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978-1-107-00163-3 - The Jewish-Greek Tradition in Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire

Edited by James K. Aitken and James Carleton Paget

Frontmatter

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THE JEWISH–GREEK TRADITION IN ANTIQUITY AND THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE

The Jewish–Greek tradition represents an arguably distinctive strand of Judaism characterized by use of the Greek language and interest in Hellenism. This volume traces the Jewish encounter with Greek culture from the earliest points of contact in antiquity to the end of the Byzantine Empire. It honours Nicholas de Lange, whose distinguished work brought recognition to an undeservedly neglected field, in part by dispelling the common belief that Jewish–Greek culture largely disappeared after 100 CE. The authors examine literature, archaeology, and biblical translations, such as the Septuagint, in order to illustrate the substantial exchange of language and ideas. *The Jewish–Greek Tradition in Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire* demonstrates the enduring significance of the tradition and will be an essential handbook for anyone interested in Jewish studies, biblical studies, ancient and Byzantine history, or the Greek language.

JAMES K. AITKEN is Lecturer in Hebrew, Old Testament and Second Temple Studies at the University of Cambridge. He is author of *The Semantics of Blessing and Cursing in Ancient Hebrew* (2007), and co-editor of the *Bulletin of Judaeo-Greek Studies*.

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)



N. R. M. de Lange

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Frontmatter

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)



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978-1-107-00163-3 - The Jewish–Greek Tradition in Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Contents*

<i>List of figures</i>	<i>page</i> viii
<i>List of contributors</i>	ix
<i>Preface by Amos Oz</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiii
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xiv
1 Introduction	I
<i>James K. Aitken and James Carleton Paget</i>	
PART I HISTORY	13
2 Jews and Graeco-Roman culture: from Alexander to Theodosius II <i>Günter Stemberger</i>	15
3 The Jewish experience in Byzantium <i>Steven Bowman</i>	37
4 Jews and Jewish communities in the Balkans and the Aegean until the twelfth century <i>Alexander Panayotov</i>	54
PART II HISTORIOGRAPHY	77
5 <i>Origen and the Jews: Jewish–Greek and Jewish–Christian relations</i> <i>William Horbury</i>	79
6 Jewish–Greek studies in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Germany: a brief overview <i>Giuseppe Veltri</i>	91

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-00163-3 - The Jewish–Greek Tradition in Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire

Edited by James K. Aitken and James Carleton Paget

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

vi

Contents

PART III GREEK BIBLE AND LANGUAGE	103
7 The origins of the Septuagint <i>James Carleton Paget</i>	105
8 The language of the Septuagint and Jewish–Greek identity <i>James Aitken</i>	120
9 Afterlives of the Septuagint: a Christian witness to the Greek Bible in Byzantine Judaism <i>Cameron Boyd-Taylor</i>	135
10 Medieval and Early Modern Judaeo-Greek biblical translations: a linguistic perspective <i>Julia G. Krivoruchko</i>	152
PART IV CULTURE 171	
11 Philo's knowledge of Hebrew: the meaning of the etymologies <i>Tessa Rajak</i>	173
12 The plain and laughter: the hermeneutical function of the sign in Philo of Alexandria <i>Francis Schmidt</i>	188
13 Jewish archaeology and art in antiquity <i>David Noy</i>	200
14 Jewish–Greek epigraphy in antiquity <i>Pieter van der Horst</i>	215
15 The Rabbis, the Greek Bible and Hellenism <i>Philip Alexander</i>	229
16 Greek–Hebrew linguistic contacts in late antique and medieval magical texts <i>Gideon Bohak</i>	247
17 Jewish and Christian hymnody in the early Byzantine period <i>Wout van Bekkum</i>	261
18 On the Hebrew script of the Greek–Hebrew palimpsests from the Cairo Genizah <i>Judith Olszowy-Schlanger</i>	279

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-00163-3 - The Jewish-Greek Tradition in Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire

Edited by James K. Aitken and James Carleton Paget

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Contents

vii

<i>Publications of N. R. M. de Lange</i>	300
<i>Bibliography</i>	309
<i>General index</i>	349
<i>Index of biblical references</i>	352
<i>Index of other sources</i>	355

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-00163-3 - The Jewish-Greek Tradition in Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire

Edited by James K. Aitken and James Carleton Paget

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Figures*

4.1	Map of the Balkans	<i>page 75</i>
10.1	Generation of translational equivalent (1–7) vs. perception of a monolingual reader (8)	163
13.1	Outlines of the four buildings, adjusted to approximately the same scale and orientation: Delos, final phase; Ostia, final phase; Apamea; and Mopsuestia	201
18.1	Nexus <i>aleph-lamed</i> in No. 6 (TS 16. 320)	285
18.2	<i>Beth</i> and <i>kaph</i> in No. 5 (TS 16. 93)	286
18.3	<i>Daleth</i> and <i>resh</i> in No. 3 (TS 12. 186)	287
18.4	<i>He</i> and <i>beth</i> in No. 3 (TS 12. 186)	287
18.5	Final <i>mem</i> and <i>samekh</i> in No. 5 (TS 16. 93)	287
18.6	The impression of leaning to the left: No. 3 (TS 12. 188v)	288
18.7	Additional serifs in No. 1 (TS 12. 182)	289
18.8	Final <i>kaph</i> and <i>nun</i> in No. 3 (TS 12. 186), final <i>pe</i> in No. 2 (TS 12. 185) and final <i>sade</i> in No. 1 (TS 12. 184)	289
18.9	Long <i>gimel</i> in No. 8 (TS AS 78. 411), long <i>'ayin</i> in No. 2 (TS 12. 185) and large <i>pe</i> in No. 1 (TS 12. 184)	290
18.10	Short <i>lamed</i> and <i>resh</i> in No. 2 (TS 12. 185)	290
18.11	<i>Aleph</i> in Nos. 1–8	291
18.12	<i>Pe</i> in Nos. 1–8	292
18.13	General aspect of the script of T-S NS 246.26.2	293
18.14	General aspect of the script, No. 1 (TS 12. 184) and No. 3 (TS 12. 186)	293
18.15	<i>Aleph</i> in T-S NS 246.26.2	294
18.16	<i>Pe</i> in T-S NS 246.26.2	294
18.17	General aspect of the script in T-S NS 3.21	296

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-00163-3 - The Jewish-Greek Tradition in Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire

Edited by James K. Aitken and James Carleton Paget

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

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Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-00163-3 - The Jewish-Greek Tradition in Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire

Edited by James K. Aitken and James Carleton Paget

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

x

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*Preface**Amos Oz*

I first met Nicholas de Lange at Oxford in 1969. A mutual friend introduced us. Nicholas, who was just finishing his academic studies at the time, used to wear a three-piece suit with a gold chain dangling from his belt into his trouser pocket. In the 1960s, amidst the hippie atmosphere among the students at Oxford, there was something astonishing in the pose Nicholas struck, as if he was saying to the world: I make my own way, come hell or high water.

When we began to talk, I was immediately won over by his sharp humour, his erudition, and – above all – the warmth that he exuded. He was voraciously curious (in my opinion, curiosity is one of the highest moral attributes). It was this curiosity that made him ask me, during our first meeting, what I was writing. I told him that I had just finished writing a story about the crusades. Nicholas, in his jovial enthusiasm, asked my permission to read the story.

I was forced to tell him that the story was in Hebrew. To my astonishment, Nicholas replied that he read a little Hebrew, and I was surprised, as I would be time and time again in the years to come, to discover the unexpected things Nicholas knew. I entrusted my story to him and after two or three weeks he came back to me with an English translation of one or two chapters from *Unto Death*. It was a translation by a virtuoso, who preserved the musical quality of the original and, wondrously, found an English equivalent for every nuance of the Hebrew text. Right there and then I was swept up by Nicholas's enthusiasm and we both dived in to translate the story into English. It was a race of the blind and the lame, because Nicholas was not well versed in contemporary Hebrew and my own knowledge of English was halting as well. Still, we managed to give *Unto Death* a suit of English armour that won the hearts of many.

That's how Nicholas and I began to collaborate, labouring together on translating *My Michael* and other works, until Nicholas had no need for

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-00163-3 - The Jewish-Greek Tradition in Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire

Edited by James K. Aitken and James Carleton Paget

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xii

Amos Oz

me any more. He spread his wings and worked wonderfully well as an independent translator.

Over the years that we worked together, Nicholas became an inspiring teacher as well as a close and dear friend. I learned from him about Judaism and theology, he taught me English and something of the mysteries of the art of translation. Nicholas went on to translate Hebrew medieval poetry, and novels by A. B. Yehoshua and S. Yizhar, and by doing so he brought modern Hebrew literature closer to the English-speaking world. He is endowed with that wonderful combination of humility and boldness, without which the translator may be either a mere amanuensis, or a reckless adaptor who makes the text his own. Nicholas has the linguistic gifts of a great, inventive poet, who can conjure up crisp and enthralling parallels.

I always thought that adapting a work of literature from one language to another is like playing a violin concerto on a piano. It may be possible as long as you are careful not to make the piano sound like a violin.

Nicholas de Lange is a great musical player.

He performed wonderful feats of translation at the same time as he was teaching and writing excellent academic work. His articles and books in the history of religious thought, in Jewish studies, and in the history of the Jewish people are works of art, showing scholarly depth and theological quickwittedness, all in fluent, flowing words that enlighten the eyes of the reader. Already in his first book, *Origen and the Jews* (1976), Nicholas did wonders to breathe life and reality into a remote subject. In his *Atlas of the Jewish World* (1984), he made us see clearly what was until then faraway and abstract. His *Introduction to Judaism* (2000) put into words a complex and fascinating mental vista. In his scholarly articles Nicholas is always clear, precise, profound.

Our friendship has lasted now for forty years. Nicholas doesn't walk around any more wearing a three-piece suit with a golden chain hanging from his belt. But he still treads his own, unique path, leaving wherever he goes a trail of wisdom, exuberance, love of life, inexhaustible curiosity and good cheer. He is not only a great and original thinker and a gifted teacher – to my mind Nicholas de Lange is also the greatest translator of Hebrew into the English language.

Cambridge University Press

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Edited by James K. Aitken and James Carleton Paget

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Acknowledgements

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J. K. A.
J. N. C. P.

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978-1-107-00163-3 - The Jewish-Greek Tradition in Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire

Edited by James K. Aitken and James Carleton Paget

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Abbreviations

General

AB	Anchor Bible
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AHistRev	<i>American Historical Review</i>
AJS Review	<i>Association of Jewish Studies Review</i>
ALGHJ	Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des Hellenistischen Judentums
ANF	A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (eds.), <i>The Ante-Nicene Fathers</i> , 10 vols. Edinburgh, 1885–7; repr. Peabody, Mass., 1994
ANRW	H. Temporini and W. Haase (eds.), <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> . Berlin: De Gruyter, 1972–
ANTF	Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung
ARG	<i>Archiv für Religionsgeschichte</i>
ASR	<i>Annali di scienze religiose</i>
BAIAS	<i>Bulletin of Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society</i>
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BEATAJ	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
BGU	<i>Agyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen (later Staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden</i> . Berlin
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>
BJG	<i>Biblical Judaeo-Greek</i>
BJGS	<i>Bulletin of Judaeo-Greek Studies</i>
BJRL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i>

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-00163-3 - The Jewish-Greek Tradition in Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire

Edited by James K. Aitken and James Carleton Paget

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*List of abbreviations*

xv

<i>BJS</i>	<i>Brown Judaic Studies</i>
<i>BMGS</i>	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
<i>BNJ</i>	<i>Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher</i>
<i>BS</i>	B. Mazar, M. Schwabe, B. Lifshitz and N. Avigad. <i>Beth She'arim I–III</i> , 3 vols. Jerusalem: Massada, 1973–6
<i>BS/EB</i>	<i>Byzantine studies/Études Byzantines</i>
<i>ByzZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>BZAW</i>	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
<i>BZWANT</i>	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>CBET</i>	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
<i>ChrEg</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
<i>CIIP</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaee/Palaestinae</i>
<i>CIJ</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum</i>
<i>CP</i>	Constantinopolitan Pentateuch
<i>CPA</i>	Christian Palestinian Aramaic
<i>DGE</i>	<i>Diccionario Griego-Español</i> . Madrid: Instituto Antonio de Nebrija, 1980
<i>DJD</i>	Discoveries in the Judean Desert
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>DSD</i>	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
<i>EAJS</i>	European Association of Jewish Studies
<i>EJJS</i>	<i>European Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>ErIsr</i>	<i>Eretz-Israel</i>
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses</i>
<i>GBBJ</i>	The Greek Bible in Byzantine Judaism Project
<i>GLAJJ</i>	<i>Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism</i>
<i>GOTR</i>	<i>Greek Orthodox Theological Review</i>
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>HistJud</i>	<i>Historia Judaica</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HTS</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Studies</i>
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>IJudO I</i>	D. Noy, A. Panayotov and H. Bloedhorn (eds.), <i>Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis: Eastern Europe</i> . TSAJ 101; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004
<i>IJudO II</i>	W. Ameling (ed.), <i>Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis: Kleinasiens</i> . TSAJ 99; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004
<i>IJudO III</i>	D. Noy and H. Bloedhorn (eds.), <i>Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis: Syria and Cyprus</i> . TSAJ 102; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-00163-3 - The Jewish-Greek Tradition in Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire

Edited by James K. Aitken and James Carleton Paget

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xvi

List of abbreviations

<i>JAB</i>	<i>Journal of the Aramaic Bible</i>
<i>JAC</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>JAJ</i>	<i>Journal of Ancient Judaism</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>JIGRE</i>	D. Noy and W. Horbury (eds.), <i>Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt</i> . Cambridge University Press, 1992
<i>JIWE</i>	D. Noy (ed.), <i>Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe</i> , 2 vols. Cambridge University Press, 1993 and 1995
<i>JJGL</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JR</i>	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
<i>JSJSup</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplements</i>
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>JSQ</i>	<i>Jewish Studies Quarterly</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JStud</i>	<i>Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>KJV</i>	King James Version
<i>LCL</i>	Loeb Classical Library
<i>Leš</i>	<i>Lešonénu</i>
<i>LSJ</i>	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott and H. S. Jones, with R. McKenzie, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940
<i>MGWJ</i>	<i>Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums</i>
<i>Mus</i>	<i>Muséon: Revue d'études orientales</i>
<i>NETS</i>	<i>New English Translation of the Septuagint</i> , ed. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright. Oxford University Press, 2007
<i>OCP</i>	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
<i>OLA</i>	<i>Orientalia lovaniensia analecta</i>
<i>OtSt</i>	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>
<i>P.Cair.Zen.</i>	C. C. Edgar (ed.), <i>Zenon Papyri: Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire</i> . Cairo, 1925–40
<i>P.Lond.</i>	<i>Greek Papyri in the British Museum</i> . London, 1893–1974

Cambridge University Press

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Edited by James K. Aitken and James Carleton Paget

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*List of abbreviations*

xvii

<i>P.Oxy.</i>	<i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri.</i> Published by the Egypt Exploration Society in Graeco-Roman Memoirs. London, 1898–
<i>PAAJR</i>	<i>Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research</i>
PG	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
PGM	K. Preisendanz (ed.), <i>Papyri graecae magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri.</i> Berlin, 1928
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>
<i>PSI</i>	<i>Papiri greci e latini.</i> Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto. Florence
<i>RAr</i>	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
<i>REJ</i>	<i>Revue des études juives</i>
<i>SBLDS</i>	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
<i>SBLEJL</i>	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature
<i>SBLSCS</i>	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
<i>SCI</i>	<i>Scripta Classica Israelica</i>
<i>SCO</i>	<i>Studi Classici e Orientali</i>
<i>ScrHier</i>	<i>Scripta Hierosolymitana</i>
<i>SJOT</i>	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
<i>SNTSMS</i>	Society of New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SPB	<i>Studia post-Biblica</i>
<i>SPhilo</i>	<i>Studia Philonica</i>
<i>SUNT</i>	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
<i>Suppl. Mag.</i>	R.W. Daniel, and F. Maltomini, <i>Supplementum Magicum</i> , <i>Papyrologica Coloniensis</i> 16, 2 vols., Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1990–2
TRE	G. Krause and G. Müller (eds.), <i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i> . Berlin, 1977–2007
<i>TSAJ</i>	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
<i>TSK</i>	<i>Theologische Studien und Kritiken</i>
<i>TSMJ</i>	Texts and Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Judaism
<i>UPZ</i>	U. Wilcken (ed.), <i>Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit (ältere Funde)</i> . Berlin 1927–57
VC	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
<i>VCSup</i>	Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-00163-3 - The Jewish-Greek Tradition in Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire

Edited by James K. Aitken and James Carleton Paget

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xviii

List of abbreviations

VTSup	Supplements to <i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WJ	<i>Wiener Jahreshefte</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

Primary sources*Biblical books*

Gen.	Genesis
Exod.	Exodus
Lev.	Leviticus
Num.	Numbers
Deut.	Deuteronomy
Josh.	Joshua
Judg.	Judges
Ruth	Ruth
1–2 Sam.	1–2 Samuel
1–2 Kgs	1–2 Kings
1–2 Chr.	1–2 Chronicles
Ezra	Ezra
Neh.	Nehemiah
Esth.	Esther
Job	Job
Ps/Pss.	Psalms
Prov.	Proverbs
Eccl.	Ecclesiastes
Song	Song of Songs
Isa.	Isaiah
Jer.	Jeremiah
Lam.	Lamentations
Ezek.	Ezekiel
Dan.	Daniel
Hos.	Hosea
Joel	Joel
Amos	Amos
Obad.	Obadiah

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978-1-107-00163-3 - The Jewish-Greek Tradition in Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)*List of abbreviations*

xix

Jonah	Jonah
Mic.	Micah
Nah.	Nahum
Hab.	Habakkuk
Zeph.	Zephaniah
Hag.	Haggai
Zech.	Zechariah
Mal.	Malachi
Bar.	Baruch
2 Esdr.	2 Esdras
Sir.	Sirach
1 Macc.	1 Maccabees
2 Macc.	2 Maccabees
Wis.	Wisdom of Solomon

Works of Josephus

Ag. Ap.	<i>Against Apion</i>
Ant.	<i>Antiquities of the Jews</i>
Life	<i>The Life</i>
War	<i>The Jewish War</i>

Works of Philo

Abr.	<i>De Abrahamo</i>
Aet.	<i>De aeternitate mundi</i>
Agr.	<i>De agricultura</i>
Cher.	<i>De cherubim</i>
Conf.	<i>De confusione linguarum</i>
Congr.	<i>De congress eruditionis gratia</i>
Contempl.	<i>De vita contemplativa</i>
Decal.	<i>De decalogo</i>
Det.	<i>Quod deterius potiori insidari soleat</i>
Ebr.	<i>De ebrietate</i>
Fug.	<i>De fuga et inventione</i>
Gig.	<i>De gigantibus</i>
Her.	<i>Quis rerum divinarum heres sit</i>
Leg.	<i>Legum allegoriae</i>
Legat.	<i>Legatio ad Gaium</i>
Migr.	<i>De migratione Abrahami</i>

List of abbreviations

<i>Mos.</i>	<i>De vita Mosis</i>
<i>Mut.</i>	<i>De mutatione nominum</i>
<i>Opif.</i>	<i>De opificio mundi</i>
<i>Post.</i>	<i>De posteritate Caini</i>
<i>Praem.</i>	<i>De praemiis et poenis</i>
<i>Prob.</i>	<i>Quod omnis probus liber sit</i>
<i>Prov.</i>	<i>De providentia</i>
<i>QE</i>	<i>Quaestiones et solutiones in Exodum</i>
<i>QG</i>	<i>Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesin</i>
<i>Sacr.</i>	<i>De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini</i>
<i>Somn.</i>	<i>De somniis</i>
<i>Spec.</i>	<i>De specialibus legibus</i>

Rabbinic literature

<i>'Abot R. Nat.</i>	<i>'Abot de Rabbi Nathan</i>
<i>b. 'Abod. Zar.</i>	<i>Bavli 'Abodah Zarah</i>
<i>b. B. Qam.</i>	<i>Bavli Baba Qamma</i>
<i>b. Ber.</i>	<i>Bavli Berakot</i>
<i>b. Git</i>	<i>Bavli Git<small>ṭ</small>in</i>
<i>b. Hag.</i>	<i>Hagigah</i>
<i>b. Ketub.</i>	<i>Bavli Ketubbot</i>
<i>b. Meg.</i>	<i>Bavli Megillah</i>
<i>b. Menah.</i>	<i>Bavli Menahot</i>
<i>b. Mo'ed Qat.</i>	<i>Bavli Mo'ed Qa<small>ṭ</small>an</i>
<i>b. Ned.</i>	<i>Bavli Nedarim</i>
<i>b. Pesah.</i>	<i>Bavli Pesa<small>ḥ</small>im</i>
<i>b. Qidd.</i>	<i>Bavli Qiddu<small>š</small>in</i>
<i>b. Šabb.</i>	<i>Bavli Šabbat</i>
<i>b. Sanh.</i>	<i>Bavli Sanhedrin</i>
<i>b. Sot.</i>	<i>Bavli So<small>ṭ</small>ah</i>
<i>b. Tem.</i>	<i>Bavli Temurah</i>
<i>b. Yoma</i>	<i>Bavil Yoma</i>
<i>Deut. Rab.</i>	<i>Deuteronomy Rabbah</i>
<i>Eccl. Rab.</i>	<i>Ecclesiastes Rabbah</i>
<i>Esth. Rab.</i>	<i>Esther Rabbah</i>
<i>Exod. Rab.</i>	<i>Exodus Rabbah</i>
<i>Gen. Rab.</i>	<i>Genesis Rabbah</i>
<i>Lam. Rab.</i>	<i>Lamentations Rabbah</i>
<i>Lev. Rab.</i>	<i>Leviticus Rabbah</i>

List of abbreviations

xxi

<i>m. Mak.</i>	<i>Mishnah Makkot</i>
<i>m. Meg.</i>	<i>Mishnah Megillah</i>
<i>m. Qidd.</i>	<i>Mishnah Qiddusin</i>
<i>m. Šabb.</i>	<i>Mishnah Šabbat</i>
<i>m. Sanh.</i>	<i>Mishnah Sanhedrin</i>
<i>m. Sot.</i>	<i>Mishnah Sotah</i>
<i>m. Ter</i>	<i>Mishnah Terumot</i>
<i>m. Yad.</i>	<i>Mishnah Yadayim</i>
<i>Mas. Sop.</i>	<i>Masseket Soperim</i>
<i>Mek. R. Ish.</i>	<i>Mekilta of Rabbi Ishmael</i>
<i>Pesiq. Rab Kah.</i>	<i>Pesiqta de Rab Kahana</i>
<i>Pirqe R. El.</i>	<i>Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer</i>
<i>Song Rab.</i>	<i>Song of Songs Rabbah</i>
<i>t. 'Abod. Zar.</i>	<i>Tosefta 'Abodah Zarah</i>
<i>t. Meg.</i>	<i>Tosefta Megillah</i>
<i>t. Šabb.</i>	<i>Tosefta Šabbat</i>
<i>t. Sanh.</i>	<i>Tosefta Sanhedrin</i>
<i>Tanh.</i>	<i>Tanḥuma</i>
<i>y. Meg.</i>	<i>Yerushalmi Megillah</i>
<i>y. Mo'ed Qaṭ.</i>	<i>Yerushalmi Mo'ed Qaṭan</i>
<i>y. Šabb.</i>	<i>Yerushalmi Šabbat</i>
<i>y. Sanh.</i>	<i>Yerushalmi Sanhedrin</i>
<i>y. Sot.</i>	<i>Yerushalmi Soṭah</i>
<i>y. Sukkah</i>	<i>Yerushalmi Sukkah</i>
<i>y. Yoma</i>	<i>Yerushalmi Yoma</i>
<i>Yal. Shim'oni</i>	<i>Yalquṭ Shim'oni</i>

Other sources

<i>Ant.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Life of Antonius</i>
<i>Civ.</i>	<i>De civitate Dei</i>
<i>Cod. justin.</i>	<i>Codex justinianus</i>
<i>Cod. theod.</i>	<i>Codex theodosianus</i>
<i>Comm. Ezech.</i>	Jerome, <i>Commentariorum in Ezechielem libri XVI</i>
<i>Comm. in Matth.</i>	<i>Commentarium in evangelium Matthaei</i>
<i>De Aed.</i>	Procopius, <i>De Aedificiis</i>
<i>Dial.</i>	Justin, <i>Dialogue with Trypho</i>
<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
<i>Hist. eccl.</i>	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>
<i>Hist.</i>	<i>History</i>

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xxii

List of abbreviations

<i>Id.</i>	<i>Idylls</i>
<i>Log.</i>	Sextus Empiricus, <i>Against the Logicians</i>
<i>Math.</i>	Sextus Empiricus, <i>Adversus mathematicos</i>
<i>Od.</i>	<i>Odyssey</i>
<i>Orig. Princ.</i>	<i>Origenis Libri Peri archōn seu De principiis libri IV</i>
<i>Praep. ev.</i>	Eusebius, <i>Praeparatio evangelica</i>
<i>Pss. Sol.</i>	<i>Psalms of Solomon</i>
<i>Pyr.</i>	Sextus Empiricus, <i>Pyrrhoniae hypotyposes</i>
<i>Rec.</i>	<i>Recognitions</i>
<i>Sib. Or.</i>	<i>Sibylline Oracles</i>
<i>Suppl.</i>	<i>Supplices</i>