CONTENTS

Acknowledgements vii

	Introduction	1
PAI	RT I. HAMAN IN SCRIPTURE	5
1	Haman in the Hebrew Bible	9
2	Greek Versions of Esther	20
3	Haman in Christian Scripture	42
4	Authoritative Exegesis of <i>Esther</i>	48
5	Haman in the Qur'ān	61
PART II. HAMAN IN HISTORY		75
6	Haman's Historical Development: Four Stages	77
7	Haman's Deployment: Four Contexts	137
PAl	RT III. HAMAN'S LIFE	159
8	Haman's DNA	161
9	Haman at Home and at Work	192

vi CONTENTS

10	Haman's Death	215
	Conclusions	233

Notes 239
Bibliography 297
Scriptural Index 313
General Index 321

Introduction

THIS BOOK is about a character by the name of Haman, who is considered a villain in virtually all varieties of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. As the book is labeled a "biography," I will dutifully describe Haman's life—including his background, family, career, and death. Readers who are acquainted with Haman from scripture and wish to discover more about him are invited to go straight to Part III ("Haman's Life"), where they will (hopefully) find what they are looking for.

However, outside of the Bible and the Qur'ān (and the commentaries on these texts that their interpreters authored), there is very slim evidence for Haman's existence as a historical figure. What we possess, instead, is an abundance of material concerning what those who read the Bible and the Qur'ān have thought about Haman. And although we will explore such evidence as there is for the historical Haman, it will become clear throughout this book that his biography has been repeatedly overlaid by exegetical expansions that make it nigh impossible to recover a historical Haman with any degree of confidence.

In practice, this means two things: First, this book is primarily about Haman as a literary character, whose depictions reflect the perspectives of the religious traditions and scholars that produced our sources. Second, these sources come from diverse regions, periods, and civilizations, a diversity reflected in the multitude of Hamans whom we will encounter. In Part II ("Haman in History"), we examine the various contexts in which Jews, Christians, and Muslims developed Haman's character (Chapter 6) and deployed it polemically (Chapter 7).

Haman's importance in the Abrahamic religions originates in his appearances in scriptures. Although these are limited to a single book of the Hebrew Bible and six verses of the Qur'ān, Haman's descriptions in versions of these texts (and in the commentaries that they spawned) evolved in fascinating ways that will be analyzed in Part I ("Haman in Scripture"). Moreover, as we will see throughout

1

2 INTRODUCTION

the book, despite Haman's limited coverage in the Bible and the Qur'ān, his impact over the past two millennia has been enormous, making him one of history's great overachievers.

To the best of my knowledge, this book is the first biography of Haman, and—more generally—the first book-length attempt to trace a biblical character both backwards and forwards in time. In addition to the expected Jewish and Christian treatments of Haman, we will explore his prebiblical origins in the ancient Near East and his reception in Islamic cultures. Along the way, we will encounter ancient Iranian history and culture, Hellenism's impact on Second Temple Judaism, Abrahamic transformations in late antiquity, the development of classical Islamic civilization, and various episodes of medieval and early modern European history. We will consider Haman's refraction through the lenses of varieties of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, as well as the interactions of these religious traditions with Zoroastrianism, Samaritanism, and ancient Near Eastern pantheons. And we will process Haman's roles in scriptures, inter- and intracommunal relations, religious theater, history, and historiography, in varieties of Near Eastern literatures that do not usually feature in discussions of the Abrahamic religions, and in social media.¹

Clearly, I have bitten off more of the Abrahamic pie than one person can reasonably be expected to chew, and a reader looking for weaknesses, shortcomings, faults, and deficiencies of whatever nature will probably have no problem finding them in this book.² And yet, I believe that a comparative study of this sort is justifiable, despite the clear pitfalls, for three reasons.

First, there is merit in adopting a comparative approach to Near Eastern studies in general—by drawing on sources and materials from across a wide spectrum of cultures, languages, and religious traditions—rather than carving up the field along geographical, linguistic, or religious lines so as to produce discrete and largely independent areas of research. The broad, comparative approach envisaged here was instinctive to Orientalists in the nineteenth century (for instance) but is no longer common, for mostly practical reasons. Max Müller (d. 1900), a pioneer in the academic study of religions, once remarked that "to know one [religion] is to know none." Accordingly, limiting ourself to a single community's Haman means not knowing about even that particular manifestation of the character. My aim, therefore, is to chart and analyze the various ways in which Haman's character evolved across time and space, which will allow us to draw broad conclusions about the communities and traditions that produced their own Hamans.⁴

Second, the study of biblical reception history has traditionally privileged the biblical context in which a character first appears as the "original" one, from which

INTRODUCTION 3

subsequent texts diverged. By considering Haman's prebiblical origins (Chapter 8), we are accepting the possibility that the book of *Esther* was receiving Haman and reconfiguring him for its author's purposes no less than did later versions of *Esther* or the Qur'an. Similarly, the study of "biblical" characters in the Qur'an has traditionally focused on the pre-Qur'anic origins of a character. Here, by contrast, we trace Haman's evolution along a chronological spectrum that culminates in the Qur'an's adaptation of the character to his new scriptural surroundings, allowing us to highlight the Qur'anic Haman's *originality* rather than his *origins*.

Third, adopting a broad, comparative approach to Haman affords us a panoramic view of Near Eastern or Abrahamic civilization that is rarely seen nowadays, for it has become a casualty of the hyper-specialization that pervades most corners of Near and Middle Eastern studies. In charting Haman's path through history we will see that he was a divisive figure both within religions (on account of stirring debates about his status), and between religions (as his name was used polemically, to denigrate rivals). But we will also see ways in which Haman served as a unifier for competing communities where, for example, celebrations of his demise were attended by Jews, Christians, and Muslims alike.

Bearing the above in mind, this book is less a Haman encyclopedia and more an exploration of Near Eastern history and religious culture through the example of Haman, who is, for some, one of the most evil characters who ever existed, and for others, one of the most maligned characters who never existed.

GENERAL INDEX

Aaron, 68, 250n4 Abbasid: Caliphate, 121-25, 127, 129, 131, 166, 167, 255n27, 266n202, 269n239; Revolution, 276n13 'Abdallāh ibn Salām, 156 Abraham, 77, 80, 89, 167, 188, 194, 199, 202-204, 222, 236, 284n6, 288n69, 295n4. See also Abram Abrahamic religions, 1-3, 5, 7, 48, 64, 71, 77, 80, 81, 83, 101, 112, 127, 137, 167, 193, 205, 207, 213, 214, 237, 25117, 272135, 287n50 Abram, 203, 258n79. See also Abraham Abū al-Fath ibn Abī al-Hasan, 139-41, 271nn19 and 20 Abū al-Fidā', 251n7, 288n26 Abū Bakr, 153 Abū Jahl, 200, 235, 295n5 Abū Lahab, 197, 200, 235, 295n4 Abū Righāl, 223 Achaemenid empire, 14, 16, 62, 67, 67, 77-82, 84, 88, 107, 109, 116, 123, 128, 129, 132, 133, 135, 155, 162, 165, 168-73, 175-77, 179-87, 192, 194, 195, 206, 209, 221, 225, 228, 244n43, 251n14, 253n37, 254nn2, 3 and 13, 255n19, 256n50, 269n46, 277n34, 277nn36 and 42, 280n100, 282nn121 and 126, 283nn136, 143 and 145, 288n84, 291n24 Adam, 29, 128, 162, 199, 248n22 Adar, 10, 64, 66, 85, 86, 93, 94, 134, 172, 184, 186, 189, 203, 231, 248n20, 278n52 Adrammelekh. See Arda-Mulissu Aelia. See Ierusalem Afghanistan, 164, 292n53 Agag/Agagite, 10, 11, 14-16, 18, 23, 24, 27, 28, 55, 64, 67, 86, 91, 107, 109, 118, 142, 162, 163, 165-68, 173-77, 225, 240n13,

243nn26 and 27, 244n48, 246n73, 260n102, 275n7, 278n60 Agapius (Mahbūb) of Manbij, 125, 131, 135, 267n218, 268nn218-21 Ahab, 196, 289n100 Aharon ben Menahem. See Buonamici, Giovan Battista Ahashwerosh, *passim*. *See also* Xerxes Ahasuerus. See Ahashwerosh Aḥiqar, 65, 169, 207, 252nn25 and 27, 257n68, 286n32 Ahmad Pasha, 143 Ahriman, 79 Ahura-Mazda, 79, 180, 184-86, 282n128, 283n142 Akiba (rabbi), 89, 249n15 Akītu, 174, 181, 227, 2811109. See also New Year festival Akkad/Akkadian, 10, 172, 173, 175, 176, 178, 179, 181-83, 186, 211, 221, 241n8, 278nn52 and 57, 279n81, 281n112, 282nn124 and 127, 283nn137 and 144 'Āl ha-Nissīm prayer, 11, 66, 116, 252n32, 261n117 Aleppo, 100 Alexander III (tsar), 146 Alexander the Great, 81, 84, 88, 92, 107, 108, 162, 184, 219, 228, 255117, 259189, 260n109, 261nn113, 116 and 119, 267n212, 282n131 Alexandria, 20, 21, 52, 57, 92, 98, 105, 162, 259n92 'Alī, 122, 153, 231, 266n203 Almoravids, 144 "Alpha Text," 21, 22, 25–34, 37, 40, 87, 163, 179, 207, 242nn21-23, 243nn24, 26 and 33-35, 244nn38, 42 and 45, 245nn54 and 55, 246n63, 268n33

322 GENERAL INDEX

Amalek/Amalekite, 15, 16, 18, 24-26, 28, Armenia, 51, 55, 104, 110, 166, 167, 198, 231, 31, 33, 35, 37-39, 58, 64, 65, 72, 83, 86, 233, 249n24, 256n43, 276nn22 and 23, 90, 93, 103, 107, 109, 110, 116-118, 125, 286n43 "Armilos"/Romulus, 106 130-132, 135, 136, 142, 143, 145, 150, 152, 153, 162-167, 175-177, 193, 218, 219, 227, Arphaxad, 96 232-234, 240nn13 and 17, 244n48, Arsacid Empire. See Parthian Empire 246nn64 and 73, 253n38, 262nn133, 135 Artaxerxes, 27, 35, 37, 67, 96, 125, 131, 136, and 138, 265nn171 and 172, 270n251, 169, 209, 245n61, 250n43, 264n169, 271n22, 274n75, 276n25, 285n27, 291nn15 265n169, 268n221, 227n37 and 19, 293n65 'Āshurā', 230, 231, 293n77 Amatuni, Shapuh, 166 Asia Minor, 54, 125 America, 151, 228, 229, 273n57, 274n68, Assyria/Assyrian, 65, 96, 181, 241n7, 277nn38 275n89 and 43, 280n91, 283n137. See also Neo-'Amr ibn al-'Ās, 69 Assyrian period/dynasty Amram, the son of Mus'ab, 126, 127 astrologer, astrology, 213, 233, 255n33, Amthelai, 194, 202, 287n7 287n65, 289n108. See also lots Anahita, 281n116, 284n151 Athamaita, 183, 282n125 Athanasius of Alexandria, 54, 55 Ancient Near East, 2, 16, 167, 170-76, 179, 186, 187, 190, 206, 207, 213, 227, 241118, Attila the Hun, 236, 295n7 276n30, 278nn48 and 56, 283n135, Augustine, 54, 55, 239n1, 249n27 286n32. See also Near East Avesta, 84, 108, 275n8 Andalus, al-, 142, 144, 262n134. See also Bābā'ī ibn Lutf, 142 Spain Annunaki, 174 Babel, Tower of, 62, 64, 65, 154, 203, 206, Antichrist, 105, 106, 116, 123, 146, 164, 242n15, 246n72, 251n7, 252nn20 and 23, 259nn96 and 97, 287n48 253n44, 288n68 Babel-und-Bibel, 170 Antiochus IV, 93-100, 105, 108, 115, 146, 244n41, 256nn50 and 52, 257n63, 259n88, Babylon/Babylonian, 15, 33, 60, 78, 81, 103, 260nn112 and 113, 261n113 117, 124, 130, 131, 133, 171, 172, 174-182, 184, anti-Semitism, 92, 114, 143, 145, 146, 150, 186, 255n30, 259nn85 and 91, 265n185, 276n27, 277n44, 278n63, 279nn77, 80 157, 264nn160 and 163 Anzū, 173, 174, 177, 278n58, 280n92 and 81, 280n91, 283nn135, 139 and 144, 286n46, 292n34. See also Neo-Babylonian Aphrahat, 55, 57, 103, 148, 196, 249n25, period/dynasty 267n216 Apocrypha, 47, 86, 89, 242n20, 249n15 Babylonian Exile, 77, 79, 80, 117, 254n5 Bacchides, 94, 95, 98, 99, 257n62, 261n17, Apostolic Constitutions, 54, 55, 249n22 Arabic, 95, 122–25, 127, 131, 132, 139, 156, 191, 263n145, 292n37 210, 235, 243n27, 248n5, 250n4, 256n43, Bactria, 164 257n61, 266n187, 267n218, 268n219, Baghdad, 121, 269n247 269n251, 284n7 Bagoas, 67, 96, 169, 209, 210, 253n35, 275n5, Arabs/Arabian Peninsula, 50, 67, 101, 156, Bahmān, 82-84, 130, 131, 133, 255n17; 223, 287n53 BahmānNāma, 83, 84, 87 Aramaic, 6, 22, 59, 95, 111, 166, 169, 178, 194, Bahram Gor, 103 196, 221, 246111, 250140, 251115, 257nn58, 59 and 61, 261n117, 264n167, Bahya ben Asher, 179, 190 bakht, 82 269n242, 277n36, 280nn99 and 100, 282n129, 284n2, 287n55. See also targum Balaam, 16, 294n2 Arda-Mulissu, 167 Balkh, 164, 165, 208, 210, 275n11 Ardashīr, 128, 19, 131; ArdashīrNāma, 190, Banū Isrā'īl, 235. See also Israel/Israelites; 269n248. See also Artaxerxes Isrā'īlivvāt

GENERAL INDEX 323

Bar Hebraeus, 125 Bar Kokhba revolt, 50, 106, 249n14 Barabbas, 45 Bardiya, 136, 182, 270n254, 271n20 Ba'than, 125 Bayt al-Hikma, 123 Bazm o Razm, 82 Behistun Inscription, 182-84, 244n43, 280n100, 281n121, 282nn121, 128 and 129, 283nn138 and 143 Beja (tribe), 163, 256n42 Belial, 105, 259n94 Benei Beraq, 199, 204 Benjamin ben Elnathan, 145 Bet Shean. See Scythopolis Bible, 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 9, 13, 16, 21, 28, 31, 32, 36, 40, 44, 45, 48, 51, 54-56, 60, 61, 63, 64, 68, 71, 77, 78, 80, 81, 89, 90, 102, 113, 118, 120, 128, 138, 142, 145, 147, 151, 155, 161, 162, 167, 176, 181, 205, 220, 227, 241n22, 242n20, 249n20, 251nn13 and 19, 260n103, 261n126, 267n210, 281n107. See also Hebrew Bible; New Testament Bigthan, 40, 109, 117, 125, 216, 217, 221, 246n62, 262n130, 272n40 Bīrūnī, al-, 134-36, 164, 203, 208, 223, 268n229 Bishr ibn Muʻadh al-'Aqadī, 70, 253n43 Bizhān, 83, 257n67 Bonfire Night. See Guy Fawkes Night Book of Tobit, 65 Bougaios, Bougean, 23, 24, 26-28, 30, 31, 33, 55, 56, 58, 67, 91, 125, 162, 163, 184, 193, 209, 242n17, 243n26, 246nn62 and 63, 256n42, 260n102, 275nn2 and 5, 283n132 Brenz, John, 148-50 Bucaille, Maurice, 156, 275nn88 and 89 Bukhara, 222 Buonamici, Giovan Battista, 145 Burr, Bill, 236, 295n7 Bush, F. W., 44 Būshanj, 164, 165, 210, 275111 Byzantium/Byzantine empire, 102-4, 106, 108, 109, 111, 113, 119, 121, 124, 148, 166, 167, 212, 218, 223, 244n40, 259n100, 260n101, 261nn117 and 122, 262nn129, 131 and 132, 264n167, 265n170, 266n191, 289nn89 and 101

Cain, 219, 234, 258n77, 261n115 Cairo, 139, 143 Cambyses II, 182 Canaan: land of, 89, 140, 162; son of Ham, 89-91, 219, 261n115 Canaanites, 70, 89 Carafa, Cardinal Carlo, 145 carnival, 5, 43, 162, 218, 230, 231, 290n11, Carthage, council of, 54 Castro, Abraham, 143 Cave of Treasures, 29 Central Asia, 81, 83, 125, 134, 164 Chaldea, Chaldeans, 204, 240n12, 288n71 chaos, 31, 71, 96, 107, 118, 122, 165, 167, 174-76, 244n43, 278n63 Chedorlaomer, 167, 188 China, 202, 269n247 Christendom, 109, 110, 117, 141, 147, 149, 157, 220, 221, 224, 262nn133 and 138, 266n195 Christianity, 1, 2, 42, 44, 47–50, 54, 55, 57, 59, 63, 80, 92, 101, 104, 107–13, 118, 137, 143, 144, 154, 165, 166, 223, 235, 249119, 2591100, 2631146, 275119, 2761122, 286n47, 294n78 Christians, passim. See Church Christmas, 228 Christology, 56, 58, 151 Church, 56-58, 148; allegorical figure, 57, 60, 148; Calvinist, 152, 273n64; Catholic, 32, 71, 75, 145, 151, 152, 157, 228, 229, 233, 242n20, 249n20, 258n72, 263n148, 273n65; Eastern, 54, 55, 71, 101, 104, 219, 258n72; Fathers of, 54, 67, 103; Lutherans, 235, 273n64; Protestant, 9, 48, 71, 75, 112, 137, 138, 151, 152, 157, 228, 229, 233, 234, 242n20, 249n20, 263n148, 293n72; Western, 54 Cinderella, 5, 18 Clement of Rome, 54 Clermont, 153 commentary, 1, 30, 51, 54, 57, 59, 71, 87, 120-22, 125, 131, 138, 147, 165, 172, 174, 196, 217, 219, 239n4, 240n10, 243n36, 255n25, 262n134, 264n139, 265n184, 266nn188, 191, 192 and 195, 267nn206 and 213, 269n243, 270nn1 and 15, 272n40, 273nn55 and 57, 277n40, 278n53, 286n44. See also exegesis Constantine, 104, 106

324 GENERAL INDEX

Conversos, 139, 143-45, 157, 229, 272nn36 Diaspora, 15, 21, 52-54, 79, 92-94, 97, 103, and 42, 273n65. See also crypto-Jews 106, 118, 123, 124, 171, 216, 232, 249114, Cooper, Thomas, 152 263n152, 267nn205 and 214 Coptic, 50, 54, 55, 256n43 Didascalia, 97 crucifixion, 26, 45, 104, 108, 109, 125, 216, Diodorus Siculus, 209 220, 221, 225, 233, 247nn12, 16 and 17, Dionysus: rites of, 99, 245n52 257n62, 261n122, 268n221, 280n100, Dositheus, 100 291n24, 293nn63 and 77 Dura Europos, 52, 81, 212, 244n44, 260n106, crypto-Jews, 143-45, 272n36. See also 269n245, 284n151 Conversos Ctesias, 169 early modern period, 2, 111, 137, 146, 147, Cutha, 176 151, 152, 157, 270n2 Cyril of Jerusalem, 55 Easter, 226, 228, 229, 292n53 Cyrus the Great, 14, 78, 79, 105, 122, 131, Eastern Roman empire. See Byzantium/ 135, 180-82, 184-86, 245n61, 253n57, Byzantine empire 268n221, 27on251, 281nn107, 113, 114 Edom/Edomites, 18, 29, 38, 106, 108, 110, 116, and 116; cylinder of, 181, 182, 281nn113 118, 141, 149, 165, 166, 179, 193, 205, 246n65, and 114 259n99, 260n105, 262n135. See also Esau Egypt/Egyptians, 15, 21, 42, 50, 62, 64, 65, Daivā, 185, 186, 197, 283nn141 and 142, 67, 69, 72, 81, 92, 93, 98-100, 105, 126, 128, 129, 142, 143, 153, 155, 156, 162-64, Dajjāl. See Antichrist 167, 180, 182, 185, 188, 192, 208-10, 216, Dalley, S., 139, 276n27, 277nn38 and 45, 226, 233, 242112, 243132, 25117, 253135, 279n81 256n42, 258n79, 259n92, 270n8, 275n85, Damascus Affair (1840), 142 277n36, 283n138, 288n80, 292n54 Damnatio Memoriae, 220 Eisenberg, I., 154 Daniel/Daniel, 15, 33, 77, 95, 96, 100, Elam/Elamite, 50, 167, 171, 173-91, 195, 233, 104, 105, 115, 131, 187, 216, 222, 240112, 275n1, 276n29, 278n53, 63 and 69, 279nn80, 83, 84 and 86, 280nn91, 92, 94, 244n39, 245n57, 259n88, 263n152, and 98, 2811114, 28311136, 137 and 146, 264n165, 292n50 284n148, 292n34. See also Neo-Elamite Dārāb/*DārābNāma*, 84, 88, 255nn17-19 Darius, 67, 84, 136, 169, 180, 182-86, 197, period/dynasty Elephantine, 92 221, 228, 244n43, 269n246, 271n20, 277nn36 and 37, 280n100, 282n130, Eliezer (rabbi), 240n10 283n138 Elijah-cycle, 196 End Times, 105. See also Day of Judgment; Davies, Phillip, 235, 236, 293n72 Eschaton Day of Judgment, 56, 68, 205. See also End Times: Eschaton Enlil, 173, 174 De la Cavalleria, Pedro, 154 Enūma Eliš, 174, 175, 182, 227, 279n80 De Lagarde, Paul, 27 Ephrem the Syrian, 55, 288n85 Epic of Anzū, 173, 174 De Ratti Menton, Count, 142 Epistle of Rabbi Sherirah Gaon, 124 Dead Sea Scrolls, 6, 44, 52, 71, 86, 90, 105, Ereškigal, 176, 279n79 Eritrea, 163, 256n42 Deh Khodā, 'Alī Akbar, 202-4, 288n66. See also Lughat Nāma Erra/Erra Song, 175, 176 Delgado, João Pinto, 144, 145, 272nn38 Esau, 13, 17, 18, 106, 107, 110, 141, 146, 162, and 40 173, 179, 193, 204, 205, 241n20, 246n65, Della Valle, Piedro, 231 259n99, 260nn103-5, 261nn117 and 124, Demetrius, 94, 95 262nn135 and 138, 264n156, 275n7.

See also Edom/Edomites

Diabolos, See Satan

GENERAL INDEX 325

Eschaton, 102. See also Day of Judgment; **End Times** Esther/Esther, passim Esther Rabba, 196, 243n36 Esther the Royal Jewess or, The Death of Haman, 202 Ethiopia/Ethiopic, 51, 55, 97, 130, 133, 218, 256n40, 258n72, 267n214 Eucharist, 224 eunuch. See "plot of the eunuchs" Euphrates, 103, 114, 184, 258n84 Europe, 2, 50, 136, 138, 146, 147, 150, 151, 155, 225, 226, 228, 291n20 Eutychius, 131, 268n219 Evagrius, 241n21, 247n17 exegesis, 1, 7, 15, 18, 33, 41, 47, 48-60, 63-64, 67-70, 83, 107, 108, 113, 116, 120-22, 132, 137-39, 141, 144, 147, 148, 153, 161, 163, 167, 190, 195, 197, 200-2, 204, 205, 207, 211, 214, 215-17, 233, 239n4, 248n1, 250n36, 252nn23 and 25, 254n2, 256n38, 264n163, 266nn195, 197, and 198, 267nn206 and 210, 270n1, 284n12, 285nn14 and 28, 287n63, 287nn71 and 72, 290n2. See also commentary exocannibalism, 224, 225, 292n47 Exodus (from Egypt), 14, 16, 69, 234, 251113 Ezekiel, 189 Ezra, 136, 239n1

Faqfūr, 85
Fatimid caliphate, 124, 226, 231
Fawkes, Guy, 229, 234, 235, 274n74, 293n72.

See also Guy Fawkes Night
Feldman, L., 38, 245n59, 246n64
Fettmilch, Vincenz, 150, 225, 273n64
Fir'awn. See Pharoah
Floor, W., 232
France, 270n1, 273n51
Frankfurt, 150
Frazer, James, 227, 263n144, 293n63

Ezra-Nehemiah, 187, 195, 245n37

Galilee, 109, 110, 166, 262n129
gallows, 10, 12, 13, 17, 23, 37, 66, 70, 72, 84,
117, 135, 150, 156, 178, 195, 198, 204, 216,
217, 221, 232, 237, 241n21, 242nn9 and 23,
251n19, 257nn55 and 62, 280n94, 285n14,
290nn5-7, 291n26
gaon, geonim, 121, 266n188, 292n34

Garden of Eden, 219, 261n115 Gaumāta, 180, 182-84, 282n127 Genesis, 29, 80, 91, 107, 193 Genesis Apocryphon, 258n79 Genesis Rabba, 204, 290n4 Genizah, 138, 142, 220, 262n140, 270n7 Gibbor, Judah, 270n4, 286n29 Gobryas, Gubaru, 183, 184, 186, 282n126, Gog/Gogite, 28, 31, 33, 35, 91, 118, 163, 165; Gog and Magog, 96, 119, 163, 165, 243n27, 257n64 Golden Bough, 227 Granada, 142 Great Assembly, 6, 239n1 Greek/Greeks, 6, 19, 20-41, 43-45, 47, 49-51, 55, 81, 82, 86-94, 96, 98, 99, 101, 106, 123, 162, 163, 169, 185, 190, 193, 197, 205, 206, 209, 210, 241nn1 and 3, 242n13, 243n26, 244nn45 and 49, 245nn51, 52 and 56, 246nn62, 67 and 69, 250n41, 254nn8 and 9, 255n35, 256nn36, 42, 43 and 46, 257nn54 and 57, 258n76, 259n100, 260nn101 and 113, 264nn166 and 167, 284n2, 286n41, 287n58. See also Hellenism/Hellenizers Gunpowder Plot, 152, 229, 274n74 Guy Fawkes Night, 229, 274n74, 293nn72 and 74. See also Fawkes, Guy

Hadassah, 162 hadīth, 68, 164, 253n39, 276nn12-14, 292n43, 294n94, 295n5 Hadrian, 106, 115, 244n41 haji, 223 Hakewell, George, 152 Halakha, 114, 115, 218, 243n29, 263n155, 290n10. See also Law, Jewish Ham, 89-91, 199, 2611115; curse of, 89 Hamamshen, 166 Haman, passim Hāmān-Sūz, 203 Hamantaschen, 225 Hammedata, 11, 14, 168, 193-95, 202, 243n25, 245n51, 262n128, 266n199 Ḥamza al-Isfahānī, 127, 268n225 Hanukkah, 66, 94-96, 98, 101, 256n36, Haran, 202-4, 287n65, 288nn71 and 75 Hārūn al-Rashīd, 253n42, 269n247

326 GENERAL INDEX

Hasmonean dynasty, 92-96, 98, 113, 257n66 Humban, 177-81, 183-87, 190, 191, 279nn82 Hatakh, 115, 264n154, 292n50 and 84, 280nn94 and 96, 281n108, Haymūn, 129, 130 282n125, 283nn136, 141 and 145, 284n154 Hebrew, 6, 9, 10, 15, 17, 18, 20–22, 27, 31, 32, Hungary, 292n36, 295n7 35, 36, 42, 47, 54, 55, 60, 93, 95, 110, 111, Husayn (imam), 230, 231, 293n77, 294n79 117, 120-22, 125, 162, 163, 166, 172, 178, Iberia/Iberians, 119, 139, 143, 144 179, 184, 185, 195, 198, 205, 206, 211, 219, Iblīs. See Satan 222, 225, 229, 241nn21, 7 and 8, 242nn18 Ibn 'Abbas (vizier), 142 and 24, 243n26, 244n45, 245n51, 248n20, 249n29, 250nn40 and 4, 257n61, 261n117, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 167, 289n87 Ibn al-'Amīd, 135, 267n18 266n187, 267n206, 269nn242 and 243, 270n4, 279nn71 and 87, 282n129, Ibn al-Kashshā, 139 283n187, 286n41, 287n55, 288n84, Ibn Ezra, Abraham, 143, 262n134, 271n26, 289n98, 291n22 Hebrew Bible, 1, 5, 9–19, 20, 21, 36, 38, 40, Ibn Ishāq, 64 46, 48, 50, 51, 56, 61, 81, 82, 86, 89, 90, Ibn Khaldūn, 124, 134-36, 182, 268n18, 102, 108, 113, 116, 117, 120, 122, 127, 128, 270n51, 271n20 Ibn Manzūr, 253nn42 and 48 153, 176, 190, 193, 197-200, 202-4, 210, Ibn Waḥshiyyah, 276n30, 281n106 217, 242n20, 245n57, 248n3, 249n18, Idumeans, 38. See also Edom/Edomites 260nn103 and 105, 261n115. See also Bible; Old Testament; Torah India/Indians, 123, 130, 132, 133, 165, 179, Hegai, 27, 201, 243n25 211, 233, 239n2, 276n18 Hell, 196, 222, 285n22, 294n94 Indus River, 119, 121 Hellenism/Hellenizers, 2, 24, 35, 37, 38, Injīl ("Gospel"), 61 40, 81, 88-94, 97-100, 115, 123, 128, 138, Inmestar, 111, 263n144 Inquisition, Spanish, 143, 144, 229, 272n38 145, 157, 163, 199, 255n34, 256nn36 and *Instructions of Ankhsheshong*, 169, 240n11, 42, 259n100, 284n5. See also Greek/ Greeks Hermon, 99, 100, 258n78 Iran, 2, 16, 50, 77, 81, 83, 84, 86, 107, 118, 123, Herod, 43, 53, 246n3 127, 131, 132, 164, 165, 167, 185, 203, 222, Herodotus, 82, 169, 182, 186 223, 230, 231, 235, 255n30, 261n118, Hillel, 49 269n240, 271n24, 271n28, 276n18, 281nn116 and 119, 282n131, 283n136, Hippo, council of, 54 historiography, 2, 82-84, 123, 124, 127, 128, 284n2, 288n66, 290n7, 291nn30 and 32, 131, 140, 162, 213, 267nn211, 213, 215 and 292n34, 293n75, 294nn79 and 92. See also Persia/Persians 216, 269n239, 281n117 History of Prophets and Kings, 131 Iraq, 50, 77, 81, 83, 121, 122, 146, 176, 185, Hitler, Adolf, 147, 150, 151, 236, 273n53 203, 230, 255n30, 288n67, 293n75. See Holofernes, 96-99, 257nn67 and 68 also Babylon/Babylonian Holy Land, 14, 19, 52-54, 78, 81, 89, 92, 93, Isaiah/Isaiah, 79, 88, 188 Isfahan, 127, 164 96, 106, 122, 146, 166, 249114, 2571162, Ishmael/Ishmaelites, 13, 141, 295n9 259n85, 266n195. See also Judea/Judeans; Isidore of Seville, 36, 23911 Palestine Islam, 1, 2, 47-49, 59-64, 67, 68, 70, 80, 82, Hōmān, 83, 84, 86, 103, 164, 257n67, 284n154, 293n65 83, 101, 112, 119-24, 126-28, 134-36, 139, Ḥomāy, 83, 84, 254n14, 255n17, 261n118, 141, 142, 144, 146, 153-58, 163-65, 173, 269n239 194, 200, 203, 207, 212, 220, 239n2, Horowitz, E., 166, 263n146, 276n23 248n5, 251n15, 252n32, 253nn37 and 44, hubris, 25, 38-40, 64, 91, 97, 242n15, 255n23, 257n64, 266nn188, 195, 197 and 246nn71 and 72, 250n36, 294nn94 and 2 198, 267n213, 271n26, 272n34, 274n79,

GENERAL INDEX

275nn86, 88 and 9, 287n65, 291n29, 292n47; Shī'a Islam, 142, 230, 231, 235; Sunnī Islam, 231, 294n94. See also Muslims Islamicate civilization, 123, 124, 127, 136, 139, 190, 267nn208, 211 and 216, 274n75 Israel/Israelites, 15, 16, 24, 26, 28, 42, 56, 63, 64, 69, 70, 72, 79, 80, 94, 96, 110, 116, 117, 126, 130-32, 135, 136, 139, 141, 144, 145, 155, 162, 196, 235, 240117, 2431136, 2511117 and 10, 252n28, 257n62, 261n126, 268n225, 284n148, 289n100, 290n6; Land of, 52, 247n14; State of, 236, 253n47, 271n28, 272n44, 295n9 Isrā'īliyyāt, 70, 126, 127, 210, 211, 213 Ištar, 170-73, 175-78, 181, 187, 225, 279nn279 and 281, 281n116, 284n151 Ītākh, 125 Italy, 53, 145, 224, 277, 292n46 Ītnāh, 125

Jacob, 79, 106, 141, 173, 179, 204, 205, 236, 239n5, 260n104, 261nn117 and 124, 262n156, 287n63 Ja'far al-Sādiq, 223 Jāhiz, al-, 136, 153 Jehoiachin, 189 Jerome, 32, 54, 55, 242n20, 249n16 Jerusalem, 14, 33, 64, 93, 94, 97, 98, 105, 106, 122, 140, 165, 199, 25411, 2571157, 272n44, 276n27 Jesus, 42–47, 49, 50, 56–58, 104, 105, 108–12, 147-49, 193, 205, 216, 221, 223-25, 231, 234, 241n21, 247nn8, 12, 15 and 17, 248n22, 251n15, 261nn120 and 123, 262nn130, 132 and 139, 263nn144 and 146, 273n66, 288n77, 288n85, 290n6, 293nn63 and 77 *Jewish Antiquities / Antiquities of the Jews,* 32, 36, 38-40, 257n57, 267n212 Jews, passim; Rabbanite, 120-22, 124, 138, 139, 141, 150, 157, 226, 266nn187 and 193, 266n202, 271n30; Reform, 9, 235, 236 Jezebel, 196, 201, 285n19, 287n55 Jirjis al-Makīn. See Ibn al-'Amīd Johns, A., 155, 275n86

Joseph, 15, 17, 63, 173, 240112, 242112, 251nn11 and 12, 264n156, 277n47, 287n63,

288n80, 290n5, 291n26

Josephus Flavius, 25, 32, 36-40, 44, 58, 64, 67, 97, 108, 182, 242n15, 245nn60 and 61, 246nn62-64, 67, and 69-74, 249n34, 250n36, 259n88, 262n135, 264n166, 267n212, 268n221, 282n123, 284n5, 286nn30 and 43, 290n4, 291n25 Josippon, 53, 246n73, 249n16, 264n166 Jubilees, 80, 89, 90, 128, 203, 256n40 Judah (kingdom), 42, 205, 207, 211, 256n53 Judah Maccabeus, 93, 94, 256n52, 257n66 Judaism, 1, 2, 41, 42, 48-50, 52, 53, 57, 58, 63, 72, 77, 80, 81, 86, 88, 89, 91, 92, 94, 97, 101, 104, 106, 110, 112-15, 120, 121, 127, 138, 139, 142, 144, 147, 173, 199, 2451157, 248n5, 254n1, 256n46, 259n97, 263n151, 266n197, 267n214, 272n34, 287nn48 and 52, 294178 Judas Iscariot, 46, 47, 93, 149, 225, 228, 229, 232, 234, 235, 236, 247nn12 and 13, 293n70; Burning-Judas ceremonies, 229-31, 234 "Judas's ear," 225, 226, 228 Judea/Judeans, 14, 22, 25, 30, 33, 78, 94, 105, 117, 225 Judeo-Arabic, 110, 122, 125, 143, 165, 219, 243n36, 262n140, 266n193, 27on8, 286n44 Judeo-Persian, 190, 204, 269nn240 and 248, 274n75

Judith/Judith, 51, 90, 95-97, 100, 257n58 and 66-68, 258n72

Jupiter, 175, 178, 179, 190, 281n106, 282n128

Kallir, Eleazar, 110, 244n40 Kalonymos ben Kalonymos, 110 Karaism/Karaites, 48, 120-22, 138, 139, 141, 150, 226, 23912, 243125, 2661187, 191-93, 198, 199 and 202, 267n206, 270nn4 and 15, 271n30, 286n29, 291n14 Karardashīr b. Dashkal, 133 Karbalā, 230 Kfar Qarnos/Qarnayim, 166, 194, 212, 262n129, 276n20 Kfar Qarşum, 166, 212 Khmelnytsky, Bohdan, 147, 273n52 Khurasan, 164, 165, 275n11 Khusraw, 103, 253n47 Kiriša, Kiririša, 177, 187, 195, 280n94 Kisā'ī, al-, 126, 127, 208, 209, 290n110 Kish, 240n15, 244n48, 262n134

328 GENERAL INDEX

Kitāb al-'unwān (The Book of the Title), 125, 219n268 Kitāb al-shajarah ("Book of the Tree"), 254n48, 274n79 kitin, 180, 185, 186, 190, 283nn137, 138 and 141 kitmān. See taqiyya Koller, A., 53, 78, 248n9, 249n14, 281n121 Korah, 62, 68, 70, 163, 196, 205, 250nn3

and 4, 252n28, 285n18, 288n80, 294n2

Krenos. *See* Kfar Qarnos/Qarnayim Kurdistan, 223, 224, 226, 293n56

Lactantius, 106
Lammens, Henri, 154
late antiquity, 2, 6, 18, 20, 24, 29, 36, 49, 50, 53–55, 59, 62–64, 67, 72, 75, 78, 82, 94, 95, 97, 98, 101–4, 106–9, 111, 112, 116, 118–23, 128, 130, 131, 137, 145, 146, 152, 165, 167, 179, 190, 193–96, 198–201, 204–6, 210, 211, 213, 216, 218, 219, 221, 226, 228, 234, 236, 240n13, 246n64, 247n14, 253n37, 255n33, 258n81, 259nn86 and 96, 263nn145, 149 and 154, 265n185, 267nn213 and 216, 269n238, 272n40, 276n21, 278n63, 286nn38 and 40, 287n56, 288n85, 289n89, 292nn37 and 54, 293nn63, 65 and 66, 294n2

Latin, 6, 20, 29, 32, 51, 54, 55, 154, 183, 224, 250n35, 256n43; Old Latin, 32–35, 37, 44, 55, 197, 244nn39 and 46–49, 245nn50, 51, 53 and 56, 246nn62 and 63, 249n27, 256n44, 258n76, 286n30

Law, Jewish, 19, 25, 42, 49, 94, 100, 114–116, 124, 218, 222–224, 255n34, 263n151, 290n10, 291nn17 and 31. *See also* Halakha Lees, D. M., 45, 46, 247nn8, 13 and 15, 285n19 Leo V (emperor), 168, 276n25 *Letter of Aristeas*, 20 Levi b. Laḥm (rabbi), 46, 247n14

Levi U. Lahin (14001), 40, 24/1114

Life of Adam and Eve, 29, 91, 128, 244n38

Llewellyn-Jones, L., 170, 282n121, 283n137

Lot, 196, 202

lots, 196, 262 lots, 10, 178, 213, 241n7, 243n34, 278n54, 282n127. *See also* astrologer, astrology

Lughat Nāma, 203, 288n66. See also Deh Khodā

Luther, Martin, 44, 93, 148, 149–51, 157, 273n66

LXX (Septuagint), 11, 14, 20–32, 35, 37, 40, 44–47, 51–56, 58, 62, 64, 66, 67, 71, 75, 81–84, 86–88, 92, 97, 105, 108, 113, 115, 118, 125, 145, 151, 152, 157, 163, 166, 178, 184, 192, 197, 206, 209, 216, 220, 225, 236, 241nn3, 4 and 7, 242nn9, 20 and 23, 243nn25 and 33–35, 244nn45 and 47, 245nn49 and 55, 246nn62, 63 and 69, 249nn15, 20, 24 and 29, 250n43, 252n26, 256n48, 258nn68 and 78, 260n102, 265nn169 and 171, 270 n11, 285n14, 290n4

1-3 Maccabees, 90, 249n22

1 Maccabees, 90, 93–96, 257nn58and 67, 258n72

2 *Maccabees*, 90, 93–96, 138, 256n48, 257nn54, 58 and 67, 258n72

3 Maccabees, 90, 98–100, 245n52, 258nn76, 78 and 80

Maccabees/Maccabeans. *See* Hasmonean dynasty

Macedonians, 23, 25–29, 31, 33, 35, 55, 72, 88, 90, 91, 107, 108, 125, 162, 184, 206, 233, 245nn51 and 56, 246n67, 259n89, 260n102

Magophonia, 182–84, 227, 228, 282n121, 293n65

Mainz, 54, 58

Mamluk era, 128, 129, 268nn233 and 234, 269n241

Mammon, 205, 288n77

Manetho, 92

Manuel the Armenian, 166

Maqdisī, al-, 208, 268n229

Maqrīzī, al-, 128, 129, 268n231

Marcion, 42

Mardochaios, 22, 24, 26, 28, 268n233

Marduk, 170–72, 174–78, 180–82, 184–86, 190, 227, 276n27, 277nn34 and 36, 278nn49, 60, 63 and 69, 279n77, 280n92,

281nn109 and 111, 282n128, 283nn135,

139, 144 and 145

Marraccio, Ludovico, 154

Marranos. See Conversos

Mars, 29, 175, 176, 178, 179, 190, 278n58,

280nn92 and 98, 281n106

Martiya "Ummaniš," 183

Mary, 151, 273n65

Masoretic Text, 6, 9, 11, 13–19, 21–31, 33–35, 37–41, 43–45, 52–56, 58, 59, 62, 64–67,

GENERAL INDEX 329

71, 72, 75, 78, 82-88, 90, 92, 98, 101, 108, 109, 113, 115-17, 121, 125, 129, 135, 139, 140, 151, 152, 157, 162, 163, 165, 167-169, 171, 173-75, 178-80, 182-90, 192, 196, 206, 215, 217, 221, 234-36, 241nn4 and 7, 242nn9, 23 and 24, 243nn33-35, 245n9, 246nn63 and 69, 249nn20, 25 and 34, 250n43, 252n27, 255nn19 and 20, 256nn48 and 50, 257n59, 265n185, 268nn220 and 221, 270n11, 276n31, 277nn36, 38, 40, 42 and 47, 278n56, 279n79, 283nn137 and 142, 285n14, 286n29, 29on5. See also Hebrew Bible Mašti, 177, 187, 279n84, 280n94 Mas'ūdī, al-, 127, 128, 269n239 Mattanah (rabbi), 60, 250n45 Maurus, Rhabanus, 18, 54, 57, 58, 148, 249n34, 250nn35 and 36, 262n130, 290n4 May Laws (1882), 146 Mayer, John, 112, 148, 223, 274n72 Media/Median, 50, 96, 124, 141, 188 Mediterranean, 36, 50, 81, 101, 102, 118, 121, 257n62, 261n117, 267n215, 279n73 Megillat Antiochus, 94-96, 100, 263n145, Megillat Ta'anit, 53, 251n20, 257n57 Mehrān, 85 Meir (rabbi), 54, 87, 106, 249n21 Melito of Sardis, 54 Memuchan, 27, 30, 33, 244n39, 246n62, 264n165 Menelaus, 93, 94, 98, 100, 138, 145, 257n55, 260n112 Merlin, Pierre, 152 Mesopotamia, 64, 77, 176, 27511. See also Babylon/Babylonian; Iraq Messiah, 16, 28, 43, 53, 78, 105, 180, 254n2, 260n101, 281n107 Michaelis, Johann, 235, 236 Middle Ages, 2, 65, 96, 101, 110, 111, 123, 131, 136, 137, 143, 146, 147, 150, 152, 153, 195-97, 201, 204, 211, 213, 214, 225, 229, 236, 266n195, 267n215, 270nn2 and 3, 272n38, 273n55, 284n12, 286nn38 and 40, 287n65, 291n20, 292n54 midrash, midrashim, 29, 30, 40, 53, 58-60, 63, 64, 70, 71, 83, 84, 91, 108-10, 113, 115-17, 120-22, 125, 127, 131-33, 135, 152,

165, 195–98, 201, 204, 207, 209–12, 217, 229, 232, 239n2, 243n29, 244n42, 250n41,

252n23, 254n10, 255nn30 and 33, 256n53, 258nn84 and 85, 259n86, 260n104, 263nn150 and154, 265n178, 269nn244 and 245, 270n1, 286nn42 and 43, 287n59, 288n69, 289nn101 and 106, 290n112 and 7, 292150, 293173 Mishna, 52, 54, 59, 113, 248nn6 and 12, 289n98 Mordecai, passim Morocco, 165 Moses, 15, 56, 60, 62, 63, 67-70, 134, 149, 154, 199, 216, 231, 250nn46, 3 and 6, 251nn6 and 13, 253nn37 and 40, 254n48, 255n24, 282n129, 295n4 Mourners of Zion, 122 Muhammad, 49, 50, 61, 63, 68, 120, 153-56, 163, 164, 197, 200, 230, 231, 235, 248n5, 253n39, 288n79, 292n47, 294n94, 295n4 Muḥammad Beg, 142 Muharram, 231 Müller, Max, 2, 239n2 Muslims, passim; Ismā'īlīs, 153, 254n48, 274n79; Shī'a, 49, 122, 142, 153, 157, 219, 222, 229-32, 235, 266n203, 293nn75 and 77, 294n83; Sunnīs, 158, 230, 231, 294nn94 and 4; Twelvers, 153, 274n79. See also Islam

Nabateans, 167 Nabonidas, 181, 182, 186, 281n113 Nadab, Nadan, 65, 252nn25-27, 258n68 Namtar, 176, 279n79 Near East, 2, 3, 20, 36, 50, 59, 65, 67, 77, 101, 113, 118, 119, 167, 169, 170, 172, 200, 206, 218, 220-24, 227, 260n112, 267nn208 and 215, 277n43, 278nn49 and 50, 279nn73 and 86. See also Ancient Near East Nebuchadnezzar, 13, 33, 77, 78, 81, 96–98, 117, 130, 133, 146, 174, 199, 200, 217, 240112, 251115, 25411, 2551130, 2591197, 26411156, 278n69, 281n111, 286n46, 287nn48, 51 and 52, 288n75, 294n2 Nebuzaradan, 211, 254n1, 287n48 Negev, 162, 167 Nehardea, 103 Neo-Assyrian period/dynasty, 167, 179, 185 Neo-Babylonian period/dynasty, 172, 173, 177, 179-181, 278nn53 and 57, 279nn77

and 80

330 GENERAL INDEX

Neo-Elamite period/dynasty, 171, 173, 177, 180, 181, 185, 191, 280nn94 and 96, 2811108, 2831141, 2841154 Nergal, 176, 279n77 Nero, 105, 106, 146, 254n1, 259nn96 and 97, New Israel, 113, 148, 150, 157, 276n25 New Testament, 6, 23, 24, 41-49, 59, 61, 93, 108, 153, 193, 205, 216, 221, 225, 234, 235, 242n11, 246nn1 and 3, 247nn15 and 18, 259n91, 281n119. See also Bible New Year festival, 174, 181, 227 Niblock, I. W., 228 Nicanor, 64, 93-96, 98, 99, 225, 251n20, 252n20, 256nn51 and 52, 257nn56, 57 and 67 Nimrod, 39, 146, 203, 204, 234, 246n72, 251n15, 253n47, 275n1, 287nn51 and 52, 288nn68-70, 294nn2 and 4, 295n9 Ninurta, 173, 174 Nissan, 47, 178, 203, 229 Noah, 89, 90, 128, 194, 196, 198, 256n38, 279n87, 286n43 North Africa, 50, 121, 134, 144 Nuwayrī, al-, 128, 129, 268n21 Old Testament, 42, 43, 47, 49, 54, 59, 72,

Old Testament, 42, 43, 47, 49, 54, 59, 72, 113, 116, 234, 248n22, 267n210. *See also* Hebrew Bible

Omar Koshan, 229–32, 235, 293n74, 294nn79, 85 and 88

Oral Torah, 49, 59, 120, 248n1. *See also* Halakha; midrash, midrashim

Origen, 55, 56, 245n57, 249n29, 251n11

Ottoman empire, 143, 226, 263n141, 271n33

Pahlavi, 107, 108, 219, 261

Palestine, 44, 45, 95, 103, 105, 107, 109, 138, 196, 226, 228, 244n40, 248n9, 251n15, 252n28, 253n47, 261nn122 and 123, 262n128, 266n195, 275n89, 293n66. *See also* Holy Land; Judea/Judeans

Parshandata, 198

Parthian empire, 50, 81, 82, 84, 86–88, 103, 131, 212, 254nn6, 10 and 16, 255nn27 and 33, 260n107, 277n41

Passover, 14, 115, 187, 229, 261n120

Paul, 46, 47, 50, 109, 248n22, 290n6

Pentateuch. *See* Torah

Pentateuch, Samaritan, 6

Persepolis, 107, 184, 280n104, 283n136 Persia/Persians, 10, 14-16, 21, 23, 25-27, 29, 31, 33-35, 39, 50, 52, 57, 62, 63, 67, 72, 78, 81-88, 90, 91, 96, 103, 105, 107, 109, 116, 118, 122, 124, 125, 127-32, 134-36, 139, 141, 142, 148, 153, 154, 162-64, 167, 168, 170, 180, 184-86, 192, 198, 202-4, 206, 223, 228, 229, 231, 233, 240n6, 241nn6 and 7, 252n34, 253n37, 255nn19, 23, 25 and 27, 259n93, 2601113, 2611113, 2621128, 2681234, 269nn239, 246 and 248, 270n251, 271n28, 275n5, 281n116, 282nn127 and 131, 291n24, 292nn34 and 50; Old Persian, 26, 177, 182-87, 242n18, 279n84, 282nn124 and 129, 283nn137, 138 and 144, 288n84; Persian empire, 28, 31, 53, 88, 91, 92, 103, 108, 118, 142, 169, 184, 228, 282n127. See also Iran Peshitta, 55, 56, 59, 67, 249n25, 268n220 Pharoah, 62, 64, 153, 155, 209, 259n97 Philo, 52 Pīrān, 83 *Pirqe de Rabbi Eliezer*, 110, 252n28, 280n101, 285n18, 286nn32-34, 287nn62 and 65 piyyut, 109, 110, 196, 197, 201, 212, 219, 251n15, 252n29, 259n86, 261nn117 and 122, 262nn128, 129, 131 and 132, 265n170, 266n195, 274n75, 285nn23 and 24, 286n40, 293n66 "plot of the eunuchs," 17, 22-24, 26, 28, 84, 88, 90, 109, 115, 117, 125, 132, 211, 24219, 251n14, 255nn19 and 27 Polak, Elizabeth, 202 Poland, 225 Pontius Pilate, 45, 104 pope/papacy, 54, 145, 151-54, 157, 234, 274nn71 and 72 Potiphar's wife, 240n12, 277n47 Prophets, 53, 188 Proverbs, 18, 196, 291n16 Pseudepigrapha, 89, 249n15 Pseudo-Philo, 240n13, 288n73 Ptolemaic dynasty, 92, 93, 99, 105, 162, 163, 192, 256n42, 259n92 Ptolemy II Philadelphus, 20 Ptolemy IV, 98-100 Pumbedita, 103 puns/punning, 17, 20, 26, 172, 175, 177, 179, 184, 187, 242n18, 269n242, 278nn50-52, 283n144

pūr. See lots

GENERAL INDEX 331

Purim, 6, 10, 11, 18, 21, 24, 27, 44, 46, 50, 52-54, 64, 66, 85, 86, 93, 95, 96, 98, 109, 111, 112, 127-31, 138-40, 143, 148-50, 152, 162, 183, 184, 189, 190, 203, 215, 217-35, 237, 241n7, 244n49, 245n51, 247nn8 and 18, 257n62, 263nn141, 144, 146 and 147, 265n172, 266n195, 268nn226, 230, 231 and 236, 270n7, 271nn18 and 30, 272n44, 273n53, 281n116, 282n121, 283n142, 290n10, 291nn19 and 31, 292nn34, 48 and 53, 293nn56 and 62, 294n94; Purim of Susa, 189; Purim panel, 244nn44, 260n106, 269n245, 284n151; "Purim Vincenz"/"Purim Fettmilch," 150 Purim-parody/Purim-play/Purimspiel, 138, 147, 270n5

Qalqashandī, al-, 128 Qingu, 174–77, 227 Qumran. See *Dead Sea Scrolls* Qur'ān, 1–3, 7, 48, 49, 60, 61–73, 75, 83, 93, 98, 100, 119–21, 124–28, 130, 131, 136, 137, 143, 146, 153–57, 161–65, 167, 190–92, 194, 196, 197, 200, 203, 205–7, 209, 211, 214–16, 219, 220, 234, 236, 242n15, 243nn27 and 32, 248n5, 250n1, 251nn7–10, 252nn20, 25, 28, 30 and 31, 256n43, 257n64, 258n80, 266n187, 270nn256 and 8, 274nn79, 81 and 82, 275nn88 and 89, 281n119, 284n154, 285n21, 288nn79 and 80, 291n18, 292n43 Quraysh, 163

Rabghūzī, al-, 210, 211, 289n99 Rakhsh, 83 Rashi, 87, 132, 133, 269n243 Rav (Abbā Arākhā), 196, 285n22, 290n10, 295n8 Reformation. See Church: Protestant Rhodes, 226 Rome/Romans, 38, 50, 103-10, 112, 113, 116-18, 152, 157, 162, 166, 212, 220, 228, 229, 233, 234, 259nn88, 91-93, 96 and 99, 260nn101, 106 and 109, 261nn116, 118 and 119, 264n163, 287n51, 289n105, 293nn62 and 67; Roman Empire, 54, 102, 104-8, 117, 259n85 Russia, 146, 224 Rustam, 83 Rustow, M., 138

2 Samuel, 80 Saadiah Gaon, 18, 109, 120-22, 241n23, 257n61, 265n185, 266nn188, 191, 192, 196, 199, 201 and 202, 267n205 Saba, Abraham, 141, 144, 264n169, Sabbath, 95, 96, 115, 265n172 Sacaea, 227, 281n116 Saddam Hussein, 146 Sadducees, 48, 120, 263n151 Safavid dynasty, 142, 230 Sale, George, 154 Salmon b. Yeruham, 266nn192, 199 and 202, 267n206, 291n14 Salome, 43, 246n2 Samak-i 'Ayyār, 84-87, 202, 255nn23, 30 and 33 Sam'anī, al-, 262n128, 270n256 Samaritanism, Samaritans, 2, 6, 9, 71, 102, 116, 120, 138-41, 150, 215, 227, 228, 233, 236, 270nn8 and 11, 271nn18 and 21 Samuel, 15, 16, 240n13, 279n87 Samuel ibn Naghrīla (Shmuel ha-Nagīd), 142, 271n30 Sarakhs, 164, 208, 275n11 Sardūs, gulf of, 69, 289n87 Sasanid empire, 50, 102, 103, 107, 119, 121, 166, 219, 228, 255n30, 258n82, 259n85, 261n119, 267n216, 287n56 Satan, 23, 29, 56, 80, 81, 91, 118, 128, 196, 219, 223, 224, 243n32, 244n38, 247n9, 254n48, 259n94, 274n70 Saul, 15, 16, 18, 64, 109, 135, 173, 175, 176, 225, 240nn13 and 15, 241n21, 244n48, 246n73, 262n134, 278n60 Schäfer, P., 92 scriptures, 1-3, 5-73, 75, 77, 89, 101, 102, 106, 108, 120-24, 128, 136-38, 140, 144, 147, 152-56, 161, 162, 167, 168, 173, 187, 190, 192, 205, 207, 214, 215, 219, 233, 234, 236, 248nn1 and 13, 250n1, 266n87, 271n26, 274n81, 275n89 Scythopolis, 109, 166, 228, 262n129, 293n66 Second Temple period. See Temple (of Jerusalem) Sefer ha-Yashar, 211 Sefer Yosippon, 166, 167, 244n37, 269n251 Segal, E., 198, 264n162 Seleucid empire, 64, 81, 92, 93, 96, 98, 105

332 GENERAL INDEX

Țabarī, al-, 64, 83, 124, 130–34, 139, 202, 203, Sennacherib, 167, 181, 199, 200, 236, 251115, 276n27, 294n2 254n16, 255nn20 and 27, 261n113, 268n237, Septuagint. See LXX 269n248, 27on252, 272n40, 288n67 Shah Abbas II, 142 *Tale of Ahigar. See* Ahigar Shāhīn of Shīrāz, 190, 204, 269n248 Talmon, S., 18 Shakespeare, William, 17 Talmud, 21, 52, 53, 59, 88, 109, 121, 125, 132, Shalom, Abraham, 213 189, 190, 194, 196, 199, 211, 212, 218, 236, Shammai, 49 245n57, 248n12, 249n18, 259n93, Shapira, D., 184 260n107, 261nn123 and 126, 262nn129 Sheba, Queen of, 207, 252n20 and 132, 264n162, 266n196, 27on5, Shem, 89, 287n63 278n52, 280n106, 281n119, 288n80, Sheol, 188 289n106; Babylonian, 46, 49, 52, 59, 82, Shiel, Lady Mary, 232 97, 103, 107, 113, 114, 118, 121, 2411122, Shimr ibn Dhī al-Jawshān, 231 247115, 24816, 2571157, 26111123, 26511172, Shimshai, 139, 198, 264n162, 265n169, 265n185, 274n75; Jerusalem, 53, 113, 271n16, 286nn35, 37 and 38 251n20, 257n57, 265n172 Shiraz, 293n74, 294n85 Tanakh. See Bible Tanḥum ha-Yerushalmi, 124, 240n10, Shmuel ben Nahman, 236, 295n8 Shughal Pīl-i Zūr, 85 261n124, 262n127 Sibt Ibn al-Jawzī, 210 taqiyya, 144 Sibylline Oracles, 105, 106, 259n259 targum, 59, 71, 190, 193, 242n11, 250n39, Šimut, Šumudu, 179, 184, 280n104 259n86. See also Aramaic Sīn, 181 Targum Rishon, 114, 133, 193, 197, 201, Sisera, 199, 200, 236 243n36, 284n2 Sivan, H., 226, 228 Targum Sheni, 59, 124, 165, 193, 199, 240n13, Siyāvash, 222, 230 284n10 Smerdis. See Bardiya Tarsus, 109, 125, 272n40 Socrates Scholasticus, 111 Tattenai, 195, 198 Taylor, Thomas, 152 Spain, 179, 190, 229, 272nn42 and 44. See also Andalus, altaʻziyah, 130, 131, 293n75 Stolper, M. W., 169 Tebet, 20, 241111 Temple (of Jerusalem), 5, 14, 38, 50, 52, 77, Sudan, 163, 256n42 Suddi, al-, 68, 69, 253n45 78, 93-99, 105, 106, 108, 113-15, 117, 122, Sūfī, Sufism, 122, 200 135, 139, 195, 196, 198, 200, 207, 211, 213, Sukkoth, 228 252n20, 257n57, 259nn93 and 99, Sulayman the Magnificent, 143 2601112, 2631151, 2641169, 2701251; Sulpicius Severus, 59, 268n221, 269n238, Second Temple period, 2, 29, 52, 64, 65, 272n40 81, 86, 88, 90-92, 95-101, 105, 113, 115, Sura, 103 120, 126, 128, 145, 146, 165, 167, 222, Susa, 21, 33, 35, 66, 85, 103, 130, 131, 133, 247n9, 258nn73 and 79, 260n112, 282n123 164, 165, 167-69, 177, 184, 187-89, 191, Terah, 204, 288n71 203, 245nn51, 52 and 55, 254n16, 262n128, Teresh, 40, 109, 117, 125, 216, 217, 221, 277n38, 280n94, 283nn138 and 146, 246n62, 262n130, 272n40 Teyma, 50 284n154 Sushtar. See Tustar Theodosius I, 104 Sylvanus, 228 Theophilus of Edessa, 124, 125, 131, 135, 153, 268n218 Synagogue (allegorical figure) 57, 60, 148, Thessalonica, 50, 225, 271n33 Syria, 50, 52, 81, 92, 110, 111, 128, 277n36 Tiamat, 174-77, 197, 227, 278n60 Syriac, 29, 51, 55, 59, 67, 221, 268n220, Titus, 106, 146, 287nn51 and 52 280n100, 288n85 Toledot Yeshu, 110, 262n139

GENERAL INDEX 333

Torah, 6, 20, 42, 48, 49, 53, 60, 61, 94, 101, 108, 110, 115, 131, 199, 233, 24111, 249118, 250146, 2601113, 2651172, 292135; Oral Torah, 49, 59, 120, 24811. See also Hebrew Bible; Old Testament Transoxania, 119
Tunisia, 124, 291115, 292135
Ṭūrān/Ṭūrānians, 83, 86, 103, 164, 167, 257167, 2601113, 2841154, 2931165
Turkey, 29517; Turkic, Turkish, 122, 125, 210
Tustar, 164, 208

Ubayy ibn Khalaf, 68, 253n39 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, 153, 231, 235, 274n79, 294n83 'Umar ibn Saʿd, 231 Umayyad dynasty, 231, 253nn38 and 48 Umm Jamīl, 197, 285n28 ummah, 163, 235, 295n5 Urartu, 167

Vahyazdata, 183

Vajda, Georges, 155

Vashti, 9, 11, 12, 23, 27, 30, 33, 57, 60, 62, 85, 87, 130, 131, 148, 177, 190, 195, 201, 202, 240n7, 244n38, 255n30, 264n165, 265n178, 269n238, 272n40, 273n57, 279n88, 287n51, 293n73

Vayzata, 183

Venus, 178, 190

Vīrū, 85, 87

Vīs and Rāmin, 85, 87, 131, 254n16, 255n25

vizier, 15, 62, 67, 69, 72, 83–87, 98, 100, 109, 123, 125–27, 129, 130, 134–36, 139, 140, 142, 143, 145, 168, 170, 176, 198, 202, 203, 206, 208, 209, 211, 233, 253n42, 255n33, 271n22, 279n79, 288n84

Vorlage, 30–32, 35, 40, 44, 90, 179, 206, 242n24, 243nn24 and 26, 245nn53 and 56, 258n76, 276n31
Vulgate, 32, 54, 55, 75, 249n16, 290n4

Waṭwāṭ, al-, 128, 268nn229–231 Wechsler, M. G., 47, 55, 87, 163

Xenophon, 183 Xerxes, 9, 27, 35, 82, 125, 169, 180, 182, 184–86, 245n61, 250n43, 264n169, 268n221, 277nn34 and 37, 283nn137–39 and 142

Yalqut Shim'oni, 132, 133 Ya'qūbī, al-, 127, 128, 253n40 Yazdgird I, 103 Yazīd I, 231, 232, 295n5 Yefet (biblical), 89 Yefet ben 'Eli, 122, 239n2, 243n25, 266n199, 267n206, 270n15, 284n2, 291n14 Yemen, 50, 222, 292n35 Yom Kippur, 193, 282n124 Yūṣadaq, 140

Zadok, R., 139, 177
Zard, 85, 87
Zedekiah, 189
Zeresh, 22, 34, 35, 62, 64, 177, 193, 195–99, 201, 219, 242n23, 245n55, 265n170, 278n54, 280n94, 284n13, 285nn14, 16, 20, 22–24 and 27, 291nn15 and 19
Ziggurat, 191, 284n154
Zoroaster, Zoroastrianism, 2, 78, 79–81, 102, 103, 107, 108, 136, 140, 163, 180, 182, 197, 222, 228, 244n43, 261n119, 271n20, 275n8, 281n119, 282n131, 286n29
Zuhayr al-Āmirī, 142