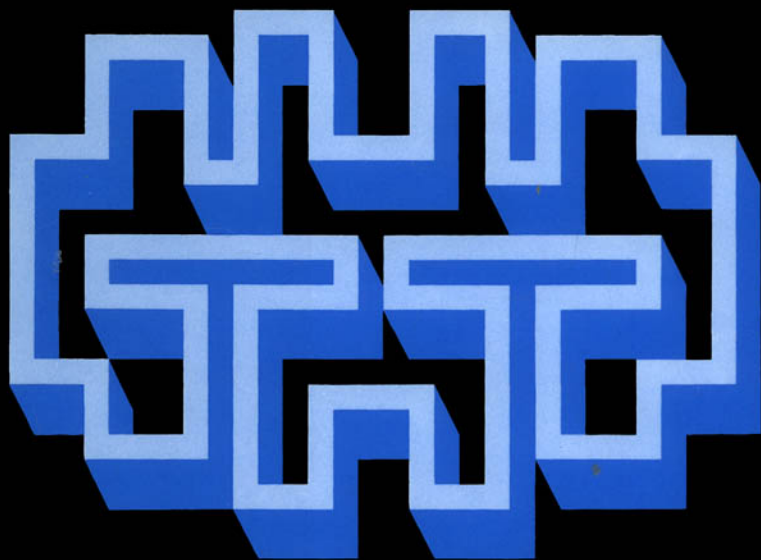


Tessa Rajak

The Jewish Dialogue  
with Greece & Rome

*Studies in  
Cultural & Social  
Interaction*



BRILL

THE JEWISH DIALOGUE WITH GREECE AND ROME

# ARBEITEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DES ANTIKEN JUDENTUMS UND DES URCHRISTENTUMS

herausgegeben von

Martin Hengel (Tübingen), Peter Schäfer (Berlin),  
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Daniel R. Schwartz (Jerusalem), Cilliers Breytenbach (Berlin)

XLVIII



# THE JEWISH DIALOGUE WITH GREECE AND ROME

*Studies in Cultural and Social Interaction*

BY

TESSA RAJAK



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## PREFACE

Twenty-seven studies have been collected in this volume; twenty-four were previously published, and three of them (chapters 1, 7 and 22) are new. The former have been corrected where necessary and very lightly updated, but they remain essentially the same, reflecting the different dates of their writing. The immediate cause of the making of the collection is an invitation from Martin Hengel, to whose warm support and sound advice I am profoundly grateful. In addition, Fergus Millar's continuing interest and encouragement, has, as so often, been indispensable. That the volume has finally seen the light of day is due also to the enthusiasm of three others: Jim Aitken of Cambridge University, who brought to it both his meticulous scholarship and his technical skills, Theo Joppe, formerly of Brill (and now of Van Gorcum, Assen), and Harry Rajak.

Yet for a collection of this kind a fuller justification is required than the prompting of others, by a convention which is by no means empty; and here there are a number of purposes which will, I hope, be served. First, the material is gathered from a range of journals and volumes, a range which is perhaps wider than usual in academic writing. This is no accident, but a consequence of the interdisciplinary nature of the enterprise and of the varied learned audiences addressed. This means that not all of those publications are equally familiar or accessible to all, as has become clear to me from the eclectic use made of the papers included here over the years by different groups of scholars. Especially, my hope is that the collection will make it easy for Classicists and Ancient Historians to be drawn into a world which they are manifestly now keen to explore but into which, it is fair to say, they have, with a few notable exceptions, so far dipped only one foot.

The pieces span more than two decades, though the majority were written towards the end of the period, and ten of them in fact belong to the last five years. During this time scholarship in the fields which they exemplify has flourished as never before and has been transformed almost beyond recognition. Unsurprisingly, methodologies have become more sophisticated. A particularly important development is the growing awareness of the pluralism of many ancient



milieux, an awareness which probably flows from current, more receptive attitudes to the pluralisms of the world around us, and which has yielded many new angles of approach. Such indeed is the rapidity of development and the intensity of publication that those doing research today do not always have the leisure to look very far back. Yet not all is new, and it can go unnoticed when an old argument is re-invented, appearing perhaps in up-to-the-minute dress, but essentially similar. The earlier items in the book may therefore serve as a reminder of debts to the past. At the same time, and inevitably, the new developments are reflected here, above all in the posing of fresh questions in the later of the articles.

Further justifications for the collection arise from what might seem to be contradictory claims. On the one hand, the book, while falling into four parts, has an overall coherence, derived from the author's continuing interests and persistent pursuit of a number of basic questions: how to interpret texts as expressions of ethnic, religious or cultural identity; how to describe the coming together in these texts of diverse traditions; how far it is ever possible or desirable to disentangle Hellenism as a cultural force from Judaism; how Jewish groups meshed with the wider society; how best, in brief, to understand group interaction and cultural change. The 'dialogue' of the volume's title is a metaphor for that interaction. On the other hand, there is a thematic progression which may have its own interest, from historiographical and cultural concerns to more sociologically-based questions about group behaviour, and from a preoccupation with the impact on the Jews of Greek, or rather of Greco-Roman, thought to a questioning of the actual mechanisms of integration and separation at the level of religious communities and of individuals. Finally, the last three essays open up wider perspectives.

It may be worth adding that the volume perhaps derives further unity from the presence of a consistent stylistic goal in the various papers—the search for that elusive blend of detailed, original scholarship with readability and vigour from which even the most technical of academic writing can benefit. Whether any of those goals have been at any point achieved is for others to judge.

The papers have not been organized chronologically. The reason for starting with a fresh reconsideration of the debate about the relationship between Judaism and Hellenism is to show both the centrality of that debate to the scholarship of this period and the progress which has been made in the terms in which the discussion is con-

ducted, to which this author may have contributed in a modest way. It is now quite widely understood that the Jews absorbed and internalized many aspects of Greek culture, including even religious ideas, so that it becomes for many purposes impossible coherently to talk about Hellenism as something separate, outside or antithetical to Judaism. The studies in Part I draw directly on this insight in different ways. It also comes to inform the approach to Josephus in Part II, where the earliest piece, on Justus of Tiberias, was written not so long after Hengel's pathbreaking *Judentum und Hellenismus* (1968) launched the modern phase of the debate. At the same time, there is an attempt in Part II to come to grips with at least a fraction of the range of Josephus' multifarious source material and of the individuality of the historian's versions of his sources. That individuality of approach cannot be explained crudely as dictated by Roman demands, by Greek stylistic requirements, or by apologetic imperatives.

Part III by contrast, concerns life in Greek cities in the Roman period, seen often, though by no means exclusively, through the mirror of inscriptions. The 'Diaspora' of the title should not be taken as implying that there were rigid boundaries, a lack of connection, or sharp differences between Palestine and the rest of the Jewish world, or that it is always useful to study them as two separate milieux. Indeed one paper, on the Beth She'arim necropolis, explores how Jews from Palestine and those from the Diaspora were involved in a common burial enterprise. Still, it is undeniable that life for a minority within a pagan city brought with it particular political and social pressures and special needs. The aim is to explore some of those, by looking at a number of important locations, extending from Sardis in Asia Minor to Rome. Here it should become clearer why there are three parties to the dialogue of the title, for the impact of Roman power, especially as expressed in systems of patronage at local as well as central levels, was as much a determining factor in Jewish life as the influence of the Greek language and Greek thought. The final part of the volume represents some of the author's recent attempts to go beyond the Classical perspective to more complex, and again tripartite, relationships. Some account is taken, by way of an extended book review, of the supposedly Semitic cultures which surrounded and interpenetrated the life of the Jews of Palestine, then of the appropriation by a Christian writer, Justin Martyr, of both Hellenic and Jewish modes of discourse, their juxtaposition, and their exploitation in the formation of his Christian identity; and lastly of

modern uses and abuses of the Greek-Jewish polarity as exemplified by three nineteenth-century writers in three different languages, Heinrich Heine, Ernest Renan and Matthew Arnold. That seems an appropriate place to close, since, with this look at the history of that cultural construction which was examined in the opening essay, the wheel has come full circle. If the reader remains with the sense that the surface has only been scratched and that there is much more work to be done before we can grasp the meaning of the Greek-Jewish polarity in its different contexts, this is to the good. The way we understand the terms of the dialogue may have changed, but the dialogue itself is far from closed.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The material reprinted with minor alterations in this volume first appeared in the following forms and locations. The editors and publishers are thanked for permission to reproduce them here:

- I.2** 'The Sense of History in Jewish Intertestamental Writing', in *Crises and Perspectives*. Oudtestamentische studiën 24; Leiden: Brill, 1986, 124–145.
- I.3** 'Hasmonean Kingship and the Invention of Tradition', in P. Bilde *et al.* (eds). 1996. *Aspects of Hellenistic Kingship*. Studies in Hellenistic Civilisation 7; Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 96–116.
- I.4** 'The Hasmoneans and the Uses of Hellenism', in P.R. Davies & R.T. White (eds). 1990. *A Tribute to Geza Vermes*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Suppl. 100; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 261–280.
- I.5** 'Roman Intervention in a Seleucid Siege of Jerusalem?', in *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 22 (1981), 65–81.
- I.6** 'Dying for the Law: The Martyr's Portrait in Jewish-Greek Literature', in M.J. Edwards & S. Swain (eds). 1997. *Portraits: Biographical Representation in the Greek and Latin Literature of the Roman Empire*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 39–67.
- II.8** 'Friends, Romans, Subjects: Agrippa II's Speech in Josephus' Jewish War', in L. Alexander (ed.). 1991. *Images of Empire*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Suppl. 122; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 122–134.
- II.9** 'Justus of Tiberias as a Jewish Historian', reproduced in part from 'Justus of Tiberias', *Classical Quarterly* 23 (1973), 246–268.
- II.10** 'Josephus and Justus of Tiberias', in L.H. Feldman & G. Hata (eds). 1987. *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity*. Leiden: Brill, 81–94.
- II.11** 'The Against Apion and the Continuities in Josephus' Political Thought', in S. Mason (ed.). 1998. *Understanding Josephus. Seven Perspectives*. Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Suppl. 32. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 222–246.
- II.12** 'Ciò che Flavio Giuseppe Vide: Josephus and the Essenes', in F. Parente & J. Sievers (eds). 1994. *Josephus and the History of*

*the Greco-Roman Period. Essays in Memory of Morton Smith.* Studia post-biblica 41. Leiden: Brill, 141–160.

- II.13** ‘Josephus and the “Archaeology” of the Jews’, in G. Vermes & J. Neusner (eds). 1983. *Essays in Honour of Yigael Yadin.* *Journal of Jewish Studies* 33. Totowa, New Jersey: Allanheld, Osmun, 465–477.
- II.14** ‘Moses in Ethiopia: Legend and Literature’, in *Journal of Jewish Studies* 29 (1978), 111–122.
- II.15** ‘The Parthians in Josephus’, in J. Wieschöfer (ed.). 1998. *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse. Beiträge des internationalen Colloquiums, Eutin (27.–30. Juni 1996).* *Historia. Einzelschriften* 122. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 309–324.
- III.16** ‘Was there a Roman Charter for the Jews?’, in *Journal of Roman Studies* 74 (1984), 107–123.
- III.17** ‘The Jewish Community and its Boundaries’, in J. Lieu, J. North & T. Rajak (eds). 1992. *The Jews among the Pagans and Christians. In the Roman Empire.* London: Routledge, 9–28.
- III.18** ‘Jews and Christians as Groups in a Pagan World’, In J. Neusner & E.S. Frerichs (eds). 1985. “To See Ourselves as Others See Us”: *Christians, Jews, “Others” in Late Antiquity.* Scholars Press Studies in the Humanities Series; Chico, California: Scholars Press, 247–262.
- III.19** ‘Benefactors in the Greco-Jewish Diaspora’, in H. Cancik, H. Lichtenberger, & P. Schäfer (eds). 1996. *Geschichte Tradition—Reflexion. Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag.* Band I: Judentum. Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck), 305–319.
- III.20** ‘*Archisynagogoi*: Office, Title and Social Status in the Greco-Jewish Synagogue’, with David Noy in *Journal of Roman Studies* 83 (1993), 75–93.
- III.21** ‘Inscription and Context: Reading the Jewish Catacombs of Rome’, in W. van Henten & P.W. van der Horst (eds). 1994. *Studies in Early Jewish Epigraphy.* *Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums* 21; Leiden: Brill, 226–241.
- III.23** ‘The Synagogue in the Greco-Roman City’, in S. Fine (ed.). 1999. *Jews, Christians and Polytheists: Cultural Interaction during the Greco-Roman Period.* *Baltimore Studies in the History of Judaism.* London/New York: Routledge, 161–173.
- III.24** ‘The Rabbinic Dead and the Diaspora Dead at Beth She’arim’, in P. Schäfer (ed.). 1998. *The Talmud Yerushalmi*

and *Graeco-Roman Culture*, I. Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum 71; Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck), 349–366.

- IV.26** ‘Talking at Trypho: Christian Apologetic as Anti-Judaism in Justin’s *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*’, in M. Edwards, M. Goodman & S. Price, in association with C. Rowland (eds). 1999. *Apologetics in the Roman Empire: Pagans, Jews and Christians*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 59–80.
- IV.25** ‘Jews, Semites and their Cultures in Fergus Millar’s ‘Roman Near East’, in *Journal of Jewish Studies* 51 (2000), 63–68.
- IV.27** ‘Jews and Greeks: The Invention and Exploitation of Polarities in the Nineteenth Century, in M. Bidiss & M. Wyke (eds). 1999. *The Uses and Abuses of Antiquity*. Bern: Peter Lang, 57–77.

The following chapters have not been previously published:

- I.1** ‘Judaism and Hellenism Revisited’.
- II.7** ‘Ethnic Identities in Josephus’.
- III.22** ‘Jews, Pagans and Christians in Late Antique Sardis: Models of Interaction’.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

### *Publications Frequently Cited*

- Broughton, MRR     Broughton, T.R.S. 1951–86. *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, 4 vols. New York.
- BS     *Beth She'arim: Report on the Excavations During 1936–1940*. New Brunswick, N.J., 1973–76. Vol. I by B. Mazar; vol. II M. Schwabe & B. Lifshitz; vol. III. N. Avigad.
- CIJ     Frey, J-B. 1939, 1951, 1956. *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum* I–II. Rome, 1939–1951; reprint of vol. I with prolegomena by B. Lifshitz. 1956. New York.
- CIG     Boeckh, A. (ed.). 1828–77. *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 4 vols. Berlin.
- CIL     *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum: consilio et auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Regiae Borussicae editum*, vol. 1–Berlin, 1863–.
- CIRB     *Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosphorani*. 1965. Moscow.
- CJZC     Lüderitz, G. (ed.). 1983, with Joyce Reynolds, *Corpus jüdischer Zeugnisse aus der Cyrenaika*. Wiesbaden.
- CPJ     Tcherikover, V., Fuks, A. & Stern, M. 1957–64. *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, I–III. Cambridge, MA.
- CRINT     Safrai, S. & Stern, M. (eds). 1974–76. *The Jewish People in the First Century: Compendia Rerum Judaicarum ad Novum Testamentum*, Section 1, 2 vols. Assen.
- Enc. Jud.     *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. 1972. Jerusalem.
- FGrH     Jacoby, F. 1940. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Leiden.
- IG     *Inscriptiones Graecae*. 1873–. Berlin.
- Hengel, *Judaism*     Hengel, M. 1974. *Judaism and Hellenism*, Eng. transl. London.
- Hengel, *Hellenization*     Hengel, M. 1989. *The Hellenization of Judaea in the First Century after Christ*, Eng. transl. London.



- Holladay, *Fragments* Holladay, C.R. 1983. *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors, vol. 1: Historians*. Pseudepigrapha series 10. Atlanta, GA.
- IGLS Dessau, H. 1892-. *Inscriptiones Graecae et Latinae Selectae*. Berlin.
- JIGRE Horbury, W. & Noy, D. 1992. *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt*. Cambridge.
- JWE Noy, D. 1993-95. *Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe* vols. I and II, Cambridge.
- MAMA Buckler, W.H. & Calder, W.M. 1939. *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, vol. 6. *Monuments and Documents from Phrygia and Caria*. Publications of the American Society for Archaeological Research in Asia Minor 6. Manchester.
- OGIS Dittenberger, W. 1903-15. *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae I-II*. Leipzig.
- PG Migne, J.-P. (ed.). 1857-66. *Patrologia Graeca*. Paris.
- PIR E. Groag *et al.* 1933-. *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*. 2nd ed. Berlin/Leipzig.
- PL Migne, J.-P. (ed.). 1841-64. *Patrologia Latina*. Paris.
- Rajak, *Josephus* Rajak, T. 1983. *Josephus: the Historian and his Society*. Classical Life and Letters. London.
- RE Pauly, A. & Wissowa, G. (eds). 1894-1980. *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Stuttgart/München.
- RPC Burnett, A., Amandry, M. & Ripollès, P.P. 1992. *Roman Provincial Coinage*. Vol. 1. *From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC-AD 69)*. London/Paris.
- Schürer Revised Schürer, E. 1973-1987. *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ. A New English Edition*. Revised and edited by G. Vermes, F. Millar & M. Goodman. Edinburgh.
- SEG *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. 1923-. Leiden/Amsterdam.
- Wacholder, *Eupolemus* Wacholder, B.Z. 1974. *Eupolemus: A Study of Judaeo-Greek Literature*. Monographs of the Hebrew Union College No. 3. Cincinnati.

*Names of Ancient Authors and Works*

1 Macc.	1 Maccabees
2 Macc.	2 Maccabees
4 Macc.	4 Maccabees
<i>AJ</i>	<i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i>
<i>Ann.</i>	<i>Annals</i>
<i>Apophth. Reg</i>	<i>Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata</i>
<i>Av. Zar.</i>	<i>Avodah Zarah</i>
b.	Babylonian Talmud
<i>BJ</i>	<i>Bellum Judaicum</i>
<i>CA</i>	<i>Contra Apionem</i>
<i>Chron.</i>	<i>Chronici canones</i>
<i>Cic.</i>	Cicero
<i>Contra Cels.</i>	<i>Contra Celsum</i>
<i>C.Th.</i>	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i>
<i>de Die Nat.</i>	<i>de Die Natali</i>
<i>Deiot.</i>	<i>pro Rege Deiotaro</i>
<i>Dem. Evang.</i>	<i>Demonstratio Evangelica</i>
<i>de Vir. Ill.</i>	<i>de Viris Illustribus</i>
<i>Diod.</i>	Diodorus
<i>Dion. Hal.</i>	Dionysius of Halicarnassus
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistles</i>
<i>Eus.</i>	Eusebius
<i>Flac.</i>	<i>pro Flacco</i>
<i>HA</i>	<i>Historia Augusta</i>
<i>Haer.</i>	<i>adversus Haereses</i>
<i>HE</i>	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>
<i>Her.</i>	Herodotus
<i>Hypothet.</i>	<i>Hypothetica</i>
j.	Jerusalem Talmud
<i>Just.</i>	Justinian
<i>Leg.</i>	<i>Legatio ad Gaium</i>
<i>Meg.</i>	Megillah
<i>Mor.</i>	<i>Moralia</i>
<i>Nov.</i>	<i>Novellae</i>
<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orationes</i>
<i>Pan.</i>	<i>Panarion</i>
<i>Per.</i>	<i>Periochae</i>
<i>Praep. Ev.</i>	<i>Praeparatio Evangelica</i>

<i>QOP</i>	<i>Quod omnis probus liber sit</i>
Steph. Byz.	Stephanus of Byzantium
t.	Tosefta
<i>V</i>	<i>Vita</i>

*Periodicals and Serials*

AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJP	American Journal of Philology
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
ASTI	Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
BE	Bulletin Epigraphique
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CP	Classical Philology
CQ	Classical Quarterly
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaeen Desert
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain
ExpT	Expository Times
GRBS	Greek, Rome and Byzantine Studies
HSCPh	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
IsrNumJ	Israel Numismatic Journal
JAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Greek and Roman Period
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament

JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
MonGeschWissJud	Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums
MusHelv	Museum Helveticum
NT	Novum Testamentum
NTS	New Testament Studies
NYRB	New York Review of Books
PAAJR	Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research
Proc.Camb.Phil.Soc.	Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society
REG	Revue des études grecques
REJ	Revue des études juives
RhM	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie
SCI	Scripta Classica Israelica
TAPA	Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
VT	Vetus Testamentum
ZNTW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft