

JUDEA UNDER ROMAN DOMINATION

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JUDEA UNDER ROMAN DOMINATION

The First Generation of Statelessness and Its Legacy

Nadav Sharon

SBL Press



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For Naama

“There will be an answer, Let it be”

— The Beatles

שמעו אלי ידעי צדק, עם תורתִי בלבם:
אל-תִיראו חרפת אנוש, ומגדפתם אל-תחתו

— Isa 51:7

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Preface

Two thousand and seventy-eight years and a few months ago, possibly on Yom Kippur—the holiest day of the Jewish year—the renowned Roman general Pompey the Great seized the Jewish temple in Jerusalem in a violent conquest and infiltrated its inner sanctum. Yet in this act, Pompey not only took the temple itself, violated it, and killed many Judean fighters and priests. He also brought about the end of the Hasmonean state, the last sovereign Jewish state in the land of Israel until the mid-twentieth century. It is that state and its establishment, approximately eighty years earlier, as a result of the successful struggle of the Maccabees-Hasmoneans against Seleucid rule, that I had been celebrating every year of my life on Hanukkah, and about which every Jew hears so much from early childhood. Thus, the end of that state and the subsequent period of the beginning of Roman domination over Judea—which was also a momentous period in Mediterranean history in general, with the expansion of the Roman Empire and the Roman civil wars—seems, a priori, to have been quite significant in, and for, Jewish history.

Yet as I was contemplating, nearly a decade ago, what area of the history of Second Temple Judaism should be the focus of my doctoral dissertation—which I found to be quite a difficult task given that that period has been so extensively studied in modern scholarship—it suddenly struck me that I could not recall seeing studies devoted to this specific period. While I had encountered much scholarship about Judaism and Hellenism, the Antiochean persecution and the Maccabean Revolt, the early Hasmoneans, Herod, the first century CE and the Great Revolt, and the background of Jesus and his movement in Judea, I was unaware of scholarship devoted to the period between the Hasmoneans King Jannaeus and Queen Alexandra and King Herod and the impact of this period. Could it be that the end of that sovereign Jewish state had been ignored? So, I turned to search various printed and online bibliographies expecting to find that I had been very wrong and that it had been extensively dealt with in scholarship. To

my surprise, I discovered that indeed this period had not been nearly as studied as other, earlier and later, eras of the Second Temple period. While I did find several article-length studies devoted to this or that persona, event, or other specific aspects of this period and its literary accounts—and, as the bibliography to this book can attest, as my work took shape I found many more, including some important monographs—I did not find any monograph devoted to the study of this period as such, let alone to its impact. I saw this as an exciting opportunity.

I originally assumed that the reason for that absence was that the historical events and developments of this period are quite clear because it is extensively reported in both of Flavius Josephus's historical works, the *Jewish War* and *Jewish Antiquities*, which are indeed recounted in various general surveys of the Second Temple period. Not wanting to simply offer another paraphrase of Josephus, my initial research question focused on the period's impact. Namely, I was interested to examine how the end of the independent Hasmonean state and the beginning of Roman rule over Judea—while the temple was still standing—impacted Judean society and religion. Although scholarship has often pointed to the destruction of the temple, over a century later, as well as to the rise of Christianity as significant causes or factors in the evolution of Judaism, it seemed to me—perhaps as a citizen of the modern counterpart of the Hasmonean state—that the end of sovereignty and beginning of subjugation had to have had a significant impact as well. So, I wanted to test whether my hypothesis was correct.

Nevertheless, as I started studying the period more intensively, I realized that it is much more complex than I initially thought and that a comprehensive analysis of the sources and the events they describe is necessary before any attempt to answer the initial question related to the period's impact. Consequently, my dissertation consisted of two equally significant parts. The first part is an attempt to responsibly reconstruct what actually happened, obviously not with mathematical certainty, but—as much of the work of historians of antiquity—as reasonable conclusions based on critical analysis of the available evidence. The second part is an attempt to point to crucial issues in which this period and its developments shaped contemporaneous and subsequent Judean society and religion.

The current publication is a revision of that study. In addition to the task of transforming a dissertation into a book, I have made significant changes to the content. I have integrated corrections and suggestions and responded to critical comments by readers of that earlier work. I have also

taken into account some important scholarship that has been published in the interim. I have also added material to this project from my subsequent research, which has analyzed the Romans and the Roman conquest in the Dead Sea Scrolls (ch. 3 and app. G). Finally, I have elaborated in appendices some points that were made more briefly in the original dissertation (app. A, D, and H).

An endeavor such as this often feels endless, like an insurmountable mountain. Nevertheless, as I reach this current mountain peak, I would like to acknowledge those individuals and institutions that have helped me up the slope.

First and foremost, I am grateful to my PhD supervisor, Professor Daniel R. Schwartz. Schwartz's classes during my bachelor's degree introduced me to the excitement of the Second Temple period and the exhilaration one can experience in the research of the Hellenistic-Jewish texts and in making new discoveries therein. I have since been truly lucky to have had Schwartz as my supervisor for my masters studies and thesis as well. He has continued to serve as an advisor and an author of numerous recommendation letters, even well after I completed the dissertation. He has been a true mentor, one who has helped me pursue my own scholarly interests, on the one hand, while being a guide in the stormy waters of scholarship, on the other hand. Yet, beyond being a very committed teacher and true scholar, Schwartz has been a great model of modesty, morality, humanity, and general ארץ ארץ. It is a great honor to be his student.

Dr. Esther G. Chazon has constantly shown an interest in my work and greatly supported and encouraged me. She was also a member of my dissertation committee, along with Professor Alexander Jacobson and Dr. Gideon Aran. They all devoted valuable time to meetings and were always willing to provide advice and their suggestions certainly improved my work, and I am grateful to them. In this revision, I greatly benefitted from the comments and suggestions of the referees of the dissertation, Professors Israel Shatzman and Joseph Sievers, who offered additional advice even after the dissertation was approved; I am greatly indebted to both. I am likewise grateful to the anonymous readers on behalf of SBL Press for their helpful comments and suggestions.

I have learned a great deal about ancient Judaism and the ancient world in general, as well as the study of religion, from Professor Michael E. Stone. He has constantly shown interest in my work and has encouraged and advised me whenever I needed. I am truly grateful for all of his support. Professor Jonathan J. Price has met with me to discuss my work and

read portions of it. I am indebted and grateful for all of the time and effort he devoted and for his consistent support. I also owe a special thanks to Professor Albert I. Baumgarten who has always been a great adviser and has read various versions of this work, as well as numerous other works; his comments and suggestions are always enlightening and insightful. Professor Michael Satlow also read the entire dissertation and offered helpful suggestions. Professor Menahem Kister, Professor Michael Segal, and Dr. Shani Tzoref read versions of chapter 3 and appendix G, and they offered invaluable suggestions and insights. Professors Vered Noam and Tal Ilan read and commented on appendices A and D, respectively. Several other scholars and friends have offered suggestions regarding various parts and aspects, large or small, and they are acknowledged throughout; here I would like to specifically mention my friends Dr. Gaia Lembi, Dr. Michael Tuval, and Drs. Michal and Elitzur Bar-Asher Siegal, who have always been helpful and willing to offer advice and suggestions.

Earlier versions of some sections of this book were previously presented and published in various scholarly forums and publications, and they are all noted throughout. I thank all of those venues, the various audiences that afforded helpful comments and suggestions, and the multiple anonymous readers, as well as the different presses for the permissions to republish these sections.

This endeavor would never have been possible without much generous financial support. From the fall of 2006 until the fall of 2009, I was fortunate to be a member of the research group, "From Religion of Place to Religion of Community," at the Scholion Interdisciplinary Research Center in Jewish Studies at the Hebrew University. Scholion was, and is, a haven of true scholarship and the love of learning. As I was just beginning my doctoral studies, the Center, especially the research group with its great collegial and scholarly environment of a joint venture of senior scholars together with doctoral students, provided the best venue and conditions to begin formulating my ideas. Our group's international conference in January 2009 provided a first opportunity to present some of my research. I am grateful to Scholion and to its head at that time, Professor Israel Yuval, who readily accepted me into the Center at that early stage and who has consistently shown an interest in my work.

From the fall of 2009 until the fall of 2012, I was fortunate to receive the Rotenstreich Fellowship of the Israeli Council for Higher Education. During the last few months of writing the dissertation, I benefitted from the Jacob Katz doctoral grant of the Zalman Shazar Center in Jerusalem,

which was graciously donated by Fred and Edith Horowitz. It was a great joy and a pleasure to meet them and discuss my work with them a few days after the ceremony. Subsequent to my dissertation, the research for chapter 3 was made possible by the Jean Matlow research grant of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls (2013)—where I also had a chance to present it—and later by a postdoctoral fellowship at the University of Haifa (2013/2014). Lastly, much of the work of this revision was carried out when I was fortunate to be an Anne Tanenbaum Postdoctoral fellow at the Anne Tanenbaum Centre for Jewish Studies at the University of Toronto (2014/2015) and a Harry Starr fellow at Harvard University's Center for Jewish Studies in the spring of 2016. The Center and the young scholars it chose for its group that year provided a very stimulating work and scholarly atmosphere, a great venue to complete much of the final work of the revision.

An additional thanks is due to Dr. Esther Chazon for recommending that I submit my work to the Early Judaism and Its Literature series. As a first-time book author, working with SBL Press and especially with the series editor, Dr. Rodney A. Werline, has been an enriching experience every step of the way. Werline provided invaluable advice and suggestions, and he has been very patient with me. I am truly grateful to him. Other people at SBL Press are also a significant part of this production, and I am grateful to them all. I would like to specifically mention Nicole Tilford who has been in constant contact with me and has helped immensely with various technical issues.

I was fortunate to grow up in a home that truly exemplified the parental advice of the book of Proverbs, ראשית חכמה קנה ובכל-קנייך קנה בינה (4:7). Learning was common and curiosity was constantly encouraged. I am grateful to my parents, Nili and Eli Sharon, for encouraging in my siblings and me curiosity and critical free-thinking in all elements of life, for instilling in us a love of learning for the sake of learning, and for supporting us in all of our independent endeavors. I am also thankful to my in-laws, Rita and Al Baumgarten, for their constant support and willingness to help, whether in proofreading or advice or otherwise.

I started climbing this mountain, nearly a decade ago, shortly after the birth of our first son, Aviv; our sons Yuval and Yair were born close to other significant junctures of my work on the dissertation. It is the joy and wonder of watching them grow and only further develop their natural pure curiosities and learn so much as only young children do that provides the best inspiration. Lastly, this project would never have been possible

were it not for my partner in life, Naama. She has read the entire manuscript, parts of it more than once, proofreading and editing and providing her insightful words of wisdom. More important, though, has been her constant care and encouragement, and words alone cannot express my thanks to her. You have truly been the engine that pulled me up the slope.

Jerusalem
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ABBREVIATIONS

Primary Sources

<i>1 Apol.</i>	Justin Martyr, <i>First Apology</i>
1 En.	1 Enoch
1QM	War Scroll
1QpHab	Pesher Habakkuk
4Q161	Pesher Isaiah ^a
4Q162	Pesher Isaiah ^b
4Q166	Pesher Hosea
4Q171	Pesher Psalms
4Q285	Sefer Hamilhamah
4QpNah	Pesher Nahum
<i>Ab urbe cond.</i>	Livy, <i>Ab urbe condita</i>
<i>Ag. Ap.</i>	Flavius Josephus, <i>Against Apion</i>
<i>Agr.</i>	Cicero, <i>De lege agraria</i>
<i>Ann.</i>	Granius Licinianus, <i>Annales</i> ; Tacitus, <i>Annales</i>
<i>Ant.</i>	Flavius Josephus, <i>Jewish Antiquities</i> ; Plutarch, <i>Antonius</i>
<i>Ant. rom.</i>	Dionysius of Halicarnassus, <i>Antiquitates romanae</i>
<i>Arch.</i>	Cicero, <i>Pro Archia</i>
<i>As. Mos.</i>	Assumption of Moses
<i>Att.</i>	Cicero, <i>Epistulae ad Atticum</i>
<i>Aug.</i>	Suetonius, <i>Divus Augustus</i>
<i>Avot</i>	<i>Avot</i>
<i>Avot R. Nat.</i>	<i>Avot de Rabbi Nathan</i>
<i>b.</i>	Babylonian Talmud
<i>B. Bat.</i>	<i>Baba Batra</i>
<i>B. Qam.</i>	<i>Baba Qamma</i>
<i>Bell. alex.</i>	<i>Bellum alexandrinum</i>
<i>Bell. civ</i>	Appian, <i>Bella civilian</i> ; Caesar, <i>Bellum civile</i>

<i>Bell. gall.</i>	Caesar, <i>Bellum gallicum</i>
Ber.	Berakot
<i>Bib. hist.</i>	Diodorus Siculus, <i>Bibliotheca historica</i>
Bik.	Bikkurim
<i>Brev. hist. rom.</i>	Eutropius, <i>Breviarium historiae romanae</i>
<i>Brut.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Brutus</i>
BT	Babylonian Talmud
<i>Caes.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Caesar</i>
<i>Cat.</i>	Cicero, <i>In Catalinam</i>
CD	Cairo Genizah copy of the Damascus Document
<i>Cic.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Cicero</i>
<i>Civ.</i>	Augustine, <i>De civitate Dei</i>
<i>Coll.</i>	Solinus, <i>Collectanea rerum memorabilium</i>
<i>Crass.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Crassus</i>
<i>Dial.</i>	Justin Martyr, <i>Dialogue with Trypho</i>
<i>Demetr.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Demetrius</i>
<i>Ep. Afr.</i>	Origen, <i>Epistula ad Africanum</i>
<i>Ep. Brut.</i>	Cicero, <i>Epistulae ad Brutum</i>
<i>Epigr.</i>	Martial, <i>Epigrammata</i>
<i>Fact.</i>	Valerius Maximus, <i>Factorum et dictorum memorabilium</i>
<i>Fam.</i>	Cicero, <i>Epistulae ad familiares</i>
<i>Flac.</i>	Cicero, <i>Pro Flacco</i>
<i>Flacc.</i>	Philo, <i>In Flaccum</i>
<i>Frag.</i>	Petronius, <i>Fragmenta</i>
<i>Geogr.</i>	Strabo, <i>Geographica</i>
Git.	Gittin
<i>Her.</i>	Philo, <i>Quis rerum divinarum heres sit</i>
<i>Hist.</i>	Polybius, <i>Historiae</i> ; Tacitus, <i>Historiae</i>
<i>Hist. adv. pag.</i>	Orosius, <i>Historiarum adversum paganos</i>
<i>Hist. eccl.</i>	Eusebius, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>
<i>Hist. phil.</i>	Justinus, <i>Historiarum philippicarum</i>
<i>Hist. plant.</i>	Theophrastus, <i>Historia plantarum</i>
<i>Hist. rom.</i>	Cassius Dio, <i>Historiae romanae</i> ; Velleius Paterculus, <i>Historia romana</i>
Hor.	Horayot
Jub.	Jubliees
<i>Jul.</i>	Suetonius, <i>Divus Julius</i>
J.W.	Flavius Josephus, <i>Jewish War</i>
<i>Legat.</i>	Philo, <i>Legatio ad Gaium</i>

<i>Leg. man.</i>	Cicero, <i>Pro Lege manilia (De imperio Cn. Pompeii)</i>
Let. Aris.	Letter of Aristeas
<i>Life</i>	Josephus, <i>The Life</i>
m.	Mishnah
Mak.	Makkot
Ma'as. Sh.	Ma'aser Sheni
Meg.	Megillah
Menah.	Menahot
<i>Mithr.</i>	Appian, <i>Mithridateios</i>
<i>Mos.</i>	Philo, <i>De vita Mosis</i>
<i>Mur.</i>	Cicero, <i>Pro Murena</i>
<i>Nat.</i>	Pliny the Elder, <i>Naturalis historia</i>
<i>Noct. att.</i>	Aulus Gellius, <i>Noctes atticae</i>
Pesah.	Pesahim
<i>Phil.</i>	Cicero, <i>Orationes philippicae</i>
<i>Pomp.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Pompeius</i>
<i>Princ.</i>	Origen, <i>De principiis (Peri archōn)</i>
Pss. Sol.	Psalms of Solomon
<i>Pis.</i>	Cicero, <i>In Pisonem</i>
<i>Prov. cons.</i>	Cicero, <i>De provinciis consularibus</i>
PT	Palestinian Talmud
QE	Philo, <i>Quaestiones et solutiones in Exodum</i>
Qidd.	Qiddušin
<i>Quint. frat.</i>	Cicero, <i>Epistulae ad Quintum fratrem</i>
<i>Quaest. Conv.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Quaestionum convivialum libri IX</i>
Sanh.	Sanhedrin
<i>Sel. Ps.</i>	Origen, <i>Selecta in Psalmos</i>
Sheqal.	Sheqalim
<i>Sest.</i>	Cicero, <i>Pro Sestio</i>
<i>Spec.</i>	Philo, <i>De specialibus legibus</i>
<i>Superst.</i>	Plutarch, <i>De superstitione</i>
Sus	Susanna
Syr.	Appian, <i>Syrian Wars</i>
t.	Tosefta
T. Iss.	Testament of Issachar
T. Jud.	Testament of Judah
T. Rue.	Testament of Rueben
T. Sim.	Testament of Simeon
Ta'an.	Ta'anit

Tg. Onq.	Targum Onquelos
Ti. C. Gracch.	Plutach, <i>Tiberius et Caius Gracchus</i>
Vat.	Cicero, <i>In Vatinium</i>
Vesp.	Suetonius, <i>Vespasianus</i>
Vit. Apoll.	Philostratus, <i>Vita Apollonii</i>
Vit. Caes.	Nicolaus of Damascus, <i>Vita Caesaris</i>
y.	Jerusalem Talmud

Secondary Sources

AB	Anchor Bible
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und Urchristentums
AJEC	Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
ALGHJ	Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> . Part 2, <i>Principat</i> . Edited by Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972–.
APOT	<i>The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament</i> . Edited by R. H. Charles. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1913.
BDB	Brown, F., S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1907.
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>
BIES	<i>Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society</i>
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BSJS	Brill's Series in Jewish Studies
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CHJ	Cambridge History of Judaism
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> . Berlin, 1862–

CPJ	Tcherikover, V. A., A Fuks, and M. Stern, eds. <i>Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum</i> . 3 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957–1964.
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
DSSR	Parry, Donald W., and Emanuel Tov, eds. <i>The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader</i> . 6 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2004–2005.
EDSS	Schiffman, Lawrence H., and James C. VanderKam, eds. <i>Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls</i> . 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
EJL	Early Judaism and Its Literature
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FGH	Jacoby, Felix, ed. <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . Leiden: Brill, 1954–1964.
FJTC	Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary
GLA	Stern, Menahem, ed. <i>Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism</i> . 3 vols. Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1976–1984.
HCS	Hellenistic Culture and Society
HSCP	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
IDB	Buttrick, George A., ed. <i>The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i> . 4 vols. New York: Abingdon, 1962.
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
IJS	Institute of Jewish Studies
JAJ	<i>Journal of Ancient Judaism</i>
JAJSup	Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JPS	Jewish Publication Society
JR	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>

<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Periods</i>
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism: Supplement Series
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series
<i>JSQ</i>	<i>Jewish Studies Quarterly</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KJV	King James Version
<i>Klio</i>	<i>Klio: Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LSJ	Liddell, Henry George, Robert Scott, and Henry Stuart Jones. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
<i>NETS</i>	Pietersma, Albert, and Benjamin G. Wright, eds. <i>A New English Translation of the Septuagint</i> . New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>OCD</i>	Hornblower, Simon, and Antony Spawforth, eds. <i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> . 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
<i>OGIS</i>	Dittenberger, Wilhelm, ed. <i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> . 2 vols. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1903–1905.
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
<i>OTP</i>	Charlesworth, James H., ed. <i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> . 2 vols. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983–1985.
<i>PEQ</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
PG	Migne, Jacques-Paul, ed. <i>Patrologia Graeca</i> [= <i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Graeca</i>]. 162 vols. Paris, 1857–1886.
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumrân</i>

SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
SCI	<i>Scripta Classica Israelica</i>
ScrHier	<i>Scripta Hierosolymitana</i>
SFSHJ	South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism
SJ	Studia Judaica
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StPB	Studia postbiblical
SubBi	Subsidia Biblica
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigraphica
TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
TBN	Themes in Biblical Narrative
TDNT	Kittel, Gerhard, and Gerhard Friedrich, eds. <i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–1976.
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TZ	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplements
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

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