PIETER W. VAN DER HORST

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Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
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Selected Essays on Early Judaism, Samaritanism, Hellenism, and Christianity

Mohr Siebeck

Pieter W. van der Horst, born 1946, studied Classical Philology and received a PhD in Theology (1978); from 1969–2006 he was firstly research assistent, then junior and later senior lecturer, and finally full professor in New Testament, Early Christian Literature, and the Jewish and Hellenistic world of Early Christianity at the Faculty of Theology of Utrecht University.

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Preface

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Abbreviations

ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt
ARW	Archiv für Religionswissenschaft
BAGD	Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich-Danker, *Greek-English Lexicon of the NT*, 2nd ed.
BDAG	Bauer-Danker-Arndt-Gingrich, *Greek-English Lexicon of the NT*, 3rd ed.
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CCSG	Corpus Chistianorum Series Graeca
CIJ	Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum (ed. Frey)
CPJ	Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum (edd. Tcherikover & Fuks)
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
DDD	Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible
GLAJJ	Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism (ed. Stern)
GMA	Greek Magical Amulets (ed. Kotansky)
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
ICS	Illinois Classical Studies
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
IJO	Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis (edd. Noy *et al.*)
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JECS	Journal of Early Christian Studies
JIGRE	Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt (edd. Horbury & Noy)
JIWE	Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe (ed. Noy)
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LSJ	Liddell-Scott-Jones, *Greek English Lexicon*
Mnem.	Mnemosyne

NP	Neue Pauly
NT	Novum Testamentum
NTS	New Testament Studies
OLD	Oxford Latin Dictionary (ed. Glare)
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
PG	Patrologia Graeca
PGM	Papyri Graecae Magicae (ed. Preisendanz)
PL	Patrologia Latina
PW	Pauly-Wissowa
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum
RB	Revue biblique
REJ	Revue des études juives
SC	Sources chrétiennes
TLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
TRE	Theologische Realenzyklopädie
TSAJ	Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
TUGAL	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
VC	Vigiliae Christianae
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

Introduction

This volume is the ninth, and probably the last, in a series of volumes with essays that I have written over the years.[1] It is published on the occasion of my 60th birthday in mid 2006, which happens to coincide with my retirement as a professor at Utrecht University. That retirement is early, and sudden, and not wholly voluntary; it is due partly to drastic financial measures taken by the Faculty of Theology and partly to the drastic deterioration of my eyesight. Even so, it seemed to be a good opportunity to collect several of my most recent contributions (and some of the earlier ones, on which see more below).

As the subtitle indicates, the essays cover a rather wide range of subjects, and the reader is entitled to know what the underlying unity of all this is, if indeed there is any such unity. One will find studies on subjects as far apart as the origins of Greek atheism in 5th century BCE Athens and aspects of rabbinic anthropology in Talmudic sources of almost a millennium later. One will find a study of the curious phenomenon of subtractive numerals in various ancient languages but also a contribution on a newly discovered early Christian poem on the sacrifice of Isaac. One will find a study of the meaning of the Greek words *hoi de* in Matthew 28:17 but also one on the famous Huguenot Jacques Basnage's view of the Samaritans. And so one could go on, but what is the focus in this variety? The focus is the cultural milieu of early Christianity in the widest sense of the word.

As a student of classical Greek and Roman antiquity in the sixties of the previous century, I developed a strong interest in the religious mentality of

[1] The eight volumes that were published previously are partly in Dutch, partly in English. They are (in chronological order): *De onbekende God. Essays over de joodse en hellenistische achtergrond van het vroege christendom* (Utrechtse Theologische Reeks 2), Utrecht 1988; *Essays on the Jewish World of Early Christianity* (Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus 14), Fribourg-Göttingen 1990; (with Gerard Mussies) *Studies on the Hellenistic Background of the New Testament* (Utrechtse Theologische Reeks 10), Utrecht 1990; *Studies over het jodendom in de oudheid*, Kampen 1992; *Hellenism – Judaism – Christianity. Essays on Their Interaction* (Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 8), Kampen 1994 (a second, much enlarged edition appeared in Leuven in 1998); *Mozes, Plato, Jezus. Studies over de wereld van het vroege christendom*, Amsterdam 2000; *Japheth in the Tents of Shem. Studies on Jewish Hellenism in Antiquity* (Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 32), Leuven 2002; *Joden in de Grieks-Romeinse wereld*, Zoetermeer 2003. These volumes contain some 130 essays (160 if those in the present volume are included), which is about half of the articles I have written; those not reprinted are mostly encyclopedia articles and contributions for a wider audience.

ancient men and women, including the early Christians. Soon I found out that it is not possible to understand early Christianity if one does not know its Jewish heritage, so I also began to study biblical and rabbinic Hebrew, and later on Palestinian and Babylonian Aramaic as well, in order to enable myself to read the Hebrew Bible and also the Jewish interpretations of this Bible as an essential part of that heritage. And this turned out to be a crucial step for the future direction of my academic career.

It was in the summer of 1968 that I happened to read an article by Willem C. van Unnik, the New Testament professor at Utrecht University (whom I did not yet know at that time), which further opened my eyes to the importance of knowing both the ancient Graeco-Roman and the Jewish literature from the centuries around the turn of the era in order to elucidate difficult passages in the New Testament.[2] After that summer I started to follow a course in Syriac and much to my pleasure the teacher turned out to be the very same Willem C. van Unnik. Since I was the only student in that course, we developed a close relationship and by the end of that academic year he offered me a job as a research assistant in his department. It was van Unnik who emphasized time and again that, however important a thorough knowledge of Graeco-Roman culture is for the understanding of the developments in early Christianity, knowledge of Jewish culture is even more important in order to understand this new religion in its initial phases. His classic *dictum* was that after his birth, Jesus was not carried around the hearth (as was the Roman custom) but circumcised, and that anyone who forgot that fact would never understand the New Testament. His own work was, and still is, an impressive example of how one can bring to bear a wide-ranging knowledge of the literature and religions of antiquity in its broadest sense on the study of early Christianity. I say 'wide-ranging' knowledge because van Unnik also emphasized that it is myopic to confine oneself to study of first-century sources; one should cast one's nets as widely as possible: Plato's *Timaeus* is as important as the rabbinic midrash, and the Dead Sea Scrolls are as important as the patristic interpretations of the Bible. He himself roamed widely in the ancient world, and even went as far as publishing studies on medieval Syrian church history.[3] His view was that a broad knowledge of the cultural surroundings of early Christianity would always have, if not a direct, at least an indirect impact on the way one views the manifestations of this religion in its early phases. Van Unnik was my great paragon and he had a formative influence on my subsequent

[2] The article was '"Den Geist löschet nicht aus" (1 Thessalonicher V 19),' *Novum Testamentum* 10 (1968) 255–269.

[3] For bibliographical details see my 'Einleitung des Herausgebers' in Willem Cornelis van Unnik, *Das Selbstverständnis der jüdischen Diaspora in der hellenistisch-römischen Zeit*, aus dem Nachlaß herausgegeben und bearbeitet von Pieter Willem van der Horst, Leiden 1993, 13–50.

scholarly career. No wonder that under his guidance I wrote a dissertation on a Jewish author who was very much at home in the Greek world.[4]

Another major impetus came in the same period, when Martin Hengel published his magisterial *Judentum und Hellenismus* in 1969.[5] This work had a deep and lasting influence on many who worked in the fields of early Jewish and Christian studies and was, of course, 'gefundenes Fressen' for a young classical philologist who was also engaged in Jewish studies. It inspired me not only to pursue further the line of research that van Unnik had already put me on but also to pay much closer attention to the many forms of interpenetration between the classical world of Greece and Rome and the Jewish (and Christian) world around the beginning of the Common Era. Eventually my research in this field (and also my long-standing friendly relationship with Martin Hengel) led to a publication on the position of Greek as a language spoken by Jews in Palestine on the occasion of the celebration of the 30th anniversary of Hengel's book (or rather, of the 25th anniversary of its English translation) in 1999.[6] Hengel's insights into the thorough hellenization of Judaism, not only in the Diaspora but also in the Jewish homeland, even in the pre-Christian period, has opened many eyes to the contributions Hellenistic culture has made to the changing face of Judaism in this formative period and to the implications this has for our study of 'Hellenistic elements' in early Christianity.

Van Unnik put me to work on the *Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti* project.[7] Many of my early publications, for that reason, focus on the Hellenistic background of the New Testament. Some 15 of them have been reprinted in the volume I published in 1990 in collaboration with my long-time colleague, Dr. Gerard Mussies (see note 1). The reason that I have decided to reprint here two of these essays is simply that the book unfortunately never had any wide circulation and has, therefore, largely been ignored (it was a publication by the Faculty of Theology in Utrecht, but since this institute had no distribution apparatus, the book reached very few people and was never reviewed anywhere). The only two studies from that volume which are reprinted here, however, are my very first article, written in 1969 and published in 1970,[8] and the rather provocative piece

[4] *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, Leiden 1978. Unfortunately, van Unnik died a couple of months before the public defense of my doctoral thesis in the spring of 1978.

[5] Tübingen 1969 and many reprints; English translation (*Judaism and Hellenism*), London 1974. See also his later books *Juden, Griechen und Barbaren. Aspekte der Hellenisierung des Judentums in vorchristlicher Zeit*, Stuttgart 1976, and *The 'Hellenization' of Judaea in the First Century after Christ*, London 1989.

[6] See my 'Greek in Jewish Palestine in Light of Jewish Epigraphy,' in J.J. Collins & G.E. Sterling (eds.), *Hellenism in the Land of Israel,* Notre Dame 2001, 154–174, reprinted in my *Japheth in the Tents of Shem* 9–26.

[7] On the history of this project see my article 'Corpus Hellenisticum' in the *Anchor Bible Dictionary* 1 (1992) 1157–1161.

[8] It was published in German under the title 'Drohung und Mord schnaubend (Acta IX 1)' in *Novum Testamentum* 12 (1970) 257–269, but is presented here in an English translation.

written by both Mussies and myself on the subtractive numerals in antiquity.[9] In my opinion, both articles deserve a wider circulation than they have received hitherto because there is much new and relevant material in them. Now the relevance of a study of subtractive numerals may not be readily apparent, but once the reader realizes that Paul uses such a numeral in 2 Cor. 11:24 ('forty strokes less one'), the importance of putting this expression in as wide a linguistic context as possible will become clear.

Most of the other contributions are more recent and they reflect my increased interest and research in ancient Judaism. There is a comparative study of the closely related questions which both Philo of Alexandria and the rabbis asked about difficult verses in the book of Genesis, where their different answers are also put into perspective.[10] Apart from other *Philonica*, on which more below, there is a further study of rabbinic materials in the article on the tension between God's positive commandment to procreate (*peru u-revu*) in Gen. 1:28 on the one hand, and the often less than positive view the rabbis had of sexual desire, which they regarded as a manifestation of the evil inclination (*yester ha-ra'*) in humans.[11] There is also a recent contribution on the subject of my dissertation, the *Sentences* of Pseudo-Phocylides, in which I cross swords with the American scholar John Collins on this Jewish poet's views on afterlife.[12] As in the previous volumes, the reader will once again notice that there is also material on the ancient Samaritans. Here a third scholar is to be mentioned for his influence upon me, Alan D. Crown from Sydney. Twenty years ago, in 1985/86, he was my guest at the Utrecht Faculty for a couple of guest lectures, and he opened my eyes to the degree to which the Samaritans had unduly suffered from neglect by scholars in Judaic research. The Samaritans formed a substantial part of the Jewish population of Palestine (even though they would never call themselves 'Jews' but rather 'Israelites') and also had their own large diaspora.[13] It is mainly due to the great efforts of Alan Crown that Samaritan studies have come to flourish of late[14] and thanks to him I have been involved in these developments, albeit on a modest scale. Again, I focused initially mainly on the interaction be-

[9] It was originally published in *Illinois Classical* Studies 13 (1988) 183–202.

[10] 'Philo and the Rabbis on Genesis: Similar Questions, Different Answers,' in: A. Volgers & C. Zamagni (eds.), *Erotapokriseis. Early Christian Question-and-Answer Literature in Context* (Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 37), Leuven 2004, 55–70.

[11] 'A Note on the Evil Inclination and Sexual Desire in Talmudic Literature,' in U. Mittmann-Richert, F. Avemarie & G.S. Oegema (eds.), *Der Mensch vor Gott. Forschungen zum Menschenbild in Bibel, antikem Judentum und Koran (Festschrift für Hermann Lichtenberger zum 60. Geburtstag)*, Neukirchen 2003, 99–106.

[12] 'Pseudo-Phocylides on the Afterlife: A Rejoinder to John J. Collins,' *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 35 (2004) 70–75.

[13] See my 'The Samaritan Diaspora in Antiquity' in my *Essays on the Jewish World of Early Christianity* 136–147.

[14] See, e. g. A.D. Crown (ed.), *The Samaritans*, Tübingen 1988, the most extensive reference work to date.

tween Samaritans and Hellenistic culture,[15] but later I widened the scope of my investigations as may be apparent from the two essays included in this volume. My recent book *De Samaritanen*[16] is the long-term result of this involvement in samaritanological research.

Again another scholar who has exerted influence on my scholarly career is David T. Runia of Melbourne, one of the great Philonic scholars of our time. After reading his magisterial 1983 dissertation on Philo's creative use of Plato's *Timaeus* in his biblical exegesis,[17] I became much more aware of the importance of this paragon of Jewish Hellenism from Alexandria. Runia also made very clear to me how great the impact of Philo had been on the theology of many Church Fathers.[18] Some of the fruits of my fascination with Philo are to be found in this volume,[19] although half of them are no more than *parerga* to my recent commentary on Philo's *In Flaccum* which David Runia and Gregory Sterling invited me to write for their new Philo of Alexandria Commentary Series (PACS).[20]

It was the work on this commentary, and especially the investigation of the complicated backgrounds of the serious conflict in Alexandria in the year 38 CE described by Philo that led me to further research the situations in which various Jewish diaspora communities had lived. Not only my earlier study on the Jews of ancient Crete, but also the recent ones on the Jews of Cyprus, of Sicily, and of the city of Sardis have been included here.[21] They show the great variety in degrees of integration and acculturation in these diaspora communities and they demonstrate how difficult it is to say with any certainty why in some places the various religious groups lived in harmony, or at least not in conflict, while elsewhere things derailed completely. A special case is the story of the conflicts,

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[15] See my study of the Samaritan diaspora mentioned in note 13 and the one on 'The Samaritan Languages in the pre-Islamic Period,' *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 32 (2001) 178–192, reprinted in my *Japheth in the Tents of Shem* 235–249. See also my 'Samaritans and Hellenism' in my *Hellenism – Judaism – Christianity* 49–58.

[16] Kampen 2004 (the book is in Dutch).

[17] Published as *Philo of Alexandria and the* Timaeus *of Plato*, Leiden 1986.

[18] See his *Philo and Early Christian Literature*, Assen-Minneapolis 1993.

[19] The article on 'Philo of Alexandria on the Wrath of God' was originally published in Dutch as 'Philo Alexandrinus over de toorn Gods,' in A. de Jong & A. de Jong (eds.), *Kleine encyclopedie van de toorn*, Utrecht 1993, 77–82. For the present volume I have translated it into English.

[20] See my *Philo's* Flaccus*: The First Pogrom*, Leiden 2003. The *parerga* reprinted here are 'Common Prayer in Philo's *In Flaccum* 121–124,' *Kenishta: Studies of the Synagogue World*, ed. J. Tabory, vol. 2, Bar Ilan 2003, 21–28; and 'Philo's *In Flaccum* and the Book of Acts,' in: R. Deines & K.-W. Niebuhr (eds.), *Philo und das Neue Testament. Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 172), Tübingen 2004, 95–105.

[21] The study of Cretan Jewry had already been republished in 1990 in my *Essays on the Jewish World* 148–165, but it is included here again – albeit in an abbreviated form – in order to retain the character of a trilogy on the Jewish communities of the three great islands in the Mediterranean Sea (Crete, Cyprus, Sicily). About the Jews of the great island of Euboia we know next to nothing (see Philo, *Legat.* 282, and *IJO* I, Ach57).

throughout the period of the Roman and early Byzantine Empire, between Jews and Greens, a notorious hooligan-like circus faction active in the great cities, and of the seemingly strange alliance between Jews and Blues, the opponents of the Greens. Here social psychology turned out to be very helpful in solving an anomaly.[22] All these studies of details concerning diaspora communities fill in the background against which we have to understand the lives and activities of the early Christians who, as a minority, had to maintain their position between these parties.[23]

Related to this area of research is another field in which I have done work over the past 15 years, early Jewish epigraphy. In an attempt to fill a lacuna, I published in 1991 an introductory work to the study of Jewish epitaphs (which form the bulk of the epigraphic material).[24] The book received a very warm welcome since there existed no such work for students of ancient Judaism.[25] When I was writing the book (during a sabbatical spent at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem), I could not foresee how quickly the situation in this field of research would change in terms of the availability of new critical editions of the epigraphic material and of in-depth studies. In a high tempo, between 1992 and 2004, most of this material was published again in much better editions than the old and outdated *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum* (CIJ) by Frey,[26] upon which I still had to rely by and large in 1990/91, and very much new material was added in these publications. In a long review article on the three recent volumes *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis* (IJO), reprinted in this volume, I sketch these developments and show how dramatically the situation has improved. The study of Jewish epitaphs, honorary inscriptions, and other epigraphic material is of great importance to the student of early Judaism and Christianity since these sources quite often provide us with information about Jewish life and thought that we do not find in the literary documents (for instance, data about age at death and onomastics).

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[22] Published as 'Jews and Blues in Late Antiquity,' in D. Accorinti & P. Chuvin (edd.), *Des Géants à Dionysos. Mélanges de mythologie et de poésie grecques offerts à Francis Vian*, Alessandria 2003, 565–572.

[23] See also I. Levinskaya, *The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting*, vol. 5: *Diaspora Setting*, Grand Rapids-Carlisle 1996. Diaspora studies have come of age in recent decades; see John Barclay's Introduction to J.G.M. Barclay (ed.), *Negotiating Diaspora. Jewish Strategies in the Roman Empire*, London – New York 2004, 1–7.

[24] *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs. An Introductory Survey of a Millennium of Jewish Funerary Epigraphy (300 BCE – 700 CE)*, Kampen 1991.

[25] Even the otherwise excellent book by B.H. McLean, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods from Alexander the Great down to the Reign of Constantine*, Ann Arbor 2002, deals very insufficiently with Jewish material.

[26] J.-B. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum. Recueil des inscriptions juives qui vont du IIIe siècle avant Jésus-Christ au VIIe siècle de notre ère*, 2 vols, Rome 1936–1952. Vol. I was reprinted in 1975 with an extensive Prolegomenon containing many corrections and additions by Baruch Lifshitz.

The interpretation of biblical texts in ancient Judaism and early Christianity is also a field that has been blossoming in the past decades.[27] My first steps in this field were taken some 15 years ago in an article written for Adam van der Woude's *Festschrift* on the widely diverging interpretations, by ancient Jews and Christians, of the enigmatic words in Ezek. 20:25 where God says that he gave Israel 'laws that were not good!'[28] The text in Ex. 22:28 as rendered in the Septuagint, "Thou shalt not revile the gods," also evoked a wide variety of exegeses in Jewish and Christian circles, which I charted briefly.[29] In the present volume there are two further examples, albeit on a modest scale, namely, a study of the way in which the limitation of the human life span to 120 years by God in Gen. 6:3 was variously interpreted by Jews and Christians in antiquity, and one on the way Jewish interpreters viewed what was for them the amazing activity of the prophetess Huldah in 2 Kings 22 and how their views relate to the rabbinic traditions about the presence of Huldah's tomb in Jerusalem, quite close to the Temple, of all places. Both studies show how passages in the Bible that were regarded as problematic by the ancient readers were creatively dealt with.[30]

Again another subject that has witnessed an upsurge in scholarly interest[31] and has fascinated me intensely since the beginning of the nineties was that of ancient prayer cultures. It resulted *inter alia* in a booklet in Dutch in which I presented an annotated translation of 60 ancient prayers, 20 Graeco-Roman, 20 Jewish, and 20 Christian,[32] and also in an article on the uncommon and suspect phenomenon of silent prayer,[33] in a study of one of the few ancient thematic treatises on prayer, especially on the question of whether one should pray at all, and if so, what for,

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[27] Among the innumerable publications I mention – *honoris causa* – only James Kugel's magisterial *Traditions of the Bible. The Bible as It Was at the Start of the Common Era*, Cambridge MA-London 1998.

[28] '"I Gave Them Laws That Were Not Good." Ezekiel 20:25 in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity,'in J.N. Bremmer & F. García Martínez (eds.), *Sacred History and Sacred Texts in Early Judaism. A Symposium in Honour of A.S. van der Woude*, Kampen 1992, 94–118, repr. in my *Hellenism – Judaism – Christianity* 135–156.

[29] '"Thou shalt not revile the gods." The LXX-translation of Ex. 22:28 (27), its background and influence, ' *Studia Philonica Annual* 5 (1993) 1–8, reprinted in my *Hellenism – Judaism – Christianity* 125–134.

[30] The first study appeared in the new annual *Zutot* (2002, 18–23), the second was published in Dutch in *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 55 (2001) 91–96, and translated by me into English for the present volume.

[31] See, e.g., J.H. Charlesworth, M. Harding & M. Kiley (eds.), *The Lord's Prayer and Other Prayer Texts from the Greco-Roman Era*, Valley Forge 1993; M. Kiley (ed.), *Prayer from Alexander to Constantine*, London-New York 1997; J.H. Newman, *Praying by the Book. The Scripturalization of Prayer in Second Temple Judaism*, Atlanta 1999; H. Löhr, *Studien zum frühchristlichen und frühjüdischen Gebet*, Tübingen 2003. Many other works could be mentioned as well.

[32] *Gebeden uit de antieke wereld*, Kampen 1994.

[33] 'Silent Prayer in Antiquity,' *Numen* 41 (1994) 1–25, reprinted in my *Hellenism – Judaism – Christianity* 293–316.

namely the fifth oration of Maximus of Tyre,[34] as well as in an investigation of whether or not a forgotten prayer text in one of the Egerton papyri is Jewish or Christian.[35] In this volume, the readers will find a short contribution on a remarkable prayer by the Jews of Alexandria after their persecution by the Roman governor Flaccus, as reported by Philo in his *In Flaccum*.[36]

As far as the New Testament is concerned, some of the contributions in this volume intend to shed light on long-standing translation problems (although often not even seen as problematic) from insights won in classical philology. The question of whether the words οἱ δὲ ἐδίστασαν in Matt. 28:17 mean 'but they doubted' or 'but some doubted' or 'but others doubted' (which makes quite a difference!) is solved on the basis of strictly philological considerations: it means 'but some doubted.' In a second contribution, the same kind of philological considerations, but now of a more lexical nature, lead to the suggestion that in the parable of the rich man and the poor Lazarus the words ἐγένετο δὲ ἀποθανεῖν τὸν πτωχὸν καὶ ἀπενεχθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰς τὸν κόλπον Ἀβραάμ do not just mean that the poor man was carried away to Abraham's bosom but that he was carried to a place he deserved or where he belonged, the bosom of Abraham (*apo-* in composita often has this force). The striking expression ἐμπνέων ἀπειλῆς καὶ φόνου in Acts 9:1 is studied in the light of expressions in Greek literature that circumscribe strong emotions or passions with verbs of breathing or snorting.[37] Finally, in a philological study of the expression καὶ οὕτως πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ σωθήσεται in Rom. 11:26, I argue that the words καὶ οὕτως in this context do not mean 'and so [or 'thus'] all Israel will be saved,' but '*only then* will all Israel be saved.' That καὶ οὕτως can have this sense, although it is not registered in the standard Greek lexicons, is well-known among classical philologists, but hardly familiar among theologians (a justly renowned commentator even says that a temporal meaning of this word is *never* found in Greek!).[38] These proposals are not shattering innovations but they do prove that detailed knowledge of the Greek language can help solve New Testament exegetical problems, which sounds like a truism but unfortunately still needs to be said over and over again. It may be added here that the article on the Hellenistic popular beliefs about the power of the shadow[39] was ultimately inspired by the silence of the NT commentaries on

[34] 'Maximus of Tyre on Prayer. An Annotated Translation of Εἰ δεῖ εὔχεσθαι (Dissertatio 5),' in H. Cancik, H. Lichtenberger & P. Schäfer (eds.), *Geschichte – Tradition – Reflexion: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag*, 3 vols., Tübingen 1996, Vol. 2: 323–338.

[35] 'Neglected Greek Evidence for Early Jewish Liturgical Prayer,' *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 29 (1998) 278–296.

[36] Originally published as 'Common Prayer in Philo's *In Flaccum* 121–124,' *Kenishta: Studies of the Synagogue World*, ed. J. Tabory, vol. 2, Bar Ilan 2003, 21–28.

[37] Since this was my very first publication, written when I was 23, the reader is asked to exercise a certain clemency as regards the woodenness of the presentation.

[38] This note appeared in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* 119 (2000) 521–525.

[39] Originally published in German as 'Der Schatten im hellenistischen Volksglauben,' in M. J. Vermaseren (ed.), *Studies in Hellenistic Religions*, EPRO 78, Leiden 1979, 27–36.

Acts 5:15, where Luke says that the people of Jerusalem 'even carried out their sick into the streets and laid them on beds and pallets, hoping that as Peter came by at least his shadow might fall on some of them.' And, finally, the study on Philo's *In Flaccum* and the Book of Acts highlights the importance of each of these two works for the study of the other.[40]

My early interest in patristic literature may be seen in an article of 1971, not reprinted here, on Augustine's view of suicide as compared to that of his pagan contemporary, the philosopher Macrobius.[41] A later study dealt with the interesting motif of Plato's fear of telling the (supposedly Christian) truth in apologetic patristic literature.[42] Although not at all a patristic scholar myself, in this volume I have yet again included some studies of the works of Church Fathers. The first is a by-product of my Dutch book *De Woestijnvaders* (The Desert Fathers),[43] in which I also translated large parts of Cyril of Scythopolis' work on the Palestinian monks in the desert of Judaea. In this chapter, which was originally presented as a paper at a Jerusalem conference about Sabas, the famous founder of the Mar Saba monastery in the Judaean desert,[44] I investigate various aspects of Cyril's use of Scripture and compare these to the other monastic authors from the 4th to 6th century. Another undeservedly less known author is Macarius Magnes, whose work *Monogenês* (or *Apokritikos*) is a long refutation of the attacks on Christianity by an unnamed opponent whose identity has always been an object of much speculation (was he Porphyry?). It is a fascinating work which had long awaited a new critical edition. The recent one by Richard Goulet gave me the opportunity to discuss some of the issues in a review article that is reprinted here. Further the reader will find a study, co-authored by my colleague Martien Parmentier, on a recently published papyrus, Pap. Bodmer 30, which contains a very interesting 4th century poem on the sacrifice of Isaac. The article includes the first English translation of the Greek text and a study on both the Jewish and the Christian backgrounds of the many non-biblical elements in this text.[45] Finally, as far as

[40] 'Philo's *In Flaccum* and the Book of Acts,' in: R. Deines & K.-W. Niebuhr (eds), *Philo und das Neue Testament. Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 172), Tübingen 2004, 95–105.

[41] 'A Christian Platonist and a Pagan Platonist on Suicide,' *Vigiliae Christianae* 25 (1971) 282–288.

[42] 'Plato's Fear as a Topic in Early Christian Apologetics,' *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 6 (1998) 1–14, repr. In *Hellenism – Judaism – Christianity* 257–268.

[43] Amsterdam 1998.

[44] 'The Role of Scripture in Cyril of Scythopolis' *Lives of the Monks of Palestine*,' in J. Patrich (ed.), *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, Leuven 2001 [published in 2002], 127–145.

[45] Published as 'A New Early Christian Poem on the Sacrifice of Isaac,' in A. Hurst & J. Rudhardt (eds.), *Le Codex des Visions* (Recherches et rencontres 18), Geneva 2002, 155–172. This batch of papyri contains several more early Christian poems that deserve much more attention from patristic scholars; see A. Hurst & J. Rudhardt (eds), *Papyri Bodmer XXX–XXXVII: Codex des Visions, poèmes divers*, München 1999. For one of my earlier publications (with

Christian sources are concerned, we move to quite a late document, the seventh-century Ἐπαπορητικὰ κεφάλαια κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, 'Arguments to corner the Jews,' a short Byzantine manual in the form of 25 questions which should enable Christians in their disputations with Jews to drive them into a corner from which they could not escape (note ἐπαπορητικά). In this contribution I present the document in a first English translation and add some comments to place the document in its historical context.[46]

As to the pagan Graeco-Roman part of this volume, I already mentioned the studies on the shadow in Hellenistic folklore and the one on subtractive composite numerals. Apart from these, the reader will find an article on a recently found new fragment of the great philosophical inscription in the city of Oenoanda (Asia Minor), in which the Epicurean thinker Diogenes sets out his view of life according to Epicurus (the text is from the early 2nd century CE). The fragment also chides the Jews as 'the most superstitious and disgusting of all nations,' a statement that I try to put into the context of the tradition of ancient Judaeophobia[47] and of contemporary history. Jews and Christians were often charged with atheism in the ancient world because they did not worship the generally accepted gods, but they were no atheists in the strict sense, and there were very few atheists in antiquity in general, as far as we know. Nevertheless, atheism did originate in ancient Greece, but why and when and where? That is the topic of another article (originally published in Dutch but here presented in an English translation) in which I argue that even though the well-known Diagoras (5th century BCE) was the first outspoken atheist, it was in all probability Critias, a nephew of Plato's mother, who first invented a theory that the origin of religion was based on a cynical lust for power.

Finally, there are two pieces on magic, an interdenominational or syncretistic phenomenon of which the documents are often hard to categorize as pagan, Jewish or Christian. How difficult it often is to take such a decision (if possible at all) is demonstrated in the article on the great magical papyrus in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (PGM IV) and the Bible, as well as in the contribution on the exorcistic formula 'the God who drowned the king of Egypt,' which is of course of Jewish origin but was also in use among pagan magicians.[48]

A.H.M. Kessels) on a Bodmer papyrus see 'The Vision of Dorotheus (Pap. Bodmer 29). Edited with Introduction, Translation and Notes,' *Vigiliae Christianae* 41 (1987) 313–359.

[46] Originally published as 'Twenty-Five Questions to Corner the Jews: A Byzantine Anti-Jewish Document from the Seventh Century,' in E.G. Chazon, D. Satran & R.A. Clements (eds.), *Things Revealed. Studies in Early Jewish and Christian Literature in Honor of Michael E. Stone* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 89), Leiden 2004, 289–302.

[47] See P. Schäfer, *Judeophobia. Attitudes towards the Jews in the Ancient World*, Cambridge MA-London 1997.

[48] Originally published as "The God Who Drowned the King of Egypt.' A Short Note on an Exorcistic Formula,' in: A. Hilhorst & G.H. van Kooten (eds.), *The Wisdom of Egypt. Jewish, Early Christian, and Gnostic Studies in Honour of Gerard P. Luttikhuizen*, Leiden 2005, 135–140.

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