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"The Question of Illustrated Jewish Biblical Manuscripts: A Preliminary Investigation"

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"The Question of Illustrated Jewish Biblical Manuscripts: A Preliminary Investigation"

by

Joseph Gutmann

Submitted in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for Ordination

Hebrew Union College-Jewish
Institute of Religion
Cincinnati, Ohio
January, 1957

Referee:
Professor Sandmel

DIGEST OF THESIS

As early as 1900 some art historians believed that Christianity adopted the art of the synagogue along with its liturgy. This supposition was generally ignored in Jewish scholarly circles, since it was felt that the Second Commandment never permitted any artistic expression in the Jewish religious realm. However, the discovery of the third century synagogue of Dura-Europos in 1932 not only confirmed the hypothesis of the art historian, but emphasized the important role Jewish art played in the lives of Jews during the early Christian period.

The value of this art manifested itself not only in such significant monuments as the synagogue of Dura, but also in Jewish manuscripts, the remains of which are but dimly reflected in surviving Christian manuscripts. This thesis concerns itself with the difficult problem of the existence of such illustrated Jewish manuscripts in the early Christian period and the influence they may have exerted on both Christian and late Islamic art.

Several scholars have previously wrestled with this problem. Goodenough reconstructs these Jewish manuscripts on the basis of a similarity between medieval Christian illuminations and Philo's writings. Roth detects an unbroken tradition of representations of the Temple/Synagogue interior from the early mosaics and frescoes to the

medieval manuscripts, and thus posits a manuscript origin for the mosaics and frescoes. Weitzmann feels that the 11-12th century Octateuchs and the Dura Synagogue frescoes go back to the same manuscript archetype. The above theories, and others, are examined within this thesis, and rejected for lack of substantive evidence.

This writer contends that only through an examination of specific Jewish haggadic lore of Biblical personages illustrated in Christian, Jewish and Islamic art can a clear reconstruction emerge of the content and extent of early Jewish illustrated manuscripts. This is particularly important since Jewish haggadic lore is so prevalent in both the early surviving Christian manuscripts stemming from the Syrian orbit and the frescoes of the synagogue of Dura. This thesis is restricted to a study of those legends centering around the lives of Abraham, Joseph and Moses, which are illustrated in Jewish and Islmaic art, and brief allusion is made to the particular theme if it occurs in Christian art. The conclusion posited, namely that large haggadic cycles existed in the Syrian region in the early Christian period which formed the basis of and influenced later Christian and Islamic Old Testament illustrations, must, of necessity, be tentative. The material gathered is only part of a study which the author hopes to augment and complete in the future.

"Happy is the man who has a good wife;
the number of his days is doubled."

TO MARILYN

a true אשת חיל

this thesis is dedicated

NOTE OF SPECIAL THANKS

I am greatly indebted to Professor Sandmel, my thesis adviser, for his invaluable encouragement and his significant criticism of this thesis.

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INTRODUCTION

Strzygowski, one of the outstanding art historians of the turn of the century, demonstrated in his studies on Christian art that its roots must be sought in Near Eastern art rather than, as formerly believed, in Roman art. In pursuing this hypothesis, Strzygowski became aware that in early Christian catacombs themes of the Old Testament were preferred almost exclusively to motifs from the New Testament. Even more important, however, his penetrating studies on such important Christian manuscripts as the Ashburnham Pentateuch[1] and the Alexandrian World Chronicle[2] convinced him that the archetypes of these manuscripts must be sought within a Jewish realm. At the time of his writing the notion that Jewish manuscripts existed in the Near East in the early Christian period seemed more of a pious guess than a concrete argument, but within thirty years of his writing the amazing discovery of the synagogue of Dura has left little room for doubting his argument.

Since Strzygowski first published his hypothesis that many Christian manuscripts must be traced to a Jewish origin, art historians have either accepted or outrightly rejected his theory,[3] but no major studies have appeared that have convincingly disproved, or for that matter confirmed, his basic contention.

It is the purpose of this thesis to re-examine the many perplexing problems connected with Jewish illustrated

manuscripts in the early Christian period in the light of Strzygowski's original hypothesis.

I. General Historic Considerations

A growing relaxation of the interpretation of the Second Commandment became manifest in Jewish religious circles during the Amoraic period (220-500 CE). This is attested to by a passage in the Jerusalem Talmud (Abodah Zarah 48d) which states that Rabbi Jochanan of the third century and Rabbi Abbun of the fourth[4] did not prohibit wall paintings and mosaics. This reference, together with one from the Targum of Pseudo Jonathan,[5] help to explain the presence of works of art in the synagogues of this period which have been excavated in the Near East.

In contrast to the liberal interpretation of the second commandment by the Rabbis of this period, stands the strict attitude of the early Church Fathers. The Synod of Elvira in 315 A.D. in its 36th Canon unanimously condemned the use of art for religious purposes. Furthermore, the opposition and hostility of the early Church Fathers, such as Origen, Clement and Tertullian, was so severe as to lead one to the impression that religious art was non-existent. Indeed, were it not for the surviving monuments such a conclusion would seem reasonable.[6]

In a like manner, it is known that the disapproval of the image inferred from the fifth Sura (V,92) in the

Koran, which orders believers to avoid images as an "abomination of Satan's work," was not always strictly adhered to by the Muhammedans.[7]

It must be remembered that, regardless of religious fences, the urge and need for pictorial and visual expression cannot be completely restrained or suppressed within any societal structure. Despite restrictive legislation, artists of all faiths will strive to convey their ideas in pictorial, figured form at all times and under any circumstances.

II. Source material bearing on manuscripts

On the question of illustrated books Rabbinic Judaism is singularly silent. Only one reference to illustrated rolls is to be found. It is in the apocryphal work of I Maccabees of the second century B.C.E., which reads:

> III,48. "They (i.e. the Jews) spread out the Roll of the Law, upon which the heathen had drawn likenesses of their idols." [8]

The use of this verse as confirmation of the existence of Jewish illustrated scrolls is hardly justified since it makes no reference to illustrated Jewish manuscripts. All the verse conveys is that the religious feelings of the Jews were offended by heathen desecration of the scrolls of the Law, which made them unfit for ritual use.[9]

Yet, if the Jews decorated walls and mosaics in synagogues, as we now know, is it not possible that they

decorated manuscripts also?[10] Certainly the permission granted by the Rabbis to decorate public places of worship would extend to objects made for private consumption.

To date no illustrated Jewish manuscripts prior to the tenth century are known to us. Yet, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the absence of illuminated manuscripts can be explained in terms of their disappearance or destruction and not on the basis that they were never created. In related realms we have clear knowledge that a great deal of material must have survived antiquity and been before Medieval eyes. This has been confirmed by the recent discovery of Castelseprio, an early Christian church whose frescoes seem to provide a link between early Christian and later Romanesque art.[11] Furthermore, it is known that the valuable ancient texts from the famous library of Alexandria were destroyed. Then too, many ancient manuscripts in the Imperial Library of Constantinople were destroyed in 1204 and we know about them only through literary references. Vast collections of classical texts were in the hands of the early Church Fathers; this is attested to in their writings. Moreover, to the deliberate or accidental destruction of books must be added the natural decay of papyrus, which, according to Weitzmann, hardly outlasts three generations under normal use.[12]

The artistic remains related to Old Testament illus-

trations which have survived to our own time are very few and fragmentary despite the fact that art forms tend to influence each other and are often copied in later times. Of the 20 identifiable panels of the third century synagogue of Dura only 8 appear in Christian art before the tenth century, and we might ask why the other 12 were not similarly reproduced. Again, of the 65 Biblical episodes in the 19 surviving miniatures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch, 27 are not encountered before the tenth century in Christian art.[13] In a like manner in the field of literature, the case of a Jewish medieval anthology might be cited. The Yalkut Shimoni (I Kings, 214) tells the legend of one Hiel, who was concealed by the false Baal prophets in the altar. Hiel was to strike the fire at the appropriate moment, but he was frustrated in his plot since God dispatched a snake to bite him. On the strength of the evidence from the Yalkut alone, the date of this legend might be placed in the early Middle Ages, but this legend has been found now in a fresco of the Dura synagogue, showing that the legend was already current in the third century.[14]

From the foregoing, it is quite evident that a sound evaluation of the problem of Old Testament illustrated manuscripts is extremely difficult, for much of the artistic and literary productions of antiquity may well have been irretrievably lost to us.

III. Goodenough's treatment of the problem

Goodenough suggested that Philo, the great Jewish philosopher (40 B.C. - 20 A.D.), must have had an illustrated copy of the Septuagint at his disposal. He bases this supposition on similarities between early Christian Old Testament illustrations and Philo's writings. " I am convinced" he writes "that close study would show that Philo was often drawing his details from a (pictorial) source which already was deeply affected by allegorical interpretation."[15] This statement is based mainly on the pictorial evidence of a twelfth century miniature from the Vatican Library in Rome (Octateuch, Gr. 746, fol. 157ro.), which depicts Moses before the burning bush. Goodenough feels that the bush has acanthus leaves and that the fire is spouting up from the ground like a fountain, in keeping with the description of the scene in Philo (Vita Mosis I, 65,66).[16] It should be noted, however, that another description from Rabbinic literature could just as well be applied for the interpretation of this picture. It reads: "the heavenly fire sends forth shoots ( ), burns, but does not consume, and it is black."[17] Our picture, in keeping with this account, shows foliage which is growing out of the flaming bush, but which is not consumed by the fire. Similarly, Josephus relates: "...for a fire fed upon a thorn bush, yet did the green leaves and the flowers continue un-

touched, and the fire did not at all consume the fruit branches, although the flame was great and fierce."[18] Thus, the possibility of explaining this picture by way of several accounts should be a warning against the tendency of reading a single consistent narrative into a picture and then drawing from that synthetic narrative far-reaching conclusions. The Septuagint text itself (Ex. 3.2), in my opinion, might have been sufficient stimulus for an artist's imagination to enable him to draw the scene as depicted in our miniature. Therefore, it is not necessary to seek other or additional literary evidence to justify the artist's beautiful rendering of the burning bush.

It is vital to consider in connection with Goodenough's assumption that personal relations between the Church Fathers and the Doctors of the Synagogue provided a medium for the diffusion of many legends found in later Christian writings and illustrations. From the twelfth century on there is, in fact, written evidence of the direct use of Rabbinic literature by the Church Fathers.[19] Moreover, the Jewish source of many legends used by Origen, Eusebius, Jerome and pseudo-Jerome is attested in their writings, and the haggadic basis of many a legend missing in the Christian source is supplied by recourse to Rabbinic literature. The assumption, therefore, of a direct dependence of the Church Fathers on Philo for legendary material found in illustrations cannot be soundly defended, inasmuch

as some of the same material is found in Rabbinic literature.[20]

It has also been pointed out by some writers that the source for the Greek translation of the Bible may have been an early transcription of portions of the Hebrew text into the Greek alphabet. This was done for the use of Jews who could not read or pray from the Bible in Hebrew characters and yet did not want to do so from the Greek translation.[21] It was only natural that the relative freedom which the Jews enjoyed in Alexandria should have led to an assimilation with the gentile population, with the result that the knowledge of Hebrew diminished---even Philo's knowledge of Hebrew is questioned by scholars. Therefore, it is not probable that the Greek translation, which had taken the place of the Hebrew Bible as the holy book,[22] would have been illustrated, since to have done so would have been violative of Jewish tradition.

Philo's own attitude on the subject, as reflected in his comment on the second commandment,

> "others...who filled the habitable world with images...fashioned by the craftsmanship of painting and sculpture, arts which have wrought great mischief in the life of manking. For these idolators cut away the most excellent support of the soul, the rightful conception of the Ever-living God." 23

is particularly instructive in that it stresses the fundamental opposition of sacred Jewish literature to art and at the same time the Platonic concept that the contemplation of beauty in transitory material objects, such as

paintings, deceives men and leads them from the true quest for immaterial beauty---the contemplation of the divine essence.

Moreover, the surviving literary sources, such as the "Letter to Aristeas" of the second century B.C.E.[24] and later Rabbinic literature, refer only to the practice of embellishing Jewish letters with gold in the Torah scrolls in Alexandria.[25] There is no mention of illustrated Septuagints in these sources.

From the foregoing, it must therefore be concluded that Goodenough's contribution to this field of investigation cannot serve as a valid support for Strzygowski's thesis.

IV. Roth's treatment of the problem

Cecil Roth is of the opinion that illuminated manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible existed in the early Christian period. The subject matter of these Hebrew manuscripts "comprised a representation of the interior of the Sanctuary or of the synagogue, centering upon the Tabernacle or the Torah shrine."[26] As evidence for his conclusions, Roth draws an iconographic comparison between the vessels of the Sanctuary and the Torah shrine depicted in the upper mosaic panel of the Beth Alpha synagogue (6th century) and a page from the tenth century Pentateuch in Leningrad which was written by Solomon ha Levi b. Buya'a. He feels that

the tenth century manuscript provides the link in an unbroken tradition between the representations of the Temple/Synagogue interior in the early mosaics and frescoes on the one hand and medieval manuscripts on the other.[27] That such illustrations may have existed as part of a larger cycle is very probable, but the evidence for the case presented by Roth is not convincing.

No stylistic analysis is given to show the reader that the artistic tradition established at Beth Alpha survives in the manuscripts of the Middle Ages. Even the iconographic analysis is weak. What Roth identifies as an atrophied Torah shrine, whose "resemblance is particularly striking" to Beth Alpha, might just as well be a decorative device or it may represent the tablets of the law.[28] In any case, in the tenth century manuscript, the candelabra is dominant; in Beth Alpha the Torah shrine. The "supposed" doors of the Torah shrine in the Pentateuch page are differently drawn from those at Beth Alpha. The triangular apex is an integral part of the Torah shrine at Beth Alpha, while in the Pentateuch it has no relation to the structure. What were Cherubin in Beth Alpha have disappeared and only two foliage patterns remain to flank the structure pictured.

In view of this, it is difficult to see the iconographic and artistic relation between Beth Alpha and the Pentateuch, which Roth tries to establish. Therefore,

his hypothesis of the existence of Jewish illuminated manuscripts in the early Christian period is not supported by valid evidence and it cannot serve as a basis for the reconstruction of Jewish manuscripts.

V. Weitzmann's treatment of the problem

The most serious study on Jewish manuscript illustrations to date has been undertaken by Weitzmann of Princeton University. His scholarly endeavors in this field are only partially published, so that any evaluation must be tentative and limited to his basic premises. It is Weitzmann's belief that the synagogue of Dura and the 11th-12th century Octateuchs go back ultimately to the same archetype. He feels that a particularly important document for an evaluation of the models behind the Dura frescoes is Vat. gr. 747, which he holds to be the most reliable surviving Octateuch manuscript. On his assumption that Vat. gr. 747 is the most reliable existing Octateuch, Weitzmann attempts to reconstruct the original manuscript which must have been used by the Dura synagogue artists.[29] Most scholars, however, are of the opinion that the Vat. gr. 747 is not the most reliable Octateuch; in fact they feel it is inferior to other surviving manuscripts of the Octateuch tradition.[30]

Even if Weitzmann's basic assumption of the same archetype for Dura and the Octateuchs is accepted, it is diffi-

cult to see any relation between the "Finding of Moses" scene as illustrated in Dura and the same scene in Vat. gr. 747, fol. 72vo., which Weitzmann has chosen as proving his point. The Octateuch miniature illustrates the biblical account. Here, the princess is shown standing on the shore of the river, pointing to the ark floating in the midst of the river, while her servant is reaching out trying to grasp the ark.[31] In the Dura fresco, on the other hand, a Jewish legend is illustrated.(See p. 39ff.) In keeping with the legend, the princess herself, and not a servant, is fetching the child. She is shown in the water, holding the child aloft and passing it to Miriam, who in turn hands the child to Jochebed.

Artistically and iconographically it is difficult to associate the depiction in Dura with that of the Octateuch miniature. As explained in a later section dealing with this subject (p. 39ff.), the Dura synagogue fresco illustrates a Jewish legend which is preserved in later Christian and Jewish art, and which represents a significant departure from the biblical account illustrated in the Octateuch.

In the light of these findings, Weitzmann's reconstruction of the manuscript model behind the Dura fresco cannot be accepted. It seems more likely that the Dura depiction follows a different artistic tradition than that of the Octateuchs and one not necessarily based on

a manuscript tradition.

It should be observed that at Dura no ordered arrangement of scenes is followed, as is the case in manuscripts, and that the scene determines the division, rather than the division the scene. The scenes, moreover, are not architecturally bound, but are laid out like a grid that accords more with mosaic than with illustrated manuscripts. The framed field within the grid, in preference to the open field, is adhered to, which bespeaks no particular connection with the cyclic method of narration of manuscripts. Indeed, any mural system, be it mosaic, sectile or painting, could have its own independent decorative systems that would allow for various schemes, which are not necessarily those employed in manuscripts. There is, therefore, no particular reason to urge connection with manuscripts of cyclic illustrations or other manuscript illustrations.

Yet, the conception of the whole complex program of the Dura synagogue seems to indicate a long period of development, rather than a sporadic outburst, but not necessarily a development founded upon manuscript originals.[32]

VI. The problem of illustrated Jewish manuscripts and their origin

It is an accepted fact that such pagan illustrated epics as the Vatican Vergil and the Ambrosian Iliad are

rooted in ancient book illustration, just as the Christian manuscripts such as the Octateuchs, the Joshua Roll, the Paris Psalter, the Vienna Genesis and the Ashburnham Pentateuch go back to earlier models than any now existing. Scholarly controversy hinges on the reconstruction of the extensive picture cycles of antiquity on the basis of the rather thin evidence of Megarian bowls and Iliac tablets.[33] It can be stated with reasonable certainty, however, that although the direct models of mythological texts have been lost, they once existed either in papyrus rolls or codices of either papyrus or parchment.[34] Similarly, the models of such early Christian manuscripts as the Ashburnham Pentateuch, Paris Psalter and Octateuchs can be traced back to lost Jewish originals.[35] The problem for future research is to determine what type of books Jews illustrated and where they were executed.

It is known that the Jews, particularly of Alexandria, had adapted the language of the Greek epic and the dramatic poetry to Biblical themes in order to imitate the great literary form of the Greek poets and to convince the Gentiles thereby of the antiquity and achievements of the Jewish nation.

The Church Father Eusebius of the fourth century has preserved fragments of what must have been an extensive literature, in his ninth book of Evangelical Preparation, which he took from the Universal History compiled by Alexander Polyhistor of the first century A.D. Only three

Jewish poets of the Hellenistic period are known to us through these writings. Theodotus, in his work "On the Jews" (47 verses preserved by Eusebius) bases his narrative on the Septuagint and Jewish legends, but, in phrasing he attempts to suggest Homer. Likewise, Philo the Elder, in his epic "Jerusalem" of perhaps 24 books (25 lines preserved in Eusebius) narrates the history of Israel from the patriarchs to the Babylonian captivity. In a similar manner Ezekiel, the tragic poet, in his dramatic work on "The Exodus" (250 lines in Eusebius) adapted the Septuagint to the forms of pagan literature.[36]

Even in Palestine the upper classes were well acquainted with Greek literature, and many Rabbinic scholars devoted their time to studying Greek wisdom.[37] It is not surprising, therefore, that we find Greek legends and parables included in Rabbinic literature.[38] Such works as the Testament of Joseph (which Braun feels is only one of many prose literary works of novelistic character now lost to us) is written in the tradition of the Greek Phaedra legend. It is merely a reshapement of Hellenistic themes in the spirit of Jewish Haggada.[39] Josephus himself writes like a Graeco-Roman historian. His interest, in keeping with Graeco-Roman historiography, is in recording facts, not in giving an interpretation of the significance and meaning of the facts as Biblical historiography does.

The Jew so steeped in Graeco-Roman culture, deriving his literary inspiration from his cosmopolitan environment, would naturally be stimulated to illustrate his text in a manner similar to illustrations found in the mythological texts.[40] There is, in fact, good reason to believe that Josephus' works were illustrated.[41]

It is difficult to assert, however, that the literary fragments, such as those which have survived from Alexandria, were originally part of extensive versified illustrated books, since no artistic evidence has been found to prove the point. Such remains as the Fayum portraits from Egypt (second century A.D. on), with their Semitic features, show an inwardness and introspective character that is totally un-Greek, but bear a close resemblance to heads in the Vienna Genesis and other works of art from the Syro-Palestinian region of the early Christian period.

Although the literary activity of the Jews from such centers as Antioch is shrouded in darkness, most of the artistic evidence for the existence of large cycles of Biblical illustrations comes from the Syrian region. Such artistic monuments as the synagogue of Dura (third century), and the extensive cycles of Biblical illustrations in the Octateuchs, Vienna Genesis and Ashburnham Pentateuch, all point to the Syrian region,[42] which must have been a fertile center for the production of the

large Biblical cycles, mere reflections of which have survived in later artistic remnants.

While the artistic evidence establishes the existence of Jewish manuscripts, the type of books the Jews illustrated still remains a question which demands more evidence and diligent research before a definite answer can be given. This writer would venture to suggest that perhaps the Jews illustrated haggadic books on the Bible which existed in that early period, and which the surviving Christian manuscripts but dimly reflect. We know that R. Hiyya read an haggadic book on Psalms in the bathhouse, indicating that written haggadic books existed as early as the second century.[43] Moreover, haggadic books were very popular even with the Rabbis of this period, and it is not unlikely that the haggadic material on the explicit Bible narrative was used to illustrated Biblical books for popular consumption.[44] Certainly the predominance of and preference for haggadic legends in Jewish and Christian illustrations lend weight to this suggestion. Furthermore, it must not be assumed that haggadic interpretation was a matter of special erudition as it is nowadays. The Aramaic paraphrases and the Sabbatical sermons made such interpretation more familiar to members of congregations than what is called today the literal sense of the Bible.

VII. The re-shaping of the problem

The ensuing study will iniate, it is hoped, what eventually will be a compilation of the haggadic lore of Biblical personages illustrated in Jewish, Christian and Islamic art, in the hope that a clearer picture of the early Jewish manuscript cycles can be gained therefrom. Only the legends centering around the lives of Abraham, Joseph and Moses which are illustrated in Jewish and Islamic art[45] will be the subject of this study, and brief allusion will be made to the particular theme if it is found in Christian art. Any conclusions in this paper must, of necessity, be tentative. It is my desire to be enabled to complete this study at some future date, but should that opportunity not present itself to me, perhaps this initial study will stimulate some scholar to continue what I have so modestly begun.

LEGENDS ON THE LIFE OF ABRAHAM

ABRAHAM

The patriarch Abraham is regarded as the fountainhead of three religions; he is looked upon by them as embodying the highest ideals of human character. His willingness to sacrifice his only son Isaac is, according to tradition, still remembered by God to the credit of the Jewish people for the forgiveness of its sins. For the Christian, the sacrifice symbolized the foreshadowing of the sacrifice of the son of God, while for Islam, God's blessings were bestowed on Ishmael, the ancestor of the Arabs, who was prepared by Abraham for the sacrifice. It is not surprising, therefore, that the stories about Abraham, both the biblical and the later embroideries, should be found in the art and literature of the three religious faiths.

I. Abraham and the idols of his father

The search of Abraham for the one God finally led to his rejection of idol worship. This we find illustrated in the early fourteenth century in Al-Biruni's, The Chronology of Ancient Nations, in the Edinburgh University Library (Arabic no. 161 fol. 102b).[1] The miniature shows Abraham, axe in hand, chopping an idol that is lying on the floor, while two other idols sit as mute witnesses

behind the fallen one. Accompanying the miniature is the text in Al-Biruni which explains the scene. It reads: "Therefore he cut off his foreskin, i.e., he circumcised himself. In this state he entered one of their idol-temples when he heard a voice speaking to him: 'O Abraham, you went away from us with one sin and you return to us with two sins. Go away, and do not again come to us.' Thereupon Abraham seized by wrath, broke the idols in pieces and left their company."[2]

Another illustration of the story of Abraham's rejection of idol worship, this time from Christian art of the early fourteenth century, is found in the Psalter of Queen Mary (fol. 8). It depicts his father Terah seated at a workbench carving idols in the form of cows, and handing them to Abraham to take to sell in the market. In the next scene Abraham prepares to throw one of the carved idols on the ground, while at the same time he tramples aground another idol. Five people are standing by watching this deed.[3] The text explaining the miniature states: "Here Abram breaks the false gods to pieces in despite, and the men of the law see him and marvel thereat. 'God keep you, Thare (Terah), wherever you may be. Your gods are all broken to pieces.' Abram here says to his father, 'on themselves they have no mercy.'"[4]

Although the artistic remains are scant, we know that

Abraham's encounter with the idols was already known in hellenistic times, for the Book of Jubilees records the following version of the story: "And it came to pass in the sixth week, in the seventh year thereof, that Abram said to Terah is father, saying, 'Father!' And he said, 'Behold, here am I, my son.' And he said, 'What help and profit have we from those idols which thou dost worship, And before which thou dost bow thyself? For there is no spirit in them, For they are dumb forms, and a misleading of the heart. Worship them not.'...And in the sixtieth year of the life of Abram, that is, in the fourth week, in the fourth year thereof, Abram arose by night, and burned the house of the idols, and he burned all that was in the house, and no man knew it."[5]

What is probably the earliest Midrash in consonance with such illustrations is found in Bereshit Rabbah 38.13, which reads: "And Haran died in the presence of his father Terah (XI,28). R. Hiyya said: Terah was a manufacturer of idols. He once went away somewhere and left Abraham to sell them in his place. A man came and wished to buy one. 'How old are you?', Abraham asked him. 'Fifty years,' was the reply. 'Woe to such a man!,' he exclaimed, 'you are fifty years old and would worship a day-old object!' At this he became ashamed and departed. On another occasion a woman came with a plateful of flour and requested him, 'Take this and offer it to them' So he took a stick, broke them, and put the stick in the hand of the largest.

When his father returned he demanded, 'What have you done to them?' 'I cannot conceal it from you,' he rejoined. 'A woman came with a plateful of fine meal and requested me to offer it to them. One claimed, "I must eat first," while another claimed, "I must eat first." Thereupon the largest arose, took the stick, and broke them.' 'Why do you make sport of me,' he cried out; 'have they then any knowledge!' 'Should not your ears listen to what your mouth is saying,' he retorted. Thereupon he seized him and delivered him to Nimrod."[6]

This legend must have been very popular for Mohammed was acquainted with it and cites it in Sura XXI.56, "And in the people's absence he went into the temple where the idol stood and he brake them all in pieces, except the biggest of them; that they might lay the blame upon that." This is augmented in Sura XXXVII.91, which reads: "And he (Abraham) turned upon them (the idols), and struck them with his right hand, and demolished them." Even Tabari, the chronicler of the ninth century, recounts this legend in greatly embroidered fashion in a manner not unlike that of Bereshit Rabbah.[7] Hence, it may be noted that the three illustrations cited had ample source material at their disposal to draw upon in order to convey visually this popular legend to the people.

II. Abraham and the fiery furnace

Closely linked to the above legend of Abraham's

rebellion against the religion of his father and his countrymen are the dire consequences ensuing from his actions. As punishment for his heretical behavior he was ordered cast into the fiery furnace.

In a miniature portraying the punishment, in an haggada of the thirteenth-fourteenth century in the British Museum (MS. Add. 27210 fol.3a), Nimrod is shown seated on a throne gesturing with his right hand. Slightly to the left of Nimrod are two men who are carrying out his orders to cast Abraham into the fiery pit, wherein two angels, with outstretched arms, are ready to receive him.[8] Fig.1

In a machzor from Leipzig (Band II, fol.104b) dating from the fourteenth century, a marginal illustration at the bottom of the page of the Mincha service of Yom Kippur depicts Nimrod seated on a throne. A gesturing adviser is standing to a side, a man begging for mercy is on the ground, and two Jews (recognizable by the Jew's cap) are standing by with uplifted hands. Abraham, also wearing a Jew's cap, is off to the right in the midst of flames, where he is being saved by the hand of God, which reaches out toward him from heaven.[9] Fig.2

Similarly, the fifteenth century Second Nuremberg Haggada (fol.30b) shows Nimrod, a scepter in his hand, pointing to the fiery furnace. Terah is standing at his side. Abraham can be seen through the opening of the fiery furnace, nude, awaiting an angel that descends from Fig.3

heaven ready to rescue him.[10]

Another miniature of this episode in Jewish art is from a sixteenth century haggada (Paris Bibliotheque Nationale Cod. HEBR. 1388 fol.7b), in which Abraham, with arms crossed, is lying in the midst of the fiery furnace.[11]

In Christian art we find two miniatures of Abraham being delivered from the fire of Ur of the Chaldees. Both are from copies of the popular medieval Speculum Humanae Salvationis of the fourteenth century. One miniature, from a copy in Munich (Lib. Staatsbibl. Clm. 146, fol.34ro.), shows a half figure of Christ-Logos crossnimbed, in an arc of heaven, grasping the arms of Abraham, who is in the fire.[12] The other, from a copy in Schenley (Coll. Riches No.31), pictures God, nimbed, in a starry arc of heaven, bending over and grasping the arms of Abraham, who is in the fire.[13]

The illustrations described above stem from an haggadic explanation of the enigmatic verse in Gen. 11.28, "Haran died before his father Terah in the land of his birth, in Ur of the Chaldeans," and from the verse in Gen. 15.7, "I am the Lord who brought you from Ur of the Chaldeans." Since Ur in Aramaic can mean oven or furnace, the rabbis, with typical scholastic ingenuity, gave the following legendary account: ""Let us worship the fire!' he (Nimrod) proposed. 'Let us rather worship water, which extinguishes the fire,' replied he. 'Then let us worship water!' 'Let us rather worship the clouds which bear the water.' 'Then

let us worship the clouds!' 'Let us rather worship the winds which disperse the clouds.' 'Then let us worship the wind!' 'Let us rather worship human beings, who withstand the wind.' 'You are just bandying words', he exclaimed; 'we will worship nought but fire. Behold I will cast you into it, and let your God whom you adore come and save you from it.' Now Haran was standing there undecided. If Abram is victorious, (thought he), I will say that I am of Abram's belief, while if Nimrod is victorious I will say that I am on Nimrod's side. When Abram descended into the fiery furnace and was saved, he (Nimrod) asked him, 'Of whose belief are you?' 'Of Abram's,' he replied. Thereupon he seized and cast him into the fire; his inwards were scorched and he died in his father's presence. Hence it is written, And Haran died in the presence of his father Terah."[14]

Targum Pseudo-Jonathan XI.28, in more concise fashion, explains that as Nimrod cast Abraham into the fiery furnace (because he would not worship his idols) the fire was not permitted to burn him.[15]

Most of our sources relate (in keeping with the Leipzig illustration and the Christian miniatures) that God himself delivered Abraham from the fiery furnace. Thus we read in Pesachim 118a: "When wicked Nimrod cast our father Abraham into the fiery furnace, Gabriel said to the Holy One, blessed be He: 'Sovereign of the Universe! Let me go down, cool (it) and deliver that righteous man from the fiery furnace.'

Said the Holy One, blessed be He, to him: 'I am unique in My World and he is unique in his world: it is fitting for Him who is unique to deliver him who is unique.'"[16] However, Genesis Rabbah 44.13 records that Rabbi Eliezer ben Jacob said: "Michael descended and rescued Abraham from the fiery furnace." This explains the presence of the angel in the described miniatures.

Mohammed shows an acquaintance with this particular legend too. He related it to his followers in Sura XXI.69: "They said, Burn him and avenge your gods; if ye do this it will be well, And when Abraham was cast into the burning pile, we said, O fire, be thou cold and a preservation unto Abraham."[17]

Commentators on the Koran greatly embroider the episode of Abraham in the fiery furnace. Tabari, recounting Abraham's ordeal, states that Nimrod commanded that a mighty pile of wood be erected, and that when the pile was lighted the flames leaped up so high they consumed the birds that flew over it as well as all those who came near to it. He describes how, at first, the people were perplexed by the problem of how to thrust Abraham into this furnace without getting burned themselves, and how Eblis (Satan) appeared in the guise of a man and taught them to construct a catapult from which to project Abraham into the flames. As Abraham was thus catapulted into the flames, Gabriel appeared to him in mid-air and asked him whether he desired anything. To this Abraham replied that he wished nothing

from Gabriel, for he trusted in God implicitly and would await his fate as decreed by Him.[18]

Other commentators adding to the legend mention that the fire was cooled through the intervention of heaven, and that God transformed the site of the fire into a garden of delight.[19]

The earliest surviving Islamic miniature of this legend is from the early fourteenth century Universal History of the World written by Rashid al-Din (Edinburgh University Library MS 20, fol.3vo.). Abraham is seen seated in the midst of the flames, which the artist has represented only partially in order to show that God has made a space in the midst of them so cool that grass and flowers have sprung up. Nimrod is seated on a throne to the right, surveying the scene in astonishment. In the center of the miniature is an elaborate machine by which Abraham was cast into the furnace.[20] fig.4

Another manuscript illustrating this legend is the sixteenth century Silsilename by Lokman, a history of the prophets and the Ottoman Empire, from the Topkapi Sarayi Muzesi in Istanbul (Hazine No. 1321, p.28b). It, too, shows Abraham seated in the midst of the flames, comfortably sealed off from their effects. Nimrod and his court survey the scene at a safe distance from a minaret.[21] fig.5

The manuscript of Mirkhwand's Universal History has also preserved a miniature of the seventeenth century (Paris Bibliotheque Nationale Supp. Persan 1567 fol.40) fig.6

that depicts Abraham sitting somewhat precariously within a bowl which has the appearance of an enormous spoon. The bowl is being lowered by means of a rope so that Abraham can be dropped into the midst of the flames. The account in Mirkhwand's history adheres closely to the Tabari version. Hence we find that in the miniature the enormous spoon represents the catapult which Eblis taught them to construct, while the angel swooping down towards Abraham is Gabriel, who offered his assistance to the prophet.[22]

Thus we have seen how a legend of Jewish origin wends its way through later Jewish and Islamic art. Unfortunately, the surviving literary fragments give a more coherent account of the fate of this legend than do the scant artistic remains which illustrate it in the middle ages.

III. The sacrifice of Isaac

The sacrifice of Isaac, because of its dogmatic implications, played an extremely important role in early Jewish and Christian art. As old a source as Tosefta Shabbat 149a[23] mentions representations of the sacrifice of Isaac depicted on walls in Talmudic times. The synagogue of Dura (3rd century), confirming the Tosefta account, has a fresco of the sacrifice, one of the earliest representations of this theme in art. The Dura fresco, unlike those in the Christian art of its period, shows Isaac laid upon wood on top of the altar like a burnt offering, in accordance with the biblical text in Gen. 22.9

fig.7

(Indeed the incident in Jewish lore is summarized in the word 'Akeda'.) On the other hand, in most early Christian depictions Isaac is shown kneeling, either on top of the altar or beside it, in keeping with the Roman custom of dispatching those condemned to death with a blow while they are kneeling.[24] What seems apparent then is that the Christians copied a pagan conception of an execution and adopted it for the sacrifice of Isaac, whereas the Jews faithfully adhered to the biblical text. Thus, the sacrifice of Isaac in Dura establishes a distinct iconographic type in Jewish art, which is not encountered in Christian art until the middle ages.[25]

Connected with the sacrifice of Isaac, and explaining the statement that Abraham bound Isaac (Gen. 22.9), we find illustrations in medieval Jewish manuscripts, such as the one in the Hebrew Bible in the British Museum (MS. Add. 11639 fol. 52lb, 13th cent.). Here Isaac is represented on top of the altar, not only bound, but bound specifically with his left hand tied to his left foot.[26] In the Second Nuremberg Haggada (fol. 31a, 15th cent.) his right hand and right foot are tied together.[27] This peculiar method of tying Isaac upon the altar is explained by the reference in the Babylonian Talmud (Shabbat 54a), "Rab Judah said: 'Akud means the tying of hand and foot together, like Isaac the son of Abraham.'" Thus Isaac was equated in Jewish art with an animal to be slaughtered, and was ritually prepared by Abraham in accordance with the procedure

fig.8

for animals prescribed by law.[28]

It is to be noted that in the synagogue of Dura and in the Beth Alpha Mosaic of the sacrifice of Isaac (6th cent.),[29] as well as in most early Christian depictions of the sacrifice of this period,[30] the hand of God (symbolic of God) arrests Abraham's intended sacrifice, whereas the Bible clearly states (Gen. 22.11) that "the angel of the Lord called to him from heaven."[31] The absence of the angel is in accord with the account in Philo, however, which states, "But ere he did so, God the Saviour stopped the deed half-way with a voice from the air, in which He ordered him to stay and not touch the lad."[32] Similarly in Josephus we read, "And the deed would have been accomplished had not God stood in the way, for He called upon Abraham by name, forbidding him to slay the lad."[33]

Since we can see clearly in the Dura fresco, one of the earliest depictions of the sacrifice of Isaac in art, that the hand of God is shown in preference to an angel, we can gather that this method of representation, which is based on the accounts in hellenistic-Jewish and early midrashic literature, is a practice which the Christians copied and adhered to in their portrayals of the sacrifice in Christian art.

Turning to another detail, the Bible does not mention (Gen. 22.13) how the ram came to the place of sacrifice. Hence both the Jewish and Christian artists of the early period were satisfied to show the ram beside or in the bush

in their representations of the incident. However, an account of Demetrius cited by Alexander Polyhistor, in his work Concerning the Jews, says, "...an angel who provided him (Abraham) with a ram for the offering."[34]

Later Jewish sources, such as the Neweh Shalom, go further and identify the angel as Gabriel. No artistic remains have been found in Jewish or Christian art prior to the tenth century which show the angel Gabriel bringing the ram to Abraham, although literary sources exist to testify to the knowledge of this legend in early times.[35]

While the angel is not specifically mentioned in the allusions to the sacrifice in the Koran, Sura XXXVII, the detail was well-known to the Mohammedan commentators, and illustrations of this aspect of the Jewish legend became particularly popular in Muslim paintings from the fifteenth century on.[36] Tabari's version of the legend relates that God had Gabriel descend from heaven with a ram...and when Gabriel arrived on the mountain, holding the ram by the ear, he placed himself behind Abraham, so that the latter did not see him.[37]

The earliest surviving miniature in Muslim art depicting the angel and the ram is one of the fifteenth century from Istanbul from the World History of Rashid al-Din.[38] In it the angel is standing behind the ram (which is running towards Abraham), but is not holding on to it. The text accompanying the miniature, however, mentions that God sent Gabriel to bring the ram and that the angel,

taking the sheep by the ear, came up to the mountain and
39
stood before Abraham.

LEGENDS ON THE LIFE OF JOSEPH

JOSEPH

The story of Joseph has always enjoyed great popularity among the Jewish people. The Koran, too, accords Joseph a special place. With the exception of the story of Cain and Abel, the story of Joseph is the only one that is not scattered throughout the narrative, but is related in its entirety in one chapter. It appears, with many haggadic embellishments, completely within the twelfth sura. Furthermore, according to Moslem commentators, Allah told Mohammed the story of Joseph---of his brothers who envied him and rebelled against him as he related his dreams---so that Mohammed, the appointed messenger of God, should find consolation for the rebellion and jealousy of his own people.[1] The virtue and manly beauty of Joseph were greatly admired by the Mohammedan peoples and they were immortalized through Jami's fifteenth century romance, Jusef and Zuleikha.[2]

As early as hellenistic times the Jewish people delighted in retelling, with many additions, the story of Joseph. This fact is borne out by the Testament of Joseph, which serves as a valuable witness to the existence of a whole prose literature of novelistic character that has been lost to us. The Testament of Joseph is a work of the second century B.C.E., one of the testaments of the twelve patriarchs, which purport to record the last words and exhortations of the twelve sons of Jacob. In each

testament the patriarch first narrates his own life, dwelling on his virtues and sins. Next he exhorts his descendents to emulate such virtues and avoid such sins. Lastly he expounds upon a prophetic vision of their future. The special concern of the Testament of Joseph is with temperance and chastity. Braun feels that the Testament of Joseph is perhaps the "oldest novelistic and erotic document of large proportions that has been handed down to us from hellenistic oriental narrative literature."[3] Thus we note from so early a source the popularity that the story of Joseph must have enjoyed.

The artistic remains, though very fragmentary, also testify to the great popularity which the Joseph story enjoyed. Many of the early Christian Old Testament illuminated manuscripts show a preference for illustrating episodes from the Joseph story. In the surviving fragments of what were once large cycles of Old Testament illustrations many episodes of the Joseph story are illustrated. The Vienna Genesis of the sixth century has 22 illustrations of the story; the Ashburnham Pentateuch of the seventh century has fourteen, while the twelfth century Octateuch (Vatican Cod. Gr. 746) contains 29 of them.[4]

The task of collecting fully and then reconstructing the cycle of illustrations of the Joseph story with its haggadic embellishments, which existed in classical times among the Jews and which are reflected mainly in Christian art, must await further research in this relatively unex-

plored field.[5] However, two themes of the haggadic paraphrase of the Joseph story which have survived in medieval Jewish and Islamic art will be treated here.

I. Joseph, accompanied by the angel Gabriel, is led to his brethren

The upper row of illustration in folio 15vo. of the Vienna Genesis, sixth century, shows Joseph being sent to Shechem to his brethren. He takes leave of his father, Jacob, and his younger brother Benjamin. Benjamin accompanies him part of the way, and an angel meets him and walks hurriedly ahead of him.[6] According to the Bible, Gen. 37.15, there is no mention of an angel---it speaks only of a certain man who found him wandering in the fields. But Midrash Tanchuma Wa-Yeshev 2 states specifically that it was not a man who met him but Gabriel.[7] Thus, the presence of the angel in this sixth century Christian manuscript is explained by the haggada. fig.9

The presence of the angel survived in later Jewish medieval art and is illustrated in an haggada of the British Museum of the fourteenth century (MS Add. 27210 fol. 5a). In the lower left hand corner of this miniature Joseph, carrying his belongings on his back, is met by a standing winged figure who points with the right hand to the brothers grazing their sheep nearby.[8] fig.10

Another depiction can be found in the frontispiece of a Hebrew Pentateuch of the fourteenth century in the

Schocken Library in Jerusalem, in which forty-six small medallions, illustrating various episodes recorded in the Pentateuch, surround the illuminated initial word Bereshit. Medallion No. 15[9] shows Joseph leaning on his staff being met by a winged angel. This again conforms with rabbinic exegesis which identifies the man in Gen. 37.15 as Gabriel.

II. Egyptian ladies cutting their hands while looking at the beauty of Joseph

In the sixteenth century we find in the romance Jusaf and Zuleikha by Jami numerous illustrations depicting Joseph's beauty. In these scenes, five Egyptian ladies are seated in a circle, holding oranges and knives in their hands. The wife of Potiphar, Zuleikha, is seated in their midst gazing at Joseph who enters, in resplendent clothing, to wait on the Egyptian ladies.[10] No explanation for these illustrations can be found in the Genesis account, which states merely that Joseph was "handsome and goodlooking" (Gen. 39.6). However, in so early a source as Midrash Tanchuma (Tanchuma Wa-Yeshev 5) we read: "Once Egyptian ladies were gathered to look at the beauty of Joseph. What did the wife of Potiphar do? She took etrogim and gave one to each of the women along with a knife. She then called Joseph and caused him to stand before them. When they looked upon the beauty of Joseph (they were so smitten that) they cut their hands."[11]

Mohammed must have been familiar with this story,

since it is related in Sura XII.31 ff.: "She sent to them and prepared for them a cushioned couch and gave to every one of them a knife and said (to Joseph): 'Come out unto them!' And when they saw him they exalted him and cut their hands, exclaiming: 'Allah Blameless! This is not a human being. This is no other than some gracious angel.'"

Again, the Arab chronicler Tabari of the ninth century relates that the women placed their knives on the lemons but their eyes were fixed on the dazzling beauty of Joseph and all five of them (in accordance with the miniature) cut their hands.[12]

Jami's version in the Jusaf and Zuleikha romance reads:

"At that fair form of his were all amazed,
And wond'ring, all like lifeless bodies gazed,
By that fair vision as was each inspired,
At once to cut her orange she desired.
From her own hand her orange no one knew,
And thus across her hand the knife she drew."[13]

Hence, the illustration of this legend in the sixteenth century in the Jusaf and Zuleikha romance can claim a long literary tradition solidly rooted in Jewish lore, which passed through many hands with relatively minor variations. Unfortunately only these late miniatures exist to give moot testimony to a tradition of which all artistic traces have been lost.

LEGENDS ON THE LIFE OF MOSES

MOSES

Meditation on and legendary expansions of the career of Moses were abundant in both Palestine and the hellenistic Jewish world,[1] but very little has survived of the art of this period to mirror these multi-faceted points of view about Moses. Most of the artistic remains of Jewish art concerning the life of Moses stem from the extensive picture cycles illustrating medieval Passover haggadot, dating from the thirteenth century on.

I. Rescue of the infant Moses by the daughter of Pharaoh

The miraculous rescue of the infant Moses from the Nile River was depicted as early as the third century in the synagogue of Dura. Here Pharaoh's daughter is standing in the river, nude, with the water up to her thighs. On her left arm rests the infant Moses, while her right is raised in a pointing gesture. The ark of bulrushes, which contained Moses, can be seen floating in the river near her. On the river bank at the right of the picture stand the princess' ladies-in-waiting, carrying toilet articles. Farther to the left on the river bank, Miriam, bending toward the princess who has just handed the child to her, is in the act of passing it to her mother, Jochebed,[2] standing at the extreme left of the scene. fig.11

This picture does not seem to be motivated by the commonly known Bible story related in Exodus 2.5: "the

daughter of Pharaoh came down to bathe at the river, and her maidens walked beside the river; she saw the basket among the reeds and sent her maid to fetch it." It can be explained, however, by Ezekiel, the hellenistic Jewish poet, who tells this version of the story: "Pharaoh's daughter with her maids came down to bathe her shining limbs in the cool stream. She saw the babe, and straightway took it up."[3] The Ezekiel account accords with the fresco in Dura, for it shows the daughter of Pharaoh, and not one of her maids, fetching the child. It stems from Ex. 2.5, in which the consonants can be read as either תאמתה (her maid) or תדה (her arm), fetched the child.

Some later Jewish legends, which also adopt the wording "her arm", elaborate on Ezekiel's version, describing how God had sent a scorching heat to plague the Egyptians, so that they all suffered from leprosy and boils. Pharaoh's daughter, seeking relief from the burning pain, went to bathe in the cool waters of the Nile. When she saw the crying child in the ark she stretched forth her hand and took hold of him and was healed from the leprosy.[4] These legends, too, accord with our picture from the Dura synagogue in showing the princess, rather than one of her maids, rescuing the child.

We are fortunate in possessing two Christian miniatures which are iconographically related to the fresco in the Dura synagogue. One miniature from the twelfth century (Morgan Library 724) shows the nude daughter of Pharaoh, fig.12

bathing in the water, coming upon the ark, while on the shore Miriam (?) is presenting the child to her mother Jochebed, who is reclining on a bed.[5] The other miniature, dating from the twelfth-thirteenth century (Paris Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 8846, Psalter, fol. 2ro.), again shows the nude daughter of Pharaoh bathing in the river, grasping the ark, in which is the infant Moses. On the shore Miriam (?) is bringing the infant Moses to Jochebed, reclining on a bed.[6]

Even in later Jewish art this legend still persists. In the thirteenth-fourteenth century haggada (British Museum MS Add. 27210 fol.9a) the princess is again bathing in the nude, this time accompanied by two maids, who are also bathing in the nude in the Nile River. From a vantage point on the bank of the river, Miriam watches as the princess comes upon the ark, her two maids behind her raising their arms in surprise.[7] fig.13

Thus we have seen an example of a Jewish legend, first illustrated in the Dura synagogue, surviving in Christian art and reappearing in later medieval Jewish art, to form one of the few iconographic links which can be traced between early Jewish art and later medieval Jewish art.

Before leaving the legend of Moses in the bulrushes, it is interesting to note that the rabbis speculated on how long the arm of Pharaoh's daughter must have been to have allowed her to reach the ark. Rabbi Jermeya said:

"(The Scepter of Esther) was two cubits long and He stretched it to twelve. Others say sixteen, and twenty-four. In a Baraitha sixty cubits long is taught. It happened also with the arm of the daughter of Pharaoh (when she wanted to rescue the infant Moses)."[8] This interpretation of the stretching of the princess' arm was taken quite literally and is illustrated in the fifteenth century Haggada of Nuremberg (fol. 8a). There Pharaoh's daughter, wearing a crown, and accompanied by four handmaidens, is standing at the edge of the water. We see that her arm has been miraculously lengthened to enable her to grasp the ark floating in the midst of the water.[9] fig.14

II. Moses and the test of the hot coals

The haggadists took particular delight in explaining the phrase "and the child grew" (Ex. 2.10) as meaning that Moses' understanding was far beyond his years and that all his actions in his infancy promised greater ones in his later life. Such a story predicting future greatness is the legend of Moses removing the crown from Pharaoh's head. Josephus, relating this story, tells us "...she (Pharaoh's daughter)laid the babe in her father's arms; and he took and clasped him affectionately to his breast and, to please his daughter, placed his diadem upon his head. But Moses tore it off and flung it to the ground in mere childishness, and trampled it underfoot; and this was taken as an

omen of evil import to the kingdom. At that spectacle the sacred scribe who had foretold that this child's death would lead to the abasement of the Egyptian empire, rushed forward to kill him with a fearful shout: 'This,' he cried, 'O king, this is that child whom God declared that we must kill to allay our terrors; he bears out the prediction by act of insulting thy dominion and trampling the diadem under foot. Kill him then at one stroke and relieve the Egyptians of their fear of him and deprive the Hebrew of the courageous hopes that he inspires. But Thermutis was too quick for him, and snatched the child away; the king too delayed to slay him, from a hesitation induced by God, whose providence watched over Moses' life."[10]

We find this account illustrated in a miniature from an English Psalter of the twelfth century (Morgan Library MS 724). It shows Pharaoh, seated on a throne, crowning Moses, who stands before a veiled woman (probably Pharaoh's daughter). To the right, Moses tramples on the crown with his left foot, while two women rush in trying to prevent his act.[11] fig.12

Another phrase, "I am slow of speech and of tongue" (Ex. 4.10), the haggadists explained by embroidering the account as in Josephus, adding thereto the story of Moses' trial through the test of the burning coals. The most elaborate version of this story is found in Yashar Shemot (131b - 132b). It reads: "And in the third year from the

birth of Moses, Pharaoh, with Alpharanith, the queen, at his right hand, and Bathia at his left, was sitting at a feast, and the boy Moses was lying on Bathia's bosom, and Balaam with his two sons and all the princes of Egypt were sitting around the table before the king. And the boy put forth his hand upon the head of the king, and he took the crown from Pharaoh's head and he placed it upon his own head." All those present became frightened at this act of the child, and Balaam, the court astrologer, stepped forward to counsel the death of the child. But Pharaoh assembled all the wise men of Egypt, among whom was an angel of the Lord disguised as one of the wise men. This angel advised Pharaoh as follows: "If it please the king, let the king send that they bring before him an onyx stone and a coal of fire, and set them both before the child; and if he will put forth his hand to take the onyx stone, then we shall know that the youth hath done with his wisdom all that he hath done. But if he stretch forth his hand to grasp after the coal, then we will know that he hath done this thing without any understanding." The counsel seemed good to Pharaoh and he had the two objects placed before the child. At first Moses reached for the onyx, but the angel of the Lord, unseen by any of those present, pushed his hand away from the onyx and upon the coal. Thus, by lifting the glowing coal to his mouth, Moses[12] was saved, but he became thereby slow of speech and tongue.

The fifteenth century Second Haggada of Nuremberg

illustrates this legend in abbreviated form. Pharaoh, giving a banquet in the third year of Moses' birth, is seated around a table with his daughter and the court astrologer identified as Balaam. In keeping with this account, Moses has taken the crown from Pharaoh's head and is about to place it on his own head.[13] fig.15

The complete story, as told in the Book of Yashar, is illustrated in the fourteenth century Kaufmann Haggada from Budapest (fol. 9vo.). In the upper scene Pharaoh and his daughter are sitting at a table with little Moses between them. Moses is removing the crown from Pharaoh's head, while the astrologer kneels, hands crossed on his breast. To the left in the upper register are Pharaoh's counsellors, Jethro, Balaam and Hiob. In the lower register Moses sits in front of a bowl from which he is lifting an object (probably the onyx) towards his mouth. An angel, descending from heaven, grasps his hand and arrests his action. Behind Moses Pharaoh sits on a throne, crowned, pointing his sword at him. To the left the counsellors of Pharaoh predict Moses' future leadership.[14] fig.16

Christian miniatures from the fourteenth century illustrated this legend,[15] and it is quoted in the Historica Scholastica,[16] Slavic Church literature[17] and medieval poetry.[18] Tabari and other Mohammedan commentators also used this legend in their writings to explain Sura XX.28.[19]

III. Angel of death slays the Egyptian firstborn

We often find in Jewish literature attempts to avoid anthropomorphisms with respect to God. Thus it is not to be wondered at that the reference in Exodus 12.29 "at midnight the Lord smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt" should be changed in order to allow an angel of God to perform this act rather than God himself. This was already cited by the hellenistic Jewish poet Ezekiel in his dramatic work on the Exodus, which reads, "And strike the side-posts of the door with blood: So shall My messenger of death pass by."[20]

This legend, with the substitution of the angel for God, was illustrated as early as the seventh century in the Ashburnham Pentateuch (fol. 65b), where a nimbed angel, swooping down from heaven with a big sword, is about to slay the firstborn of Egypt.[21] fig.17

It reappears in the thirteenth-fourteenth century Haggada (Add. 27210, fol. 14b), which shows the angel of death about to slay a child, whose arms are outstretched in a gesture of supplication.[22] fig.18 Again, the fifteenth century Haggada of Nuremberg (fol. 17a) depicts an angel decapitating one of the firstborn with a tremendous sword, while others are standing in line, apparently waiting to be slaughtered.[23]

IV. Pharaoh bathes in the blood of Jewish children

Several medieval miniatures show Pharaoh bathing in the blood of Jewish children. The basis for these illustrations is a legend which may have arisen in order to explain why the king of Egypt died (Exodus 2.23). In a fifteenth century manuscript (Cod. Hebr. 1333, fol. 12vo.) from the Bibliotheque Nationale[24] and in the Second Haggada of Nuremberg (fol. 14)[25] Pharaoh is shown naked, with a crown on his head, taking a bath in a tub filled with the blood of Jewish children. Another miniature from the fifteenth century (Hamburger Staatsbibliothek Cod. 37, fol. 27vo.) depicts (in the lower left hand corner) a crowned Pharaoh, seated in a tub, with one attendant pouring blood into the tub while another looks on.[26] fig.19 fig.20

This legend is first cited in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan (Ex. 2.23) which states: "And it was after many of those days that the king of Mizraim was struck (with disease) and he commanded to kill the firstborn of the sons of Israel, that he might bathe himself in their blood." According to Shemot Rabbah 1.34, Pharaoh's magicians told him he must kill 150 children in the morning and 150 in the evening in order to bathe in their blood twice daily.[27]

V. Pharaoh attempts to execute Moses by the sword

In a marginal illustration in the Second Nuremberg

Haggada of the fifteenth century (fol. 11b) there is a drawing of an executioner swinging a huge sword toward Moses, whom he has grabbed by the scruff of the neck.[28] The illustration of this legend is based on Exodus 2.15, which says that when Pharaoh heard that Moses had killed the Egyptian overseer "he sought to kill Moses", and on Exodus 18.4, "he delivered me from the sword of Pharaoh."

The Midrash elaborates on these simple statements and relates that "when the executioner put the sword on his neck it slid off because his neck turned to marble and, what is more, the sword slid off Moses' neck and turned on the executioner."[29] Another explanation of these statements describes how God sent an angel who appeared before Pharaoh in the guise of a captain of the guards. This angel "seized the sword from the hand of a captain of the guard and he cut off the captain's head, for the likeness of the captain was turned into the likeness of Moses."[30]

VI. Mt. Sinai is lifted over the children of Israel

Exodus 19.17 relates that when the law was about to be revealed to the children of Israel at Mt. Sinai they "took their stand at the foot of the mountain." Since the word בתחתית is vague and lends itself to various interpretations, rabbinic fancy explained the passage as signifying that the children of Israel stood underneath

the mountain rather than at the foot of it. R. Abdini b. Hama b. Hasa says, "This teaches that the Holy One, blessed be He, overturned the mountain upon them like an (inverted) cask, and said to them, 'if ye accept the Torah 'tis well; if not there shall be your burial.'"[31] Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah VIII.5 gives the explanation, "The mountain of Sinai was uprooted and stood in the height of heaven, and Israel was placed under it."[32]

We find an illustration of this legend in the Codex (1296) of the Mishna Torah by Maimonides, written in Cologne and now preserved in Budapest. It depicts the mountain uprooted and inverted over the children of Israel like a cask, from which they are peering out at Moses through an opening in the top. In his hands Moses holds the tablets of the law and offers them to the Israelites.[33] fig.21

This legend was known to Mohammed, who explains in Sura IV.153, "And we lifted the mountain of Sinai over them, when we exacted from them their covenant."[34] Tabari and other Arab commentators were acquainted with this Jewish legend, augmenting the Sura account by saying that God commanded Gabriel to uproot the mountain and to hold it over their heads as a threat if they should not accept the law.[35] In the seventeenth century manuscript of Mirkhwand's Universal History (Bibliothèque Nationale Supp. Persan 1567, fol. 108b) we see the angel Gabriel holding fig.22

the mountain over the heads of the children of Israel while they crouch in terror and repentance beneath it. Moses is standing to one side berating them for their unwillingness to accept the law. The text accompanying the miniature reads: "The Lord Musa, being greatly distressed by this rebellious spirit, prayed to the Lord of Magnificence, who then ordered Jebrail to pull up one of the mountains of the country of Filisteen and to hold it over the encampment of the Esrailites. Musa then turned his face towards them and said: 'O people, if you receive the book of the Lord, you will be delivered of this affliction or else the mountain will fall upon your heads and you will perish.'"[36]

Thus we have an excellent example of how an enigmatic word spurred the imagination not only of the rabbis but of the Jewish and Mohammedan artists who illustrated this legend as well.

VII. Moses kills the giant Og

Less widely known than the story of David and Goliath, but equally as interesting, is the story of Moses and Og. The various copies of the Universal History of Rashid al-Din have preserved illustrations of this very old Jewish legend about Moses, who is said to have slain the giant Og with an axe. Here, as in the David and Goliath story, a great feat of courage is ascribed to a national hero.[37]

The biblical account (Numbers 21.35) attributes the slaying of Og, the king of Bashan, to the children of Israel, but the Midrashic account ascribes it to Moses. We read in Berakot 64b that Og wanted to throw a stone at the camp of Israel. He said: "How large is the camp of Israel? Three parasangs. I will go and uproot a mountain of the size of three parasangs and cast it upon them and kill them. He went and uprooted a mountain of the size of three parasangs and carried it on his head. But the Holy One, blessed be He, sent ants which bored a hole in it, so that it sank around his neck. He tried to pull it off, but his teeth projected on each side, and he could not pull it off. The height of Moses was ten cubits (ca. 15 feet). He took an axe ten cubits long, leaped ten cubits in the air, and struck him on his ankle and killed him."[38]

Tabari and other Arab commentators render the story in a manner very similar to the Midrashic account cited. They differ only in that they mention that Moses killed Og with a staff (rather than with an axe) and that God sent a bird(rather than ants) to bore through the mountain.[39] Both of these details, however, are also found in the Midrash,[40] and illustrated in the Persian Universal History of Rashid al-Din.

A fourteenth century miniature from this history (Edinburgh University Library MS 20, fol. 9vo.) portrays the giant Og writhing in pain on the ground and clutching fig.23

his wounded ankle in both his hands, while Moses, dwarfed by the size of the giant, holds his staff and points to Og.

Another miniature from the same history, dating from the fifteenth century, shows, in the upper portion of the miniature, Moses striking the giant Og on the ankle with his staff.[41]

In a miniature of the fifteenth century from the Universal History of Rashid al-Din at the Cincinnati Art Museum, Og is shown desperately trying to pry loose the mountain which has settled like a collar around his neck. The tiny turbanned figure of Moses is standing at Og's feet ready to smite him with a long staff.[42] fig.24

This story of the encounter of the national hero Moses and the giant Og must have been popular with the masses, and the illustrations in the Rashid al-Din World History may well hark back to Jewish prototypes which depicted this legend but which, along with numerous other treasures, have unfortunately been lost to us.

CONCLUSION

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Several important facts have emerged from the examination of legends centering around the lives of Abraham, Joseph and Moses in Jewish and Islamic art.

It was noticed that in the synagogue of Dura the Sacrifice of Isaac is depicted for the first time in art. However, in the fresco the hand of God is shown arresting the deed of Abraham, whereas in the Genesis account an angel of God prevents Abraham from slaying Isaac. Since only the haggada mentions that God himself stopped Abraham from slaying Isaac, it can be concluded that the depiction of the Sacrifice of Isaac at Dura is therefore based on the haggada. Christian art, for its part, adopted this haggadic conception, as portrayed at Dura, and transmitted it.

In a similar manner, the fresco in the synagogue of Dura showing the finding of Moses by Pharaoh's daughter is based on the haggada. In his depiction the artist of Dura again chose to follow a Jewish legend in preference to following the Biblical narrative. In the Dura fresco Pharaoh's daughter is bathing in the nude and while so occupied alights upon the child Moses. In this case, too, Christian art copied the haggadic conception.

More remarkable than Christian adaptation of this legend, however, is the reappearance of this same haggada

in later Medieval Jewish art. This latter development is of particular significance for hitherto we have not been able to establish an iconographic link between early Jewish and later Medieval Jewish art.

The two examples cited indicate that illustrations based on haggadic lore existed in early Christian times among the Jewish people. Christian and Islamic art freely adopted these artistic conceptions and transmitted them to us. Unfortunately, only one of them, that of the "Finding of Moses", has survived and reappeared in Medieval Jewish art.

It is the hope of the author to demonstrate at some future time that not only were individual bits of haggada illustrated, but that whole cycles of illustrations also existed, and that, furthermore, such haggadic cycles were the basis for the later Christian and Islamic Old Testament manuscript illuminations. This conclusion, however, can be reached only after all the haggadic illustrations appearing in Christian art will have been collected and compared with early Jewish and later Medieval Jewish art. Only then can a clear picture emerge of the larger Jewish manuscript cycles which arose in early Christian times. This study has tried to prepare a way leading towards the conclusion posited.

FOOTNOTES

INTRODUCTION -- FOOTNOTES

1. J. Strzygowski, Orient oder Rom, Leipzig, 1901, pp. 21-23, 32-39. The Ashburnham Pentateuch is a 7th century manuscript and its Vulgate text is illustrated by 19 surviving miniatures. I have studied and confirmed Strzygowski's hypothesis in relation to the Ashburnham Pentateuch. See J. Gutmann, "The Jewish Origin of the Ashburnham Pentateuch Miniatures," Jewish Quarterly Review, XLIV, (July, 1953), 55-72.

2. A. Bauer, and J. Strzygowski, Eine Alexandrinische Weltchronik, Denkschr. d. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Wien, 51,2, 1906, pp. 184ff., 202ff. It is a chronicle of world history to 392 made in the 5th century; it was written in Greek on papyrus. The chronicle has labels, from which Strzygowski tried to reconstruct the missing miniatures. He compared these labels with the corresponding scenes in the Vatican Cosmas manuscript and found a rough similarity. This similarity and the predominant Jewish leanings of the Alexandrian World Chronicle and the Cosmas manuscript led Strzygowski to the assumption that a Jewish manuscript served as the prototype for both. Cf. C. R. Morey, Lecture Notes on East Christian Manuscripts, New York University, 1929, pp. 52-53. It should be noted that the illegible order and dispersed patterning of figures within the "Sacrifice of Isaac" miniature in the 9th century Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes (Vat. Gr. 699, fol. 59ro.) cannot be explained by the text accompanying the miniature. See K. Weitzmann, Illustrations in Roll and Codex, A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration, Princeton, 1947, p. 141, fig. 129. It is possible, however, that the Alexandrian traveller Cosmas Indicopleustes of the sixth century saw and copied a floor mosaic in Syria or Palestine, such as the one in the synagogue of Beth Alpha (6th cent.) which shows for the first time in art, within one panel, not only the two servants with the ass, but also the actual sacrifice. Cf. E. Sukenik, The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha, London, 1932, plate XIX.

3. H. E. Swift, Roman Sources of Christian Art, New York, 1951, pp. 216-218 enumerates the two main camps of thought: The followers of Strzygowski are: Aubert, Brehier, Duthuit, Millet, Wulff; the chief representatives of the Roman school argument are: Riegl, Rivoira, Mrs. Strong, Wickhoff.

4. Abodah Zarah 48d, Jerusalem Talmud
"In the days of Rabbi Jochanan men began to paint pictures on the walls, and he did not hinder them."

Abodah Zarah 48d, Jerusalem Talmud
"In the days of Rabbi Abbun, men began to make designs on mosaics and he did not hinder them." Cf. J. Leveen, The Hebrew Bible in Art, Oxford, 1944, p. 12, n. 2.

5. Targum of Pseudo Jonathan to Leviticus 26.1
After quoting the prohibition, the author states:
"but a mosaic (stoa), decorated with figures and likenesses, you may place upon the floor of your synagogue." Cf. S. Krauss, Synagogale Altertümer, Berlin, 1932, p. 348, n. 2. Cf. C. H. Kraeling, The Synagogue, New Haven, 1956, pp. 340-346 for a discussion of the Jewish attitude toward images.

6. Cf. W. Lowrie, Art in the Early Church, New York, 1927, pp. 29-30.

7. P. K. Hitti, History of the Arabs (2nd edition), London, 1940, pp. 268-271.

8. The First Book of Maccabees, trans. and ed. by S. Tedesche, New York, 1950, pp. 97-98. Cf. Leveen, op. cit., pp. 7-8 for a different reading of this passage.

9. Cf. Leveen, op. cit., p. 8, n. 2.

10. The conjecture of Leveen, op. cit., pp. 118-119, that a nucleus of Old Testament illustrations existed in private Jewish homes prior to Dura, rests on very thin evidence. The Malta mosaic shows not "Samson and Delilah," but a mythological scene. Cf. R. Wischnitzer-Bernstein, "Studies in Jewish Art," Jewish Quarterly Review, N.S. XXXVI, (1945), 48-49. With respect to the "Judgment of Solomon" fresco from Pompeii, cf. J. Gutmann, "A Re-examination of the 'Judgment of Solomon' fresco at Pompeii," (in Hebrew), Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society, XVIII, 3-4 (1954), 176-182.

11. K. Weitzmann, The Fresco Cycle of S. Maria di Castelseprio, Princeton, 1951.

12. K. Weitzmann, Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art, Princeton, 1951, pp. 196-197.

13. According to the Index of Christian Art at Princeton University.

14. B. J. Bamberger, "The Dating of Aggadic Material," Journal of Biblical Literature, LXVIII (1949), 122. Cf. J. Gutmann, "Jewish Elements in the Paris Psalter," Marsyas II (1954), 48 for an early Jewish legend which survived in Christian art and literature.

15. E. R. Goodenough, "Early Christian and Jewish Art," Jewish Quarterly Review, N. S. XXXIII (April, 1943), 416.

16. Ibid., p. 416.

17. Shemot Rabbah 2.5; Tanchuma Shemot 15. Cf. L. Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, Philadelphia, 1946, II, p. 303.

18. Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, Bk. II, Ch. XII.1.

19. L. Ginzberg, "Jewish Folklore: East and West," in On Jewish Law and Lore, Philadelphia, 1955, p. 67.

20. Loc. cit. Cf. also S. Krauss, "Jews in the Works of the Church Fathers," Jewish Quarterly Review, O.S. (1893), 122-157 and O.S. (1894), 82-89 and 225-261.

21. H. M. Orlinsky, "The Columnar Column of the Hexapla," Jewish Quarterly Review, NS. XXVII (October, 1936), 140, n. 10. The theory was propounded by F. X. Wutz in "Ist der hebraeische Urtext wieder erreichbar?" Zeitschrift fuer Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (1925), 115-119. Wutz's theory was based on the transcribed text column of Hebrew in Origin's Hexapla. For a discussion of the whole problem, cf. H. M. Orlinsky, "Current Progress and Problems in Septuagint Research," in The Study of the Bible Today and Tomorrow, ed. H. R. Willoughby, Chicago, 1947, pp. 144-161.

22. S. Sandmel, Philo's Place in Judaism: A Study of Conceptions of Abraham in Jewish Literature, Cincinnati, 1956, p. 13..

23. Philo, De Decalogo, XIV, 66f. in Philo, Vol. VII, trans. by F. H. Colson (Loeb Classical Library), Harvard, 1937, p. 41f. Cf. H. A. Wolfson, Philo - Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity and Islam, Cambridge, 1948, I, pp. 29-30 and note 22 for an analysis of this passage.

24. Aristeas to Philocrates, Letter to Artisteas, trans.

and ed. by M. Hadas, New York, 1951, p. 54. The text on p. 169, par. 176 reads:

> "They entered, then, with the gifts which had been sent and the precious parchments in which the Law was inscribed in Jewish letters with writing of gold."

25. The references to gold writing in the Talmud:
    a. Shabbath 103b, Babylonian Talmud.
    "Any scroll of the law with the names of God written in gold must be hidden."
    b. Rescension I Sopherim I, 8.
    "The Torah must not be written in gold. There was a case of a copy of the Torah belonging to Alexandrians, where the names of God were all written in gold. The matter was brought before the sages, who ordered the copy be hidden."
    c. Rescension II Sopherim I, 7.
    "It is forbidden to read a scroll of the Law where the names of God are suspended in gold. There was a case of a scroll belonging to Alexandrians where the names of God were suspended in gold. The matter was brought before the sages who prohibited its use."
    Cf. J. Leveen, The Hebrew Bible in Art, Oxford, 1944, pp. 3-6.

26. C. Roth, "Jewish Antecedents of Christian Art," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XVI (1953), 44.

27. Roth, op. cit., p. 29, plates 9a and 9d.

28. Cf. Leveen, op. cit., p. 67. F. Landsberger, A History of Jewish Art, Cincinnati, 1946, p. 204.

29. K. Weitzmann, "Die Illustration der Septuaginta," Muenchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst, Band III/IV, (1952/1953), 116ff., and K. Weitzmann, "Narration in Early Christendom," American Journal of Archeology, LXI (January, 1957), 83ff.

30. D. Tselos, "The Joshua Roll: Original or Copy?" Art Bulletin, XXXII (Dec., 1950), 281ff. M. Schapiro, "The Place of the Joshua Roll in Byzantine History," Gazette des Beaux Arts, (March, 1949), 163ff.

31. Weitzmann, op. cit., p. 117-118.

32. The models used for the Dura synagogue have yet to be studied to determine whether working pattern books, other frescoes, mosaics or drawings served as guides

for the Dura synagogue artists. Cf. E..L. Sukenik, The Synagogue of Dura-Europos and its Frescoes (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1947, pp. 165-169 who also believes manuscripts are behind the Dura synagogue frescoes.

33. For an excellent summation of this problem, cf. H. Bober, "Review of Weitzmann's, Illustrations in Roll and Codex," Art Bulletin (Dec., 1948), 284-288. It is unfortunate that Kraeling's cautious and excellent analysis of the Dura synagogue is marred by his uncritical acceptance of Weitzmann's theory of manuscript prototypes for the Dura synagogue. Weitzmann's method of reducing all art forms to manuscript cycles has been rejected by many scholars and has been soundly criticized in the article by Bober cited above. Furthermore, Kraeling's suggestion of the existence of two manuscript cycles---one stemming from Egypt and one from Syria---is not borne out by the artistic evidence. The S. Maria Maggiore mosaics probably do not go back to Egyptian prototypes, but are based on models stemming from the Syrian region. This does not deny the possibility of the existence of many manuscript cycles in the Near Eastern world, since later surviving Christian manuscript cycles reflect a variety of artistic traditions. It only affirms the fact that these manuscripts come from the same region but that they express differing viewpoints of various classes living there. See Kraeling, op. cit., pp. 392-402.

34. Weitzmann, Greek Mythology, op. cit., p. 189.

35. Cf. J. Gutmann, "The Jewish Origin of the Ashburnham Pentateuch Miniatures," Jewish Quarterly Review, XLIV (July, 1953), 55ff. and Gutmann, op. cit., 42ff. (Paris Psalter). Weitzmann, Septuaginta, op. cit., p. 116ff.

36. J. Freudenthal, Hellenistische Studien, Heft 1 and 2, Breslau, 1875.

37. Sotah 49b and S. Lieberman, Greek in Jewish Palestine, New York, 1942, p. 20-21.

38. Ginzberg, On Jewish Law, op. cit., p. 66.

39. M. Braun, History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature, Oxford, 1938, p. 47 and p. 90f.

40. Weitzmann, Septuaginta, op. cit., pp. 115-117.

41. Weitzmann, Roll and Codex, op. cit., p. 134.

42. Weitzmann, Septuaginta, op. cit., p. 102f. Gutmann, op. cit. (Ashburnham Pentateuch), 69f.

43. Genesis Rabbah 33.3, Palestinian Talmud, Kilaim 9.32b. Cf. H. Strack, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash, Philadelphia, 1945, pp. 12-13.

44. C. Wendel, Die Griechisch-Roemische Buchbeschreibung verglichen mit der des vorderen Orients, Hallische Monographien, No. 3, Halle, 1949, p. 96, suggests that Jewish manuscripts, such as the Medieval Biblia Pauperum, existed in Alexandria. It is interesting to note that such Jewish poets as Maulana Shahin of Persia (14th century) applied the method of Persian classical poetry to the biblical legends and narrative. These books, some illustrated in the 17th century were written in Persian with Hebrew characters. See W. Fischel, "Israel in Iran," in The Jews, their History, Culture and Religion, ed. L. Finkelstein, III, Philadelphia, 1949, pp. 832-835.

45. The relation of Islamic art to Jewish art has yet to be studied. Cf. S. Goitein, Jews and Arabs, their Contacts Through the Ages, New York, 1955, p. 207, who believes Muhammed was inspired by paintings of biblical stories. Cf. also R. Ettinghausen "An Illuminated Manuscript of Hafiz i Abru in Istanbul," Part I, Kunst des Orients, II (1955), 41, n. 17 for references to stylistic analogies between the synagogue of Dura and Islamic miniatures.

ABRAHAM -- FOOTNOTES

1. T. W. Arnold, The Islamic Book, a contribution to its art and history from the VII-XVIIIth century, London, 1929, plate XXXVIb. Al-Biruni was an Arab author of Persian origin who lived from the 10th-11th century.

2. The Chronology of Ancient Nations, an English version of the Arabic text of the Othar-al-Bakiya of Al-Biruni, trans. and ed. by C. E. Sachau, London, 1879, p. 187 and p. 1ff.

3. Queen Mary's Psalter, miniatures and drawings by an English artist of the 14th century, reproduced from Royal Ms 2 B VII in the British Museum, ed. by G. F. Warner, London, 1912, plates XIII-XIV.

4. Ibid., p. 58. Cf. also F. H. Marshall, Old Testament Legends from a Greek poem on Genesis-Exodus by Georgios Chumnos, Cambridge, 1925, p. 36, fig. 8 for a picture of Terah making idols for Abraham to carry to market. (British Museum, Add. Ms 40724, dated 1500).

5. R. H. Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, Oxford, 1913, Vol. II, Book of Jubilees, Chapter XII, 1-3 and XII, 12-14. Cf. Apocalypse of Abraham, Chapters 1-7 in P. Riessler, Altjuedisches Schrifttum ausserhalb der Bibel, Augsburg, 1928, p. 13-18. S. Sandmel, Philo's Place in Judaism: A Study of Conceptions of Abraham in Jewish Literature, Cincinnati, 1956, p. 39, n. 86; and p. 50, n. 167. L. Ginzberg, Die Haggada bei den Kirchenvaetern und in der apokryphischen Litteratur, Berlin, 1900, p. 97 quotes a legend from the Church Father Ephraem, which is similar to that told in the book of Jubilees.

6. For similar stories, see Yalkut Shimoni par. 62. A more elaborate version of this legend is given in Yashar Noah 23b-26b. Cf. MHG I, 189 and BHM I, 32. Ginzberg, op. cit., V, p. 218, n.49-52. Cf. also B. Beer, Leben Abraham's nach Auffassung der Juedischen Sage, Leipzig, 1859, p. 9ff.

7. Chronique de Tabari, trans. by M. H. Zotenberg, Paris, 1867, Vol. I, p. 142. Cf. D. Sidersky, Les Origines des légendes Musulmanes dans le Coran et dans les vies des Prophètes, Paris, 1933, p. 36ff. Cf. also H. Speyer, Die biblische Erzaehlung im Qoran, Breslau, 1936, p. 134ff. Professor F. Rosenthal was kind enough to put this book at my disposal. A. Katsh, Judaism in Islam, Philadelphia, 1954, p. 175. For detailed references of this legend in the writings of the

Muhammadan commentators see M. Gruenbaum, Neue Beitraege zur Semitischen Sagenkunde, Leiden, 1893, p. 90ff.

8. J. Leveen, The Hebrew Bible in Art, London, 1944, p. 101, n. 1. Leveen claims that the bearded angel, into whose arms Abraham is falling, is intended as a representation of God Himself. In a letter, dated Jan. 10, 1953, Mr. Leveen corrected this misleading description, since two angels are represented and neither one seems bearded. I have been unable to account for the presence in Jewish literature of the two angels receiving Abraham in the fiery furnace.

9. R. Bruck, Die Malereien in den Handschriften des Koenigreich Sachsen, Dresden, 1906, p. 219 and p. 224. I am indebted to Mrs. Wischnitzer for this miniature, since this manuscript, along with many other treasures, was lost or destroyed during the Nazi holocaust.

10. Die Haggadah von Sarajevo. Eine spanisch-juedische Bilderhandschrift des Mittelalters, D. H. Mueller und J. von Schlosser, Wien, 1898, p. 159. The inscription in Hebrew rhyme reads: "King, Nimrod was called, because he rebelled against God's might. Terah made idols; he and the king were greatly confounded. Abraham acknowledged God since he was three, therefore God sent an angel to save him."

11. M. Schwab, "Une haggada illustrée," Revue des études juives, XLV (1902), 112ff, and 121; fig. 13.

12. J. Lutz und P. Perdrizet, Speculum Humanae Salvationis, Kritische Ausgabe, Uebersetzung von Jean Miélot 1448, Leipzig, 1909, II, plate 62.

13. M. R. James, Speculum Humanae Salvationis, being a reproduction of an Italian Manuscript of the 14th century, Oxford, 1926, pl. (Ch. XXXI), p. 29f.

14. Stith Thompson, Motif Index of Folk Literature, Helsinki, 1932, offers many parallels in Medieval folk literature of attempts to kill heroes by an ordeal. See H 1511 and D 1841,3. An interesting story that bears some relation to our legend is an Indo-Mongolian tale of a man who evades being burned by magically causing a torrent of rain to fall. E. Cosquin, Les contes indiens et l'occident, Paris, 1922, p. 439ff.

15. Cf. Erubim 53a; MHG I, 190-191; Tanchuma Wa-yera 24; Midrash Tehillim, Psalm 116, p. 83 and Psalm 18, p. 26; Zohar 77b; Genesis Rabbah 39.3; 42.3; 59.5.

16. Cf. Targum Ps. Jon. 15.7; Yalkut Shimoni par. 77; PRE 26 and 52; Yashar Noah 27a; Exodus Rabbah 18.5, 23.4; Leviticus Rabbah 36.4; Deuteronomy Rabbah 2.26-27. Cf. also Ginzberg, op. cit., V, p. 218, n. 51. Beer, op. cit., p. 112ff. M. Gaster, The Chronicles of Jerahmeel, or the Hebrew Bible Historiale, New Series IV, London, 1899, Ch. XXXIII, p. 71-72. The Antiquitées of Philo by Ps. Philo of the 1st century C.E. relate a slightly different version of this legend. In its account, Abraham was one of the twelve people who refused to participate in the building of the tower of Babel. Yoqtan, the supreme leader, wished to save the twelve, but Abraham, who refused to be saved (relying upon God) was thrown into the furnace and was rescued from it, while those who heated the furnace were all burned. The Biblical Antiquities of Philo, trans. by M.R. James, London, 1917, VI-VII, p. 90ff. Cf. also Gaster, Chronicles of Jerahmeel, op. cit., pp. 60-63 for a similar version of this story.

17. See also Sura XXXVII, 101.

18. Tabari, op. cit., I, p. 145-147. Cf. Beer, op. cit., p. 15ff. BHM I, 33-34 cites this legend of Satan advising the use of the catapult and the story of the site becoming a blossoming garden. Cf. Sidersky, op. cit., pp. 31-35 and Speyer, op. cit., p. 143ff.

19. Gruenbaum, op. cit., p. 91ff. Beer, op. cit., p. 17ff and p. 112, n. 135.

20. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Edinburgh University Library, by M. A. Hukk, H. Ethe, E. Robertson, Hertford, 1925, p. 15ff. Cf. W. Fischel, "Israel in Iran" in The Jews, their History, Culture and Religion, ed. L. Finkelstein, III, Philadelphia, 1949, p. 825. Fischel mentions that Rashid al-Din was a Jew who turned Moslem at the age of 30, and that his history is one of the most important historical works in Persian. Unfortunately, the part relating to Jewish history has never been translated.

21. I am indebted to Haluk Sehsuvaroglu of the Istanbul Museum for this information.

22. T. W. Arnold, The Old and New Testaments in Muslim Religious Art, Oxford, 1932, p. 24, plate VIII. Mirkhwand was a Persian historian of the 16th century. For the text to our miniature see, The Ranzat-Us-Safa or Garden of Purity by Mirkhwand, Vol. I, part I,

trans. by E. Rehatsek, London, 1893, p. 136-138.

23. Leveen, op. cit., p. 59 discusses this passage.

24. Kraeling, op. cit., p. 56ff., plate LI. R. Wischnitzer, The Messianic Theme in the Paintings of the Dura Synagogue, Chicago, 1948, fig. 44. J. Wilpert, "Das Opfer Abrahams in der Altchristlichen Kunst," Roemische Quartalschrift, (1887), 14ff. Cf. S. Eitrem, Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Roemer, Kristiana, 1915. In Christian art, Isaac is not shown lying on top of the altar (as in Jewish art) until about the tenth century. (See First Bible of San Isidoro in Leon, fol. 21vo.) Wilpert, op.cit., p. 13 discusses an ancient gem in the Paris Bibliotheque Nationale, Cab. des Médailles which shows Isaac floating on top of the altar, but he is in no way connected with it.

25. M. Schapiro, "The Angel with the Ram in Abraham's Sacrifice: A Parallel in Western and Islamic art," Ars Islamica (1943), 140 does not take this into account.

26. Leveen, op. cit., plate XXV, p. 79.

27. Haggadah of Sarajevo, op. cit., p. 160ff.

28. See Tamid 31a, which specifies that the one fore and one hind leg of a lamb be tied together. Yashar Wa-Yera 46a mentions that Isaac is bound down to be slaughtered like an animal. Cf. also Shabbat 54a, Yalkut Shimoni par. 101, PRE 31, which state that the two fore feet and the two hind feet are tied together. Cf. Ginzberg, op. cit., V, p. 251, n. 242.

29. Leveen, op. cit., plate XVIII.

30. T. Ehrenstein, Das Alte Testament im Bilde, Wien, 1923, Chapter 9, figures 1ff.

31. It is not until the first half of the fifth century that we encounter, on a bronze medal of the Vatican Library, the winged angel in the sacrifice in accordance with the biblical account. See R. Garrucci, Storia dell'arte Christiana, Rome 1881, plate 480 (No. 12). Cf. C. Bonner, Studies in Magical Amulets, University of Michigan Press, 1950, p. 227 and p. 311 for an amulet from Gotha (D 345) which depicts a winged angel in the sacrifice scene. Dr. Bonner, in a letter written to me on July 1, 1953 dated this amulet as having been made sometime between the third to the sixth century.

32. Philo, On Abraham, XXXII, 176.

33. Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, I, XIII, 4, par. 233, trans. by H. St. John Thackeray (Loeb Classical Library), London, 1930, Vol. IV, p. 115. Cf. Tanchuma Wa-Yera 23 which mentions that a "bat kol" (heavenly voice) interceded. Cf. also MHG I, 323, PRE 31, Yalkut Shimoni par. 101, and Yashar Wa-Yera 46a which also claim that God called to Abraham from heaven.

34. Eusebii Praeparatio Evangelica, ed. by E. H. Gifford, Oxford, 1903, Vol. I, Book IX, 9, 421b and Vol. III, p. 452 for the translation. According to Freudenthal in his Hellenistische Studien, Breslau 1875, p. 36 n., this passage was written by the chronographer Demetrius and not by Alexander, since the language and style are closer to the Septuagint than are other passages quoted by Eusebius from Alexander's treatise.

35. Neweh Shalom 51. Cf. Yalkut Shimoni par. 101, which speaks of an angel that brought the ram from the garden of Eden. Ginzberg, op. cit., V, p. 252, n. 245. An interesting parallel to this legend is the story of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, daughter of Agamemnon, wherein Artemis substitutes a deer for Iphigenia at the altar. Apollodorus, The Library, trans. by J. G. Frazer (Loeb Classical Library), London, 1921, Vol. II, p. 191ff. and p. 192 n.1. In illustrations of this tale in classical art, Artemis, or a nymph, is generally shown bringing a hind as substitute offering for Iphigenia. Schapiro, op. cit., p. 144.

36. See the excellent treatment of the angel with the ram in the sacrifice of Isaac in Christian and Islamic art in Schapiro, op. cit., p. 134ff.

37. Tabari, op. cit., p. 186. Cf. Gruenbaum, op. cit., p. 113. For a discussion on whether Ishmael or Isaac was sacrificed, see Schapiro, op. cit., p. 135, n. 16.

38. R. Ettinghausen, "An Illuminated Manuscript of Hafiz i Abru in Istanbul," Part I, Kunst des Orients, II (1955), 37, fig. 7 (Hazine 1653, fol. 35b). A similar miniature in the Walters Art Gallery should be dated in the 15th century also, Schapiro, op. cit., p. 136f. There are two miniatures which I have found showing the angel bringing the ram from heaven which are not cited in the Schapiro article---one from the 16th century History of the Prophets by Ishaq ibn Ibrahim al Nishapuri, Berlin: Preuss. Staatsbibl. Diez A, fol. 3, fol. 41 (1577) in T. W. Arnold, The

38. (cont.) Islamic Book, op. cit., plate LXIII and the 16th century Silsilename by Lokman from the Topkapi Sarayi Muzesi in Istanbul (Hazine No. 1321, fol. 28b). Haluk Sehsuvaroglu of the Istanbul Museum was kind enough to call this miniature to my attention. (See figure 5).

39. Schapiro, op. cit., p. 136, n. 18.

JOSEPH -- FOOTNOTES

1. I. Schapiro, Die haggadischen Elemente im erzaehlenden Teil des Korans, Leipzig, 1907, p. 11, n. 1.

2. Jusaf and Zuleikha by M. A. Jami, trans. by A. Rogers, London, 1892.

3. M. Braun, History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature, Oxford, 1938, pp. 90, 94.

4. H. Gerstinger, Die Wiener Genesis, Vienna, 1931, p. 111.

5. J. Gutmann, "The Jewish Origin of the Ashburnham Pentateuch Miniatures," Jewish Quarterly Review, XLIV (July, 1953), 62ff.

6. F. Landsberger cites this legend in "The Origin of the Winged Angel in Jewish Art," Hebrew Union College Annual, XX (1947), 250-251, Fig. 11.

7. Cf. PRE 38; Yalkut Shimoni par. 141; Targum Ps. Jon., Gen. 37.15; Tan. B. I, 183, 163 and MHG I, 562. This legend was also known by the Church Fathers. See Die Geschichte Josefs, angeblich verfasst von Basilius dem Grossen aus Caesarea, Tome I, ed. Weinberg, Halle, 1893, p. 19. Cf. also, Ginzberg, op. cit., V, p. 327-328, n. 29.

8. J. Leveen, The Hebrew Bible in Art, London, 1944, pp. 99, 101. Cf. A. Goldschmidt, Die Byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X-XIII Jahrhunderts, Berlin, 1930-1934, Vol. I, pl. LVI (94), p. 55 for an ivory plaque from the Berlin Museum (X-XI th Cent.) which shows a winged angel walking ahead of Joseph, and pl. LII (82), p. 51 for an ivory casket from the Walters Art Gallery (X-XI th cent.). Here Joseph, with a knapsack on his shoulder, is depicted with a winged angel who, walking rapidly behind him, points out the way ahead.

9. J. Leveen, op. cit., p. 86, plate XXIX.

10. A Survey of Persian Art form Prehistoric Times to the Present, ed. by U. Pope, London, 1938-1939, Vol. V, pl. 903a, from the Library of the Gulistan Palace, Teheran, dated 1522. Cf. T. W. Arnold, Painting in Islam, Oxford, 1928, p. 107 for a miniature in the British Museum, OR 4535, fol. 104. The Bodleian Library, Oxford has miniatures of this scene in MS Elliott 415, fol. 108ro. (about 1556), MS Elliot 418, fol. 42vo. (about 1595), MS Greaves 1, fol. 104ro.

10. (cont.) (about 1560). I am indebted to Mr. Beeston of the Bodleian Library for these references. Jean Watson of the India Office Library, London, informs me that MS 737 (Ethé 1342), fol. 102b, dated 1598, contains a miniature of Joseph and the Egyptian ladies. The 16th century History of the Prophets by Ishaq ibn Ibrahim al Nishapuri, Paris, Bibl. Nat., Supp. Persan 1313, fol. 54vo., also contains an illustration of this episode. Mme. Guignard was kind enough to supply this information to me.

11. M. Gaster, The Chronicles of Jerahmeel or the Hebrew Bible Historiale, New Series IV, London, 1899, Chap. XXXIX,2, p. 94 tells a very similar story, except that each of the women is offered an apple in preference to an etrog. Cf. MHG I, 592 where the identical story is related. Instead of a fruit, Joseph's mistress places before the Egyptian ladies bread and meat. A. Geiger, Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?, Leipzig, 1902, p. 140-141 gives as the Jewish source for the Arabic story only the late Sefer Yashar, Wa-Yeshev 87a-b, which is similar to the episode related in Tanchuma. Cf. also, Ginzberg, op. cit., V, p. 339-340, n. 118. D. Sidersky, Les Origines des légendes Musulmanes dans le Coran et dans la vie des Prophètes, Paris, 1933, p. 62. H. Speyer, Die biblische Erzaehlung im Qoran, Breslau, 1936, p. 205.

In the Stith Thompson, Motif Index of Folk Literature, Helsinki, 1932, no story is quoted which has any bearing on our haggada. However, there are many references to women who are captivated by the beauty of young men and who attempt to seduce them. (K 2111). Particularly interesting is the story from the Jataka or Stories of the Buddha's former births, ed. by E. B. Cowell and W. H. D. Rouse, Cambridge, 1895, Vol. I, p. 264ff. of a queen who is moved by the beauty of the king's chaplain, Bodhisatta, but he resists her ardent advances. Cf. also Braun, op. cit., p. 94ff. for the various Phaedra legend motifs in hellenistic literature of women unsuccessful in their seduction of beautiful men.

12. Chronique de Tabari, trans. by M. H. Zotenberg, Paris, 1867, Vol. I, p. 220-221. Cf. M. Gruenbaum, "Jussuf und Suleicha," Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft, Vol. 43, 1889, p. 8ff., who follows Geiger in citing only the Sefer Yashar reference. This story was also known to the later Arab commentators, IBn al-Atir, Zamakshari and Baidawi, ibid., 8ff.

13. Rogers, op. cit., p. 159ff.

MOSES -- FOOTNOTES

1. Braun, op. cit., p. 26ff.

2. Kraeling, op. cit., p. 174ff. and p. 353f., plate LXVII.

3. Eusebii, op. cit., Vol. I, Bk. IX, Ch. XXVIII, 437c and Vol. III, p. 467. See Thompson, op. cit., for the motif of a princess rescuing an abandoned child, e.g., Cyrus and Beowulf. (R 131.11.1 and L 111.2.1). Cf. S. H. Langdon, Mythology of all Races, Vol. V, Boston, 1931, p. 157 for the story of Sargon put in a wicker basket on the Euphrates by his mother.

4. Yalkut Shimoni, Ex. par. 166, PRE 48, Tanchuma Shemot 7. Cf. Shemot Rabbah 1.27 and Targum Ps. Jonathan, Ex. 2.5. See L. Ginzberg, "Die Haggada bei den Kirchenvaetern, Exodus," in Livre d'hommage à la memoire du Dr. Poznanski, Leipzig, 1927, p. 199 for knowledge of this legend by the Church Father Ephraem. Dibre ha-Yamin in BHM II, 3, Yashar Shemot 130b-131a, and Chronicles of Jerahmeel, op. cit., Ch. XLIV, 5, pp. 109-110, speak only of the unusual heat sent by God upon Egypt which forced the princess to bathe in the Nile along with the Egyptians. Shemot Rabbah 1.23, Tanchuma Shemot7 Sotah 12b mentions that the princess wanted to rid herself of the impurity of idol worship prevailing in her father's house by bathing in the river Nile. Cf. Ginzberg, op. cit., V, p. 398, n. 48 and A. Rosmarin, Moses im Lichte der Agada, New York, 1932, p. 51, n. 169-170.

5. M. James, "Four Leaves of an English Psalter of the 12th Century," Walpole Society Annual, XXV (1936-1937), 1ff. and plate I.

6. Psautier Illustré (13th century), ed. by H. Omont, Paris, 1906, pp. 6,7 and plate 3. This miniature is closely related to the one in the Morgan Library, see James, "Four Leaves of an English Psalter," op. cit., 3f. Both authors seem unaware of this Jewish legend since they state that a nude servant is in the river, whereas the inscription in the Paris lat. 8846 miniature clearly reads: "filia Pharaon invenit Moysi in fiscella."

7. Leveen, op. cit., plate XXXI, and page 102. In a letter, dated January 10, 1953, Mr. Leveen informs me that a similar miniature is in a Jewish manuscript of the 14th century in the British Museum (OR 2884, fol. 12a).

7. (cont.) Cf. Haggadah of Sarajevo, op. cit., p. 194, for a 14th century Sephardic Haggadah miniature of this scene in the Kaufmann collection in Budapest, fol. 10, plate XXXII. The author claims that Miriam, depicted nude in the water, is picking up the ark. This interpretation is unwarranted by the inscription which states that Miriam stood at a distance. The miniature is badly damaged, making interpretation difficult. It is possible, however, that the princess is shown twice in this miniature, once pointing to the child and again rescuing it. Or, it may simply be that the princess is ordering one of her maidservants to fetch the ark. Regardless which of the two interpretations we accept, we still find Pharaoh's daughter bathing nude with 2 (or 3) of her handmaidens, which is a reflection of the early Jewish legend cited and the later Jewish illustrations of this theme. Cf. now A. Schreiber, The Kaufmann Haggadah, Budapest, 1957, p. 23, fol. 10.

8. Megillah 15b. Cf. Sotah 12b, Shemot Rabbah 1.27 and Yalkut Shimoni par. 166.

9. Haggadah of Sarajevo, op. cit., p. 138.

10. Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, op. cit., Bk. II, Ch. IX.7, par. 232ff., p. 265-267. Cf. S. Rappaport, Agada und Exegese bei Flavius Josephus, Wien, 1930, p. 27f. and p. 116, n. 136-137. Freudenthal, op. cit., p. 170-171 believes Josephus took this version from the work of Artapanus and introduced modifications. Ezekiel, the hellenistic Jewish poet, seems to have had knowledge of this legend, since he mentions that a crown is placed upon Moses' head in a dream. Eusebii, op. cit., IX, 29. 440a-c, Vol. I, p. 551 and Vol. III, p. 470. Freudenthal, op. cit., p. 172 mentions that Moses grasped the crown of Pharaoh, but this does not seem to be the implication of the Ezekiel passage. Cf. also Tanchuma, Shemot 8, which agrees with Josephus' account, except that the child seizes the crown from Pharaoh's head. Byzantine chroniclers were acquainted with and copied the Josephus legend. See G. L. Hamilton, "La source d'un épisode de Baudouin de Sebourc," Zeitschrift fuer Romanische Philologie, XXXVI (1912), 130.

11. J. Gutmann, "The Test of Moses, a Jewish Legend in Art," The Student Zionist, Vol. 9, no. 3 (Spring, 1952), 22f., and fig. 1. There are other illustrations of the Josephus account in later Christian art. A 13th century manuscript (Manchester, Rylands Library, fr. 5, Bible, fol. 46ro.) in R. Fawtier, La Bible historiée toute

11. (cont.) figurée de la John Rylands Library, Paris, 1924, plate XLI, shows Pharaoh's daughter holding the baby Moses, who clutches the crown with both his hands. Pharaoh is seated on a bench, with 3 counsellors standing behind him. A 14th century manuscript (Munich Library, gall. 16, Psalter of Queen Isabella, fol. 46vo.) pictures Moses casting the crown to the ground before Pharaoh, who is seated on a bench. A priest is standing nearby, holding a sword.

12. Cf. Yalkut Shimoni par. 166 and in abridged form, Dibre ha-Yamim BHM II, 3-4. The angel in these two accounts is identified as Gabriel. In Shemot Rabbah 1.26 and Wa-Yosha BHM I, 41 Jethro, not the angel, advises the test with the burning coal. Cf. also Ginzberg, op. cit., V, p. 402, n. 65, and Rosmarin, op. cit., p. 55, n. 194 for variants, such as gold, gold coin, jewel, etc. cited in the Midrashim. Cf. Thompson, op. cit., H 222.1, who lists under this motif an Arabic story (R. Basset, Revue des Traditions Populaires, 1886-1917, Vol. VII, p. 284) of a woman subjected to a test of hot coals to prove her testimony that her first husband and not her second husband was the father of her son. Cf. M. A. Halevy, Moise dans l'histoire et dans légende, Paris, 1927, p. 111 for the crown legend motif in non-Jewish literature.

13. Haggadah von Sarajevo, op. cit., fol. 9a, plate XX, and p. 139.

14. Ibid., p. 193-194 for the inscriptions accompanying the miniature. Cf. R. Wischnitzer-Bernstein in Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstage von Moritz Schaefer, Berlin, 1927, pp. 271-273. Cf. Schreiber, op. cit., p. 22 and fol. 9. The three counsellors of Pharaoh are mentioned in Sanhedrin 106a and Sotah 11a.

15. Speculum Humanae Salvationis no. 7, Shenley, Coll. Riches, depicts Pharaoh seated on a throne with Moses and two attendants---one holding an upraised sword, the other holding a vessel with coal. In the foreground, the crown is lying on the ground. James, op. cit., plate XI, p. 21. Cf. Speculum Humanae Salvationis, fol. 14ro. in the Munich Staatsbibl., Clm 146 for a similar scene. Lutz und Perdrizet, op. cit., II, plate XXII. The Psalter of Queen Mary, British Royal Museum, 2 B VII, fol. 23vo. shows Pharaoh seated on a throne and crowning the child Moses, who is casting the crown into a fire. To the right, Moses is raising to his lips the coal which he has taken from a bowl held by a man. Warner,

15. (cont.) op. cit., plate XL, pp. 18, 67.

16. Migne, Patr. Lat. CXCVIII, Col. 1144, cited in Hamilton, op. cit., p. 140.

17. N. Bonwetsch, "Die Mosessage in der slavischen kirchlichen Literatur," Nachrichten von der Koeniglichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Goettingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, (1908), 581ff.

18. Hamilton, op. cit., p. 139ff.

19. According to Tabari, op. cit., I, p. 300-301, Pharaoh was motivated to put Moses to the test of hot coals, because the child had pulled at his beard. Tabari makes no mention of the incident with Pharaoh's crown. In addition, it is Asiya, Pharaoh's wife, who counsels him to test Moses with the hot coals and the onyx. Cf. Gruenbaum, op. cit., p. 154ff. for citations of this legend by other Muhammadan commentators. For an illustration of this Muhammadan version of the Jewish legend in a Christian manuscript, see Old Testament Legends from a Greek poem on Genesis and Exodus by Georgios Chumnos, ed. by F. H. Marshall, Cambridge, 1925 (British Museum, Add. Ms 40724, dated 1500), p. 104-106, and fig. 26 showing Moses pulling Pharaoh's beard and fig. 27 depicting Moses' subjection to the test.

20. Eusebii, op. cit., Vol. I, Bk. IX, Chap. 29, 443a, and Vol. III, p. 472. Riessler, op. cit., p. 342 translates the passage as follows: "Dass der fuerchterliche Engel wohl voruebergehe." Shemot Rabbah 17.5 mentions that an angel killed the firstborn; Targum Ps. Jonathan 12.29 states that the word of the Lord slew all the firstborn. Cf. Charles, op. cit., Vol. II, Jubilees, Ch. 49.2: "all the powers of Mastèmâ had been let loose to slay all the first born in the land of Egypt."

21. Gutmann, op. cit., p. 68.

22. Leveen, op. cit., p. 104 and plate XXXII.

23. Haggadah von Sarajevo, op. cit., p. 148. The inscription to the miniature reads: "the angel kills the firstborn of Egypt." Cf. Schwab, op. cit., p. 183 who cites that in Cod. Hebr. 1333 in Paris, fol. 14, an angel of death is carrying an enormous sword. This theme was well-known in Christian art. It appears in a 13th century manuscript from the New York Morgan Library, 638, fol. 8vo., where a

23. (cont.) nimbed angel descends, a sword in its right hand, and pierces the skull of a slain Egyptian before the doorway of a house. See S. Cockerell, A Book of Old Testament Illustrations of the Middle Thirteenth Century, Cambridge, 1927, pp, 87f. Cf. A. Laborde, La Bible Moralisée Illustrée, Paris, 1911, Col. I, plate 46 for a 13th century miniature from the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 270b, fol. 46ro., which shows an angel with a decorated nimbus, a sword raised in its right hand, treading on one of the six Egyptians, five of whom are lying on the ground and the other with his hands raised in supplication. Cf. also Psautier de Saint Louis, ed. by H. Omont, Paris, 1902, p. 10, plate XXXIII in the Paris Bibl. Nationale, lat. 10525, fol. 33vo. which depicts a nimbed angel descending from a cloud, killing with a sword the firstborn. Pharaoh is lying on a bed before a building. Ginzberg, op. cit., V, p. 434, n. 213 overlooks the Ezekiel reference, for he claims that this Midrash is late. See J. Boellenruecher, Gebete und Hymnen an Nergal, Leipzig, 1904, p. 9 for reference to the Assyro-Babylonian god Nergal, the sword god (destroyer) who stalks about at night. I am indebted to Mr. Curtis for this reference.

24. M. Schwab, "Un Manuscrit Hébreu de la Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris," Journal Asiatique, Huitième Série, Tome XIX (1892), 182. Cf. p. 172. This manuscript should be dated in the 15th rather than the 14th century, because of its closeness in style to the Second Haggadah of Nuremberg. The inscription over the illustration states: "Pharaoh is bathing in his palace and the plague burns upon him." See Haggadah von Sarajevo, op. cit., p. 176.

25. Ibid., p. 145. The inscription reads: "The king commands the slaughter of the first born in order to bathe in the blood of the Hebrew children."

26. A. Kohut, Geschichte der deutschen Juden, Berlin, 1898, p. 156. Cf. Die Darmstaedter Pessach Haggadah, ed. by B. Italiener, Leipzig, 1927-1928, Vol. I, p. 21.

27. See Yashar Shemot 138b ff. where Pharaoh's wise men advise him to put the blood of little children on his wounds so that they will heal. Cf. MHG II, 20. Ginzberg, op. cit., V, p. 413, n. 104, and n. 101. Ginzberg feels that "the statement about Pharaoh's leprosy is the reply of the Jewish legend to the account that the Hebrews were driven out of Egypt because of their leprosy (Josephus, Contra Apionem,

27. (cont.) 1.26)." Pliny, according to Ginzberg, Nat. Hist., 26. 1,5 mentions that the Egyptians bathed in blood a s a remedy for leprosy.

28. Haggadah von Sarajevo, op. cit., p. 141. The inscription to the drawing reads: "Into the hands of the executioner Moses was handed, and his neck became hard as marble." Thompson, op. cit., H 215 mentions various folk motifs related to our story, such as a sword magically changing to wood when the executioner is about to decapitate an innocent person (H 215.1).

29. Jerusalem Talmud, Berachot 56a. Deuteronomy Rabbah 2.29. Shemot Rabbah 1.31 states that Pharaoh struck Moses 10 times upon his neck, which became like an ivory pillar, and he could not harm him. Cf. also Midrash Tehillim 4, 40; Mechilta 58b; Mechilta RS, 86; Wa-Yosha BHM I, 42; Yalkut Shimoni par. 167.

30. Yashar Shemot 133b; Dibre ha-Yamim BHM II, 5 which identifies the angel as Michael. Deuteronomy Rabbah 2.29 mentions that an angel came in the guise of Moses, thus enabling him to run away. Cf. Midrash Tehillim 4.41; Yalkut Shimoni par. 167; Shemot Rabbah 1.31; Jerusalem Talmud, Berachot 56a. Ginzberg, op. cit., V, p. 406, n. 76 and Rosmarin, op. cit., p. 59, n. 222.

31. Shabbat 88a and Mechilta RS, 100.

32. Targum Ps. Jonathan Ex. 19.17; Tanchuma Noah 3; Abodah Zarah 2b; Mechilta Bahodesh 3,65a. Cf. Ginzberg, op. cit., VI, p. 36, n. 202. For European legends concerning strong men holding up mountains or pulling them down, see Thompson, op. cit., F 623 and F 626.

33. E. Moses, "Uber eine Koelner Handschrift der Mischne-Tora des Maimonides," Zeitschrift fuer bildende Kunst, LX (1926-1927), 76. Cf. R. Wischnitzer-Bernstein, Symbole und Gestalten der Juedischen Kunst, Berlin, 1935, p. 5.

34. Cf. Sura II, 60; II, 87 and VII, 170, Cf. also J. Obermann, "Koran and Agada," American Journal of Semitic Languages, Vol. 58 (Jan., 1941), 34ff.

35. Katsh, op. cit., p. 65 and p. 82. Gruenbaum, op. cit., p. 168ff.

36. Mirkhwand, op. cit., p. 353-354. Cf. Arnold, Old and New Testament, op. cit., p. 28.

37. The motif of national heroes, such as Heracles, Perseus, Odysseus battling giants and monsters was widespread. Cf. S. Thompson, The Folktale, New York, 1946, p. 279. Cf. also Thompson, Motif Index, op. cit., F 628.2.3 and G 512.2 for heroes killing giants in European and Indian folk literature.

38. Yalkut Shimoni, Psalms par. 626; Targum Ps. Jonathan, Numbers 21.35 tells a similar story except that a worm is mentioned (instead of the ants) as boring through the mountain. In Yashar Numbers, 172 an angel performs the act. In this source and in MHG II, 78 Og intended to cast a stone, not a mountain, upon Israel. Cf. Midrash Aggada, Numbers 21.35; Deuteronomy Rabbah 1.24 and Yalkut Shimoni, Deuteronomy par. 810. Moses, in these accounts, took a pebble and pronounced over it the Divine Name and he thereby kept the mountain, which Og had uprooted, from falling.

39. Tabari, op. cit., p. 391-392. Sidersky, op. cit., p. 100f. Gruenbaum, op. cit., p. 180ff. Cf. Ginzberg, op. cit., VI, p. 120, n. 695 and corrections to his notes in Rosmarin, op. cit., p. 126-127.

40. Deuteronomy Rabbah 11.10 states: "I (Moses) smote them (Og and Sihon) with a staff in my hand and killed them." Midrash Aggada, Numbers 21.35 mentions that it was a raven which God dispatched to bore through the mountain.

41. Pope, op. cit., V, plate 852. Single miniature, Tabriz school, Samad Khan collection, Paris.

42. Cf. Pope, op. cit., V, plate 849. Ettinghausen, op. cit., p. 30 dates this manuscript from the early 15th century.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

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fig. 16 Budapest: Kaufmann Collection, Haggada, fol. 9b, 14th century.

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fig. 17 Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Pentateuch, Nouv. Acq. Lat. 2334, fol. 65b, 7th century.

fig. 18 Nuremberg: Germanic Museum, Second Haggada, fol. 17a, 15th century.

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fig. 22 Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Universal History of Mirkhwand, Supp. persan 1567, fol. 108b, 17th century.

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fig. 23 Edinburgh: University Library, Universal History of Rashid-al-Din, MS. 20, fol. 9b, 14th century.

fig. 24 Cincinnati: Art Museum, Universal History of Rashid-al-Din, single page, 15th century.

fig.1

fig. 2

fig.3

fig.4

fig.5

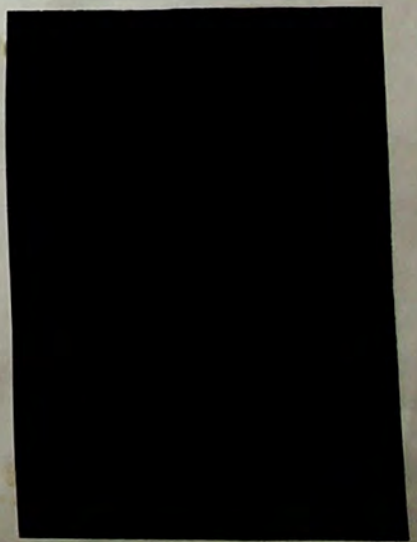

fig.6

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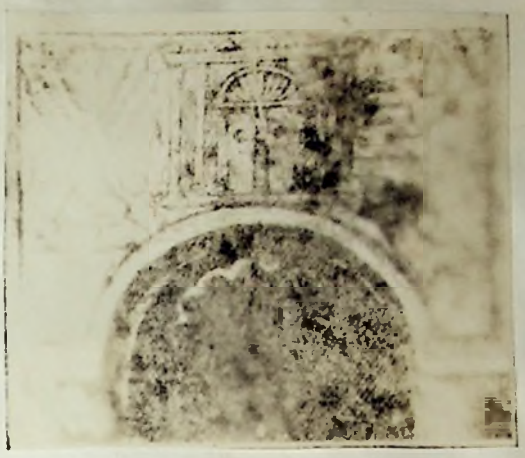

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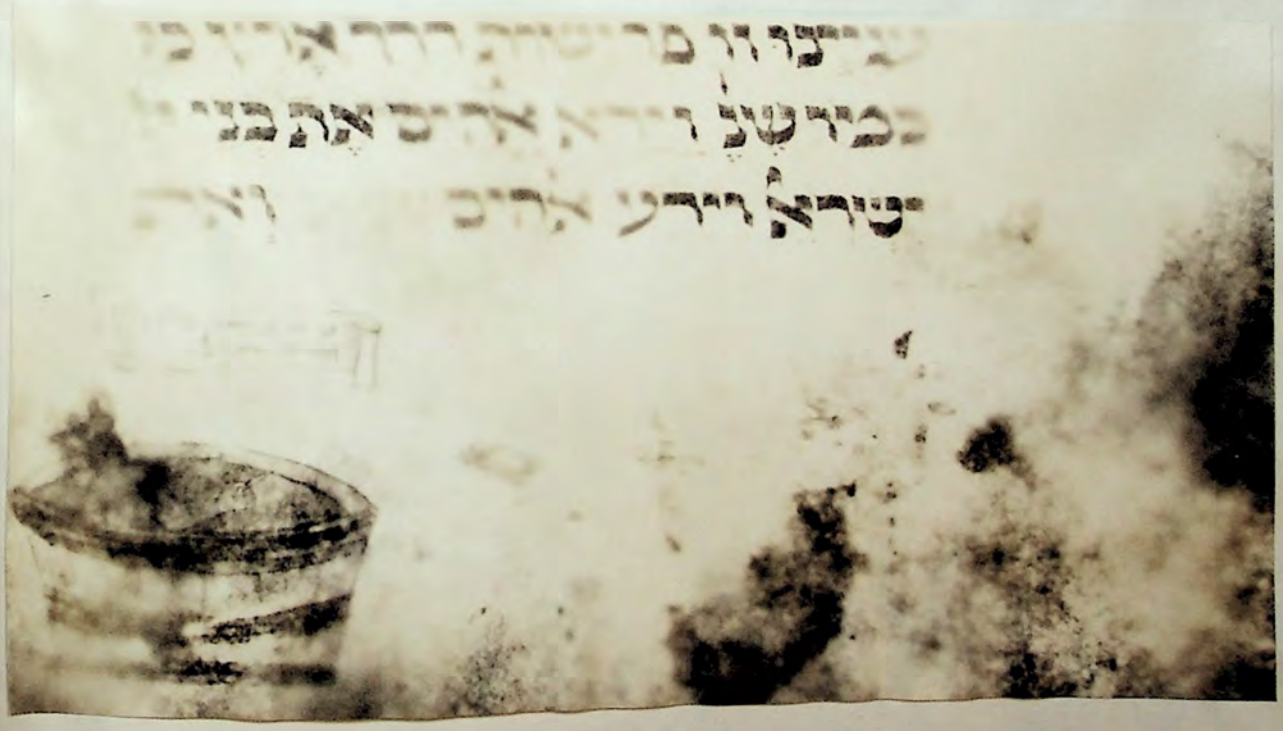

fig.19

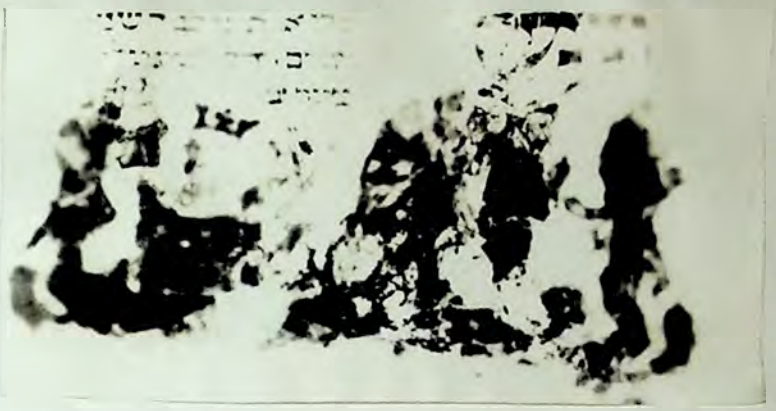

fig.20

fig.21

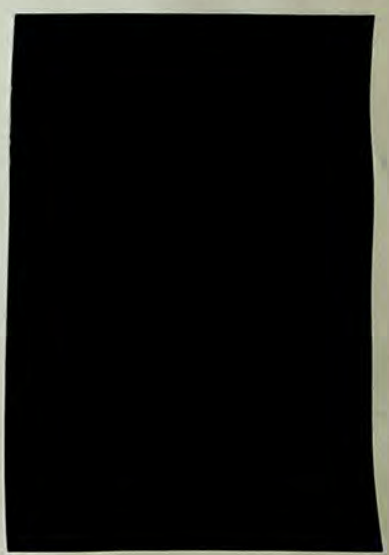

fig.22

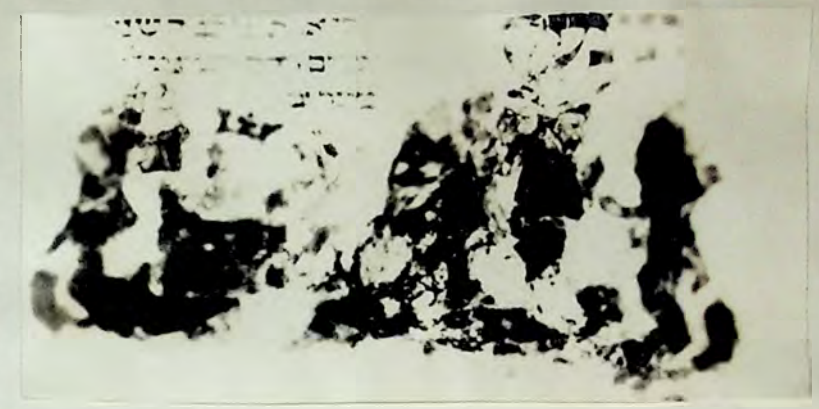

fig.20

fig.21

fig.22

fig.23

fig.24

CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the preparation of this thesis use was made of both literary and artistic sources. For the artistic evidence use was made of F. Landsberger (A History of Jewish Art. Cincinnati, 1946). This work still remains the best survey of Jewish art available. For the synagogue frescoes the definitive study of C. Kraeling (The Synagogue; Final Report VIII, Part I. New Haven, 1956) was consulted. This study supercedes previous studies on this subject. The pioneer study of David Kaufmann on medieval Jewish manuscripts offers valuable information, but must be supplemented by later studies (Die Haggadah von Sarajevo. Eine spanische-jaedische Bilderhandschrift des Mittelalters. Wien, 1898). Jacob Leveen (The Hebrew Bible in Art. The Schweich Lectures, 1939. London, 1944) assembles much new evidence on Jewish illuminated manuscripts, but his book must be used with caution. Many inaccuries and hasty generalizations detract from the merit of this book. Indispensible for a study of Jewish art is the scholarly work of S. Krauss (Synagogale Altertuemer. Berlin, 1932).

I have utilized the studies of J. Strzygowski (Eine Alexandrinische Weltchronik. Wien, 1906, and Orient oder Rom. Leipzig, 1901). These works are

still basic, although much new evidence has accumulated, for a study of the interrelationship of Jewish to Christian art. Weitzmann (Illustrations of Roll and Codex. A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration. Princeton, 1947) has produced an invaluable source book for the study of manuscripts in general. His methodology has been criticized and perceptively analyzed by H. Bober ("K. Weitzmann, Illustrations in Roll and Codex," review, Art Bulletin (December, 1948) 284-288).

For the relationship of Jewish to Islamic art there exists little in the way of critical studies. I have consulted T.W.Arnold (The Old and New Testament in Muslim Religious Art. Oxford, 1932), which is neither a comprehensive nor a critical study of the material. The best study on this subject is by M. Schapiro ("The Angel with the Ram in Abraham's Sacrifice: A Parallel in Western and Islamic art," Ars Islmica (1943), 134/147).

I have found valuable E. Bevan (Holy Images. London, 1940); P.K. Hitti (History of the Arabs. 2nd edition. London, 1940) and R. Meyer ("Die Figurendarstellung in der Kunst des spaethellenistischen Juden," Judaica (March, 1949), 1-40) for a study of the religious attitude of the Christian, Islamic and Jewish faiths towards images.

The basic work for an examination of the literary sources has been the magnificent opus of L. Ginzberg (Legends of the Jews. 7 volumes. Philadelphia, 1909-1935. Index volume by Boaz Cohen). I have supplemented and sometimes corrected the references in Ginzberg. However, all Hebrew sources quoted come from the standard books cited in Vol. VI of Ginzberg's Legends, pp. 483-490. The Soncina translations of the Midrash Rabbah and Talmud Babli were consulted, but the translations were often found to be inaccurate. For the Pirke de Rabbi Eliezar a good English translation is available with annotations. G. Friedlander (Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer. London, 1916). An adequate translation of the Book of Yashar was made by E.B.M. Browne (The Book Jashar, the Lost Book of the Bible. New York, 1876).

My task was considerably lightened by such works as S. Rappaport (Agada und Exegese bei Flavius Josephus. Vienna, 1930). This is a valuable study, though a great deal of material has been omitted. Ginzberg (Die Haggada bei den Kirchenvaetern und in der apokryphischen Literatur. Berlin, 1900) is a basic work for a study of Jewish legends in Church literature, despite the fact that it is incomplete. The study of B. Beer (Leben Abrahams nach Auffassung der

juedischen Sage. Leipzig, 1859) is comprehensive, but the sources given are difficult to check. The study of Joseph by I. Schapiro (Die haggadischen Elemente im erzaehlenden Teil des Korans. Leipzig, 1907) is extremely valuable. A. Rosmarin (Moses im Lichte der Agada. New York, 1932) has produced an exceptionally scholarly and useful piece of work.

The basic work on the relation of Islamic to Jewish literature remains M. Gruenbaum (Neue Beitraege zur Semitischen Sagenkunde. Leiden, 1893). An extremely valuable contribution to this field is the unpublished book by H. Speyer (Die biblische Erzaehlung im Qoran. Breslau, 1936). Dr. Rosenthal was kind enough to allow me to use the galley sheets of this book, which he rescued from Nazi Germany. D. Sidersky (Les Origines des legéndes Musulmanes dans le Coran et dans les vies des Prophètes. Paris, 1933) does not contribute substantially to the study of Gruenbaum.

I have used the standard work on extra-canonical literature edited by R. H. Charles (The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English. 2 volumes. Oxford, 1913. Where desirable I have checked the translation with P. Riessler (Altjuedisches Schrifttum ausserhalb der Bibel. Augsburg, 1928) and with the apocryphal editions now being edited at Dropsie College. For the Old Testament I have utilized the Revised Standard Version. I have consulted the in-

valuable essays by J. Freudenthal (Hellenistische Studien, I II; Alexander Polyhistor und die von ihm erhaltenen Reste juedischer und samaritanischer Geschichtswerke. Breslau, 1875). For Philo, I used the Loeb Classical Library editon by F. H. Colson and G.H. Whitaker (Philo with an English translation, 9 volumes. London, 1929-1941). For Josephus, I consulted the Loeb Classical Library edition edited by H.St.John Thackeray (Josephus with an English Translation. London, 1930).

A very suggestive study which treats the apocryphal literature in terms of the larger canvas of Graeco-Oriental literature is by M. Braun (History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature. Oxford, 1938).

Invaluable for a study of folklore is the fine work by S. Thompson (Motif Index of Folk Literature. Helsinki, 1932). D. Neuman in a Ph. dissertation (Motif-Index of Talmudic-Midrashic Literature. June, 1954) has tried to supplement Thompson's study. Unfortunately, this study relies too heavily on Ginzberg's legends of the Jews rather than on the actual source material. The article by L. Ginzberg ("Jewish Folklore: East and West" in On Jewish Law and Lore. Philadelphia, 1955) is a fascinating attempt to explore the relationship of Jewish legends to earlier pagan and later Christian and Islamic legends.

The work of G.F. Moore (Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era. 3 volumes. Cambridge, Mass., 1927-1930), though inadequate, is still the best work on this period. S. Lieberman (Hellenism in Jewish Palestine. New York, 1950) is an excellent study.

I have indicated in the text other works which I have consulted. I am indebted to the usual encyclopedias and other standard works of reference.