

הגדת קויפמאנן

The Kaufmann Haggadah

Studies for the Facsimile Edition

The Kaufmann Haggadah is preserved at the
Library and Information Centre
of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences
Oriental Collection

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Sarit Shalev-Eyni – Nóra Dávid

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The opening Aramaic instructions for rinsing the cup,
pouring the wine and reciting the benediction.

Kaufmann A 422 f. 11v. Courtesy of the LHAS.

The *Kaufmann Haggadah*
The Curator's Foreword

Nóra Dávid

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The reader holds the third facsimile edition of the *Kaufmann Haggadah* manuscript (Kaufmann A 422). This is a special publication that cannot be regarded merely as a modern copy of a priceless manuscript, just as the original work was not considered a book on a shelf but served as a liturgical tool for passing on ancient traditions through generations on Seder nights. The richly illustrated original manuscript is part of the collection of David Kaufmann (1852, Kojetin – 1899, Karlsbad) and has been preserved by the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences since 1905, when the collector's mother-in-law, Róza Gomperz, donated it to the institution “as property in perpetuity of the Academy and to make it available to the scientific world at home and abroad.”¹

David Kaufmann

David Kaufmann was an exceptional personality of his time.² The learned rabbi, who arrived in Hungary from Moravia in 1877, was one of the founding fathers of the Rabbinical Seminary and its library. He tirelessly researched Jewish history and literature, and was also an expert in philosophy, genealogy, and virtually everything ever written, whether it be an inscription carved in stone or a bibliography. He is also considered the founder of Jewish art history. Prof. Kaufmann was the author of more than thirty books and nearly five hundred scholarly articles.³ This vast knowledge and tireless curiosity were combined with a passion for book collecting, expressed in his careful selection of every item for his library. However,

- 1 Letter of Donation by Róza Gomperz from 1905 (Archive of the LHAS, MTAK RAL 533/1905).
- 2 For his detailed biography see: István Ormos, “David Kaufmann and his Collection,” in Éva Apor (ed.), *David Kaufmann Memorial Volume* (Budapest: MTAK, 2002), 127–196 (127–138) and Mirjam Thulin, *Kaufmanns Nachrichtendienst. Ein jüdisches Gelehrtennetzwerk im 19. Jahrhundert* (Schriften des Simon-Dubnow-Instituts, Bd. 16., Göttingen – Bristol, CT: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012).
- 3 Alexander Scheiber, *The Kaufmann Haggadah* (Budapest: Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1957), 3; Marcus Brann, “Verzeichniss der Schriften und Abhandlungen David Kaufmann's,” in Marcus Brann–Ferdinand Rosenthal (eds.), *Gedenkbuch zur Erinnerung an David Kaufmann* (Breslau: Schottlaender, 1900), LVII–LXXXVII; Marcus Brann (ed.), *David Kaufmann: Gesammelte Schriften*. III. (Frankfurt am M.: Kauffmann, 1915), VIII–IX.

he did not merely acquire manuscripts and books to keep them for himself; he studied them thoroughly after their arrival. He had a close connection to most of them, which he often expressed in his characteristic purple-ink entries, commemorating a significant occasion or acquisition. Through his research and collecting, he became involved in—and soon emerged as a leading figure in—the intellectual life of his time, not only in his own country but, one might say, throughout the world. His extensive network of contacts enabled him to be among the first to learn about everything that was important in terms of Jewish-related sources.⁴ In addition to his wife, his mother-in-law—who was particularly fond of illustrated manuscripts—⁵ was also his partner and supporter in his passion for collecting. It is thanks to this passion that Róza Gomperz donated twenty-five “richly illuminated” manuscripts to the Academy together with the Kaufmann collection. A significant portion of these came from the collection of the Trieste brothers in Padua,⁶ perhaps including the Haggadah itself.

The Kaufmann Collection

The Kaufmann Collection consists of ca. 600 manuscripts, over 1100 printed books and more than 500 different pieces from the Cairo Genizah.⁷ In view of its size, the Collection is one of the fifteen largest collections in the world. It is very rich in unique and rare items and, considering its quality, is regarded as one of the foremost collections of its kind. The manuscript collection contains biblical texts with commentaries; linguistic and masoretic texts; halakhic and aggadic works; writings on Talmudic methodology; kabbalistic works; texts in the fields of theology, philosophy, and religious polemics; history, homiletics, and poetry; as well as prayerbooks, works on the local history of Italian towns and communities, samples of letters, and works on mathematics and medicine. The collection is particularly rich in responsa of Italian rabbis. These are important not only from the point of view of religious law, but also as first-class historical sources on everyday life. A considerable part of the manuscripts comes from Italy; in this context it may be mentioned that in 1895 Kaufmann succeeded in acquiring the complete

4 See in detail: Thulin, *Kaufmanns Nachrichtendienst*.

5 The above quoted letter of donation addressed to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences confirms that a significant portion of these items belonged to him.

6 Ormos, David Kaufmann and his Collection, 143.

7 This short description is based on the most recent detailed overview of the collection, provided by István Ormos, David Kaufmann and his Collection, 138ff, and on the webpage of the Collection: <https://kaufmann.mtak.hu>.

collection of manuscripts and books of the eminent Mantuan Rabbi Marco Mortara.⁸

The Haggadah

After the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem by the Romans, it was no longer possible to make pilgrimages or to offer the Passover sacrifice in the Temple. Therefore, a new form of commemoration developed, whose central element is that on the eve of Pesach, the head of the family, seated at a table set according to tradition, reads stories related to the Exodus, enriching them with prayers, quotations from biblical and rabbinic works, and teachings. The name of the festive dinner is *Seder* (meaning “order”), expressing the prescribed ritual sequence that governs this special evening, for which the Haggadah provides the guiding thread. With its help, all the teachings related to the Passover, linked to the chain of tradition, are conveyed to the celebrants. Its illustrations spark the interest of the youngest members of the family, encouraging them to ask questions and thereby reviving the story year after year, passing it on from generation to generation, and offering opportunities to discover and interpret new connections between the texts.

Some parts of the text were written very early (in the 1st and 2nd centuries CE) and were already present in the Mishnah treatises.⁹ According to some researchers, it became an independent work (separate from prayer books) as early as the 8th century¹⁰ or only around 1000,¹¹ while others believe that this occurred only in the 1300s,¹² when its final structure and characteristic

8 David Kaufmann marked the arrival in Budapest of the chests containing Mortara’s library on his 43rd birthday with a jubilant entry written in one of his books (Kaufmann B 68, front flyleaf).

9 David Heinrich Müller and Julius von Schlosser, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo. Nebst einem Anhang von Prof. Dr. Dávid Kaufmann* (Wien: Alfred Hölder, 1898), 5.

10 Scheiber, *The Kaufmann Haggadah*, 7.

11 Vivian B. Mann, “Observations on the Biblical Miniatures in Spanish Haggadot,” in Pamela Barmash – David W. Nelson (eds.), *Exodus in the Jewish Experience: Echoes and Reverberations* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2015), 167–190 (167).

12 Katrin Kogman-Appel, *Illuminated Haggadot from Medieval Spain. Biblical Imagery and the Passover Holiday* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 3.

text began to be standardized¹³ in different versions in Jewish centers around the world,¹⁴ deeply influenced by local traditions. In addition to the text, the development of the illustrations decorating the ritual book also bears the hallmarks of local characteristics. Since Haggadot were mainly produced for private use,¹⁵ their execution depended largely on the financial means of the patron, so by the 14th and 15th centuries, both the text and the illustrations had developed into a veritable art form. The illustrations are invaluable, as they help those who cannot read or do not know Hebrew—whether children or adults—to recall the story accurately and learn about the Exodus, the traditions associated with it, and the events of the Seder evening. They also play a role beyond this, as the illustrations are always closely related to the text, often reflecting its possible ambiguities and assisting in interpretation.¹⁶ At the same time, they also convey a wide range of interpretations based on the illustrator's practice of assigning a visual meaning to each word—or, in some cases, each syllable—and then depicting it.¹⁷ Among the illustrations in the Haggadah, the events and ritual objects of the Seder night are brought to life through richly decorated images, along with stories from the books of the Bible.¹⁸

The Kaufmann Haggadah

Unfortunately, we know little about the history of manuscript Kaufmann A 422. Although David Kaufmann often added notes in his characteristic purple ink to his manuscripts and books—recording when, where, and on

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- 13 Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, *Kaufmann Haggadah* (Budapest: Kultura International, 1990), 3. On the evolution of the Seder and the Haggadot see: Baruch Bokser, *The Origins of the Seder: The Passover Rite and Early Rabbinic Judaism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Judith Hauptman, "How Old is the Haggadah," *Judaism* 51/1 (2002): 5–18; Joshua Kulp, "The Origins of the Seder and Haggadah," *Currents in Biblical Research* 4/1 (2005): 109–134 (esp. 129).
 - 14 Among these, the four most important are: the Ashkenazi, the Sephardic, the Roman, and the Yemenite. For a detailed summary, see: Sed-Rajna, *Kaufmann Haggadah*, 3.
 - 15 Rachel Vishnitzer, "Illuminated Haggadahs," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 13/2 (1922): 193–218 (197).
 - 16 For a detailed study, see: Abby Kornfeld, "'Go Forth and Learn': Visual Exegesis in the Medieval Haggadah," *Gesta* 63/2 (2024): 143–168.
 - 17 Kornfeld: "Go Forth and Learn," 156–159. The author draws our attention to the presence of this practice in the illustrations of Christian manuscripts as well (e.g. Psalteries).
 - 18 The vast majority of illustrations depict biblical stories, mainly scenes from Genesis and Exodus, ranging from the creation of the world to the death of Moses in some Haggadot. Sed-Rajna, *Kaufmann Haggadah*, 4.

what occasion he acquired them—no such note appears in this manuscript, as it had belonged to his mother-in-law (see fn. 46). Researchers unanimously agree that the main text was written during the heyday of the 14th century. Most authors date its creation to the second half of the 14th century, which makes our Haggadah one of the later illuminated manuscripts of the period.¹⁹ Its Catalan origin is supported by the Sephardic spelling; the easily recognizable coats of arms of Castile and Aragon among the decorative elements (39r and 42r); and the contemporary clothing, weapons, text layout, illustrations, and style of depiction appearing on numerous pages. However, the manuscript also shows significant Italian and some French influence, which is not surprising for the period.

The Manuscript

The Kaufmann A 422 manuscript consists of sixty parchment folios (120 pages). Unfortunately, we have no information about its original binding. In the preface to the 1957 facsimile edition, Alexander (Sándor) Scheiber writes that even then it already had a “later” (parchment) binding.²⁰ The volume was conserved in 1987, when the sheets were beaded on parchment strips provided with flyleaves, made of Japanese tissue. To prevent the exaggerated movement of the parchment, the boards were bound together with ribbons, and the manuscript was placed in a cardboard folder for additional protection.²¹ According to Ildikó Beöthy-Kozocsa’s description, the size of the codex leaves is 18.5x22 cm.

Since researchers who have previously examined the manuscript agree that the current page order cannot be the original one, our facsimile edition presents the volume in the reconstructed, original page order. In its current

19 J. Von Schlosser dates it to the second half of the 14th century (Müller and von Schlosser, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo*, 187); B. Italianer to the end of the century (Bruno Italianer, *Die Darmstädter Pessach-Haggadah*. I-II. Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1927); A. Scheiber, on the basis of the iconography (the use of the unified arms of Castile and León), is certain that it dates from after 1370; Scheiber, *The Kaufmann Haggadah*, 9); R. Vishnitzer draws attention to the similarities between our Haggadah and the British Museum Ms. Add 14761; on this basis he rules out a pre-14th century date (Vishnitzer, *Illuminated Haggadahs*, 210–212).

20 Scheiber, *The Kaufmann Haggadah*, 8. This binding is still preserved in the Kaufmann Collection.

21 Ildikó Beöthy-Kozocsa, “Restoration of two 14th Century Codices,” in Éva Apor (ed.), *David Kaufmann Memorial Volume*, 105–117, 112.

physical state, the manuscript consists of fourteen quires,²² which contain biblical images at the beginning and end of the codex, but not in the order of the stories. In its original state, all the biblical stories presumably appeared at the beginning of the work, in the sequence corresponding to the biblical narrative.²³

In his 1967 study, Mendel Metzger presents two 14th-century Sephardic Haggadah fragments found in Italy,²⁴ which he also compared with the *Kaufmann Haggadah*. One similarity is the presence of full-page biblical illustrations exclusively for Exodus (an important feature of Sephardic Haggadot), and another is that in both cases they were bound in the wrong order at some point during the past centuries.²⁵ David Heinrich Müller and Julius von Schlosser published a facsimile edition of the *Sarajevo Haggadah* in 1898. This and the accompanying volume of studies were groundbreaking in the study of illustrated Hebrew manuscripts. It is particularly important for our collection, as it contains one of David Kaufmann's significant works, entitled *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Handschriftenillustration*.²⁶ The authors pointed out that the binding—and thus the page order—was incorrect,²⁷ but they did not go beyond stating the facts. Alexander Scheiber also described this error in the first facsimile edition of the Haggadah in 1957, but he did not attempt to reconstruct the correct page order either.²⁸ The task was made more difficult by the omission of blank pages, which led researchers without access to the original manuscript to believe that both sides of the parchment had been painted.²⁹ A few years later, Bezalel Narkiss

22 Pages 1–10 (five bifolia) and 57–60 (two bifolia), each with two painted illustrations on the flesh sides. The text of the Haggadah is in seven quires: pages 11–50: five quaternions; pages 51–52: one bifolium; and pages 53–56: one binion (two half-folded sheets = four pages). Bezalel Narkiss, “On the Order of the Illustrations in the Kaufmann Haggadah,” *Qiryat Sefer* 42/1 (1966/67): 104–107 [Hebrew] (105–106); Sed-Rajna, *Kaufmann Haggadah*, 5.

23 At the beginning of the codex, the pictures were in 6-page quires, while the text of the Haggadah consisted of 8-page quires, except for one (also 6-page).

24 Mendel Metzger, “Two Fragments of a Spanish XIVth century Haggadah,” *Gesta* VI (1967): 25–34. The two fragments were found in Modena and Bologna (MS. 2559).

25 Metzger, *Two Fragments*, 31, note 44.

26 David Kaufmann, “Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Handschriftenillustration,” in Müller and von Schlosser, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo*, 254–311.

27 Müller and von Schlosser, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo*, 187, note 1.

28 Scheiber, *The Kaufmann Haggadah*, 16.

29 Bezalel Narkiss, “The Kaufmann Haggadah Facsimile (review),” *Qiryat Sefer* (34) 1959: 71–79 [Hebrew].

and Mendel Metzger traveled to Budapest³⁰ and examined the manuscript in its original form. In 1967, they both described in detail that the miniatures were always painted on only one side of the parchment (the flesh side) and were always placed opposite each other,³¹ thus reconstructing the presumed original page order, which is also followed in this facsimile edition.

The text of the Haggadah is laid out consistently on every page, with nine lines per column, except for the pages containing blessings, which have seventeen lines. The entire text was presumably written by a copyist, who carefully corrected his own mistakes. In addition to the copyist, a „reviewer” also signed some pages.³² There are also some corrections in square script by a different hand.

The History of Research on the *Kaufmann Haggadah* The Pioneering Studies

The first researcher of the *Kaufmann Haggadah* was none other than David Kaufmann himself, even though he does not explicitly mention it in his studies. He wrote one of the accompanying studies³³ to the *Sarajevo Haggadah* facsimile published by Müller and von Schlosser in 1898—a publication that, as time has shown, became seminal in the field of illustrated Hebrew manuscripts and Jewish art history. The introductory remarks of his article already demonstrate its pioneering role, stating that “according to current scientific knowledge, the history of illustrations in Jewish manuscripts is still a journey into the unknown for many.”³⁴ He examines the reasons for this in detail, seeing them primarily in the long-standing misunderstanding of Jewish religious laws and the assumption of a total prohibition of depictions, which led scholars to ignore even existing illustrations. However, the second commandment does not apply to two-

30 According to Narkiss, they met by chance at the reading table of the Oriental Collection. Bezalel Narkiss, *On the Order of the Illustrations*, 107.

31 Metzger, *Two Fragments*, 31, note 44.

32 Presumably, a former owner of the manuscript wrote the annotations on pages 14v, 15r, 15v, 16r, 16v and 17v. Sed-Rajna, *Kaufmann Haggadah*, 7. Ownership notes on ff. 1r (unnamed), 3r (Nissim Bonafous), and 60v (Isaac) seem to point to Provençal owners in the 16th century. Information kindly supplied by Fabrizio Quaglia, independent scholar, is gratefully acknowledged.

33 Kaufmann, *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Handschriftenillustration*.

34 “Eine Geschichte der jüdischen Handschriftenillustration dürfte nach dem heutigen Stande der Wissenschaft gar Vielen noch als eine Reise nach Nirgendheim erscheinen.” Kaufmann, *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Handschriftenillustration*, 255.

dimensional (“auf der Fläche”) representations,³⁵ especially when they do not depict God. Even in early Bible manuscripts, we find drawings presumably added in the margins by copyists, or lines formed into images from the Masoretic text. According to Kaufmann, these are the roots of the later, more fully developed illustrations.³⁶

In his study, he lists the holy books most frequently illustrated, among which Exodus—and thus the Haggadot—occupies a prominent place.³⁷ The opening sentence³⁸ of the second half of his study raises one of the fundamental questions of later research: to what extent do the illustrations bear the traces of Christian hands or influence? Although he assumes as fact the mutual influence and cooperation between Jews and Christians in the production of manuscripts, Kaufmann argues that most of the illustrations were created by Jewish scribes themselves. He also lists the most important workshops and collections by country, naming those illustrators whose names are known.

Kaufmann also published a detailed study of the image cycles of the so-called “German-type” Haggadot.³⁹ He discusses separately the images accompanying the liturgy, the representations of the Exodus story, and finally the illustrations of the narratives associated with the second half of the Seder evening. He emphasizes that the images of the third cycle show the strongest Christian influence.⁴⁰

In a short essay on the Haggadah fragments in the Cairo Genizah, he points out that even these contain early drawings that help to interpret the text.⁴¹

In the volume⁴² accompanying the facsimile publication of the *Sarajevo Haggadah*, the authors not only provide a transcription of the main text but also publish a substantial portion of the text from two other manuscripts, one of which is the *Kaufmann Haggadah*. They do not limit themselves

35 Kaufmann, *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Handschriftenillustration*, 256.

36 Kaufmann, *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Handschriftenillustration*, 257.

37 Kaufmann, *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Handschriftenillustration*, 274–276. Note that the manuscript he owns is not mentioned at all (whereas in the case of the *Esther Scroll* or the *Mishneh Torah*, for example, he indicates ownership).

38 Kaufmann, *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Handschriftenillustration*, 295.

39 David Kaufmann, “Die Bilderzyklen im deutschen Typus der alten Haggada-Illustration,” *Revue des Études Juives* 38 (1899): 74–102.

40 Kaufmann, *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Handschriftenillustration*, 260.

41 David Kaufmann, “Notes to the Egyptian Fragments of the Haggadah,” *Jewish Quarterly Review* 10/2 (1898): 380–381 (381).

42 Müller and von Schlosser, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo*.

to the Hebrew text; rather, they analyze all three texts in detail even refer to our manuscript by page numbers. The work is attributed to northern Italy, primarily on the basis of the elements found in the illustrations.⁴³ In the second part of the volume, Haggadah manuscripts held in European collections are presented, including Kaufmann A 422.⁴⁴ The illustrations on every page of the manuscript are described in detail, and the relevant Exodus passages cited or illustrated are also identified. Already in this edition, the motif of the figure in the burning bush “im Typus Christi gebildet,”⁴⁵ which has since received much scholarly attention, is described.

Unfortunately, neither Kaufmann nor his wife lived to see the publication of the catalogue prepared by his favorite student, Max (Miksa) Weisz, which appeared in 1906. In his catalogue of the Kaufmann Collection, Max Weisz adopts Müller’s and von Schlosser’s description of our manuscript,⁴⁶ noting its poor condition, including damage to the page edges and missing portions. In a note, he makes it clear that the manuscript was owned by Kaufmann’s mother-in-law, Róza Gomperz.⁴⁷

Ignaz Goldziher was the first to commemorate⁴⁸ the arrival of the collection in the Library of the Academy, drawing attention to the fact that David Kaufmann’s mother-in-law, Róza Gomperz, had donated her private collection to the Academy, containing “twenty-five richly illustrated Hebrew-language codices, mostly from Italy, made of fine parchment (from the 14th century onwards)”. He notes that they had been “obtained” from the Trieste collection,⁴⁹ not without considerable difficulty. Goldziher also refers to the fact that David Kaufmann wrote in detail about the illustrated manuscripts in 1898, in the study accompanying the facsimile edition of the

43 Müller and von Schlosser, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo*, 53 and 187–190. The characteristics that support this are also highlighted in the detailed description of the Haggadah (e.g. „Charakteristisches Costüme des italienischen Trecento” on page 198).

44 Müller and von Schlosser, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo*, 187–199.

45 Müller and von Schlosser, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo*, 198.

46 Max (Miksa) Weisz, *Katalog der Hebräischen Handschriften und Bücher in der Bibliothek des Professors Dr. David Kaufmann* (Frankfurt a. M.: Kauffmann, 1906), 146–152.

47 Weisz, *Katalog*, 146.

48 Ignaz Goldziher, “Kaufmann Dávid könyvtára,” *Akadémiai Értesítő* XVII (1906): 306–314.

49 Goldziher explains that it was only with great difficulty and “powerful intercession” that these manuscripts were successfully retrieved from Italy (three export requests were refused). GOLDZIHAR 1906, 313.

Sarajevo Haggadah.⁵⁰ It is important to note, however, that the Haggadah belonging to his own collection is not mentioned by Kaufmann in that study.

Following these early publications, the field of illuminated Hebrew manuscript research opened up, the number of scholars increased, and more comparative studies appeared.

One of the pioneering contributions was Rachel Vishnitzer's comprehensive 1922 study of illustrated Haggadot.⁵¹ She considers the *Kaufmann Haggadah* to be a close parallel to MS Add. 14671 in the British Museum, dates them to the same period, and points out their iconographic similarities. She also analyzes the costumes in detail ("the costumes betray the trecento"⁵²) and, although she considers the Italian and French influence undeniable, she is the first scholar to attribute Catalan origins to our manuscript, providing detailed evidence for this.

The First Facsimile and its Impact

The first facsimile edition of the *Kaufmann Haggadah* was published in 1957.⁵³ The prestigious task of writing the accompanying booklet was carried out by Alexander Scheiber. He points out that this is the third medieval Haggadah to be published in facsimile. It was preceded by the so-called *Sarajevo Haggadah* in 1894⁵⁴ and the *Darmstadt Haggadah* in 1927.⁵⁵ As we have seen, both editions go far beyond the limits of the facsimile and quickly became standard reference works for the study of medieval illuminated manuscripts. Scheiber also refers to this earlier work in several places in his study published with the facsimile.

After a brief introduction to David Kaufmann and the collection,

50 Kaufmann, *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Handschriftenillustration*. Illustrations of the Ashkenazi Haggadot are the subject of another study: David Kaufmann, "Les cycles d'images du type allemand dans l'illustration ancienne de la Haggada," *Revue des études juives* 38 (1899): 74–102 (= *Die Bilderzyklen im deutschen Typus der alten Haggada-Illustration*. *Gesammelte Schriften* III. 1915, 229–261.)

51 Vishnitzer, *Illuminated Haggadahs*.

52 Vishnitzer, *Illuminated Haggadahs*, 209–210.

53 Scheiber, *The Kaufmann Haggadah*. The production of the first facsimile edition took place during the 1956 revolution in Hungary. The manuscript could not be returned to the Oriental Collection due to street battles. We know from Prof. Scheiber's biography that he visited the Kossuth (Szikra) Press every day to oversee the work, even in the most dangerous days. Máté Hidvégi, *Alexander Scheiber and the Bibliography of His Writings* (Budapest: OR-ZSE, 2013), 20–21.

54 David Kaufmann was also involved in its publication. Müller and von Schlosser, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo*.

55 Italianer, *Die Darmstädter Pessach-Haggadah*.

Scheiber turns to the manuscript. Since the edition was published before its conservation, he reports that the images are faded and show signs of repair. The 104 numbered pages⁵⁶ are in a simple, later binding. He agrees with R. Vishnitzer's theory that the manuscript is of Spanish origin, based on the illustrations. The most revealing of these, he notes, are the coat-of-arms shields representing Castile, the united Castile-León and Aragon, and Barcelona, while the Moorish lanterns⁵⁷ also support an Iberian origin. Scheiber nevertheless acknowledges Italian and French influences on the illustrations, and he points out that their appearance and spread in Spain and in other Haggadot from Spain (the *Sarajevo Haggadah*, the *Spanish Haggadah*) are now clearly established. He also observes that the rite in the codex follows a Spanish pattern,⁵⁸ and its grammatical and literary features point in this direction.

The final chapter of the study describes the illustrations, with a transcription of the accompanying Hebrew texts, which is particularly important, since unfortunately they are not of legible quality in the facsimile. Scheiber is one of the first to discuss in detail the possible Christian influence on the iconography.⁵⁹ In 1962, a short communication by Alexander Scheiber was published, in which he discusses the fact that the *Kaufmann Haggadah* and the British Museum Add. 14761 were copied by the same hand.⁶⁰

Bezalel Narkiss's review of the first facsimile edition of the *Kaufmann Haggadah* adds valuable information to our knowledge.⁶¹ He criticizes the workmanship of the facsimile on several points, most notably the tone of the colors, the blurring of the gilding, and the printing technique. He provides a long list of corrections and additions to the copy with which he disagrees,

56 The blank pages (the vellum backs of the full-page illustrations) were not counted among the pages and were unfortunately omitted from the facsimile. For the original binding see: Beöthy-Kozocsa, "Restoration of two 14th Century Codices," 106.

57 Scheiber, *The Kaufmann Haggadah*, 10.

58 Scheiber, *The Kaufmann Haggadah*, 12–14. Concerning the text, he notes that the copier made several errors, mainly in the punctuation.

59 Scheiber, *The Kaufmann Haggadah*, 17. For details on this issue, see: Ormos, David Kaufmann and his Collection, 148–153.

60 Sándor Scheiber, "A Kaufmann-Haggáda másolójának munkásságához," *Magyar Könyvszemle* 78/2–3 (1962): 184–187.

61 Narkiss, *The Kaufmann Haggadah Facsimile* (review), 71–79.

and he corrects several errors.⁶² He agrees with Scheiber in reconstructing the place of origin of the Haggadah and in emphasizing the Italian and French influences. In addition to these, he highlights the influence of Giotto.⁶³ However, he does not agree on the dating, placing it in the fourth quarter of the 14th century rather than the third, and, in his final conclusions, he further refines the date and place of its creation, considering Aragon in the 1390s to be the most probable.⁶⁴ He concludes by devoting a few paragraphs to the order of the illustrations, but does not take a position on the reversal of the order.⁶⁵

Bezalel Narkiss published his reconstructed page order in his study from the turn of 1966/67,⁶⁶ and it has been regarded as correct by scholars ever since; the present facsimile edition follows it as well. He later summarized the results of his research on illuminated manuscripts under the title *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*,⁶⁷ where he also discusses our manuscript, drawing the reader's attention to its incorrectly bound page order. In this context, he criticizes the first facsimile edition for omitting the blank pages, which created the impression that illustrations appeared on both sides of the vellum. As for the origin of the manuscript, he emphasizes the Italian features observable in it but nevertheless attributes it to a 14th century Spanish provenance.⁶⁸

From the 1960s onwards, Joseph Guttman wrote numerous studies on various Haggadot and Hebrew manuscripts, especially the illustrated ones,

62 Narkiss, *The Kaufmann Haggadah Facsimile* (review), 72–75. He expresses his hope that the corrections were made only on the facsimile and not on the manuscript. He returns to this question after his visit to Budapest in 1966, regretting that the 'restoration' had once been carried out on the original manuscript.

63 Narkiss, *The Kaufmann Haggadah Facsimile* (review), 76.

64 Narkiss, *The Kaufmann Haggadah Facsimile* (review), 76–77.

65 Although he notes in the main text of the review that when he first saw the facsimile he thought that Professor Scheiber had turned the pages. Narkiss, "The Kaufmann Haggadah Facsimile (review)," 79.

66 Bezalel Narkiss, *On the Order of the Illustrations*.

67 Bezalel Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts* (Jerusalem – New York: Encyclopaedia Judaica – Leon Amiel Publisher, 1969; extended edition: *Illuminated Hebrew Manuscripts*. Jerusalem – New York – London: Keter Publishing House – Alpine Fine Arts Collection Ltd., 1983).

68 Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*, 70.

and the *Kaufmann Haggadah* was not missing from them.⁶⁹ In his 1960 study, he examines two scenes: the depiction of Pharaoh's bathing daughter and the trial of Moses.⁷⁰ In his 1965 study, he provides a detailed overview of the history of research on illustrated Haggadah manuscripts, highlighting Kaufmann's pioneering work in the field. In particular, he discusses the most important basic questions of research, such as the dating of the genre's origins, possible Jewish and Christian influences, the difficulties of identifying the illustrators, and elements of iconography.⁷¹

As mentioned above, Jewish art history owes a great deal to the research and works of David Kaufmann. One indicator of this is the fact that Mendel Metzger's pioneering 1973 work on illuminated Haggadot⁷² cites Kaufmann's works, opinions, and findings in more than a hundred references. This work contains one of the earliest and most detailed analyses of the illustrations of the *Kaufmann Haggadah*, placing it within the world of late medieval illuminated Hebrew manuscripts, tracing its parallels, and examining text and image in synchronicity. An important finding is that the depiction of ritual elements is more characteristic of Ashkenazi Haggadot than Sephardic ones.⁷³ In his analyses, Metzger draws heavily on the work of David Kaufmann and the aforementioned volume by Müller and von Schlosser on the *Sarajevo Haggadah*. The volume is a great help for later research: in the first part of the book, he discusses individual motifs in the order of the Haggadah text and then examines decorative modes and stylistic features across the manuscripts. The volume concludes with hundreds of pages of illustrations, indexes, and bibliography.

Among Hungarian art historians, the *Kaufmann Haggadah* has attracted the interest of Tünde Wehli, who summarizes its most important pictorial

69 Note that he opens his 1960 study with the following sentence: "No aspect of Jewish history has been so woefully neglected as the Jew's participation in the visual arts." The possible reasons for this are analyzed at length. Joseph Guttman, "The Haggadic Motif in Jewish Iconography," *Eretz Israel* 6 (1960): 16–22; Joseph Guttman, "The Illuminated Medieval Passover Haggadah: Investigation and Research Problems," *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore* VII. 1/4 (1965): 3–25.

70 Guttman, "The Haggadic Motif," 18–19.

71 Guttman, "The Illuminated Medieval Passover Haggadah," 5–8, and Kogman-Appel, *Illuminated Haggadot*, 2–3.

72 Mendel Metzger, *La Haggada enluminée* (Leiden: Brill, 1973).

73 Metzger, *La Haggada enluminée*, 20. In the same note 3, he also observes that, to his knowledge, only the *Kaufmann Haggadah* and MS Add. 14761 contain biblical illustrations woven into the text (which was later regarded by many researchers as an Italian influence).

features in a few lines in her book *Painting in Medieval Spain*.⁷⁴ András Borgó surveys the music-historical aspects of the Haggadah's illustrations.⁷⁵ Tamás Raj mentions the *Haggadah* in his study entitled *Jewish Science To Be Done in Hungary*.⁷⁶ He notes that the Academy was planning to publish a new facsimile of the codex, but that it first needed to be conserved, since "due to bad storage, the priceless manuscript has become soggy, the colors have faded, and are bleeding through to the facing pages. This process may have already been underway and certainly in an advanced stage when it was photographed for the 1958 edition of the facsimile."⁷⁷ The conservation was carried out at the National Széchényi Library, under the supervision of Ildikó Beöthy-Kozocsa⁷⁸ in 1987; it aimed to preserve the condition of the book at that time, and no full reconstruction was undertaken.

In 1988, Volume IV of the *Index of Jewish Art*, edited by Bezalel Narkiss and Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, appeared, containing the illuminated manuscripts of the Kaufmann Collection, among them the *Kaufmann Haggadah* (57 cards).⁷⁹ These cards provide a detailed description of the individual pictorial units, and the precise enumeration of the stories, motifs, and symbols they contain has become an important aid for researchers of illuminated manuscripts.

The Second Facsimile and its Impact

In 1990, the second facsimile edition of Kaufmann A 422 was published, with an accompanying study by Gabrielle Sed-Rajna. This study appeared in three versions: a shorter version in English and Hungarian, and a longer version accompanying the more ornate copy. An important addition to the

74 Tünde Wehli, *Painting in Medieval Spain* (Budapest: Corvina, 1980), 15.

75 András Borgó, "A Kaufmann Haggada (Budapest, MTAK A 422) illusztrációinak zenei vonatkozásai," in Ágnes Gupcsó (ed.), *Zenetudományi dolgozatok* (Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézete, 1997), 25–34.

76 Tamás Raj, "Zsidó tudományos tennivalók Magyarországon," *Múlt és jövő* 1 (1988): 28–37 (30).

77 Raj, Zsidó tudományos tennivalók, 30. The date has to be corrected, as the first facsimile was published in 1957.

78 See in detail: Beöthy-Kozocsa, "Restoration of two 14th Century Codices"; on the *Haggadah*: 105–112.

79 Bezalel Narkiss and Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, *Index of Jewish Art. Iconographical Index of Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts. Vol. IV. Illuminated Manuscripts of the Kaufmann Collection* (Budapest – Jerusalem – New York: The Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences – The Israel Academy of Sciences – Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 1988).

latter is a list and description of the illustrations. Sed-Rajna agrees that the manuscript was written in Catalonia in the 1360–1370s.⁸⁰ Her study is the first to confirm Narkiss's and Metzger's earlier reconstruction of the page order after the conservation. Chapters 5–6 are of particular importance, describing first the types of textual illustrations and then the types of biblical illustrations, together with their regional variations. She then provides the correct page order and examines the possible reasons for the inversion.⁸¹

In the next chapter, the author attempts to identify the illustrators of the *Haggadah*, discerning traces of the hands of three artists. The concluding chapter briefly examines the iconography of the biblical-themed images. Sed-Rajna also reflects on Scheiber's suggestion, in his essay for the first facsimile, that the figure at the top of the burning bush might have been "copied from a picture of Christ in the glory".⁸² She concludes by pointing out to her readers that the *Kaufmann Haggadah* is a wonderful product of the collaboration of medieval Jewish and Christian copyists and illustrators.

Among the comparative works, the study by Evelyn M. Cohen⁸³ that focuses on the *Kaufmann Haggadah* is of particular importance to us. She notes that, of the nine 14th-century Haggadot containing biblical cycles, this one differs most from the others in both style and illustrations.⁸⁴ She also considers it the latest of them all and assumes that its model must have been different from the others, possibly an Italian work.⁸⁵ However, when compared with the *Barcelona* and *Sassoon Haggadot*, she identifies several similarities, such as the representation of the Wise Son⁸⁶ and, unique to these three manuscripts from the period, the visual pun on the

80 Sed-Rajna, *Kaufmann Haggadah*, 4.

81 Sed-Rajna, *Kaufmann Haggadah*, 9–14.

82 Sed-Rajna, *Kaufmann Haggadah*, 19. The illustration was already described by Müller – von Schlosser, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo*, 198.

83 Evelyn M. Cohen, "Three Sephardic Haggadot and a Possible Missing Link," in Ulf Haxen – Hanne Trautner-Kromann – Karen Lisa Goldschmidt Salamon (eds.), *Jewish Studies in a New Europe: Proceedings of the Fifth Congress of Jewish Studies in Copenhagen 1994 under the Auspices of the European Association for Jewish Studies*. (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel A/S International Publishers; Det Kongelige Bibliotek, 1998), 142–151.

84 There is a scene (Moses' trial) that is only in this (fol. 9v). Cohen, *Three Sephardic Haggadot*, 143.

85 Cohen, *Three Sephardic Haggadot*, 144.

86 In all the three manuscripts, the Wise Son is depicted seated with a book within the initial word panel (*Barcelona Hagg.* fol. 34; *Kaufmann Hagg.* fol. 18; *Sassoon Hagg.* p. 54). For a detailed examination, see Cohen, *Three Sephardic Haggadot*, 145.

words “pour out,” representing the “pouring out of fury”⁸⁷ (at the recitation of Psalms 79:6–7).

Research into Haggadah illustrations continued into the 2000s. The 150th anniversary of the birth of David Kaufmann in 2002 marked a fitting beginning to the new millennium of research, with the publication of a commemorative book by the Oriental Collection, in which several studies mention the *Kaufmann Haggadah*. Benjamin Richler refers to the Weisz catalogue,⁸⁸ and Gabrielle Sed-Rajna’s article on the visual dimensions of Jewish civilization also discusses it.⁸⁹ As mentioned earlier, Ildikó Beöthy-Kozocsa, a conservator at the National Széchényi Library, undertook the conservation of the manuscript (1985–1987), and reports on it in her previously cited study. She gives an accurate description of the manuscript’s sadly poor condition at the time. Apart from the wear of the illustrations, the greatest damage occurred when, probably in the course of its several rebindings, its pages were mutilated and trimmed, resulting in the loss of many illustrations (up to 2 cm from some pages may be missing⁹⁰). Early attempts were made to repair the worn illustrations, but these were carried out without proper skills and materials. During the conservation, the folios were renumbered, replacing the earlier incorrect page numbering.

István Ormos, the then curator of the Kaufmann Collection, provides a comprehensive study of Kaufmann and his collection, referring in detail to the Haggadah.⁹¹ He summarizes the main lines of research⁹² and also discusses topics scarcely mentioned before, such as the children’s drawings in the manuscript and the typology of the lanterns.

Katrin Kogman-Appel, a leading figure in medieval Haggadah research, focuses mainly on the Haggadot of Central Europe, the most important of which come from German and northern Italian areas. Not only do their scripts differ from those of the Sephardic ones, but the way they are illustrated also differs. One such feature is the production of intertextual and

87 *Barcelona Hagg.* fol 71v fig. 3; *Sassoon Hagg.* p. 128, fig; *Kaufmann Hagg.* fol 47, fig. 5. Cohen, *Three Sephardic Haggadot*, 147 notes that while the Sephardic Haggadot do not contain this depiction elsewhere, the Ashkenazic manuscripts often use it.

88 Benjamin Richler, “Some Observations on Weisz’s Catalogue of the Kaufmann Collection,” in Éva Apor, *David Kaufmann Memorial Volume*, 17–26.

89 Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, “The Visual Dimension of Jewish Civilization: Concepts and Realization,” in Éva Apor, *David Kaufmann Memorial Volume*, 79–96.

90 Beöthy-Kozocsa, *Restoration of two 14th Century Codices*, 106.

91 Ormos, *David Kaufmann and his Collection*, 127–196.

92 Ormos, *David Kaufmann and his Collection*, 163–170.

unframed page-edge illustrations,⁹³ a technique that is also characteristic of the *Kaufmann Haggadah*.

In 2006, she published one of the most comprehensive summaries of illustrated medieval Spanish Haggadot, in which she discusses two issues in outstanding detail. One is the relationship of Sephardic Haggadah illustrations to Christian art; the other is an examination of the cultural influences that fueled the creation of Sephardic illuminations. Her reflections on the first question explain why she does not discuss the *Kaufmann Haggadah* in detail in her work. Her starting assumption is that medieval Jewish illustrators were trained in Christian workshops, and many of them presumably stayed on to work there, so that the interplay of influences can be traced in many works. In her opinion, most of the illustrations in the Haggadot were produced by Jewish masters, with the exception of our Haggadah, where, according to Kogman-Appel, Christian artists “made no particular effort (or were not guided to make any such effort) to accommodate their sources to Jewish needs.”⁹⁴

In her 2019 study,⁹⁵ she looks at the Haggadot of the German and northern Italian regions, with the two central questions of how text and image achieve the desired didactic effect on Seder evenings, and how the image facilitates the recitation of the text and the order of the feast. An important point in her approach is the examination of the role of Haggadot in ritual meals. She cites Adam Cohen’s idea that one of the roles of medieval Haggadah illustrations was to stimulate all the senses, as a kind of multi-sensory communication device.⁹⁶ This effect is well illustrated in the Haggadah of the Kaufmann collection.

Marc Michael Epstein has published a number of works on medieval Haggadot, the most important of which is his monograph *The Medieval Haggadah*. In it, the author examines four Haggadot from the first half of

93 Katrin Kogman-Appel, “The Audiences of the Late Medieval Haggadah,” in Jonathan Decter – Esperanza Alfonso (eds.), *Patronage, Production, and Transmission of Texts in Medieval and Early Modern Jewish Cultures* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 99–143 (137).

94 Kogman-Appel, *Illuminated Haggadot*, 14.

95 Katrin Kogman-Appel, “‘And You Shall Tell Your Son on this Day’: Visual Didactics in Medieval Illustrated Haggadot,” in Norbert Kössinger – Claudia Wittig (eds.), *Prodesse et delectare: Case Studies on Didactic Literature in the European Middle Ages / Fallstudien zur didaktischen Literatur des europäischen Mittelalters* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2019), 138–173.

96 Adam Cohen, “La Haggadah multi-sensorielle,” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 55 (2012): 521–539.

the 14th century,⁹⁷ not including the *Kaufmann Haggadah*. Although many similarities can be found between these manuscripts and ours, they are dated earlier, at the beginning of the century. The monograph raises important aspects in the interpretation of the accompanying illustrations as texts, providing a broader context for medieval Jewish thought and halakhah, and it also introduces novel perspectives into the research, such as the practice of pictorial representations of eschatology, how female patrons may have influenced the depictions produced, and how female readers may have related to the images. An important point of view for Haggadah scholars is that, despite the standard nature of the text and ritual, we must always interpret the representations first and foremost in relation to the human time and place of their creation (which can be reconstructed as accurately as possible), and only then can we move on to universal interpretation.⁹⁸

In 2015, the volume *Skies of Parchments, Seas of Ink*, edited by Epstein and including contributions from eminent experts of the field, was published as an important introduction to the study of Hebrew manuscripts. Many pieces from our collection are included, and Epstein explores the symbolic meaning of the dog's depiction in the Haggadah in a chapter on marginal illustration.⁹⁹

Vivian B. Mann, in a volume on the Jewish cultural-historical reception of the Exodus, dealt with the miniatures¹⁰⁰ of Spanish Haggadot with biblical themes, and although she did not examine the *Kaufmann Haggadah*, she draws several conclusions that are certainly important for researchers on the subject. The reason for the omission of our Haggadah is presumably that it depicts only the Book of Exodus and no other biblical book.

In the spring of 2015, the *Kaufmann Haggadah* was featured in an exhibition in Barcelona¹⁰¹ presenting Catalan Haggadot. The exhibition catalogue makes

97 These are the so-called *Birds' Head Haggadah* (Jerusalem, Israel Museum, MS 180/57, South Germany [Mainz?], c. 1300), the earliest known surviving illuminated Haggadah; the *Golden Haggadah* (London, British Library, MS Add. 27210, Catalonia, c. 1320–1330); the *Rylands Haggadah* (Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS Heb. 6, Catalonia, c. 1330–1340) and its so-called *Brother* (London, British Library, MS Or. 1404, Catalonia, c. 1330–1340). For details, see: Marc Michael Epstein, *The Medieval Haggadah: Art, Narrative, and Religious Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

98 Epstein, *The Medieval Haggadah*, 8.

99 Marc Michael Epstein (ed.), *Skies of Parchments, Seas of Ink. Jewish Illuminated Manuscripts* (Princeton–Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2015), 184–186.

100 Mann, *Observations*, 167–190.

101 The exhibition “*Haggadahs Barcelona. The Jewish Splendour of Catalan Gothic*” was hosted by MUHBA (Museu d’Història de Barcelona). The catalogue, titled *Barcelona Haggadot*, is available at: https://www.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/sites/default/files/hagadas_eng_0.pdf.

clear the original order of the Haggadah's pages (with the story of Moses at the beginning). The author also points out that there is a noticeable Italian influence on the work and notes that, despite conservation, some pigments in the manuscript have deteriorated heavily.¹⁰²

Two recent major studies of the *Kaufmann Haggadah* are also worth mentioning. In 2024, Abby Kornfeld explores¹⁰³ how illustrations evoke the text, highlight parts of it, suggest multiple meanings for the words they accompany, and lead to new associations, opening the way to new interpretations. The focus of Sarit Shalev-Eyni's study, published in 2025,¹⁰⁴ is to explore the significance of linguistic diversity in Sephardic art for artists, viewers, and readers of different religions and genders. She pays particular attention to women, examining them both as subjects of illustrations and as participants in the process of reception. Two 14th-century works—the *Kaufmann Haggadah* and a monumental work, Samuel ha-Levi Abulafia's synagogue in Toledo—form the basis of her comparison.

Hopes for the New Facsimile

From this summary of the history of research, we have seen that interest in the *Kaufmann Haggadah* has been continuous but uneven and varied since the first description of the manuscript in 1898. A major factor in this was that the scholar-collector himself, David Kaufmann, was the author of seminal works that laid the foundations for research not only on the Haggadah but also on illuminated Hebrew manuscripts for many decades. These studies not only advanced the study of the illustrations but also revitalized Jewish art history as a discipline.

We have seen that much of the research on the *Kaufmann Haggadah* has focused on the illustrations. This has been particularly true over the last two decades, during which technological developments have made it possible to produce new digitized material of better quality than that on which the 1957 and the 1990 facsimile editions were based.¹⁰⁵

A review of the history of research shows that, in several cases, interest has been greatly stimulated by the publication of a major summary work

¹⁰² Haggadahs Barcelona, 47.

¹⁰³ Kornfeld, "Go Forth and Learn," 143–168.

¹⁰⁴ Sarit Shalev-Eyni, "Looking at Language in a Multilingual Environment: Sephardic Art between the Domestic and the Communal," *Studies in Iconography* 46/4 (2025). Available at: https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/studies_in_iconography/vol46/iss1/4

¹⁰⁵ The new digitization was carried out by the staff of the National Széchényi Library in 2025. The reproduction was done at a resolution of 850 dpi.

or a facsimile edition. This is not surprising, since such publications not only make the manuscript available to all but also contain summaries that facilitate research. This is particularly noticeable after the second facsimile, which contains much higher-quality images than the first (due in part to the conservation work carried out between the two editions), when research into the illustrations received a significant boost.

We hope to achieve a similar effect with this volume. The restored page order, the high-resolution images, and the accurate reproduction of the page edges¹⁰⁶ all serve to make the *Kaufmann Haggadah* more widely known and to support the study of its text and its wonderful illustrations. In addition, it is hoped that this new edition, like the original, will serve as a guide for many Seder evenings.

106 For printing, the latest cold-foil technology was used, which means that in addition to the four-color color print, gold ink was applied as a fifth color on the sheets, at the same high resolution as the color print. In this way, the crackle and fineness of the gold layer could be reproduced as faithfully as possible. Each curve was laser-cut individually, faithfully following the uneven edges of the original curves. Since the pages are not regular rectangles, the volumes were hand-stitched (information supplied by Gyula Schöck).

**The Kaufmann Haggadah:
Inheriting Tradition, Imagining the Present**

Sarit Shalev-Eyni

The Kaufmann Haggadah holds a significant place among the extant Sephardic illuminated manuscripts. Produced in the second half of the fourteenth century, it offers rare insight into the vibrant Jewish life that flourished in the Crown of Aragon before the devastating persecutions of 1391/92—events that brought an abrupt end to some of its most vital Jewish communities. First debuted to the public and the scholarly community in 1898,¹ the Kaufmann Haggadah has since appeared in two facsimile editions (1957 and 1990).² Yet, many aspects of this remarkable manuscript remain unexplored. This facsimile recreates the manuscript in its original form, inviting a renewed examination of its distinctive features and implications.

Traditionally, the Passover Haggadah was incorporated into the prayer book as part of the annual liturgical cycle. By the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, however, a new restricted development emerged in Europe: lavishly illuminated Haggadah manuscripts appeared as independent codices, befitting their unique status as family-oriented ritual texts. A small group of Sephardic Haggadot is notable for including extensive biblical picture cycles at the beginning of the manuscripts. The first Haggadah of this exclusive group dates to the late thirteenth century and is attributed to northern Castile.³ In the following decades, the new genre flourished among affluent, elite circles in Catalonia and other locations in the Crown

- 1 David Heinrich Müller and Julius V. Schlosser, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo: Eine spanisch-jüdische Bilderhandschrift des Mittelalters* (Vienna: A. Hölder, 1898), 187–99.
- 2 Alexander Scheiber, *The Kaufmann Haggadah: Facsimile Edition of Ms. 422 of the Kaufmann Collection in the Oriental Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences*, Facsimile and Commentary (Budapest: Publications of the Oriental Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1957); Bezalel Narkiss and Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, *Illuminated Manuscripts of the Kaufmann Collection at the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Science*, Index of Jewish Art: Iconographical Index of Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts 4 (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Paris: Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, 1988), no. IJA 1986/7; Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, *The Kaufmann Haggadah: New Facsimile Edition* (Budapest: Kultura International, 1990).
- 3 London, British Library, Ms. Or. 2737. Here, the cycle of miniatures appears at the end. See Bezalel Narkiss, et al., *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Isles* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, London: British Academy, 1982), no. 9; Katrin Kogman-Appel, *Illuminated Haggadot from Medieval Spain: Biblical Imagery and the Passover Holiday* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 19–23, 28–29.

of Aragon and Provence.⁴ The earliest Catalan example is the sumptuous Golden Haggadah, so named for its burnished gold backgrounds framing the opening cycle of images. Its production is associated with manuscripts produced at the royal court and attributed to Barcelona in the 1320s.⁵ Other Haggadah manuscripts attributed to nearby regions were produced in the following decades, mostly before the social and economic crisis of the Black Death in the mid-fourteenth century. The Kaufmann Haggadah offers rare evidence of the tradition's continuity a few decades later and provides insight into how the Seder night was celebrated within an elite household of the time.

The term “Haggadah” (telling) reflects the essence of Seder night. It is based on the biblical commandment to recount the miracles of the Exodus to the next generation: “And you shall tell your son on that day” (Exod. 13:8). The text of the Haggadah is a collection of passages based primarily on biblical verses and their interpretations in rabbinic sources from the Mishnaic period.⁶ It opens with the Aramaic declaration “*ha-laḥma 'anya*” (this is the bread of affliction, referring to the matzah), followed by the Four Questions, which were traditionally asked by one of the sons to fit the festival's focus on transmitting the story to the younger generation.⁷ Rooted in Mishnah Pesahim 10:4, these questions concern the core elements of the ritual: eating matzah and *maror* (bitter herbs), dipping herbs, and reclining. These questions spark the central discussion of the Seder. It begins with the statement, “We were slaves to Pharaoh in Egypt” (Deut. 6:20–23) and continues with discussions about the Five Sages, the answers to the Four Sons, and the Tannaite exposition of Deuteronomy 26:5–8, as well as other relevant passages. Gradually crystallized in the Eastern Mediterranean and Babylonia, the text of the Haggadah spread to medieval Europe, where it evolved into distinct local variants that differ slightly from one another:

4 Kogman-Appel, *Illuminated Haggadot*, 11–44.

5 Bezalel Narkiss, *The Golden Haggadah – A Fourteenth-century Illuminated Hebrew Manuscript in the British Museum*, 2 vols (London: Eugrammia Press, 1970); Kogman-Appel, *Illuminated Haggadot*, 47–88; Marc Michael Epstein, *The Medieval Haggadah: Art, Narrative, and Religious Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 147–77.

6 For a detailed analysis of the Haggadah text, see Daniel Goldschmidt, *The Passover Haggadah: Its Sources and History* (Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute, 1960/ 1988) [Hebrew].

7 See Babylonian Talmud, Pesahim 116a.

Ashkenazic (German and French), Italian, and Sephardic.⁸ Recently Michal Sternthal has identified a Provençal variant closely related to, yet distinct from, the Sephardic variant.⁹ Based upon this finding, the Kaufmann Haggadah can be unequivocally identified as a Sephardic Iberian manuscript.

Like other Haggadot, the Kaufmann manuscript lacks a colophon, which makes precise localization within the Iberian region more challenging. Initially cited in literature during the late nineteenth century, the manuscript was considered Northern Italian with heavy French influence and dated to the latter half of the Trecento.¹⁰ Later, scholars discerned the emblems of Aragon and Castile in the illuminations and concluded that the manuscript was Sephardic (**ff. 39r and 48r**). This conclusion was also supported by codicological and paleographical evidence.¹¹ Catalonia has been suggested as the manuscript's probable place of origin, along with a dating of 1360–1370.¹² Seeking to continue the magnificent tradition familiar to Sephardic elites for several decades, the patron who commissioned the manuscript ordered one that followed the local practice. As we will see, the designers drew from visual models in other Haggadot while creating a unique manuscript. The following tracing of the stages of the Haggadah's production sheds light on those involved in its creation, the origins and innovations of its illustrations, and their cultural implications and reception.

1. The Making of the Manuscript

1.1 *The Beginning: The Scribe and His Work*

Having made the decision to commission a splendid Passover Haggadah, the anonymous patron of the Kaufmann Haggadah first hired a professional scribe. The scribe was required to plan the work, which included determining the size of the codex and estimating the number of parchment leaves needed. The parchment, made from animal skins, was prepared by a professional parchment maker. He first soaked the skin in lime and stretched it on a wooden frame. Then, he scraped off the fat and hair to make it fit for

8 For the differences between the Ashkenazic and Italian versions, see Mordechai Glatzer, "The Ashkenazic and Italian Haggadah and the Haggadot of Joel ben Simeon," in Myron M. Weinstein (ed.), *The Washington Haggadah. A Facsimile Edition of an Illuminated Fifteenth-Century Hebrew Manuscript at the Library of Congress Signed by Joel ben Simeon* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1991), 137–69.

9 Michal Sternthal, PhD in progress, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

10 Müller and Schlosser, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo*, 188–89.

11 Narkiss and Sed-Rajna, *Kaufmann Collection*, no. IJA 1986/7/1–2. Sed-Rajna, *Kaufmann Haggadah*, 5–7.

12 Sed-Rajna, *Kaufmann Haggadah*, 6.

writing. As was customary among Sephardic Jews, the finished product distinguishes the smooth, lighter flesh side from the hair side, where hair follicles are discernible.¹³ The scribe arranged seven quires from the sheets of parchment for copying the text of the Haggadah. Most of them (the first five) consist of eight folios each, a common quire composition in Sephardic manuscripts. The sixth and seventh quires consist of six and two folios, respectively. The scribe outlined the page layout, ensuring straight lines and even margins to create uniform and organized text areas. Using a stylus, a method that was strictly maintained in Iberian book culture even after other European communities adopted different local practices, he ruled nine horizontal lines and two vertical lines, one on each side of each folio. Guided by pricking in the outer margins, which preceded the ruling process and was apparently trimmed by the binder later, the bifolio was ruled while unfolded. After ruling, the bifolia were reassembled into quires. As was customary in Sephardic manuscripts, each quire began on the hair side of the parchment, and the folios were arranged according to Gregory's Rule: at every opening, the hair side faces the hair side, and the flesh side faces the flesh side.¹⁴ The process of copying the text with ink could now begin. The scribe employed an unusual format: a large script in which the letter-height reaches 10 mm. Relatively large scripts are typical of luxurious Sephardic Haggadah manuscripts, but the Kaufmann Haggadah's script size is exceptionally large, undoubtedly enabling several family members to follow the ritual reading together.

Using a reed, the traditional writing instrument of Sephardic book culture, the scribe inscribed the text in Sephardic square calligraphic script, a style well known throughout the Iberian Peninsula at the time. This script developed in Al-Andalus under the influence of the Maghrebi square script, which itself was a variation of the type that developed in Babylon.¹⁵ Due to the close ties between the Maghreb and Al-Andalus, the script was adopted in Al-Andalus by the eleventh century and underwent local development. Following the Almoravid (1091–1145) and Almohad (1172) invasions, refugees moved north and spread the Andalusian script to northern Iberia

13 Malachi Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology: Historical and Comparative Typology of Medieval Hebrew Codices Based on the Documentation of the Extant Dated Manuscripts until 1540 Using a Quantitative Approach*, English version by Ilana Goldberg, ed. Nurit Pasternak (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 2021), 236–37.

14 For the method of ruling and pricking, see Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology*, 378–81.

15 Edna Engel, "Hebrew Scripts in Medieval Catalonia," in *Actes del I Congrés per a l'estudi dels jueus en territoris de llengua catalana* Barcelona-Girona, del 15 al 17 d'octubre de 2001 (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2004), 121–38.

and southern France. This had a dramatic impact on the local Hebrew script in Catalonia, Aragon, and Provence.¹⁶ Gradually, the local variant evolved into a more elongated style, a characteristic visible in our scribe's handiwork. Specific features stand out in addition to the general long proportions: the long flag of the *lamed*, the slightly twisted downstroke of that letter, the sharply pointed *peh* with its pronounced top serif, and the elegant twist of the short horizontal stroke added to the main downstroke of the *aleph*. These facets lend the script a striking, graceful elegance, enhancing the manuscript's aesthetics and pointing to its origin.

The scribe was an excellent calligrapher but slightly less careful when copying from his model, occasionally omitting a few words. At the next stage, however, he carefully vocalized the text. This allowed him to proofread and insert the omitted words, which he wrote in small letters in the margins, as was customary.¹⁷ During the copying stage, he determined the decorative program based on the model before him. He outlined the opening words of the various sections of the Haggadah throughout the text, which would later guide the artists in applying gold leaf, and left space around them for the painters to design panels. Following the tradition of Sephardic Haggadot, ample space was left for depicting a sumptuously decorated matzah and a large herb representing *maror* in the passages beginning "This matzah" and "This *maror*," respectively (ff. 39r and 40r). At the beginning of the text (f. 11v), he designed a lavish opening page containing the traditional Aramaic instructive prologue of Sephardic Haggadot: "atan mipirqa shatfin casa u-mozgin hamra u-mevarkhin" ("They are coming from the prayer gathering, rinsing a cup, pouring out wine, and reciting the benediction"). Once the copying of the text was complete, the scribe's task was finished, and the manuscript was handed over to a team of artists, likely in a workshop, for illumination.

1.2 In the Workshop: Two Masters and Their Assistants

The drawing and coloring of the text consisted of several typical components. These included gilding the initial words, framing them with illustrative or decorative panels and adding vegetal scrolls along the margins. Four different artists were involved in the process. Two of them were senior, highly qualified artists whom Sed-Rajna called the Master of the Kaufmann

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Sed-Rajna, *Kaufmann Haggadah*, 7.

Haggadah and the Master of the Second Cup.¹⁸ Both were responsible for pages with text and illustrations and usually served as both draftsmen and colorists. The Master of the Second Cup was in charge of the main visual components, for which the scribe provided ample space. These components included the two pages with the large decorated matzah and *maror* (ff. 39r and 40r), the initial word panel of Psalm 114 (“When Israel came forth out of Egypt,” f. 43r), and the instruction to recline to the left when drinking the second cup (f. 45r), for which he is named. The other senior illuminator, the Master of the Kaufmann Haggadah, worked on the other illustrated pages,¹⁹ as well as some decorative ones.²⁰

After drawing the different components in plummet or light ink, they applied gold leaf to the letters of the initial words. This was always done before painting. Otherwise, the thin leaf would stick to the painted surface. The gold leaf was laid over a supporting base. As was customary in local manuscripts, this base could have been made of gesso, a mixture of gypsum or chalk and animal glue. Another technique often seen in our manuscript, when the gold leaf is cracked or partially peeled off, uses bole, a reddish-brown clay mixed with animal glue that gives the final result a warm undertone. The two main illuminators used different methods. The Master of the Second Cup’s gilded surface is flat, delicate, and precise. The gilded letters are sometimes surrounded by a thin black outline decorated with small white dots (e.g., f. 45r). The Master of the Kaufmann Haggadah’s gilded letters are more voluminous yet still delicate and faithful to the scribe’s letters (e.g., f. 15v).

Significant differences between the two masters can be seen in the design and coloring of the figures, panels, and scrollwork. The figures of the Master of the Kaufmann Haggadah are solid in stature with round, childlike faces that are colored with a thin layer of light color, giving them a flat appearance (f. 15v). Their facial features are gentle and small. Two pink patches indicate the cheeks, and a tiny red patch marks the lips of the mouth. The garments are voluminous, with deep folds that accentuate the figures’ stance. The backgrounds are usually flat and the palette is bright and lively. In contrast,

18 In fact, Sed-Rajna called the second master “the Master of the Third Cup.” However, her designation is based on an error, as the two illustrations after which he was named refer to the second cup of wine, not the third (ff. 44r, 45r). I have therefore changed his name to the “Master of the Second Cup.” For the two masters, see *ibid.*, 14–16. The division between the two masters is in accordance to Sed-Rajna’s observations, with slight differences.

19 Ff. 15v, 18r–19v, 26r, 27v (partially), 33v, and 41v–42r.

20 Ff. 12r, 16r–v, 34r–v, 51v (partially), 53v–55r (partially).

the Master of the Second Cup uses a much darker palette and thicker layers of paint (f. 43r). The figures' garments are heavier, and their faces are painted in light brownish-pink and reddish shades to achieve a three-dimensional effect. The heads are relatively large compared to the bodies. Some small details, such as Moses's rod and the women's headgear, are gilded. The backgrounds featuring three-dimensional architectural structures and interiors give the panels a greater sense of depth. Both masters often incorporate large acanthus leaves in the decoration, but the Master of the Second Cup's leaves are larger, denser, and fleshier (ff. 39r, 43r, 45r). The foliage curls at the edges while the leaves along the scroll entwine around its length. Together, they impart a sense of depth and movement to the scroll. The Master of the Kaufmann Haggadah's leaves are large and dominant, yet more flat and spacious. This makes room for a rich and creative repertoire of fauna, especially birds, peacocks, ducks, butterflies, and snails, which fill the spaces and sometimes predominate the illustrative components (f. 42r).²¹

1.3 Illuminator C

In addition to the two main illuminators, another hand, whom we will call "Illuminator C," worked as an assistant. He was primarily involved with non-illustrative panels and his hand appears mainly in the last four quires of the text. He often uses the same vegetal repertoire as the two masters, but his acanthus leaves are narrower, and his scrolls tend to be awkward (ff. 47r, 48r). Like the Master of the Second Cup, he sometimes outlines letters with black lines decorated with delicate white dots.²² However, the gilding of the letters is less refined; the layer beneath the gold leaf is thicker, and the brownish bole is visible under the peeled-off fragments (ff. 47r, 51v). Illuminator C was the one who inserted the Aragon emblem in his decorations (f. 48r).

1.4 Illuminator D

The fourth illuminator's hand, D, is especially evident in the second and third quires of the text. His work appears rough compared to the others. The

21 Another type of foliage that characterizes his diverse work is delicate, curling tendrils made of ink on which colored, clover-shaped leaves hang (ff. 51v, 53v, 54v). For parallels, see examples from Saragossa in Josefina Planas Badenas, "Un códice inédito conservado en el archivo capitular de Zaragoza y su filiación con el gótico internacional de la corona de aragón," in *La miniatura y el grabado de la Baja Edad Media en los archivos españoles*, ed. María del Carmen Lacarra Ducay (Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2012), 157–202, figs. 3, 7, and 12.

22 On the opening page (f. 11v), he designed the gilded letters and panel, while the master created the two illustrative figures and vegetal scrolls.

letters are wide, and they lose some of the features of the original script. The gilded vocalization marks are larger, and they sometimes lose their appropriate shape (f. 32v). In other cases, they are adjoined to the bases of the letters (e.g., ff. 26v, 27r, 30v). The layer beneath the gold leaf is especially thick. The floral frames surrounding some of the initial word panels (ff. 21v–24r) suggest a later date.

1.5 *The Franco-Italian Style*

The work of Illuminator C shows a dominant French inspiration, while the styles of the two masters reveal a strong Italian influence.²³ The plump bodies and round faces of the Master of the Kaufmann Haggadah; the full faces of the figures by the Master of the Second Cup; and the straight, deep folds of the garments by the hands of both masters are among the main features pointing to the Italian connection. Architectural elements, such as low buildings with two visible sides and slanted roofs, as well as interiors presented without fronts, also contribute to the Italian character of the artwork. The large, fleshy leaves, especially those of the Master of the Second Cup, are also notable.²⁴ Alongside these strong Italian stylistic characteristics, one can see the French influence in the illuminations, such as the scrolls with small ivy- and clover-shaped leaves integrated into the foliage of the three original hands, the rich repertoire of marginal fauna, and the stained glass-like backgrounds and Gothic frames (ff. 2r, 3v). This blend of Italo-French styles and motifs in the work of the two masters may have reached the Crown of Aragon through the prolific manuscript illumination activity at the papal court in Avignon from 1309 to 1376.²⁵ The filigree penwork supports this channel of transmission.

1.6 *The Filigree Penwork*

Filigree penwork appears on some pages of the Kaufmann Haggadah as an alternative to painted initial word panels, particularly in the first quire of the text. The skilled artist used red and purple ink, colors typical of this genre. In some cases, the artist added a green wash to the background of the delicate scrolls (ff. 13v–14v, 17v). The illuminator's originality is evident in the addition of illustrative elements within the filigree, such as a man holding a covered basket of matzah in the initial word panel “ha-laḥma

²³ For the Italian impact, Sed-Rajna, *Kaufmann Haggadah*, 15.

²⁴ Bezalel Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1984), 97 [Hebrew].

²⁵ For this activity, see Francesca Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi. 1301–1410* (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 2006).

'anya" (f. 14r).²⁶ Especially creative is his design of the repeated word *ilu* (If) in the song "*Dayenu*" (We Would Have Been Satisfied), which appears in abbreviated form, one beneath the other, along the right side of the page (ff. 34v–36v). Each *ilu* is surrounded by an elaborate red ink design, from which images emerge: a small bird, a human-headed bird, and a peacock (f. 35v); a human figure in profile wearing a feathered hat and blowing a trumpet; a maiden holding a rosette; and a dog and fleeing deer on the lower margin (f. 36r).

The penwork appears closely related to the script. By highlighting specific words, the artist demonstrates his ability to read the text (ff. 12r–12v). At the same time, he shows an affinity for the artistic work of the workshop. This is especially apparent in two colored components of the penwork that strongly resemble the work of the Master of the Kaufmann Haggadah. The peacock's body emerging from the filigree-like penwork on folio 35v and the dog in the penwork on the opposite page (f. 36r) are strikingly similar to the peacock and dog in the Master of the Kaufmann Haggadah's work on folio 41v. These two images connect the penwork to the Master of the Kaufmann Haggadah.

The artist's familiarity with the aesthetics of Latin manuscripts is clearly apparent in his design for folio 14v of the Kaufmann Haggadah. He decorated the two long flourishes emerging from the lower corners of the panel with alternating red and blue opaque ink components. This reflects the aesthetics of Latin manuscripts, which feature delicate, filigree-like decorations attached to blue and red initial letters.²⁷ Furthermore, the vibrant images of animals, hybrids, and human faces in the Haggadah (ff. 35v–36r, 40v) reveal a close affinity with the work of Bernard of Toulouse, a prolific illuminator who worked in Avignon from 1361 to 1383. While Bernard also created painted images, his talents are especially evident in his filigree penwork, which demonstrates a high level of craftsmanship and attention to

26 A man, depicted from the waist up, wearing a high, rounded cap embellished with a feather, emerges from a flower next to the initial word panel "*ma nishtanah*" (f. 14v). This unusual image is located outside the initial word panel made of penwork but is designed with the same red, purple, and green washes as the panel. Another marginal figure that appears as a continuation of the penwork is holding a golden cup (f. 12r).

27 See e.g., <https://portail.biblissima.fr/ark:/43093/mdata9557da350d84232f9a98e4c15734aaf8368be8fe>

detail.²⁸ The pen-flourished decorations attributed to Bernard in the Missal of the Aragonese Cardinal Nicolas Rossel, which was produced in Avignon and features tempera-illuminated illustrations created with the involvement of Catalan artists, exemplify the fluid exchange between Avignon and Catalonia.²⁹ Although Bernard's forms appear more naturalistic than those of our illuminator, the close repertoire of motifs emerging from the filigree work in both hands may point to a similar route of transmission between Avignon and the Crown of Aragon.

1.7 The Cycle of Miniatures: Present State and Reconstruction

In the workshop, alongside illuminating the text, a cycle of biblical miniatures was composed on a few additional quires meant to be appended to the beginning of the text. The Master of the Kaufmann Haggadah was the one who carried out this task.³⁰ In its current state, the cycle of miniatures is divided into two groups of independent bifolia that do not follow a logical order. Five of the bifolia are located at the beginning of the manuscript, before the text (**ff. 1r–10v**), and two are located at the end (**ff. 57r–60v**). As early as 1967, Bezalel Narkiss reconstructed the original order of the cycle, which would have been presented in its entirety at the beginning, likely in two quires of six leaves each. At some point, the original quires became separated into single bifolia, which were gathered into two groups at the beginning and end, regardless of their original order.³¹ This may have occurred before the sixteenth century,³² and possibly reflects a time when the manuscript was kept unbound.

Each page is divided horizontally into two panels that depict biblical scenes and narrate the history of the People of Israel before and during their redemption from Egypt. Initially, the cycle opened with the bondage of the Israelites in Egypt and Moses at the burning bush (**f. 59v**). It then

28 Francesca Manzari, "Animals and Funny Faces in the Pen-work Decoration from the Avignon Workshop of Bernard de Toulouse (1360–1390)," in *Le manuscrit enluminé: Études réunies en hommage à Patricia Stirnemann*, ed. Claudia Rabel, Cahiers du Léopard d'or 16 (Paris: Le Léopard d'or, 2014), 235–55. See especially Avignon, BM, Ms. 133, ff. 1r, 161v; Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale e Universitaria, Ms. D.I.21, ff. 26r, 33v, 79v, 250r, 262r (Manzari, "Animals and Funny Faces," figs. 2, 3, 6b, 8, 12d).

29 Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, D.I.21; Manzari, "Animals and Funny Faces," 241–42.

30 Sed-Rajna, *Kaufmann Haggadah*, 15.

31 For the reconstruction of the original order of the cycle, see Bezalel Narkiss, "The Order of the Illustrations of the Kaufmann Haggadah," *Kiryat Sefer* 42 (1967): 104–108 [Hebrew].

32 Sed-Rajna, *Kaufmann Haggadah*, 12–14.

continued with the ten plagues (ff. 6r, 7v, 8r, 5v, 60r, 1v, 4r) and several episodes of the Exodus from Egypt (ff. 57v–58r). The cycle concluded with the Songs of Moses and Miriam (f. 3v) and the preparation and celebration of the Seder (f. 2r). The probably unbound manuscript was given to the patron in this format. Apparently impressed by the beauty of the Haggadah but not fully satisfied with the selection of miniatures, the patron commissioned another artist to decorate a bifolio with four scenes from the childhood of Moses that would be added at the beginning of the miniature cycle. The additional scenes were: the finding of Moses in the Nile (f. 10r, upper panel); the transmission of the baby to his mother for nursing (f. 10r, lower panel); and two scenes depicting Moses's early life in the royal court of Pharaoh (f. 9v). The last two, which are not recounted in the Bible, are based on a well-known Jewish legend and are not found in other Haggadot. Perhaps the patron's motivation to start the cycle with Moses's infancy was his acquaintance with another Haggadah in which the Exodus cycle opened similarly. Support for this assumption comes from the Kaufmann Haggadah's close ties to the Golden Haggadah, made almost half a century earlier in Barcelona (Fig. 1).³³ Both Haggadot depict Pharaoh's daughter and her maidens bathing naked in the Nile, following the same iconographic tradition. They also share the use of a gilded background, a feature that, in the Kaufmann Haggadah, is restricted to this panel. The additional cycle of Moses's childhood in the Kaufmann Haggadah is thus likely an expansion of an existing tradition.

The artist of the additional bifolia was much less proficient compared to the high-quality work of the Kaufmann Haggadah artists. His figures are clumsy, their heads disproportionately large, and their faces lack the sweetness characteristic of the Master of the Kaufmann Haggadah. These differences support Sed-Rajna's assumption that the artist who painted the four panels depicting scenes from Moses's childhood did not work in the same workshop as the other artists.³⁴ Her assumption that the four scenes were created for a different manuscript,³⁵ is less plausible. Despite their differences, the additional bifolio exhibits a close affinity with the Master of the Kaufmann Haggadah. The two have similar-sized miniatures, a horizontal panel division, and a basic color palette. In fact, the illuminator's style in the additional bifolio is a simplified, less skilled version of the Master of the Kaufmann Haggadah. This is especially

³³ London, British Library, Ms. Add. 27210, f. 9r, upper right panel.

³⁴ Sed-Rajna, *Kaufmann Haggadah*, 33.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

evident in the design of the heavy garments. The additional illuminator simplified the Master's straight, deep folds, which he formed into uniform, flat bands. The hair is colored with a faint, washed color similar to that of the Master of the Kaufmann Haggadah. The absence of pink patches for cheeks and the structure of the faces are significant differences that blur the similarities between the two. Furthermore, peeling paint obscures the beauty of the additional illuminator's original work, especially the sumptuous design and embroidery like decoration of the dress worn by the daughter of Pharaoh.

After the final stage of illumination was completed and the extra bifolio was added, tiny inscriptions containing relevant portions of Scripture that identified the biblical scenes and their protagonists were written in faint ink above and below the scenes. This format echoes a common practice in introductory cycles of miniatures in Sephardic Haggadah manuscripts, which, in turn, is rooted in similar captions in Latin psalters.³⁶ Though minuscule, these Hebrew inscriptions were powerful tools that guided the reader during the viewing process. Evidence of this final stage of production is apparent in the paleographic features throughout the manuscript. As we will see below, this proximity in time enables us to understand how contemporary Jewish viewers perceived the images.

2. The Cycle of Miniatures: Contents and Concepts

As with other Sephardic Haggadah manuscripts, the Kaufmann Haggadah's prefatory cycle of full-page miniatures serves as a visual introduction to the ritual text. In its final form, with the addition of the first bifolio, the cycle represents a consistent concept that was obscured by the subsequent separation of the quires and misbinding of their bifolia. In contrast to the Haggadah text that follows the cycle, Moses, the leader of the Israelites appointed by God, plays a central role in the miniatures. The figure of Moses is deliberately omitted from the Haggadah text, probably for polemical reasons, to emphasize the miraculous Exodus from Egypt as a divine act, without any other intervention, as written in the Haggadah text:³⁷

36 This tradition was particularly common in English and French psalters. See e.g., the Ingeborg Psalter (Noyon/ Soissons, c. 1195; Chantilly, Bibliothèque et archives du château, Ms. 9); Florens Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgpsalter* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1967); *Psautier d'Ingeburge de Danemark = Ingeborg Psalter: Ms. 9 olim 1695, aus dem Besitz des Musée Condé, Chantilly: vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1985).

37 See David Henshke, "'The Lord Brought Us Forth from Egypt': On the Absence of Moses in the Passover Haggadah," *AJS Review* 31, no. 1 (2007): 61–73.

“And the Lord brought us out of Egypt” – not through an angel, and not by a Seraph, and not through any messenger. But the Holy One Blessed be He, Himself in His own supreme and august Glory brought us out of Egypt.³⁸

In the cycle of miniatures, Moses is returned to the forefront, consistent with the biblical narrative. While this is true of other Sephardic Haggadah manuscripts of this type, the Kaufmann Haggadah takes this direction a step further by opening the cycle with four scenes of Moses’s childhood, two of which are exceptional (**ff. 9v–10r**). This addition further strengthens the place of Moses in the whole cycle, presenting him as a protagonist whose leadership was a Divine plan from the beginning. The design of these four scenes sheds light on the profile of the additional illuminator and his sources.

Shortly before Moses’s birth, Pharaoh ordered that every son born to a Hebrew woman be thrown into the Nile (Exod. 1:22). When Moses’s mother could hide him no longer, she placed him in an ark of bulrushes and set it on the riverbank. When the daughter of Pharaoh came down to the river with her maidens to bathe, she saw the ark among the reeds and sent “her *amah*” (“*amatah*” in the Hebrew text) to retrieve it. She opened the ark and took pity on the baby (2:5–6). The Bible credits Pharaoh’s daughter with rescuing Moses. She set in motion the ark’s retrieval, opened it, and discovered the child inside (2:3). However, the identity of the woman who actually entered the water and pulled the ark from the Nile remains ambiguous. As noted, in verse 5 of the biblical text, which describes the scene of the finding of Moses, the Hebrew word “*amah*” is used. This word has two different meanings. One is “maiden”; the other is “hand.” Translated as “maiden,” it would mean that the princess sent one of her handmaids to retrieve the ark. However, translated as “hand,” it would mean that Pharaoh’s daughter had recovered the ark with her own hand. These two possibilities are discussed in the Babylonian Talmud and the Midrash: “R. Judah said that the word means ‘her hand,’ and R. Nehemiah said that it means ‘her handmaid.’”³⁹ While biblical

38 Translations of the Haggadah texts after Jacob Freedman, *Polychrome Historical Haggadah for Passover* (Springfield: Jacob Freedman Liturgy Research Foundation, 1974). The translation of the verses of the Hebrew Bible follows *The Holy Scriptures Tanakh According to the Masoretic Text* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1917).

39 Babylonian Talmud, Sotah 12b; Exodus Rabbah 1, 27.

commentators and exegetes deliberated both options, translators had to choose one meaning. Aramaic translations used by Jews employed the meaning “her hand,” while the Greek Septuagint, later adopted by the Eastern Church, and the Latin Vulgate, the canonical biblical text used throughout Western Christendom, chose the other possibility, translating *amatah* as “her maiden.” These translations tell us that Pharaoh’s daughter sent one of her maidservants to bring the ark.

Following the Septuagint and the Vulgate, common Christian iconography depicts Pharaoh’s daughter as a princess, fully dressed and standing on the shore commanding with a pointing gesture to one of her female attendants to fetch the ark (**Fig. 2**, left side).⁴⁰ Another local visual tradition, inspired by Jewish sources that perceived Pharaoh’s daughter’s bathing as an act of purification, depicted her naked, together with two handmaids, in the water. She is shown retrieving the ark by herself, opening it, and finding a baby inside.⁴¹ This tradition is followed in the Sister and Golden Haggadot (**Fig. 1**), which add the large figure of Miriam seated on the shore, watching her brother (Exod. 2:4). The illuminator of the Kaufmann Haggadah clearly had before him a model similar to those manuscripts, as he depicted Pharaoh’s daughter—here, crowned—and her two maids naked in the water, while Miriam is seated on the shore (**f. 10r**, upper panel). However, he was also apparently familiar with the common Christian visual tradition, including Pharaoh’s daughter commanding with a gesture to fetch the ark, as in the Septuagint and the Vulgate (**Fig. 2**, left side). The result in the Kaufmann Haggadah is unusual: Pharaoh’s daughter is shown naked, yet instead of retrieving the ark herself, she appears to instruct her maidservant to do so. However, the maiden, depicted on the left, not only retrieves the ark, but also opens it. This second act is clearly ascribed to Pharaoh’s daughter in all translations and textual versions. Interestingly, the inscription above the maiden opening the ark identifies her as Pharaoh’s daughter using the biblical quotation: “And she opened it and saw the child ... [and she had compassion on him]” (Exod. 2:6). Although the illuminator combined two visual traditions into a perplexing result, for the contemporary Jewish viewer, as the inscription tells us, Pharaoh’s daughter appears here twice. On the right, she is shown with her maidservants, and on the left, she is shown fetching and opening the ark. The source of the confusion was likely the model itself, which, as with

40 Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 10525, f. 29v, left panel.

41 For the local tradition, see Bezalel Narkiss, *The Golden Haggadah* (London: The British Library, 1997), 58.

the Golden and Sister Haggadot, did not distinguish between Pharaoh's daughter and the handmaids.⁴²

The unconventional design of the finding of Moses in the Nile might lead some to question whether the illuminator was familiar with the midrashic interpretations behind the naked Pharaoh's daughter fetching the ark in his model. However, the two scenes depicting Moses at Pharaoh's court (f. 9v) suggest a deep familiarity with Jewish legends. Although a similar legend is recounted by Josephus and was familiar in medieval Europe, the iconographic details suggest Jewish sources.⁴³ In the upper panel, Moses is seated between Pharaoh and his daughter at a banquet table.⁴⁴ Moses reaches up with his hand for Pharaoh's crown while wearing an identical crown on his head. This double detail hints at the next episode, as explained in the caption to the miniature in the Kaufmann Haggadah and recounted in various versions of the legend in the Midrash,⁴⁵ in which Moses places the crown on his own head: "The king and his daughter are eating at the table, and Moses stretched out his hand and took the crown off the king's head and did (sic) it on his head."⁴⁶ To the left are Pharaoh's three counselors, identified by the inscription as Jethro, Balaam, and Job, who warned Pharaoh that this child would take away his kingdom. One of them is holding a banderole and is perhaps Balaam, who, according to Exodus Rabbah, urged Pharaoh to have the child killed.⁴⁷ Another figure, dressed in a particolored doublet and hose, kneels at the foot of the table, clasping his hands to his chest. Perhaps he is pleading with Pharaoh to test the child before sentencing him to death.⁴⁸

42 A similar source of confusion can be seen in the caption of the Golden Haggadah scene, "And her maidens walked" (2:5). See Fig. 1. In contrast, the caption in the Sister Haggadah reads, "And the daughter of Pharaoh went down to bathe herself in the river" (2:5). This reinforces the identification of the person who fetches the baby as the daughter of Pharaoh.

43 Joseph Gutmann, "The Testing of Moses: A Comparative Study in Christian, Muslim and Jewish Art," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 2 (1988): 111–12.

44 This context is mentioned in the *Sefer ha-Yashar*, a biblical paraphrase compiled in the sixteenth century based on earlier sources; see Joseph Dan, "When Was the *Sefer Hayashar* Written?" in Sefer Dov Sadan, ed. Samuel Werses et al. (Tel Aviv: HaKibbutz HaMeuhad, 1977), 107–20 [Hebrew].

45 Exodus Rabbah, I. 26, *Midrash Rabbah*: Exodus, 33. Gutmann, "The Testing," 111.

46 F. 9v. English, IJA 1987/7, no. 20.

המלך ובתו אכלים על השלחן ומשה שלח את ידו ולקח העטרה מעל ראש המלך ועשה אותה על ראשו

47 Scheiber, *The Kaufmann Haggadah*, 22–23.

48 According to the legend's version in Exodus Rabbah, Jethro was the one who suggested to test the child. *Midrash Rabbah*, 34. According to the later *Sefer HaYashar*, this person was an angel in the guise of one of Pharaoh's men. Gutmann, "The Testing," 111.

The trial is depicted in the lower panel, where the seated Pharaoh, holding his sword firmly, displays two vessels to the child: one with golden pieces and the other with burning coals. Moses reaches out with his right hand for a piece of gold. However, guided by an angel hovering above him, he brings a red-hot coal to his mouth. Consequently, Moses became “slow of speech and of a slow tongue” (4:10), yet his life was spared, and his destiny as a leader was realized, as depicted in the subsequent miniatures of the cycle.

2.1 *A Christian Illuminator?*

Against the backdrop of the Jewish midrashic tradition evident in the scenes of Moses the child at the royal court, the Master of the Kaufmann Haggadah’s design of the scene of Moses at the burning bush is surprising (**f. 59v**).⁴⁹ Surrounded by a flock of sheep and his herding dog, Moses looks at the burning bush on the left. From the flames emerges a haloed, half-length human figure. The illuminator based his design on the Christian tradition of portraying the half-length figure of Christ emerging from the burning bush.⁵⁰ To adapt the image for a Jewish setting, the artist of the Kaufmann Haggadah removed the cross from the halo. In the earlier Golden Haggadah, a halo without a cross likewise appears, though the figure is reinterpreted as a beardless, winged angel.⁵¹ Earlier Sephardic Haggadot suggest there was no standard formula for depicting the divinity emerging from the burning bush, as each illuminator created a different version. Variations include a wing with a pointing hand attached to it,⁵² a lone wing,⁵³ or a human face hidden in the flames.⁵⁴ The reference was commonly to an angel.⁵⁵

49 For the analysis of this scene, see Shalev-Eyni, “Looking at Language in a Multilingual Environment: Sephardic Art between the Domestic and the Communal,” *Studies in Iconography* 46 (2025), 49–74.

50 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms M. 638, f. 7v.

51 London, British Library, Ms. Add. 14761, f. 10v.

52 London, British Library, Or. 2737, f. 67v.

53 F. 21v; Shalom Sabar, *The Sarajevo Haggadah: History and Art*, 2 vols (Sarajevo: National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2018), 219.

54 London, British Library, Ms. Or. 1404, f. 1v. The caption above the panel reads: “And the angel of the Lord appeared unto him (3:2). In the Rylands Haggadah, signs of a similar image (identified by Narkiss as “traces of an angel’s face”) can be discerned (Manchester, The John Rylands Library, Ms. Heb. 6, f. 13v; Narkiss et al., *British Isles*, 88).

55 For the depiction of angels as winged figures as a widespread artistic convention, see Franz Landsberger, “The Origin of the Winged Angel in Jewish Art,” *Hebrew Union College Annual* 20 (1947): 227–54.

Already Müller and Schlosser described the figure in the Kaufmann Haggadah as a Christ-like representation of the Lord.⁵⁶ A similar explanation for the figure was adopted in later literature.⁵⁷ As Jewish tradition usually avoided depicting God in human form,⁵⁸ it has been concluded that the illuminator of the Kaufmann Haggadah was likely Christian. While it was not exceptional for a Christian artist to illuminate a Hebrew manuscript, these collaborations typically involved Jewish guidance. Since a Jewish advisor would have likely rejected a human depiction of the Lord, scholars reason that the Christian artist must have had autonomy in designing the scenes without specific Jewish directives.⁵⁹ Examining the visual-textual relationships in the image and caption may help explain this unusual depiction.

Although Christians and Jews share the same biblical narrative, differences exist between the Hebrew Bible and the Latin Vulgate. The story of the burning bush, as recounted in Exodus 3:2 of the Hebrew Bible, unfolds with an angel appearing to Moses from within the bush: “And the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush.” It is not until verse 4 that the Lord is mentioned as calling out from within the bush: “Moses! Moses!” and is named explicitly: “God called unto him out of the midst of the bush” (3:4). Nevertheless, in the Vulgate, the distinction between the angelic manifestation and the subsequent voice of the Lord is effaced. In Exodus 3:2 in the Vulgate, the following is read: “And the Lord appeared to him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush” (*apparuitque ei Dominus in flamma ignis de medio rubi*). Thus, the Hebrew Bible and the Vulgate present two different narratives of the divine spectacle: one involving an angel and the other involving the Lord.

The medieval Christian visual tradition was naturally based on the Latin source. As was common at the time, it depicted God in the form of a bearded Christ. The figure was typically adorned with a cross-decorated halo or, extremely rarely, a plain nimbus (**Fig. 2**, right side).⁶⁰ Like the illuminator of the earlier Golden Haggadah, the Master of the Kaufmann Haggadah based his scene on this Christian visual tradition. However, the Master of the Kaufmann Haggadah apparently believed that removing the cross from

56 Müller and Schlosser, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo*, 198.

57 See e.g. Sed-Rajna, *The Kaufmann Haggadah*, 19.

58 Ellen S. Saltman, “The ‘Forbidden Image’ in Jewish Art,” *Journal of Jewish Art* 8 (1981): 42–53.

59 Kogman-Appel, *Illuminated Haggadot*, 14 and 235–36, n. 9.

60 Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 10525, f. 29v, right panel.

the halo was sufficient to eliminate any reference to Christ and the Christian meaning of the scene. Interestingly, the caption below the image reads “an angel of the Lord,” suggesting that despite the absence of wings, the Jewish scribe and other Jewish viewers perceived the figure as an angel, in accordance with their knowledge of the Hebrew Bible.

The depiction of the angel of the Lord as a bearded, wingless figure with a halo resulted from the intersection of Christian visuality and Jewish textuality. While this meeting invites the possibility of a Christian illuminator, it does not mean that this was necessarily the case, as Christians and Jews shared the field of arts and crafts in the Crown of Aragon. Some Jewish artisans were not only familiar with Christian visual traditions, but they had experience using Christian iconography when working for Christian patrons. Two contracts dated April and May of 1393 may allude to the Jewish-Christian dynamics in the field beyond the specific examples. These documents evidence the commissioning of four altarpieces by ecclesiastical institutions from a Jewish artist named Abraham de Salinas in Saragossa and its surroundings. One altarpiece was made for the cathedral of San Salvador in Saragossa, and another was made for the church of La Puebla de Alborrón. The same contract indicates two other altarpieces of St. Matthew and St. John the Evangelist, already made by the same Jewish artist for the church of San Felipe in Saragossa before the contract was signed.⁶¹ Such detailed evidence clearly is rare and the scope of the phenomenon is unknown, but it undoubtedly existed and found expression in various crafts.⁶² In an atmosphere in which some Jews could have been involved in the making of Christian art, the intersection of Christian visuality and Jewish textuality could have also occurred in the work of a Jewish illuminator who was accustomed to Christian visual traditions. As we will see now, the Jewish themes in the Master of the Kaufmann Haggadah’s work may support this possibility.

2.2 *The Master of the Kaufmann Haggadah and Jewish Visuality*

Alongside the Master of the Kaufmann Haggadah’s familiarity with Christian iconography, he was also well acquainted with the Sephardic tradition of Haggadah illustrations, which included visual components based on Jewish midrashic sources. One example is the fourth plague, which the Hebrew Bible terms “*arov*” (f. 8r, upper panel). The Sages interpreted this ambiguous word in two different ways: “He (the Lord) brought upon them all kinds of

61 Asunción Blasco Martínez, “Pintores y orfebres judíos en Zaragoza (Siglo XIV),” in *Aragón en la Edad Media* 8 (1989): 115–18; Javier Castaño “Shared Sensibilities. The Experience of the Jews in Fifteenth-Century Art,” in *The Lost Mirror: Jews and Conversos in Medieval Spain*, ed. Joan Molina Figueras (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2023), 41.

62 See e.g. Castaño “Shared Sensibilities,” 31–49.

wild beasts,’ said R. Judah. R. Nehemiah, however, contended that they were various kinds of hornets and gnats.”⁶³ While the Septuagint and the Vulgate followed the latter interpretation of flying insects, Jewish sources much more commonly followed the former interpretation of beasts. Accordingly, Christian art in the East and West usually depicts *arov* as large flies. In contrast, all Haggadah manuscripts, including the Kaufmann Haggadah, depict beasts.⁶⁴ The Kaufmann manuscript’s depiction is especially close to the earliest known Sephardic Haggadah, Ms. Or. 2737 in the British Library, which is attributed to Northern Castile around 1300. In this depiction, the beasts are not only present, as in most other examples, but they are also shown devouring human figures with different limbs in their mouths.⁶⁵

One example of a less common Jewish midrashic component is the scene depicting Pharaoh calling on Moses and Aaron to leave Egypt during the plague of the firstborn (**f. 4r**, upper panel): “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. And he called for Moses and Aaron by night” (Exod. 12:30–31). In the Kaufmann Haggadah, a barefoot Pharaoh, accompanied by two servants, knocks on the door of Moses and Aaron, who are sleeping in the same bed in their house. The phrase “And he (Pharaoh) called Moses and Aaron” is also used in the accounts of the second, fourth, eighth, and ninth plagues. There, Pharaoh obviously calls the two by sending messengers to come before him to express his willingness to let the Israelites go. Why is Pharaoh, a powerful ruler, depicted performing the act himself instead of sending messengers as usual? In the context of the plague of the firstborn, the repeated phrase “And he (Pharaoh) called Moses and Aaron” raises a difficulty. The rabbis ask, how could Moses and Aaron fulfill Pharaoh’s order and come to him that night when the Lord had commanded all the Israelites: “and none of you shall go out at the door of his house until the morning” (Exod. 12:22)? According to the Mekhilta of Rabbi Ishmael, an early midrashic treatise from the period of the Mishnah, Pharaoh himself went from house to house looking for the two men: “This indicates that Pharaoh went looking and asking everywhere in the land of Egypt: ‘Where does Moses live? where does Aaron live?’”⁶⁶

63 Exodus Rabbah 11, 3; Midrash Rabbah: Exodus, trans. S. M. Lehrman (London: Soncino, 1983/89), 140.

64 For the local tradition, see Narkiss, *The Golden Haggadah*, 57.

65 London, British Library, Ms. Or. 2737, f. 72v. Narkiss et al., *British Isles*, 1: 48 and 2: pl. XIX, fig. 93.

66 Ch. 13, 11. A-B; Jacob Neusner, *Mekhilta according to Rabbi Ishmael: An Analytical Translation*, I, (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 77.

Other Sephardic Haggadot contain unusual visual parallels. In one Haggadah, for example, Pharaoh and one of his servants turn their heads toward Moses and Aaron, who are standing on a balcony.⁶⁷ In another, the heads of Moses and Aaron appear in the windows.⁶⁸ These visual versions are based on different written variations of the same exegetical tradition; all allow for communication with Pharaoh without contradicting the command not to leave home.⁶⁹ Despite these parallels,⁷⁰ it is clear that the artist of the Kaufmann Haggadah offered his own visual interpretation and exposed his understanding of the Jewish commentary, even if he followed a visual model. This is especially apparent in the amusing detail of a servant wearing one sock and one shoe, which illustrates the haste and confusion of Pharaoh and his entourage searching door to door for Moses and Aaron.

2.3 *The Concept of Music*

Alongside his reliance on earlier sources, the Master of the Kaufmann Haggadah managed to create a cohesive cycle of miniatures with a unique, original character of his own. His originality is evident not only in the design of individual scenes, but also in his consistent integration of broader conceptual ideas, particularly those related to music and gender. The musical theme first appears in the scene of the fifth plague, the plague of murrain, where three Israelite shepherds play flutes and bagpipes as their sheep and cows graze peacefully nearby (f. 8r, lower left panel).⁷¹ On the right panel opposite them, Egyptian shepherds raise their hands in grief among their dead cattle. Shepherds playing flutes and bagpipes are a common motif in Christian iconography depicting the Annunciation to the Shepherds.⁷² In the context of the plague of murrain, the pastoral and idyllic associations of the bagpipes may

67 London, British Library, Or. 1404, f. 6, upper panel.

68 Sarajevo, National Museum, f. 26.

69 For the balcony in this context, see *Mekhilta d' Rabbi Sim'on b. Jochai*, ed. Jacob Nahum Epstein, Ezra Zion Melamed (Jerusalem: Beit Hillel, 1979), 29 [Hebrew]. For the windows, Midrash Vayosha: M.M. Kasher, *Torah Shelemah* (Jerusalem: Beth Torah Shelemah, 1990): 12, 36, notes to No. 538.

70 Cf. the Padua Bible of c. 1400. Sarit Shalev-Eyni, "The Antecedents of the Padua Bible and Its Parallels in Spain," *Arte Medievale*, Nuova Serie IV/2 (2005): 83–85.

71 Zoltán Falvy, "Musical Instruments in the Kaufmann Manuscripts, Budapest," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 37, Fasc. 2/4 (1996), 237–47.

72 See Jordi Ballester i Gibert, "La cornamusa y el pastor en la iconografía catalano-aragonesa de los siglos XIV y XV," *Revista de Musicología* 20, no. 2 (1997), Actas del IV Congreso de la Sociedad Española de Musicología: La investigación musical en España: Estado de la cuestión y aportaciones II, 811–31.

have reflected the peaceful state of the Israelites and their unaffected flocks, as recorded in the biblical verse quoted in the accompanying caption: “And Pharaoh sent, and behold, there was not one dead animal of the Israelites” (Exod. 9:7). A similar juxtaposition appears in the scene of the ninth plague, the plague of darkness (**f. 60r**, lower panels). On the left, men and women of the Israelites can be seen dancing to the music of a lute, a portable organ, and a rebeck. The musicians, who are all men, are shown in the upper part of the panel. The dancers, who are alternately men and women, hold hands and dance the carole, a dance in which participants move to the left while repeating a refrain.⁷³ Although this well-known dance was practiced at different social levels, the participants’ costumes give the dance a courtly character. One man’s fitted tunic is designed with a scalloped edge, and the women’s dresses are adorned with tippets—long, narrow bands of fabric worn around the arms—and two narrow rectangular openings with a slit in the center on either side of the overgown. These features find parallels in courtly illumination (**Fig. 3**).⁷⁴ Once again, music and dancing are completely absent from the biblical text describing the plague. The caption to the miniature reads: “But all the children of Israel had light in their dwellings” (Exod. 10:23). The meaning of “light” has expanded beyond its literal meaning to include playing music and dancing. One possible source of inspiration is a Jewish legend that paraphrases the same verse: “the Egyptians being placed in the dark could see the Israelites, *who were in the light*, eating and drinking and rejoicing.”⁷⁵ The musical theme, visually expressed through courtly dancing and music making, has echoes that would later appear in music-making hybrids illustrating the main text (see **ff. 39r, 44r, and 55r**).⁷⁶ However, its sumptuous zenith is undoubtedly the full-page miniature of the Song of the Sea, the highlight of the entire cycle that all the previous scenes of music foreshadow.

2.3.1 *The Song of the Sea*

The last page of the biblical cycle occupies a special position (**f. 3v**). Unlike the previous full-page miniatures, which are divided horizontally, this page is divided vertically. The right side is dedicated to the Song of Miriam, which

73 For the carole, see Robert Mullally, *The Carole: A Study of Medieval Dance* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

74 Guillaume de Machaut, *Le remède de fortune*; Paris, BnF. Ms. Français 1586, f. 51r.

75 Mekhilta De-Rabbi Ishmael, tractate Beshallah, V; *Mekhilta De-Rabbi Ishmael: A Critical Edition, Based on the Manuscripts and Early Editions*, ed. and trans. Jacob Zallel Lauterbach (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2004), 150.

76 Falvy, “Musical Instruments,” 239.

Moses's sister sang immediately after Moses's song of praise, following the crossing of the Red Sea. According to Exodus 15:20–21, Miriam “took a timbrel in her hand,” and the women “went out after her with timbrels and with *meholot*.” Miriam then sang to them, saying, “Sing to the Lord, for He is highly exalted.” The women in the miniature are arranged in three rows. Miriam, the left-most figure in the top row, holds a square-shaped drum. Accompanying her are two women musicians: one plays a lute and the other plays a portable organ. Below them are three veiled women, and at the bottom five bareheaded girls dance in a circle. The inscription written below in tiny letters reads: “The timbrel in her hand, and all the women go out” (Exod. 15:20). On the left, opposite them, the scene of the Song of Moses shows a group of men with their hands raised and faces upturned in thanks to the Lord. They are arranged as if facing the female musicians and dancers on the right. A small child is visible at the lower right, appearing to bridge the two groups and scenes. The inscription below the scene reads: “Then sang Moses and the children of Israel” (Exod. 15:1).⁷⁷

Despite the separation of the sexes in the two scenes, the positioning of the men facing the female dancers and musicians transforms the scenes into a shared space where the men and women sing together. In Scripture, the Song of Moses precedes the Song of Miriam. Miriam only takes up her drum and begins to sing with the women after the conclusion of the Song of Moses. However, according to a common post-biblical Jewish tradition, both songs were performed simultaneously, with Moses singing to the men and Miriam to the women.⁷⁸ Representing the two songs in a continuous composition creates a unique scene of praise spanning the entire page. While most illuminated Haggadah manuscripts depict the Song of Miriam, the Kaufmann Haggadah is unique in its inclusion of the Song of Moses and its dedication of an entire page to both songs as one spectacle, in which Miriam is the dominant figure.

Miriam's position in the composition is unusual. Not only is she the tallest of the three women in her row, but she is also portrayed as standing apart from her two musical companions, whose bodies overlap. Like most of the other women in this scene, and the dancers in the previous scene of Darkness (f. 60r, lower left panel), she wears the same fashionable garment. However, her tippets—the long, narrow bands of fabric—elegantly trail from her sleeves (see Fig. 3). The men appear to raise their hands toward her tall figure. Through her posture—her body facing the men and her head inclined toward

⁷⁷ For the analysis of this scene, see Shalev-Eyni, “Looking at Language.”

⁷⁸ See e.g. Neusner, *Mekhilta according to Rabbi Ishmael*, 1: 227

her two female companions—Miriam unites the two sides of the composition. The elaborately decorated square drum she holds up acts as a focal point.

The square-shaped drum made of stretched parchment on a frame was locally known as an *adufe*. This term is known by several different names in Iberian languages and is rooted in the Arabic word *duff*, similar to the Hebrew word *tof*, which was used in the Bible to describe Miriam's musical instrument. In the Islamic world, including Al-Andalus, the word *duff* referred to frame drums of various shapes. The thirteenth century saw the emergence of a distinction between two types of frame drums in Ibero-Romance languages. The term *adufe* came to be used exclusively for the square frame drum, while *pandero* began to be used for the round frame drum.⁷⁹ In the thirteenth-century Iberian Peninsula, Miriam's timbrel became associated with the square *adufe*,⁸⁰ and in this form, it was adopted in the Golden Haggadah and later in our manuscript.⁸¹ Although the Master of the Kaufmann Haggadah may have relied on the visual tradition common to his geo-cultural area, he, like the earlier illuminator of the Golden Haggadah, also captured another facet of the local culture of the *adufe*: the elaboration of the square drum by the addition of decorations in paint or penwork. Tracing the material history of the *adufe* reveals that it was decorated with ink and color. This ancient custom of decorating drums is still practiced in traditional contexts in the Iberian Peninsula,⁸² and Morocco (Fig. 4).

The Kaufmann Haggadah and other Hebrew examples depict a wider range of instruments alongside the timbrel, which Christian examples do not include.⁸³ This diversity requires an explanation. The Hebrew Bible recounts how Miriam took a timbrel in her hand and how “all the women went out after her with timbrels and with *meḥolot*.” The Vulgate translates the word *meḥolot* as “dances,”⁸⁴ a meaning that is also well known among Jews. However, in Jewish tradition, *meḥolot* has another meaning as well. The early Sages asked, “From where did the Israelites obtain timbrels and

79 Molina, *Frame Drums*, 55–75.

80 In this context, the *adufe* also spread to neighboring France. See e.g., Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2554, f. 21v; Gerald B. Guest, *Bible moralisée: Codex Vindobonensis 2554*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (London: Harvey Miller, 1995), 76, 21vD.

81 For the scene in the Golden Haggadah, see Epstein, *Medieval Haggadah*, 184–86.

82 Judith R. Cohen, “‘This Drum I Play’: Women and Square Frame Drums in Portugal and Spain,” *Ethnomusicology Forum* 17, no.1 (2008): 95–124 (fig. 6).

83 András Borgó, “Die Musikinstrumente Mirjams in spätmittelalterlichen hebräischen Darstellungen,” *Music in Art* 31, no.1.2 (2006): 184–90.

84 Sumpsit ergo Maria prophetissa, soror Aaron, tympanum in manu sua: egressaeque sunt omnes mulieres post eam cum tympanis et choris,

meḥolot in the desert? And they answer: Since they knew the Lord would perform miracles for them they prepared in advance timbrels and *meḥolot* with which to praise Him.”⁸⁵ Based on this common understanding, *meḥolot* were musical instruments, not dances.

The dual connotation of the Hebrew word *meḥolot* permitted the depiction of women dancing,⁸⁶ as well as an array of additional musical instruments in the scene. Since written sources usually did not indicate the specific type of instrument, the types of instruments included in visual representations were also not fixed. The Kaufmann Haggadah features a portable organ and a short-necked lute. This variety of instruments represents the intersection of biblical verses and everyday culture and may reflect the immediate surroundings of the manuscript’s Jewish patron. Testimonies of women playing drums and other instruments, especially the lute, in secular, semi-courtly, and other contexts in Sephardic poetry from the eleventh century to the expulsion support this possibility.⁸⁷ The visual association with music making in everyday culture lends a sense of reality to the full-page miniature of Miriam’s song and connects it to both the material culture and the musical voices of the time, which were all blended together in the viewer’s mind.

3. Ritual Scenes: Between Biblical Past and Present Celebrant

Two scenes that close the prefatory cycle carry us from the biblical era to the eve of the Seder in the fourteenth-century Crown of Aragon. Like the opposite page of the Song of Moses and the Song of the Sea, the page is divided into two elongated panels framed by Gothic arches (f. 2r). Depicted on the right side are the preparations for the Seder as they were practiced at the time of the making of the manuscript. On the left, a woman is shown placing vessels into a large boiling pot to fulfill the commandment of purifying dishes for use during Passover. On the right are two standing young people; one of

85 See e.g., *Mekhilta De-Rabbi Shimon Bar Yoḥai, Tractate Shirata*, English translation, Mekhilta De-Rabbi Shimon Bar Yoḥai, trans. David W. Nelson (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2006), 158. *Pirke Rabbi Eliezer*; annotated by David Luria (Warsaw: Bamberg, 1852; reprinted, New York: Om, 1946), chap. 42; English translation, *Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer: The Chapters of Rabbi Eliezer the Great*, trans. Gerald Friedlander (New York: Sepher Hermon, 1981), 333.

86 For dancing in the Sephardic images of Miriam’s Song and its everyday meanings, see Sabar, *Sarajevo Haggadah*, 169–71.

87 Yehoshua Granat, “‘Unto the Voice of the Girl’s Sons’: On Singing Women in Medieval Hebrew Poetry (The Andalusian School and Its Offshoots),” in *Textures: Culture–Literature–Folklore for Galit Hasan-Rokem*, ed. Hagar Salamon and Avigdor Shinan (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2013), 153–68 [Hebrew].

them is pouring water from a pitcher into a basin or large cup. Below, a seated man is roasting a lamb on a spit. On the left side of the page, the family members—the father, mother, son, and daughter—are seated at the Seder table, on which rest a goblet, two carafes of wine, a matzah, a plate, and a knife. Across the top of the page, just below the arches, a horizontal bar is hung with six towels, three above the figures preparing for the feast on the right and three above the family at the Seder table on the left. These two series of sumptuous towels, decorated with thin red stripes and broad, embroidered bands and hems, dominate the entire page and unify both sides.

Towels of this type, which were also used for covering the dining table (**ff. 2r, 45r**), are known from the material culture of the time and documented in household inventories of the wealthy. They were typically woven from linen with a supplementary weft of cotton or thicker linen, which was often dyed blue or red, as in our case, for the decorative bands. In court, such towels were associated with the ritual of washing hands before and after meals, a ceremony in which servants entered the room festively carrying basins and towels.⁸⁸ In the Seder ceremony, the ritual of washing hands appears twice: once as an initial ritual after the Kiddush, performed without a blessing, and again before eating the matzah with a blessing, as with every meal. Hanging a single towel on a bar was an accepted practice. In the Seder context, this practice is seen in the Birds' Head Haggadah, which was produced far from the Sephardic domain.⁸⁹ The hanging of a series of towels on rods for display, which is unique to the Kaufmann Haggadah, goes beyond the practical use and adorns the two scenes with splendor. The combination of the Seder ritual and the elite's costumes could have achieved two goals: reflecting the concept of freedom and the royal character of the ritual, contrasting it with the state of slavery before redemption, and showing off the patron's high social rank in everyday life.

The depiction of the preparations for and celebration of the Seder within a fourteenth-century domestic setting at the end of the biblical cycle of episodes is typical of Sephardic Haggadah manuscripts of this type. Although images of families celebrating the Seder appear as text illustrations throughout the manuscript, those at the end of the biblical cycle have a special status. Sharing the same format as the biblical scenes that precede them, these

88 Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 187, 193; Peter Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior, 1400–1600* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1991), 244–45.

89 Jerusalem, Israel Museum, Ms. 180/ 57, ff. 1v and 2r.

scenes depicting contemporary Jews implicitly present themselves in direct continuation, beginning in the biblical past and concluding in the time of the manuscript's makers and users.⁹⁰ This method is essentially rooted in similar prefatory visual cycles at the beginning of psalters, where scenes from the Old Testament were followed by scenes from the New Testament, creating a continuous format.⁹¹ The Sephardic variation, instead, offered a different concept, connecting the contemporary celebrants directly to the biblical past.⁹²

3.1 *Roasting Lamb*

In this continuous format, the image of the roasting of the lamb is a special case in which biblical past and present ritual are totally conflated. The man roasting the meat on a spit is depicted among the figures preparing the feast on the right side of the page. However, the written caption below the scene is a quotation from Exodus 12, verse 9: "Roast with fire, the head with the feet [and with the inwards thereof]," and clearly refers to the Passover lamb eaten by the Israelites before leaving Egypt.⁹³ During Temple times, each family would offer the Passover sacrifice commemorating the eating of the roasted lamb in Egypt before the Exodus on the fourteenth day of the month of Nisan, and would eat it the following night with bitter herbs and unleavened bread.

The Talmudic Sages interpreted the verse quoted in the caption of our miniature to mean that a spit made of pomegranate wood should be thrust into the lamb's mouth as far as its buttocks and that its knees and entrails placed inside it.⁹⁴ Indeed, the roasting of the lamb on a spit in the Kaufmann Haggadah appears to follow the same instructions. However, does this image reflect the preparation of the meat as it was done in fourteenth-century Catalonia and Aragon? After the destruction of the Temple and the cessation of sacrifices, the Sages expressed doubt about eating a roasted lamb at the Seder to commemorate the Paschal sacrifice, lest someone think people

90 See Sarit Shalev-Eyni, "Who Are the Heirs of the Hebrew Bible? Sephardic Visual Historiography in a Christian Context," *Medieval Encounters* 16, no. 1 (2010): 23–63.

91 See e.g., above, n. 36.

92 Shalev-Eyni, "Who Are the Heirs."

93 For a similar combination, see the Rylands Haggadah (Manchester, John Rylands Library, Heb. 6, f. 19v) and Brother Haggadah (London, British Library, Ms. Or. 1404, f. 7v); Shalev-Eyni, "Who Are the Heirs," 24–34 and n. 21.

94 Babylonian Talmud, Pesahim 74a.

were eating holy sacrifices outside the Temple.⁹⁵ Sources disagree about this issue, which was later summarized in Maimonides' Code of Law (d. 1204):

But in all places it is forbidden to eat on Passover night a lamb roasted whole, because this would look as if one were eating the meat of a sacrifice prepared outside the Temple. If, however, the lamb is cut up, or if one of its limbs is missing, or if the lamb is whole but one limb, though still attached to the body, is still boiled instead of roasted, it may be eaten in a place where it is customary to eat roast meat.⁹⁶

This qualified permission suggests that eating a roasted lamb in a specific way was an accepted custom in some places. Some Sephardic communities, including those of the designers of the Kaufmann Haggadah, as well as some earlier Sephardic examples depicting the roasting of the lamb during Seder preparation, may have belonged to this category.⁹⁷ In the fourteenth-century local context, this custom, and especially its depiction in the prefatory cycle of miniatures, may have held additional polemical significance.

At the time of the Kaufmann Haggadah's production, the prefatory cycle presenting a visual continuation between the biblical past and the present-day ritual was already a local tradition that had existed for several decades. However, the circumstances surrounding its initial introduction had not changed. As serfs of the royal treasury, most of the Jews living in the territories of the Crown of Aragon were exclusively subordinate to the king, paying taxes that constituted an important part of the kingdom's revenue. In turn, the king was responsible for their protection. Official policy toward Jews did not change drastically until the devastating massacres of 1391/92.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, despite their relatively long period of prosperity, since the 1320s, Jews increasingly faced accusations from

95 Yosef Tabori, *The Passover Ritual Throughout the Generations* (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1996), 92–105.

96 Maimonides, Code of Law, Book III, *Leavened and Unleavened Bread*, 8. 11; *The Code of Maimonides, Book Three: The Book of Seasons*, trans. Solomon Gandz and Hayman Klein (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), 358.

97 For a reference to a common custom to keep using a spit of pomegranate for the preparation of the shank bone whose inclusion was as an accepted symbolic memorial to the Paschal lamb, see R. David Abudarham (Seville, c.1340), *Abudarham haShalem* (Jerusalem: Usha, 1963), 217.

98 Benjamin R. Gampel, *Anti-Jewish Riots in the Crown of Aragon and the Royal Response, 1391–1392* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 1–10.

the friars and pressure to convert. One of the prominent treatises that laid the foundation for the intensifying local anti-Jewish campaign in the following decades was the *Pugio Fidei*, written by Catalan Dominican friar Raymond Martini (c. 1210–1285).⁹⁹ In this influential treatise, Raymond distinguishes between biblical text and post-biblical rabbinic sages, arguing that the latter created a new, distorted religion by ignoring the numerous Christological proofs in the Bible. In addition to these two main periods common in the anti-Jewish discourse of the time, Raymond defines a third stage referring directly to Jews living during his era: “Iudaei nostri temporis.”¹⁰⁰ According to him, contemporary Jews preserve the rabbinic alliance with the devil by obstinately observing Moses’s commandments, which were all nullified with the Christological fulfillment of the Messianic prophecies.¹⁰¹

Local rabbis, including the prominent Solomon ben Abraham ibn Adret (c. 1235–1310), a leading halakhic authority and theologian from Barcelona, wrote polemic responses to refute the claims that modern Judaism was a distortion of biblical religion. Rejecting this view, Ibn Adret stressed the eternal nature and purpose of all the precepts. Since the law is constant, no precept can ever be abolished. Those that cannot be practiced presently due to exile’s conditions will be restored after the Temple’s reconstruction.¹⁰² In his polemic, he explicitly refers to the Paschal Lamb and the celebration of Passover. He quotes verses that validate the ritual’s perpetual significance and refute the Christian interpretation of the Paschal Lamb as the “Lamb of God,” representing Christ’s sacrifice for humanity’s sins.

And one of the precepts that they [the Christians] classify in this category [i.e., the symbolic] is the slaughtering of the Paschal Lamb, which they claim connotes what was happening [i.e., the sacrifice of

99 Raymundi Martini Ordinis Praedicatorum *Pugio fi dei adversus Mauros et Judaeos cum observationibus Josephi de Voisin et introductione Jo. Benedicti Carpzovi, qui simul appendicis loco Hermanni Judaei opusculum de sua conversione, ex Manuscripto Bibliothecae Paulinae Academiae Lipsiensis recensuit* (Lipsiae: Sumptibus Haeredum Friderici Lanckisi, 1687, reprint, 1967).

100 Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), 342–63.

101 Cohen, *Living Letters*, 352–53, 357.

102 Jeremy Cohen, “The Christian Adversary of Solomon Ibn Adret,” *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, n.s., 71 (1980): 48–55. Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), 156–63.

Christ on the Cross] . . . Indeed, you see that also the commandment of the *Pesah* was ordered for all generations to come, and the same is true concerning the eating of *mazzot*, as it is written: “And this day shall be unto you for memorial and ye shall keep it a feast to the Lord throughout your generations; ye shall keep it a feast by an ordinance forever” (Exod. 12:14).¹⁰³

The cycle of miniatures at the beginning of the Haggadah may have employed a similar response to Christian accusations by denying the distinction between biblical Jews and “Iudaei nostri temporis.” This was done by visually asserting a direct continuity between biblical times and modern Jews celebrating the biblical feast of redemption. In this context, visualizing the practice of a custom that memorializes the Paschal Lamb, which could not have been performed after the Temple’s destruction, held strong symbolic meaning.

3.2 Gender: Family Ritual – Communal Liturgy

In Sephardic Haggadah manuscripts designed for family rituals, women and children were usually depicted in the introductory cycle of miniatures and textual illustrations.¹⁰⁴ The visual presence of women in these illustrations reflects not only the family-oriented ritual but also the significant role they played in the historical redemption, as defined by the Sages: “As the reward for the righteous women who lived in that generation were the Israelites delivered from Egypt.”¹⁰⁵ The frequency with which women are depicted varies significantly from one manuscript to another. The Kaufmann Haggadah is particularly noteworthy for its extensive portrayals of women and girls. The biblical scenes often depict them as anonymous participants, such as the women and girls among the Israelites who left Egypt and crossed the Red Sea (ff. 57v–58). Alongside Moses, women are the main biblical protagonists of the miniatures, chief among them Pharaoh’s daughter (ff. 9v–10r) and Miriam (ff. 3v, 10r), whose dominant position in the final page of the biblical sequence was discussed above. Women also take equal part

103 Hebrew text, J. Perles, *R. Salomo b. Abraham b. Adereth: Sein Leben und seine Schriften nebst handschriftlichen Beilagen* (Breslau: Schletter, 1863), 35. For Raymond’s accusation, *Pugio fi dei*, 3. 3. 15. 33, p. 864.

104 See e.g., Epstein, *Medieval Haggadah*, 178–200; Julie A. Harris, “Making Room at the Table: Women, Passover and the Sister Haggadah (London, British Library, Ms. Or. 2884),” *Journal of Medieval History* 42, no. 1 (2016): 131–53.

105 Babylonian Talmud, Sotah 12b.

in the preparations for the feast and the performance of the Seder in the final scenes of the prefatory cycle, which includes an unusual representation of a father, mother, son, and daughter seated at the set table (**f. 2r**). Throughout the text, men are usually depicted holding one of the four cups of the Seder (**ff. 11v, 41v, 44r**). However, in the central illustration of the Master of the Second Cup (**f. 45r**), the artist depicted the master of the house and his wife, each holding their own golden cup. To the right are four other figures, two men and two women, all drinking wine from long-necked jars.

Although the master of the house was usually the one to conduct the Seder ceremony, women actively participated in different aspects of the ritual and were required to drink the four cups of wine.¹⁰⁶ Each participant must have his or her own cup of wine and recite his or her own blessing. This unusual equality stems from another statement in the Babylonian Talmud that “women are subject to [the law of] these four cups because they too were included in that miracle [of the liberation from Egypt].”¹⁰⁷ In reality, having one’s own cup for wine at the Seder was a privilege reserved for families who could afford it, giving upper-class women a more equal status, both in reality and in such images in luxury books, which were viewed during the celebration.¹⁰⁸

This unusual sense of family ritual equality was far different from the marginal role that women played in communal prayer halls, where they were confined to a side section. Due to this marginality, images of synagogues that appear in several Sephardic Haggadot usually depict only the men’s prayer hall. The Kaufmann Haggadah’s image with a reserved section for women is exceptional (**f. 42r**). The synagogue interior here illustrates the initial word “Hallelujah” that opens the Hallel (Psalms 113–118), a fundamental prayer of praise, which is also part of the Haggadah text. On the left, a cantor wearing a prayer shawl stands on an elevated platform, called a *tevah*, reminiscent of a minbar. The *tevah* is accessed by a steep staircase and is topped by a high, pointed arch adorned with three golden, piriform finials. Four “mosque” lamps are suspended from a beam protruding on the left.

106 For different aspects, see Judith Hauptman, “From the Kitchen to the Dining Room: Women and Ritual Activities in Tractate Pesahim,” in *A Feminist Commentary on the Babylonian Talmud: Introduction and Studies*, ed. Tal Ilan, Tamar Or, Dorothea M. Salzer, Christiane Steuer and Irina Wandrey (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 109–26.

107 Babylonian Talmud, Pesahim 108a; English translation, *Babylonian Talmud*, ed. Isidore Epstein, 18 vols. (London: Soncino Press, 1961), Seder Mo’ed, tractate Pesachim, trans. H. Freedman, 561.

108 Sarit Shalev-Eyni, “Manipulating the Cup of Blessing: Gendered Reading of Ritual Images in European-Hebrew Books,” *Studies in Iconography* 39 (2018): 207–34.

The cantor holds a covered Torah scroll adorned with a golden finial or crown. Below the *tevah*, congregants gather under the synagogue's arches. A central column separates them into two distinct groups. This division by gender echoes the Song of the Sea miniature (f. 3v). Though here the women appear relegated to the rear, they are seated on the same level of the building as the men. Near the *tevah*, two men sit on a bench with a child to their left and three women standing behind them.¹⁰⁹ The women appear wearing unique traditional attire consisting of either a piece of jewelry or a wrapped scarf fastened under the chin with a clasp above the forehead. This type of headdress was common among esteemed Sephardic women and can be seen in scenes depicting Seder participants in earlier fourteenth-century Haggadah manuscripts.¹¹⁰

The meticulous attention to detail in the design of the synagogue's interior reflects the communal space itself, with features such as the minbar-like *tevah*, adorned golden finials, and distinctive "mosque" lamps. Due to confiscation and the passage of time, the interiors of the few synagogue buildings that remained in the Iberian Peninsula after the expulsion were usually altered, resulting in the loss of original furnishings and ritual objects. A remarkable archeological discovery was made in Lorca, in the region of Murcia with the lower part of a *tevah* and over two thousand pieces of glass from approximately fifty "mosque" lamps, all of which have undergone restoration.¹¹¹ These lamps closely resemble those depicted in the Kaufmann Haggadah and other haggadot.¹¹² Although a minbar-like *tevah* from medieval Iberia did not survive, a similar *tevah* was documented in the synagogue of R. Ephraim ben Israel Alnaqua (1359–1442), a prominent

109 For sparse evidence concerning the concept of women's sections and their activities, see Asunción Blasco Martínez, "Queen for a Day: The Exclusion of Jewish Women from Public Life in the Middle Ages," in *Late Medieval Jewish Identities: Iberia and Beyond*, ed. Carmen Caballero Navas and Esperanza Alfonso Alos (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 91–105, 94–96.

110 See e.g., Rylands Haggadah (Manchester, John Rylands Library, Ms. Heb. 6, f. 19v), the Sarajevo Haggadah (f. 31v; Sabar, *Sarajevo Haggadah*, 152), and Eva Frojmovic, "Fashioning the Gendered, Classed, and White Self: A Sephardi Cultural Project," in *Out of Bounds: Exploring the Limits of Medieval Art*, Signa: Papers of the Index of Medieval Art at Princeton University, ed. Pamela A. Patton, and Maria Alessia Rossi (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2023), 162–66.

111 Juan García Sandoval, "El Resplandor de las lámparas de vidrio de la Sinagoga de Lorca," in *Lorca: Luces de Sefarad*, ed. Ayaso Martínez and José Ramón (Murcia: Museo Arqueológico de Murcia, 2009), 260–303.

112 See Sabar, *Sarajevo Haggadah*, 177–78.

rabbi and head of the Jewish court in Tlemçen (**Fig. 5**). Born in Toledo and educated in Barcelona, Alnaqua fled the 1391 massacres and settled in Tlemçen. There, he built his own synagogue, preserving his Sephardic traditions. The adorning of the *tevah* with finials also has parallels in Sephardic communities in the Maghreb.¹¹³

The juxtaposition of the opening of the Hallel prayer with an illustration of a synagogue interior, which is found in another Haggadah manuscript,¹¹⁴ was intentional. Although this prayer was only recited once a year at home during the Seder ritual, it was regularly recited in a communal setting at the synagogue throughout the year, on every new moon and holiday. Even on Passover Eve, before the Hallel was recited at home during the Seder, it was first recited during the evening prayer service at the synagogue. The association of the Hallel prayer with the synagogue extended beyond the words of the psalm written on the page, encompassing the cantor's recitation and the specific tune attached to it. Tunes played a significant role in evoking associations in different contexts.¹¹⁵ Reciting a text during a domestic ritual to a tune typically sung in a synagogue created a connection between the home and the sacred communal space. The gilded initial word "Hallelujah," together with an image of the synagogue interior, served as a vivid link between the family's celebratory voices and the liturgical tunes in the prayer hall. This connection united the specific patron's elite family with the larger community.

Conclusion: Use and Reception

The Kaufmann Haggadah invites us to step into the homes of the patron and subsequent owners on Passover night. Imagine the family seated around the table: men, women, boys, and girls reading and discussing the Haggadah together. Thanks to the large letters in the script, everyone could follow along with the reading and look at the colorful images that illustrate and decorate the page. These images could have aroused the curiosity of children and adults alike, stimulating the discussions at the heart of the night, as written in the Haggadah: "He who amplifies and expatiates upon the events

113 André Goldenberg, *Art and the Jews of Morocco* (Paris: Somogy Art Publishers, 2014), 62.

114 London, British Library, Ms. Add. 14761, f. 65v; *The Barcelona Haggadah: An Illuminated Passover Compendium from 14th-century Catalonia in Facsimile* (MS British Additional 14761), ed. Jeremy L. Schonfield, 2 vols (London: Facsimile Editions, 1992).

115 Lutz Jäncke, "Music and Memory," in *The Oxford Handbook of Music and the Brain*, ed. Michael H. Thaut and Donald A. Hodges (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 237–62.

associated with the Exodus is indeed to be commended beyond all others.”¹¹⁶ Some illustrations directly visualize the text. For example, a man carrying a burden on his back accompanies the beginning of the passage, “We were slaves” (**f. 15v**); the Israelites leaving Egypt and the Egyptians pursuing them illustrate “When Israel went forth from Egypt” (Psalm 114:1, **f. 43r**).¹¹⁷ Traditionally, the main figures mentioned in the text are represented: the four sons (**ff. 18r–19v**), Rabbi Akiva and other sages (**f. 33v**). In other images, family members could recognize themselves participating in the ritual and drinking the four cups of wine (**ff. 41v, 45r**).

The rich foliage along the margins of the manuscript also attracted the participants’ attention and played a meaningful role in how they received the manuscript during the ritual reading. Due to their large size, vivid colors, gilded components, and lively motifs of birds and animals, the marginalia dominate the illustrations on some pages. This is especially apparent on pages where the illustrations are painted with a thin layer of light color (**f. 33v**). Moreover, while the illustrations are often located within the initial word panel, in some cases, this rigid division is challenged. Figures and other elements are presented outside the panel (**ff. 26r, 38r**) and are echoed by a similar motif in the margin (**f. 38r**). In one case, the entire scene of a Hebrew baby cast into the Nile was moved to the margin between two flowering scrolls (**f. 27v**). Sometimes, the boundaries between the central and marginal realms collapse. One example is the page with the beginning of the Hallel prayer and the illustration of the synagogue discussed above (**f. 42r**). The most captivating visual element on the page is the word “Hallelujah,” inscribed within a magenta filigree panel. The gilding used in the letters repeats across the entire illuminated area of the page. It highlights some details that reflect the materiality of the sacred space, such as the golden finials atop the *tevah* and the Torah scroll. It also emphasizes the curling vegetal scrolls along the margins. Due to the large presence of these gilded elements, the foliage plays a central role in the page’s visual composition. Additionally, the bird in the upper left corner unites the central illumination and the margin. Though it belongs to the fauna inhabiting the foliage, the bird stands on the beam on which the mosque-like lamps are hung in the synagogue interior. The last, especially the variety of birds, may have participated in the Thanksgiving and praise of the Lord, all embodied in the Hallel prayer.

116 Cf. Abby Kornfeld, “‘Go Forth and Learn’: Visual Exegesis in the Medieval Haggadah,” *Gesta* 63, no. 2 (2024): 143-168.

117 Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*, 97; Abby Kornfeld, “Go Forth,” 162-63.

The illustrative and decorative components that accompanied the illuminated text were an essential part of the readers' and viewers' ceremonial reading of the ritual text. In contrast, the prefatory cycle of miniatures stands on its own as an independent section. As we have seen, this is a cohesive cycle that relies entirely on visual language. It begins with the rescue of Moses from the Nile and culminates in a unique opening that juxtaposes, on the right, the Song of the Sea following the miracle of the crossing of the Red Sea, and on the left, the preparations for and celebration of the Passover Seder within the family circle. The visual cycle is rooted in a Sephardic tradition that emerged a few decades earlier. It builds on several central features of this tradition, including a return to the biblical framework of the Exodus story led by the dominant figure of Moses—who is absent from the Haggadah text itself—and the fusion of biblical history with contemporary Sephardic Jews celebrating the festival that commemorates the Exodus miracle. The illuminator enhanced traditional scenes by adding original elements that intensified the cycle's theatrical character. These include a woman dining while drinking a cup of blood during the first plague (**f. 6r**), a monkey perched on the shoulder of Pharaoh, perhaps checking for lice on the king's head (**f. 7v**), a shepherd and his herd seeking shelter under a coffered ceiling during the hail plague, horses covered in vesicles galloping out of their stable during the boils plague (**f. 5v**), and a funeral procession that follows the plague of the death of the firstborn (**f. 1v**). Dogs appear in various scenes. One, covered with boils, sits at the foot of Pharaoh (**f. 5v**), two bark in the plague of locusts (**f. 60r**), and another accompanies the Israelites departing Egypt in the main text (**f. 43r**). The lively cycle of episodes offered viewers an intimate re-experience of the Exodus story, in line with the Haggadah's instructions: "In each generation every person should regard himself as having been personally redeemed from Egypt." The Kaufmann Haggadah further expanded on this concept by emphasizing the role of music in expressing gratitude for the miracles of the Exodus.

This musical thanksgiving begins in Egypt during the Plagues of Murrain and Darkness (**ff. 8r and 60r**, lower left panel). While the Egyptians witnessed the death of their livestock and sat in total darkness, the Israelites tended their flocks in peace and sat in light. They expressed their gratitude to God through pastoral music and courtly dances accompanied by musical instruments. This song of praise culminates in the Song of the Sea, in which Miriam and her maidens play a central role in a musical spectacle that evokes familiar sounds and sights of everyday life for contemporary viewers and readers. Though these cycle of scenes were not part of the formal ritual, they

enriched it by creating a tangible link between thanksgiving and instrumental music. The prominence of instrumental music imbues the pictorial cycle—and the manuscript as a whole—with auditory qualities. Echoes of this musical thanksgiving continue throughout the text illustrations in the form of hybrids and marginal figures playing instruments. These echoes culminate in the Hallel, the psalms of praise to God. This moment is no longer associated with instrumental music, but rather connects the celebrants to the liturgical singing of the synagogue as it was practiced at the time.

Another theme within and beyond the concept of song is gender. While other Haggadot include depictions of women, the gender dimension is given special prominence here. This theme is expressed in reference to the biblical past, in which women played central roles in the redemption as partners, initiators, and leaders of the song of thanksgiving. It is also expressed in the contemporary ritual present, where, though less central, women are depicted prominently, with particular attention given to young girls. From a reception perspective, such imagery could empower the women and girls participating in the family ritual by enabling them to find their place in both the past and present scenes depicted in the illuminations. There is no direct evidence concerning the role of this pictorial cycle during the Seder and Haggadah reading. It is possible that it was used to accompany and expand the discussion beyond the text itself during the ritual. Clearly, however, such a cycle could also have been used outside the ritual proper, in a family setting, to prepare for it.

4.1 Afterlife

The cultural flourishing and economic prosperity evident in the manuscript and its illuminations came to an end in 1391/92, when many communities within the territories of the Crown of Aragon were destroyed. Many perished or fled beyond the borders of the Iberian Peninsula, while others continued their lives within the surviving communities in a diminished capacity. Under these historical circumstances, the fate of the Kaufmann Haggadah's original patron is unknown, yet the manuscript survived and found its way elsewhere at some point—apparently no later than the expulsion of 1492. Later inscriptions may offer partial clues about its journey. It can be deduced from an inscription written upside down in Spanish using Hebrew letters, possibly in the sixteenth century, that the manuscript stayed in Sephardic hands: “Este libro es de señor Isaac” (f. 60v).¹¹⁸ A similar, later owner's

118 Narkiss and Sed-Rajna, Kaufmann Collection, no. IJA 1986/7/1–2.

inscription written in Spanish in Hebrew letters is found on folio 3r.¹¹⁹ A recent owner left comments and corrections in the margins of the *ma nishtanah* passage. This passage with the four questions regarding the Seder ritual appears in a typical medieval common order, which is also paralleled in other Sephardic Haggadah manuscripts,¹²⁰ and includes the following: 1. Eating unleavened bread exclusively; 2. Eating bitter herbs; 3. Dipping the herbs twice; 4. Reclining while dining. The late hand changed the order and wrote a marginal note at the beginning of the passage indicating that the question about dipping herbs should appear first (**f. 14v**). Next to the original question, he wrote, “The scribe’s error, said the proofreader . . . The reed is for the lesser to err” (**f. 15r**). This reader followed a different rite, beginning with the question about dipping herbs and therefore believing the original scribe was mistaken. Starting with the question about dipping herbs is a less common custom practiced in Italy,¹²¹ and preserves an ancient tradition.¹²² These later “Italian corrections” to the accepted Sephardic rite suggest that the manuscript may have been in Italy before finally reaching David Kaufmann’s collection in Budapest.

119 A later inscription from the seventeenth century reads: “God will grant me and my offspring seven times more” (f. 1r); *ibid.*

120 Sed-Rajna, *Kaufmann Haggadah*, 7.

121 Glatzer, “The Ashkenazic and Italian Haggadah,” 146.

122 Goldschmidt, *The Passover Haggadah*, 10–13.

Appendix:

An Overview of the Prefatory Cycle of Miniatures and the Text Illustrations

The Original Cycle of the Biblical Miniatures:

*Captions written in tiny letters in faint ink and inscribed along the upper and lower margins of all the miniatures are documented here from right to left.¹²³

Fol. 10r. Upper panel: **Moses found in the Nile**

On the right, the Pharaoh's daughter, accompanied by two maidens, is shown naked in the Nile. She points to the left where another naked figure retrieves and opens the ark containing the baby. Above, Miriam, veiled, is seated on the riverbank (See the main text).

Captions:

ותרד בת פרעה לרחץ על היאר ונערתיה הלכת
ותשלח את אמתה ותקחה
ותפתח ותראהו את הילד
ותתצב אחתו מרחק

And the daughter of Pharaoh came down to bathe in the river; and her maidens walked

And she sent her *amatah* to fetch it (Exod. 2:5)

And she opened it, and saw it, even the child (Exod. 2:6)

And his sister stood afar off (Exod. 2:4)

Lower panel: **Moses is given to Jochebed for nursing**

Pharaoh's daughter (on the right) hands the baby to Jochebed, who cradles the baby with Miriam by her side. The princess's crown is adorned with gilded circles on its tips, and her sumptuous overdress features an embroidered pattern (which is damaged). Miriam is veiled as in the previous scene, and Jochebed wears traditional attire consisting of a piece of jewelry or a wrapped scarf fastened under the chin with a clasp above the forehead.

Caption:

ותאמר לה בת פרעה היליכי את הילד הזה והיניקיהו לי

123 The captions were read by Müller and Schlosser (Die Haggadah von Sarajevo, 190-194, 198-199). The present documentation reflects the current state of the manuscript.

And Pharaoh's daughter said unto her: "Take this child away, and nurse it for me" (Exod. 2:9)

Fol. 9v. Upper panel: **Moses takes Pharaoh's crown**

The royal family is seated at a banquet table. The child Moses is seated between Pharaoh and his daughter. He reaches for the king's crown. Kneeling next to Pharaoh is a bearded young man in a short garment with his hands crossed on his chest. Pharaoh's counselors stand on the left, one of whom holds a blank banderole. This scene is unique among Sephardic Haggadah manuscripts. See the main text.

Captions:

המלך ובתו אוכלים על השלחן ומשה שלח את ידו ולקח העטרה מעל ראש המלך ועשה אותה על ראשו שלשת יועצי המלך יתרו ובלעם ואיוב

The king and his daughter are eating at the table, and Moses stretched out his hand and took the crown off the king's head and did (sic) it on his head.

The three counselors of the king: Jethro and Balaam and Job.¹²⁴

Lower panel: **The test of Moses**

The child Moses reaches with his right hand for a golden coin from a golden bowl. An angel directs his left hand holding a red coal to his mouth. On the right, the king, seated on his throne, holds his sword firmly. Next to him is another plate with golden coins. On the left, the Egyptian magicians prophesy that Moses will rule over his people and Pharaoh (see the main text).

The caption was cut by a later binder, and the remnants are illegible.

Fol. 59v. Upper panel: **Bondage in Egypt**

Different figures are engaged in various building tasks. In the middle left, a man carrying bricks climbs a ladder leaning against a tower. At the top of the tower, another man is hammering. Another man is hoisting a wheelbarrow full of mortar with a pulley. In the lower right corner, a woman is crouching. Standing figures on both sides control the workers. This scene is common in illuminated Haggadah manuscripts.

¹²⁴ English translation, IJA 1987/7, no. 20.

Captions:

וישימו עליו שרי מסים למען ענותו
ויאנחו בני ישראל מן העבודה ויצעקו
ויבן ערי מסכנות לפרעה

And they set over them taskmasters to afflict them (Exod. 1:11)

And the children of Israel sighed by reason of the bondage, and they cried (Exod. 2:23)

And they built for Pharaoh store-cities (Exod. 1:11)

Lower panel: **Moses at the burning bush**

Surrounded by his flock and herding dog, Moses holds his staff and looks at the bust of a human figure with a halo emerging from the burning bush. See the main text.

Captions:

ומשה היה רעה את צאן יתרו חתו וינהג את הצאן אחר המדבר ויבא אל הר אלהים חרבה
וירא אליו מלאך ה' בלבת אש מתוך הסנה וירא והנה הסנה בער באש והסנה איננו אכל

And Moses was keeping the flock of Jethro his father-in-law, and he led the flock to the farthest end of the wilderness, and came to the mountain of God, unto Horeb (Exod. 3:1)

And the angel of the Lord 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 (Exod. 3:2)

Fol. 6r. Upper panel: **Aaron's rod becomes a snake**

Accompanied by Aaron and the elders of Israel, Moses stands in front of Pharaoh and his men. Moses points downward at Aaron's rod, which has turned into a green serpent that swallows the rods of the Egyptian magicians.

Captions:

ארץ גשן
ויבא משה ואהרן וכל זקני ישראל אל פרעה
וישלך אהרן את מטהו לפני פרעה ולפני עבדיו ויהי לתנין
פרעה והחכמים והמכשפים

The land of Goshen

And Moses and Aaron (and the elders of Israel) went in unto Pharaoh

And Aaron cast down his rod before Pharaoh and before his servants, and it became a serpent (Exod. 7:10)

Pharaoh and the wise men and the magicians

The Ten Plagues

As was customary in biblical cycles of miniatures in Sephardic Haggadah manuscripts, each plague is usually depicted in a separate panel. The format is repeated, showing Moses and Aaron on the right and Pharaoh and his men on the left. Moses is typically depicted with a chaperon and is clothed in blue and red, while Aaron is often seen wearing a high headgear and orange and green attire. However, these characteristics are not always consistent, leading to occasional confusion between the two figures, which is also reflected in the captions that identify them. The components of the plague are displayed in between the two groups (and around them). While the Master of the Kaufman Haggadah clearly relied on earlier examples, he created lively scenes with innovative elements and detailed illustrations inspired by the verses and everyday life.

Fol. 6r. Lower panel: **Plague of Blood**

Moses stretches out his rod over the water, which has already turned to blood.¹²⁵ One figure is digging around the river for water. To the left, people are seated at a dining table. One of them drinks from a cup full of blood. A maid serves a bowl of blood, filling the other vessels as well. The motif of digging (Exodus 7:24) appears in other Sephardic Haggadot, while the dining table is a unique addition.

Captions (some are illegible):

משה

אהרן

קח מטך ונטה ידך על מימי מצרים ויהיו דם והיה דם

ויחזק לב פרעה ולא שת לבו

ולא יכלו מצרים לשתות מימי היאר...

Moses

Aaron

Take thy rod, and stretch out thy hand over the waters of Egypt that they may become blood; and there shall be blood (Exod. 7:19)

And Pharaoh's heart was hardened, neither did he lay even this to heart (Exod. 7:22, 23).

¹²⁵ The headgear and colors of his clothing identify the figure as being Moses. Though, according to the Bible, it was Aaron who stretched out his hand over the waters of Egypt (7:19). The caption also reads "Aaron."

And the Egyptians could not drink water from the river... (Exod. 7:21)

Fol. 7v. Upper panel: **Plague of Frogs**

Moses stretches his rod over the river.¹²⁶ Frogs covers the entire space, including a bed, a baker taking out a bread peel from an oven, and a woman kneading dough in a trough.

Captions (some are illegible):

נטה את ידך במטה והעל את הצפרדעים
ויקרא פרעה למשה ולאהרן העתירו אל ה' ויסר הצפרדעים
עבדי פרעה
פרעה
ובמשארותיך ובתנוריך

Stretch forth thy hand with thy rod and cause frogs to come up (Exod. 8:1)

Then Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron, and said: "Entreat the Lord, that He take away the frogs" (Exod. 8:4)

Pharaoh's servants

Pharaoh

And into thy kneading-troughs and into thine ovens (after Exod. 7:28)

Lower panel: **Plague of Lice**

Moses points with his rod downwards, where a seated woman combs her hair at the foot of Pharaoh, who is surrounded by his entourage. A monkey is perched on Pharaoh's shoulder, possibly grooming the king's head for lice.

Captions:

משה
אהרן
הך את עפר הארץ והיה לכם
ותהי הכינים באדם ובבהמה
ויאמרו החרטומים אל פרעה...

Moses

Aaron

Smite the dust of the earth, that it may become gnats (Exod. 8:12)

¹²⁶ The headgear and colors of his clothing identify the figure as Moses. However, according to the Bible, it was Aaron who stretched out his rod to cause frogs to come up upon the land of Egypt (Exod. 8:5–6).

And there were gnats upon man, and upon beast (Exod. 8:13)
Then the magicians said unto Pharaoh... (Exod. 8:15)

Fol. 8r. Upper panel: **Plague of *arov*** (beasts)

Moses points to the wild beasts and imaginary creatures devouring human figures. Body parts emerge from their mouths and scatter independently (see the main text).

Captions:

משה

אהרן

ויבא ערוב כבד ביתה פרעה ובית עבדיו ובכל ארץ מצרים
ויקרא פרעה למשה ולאהרן

Moses

Aaron

And there came grievous *arov* into the house of Pharaoh, and into his servants' houses; and in all the land of Egypt (Exod. 8:20)

And Pharaoh called for Moses and for Aaron (Exod. 8:21)

Lower panels: **Plague of Murrain**

On the right are Egyptian shepherds raising their hands in despair. Their dead cattle lie at their feet. On the left, Hebrew shepherds play flutes and bagpipes while their sheep and cows graze peacefully (see the main text).

Captions:

הנה יד ה' הויה במקנך אשר בשדה בסוסים בחמורים בגמלים בבקר ובצאן דבר כבד מאד
וישלח פרעה והנה [לא מת ממקנה] ישראל עד אחד

Behold, 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; there shall be a very grievous murrain (Exod. 9: 3)

And Pharaoh sent, and, behold, there was not so much as one of the cattle of the Israelites dead (Exod. 9: 7)

Fol. 5v. Upper panel: **Plague of Boils**

On the right, Moses is sprinkling ashes. In the lower center, infected horses are shown galloping from their stable, with cattle above them.

Captions:

...קחו לכם מלא חפניכם פיה כבשן... על האדם ועל הבהמה

כי היה השחין בחרטמים ובכל מצרים

Take to you handfuls of soot of the furnace... upon man and upon beast (Exod. 9:8–9)

For the boils were upon the magicians, and upon all the Egyptians (Exod. 9:11)

Lower panel: **Plague of Hail**

Moses points to a shepherd and his sheep, who are hit by hailstones. The shepherd points and leads his flock to the left, where another shepherd and two other figures find shelter under a coffered ceiling.

Captions (partially illegible):

וואת כל עץ השדה שבר

הניס את עבדיו...

...and broke every tree of the field (Exod. 9:25)

Made his servants...flee (Exod. 9:20)

Fol. 60r. Upper panel: **Plague of Locusts**

Moses holds his rod and points to the locusts that appear behind the trees, filling the background. Opposite, Pharaoh sits on his throne. His three advisors stand next to him. Between the two groups are two barking dogs.

Captions:

נטה את ירך על ארץ מצרים בארבה

משה

אהרן

ויאכל את כל עשב הארץ

ויכס את עין כל הארץ

וימהר פרעה לקרא למשה ולאהרן

Stretch out thy hand over the land of Egypt for the locusts (Exod. 10:12)

Moses

Aaron

And eat every herb of the land (Exod. 10:12)

And they covered the face of the whole earth (Exod. 10:15)

Then Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron in haste (Exod. 10:16)

Lower panels: **Plague of Darkness**

The Egyptians are seated in darkness on the right. The Israelites are dancing and playing music on the left. See the main text.

Captions:

ויהי חשך אפלה בכל ארץ מצרים
לא ראו איש את אחיו ולא קמו מתחתיו
ולכל בני ישראל היה אור במושבותם

And there was a thick darkness in all the land of Egypt (Exod. 10:22)
They saw not one another, neither rose any from his place but all the children of Israel had light in their dwellings (Exod. 10:23)

Fol. 1v. Upper part: **Plague of the Death of the First-Born**

Three women in mourning, their hands clasped or raised in grief, stand behind three beds on which three corpses are laid.

Captions:

ויהי בחצי הלילה וה' הכה כל בכור בארץ מצרים מבכר פרעה הישב על כסאו
ותהי צעקה גדולה במצרים

And it came to pass at midnight, that the Lord smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh (Exod. 12:29)
And there was loud wailing in Egypt (Exod. 12:30)

Lower panel: **Funeral**

A procession of men and women carries a corpse on a bier while two men dig a grave.

Caption (partially illegible):

[ומצרים מקברים את אשר] הכה ה' בהם

[The Egyptians were burying them that the] Lord had smitten among them (Num. 33:4)

Fol. 4r. Upper panel: **Pharaoh calling Moses and Aaron**

Pharaoh and two of his men, all in short night garments, one with a single shoe and stocking, approach the house of Moses and Aaron, where both are shown sleeping in one bed (see the main text).

Captions:

ויקם פרעה לילה הוא וכל עבדיו
ויאמר קומו צאו מתוך עמי גם אתם גם בני ישראל
ויקרא למשה ולאהרן

And Pharaoh rose up in the night, he, and all his servants (Exod. 12:30)
 And said: "Rise up, get you forth from among my people, both ye and the
 children of Israel" (Exod. 12:31)
 And he called for Moses and Aaron (Exod. 12:31)

Lower panel: **Spoiling of the Egyptians**

A procession of Israelites holding golden vessels—a pitcher and two
 goblets—with their hands raised. One of them, with a garment draped
 over his shoulder, turns his head to look at another figure who seems to
 be supporting him.

Caption (partially illegible):

...משארתם צרורות...

... their kneading-troughs being bound up...(Exod. 12:34)

Fol. 57v. Upper panel: **Israelites leaving Egypt**

A procession of men, women, boys, and girls marches together. The men
 carry sacks on sticks.

Captions:

ובני ישראל יצאו ממצרים

משארותם צרורות בשמלתם על שכמם כי גורשו ממצרים

And the children of Israel went out of Egypt
 Their kneading-troughs being bound up in their clothes upon their
 shoulders (Exod. 12:34) because they were thrust out of Egypt (12:39).

Lower panel: **The Israelites reaching Baal Zephon/ Pursuing the
 Israelites**

On the right are the armed Egyptians riding horses and holding lances.
 One of them is holding a shield bearing the emblem of a star and crescent
 moon. Three Israelites approach Baal Zephon, which is represented as a
 three-turreted castle inhabited by figures. One of them blows a horn.

Caption: illegible

Fol. 58r. Upper part: **Pursuing the Israelites**

Two groups of armed, mounted soldiers follow one another. On the
 right is Pharaoh and a helmeted knight on horseback carrying a standard
 bearing a heraldic lion, perhaps referring to León. On the left is a knight
 carrying a shield bearing a fleur-de-lis, possibly referring to the French

Crown. These symbols may have held political significance within the geo-cultural circles of the producers and users of that time.

Captions:

...שש מאות רכב בחרור וכל רכב מצרים ושלישים על כלו
[ישראל] וירדוף אחרי בני

Six hundred chosen chariots, and all the chariots of Egypt, and captains over all of them (Exod. 14:7).

And he pursued after the children of [Israel] (Exod. 14:8)

Lower part: **Crossing of the Red Sea**

On the right, Moses raises his rod to perform the miracle and points to the Israelites—men, women, boys, and girls—who cross the Red Sea in a diagonal, broad strip. Below and above are segments of water in which Pharaoh's head, a red shield, weapons, and fish are visible. In the Bible, the drowning of the Egyptians occurred after the Israelites crossed the sea; here, as in several other Sephardic Haggadot and Jewish exegeses,¹²⁷ the two events occur simultaneously.

Caption: illegible

Fol. 3v. **Songs of Moses and Miriam**

In the upper right panel, Miriam plays the timbrel. She is accompanied by two women playing a lute and a portable organ, as well as a group of dancers. On the left panel, Moses and the Israelites turn toward the women, raising their hands in praise. A young boy connects the two groups and looks in the same direction. See the main text.

Captions:

...התף בידה. ותצאנה כל הנשים...
אז ישיר משה ובני ישראל

...having taken a timbrel in her hand – then there went forth all the women... (Exod. 15:20)

Then Moses and the Israelites sang (Exod. 15:1)

Fol. 2r. Right panel: **Preparations for the feast**

¹²⁷ See e.g., Manchester, John Rylands Library, Ms. Heb. 6, f. 19r; London, British Library, Ms. Or. 1404, f. 7r; Sarajevo, National Museum, f. 28r. The simultaneous passage of the Israelites and the drawing of the Egyptians is discussed in the commentary of Nachmanides (Moses b. Nahman, d. 1270) on Exodus 15:19.

A man is roasting a lamb. He holds a large cup while another man pours water into it. A woman standing nearby puts one hand on the man's head and points to the other one. To the left, another woman is placing dishes in a large pot over a fire, presumably to purify them for Passover use.¹²⁸ Three towels hang on a bar. See the main text.

Caption:

צלי אש ראשו על כרעיו ועל קרבו

Roast with fire, the head with the feet and with the inwards thereof (Exod. 12:9)

Left panel: **Celebrating the Seder**

The master of the household, his wife, son, and daughter are seated at the Seder table. The wife is pouring wine or water for rinsing into a cup. Three towels hang on a bar. See the main text.

Illustrations to the Text

Fol. 11v. “**Atan mipirqa shatfin casa u-mozgin ḥamra u-mevarkhin**” (They are coming from the prayer gathering, rinsing a cup, pouring out wine, and reciting the benediction). The opening Aramaic instruction is written in bold letters on a full-page panel. Above the panel, a man is shown washing a cup or pouring wine. Another man raising a cup appears on the lower margin.¹²⁹

Fol. 12r. **Kiddush**. A marginal pen-drawn man holds a gilded goblet of wine.

Fol. 14r. “**Ha laḥma ’anya**” (This is the bread of affliction).

In the lower left corner of the initial-word panel, which is executed in delicate, filigree-like penwork, the bust-length figure of a man is depicted holding a basket of matzot. Two bust-length figures appear in the opposite corner.

Fol. 15v. “**We were slaves of Pharaoh in Egypt**”

The initial word panel “slaves” depicts a man carrying a burden on his back.

¹²⁸ Compare London, British Library, Ms. Or. 2737, f. 87r; Narkiss et al., *British Isles*, 49.

¹²⁹ See Adam S. Cohen, *Signs and Wonders: 100 Haggada Masterpieces* (New Milford: Toby Press, 2018), 30.

Fol. 16r. **A rooster crowing at daybreak** on the lower margin refers to the five rabbis who were so absorbed in telling the story of the Exodus that they lost track of time and did not realize the night had passed until their disciples drew their attention, “Our masters! The time has come to recite the morning Shema!”¹³⁰

Fols. 18r–19v. **“It is concerning four types of sons that the Torah discourses...”**

Fol. 18r. **The Wise Son.** A seated, bearded man holds an open book.

Fol. 18v. **The Wicked Son.** A soldier is holding a spear.

Fol. 19r. **The Simple Son.** A seated man raises his hands.

Fol. 19v. **The Son who does not know how to ask.** A child points to the man standing next to him.¹³¹

Fol. 26r. **“And we cried aloud unto the Lord...”**

The two words *va-niz'ak* (“and we cried aloud”) are illustrated with images of men kneeling and clasping their hands in prayer. The figures deviate from the frame of the initial word panel, with the upper figure located within an architectural opening. Both figures face the text, with the lower figure facing the name of the Lord.¹³² This prayer gesture is also found in an illustration of the same passage in the Barcelona Haggadah and the Ashkenazic Bird’s Head Haggadah (Upper Rhine, 1300),¹³³ along with other contexts in Italian Hebrew illuminated manuscripts. Although kneeling with joined hands is identified as a Christian ritual gesture, textual sources suggest that it was also used in Jewish rituals.¹³⁴

Fol. 27v. **“And our burdensome sufferings – This refers to the sons as it is written: ‘Every son that is born ye shall cast into the river’”** (Exod. 1: 22).

Along the margin, between the two scrolls, a man is throwing a baby into the river.

130 Narkiss and Sed-Rajna, *Kaufmann Collection*, no. IJA 1986/7, no. 28.

131 The Four Sons is one of the most popular images in illuminated Haggadot. For the traditional iconography, see Mira Friedman, “The Four Sons of the Haggadah and the Ages of Man,” *Journal of Jewish Art* 11 (1985): 16–40. Evelyn M. Cohen, “Three Sephardic Haggadot and a Possible Missing Link,” in *Proceedings of the Fifth Congress of Jewish Studies in Copenhagen 1994* (Copenhagen: Reitzel 1998), 142–151 (145).

132 Kornfeld, “Go Forth,” 146.

133 London, BL, Ms. Add. 14761, f. 44r; Jerusalem, Israel Museum, Ms. 180/57, f. 15v.

134 Eric Zimmer, *Society and Its Customs: Studies in the History and Metamorphosis of Jewish Customs* (Jerusalem: The Zalman Shazar Center, 1996), 95–96 [Hebrew].

Fol. 33v. **“Rabbi Akiva says...”**

Rabbi Akiva sits in front of a round lectern holding an open book. He points to his two disciples, each of whom is holding a book. Another closed book rests on the lectern.

Fols. 37v–40v

“He who has not mentioned these three fundamentals on Passover has not fulfilled his obligation of properly observing the ritual. These are the following: *Pesah* (the Paschal lamb), *matzah* (unleavened bread) and *maror* (bitter herbs).”

Fol. 38r. **“*Pesah* (the Paschal lamb) that our ancestors were eating when the Temple still stood...”**

A man with a stick in his hand leads the Paschal lamb tied with a rope around its neck. A sheep, designed in similar faint colors, is inserted within the foliage along the margins.

A rare parallel can be found in the Sarajevo Haggadah, where an uncolored drawing of a lamb is seen above the initial word panel, “*Pesah*.” The addition of the rope, man, and sheep in the margins are all unique features that lend the depiction a genre-like, everyday sense.

Fol. 39r. **“This matzah”**

An elaborately decorated matzah with the emblem of Castile in the middle occupies most of the page. Four naked or nearly naked figures surround the matzah and blow trumpets. These figures have a close parallel in another Sephardic example,¹³⁵ and may represent the four winds, giving the matzah and the entire image a cosmological character.¹³⁶ Depicting the matzah as a decorated disc is common in Sephardic Haggadah manuscripts. The practice of decorating the matzah itself is documented in Sephardic sources and dates back to ancient times.¹³⁷

135 London, British Library, Ms. Add. 14761, f. 61r.

136 For the iconography, context and cultural meanings, see Zofia Ameisenowa, “Some Neglected Representations of the Harmony of the Universe,” in *Essays in Honor of Hans Tietze*, ed. Ernst H. Gombrich et al. (New York: Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1958), 349–64. Michael Batterman, “Bread of Affliction, Emblem of Power: The Passover Matzah in Haggadah Manuscripts from Christian Spain,” in *Imagining the Self, Imagining the Other: Visual Representation and Jewish-Christian Dynamics in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period*, ed. Eva Frojmovic (Leiden: Brill, 2021); Cohen, *Signs and Wonders*, 32.

137 Narkiss, *The Golden Haggadah*, 15–16.

Fol. 40r. **“This *maror*”**

A large plant with roots, most of which have been peeled off, is located within a panel. Two small figures in the lower corners point to the plant, illustrating the tradition of pointing to the *maror* on the Seder plate while reciting the relevant passage. Lion’s heads with vegetal scrolls in their mouths emerge from each side. As with the matzah, depicting the *maror* as a large plant is also a common feature of Sephardic Haggadot.

Fol. 41v **“Thus (*Lefikhakh*) it is our duty to thank”**

Three men around the Seder table—one seated and two standing—raise their cups of wine. They visualize the custom of raising the cup while reciting this passage.

Fol. 42r. **“Hallelujah”** (Psalm 113, beginning of the Hallel).

The interior of a synagogue occupies the space between the initial word panel and the rest of the text. See the main text.

Fol. 43r. **“When Israel went out of Egypt”** (Psalm 114).

Moses leads the Israelites—men, women and children—who carry dough wrapped in cloths over their shoulders. Moses, wearing a tall hat with a feather leads the procession. He points in the direction of the procession with his left hand while looking back and holding a gilded rod in his right hand. On the extreme right, Pharaoh, accompanied by one of his soldiers, pursues the Israelites on horseback. On the left, two Israelites approach the gate of the tower-like Baal Zephon, one of them knocks on the door. People are watching from the windows and the top of the tower. Beneath the tower is a barking dog with no tongue, a possible visualization of the verse “But against any of the children of Israel shall not a dog whet his tongue” (Exod. 11:7).¹³⁸

Fol. 44r. **“Blessed are You, God... who has redeemed us and redeemed our fathers from Egypt...”**

In the first word panel, “*Barukh*” (Blessed), a crowned man holds the second cup of wine. Opposite him is the long leg of the final *khaf*, designed in the form of a fleur-de-lis—a possible reference to the emblem of the French crown. On the upper margin, a hybrid plays the

¹³⁸ Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*, 97. See also Marc Michael Epstein, *Skies of Parchment, Seas of Ink: Jewish Illuminated Manuscripts* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 184–86; Kornfeld, “Go Forth,” 162–63.

bagpipes, illustrating the end of the Hallel on the top line of the page (Psalms 114).

Fol. 45r. **“Drink [the cup] in a reclining position to the left.”** The instructions for drinking the second cup.

In the interior setting on the left, a man and a woman are seated and holding cups. On the right, beneath the initial word, two men and two women are depicted standing and drinking from long-necked jars. Beside them is a set table with a jar of wine.

Fol. 47r. **“Pour out (*Shefokh*) Your wrath upon the nations that do not acknowledge You”**

Above the initial word “*Shefokh*” on the upper margin is the hand of the Lord pouring red liquid from a wine cup onto a group of heads. The heads are arranged in two rows between two curling scrolls and are left uncolored, with only some tints of red. A similar concept is found in Ms. Add. 14761 at the British Library, in which an angel pours wrath from a golden flask onto three people.¹³⁹

139 Narkiss et al., *British Isles*, 83. Cohen, “Three Sephardic Haggadot,” 147



Fig. 1. The finding of Moses in the river. The Golden Haggadah, Barcelona, 1320s;
London, British Library, Ms. Add. 27210, f. 9r, upper right panel
Courtesy of the British Library.



Fig. 2. The finding of Moses in the river/ Moses before the burning bush,
Psalter of St. Louis, Paris, 1253-1270;
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Lat.10525, f. 29v
(Photo: Paris, BnF)



Fig. 3. Courtly dance, Guillaume de Machaut, *Le remède de fortune*;
 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Français 1586, f. 51r
 (Photo: Paris, BnF)



Fig. 4. Berber *adufe*, Morocco, mid. 20th c;
the Hartenberger World Music Collection of Historical Instruments, no.
AF-MBST-77-14
(Photo: Dr. Aurelia Hartenberger, wmic.net)



Fig. 5. A minbar-like *tevah*, Tlemçen, the Synagogue of R. Ephraim ben Israel Alnaqua (1359–1442),
(Photo: Amiti26, open access)

Conversion Table: Folio Numbers to the Reconstucted Original Page Numbers

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59v = 6	20r = 47	40v = 88
6r = 7	20v = 48	41r = 89
6v = 8	21r = 49	41v = 90
7r = 9	21v = 50	42r = 91
7v = 10	22r = 51	42v = 92
8r = 11	22v = 52	43r = 93
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5r = 13	23v = 54	44r = 95
5v = 14	24r = 55	44v = 96
60r = 15	24v = 56	45r = 97
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1v = 18	26r = 59	46v = 100
4r = 19	26v = 60	47r = 101
4v = 20	27r = 61	47v = 102
57r = 21	27v = 62	48r = 103
57v = 22	28r = 63	48v = 104
58r = 23	28v = 64	49r = 105
58v = 24	29r = 65	49v = 106
3r = 25	29v = 66	50r = 107
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11r = 29	31v = 70	52r = 111
11v = 30	32r = 71	52v = 112
12r = 31	32v = 72	53r = 113
12v = 32	33r = 73	53v = 114
13r = 33	33v = 74	54r = 115
13v = 34	34r = 75	54v = 116
14r = 35	34v = 76	55r = 117
14v = 36	35r = 77	55v = 118
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15v = 38	36r = 79	56v = 120
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