

THE SYNAGOGUE

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MR. STEWART'S special familiarity with rabbinical texts and institutions is well-known to readers of his books, "The Earlier Rabbinic Tradition" (I.V.F., 1949) and "Rabbinic Theology" (Oliver & Boyd, 1961). One product of these studies was published in this *QUARTERLY* for July-September, 1964, under the title "The Parable Form in the Old Testament and the Rabbinic Literature". Mr. Stewart's acquaintance with the Near East is not merely literary; he was Church of Scotland minister in Cairo during and after the Suez affair in 1956. The Editor is glad to claim him as a former student of Edinburgh days.

I. INTRODUCTORY

Throughout the lands of the Mediterranean basin and Jewish Dispersion, the synagogues of the first century were as familiar as the Churches of the twentieth—indeed they still proclaim the continuance of non-Christian Judaism. Synagogues offered the first field for Christian evangelization, stubborn as it proved; they furnished a pattern for Christian worship and organization; several important incidents of Gospels and Acts find therein special historic backcloth. Most of the first converts were men of the synagogue, and Christianity's debts to the older faith should never be forgotten.¹

II. TERMINOLOGY AND MEANING

In the New Testament "synagogue" immediately suggests a sacred building, as "Church" does now, though this meaning is late and acquired. Classical writers use συναγωγή for a bringing together or collecting, whether of persons or things, and this is its basic meaning. Plato employs it of sexual approach,² the papyri of the drawing together of the inanimate folds of a boat sail.³ Of the

225 Septuagintal usages, 202 explicitly describe assemblies of persons,⁴ 9 gatherings of things or substance.⁵ Seeming exceptions may implicitly involve the first concept—a dance is resolved into its gathered human participants,⁶ and the tabernacle of Korah into its human attendants.⁷ The Septuagintal term means almost with uniformity a group of gathered persons—not as yet a building.

In Neo-Hebrew literature the equivalent of συναγωγή is *bēyt hakkēnēset*, Aramaic *bē kēnīštā'*, house of assembly—there are slight variants in form and spelling. The meanings of this term fall into three groups, all of which have parallel Greek usages in the New Testament. These are: (1) A temporary assembly of people (Targ. Joel 1: 14; Acts 13: 43). (2) A permanent community (Mishnah *Aboth* i, 12; Acts 6: 9; Rev. 2: 9). (3) A meeting house, usually a Jewish synagogue (TB *Megillah* 26^b, etc; frequently, though anachronistically, Targ.; Mark 1: 21, etc.). In Greek usage συναγωγή came to share its functions with προσευχή, prayer—an example of simple metonymy.⁸ Pagan origins have been claimed for the latter term,⁹ but the evidence seems to come from inscriptions rather than from literature. Juvenal uses the Latinized *proseucha* in *Satire* III, 296, but this is in a sneer specifically anti-Jewish. προσευχή occurs in 110 Septuagintal passages, 80 with and 30 without Hebrew equivalents. 69 occurrences stand directly for the Hebrew *ṣephillāh*, 11 for synonyms or parallels; the 30 Greek passages all clearly indicate prayer. "House of prayer" (temple) and "place of prayer" occur in Maccabees, but the synagogue is scarcely yet explicit.¹⁰

The earliest groups of Christian converts were "synagogues" in the third implication above (Jas. 2: 2), even if the building remained a house. Until the final split, Christians formed a sect within Judaism possessing distinctive characteristics. The mother faith was not normally hostile to individualistic children—ten

⁴ 132 represent Heb. *'ēdāh*, congregation, 37 *qahāl*, congregation. 20 Gk. passages without Heb. equivalent have same meaning. Other Heb. terms rendered "multitude" (Dan. 11: 10-13 *quater*), "army" (Ezek. 37: 10), "camp" (Num. 5: 2), etc., also mean basically gatherings of people.

⁵ E.g. heap of stones (Job. 8: 17), harvest products (Ex. 23: 16, etc.), water (Gen. 1: 9, etc.), money (Sirach 31: 3).

⁶ Jer. 31: 4, 13.

⁷ Num. 16: 24; Ex. 38: 22, LXX.

⁸ Cf. SB IV, p. 115; *TWNT* II, pp. 807f.; Krauss pp. 1-29; both Gk. words in LSJ; AG.

⁹ Cf. *HJP* II, II, p. 69, note 85; BS pp. 222f.; *TWNT* II, p. 808; AG.

¹⁰ I Macc. 7: 37. Cf. I Macc. 3: 46; III Macc. 7: 20.

¹ See arts. "Synagogue" in *NBD*; *HDB*; *DCG*; *DAC*; *JE*; *EB*; also *HJP* II, II, pp. 52-89; *LT* I, pp. 430-456; L. Finkelstein, *The Pharisees* (1946), pp. 562-569, 708; Samuel Krauss, *Synagogale Altertümer* (1922)—henceforth cited as Krauss.

² *Theaetetus* 150 a.

³ *MM*, s.v.

leisured men might initiate a special synagogue,¹¹ and this is probably what early groups of converts did.¹² The preaching of the Resurrection, and the enormous Gentile influx, made these groups too individualistic for Jewish tastes. Christians began to forsake the term συναγωγή, preferring The latter word is equally Septuagintal—there are nearly 100 occurrences, mainly representing the Heb. *qāhāl*, assembly.¹³ Greek etymology adds the concept of a calling out or election. The old word possessed ingrained associations—Christians may have preferred a term to which they could impart their own flavour.¹⁴ The wheel has turned full cycle—modern Arabs call the Church by the old Hebrew name *kenisa*, though they regard the synagogue and all its worshippers with bitter hatred. Sometimes etymology is stronger than prejudice.

The Rabbis, eager to complete their chain of oral tradition by linking the canonical Prophets to the Talmudic Rabbis, postulated a “Great Synagogue”, beginning with the return from Babylon, and lasting 170 years. This enactive assembly, reputedly of 120 persons, remains an hypothesis rather than a proved fact.¹⁵ It has little bearing on the theme in hand.

III. ORIGINS

It took centuries for the synagogue to reach the stage of development reflected in the New Testament, yet no major Jewish institution has an origin more shrouded in mystery. Specific literary documentation begins with the Book of Enoch, about 150 B.C., and continues through Philo and Josephus. The Babylonian Captivity, soon after 597 B.C., offers the likeliest place and date for the real origin—but there are rival theories. I. J. Peritz¹⁶ suggests that the synagogue may have met a merely temporary need in Babylon, then suffering a lengthened decline whilst Zerubbabel’s Temple flourished. Wilhelm Bacher¹⁷ argues with superior probability that

¹¹ TB *Megillah* I, 3 and 21^b.

¹² Cf. BC I, pp. 304f.; J. Jocz, *Jewish People and Jesus Christ* (1949), p. 164.

¹³ Cf. note 4, above.

¹⁴ From a vast literature, cf. F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Gk. text (1952), pp. 135f.; 155f.; 260f.; AG, art. ἐκκλησία; TWNT III, pp. 502-539; BC IV, pp. 53f.; A. Richardson, *Theology of N.T.* (1958), pp. 284ff.

¹⁵ The *locus classicus* is *Aboth* I, 1ff. Cf. Danby’s *Mishnah*, p. 446; Soncino Talmud, *Aboth*, pp. 1f., with footnotes.

¹⁶ EB col. 4833.

¹⁷ JE XI, p. 619f.

the two institutions flourished side by side after the Exile. C. W. Dugmore¹⁸ cleverly links synagogue worship with the fixed hours of sacrifice in an existing and functioning Temple, at a time when the centralized cult maintained its full authority—which could not be the Babylonian period! On his theory, countrymen absent from the great Jerusalem congregation piously joined themselves to its local extension, the synagogue, much as modern invalids listen to a radio service. But the Exilic conjecture offers superior attractions. Then the sacrificial Temple worship, rigidly circumscribed, mechanical, defiled by Canaanite idolatry, became unavailable—the new synagogue, fluid, adaptable and virile, quickly passed by intrinsic superiority from the status of substitute to that of successor, for neither subsequent re-building of the Temple ever really ousted it.

The Biblical evidence for the dating of the synagogue is scanty. The rendering “synagogues” for *mō’adē-’ēl* in Ps. 74: 8 implies a precision exceeding the evidence—many contend furthermore that this Psalm is itself Exilic. The “little sanctuary” of Ezek. 11: 16 may well be the synagogue of the dispersion, as the Targum specifically claims, and other passages of the same prophet may reflect institutional beginnings.¹⁹ Some consider the Exilic date contradicted by Acts 15: 21, which states that Moses has possessed (historic present) synagogue preachers to expound his teaching in each city every Sabbath ἐκ γενεῶν ἀρχαίων. Jackson and Lake render this “from the generations of the beginning”, adding the comment: “Apparently Luke, like the Rabbis, had an exaggerated view of the antiquity of the institution of the synagogue”. This is arbitrary translation and exegesis. ἀρχαίος may mean anything from “primaeval” to merely “ancient”—the New English Bible renders more accurately “for generations past”. If the synagogue actually began in the Exile, this was some 600 years before the date of Acts—a fourteenth-century perspective in contemporary parallel, and a perfectly natural Greek usage.

As the synagogue meant so much to Rabbinic Judaism, and as the lateness of the Exilic date was intolerable to its pride, it attempted by forced exegesis to read the institution into every part of the Old Testament, particularly the Mosaic and earlier strains.²¹ This must not be taken too seriously. Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to Ex. 18: 20 makes Jethro’s advice to Moses include the words “. . .

¹⁸ *The Influence of the Synagogue upon the Divine Office* (1944), *passim*.

¹⁹ Ezek. 8: 1; 14: 1; 20: 1; 33: 31. Cf. TB *Megillah* 29^a.

²⁰ BC IV, p. 178.

²¹ See Krauss, pp. 32-34, 35-52; SB IV, pp. 115f.

and thou shalt make known to them the prayer that they shall pray in their synagogues . . .”—implying that such things were in contemporary existence. Unfortunately the probable date of this Targum is the seventh century A.D. In later times the Tephillah or Eighteen Benedictions, the main Jewish liturgical prayer, was recited thrice daily. The Talmud,²² by manipulated exegesis of Gen. 19: 27; 24: 63; 28: 11, seeks to push back both prayer and procedure to the Patriarchs. Similarly the Midrash²³ associates the liturgical use of the *Shema'*—Scriptural passages accompanied by set prayer—with the death of Jacob. This is all intended to “prove” that the synagogue with its worship goes back to the infancy of the Jewish race.

The importance of the synagogue was realized late—this may account for the obscurity of its earlier history. A comparatively young institution, it inspired no New Testament typology. Twice it saved Judaism, in circumstances historically parallel, when the Temples of Solomon and of Herod were respectively destroyed.

IV. THE SYNAGOGUE AND ITS APPOINTMENTS

Devout Jews erected synagogues wherever they resided.²⁴ The first ideal of a Temple in miniature became blurred in time. The Tosefta lays down two primary Rabbinic regulations, which seem to have been largely disregarded in practice²⁵: “Let not the openings of the doors of the synagogue be anywhere except towards the East, for thus we find in the Tabernacle that its door was towards the East. . . . Let not the entrances (of the synagogue) be anywhere but in the highest part of the city. . . .”²⁶ There is little evidence that the eastern doors were ever seriously enforced; if the Moslem can unfailingly direct his mosque niche towards Mecca, this Rabbinic stipulation did not fail through intrinsic difficulty. The second regulation might be feasible in a Palestine under Jewish rule; few pagan civic authorities elsewhere would surrender their cherished acropolis, or any part of it, for a Jewish synagogue. Rabbinic evidence seems to show contrariwise²⁷ that Diaspora synagogues were normally outside the city bounds, preferably on the sea front or by running water. Philo certainly made his

²² TB *Berakoth* 26^b.

²³ Midrash *Gen. Rabbah* XCVIII, 3, on Gen. 49: 2.

²⁴ Cf. SB IV, pp. 116ff.; Krauss pp. 199-267; other lit. cited in note 1.

²⁵ Tosefta *Megillah* IV, pars. 22-23, following Zuckermann's Heb. text (Trier, 1882), p. 227, lines 15-17. The customary Rabbinic “proof texts” are omitted.

²⁶ For second regulation, cf. TB *Shabbath* 11^a.

²⁷ TB *Qiddushin* 73^b. Cf. *Shabbath* 24^b, and Soncino trans. p. 107, note 9.

Alexandrian Jews pray by the shore, ἐν καθαρωτάτῳ, in the place of maximum purity.²⁸ Neither in Acts 16: 13 nor in Josephus²⁹ can it be determined with certainty whether προσευχή means prayer by the waterside, or a synagogue building—metonymy sometimes carries the penalty of ambiguity! On either interpretation the motive of ritual purity, emphasized in heathen surroundings outside the Holy Land, shines clearly through.

As the worshipper entered the synagogue building, the ark containing the sacred rolls of Scripture (*tēbāh šel s'phārīm*, chest for books) would face him at the far end, screened perhaps by curtains. A decorated canopy was superadded on Sabbaths. Before this ark burned a perpetual olive-oil lamp, following Temple and Tabernacle precedents.³⁰ The rolls, resembling narrow lengths of wallpaper in shape, were filled with continuous columns of manuscript, all parallel to the narrow end, starting and reading from right to left. One roll might contain Isaiah. If the public reading happened to be Isa. 40, the earlier chapters would be wrapped round the stick in the reader's right hand, the later ones round the stick in his left. Like the page-turning literate of today, he would be skilled in finding his place. Between public readings the roll was wrapped in a special cloth, with a protective case outside that. When it became too tattered for further use, it could not be burned, because it contained the Name of God, but became relegated to a *geniza* or storeroom, possibly to constitute a textual “find” in the twentieth century. Ark and rolls became superstitiously venerated, like the Roman host—Christians replaced them, perhaps designedly, by Communion table and papyrus codex in book form.³¹ With all their bibliolatry the Jews failed to perceive Christ in their Scriptures—this is the import of Paul's midrash in II Cor. 3: 7-18 on the veil of Moses (Ex. 34: 33-35). Verse 13 refers to the literal veil, verse 15 to spiritual, heart blindness. Some refer the τὸ αὐτὸ κάλυμμα of verse 14 to the cloth covering of the synagogue roll—the Jews might as well read through this for all they learn! This is interesting, but conjectural.³²

²⁸ In *Flaccum* 14.

²⁹ *Ant.* XIV, 10, 23.

³⁰ See *JE* II, p. 108ff; VII, 509 for excellent pictures of later exx. For unsuspected excellences in earlier synagogue art, see art. “Dura-Europos”, with refs., in *Universal Jewish Encyclopaedia* Vol. III (N.Y., 1941).

³¹ Cf. Peter Katz, “The Early Christian Use of Codices instead of Scrolls”, *J.T.S.*, Vol. 46, 1945, pp. 63-65.

³² See κάλυμμα in AG; TWNT; commentaries on II Cor. 3: 7-18.

The most conspicuous remaining object in the synagogue would be a raised platform, the tribune or βήμα—Hebrew transliterates the same term—containing a lectern. The chief seats of the synagogue (Matt. 23: 6, etc.) were near tribune and ark, facing the congregation, who would be seated on benches, or, more probably, reed mats. Other important equipment included lamps and candelabra, trombones and trumpets. The segregation of women in worship was probably later than New Testament times.³³

V. THE WORSHIP OF THE SYNAGOGUE

Synagogue worship contained three basic elements—public reading of the Hebrew Bible, with vernacular Aramaic Targum or free translation; prayer; study of traditional law.

The prescribed lectionary³⁴ embraces the entire Pentateuch and Psalter, with selected *haftarôth* or Prophetic lessons. Babylonian Jews, followed by their European descendants, covered the Pentateuch lections in the Sabbaths and Festivals of *one year*—Palestinians required *three lunar years*. Rival synagogues in Cairo practised these conflicting methods in the twelfth century. The annual system finally prevailed, but the triennial is relevant for Gospel background. Adolf Büchler³⁵ divides the Pentateuch over the three lunar years as follows: First year, Gen. 1—Ex. 10; second, Ex. 11—Num. 6; 21; third, Num. 6: 22—Deut. 34. This suits the Massoretic division of the Pentateuch into 154 *Sedarim* or lectionary sections, as in the standard Hebrew Bible. Other Jewish authorities have stipulated 155, 161, 167 or 175 *Sedarim*.³⁷ Lectionary interpretation is affected also by the date of New Year. Nisan, the spring month, was certainly ordained for political purposes in Ex. 12: 2, but some press prior claims for the seventh, autumn month of Tishri, which gained or regained this dignity in the time of Ezra. This gives point to the old Rabbinic controversy as to whether Creation took place in Nisan or Tishri.³⁸ Dr. Guilding

³³ See JE and other Jewish reference works for fuller details.

³⁴ See further A. Büchler, "The Reading of the Law and Prophets in a Triennial Cycle", *J.Q.R.* Vol. 5 (1892-3), pp. 420-468; *ib.* Vol. 6, pp. 1-73; J. Mann, *The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue*, Vol. I (Cincinnati, 1940); A. Guilding, *The Fourth Gospel and Jewish Worship* (Oxford, 1960).

³⁵ *J.Q.R.* Vol. 5, pp. 420ff.; Mann, pp. 4ff.

³⁶ *J.Q.R.* Vol. 5, p. 432.

³⁷ *ib.*, pp. 430f.

³⁸ M. Friedmann, "The New Year and its Liturgy", *J.Q.R.* Vol. 1, 1881, pp. 62-75.

has ably demonstrated a certain "polarity" in the Pentateuch lectionary, a half-yearly parallelism in *Sedarim* themes, implying perhaps a desire to recognize both systems of dating.³⁹ Luke 4: 16-30 gives early and important evidence for the synagogue service, and for the addition of the Prophetic reading. But was this latter passage *fixed* or *freely chosen* in the time of Jesus? The εὔρεν of verse 17 may, without violence to Greek etymology, be rendered "happened upon by chance"; "selected out of the volume"; "received as already chosen".⁴⁰ There can be no absolute certainty as to whether Jesus chose His passage or not,⁴¹ but the marvellous appropriateness of Isa. 61: 1, 2, on His lips is not impaired on either view.

Many beautiful synagogue prayers known in the days of Jesus are still in use. The writer has set out a full translation elsewhere, with some comments.⁴² The main elements are the *Shema* with its accompanying Benedictions, and the *Tephillah*, both mentioned above.⁴³ This represents a heavy liturgical programme, but there was probably some scope for free prayer as well. The Mishnah gives warning against making prayer a *qeba*, as this will take away all its religious value.⁴⁴ The word may be translated "perfunctory act", suggesting a liturgy mechanically gabbled; or it may be rendered "fixed form", implying that proper prayer includes a personal element over and above the traditional words.

The evidence for the form of the first century synagogue service comes largely from Luke 4 and Acts 13: 15. The lessons were read from a standing posture, the sermon delivered from a sitting one. The address followed the second, Prophetic reading. It was customary to invite any competent visitor or resident to preach. Palestinian synagogues doubtless expected a Rabbinic and halakhic discourse—those which have survived in the Hebrew Midrashim are probably similar in style, though later in date. Every statement

³⁹ *Op. cit.* p. 212ff. Cf. L. Morris, *The New Testament and the Jewish Lectionaries* (London, 1964).

⁴⁰ AG p. 325; *TWNT* II, pp. 767f.

⁴¹ See A. Büchler, *J.Q.R.*, Vol. 6, pp. 11f.; I. Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, 1st series (1917), pp. 1-17; A. Guilding, *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 1-44—all these argue for a fixed reading; also SB IV, pp. 153-171, which argues against this.

⁴² *Rabbinic Theology* (Edinburgh, 1961), pp. 178-186. Cf. also Dugmore, *op. cit.*; Jewish Prayer Book; A. Büchler in *J.Q.R.* Vol. 20 (1908), pp. 798-811; SB IV, pp. 189-249.

⁴³ See JE, arts. *Benedictions; Liturgy; Prayer*, etc. with their cross refs. Also TB, TJ *Berakoth*.

⁴⁴ *Berakoth* iv, 4; *Aboth* ii, 13.

would be heavily underlined by the cited declarations of named teachers of repute. Diaspora congregations may have preferred a freer technique, with some learned admixture of Greek philosophy suitably watered down to Jewish tastes.⁴⁵ The personal, unquoting authority of Jesus,⁴⁶ and the Resurrection motif of Paul, ran counter to all expectations. It has been remarked that Jesus read His own lesson, Paul did not. Paul may have been invited to preach as an afterthought, or local custom may have differed.

VI. THE FUNCTION AND ORGANIZATION OF THE SYNAGOGUE

Religious instruction more than public worship as such was the special function of the synagogue. Jews must be carefully trained both in the written Torah, the canonical Old Testament Scriptures, and, it was yet more strongly emphasized, in the oral Torah—which, in Talmud and Midrash, finally became written also. The teaching synagogue is clearly enough reflected in the Gospels.⁴⁷

Ideally the leading men of a town were also the elders of the synagogue—autonomous Judaism interblends the civic and ecclesiastic elements of its polity very closely. This could be fully effectuated only in Palestinian towns of predominantly Jewish population. These elders possessed the power of excommunication.⁴⁸ Chief of the special officers was the ruler of the synagogue, Heb. *rō'š hakkēnēset*, Gk. ἀρχισυνάγωγος. The familiar Jairus of the Gospels is a personal example. This man arranged the rota of preachers, readers and Targumists for public worship, and had oversight of the fabric and other matters. Next perhaps in importance was the *hazzān*, Gk. ὑπηρέτης (AV, misleadingly, “minister”). This personage acted as Church officer, general disciplinarian, instructor of the children in their letters, all in one. There were also receivers of alms, and others who acted in some temporary or permanent capacity.

The Mishnah gives much additional detail concerning the synagogue, unequal in its New Testament interest. Even the ruins of the building remained sacred, and it was forbidden to labour there, or to lament for the dead.⁴⁹ The synagogue imparted a graded Rabbinic sanctity to everything in and around it. This began at the lowest level with the square outside—the ark rested there on certain

⁴⁵ Cf. F. F. Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 260L.; W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism* (London, 1948), p. 7.

⁴⁶ Cf. Matt. 7: 28f.

⁴⁷ Cf. Matt. 4: 23 and many parallels.

⁴⁸ Cf. John 9: 22; 12: 42; 16: 2.

⁴⁹ *Megillah* iii, 3.

public occasions—and reached its peak with the rolls of the Pentateuch.⁵⁰ When Temple and synagogue co-existed, minute ceremonial attended the public reading of Scripture by the High-priest.⁵¹

The Gentile attitude to the synagogue is frequently coloured by that historic *odium Judaicum* which has been so strong in every century, and from which the Christian Church has largely escaped.⁵² This is not the place to discuss the faults or virtues of the Jewish people, or the bitter and dangerous tension between the Arab lands and the new state of Israel. The personal attitude of the evangelical is however significant. He cannot accept a religion which denies his fundamental tenet, the Divinity and Saviourhood of Jesus Christ. Neither can he practise or tolerate anti-Semitism, with its basic denial of human rights. He may respect and even love the Jew, yet he cannot regard him otherwise than as a man in need of the Christ who is available yet not appropriated.

Glasgow.

⁵⁰ *Megillah* iii, 1.

⁵¹ *Yoma* vii, 1; *Sotah* vii, 7, 8.

⁵² [Escaped it as victim; not—alas!—as perpetrator.—Ed.]

ABBREVIATIONS

- AG W. Bauer's *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, translated by W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich (Chicago, 1957).
- BC *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Part I, vols. i-v, ed. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake (London, 1920-33).
- BS *Bible Studies*², by A. Deissmann (Edinburgh, 1909).
- DAC *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, ed. J. Hastings (Edinburgh, 1915-18).
- DCG *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, ed. J. Hastings (Edinburgh, 1906-8).
- EB *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, ed. T. K. Cheyne and J. S. Black (London, 1899-1903).
- HDB *Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. J. Hastings (Edinburgh, 1898-1904).
- HJP *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, by E. Schürer, Eng. trans. (Edinburgh, 1886-90).
- JE *Jewish Encyclopaedia*
- JQR *Jewish Quarterly Review*
- LSJ H. G. Liddell and R. Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon*⁹, ed. H. S. Jones (Oxford, 1940).
- LT *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, by A. Edersheim (London, 1883).
- MM *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, by J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan (Edinburgh, 1930).

- NBD* *New Bible Dictionary*, ed. J. D. Douglas (London, 1962).
SB *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, von
H. L. Strack und P. Billerbeck (München, 1922-56).
TB Babylonian Talmud
TJ Jerusalem (or Palestinian) Talmud
TWNT *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, hrsg. von G.
Kittel und G. Friedrich (Stuttgart, 1933 ff.).