac of Acre.[184] Furthermore, Halperin suggests that the golden lines which "are coming from the earth and are directed upward" emphasize "not only the aspect of the equal luminosity of the sun and the moon," but they also serve "as an added exegetic component of the motif's literal illustration of the biblical text."[185]

Regardless of the possible textual sources that influenced the Sarajevo Haggadah illustration, it is interesting to note that both the scribe and the illuminator of this biblical episode included their own interpretations of the text of the Tanakh, which does not mention the sun, the moon and the stars, nor the "two powers," but only "the lights." The scribe named these lights in the inscription above the miniature, and the illuminator painted them. The directionality of the golden lines, to my understanding, from the luminaries to the earth, could suggest that God set the sun, the moon and the stars i*n the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth.*

In conclusion I would suggest that the primary source for the iconography of this biblical episode was the text of the Tanakh, which clearly describes the creation of the "great lights." However, as the image shows, both the illuminator and the scribe included their own interpretations of this text, primarily by naming the luminaries and painting them. To some extent, the golden lines could also be understood as the illuminator's own interpretation of the presence of God, mainly due to the exclusion of an anthropomorphic figure of God and its substitution with the golden lines. However, even though we might expect that the golden lines would not have a same visual "power" as a figure of an anthropomorphic God who creates, this image, on contrary shows that the illuminator succeeded in evoking the

[184] "Know that they were *du-parsufin*, and when they were operating equally there was a fear provided that their rule was equal, lest the people will err and say that there are two powers [in Heaven]. God forbid." After Dalia-Ruth Halperin, (2014), 174. Nachmanides' school concept of *du-parsufin* or the emanation of malkhut (kingdom) includes: the *shekhinah* with *tif'eret* (glory) as one body. After Dalia-Ruth Halperin (2014), "*The Sarajevo Haggadah Creation Cycle and the Nahmanides School of Theosophical-Kabbalah,*" in Studies in Iconography 35 (2014), 168, 174.

[185] After Dalia-Ruth Halperin (2014), "*The Sarajevo Haggadah Creation Cycle and the Nahmanides School of Theosophical-Kabbalah,*" in Studies in Iconography 35 (2014), 174.

significant action of God that is occurring, the creation of the luminaries, by golden diffused lines.

f. 2r [חמשי יִשְׁרְצוּ הַמַּיִם וְעוֹף יְעוֹפֵף עַל הָאָרֶץ], fig. 34
Fifth … *Let the waters bring forth abundantly … and fowl may fly over the earth* (Gen. 1:20, 23)

The text of Gen. 1:20 notes that on the fifth day God created fish, birds and animals. The act of creation on the fifth day in the Sarajevo Haggadah's image is followed by a beam of straight golden lines, which descend from the center of the heavens and indicate God's presence. Their function is not only to emphasize the act of creation but also to point out the newly created creatures on the earth by illuminating them. The illuminator in this biblical episode used the same composition and iconography as in the previous images – the earth as a sphere, trees, grass and the heavens with the stars and the luminaries – additionally painting the newly created beasts. In the waters he painted fish – two large ones, possibly representing the *great sea-monsters* mentioned in the text of Genesis 1:21 (one painted as a shark and another of which we see only big eyes and the upper jaw with whiskers) and one smaller one, which resembles a goldfish. On the treetops, two birds stand – the one on the right painted in black and the one on the left painted in yellow with red details. On the ground between them a smaller, barely visible yellow bird is painted.

Studying the iconography of this biblical episode, I would like to draw the viewer's attention to a few particularly interesting details. First, the illuminator painted the wild four-legged beasts even though they were created later, on the sixth day. Second, it is interesting to note the numerical matching of the represented plants and animals – three birds, three trees, three creatures and three sea monsters. Third, the golden lines are touching the majority of the creatures on the earth, except the black bird resting on the right positioned tree. One can clearly see that the golden line descending towards the black bird abruptly stops before reaching it. It is uncertain whether this stop is intentional or unintentional.

It may be inferred that the iconography of this episode follows the iconography of the previous images of the creation cycle, particularly in depiction of the presence of God by the golden lines. As in the previous images, the golden lines here also represent an action of God

with significant consequences, in this particular case, the creation of the animals. Most probably, the golden lines were intentionally pointed downwards in order to emphasize the newly created animals.

f. 2r [תּוֹצֵא הָאָרֶץ נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּהיוֹם שִׁשִּׁי בריאת האדם], fig. 35
Sixth day … Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind … Creation of man (Gen. 1:24-26)

The Genesis story recorded that on the sixth day God created man (Gen. 1:26). In this image, the function of the golden lines, this time longer and denser than in the previous images, is to illustrate God's presence and the moment of creation of Adam and living creatures. To emphasize this moment, the illuminator pointed the golden lines that descend from the center of a golden star in the firmament only towards Adam, who sits naked on the edge of the dry land with a right leg in the sea. He is surrounded by birds, each different in color and each resting on a different treetop and a four-legged animal on the right side. In addition, each creature is turned in the Adam's direction, without doubt signaling his dominion over the animals.

The golden lines pointed towards man in the Sarajevo Haggadah show similar iconography to the image from the Byzantine Octeteuch dated to twelfth-century, where the golden lines from God's hand in heaven were pointed towards Adam (fig. 36).[186] As in the Sarajevo Haggadah, the thin, long, golden lines are pointed only in the direction of Adam on the right side of the image. This similarity could indicate that the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah was familiar with the similar existing patterns used in the iconography of the earlier manuscripts, possibly available at the workshop where he had been working.

To reiterate, the golden lines pointed towards Adam, to my understanding were intentionally used to emphasize this particular moment of the creation of a man. As in the previous images, the golden lines were used to represent the presence of God. In this particular image, it seems, their function is to create a man. To emphasize this moment and to stress the importance of the creation of a man and his dominion over the animals, the illuminator not only pointed the golden lines towards Adam, but also all animals towards

[186] Octateuch, ca. 1150, Biblioteca Vaticana, Codex graecus 746, folio 30r.

him. As previous examples show, both the twelfth- and the fourteenth-century illuminators were familiar with such representational model (of the golden lines pointed towards Adam), and even more, in both cases they are interpreted as "the breath of life" (Gen. 2:7) that God breathed into Adam's nostrils.

Man or God?

f. 2r [יום שבת], fig. 37
The Sabbath

The story of the creation of the world as recorded in the text of Genesis 2:2-3 concludes with an account of the seventh day. On that day, *God finished His work which He had made; and He rested on the seventh day from all His work which He had made. And God blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it; because that in it He rested from all His work which God in creating had made.*

Following the images of the creation of the world and the inscriptions above and below them based on the text of the Genesis, the final image of the Sarajevo Haggadah's creation cycle shows a man, reclining on a square yellow throne/bench, wearing a red robe. Given the quoted text of the Genesis, one might expect that this depicts God resting on the seventh day – an image very prominent in manuscripts made for Christians during this period.[187] However, it is not. The image of the man resting on the seventh day found in the Sarajevo Haggadah is the only one known in surviving medieval manuscripts illuminated for Jews. It is, thus, intriguing and controversial, and naturally leads one to ask why this iconography was employed.

There is no consensus regarding the identity of the seated figure. The inscription below the image, labeled simply as Yom Shabbat or "Sabbath [i.e. rest] day," does not reveal much. The earliest research into the manuscript interpreted this figure as an anthropomorphic representation of God (common in depictions of Creation in contemporary manuscripts made for Christians, as we will note below). In the description of this image Müller and Schlosser

[187] The Bible, third quarter of the thirteenth century, New York: The Morgan Library, MS M.494, folio 1r; The Bible, last quarter of the thirteenth century, New York: The Morgan Library, MS M.969, folio 5v.

shortly noted: "Siebenter tag. Gottes Sabbatruhe. Jehovah, jugendlich unbärtig, völlig vom christlichen Typus abweichend, in langem rothen Gewande mit Kapuze, auf einer Bank unter einem Kleeblattbogen sitzend."[188]

Although Müller and Schlosser did not exactly specify which manuscripts they took into consideration when comparing the image from the Sarajevo Haggadah with its counterparts in iconography made for Christians, it might be concluded that numerous examples from among medieval manuscripts produced for Christians that portray God as resting on the seventh day (for example, a group of the thirteenth-century Bibles produced in Paris) led them to the same conclusion about the figure illustrating the seventh day in the Sarajevo Haggadah. For the earliest researchers into the manuscript not even the observation the figure was youthful and beardless "completely distinct from the Christian type," was sufficient to consider different interpretation of this figure.

The conclusion that the human figure illustrating the seventh day in the Sarajevo Haggadah represents God resting has been challenged by more recent scholarship, which maintains that what we see is the figure of a pious Jew resting on the Shabbat. Ellen S. Saltman (1981) argues that "it is quite unbelievable" that a "diffident little man sitting on a rude bench" is an image of God.[189] Saltman supports her argument on the basis of her analysis of other representations of God's presence in the manuscript and concludes that the figure represented in the portrayal of the seventh day cannot represent God since the "artist carefully avoided even the suggestion of an anthropomorphic figure" in the rest of the manuscript.[190]

Eugen Verber (1983) agrees. In his preface to the facsimile edition of the Sarajevo Haggadah, Verber argues that it is unlikely that the author of the codex would represent God as a man on the same folio on which he painted the golden rays that Verber understands to indicate the presence of God. "After all, resting on Shabbat afternoons is so typically Jewish and even Mediterranean, that a lack of imagination would be required in order to attach divine attributes to this idyll. One should rather wonder at the imagination of the author, who

[188] The seventh day. God's Shabbat rest. JHWH youthful beardless, completely distinct from the Christian type, in a long red robe with a hood, on a bench under a trefoil arch. David Heinrich Müller, Julius von Schlosser, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo* (1898), 34.

[189] Ellen S. Saltman, "The 'Forbidden Image' in Jewish Art," in Journal of Jewish Art, 8 (1981), 48.

[190] Ibid.

ended the biblical story of the creation by transferring the pictures into circumstances of the world and who created an apotheosis in kind of the seventh day by expressing satisfaction and enjoyment in the calm of the Saturday entirely in the spirit of the Jewish tradition, and owing to the perfect calm and the absence of work, this day is called – Shabbat."[191]

The theory that is is, in fact, a man resting on Shabbat in this last image of the Sarajevo Haggadah creation cycle has been supplemented by new insights into the iconography of this image in the work of Kogman-Appel and Laderman (2009).[192] These scholars contend that "there can be no doubt that this figure is a man, and not God, as in Christian parallels."[193] Their conclusion is based on the similarity in appearance between the figure depicted here and the other humans appearing in the manuscript. They furthermore argue that the iconography of this image was influenced by Bahye's commentary on Genesis 2:3, specifically the interpretation of the words *bara Elohim la'asot* (Gen. 2:3, […] "God in creating had made"): "the last panel, representing the completion of creation, expresses the words *bara Elohim la'asot*, which means that a man is obliged to continue the act of creation by continuing to make something out of something already existing."[194] Thus, according to Kogman-Appel and Laderman, the image for the last day of creation is the figure of a man from the fourteenth-century Spain who is continuing the act of creation out of something already existing.

The illustration of the seventh day of creation in the Sarajevo Haggadah is perplexing for several reasons: On the one hand, there was often a shared stylistic and iconographic vocabulary between manuscripts produced for Jewish and manuscripts produced for Christian audiences, which seems to have led certain scholars to think that because a resting God was depicted in creation cycles made for Christians, there was a possibility that such a depiction might appear in creation cycles made for Jews. At the same time, when there were differences in style or – particularly – iconography, they seem to correspond to the actual religious differences, whether relating to textual traditions, theological considerations, daily practices or attitudes toward visual representations of the divine, and so other scholars were

[191] Eugen Verber, *The Sarajevo Haggadah*, preface to the facsimile edition (1983), 24.

[192] Katrin Kogman-Appel and Shulamit Laderman, *The Sarajevo Haggadah: Creation ex Nihilo and the Hermeneutical Concept Behind It*", in Studies in Iconography 25 (2004), 119.

[193] Ibid.

[194] Ibid, 120.

insistent that because the depiction of a resting God might have been possible in creation cycles made for Christians, the differences in Jewish theology and praxis would have made it "impossible" for such a depiction to appear in creation cycles made for Jews. Finally, since manuscripts produced for the Jewish audiences (including the Sarajevo Haggadah) went out of their way to avoid anthropomorphically depicting God, it would be logical that this avoidance of anthropomorphism – found in other iconography in the Sarajevo Haggadah itself—indeed in the very same Creation cycle in which this image appears—would also append in the case of the iconography of the seventh day of creation. This push and pull of competing ideologies generally required of scholars that they place themselves either in the "pro-Divine image" or "pro-human image" camp.

But it is not so simple. The lines between the Divine and the human image are not, in fact, so clearly drawn. A number of medieval manuscripts made for Christians that included a cycle of images depicting the creation of the world portray God resting on the seventh day as a human figure, as for example, in London, British Library, MS Royal 16 G VII (fig. 38).[195] Comparing this image with the one from the Sarajevo Haggadah, one notes the similarities between the images. In both examples, the seventh-day figures wear red garments and are seated on a yellow or golden throne under an arch against a textured background. If one did not know the Christian and Jewish origins, respectively, of each manuscript, would one necessarily interpret the figure from MS Royal 16 G VII as "the Christian God" and the figure of a man in the Sarajevo Haggadah as a pious Jew?

Complicating matters, it is not entirely true that medieval Jews completely avoided anthropomorphizing God, making a depiction of God resting on the seventh day of Creation an "impossibility" in medieval Jewish iconography. Not only is the Bible full of anthropomorphic language about God, but the midrashic text *Shi'ur Komah* and the thirteenth-century Spanish mystical text, the Zohar contain anthropomorphic depictions of God. These texts provide a possible interpretation for the figure of a man in the last miniature of the creation cycle in the Sarajevo Haggadah. The *Shi'ur Komah* specifically discusses the "measures of the Divine body" with precise dimensions for each body part, corresponding to, but hyperbolically and exponentially expanding the human body parts until they become

[195] *Les anciennes hystoires rommaines*, last quarter of the fourteenth century, London: British Library, Royal 16 G VII, folio 11.

universes large in and of themselves. In this text, God is described as "sitting upon the throne of glory," one of ten *Sefirot* or divine emanations.

Moreover, as Gershom Scholem and others have observed, just as there is a mystical body of God in the medieval Jewish tradition, that body is also enwrapped in a garment. The color of the garment is red, and was known by medieval Jews as a *porphyrion.* In medieval Ashkenaz, the motif of the *porphyrion* appeared in the poetic descriptions of God whose garment was red from the blood of the Jewish martyrs. Israel Yuval shown that the *porphyrion* appears in at least one Sephardic source: the Zohar I.39a: "And then the Messiah puts on his *porphyrion* and thereupon are inscribed and recorded all those who were killed by pagan nations, on that same *porphyrion*. And the *porphyrion* ascends above and is inscribed upon the supernal *porphyrion* of the king, and the Holy One blessed be He shall in the future wear the same *porphyrion* to judge the nations."[196] The body of the seated figure in the Sarajevo Haggadah is wrapped in a red garment, possibly corresponding to this garment.[197] Could the seated figure on a throne illustrating the seventh day of creation in the Sarajevo Haggadah represent that God of whose mystical body it was possible to speak in esoteric literature, God whose garment is red from the blood of the Jewish martyrs?

One might contextualize this figure against both the text of the Zohar and in the light of religious riots that took place in Catalonia during the fourteenth century. The historical records show that Christian violence against the Jewish communities escalated during the fourteenth century, especially during the years 1331, 1348 and 1391. In 1331, the violence during Holy Week in Gerona resulted in the massacre of Jews, and in 1348 Jews were blamed for the outbreak of the Black Death, which resulted in further murder and persecution.[198] One might argue that the enthroned figure from the Sarajevo Haggadah contains clues regarding the Jewish responses to that violence. Considering the correspondence of the era of the manuscript's production with violence against the Jewish communities in Catalonia, it might be concluded that this figure is a Jewish visual response to those actual historical events, particular in terms of the red garment worn by the figure,

[196] Jacob Yuval Israel, *Two nations in your womb. Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (2006), 114.

[197] Gershom Scholem, *On the Mistical Shape of the Godhead. Basic Concepts in the Kabbalah* (1991), 29.

[198] For details see David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence. Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (1996), 200-230.

which in light of the passage from the Zohar, might be interpreted as red with the blood of the Jewish martyrs, and transforming the figure from that of a Jew resting on the Sabbath, to the Divine Anthropos mourning the sacrifice of the martyrs of Catalonia. Such a conclusion, though intriguing, seems unlikely in light of the fact that there are no other images in manuscript that could be interpreted as the visual response to the violence against Jews in the fourteenth-century Catalonia. Second, there is no other literary evidence besides the quotation from Zohar to support the argument that the red garment that corresponds to the red garment of God.

There is a sense, of course, in which this human image does "echo" the image of the Divine Anthropos, if only because any iconographic configuration includes within it echoes of others that are less strong, plausible and likely, and because any Jewish or Christian iconography exists in awareness of types and antitypes and of the fact that the depiction of the human realm relates to the depiction of the Divine realm precisely because humans exist "in the image" of God. But the evidence suggests that the figure is unlikely to represent the Divine Anthropos mourning the sacrifice of the martyrs of Catalonia, and more plausibly depicts "only" a Jew resting on the Sabbath. Still, there are still several iconographically interesting features that merit our attention. The illuminator painted this image using only two colors, of which the red is dominant. The trefoil arch, the background and the garment in which the figure is wrapped are painted in red, although it is not clear whether this color is just a matter of the illuminator's choice and preference to certain color or it has a particular meaning. The figure represents a young man with a barely visible beard. His depiction differs significantly in body posture and gestures from the depictions of the man or God resting on the seventh day found in the manuscripts produced for Christians (such as the fourteenth-century *Bible Historiale Complétée,* produced in Paris between 1320 and 1340, fig. 39).[199] Whereas in the image from the *Bible Historiale* God is represented *en face*, wearing a red robe, sitting on a throne and raising right hand in blessing and holding tripartite globe in his left hand, the figure from the Sarajevo Haggadah is painted in profile. This body posture, slightly leaned towards the right frame of the image, seems to reflect modesty rather than power—especially the power to create (the world). Furthermore, the figure is painted under

[199] Guiard des Moulins, Bible Historiale Complétée, c. 1320-1340, The Hague: The National Library of the Netherlands, KB 71 A 23, folio 6r.

an architectural element—a trefoil arch. This replaces the depiction of the firmament shown in the previous six images of the cycle. The solid structure of a contemporary fourteenth-century architectural element signals that the moment depicted here—though part of the Creation cycle—endures and occurs simultaneously in the here-and-now. Two other intriguing details stand out here. The hands of the figure are not visible, perhaps having been intentionally hidden in order to emphasize that it is not permitted to work on Sabbath, the day of rest.[200] The human hands that are able—indeed encouraged—to create and perform work on the other days, are prohibited from doing so on the Sabbath. Secondly, the position of the figure and the direction of its gaze makes it looks as though it is staring at the man created on the sixth day. Could it be that by gazing at the other man, the figure signals that he is a man too?

The contention that the seated figure in the last image of the creation cycle in the Sarajevo Haggadah is human and not Divine is bolstered by the other treatments of the presence of God throughout the manuscript, which demonstrate that the illuminator of this manuscript was particularly careful not to represent God anthropomorphically. Instead, he used a more subtle visual language to indicate the presence of God, such as golden lines or red dashes. Considering this, it seems unlikely that he would portray a fully anthropomorphic figure of God. It makes more sense that he would remain consistent in using various abstract visual modes to portray God's presence and to avoid anthropomorphism.

While the Jewish approach to the depictions of humans and animals was more or less tolerant during the Middle Ages, and although as we have seen, Jewish mystical tradition admitted a theoretical, invisible, mystical "body" for God that could be described in *literary* terms, and the actual anthropomorphic depiction of the Divine in *visual* terms was strictly forbidden and to be avoided in any circumstances.[201] The production history of a thirteenth-century manuscript of Rashi's Commentary on the Bible,[202] known as the Munich Rashi,

[200] http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/12962-sabbath, Accessed on April 24, 2015.

[201] For details on this topic, see Joseph Gutmann, "The 'Second Commandment' and the Image in Judaism," in No Graven Images. Studies in Art and the Hebrew Bible (1971), 3-16; Lionel Kochan, *Beyond the Graven Image. A Jewish View*. New York: New York University Press, 1997. Marc Michael Epstein, *Skies of Parchment, Seas of Ink: Jewish Illuminated Manuscripts* (2015), 89-104.

[202] Shlomo Yitzchaki (1040 – 1105), generally known by the acronym Rashi (Rabbi Shlomo Itzhaki).

illustrates how the medieval illuminators negotiated this taboo (fig. 40).[203] Eva Frojmovic has argued that this manuscript is a product of collaboration between a Jewish scribe and a Christian illuminator. In the illumination representing the calling of Moses, "the illuminator broke the major Jewish taboo: the prohibition against divine image," and portrayed God as a man in the right upper part of the illumination. As this representational choice was unacceptable for a Jewish patron, the illuminator was asked to remove the image. Frojmovic observes further: "The contour of the quarter-circle alone is in fact sufficient to guarantee our understanding of the image's iconography: a bust, probably haloed, and not just a hand in a cloud. Once the offending divine image was erased, the taboo was lifted."[204] The erased image of an anthropomorphic God from the Munich Rashi reflects the general Jewish attitude regarding the representations of the Divine. It is likely that the illuminators of the following century were aware of these attitudes (and feared possible censures—or at very least, shunning, and loss of business—for disobeying the mandate to avoid the depiction of God in human form). Circumstances of the avoidance of the depiction of an anthropomorphic God or of the erasure of the representation of an anthropomorphic God when it had already been painted are important for understanding the identity of the seated figure in the Sarajevo Haggadah.

To summarize: Although there are tempting reasons to associate the image of the resting figure in the seventh day of Creation in the Sarajevo Haggadah with mystical texts that speak of the Divine Anthropos and his *porphyrion*, the body posture of the figure, his hidden hands, the contemporary architectural element of the trilobed arch, and—perhaps most importantly—the overall and systematic avoidance of the antrhopomorphic representation of God in the rest of the manuscript speak in favor of concluding that the figure is a man resting on the Sabbath rather than God. An acknowledgement of the elements in the composition that, in their correlation with mystical texts, tempt us with the "Divine Anthropos" reading serves to sensitize us to the desire of some previous scholars to read the image in that way even as we reject that reading. The additional elements we have here

[203] The Munich Rashi, 1233, Munich: Die Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Cod. hebr. 5/I-II, folio 47v.

[204] Eva Frojmovic, "*Jewish Scribes and Christian Illuminators: Interstitial Encounters and Cultural Negotiation,"* in Between Judaism and Christianity (2008), 294.

brought to bear on the much stronger "humanistic" interpretation help to settle the longstanding scholarly debate about the identity of this figure.

The golden lines[205]

After the images of the creation of the world, God's presence as lines is depicted only one more time as an independent iconographic motif and three times in a combination with other modes of indication of presence of God.

f. 3v [ויתפרו עלי תאנה קול השם מתהלך בנן קללת הנחש בועת דאפ בעצב תלדי בנים],
And they sewed fig leaves together ... And they heard the voice of the LORD God walking in the garden ... Curse of the snake ... in the sorrow thou shalt bring forth children ... in the sweat of thy face (Gen. 3:7-8 and Gen. 3:16-19)

The Genesis story tells us that God punished Adam and Eve by expelling them from the Garden of Eden because they disobeyed the divine command and ate the fruit from the tree of life (Gen. 3:8-23).

The Sarajevo Haggadah's image depicts the sequence of Adam and Eve's "denial of guilt", their expulsion from the Garden of Eden and their labors (fig. 41). The drama of the moment is captured in the communication of the first couple with God, whose words to them are depicted as a beam of four thick dense golden lines. Eve looks directly at the lines, while Adam looks at the center of the upper part of the image from where the golden lines are coming. It seems that, unlike in the previous images, the golden lines now indicate an act of communication instead of an act of creation. These golden rays, descending not from the heaven (in the previous images painted as concentric semi-cycles of blue), but from a point in the center of the upper part of the frame, represent the voice of God delivering a punishment. The illuminator clearly evoked severe consequences that this punishment brings. Adam and Eve, covering their nakedness and turning their heads towards the golden lines, are

[205] The analysis of the iconographic motifs follows the order of the biblical events in which they appear in the text of the Tanakh and the imagery of the Sarajevo Haggadah, and they are not grouped in accordance to the same features.

represented in the very moment of the Fall. They were not only expelled from the Garden of Eden but their life changed drastically. From the beatific conditions at the Garden of Eden they switched to hard working life as mortals. Their position at the far right side of the image also emphasizes this punishment and expulsion, since they are about to disappear from the scene. Again, as in the previously discussed images, the golden lines signal a transitional moment: the change in the history of mankind and the shift from one way of life to another. From life in Eden as immortal beings Adam and Eve move on to a life where, as mortals, they need to struggle for survival, as the left part of the illumination illustrates.

The iconography of this image has closely parallels with the previously mentioned Byzantine Octateuch (a compendium of the first eight books of the Bible according to the traditional Orthodox Christian order).[206] On folio 41v of this manuscript, a single golden ray depicted as a thick long line from the hand of God in heaven is descending towards the first couple (which is depicted in reverse position from the Sarajevo Haggadah, possibly due to the left-right directionality of Greek writing, fig. 42).[207] As in the image of the Sarajevo Haggadah, the golden line is painted very close to the Adam's face (in the Sarajevo Haggadah, Eve's face), and it seems that it will touch him at any moment. Adam looks directly at the lines, while Eve's gaze is directed toward the upper part of the image. The first couple is painted, as in the Sarajevo Haggadah, in the right side of the image, with heads turned towards the golden rays (so to speak, towards God).

On the one hand, similar composition and iconography between these two manuscripts (the first couple covering their nakedness positioned on the right, the golden lines emerging towards them and the serpent in front of them) may indicate the usage of the same iconographic models regarding the story of Adam and Eve in twelfth- to fourteenth-century medieval workshops. On the other hand, observing this image in its entirety, certain iconographic features that could be described as rare, such as the illustration of the labors of the first couple on its left side (half naked Adam turning the soil with a mattock and Eve, fully dressed, holding a spindle and standing behind him), suggests that the illuminator of the

[206] Octateuch, ca. 1150, Rome: Biblioteca Vaticana, Codex graecus 746, folio 41v.

[207] However, in another type of art - the early eleventh-century Plague with scenes from Genesis, produced in the Northern Spain, now in the State Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg - Adam and Eve are positioned as in the Sarajevo Haggadah. For details, see John P. O'Neill (ed.), *The Art of Medieval Spain, A. D. 500 – 1200* (1993), 266.

Sarajevo Haggadah, even though familiar with motifs from the different artistic traditions (in this case Byzantine and Italian), created the visual vocabulary that has "hardly any parallels" in medieval art produced for Jews and Christians.[208]

The image of the Adam and Eve's expulsion from the Garden of Eden in the Sarajevo Haggadah is the single one of that kind preserved among the other known Sephardic *haggadot*. On the one hand, this may indicate the low interest of the Jewish patrons and illuminators to depict this episode in the *haggadah* narrative cycles. On the other hand, as the iconographic analysis shows, this suggests that the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah had to rely on the available models when illustrating this biblical event. In that regard, it is interesting to note that the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah used the same iconographic motif as the one of the Byzantine Octateuch - the golden lines/rays not only to indicate the presence of God, but also to evoke the same visual message. As shown, in both manuscripts the illuminators used the golden lines to represent the voice of God that delivers the punishment.

The correspondence between the iconography of this biblical episode from the twelfth-century manuscript made for Christians and the one from the fourteenth-century manuscript made for Jews demonstrate the same attitude of both illuminators when choosing the way to indicate God's presence. In both cases, the illuminators chose more subtle visual language to portray God's presence and His action. Observed in brother art historical context, the golden lines that indicate God's presence in the Sarajevo Haggadah suggest that its illuminator was familiar with the usage of this iconographic motif in the manuscripts made for Christians. More importantly, this iconographic choice shows that the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah did not only adopt the existing model of the visual representation of God's presence as found in the manuscripts made for Christians, but that he did so intentionally since this representational choice was completely in accordance with the Jewish regulations regarding the visual representation of the divine, which prohibit anthropomorphic depictions.

[208] Katrin Kogman-Appel, *Illuminated haggadot from Medieval Spain: Biblical imaginary and Passover Holiday* (2006), 103.

The clouds

f. 4r [וישע י״י אל הבל ואל מנחתו ויקם קין אל הבל אחיו ויהרגהו], fig. 43
And the LORD had respect unto Abel and to his offering ... Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him (Gen. 4:4, 9)

The Genesis story (4:2) tells that the sons of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, offered a sacrifice to God, each based on his own activity, Cain as a farmer and Abel as a shepherd. The following verses of the Genesis (4:3-5) teach us that: "in process of time it came to pass, that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the LORD. And Abel, he also brought of the firstlings of his flock and of the fat thereof. And the LORD had respect unto Abel and to his offering; but unto Cain and to his offering He had not respect. And Cain was very wroth, and his countenance fell."

In the Sarajevo Haggadah's image, composed of two consecutive scenes illustrating the offerings of Cain and Abel and the killing of Abel, the illuminator used different mode to represent God's presence. This time it is a tiny white cloud, painted at the right upper corner of the frame. Contrary to the previous images, where God's presence had an active role, this time it is static and distant. In addition, even though there is no direct interaction between the cloud and the brothers, the function of the cloud is to visually indicate an act of acceptance (of the offering) that prompted an action in the biblical story occurring in the left side of the image, where the killing of Abel is shown.

The closer examination of this image reveals some interesting iconographical features. On the right side of the image an altar is painted as a vertically aligned rectangle with two steps. Cain, a tiller of the ground and Abel, a shepherd, stand together at the altar with the offerings in their hands. Katrin Kogman-Appel argued that the depiction of Cain and Abel's offerings in the Sarajevo Haggadah follows the common Christian conventions, but their position differs from the Italian and French parallels, where the two brothers flank an altar.[209] In addition, in some Christian manuscripts such as the thirteenth-century Morgan Bible (fig. 44), God or an angel points towards the accepted offering. Following this

[209] Katrin Kogman-Appel, *Illuminated haggadot from Medieval Spain: Biblical imaginary and Passover Holiday* (2006), 106.

observation, it seems at the first sight that there is no clear preference to Abel's offering in the image from the Sarajevo Haggadah. But its closer examination reveals that Abel, dressed in a green robe with a blue collar obscured his brother, Cain, who is partly visible and dressed in a red robe. Furthermore, Abel holds up a lamb wrapped in a white cloth, and by doing so, he is obscuring Cain's offering, a barely visible bowl with the "fruit of the ground" (?). By this representational *schema* and cleverly organized composition and its elements, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah at the same time suppressed Cain and his offering and emphasized Abel and his offering. It bears mentioning that preference to Abel and his offering was also given by the scribe, as noted in the inscription above the image (*And the LORD had respect unto Abel and to his offering*). As in the previous images, where the presence of God marks an important event in the biblical history/story, here it represents the first offering made to God with a negative outcome, as the left side of the image shows.

The iconography of this image and comparison with the other episodes from the manuscripts made for Christians and Jews suggest that the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah developed a distinct visual interpretation of this biblical episode. First, he used different visual representation to indicate the presence of God. Unlike the previous images where different modes of indication of God's presence (such as the red dashes indicating the act of destruction or the golden lines the act of creation) had an active role, in this episode it is a static cloud. To my understanding, this iconographic motif is intentionally used to emphasize the active role that brothers have in this biblical event, the offerings that *they present to* God. Second, the changed position of brothers from the Sarajevo Haggadah (standing at the altar at the right side of the image) differs significantly from the parallels in the Christian manuscripts (where the brothers often flank the altar as depicted in the thirteenth-century Morgan Bible). This suggests that the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah cleverly created a more complex visual reading of the image and hid the clear preference of God for the Abel's offering in the image's iconography. Lastly, usage of a different mode to depict God's presence and the change of the brothers' position in relation to the altar, demonstrate that the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah transformed Christian iconographic *schema* for this episode common in manuscripts influenced by the western artistic tradition, and in doing so, he created his own interpretation of this biblical event.

The rain

f. 5v [ויהי משגה וישלח את הערב], fig. 45

And the rain was upon the earth … And he sent forth raven (Gen. 7:12, 8, 7)

Story of Genesis (6:11-13) tells us that God resolved to destroy the earth because it was corrupt and filled with violence. God decided to destroy all mankind and animals as well. The only person that He wanted to save was Noah, who obeyed to His commandments. God introduced His plan to Noah and instructed his to build an ark where Noah's family and two pairs of every living species will be hidden during the Flood. As the following text of Genesis (6:17) tells us God then brought "*flood of the waters upon the earth, to destroy all flesh, wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven; every thing that is in the earth shall perish*." God made it rain for forty days and forty nights, until water covered the mountains of the earth, and the ark rose and floated upon the surface, as the text of the Tanah teaches us (Gen. 7:17).

In the Sarajevo Haggadah's image, God is present through an indirect action, delivering punishment to mankind because of its misdeeds. Harsh divine justice is painted here as a great flood by which God intended to destroy human race and all animals and to return the earth in the pre-creation state. The drama of this moment is captured by three dominant elements in the image – the ark, the rain and the waters. The rain, shown as the white straight lines pouring down from the small white dots in the inner upper part of the frame, is causing the waters, represented as the white waves, to rise. It seems that the mutual action of these two natural elements "delivers" the ark to the center of the composition.

Even though it is heavily raining and the waters are tempestuous, the ark, painted as a box-like shape under a trapezoid roof, is stable.[210] It may be that by putting the ark in the central position of the composition and making it stable, the illuminator's intention was to emphasize the salvation instead of the total destruction. The positive aftermath of this biblical

[210] The form of the ark, a box-like shape with a trapezoid roof is found in many medieval illuminated manuscripts. This specific shape of the ark, as Andreina Contessa argued, is of an ancient origin. For details, see Andreina Contessa, "*Noah's Ark on the two mountains of Ararat: The iconography of the cycle of Noah in the Ripoll and Roda Bibles*," in Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry (2012), 263. The shape of the ark was later adopted and became common in the medieval Italian cycles. Katrin Kogman-Appel, *Illuminated haggadot from Medieval Spain: Biblical imaginary and Passover Holiday* (2006), 103.

story is even more stressed by a bird which stands at the open ark's window. However, the depiction of the bird brings some contradictory elements to the composition. Per the inscription above the image, the bird is a raven that Noah sent out to verify that the flood stopped. But the image itself shows a white bird, a dove with an olive branch in its beak. In addition, the dove with an olive branch indicates that the flood has stopped, but the image shows that it is still raining. It is not clear whether this iconographical choice was intentional or it simply reflects the lack of communication between the illuminator and scribe in the process of the manuscript's illustration. Whatever the case is, the illuminator of the flood episode in the Sarajevo Haggadah introduced an iconographic *schema* that have no close parallels to the iconography of this episode in the contemporaneous Christian and Jewish illuminated manuscripts. Specifically, the fact that it is still raining even though the dove with an olive branch that should signal that flood is over stands at the open ark's window, illustrates this point. Whereas this biblical episode does exist in the medieval art made for Christians,[211] it is not common in the medieval Spanish *haggadot*. To my best knowledge, the only known example of this episode beside the one from the Sarajevo Haggadah is found in the unfinished fourteenth-century Prato Haggadah where the illuminator painted the rain and the closed ark similar to that in the Sarajevo Haggadah, but with an unopen window and without a bird at it (fig. 46).[212] Still, the depictions of this episode in the Sarajevo and Prato *haggadot* show the illuminators familiarity with the representational choices found in different types of Christian art. On the one hand, the images from the Sarajevo and Prato *haggadot* show the usage of similar iconographic motifs as found, for example in the thirteenth-century mosaics of the Basilica of St. Marco in Venice (fig. 47), particularly the representation of rain as the wavy strips of blue, gold and black which keeps pouring down while mankind is drowning in the flood. On the other hand, the shape of the Noah's ark indicates that the visual language was shared between the illuminators of the Jewish and Christian manuscripts. In both artistic traditions, the aforementioned *hadggadot* and the early

[211] The tradition of Noah's ark was present in the early medieval Spanish manuscripts. For details, see Andreina Contessa, "*Noah's Ark on the two mountains of Ararat: The iconography of the cycle of Noah in the Ripoll and Roda Bibles*," in Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry (2012), 257 – 270.

[212] The Prato Haggadah, New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, MS Mic. 9478, folio 84r.

fifteenth-century Padua Bible, for example, the Noah's ark is painted as a box-like shape with a trapezoid roof, with a raven at its open window, but without depiction of the rain.[213]

Comparison of the Sarajevo Haggadah's episode of flood with similar depictions in other medieval art pieces allows us to study common models available to the medieval illuminators and to possibly detect ways by which the visual language was shared, adopted and changed among them. Whereas the iconographic motif of rain as white straight dense lines suggest the familiarity with Christian artistic tradition, in particular the Byzantine one, and whereas a box-like shape of the ark with a trapezoid roof is found in many medieval manuscripts produced for Christians, by adopting and changing existing models, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah, however, developed what we may call a unique representation of this biblical episode.

The red dashes

f. 7v[הפכתסְדֹם‌ועמורהוַתַּבֵּט אִשְׁתּוֹ, מֵאַחֲרָיו לוֹט וּשְׁתֵּי בְנֹתָיו], fig. 48
The destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah … but his wife looked back from him … And Lot … and his two daughters (Gen. 19:24, 26, 30)

According to the eighteenth chapter of the Genesis (18:20) "the LORD said: 'Verily, the cry of Sodom and Gomorrah is great, and, verily, their sin is exceeding grievous'". In the following, nineteenth chapter, God announced his determination to destroy the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah because of their wickedness.

In the image from the Sarajevo Haggadah, illustrating the destruction of Sodom only, a different mode of visual representation of God's presence and the "result" of God's action are depicted.[214] Here, God also acts through the dashes, but this time, in contrast to the previous illustration, they are red and dispersed in a more chaotic way on the right side of the image. In this image, the red dashes are the dashes of destruction, "the fire and brimstone of God," used to destroy a sinful city. Moreover, they represent the punishment and anger of

[213] The Padua Bible, c. 1400, Rovigo: Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Concordi, cod. 212, folio 5v.

[214] Although the inscription above the image mentions the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, only the destruction of the first city is painted.

God, appearing earlier in the manuscript in connection with Genesis 13:13: *the inhabitants of Sodom were very wicked sinners against the LORD.* In contrast to the previous images, where the heads of biblical protagonists are turned towards the golden lines, that is, towards God – in this image, the heads of Lot and his daughters are averted from the red dashes at the moment of destruction of Sodom by the "fire of God." Furthermore, this image also demonstrates that gazing directly at the red dashes can have dangerous repercussions: Lot's wife has become a pillar of salt because she looked back.

Comparing the image from the Sarajevo Haggadah with images in manuscripts made for Christians, for example, the luxurious Psalter of St. Louis (fig. 49), interesting differences are observed.[215] The "fire of God" in the Sarajevo Haggadah is painted as thick red dashes falling from the sky and consuming the sinful city (from the outside and inside), while in the example from the Psalter of St. Louis it is rather two angels who destroy the city by razing its architecture even though the red lines emerge from a cloud. Another difference between these two images lies in the portrayal of Lot's daughters. They are adults in the Psalter of St. Louis (in accordance with the text of the Tanakh), whereas in the Sarajevo Haggadah they are painted as small children. There are few Jewish or Christian parallels to the portrayal of Lot's daughters as small children. Just to list a few examples, beside the image from the Sarajevo Haggadah, Lot's daughters appear as small children in the Golden Haggadah (where four daughters are painted, two as small children and two as adults, fig. 50) and in the sixth-century mosaic of the Basilica of St. Mary Major (Basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore) in Rome (fig. 51). The depiction of Lot's daughters as small children could be based, as Katrin Kogman-Appel noted, on the midrash on the story of Sodom's destruction and Lot's daughters (Genesis Rabbah 50:9). This *midrash* implies that Lot had four daughters, "two married and two betrothed."[216] Therefore, two daughters from the Sarajevo Haggadah painted as small children could represent the two betrothed daughters as mentioned in the text of this *midrash*.

After the illustration of the great flood, God's anger and the intention to destroy mankind because of its misdeeds reappears for the second time in this image. As noted

[215] The Psalter of Saint Louis, 1256, Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, cod. Lat. 10525, folio 9v.

[216] Katrin Kogman-Appel, *Illuminated haggadot from Medieval Spain: Biblical imaginary and Passover Holiday* (2006), 138.

before, God's punishment is delivered through the red dashes that are consuming the sinful city. However, it is not only the red dashes that are delivering the punishment. God's punishment came down to Lot's wife too as she looked back and became a pillar of salt. Her body, rising from the ground and almost touching the upper frame of the image, has a strong visual effect. It divides the image into two almost equal parts – the "righteous" part on the left with Lot and his daughters, well protected by his figure, and the "sinful" part with the destroyed city architecture on the right.

In conclusion, I would like to draw the reader's attention to a few iconographic particularities of this image. In the episode of the destruction of Sodom, as previously observed, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah used a different mode to depict the presence of God. Unlike the previous images where God's presence indicates the acts of creation or of communication, in this image the red dashes are used to represent God's anger and act of destruction. As the comparative analysis shown, the iconographic motif of the red dashes as a mode of visual representation of God and His anger was common in the Christian manuscripts as well as in *haggadot.* However, while in the Christian manuscripts, as previously observed, the red dashes do not have an active role in the destruction, as the angels are the ones who are destroying the sinful city, in the Sarajevo Haggadah, in contrast, the red dashes, the anger of God, have the active role and, it seems, the "power" to destroy. In the further analysis of the iconography of this image, it is also interesting to note that an abstract motif of the red dashes from the Sarajevo Haggadah has the same visual impact (in this case the power to convey the act of destruction) as the anthropomorphic angels from the Psalter of Saint Louis. Similarly to the previously discussed images, the usage of an abstract motif, in this particular case of the red dashes, suggests two things. First, the illuminator used the common visual language found in the contemporaneous manuscripts produced for Christians to represent the anger of God and the destruction of the sinful city. Second, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah purposely used these abstract iconographic motifs in order to create a more subtle visual language. In doing so, he avoided the anthropomorphic depictions of God's messengers and remained consistent in subtle visual representations of God's presence.

Another intriguing iconographical aspect of this biblical episode in the Sarajevo Haggadah's image lies in the portrayal of Lot's daughters as small children. The

iconographic analysis and comparison of this episode with the Christian and Jewish counterparts reveals that the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah has carefully planned the iconography of this episode, combining different pictorial and literal sources. In particular, patterns influenced by Byzantine iconography and *midrashim*, Jewish exegetical narratives, which portray/describe Lot's daughters as small children. The illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah intelligently used these pictorial and literal sources and created a specific iconography, and in doing so, he distinguished this episode from the parallels in the Christian and Jewish art respectfully.

f. 8r [וְהִנֵּה אַיִל, אַחַר, נֶאֱחַז בַּסְּבַךְ׀עקידת יצחק], fig. 52
And behold behind him a ram caught in a thicket by his horns … The binding of Isaac (Gen. 22:13)

The biblical text of Gen. 22:2-12 recalls the story of Abraham who is tested by God and tempted to sacrifice his son Isaac. After God spoke with Abraham and instructed him to sacrifice his son at the land of Moriah, he gathers an ass and the wood for the sacrifice, and accompanied by the servants and Isaac travels to the place indicated by God. Reaching this place, Abraham takes the firewood and knife and with Isaac makes his way uphill, leaving the servants at the base of the mountain. There he builds an altar, lays out the wood and ties Isaac. He is ready to obey God's command and sacrifice Isaac but suddenly, an angel stops him.

The illumination from the Sarajevo Haggadah depicts a crucial event in the biblical narrative, the offering of Isaac and the confirmation of the first covenant between God and Abraham.

The elements of the composition occur in separate spaces, on each of the two mountain tops, the right side (per the inscription above) presenting Genesis 22:13, "*Behold, a ram caught in the thicket by its horns,*" while the left side is simply labeled "*The Binding of Isaac.*" By way of contrast with the previous images, where God's presence was painted as the abstract golden or red lines/dashes, in this depiction it is a hand with a pointing finger that emerges from a cloud. The pointing finger has a strong visual impact here and prompts two observations. First, it is a finger that issues an order and stops an "action" that is occurring –

Abraham's intention to sacrifice Isaac, as signaled by the fact that he has already placed his right hand on Isaac's head, while in his left hand he holds a knife ready to cut the child's throat. Second, the order comes from an authority, as indicated by the position of a finger, even if it is not clear, as Joseph Gutmann observed, whether the hand represents the hand of God or the hand of an angel.[217]

The comparison of this image and images in other manuscripts made for Jews with those made for Christians reveals interesting modifications of the representational choices available to the medieval illuminators. For instance, the illuminators of both traditions used similar visual vocabulary to represent this episode (a ram, a thicket, an altar, a hill). However, a tiny but very important difference imposes regarding the instrument by which the sacrifice intended to be carried out in the iconography of the manuscripts made for Jews and Christians. Specifically, in the Sarajevo Haggadah and other Sephardic *haggadot* that contain this episode (such as the Golden Haggadah), the instrument by which the sacrifice intended to be carried out is a knife. In the contemporaneous Christian depictions of this biblical episode, however, it is a sword (for instance, in the image from the fourteenth-century Book of Hours, fig. 53).[218] The illuminator's choice to draw a knife in the Sarajevo Haggadah (and other *haggadot*) may lead to a conclusion that he used the original text of the Hebrew Bible as the literal source for this illustration and not a common iconographic *schema* from the models or manuscripts produced for Christians. In the text of the Hebrew Bible the instrument by which the sacrifice intended to be carried out is a knife (*ma'akhelet*), while in the Vulgate, Latin translation of the Hebrew Bible on which the Christian iconography was probably based, this word was translated as *gladius* or a sword. Therefore, in the majority of the Christian depictions of this biblical episode Abraham holds a sword instead of a knife (for example in the already mentioned fourteenth-century Book of Hours or in the thirteenth-century Morgan Bible), suggesting that the difference in the translation of the biblical texts led to the adjustments of the artistic vocabulary.

It is interesting to note, however, that some other types of the medieval Christian art, specifically in Spain, do not follow these adjustments. To my best knowledge, one of the rare

[217] Joseph Gutmann, "*The Sacrifice of Isaac in Medieval Jewish Art*," in Artibus et Historiae Vol. 8, No. 16 (1987), 87.

[218] Book of Hours, second quarter of the 14th century, London: The British Library, MS Egerton 2781, folio 8.

examples showing the iconography of the binding of Isaac similar to that of the Sarajevo Haggadah is found in the capital of the seventh-century Visigothic church of San Pedro de la Nave in the province of Zamora in Spain (fig. 54). The illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah and the sculptor of the capital represented this biblical episode organizing the composition in similar manner and using the same iconographic motifs. In both representations, Abraham holds a knife, ready to cut the child's throat. As in the Sarajevo Haggadah, the hand of an angel or God emerges from a cloud and stops him. However, it is not a hand with a pointing finger as in the Sarajevo Haggadah, but with the open palm positioned on the upper right part of the capital. In addition, Abraham also gazes towards the hand that prevented the sacrifice to happen. Moreover, in both representations, a ram caught in a thicket with its back turned away from Abraham and Isaac is positioned on the right side. On the left side of both compositions, there is an altar with bound Isaac on it (in the Sarajevo Haggadah he lies on the altar, while in the capital he is leaning over it with his head and arms). In addition, Abraham from the capital is dressed similarly to Abraham from the Sarajevo Haggadah: he wears a dress, but shorter than in the Sarajevo Haggadah.

On the one hand, the capital from the church of San Pedro de la Nave and the image from the Sarajevo Haggadah may confirm the existence of the same iconographic pattern(s) used by artists in the early and late medieval period in Spain to illustrate this biblical event and the presence of God. On the other hand, the change in depiction of the instrument by which the sacrifice intended to be carried out, as seen in the late medieval Christian manuscripts, reflects adjustments of artistic vocabulary caused by translations of the text of the Hebrew Bible. In relation to these two observations, it can be concluded that the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah used earlier iconographic patterns and the original text of the Hebrew Bible to illustrate this episode. In doing so, he differentiated this episode from its contemporaneous Christian counterparts.

The detailed analysis of the iconography of this image sheds new light on the illuminator's representational choices and motivations for their selection in the Sarajevo Haggadah. By choosing to represent the presence of God in a more concrete way, as a hand of God or an angel, the illuminator took one step closer towards the anthropomorphic depiction of God and his messenger. Despite this, so to speak, unexpected choice (if we have in mind other fine depictions of God's presence throughout the manuscript) he remained

consistent with the more subtle visual representation. After all, he painted only the hand and not a full anthropomorphic figure (of God or an angel), as found in the Christian, but also in a few Jewish manuscripts (such as the previously mentioned Book of Hours or the Golden Haggadah, both from the fourteenth-century and both hosted at the British Library). In doing so, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah negotiated with the Jewish attitudes and the prohibitions regarding the depictions of the divine. Furthermore, the iconography of this image also reveals the illuminator's commitment to the Jewish literal sources, in this particular case to the text of the Tanakh, when depicting certain motifs, such as the instrument by which the sacrifice was intended to be carried out.

Aforementioned observations suggest that the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah, , relied on both, the Christian pictorial and the Jewish textual sources, when painting this episode. In doing so, he created recognizable visual language which to some extent follows the contemporaneous Christian artistic traditions but heavily relies on the Jewish textual tradition.

f. 10r [אַרְצָהוַיַּחֲלֹם וְהִנֵּה סֻלָּם מֻצָּב מלאכים וְיֹרְדִיםעֹלִים], fig. 55

And he dreamed, and behold a ladder set up on the earth … The angels of God ascending and descending on it … poured oil upon the top of it (Gen. 28:12, 18)

The biblical story (Gen. 28: 10-13) describes that on his way toward Haran, Jacob, as the sun "was set," stopped at one place and decided to sleep over. He used a stone as his pillow and when he fallen asleep he had a dream. The following verses of Genesis (Gen. 28:12-13) describe that Jacob dreamed, "*and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven; and behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it. And, behold, the LORD stood beside him, and said: 'I am the LORD, the God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac. The land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed*".

The Sarajevo Haggadah's image of Jacob and the stairway to heaven contains full figures of what the biblical text calls "angels of God," another, more concrete way of indicating God's presence in the Sarajevo Haggadah. One of the angels ascends from the ladder into the cloud in the upper left corner of the frame, while another descends. A white

cloud, as in the image illustrating the offerings of Cain and Abel, also indicates the presence of God and an act of communication. This time God speaks to Jacob and gives a promise, a promise that the land where he lies will one day belong to his descendants, the people of Israel (Gen. 28:13).

Returning to the portrayals of the angels in this image, there is one particularly intriguing detail – they are faceless. It remains unclear why the illuminator decided to paint angels as faceless beings and whether he did it of his own volition or whether this was part of the commission from the patrons. This iconographic choice may be related to Isaiah 6:2, where the angels around God's throne cover their faces with wings, perhaps for fear of seeing God, although this is not made explicit in the text. This seems plausible since the angels in this image stand in an analogous location – on the threshold of the dwelling place or the house of God, as the place of Jacob's vision is explicitly designated in the text (Beit El).

Various iconographic motifs in this image, such as the faceless angels, the ladder as a connection between the "earth" and the "heaven" and the cloud, were used not only to allude the dwelling place and this biblical event, but also the significant change in the biblical narrative - the promise that God gave to Jacob.

The facelessness of the angels in the Sarajevo Haggadah seems highly deliberate, and I am not aware of any parallels in the Christian or Jewish manuscripts. Portraying the angels as faceless, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah chose more subtle visual language. As such, this iconographic choice possibly signals a Jewish refusal to portray God (and his messengers) anthropomorphically (in keeping with the biblical prohibitions against making and worshiping images).[219] Also, in comparison with other manuscripts made for Jews, it shows different levels of modifications of the visual language. For example, although the illustration of this episode in the early-fourteenth-century Golden Haggadah shows a high level of adaption of Christian topoi (a ladder, the angels as humans), an interesting change has been made (fig. 56). Instead of painting God in a cloud, as common in manuscripts made for Christians, for instance in the thirteenth-century Psalter of St. Louis, the illuminator painted the face of an angel. This modification undoubtedly was a more acceptable choice for the patron of this *haggadah*, given the biblical prohibitions against visual representations of the divine. Whereas the illuminator/patron of the Golden Haggadah was tolerant towards

[219] For the overview on biblical prohibitions, please see page 13.

“angels of God” painted as humans with wings, the illuminator/patron of the Sarajevo Haggadah was more careful in their portrayal. In other words, an angel in the cloud instead of God in the Golden Haggadah, and faceless angels in the Sarajevo Haggadah indicate that acceptable visual choices, in this particular case regarding the portrayal of angels, varied among Jews.

The iconography of the Jacob’s ladder from the Sarajevo Haggadah differs significantly from the parallels in the medieval Christian and Jewish manuscripts respectfully. As such, it provides a valuable insight into the illuminator’s understanding of the acceptable visual language for his Jewish patron. Certain iconographic motifs in the Sarajevo Haggadah’s image, as the faceless angels, illustrate this point well. Not only that this iconographic motif corresponds to other subtle modes used to depict God’s presence (such as the red dashes or the golden lines as observed in the previously discussed images), but it also demonstrates how the illuminator negotiated with the common Christian conventions. By choosing to portray angels as faceless beings and a cloud instead of a cloud with the face of God, as common in the manuscripts made for Christians, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah went out of his way to avoid portraying God (and His messengers) anthropomorphically. Without any doubt, this choice was intentional and it denotes a consequent translation of Christian iconography into the acceptable Jewish visual language. In other words, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah did not simply adopt visual language from the manuscripts made for Christians, but he made significant step forward to change it.

To reiterate, portraying angels as faceless and translating the Christian iconography into the Jewish acceptable visual language, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah created a unique iconography that has no parallels in medieval illuminated manuscripts produced for Christians and Jews.

The golden lines and red dashes

f. 21v [נְעָלֶיךָשַׁלוַיִּסְתֵּר מֹשֶׁה, פָּנָיווּמֹשֶׁה הָיָה רֹועֶהַהַסְּנֶהַמַּלְאַךְ], fig. 57

The angel of the bush … and Moses kept the flock … Moses hid his face … put off thy shoes (Ex. 3:1-22)

Another locus of God's presence appears in the illustration of the narrative of Moses and the burning bush. The primary literal source for this illumination is the text of Ex. 3:1-22 which describes that while Moses was keeping the flock of Jericho, his father in law, the angel of God appeared "*unto him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush; and he looked, and, behold, the bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed*."[220]

In the image of this biblical event from the Sarajevo Haggadah, we are presented with the visual account of a direct encounter between a human and God. The illuminator acknowledges God's presence in several ways in the moment of the Moses' prophetic call. First, it seems that the golden lines that appear from the bush represent the divine speech that communicates with Moses. In this particular episode, these golden lines illustrate the act of communication, the voice of God that delivers an instruction. Secondly, in the right upper part of the image, the bush is burned by red dashes of fire, but not consumed. Next, on the left side of the image, Moses is portrayed as already standing on the holy ground, which is indicated by the fact that he has already removed his shoes and his staff is turned down, possibly signaling his piety. Finally, Moses covers his face with his left hand, afraid to look upon God, as the inscription above the image indicates. All these iconographic motifs in the image's composition visually emphasize not only the presence of God at this particular moment, but also an important mission that God assigned to Moses through an instruction – to lead the Israelites out from the enslavement in Egypt.

The iconography of Moses and the burning bush from the Sarajevo Haggadah, as Müller and Schlosser noted (1898), differs from Christian examples.[221] The comparison of

[220] A Hebrew – English Bible according to the Masoretic Text and the JPS 1917 Edition, Exodus 3:1-22. http://www.mechon-mamre.org/p/pt/pt0.htm , accessed on November 17, 2013.

[221] David H. Müller and Julius von Schlosser, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo* (1898), 40. Müller and Schlosser however did not mentioned which Christian examples they took for the comparison and analysis.

this image with the other medieval Sephardic *haggadot*, in addition, reveals that this episode also differs from the Jewish examples, found in, for example the so-called the "Brother," "Sister" and the Golden *haggadot* (fig. 58, 59 and 60).[222] The differences are visible primarily in the artistic repertoire used to illustrate this biblical episode. While the majority of the Sephardic *haggadot* adopted the iconographic *schema* common in the depictions of this episode influenced by western Christian artistic traditions – for example, Moses usually portrayed as taking off one of his shoes or an anthropomorphic angel that appears in the bush, the iconography of the Sarajevo Haggadah's image reveals interesting differences. First, Moses is represented with both of his shoes already taken off, a motif that is not common in western Christian depictions of this episode. It is rather found in medieval art influenced by Byzantine pictorial sources.[223] In addition, Moses from the Sarajevo Haggadah stands before the burning bush, fully focused on the presence of God, while in other manuscripts, such as in the Golden Haggadah or the so-called "Brother Haggadah," he sits or stands with one foot lifted, sometimes even with his back turned from the burning bush, in other words from God. Second, some *haggadot*, for instance the so-called "Brother Haggadah," "Sister Haggadah" and the Golden Haggadah show a high level of adaptation of the Christian iconography and contain an anthropomorphic depiction of an angel, sometimes even with a halo (as it is case in the Golden and Kaufman *haggadot*). The illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah, however, approached more carefully the depiction of an angel. In the upper right corner of the image, the barely visible curved lines executed in pencil could be interpreted as a wing of an angel,

[222] All three manuscripts are held in the British Library in London: Or. 1404 (the so-called "Brother" Haggadah), according to the official web site of the manuscript, produced in the third quarter of the fourteenth century; Or. 2884 (the so-called "Sister" Haggadah), produced in the second or third quarter of the fourteenth century, and the Golden Haggadah, which is considered the oldest among the other preserved *haggadot*, produced in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. For detailed record on each *haggadah*, please see: http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=19258, http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=19290&CollID=96&NStart=2884 and http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=19108, accessed on April 17, 2015.

[223] However, the motif of Moses with both of his shoes already taken off has a long tradition, and it started to appear already in antiquity. The earliest example of such representation appears in the third-century frescos of Dura Europos synagogue. For the medieval ones, see for example the Huntingfield Psalter, c. 1180, New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M 43, folio 13r.

but it is well hidden behind the burning bush. Third, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah used Westernized prototype of Moses, who is often painted with beard and tunic.[224] Moses from the Sarajevo Haggadah does show similarity with figures of Moses from the other *haggadot* (such as the Rylands and the Brother) when it comes to heaving a beard, but in the Sarajevo Haggadah he wears a long dress and a cloak with hood that covers his head. Fourth, in the Sarajevo Haggadah Moses is accompanied with a dog, a keeper of the flock, which is painted with an open jaw and head turned towards the burning bush, it seems, in surprise. The dog is rarely painted in this episode in other manuscripts, but when painted (in the Golden Haggadah, for example) it does not have any active role in the occurring action. Lastly, one of the most intriguing details in this image is Moses' staff, turned down and painted in gold.

There is a visual correspondence between the golden staff and the golden lines that indicate the presence of God throughout the manuscript. The color of the staff and its position, to my understanding, emphasize two important aspects of this iconography. First, the turned down staff indicates Moses' veneration before God (a similar depiction of the staff turned down in the episode of the burning bush appears in the Morgan Bible and suggests the same interpretation).[225] Second, not only the color of the Moses' staff implies the instruction he received from God - to lead the Israelites out from the slavery in Egypt, but the staff itself, under God's instructions, had an important role in the events (the ten plagues) that preceded the liberation of the Israelites from Egypt. In other words, Moses' staff had a crucial role in carrying out the instruction he received in the episode of the burning bush.

To reiterate, the episode of Moses and the burning bush was common in the medieval art produced for Christians, and without any doubt the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah was familiar with its different representational solutions. However, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah used various iconographic motifs to indicate the presence of God in several ways. In doing so, he enabled us to read the complex visual layers of this biblical episode, primarily an instruction that God assigned to Moses. Also, by particular iconographic motifs, such as the golden staff turned down, the illuminator introduced the

[224] Katrin Kogman-Appel, *Illuminated haggadot from Medieval Spain: Biblical imaginary and Passover Holiday* (2006), 93.

[225] The Morgan Bible, c. 1244-54, New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 638, folio 7v.

viewer with the outcome of this instruction, as presented in the following images, illustrating the ten plagues.

In addition to this, usage of other iconographic motifs such as Moses' removed shoes, or dog that actively participate in the occurring event, demonstrate that the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah was exposed to various representational *schemas* that illustrate this episode. The combination of these various iconographic motifs lead to creation of the specific visual interpretation of this biblical episode. Moreover, as the iconography of this image shows, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah did not have particular preferences for the Christian artistic traditions, since the iconography contains motifs influenced by both Byzantine and the Western Christian art.

Although the iconography of the Sarajevo Haggadah's image demonstrates that its illuminator was familiar with the Christian artistic traditions, it also demonstrates how he negotiated with these traditions and available iconographic motifs when illustrating this biblical event. Usage of the golden lines to indicate the presence of God and his messenger, instead of a common depiction of an anthropomorphic angel in the burning bush (as seen in the previously mentioned manuscripts made for Christians and Jews, respectively), illustrates this point. By adopting and changing available iconographic motifs, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah made an intentional choice in order to create a more subtle visual language to portray God and His messenger, avoiding their anthropomorphic depictions.

The golden lines in combination with other modes of depiction of God's presence

f. 30r [ומשה עלה את מהאלהיסתן ורהת], above the image, fig. 61
Moses climbed towards God … presenting of the Laws … (Ex. 19:3)

[ויתיצבו בתחתית ויחדרההר כל כלהעם אשר דבר י''י נעשה ונשמע], below the image
They stood at the foot of the hill … and all the people trembled … all that the Lord hath said we will do, and be obedient (Ex. 19:17, 16, 8)

The illuminator of this biblical episode employed the entire repertoire of different motifs to stress the presence and actions of God at Mt. Sinai as described in Exodus 19: *Now*

Mount Sinai was all in smoke, for the LORD had come down upon it in fire; the smoke rose like the smoke of a kiln, and the whole mountain trembled violently. The blare of the horn grew louder and louder. As Moses spoke, God answered him in thunder.

In this image, the illuminator portrayed Moses who just received the tablets of the Law through direct communication with God, expressed by the shofar emerging from a cloud painted in wavy white and blue lines and the golden lines, which are almost touching Moses' ear. He stands at the hill, encircled by a white cloud representing smoke and by red lines of fire, which signal that God came down, as text of the Tanakh notes. The congregation of men, young and old with beards, all hooded and in long dresses with white stripes on their collars, stands at the base of the hill with their heads turned towards Moses who holds the tablets of the Law. Keeping the use of gold to represent the elements connected to God's presence, it bears mentioning that the tablets are painted in gold, since the words of God are inscribed on them. Between Moses and the congregation, on the left side of the image, Aaron stands with an open book.

All these iconographic motifs, found in the text of the Tanakh and painted in this image emphasize an important historical change in both the biblical story and Jewish history. In order to mark this historical change, God made another covenant (besides that with Abraham), a covenant that will stand for all future generations. The illuminator was highly aware of the importance of this biblical narrative and of the covenant that God made with the Israelites: by receiving the law at Mt. Sinai the Israelites received a set of instructions that would organize Jewish life onwards.

There are no other examples of this episode in the Spanish illuminated manuscripts made for Jews as this one from the Sarajevo Haggadah, painted as a full-page image, with a whole repertoire of iconographic motifs employed to stress the presence of God. Whereas this episode does exist in medieval manuscripts made for Christians, in these, its depiction differs from the Sarajevo Haggadah's image. Upon examination of this image from the Sarajevo Haggadah and the ninth-century Christian Bible known as the "Moutier-Grandval Bible", interesting iconographic details are identified (fig. 62).[226] In both examples, the illuminators engaged similar visual vocabulary to represent God's presence and actions – cloud, horns, golden lines and red lines (fire). However, while in the manuscript made for

[226] The Moutier-Grandval Bible, c. 830-40, London: The British Library, Add MS 10546, folio 25v.

Christians Moses receives the Ten Commandments written on a scroll, in other words, on destroyable material, in the manuscript made for Jewish audience, the Ten Commandments - the words of God, are inscribed on the tablets made of stone, a much more durable material.[227] Moreover, these stone tablets are painted gold. Possibly the golden stone tablets in the Sarajevo Haggadah were meant to emphasize the supreme and everlasting importance of the law in Judaism. In addition, although in both examples the golden lines emerging from a cloud touch Moses' head, in the Sarajevo Haggadah, Moses' head is covered with a hood, while in the Moutier-Grandval Bible Moses is dressed in a Roman toga with an uncovered head. Moses' covered head in the Sarajevo Haggadah may indicate his awareness of God's presence and his Jewish piety (to name just a few reasons for covering the head one finds in the rabbinic literature).[228]

A whole range of motifs used to emphasize the presence of God and His actions on Mt. Sinai and careful organization of the composition show that the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah approached attentively the depiction of this episode. In addition, two particular details stand out from the rest of the composition. First, the tablets of the Law are painted gold. They could be linked with the golden staff that Moses holds before the burning bush. In both images, the gold was used to indicate the transmission of an instruction from God to Moses and the future actions that Moses will take under God's protection. In this image, this transmission is not definite, as the observer re-experiences the giving of the law year after year, linking the biblical past to the present time during the participation in the Seder dinner reading the text of the *haggadah* and observing its imagery. Second, the covered heads of the biblical protagonists in the Sarajevo Haggadah differ from the portrayals of Moses and congregation on Mt. Sinai in the manuscripts made for Christians and they possibly signal their awareness of God's presence and their obedience to the law.

Unlike the previous images in which one iconographic motif usually indicated the presence of God, in this one, the illuminator used a whole range of different motifs to portray

[227] Example of the Christian manuscripts showing the stone tablet that Moses received from the hand of God, and the congregation in the foothill can be found in the Paris Psalter from the tenth century. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, cod. Grec 139, folio 422v. For detailed record on the manuscript, please see: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10515446x/, accessed on April 17, 2015.

[228] For example, Talmud (Shabbat 156b) notes: "*Cover your head in order that the fear of heaven may be upon you*."

God and His action. On the one hand, this diversity of iconographic motifs, to my understanding, reflects the illuminator's intention to stress the importance and the dignity of the Law given to Moses. This intention is further emphasized by the illuminator's choice to paint the stone tablets in gold, the color associated with God, as observed in the previous images. On the other hand, even though the iconography of this image suggests the familiarity of the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah with the Christian iconographic *schemas* (as found, for example, in the aforementioned Moutier-Grandval Bible), at the same time, it also suggests the transformation of these *schemas*. The change in material and color of the tablets illustrates this point. All these changes indirectly testify that the illuminator of this biblical episode carefully planned its iconography, alternating between the Christian pictorial sources and his consistency to evoke the presence of God by avoiding anthropomorphisms.

PORTRAYING SELF AND OTHER IN THE MEDIEVAL WORKSHOP

The cycle of the ten plagues

This chapter examines portrayals of Jews and non-Jews in the cycle of the ten plagues in the Sarajevo Haggadah. By exploring various ways of visual interpretation of punishments that God sent to Egyptians, I will also discuss on different visual modes of indication of God's presence in this biblical narrative.

According to the text of the Tanakh (Ex.7:24-12:36), Moses and Aaron negotiated with the Pharaoh to let the Israelites out of Egypt. They met and urged the Pharaoh to let them leave Egypt, but each time the conversation ended unsuccessfully, with Pharaoh's rejection to liberate the Israelites. After each unsuccessful conversation the Pharaoh increased the Israelites' sufferings, whereupon God sent out a plague in order to inflict upon the Egyptians for not letting the Israelites depart.

The narrative of the ten plagues has an important role in both - the text of the *haggadah* and its imagery. The Seder dinner culminates with the narrative of the ten plagues and its function is to heighten the story of the liberation of the Israelites from the four-hundred-year captivity in Egypt. The frequency and quantity of the images illustrating the ten plagues in the *haggadot* are surprising, but not at all in terms of the importance of this to the Jewish history. The majority of the Sephardic *haggadot* that are known to survive have the cycle of the ten plagues in their imageries. Some of them, such as the Bologna-Modena Mahzor, have reduced cycle of the ten plagues, while other *haggadot*, such as the Sarajevo, the Golden, the Rylands, the so-called "Brother" and the so-called "Sister" *haggadot* have extended ones.

Self and Other in the Sarajevo Haggadah

This part of the thesis explores how the creators of the Sarajevo Haggadah understood their moment in history. It argues that the iconography of the ten plagues can be interpreted not only as an illustration of these biblical events, but also as a two-way window: it provides

a valuable insight into the contemporary life of the Jewish community in the fourteenth-century Catalonia and attitude of the Jewish community towards the society in which they lived. The questions that this part poses are: how the illuminator depicted "self" and "other" in the Sarajevo Haggadah, are there distinctions between those depictions and are they clear, are these representational choices intentional and were they part of the commission for the patron, and finally, what can we learn about the state of the Jewish-Christian relations from the imagery illustrating the ten plagues? In addition, is there particular meaning in the fact that besides Moses and Aaron the other Israelites are painted only twice – in the plague of darkness and of the slaying of the firstborns and that the Pharaoh is far more often surrounded by his retinue and the Egyptians in the occurring plagues?

In relation to these questions, it is important to bear in mind that even though each image illustrates a different act of God, causing different punishment, when observed in their entirety, they underscore the importance of this biblical narrative to the Jewish history. In addition, by depicting this biblical narrative and emphasizing its importance to the Jewish history, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah also illuminated many other layers of the Jewish life in the fourteenth-century Catalonia. By doing so, he vividly reflected brother art historical, political, social and other contexts appearing in the imagery of the ten plagues.

The illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah illustrated these crucial events in the history of the Israelites by painting all ten plagues in five folios. As in the rest of the manuscript, the layout of the cycle was carefully planned as suggested by diagonal correspondence between colors in two opposite folios (red or blue in the upper part of the folio corresponds with red or blue on the lower part of the opposite folio, and *vice versa*).

In contrast with the previous images where the various modes of visual representation were used to portray the presence of God, and where these modes seemingly prompted the significant changes through the direct action (for example, the golden lines that emerge from the firmament illustrate the act of creation), in the following images, the presence of God is indirectly indicated. As it will be shown in the following pages, even though the outcome of the plague is apparent (for example, water sources turned into blood, or lice attacking man and cattle), in majority of cases, God acts through instructions given to Moses or Aaron on how to initiate a particular plague. Only in a few incidents the plague is sent directly by God (as for instance, the plague of lice).

I explored questions in connection with the ten plagues by comparing the imagery of the Sarajevo Haggadah with the other *haggadot*. This choice was intentional since the imagery of the other *haggadot*, in contrast with the manuscripts produced for Christians, has the same historical value and importance in the Jewish history as well as in the celebration of the Passover, the holiday of freedom.

f. 22r [ויבא משה ואהרן אל פרעה וַיְהִי הַדָּם בְּכָל אֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם וַיַּחְפְּרוּ כָּל מִצְרַיִם פרעה], fig. 63
Moses and Aaron came to the Pharaoh ... there was blood throughout the land of Egypt ... all the Egyptians digged ... Pharaoh (Ex. 7:21-24)

The biblical text of the Exodus describes that when Pharaoh refused to let the Israelites leave Egypt, God turned all water into blood as a punishment. The further description of this biblical event, recorded in the following verses (Ex. 7:21) informs us on the severity of the punishment: "*And the fish that were in the river died; and the river became foul, and the Egyptians could not drink water from the river*."

In the Sarajevo Haggadah's illustration of this biblical event, Moses and Aaron, dressed in long dresses with white stripes on collar, stand on the right-hand side of the image. Aaron holds his staff raised up in his left hand, while the right one is painted with the pointing finger, it seems towards the Pharaoh. The position of Aaron's staff and his finger, without any doubt suggests that he performs the act of punishment as God instructed him and transforms waters into blood, both "in vessels of wood and in vessels of stone" (Ex. 7:19). The Pharaoh surrounded by his counselors on the other side of the image sits on a golden throne and observes the occurring event. In his left hand he holds a golden scepter, while the right one, with the pointing finger, is turned towards the blooded water sources (the river) and Aaron and Moses. Another observation is in connection with the inscription above the image. Even though it is based on the biblical text, the scribe did not write the whole verse. Instead he wrote excerpts from different verses (Ex. 7:21-24) adding some words, such as the word *Pharaoh* at the end of the inscription.

The illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah understood well the seriousness of this punishment. To heighten its consequences he overused red color. In the center of the composition, the water in the river is turned into blood. Besides the other water resources,

which are also turned into blood, such as water in a bowl in the hands of the figure in the center of the image, and the blood that is appearing from the ground when dug by the other figure in the left side of the image, the Pharaoh's cloak and the dress beneath it are also painted red.

The detailed analysis of this image reveals all complexity of its iconography. First, Moses and Aaron stand while the Pharaoh is seated. Second, both Aaron's staff and Pharaoh's scepter are raised up. Third, it seems that the punishment is happening in the space between Moses and Aaron on the right side and Pharaoh on the left. Moreover, it seems that the punishment is not affecting anyone. Fourth, although there are no visible differences in physiognomy of the characters in this biblical scene, they differ in clothing, precisely, in head coverings. While Moses and Aaron have hoods, the Pharaoh wears a golden crown.[229] Lastly, the non-verbal language expressed by raised hands with pointing fingers further stresses the discussion that is going on between the protagonists of this biblical event.

In this particular image, God acts through the instruction given to Moses and Aaron on how to cause the plague. Aaron stretches his staff out into the river and in doing so he causes the plague of blood. As in the image of sacrifice offered to God by Cain and Abel, where the illuminator intentionally obscured Cain in order to emphasize the preference to Abel's offering, in this image, too, the illuminator cleverly used visual language to emphasize the brother who performs significant action and causes the plague. Here, Aaron obscured Moses, as he does not actively participate in the occurring event (Moses is just a transmitter of God's instruction). In addition, there are several other puzzling aspects in the iconography of this image. For instance, the Pharaoh sits on his throne while Moses and Aaron stand. Not

[229] In most cases, hooded figures among the Jews represent the most important protagonists of the biblical narrative. In the miniatures illustrating the period from before the Great flood to entering Egypt (by Jacob and his descendants), only Noah (last pre-flood patriarch), Lot (righteous man of God) and three Patriarchs (Abraham, Isaac and Jacob) wear hoods. In the miniatures illustrating the period after entering Egypt, Moses and Aaron are the prominent Jewish figures with covered heads, however, there are four miniatures where the hooded figures represent less prominent individuals such as Jacob's and Joseph's descendants, a congregation on Mount Sinai, representatives of the twelve tribes and Joshua receiving Moses' blessing, and finally, a congregation in a contemporary Spanish synagogue.

only a throne, but a golden throne is a representation of the Pharaoh's legitimacy and the power to rule. Even more, when seated on this throne the Pharaoh sends a clear message to an observer: that he is still confident in his ruling power, although the punishment of God affects the land which he rules over. If we accept this interpretation, standing position of Moses and Aaron before the Pharaoh reveals that they are still subordinated to the Pharaoh's reign. Moreover, in some manuscripts, as in the Bologna-Modena Mahzor for example, the Pharaoh is seated on a two steps higher throne, possibly to indicate Pharaoh's higher hierarchy in relation to Moses and Aaron, in other words to the Israelites. However, in the Sarajevo Haggadah image, this interpretation is applicable only to some extent, as the Pharaoh's scepter and Aaron's staff are raised up. To my understanding, the raised up staffs can be interpreted as a clash between the Pharaoh's and the divine legitimacy. The first one represents the legitimacy of the earthly ruler who suppressed the Israelites, while the second one represents the heavenly ruler who sent severe punishment to the Egyptians. In relation to this, it is not at all surprising that the red color of the Pharaoh's clothes also signals this punishment that has befallen the whole Egypt, as the Pharaoh is its leader. Lastly, the central position of the plague in the image's composition certainly emphasizes the centrality of this biblical narrative in the Jewish history. From enslavement in Egypt the Israelites became free people.

In the further iconographic analysis of the image illustrating the plague of blood from the Sarajevo Haggadah, I would like to bring to the reader's attention another fourteenth-century illuminated manuscript, known as the Bologna-Modena Mahzor (fig. 64).[230] It shows close parallels to the style and iconography of the Sarajevo Haggadah. Both manuscripts have similar organization of the composition, with exception that in the Sarajevo Haggadah the folio is divided into two images, while in the Bologna-Modena Mahzor it is a full-page image. Also, in the Sarajevo Haggadah, in the cycle illustrating the ten plagues, Moses and Aaron are positioned on the right side of the image standing, while the Pharaoh is on the left-hand side, seated on a throne. Similarities between these two manuscripts occur as well in the choice of clothing. Moses and Aaron wear long dresses with hoods and two white stripes on

[230] The Bologna-Modena Mahzor, c. 1325-1350, Bologna: Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna, MS. 2559 and Modena: Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, MS. Cod. A. K. I. 22-Or. 92. Mendel Metzger identified these two fragments of the Mahzor, a Jewish prayer book for holiday services, as belonging to the same manuscript.

their collars, while the Pharaoh wears a cloak over a long dress. His head is covered by a crown. Similar gestures and position of the hands as well as facial expression of the protagonists of the biblical narrative is another similarity between the images illustrating the plagues in these two manuscripts. When exploring these general observations a few differences should be noted. Whereas in the Sarajevo Haggadah there is a difference in the depiction of the Pharaoh's scepter, painted in gold and Aaron's staff, which looks far more modest than Pharaoh's, in the Bologna-Modena Mahzor there is no such difference. Both Pharaoh's and Aaron's staff are painted as very modest. Further, Moses and Aaron from the Sarajevo Haggadah are depicted as young without beard, while in the Bologna-Modena Mahzor they are painted with beards. Lastly, in the Sarajevo Haggadah inscriptions are written below and above the images, while in the Bologna-Modena Mahzor they are written inside the images. Since these two manuscripts are considered to be "siblings," one produced for the high (the Sarajevo Haggadah) and one for the middle class (the Bologna-Modena Mahzor), it is necessary to introduce the reader with their similarities and dissimilarities, as they are important for the further discussion.

Returning to the comparison of the images of the blood plague in these two manuscripts, it is evident that there is an iconographic correspondence between them. However, it is also evident that differences in the iconographic motifs exist. In both manuscripts total eight figures are occupying the image's space, Moses, Aaron, Pharaoh, three Pharaoh's counselors and two other persons. In the Bologna-Modena Mahzor these two persons are shown with the spade, one actually digging the ground, and the other with spade raised up as he is digging the river that transformed into blood. In the Sarajevo Haggadah, however, one person digs the ground and the other holds a bowl in which the water turned into blood. Another representational choice that these manuscripts share, but it is differently depicted, is the figure of the Pharaoh. Whereas in the Sarajevo Haggadah the Pharaoh is positioned on the same level as Moses and Aaron, in the Bologna-Modena Mahzor, he is seated on a throne with two steps on it, which puts him at a higher position in regards to Moses and Aaron. Also, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah did not strictly follow the text of the Tanakh when depicting this episode, as it is the case with the illuminator of the Bologna-Modena Mahzor. In the latter one, Aaron holds his stuff in the river and causes the plague of blood in accordance with the God's instruction to do so as recorded in the text of

the Tanakh. In the Sarajevo Haggadah, Aaron's staff is up and it seems it does not have any role in the occurring event. In addition, the Bologna-Modena Mahzor image shows a limited pool-like space that represents river with Aaron's staff in it, causing fish to die. Contrary to this, in the Sarajevo Haggadah there is no fish in the river.

All these iconographic particularities in the image from the Sarajevo Haggadah and their comparison with the images in the other Sephardic *haggadot* provide a valuable insight not only into broader artistic, but also into contemporary historical context of the period. It is evident that the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah, when portraying the biblical narrative of the ten plagues, also illuminated the general and particular circumstances of the fourteenth-century Catalonia. In that way, the biblical protagonists in the imagery of the Sarajevo Haggadah (the Israelites and Egyptians) have become Jews and non-Jews in the contemporary Catalonia. What would then the image illustrating the plague of blood, the punishment of God, tell us about the patron (and the illuminator) of the Sarajevo Haggadah or his (their) relation towards non-Jews? Does the image reveal devastating effects of the plague on the Pharaoh and the Egyptians? Does the image vividly reflect their plight as the biblical narrative states? Interesting enough, the visual language of the Sarajevo Haggadah's image could be described as mild, particularly in comparison with the other *haggadot* (for example, the Golden Haggadah, fig. 65) where the depictions of the ten plagues, including the plague of blood, reflect the strained relations between the Israelites (contemporary Jews) and the Egyptians (non-Jews). In the Sarajevo Haggadah, it seems that the plague is affecting neither the Pharaoh nor the Egyptians. Could this representational choice speak in favor of the illuminator's unwillingness to portray discomfort of the Egyptians? If so, how could we interpret the overuse of the red color in connection with blood (the punishment of God), and the central position that it has in the image's composition? I argue that these contradictory elements reveal the illuminators awareness about the importance of this biblical narrative in the Jewish history on the one hand, and his desire not to portray the Egyptians suffering on the other hand.

f. 22r [צפרדעים ובְּתַנּוּרֶיךָ וּבְמִשְׁאֲרֹתֶיךָ], fig. 66

Frogs ... and into thine ovens, and into thy kneading troughs (Ex. 7:28)

The depiction of the second plague in the Sarajevo Haggadah is based on a various verses of the Exodus (7:27-29 and 8:1-2). The text of the latter one notes that God commanded Moses to tell Aaron to stretch the staff over the water and hordes of frogs would come and overrun Egypt. As the result of this action: "the river shall swarm with frogs, which shall go up and come into thy house, and into thy bedchamber, and upon thy bed, and into the house of thy servants, and upon thy people, and into thine ovens, and into thy kneading-troughs."

The illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah used similar organization of the composition as in the previous image to depict the second plague. There are only three figures represented, Moses and Aaron on the right and the Pharaoh on the left side. Also, as in the previous image, Moses and Aaron stand and the Pharaoh sits on his throne painted in gold. Aaron's right hand with the staff is raised up, while by his left one he points to the occurring plague. There is a visual correspondence to this gesture on the left side of the image where the Pharaoh is painted. He holds his scepter in the right hand and raises the palm of the left hand. The position of his hand and the scepter and Aaron's finger and staff clearly indicate that the discussion between them is still ongoing. However, as the outcome of this discussion is not convenient to Aaron and Moses, the second plague, the punishment of God, is painted between them. In the center of the image a big oven is painted, overcrowded with frogs (inside and outside) which are falling down over both its sides. In addition, in front of it, in the lower part of the image, two bowls are painted, one small on the left and one big on the right side of the oven. They are also filled up with frogs, as well as the space between them.

By indirect God's instruction given to Aaron, as previously quoted text of the Tankah teaches us, the plague of frogs, the disgusting punishment, befallen Egypt. Indeed, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah depicted the horde of frogs occupying the central part of the composition. This visual interpretation would seem completely justified only if we do not examine it further. However, if we do, the following questions impose: why there are only three persons in the image (Moses, Aaron and the Pharaoh) and why the plague has the

central place in it? How would we define the illuminator's visual language? Contrary to the text of the Tanakh, which states that all the land of Egypt was affected by the plague of frogs, including the people and the cattle, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah painted only the Pharaoh as their representative. Surprisingly, the Pharaoh is not at all affected by this plague. As a matter of fact, he observes it from the safe distance. One could not dismiss the contradiction of this representational choice with the centrality of the plague. In my opinion, the choice to depict the Pharaoh as not affected although the punishment is indeed happening, reveals the illuminator's intention to limit the space in which the plague is occurring and more importantly to mitigate its consequences. No matter how centered the plague is in the composition, the viewer cannot see its devastating effects. Given the aforementioned observations, the Sarajevo Haggadah image is mild when compared to the depictions of this plague in other *haggadot*, as it will be shown in the following discussion.

The visual language of the Sarajevo Haggadah, in comparison with the depiction of the plague of frogs in other Sephardic *haggadot*, shows interesting differences. They appear primarily in the iconographic motifs used to illustrate this episode, and in additional texts on which such interpretation was based. For instance, the Rylands Haggadah's brutally depicts the frogs attacking the Pharaoh (fig. 67). In the Golden and the so-called "Sister" *haggadot,* in accordance with the *midrashim*, one big frog among other frogs is painted (it is believed that from this single frog the entire host of other frogs comes, fig. 68 and 69).[231] The image of this plague from the Bologna-Modena Mahzor, although resembling iconographically to the Sarajevo Haggadah, reveals a few differences between them (fig. 70). For example, the illuminators of the both manuscripts depicted the ovens in a similar manner. In the latter one, however, the oven does not have the central place in the composition, as it has in the Sarajevo Haggadah's image. It is rather positioned in the distance, in the upper part of the folio and the frogs are falling down from it to the center of the composition. Also, whereas in the Modena-Bologna Mahzor the Pharaoh is painted seated on a high throne, making him (visually and hierarchically) higher than Moses and Aaron, in the Sarajevo Haggadah he is equal to the two brothers.

The position of the Pharaoh as well as other iconographic features of the illustration of the plague of frogs (for example, the golden throne and raised up staff/scepter), as other

[231] Marc Michael Epstein, *The Medieval Haggadah. Art, Narrative & Religious Imagination* (2011), 169.

plagues in the cycle, demonstrate divergent Jewish attitudes towards the society in which they lived. In comparison of the Sarajevo Haggadah's image with the images from the other *haggadot*, these divergences are very apparent. This is even more surprising having in mind that the *haggadot* under discussion were produced in the same time period and in the same region. Why the iconography of this plague in the Sarajevo Haggadah is then so considerate when compared to the iconography of the images in the other *haggadot*? And why in these *haggadot* the Pharaoh (the contemporary royalty) is portrayed under the brutal attacks of the disgusting frogs and in the Sarajevo Haggadah we do not see any of this? I suggest that by portraying the Pharaoh, Moses and Aaron as equal and the Pharaoh as not brutally attacked by horde of frogs, the commissioners of the Sarajevo Haggadah illuminated their own position in the society they lived in. Equal position of the biblical protagonists might be interpreted as commissioners' wanting to be or being equal to the royalty. Moreover, painting the Pharaoh as not attacked suggests that even the illuminator had an opportunity to "revenge" (in the biblical and contemporary terms, illuminating the biblical narrative as well as the contemporary one), however he chose to spare the Pharaoh of the suffering.

f. 23v [כִּנִּים וַתְּהִי הַכִּנָּם בָּאָדָם וּבַבְּהֵמָה]
Lice ... lice (covered) both men and animals (Ex. 8:14), fig. 71

The text of the Tanakh teaches us that, after the second plague and the Pharaoh's unwillingness to let the Israelites leave Egypt, God instructed Moses to tell Aaron to take the staff and strike at the dust. Dust then turned into a mass of "*kinim,"*[232] "that came upon man and beast."

The illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah, as in the previously discussed images, used similar composition and visual language to illustrate this plague. The plague that affected "both man and animals" as per the inscription above the image is again painted in the center of the composition. Moses and Aaron are painted standing on the right, while the Pharaoh is safely seated on his golden throne on the left side of the image. Also, as in the previous two images, the discussion that is occurring between Moses, Aaron and Pharaoh is emphasized by the position of their hands and staff/scepter.

[232] The Hebrew word "*kinim*" (כִּנִּים), can be translated as lice, gnats or fleas.

Upon the iconographic analysis of this image, several particularly puzzling motifs are identified. The text of the Tanakh teaches us that this plague is inaugurated by indirect act of God, through an instruction given to Aaron who stretched forth his staff and made "*kinim"* to appear. In this regard, it is also interesting to note the reaction of the affected Egyptians (Pharaoh's magicians) who are, it seems, highly aware that the plague of lice is inaugurated by God, since they are referring to it as "This is the finger of God" (Ex. 8:15). The lice, painted as black splotches with multiple pair of legs, attacked both men and animals (three of each), as signaled by the fact that they are scratching themselves. The kneeling person in front of the Pharaoh's throne on the left side of the image even holds a comb for lice in his right hand. Given the previously quoted verses from the Tankah and the depiction of the affected Egyptians, one would assume that the Pharaoh is affected too. However, he is not. Surprisingly enough, the Pharaoh, as does the Aaron, points out to the occurring plague: the Pharaoh to the affected people and Aaron to the cattle.

The illustration of the plague of lice from the Sarajevo Haggadah differs significantly from the depictions in the other Sephardic *haggadot*. The differences occur primarily in the depiction of the affected (the Egyptians or animals, or both) and the visual impact that such depictions have. The Sarajevo Haggadah's depiction of the plague is mild in comparison with the other *haggadot*. Whereas the illuminators of the Golden, the Rylands and the so-called "Brother" *haggadot* portrayed the Pharaoh, his retinue and the animals terribly affected by the lice, indicated by black or white splotches fully covering their bodies, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah, it seems, spared the Pharaoh from this dreadful punishment (fig. 72, 73 and 74). Additionally, if we accept the observation that these depictions reflect the majority-minority relations in the fourteenth-century Catalonia, as argued previously, what would be the interpretation of the Sarajevo Haggadah's image?

We can observe with confidence that, at least from the perspective of the Sarajevo Haggadah's illuminator, these relations were decorous. However, only, it seems, with the hierarchically higher status, as indicated by the fact that the Pharaoh (medieval Christian royalty) is not affected by the plague and the Egyptians (contemporary Christians) are.

[ערוב], fig. 71
Beasts (Ex. 8:17)

The fourth plague is described in detail in the eight chapter of the Exodus. As recorded in the text of this chapter, after Pharaoh did not let the Israelites to leave Egypt, God sent another plague in order to make him (otherwise) let them. This time it is a plague of wild beasts that are attacking the Pharaoh and the Egyptians.[233] The textual analysis of the inscription below the image confirms that the scribe and the illuminator followed common etymology of the Hebrew word *arav* (to mix up, to mix), that early Jewish commentators "rather freely interpreted" as a mixture of several kinds of living beings.[234] In addition, this word is "also interpreted in Aramaic Targums as *irub heywah* – a mixture of beasts."[235] In discussion on this inscription, Eugen Verber noted that in the *midrash* on this biblical narrative it is written that God sent "various beasts, lions and bears and tigers" as a punishment to the Egyptians. In addition to this *midrash*, the biblical text (8:20) states that the plague of wild beasts entered all the houses of the Egyptians, even the Pharaoh's.

The narrative of this biblical episode, as painted by the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah, was deeply rooted in the text of this midrash, which mentions that various beasts roved all over Egypt. As the matter of fact, the illuminator painted all sorts of wild beasts such as rat, scorpion, lioness, three snake-like creatures and winged fantastic animal. To heighten the drama of the moment and the consequences that this plague is causing, each of these wild beasts is attacking one of the four men in the image: snake-like animal is cutting throat of the man who stands in the center of the composition, the other, on his right, is bent down under the rat's attack, the third one is barely visible as he is kneeled down, and it seems, attacked by lioness and snake. The fourth man in the image, who is attacked by a wild beast, the snake-like animal, is the Pharaoh himself. Although he is seated on his golden

[233] The text of the Tanakh (Ex. 8:17) mentions swarms of flies that will be sent "upon thee, and upon thy servants, and upon thy people, and into thy houses; and the houses of the Egyptians shall be full of swarms of flies, and also the ground whereon they are." A Hebrew – English Bible according to the Masoretic Text and the JPS 1917 Edition, http://www.mechon-mamre.org/p/pt/pt0.htm, accessed on November 24, 2015.

[234] Eugen Verber, *The Sarajevo Haggadah*, preface to the facsimile edition (1983), 32.

[235] Ibid.

throne, with the scepter in his right hand, his body posture, facial expression and left hand raised in a defensive position, reveal his discomfort and disgust.

Again, as in the previous images the plague is occurring in the space between Moses and Aaron on the right, and the Pharaoh on the left side of the image. Also, the Pharaoh is again seated on his golden throne, while Moses and Aaron stand. In this image, the illuminator literally followed the text of the Exodus (8:16) and intentionally painted Moses as obscuring Aaron, since the text states: "And the LORD said unto Moses: 'Rise up early in the morning, and stand before Pharaoh." Similarly to the previous images, Moses' left hand with the pointing finger is raised up as well as his staff. However, in this image, the presence of the raised up staff is not clear, as the text of the Tanakh does not mention its usage in this plague.

In contrast to the previously discussed images, where God acts and sends the punishment indirectly through the instruction given to Moses or Aaron, in this plague, God's punishment that befallen Egypt comes through His direct involvement as recorded in the biblical narrative (Ex. 8:17): "Else, if thou wilt not let My people go, behold, I will send […]." As the image shows, the wild beasts appeared in the land of Egypt and they were attacking and cutting throats of the Egyptians without the intervention of Moses and Aaron. However, it bears mentioning that the illuminator did paint Moses and Aaron in this plague even though the text of the Tankah does not mention their agency in this biblical event.

The image of the plague of wild beasts in the Sarajevo Haggadah demonstrates minor differences in number of biblical protagonists and the organization of the composition in comparison with the images in the other Sephardic *haggadot*. For instance, in the Rylands and the so-called "Brother" *haggadot*, Moses and Aaron are portrayed with Israelite elders as they come to the Pharaoh and his counselors, on the right-hand side of the image (fig. 75 and 75). In the Golden Haggadah, however, only Moses stands before the Pharaoh and one of his counselors painted behind him on the left side of the image (fig. 77). More dramatic visual interpretation of this plague is found in the so-called "Sister" Haggadah (fig. 78). Only there the Pharaoh is painted standing and it seems that the wild beasts are chasing him as he tries to escape to the left side of the image. He is forced to get up from his throne, in other words, from his noble position. In addition to this, the illuminators of these *haggadot* differently interpreted and illustrated the levels of discomfort and suffering of the Egyptians caused by

the plague of wild beasts. For example, while in the Rylands and the so-called "Brother" *haggadot*, the wild beasts are painted as literally biting gargles of the Pharaoh and his counselors, in the other manuscripts, including the Sarajevo Haggadah, the attacks are not so dramatic (fig. 75 and 75). In the Golden Haggadah the wild beasts are biting the Pharaoh's clothes (his shoes and cloak) rather than his body (fig. 77). In the Sarajevo Haggadah, even this detail is absent. It might seem, according to the Pharaoh's discomfort expressed through his body position and fear by facial expression, that the snake-like animal attacks him. However, a closer examination of the image shows that the Pharaoh is just alerted in case of an attack of the snake-like animal as the animal does not touch him at all.

The ichnographic analysis of this image shows that the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah followed the common conventions when depicting the plague of the wild beasts. Not only in case of the additional texts that inspired this episode, specifically *midrashim*, but also in its visual interpretation. As in the other *haggadot* and unlike the depictions of the previous three plagues, the Sarajevo Haggadah's image shows the Pharaoh as (almost) being attacked by the wild beasts. However, they are not jumping all over him, nor they are cutting his throat, as the images of the Rylands and the so-called "Brother" *haggadot* demonstrate. Moreover, the animal that is almost attacking the Pharaoh from the Sarajevo Haggadah is more a hybrid than the real animal. I argue that this iconographic motif is of particular importance for our understanding of the illuminator's/patron's attitude towards the Christian royal figure in the fourteenth-century Catalonia. Whereas the images of this plague from the other *haggadot* reveal the intention of the authorship to emphasize the Pharaoh's humiliation as Marc Michael Epstein argued[236] (as being attacked by wild beasts, in the case of the Golden Haggadah by a squirrel), the image from the Sarajevo Haggadah does not. Instead, the animal that may or may not attack the Pharaoh in the Sarajevo Haggadah is a hybrid, so to speak, non-existing animal. And non-existing animal cannot harm the Pharaoh.

[236] Marc Michael Epstein, *The Medieval Haggadah. Art, Narrative & Religious Imagination* (2011), 174.

f. 24r [משה ואהרן דֶּבֶר פרעה], fig. 79

Moses and Aaron … All the cattle died … Pharaoh (Ex. 9:3)

Again, as in the previous verses of the biblical text, negotiations with Pharaoh to let the Israelites leave Egypt were unsuccessful. Moses warns the Pharaoh "for if thou refuse to let them go, and wilt hold them still," God will send out a new plague. The following text of the Exodus 9:3 teaches us that "there shall be a very grievous murrain," as a result of God's punishment for the Pharaoh's rejection to let the Israelites go. This plague affected men and animals, as the rest of the verse 9:3 from the Exodus states: "the hand of the LORD is upon thy cattle which are in the field, upon the horses, upon the asses, upon the camels, upon the herds, and upon the flocks."

In the Sarajevo Haggadah, the plague of murrain is, as in the previous images, depicted in the center of the composition, between Moses and Aaron on the right and Pharaoh on the left side. Pharaoh is seated on his golden throne in a restful position, with his left hand on his knee, while Moses and Aaron stand before him. Their staffs are, as observed previously, also raised up, seemingly having the function to limit the space where the plague is occurring: a hill, completely covered with dead animals. The depiction of the dead animals, horses, cows and sheep, so to speak of death, is juxtaposed with a single living thing, a blooming green tree on the top of the hill. Also, the limited space in which the plague is occurring and the green tree on the top of the hill suggest that this plague affected only cattle and not other living beings.

The iconography of the plague of murrain from the Sarajevo Haggadah prompts few interesting observations. Although God acts directly as the text of the Tankah teaches us ("the hand of the LORD") and causes the death of the cattle, the illuminator painted Moses. His staff is positioned skywards and his finger directed to dead cattle as he bespeak that God caused the plague and that *that* (the dead cattle) is its outcome. However, the Pharaoh does not seem at all agitated by the plague. As mentioned previously, his restful position suggests his disbelief and ignorance regarding the punishment of God that caused the cattle to die. He gazes not at the plague but at Moses whose face is contorted with rage (as suggested by position of his eyebrows).

The image of the murrain plague from the Sarajevo Haggadah diverges from its contemporaneous counterparts, mostly in the organization of the composition and iconographic motifs. Whereas in the Rylands and the so-called "Brother" *haggadot* the plague occurs on the hill with the dead cattle and a tree on it, depicted on the left side of the image, and the Pharaoh and his counselors seated on the right, in the Sarajevo Haggadah image they are depicted in the reversed position (fig. 80 and 81). In both these manuscripts, the Rylands and the so-called "Brother" *haggadot,* Moses and Aaron are depicted standing in the center of the composition and pointing out the plague to the Pharaoh. In the Sarajevo Haggadah, as noted earlier, Moses and Aaron are painted in the right-hand side of the image. In addition, Moses is the one who points to the plague. This representational *schema* is, to some extent, reiterated later in the Bologna-Modena Mahzor (fig. 82). The iconographical correspondence between these two manuscripts might suggest that their illuminators used the similar patterns when depicting this biblical narrative. However, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah fully developed its iconography, while the illuminator of the Bologna-Modena Mahzor chose more modest one omitting the details such as the diapered background and the depiction of the hill and tree. Also, whereas in the Sarajevo Haggadah Moses points out to the plague, in the Bologna-Modena Mahzor he points to the Pharaoh by both, his hand and his staff.

Given the iconographic and comparative analysis of the Sarajevo Haggadah's image of the murrain plague as well as the other images of the cycle, one cannot help but pose the following question: what was the self-perception of the illuminator/patron in relation to the biblical Israelites and the fourteenth-century Jews in Catalonia? What was their relation to the Pharaoh (the contemporary royalty)? Can the way in which the biblical (and medieval) protagonists dress illuminate part of these relations? And if so, was the illuminator aware of the differentiation between the Israelites and the Egyptians, appearing earlier in the text of the Tankah (Exodus 8:19) in connection with the plague of the wild beasts?[237] I argue that the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah was (a) aware of these differentiations and (b) that he made an intentional choice by portraying and juxtaposing the Pharaoh's crown and cloak to the Moses's and Aaron's hoods and long dresses. The crown could be interpreted as the representation of the Pharaoh's kingship over the land and the people of Egypt, while Moses'

[237] Marc Michael Epstein, *The Medieval Haggadah. Art, Narrative & Religious Imagination* (2011), 230.

and Aaron's hoods can be understood as a sign of their direct or indirect communication with God.

[קְחוּ (לָכֶם) מְלֹא חָפְנֵיכֶם פִּיחַ כִּבְשָׁן ולא יכלו החרפומים לעמד לפני משה], fig. 79
Take to you handfuls of ashes of the furnace … and the magicians could not serve before Moses (Ex. 9:8-11)

The literal source for the image illustrating the sixth plague in the Sarajevo Haggadah is the text of the Exodus. The ninth chapter of this book gives a detailed description on what happened when the Pharaoh refused again to let the Israelites leave Egypt: "And the LORD said unto Moses and unto Aaron: 'Take to you handfuls of soot of the furnace, and let Moses throw it heavenward in the sight of Pharaoh. And it shall become small dust over all the land of Egypt, and shall be a boil breaking forth with blains upon man and upon beast, throughout all the land of Egypt.' And they took soot of the furnace, and stood before Pharaoh; and Moses threw it up heavenward; and it became a boil breaking forth with blains upon man and upon beast." It bears mentioning that contrary to the text of the Tanakh (Ex. 9:11), the scribe wrote *to serve* instead of the words *to stand before Moses*.

To illustrate this plague, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah used a similar organizational *schema* as in the previous five images. Moses and Aaron stand on the right side, while the Pharaoh is seated on a throne on the left side of the image. This plague, as the previous ones, is also depicted in the center of the composition. As suggested by the text of the inscription below the image and the text of the Tanakh, Moses took "handfuls of soot of the furnace." In the image, this iconographic motif is painted as red dots that flow up from Moses' hand and cause the plague of boils (unlike the previous images, where the staff intermediated in the occurring plagues, in this one, it is painted as turned down). Four persons are affected by the plague, all of them depicted in the center of the composition. One person is lying in the bed while three other, two siting and one standing, are surrounding him. The standing person is the most affected by the plague as evident from his face and neck fully covered by red dots, so to speak, by boils. The fifth person affected by this plague is the Pharaoh himself. He sits on a golden throne, his left hand with open palm raised up. Only tiny, barely visible red dots on his right hand are indicating that he is affected too. The

significance of this iconographic motif is even greater if we have in mind that this is a hand that holds the scepter, an indicator of the Pharaoh's power. In other words, the illuminator suggested that the Pharaoh's power and legitimacy are attacked by this plague. Moreover, the scepter is leaned backwards and it seems it is recoiling under the severe consequences of the occurring plague. The plague, as observed earlier, is caused by an indirect act of God, through the instruction given to Moses. However, unlike the previous images where the raised up staff indicated its important role in transmitting the punishment of God and causing the particular plague, in this image the staff is turned down. The position of the staff, in my opinion, suggests that this time it does not have any particular role nor it preforms/causes any particular plague. If we accept this interpretation and the fact that the illuminator was mindful in depicting particular motifs, it surprises that he completely omitted the depiction of the beasts that were, according to the text of the Tanakh, attacked too (Ex. 9:9). It remains unclear is this illuminator's choice intentional (in order to utilize the composition's layout) or it has some hidden meaning.

The comparison of the Sarajevo Haggadah's image of the plague of boils with the images in the other *haggadot* provides more than any other image of the plague an interesting glimpse about the level of the sensibility of the commissioners and the illuminator of this manuscript to the sufferings of the Egyptians. While in the previously discussed images, the plagues are affecting the nature or the animals, in this one, the plague directly affects a man, an Egyptian. However, the image from the Sarajevo Haggadah, when compared to the images from other Sephardic *haggadot,* is mild when it comes to representing the sufferings of the Egyptians. The closer examination of the images from the Rylands, the so-called "Brother" and the so-called "Sister" *haggadot,* illustrates this point (fig. 83, 84 and 85). In all these *haggadot*, the Pharaoh and his counselors are affected by the plague of boils. Their bodies are fully covered by big black or red spots. To emphasize the humiliation caused by this plague, the illuminators went one step further by portraying the Pharaoh (and his counselors) in degraded and undignified position. In some images he is painted as barefoot (such as in the Rylands and the so-called "Brother" *haggadot*),[238] while in others the dogs are painted as licking his and his counselors' wounds (such as in the Rylands Haggadah). In the Bologna-Modena Mahzor only the Pharaoh's counselors (one half-naked and other covered by a

[238] Marc Michael Epstein, *The Medieval Haggadah. Art, Narrative & Religious Imagination* (2011), 175.

cloak), seated on the chairs and positioned on the lower, left part of the image, are affected (fig. 86).

None of these horrifying scenes is found in the Sarajevo Haggadah's illustration of this plague. The Pharaoh is neither distressed nor undignified by the plague that is occurring in front of him. Even the tiny, barely visible dots on his hand are suggesting that the plague of boils has not seriously affected him.

Therefore, when compared to the other *haggadot* the image of the plague of boils from the Sarajevo Haggadah can provide a valuable insight into the level(s) of tolerance regarding the suffering(s) of the Egyptians (contemporary Christians) caused by plagues. In other words, the commissioners of the Sarajevo Haggadah, as the representatives of the medieval Jewish community, vividly reflected their own understanding of the Jewish-Christian relations in the fourteenth-century Catalonia through this image. Not only that the Pharaoh (contemporary royalty) and the Egyptians/Christians are not devastated by this plague in the image from the Sarajevo Haggadah, but it seems that the illuminator intentionally alleviated their suffering(s). Unlike the images in the other *haggadot* where attacked body fully covered by big boils, without any doubt illustrates attacked dignity of the Pharaoh and his retinue (so to speak, of the contemporary royalties), the Sarajevo Haggadah's image resists such visual interpretation. I argue that this resistance speaks in favor of good relations of the commissioners of the Sarajevo Haggadah with the Christian society in which they lived. However, the image itself reminds us that these relations were by no means simple. Although the Pharaoh is not seriously affected by boils nor his dignity is endangered, by painting the plague in the center of the composition, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah underscored once more the centrality of this biblical narrative in the Jewish history.

f. 25v [בָּרָד פרעה], fig. 87
Hail ... Pharaoh (Ex. 9:22)

Similar to the previous descriptions of the events connected to the plagues and another unsuccessful attempt to free the Israelites from the slavery in Egypt, God communicates with Moses and ensures him that He will send another plague in order to

punish Pharaoh and the Egyptians. The following verses of the Exodus (9:22) describe the instruction given to Moses and the outcome of the plague: “And the LORD said unto Moses: 'Stretch forth thy hand toward heaven, that there may be hail in all the land of Egypt, upon man, and upon beast, and upon every herb of the field, throughout the land of Egypt.'”

In the Sarajevo Haggadah, the outcome of God’s punishment, large hail, painted as white flakes, is falling as the people and cattle seek the shelter under trees. There are two shepherds dressed in yellow garments with hoods and two trees lined down under the hailstorm, painted in the center of the composition. The space where the plague is occurring is again, as in the previously discussed images, limited to the space between the Moses’ staff on the right and the Pharaoh’s scepter on the left. Moses stretches his staff skyward while the Pharaoh holds his scepter tightly with both his hands. Moreover, it seems that the discussion between them goes beyond their raised up staffs. Their hands with the pointing fingers are raised up too. In my opinion, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah cleverly used this motif of the raised up hands with the pointing fingers in order to emphasize the discussion between the leader of Egypt and the leader of the Israelites as they negotiate about the release of the Israelites from the slavery in Egypt.

The punishment that followed after another unsuccessful discussion came through an indirect act of God, as an instruction given to Moses on how to cause this plaque. I argue that this is the primary reason why the illuminator painted Moses obscuring Aaron. The iconography of this image demonstrates the relation of the biblical protagonists - Moses, Aaron and the Pharaoh in relation to the Egyptians affected by the plague. The depiction of the two shepherds and trees that lined down under the hailstorm illustrates this point well. They are painted smaller in comparison to Moses, Aaron and the Pharaoh. In relation to Moses and Aaron, the illuminator might paint them smaller to indicate that they are not the Israelites, and in relation to the Pharaoh, that he does not care that plague is affecting them.

The illustration of the plague of hail in the Sephardic *haggadot,* including the Sarajevo Haggadah demonstrates how the medieval illuminators visually interpreted this biblical event, and whether or not their interpretation was rooted in the text of the Tankah. For example, in the Rylands and the so-called “Brother” *haggadot*, the illuminator depicted the Pharaoh’s crown falling down from his head due to hailstorm (fig. 88 and 89). In the Rylands Haggadah, the illuminator illustrated the hailstorm as a very strong, by painting

white dense dots that cover the Pharaoh, his counselors and the shepherds. However, whereas in the Rylands Haggadah the Pharaoh and his counselors are fully covered by hail, and even more, under its strength the Pharaoh's crown is falling down, in the so-called "Brother" Haggadah only a few hails are hitting and throwing down the Pharaoh's crown. These iconographic motifs demonstrate how the medieval illuminators used visual language to knowingly create the subtext in these images. In other words, hail as a representation of God's power and the punishment, and the Pharaoh's crown as an indicator of his royalty painted as being "attacked" by the hail, undoubtedly illustrate God's superiority over the Pharaoh's power. In other cases, such as in the Golden and the so-called "Sister" *haggadot*, the illuminators relied more on the text of the Tanakh, painting Moses with hands stretched towards the heavens, in accordance with the previously quoted text of the Exodus 9:22 (fig. 90). Although the image from the Sarajevo Haggadah does bear a resemblance to these two manuscripts, primarily in the organization of the composition (the plague is occurring in the center of the image, between Moses and Aaron (in the Golden Haggadah only Moses) standing on the right, and the Pharaoh seated on a throne on the left side of the image), its illuminator omitted Moses with the stretched hands.

In previous image I argued that its iconography reflects the state of the Jewish-Christian relations in the medieval Catalonia. If so, how the patron/illuminator perceived the figure of the Pharaoh (contemporary Christian royalty)? In my opinion, the Pharaoh's position as seated on the golden throne in the images of the ten plagues, including the plague of hail, reveals his confidence about legitimacy and rulership over the Israelites/contemporary Jews.

[אַרְבֶּה], fig. 87
Locusts (Ex. 10:4)

The literal source for the iconography of the Sarajevo Haggadah's image illustrating the plague of locusts is the text of the Exodus (10:4). Biblical narrative of this chapter states that after another unsuccessful attempt to free the Israelites from the slavery in Egypt, Moses said to Pharaoh: "Else, if thou refuse to let My people go, behold, tomorrow will I bring locusts into thy border." Expectedly, the Pharaoh did not approve Moses' request. As the

result of another refusal, God instructed Moses to raise his hands towards the heaven. When he did so, an east wind brought swarms of locusts into Egypt, covering the sun, and devouring everything green that had escaped the hail and the previous plagues.

In contrast with this detailed description of the devastating plague and its consequences, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah painted his own visualization of this biblical event. For example, the text of the Tanakh mentions that the plague destroyed trees and wheat in the fields. The illuminator indeed painted the trees, one big and another small, and fields; he did paint the locust on them too. Having this in mind, it is perplexing that the trees and the grass, contrary to the text of the Tankah (Ex. 10:15): "and there remained not any green thing, either tree or herb of the field, through all the land of Egypt," are painted green, in other words, they are not affected by the plague.

As in the previous seven images of the plagues, the punishment of God, the catastrophe that befallen Egypt is painted in the center of the composition, between Moses and Aaron on the right-hand side, and Pharaoh on the left side of the image. Using the similar organizational *schema* as in the previous images, Moses and Aaron are painted standing and Pharaoh seating on a golden throne. The gestures of their hands and the position of their staffs suggest heated ongoing discussion. The observer can almost hear their discussion: Moses' right hand is in a pleading-like position ("let us go"), while Pharaoh's left hand is up with the open palm (I do not want to). Their staffs are raised up too; Moses' leaning towards the center of the composition, and Pharaoh's pulling backwards.

Careful examination of this image reveals interesting iconographic motifs used to illustrate this biblical episode. In this image, God acts indirectly through the instruction given to Moses to "stretch forth his staff over the land of Egypt" (Ex. 10:13). Indeed, the position of the Moses' staff that *stretches forth* towards the center of the composition and that brings the locusts in the forefront shows that in this particular segment the illuminator carefully followed the text of the Tanakh when illustrating the plague.

As it will be shown in the following discussion, the depictions of the plague of locust varied among the Sephardic *haggadot*. While in the Rylands, the so-called "Brother" and the so-called "Sister" *haggadot* the plague is highlighted by locusts' attacks on the Pharaoh and his advisors, in the Golden Haggadah the Pharaoh is not depicted at all (fig. 91, 92 and 93). This is in accordance with the text of the Exodus 10:11 which states that Moses and Aaron

"were driven out from Pharaoh's presence."[239] In the Bologna-Modena Mahzor, only one locust depicted under the Pharaoh's throne might be interpreted as attacking him (or his regency). When compared to these depictions, the Sarajevo Haggadah's image contains less stringent visual interpretation of this biblical event. The plague is occurring far away from the Pharaoh, not affecting him at all.

Upon the examination of this image the following questions poses: to what extent the iconography of this plague in the Sarajevo Haggadah followed the common conventions and to what it was the product of the illuminator's own visualization of the text of the Tanakh? On the one hand, observed in a broader art historical terms, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah did follow common representational choices when illustrating this episode. For example, he painted Moses and Aaron before the Pharaoh (as the illuminators of the other *haggadot*) even though the text specifically states that they were not present at the time when the plague occurred. On the other hand, painting Moses without raised hands and the Pharaoh as not affected by the plague illustrates how the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah made his own adjustments of both the common visual vocabulary and the text of the Tanakh.

f. 26r [חֹשֶׁךְ וּלְכָל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הָיָה אוֹר], fig. 94
Darkness ... but all the children of Israel had light (Ex. 10:21 onwards)

Prior to the final plague, Moses goes once more to negotiate with the Pharaoh in order to get the permission to leave Egypt with the Israelites. After another unsuccessful attempt, God instructs Moses to "stretch out thy hand toward heaven, that there may be darkness over the land of Egypt, even darkness which may be felt". The ninth plague, the darkness, struck the land and the people of Egypt. For several days all of Egypt was enveloped in a thick and impenetrable veil of darkness that extinguished all lights kindled. Only in Goshen, where the Israelites dwelt, there was light.

The illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah illustrated the events in connection to the ninth plague by painting two successive scenes. On the right one, darkness that came upon Egypt is indicated by black color that had been defaced. This plague seized the arched space between Moses on the right and Pharaoh on the left side of the image. To indicate that the

[239] Marc Michael Epstein, *The Medieval Haggadah. Art, Narrative & Religious Imagination* (2011), 176.

plague of darkness is affecting the land and the people of Egypt, the illuminator painted two persons in aforementioned arched space. The woman, wearing a red dress sits on a bench, while a man stands next to her. Both of them have their hands wide open, as they are wondering about the plague that befell them. As observed previously, the illuminator used similar visual language and *scheme* to organize the composition. Moses stands before the Pharaoh who sits on a throne. However, this time it is not a throne painted in gold, but in yellow. The last negotiation that takes place is indicated by the positions of Pharaoh's hands and his scepter and Moses' hands and his staff. Both of them have their left hands with open palms raised up, while in right they hold a staff/scepter. In addition, as indicated by the position of the Pharaoh's eyebrows he seems angry about the developments. However, the Pharaoh is not affected by the plague. On the contrary, he sits next to the other successive scene on the left-hand side, depicting the Israelites sitting in the light. Three persons are painted as sitting inside the house (suggested by the architecture of the house with an arch and two windows). They are surrounding a table and conversing with each other. The third person at the far left even holds an open book.

The illuminator of this image used a similar composition to illustrate both God's punishment that affected the Egyptians (darkness) and the reward (light) given to the Israelites. In both cases, the scene is occurring in an arched space. However, while the arched space where the "children of Israel" dwelt is defined by the architecture, and we can identify this space as Goshen, the one with depiction of the darkness is not. To my understanding, this representational choice suggests that the punishment occurs anywhere in the land of Egypt and it is not definite. Moreover, the illuminator juxtaposed the scene of the unidentified arched space and darkness on the right to the architecture of the home of the Israelites on the left and, in doing so, he stressed the presence of light portraying one of the Israelites as reading a book.

The depiction of the plague of darkness from the Sarajevo Haggadah and its comparison with the images in the other Sephardic *haggadot* reveal the illuminator's skillfulness to employ rare iconographic motifs in order to highlight this particular biblical narrative. In contrast with the images of darkness in the so-called "Brother" and the so-called "Sister" *haggadot* (fig. 95 and 96), where the darkness is indicated only by black color in the background of the image (without no effect to the Pharaoh and the Egyptians), or in the

Rylands Haggadah where black color is painted over the Pharaoh and the Egyptians but they still remained visible (fig. 97), in the Sarajevo Haggadah the illuminator actually painted two persons in the arched space only to deface it with black. This iconographic motif, in my opinion, has a stronger visual impact to the viewer and transmits a clear message about "impenetrable veil of darkness" that came upon the land of Egypt. The illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah, and later, the one of the Bologna-Modena Mahzor who executed the darkness in a similar manner (to that in the Sarajevo Haggadah), were highly aware of the visual effect that the defaced black color over the people of Egypt has (fig. 98). Especially, as the narrative about the liberation of the Israelites from the four-hundred-year captivity in Egypt is approaching an end.

[מכת בכורים וַיָּקָם פַּרְעֹה לַיְלָה קוּמוּ צְאוּ], fig. 99

Slaying of the firstborn … and Pharaoh rose up in the night … get you forth (Ex. 12:29; 31).

The final plague, the harsh divine punishment is described in the twelfth chapter of the Exodus. The text of this chapter teaches us that: "it came to pass at midnight, that the LORD smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, from the firstborn of Pharaoh that sat on his throne unto the firstborn of the captive that was in the dungeon; and all the firstborn of cattle. And Pharaoh rose up in the night, he, and all his servants, and all the Egyptians; and there was a great cry in Egypt; for there was not a house where there was not one dead (12:29-30). Then the Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron during that very night, and said to them: 'Rise up, get you forth from among my people, both ye and the children of Israel; and go, serve the LORD, as ye have said" (Ex. 12:31).

Similar to the previous image, the drama of the biblical event is illustrated in two consecutive scenes. On the first one, positioned on the right side, the lines appear as an indication of God's presence. However, here, they are quite different from the golden lines we have encountered in the previous illustrations: they are white, barely visible, thin, straight and dense. It seems that these rays, interrupting the peaceful moment depicted, and illuminating the heads of five sleeping first-born Egyptians, have caused black splotches on their mouths. The function of white rays and black splotches can be interpreted as a visual confirmation of the words of God in Exodus 12:29: *In the middle of the night the LORD*

struck down all the first-born in the land of Egypt […]." God came (white rays) and smote the Egyptians. The black splotches may be a way of indicating that their souls have left their bodies. Although this conjecture still requires more support from parallel incidences, or, if not, a more definitive assertion that it is a unique iconography, it seems within the range of plausibility, especially given the fact that some previous scholars have identified these black splotches as rats, presumably feeding on the corpses, or even more incredibly, as vampires.[240]

On the second consecutive scene, positioned on the left, the illuminator painted the outcome of this plague and God's punishment: the defeated Pharaoh who stands in front of Moses and Aaron's house and gives them the permission to leave Egypt with the other Israelites.

The golden-white rays indicating God's presence illustrating the death of the firstborn Egyptians are a temporally transitional element. They indicate the conclusion of the Israelites' slavery in Egypt – they herald liberation and the first stage of the freedom of the Israelites. The frequency of this episode in the other Sephardic *haggadot* is then not at all surprising, having in mind the importance of this event in the Jewish history. However, the image from the Sarajevo Haggadah, in many iconographical aspects, differs significantly from its contemporaneous counterparts. In no other haggadah there is a depiction of rays as indication of God's presence and the punishment that this presence delivers: the smiting of the firstborn Egyptians. The closest depiction is that in the Golden Haggadah where an angel (of death, or *malakh hamavet*) with a drawn sword stands next to the bed of a dying one (fig. 100). It is believed that he clings a drop of gall that causes death. As a result of this the soul of the dead person escapes through the mouth or, in another view, through the throat. The depictions of this plague in another *haggadot* are visually less intensive than in the previously discussed images. For example, in the Rylands Haggadah and its relative, the so-called "Brother" Haggadah, the plague is illustrated in vertically painted panels where four dead men and cattle lie (fig. 101 and 102). Furthermore, people mourn their dead: in the Rylands Haggadah they are standing next to the beds of the dead firstborns and in the Golden and the so-called "Sister" *haggadot*, the Pharaoh and his wife are mourning over dead body of their son (fig. 100 and 103). However, there is no depiction of what is causing their death.

[240] Cecil Roth, *The Sarajevo Haggadah* (1962), 20.

By using different iconographic motifs to indicate God's presence and the punishment He sent to the Egyptians, such as the white lines and the black splotches, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah created what we may describe as a rare iconographic interpretation of this biblical event. Unlike the previous images, where the lines suggested the act of creation, in this image their function is to illustrate the destruction. The illuminator further indicated that destruction by portraying the Pharaoh in a different way than in the rest of the manuscript. For the first time, the Pharaoh, the ruler of Egypt, is portrayed as standing in front of the house of Moses and Aaron. All the more, for the first time he is painted without his golden scepter. I argue that by this representational choice the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah, without any doubt, clearly and cleverly, indicated that the Pharaoh has surrendered. As the following images show, after the ten plagues and harsh divine punishments that befallen Egypt, the Pharaoh finally let the Israelites leave Egypt.

The illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah painted this significant moment of the final Pharaoh's surrender and the final liberation of the Israelites by employing delicate visual language. In contrast with the text of the Tankah and the images of the tenth plague in the other *haggadot,* where the observer literally witnesses the "great cry" and the mourning over the dead bodies of the firstborns, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah knowingly hid that drama. Barely visible white rays and serene bodies of the firstborns Egyptians revel sophisticated iconography of this biblical narrative and subtle way of illustrating the death.

CONCLUSION

The Sarajevo Haggadah is one of the most richly illuminated medieval manuscripts ever made for a Jewish audience. Produced in the Northeastern Spain (probably near Gerona) around the mid-fourteenth century, it started its journey from Spain to Sarajevo in 1492, following the expulsion of Jews from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella. More than 650 years later, in 2007, I began my journey of studying this fascinating manuscript in Sarajevo, as a student of doctoral studies at the Department of Art History at the University of Zagreb.

Almost one hundred years after the first publication on the Sarajevo Haggadah (1898), scholars, including myself, are still fascinated by this magnificent manuscript.

I examined the Sarajevo Haggadah by exploring the various ways in which God's presence and Jews and non-Jews were depicted through the consideration of the manuscript's art historical, intellectual and local contexts. Systematic and studious iconographic analysis of the twenty-five images of the Sarajevo Haggadah allowed me to study the significance of the particular depictions and their relation with each other, as well as their consideration within the broader art historical context.

The illuminated *haggadah* as a book for private use emerged in Europe as a separate book type at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Prior to this, the *haggadah* was part of the general prayer book. The *haggadot* were mainly used at family gatherings during Passover, allowing their illustration, unlike other religious Jewish texts in which the biblical prohibitions were interpreted as a prohibition against making and worshiping images. As observed in the first chapter, the illumination and the iconography of the *haggadot* were inspired by the similar cycles of narratives in the manuscripts produced for Christians (the thirteenth and fourteenth-century manuscripts, in particular Psalters and Books of Hours). The placement of the full-page images illustrating the biblical narrative, completely detached from the text and appearing at the beginning of the *haggadot* (and rarely at their ends), is another similarity between the *haggadot* and the aforementioned manuscripts produced for Christians. However, as the iconographic analysis has shown, the images from *haggadot,* even though they share similar visual language, differ from contemporaneous examples

found in the manuscripts produced for the Christian commissioners. These differences occur primarily in the interpretation of the biblical narrative and the iconography.

Furthermore, as I showed in the chapters dedicated to the depictions of God's presence and Jews and non-Jews, the images in *haggadot*, including the Sarajevo Haggadah, served as transmitters, not only of the narrative of salvation from the bondage in Egypt, but also as a mirror reflecting contemporary cultural, political, social, religious and other circumstances in the period and place of the manuscripts' production. Through careful iconographic analysis I examined some of these complex layers in the Sarajevo Haggadah, namely the acceptable visual language for Jews and negotiation with models found in the manuscripts produced for Christians.

In the second chapter I analyzed the extraordinary range of visual representations of God's presence. The iconographic analysis of the fifteen images illustrating biblical events from both the Book of Genesis and the Book of Exodus has shown that various depictions of God's presence (the golden, white and red lines/dashes, a cloud, a hand, the angels and a horn) are used to portray different natures and actions of God. For example, the golden lines descending from the firmament and illuminating the earth in the image illustrating the second day of creation represent the divine speech and the act of creation.

Moreover, the iconographic analysis demonstrated that the presence of God is also painted in order to represent actions with significant consequences in the images where it appears. For example, in the image with the narrative of Adam and Eve, the golden lines which represent the voice of God are present during a significant moment – the expulsion – and indicate change in the history of mankind and transition from one way of life to another. From life in Eden Adam and Eve were transferred to the life where they need to struggle for survival. In the other images, for example the one illustrating the tenth plague, the golden-white lines indicating God's presence and illustrating the death of the firstborn Egyptians are a temporally transitional element. They indicate the conclusion of the slavery in Egypt – they herald liberation and the first stage of Israelites' freedom.

In the further analysis I examined whether there is a specific visual lexicon for portraying God's presence in the manuscripts made for Jewish audiences versus those made for Christians. As comparative analysis has shown, there is a wide range of relationships between strategies for depicting the presence of God in manuscripts made for Jews versus

those made for Christians. The images of the Sarajevo Haggadah demonstrate how its illuminator used the common visual vocabulary and how this vocabulary was changed in accordance to the acceptable Jewish visual language. Taken together, these observations provide valuable insight into the complexity of the representational strategies in the medieval workshop. These strategies in the Sarajevo Haggadah involved not only copying from the existing models but also their knowledgeable interpretation and adjustments. In the Sarajevo Haggadah, the iconographic motifs of the golden lines, a figure of a Jew resting on the Sabbath in the cycle of the creation of the world, the faceless angels, the red dashes to represent an anger of God, the cloud, the hand of an angel or God and the rats illuminate how the creators of this manuscript developed, interpreted and adjusted these representational strategies. In doing so, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah created what we may describe as innovative interpretations of the biblical text.

The third chapter examined how the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah portrayed "self" and "other" in the images illustrating the ten plagues. I studied these images in relation with the importance that they have to the biblical narrative and the celebration of Passover, as they highlight the final liberation of the Israelites from the slavery in Egypt. In contrast with the previously discussed depictions, these images represent God's presence not in the acts of creation or communication but in the acts of punishment. In addition, in majority of cases, these acts are caused by an indirect instruction that God sent to Moses and Aaron on how to initiate certain plague/punishment and not by a direct act as in the images in the previously discussed chapter.

More importantly, I showed that these images might be related to the self-perception of Jews and the state of the Jewish-Christian relations in the medieval Catalonia. The commissioners of the Sarajevo Haggadah, by portraying the protagonists of the biblical narrative, in fact portrayed contemporary Christians and Jews. In that regard, the iconography of these images allows us to explore how the creators of the Sarajevo Haggadah understood their moment in history. The tiny dots on the Pharaoh's hand in the plague of boils or barely visible white lines representing that God "came down and smote all the firstborn Egyptians" suggest that the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah, when depicting the sufferings of the Egyptians caused by punishments/plagues that God sent, employed a mild visual language. In that regard, the Sarajevo Haggadah images of the ten plagues differ significantly from the

contemporaneous examples found in the other *haggadot*. The depictions of brutal attacks of boils, hail or wild beasts on the Pharaoh and his retinue as one finds in the other *haggadot* and which without any doubt reflect the attitude of the commissioners toward the Christian society in which they lived were, it seems, intentionally "neutralized" by the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah.

Not only that we do not find any of these brutal visual "revenges" (for biblical and contemporary sufferings of the Israelites and Jews in Egypt/the contemporary Catalonia) in the iconography of the ten plagues in the Sarajevo Haggadah but even more Moses and Aaron are painted as "equal" (in the visual level) to the Pharaoh.

Insofar one would expect that the differences in portrayals of "self" and "other" would also be depicted in a subtle way, however that is not the case. The differences between the Israelites/contemporary Jews and the Egyptians/contemporary Christians although not visible at first glance, primarily occur in the head coverings. Whereas the Pharaoh is covered with a golden crown that indicates his rulership on earth, Moses and Aaron wear hoods as a sign of their direct/indirect communication with God and their awareness of his presence.

In addition to the depictions of God's presence and Jews and non-Jews, I examined the iconography of the Sarajevo Haggadah by exploring artistic and intellectual dynamics in the medieval workshop. I show that this manuscript was a product of intense intercultural exchange between Jews and Christians in the fourteenth-century Catalonia. As such, the manuscript allows us to see the medieval workshop as an important site in which debates about the representational strategies flourished. I explored the biblical prohibitions regarding making and worshiping images (Ex. 20:3-4; Lev. 26:1; Deut. 4:16-19 and 5:7-8 etc.). Not only there were disputes between Jews and Christians over the correct interpretation and practice of the biblical commandments prohibiting making and worshiping images, but there were also dissenting opinions within the Jewish community regarding this matter. At the same time, there was no consensus on the Jewish interpretation of the biblical prohibitions. As observed, the Jewish religious authorities (for example, Maimonides and Rabbi Aaron ha-Levi of Barcelona) had varying levels of tolerance towards figurative art. Aaron ha-Levi of Barcelona forbade making any likenesses of human forms out of any material, even for decorative purposes, while Maimonides was more tolerant, forbidding only human but not animal figures. Studying different interpretations of the biblical prohibitions against making

and worshiping images in the context of the miniatures of the Sarajevo Haggadah gives us the new insights into the artistic and intellectual exchange in the medieval workshops. These different interpretations of the biblical prohibitions regarding making and worshiping images and different attitudes towards the figural art influenced the development of the iconography in the manuscripts made for Jews, including the Sarajevo Haggadah.

The detailed iconographic analysis of the images illustrating God's presence and the ten plagues on the one hand demonstrate the level of tolerance regarding the figural art of the commissioners of the Sarajevo Haggadah. On the other hand, the images also show how their level of tolerance regarding the figural art influenced the illuminator's representational choices.

I argue that when illustrating the biblical narrative the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah developed independent iconographic features. I examined these features in relation to the iconography in the manuscripts made for Christian and Jewish audiences, respectfully. In the first chapter I showed that the illuminator, although familiar with pictorial sources from the manuscripts made for Christians, did not have preference towards particular artistic traditions. Instead, as the image of Moses receiving the tablets of the Law shows, he used both the iconographic models based on the Byzantine and on the Western Christian pictorial traditions. In doing so, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah negotiated with models in the manuscripts produced for the Christian commissioners transforming them into the acceptable Jewish visual vocabulary. Sometimes he adjusted the visual interpretation in accordance to the Jewish biblical textual traditions, as we observed in the episode of the binding of Isaac. Here the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah used the original text of the Tanakh where the instrument by which the sacrifice was carried out is a knife, and not a *gladius* - a sword, as this Hebrew word was translated in the Vulgate.

By transforming and translating pictorial sources into the Jewish acceptable visual language and by painting his own visualization of the text of the Tanakh, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah created the innovative iconographic interpretations. He used the golden rays, a cloud or the red dashes to indicate the presence of God and the acts of creation, communication, or destruction. All these representational choices reveal the illuminator's intention to avoid painting God anthropomorphically. In doing so, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah created a more subtle visual language. Moses' hand by which he hides

his face afraid to look upon God in the episode of the burning bush, and the faceless angels in the episode of Jacob's ladder demonstrate that the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah used a sophisticated iconography to portray the presence of God and his messengers. When compared to the other *haggadot*, which show high levels of adaptation of Christian topoi (as we observed, for example in the Golden Haggadah where the angel is painted with a halo in the episode of the burning bush), the representational choices in the Sarajevo Haggadah reveal independent pictorial strategies employed to illustrate the biblical narrative. In addition, sophisticated visual language is found in the images illustrating the ten plagues. For example, the white-golden lines and black splotches in the mouths of the dead firstborn Egyptians in the episode of the tenth plague possibly indicating that their souls are leaving their bodies, to my best knowledge have no comparison in the contemporaneous manuscripts produced for Jews and Christians, respectfully.

Further analysis of the iconography of the images under the discussion demonstrated that the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah relied on the text of the Tanakh and on the *midrashim* when depicting the biblical narrative. Whereas he used the text of the Tanakh to illustrate, for example, the destruction of Sodom and to represent the anger of God, he painted Lot's daughters as small children, completely in accordance with the text of the *midrash* (Genesis Rabbah 50:9). By combining different textual sources, the illuminator of the Sarajevo Haggadah created the iconography that has "hardly any parallels" in the manuscripts produced for the Jewish and Christian commissioners.

The consistent treatment of the figures, the nature, and the background suggests one illuminator who was engaged in depicting the full-page images placed at the beginning of the manuscript and illustrating the biblical narrative.

The examination of the iconographical aspects of the Sarajevo Haggadah also allowed me to study this manuscript in relation to the other Sephardic *haggadot*. The Sarajevo Haggadah belongs to a group of the fifteen preserved fourteenth-century illuminated Sephardic *haggadot*. It contains the full-page images illustrating the biblical narrative from the Book of Genesis and the Book of Exodus. Among all the preserved *haggadot*, the Sarajevo Haggadah has the most extensive cycle of the biblical events beginning with the creation of the world through the captivity of the Israelites in Egypt and the Exodus led by Moses to the ordination of Joshua as a Moses' successor.

In comparison with the other *haggadot* from the group and based on the iconographic and stylistic analysis, the Sarajevo Haggadah bears close relationships with the unfinished Prato Haggadah and the Bologna-Modena Mahzor. For example, the depiction of the Great flood from the Sarajevo Haggadah has close iconographic correspondence with the same episode in the Prato Haggadah, while the cycle of the ten plagues has the similar organization of the composition as the one in the Bologna Modena-Mahzor. While the latter one was produced for the mid-class commissioners, the Sarajevo Haggadah was produced for a wealthy patron.

Although we do not know the identity of the patron of the Sarajevo Haggadah, nor the first place of its usage, the richly illuminated pages throughout the manuscript, the elaborate usage of gold and the fact that its narrative cycle was painted only on the flash pages (leaving some pages blank), speak in favor of conclusion that the patron was a wealthy man.

Little is known about the history of the manuscript from the period after its owners were expelled from Spain (1492) and the time when the manuscript reached Sarajevo. The manuscript's history during these more than 650 years, between 1350 and 2015, is intricately connected with three regions:

- first, medieval Spain, more specifically, the Crown of Aragon in the Northeast, where the manuscript was produced, possibly in the city of Gerona,
- second, Italy, where the manuscript was sold in 1510, only 18 years after the expulsion of its owners from Spain; and where the manuscript was subsequently examined in 1609 by Giovanni Domenico Vistorini, a Censor of the Roman-Catholic Church, who searched the manuscript for any offensive text against the church,
- and third, Sarajevo, where the manuscript appeared for the first time in the city records in the late nineteenth century.

According to the archival documents, the manuscript belonged to Sephardi Kohen family residing in Sarajevo. In 1893, Joseph R. Kohen sold the manuscript to the newly established National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The splendid world of illuminations, floral and zoomorphic ornaments, decorated word panels and bright colors

impressed Dr. Kosta Hörman, the director of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and soon after, the manuscript was acquired.

The manuscript was catalogued as "a Hebrew codex from XIV – XV century", and in 1895 it was taken to Vienna, the capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which ruled Bosnia and Herzegovina at the time. In Vienna, the royal scholars conducted a detailed study of the manuscript and renamed it "the Sarajevo Haggadah", as it is universally known today. The observations of these scholars were collected in the two-volume publication, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo,* which was published in Vienna in 1898. This was the first scholarly publication dedicated to the illuminated manuscripts produced for Jewish audiences and it had an important impact on the scholarly world. It challenged the scholarly consensus about the existence of figurative art among Jews, since it was commonly believed that this form of art did not exist in the Jewish art because of the biblical *"prohibitions"* against making and worshiping images. This publication also introduced the medieval Jewish book art to the scholarly world and prompted scholars to take up the study of the illuminated manuscripts made for the Jewish commissioners. After scholarly expertize, the manuscript was returned to Sarajevo, to the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Sarajevo Haggadah, an extraordinary fourteenth-century Jewish illuminated manuscript, is considered to be one of the most valuable artifacts of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Its value was recognized and preserved during the times of prosperity as well as during the hardships. After each of the three wars, the manuscript was safely returned to the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where it remains till today. From 2001 the manuscript is hosted in a specially designed room together with the most valuable artifacts of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian's cultural history. It is displayed for general public twice a year, during the Jewish High Holidays.

It was both, a privilege and a challenge, to research this fascinating manuscript. After more than one hundred years since the first publication and almost fifty since the first domestic one, my research provides the key to unlocking some of the Sarajevo Haggadah's most intractable iconographic mysteries.

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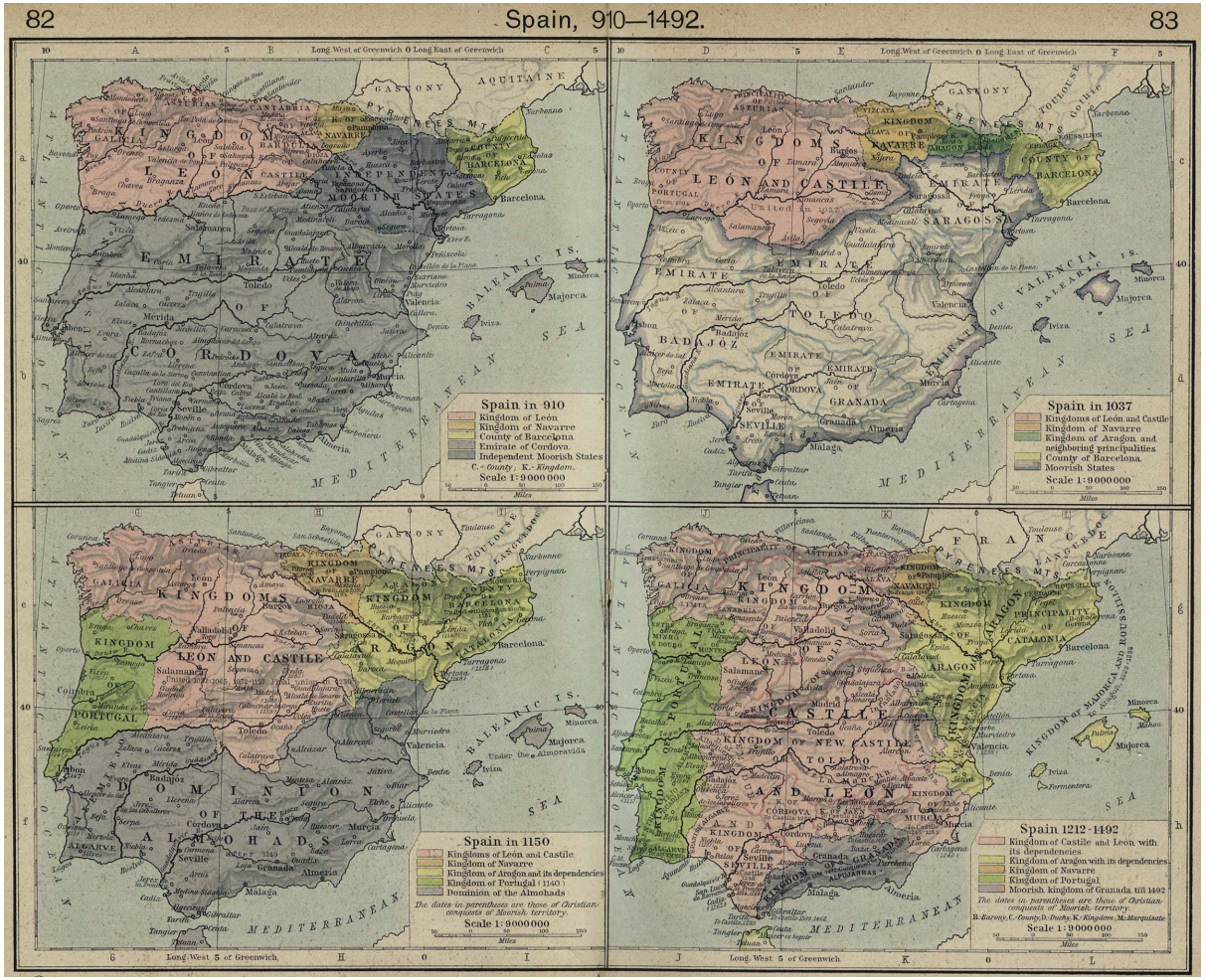
The Sarajevo Haggadah, the cycle of the creation of the world, mid-fourteenth century, f. 1v and 2r

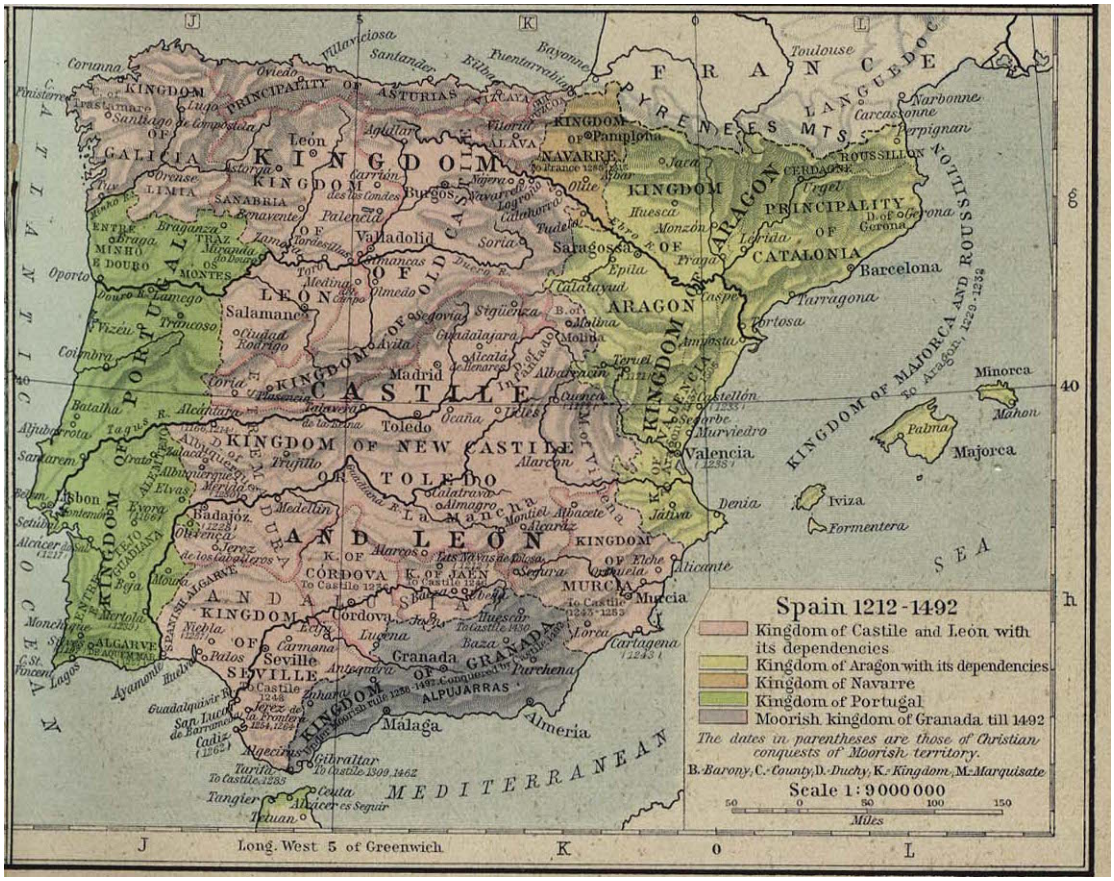
The National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo

CATALOGUE



Map 1: The Iberian Peninsula

Source: "Muslim Journeys | Item #160: Historical Maps of Medieval Spain", August 22, 2015 http://bridgingcultures.neh.gov/muslimjourneys/items/show/160



Map 1a: The Iberian Peninsula
Source: "Muslim Journeys | Item #160: Historical Maps of Medieval Spain", August 22, 2015
http://bridgingcultures.neh.gov/muslimjourneys/items/show/160.

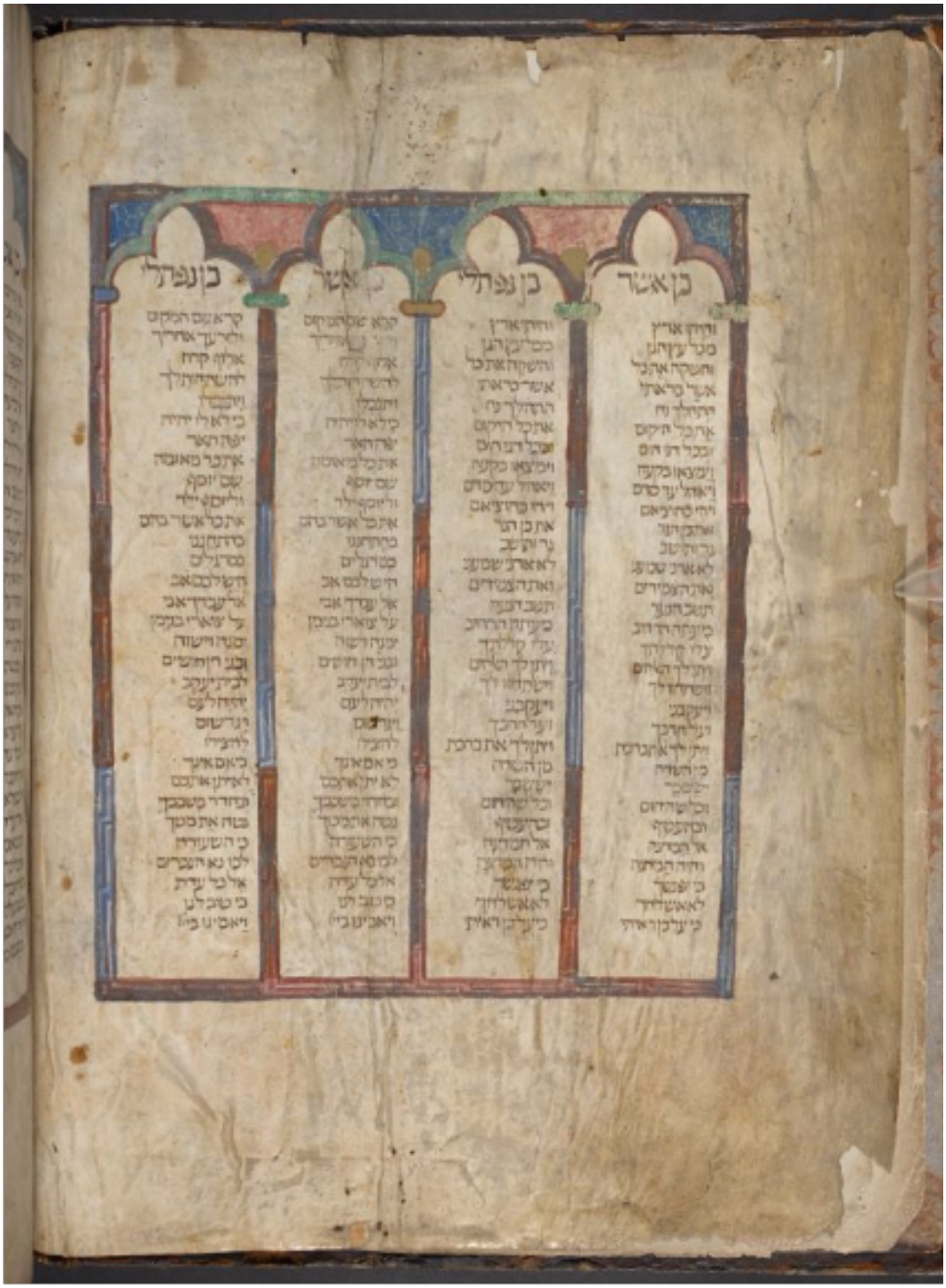


Fig. 1: Tanakh, first half of the fourteenth century, London: The British Library, MS Harley 1528, Catalonia, fol. 3

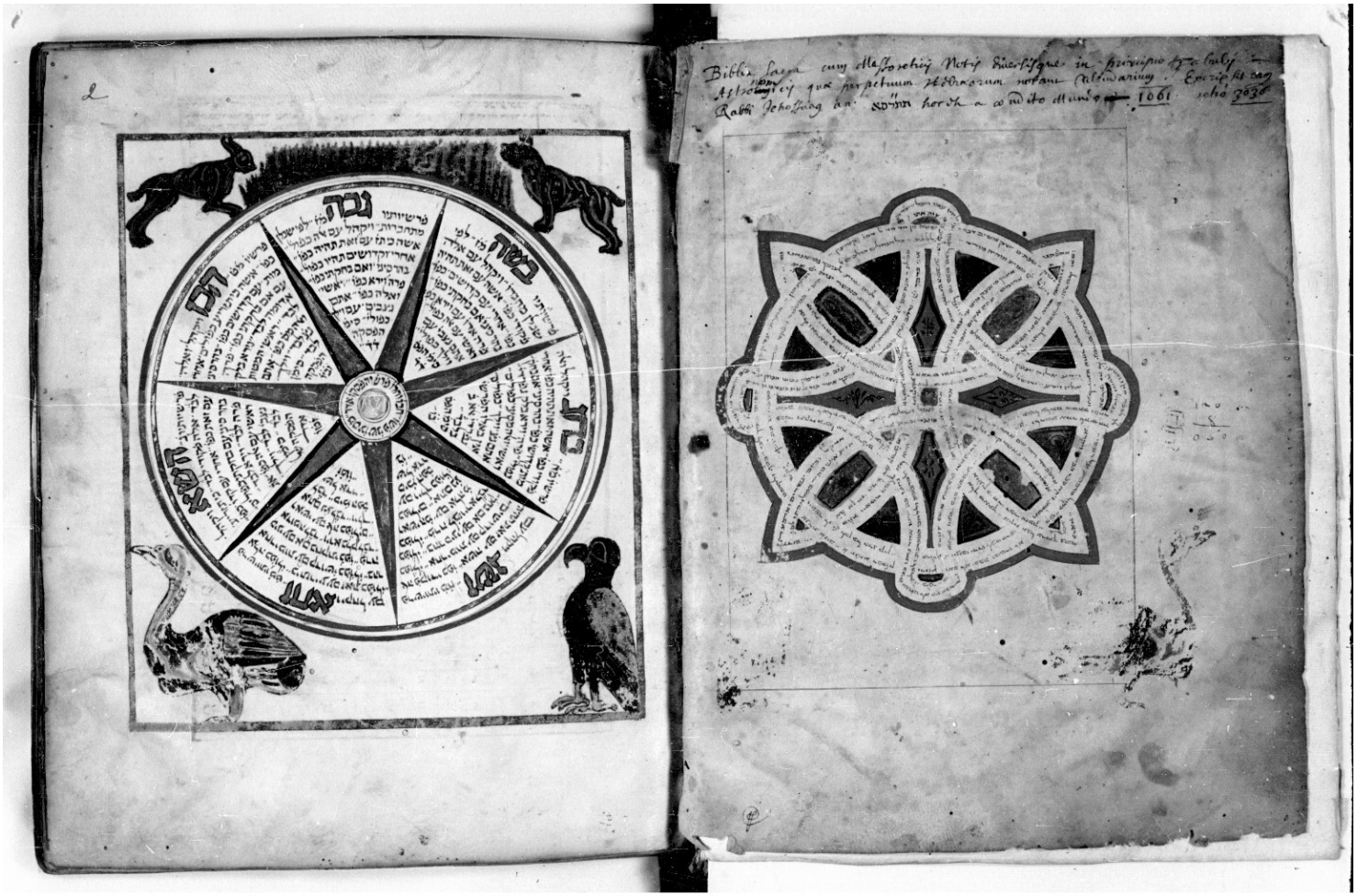


Fig.2: Tanakh, 1300, Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, cod. hébr. 20, Tudela, fol. 3

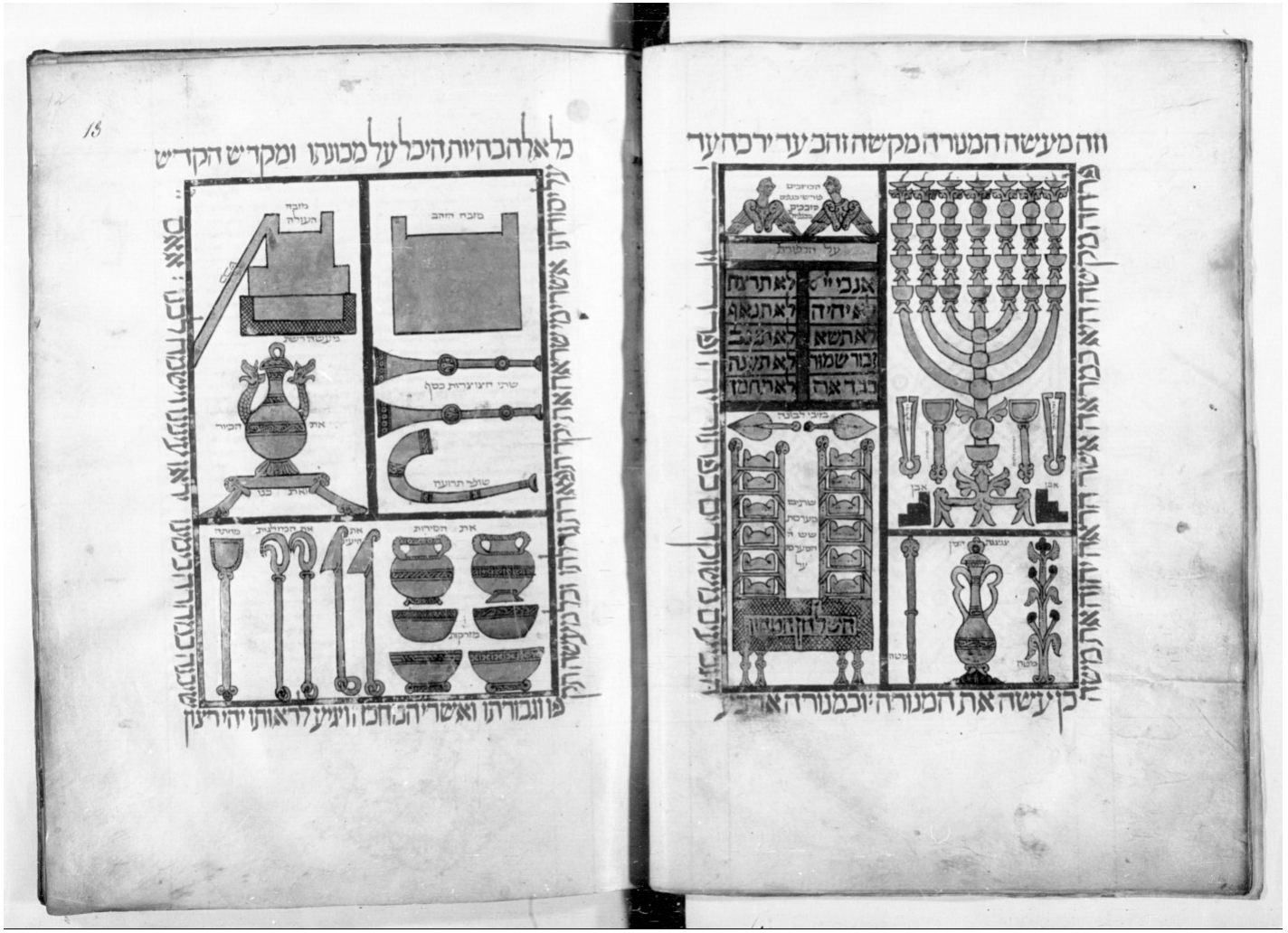
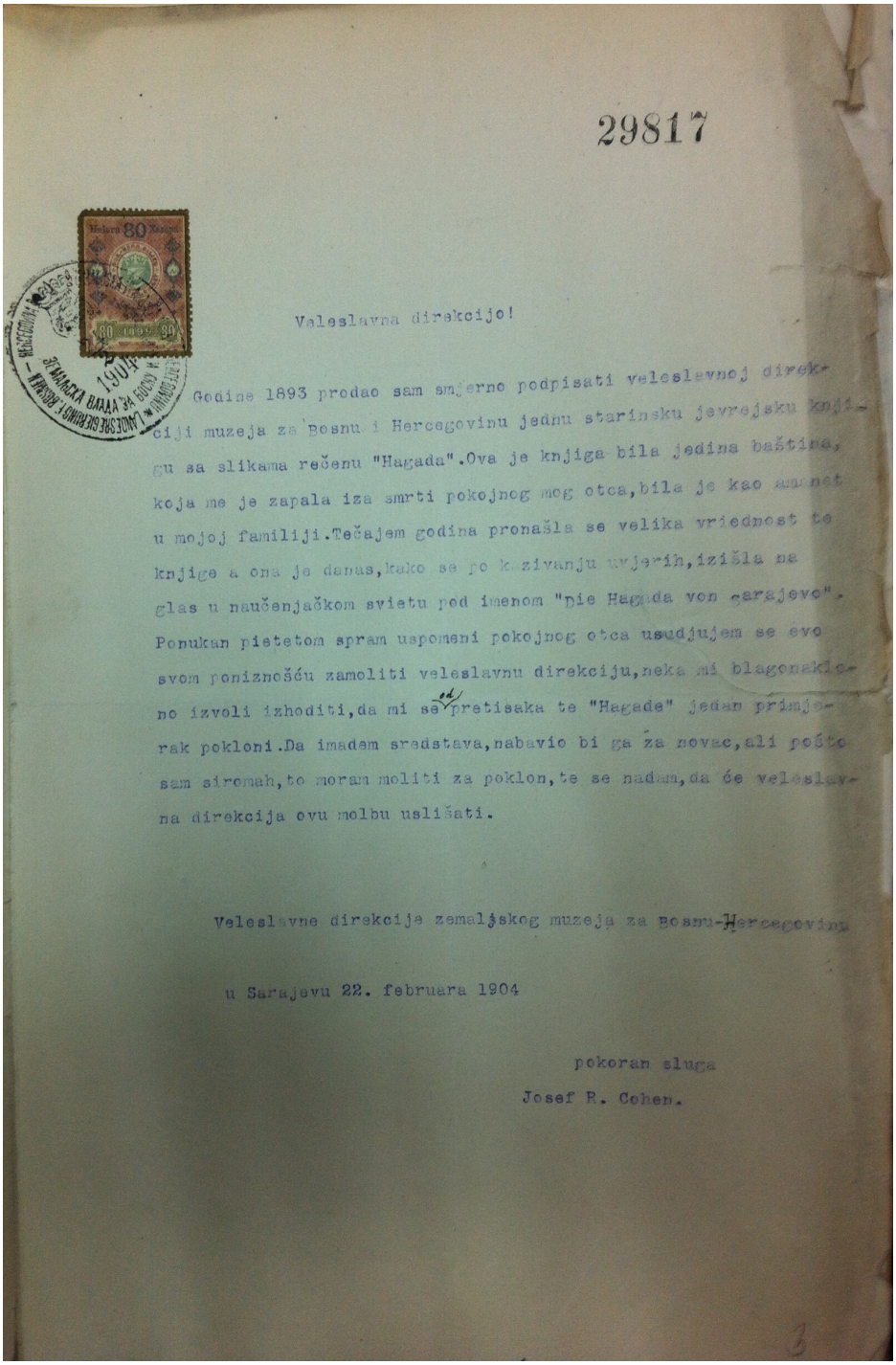


Fig 3: Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, cod. hébr 7, Perpignan, 1299, fols. 12v and 13r

Fig 4: London: The British Library, Add. MS 27210 (The Golden Haggadah), Catalonia (Barcelona?), 1320-1330, fol. 2v

The images in the *haggadot* should be read from right to left in accordance with the directionality of the Hebrew writing

Fig 5: London: The British Library, Add. MS 27210 (The Golden Haggadah), Catalonia (Barcelona?), 1320-1330, fol. 44v



29817

Veleslavna direkcijo!

Godine 1893 prodao sam smjerno podpisati veleslavnoj direkciji muzeja za Bosnu i Hercegovinu jednu starinsku jevrejsku knjigu sa slikama rečenu "Hagada".Ova je knjiga bila jedina baština, koja me je zapala iza smrti pokojnog mog otca,bila je kao amanet u mojoj familiji.Tečajem godina pronašla se velika vriednost te knjige a ona je danas,kako se po kazivanju uvjerih,izišla na glas u naučenjačkom svietu pod imenom "die Hagada von Sarajevo". Ponukan pietetom spram uspomeni pokojnog otca usudjujem se evo svom poniznošću zamoliti veleslavnu direkciju,neka mi blagonaklono izvoli izhoditi,da mi se pretisaka te "Hagade" jedan primjerak pokloni.Da imadem sredstava,nabavio bi ga za novac,ali pošto sam siromah,to moram moliti za poklon,te se nadam,da će veleslavna direkcija ovu molbu uslišati.

Veleslavne direkcije zemaljskog muzeja za Bosnu-Hercegovinu

u Sarajevu 22. februara 1904

pokoran sluga

Josef R. Cohen.

Fig. 6
ABH, ZMF. 2407/B.H. 1904.

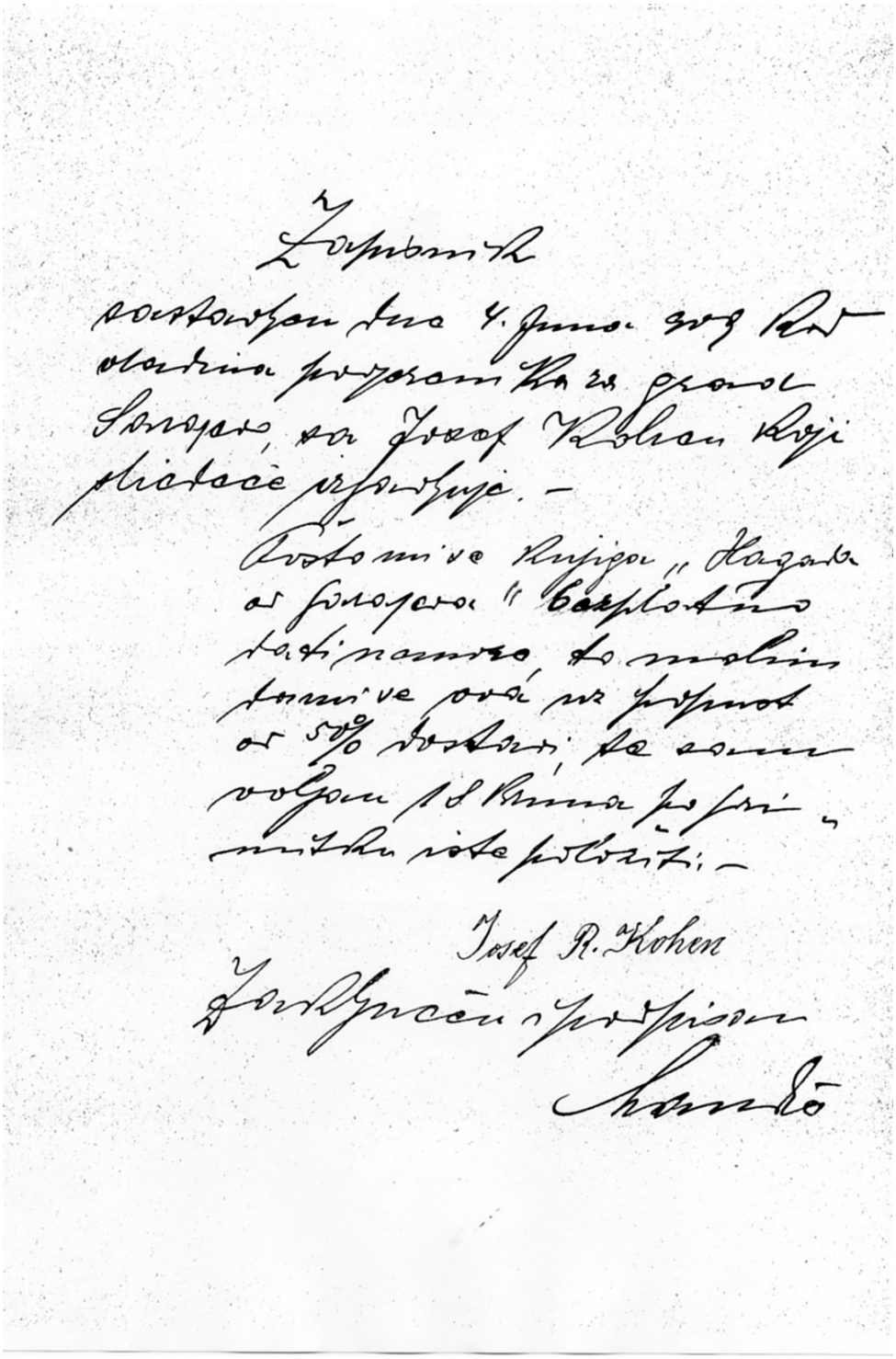


Fig. 7
ABH, ZMF.7971/B.H 1909

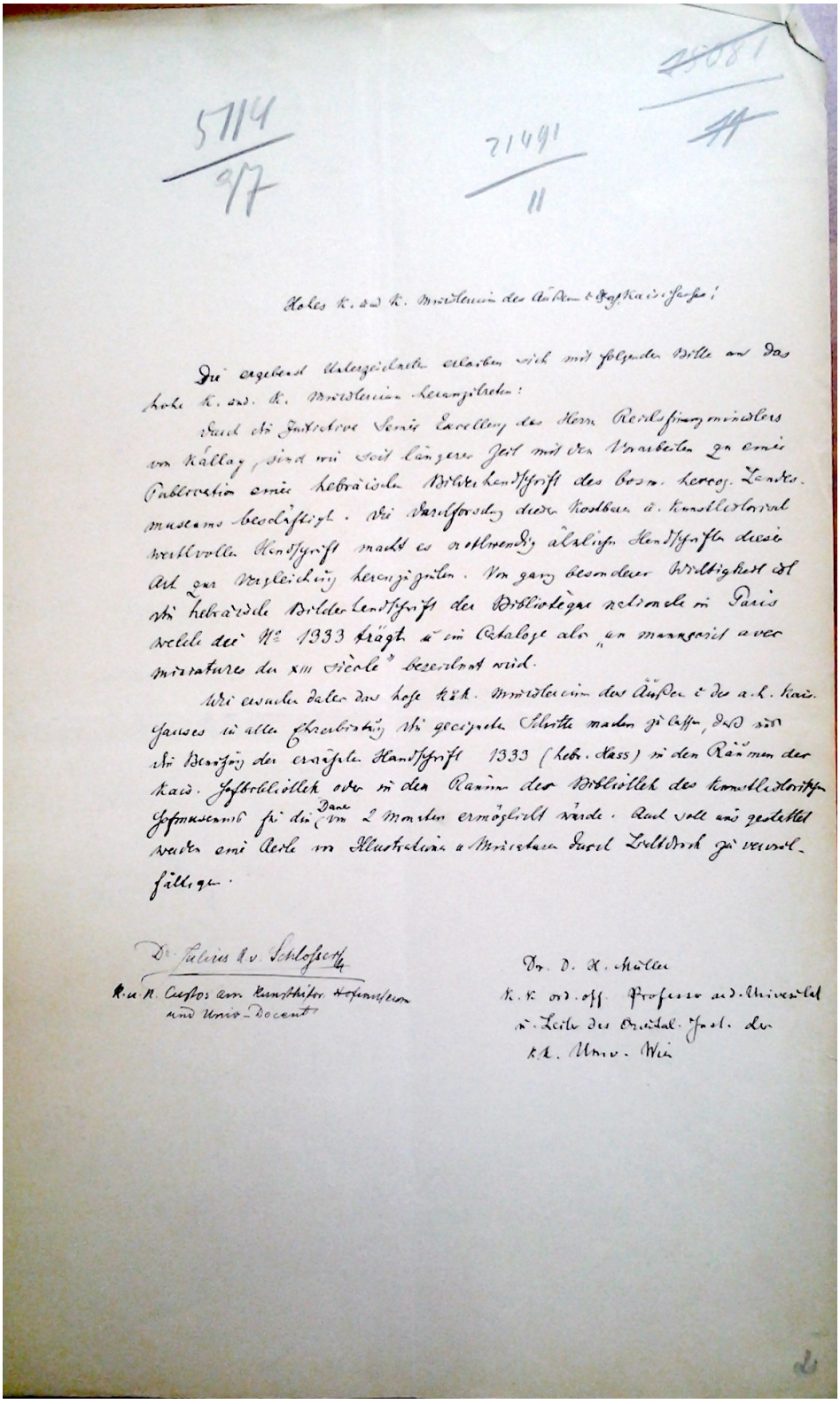


Fig. 8
ABH, ZMF. 5114/B.H. 1897.

DIE

HAGGADAH VON SARAJEVO.

EINE SPANISCH-JÜDISCHE BILDERHANDSCHRIFT
DES MITTELALTERS.

VON

DAV. HEINR. MÜLLER UND **JULIUS v. SCHLOSSER.**

NEBST EINEM ANHANGE
VON
PROF. DR. DAVID KAUFMANN
IN BUDAPEST.

MIT EINEM FRONTISPIZ IN CHROMOTYPIE, 38 LICHTDRUCKTAFELN,
18 TEXTABBILDUNGEN UND EINEM ATLAS VON 35 TAFELN.

TEXTBAND.

WIEN, 1898.
ALFRED HÖLDER
K. U. K. HOF- UND UNIVERSITÄTS-BUCHHÄNDLER
I., ROTHENTHURMSTRASSE 15.

Fig. 9
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Fig. 10
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Fig. 11
Breviari d'amor, 14th century, London: The British library, Yates Thomson 31, f. 66.

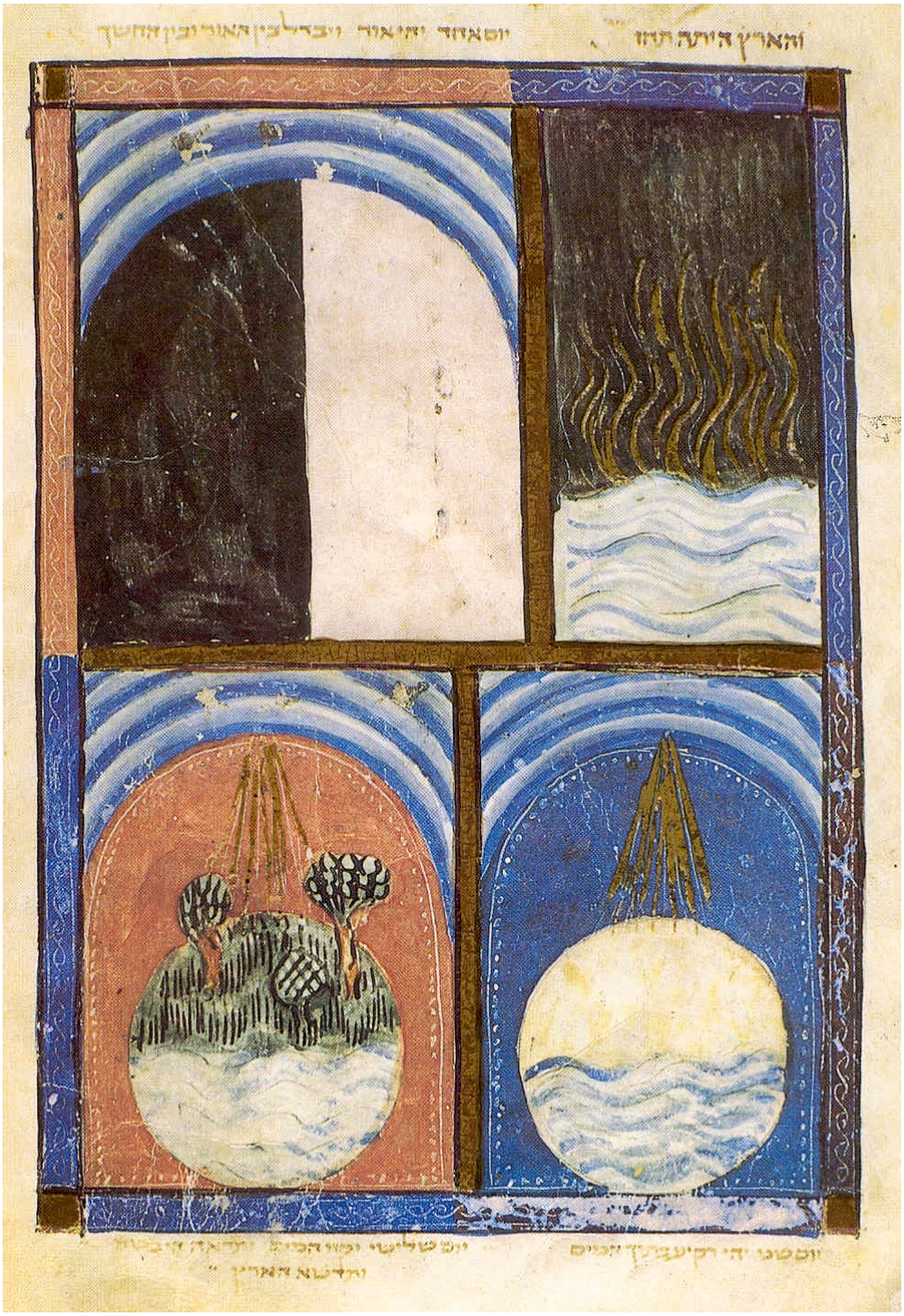
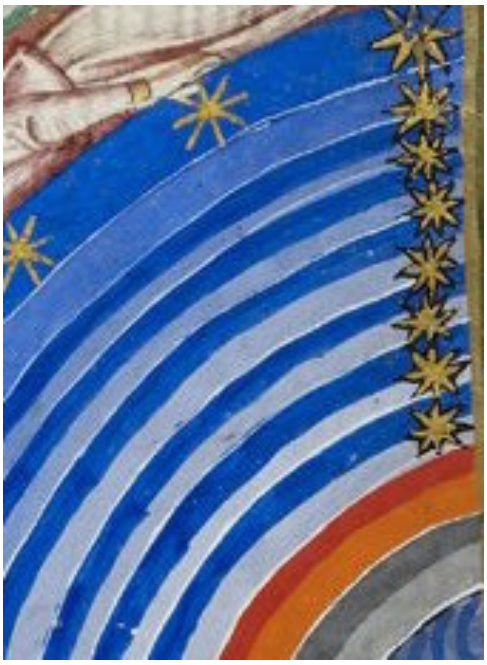


Fig. 12
The Sarajevo Haggadah, mid-fourteenth century, Sarajevo: The National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, f. 1v



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Breviari d'amor, 14th century, London: The British library, Yates Thomson 31, f. 66 (detail)

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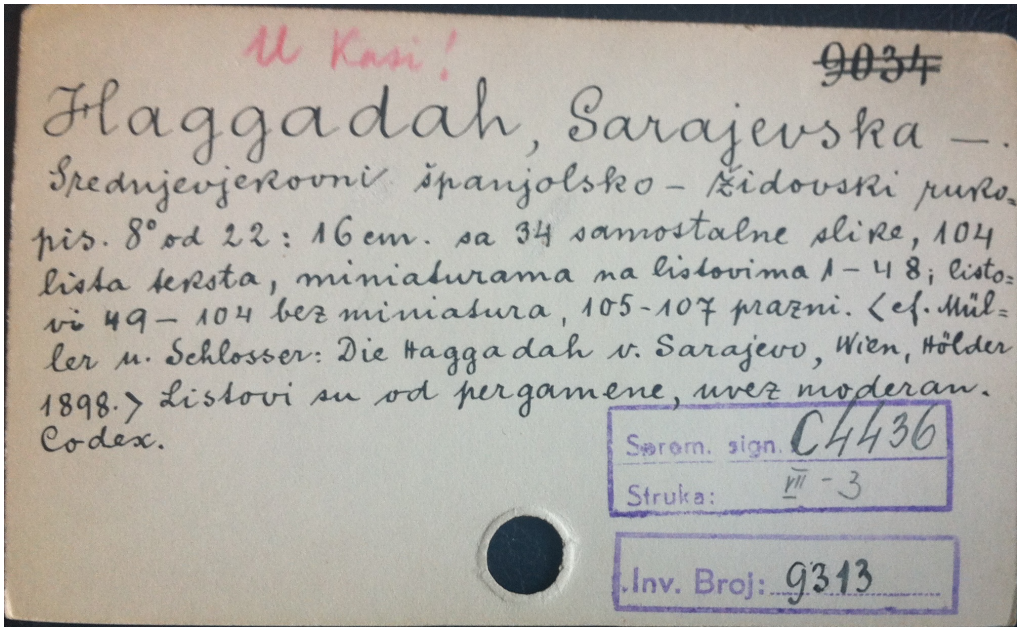
The conservation of the Sarajevo Haggadah

Fig. 19 and 20
The conservation of the Sarajevo Haggadah



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The National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina
The card with two inventory numbers of the Sarajevo Haggadah

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The Sarajevo Haggadah, mid-fourteenth century, Sarajevo: The National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, f. 27v

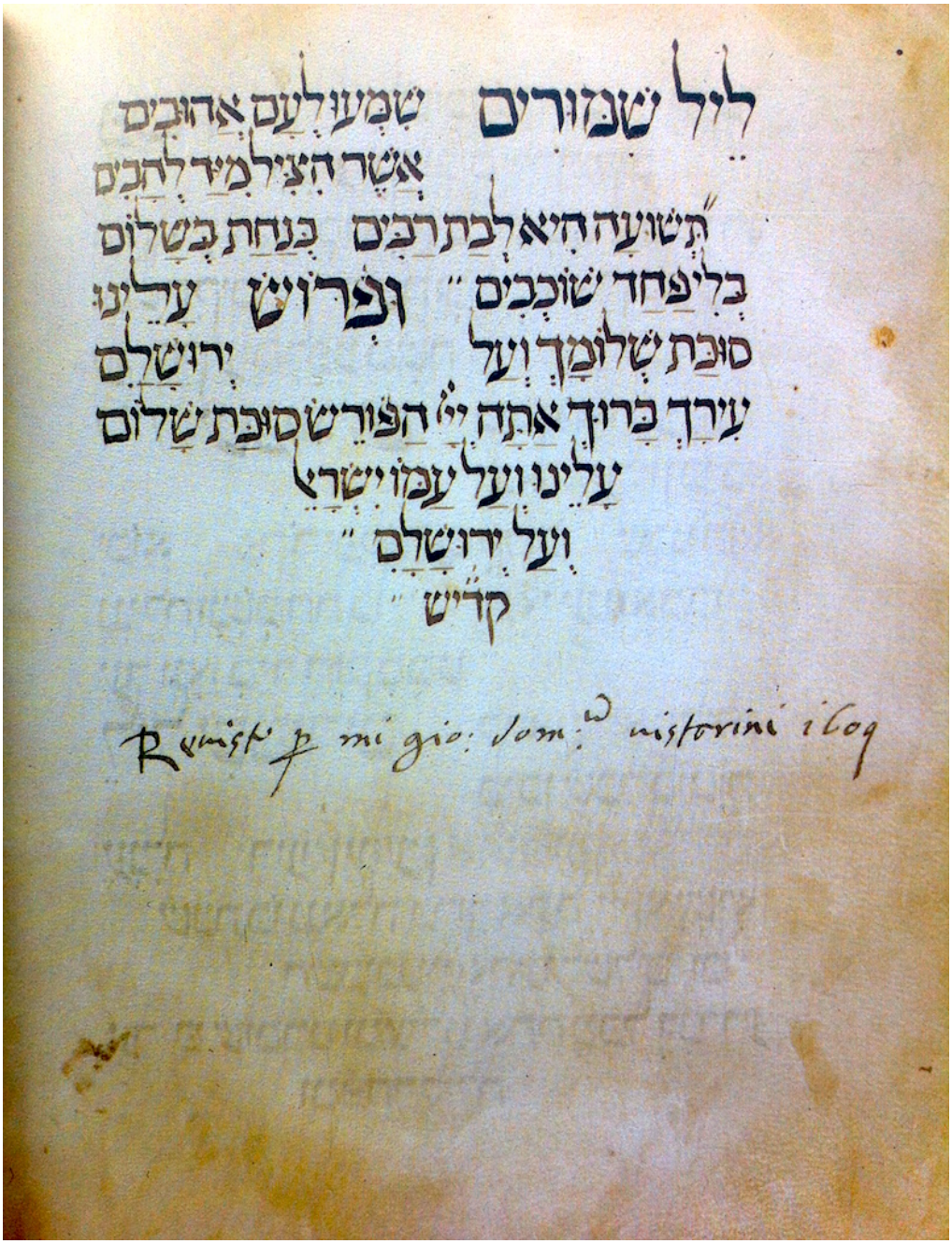

Fig. 28
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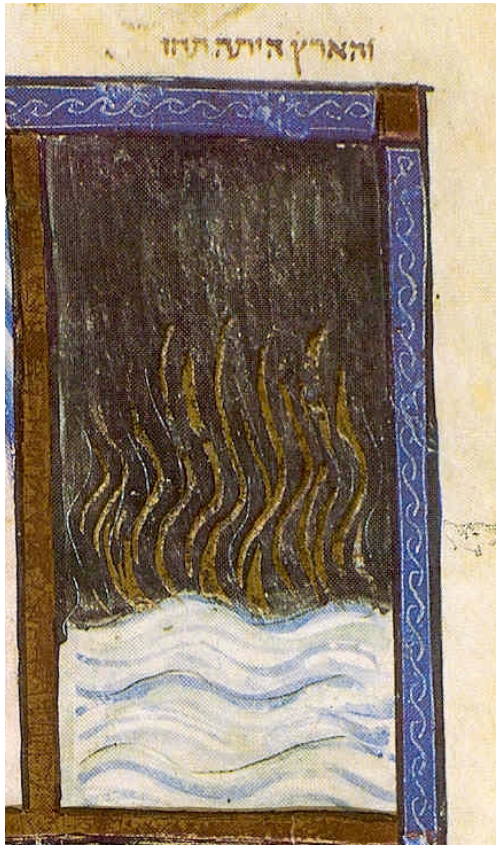

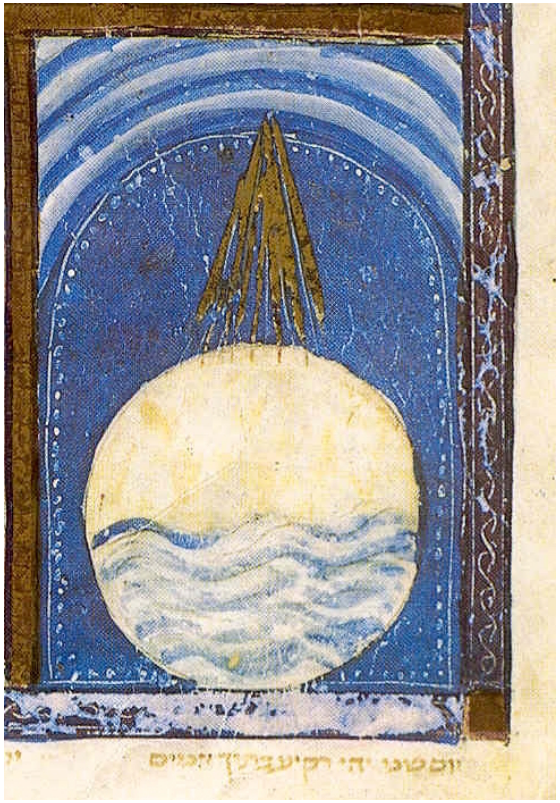

Fig. 29 and 30
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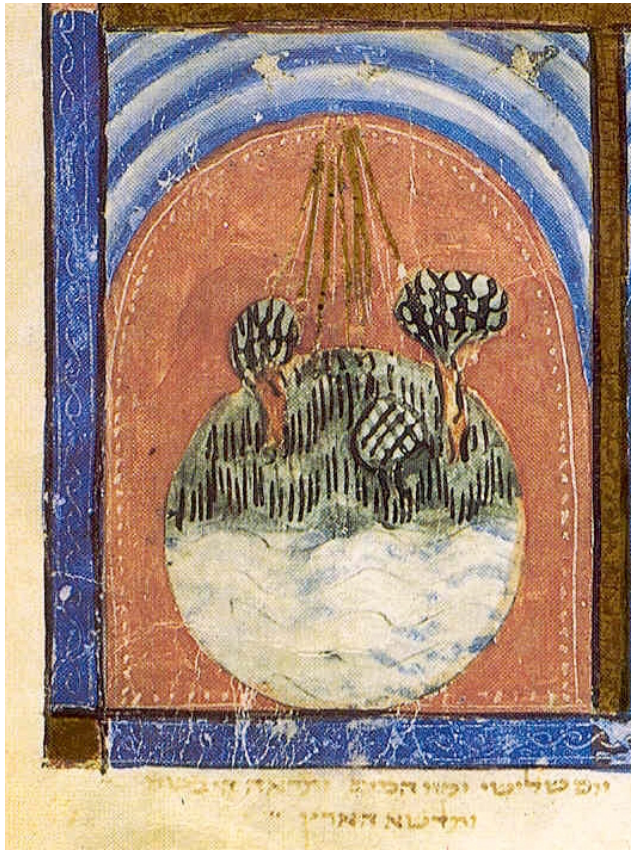
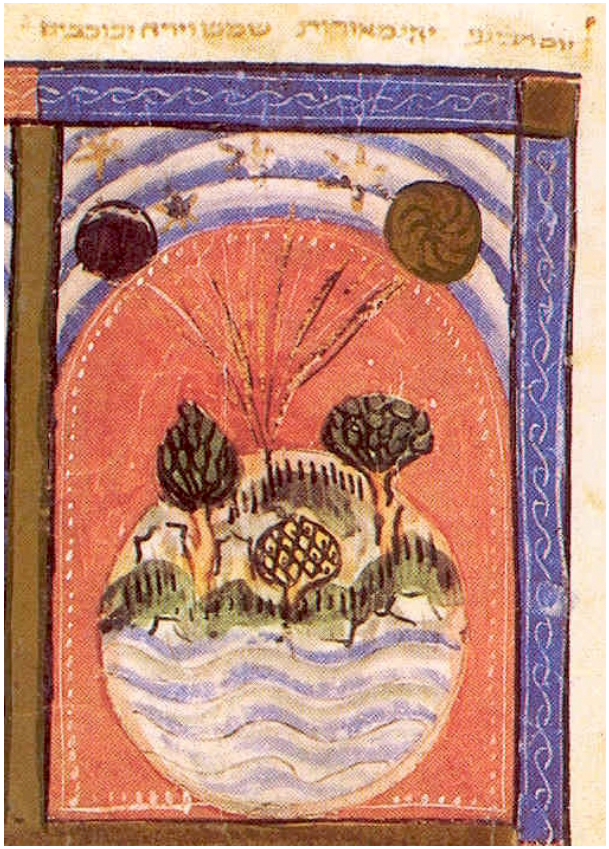


Fig. 31
The Sarajevo Haggadah, mid-fourteenth century, Sarajevo: The National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, f. 1v

Fig. 32
The Morgan Bible, c. 1244-54, New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 638, folio 1r



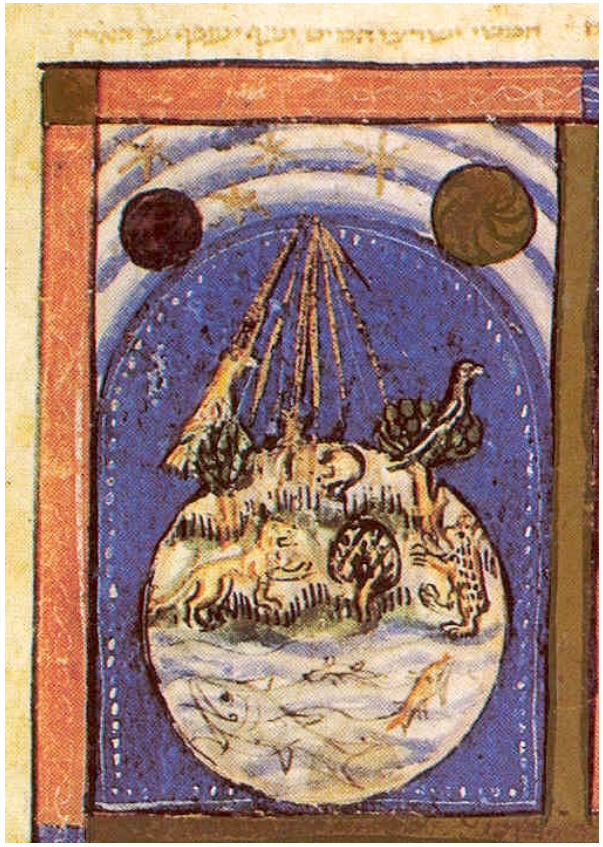


Fig. 33 and 34
The Sarajevo Haggadah, mid-fourteenth century, Sarajevo: The National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, f. 2r

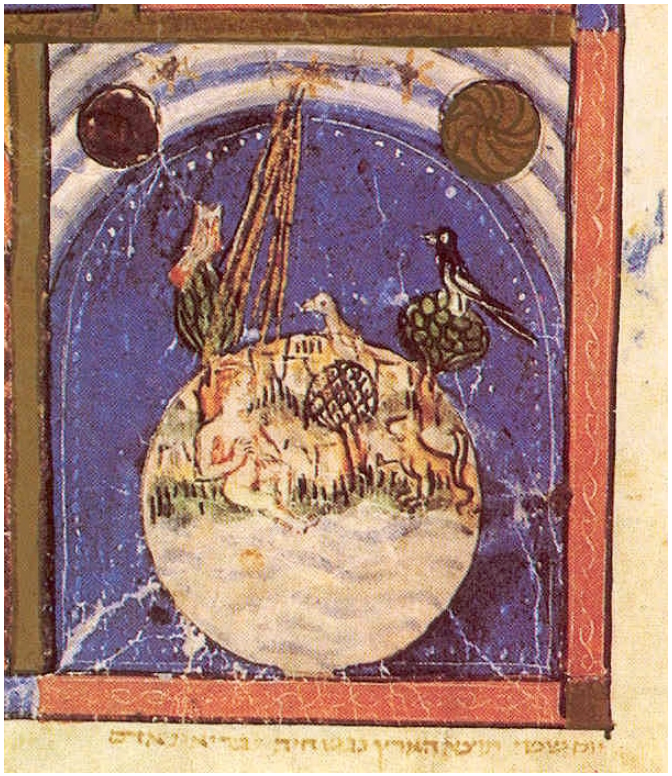


Fig. 35
The Sarajevo Haggadah, mid-fourteenth century, Sarajevo: The National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, f. 2r

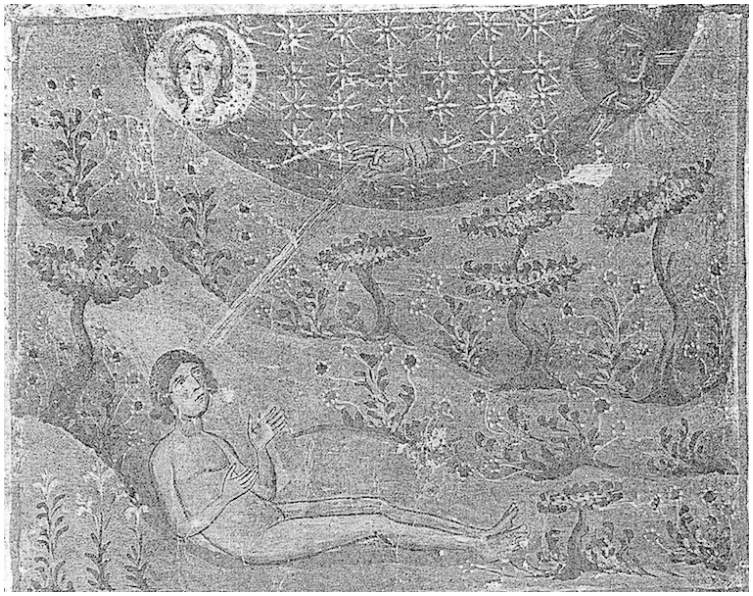


Fig. 36
Octateuch, ca. 1150, Biblioteca Vaticana, Codex graecus 746, folio 30r.

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Fig. 38: *Les anciennes hystoires rommaines*, last quarter of the fourteenth century, London: British Library, Royal 16 G VII, folio 11

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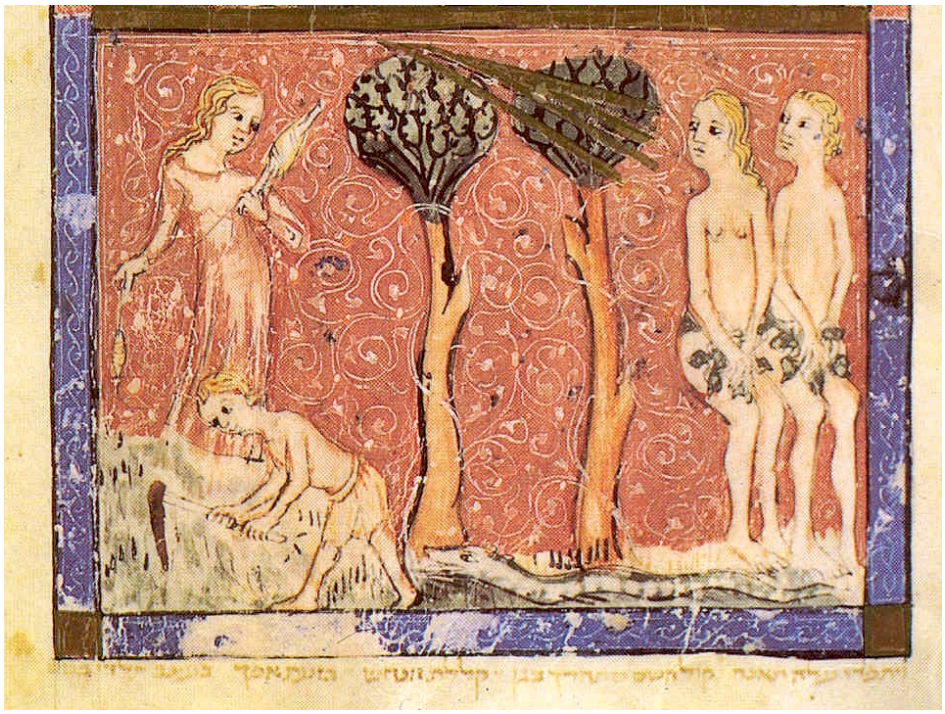
Fig. 40
The Munich Rashi, 1233, Munich: Die Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Cod. hebr. 5/I-II, folio 47v.



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The Sarajevo Haggadah, mid-fourteenth century, Sarajevo: The National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, f. 2v

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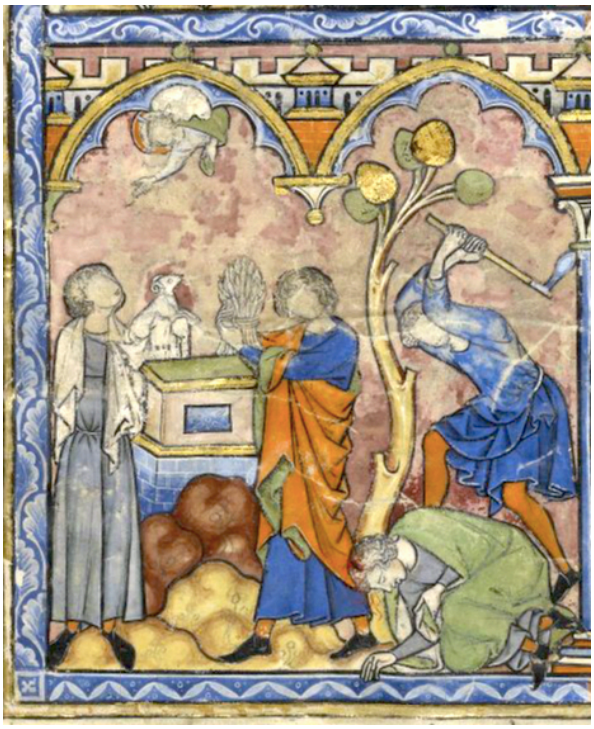

Fig. 43
The Sarajevo Haggadah, mid-fourteenth century, Sarajevo: The National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, f. 4r

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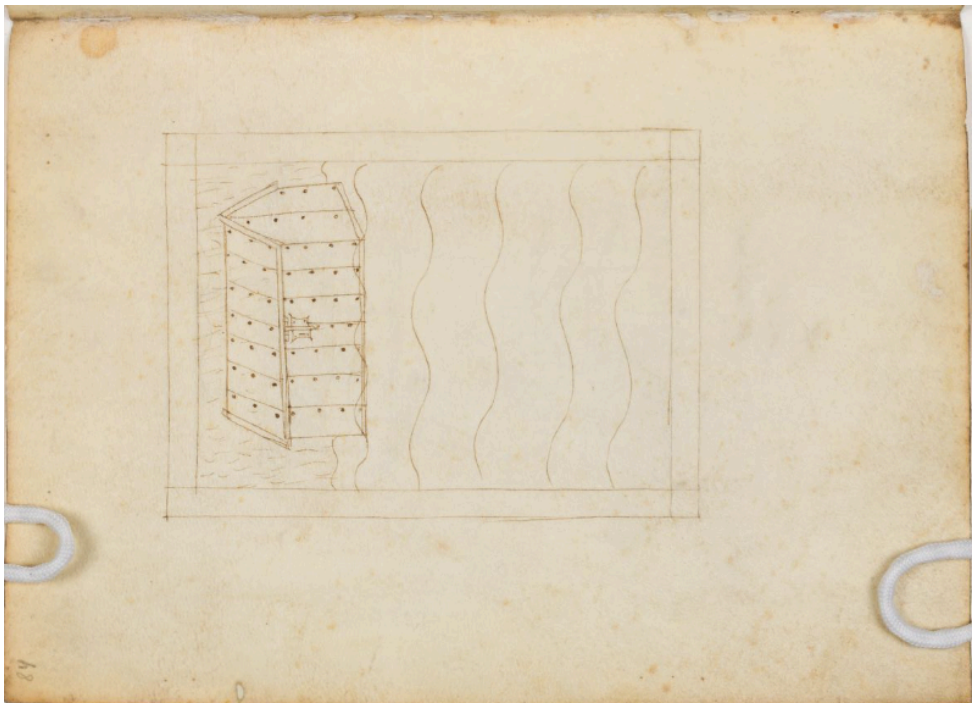
Fig. 47
The thirteenth-century mosaic of the Basilica of St. Marco in Venice

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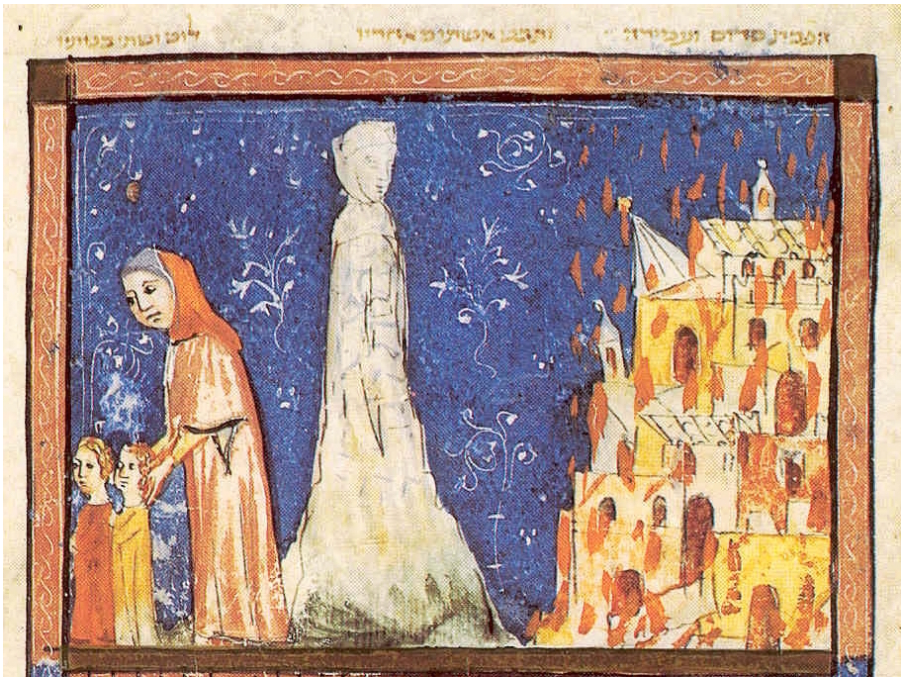

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The Sarajevo Haggadah, mid-fourteenth century, Sarajevo: The National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, f. 7v

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Fig: 50
The Golden Haggadah, 1320, London: The British Library, Add. MS. 27210, f. 4v

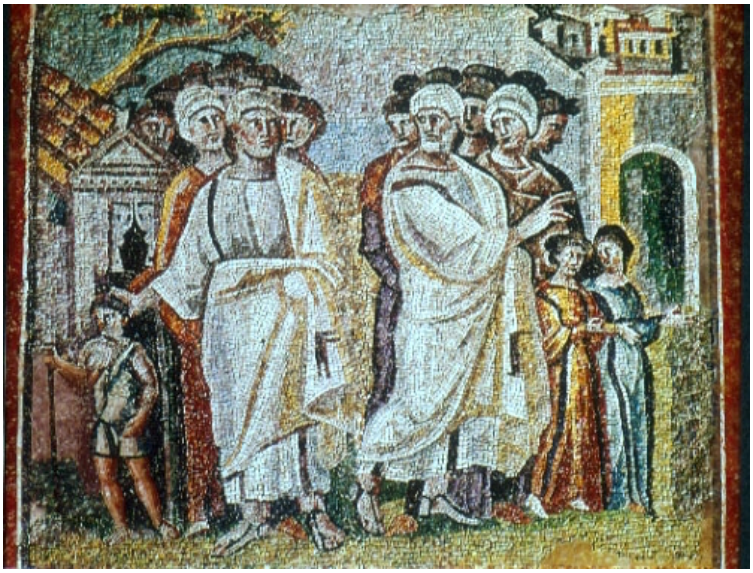

Fig. 51
The sixth-century mosaic of the Basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome

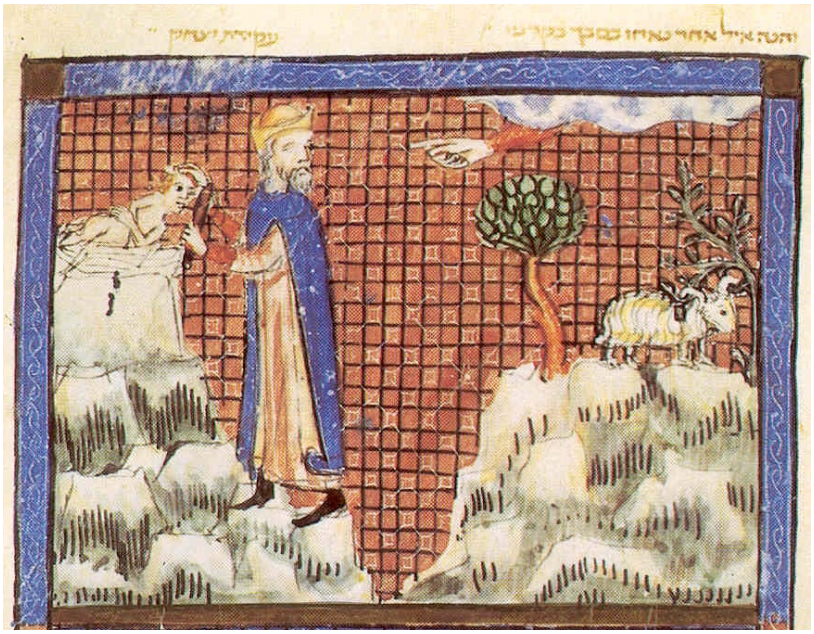

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Fig. 54
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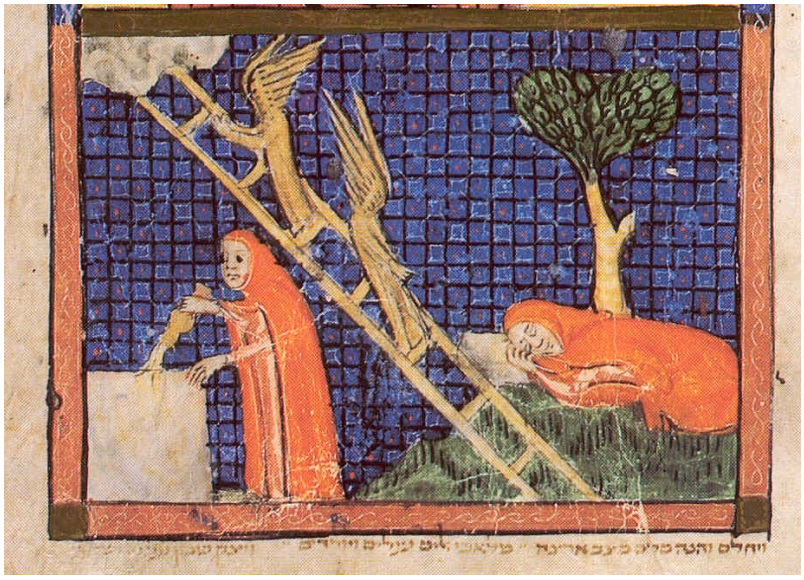

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Fig: 56
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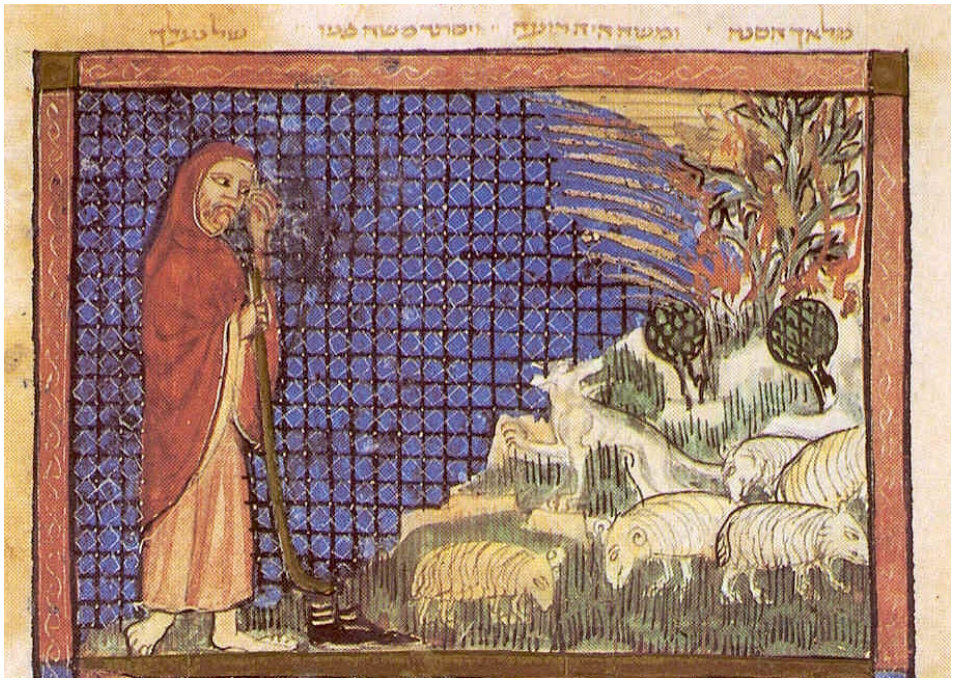

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The Golden Haggadah, 1320, London: The British Library, Add. MS. 27210, f.10v

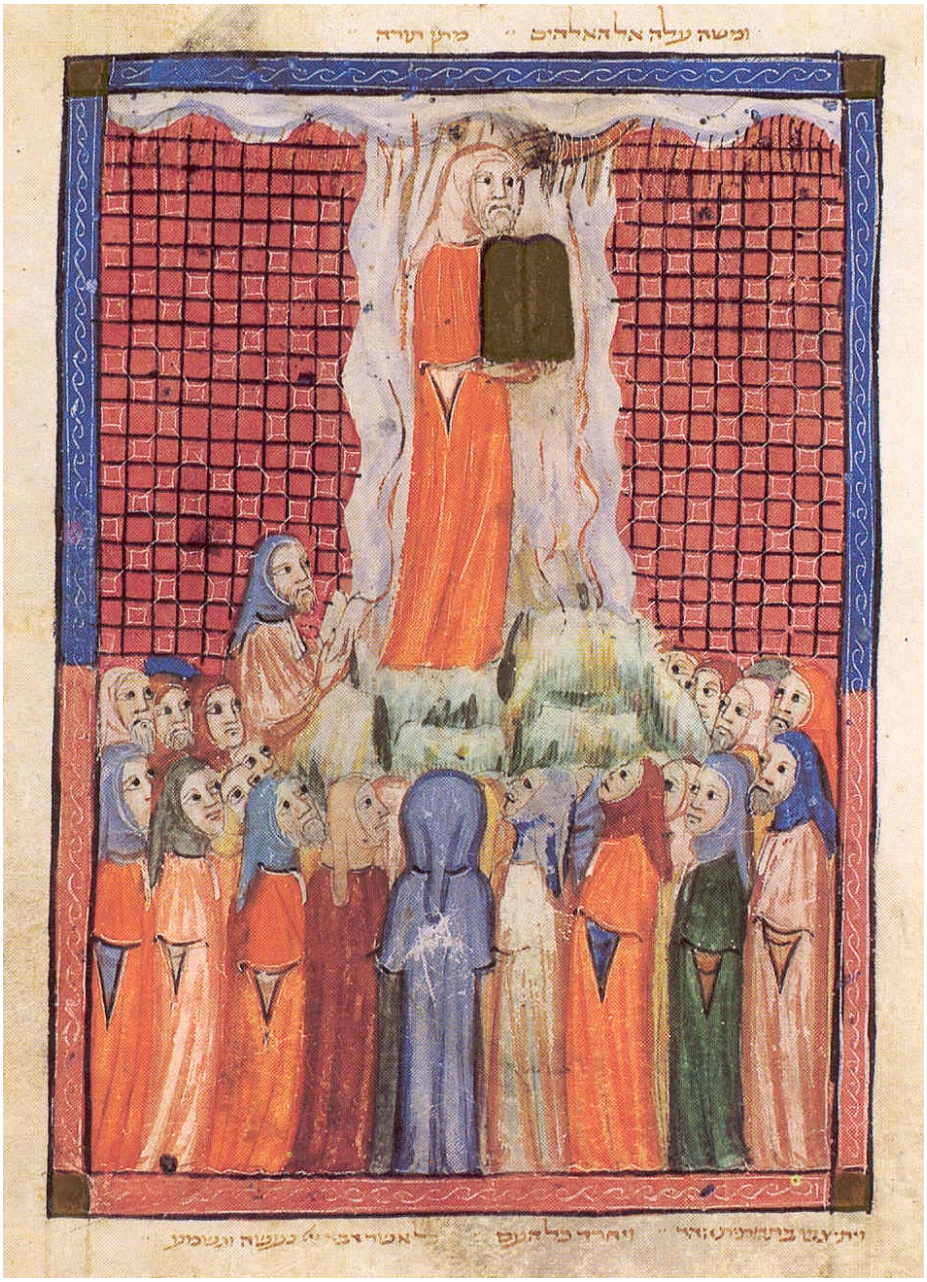

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Fig. 63
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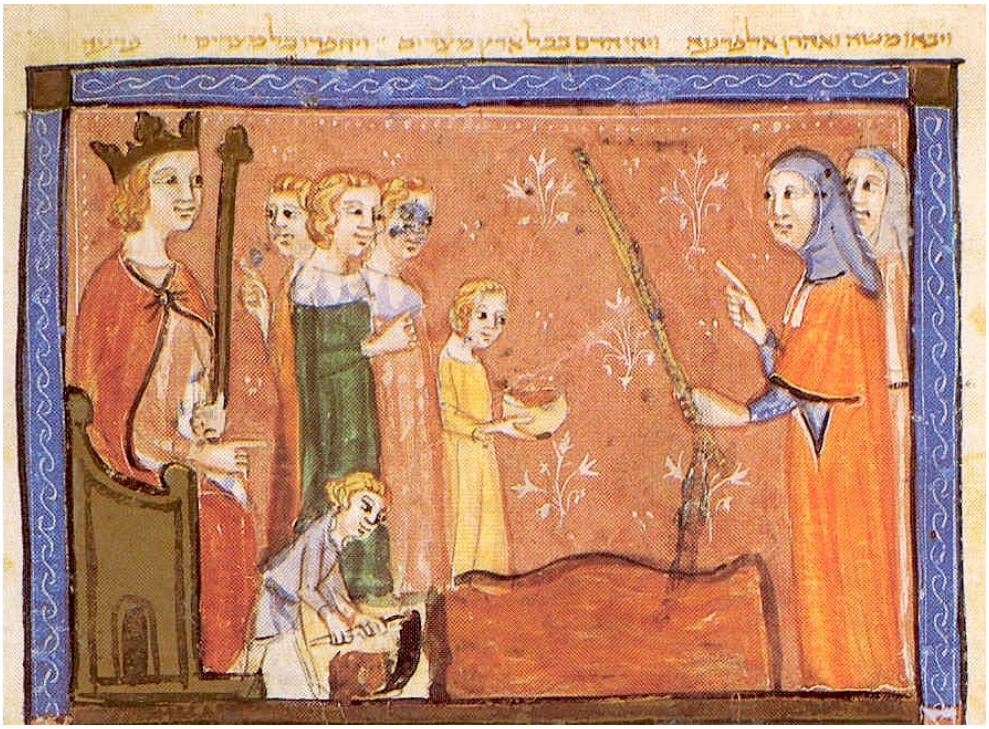

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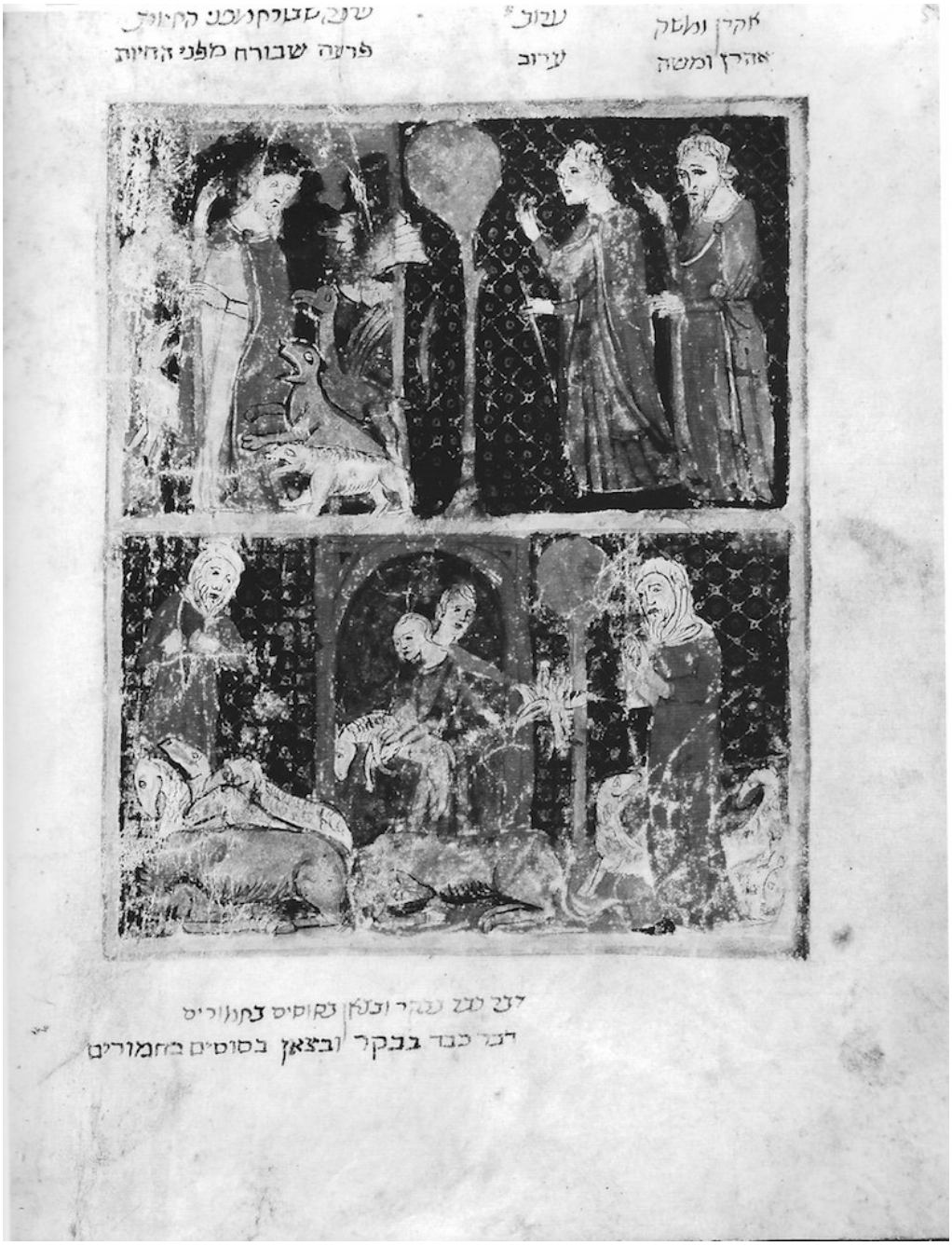

Fig. 78
The so-called “Sister” Haggadah, 1320-1330,London: The British Library, Or. MS. 2884, f. 14v

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Fig. 84
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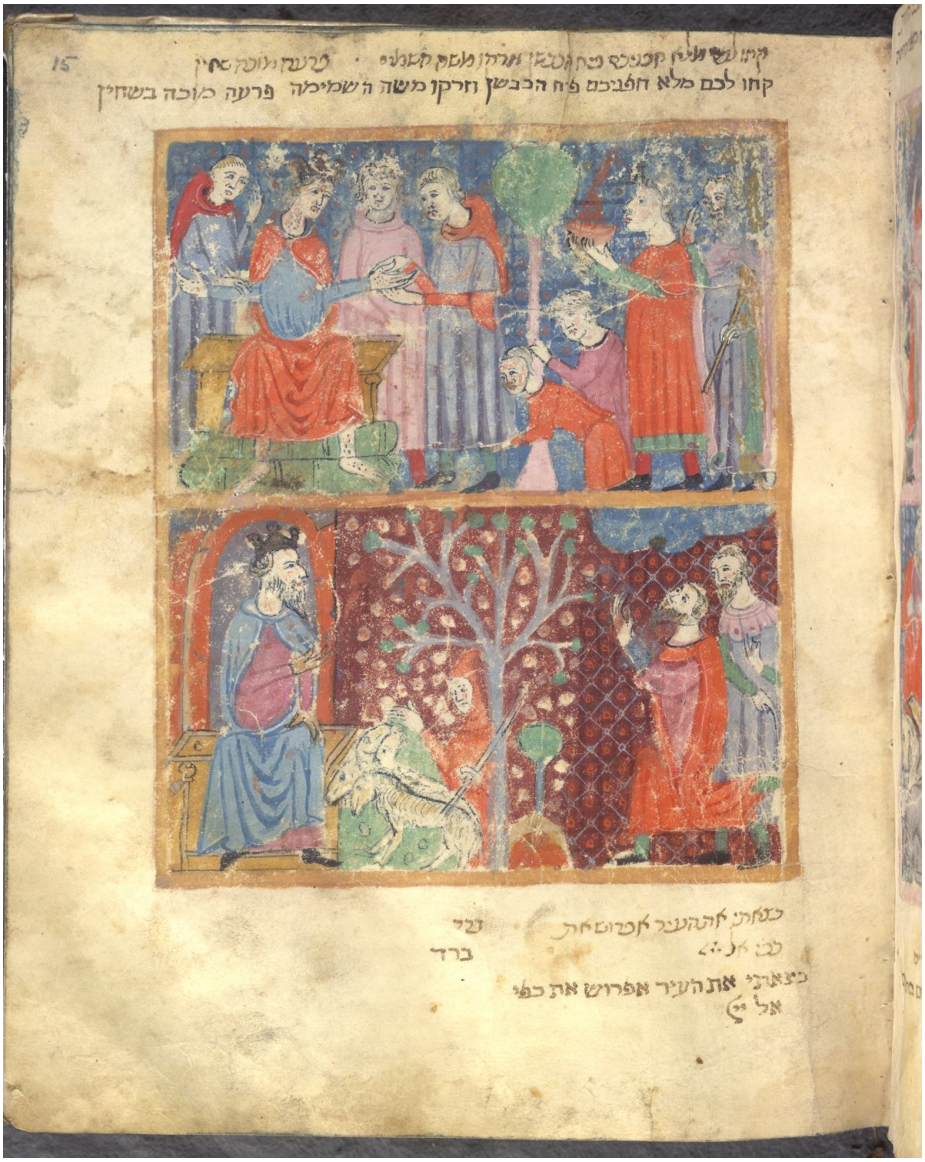

Fig. 85
The so-called “Sister” Haggadah, 1320-1330,London: The British Library, Or. MS. 2884, f. 15

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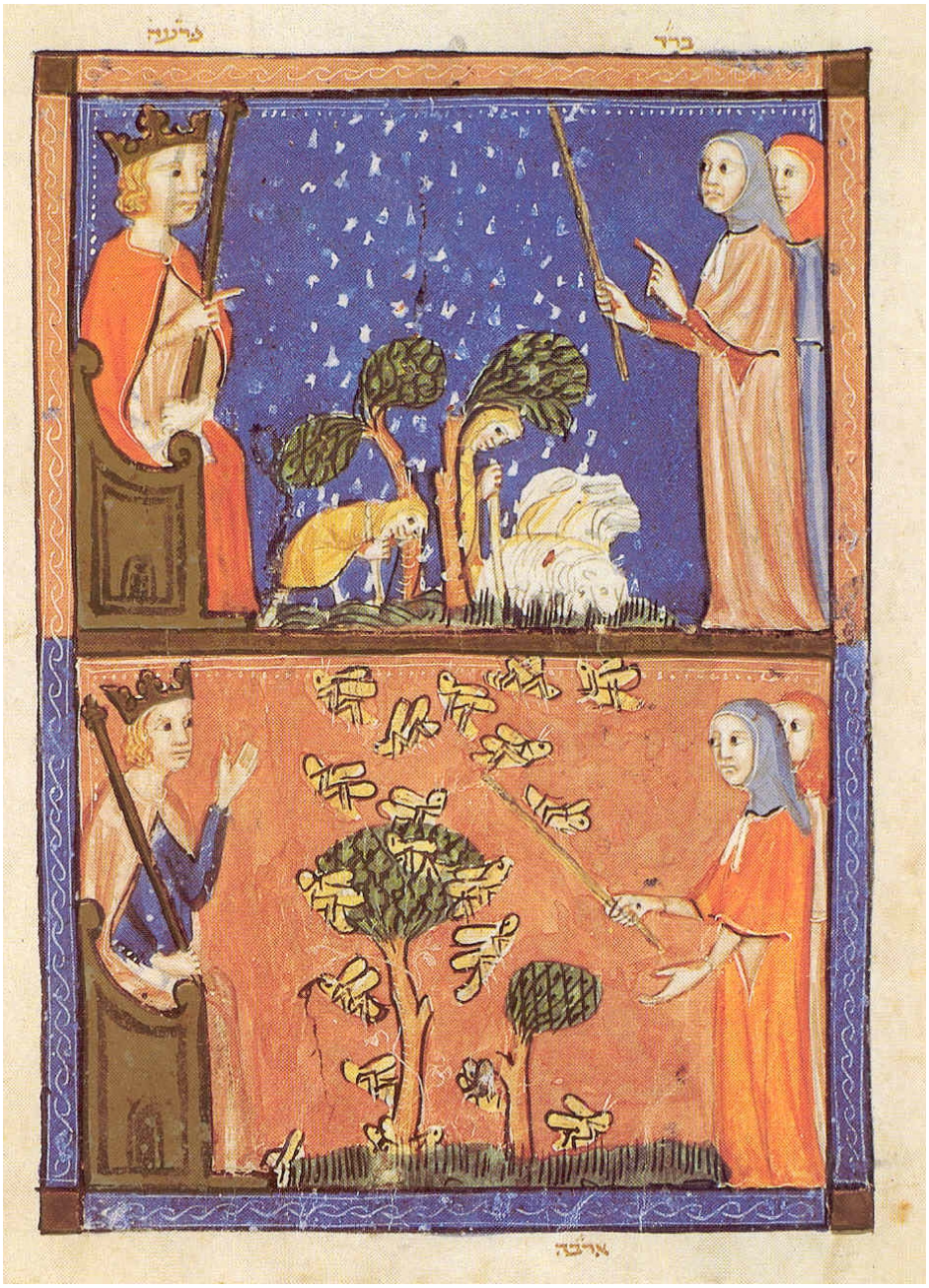

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The Sarajevo Haggadah, mid-fourteenth century, Sarajevo: The National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, f. 26r

Fig. 100
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Fig. 101
The Rylands Haggadah, 1330-1349, Manchester: The University of Manchester Library, MS. 6,f. 18r

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The so-called “Brother” Haggadah, c. 1330, London: The British Library, Or. MS. 1404, f. 6r

Fig. 103
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BIOGRAPHY

Aleksandra Bunčić (Sarajevo, 1983), graduated *summa cum laude* from the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Sarajevo, where she studied Art History and Pedagogy. After graduation, she enrolled in doctoral studies in the Department of Art History at the University of Zagreb, where she has been researching the iconography of a fourtheenth-century Spanish illuminated manuscript produced for Jews known as the Sarajevo Haggadah.

Her research on this extraordinary manuscript had been awarded several times. In 2010 and 2011, she was a Rothberg Family Scholar at the Hebrew Univeristy of Jerusalem. In 2013, she was a fellow in Jewish Studies and Hebrew Bible at the David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Duke Univeristy in North Carolina. In 2014, she was a Fulbright Scholar in the Department of Jewish Studies at Rutgers University in New Jersey. In 2015, she received the fellowship for final year PhD students (acknowledgment of the institution restricted).

From 2007 to 2015 she had been employed at the Commission to Preserve National Monuments in Bosnia and Herzegovina, specializing in the history of art and involved in the expert recording, processing and evaluation of properties to be designated as national monuments.

Aleksandra Bunčić will continue the research on the Sarajevo Haggadah as a postodoctoral fellow in the Departmant for Art History at the Hebrew Univeristy of Jerusalem.

Aleksandra Bunčić presented her work on international conferences and published several articles:

"The Sarajevo Haggadah: Iconography of Death in Jewish Art and Tradition," *Journal of Iconographic Studies* 4 (2010): 73-82.

"Guardians of Story-telling: Mediaeval Illuminated *Haggadot*," *Menora* 2 (2010): 44-45.

"The Dispersal of Bosnia and Herzegovina's Movable Heritage," in *HERITAGE* No. 4 (Annual publication of the Commission to Preserve National Monuments, Sarajevo), 2008: 461-462.

"The pearl of the iconography: The Sarajevo Haggadah" (invited), *Haggadot. The Jewish Bloom in Gothic Barcelona,* The History Museum of Barcelona (MUHBA), Barcelona, March 2015.

"The Medieval Workshop as a Place of Encounter Between Jews and Christians," *Jewish and Non-Jewish Cultures in Contact: New Research Perspectives*, European Congress of Jewish Studies, Paris, July 2014.

"Depicting God's Presence in the Sarajevo Haggadah" (invited), Rutgers University, New Brunswick, April 2014.

"An Introduction to Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts" (invited), Rutgers University, New Brunswick, April 2014.

"The Iconography of God's presence in Medieval Jewish and Christian Illuminated Manuscripts," *Jews, Christians and Visuality: New Approaches*, Center for Jewish-Christian Learning, Boston College, March 2014.

"The Sarajevo Haggadah – Iconography of death in Jewish Art and Tradition," *The Fourth International Conference of Iconographic Studies*, Rijeka, Croatia, 2010.

"The Sarajevo Haggadah and its patrons," *Art and Customers*, Symposium of art historians Orebić, Croatia, 2008.