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Is There an Iconographic Pattern of the Binding of Isaac?[1]

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Many scholars presume that the Canaanite population sacrificed their children and that it were the Israelites who got rid of this deplorable custom. In comparisons between Israel and its neighbors, this anti-Canaanite prejudice is rarely questioned. We present primary sources for the first time (seals, stelae, temple reliefs), which demonstrate for both the Syro-Canaanite as well as for the Egyptian culture, that the redemption of enemies and child sacrifices was an option; not merely as a marginal phenomenon, but as a central motif in the cultic symbolic system. The comparison between pre-monotheistic and monotheistic images of the redemption of a human sacrifice provides evidence of a surprising continuity in the image constellation. Furthermore, we can demonstrate how Gen 22 contains relics of the Canaanite, pre-monotheistic redemption conception.

Key Words: Abraham, Isaac, Binding of Isaac, Child-sacrifice, Canaanite religion

1. The Problem

In the heart of Berne, the capital of Switzerland, there is a fountain statue called the "Chindlifrässer," which in English means "child eater." It is Kronos, who swallows his own children. The late medieval artist gave him a Jew's hat.[2] Certainly this was not due to his knowledge of the Phoenician origin of the

1 The thesis of this article was presented to the public in Fribourg (CH), Landau (D) and Boston (USA) and has benefitted from various feedbacks. I thank Christopher Dickinson for the English translation and Gerald Klingbeil for his editorial support.

2 Some art historians doubt that it refers to a Jew's hat, but the anti-Jewish adaptation of the motif is well documented in woodcarvings on contemporary calendars (fig. 1) as is the anti-Jewish spirit of Bern in those days.

of the god Kronos, but rather because in his time the majority of Christians living in Berne believed that the Jews killed and ate children. Thankfully today, though more than 60 years after the Shoah, hardly anyone believes this anymore. However, there are still many scholars (especially in the United States) who still believe that child sacrifices were a widespread phenomenon in Carthage and therefore also in Canaan.[3]

These scholars rest their judgment exclusively on secondary sources, most of which can easily be unveiled as attempts to depict a certain group of people as second class citizens, claiming that they sacrificed their own children. Deut 12:31 certainly belongs to this category, where it reads that the natives of the land of Canaan sacrificed their sons and daughters on a fire. The biographer of Alexander the Great, Quintus Curtius Rufus (IV.III.23), writes concerning the siege of Tyre, that some of those present, while considering the catastrophic situation, had suggested performing a sacrifice which had not been practiced for centuries, namely the offering of a freeborn boy. The council of elders, however, claimed to have dismissed this request.[4]

This source, which is hardly ever cited, proves that in the heart of Canaan the custom of sacrificing the firstborn in a situation of danger had been abandoned centuries ago, and there is not one Greek historiographer or philosopher who reports such a custom. However, a much younger source by Eusebius (Praep. Ev. I.10.33.44; IV.16.6) is all the more frequently quoted, in which Eusebius quotes Philo of Byblos, according to whom in mythical times Kronos offered his only son and heir to the throne to Uranus. Omri Boehm concludes from this single "non-biblical evidence" of Eusebius the existence of the pattern of an ancient Near Eastern child sacrifice myth.

This included, according to Boehm, (1) a time of disaster threatening a city or a people; (2) the sacrifice (as a burnt offering) of the (only) son of the king in order (3) to save his people and (4) appease his gods; (5) the circumcision of the male citizens in order to strengthen the effect.[5] Boehm inter-

[3] See Othmar Keel, *Die Geschichte Jerusalems und die Entstehung des Monotheismus, 2 Vols.* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2007), 1:495; he mentions: Lawrence E. Stager and Samuel R. Wolff, "Child Sacrifice at Carthage: Religious Rites or Population Control," in *Biblical Archaeology Review*, January/February 1984; John van Seters, "From Child Sacrifice to Paschal Lamb: A Remarkable Transformation in Israelite Religion," in *Old Testament Essays* 16/2 (2003), 453-63.

[4] Keel, 1:495.

[5] See: Omri Boehm, „Child Sacrifice, Ethical Responsibility and the Existence of the People of Israel," in *Vetus Testamentum* 54/2, 150-51; and Omri Boehm, „The Binding of

prets the Abraham narrative as a "reflection story" which presupposes a familiarity with this myth and is directed at "a sophisticated reader," capable of discerning similarities and differences between the two. He sees the Abraham narrative as a counter narrative to his own reconstructed myth of child sacrifices. The Bible describes the destruction of a city (Sodom), for which the king (Abraham) had interceded, while the son, whom in an earlier version of the narrative had himself refused to sacrifice, is saved. The circumcision is added to the beginning of the narrative as a preceding sacrifice. Boehm's thesis rests upon shaky ground in three regards: (1) his choice of antique sources is highly selective and at the same time uncritical; (2) his reconstruction of an original myth is accordingly hypothetical; and (3) his treatment of the biblical text is highly free-handed[6].

In contrast to Boehm, it is here suggested that it would be fairer to look for real parallels between Gen 22 and possible older patterns. Instead of looking for sources that speak polemically of human sacrifices in Canaan, evidence should be sought that speaks of the redemptive aspects of human sacrifices, which is the true theme of Gen 22. If this is done, there is a greater likelihood of discovering that the angel himself is a significant remainder of an older pattern.

2. Redemption in Ebla

Such a pattern is to be found, not in some random source, but in a chief work of Syrian artwork of the middle Bronze Age (the very era in which the foundations of Canaanite culture were laid). It is the basalt stele from the forecourt of the sanctuary G3 of the city goddess of Ebla (fig. 2-3).[7] Syntactically, the banquet scene, with the sacrifice and music (A3) for the goddess on the front of the stele, forms the centerpiece. The same scene is found in a

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Isaac: A Religious Model of Disobedience," in *Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 468* (New York: T&T Clark, 2007).

6 E.g. the interpretation of the Angel in Gen 22 as secondary insertion. He claims that it was Abraham himself who refused the sacrifice. This obviously aims at turning the obedient Abraham into an autonomous thinker.

7 The stele was moved here during a temple renovation. In the first phase of the temple, it was probably located in the forecourt where it was visible from all sides (Matthiae 1987: 454).

similar depiction on the cultic basin from two other sanctuaries of Ebla.[8] In the uppermost preserved register (A2), the image of the goddess is depicted in the winged shrine above a bull, flanked and protected by bull-men.

Figure 2: Ebla Stelae

[8] Paolo Matthiae, Alle origini della civiltà urbana. Trent'anni di scavi in Siria dell'Università di Roma „La Sapienza," Milano, 422 (fig. 291); and IPIAO 2, No 497.

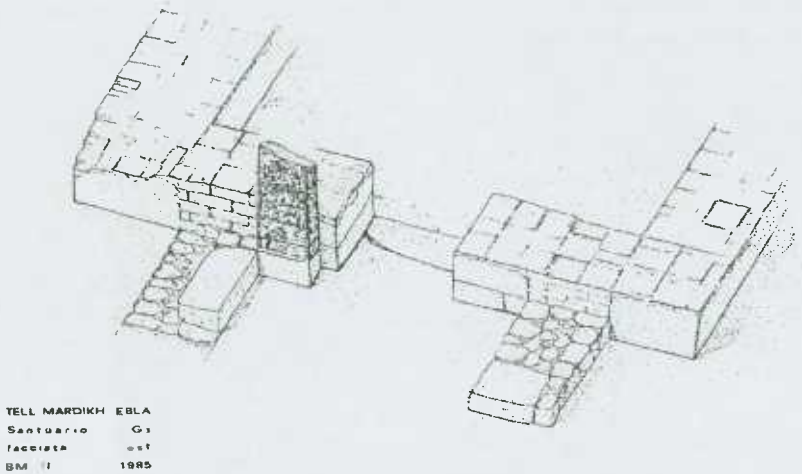


Figure 3: Stelae in situ before sanctuary of the city goddess of Ebla

In a more compressed form, the constellation of the banquet in front of the goddess with her entourage (A2) can be found on a contemporary cylinder seal of the BIBLE+ORIENT Collections in Fribourg (fig. 4).

Figure 4: "Kültepe Level II" Seal

The lowest scene on the front side shows a water-spewing dragon (A4). It is the older carrier animal of the rain goddess and the storm god during the Akkadian Period, as well as in the ancient Babylonian Period (fig. 5).

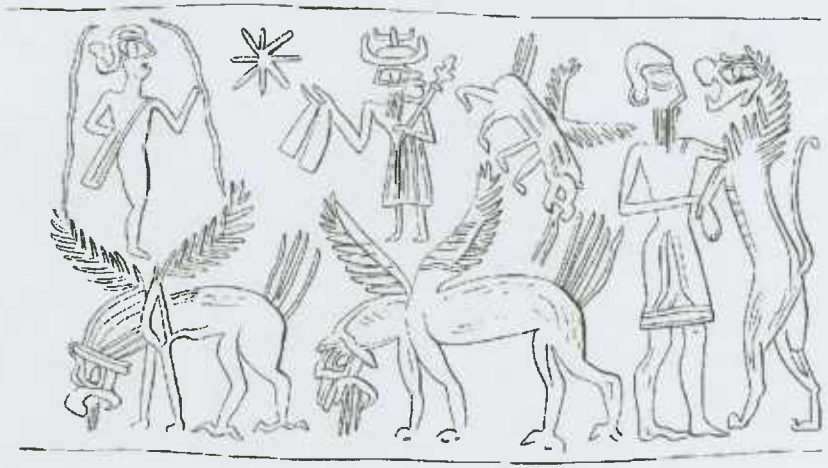


Figure 5: Cylinder Seal

Furthermore, it underlines the civilizing function of the cult (A3) between the dragon (A4) and the goddess (A2). The diagonally placed animal fighting scenes (C2/B4) underline the goddess' positive effect on culture. The diagonally placed priests (B2/C4) as well as the flanking priest and the demigods (?) on the pedestal (B3/C3) emphasize their role as mediators in a cultic act. The upper registers on the back side (D2-3) depict two different Chimeras, a regular one as well as a winged beardless bull-man. Analogous to the investiture image of Mari,[9] the upper registers (D1) probably contained a further Chimera in the form of a Cherub. These would represent three guarding beings, of which the highest one protects the heavens (most probably represented by celestial emblems and their venerators; B1, A1, C1), the second one the sphere of the goddess (B2, A2, C2), and the third one the herd (out of which came the sacrificial animals of the third register [B3, A3, C3]). This provides a succession which can aid in the interpretation of the lowest image of the back side (D4). It most likely depicts the protection of the human sphere. Indications can be found in the bull-fighting scene of this register (B4) illustrated by the threatened human-headed quadruped saved by the hero. In D4 the active protecting power is the double King in his striking gesture, armed once with a dagger and once with a

[9] IPIAO 2, No. 434.

battle axe. The unmistakable gesture, the doubled king and the head dress, which was probably inspired by the white crown, refer to the original Egyptian origins of the motif. A seal from Alalakh, which we know was used for many centuries as a dynasty seal (fig. 6), depicts the same motif (otherwise rarely found in Syrian glyptic), although in a more enculturated version. On this seal, the Syrian goddess is holding a life symbol in her hand. On the Ebla stele, the threatened person is stylized as being naked. In the contemporary glyptic of Alalakh, he is sometimes depicted in a victorious pose, sometimes in a fight with other naked people, and sometimes subordinate, but never dead. He takes an intermediate role between the hero and the enemy or demon. [10] The animal above him is a kid goat,[11] and thus a very popular sacrificial animal. Since this animal is positioned in an obvious fashion above the threatened man, it cannot simply be interpreted as a figure protected by the men (for this is usually depicted behind the protector or underneath his feet), but rather as a substitute sacrifice.

Figure 6: Sealing; Kültepe about 18th cent. BC

10 Dominique Collon, The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh, in Alter Orient und Altes Testament, Vol. 27 (Butzon und Bercker, 1975), Pl. 37.

11 And not a hare (against Matthiae 1987:460). Front and hind legs of the hare face forwards (as in B3, above) while those of the goatling face inwards (cf. Collon 1975:41 with pl. 42).

The life symbol, which the goddess on fig. 6 holds out not only to the king, but also above the threatened person, speaks for this interpretation as well. Indeed, she thereby not only prevents the king from killing, and thereby from blood revenge, but saves the life of the endangered person as well by offering an animal from her own sphere of protection for sacrifice. The same constellation can be found on a cylinder seal from Kültepe (fig. 7).

Figure 7: Cylinder Seal; ancient Babylonian

Here the substitute sacrifice is to be seen beneath the Janus-faced intermediator, clearly distinguished from the protected caprid behind the menacing hero. The goddess stands between the menacing hero and the Janus-faced being. On an ancient Babylonian seal (fig. 8), the menacing scene with the sacrificial animal is carried out in front of the winged goddess who stands on a lion.

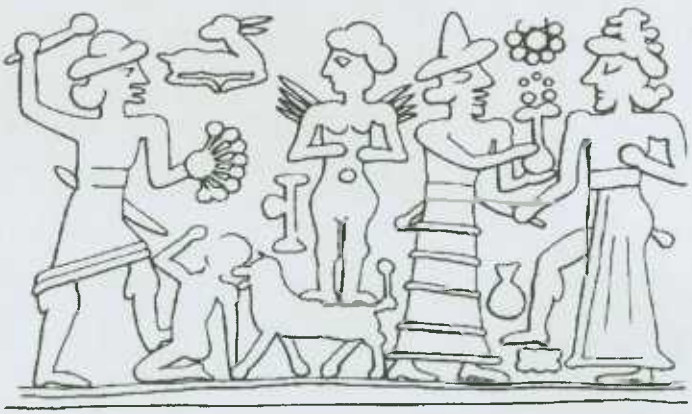


Figure 8: Cylinder Seal; Mari 18th cent. BC

The lion and the kid goat represent here, so to speak, the *mysterium tremendum et fascinosum* of the goddess. She decides whether the enemy is killed or saved through her mercy.[12] The most explicit depiction of redemption is on a cylinder seal from Mari (fig. 9).

Figure 9: "Alalach Level VII" Seal

Here, the city's king carries the redemptive sacrificial animal before a smiting god, whose foot is placed on a human sacrifice. Just like the Ebla stele, a further redemptive sacrificial animal is to be found at the very top of the scene's symmetry axis. The naked goddess and a lama goddess act as intercessors. Based on this interpretation, one should ask regarding many of the cylinder seals of the Middle Bronze Age II as to whether or not they depict (in one form or another) the redemptive and thereby blessed sacrificial animal, sponsored by the goddess herself. If this proves to be true, it would be contrary to what has been believed up until now. In any case, evidence indicates that the cited illustrations point to the conclusion that the redemption through human sacrifices is a theme which is accounted for on Syrian cylinder seals of the first half of the 2nd millennium BC, and which was inserted into a prominent part of the Ebla stele within a comprehensive theological image program. The redemption of a victim (sometimes stylized as a naked hero) by a kid goat represents on the forecourt of the temple the blessing power of the goddess who has the power to give life to those sen-

12 As a side note, Paulo Matthiae, the excavator at Ebla, suspected that the mysterious building P3, with its thick walls but no entrance, is to be understood as the lion's den of the goddess in which humans were possibly offered as sacrifices.

tenced to death. The ritual of redemption was probably carried out facing the goddess in front of her temple. In Jerusalem, where the biblical tradition locates Mount Moria (see below), the role of the redeemer-goddess may have been adopted by the goddess Hepa during the Late Bronze Age and even in earlier times.[13]

3. Redemption in Karnak

In a similar placement to that which is on the stele of Ebla, there occur redemption scenes on the great Amun temple in Karnak. The oldest one is from the time of Sethos I (1273-1279 BC; fig. 10a/b) who conquered the rural Canaanite population of the Levant called Shasu. A great number of his prisoners of war were consecrated to Amun. They are depicted on the exterior northeastern corner of the Great Hypostyle Hall. The battle and triumphant scenes are arranged in such a way that the consecration of the prisoners of war before Amun form the conclusion and culmination of the image sequence.

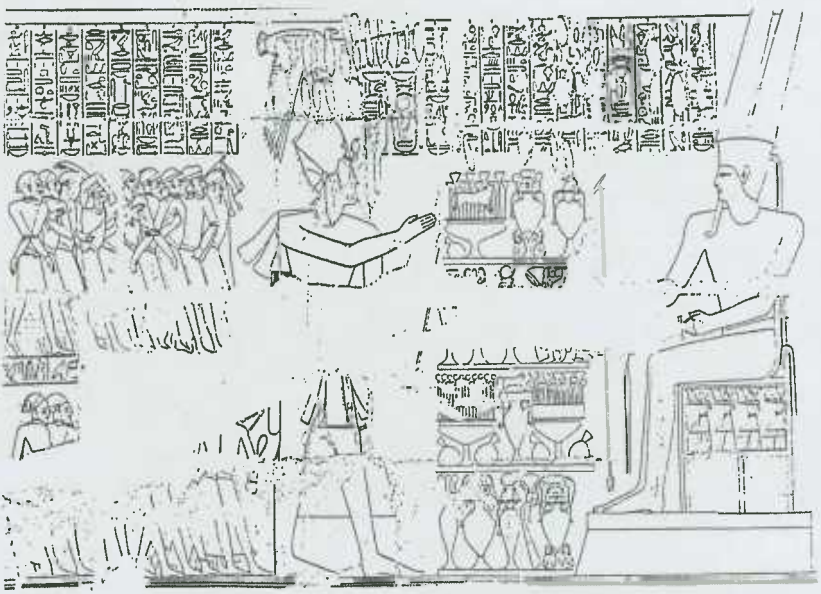


Figure 10a: Redemption of Shasu in front of Amun; Karnak

[13] For Hepa (possibly the goddess behind Eve) in Jerusalem, see Keel 2007:116-118 and IDD 316f.391f.

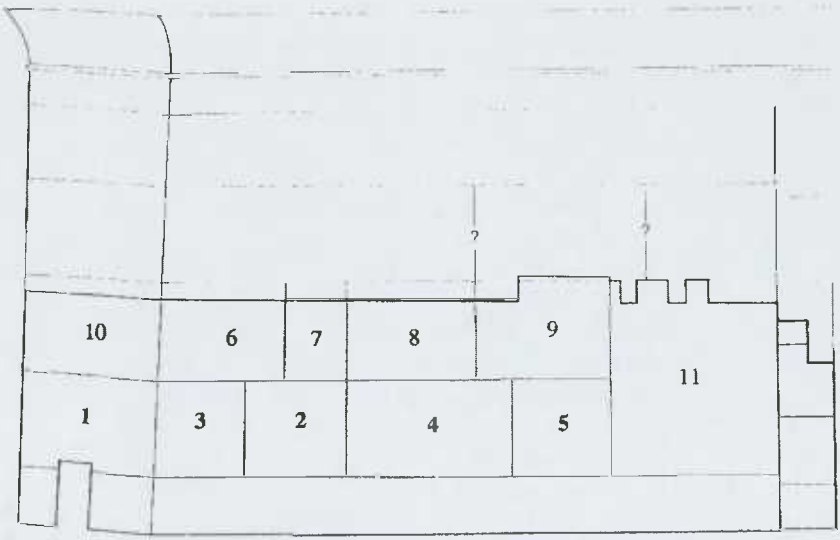


Figure 10b: Schema of the military campaign against Palestine under Sethos I

They form the link between the story of the military campaigns and the ritual of the consecration and redemption, which was probably enacted at this location. The redemption is expressed visually by the heavy tribute of the conquered, depicted between the deity and the Pharaoh with his prisoners of war. A further indication of the redemption is contained in the words coming from the mouths of the prisoners: "Hail to thee! How great is your name, how mighty your power! Blessed is the land that acts in partnership with you, and miserable those who attack your borders – enduring your Ka. We knew nothing of Egypt; our fathers had not entered into it. Give us the breath that you give."[14]

Two generations later, under Merenptah (1213–1203 BC), an analogous sequence of images was created closer to the front on the so-called "Cour de la Cachette." Here too, the redemption scene suggests the conclusion of an equivalent to the peace treaty of Qadesh.[15]

14 Thomas Staubli, *Das Image der Nomaden im Alten Israel und in der Ikonographie seiner sesshaften Nachbarn*, OBO 107 (1991), Freiburg/Göttingen, 56.

15 Ibid., 58 (with fig. 2).

Furthermore, images of sacrificial cattle in funeral and cultic contexts from this imperialistic Egyptian period, with the heads of enemies depicted between their horns (instead of the usual floral decorations), are sometimes illustrated in such a way that their horns become the supplicating arms of those enemies,16 first attested in the Tomb of Huy (fig. 11).

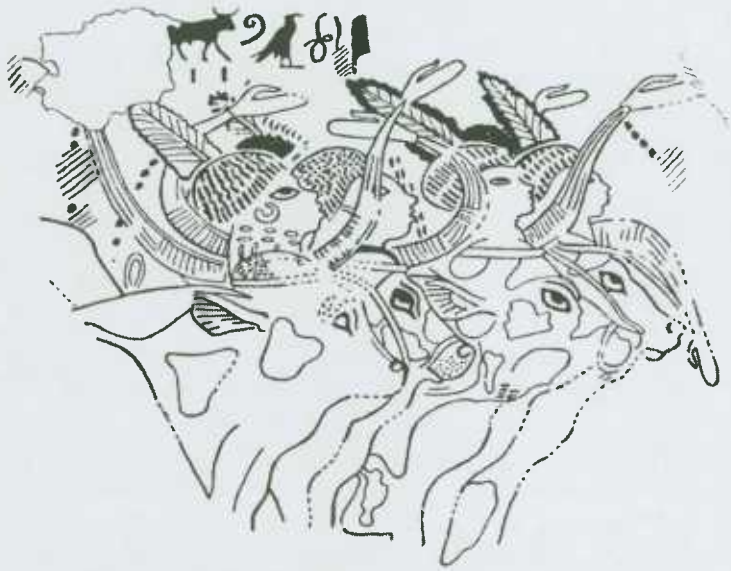


Figure 11: Detail from the Tomb of Huy

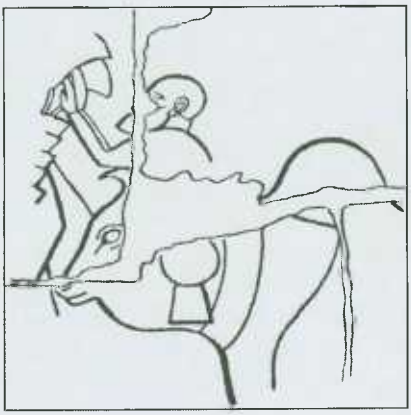
Examples of Nubians and Asians are found in the procession reliefs of the Luxor-temple (fig. 12 and 13). Further evidence of this motif comes from Kawa[17] and Bet el-Wali.[18] This is a concise iconographic way of saying that the sacrificial animal is identified with the enemy and represents his substitution.[19] The Egyptian depictions illustrate that here as well, humans or enemies respectively, were not sacrificed before the deity but were instead redeemed, and that here also the redemption was depicted iconographically and most likely also enacted ritually at a prominent location; this was also seen as a sign simultaneously of the victory and of the philanthropic nature of the deity.

16 I thank Othmar Keel, Fribourg, for pointing this out.

17 Jean Leclant, La „Mascarade" des boeufs gras et le triumphe de l'Egypte," *MDAIK* 14 (1956), fig. 8.

18 Ibid., fig. 13.

19 Ibid., 139.



Figures 12 and 13: Details from the procession in the temple of Luxor

4. Redemption in Genesis 22 (resp. Gerizim/Jerusalem)

The historical context of the story in Genesis 22 is highly disputed. A link with the sacrifices for Molekh, criticized elsewhere, is hypothetical. Even more so, the exact interpretation of these Molekh sacrifices is in question: some understand them in analogy with the sacrifices for Tanit in Carthage,[20] while others see an analogy to the burial-rituals for Adadmalik, the Aramaic Lord of the underworld.[21] What can be considered as certain, however, is (1) that Gen 22 is about the redemption of a first-born (cf. Ex 13:2.13b.15b; 22:28b; 34:20b), (2) that this episode was understood as an explanation for a place called Moria (only literally relevant for history [Gen 22:2]), and (3) that in the Jewish tradition this place was identified with the sanctuary of Jerusalem before the time of the Chronicles (2 Chr 3:1) at the latest, and thereafter also by Josephus Flavius (Ant I,244) and the Midrash on Genesis (GenR 55,117; NBL 2,846).

In addition to these facts, there are a certain number of structural observations concerning the location of the story within the Bible. The Mishnah already notes that the Binding of Isaac was the last and hardest of ten tests or trials of Abraham, meaning that it was the end and culmination of a

20 See Hans-Peter Müller, „Art.: מלך," in *ThWAT* IV (1984), 957-968; and Idem., „Genesis 22 und das mlk-Opfer. Erinnerungen an einen religionsgeschichtlichen Tatbestand," in *BZ* 41 (1997), 237-246.

21 Keel, 492-504.

whole series (bAvot 5,4). In relation to the book of Genesis, this narrative can be considered to be the centerpiece if we follow Jehuda Radday[22] in understanding the prehistory as its prologue, the Joseph narrative as its epilogue, and the change of names (from Abram to Abraham [Gen 17:5] and Jacob to Israel [Gen 32:29]) as a framing of its central feature. A further privileged status results from the age of Abraham. Radday[23] noticed that the Bible remains silent about the first and last 75 years of Abraham's life, who died at the age of 175. The narrative restricts itself to his life between the ages 75 and 100, with one exception: Gen 22. If we assume that Sarah died in the year of the Binding of Isaac at the age of 127 (Gen 23:1), then Abraham was 137 years old when he offered up Isaac. The event falls exactly into the middle of the last 75 years of his life.

It therefore should be noted that Gen 22 is first of all about the redemption of the first-born; that, secondly, various texts signal a special status to this narrative, and that, thirdly, the story was linked to the main cult site of Judaism, by commentators on the text. This presents three close parallels to the Syrian and Egyptian traditions of redemption depictions. This then allows for the assumption that the narrators of Gen 22 were able to tie in to a very old tradition of redemptive human sacrifice in important sanctuaries.

5. The Iconic Consistency of Redemption

The consistency of the tradition is given from another perspective as well, the visual. This is especially evident when comparing the ancient Syrian redemption depictions with those of the Binding of Isaac in the imagery traditions of those religions that refer to it. Starting with the redemption depiction in Ebla, it can be safely affirmed that the sacrificial victim, the sacrificer, the deity and the substitute sacrifice represent the constitutive and indispensable iconemes in the iconographic depiction of redemption. The combination of these four iconemes turns out to have had a consistency that outlasted millennia, and which has remained unchanged even throughout the transformations into the Christian and Muslim symbolic systems (fig. 14-18). This constellation's origins lie not in the Hebrew Bible, even if the narrative handed down therein of the Binding of Isaac was of enormous importance for it. But these are instead more than a thousand years older and can be found already in Mesopotamian and Syrian proto-

[22] Jehuda T. Radday, „Auf den Spuren der Parascha. Ein Stück Tora. Zum Lernen des Wochenabschnitts," Band 6 (Berlin, 2004), 60.

[23] Radday, 62.

types, which most likely served as an example to the Canaanite culture for the redemption of their enemies and especially of their children.

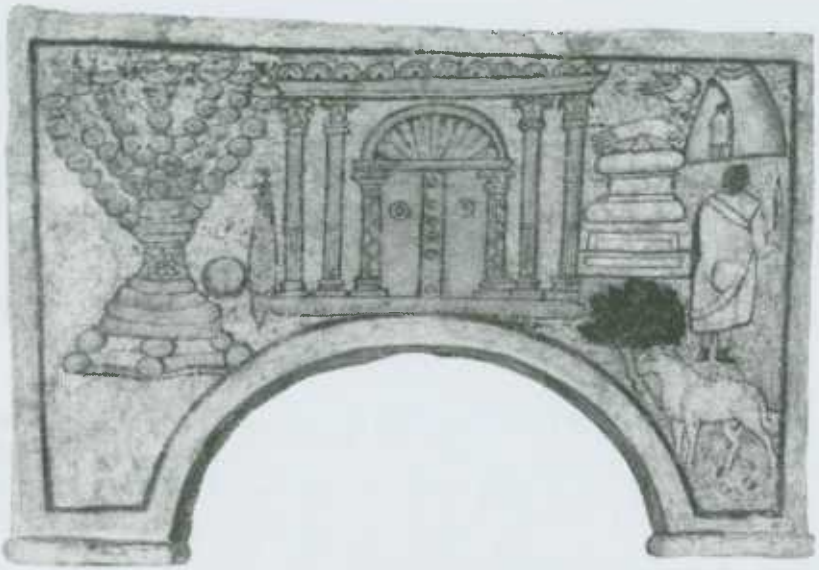


Figure 14: The Binding of Isaac depicted on the Torah Ark of the Synagogue of Dura-Europos

The transition from the polytheistic to the monotheistic paradigm creates a significant change in the depiction of the deity. In the polytheistic context of Syria and the Levant, divine action is assigned to two actors: a god who demands the sacrifice of human life as a sign of gratitude and submission by his protégé, and a merciful goddess who offers a substitute sacrifice from among her own property, the realm of her holy herd (Hebr. *'aštərōt*; Lat. *Veneres gregis*). In the biblical monotheistic paradigm, demand and remission are attributed to the same divinity at the cost of requiring the entire scene to be understood as a borderline trial of the pious, since God demands something that contradicts His own nature. However, even in Gen 22 we find reminders of pre-monotheistic "paganism," in as much as it is Elohim who demands the sacrifice of Gen 22:2. But it is the messenger of JHWH who stops him (22:11f). Indeed, in the Book of Jubilees (17,16) is found the notion that, as with Job, God was provoked to such a deed by Satan respecting Mastema and that it was thus the divine voice that pre-

vented the sacrifice; this was the case even while the temptation was caused by the adversary.[24]

Figure 15: The Binding of Isaac depicted on a Christian oil lamp, Northern Africa

Even the Qur'an preserves a certain ambivalence where Ibrahim receives the command to kill his son in a dream and not explicitly through the divine word (Sura 37, 102). The iconographic elucidation of Canaan's prehistory of redemption shows where the ambivalence and the multi-figured concept originates: Elohim has taken on the role of the male deity, while the angel took the place of the intervening goddess.

[24] Benno Jacob, *Das Buch Genesis* (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 2000, repr.), 492.

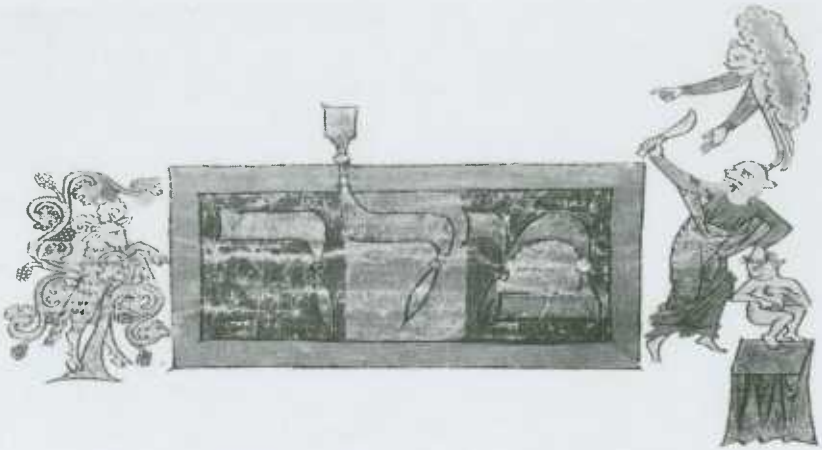
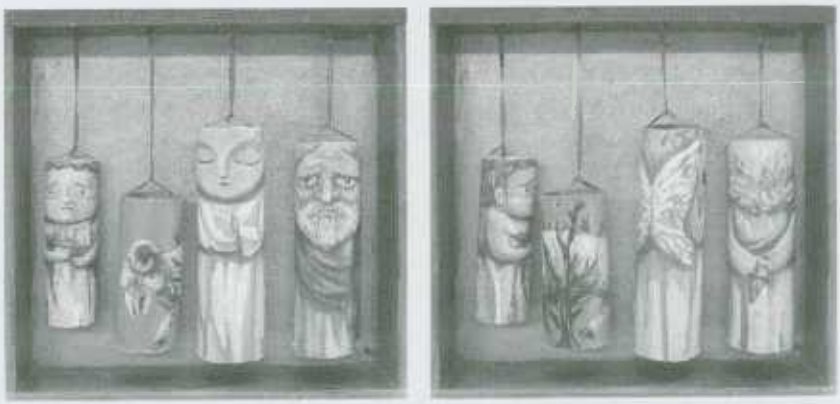


Figure 16: The Binding of Isaac as a book illustration for Rosh haShanah

Figure 17: Ishmael's Binding on a Muslim child's drawing



Figures 18a and 18b: Binding of Isaac in Folk art

6. Conclusion

The thesis of this paper is summarized in the following seven points:

1. The initial question of this paper can be affirmed: There is an iconographic tradition of the redemption of human sacrifices, which probably served as a pattern for the *Akedat Yitzchak*. The constitutive iconemes of its underlying image constellation are: a human sacrifice, a male sacrificer, a deity demanding (more or less explicitly) a sacrifice, and an interceding goddess offering a substitute as a redeeming sacrifice (an animal or another tribute). In the context of the patriarchal monotheistic paradigm the role of the goddess is replaced by an angel.
2. This tradition can be traced back to the Middle Bronze Age II, which was constitutive for the Levantine, including the Canaanite culture. Cylinder seals provide the main sources.
3. The biblical as well as non-biblical redemption scenes stand in close relation to an important sanctuary (Ebla, Karnak, Jerusalem) where the redemption ritual may have taken place.
4. The biblical as well as non-biblical redemption scenes are part of a longer visual or narrative sequence and provide their conclusion and culmination,[25] but they can also be understood and have meaning independent from these contexts. The record on the Ebla stele shows the great importance of this act at the heart of a culture.
5. At least part of the iconographically documented redemption scenes are about the redemption of one's enemies. If the enemies were redeemed, then it may be concluded, that this was all the more true of the biological children whom one felt obligated to sacrifice out of thankfulness to the gods.
6. All of the source texts that serve for the reconstruction of a so-called ancient Near Eastern child sacrifice myth are secondary sources and originate in part from demonstrably polemic contexts making them

[25] Redemption scenes also form the culmination of the dramatic arc in important Greek epics. Within them, dramatic tension is built up and then released. Cf. the ransom of Hector's body at the end of the Iliad, where Zeus sends the divine mother of Achilles to persuade him to give the body to Hector's father Priamos (Iliad 24,561f); or the sacrifice of Phrixus, who out of gratitude for the gods' intervention to save his life sacrificed the ram Chrysomallos to Zeus his savior at King Aeëtes in Colchis. Chrysomallos' fur, the "Golden Fleece", was hung in the sacred grove of god Ares, which in turn served as link for the Argonauts saga (I thank Philippe Lefebvre, Fribourg, for pointing this out to me).

questionable as sources. The sources presented in this article, on the other hand, are primary ones.

7. It is inadmissible, methodically speaking, to compare biblical texts on substitution sacrifices with (allegedly) extra-biblical sources on child sacrifices or vice versa. Substitution sacrifices must be compared with substitution sacrifices, and child sacrifices with child sacrifices. Each scholar must question his own anti-Canaanite prejudices as well as the possible sources and consequences of the latter.

Figures:

Fig. 1 Saturn (= Chronos), who devours his children, as a Jew; Almanach of the Nuremberg publisher Peter Wagner (1492 CE); Schreckenberg 1997: 343 fig. 2.

Fig. 2 Stelae; basalt stone; Ebla, precinct of sanctuary G3; 18th cent. BC; Museum Idlib 3003; Matthiae 1987: fig. 4 (= IPIAO 2 no. 464) with annotations by the author with respect of the numeration of the scenes by Matthiae ibid. 455-460.

Fig. 3 Stelae (fig. 1) in situ before sanctuary G3 of the city goddess of Ebla; reconstruction; Matthiae 1987: fig. 2.

Fig. 4 «Kültepe Level II»-Seal, Syrian style; provenance unknown; early 18th cent. BC; BIBEL+ORIENT Collection, Freiburg CH, VR 1982.150; Keel-Leu/Teissier 2004:no. 306.

Fig. 5 Cylinder seal; provenance unknown; Akkadian era (approx. 2340-2193 BC); BIBEL+ORIENT Collection, Freiburg CH, VR 1981.46; Keel-Leu/Teissier 2004:no. 79.

Fig. 6 Sealing; Kültepe; about 18th cent. BC; Winter 1983:fig. 82.

Fig. 7 Cylinder seal; provenance unknown; ancient Babylonian (middle of the 2nd mill. BC); Winter 1983:fig. 82.

Fig. 8 Cylinder seal; Mari (18th cent. BC); Winter 1983:fig. 266.

Fig. 9 «Alalach Level VII»-Seal, found in Level IV (15th cent. BC); reconstructed from different sealings; around 1700 BC; Collon 1975:12f.170f.Pl. XII.

Fig. 10a Redemption of Shasu in front of Amun; Karnak, northeastern corner of the great Hypostyle Hall; Sethos I (1290-1279 BC); in situ; Staubli 1991: folding plate I, scene V.

Fig. 10b Schema of the military campaign against Palestine under Sethos I depicted on the exterior northeastern corner of the Great Hypostyle Hall; Staubli 1991: 49 fig. 1; **fig. 10a** = no. 5 of the schema)

Fig. 11 Detail from the Tomb of Huy (TT 40), Thebes West, Tutankhamun (1333-1323a); Davies/Gardiner 1926: pl. 30.

Fig. 12 Detail from the procession in the Temple of Luxor; Ramses II (1279-1213a); Leclant 1956: fig. 10.

Fig. 13 Detail from the procession in the Temple of Luxor; Ramses II (1279-1213a); Leclant 1956: fig. 11.

Fig. 14 The Binding of Isaac depicted on the Torah Ark of the synagogue of Dura-Europos (3rd cent. CE); National Museum, Damaskus.

Fig. 15 The Binding of Isaac depicted on a Christian oil lamp, Northern Africa (5th cent. CE); Fribourg, BIBLE+ORIENT Museum, GFig 2005.4,

Fig. 16 The Binding of Isaac as a book illustration for Rosh haShanah in the Laud-Machsor; Southern Germany (around 1265 CE); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms Laud Or. 321, fol. 184r.

Fig. 17 Ishmael's Binding on a Muslim child's drawing (20th cent.); source unknown.

Fig. 18a/b Binding of Isaac in Folk art (21st cent.); see online sources:
http://farm1.static.flickr.com/30/51923592_2d4d01c81d.jpg?v=0
http://farm1.static.flickr.com/24/51923593_1a1237a634.jpg?v=0

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