



— DICTIONARY —
of Daily Life

IN BIBLICAL & POST-BIBLICAL ANTIQUITY

Complete in One Volume
A-Z

Edwin M. Yamauchi & Marvin R. Wilson

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**Dictionary of Daily Life in Biblical and Post-Biblical Antiquity
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*Dedicated to our esteemed colleague,
the eminent Old Testament scholar*

Roland K. Harrison

1920–1993

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ABBREVIATIONS

GENERAL

#(#)	number(s)
	parallel to
AD	<i>anno domini</i> , in the year of the Lord
Akk.	Akkadian
Arab.	Arabic
Aram.	Aramaic
ASV	American Standard Version
AV	Authorized Version (i.e., KJV = King James Version)
b.	<i>ben</i> , Hebrew “son”; born
<i>b.</i>	Babylonian Talmud
BC	before Christ
c.	century
C	centigrade
ca.	<i>circa</i> , about
CE	Codex Eshnunna
CEB	Common English Bible
cf.	<i>confer</i> , compare
ch(s).	chapter(s)
CH	Code of Hammurabi
CJB	Complete Jewish Bible
cm.	centimeter
col(s).	column(s)
d.	died
Dyn.	Dynasty
EA	El Amarna (designation of texts from)
ed.	editor(s), edition
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i> , for example

Egy.	Egyptian
Elam.	Elamite
Eng.	English
Ep.	epistle, letter
esp.	especially
ESV	English Standard Version
et al.	<i>et alia</i> , and others
Eth.	Ethiopic
F	Fahrenheit
fig.	figure
fl.	<i>floruit</i> , flourished
frag.	fragment
ft.	foot, feet
gal.	gallon(s)
Gk.	Greek
ha.	hectare (about 2.5 acres)
Heb.	Hebrew
i.e.	<i>id est</i> , that is
ibid.	<i>ibidem</i> , in the same place
in.	inch(es)
JB	Jerusalem Bible
JPS	<i>The Holy Scriptures according to the Masoretic Text: A New Translation</i> (Jewish Publication Society)
kg	kilogram(s)
KJV	King James Version
km.	kilometer
Lat.	Latin
lb(s).	pound(s)
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
lit.	literally
LL	Laws of Lipit-Ishtar
LXX	Septuagint
m.	meter(s)
<i>m.</i>	Mishnah
MAL	Middle Assyrian Law Code
MASCA	Museum Applied Science Center for Archaeology
MFA	Museum of Fine Arts (Boston)
mi.	mile(s)
MK	Middle Kingdom (of Egypt)
Mt.	mount, mountain
MT	Masoretic Text
n.	(foot/end)note

NAB	New American Bible
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NEB	New English Bible
NET	New English Translation
NEV	New English Version
NHC	Nag Hammadi codices
NIV	New International Version
NJPS	<i>Tanakh: The Holy Scriptures: The New JPS Translation according to the Traditional Hebrew Text</i>
NK	New Kingdom (of Egypt)
no(s).	number(s)
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
n.s.	new series (of journals)
NT	New Testament
OB	Old Babylonian
OK	Old Kingdom (Egypt)
Old Pers.	Old Persian
OT	Old Testament
Oxy.	Oxyrhynchus
oz.	ounce(s)
Pap.	Papyrus
Phoen.	Phoenician
pl.	plate
pl.	plural
R.	rabbi
r.	reigned
REB	Revised English Bible
repr.	reprint(ed)
rev.	revised
RSV	Revised Standard Version
RV	Revised Version
sing.	singular
sq.	square
St.	saint
Sum.	Sumerian
Suppl.	Supplement
<i>t.</i>	Tosefta
tr.	translated
trans.	translator(s)
Ugar.	Ugaritic
vol(s).	volume(s)
vs(s).	verse(s)

Vulg	Vulgate
y.	Jerusalem (<i>Yerushalmi</i>) Talmud
YLT	Young's Literal Translation

ANCIENT SOURCES

Hebrew Bible/Old Testament

Gen	Genesis
Exod	Exodus
Lev	Leviticus
Num	Numbers
Deut	Deuteronomy
Josh	Joshua
Judg	Judges
Ruth	Ruth
1–2 Sam	1–2 Samuel
1–2 Kgs	1–2 Kings
1–2 Chr	1–2 Chronicles
Ezra	Ezra
Neh	Nehemiah
Esth	Esther
Job	Job
Ps(s)	Psalms(s)
Prov	Proverbs
Eccl	Ecclesiastes
Song	Song of Songs
Isa	Isaiah
Jer	Jeremiah
Lam	Lamentations
Ezek	Ezekiel
Dan	Daniel
Hos	Hosea
Joel	Joel
Amos	Amos
Obad	Obadiah
Jonah	Jonah
Mic	Micah
Nah	Nahum
Hab	Habakkuk
Zeph	Zephaniah

Hag	Haggai
Zech	Zechariah
Mal	Malachi

New Testament

Matt	Matthew
Mark	Mark
Luke	Luke
John	John
Acts	Acts
Rom	Romans
1–2 Cor	1–2 Corinthians
Gal	Galatians
Eph	Ephesians
Phil	Philippians
Col	Colossians
1–2 Thess	1–2 Thessalonians
1–2 Tim	1–Timothy
Titus	Titus
Phlm	Philemon
Heb	Hebrews
Jas	James
1–2 Pet	1–2 Peter
1–3 John	1–3 John
Jude	Jude
Rev	Revelation

Apocrypha and Septuagint

1–2 Esd	1–2 Esdras
1–4 Macc	1–4 Maccabees
Add Esth	Addition to Esther
Bar	Baruch
Bel	Bel and the Dragon
Ep Jer	Epistle of Jeremiah
Jdt	Judith
Pr Azar	Prayer of Azariah
Pr Man	Prayer of Manasseh
Sg Three	Song of the Three Young Men
Sir	Sirach/Ecclesiasticus

Sus	Susanna
Tob	Tobias
Wis	Wisdom of Solomon

Old Testament Pseudepigrapha

<i>2 Bar.</i>	<i>2 Baruch</i>
<i>1 En.</i>	<i>1 Enoch</i>
<i>2 En.</i>	<i>2 Enoch</i>
<i>4 Ezra</i>	<i>4 Ezra</i>
<i>Jos. Asen.</i>	<i>Joseph and Aseneth</i>
<i>Jub.</i>	<i>Jubilees</i>
<i>Lad. Jac.</i>	<i>Ladder of Jacob</i>
<i>Let. Aris.</i>	<i>Letter of Aristeas</i>
<i>Odes Sol.</i>	<i>Odes of Solomon</i>
<i>Ps.-Phoc.</i>	<i>Pseudo-Phocylides</i>
<i>Pss. Sol.</i>	<i>Psalms of Solomon</i>
<i>Sib. Or.</i>	<i>Sibylline Oracles</i>
<i>T. Ash.</i>	<i>Testament of Asher</i>
<i>T. Benj.</i>	<i>Testament of Benjamin</i>
<i>T. Isaac</i>	<i>Testament of Isaac</i>
<i>T. Jac.</i>	<i>Testament of Jacob</i>
<i>T. Jos.</i>	<i>Testament of Joseph</i>
<i>T. Levi</i>	<i>Testament of Levi</i>
<i>T. Naph.</i>	<i>Testament of Naphtali</i>
<i>T. Zeb.</i>	<i>Testament of Zebulun</i>
<i>Vis. Ezra</i>	<i>Vision of Ezra</i>

New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

<i>Acts John</i>	<i>Acts of John</i>
<i>Acts Thom.</i>	<i>Acts of Thomas</i>
<i>Apoc. Paul</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Paul</i>
<i>Apoc. Pet.</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Peter</i>
<i>Prot. Jas.</i>	<i>Protevangelium of James</i>

Dead Sea Scrolls and Cairo Geniza

CD	<i>Damascus Document</i>
1QH ^{a,b} (=1Q35)	<i>Hodayot</i> (Thanksgiving Hymns)
1QS	<i>Serek Hayaḥad</i> (Rule of the Community)

1QSa	1Q28a (Rule of the Congregation)
4QMMT (=4Q394–399)	(<i>Miqṣat Ma‘aśê ha-Torah</i>)
11QTemple ^{a,b}	11Q19–20 (Temple Scroll)

Judaica

‘Abod. Zar.	‘Abodah Zarah
’Abot	’Abot
’Abot R. Nat.	’Abot de Rabbi Nathan
‘Arak.	‘Arakin
B. Bat.	Baba Batra
B. Meṣ.	Baba Meṣi‘a
B. Qam.	Baba Qamma
Bek.	Bekorot
Ber.	Berakot
Beṣah	Beṣah (Yom Ṭob)
Deut. Rab.	Deuteronomy Rabbah
Eccl. Rab.	Ecclesiastes Rabbah
‘Ed.	‘Eduyyot
‘Erub.	‘Erubin
Exod. Rab.	Exodus Rabbah
Gen. Rab.	Genesis Rabbah
Giṭ.	Giṭṭin
Ḥag.	Ḥagigah
Ḥul.	Ḥullin
Kelim	Kelim
Ker.	Keritot
Ketub.	Ketubbot
Kil.	Kil’ayim
Ma‘aś.	Ma‘aśerot
Ma‘aś. Š.	Ma‘aśer Šeni
Mak.	Makkot
Makš.	Makširin
Meg.	Megillah
Mek.	Mekilta
Menaḥ.	Menaḥot
Mid.	Middot
Miqw.	Miqwa’ot
Mo‘ed Qaṭ.	Mo‘ed Qaṭan
Naz.	Nazir
Ned.	Nedarim
Neg.	Nega‘im

<i>Nez.</i>	<i>Neziqin</i>
<i>Nid.</i>	<i>Niddah</i>
<i>Num. Rab.</i>	<i>Numbers Rabbah</i>
^ʾ <i>Ohol.</i>	^ʾ <i>Oholot</i>
<i>Parah</i>	<i>Parah</i>
<i>Peʾah</i>	<i>Peʾah</i>
<i>Pesaḥ.</i>	<i>Pesaḥim</i>
<i>Qidd.</i>	<i>Qiddušin</i>
<i>Qod.</i>	<i>Qodašim</i>
<i>Roš Haš.</i>	<i>Roš Haššanah</i>
<i>Šabb.</i>	<i>Šabbat</i>
<i>Sanh.</i>	<i>Sanhedrin</i>
<i>Šeb.</i>	<i>Šebiʿit</i>
<i>Šebu.</i>	<i>Šebuʿot</i>
<i>Sem.</i>	<i>Semaḥot</i>
<i>Šeqal.</i>	<i>Šeqalim</i>
<i>Sifre Num</i>	<i>Sifre (to Numbers)</i>
<i>Sifre Deut</i>	<i>Sifre (to Deuteronomy)</i>
<i>Song Rab.</i>	<i>Song of Songs Rabbah</i>
<i>Soṭah</i>	<i>Soṭah</i>
<i>Sukkah</i>	<i>Sukkah</i>
<i>Ṭ. Yom</i>	<i>Ṭebul Yom</i>
<i>Taʿan.</i>	<i>Taʿanit</i>
<i>Tamid</i>	<i>Tamid</i>
<i>Ṭehar.</i>	<i>Ṭeharot</i>
<i>Tem.</i>	<i>Temurah</i>
<i>Ter.</i>	<i>Terumot</i>
^ʿ <i>Uq.</i>	<i>Uqšin</i>
<i>Yad.</i>	<i>Yadayim</i>
<i>Yebam.</i>	<i>Yebamot</i>
<i>Yoma</i>	<i>Yoma (=Kippurim)</i>
<i>Zebaḥ.</i>	<i>Zebaḥim</i>

Apostolic Fathers

<i>1–2 Clem.</i>	<i>1–2 Clement</i>
<i>Barn.</i>	<i>Barnabas</i>
<i>Did.</i>	<i>Didache</i>
<i>Herm. Mand.</i>	<i>Shepherd of Hermas, Mandate(s)</i>
<i>Herm. Simil.</i>	<i>Shepherd of Hermas, Similitude(s)</i>
<i>Herm. Vis.</i>	<i>Shepherd of Hermas, Vision(s)</i>
<i>Ign. Eph.</i>	<i>Ignatius, To the Ephesians</i>

Ign. <i>Magn.</i>	Ignatius, <i>To the Magnesians</i>
Ign. <i>Phld.</i>	Ignatius, <i>To the Philadelphians</i>
Ign. <i>Pol.</i>	Ignatius, <i>To Polycarp</i>
Ign. <i>Rom.</i>	Ignatius, <i>To the Romans</i>
Ign. <i>Smyrn.</i>	Ignatius, <i>To the Smyrnaeans</i>
<i>Mart. Pol.</i>	<i>Martyrdom of Polycarp</i>
<i>Pol. Phil.</i>	<i>Polycarp, To the Philippians</i>

Ancient Authors

Achilles Tatius (ca. 3rd c. AD)

Leuc. Clit. *Leucippe et Clitophon (The Adventures of Leucippe and Cleitophon)*

Aelian (ca. AD 170–235)

Nat. an. *De natura animalium (Nature of Animals)*

Var. hist. *Varia historia*

Aeschines (ca. 397–ca. 322 BC)

Tim. *In Timarchum (Against Timarchus)*

Aeschylus (ca. 525–455 BC)

Ag. *Agamemnon*

Cho. *Cheophori (Libation-Bearers)*

Eum. *Eumenides (Eumenides)*

Suppl. *Supplices (Suppliant Women)*

Ambrose (AD 339–397)

Exp. Ps. *Expositiones in Psalmos*

Hex. *Hexaemeron libri sex (Six Days of Creation)*

Virg. *De virginibus (On Virgins)*

Ammianus Marcellinus (ca. AD 330–395)

Res G. *Res Gestae (Roman History)*

Anonymous

Cod. Theod. *Codex Theodosianus (Theodosian Code)*

Dig. Just. *Digest of Justinian*

H.A. *Historia Augusta*

Appian (ca. AD 95–ca. 165)

Bell. civ. *Bella civilia (Civil Wars)*

Apuleius (fl. ca. AD 155)

Apol. *Apologia (Pro se de magia) (Apology)*

Metam. *Metamorphoses (The Golden Ass)*

Aristophanes [Aristoph.] (ca. 446–ca. 386 BC)

Ach. *Acharnenses (Acharnians)*

Eccl. *Ecclesiazusae (Women of the Assembly)*

Eq. *Equites (Knights)*

- Lys.* *Lysistrata*
Nub. *Nubes (Clouds)*
Plut. *Plutus (The Rich Man)*
Ran. *Ranae (Frogs)*
Thesm. *Thesmophoriazusae*
Vesp. *Vespae (Wasps)*
- Aristotle [Arist.] (384–322 BC)
- Ath. pol.* *Athēnaiōn politeia (Constitution of Athens)*
Div. somn. *De divination per somnum (Prophesying by Dreams)*
Eth. Nic. *Ethica Nichomachea (Nichomachean Ethics)*
Gen. an. *De generatione animalium (Generation of Animals)*
Hist. an. *Historia animalium (History of Animals)*
Mete. *Meteorologica (Meteorology)*
Part. an. *De partibus animalium (Parts of Animals)*
Pol. *Politics*
Rhet. *Rhetorica (Rhetoric)*
Somn. *De somniis (Dreams)*
- Arrian (ca. AD 86–160)
- Anab.* *Anabasis*
- Artemidorus Daldianus (mid/late 2nd c. AD)
- Oneir.* *Oneirocritica*
- Athanasius (ca. AD 295–373)
- C. Gent.* *Contra gentes (Against the Pagans)*
H. Ar. *Historia Arianorum (History of the Arians)*
Vit. Ant. *Vita Antonii (Life of Antony)*
- Athenaeus (fl. ca. AD 200)
- Deipn.* *Deipnosophistae (The Learned Banqueters)*
- Athenagoras (fl. ca. AD 180)
- Leg.* *Legatio pro Christianis (Embassy for the Christians)*
- Augustine (AD 354–430)
- Bon. conj.* *De bono conjugali (The Good of Marriage)*
Civ. *De civitate Dei (The City of God)*
Conf. *Confessionum (Confessions)*
Cons. *De consensu evangelistarum (Harmony of the Gospels)*
De mend. *De mendacio (On Lying)*
Doctr. chr. *De doctrina christiana (Christian Instruction)*
Ennarat. Ps. *Ennarationes in Psalmos (Expositions of the Psalms)*
Ep. *Epistulae (Letters)*
Faust. *Contra Faustum Manichaeum (Against Faustus the Manichaean)*
Haer. *De haeresibus (Heresies)*
Incomp. nupt. *Incompetentibus nuptiis (Adulterous Marriages)*

- Man.* *De moribus Manichaeorum (On the Morals of the Manichaeans)*
- Nupt.* *De nuptiis et concupiscentia ad Valerium comitem (Marriage and Concupiscentia)*
- Op. mon.* *De opere monachorum (On the Work of Monks)*
- Quaest. ev.* *Quaestionum evangelicarum*
- Tract. Ev. Jo.* *In Evangelium Johannis tractatus (Tractates on the Gospel of John)*
- Virginit.* *De sancta virginitate (Holy Virginity)*
- Aulus Cornelius Celsus (fl. ca. AD 25)
- Med.* *De medicina*
- Aulus Gellius
- Noct. Att.* *Noctes atticae (Attic Nights)*
- Basil (AD 330–379)
- Ep.* *Epistulae*
- Hex.* *Hexaemeron*
- Hom. in Ps.* *Homiliae in Psalmos*
- Caesar, Julius (100–44 BC)
- Bell. gall.* *Bellum gallicum (Gallic War)*
- Cassius Dio (ca. AD 155–235)
- Hist. rom.* *Historia romana (Roman History)*
- Cato (234–149 BC)
- Agr.* *De agricultura (Agriculture)*
- Cicero [Cic.] (106–43 BC)
- Att.* *Epistulae ad Atticum*
- Cael.* *Pro Caelio*
- De or.* *De oratore*
- Div.* *De divinatione*
- Dom.* *De domo suo*
- Fam.* *Epistulae ad familiares (Letters to His Friends)*
- Flac.* *Pro Flacco*
- Font.* *Pro Fonteio*
- Inv.* *De inventione rhetorica*
- Leg.* *De Legibus*
- Mur.* *Pro Murena*
- Off.* *De officiis*
- Parad.* *Paradoxa Stoicorum*
- Rep.* *De republica*
- Verr.* *In Verrem*
- Clement of Alexandria [Clem.] (d. ca. AD 214)
- Paed.* *Paedagogus (Christ the Educator)*
- Protr.* *Protrepticus (Exhortation to the Greeks)*

- Quis div.* *Quis dives salvetur (Salvation of the Rich)*
Strom. *Stromateis (Miscellanies)*
- Clement of Rome (fl. ca. 96) (see 1–2 Clement)
- Columella (fl. AD 60–65)
- Arb.* *De arboribus*
Rust. *De re rustica (On Farming)*
- Cyprian (ca. AD 200–258)
- Ep.* *Epistulae (Letters)*
Hab. virg. *De habitu virginum (The Dress of Virgins)*
Laps. *De lapsis (The Lapsed)*
Unit. eccl. *De catholicae ecclesiae unitate (The Unity of the Catholic Church)*
- Demosthenes [Dem.] (384–322 BC)
- 1 Boeot.* *Contra Boeotum i (1 Against Boeotos)*
1–3 Olynth. *Olynthiaca i–iii (1–3 Olynthiac)*
Cor. *De corona (On the Crown)*
Ep. *Epistulae (Letters)*
Eub. *Contra Eubulidem (Against Ebulides)*
Pant. *Contra Pantaenetum (Against Pantaenetus)*
Timocr. *In Timocratem (Against Timocrates)*
- Dio Chrysostom (ca. AD 40–after 110)
- 2 Fort.* *De fortuna ii (Fortune 2)*
Rhod. *Rhodiaca (To the People of Rhodes)*
- Diodorus Siculus [Diod. Sic.] (fl. ca. 60–39 BC)
- Bib. hist.* *Bibliotheca historica (Library of History)*
- Dionysius of Halicarnassus (ca. 60–7 BC)
- Ant. rom.* *Antiquitates romanae*
- Dioscorides Pedanius (fl. ca. AD 40–80)
- Mat. med.* *De materia medica*
- Epictetus
- Disc.* *Dissertationes (Discourses)*
- Epiphanius (ca. AD 315–403)
- Pan.* *Panarion (Adversus haereses) (Refutation of All Heresies)*
- Euripides (ca. 485–406 BC)
- Bacch.* *Bacchae (Bacchanals)*
Hipp. *Hippolytus*
Med. *Medea*
- Eusebius of Caesarea [Eus.] (AD ca. 260–ca. 339)
- Coet. sanct.* *Ad coetum sanctorum (Oration of the Emperor Constantine to the Assembly of the Saints)*
Comm. Ps. *Commentarius in Psalmos (Commentary on the Psalms)*
Ecl. proph. *Eclogae propheticae (Extracts from the Prophets)*

- Hist. eccl.* *Historia ecclesiastica (Ecclesiastical History)*
Mart. Pal. *De martyribus Palaestinae (The Martyrs of Palestine)*
Prep. ev. *Praeparatio evangelica (Preparation for the Gospel)*
Vit. Const. *Vita Constantini (Life of Constantine)*
- Gaius (ca. AD 130–180)
Dig. *Digest*
- Gregory of Nazianzus
Ep. *Epistulae (Letters)*
Or. Bas. *Oratio in laudem Basilii*
- Herodotus [Her.] (ca. 484–ca. 425 BC)
Hist. *Historiae*
- Hesiod [Hes.] (ca. 700 BC)
Op. *Opera et dies (Works and Days)*
Theog. *Theogonia (Theogony)*
- Hippocrates (ca. 460–ca. 370 BC)
Aph. *Aphorismata (Aphorisms)*
Artic. *De articulis reponendis (Joints)*
Carn. *De carne (Fleashes)*
Epid. *Epidemiae (Epidemics)*
Jusj. *Jus jurandum (The Oath)*
Med. *De medico (The Physician)*
Morb. *De morbis (Diseases)*
Nat. hom. *De natura hominis (Nature of Man)*
- Hippolytus (ca. AD 160–235)
Comm. Dan. *Commentarium in Daniele*
Haer. *Refutatio omnium haeresium (Refutation of All Heresies)*
Trad. ap. *Traditio apostolica (The Apostolic Tradition)*
- Homer [Hom.] (8th c. BC)
Il. *Ilias (Iliad)*
Od. *Odyssea (Odyssey)*
- Horace (65–8 BC)
Carm. *Carmina (Odes)*
Ep. *Epistulae (Epistles)*
Sat. *Satirae (Satires)*
- Ignatius of Antioch (d. ca. AD 115) (see under *Apostolic Fathers*)
- Irenaeus (ca. AD 130–ca. 200)
Epid. *Epideixis tou apostolikou kerygmatos (Demonstration of Apostolic Preaching)*
Haer. *Adversus haereses (Against Heresies)*
- Jerome (ca. AD 347–ca. 420)
Comm. Ezech. *Commentariorum in Ezechielem*
Epist. *Epistulae*

- Jov.* *Adversus Jovinianum*
Qu. hebr. Gen. *Liber Quaestionum hebraicarum in Genesim*
Vigil. *Adversus Vigilantium*
Vir. ill. *De viris illustribus (On Illustrious Men)*
Vit. Malch. *Vita Malchi monachi ("The Life of Malchus the Monk")*
- John Chrysostom (AD 347–407)
- Exp. Ps.* *Expositiones in Psalmos*
Hom. Act. *Homiliae in Acta apostolorum*
Hom. Col. *Homiliae in epistulam ad Colossenses*
Hom. 1 Cor. *Homiliae in epistulam i ad Corinthios*
Hom. 2 Cor. *Homiliae in epistulam ii ad Corinthios*
Hom. Eph. *Homiliae in epistulam ad Ephesios*
Hom. Heb. *Homiliae in epistulam ad Hebraeos*
Hom. Jo. *Homiliae in Joannem*
Hom. Matt. *Homiliae in Mattaeum*
Hom. Rom. *Homiliae in epistulam ad Romanos*
Hom. 1 Tim. *Homiliae in epistulam i ad Timotheum*
Hom. Tit. *Homiliae in epistulam ad Titum*
Inan. glor. *De inani gloria (On Vainglory)*
Laz. *De Lazaro*
- Josephus [Jos.] (AD 37–after 93)
- Ag. Ap.* *Against Apion*
Ant. *Jewish Antiquities*
J.W. *Jewish War*
Life *Life*
- Justin Martyr (d. AD 165)
- 1 Apol.* *Apologia 1 (First Apology)*
2 Apol. *Apologia 2 (Second Apology)*
Dial. *Dialoges cum Tryphone (Dialogue with Trypho)*
- Justinian (ca. AD 463–565)
- Corp.* *Corpus Iuris (Codex of Justinian)*
Nov. *Novellae*
- Juvenal [Juv.] (fl. 2nd c. AD)
- Sat.* *Satirae (Satires)*
- Lactantius [Lac.] (ca. AD 240–ca. 320)
- Inst.* *Divinarum Institutionum Libri VII (The Divine Institutes)*
Mort. *De morte persecutorum (The Death of the Persecutors)*
Opif. *De opificio Dei (The Workmanship of God)*
- Livy (59 BC–AD 17)
- Ira* *De ira*
Rom. Hist. *Ab urbe condita libri (Books from the Foundation of the City)*

- Lucian of Samosata (ca. AD 120–180)
- Alex.* *Alexander (Pseudomantis) (Alexander the False Prophet)*
Dial. meretr. *Dialogi meretricii (Dialogues of the Courtesans)*
Luct. *De luctu (Funerals)*
Nav. *Navigium (The Ship or The Wishes)*
Nigr. *Nigrinus*
Peregr. *De morte Peregrini (The Passing of Peregrinus)*
Philops. *Philopseudes (The Lover of Lies)*
Salt. *De saltatione (The Dance)*
- Macrobius (fl. early 5th c. AD)
- Sat.* *Saturnalia*
- Martial (ca. AD 40–103)
- Ep.* *Epigrammaton*
- Methodius (d. ca. AD 311)
- Symp.* *Symposium (Convivium decem virginum) (Banquet of the Ten Virgins)*
- Minucius Felix (fl. ca. AD 200)
- Oct.* *Octavius*
- Musonius Rufus (ca. AD 30–100)
- Lec.* *Lectures*
- Origen [Orig.] (ca. AD 185–254)
- Cels.* *Contra Celsum (Against Celsus)*
Comm. Matt. *Commentarium in evangelium Matthaei*
Ep. Afr. *Epistula ad Africanum*
Hom. Luc. *Homiliae in Lucam*
Hom. Num. *Homiliae in Numeros*
Prin. *De principiis (First Principles)*
- Ovid [Ov.] (43 BC–AD 14)
- Ars* *Ars amatoria (The Art of Love)*
Med. *Medicamina faciei femineae (Drugs for the Female Face, i.e., Cosmetics)*
Metam. *Metamorphoses*
Rem. am. *Remedia amoris (Remedies of Love)*
- Palladius (fl. 4th c. AD)
- Hist. Laus.* *Historia Lausiaca (Lausiaca History)*
Rust. *De re rustica (On Farming)*
- Pausanias (fl. ca. AD 160)
- Descr.* *Graeciae descriptio (Description of Greece)*
- Pedanius
- Mat. med.* *De materia medica*
- Persius (AD 34–62)
- Sat.* *Satirae (Satires)*

Petronius (d. AD 66)

Sat. *Satyricon*

Philo (ca. 20 BC–ca. AD 50)

Abr. *De Abrahamo (On the Life of Abraham)*

Agr. *De agricultura (On Agriculture)*

Cher. *De cherubim (On the Cherubim)*

Congr. *De congressu eruditionis gratia (On the Preliminary Studies)*

Contempl. *De vita contemplativa (On the Contemplative Life)*

Decal. *De decalogo (On the Decalogue)*

Ebr. *De ebrietate (On Drunkenness)*

Flacc. *In Flaccum (Against Flaccus)*

Gig. *De gigantibus (On Giants)*

Her. *Quis rerum divinarum heres sit (Who Is the Heir of Divine Things?)*

Hypoth. *Hypothetica (Apology for the Jews)*

Ios. *De Iosepho (On the Life of Joseph)*

Leg. 1–3 *Legum allegoriae 1–3 (Allegorical Interpretation 1–3)*

Legat. *Legatio ad Gaium (On the Embassy to Gaius)*

Migr. *De migratione Abrahami (On the Migration of Abraham)*

Mos. 1, 2 *De vita Mosis I, II (On the Life of Moses 1, 2)*

Mut. *De mutatione nominum (On the Change of Names)*

Opif. *De opificio mundi (On the Creation of the World)*

Plant. *De plantatione*

Post. *De posteritate Caini (On the Posterity of Cain)*

Prob. *Quod omnis probus liber sit (That Every Good Person Is Free)*

QG *Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesim (Questions and Answers on Genesis)*

Somn. *De somniis (On Dreams 1–2)*

Spec. *De specialibus legibus (On the Special Laws)*

Virt. *De virtutibus (On the Virtues)*

Philostratus (fl. 3rd c. AD)

Vit. Apoll. *Vita Apollonii (The Life of Apollonius [of Tyana])*

Pindar

Pyth. *Pythionikai (Pythian Odes)*

Plato (ca. 429–347 BC)

Apol. *Apologia (Apology of Socrates)*

Ep. *Epistulae (Letters)*

Gorg. *Gorgias*

Leg. *Leges (Laws)*

Parm. *Parmenides*

<i>Phaed.</i>	<i>Phaedo</i>
<i>Phaedr.</i>	<i>Phaedrus</i>
<i>Resp.</i>	<i>Respublica (Republic)</i>
<i>Symp.</i>	<i>Symposium</i>
<i>Theaet.</i>	<i>Theaetetus</i>
<i>Tim.</i>	<i>Timaeus</i>
Plautus (ca. 250–184 BC)	
<i>Amph.</i>	<i>Amphitruo</i>
<i>Aul.</i>	<i>Aulularia (The Pot of Gold)</i>
<i>Cas.</i>	<i>Casina</i>
<i>Curc.</i>	<i>Curculio</i>
<i>Trin.</i>	<i>Trinimmus (Three-Dollar Day)</i>
Pliny the Elder [Pliny] (AD 23–79)	
<i>Nat.</i>	<i>Naturalis historia (Natural History)</i>
Pliny the Younger (AD 61–113)	
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
<i>Ep. Tra.</i>	<i>Epistulae ad Trajanum</i>
<i>Pan.</i>	<i>Panegyricus Traiani (Praise of Trajan)</i>
Plutarch [Plu.] (ca. AD 50–129)	
<i>Aem.</i>	<i>Aemilius Paulus</i>
<i>Alc.</i>	<i>Alcibiades</i>
<i>Alex.</i>	<i>Alexander</i>
<i>Ant.</i>	<i>Antony</i>
<i>Arist.</i>	<i>Aristides</i>
<i>Caes.</i>	<i>Caesar</i>
<i>Cat. Maj.</i>	<i>Cato Major (Cato the Elder)</i>
<i>Crass.</i>	<i>Crassus</i>
<i>Def. orac.</i>	<i>De defectu oraculorum (Obsolence of Oracles)</i>
<i>Luc.</i>	<i>Lucullus</i>
<i>Lyc.</i>	<i>Lycurgus</i>
<i>Lys.</i>	<i>Lysander</i>
<i>Mor.</i>	<i>Moralia</i>
<i>Mulier. virt.</i>	<i>Mulierum virtutes (Bravery of Women)</i>
<i>Num.</i>	<i>Numa</i>
<i>Per.</i>	<i>Pericles</i>
<i>Pomp.</i>	<i>Pompeius</i>
<i>Quaest. conv.</i>	<i>Quaestiones convivialum (Table Talk)</i>
<i>Quaest. rom.</i>	<i>Quaestiones romanae et graecae (Roman and Greek Questions)</i>
<i>Rom.</i>	<i>Romulus</i>
<i>Sol.</i>	<i>Solon</i>
<i>Sull.</i>	<i>Sulla</i>

- Tim.* *Timoleon*
Polybius [Polyb.] (ca. 200–118 BC)
Hist. *Historiae (Histories)*
Polycarp (ca. AD 69–155) (see under *Apostolic Fathers*)
Possidius (ca. AD 370–ca. 440)
Vita Aug. *Vita Augustini*
Quintilian (ca. AD 35–ca. 90s)
Inst. *Institutio oratoria (The Orator's Education)*
Sallust (86 BC–ca. 35 BC)
Bell. Cat. *Bellum catalinae*
Seneca (ca. 4 BC–AD 65)
Apoc. *Apocolocyntosis*
Ben. *De beneficiis (Benefits)*
Clem. *De clementia*
Ep. *Epistulae morales (Moral Essays)*
Helv. *Consolationem ad Helviam Matrem (Consolation to His Mother Helvia)*
Ira *De ira (On Anger)*
Tranq. *De tranquillitate animi*
Vit. beat. *De vita beata*
Servius (Maurus Servius Honoratus)
Aen. commentary on Virgil's *Aeneid*
Sextus Empiricus
Pyr. *Pyrrhoniae hypotyposes (Outlines of Pyrrhonism)*
Math. *Adversus mathematicos (Against the Mathematicians)*
Socrates Scholasticus (ca. AD 379–ca. 450)
Eccl. Hist. *Ecclesiastical History*
Sophocles (ca. 496–406 BC)
Aj. *Ajax*
El. *Elektra*
Soranus (fl. 2nd c. AD)
Gyn. *Gynaecology*
Sozomen (ca. AD 375–ca. 447)
Eccl. Hist. *Ecclesiastical History*
Strabo [Str.] (64 BC–ca. AD 24)
Geogr. *Geographica (Geography)*
Suetonius [Suet.] (ca. AD 75–ca. 140)
Aug. *Divus Augustus*
Cal. *Gaius Caligula*
Claud. *Claudius*
Dom. *Domitianus*
Gramm. *De grammaticis*

<i>Jul.</i>	<i>Divus Julius</i>
<i>Nero</i>	<i>Nero</i>
<i>Tib.</i>	<i>Tiberius</i>
<i>Vesp.</i>	<i>Vespasian</i>
<i>Vit.</i>	<i>Vitellius</i>
Tacitus [Tac.] (AD 56–ca. 117)	
<i>Agr.</i>	<i>Agricola</i>
<i>Ann.</i>	<i>Annales</i>
<i>Germ.</i>	<i>Germania</i>
<i>Hist.</i>	<i>Historiae</i>
Tatian	
<i>Or.</i>	<i>Oratio ad Graecos</i>
Tertullian (ca. AD 160–200)	
<i>Adv. Jud.</i>	<i>Adversus Iudaeos (Against the Jews)</i>
<i>An.</i>	<i>De anima (The Soul)</i>
<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Apologeticus (Apology)</i>
<i>Bapt.</i>	<i>De baptismo (On Baptism)</i>
<i>Carn.</i>	<i>De carne Christi (The Flesh of Christ)</i>
<i>Cor.</i>	<i>De corona militis (The Crown)</i>
<i>Cult. fem.</i>	<i>De cultu feminarum (The Apparel of Women)</i>
<i>Exh. cast.</i>	<i>De exhortatione castitatis (Exhortation to Chastity)</i>
<i>Fug.</i>	<i>De fuga in persecution (Flight in Persecution)</i>
<i>Idol.</i>	<i>De idololatria (Idolatry)</i>
<i>Jejun.</i>	<i>De jejunio, adversus Psychicos (On Fasting, against the Psychics)</i>
<i>Marc.</i>	<i>Adversus Marcionem (Against Marcion)</i>
<i>Mart.</i>	<i>Ad martyras (To the Martyrs)</i>
<i>Mon.</i>	<i>De monogamia (Monogamy)</i>
<i>Nat.</i>	<i>Ad nationes (To the Heathen)</i>
<i>Or.</i>	<i>De oratione (On Prayer)</i>
<i>Paen.</i>	<i>De paenitentia (Repentance)</i>
<i>Pall.</i>	<i>De pallio (The Pallium)</i>
<i>Praescr.</i>	<i>De praescriptione haereticorum (Prescription against Heretics)</i>
<i>Res.</i>	<i>De resurrectione carnis (The Resurrection of the Flesh)</i>
<i>Scap.</i>	<i>Ad Scapulam (To Scapula)</i>
<i>Scorp.</i>	<i>Scorpiace (Against the Scorpion's Sting)</i>
<i>Spec.</i>	<i>De spectaculis (The Shows)</i>
<i>Ux.</i>	<i>Ad uxorem (To His Wife)</i>
<i>Virg.</i>	<i>De virginibus velandis (The Veiling of Virgins)</i>
Theocritus (fl. early 3rd c. BC)	
<i>Id.</i>	<i>Idylls</i>

- Theodoret (ca. AD 393–ca. 460)
Hist. eccl. *Historia ecclesiastica (Ecclesiastical History)*
- Theodosius II (ca. AD 408–450)
Sirm. *Sirmondian Constitutions*
- Theophilus (fl. late 2nd c. AD)
Autol. *Ad Autolyicum (To Autolyicus)*
- Theophrastus (ca. 370–ca. 285 BC)
Char. *Characteres (Characters)*
Hist. plant. *Historia plantarum (History of Plants)*
Sens. *De sensu*
- Thucydides (ca. 455–400 BC)
Hist. *History of the Peloponnesian War*
- Varro (116–27 BC)
Rust. *De re rustica (On Farming)*
- Virgil (70–19 BC)
Aen. *Aeneid*
Georg. *Georgica (Georgics)*
- Xenophon (ca. 428–354 BC)
Anab. *Anabasis*
Cyr. *Cyropaedia*
Mem. *Memorabilia*
Oec. *Oeconomicus*
Symp. *Symposium*

JOURNALS AND REFERENCE WORKS

- ABD* *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by D. N. Freedman.
 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992
- ABR* *Australian Biblical Review*
- AcOr* *Acta Orientalia*
- ADAJ* *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*
- AEL* *Ancient Egyptian Literature*. M. Lichtheim. 3 vols. Berkeley: University of California, 1971–1980
- AER* *American Ecclesiastical Review*
- AF* *Altorientalische Forschungen*
- AfO* *Archiv für Orientforschung*
- AHB* *Ancient History Bulletin*
- AJA* *American Journal of Archaeology*
- AJAH* *American Journal of Ancient History*
- AJBA* *Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology*
- AJP* *American Journal of Philology*

- ANEP *The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament*. Edited by J. B. Pritchard. Princeton: Princeton University, 1954
- ANES *Ancient Near Eastern Studies*
- ANESTP *The Ancient Near East: Supplementary Texts and Pictures Relating to the Old Testament*. Edited by J. B. Pritchard. Princeton: Princeton University, 1969
- ANET *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. Edited by J. B. Pritchard. Princeton: Princeton University, Princeton: Princeton University, 1955
- ANRW *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*. Edited by H. Temporini and W. Haase. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1972–
- AnSt *Anatolian Studies*
- AntCl *Antiquité Classique*
- Antiq *Antiquity*
- AR *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*
- ARAB *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*. Edited by D. D. Luckenbill. 2 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1926–1927
- Arch *Archaeology*
- ArchOd *Archaeology Odyssey*
- ARE *Ancient Records of Egypt*. Edited by J. H. Breasted. 5 vols. Chicago, 1905–1907. Reprint, New York, 1962
- ARM(T) *Archives royales de Mari, transcrite et traduite*
- AThR *Anglican Theological Review*
- Aug *Augustinianum*
- AUSS *Andrews University Seminary Studies*
- AW *Ancient World*
- BA *Biblical Archaeologist*
- BAR *Biblical Archaeology Review*
- Barrett *The New Testament Background: Selected Documents*. Edited by C. K. Barrett. Rev. ed. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987
- BASOR *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
- BASP *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*
- BBR *Bulletin for Biblical Research*
- Ber *Berytus*
- BETS *Bulletin of the Evangelical Theological Society*
- BHM *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*
- BI *Biblical Illustrator*
- Bib *Biblica*
- BibInt *Biblical Interpretation*

BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BO	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
BRev	<i>Bible Review</i>
BRM	Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan
BSac	<i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
BT	<i>The Bible Translator</i>
BTB	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
BurH	<i>Buried History</i>
BWL	<i>Babylonian Wisdom Literature</i> . Edited by W. G. Lambert. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960
BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Edited by I. J. Gelb et al. 1956–2010
CAM	<i>Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean: Greece and Rome</i> . Edited by M. Grant and R. Kitzinger. 3 vols. New York, 1988
CANE	<i>Civilizations of the Ancient Near East</i> . Edited by J. Sasson. 4 vols. New York: Scribners, 1995. Repr., Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum Series Latina</i>
CH	<i>Church History</i>
ChrÉg	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
CIG	<i>Corpus inscriptionum graecarum</i> . Edited by A. Boeckh. 4 vols. Berlin, 1828–1877
CIL	<i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum</i>
CJ	<i>Classical Journal</i>
CML	<i>Canaanite Myths and Legends</i> . Edited by G. R. Driver. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1956
COS	<i>The Context of Scripture: Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World</i> . 3 vols. Edited by W. W. Hallo and K. L. Younger Jr. Leiden: Brill, 1997–2002, 2003
CP	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CSR	<i>Christian Scholar's Review</i>
CT	<i>Christianity Today</i>
CTA	<i>Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939</i> . Edited by A. Herdner. Mission de Ras Shamra 10. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1963
CTBM	<i>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum</i>

- CurTM *Currents in Theology and Mission*
- DANE *Dictionary of the Ancient Near East*. Edited by P. Bienkowski and A. Millard. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2000
- DDD *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*. Edited by K. van der Toorn, B. Becking, and P. W. van der Horst. 2nd rev. ed. Leiden: Brill, 1999
- DJBA *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*. Edited by M. Sokoloff. Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University / Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 2002
- DNTB *Dictionary of New Testament Background*. Edited by C. A. Evans and S. E. Porter. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2000
- DOP *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
- DO^{THB} *Dictionary of the Old Testament: Historical Books*. Edited by B. T. Arnold and H. G. M. Williamson. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2003
- DOTP *Dictionary of the Old Testament: Pentateuch*. Edited by T. D. Alexander and D. W. Baker. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2003
- DPL *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*. Edited by G. F. Hawthorne, R. P. Martin, and D. G. Reid. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1993
- DRev *Downside Review*
- DSD *Dead Sea Discoveries*
- EAC *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity*. Edited by A. Di Berardino. 3 vols. Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2014
- EAEHL *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*. Edited by M. Avi-Yonah. 4 vols. London: Oxford University Press, 1975
- EDB *Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible*. Edited by D. N. Freedman, A. C. Myers, and A. B. Beck. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000
- EDEJ *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism*. Edited by J. J. Collins and D. C. Harlow. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010
- EGA *Egypt's Golden Age: The Art of Living in the New Kingdom, 1558–1085 B.C.* Edited by E. Brovarski, S. K. Doll, and R. Freed. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1982
- EGL & MWBS *Eastern Great Lakes and Midwest Biblical Societies*
- EncJud *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Edited by F. Skolnik. 22 vols. Detroit: Macmillan Reference, 2007

- EMQ *Evangelical Missions Quarterly*
- ErIsr *Eretz-Israel*
- ETCSL *The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature*. J. A. Black, G. Cunningham, J. Ebeling, E. Flückiger-Hawker, E. Robson, J. Taylor, and G. Zólyomi. Oxford: 1998–2006. Online at <http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/>
- ETL *Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses*
- EvQ *Evangelical Quarterly*
- Exped *Expedition*
- ExpTim *Expository Times*
- FGrH *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Edited by F. Jacoby. Berlin: Weidmann, 1923
- FiHi *Fides et Historia*
- GCS *Die griechische christliche Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte*
- Gibson John C. L. Gibson. *Canaanite Myths and Legends*. 2nd ed. London: T&T Clark, 2004
- GOTR *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*
- GR *Greece and Rome*
- Grant Galen. *Galen on Food and Diet*. Translated by M. Grant. London: Routledge, 2000
- GRBS *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
- HAR *Hebrew Annual Review*
- HR *History of Religions*
- HSS *Harvard Semitic Studies*
- HTR *Harvard Theological Review*
- HUCA *Hebrew Union College Annual*
- IBD *The Illustrated Bible Dictionary*. Edited by J. D. Douglas. 3 vols. Leicester, England: Inter-Varsity, 1980
- IDB *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*. Edited by G. A. Buttrick. 4 vols. New York: Abingdon, 1962
- IEJ *Israel Exploration Journal*
- IJNA *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration*
- Int *Interpretation*
- IOS *Israel Oriental Studies*
- ISBE *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*. Edited by G. W. Bromiley et al. 4 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979–1988
- ITT *Ismaili Texts and Translations*
- JAC *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*

JANESCU	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
JASA	<i>Journal of the American Scientific Affiliation</i>
JATS	<i>Journal of the Adventist Theological Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JBQ	<i>Jewish Bible Quarterly</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JE	<i>The Jewish Encyclopedia</i> . Edited by I. Singer. 12 vols. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1907
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
J ECS	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
J EgH	<i>Journal of Egyptian History</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JETS	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
JFA	<i>Journal of Field Archaeology</i>
JHI	<i>Journal of the History of Ideas</i>
JHIL	<i>Journal of the History of International Law</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JJP	<i>Journal of Juristic Papyrology</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JLH	<i>Journal of Library History</i>
JMA	<i>Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JNSL	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JR	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
JRE	<i>Journal of Religious Ethics</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period</i>
JSNT	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSP	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
JSSEA	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
King	<i>Musonius Rufus: Lectures and Sayings</i> , rev. ed. Translated by C. King. Createspace, 2011

- LAE* *Literature of Ancient Egypt*. W. K. Simpson. New Haven: Yale University, 1972
- LS* *Louvain Studies*
- MARI* *Mari: Annales de recherches interdisciplinaires*
- MDOG* Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
- Meyer* *The Nag Hammadi Scriptures*. Edited by M. Meyer. New York: HarperOne, 2007
- MGWJ* *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*
- MVN* Materiali per il Vocabulario Neo-Sumerico
- NEA* *Near Eastern Archaeology*
- NEASB* *Near East Archaeological Society Bulletin*
- Neot* *Neotestamentica*
- Neusner-T* *The Tosefta*. Translated by Jacob Neusner. 2 vols. Peabody: Hendrickson, 2002
- Neusner-Y* *The Jerusalem Talmud*. Translated by Jacob Neusner. CD. Peabody: Hendrickson, 2009
- NewDocs* *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*. Edited by Greg H. R. Horsley and Stephen Llewelyn. North Ryde, NSW: The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, Macquarie University, 1981–
- NG* Neosumerischen Gerichtsurkunden
- NIDNTT* *New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*. Edited by C. Brown. 4 vols. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1975–1985
- NIDOTTE* *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology & Exegesis*. Edited by W. A. VanGemeren. 5 vols. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997
- NovT* *Novum Testamentum*
- NRVN* Neosumerische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden aus Nippur
- NTA* E. Hennecke. *New Testament Apocrypha*. Edited by W. Schneemelcher and R. McL. Wilson. Translated by E. Best et al. 2 vols. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1965
- NTS* *New Testament Studies*
- OCCC* *The Oxford Companion to Classical Civilization*. Edited by S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998
- OCD* *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Edited by S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth. 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University, 1996
- ODCC* *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. Edited by F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone. 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University, 1997

OEANE	<i>The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East.</i> Edited by E. M. Meyers. New York: Oxford University, 1997
OEBA	<i>The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Bible and Archaeology.</i> Edited by D. M. Master. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University, 2013
OHJDL	<i>The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Daily Life in Roman Palestine.</i> Edited by C. Hezser. Oxford: Oxford University, 2010
Or	<i>Orientalia</i> (NS)
OrAnt	<i>Oriens antiquus</i>
OTP	<i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha.</i> Edited by J. H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. New York, 1983, 1985
PAAJR	<i>Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research</i>
PAPS	<i>Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society</i>
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
PGM	<i>Papyri graecae magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri.</i> Edited by K. Preisendanz. Berlin, 1928
PloS ONE	Public Library of Science One (http://www.plosone.org/)
PRSt	<i>Perspectives in Religious Studies</i>
PSBA	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i>
PSCF	<i>Perspectives on Science and Christian Faith</i>
PSTJ	<i>Perkins School of Theology Journal</i>
PTS	<i>Patristische Texte und Studien</i>
RA	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i>
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
REAug	<i>Revue des études augustiniennes</i>
REJ	<i>Revue des études juives</i>
RelSRev	<i>Religious Studies Review</i>
ResQ	<i>Restoration Quarterly</i>
RevExp	<i>Review and Expositor</i>
RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumran (DC Qumrân)</i>
RHPR	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses</i>
RHR	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
RIDA	<i>Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité</i>
SciAmer	<i>Scientific American</i>
SCJ	<i>Stone-Campbell Journal</i>
SecCent	<i>Second Century</i>
S.H.A.	<i>Scriptores Historiae Augustae (Augustan History)</i>
SJOT	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
SJT	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
SPhilo	<i>Studia Philonica</i>
SR	<i>Studies in Religion</i>

ST	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
StPatr	<i>Studia patristica</i>
STRev	<i>Sewanee Theological Review</i>
TA	<i>Tel Aviv</i>
TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
TDNT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Translated by G. W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–1976
TDOT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> . Edited by G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren. Translated by J. T. Willis, G. W. Bromiley, and D. E. Green. 15 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974–2006
<i>Them</i>	<i>Themelios</i>
TJ	<i>Trinity Journal</i>
TS	<i>Theological Studies</i>
TSFB	<i>Theological Students Fellowship Bulletin</i>
TWOT	<i>Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament</i> . Edited by R. L. Harris, G. L. Archer Jr., and B. K. Waltke. 2 vols. Chicago: Moody Press, 1980
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
TZ	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
USQR	<i>Union Seminary Quarterly Review</i>
UET	Ur Excavations: Texts
UT	<i>Ugaritic Textbook</i> . Cyrus H. Gordon. AnOr 38. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965
VC	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WO	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
WTJ	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
YBC	Yale Babylonian Collection
YOS	Yale Oriental Series
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
ZABR	<i>Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte</i>
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

PERIODS, AGES, AND DATES

Aside from a few passages that deal with “beginnings” or “origins” (e.g., Genesis 1–11; Psalm 104; John 1:1–5), the Bible, as received, recounts events in the lives of individuals, tribes, and nations located primarily in the ancient Near East that appear to have occurred over a period of approximately 1800 years, that is, from about 1700 BC to AD 100. The events portrayed in the Bible span a period that saw the development of technology from the use of bronze to the use of iron in the ancient Near East from Anatolia to Mesopotamia to Egypt. This same period saw political development from tribal cultures to the rise (and fall) of major empires—Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome, among others that figure less prominently in the biblical text. Numerous major religions flourished (and many fell out of use) during this same period (e.g., Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, Greek, and Roman religions as well as Judaism and Christianity), not to mention other religions more local or tribal in character (e.g., Philistine, Aramean, Edomite, and Ammonite).

There is little evidence of how the passage of extended periods of time was marked in pre-history. With the advent of major empires, the reigns of kings and dynasties and the rule of nations began to be used to mark the passage of extended periods of time. Modern convention, of course, marks the passage of time using calendrical dates, which in the Western world are marked as BC (or BCE) and AD (or CE) surrounding the approximate date of the birth of Jesus of Nazareth during the period of the Roman Empire. But it is also a modern convention to use the development of technology to mark long periods of time, e.g., the various Stone Ages, the Copper or Chalcolithic Age, the Bronze Ages, and the Iron Ages. And, further, it remains a convention to mark some periods of time by the rule of political leaders, dynasties, and nations.

The various terms used for periods of time found in this Dictionary are often defined by approximate dates within the articles where they are used and, in the case of periods that covered millennia, closer approximations of the dates of events within a given period are provided. For convenience,

however, the following tables provide a list of these periods and ages, as well as the durations of major empires (or dynasties within an empire) marking significant time periods in the ancient Near East, accompanied by their approximate and commonly associated dates.

Technological Ages

Technological ages vary widely from place to place, even within the ancient Near East. The following dates encompassing a given technology should be seen as highly approximate, as representing the ancient Near East generally, and as subject to ongoing scholarly debate. The dates below are intended to provide a general sense of time and are not to be used as a precise guide, simply because technological development is seldom linear.

Neolithic (Late Stone Age)	8500–4500 BC
Chalcolithic (Copper Age)	4500–3500 BC
Early Bronze Age	3500–2250 BC
Intermediate Bronze Age	2250–1950 BC
Middle Bronze Age	1950–1550 BC
Late Bronze Age	1550–1200 BC
Iron Age I (Early Iron Age)	1200–985 BC
Iron Age II (Late Iron Age)	985–586 BC

Political Ages

The dates of empires and dynasties are likewise subject to scholarly debate, which not infrequently includes proposals of “high chronologies” and “low chronologies” or sometimes even of “middle chronologies.” Moreover, there was significant overlap among the various empires and dynasties, some of which rose in place of or fell to another, but which more often contested various geographic areas with varying degrees of hegemony at any given time as the politics of a given moment were usually in flux.

Egypt

Predynastic	4000–3150 BC
Early Dynastic (1st to 2nd Dynasties)	3150–2545 BC
Old Kingdom (3rd to 8th Dynasties)	2545–2120 BC
First Intermediate (9th to 10th Dynasties)	2120–1980 BC
Middle Kingdom (11th to 12th Dynasties)	1980–1760 BC

Second Intermediate (13th to 17th Dynasties)	1760–1540 BC
New Kingdom (18th to 20th Dynasties)	1540–1075 BC
Third Intermediate (21st to 24th Dynasties)	1075–722 BC
Late Period (25th to 30th Dynasties)	722–332 BC
Ptolemaic Dynasty	332–30 BC
Roman Period	30 BC–AD 395
Assyria	
Old Assyrian Period	1850–1700 BC
Middle Assyrian Period	1360–1060 BC
Neo-Assyrian Period	910–612 BC
Babylon	
Old Babylonian Period	1900–1590 BC
Middle Babylonian Period	1590–1100 BC
Neo-Babylonian Period	605–539 BC
Persia	550–331 BC
Greece	
Minoan Era	2000–1500 BC
Mycenaean Era	1500–1200 BC
Dark Age	1200–800 BC
Archaic Age	800–500 BC
Classical Era	500–338 BC
Philip II & Alexander of Macedon	338–323 BC
Rome	
Founding of Rome	753 BC
Etruscan kings of Rome	753–510 BC
Roman Republic	509–27 BC
Roman Empire	27 BC–AD 476
Roman control of Palestine	63 BC–AD 337

Biblical Chronology

There are two competing chronologies for the period before the monarchy, which are based upon a choice of either an early date for the Exodus of ca. 1450 BC, or a late date for the Exodus of ca. 1250 BC.

	Early Dates	Late Dates
Patriarchs (Abraham–Joseph)	ca. 2150–1850 BC	ca. 1950–1700 BC
Sojourn in Egypt	ca. 1850–1450 BC	ca. 1650–1250 BC
Conquest of Canaan	ca. 1400 BC	ca. 1200 BC
Period of the Judges	1400–1050 BC	1200–1050 BC

The United Monarchy	
Saul	1050–1010 BC
David	1010–970 BC
Solomon	970–930 BC
The Divided Kingdoms	
Northern	930–722 BC
Southern	930–586 BC
The Exilic Period	
Restoration of Jews from Mesopotamia	537 BC
Rebuilding of the Temple	515 BC
Return of Ezra	458 BC
Return of Nehemiah	445 BC
Malachi, the last prophet	ca. 400 BC
Birth of Jesus	ca. 5 BC
Crucifixion of Jesus	AD 30 or 33
Execution of Paul and Peter	AD 64
Destruction of Jerusalem temple by Rome	AD 70

For the early dates for OT chronology, see G. L. Archer Jr., “The Chronology of the Old Testament,” in *The Expositor’s Bible Commentary* (ed. F. Gaebelein. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1979), 359–74. For the late dates, see K. A. Kitchen, *On the Reliability of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003). For a summary of the arguments, see E. M. Yamauchi, *The Stones and the Scriptures* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1972), 46–50. For more recent bibliography on the ongoing debate, see E. M. Yamauchi, “Akhenaten, Moses, and Monotheism,” *NEASB* 55 (2010): 1–15.

For NT chronology, see H. Hoehner, “The Chronology of the New Testament,” in *The Expositor’s Bible Commentary* (ed. F. Gaebelein. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1979), 593–607 and H. Hoehner, *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1977). See also J. M. Vardaman and E. M. Yamauchi, eds., *Chronos, Kairos, Christos: Nativity and Chronological Studies Presented to Jack Finegan* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1989).

For a detailed general reference see J. Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology* (rev. ed.; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1998).

INTRODUCTION

The *Dictionary of Daily Life in Biblical and Post-Biblical Antiquity* (*DDL*), of which this is the fourth and final volume, was a project begun 30 years ago with the collaboration of the distinguished Old Testament scholar Roland K. Harrison (1920–1993), to whom Marvin Wilson and I dedicate this reference work. In the original conception of the project, Harrison, Wilson, and I were to write all the articles for a work entitled *Dictionary of Bible Manners and Customs*. It subsequently became expedient to engage the research and writing skills of other select scholars of the ancient world.

While there are many excellent Bible dictionaries and encyclopedias, and popular books on biblical backgrounds available, I had noticed a serious deficiency. I noted that while every one of these had an entry on “Abomination,” none (with the exception of the six-volume *Anchor Bible Dictionary*) had an entry on “Abortion.” Why was this the case? It was because these references were keyed to the words which occurred in the Bible.

From my 40 years of teaching the history of ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece, Rome, early Judaism, and early Christianity, I was well aware of the widespread practice of abortion, contraception, and infanticide in these societies and epochs. I therefore proposed a new framework for the *DDL*, one based on the Human Relations Area Files, an anthropological grid of human society, which would systematically and comparatively survey different aspects of culture, whether they were highlighted in the Bible or not.

The biblical texts were not intended to give us a complete representation of their worlds. In fact, they take for granted what was well known to both the writers and readers, but of which we are not aware. It is as though we hear the vocalization of an operatic libretto, but do not see the scenery and the costumes of the singers. Thanks, however, to extra-biblical texts and archaeology, we are able to recreate much of the background for the Bible.

For example, what did ancient people eat and drink? In the essay on FOOD PRODUCTION, one will learn that before the introduction of rotary mills, housewives had to labor on hands and knees about four hours

a day to grind wheat and barley for their daily bread. Most of the bread in the ancient world was flat (unleavened) bread, because the predominant emmer wheat and the barley in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Greece did not have the gluten necessary to cause bread to rise.

From the articles on CLOTHING, DYEING, LAUNDRY & FULLERS, and TEXTILES, one would learn that white linen was the preferred textile in Egypt, and was worn by Israelite priests and New Testament angels. How was Jesus dressed? Jesus's sole garments, except for his burial shroud, were woolen. As wool was not easily laundered, his clothes would have been dirty except for the moment of his transfiguration.

How did Jesus appear? From the article on BARBERS & BEARDS, we can conclude with near certainty that Jesus had a beard. Why? Men in antiquity could not shave themselves. They had to resort either to slaves or to barbers for a shave. Moreover, beards were a symbol of masculinity and seniority. The Old Testament word for "elders" is literally "bearded ones."

Where did people live? This would have varied from place to place and from one time period to another. From the article on DWELLINGS, one would learn that in the Old Testament era in Palestine most would have lived in houses with flat roofs and courtyards full of animals. In Rome, 95% of the people would have lived in *insulae*, crowded tenements without kitchens or bathrooms.

What about the relations between men and women? From the articles on EDUCATION and MARRIAGE, one would learn a striking fact, which is missing from both the Old and the New Testaments—the average age of spouses. We learn from our extra-biblical evidence that the bride would have certainly been a young teenager, and the groom several years her senior. The early marriage of girls, to preserve their purity, meant that they had only at best a primary education, with the exception of those from wealthy Roman families, which could afford private tutors for their daughters.

The *DDL* is also quite unique in attempting to trace the developments of the features of the biblical world along what the French historians of the Annales School have called the *longue durée*, that is, over the centuries *after* the New Testament era. It is instructive to understand how the Jewish rabbis, in following the traditions of the Pharisees, debated over the application of biblical laws in changing circumstances, and how the Church Fathers also responded to these same developments.

Rather than attempting to cover all possible topics, we have chosen to concentrate on 120 subjects, not because of their prominence in the biblical text but because of their significant roles in the ancient world. For example, ASTROLOGY, DREAMS, MAGIC, and DIVINATION & SORTITION (i.e., the casting of lots) are mentioned sparingly in the biblical texts themselves but they were dominant facets of life in antiquity.

The outline each contributor has followed is to briefly summarize references to his or her subject in: (1) the Old Testament and (2) the New Testament; followed by (3) the Near Eastern world, primarily Mesopotamia and Egypt, with some references to Anatolia and Persia; (4) the Greco-Roman world, from the Minoans and Mycenaeans, Homer, through the Hellenistic era, the Roman Republic, and the Roman Empire; (5) the Jewish world, including the Old Testament Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Philo, Josephus, the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Mishnah, and the Talmuds (Babylonian and Jerusalem); and (6) the Christian world, including the church fathers up to Chrysostom and Augustine, as well as the early Byzantine empire to Justinian. Each article closes with a bibliography providing both source material for the article and material for further study. Further, the articles are carefully cross-referenced with other articles in print or planned.

The citations from the Old Testament and the New Testament, unless otherwise marked, are from the New International Version. Citations from the Septuagint (LXX) are taken from A. Pietersma and B. G. Wright, trans., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007). Citations from the Tosefta are taken from J. Neusner, *The Tosefta* (2 vols.; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2013 repr.). Citations from the Midrashim are from the *Soncino Midrash Rabba for Macintosh* (Copyright Institute for Computers in Jewish Life and Davka Corporation, 2008). Citations from the Old Testament Apocrypha are from the Revised Standard Version; those from the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha are from James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983, 1985). The classical citations (including Philo and Josephus) are from the Loeb Classical Library. References to the Dead Sea Scrolls are from *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* by Michael Wise, Martin Abegg Jr., and Edward Cook (rev. ed.; New York: HarperSan Francisco, 2005). Citations from the Mishnah are from Herbert Danby, trans., *The Mishnah* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933). Citations from the Babylonian Talmud are from *The Soncino Talmud* (Institute for Computers in Jewish Life and Davka Corporation, 2007); those from the Jerusalem Talmud are from *The Jerusalem Talmud, A Translation and Commentary*, ed. Jacob Neusner (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2009). With the exception of citations from Michael W. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations* (3rd. ed.; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), patristic references are from the New Advent, *Fathers of the Church* (www.NewAdvent.org; 2007; © Kevin Knight). Citations from the Nag Hammadi texts are cited from Marvin Meyer, ed., *The Nag Hammadi Scriptures* (New York: HarperOne, 2007).

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Edwin M. Yamauchi
April 2016

ABORTION

Abortion is the deliberate termination of pregnancy resulting in the intended death of the fetus. Abortifacient drugs that induce miscarriage were known to many ancient cultures, but due to the danger of abortion to the pregnant woman, prior to modern times mechanical methods of intentionally terminating a pregnancy were relatively uncommon. Only in the late Roman Republic and early Roman Empire was abortion widespread. Most other cultures were governed by law codes appointing severe retribution for killing a fetus while it was still in the womb.

A. THE OLD TESTAMENT

The Bible does not directly address the issue of abortion, but passages such as Job 10:8–12, Ps 51:5–6, 139:13–16, Jer 1:5, and Luke 1:39–44 have been cited to support the belief that the fetus is a human being bearing the image of God.

Exod 21:22–23 speaks of two cases involving a fight which injures a pregnant mother. The Hebrew text is difficult to interpret. One interpretation (e.g., the RSV and NRSV), holds that in the first case, if a miscarriage occurs with no harm to the mother, then monetary compensation is required. In the second case, if the woman is harmed the rule of *lex talionis* (“the law of retaliation,” e.g., “an eye for an eye”) is invoked. Some argue that this stereotyped phrase was not to be taken literally, but that the one who hurt the woman had to compensate her husband for the death of either his wife or his baby. The Hebrew text can also be interpreted as in the NIV to mean that in the first case a premature birth of a healthy child occurs with no harm to the mother or child, and that in the second case one of them is harmed.

The Greek translation (the Septuagint) of Exod 21:22–23 reads quite differently from the Hebrew: “Now if two men fight and strike a pregnant woman and her child comes forth not fully formed, he shall be punished

with a fine. According as the husband of the woman might impose, he shall pay with judicial assessment. But if it is fully formed, he shall pay life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth.” The distinction between an “unformed” and a “formed” child may have been influenced by the views of Aristotle.

B. THE NEW TESTAMENT

The usual Greek word for abortion, *amblosis*, is never used in the NT. Paul in his humility (1 Cor 15:8) refers to himself as an *extrōma*, which can at times mean an abortion, but which in this context probably means a miscarriage as an expression for human wretchedness or an embryo still developing. It is possible that the condemnation of those who used *pharmakeia* “drugs” for nefarious purposes (Gal 5:20, Rev 9:21, 18:23) included those who used abortifacients.

C. THE NEAR EASTERN WORLD

There are parallels to Exod 21:22–23 in the Hammurabi Law Code (18th c. BC). Law 209 reads, “If a citizen struck another citizen’s daughter and has caused her to have a miscarriage, he shall pay ten shekels of silver for her fetus.” Law 210 stipulates, “If that woman has died, they shall put his daughter to death” (*ANET*, 175).

In the later (ca. 1600–1500 BC) Middle Assyrian Law #21, one who by striking a woman had caused a miscarriage had to pay two talents and 30 minas of lead, be flogged, and do work for the king for a month (*ANET*, 181). Law #50, which is fragmentary, seems to require “life” for either the death of the fetus or the mother (*ANET*, 184). Law #53 condemned a woman who had a deliberate abortion to impalement on a stake, whether she was alive or dead after the abortion. Abortion is attested in the Babylonian medical corpus in a single fragmentary text: “to cause a pregnant woman to ‘drop’ her fetus.” The ingredients included a lizard, beer, and several plants to be drunk in wine. There were also various Mesopotamian medical recipes for inducing the expulsion of the fetus, which included the use of such plant substances as asafetida.

The Hittite Code (ca. 1300 BC), ##17–18 (*ANET*, 190) required compensation from anyone who caused a mother to miscarry. The penalty varied according to the age of the fetus; the fine for a miscarriage caused in the 10th lunar month was double that for one caused in the fifth month.

Fragmentary Egyptian legal texts offer scant evidence of abortions. The historian Diodorus Siculus remarked, “They raise all their offspring.”

D. THE GRECO-ROMAN WORLD

Pseudo-Galen claimed that Lycurgus, the great Spartan lawgiver (8th c. BC) and Solon, the great Athenian reformer (594 BC), prohibited abortions. While the Spartans, who needed strong males for their armies, banned abortions, they practiced the exposure of weak males and excess females.

The famed Hippocratic Oath had physicians swearing, “I will neither give a deadly drug (*pharmakon*) to anybody if asked for it, nor will I make a suggestion to this effect. Similarly I will not give to a woman an abortive remedy (*pepson phthorion*)” (Edelstein, 2–3). Scholars believe that the Oath reflects the Pythagorean belief that the soul is present at conception. There is evidence, however, from the so-called Hippocratic Corpus that abortions were practiced. The Hippocratic treatise *Diseases of Women* lists various vaginal suppositories that were believed to be abortifacients.

Though Plato held that the fetus was a living being, for his eugenic program he prescribed procreation only for men between 25 to 55 years old and women between 20 to 40 years old. For those beyond these ages, “we have exhorted them to see that no child, if any be conceived, shall be brought to light” (*Resp.* 5.9.459).

Aristotle held that the fetus receives a “vegetative or nutritive soul” at the moment of conception, an “animal or sensitive soul” at a later stage, and a “rational soul” as the moment of birth draws near. In his *History of Animals* 7.3 he expressed the belief that the first movement occurred on the 40th day for males and on the 90th day for females. To curb excess population he suggested that the size of families be limited if necessary by abortions (*Pol.* 7.15.25).

Stoics in general held that the fetus was merely part of the mother’s body, and that its life began with its first breath. On the other hand, Musonius Rufus, an important Roman Stoic moralist, opposed abortion. He held that the sole purpose of sex is procreation, a view adopted by later Christians. As scholars have pointed out, the occasional Greek and Roman opposition to abortion was based not on a concern for the individual fetus but for the welfare of the state.

Abortion became widespread in the last century of the Roman Republic and the early Roman Empire. Cicero (1st c. BC) called for capital punishment in cases of deliberate abortion (*In Defense of Cluentius* 32). Though Augustus passed legislation to promote marriages and procreation, Roman law adopted the Stoic view that the fetus was not yet a person.

Ovid, who displeased Augustus with his erotic poems, protested vehemently against his mistress Corinna’s abortion and wrote: “That woman who was the first to rip a frail fetus out of her womb deserved to die from

that butchery herself. . . . If this vicious practice had found favor among the mothers of the good old days, the human race would have become extinct” (*Am.* 2.14.5–10). Seneca praised his mother for never having destroyed a child in her womb. Nero exiled his wife Octavia for having an abortion. Domitian was blamed for having an affair with his niece, and then ordering her to have an abortion, which caused her death.

Juvenal denounced wealthy women who refused to bear children: “So powerful are the skills and drugs of the woman who manufactures sterility and takes contracts to kill humans inside the belly” (*Sat.* 6.594–597). Such upper-class women secured abortions to hide their illicit sexual activities or to keep from being disfigured by pregnancy.

Soranus of Ephesus (AD 98–137), the most important authority on gynecology from antiquity, held that abortion was only permissible to save a woman’s life. He was opposed to the use of sharp instruments, but preferred abortifacients such as a *phthorion*, which destroyed the fetus, or an *exbolon*, which expelled the fetus. Soranus mentioned various potions (*Gyn.* I 19.64–65), some of which, such as lupine and squirting cucumber, were probably effective.

The emperors Septimius Severus (AD 193–211) and Caracalla (AD 211–217) prescribed banishment for a divorced woman who had an abortion contrary to the will of her former husband, and the death penalty for those who provided an abortion drug which caused the death of the woman.

E. THE JEWISH WORLD

Philo in his commentary on Exod 21:22–23 followed the Septuagint and wrote, “But, if the offspring is already shaped and all the limbs have their proper qualities and places in the system, he must die, for that which answers to this description is a human being” (*Spec.* 3.108–109; cf. *QG* 1.25).

Josephus proclaimed: “The Law orders all the offspring to be brought up, and forbids women either to cause abortion or to make away with the foetus; a woman convicted of this is regarded as an infanticide, because she destroys a soul and diminishes the race” (*Ag. Ap.* 2.202).

The Mishnah permitted therapeutic abortions to save the mother’s life under certain restrictions: “If a woman was in hard travail, the child must be cut up while it is in the womb and brought out member by member, since the life of the mother has priority over the life of the child; but if the greater part of it was already born, it may not be touched, since the claim of one life cannot override the claim of another life” (*m. ’Ohol.* 7.6).

In the Talmud we read, “On the authority of R. Ishmael it was said: ‘(One is executed) even for the murder of an embryo.’ What is Ishmael’s

reasoning (for this)? Because it is written ‘Whoso sheds the blood of a man within (another) man, shall have his blood shed.’ What is a man within (another) man?—An embryo in his mother’s womb” (*b. Sanh.* 57b). Gentiles who caused the loss of a fetus were guilty of a capital crime.

F. THE CHRISTIAN WORLD

The *Didache* explicitly condemned abortion as murder: “You shall not abort a child (*ou phoneuseis teknon en phthora*)” (*Did.* 2.2; cf. *Epistle of Barnabas* 19.5, Holmes). The later Apologists such as Tertullian defended Christians against the pagan accusation of cannibalism by declaring: “For us murder is once for all forbidden; so even the child in the womb it is not lawful for us to destroy.” He drew no distinction between abortion and infanticide, saying: “To forbid birth is only quicker murder” (*Apol.* 9.8). Athenagoras asked, “And when we say that those women who use drugs to bring on abortion commit murder and will have to give an account to God for the abortion, on what principle should we commit murder?” (*Leg.* 35). Basil wrote in a letter to Amphilocheus, “The woman who purposely destroys her unborn child is guilty of murder. With us there is no nice enquiry as to its being formed or unformed. In this case it is not only the being about to be born who is vindicated, but the woman in her attack upon herself; because in most cases women who make such attempts die. The destruction of the embryo is an additional crime, a second murder, at all events if we regard it as done with intent. The punishment, however, of these women should not be for life, but for the term of ten years. And let their treatment depend not on mere lapse of time, but on the character of their repentance” (*Ep.* 188.2).

In his letter to Eustochium, Jerome warned, “Some, when they find themselves with child through their sin, use drugs to procure abortion, and when (as often happens) they die with their offspring, they enter the lower world laden with the guilt not only of adultery against Christ but also of suicide and child murder” (*Ep.* 22.13). Augustine, following the Septuagint of Exod 21:22–23, held that the destruction of an “unformed” fetus, though immoral, was not murder. The codification of the laws under Justinian simply listed abortion as grounds for divorce.

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EMY

See also CONTRACEPTION & CONTROL OF BIRTHS and INFANTICIDE.

ADOPTION

Adoption is an act controlled by law or custom placing a person under the parentage of someone who is not his or her natural parent. Adoption includes a change in status and often provisions for inheritance. There is a difference between adoption and fosterage, with the latter suggesting a temporary or informal agreement, ultimately lacking provisions for inheritance.

While adoption is rarely found in the OT and was not legislated in Judaism, the practice of adoption was common in Greco-Roman culture and in all cultures of the Ancient Near East, though less so in Egypt.

A. THE OLD TESTAMENT

The Hebrews did not have any laws formally regulating adoption. A number of explanations might be suggested for this apparent lapse. The Hebrew notion of an extended family and the institution of the Levirate marriage may have obviated the need for adoption. The Hebrews were dissuaded from tampering with the natural order of inheritance, believing that God was the sovereign trustee over their future lot. This underscores why childless couples in the Bible incessantly prayed for offspring. Furthermore, childlessness was believed to be the ill-fate of God's judgment. Adoption may have been considered a faithless, if not irreligious, institution.

Adoption is referred to a few times in the Old Testament, possibly indicating the influence of foreign custom. In Gen 15:2, Abraham adopted his servant, Eliezer, as an heir presumptive. Near the end of Jacob's life he made his grandchildren Ephraim and Manasseh heirs in place of their father (Gen 48:5-6). This instance seems to be similar to the later classical *adoptio mortis causa* where the order of inheritance is intentionally changed by means of adoption. Moses was adopted by Pharaoh's daughter, despite the objection by some scholars that he was merely fostered (Exod

2:10). Payment to Moses' natural mother to nurse him is paralleled by similar Mesopotamian adoption contracts. The situations in Lev 18:9 and Judg 11 do not refer to adoption but legitimization. Adoption is probably referred to in 1 Chr 2:35–41 and 1 Chr 4:18.

Several examples of adoption also occurred under Persian rule (see Esth 2:7, 15 and perhaps Ezra 2:59–61). Earlier Akkadian documents parallel the later custom of adopting the children of foreign wives (Ezra 10:44).

B. THE NEW TESTAMENT

The Greek word *huiiothesia*, translated “adoption,” is used five times in the New Testament, each time by Paul (Rom 8:15, 23; 9:4; Gal 4:5; and Eph 1:5), though the concept might be implied in several other passages. Paul used the term to refer to Old Testament metaphorical adoption and to describe the relationship between a believer and God. According to the New Testament concept of adoption, the believer is placed positionally into God's family. The concept must have conveyed radical implications to believers in the ancient world, whose entire sense of identification, status and allegiance was determined by their familial associations. *Huiiothesia* is first attested in the early second century BC on several inscriptions and later in literary sources, although older equivalents of this term were already well-known. The word is also found in four papyri, dating between the second and fourth centuries AD. The word does not occur in the LXX; *adoptio* appears five times in the Vulgate.

C. THE NEAR EASTERN WORLD

Adoption was a common institution in the ancient Near East, judging from the surviving documentary evidence. The evidence spans nearly two millennia and a vast geographical area. It includes law codes, adoption contracts, and records of litigation over custody and inheritance rights. Lengthy references to adoption are included in the Laws of Hammurabi, the Laws of Eshnunna, and the Middle Assyrian Laws. The majority of evidence survives from the Old and Middle Babylonian periods.

The primary motivation for adoption was to acquire an heir who would care for the adopter in old age, bury him, provide proper offerings of food and drink at his tomb, and continue the family line. Females were also adopted and, under certain circumstances, could inherit and participate in ancestral obligations. A Kassite adoption tablet importuned the adopted daughter to fulfill the cultic rites over her adoptive mother's grave.

Adoption was also used for the purpose of acquiring an apprentice and often simply as a contract for business deals. Tablets from Arrapha illustrate the Babylonian and perhaps Assyrian practice of “brotherly adoption.” It was a business ploy, enabling the sale of an otherwise inaccessible tract of land. By means of brotherly adoption, a vendor adopted a purchaser so that land might pass to him as an inheritance without dispute.

An adoption tablet was not required by the sections of Hammurabi’s Law Code which dealt with adoption (CH 170–171, 185–193). However, the documentation (in one place known as a sealed tablet) provided a valuable proof of adoption. Deeds of adoption frequently began by indicating the details of the adoption, some including clauses which state that the adopted will honor the adopter, and stipulating a penalty for violation of the contractual obligations. Some contracts have a clause protecting the adopted child from being reduced to slavery. Some include a statement about the disposal of the adopter’s property and the adoptee’s rights of inheritance. The tablet was probably read in public.

Hammurabi’s Law Code and later Middle Assyrian Laws introduced rules that applied to certain types of adoption, protecting the adoptees and clarifying the legal rights of both the natural and adoptive parents. An interesting example of this jurisprudential evolution is the later Middle Assyrian Law (MAL A 28) which dealt with the legal position of a child by a first marriage who is not adopted by his mother’s next husband. The law tried to avert the potential for fraudulent inheritance claims, by insuring the child’s right to inherit his natural father’s estate. The laws were not an exhaustive code. Parties were permitted to draft their own terms of contract as long as they conformed to the general guideline of the law code. There is no extant example of a deed which cites the law code.

Adoption tablets discovered at Nuzi (15th c. BC) shed considerable light on patriarchal practices. It was common for childless couples to adopt the eldest slave from their household. If they had a son afterwards, the adopted son would surrender his rights to inheritance. A tablet of adoption from Nuzi stipulated that a barren wife must provide a slave girl to her husband to beget a son. This particular tablet and the Hammurabi Law Code (CH 145–147) further required that the slave’s child be kept in the household—a rule preempted by God’s command to Abraham to disown Hagar and Ishmael (see also the Lipit-Ishtar Code A.4–5; 27). Similarly, a marriage contract from Nuzi stipulated that the mistress “shall have authority over the offspring” of a slave. Such an adoption by a wife of her husband’s child by a concubine has parallels in later Near Eastern tablets.

A number of scholars maintain that Jacob was adopted by the sonless Laban (Gen 29–31), comparing the incident with a Nuzi contract in which a sonless man adopted a son. The adopted son was later given in marriage

to the daughter of the adoptive father. Under Old Babylonian and Hittite Law this adoption/marriage was not the same arrangement as a would-be groom working for his future father-in-law. If the new couple did not beget a son, the adopted son inherited the father's household gods, tokens of his right to inheritance. This may cast light on Rachel's theft of Laban's household gods (Gen 31:19).

Fewer adoption texts have survived from Egypt. Childless couples at the workmen's village of Deir el-Medinah (20th Dynasty) adopted orphans or young men to inherit their offices and to carry out their funerary rites. The *Story of Sinuhe*, which has a plot that is strikingly similar to the story of Joseph, contains an example of the adoption of a son-in-law. Another text known as the "Extraordinary Adoption" (ca. 1100 BC) contains the bizarre story of a childless husband's adoption of his wife. When the husband died, the wife freed and adopted three slaves, who may have been children of her deceased husband's concubine. One of the former slaves was a woman, who married the brother of the dead master's wife. He was subsequently adopted and made heir to his "mother's" estate. The Egyptian Nitocris Adoption Stela (ca. 656 BC) relates how the daughter of Pharaoh Psammetichus was adopted by the celibate priestess, the God's Wife of Amon at Thebes, to be her successor.

There is a case of the manumission and adoption of a slave attested in the Aramaic papyri from the Jewish colony at Elephantine (5th c. BC; *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* no. 8 dated to 416 BC). Both the adopter and the heir apparent had Jewish names. Because the transaction took place before the commander of the Persian military garrison, it appears that a Persian custom was being followed.

D. THE GRECO-ROMAN WORLD

Adoption was practiced from the earliest stages of Greek history and fosterage is commonly attested in a number of myths. Adoption was used to control the transfer of an estate, for the fulfillment of religious obsequies, and to acquire apprentices. The *Code of Gortyn* is the earliest detailed Greek code on adoption. It prescribed that adoption should be arranged before the adoptive parent died, and that the adoptive father must not be adopted himself, although he did not have to be childless. The adopted was given certain rights of inheritance but not necessarily equal to the rights given to a natural son.

In Athens only citizens could adopt and usually those adopted were close relatives (often next of kin). Solon revised Attic law permitting a man without a son to adopt through his will. The adoptive parent in Athens

was required to be sonless. Often the adoptee was an adult and at times a female. The adoptee could not be disinherited. A natural daughter could not be deprived of her rightful claims against the estate by an adopted son. Often the adopted son was required to marry his adoptive father's daughter. The father, however, could marry his daughter to another, but in such a case owed her half of the estate as a dowry. She still had a rightful claim to the rest of her entitlement when her father died. If a man died without an heir, posthumous adoption permitted a son to be appointed after death without the power of a will.

Religious motivation gave way to increasing economic concerns seen in a number of testamentary and posthumous adoptions beginning in the 4th c. BC. This shift was supported by the fact that a man sentenced to suffer hereditary disabilities might normally give his own sons away in adoption to save them from financial penalties at the cost of extinguishing his own family line (Plu. *Mor.* 834b).

Epitaphial evidence is helpful in determining local adoptive formulae. By far, more adoption epitaphs have been found in Rhodes than elsewhere in Greece, perhaps signifying a special institution. For instance, by the 2nd c. BC in Rhodes people were using adoption as a means to manipulate the priesthood, which was otherwise confined to certain families.

In Rome according to Cicero (*Dom.* 35) the purpose of *adoptio* was to perpetuate a family's *nomen*, *pecunia*, and *sacra*, that is, its family name, property, and religious rites. Adoption was the legal act joining a citizen, whether a head of a family or under the absolute authority (*patria potestas*) of another, to another family and under the authority of its head. When the adopted individual was the head of a Roman family, the act was called *adrogatio*. The son took the new father's name and rank and acquired all rights of succession. He also relinquished all rights in his old family. Gaius' *Institutes* (AD 160–162) provided a codification of Roman law. Adoption was originally practiced by men as a way to continue an agnatic (i.e., related through the male members) family and as a method of acquiring *patria potestas*. Diocletian was the first Roman emperor to allow women to adopt.

Under the influence of Greek custom, the Romans practiced testamentary adoption. Testamentary adoption was not legally binding and required a special recognition of the new estates. A famous example of this method of adoption was when Caesar, in his will, named his grand nephew Octavian as his heir. The adoption was legally effected by a posthumous adrogation.

In order to safeguard the principate against the disastrous results of natural succession tolerated under the Julio-Claudian emperors, Galba, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius (whom Gibbon regarded as the best emperors), all adopted their own successors (see Tac. *Hist.* 1:15–16; Dio Cassius *Hist. Rom.* 68.3.4–68.4.2; and 72.1).

E. THE JEWISH WORLD

Adoption is not legislated in the Talmud. According to the later *halakhah* the personal status of a child was based on the natural family relationship and could not be artificially legislated or altered. Tradition allowed guardians to care for a child whose welfare was jeopardized because of neglect or abuse by the natural parents. It was believed that those who raised a child, and particularly taught the child virtue, should receive the honor due parents. There was also a later sensitivity for the fosterage of orphans (*b. Sanh.* 19b). Adoption is seen in several Old Testament passages by Philo, Josephus, and several rabbinic sages and these later interpolations were incorporated into several popular Jewish legends. Examples of Jewish adoptions are also attested on catacomb inscriptions from Rome.

F. THE CHRISTIAN WORLD

Justinian's *Institutes* and *Digest* retained much of the Roman legal tradition, with some modifications which reflected a new Christian conscience. As *adoptio* annulled for the adoptee rights to inheritance in the old family, this placed the adoptee in a potentially precarious position. To remove any potential injustice, Justinian changed the nature of *adoptio*, establishing rights of succession in the new family. But the adoptee also retained certain rights in his natural family.

In contrast to the Roman practice which involved the adoption of male adults for political advantage, Christians adopted abandoned children, sometimes rescued from exposure by their parents. Justinian's *Institutes* I.1.11 stresses that the primary consideration of the laws should be the protection of the child involved.

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See also ABORTION, CHILDBIRTH & CHILDREN, INFANTICIDE & EXPOSURE, and INHERITANCE.