



## Daniel Jeremy Silver Collection Digitization Project

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### **MS-4850: Daniel Jeremy Silver Papers, 1972-1993.**

Series IV: Writings and Publications, 1952-1992, undated.

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The Story of Scripture, bibliography and citations,  
correspondence and notes, 1989-1990.

Questions for Peter NOT about Dead Sea Scrolls

2/3/90

page

54

✓ Ea - what is the second the God series (Uraeus?)? Pritchard offers no explanation -  
Refers to Ea as "early," among other qualities

✓ 86 91.13 Babylonian invasions } ? phoen

\* 86, last 2H

Somehow over a century later, Babylonian armies called the  
Judah's side of the south, captured Jerusalem, and destroyed  
the Temple (597, 586).

✓ 110 92.1.2 How this change about Hebrew, Aramaic, Akkadian satisfy Peter?

\* 1.8/91

Similar change required? Since Aramaic and Hebrew use the same alphabet...

✓ 118 92.1.3 }  
✓ 119, 117-19 }

"Egyptian" source of Egypt's scroll and source of Qumran's is central legal  
section assumed to be same or similar? Common source?

✓ 120 Pausanias

124  
(also 148, 149,  
Biblical)

✓ } Wisdom of Ben Sira (et alia), Ben Sira (Pamir, when referring to book,  
not to man. What is logic of distinction? Should they be noted? What is consensus?

183 \* ✓ Pseudo-Philo - Also see Bibliography

191/221 ✓ Judah Ha-Nasi late 2nd/early 3rd century?

243/(153) ✓ Chazon - Leggion Any connection?

2/2/90

## Bibliographic Info. A. Silver

- ✓ 1. 221.44 Sanders, J.A. The Dead Sea  
Sa 1 Palms Scroll Cornell U 1967
- ✓ 2. mishna 6 vols. also Danby

- ✓ 3. 221.95 Kisch

College of  
J. Studies 4. K 64

- ✓ 4. Fitzmyer The Dead Sea Scrolls: Major  
Publications and Tools for Study  
Scholar's Press 1977

call  
CWRU  
Freiberger  
Mrs. Hansen

5. Ibn Ezra, Abraham (Introduction to)  
Commentary of Pentateuch

Bibliographic entry: trans. by Jay F.  
Shachter Hoboken NJ. Ktav Pub. House  
1986. — translation of Perush ha-Torah

C. Public  
Library has  
it

6. Maimonides Mishneh Torah (section Talmud Torah)

7.

✓ 368-2000 CWRU Dr. Eldon Jay Epp title?  
Harkness Professor and Chairman for the Religion Department

DATABASE DISPLAY

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 049; ; a GEN \$  
 050; 0 ; a PA4264 \$ b .A2 1918 \$ a PA3612 \$ b .P3 1918 \$  
 082; ; a 388.9 \$  
 092; ; a 388.9 \$ b P287d \$  
 100; 00; a Pausanias. \$  
 245; 10; a Pausanias Description of Greece, \$ c with an English translation by  
 W. H. S. Jones. \$  
 260; 0 ; a London, \$ b W. Heinemann; \$ a New York, \$ b G.P. Putnam's sons, \$ c  
 1913-35. \$



J. G. FRAZER. PAUSANIAS'S DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

In six volumes.

LONDON: Macmillan and Co. 1898

Book of ELIS, Chapter 27, 6.

Frazer's is only an annotation - "he chants the words from a book."  
"The book may have been the Zend Avesta, as at all events some  
of the hymns which were afterwards included in the Zend  
Avesta. See Darmesteter's introduction to his Translation  
of the Zend Avesta, vol. I, p. xlii."

DATABASE DISPLAY

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ToD: s MEB: 1 Ind: 1 Mod: e Fst: 0 Cont: Int 1: Fic: C Bio: Desc:  
Dates: 1898

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040; ; a DLC \$ c KLG \$ d KLG \$ d CLE \$  
041; 1 ; a enggre \$  
049; ; a GEN \$  
050; 0 ; a DF27 \$ b .P4 1898 \$  
092; ; a 405.4 \$ b P28 \$  
100; 00; a Pausanias. \$  
245; 00; a Pausanias's Description of Greece, \$ c tr. with a commentary by J.  
G. Frazer. \$  
260; 0 ; a London, \$ b Macmillan and co., limited; \$ a New York, \$ b The  
Macmillan company, \$ c 1898. \$

>>

Working.....

300; ; a 5 v. \$ b front. (v. 5) plates (part fold.) maps (part fold.) plans  
(part fold.) \$ c 17 cm. \$

490; 0 ; a The Loeb classical library [Greek authors] \$

500; ; a Greek and English on opposite pages. \$

500; ; a Vol. 2 translated by W. H. S. Jones and H. A. Ormerod. \$

500; ; a On t.-p. of v. 5: Companion volume, containing illustrations and  
index, prepared by R. E. Wycherley. \$

504; ; a Bibliography: v. 5, p. xvii-xviii. \$

651; 0; a Greece \$ x Antiquities. \$

651; 0; a Greece \$ x Description and travel. \$

700; 11; a Jones, W. H. S. \$ q (William Henry Samuel), \$ d 1876-1963. \$

700; 11; a Ormerod, Henry Arderne, \$ d 1886-1964. \$

700; 11; a Wycherley, R. E. \$ q (Richard Ernest) \$

END OF RECORD

&gt;&gt;

VI. 1 —

VII. 1

Pseudo-Philo



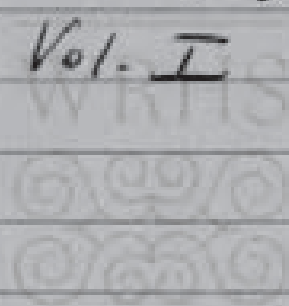


PHILO (Pseudo). Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum.

James Charlesworth (ed.)

The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha

Doubleday. 1983 Vol. I



# The National Union Catalog Pre-1956 Imprints

## VOLUME 298

Kisch, Guido, 1889-  
Leipziger schöffensprücheammlung, herausgegeben, eingeleitet und bearbeitet von dr. jur. Guido Kisch ... Leipzig, B. Hirsch, 1913.

xxv, 128 p., 11. 405, 1 p. 1 illus. 26". (Added 1 p.: Richtigkeitsentscheidungen in Leipzig. Forschungsanstalt für rechtsgeschichte ... Quellen zur geschichte der rezeption. 1. bd.)

"In der vorliegenden Ausgabe ist die Leipziger schöffensprücheammlung nach der handschriftl. MSB der Ratschalen landesarchiv in Dresden wiedergedruckt."—p. 118.

1. Law—Germany (Middle ages) 2. Dresden. Ratschalen landesarchiv. 3. Leipzig. MS. 1420. 4. Title.

40-12853

NK 0168031 DLC CSt CU CtY PU-L MH-L

Kisch, Guido, 1889-  
Nationalism and race in medieval law, by Guido Kisch ... Washington, D.C., Pub. by The School of canon law, The Catholic university of America (1943)

(148)-73p.

Also separate pagination at foot of page. "Reprinted from Seminar, an annual extraordinary number of the Jurist, vol. I, 1943."

Bibliographical foot-notes.

1. Law--Hist. and crit. 2. Nationalism and nationality. 3. Race problems. 1. Title.

NK 0168032 IU OC1 TxU

KISCH, Guido, 1889-  
A Note on the New Edition of Pseudo-Philo's "Biblical Antiquities". Reprinted from Historia Judaica, vol. 12, 1950, p. 153-158.

1. Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum, ed. Guido Kisch.

NK 0168033 NHJ

406-103 Kisch, Guido, 1889-  
Otto Stobbe und die Rechtsgeschichte der Juden. [Prag 41 p.

NK 0168034 DLC-P4

Kisch, Guido, 1889-  
Die Prager universität und die Juden, 1848-1848, mit beiträgen zur geschichte des medienstudiums, von Guido Kisch. Mährisch-Odrau, J. Wirth nachfolger, 1905.

x, 280 p. 8 pt. (1 fold.) 24 cm.

1. Prague. Universita Karlova. 2. Jews in Prague. 3. Medicine, Jewish. 4. Physicians, Jewish.

Title from title page.

Printed by L. C. 1

A 016-220

NK 0168035 CtY MIU IU NIC XCH DNLH PPDrop

Kisch, Guido, 1889-  
ed.

BS1197  
J64  
1949

Philo Judaeus. Spurious and doubtful works. Pseudo-Philo's Liber antiquitatum Biblicarum, edited by Guido Kisch. Notre Dame, Ind., 1949.

(H Holdings see attached sheet)

Kisch, Guido, 1889-  
Recht und Gerechtigkeit in der Medallienkunst. Hildelberg, C. Winter, 1955.

170 p. plain, port. 25 cm. (Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Jahrg. 1955, 1. Abhandlung)

Bibliographical footnotes.

1. Medals. 2. Symbolism in law. 3. Title. (Series: Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Abhandlungen, Jahrg. 1955, 1. Abhandlung)

[AS189.H435 1955, Abh. 1]

A 05-8417

Chicago, Ill., Lib. for Library of Congress

A

NHJ CtY OU DSI CU  
NK 0168037 ICU MU MOU CS: NBUU CU-L MIU OLC DBO NH

Kisch, Guido, 1889-  
Die Rechtstellung der Wormser Juden im 11. Jhdh., von Guido Kisch. Halle a. d. Saale, 1934. 14 p.

"Sonderausgabe in 50 Exemplaren aus der Festschrift zum 90. jährigen Bestehen der Wormser Alton Synagoge (Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland, V. Band.)."

Bibliographical footnotes.

BS1195A. 1. Jews in Germany--

Worms--Legal status.

February 2, 1934

NK 0168038 NN DLC-P4

Kisch, Guido, 1889-  
ed.

Research in medieval legal history of the Jews. (American Academy for Jewish Research. Proceedings. Philadelphia, Penna., 1935, v. 6, p. 229-276).

NK 0168039 OCH PPDrop

Kisch, Guido, 1889-  
Research in medieval legal history of the Jews. New York, 1936. p. 229-276.

Cover title.

"Reprinted from the Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research, vol. 6, 1934-1935."

1. Jewish law.

NK 0168040 PPT

Kisch, Guido, 1889-  
ed.

Sachsenspiegel and Bible, researches in the source history of the Sachsenspiegel and the influence of the Bible on medieval German law, by Guido Kisch ... Notre Dame, Ind., 1941.

ix, 190 p. 2 vols. plain. 26". 1. Publications in medieval studies, the University of Notre Dame, Editor (P. S. Moore ...)

"Sachsenspiegel Bibliography", p. 150-155.

1. Sachsenspiegel. 2. Bible and law. 3. Elze von Neipperg, ca. 1180-1200. 4. Title.

42-16128

OC11cm YIU YIU-L PU PPDrop MU ICU MU-L OrU  
NK 0168041 DLC DAU HbtS PHC PV Pbm PU-L OCU OCH OU

Kisch, Guido, 1889-  
ed.

Das schadennehmen, ein beiträg zur geschichte des deutschen mittelalterlichen vollstreckungsrechtes, von dr. jur. Guido Kisch ... Mannheim u. Leipzig, J. Bensheimer, 1913. 34 p. 24 cm.

Sonderabdruck aus der "Rheinischen Zeitschrift für civil- und prozessrecht", bd. 7, heft 4.

NK 0168042 NNC

Kisch, Guido, 1889-  
Schöffensprüche als historische Quellen. Lund, Hakan Ohlsson, 1949. 50, 58 p.

Caption title.

"Sonderabdruck aus 'Wiederdeutsche Mitteilungen', Jahrg. 4, 1948."

NK 0168043 NNC

Kisch, Guido, 1889-  
Ein slovakischer Haggada-Illustrator. Bratislava, 1936. 3 p.

NK 0168044 OCH

KISCH, Guido, 1889-  
A Talmudic legend as the source of Josephus passage in the Sederot York, N.Y., Historia Judaica, 1939.

24 cm. pp. (14).

Paper cover serves as title-page. "Printed in Belgium."

Reprinted from "Jewish Education"

NK 0168045 MH OC1

Kisch, Guido, 1889-  
Two American Jewish pioneers: Sigmund and Leopold Waterman; ... New York, Historia Judaica, 1942. 24p. 24cm. "Reprinted from Historia Judaica, no. 1."

NK 0168046 CtY

Kisch, Guido, 1889-  
Über Reimvorreden deutscher Rechtsbücher. 1951. p. [61]-83. 24cm.

Caption title.

"Sonderabdruck aus 'Wiederdeutsche Mitteilungen', Jahrg. 6, 1950."

1. Law, Germanic. 2. Law--Poetry.

NK 0168047 NN

Kisch, Guido, 1889-  
... Universitätsgeschichte und jüdische von Prof. Dr. Guido Kisch ... Halle, 1934. 23cm.

At head of title: Sonderausgabe aus der Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland, Jahrgang X, 1934, Heft 13. On cover: Privatdruck, nicht im Buchhandel. Bibliographical footnotes.

BS1195A. 1. Jews--Genealogy.

NK 0168048 NH OCH

KISCH, GUIDO, 1889-  
War prisoner money and medals. 1945. 24p. illus. 23cm.

"Reprinted from the Numismatiker, May and June 1945."

"Annotated bibliography":

NK 0168049 ICH

Kisch, Guido, 1889-  
The yellow badge in history. York, Historia Judaica, 1945. 54 p. 26cm.

"Originally pub. in MH, v. 4, no. 2."

Bibliography, p. 50-54.

1. Antisemitism. 2. Jews. 3. Jews. Legal status.

NK 0168050 MHU CU MH

Kisch, Guido, 1889-  
Die Zensur jüdischer Bücher in ihrer Geschichte. Von G. Kisch. p. 37.

NK 0168051 PPDrop

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 3 050 O BS1197 b .P48 1949  
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 6 100 OO Philo, c of Alexandria. w in  
 7 245 10 Pseudo-Philo's Liber antiquitatum Biblicarum c [edited] by Guido Kisch.  
 8 260 O Notre Dame, Ind., c 1949.  
 9 300 vi, 277 p. b facsim. c 24 cm.  
 10 440 O Publications in medieval studies, v 10  
 11 504 "Pseudo-Philo bibliography": p. 98-106.  
 12 700 11 Kisch, Guido, d 1889- e ed. w cn  
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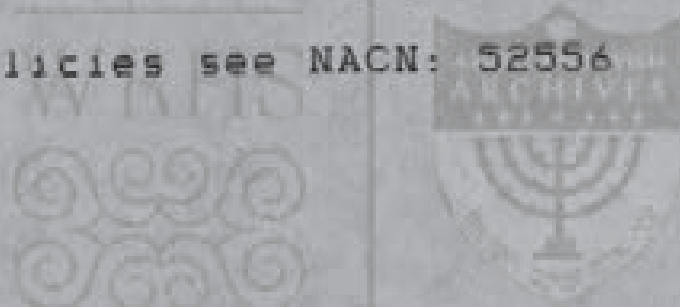
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Dead Sea Scroll citations in Daniel's text

- page
- 132 ✓ QS (= Manual of Discipline ?) (1QS?) } should specify one common citation?
- ✓ Manual of Discipline VI: 4-8 (OK in Del Medico)
- ? Damascus Document III: 14, 15
- 133 ✓ IQH IV: 24-25 (1QH?) (Thanksgiving Psalm?)
- 136 ✓ Hôdāyôt (also = Thanksgiving Psalm?) (same as Hymns?)
- 137 ✓ Hymns IV (OK in Del Medico)
- ? Damascus Document (6:10) ? (numbering system is out of sync)
- 138 ? Temple Scroll
- 15p ✓ Manual of Discipline (reading about - same as p. 132?) (1QapGen)
- 164 ✓ Genesis Apocryphon (MAJOR TRANSLATION PROBLEM !!)
- 169 ? Damascus Document V: 2-5 (OK - in Del Medico)
- 170 ⑤ B.S. 21: 23
- 177 ✓ ~~4Q185: 11-12~~ 1QpHab VII ~~11-12~~ (formally 11-12)
- 178 ? Damascus Document III: 16
- ✓ Manual of Discipline VIII: 11-12 (OK in Del Medico)

From the desk of -

RABBI DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

Dead Sea Scrolls

(The Community Rule 1QS)

⑤ Manual of Discipline ~~1QS~~

② Damascus Document (= The

Damascus Rule CD)

④ Thanksgiving Hymns (= ~~1QH~~) <sup>Thanksgiving</sup> 1QH <sub>thy me</sub>  
Hodayot

⑥ The Temple Scroll (11QT)

③ Genesis Apocryphon (1QapGen)

① Commentary on ~~Isaiah~~ (1QpHab)  
Habakkuk (1QpHab) ~~Isaiah~~

## 9. Abbreviations of the Names of Biblical Books (with the Apocrypha)

Gen	Nah	1-2-3-4 Kgdms	John
Exod	Hab	Add Esth	Acts
Lev	Zeph	Bar	Rom
Num	Hag	Bel	1-2 Cor
Deut	Zech	1-2 Esdr	Gal
Josh	Mal	4 Ezra	Eph
Judg	Ps (pl.: Pss)	Jdt	Phil
1-2 Sam	Job	Ep Jer	Col
1-2 Kgs	Prov	1-2-3-4 Macc	1-2 Thess
Isa	Ruth	Pr Azar	1-2 Tim
Jer	Cant	Pr Man	Titus
Ezek	Eccl (or Qoh)	Sir	Phlm
Hos	Lam	Sus	Heb
Joel	Esth	Tob	Jas
Amos	Dan	Wis	1-2 Pet
Obad	Ezra	Matt	1-2-3 John
Jonah	Neh	Mark	Jude
Mic	1-2 Chr	Luke	Rev

## 10. Abbreviations of the Names of Pseudepigraphical and Early Patristic Books

<i>Adam and Eve</i>	<i>Books of Adam and Eve</i>	<i>Prot. Jas.</i>	<i>Protevangelium of James</i>
2-3 Apoc.	Syriac, Creek Apocalypse of	Barn.	Barnabas
Bar.	Baruch	1-2 Clem.	1-2 Clement
Apoc. Mos.	Apocalypse of Moses	Did.	Didache
As. Mos.	Assumption of Moses	Diogn.	Diognetus
1-2-3 Enoch	Ethiopic, Slavonic, Hebrew Enoch	Herm. Man.	Hermas; Mandate(s)
Ep. Arist.	Epistle of Aristaeas	Herm. Sim.	Hermas; Similitude(s)
Jub.	Jubilees	Herm. Vis.	Hermas; Vision(s)
Mart. Isa.	Martyrdom of Isaiah	Ign. Eph.	Ignatius, Letter to the Ephesians
Odes Sol.	Odes of Solomon	Ign. Magn.	Ignatius, Letter to the Magenians
Psa. Sol.	Psalms of Solomon	Ign. Phil.	Ignatius, Letter to the Philadelphians
Sib. Or.	Sibylline Oracles	Ign. Pol.	Ignatius, Letter to Polycarp
T. 12 Patr.	Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs	Ign. Rom.	Ignatius, Letter to the Romans
T. Levi	Testament of Levi	Ign. Smyrn.	Ignatius, Letter to the Smyrnaeans
T. Benj.	Testament of Benjamin, etc.	Ign. Trall.	Ignatius, Letter to the Trallians
Acts Pil.	Acts of Pilate	Mart. Pol.	Martyrdom of Polycarp
Apoc. Pet.	Apocalypse of Peter	Pol. Phil.	Polycarp, Letter to the Philippians
Gos. Eb.	Gospel of the Ebionites		
Gos. Eg.	Gospel of the Egyptians		
Gos. Heb.	Gospel of the Hebrews		
Gos. Naass.	Gospel of the Naassenes		
Gos. Pet.	Gospel of Peter		
Gos. Thom.	Gospel of Thomas	Bib. Ant.	Pl.-Philo, Biblical Antiquities



## II. Abbreviations of Names of Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Texts

CD	Cairo (Genizah text of the) Damascus (Document)
Hev	Nahal Hever texts
8 Hev XIIgr	Greek Scroll of the Minor Prophets from Nahal Hever
Mas	Masada texts
MasShirShabb	<i>Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice, or Angelic Liturgy</i> from Masada
Mird	Khirbet Mird texts
Mur	Wadi Murabba'at texts
P	<i>Peshar</i> (commentary)
Q	Qumran
1Q, 2Q, 3Q, etc.	Numbered caves of Qumran, yielding written material; followed by abbreviation of biblical or apocryphal book
QL	Qumran literature
1QapGen	Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1
1QH	<i>Hodayot</i> (Thanksgiving Hymns) from Qumran Cave 1
1QIsa <sup>a,b</sup>	First or second copy of Isaiah from Qumran Cave 1
1QpHab	<i>Peshar on Habakkuk</i> from Qumran Cave 1
1QM	<i>Milhamah</i> (War Scroll)
1QS	<i>Serek hayyadah</i> (Rule of the Community, Manual of Discipline)
1QSa	Appendix A (Rule of the Congregation) to 1QS
1Qsb	Appendix B (Blessings) to 1QS
3Q15	Copper Scroll from Qumran Cave 3
4QFlor	<i>Florilegium</i> (or <i>Eschatological Midrashim</i> ) from Qumran Cave 4
4QMess ar	Aramaic "Messianic" text from Qumran Cave 4
4QMMT	<i>Miqsat Ma'aseh Torah</i> from Qumran Cave 4
4QPhyl	Phylacteries from Qumran Cave 4
4QPrNab	<i>Prayer of Nabonidus</i> from Qumran Cave 4
4QPssJosh	<i>Psalms of Joshua</i> from Qumran Cave 4
4QShirShabb	<i>Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice, or Angelic Liturgy</i> from Qumran Cave 4
4QTestim	Testimonia text from Qumran Cave 4
4QTLevi	Testament of Levi from Qumran Cave 4
11QMelch	<i>Melchizedek</i> text from Qumran Cave 11
11QShirShabb	<i>Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice, or Angelic Liturgy</i> from Qumran Cave 11
11QTemple	Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11
11QpaleoLev	Copy of Leviticus in paleo-Hebrew script from Qumran Cave 11
11QtgJob	Targum of Job from Qumran Cave 11

For further sigla (always roman), and for an explanation of the system of abbreviation, see J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Major Publications and Tools for Study: With an Addendum* (January 1977) (SBLSPS 8; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977) 3-53. Note in particular: 4Q177 12-13 ii 3,5-8 = Text 177 from Qumran Cave 4, (joined) fragments 12-13, column ii, lines 3 and 5-8. N.B. Lower-case roman numerals are used here for columns to distinguish them from fragment numbers and line numbers.

## 12. Abbreviations of Targumic Material

For the Qumran targums, the system for QL is to be used (thus: 4QtgLev, 4QtgJob, 11QtgJob, followed by column and line numbers). If it is necessary to specify the biblical passage, the following form should be used: 11QtgJob 38:3-4 (= Hebr. 42:10).

For other materials, *Tg(s)* is to be used, if the title is spelled out; thus: In *Tg. Onqelos* we find . . . ; or In *Tga Neofiti* and *Onqelos* the . . . But abbreviated titles, as given below, are to be used when followed by chapter and verse numbers of a biblical book: *Tg. Onq. Gen 1:3-4*; *Tg. Neof. Exod 12:1-2, 5-6*.

<i>Tg. Onq.</i>	<i>Targum Onqelos</i>	<i>Tg. Neof.</i>	<i>Targum Neofiti I</i>
<i>Tg. Neb.</i>	<i>Targum of the Prophets</i>	<i>Tg. Ps.-J.</i>	<i>Targum Pseudo-Jonathan</i>
<i>Tg. Ket.</i>	<i>Targum of the Writings</i>	<i>Tg. Yer. I</i>	<i>Targum Yerushalmi I*</i>
<i>Frg. Tg.</i>	<i>Fragmentary Targum</i>	<i>Tg. Yer. II</i>	<i>Targum Yerushalmi II*</i>
<i>Sam. Tg.</i>	<i>Samaritan Targum</i>	<i>Yem. Tg.</i>	<i>Yemenite Targum</i>
<i>Tg. Isa</i>	<i>Targum of Isaiah</i>	<i>Tg. Esth I, II</i>	<i>First or Second Targum of Esther</i>

\* optional title

### 13. Abbreviations of Orders and Tractates in Mishnaic and Related Literature

To distinguish the same-named tractates in the Mishna, Tosepta, Babylonian Talmud, and Jerusalem Talmud, use (italicized) *m.*, *t.*, *b.*, or *y.* before the title of the tractate. Thus *m. Pe'a 8:2*; *b. Šabb. 31a*; *y. Mak. 2.31d*; *t. Pe'a 1.4* (Zuck. 18 [= page number of Zuckerman's edition of the Tosepta]).

'Abot	'Abot	<i>Mo'ed Qat.</i>	<i>Mo'ed Qatan</i>
'Arak.	'Arakin	<i>Ma'aš. Š.</i>	<i>Ma'ašer Šeni</i>
'Abod. Zar.	'Aboda Zara	<i>Našim</i>	<i>Našim</i>
B. Bat.	Baba Batra	<i>Nazir</i>	<i>Nazir</i>
Bek.	Bekorot	<i>Ned.</i>	<i>Nedarim</i>
Ber.	Berakot	<i>Neg.</i>	<i>Nega'im</i>
Bepa	Bepa (= Yom Tob)	<i>Nes.</i>	<i>Nesiqin</i>
Bik.	Bikkurim	<i>Nid.</i>	<i>Niddah</i>
B. Meq.	Baba Meqi'a	<i>Ohol.</i>	<i>Oholot</i>
B. Qam.	Baba Qamma	'Or.	'Ora
Dem.	Demai	<i>Para</i>	<i>Para</i>
'Erub.	'Erubin	<i>Pe'a</i>	<i>Pe'a</i>
'Ed.	'Eduyyot	<i>Pesah.</i>	<i>Pesahim</i>
Git.	Giṭṭin	<i>Qinnim</i>	<i>Qinnim</i>
Hag.	Hagiga	<i>Qidd.</i>	<i>Qiddušin</i>
Hal.	Halla	<i>Qod.</i>	<i>Qodaiin</i>
Hor.	Horayot	<i>Roš Haš.</i>	<i>Roš Haššana</i>
Hul.	Hullin	<i>Sanh.</i>	<i>Sanhedrin</i>
Kelim	Kelim	<i>Šabb.</i>	<i>Šabbat</i>
Ker.	Keritot	<i>Šeb.</i>	<i>Šei'it</i>
Ketub.	Ketubot	<i>Šebu.</i>	<i>Šebu'ot</i>
Kil.	Kil'ayim	<i>Šeqal.</i>	<i>Šeqalim</i>
Ma'aš.	Ma'ašerot	<i>Soṭa</i>	<i>Soṭa</i>
Mak.	Makkot	<i>Sukk.</i>	<i>Sukka</i>
Makš.	Makširin (= Mašqin)	<i>Ta'an.</i>	<i>Ta'anit</i>
Meg.	Megilla	<i>Tamid</i>	<i>Tamid</i>
Me'il.	Me'ila	<i>Tem.</i>	<i>Temura</i>
Menah.	Menahot	<i>Ter.</i>	<i>Terumot</i>
Mid.	Middot	<i>Tohar.</i>	<i>Toharot</i>
Miqua.	Miqua'ot	<i>T. Yom.</i>	<i>Tebul Yom</i>
Mo'ed	Mo'ed	'Uq.	'Uqin

Yad.	Yadayin	Zabim	Zabim
Yebam.	Yebamot	Zebah.	Zebahim
Yoma	Yoma (= Kippurim)	Zer.	Zera'im

## 14. Abbreviations of Other Rabbinic Works

'Abot R. Nat.	'Abot de Rabbi Nathan	Pesiq. R.	Pesiqta Rabbati
'Ag. Ber.	'Aggadat Beraita	Pesiq. Rab Kah.	Pesiqta de Rab Kahana
Bab.	Babylonian	Pirqe R. El.	Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer
Bar.	Baraita	Rab.	Rabbah (following abbreviation for biblical book: Gen. Rab. [with periods] = Genesis Rabbah)
Der. Er. Rab.	Derek Erez Rabba	Sem.	Semahot
Der. Er. Zuṭ.	Derek Erez Zuṭa	Sipra	Sipra
Gem.	Gemara	Sipre	Sipre
Kalla	Kalla	Sop.	Soperim
Mek.	Mekilta	S. 'Olam Rab.	Seder 'Olam Rabbah
Midr.	Midraḥ; cited with usual abbreviation for biblical book; but Midr. Qoh. = Midraḥ Qohelet	Talm.	Talmud
Pal.	Palestinian	Yal.	Yalqut

## 15. Abbreviations of Nag Hammadi Tractates

Acts Pet. 12	Acts of Peter and the Twelve	Melch.	Milchizedek
Apost.	Apostles	Norea	Thought of Norea
Allogenes	Allogenes	On Bap. A	On Baptism A
Ap. Jas.	Apocryphon of James	On Bap. B	On Baptism B
Ap. John	Apocryphon of John	On Bap. C	On Baptism C
Apoc. Adam	Apocalypse of Adam	On Euch. A	On the Eucharist A
1 Apoc. Jas.	First Apocalypse of James	On Euch. B	On the Eucharist B
2 Apoc. Jas.	Second Apocalypse of James	Orig. World	On the Origin of the World
Apoc. Paul	Apocalypse of Paul	Paraph. Shem	Paraphrase of Shem
Apoc. Pet.	Apocalypse of Peter	Pr. Paul	Prayer of the Apostle Paul
Asclepius	Asclepius 21-29	Pr. Thanks.	Prayer of Thanksgiving
Auth. Teach.	Authoritative Teaching	Sent. Sextus	Sentences of Sextus
Dial. Sav.	Dialogum of the Savior	Soph. Jes.	Sophia of Jesus Christ
Disc. 8-9	Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth	Chr.	
Ep. Pet. Phil.	Letter of Peter to Philip	Stiles Seth	Three Steles of Seth
Eugnostos	Eugnostos the Blessed	Teach. Silv.	Teachings of Silvanus
Exeg. Soul	Exegesis on the Soul	Testim. Truth	Testimony of Truth
Gos. Eg.	Gospel of the Egyptians	Thom. Cont.	Book of Thomas the Contender
Gos. Phil.	Gospel of Philip	Thund.	Thunder, Perfect Mind
Gos. Thom.	Gospel of Thomas	Treat. Res.	Treatise on Resurrection
Gos. Truth	Gospel of Truth	Treat. Seth	Second Treatise of the Great Seth
Great Pow.	Concepts of Our Great Power	Tri. Trar.	Tripartite Tractate
Hyp. Arch.	Hypostasis of the Archons	Trim. Prot.	Trimorphic Protennoia
Hypziph.	Hypziphron	Val. Exp.	A Valentinian Exposition
Interp. Know.	Interpretation of Knowledge	Zost.	Zostrianos
Marsanes	Marsanes		

## A GENESIS APOCRYPHON

perhaps expressed in a Midrashic tradition to the effect that Abram planted cedars in Beersheba ("Whither went (Jacob)? R. Nahman said that he went to prune the cedars that Abraham, his grandfather, had planted in Beersheba." *Gen. r.* iv, 4) It is particularly pertinent to recall several Midrashic discussions of the plagues that afflicted Pharaoh because of Sarai; these refer to the sentence in *Psalms* xcii, 13: "The righteous shall flourish like the palm tree: he shall grow like a cedar in Lebanon." One finds expressions like: "Just as the shadow of palm and cedar falls far, so the reward given to the righteous is far-off"; "Just as the heart of the palm and the cedar turn upward, so the hearts of the righteous turn toward the Holy One blessed be He." (*Gen. r.* xl, 1; *Tanhuma*, ו' ו' ד' v).

Similarly, the narrative in the scroll develops in a manner altogether different from that of the midrashim which relate that Abram hid Sarai in a box and tried to smuggle her across the border. (See *Legends of the Jews*, Vol. I, 222; Vol. V, p. 220, n. 68.)

Unfortunately, a large part of the column at this point is worn off. However, enough bits have been preserved to indicate that the narrative goes on to tell of the coming of three Egyptian princes to Abram's dwelling place and of the feast he prepared for them there.

Before turning to the continuation of the narrative in Column xx, we must note certain details in Column xix which throw light upon the relationship between the scroll and the *Book of Jubilees*.

The scroll states that Abram dwelt in Hebron before going to Egypt and adds an incidental note about the time when Hebron was built:

עד די רבקה לתברון. ל. ... אחב(נ)יאת תברון (line 9)

This should be compared to *Jubilees* xiii, 10: "... and he came to Hebron and Hebron was built at that time." According to the scroll, Sarai was taken by Pharaoh five years after Abram's arrival in Egypt (line 23). In *Jubilees* xiii, we read: "... and he dwelt in Egypt five years before his wife was torn away from him." This was after two years of living in Hebron, according to *Jubilees* xiii, 10: apparently line 10 of Column xix must have referred to that two year period — it is possible to make out the word פון among the letters that have not been completely obliterated.

The scroll tells that Abram and Sarai went to Zoan (line 22, and similarly in Column xx, line 14, we read "Pharaoh - Zoan King of Egypt"). *Jubilees* xiii, 12 is a parenthetical sentence which reads: "Now Tanais in Egypt was at that time built — seven years after Hebron". This is based on *Numbers* xiii, 22, and a similar reference occurs in Josephus, *Antiquities*, I, 8, 3.

The scroll and *Jubilees*, in other words, are identical in these details and formula-



## CONTENTS OF THE SCROLL

tions and in the attempt to harmonize what is said in the *Book of Numbers* about the building of Zoan (seven years after Hebron) with the years of Abram's wanderings. Hence, Abram is described as reaching Hebron when it was being built, staying there two years, then journeying to Egypt and staying there five years, at the end of which period Zoan was built. See below in this section and also in § 18.

On the other hand, there is a striking difference between the two versions, in that *Jubilees* omits the matter of Sarai's concealed identity.

In conclusion, several of the topographical details in the first part of the column must be discussed here.

Particular interest attaches to the mention of "the river KRMWN" (line 11), which is one of the arms of the Delta, referred to in line 12 of the column as שבעת ראשי נהרא דן — the number of the Delta's arms in antiquity (see Herodotus II, 17 ; J. H. Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, London, 1941, p. 5). According to the scroll, the KRMWN River forms the southern border of the Land of Israel : (line 13) בער חלמנא ארענא. Apparently, the KRMWN is identifiable with the stream mentioned in *Mishna Parah* vii, 9 : מי קרמין... וארבעה נהרות שמקיפין את ארץ ישראל... ירדן וירמוך : (Bab. Bat. lxxiv, b). This identification is strengthened by a sentence in the Babylonian Talmud (*Bab. Bat. lxxiv, b*) : קרמין וסוגה. There are a number of conjectures as to the exact location of the קרמין and scholars have not yet come to any agreement ( see the dictionaries). Most recently, M. Avi-Yonah in his גאוגרפיה היסטורית של ארץ ישראל (Jerusalem, 1951, p. 147), has suggested that it is to be identified with נהר בעל (the Naaman River), south of Acre.

COLUMN XX. This is the first of the three well-preserved columns with which the scroll ends. The first of its thirty-four lines is completely worn off, and a small part of lines 2-6, on their left-hand side, is worn off, as well. The bottom part of the column has also been damaged on the left side and somewhat on the right.

At the very beginning of the column we read the praises of Sarai's beauty, spoken by the princes of Egypt: we must accordingly assume that the missing lines at the end of Column xix described the impression made by Sarai upon the three princes who visited Abram and were feted by him. The narrative must have gone on to tell that they hastened back to Pharaoh to report to him. The praises of Sarai, spoken by the princes, headed by HRQNWŠ, are couched in great detail and stress her wisdom, as well as her beauty. Pharaoh-Zoan, king of Egypt (for Zoan, see above) sends for Sarai and, marvelling at her loveliness, takes her as a wife and seeks to kill Abram. Sarai tells the King that Abram is her brother and so saves his life. Abram and Lot weep in great grief and Abram prays to the Most High God to bring judgment upon Pharaoh.

God sends a pestilential wind that strikes Pharaoh and his house: Pharaoh cannot

## A GENESIS APOCRYPHON

approach Sarai. At the end of two years the plagues grow even stronger and Pharaoh summons all the physicians and wise men of Egypt. They cannot cure him because the mighty wind strikes them all and they flee. HRQNWŠ pleads with Abram to pray for Pharaoh. Lot tells HRQNWŠ that Abram cannot do this, because Sarai is his wife. Lot begs HRQNWŠ to urge Pharaoh to restore Sarai to Abram. HRQNWŠ returns to the King and tells him the truth. The King calls Abram and rebukes him for having concealed Sarai's true identity. Pharaoh releases Sarai, Abram prays for him and the evil wind passes away. Pharaoh presents Abram with many gifts and sends him out of Egypt. Pharaoh also gives (?) Abram Hagar. Lot, too, departs, rich in possessions, and takes a wife from among the daughters of Egypt (?).

The general outline of the narrative and a number of its details are of course based on *Genesis* xii. The author occasionally quotes whole verses verbatim (compare, for example, lines 26 and 27 with verses 18 and 19 of *Genesis* xii). On the other hand, the scroll adds a large number of original details which are found neither in *Genesis* nor in the Midrashic or Apocryphal writings.

Where the *Book of Jubilees* deliberately omits Abram's advice to Sarai on concealing her true relationship to him, the scroll gives much space to this theme. Similarly, the scroll devotes an entire column to telling how Sarai was taken by Pharaoh and how he was punished for this: all this material is dealt with in no more than two sentences in *Jubilees*. Again, it is only in the scroll that the exact number of Egyptian princes — three — is given and that their chief is called by name.

The detailed description of Sarai's beauty in the scroll is, to the best of our knowledge, altogether unique. It is of course based upon *Genesis* xii, 11-15, which served as the source of many legends concerned with the beauty of Sarai. None of these enters into the detail characteristic of the scroll.

The story in the scroll about the plagues that afflicted Pharaoh and the manner in which he was finally healed by Abram's prayers is based only partly upon *Genesis* xii and is actually much closer to *Genesis* xx, dealing with Sarah and Abimelech.

We must here note two more details, echoes of which are found in other sources. According to the scroll, Sarai lived for two years in the house of Pharaoh (line 16). *Jubilees* xiii, 11 has it that Sarai was taken by Pharaoh at the end of the fortieth jubilee, whereas Abram left Egypt and reached the neighbourhood of Beth-el "in the forty-first jubilee, in the third year of the first week" (*ibid.* xiii, 16). It is evident that *Jubilees*, too, based its chronology on the assumption that Sarai stayed two years in Pharaoh's court (see further, below § 18). (2) The name of Hagar is mentioned at the end of the column. The line is, however, somewhat unclear and it is difficult to read the context. Yet the fact that Hagar's name occurs in connection with the gifts received by



## TRANSLATION

### COLUMN XX

1. ....
2. ... .. "How ... and (how) beautiful the look of her face ... and how
3. ... .. fine is the hair of her head, how fair indeed are her eyes and how pleasing  
her nose and all the radiance
4. of her face ... how beautiful her breast and how lovely all her whiteness. Her arms  
goodly to look upon, and her hands how
5. perfect ... all the appearance of her hands. How fair her palms and how long and  
fine all the fingers of her hands. Her legs
6. how beautiful and how without blemish her thighs. And all maidens and all brides  
that go beneath the wedding canopy are not more fair than she. And above all
7. women is she lovely and higher is her beauty than that of them all, and with all  
her beauty there is much wisdom in her. And the tip of her hands
8. is comely." And when the King heard the words of HRQNWS̄ and the words of  
his two companions, for all three spoke as one man, he desired her exceedingly and  
he sent
9. at once to bring her to him and he looked upon her and marvelled at all her love-  
liness and took her to him to wife and sought to slay me. And Sarai spoke
10. to the King, saying, "He is my brother," that it might be well with me (that I  
might profit thereby). And I, Abram, was saved because of her and was not slain.  
And I wept, I,
11. Abram, with grievous weeping, I and with me, Lot, my brother's son, wept that  
night when Sarai was taken from me by force.
12. That night I prayed and entreated and begged and said in sorrow, as my tears fell,  
"Blessed art Thou, Most High God, Lord of all
13. worlds, because Thou art Lord and Master of all and ruler of all the kings of earth,  
all of whom Thou judgest. Behold now
14. I cry before Thee, my Lord, against Pharaoh-Zoan, King of Egypt, because my  
wife has been taken from me by force. Do Thou judge him for me and let me be-  
hold Thy mighty hand
15. descend upon him and all his household and may he not this night defile my wife.  
And men shall know, my Lord, that Thou art the Lord of all the kings
16. of earth." And I wept and grieved. That night the Most High God sent a pestilential  
wind to afflict him and all his household, a wind
17. that was evil. And it smote him and all his house and he could not come near her  
nor did he know her and he was with her

## A GENESIS APOCRYPHON

18. two years. And at the end of two years the plagues and the afflictions became grievous and strong in him and in all his house. And he sent
19. and called for all the wise men of Egypt and all the wizards and all the physicians of Egypt, if perchance they might heal him from that pestilence, him and
20. his house. And all the physicians and wizards and wise men could not rise up to heal him, for the wind smote them all
21. and they fled. Then came to me HRQNWS<sup>v</sup> and besought me to come and to pray for
22. the king and to lay my hands upon him that he might live, for in the dream ... And Lot said unto him, "Abram, my uncle, cannot pray
23. for the King while Sarai, his wife, is with him. Go now and tell the King to send away his wife to her husband and he will pray for him and he will live."
24. And when HRQNWS<sup>v</sup> heard these words of Lot he went and said to the King, "All these plagues and afflictions
25. with which my lord, the King, is plagued and afflicted, are for the sake of Sarai, the wife of Abram. Restore her, Sarai, to Abram, her husband,
26. and the plague will depart from thee and the evil will pass away." And he called me to him and said to me, "What hast thou done unto me for the sake of [Sara]i, that thou hast told
27. me 'She is my sister,' and she is indeed thy wife, and I took her to me to wife. Behold thy wife who is with me, go thy way and depart from
28. all the land of Egypt. And now pray for me and all my house that this evil wind may depart from us." And I prayed for ... this
29. swiftly (?) and I laid my hand upon his head and the plague departed from him and the evil [wind] was gone and he lived. And the King rose and said unto
30. me ..... and the King swore to me with an oath that cannot [be changed ...]
31. ... And the King gave him a large ... .. and much clothing of fine linen and purple ... ..
32. before her, and also Hagar ... and appointed men for me who would take [me] out ...
33. And I, Abram, went forth, exceedingly rich in cattle and also in silver and in gold, and I went up out [of Egypt and Lot],
34. the son of my brother, with me. And Lot also had great possessions and took unto himself a wife from ...



ERWIN R. GOODENOUGH

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# JEWISH SYMBOLS

in the

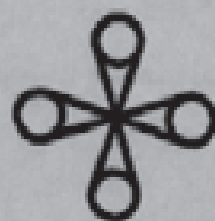
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The wing panels, showing four(?) portraits of Moses (IX, 110)

plate V



140



141



142



143

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# JEWISH SYMBOLS

in the

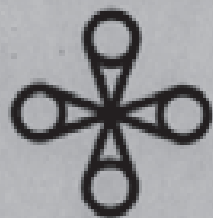
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TEXT, i



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mals are branches. The idea is clearly that to which Jesus, the Logos in the Fourth Gospel, is made to allude when he says, "I am the true vine, you are the branches." At the top is God himself, and man has the unique power of perceiving this celestial reality beyond creation, so that he grows wings, and soars up to it. In the thiasos, when this occurs, David teaches men the divine frenzy by which they tame the wild animals of their passions and so become able to rise to be servants at God's throne. This, precisely, the painting told us when it showed the tribes of Israel first blessed by Jacob who wears the sacred robe, and then rising, still in servants' robes, to stand beside the throne at the top of the tree. The great mystagogues, we shall see, wear the white robe, as do the Throne Mates. But the mass of Israelites, while they may ascend to the throne, do so through the mediation of the Patriarchs, especially of David and Moses, and remain servants before the Throne.

The first painting showed merely the tree growing from the vase, just as the cosmic tree of Philo rested upon the Logos. Then Orpheus-David was put in to quell the passions, and the Throne was inserted at the top to mark the goal of ascent through the tree. Perhaps at the same time the "tokens of bread and wine" were put beneath the tree, but on this the allegory of Philo throws no light at all. To show the tokens was not sufficient for those in the synagogue planning the reredos, however, so the ascent of Israel to be slaves at the Throne took its place. I cannot believe, however, that the "tokens" had not, when put in, a very specific reference to a cult act. In any case the painting ended completely on the note of Philo's allegory, the unique achievement of true Israel—that is, of mystic Israel. I strongly suspect that the underpainting came through and blurred the overpainting because the first paint was not fully dry when the new paint was put over it. This would imply, if true, that the composition was worked out by concentrated trial and error for symbolic effect, and was not a series of casual and fanciful additions and embellishments.

#### F. THE FOUR PORTRAITS

ONE THING highly important in Philo's allegory, namely the unique mystagogue, Moses, does not appear in the painting of the tree-vine, unless, as we cannot assume, it is Moses who sits on the throne at the top. The central painting seems to represent the salvation of Israel as a People. Apparently to compensate this, the artist put up four portraits, two on either side of the reredos proper, so placed that they form an integral part of the central design. Kraeling calls them wing panels, plate v, fig. 93.

Each of these portrait panels presents a single full-length figure clothed in the white Greek robe. Not only does their position declare their importance, but also the fact that they are the only individual portraits in the room. In view of the care with which the symbolism of the central painting of the reredos was evolved, it must be presumed that the subjects of these portraits were selected with more than random attention.

All observers have agreed that the four constitute a series beginning at the upper right of fig. 93—that is, the hero in plate v and fig. 325. Of his identity no one has ever had any doubt. He stands in the Greek dress we have seen on the Throne Mates and

on Jacob in the central painting. He has brown hair and beard, and his clavi are clearly drawn, as well as the marks on his himation which we shall follow Christian convention in calling the gams.<sup>161</sup> Three threads extend down from the corner of the himation. Beside his bare feet stand his high boots, and he gestures with his right hand toward a bush beside him, filled with red strokes through the green leaves. The right hand<sup>162</sup> of God above the bush in the upper left corner indicates divine intervention. At the level of his head a broad band runs across the scene, but is broken so that his head is framed in a square background. The device gives the hero a square halo of the type more distinctly to be recognized in the two lower panels. In presence of all these details we should not have needed the words "Moses, son of Levi"<sup>163</sup> in Aramaic at the right of the figure's shoulder to identify him as Moses at the burning bush. It is the only label on any of the four portraits. While it is familiar in the biblical account of his birth that Moses was "son of Levi" by both his father and mother, as Torrey points out its being mentioned here would seem designed to "emphasize the priestly origin of Moses," that is, his priestly character. Rabbinic writings frequently discuss his having been forbidden the priestly office, and accordingly, while they comment upon his temporary priestly functions, do not ordinarily use the term "priest" for him. Much is made of Moses as intercessor and mediator for his people, but in rabbinic writings Moses' powers of that sort were recalled almost entirely as he exercised them during his life. Yet in some places it would seem that Moses had a permanent ministry, at least of intercession. Ginzberg points out<sup>164</sup> that the souls of the pious are nearest to God, a little farther away are Mercy and Justice, but close to these stands Moses. Ginzberg notes<sup>165</sup> that the phrase "Moses the man of God" was occasionally interpreted to mean that Moses was half man and half God. Other interpretations of this phrase are also quoted by Ginzberg, but he especially notices that this one resembles Philo's statements about the character of Moses. Certainly Philo makes more of this conception than do the rabbis, as has appeared and will soon appear again.

Philo saw a special event indeed in God's appearance to Moses in the bush. It was the occasion on which God revealed himself to Moses as pure Being. So Philo interprets the Septuagint translation of "I am who I am."<sup>166</sup> The Greek, *egō eimi ho ōn*, means "I am he who exists," or "the existing one," a change which modern commentators have often considered a hellenistic reinterpretation by the Septuagint translators themselves long before Philo. To Philo, it meant that in this vision God revealed to Moses the difference between Being and Not-Being.<sup>167</sup> All things "after" God belong in the category of Not-Being in comparison to God as Being proper (*kata to einai*).<sup>168</sup> In commenting on this in another passage Philo leaves the personal masculine, and equates God with the purely abstract neuter, Being (*to on*).<sup>169</sup> As a result of this version, Moses very nearly becomes

161. See below, p. 162.

162. The impression that this is the left hand is removed by the carefully drawn fingernails, as in the hands with Ezekiel, figs. 348 f.

163. See Torrey in Kracling, *Synagogue*, 271, inscription.

164. *Legends*, III, 107; see the references in VI, 44, n. 241.

165. *Ibid.*, III, 481; cf. VI, 166, n. 965.

166. *Exod.* III, 14.

167. *Mos.* I, 75; see below, X, 95.

168. *Det.* 160; cf. *Mut.* 11.

169. *Som.* I, 230.



divinity himself: he is "given as a god to Pharaoh,"<sup>170</sup> Philo goes on to say, which means that from the human point of view he will indeed be regarded a god "by all conception and seeming, though not in truth and Being."<sup>171</sup> We shall find it extremely important that this presentation of Moses should be the one to which the Migration of Israel leads.

Moses reappears on the top panel at the left, figs. 93 and 324. Since the upper part of the painting is destroyed, we cannot say with confidence that this panel had no label, but since the lower two panels are not inscribed, that is a natural assumption. Here Moses on Sinai—the mountain indicated sketchily by a white curving line behind him—steps forward in the white robe, marked with the same details and with his shoes again removed, to receive the Law from Heaven. The Tables of the Law would presumably have been extended to Moses by the right hand of God.<sup>172</sup> In the Ezekiel scene, figs. 348 f., five of the incidents are marked with the heavenly hand, all of them right hands, so that it was obviously of symbolic importance there, and here, to represent the right hand.

The design of Moses on Sinai seems to stem from an original that also lay ultimately behind fig. 94,<sup>173</sup> where the same tall shoes of the Dura rendering appear, and the burning bush has come to be a fire from a gadrooned brazier, or possibly the flaming object in the lower right corner. Moses here wears the Greek robe as he gets the Law on Sinai, but when he tends the sheep he has only the chiton. He has his hands covered to receive the Law, and similarly covers his hands in the lower left panel at Dura. Another product of the same tradition, fig. 95,<sup>174</sup> appears in the Chludov Psalter, from which we saw the monkey of Orpheus, fig. 82. In the Psalter, Moses' shoes have become sandals at the foot of the mount, but the mount is itself more like what probably lay behind the mount in the Dura panel, and the Law is the square table, and not the scroll of fig. 94. Again the bush is a real bush, shown before Moses and under the hand of God. I strongly suspect that like these Christian drawings the original showed the bush and Sinai in the same scene, and that the shoes appear off Moses' feet in the Dura scene because in making two scenes out of one the shoes were copied with both figures of Moses.<sup>175</sup>

170. Exod. vii, 1.

171. *Det.* 161 f.

172. In *MR*, *Deut.*, xi, 10 (ET, 185), it is said that Moses received the Law from the right hand of God. See fig. 63 and below, X, 106, n. 8.

173. From Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Christian Topography*, fol. 61<sup>v</sup>; ed. C. Stornajolo, 1908, plate 25 (*Codices e Vaticanis selecti*, X). Moses the shepherd stands under the hand of God with his sheep at the left, and the mountain is strangely represented as the flaming arc at the lower right. The hand comes here from a cloud in the convention we noticed at Beth Alpha, above, I, 246 f.; III, fig. 638. For appearances of the design in other manuscripts of this work see Riedin, *Cosmas Indicopleustes*, I, 200–203, 242–255. In these the bush becomes various kinds of burning altars.

174. From Omoni, *Miniatures*, plate x. It is

from the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms. grec 139, fol. 422<sup>v</sup>.

175. The tradition of the covered hands in receiving the Law was adapted by Christians for representing Peter in the act of receiving the *nova lex* from Christ enthroned: see Hannah Jursch, "Tradition und Neuschöpfung im altchristlichen Bilderkreis," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe*, IX (1950–60), 205, and figs. 27 and 31. This study, which reached me after the present volume had gone to press, is very rich in ideas and material. See also G. Sarfatti, "The Tables of the Covenant as a Symbol of Judaism" (in Hebrew), *Tarbiz*, XXIX (1960), 370–393, esp. figs. 3, 6, and 9. I suspect that these also represent the giving of the *nova lex*. But the figure seems to be Moses again on a seventh-century Christian tomb-

With the two upper panel portraits so firmly identified as Moses, we turn to the two lower portraits, and find that here all scholarly agreement vanishes. The panel at the right,<sup>176</sup> which like Kraeling we shall call the third, plate v, fig. 326, shows an extremely impressive figure. A man in the same robe stands holding a large open scroll before him, clearly reading it. Beside his right foot is a round-topped box covered with a cloth, a box that all agree is the ark of the scrolls, presumably the smaller portable ark that would have been kept in the room for the "instruments," or behind a screen, or, ultimately, in a Torah shrine such as the niche in the synagogue represented. The head is framed by a rectangle even more distinct than the similar rectangle behind the head of Moses at the bush. In trying to identify this figure, most scholars have looked in the Bible for references to a man reading the Law, and rather arbitrarily have chosen one or another such incident by which to identify the reader. Kraeling feels that Moses<sup>177</sup> or Ezra<sup>178</sup> are both possible, but he inclines to Ezra because he identifies the fourth portrait with Abraham, and feels it unlikely that there would be three portraits of Moses and a single one of another Jewish hero. His discussion of the four portraits, however, is based only upon scriptural texts and not upon the tradition of early Christian biblical illustrations, which clearly stem from the same prototypes as the Dura paintings. Here from three manuscripts a tradition definitely emerges that after Moses receives the Law on Sinai he next reads it to the people. Fig. 96<sup>179</sup> shows one such sequence very clearly, though in it Moses is reading the Law from the stone tables, or a medieval codex.<sup>180</sup> In the Dura panels I see the same sequence of Moses reading the Law after getting it on Sinai, except that at Dura, Moses' audience is omitted, and Moses stands alone, so that he reads the Law to the living audience in the synagogue before him. The incident, of course, is familiar in rabbinic tradition, which Ginzberg<sup>181</sup> paraphrases as follows:

stone at Berlin: O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und mittelalterliche byzantinische und italienische Bildwerke*, III, ii, 1909, 19, no. 32; Wulff gives further instances and bibliography. I am by no means now so confident that in the archetype of these paintings the incidents of the bush and Sinai appeared in the same painting. For in the newly discovered catacomb in the Via Latina, Rome, Moses stoops to remove his shoes while he looks back over his shoulder to the hand of God above him presenting him with the Law. See Ferrua, *Via Latina*, 56, plate xxxiii, 2; 70, plate lxiv, 2.

176. For a detailed description of the painting and its technique, as well as for a record of various interpretations, see Kraeling, *Synagogue*, 232-235.

177. With reference to Exod. xxiv, 7.

178. Neh. viii.

179. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, where it is Lat. 1, Bible of Charles the Bold, fol. 27<sup>r</sup>. See W. Köhler, *Die Schule von Tours*, 1930, plate 7 (Die karolingischen Miniaturen, I); other

manuscripts in A. Boinet, *La Miniature carolingienne*, 1913, plates xlv and cxxiii; cf. *Const. Octateuch*, plate xxiii, fig. 134. A painting in the new Catacomb Via Latina shows a man on a rocky eminence speaking to a crowd of people below him. See Ferrua, *Via Latina*, 47, plate xiv. Ferrua calls the scene the Sermon on the Mount, and he may be right. But since so few new scenes from the New Testament appear in this catacomb as compared with the great number from the Old Testament, and since it resembles so much early Christian representations of Moses teaching the Law to the Israelites after his descent from Sinai, it seems more probable that that is what the painting depicts.

180. "It is another of the attributes of the tablets that, although they are fashioned out of the hardest stone, they can still be rolled up like a scroll": Ginzberg, *Legends*, III, 119, based upon *MR, Song of Songs*, v, 14:1 (ET, 245).

181. *Legends*, III, 87; for references see *ibid.*, VI, 33, n. 191.



God now instructed Moses to transmit to the people his words without adding to them or diminishing from them, in the precise order and in the same tongue, the Hebrew. Moses hereupon betook himself to the people to deliver his message, without first seeing his family. He first addressed the word of God to the elders, for he never forgot the honor due the elders. Then, in simple and well-arranged form, he repeated it to all the people, including the women.

The art type is preserved in the Catacomb Peter and Marcellinus in Rome, fig. 97,<sup>182</sup> an anomalous representation which Wilpert calls St. Peter with the Law. But this painting takes us to the common phenomenon of the philosopher reading or only holding the scroll, a matter to be treated at greater length in the following chapter.<sup>183</sup> Fig. 98<sup>184</sup> shows vividly that the scroll when held up thus for reading could contain mystic philosophy, for here, in a Pompeian painting, a priest of Isis reads what we should suppose is the *hieros logos*, the secret teaching of the Mystery. We see such a reader in action again in a ritualistic procession of Isis on a relief at the Vatican, fig. 99,<sup>185</sup> while the same pose appears in the Dionysiac initiation scene of the Villa Igem at Pompeii, fig. 101.<sup>186</sup> The figure at Dura seems to have come directly from the vocabulary of the mystic religions. The most likely presumption is that, after the two scenes of Moses above, the figure here is also Moses, this time presented as the mystic hierophant reading the *hieros logos* he graciously brought to Jews. That Moses reads the mystic text as a mystagogue means not that the Scriptures were literally kept secret, but that to these Jews in Dura, as to Philo, the true meaning of Scripture, the allegorical, was to be presented fully only to those "initiated." Inherently for Philo and, we presume, for many other hellenized Jews, the Old Testament was a mystical book.

We cannot identify the reader positively with Moses, however, because in the mosaic in the Basilica of S. Vitale, Ravenna, fig. 100,<sup>187</sup> Moses gets the Law on the mount at the right, and at the left Jeremiah reads it in this same mystic pose. I still believe, nevertheless,

182. From Wilpert, *Pittura*, plate 84; cf. 93, where it appears that the figure is seated. See Christ with roll and box, *ibid.*, plate 168; also Christ with scroll on the Lipsanoteca of Brescia, above, IV, fig. 116.

183. See below, pp. 139 f., 146.

184. From O. Elia, *Le Pitture del tempio di Iside*, 1942, fig. 186; cf. p. 16 (*Monumenti della pittura antica scoperti in Italia*, III, ii). Photographs of the painting in its present condition lack many details: see C. Schneider in *Kyrios*, IV (1939-40), 192, fig. 3.

185. Photo Anderson. The procession shows an Isis priestess, the reader, a prophet holding the holy pitcher with covered hands, a servitor with the *sistrum* and ladle. See J. Liepoldt and S. Morenz, *Heilige Schriften*, 1953, 96 f., and plate 7. These scholars have an excellent discussion of

secret scriptures in antiquity, pp. 88-114, with special reference to Jewish and Christian usages as compared with the pagan.

186. Photo Anderson; cf. Liepoldt and Morenz, plate 9, and *loc. cit.* The foregoing was finished for the press when I first secured K. Weitzmann's new study, *Ancient Book Illumination*, 1959 (*Martin Classical Lectures*, XVI). On pp. 116-127 he discusses biography and author portraits, and again identifies the man reading a scroll, whether standing or seated, with the ideal philosopher or poet. He shows a representation of Obadiah (his fig. 129 and p. 121) from Paris, Bibl. Nat. cod. gr. 1528, fol. 218<sup>v</sup>, which is quite like the Moses figure. Old Jewish tradition said that the Scriptures should be read standing: J. Neusner, *Life of Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai*, Leiden, 1962, 38.

187. Photo Alinari.

that the mystic reader of the Law at Dura is more likely to be Moses in his philosophical and mystical importance than any other single figure we might select. If the following panel, the fourth, can with any probability be taken to show Moses also, such an identification of the third figure becomes more likely. The argument, actually, works both ways, as Kraeling feels: now that we see more evidence for associating the third figure with Moses than Kraeling considered, the fourth figure seems more apt to be Moses, though I can identify the fourth even less confidently than the third.

The fourth portrait panel, plate v, fig. 102, and the accompanying sketch, text fig. 11,<sup>188</sup> shows a man with white hair and beard, the head this time against a black rectangle, apparently to set off the white hair, though the black square may have another meaning. He again wears the special Greek costume with its markings on both chiton and himation, but this time the himation is pulled over both shoulders, and covers the man's hands. That he stands upon the ground appears clearly from the shadow line which the artist felt it necessary to put only on this portrait.<sup>189</sup>



Above his head an arc<sup>190</sup> indicates the heavens, with the sun, moon, and seven stars within it. The sun is drawn as a "round object" with laddered rays, to which, like Kraeling, I can find no parallel. The rays recall the symbolism of the ladder discussed above, and Philo's interpretation of the divine ladder that connects man with God, up and down which go the logoi of God.<sup>191</sup> The conception that God reveals himself in a Light-Stream which offers a means of ascent to God appears constantly in Philo's writings.<sup>192</sup> The unique presentation of the rays here, accordingly, may well indicate such an idea. The way of presenting the stars seems no less significant; for they are made of a central dot with eight rays, and a dot at the end of each ray. The stars as a central dot with rays is familiar enough, as on the ceiling of the apse in the Christian Chapel at Dura, in the Dura Mith-

188. From Kraeling, *Synagogue*, 236, fig. 61. See his interesting discussion there, esp. the parallels cited in his notes.

189. A trace of such line does appear with Moses at the bush.

190. Kraeling says that the arc is gray, and such an original contrast with the light pink of the rest of the background is most likely. I suspect that his gray was originally blue. All contrast has now

faded out, as plate v shows. The text figure is reproduced from Kraeling, *Synagogue*, 236, fig. 61.

191. *Som.* II, 144-156. The passage on the dream of Jacob will be discussed at greater length below, X, 169. On the ladder see above, VIII, 148-157.

192. See my *By Light, Light*, passim. For example, in *Præm.* 43, Philo says that the "truly admirable ones . . . advance from down to up by a sort of heavenly ladder."



raeum, and in the Octateuch art.<sup>193</sup> But to repeat the dot at the end of each ray has no parallel that I know. Symbolically it may be important that these dots give the stars the form we have seen having great importance in magic, a form in which rays go out from a central circle, and the central circle is repeated at the end of each ray. These could be presented crudely on charms,<sup>194</sup> or as elegant symbols on sarcophagi, where the circles both at the center and at the ends of the rays now become rosettes.<sup>195</sup> Both sun and stars, accordingly, appear at Dura in peculiar forms that associate them with mystic symbolism.

Many suggestions have been made for the identity of the hero in this panel, most of which Kraeling has adequately disposed of.<sup>196</sup> He himself prefers to call the person Abraham. This interpretation has great credibility for a reason he mentions but does not press, namely that in the early Christian tradition of biblical illustration, which we have already found so illuminating for these paintings, almost exactly this scene is used to represent Abraham called out to count the stars.<sup>197</sup> If the scene had been isolated, I should agree that this is the most likely identification, just as by itself I should have judged the third to be Jeremiah.<sup>198</sup> Set in with the other three panels, however, the third of which most probably represents Moses, as do the first two certainly, it would seem likely that the last portrait represents Moses also, now in old age and ascending to heaven. Iconographically this is quite possible, for a mosaic in Santa Maria Maggiore definitely makes the death of Moses (represented differently, to be sure) to be the sequel of his reading the Law to the People, fig. 103.<sup>199</sup>

The Dura portrait might at once be the aged Moses, and yet show him in relation with the heavenly bodies, since the tradition of his ascension appears so widely in Judaism. The tradition must be very old, for even in Deuteronomy he is reported to have begun one of his songs before he died:

Give ear, O heavens, and I will speak:  
and let the earth hear the words of my mouth.<sup>200</sup>

In the following song he blesses each of the twelve tribes. But later tradition made much of this. The Rabbis (not unanimously, as Kraeling points out<sup>201</sup>) associated Moses with the cosmos on two occasions. He was devised before the beginning of the world to be the mediator of the Covenant<sup>202</sup> and so was shown the universe on the successive days of its creation, when each newly created part had shrunk back at the sight of Moses' supremacy. For God put all created things on one side of a scale, but Moses outweighed them on the

193. See *Const. Octateuch*, plates ix, fig. 16; x, figs. 17, 19 f., 22. See above, p. 44, and figs. 15-17.

194. As, for example, above, III, figs. 999 f., 1007.

195. See above, VI, fig. 237, pp. 64-66; VII, fig. 213.

196. *Synagogue*, 237.

197. He refers to the scene in the *Vienna Genesis*, plate viii. See also cod. vat. gr. 746, fol. 70<sup>v</sup>; cod.

vat. gr. 747, fol. 37<sup>v</sup>; *Smyrna Octateuch*, plate xxi, fig. 56; *Const. Octateuch*, plate xrv, fig. 44.

198. See fig. 100 and above, p. 114.

199. Photo Alinari. The lower half shows the procession of the Ark, probably around Jericho.

200. Deut. xxxii, 1.

201. *Synagogue*, 237, n. 947.

202. Ass. Mos. I, 14; *protheasato me ho theos*. See Charles' note to the passage in his *Apoc. and Pseud.*



other. Also, at the end of Moses' life, when God "was taking him to himself," he showed Moses the whole universe, past and present.<sup>203</sup> So Moses was the man of God, half man and half God.<sup>204</sup> Josephus called Moses the "divine man," the *theios anēr*.<sup>205</sup> He<sup>206</sup> tells how at Moses' death the hero was taken by a cloud into a ravine, but that people later dare say that on account of his supererogatory virtue he was taken *eis to theion*. This phrase may mean "to heaven," or "into divine nature." Josephus seemed to Bousset<sup>207</sup> to be trying to contradict a common rumor of Moses' assumption. He may have been contradicting the near-deification of Moses which Philo reflects. So, the rabbis taught, God said to Moses, "Thou that didst lead my children in this world, shalt also lead them in the future world."<sup>208</sup> When God bade the soul of Moses leave the body he said, "Soul, go forth, do not delay, and I will raise thee to the highest heavens and will place thee under the Throne of Glory next to the Cherubim, Seraphim, and other troops of angels."<sup>209</sup> From rabbinic and apocalyptic tradition, then, Moses would naturally be represented viewing the heavens.

In rabbinic sources, however, the conception has no central place. The idea was much more strikingly developed in hellenized Judaism. When we look in Philo for an old man who goes into the presence of God (the covered hands) in the company of the heavenly bodies, or for an incident in which the stars played an important part, we are led immediately to Moses. For according to Philo, when Moses had disposed of all his earthly affairs at the end of his life, one hundred and twenty years old, he began his final song of praise while still in the body.<sup>210</sup> In order to sing this song with absolute perfection, he gathered together a mighty company. Philo's description of what followed, his version of the real meaning of the psalms attributed to Moses in Deuteronomy xxii f., is too remarkable for paraphrase:

He [Moses] gathered together a divine company, that is the elements of the universe and the most effective parts of the cosmos, namely earth and heaven, earth the hearth of mortals and heaven the home of the immortals. In the middle between these he composed hymns using every musical mode and every type of interval in order that men and ministering angels might hear, men as learners that he might teach them a similarly thankful attitude, and the angels as critics to watch how, as judged by their own technique, he made not a single false note. The angels would also be strengthened in their faith if a man clothed in his mortal body could have a power of song like the sun, moon, and the sacred choir of other stars, and could attune his soul to the divine instrument, namely the heavens and the whole cosmos. But Moses the hierophant, when he had taken

203. II Baruch LIX, 3-12.

204. Ginzberg, *Legends*, III, 431; VI, 166 f., notes 964 f.

205. Josephus, *Antiquities*, III, 180.

206. *Ibid.*, IV, 326.

207. As Bousset, *Religion*, 121 f., said, it is presupposed in the transfiguration scene in Mark IX, 4 (with parallels), that Moses ascended like Elijah,

since the two heroes appeared there together with Jesus. Some such tradition may also lie behind Jude 9. Presumably it was told in the lost ending of the Ass. Mos. Schürer, *Jüd. Volk*, III, 301-305, has assembled much of the material in Jewish and Christian sources.

208. Ginzberg, *Legends*, III, 481; VI, 167, n. 966.

209. *MR, Deut.*, XI, 10 (ET, 187).

210. *Virt.* 72.

licated in spite of the darkness of the costume in general. Such a darker dress, I suspect, may indicate an initiate into Isis rather than Osiris. When we see that a large swastika could take the place of this pronged bar on a robe,<sup>172</sup> we must suppose that the bar itself carried some significance.

### 5. Syria

AS WE GO NORTH toward Syria, we find that the chiton and himation continue to be worn by prominent people, such as priests or the dead, though relatively little painting tells us how these garments were marked. Sarcophagi of the East, indeed, remind us of the hellenistic grave stele, in that the people portrayed on them almost always wear the Greek chiton and himation. As they lie on the funerary couch—celebrating, I believe, the eternal banquet of immortality—they usually wear the himation, as in fig. 90, a relief from Smyrna at Leiden, but this seems an abbreviation of the full costume, which does occasionally appear in such representations.<sup>173</sup> Standing figures, however, like those here accompanying the man on the couch, have usually the full dress. Men seem especially to be so attired, and women also, as they are portrayed under shells in niches, fig. 136,<sup>174</sup> or sit as “philosophers” reading scrolls, fig. 137.<sup>175</sup> The philosopher seems to be giving the saving instructions, a mystic knowledge or gnosis to the veiled lady beside him. A similar motif shows the two sitting opposite each other on a sarcophagus from Kolch-hissar at Konia.<sup>176</sup> One need only go through the rich collection of such sarcophagi by Morey<sup>177</sup> to feel the importance of the himation, usually with the chiton, on funerary portraiture.

These figures often carry scrolls, which seems to me by no means to indicate that they are all poets, or philosophers in the usual sense, as has often been suggested, though such people would certainly carry scrolls. Still less does Pfuhl seem right that the dress and scroll simply marked a person as having enough education to read.<sup>178</sup> The convention of robe and scroll carried over to the East, so that the two “magi” who flank the cult scene in the sarc-

172. Ibid., plate xxx, 33-210.

173. As it did on tombstones on the Rhine: J. Klein, “Grabmonumente aus Bonn,” *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunde im Rheinlande*, LXXXI (1886), 96-100, and plate m.

174. Courtesy of the Istanbul Archeological Museum. The right lateral face of a sarcophagus from Seiefkeh: see Morey, *The Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina*, 1924, fig. 63; cf. pp. 39 f. (Sardis, V). All three hold scrolls. For women see ibid., fig. 62.

175. Courtesy of the Istanbul Archeological Museum. See ibid., fig. 65; cf. pp. 40 f. It is the front of a sarcophagus from Sidamara at the same museum. On this and the foregoing sarcophagus see also T. Reinach, “Le Sarcophage de Sidamara,” *Mon. Piot.*, IX (1902), 189-228, with

plates xvii-xix.

176. G. Mendel in *BCH*, XXVI (1902), 214, fig. 2.

177. *Sarcophagus*. See also E. Michon, “Sarcophages du type d’Asie-Mineure,” *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire*, XXVI (1906), 79-89; M. Lawrence, “Additional Asiatic Sarcophagi,” *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, XX (1951), 116-166.

178. A rich collection of ancient figures with scrolls was made by T. Birt, *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst*, 1907. To some of his conclusions E. Pfuhl objected: “Zur Darstellung von Buchrollen auf Grabreliefs,” *JDAI*, XXII (1907), 113-132; see Birt’s reply, *JDAI*, XXIII (1908), 112-124. But see also Marrou, *MA*, 1-153; Cumont, *Symbolisme*, 253-350.



tuary of the Dura Mithraeum wear Persian dress as they sit upon thrones and hold each a scroll, containing, one must suppose, the mystic secrets, fig. 140.<sup>179</sup> In Christian funerary and ecclesiastical art, when the figures who hold it are Christ and the saints, the scroll would seem to refer to the saving Gospel or creed, in whose hope and power the saint has achieved his sanctity. Similarly, we thought that in fig. 130 the Roman-Egyptian would presumably have in the scroll all or part of the Book of the Dead. The figures on pagan monuments must have presented, ordinarily, the rich upper classes, and it is to me unthinkable that such people claimed especial dignity from the fact that they were literate. On the other hand, it was precisely from this class that the initiates of mysteries were largely recruited. My guess is, accordingly, as already indicated, that in paganism the scroll signified the mystic, or eschatological, hope of the people buried or celebrated, and that the Christian scroll similarly represented the message and hope of Christianity. A lady holds the scroll as she goes to the world behind the curtain of death in the central panel of a sarcophagus, while the side panels show her being given the mystic teaching; she seems to tell the story behind figures with the scroll in all funerary monuments, pagan and Christian.<sup>180</sup> What is important for our purpose here is that on this sarcophagus, as on practically every one illustrated by the authors quoted, the scroll is held by a person in the chiton and himation.<sup>181</sup> It is the deified imperial family of Antoninus Pius that has the scroll along with other divine symbols in fig. 138,<sup>182</sup> for in mystic Egypt deification was by no means a post-mortem achievement.

The mosaics of Antioch might well have presented our chitons and himations, but unfortunately the robe rarely appears—because, I dare suggest, the meaning of the decorations rarely called for them. The striped chiton appears in street scenes, but without significance,<sup>183</sup> so far as one can see. A waitress attending a dining and drinking couple wears the same dress, and here symbolism is a greater possibility, since a man and woman on a banqueting couch so commonly represent immortality or mystic achievement.<sup>184</sup> Closely connected with this is a handsome figure of the winged Comus, the patron demon of banquets, in the same striped chiton.<sup>185</sup> Still more direct would seem to be the testimony of a mosaic in a tomb, a mosaic that shows several women at a banquet.<sup>186</sup> Here the most important figure seems to be Mnemosyne, Memory. Levi interpreted this as the funerary or memorial banquet; if he is right, as I believe, the several people at the banquet who wear the striped chiton, if not the himation also, are appropriately clothed. More perplexing,

179. From a copy by H. Gute in the Yale University Art Gallery. Cf. Rostovtzeff, *Dura-Europos*, VII/VIII, plates xvi-xviii. For the place of this figure in the whole design see above, III, fig. 57.

180. See above, IV, fig. 108.

181. If the scroll is taken to represent a poet, we would have the same impression. We have already mentioned, above, pp. 139 f., that the poet was such by divine inspiration.

182. From Edgar, *Sculpture*, plate xxvi; cf. pp.

53-55.

183. Levi, *Antioch*, plate LXXIX; pp. 326-336.

184. Ibid., plate XLVI; pp. 203 f. For such scenes in general see *ibid.*, 189. Cf. the mystic attendants in the Roman house on the Via dei Cerchi, above, p. 139.

185. Levi, plate CLb; pp. 50-54.

186. Ibid., plate LXVIb; pp. 296-304. Cf. Frank Brown in Rostovtzeff, *Dura-Europos*, VII/VIII, 156.

II

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✓ p. 95 41, l. 5. Num. 5:29 / 6:10

✓ p. 103 42, l. 10 b. B.B. 158b [also p. 149 na p. 39 b. B.B.] [also p. 197 b. Sotah

add ✓ p. 141 referring to 2 Kings 20:4

✓ p. 158 46  
p. 237

Sifre, Deut. OK

Biblio p. 289 omits Sifre Numbers

p. 170 45.

cx. p. 204 46a Kid 66a b. Kid 66a

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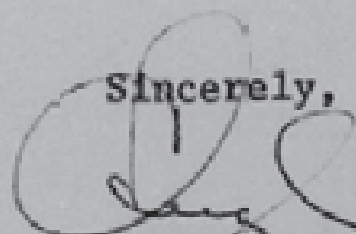
December 13, 1989

Dear Adele:

Enclosed should be a memo to me that details Peter Machinist's corrections. Again, you have until the pages come back from the compositor (early to mid-January) to resolve these issues. I will talk to Phoebe, as promised, about the Bibliography. I hope I did not concern you too much about it; I just wanted to make clear that we still had a few issues to resolve on it--as opposed to the text, where I believe we've resolved most everything at all important. I understand that your time is not completely your own at this point; Phoebe and I will do our best to help you as much as we can. I will be in touch with you about the Bibliography sometime in the next week.

Again, I am enjoying my work on this book, and I am enjoying working with you. I am extremely sorry to hear that your husband's condition has deteriorated; both you and he have my best wishes and my sympathy.

Sincerely,



Cheryl Friedman

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TO: Cheryl  
FR: Nina

List of innacuracies in STORY OF SCRIPTURE, as noted  
by Peter Machinist, Associate Professor of Biblical  
and Ancient Studies, Ann Arbor.

~~to was his~~  
~~protector~~ ✓  
Page 54, 2nd full Par. "is saved by the goddess Ea" Ea is  
a god, not a goddess.

✓✓  
Page 58 - 2nd to last paragraph. "The neo-Assyrian emperor  
Ashurbanipal...is the first king of renown who boasted  
that he had mastered the scribal arts." He was not the  
first king to do so. This could be changed to "one of the  
few kings" or something similar.

✓  
Page 110, 2nd full paragraph. "...Aramic is a near cousin to  
Hebrew. The languages, both deriving from Akkadian..."  
Aramic does not derive from Akkadian. This could be changed  
to "related to Akkadian" for that is true.



## THE STORY OF SCRIPTURE

joined into sizable rolls. Parchment scrolls of the Hellenistic period up to twenty-eight feet long have been found (Yadin 1985).

After 550 B.C.E., the new Persian administration established Aramaic as the language of record for all documents dealing with government matters and commerce in the western part of the empire and adopted a formal script for official use. This script of squarish design, far more readable than cuneiform-influenced predecessors, was quickly adopted by Judean scribes. Recognizing its eastern origins, they named this new script, somewhat anachronistically, *Ashurit*, the "Assyrian script." It later became, and remains to this day, the standard for all liturgically approved Torah scrolls.

Linguistically, Aramaic is a near cousin to Hebrew. The languages, both deriving from Akkadian, share many words, employ essentially the same grammatical forms, and are written with the same alphabet. Bilingualism became increasingly common. By the time Alexander the Great's conquests ended the Persian period (late fourth century B.C.E.), Aramaic was well on its way to becoming the vernacular of most ~~Palestinian~~ Jews. The priest-scribe who some time in the fourth century prepared a history of the reforms Ezra had instituted in Jerusalem, a chronicle included in the Bible, felt comfortable introducing into his history several untranslated Aramaic documents purportedly issued by the Persian imperial bureau (Ezra 4:8-6:18, 7:12-26).

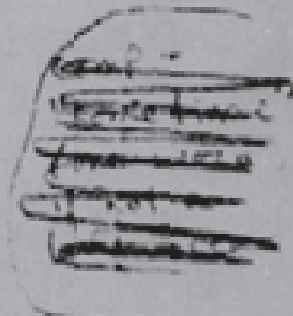
The increased use of Aramaic, particularly by elite, literate Judeans, increasingly allowed these former provincials to feel themselves part of an international literary world. The exiles found Aramaic a useful, even indispensable, tool in maintaining contact between them and their hosts. The increased use of Aramaic also exerted an unplanned pressure toward the creation of a Hebrew scripture. As more and more Judeans used Aramaic as their vernacular, the number who could readily understand recitations of the tradition diminished, and a bilingual audience (Hebrew and Aramaic) began to impose subtle, but important, changes on the traditional language in which the *torot* and the narratives were presented. While the need to be understood dictated linguistic change, there was at the same time a predictable conservative reaction determined to preserve familiar idioms and language.

rom.

(PE)

(AP)

Judeans



## THE STORY OF SCRIPTURE

ing bureaus and set about accomplishing his ends by hiring scribes from other courts.

Illiteracy was not seen as a disabling handicap which precluded the exercise of power or even a reputation for learning. Not a single line in the Book of Judges suggests that Deborah, Gideon, Samson or any other leader of the settlement period could read or write. The Deuteronomic histories routinely describe the kings of Israel and Judah as listening to the speeches of their counselors or being read to by a royal scribe. The few stories in the Deuteronomic histories which describe a royal figure as actually writing are clearly *revisions of earlier recitals*. One is a report that David inscribed the message that ordered a field commander to dispatch Uriah on a suicide mission (2 Sam. 11:14-15); another, that Ahab's queen Jezebel wrote the letter plotting to charge Naboth with treason (1 Kings 21:8-9). Reading both scenes, I feel certain that a later storyteller had reshaped these exciting but unseemly tales, inserting the use of written letters to emphasize the royal personages' need to handle ugly business with maximum secrecy. It is doubtful that either David or Jezebel could read and/or write Hebrew. David is described as a farm boy turned mercenary, an upbringing that would not have provided him the opportunity or wherewithal to attend a school for scribes had one been available to him. Jezebel was Phoenician and a woman: neither circumstance made it likely that she would have been able to write a letter in Hebrew.

Kings were kings, not scriveners. They needed to win wars, not write or even read books. The neo-Assyrian emperor Ashurbanipal (648-33 B.C.E.), who lived three centuries after David, is the first king of renown who boasted that he had mastered the scribal arts; what we know with historical certainty is that he was the first to establish, systematically, a literary library (Richardson 1914, pp. 22, 128). In Ashurbanipal's case, literacy became something of a disabling passion. In middle age, he abandoned statecraft for bibliomania and depleted the royal treasury in order to enrich the library of Nineveh, in its day the largest in West Asia.

A capable sword, a strong will, and common sense were the attributes a king required. He could always hire scribes to keep the nec-

+hat  
^

(HC)

## THE STORY OF SCRIPTURE

functional capacity to reshape its fundamental traditions without being conscious of doing so.

Such familiar recitations were not simply good theater but tied listeners to their past, to each other, and to their god(s). Part of the joy and power of such moments lay in their familiarity. The audience could anticipate words and phrases and thus have tangible proof that what they believed to be true and right was, in fact, so. The story's value lay in the recital which brought their past to life and guarded their present with the security of trusted teachings. The narrator did not need to belabor the message. The experience was the message. Its value lay in the emotional security that came from sharing a common heritage and present.

Myths can be traced to earlier prototypes in other cultures, a prime example being the tale of the Flood and Noah (Gen. 6-9). The biblical story is not a stencil of the earlier Sumerian epic of Gilgamesh which it so much resembles. Rather, it is a transformed version of a long-familiar story, changed over time and by unconscious design to reflect meanings and purposes appropriate to the Israelite ethos. Where Utnapishtim, the survivor of the flood in the Gilgamesh epic, is saved by the goddess Ea because she has taken a fancy to him, Noah is saved by God because he is a righteous man.

The first scriptures were intended to be read aloud. Chants that suggested the inflection and mood created by storyteller or prophet were formalized. Communities encouraged the reader to memorize and publicly recite the text in the same singsong the rhapsodists used in their recitations. Conscious efforts to transmit orally sacred traditions persisted long after literacy had become a much-used social tool. This is true in many ancient cultures. In India, the Rig Vedas, already well known in the thirteenth century B.C.E., were chanted aloud for centuries and not written down for another thousand years. To this day, Muslim schools emphasize the chanted memorization of the Koran, the actual text being used only to ensure against mistakes. And as far back as we can trace public readings from the *Sefer Torah*, we find that they were not read but chanted—as they often are today by those who come to “read” from the Torah in synagogues around the world.



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From the desk of:

## Chapter 5

RABBI DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

Daniel - please:

- 1) locate source for this quote,  
"At 5 the age is reached for Mikra, at 10 for Mishnah,  
at 15 for Talmud."
- 2) page number in Victor Hugo's  
Notre Dame de Paris (1831) where  
monk looks up at cathedral &  
says, "Ceci tuera cela."
- 3) decide, on the basis of general  
scholarly habit, whether  
Tannaim should be capitalized  
or not - Tannaim?

From the desk of:

RABBI DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

Chapter 5 ~~pp. 2~~

- 4) ~~locate Talmudic source for~~  
~~Hebrew or~~ Hebrew or Aramaic,  
~~the language of the~~  
~~sanctuary.~~  
locate source for the phrase  
"a kingdom of priests and  
a holy people"

~~EX 19:16~~ V-44

- 5) locate bibliographic entry for  
Baumgarten, Justinian & the Jews --  
we don't even know if it is a  
book or an article -- not in  
Temple library. [LETOFSKY]  
[LAUDIA]  
6) Source: "Let your ears hear what  
your mouth speaks" (b. BER. 13a, 17)?



283-6382

JEAN LETTOSKY

MERRILY HART,  
LIBRARIAN

CCS 444-<sup>5581</sup>~~4050~~



26500 Shaker Boulevard Beachwood, Ohio 44122 216 464-4050

June 28, 1989

To: Rabbi Daniel Silver

From: Merrily F. Hart, Librarian

The following books cannot be located at CCJS or Fairmount Temple. Nor are they, or anything similar, listed on our Bibliofile database which includes most titles owned by the Library of Congress.

Justinian and the Jews (Baumgarten)

[Two Introductions to Midrash (J. Kugel)]

Perhaps we can get some information from HUC Library.

✓ I have attached the quote from Avot and am working on the other two quotations. I'm not certain that I have the French quotation correctly. Perhaps you could write it down or spell it out for me.

5:21, rather than 5:24

↓ The citation for Urbach is:

Urbach, Ephraim E. *The Sages: Their Concepts and Beliefs*.

Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1975. 2 vols.

# ADVOCATE

53  
 אי לזה שונעקה סעורו קטורו  
 Woe to a man whose advocate turns into prosecutor!  
 LEVITICUS R.

# AFFINITY

54  
 לא לחנם הלך ורור אצל עורב מפני שהוא בן מיט  
 Not for nothing did the starling follow the raven;  
 it is of its kind  
 TALMUD, BAVA QAMMA

# AFFLICTION

55  
 מכה אשר לא כתובה בתורה  
 An affliction that the Bible, for all its long list, does not record  
 Based on DEUTERONOMY 28, 61

56  
 טובת יום תשכח הרעה ורעת יום תשכח טובה  
 In the day of prosperity affliction is forgotten, in the day of affliction prosperity is remembered no more  
 BEN SIRA 11, 25

57  
 כל שהקדוש ברוך הוא חסץ בו, מדיכאו בנסיון  
 Whom God favours, He tries with afflictions  
 TALMUD, BERAKHOT

# AGE

See also OLD AGE

58  
 בן חמש למקרא, בן עשר למשנה, בן שלוש עשרה למצוות,  
 בן חמש עשרה לתלמוד, בן שמונה עשרה לחסד, בן עשרים  
 לרדוף, בן שלושים לפת, בן ארבעים לבית, בן חמשים לעצה,  
 בן ששים לזקנה, בן שבעים לשיבה, בן שמונים לזכרה, בן  
 תשעים לשות, בן מאה כאלו מת ועבד ונטל מן העולם  
 אבות ה, כא  
 At five years old, one is fit for the Scriptures, at ten for the Mishna, at thirteen to fulfil the commandments, at fifteen to study Talmud, at eighteen for wedlock, at twenty for a calling, at thirty for office, at forty for discernment, at fifty for counsel, at sixty to be an elder, at seventy for white hairs, at eighty for vigour, at ninety for a bowed back... and at a hundred you are as one that has died and left this world  
 AVOT 5, 21

59  
 בכל גיל ויל מרגיש האדם באופן אחר  
 At every different age a man feels differently  
 HERZL

60

עץ חד מתכופף ועץ זקן נשבר  
 A young tree bends, an old tree breaks  
 YIDDISH

# AGENT

61  
 שלוחו של אדם כמותו  
 A man's agent is as himself  
 BERAKHOT 5, 5

62  
 שלוחי מצוה אדם נאקים  
 Men sent on pious missions will meet no evil  
 TALMUD, PESSAHIM  
 An errand of mercy is its own protection

63  
 הרבה שלוחים יש לו למקום  
 The Almighty has many agents  
 NUMBERS R.

# AGGRANDIZEMENT

64  
 המתקבד בקלן חברו אין לו חלק לעולם הבא  
 Who aggrandizes himself by demeaning his friend has no part in the world to come  
 TALMUD YERUSHALMI, HAGIGAH

# AGONY

65  
 אין אדם נחמס בשעת צער  
 One should not be blamed for words uttered in agony  
 TALMUD, BAVA BATRA

66  
 צעק מתוך צערני רגליו  
 To cry out in agony, out of one's very toenails  
 GENESIS R.

# ALACRITY

67  
 אין מדה טובה כזריזות ואין רעה כצללות  
 There is no virtue like alacrity, nor any vice like sloth  
 PENINÉ HAMELITZOT

# ALIEN

68  
 טובים חיי עני תחת צל קורתו ממשעמים עורבים בוכר  
 Better a life of poverty in the shelter of one's own roof-tree than delicious dainties in an alien land  
 BEN SIRA 29, 25



LIB

Pentecost  
Review

1946

---

27p

LB

Two inquiries about contemporary writers

1. Jean Paul Sartre somewhere makes the mordant observation that "Jews live in books, not in landscape."

Where?

2. George Steiner elaborates the idea more elegantly in an essay, "Our Homeland, the Text," the source of which I have cited as Telus, #44, Summer '80, p. 205.

I can no longer lay my hands on a copy of the publication and wonder if you can check the accuracy of the citation.

Salma Gundi #66

Winter Spring 1985

"It is neither their past, their religion, nor their soil that unites the sons of Israel. If they have a common bond... it is because they have in common the situation of a Jew, that is, they live in a community which hates them for Jews"

"Anti Semite + Jew" trans. by George Becker, Grove Press N.Y. 1985 p 67

a secret and deep-seated need to attach oneself to tradition and, in default of a national past, to give oneself roots in a past of rites and customs. But that is just the point: religion is here only a symbolic means. At least in Western Europe the Jewish religion has been unable to resist the attacks launched by rationalism and by the Christian spirit; atheistic Jews whom I have questioned admit that their dialogue on the existence of God is carried on against the Christian religion. The religion which they attack and of which they wish to rid themselves is Christianity; their atheism differs in no way from that of a Roger Martin du Gard, who says he has disengaged himself from the Catholic faith. Not for a moment are Jews atheistic against the Talmud; and priest, to all of them, means the vicar, not the rabbi.

Thus the facts of the problem appear as follows: a concrete historical community is basically *national* and *religious*; but the Jewish community, which once was both, has been deprived bit by bit of both these concrete characteristics. We may call it an abstract historical community. Its dispersion implies the breaking up of common traditions, and it was remarked above that its twenty centuries of dispersion and political impotence forbid its having a *historic past*. If it is true, as Hegel says, that a community is historical to the degree that it remembers its history, then the Jewish commu-



nity is the least historical of all, for it keeps a memory of nothing but a long martyrdom, that is, of a long passivity.

What is it, then, that serves to keep a semblance of unity in the Jewish community? To reply to this question, we must come back to the idea of *situation*. It is neither their past, their religion, nor their soil that unites the sons of Israel. If they have a common bond, if all of them deserve the name of Jew, it is because they have in common the situation of a Jew, that is, they live in a community which takes them for Jews.

In a word, the Jew is perfectly assimilable by modern nations, but he is to be defined as one whom these nations do not wish to assimilate. What weighed upon him originally was that he was the assassin of Christ.\* Have we ever stopped to consider the intolerable situation of men condemned to live in a society that adores the God they have killed? Originally, the Jew was therefore a murderer or the son of a murderer—which in the eyes of a community with a pre-logical concept of responsibility amounts inevitably to the same thing—it was as such that he was taboo. It is evident that we

---

\* We must take note at once that it is a question here of a legend created by Christian propaganda during the dispersion. It is evident that the cross is a Roman instrument of torture and that Christ was executed by the Romans as a political agitator.

(For Sartre, it is The  
situation, not The Roman  
that makes The Jew!

to consider it a pure play of abstractions; on the contrary, we must insist on its creative power. In rationalism two centuries—and not the least important—placed all their hope; from rationalism sprang the sciences and their practical application; it was an ideal and a passion; it tried to bring men together by uncovering for them universal truths on which they could all reach agreement, and in its naive and agreeable optimism it deliberately confounded evil with error. We shall understand nothing about Jewish rationalism if we see it as some kind of abstract taste for disputation, instead of what it is—a youthful and lively love of men.

At the same time, however, it is also an avenue of flight—I may even say, the royal road of flight. Up to this point, we have discussed those Jews who attempt, in their individual personalities, to deny their situation as Jews. But there are others who have chosen to espouse a conception of the world that excludes the very idea of race. No doubt this is really an attempt to conceal from themselves their own situation as Jews; but if they could succeed in persuading themselves and others that the very idea of Jews is contradictory, if they could succeed in establishing their vision of the world in such fashion that they became blind to the reality of Jewishness just as the color-blind person is

blind to red or green, could they not then declare in good faith that they are "men among men"?

The rationalism of Jews is a passion—the passion for the universal. If they have chosen this rather than something else, it is in order to fight the particularist conceptions that set them apart. Of all things in the world, reason is the most widely shared; it belongs to everybody and to nobody; it is the same to all. If reason exists, then there is no French truth or German truth; there is no Negro truth or Jewish truth. There is only one Truth, and he is best who wins it. In the face of universal and eternal laws, man himself is universal. There are no more Jews or Poles; there are men who live in Poland, others who are designated as "of Jewish faith" on their family papers, and agreement is always possible among them as soon as discussion bears on the universal.

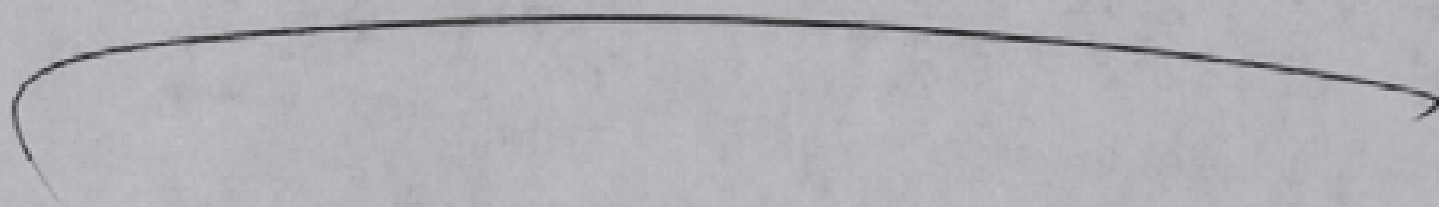
Recall the portrait of the philosopher that Plato sketches in the *Phaedo*: how the awakening to reason is for him death to the body, to particularities of character; how the disembodied philosopher, pure lover of abstract and universal truth, loses all his individual traits in order to become a universal look of inquiry. It is precisely this sort of disincarnation that certain Jews seek. The best way to feel oneself no longer a Jew is to reason, for reasoning is valid for all and can be re-



<sup>d</sup>Anti-Semite and Jew<sup>d</sup>

translated by George Becker

Grove Press <sup>NY</sup> 1948



These are the closest things that  
I have found to the Sartre  
quotation. I am continuing to  
look. After reading these selections,  
however, I doubt that I will find it!

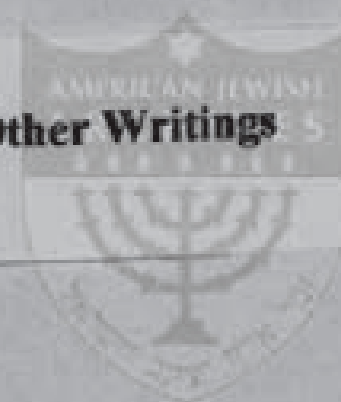
The George Steiner quotation — from  
Our Homeland, The Text

is from Salmaquidi #66

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