

The Four Witnesses (San Francisco: Harper, 2000)

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REFERENCES

These notes provide the references to the principal primary texts to which *The Four Witnesses* appeals. They are by no means a commentary on the passages and problems discussed in the book; a standard commentary will refer the reader on to the (enormous) scholarly literature to which the gospels have given rise.

The Four Witnesses is written to be enjoyed both by students of the New Testament and by general readers. Some of its material and arguments are (contested, of course, but) well-known to those who have studied the gospels. It may be helpful to make clear in advance where, by contrast, the book treads a new or unfamiliar path. At issue are not just the answers we give, but the questions we ask.

New Testament scholarship has generally asked, How much can we know from the different gospels about the historical Jesus? And then: What light might the gospels, studied according to modern historical methods, throw on Jesus' followers in his own lifetime and in the following decades. *The Four Witnesses* starts with a different set of questions. In particular: What were these texts expected or intended to achieve among their early hearers or readers? As the opening question is different, so the answers take us a long way from the standard treatments of the gospels and their difficulties.

The steady theme of the book is *revelation*: the unveiling or disclosure of truths normally hidden from human sight and understanding. For our writers (as *The Four Witnesses* argues) were concerned on every page: How were their readers to be brought to understand, to see the point? If we in turn are to do justice to the gospels, we need to ask not just, What do they say, but How do they say it – and How do they expect us to understand what they have to convey? This takes my reading of Mark and John, in particular, into a radically new – and, if I am right, a radically old – interpretation. By asking the question which I believe the writers themselves were asking, I discover and air their answer.

Many readers will have ready access to standard works on the New Testament, but not on classical history. The following notes are therefore fuller on the secondary literature giving details of Greek and Roman life.

Frequent Abbreviations:

Beard, <i>Religions</i>	M. Beard, J. North and S. Price, <i>Religions of Rome</i> , 1998
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
Feldman, <i>Jew</i>	L.H. Feldman, <i>Jew and Gentile in the ancient World</i> , 1993
Jos., <i>BJ</i>	Josephus, <i>Jewish War (Bellum Judaicum)</i>

Jos., <i>Ant.</i>	Josephus, <i>Antiquities of the Jews</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>Mishnah</i>	<i>The Mishnah</i> , ed. H. Danby, 1933
Nock, <i>Essays</i>	A.D. Nock, <i>Essays on Religion in the Ancient World</i> , 1972
<i>OTP</i>	J.H. Charlesworth (ed.) <i>The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> , 1983-5
Sanders, <i>Judaism</i>	E.P. Sanders, <i>Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63 BCE – 66 CE</i> , 1992
Schürer, <i>History</i>	E. Schürer, <i>The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ</i> , eds G. Vermes, F. Millar and M. Goodman, 1973-87
Smallwood, <i>Jews</i>	E.M. Smallwood, <i>The Jews under Roman Rule</i> , 1981
Stern, <i>Authors</i>	M. Stern, <i>Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism</i> , 1974-80
<i>TDNT</i>	G. Kittel (ed.), <i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> , ET 1964-76
Vermes, <i>DSS</i>	G. Vermes, <i>The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English</i> , 1997

REFERENCES, BY PAGE

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For a description of the (Second) Temple in Jerusalem, Sanders, *Judaism*, 54-72 and illustrations, 306-14. The fullest ancient description is in the Mishnah, Tamid (*Mishnah*, 589-98). For Ben Sira, C.T.R. Hayward, *The Jewish Temple: A non-biblical Sourcebook*, 1996, 38-84. Ben Sira is sometimes thought to be describing the rituals of the Day of Atonement, not of the daily Morning Sacrifice; for the Day of Atonement, Sanders, *Judaism*, 141-3. For the daily sacrifices themselves, Mishnah, Tamid (*Mishnah* 582-9).

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Population of Jerusalem, J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, 3rd ed, 1962, 84 (180,000 at Passover); Sanders, *Judaism*, 128 (3-500,000 at Passover). Sociability and celebration, Jos. *Ant.* 4.203, Philo *Spec. Leg.* 1.70, cf Deut. 14.26.

For the rituals of Passover, Ex 12, and 254-7 below. ‘In every generation’, Mishnah, Pesahim 10.5 (*Mishnah*, 151). Judaea governed by a knight rather than by a (more senior) senator, Jos. *BJ* 2.117, *Ant.* 18.2, Schürer, *History* 1.357.

Augustus’ birthday and beginning of a gospel, Asia in 9 BCE (see further p. 65 below), *Inscr. Priene* 105.40 [*OGIS* 458.40], V. Ehrenberg and A.H.M. Jones, *Documents illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*, 1976, no. 98; D.C. Braund, *Augustus to Nero: A Source Book on Roman History 31 BC-AD 68*, 1985, no. 122. See S.R.F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*, 1984, 54-6, a useful summary in *TDNT* 2.724; outdoing the gods, *I. Olympia* 53, Price 55.

A.D. Nock, ‘Early Gentile Christianity and its Hellenistic Background’, in *Essays*, 1972, 1.80 doubts that any of the early Christian converts knew that *euaggelion* was used or had been used in relation to an Emperor. The topic of imperial power and cult is rising on scholars’ agenda: E. Stauffer, *Christ and the Caesars*, 1948 (ET 1955); K. Wengst, *Pax Romana and the Peace of Christ*, 1986 (ET 1987); D. Georgi, *Theocracy in Paul’s Praxis and Theology: Faith, Righteousness, Gospel and Peace as Appropriations of Roman Imperial Language*, 1991. The Christians’ use of imperial terms and motifs does not yet make clear, of course, what difference that use made to the practical, imaginative and spiritual life of their users.

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The various festivals to which the stories of Jesus' Triumphal Entry might be indebted: Shelters, T.W. Manson, 'The Cleansing of the Temple', *BJRL* 33, 1951, 271-82; Dedication, F.C. Burkitt, 'Hosanna', *JTS* 1916, 139-52. The arguments are summarised, M.D. Hooker, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 1991, 255-7. The general's triumphal entry after victory and not before it, D.R. Catchpole, 'The "triumphal" Entry', in *Jesus and the Politics of his Day*, E. Bammel and C.F.D. Moule (eds), 1984, 319-34. Now J.F. Coakley, 'Jesus' Messianic Entry into Jerusalem', *JTS* 46 (1995), 460-82.

Psalms 118 at Shelters (B. Talmud, Sukkah 37a-b); and at Hanukkah/Dedication (F.C. Burkitt, 'Hosanna', *JTS* 17, 1916, 139-52. Praise Psalms at Passover, at the slaughter of the lambs, M. Pesahim 5.7; during the Passover meal, 10.5-7, etc.. But see Coakley, 'Entry', 474. 'Open for me', Ps 118.19 with Midrash Tehillim, ed. W.G. Braude, *Midrash on the Psalms*, 1959, 2. 232-45, at Shelters.

Pilgrims from Galilee, Jos. *BJ* 2.232; Babylonia, Jos. *Ant.* 18.313; Asia and Africa, Philo *Spec. Leg.* 1.69. 'Hosanna' at the Judgement, B. Talmud, Sanhedrin 56a.

Horse and ass, cf. *TDNT* 3.336; entering on foot, M. Hagigah 1.1.

The procedure in the Temple, Sanders, *Judaism*, 132 and pp. 254-7 below.

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'The Passover share', J. Talmud, Pesahim 7.35b.36.

'Our God and God of our Fathers', Passover Haggadah.

Staying in Jerusalem and the city's boundaries, Jos. *Ant.* 17.217, J. Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 3rd ed. 1966, 43, 55. For diagnosis of drastic division between the sanhedrin and the priesthood, c. 30 CE, and of rival centres for the purchase of sacrificial animals, V. Eppstein, 'The Historicity of the Gospel Account of the Cleansing of the Temple', *ZNW* 55 (1964), 42-57. Zealots: M. Hengel, *The Zealots*, 1976, 338 (Cananaioi), 47 (Iscaiot, probably not from *sicarius*; *is-kerioth*, 'man of Kerioth' has been suggested).

The Sacrifice of Isaac, G. Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism*, 1993, 193-227, and further references, p. 374 below.

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Theudas and the Jordan, 44-6 CE, Jos. *Ant.* 20.97-9 (compare Acts 5.36; for Red Sea, Ex. 14); compare the prophets, Jos. *BJ*, 2.259; and 'the Egyptian', Jos. *Ant.* 20.169-71, *BJ* 2.361-3; Acts 21.38.

The disturbances of 4 BCE, Jos. *BJ* 2.11-14, *Ant.* 17.213-8 (Passover) and *BJ* 2.42-75, *Ant.* 254-68 and 286-98 (Pentecost; cf. *Testament of Moses* 6.8). Narrative of resistance from 4 BCE to the death of Jesus, Hengel, *Zealots*, 325-41.

The Song of the Four Nights, inserted in Ex. after 12.42 in Tg. Neofiti I, R. Le Déaut, *La Nuit Pascale*, 1965. The poem's additional night (second in order) is the fulfilment of God's promise to Abraham. For the alteration to the text of the Fourth Night, Le Déaut, *Nuit*, 359-69: from 'the king the Anointed from the midst of Rome' to 'the king the Anointed from on high'.

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The adoption of ritual from Shelters at Dedication, 15 Dec. 164 BCE, and the Dedication prayer, 2 Macc. 10.4-7 (based on Shelters, 10.6): 'having palms [*phoinikes*] they offered hymns' to God. In 141 BCE Simon Maccabaeus entered the citadel 'with acclamations and palms [*baia*], to the sound of lyres, cymbals and harps, chanting hymns and canticles', 1 Macc.13.51. John 12.13:

‘they took palm-branches of palm trees, *baia phoinikōn*’. For kingship, crown and palm, 2 Macc. 14.4.

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Reconciliation of Zechariah and Daniel ascribed to Rabbi Joshua b. Levi in B. Talmud Sanhedrin 98a (citing Is. 60.22, Dan. 7.13).

Page 34

Psalms of Solomon, *OTP* 2.639-670.

The placard, E. Bammel, ‘The Titulus’, in *Jesus and the Politics...*, 353-64.

Page 35

The Antonia Fortress: Smallwood, *Jews*, 73-4. The garrison (including Samaritan troops), R.E. Brown, *The Death of the Messiah*, 1994, 2.701 n. 64, Schürer, *History* 1.362-4.

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The insult at Passover, c. 50CE, when a Roman soldier broke wind, Jos. *BJ* 2.224-7, *Ant.* 20.107-12. (*BJ* gives 30,000 deaths, or 10,000 in some MSS; *Ant.* gives 20,000.)

For vivid details of pagan festivals R. MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire*, 1981, 18-48. Pilate’s banners in Jerusalem, c. 26 CE, Jos. *BJ* 2.169-74, *Ant.* 18.55-9; see Carl H. Kraeling, ‘The Episode of the Roman Standards at Jerusalem’, *HTR* 35 (1942), 263-289.

Judas the Galilean, who came to prominence in 6 CE, Jos. *War* 2.117-9, *Ant.* 18.7-25 (Hengel, *Zealots*, esp. 66-9, 332-7; cf. Acts 5.37), perhaps to be identified with Judas b. Hezekiah, active in Sepphoris 4 BCE, Jos. *BJ* 2.56, *Ant.* 17.272.

The Passover/Pentecost riots, 31 above and note.

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Crucifixion, R.E. Brown, *The Death of the Messiah*, 1994, 2, 945-52. Simon of Cyrene, Mark 15.21. Jesus’ mention in the histories of Josephus, 143-4 below.

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Peter preaches and heals, Acts 2.14-3.26; is arrested, 4.3 and 12.3; is miraculously freed, 12.6-11; goes to John Mark’s mother, 12.12. Barnabas, cousin of Mark, Col.4.10; he goes to Antioch, 11.22. For the Jewish law and the church in Antioch, 143-5, 147-50 below. Paul’s conversion, pp. 181, 244, 247-50 below.

Mark and Barnabas leave Paul, Acts 15.36-40.

‘We sailed to Macedonia’, Acts 16.10, probably the first of the ‘we’-passages in Acts (but see the possible text of 11.27); see 16.10-15, 20.5-15, 21.1-18, 27.1-28.16. ‘Luke, the doctor’, Col. 4.14.

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The riot in Ephesus, Acts 19.23-20.6. Mark perhaps reconciled to Paul, Col. 4.10, Philemon 24; and in Rome, 1 Peter 5.13.

On mobility within the empire: Flavius Zeuxis undertook 72 sailings to Rome from the east, P. Lampe, 'The Roman Christians of Romans 16', K.P. Donfried (ed.), *The Romans Debate*, 2nd ed., 1991, 219. For the well-travelled R. Aqiba, P. Schäfer, 'Rabbi Aqiva and Bar Kochba', in W.S. Green (ed.), *Approaches to ancient Judaism*, 2, 1980, 113-30.

The apostle Paul travelled some 10,000 miles on his journeys. By sea:- The Romans had relentlessly combated piracy. In the sailing season, mid-March to mid-November (with the window of greatest safety open only 27 May-14 September), the prevailing winds in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean blow from the north or northwest. Travellers such as Paul did best to journey overland, if they could, when going west from Asia or north from Greece; and to sail to the east or south. With a good following wind, a ship might travel at 4-5 knots. (In the face of a contrary wind, a ship might be held up for days. A ship caught in a storm could well sink with all hands lost; see Acts 27.9-44.) By land:- Major Roman roads were furnished with hostels, set apart at distances that a foot-traveller could expect to cover in a day: about 20 (modern) miles. To travel by road – unless protected by imperial troops or private retainers – was to be forever on the alert: for robbers or gangs of robbers; for wolves; for press-gangs seeking slaves. On smaller roads the dangers multiplied. Often enough Paul used the great roads: the Egnatian Road (in Macedonia), for instance, or the Augustan Road (in southern Galatia). The Augustan Road linked a cluster of Roman colonies; Paul travelled much of its length on his first journey. The northern arm of the Augustan Road was part of the ancient 'general road' of Asia Minor, from Syrian Antioch in the east to Ephesus in the west. Paul came to know it well. On the second journey he travelled its eastern part; and on the third from one end to the other.

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The world ripe for judgement, Joel 4.12-13.

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Aramaic and Greek in Galilee, S.E. Porter, 'Jesus and the Use of Greek in Galilee', B. Chilton and C.A. Evans (eds), *Studying the historical Jesus*, 1994, 123-154.

Augustus' repair of temples in 28 BCE, Augustus, *Res Gestae* 19-21.

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The fire in Rome, 56-63 below.

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Papias, in Eusebius, *EH* 3.39.14-5. The value of Papias' evidence is still disputed. Among many discussions, conservatively R.H. Grundy, *Mark: A Commentary on his Apology for the Cross*, 1993, 1026-44.

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The probable expulsion in 139 BCE, Val. Max. 1.3.2; astrologers (Chaldaei) were certainly expelled, probably Jews too.

The expulsion in 19 CE, Jos. *Ant.* 18.81-4, Tac. *Ann.* 2.85, Suet. *Tib.* 36.

'Riots instigated by Chrestus', Suet. *Div. Claud.* 25.4 (cf. Acts 18.2); for the date 49 CE, Orosius *Adv Paganos* 7.6.15. For the (apparently conflicting) evidence of Dio 60.6.6 (who records a

prohibition on assembly, perhaps but not necessarily early in Claudius' reign), cf. Smallwood, *Jews*, 211, Schürer, *History*, 3.76-7, Stern, *Authors*, 2.115-6.

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Privileges under Caesar and Augustus, Smallwood, *Jews*, 134-43.

Synagogues: W. Wiefel, 'The Jewish Community in Ancient Rome and the Origins of Roman Christianity', in K.P. Donfried (ed.), *The Romans Debate*, 2nd ed., 1991, 85-101 (90).

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Ambrosiaster, *Commentaria* (CSEL 81.1.5-6; 'although according to a Jewish rite' in one MS only).

The Roman church or churches: According to most of its manuscripts Romans ends with a long list of greetings. A few but important manuscripts have different readings at 1.7 (omitting 'in Rome'), 1.15 (omitting 'who are in Rome'). One very early manuscript places 16.25-7 after 15.33; a broader variant tradition places 16.25-7 after 14.27. Now 16.25-7 is a natural 'conclusion' to its letter; it seems likely, then, that two shorter versions of Romans were once known and being copied: one without 16.1-24; and one without 15.1-16.24. What, then, of the greetings in chapter 16:- Might these have been sent as part of a different letter to a different church in which Paul might be expected to have known so many people? (The church in Ephesus was suggested in 1829, and has been in scholars' minds ever since.) Or might Romans have been written as a 'circular', and details added to each copy that were specific to its recipients? This might explain as well the variants at 1.7 and 1.15: one copy of the circular will have been sent to Rome, with its recipients specified at its start. For these and other possibilities suggested by the variants, T.W. Manson, 'St Paul's Letter to the Romans – and Others' in *Studies in the Gospels and Epistles*, ed. M. Black, 1962, 225-41, repr. in Donfried, *The Romans Debate*, 3-15. In *The Four Witnesses* I adhere to the common view, that Romans 16 was indeed directed to the Christians in Rome.

On the Roman Church's make-up, P. Lampe, *Die stadtrömischen Christen in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten*, 1987, and again 'The Roman Christians of Romans 16', *The Romans Debate*, 216-30; also the studies in K.P. Donfried and P. Richardson (eds), *Judaism and Christianity in First-Century Rome*, 1998.

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Cyrenean preachers at Antioch, Acts 11.20; Barnabas, 11.22.

Narcissus, Rom. 16.11. A Narcissus had been freedman in the service of the Emperor Claudius; his wealth was proverbial (Juv. *Sat.* 14.329-31). He had been forced to commit suicide shortly after Nero's succession (Tac. *Ann.* 13.1). His household would have passed into the possession of the new Emperor, quite possibly still forming a distinct group within the imperial household. The disturbances in 58 CE over the extortionate collection of indirect taxes (Tac. *Ann.* 13.50-1, compare Suet. *Nero* 10.1), J.Friedrich, W.Pöhlmann, P.Stuhlmacher, 'Zur historischen Situation und Intention von Römer 13, 1-7', *ZTK* 73 (1976), 131-66 (see A.J.M. Wedderburn, *The Reasons for Romans*, 1991, 62-3).

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Reintegrating John 21 with the rest of the gospel, H.M. Jackson, 'Ancient self-referential Conventions and their Implications for the Authorship and Integrity of the Gospel of John', *JTS* 50 (1999), 1-34.

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The Galileans 'inured to war', Jos. *BJ* 3.41-2. Judas the Galilean, 4BCE, Hengel, *Zealots*, at 36 above; Galileans, *Zealots*, 56-9; the speech of Eleazar b. Yair at Masada, 70 CE, Jos. *BJ* 7.323-88. The family to which they might both belong, Hengel, *Zealots*, 332. In general, R.A. Horsley, *Galilee: History, Politics, People*, 1995, and *Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee: The social Context of Jesus and the Rabbis*, 1996 (narrative of dissent, 25-42).

Caligula's statue, Jos. *Ant.* 18.261-72, 305-9, *BJ*.185-7; the alternative account (placing the protest at harvest-time), Philo *Ad Gaium* 188, 207-8. On Caligula, cf. p. 65 note, below.

Josephus on Gennesareth on the north-west of the Lake of Galilee, *BJ* 3.6-21; on Galilee more generally, *BJ* 3.35-58.

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Testament of Moses 10.1-8, *OTP* I.932.

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The fire in Rome: Tac. *Ann.* 15.38-44, Suet. *Nero* 38, Dio Cassius 62.16-7. For housing in imperial Rome: J.E. Packer, 'Housing and Population in Imperial Ostia and Rome', *JRS* 57 (1967), 80-95.

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The Jewish quarters: P. Lampe, *Stadtrömischen Christen*, 26.

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The four-storeyed house in use until 1877, R.Lanciani, *The Destruction of Ancient Rome*, 1899, 202. The repair and re-use of damaged buildings within a year, J.Beaujeu, *L'Incendie de Rome en 64* (Collection Latomus 49), 1960. The scale of the fire's damage, R.F. Newbold, 'Some social and economic Consequences of the AD 64 Fire at Rome', *Latomus* 33 (1974), 858-69: of a population of 750,000-1,000,000, about 200,000 were probably made homeless. A 4th century letter (purporting to be from Seneca to Paul) claims 132 houses, 4,000 'islands' were destroyed. (J.S. Rainbird, 'The Fire Stations of Imperial Rome', *PBSR* 54 (1986), 147-69, asks whether 'island' was used of the block or the apartments in it.) For suspicions that Tacitus and Dio overstate the damage, E.Köstermann, *Kommentar z. Annalen*, IV, 1968, 241-5: the Circus was in use again the next year. It remains unclear how much of and how closely Rome's rebuilding was supervised by Nero; he may just have provided the economic incentives for rebuilding, R. Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture: A Study of Flavian Rome* (Collection Latomus 231), 1996; cf. the survey article, J.R. Patterson, 'The City of Rome: From Republic to Empire', *JRS* 82 (1992), 186-215.

For the possible alteration to the course of the Sacred Way, Darwall-Smith, *Emperors*, 39. Nero and old Rome, Suet. *Nero* 38.1. Nero's coins, M.T. Griffin, *Nero: The End of a Dynasty*, 1984, 119-25; his poem on Troy, 151. 'If fate could find', Lucan, *Pharsalia* 1, from 33-66. Coins, also J.M.C. Toynbee, 'Ruler-Apotheosis on Roman Coins', *Numismatic Chronicle* 7 (1947), 126; and review on apotheosis in portraiture, *JRS* 38 (1948), 160.

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For the increasingly elaborate and definite story that Nero sang while Rome burned: Tac. *Ann.* 15.39 (*pervaserat rumor*); Suet. *Nero* 38.2, from the Tower of Maecenas on the Esquiline Hill, probably connected with the Palatine by Nero's palace *Domus Transitoria*. Dio 62.18.1, quoted, is ambiguous: he sang 'the destruction, as he was saying, of Troy, but, as it was seen, [either by Nero or by others, *hōs de heōrato*, actually] of Rome'. Carmen Einsiedlense (Einsiedeln Eclogue) 1.38-41, with its panegyric on Nero's *Troica*, must predate the fire, and suggests that Nero had performed it before the outbreak. Nero's coins in 64 show increased attention to his coiffure, probably in preparation for his first appearance, that year, on the public stage (J.M.C. Toynbee, book-review in *JRS* 38 (1948), 161). So: Nero had probably performed *Troica* before the fire; the subject and the ensuing fire gave every opportunity for the rumour to grow. Jesus' warnings of his own death, Mark 8.31-3, 9.31, 10.32-4.

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For Lucan's account of the fire, Statius, *Silvae* 2.7.60-1: 'you will tell how the impious fires of the guilty tyrant spread through the roofs of Remus.' On Lucan and Nero, Griffin, *Nero*, 157-9. The conspirator Calpurnius Piso, blaming Nero, Tac. *Ann.* 15.67.2. Suetonius' certainty that Nero was to blame, *Nero* 38.1-2. Pliny *NH* 17.5 blames Nero for the fire. Tacitus on the Christians, *Ann.* 15.44. On Jews' wish to keep clear of Christians in such circumstances as 64, M. Simon, *Verus Israel*, 1996, 117; through such access as Poppaea's (p. 62 below) to the Emperor the mainstream Jews could ensure they were distinguished in the authorities' minds from the increasingly renegade Christians.

Note:

The punishment fitted a charge of incendiarism, *Digest* 47.9.9 and 9.12. Links with magic: the treatment meted out to the Christians recalls the treatment of magicians, H. Last, 'The Study of the Persecutions', *JRS* 27 (1937), 80-92. Suetonius speaks of the persecution and of magic together, *Nero* 16.2. The Jews were suspected of hatred of the human race (Feldman, *Jew*, 125-31; the likely origin of Tacitus' jibe, *Ann.* 15.44.4, cf. *adversus omnes alios hostile odium*, Tac. *Hist.* 5.5.1 on the Jews), itself a summary of the charge against magicians under Constantius in 358 CE; incendiarism and such 'hatred' were linked, E Cuq, *Mélanges de l'Ecole française à Rome* 6 (1886), 115. For magic and the Christians, see pp. 72-3, 268-9 below. It is not clear how much independent value Severus' testimony has: he may be avoiding Eusebius' and Jerome's mistake (of putting the persecution four years after the fire) because of a reliance on Tacitus, T.D. Barnes, 'Legislation against the Christians', *JRS* 58 (1968), 32-50.

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Josephus and Poppaea: she was *theosebēs* (cf 000 below) and always willing to bring Jewish petitions to the Emperor's notice, Jos. *Ant.* 20.195, *Vita* 16. For a summary of the evidence of her attachment to Judaism, Schürer, *History*, 3.78 n. 97. Against, E.M. Smallwood, 'The alleged Jewish Tendencies of Poppaea Sabina', *JTS* 10 (1959), 329-35. The Roman aristocrat who may have been Christian, Pomponia Graecina, accused in 57 CE of 'foreign superstition', Tac. *Ann.* 15.32, see 194-5 below. For Tacitus' ambiguous Latin, F.W. Clayton, 'Tacitus and Nero's Persecution of the Christians', *CQ* 41 (1947), 81-5. For the suggestion that Tacitus recalls the ambiguity on which Nero himself

had played, equating the confession of Christianity with an admission of arson, Barnes, 'Legislation', 34. (Köstermann on an error in Tacitus, *Historia* 16, 1967, 456ff.) Clement on Peter and Paul, I Clement 5. For 'jealousy' between factions within the Roman church(es), O. Conzelmann, *Peter: Disciple – Apostle – Martyr*, ET 1953, 106-9; W.H.C. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the early Church*, 1965, 164, refers the 'jealousy' to the Roman Jews. For Peter in Rome, D.W. O'Connor, *Peter in Rome*, 1969, R.E. Brown and K.P. Donfried (eds), *Peter in the New Testament*, 1972; T.V. Smith, *Petrine Controversies in early Christianity*, 1985.

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'On the day when the enemies fall', 1QM (War Scroll) 1.9-10, G. Vermes, *DSS*, 164. 'It shall be a time of great tribulation', 1QM (War Scroll) 1.11-12. The figure 'who will proclaim himself the Son of God', from 4Q246.2, Vermes, *DSS*, 577. Melchizedek and Melchiresha at Qumran, 11Q13 (Vermes, 500-2), 4Q280 (=4QBenedictions^f, Vermes, 380), 4Q543-8 (Vermes, 534-6). Cf. the Antichrist in the New Testament, 1 John 2.18, 2.22, 4.3; 2 John 7; and cf 2 Thess. 2, Rev 13. For the theme, J.T. Milik, 'Milkī-šedek et Milkī-reša dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens', *JJS* 24 (1972), 95-144, Schürer, *History*, 2. 553-4.

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Among the many studies of the Roman imperial cult, S.R.F. Price, 'Gods and Emperors: The Greek Language of the Roman Imperial Cult', *JHS* 104 (1984), 79-85; S.R.F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*, 1984; D. Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West: Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire*, 1987. The embassy to Rome: Philo *Ad Gaium*. 'Are you the god-haters?', *Ad Gaium* 349-67. Contrast the letter to the Alexandrians (*P. Lond. 1912*) by Caligula's successor Claudius (41-54 CE), restricting such honours, in C.K. Barrett, *The New Testament Background: Selected Documents*, 1987, no. 48). On the Emperors and the Temple, Schürer *History* 2, 312-3. 'What is a god?', papyrus from the 2nd century CE, Price, 'Gods and Emperors', 95. 'Trajan Hadrian New Dionysus' and 'Tiberius Claudius Caesar Reverend Jupiter Saviour', Price 'Gods and Emperors', 86. 'Nero Jupiter Liberator', see note below. The Augusteum at Alexandria, Philo *Ad Gaium* 151. (A deeper claim than that made by Alexandrian sailors at Puteoli to Augustus, that 'through him they lived, through him they sailed, through him they enjoyed freedom and fortunes', Suet. *Div Aug.* 98 – that is, through the blessings of Pax Augusta .) 'At the mention of the Emperor's name', Aelius Aristides, 143 CE, *Or.* 26(K).32; discussed at length, K. Wengst, *Pax Romana*, ET 1987, 19-23. For Philo's praise of Augustus, 'averted of evil', and of the peace he brought to land and sea, *Ad Gaium* 143-7. On Philo and the self-deification of the emperor Caligula (most clearly supported in Alexandria, *Ad Gaium* 162, cf. 138-9), *Ad Gaium* 352-67. The ambassadors had of their own accord bowed down before him (a *proskunēsis*) and addressed him as *Sebastos Autokratōr*. Caligula imitated the appearance of increasingly important gods, up to Dionysus (*Ad Gaium* 75-85, cf. Dio 59.26.8-9). (Augustus had, as the young Octavian in 40 B.C.E., attended a fancy-dress party at which the guests appeared as gods; Augustus went as Apollo, Suet. *Div. Aug.* 160, 168-70. Augustus clearly regretted the political consequences.) Cf. p. 54 above. Prayers to the emperor by those in distress are not common; for examples, Nock, *Essays*, 833-4. Cf. Ovid, *Ex Ponto* 4.9.127-34: Ovid reveres the statues of the emperor's family and finally prays to the present emperor: might the dead emperor heal the wound inflicted by the living (Price, 'Gods and Emperors', 82)?

Two Inscriptions: A Note

Asia / Priene, and Augustus: The assembly of the province of Asia, about 29 BCE, offered a crown 'for the person who devised the greatest honors for the god' (that is, Augustus). A long saga ensued, U.Laffi, 'Le iscrizioni relative all' introduzione...', *SCO* 16 (1967), 5-98. When the crown was finally awarded in 9 BCE, the assembly explained its reasons for the honour to Augustus: 'Whereas the providence which divinely ordered our lives created with zeal and munificence the most perfect good for our lives by producing Augustus and filling him with virtue for the benefaction of mankind, sending us and those after us a saviour who put an end to war and established all things; and whereas Caesar [ie, Augustus] when he appeared exceeded the hopes of all who had anticipated good tidings, not only by surpassing the benefactors born before him, but not even leaving those to come any hope of surpassing him; and whereas the birthday of the god marked for the world the beginning of good news through his coming...' (Translation slightly adapted from Price, *Rituals and Power*, 54. Also V. Ehrenberg and A.H.M. Jones, *Documents illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*, 1976, no. 98; D.C. Braund, *Augustus to Nero: A Source Book on Roman History 31 BC-AD 68*, 1985, no. 122).

Acraephaie, and Nero: The city of Acraephaie issued a decree when Nero restored freedom to Greece: 'Since Nero, the lord of the whole universe, greatest emperor, dawned as a new sun for the Greeks, especially chosen to benefit Greece, and revered our gods in return for their protection; and being the one and only emperor for all time, mightiest lover of Greece, Nero Jupiter Liberator, gave and restored the immemorial freedom of the Greeks to its ancient condition...decreed to dedicate an altar by the statue of Jupiter the Saviour, inscribed to Jupiter Liberator Nero for ever' (*ILS* 8794 = *Syll*³ 814).

On such divinisation (and in particular on the use of such terms as Savior), see Nock, *Essays*, 38, 79-82, 720-4. Nock points out (34) how readily in Greek an 'altar to a god for [the honor of] X' can be read as an 'altar to the god X'.

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Sacrifices in Jerusalem for the emperor and the Roman people, Jos. *BJ* 2.197, 409; cf. Philo, *Ad Gaium* 157, 317; *C. Apionem* 2.77; Schürer, *History*, 2.311-3.

Rome's reconstruction, Griffin, *Nero*, 130-42 (colossus, 131, 138; Golden House, 138-41). 'One house', Martial *Spec.* 2. The colossus, Suet. *Nero* 31, Pliny *NH* 34.45 (with uncertain figure for height), Dio 66.15.1, Martial *Spec.* 2.1-3. 'City of Nero' (Neropolis), Tac. *Ann.* 15.40.2; Suet, *Nero* 55. Their significance for Nero's claims to solar divinity, Griffin, *Nero*, 216.

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Note: The character and genre of the gospels.

My claims for the gospels may seem to disregard the familiar scholarly argument that the gospels are, in the terms of ancient literary theory and practice, *bioi* of Jesus. Cf. R Burridge, *What are the Gospels?*, 1992. Burridge concludes from the ten texts which he adduces for comparison that such lives might be encomiastic, exemplary, informative, entertaining, didactic, apologetic, polemical or an aid to memory. (Such possible functions, 148-52, 184-88; the instantiation of them all in the gospels, 214-16, 236-37.) A glance at two of Burridge's own comparators will help us see what can, in a formal survey such as this, remain unseen: Lucian's *Demonax* and Philostratus' *Vita Apollonii*. (i) *Demonax* is fifty-two witty remarks of the genial, undogmatic philosopher, with some framing material. Lucian says he has written so that the noblest in mind

among the young men who are inclined to philosophy should have a modern example to follow; but the claim is only interesting if we ask in some depth how Lucian expected the text to achieve this and what (beyond a witty geniality) would constitute success. (ii) Philostratus discusses, in three set-piece scenes (2.22, 4.7, 6.19), the ways in which divinity can be represented and recognised. Apollonius himself expounds a theory of *mimesis*, *theoria* and *phantasia* in the viewing of art, in particular of the anthropomorphic rendering of the gods. Apollonius himself is gradually revealed as an object of such viewing: he himself represented divinity in his life, and now does so in Philostratus' portrayal of that life; the *process* of that disclosure informs the whole text.

My own readings are in a rather different tradition from BurrIDGE's. J.Z. Smith analyses the function of Mark, John, Philostratus (*Vita Apollonii*) and Iamblichus (*De Vita Pythagorica Liber*): 'The allegedly magical action, properly understood, is a sign. There is both a transparent and a hidden meaning, a literal and a deeper understanding required. At the surface level the biography appears to be an explicit story of a magician or a *Wundermensch*; at the depth level it is the enigmatic self-disclosure of a son of god,' J.Z. Smith, 'Good News is No News: Aretalogy and Gospel', in *Map is not Territory*, 1978, 190-207 (193-94). Ashton has famously described John's gospel as an apocalypse 'in reverse, upside down, inside out', J. Ashton, *Understanding the Fourth Gospel* (1991), 405.

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For Hanina ben Dosi, G. Vermes, *Jesus the Jew*, 1973, 72-78. The boy's healing, B. Talmud Berakhoth 34b; J. Talmud Berakhoth, 9d. 'If your fear of wrongdoing', M. Aboth 3.9. The miracles in Acts, 3.1-10, 14.8-10; 9.32-5; 9.36-42, 20.7-12; 5.1-11, 13.6-12.

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Justin the Martyr, *Dial.* 76.6; see R. MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire*, 1980, 50 (n. 4), and *Christianizing the Roman Empire A.D. 100-400*, 1984, 27 (n. 6); MacMullen emphasizes the importance of miracles in conversion throughout the early centuries.

Quadratus, in Eusebius *EH* 4.3.2; compare Iren. *Adv Her* 2.32.3.4. For Quadratus see R.M. Grant, 'Quadratus, the First Christian Apologist', in R.H. Fischer (ed.), *A Tribute to Arthur Vööbus: Studies in early Christian Literature and its Environment*, 1977, 152-64.

The story from Qumran of Abram and Sarai, 1QapGen (Genesis Apocryphon) at 20.18-25, Vermes, *DSS* 455.

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Incantation from Qumran, 11Q11 = 11QapPs(a), a badly mutilated fragment restored by E. Puech, 'Les deux derniers Psaumes davidiques du Rituel d'Exorcisme' in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research*, D. Dimant and V. Rappaport (eds), 1992, 68-9. (*ldwid*, 'To David', Vermes, *DSS* 310; 'Of David', F.G. Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1997-8, 2.1202-3.) Josephus and Eleazar, *Jos. Ant.* 8.2.5 (45-90). On Solomon in magic, Schürer, *History*, 3.1.375-9.

The name of the Jews' God used in magic, M. Simon, *Verus Israel*, ET 1986, 339-68 (348-56). 'To expel a daemon', Paris Magical Papyrus, 3017ff (simplified).

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The shift in sense of 'daemon' is witnessed by the Greek translation of Psalm 96 (95).4, 'All the gods of the nations are daemons' (rather than Hebr. 'idols'); J.Z. Smith, 'Towards interpreting

demonic Powers in Hellenistic and Roman Antiquity', *ANRW* 2.16.1 (1978), 425-39. For a survey, *TDNT* 4.1-16.

The nymphs and satyrs: Carneades (2nd century BCE), his argument recorded (eg), Cic. *De Nat. Deorum* 3.43-52 (here 43); see Price 'Gods and Emperors', 80

On magic, among many studies, G. Luck, *Arcana Mundi: Magic and the Occult in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, 1985; C.A. Faraone and D. Obbink (eds), *Magika Hiera*, 1991; for a collection of texts, J. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World*, 1992.

Fear of spells, Pliny *NH* 28.4.9.

For a philosopher's defence, Apuleius, *Apology*: Apuleius had married a rich widow and her relatives (as Apuleius would have it) were afraid of being disinherited and so accused him of magic. For nice distinctions of criteria used in Porphyry, *Life of Plotinus*, A.F. Segal, 'Hellenistic Magic: Some Questions of Definition', in R. van den Broek and M.J. Vermaseren (eds), *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions* (FS Quispel), 1981, 349-75 (361).

Plato *Leg.* 933a-e discusses two forms of harm as closely linked: injury (i) by poisoning, and (ii) 'by sorceries, incantations and spells (so-called)'. Under (ii), if the culprit is a prophet or diviner, he is to be executed as would a doctor who poisoned (even non-fatally); if he is ignorant of the prophetic art, he is to be punished as a poisoner would be who had no medical training. The speaker – the 'Athenian stranger' – may admit to uncertainty, himself, about the portents believed to lie in wax-effigies at a doorway, cross-roads or ancestral tomb.

Eleazar, T. Hullin 2.22, see M. Smith, *Jesus the Magician*, 1978, esp. 45-80, here 48, and *passim* for the subject. Survey in D.E. Aune, 'Magic in Early Christianity', *ANRW* 2.23.2 (1980) 1507 - 57; S.E. Garrett, Light on a dark Subject and vice versa: Magic and Magicians in the New Testament, in J. Neusner, E.S. Frerichs and P.V. McC. Flesher (eds), *Religion, Science and Magic*, 1989, 142-65; and for a later period, P. Brown, 'Sorcery, Demons and the Rise of Christianity from late Antiquity into the Middle Ages', in M. Douglas (ed.), *Witchcraft*, 1970, 17-45.

For Celsus and Origen on demons, p. 271 below. On the power of Jesus to heal: according to Celsus, by sorcery; according to Origen, by the divine power of the name of God, *C. Celsum* 1.24-5 (with the patriarchs' names, 4.33-4) and of the name of Jesus himself (1.6). On Moses as sorcerer (Celsus), 1.45-6; on Asclepius and Jesus, 3.24. On Jesus and magic, see further p. 268 below.

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Nero's return: there were at least three pretenders, R. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 1993, 407-23 at 413-4: the first appeared in July 69: Tac. *Hist.* 2.8-9; Dio (epitome) 63.9.3; Zonaras 11.15. Nero in Revelation, Bauckham, *Climax*, 384-452. 'Everyone now wishes,' Dio Chrysostom *Or.* 21.10.

For Nero's philhellenism, tour of Greece 66-7 CE, proclamation of the freedom of Greece and declaration as 'Nero Jupiter Liberator' (see p. 65 above), and Tiridates, M.T. Griffin, *Nero: The End of a Dynasty*, 1984, 161-3, 210, Bauckham, *Climax*, 408-9.

Tiridates, Tac. *Ann.* 15.24, 28-31, Suet. *Nero* 13.1, 30.2, Pliny *NH* 30.15.17, Dio 63.5. Classically analysed by F. Cumont, 'L'iniziazione di Nerone a parte di Tiridate d'Armenia', *RFIC* 11 (1933), 45f.

'The fugitive', *Sib. Or.* 4.138, 145-8 (*OTP* 1.387).

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Josephus's prophecy on Vespasian, Jos. *BJ* 3.399-408; cf. Suet. *Div. Vesp.* 5, Dio 66.1, and Schürer, *History*, 1.494 n. 41. Rabbinic tradition ascribes the same prophecy about Vespasian to R. Yohanan b. Zakkai, J. Neusner, *A Life of Yohanan b. Zakkai* (2nd ed., 1970), 157-60, T. Rajak, *Josephus: the Historian and his Society* (1983), 188, n. 7.

For the career of Josephus, Schürer, *History* 1.43-6.

Fiscus Judaicus, Jos. *BJ* 7.218, Dio 66.7.2. All Jews had the duty to send tribute to the Temple in Jerusalem; after its fall Vespasian ordered the payment to be made to the Temple of Jupiter in Rome (being rebuilt after the fires of 69 CE). Such 'centralised' taxation of defined peoples had parallels: the Alexandrine tax and the Asiatic tax. Most fully, Smallwood, *Jews*, 371-6.

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For Vespasian and Carmel, M. Simon, 'Jupiter-Yahve', *Numen*, 1976, 59. Tac. *Hist.* 2.78 (Basilides' prophecy as *has ambages*, 'these circumlocutions/evasions'); Suet. *Div. Vesp.* 5.6. The site was not always free from Temples or images: ps-Skylax records a temple to Jupiter there, about 4 BCE; fragments have been found of a giant sculpture of a foot inscribed 'Sun-Citizen Jupiter, God of Carmel', *Israel Exploration Journal* 2 (1952), more likely to have been a votive foot than part of a colossus (cf. the foot of Serapis, p.74 below). The later Emperor Trajan consulted the god Hadad at Baalbek (Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.23.14); Hadad was the Ba'al per excellence: god of storm, rain, clouds and mountains. For the drama of Elijah on Carmel, I Kings 18.20-40; for Pythagoras meditating there, 'this mountain holy among all', Iamblichus, *Pythagoras* 3.15.

Vespasian's lack of prestige, Suet. *Div. Vesp.* 7.2

For Vespasian in Alexandria, Tac. *Hist.* 4.81-2, Suet. *Div. Vesp.* 7, Dio 66.8. For the typologies, S. Morenz, *Würzburger Jahrbücher* 4 (1949-50), 370-8; A. Heinrichs, 'Vespasian's Visit to Alexandria', *ZPE* 3 (1968), 51-80; O. Montevecchi, 'Vespasiano acclamato dagli Alessandrini', *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studi Vespasiani*, 1981, 483-95.

On Basilides, K. Scott, 'The Role of Basilides in the Events of A.D. 69', *JRS* 24 (1934), 138-40; L. Herrmann, 'Basilides', *Latomus* 12 (1953), 312-5.

The healings, here from Tac. *Hist.* 4.81-2. Tacitus places the healings before – and Suetonius after – the visit to the Serapeum. Suetonius has Vespasian heal a crippled foot, not hand.

Josephus, who was present in Alexandria (*Vita* 415-6, *C. Apionem* 1.48), does not mention the healings. (See Heinrichs, 'Visit', 76-9: Josephus would allow no hint of – treasonable – ambition or machination in Vespasian or his allies.)

Alexander at Siwah: Diod. Sic. 17.49.2-5.3, Curtius Rufus 4.7.23-7, Plut. *Vita Alex.* 26.6-27.6, Arrian *Ann.* 3.3-4.

Serapis appearing to Alexander in a dream, ps-Callisthenes 1.33.7, 33.12. An anachronistic legend: the Serapis cult was founded by Ptolemy I; the god's first miracle was to heal the sight of Ptolemy's advisor Demetrius of Phaleron. For Demetrius' poem in praise of Sarapis, Diog. Laert. 5.76 (fr. 68 Wehrli). The Serapeum at Memphis had a statue of Demetrius, J.-Ph. Lauer and Ch. Picard, *Les Statues ptolémaïques du Sarapeion de Memphis*, 1955.

For the colossus of Serapis ascribed to Bryaxis and destroyed by Christian iconoclasts in the 4th century CE: a marble replica (1.88m high) is in the Museum of Alexandria. For images of the foot and head, S. Dow and F.S. Upton, 'The Foot of Sarapis', *Hesperia* 13 (1944), 58-77; D.K. Hill, 'Material on the Cult of Sarapis', *Hesperia* 15 (1946), 69-72; and on second century coins, cf. BM Cat. Alex 1209-10 (Antoninus Pius). For veneration of a statue's foot, within reach of the god's devotees, Heliodorus *Aethiop.* 8.8.7 (Isis), Apul. *Met.* 11.24 (Isis), and the feet of the emperors' statues, Preisigke *WgP* sv *ichnus*.

On Serapis' revelations through dreams, Heinrichs, 'Visit', 68. According to Suetonius, the two men approached *orantes opem valetudini demonstratam a Sarapide per quietem* (*Div. Vesp.* 7.2). Dio specifies them as *hoi ex opseōs oneiratōn* (66.8.1). Tacitus has them act *monitu Serapidis dei* (*Hist.* 4.81.1).

The setting of the acclamation: Montevecchi, 'Vespasiano': at an assembly of the people after the divine endorsement at the Serapeum. Heinrichs, 'Visit', 59 n. 24: an event at the hippodrome (for

the Alexandrians' fondness for horse-racing, Phil. *Vita Apoll.* 5.26), perhaps following the healings.

The acclamation itself: P. Fouad 8(2), H.A. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs: Acta Alexandrinorum*, 1954, no. V A, 142; Montevecchi, 'Vespasiano', 485; Heinrichs, 'Visit', 71 n 65 reverts to the original editors' reading of the vocative *Sar[api]*. On its composition and purpose, E.G. Turner, *P. Oxy XXV*, 1959, 106: similar to P. Oxy. XXV 2435, the apparently journalistic report of Germanicus' speech in Alexandria and its reception. Montevecchi, 'Vespasiano', 491-3: similar to the official report of the honours accorded to Titus in Alexandria, referred to in P. Oxy. XXIV 2725, so (semi)literary, for propaganda.

Vespasian and Titus spent the night before the official celebratory Triumph in Rome in the Iseum Campense on the field of Mars.

Vespasian and Basilides, cf Phillips, *ANRW* 2.16.3, 2725.

Alexander's achievements and apparent claims had posed the question vividly, What honors might or might not be appropriate to a ruler whose power exceeded all that had been imagined possible for a 'mere' human. At issue were Alexander's own (increasing?) claims, his view of himself and the claims' political value in all parts of a vast empire whose different parts had developed quite different ways in which to honor the great and the power with which the gods had apparently endowed them. In Bactria Alexander called for *proskunēsis* (a prostration); in Persia this was a common gesture of respect shown to those of high rank; to the Greeks and Macedonians it all too closely resembled an act of worship. In the winter of 324/3 there was a debate in Athens and Sparta: Should divine honors be paid to Alexander (D. Fishwick, *The imperial cult in the Latin West*, 1987, 8)? See R. Lane-Fox, *Alexander the Great*, 1973, 200-3. Alexander was himself drawing on prior tradition: there were reports of such temple visits by Perseus and by Hercules (a supposed ancestor of the Macedonian kings); Dionysius II of Syracuse had claimed Apollo for his father ten years before Alexander was born.

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'O Rome', in S.R.F. Price, *Rituals and Power*, 1984, 120.

Dura: C.B. Wells, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos*, 8.2, 1967: C.H. Kraeling, *The Christian Building*, 71-88, 190-7. A house was converted into a house church between 232 and 256 C.E. The courtyard was tiled over (covering the latrine) and benches were installed along three walls. Two rooms were turned into an assembly hall for 65-75 people. A room in one corner of the courtyard was converted into a painted baptistry: it had a painted canopy painted with sky and stars above a built-in font. On this end wall were painted the Good Shepherd above Adam and Eve. On the longer walls, upper register, were painted Jesus and the Woman at the Well and David and Goliath (l), and the Healing of the Paralytic and Peter and Jesus walking on water (r). On the lower register on the short wall opposite the font and along the long north (r) wall are paintings of women carrying torches and approaching the tomb of Jesus (?). For the overall numbers attached to different faiths, note that only a third of Dura has been excavated; among the graffiti (Kraeling 89-97) were magic and apotropaic charms.

For discussion and plans, G.F. Snyder, *Ante-Pacem: Archaeological Evidence of Church Life before Constantine*, 1985, 128-34; Beard, *Religions*, 2.110-11.

Of particular interest is the 'shape' of the ritual undergone in this room, which was made more cave-like at its conversion. Did the candidates for baptism 'follow' the route of the painted women towards the empty tomb of Jesus and so to their own baptism into the death and rising of Jesus (Rom. 6.1-11)?

Rome in 240s: Eus. *HE* 6.43.11.

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Papias on Matthew, in Eus. *HE* 3.39. For one among many discussions, W.D. Davies and D.C. Allison, *The Gospel according to Matthew*, 1988, 1.8-17.

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Pella. The flight: Eus. *HE* 3.5.2-3, Epiphanius *Haer.* 29.7, *De mens.* 15. The city captured by Alexander Jannaeus and destroyed for refusing to adopt Jewish customs, Jos. *BJ* 1.104, *Ant.* 13.397. Attacked at the start of the revolt, Jos. *BJ* 2.458.

Among discussions, S. Stowers, 'The Circumstances and Recollection of the Pella Flight', *TZ* 26 (1970), 305-20 (against historicity); G. Lüdemann, 'The Successors of Pre-70 Jerusalem Christianity: A critical Evaluation of the Pella-Tradition', in E.P. Sanders (ed.), *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, 1980, 1.161-73 (against); C.R. Koester, 'The Origin and Significance of the Flight to Pella Tradition', *CBQ* 51 (1989), 90-106 (in favour).

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Aristocrats and sinking ship, Jos. *BJ* 2.556. 12,000 nobles: *BJ* 4.328-33 (it was probably at this stage, winter 67-8 CE, that the Christians left for Pella). Josephus himself encouraging surrender: Jos. *BJ* 5.361-420 (a long speech), 541-7 (struck on the head), 6.96-115, 6.129, 6.365; *Life* 416 (at mortal danger).

For narratives of the War: Schürer, *History*, 1.484-508; M. Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judaea*, 1987, 152-227.

Sepphoris, Schürer, *History*, 2.172-6, esp. 175 n. 492. I retell the story with reference to Josephus' own political needs during the events and at the time of writing. Jos, as moderate rebel leader (*BJ* 2.629), leaves the fortifications to the inhabitants (*BJ* 2.574); but they were in fact preparing the city for the Romans (*Vita* 347). Without Roman protection, winter 66-7, they had to tack between the sides, *Vita* 124, 232: they remained friendly to Jos., *BJ* 2.511; but were pro-Roman, *Vita* 30, 104, etc. For Jos's defence against the charges of Justus, *Vita* 336-65; and his saving of Sepphoris, 373-380. For Justus, T. Rajak, 'Justus of Tiberius', *CQ* 23 (1973), 345-68, and Schürer, *History*, 1.34-7.

See R.A. Horsley, *Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee: The social Context of Jesus and the Rabbis*, 1996, 43-65, 107-30, on Sepphoris and Tiberias as rival capitals dominating the neighbouring villages.

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Tiberias, Schürer, *History*, 2.178-82. Foundation, Jos. *Ant.* 18.36-8; impurity of grave-sites, Num. 19.11-16. The three factions, *Vita* 32-42; Sepphoris as new capital (or renewed, *Ant.* 18.27; for Tiberias as capital, Schürer 2.180), resented by Tiberias, 28. Palace and its destruction, 62-9. The walls, 144, and the double-cross, 155; Josephus's ruse, 155-68. Subversion, and the enormous *proseuchē*, 276-308. Justus inciting rebellion at first, 36-42, turning to Rome at last moment, 352. Galileans at the capture of Sepphoris, Jos. *Vita* 375.

Emmanuel, Is. 7.14, and p. 153 below.

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'Blessed are those', 2 Bar. 10.6-7, 12-16 (*OTP* 1.624).

The establishment of the academy at Jamnia (Yavneh), J. Neusner, *A Life of Yohanan b. Zakkai*, 2nd ed., 1970, 164-9. In the revolt, Jos. *BJ* 4.130, 4.444. R. Johanan b. Zakkai's prophecy, J. Neusner, *Yohanan*, 157-60, T. Rajak, *Josephus: the Historian and his Society*, 1983, 188, n. 7; cf

91 above. Escape in a coffin, B Talmud *Gitt.* 56a-b, Midrash Lam. R 1.5, 31; *ARN* 4; Neusner, *Yohanan*, 111-2, A.J. Saldarini, 'Johanan ben Zakkai's Escape from Jerusalem', *JSJ* 6 (1975), 189-204.

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Antioch: C.H. Kraeling, 'The Jewish Community at Antioch', *JBL* 51 (1932), 130-60; Smallwood, *Jews*, 358-64; and for the city itself, G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria: from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest*, 1961. John Malalas, 6th c. chronologer cited below, was local: J. Malalas, *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, tr. W. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys, R. Scott, etc, 1986; page numbers from this edition.

'Jews attracting others to their ceremonies', Jos. *BJ* 7.45. (One of the Seven at Acts 6.5 is Nikolaos, a proselyte from Antioch.)

Bronze tablets, Jos. *BJ* 7.96-111 (110). The Jews' *politeia* dating back to Seleucus (*Ant.* 12.119-24, *C. Apionem*). See Schürer, *History*, 3.1.127: Jos. may be overstating; perhaps the Jews simply formed a distinct community with valuable rights. Jos. *BJ* 7.43: these rights were attacked by Antiochus IV but restored by his successors? Titus refused to revoke the rights.

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Cypriot missionaries, Acts 11.20-1.

Varus in 4 BCE, and the recapture of Jerusalem (cf. p. 36 above), Smallwood, *Jews*, 110-3. Tiberius' temple to Jupiter, and baths, Malalas 10.232-4 (pp. 123-5); Downey, *Antioch*, 174-84. Caligula rebuilds, Malalas 10.243 (p. 129); Downey, *History*, 191.

Herod's Samaritan wife Malthace (Jos. *Ant.* 17.19-32, *BJ* 1.562-3) – one of his ten wives – was mother of Archelaus (named by Herod in his will as his successor), Antipater (executed for rebellion at his own father's orders, 4 BCE) and Olympias (married to the son of Herod's brother).

Temple to Augustus, Sebaste, Jos. *BJ* 1.403, *Ant.* 15.296-9

Marble road and colonnade, Antioch, Jos. *BJ* 1.425, *Ant.* 16.148, Downey, *History*, 173-4.

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Synagogue, Jos. *BJ* 7.44-5. Temple's bronze there, Jos. *BJ* 7.44. Josephus and Antioch's 'Temple', *to hieron*, Jos. *BJ* 7.45; Josephus may mean that the offerings were sent to Jerusalem. Murder of Onias when he left sanctuary at Daphne, 2 Macc 4.30-38. His son Onias IV and 'Temple' in Egypt at Leontopolis, Schürer, *History*, 3.47-8, 145-7. Jonathan and Demetrius II, 145-139 BCE, also Jos. *Ant.* 13.37-61.

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Riots, 39-40 CE, Malalas 10.315 (pp. 144-5). Probably connected to Caligula's threat to the Temple (p. 000): a response either to Jews' support for Jerusalem or to their bid – with the Alexandrian Jews – for full citizenship. The status of Alexandria's Jews is also disputed, Smallwood, *Jews*, 224-34.

Riots in Alexandria, 38 CE, Schürer, *History*, 1.390-2

Edict to Alexandria and to Antioch, Jos. *Ant.*, 19.279-85; Smallwood, *Jews*, 246-7.

Titus refuses to expel the Jews, Jos. *BJ* 7.100-9, or to remove the tablets, 110-1 (cf. *Ant.* 12.119-24: legate Licinius Mucianus refuses to revoke the Jews' privileges granted by Seleucus I).

Daphne, dedication and temple to Apollo (with a giant statue ascribed to Bryaxis), Fowney, *History*, 82-6; with a temple to Diana in the precinct, 85-6.

Daphne, most famously told at Ovid, *Met.* 1.473-567.

Daphne: Malalas' account is certainly not accurate in detail, but may preserve some facts, G. Downey, 'The Gate of the Cherubim at Antioch', *JQR* 29 (1938), 167-77; Downey, *History*, 206-8. I reproduce the main passage here, with comments in italics. 'Titus, having celebrated a triumph for his victory, departed for Rome; and Vespasian from the Jewish spoils built in Antioch the Great the so-called Cherubim before the gate of the city. [*It was Vespasian who went to Rome, Titus stayed in the East and twice visited Antioch, Jos. BJ 7.100-4, 106-10. Malalas mentions the Gate of the Cherubim again in relation to the city's paving by Antoninus, 138-161 CE. The Life of St Symeon, late 6th c., mentions 'the part of the city called Cherubim' and 'the old wall called the Wall of the Cherubim'. The Life links the (south) gate towards Daphne, the Cherubim and the area called the Kerateia, in which, Malalas says, the remains of the Maccabean martyrs were buried, 'for there was a synagogue there'. On Daphne as a main Jewish area, Kraeling, 'Jewish Community', 140-3; synagogue, John Chrys., Adv. Judaeos 1.6, RG 48.852]. For there he fixed the bronze Cherubim which his son Titus found fixed in the Temple of Solomon [the cherubim in Solomon's Temple, of wood covered with gold, had been lost/destroyed in the 6th c. BCE and had not been replaced in Herod's Temple; Titus' cherubim must have been newly created 'copies'?]; and when he destroyed the Temple he took them thence and carried them to Antioch with the Seraphim, celebrating a triumph over the Jews which had taken place in his reign, setting up above a bronze statue in honour of the Moon with four bulls facing Jerusalem, for he had taken it at night when the moon was shining [Jerusalem had not fallen by night; the Moon more probably a symbol of Aeternitas]. He also built the theatre at Daphne, placing on it the inscription EX PRAEDA JUDAEA [From the Jewish Spoil]. The site of this theatre was formerly a synagogue of the Jews, and as an insult to them he destroyed their synagogue and built a theatre, setting up to himself there a marble statue, which is still standing [A theatre has been excavated at Daphne, and the fragments of some imperial statues on the site]. – Malalas 10.261-3 (p. 138-9). Josephus makes no mention of the 'Cherubim; he may have omitted to mention such an anti-Jewish symbol raised by Titus.*

John Chrysostom condemns the Christians who stayed overnight in the shrine of Matrona at Daphne (*Adv. Judaeos* 1.6), for the incubation of a dream or oracle. This is pagan rather than Jewish; the site was sacred to various traditions and valued for them all. Cf. p. 161 below.

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Moses' conception and birth in *Jos. Ant.* 2.210-6; cf. *LAB* 9 (*OTP* 1.315-6). Giving up all sex, *LAB* 9.2 (*OTP* 1.315)

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The hint of a miraculous conception: God 'knew' at Ex. 2.25, perhaps interpreted in the Passover Haggadah in a sexual sense, D. Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, 1956, 5-9.

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The star: Among many discussions (including the astronomy), Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1.233-5; R.E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah*, 1977, 170-3 and 190-6 (on Balaam)

Nero's comet, *Tac. Ann.* 14.22.

Balaam, *Num.* 22.2-24.25 at 24.17; cited at Qumran, CD 7.18-26 (also 4QTestmonia, 1QM 11.6); LXX, 'a star will rise from Jacob, and a man will stand forth from Israel'. Perhaps the prophecy

encouraging belief in world-ruler from Palestine, Jos. Ant. 6.312 (Suet *Div. Vesp.* 4, Tac. *Ann.* 5.13).

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Bar Kosiba/Kochba, Smallwood, *Jews*, 439-40; P. Schäfer, 'Aqiva and Bar Kochba', in W.S. Green (ed.) *Approaches to Ancient Judaism*, 1980, 2.117-20. Bar Kosiba was declared Messiah by R. Akiba; a more sceptical rabbi countered that 'grass will grow on your cheeks, Akiba, before the son of David comes.'

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Abraham and the devil, B. Talmud Sanh. 89b.

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Jerusalem as navel of the world, Ezek. 5.5, 38.12; Jub 8.9; Sib. Or. 5.248-50.

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Abraham and the devil, B. Talmud Sanh. 89b.

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For the importance of 'Hear, O Israel' here and throughout the New Testament, B. Girhardsson, *The Shema in the New Testament*, 1996, esp. 13-23.

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Caesarea, 20,000 killed, Jos. *BJ* 2.457.

'Terrible upheaval', Jos. *BJ* 2.462-3.

Herod at Daphne, C.H. Kraeling, 'The Jewish Community at Antioch', *JBL* 51 (1932), 130-60 (133).

Herod's dream at Daphne, Jos. *BJ* 1.328.

Murder of Onias when he left sanctuary at Daphne, 2 Macc 4.30-38.

Manaen, *sunthropos* of Herod Antipas, Acts 13.1.

Antiochus (66/7 CE), Jos. *BJ* 7.47-53; then fire (70), Jos. *BJ* 7.54-62; Smallwood, *Jews*, 361-3.

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Miraculous conceptions, from a god: of Pharaohs, by Amon, Io by the breath of Zeus (Aesch. *Supp.* 17-9), Dionysus by Zeus (Diod. Sic. 4.2.1), Romulus by Mars (Ovid, *Met.* 14.805-28, Plut. *Rom.* 2), and others. Davies and Allison, *Matthew* 1.214.

For the differences between Greek and Roman understanding and experience of 'godhead', see S.R.F. Price, 'Gods and Emperors', *JHS* 104 (1984), 79-95. For Greeks, 'god' was a descriptive adjective, a predicate: it had no firm institutional boundaries and was liable to fuzzy edges. For the Romans a 'god' was more like a saint would later be for the Christian church: the Senate met after an emperor's death and would decide whether to establish a cult of the deceased (or to do nothing, or to condemn his memory); the senators voted on the basis of a witness' report, who had seen the emperor's soul rising to heaven. To declare a deceased emperor a god was to recognise his status. As different places were at home with different attitudes, so were different

eras: we would describe the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE as more ‘credulous’ than the 1st; classically, E.R. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety*, 1965; Robin Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians*, 1986, 196, 200-15 (on the revival of oracles in the 2nd century), 250-61. Lane Fox’s classic book set out to refine (and in some measure to unravel) Dodds’ famous argument, 64-5.

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The resisted measures of Pilate: the Emperor’s image on military standards, brought into Jerusalem, Jos. *Ant.* 18.55-9; the aqueduct, 18.60-2. The fraud by the priests of Isis, 18.65-80; Jos. reverting to the Jews, 18.81.

Josephus’ account of Jesus, Jos. *Ant.*, 18.63-4, ‘Testimonium Flavianum’, is deeply disputed: how much – if any – of it is by Josephus, and how much is a Christian interpretation? For a survey and largely positive assessment, Schürer, *History* 1.428-41. For the most negative view:

(i) ‘For he appeared...things about him’ are clearly by a Christian author, not Josephus. (ii) So, what of ‘He was the Anointed’? Origen (c. 280 CE) states that Josephus did not believe in Jesus as the Anointed (*Comm. in Matth.* 10.17 at Matt. 13.55; *C. Cels.* 1.47); surely then, Origen did not have in front of him a text that included this claim. Eusebius (324 CE) knows our passage in full (*HE* 1.11, *Dem. Ev.*, 3.5.105). Between 280 and 324 CE, then, ‘He was the Anointed’ was inserted by a Christian interpolator. (Richard Montague, Bishop of Norwich, already saw this likelihood in the 17th c..) (iii) By this stage we do better to admit that *the whole passage* was surely inserted. Josephus’ riot-narratives run more smoothly without 18.63-4; and the phrase for ‘the leading men among us’ is not Josephus’s normal idiom for the leading Jews. I follow in the text a familiar middle line.

‘Truths’, *talēthē*; novelties, *taēthē*. The emendation had been suggested by 1749. ‘Wise’, *sophos*; ‘clever’, *sophistēs*.

Jesus is also mentioned at Jos. *Ant.* 20.200: ‘James the brother of Jesus who is said to be / called Messiah’; the authenticity of this too is questioned. Note: we might have expected a Christian interpolator to have been more assertive and to have used ‘Christ’ as a proper name. The passage is known to Origen, *Comm. in Matth.* 10.17 at Matt. 13.55.

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The Eighteen Benedictions, Schürer, *History*, 2.455-63. Gamaliel and Samuel, B. Talmud b. Ber. 28b-29a. When were the ‘Nazoreans’ and the ‘heretics’ first mentioned in the Twelfth Benediction, who were they then, and did the words’ reference change over time? Two (among many) discussions, R. Kimelman, ‘*Birkat Ha-Minim* and the Lack of Evidence for an Anti-Christian Jewish Prayer in late Antiquity’, in E.P. Sanders, A.I. Baumgarten and A. Mendelson (eds), *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, 1981, 2.226-44; W. Horbury, *Jews and Christians: In Contact and Controversy*, 1998, 67-110.

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For John Chrysostom on the Jews, C.H. Kraeling, *Jewish Community*, 154-60; R.L. Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews*, 1983; L.H. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the ancient World*, 1993, 369-84, 405-7; translation, *Discourses against Judaizing Christians*, tr. P.W. Harkins, 1977.

‘Many even of those...Atonement’, John Chrys., *Adv. Judaeos* 1.1, PG 48.844, cf 4.3, 875. Scandal, how many go to Jewish festivals, *Adv. Judaeos* 8.4, 930-3. Rabbis for healing, *Adv. Judaeos* 8.5, 934-5; 8.7, 937-8. Oaths, *Adv. Judaeos* 1.3, 847. Covert scoffing, 8.8, 939.

On the subject, M. Simon, *Verus Israel*, 1996, 306-38.

Refusing the Jews’ generosity, Jerome, *Letter* 52 (to Nepotion).

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'If you destroy', 2 Bar. 3.4-9 (this and the following, *OTP* 1.621-3). 'Do you think', 2 Bar. 4.3-6. Sacred vessels to safety, and 'Earth, earth', 2 Bar. 6.3-9.

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Temple booty to Rome, Jos. *BJ* 7.148-51, shown on the Arch of Titus (see eg Beard, *Religions*, 1.223; inscription *ILS* 265). Titus attempts to save Temple, *BJ* 254-6, 260-6. Titus' lament over Jerusalem, *BJ* 7.112-3. Titus' party for his brother Domitian, *BJ* 7.37-8, and for Vespasian, *BJ* 7.39. Further prisoners re-enacting fall of Jerusalem, *BJ* 7.96.

For the reasons for the unusual treatment of the Jewish Temple and leaders, Stern, *Authors*, 2.64-7; M. Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judaea*, 1987, 235-9. In support of Josephus' defence of Titus, T. Rajak, *Josephus: The Historian and his Society*, 1983, 206-11.

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Those who revere God, Jos. *Ant.* 14.110, cf. *BJ* 2.463 ('judaizers'), 7.45 (the Jewish community in Antioch were always attracting a large crowd of Greeks 'and had made these, in a certain way, part of their own community'), *C. Apionem* 2.282 ('the masses have long since shown a keen desire to adopt our religious observances; and there is not one city, Greek or barbarian, nor a single nation, to which our custom has not spread of abstaining from work on the seventh day, and where the fasts and the lighting of lamps and many of our prohibitions on the matter of food are not observed'). For two (among many) surveys of the literary and epigraphic evidence, Schürer, *History*, 3.161-71, Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the ancient World*, 1993, 343-382. Feldman himself published a famous article, "'Jewish Sympathisers" in classical Literature and Inscriptions', *TAPA* 81 (1950), 200-8, in which he denied that *theosebeis*, 'God-reverers', was a term used specifically and consistently for a category of semi-proselytes: (i) it is used of some people who were unquestionably Jewish (cf. Acts 13.43, of proselytes); and (ii) Luke in Acts uses both *sebomenoi ton theon*, 'revering God' and *phoboumenoi ton theon*, 'fearing God', suggesting there was no one standard designation. Did *theosebēs* really mean just 'pious'?

The Aphrodisias inscription, J.M. Reynolds and R. Tannenbaum, *Jews and Godfearers at Aphrodisias: Greek Inscription with Commentary*, 1987, confirms that in Asia Minor, 3rd c. CE, there was a special class of sympathisers known as *theosebeis* (so too now Feldman, *Jew*, 367). Much of the other evidence from inscriptions remains ambiguous. In the Miletus theatre (*CIL* V.1.88), for instance, the Greek inscription, 'Place of Jews who are also Godfearers' may be (i) a reference just to (a subset of?) the city's Jews, (ii) a mistake for 'Jews and also Godfearers' or (iii) a reference to Godfearers, ie sympathisers, who were thanks to their affiliation colloquially known as 'Jews', Schürer, *History*, 3.167-8.

For a number of small (and divided) house-churches in Rome, see especially P.S. Minear, *The Obedience of Faith: The Purposes of Paul in the Epistle to the Romans*, 1971.

Pomponia Graecina, Tac. *Ann.* 13.32. The inscription in the Catacomb of St Callixtus: G.B. de Rossi, *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, 1857-88, 2.362-3, conjectured 'Pomponius Graecinus' from disordered fragments. O. Marucchi, *Le Catacombe Romane*, 1933, 224, records seeing the inscription (since lost) set in place at a low level. See more recently G.F. Snyder, *Ante-Pacem: Archaeological Evidence of Christian Life before Constantine*, 1985, 189.

Jesus' family reaching ears of Roman power, Hegesippus in Eus. *HE* 3.19. The Eusebian story about the Christian Flavia Domitilla being exiled is probably a Christianised version of the story

of Flavius Clemens (executed) and Flavia Domitilla (exiled), who inclined to Judaism, *HE* 3.18.4, Dio 77.14.1-2

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Paul and ‘Your Excellency’, Luke 1.3, Acts 1.1; cf. Acts 23.26, 24.3, 26.25.

Augustus: ‘The whole human race’, Philo, *Ad Gaium* 143-51, here 145; ‘The first and greatest benefactor’, 149.

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Augustus’ coins: K. Wengst, *Pax Romana*, ET 1987, 24; for such an example, Beard, *Religions*, 2.225 fig. iv: obv., Victoria; rev., Octavian (later Augustus) in the guise of Neptune (god of the sea), his foot on the globe.

The Priene decree (cf. p. 65 above), V. Ehrenberg and A.H.M. Jones, *Documents illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*, 1976, no. 98; D.C. Braund, *Augustus to Nero: A Source Book on Roman History 31 BC-AD 68*, 1985, no. 122 (cf. nos 38-9). The Halicarnassus inscription, Ehrenberg and Jones, *Documents*, no. 98a; Braund, *Augustus*, no. 123. Tacitus’ general Germanicus, *Ann.* 2.21.

David and Goliath, 1 Sam. 17.

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Augustus on the Temple of Janus, Aug. *Res Gestae* 13.

Ara Pacis (Altar of Peace), Beard, *Religions*, 2.83-5 with illustrations. Trajan’s coin: K. Wengst, *Pax Romana*, ET 1987, 24 n.33.

Tacitus on tribes ‘that fear our peace’, *Ann.* 12.33. Calgacus resisting Roman domination (imposed by a campaign of which Tacitus’ own father-in-law was in command), Tac., *Agricola* 31.1-2. For the greed of Rome, 4 Ezra 11.37-46; and from the Romans’ own perspective, Eumolpus’ poem in Petronius, *Satyricon*, 119.1-18, 27-36; Juvenal *Sat.* 8.87-90 on restraint of a governor. Tacitus on the ruination of the provinces to pay for Rome’s rebuilding after the fire of 64 CE, *Ann.* 15.45.1.

Augustus and Rome, Suet. *Div. Aug* 28-9, Aug. *Res Gestae* 19-21 (82 temples repaired in 28 BCE alone, *RG* 20).

On ‘Peace and Security’, 1 Thessalonians 5.3, as perhaps a motto of the empire, see the Syrian inscription *OGIS* 613: ‘The lord Marcus Flavius the Good, the most illustrious Count and Leader of the 1st Legion, has ruled over us in peace and given constant peace and security to travellers and to the people.’ See K. Wengst, *Pax Romana*, ET 1987, 19-21, and compare Jos. *Ant.* 14.158-60, 15.344.

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Paul before Felix, Acts 24.1-26; before Festus, 25.6-12; before Agrippa and Festus, 25.24-26.32.

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Polycarp’s death, *Martyrdom of Polycarp* 21

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Lot's wife, Gen. 19, at 19.26.

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Caligula's statue in 40 CE, Philo *Ad Gai.* 186, 203, 207-8; Jos. *Ant.* 18.261, *BJ* 2.185-7, Tac. *Hist.* 5.9. Schürer, *History*, 1.394-6; Smallwood, *Jews*, 174-80, with full accounts from Philo and Jos. of the aftermath; cf. Petronius, p. 54 above).

The standards in 70 CE, Jos. *BJ* 6.316.

Mark 13.14 might well refer to the Temple's desecration by the Roman standards in 70 CE. In this case the gospel was still open to alteration then; the verse provides perhaps the strongest argument for dating the gospel's main composition after 70 CE. The reference of Luke 21.20-24 to the Temple's destruction was challenged by C.H. Dodd, 'The Fall of Jerusalem and the "Abomination of Desolation"', *JRS* 37 (1947), 47-54, repr. in Dodd, *More New Testament Studies*, 1968, 69-83, arguing that Luke 19.41-4 and 21.20-4 are indebted not to the events of 70 CE but to the OT's destruction-stories (such as the accounts of 586 BCE). Among many responses, see (eg) J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke*, 1983, 2.1253-7, 1342-4.

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The Hymn to Demetrius, Douris in Athen. 6.253 (Jacoby, II A 141-2, no.13), translated by Symonds, in K. Scott, 'The Deification of Demetrius Poliorcetes', *AJPhil* 49 (1928), 137-66 and 217-39 (229-30). See further, E.R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, 1951, 242, 259. Plutarch, *Vita Demet.* 12.2-3, tells of signs of displeasure from heaven.

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Apollonius: Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*, Eusebius' attack in Philostratus, *The Life of Apollonius*, tr. R.C. Conybeare, Loeb edition, 1950, 2.485-605.

Aegae's temple destroyed by Constantine, 324-5 C.E., Eus. *Vita Const.* 3.56-58.

Apollonius and Tigellinus, Phil. *Vita* 4.43-4; 'a girl seemed to have died', 4.45.

Apollonius' miracles included foretelling the future (*Vita* 5.18, 8.5, 8.7), averting earthquakes (6.41), appearing in two places in once (8.12), coming back after death to a doubter (8.30), exorcisms (3.38, 6.27), combating spirits (4.20.25) and detecting plague-essence in a woman (4.10). He defends himself at length against a charge of wizardry, 8.7.

It remains an open question, whether these stories grew in competition with the Christians' stories about Jesus.

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Peregrinus, Lucian, *De Morte Peregrini* 35.

Empedocles, D.L. 8.69-70, two variant versions (and other quite different stories are known), see A. Chitwood, 'The Death of Empedocles', *AJP* 107 (1986), 175-191.

Calanus, R. Stoneman, 'Who are the Brahmins? Indian Lore and Cynic Doctrine in Palladius' *De Bragmanibus* and its Models', *CQ* 44 (1994), 500-510 (505-6).

The 'Brahmin' Zarmanochegas / Sarmaros, died 20 CE, Dio Cassius 54.9, Strabo 15.1.4 and 73. His tomb was still visible in the time of Plutarch (*Vit. Alex.* 69.8). Stoneman, 506, for further examples.

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'The preservation...closest to the gods', Cic. *De Leg.* 2.10.27. Piety and the tradition of one's forbears, Porphyry *Ad Marcellam* 18. 'Impious to abandon', Celsus in Origen, *C. Cels.* 5.26. 'I will ask the Christians', Celsus in Origen *C. Cels.* 5.33. Cf Julian, *C. Galilaeos* 43A. The banning of the Bacchanalia, Livy 39.19.

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The effects of piety's disappearance, Cic. *De Nat. Deorum* 1.4. Celsus on idols, in Origen *C. Cels.* 8.24; and on public office, 8.75. The antiquity of Judaism, Celsus in Origen *C. Cels.* 5.25; Tac. *Ann.* 5.5; Jos. *C. Apionem*, 1.1, 2.1 (cf. 2.152).

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Celsus on contradictory laws, in Origen *C. Cels.* 7.18.

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Tower of Babel, Gen. 11.1-9.

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For a description of Passover in Jerusalem, E.P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief*, 1992, 132-8; M. Pesahim, *passim*.

The addition 'to expiate for the people', Tg Onkelos and Tg Ps-Jonathan of Ex. 24.8. The alteration 'as if they ate and drank', all three Targumim (Tg Onk, Tg Ps-Jon and Targum Neofiti) of Ex. 24.10.

Pages 261-3

Targum of Isaiah 52-3, B. Chilton, *The Glory of Israel: The Theology and Provenience of the Isaiah Targum*, 1983, 91-6: at Is. 53.12 Tg. we would expect the servant's own death to be edited out (cf. the alterations to 'He was despised...griefs', above), if the translator was reacting against Christian claims. Fuller extract, C.K. Barrett, *The New Testament Background: Selected Documents*, 1987, 314-5.

See too the Qumran Isaiah Scroll, 1QIs^a, M. Burrows, etc, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St Mark's Monastery I*, 1950, with W.H. Brownlee, *The Meaning of the Qumran Scrolls for the Bible*, 1964, 204-15: at Is. 52.14, for MT and Tg. Is. 'marred', 'disfigured', 1QIs^a reads, 'I have anointed him.' Here the Servant is anointed, but suffers; this reading may underlie Jesus' words at Luke 24.26, 'Did not Christ/Anointed have to suffer these things, and to enter into his glory?'

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Origen, *Contra Celsum*, tr. H. Chadwick, rev. ed. 1965. Celsus at 1.6 (cf. 6.39, 8.37): Jesus was a magician, and his followers' power came from incantation and demons; Jesus learnt his magic in Egypt, 1.38, cf. 1.68, 1.70. At the worst, Celsus argued that Christians worshiped neither a god, nor even a demon, but a corpse, 7.68.

Origen's response: the power of holy names, 4.34-5; Christians risked their lives for a teaching that forbids magic, 1.38; the magi at Jesus' infancy found their sorcery overthrown, 1.60.

Within Origen's closing rebuttal, 7.68-8.64, Celsus' view of demons and the honour due to them is vividly revealed: in particular, we use, enjoy and possess what is theirs, and we should pay them due and grateful honour, 8.55.

Origen's response: 'The earth bears the things', 8.31; 'That grim disasters', 8.32. Demons are unambiguously evil, 8.23-6; Jesus was defeating the great demon, 1.31.

Note that 'traces' of the miraculous power of the apostolic age were, claims Origen, still visible, 1.2, 1.46, 2.8, 7.8.

The shift in sense of 'daemon' is witnessed by the Greek translation of Psalm 96 (95).4, 'All the gods of the nations are daemons' (rather than Hebr, 'idols'), J.Z. Smith, 'Towards interpreting demonic Powers in Hellenistic and Roman Antiquity', *ANRW* 2.16.1 (1978), 425-39. For a survey, *TDNT* 4.1-16, and p. 73 above. .

For the charge that Jesus healed in the name of Beelzebul (Mark 3.23-30): divinity can be described as entering and inhabiting a magician, *PGM* 3.415ff, 470ff, 4.710ff, D.E. Aune, 'Magic in Early Christianity', *ANRW* 2.23.2 (1980), 1507-57. For divinization in the Mithras Liturgy, in a mix of 'religion' and 'magic', A.F. Segal, 'Hellenistic Magic: Some Questions of Definition', in R. van den Broek and M.J. Vermaseren (eds), *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions* (FS Quispel), 1981, 349-75 (352); cf *PGM* IV.155-285, procedure for self-divinisation by uniting the practitioner with the sun.

For the classic treatment of 'magus', A.D. Nock, 'Paul and the Magus', in *Essays*, 309-30.

Hippocrates uses *magos* and the verb *mageuōn*, *On the Sacred Disease* 2-4 (270-1 below).

John Chrysostom again, cf. p. 161 above: in his (vicious) polemic against Judaizing Christians, Chrysostom locates demons in the synagogues and in the souls of Jews, and speaks of people healed by Jews as healed by demons (as a test, permitted by God, of the faithful), *Adv. Judaeos* 1.6-8. Jews are now not just wrong; they are, for Chrysostom, the home of active spiritual evil; Chrysostom's vitriol has cast a long, dark shadow over the world.

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Thessalus' adventure is recorded in both Latin and Greek and in widely differing forms. It was classically discussed by A.-J. Festugière, 'L' expérience religieuse du médecin Thessalos', *RB* 48 (1939), 45-77. See also the edition by H.-V. Friedrich, *Thessalus von Tralles*, 1968 and the discussion by J.Z. Smith, 'The Temple and the Magician', in J.Z. Smith, *Map is not Territory*, 1978, 172-89. Smith finds a different 'tone' in the story: the narrator is inverting all the traditions of such discovery. Smith sees no fear in the priests' response, only amazement and some ridicule that Thessalus should believe in such magic at all. (Smith relies on the Latin translation of the corrupt Greek at para 13, 'and the priests made a joke of me.' The translator, however, faced with a difficult text, is just repeating a turn of phrase he had used before (to translate a different expression), para 10.) Thessalus of Tralles himself lived in Rome at the time of Nero; he belonged to a school of doctors famous for their violent curative techniques. He was buried on the Appian Way with the inscription *Iatronikes* ('Doctor of Victory'). Against Thessalus' authorship of our tract, F. Kudlien in V. Nutton (ed.) *Galen: Problems and Prospects*, 1981. See too F. Cumont, 'Le culte égyptien et le mysticisme de Plotin', *Monuments Piot* 25 (1921-2), 77-92; G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A historical Approach to the late pagan Mind*, 1986, 162-7. Tiridates initiated Nero into 'magic banquets' (Pliny *NH* 30.17); the Emperor claimed to 'command the gods' (14).

After his mother's murder, Suet. *Nero* 34.4.

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'The schools of Moses and Jesus', Galen, *De Pulsuum Differentiis*, 2.4. 'If I had in mind', Galen, fragment preserved in Arabic, in R. Walzer, *Galen on Jews and Christians*, 1949, 15, 48-56.

'Some do not want...Have trust', Celsus in Origen, *C. Celsum*, 1.9.

F. Kudlien, 'Galen's religious Beliefs', in V. Nutton (ed.) *Galen: Problems and Prospects*, 1981, 117-30:- Galen despised appeals to mere faith. He did not, however, deny the influence of the

gods. He gave great weight to the dreams he had from the god of healing, Asclepius: he would not accompany the Emperor on his German campaign because of the god's veto, *CMG* V.8.1, *Subfig. Emp. (Outline of Empiricism)* 10 and *De Libris propriis (On my own Books)* 2.1; Galen had planned to leave out a difficult chapter on the eye, but was ordered to in a dream, *De Usu Part. (On the Utility of the Parts)* 10.12: 3.812. Galen calls the god 'a great worker of wonders' (*Test.* 409, cf. *Test.* 423.13 and 23); he does not claim to know the god's nature (*De prop. Placitis [On my own Opinions]* 2), but is assured of his existence through his operation in dreams. The god confirms the techniques medically tested and assessed; he is himself (in Kudlien's phrase) pictured as Galen's ancestor or supra-paternal colleague in the profession. Once more a form of human power – medical skill – was felt to be based in a power outside and greater than the practitioner.

Reliance on dreams was widely suspect. Soranus warned against a midwife being superstitious, since her reliance on dreams will keep her from doing what would be useful, *Gynecology* 1.4 (ed. O. Temkin, 1956, p. 7). Theodotus was surprised by a strange dream-prescription from Asclepius, and was at a loss what to make of it; it was then validated by a congruent dream given to Philadelphus and described by him to the temple-warden Asclepiacus; the patient Aristides duly drank wormwood in vinegar as prescribed by the god (*Asclep. Testim.* 417). Rufus of Ephesus heard of Asclepius' offer to change an epileptic's incurable ailment into a quartan fever that could be treated; Rufus wondered whether this was possible only for a god, and whether it was ethical, *Oribasius Coll.* 45.30.

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Hippocrates, *On the Sacred Disease*, 2: caused by phlegm stopping the life-giving air from reaching the veins. The text tells of magicians and others who undertook incantations and purifications, and also imposed a strict diet and no bathing; and condemns quacks who claimed to bring down the moon and eclipse the stars, so effectively denying the gods by making men more powerful than the gods.

Menecrates and Philip II, *Aelian VH* 12.51, *Athenaeus Deipn.* 7.289.

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Pliny, *Letters* 10.96-7. Among many discussions, eg. A.N. Sherwin-White, 'The early Persecutions and Roman Law again', *JTS* 3 (1952), 199-213; G.E.M. de Sainte Croix, 'Why were the early Christians persecuted?', *Past & Present* 26 (1963), 6-38; A.N. Sherwin-White, 'Why were the early Christians persecuted? An Amendment', *Past & Present* 27 (1964), 23-7; and W.H.C. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the early Church*, 1965, 104ff; A.N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny: A Historical and Social Commentary*, 1966, 694-710; Beard, *Religions* 1.237-8, 2.277-9 (with full text). I read Pliny's letter with an eye on his own needs and worries of his own; we cannot assume that his letter is an ingenuous account of these events. Tertullian knows well what ready scapegoats the Christians made: the pagans 'suppose that the Christians are the cause of every public disaster, every misfortune that happened to the people. If the Tiber overflows or the Nile does not, if there is a drought or an earthquake, a famine or a pestilence, at once the cry goes up, "The Christians to the lions"' (*Apol.* 40.1-2). The sacrifice test was first applied, as far as we know, to Jews in Antioch, 67 CE, *Jos. BJ* 7.50.

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Wisdom's wandering, 1 Enoch 42 (*OTP* 1.33).

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R. Akiba, M. Aboth 3.15.

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The High Priest and the Word in Philo, *Fug.* 108-12, *Gig.* 52, *Mig.* 102-5, *Som.* 1.214-9. High-Priestly garments, *Mos.* 2.109-35, *Spec.* 1.82-97, *QE* 2.107-23, *Mig.* 102-5.

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On Jacob in the Prayer of Joseph, J. Ashton, *Understanding the Fourth Gospel*, 1991, 344-5.

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From Qumran, Community Rule, 1QS3.13 – 4.22, cf G. Vermes, *DSS*, 101-3.

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Manna in Eden, Ps. 78.25, *ARN* 1, *Life of Adam and Eve* 2-4 (*OTP* 2.258).

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The details from M. Sukkah (*Mishnah*, 172-81). See too G. W. MacRae, 'The Meaning and Evolution of the Feast of Tabernacles', *CBQ* 22 (1960), 251-276; A. Guilding, *The Fourth Gospel and Jewish Worship*, 1960, 62, 108, etc, on the readings at Shelters; H. Ulfgard, *The Story of Sukkot*, 1998, 241-51.

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Mekhilta of R. Ishmael, 1, pp. 57-8; G. Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism*, 1961, 193-227 (215-6); among the many discussions, eg S. Spiegel, *The las26t Trial: On the Legend and Lore of the Command to Abraham to offer Isaac as a Sacrifice - the Akedah*, 1979; J.D. Levenson, *The Death and Resurrection of the Beloved Son*, 1993, 173-219, 245-9.

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