

Jewish and Christian Cosmogony in Late Antiquity

Edited by
LANCE JENOTT and
SARIT KATTAN GRIBETZ

*Texts and Studies in
Ancient Judaism*
155

Mohr Siebeck

Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism

Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum

Edited by

Peter Schäfer (Princeton, NJ/Berlin)

Annette Yoshiko Reed (Philadelphia, PA)

Seth Schwartz (New York, NY)

Azzan Yadin-Israel (New Brunswick, NJ)

155



Jewish and Christian Cosmogony in Late Antiquity

Edited by

Lance Jenott and Sarit Kattan Gribetz

Mohr Siebeck

Lance Jenott, born 1980, is a post-doctoral research fellow at the University of Oslo. He studied History, Classics, and Religion at the University of Washington (Seattle) and Princeton University, and holds a PhD in the Religions of Late Antiquity from Princeton University.

Sarit Kattan Gribetz, born 1984, is a post-doctoral fellow at the Jewish Theological Seminary and Harvard University. She studied Religion, Jewish Studies, and Classics at Princeton University, where she earned an AB and PhD in the Religions of Late Antiquity.

978-3-16-158725-2 Unveränderte eBook-Ausgabe 2019

ISBN 978-3-16-151993-2

ISSN 0721-8753 (Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism)

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2013 by Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen, Germany. www.mohr.de

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher's written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations, microfilms and storage and processing in electronic systems.

The book was printed on non-aging paper by Gulde-Druck in Tübingen and bound by Großbuchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier.

Printed in Germany.

Preface

This volume presents essays that emerged from a colloquium on the topic of cosmogony (the creation of the world) among ancient Jews and Christians held at Princeton University in May 2010. Funding for the program was generously provided by Princeton's Department of Religion, Program in Judaic Studies, and Program in the Ancient World.

Our heartfelt gratitude goes to Peter Schäfer, under whose guidance the colloquium took shape. We would also like to thank the other faculty of Princeton's Religions of Late Antiquity program for their support: John Gager, Martha Himmelfarb, AnneMarie Luijendijk and Elaine Pagels. Baru Saul provided expert administrative assistance that made the colloquium a great success, and we thank her deeply. The staff of the Religion Department – Lorraine Fuhrmann, Pat Bogdziewicz, Kerry Smith, Mary Kay Bodnar and Jeff Guest – should be recognized for their devotion and hard work. Many thanks to Mika Ahuvia, Abraham Berkovitz, Jonathan Gribetz, David Grossberg, Alex Kocar, and Geoff Smith for proofreading drafts of the essays, and especially to Ginny Clark for providing invaluable aid with the indices. Finally, we thank Henning Ziebritzki, Katharina Stichling, Tanja Idler and Susanne Mang at Mohr Siebeck for their care in seeing the volume through the press.

Citations throughout the volume adhere closely to the SBL Handbook of Style (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999).

Princeton, New Jersey, 2013

Lance Jenott
Sarit Kattan Gribetz

Table of Contents

Preface	V
Table of Contents	VII
Abbreviations	IX

LANCE JENOTT AND SARIT KATTAN GRIBETZ In the Beginning: Cosmogony in Late Antiquity	1
--	---

Part I: Scripture and Interpretation

JAMES C. VANDERKAM Made to Order: Creation in <i>Jubilees</i>	23
--	----

YAIR FURSTENBERG The Rabbinic Ban on <i>Ma'aseh Bereshit</i> : Sources, Contexts and Concerns	39
---	----

GEOFFREY S. SMITH Constructing a Christian Universe: Mythological Exegesis of Ben Sira 24 and John's Prologue in the <i>Gospel of Truth</i>	64
---	----

Part II: Theology and Anthropology

MAREN R. NIEHOFF The Emergence of Monotheistic Creation Theology in Hellenistic Judaism	85
---	----

TUOMAS RASIMUS The Archangel Michael in Ophite Creation Mythology	107
--	-----

GWYNN KESSLER Constant Creation: (Pro)creation in Palestinian Rabbinic Midrashim ...	126
---	-----

CHRISTIAN WILDBERG <i>Corpus Hermeticum</i> , Tractate III: The Genesis of a Genesis	139
---	-----

Part III: Pedagogy and Ethics

RICHARD A. LAYTON Moses the Pedagogue: Procopius, Philo, and Didymus on the Pedagogy of the Creation Account	167
--	-----

ALEXANDER KOCHAR “Humanity came to be according to three essential types”: Anthropology and Ethical Responsibility in the <i>Tripartite Tractate</i>	193
---	-----

LANCE JENOTT Recovering Adam’s Lost Glory: Nag Hammadi Codex II in its Egyptian Monastic Environment	222
--	-----

Part IV: Space and Ritual

NAOMI KOLTUN-FROMM Rock Over Water: Pre-Historic Rocks and Primordial Waters from Creation to Salvation in Jerusalem	239
--	-----

MIKA AHUVIA Darkness Upon the Abyss: Depicting Cosmogony in Late Antiquity	255
--	-----

OPHIR MÜNZ MANOR The Ritualization of Creation in Jewish and Christian Liturgical Texts from Late Antiquity	271
---	-----

Bibliography	287
--------------------	-----

Contributors	311
--------------------	-----

Index of References	313
---------------------------	-----

Index of Subjects	328
-------------------------	-----

Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ABR	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>
ACCS	Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AJSR	<i>Association for Jewish Studies Review</i>
ANF	<i>Ante-Nicene Fathers</i> (ed. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson)
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> (ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase)
APF	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung</i>
ArBib	Aramaic Bible Series
BBA	Berliner byzantinistische Arbeiten
BCNH	Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi
BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum: Series graeca
CP	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CSCO	Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientaliū
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
DSSR	Dead Sea Scrolls Reader
FC	Fathers of the Church
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
HeyJ	<i>Heythrop Journal</i>
HR	<i>History of Religions</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
JAJ	<i>Journal of Ancient Judaism</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
J ECS	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JJTP	<i>Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JR	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
JSJSup	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSQ	<i>Jewish Studies Quarterly</i>
MHR	<i>Mediterranean Historical Review</i>

NHMS	Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>PEQ</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
PG	Patrologia graeca = Patrologiae cursus completus: Series graeca (ed. J.-P. Migne; 162 vols. Paris, 1857–1886)
<i>POC</i>	<i>Proche-Orient Chrétien</i>
OrChrAn	Orientalia christiana analecta
OTL	Old Testament Library
<i>OTP</i>	<i>The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> (ed. J. Charlesworth; 2 vols.)
RE	<i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (ed. A. F. Pauly; Stuttgart, 1893–1957)
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
<i>REJ</i>	<i>Revue des études juives</i>
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
<i>RSR</i>	<i>Recherches de science religieuse</i>
SA	Studia anselmiana
SAC	Studies in Antiquity and Christianity
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBLWGRW	Society of Biblical Literature Writings from the Greco-Roman World
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions (supplement to <i>Numen</i>)
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
<i>SPhilo</i>	<i>Studia philonica</i>
<i>ST</i>	<i>Studia theologica</i>
StOR	Studies in Oriental Religions
<i>SVF</i>	<i>Stoicorum veterum fragmenta</i> (ed. H. von Arnim; 4 vols. Leipzig, 1903–1924)
TSAJ	Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>WZKM</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

In the Beginning: Cosmogony in Late Antiquity

LANCE JENOTT AND SARIT KATTAN GRIBETZ

In 1584, in the Italian village of Montereale, a poor miller named Domenico Scandella, known more commonly by his nickname Menocchio, described his view of the world's creation:

I have said that, in my opinion, all was chaos, that is, earth, air, water, and fire were mixed together; and out of that bulk a mass formed – just as cheese is made out of milk – and worms appeared in it, and these were the angels, and among the number of angels, there was also God, he too having been created out of that mass at the same time, and he was made lord, with four captains, Lucifer, Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael. That Lucifer sought to make himself lord equal to the king, who was the majesty of God, and for this arrogance God ordered him driven out of heaven with all his host and his company; and this God later created Adam and Eve and people in great number to take the places of the angels who had been expelled...¹

Menocchio's vivid cosmogony is preserved in records of his inquisitorial trial, which resulted in his execution a few years later. The miller imagined that the world had formed from a mass of primordial elements from which worm-like creatures crawled and became angels, and he invokes the metaphor of milk fermenting into cheese to illustrate the process. While Menocchio's cosmogonic ideas caused the authorities to doubt his sanity, his culinary imagery is actually resoundingly similar to ancient ideas about the world's creation. The fifth-century rabbinic midrash *Genesis Rabbah* describes the formation of the heavens out of an expanse of water: "This may be compared to milk that was placed in a bowl. Before one drop of resin is placed in it, it quivers, but after a drop of resin is placed in it, it immediately curdles and stands still."² The midrash extends its metaphor by referencing a verse from Job (26:11), "the pillars of heaven quiver": "When the drop of resin was put into it, 'There was evening and there was morning the second day' (Gen 1:8). As Rav said, '[God's work] was liquid

¹ Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (trans. John and Anne Tedeschi; Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), 5–6.

² *Gen. Rab.* 4:7 (ed. Theodor-Albeck, *Midrash Bereshit Rabba*, 31).

on the first day and on the second day it solidified.”³ Though Menocchio’s cosmogony sounded preposterous and blasphemous to sixteenth-century ears, it has precedents in ancient religious traditions and scientific lore. His notion that God was *created* from the primordial mass, rather than having created it himself, evokes ancient debates about the world’s origins and God’s agency in the creation.

Carlo Ginzburg begins his study, *The Cheese and the Worms*, with Menocchio’s fanciful cosmogony. It is not surprising that this part of Menocchio’s worldview serves as Ginzburg’s point of departure for exploring the cultural universe that Menocchio and those like him inhabited. Menocchio’s cosmogony molded how he regarded the world, how he understood his place within it, and how he conducted himself as a result. It mattered to Menocchio how the universe came into being, and by what forces. His idiosyncratic views also characterized him as a quirky member of his small village, someone with unorthodox opinions, and eccentric charm. The inquisition, though, soon deemed him a heretic with dangerous ideas. For the church authorities, Menocchio’s description of the world’s origins and most importantly of God’s role in creation posed a significant threat to great theological and ecclesiastical principles. Much hung in the balance.

Debates about the proper understanding of the world’s origins are ancient, and creation stories often became the focal point of disputes long before Menocchio’s time.⁴ Among the ancient Greeks, the question of creationism was debated by Thales and the pre-Socratics, Plato and Xenophon, the Epicureans, Aristotle, and the Stoics.⁵ In his work on creation, Philo of Alexandria attempted to reconcile Platonic and biblical perspectives in response to Jewish and pagan critics who posited insurmountable

³ *Gen. Rab.* 4:7.

⁴ For an overview of the term and concept of “cosmogony” in religious traditions, see Charles H. Long, “Cosmogony,” *Encyclopedia of Religion* (ed. Lindsay Jones; 2nd ed.; Detroit: MacMillan Reference USA, 2005), 3:1985–91, and on cosmogony in the Hebrew Bible and subsequent Jewish interpretation, see “Creation and Cosmogony in the Bible,” *Encyclopedia Judaica* (ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik; 2nd ed.; Detroit: MacMillan Reference USA, 2007), 5:273–80, and the collections of essays in Richard J. Clifford and John J. Collins, eds., *Creation in Biblical Traditions* (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1992) and Bernhard W. Anderson, ed., *Creation in the Old Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984).

⁵ David Sedley explores such debates in *Creationism and Its Critics in Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); see also M. R. Wright, *Cosmology in Antiquity* (Sciences of Antiquity; New York: Routledge, 1995); Arthur Stanley Pease, “Caeli Enarrant,” *HTR* 34.3 (1941): 163–200.

tensions between the two worldviews and the communities that espoused them.⁶

The rabbis regarded proper interpretations of problematic biblical verses that could be used to argue against God's singular power in creation (e.g. Gen 1:1–2, 1:26–27) as litmus tests for acceptable belief.⁷ Disagreements about details in the creation story also distinguished different rabbinic schools from one another.⁸ Christian heresiological treatises often identified the cosmogonic myths of “the heretics” as examples of their dangerous attitudes towards the world, while patristic debates were particularly concerned with the problems of *creatio ex nihilo*, the origins of matter, and the eternity of creation. These themes challenged the reconcilability of Greco-Roman philosophy and Christian doctrine and became significant concerns for Clement, Origen, Basil, Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome, among others.⁹ Cosmogony lay at the center of debates about communal

⁶ Roberto Radice, “Philo’s Theology and Theory of Creation,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Philo* (ed. Adam Kamesar; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 124–45, and David T. Runia, *Philo of Alexandria and the Timaeus of Plato* (Leiden: Brill, 1986).

⁷ See for example Peter Schäfer, *The Jewish Jesus: How Judaism and Christianity Shaped Each Other* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012); Maren Niehoff, “*Creatio ex Nihilo* Theology in *Genesis Rabbah* in Light of Christian Exegesis,” *HTR* 99.1 (2006): 37–64; Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Myth and Rabbinic Mythmaking* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); and Gary Anderson, “The Interpretation of Genesis 1:1 in the Targums,” *CBQ* 52.1 (1990): 21–29. On the other hand, see John C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992) for an example of early Jewish traditions being incorporated into later Manichaean cosmogony.

⁸ Bet Hillel and Bet Shammai argued about the order of the creation of heaven and earth as well as whether the *act* of creation occurred during the day or also at night (e.g. *Gen. Rab.* 1:15, 12:14). According to a passage in the Palestinian Talmud, the schools of R. Ishmael and R. Akiva disagreed about whether creation could be studied, Rabbi Akiva maintaining that it was forbidden but Rabbi Ishmael permitting interpretation of Gen 1 (*y. Hag.* 2:1, 77c), though this dispute is not attested in tannaitic sources and may reflect contemporary debates rather than historical ones.

⁹ See Paul M. Blowers, *Drama of the Divine Economy: Creator and Creation in Early Christian Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), and his earlier essay, “The Doctrine of Creation,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies* (ed. Susan Ashbrook Harvey and David G. Hunter; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 906–31; Karen King, *The Secret Revelation of John* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006); Simo Knuutila, “Time and Creation in Augustine,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Augustine* (ed. Eleonore Stump and Norman Kretzmann; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 103–15; Gerhard May, *Creatio ex nihilo: The Doctrine of “Creation out of Nothing” in Early Christian Thought* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994); Richard Sorabji, *Time, Creation, and the Continuum: Theories in Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983); Sorabji, *The Philosophy of the Commentators 200–600 AD, Volume 2: Physics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 162–95.

inclusion and exclusion, legitimate scriptural interpretation, and proper theological opinions.

Galen, writing in the second century CE, recognized the great amount of ink spilled on these debates, but provocatively disregarded inquiry into the origins of the world as fruitless and ultimately irrelevant to one's conduct in the world. He summarizes a plethora of speculative questions about creation asked by philosophers:

whether this world is self-contained; whether there are more worlds than one; whether there are a huge number of them; and likewise whether this world is created or uncreated; just as also whether, if it had a beginning, some god acted as its craftsman, or no god did, but some irrational and unskilled cause by luck made it as beautiful as *if* a supremely wise and capable god had supervised its construction. But questions like these contribute nothing to running one's own household well or minding out appropriately for the affairs of one's city, or dealing justly and sociably with relatives, fellow-citizens, and foreigners ... For these and many other such questions are perfectly useless for 'moral and civic' virtues and activities, just as they are for the cure of mental ailments.¹⁰

Despite the fact that Galen devoted substantial energy to defending the idea of divine craftsmanship, in works such as his treatise *On the usefulness of parts* and his commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*, he nonetheless insisted that speculation about the origins of the universe led nowhere beyond intellectual and scientific musings. They did not, in his view, affect domestic activities or political affairs.

Yet in contrast to Galen, the Epicurean philosopher Lucretius maintained that truly understanding the world required a firm grasp of creation since all things followed from it. "For I now begin," he says, "to make my discourse on the lofty law of god and heaven above, and shall reveal the building blocks from which all things are fashioned ... since it is from these that all proceed."¹¹ For Lucretius, what people believed about the origin of the world shaped the way they behaved in the world. "Therefore we must consider well celestial happenings, and by what principle the sun and moon run on their courses, and all phenomena upon the earth ..."¹²

Following Lucretius, the essays in this volume demonstrate that wonderings about creation featured prominently in the ancient world and penetrated into social, political and ethical spheres far beyond the abstract musings of philosophers.¹³ The diverse ways in which Jews and Christians im-

¹⁰ Galen, *On the doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato* XI 7.9 ff., cited in Sedley, *Creationism and Its Critics in Antiquity*, 242.

¹¹ Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* I.53–61, trans. A. E. Stallings, *The Nature of Things* (New York: Penguin Classics, 2007), 4–5, slightly modified.

¹² Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* I.127–31 (Stallings, 7).

¹³ On the reception of Gen 1 among Jews, Christians and Greco-Roman philosophers, see the collection of essays in George H. van Kooten, ed., *The Creation of Heaven and Earth: Reinterpretations of Genesis 1 in the Context of Judaism, Ancient Philosophy,*

aged the world's creation informed their conceptions of past, present and future, the interpretation of their sacred texts, their understanding of the relationship between the divine and human worlds, their ethics, space, art and ritual practice – in short, how they constructed their own worlds and chose to live their lives.¹⁴

By exploring a broad range of texts and contexts, from the Second Temple period through the emergence of Christianity and rabbinic Judaism, this volume underscores how thinking about creation contributed to a wide spectrum of attempts at articulating the relationship among God, the cosmos, and humanity. For fourth-century inhabitants of Jerusalem, the Temple Mount and newly-built Church of the Holy Sepulcher were not only sites of devotion and worship but also sat on the exact location of the world's origin where the *tehom* of Gen 1:2 lay subdued beneath a magical rock. In synagogues and churches throughout the region, the weekly liturgy reenacted the creation story, inserted worshippers into the history of salvation, and reminded them of the fragility of human existence in contrast to the permanence of God's work. In Egypt, ascetics strove to attain the original glory of Adam, and interpreted the union between Adam and Eve as a symbol for the renunciation of sexuality. For Valentinian Christians, the belief that humanity was originally divided into three classes supported their community's ethical expectations. In Christian schools, the placement of the creation story at the beginning of Moses' Torah reinforced a range of pedagogical functions and communal identity markers in and out of scholastic settings. Rabbinic conceptions of procreation and the formation of the fetus were modeled on accounts of the world's creation, while bans against the study of creation highlighted the rabbis' fear of blaspheming God, revealing secrets, and testing the limits of human knowledge. It is a basic contention of this volume that for ancient thinkers knowledge of origins – *aitia* – was key for making sense of their own experience of the world.

Several central texts and traditions form a common backbone for discussions about cosmogony in antiquity. There are, of course, the foundational sources from the Hebrew Bible – the creation stories in Gen 1–2, the agonistic elements preserved in many of the Psalms, and the cosmogonic themes in Wisdom literature, including Job, Proverbs, Ben Sira, and the Wisdom of Solomon. Greco-Roman philosophical writings such as Plato's

Christianity, and Modern Physics (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Gerard P. Luttikhuisen, ed., *The Creation of Man and Woman: Interpretations of the Biblical Narratives in Jewish and Christian Traditions* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

¹⁴ Mircea Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return: Cosmos and History* (trans. William R. Trask; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005); Eliade, *The Sacred and Profane: The Nature of Religion* (trans. William R. Trask; New York: Harper & Row, 1961).

Timaeus offered compelling theories with which Jews and Christians felt compelled to contend and reconcile the biblical traditions. Texts from the New Testament, especially the Gospel of John, Romans, and 1 Corinthians, added additional layers of meaning to the Jewish scriptures. These complex webs of creation narratives provided Jews and Christians with an overlapping cosmogonic vocabulary from which to draw and upon which to build.

We have organized the volume into four thematic sections: I. Scripture and Interpretation; II. Theology and Anthropology; III. Pedagogy and Ethics; and IV. Space and Ritual. While each contribution touches upon many interrelated themes, the divisions are intended to highlight the several spheres of life in which creation theories played a role.

Part I: Scripture and Interpretation

In “Made to Order: Creation in *Jubilees*,” James VanderKam analyzes *Jubilees*’ creative rewriting of Gen 1–2. He suggests that the author looked in two directions as he composed his account of creation: backwards, to his base text in Gen 1–2, and outwards, to discussions and debates about creation present in his own time. Through an analysis of *Jub.* 2, in which the narrative departs significantly from the text of Genesis, VanderKam considers whether the author was responding to contemporary cosmogonic traditions popular in the Hellenistic world.

VanderKam demonstrates how the author took great care to write his narrative in such a way that would prevent potential misinterpretations of Genesis concerning agents of creation other than the God of Israel (e.g., Gen 1:20 “Let *the waters* bring forth...”; 1:24 “Let *the earth* bring forth...”; 1:26 “Let *us* make man...”). The author of *Jubilees* sought to show beyond doubt that God alone was responsible for creation. His careful rewording of such passages subtly emphasized that God had no help from anyone or anything in the process of creation, neither primordial earth, nor waters, nor angels – all possibilities left open in the text of Genesis. VanderKam cautiously suggests that in denying any creative agency to forces other than God, the author was consciously responding to traditional notions in Greek cosmogonic thought about the generative roles played by earth (e.g. in Hesiod’s *Theogony*) and water (e.g., in the philosophy of Thales), two of the four constitutive elements of Hellenistic science.

Furthermore, VanderKam analyzes how *Jubilees*’ treatment of the Sabbath highlights the election of Israel and bars any possibility that the Sabbath could be seen as a special day intended for all people. *Jubilees* draws

a parallel between God's twenty-two creative works before the Sabbath, and the twenty-two generations from Adam to Jacob. By implication, Jacob and the Sabbath are both blessed, and it is Jacob's descendants who celebrate the Sabbath with God and the angels (2:20–21). VanderKam suggests that the author's exclusivist view of Sabbath observance may hint at a contemporary debate over "the wisdom of such segregation."

Ancient anxieties over proper interpretation of the Genesis creation account also lie at the center of Yair Furstenberg's essay, "The Rabbinic Ban on Ma'aseh Bereshit: Sources, Contexts and Concerns." The ban on speculating about creation is first recorded in tannaitic sources of the second and third centuries (the Mishnah, Tosefta and Tannaitic Midrashim), and yet most previous scholarly attempts to uncover its origin and purpose have relied on elaborations of the rule in later sources (the Talmuds and *Genesis Rabbah*). These sources suggest that the rabbis were anxious about the proliferation of specific heretical interpretations that involved multiple primordial powers and potentially negative creative forces present before the world's creation. While such concerns do indeed seem to have preoccupied later rabbis, just as they did the Christian heresiologists, Furstenberg finds no traces of such concerns in the earlier rabbinic texts that first set forth the prohibition. By turning, instead, to sources from the Second Temple period, Furstenberg argues that the initial rabbinic impulse to curtail study of biblical verses about the world's creation stemmed from a widely-held concern about properly understanding the mysteries of creation, and not questioning the logic of the created world or the Creator. Maintaining God's honor, not the potential of competing heretical sects, initially motivated the rabbis in the tannaitic period to limit the study of creation.

Rabbinic sources are not the only Jewish texts that warn against inquiring into the unknown realms of existence. The Wisdom of Ben Sira (3:21–22) urges its readers not to search out "what is hidden from you," for one has "no business with mysteries." For Ben Sira, such mysteries involve the world's past and future, which are generally only accessible to and thus also concealed by God. In the Mishnah's formulation of its prohibition, it too forbids inquiry into "what is ahead and what is behind." Furstenberg thus locates the Mishnah's ban within the context of Ben Sira's anxiety about accessing knowledge that ought to remain beyond human comprehension. Several texts from Qumran that appropriate Wisdom literature also provide a helpful context for locating the Mishnaic prohibition. In contrast to Ben Sira, who discourages the quest for unattainable knowledge, multiple references among the Dead Sea Scroll texts to the *raz nihyeh*, "the mystery that is to be," urge the study of these mysteries precisely in order to attain a better appreciation for God, the creation, and the trajectory of world history. Through these sources, again, it becomes clear, according to

Furstenberg, that the Mishnah has in mind such inquiry into the secrets of creation, which was promoted in the esoteric circles at Qumran but deemed potentially dangerous and blasphemous by Ben Sira and the rabbis who banned it.

Rather than expressing anxiety about what preceded the world's creation or that which lies beyond the created world, the mishnaic ban as it is presented in the Mishnah and associated tannaitic midrashim is most concerned with maintaining respect for human fate and God's governance of the universe from the moment of its creation. It was only in later interpretations of these sources, in subsequent centuries, that the rabbis became alarmed by the threat of inappropriate inquiry into primordial times and speculation about the cosmos, its origins, and its creator(s) by those whom they considered heretics.

While VanderKam and Furstenberg focus on attempts to curtail exploration of creation beyond what is found in Genesis, Geoffrey Smith studies a text that uses the biblical narrative to develop a complex cosmogonic myth. In "Constructing a Christian Universe: Mythological Exegesis of Ben Sira 24 and John's Prologue in the *Gospel of Truth*," Smith analyzes the biblical underpinnings of the creation story from a Gospel that most scholars believe reflects the theology of a Valentinian Christian.

Unlike other Valentinian creation stories, which involve characters such as Wisdom (Sophia) and a demiurge, the *Gospel of Truth* relates that the world was produced by Error (Planê), personified as female. Its cosmic drama begins with the pre-existent heavenly beings searching for God, their maker; yet because they existed within God, they could not find him. Their ignorance of the Father led to fear, and as they became terrified, the power of Error exploited their situation. Error created the material world to entice them into a dreadful life, and finished her deception by enshrouding humanity in a perpetual "mist" of ignorance.

While previous studies of the *Gospel of Truth* have attempted to explain this unique creation story by reference to other Valentinian myths, Smith emphasizes the need to read it on its own terms, and not as a cryptic variation of an assumed Valentinian ur-myth. He therefore asks, "How would someone with no knowledge of 'the Valentinian myth' interpret the myth of Error in the *Gospel of Truth*?" In answering this question, Smith investigates the author's interpretation of two foundational stories from scripture, namely the prologue to the Gospel of John, and the tale of Wisdom's descent as a "mist" in Ben Sira 24. In light of the textual fluidity of John's prologue in the second century and the wide range of its interpretation by Christian exegetes, Smith demonstrates that the author had a text of John 1:3 before him that read "apart from him nothing came about." The author identified "him" with the Father himself (not with the Logos), and inter-

preted “nothing” substantially, as a reference to the phantasmal world of deception created by Error, which, as Smith shows, the *Gospel of Truth* frequently associates with the abstract concept of nothingness. Therefore this Gospel’s creation myth explains that “all things” (the heavens) were created by the Father, while “nothing” (the world of Error) did indeed come about apart from him – that is, apart from his will. Yet if all heavenly things were created by the Father, why, then, does John say that no one has ever seen him except the Son (John 1:18)? And from where did “the darkness” arise (John 1:5)? The author of the *Gospel of Truth* sets forth his mythological explanation, including the myth of Error, to resolve these theological problems.

Smith offers an intriguing suggestion regarding the scriptural inspiration for the *Gospel of Truth*’s description of Error enveloping humanity with a mist. He points to the same, rather rare metaphor of “mist” used by Ben Sira 24:3 to describe the descent of Wisdom to the earth, and suggests that the author may have deliberately adapted the image in a creative inversion by applying it to his own feminine personification of Error. Thus, in keeping with the prologue of John, life in this world is marked by ignorance of the Father, rather than the experience of his wisdom.

Finally, Smith discusses how the soteriology of the *Gospel of Truth*’s myth takes seriously John 1:18’s teaching that the world did not know the Father until the Son revealed him. The *Gospel of Truth* does not criticize the world of matter per se, but rather Error who created it. Despite the usual scholarly generalizations about Valentinian views of the created world, the theology set forth here is not anti-materialistic or anti-cosmic, but rather offers hope, through the arrival of Christ, for the improvement of a world in which most people live in ignorance.

Part II: Theology and Anthropology

In “The Emergence of Monotheistic Creation Theology in Hellenistic Judaism,” Maren Niehoff examines the genesis of a novel theological concept – that the Creator alone is the only true god – in the writings of Philo and Josephus as they responded to the fluctuating philosophical currents and political *realia* of the first century. Niehoff argues that the city of Rome, with its marked preference for Stoicism, was the setting in which both authors first encountered the need to harmonize Judaism with Stoic natural theology. In a climate in which anti-Jewish sentiment was on the rise, Philo and Josephus hoped to convince their Roman audiences that Judaism offered the best, and most original, exposition of Stoic ideals regard-

ing God's eternal care for creation and humanity's ability to know God by studying nature.

Niehoff traces a shift in Philo's views on creation theology from the treatises of his earlier *Allegorical Commentary* on scripture, composed in Alexandria, to those of his later *Exposition of the Law*, written after his extended stay in Rome (ca. 38–41 CE).¹⁵ In the *Allegorical Commentary*, Philo rejects Stoic theories that identify God with creation itself, or which speak of God's immanence therein. Instead, he emphasizes the Platonic doctrine of God's utter transcendence, his existence beyond creation, and the latter's total dependence on God. Accordingly, the "young" Philo taught that people cannot know God through the creation, by observing its orderly movements, as the Stoics believed. The only way to find the transcendent deity is to leave nature behind altogether, to "fly away from earth to heaven as quickly as we can," as Plato famously prescribed in the *Theaetetus*.

However, one sees a change in Philo's attitude toward Stoicism in the later treatises of his great *Exposition of the Law*, which were written after his visit to Rome. Here, Philo emphasizes views that are compatible with Stoic natural theology, especially the idea that God's providence is eternally active in creation, and, as a consequence, that one can know God through creation, that is, by observing and studying natural phenomena. Philo thus presents Abraham as the philosopher *par excellence*, since it was he who first formulated monotheism by studying the movements of the heavens and, in contrast to the Chaldean astrologers of his era, inferred that there is one true God, a divine intelligence, who created and continues to maintain their order. Moreover, Abraham realized all this long before his visit to Egypt, lest anyone be misled by the claims of critics who say that Judaism is a mere permutation of Egyptian religion. According to Philo, quite the opposite is the case. Abraham anticipated the very theories of both the Stoics and the Egyptians. Niehoff then identifies nearly the same exposition of Abraham in Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews*.

Why the shift in Philo's theology and its whole-hearted adoption by Josephus? Niehoff suggests an answer that accounts for both intellectual and socio-political trends in the first century. She argues that Roman sympathies toward Judaism present in the age of Augustus gave way to hatred and slander in subsequent generations. Varro and Strabo had showed a rather open-minded attitude toward the customs of Judaism because they sought to find philosophical wisdom embedded in the ancestral traditions of ancient peoples. But the post-Augustan age witnessed a nasty turn. The

¹⁵ For a list of the treatises which belong to each collection, see Maren Niehoff, *Jewish Exegesis and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), xiii–xiv, 7–8.

Reference Index

Hebrew Bible

<i>Genesis</i>			
1	3n8, 4n13, 14, 23–27, 29–30, 32n20, 35–8, 41, 87, 89n17, 94, 100, 167, 190, 256	2:1 2:2–3 2:3 2:4b 2:7 2:15 2:17–33 2:18 2:21–22 2:23 2:24 2:25–3:10 3 3:15 3:17 3:20 3:21 4:1 4:25 5:6 7 9:6 11:4 12:14 16:7–10 16:10 22:2 24:60 31:11–13 49	30, 34 116 91 24 26, 119, 134, 231 229 26 232 232–33, 233 52 229 119 133n23 32 233 228–29 229 133n23 262 255 31 141 3n8 113n22 133n23 240 133n23 113n22 255
1–2	5, 6, 231, 236, 255, 258, 262		
1–3	108n6, 231		
1:1	29, 127, 131n19, 168, 187		
1:1–2	3, 29		
1:1–2:3	3, 27, 29 43		
1:1–2:4	25n5		
1:1–2:9	24		
1:1–5	27–8		
1:2	5, 29–30, 41, 59, 60n80, 90, 263, 269		
1:6–7	131n20		
1:6–8	137n32		
1:7	60		
1:8	1, 129–30		
1:9–13	25n5		
1:11–13	32		
1:14	33n23		
1:15	3n8		
1:16	59n72		
1:20	6, 30, 33		
1:20–21	33		
1:24	6, 33, 33n23		
1:25	34		
1:26	6, 12, 31, 32n21, 119, 125		
1:26–27	3, 231		
1:27	53n57		
1:28	99, 230		
1:31	25, 168n4		
2	233		
2:1–3	26		
		<i>Exodus</i>	
		3:2	113n22
		4	113n22
		3:14	91
		12:40	188
		20:8–11	26
		20:11	34–5

20:23	93	<i>Job</i>	
23:20–1	113	9:10	136
24:10	60n81	10	135
31:12–17	26, 26n10	10:10–12	12, 130–31, 135
32:26–28	190	10:16	117n40
33	184	10:20–22	135
33:12–16	190	11:8	47n33
33:13	175	26:11	1, 130
33:22	175	28:24	47n33
33:23	15	36:3	136
34	190	37:6	131n19
<i>Leviticus</i>		38	23
12:2	132–34	38:7	30
18	43, 52	38:8–11	12, 37, 131–2
18:18	53	38:16	255n3, 258n12
20	43	38:18	47n33
<i>Numbers</i>		<i>Psalms</i>	
5:28	133n23	7:1–2	117n40
12:7–8	175	10:9	117n40
21:6	112	17:12	117n40
21:8	112	18:22	254
<i>Deuteronomy</i>		20:13 (LXX)	184
4:32	54, 57, 127–8	31:19	46
6:4	124	33	23, 255n4, 261
8:15	112	33:7	258
29:13–14	136	35:17	117n40
32:4	56n63	42	255n4, 257–58, 261
32:6	56	46:3	37
32:11	59	50:2	243
<i>Judges</i>		57:4	117n40
2:1–3	113n22	58:6	117n40
<i>2 Samuel</i>		59:6	114n32
5:10	114n32	69	255n3, 258n16, 261
24	240	71	255n3
<i>1 Kings</i>		74:12	253
8	239	74:12–15	37, 267
19:10	114n32	77	255n3
19:14	114n32	77:14–16	259–60
<i>1 Chronicles</i>		77:16–19	37
21	240	78	255n4
<i>2 Chronicles</i>		80:5	114n32
3:1–2	240	80:20	114n32
		84:9	114n32
		87:2	266
		88	255n3, 258n16, 261
		89:9	114n32, 267
		89:9–10	37
		104	23
		104:2	259

104:3-4	30	58:7	52n56
104:5-9	258	59:9-11	37
106	255n4, 259n17	66:1	62n85
135	255n3		
135:6	258n12	<i>Jeremiah</i>	
139	130n17, 134-35	5:14	114n32
139:5	126n2, 134, 135n27	5:22	37
139:6	45n27	15:16	114n32
139:8	135n27	25:30	117n40
139:9	135	38:17	114n32
139:9-10	47n33	44:7	114n32
139:13-16	134		
139:24	135	<i>Ezekiel</i>	
148	255n4, 258n16	1	43, 112
		1:10	111, 112n19
<i>Proverbs</i>		1:26	125
8	23	1:28	269
25:2	55	10:14	112n19
		28:2-19	124
<i>Ecclesiastes</i>		47:1-12	260
7:16	191		
11:5	126	<i>Hosea</i>	
		5:14	117n40
<i>Isaiah</i>		11:10	117n40
6	112	12:6	114n32
6:2	30	13:7-8	117n40
6:2-3	112		
12:3	259-60	<i>Amos</i>	
14:3-20	124	3:8	117n40
14:29	112	3:13	114n32
25:9-10	269	4:13	114n32
28:16	243	5:14-16	114n32
30:6	112	5:27	114n32
40:13-14	32n20	6:8	114n32
40:18	32n20	6:14	114n32
40:22	131n19		
44:24	30, 32n20, 35, 89n15	<i>Jonah</i>	
44-47	124	2:2-6	261
45:7	29n16		
45:18	29n16	<i>Zechariah</i>	
46:5	32n20	1:8	184
46:9	118	14:8	260
51:9-10	258n16, 259n17		

Biblical Apocrypha

<i>Ben Sira</i>		39:20	48n36
3:7–11	50	39:25	49n43
3:17	45	42–3	23
3:21–22	7, 45, 48	42:18–19	48
3:24	191	43:6–8	89n17
6:23–28	51	48:25	47
10:19–11:9	49		
11:1	49	<i>Tobit</i>	
24	8, 81	12	114n30
24:1	77	12:15	115
24:3	9, 66–7, 77		
24:5	77n35	<i>Wisdom of Solomon</i>	
24:7	77n35	13:5	175
24:8	77n35		
24:15	77n35		

New Testament

<i>Matthew</i>		9:22	122
5:14–16	219n97	10:30–33	122
7:16	16, 208	12:42	122
7:21	211		
12:38–41	261	<i>Romans</i>	
18:10	80n43	5	234
25	16, 213	9–11	214–16
26:24	43		
		<i>I Corinthians</i>	
<i>Luke</i>		2:6–3:3	220
6:43–45	16, 208	2:14–15	207
8:31	255n3	15	234
17:21	228n22	8:1	200n37
		15:48	207
<i>John</i>		<i>Ephesians</i>	
1:1–3	122	5:31–32	52n55
1:3	8, 66–7, 73–75, 78–79	6:12	225n11
1:3–4	74n26		
1:5	9, 66–7, 78	<i>Colossians</i>	
1:9–10	78	1:16	75
1:10	75		
1:18	9, 66–7, 73–6, 80	<i>Hebrews</i>	
3	207	8:5	278
3:17–21	16	11:11	133n23
5:18	122		
7:37–38	19, 260, 266, 269	<i>I Peter</i>	
8:44	122	5:8	117
8:58–59	122		

<i>Jude</i>		1:27	119n46
9	119n46	4:7–8	111, 112
		9:1–11	255n3
<i>Revelation</i>		20:1–3	255n3
1:4, 20	115		

Other Jewish Writings

<i>Apocalypse of Abraham</i>		<i>Sanhedrin</i>	
10	117	38b	31
10–11	113n26	<i>Sukkah</i>	
<i>Aristobulus</i>		48b	259n18
Frg. 3	90n20	53a–b	244n16
Frg. 3a	90n21	<i>Ta'anit</i>	
Frg. 4a	90n23	27b	272n5
Frg. 5	91n24	<i>Tamid</i>	
<i>Ascension of Isaiah</i>		32a	44n23
2:1–2	119n47	<i>Yebamoth</i>	
2:4	121n56	62b	52n56
4:2	121n56	<i>Damascus Document</i>	
7:9	119n47	4:21	53n57
10:29	121n56	5:8–10	52n56
<i>Avot of Rabbi Nathan</i>		Dead Sea Scrolls: see Qumran	
1:2	46n31	<i>Deuteronomy Rabbah</i>	
<i>Babylonian Talmud</i>		11.10	119n47
<i>Berakhot</i>		<i>Ecclesiastes Rabbah</i>	
7a	114n28	2:12	56n63
59a	60n81	<i>I Enoch</i>	
<i>Hagigah</i>		18:1	89n18
11b	43n17, 54, 127n5	20:5	115
11b–12b	128n9, 129n10	24–25	116
12a	130n13	36:4	89n18
12b	131n19	40:8–9	112
13a	45n27	52:1–2	48n37
13b–14a	42	69:13–25	114n29
15a	59n74	75:1	89n18
16a	56n65	82:7	89n18
<i>Megillah</i>		84:2	89n18
25a–b	44n23	84:3	89n18
<i>Niddah</i>			
31	132n21		

- 2 Enoch*
11 113n27
- 3 Enoch*
12.5 113n25
18–20 114n28
22 114n28
23 114n28
30.1 113n25
- Exodus Rabbah*
18.5 119n47
- Genesis Rabbah*
1:3 30, 40n7
1:4 59n74
1:5 41n9, 46n30, 56n64
1:6 131n19
1:7 40n7
1:10 40n7, 55n58, 127–29,
135, 137–38
1:15 62n85
2:4 262
4:7 1–2, 60n82, 129–30
5:1 61n83
5:4 257n11
5:9 32
8:1 126n2
8:2 45n27, 55n59, 127n5,
128n8, 128n9, 129n10,
135n27
8:3 31
8:4 31
8:5 31
8:8 32n21
9:1 55n59, 128n9
12:1 56n63
14:5 130–31, 138n36
51:2 114n29
- Jerusalem Talmud*
Berakhot
9.3 60n81
- Hagigah*
2:1, 77a 59n74, 128n9, 129n10
2:1, 77c 3n8, 44n24, 45n27, 54,
56n65
- Sanhedrin*
10:2, 29a 244
- Yoma*
5:4 243n12
- Josephus*
Antiquities of the Jews
1.15 103
1.18–19 102
1.20 102
1.21 102
1.24–25 103
1.166 106
1.154 104
1.155–56 104
1.157 105
1.161–66 105
1.167 106
3.6 278n27
18.257–58 88n12
18.259 88
- Contra Apion*
1.15 106
1.73 106n76
1.294 88n12
2.2–7 88n11
2.28–30 106n76
2.66 88n12
- Life of Josephus*
7–12 105
- Jubilees*
1:5–18 23
1:19–21 23
1:22–25 23
2 6, 25, 26n10, 29, 31,
34, 37
2:1–16 23
2:1 26, 26n9
2:2 31
2:3 27
2:5–6 25n5
2:7 32
2:9 28, 89n17
2:11 33
2:13 34
2:17–33 23, 28
2:17–21 31

- 2:20–21 7
 2:23 34
 6:8 31
 8:12–21 240n5
- Letter of Aristeas*
 83–84 240n4
- Leviticus Rabbah*
 14 133–35
 14:1 126n2, 134n26
 14:1–9 132
 14:2 136
 14:3 134n26
 14:4 131
 14:6 134n26
 14:8 134n26
 14:9 130–31, 134n26,
 138n36
 23:8 60n81
- Midrash Tanhumah*
 3 129, 132, 134–35,
 138n36
- Midrash Tannaim*
Deuteronomy
 18:13 55
- Mishnah*
Avodah Zarah
 3:4 267n50
- Hagigah*
 1:8 43, 53, 62
 2:1 42, 47–8, 53, 62, 126–
 29, 135–36, 138
- Kellim*
 1:6–9 243
- Megillah*
 4:10 43n21
- Sukkah*
 5:1 260n19
- Ta'anit*
 4:2–3 43n20
- Yoma*
 1:6 43n16
- Pesikta de-Rav Kahana*
 1:4 281
 20:98 281n41
- Philo*
Allegorical Commentary
 1.31–38 93n34
 1.36–38 93n33
 1.43–44 92n29
 1.51 93n35
 2.1–2 93n34
 2.12–13 93n34
 3.97–103 92
- On Abraham*
 1.1–3 178n32
 3–6 174n24
 70 98
 121 113n24
- On Agriculture*
 51 113n24
- On the Change of Names*
 30–33 93n34
 9 186n53
- On the Confusion of Tongues*
 146 113n24
- On Creation*
 1.1–3 178n33
 1.2–3 180n41
 2 100n61
 3 94n40, 100
 8 96n47
 8–9 96n47
 16–35 27n12
 19.143 180n42
 72–76 32n21
 77 99
 133 32, 36
 170–172 87, 100
 170–171 95n43
 171–172 95, 99
 172 95n42
- Decalogue*
 52–54 36n29
 76 189n60

On Dreams

1.67 92n29
1.75 93n34

On the Eternity of the World

8 96n46
76 97n50

On Flight and Finding

63 92
68–72 93n34
165 186n53

On the Life of Moses

2.8.45–9.52 178n32
2.15 278n26
2.71–72 278n26
2.140 278n26
2.46–47 94n39
2.48–58 94n40
2.99 113n24
2.9.49–52 177n30

On the Migration of Abraham

150 93, 93n36
170 93n36
174 113n24
183 94n37

On Noah's Work as a Planter

2–9 93
9–10 93n32
19–27 93n33
86 113n24

On the Posterity of Cain

169 186n53

Questions and Answers on Genesis

2.62 113n24

On Rewards and Punishments

1 94n39

The Worse Attacks the Better

86–90 93n33
160 91

Who is the Heir of Divine Things?

228 93n32
246–48 93n32
247–49 93

*Qumran**Jubilees*

4Q216 5:5–9 28
4Q216 7:15 34

4QInstruction

4Q416 2 iii 49–50
4Q417 i 51
4Q418 9 50n48

Damascus Document

4Q416 52n56

Sifre Deuteronomy

32:6 56

*Targum Yerushalmi I**Exodus*

28:30 244

*Targum Ps.-Jonathan**Genesis*

1:26 31
4:1–2 119n47

*Tosefta**Berakhot*

6:6 59n72

Hagigah

2:1 129n10
2:3 129n10
2:5 59
2:7 57

Megillah

3:31–38 43n21

Sukkah

3:15 260n20

Yoma

2:12 242n10

Other Christian Writings

- Apocryphon of John*
 NHC II
 10.8–9 118n44, 120
 11.15–18 119n49
 4.26–5.11 231n31
 11.16–18 120n51
 11.34–35 116n37
 11.35–12.25 116n38
 14.13–15.13 112n18, 231n32
 14.14–15 123n63
 17.30 120
 19.6–10 121, 226n14
 19.15–20.9 231n33
 20.9–28 232n36
 22.18–23.4 233n37
- Berlin Codex (BG)
 40.19–41.6 110n14
- Apophthegmata Patrum*
 Pambo 12 230
 Paul 1 230
- Athanasius
Against the Nations
 1 227n18
 2–3 228n20
- On the Incarnation*
 16 228n21
 19 228n21
 29 227n18
 40 228n21
 47 227n18
 54 228n21
- Life of Antony*
 13 227n19
 20 228n23
 21 226n13
 35 227n19
 53 227n19
 78 227n19
 80 227n19
- Augustine
Catechizing the Uninstructed
 3.5 168n4
 6.10 168n4
- City of God*
 2.28 101n63
 4.31 101n64
- Confessions*
 12.13 187n13
- On Genesis Literally Interpreted*
 1.1 187n58
 1.9 187n58
- True Religion*
 1,1 168n6
 18,36 168n6
- Basil of Caesarea
Hexaemeron
 1.1 168n4, 176n27
 8.1 33n23
- Letters*
 333 146n18
 334 146n18
- Book of Thomas* (NHC II,7)
 139 235n50
 142.20–30 235n50
 144 235n50
- Clement of Alexandria
Excerpts of Theodotus
 33.3–4 76n33
 45.3 74n28
- Protrepticus*
 II.39.7–10 189n60
- Stromateis*
 4.26.172.2 179n36, 180n39
- Cyril of Jerusalem
Catechetical Lectures
 10.19 250n35
- Didymus the Blind
Commentary on Genesis
 1a1–1b11 187
 1a4–1b2 188
 1b12–2b12 187

- Commentary on Ecclesiastes*
87.6–10 187n57
- Commentary on Exodus*
33:13 185n51
- Commentary on the Psalms*
20:13 184n50
- Commentary on Zechariah*
1.23 184N49
- Egeria's Travels*
37.1 250n33
- Epiphanius
Panarion
26 108n6, 109n8
26.10.1–3 119n49
31.1.1–5 108n6
39–40 108n6
52 229n24
64.3.8–4,1 229n24
64.65.5–28 229n24
- Epiphanius of Thebes, Monastery
O. Mon. Epiph.
62 229
- Eusebius
Life of Constantine
3.30.4 245n19
3.36.1–37.1 248n28
- In Praise of Constantine*
9.15 250n40
- Preparation for the Gospel*
9.6.6 90n20
9.6.8 90n21
13.12.4 90n23
13.12.11–12 91n24
15.14 179n38
- Evagrius Ponticus
Gnostikos
48 183n46
- Exegesis on the Soul*
132.27–133.9 235n48
- Gospel of the Egyptians*: see *Holy Book*
- Gospel of Judas*
53.17–22 109
- Gospel of Philip*
68.17–36 234n44
68.22–24 233n42
68.24–26 234
70.5–9 235n52
70.12–17 234n45
76.22–29
77.19–35 200n37
86.4–11 235n52
89.11–91.11 233n39–40
96.31–97.14 233n41
- Gospel of Thomas*
NHC II
§3 228n22
37.24–35 235n51
51.18–26 235n51
P.Oxy. 654 228n22
- Gospel of Truth*
17.4–11 71n21
17.4–21 66n7, 73n25, 76
17.11–15 77
17.24–25 78
17.28–29 79n41
18.7–11 80n42
18.17–21 78n36
18.33–34 75n32
19.7 75n32
19.19–34 80n44
19.28–29 80n43
20.34–36 79
22.20–27 77n35
24.32–25.19 78n36
26.22–23 78
26.26–27 78
28.28–31 79
30–31 77
31.1–4 81n45
31.4–6 79n38
31.13–16 73
33.1–32 210
34.1–34 77n35
37.7–12 74, 77n35
37.21–23 73
41.33–34 81n46

- Gregory of Nyssa
Life of Moses
 II.221 185n52
 II.231–48 186n54
- Heracleon
Commentary on John
 1 74n28
 7–30 208n57
 27 219n98
 37 208n57
 40 208n57
- Hippolytus
Refutation of All Heresies
 1.21 198n23
 5.3 79n40
 5.26.3 109
- Historia Monachorum*
 22.1 236n53
- Holy Book*
 NHC III
 59.2–4 123n63
- Hypostasis of the Archons*
 86.20–25 225n11
 87.4–8 114n31
 87.11–33 112n18
 94.9–19 114n31
 94.16–17 118n44
 94.19–95.13 120n51
 94.34–95.4 116n38
 95.13–17 114n31
 95.13–96.11 120n50, 124
- Ignatius
Epistle to the Ephesians
 17.1 121n56
 19.1 121n56
- Irenaeus
Against Heresies
 1.1–3 71
 1.1.1 40
 1.8.3 207
 1.8.5 74n27, 75n30
 1.18.1 39
 1.21.4 70
- 1.22.1 75n31
 1.23–31 107n3
 1.24 108n5, 124n69
 1.25.6 108n6
 1.27 124n69
 1.29–31 108n6, 124n69
 1.30 108n6, 109
 1.30.1–15 118
 1.30.5 115n36
 1.30.6 112n18, 118–19,
 123n63, 124n66
 1.30.7–8 124n66
 1.30.8–9 119
 1.30.9 115n36
 1.30.9–10 116n37
 1.30.10 124n66
 1.30.11 125
 1.31 108n6
 2.28.3 40
 2.29.1 201, 215
 3.11.9 64n4
 3.15.2 201n38
 4.37.2 201
- Jerome
Commentary on Ephesians
 1.prol. 183n46
- Commentary on Hosea*
 1.prol. 183n46
- 2 Jeu*
 43 119n49
 52 119n49
- John Chrysostom
Sermons on Genesis
 1 167n2
 1.2 189n62
 1.3 168n3
- Homily on Matthew*
 8.6 189n61
- John Philoponus
On Creation
 I.1 176n28

- Origen
Canticles
 4.2.12 183n43
Commentary on John
 2.14:102–3 74n28
Commentary on Matthew
 27:32–33 251n37
Contra Celsum
 6.20–21 115n36
 6.24–38 108n5, n6, 109
 6.27 111
 6.30 110–11, 114n30
 6.31 110, 115n36, 117n43,
 118n44
 6.31–32 109, 111
 6.32 112, 115n35
On First Principles
 1.7.2 75
 4.4.3 75
Homily on Exodus
 12.3 183n42
Homily on Genesis
 1.2 187n58
Homily on Jeremiah
 16.2 183n43
Homily on Numbers
 7.2 176n27
On the Origin of the World
 NHC II
 98.23–100.33 114n31
 100.19–26 118n44
 101.25–26 110n14
 101.26–28 116n37
 102.1–2 115n36
 102.7–11 227n15
 103.4–18 120n51
 103.17–20 123n63
 103.32–107.17 120n50, 124
 103.23–104.15 114n31
 104.35–105.20 112
 105.16–20 112
 107.2–17 227n15
 107.17–115.3 112n18
 108.3–24 231n34
- 109 235n49
 111–112 231n34
 115 231n34
 117.28–118.6 231n34
 122.6–9 231n34
- Palladius
Lausiatic History
 8 236n53
- Pistis Sophia*
 2.64–67 109
- Rufinus
Ecclesiastical History
 11.7 183n45
- Shepherd of Hermas
Mandate
 1:1 168n6
- Similitude*
 8:7 205n48
- Socrates
Ecclesiastical History
 4.25 183n45
- Sozomen
Ecclesiastical History
 3.15 183n45
- Tertullian
Against the Valentinians
 4.2 70n14
Prescription against Heresies
 7 40
Testimony of Truth (NHC IX)
 45.23–48.15 125
- Theodore Bar Konai
Book of the Scholion
 11.78 109n9
- Theodoret of Cyrhus
Compendium of Heretical Fables
 1.14 118n45

<i>Ecclesiastical History</i>		116–117	211, 217n91, 218
4.26	183n45	118.14–29	204
		118.21–23	208
<i>Trimorphic Protennoia</i>		118.29–119.16	205
39.26–28	120n51	119–121	205n49
		119.20–120.14	216n85
<i>Tripartite Tractate</i>		119.28–121.38	211
62.14–33	218n94	119.28–122.12	208n59
64.28–65.5	203n45	120.15–29	215
69.10–24	203n46	121.38–122.12	211
71.7–35	218n94	121.25–122.12	214
74–75	218n94	122–123	213, 217
76.23–30	202n43	125.24–127.25	210, 216n85
76.23–77.11	210	124.25–31	202n42
77.6–11	202	127.25–129.34	213n74
85.33–86.18	218n95	128	219n100
88–92	218	129.34–136.24	208n59, 214, 220
94.10–95.16	210	132.16–133.15	211
96–97	218	130.13–30	214
97.5–27	218	131.14–133.15	216n85
106	211, 217n93	132.16–133.8	215
107.20–108.12	202n44, 210	133.9	211
108	217n93	133.16–134.31	214
110.22–113.30	210	135.25–136.5	216n86
111.6–114.39	216n84		
114.8–9	74n29		

Other Ancient Writings

Alexander of Aphrodisias		<i>de Fato</i>	
<i>On Fate</i>		29	198n24
22	195n10	31	195n10
		40	197n18
Aristotle		<i>de Legibus</i>	
<i>Nicomachean Ethics</i>		1.23	179n37
114b24–25	179		
1179b–1180a	179	<i>de Natura Deorum</i>	
		1.3	99n54
Chaeremon		2.3	97n51
10	101n66	2.13–15	97n51
		2.14	97n53
Chalcidius		2.30	61n84
<i>Commentary on Timaeus</i>		2.58	99n54
160–161	196	2.154	61n83
		2.154–63	99
Cicero		3.6	97n51
<i>Academica Posteriora</i>		3.8–9	97
1.6	96n47	3.10	97

- | | | | |
|---|-----------|-------------------------------|------------|
| 3.16 | 97n53 | 116–117 | 36, 258n14 |
| 3.18 | 97n53 | 144–210 | 36 |
| 3.25 | 97, 97n53 | | |
| 3.26 | 99 | Julian | |
| 3.28 | 98 | <i>Against the Galileans</i> | |
| <i>de Re Publica</i> | | 49c-e | 169 |
| 3.14 | 61n84 | 96c | 169 |
| | | 152c-e | 169 |
| <i>Corpus Hermeticum</i> | | Lucretius | |
| I 4–5 | 153 | <i>De Rerum Natura</i> | |
| I 5 | 154 | I.53–61 | 4n11 |
| II 13–14 | 146 | I.127–31 | 4n12 |
| V 4 | 147 | | |
| Damascius | | <i>Papyri Graecae Magicae</i> | |
| <i>De Principiis</i> | | 1.203.5 | 112n20 |
| 3.3 | 152n32 | 4.930–1114 | 112n20 |
| | | 4.1195–99 | 112n20 |
| | | 12.288 | 112n20 |
| Dio Chrysostom | | 13.84 | 112n20 |
| <i>Oration 36</i> | 180n40 | 13.153 | 112n20 |
| | | 13.970–74 | 112n20 |
| Diogenes Laertius | | Plato | |
| <i>Lives of Eminent Philosophers</i> | | <i>Laws</i> | |
| 7.134 | 96n47 | 751c–d | 178 |
| 7.134–5 | 95 | 718b–723c | 178 |
| 7.137 | 95 | 810b–11d | 178 |
| 7.138 | 61n83 | 858e | 178 |
| 7.138–9 | 99n54 | 885–905 | 92n31 |
| 7.140–43 | 96n46 | <i>Philebus</i> | |
| 7.142 | 97n50 | 28d–30d | 280 |
| 10.40.8 | 146 | <i>Politicus</i> | |
| | | 300c | 178 |
| Epictetus | | <i>Republic</i> | |
| <i>Diatribes</i> | | 2.379–82 | 92n28 |
| 1.1.10–12 | 199n27 | <i>Theaetetus</i> | |
| 1.4.18 | 199n31 | 176B | 92 |
| 1.17.20–21 | 200n32 | <i>Timaeus</i> | |
| 3.1.40 | 200n32 | 31–32 | 36 |
| 3.24.10–12 | 179n38 | 40–48 | 36 |
| 4.1.72–73 | 199n27 | 41a–d | 90 |
| Galen | | Plotinus | |
| <i>Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato</i> | | <i>Enneads</i> | |
| XI 7.9 | 4n10 | 2.9.14.1–15 | 120n53 |
| | | | |
| Hesiod | | | |
| <i>Theogony</i> | | | |
| 106 | 36 | | |
| 108 | 36 | | |

- | | | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------|------------------------------|--------|
| Plutarch | | <i>Consolation to Marcia</i> | |
| <i>Against the Stoics</i> | | 26.6 | 97n49 |
| 1074E–1075F | 97n51 | | |
| 1075B | 96n44 | <i>Epistles</i> | |
| <i>On Stoic Contradictions</i> | | 41.5 | 100n60 |
| 1052A | 96n45 | 65.2 | 100 |
| | | 65.16–20 | 99n58 |
| | | 107.10 | 198n23 |
| | | 117.19 | 99n58 |
| Porphry | | <i>On Providence</i> | |
| <i>Life of Plotinus</i> | | 1.1 | 100n59 |
| 16 | 120n53 | 1.2 | 99n58 |
| | | 6.1 | 100n59 |
| Proclus | | | |
| <i>Commentary on Timaeus</i> | | Strabo | |
| II.369.20–25 | 173n21 | <i>Geography</i> | |
| | | 13.1.54 | 146n19 |
| Procopius of Gaza | | | |
| <i>Commentary on the Octateuch</i> | | Tacitus | |
| Prol. | 174n23, 175n26 | <i>Histories</i> | |
| 25d–28a | 192n64 | 5.4 | 116 |
| | | | |
| Sallustius | | Xenophanes | |
| <i>On the Gods and Cosmos</i> | | frg. 23 | 36 |
| 7 | 172n18 | frg. 29 | 37 |
| | | frg. 33 | 37 |
| Seneca | | | |
| <i>On Benefits</i> | | | |
| 6.22.1 | 97n49 | | |

Subject Index

- Abraham 10–11, 17, 18, 87, 93, 98,
101, 104–6, 124n66, 240, 251, 271
Abyss (see also Bythos; Depths) 18–
19, 47–8, 54, 77n35, 151, 161, 255–
70
Adam 1, 5, 7, 12–13, 16–17, 31, 34,
108n6, 111, 112n18, 119–20,
124n66, 125, 127–8, 132, 134–36,
180, 202n44, 222, 224, 227–36,
251, 276
Adamas 123n64
Adonay 11, 109–11, 114–15, 118
Aeneas of Gaza 170, 174
Ahriman 117n43
Air 1, 36, 154, 226
Akedah: see Isaac
Akiva, Rabbi 3n8, 260n20
Alef, letter 40n7
Aletheia 39
Alexandria 11, 15, 86, 88–92, 101,
170–77, 183, 185, 189, 192, 257n9
Allegory 87n8, 100, 103, 185
Allogenes (NHC XI) 108n6
Ambrose 3, 263
Amulets 108n5, 109, 117n43
Anaphoras 19, 274–75, 285
Angel(s) (see also Archangels) 1, 6–7,
15, 26, 28, 30–1, 33n25, 40, 75,
107–8, 113–15, 117–18, 122, 125,
169, 202–4, 214, 216, 247–49, 252,
262n26, 274
– apostasy of 12
– angels of the presence 23, 26, 28, 31
– angel(s) of the Lord 107, 113, 121
Aniconism 101
Animals 14, 34, 99, 110–12, 114, 140,
151, 155, 158, 161–62, 189, 230–
31, 236
Anthropomorphism 12, 15, 37, 111,
113, 125, 182–86
Antisemitism 123, 189
Antony, Saint 189, 226–27
Apion 11, 88, 105–6
Apocalypticism 51n49, 108, 121, 223
Apocalypse of Adam 108n6
Apocryphon of John 11, 17, 108n6,
109–110, 118, 120, 123n64,
124n66, 225–26, 232–33
Apologetics 87, 88n10, 103, 176, 180–
81
Apostolic Constitutions 19, 261, 274–
75
Arayot 43, 45, 51–3, 63
Archangels (see also Michael, etc.)
11, 12, 111–16
Archons 110–11, 112n18, 113,
115n36, 116, 119–20
Arians 74
Aristobulus 37, 90–92, 94
Aristotle 2, 86, 146n19, 179, 181,
198n24
Aristotelianism 91, 93, 195, 198
Ark of the Covenant 241–43, 280
Arrian 199
Asceticism 5, 17, 142, 223–24, 226,
228, 232, 236
Asclepius 141
Astrology 10, 14, 52, 63, 98, 115, 151,
156–64
Astronomy 58, 61, 98, 151
Athanasius 226–27
– *Contra gentes* 227–28
– *Life of Antony* 228
Atheism 97, 100
Atonement 19, 274, 276
– Day of 19, 273, 275
Augustine 3, 187, 263
Augustus 10

- Ba, Rabbi 55n60
 Baal 117n43
 Babel, Tower of 141
 Babylon 18, 124
 Balbus 99, 102
 Bans on cosmological speculation 12,
 39–63, 126
 Baptism 14, 142, 213–14, 216, 220,
 225, 253, 259
 Bar Kappara 46, 55n58, 127
 Barbelo 112n18, 123n64
Baruch, of Justin 109
 Basil of Caesarea 3, 19, 33n23, 146,
 176, 262–63, 271, 273
 Basilides 108n6, 124n69
 Ben Sira, book of 5, 8, 42, 45–51, 53,
 62–3, 72, 77, 89
 – Geniza text of 45
 – Qumran text of 49
 Ben Zoma 59–61
 Berossus 36
 Bet Hillel 3n8, 62n85, 131
 Bet Shammai 3n8, 62n85
 Beth, letter 40n7, 44, 127–8
 Birds 30, 33, 140, 155, 158, 161, 266
 Birth 132, 135, 235
 Bitheism 122, 124
 Blood 52, 130, 225–26, 275
 Body: see Humanity, bodies of
 Bones 130–31, 134
 Breasts 36
 Bridal chamber 213, 216n86, 234, 236
 Bruce Codex 108n6
 Brummer gem 110n11, 118n44
 Bull 12, 110–12, 114
 Bythos (see also Abyss, Depths) 39,
 258, 268
 Byzantium 145, 148

 Cain 119
 Calendar 89
 Candelabrum 279–82
 Chalcidius 196
 Chaldea 93, 105
 Chaos 1, 36, 140, 153, 161, 244, 246,
 258, 268n49
 Charaemon 11, 88, 101, 105–6
 Chariot, of God: see *Merkabah*
 Cheese 130–31, 134
 Cherubs 111, 279–80

 Children 80–81, 99, 132
 Christ (see also Jesus) 9, 17, 76, 122–
 4, 183, 216, 224, 227, 229, 232,
 234–35, 261, 270, 274
 – incarnation of 76, 79–80, 182, 185
 Chrysippus 95–99, 104, 179, 198
 Cicero 87, 97–99, 102
 Claros 242
 Cleanthes 95, 97
 Clement of Alexandria 3, 74, 76, 81,
 90, 179, 215n84, 278n30
 – *Excerpts of Theodotus* 73
 Clouds 28, 37, 132, 137, 269, 281
 Codex Sinaiticus 73
 Constantine 18, 245–51
 Constantinople
 – Second Council of 230
 – Fifth Council of 183
 Coptic 17, 115, 222–236
Corpus Hermeticum (see also
 Hermeticism) 13, 139–64
 – *I (Poimandres)* 155
 – *II* 147
 Cosmos Idicopleustes 278n30, 281n43
 Cotta 97–98
Creatio ex nihilo 3, 14, 41, 167–68,
 173, 177, 188–92, 262
 Creation, days of 24–26, 55, 134, 136
 – first day 2, 26–9, 29n17, 30–32,
 33n23, 33n25, 40n7, 54, 58, 128,
 134
 – second day 2, 27, 30, 60, 129n12,
 130
 – third day 25n5, 26–7, 32, 33n23, 58
 – fourth day 28
 – fifth day 30–31, 33
 – sixth day 33–4, 54, 57, 127, 134
 – seventh day 26, 28, 34–5, 116
 Crucifix 224, 227, 234
 Cyril of Jerusalem 250, 253

 Damascius 257n9
 Darkness 9, 18, 28–9, 37, 78, 131,
 135, 140, 153n32, 161–62, 205,
 208, 229, 246, 262–63, 274
 David, King of Israel 17, 240, 242–44,
 255n4
 Days, of the week (see also Creation,
 days of) 111, 115n36, 116, 282

- Death 67, 135, 202n44, 209–10, 233–34, 247–48, 274
 Delphi 242
 Demeter 36
 Democritus 198n24
 Demons 11, 109–11, 120–1, 224–26, 231–33, 235–36
 Depths/Deep 28–9, 47, 140, 259
 Destiny: see Fate
 Determinism (see also Fate) 16, 53, 193–207
 Devil (see also Satan) 108n5, 117, 119, 122, 210
 Dew 28, 32
 Didymus the Blind 14–15, 176, 182–92
 Dio Chrysostum 180
 Diogenes Laertius 95
 Divination 151
 Docetism 80
 Dogs 110–11
 Dominion 31, 156, 230–31
 Donkeys 110–11

 Eagles 12, 110–12
 Earth 1, 6, 27–8, 30, 32, 34–8, 39, 44, 48, 54, 57, 75, 90, 92, 94, 100, 104, 129n12, 131n19, 134, 137, 140, 148, 168, 175, 180, 184, 187, 231, 235, 239, 255, 258–59, 262, 266–67, 274, 276, 284
 Earthquakes 104n72
 Easter 167
 Ecclesiastes 171, 173
 Eden (see also Paradise) 11, 32, 118, 136, 232–33, 275
 Egeria 250
 Egypt 5, 10, 17, 88, 105–6, 142, 152n32, 183, 187–90, 222–236, 281n42
 – religion of (see also Priests: Egyptian) 10, 101, 105, 153n32, 188, 257
 Elazar birabi Qilir 280–83
 Elements, primordial (see also fire, etc.) 29, 41, 95, 140, 151, 153, 161, 262, 280–81
 Embryos 12, 126–7, 129–32, 134–38
 Empedocles 35–6, 198n24
 Energy 157

 Enoch 89, 112
Enuma Elish 26, 257
 Epictetus 198–200
 Epicureans 2, 4
 Epicurus 146
 Epiphanius of Salamis 228
 Epiphanius of Thebes 229
 Eros (see also Passion) 171, 225
 Eschatology (see also Judgment) 15–16, 18, 44n23, 81, 183, 202, 210, 212–14, 248, 252–54, 260, 283
 Eucharist 261
Eugnostos 108n6, 109n8, 118n45
 Eusebius 18, 245–54
 Evagrius Ponticus 183
 Eve 1, 5, 17, 108n6, 119, 124n66, 224, 229, 232–34
Exegesis on the Soul 225, 232, 235
 Exodus 24, 26, 185, 191
 Exorcism 120–1
 Ezekiel 12, 112, 125, 243, 248, 251, 254, 260, 269

 Fall, the 17, 228–29, 232, 236, 274
 Fate (see also Determinism) 8, 14, 42, 55, 63, 95, 156, 158–60, 162, 194, 197–8
 Feast of Tabernacles 19, 259–60
 Fetus 5, 131–2
 Fire 1, 28, 35, 130, 140, 161, 226, 235
 Firmaments 60, 129, 137, 284
 Fish 155, 260, 266
 Flesh (see also Skin) 52, 130–31, 134, 141, 160, 162, 225–26, 228–29, 275
 Flood 141, 269
 Fornication 53n57
 Frost 28
 Future 7, 44, 47–8, 57, 62, 136, 159, 162, 164, 183, 210, 286

 Gabriel, archangel 1, 30, 40n7, 110–11, 114, 116
 Gaius, emperor 100
 Galen 4
 – *On the Usefulness of Parts* 4
 – *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* 4
 Gaza 171, 184n48, 267, 270
 Genesis, book of 6–7, 11, 14, 15, 17, 23–5, 28, 32, 39, 68, 87, 162, 167, 174–92, 224, 228, 230, 275

- Genesis Rabbah* 1–2, 7, 12, 19, 39, 41, 46, 55n59, 59n77, 127–28, 262
 Gnosticism 17, 107–25, 142, 222, 224
 Gnostics 40, 56, 68, 107–25, 163n49, 193, 209
 God, Image of 31, 111, 112n18, 227, 231
 Golgotha 18, 246–53
Gospel of the Egyptians: see *Holy Book*
 Gospel of John 6, 9, 122, 124, 247, 260, 269
 – prologue 8–9, 66, 69, 73, 78, 80, 152
Gospel of Judas 108n6
 Gospel of Luke 228
 Gospel of Matthew 68, 194, 207, 212, 220
Gospel of Philip 17, 194n4, 225, 233
Gospel of Thomas 17, 225, 228
Gospel of Truth 8–9, 64–81, 194n4
 Gratian, emperor 145n16
 Gregory of Nyssa 185–86, 236, 278n30

 Hadrian 245
 Hail 28
 Haggai, Rabbi 137
 Halakha 45, 52–3, 62–3, 89, 94
 Hanina, Rabbi 31
 Hanina bar Papa, Rabbi 136
 Hanuka 279–80, 285
hayyot 111–13, 125
 Heaven(s) 4, 9, 10, 13, 27–8, 30, 34, 36, 39, 48, 54–55, 57, 59–61, 62n85, 75, 77n35, 90, 92, 94, 101–102, 110, 128–30, 131n19, 132–33, 134–35, 137, 140, 154, 158–59, 161–62, 180, 184, 187, 234, 255, 267, 274, 276, 280–81, 284
 – ascent to 11, 109
 Hekhalot literature 113, 115
 Heracleon 74
 – *Commentary on John* 208n57
 Heraclitus 198n24
 Heresiology 3, 7–8, 118n45
 Heretics (see also *minim*) 8, 32, 39, 41–2, 62, 68, 74, 183, 222, 262
 Hermeticism (see also *Corpus Hermeticum*) 13–14, 139–64

 Hermes Trismegistus 141, 143, 145n16
 Hesiod
 – *Theogony* 6, 36, 258
Historia Monachorum 236
 Historiography 86
 History 37, 42, 47, 51, 94, 102, 164, 183, 189, 207, 211, 215, 220, 273, 276
Holy Book 108n6, 123n64
 Holy of Holies 18, 242–43
 Homer 171, 225
 Humanity 5, 6, 9, 10, 14, 16, 27, 31, 32n21, 36, 39, 44, 47, 54–55, 57, 66–7, 75, 99, 103, 114, 119, 138, 140, 142, 151, 155–62, 164, 193, 201–5, 207, 211–12, 214–16, 219, 225, 227, 233, 255, 270, 274–75
 – bodies of 56, 111, 120, 199, 205, 213, 216, 226, 228, 231, 280n38
 Huna, Rabbi 46
 Hylics 16, 194, 201, 204–5, 212, 214
 Hypatia 145n16
Hypostasis of the Archons 108n6, 109n8, 118n45, 124n66, 225–26, 232

 Ice 28
 Idolatry 8, 15, 66, 77, 101, 188–90, 228, 245
 Ignorance 8, 66, 69–71, 71n22, 73, 75–77, 80, 125
 Inheritance 50, 52–3
Interpretation of Knowledge 194n4
 Irenaeus 11, 16, 39–42, 64–5, 69–70, 74–5, 109–10, 112n18, 118–20, 123–24, 200–1, 204–6
 Isaac, son of Abraham
 – binding of 17, 240, 251, 285
 Isaac, Rabbi 30, 130
 Isaiah 47, 112, 243
 Isis 72
 Ishmael, Rabbi 3n8
 Israel 11, 23, 27–28, 31, 34–35, 43n22, 89, 93–94, 105, 107, 111, 116, 118–19, 125, 137, 169, 177, 180–81, 188–92, 216, 239–43, 271

 J source, the 24
 Jacob 7, 34, 259, 266

- Jacob of Serugh 283–84
 James 224
 Jerome 3, 236
 Jerusalem 5, 17, 88, 239–54, 260
 Jesus (see also Christ) 16, 19, 43n17,
 78, 80–81, 122, 125, 207n56, 212,
 224–26, 260–61, 266, 269–70
 – tomb of 245–46
 Job 46n31
 Johanan, Rabbi 30
 Johannine tradition 69, 121–2
 John, son of Zebedee 225
 John Chrysostom 167, 169, 174n25,
 187–89, 236, 261n23
 John of Gaza 267–68
 John Malalas 145n16
 John Philoponus 170, 176
 Jonah 261, 266
 Jonathan, Rabbi 32n21
 Joseph 255, 259
 Josephus 9–11, 85–89, 94, 102–106,
 278, 282
 – *Antiquities of the Jews* 10, 85, 87n9,
 102–106
 – *Contra Apion* 88n10, 106
 Joshua, Rabbi 59–60
 Jubilee year 28
Jubilees 6, 17, 23–38, 89, 240
 – Ethiopic text of 28, 34
 – Qumran text of 34
 Judgment, final 16, 202, 213
 Julian, emperor 15, 168–70, 173
 Juno 101
 Jupiter 101
 Justice 61n83, 179
 Justin the Gnostic (see also *Baruch*)
 109

 Kabbalah 40n5
 Kastron Mefa'a 265
 Knowledge, hidden: see Mysteries
 Kronos 117n43

 Last Supper 273, 275
 Laws 61n83, 94, 100, 102, 178–79
 – of nature (see also Stoics: natural
 theology) 90, 98–99, 174, 177–81,
 192
 Law, the: see Torah
 Lent 14, 167, 263

 Leontopolis 117n43
Letter of Aristaeus 17, 240
 Levi, Rabbi 44, 127
 Leviathan (see also Sea: monsters of)
 267
Leviticus Rabbah 12–13, 133n22
 Libanius 171
 Light 28, 60, 69, 73, 79, 112n18, 135,
 140, 151–53, 161, 204–5, 208, 231,
 233, 235, 259
 Lions 11–12, 110–12, 114, 117, 120–1
 Liturgy 5, 11, 19, 115, 265, 271–86,
 272–86
 – Byzantine 273–74
 – Syrian 273, 279, 282
 Logos (see also Word) 8, 16, 33n23,
 69, 74–5, 113, 196, 199, 202–4,
 210, 218, 228, 256
 Lucretius 4
 Luliani b. Tabri, Rabbi 30

 Ma'aseh Bereshit 7, 39–63, 126–27,
 138
 Madaba 265, 267
 Magic 108, 115n35, 117, 121, 151
 Man: see Humanity
 Manetho 88
 Manichees 3n7, 163n49, 168, 263
 Manuscripts 13, 17, 144–46, 148, 153,
 224
 Marcion 56, 56n64, 124, 208n58
 Marcionites 168, 263
 Marduk 257
 Marriage 52–3, 225, 232, 234–35
 – spiritual 17, 232, 236
 Mary 224, 235
 Matter (*hyle*) 3, 9, 66 73, 75–77, 79,
 91–92, 95, 100, 140, 151, 161, 169,
 174, 189–90, 232, 262
 Melchizedek 251
 Melito of Sardis 247
 Menocchio 1
 Menorah 116
Merkabah 11, 43, 45, 60n79, 63, 111–
 15, 125
 Merkabah mysticism 40n5, 111n16,
 113
 Mesopotamia 105
 Metatron 107, 113

- Michael, archangel 1, 12, 30, 40n7, 107–25
 Michael Psellos 146n17
Midrash Tanhuma 12, 129–30, 136
 Midrashim, tannaitic 7–8, 39, 55, 57, 61, 63
 Milk 1, 12, 130–31, 134
 Mind 39, 140, 161
 Minerva 101
 Mist 8–9, 66, 77
 Monasticism 17, 145–46, 171, 184, 222–236
 Monotheism 9–11, 85, 87, 89, 96–98, 104–106, 124, 214n78
 Moon 4, 59, 89, 104, 281
 Moriah 240, 246, 251
 Mountains 32, 116, 184, 190
 Moses 5, 11, 14–15, 23, 26, 32n21, 39, 87, 90–91, 95, 98, 100, 102–103, 124n66, 167–92, 228, 230, 232, 255, 258, 263, 275, 280–83
 Mysteries (see also *Raz Nihyeh*) 45–8, 50–51, 53, 62–3, 128–30, 135, 138, 142, 283
 Mystery cults 89n14, 101
- Nag Hammadi Codices 17, 70n15, 119–20, 202, 224
 – Codex I 64, 65n6, 202
 – Codex II 222–236
 – Codex V 223
 – Codex VI 143n12
 – Codex XII 65n6
 Narsai 282–83
 Nature (see also Stoics: natural theology) 10, 93–95, 100, 103, 140, 141–42, 151–53, 158, 161–62, 174n24, 178, 196, 200, 268
 Neoplatonism 123n64, 163, 257n9
 Nephilim 276
 Nero, emperor 11, 101
 Nitria 230, 236
 Noah 31
Nomina Sacra 224
 Nothingness 8–9, 78–80
 Nous (see mind)
Numbers Rabbah 282
- Ocean: see Sea
Odes of Solomon 65
- Ophites 11–12, 107–25
 – Ophite Diagram 11–12, 109, 111–14, 116–20, 125
 Origen 3, 11, 44, 109–11, 182–83, 185, 187, 220, 227, 229, 251, 278n30
 Origenist Controversy 183–84
On the Origin of the World (NHC II) 108n6, 109n8, 110, 112, 118n45, 123n64, 124n66, 225
- Pambo, Abba 230–31, 236
 Panaitius 97
 Pandora 36
 Pantheism 189
 Panopolis 143
 Paradise (see also Eden) 17, 89, 119–20, 228–230, 236, 269, 274
 Parents 50, 52, 99
 Passions (see also Eros) 66, 70, 76, 80, 120n53, 224–29, 232, 235
 Past 7, 13, 44, 47–8, 51, 57, 62, 210, 271, 273, 285–86
 Paul 17, 194, 207, 212–14, 216, 220, 224, 226,
 Paul, Abba 230, 232, 235–36
 Philo of Alexandria 2–3, 9–11, 14, 23, 27n12, 27n13, 32, 36–7, 42n12, 85–89, 91–102, 106, 113, 177–82, 185–86, 189–92, 278, 282
 – *Allegorical Commentary* 10, 91–93
 – *Exposition of the Law* 10, 91
 – *Life of Moses* 15, 176, 178, 180
 – *On Creation* 15, 36, 95, 98–100, 102, 181
 – *On Divine Providence* 99
 – *On the Eternity of the World* 93n32
 Philosophy 3–5, 10, 14, 23, 41, 61n83, 85, 93, 98, 100–106, 142, 147, 164, 168–69, 183, 190
 – pre-Socratic 2, 36
 Photius 171
 Physiognomy 63
 Physiology 102
 Pilgrim of Bordeaux 245, 250, 253
 Planets 111, 115, 280
 Plants 14, 32, 33n23, 36, 99, 137, 140, 151, 155, 158, 161–62, 252, 266

- Plato 2, 5–6, 10, 32, 36, 86, 90, 92–93, 96, 99, 169, 179–80, 278n28
 – *Laws* 92, 99
 – *Phaedrus* 171
 – *Republic* 92
 – *Symposium* 171
 – *Theaetetus* 10, 90, 93
 – *Timaeus* 4, 5–6, 15, 36, 42n12, 90–94, 106, 177, 181
 Platonism 89, 91–94, 96n47, 97–99, 163n49, 178, 203
 – theory of forms 91, 101, 278
 Plutarch 72n24, 85n1, 95, 97
 – *De Iside et Osiride* 72n24
 Pneumatics 16, 194, 200, 204–5, 211–12, 214–221
 Pogroms 11, 88
 Polytheism 30, 87, 93, 100, 214n78
 Posidonius 95
Prayer of Thanksgiving 143n12
 Pregnancy 132–33
 Priests
 – Christian 171, 273, 283
 – Egyptian 87, 101, 105
 – Jewish 43n20, 241, 259, 273, 275–77
 Prime Mover 195
 Proclus 170
 Procopius of Gaza 14–15, 167–92, 265
 Procreation 5, 12–13, 126–7, 129, 132–34, 136, 138, 156
 Psychics 16, 194, 200–1, 204–5, 211–12, 214–220
 Ptolemy (Valentinian) 74–75
 Pudestiana, Saint 250
 Pythagoras 90
- Qumran 7–8, 49, 51–4, 61, 63
 – 4QInstruction 49–52
- Rain 47, 131n19, 137, 262n26
 Rainbows 269, 284
 Raphael, archangel 1, 110–11, 114, 116
 Rashi 33n23, 43n17
Raz nihyeh (see also *Mysteries*) 7, 48–53, 63
 Redemption 41, 69, 202n42, 207n56, 213–14, 216
- Red Sea 259
 Renaissance 164
 Resin 1, 12, 130, 138
 Resurrection 131, 135, 155, 246, 248, 253, 261
 Revelation, book of 68–9, 107, 248, 251
 Revolt, of Jews against Rome 11, 88
 Rivers 32, 36, 94, 261
 Rocks 5, 18, 168, 239–54
 Roman empire 88, 262, 268
 Rome, city of 10–11, 85–87, 89, 94–95, 99–101, 103, 105–6, 146, 215
- Sabbath 6–7, 26–8, 31, 34–5, 116, 169
 Saboath 11, 109–12, 114–16, 118, 120, 124
 Sacrifice 271–273, 276, 285
 Samael 119–20
 Samaritans 107
 Satan (see also *Devil*) 107, 117n43
 Saturn 110, 116, 117n43
 Saturninus 107–8, 124n69
 Scribes 13, 144–48, 163–64, 223
 Scriptoria 145–46
 Sea 12–13, 32–35, 36, 37–38, 47, 94, 104, 131–33, 134, 255–57, 261–62, 266–68, 276, 283
 – Mediterranean 35, 267
 – monsters of 31, 33, 257, 266–67
 Seasons 28, 57, 141, 151, 265
 Seder Avodah 275–77, 285
 Semen 131, 133
 Seneca 87, 95, 97, 99–100, 104n72
 Septuagint 89–90, 142, 181, 258
 Seraphim 112
 Sermon on the Mount 212, 219n97
 Serpent 11–12, 108n6, 110–12, 114, 118–19, 230, 232–33, 235, 274
 Seth 123n64
 Sethians 108n6, 118n45, 222
 Sexuality 52, 63, 229, 235–36
 – renunciation of 5, 228, 232
 – illicit sexual relations: see *arayot*
 Shema 124
 Sheol 135, 261
Shepherd of Hermas 205n48
 Shimon b. Yochai, Rabbi 56–7, 61
Sige 39
 Silvanos, Abba 230

- Sin 70, 142, 207n56, 209, 228, 274
 Sinai, 23, 181, 190, 278, 283
 Sinews 130–31, 134
 Sisoës, Abba 230
 Skeptics 90
 Skin (see also flesh) 130–31, 134
 Sky (see also Heavens) 97–98, 158, 161, 173, 283
 Snake: see Serpent
 Snow 28, 131n19
 Solomon 239–40
 Son of Man 119, 123–24, 261
 Song of Songs 171, 173
 Sophia: see Wisdom
Sophia of Jesus Christ 108n6, 109n8, 118n45
 Soul 11, 93, 100, 109, 134, 136, 140, 156, 158, 162, 168, 228, 231, 233, 235
 Spirit(s) 28–30, 52, 119, 130, 134, 140, 161, 204–5, 226, 231
 – of God 60–61, 154, 263
 – Holy Spirit 74, 219n98, 224, 227, 233, 283
 Stars 49n42, 59, 97, 101, 140, 154, 161, 232, 281, 284
 Stobaeus, John 141, 143, 148
 Stoicism 2, 9–10, 16, 61, 85, 88, 91, 93, 95–103, 104n72, 120n53, 178–80, 194–207, 221, 261n23
 – natural theology 9–11, 86–7, 88, 92, 96–97, 101, 104, 106
 – theory of causation 195–7
 – theory of conflagrations 93–98
 Strabo 10, 101, 104, 146
 Sun 4, 28, 33, 58–9, 89, 104, 249, 281–82
 Suriel, archangel 110–11, 114, 116

 Tabernacle 19, 273, 277–85
 Tacitus 116
 Tall Brothers 230
 Talmud(s) 39, 57, 113
 – Babylonian 44, 54–55, 59n76, 113, 244, 271
 – Jerusalem 3n8, 54–55, 59n77, 242–43
Tazria 132, 134
 Tchacos Codex 143n12
Tehom 5, 18, 244, 255–58, 259

 Temple, in Jerusalem 18–19, 43n20, 239–54, 260, 270–71, 275–79, 283, 285
 – destruction of 18, 88, 239–41
 Temple Mount 5, 17
 Ten Commandments 190–91
 – fourth commandment 34
 Tertullian 70, 124n69
 Tethys 36
 Tetragrammaton 11, 112–14, 116, 117n43, 118, 120n50, 121, 123–5
 Thales 2, 6, 36
 Thebaid 222, 230
 Theodore Bar Konai 109n9
 Theodotus 74
 Theon of Smyrna 145n16
Three Steles of Seth 108n6
 Tiamat 36, 257
 Time 13, 126
 Tohu va-bohu (see also Abyss; Depths) 29, 41, 46, 56, 60n80, 90, 262
 Torah 5, 15, 32n21, 35, 37, 40n7, 41, 63, 94–95, 100, 128, 136, 175–81, 187–88, 190–91, 257, 274, 279n32
 Tosefta 7, 39, 44, 55, 57–8, 59n73, 60–61, 63, 260
 Transjordan 18, 264, 270
Treatise on the Resurrection 194n4
 Trees 32–33, 208n58, 260
 – of Knowledge 108n6, 119, 124n66, 233
 – of Life 251
Trimorphic Protennoia 108n6
 Trinity 65n6
 Trisagion 112
 Tura papyri 183, 186
 Tyre, prince of 124

 Ugarit 36

Valentinian Exposition 194n4
 Valentinians 5, 8–9, 15–16, 64–81, 193–221, 263
 Valentinus 64, 70, 108n6, 168
 Varro 10, 100–101, 104
 Virtue 15, 50, 102, 104, 140, 169, 179
 Visions 184, 269, 283

- War 142
 Water(s) 1, 6, 18, 19, 28–9, 32–33, 35,
 37, 60–61, 112n18, 130, 131n20,
 140, 152, 153n32, 158, 242–45,
 253–54, 255n3, 257–62, 266–70,
 283
 Wickedness 231
 Wind 28, 137
 Wisdom 8–9, 47–50, 105, 140, 151–
 52, 161, 163, 176, 203, 276
 – personified (Sophia) 8, 69–71 74,
 76–77, 108n6, 112n18, 118–19,
 120n50, 124, 202, 228
 Wisdom literature 5, 7, 23, 48
 Wisdom of Solomon 5
 Womb 12, 33n23, 37, 130–32, 134,
 136
 Word, of God (see also Logos) 37, 93,
 153
 Worms 1
 Worship 104
 Xenophanes 36
 Xenophon 2
 Yahweh (see Tetragrammaton)
 Yaldaboath 11, 107–11, 112n20, 114–
 21, 123–5
 Yamm 36
 Yannai 279–82
 Yao 11–12, 109–11, 114–16, 118
 Yehudah b. Pazi, Rabbi 55n58
 Yehoshua, Rabbi 60n79
 Yona, Rabbi 44, 55n60, 127
 Zachariah, book of 15
 Zacharias of Mitylene 170
 Zacharias Scholasticus 172–73, 176
 Zeno 95
 Zeus 95–96, 153n33, 199
 Zodiac 284–85
Zoroaster, Book of 120n53, 121, 226
Zostrianos 108n6, 120n5

Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism

Alphabetical Index

- Albani, M. / Frey, J. / Lange, A.* (Ed.): Studies in the Book of Jubilees. 1997. Vol. 65.
- Ameling, Walter* (Ed.): Inscriptioes Iudaicae Orientis. Vol. 2: Kleinasien. 2004. Vol. 99.
- Avemarie, Friedrich*: Tora und Leben. 1996. Vol. 55.
- Avidov, Avi*: Not Reckoned among Nations. 2009. Vol. 128.
- Bakhos, Carol / Shayegan, Rahim* (Ed.): The Talmud in Its Iranian Context. 2010. Vol. 135.
- Baumgarten, Albert*: Elias Bickerman as a Historian of the Jews. 2010. Vol. 131.
- Becker, A. H., and A.Y. Reed* (Ed.): The Ways that Never Parted. 2003. Vol. 95.
- Becker, Hans-Jürgen*: Die großen rabbinischen Sammelwerke Palästinas. 1999. Vol. 70.
- see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Becker, Hans-Jürgen* (Ed.): Geniza-Fragmente zu Avot de-Rabbi Natan. 2004. Vol. 103.
- Bloedhorn, Hanswulf*: see *Noy, David*
- Boettrich, Christfried* (Ed.): see *DiTommaso, Lorenzo*
- Boustan, Ra'anan S.*: From Martyr to Mystic. 2005. Vol. 112.
- / *Himmelfarb, Martha / Schäfer, Peter* (Ed.): Hekhalot Literature in Context. 2013. Vol. 153.
- Brodsky, David*: A Bride without a Blessing. 2006. Vol. 118.
- Cansdale, Lena*: Qumran and the Essenes. 1997. Vol. 60.
- Chester, Andrew*: Divine Revelation and Divine Titles in the Pentateuchal Targumim. 1986. Vol. 14.
- Cohen, Martin Samuel*: The Shi ur Qomah: Texts and Recensions. 1985. Vol. 9.
- Cohen, Shaye J. D.*: The Significance of Yavneh and Other Essays in Jewish Hellenism. 2010. Vol. 136.
- Cook, Stephen*: On the Question of the „Cessation of Prophecy“ in Ancient Judaism. 2012. Vol. 145.
- Crown, Alan D.*: Samaritan Scribes and Manuscripts. 2001. Vol. 80.
- Deutsch, Yaacov*: see *Schäfer, Peter*
- DiTommaso, Lorenzo*: The Dead Sea ‘New Jerusalem’ Text: Contents and Contexts. 2005. Vol. 110.
- / *Boettrich, Christfried* (Ed.): The Old Testament Apocrypha in the Slavonic Tradition. 2011. Vol. 140.
- Dochhorn, Jan*: Die Apokalypse des Mose. 2005. Vol. 106.
- Doering, Lutz*: Schabbat. 1999. Vol. 78.
- Ego, Beate*: Targum Scheni zu Ester. 1996. Vol. 54.
- Ehrlich, Uri*: The Nonverbal Language of Prayer. 2004. Vol. 105.
- Engel, Anja*: see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Frey, J.*: see *Albani, M.*
- Frick, Peter*: Divine Providence in Philo of Alexandria. 1999. Vol. 77.
- Gardner, Gregg / Osterloh, Kevin L.* (Ed.): Antiquity in Antiquity. 2008. Vol. 123.
- Gibson, E. Leigh*: The Jewish Mission Inscriptions of the Bosphorus Kingdom. 1999. Vol. 75.
- Gleßmer, Uwe*: Einleitung in die Targume zum Pentateuch. 1995. Vol. 48.
- Goldberg, Arnold*: Mystic and Theologie des rabbinischen Judentums. Gesammelte Studien I. Ed. by *M. Schlüter* and *P. Schäfer*. 1997. Vol. 61.
- Rabbinische Texte als Gegenstand der Auslegung. Gesammelte Studien II. Ed. by *M. Schlüter* and *P. Schäfer*. 1999. Vol. 73.
- Goodblatt, David*: The Monarchic Principle. 1994. Vol. 38.
- Gribetz, Sarit Kattan*: see *Jenott, Lance*
- Grözinger, Karl*: Musik und Gesang in der Theologie der frühen jüdischen Literatur. 1982. Vol. 3.
- Gruenwald, I. / Shaked Sh. / Stroumsa, G.G.*: (Ed.): Messiah and Christos. Presented to David Flusser. 1992. Vol. 32.
- Gußmann, Oliver*: Das Priesterverständnis des Flavius Josephus. 2008. Vol. 124.
- Halperin, David J.*: The Faces of the Chariot. 1988. Vol. 16.

- Hauptman, Judith*: Rereading the Mishnah. 2005. Vol. 109.
- Hayman, A. Peter*: Sefer Yesira. 2004. Vol. 104.
- Hempel, Charlotte*: The Qumran Rule Texts in Context. 2013. Vol. 154.
- Henze, Matthias*: Jewish Apocalypticism in Late First Century Israel. 2011. Vol. 142.
- Herman, Geoffrey*: A Prince without a Kingdom. 2012. Vol. 150.
- Herrmann, Klaus* (Ed.): Massekhet Hekhalot. 1994. Vol. 39.
- see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Herzer, Jens*: Die Paralipomena Jeremiae. 1994. Vol. 43.
- Hezser, Catherine*: Form, Function, and Historical Significance of the Rabbinic Story in Yerushalmi Neziqin. 1993. Vol. 37.
- Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine. 2001. Vol. 81.
- Jewish Travel in Antiquity. 2011. Vol. 144.
- see *Schäfer, Peter*
- The Social Structure of the Rabbinic Movement in Roman Palestine. 1997. Vol. 66.
- Hezser, Catherine* (Ed.): Rabbinic Law in its Roman and Near Eastern Context. 2003. Vol. 97.
- Himmelfarb, Martha*: Between Temple and Torah. 2013. Vol. 151.
- see *Boustán, Ra'anan S.*
- Hirschfelder, Ulrike*: see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Horbury, W.*: see *Krauss, Samuel*
- Houtman, Alberdina*: Mishnah und Tosefta. 1996. Vol. 59.
- Ilan, Tal*: Jewish Women in Greco-Roman Palestine. 1995. Vol. 44.
- Integrating Woman into Second Temple History. 1999. Vol. 76.
- Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity. Part I: Palestine 330 BCE–200 CE. 2002. Vol. 91. Part II: Palestine 200–650. 2012. Vol. 148. Part III: The Western Diaspora, 330 BCE–650 CE. 2009. Vol. 126. Part IV: The Eastern Diaspora, 330 BCE–650 CE. 2011. Vol. 141.
- Silencing the Queen. 2006. Vol. 115.
- Instone Brewer, David*: Techniques and Assumptions in Jewish Exegesis before 70 CE. 1992. Vol. 30.
- Ipta, Kerstin*: see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Iricinschi, Eduard / Zellentin, Holger M.* (Ed.): Heresy and Identity in Late Antiquity. 2008. Vol. 119.
- Isaac, Benjamin / Shahar, Yuval* (Ed.): Judaea-Palaestina, Babylon and Rome: Jews in Antiquity. 2012. Vol. 147.
- Jacobs, Martin*: Die Institution des jüdischen Patriarchen. 1995. Vol. 52.
- Jenott, Lance / Gribetz, Sarit Kattan* (Ed.): Jewish and Christian Cosmogony in Late Antiquity. 2013. Vol. 155.
- Kasher, Aryeh*: The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt. 1985. Vol. 7.
- Jews, Idumaeans, and Ancient Arabs. 1988. Vol. 18.
- Jews and Hellenistic Cities in Eretz-Israel. 1990. Vol. 21.
- Knittel, Thomas*: Das griechische „Leben Adams und Evas“. 2002. Vol. 88.
- Krauss, Samuel*: The Jewish-Christian Controversy from the earliest times to 1789. Vol. I. Ed. by *W. Horbury*. 1996. Vol. 56.
- Kuhn, Peter*: Offenbarungsstimmen im Antiken Judentum. 1989. Vol. 20.
- Kuyt, Annelies*: The „Descent“ to the Chariot. 1995. Vol. 45.
- Lange, A.*: see *Albani, M.*
- Lange, Nicholas de*: Greek Jewish Texts from the Cairo Genizah. 1996. Vol. 51.
- Lapin, Hayim*: Economy, Geography, and Provincial History in Later Roman Galilee. 2001. Vol. 85.
- Lehnardt, Andreas*: Qaddish. 2002. Vol. 87.
- Leibner, Uzi*: Settlement and History in Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine Galilee. 2009. Vol. 127.
- Leonhardt, Jutta*: Jewish Worship in Philo of Alexandria. 2001. Vol. 84.
- Levine, Lee I. and Daniel R. Schwartz* (Ed.): Jewish Identities in Antiquity. 2009. Vol. 130.
- Lohmann, Uta*: see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Loopik, M. van* (Transl. a. comm.): The Ways of the Sages and the Way of the World. 1991. Vol. 26.
- Luttikhuisen, Gerard P.*: The Revelation of Elchasai. 1985. Vol. 8.

- Mach, Michael*: Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens in vorrabbinischer Zeit. 1992. *Vol. 34*.
- Meerson, Michael*: see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Mendels, Doron*: The Land of Israel as a Political Concept in Hasmonean Literature. 1987. *Vol. 15*.
- Miller, Stuart S.*: Sages and Commoners in Late Antique 'Erez Israel. 2006. *Vol. 111*.
- Moscovitz, Leib*: Talmudic Reasoning. 2002. *Vol. 89*.
- Mutius, Georg von*: see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Necker, Gerold*: see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Netzer, Ehud*: The Architecture of Herod, the Great Builder. 2006. *Vol. 117*.
- Niehoff, Maren*: Philo on Jewish Identity and Culture. 2001. *Vol. 86*.
- Noy, David / Panayotov, Alexander / Bloedhorn, Hanswulf* (Ed.): *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis*.
Vol. 1: Eastern Europe. 2004. *Vol. 101*.
- , / *Bloedhorn, Hanswulf* (Ed.): *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis*. Vol. 3: Syria and Cyprus. 2004. *Vol. 102*.
- Olyan, Saul M.*: A Thousand Thousands Served Him. 1993. *Vol. 36*.
- Oppenheimer, Aharon*: Between Rome and Babylon. 2005. *Vol. 108*.
- Orlov, Andrei A.*: The Enoch-Metatron Tradition. 2005. *Vol. 107*.
- Osterloh, Kevin L.*: see *Gardner, Gregg*
- Otterbach, Rina*: see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Panayotov, Alexander*: see *Noy, David*
- Pearce, Sarah J.K.*: The Words of Moses. 2013. *Vol. 152*.
- Prigent, Pierre*: Le Judaïsme et l'image. 1990. *Vol. 24*.
- Pucci Ben Zeev, Miriam*: Jewish Rights in the Roman World. 1998. *Vol. 74*.
- Pummer, Reinhard*: Early Christian Authors on Samaritans and Samaritanism. 2002. *Vol. 92*.
- The Samaritans in Flavius Josephus. 2009. *Vol. 129*.
- Rebiger, Bill / Schäfer, Peter* (Ed.): *Sefer ha-Razim – Das Buch der Geheimnisse*.
Vol. I: Edition. 2009. *Vol. 125*.
Vol. II: Einleitung, Übersetzung und Kommentar. 2010. *Vol. 132*.
- Reed, A. Y.*: see *Becker, A. H.*
- Reeg, Gottfried* (Ed.): Die Geschichte von den Zehn Märtyrern. 1985. *Vol. 10*.
- see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Reichman, Ronen*: Abduktives Denken und talmudische Argumentation. 2005. *Vol. 113*.
- : *Sifra und Mishna*. 1998. *Vol. 68*.
- Renner, Lucie*: see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Rocca, Samuel*: Herod's Judaea. 2008. *Vol. 122*.
- Rohrbacher-Sticker, Claudia*: see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Rubenstein, Jeffrey L.* (Ed.): Creation and Composition. 2005. *Vol. 114*.
- Salvesen, A.* (Ed.): Origen's Hexapla and Fragments. 1998. *Vol. 58*.
- Salzer, Dorothea M.*: Die Magie der Anspielung. 2010. *Vol. 134*.
- Samely, Alexander*: The Interpretation of Speech in the Pentateuch Targums. 1992. *Vol. 27*.
- Schäfer, Peter*: Der Bar-Kokhba-Aufstand. 1981. *Vol. 1*.
- *Hekhalot-Studien*. 1988. *Vol. 19*.
- Schäfer, Peter* (Ed.): *Geniza-Fragmente zur Hekhalot-Literatur*. 1984. *Vol. 6*.
- *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*. 2003. *Vol. 100*.
- see *Goldberg, Arnold*
- in cooperation with *Klaus Herrmann, Rina Otterbach, Gottfried Reeg, Claudia Rohrbacher-Sticker, Guido Weyer*: *Konkordanz zur Hekhalot-Literatur*. Band 1: 1986. *Vol. 12*.
- Band 2: 1988. *Vol. 13*.
- Schäfer, Peter / Schlüter, Margarete / Mutius, Hans Georg von* (Ed.): *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*. 1981. *Vol. 2*.
- Schäfer, Peter / Meerson, Michael / Deutsch, Yaacov* (Ed.): *Toledot Yeshu („The Life-Story of Jesus“)* Revisited. 2011. *Vol. 143*.
- Schäfer, Peter* (Ed.) in cooperation with *Hans-Jürgen Becker, Klaus Herrmann, Ulrike Hirschfelder, Gerold Necker, Lucie Renner, Claudia Rohrbacher-Sticker, Stefan Siebers*: *Übersetzung der Hekhalot-Literatur*. Band 1: §§ 1–80. 1995. *Vol. 46*.
- Band 2: §§ 81–334. 1987. *Vol. 17*.
- Band 3: §§ 335–597. 1989. *Vol. 22*.
- Band 4: §§ 598–985. 1991. *Vol. 29*.

- Schäfer, Peter / Becker, Hans-Jürgen* (Ed.) in cooperation with *Anja Engel, Kerstin Ipta, Gerold Necker, Uta Lohmann, Martina Urban, Gert Wildensee*: Synopse zum Talmud Yerushalmi. Band I/1–2: 1991. Vol. 31.
 – Band I/3–5: 1992. Vol. 33.
 – Band I/6–11: 1992. Vol. 35.
 – Band II/1–4: 2001. Vol. 82.
 – Band II/5–12: 2001. Vol. 83.
 – Band III: 1998. Vol. 67.
 – Band IV: 1995. Vol. 47.
- Schäfer, Peter / Shaked, Shaul* (Ed.): *Maische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza*. Band 1: 1994. Vol. 42
 – Band 2: 1997. Vol. 64.
 – Band 3: 1999. Vol. 72.
- Schäfer, Peter* (Ed.): *The Talmud Yerushalmi and Graeco-Roman Culture I*. 1998. Vol. 71.
- Schäfer, Peter/ Hezser, Catherine* (Ed.): *The Talmud Yerushalmi and Graeco-Roman Culture II*. 2000. Vol. 79.
- Schäfer, Peter* (Ed.): *The Talmud Yerushalmi and Graeco-Roman Culture III*. 2003. Vol. 93.
 – see *Boustan, Ra'anan S.*
 – see *Rebiger, Bill*
- Schlüter, Margarete*: see *Goldberg, Arnold*
 – see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Schmidt, Francis*: *Le Testament Grec d'Abraham*. 1986. Vol. 11.
- Schröder, Bernd*: *Die ‚väterlichen Gesetze‘*. 1996. Vol. 53.
- Schwartz, Daniel R.*: *Agrippa I*. 1990. Vol. 23.
- Schwartz, Daniel R.* (Ed.): see *Levine, Lee I.*
- Schwemer, Anna Maria*: *Studien zu den frühjüdischen Prophetenlegenden. Vitae Prophetarum*. Band I: 1995. Vol. 49.
 – Band II (mit Beiheft: Synopse zu den Vitae Prophetarum): 1996. Vol. 50.
- Shahar, Yuval*: *Josephus Geographicus*. 2004. Vol. 98.
 – see *Isaac, Benjamin*
- Shaked, Shaul*: see *Gruenwald, I.*
 – see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Shatzman, Israel*: *The Armies of the Hasmonaeans and Herod*. 1991. Vol. 25.
- Shayegan, Rahim*: see *Bakhos, Carol*
- Siebers, Stefan*: see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Sivertsev, Alexei*: *Private Households and Public Politics in 3rd – 5th Century Jewish Palestine*. 2002. Vol. 90.
- Spigel, Chad S.*: *Ancient Synagogue Seating Capacities*. 2012. Vol. 149.
- Spilsbury, Paul*: *The Image of the Jew in Flavius Josephus' Paraphrase of the Bible*. 1998. Vol. 69.
- Stemberger, Günter*: *Judaica Minora I*. 2010. Vol. 133.
 – *Judaica Minora II*. 2010. Vol. 138.
- Stroumsa, G.G.*: see *Gruenwald, I.*
- Stuckenbruck, Loren T.*: *The Book of Giants from Qumran*. 1997. Vol. 63.
- Swartz, Michael D.*: *Mystical Prayer in Ancient Judaism*. 1992. Vol. 28.
- Sysling, Harry*: *Tehiyat Ha-Metim*. 1996. Vol. 57.
- Teppler, Yaakov Y.*: *Birkat haMinim*. 2007. Vol. 120.
- Tov, Emanuel*: *Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible, and Qumran*. 2008. Vol. 121.
- Townsend, Philippa / Vidas, Moulie* (Ed.): *Revelation, Literature, and Community in Late Antiquity*. 2011. Vol. 146.
- Urban, Martina*: see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Veltri, Giuseppe*: *Eine Tora für den König Talmai*. 1994. Vol. 41.
 – *Magie und Halakha*. 1997. Vol. 62.
- Vidas, Moulie*: see *Townsend, Philippa*
- Visotzky, Burton L.*: *Golden Bells and Pomegranates*. 2003. Vol. 94.
- Wandrey, Irina*: *„Das Buch des Gewandes“ und „Das Buch des Aufrechten“*. 2004. Vol. 96.
- Weyer, Guido*: see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Wewers, Gerd A.*: *Probleme der Bavot-Traktate*. 1984. Vol. 5.
- Wildensee, Gert*: see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Wilson, Walter T.*: *The Mysteries of Rigtheousness*. 1994. Vol. 40.
- Zellentin, Holger Michael*: *Rabbinic Parodies of Jewish and Christian Literature*. 2011. Vol. 139.
 – see *Iricinschi, Eduard*