

PHILIPPA TOWNSEND

Ethnicity and Sacrifice in the Early Christian World

*Studien und Texte zu
Antike und Christentum
149*

Mohr Siebeck

Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum

Studies and Texts in Antiquity and Christianity

Herausgeber/Editors

LIV INGEBORG LIED (Oslo) · CHRISTOPH MARKSCHIES (Berlin)
MARTIN WALLRAFF (München) · CHRISTIAN WILDBERG (Pittsburgh)

Beirat/Advisory Board

PETER BROWN (Princeton) · SUSANNA ELM (Berkeley)
JOHANNES HAHN (Münster) · EMANUELA PRINZIVALLI (Rom)
JÖRG RÜPKE (Erfurt)

149



Philippa Townsend

Ethnicity and Sacrifice in the Early Christian World

Mohr Siebeck

Philippa Townsend, born 1975; degrees in Classics from Cambridge University and University College London, in Religion from Harvard University and Princeton University; 2009 PhD from Princeton in the Religions of Late Antiquity; Lecturer in Ancient Mediterranean Religions, University of Edinburgh.
orcid.org/0000-0002-8319-4941

ISBN 978-3-16-161783-6 / eISBN 978-3-16-200830-5
DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-200830-5

ISSN 1436-3003 / eISSN 2568-7433 (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available at <https://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2026 Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen.

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 and storage and processing in electronic systems. The right to use the content of this volume for the purpose of text and data mining within the meaning of Section 44b UrhG (Urheberrechtsgesetz) is expressly reserved.

Printed on non-aging paper.

Mohr Siebeck GmbH & Co. KG, Wilhelmstraße 18, 72074 Tübingen, Germany
www.mohrsiebeck.com, info@mohrsiebeck.com

Acknowledgements

This book has taken shape over many years and it is a great pleasure to acknowledge some of the many people who have contributed to it. The idea and initial research for the project began when I was a doctoral student at Princeton University.¹ I was fortunate then to have two brilliant and inspiring supervisors and mentors, Elaine Pagels and Peter Brown, and I have benefited immeasurably from their guidance, support, and scholarship. I owe huge thanks too to my other teachers at Princeton, especially John Gager, Martha Himmelfarb, Peter Schaefer, Jeff Stout, and Cornel West.

Eduard Iricinschi, Lance Jenott, and Kevin Wolfe deserve special thanks for years of intellectual discussion and treasured friendship. Lance read the chapter on the *Gospel of Judas* and offered many helpful comments. Eduard deserves particular thanks for reading and commenting on the entire manuscript, as well as for his support over many years.

I am fortunate to work at the School of Divinity at the University of Edinburgh, surrounded by brilliant and supportive colleagues. This book would not have been completed without the encouragement of Helen Bond and Sara Parvis. I am also very grateful to Anja Klein, Paul Foster, Matthew Novenson, Naomi Appleton, and Hannah Holtschneider for their collegiality and friendship.

Guy and Sarah Stroumsa deserve special thanks for their friendship, hospitality, and intellectual inspiration over many years.

I am deeply grateful to Christian Wildberg for all his help in bringing this book to publication. Thanks too to all the editors for accepting the book and

¹ Parts of this book are based on heavily revised versions of several chapters of my PhD dissertation, *Another Race? Ethnicity, Universalism, and the Emergence of Christianity* (Princeton University, 2009). A version of chapter 4 has previously been published as “Sacrifice and Race in the Gospel of Judas,” in Enno Edzard Popkes and Gregor Wurst, eds., *Judasevangelium und Codex Tchacos* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 149–172. A version of some of the material in chapter 7 has previously been published as “Bonds of Flesh and Blood: Porphyry, Animal Sacrifice, and Empire,” in Jennifer Wright Knust and Zsuzsanna Várhelyi, eds., *Ancient Mediterranean Sacrifice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). Thanks to the publishers for permission to reproduce material from those chapters.

for offering helpful comments on the manuscript, and to the team at Mohr Siebeck for technical assistance.

Aspects of the research have been presented at various forums over the years, including the Society for Biblical Literature and American Academy of Religion Annual Meetings, the British New Testament Society Conference, the Albright Institute for Archaeological Research, Princeton University, Bryn Mawr College, Ursinus College, the University of Washington at St Louis, the University of Edinburgh, the University of Nottingham, and the University of Copenhagen. I am grateful to everyone who provided helpful feedback on those occasions.

Finally, I must offer some inadequate thanks to the most important people in my life. To my brother Matthew Townsend, for years of love, friendship, and intellectual debate. To my parents, Patricia and Rodney Townsend, who have done more to support me and encourage me than anyone will ever know. I can never thank them enough. To my amazing husband, Peter Hayakawa, who helped with every aspect of the production of the book, from hours of discussing its ideas, to technical help with fonts and footnotes, to (most importantly) unfailing love, support, and belief in me. While this book could not have been completed without him, it is the least of the debts I owe him. And to Imogen and Jack, the joy of our lives. This book is dedicated, with endless love and gratitude, to my family.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	V
List of Abbreviations.....	XI
Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1. Race, Ethnicity, and Sacrifice: Ancient and Modern Intersections.....	8
A. <i>Race and Ethnicity: Definitions and Approaches</i>	8
B. <i>Biblical Interpretation in the Construction of Ethnicity</i>	15
C. <i>Ethnicity, Universalism, and the Construction of “Religion”</i> .	19
D. <i>Scholarship on Jewish and Christian Difference</i>	22
E. <i>Ancestry and Fluidity in Ancient Ethnic Definition</i>	29
F. <i>Sacrifice and Ethnicity in the Greco-Roman World</i>	33
G. <i>Sacrifice and Descent</i>	37
H. <i>Blood, Seed, and Spirit</i>	41
Chapter 2. <i>Jubilees’</i> Narratives of Sacrifice and Descent	48
A. <i>Jewish Narratives of Sacrifice and Descent</i>	49
B. <i>Jubilees: Text and Contexts</i>	53
C. <i>The Noachic Covenant: Cult and Cultivation</i>	56
D. <i>Sacrifice and the Seed of Abraham</i>	59
E. <i>Priestly Nation, Holy Seed</i>	67
F. <i>Conclusion</i>	73
Chapter 3. Sacrifice, Priesthood, and Descent in Hebrews and Beyond	74
A. <i>Ethnicity and Sacrifice in New Testament Texts</i>	74
B. <i>Sacrifice and Kinship in Hebrews</i>	77
C. <i>Melchizedek: Priest without Genealogy</i>	84
D. <i>Melchizedek: Priest of the Uncircumcised</i>	86
E. <i>Conclusion</i>	93

Chapter 4. Sacrifice and Dissent in the <i>Gospel of Judas</i>	96
A. <i>"Race" in the Gospel of Judas</i>	97
B. <i>Generative Blood and Christian Sacrifice</i>	102
C. <i>Sacrifice and Supersessionism</i>	107
D. <i>An Anti-Sacrificial Gospel?</i>	110
E. <i>Conclusion</i>	117
 Chapter 5. Justin and Celsus: Ethnicity in Middle Platonic Context	119
A. <i>A Dialogue with Whom?</i>	121
B. <i>The Relationship between Justin and Celsus</i>	128
C. <i>Ethnicity in Platonic Tradition</i>	132
D. <i>Conclusion</i>	141
 Chapter 6. Justin and Celsus: Debating Ethnicity and Sacrifice	143
A. <i>The Philosophical Setting of the Dialogue</i>	143
B. <i>Israelite Prophecy as Barbarian Wisdom</i>	148
C. <i>Sacrificial Cult and Ancestral Tradition</i>	154
D. <i>The Ethnic Implications of Daemonic Sacrifice</i>	161
E. <i>Sacrificial Ethnogenesis</i>	166
F. <i>The Universal Sacrifices of the New People</i>	170
G. <i>Conclusion</i>	171
 Chapter 7. Neoplatonic Debates on Ethnicity, Sacrifice, and Empire	173
A. <i>Origen's Theology of Race</i>	174
B. <i>Daemons, Ethnicity, and Sacrifice</i>	179
C. <i>Porphyry and Iamblichus on Sacrifice</i>	181
D. <i>Universalism and Empire</i>	193
E. <i>Julian and Sacrifice in the Fourth Century</i>	199
F. <i>Conclusion</i>	203
 Conclusion.....	205
 Bibliography	211
<i>Ancient Sources</i>	211
<i>Modern Sources</i>	214
 Index of Ancient Sources.....	233

<i>Hebrew Bible and Septuagint</i>	233
<i>New Testament</i>	234
<i>Ancient Authors and Texts</i>	235
 Index of Modern Authors	 241
Subject Index	245

List of Abbreviations

<i>Abst.</i>	Porphyry's <i>De Abstinencia</i>
<i>Adv. Jud.</i>	Tertullian's <i>Tractatus Adversus Judaeos</i>
<i>Apoc. Ab.</i>	<i>The Apocalypse of Abraham</i>
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>Cels.</i>	Origen's <i>Contra Celsum</i>
<i>Enn.</i>	Plotinus's <i>Enneads</i>
<i>Contra Gal.</i>	Julian's <i>Contra Galilaeos</i>
<i>Gos. Jud.</i>	<i>Gospel of Judas</i>
<i>Haer.</i>	Irenaeus' <i>Adversus Haereses</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JECS</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>Jub.</i>	<i>Jubilees</i>
<i>LNTS</i>	Library of New Testament Studies
<i>LXX</i>	Septuagint
<i>Myst.</i>	Iamblichus's <i>De Mysteriis</i>
<i>NHC</i>	Nag Hammadi Codex
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>RSR</i>	<i>Revue des sciences religieuses</i>
<i>Trypho</i>	Justin Martyr's <i>Dialogue with Trypho</i>

Introduction

Two parallel narratives have played a formative role in accounts of Christian innovation and distinctiveness. One is that early Christians rejected or metaphorized ethnic self-definition. The other is that they abandoned or spiritualized sacrifice. Recent scholarship has challenged both these narratives, but has tended to treat them separately. In this book, I explore ethnic and sacrificial discourses together, arguing that they are frequently interdependent in ancient texts (and sometimes in modern ones), and that analyzing their intersections gives us fresh insight into the ways in which Christians and others in the ancient Mediterranean world viewed themselves and their relationships to others. I argue that, far from rejecting or spiritualizing sacrifice or ethnic self-definition, many early Christians viewed sacrifice as a powerful mode of establishing and perpetuating their own sense of peoplehood within the ethnic landscape of the Roman Empire.

The role of ethno-racial discourses in the construction of early Christian identity has gained particular scholarly attention in recent times.¹ However,

¹ Examples include Judith Lieu, *Neither Jew Nor Greek? Constructing Early Christianity* (London: T&T Clark, 2002); Philip Esler, *Conflict and Identity in Romans: The Social Setting of Paul's Letter* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003); Denise Kimber Buell, *Why This New Race? Ethnic Reasoning in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005); Aaron P. Johnson, *Ethnicity and Argument in Eusebius' Praeparatio Evangelica* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Caroline Johnson Hodge, *If Sons, Then Heirs: A Study of Kinship and Ethnicity in the Letters of Paul* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Laura Nasrallah and Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, eds., *Prejudice and Christian Beginnings: Investigating Race, Gender, and Ethnicity in Early Christian Studies* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2009); Love L. Sechrest, *A Former Jew: Paul and the Dialectics of Race* (London: T&T Clark, 2010); Todd Berzon, *Classifying Christians: Ethnography, Heresiology, and the Limits of Knowledge in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016); Wongi Park, *The Politics of Race and Ethnicity in Matthew's Passion Narrative* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019); David G. Horrell, *Ethnicity and Inclusion: Religion, Race, and Whiteness in Constructions of Jewish and Christian Identities* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2020); Jin Young Choi and Mitzi J. Smith, eds., *Minoritized Women Reading Race and Ethnicity Intersectional Approaches to Constructed Identity and Early Christian Texts* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2020); and Janette Ok, *Constructing Ethnic Identity in 1 Peter: Who You Are No Longer* (London: T&T Clark, 2021). For a useful overview of the extensive scholarship up to 2018, see Todd Berzon, "Ethnicity and Early Christianity: New Approaches to Religious Kinship and Christianity," *Currents in Biblical Research* 16.2 (2018): 191–227.

scholarship on the relationships between ethnicity/race and early Christianity more broadly has a much longer history. For decades, postcolonialist and majority world scholars have drawn attention to the role that the Bible has played in the perpetuation of European colonialism and the construction of modern conceptions of race, and scholars from a variety of positionalities and hermeneutical perspectives have analyzed the ways in which racialized views have shaped interpretations of biblical texts.² These scholars opened up new ways of thinking about the intersections between race, ethnicity, and biblical studies and laid the ground for recent discussions of how we should understand early Christians' own views on race and ethnicity, and the extent to which early Christians saw themselves in ethnic terms.

A number of scholars have claimed that a significant change in the relationship between ethnic identification and religious practice in the early Christian era marked a decisive shift towards modern notions of religion.³ Others have seen changes in sacrificial practice as key to new forms of religiosity in this period. Guy Stroumsa, for example, has argued that "the end of sacrifice," is key to "profound transformations of religion in late antiquity," as animal sacrifice, which had been at the heart of ancient Mediterranean communities for centuries, was eventually outlawed with the Christianization of the Roman Empire.⁴ Stroumsa positions both rabbinic Judaism and Christianity as products of

² Influential works on this topic include Cain Hope Felder, ed., *Stony the Road We Trod: African American Biblical Interpretation* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991); R. S. Sugirtharajah, ed., *Voices from the Margin: Interpreting the Bible from the Third World* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2006); Musa W. Dube, *Postcolonial Feminist Interpretation of the Bible* (St. Louis: Chalice Press, 2000); Stephen D. Moore and Fernando F. Segovia, eds., *Postcolonial Biblical Criticism* (London: T&T Clark, 2005); Randall C. Bailey, Tat-Siong Benny Liew and Fernando F. Segovia, eds., *They Were All Together in One Place? Toward Minority Biblical Criticism* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2009); and Kwok Pui Lan, *Postcolonial Politics and Theology: Unraveling Empire for a Global World* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2021).

³ Steve Mason, "Jews, Judaeans, Judaizing, Judaism: Problems of Categorization in Ancient History," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 38.4–5 (2007): 457–512; Jeremy Schott, *Christianity, Empire, and the Making of Religion in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); Seth Schwartz, *Imperialism and Jewish Society: 200 B.C.E. to 640 C.E.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009); Daniel Boyarin, *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

⁴ Guy Stroumsa, chapter 1, "The End of Sacrifice," in *The Making of the Abrahamic Religions in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 23–41; here, 23. See also Stroumsa, *La fin du sacrifice: Les mutations religieuses de l'Antiquité tardive* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2005).

the transformations in ritual and reading practices necessitated by the destruction of the Jewish Temple in 70 C.E.⁵ But despite the title of his work, *The End of Sacrifice*, Stroumsa also points out:

the deep ambiguity of sacrifice. Transformed, reinterpreted, metaphorized, memorized, it seems never to die out quite completely. Late antiquity experienced the end of public sacrifices as the core of religious praxis, but that did not mean an end to the very idea of sacrifice.⁶

In what follows, I argue that an examination of the intricate relationships between sacrificial and ethnic discourses in the first few centuries C.E. illuminates their inseparable role in shaping the late antique religious landscape. Sacrifice did not lose relevance for early Christians and their contemporaries, any more than ethnicity did; if anything, our sources reveal a heightened intensity and reflectiveness in their engagements with sacrificial *and* ethnic ideas.⁷ New forms of cult and community emerged from these engagements, but claims that Christians emptied “religion” of sacrificial or ethnic significance cannot adequately account for these innovations. Nor were early Christians alone in reconfiguring understandings of ritual practice and peoplehood. My contention is that sacrifice in this period was a key discursive site *across* Jewish, Christian, and pagan communities for the negotiation of ethno-religious identity in an imperial context.⁸

⁵ For a rich study demonstrating the ongoing importance of sacrifice in rabbinic texts, see Mira Balberg, *Blood for Thought: The Reinvention of Sacrifice in Early Rabbinic Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2017).

⁶ Stroumsa, *The Making of the Abrahamic Religions*, 38.

⁷ For an important critique of the assumption that early Christians rejected the temple and the sacrificial system, see Eyal Regev, *The Temple in Early Christianity: Experiencing the Sacred* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), 3–6.

⁸ I use the terms “pagan” and “Gentile” throughout to designate myriad ethno-religious communities throughout the Greco-Roman world with whom Jews and Christians were interacting. I recognize the problematic nature of these terms and the fact that they do not (usually) reflect people’s self-designations, and only use them as a convenient shorthand, without making assumptions about unified views or practices among diverse non-Jewish and non-Christian peoples. I also use the term “Jews” rather than “Judaean” throughout, since I do not want to obscure the important connections between these ancient texts and modern Jewish identities, as well as modern debates about Jewish-Christian relations; for a helpful discussion, see Amy-Jill Levine, “Proclamation, Translation, Implication: Addressing the Vilification of ‘the Jews’,” in James W. Barker, Anthony Le Donne, and Joel N. Lohr, eds., *Found in Translation: Essays on Jewish Biblical Translation in Honor of Leonard J. Greenspoon* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2018), 265–303. I use the term “Christian” in a general sense throughout, though I avoid it when specifically referring to Jesus-followers in the first century, as I want to avoid the implication that Christians stood outside Judaism in any meaningful sense in this early period. Even in the case of 1 Peter, a text I discuss in chapter 3, the term “Christian” seems to be used as an outsider designation rather

The traditional scholarly focus on Christian polemics against pagan and Jewish sacrifice (and particularly animal sacrifice) has sometimes obscured the extent to which sacrifice was also being contested within other religious communities. In fact, despite its prevalence, sacrifice increasingly became a subject of innovation and controversy in the first few centuries C.E.⁹ Although scholarship on early Christianity sometimes treats pagan and Jewish sacrificial practices as static systems, in opposition to which Christians were constructing their own ideals, many Jewish and pagan writers and intellectuals also engaged in debates about sacrifice and temple cult. Sacrificial discourses, then, did not provide clear dividing lines between Christians, Jews, and pagans, but structured internal divisions within groups, and provided points of connection, as well as of rupture, between religious communities usually viewed as distinct. The commonalities between Christian, Jewish, and pagan discourses of sacrifice, as well as the fractures *within* Christian communities over the issue, should caution us against treating sacrifice simply as a marker of differentiation between Christians on the one hand, and pagans or Jews on the other.

I build on the work of scholars, most notably Nancy Jay, who have demonstrated the role that sacrifice has often played in mediating and constructing kinship, particularly in the ancient Mediterranean.¹⁰ While my book does not seek to explain the function or symbolism of sacrifice in universal terms, it demonstrates that many ancient sources evince strong discursive connections between sacrifice and kinship or ethnicity, which have so far remained under-explored. I argue that discourses which, from a modern perspective, might be distinguished as either *ethno-racial* (related to ancestry, kinship, biology, language, and geography) or *religious* (related to worship, ritual, and the divine), were co-constitutive in the early Christian world, as they are in different ways today. In particular, by focusing on the ways in which sacrificial discourses operated in ancient Mediterranean texts, I show that they played an important role in the ancient “race-religion nexus,”¹¹ and that many of the innovative and

than a self-identification. For my reflections on the origins and early usage of the term “Christian,” see Philippa Townsend, “Who Were the First Christians? Jews, Gentiles and the Christianoi,” in Eduard Iricinischi and Holger Zellentin, eds., *Heresy and Identity in Late Antiquity* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 212–30.

⁹ Ingvald Gilhus, *Animals, Gods and Humans: Changing Attitudes to Animals in Greek, Roman and Early Christian Ideas* (London: Routledge, 2006), 114 ff.; See also Stroumsa, *La fin du sacrifice*, 105 ff.

¹⁰ Nancy Jay, *Throughout Your Generations Forever: Sacrifice, Religion, and Paternity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

¹¹ I take this term from Yolande Jansen and Nasar Meer, “Genealogies of ‘Jews’ and ‘Muslims’: Social Imaginaries in the Race-Religion Nexus,” in Jansen and Meer, eds., *Social Imaginaries in the Race-Religion Nexus. A Special Issue Guest-edited by Yolande Jansen and Nasar Meer, Patterns of Prejudice* 54.1–2 (2020): 1–14, here, 11.

distinctive ways that sacrifice was conceptualized in this period should be understood as part of the process by which Christians, Jews, and others were negotiating their sense of peoplehood within the Roman Empire. Christians were participating in a broader context, in which sacrifice was understood to be fundamental to the construction and maintenance of kinship groups, and more broadly, ethno-racial boundaries. Analyzing Christian texts within this context provides new insights both into an important aspect of “ethnic reasoning” in early Christianity, and also into the development of early Christian theologies of sacrifice.¹²

The focus of this book is on discourse, rather than practice. It explores the ways in which our sources discuss and interpret sacrifice, use sacrificial imagery, and develop sacrificial narratives as they construct and contest ethnic identities within an imperial context. As I shall argue, the discourses that Christians and others in the ancient world developed as they navigated their position in the ethnic landscape of the Roman Empire are still relevant today, as they have contributed to modern understandings of the relationship between ethnicity and religion, and of Christianity to other ethno-religious communities.

Summary of Chapters

In chapter 1, I provide context for the study, delineating the significance of the interpretation of early Christian and Jewish texts for modern conceptions of race, ethnicity and sacrifice, and setting out my own position on key theoretical issues. I also explain my definitions of the key terms of my study.

Each remaining chapter of the book focuses on a particular text or set of texts, ranging across time periods and religious traditions within the Greco-Roman world.

Chapter 2 focuses on sacrificial narratives in the Second Temple Jewish text the book of *Jubilees*. I argue that *Jubilees* deploys the paradoxes of its generative sacrificial imagery to support its particular vision of the nature and boundaries of Israel as a “kingdom of priests.” While *Jubilees* is often held up as the paradigmatic “ethnic” Jewish text, with its insistence on the purity of Isaac’s seed, I argue that even in this text, ritual, and specifically sacrificial ritual, plays an important role in mediating genealogy.

Chapter 3 examines the nexus between sacrifice and ethnicity in the New Testament Epistle to the Hebrews. Hebrews works within a Jewish context to activate the genealogical power of the priesthood for its new covenant and for the salvation of the “seed of Abraham.” I argue that while Hebrews itself is not

¹² I take the term “ethnic reasoning” from Buell, *Why this New Race?*, 2, but from hereon will not generally place it in quotation marks as I use it frequently throughout the book and it has become common usage in scholarship on early Christianity in recent decades.

a supersessionist text, its construction of Melchizedek, the priest “without genealogy,” opens up powerful possibilities for later Gentile Christians to harness the generative nature of priesthood for their vision of a Gentile people that replaces the Jews. In these later texts, Melchizedek becomes the “priest of the uncircumcised,” who charts an explicitly Gentile priestly nation.

Chapter 4 examines ethnic and sacrificial reasoning in a non-canonical Christian text, the Coptic *Gospel of Judas*. Rather than interpreting the text in terms of a “Gnostic” rejection of material sacrifice, I argue that we can read it productively within an ongoing debate among Christians about the relationship of ritual practice to peoplehood. I also show how the *Gospel of Judas* uses anti-Jewish polemics around sacrifice to denigrate its Christian opponents as still mired in the “fleshly” practices of the Jews, as well as to construct its own concept of a great and holy race.

Chapters 5 and 6 explore ethnic and sacrificial rhetoric in two second-century Middle Platonic texts: Celsus’s *True Doctrine* and Justin Martyr’s *Dialogue with Trypho*. My analysis shows how second-century Christian ideas about sacrifice and peoplehood were developed within a broader Greco-Roman philosophical context. Placing Justin’s *Dialogue* in conversation with Celsus’s *True Doctrine* reveals how its arguments about ancestry, peoplehood and cult make sense within philosophical debates between Christians, pagans, and Jews about the relationship of ethnicity to sacrificial practice. Further, I explore how Justin deploys sacrificial ideas in his attempt to construct an ethnic identity for Christians as a people generated by the sacrificial activity of Jesus.

Chapter 7 traces these Platonic debates into the third and fourth century, exploring how the Neoplatonists Origen, Porphyry and Iamblichus navigate ethnic cult and tradition within the overlapping contexts of theological universalism and imperial power. The commonalities and disagreements between these thinkers did not fall simply along the lines of Christian versus pagan, but show how they each produced their distinctive visions within a shared discursive context that recognized the role of sacrificial cult in mediating ethnic connections to the divine. I argue that the Emperor Julian’s attempt to revive animal sacrifice in the fourth century emerges from this same debate about the relationship of individual nations to the universal God.

These chapters are not intended to provide a comprehensive survey, but rather to show how reading these texts in the context of the persistent discursive association between sacrifice and ethnicity in the ancient Mediterranean illuminates their particular arguments, and uncovers important connections between them. I am aware that there is much more to be said about each example than can be covered in a single chapter, and many more examples that I have not touched upon; indeed, I believe that each one of the cases addressed in these chapters would repay book-length treatments in themselves. Rather than treat a single example in exhaustive detail, I have chosen to demonstrate the broad significance of this shared discursive context for understanding the shifts

in ideas about sacrifice, religion, and ethnicity in this period, and the ways in which they have helped to shape how we think about these concepts centuries later. Through my analysis of these individual texts, I show how Christian ideas about sacrifice were frequently developed in service of their attempts to navigate their ethnic status within the empire, rather than out of an abstract commitment to “spiritualization.” Understanding the connections between sacrifice and ethnic identity in the ancient world reveals new insights into why early Christians developed many sacrificial ideas that still persist today.

Chapter 1

Race, Ethnicity, and Sacrifice: Ancient and Modern Intersections

A. Race and Ethnicity: Definitions and Approaches

My approach in this book is consonant with that of other scholars who view race and ethnicity as “perspectives on the world, rather than entities in the world,” in the words of the influential sociologist Rogers Brubaker.¹ Brubaker’s approach draws heavily on a famous essay by Fredrik Barth, who argued for a shift away from identifying ethnic groups on the basis of certain common characteristics, towards examining ethnicity as a form of *boundary-making*: “The critical focus of investigation from this point of view becomes the ethnic *boundary* that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses.”² My focus in this book is not on adjudicating whether or not early Christians or Jews constituted ethnic groups, based on certain characteristics they possessed or lacked, but on how Christians, Jews, and others used “ethnic reasoning,” in particular situations and for particular effects.³

¹ Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity Without Groups* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 4. Also see chapter 3, “Ethnicity as Cognition,” 64–87, for an extended discussion of this approach. As Brubaker explains: “Rather than take ‘groups’ as basic units of analysis, cognitive perspectives shift analytical attention to ‘group-making’ and ‘grouping’ activities such as classification, categorization, and identification. By its very nature, categorization creates ‘groups’ and assigns members to them; but the groups thus created do not exist independently of the myriad acts of categorization, public and private, through which they are sustained from day to day. Race, ethnicity, and nationality exist only in and through our perceptions, interpretations, representations, classifications, categorizations, and identifications. They are not things in the world, but perspectives on the world — not ontological but epistemological realities” (79). Buell and Park are among those scholars of early Christianity who develop sophisticated approaches based on viewing race and ethnicity discursively, though there are some differences of emphasis in their approaches. See Buell, *Why this New Race?*, 1–5, and Park, *The Politics of Race and Ethnicity*, 2–3.

² Fredrik Barth, “Introduction,” in Barth, ed., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference* (Long Grove, Illinois: Waveland Press, 1998; originally published Bergen: Universitetsforlaget, 1969), 9–38; here, 15.

³ Buell, *Why this New Race?*, 1.

I use the terms “ethnicity” and “race,” with reference to boundary-making discourses that appeal particularly to ideas of common ancestry and kinship, often believed to be marked by shared cultural, physical, linguistic or religious traits.⁴ However, different aspects of this definition come to the fore in different contexts, and an important aspect of my project is to explore how the significance of these different aspects shifts across texts and contexts. I do not, therefore, find it helpful to employ too restrictive a definition as I am interested precisely in how these different elements are emphasised or constructed in various ways depending on the context in which they are being used.

“Ethnicity” and “race” are, of course, modern terms. I use them here, not because I believe they map in any straightforward way onto ancient categories (any more than many other terms we apply in studies of the ancient world, such as gender, society or religion), but rather because they provide productive ways to analyze and make sense of aspects of our ancient sources and connect them to contemporary debates, both within and outside the academy.⁵ Employing the terms “race” and “ethnicity” in our analysis of ancient texts, while recognizing the variety of their usages in modern times, enables us to identify continuities as well as disjunctions with the past, to highlight the contemporary implications of the interpretation of ancient sources, and to focus on the ways in which the interpretation of ancient texts has contributed to modern ideas.

Scholars have generally been more comfortable with applying the term “ethnicity” than “race” to ancient analysis, doubtless in part because it is etymologically related to the Greek word *ethnos*.⁶ However, we should be careful not to be misled by such linguistic cognates into thinking that “ethnicity” is any less a modern conception than “race.”⁷ Contemporary uses of both terms have similarities and differences with ancient notions of identification, which were themselves multifarious. Furthermore, the claim that “race,” in particular, is securely an invention of modern Europe has been challenged by scholars of both modern and premodern times.⁸ While it is certainly true that the theories of race developed in modern Europe and America have aspects that would have been alien to people of the ancient world, there are also more similarities than

⁴ For other scholars of the ancient world who discuss ethnicity particularly in terms of a belief in common ancestry or kinship, see for example, Jonathan Hall, *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 9–10; Caroline Johnson Hodge, *If Sons, Then Heirs*, 15–17.

⁵ Buell, *Why this New Race?*, 14.

⁶ Denise Eileen McCoskey, *Race: Antiquity and Its Legacy* (London: I. B. Tauris & Company, 2019), 29.

⁷ Buell, *Why this New Race?*, 28–29.

⁸ For a genealogy of White supremacy as a distinctly modern concept, see Cornel West, *Prophesy Deliverance! An African American Revolutionary Christianity* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 2002), 48.

some would care to admit, as Benjamin Isaac has persuasively demonstrated.⁹ Indeed, contemporary narratives of how race has operated in the past have often elided complexity, as Ann Stoler has argued. Scholars tend to attribute ideas of “fixity” to “modern” theories of race, while characterizing “post-modern” theories as “fluid,” emphasizing the constructed and flexible nature of concepts such as race and kinship. However, Stoler notes that in her own work on Dutch colonialism in the East Indies, she has come across a far greater range of historical modes of racial categorization than simply that of “biological determinism.”¹⁰

In fact, while the concept of “race” is sometimes associated more with biological and essentialist views of human difference, and that of “ethnicity” with classifications based on cultural difference, in practice the two often merge and are frequently difficult to distinguish in popular or academic usage. In modern discourse, the concepts of both “race” and “ethnicity” frequently appeal to perceptions of shared ancestry, kinship, and physical traits, as well as to cultural, geographical, linguistic, and religious commonalities. I therefore follow those

⁹ Benjamin Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004) and Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin Isaac, and Joseph Ziegler, eds., *The Origins of Racism in the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). Thomas Harrison has argued, however, that Isaac still attempts to maintain problematic and potentially apologetic distinctions between ancient “proto-racism” and modern “racism”: “there may be grounds for concern precisely in the precision with which we seek to analyse ancient prejudice: it seems possible at times that we are setting a threshold for ancient prejudice that would be difficult to meet in any environment – as if we were engaged in a courtroom process engineered for acquittal... What this misses, however, is the malleability of racist discourse, its capacity, in particular, to find more publicly acceptable proxy forms” (Harrison, “Reinventing the Barbarian,” *Classical Philology* 115.2 [2020]: 139–163; here, 153). Other major contributions to the debate on race, ethnicity, and racism with respect to the classical world include, but are not limited to: A.N. Sherwin-White, *Racial Prejudice in Imperial Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967); Frank Snowden Jr., *Before Color Prejudice: The Ancient View of Blacks* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983); Lloyd Thompson, *Romans and Blacks* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989); Cain Hope Felder, ed., *Stony the Road We Trod* (see especially chapter 6, “Race, Racism, and the Biblical Narratives,” 127–145); Jonathan M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) and also idem, *Hellenicity*; Emma Dench, *Romulus’ Asylum: Roman Identities from the Age of Alexander to the Age of Hadrian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Kostas Vlassopoulos, *Greeks and Barbarians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); and Erich S. Gruen, *Ethnicity in the Ancient World – Did it Matter?* (Berlin: DeGruyter, 2020).

¹⁰ Ann Laura Stoler, chapter 21, “Racial Histories and their Regimes of Truth,” in Philomena Essed and David Theo Davis, eds., *Race Critical Theories: Text and Context* (Malden MA: Wiley, 2001), 369–391. Denise Kimber Buell adopts Stoler’s approach productively in her work; see Buell, *Why this New Race?*, 4, on the concepts of “fixity” and “fluidity” in racial discourses.

Index of Ancient Sources

Hebrew Bible and Septuagint

<i>Genesis</i>		23:39	64
1:26–27	17		
2:7	16–17	<i>Numbers</i>	
9:4	45	4:12	79
9:4–6	57–58	4:26	79
11:28	62	7:5	79
12	50		
13	62	<i>Deuteronomy</i>	
14	84	12:23	45
15	60	12:31	110
15:5–6	60	16:13	64
15:7	62	32	68
15:11	60	32:7–8	176
17:14	167	32:8–9	68, 162
22	65		
22:16–17	49	<i>Joshua</i>	
34	69	24:2	59
34:13–17	70		
		<i>2 Kings</i>	
<i>Exodus</i>		17:15–17	110
2:3–4	61		
12:43	64	<i>2 Chronicles</i>	
12:43–49	52	24:14	79
12:48	64		
19:5–6	69	<i>Ezra</i>	
19:6	67, 76–77	9–10	52
24	56, 75–76		
24:5–8	52	<i>Psalms</i>	
24:8	81	2:7	86
31:10	79	18:43	170
		44	157
<i>Leviticus</i>		95	179
14:10	170	95:5	162
17:8–9	52	106:34–38	110
17:11	45	110	86, 90, 92, 166
18:29	71	110:4	86

<i>Isaiah</i>		<i>Malachai</i>	
56:6–7	52	1:10–12	102, 170
66:19–21	92		
		<i>Tobit</i>	
<i>Jeremiah</i>		13:11	52
31:31	83		
<i>Hosea</i>			
4:12–5:7	52		
<i>Zechariah</i>			
14:16	52		

New Testament

<i>Matthew</i>		5:22	157
13:3–9	101		
26:26–29	75	<i>Hebrews</i>	
		1:1–2	79
<i>Mark</i>		1:3	79
4:3–9	101	1:4	79
13:30	98	1:14	79
14:22–25	75, 109	2:10–11	79
		2:14	81–83
<i>Luke</i>		2:16	79, 83
8:4–8	101	2:17	80
22:15–20	75	5:4	85
		5:5	86
<i>John</i>		5:6	86
3:5–8	100	5:10	85
13:27	114	6:20	85
		7:3	85
<i>Acts</i>		7:9–10	85
17:26	16	7:11–27	85
		7:13–15	85
<i>Romans</i>		7:15	86
9:6	168	8:8	83
		9:15	81
<i>1 Corinthians</i>		9:18–20	81
10:16–18	109	10:19–22	82
11:27	109	11:4	80
15:37	104	11:19	80
		11:28	81
<i>Ephesians</i>		12:1	80
2:11–12	77	12:23	81
2:13	77		
2:13–19	77	<i>1 Peter</i>	

1:3–4	76	5:9–10	76–77
1:18–19	76		
2:5	76		
2:9–10	76		

Revelation

Ancient Authors and Texts

<i>4 Baruch</i>		4.7	108
8–9	50	5.1	108
		5.7	108
<i>4 Ezra (2 Esdras)</i>		7.5	108
9.38–10.54	51	13.1	108
<i>Acts of Justin</i>		<i>Bereshit Rabbah</i>	
1.1	155	38	59
5.4	155	43.6	93
5.8	155		
Aelius Aristides		<i>Corpus Hermeticum</i>	
<i>Roman Oration</i>		12.13	192
26.63	195, 197	15.1–2	192
Ammianus Marcellinus		<i>Didache</i>	
<i>History</i>		14	102, 109
22.12.6	199	Eusebius	
<i>Apocalypse of Abraham</i>		<i>Praeparatio Evangelica</i>	
10.12	51	9.10.3–5	189
Aristotle		<i>Gospel of Judas</i>	
<i>De Interpretatione I</i>		33.1–6	109
16A3–8	189	33.6–9	101
Augustine		33.22–34.2	108
<i>City of God</i>		34.2–13	108
10.2	189	34.13–18	108
10.32	186	36.15–21	97
<i>Babylonian Talmud Nedarim</i>		36.17–37.16	108
32B	93	37.1–8	99, 117
Bardaisan		37.17–20	99
<i>Book of the Laws of Countries</i>		38.1–39.3	106
54–58	201	39.12–17	106
Barnabas		39.18–40.2	109
<i>Epistle of Barnabas</i>		41.1–2	114
		43.6–11	100
		43.11–44.7	101, 105
		49.5–6	101
		56.11–57.14	112, 116
		56.17–21	111

		1	56
Herodotus		1–4	56
<i>Histories</i>		1.10	68
2	190	6.7	57
8.144	11, 31	7.26–33	58
		7.34–35	58
Iamblichus		7.36	58
<i>On the Mysteries</i>		7.37	58
2.11	188	11	59
5.1	187	11.4	59
5.2	198	11.11–13	59
5.10	187	11–12	51
5.11	187	12.12	61
5.14	192	12.14	62
5.15	193	12.22	61
5.25	188	12.26	61
7.4	189, 190	12.27	62
7.5	189–191	14.4–6	60
		14.9–11	61
Ignatius		14.12	60
<i>Letter to the Romans</i>		14.19	61
4.1–2	109	15	71
		15.13	71
Irenaeus		16.13	60, 62
<i>Adversus Haereses</i>		26	71
1.31.1	96		
4.17.1	112	<i>Judith</i>	
4.17.4	102	5	50
4.17.5	102		
4.18.2	103	Julian	
4.18.3	115	<i>Contra Galilaeos</i>	
4.18.5	103	99E	200
5.2.3	102, 104	106B	200
5.9.1	105	143A–B	201
5.9.2	107	143D–E	201
5.9.3	105	176A–C	202
5.9.4	105	347C	202
Isocrates			
<i>Panegyricus</i>		Justin Martyr	
4.50	31	<i>Apology</i>	
		1.14.3	122
Josephus		1.23.1–3	152
<i>Antiquities</i>		1.26.6	153
11.7–8	50	1.29.3	129
<i>Contra Apionem</i>		1.31.1–1.53.12	152
2.3.28	149	2.3	127
<i>Jubilees</i>		<i>Dialogue with Trypho</i>	
		1.2	146
		1.3	146

2.2	153	83.4	162
3.1	152	113	166
7.1	152	116.3	168
8.3	147	117	108
10.1	157	117.4–5	171
10.3	158	119	108
11.5	121, 169	119.3–4	121, 151, 166
13.1	166	120.6	129
19	159	123.1	170
19–22	159	131.5	166
19.5	167	132.1	160
19.6	162	135	108, 169
22.1	160	135.3	121
23.1	159	135.6	121, 168
23.2	159	136.3	160
23.3	169	138.2	121, 161
23.5	159	141.6	124
28.4	159		
28.5–6	170	Lucian	
29.1	170	<i>On Sacrifices</i>	
32–34	151	10	184
32.1	152		
33.2	167	Melito of Sardis	
36–40	151	<i>On Pascha</i>	
41	108	92–99	108
41.1–3	171		
43.1	162	Modestinus	
43.8	169	<i>Digest</i>	
44.2	160	48.8.11	155
46.2	161		
48–54	151	<i>Nag Hammadi Codex</i>	
48.2	146, 154	III	
50.1	145	62.14–24	116
51	151	V	
51.1	151	76.14–15	116
55.2	162	IX	
56	159	6.28–7.5	115
56.16	145	8–9	115
63.1	151	15–16	115
63.5	157	16.7–9	115
67.5	158		
67.8	160	Numenius	
68.8	153	<i>Fragments</i>	
69	162	9A	138
69.4	157	13	138
79.4	162		
77.1	151	Origen	
83	166	<i>Contra Celsum</i>	
83.2–3	166	1.2	137

1.8	130	8.24	164
1.14	148, 153	8.55	141
1.16	148–149, 152	8.60	164, 182
1.19–20	138	8.62	164
1.21–22	149	8.63	164
1.24	192	8.72	163
1.28	120, 175		
1.37	169	Plato	
1.49	175	<i>Epistles</i>	
1.55	175	VII	
1.50	151	341C–D	153
2.1	155	344C	153, 191
2.6	158	<i>Phaedrus</i>	
2.27	153	274–5	191
2.31	151	274D	153
3.2	179	<i>Timaeus</i>	
3.4–5	154	18D–19A	139
3.5	149	21B–25D	136
3.12	153	23B–C	139
3.29	181	24C–D	139
3.34	180	<i>Symposium</i>	
3.35	180	202E	164
3.50	145		
4.22	178	Pliny	
4.32	178–180	<i>Letters</i>	
5.10	178	10.96	155
5.25	140, 158–159, 163, 176–177, 184	Plotinus	
5.30	177	<i>Enneads</i>	
5.31	176, 178	2.3.12	139
5.32	177	2.3.14	139
5.33	155	2.9.18	140
5.37	177		
5.41	155	Porphry	
5.50	149	<i>De Abstinencia</i>	
5.62	153	1.30	198
6.9	152	1.33	198
6.32	144	2.5–32	184
6.80	151	2.33	183
7.1	180	2.34	184
7.18	158	2.34–36	182
7.26	179	2.34–39	115
7.36	144	2.37	183
7.42	144	2.38–39	182
7.45	144	2.43	183
7.68	163	2.49	184
8.2	163	2.51	196
8.3	179	2.56	197
8.21	163	2.59	184

3.5	195	Tertullian	
3.21	197	<i>Apology</i>	
3.25	185–186	9	113
4.11	197	50.13	106
<i>Letter to Marcella</i>		<i>Adversus Judaeos</i>	
18	184	1.3	91
<i>Life of Plotinus</i>		1.7–8	91
1	132	2.7	92
<i>Philosophy from Oracles</i>		2.14	92
324F	189	3.1	92
		5.1	91
Ptolemy		13.20–21	113
<i>Tetrabiblos</i>		13.21	91
3.1–3	201		
		<i>The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs</i>	
Seneca		<i>Testament of Simeon</i>	
<i>Epistulae Morales</i>		7.1–2	89
90	160	<i>Testament of Levi</i>	
		4.4	89
<i>Sybilline Oracles</i>		8.3	89
3	50	10	89
		10.2	89
Tacitus		14–16	89
<i>Histories</i>		14.2	89
5.5.1	156	18	89

Index of Modern Authors

- Addey, Crystal 182, 186–187, 189
Allert, Craig D. 124–125, 129
Andresen, Carl 120, 123, 128–132, 135, 147
Arendt, Hannah 21
Armstrong, A. H. 150, 153
Arnold, Johannes 119
Asad, Talal 28
Athanassiadi, Polymnia 164, 203
Attridge, Harold 81, 83
- Bader, Robert 119
Bailey, Randall 2
Balberg, Mira 3, 46, 48–49, 66
Balibar, Etienne 11–12
Barnard, Leslie William 146
Barth, Fredrik 8
Barton, Carlin 15
Beard, Mary 32
Becker, Adam H. 92, 122
Belayche, Nicole 104, 199–200
Berthelot, Katell 65, 110
Berzon, Todd 1
Biale, David 45
Bickerman, Elias J. 135
Boccaccini, Gabriele 23
Boustán, Ra'anán 46
Bowersock, Glen W. 196
Bowie, E. L. 196
Boyarín, Daniel 2, 15, 23, 26–29, 132–133, 140, 159, 168
Boys-Stones, G. R. 120, 127, 134, 137, 150
Bradbury, Scott 104, 192, 199–200
Brakke, David 96–97, 204
Brankaer, Johanna 99, 108
Brock, Sebastian P. 60
Brooks, Roger 175
Brubaker, Rogers 8
- Buch-Hansen, Gitte 45
Buell, Denise Kimber 1, 5, 8–11, 19, 21, 23–28, 33, 50, 94, 101, 121, 126, 138, 150, 154, 156–157, 161, 168–169, 176
Burkert, Walter 35
Burns, Dylan 174
Butler, Judith 193
Byron, Gay L. 23
- Cargill, Robert R. 84
Carter, J. Kameron 21
Castelli, Elizabeth A. 107
Chadwick, Henry 119, 123, 130, 138, 144, 150, 181
Chidester, David 28
Chilton, Bruce 47, 66, 152
Choi, Jin Young 1
Clark, Gillian 181, 184, 186, 189, 194
Clarke, Emma C. 181, 189–190, 194
Cohen, Shaye 28, 53, 91
Collman, Ryan D. 90
Compton, Jared 86
Concannon, Cavan 75
Cook, John Granger 148–149
Cooper, Erica Faye 12, 45
Corke-Webster, James 120, 124, 127, 156
Cosgrove, Charles H. 125
Crawford, Cory D. 54, 60
Cross, Frank Moore 52
- Dalgaard, Kaspar 84
Daly, Robert J. 35, 42, 47, 66
Daniélou, Jean 177
Davies, Philip R. 66
de Jonge, Marinus 88–90
De Lange, N. R. M. 175
DeConick, April 96, 99–100, 106–107, 110–114

- den Dulk, Matthijs 125–126, 175–177
 Dench, Emma 10, 30–32, 124, 197
 Des Places, Édouard 138, 153, 184
 DeSilva, David A. 88–89
 Detienne, Marcel 35
 Digeser, Elizabeth DePalma 173, 181
 Dodds, E. R. 186
 Donaldson, Terence L. 23, 29, 96
 Droge, Arthur J. 129–130, 153, 156, 158, 164
 Dube, Musa W. 2
 DuBois, Page 103
 Dunderberg, Ismo 114, 116
 Dunn, Geoffrey D. 91
 Dunnill, John 66, 80–84
 Dörrie, Heinrich 135
- Eberhart, Christian 36, 42–43, 46, 66, 107, 113
 Edwards, Mark J. 28, 123, 138, 144, 194
 Ehrman, Bart D. 98, 111–112, 116
 Eidevall, Göran 113
 Eilberg-Schwartz, Howard 169
 Eisenbaum, Pamela 40, 75, 78–80, 86
 Eliav-Feldon, Miriam 10, 21
 Elliott, John H. 76
 Engberg-Pedersen, Troels 45
 Equiano, Olaudah 16–17
 Esler, Philip 1, 24, 28, 31, 48
- Felder, Cain Hope 2
 Feldman, Liane M. 21, 52
 Figueira, Thomas J. 11
 Fletcher-Louis, Crispin 78
 Fowden, Garth 192
 Frankfurter, David 35–36
 Fredriksen, Paula 23, 28, 33, 164
 Frey, Jörg 33
- Gager, John G. 148–149
 Gardner, Jane 38, 156
 Gilders, William K. 36, 45, 56
 Gilhus, Ingvild Saelid 4, 36, 107
 Glaim, Aaron 113
 Goldenberg, David M. 17
 Goldhill, Simon 30, 195–196
 Goodenough, Erwin Ramsdell 123–125, 129, 144
 Granerød, Gard 84
- Grant, Robert M. 129–132, 150, 160
 Gruen, Erich S. 10, 24, 32, 54, 137, 156
 Guthrie, George 81–83
- Hahn, Scott 52–53, 81
 Hall, Edith 137
 Hall, Jonathan M. 9–10, 30–31, 185, 195
 Halpern-Amaru, Betsy 53, 59–61
 Hanneken, Todd R. 45, 57–58
 Harlow, Daniel C. 51
 Harnack, Adolf von 23, 124
 Harrison, Thomas 10, 31–32, 137
 Hartog, François 137, 191
 Hauck, Robert John 174
 Hay, David M. 86
 Hayes, Christine Elizabeth 70–72
 Heschel, Susannah 14–15, 18, 44, 47
 Heyman, George 36, 107
 Himmelfarb, Martha. 26, 67–72, 168
 Hodge, Caroline Johnson 1, 9, 75
 Hollander, Harm W. 88–90
 Horbury, William 175
 Horrell, David G. 1, 22–23, 76
 Horton, Fred L. 84, 90, 93
 Hugenerberger, Gordon 53
 Huizenga, Leroy Andrew 65–67
 Hyldahl, Niels 123–125, 152–153
- Isaac, Benjamin H. 10, 21, 150–151, 154–155
 Iricinschi, Eduard 97, 107
- Jacobs, Andrew S. 12
 Jansen, Yolande 4, 13–14, 21
 Jay, Nancy 4, 38–40, 50, 79, 118
 Jenott, Lance 97–101, 107, 110, 114–116
 Johnson, Aaron P. 1, 23, 27, 134, 150, 181–182, 194, 197
 Johnson, Luke Timothy 77
- Kasser, Rodolphe 96–98, 109, 116
 Kelley, Shawn 21–22
 Kidd, Colin 15–18
 King, Helen 39
 King, Karen 98, 107, 126, 134
 Klawans, Jonathan 36, 42–43, 104
 Kloppenborg, John S. 23, 26
 Knowles, Michael P. 59–60
 Knust, Jennifer Wright 12, 35, 181

- Kugel, James 55–56, 64, 89
 Kugler, Robert A. 88–89
 Kulik, Alexander 51
 Kwok, Pui-lan 2
- Levenson, Jon Douglas 23, 50, 66, 113
 Levine, Amy-Jill 3, 40
 Leyerle, Blake 46
 Lieu, Judith 1, 23–24, 28, 78, 88, 121,
 125–126, 128, 137, 145–146
 Lyman, J. Rebecca 123–124, 126, 137,
 144
- Malkin, Irad 30, 137, 195
 Martin, Dale B. 68, 179
 Martínez, Florentino García 65
 Marx-Wolf, Heidi 174, 182
 Mason, Eric F. 85, 87
 Mason, Steve 2, 24–25, 27, 29, 33, 48
 Masuzawa, Tomoko 19–20, 28
 Mathews, Joshua 84
 McCarthy, Denis 53
 McCoskey, Denise Eileen 9
 McMurray, Patrick 40, 75
 McNamara, Martin 93
 Meer, Nasar 4, 13–14, 18, 21
 Meyer, Marvin 98, 111–112, 116, 190
 Milik, J. T. 84
 Millar, Fergus 190, 194, 198
 Modrak, Deborah K. W. 189
 Moffitt, David M. 74, 78, 81–82
 Momigliano, Arnaldo 137
 Monger, Matthew Phillip 54–55
 Moore, Stephen D. 2
- Naiden, F. S. 34
 Nasrallah, Laura 1, 122, 124, 126, 146–
 147
 Niehoff, Maren 120–121, 124, 128, 147,
 150, 175
 Nilson, Jon 124
 Nock, Arthur Darby 131–132, 147
 Nongbri, Brent 15, 28
 Novenson, Matthew 68, 163–165
- Ok, Janette H. 1, 11, 76
 Omi, Michael 13, 18
 Ophir, Adi 29, 58
 Orlov, Andrei 51, 87
- Osborn, Eric Francis 123, 131–132, 162
 O'Meara, Dominic J. 198
- Pagels, Elaine 98, 100, 106, 162, 164
 Paget, James Carleton 24, 121, 175
 Park, Wongi 1, 8, 13, 23
 Parker, Robert 34
 Parvis, Paul M. 120
 Parvis, Sara 122
 Peeler, Amy 78, 81, 83
 Petropoulou, Maria-Zoe 36
 Poorthuis, Marcel 93
 Preston, Rebecca 195
- Rajak, Tessa 122–125, 143–144, 146
 Ramelli, Ilaria L. E. 174
 Reed, Annette Yoshiko 43–46, 68, 122,
 162
 Regev, Eyal 3, 36, 40, 48, 75, 78
 Reinhartz, Adele 28
 Remus, Harold 148
 Ribbens, Benjamin J. 78
 Rillera, Andrew Remington 36, 52, 66
 Rives, James B. 33–36, 39, 43, 48, 60,
 110, 140, 167, 196–197, 200
 Rosen-Zvi, Ishay 29, 58, 68
 Rubenstein, Jeffrey L. 50, 64
 Runesson, Anders 22
 Runia, David T. 174
- Salisbury, Joyce E. 106–107
 Saïd, Suzanne 30–31, 195
 Schenke Robinson, Gesine 111–112, 114
 Schott, Jeremy M. 2, 29, 124, 130, 133,
 137–138, 150, 193–194, 198
 Schwartz, Daniel R. 33, 72, 87
 Schwartz, Seth 2, 28
 Scopello, Madeleine 106, 110–111
 Sechrest, Love L. 1
 Seeberg, Bengt 131
 Segal, Michael 55–56
 Sevrin, Jean-Marie 100
 Shauf, Scott 36, 75–77
 Shaw, Gregory 186–188, 192
 Sherwin-White, A. N. 10
 Shotwell, Willis 145
 Siker, Jeffrey S. 42–43, 49
 Sim, David C. 28–29, 53, 133
 Simon, Marcel 122

- Skarsaune, Oskar 24, 121–126, 145, 151
 Slusser, Michael 119, 123
 Smith, J. Z. 19–20, 28, 35, 43
 Smith, Wilfred Cantwell 27–29
 Snowden, Frank M. 10
 Snyder, Harlow Gregory 127
 Sohn, Seock-Tae 53
 Sorabji, Richard 184
 Stanton, Graham 124
 Steinweis, Alan E. 45
 Stoler, Ann Laura 10
 Stroumsa, Guy 2–4, 28–29, 35–36, 138, 150, 161
 Struck, Peter 190, 193–194
 Stuckenbruck, Loren T. 84
 Stylianopoulos, Theodore 124–125, 128, 159
 Sugirtharajah, R. S. 2, 15–17
 Swain, Simon 31, 196
- Tanaseanu-Döbler, Ilinca 186
 Teeter, D. Andrew 60–61
 Thiessen, Matthew 28, 54, 63–64, 71–72
 Thomassen, Einar 106, 115
 Thompson, Lloyd 10
 Tomson, Peter J. 35
 Topolski, Anya 14, 18
 Townsend, Philippa 4, 97, 107, 130, 181, 194
- Turner, John D. 99–100, 111–116
- Ullucci, Daniel 34–39, 46, 75, 113, 140
- Van den Kerchove, Anna 110
 Van Oort, Johannes 96
 Van Os, Bas 106–115
 Van Ruiten, Jacques 55, 61–67, 71
 VanderKam, James C. 54–57, 60–67, 84
 Visweswaran, Kamala 12
 Vlassopoulos, Kostas 10, 137
- Wendt, Heidi 156
 Werline, Rodney 168
 Werman, Cana 45, 57, 69
 West, Cornel 9
 Whitmarsh, Tim 30–31, 196
 Wilken, Robert Louis 130, 135, 140, 149–150, 158
 Williams, Jarvis 107
 Williams, Michael A. 98–101
 Woolf, Greg 39, 196
- Young, Frances 28, 35, 42, 47, 102, 107, 109, 125–126, 137, 150, 156
- Zahn, Theodor 126
 Zorgdrager, Heleen 50

Subject Index

- Abrahamic covenant 52
altar 35, 45, 52, 58, 59, 61–62, 85, 105–106, 109, 114, 199
ancestral tradition 25, 154, 156, 161, 184
anti-Judaism 11, 44, 94, 123
antisemitism 13, 21, 44
Aqedah 50, 65–67, 73, 80, 82, 91, 113
atonement 42–43, 45–46, 76–83, 107, 113
Augustus 32

baptism 75, 99–102, 106–107, 115, 133
barbarians 137–138, 149–150, 163, 170, 190, 195
– barbarian wisdom 136–138, 148, 152, 194
blood symbolism 44–47

circumcision 12, 28, 44, 54, 62–64, 70–71, 90–92, 149, 158–159, 166–167
colonialism 2, 10, 28, 193, 198, 205
covenant 5, 51–71, 74–84, 91, 94, 108–109, 119, 161, 165, 206, 208

Decius 196–197
degeneration 149, 160, 178–179, 194, 208

ethnicity
– definition of 9
– relationship to race 9–14
– relationship to religion 12–29, 33–34, 41, 47
ethnocide 166, 172
ethnogenesis 50–52, 61, 97, 119, 126, 149, 166, 172
Eucharist 40, 42, 47, 102–109, 112, 115, 117, 170–171, 207–208
expiation/expiatory 57, 66

firstfruits 58, 60–64

Gentile Christians 6, 24, 74, 77, 94, 112, 118, 156, 156–157, 160, 169
Gnostic/Gnosticism 6, 21, 98–100, 107, 115, 126, 134, 140, 174
Greek language 123, 190–191
Greekness, see Hellenism

Hellenism 11, 20–22, 30–31, 44, 124, 127, 133, 137–138, 147, 190–192, 194, 196, 200, 202
high priest 78–83, 85–86, 89, 91, 94, 166, 168, 180, 182, 208
holy seed 64, 67, 69, 71, 73, 206

idolatry 20, 51–52, 59–63, 68, 91, 108, 143, 160–162, 167, 206–208
imperialism 22, 133, 177, 193, 195

Jewish identity 21, 48, 169
Judah 83, 85, 88–89, 161, 168–169

kingdom of priests 5, 69, 72, 82, 167

Mastema 59, 61, 65–66, 68, 82
Middle Platonism 120–122, 130–135

Neoplatonism 134, 173, 182, 186
Noachic covenant 56–58
Noah 17–18, 49, 56–61, 159, 167

particularism/particularistic 20, 22–23, 44, 134, 180, 200, 208–209
Passover 42, 64, 66, 73, 75–77, 81–82, 108–109
purity/impurity 5, 62, 69–71, 112, 195, 197, 206

- rabbis/rabbinic 2–3, 26, 42–43, 45, 48–50, 93, 145, 206–207
- race
- definition of 9
 - relationship to ethnicity 9–14
 - relationship to religion 12–29, 33–34, 41, 47
- race-religion constellation/nexus 14, 18, 22
- racism 10–15, 21, 47, 150–155, 176
- reciprocity 34, 113
- religion
- relationship to ethnicity and race 9–14
- sacrifice
- definition of 35
 - human sacrifice 106, 109–110, 112, 167, 196–197
 - theories of 33–47
- Seth/Sethian 96, 99–101, 108, 115–117, 119
- Shem 18, 93
- Slavery 11, 16–18, 75
- spiritual Israel 121, 169–170
- spiritualization 7, 41–43, 94, 104, 172, 205, 209
- Sukkot/Tabernacles 62–64
- supersessionism 21, 36, 94, 107–108, 169–170, 208
- universalism/universalistic 6, 19–20, 22–23, 27–29, 44, 132–135, 140, 147, 157–158, 163, 170–172, 189, 192–195, 198–199, 200, 203, 206–209
- Yom Kippur 82, 107