

REINHARD PUMMER

Early Christian Authors on Samaritans and Samaritanism

*Texts and Studies in
Ancient Judaism*

92

Mohr Siebeck

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Edited by
Martin Hengel und Peter Schäfer

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Early Christian Authors on Samaritans and Samaritanism

Texts, Translations and Commentary

Mohr Siebeck

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parentum meorum memoriae

Contents

| | |
|--|------|
| Preface | XI |
| Abbreviations | XIII |
| Introduction | 1 |
| | |
| Hegesippus | 11 |
| Justin Martyr | 14 |
| Tertullian | 31 |
| Hippolytus of Rome | 37 |
| Origen | 40 |
| Eusebius of Caesarea | 77 |
| <i>Pseudo-Clementines</i> | 103 |
| Didymus the Blind | 109 |
| The Pilgrim of Bordeaux | 111 |
| Cyril of Jerusalem | 114 |
| Epiphanius of Salamis | 121 |
| Jerome | 184 |
| Philaster | 209 |
| Palladius | 212 |
| Socrates Scholasticus | 214 |
| Sozomen | 217 |
| Orosius | 219 |
| <i>The Life of Melania the Younger</i> | 221 |
| Theodore of Cyrrhus | 223 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Procopius of Gaza | 228 |
| Zacharias Rhetor | 232 |
| Cassiodorus | 242 |
| Choricius of Gaza | 245 |
| John Malalas | 253 |
| Procopius of Caesarea | 281 |
| Cyril of Scythopolis | 305 |
| Symeon the Stylite the Younger | 317 |
| The <i>Life of Jacob the Monk</i> | 326 |
| Cosmas Indicopleustes | 332 |
| Gregory I | 336 |
| John Moschus | 344 |
| The Pilgrim of Piacenza | 348 |
| Maximus the Confessor | 352 |
| John of Antioch | 359 |
| Epitome (Ms P) of the <i>Ecclesiastical History</i> of Theodore Anagnostes . | 360 |
| <i>Chronicon Paschale</i> | 362 |
| Anastasius Sinaita | 369 |
| John of Damascus | 373 |
| John of Nikiu | 377 |
| Pseudo-Cyril of Jerusalem | 383 |
| George Syncellus | 399 |
| Theophanes Confessor | 408 |
| Anastasius Bibliothecarius | 417 |
| Photius | 420 |
| Eutychius of Alexandria | 430 |
| George Cedrenus | 438 |
| Nicephorus Callistus | 441 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Bibliography | 445 |
| I. Texts and Translations | 445 |
| A. Individual Authors and Anonymous Works | 445 |
| B. Collections | 456 |
| II. Secondary Literature | 458 |
| Indexes | 479 |
| Index of Sources | 479 |
| 1. Bible and Pseudepigrapha | 479 |
| 2. Early Christian Writings | 483 |
| 3. Jewish Writings | 493 |
| 4. Samaritan Writings | 494 |
| 5. Greek and Latin Writings | 495 |
| 6. Roman and Byzantine Laws | 496 |
| Selected Greek and Hebrew Words and Phrases | 497 |
| Index of Modern Authors | 499 |
| Index of Subjects | 507 |
| Acknowledgements | 516 |

Preface

This book grew out of my research on early Samaritan religion and history and the need to have available a comprehensive collection of primary texts for this period. My discussions with other scholars in the field encouraged me to undertake the work for this publication; it emerged that my colleagues, too, had felt that such a corpus is a *desideratum*.

In writing this monograph I have received valuable assistance of various kinds from a number of persons and institutions; to all of them I am sincerely grateful. In particular, I want to thank the following of my colleagues for giving me the benefit of their expertise: Kevin Coyle, Ferdinand Dexinger, Geoffrey Greatrex, Achille Joyal, Pierluigi Piovanelli, Michel Roussel, Haseeb Shehadeh, Paul Stenhouse, and John Yardley. A special thank-you is owed to Paul-Eugène Dion and Léo Laberge for graciously agreeing to read drafts of the manuscript and for suggesting improvements and corrections. I am also particularly thankful to my research assistant, Dina Teitelbaum, for her bibliographical work in the initial stages and for editing and proof-reading various incarnations of the text with *Akribie* and dedication. To my wife Lucille I am deeply grateful not only for proofreading the text, but also for all the other help in preparing the book. It goes without saying that all shortcomings in the final product are mine.

My appreciation is also extended to the following institutions: the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada which provided financial assistance for this project, and to the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ottawa, which supported my research by supplementing the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council's grants through reduction of my teaching load. In particular, I thank Robert Major, former Assistant Vice Dean (Research) of our Faculty, for his ever-ready assistance in matters of grants.

There remains for me to express my thanks to Georg Siebeck for accepting my book for the series "Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism" and for the friendly reception and congenial atmosphere during the meetings with him and his staff in Tübingen.

Abbreviations

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| <i>AB</i> | <i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> |
| <i>ANF</i> | <i>Ante-Nicene Fathers</i> . Buffalo, 1885-1887 |
| <i>BASOR</i> | <i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i> |
| <i>BJRL</i> | <i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i> |
| <i>BMGS</i> | <i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i> |
| <i>BZ</i> | <i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i> |
| <i>BZAW</i> | <i>Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i> |
| <i>CBQ</i> | <i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i> |
| <i>CCSL</i> | <i>Corpus Christianorum Series Latina</i> |
| <i>Cod. Just.</i> | <i>Codex Justinianus</i> |
| <i>Cod. Theod.</i> | <i>Codex Theodosianus</i> |
| <i>CoptEnc</i> | <i>The Coptic Encyclopedia</i> . 8 vols. Ed. A.S. Atiya. New York: Macmillan; Toronto: Collier Macmillan Canada; New York: Maxwell Macmillan International, 1991 |
| <i>CSCO</i> | <i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i> |
| <i>CSEL</i> | <i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i> |
| <i>DOP</i> | <i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i> |
| <i>EAEHL</i> | <i>Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land</i> . 4 vols. Ed. M. Avi-Yonah. Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society and Massada Press, 1975-1978 |
| <i>EI</i> | <i>Eretz-Israel</i> |
| <i>EJ</i> | <i>Encyclopaedia Judaica</i> . 16 vols. Jerusalem: Keter, 1972 |
| <i>FrHG</i> | <i>Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum</i> , ed. K. Müller |
| <i>GCS</i> | Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten (drei) Jahrhunderte |
| <i>GRBS</i> | <i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i> |
| <i>HTR</i> | <i>Harvard Theological Review</i> |
| <i>HUCA</i> | <i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i> |
| <i>JA</i> | <i>Journal Asiatique</i> |
| <i>JAOS</i> | <i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> |
| <i>JBL</i> | <i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i> |
| <i>JECS</i> | <i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i> |
| <i>JHS</i> | <i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i> |
| <i>JPOS</i> | <i>Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society</i> |
| <i>JQR</i> | <i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i> |
| <i>JSJ</i> | <i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i> |
| <i>JSOT</i> | <i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i> |
| <i>JSS</i> | <i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i> |
| <i>JThS</i> | <i>Journal of Theological Studies</i> |

| | |
|---------------|---|
| LCL | Loeb Classical Library |
| MGWJ | <i>Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums</i> |
| MT | Masoretic Text |
| NEAHL | <i>The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land.</i> 4 vols. Ed. E. Stern. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, and Carta, 1993 |
| NKZ | <i>Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift</i> |
| Nov. | <i>Novella</i> |
| NPNF | A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. Second Series. Ed. P. Schaff and H. Wace. Oxford: James Parker; New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1890–1900 |
| ODB | <i>Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium.</i> 3 vols. Ed. A. Kazhdan. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991 |
| ODCC | <i>Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church.</i> Ed. F.L. Cross. Third edition ed. E.A. Livingstone. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1997 |
| PEQ | <i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i> |
| PG | <i>Patrologia Graeca.</i> Ed. J.P. Migne. Paris, 1857–1866 |
| PL | <i>Patrologia Latina.</i> Ed. J.P. Migne. Paris, 1844–1864 |
| PLRE | <i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire,</i> I, ed. A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale, and J. Morris (1971); II, ed. J.R. Martindale (1980); III, ed. J.R. Martindale (1992) |
| PO | <i>Patrologia Orientalis.</i> Ed. R. Graffin and F. Nau. Paris, 1907– |
| PW | A. Pauly. <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.</i> Ed. G. Wissowa et al., 1890– |
| RAC | <i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum.</i> Ed. Th. Klausner. 1941– |
| RB | <i>Revue Biblique</i> |
| REB | <i>Revue des Études Byzantines</i> |
| REJ | <i>Revue des Études juives</i> |
| RHLR | <i>Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses</i> |
| RGVV | Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten |
| SC | Sources Chrétiennes |
| Shahîd, BAFIC | Shahîd, I. <i>Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century</i> |
| Shahîd, BASIC | Shahîd, I. <i>Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century</i> |
| SP | Samaritan Pentateuch |
| ST | Samaritan Targum |
| Tabula | Tsafrir, Y., L. Di Segni and J. Green. <i>Tabula Imperii Romani Iudea</i> |
| TRE | <i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie.</i> Ed. G. Krause and G. Müller. Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1976– |
| TU | Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur |
| ZAW | <i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i> |
| ZDMG | <i>Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> |
| ZDPV | <i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästinavereins</i> |
| ZKTh | <i>Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie</i> |
| ZNW | <i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i> |

Introduction

Although our knowledge about the early period of Samaritanism comes almost entirely from Christian sources, no comprehensive collection of available texts was ever undertaken before. Scholars and interested students had to consult critical editions and, where available, translations that were scattered over a great variety of publications. The present volume assembles those Christian sources from antiquity, i.e. from the time prior to the Muslim conquest of Palestine,¹ that shed light on the history and religion of the Samaritans. In addition, an introduction to each author provides information about time, place and main works; this is followed by discussions and analyses of the texts with regard to their context and import for Samaritan studies. The literature incorporated was originally written in Greek or in Latin.² Some of the texts, however, are extant only in translations into Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, Coptic, or Ethiopic. They are included here in the languages of the oldest or best preserved versions. Even though several authors in this corpus wrote in the time after the Muslim conquest of Palestine, the information they provide pertains to the time prior to the conquest.

The principle on which the texts for the present edition were selected is that they deal with Samaritans. Passages that refer to Samaria but do not add to our knowledge and understanding of matters Samaritan are not included.

In the past, the term “Samaritan” was used indiscriminately for all inhabitants of the region of Samaria. Gradually the problematic nature of such usage became clear, and now terminological and substantive distinctions are made between “Samaritans” on the one hand and “Samaritans” on the other.³ The first term signifies members of that religio-ethnic group that has its roots in Judaism, but split off from the latter, rejected the temple of Jerusalem and regarded its own temple on Mount Gerizim as the only legitimate sanctuary; eventually, they became an independent religion. The Samaritan Bible consists of the

¹ For texts concerning the Samaritans at the time of the Muslim conquest, see Pummer, “Foot-Soldiers of the Byzantines or Spies for the Muslims?”

² The only exception is Eutychius, who originally wrote in Arabic.

³ The first to use this distinction consistently was Kippenberg in his book *Garizim und Synagoge* (see there p. 34). Subsequently, other scholars adopted this terminology. However, there are still authors who do not make a distinction between “Samaritans” and “Samaritans”.

Pentateuch only, and rabbinic writings are not part of the Samaritan tradition. Research during the last three to four decades has shown that the split between Judaism and Samaritanism occurred gradually.⁴ In this process, the destruction of the temple on Mt. Gerizim by John Hyrcanus in 111 B.C.E. must have been a momentous event, even if it was not the end of the mutual relationships between the two branches of the biblical religion(s). The textual form of the Samaritan Pentateuch is proof that Samaritanism and Judaism developed along different lines out of their common heritage, beginning in the Hellenistic-Roman period. A comparison with the biblical texts found in Qumran shows that the version used by the Samaritans was one among the various text-forms that were current among Jews around the turn of the era.⁵

The term “Samaritans” applies, in principle, to all inhabitants of the district of Samaria, not only to Samaritans in the narrow sense, but also to the Jewish, the “pagan” and the Christian population of Samaria. In practice, “Samaritans” is used for Jewish and “pagan” inhabitants of Samaria. The ancient sources, of course, do not make such clear terminological distinctions. Thus, the Greek term Σαμαρεῖς may refer to Samaritans or to Samarians. The same is true of other terms, either Greek or Latin, such as Σαμαρεῖται and *Samaritae*. It has to be decided on a case by case examination which of the two – Samarians or Samaritans – is intended by a given author. This work is concerned only with “Samaritans” in the sense of the religio-ethnic group described above, and not with “Samarians”.

A subject that is sometimes included in collections of patristic passages on Samaritans is the teaching of Simon Magus and his disciple and successor Menander, also from Samaria, according to Justin Martyr and Irenaeus.⁶ The New Testament locates Simon in “a (or: the) city of Samaria.”⁷ Justin Martyr⁸ is the first author who specifies that Simon hailed from Gitta⁹ and Menander

⁴ For a thorough discussion of the origins of the Samaritans see Dexinger, “Der Ursprung der Samaritaner im Spiegel der frühen Quellen.”

⁵ Cf. Dexinger, “Samaritan Origins and the Qumran Texts.”

⁶ See, e.g., Zangenberg, *SAMAPEIA* 233–234. In the introduction to the section on early Christian literature, Zangenberg notes, however, that the teachings of Simon contain no typically Samaritan theogonuma, and that he, Simon, probably was a representative of the Hellenistic population of Samaria (p. 232). Hall, *Samaritan Religion*, includes them too, although at the end he points out that Justin speaks here about “a native/inhabitant of Samaria” (p. 47).

⁷ In the pericope about the Christian mission in Samaria in Acts 8:4–25. On the meaning of the phrase εἰς [τὴν] πόλιν τῆς Σαμαρείας see now Böhm, *Samaren* 281–289. She concludes that the article is to be rejected and that Luke had in mind “(irgend)eine Stadt Samariens” (p. 289). This was argued against by Zangenberg, “Δύναμις” 521, who understands τῆς Σαμαρείας as *genitivus explicativus*: “the city [called] Samaria.”

⁸ *I Apol.* 26.

⁹ Or Geth; modern Tel Zafit; map ref. 135 123. Cf. *Tabula* 134.

from Capparataea;¹⁰ both villages were in Samaria. Other Christian writers followed him. Only the Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* of the fourth century ascribe to Simon the rejection of Jerusalem (for which he is said to have substituted Mt. Gerizim) and the denial of the belief in resurrection.¹¹ Apart from this one passage,¹² all other texts show that the doctrines and observances of either Simon or Menander had nothing to do with Samaritan beliefs or practices as we know them from Samaritan literature. On the contrary, “their secret cultus before pagan statues and their depreciation of the *torah* both point in the other direction”,¹³ viz. in that of Hellenism.¹⁴

Some authors have attempted to show that somehow there is a connection between the teachings ascribed to Simon Magus in the Church Fathers and to Samaritan ideas. Among them was G. Widengren in his book *The Ascension of the Apostle and the Heavenly Book*.¹⁵ The shortcomings of his approach were underlined by H.G. Kippenberg. Above all, the sources at our disposal are too recent. Moreover, Widengren compares passages without sufficient regard for their context.¹⁶ Kippenberg himself analyzed the expression ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ καλουμένη μεγάλη (Acts 8:10), which is a recurrent theme in writings about Simonian gnosticism.¹⁷ He then examined the corresponding Aramaic expression of ḥ meyālā dūnāmīs in the Samaritan sources, *חילָה רבָה*, a name for God. Kippenberg, too, has to rely on texts that postdate Simon by several centuries. Nevertheless, he believes that the concept has its roots in the Samaritan synagogue and that the Aramaic texts of the Samaritans show us the matrix of Simonian gnosticism.¹⁸ The gap remains, however, between Acts 8:10 on the

¹⁰ Modern Khirbet Kafr Ḥatta; map ref. 146 169. *Tabula* 100.

¹¹ *Homilies* 2.22.

¹² As Isser, following Cerfaux, has pointed out, “much of Simon’s ideology in the Clementina ... may be the product of an already developed Simonianism rather than the system of Simon himself” (*Dositheans* 22).

¹³ Barnard, *St. Justin Martyr* 135 n. 180.

¹⁴ Fossum has tried to show that Simon of Acts 8:4–13 must have been a Samaritan in the narrow sense of the word, since “Philip and the other ‘Hellenists’, who were the first to bring the Gospel outside Jerusalem, would not have addressed the uncircumcised” (“Sects and Movements” 363). In his wake, Gerd Theissen, too, has recently come out in favour of Samaritanism as the historical Simon’s religious affiliation (“Simon Magus” 416–418). However, arguments for this position rely almost exclusively on heresiological writings; Luke’s testimony in Acts is ambiguous. No clearly Samaritan theogumena occur in the early tradition about Simon. This has been emphasized by Zangenberg (“Δύναμις” 523), who rightly concludes that the historical Simon was a pagan (“Δύναμις” 536). See also below the chapter on Justin Martyr.

¹⁵ See pp. 40–58.

¹⁶ Kippenberg, *Garizim* 127 and 328. Kippenberg names also other authors who have seen Samaritan connections.

¹⁷ In Irenaeus, *Adv. haeres.* 1.23.1; Hippolytus, *Haer.* 6.13 and 6.17.1–2; Philaster and Epiphanius, who used Hippolytus’ lost *Syntagma*; and the Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* 2.22.3–4 = *Recogn.* 2.7; *Homilies* 3.38.2.

¹⁸ *Garizim* 346–348.

one hand, and the patristic reports on the other, and it leads, in the words of Beyschlag, to a *Sprungschluß*.¹⁹

Another recent author who tried to establish a connection between Samaritan and Simonian beliefs is J. Fossum in his book *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord: Samaritan and Jewish Concepts of Intermediation and the Origin of Gnosticism* as well as in his contribution to the collective work *The Samaritans*, entitled “Sects and Movements.”²⁰ He, too, sees the phrase ἡ μεγάλη δύναμις as a link between Simon Magus and later gnosticism. Yet, Fossum’s observations are undermined by his admission²¹ that Simon’s declaration “I am the Great Power” may not be historical, “but may represent a ‘community confession’.” He goes on to state: “Accordingly, in the following pages, ‘Simon’ does not necessarily stand for the historical Simon.”²² In the end, Fossum’s conclusions are guarded: the heresiological reports “would seem” to “allow some glimpses of the Samaritan background of Simon Magus and his movement. In the line of tradition from the Acts of the Apostles to the *Acts of Peter* and the *Pseudo-Clementines*, however, the Samaritan provenance of the ‘father of all heretics’ comes quite clearly into view.”²³ But the Pseudo-Clementine report, too, does not contain historically reliable information, as Fossum himself notes.²⁴ Moreover, Fossum has to rely on *Tibât Mårqe*, a work which, at least in part, may be contemporary with the basic writing of the *Pseudo-Clementines*, but certainly not with the Simon of Acts.

Because of the tenuous connection between the Simon of Acts and the teachings ascribed to him by the Church Fathers, I have not included in this work those patristic texts that profess to report the teachings of the Samaritans Simon and Menander.

Similarly with Dositheus: Clearly, there was a Samaritan sect whose eponymous founder he is said to have been. However, details about him are very sparse. Those texts in which he is mentioned as a Samaritan figure are cited and discussed here; but those accounts and legends, on the other hand, that have no affinity with any Samaritan tradition are not included. Detailed analysis by Isser has shown that not Dositheus’ philosophy is reflected in this material, but rather what his early followers thought of him.²⁵

¹⁹ Beyschlag, *Simon Magus* 94.

²⁰ In Crown, ed., *The Samaritans* 293–389.

²¹ In agreement with G. Lüdemann, *Untersuchungen zur simonianischen Gnosis* 40.

²² Fossum, “Sects and Movements” 364 n. 285. Cf. also further on, about Pseudo-Clementine, *Homil.* 2.24: “Although the contest as such (between Simon and Dositheus) obviously is unhistorical, it probably reflects the Simonians’ way of describing the superiority of their master over Dositheus, another well-known Samaritan teacher” (p. 377).

²³ “Sects and Movements” 389.

²⁴ “Sects and Movements” 377.

²⁵ Isser, *Dositheans* 158, in conclusion of the discussion of the Dositheus aratalogy.

As noted above, the present volume is the first comprehensive collection of early Christian texts on the Samaritans. Some of the patristic passages were collected and discussed in earlier works: H.G. Kippenberg in his book *Garizim und Synagoge: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur samaritanischen Religion der aramäischen Periode* examined pertinent texts (quoted in German translation), but his work ranges over a much wider field and does not have patristic writings as its primary focus. The book *The Dositheans* by S. Isser analyzed those passages from the Church Fathers that speak about the Samaritan heresiarch Dositheus, as well as the relevant Arabic sources; other texts that have no connection with Dositheus are, of course, not part of Isser's discussions. B.W. Hall's book *Samaritan Religion from John Hyrcanus to Baba Rabba* studies the Christian literature from the New Testament to the *Didas-calia Apostolorum*, but includes also the works of Josephus and the Mishna. Although Hall discusses selected patristic authors in Chapter 2, he does not quote them, either in the original languages or in translation, except for a number of excerpts in English.²⁶ A.M. Rabello in his book *Giustiniano, Ebrei e Samaritani alla luce delle fonti storico-letterarie, ecclesiastiche e giuridiche* prints some of the texts that are relevant to the Samaritans during Justinian's reign. The most recent anthology that includes early Christian authors is the book *ΣΑΜΑΠΕΙΑ: Antike Quellen zur Geschichte und Kultur der Samaritaner in deutscher Übersetzung* by J. Zangenbergs. Chapter 6, entitled Early Christian Literature, presents (in German translation) a selection of patristic passages, as well as early pilgrim reports, gnostic literature from Nag-Hammadi, and samples of Byzantine laws.²⁷

The Roman-Byzantine laws on Samaritans are not part of the present corpus. They can be found – together with introductions, translations and commentary – in the recently published work *The Jews in Roman Imperial Legislation* by A. Linder, but also in the earlier collection by P.R. Coleman-Norton, *Roman State and Christian Church: A Collection of Legal Documents to A.D. 535*.²⁸

As a perusal of the texts collected here shows, the information about the Samaritans contained in the works of early Christian writers is in most cases not based on personal acquaintance with members of the group. This is true even of those authors who lived in places where in principle they could have met Samaritans in person, such as Justin Martyr, who hailed from Nablus, and

²⁶ For a short summary see also his entry "Patristic sources and the Samaritans" in Crown, Pummer, Tal, eds., *Companion* 176–177.

²⁷ The author includes, however, texts that have nothing to do with the Samaritans; see my review of the work in *JBL* 115 (1996) 567–569.

²⁸ Justinian's laws are also printed and discussed in Rabello, *Giustiniano*; cf. also Puljatti, *Ricerche sulle novelle di Giustino II*, vol. 2. German translations of the laws regarding Samaritans are to be found also in Frohne, *Codex Theodosianus* 16,18,1–29.

Origen and Eusebius, both of whom lived in Caesarea. Even their works contain very few traces that point to possible personal interactions with Samaritans. The sparse knowledge of matters Samaritan by authors who lived outside of Syria-Palestine is also noteworthy. Neither Tertullian of Carthage nor Hippolytus of Rome show any personal acquaintance with Samaritans or their customs and beliefs. This means that in the second and early third centuries either no Samaritan communities existed in these two cities, or they were so small that the two authors took no note of them. Although there is evidence of a Samaritan diaspora, it comes mostly from a later time period and does not allow us to estimate its size. The earliest proof for Samaritans in Carthage and Rome comes from the sixth or seventh century C.E.²⁹ As a corollary, it should be emphasized that we must be careful not to assume without further evidence the existence of a widespread Samaritan diaspora at an early time, let alone one that comprised numerous individuals and communities. There certainly are traces of Samaritan communities outside their native land, but they come mostly from the Byzantine period and later and allow no conclusions as to numbers. However, in the case of both the Samaritans in Palestine as well as those in the diaspora, the reason why the Church Fathers mention them only infrequently may be that they subsumed them under Judaism most of the time and mentioned them only in special cases.

Patristic writers' accounts and comments about the Samaritans belong to a variety of genres. Some of their observations have preserved historical information; others are little more than exegeses of biblical passages or a resumption of remarks found in earlier patristic writings; and a third group is based on the identification of Samaritans with Christian "heretics". Moreover, Samaritans at times served simply as foil for the Jews. Circumspection is therefore needed in attempting to extract historical data about the Samaritans from patristic sources. Nevertheless, these writings are the main and often only source of our knowledge of Samaritans in antiquity, and, used with proper caution, they yield important information about this ancient religio-ethnic group.

Over the span of approximately five hundred years represented in the passages assembled in this book, the authors broach a multiplicity of subjects. The most important are the following: the origin of the Samaritans; the equation of Samaritans with idolaters; the meaning of the term "Samaritan"; the Pentateuch; the holiness of Mount Gerizim; the Samaritan script; the Samaritans' rejection of the resurrection of the dead; sects; the Taheb, the "messianic"

²⁹ The Samaritan in Rome about whom Josephus speaks in *Ant.* 18:167 may simply have been a Samarian. For a Samaritan synagogue in Rome see Cassiodorus Senator, *Variarum Libri Duodecim* 3.45. For Samaritans in Carthage see the chapter on Maximus the Confessor.

figure of the Samaritans; settlements; revolts; conversions; synagogues; dealings with non-Samaritans; and the strict observance of the Law:

The origin of the Samaritans: Like Josephus and the rabbis, early Christian writers follow the biblical tradition in 2 Kgs. 17 and consider the Samaritans descendants of the settlers brought to Israel by the Assyrian kings. Origen refers to the Samaritans' claim to be descended from Joseph, as do Josephus and certain rabbinic sources.³⁰

"*Samaritans*" equals "*idolaters*" and "*heretics*": Beginning with Justin Martyr, Samaria and the Samaritans are equated with idolatry and idolaters respectively on the basis of what took place under Jeroboam; in addition, the idols hidden on Mt. Gerizim and the Samaritans' descent from foreign settlers proved to the Christian authors that the Samaritans were idolaters. Moreover, since Simon Magus was from Samaria and was considered to be the arch-heretic, the term "*Samaritan*" became eventually a generic term for "heretic."

"*Samaritans*" means "*guards*" or "*guardians*": As early as Origen, the Church Fathers interpreted the designation Σαμαρεῖται and, later among the Latin Fathers, *Samaritani*, as meaning "guards" or "guardians," either of the land or of the Law or of both.³¹ Today's Samaritans make a point of calling themselves precisely by that name, שָׁמָרִים (pronounced by the Samaritans šāmīrōm), not by the geographical designation סְמָרוֹנִים. Although Samaritan texts using שָׁמָרִים are late,³² the origin of the idea must be sought in much

³⁰ Cf. *Gen. Rab.* 49.8.

³¹ Hebrew שָׁמֵר as well as Greek φύλαξ and Latin *custos*, when translated into English, have the dual meaning: "guard, watcher" and "guardian, keeper, protector, observer."

³² It appears in Samaritan chronicles and in letters to European scholars. In *Chronicle II* as well as in *Chronicle Adler* the Samaritans call themselves "Israelite Samaritans" – בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הַשְׁמָרִים (cf. Macdonald, *The Samaritan Chronicle No. II* 77 [text], 167 [transl.]; 85 [text], 178 [transl.]; etc.; Cohen, *A Samaritan Chronicle* § 7; Niessen, *Eine samaritanische Version* fols. 25b, 17, 18; 43b, 23; 44a, 13; 45b, 6; and 52b, 24–25; Adler and Séligssohn, *REJ* 44 [1902] 213; 217; etc.). In one place (fol. 52b in Niessen), they call themselves "those who guard the place of grace" שָׁמָרִים מָקוֹם הֶרְצָגָן. Both *Chronicle II* and *Chronicle Adler* are late chronicles (see Ben-Hayyim, "A Samaritan Text of the Former Prophets?", and Niessen, *Eine samaritanische Version* 12–13, 16, 19–37). Interestingly, both chronicles recount the purchase of Samaria from Shemer (1 Kgs. 16:24), "in the days of Omri", by "a man of the community of the Samaritan Israelites" (*Chronicle II*) or by a man from the tribe of Ephraim (*Chronicle Adler*); since then, the city and the surrounding cities were called "Har Shomron" (*Chronicle II*) or "the cities of Shomron" (*Chronicle Adler*), and the Israelites inhabiting them were called "Shomronim" – שְׁמוֹרּוֹנִים (see Macdonald, *Chronicle II* 75 [text] and 163 [transl.]; Adler and Séligssohn, *REJ* 44 [1902] 210). In a letter to their "brethren in England" (from the year 1672), the Samaritans inform the recipients that they observe the holy Law and that they are called שָׁמָרִים, because they observe the Sabbath: וּשְׁמָרִים הַתּוֹרָה הַקְדוּשָׁה וּמְתֻקְרִים שָׁמָרִים כִּי אֲנָהָנוּ נְשָׁמָר הַשְׁבָתָה 163 [text], 175 [transl.]). Two years later, in a letter addressed to the British scholar Robert Huntington (1637–1701), the Samaritans write: "we are Samaritans, observing the Law of Moses", שָׁמָרִים שָׁמָרִי דָת מֹשֶׁה (de Sacy, "Correspondance" 185 [text], 189 [transl.]).

earlier times, since Origen notes that this was a tradition which the Hebrews handed on. According to Origen, “the Samaritans first received this name because the king of the Assyrians sent them to be guards of the land of Israel after the captivity, that is, that other Israel besides Judah, which was taken captive into Assyria because of their many sins” (*In Joh.* 20.35.312). Thus, the self-designation שִׁמְרִים was not taken over by Samaritans from Christian authors.³³ While Origen interprets Σαμαρεῖται only as “guards of the land,” Epiphanius knows both interpretations, “guards/guardians of the land” and “guardians of the Law.” Jerome and many later Church Fathers used the translation “guardian” also to explain Jesus’ silence in the face of the accusation that he was a Samaritan (Jn. 8:48).

Pentateuch: Patristic authors knew the Samaritan Pentateuch and, beginning with Origen, refer to it and use it “without prejudice for the Jewish text,” as Montgomery already pointed out.³⁴ As late as George Syncellus it is said that the Samaritan text is the oldest, acknowledged as such also by the Jews, and is written in different characters. As opposed to rabbinic authors, the Church Fathers clearly note that the Samaritan Bible consists only of the Pentateuch.³⁵

Mount Gerizim: That Mt. Gerizim is the holy mountain of the Samaritans that distinguishes them from the Jews is well known to early Christian authors; some censure the Samaritans for rejecting the *Heilsgeschichte* tradition of Jerusalem: one must worship God on Zion. Josephus’ account of the foundation of the temple on the Mountain is cited by a number of authors. The location of Mt. Gerizim and Mt. Ebal was, for some time, disputed among Christian (as well as rabbinic) writers, but after Jerome’s *Epist.* 108, the location by Nablus was accepted.

Similarly, in a letter of 1686, addressed to the German scholar Job Ludolf (1624–1704), they wrote: וּכְרָתָם אֵן אֲנַחַנוּ בְּנֵי שִׁמְרוֹן: לֹא יְדֻעָנוּ שֶׁ שִׁמְרוֹן: מַה הַוָּא: דַעַו אֲנַחַנוּ כִּי אֲנַחַנוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הַשְׁמָרִים עִם קָרְשׁ טַהוּרִים: קְרִישִׁים: שְׁמֹוּרִי הַתּוֹרָה הַקְדוֹשָה: תּוֹרָה מְשָׁה בֶּן עַמְרָךְ (Ludolf, *Epistolae Samaritanae* 2). For the correspondence between European scholars and the Samaritans, see Delcor, “La correspondance,” and Baillet, “Samaritains” 893–913.

³³ Kippenberg thought it impossible to determine whether it was originally Christian or Samaritan (*Garizim* 34 n. 1). Cf. Alon, “The Origin of the Samaritans” 362: the tradition “is undoubtedly of Samaritan origin.” Montgomery, *Samaritans* 318, thought that this understanding of שִׁמְרִים is alluded to in *bHullin* 6a: “R. Isaac b. Joseph was sent by R. Abbahu to fetch some wine from among the Cutheans. He was met by a certain old man who said to him: ‘There are none here that observe the Torah (תּוֹרָה)’.” Alon, following Montgomery, thinks that the old man referred to the Samaritan self-designation, “as if to say, there are no true observers of the Law – Jews – here, and the Cutheans in the town are breakers of the Law, not keepers thereof, as they style themselves” (“The Origin of the Samaritans” 362 n. 30).

³⁴ Montgomery, *Samaritans* 286.

³⁵ See, e.g., Origen and Epiphanius. Cf. also Zsengellér, “Canon and the Samaritans” 163.

Script: Another characteristic of the Samaritans discussed by patristic writers is the special Samaritan script. According to Eusebius, it was the original script, something which not even the Jews dispute.

Resurrection: Patristic authors (as well as rabbinic authors³⁶) repeatedly accuse the Samaritans of not believing in resurrection. It is well known that at a later time Samaritans do believe in it. What is not known is when the change occurred. Although *Tibât Mârqe* speaks of resurrection, these passages do not date from the fourth century as do the oldest layers of the work, but are later interpolations as Ben-Hayyim has shown. Some of the authors represented in this corpus assert that the Samaritans, like the Sadducees, deny the immortality of the soul.

Sects: Early Christian writings contain extensive, albeit sometimes contradictory, information about Samaritan sects and their beliefs and practices. They are an important complement and corrective of (later) Samaritan sources.

Taheb: Eulogius (sixth century), whose testimony is preserved in Photius, is our earliest Christian witness to the expectation of a prophet like Moses (according to the interpretation of Deut. 18:15 and 18 accepted by the Samaritans), the Taheb.

Settlements: Extant Samaritan sources list villages and towns that were inhabited by Samaritans, but they sometimes seem to retroject later circumstances into early times. Early Christian writings, on the other hand, are contemporary with the events described and therefore more reliable.

Revolts: Early Christian writers are our only source of dependable information about the Samaritan revolts in the Byzantine period. Even though the reports are unclear in some details, on the whole they allow a reconstruction of the main outlines of the events. References in Samaritan chronicles of the Middle Ages are very sparse and ambiguous. Archaeology can ascribe the destruction of buildings to the rebellious activities of the Samaritans and the punitive measures taken against them, only because we have the reports of early Christian authors.

Conversions: In the course of the Byzantine persecutions of the Samaritans, many Samaritans (were) converted to Christianity. Most of them, at least in the country side, pretended to have converted, but carried on their ancestral religion in private. Pope Gregory I, however, was opposed to the forced conversion of both Jews and Samaritans.

Synagogues: Samaritan synagogues are mentioned by Epiphanius and John Malalas. Their accounts are tantalizingly enigmatic.

Dealings with non-Samaritans: According to Epiphanius, the Samaritans detested gentiles; and from the second half of the 6th century comes the vivid report of the Pilgrim of Piacenza about the extreme precautions that Samaritans

³⁶ See *bSanh.* 90b; *Qoh. Rab.* 5.10 (15d); and *Massekhet Kutim*, last sentence.

took in dealing with Christians and Jews due to the Samaritans' concern for purity.

Strict observance of the Law: Similar to certain rabbinic testimonies, early Christian authors remark on the Samaritans' strict observance of the Torah laws.

In the following, the original texts (in chronological order of the authors) – together with the apparatus of the most recent critical editions – are printed before the English translations. The line-count of the editions has been indicated in superscript in the texts and in bold in the critical apparatus. The sources from which the translations are taken, are quoted at the end of the English texts; where none are mentioned, the translations are mine.

In certain cases, German translations are provided, followed by English translations: Part I of Eusebius' *Chronicon* and his *Theophania*, and the *Annales* of Eutychius of Alexandria. For Eusebius' *Chronicon* there exists only *one* edition of the Armenian text from 1818 that, moreover, is based on an inferior manuscript. The German translation by Karst, on the other hand, is based on several superior manuscripts, but they have not been published; his translation is, as it were, a critical edition in German. Similarly, the Syriac edition of Eusebius' *Theophania* by S. Lee is unreliable, and H. Gressmann published, therefore, a German translation based on better manuscript evidence, but he published no new edition of the Syriac text. As to the *Annales* of Eutychius of Alexandria, the autograph was recently identified and published by M. Breydy together with a German translation; the new edition is free of the numerous additions made by later scribes and editors of previous editions of the work. Breydy's German translation is deliberately literal for two reasons: It not only enables the reader to see how the text of manuscript Sinait. Arab. 582 differs from the earlier editions of the *Annal.*, but it also shows how closely Eutychius followed his sources. The English renditions of these German translations, then, are meant as an aid for readers less familiar with German.

It is hoped that the present work will facilitate access to the original texts of the early Christian authors from which we derive much of our knowledge of the Samaritans and of Samaritanism in antiquity.

Index of Sources

In all Indexes figures in parenthesis refer to the numbered primary texts.

1. Bible and Pseudepigrapha

Old Testament

Genesis

| | | | |
|----------|-------------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1:26 | 159 n. 182 (66) | 3:6 | 119 n. 14 (56) |
| 2:7 | 120 n. 16 (56) | 3:14 | 225 n. 13 (112) |
| 3:19 | 48; 49 | 6:3 | 225 n. 12 (112) |
| 4:8 | 190 | 12:18 | 16 |
| 4:10 | 157 n. 173 | 15:23–27 | 396 n. 111 (168) |
| 5:3–32 | 82 | 16:4–13 | 314 n. 45 (138) |
| 5:25 | 77; 190 | 16:29 | 43; 52 n. 88 (9) |
| 5:25–26 | 77 | 20:3 | 387 n. 37 (168); 394 n. 106 (168) |
| 5:26 | 77 | 20:5–6 | 58 n. 95 (14) |
| 6:14 | 395 n. 109 (168) | 20:12–17 | 133 |
| 10:18 | 210 n. 10; 228 | 20:21 [24] | 43 |
| 11:10–26 | 84 n. 56 | 28:15–30 | 138 n. 134 |
| 12:3 | 20 n. 52 | 28:28 | 19 |
| 12:6 | 112 | 28:36–38 | 225 n. 14 (112) |
| 15:15 | 428 n. 43 (190) | 35:3 | 16 |
| 17:12–13 | 339 | 39:8–29 | 138 n. 134 |
| 17:13 | 136 n. 119 | | |
| 18:25 | 119 n. 15 (56) | <i>Leviticus</i> | |
| 19:24 | 159 n. 183 (66) | 11:24–25 | 158 n. 175 (66) |
| 22:2 | 43; 112 | 23:6 | 19 n. 39 |
| 25:8 | 312 n. 44 (137); 428 n. 44 (190) | 26:31 | 43 |
| 26:4 | 20 n. 52 | | |
| 28:13 | 428 n. 49 (190) | <i>Numbers</i> | |
| 28:14 | 20 n. 52 | 11:16–17 | 159 n. 181 (66) |
| 28:19 | 100 (43); 101 (43); 200 (91) | 15:31 | 47 |
| 34 | 46 n. 55 | 15:38–39 | 16; 19 |
| 35:4 | 141 | 15:39 | 17; 20 |
| 36 | 123 n. 24 | 21:9 | 395 n. 110 (168) |
| 37:34 | 428 n. 45 (190) | 24:7 | 70 n. 122 (27) |
| 48:22 | 189 n. 47 | 31:2 | 59 nn. 96, 98 (15) |
| 49:8 | 70 n. 120 (27) | 31:23 | 124 |
| 49:10 | 70 n. 121 (27) | 32:2 | 49; 58 (15) |
| 49:29 | 428 n. 46 (190) | 33:9 | 396 n. 111 (168) |

Deuteronomy

1:8 47

| | | | |
|-----------------|---|-----------------------|--|
| 5:7–6:14 | 387 n. 37 (168); 394 n. 106 (168) | 12:28 12:28–31 | 61 n. 102 (17) 34 n. 28 (4) |
| 11:29 | 86; 90 n. c (32); 91 n. i (32); 99 (41); 100 (41); 199 (89) | 16:15–20 16:24 | 227 n. 17 (115) 7 n. 32; 123 n. 26; 179 n. n (75); 224; 227 n. 17 (115); 371 n. 7 (161) |
| 11:29b | 231 n. 21 (116) | | |
| 11:29–30 | 156 n. 171 (66) | | |
| 11:30 | 43; 86; 100 (41); 199 (89) | 2 <i>Kings</i> | |
| 13:6–10 | 179 n. o (75) | 4:8–37 | 350 n. 14 (151) |
| 18:3 | 23 n. 73 | 15:14 | 87; 100 (42); 199 (90) |
| 18:15 | 47; 427 n. 40 (190) | 17 | 7; 75 n. 139 (28); 141 |
| 18:15 and 18 | 9; 26 | 17:23–28 | 431 |
| 18:15–18 | 421; 422 | 17:24 | 102 (46); 141 n. 157; |
| 22:12 | 19 n. 43 | | 178 n. i (75); 201 (94); |
| 27:4 | 42 | | 371 n. 8 (161) |
| 27:11–13 | 67 n. 114 (25) | 17:24–28 | 233 |
| 27:12 | 177 nn. c, d (75) | 17:24–41 | 44; 224 |
| 27:12–26 | 140 | 17:25–26 | 142; 178 n. k (75) |
| 27:13 | 177 n. e (75) | 17:26 | 178 n. l (75) |
| 27:15–26 | 177 n. f (75) | 17:27–28 | 431 |
| 27:26 | 191 | 17:29 | 178 n. j (75) |
| 32:1–52 | 49 n. 74; 50 n. 81 | 17:30 | 87; 99 (40); 101 (44); |
| 32:34 | 210 | | 198 (88); 200 (92) |
| 32:49 | 428 n. 47 (190) | 17:30–31 | 180 n. p (75) |
| 32:50 | 428 n. 48 (190) | 17:31 | 87; 99 (39); 198 (87) |
| 33:6 | 157 n. 174 (66) | 17:32, 33 | 231 n. 23 (116) |
| 33:7 | 71 n. 123 (27) | 17:32–34 | 156 n. 172 (66) |
| 34:12 | 42 | 17:41 | 180 n. q (75); 371 n. 9 (161) |
| <i>Joshua</i> | | 18:1 and 9–11 | 431 |
| 2:18 | 20 n. 47 | 2 <i>Chronicles</i> | |
| 4:19 | 177 n. a (75) | | |
| 5:3–9 | 385 n. 16; 393 n. 105 (168) | 10:1–19 31:1 | 44 431 |
| 8:30–35 | 229 | <i>Ezra</i> | |
| 8:33–34 | 177 n. b (75) | | |
| 15:35 | 101 (45); 200 (93) | 4:1–3 | 142 |
| 15:48 | 101 (45); 201 (93) | 4:3 | 192 |
| | | 4:4 | 191 |
| <i>Judges</i> | | | |
| 1:26 | 100 and (43) | <i>Nehemiah</i> | |
| 9:7 | 86; 177 n. g (75) | 12:1 | 142 |
| <i>I Samuel</i> | | <i>Psalms</i> | |
| 31:9 | 378 n. 10 | 48:13 and 21 49:13 | 211 n. 13 (106) 210 |
| <i>I Kings</i> | | 52:1–7 79:1 | 310 n. 43 (136) 239 n. 25 (118) |
| 12:1–19 | 44 | 79:10 | 396 n. 112 (168) |
| 12:16 | 61 n. 101 (17) | 114:6 | 74 n. 138 (28) |
| 12:26–33 | 378 | | |

| | | | |
|------------------------|---|----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 115:2 | 396 n. 112 (168) | <i>2 Esdras</i> | |
| 118:85 | 109; 109 (51) | 3:1 | 142 n. 166 |
| 120:4 | 74 n. 137 (28) | | |
| <i>Proverbs</i> | | | |
| 5:14 | 165 n. 185 (69) | <i>New Testament</i> | |
| <i>Song of Solomon</i> | | | |
| 6:8 | 123 | <i>Matthew</i> | |
| | | 2:9 | 34 n. 27 (4) |
| | | 5:35 | 68 n. 117 (25) |
| <i>Isaiah</i> | | | |
| 1:9 | 30 n. 121 | 10:5–6 | 192 |
| 2:2 | 90 n. d (32); 91 n. j (32) | 13:36–22:33 | 46 n. 45 |
| 8:4 | 28; 34 n. 26 (4); 31 | 15:24 | 205 n. 93 (99) |
| 22:6 | 224 n. 7 | 16:13–27:65 | 46 n. 45 |
| 36:19 | 102 n. q (46); 201 n. 84 (94) | 17:20 | 390 n. 67 (168); 396 n. 114 (168) |
| 52:11 | 64 n. 109 (21) | 21:21 | 390 n. 67 (168) |
| 54:1 | 30 n. 120 | 22:23 | 33 n. 15; 106 n. 13 (48) |
| 55:1 | 390 n. 70 (168) | 22:23–33 | 62 (18) |
| | | 24:3–4 | 80 |
| <i>Jeremiah</i> | | | |
| 5:14 | 392 n. 96 (168); 398 n. 120 (168) | 24:4–5 | 63 (19) |
| 9:1 | 323 n. 42 (141) | 24:23–27 | 80 |
| 9:20 | 159 n. 180 (66) | <i>Mark</i> | |
| | | 11:23 | 390 n. 67 (168) |
| | | 12:18 | 33 n. 15 |
| <i>Ezekiel</i> | | | |
| 16:45–52 | 60 (17) | <i>Luke</i> | |
| 16:46 | 61 n. 100 (17); 61 n. 104 (17) | 9:52–53 | 192; 204 n. 88 (99) |
| 16:47,51 | 61 n. 105 (17) | 9:53 | 205 n. 95 (99) |
| 18:32 | 385; 392 n. 91 (168); 397 n. 117 (168) | 9:54 | 104 |
| 33:11 | 385; 392 n. 91 (168); 398 n. 118 (168) | 10 | 201 (95) |
| 37:1 | 119 n. 13 (56) | 10:30–34 | 74 n. 134 (28) |
| | | 10:30–37 | 202 n. 85 (96); 205 n. 91 (99) |
| | | 11:15 | 73 n. 130 (28) |
| <i>Amos</i> | | | |
| 6:1 | 35 n. 30 (5); 45; 61 n. 103 (17); 76 n. 143 (30) | 11:52 | 107 n. 14 (48) |
| | | 15:7 | 398 n. 119 (168) |
| | | 15:7 and 10 | 385 |
| | | 15:7–10 | 392 n. 93 (168) |
| | | 17:11–19 | 32 |
| | | 20:27 | 33 n. 15 |
| <i>Malachi</i> | | | |
| 1:2–3 | 170 n. 192 (74) | <i>John</i> | |
| <i>2 Maccabees</i> | | | |
| 3:7–40 | 21 | 4 | 189; 292; 293 |
| 6:1–2 | 185; 187 | 4:1–30 | 27 n. 104 |
| 6:2 | 187 | 4:1–42 | 177 n. h (75) |
| | | 4:5 | 202 n. 86 (97) |
| | | 4:7–42 | 104 |

| | | | | |
|--------------|---|------------------------|--------------|---------------------------------------|
| 4:9 | 44; 64 (21); 66 n. 112 (24); 73 n. 125 (28); 192; 205 n. 92 (99) | <i>Romans</i> | 2:29 | 69 n. 119 (26) |
| 4:12, 20 | 35 n. 29 (5) | | 3:2 | 45 |
| 4:13 | 191; 208 n. 96 (104) | | 8:14–15 | 55 n. 90 (11) |
| 4:13–14 | 65 (22) | | 9:13 | 170 n. 192 (74) |
| 4:15 | 65 (23) | <i>I Corinthians</i> | | |
| 4:17–18 | 65 (24) | | 5:7 | 215 |
| 4:18 | 65 n. 111 (23) | | 7:17 | 136 |
| 4:19–20 | 66 (25) | | 7:18 | 135; 136; 170 n. 191 (74) |
| 4:19–24 | 78 | | 9:20 | 74 n. 135 (28) |
| 4:20 | 51 n. 84 (8); 67 n. 113 (25); 140 n. 155; 180 n. r (75) | | 9:22 | 74 n. 136 (28) |
| 4:21 | 42; 68 n. 116 (25); 90 n. e (32); 289 | | 15:12 | 62 n. 107 (18) |
| 4:21–24 | 90 n. a (32); 90 n. g (32) | <i>2 Corinthians</i> | | |
| 4:21, 23, 24 | 51 n. 85 (8) | | 3:6 | 45; 76 n. 142 (30); 203 n. 87 (98) |
| 4:22 | 68 (26); 68 n. 115 (25) | | 6:17 | 64 n. 109 (21) |
| 4:24 | 51 n. 83 (8) | <i>Ephesians</i> | | |
| 4:25 | 69 (27) | | 2:14 | 395 n. 108 (168) |
| 4:26 | 71 n. 124 (27) | | 6:17 | 116 n. 12 (53) |
| 5:18 | 73 n. 126 (28) | <i>2 Thessalonians</i> | | |
| 6:32–35 | 73 n. 128 (28) | | 2:3 | 356; 358 n. 39 (153) |
| 6:38 | 73 n. 127 (28) | | | |
| 7:37 | 390 n. 70 (168); 396 n. 116 (168) | <i>1 Timothy</i> | | |
| 8:48 | 8; 71 (28); 73 n. 129 (28); 75 n. 141 (29); 109; 189; 201 (95); 204 n. 90 (99) | | 4:3 | 387 n. 43 (168) |
| 8:49 | 73 n. 131 (28); 74 n. 133 (28); 75 (29); 75 n. 140 (29); 201 (95) | | 4:4 | 385; 394 n. 107 (168) |
| 12:44 | 396 n. 115 (168) | | 5:10 | 222 n. 9 (111) |
| 13–20 | 383 | | 6:20 | 44 n. 36 |
| <i>Acts</i> | | <i>2 Timothy</i> | | |
| 2:36 | 158 n. 178 (66) | | 1:10 | 69 n. 118 (26) |
| 2:37 | 158 n. 177 (66) | <i>Titus</i> | | |
| 2:38 | 158 n. 179 (66) | | 3:5 | 158 n. 176 (66) |
| 5:36–37 | 55 n. 92 (11) | <i>Hebrews</i> | | |
| 5:38–39 | 55 n. 93 (11) | | 4:8–9 and 14 | 26 n. 98 |
| 7:16 | 189 | | 6:10 | 222 n. 10 (111) |
| 8:4–13 | 3 n. 14 | | 8:5 | 51 n. 86 (8) |
| 8:4–25 | 2 n. 7 | <i>I John</i> | | |
| 8:9 | 130 | | 2:18 | 63 n. 108 (19) |
| 8:9–11 | 105 n. 12 (47) | | | |
| 8:10 | 3; 55 n. 91 (11) | | | |
| 16:13 | 132; 168 n. 186 (73) | | | |
| 23:8 | 33 n. 15; 106 n. 13 (48); 124; 210 | | | |
| 28:12 | 340 | | | |

| <i>Revelation</i> | | <i>Pseudo-Philo</i> | |
|-----------------------|-----------|---------------------|-----------|
| 7:4 | 27 | 25.10 | 141 |
| 12:9 | 22; 23 | | |
| | | <i>TestXII</i> | |
| <i>Pseudepigrapha</i> | | Reuben | |
| | | 7.2 | 189 n. 48 |
| <i>Jubilees</i> | | Issachar | |
| | | 7.8 | 189 n. 48 |
| 46.9 | 189 n. 48 | | |

2. Early Christian Writings

| | | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|--|------------------------|
| <i>Anastasius Bibliothecarius</i> (ed. de Boor) | | Laud. Marc. II 23–24 | 251–2 (123); 259 n. 50 |
| 33–35 | 417 n. 5 | Laud. Summi 11–13 | 250–1 (122); 259 n. 50 |
| 88.16–23 | 418 (187) | Or. funebr. in Procop. 5 | 228 n. 3 |
| 134 | 259 n. 50 | 15 | 228 n. 2 |
| 134.14–18 | 418 (188) | 49 | 228 n. 8 |
| 134.18–20 | 308 n. 32 | | |
| 145 | 267 n. 129 | | |
| 145.17–26 | 419 (189) | | |
| <i>Anastasius Sinaita</i> | | <i>Chronicon Paschale</i> (ed. Dindorf) | |
| Quaest. | | 334.15–335.3 | 364 (156) |
| 2 and 57 | 369 n. 3 | 335 | 187 n. 32 |
| 45 (PG 89.596–7) | 139 n. 136; 224; 369; 370–1 (161) | 341.6–12 | 365 (157) |
| | | 344 | 197 n. 80 |
| | | 482 | 15 n. 11 |
| <i>Augustine of Hippo</i> | | 496.4–13 | 135 n. 111; 196 n. 79; |
| Contra Crescionem | | | 365 (158) |
| 1.31.36 | 137 n. 125 | 603.19–604.13 | 366 (159) |
| Epist. | | 604 | 257 n. 36 |
| 166 | 219 n. 1 | 619–20 | 259 n. 50 |
| 167 | 219 n. 2 | 619.13–620.2 | 367 (160) |
| 169.13 | 219 n. 1 | | |
| 222.2 | 209 nn. 5, 7 | <i>2 Clement</i> | |
| <i>Cassiodorus</i> | | 2.3 | 27 |
| Variae | | <i>Constantinus Porphyrogenitus</i> | |
| 3.45 | 6 n. 29; 242 and n. 3; 243–4 (120) | Excerpta historica: De insidiis 34 | 271 (125) |
| <i>Choricius of Gaza</i> | | 44 | 260; 275 (127) |
| Laud. Arat. et Steph. | | 46 | 268 |
| 10–19 | 246–248 (121); 259 n. 50 | 48 | 267; 268; 279–80 (130) |

| | | | |
|------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Cosmas Indicopleustes</i> | | 180.4–6 | 305 n. 7 |
| Christian Topography | | 181.15 | 305 n. 2 |
| 2.1 | 332 | | |
| 2.54 and 56 | 332 | | |
| 5.179.7–9 | 333 (143) | | |
| 5.252.7–13 | 333 (144) | | |
| 6.26.1–4 | 334 (145) | | |
| 6.30.1–7 | 334 (146) | | |
| 6.32.1–10 | 334–5 (147) | | |
| 11 and 12 | 332 n. 4 | | |
| <i>Cyril of Jerusalem</i> | | 1.2 | 354 n. 21 |
| Catech. | | 4.5 | 354 n. 19 |
| 4.37 | 116 (54) | | |
| 6.33 | 114; 116–7 (55) | | |
| 18 | 119 n. 13 | | |
| 18.1 and 11–13 | 47; 115; 177–8 (56) | | |
| Procat. | | | |
| 10 | 114; 115 (53); 115 n. 10 | | |
| <i>Cyril of Scythopolis</i> | | | |
| (ed. Schwartz) | | | |
| Vita Euthymii | | | |
| 6.17–8 | 305 n. 7 | Anaceph. I | 9.1 |
| 71.10–20 | 305 n. 2 | | 122 n. 12; 141 n. 165 |
| 82.30–83.7 | 305 n. 8 | | 145–6 (61); 373 |
| Vita Joannis | | | 9.1–13.2 |
| 216.8–10 | 305 n. 2 | | 134 n. 102 |
| Vita Sabae | | | 9.3 |
| 57 (154.2–6) | 309 (135) | | 134 n. 103 |
| 57 (154.4) | 306 | | 16 |
| 61 | 260 n. 56; 286 n. 42; 306; 310 (136) | Anaceph. II | 146 (62) |
| 70 | 245; 286 nn. 38, 43; 287 n. 50; 306 n. 16; 311–2 (137) | | 21.1 |
| 70–72 | 431; 442 | | 130 n. 81 |
| 70–73 | 259 n. 50 | | 30.1–3 |
| 71 | 286 n. 44; 286–7 n. 47; 308 | | 374 |
| 71–72 | 313–4 (138) | | 30.3 |
| 73 | 284 n. 27; 315 (139) | | 131 n. 83; 373 |
| 75 (180.9–14) | 305 | | 30.4 |
| 75 (181.18– 182.2) | 316 (140) | Ancoratus | 147 (63) |
| 86.22–3 | 305 n. 8 | Introduction | 122 n. 10 |
| 161.3–5 | 306 n. 15 | | 122 n. 13 |
| 172.6 | 309 | | 12.7–9 |
| 172.9 | 235 n. 21 | | 142 (57) |
| 172.15 | 260 n. 65 | | 12.8 |
| | | | 116.11 |
| | | De fide | 122 and n. 15; 143 (58) |
| | | 3.2–7.1 | 123 n. 20 |
| | | De XII gemm. (Georgian, ed. Blake) | |
| | | 88 and 95–6 | 229 n. 13 |
| | | 88.30 | 86 n. 80 |
| | | 88.30–96.18 | 170–7 (75) |
| | | 89–94 | 369 n. 5 |
| | | 89.35–90.1 | 139 n. 142 |
| | | 90.30 | 139 n. 143 |
| | | 91.30–92.2 | 140 n. 145 |
| | | (Engl. transl. Blake) | |
| | | 185.20–22 | 139 n. 142 |
| | | 186.1–4 | 141 n. 165 |
| | | 186.8–10 | 141 |
| | | 187.1–4 | 139 |
| | | 187.3 | 139 n. 143 |

| | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 187.9–10 | 142 | 22.1.1 | 130 |
| 188.4–6 | 142 | 30.1.1–2.5 | 164–5 (69) |
| 188.8–18 | 140 n. 145 | 30.1.1–5 | 131 |
| 189.9–15 | 139 | 30.2.1–3 | 131 |
| 192.6 | 141 | 30.4–12 | 132 |
| 192.17 | 141 | 30.11.9–10 | 166 (71) |
| | | 30.18.4 | 131 |
| De mensuris et ponderibus | | 30.18.7 | 131 |
| 16 | 134; 196 (74) | 30.33.3 | 131; 166 (70) |
| 20 (Greek) | 134 n. 105 | 35.3.5 | 123 n. 20 |
| Haer., Proem I | | 46.1.1–2 | 132 |
| 1.2 | 123 | 51.25.1 | 130 |
| 1.3 | 123 n. 20 | 55.6.1,8,11 | 132; 167 (72) |
| 3.1–4 | 143 (59) | 55.7.1 | 132 n. 91 |
| 5.2–3 | 144 (60) | 64 | 121 |
| Haer., Proem II | | 69.27.2–3 | 122 n. 9 |
| 2.3 | 122 n. 18 | 80.1.5–2.1 | 168 (73) |
| | | 80.1.5–6 | 132 |
| Haer. | | 80.10.2–4 | 123 n. 20 |
| 1.12 | 12 n. 8 | Ep. ad Joh. = Jerome, Ep. 51 | |
| 8.8.10–11 | 147 (64) | 3 | 121 n. 6 |
| 8.9.3 | 148 (65) | | |
| 9.1 | 123 | <i>Eusebius of Caesarea</i> | |
| 9.1–14.2 | 148–55 (66) | Chronicle | |
| 9.1.1 | 210 n. 10 | (transl. Karst) | |
| 9.1.2–5 | 369 n. 5 | 36.16–24 | 81 n. 35 |
| 9.2.1 | 124 n. 28 | 36.27–29 | 81 n. 36 |
| 9.2.2–4 | 134 | 37.10–36 | 91–2 (34) |
| 9.2.3 | 47 | 37.23–24 | 81 n. 37 |
| 9.2.4–6 | 229 n. 16 | 38.34 | 83 n. 47 |
| 9.2.5 | 86 n. 80; 229 n. 13 | 39.27 | 83 n. 50 |
| 9.2.6 | 369 n. 5 | 39.28 | 399 n. 6 |
| 9.3.1–4 | 134 | 40.21–41.4 | 399 n. 6 |
| 9.3.6 | 127 n. 50; 131 | 40.21–41.13 | 82 n. 38; 93–4 (35) |
| 9.4.1–12 | 127 n. 54 | 41.9 | 83 n. 54 |
| 9.5.2–3 | 127 n. 55 | 41.10 | 399 n. 6 |
| 9.5.4 | 124 n. 28; 127 n. 56 | 41.10–29 | 399 n. 6 |
| 9.13 | 130 n. 76 | 42.31–33 | 84 n. 65 |
| 9.31–5 | 134 | 43.23–25 | 85 n. 67 |
| 10–14 | 127 | 43.26–44.35 | 95 (36); 399 n. 6 |
| 10.1.5 | 142 | 44.14–15 | 85 n. 72 |
| 12.1 | 129 | 44.21–22 | 86 n. 76 |
| 12.1.2 | 129 | 45.20–28 | 399 n. 6 |
| 13.1.1 | 33 n. 22; 129 n. 69; 134 | 45.20–31 | 98 (37) |
| 13.1.2 | 127 | 62.5–8 | 85 n. 73; 98–9 (38) |
| 13.1.3 | 137 n. 123 | 182 | 185 n. 11 |
| 14.2.1 | 122 n. 15; 130 | 197 | 193 n. 74; 194 n. 76; |
| 14.2.2 | 124 n. 29; 134 | | 399 n. 6 |
| 20.3 | 130 | 199 | 194 n. 77; 399 n. 6 |
| 20.3.1–4 | 162 (67) | 204 | 196 n. 78 |
| 20.3.4 | 128 and n. 63 | 206 | 197 n. 80; 399 n. 6 |
| 21 | 130 | | |
| 21.1.1–3 | 163 (68) | | |

| | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| <i>De mart. Palaest.</i> | | <i>Gaudentius</i> |
| 8.4 and 9–10 | 88 (31) | Tract. |
| 8.10 | 78 | 16.2 209 n. 2 |
| <i>Hist. eccl.</i> | | 21 209 n. 3 |
| 1.1.6 | 80 n. 23 | |
| 2.2.4 | 31 n. 2 | <i>George Cedrenus</i> |
| 4.22.5 | 11; 12 (l) | <i>Compendium historiarum</i> |
| 4.22.7 | 11 n. 7; 12; 13 (2) | (ed. Bekker) |
| 4.22.8 | 11 n. 1 | 1.265.20–24 438 (194) |
| 6.1–3 | 40 n. 1 | 1.524.8–10 439 (195) |
| 6.6–8 | 40 n. 1 | 1.529.8–10 438 |
| 6.14–39 | 40 n. 1 | 1.645.17 439 n. 4 |
| 6.16.1 | 42 n. 23 | 1.646.22–647.3 439 (196) |
| 6.17 | 135 n. 112 | 1.646.22–647.7 438 |
| 6.24.1 | 44 n. 33 | 1.675.4–8 438; 439 (197) |
| 6.24.3 | 43 n. 25 | |
| 6.36.2 | 45 n. 40 | |
| 6.39 | 40 n. 2 | |
| <i>Onomasticon</i> | | <i>George Syncellus</i> |
| (ed. Klostermann) | | <i>Ecloga Chronographica</i> |
| 36.15–16 | 87; 99 (39) | (ed. Mosshammer) |
| 58.3–4 | 87; 99 (40) | 20.14–16 82 n. 42 |
| 64.9–20 | 86; 99–100 (41); 229 n. 14 | 92.22 82 n. 40 |
| 102.4–5 | 87 n. 91; 100 (42) | 93.15–34 82 n. 38; 399 n. 6; 400 (170) |
| 120.8–12 | 100–1 (43) | 93.32 84 n. 55 |
| 120.11–12 | 87 | 94.9–13 399 n. 6; 401 (171) |
| 138.16–17 | 87; 101 (44) | 94.9–14 82 n. 38 |
| 156.18–20 | 101 (45) | 95.26–32 82 n. 38; 399 n. 6; 402 (172) |
| 160.26–27 | 102 (46) | 99.10–32 85 n. 72 |
| <i>Praep. Evang.</i> | | 99.10–100.18 399 n. 6; 402–3 (173) |
| 10.9.11 | 80 n. 23 | 99.14, 16 and 22 86 n. 74 |
| <i>Eclogae Propheticae</i> | | 100.16 402 (173) |
| 1.1 | 80 n. 23 | 100.32–101.3 399 n. 6; 404–5 (174) |
| <i>Theophania</i> | | 155.7–156.6 94 n. m (35) |
| 4.23 | 78; 80; 89 (32) | 165.1–166.3 95 n. n (35) |
| 4.35 | 45 n. 41; 80; 91 (33) | 166.3–168.4 98 n. o (37) |
| <i>Eutychius of Alexandria</i> | | 306.5–6 193 n. 74; 399 n. 6; 405 (175) |
| <i>Annales</i> | | 308.7–14 400; 405 (176) |
| (ed. Breydy) | | 314.8–13 399 n. 6; 406 (177) |
| § 59 | 431; 432–3 (192) | 314.10 185 n. 8 |
| § 252 | 259 n. 50; 431; 434–5 (193) | 314.18 185 n. 8 |
| § 253 | 432 | 329.27 = 331.26 399 n. 6; 406 (178) |
| <i>Evagrius Scholasticus</i> | | 341.20–23 399 n. 6; 407 (179) |
| <i>Eccl. Hist.</i> | | 348.23–25 399 n. 6; 407 (180) |
| 2.5 | 235 n. 17 | 379.24–25 399 n. 6; 407 (181) |
| <i>Gerhard of Mainz</i> | | |
| <i>Letter to Archbishop</i> | | |
| Frederick | | 337 nn. 5, 10 |

Gregory I

| | | | |
|--------|--|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Epist. | | Chronicle of Eusebius (ed. Helm) | |
| 2.29 | 337 n. 5 | 88 ^c | 185; 192 (76) |
| 3.37 | 336 n. 2 | 88 ^l | 185; 193 (77) |
| 5.20 | 337 n. 8 | 123 ^a | 185; 193 (78); 399 n. 6 |
| 6.30 | 337 and nn. 5, 7; 338; 339; 340–1 (148) | 123 ^d | 185; 187; 194 (79); 399 n. 6 |
| 7.21 | 338 n. 12 | 127 ^f | 187; 194 (80); 399 n. 6 |
| 8.21 | 337 and nn. 7, 9; 339; 341–2 (149) | 135 ^f | 399 n. 6 |
| 8.25 | 338 n. 13 | 136 ^g | 187; 195 (81); 363; 399 n. 6 |
| 9.214 | 338 n. 12 | 139 ^c | 185; 187; 195 (82) |
| 9.216 | 338 n. 12 | 143 ^d | 188; 196 (83) |
| 9.229 | 338 n. 12 | 146 ^h | 188; 197 (84); 399 n. 6 |
| 13.1 | 336 n. 2 | 166 ^a | 188; 197 (85); 399 n. 6 |
| | | 211 ^d | 185; 198 (86) |

Hippolytus of Rome

| | | | |
|----------------------------|----------|------------------|----------------------------|
| Refutatio omnium haeresium | | Comm. in Aggaeum | |
| 1–10 | 37 | Prologue | 191 |
| 6.13 | 3 n. 17 | Comm. in Amos | |
| 6.17.1–2 | 3 n. 17 | 2.4.1/3 | 189; 191; 207 (103), (104) |
| 9.12.26 | 37 n. 4 | Comm. in Dan. | |
| 9.29.1–4 | 38–9 (7) | 9.24 | 191 |
| | | Comm. in Ez. | |

Irenaeus

| | | | |
|--------------------|------------|---------------|----------------|
| Adv. haeres. | | 9.4 | 190; 208 (105) |
| 1.23.1 | 3 n. 17 | 16.8c.9 | 188 |
| 5.21.2 | 23 n. 70 | Comm. in Gal. | |
| Dem. apost. pr. | | 3.10 | 190 |
| 16 | 23 n. 70 | Comm. in Hos. | |
| | | 1 and 2 | 189 |
| <i>Itin. Burd.</i> | | Comm. in Is. | |
| 585.7–599.9 | 111 n. 6 | 21.11.12 | 188 |
| 586–587 | 87 n. 89 | 41 | 132 n. 90 |
| 587.2–588.1 | 112–3 (52) | 65.4.5 | 191 |

Itin. Plac.

(ed. Milani)

| | | | |
|-----------|-------------|------------------------|----------------|
| 3 | 319; 348 | Contra Vigilantium | |
| 3.2 and 4 | 350 (151) | 14 | 191; 206 (101) |
| 8.1–6 | 350–1 (152) | De nominibus Hebraicis | |
| 8.3–6 | 262 n. 87 | 66.3 | 188 |
| 40 | 349 n. 8 | De vir. ill. | |

Jerome

| | | | |
|-------------|----------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Adv. Rufin. | | Dial. contra Luciferianos | |
| 2.22 | 121 n. 3 | 23 | 32 n. 12; 33 n. 19; 191; 205 (100) |
| | | Epist. | |
| | | 33 | 40 n. 1 |
| | | 39.22.1 | 42 n. 23 |

| | | |
|---------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|
| 44.1 | 40 n. 1 | <i>John of Ephesus</i> |
| 45.6 | 188; 189 | Hist. eccl. |
| 45.6.2 | 201 (95) | 3.1.32 379 |
| 46 | 189 | 3.2.29 379 |
| 51.3 | 121 n. 6 | 3.3.27 318 n. 10; 378–9 |
| 57.10 | 189 | |
| 61 | 191 n. 70 | |
| 73.5.4 | 132 n. 90 | |
| 75, Subscriptio | 188 | <i>John Malalias</i> |
| 108 | 8; 86 n. 84; 87; 188 and n. 39; 189 | Chronogr. (ed. Dindorf) |
| 108.12 | 188 | 337.9–12 265 n. 109 |
| 108.12.3 | 202 (96) | 382.10 255 n. 22 |
| 108.13.3–4 | 202 (97) | 382.10–383.4 269–70 (124); 363 |
| 109.1 | 191 | 382.18 255 n. 2 |
| 109.1.2 | 203 (98) | 383 262 n. 84 |
| 121.5.4–7 | 191; 192; 203–4 (99) | 383.1 257 |
| 123.9 | 184 n. 4 | 440–441 378 n. 8 |
| Lib. loc. | | 445 261 n. 72 |
| 37.13 | 198 (87) | 445–447 256; 259; 378 |
| 59.5–6 | 198 (88) | 445.13–17 260 |
| 65.9–21 | 198 (89) | 445.17 264 |
| 65.19–21 | 86 n. 83 | 445.19–447.2 414 n. 30 |
| 103.5–6 | 199 (90) | 445.19–447.22 271–3 (126) |
| 121.9–13 | 200 (91) | 446.2 255 n. 22 |
| 139.17–18 | 200 (92) | 447.8–9 263 n. 91 |
| 157.18–20, 25–26 | 200 (93) | 447.9 264 |
| 161.25–27 | 201 (94) | 447.18, 21 255 n. 22 |
| Praef. in Reg. | | 447.22–448.2 414 n. 31 |
| 5.3.1–4.2 | 206 (102) | 448 411 |
| Quaest. Hebraicae in Gen. | | 448–455 266 |
| 4:8 | 190 | 449–450 411 |
| 5:25 | 190 | 449.6–10 308 n. 32 |
| 14:18 | 132 n. 90 | 449.19–450.15 266 n. 117 |
| 48:22 | 189 n. 47 | 454–456 411 |
| 454.16–455.6 | | 454.16–455.6 266 n. 121 |
| 455–456 | | 455–456 259 |
| Johannes Diaconus | | 455.7–456.18 276–7 (128) |
| Vita Sancti Gregorii Magni | | 455.8–10 266 n. 122 |
| 4.47 | 337 n. 10 | 455.10–456.17 415 n. 32 |
| 4.48 | 337 n. 5 | 455.21, 23 255 n. 22 |
| John of Antioch | | 474 268 |
| Excerpta historica: De insidiis | | 487.10–488.3 416 n. 35 |
| 104 | 359 (154) | 487.10–488.4 267; 278 (129) |
| John of Damascus | | 487.15 255 n. 22 |
| De haer. | | 487.21 269 |
| 9–13 | 122 n. 17; 374–5 (162) | <i>John Moschus</i> |
| 16 | 122 n. 17; 376 (163) | Pratum spirituale |
| 30 | 122 n. 17; 374; 376 (164) | 30 344 n. 3 |
| | | 108 344 n. 3 |
| | | 165 262; 345; 346 (150) |

| | | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 171 | 344 n. 1 | 92.4 | 14 n. 3 |
| 185 | 344 n. 3 | 103 | 21 |
| | | 103.5 | 22 |
| <i>John of Nikiu</i> | | 111.4 | 19–20 n. 47 |
| Chron. | | 113.1,2,7 | 25 n. 91 |
| 93.3 | 378 n. 8 | 116.3 | 25 n. 91 |
| 93.4–9 | 259 n. 50; 378; 379–80 (165) | 120.3 | 25 n. 91 |
| 94.15 | 378 | 120.6 | 14 and n. 8; 18; 22 |
| 94.17 | 318 n. 11; 378; 381 (166) | 131.4 | 25 n. 91 |
| 99.1–2 | 379; 381 (167) | | |
| 123.6–10 | 377 n. 5 | | |
| <i>Justin Martyr</i> | | | |
| 1 Apol. | | <i>Libri Carolini</i> | |
| 1.1 | 14 and n. 5 | 4.5 and 6 | 321 |
| 25.1 | 14 n. 4 | | |
| 26 | 2 n. 8; 27 n. 104 | <i>Maximus the Confessor</i> | |
| 26.2 | 18; 22 | Acta sancti Maximi | |
| 26.3 | 22 and n. 66 | PO 90.145 | 356 |
| 26.4 | 130 | Epist. | |
| 28.1 | 18 | 8 | 221–2; 354–6; 357 (153) |
| 31.2 | 17–8 | 14 | 356 and n. 37 |
| 31.8 | 17 | 28–31 | 355 |
| 42.3 | 17; 21 | | |
| 53.2–7 | 29 (3) | <i>Michael the Syrian</i> | |
| 53.3–5 | 25 | Chron. | |
| 53.3–7 | 27 | 2.31 | 416 n. 35 |
| 53.5 | 27 | 6.7 | 186 n. 17 |
| 53.5–6 | 22 n. 67 | 9 | 259 n. 50 |
| 53.6 | 26 | 9.31 | 267 n. 130; 269 n. 142 |
| 56.2 | 18; 22 | 10.23 | 379 n. 19 |
| Dial. | | | |
| 2 | 14 n. 4 | <i>Nicephorus Callistus</i> | |
| 14.3 | 15 and n. 13 | Historia Ecclesiastica | |
| 16.2 | 14 n. 3 | 17.24 | 259 n. 50; 442 (198) |
| 19.3 | 14 n. 3 | | |
| 28.2 | 14 n. 3 | <i>Origen</i> | |
| 29.1 | 14 n. 4 | Comm. in Joh. | |
| 29.3 | 14 n. 3; 16 | 1.2 | 27 n. 109 |
| 40.3 | 18 | 13.1.6 | 44; 65 (22) |
| 46.5 | 16 | 13.6.39 | 44 n. 35 |
| 49.6,7 | 25 n. 91 | 13.8.48 | 44 n. 35 |
| 61.1 | 25 n. 91 | 13.9.53–54 | 44; 65 (24) |
| 62.4,5 | 25 n. 91 | 13.12.77– | |
| 77.2 | 28 | 13.13.83 | 42 n. 20; 66–7 (25) |
| 78.9 | 28 | 13.13.81 | 44 |
| 78.10 | 27 n. 107; 28; 32 | 13.13.83 | 42 |
| 89.1 | 25 n. 91 | | |
| 90.4 | 25 n. 91 | | |

| | | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|
| 13.17.101 | 44 n. 35 | Hom. in Is. | |
| 13.17.101–103 | 68–9 (26) | 8.1 | 44 n. 35 |
| 13.26.154 | 42 n. 15 | Hom. in Lc. | |
| 13.26.154–155, 158–159 | 69–70 (27) | 25.5 | 64 (20) |
| 13.27 | 47 | Hom. in Num. | |
| 13.27.162 | 421 n. 12 | 25.1 | 42 n. 16; 47; 49; 58–9 |
| 13.27.162–163 | 69–70 (27) | | (15); 115 |
| 13.27.163 | 44 n. 35 | Philocalia | |
| 13.30.181–185 | 44 n. 36 | 1.8 | 42 n. 19 |
| 13.51.340 | 44 n. 35 | 1.18 | 43 n. 28; 52 n. 87 |
| 13.53.343 | 44 n. 36 | Sel. in Exodus | |
| 20.35.310 | 41 n. 13 | in PG 12.289 | 42; 58 (14) |
| 20.35.310–321 | 71–3 (28) | Sel. in Ez. | |
| 20.35.311 | 47 | in PL 13.800–1 | 190 n. 60 |
| 20.35.311–312 | 59 n. 97 | Sel. in Gen. | |
| 20.35.312 | 8 | 4.8 | 190 n. 61 |
| 20.35.321 | 123; 42 n. 18 | Sel. in Ps. | |
| 20.37.343 | 75 (29) | 118.85 | 42; 59 (16) |
| Comm. in Joh. frgm. | | Orosius | |
| 53 | 44; 64 (21) | Hist. | |
| 57 | 42 n. 15; 65 (23) | Prologue | 219 n. 4 |
| Comm. in Matth. | | 7.17.1–3 | 220 (110) |
| 17.29 | 42 n. 14; 46; 47; 62 (18) | 7.17.3 | 185; 219 |
| 33 | 63 (19) | Palladius | |
| Comm. in Rom. | | Dialogus | |
| 2.14 | 42 n. 16; 45; 75 (30) | 20 | 212 (107) |
| Contra Celsum | | Historia Lausiaca | |
| 1.1 | 74 n. 132 | 16 | 135 n. 112 |
| 1.47 | 74 n. 132 | Philaster | |
| 1.49 | 33 n. 14; 42 n. 15; 53 (10) | Haer. | |
| 1.57 | 45; 47; 54 (11); 80 | 4–5 | 210 n. 9 |
| 2 | 45 | 7 | 47 |
| 2.13 | 45; 56 (12) | 7.1–2 | 211 (106) |
| 6 | 46 | 14 | 33 n. 18 |
| 6.11 | 47; 56–7 (13) | Photius | |
| 7.8 | 74 n. 132 | Bibliotheca | |
| 8.69, 71 | 45 n. 39 | Cod. 118 | 40 n. 1 |
| De principiis | | Cod. 122 | 121 n. 8 |
| 1–4 | 43 | Cod. 199 | 344 |
| 1.1.4 | 42 n. 20; 50–1 (8) | Cod. 230.285a. 24–37 | 421 |
| 4.2.1 | 42 n. 19 | Cod. 230.285a.24 –286a.42 | 425–7 (190) |
| 4.3.2 | 43; 52 (9) | | |
| Hom. in Ez. | | | |
| 9.1 | 42 n. 18; 44 n. 35; 60–1 (17); 123 | | |
| 10.2 | 44 n. 35 | | |

| | | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|------------|-----------------------|
| Cod. 230.285a. | | 27.9–16 | 260 n. 57 |
| 37–285b.5 | 421 | 27.19 | 287 |
| Cod. 230.285b. | | 27.25 | 285 n. 34 |
| 5–6 | 33 n. 20; 421 | 27.26–31 | 285 |
| Cod. 230.285b. | | 30 | 292 |
| 6–26 | 421 | 30.34 | 292; 293 |
| Cod. 230.285b. | | Wars | |
| 39–286a.4 | 421 | 1.15.26–30 | 267 n. 124 |
| Cod. 230.285b. | | 1.17.47–48 | 264 n. 103 |
| 39–286a.42 | 421; 422 | 2.1.9–10 | 246 n. 15 |
| Cod. 230.286a. | | 2.8–12 | 291; 293 |
| 3–4 | 421 n. 14 | 2.11 | 291 |
| Cod. 230.286a. | | | |
| 33–42 | 33 n. 20; 421 | | |
| Cod. 242.345b. | | | |
| 18–28 | 429 (191) | | |
| <i>Procopius of Caesarea</i> | | | |
| De aedif. | | | |
| 1.3.14 | 432 n. 19 | | |
| 1.6.2 | 432 n. 19 | | |
| 1.8.6 | 432 n. 19 | | |
| 5.6.1–26 | 288 n. 62 | | |
| 5.7 | 87 n. 90; 291; 293 | | |
| 5.7.1–17 | 288; 302–3 (134) | | |
| 5.7.5 | 292 | | |
| 5.7.10–14 | 248 n. 19 | | |
| 5.7.16 | 268 n. 134 | | |
| 5.7.16–17 | 259 n. 50 | | |
| 5.9.12–13 | 432 n. 21 | | |
| 5.9.23 | 319 | | |
| Secret History | | | |
| 1 | 292 | 2.22.5 | 104 and n. 8 |
| 10.15 | 287 | 2.24 | 4 n. 22 |
| 11 | 291; 292 | 3.29–30 | 104 |
| 11.15.24–30 | 259 n. 50 | 3.38–43 | 104 |
| 11.22 | 284 n. 29 | 3.38.2 | 3 n. 17 |
| 11.23 | 283 | | |
| 11.24 | 286 | 1.27–71 | 103 n. 4 |
| 11.24–30 | 294–5 (131) | 1.54.2–5 | 104 n. 8 |
| 11.24–31 | 283 | 1.54.2–9 | 106 (48) |
| 11.25 | 259 n. 54 | 1.54.3 | 104 |
| 11.25–26 | 268 n. 133; 290 n. 72 | 1.54.5 | 104 |
| 11.32 | 284 n. 24 | 1.57.1 | 104 n. 8 |
| 18.34 | 283 | 1.57.1–5 | 107 (49) |
| 18.34–35 | 296 (132) | 1.57.2–5 | 104 and n. 8 |
| 27 | 291; 292 | 2.7 | 3 n. 17; 104 and n. 8 |
| 27.1–32 | 296–9 (133) | 2.7.1 | 104 |
| 27.2 | 285 n. 33 | 2.7.1–3 | 108 (50) |
| 27.3–19 | 285 | 11.8–11 | 47 |
| 27.6 | 287 | 54 | 33 |
| 27.8–10 | 259 n. 50 | | |

Pseudo-Cyril of Jerusalem

- De cruce
14–32 384; 385–93 (168)
31 385
37–40 385–93 (168)
112–113 384; 385–93 (168)
113 383 n. 4
- In Mariam virginem
5 398 (169)

Pseudo-Dionysius of Tell Mahre

- Chron.
1.28 186 n. 18
2.128 186 n. 18; 269 n. 142

Pseudo-Tertullian

- Adv. omnes haeres.
11 32 n. 12; 36 (6); 421 n. 11

Socrates Scholasticus

- Church History
2.1.6–7 214 n. 2
2.33 413 n. 27
5.22.8,18,19,20,21 214
5.22.72 214; 216 (108)

Sozomen

- Church History
4.7 413 n. 27
7.18.9 218 (109)

Symeon the Styliste the Younger

- Epist. ad Justinum Juniorem
PG 86.3216–17;
3220 322–3 (141)

Tertullian

- Adv. Marc.
1.15 31 n. 6
3 31 n. 8
3.13 31
3.13.8–10 34 (4)
4.35 32
4.35.9–11 34–5 (5)

De praescr.

- 46–53 37 n. 3

Theodoret of Cyrrhus

- Comm. in Is.
6.633–634 224 n. 7
- Haereticarum fabularum compendium
1 224
4.7 224 n. 5
5 225 (113)

- Historia ecclesiastica
1.9.14 223
1.9.14.3–8 225–6 (114)

- Interpretatio Zachariae Prophetae
7 224 n. 8

- Quaest. in libros Regnorum et
Paralipomenon
48 224; 226 (115); 369
49 224

- Quaest. in Octateuchum, in Exod.
15 224–5 (112)

Theophanes Confessor

- Chronogr.
39.3–11 (AM 5840) 410; 411 (182); 417
40.19–23 (AM 5843) 410; 412 (183)
178–179 (AM 6021) 259 n. 50
178.22–179.14 (AM 6021) 413–4 (184); 417
179 (AM 6021) 261 n. 72
179.10–14 (AM 6021) 267 n. 125
180.18–21 (AM 6022) 308 n. 32
182.16–18 (AM 6024) 415 (185)
230 (AM 6047) 267 n. 128
230.4–15 (AM 6048) 416 (186); 417
230.7 (AM 6048) 268
230.12 (AM 6048) 269 n. 142
- Vita et Conversatio S. Jacobi Monachi*
2–7 327–9 (142)
- Vita Melaniae Junioris*
29 221; 222 (111)

| | | |
|--|---------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Zacharias Rhetor and Pseudo-Zacharias</i> | 3.6 | 233 |
| | 4.4 | 287 |
| <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> | 9.7 | 235 |
| 1.3 | 233; 235; 236 (117) | 235 |
| 3.5 | 233; 262 n. 79 | 235; 240–1 (119); 259 |
| 3.5–6 | 237–8 (118) | n. 50 |

3. Jewish Writings

| | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Josephus</i> | mSukk. | |
| Bell. | 2:3 | 263 n. 95 |
| 1:63 | 87 n. 88; 188; 189 n. 64 | mSot. |
| 1:64–65 | 188 | 7:5 |
| 1:403 | 188 | |
| 2:119–166 | 38 | <i>Tosefta</i> |
| 2:165 | 33 n. 15 | tShabb. |
| 2:232–233 | 128 | 15:9 |
| 2:284–292 | 259 n. 54 | 136 n. 119 |
| 3:307–315 | 79 n. 10 | tSot. |
| 4:449 | 14 n. 1 | 8:7 |
| 4:454 | 263 nn. 92, 95 | tA.Zar. |
| Ant. | 3:13 | 136 n. 116 |
| 2:199 | 189 n. 48 | |
| 3:248–249 | 214 n. 4 | <i>Talmud</i> |
| 8:312 | 123 n. 26; 139 | <i>Yerushalmi</i> |
| 11:302–312 | 400 | |
| 11:302–347 | 289 n. 64 | jDem. |
| 11:310–311 | 185 | 22c |
| 11:322–324 | 185 | 41 |
| 12:10 | 188 n. 35 | jShabb. |
| 12:74–79 | 188 n. 36 | 17a |
| 12:154 | 187 n. 30 | 136 nn. 116, 119 |
| 12:248–265 | 187 | 77b |
| 13:75 | 128 | 136 n. 120 |
| 13:255–256 | 289 n. 64 | jPes. |
| 18:4–10 | 45 n. 42 | 34a |
| 18:16 | 33 n. 15 | 24 |
| 18:85–89 | 27 n. 104 | jYev. |
| 18:167 | 6 n. 29 | 9a |
| 20:97–99 | 45 n. 42 | 136 n. 119 |
| 20:102 | 45 n. 42 | 45a |
| 20:118 | 128 | 136 n. 116 |
| 20:160–184 | 259 n. 54 | jSoṭ. |
| | | 29a–b |
| | | 86 and n. 79 |
| <i>Mishna</i> | jSanh. | |
| mShabb. | 28b | 223 |
| 3 and 4 | 16 n. 20 | jA.Zar. |
| mPes. | 39c | 41 n. 8; 262 |
| 7:1 | 18 n. 36; 23 | 44d |
| | | 28 n. 115; 40 n. 6; 141 |
| | | n. 159 |
| bShabb. | | |
| | 119b | 19 |
| | | |

| | | |
|------------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| bEruv. | | <i>Midrashim</i> |
| 13b | 138 | Gen.Rab. |
| bYev. | | 11.4 |
| 72a | 136 nn. 118, 119 | 49.8 |
| bKet. | | 81 |
| 5a | 133 n. 99 | Deut.Rab. |
| bSoṭ. | 87 | 3 |
| bSanh. | | Lament.Rab. |
| 21b | 189 | 1.52 |
| 22a | 140 n. 148 | Qoh.Rab. |
| 90b | 9 n. 36; 47 | 5.10 (15d) |
| bA.Zar. | | Sifre Num. |
| 26b–27a | 136 n. 116 | 15.39 |
| bMen. | | 112 |
| 42a | 136 n. 116 | Sifre Deut. |
| 42b | 20 | 56 |
| bHul. | | Pirke de R. Eliezer |
| 6a | 8 n. 33 | ch. 38, p. 21 |
| <i>Massekhet Kutim</i> | | 123 n. 24 |
| 9 | 136 n. 116 | Midrash Shmu'el |
| 28 | 47 | 16,26:1 |
| end | 9 n. 36 | 320 n. 32 |
| Midrash Tanchuma | | |
| Gen. | | |
| ch. 36 | | 123 n. 24 |

4. Samaritan Writings

| | | | |
|--|---------------------------|--|-----------|
| <i>Book of Joshua</i> (ed. Juynboll) | | 45, 235–237 | 258 n. 43 |
| ch. 47 | 79; 124 | 45, 236 | 258 n. 45 |
| ch. 49 | 46 n. 46 | | |
| <i>Chronicle Adler</i> (ed. REJ 1902) | | <i>Chronicle II</i> (ed. Macdonald) | |
| 44, 210 | 7 n. 32; 123 n. 26 | 75 (text), 163 (tr.) | 7 n. 32 |
| 44, 213, 217 | 7 n. 32 | 77 (text), 167 (tr.) | 7 n. 32 |
| 45, 73 | 18 n. 30 | | |
| 45, 75 | 128 n. 58 | <i>Chronicle II</i> , Handschrift 2 (ed. Niessen) | |
| 45, 78 | 40 n. 4 | fol. 25b, lines 17, 18 | 7 n. 32 |
| 45, 82–84 | 79 n. 18 | fol. 43b, line 13 | 7 n. 32 |
| 45, 92 | 40 n. 6 | fol. 44a, line 13 | 7 n. 32 |
| 45, 223 | 46 n. 48 | fol. 45b, line 6 | 7 n. 32 |
| 45, 224 | 46 n. 54 | fol. 52b, lines 24–25 | 7 n. 32 |
| 45, 225 | 87 n. 94 | | |
| 45, 227 | 87 n. 94 | | |
| 45, 235–236 | 125 n. 35; 258 nn. 46, 47 | | |

| | | | |
|---|-----------------------|--|--------------------|
| <i>Hillukh</i> | | 183 | 258 n. 46 |
| ch. 10 | 48 | 184 | 258 n. 44 |
| <i>Kitāb al-Kāfi</i> (ed. ‘Abd al-‘Al) | | <i>Kitāb at-Tabbākh</i> (ed. Wedel) | |
| fols. 93–94 | 124 nn. 33, 34 | fols. 108a–110a | 19 n. 42 |
| fol. 110 | 125 n. 39 | fol. 108b | 16 n. 24 |
| | | fol. 109a | 16 n. 22; 19 n. 46 |
| <i>Kitāb al-Tarīkh</i> (ed. Stenhouse) | | <i>Malef</i> (ed. Baguley) | |
| 60 | 88 n. 95 | Question 38 | 48 n. 68 |
| 102–103 | 21 n. 57 | | |
| 111 | 128 n. 58 | | |
| 117 | 40 n. 4 | <i>Tibāt Mārqe</i> (ed. Ben-Hayyim) | |
| 123–127 | 79 n. 17 | 90❶ | 49 n. 75 |
| 142 | 128 n. 61 | 95❶ – 95❷ | 112 n. 13 |
| 144 | 40 n. 6; 217 nn. 3, 4 | 237❶ – 239❷ | 49 n. 74 |
| 151 | 288 n. 56 | | |
| 151–156 | 288 n. 55 | | |
| 163–164 | 46 n. 47 | <i>Tulida</i> (ed. Florentin) | |
| 164 | 137 n. 124 | 8❷ 110 | 40 n. 4 |
| 164–165 | 130 n. 80 | 8❷ 116 | 79 n. 16 |
| 166 | 88 n. 95 | 9❷ 132 | 40 n. 6 |
| 169 | 44 n. 32 | 10❶ 139 | 130 n. 79 |
| 175 | 378 n. 11 | 11❶ 171 | 364 n. 18 |
| 182–184 | 125 n. 35; 258 n. 42 | | |

5. Greek and Latin Writings

| | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| <i>Cassius Dio</i> | | <i>Historia Augusta</i> | |
| 74.6.4 | 185 n. 13 | Quadriga Tyrannorum | |
| 74.7.2–8 | 186 n. 14 | 7.5 | 28 |
| | | 8.3 | 28 |
| <i>Celsus</i> | | Severus | |
| De medicina | | 9.5 | 186 nn. 16, 23, 24 |
| 7.25 | 135 n. 113; 136–7 | 14.6 | 186 n. 24 |
| | n. 121 | | |
| <i>Curtius Rufus</i> | | <i>Homer</i> | |
| Historia Alexandri Magni | | Iliad | |
| 4.8.34.9–11 | 185 | 11.515 | 249 n. 24 |
| <i>Herodotus</i> | | Odysee | |
| Histories | | 16.294 | 249 n. 25 |
| 4.3–5 | 249 n. 22 | <i>Pliny</i> | |
| | | Hist. nat. | |
| | | 5.14.69 | 14 n. 1 |

Sextus Aurelius Victor

Liber de Caesaribus
42.9–12 410 n. 17

6. Roman and Byzantine Laws

| | | | |
|---------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>Codex Theodosianus</i> | | | |
| 13.5.18 | 256 n. 29 | 1.10.2 | 337–8 n. 11; 339; 423 n. 23 |
| 16.8.16 | 256 n. 29; 262 n. 83 | 3.1.5 | 337–8 n. 11 |
| 16.8.28 | 256 n. 29; 284 n. 28 | 16.8.5 | 337 n. 11 |
| | | 16.8.22 | 337–8 n. 11 |
| | | 16.8.26 | 337–8 n. 11; 338 n. 12 |
| <i>Theod. Nov.</i> | | 16.9.1 | 337 n. 11 |
| 3 | 256 n. 29; 257; 288 n. 60; 337–8 n. 11; 338 n. 12; 339 | 16.9.2 | 337 n. 11 |
| | | 16.9.4 | 337–8 n. 11 |
| | | 16.9.5 | 337–8 n. 11 |
| <i>Codex Justinianus</i> | | | <i>Novellae Justiniani</i> |
| 1.3.54 | 337–8 n. 11; 339 | 37 | 337–8 n. 11 |
| 1.5.11 | 283 n. 20 | 102 | 262 n. 89 |
| 1.5.12 | 262 n. 85; 283 n. 20; 308; 339; 423 n. 23 | 103 | 246 n. 11; 262 n. 89; 309 n. 40 |
| 1.5.13 | 423 n. 23 | 129 | 268 and n. 132; 308 n. 33 |
| 1.5.15 | 283 n. 20 | | 318; 326; 337; 337–8 n. 11; 339 |
| 1.5.17 | 283–4; 307–8; 308 n. 33 | 144 | |
| 1.5.18 | 283; 423 n. 23 | | |
| 1.5.18,4 and 10 | 307; 308 n. 33 | | |
| 1.5.19 | 308 and n. 33; 423 n. 23 | <i>Digesta</i> | |
| 1.5.21 | 308 n. 33; 423 n. 23 | 48.8.11 | 337–8 n. 11 |
| 1.7.4 | 283 n. 20 | | |
| 1.7.5 | 337 n. 11; 338 n. 12 | <i>Constitutiones Sirmidianae</i> | |
| 1.9.8 | 423 | 4 | 337 n. 11 |
| 1.9.16 | 337–8 n. 11; 338 n. 12 | | |
| 1.9.18 | 288 n. 60; 337–8 n. 11; 338 n. 12 | <i>Sententiae Pauli</i> | |
| 1.10.1 | 337–8 n. 11 | 5.22.4 | 337–8 n. 11 |
| 1.10.1 and 2 | 337 | | |

Selected Greek and Hebrew Words and Phrases

- ἀνωτάτη δύναμις 105 (47)
Ἄργάριζον (-ος) 429 (191)
ἀρχιληπτής 346 (150)
- Γαιβάλ 66 (25); 86; 99 (41); 230 (116)
Γαργαζής ὄδος 257; 270 (124); 363
Γαργαρίδης 363; 366 (15)
Γαργαρίζης ὄδος 271 (125)
Γαριζεῖν (ὄδος), Γαριζίν 66–7 (25); 87;
99–100 (41); 105 (47); 149 (66); 229;
230–1 (116); 302–3 (134); 405 (175),
(176)
– etymology 67 (25); 229; 230 (116)
Γαρίζης ὄδος 370 (161)
- διαίρεσις 44; 66–7 (25)
διατομή (παροικίας αὐτῶν) 44; 66–7
(25); 229; 230 (116)
- εἰς [τὴν] πόλιν τῆς Σαμαρείας 2 n. 7
- Ζεὺς Ξένιος 187
- ἥ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ (ἥ θεοῦ δύναμις) 3;
54 (11); 57 (13); 163 (68)
ἥ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ καλουσμένη
μεγάλη 3–4; 57 (13); 163 (68)
ἥ μεγάλη δύναμις 3–4
- θεατροειδής 132–3; 168 (73)
- Ιαβέ (Ἰαβαί) 223; 225 (112)
- ληπτάρχης, ληπταρχος 257; 269 (124);
271 (125); 272 (126); 345–6; 366 (159)
ληπτής 284; 294 (131); 346 (150)
ληπτοδιώκτης 269 (124); 271 (125); 366
(159)
- πρασινοβένετοι 268; 279 (130); 416 (186)
- Σαμαραῖος 210 n. 10; 228
Σαμαρεῖς, Σαμαρεῖται (as terms) 2; 7–8;
14; 22
Σαμαρευτικόν 42
σατανᾶς 18; 22–3
- Σεμηρ 123 n. 26
Σευήρος 135; 169 (74)
σιδηροῦν ὄδος 263; 272 (126)
Σικάριοι 45 n. 44; 56 (12)
Σομόρων 123; 148–9 (66); 226 (115)
σπάθη, σπαθίζω, σπαθίστερον,
σπαθίστηρος 136 n. 121; 169 (74)
συγχράμμα 65 (24)
Σ/σωμήρ 42; 123; 148 (66)
- Τουρ Γαριζίν 87
Τουρ Γωβηλ 87
- φύλαξ (as term) 7
- אַשְׁמָא 18; 22
אַוְרָדוֹס 21
- בָּעֵר 19
- גָּוָר 44 n. 36; 229
גָּרְמָן 46
גָּרוֹ 44 n. 36; 229
גָּרוֹזִים 112; 257; 423
גָּרְזִין 44 n. 36
- דָּעֵץ 140
- הַבְּלָי 229
הַמְּוֹרָאָה 43; 112
הַמְּרָיה 43; 112
הַדְּרָגִיזִים 112; 229; 363
- חַבְלָי 229
חַלְבָּה 3
חַלְלָה הַשְּׁרָה 258
- טַקְסִיס 41 nn. 9, 11
- כּוֹהָאִי 223 n. 3
כּוֹתִים 41 n. 7
- מְשֻׁזֶּג 136
- נַפְנָה 18; 23

| | | | |
|----------|-----|-------------|-------------------------|
| סְבִי | 128 | רְשֵׁוֹת | 43 n. 29 |
| סָמְכוֹס | 138 | שְׁבוּעַ | 128 |
| עֲבָל | 229 | שְׁמֻרָנִים | 7 n. 32; 123 n. 26; 126 |
| צְבָע | 128 | שְׁמָרָה | 139 |
| רַעַז | 140 | שְׁמֻרָנִים | 7; 123 |
| | | שְׁמֻרָה | 7–8; 123 |

Index of Modern Authors

- ‘Abd al-‘Al, D. M. 124 nn. 33, 34; 125 n. 39
- Abel, F.-M. 87 nn. 86, 91; 88 n. 95; 263 and nn. 94, 96; 264 n. 101; 365 n. 119
- Abgarjan, G. 81 n. 30
- Adler, E. N. 7 n. 32; 40 n. 4; 41 n. 6; 46 n. 48; 79 n. 18; 128 n. 58; 258 nn. 46, 47
- Adler, W. 82 n. 41; 399 n. 4; 438 n. 2
- Adontz, N. [Adonts, N. G.] 267 n. 123
- Adriaen, M. 188 n. 41; 189 n. 45; 191 nn. 66, 71; 207 (103), (104)
- Adshead, K. 291 and n. 79; 292 and n. 85; 293 and nn. 91, 92; 318 n. 15
- Ahrens, K. 232 n. 5
- Aland, K. 441 nn. 7, 8
- Allen, P. 352 n. 1
- Alliata, E. 263 n. 99
- Alon, G. 8 n. 33; 79; 124 n. 27; 210 n. 10; 228 n. 12
- Amidon, R. 123 n. 21; 129 nn. 70, 73
- Applebaum, S. 133 n. 99
- Arnaldi, G. 417 nn. 1, 3, 4
- Arnaud-Lindet, M.-P. 219, nn. 1, 3, 6; 220 (110)
- Asmus, R. 423 nn. 25, 29
- Atiya, A. S. 377 n. 1
- Atwater, R. 291
- Aucher, J.-B. 80; 82 n. 40; 83 nn. 45, 49; 85 n. 66; 92; 94
- Avi-Yonah, M. 86 n. 82; 87 nn. 87, 91; 186; 186 nn. 16, 20–21; 235 n. 19; 256 n. 30; 257 n. 33; 260 n. 61; 261 nn. 75, 78; 262 nn. 81, 82, 86, 90; 263 and nn. 81, 95; 268 n. 134; 286 n. 39; 318 n. 17; 345 n. 8; 354 n. 20; 410 n. 19; 432 n. 18
- Bacher, W. 47 n. 62
- Baehrens, W. A. 58 (15)
- Bagatti, B. 263 n. 97
- Baguley, E. C. 48 n. 68
- Baillet, M. 8 n. 32; 20 n. 53
- Baldwin, B. 344 n. 1; 423 n. 25
- Bardenhewer, O. 253 n. 2; 369 n. 1
- Bardy, G. 88 (31)
- Barnard, L. W. 3 n. 13; 14 nn. 4, 6; 15 nn. 9–10; 17 n. 26; 20 n. 52; 21 n. 54; 22 nn. 67–68; 25 nn. 88, 90; 27 n. 106; 28 nn. 113, 116; 30 (3)
- Barnes, T. D. 78 nn. 4, 5; 80 n. 22; 86 n. 77
- Barnish, S. J. B. 242 n. 3
- Baron S. W. 126 n. 41
- Barthélemy, D. 136 n. 17; 138
- Baumgartner, W. 19 n. 40
- Baudissin, W. W. 223 n. 2
- Beaujeu, J. 187 n. 34
- Beck, H.-G. 317 n. 2; 373 n. 2; 374 n. 6; 441 n. 1
- Becker, H.-J. 41 n. 7
- Beer, B. 132 n. 91
- Bekker, I. 270 n. 145; 438 (194); 438 n. 2; 439 (195), (196), (197)
- Ben-Hayyim, Z. 7 n. 32; 9; 23 n. 71; 46 n. 53; 49; 49 nn. 74, 75; 50 nn. 79, 80, 81; 190 n. 55; 223 n. 2
- Ben-Zvi, I. 87 n. 91; 88 n. 95; 348 n. 5; 384 n. 15
- Berardino, A. di 184 nn. 2, 6; 191 nn. 67, 68; 209 n. 8
- Beyschlag, K. 4 and n. 19
- Bianchi, S. 263 n. 99
- Bidez, J. 218 (109); 235 n. 17; 410 n. 16
- Binns, J. 306 n. 14
- Blake, R. P. 138 n. 135; 139 and nn. 136, 138–143; 140 and nn. 145, 148–149; 170 (75); 179 n. m (75); 181 (75); 369 and nn. 1, 2, 5, 6; 371 n. 10
- Blanc, C. 44 n. 34; 48; 65 (22), (24); 66 (25); 68 (26); 69(27); 71 (28); 75 (29)
- Blumenkranz, B. 336 n. 2; 337 n. 6; 338 n. 14
- Boak, A. E. R. 291 n. 77
- Böhm, M. 2 n. 7
- Bóid, R. 43 n. 29; 125 nn. 38, 39; 127 nn. 50, 53
- Bokser, B. Z. 27 n. 105
- Bombeck, S. 384
- Boor, C. de 268; 270 n. 145; 271 (125); 275 (127); 279 (130); 359 (154); 408 n. 6; 411 (182); 412 (183); 413 (184);

- 415 (185); 416 (186); 417 n. 5; 418 (187), (188); 419 (189)
- Borret, M. 45 n. 44; 53 (10); 54 (11); 56 (12), (13); 60 (17)
- Bracke, R. 353 n. 10; 354 nn. 13, 14; 356 n. 36
- Brandes, W. 356 n. 35; 409 n. 7
- Braun, R. 32 n. 10; 34 (4)
- Breydy, M. 10; 430 nn. 1–4, 6–8; 431 and nn. 10, 11; 432; 432 (192); 433 (192); 434 (193); 434 nn. 22, 23; 436 (193)
- Breytenbach, C. 187 n. 33
- Bringmann, K. 423 n. 29
- Brock, S. 352 n. 2; 353 nn. 4–9; 354 n. 14
- Brooks, E.-W. 232 n. 5; 233 nn. 6, 7; 235 nn. 18, 21; 236 (117); 236 n. 23; 237 (118); 240 (119); 241 (119)
- Budge, E. A. W. 186 n. 19; 258 n. 40; 384 and n. 10; 394 nn. 97, 102
- Bull, R. J. 141 n. 162; 229 n. 17; 424 n. 33
- Burgess, R. W. 78 nn. 4, 5; 80 nn. 22, 24, 26; 81 nn. 32, 33
- Bury, J. B. 233 n. 8; 256 n. 28; 261 n. 73; 269 n. 139; 270 n. 145; 278 (128); 284 n. 25; 411 n. 21
- Butterworth, G. W. 51 (8); 52 (9)
- Cameron, Alan 268 n. 136; 411 nn. 21–23
- Cameron, Averil 281 nn. 3, 5; 282 nn. 7, 8, 10–13; 283 n. 18; 287 n. 49; 292; 293 nn. 87, 89; 294 nn. 93, 95; 432 n. 16
- Campagnano, A. 383 nn. 4, 6; 384 and nn. 7, 9, 11, 14; 385 (168); 398 (169)
- Campbell, E. F. 141 n. 162; 229 n. 17
- Cange, C. D. du 168; 363 n. 13
- Carile, A. 377 n. 2
- Chabot, J.-B. 186 nn. 17, 18; 236 and n. 24; 270 n. 145; 379 n. 19
- Chadwick, H. 45 n. 44; 47 nn. 58, 60; 53 (10); 56 (11), (12); 57 (13); 344 nn. 2, 4; 345 n. 6
- Charles, R. H. 270 n. 145; 377 nn. 5, 6; 380 (165); 380 n. 20; 381 (166); 382 (167)
- Charlesworth, J. H. 430 n. 5
- Chase, F. H. 373 n. 5
- Cheikho, L. 431 n. 9
- Chiesa, B. 126 n. 42
- Chilmead, E. 255 n. 22
- Chrysos, E. 264 n. 103
- Clark, E. A. 221 nn. 1–5; 222 n. 8
- Coggins, R. J. 26 n. 92; 123 n. 25
- Cohen, J. M. 7 n. 32
- Coleman-Norton, P. R. 5; 212 (107); 234 nn. 10, 12; 283 nn. 15, 16; 308 n. 31
- Conybeare, F. C. 215 n. 16
- Cotelier, J.-B. 345 n. 6
- Cowley, A. E. 46 n. 53
- Cramer, J. A. 270 n. 145; 360 nn. 3, 5–6; 361 (155); 414 n. 30
- Crane, O. R. 46 n. 46; 79 n. 19; 124 n. 31
- Croke, B. 253 nn. 1, 4–6, 8–9, 11; 254 nn. 13, 15, 16; 255 n. 21
- Crouzel, H. 64 (20)
- Crown, A. D. 4 n. 20; 5 n. 26; 26 nn. 94, 103; 48 n. 70; 256 n. 23; 258 n. 44; 287 n. 54; 288 nn. 57, 59; 378 n. 11; 422 n. 20
- Crum, W. E. 378 n. 7
- Cuntz, O. 111 nn. 4, 6; 112 (52); 112 n. 16
- Dagron, G. 354 n. 18; 355; 356 nn. 31, 37; 379 n. 16
- Dalmais, I.-H. 353 n. 9
- Dalman, G. 229 n. 15
- Damizia, G. 336 n. 4; 338 n. 14
- Dan, Y. 268 n. 137
- Daniélou, J. 26 and n. 101
- Dauphin, C. 261 n. 77
- Dean, J. E. 134 n. 106; 137 n. 121; 138 n. 127; 170 (74)
- Deferrari, R. J. 220 (110)
- Defremery, C. 265 n. 110
- Delcor, M. 8 n. 32
- Déroche, V. 354 n. 19
- de Sacy, S. 7 n. 32
- Devreesse, R. 355; 356 n. 36; 357 (153)
- Dewing, H. B. 282 n. 14; 295 (131); 296 (132); 301 (133); 304 (134)
- Dexinger, F. 2 nn. 4, 5; 26 n. 96; 48 n. 70; 49 n. 78; 187 nn. 28, 29; 210 n. 11; 422 nn. 20, 21
- Di Segni, L. 133 n. 92; 134 n. 100; 251 nn. 27, 29; 256 n. 30; 259 nn. 52, 54; 260 nn. 55, 64; 261 n. 66; 263 n. 97; 306 n. 17; 307 n. 27; 308 n. 33; 432 nn. 19, 20
- Dindorf, L. [G.] 15 n. 11; 135 n. 111; 137 n. 121; 196 n. 79; 255 n. 22; 269 (124); 270 n. 145; 271 (125), (126); 276 (128); 278 (129); 309 n. 140; 362 nn. 4, 7; 364 (156); 365 (157), (158); 366 (159); 367 (160)
- Diringer, D. 190 n. 55
- Donner, H. 111 n. 8; 348 nn. 1–4; 349 nn. 8, 10; 350 n. 13

- Douglass, L. 111 n. 2
 Doval, A. 114 n. 5
 Drobner, H. R. 31 n. 5
 Drost-Abgarjan, A. 81 n. 30
 Dulière, W. L. 136 nn. 115, 121
 Dummer, J. 144 n. 169; 167 (72); 168 (73)
 Dussaud, R. 87 n. 91
- Ehrhard, A. 326 n. 1
 Engelbert, P. 321 n. 37
 Eph'al, I. 15 n. 8
 Evans, E. 34 (4), (5); 36 (5)
 Evans, J. A. S. 285 n. 32; 291 n. 78; 294 n. 94
 Ewald, P. 340 (148)
- Falls, T. B. 18 n. 33; 21 n. 58; 23 n. 73
 Fernández Marcos, N. 224 (112)
 Festugière, A.-J. 235 n. 17; 306 n. 14; 307 and n. 22; 309 nn. 38–40
 Feyerabend, M. 336 n. 2
 Finkel, J. 235 n. 19
 Finkielstejn, G. 319; 320
 Florentin, M. 40 n. 4; 41 n. 6; 79 n. 16; 130 n. 79; 364 n. 18
 Foerster, R. 245 n. 4; 246 (121); 248 n. 21; 249 n. 24; 250 (122); 251 (123)
 Fossum, J. 3 n. 14; 4; 130 n. 76; 292 n. 85
 Fournier, F. 64 (20)
 Fowden, E. K. 348 n. 2
 Frankenberg, W. 103 n. 6
 Fraser, P. M. 378 n. 7
 Freeman, A. 321 nn. 36–39
 Fremantle, W. H. 201 (95); 205 (100); 206 (101); 207 (102);
 Fridh, Å. J. 242 nn. 1, 3, 4; 243 (120)
 Frohne, R. 5 n. 28; 337 n. 11
 Fronton du Duc (*Fronto Ducaeus*) 345 n. 6
- Gaster, M. 48 n. 69
 Geiger, A. 16 n. 17; 138 and n. 130
 Gelzer, H. 191 n. 64
 Gentz, G. 441 nn. 7, 8
 Geyer, P. 111 nn. 4, 6; 112 (52); 112 n. 16; 113 (52); 349 n. 10; 350 n. 12
 Gibb, H. A. R. 265 n. 110
 Ginzberg, L. 132 n. 91
 Glorie, F. 188 n. 42; 190 n. 58; 191 n. 65; 208 (105)
 Goitein, S. D. 431 n. 13
 Goldfahn, A. H. 18 n. 32
 Goldstein, J. A. 223 n. 2
 Goldziher, I. 125 n. 40; 126 n. 41
- Goodenough, E. R. 25 n. 90
 Goranson, S. 132 n. 87
 Gorce, D. 221 nn. 1–3; 222 (111)
 Görögmanns, H. 50 (8) and n. 82; 52 (9)
 Gottheil, R. J. H. 431 nn. 12, 13
 Graf, G. 378 n. 7
 Grant, R. M. 15 n. 13; 21 n. 59
 Gray, P. T. R. 233 n. 8; 261 n. 77
 Greatrex, G. 228 nn. 4, 7; 246 n. 10; 261 n. 72; 266 nn. 117, 118, 121; 269 n. 139; 281 n. 5; 282 n. 10; 309 n. 40
 Gressmann, H. 10; 78 n. 8; 90 (32); 91 (33)
 Gretser, J. 369
 Gribomont, J. 191 nn. 67, 68
 Grisar, H. 348 n. 1
 Gronewald, M. 109 n. 2
 Grumel, V. 214 n. 5; 363 n. 8; 409 n. 10
 Grünbaum, M. 123 n. 24
 Guinot, J.-N. 224 n. 7
- Hägg, T. 421 n. 8
 Hall, B. (W.) 2 n. 6; 5; 11 nn. 3, 6; 25 n. 89
 Hall, R. G. 135 n. 114
 Halton, Th. P. 11 n. 4; 31 n. 1
 Hamilton, F. J. 233 n. 7; 235 n. 18; 240 (118); 241 (119)
 Hamilton, R. W. 432 n. 18
 Hammond Bammel C. P. 45 nn. 37, 38; 75 (30)
 Hansen, G. C. 214 nn. 1, 3; 216 (108); 218 (109); 360 nn. 1, 3, 3–6
 Hardouin, J. 317 nn. 4, 5; 322 (141)
 Harkavy, A. 126 nn. 43–46
 Harl, M. 42 n. 19; 59 (16)
 Harnack, A. 42 n. 17
 Harrington, D. J. 141 n. 158
 Hartmann, L. M. 340 (148); 341 (149)
 Hartmann, R. 111 n. 1
 Hartranft, C. D. 218 (109)
 Haury, J. 269 n. 139; 282 n. 14; 294 (131); 296 (132), (133); 298 n. 97; 299 (133); 302 (134)
 Hayward, C. T. R. 18 n. 37; 190 nn. 61, 62
 Heijer, J. den 377 n. 1
 Heine, R. E. 65 (22); 66 (24); 68 (25); 69 (26); 71 (27); 75 (28), (29)
 Heither, T. 45 n. 37
 Helm, R. 123 n. 24; 185 nn. 7, 10–12; 192 (76); 192 n. 73; 193 (77), (78); 194 (79), (80); 195 (81), (82); 196 (83); 197 (84), (85); 198 (86); 399 n. 6; 410 n. 18

- Hengel, M. 134 n. 101
 Henry, R. 421 n. 9; 422 and n. 22; 425 (190); 428 n. 42; 429 (191)
 Hervet, G. 326 and n. 4
 Heylen, F. 211 (106)
 Hilberg, I. 188 n. 43; 201 (95); 202 (96), (97); 203 (98), (99)
 Hill, G. F. 141 n. 162
 Hodgkin, T. 242 n. 3
 Hoffmann, G. 140
 Hohlfelder, R. L. 424 n. 33
 Holl, K. 122 n. 14; 129 n. 72; 130; 142 (57); 143 (58), (59); 144 (60) and n. 169; 145 (61); 146 (62); 147 (63), (64); 148 (65), (66); 162 (67); 163 (68); 164 (69); 166 (70), (71); 167 (72); 168 (73)
 Holladay, C. R. 78 n. 7
 Holm, K. G. 257 n. 30; 261 n. 71; 262 nn. 80, 85–87; 345 n. 8
 Honigmann, E. 232 n. 1; 233 n. 8; 234 n. 13; 318 n. 12; 319 and nn. 18, 19; 326 nn. 2, 5; 379 nn. 16–18
 Hörmann, J. 122 nn. 9, 16
 Hottinger, J. H. 130 n. 76
 Hoyland, R. G. 344 n. 4; 369 n. 1
 Huber, W. 215 nn. 5, 6
 Humer, M. 124 n. 34
 Hunger, H. 253 nn. 2, 7, 11; 254 n. 18; 267 n. 128; 281 n. 5; 282 nn. 9, 11, 12; 291 n. 76; 359 nn. 1, 4; 362 n. 2; 408 n. 5; 417 nn. 6–7; 438 nn. 1, 2
 Hunt, E. D. 111 n. 1
 Huntington, R. 7 n. 32
 Hüttenmeister, F. 88 n. 95; 133 nn. 93, 94; 217 nn. 5, 6; 258 nn. 40, 47; 259 n. 53; 263 n. 97
 Huxley, G. L. 399 n. 1
 Hyldahl, N. 11 nn. 4–6
 Irmscher, J. 105 (47)
 Irshai, O. 114 n. 8
 Isaac, B. 88 n. 96; 257 n. 33; 262 n. 89
 Isser, S. 3 n. 12; 4; 5; 11 n. 7; 12 n. 8; 28 n. 115; 32 nn. 12, 13; 33 nn. 16, 23, 24; 36 (6); 44 nn. 30, 31; 46; 47 nn. 57, 59, 60, 63; 80 n. 21; 104 nn. 7, 9–11; 123 n. 21; 124 n. 29; 127; 128 nn. 59, 62, 64; 129 nn. 67, 68, 71, 73; 130 nn. 75, 77, 78; 210 n. 9; 211 (106); 224 n. 10; 284 n. 23; 421 n. 10; 422 nn. 15, 18–20; 427 n. 41; 429 (190)
 Istrin, V. 270 n. 145 (124)
 Jackson, B. 226 (114)
 Jacobs, A. S. 349 n. 6
 Jastrow, M. A. 41 nn. 9, 10; 140 nn. 147, 151
 Jefferys, E. 253 n. 9; 254 n. 12; 255 nn. 19, 20, 22; 270 (124); 273 (126); 276 (127); 278 (128); 279 (129)
 Jefferys, M. 253 n. 9; 255 nn. 19, 20, 22; 270 (124); 273 (126); 276 (127); 278 (128); 279 (129)
 Jeremias, J. 23 and n. 73; 24 n. 81; 112 n. 16; 189 nn. 50, 51
 Johnson, D. W. 377 n. 4
 Jones, A. H. M. 132 n. 86
 Jones, F. S. 103 nn. 4–6; 104 n. 8
 Jugie, M. 441 n. 1
 Juster, J. 262 nn. 81, 83, 85; 337 n. 11
 Juynboll, Th. G. J. 46 n. 46; 79 n. 19; 124 n. 31; 128 n. 65; 267 n. 127; 317 n. 5
 Karpp, H. 50 (8); 52 (9)
 Karst, J. 10; 80 and nn. 26–29; 81 nn. 30, 32, 35–37; 82 n. 42; 83 nn. 47, 50, 54; 84 n. 65; 85 nn. 67, 71–73; 86 n. 76; 91 (34); 92 (34); 93 (35); 94 (35); 95 (36); 96 (36); 98 (37), (38); 99 (38); 185 n. 11; 193 n. 74; 194 nn. 76, 77; 196 n. 78; 197 n. 80; 399 n. 6
 Katz, S. 336 n. 4; 338 n. 13
 Kawar, I. 264 nn. 103, 104
 Kazhdan, A. 369 n. 1; 420 n. 1
 Kippenberg, H. G. 1 n. 3; 3 and n. 16; 5; 8 n. 33; 26 n. 93; 47 n. 63; 49 n. 76; 78 n. 6; 79 n. 12; 112 nn. 13, 16; 138 n. 128; 141 n. 159; 187 n. 27; 261 n. 68; 293 and n. 88; 378 nn. 11, 12; 422 n. 20; 423 nn. 31–32; 424 n. 33
 Klein, R. 111 n. 9
 Klein, R. W. 82 n. 39
 Klijn, A. F. J. 131 nn. 82, 84
 Klostermann, E. 62 (18); 63 (19); 99 (39), (40), (41); 100 (42), (43); 101 (44), (45); 102 (46); 188 n. 38; 198 (87), (88), (89); 199 n. 82 (89); 199 (90); 200 (91), (92), (93); 201 (94)
 Koch, H. 209 nn. 1, 4, 6
 Koehler, L. 19 n. 40
 Koetschau, P. 50 n. 82
 Kohl, H. 133 and n. 36
 Kooij, A. van der 135 and n. 112
 Kotter, B. 373 nn. 2, 5; 374 (162); 376 (163), (164)

- Krauss, S. 133 n. 99; 256 n. 25; 257 n. 32; 318 n. 13
- Kroll, W. 423 n. 25
- Kroymann, A. 34 (4), (5); 35 (6)
- Krüger, G. 232 n. 5
- Krumbacher, K. 438 n. 1
- Kubitschek, W. 111 nn. 1, 5
- Kugener, M. A. 232 n. 3
- Kutschner, E. Y. 229 n. 15
- Lackner, W. 352 n. 1
- Laga, C. 354 nn. 17, 18; 355 and n. 25
- Lagarde, P. A. de 100 (41); 103 n. 6; 188 nn. 38, 44; 190 nn. 61, 62
- Lake, K. 11 n. 6; 12 (1); 13 (2); 179 n. m (75)
- Land, J. P. N. 232 n. 5
- Lange, N. R. M. de 42 nn. 19, 22
- Laqueur, R. 399 n. 1
- Larchet, J.-C. 353 n. 10
- Lataix, J. 191 n. 64
- Lawlor, H. J. 89 (31)
- Le Moyne, J. 33 n. 14; 42 n. 14
- Leclercq, Ph. 212 (107)
- Lee, A. D. 267 n. 126
- Lee, S. 10; 78 n. 8; 89 (32)
- Levine, L. I. 40 n. 5; 41 n. 7; 133 nn. 97, 99; 134 n. 101; 269 n. 140
- Levy, J. 140 nn. 148, 151
- Lewis, G. 43 n. 28
- Leyerle, B. 112 n. 10; 349 nn. 5, 6
- Lieu, J. M. 15 n. 13
- Linder, A. 5; 45 n. 43; 46 n. 44; 256 n. 29; 288 n. 60; 308 n. 32; 337 nn. 5, 10, 11; 339 nn. 15, 16; 423 n. 24
- Lippold, A. 219 n. 5
- Litsas, F. K. 228 nn. 5, 6, 9; 245 nn. 3, 7; 246 nn. 8, 12, 13, 16; 248 nn. 17, 20 (121); 249 nn. 22–26 (121); 250 (121); 251 (122); 251 n. 28 (122); 252 (123)
- Lockwood, W. 126 nn. 42, 46
- Louth, A. 353 nn. 11, 12
- Lowy, S. 19 n. 43; 223 n. 2
- Lüdemann, G. 4 n. 21
- Lüderitz, G. 133 nn. 97, 98
- Ludolf, J. 8 n. 32
- Luz, M. 423 n. 28; 424 nn. 34, 37, 39
- Macdonald, J. 7 n. 32; 48–49; 49 nn. 74, 75; 210 n. 11; 223 n. 2
- MacLennan, R. S. 14 n. 7–8; 15 n. 13; 26 and n. 92; 27 n. 105
- Macuch, R. 23 n. 71; 223 n. 2
- Magen, I. [Y.] 79 nn. 9, 11; 141 nn. 163, 164; 258 n. 41; 261 n. 69; 263 n. 98; 289 n. 65; 290 n. 71
- Mai, A. 232 n. 5
- Maisano, R. 344 n. 3; 345 n. 6
- Malingrey, A.-M. 212 (107)
- Mango, C. 267 n. 131; 308 n. 32; 399 n. 2; 408 nn. 1, 2, 4, 6; 409 nn. 7–9, 11–13; 410 nn. 14–16; 411 n. 21; 412 (182) and n. 25; 413 (183); 414 n. 29; 415 (184), (185); 416 (186)
- Manns, F. 132 n. 87
- Mansi, G. D. 233 n. 10; 234 n. 12; 317 nn. 4, 5; 320 n. 34; 321 n. 35; 322 (141)
- Ma'oz, Z. U. 352 n. 3
- Marcovich, M. 14 n. 8; 15 nn. 9, 15; 16 n. 21; 17 n. 26; 20 n. 52; 29 (3); 38 (7) and n. 6
- Marcus, R. A. 187 n. 31
- Markesinis, B. 354 n. 16; 355 n. 25
- Markus, R. A. 336 n. 1
- Martindale, J. R. 318 n. 15
- Marx, F. 211 (106)
- Mayerson, P. 246 n. 11; 262 n. 89; 265 and nn. 111–113, 115
- Mazal, O. 363 n. 7
- McCauley, L. P. 114 nn. 6, 7; 116 (53), (54); 117 (55); 120 (56)
- McCormick, M. 417 nn. 2, 7
- McCrindle, J. W. 333 (144); 334 (145), (146); 335 (147)
- McNamara, M. 132 n. 91
- Mendham, J. 317 n. 4; 320 n. 34; 321 nn. 35, 38, 39; 325 (141)
- Meshorer, Y. 141 n. 162
- Meyer, R. T. 213 (107)
- Milani, C. 348 n. 4; 349 and nn. 9, 11; 350 and nn. 12, 13; 350 (151), (152); 351 n. 19
- Minard, P. 336 n. 2
- Misgav, H. 289 n. 65
- Mittmann, S. 319 and n. 25; 320 and nn. 26, 29, 32; 326 nn. 4, 6
- Modesto, J. 336 n. 2
- Moine, N. 221 n. 1
- Mommesen, Th. 12 (1); 13 (2); 88 (31); 242 n. 3; 243 (120); 254 and n. 17; 275 (127); 279 (130); 359 (154)
- Montgomery, J. A. 8 and nn. 33, 34; 26 n. 93; 49 and n. 73; 125 n. 35; 128 n. 65; 130 n. 76; 138 n. 126; 223 n. 2; 256 n. 25; 265 n. 115; 267 n. 127; 284 n. 26; 317 n. 5

- Moore, G. F. 223 n. 2
 Mor, M. 79; 80 n. 20
 Morabito, V. 336 n. 2; 339–340; 340 n. 23
 Mosshammer, A. A. 80 nn. 22, 25, 26; 81
 nn. 30, 34; 82 n. 38; 185 n. 7; 189 n. 49;
 399 nn. 1, 3, 4, 7; 400 (170); 400 n. 8;
 401 (171); 402 (172), (173); 404 (174);
 405 (175), (176); 406 (177), (178); 407
 (179), (180), (181)
 Moutsoulas, E. D. 134 n. 106; 137 n. 121;
 169 (74)
 Mühlberg, E. 42 n. 19; 109 (51)
 Munitiz, J. A. 369 n. 3
 Nau, F. 234 and n. 14
 Nautin, P. 184 nn. 2, 4, 6; 189 n. 53; 190
 nn. 56, 57
 Naveh, J. 190 n. 55
 Neubauer, A. 40 n. 4; 41 n. 6; 79 n. 16;
 130 n. 79; 364 n. 18
 Neusner, J. 136 n. 119
 Niessen, F. 7 n. 32
 Nodet, E. 138 n. 129
 Noja, S. 48 n. 70; 124 nn. 33, 34; 125
 n. 39; 127 n. 50
 Nöldeke, Th. 377; 378 n. 7
 Norberg, D. 336 n. 2; 340 (148); 341 (149)
 Nutt, J. W. 128 and n. 64
 Oehler, F. 34 (5); 36 (6); 211 (106)
 Olster, D. M. 354 n. 20; 355 and n. 22;
 356 n. 37
 Orlandi, T. 383 nn. 1–3, 5–6; 384 nn. 7, 11
 Ostrogorsky, G. 254 n. 18; 420 nn. 2, 3
 Otranto, G. 26 n. 102
 Oulton, J. E. L. 89 (31)
 Paret, R. 264 nn. 103, 105; 379 nn. 16, 18,
 19
 Parkes, J. 243 n. 7
 Parmentier, L. 225 (114); 235 n. 17
 Patlagean, E. 284 n. 29
 Patrich, J. 305 n. 6; 306 n. 11; 308 nn. 34,
 36
 Pattenden, P. 344 n. 1; 345 n. 6
 Payne Smith, R. 319 n. 17
 Périchon, P. 64 (20)
 Petrozzi, M. T. 432 nn. 18, 19
 Piccirillo, M. 263 n. 99
 Pines, S. 125 n. 37
 Pitra, J. B. 60 n. 99
 Pitz, E. 337 nn. 7, 9
 Pocock, E. 431 n. 9
 Ponsoye, E. 353 n. 10; 354 n. 18
 Preusch, E. 44 n. 34
 Preuschen, E. 64 (21); 65 (22), (23), (24);
 66 (25); 68 (26); 69 (27); 71 (28); 75
 (29)
 Price, R. M. 305 n. 9; 306 nn. 10, 14; 310
 (135), (136); 313 (137); 314 (138); 315
 (139); 316 (140)
 Puljatti, S. 5 n. 28; 318 nn. 13–15
 Pummer, R. 1 n. 1; 5 n. 26; 23 n. 72; 28
 n. 115; 40 n. 3; 42 n. 21; 46 n. 55; 87
 n. 92; 112 n. 14; 133 n. 92; 138 n. 126;
 190 nn. 55, 62; 212 n. 2; 257 n. 39; 258
 n. 48; 260 n. 60; 261 nn. 70, 76; 262
 n. 82; 263 n. 97; 268 n. 133; 290 nn. 69,
 73; 320 n. 31; 354 n. 21; 364 n. 17; 423
 n. 30
 Purvis, J. D. 190 n. 59
 Quasten, J. 37 n. 1; 43 n. 26; 77 n. 1; 78
 nn. 4, 8; 109 n. 1; 114 nn. 1, 3; 121 and
 nn. 2, 7, 8; 184 nn. 2, 6; 191 nn. 67, 68;
 209 n. 8; 212 n. 1; 217 n. 2
 Quecke, H. 384 nn. 9, 13
 Rabello, A. M. 5 and n. 28; 251 nn. 27,
 29, 30; 256 nn. 26, 27; 257 n. 35; 259
 n. 52; 260 n. 55; 268 n. 135; 269
 nn. 139, 140, 143; 283 and n. 18; 284
 nn. 22, 27; 285 n. 32; 286 nn. 37, 39,
 40, 45–47; 287 nn. 51–53; 289 nn. 63,
 66; 290 n. 73; 291 n. 75; 306 n. 15; 307
 nn. 25, 28–30; 308 nn. 32, 33; 309
 nn. 37, 42; 423 n. 24; 432 nn. 16, 19, 20
 Raymond, I. W. 219 n. 5
 Rebenich, S. 184 nn. 3, 5; 189 n. 46; 221
 n. 1
 Recchia, V. 336 n. 2
 Reeg, G. 88 n. 95; 133 nn. 93, 94; 217
 nn. 5, 6; 258 nn. 40, 47; 259 n. 53; 263
 n. 97
 Rehm, B. 103 nn. 1–5; 104 (47); 106 (48);
 107 (49); 108 (50)
 Reinink, G. J. 131 nn. 82, 84
 Reischl, W. K. 115 (53); 116 (54), (55)
 Reland, A. 130 n. 76
 Renoux, Ch. 103 n. 6
 Richard, M. 369 n. 3
 Richards, J. 336 n. 1
 Richtsteig, E. 245 n. 4; 246 (121); 248 n. 21
 (121); 249 n. 24; 250 (122); 251 (123)
 Robinson, J. A. 42 n. 19; 43 n. 28; 52
 n. 87

- Rosweyde, Heribet 345 n. 6
 Rouët de Journel, M. J. 345 n. 6
 Rubin, B. 262 n. 80; 264 n. 103; 289 n. 67
 Rubin, J. P. 135 n. 113; 137 n. 121
 Rupp, J. 117 (56)
 Russell, K. W. 424 n. 33
- Sáenz-Badillo, A. 224 (112)
 Safrai, Z. 133 n. 95
 Saller, S. J. 263 n. 97
 Salvesen, A. 134 n. 108; 135 nn. 109, 112; 138 and nn. 128, 133; 170 n. 190
 Sambursky, S. 423 n. 29
 Sanders, J. T. 28 n. 112
 Sanguineti, B. R. 265 n. 110
 Sarason, R. S. 41 n. 7
 Sartre, M. 264 and nn. 103, 105–107
 Schäfer, P. 41 n. 7; 136 n. 121; 410 n. 19
 Schissel, O. 423 nn. 27, 29
 Schmid, W. 21–22; 21 nn. 54, 60
 Schmitt, G. 320 and n. 29
 Schneemelcher, W. 103 n. 1; 121 nn. 1, 4, 7; 122 n. 16
 Schoene, A. 80 n. 25; 185 n. 11
 Schürer, E. 16 n. 21; 45 n. 44; 56 n. 94; 134 n. 101
 Schwartz, E. 12 (1); 13 (2); 88 (31); 233 n. 10; 234 n. 12; 287 n. 51; 305 nn. 1, 3, 4, 10; 306 n. 14; 307; 309 (135); 310 (136); 311 (137); 313 (138); 315 (139); 316 (140)
 Scott, R. 253 n. 9; 255 nn. 19, 20, 22; 266 n. 121; 267 n. 131; 270 (124); 273 (126); 276 (127); 278 (128); 279 (129); 281 n. 5; 308 n. 32; 399 n. 2; 408 nn. 1, 2, 4, 6; 409 nn. 7–9, 11–13; 410 nn. 14–16; 411 n. 21; 412 (182) and n. 25; 413 (183); 414 n. 29; 415 (184), (185); 416 (186)
 Scott, S. P. 337 n. 11; 339 n. 17
 Séligssohn, M. 7 n. 32; 40 n. 4; 41 n. 6; 46 n. 48; 79 n. 18; 128 n. 58; 258 nn. 46, 47
 Ševčenko, I. 399 n. 1
 Shahíd, I. 261 n. 76; 262 n. 89; 263 nn. 93, 96, 100; 264 nn. 101–104; 265 nn. 108, 109, 113–115
 Sherwood, P. 352 n. 1; 354 nn. 15, 17, 18; 356 n. 36
 Shotwell, W. A. 15 n. 13; 21 nn. 54, 59; 22 n. 65; 25 n. 89; 27 n. 107
 Siegelmann, A. 320 n. 31
 Sigal, P. 16 n. 21; 20
- Simon, M. 28 n. 110
 Skarsaune, O. 15 n. 12; 22 n. 64; 24 n. 81; 25 n. 88
 Smallwood, E. M. 186 and n. 16; 187 n. 26
 Smith, M. 38 and nn. 5, 7, 8
 Smith, T. 107 (48); 108 (49), (50)
 Sotiriadis, G. 266 n. 121
 Speck, P. 317 n. 6; 318 n. 8; 321 n. 41; 354 nn. 16, 20; 355 and nn. 25, 26; 356; 379 n. 16
 Stark, R. 28
 Starr, J. 349 and n. 10; 354 n. 18; 355
 Stein, E. 256 n. 24; 257 n. 36; 264 n. 101; 267 nn. 124, 130; 269 n. 139; 270 n. 145; 285 n. 35; 287 n. 48; 307 and n. 25; 309 nn. 38, 40
 Stenhouse, P. L. 21 nn. 55, 57; 40 n. 4; 41 n. 6; 44 n. 32; 46 nn. 47, 49, 50, 52; 49 and n. 71; 79 nn. 15, 17; 88 n. 95; 124 n. 32; 125 n. 35; 130 n. 80; 137 n. 124; 217 nn. 3, 4; 258 nn. 42, 46, 49; 288 nn. 55, 56; 378 n. 11
 Stephenson, A. A. 114 nn. 6, 7; 116 (53), (54); 117 (55); 120 (56)
 Stern, E. 289 n. 65
 Stern, M. 185 n. 9; 410 n. 17; 424 nn. 35–38; 429 (191)
 Stewart, A. 349 n. 10
 Stiernon, D. 441 nn. 1–5
 Strecker, G. 103 nn. 1, 2, 5; 104 (47); 106 (48); 107 (49); 108 (50); 424 n. 82
 Strobel, A. 215 nn. 5, 6, 8, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17
 Stylianopoulos, T. 15 n. 13
- Tabory, J. 24–25; 25 n. 87
 Tal, A. 5 n. 26; 43 n. 24; 46 n. 53; 49 n. 77; 229 n. 5
 Taylor, J. E. 217 n. 5
 Taylor, W. R. 132 n. 88
 Telfer, W. 11 nn. 2, 6; 115 and n. 10
 Theissen, G. 3 n. 14; 22 n. 67; 27 n. 104
 Thomsen, P. 87 n. 91
 Thurn, I. 253 n. 10; 255 n. 22; 269 (124); 271 (125), (126); 275 (127); 276 (128); 278 (129); 279 (130)
 Tiollier, V. 336 n. 2; 337 n. 6
 Tov, E. 223 n. 2
 Toynbee, A. 254 n. 18
 Traversari, Ambrogio 345 n. 6
 Treadgold, W. T. 420 nn. 1, 5–7
 Treu, U. 63 (19)

- Tsafania, L. 289 n. 65
 Tsafrir, Y. 261 n. 75
 Turtledove, N. 320 n. 33
- Urbach, E. E. 223 n. 3
 Usener, H. 345 n. 6
- Vailhé, S. 344 n. 1
 Ven, P. van den 317 nn. 1, 3, 6; 319 and n. 18
 Vermes, G. 16 n. 21; 134 n. 101
 Vilmar, E. 46 n. 51; 125 n. 35
 Vis, H. de 138 n. 135; 139 nn. 136, 138–143; 140 nn. 145, 148–149; 170 (75); 179 n. m. (75); 181 (75); 369 nn. 1, 5, 6; 371 n. 10
 Vogt, H. J. 41 n. 12; 62 n. 106
- Walker, P. W. L. 114 nn. 1, 5
 Waltke, B. K. 19 n. 41; 82 n. 39
 Wartelle, A. 25 n. 88; 27 n. 106
 Wasserstrom, S. M. 126 nn. 47–49
 Watzinger, C. 133 and n. 96
 Wedel, G. 16 nn. 22, 24; 19 and n. 42
 Wegenast, K. 232 n. 1
 Weingarten, S. 111 n. 2
 Weis, P. R. 15–26
 Wesseling, P. 111 nn. 4, 6
 Wevers, J. W. 82 nn. 41, 44
 Wewers, G. A. 41 n. 11
 Whitby, Mary 256 n. 24; 257 n. 38; 362 nn. 1, 2, 3, 5–7; 363 nn. 8, 9; 364 nn. 16, 20; 367 (159) and n. 22; 368 (160)
 Whitby, Michael 256 n. 24; 257 n. 38; 281 n. 5; 362 nn. 1, 2, 3, 5–7; 363 nn. 8, 9; 364 nn. 16, 20; 367 (159) and n. 22; 368 (160)
 Whiting, J. D. 24 and n. 79
 Widengren, G. 3
 Wilkinson, J. 87 n. 86; 112 n. 16; 127 n. 52; 140 n. 156; 188 n. 39; 203 (97); 230 n. 19; 319 n. 25; 348 nn. 1–3; 349 nn. 7, 10; 350 nn. 12, 13
 Williams, A. L. 16 nn. 16, 19; 18 n. 34; 19 nn. 39, 47; 21 n. 60; 23 n. 74; 28 n. 118
 Williams, F. 122 nn. 15, 16; 123 n. 21; 128 n. 60; 129 nn. 71, 73; 144 (59) and n. 169; 145 (60); 146 (61); 147 (62), (63); 148 (64), (65); 161 (66); 163 (67); 164 (68); 166 (69), (70); 167 (71), (72); 168 (73); 375 (162); 376 (163)
 Williams, R. 42 n. 23
 Wilson, C. W. 349 n. 10
 Winkelmann, F. 441 nn. 7, 8
 Winkler, S. 257 n. 33; 261 nn. 69, 78; 262 n. 80; 263; 264 n. 104; 270 n. 145; 274 (126); 283 and nn. 17, 19; 284 n. 25; 290 n. 74; 378 nn. 11, 12; 432 n. 18
 Wirth, G. 282 n. 14; 294 (131); 296 (132), (133); 298 n. 97 (133); 302 (134)
 Wisskirchen, R. 111 n. 1
 Witakowski, W. 253 n. 1; 265 n. 113
 Wolska-Conus, W. [Wolska, W.] 332 nn. 1–6; 333 (143), (144); 334 (145), (146), (147)
 Wortley, J. 344 n. 1; 345 nn. 6, 7; 347 (150)
 Wreschner, L. 125 and nn. 36, 37
 Wright, J. E. 23 and n. 75; 24
 Yarnold, E. J. 114 nn. 2, 4, 7
 Yeivin, Z. 319; 320
 Yerasimos, S. 265 n. 110
 Yonick, S. 263 n. 97
 Zahn, Th. 137 n. 122
 Zangenberg, J. 2 nn. 6, 7; 3 n. 14; 5; 123 n. 21; 127 n. 51; 129 nn. 71, 73
 Zangenmeister, C. 219 n. 3
 Zenos, A. C. 215 n. 9; 216 (108)
 Ziegler, K. 420 n. 1
 Zimmermann, O. J. 243 n. 5
 Zintzen, C. 423 nn. 25, 29; 424 nn. 35, 36; 429 (191)
 Zori, N. 260 n. 59
 Zotenberg, H. 377 and nn. 1, 4–6; 378 nn. 7, 10, 13; 379 (165); 381 (166), (167)
 Zsengellér, J. 8 n. 35

Index of Subjects

- Abbaahu, Rabbi 8 n. 33; 41; 262
Ab Ḥisda of Tyre (Abū Ḥasan aş-
Ṣūrī) 50 n. 81
Abisha b. Pinhas 50 n. 81
Abū Karib 264 and n. 101; 265 and n. 115
Adrammelech 87
Alexander the Great 185 n. 8; 187; 194
(79); 406 (176) and (177); 439 (194)
Alexander Polyhistor 78
Alexandria 10; 26; 40; 43; 44; 93 (34);
109; 224 n. 5; 228; 232; 245; 285; 286;
287; 299 (133); 300 and 301 (133); 332;
344; 355; 356 n. 33; 377; 383; 409; 414
(184); 421; 430
– quarrels between Jews and Samari-
tans 188; 196 (83); 365 (157)
Amantius 269; 280; 416 (186); 419 (189)
Ananias of Širak 215 and n. 16
Anastasius I, emperor 248 n. 19; 266;
267; 282; 289; 290; 304 (134); 306
Anastasius Bibliothecarius 259 n. 50; 267
and n. 129; 269; 308 n. 32; 417–9
– life and works 417
– texts 418–9 (187)–(189)
Anastasius Sinaita 139 and n. 136; 224;
369–72
– life and works 369
– texts 370–2 (161)
Andromachus 185 and n. 8; 187; 439 (194)
Anemmelech 87
angels 130 and n. 76; 147 (62); 159 (66);
161 (66); 210; 332; 333; 376 (163); 429
(190)
Antiochus III 187; 195 (81); 363; 365 (156);
407 (179)
Antiochus IV 185; 196 (82)
Antoninus, consul 135 n. 111; 363; 366
(158)
Antoninus Pius 15; 19; 45 n. 43; 79; 141
n. 162; 337 n. 11
‘Aqbūn, Samaritan high priest 46 and
nn. 49, 50; 88; 258
Aquileia, council of 381, 209
Aratius 246 and (121); 259 n. 50
Arcadiaci 257; 270
Arethas
– *See* al-Ḥārith
Argarizon (-os) 423; 424; 429 (191)
Arigernus 242; 244 (120)
Arsenius 285 and nn. 33, 37; 286 and
n. 47; 287; 288; 292; 300 and 301 (133);
307 and n. 23; 308; 312 (137); 314
(138); 442; 443 (198)
Asia Minor, Easter date 212; 214–215
– Samaritan synagogues 212; 214
Assyria, Assyrians 7; 8; 14 n. 8; 42; 44;
61 (17); 74–5 (28); 87; 102 (46); 122;
141; 146 (61); 147 (64); 148 (65); 178
(75); 185; 189; 193 (77); 201 (94); 224;
227 (115); 231 (116); 241 (119); 371
(161); 375 (162)
Baba Rabba 18 n. 37; 25 n. 89; 40 n. 6; 49
n. 71; 115 n. 9; 128; 217; 287; 288 and
n. 57; 423 n. 29
Babylon 59 (15); 87; 99 (40); 101 (44) and
(45); 141; 142; 146 (61); 147–148 (64);
160 (66); 178 (75); 179 (75); 198 (88);
200 (92); 201 (93); 204 (99); 237; 241
(119); 375 (162)
Baithanne (Bainith) 87; 99 (40)
Balāṭa 133
bandit / brigand chief 257; 261; 270 (124);
271 (125); 273 (126); 285 n. 30; 347
(150); 367 (159); 378; 380 (165)
bandits / brigands 257; 261; 262 and
n. 87; 270 (124); 271 (125); 273 (126);
345; 346 (149)
Batanaea 100 (42); 199 (90)
Belisarius 281 and n. 4; 318; 379; 411
n. 20; 415 (184)
Bethel 101 (43); 200 (91)
Bible, Samaritan 1; 8; 33; 38; 42; 70 (27);
81; 83; 85; 115; 120 (56); 122; 124;
131; 134; 142; 146 (61); 156, 159 (66);
179–180 (75); 189; 210; 371 (161); 375
(162)
– *See also* Pentateuch
Book of Joshua, Samaritan 26; 46; 79;
124; 127
Caesarea 6; 40 and nn. 4, 6; 41 and n. 7;
44; 46; 77; 111; 114 n. 1; 138; 235; 241
(119); 245; 246; 248 (121); 256 and

- nn. 27, 30; 257; 258; 259; 260 and n. 55; 261 n. 69; 262; 268 and n. 132; 269; 270 (124); 271 (125); 275 (127); 278 and 279 (129); 280 (130); 281; 291 n. 77; 292; 293; 295 (131); 319; 367 (159); 416 (186); 419 (189); 440 (197)
- Cairo Geniza 431
- calendar, festal 129; 215
- Capparataea 3
- Carthage 6 and n. 29; 31; 354 and n. 19; 355; 356
- Cassiodorus 6 n. 29; 242–4; 339 n. 18
- life and works 242
 - texts 243–4 (120)
- Castra 318–20 and n. 32; 323 (141); 326 n. 4; 348 and n. 5; 350 (151)
- Celsus, Greek philosopher 45; 53 (10); 55 (11); 57 (13)
- Celsus, medical author 135 n. 113; 136 n. 121
- Chalcedon, council of 451; 221; 223; 233–4; 239 (118); 300 (133); 306; 379; 382 (167)
- Choricius of Gaza 228 and nn. 1, 8; 245–52; 249 nn. 22, 23; 251 n. 28; 259 n. 50; 261 n. 66; 269 n. 139; 309 n. 40
- life and works 245
 - texts 246–252 (121)–(123)
- chosroes (Khusro) I 235–6 and n. 23; 259 n. 51; 411; 414 (184); 415 (185); 416 (186)
- chronicles, Samaritan 7 n. 32; 9; 21; 33 n. 24; 40 n. 6; 79; 124 n. 26; 127; 130
- Chronicon Paschale* 15; 134 n. 107; 135; 256; 257 and nn. 36, 37; 258 n. 40; 259 n. 51; 289; 290; 293; 362–8 (156)–(160); 378; 410; 438
- circumcision 13 (2); 14 n. 3; 43; 45 and n. 43; 46; 52 (9); 56 (12); 62 (18); 79; 129; 131; 135; 136; 146 (61); 159 and 160 (66); 165 (69); 166 (70); 181 (75); 375 (162)
- of Jews by Samaritans 136
 - of slaves 337 and n. 6; 338 and n. 12; 339; 340–341 (148)
 - second 135; 136 and nn. 117, 121; 137 and n. 125; 169–170 (74); 366 (158)
 - *See also* episperm
- circus factions
- *See* Greens and Blues
- Cleobians, Cleobius 12 and (I)
- Cleopatra I 187; 195 (81); 365 (156); 407 (179)
- Constantinople 81; 111; 121; 126; 184; 185; 214; 215; 217; 221; 232; 233; 234; 242; 254; 255; 273; 279; 281; 287–9; 307; 308; 312; 313 (137); 326; 336; 344; 348; 352; 353; 354; 360; 362; 373; 380 (165); 399; 409; 414 (184); 416 (186); 420; 431; 436 (193)
- council of 381, 114
 - council of 553, 109
 - council of 869–70, 417
- Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus 254 and n. 18
- conversions, converts, Samaritan 7; 9; 27–8; 136 n. 117; 137; 169–70 (74); 221–2; 222 (111); 258–9; 268 n. 133; 283–5; 286 n. 44; 288; 290; 294; 295 (131); 300 (133); 304 (134); 319; 326; 329 (142); 339; 342 (149); 354–6; 357–8 (153); 364; 366 (158); 368 (160); 379; 382 (167); 383; 398 (168), (169); 423
- correspondence, Samaritan, with Europeans 7 n. 32
- Cosmas Indicopleustes 332–335; 362
- life and works 332
 - texts 333–5 (143)–(147)
- custos* 7 n. 31; 60 (17); 188 and nn. 41, 42, 43
- Cutha 87; 237 (117)
- Cutheans 8 n. 33; 47 n. 62; 190 and n. 55; 371
- Cyrenaica 133
- Cyriacus 345; 346 (150)
- Cyril of Jerusalem 47; 114–20; 383
- life and works 114
 - texts 115–120 (53)–(56)
- Cyril of Scythopolis 221 n. 3; 235 nn. 21, 22; 245; 259 and n. 50; 260 and n. 64; 284 and n. 27; 285; 286; 287; 305–316; 345; 431 and n. 15; 441; 442
- life and works 305
 - texts 309–16 (135)–(140)
- Damascus of Damascus 421; 423 and n. 25; 424 and n. 37
- David (Dā'ūd) b. Marwān al-Raqqī
- *See* al-Muqamīṣ
- Day of Vengeance 210; 291–2
- decircumcision
- *See* episperm
- deession
- *See diesinon*
- Demetrius Poliorcetes 187; 194 (80)

- dessenon*
 – *See diesinon*
- diaspora 6; 222; 356
- Didymus the Blind 42 n. 19; 109–10; 184
 – life and works 109
 – texts 109–10 (51)
- diesinon* 140 and n. 149; 179 (75)
- Dorotheus 233 n. 10; 234 and n. 12; 239 (118)
- Dositheans (Dositians) 12 and (1); 33; 44; 46; 48 and nn. 64, 65; 57 (13); 64 (19); 71 (27); 127–30; 134; 143 (57); 144 (59); 145 (60); 146 (61); 159–61 (65); 163 (67); 374; 421; 422; 429 (190)
- Dositheus 4 and nn. 22, 25; 5; 12; 32; 33; 36 (6); 43; 44 and n. 30; 45–7; 52 (9); 57; 63 (19); 80; 91 (33); 103; 104 and n. 8; 106 (48); 129 n. 69; 130; 160–1 (66); 189; 191; 203 (97); 205 (100); 210 and n. 9; 291; 421 and n. 12; 422; 427–9 (190)
- Easter, date of 214 and n. 5; 215; 216 (108); 362
- Ebal (Gaibal, Gebal), Mount 8; 86 and nn. 78, 79; 100 (41); 139; 140; 156 (66); 177 (75); 180–1 (75); 188; 199 (89); 228–9; 231 (116)
 – etymology 177 (75); 229; 231 (116)
- Ebion, Ebionites 131 and nn. 82, 83; 147 (63); 162 (67); 165 (69); 166 (70); 373–374; 376 (164)
- Elamites 158 (66); 224 n. 7
- Elchasai (Elxai) 131
- Emmaus 262; 345
- Ephesus, council of 431, 212; 234
 – council of 449, 223
- Epiphanius of Salamis 3 n. 17; 8 and n. 35; 9; 12 n. 8; 28 n. 115; 32; 33; 37 n. 3; 47; 86; 112; 121–83; 189 n. 52; 209; 224; 228–30; 233; 237 (117); 349; 363; 366 (158); 369; 371 (161); 373–4
 – life and works 121
 – texts 142–83 (57)–(75)
- epispasm 135 and nn. 113, 114; 136 and n. 121
- Esau 135; 170 (74)
- eschatology 73 (28); 210 and n. 11; 211 (106)
- Eshkol ha-Kofer* 125–126
- Essenes, Samaritan 12; 13 (2); 127–9; 143 (57); 144 (59); 145 (60); 146 (61); 159–60 (66); 163 (67); 375 (162)
- Eusebius of Caesarea 6; 9–11; 37; 42 n. 23; 77–102; 112 n. 11; 123; 131 and n. 82; 135 n. 112; 140 and n. 153; 184–8; 190; 191 n. 64; 198 n. 81; 200 n. 83 (91); 214; 217; 219; 223 n. 4; 229; 236; 362–363; 399; 400 (170); 402 (172); 403 (173); 409; 441
 – life and works 77
 – texts 88–102 (31)–(46)
- Eutychius of Alexandria 1 n. 2; 10; 259 n. 50
 – life and works 430
 – texts 432–437 (192)–(193)
- Evagrius Scholasticus 233; 235; 253; 441
- Ezra 122; 128; 141–142; 146 (61); 147–8 (64); 160 (66); 178–9 (75); 189–92; 207 (102); 375 (162)
- Fate 39 (7)
- Faustinus 285; 288; 292; 301 (133)
- feasts 79; 128–129; 160 (66); 214–5; 218 (109)
- fringes
 – *See Zizit*
- Gabaon (Gibeon) 385; 393 (168)
- Galileans 12; 13 (2); 178 (75)
- Galilee 132; 351 (152)
- Gallus revolt 410; 412–3 (183); 438
- Gargarides 367 (159)
- Gargarizim 271 (125)
- Gaza 78; 88 (31); 121; 217; 228; 230; 232; 245–6; 251 n. 28 (122); 252 n. 31 (123)
- George Cedrenus 185 n. 7; 410; 438–40
 – life and works 438
 – texts 438–40 (194)–(197)
- George Syncellus 8; 80 n. 25; 84–5; 185 nn. 7, 8; 189 n. 49; 363; 399–407; 408–9; 417; 438
 – life and works 399–400
 – texts 400–7 (170)–(181)
- Gerizim (Garizin), Mount 1–2; 3; 6–8; 23; 27 n. 104; 42; 44; 48; 51 (8); 67–8 (25); 78–9; 86–7; 90–1 (32); 100 (41); 104; 105 (47); 106 (48); 107–8 (49); 112; 113 (52); 139–41; 156 (66); 177–81 (75); 185; 187–9; 193 (78); 196 (82); 199 (89); 202 (97); 228–30; 231 (116); 256–8; 261; 268; 270 (124); 271 (125); 273 (126); 289–93; 303–4 (134); 319; 363; 367 (159); 371 (161); 400; 405 (175); 406 (176); 423–4; 429 (191)
 – Abraham's sacrifice 112; 113 (52)

- coins 112; 141; 258
- etymology 44; 68 (25); 177 (75); 199 (89); 231 (116); 257
- idols 7; 141; 179–180 (75); 228–9; 231 (116); 371 (161)
- location 8; 86–87; 100 (41); 112; 139–40; 156 (66); 177, 180–1 (75); 188; 228–9; 231 (116)
- Samaritan temple 1; 2; 78–9; 141; 185; 193 (78); 258; 289; 400; 406 (176)
- steps 112; 113 (52); 141; 180 (75); 229; 231 (116)
- synagogue 257–8; 270 (124); 271 (125); 290; 293; 367 (159)
- Theotokos Church 256–7; 270 (124); 271 (125); 289–90; 293; 304 (134); 319
- Zeus temple 79; 112; 141; 187; 423; 429 (191)
- *See also* Argarizon (-os); Gargarides; Gargarizim
- Germanus** 46
- Gilgal** 86 and n. 79; 188
- Gitta** (Gittha, Gitthon, Geth) 2; 103; 105 (47); 163 (68); 224
- gnosticism 3–4; 283–4; 292; 385
- Goratheni** (Gorothenes) 12; 12 (I); 127–30; 143 (57); 144 (59); 145 (60); 146 (61); 159–60 (66); 163 (67); 375 (162)
- Gorthaeus** 12; 12 (I)
- Great Power** 4; 57 (13); 64 (19)
- Greens and Blues** 268; 280 (130); 411; 415 (185); 419 (189)
- Gregory I, pope** 9; 336–343
 - life and works 336
 - texts 340–3 (148)–(149)
- Gregory Bar-Hebraeus** (Abū'l Faraj) 186
- Hadrian, emperor** 78–80; 90–1 (32); 124; 141 n. 164
- Hadrian, tribune** 235; 241 (119)
- halakha** (halakhic), Samaritan 16; 124
- Har Shomron** 7 n. 32
- al-Ḥārith** 264
- Hegesippus** 11–13; 28 and n. 115; 77; 122; 224 n. 10
 - life and works 11
 - texts 12–3 (I)–(2)
- Hellenism** 3; 123; 142 (57); 144 (59); 145 (60); 155 (66)
- Hemerobaptists** 12; 13 (2); 143 (57); 162 (67)
- Heraclius** 352; 354 and n. 20; 355; 359; 362; 364; 379 n. 16
- heresies** (sects), four Samaritan 122; 127; 129–30; 143 (57); 144 (59); 145 (60); 146 (61); 159–61 (66); 162–63 (67); 374; 375 (162)
- heresies** (sects), seven Jewish 11; 12 (I); 32; 143 (57); 161 (66); 162–3 (67)
- Hermogenes** 236 n. 23; 266; 411; 414 (184)
- Herod** 17–18; 21–2; 36 (6); 40; 188; 197 (84) and (85); 203 (97); 261 n. 69; 269; 407 (180) and (181)
- Herodians** 36 (6); 143 (57); 162 (67)
- Hiereia, synod of** 754, 321; 373
- Hillukh** 48
- Hippolytus of Rome** 6; 32; 33; 37–9
 - life and works 37
 - text 38–39 (7)
- Hirbet Qastra** 319; 348 n. 5
- Ibn Battūta** 265 n. 110
- idolaters, Samaritans as** 6; 7; 29; 31–2; 34 (4); 136 n. 117; 140; 156 (66); 229
 - *See also* Gerizim, Mount: idols
- idols**
 - *See* Gerizim, Mount: idols
- al-Idrisi** 265 n. 115
- immersion** 127; 131; 166 (69)
 - *See also* purification
- immortality of the soul** 9; 42 n. 14; 62 (18); 333 (144); 334 (145)
- India** 265 and n. 110; 273; 332
- inscriptions, Samaritan** 190; 258; 260; 263; 320 n. 31; 339–40
- Irenaeus, magister militum / dux** 260–1; 364; 368 (160)
- Irenaeus of Lyon** 2; 3 n. 17; 23 n. 70; 37; 131; 209; 292
- Isaac the Samaritan** 383–385; 393–395; 397–8 (168); 398 (169)
- Isho‘dad of Merv** 135
- Jacob of Edessa** 235 n. 20; 236
- Jacob the Monk** 326–31
 - text 327–331 (142)
- Jacob al-Qirqisānī** 126
- Jacob’s Tomb** 112; 113 (52)
- Jacob’s Well** 71 (27); 133; 189; 202 (97)
- James and John, sons of Zebedee** 104; 107–8 (49)
- Jericho**
 - location of Mt. Gerizim 86–87; 100 (41); 140; 156 (66); 177 and 181 (75); 188; 199 (89); 229; 231 (116)

- Jerome 8; 31; 33; 37; 42 n. 23; 81; 86–7; 109; 121; 132; 184–208; 219; 221 n. 3; 410
 - life and works 184
 - texts 192–208 (76)–(105)
 Jeroboam 7; 32; 34 (4); 35 (5); 44; 61 (17); 68 (25)
 Jewish and Samaritan war 185–6; 198 (86)
 John of Antioch 359
 - life and works 359
 - text 359 (154)
 John of Damascus 122; 131 n. 85; 373
 - life and works 373
 - texts 373–6 (162)–(164)
 John of Ephesus 318; 378; 379 n. 16
 John Malalas 9; 253–80; 285 n. 30; 289–90; 293; 306–7; 308 n. 32; 309 n. 40; 359; 362–4; 378; 410–11
 - life and works 253–5
 - texts 269–80 (124)–(130)
 John Moschus 262; 344–7
 - life and works 344–5
 - text 346–7 (150)
 John of Nikiu 259 n. 50; 285 n. 30; 318; 377–82
 - life and works 377–8
 - texts 379–82 (165)–(167)
 John Rufus 221 n. 3; 234; 424 n. 33
 Joppe 384 and n. 15; 393 (168)
 Joseph, patriarch / tribe 7; 67; 71 (27); 101 (43); 112 (51); 113 (52); 180 (75); 189; 200 (91)
 Joseph of Tiberias 132; 167 (71)
 Joseph's tomb 112; 113 (152); 180 (75)
 Joshua 15; 25–26; 131; 181 (75); 385; 393; 394–5 (168); 422; 427 (190)
 Judah ben Elijah Hadassi 126
 judgment
 - *See* eschatology
 Julian 256 n. 30; 257 n. 33; 260–2; 273 (126); 275–6 (127); 284; 295 (131); 307; 312 (137); 361 (155); 414 (184); 418 (188); 439 (196); 443 (197)
 Justasas 256 n. 30; 257; 261; 270 (124); 271 (125); 367 (159)
 Justin II 253; 317–8; 323 (141); 326; 339; 378
 Justin Martyr 2; 5; 7; 14–30; 424
 - life and works 14–15
 - text 29–30 (3)
 Justinian 5; 235–6; 246 n. 11; 249 n. 23 (121); 253–4; 257; 259–60; 262 n. 89;
 266–8; 273; 275–8 (127); 280 (130); 281–2; 285–92; 299–301 (133); 304 (134); 307–9; 312 (137); 318 n. 15; 319–20; 336 n. 4; 337 n. 11; 339; 348; 359 and (154); 378; 380 (165); 381 (166); 410; 414 (184); 418 (188); 419 (189); 431–2; 439 n. 4 (196); 440 (197); 442; 443 (198)
 Juvenal 233–235; 239 (118)
 Kavadh I 266; 362; 411
 Khirbet Abbad 87
 Khirbet Kafr Ḥatta 3 n. 10
 Khirbet Kafr Samir 319–20; 348 n. 5
 Khirbet Shuweika 87
 Khuth 241 (119)
 Kitāb al-anwār wal-marāqib 126
 lā misāsa 125
 lion-plague 141–2; 178 (75); 237 (117)
 Luza 87; 101 (43); 200 (91)
 Madaba map 86–7; 188 n. 39
 Magi 32; 34 (4)
 magic 47; 55 (11); 105 (47); 130; 163 (68)
 Maimonides 125
 Malef 48
 Mamōnās (Mamūnā) 235; 306–7; 312 (137)
 Manasse 185; 193 (78); 405 (175); 406 (176)
 al-Maqrīzī 126
 Mar Saba 373
 Marcian, bishop 245–6; 252 (123)
 Marcian, emperor 233–4; 239 (118)
 Marcionism 31
 Marinus 421; 423–4; 429 (191)
 Mārqe 46; 49–50; 115 n. 9
 Masbothei 12 and (1); 13 (2)
 Maximus the Confessor 6 n. 29; 221; 352–8
 - life and works 352–5
 - text 357–8 (153)
 Melania the Younger 221–2; 356 n. 34
 - life 221
 - text 222 (111)
 Melchizedek 132; 167 (72)
 Menander 2–4; 130; 224
 menstruation 124–5; 384; 393 (168)
 messiah, Samaritan
 - *See* Taheb
 Monophysites 232–3; 253; 265 n. 108; 285; 287; 369; 377 n. 3; 379; 421

- al-Mundhir 248 n. 20; 261
 al-Muqammiş 125–6
- Nablus 5; 8; 14; 79; 189; 258; 380 (165); 436
 – *See also* Neapolis
 Nea Church 288; 436–7 (193)
 Neapolis 14–5; 27; 78; 86; 90–1 (32); 100 (41); 101 (43); 112; 113 (52); 132; 168 (73); 177 and 180 (75); 186 and n. 16; 188–9; 199 (89); 200 (91); 202 (97); 230; 231 (116); 233–5; 239 (118); 241 (119); 256; 259–62; 273; 275 (127); 289; 303 (134); 306; 312 (137); 378 n. 9; 423–4; 429 (191); 443 (198)
 – *See also* Nablus
 Nebo, Mount 263; 428 (190)
 Nebuchadnezzar 141–2; 146 (61); 178 (75); 375 (162)
 Nerigel 87; 101 (44); 180 (75); 200 (92)
 Nicaea, council of 325; 226 (114)
 Nicaea, council of 787; 317–8; 320–1
 Nicephorus Callistus 185 n. 7; 259 n. 50; 441–3
 – life and works 441–2
 – text 442–3 (198)
 Nika Revolt 268; 411; 415 (185)
 Northern Kingdom 32; 42; 44; 431
- Origen 6–8; 27–8; 33 n. 14; 40–76; 77; 80; 104; 109; 115; 121; 123; 131; 184; 190; 224; 308 n. 35; 421
 – life and works 40–1
 – texts 50–76 (8)–(30)
 Orosius 185–6; 219–20
 – life and works 219
 – text 220 (110)
- Palladius 135 n. 112; 212–3
 – life and works 212
 – text 212–3 (107)
 Paschal controversies 214; 216 (108); 217
 Paschal lamb 18; 23–5
 Passover, Samaritan 23–5; 27; 215; 217; 218 (109); 289 n. 63
 Patriarchs, tombs 189; 203 (97)
 Pentateuch 2; 6; 8; 17–9; 33; 38; 42–3; 70 (27); 77; 81–2; 83 n. 53; 84–5; 112; 115; 122; 124; 127; 131; 138; 146 (61); 156–9 (66); 179–81 (75); 189–90; 207 (102); 210; 371 (161); 375 (162); 421
 – *See also* Bible, Samaritan
- Pentecost 129; 160 (66); 289; 292–3; 303 (134); 354; 357 (153)
 Perdiccas 187; 194 (80)
 persecutions of Samaritans 9; 45; 56 (12); 246; 248 n. 19; 258; 294
 Persians 235; 241 (119); 266–7; 277–8 (128); 281; 344; 352; 356; 411; 414 (184)
 Pescennius Niger 186; 220 (110)
 Peter the Iberian 234; 239; 424 n. 33
 Pharisees 12; 13 (2); 19; 36 (6); 39 (7); 106 (48); 124; 143 (57); 162 (67); 204 (99)
 Philaster 3 n. 17; 32–3; 37 n. 3; 47; 104; 209–11; 228; 333; 421–
 – life and works 209–11
 – text 211 (106)
 Photius, military officer 318; 379
 Photius, patriarch of Constantinople 9; 33; 245; 344; 420–9
 – life and works 420
 – texts 425–9 (190)–(191)
 Pilgrim of Bordeaux 87; 111–3; 141; 229; 348
 – life and works 111
 – text 112–3 (52)
 Pilgrim of Piacenza 9; 124–5; 127; 262 n. 87; 318; 348–51
 – life 348
 – texts 350–1 (151)–(152)
 Porphyreon 318–20; 323; 326
 Procopius of Caesarea 87; 246; 256; 259–60; 264; 267; 281–304; 306; 308–9; 319; 326; 378; 432
 – life and works 281–2; 291–4
 – texts 294–304 (131)–(134)
 Procopius of Gaza 86; 112; 139; 141; 228–31; 232; 245
 – life and works 228
 – text 230–1 (116)
 prophets 30 (3); 33; 36 (6); 39 (7); 42; 45; 59 (15); 76 (30); 119–20 (56); 122; 127; 131; 156–9 (66); 191; 205 (100); 210; 211 (106); 332; 333 (144); 427 (190); 431; 434 (192)
 Pseudo-Cyril of Jerusalem 383–98
 – texts 385–98 (168)–(169)
 Ptolemy I Soter 188
 Ptolemy II Philadelphus 22
 Ptolemy V Epiphanes 187; 195 (81); 363; 365 (156); 407 (179)
 Ptolemy VI Philometer 128; 188; 196 (83); 363; 365 (157)

- Pulcheria Augusta 234
- purification 124–5; 126; 127; 129; 131
 n. 83; 147 (63); 157–9 (66); 349; 351
 (152); 373–4; 376 (164); 384–5; 393
 (168); 423 n. 29
- *See also* immersion
- al-Qirqisani 126
- resurrection 3; 6; 9; 33; 36 (6); 38; 39 (7);
 42; 47–50; 59 (15); 62 (18); 73 (28);
 104; 105 (47); 106 (48); 108 (49); 115;
 119 (56); 122; 124; 129–30; 134; 146
 (61); 147 (62); 156–7; 160–1 (66); 191;
 205 (100); 210–11 (106); 310 (135);
 332–3; 333 (143), (144); 334 (145),
 (146); 335 (147); 375 (162); 376 (163);
 421; 427–9 (190)
- revolts, Samaritan 7; 9; 115; 186–7; 345;
 356
- and Hadrian 79–80
- in 484; 254–5; 256–9; 270 (124); 271
 (125); 282; 289–90; 293; 303–4 (134);
 363–4; 367 (159)
- in 529; 235; 241 (119); 246; 248 (121);
 251 (122); 252 (123); 254–5; 259–67;
 273 (126); 275–6 (127); 277–8 (128);
 282–5; 295 (131); 305; 306–9; 312–3
 (137); 316 (140); 359 (154); 360; 361
 (155); 368 (160); 378; 380 (165); 411;
 414–5 (184); 417; 418 (188); 431; 435–
 7 (193); 438; 439 (196); 442; 443 (198)
- in 556; 255; 259; 267–9; 278–9 (129);
 280 (130); 282; 411; 416 (186); 417;
 419 (189); 438; 440 (197)
- in 572; 318; 378; 381 (166)
- Rome, city, Samaritans in 6 n. 29; 243;
 244 (120); 340
- Rufinus of Aquileia 43 n. 27; 45; 103;
 104; 109; 187; 214
- Rufinus, *magister officiorum* 236 n. 23;
 266; 277 (128)
- Rusafa
- *See* Tetrapyrgium
- Sabas 286 nn. 44, 47; 305–9; 310 (136);
 312 (137); 314 (138); 315 (139); 442
- Sabbath 7 n. 32; 16; 19; 43–4; 52 (9); 79;
 129; 131; 146 (61); 159–60 (66); 165
 (69); 275 (127); 375 (162)
- Sabeans 125
- Sabuaeans 163 (67)
- Sadducees 9; 12; 13 (2); 33; 36 (6); 37–8;
- 39 (7); 42; 53 (10); 62 (18); 104; 106
 (48); 122; 124; 130; 143 (57), (58); 147
 (62); 161 (66); 162 (67); 191; 205
 (100); 210–11; 333; 376 (163)
- Samareitikon 42; 77; 83 nn. 51, 52; 190
 n. 62
- Samaria, city 2; 188; 197 (84), (85); 203
 (97); 227 (115); 230; 231 (116); 407
 (180), (181)
- Samaria, district 1–3; 7; 14; 22; 27 n. 104;
 28; 29 (2); 31–2; 34 (4); 35 (5); 37; 39
 (7); 45; 47; 51; 61 (17); 68 (25); 76
 (30); 86 n. 79; 87; 102 (46); 123; 130;
 139; 142; 147–8 (64); 156–60 (66); 162
 (67); 163 (68); 177–8 (75); 185; 187;
 192 (76); 195 (81); 196 (82); 201 (94);
 202 (97); 204 (99); 207 (103); 241; 263
 n. 100; 264; 268; 288; 316 (140); 351
 (152); 365 (156); 371 (161); 385; 405
 (175); 407 (179); 433–4 (192)
- Samaritans 14; 22; 187; 406 (177), (178)
- defined 1–2
- Samaritans
- defined 1–2
- as enemies of Christian
 catechumens 114; 116 (53)
- foil for the Jews 6; 216; 321
- “guards” / “guardians” of land / Law 7–
 8; 42; 61 (17); 74 (28); 109; 123; 139;
 141; 156 (66); 178–9 (75); 185; 188–9;
 193 (77); 201 (95); 202 (96); 207 (103);
 371 (161)
- a mother of heresies 122; 142 (57); 145
 (60)
- and non-Samaritans 7; 9–10; 124–5;
 157 (66); 351 (152)
- observance of the Law 7; 10; 46; 52
 (9); 79; 131; 161 (66); 165 (69); 180
 (75)
- *See also* “guards” / “guardians”
- origin 6–7; 141; 201 (94); 431
See also Assyria, Assyrians; Babylon
- revolts
- *See* revolts, Samaritan
- sects
- *See* heresies
- script 6; 9; 42; 77; 81; 140; 142; 179
 (75); 189–90; 320 n. 31
- Samiri 265 n. 115
- as-Sāmīrī* 125
- Sanballat 406 (176)
- sects
- *See* heresies

- Sebaste 188; 197 (84), (85); 203 (97); 227 (115); 230; 348; 351 (152); 371 (161); 407 (180), (181)
 – *See also* Samaria, city
- Semer / Semmer *See* Somer
- Sennacherib 192 (76); 193 (77)
- Sephpharouem 102 (46)
- Septimius Severus 134; 135; 141 n. 162; 169 (74); 185–6; 220; 363
- settlements 7; 9; 87–8; 100 (42); 101 (43), (44), (45); 103; 199 (90); 200–1 (91), (92), (93); 288; 319; 320; 351 (152)
- Severus of Ashmunein 377
- Sicarii 45; 56 (12)
- Sicily 336–7; 339; 340–1 (148); 341–3 (149)
- Silvanus 286; 306–7; 310 (136); 312 (137); 442; 443 (198)
- Simon (Magus) 2–4; 7; 12; 14 n. 8; 18; 22; 27 n. 104; 46–7; 55–6 (11); 57 (13); 64 (19); 103–4; 105 (47); 106 (48); 108 (50); 130; 163 (68); 224; 291–2; 385; 427
- Simoniens 4 n. 22; 11; 12 (1); 47; 55 (11); 130; 163 (68)
- Simplicius, pope 243; 244 (120)
- slaves 336–9; 340–1 (148); 341–3 (149)
- Socho / Soccho 87; 88 n. 95; 200 (93)
- Socrates Scholasticus 214–6; 217; 360; 378; 441
 – life and works 214
 – text 216 (108)
- Sodom 61 (17)
- Somer (Somery) 123; 139; 156 (66); 178–9 (75); 224; 230; 231 (116); 371 (161)
- Somoron (Someron) 123; 139; 156 (66); 178–9 (75); 226–7 (115); 230; 231 (116); 371 (161)
- soul, immortality
 – *See* immortality of the soul
- Sozomen 215; 217–8; 360; 441
 – life and works 215
 – text 218 (109)
- Stephanus, *archon* 246–50 (121)
- Summus 246; 250–1 (122); 260
- Sycamina 319
- Symeon the Styliste the Younger 317–25; 326
 – life and works 317
 – text 322–5 (141)
- Symmachus 134–8; 169–70 (74); 363; 366 (158)
- synagogues, Samaritan 6 n. 29; 7; 9; 132–4; 168 (73); 212; 213 (107); 217 n. 6; 243; 244 (120); 257–60; 270 (124); 271 (125); 275–6 (127); 283–4; 290; 293; 307; 320 n. 31; 339–40; 367 (159); 423 n. 29
 – *See also* Asia Minor; Gerizim, Mount; Tarsus
- Tabernacle, Mosaic 141 n. 159; 332
- Tabernacles, Feast of 129; 160 (66)
- Tahēb 6, 9; 26; 49; 291
- Tarsus 212; 213 (107)
- Tell er-Rās 112; 141; 289 n. 66
 – *See also* Gerizim, Mount
- temple
 – *See* Gerizim, Mount
- Tertullian (and Pseudo-Tertullian) 6; 29; 31–6; 37 n. 3; 104; 130; 191; 421
 – life and works 31
 – texts 34–6 (4)–(6)
- Tetragrammaton 18 n. 32; 223; 225 (112)
- Tetrapyrgium 348
- Tharsila 87; 100 (42)
- Thebouthis 11; 12 (1)
- Theodore Anagnostes 360–1
- Theodore of Cyrrhus 223–7; 360; 369; 441
 – life and works 223
 – texts 224–7 (112)–(115)
- Theodoric the Great 242–3; 243–4 (120)
- Theodosius, bishop of Jerusalem 233; 239 (118)
- Theodosius II, emperor 212; 222; 234; 256 n. 29; 257; 339
- Theodosius, monk 259; 306; 312 (137); 443 (149)
- Theophanes Confessor 259; 267–9; 363; 399; 408–16; 417; 438
 – life and works 408–10
 – texts 411–6 (182)–(186)
- Theotokos Church
 – *See* Gerizim, Mount
- Terebinthius 289; 303 (134)
- Titus Vespasian 78–9; 91 (32)
- Trachonitis 262–4
- Tyre 187; 194 (79); 439 (194)
- Vespasian 14; 40 n. 4
- Wādi ed-Dāliyeh 187
- Yūsuf b. Salāma al-‘Askari 124

- Zacharias Rhetor (and Pseudo-Zacharias) 228 n. 1; 232–41; 259 n. 50; 287; 306
– life and works 232–3; 259
– texts 236–41 (117)–(119) 289–90; 293; 303 (134); 319; 363; 367
(159)
Zeus temple
– *See* Gerizim, Mount
Zizit, Samaritan 16; 17; 19–20
- Zeno 125 n. 35; 232–3; 253–4; 256–9; 261–2; 270 (124); 271 (125); 282; 287;

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Alphabetical Index

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- Becker, Hans-Jürgen*: Die großen rabbinischen Sammelwerke Palästinas. 1999. *Volume 70.*
- see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Cansdale, Lena*: Qumran and the Essenes. 1997. *Volume 60.*
- Chester, Andrew*: Divine Revelation and Divine Titles in the Pentateuchal Targumim. 1986. *Volume 14.*
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- Crown, Alan D.*: Samaritan Scribes and Manuscripts. 2001. *Volume 80.*
- Doering, Lutz*: Schabbat. 1999. *Volume 78.*
- Ego, Beate*: Targum Scheni zu Ester. 1996. *Volume 54.*
- Engel, Anja*: see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Frey, J.*: see *Albani, M.*
- Frick, Peter*: Divine Providence in Philo of Alexandria. 1999. *Volume 77.*
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- see *Schäfer, Peter*
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- Instone Brewer, David*: Techniques and Assumptions in Jewish Exegesis before 70 CE. 1992. *Volume 30.*
- Ipta, Kerstin*: see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Jacobs, Martin*: Die Institution des jüdischen Patriarchen. 1995. *Volume 52.*
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- Lohmann, Uta:* see *Schäfer, Peter*
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- Mutius, Georg von:* see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Necker, Gerold:* see *Schäfer, Peter*
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- Otterbach, Rina:* see *Schäfer, Peter*
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- see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Renner, Lucie:* see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Reichman, Ronen:* Sifra und Mishna. 1998. *Volume 68.*
- Rohrbacher-Sticker, Claudia:* see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Salvesen, A.* (Ed.): Origen's Hexapla and Fragments. 1998. *Volume 58.*
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- Band I/3–5: 1992. *Volume 33.*
- Band I/6–11: 1992. *Volume 35.*
- Band III: 1998. *Volume 67.*
- Band IV: 1995. *Volume 47.*
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- Band 3: 1999. *Volume 72.*
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- Schlüter, Margarete:* see *Goldberg, Arnold*
- see *Schäfer, Peter*
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– see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Shatzman, Israel:* The Armies of the Hasmonaeans and Herod. 1991. *Volume 25.*
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- Sivertsev, Alexei:* Private Households and Public Politics in 3rd – 5th Century Jewish Palestine. 2002.
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- Veltri, Giuseppe:* Eine Tora für den König Talmai. 1994. *Volume 41.*
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- Weyer, Guido:* see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Wewers, Gerd A.:* Probleme der Bavot-Traktate. 1984. *Volume 5.*
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