

# STUDIA ANTIQUA

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A STUDENT JOURNAL FOR THE STUDY  
OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

VOLUME 11, NUMBER 1  
WINTER 2012

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY  
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# STUDIA ANTIQUA

## A STUDENT JOURNAL FOR THE STUDY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

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## ABBREVIATIONS

All abbreviations are taken from *The SBL Handbook of Style*, 8.4.

AASF	<i>Annales Academiae scientiarum fennicae</i>
AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by D. N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York, 1992.
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ArOr	<i>Archiv Orientalní</i>
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BBR	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BDAG	Bauer, W., F. W. Danker, W. F. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich. <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . 3rd ed. Chicago, 1999.
BDB	Brown, F., S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Oxford, 1907.
BMes	<i>Bibliotheca mesopotamica</i>
BSac	<i>Bibliotheca sacra</i>
BSC	Bible Student's Commentary
BT	<i>The Bible Translator</i>
BTB	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CDME	<i>A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian</i> . Edited by R. O. Faulkner. Oxford, 1962.
COS	<i>The Context of Scripture</i> . Edited by W. W. Hallo. 3 vols. Leiden, 1997–.
DDD	<i>Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible</i> . Edited by K. van der Toorn, B. Becking, and P. W. van der Horst. Leiden, 1995.
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
EBib	Etudes bibliques
EDNT	<i>Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Edited by H. Balz, G. Schneider. Grand Rapids, 1990–93.
EgT	<i>Eglise et théologie</i>
ExpTim	<i>Expository Times</i>
HBC	<i>Harper's Biblical Commentary</i> . Edited by J. L. Mays et al. San Francisco, 1988.
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
IB	<i>Interpreter's Bible</i> . Edited by G. A. Buttrick et al. 12 vols. New York, 1951–57.
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDB	<i>The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i> . Edited by G. A. Buttrick. 4 vols. Nashville, 1962.
Int	<i>Interpretation</i>
IOS	<i>Israel Oriental Studies</i>
JAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JFSR	<i>Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JSNT	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>

## vi ABBREVIATIONS

JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LSJ	Liddell, H. G., R. Scott, H. S. Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford, 1996.
MDB	<i>Mercer Dictionary of the Bible</i> . Edited by W. E. Mills. Macon, 1990.
NewDocs	<i>New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity</i> . Edited by G. H. R. Horsley and S. Llewelyn. North Ryde, N. S.W., 1981–.
NIB	<i>The New Interpreter's Bible</i>
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NovT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OTS	Old Testament Studies
OtSt	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>
SHANE	Studies in the History of the Ancient Near East
SP	Sacra pagina
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, 1964–76.
TynBul	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
VC	<i>Vigiliae christianae</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>

## EDITOR'S PREFACE

This issue constitutes my farewell issue from *Studia Antiqua*. Hopefully I have served satisfactorily as the student editor for these past three issues. I have learned much and am grateful for the time I was able to learn the publication process. Now, on to what adventures lie ahead.

I am grateful to have had Brock Mason with me on this issue. Brock is a very close reader and will be a wonderful editor. Also, his knowledge of the ancient world and languages will elevate this journal. He has been wonderful to work with, and I feel more than comfortable leaving the journal in his hands.

This issue features three articles and three book reviews—all from BYU undergraduates. This issue also features book notices (taken in whole or in part from the respective publishers' websites). Thom Bunnell has written an essay featuring Ruth as a redeemer. Thom admirably establishes a redeemer-type methodology and demonstrates how Ruth fits the mold. David Ridge has contributed an exegesis of Nahum detailing how the book also serves as a call to repentance to Judah. I have learned from his insight. I am grateful to have my honors thesis included in this issue. We have here printed a truncated version (lacking the appendices). The full version can be found online at [studiaantiqua.byu.edu](http://studiaantiqua.byu.edu). I am grateful that my project has passed the review process and been found worthy to be in the journal. In the thesis I argue that the figure of 10,000 talents in Matthew 18 is due to Matthew's desire to comment on the financial crisis of 33 C.E. The book reviews round out the journal and provide a detailed window into these three books. We encourage all of our readers to peruse the books in the book notices section and choose one to review.

As always, this issue would not have been possible without the generous contributions from our esteemed faculty. A double-blind peer reviewed journal tolls on the faculty reviewers, but I am grateful for their kind assistance. We would have no journal without the reviewers. My deep thanks to all of them and apologies if I have overstepped my bounds or sent one too many reminders. This journal recognizes its indebtedness to our wonderful faculty.

Also, we are continually grateful to our financial donors. We thank Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Classics, and the Neal A. Maxwell Institute for Religious Scholarship for their generous contributions. Again, without them this journal—this unique opportunity for undergraduates to gain publishing experience—would not be possible. We are all very grateful.

Alan Taylor Farnes

Brock M. Mason

Editors in Chief, *Studia Antiqua*



## REDEEMER TYPOLOGIES AND THE CHARACTER OF RUTH

THOM BUNNELL

*Thom Bunnell is a graduate of BYU with a bachelor's degree in ancient Near Eastern studies with a Hebrew emphasis.*

Ruth's character in the book of Ruth has been an inspiring example for centuries. The book begins and ends with a family line. The book of Ruth therefore may seem to be primarily concerned with telling the story of David's (and ultimately, in the Christian tradition, Jesus') genealogy. Although establishing Davidic lineage may be a central purpose of the narrative, it is also an undeniably powerful story of a woman's selfless devotion. The attractiveness of the book is further enhanced because the story chronicling Ruth's encounters is short and manageable. Also, unlike so many other biblical narratives, Ruth has no scandal. There are no characters worthy of condemnation or disgust. As Garber states, "There is no villain in the story. No reprehensible act is done by any character."<sup>1</sup> It is hard to dislike Ruth in her devotedness or Boaz in his selflessness. But Ruth stands out as much more than a good example in a novella interestingly mixed with poetry and prose.

Even if the redemption of Elimelech's family, with the overt use of the Hebrew לָאָן ("redeemer," "kinsman")<sup>2</sup> throughout the book of Ruth, is not the main purpose of the narrative, it is hard *not* to address this topic. Redemption is an important aspect of the work. Consequently, when virtually all commentaries evaluate the book of Ruth, Boaz is immediately declared the redeemer of the novella.<sup>3</sup> Boaz serves as the redeemer type when he marries Ruth in chapter 4. He becomes the bridegroom while the heroine of the story becomes,

1. P. L. Garber, "Ruth, Book of," *IB* 4:131–33.

2. BDB, לָאָן, 145–46.

3. There are too many commentaries to list them all, but some relevant ones that recognize Boaz as the redeemer include: Edward F. Campbell Jr., "Ruth: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary" in *Anchor Bible* 15 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday), 1975; Frederick W. Bush, "Ruth/Esther," in *WBC* 9 (Dallas, Texas: Word Books), 1996; Daniel I. Block, "Judges/Ruth," in *New American Commentary* 6 (Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman Publishers), 1999.

quite literally, a bride. However, the dimensions of Ruth's character go further. After evaluating redeemer typologies in Hebrew scripture, I conclude that Ruth's greatest representative type, above heroine, bride, and symbol of Israel, is that of redeemer.

### What Is a Redeemer? A Preliminary Typology<sup>4</sup>

What is a typology? A type is a person or thing that serves as a symbol or representation of something else. In this case, Ruth serves as a type, i.e., a symbol, example, or representation, of a redeemer. In this paper I will develop a basic typology for redeemers and redeeming figures in the Hebrew bible. It is outside the scope of this paper to evaluate the entire corpus of ancient Near Eastern documents in order to create a composite set of typologies covering the entirety of Near Eastern cultures in antiquity. Instead, I will present typologies specifically about redeemers as they are presented in the Masoretic text. Within Hebrew scripture, the concepts of "redemption," "to redeem," or "redeemer" are generally translations of the words גֹּאֵל, פֹּדֶה, or כֹּפֵר with גֹּאֵל being the most common.<sup>5</sup> Though not used equally, each word provides insight into the meaning and function of a redeemer in ancient Israel. On closer inspection of these words as they are used, and other redeemer types, we see certain elements common to redeemers in Hebrew scripture that allow us to create a redeemer typology. This typology can then be used to qualify a character as a redeemer type.

*Proposition 1: A redeemer is related to the redeemed.*

Jennifer Clark Lane has commented that "to the Israelites, a redeemer was a close family member responsible for helping other family members . . . the family relationship was the reason the redeemer acted on behalf of his . . . kinsmen."<sup>6</sup> Chapters 25 and 27 of Leviticus expound the role of a kinsman as

4. John Lundquist, "What is a Temple? A Preliminary Typology," in *Temples of the Ancient World* (eds. Donald W. Parry and Stephen D. Ricks; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 83–117. I have used Lundquist's typology model applied to temples of the ancient Near East and applied it to redeemers. There is a stark difference between a "redeemer type" and a "type of Christ." A "redeemer type" is based on explanations found in the Hebrew text only; thus, just because a figure may serve as a "type of Christ," that does not necessarily mean they qualify as a "redeemer type." For example: Jonah remained in the belly of the fish three days (Jonah 1:17) before being "resurrected" and placed on dry ground and, consequently, can be seen as a type of Christ. This circumstance is not fitting with redeemer typologies, so Jonah may be a "Christ type," but he does not serve as a "redeemer type."

5. Garber, "Ruth," 132–33.

6. Jennifer Clark Lane, "The Lord Will Redeem His People: 'Adoptive' Covenant and Redemption in the Old Testament," in *The People Shall Be My People And Thy God My God: The 22nd Annual Sidney B. Sperry Symposium* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1993), 49.

redeemer: Yahweh commands, “If anyone of your kin falls into difficulty and sells a piece of property, then the next of kin shall come and redeem (גאל) what the relative has sold” (25:25).<sup>7</sup> Outside of the Torah, the book of Ruth serves as a prime example of the responsibility of a near relation to redeem a kinsman.<sup>8</sup> Isaiah further expounds upon the relationship between kinship and redemption. With Yahweh as the MT’s obviously prime example of a redeemer, the poetic prophet Isaiah exclaims, “For *you are our father*, though Abraham does not know us and Israel does not acknowledge us; you, O Lord, are *our father; our Redeemer*” (63:16; emphasis added).<sup>9</sup>

*Proposition 2: A redeemer recovers that which was lost, whether that be a person, property, a life, or the soul.*

The two Hebrew roots used most often for redemption, גאל and פשא, “designate a process by which something alienated, or at least subject to alienation, may, in some circumstances, be recovered for its original owner.”<sup>10</sup> This *something* referred to can be anything that has the potential to become lost or forfeit. It applies, as is described in Leviticus chapters 25 and 27, mainly to the physical things such as land, cattle, family, and other things of temporal or monetary worth. That which is redeemed can also be intangible, such as one’s life (Exod 21:29–30) or one’s soul (Pss 49:6–9). In the latter part of Genesis, Jacob in a blessing to his son commends the angel “who has redeemed (גאל) [him] from all harm” (48:16). Job affirms in a eulogy, “For I know that my Redeemer lives” (19:25), and this redeemer will authenticate Job’s claims of innocence and justify his good name. In these instances both the “evil” Jacob speaks of and Job’s slandered reputation exist only as concepts but are still redeemable. As such, there is nothing that can be lost, whether physical or abstract, that is outside of the redeemer’s power.

*Proposition 3: The redeemer provides for the temporal needs of the redeemed, which may include deliverance from distress.*

Not only does a redeemer recover that which is lost but also continues to provide for the temporal needs of the redeemed. For example, Yahweh not only recovered the Hebrews’ freedom that was lost to the Egyptians, but he sustained Israel in the wilderness through manna (Exod 16:14–16), quail (Exod 16:12–13), water (Exod 17:5–6), and protection. In Job, Eliphaz counsels the

7. All biblical citations are either the author’s translation or from the NRSV.

8. I choose not to deal with this here as this will be dealt with more in depth in a later portion of this paper.

9. Isaiah also declares Yahweh to be a family relation in 22:21 and 9:6, among others.

10. R. C. Denton, “Redeem, Redeemer, Redemption,” *IDB* 4:21.

man of misfortune to seek God who provides for his people: "He will deliver you. . . . In famine he will redeem you from death, and in war from the power of the sword. You shall be hidden from the scourge of the tongue, and shall not fear destruction when it comes. At destruction and famine you shall laugh, and shall not fear the wild animals of the earth" (Job 5:19–22). As a first step, God will deliver (or redeem) a person, and, following this, he remains the constant temporal provider for the redeemed. Zwi Werblowsky states succinctly, "The 'God of my salvation' so often referred to by the Psalmist seems to be precisely . . . a saviour from distress."<sup>11</sup>

*Proposition 4: A redeemer must have the physical capacity to redeem.*

As McGee notes in the title of his eighth chapter, "The redeemer must possess the ability to redeem,"<sup>12</sup> whether it is through having the capacity to supply a ransom or the strength to force redemption. Yahweh was said to redeem Israel through his greatness by bringing them "out of Egypt with a mighty hand" (Deut 9:26). In speaking to Yahweh, the prophet Nehemiah presents Israel as "your servants and your people, whom you redeemed by your great power and your strong hand" (Neh 1:10). Moses, another redeemer type for Israel,<sup>13</sup> never offered Pharaoh ransom for the Hebrews or recompense for their release. Instead, his redemption of Israel was accomplished by the divine power given to him by the God of Israel.

One may also redeem by ransom, giving something in place for the redeemed. In response to a person being gored by a man's ox, the law states, "The ox shall be stoned, and its owner also shall be put to death. If a ransom is imposed on the owner, then the owner shall pay whatever is imposed for the redemption (פדיוֹם from פדה) of the victim's life" (Exod 21:29–30). Only by paying the specified price could a man ransom himself from death, being redeemed from death to life. In the book of Ruth, Boaz mentions he has "acquired from the hand of Naomi all that belonged to Elimelech and all that belonged to Chilion and Mahlon," and he "acquired" Ruth to be his wife (4:9–10).

11. R. J. Zwi Werblowski, "Types of Redemption: A Summary," in *Types of Redemption* (eds. R. J. Zwi Werblowski and C. Jouco Bleeker; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), 246.

12. J. Vernon McGee, *Ruth: The Romance of Redemption* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1982), 144.

13. Moses should be an obvious biblical redeemer type for readers of the Hebrew Bible. He was the leader who freed the Hebrews from bondage under the Egyptians; Moses petitioned God for food, securing the traveling Israelites' temporal salvation; Moses brought the children of Israel to the land promised them by covenant to Abraham, etc.

*Proposition 5: The redeemer's impetus to redeem is a righteous one and is often related to a covenant.*

Redeemers are not forced to redeem grudgingly; instead, righteousness and love motivate their action. Isaiah declares, "Zion shall be redeemed (פדה) by justice, and those in her who repent, by righteousness" (1:27). In Exodus we read, "In your steadfast love you led the people whom you redeemed (גאל); you guided them by your strength to your holy abode" (15:13). Perhaps the prime example of benevolent redemption surfaces in the story of Joseph of Egypt.<sup>14</sup> After being betrayed by his family and sold into Egypt as a slave, Joseph rose to a position of power and prominence such that "only with regard to the throne (was Pharaoh) greater than (Joseph)" (Gen 41:40). As the prophesied famine hit Egypt, Israel and his sons needed to appeal to Egypt for food. With the dispensing of grain under the control of Joseph, the betraying brothers had to ask for grain from their betrayed brother. In an exemplary act of merciful kindness, Joseph redeemed his estranged family by providing them with bread and water (Gen 42:25), thus saving them from imminent death and demonstrating a righteous motive of love and forgiveness.

A covenant may also provide the motivation and impetus for redemption. Deuteronomy 7:8 makes this clear: "It was because the Lord loved you and *kept the oath that he swore to your ancestors*, that the Lord has brought you out with a mighty hand, and redeemed (פדה) you from the house of slavery, from the hand of Pharaoh king of Egypt" (emphasis added). In an imploring hymn, the Psalmist petitions God to "remember (his) congregation, which (he) acquired long ago" (74:2), clearly calling upon Yahweh's covenant with the patriarchs to be their protector and redeemer. By the nature of covenants, redemption because of a covenant is only granted when the stipulations of the covenant are met. For example, when extending the Abrahamic covenant to Isaac, the Lord promised Isaac seed, land, and the blessing of the earth because "Abraham obeyed (the Lord's) voice and kept (his) charge, (his) commandments, (his) statutes, and (his) laws" (Gen 26:4–5). The covenant relationship itself normally involves certain promises of redemption between the two parties. Through covenant, Lane comments, "People, are 'adopted' into a new relationship . . . (and) their kinsman . . . becomes their redeemer."<sup>15</sup>

14. Joseph, the son of Jacob, actually fills many of these redeemer types. His story in full can be found in Gen 37–43.

15. Lane, "The Lord Will Redeem His People," 50.

*Proposition 6: The redeemer may come in an unexpected form or appearance.*

Although the ultimate image of the redeemer is Yahweh himself, a redeemer can come in any form, even in an unexpected one. While speaking of some future redeemer, Isaiah admitted that “he [the redeemer] had no form or majesty that we should look at him, nothing in his appearance that we should desire him” (53:2). The Hebrew Bible is replete with examples of redeemers in unexpected form. Certainly Abraham and Isaac must have seen a ram as an unexpected substitute to redeem the son from death (Gen 22:12–13). David, a young shepherd boy, was an unexpected deliverer from the Philistines, and from his initial appearance one would never have considered him to be the redeemer and uniting force of Israel (1 Sam 16–17). As mentioned above, Joseph was certainly the last person his rebellious brothers expected to owe their temporal redemption too. Redeemers are not limited to a certain stature or appearance. As evidenced by the substitute ram in the case of the sacrifice of Isaac, a redeemer need not necessarily be in human form.

*Proposition 7: The redeemer is the defender of the fatherless,<sup>16</sup> orphans, widows, and the impoverished.*

A redeemer is one who makes provisions for the fatherless, the widow, the orphan, and the indigent. The Lord’s protection of orphans and widows is described in Proverbs 23:10–11: “Do not remove an ancient landmark or encroach on the fields of orphans, for their redeemer (גֹּאֲלָם) is strong.” In both Psalm 68 and Psalm 82, the writer “extols the God of triumph because of His righteous character with this same motif.”<sup>17</sup> Psalm 68 reads, “Father of orphans and protector of widows is God in his holy habitation” (v. 5), while 82 exclaims, “Give justice to the weak and the orphan; maintain the right of the lowly and the destitute. Rescue the weak and the needy; deliver them from the hand of the wicked” (vv. 3–4).<sup>18</sup> The Psalmist also praises the virtue of the ideal king who redeems these social groups: “The helpless commit themselves to you; you have been the helper of the orphan” (10:14). In judgment and condemnation of the earthly kings of his time, Isaiah states, “Your princes are rebels and companions of thieves. Everyone loves a bribe and runs after gifts. They do not defend the orphan, and the widow’s cause does not come before

16. Though it may seem redundant, one who is fatherless is not necessarily an orphan. Ruth and Orpah are examples of un-orphaned, fatherless women.

17. Richard D. Paterson, “The Widow, Orphan, and the Poor in the Old Testament and Extra-Biblical Literature,” *BSac* (July 1973), 229.

18. Other passages that portray God as the redeemer of these groups include Exod 22:21–24, 23:6; Deut 10:18, 27:19; Isa 54:4–5; etc.

them” (1:23), thus indicating that it was the king’s job to act as the redeemer for these groups.

### Ruth as Redeemer

These seven propositions about redeemers validate Boaz as a redeemer in the book of Ruth: he is related to those whom he redeems (proposition 1), he recovers lost items (proposition 2), he delivers the women from distress and provides for their temporal need (proposition 3), he has the capacity to redeem (proposition 4), his impetus is a righteous one (proposition 5), he is an unexpected option (proposition 6), and he recovers Ruth by a marriage covenant and redeems both Ruth and Naomi, impoverished, fatherless widows, from their newfound situation of poverty (proposition 7). In light of the seven typologies of a redeemer, then it must be concluded that Ruth, not only Boaz, also exemplifies a redeemer. Ruth is much more than merely the metaphoric “bride” to the salvific “bridegroom” as she is most often portrayed. Instead, the text shows that these typologies apply to her,<sup>19</sup> making her an impressive type of the biblical redeemer.

First, Ruth is a relative of the person whom she redeems, Naomi. One may argue that Ruth’s Moabite ancestry means she is not related to any of the characters in the narrative, seeing as she had no children with Mahlon. There is merit to this claim as Ruth is not technically blood related to anyone in the narrative until the last few verses of the story when she begets Obed. However, in Israel, “by making a covenant with the Lord, the people of Israel enter into his family.”<sup>20</sup> Ruth enters into the covenant with Yahweh at the end of chapter 1, thereby making her a relative of Naomi (fulfilling proposition one). Ruth’s final reply to her mother-in-law stands out as probably the most well known verses in the whole book:

But Ruth said, “Do not press me to leave you or to turn back from following you! Where you go, I will go; Where you lodge, I will lodge; your people shall be my people, and your God my God. Where you die, I will die—there will I be buried. May the Lord do thus and so to me, and more as well, if even death parts me from you!” (1:16–17).

This passage is more than simply an ardent, impassioned promise made by a daughter who has grown to love her mother. Its particular structure and language implies a covenant. The *Bible Student’s Commentary* says it well:

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19. It is not necessary for a person to qualify as a redeemer type by embodying *all* of the typologies. Not every redeemer type will possess every quality. There simply needs to be an overwhelming showing to argue that one was meant to fill the type.

20. Lane, “Thy People Shall Be My People,” 54.

To show how serious she was, Ruth swore by the name of the Lord with a type of oath that was only found in Israel (see 1 Sam 3:17; 25:22; 1 Kings 2:23). Such an oath, which may have originally been accompanied by certain signs or ceremonies, was actually a self-malediction in which the speaker invoked the wrath of the Lord if he should prove unfaithful to the solemn condition that followed it. Ruth thus swore that nothing short of death would separate her from Naomi. Naomi was reduced to silence. She finally realized how deadly earnest Ruth was in her determination to go with her; so she stopped urging her to return to Moab.<sup>21</sup>

In doing this, Ruth established herself as equal to Naomi and Israel as part of the family of Yahweh, thus making her, the redeemer, related to the redeemed. By the same token, if Ruth's connection to Naomi is established by covenant, then clearly the covenant (which she swears in the name of the Lord) is the motivating factor for the actions she takes, which lead to the redemption of herself and Naomi (proposition 5).

Perhaps the most telling factors that define Ruth as a redeemer type are what she recovers as a redeemer. Indeed, it is Boaz that, through marrying Ruth, recovers the lost property of Elimelech, but there is much more that is recovered than lost property and a dying name in the book of Ruth. Ruth is a Moabitess. As such, she is a daughter of Lot, the brother of Abraham. Lot, not being the covenant brother, was estranged from the blessings of the Lord. By making her covenant to Naomi and her marriage to Boaz, "The holiness lodged in the seed of Lot . . . and the holiness lodged in the seed of Judah joined (together) to produce the grandfather of David."<sup>22</sup> By joining the family of Lot with the covenant line of Abraham, redemption comes to an entire nation separated from Yahweh's blessings. Though Boaz is the redeemer of Elimelech, he was not a Moabite, and as such he cannot be credited with the redemption of Lot's family. Ruth alone deserves this honor and thus fulfills proposition two.

Ruth redeems more than her family line. By the end of chapter 1, Naomi has lost hope in her ability to redeem her family.<sup>23</sup> Consequently, she urges her daughters-in-law to return to their original homes where they might receive better provisions. Her declaration to the Bethlehemites clearly shows her despair: "Call me no longer Naomi, call me Mara (מָרָא, "bitter"), for the Almighty has dealt bitterly with me. I went away full, but the Lord has brought me back empty" (1:20–21). When Ruth chose to covenant with Naomi, to be her companion, Naomi's lost hope was redeemed. Again, this redemption can

21. C. J. Goslinga, "Ruth Commentary," BSC 6:527.

22. Zlotowitz, *Megillas Ruth*, xlvii

23. Keil and Delitzsch, *Commentary*, 473.

only be credited to Ruth. Furthermore, Ruth also redeemed Naomi temporally, fulfilling proposition 3. Apparently aware of Israel's laws, it was Ruth who suggested that she go glean in the fields to provide for her small family. She was only aware after the fact that the field belonged to a potential kinsman-redeemer, as evidenced by the phrase, "As it happened, she came to the part of the field belonging to Boaz" (2:3). Had the field not belonged to Boaz, Ruth might not have ultimately married Boaz, but she still would have been the source of redemption for herself and her mother-in-law from destitution and starvation, making Ruth at the same time both a temporal provider from distress and a defender of the fatherless, the orphan, and the widow.<sup>24</sup>

The fact that Ruth is from a people abhorred by the Israelites,<sup>25</sup> and that she is a woman of neither real means nor talents makes her, as a redeemer of Israel, rather unexpected (proposition 6). More than this, though, I believe it is her dedication to the Lord of Israel that sets her apart. There is no temporal reason why Ruth should have sworn fidelity and companionship to Naomi and her people. As Naomi had suggested, their family's situation was all but impossible to recover from. This makes Ruth's redemption all the more miraculous. Her impetus was righteous and virtuous. It was a love of Naomi and of the culture she had come to embrace that made her reply so ardently, "Do not press me to leave you or to turn back from following you!" (1:16). By her invoking the name of the Lord in verse 17 we see that she was fully converted to the religion of Israel, and that this conversion ran deep enough for her to abandon the land of her nativity and dedicate her remaining years to her new family and God. With the aforementioned examples it is hard not to see how all of the redeemer typologies combine together in Ruth, making her a redeemer.

In making this claim I anticipate one major concern, specifically the fact that a redeemer is almost exclusively portrayed as a man in Hebrew scripture. Although in Hebrew scripture redeemers are almost always men, almost always is not always. Corrington comments, "There are some models in biblical Judaism . . . in which the redeemer is envisioned as a woman or a woman acts as redeemer."<sup>26</sup> Consider the words of Hosea when he "likens Yahweh (the ultimate redeemer) to a mother or nurse who draws the infant Ephraim with the 'leading strings' of (maternal) love out of Egypt, and through the wilderness

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24. Though we can only assume by Naomi's age and the fact that she didn't return to her father's house that she is fatherless, we believe Ruth is by the injunction of Naomi to "go, return each to her *mother's* house" which she makes in verse eight of chapter one.

25. An example of Israel's stance on Moab can be seen in Deut 23:3-5.

26. Gail Paterson Corrington, *Her Image of Salvation: Female Saviors and Formative Christianity* (Louisville, KY: John Knox Press, 1992), 55.

(Hos 11:3–4).<sup>27</sup> The woman Rahab in the book of Joshua presents us with another redemptive woman. As the Israelites were preparing to cross the Jordan River under the direction of Joshua, they sent spies into Jericho to assess the potential military threat. When the guards of Jericho searched for the Hebrew spies, Rahab, a prostitute, hid them safely in her home. In return for her aid, Rahab petitioned the spies:

I know that the Lord has given you the land, and that dread of you has fallen on us, and that all the inhabitants of the land melt in fear before you. For we have heard how the Lord dried up the water of the Red Sea before you when you came out of Egypt, and what you did to the two kings of the Amorites that were beyond the Jordan, to Sihon and Og, whom you utterly destroyed. As soon as we heard it, our hearts melted, and there was no courage left in any of us because of you. The Lord your God is indeed God in heaven above and on earth below. Now then, since I have dealt kindly with you, swear to me by the Lord that you in turn will deal kindly with my family. Give me a sign of good faith that you will spare my father and mother, my brothers and sisters, and all who belong to them, and deliver our lives from death (Joshua 2:9–13).

In her heroic defense of the spies, and in a language that denotes a faith in the redeeming God of Israel of which she had heard, Rahab secured her family and their property's safety, redeeming them from the death that would come with the destruction of Jericho. From these examples we see that it is possible for a woman, such as Ruth, to be a redeemer.

The theme of redemption is very prevalent in the book of Ruth. Boaz is clearly a phenomenal redeemer type in the text and represents the many attributes of a redeemer outlined in this paper. However, these attributes also help us to see that Boaz is not the only redeemer the story has to offer. Ruth, as I have argued, also meets the criteria for a redeeming figure. Ultimately, "The redemption of Ruth was accomplished because . . . she chose to enter a covenant, both with Naomi and with the Lord. These covenants gave her access to blessings from the Lord,"<sup>28</sup> which entitled her to join the ranks of not only Boaz, but Moses, David, and others as one of the great redeemer types of the Hebrew Bible.

27. Corrington, *Her Image of Salvation*, 55.

28. Kerry Muhlestein, "Ruth, Redemption, Covenant and Christ," in *Proceedings of the 2009 Sperry Symposium* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, 2009), 204.





# NAHUM'S LOVING DEITY: ANALYSIS OF NAHUM 2:1 AND HOW THE SCENES OF DESTRUCTION IN NAHUM CONTRIBUTE TO ITS CALL TO REPENTANCE

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Perhaps no book in the Bible is maligned as much as Nahum. It has been described as a violent expression of bellicose nationalism with no place in a religious or theological canon.<sup>1</sup> The book describes the destruction of Nineveh, the capital of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, with which Judah had a long and contentious history. The imagery of death and devastation in the imperial city is some of the most vivid of the Hebrew Bible. Are the critics correct? Is Nahum nothing more than a nationalistic and ethnocentric celebration of the violent destruction of one of Judah's oldest enemies? In this paper I will show that the purpose of the book of Nahum is more than reveling in the prophesied destruction of one of Judah's enemies. I will show that Nah 2:1<sup>2</sup> is a prophetic call to repentance to apostate Judah and the scenes of destruction are included to show the consequences if the call is not heeded. I will further show that the author uses Nineveh as an example not because of nationalistic anger but to encourage Judah to repent and to show that Nineveh has an opportunity to escape destruction as well.

## Historical Context

The purpose of the book of Nahum and why the destruction of Nineveh plays such a prominent part becomes more clear in light of the historical context of the book's composition. The text itself is scant on evidence of the historical context. The book does not refer to other texts or to any other individuals. The author identifies himself in the prologue in the first verse, but no other information about him is given by the text or other sources except

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1. Duane L. Christensen, "Nahum," *HBC*, 737–38.

2. In most modern English versions of the Bible, this verse is Nah 1:15. I refer to it here and throughout this article as it appears in the Hebrew Bible, as Nah 2:1.

his place of residence, Elkosh, whose ancient location is not known. The lack of detail found in the text itself or in external sources makes determining the geographical or precise cultural setting of Nahum very difficult.

The text does give some clues to the temporal setting of the book's creation. The author makes specific reference to the Kingdom of Judah, suggesting that Nahum was a prophet of the southern kingdom. Nah 3:8 refers to the destruction of Thebes in Egypt conducted by the Assyrians, meaning the text must have been created after 663 B.C.E.<sup>3</sup> The Assyrian capital was destroyed in 612 B.C.E. by Babylonian, Scythian, and Median forces. Taking both events into account,<sup>4</sup> the window for the creation of the text spans fifty-one years, from 663 to 612 B.C.E.<sup>5</sup> Some scholars have attempted to further narrow the range, citing two factors: (1) Nahum's relatively scarce mention of the sins of Judah implies the text may have come forth during the reforms of Josiah<sup>6</sup> and (2) the hope for Nineveh's destruction may have been spurred by the rising threat against the Assyrians posed by Cyaxares of Medes or Nabopolassar of Babylonia. Such assertions are merely possibilities,<sup>7</sup> but even the larger range gives us an idea of the relationship between Assyria and Judah at the time of the book's creation.

The relationship was not a friendly one. The Neo-Assyrian Empire ruled over much of the ancient Near East from 950 to 612 B.C.E. Their dominance extended into Israel during the eighth century. Tiglath-pileser III overran Gaza in 734 and exacted tribute from Israel and Judah.<sup>8</sup> A few years later Shalmanaser V conquered the Northern Kingdom. The Assyrian kings deported tens of thousands of upper-class Israelites and moved foreigners into Israel according to typical Assyrian deportation practice.<sup>9</sup> Sennacherib did the same during his campaign in Judah that is most famous for his unsuccessful siege of Jerusalem in 701, devastating the kingdom of Judah and its people.<sup>10</sup> Sennacherib was also responsible for moving the capital of Assyria to Nineveh, which became a large and rich city.<sup>11</sup> The book of Nahum was produced during an era when Judahites lived in the shadow of the Assyrian empire and

3. Paul L. Redditt, "The Book of Nahum," *MDB*, 601–2.

4. See Christensen, "Nahum," 52–56. Christensen gives a detailed discussion of the various views on the dating of Nahum, the vast majority of which agree that the prophecy was indeed before 612, with a few dissenters.

5. Ralph Smith, "Nahum," *WBC* 32, 61–90.

6. Kent Harold Richards, "Nahum," in Harold W. Attridge, ed., *The Harper Collins Study Bible* (San Francisco: HarperCollins Publishers, 2006), 1249.

7. Christensen, "Nahum," 737–38.

8. Francisco O. Garcia-Treto, "The Book of Nahum," *NIB*, 438–41.

9. Amelie Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East* (2 vols.; London: Routledge, 1995), 2:469.

10. Garcia-Treto, "The Book of Nahum," 438.

11. *Ibid.*

undoubtedly viewed all Assyrians, including the residents of Nineveh, as enemies. It is this antagonistic relationship that has fueled the idea that the description of Nineveh's destruction was no more than a manifestation of the Judahites' desire for vengeance, but the literary context of the book of Nahum illuminates a different possibility.

### Literary Context

The book of Nahum is part of the grouping of Minor Prophets in the MT of the Tanak, the seventh of the twelve.<sup>12</sup> These prophets generally wrote in later years during the divided monarchy or after the fall of Israel. While the texts are separate entities, looking at the group of the Prophets as a whole reveals common themes and additional perspective, particularly when people, locations, or cities appear in more than one text. Richards asserts that a book such as Nahum must be read "among his contemporaries, such as Habakkuk, Jeremiah, and Zephaniah, to hear the interplay between God's judgment and salvation and the strong word of assurance in Nahum that the Lord will prevail against evil."<sup>13</sup>

Assyria and its capital Nineveh play a major part in the book of Jonah, the fifth of the Twelve Prophets. An exhaustive report on the authorship and dating of Jonah is not possible here, but use of the resources available gives some context for the book and its relationship to Nahum. A prophet named Jonah is mentioned in 2 Kgs 14:25, in which he prophesies in the court of Jeroboam II, the king of Israel.<sup>14</sup> The book of Jonah appears to fit into the time period of 2 Kings and contains pro-Israel, anti-Assyrian tendencies, which would fit with the nature of the prophet in Jeroboam's court.<sup>15</sup> King Jeroboam's reign is dated from 793 to 753 B.C.E., so if we accept a literal dating in which the Jonah mentioned in Kings was the narrator and writer, the book of Jonah was written well before and would probably have been known to the author of Nahum. However, the book itself is not datable within a large boundary (ca. 750–250 B.C.E.), and any theories are merely possible and not probable.<sup>16</sup>

Whatever the historical relationship and chronological order of the two texts, their canonization in such close proximity within the Twelve Prophets suggests a relation in canonical tradition. In Jonah, we find that Yahweh is not reveling in the potential destruction of Nineveh, but rather is actively seeking to convert the people of the Assyrian city by dispatching a prophet there.

12. See Harold W. Attridge, *The Harper Collins Study Bible*, xxxi.

13. Richards, "Nahum," 1250.

14. Ralph Smith, "Hosea-Jonah," WBC 31, 431.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid., 432.

Yahweh goes to great lengths to persuade the reluctant Jonah to accept his mission, even utilizing a storm and a great fish to foil Jonah's attempts to escape. When Jonah is exceedingly displeased that his missionary success prevented the destruction of Nineveh, Yahweh rebukes him, asking why Nineveh and its inhabitants should not be spared (Jonah 4:11).

What happens in Jonah does not prove anything about Nahum. It is possible that two closely related texts would cast opposing depictions of Yahweh's attitude towards Nineveh and its inhabitants. In Jonah, Yahweh desires to prevent the destruction of Nineveh by working to cause them to repent. This proves that it was *possible* for prophetic literature to portray Nineveh in a positive light. This opens up the possibility that the prophesied destruction of Nineveh in Nahum serves a different purpose than simply rejoicing in the destruction of Judah's enemies.

### The Purpose of Nahum

Nahum's purpose in creating his text has proven elusive, but it is possible to return to Nahum's historical context to shed further light on the question. Judah was unstable in the mid- to late seventh century, having endured a steady pattern of decline since the fall of the united monarchy several hundred years earlier. Three kings ruled during the fifty-one-year window mentioned above. Manasseh ruled from 696 to 642. During his reign Judah was constantly involved in wars either as a participant or as an unwilling spectator of Assyrian and Egyptian armies traveling through the Levant.<sup>17</sup> The worship of gods other than Yahweh was prevalent, with Manasseh himself credited for the institution of necromancy, human sacrifice, altars to foreign deities, and an astral cult in the temple itself.<sup>18</sup> The reign of Aman was short, spanning only two years, from 642 to 640. Josiah ruled from 640 to 609. During the reign of Josiah, significant reforms in the temple and the country as a whole were carried out.<sup>19</sup> The exact date of the creation of the book of Nahum and specifically whether it came during the reign of Manasseh or Josiah would indicate very

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17. Siegfried H. Horn and P. Kyle McCarter Jr., "The Divided Monarchy: The Kingdoms of Judah and Israel" in *Ancient Israel: From Abraham to the Roman Destruction of the Temple* (ed. Hershel Shanks; Boston: Prentice Hall, 2010), 194–95.

18. *Ibid.*, 192–96.

19. *Ibid.*, 196–98. Some (see Margaret Barker, "What did Josiah reform?" in *He unfurrowed his brow and laughed: Essays in honour of Professor Nicolas Wyatt* [AOAT 299; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2007], 11–33) contend that these reforms were a departure from the religious practices of the early patriarchs, which were replaced by a new religious code, that which was supported by the Deuteronomist. No matter what the exact nature of the reforms, it is clear during this time period that powerful segments of Judahite society sought to abolish the use of idols and worship of any deity that was not Yahweh.

different cultural and political settings which the available evidence does not reveal. However, no matter which king was in power during his writing, it is clear from the record in Kings and Chronicles that the issue of idolatry was a significant one and that prophets actively condemned idolatrous practices. Nahum's writings opposed the idolatry occurring in Israel (Nahum's condemnation of idolatry will be shown in the textual analysis section of this paper). If Nahum had written during the reign of Manasseh, he would have viewed the polytheistic and idolatrous practices taking place in the country negatively and sought to convince the people of Judah to oppose the royal cult and worship Yahweh alone. If Nahum had written during the period of reform under Josiah, his intent would have been the same, seeking to reinforce the reforms of the time by supporting the monotheistic worship of Yahweh according to the principles of Deuteronomistic law.

Difficulty in determining the genre and structure of Nahum has contributed significantly to the challenge in discerning its purpose. Christensen states simply, "The question of the literary genre of Nahum remains unresolved."<sup>20</sup> He also states "there is no scholarly consensus in regard to the literary structure."<sup>21</sup> I will show that Nah 2:1 contains a distinct invitation to repent. Acknowledging this invitation as the critical point of the text will show that the rest of the text, including the scenes of destruction, is structured to support the invitation and persuade the audience to accept it.

### Textual Analysis of Nah 2:1 and Surrounding Material

הנה על ההרים רגלי מבשר משמיע שלום חגי יהודה חגי  
שלמי נדריך כי לא יוסיף עוד לעבור—בך בליעל כלה נכרת

*Look! On the mountains! The feet of one who bears news, who causes peace to be heard. Judah, go on a pilgrimage to your feast. Complete your vow, for it will not pass over you again. The man of ruin has been cut off.*<sup>22</sup>

In the first chapter of Nahum, the author reminds the audience of the power and nature of Yahweh. Nah 1:2–13 contains declarations of Yahweh's eschatological and destructive power. He includes descriptions of Yahweh's retribution against his enemies both typical and specific. Nah 1:14 is addressed to an enemy that Yahweh is capable of destroying. The author states that Yahweh will "command that your name not be sown" and "make your grave, for you

20. Christensen, "Nahum," 40–41. Christensen lists a number of diverse possibilities advanced by scholars, including a prophetic refutation speech, a festal liturgy, a propagandistic tract, a song of triumph, and a letter.

21. Ibid., 41–52.

22. All translations from Hebrew are the author's.

are nothing.” The next statement is given on Yahweh’s behalf and provides the reason for the destruction: “I will cut off idol and image from the house of your gods.” The word פסל, used here as idol, and the word מסכה, used here as graven image, are clear references to the idolatry to which the author is opposed.<sup>23</sup> It is possible that the enemy referred to in Nah 1:14 is Nineveh, but if Nah 2:1 is viewed as a prophetic call to repentance to apostate Judah, then the enemy referred to could be Judah as well.

The call to repentance in this verse is made up of three imperative verbs. The first is הנה (Look!). The author directs the audience’s attention to the mountains, where a messenger is coming משמיע שלום (who causes peace to be heard). This indication of peace is the signal that the enemy can avoid the violence and destruction of Yahweh and instead hear מבשר (good news) and have peace instead of destruction. The next two imperatives deal with how to avoid destruction and gain peace and are the strongest evidence that Judah is at least in part the target of this and the previous verse. They are told to חגיד חגי יהודה (go on a pilgrimage to your feast). They are then told to שלמי נדריך (complete your vow). These two invitations contain clear covenant imagery in references to sacral feasts and the promises between Yahweh and Judah. The imperative שלמי (complete) indicates that such a covenant relationship has existed before and can again. This is the invitation to repent with the stipulation that this is the last opportunity, made clear with the addition of לעבור בד (it will not pass over you again). The clause at the end of the verse is ambiguous; it could be referring to the king of Assyria, another enemy of Judah, or something else altogether.<sup>24</sup> It suggests both that the enemies of the repentant party will be repressed, immediately promising blessings to the beleaguered Judahites who repent, and that any who do not repent will remain בליעל (worthless, wicked) and will be cut off or destroyed.

23. פסל is the very word used to ban idolatry in the ten commandments in Exodus 20. It is also used in 2 Kgs 21:7 and 2 Chr 33:7 to describe the sins of Manasseh. Likewise מסכה is the word in Exodus 32 that describes the golden calf built by the Israelites while Moses was on Sinai. It is also used in Lev 19:4 to reiterate the ban, in Num 33:52 to describe the idols of the Canaanites that the Israelites are commanded to destroy, in 1 Kgs 14:9, 2 Kgs 17:16, 2 Chr 28:2, Hos 13:2, and Hab 2:18 to describe apostate idol worship among the Israelites, and in 2 Chr 34: 3, 4 for the idols that were destroyed by Josiah.

24. George Wigram, *The New Englishman’s Hebrew Concordance* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2006), 230. The concordance gives in Deut 13:13 *naughty*, in 15:9 *wicked*. Sixteen appearances from Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles are not translated and are left as *Belial*, and in Pro 6:12 *naughty*, 16:27 *ungodly*, 19:28 *ungodly*. Whatever the word’s exact denotation, it appears twenty-seven times in the Hebrew Bible, emphasizing ungodliness, unrighteousness, and those not observant of the law, and the connotation is clearly negative.

Nah 2:2–3:19 comprises the final section of the book, a graphic description of coming destruction. In Nah 2:2–3 the consequences of the failure to repent are made clear by the introduction of an approaching enemy host. The next stanza, *שב יהוה את-גאון יעקב כגאון ישראל* (as Yahweh returned the exaltation of Jacob, so as the exaltation of Israel) would be out of context if Nineveh is the only intended audience of the passage. It is inserted here to show the Judahites that it is not too late to repent. Yahweh is willing to save them even when their enemies are at the door. This is followed by an interesting construction consisting of a verb and a subject of the same root. Possible meanings of the root *בקק* include “to lay waste,” “devastate,” or “empty.” A similar repetition of the verbal root appears in Isa 24:3, *תבוק הבוק הארץ* (the land shall be utterly emptied). The interesting alliterative effect caused by the repetition of sounds fits in the poetic form of the passage. Sweeney has argued that the verb root can also mean to depopulate, recalling the Assyrian practice of deporting native populations,<sup>25</sup> which had occurred in Israel some years earlier. The most likely translation would communicate a desolation or emptiness or devastation to a particular land, reinforced by the nominative accusative, “they will destroy the land (to) destruction.” The unclear subject here is significant: this clause has dual meaning. Both the advancing armies and the forces of God lay ready to utterly destroy their enemies. If Judah repents, the hosts of God will destroy their enemies, preserving their lives. If they do not, it is their enemies who will destroy to emptiness. The imagery of depopulation would have been significant to Judahites, as the memory of the deportation of Israel would have been fresh in their minds.

All three chapters contain vivid descriptions of the death and destruction that await the apostate city that does not repent. As noted above, this imagery is partially referring to the destruction of Nineveh, but also can be viewed as incentive for the Judahites to repentance in order to avoid the described destruction. Viewed in this light, the destruction is included for a purpose other than simple nationalistic anger.

### Intended Audience

Nahum never explicitly states who his intended audience is. In the superscription Nineveh is identified as the subject of the prophecy. Nah 2:9 and 3:7 contain direct references to the city by name, and Nah 3:18 speaks directly to

25. Marvin A. Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets* (Vol. 2): *Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi* (Berit Olam: Studies in Hebrew Narrative and Poetry; ed. David W. Cotter; Collegeville, Minn: The Liturgical Press, 2000), 437.

מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר (the king of Assyria). These references confirm that the destruction prophesied in the text takes place in Nineveh.

However, the references to sacred feasts and the exaltation of Israel noted above indicate that the text was intended for the people of Judah. The mention of pilgrimage and feasts in the call to repentance are particularly illuminating. Passover, Shavuot, and Sukkoth were important holiday feasts for all of Israel and played a role in the proper observance of Israelite religion, especially when compared with the idolatry and worship of other gods mentioned in the passage. Additionally, Judahites and Israelites would have been expected to go to Jerusalem and present themselves at the temple for these feasts, a fact alluded to by the instruction to go on a pilgrimage.<sup>26</sup> The reference to the exaltation of Israel makes it clear that Nahum was also speaking to Jacob's descendants, the inhabitants of Judah.

The evidence shows that Nahum was using a double meaning in this prophecy. The author was describing the situation of Nineveh, an apostate and idolatrous city. He described the approaching destruction and showed that the only way to avoid it was by repenting and worshipping Yahweh correctly. Nahum used Nineveh as an example, but in reality his call to repentance was directed at Judah. Using the destruction of one city or people as a warning to another is not unique; Micah uses the same approach in his "announcement of punishment against Samaria and Israel, which stands as a paradigm for the judgment that will also come upon Jerusalem and Judah."<sup>27</sup> In this text Nahum uses the Assyrian city as an example of the fate that could befall Judah and calls Judah to repentance as the only way to avoid such a fate.

### A Last Chance for Nineveh

Perhaps most interesting here is the possibility that Nahum is calling repentance not only to Judah but to Nineveh as well. That the text was intended for Judah has been established, but the varied usages of second person forms throughout Nahum opens up the possibility of who the intended audience is. In some sections of the text, the author is clearly speaking directly to Assyria or Assyria's king and uses masculine singular forms.<sup>28</sup> But three masculine singular forms are also used in Nah 1:14, which we have seen is directed to Judah. Feminine forms appear throughout the text and are used to refer to Nineveh in the sections describing the coming destruction.<sup>29</sup> But feminine forms are also

26. Ibid., 434.

27. Ibid., 347.

28. See Nah 3:18–19.

29. See Nah 2:2 (three feminine singular pronouns), 2:14 (four feminine singular pronouns), 3:5, (five feminine singular pronouns), 3:6 (three feminine singular pronouns), and

used to refer to Judah.<sup>30</sup> Nahum intentionally alternates his usage of second person forms so as not to prevent the vital sections of the text from excluding either Judah or Nineveh. Instead, both peoples are rebuked for their sins and called to repentance. Nahum intentionally does not clarify his audience in order to give Nineveh, too, a chance to repent and avoid destruction, as it did in the days of the prophet Jonah.

The choice of Nineveh as the city of prophecy was not accidental but rather served two purposes. First, Nahum stressed that no one, not even the powerful Assyrians, were immune to the justice of Yahweh. Second, Nahum was able to extend the call to repentance to both the Judahites and the Ninevites.

## Conclusion

The powerful imagery of violence, death, and destruction in Nahum serves a clear purpose. The author sought to invite the people of Judah to cease their worship of idols and other practices that he indicated were inappropriate. He included the material in question to motivate the audience to accept the call by showing the consequences of inaction. Nineveh is the subject of the prophecy, but the evidence makes it clear that Nahum did not single out the Assyrian capital because of nationalistic anger but rather to strengthen the power of his call. It is also possible that Nineveh was a part of the intended audience, including the opportunity to repent and escape destruction.

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3:7 (three feminine singular pronouns).

30. See Nah 2:1 (five masculine forms).



# THE PARABLE OF THE UNFORGIVING SLAVE (MATTHEW 18:23–35): MATTHEW’S FINANCIAL REDACTION

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This paper endeavors to analyze the parable of the unforgiving slave in Matthew 18:23–35, focusing mainly on the astronomic amount of 10,000 talents, by employing source criticism in analyzing its proposed Lucan parallel, employing historical data concerning the financial crisis of 33 C.E. (in which Tiberius gave loans of 4,166 talents to Roman landowners), and by employing papyrological data in order to view contemporary documentary evidence of prices and figures. Matthew 18:23–35 presents many problems to its contemporary readers.

One such problem is the amount of money owed by the slave. The slave in this story owes μυρίων τάλάντων (generally translated as 10,000 talents). It stands to question why a slave would owe 10,000 talents and why he would even be lent that extraordinary amount of money.<sup>1</sup> If one talent is

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1. Derrett disagrees that this sum is extraordinary citing data from Josephus to claim that this amount was almost commonplace in the world of tax-farming: “But contrary to the general belief the amount is not fantastic. Spicq rightly shows that it is not (p. 54 n. 2). Jeremias’s data do not conclude the question. The sum may have been chosen for three reasons: (i) a round figure; (ii) a vast amount; (iii) a sum beyond reach of suretyship (see below). But Joseph son of Tobias contracted for 16,000 talents for Coelesyria, Phoenicia, Judaea and Samaria (Jos., *Ant.* XII. iv, 4; Niese III, 82–3). For a huge sum (1,000 talents) see 1 M xv.31. Ptolemy Philadelphus obtained 14,800 talents from Egypt (Jerome in *Dan.* XI.5); Cicero thought Auletes, father of Cleopatra, took 12,500 talents (Préaux, *cit. inf.*, 424). Vast sums might become irrecoverable through loans to important but unsecured people: for an example see Jos., *Ant.* XVIII.vi, 3 (155–60). Alexander’s army’s debts amounted to 9,750 tal. (Plut. *Alex.*)” J. Duncan M. Derrett, *Law in the New Testament* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1970), 36. Derrett himself describes the sum using phrases like: “The very first [minister] appears in debt to an enormous amount” (33); “The first problem concerns the enormous debt. Is it not impossibly large?” (34); “The minister was evidently the chief minister, because he was interviewed first. The size of his debt indicates that he was the greatest debtor to the king” (36) and “when the king released the enormous debt . . .” (42). After compiling all the occurrences of the word talent in the corpus of Josephus (see Appendix II) we find that the average use of the word talent in Josephus is 1,888.81 talents per use of

equal to 6,000 drachmai,<sup>2</sup> and if we accept that a drachma is a day's wage for a

the word talent. Therefore, 16,000 talents is surely much larger than the average and can, in relation to Josephus' corpus, be considered quite high. Large numbers can be found in Josephus (the largest is 100,000 talents [Josephus, *Antiquities*, 7.14.2]) but the average is 1,888.81 talents per use of the word talent. Derrett seems to stand alone in his opinion that the sum is not fantastic: "The magnitude of the sum shows that the 'servant' is to be thought of as a satrap who was responsible for the revenue from his province (cf. below on v. 31); we know, for example, that in Ptolemaic Egypt the treasury officials were personally responsible for the whole revenue of their province; but even so, the sum exceeds any actual situation; it can only be explained if we realize that both μύρια and τάλαντα are the highest magnitudes in use (10,000 is the highest number used in reckoning, and the talent is the largest currency unit in the whole of the Near East). The magnitude of a debt beyond conception was intended to heighten the impression made upon the audience by its contrast with the trifling debt of 100 denarii (v. 28)." Joachim Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1963), 210–11. "The sum named here is tremendous, in contrast with the small sum owed by the other servant in vs. 28." W. F. Albright and C. S. Mann, *Matthew* (AB 26; New York: Doubleday, 1971), 223. Gundry notes: "The hugeness of the debt—tens of thousands of talents, which because of the indefinite plural of the highest number used in reckoning cannot be calculated and therefore means 'zillions'—goes far beyond the amounts of taxes collected from Roman provinces (see Josephus *Ant.* 17.11.4 §§317–20 for amounts of 600 talents collected from Judea, Idumea, and Samaria and of 200 talents from Galilee and Perea in 4 B.C.)." Robert H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 373. "The first servant's debt is staggering. 'Ten thousand talents' is akin to the national debt: The talent was the largest monetary denomination; ten thousand, the highest figure in which arithmetic was calculated. As the miserable servant falls on his knees before the king, his plea for more time in which to pay off such an impossible debt is feeble and without hope. Obviously his prospects are disastrous." Donald Senior, "Matthew 18:21–35," *Int* 41.4 (Oct. 1987): 405. "When one compares the OT sums associated with the building of Solomon's great temple (see I Chron 29.4–7), the sum of 10,000 talents does appear incredible." W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison Jr., *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew* (3 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1991), 2:798. "Ten thousand talents is an astronomical sum (like a billion dollars for us), a debt so large that the servant could never repay it." Daniel J. Harrington, *The Gospel of Matthew* (SP 1; Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1991), 270. "The parable begins with an extraordinary act, quite uncharacteristic of any agrarian ruler. The king of this parable forgives a debt of unimaginable proportions." William R. Herzog II, *Parables as Subversive Speech: Jesus as Pedagogue of the Oppressed* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1994), 146. "The use of μύριοι, 'myriad' or 'ten thousand,' which itself could mean 'beyond number,' is a deliberate hyperbole pointing to a debt that was so high it was practically incalculable." Donald A. Hagner, *Matthew* 14–28 (WBC 33B, Dallas: Word Books, 1995), 538. "The man owes the king 10,000 talents, a truly astronomical figure." Arland J. Hultgren, *The Parables of Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 23. "10,000 talents would pay for something like 200,000 man-years of labour. At the time when Herod's realm was divided among his sons (4 B.C.), the annual tribute payments to be divided among the new rulers amounted to 900 talents. Matthew seems to be telling the story with fairy-tale-like exaggeration." John Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 756. "While a hundred denarii is a plausible amount for one man to owe another, ten thousand talents is far beyond what any individual, still less a slave, might owe even to a king." R. T. France, *The Gospel of Matthew* (NICNT, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 704.

2. This conversion is not without controversy. Joachim Jeremias accepts that a talent equals 10,000 drachmai (Jeremias, *Parables*, 210). W. F. Albright and C. S. Mann employ a 6,000 to 1 ratio (*Matthew*, 223). Martinus C. De Boer agrees with Jeremias (Martinus C.

laborer,<sup>3</sup> then this slave owes his creditor 60,000,000 drachmai, or 60,000,000

De Boer, "Ten Thousand Talents? Matthew's Interpretation and Redaction of the Parable of the Unforgiving Servant [Matt. 18:23–35]," *CBQ* 50.2 [1988]: 227). Blomberg uses a ratio of 6,000 drachmai to 1 talent (Craig L. Blomberg, *Interpreting the Parables* [Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1990], 242). Marvin A. Powell in the *Anchor Bible Dictionary* agrees (Marvin A. Powell, "Weights and Measures," *ABD* 6:905–08), as do Davies and Allison (Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2:798). Harrington says that a talent was "a very high measure of money, worth between six thousand and ten thousand denarii" Harrington, *Matthew*, 270. Donald A. Hagner of the *Word Biblical Commentary* agrees that "there were six thousand denarii to a single talent." Hagner, *Matthew*, 539. Also, "talent was the principal unit for measuring weight or large sums of money in the Greek world; 1 talent = 60 minae = 6,000 drachmae. Talents of Attic weight (= 6,000 denarii), cistophoric weight (= 4,500 denarii), and Alexandrine weight (= 1,500 denarii) were used in the East during the imperial age." Kenneth W. Harl, *Coinage in the Roman Economy: 300 B.C. to A.D. 700* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1996), 482. Jan Lambrecht allows both figures: "A talent is about ten thousand denarii (or in other regions and/or other times six thousand)." Jan Lambrecht, *Out of the Treasure: The Parables in the Gospel of Matthew* (Louvain: Peeters Press, 1998), 59. "The term τάλαντον ("talent") originally specified a weight that varied in differing parts of the Middle East (ca. 42.5 kilograms in Greco-Roman times [ca. 93.7 pounds]). By means of its weight, a talent could designate value; a talent of gold or silver, for example, could be weighed out. By the first century A.D., however, the term commonly referred to a monetary unit equivalent to 6,000 denarii." Hultgren, *Parables*, 23. Luz: "An Attic talent corresponded to six thousand drachmas = denarii." Ulrich Luz, *Matthew* 8–20 (Hermenia, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 473. Nolland uses 6,000 denarii: "A talent, then, would be 6,000 denarii, or 3,000 double drachmas." Nolland, *Matthew*, 756. "A talent was originally a weight (probably about thirty kilograms) of metal; when used as a monetary term without specifying the metal involved, it would probably have been understood to be of silver. While the exact amount varied, a talent of silver was conventionally reckoned at six thousand denarii." France, *Matthew*, 706. Here I accept the equation given by Roger S. Bagnall, "Practical Help: Chronology, Geography, Measures, Currency, Names, Prosopography, and Technical Vocabulary," in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (ed. Roger S. Bagnall; Oxford: Oxford, 2009), 189 as a talent being 6,000 drachmai. Also, "A talent was always worth 60 minai regardless of their weight." Konrad Hitzl, "talent," *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopedia of the Ancient World*, Antiquity 14 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 121–22.

3. Though I do not accept that a drachma is a day's wage, I use the model of the majority of scholars here to illustrate the enormity of the sum. Though the sum of a drachma a day is largely accepted, it may not, in fact, be an accurate reflection of wages in this period. The source of this statistic seems to be from the parable of the laborers in the vineyard in Matthew 20:13 where a landowner in a hypothetical parable addresses a laborer (who is not a slave) who he refers to as his friend or companion saying, "Did you not agree with me for a denarii?" Therefore, most commentators have applied this wage categorically to any wage for any person. This is erroneous. The wage of a laborer always depended on age, strength, and skill of the laborer. It also depended on the type of work in which he was employed. Numerous factors contribute to the daily wage of a laborer that cannot be monolithically extracted from one pericope—especially if, as many accept, the slave in our parable is a royal or high class slave or satrap as Jeremias states (Jeremias, *Parables*, 210; see note 5 for those who have agreed with his view). Most commentators on this parable employ the drachma a day formula (De Boer, "Unforgiving Servant," 228; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 800; Harrington, *Matthew*, 270; Lambrecht, *Treasure*, 59); "Since a denarius was a day's wages for a common laborer, and he might work some 300 days per year, a talent would be worth nearly twenty years' wages." Hultgren, *Parables*, 23; "If one denarius was an acceptable day's wage for a laborer (see 20:1–15), a single talent would then represent what a laborer might hope to earn in half a lifetime." France, *Matthew*, 706. A simple scan

days of work. This would take him 191,693 years to pay off if he earns a drachma a day, if 100 percent of his earnings are put toward the debt, and if there is no interest.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, many scholars have been left puzzled as to why Jesus or Matthew would have chosen this impossible amount in his parable. Also, the very interpretation of μυρίων τάλαντων is ambiguous as it could be either a finite number (10,000) or a hyperbole meaning “zillion.” If “zillion,” then how much is a “zillion”? This enormous number has led some to conclude that this slave was a royal slave or satrap.<sup>5</sup> Others have postulated that he was a tax farmer.<sup>6</sup>

Another issue with the text is the appearance of the word δάνειον or “loan” in Matthew 18:27. The audience is not told of any loan given, but rather we are told of a certain ὀφειλέτης or debtor who owed an ὀφειλήν or debt. While the difference between a loan and a debt may be minute, the problem still stands: should we not see ὀφειλή (debt) in 18:27 as we see in 18:32 (where the same word appears)? Lastly, considering the torture of verse 34, many have supplied that this parable must rightly be set in a gentile context, because torture was not legal in Israel. In this paper, I will begin by summarizing the available scholarship on this parable and then seek to address some of the above concerns using three approaches: employing source criticism to analyze its

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of Allan Chester Johnson's landmark study *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* (Paterson, New Jersey: Pageant Book, 1959), 2:301–22 shows the varying wages of laborers in ancient Egypt. While this data is from Egypt, it is hard to imagine that the wages are so complex in Egypt but categorically simple in Israel. Is one drachma a satisfactory, albeit incomplete, approximation? Yes, but stating that all day laborers, even if this slave may be a satrap, receive one drachma a day, is gross oversimplification. See E. Odin Yingling, “Seeking for the Lost: A Papyrological Search for Luke Fifteen's Lost Economics,” Provo, Utah: Harold B. Lee Library, 2011.

4. 60,000,000 days divided by 313 working days of the year (365–52 Sabbaths) equals 191,693 years. “In Matthew 18:24, at 6,000 drachmas or denarii to the Tyrian talent, a day laborer would need to work 60,000,000 days to pay off the debt. Even assuming an extraordinary payback rate of 1,000 talents per year, the staggering amount would ensure imprisonment for at least 1,000 years.” BDAG, “τάλαντον,” 988.

5. Jeremias, *Parables*, 210: “The magnitude of the sum shows that the ‘servant’ is to be thought of as a satrap who was responsible for the revenue from his province; we know, for example, that in Ptolemaic Egypt the treasury officials were personally responsible for the whole revenue of their province.” Robert Gundry notes this opinion but then rejects it: Gundry, *Matthew*, 373. De Boer comments, “Once the figure of the king is deemed integral to the parable story, it becomes possible to identify the other characters of the parable with some degree of specificity: the *doulos* owing the 10,000 talents is not a common slave, but a high official, a governor or a satrap subordinate to the king, while the *syndoulos* owing the hundred denarii [vv 28–29, 33] is not really a ‘fellow servant,’ as the Greek term would suggest, but a lesser official, as are the *syndouloi* who make the report to the master in v 31.” De Boer, “Unforgiving Servant,” 216. Herzog, *Parables*, 137. Hultgren: “It is suggested that the person is actually a satrap [or governor] who owes taxes to the king from the province he controls.” Hultgren, *Parables*, 24. See also France, *Matthew*, 705.

6. Derrett, *Law*, 33.

shorter parallel in Luke 7:41–43, exploring the historical data to better understand what implications the financial crisis of 33 C.E. (in which Tiberius gave loans of 4,166 talents to Roman landowners) may have had on the parable, and examining papyrological data in order to view contemporary documentary evidence of prices and figures.

## Review of Scholarship

Joachim Jeremias in his 1963 *The Parables of Jesus* explains the enormity of the debt by explaining that “μύρια and τάλαντα are the highest magnitudes in use (10,000 is the highest number used in reckoning, and the talent is the largest currency unit in the whole of the Near East).”<sup>7</sup> Jeremias seems to have been the first to assert that the slave spoken of in the parable must have been a “satrap who was responsible for the revenue from his province” due to the “magnitude of the sum.”<sup>8</sup> Many have followed this hypothesis.<sup>9</sup> Derrett offers an alternative explanation preferring rather that our parable concerns a tax farmer based on a story from Josephus. In antiquity a tax farmer was someone who bidded to collect taxes from a certain region of an empire. Whichever tax farmer thought that he could collect the most from a region and bidded the highest is responsible to extract the amount and pay the empire. Usually a tax farmer extracted more than he bid and pocketed the excess. John the Baptist condemns this practice in response to the tax farmer’s question concerning what they should do. He tells them to “collect no more than the amount prescribed for you” (Luke 3:13). Derrett draws parallels from a story in Josephus concerning a tax farmer to understand this parable. The story, from *Antiquities* XII.4, begins with a high priest named Onias who did not pay taxes to Egypt. This infuriated Ptolemy III Euergetes I (246–221 B.C.E.).<sup>10</sup> In order to appease the king’s wrath, Onias’ nephew, Joseph, asks for permission to be the

7. Jeremias, *Parables*, 210.

8. Jeremias, *Parables*, 210. He continues: “We know, for example, that in Ptolemaic Egypt the treasury officials were personally responsible for the whole revenue of their province; but even so, the sum exceeds any actual situation.”

9. See note 5.

10. The identity of Joseph’s creditor is ambiguous in Josephus. Perhaps this is why Derrett refers simply to Ptolemy rather than specifying which Ptolemy was the creditor. Schürer, Vermes, Millar and Black understand Josephus to refer to Ptolemy III Euergetes (246–21 B.C.E.) but explains this Ptolemy’s surname in this instance is most likely a later interpolation. They explain that Palestine already belonged to Syria at this time. They even boldly state that “the historical background of the story is therefore impossible, and its details are also obviously legendary.” Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (rev. ed. Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar; ed. Matthew Black, Pamela Vermes; 3 vols.; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1973), 1:140, fn. 4. This further weakens Derrett’s argument: Schürer et al. argue that this did not historically happen therefore Jesus’ audience would not be familiar with this story.

tax farmer responsible for Jerusalem. After listening to the bids from other tax farmers for the provinces of Coele-Syria, Phoenicia, Judea and Samaria, which totaled 8,000 talents, Joseph accused them of conspiring together to keep the taxes low so they could pocket more. He then bid to extract 16,000 talents from these regions. When the city of Askelon refused to pay taxes to him, Joseph gathered twenty main men of the city, killed them, and sent their property to Ptolemy. Upon being informed of Joseph's actions, Ptolemy admired Joseph. Syria, after hearing of Joseph's actions, promptly paid their taxes but Scythopolis suffered the same fate as Askelon. Latching upon this story, Derrett comments, "It is fortunate that we have an analogy in the story of the life of Joseph, son of Tobias (Jos., *Ant.* XII.iv). Josephus' readers will have read this tale with pleasure, and will have yielded up their imaginations to it, not requiring strict proof of verisimilitude."<sup>11</sup> While Derrett surely adds some interesting thoughts to the parable, I find his main contentions unconvincing due to the weak parallel. The first break in the parallel comes in the opening line of Josephus' introduction to the story: "There was now one Joseph, young in age, but of great reputation among the people of Jerusalem, for gravity, prudence, and justice" (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.4.2).<sup>12</sup> In Derrett's model, Joseph would parallel the slave who owes 10,000 talents. But this introduction to Joseph does not seem to fit with the slave of Matthew 18. Are we to picture the slave as "of great reputation . . . for gravity, prudence, and justice"? Would Matthew have described the slave in that manner? Joseph cannot easily be paralleled with the slave of Matthew 18 because the introduction in the quote given above does not seem to fit what we know about the slave in Matthew 18. Also, in Josephus' story, Joseph and Ptolemy enjoy a fun, jovial friendship. This does not closely parallel Matthew 18 either. We also see Joseph slaughtering local government officials in order to extract taxes from cities. Surely Jesus would not tell a parable in which a king, representing God, condones the gathering of taxes in such a manner. I do not see much in common between the two stories besides the fact that Onias owes an undisclosed amount of taxes to Ptolemy. Joseph does, in a way, owe a debt of 16,000 talents to Ptolemy, but the character of Joseph is so out of line with that of the slave that a parallel seems very forced.

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11. Derrett, *Law*, 33. He continues: "For none of the details is manifestly impossible, and this is how the world believed kings and kingly courts and ministers were. Moreover it is likely that the tale of Joseph and his supersession of the avaricious old High Priest, Onias, was a popular one and still remembered fairly generally in Jesus's day."

12. I will use Whiston's translation throughout the whole of this study. I will also use his numbering system. Flavius Josephus, *The Jewish Antiquities* (trans. William Whiston; as found in *The New Complete Works of Josephus* [commentary by Paul L. Maier; Grand Rapids: Kregel, 1999]).

Along with Schürer's note that "the historical background of the story is therefore impossible, and its details are also obviously legendary,"<sup>13</sup> Derrett's model does not seem very strong.

Stephen R. Llewelyn's reconstruction of the Ptolemaic, Roman, Roman Egypt, and Judean taxation systems is much more thorough and realistic than Derrett's.<sup>14</sup> Llewelyn's research challenges Derrett's interpretation of a tax-farming slave:

Royal officials, as well as slaves, were prohibited from various aspects of Ptolemaic system of tax-farming. They could neither be tax-farmers, associates of a tax-farmer nor the guarantors of one. A severe penalty consisting of a fine (5 talents), arrest and review of the case by the king awaited officials who illegally contracted for taxes (*P. Rev.* col. 13 l.7–col. 14 l.1). Otherwise, whoever could offer the required security was permitted to bid and participate in the system. The significance of the prohibition on royal officials is usually interpreted as an indication of the government's concern to control the collection of taxes and to protect its taxpayers. An independent administration was thought better able and inclined to control and supervise the collection of taxes.<sup>15</sup>

Llewelyn explains that the slave in our parable could not have been a tax farmer because slaves and royal officials were prohibited from being tax farmers. While Llewelyn is here speaking of the Ptolemaic system, he later explains that the Roman system of tax farming "was modelled on the system in use in Egypt, i.e. regulation to protect the taxpayers, imperial agents to control collection, collection by personnel independent of the tax farmer, and possibly a system of accounting by imperial agents."<sup>16</sup> Also, concerning Roman Egypt, Llewelyn notes: "It would appear that imperial regulations were just as detailed as the Ptolemaic."<sup>17</sup> And finally, "the financial administration of Judaea in the Roman period is understood by Rostovtzeff by analogy with that in operation in Egypt."<sup>18</sup> Therefore, we see that although Llewelyn specifically speaks of Ptolemaic taxation in the above quote, these same practices can be applied to Roman, Roman Egyptian, and Egyptian taxation practices. And, as we will discuss below, since both Jeremias and Derrett clarify that the parable is not set

13. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 1:140, fn. 4.

14. Stephen R. Llewelyn, "Tax Collection and the *τελώναι* of the New Testament," *NewDocs* 8 (1998): 49–57. While Llewelyn does have the luxury of the passing of time, he uses Wilckes (1970) and Préaux (1939[!]) in order to reconstruct the Ptolemaic taxation system; see Ulrich Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka* (Hakkert: Amsterdam, 1970), 1:527–28, 548–55; and Claire Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides* (Brussels, 1939), 451–52.

15. Llewelyn, "Tax Collection," 53.

16. Llewelyn, "Tax Collection," 60.

17. Llewelyn, "Tax Collection," 61; also, *ibid.*, the Romans preferred instead "to allow the Ptolemaic system essentially to continue."

18. Llewelyn, "Tax Collection," 74.

in Israel due to the Gentile customs, using data from Roman Egypt would be quite appropriate. Gundry adds that the appearance of the word δάνειον shows that this parable concerns a loan, and therefore this word “rules out taxation by governors.”<sup>19</sup> Parallels aside, the slave in Matthew 18, whether a royal satrap or a lowly slave, could not have been a tax farmer. While Derrett reads the parable through the lenses of a tax farmer, a parallel with the financial crisis of 33 C.E., in which Tiberius gave loans of 4,166 talents to Roman landowners, is much stronger. Perhaps most notably, in Derrett's system the word δάνειον is still unaccounted for. There is no subordinate debtor in Josephus' story and no consequence for monies owed. Indeed this is not a very strong parallel.

Jeremias asserts that since Jewish law forbade the sale of an Israelite save in the case of theft, this story must regard Gentiles.<sup>20</sup> He further asserts this idea by noting that “the punishment of torture was not allowed in Israel” and therefore, “It is again evident that non-Palestinian conditions are described here.”<sup>21</sup> Derrett agrees with Jeremias that Jewish law need not be contemplated in order to understand this parable: “Jewish parables based on the behaviour of kings (and they are many) rely on what actual kings actually were thought

19. Gundry, *Matthew*, 373.

20. Jeremias, *Parables*, 212. Derrett, *Law*, 36. De Boer agrees that this king is not an Israelite: “Of course, it might now be objected that *prosekynei* is in fact appropriate since the *kyrios* of the parable is a king (v 23), and Hellenistic kings were often thought to be divine . . . . That the king of the parable must be a Hellenistic king finds support in the numerous non-Jewish elements of the parable story, summarized by Linnemann (*Parables*, 109 n. g; cf. Jeremias, *Parables*, 211–13): ‘(a) The sale of the wife (Matt. 18.25) was forbidden in Jewish law. A man could only be liable for his own person and his children. (b) There was no institution of slavery for debt in Israel. (c) Torture (Matt. 18.34) was not allowed by Jewish law . . .’” De Boer, “Ten Thousand Talents?” 223. Also, Blomberg: “[The sum] would have reminded a Jewish audience of the fabled riches of Egyptian and Persian kings, neither inconceivable nor within the bounds of their experience.” Blomberg, *Interpreting*, 241–42. Also, Davies and Allison: “The use of the NT *hapax legomenon* βασανιστᾶς; (=‘torturers,’ not ‘jailers’; cf. *T. Abr.* A 12.13) accents the severity of the punishment and may point to a non-Jewish environment (although Herod the Great did employ torture; cf. Josephus, *Bell.* 1.548).” Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2:802. Luz: “*Selling debtors into slavery* is permitted in both Hellenistic and Roman law, but over time the practice was limited. According to Exod 22:2 (only?) thieves were to be sold into slavery. In Jewish law the sale of a Jew to Gentiles is not permitted. A man is forbidden to sell his wife and, according to some texts, also his sons. More common than the sale of debtors as slaves was the practice of *imprisoning debtors*, the purpose of which was to compel the debtors' relatives and friends to ransom them, that is, to pay the debt. In the East debtors were normally thrown into prison, but beginning in the third century there were efforts, especially in Egypt, to limit the practice that was becoming widespread. The practice of imprisoning debtors does not occur in Jewish law; which, of course, does not mean that it did not exist in Hellenized Palestine. Thus the readers will most likely have thought of this story's king as a gentile king—not because they wanted to distance themselves as Jews from the conditions portrayed in the parable but because in the world of their experience most of their earthly kings were Gentiles.” Luz, *Matthew*, 472.

21. Jeremias, *Parables*, 212.

capable of doing, and there is nothing specifically Jewish about them: on the contrary their behaviour can be explained only by Gentile habits. The author, wishing to tell of kings, refers to kings people know.”<sup>22</sup>

Many commentators have also noted the use of the word δάνειον (“loan”)<sup>23</sup> in verse 27. Jeremias notes that the use of the word does not make sense.<sup>24</sup> He does not explain why this word does not make sense but tries to make sense of it with this statement: “The Syriac versions (sy<sup>sin cur pal pesh</sup>) render τὸ δάνειον by *hwbt* = ‘the debt.’ We may suppose that this word was used in the Aramaic form of our parable and then too narrowly translated by τὸ δάνειον.”<sup>25</sup> Derrett also notes the strangeness of the term δάνειον stating that its appearance is “embarrassing.”<sup>26</sup> Derrett tries to clarify the use of this word by explaining that first, when the debtor asked to be pardoned, the king gave him an extension to pay the debt. Therefore, the king effectively loaned him the money. Then, as Derrett explains, the king forgave him of the loan. Derrett’s explanation is not wholly convincing. Gundry comments, “Even more damagingly, the slave’s debt is described as a ‘loan’ (δάνειον, v 27). Simply by recognizing the use of hyperbole for a debt owed by a common slave to his royal master we avoid illegitimately denying the accuracy of δάνειον. We also avoid having to read into the text that in answer to the slave’s plea the king gave a loan for payment of the debt and immediately cancelled the loan.”<sup>27</sup> I do not clearly understand why the word δάνειον is so striking. Δάνειον and the more common ὀφειλή,<sup>28</sup> the former meaning “loan” and the latter meaning “debt,” seem to be similes. A δάνειον is a type of ὀφειλή—by receiving a δάνειον, one incurs an ὀφειλή.

22. Derrett, *Law*, 36. Warren Carter also notes that “the setting is political, a world which Matthew’s audience has probably never experienced firsthand, but has ‘heard about’ and has definitely felt the impact of its policies.” *Matthew and the Margins: A Socio-Political and Religious Reading* (JSNTSup 204; Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 371.

23. LSJ, 369; BDAG, 212.

24. Jeremias, *Parables*, 211. Interestingly, ancient witnesses recognized the rare use of this *hapax legomenon* and replaced δάνειον with ὀφειλήν. These witnesses are 1 1424 1582.

25. Jeremias, *Parables*, 211. Gundry responds to Jeremias’ Syriac explanation with “The treatment of δάνειον as meaning ‘debt’ in the Syriac version establishes neither that definition for the Greek word nor the inaccuracy of the narrow Greek word for a supposed Aramaic word. In view of the abundant evidence favoring Matthew’s composition of the parable, we shall have to say that the Syriac versions, helped by the repeated references to indebtedness, wrongly generalized the meaning of δάνειον. Debt—yes, but a particular kind of debt, one arising out of a loan.” Gundry, *Matthew*, 374.

26. Derrett, *Law*, 37. “The word δάνειον in our text (v. 27) is somewhat embarrassing (Jeremias understandably said ‘Darlehn . . . was hier aber nicht paßt’). We have seen that it means ‘loan’. It can hardly be a careless slip since the word is common. But the terminology of revenue practice could give rise to such locution.”

27. Gundry, *Matthew*, 374.

28. LSJ, 1277; BDAG, 743.

Therefore, aside from the appearance of a rare word (a *hapax legomenon* in the New Testament), I wonder, along with Gundry, why this word does not make sense and is so embarrassing.<sup>29</sup> Nonetheless, in viewing our parable with the financial crisis of 33 C.E. we indeed see a loan repaid rather than a general debt.

Few scholars have commented on the possibility of Matthean redaction of the original parable of Jesus, but Martinus C. De Boer has done so most convincingly. In his 1988 article entitled “Ten Thousand Talents? Matthew’s Interpretation and Redaction of the Parable of the Unforgiving Slave (Matthew 18:23–35),” De Boer argues that perhaps the pre-Matthean version of the parable contained 10,000 *denarii*, not talents.<sup>30</sup> He also argues that the pre-Matthean version of the parable had simply a person rather than a king and that that person was not worshipped (προσεκύνει as in v. 26) but was rather besought (παρεκάλει v. 29). De Boer argues that Matthew changed all of these original terms to reflect the Christology that he wanted to portray. How much more inspiring is a person, or for Matthew, a king (representing God), to forgive someone of 10,000 talents than 10,000 *denarii*? Obviously, this is a very merciful God. Therefore, for Matthew, we are to be just as merciful to our brothers.

In order to come to this conclusion, De Boer uses two unrelated parables in Matthew 25:16–28 and Luke 19:11–27 to inform Matthew 18:23–35. He does this because this parable, according to De Boer, is “found only in the Gospel of Matthew.”<sup>31</sup> He uses these parables to show that Matthew has purposely inflated the account in Matthew 25:21, 23. Therefore it is logical to assume that Matthew may also inflate other accounts. I agree with De Boer’s pre-Matthean text, but I disagree with Matthew’s motives for redacting the text—preferring rather Matthew’s desire to comment on the financial crisis of 33 C.E. (I will show the evidence for this below). Previous scholarship has made great strides but all have failed to read our parable in light of the financial crisis.

### Lucan Parallel

Another piece of evidence to confirm Matthew’s inflation of amounts is found in its Lucan parallel. In Luke 7:40–43 we find a similar parable. In examining both parables together we can understand Matthew’s compositional tendencies and get a better idea concerning the meaning of these parables.

29. Gundry, *Matthew*, 374.

30. De Boer, “Ten Thousand Talents?” 227–28.

31. De Boer, “Ten Thousand Talents?” 219, 227–28. Also, “The parable of the unforgiving servant is found only in Matthew’s Gospel, and its message plunges us into the heart of the Evangelist’s theology” Senior, “Matthew 18:21–35,” 403; and “The parable [of the unforgiving slave] appears only in the Gospel of Matthew” Hultgren, *Parables of Jesus*, 22.

Although not listed as parallel texts in Kurt Aland's *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum*,<sup>32</sup> these two pericopae can be seen as parallel texts taken from the same source. While they are both listed as original material and are currently listed as having no other parallel, these two pericopae sound very much like each other: both stories have a debtor being forgiven of a very large debt with another debtor owing a smaller amount. Most importantly, the grammatical and verbal agreements are strong as seen in the following synopsis:

Matthew 18:24–27	Luke 7:41–42
<p>24</p> <p>ἀρξαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ συναίρειν προσηνέχθη αὐτῷ <b>εἷς ὀφειλέτης μυρίων τάλαντων.</b></p> <p>25 <b>μὴ ἔχοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀποδοῦναι</b> ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ὁ κύριος πρᾶθῃναι καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἔχει, καὶ ἀποδοθῆναι.</p> <p>26 πεσὼν οὖν ὁ δοῦλος προσεκύνει αὐτῷ λέγων, Μακροθύνησον ἐπ’ ἐμοί, καὶ πάντα ἀποδώσω σοι.</p> <p>27 σπλαγχνισθεὶς δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ δούλου ἐκείνου ἀπέλυσεν αὐτόν, καὶ τὸ δάνειον ἀφῆκεν αὐτῷ.</p>	<p>41 δύο χρεοφειλέται ἦσαν δανιστῇ τινι:</p> <p>ὁ <b>εἷς ὥφειλεν δηνάρια πεντακόσια,</b> ὁ δὲ ἕτερος πεντήκοντα.</p> <p>42 <b>μὴ ἔχόντων αὐτῶν ἀποδοῦναι</b></p> <p>ἀμφοτέροις ἐχαρίσατο.</p> <p>τίς οὖν αὐτῶν πλεῖον ἀγαπήσει αὐτόν;</p>

The identical source material is betrayed in the first line of Matthew 18:25 and Luke 7:42: **μὴ ἔχοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀποδοῦναι** // **μὴ ἔχόντων αὐτῶν ἀποδοῦναι**. These two lines are identical except for the verb and pronoun agreement where Luke has plural verbs and pronouns in the place of Matthew's singular verbs and pronouns. Even the less common infinitival construction is used by both authors to convey purpose. Either author could have opted for a subjunctive or optative verb in order to form a purpose clause,<sup>33</sup> but the retention

32. Kurt Aland, *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft Stuttgart, 1963), 162, 254.

33. As Matthew does in Matthew 1:22; 12:10; and 19:13 and as Luke does in Luke 8:10; 9:12; 11:50; also Acts 4:17; and 16:30.

of this parallel grammatical construction preserves the source's grammatical construction.<sup>34</sup>

Not only does Luke 7:42 appear to be identical to Matthew 18:25 but also Luke 7:41 appears to be very closely related to Matthew 18:24: εἷς ὀφειλέτης μυρίων ταλάντων // εἷς ὥφειλεν δηνάρια πεντακόσια. Both of the texts follow the formula of "one," followed by a form of ὀφείλω (one nominal and one verbal), a form of currency, and then the amount of said currency. This similar formula suggests even further source material by these two authors.

Another point of similarity is both authors' use of the verb ἔχω. Matthew 18:25 holds a peculiar usage of the verb ἔχω that, as W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison Jr. point out, is only found in three other passages. In only four passages in the entire New Testament corpus is ἔχω used to mean "to be able."<sup>35</sup> These are in Matthew 18:25 and Luke 7:42 and then in Luke 14:14 and Acts 4:14. This peculiar usage thus suggests further agreement between these two pericopae.

Although there are some significant parallels between these two parables, there are also some significant differences. For example, Luke's parable, in some areas, seems to be more theologically advanced than the one found in Matthew. It seems that Luke's doctrine of forgiveness is more advanced than Matthew's. Luke, perhaps afraid that those who forgive may fail to repent and look down upon those whom they have forgiven, modifies this story to emphasize repentance, stressing that all must repent. Luke hopes that if people repent then they will be more likely to forgive—they themselves having need of forgiveness. In this way, he is accomplishing two things at once with his presentation of this parable in this way.

Another difference between the two accounts is found in Luke 7:42. Rather than using Matthew's ἀπολύω and ἀφίημι in order to describe the releasing of the debt (Matthew 18:27), Luke employs χαρίζομαι (Luke 7:42). Due to Luke's further developed Christology, Luke employs a word that conveys grace rather than simply release. In Luke, the creditor, rather than releasing the debtors and forgiving their debts, shows grace to them—just as, as Luke argues, the Lord will show grace to those who repent.

Another discrepancy between the two verses is Luke's omission of the particle δὲ following the form of ἔχω. Interestingly, in Luke 7:42, NA27 lists δὲ as an insertion after ἐχόντων in fourteen witnesses including Sinaiticus and

34. Of course, simply because Matthew and Luke are copying does not mean that they must retain the original source grammar. Surely, Matthew and/or Luke change the source grammar elsewhere but in this case they have retained the original source grammar.

35. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2:798.

Alexandrinus: this insertion would make the two parables even more similar. The insertion could mean a number of things. The most obvious would be that these come from the same source material and therefore δὲ is in some of the oldest manuscript witnesses. Another explanation, perhaps simpler, is that most sentences have καὶ, μέν, or δὲ as a particle to introduce the sentence. Therefore, as the scribe is copying he notices the abruptness of the sentence and inserts a δὲ. Another option is scribal harmonization. If ancient scribes also saw a connection between Luke 7:42 and Matthew 18:25 then perhaps they were trying to harmonize the text. Either way, these texts look more alike with this insertion that is attested in numerous witnesses. Robert Gundry agrees that the two pericopae come from a similar source. He says concerning Matthew 18:23–35, “Further emphasis accrues to personal forgiveness from a parable which Matthew seems to compose by adapting the parable of the two debtors told to Simon the Pharisee (or leper; Luke 7:41–43).”<sup>36</sup> Ivor H. Jones also sees a parallel between these parables: “At one point in the narrative a parallel with a Lucan parable appears (compare Mt 18:25 and Lk 7:42). Both parallels have in common a contrast between a larger remission of debt and a smaller, and an expectation of corresponding gratitude. They have in common a vocabulary at least as extensive as some Q parables exhibit.”<sup>37</sup>

Still, Matthew and Luke use the imagery in these two parables (The Parable of the Unforgiving Slave and The Parable of the Two Debtors, respectively) for two slightly different ends. Matthew is emphasizing what Jesus previously taught Peter concerning forgiving seventy-seven times (Matthew 18:22). Jesus teaches Peter that if this creditor in the parable can forgive this man a debt of 10,000 talents, then surely Peter can forgive those who have wronged him no matter what the offence. Luke, on the other hand, emphasizes a different aspect. After a certain woman anoints Jesus, the Pharisee eating with him is shocked that he allowed her to anoint him. He then teaches Simon the Pharisee a lesson—not on forgiveness—but rather on repentance. He teaches that those who have their sins forgiven love the Lord greatly whereas those who never repent do not acquire this same relationship.

Of course, there are other differences in these two parables as well. We have already noted how Matthew and Luke used them to show different ends. Also, in Luke, both debtors are forgiven (Luke 7:42), whereas in Matthew, the unforgiving debtor is delivered to the tormentors (Matthew 18:34). In keeping

36. Gundry, *Matthew*, 371.

37. Ivor H. Jones, *The Matthean Parables: A Literary and Historical Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 218. He notes that “In Luke 7:41,2,9 there are 9 words common with Matthew out of 32 words.”

with Luke's Christology, he does not want anyone to be turned to the tormentors but rather in his parable, grace is shown to both. Luke ends his parable with how much the repentant sinner will love the Lord who showed grace to him (Luke 7:42), whereas Matthew ends his parable by teaching that those who do not forgive others will be turned to the tormentors (Matthew 18:35). Again, Luke's Christology and his aversion from negativity can explain this difference.

This parable is not the only pericope of similar material used by two different authors to achieve different ends. We see a similar phenomenon in how Matthew and Luke use the triumphal entry material (Matthew 21:1–9; Luke 19:28–40). In Matthew, the triumphal entry occurs near the city of Jerusalem itself, and Jesus enters into the city immediately after the crowds shout praises to him. But in Luke the crowd has come out of the city down to the Mount of Olives and shouts praises to him there. Then Jesus laments over Jerusalem. Here we see that the two gospel authors use the same source material differently and for different purposes.

Another example of this phenomenon is the cursing of the fig tree. In this example it is Matthew and Mark who use the source material differently. In Matthew, the fig tree withers away immediately (Matthew 21:18–22). In Mark, Jesus curses the fig tree in the morning on the way to Jerusalem and on the way back to Bethany in the evening the disciples see that the tree has now withered away (Mark 11:12–14, 20–26). Mark places the cleansing of the temple in between the fig tree narratives to show how the temple will someday wither just as the fig tree. Matthew has the fig tree wither immediately to show that the Jews and the temple are already currently withered. Jesus' conclusions of the two happenings are different as well: in Matthew the fig tree teaches us to have faith, whereas in Mark the fig tree teaches us to have faith, to pray, and to forgive others before we pray. So we see that it is not unheard of for two different authors to use the same source material to achieve two different ends.

Further evidence that the pre-Matthean source originally employed denarii instead of talents is found in Luke 19:11–27. Luke has *μνᾶ* in Luke 19:11–27 where Matthew has *τάλαντον* in Matthew 25:16–28. If Luke were simply copying from Matthew then he would probably convert currency consistently. Luke uses denarii in Luke 7:40–43 where Matthew has talents and denarii in Matthew 18:23–35. But in Luke 19:11–27 Luke uses the mina for Matthew's talent. Luke is not simply converting Matthew's talents into either denarii or minae. The reason that Luke uses denarii in Luke 7:40–43 is that the common

source used denarii and was found in the pre-Matthean version of Matthew 18:23–35 and was then changed by Matthew to talents.<sup>38</sup>

Lastly, Luke would have used *παρεκάλει* in Luke 7:42, as in the source material, but Luke's Christology has a God who will show grace to you even before or even without you having to beseech him.<sup>39</sup>

Therefore, Luke could not have borrowed this phrase from Matthew (if we accept that he would be borrowing from canonical Matthew) because Matthew changed certain aspects of his parable to reflect his Christology where Luke retained the source terms and details. I argue that this saying goes back to the historical Jesus and was encapsulated in a written source common to both Matthew and Luke—therefore, Q.

The resulting observations and conclusions are similar to De Boer's. While I agree with De Boer's pre-Matthean text, I disagree with De Boer's interpretation of Matthew's motives for redacting the text. In the pre-Matthean source rather than a king, as De Boer argues, we have a pre-Matthean character, simply a person.<sup>40</sup> Therefore, Luke 7 corroborates that the pre-Matthean creditor was simply a person and that Matthew has redacted βασιλεύς into the text in order to treat the financial crisis of 33 C.E. In the same way, the currency used in Luke 7 is denarii rather than talents. Therefore, it is possible that the pre-Matthean version used denarii and not talents, but the crisis led him to exaggerate the size of the debt.<sup>41</sup>

### Methodology of Appendices

In order to highlight the rarity of the use of the figure 10,000 talents, I have collected data from papyrological sources. The papyrological sources are meant to serve as a control of what prices really were during the time period. I have also collected data from Josephus and Plutarch. The effect is to compare figures between documentary evidence and literary evidence in order to analyze the tendency of literary authors to inflate prices. If we can show that Josephus and Plutarch use unreasonably large amounts compared to the papyri, then perhaps we can conclude that they have inflated their accounts. And if Plutarch and Josephus inflate their accounts then perhaps we can conclude that Matthew also felt free to inflate the amounts in his account.

38. De Boer, "Ten Thousand Talents?" 227–29.

39. See Luke 15:11–32 for an example of Luke's model of grace.

40. De Boer, "Ten Thousand Talents?" 229–30.

41. De Boer, "Ten Thousand Talents?" 228–32.

Appendix 1 shows all useful occurrences of the word  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\nu$  in the papyri listed in papyri.info from 100 B.C.E. to 170 C.E.<sup>42</sup> Appendix 1.1 is a statistical analysis of the data in Appendix 1. It shows that the average talents per occurrence of the word is 47 talents (34.6 talents without an outlier).<sup>43</sup> It also shows the median (2  $\frac{2}{3}$  talents), the mode (1 talent) and the range (9,999 talents; 3,169 talents without an outlier). Appendix 1.2 is a graph of useful occurrences of the word  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\nu$  in the papyri. Both 10,000 and 4,166  $\frac{2}{3}$  is set off to the far right of the graph in order to show relation between Matthew's  $\mu\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$   $\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\nu$  and the papyrological data.

Appendix 2 shows all useful occurrences of the word  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\nu$  in the entire corpus of Josephus as found in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. Appendix 2.1 is a statistical analysis of the data in Appendix 2. It shows that the average talents per occurrence of the word is 1,888.8 talents. It also shows the median (300 talents); the mode (100 talents); and the range (99,999 talents). Appendix 2.2 is a graph of all useful occurrences of the word  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\nu$  in the entire corpus of Josephus. Again, both 10,000 and 4,166  $\frac{2}{3}$  is set off to the far right of

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42. By useful I allow that I may have omitted some occurrences that were repetitive or redundant. For example, in most papyri the amount of a certain item is repeated in longhand and then in shorthand. Therefore, I only include that number once, even though it technically appears twice. I have chosen the parameters of 100 B.C.E. to 170 C.E. based on the current understanding of Rome's economic history. Prices fluctuated normally from 14 C.E. to 170 C.E., but then prices increased dramatically. Therefore, any prices from post-170 C.E. may not be used to inform prices before 170 C.E. Peter van Minnen attributes this spike in prices to the Antonine Plague: "Next comes the doubling of prices in Egypt in the period AD 160–90, somehow caused by the Antonine Plague, but again with affecting the economy much." Peter van Minnen, "Money and Credit in Roman Egypt," in *The Monetary Systems of the Greeks and Romans* (ed. W. V. Harris; Oxford: Oxford, 2008), 226–27.

A weakness of this approach is that I have not sought to include data by searching for the word  $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\iota}$ . As there was no such coin as a talent in the ancient world, but rather simply a large amount of  $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\iota}$  that made up a talent, all of the occurrences of the word talent are in fact huge collections of  $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\iota}$ . Therefore, a complete search for evidence of the talent would also include searching for large amounts of  $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\iota}$  and dividing the figure by 6,000 to obtain the number of talents. This search would be exhaustive and extremely lengthy. Also, this data would simply dwarf the already small number because if the number of  $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\iota}$  were too large then it would be converted into talents (much like in America we would say 75 cents, and perhaps even 125 cents, but would never say 562 cents—we would rather say \$5.62. Similarly, the papyrus often reads 4,000  $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\iota}$  and even 12,000  $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\iota}$  but most often would convert 100,000  $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\iota}$  to 16  $\frac{2}{3}$  talents).

43. The outlier is from SB.6.9017. This enigmatic ostrakon is dated from 300 B.C.E. to 200 C.E. It employs the use of the word  $\mu\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$  and is therefore suspect concerning whether the amount should be read as 10,000 or as "zillion." Also, the value could mean very different amounts at different times due to the large date range of this ostrakon: if it was written towards the end of its date range of 200 C.E., then 10,000 talents is not a very shocking number due to the inflation that occurred after the Antonine plague. Truly, this figure should probably be thrown out altogether, but for the sake of scholarly integrity I have retained it.

the graph in order to show relation between Matthew's μυρίων τάλαντων and Josephus' data.

Appendix 3 shows all useful occurrences of the word τάλαντον in the entire corpus of Plutarch as found in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. Appendix 3.1 is a statistical analysis of the data in Appendix 3. It shows that the average talents per occurrence of the word is 3,100 talents. It also shows the median (100 talents); the mode (1 talent); and the range (199,999 talents). Appendix 3.2 is a graph of all useful occurrences of the word τάλαντον in the entire corpus of Plutarch. Again, both 10,000 and 4,166 2/3 is set off to the far right of the graph in order to show relation between Matthew's μυρίων τάλαντων and Plutarch's data.

Appendix 4 is a graph of the average talents per occurrence of the word τάλαντον in the papyri, Josephus, and Plutarch.

### *Analysis of Data*

In considering the papyrological data, a word of warning is in order from AnneMarie Luijendijk:

Just as literary texts have their biases, so do papyri. In general the activities of the propertied classes make up the written record, and specifically, they constitute the kinds of documents and social transactions that we study here. Property registration, acquisition of land, and marriage presuppose a certain level of material well-being, which excluded many people in antiquity (if not the majority).<sup>44</sup>

With Luijendijk's caution in mind, we come to the conclusion that the results of the data gathered would be even smaller if all classes were represented in the written record. Roger Bagnall agrees with Luijendijk's caution, noting that at times in the papyri we find extreme numbers like robes that cost two talents. He agrees with Luijendijk that this is because the wealthy in fact do have robes that cost two talents but that this figure is not indicative of what an average robe would have cost in the ancient world.<sup>45</sup>

44. AnneMarie Luijendijk, *Greetings in the Lord: Early Christians and The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (Harvard Theological Studies 60; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard, 2008), 3.

45. "Every papyrologist will have encountered prices for clothing and other products of weaving that seem relatively high. Even apart from some of the high-luxury goods we encounter, it was not unusual to have a chiton or mantle cost the equivalent of three or four artabas of wheat, several months' food for an adult. How could people afford to clothe themselves?

"There are two explanations that in my opinion are the most probable, and they do not exclude one another. The first is that papyrus documents, especially the private letters, that are our sources of information for these prices were mostly produced by the wealthy . . . Papyrologists have generally assumed, much too easily, that we meet average people in the papyri, but this is surely untrue . . . It is therefore not surprising that we find people

Are we able to determine from the given data that Matthew inflates numbers and amounts? In relation to our parable perhaps this question is moot: it does not appear that Matthew is purposely inflating the account without a source but rather he inflates a pre-Matthean source, which may have been something like μυρίων denarii to μυρίων ταλάντων, in order to comment on the financial crisis of 33 C.E. Whether we accept μυρίων ταλάντων to mean 10,000 talents or 4,166 2/3 talents, this number is still much larger than numbers normally found in the papyrological data. The relevant question becomes, is Matthew comfortable with taking a previous source and inflating the number for any reason?

One possible answer is that Matthew's account, and those of Josephus and Plutarch, deal with *royal* amounts and are therefore understandably higher than receipts and letters of even the wealthy in Egypt's papyri. While this explanation is indeed valid, I feel that the problem is slightly more nuanced. Are we to accept that David truly raised 100,000 talents (Jos., *Ant.* 7.14.2) in order to build the temple? I think there must be some middle ground. While accounts of kings are to be expected to have higher numbers, I do not think that they were historically as high as they appear in literary texts.

Josephus is often blamed for inflating the numbers in his account.<sup>46</sup> Because Matthew and Josephus were contemporaries and possibly had similar

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buying expensive clothing." His second point describes how in modern society we are used to everyday items like clothing being rather inexpensive. Bagnall argues that it was not so in antiquity and that clothing and other essential items were indeed quite expensive in comparison to their homes and wages. Roger Bagnall, *Early Christian Books in Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton, 2009), 63–64.

46. Paul L. Maier notes concerning Josephus' account of the creation and the flood that "Josephus is proud of the fact that his great historical source, Moses, was born 'two thousand years ago,' thus c. 1900 B.C. since Josephus wrote just before A.D. 100. In fact, this is an impossible dating for Moses' birth since even the earliest chronologies of the Exodus, led by Moses, place it 500 years later. *Inflated numbers, however, are a common malaise among ancient historians*, and Josephus probably intended to demonstrate the remarkable antiquity of the Hebrews here in comparison to a Rome which, though in command of the Mediterranean, was a mere seven or eight centuries old." Paul L. Maier, *Josephus: The Essential Works* (Grand Rapids: Kregel, 1988), 23, emphasis added. Also, "The second specific charge against Luke's accuracy is related to his use of numbers in the case of the number of the Egyptian's band of 4,000 (21:38). The ancient historian Lysias also mentioned an Egyptian terrorist with 4,000 men, but Josephus said he had 30,000 men. *But in this instance Luke should be preferred over Josephus since Josephus had a well-demonstrated tendency to inflate numbers.*" Andreas J. Köstenberger, L. Scott Kellum, and Charles Quarles, *The Cradle, the Cross, and the Crown: An Introduction to the New Testament* (Nashville: B&H Publishing Group, 2009), 342, emphasis added. Bloom comments after describing the large numbers of troops in Josephus, *Wars*, 2 that "these arbitrary, highly inflated numbers are presumably fabricated to match the numbers that Rome ultimately fielded in their Judaeian campaigns so that it would not seem that they enjoyed a walkover, thereby understating the Roman (Flavian) achievement." James J. Bloom, *The Jewish Revolts Against Rome, A.D. 66–135: A Military Analysis* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2010), 95. Also, Ben Witherington

backgrounds and cultures, then perhaps we can compare Josephus' redactional tendencies with those of Matthew. It follows that if Josephus noticeably inflates numbers then perhaps Matthew would do so as well. Whiston notes a moment in *Antiquities* when Josephus is most likely inflating numbers: "Upon which he gave the guards every man five thousand drachmae a-piece" (Josephus, *Antiquities* 19.4.2). The normally superconservative Whiston uncharacteristically notes that

This number of drachmae to be distributed to each private soldier, five thousand drachmae, equal to twenty thousand sesterces, or one hundred and sixty-one pounds sterling, seems much too large, and directly contradicts Suetonius, ch. 10., who makes them in all but fifteen sesterces, or two shillings and four pence. Yet might Josephus have this number from Agrippa, junior, though I doubt the thousands, or at least the hundreds, have been added by the transcribers, of which we have had several examples already in Josephus.

Here is just one example of many where Josephus may be inflating accounts.

Another may be found in Josephus' retelling of the birth of the Septuagint. Josephus largely relies upon the *Letter of Aristeas* but because "after Aristeas, circumstances changed and the *koine* of the third and second centuries b.c. did not reflect the literary tastes of the early Roman Empire, . . . Josephus therefore composed a paraphrase of it which takes into account the new situation."<sup>47</sup> At one point in the *Letter of Aristeas*, the Jewish slaves are freed and their owners are given 20 drachmai (*Letter of Aristeas*, 20). Josephus, in paraphrasing this text, wrote 120 drachmai (Josephus, *Antiquities*, 12.25). This inflation may be similar to the inflation we see in Matthew 18, and Josephus' motives may be similar to those of the author of Matthew. It seems as though Josephus inflates this number in order to make king Ptolemy II Philadelphus, who commissioned the translation of the Septuagint, appear more benevolent. If he frees the slaves with a higher amount, then he is a more benevolent ruler and therefore the Septuagint which he commissioned is more likely to be divinely inspired. Pelletier agrees:

La majoration de vingt drachmes en cent vingt drachmes montre que Josephus a voulu voir là non pas une simple indemnité, mais le remboursement du prix intégral de chaque esclave.

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echoes, speaking of a boat described by Josephus carrying some 600 persons in *Vita* 15, "Is this another example of Josephus's inflated numbers?" Ben Witherington, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1998), 773, see also 235.

47. André Pelletier, "Josephus, the Letter of Aristeas, and the Septuagint," in *Josephus, the Bible, and History* (ed. Louis H. Feldman and Gohei Hana; Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989), 102-03.

La fin de la phrase est modifiée par Josèphe dans un sens qui laisse au premier plan les maîtres dépossédés. Il insiste sur le fait qu'ils touchaient le prix de chaque esclave même en bas âge, en s'autorisant des ordres donnés par le roi. Rapprochés de la majoration de la dépense totale, ces mots montrent une intention apologétique de Joseph: les maîtres à qui on a enlevé leurs esclaves juifs n'ont pas été lésés et ils avaient pour garantie de leurs droits les ordres du roi lui-même.<sup>48</sup>

In Josephus' account, the king is more benevolent and is therefore more chosen by God. Josephus' account apologetically presents Ptolemy II in a positive light in order to make him seem an instrument of God.

We see a very similar phenomenon in Matthew 18. While the pre-Matthean text most likely had a much smaller number, possibly  $\mu\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$  denarii, Matthew inflates the account to condemn Tiberius while at the same time making God appear more benevolent. Matthew writes this parable based on a pre-Matthean text. He inserts the king, who at first represents Tiberius but later in the story will represent God: Tiberius in the historical, what-actually-happened sense (a king gave out enormous loans) and God in what-should-have-happened sense (this king, and we all, should forgive). Therefore, the king in Matthew does indeed represent both Tiberius and God at the same time: Tiberius in what actually happened and God in what should have happened.

While it may seem as my identification of who the king/lord in Matthew 18 represents is ambiguous and performs exegetical gymnastics in order to have the parable fit my new reading, I am not the first to recognize that the identification of Matthew's king/lord is ambiguous. As cited above, Carter comments: "While God is not like this king, in one aspect, and one aspect only [the conclusion of the parable in v. 35], God *is* like the king. Like the king, God gets justifiably angry when the divine will is constantly ignored and severely punishes the one who does not forgive. The king is and is not God." In addition

48. André Pelletier, *Flavius Josèphe adaptateur de la lettre d'Aristée: une réaction atticisme contre la Koinè* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1962), 69. See also page 50 for a discussion of the price of slaves at that time period: "Dans ces conditions, la fameuse indemnité de vingt drachmes par tête est une invention d'Aristée, qui trahit sa préoccupation de nous montrer un souverain libéral, soucieux de compenser au moins en partie les dommages qu'entraîne pour les particuliers l'exécution de ses ordonnances. En habile pasticheur, pour fixer un taux vraisemblable, il choisit celui d'une taxe fiscale sur cette sorte de marchandise. Josèphe a fait un pas de plus dans le même sens: une simple indemnité lui semble, de la part d'un Philadelphie, bien mesquine encore. Le procédé le plus libéral, à son avis, est le rachat à un prix « raisonnable ». Rien n'assure que Josèphe ait en outre recherché des indications précises sur le « cours » des esclaves au III<sup>e</sup> siècle; ni non plus qu'il se soit contenté des « cours » de son propre temps. Toujours est-il que ses 120 drachmes paraissent tout à fait acceptables d'après ce que nous savons maintenant du prix des esclaves au III<sup>e</sup> siècle avant Jésus-Christ, s'il s'agissait d'un rachat pur et simple et non d'une indemnité. Seulement, a « forcer » ce trait de libéralité, Josèphe ne s'expose-t-il pas à faire trop beau?" Pelletier, *Flavius Josèphe*, 50. See also Johnson, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, 277–86.

to the king's representing God when the king is spoken of in a positive light and representing Tiberius when being spoken of in a negative light, this parable should be read with multiple layers. The king represents the benevolent nature of God in forgiving huge debts which he forgives and then forgets but the king also represents Tiberius and his "benevolent" loans, which were intended only to further entrap the debtor.<sup>49</sup>

### Financial Crisis of 33 C.E.

Matthew seems to have redacted the original source material to incorporate into Jesus' parable the impact of the major financial crisis of 33 C.E. that occurred during the reign of the emperor Tiberius.<sup>50</sup> A growing problem with the shortness of credit due to massive, unsecured loans came to a head in 33 C.E. Although Roman law had required that such large loans be secured with property in Italy, many in the governing class had ignored these requirements. Jesus, foreseeing the precursors to the financial crisis, may have given a parable about the wise use of wealth similar to the parable found in Luke 7. Matthew then reappropriated the parable to directly condemn both the financial crisis of 33 C.E. and Tiberius' actions during the crisis.

Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dio describe the crisis and its causes, as well as relate how Tiberius himself sought to remedy the problem by loaning money to large landowners from his private accounts.<sup>51</sup> Tacitus' account is the longest of the three and describes how the wealthy class ignored laws against charging

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49. Carter comments on the king's duplicitous benevolence (the king represents a Roman emperor in his scenario): "the king's 'pity' is not of this kind. His decision is calculated for his own benefit. It does not improve the slave's life. In fact, the slave is now even more indebted to him and more easily controlled. His valuable skills and network are not lost to the king so he can accomplish the king's will. And the king has shown magnanimity to at least some of his subjects in not pursuing the amount. But he'll be able to raise other amounts by other means. The king's act is calculated and self-serving, the momentary (v. 34) act of a tyrant." *Margins*, 373.

50. For thorough introductions to the crisis, see Tenney Frank, "The Financial Crisis of 33 A.D.," *AJP* 56 (Oct. 1935): 336–41; see also Michael Crawford, "Money and Exchange in the Roman World," *JRS* 60 (1970): 40–48; Cosmo Rodewald, *Money in the Age of Tiberius* (Manchester: Rowman and Littlefield, 1976), 1–17; Barbara Levick, *Tiberius the Politician* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), 133; and M. K. Thornton and R. L. Thornton, "The Financial Crisis of A.D. 33: A Keynesian Depression?" *The Journal of Economic History* 50.3 (Sept. 1990): 655–62.

51. Rodewald notes that by the time of Tiberius the *fiscus* and the *aerarium* were not clearly distinguished: "Naturally enough, the two terms, like the two things, gradually became fused. As Brunt says (91), citing *Ann.* 6.2, 'already to Tacitus the distinction was unimportant', but in Tiberius' time it had surely not yet 'ceased to be clear which funds were public and which were private'; nor indeed does Brunt suggest this; as he says, the confusion grew 'after Augustus and by a process whose history can never be written.'" Rodewald, *Money in the Age of Tiberius*, 76. Perhaps it was precisely this gray area between the private and public funds that led to the financial crisis.

interest.<sup>52</sup> When the interest came to be abundantly egregious, the empire was forced against their will to enforce the law. But first Tiberius gave the perpetrators eighteen months to settle their accounts. There was then a shortage of money because this class began hoarding funds in order to settle their accounts. Then everyone began hoarding their money, which subsequently escalated the money shortage. Finally, Tiberius lent 100,000,000 sesterces, or 4,166  $\frac{2}{3}$  talents, in order to quench the shortage. Thereafter, borrowers could receive interest free loans using their land as collateral.

Dio's account is not as long but contains details that Tacitus omits.<sup>53</sup> Dio includes Nerva's reaction to Tiberius' enforcement of the law against interest.

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52. Tacitus, *Annales*, 6.16–17: "A powerful host of accusers fell with sudden fury on the class which systematically increased its wealth by usury in defiance of a law passed by Caesar the Dictator defining the terms of lending money and of holding estates in Italy, a law long obsolete because the public good is sacrificed to private interest. The curse of usury was indeed of old standing in Rome and a most frequent cause of sedition and discord, and it was therefore repressed even in the early days of a less corrupt morality. First, the Twelve Tables prohibited any one from exacting more than 10 percent, when, previously, the rate had depended on the caprice of the wealthy. Subsequently, by a bill brought in by the tribunes, interest was reduced to half that amount, and finally compound interest was wholly forbidden. A check too was put by several enactments of the people on evasions which, though continually put down, still, through strange artifices, reappeared. On this occasion, however, Gracchus, the praetor, to whose jurisdiction the inquiry had fallen, felt himself compelled by the number of persons endangered to refer the matter to the Senate. In their dismay the senators, not one of whom was free from similar guilt, threw themselves on the emperor's indulgence. He yielded, and a year and six months were granted, within which every one was to settle his private accounts conformably to the requirements of the law. Hence followed a scarcity of money, a great shock being given to all credit, the current coin too, in consequence of the conviction of so many persons and the sale of their property, being locked up in the imperial treasury or the public exchequer. To meet this, the Senate had directed that every creditor should have two-thirds of his capital secured on estates in Italy. Creditors however were suing for payment in full, and it was not respectable for persons when sued to break faith. So, at first, there were clamorous meetings and importunate entreaties; then noisy applications to the praetor's court. And the very device intended as a remedy, the sale and purchase of estates, proved the contrary, as the usurers had hoarded up all their money for buying land. The facilities for selling were followed by a fall of prices, and the deeper a man was in debt, the more reluctantly did he part with his property, and many were utterly ruined. The destruction of private wealth precipitated the fall of rank and reputation, till at last the emperor interposed his aid by distributing throughout the banks a hundred million sesterces [this converts to 25,000,000 denarii or 4,166 talents and 4,000 denarii or 4,166  $\frac{2}{3}$  talents], and allowing freedom to borrow without interest for three years, provided the borrower gave security to the State in land to double the amount. Credit was thus restored, and gradually private lenders were found. The purchase too of estates was not carried out according to the letter of the Senate's decree, rigour at the outset, as usual with such matters, becoming negligence in the end." Tacitus, *The Histories and The Annals* (trans. by Alfred Church and William Brodribb; New York: Modern Library, 2003).

53. "Nerva, who could no longer endure the emperor's society, starved himself to death, chiefly because Tiberius had reaffirmed the laws on contracts enacted by Caesar, which were sure to result in great loss of confidence and financial confusion, and although Tiberius repeatedly urged him to eat something, he would make no reply. Thereupon

Nerva starved himself to death because he foresaw the negative impact of enforcing this law. According to Dio, it was Nerva's obstinacy that led Tiberius to lend the sesterces. He also adds that Tiberius put the worst offenders to death.

Lastly, Suetonius, includes the event in his history; largely agreeing with Tacitus' account.<sup>54</sup> Suetonius sees Tiberius' lending as a display of generosity but describes how this generosity was forced upon him by the clamor of the people.

These three historical accounts relate the financial crisis of 33 C.E. Frank Tenney harmonizes all three accounts in modern English.<sup>55</sup> The exact cause of the crisis is debated.<sup>56</sup> It seems that while Augustus spent lavishly, he had to reduce his expenditures later in his reign, and Tiberius, cautious in financial matters, reduced spending further, leading to charges of stinginess and

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Tiberius modified his decision regarding loans and gave one hundred million sesterces to the public treasury, with the provision that this money should be lent out by the senators without interest to such as asked for it; and he further commanded that the most notorious of those who were bringing accusations against others should be put to death in a single day. And when a man who had been a centurion desired to lodge information against someone, he forbade anyone who had served in the army to do this, although he allowed the knights and senators to do so." Lucius Cassius Dio Cocceianus, *Historia Romana* (trans. by Earnest Cary; LCL; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 58.21.4–6.

54. "[Tiberius] showed generosity to the public in but two instances, once when he offered to lend a hundred million sesterces without interest for a period of three years, and again when he made good the losses of some owners of blocks of houses on the Caelian mount, which had burned down. The former was forced upon him by the clamour of the people for help in a time of great financial stress, after he had failed to relieve the situation by a decree of the senate, providing that the money-lenders should invest two-thirds of their property in land, and that the debtors should at once pay the same proportion of their indebtedness; and the latter also was to relieve a condition of great hardship." Suetonius, *Tiberius*, (trans. J.C. Rolfe; LCL; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1913–1970), 48.1.

55. "Julius Caesar's laws on usury and on the amount of Italian land to be possessed by lenders had been disregarded for a long time and that when in 33 A. D. the courts decided to take cognizance of cases under these laws, many citizens were brought to court. The praetor, disturbed by the number of cases, referred the matter to the Senate and the Emperor, who decided to allow the culprits a period of eighteen months in which to adjust their affairs in accordance with the law . . . . The order to adjust affairs in eighteen months 'brought about a scarcity of money,' partly because loans were called at once, partly because 'recent confiscations had already brought much of the circulating medium into the Fiscus' (Tac., Ann. VI, 17). To meet this scarcity the Senate ordered lenders to invest two-thirds of their capital in Italian lands (perhaps this was a re-enactment of Caesar's law of 49 B.C.). This action had disastrous effects because it hurried the calling in of loans and the decline of real estate values, whereas reinvestment was postponed in view of the prospect of finding better bargains in a falling market. Finally the Emperor arranged, through a banking commission of five senators acting for the Treasury, to lend to land-owners in distress a hundred million sesterces without interest for a period up to three years. This apparently ended the crisis." Frank, "Financial Crisis," 336–37.

56. The whole of Frank's article is extremely useful for the subject. Frank, "Financial Crisis," 336–41; see also Crawford, "Money and Exchange," 40–48; Rodewald, *Money in the Age of Tiberius*, 1–17; Levick, *Tiberius*, 133; and Thornton and Thornton, "A Keynesian Depression?" 655–62.

hoarding.<sup>57</sup> This took money out of the economy, exacerbating the problem that began when unsecured debts were called in, removing even more money from circulation.

*Precursors to the Financial Crisis of 33 C.E.*

While the historical Jesus was probably not alive during the financial crisis of 33 C.E., he surely lived through and might have felt the precursors to the actual crisis. Barbara Levick describes the precursors leading up to the crisis, starting in 10 B.C.E. and continuing until when the actual crisis broke out in 33 C.E.<sup>58</sup> She describes how "the booty of Egypt" kept the Roman economy afloat

57. Frank, "Financial Crisis," 337–38, 339–40: "During his first twenty years Augustus poured out new money very lavishly. In 30 B.C. he possessed himself of the royal treasures of Cleopatra. From this he paid out some 600,000,000 sesterces for Italian land for his discharged veterans; he lavished large sums on the populace of Rome; he repaired all the roads of Italy and the streets of Rome at great cost; he restored 82 temples and built many new ones; he aided many cities of Italy by gifts of aqueducts, public baths, temples, and fora. I have elsewhere estimated the sums that flowed out to the public in 30–27 B.C. from this source at about one thousand million sesterces. This seems to have been more than twice the normal annual budget of the state. Naturally prices rose decidedly, and interest rates fell from 12% to 4% (Dio, II, 21). As Suetonius puts it (Aug. 41) 'when he brought the royal treasures of Egypt to Rome money became so abundant that the rate of interest fell and the value of real estate rose greatly.' An era of prosperity followed of which many cities of Italy give proof in extensive public and private building operations. Doubtless many of the new fortunes of the period had their source in the increasing real estate values and in the rapid expansion of cities due to easy credits, increased circulation, and the sense of security in property-holding that came with the re-establishment of a firm peace . . . We do know that Augustus spent far less in public buildings and on games in his later years than in his early ones, and that Tiberius was constantly accused of stinginess. At his death it was found that he had stored up 2,700,000,000 sesterces [112,500 talents] in his treasury. In these later years the army of the frontier required the heaviest public expenditure, and most of the money that went to the frontier was probably spent far from Italy. Moreover, the provinces were now secure, so that large investments were being made by Romans in Asia, Egypt, Spain, Gaul, and Africa. In time, of course, these investments would bring returns to Rome, but for the present the outward flow doubtless overbalanced the returns. Furthermore the Augustan prosperity very greatly encouraged the importation of luxuries to Rome. It is an old story that home industry and commerce profited far less from the early Augustan prosperity than did those of remote regions—from Spain to India. The old landed aristocracy took no interest in industry; they continued to invest in land and to spend their surplus on the articles turned out by foreign producers. This outflow of gold and silver had reached dangerous proportions by the days of Pliny, but it was considerable even in the early Empire." Also Levick, *Tiberius*, 133: "Certainly shortage of currency was a factor in the financial crisis of AD 33 . . . It might have been more advantageous to the Roman economy if Tiberius had hoarded less . . . Even more disquieting is the possibility that shortage of bullion led Tiberius to take an interest in other men's money and property, even to the point of having charges brought against them so that he might confiscate their wealth or its source (mines)."

58. "The booty of Egypt lubricated the Roman economy for twenty years. After about 10 BC there are signs of a shortage of cash, aggravated in Italy because silver was exported to pay for Oriental luxuries, spices and silk. This economic fact, as well as dislike of the pressure to keep up with their peers, which could lead individuals into debt and criminal

for twenty years, but then in 10 B.C.E. there was a shortage of money in the Roman empire. She notes that donations of silver and gold in the year 16 or 31 C.E. may have been intended to help the economy of the empire. Economic backlashes in 22 C.E. led some to question whether the senate should use tables of gold in their meetings. She then cites Tacitus' account of when Tiberius confiscated other men's wealth in 24 C.E., 32 C.E., and 33 C.E. Again, while Jesus probably was not alive during the actual financial crisis in 33 C.E., he surely lived through and possibly felt the precursors in 22 C.E. and 24 C.E. Tacitus portrays Tiberius as giving loans of impossible amounts solely so that he could later confiscate the property of the debtors and thus gain more land for the empire or even for his own accounts. It is possible that Jesus may have heard the news of these confiscations in Italy and be reacting to the atrocious misuse of office by Tiberius. Indeed, M. K. and R. L. Thornton comment, "The crisis must have made a tremendous impression on the world at the time; otherwise, the three great historians of the period (Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dio) would not have highlighted it. Ancient writers were not commonly interested in economics."<sup>59</sup> Jesus would be understandably agitated with Tiberius for his actions. Again, Levick writes, "Even more disquieting is the possibility that shortage of bullion led Tiberius to take an interest in other men's money and property, even to the point of having charges brought against them so that he might confiscate their wealth or its source (mines)."<sup>60</sup> This is the same Jesus who surely condoned John the baptist's teaching:

And the crowds asked him, "What then should we do?" In reply he said to them, "Whoever has two coats must share with anyone who has none; and whoever has food must do likewise." Even tax collectors came to be baptized, and they asked him, "Teacher, what should we do?" He said to them, "Collect no more than the amount prescribed for you." Soldiers also asked him, "And we, what should we do?" He said to them, "Do not extort money

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conspiracy, may lie behind the moral arguments against the wearing of silk by men and the use of gold at table which were heard in the Senate near the beginning of Tiberius' principate and again in 22. Even more disquieting is the possibility that shortage of bullion led Tiberius to take an interest in other men's money and property, even to the point of having charges brought against them so that he might confiscate their wealth or its source (mines). The first time that Tacitus notices the phenomenon is in AD 24, on the conviction of C. Silius; then came the property of Sejanus, transferred to the Fiscus at the beginning of 32, and the gold and copper mines of Sex. Marius, the richest man in Spain, sequestered for the Princes in 33, which happens to be the year of the financial crisis." Levick, *Tiberius*, 133.

59. Thornton and Thornton, "Keynesian Depression," 655.

60. Levick, *Tiberius*, 133. Herzog understands the king of Matthew 18 to be a typical agrarian ruler. He describes an agrarian ruler's possible actions: "Once he had achieved the kingship, the resources of the state were his possession to plunder for his gain. The ruler stood at the apex of an authoritarian system, above the law and beyond most restraints." Herzog, *Parables*, 136. Herzog's reconstruction of the governing style of the king in our parable sounds very much like what Tiberius actually did.

from anyone by threats or false accusation, and be satisfied with your wages” (Luke 3:10–14).

After seeing the large sums of money owed to the empire and the subsequent confiscation of property by Tiberius, Jesus reacted by giving a parable concerning the wise use of wealth, a parable that possibly closely resembles that in Luke 7:40–43. By this interpretation, Jesus seemed to want all to know that Tiberius’ actions were not acceptable in the eyes of God. Jesus was teaching that *his* disciples forgive men of their trespasses, even monetary trespasses, rather than throwing them in jail. He taught that God, the heavenly king, does indeed forgive and is worthy to be loved, unlike the earthly king Tiberius.

A more likely scenario is that Matthew, writing some 35–40 years later, inserts the financial crisis of 33 C.E. into the mouth and parable of Jesus. Matthew seems to reappropriate the pre-Matthean text to allude to Tiberius. Whereas Jesus spoke with possible allusion to Tiberius, since Tiberius was not in power when Matthew wrote his gospel, Matthew could more openly criticize the corrupt despot.

#### *A Closer Look at μυρίων ταλάντων*

Tiberius gave out loans of 100,000,000 sesterces, or 25,000,000 denarii, which equals 4,166 talents and 4,000 denarii. Matthew reacts to this “generous” loan by writing a parable about μυρίων ταλάντων. Gundry rightly points out that μυρίων ταλάντων more accurately means “tens of thousands of talents, which because of the indefinite plural of the highest number used in reckoning cannot be calculated and therefore means ‘zillions.’”<sup>61</sup> Therefore, in the ancient world 4,166 talents and 4,000 denarii could indeed be zillions of talents.

The scribe (or the tradition of the scribe) of Codex Sinaiticus writes πολλῶν (many) in place of μυρίων in this verse. Since no papyri containing this exact verse have been uncovered we are left only with the uncial codices—Sinaiticus arguably being the earliest and best codex. Therefore, it is possible that the original reading of this verse was actually πολλῶν. If this is the case then later scribes came along, wanting to further hyperbolize the figure, and changed the figure to μυρίων. More likely, due to the preponderance of witnesses that the original reading was indeed μυρίων, the scribe of Sinaiticus (or his tradition) recognized the spirit of the text but questioned the finite number—perhaps realizing the double meaning of μυρίων—and replaced it with

61. Gundry, *Matthew*, 373. See also Hagner, *Matthew*, 538: “The use of μύριοι, ‘myriad’ or ‘ten thousand,’ which itself could mean ‘beyond number,’ is a deliberate hyperbole pointing to a debt that was so high it was practically incalculable.” The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines “zillion” as “a very large but indefinite number.”

πολλῶν. This manuscript tradition realized that the meaning of μυρίων was in fact zillions rather than 10,000.

There are many places in ancient literature where the word μύριων should probably be better translated as zillions or “countless” rather than 10,000. In fact, the primary definition of μυρίος is “numberless, countless, infinite.”<sup>62</sup> A simple scan of the LSJ gives “countless” examples, but here I highlight an example from Josephus that Whiston translates thus: “Now at this time there were ten thousand other disorders in Judea” (Josephus, *Antiquities*, 17.10.4). Obviously Josephus could not have known, or bothered to count, the exact number disorders in Judea. Of course, Josephus is speaking hyperbolically to emphasize the countless number of disorders in Judea at the time. In this case, “countless” is a better translation of μύριων.

### *Matthew's Reaction to Empire*

If Matthew is indeed openly criticizing Tiberius and his actions, it would not be the first time that we see Matthew criticizing the Roman empire. Warren Carter has published numerous works demonstrating Matthew's reaction against empire.<sup>63</sup> In *Matthew and Empire*, Carter specifically analyzes six pericopae (Jesus' salvific role in Matthew 1:21; Isaiah in 1:23 and 4:15–16; the yoke in 11:28–30; taxes in 17:14–27; and Jesus' interaction with Pilate in 27:11–26) which illustrate Matthew's reaction against Rome. Carter notes that “Matthew's Gospel contests and resists the Roman Empire's claims to sovereignty over the world. It sustains an alternative community of disciples to Jesus in anticipation of the coming of God's Empire over all things, including the destruction of Rome's empire.”<sup>64</sup> The whole of Carter's *Matthew and Empire* and other works are instructive on the issue of Matthew reacting to Roman occupation. For our purposes here, it is enough to note that Matthew does indeed oppose the Roman empire in numerous locations throughout his gospel. Our parable in Matthew 18:23–35 is simply one example. Concerning our

62. LSJ, μυρίος, 1154; BDAG, μύριοι/μυρίος, 661.

63. See, for example, his *Matthew and Empire: Initial Explorations* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2001); “‘To Save His People from Their Sins’ (Matt 1:21): Rome's Empire and Matthew's Salvation as Sovereignty” in *Society of Biblical Literature 2000 Seminar Papers* (Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers 39; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2000), 379–401; *Matthew and the Margins: A Socio-Political and Religious Reading* (JSNTSup 204; Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000); “Paying the Tax to Rome as Subversive Praxis: Matthew 17:24–27,” *JSNT* 76 (Dec. 1999): 3–31; “Toward an Imperial-Critical Reading of Matthew's Gospel” in *Society of Biblical Literature 1998 Seminar Papers: Part One* (Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers 37; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 296–324.

64. Carter, *Empire*, 1. While Carter's *Empire* analyzes these six specific pericopae, his larger commentary on Matthew, *Matthew and the Margins*, treats the whole gospel.

parable specifically, Carter notes that it “evokes the familiar image of God as king, but the scenario of exploitive and oppressive reign which the parable evokes indicates that this figure cannot be God.”<sup>65</sup> If the figure cannot be God, according to Carter, then who could this king be? Carter continues, “While God is not like this king, in one aspect, and one aspect only [the conclusion of the parable in v. 35], God *is* like the king. Like the king, God gets justifiably angry when the divine will is constantly ignored and severely punishes the one who does not forgive. The king is and is not God.”<sup>66</sup> Our parable is commenting on how unlike God Tiberius is and how Tiberius, and emperors in general, should be like God. When the king acts positively he represents God, and when the king acts negatively he represents Tiberius. Carter explains that kings “are frequently presented negatively (1:6–11; 2 [Herod]; 6:29 [Solomon]; 10:18; 14:1–12 [Herod Antipas]; and especially 17:25), though both God (5:35 and Jesus (2:2) have been identified positively as kings.”<sup>67</sup> Carter also notes that the figure of 10,000 talents “evokes Rome’s action and reflects proverbial notions of the wealth of kings and of oppressive taxation.”<sup>68</sup> In our parable, Matthew is directly speaking out against Tiberius just as he often spoke out against Roman occupation in general.

### Conclusions of the New Reading

Perhaps with reference to the looming financial crisis, Jesus gave a parable concerning wise use of wealth in which he teaches to forgive others of their trespasses even in cases of monetary offenses. In it he told of two debtors who owed different amounts of money—one large, one small. Matthew, some forty years later, remembering the financial crisis that occurred sometime near Jesus’ ministry, may well have projected an even stronger allusion to Tiberius and his actions during the financial crisis into the original parable. He inflates what was probably μυρίων δηναρίων to μυρίων ταλάντων in keeping with the gigantic loans that were given by Tiberius during the financial crisis of 33 C.E. Matthew’s parable is what he hoped Tiberius would have done and, within a Christian context, what Tiberius *should* have done. Tiberius should have, as should all followers of Jesus, forgiven those who owed him—whether it be monetarily, socially, or in whatever manner. Matthew is teaching that Christians must forgive in order to be forgiven (see Matthew 6:12; Luke 11:4). The Lucan parallel shows us what the pre-Matthean text may have looked like.

65. Carter, *Margins*, 370–71.

66. Carter, *Margins*, 371; see 370–75.

67. Carter, *Margins*, 371.

68. Carter, *Margins*, 372.

The parallel with Tiberius and the financial crisis of 33 C.E. explains the use of the word δάνειον and gives a reason for the enormity of the loan. This reading solves the odd use of the word δάνειον and explains the relationship between the parallel material in Matthew 18 and Luke 7. The king in our parable stands both for God and Tiberius. He stands for Tiberius because of the amount of money lent and because Matthew wants to condemn Tiberius' actions. He stands for God in what the king actually did and what the author of the parable urges his readers to do. The fact that the slave, owing μυρίων ταλάντων, takes his fellow slave by the throat and threatens to sell him if he does not repay him the pittance of 100 denarii is better understood in light of a financial crisis when physical money was hard to come by no matter the amount. In relation to 4,166 2/3 talents, 100 denarii is nothing. But during a financial crisis, 100 denarii is still quite a bit. Matthew's μυρίων ταλάντων equals the *loans* given by Tiberius in the amount of 4,166 talents and 4,000 drachmai. This new reading of the parable finally solves why Matthew employs the word δάνειον in verse 27—because it truly was a loan that the slave could not repay. The papyrological data show that Matthew most likely inflated the number and would have felt free to do so as Josephus and Plutarch also did. Derrett comments, "The author, wishing to tell of kings, refers to kings people know."<sup>69</sup> If the author of our parables wishes to tell of kings, then who better to choose than the current emperor, Tiberius himself?

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69. Derrett, *Law*, 36. Also, Hultgren: "Nevertheless, Palestine was under Roman rule, and kings known to the hearers and readers of the parable were not observant Jews. Parables that have kings as major figures within them—whether they be parables of Jesus or of the rabbis (and there are plenty in both cases)—can be expected to portray them in ways that the popular imagination supposed that they would act. As stock characters, they are typically wealthy, powerful, and ruthless. That is what kings are supposed to be, and if that were not the image desired, the storyteller should use a figure other than a king." Hultgren, *Parables of Jesus*, 25.

Appendix 1  
Τάλαντον in the Papyri

Description	Amount	Date	Provenance	Catalog Number
Account	4 talents, 940 drachmai	400 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	O.Leid. 26
Account	2 talents, 5065 drachmai	400 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	O.Leid. 26
Account	2 talents, 4065 drachmai	400 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	O.Leid. 26
Account	2 talents, 3565 drachmai	400 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	O.Leid. 26
Receipt	2 talents, 3000 drachmai	400 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	O.Leid. 36
Receipt	12 talents	400 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	O.Petr.354
Land purchase	2 bronze talents	400 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Thebes	P.Tor.10
Account	3,170 talents	325 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	SB.14.12069
Note concerning money	3 talents, 1504 drachmai	323 B.C.E.–30 B.C.E.	Unknown	O.Ashm.shelt.48
Taxes	2 talents, 1760 drachmai	300 B.C.E.–100 B.C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Tebt.3.2.1063
Taxes	2 talents, 3485 drachmai	300 B.C.E.–100 B.C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Tebt.3.2.1063
Taxes	2 talents, 3700 drachmai	300 B.C.E.–100 B.C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Tebt.3.2.1063
Taxes	3 talents, 1300 drachmai	300 B.C.E.–100 B.C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Tebt.3.2.1063
Private letter	10,000 (μυρία) silver talents	300 B.C.E.–200 C.E.	Wadi Fawakhir	SB.6.9017

Official letter	100 bronze talents	200 B.C.E.–100 B.C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Tebt.3.1.728
Accounts	1 talent	200 B.C.E.–100 B.C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Tebt.3.2.891
Accounts	1 talent, 2000 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–100 B.C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Tebt.3.2.891
Accounts	5 talents, 2645 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–100 B.C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Tebt.3.2.891
Receipt for sowing	3 bronze talents, 2660 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–100 B.C.E.	Philadelphia	P.Tebt.3.2.993
Account of wine	48 talents	200 B.C.E.–100 B.C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Tebt.3.2.1069
List of men	1 bronze talent	200 B.C.E.–100 B.C.E.	Philadelphia	P.Tebt.3.2.1073
Wine; silver to bronze conversion	1 talent, 400 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–100 B.C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Tebt.3.2.1087
Wine; silver to bronze conversion	2 bronze talents, 1410 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–100 B.C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Tebt.3.2.1087
45 artaba wheat and 9 provisions	1 talent, 36 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Thebes	O.Wilck. 714
Cost of land	6 talents, 2010 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2437
Cost of land	2,499 talents	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2437
Cost of land	1 talent, 3000 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2437
Cost of land	3 talents, 3000 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2437

Cost of land	2 talents, 3450 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2437
Cost of land	1 talent, 5850 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2437
Cost of land	1 talent, 4050 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2437
Cost of land	2 talents, 1050 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2437
Cost of land	3 talents, 2250 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2437
Cost of land	21 talents, 4670 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2437
Cost of land	2 talents, 4500 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2437
Cost of land	2 talents, 570 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2437
Cost of land	7 talents, 2100 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2437
Cost of land	3 talents, 4000 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2437
130 <i>arourai</i>	3 talents, 1500 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2440
Sale	4 talents, 480 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Thebes	O.Bodl.1.330
Sale	6 talents, 360 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Thebes	O.Bodl.1.330
Interest	1 talent, 2030 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Thebes	O.Bodl.1.331
Interest	3 talents, 4 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Thebes	O.Bodl.1.331
Account	4 talents, 4500 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Eileithyopolis	O.Elkab.13

Account	9 talents	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Eileithyopolis	O.Elkab.13
Account	2 talents, 540 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	O.Leid. 27
Account	3 talents, 5191 drachmai (and 3 obols)	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	O.Leid. 27
Account	3 talents, 399 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	O.Leid. 27
Account	4 talents, 3493 drachmai (and 3 obols)	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	O.Leid. 27
Account	4 talents, 4980 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	O.Leid. 27
Account	4 talents, 5253 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	O.Leid. 27
Receipt	80 talents	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Karanis	O.Mich.2.700
Account	2 talents, 800 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	P.Freib.4.52
Account	7 talents, 2385 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	P.Freib.4.52
Complaint of sacrilege	3 bronze talents	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	P.Lips.2.126
Complaint of sacrilege	10 bronze talents, 40 silver drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	P.Lips.2.126
Robe	1 bronze talent	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Nesos	P.Mich.15.688
Marital agreement	5 bronze talents	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	PSI.1.64
Arithmetic book	5 talents, 3600 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Magdola	SB.3.6319

Account	16 talents	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Elephantine	SB.5.7597
Account	12 talents	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Elephantine	SB.5.7597
Account	5 talents	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Elephantine	SB.5.7597
Account	5 talents, 500 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Elephantine	SB.5.7597
Account	2 talents, 1200 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Elephantine	SB.5.7597
Account	5 talents	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Elephantine	SB.5.7597
Account	1 talent, 2000 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Elephantine	SB.5.7597
Account	1 talent	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Elephantine	SB.5.7597
Account	3 talents, 2000 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Elephantine	SB.5.7597
Account	50 talents, 5700 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Elephantine	SB.5.7597
Fines	10 bronze talents	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	SB.18.13154
Fines	20 bronze talents	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	SB.18.13154
Fines	2 talents	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	SB.18.13154
Fines	7 talents	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	SB.18.13154
Fines	10 bronze talents	200 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	SB.18.13154
Land sales	3 talents, 5500 drachmai	200 B.C.E.–100 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	SB.20.14973
Land sales	2 talents	200 B.C.E.–100 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	SB.20.14973

Land sales	1 talent, 5500 drachmai	200 B.C.E.-100 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	SB.20.14973
Land sales	1 talent, 220 drachmai	200 B.C.E.-100 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	SB.20.14973
Land sales	1 talent, 2980 drachmai	200 B.C.E.-100 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	SB.20.14973
Bank accounts	2 talents	200 B.C.E.-199 C.E.	Herakleopolis	P.Tebt.3.2.890
Bank accounts	1 talent	200 B.C.E.-199 C.E.	Herakleopolis	P.Tebt.3.2.890
Bank accounts	1 talent, 3000 drachmai	200 B.C.E.-199 C.E.	Herakleopolis	P.Tebt.3.2.890
Bank accounts	2 talents, 2270 drachmai	200 B.C.E.-199 C.E.	Herakleopolis	P.Tebt.3.2.890
Bank accounts	2 talents, 2000 drachmai	200 B.C.E.-199 C.E.	Herakleopolis	P.Tebt.3.2.890
Bank accounts	2 talents	200 B.C.E.-199 C.E.	Herakleopolis	P.Tebt.3.2.890
Bank accounts	2 gold talents	200 B.C.E.-199 C.E.	Herakleopolis	P.Tebt.3.2.890
Bank accounts	6 talents, 4000 drachmai	200 B.C.E.-199 C.E.	Herakleopolis	P.Tebt.3.2.890
Bank accounts	11 talents, 2900 drachmai	200 B.C.E.-199 C.E.	Herakleopolis	P.Tebt.3.2.890
Bank accounts	1 talent, 3000 drachmai	200 B.C.E.-199 C.E.	Herakleopolis	P.Tebt.3.2.890
Bank accounts	2 talents	200 B.C.E.-199 C.E.	Herakleopolis	P.Tebt.3.2.890

Bank accounts	4 talents	200 B.C.E.-199 C.E.	Herakleopolis	P.Tebt.3.2.890
Bank accounts	8 talents, 3200 drachmai	200 B.C.E.-199 C.E.	Herakleopolis	P.Tebt.3.2.890
Bank accounts	2 talents	200 B.C.E.-199 C.E.	Herakleopolis	P.Tebt.3.2.890
Bank accounts	3 talents, 2000 drachmai	200 B.C.E.-199 C.E.	Herakleopolis	P.Tebt.3.2.890
Bank accounts	4 talents	200 B.C.E.-199 C.E.	Herakleopolis	P.Tebt.3.2.890
Receipt	1 talent, 1400 drachmai	200 B.C.E.-199 C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.3.2.1068
Receipt	2 talents	200 B.C.E.-199 C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.3.2.1068
Account	10 talents, 277 drachmai	199 B.C.E.-100 B.C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Tebt.3.2.1091
Account	1 talent, 2600 drachmai	199 B.C.E.-100 B.C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Tebt.3.2.1092
Account	3 talents, 1500 drachmai	199 B.C.E.-100 B.C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Tebt.3.2.1092
Account	1 talent	199 B.C.E.-100 B.C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Tebt.3.2.1092
Account	3 talents, 4000 drachmai	199 B.C.E.-100 B.C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Tebt.3.2.1092
Accounts	1 talent, 1600 drachmai	175 B.C.E.-150 C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Tebt.3.2.1090
Accounts	1 talent, 600 drachmai	175 B.C.E.-150 C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Tebt.3.2.1090

		175 B.C.E.-150 C.E.		
Accounts	11 talents		Tebtunis	P.Tebt.3.2.1090
One διαγωγή of wine; transportation of wine	1 bronze talent, 1740 drachmai	168 B.C.E.-100 B.C.E.	Unknown	CPR.10.33
Tax receipt	22 talents	168 B.C.E.-100 B.C.E.	Unknown	P.Athen. 12
Letter	2 talents	156 B.C.E.-89 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Amst.1.88
Account	5 bronze talents	147 B.C.E.-83 B.C.E.	Memphis	UPZ.1.118
Register of a house	2 talents, 4400 drachmai	132 B.C.E.-9 C.E.	Philadelphia	P.Thomas.3
Register of a house	1 talent, 3190 drachmai	132 B.C.E.-9 C.E.	Philadelphia	P.Thomas.3
Register of a house	2 talents, 110 drachmai	132 B.C.E.-9 C.E.	Philadelphia	P.Thomas.3
Register of a house	1 talent, 5625 drachmai	132 B.C.E.-9 C.E.	Philadelphia	P.Thomas.3
Register of a house	2 talents, 1650 drachmai	132 B.C.E.-9 C.E.	Philadelphia	P.Thomas.3
Account for expenditure	1 talent, 3900 drachmai	125 B.C.E.-100 B.C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Tebt.1.179
Accounts	1 talent, 2385 drachmai	125 B.C.E.-100 B.C.E.	Kerkeosiris	P.Tebt.5.1152
Accounts	1 talent, 1280 drachmai	125 B.C.E.-100 B.C.E.	Kerkeosiris	P.Tebt.5.1152
Accounts	1 bronze talent	125 B.C.E.-100 B.C.E.	Kerkeosiris	P.Tebt.5.1152

Abstracts of Deeds	1 bronze talent, 4000 drachmai	125 B.C.E.—100 B.C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Tebt.3.2.972
Account of payments	1 talent	125 B.C.E.—75 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.188
Account of payments	22 talents	125 B.C.E.—75 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.188
Account	2 talents, 3600 drachmai	114 B.C.E.—78 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	PSI.Congr.xvii.22
Account	3 talents, 2200 drachmai	114 B.C.E.—78 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	PSI.Congr.xvii.22
Account	3 talents, 2470 drachmai	114 B.C.E.—78 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	PSI.Congr.xvii.22
Account	1 talent	114 B.C.E.—78 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	PSI.Congr.xvii.22
Portion of land; slave, age 40	12 bronze talents	100 B.C.E.	Pathyris	P.AdI.G13
Portion of land; slave, age 40	12 bronze talents	100 B.C.E.	Pathyris	P.AdI.G13
Portion of land; Slave, age 40	1 talent, 1200 drachmai	100 B.C.E.	Pathyris	P.AdI.G13
Portion of land; Slave, age 40	1 talent, 2640 drachmai	100 B.C.E.	Pathyris	P.AdI.G13
Bank Receipt	1 talent, 600 drachmai	100 B.C.E.	Thebes	O.Stras.1.28
'Homological' deed of renunciation	6 bronze talents, 120 drachmai	100 B.C.E.	Pathyris	P.AdI.G14
Land purchase	2 bronze talents, 3300 drachmai	100 B.C.E.	Pathyris	P.Grenf.2.33

Land purchase	5 bronze talents	100 B.C.E.	Pathyris	P.Grenf.2.33
Account	2 talents	100 B.C.E.	Tebtunis	SB.16.12675
Account	3 bronze talents, 80 drachmai	100 B.C.E.	Tebtunis	SB.16.12675
Account	2 talents, 4600 drachmai	100 B.C.E.	Tebtunis	SB.16.12675
Sale of land	10 bronze talents	100 B.C.E.	Pathyris	SB.20.14393
Dowry	60 bronze talents	100 B.C.E.-76 B.C.E.	Busiris	SB.6.8974
Marriage contract	300 bronze talents	100 B.C.E.-76 B.C.E.	Busiris	SB.6.8974
Marriage contract	405 bronze talents	100 B.C.E.-76 B.C.E.	Busiris	SB.6.8974
Payment for horsemen	140 bronze talents, 2150 drachmai	100 B.C.E.-76 B.C.E.	Thebes	SB.6.9195
Account of expenditure	39 talents, 2700 drachmai	100 B.C.E.-60 B.C.E.	Theogonis	P.Tebt.1.189
Account of expenditure	1 talent	100 B.C.E.-60 B.C.E.	Theogonis	P.Tebt.1.189
Account	3 silver talents	100 B.C.E.-51 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	SB.14.11323
1 Slave	1 talent	100 B.C.E.-1 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	O.Mich.1.117
Tax Receipt	5 bronze talents	100 B.C.E.-1 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	BGU.14.2379
List of costs for items for a festival	3 talents	100 B.C.E.-1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2428
List of items for a festival	1 talent	100 B.C.E.-1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2428

List of items for a festival	1 talent	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2428
List of items for a festival	1 talent	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2428
List of items for a festival	6 bronze talents, 1,000 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2428
List of items for a festival	12 talents, 1200 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2428
List of items for a festival	3 talents, 800 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2428
List of items for a festival	4 talents, 1900 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2428
Total of Egyptian sabers of Herakleopolis, money–collectors, rowmen, Egyptian sabers of Herakleopolis, 1300 doorkeepers, 500 actors, 500 boxes, 1200 tripods, and 1800 used Egyptian sabers	5 talents, 2400 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2428
Account	1 talent, 4525 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2428
Account	2 talents, 4200 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2428
Costs	1 talent, 1200 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2432

Costs	5 talents, 3000 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2432
Costs	20 talents, 5400 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2432
Costs	1 talent, 1500 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2432
Costs	1 talent, 5100 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2432
Costs	4 talents, 720 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2432
Costs	5 bronze talents, 5050 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2432
Costs	421 bronze talents	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2432
Costs	152 talents, 3580 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2432
Costs	12 talents, 3000 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2432
Costs	165 talents, 580 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2432
Costs	21 talents, 4000 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2432
Costs	186 talents, 4580 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2432
52 <i>arourai</i>	1 talent, 1800 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2432
5,506 wheat	104 bronze talents	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2434
17,246.75 wheat	470 talents, 675 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2434
.5 wheat	14 talents, 550 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2434

16,705.143 wheat	403 talents, 5020 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2434	
16,133.78125 wheat	310 talents, 609 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2434	
Cost	177 talents, 265 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2434	
Cost	207 talents, 4030 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2434	
Cost	97 talents	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2434	
Cost	100 talents	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2434	
3,959.25 wheat	8 talents, and some drachmai—at least 300	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2434	
551.5625 wheat	13 talents, 4725 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2434	
98,050.0833 wheat	2,065 bronze talents, 2101 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2434	
3,903.25 wheat	97 talents, 480 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2434	
101,943.5 wheat	2362 talents, 2610 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2434	
90 wheat	1 talent, 3000 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2434	
70.5 wheat	1 talent, 4575 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2434	
368 wheat	8 talents, 2700 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2434	
Wheat	650 talents, 865 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	O.Ashm.9	
Wheat	7 bronze talents, 4000 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	O.Ashm.9	

Wheat	4 bronze talents	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	O.Ashm.9
Wheat	1 bronze talent, 2000 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	O.Ashm.9
Wheat	4 talents, 3065 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	O.Ashm.9
Wheat	5 talents, 425 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	O.Ashm.9
Money	1 talent, 4405 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	O.Bodl.1.322
Account	3 bronze talents, 3000 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Thebes	O.Bodl.1.336
Wheat Sales	1 talent, 3060 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Thebes	O.Heid.28
Account	1 talent	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.4.784
Accounts	3 talents, 1346 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	SB.16.12396
Accounts	3 talents, 3108 drachmai	100 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	SB.16.12396
Bank receipt	1 talent, 800 drachmai	99 B.C.E.	Unknown	O.Camb.8
Bank receipt	1 talent, 2800 drachmai	99 B.C.E.	Unknown	O.Camb.8
Bank receipt	1 talent, 3680 drachmai	99 B.C.E.	Unknown	O.Camb.8
Bank receipt	1 talent, 1600 drachmai	99 B.C.E.	Thebes	O.Wilck.1345
Bank receipt	1 talent, 2400 drachmai	99 B.C.E.	Thebes	O.Wilck.1345
Sale of land	4 bronze talents	99 B.C.E.	Pathyris	P.AdI.G16
Sale of land	5 bronze talents	99 B.C.E.	Pathyris	P.AdI.G17
Sale of land	1 bronze talent	99 B.C.E.	Pathyris	P.AdI.G18

Receipt	1 talent, 600 bronze drachmai	99 B.C.E.	Pathyris	P.Grenf.2.34
Field Purchase	2 bronze talents	99 B.C.E.	Pathyris	P.Koeln.1.50
Sale of land	1 bronze talent	99 B.C.E.	Crocodilopolis	P.Lond.3.678
Sale of land	2 bronze talents	99 B.C.E.	Pathyris	P.Lond.3.1206
Land purchase	2 bronze talents	99 B.C.E.	Pathyris	P.Stras.2.89
Deed	1 bronze talent	99 B.C.E.	Crocodilopolis	SB.1.428
Work receipt	1 talent, 50 drachmai	99 B.C.E.	Kerkerosiris	SB.24.16228
Lease of land	1 talent, 1920 drachmai	99 B.C.E.–50 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.108
Accounts for expenses	1 talent, 3000 drachmai	99 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.122
Accounts for expenses	1 talent, 5260 drachmai	99 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.122
Receipt	1 bronze talent, 800 drachmai	99 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Yale.1.58
Sale of land	1 bronze talent	98 B.C.E.	Pathyris	P.AdL.G21
Accounts	3 bronze talent, 80 drachmai	98 B.C.E.–64 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.175
Bank receipt	1 talent, 660 drachmai	97 B.C.E.	Diospolis Magna	O.Wilck.1347
Sale of land	1 bronze talent	97 B.C.E.	Pathyris	P.Lond.3.1208
Letter of a sale of a house	25 bronze talents	97 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	SB.16.12321
Various expenditures	3 talents, 2480 drachmai	97 B.C.E.–64 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.120
Various expenditures	1 bronze talent, 370 drachmai	97 B.C.E.–64 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.120

Various expenditures	5 talents, 3600 drachmai	97 B.C.E.–64 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.120
Various expenditures	1 bronze talent, 1250 drachmai	97 B.C.E.–64 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.120
Various expenditures	5 talents, 3150 drachmai	97 B.C.E.–64 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.120
Various expenditures	6 talents, 4400 drachmai	97 B.C.E.–64 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.120
Various expenditures	7 talents, 4250 drachmai	97 B.C.E.–64 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.120
Various expenditures	1 bronze talent, 680 drachmai	97 B.C.E.–64 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.120
Various expenditures	1 bronze talent, 3900 drachmai	97 B.C.E.–64 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.120
Various expenditures	1 talent, 2750 drachmai	97 B.C.E.–64 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.120
Various expenditures	2 talents	97 B.C.E.–64 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.120
Various expenditures	1 talent	97 B.C.E.–64 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.120
Accounts	1 talent, 1360 drachmai	96 B.C.E.–63 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.253
List of purchases	8 silver talents, 52 drachmai	94 B.C.E.–61 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2429
List of purchases	9 talents	94 B.C.E.–61 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2429
List of purchases	9 talents, 434 drachmai	94 B.C.E.–61 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2429
Accounts	17 talents, 2000 drachmai	94 B.C.E.–61 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.121

Accounts	18 talents, 3350 drachmai	94 B.C.E.–61 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.121
Accounts	1 talent, 1120 drachmai	94 B.C.E.–61 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.121
Accounts	11 talents	94 B.C.E.–61 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.121
Accounts	12 talents, 2250 drachmai	94 B.C.E.–61 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.121
Accounts	1 talent, 500 drachmai	94 B.C.E.–61 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.121
Accounts	1 talent, 3000 drachmai	94 B.C.E.–61 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.121
Accounts	2 talent, 2450 drachmai	94 B.C.E.–61 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.121
Accounts	1 talent, 1900 drachmai	94 B.C.E.–61 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.121
Accounts	1 talent, 200 drachmai	94 B.C.E.–61 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.121
Accounts	1 talent, 3900 drachmai	94 B.C.E.–61 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.121
3 <i>artabai</i> of Wheat	1 bronze talent (papyrus states that each artaba is 2000 drachmai)	93 B.C.E.	Kerkeosiris	P.Tebt.1.109
Dowry	2 bronze talents, 4000 drachmai	92 B.C.E.	Kerkeosiris	P.Tebt.1.104
Sale of land	1 talent, 3000 drachmai	89 B.C.E.	Pathyris	P.Lond.3.1209
Tax Payment	5 bronze talents, 2400 drachmai	88 B.C.E.	Elephantine	BGU.14.2378
Sale of a House	1 bronze talent	88 B.C.E.	Pathyris	P.Amh.2.51
Loan	26 bronze talents	88 B.C.E.–81 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2374

Deed of Loan	2 talents, 2500 drachmai	87 B.C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Ryl.4.587
Fine	3 talents	87 B.C.E.	Nilopolis	P.Vind.bosw.1
Sale of a house	21 bronze talents, 3000 bronze drachmai	87 B.C.E.–86 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.18.1.2731
Marriage Contract	1 bronze talent; 4000 drachmai	86 B.C.E.	Aueris	SB.6.9297
Price to transport Royal wheat	200 bronze talents	86 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.18.1.2744
Cost for repair of a Wall	10 bronze talents	86 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.18.1.2745
Payment of Soldiers' Wages in Kind	12 bronze talents	86 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	P.Berl.salmen.1
711 <i>artabai</i> of wheat	15 talents, 5400 drachmai	86 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	P.Berl.salmen.6
520 <i>artabai</i> of wheat	12 talents, 700 drachmai	86 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	P.Berl.salmen.6
1311 <i>artabai</i> of wheat	28 bronze talents, 100 drachmai	86 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	P.Berl.salmen.6
39 <i>artabai</i> of wheat	1050 bronze talents	86 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	P.Berl.salmen.9
54 <i>artabai</i> of wheat	2100 talents, 2775 drachmai	86 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	P.Berl.salmen.9
Two payment orders	55 talents	86 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	P.Berl.salmen.13
Account	15 bronze talents	86 B.C.E.–85 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.18.1.2746
Account	5 talents	86 B.C.E.–85 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	SB.14.11319
Account	10 talents	85 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	SB.14.11317

Tax arrears	75 talents, 5315 drachmai	84 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2370
Tax arrears	1 talent, 2000 drachmai	84 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2370
Tax arrears	2 talents, 75 drachmai	84 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2370
Tax arrears	2 talents, 2600 drachmai	84 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2370
Tax arrears	4 talents, 4520 drachmai	84 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2370
Tax arrears (Wine)	2 talents	84 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2370
Tax arrears	6 talents, 4520 drachmai	84 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2370
Tax arrears	2 talents	84 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2370
Tax arrears	12 talents, 4975 drachmai	84 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2370
Tax arrears	4 bronze talents, 1660 drachmai	84 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2370
Tax arrears	4 talents, 1660 drachmai	84 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2370
Tax arrears	8 talents, 3320 drachmai	84 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2370
Cost of 3 bathing rooms	2 talents, 1920 drachmai	84 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2370
Payment	200 bronze talents	80 B.C.E.–30 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU. 8.1734
Tax receipt on the sale of a vineyard	10 bronze talent	78 B.C.E.	Crocodilopolis	P.Leid.inst.21

Tax receipt on the sale of a vineyard	1 silver talent	78 B.C.E.	Crocodilopolis	P.Leid.inst.21
Tax receipt on the sale of a vineyard	1 talent	78 B.C.E.	Crocodilopolis	P.Leid.inst.21
Loan	8 bronze talents, 2500 bronze drachmai	78 B.C.E.	Crocodilopolis	P.Ryl.4.588
Account	1 talent, 4500 drachmai	76 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.209
Account	1 talent, 5840 drachmai	76 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.209
Account	2 talents, 113 drachmai	76 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.209
Account	1 talent, 920 drachmai	76 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.209
Account	210 talents	76 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.209
Account	1 talent, 300 drachmai	76 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.209
Account	2 talents, 1130 drachmai	76 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.209
Tax receipt	2 bronze talents	75 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Ashm.1.24
Loan	1 bronze talent, 490 drachmai	74 B.C.E.	Nilopolis	SB.5.7532
Land Lease	4 talents	73 B.C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	SB.6.9092
Payment for ravaging a late renter	1 bronze talent	73 B.C.E.–72 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Tebt.1.37
Lease receipt	20 bronze talents	72 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2389
Tax receipt	1 bronze talent	71 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Ashm.1.25
Private memorandum	2 talents, 675 drachmai	68 B.C.E.–39 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Freib.4.53

Private memorandum	2 talents, 1755 drachmai	68 B.C.E.–39 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Freib.4.53
Private memorandum	2 talents, 600 drachmai	68 B.C.E.–39 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Freib.4.53
Delivery to soldiers	204 bronze talents, 3000 bronze drachmai	64 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.8.1750
Delivery to a general Dionysios	1 bronze talent	64 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.8.1754
190 bronze talents	10 bronze talents + a token and a counter receipt	63 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.8.1751
Grain purchase	20 bronze talents	63 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2368
Time of loan payment	3 Bronze talents	60–55 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.8.1823
Money spent	16 bronze talents, 1550 bronze drachmai	52 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.8.1827
Fine or rent	2 bronze talents, 20 drachmai	51 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.8.1779
Land lease	20 bronze talents	51 B.C.E.	Tebtunis	PSI.10.1098
Offering to a widow	25 talents	48 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.8.1849
16 <i>choes</i> ; 700 wines (? unknown amount)	1 talent, 1000 drachmai	42 B.C.E.–20 B.C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	SB.14.11884
16 <i>choes</i> ; 700 wines (? unknown amount)	1 talent, 9 drachmai	42 B.C.E.–20 B.C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	SB.14.11884

16 <i>choes</i> ; 700 wines (? unknown amount)	1 talent	42 B.C.E.–20 B.C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	SB.14.11884
16 <i>choes</i> ; 700 wines (? unknown amount)	7 talents	42 B.C.E.–20 B.C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	SB.14.11884
16 <i>choes</i> ; 700 units of wine	6 talents, 1890 drachmai	42 B.C.E.–20 B.C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	SB.14.11884
Letter	1 silver talent, 350 drachmai	38 B.C.E.–16 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	SB.5.7530
Account	5 bronze talents, 3080 drachmai	36 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2376dupl
Account	2 bronze talents	36 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2376dupl
Account	2 bronze talents	36 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2376dupl
10,000 <i>artabai</i> of wheat	5 talents	30 B.C.E.–14 C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.16.2668
Accounts	1 talent, 580 drachmai	28 B.C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Tebt.2.345
Receipt	6 talents, 3940 drachmai	25 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	P.Amst.1.65
Receipt	13 talents, 105 drachmai	25 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	P.Amst.1.65
Receipt	1 talent, 750 drachmai	25 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	P.Amst.1.65
Receipt	14 talents, 855 drachmai	25 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	P.Amst.1.65
Receipt	5 talents, 3175 drachmai	25 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	P.Amst.1.65
Receipt	5 talents, 735 drachmai	25 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	P.Amst.1.65
Receipt	10 talents, 3910 drachmai	25 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	P.Amst.1.65

Extracts from a register of contracts	1 bronze talent	25 B.C.E.–1 B.C.E.	Unknown	P.Stras.9.861
Taxing list	2 talents	25 B.C.E.–25 C.E.	Unknown	P.Ryl.2.374
Personal library	1 silver Ptolemaic talent, 3680 drachmai	19 B.C.E.	Alexandria	BGU.4.1146
1,080 drachmai loan + 5 other loans	3 silver talents	17–16 B.C.E.	Alexandria	BGU.4.1162
Lease of sheep	10 talents	10 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Amst.1.41–r–1
Totals of a shopping list	1 silver talent, 481 drachmai (and 2 obols)	8 B.C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.3.1171r
Totals of a shopping list	1 silver talent, 709 drachmai (and 2 obols)	8 B.C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.3.1171r
Totals of a shopping list	1 silver talent, 279 drachmai	8 B.C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.3.1171r
Receipt for mason's tax	2 bronze talents, 4000 drachmai	6 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Fay. 44
Receipt for mason's tax	5 bronze talents	6 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Fay. 44
Receipt	3 bronze talents	4 B.C.E.	Arsinoite	O.Mich.1.17
Payment	3 bronze talents	4 B.C.E.	Arsinoites	O.Mich.1.17
A writing	10 talents	3 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.16.2646
Receipt	15 bronze talents	2 B.C.E.	Thebes	P.Grenf.1.41
Receipt	8 talents, 200 drachmai	2 B.C.E.–314 C.E.	Unknown	PSI.7.820
Receipt	2 talents, 2400 drachmai	2 B.C.E.–314 C.E.	Unknown	PSI.7.820
Receipt	4 talents, 950 drachmai	2 B.C.E.–314 C.E.	Unknown	PSI.7.820

Receipt	1 talent	2 B.C.E.-314 C.E.	Unknown	PSI.7.820
Receipt	8 talents, 200 drachmai	2 B.C.E.-314 C.E.	Unknown	PSI.7.820
Receipt	8 talents, 720 drachmai	2 B.C.E.-314 C.E.	Unknown	PSI.7.820
Receipt	1 talent, 3000 drachmai	2 B.C.E.-314 C.E.	Unknown	PSI.7.820
Receipt	3 talents, 1400 drachmai	2 B.C.E.-314 C.E.	Unknown	PSI.7.820
Penalty for not keeping an agreement	1 talent	1 B.C.E.	Herakleopolis	BGU.14.2371
Loan register	6 talents	1 C.E.-50 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Wash.univ.2.78
Account	2 talents	1 C.E.-100 C.E.	Elephantine	P.Eleph. wagner.1.341
Account	2 talents	1 C.E.-100 C.E.	Elephantine	P.Eleph. wagner.1.341
Account	1 talent	1 C.E.-100 C.E.	Elephantine	P.Eleph. wagner.1.341
Account	7 talents	1 C.E.-100 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oslo.3.191
Lists	10 talents, 2800 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	10 talents, 5700 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	1 talent, 600 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	5 talents	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	1 talent, 4400 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	1 talent, 2800 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	12 talents, 1200 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266

Lists	1 talent, 4600 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	2 talents, 4000 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	1 talent, 4800 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	1 talent, 1800 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	1 talent, 4000 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	1 talent, 400 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	1 talent, 2400 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	1 talent	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	9 talents, 4400 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	1 talent, 1000 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	10 talents, 5400 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	2 talents, 200 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	1 talent, 5800 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	3 talents, 4000 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	1 talent, 2800 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	9 talents, 5600 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	10 talents, 2200 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266

Lists	4 talents, 4000 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	10 talents, 2800 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	11 talents, 800 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	1 talent, 4800 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	3 talents, 2000 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	1 talents, 1600 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	9 talents, 5200 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	10 talents, 5600 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	1 talent, 2800 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	3 talents, 4000 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	1 talent, 300 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	1 talent, 1700 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	1 talent, 5200 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	10 talents, 2800 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	11 talents	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	1 talent, 200 drachmai	1 C.E.-200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266

Lists	5 talents, 2000 drachmai	1 C.E.–200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	1 talent, 1400 drachmai	1 C.E.–200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	1 talent, 200 drachmai	1 C.E.–200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Lists	1 talent, 200 drachmai	1 C.E.–200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.266
Taxation list	42 talents, 4 drachmai	1 C.E.–200 C.E.	Philadelphia	P.Harr.1.165
Taxation list	43 talents, 8 drachmai	1 C.E.–200 C.E.	Philadelphia	P.Harr.1.165
Account	1 talent, 2400 drachmai	1 C.E.–200 C.E.	Unknown	SB.1.2094
Account	5 talents	3 C.E.	Unknown	Stud.pal.22.20
Sale of a female donkey	40 Augustan silver talents	20 C.E.–337 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	PSI.8.882
Redress for fight	1 silver talent	31 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.19.2234
Payments	1 silver talent, 4600 drachmai	31 C.E.–32 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	SB.14.12170
Payments	1 silver talent, 5410 drachmai	31 C.E.–32 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	SB.14.12170
Account	6 silver talents, 1918 drachmai (and 4 obols)	33 C.E.	Philadelphia	SB.14.11414
Sale of land	2 talents, 1200 drachmai	36 C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Mich.5.232
Yearly tribute?	5 silver talents, 4000 drachmai	38 C.E.–41 C.E.	Arsinoites	CPR.23.2
Yearly tribute?	3 silver talents	38 C.E.–41 C.E.	Arsinoites	CPR.23.2
Ground lease	5 talents	44 C.E.	Theadelphia	P.Mil.congr.xiv. pg64

Beer tax; 8200 drachmai	1 talent, 2200 drachmai	45 C.E.–49 C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Mich.2.123
Total of many people's taxes	2 silver talents, 2733 drachmai, 4 obols	48 C.E.–63 C.E.	Philadelphia	P.Princ.1.14
Cancellation of a loan	13 silver talents	50 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.27.2471
Inscription	300 talents	50 C.E.–100 C.E.	Syria, Emesene, Yabroud	IGLSyr 5 2707
Poll tax	2 talents, 3190 drachmai	51 C.E.	Philadelphia	P.Mich.10.594
Poll tax	4 talents, 4046 drachmai	51 C.E.	Philadelphia	P.Mich.10.594
House payment	1 talent, 3000 drachmai	51 C.E.–100 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Yale.1.66
Sale of house property	32 bronze talents	55 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.1.99
Sale of House property	3 silver talents, 1200 drachmai	55 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.1.99
Census totals	4 talents, 3357 drachmai (and 3 obols)	56 C.E.	Philadelphia	P.Coll.youtie.1.20
Census totals	4 talents, 3804 drachmai (and 1 obol)	56 C.E.	Philadelphia	P.Coll.youtie.1.20
5 artabai of wheat	1 talent	57 C.E.	Arsinoites	SB.12.10947
1 silver basket	3 silver talents	62 C.E.	Myos Hormos	O.Petr.290
Petition to the exegetes of Alexandria	5 silver talents, 4800 drachmai	62 C.E.–66 C.E.	Hermopolis	P.Ryl.2.119
List of belongings	1 talent	70 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.49.3508

List of belongings	2 talents, 3000 drachmai	70 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.49.3508
List of belongings	3 silver talents, 5500 drachmai	70 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.49.3508
Letter to Adrastus and Spartacus	75 talents	71 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.34.2725
Administrative document	1 talent, 770 drachmai	73 C.E.	Eurgetis	Stud.pal.4.pg58–78
Administrative document	1 talent, 600 drachmai	73 C.E.	Eurgetis	Stud.pal.4.pg58–78
Registration of a sale	51 bronze talents, 5400 drachmai	77 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.2.242
Registration of a sale	5 silver talents, 1140 drachmai	77 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.2.242
Tax receipts	2 bronze talents, 5535 drachmai	78 C.E.–80 C.E.	Arsinoites	SB.12.11245
Tax receipts	3 bronze talents, 2725 drachmai	78 C.E.–80 C.E.	Arsinoites	SB.12.11245
Tax receipts	2 bronze talents	78 C.E.–80 C.E.	Arsinoites	SB.12.11245
Tax receipts	1 bronze talent, 2000 drachmai	78 C.E.–80 C.E.	Arsinoites	SB.12.11245
Registration of a mortgage	97 bronze talents, 3000 drachmai	79 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.2.243
Registration of a mortgage	1 silver talent, 5700 drachmai	79 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.2.243
Registration of a sale of a house	45 bronze talents	81 C.E.–83 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.2.334

Registration of sale of slave	10 bronze talents, 5000 drachmai	81 C.E.–100 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.75.5051
Registration of a house	30 bronze talents, 400 silver drachmai	83 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	SB.16.12391
Registration of a slave	13 bronze talents, 5 silver drachmai	85 C.E.–86 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	SB.16.12220
Emancipation of a slave	10 bronze talents, 3000 drachmai	86 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.1.48
Emancipation of a slave	10 bronze talents, 3000 drachmai	86 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.38.2843
Registration of a sale	52 bronze talents, 3000 drachmai	89 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.2.333
Registration of a sale	22 bronze talents, 3000 drachmai	89 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.2.337
Emancipation of a slave	10 bronze talents, 2000 drachmai	91 C.E.–92 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.38.2856
Mortgage	4 talents	98 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Genova.2.62
Loan	2 silver talents	98 C.E.–103 C.E.	Unknown	P.NYU.2.26
List of names and abstracts of transactions	2 talents, 1062 drachmai (and 2 obols)	98 C.E.–117 C.E.	Unknown	P.Leid.inst.29
List of names and abstracts of transactions	2 talents, 1080 drachmai	98 C.E.–117 C.E.	Unknown	P.Leid.inst.29
List of names and abstracts of transactions	4 talents, 2142 drachmai (and 2 obols)	98 C.E.–117 C.E.	Unknown	P.Leid.inst.29
Cancelled order to pay	12 talents	98 C.E.–117 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Wash.univ.2.79

Letter	1 talent	98 C.E.–117 C.E.	Crocodilopolis	O.Krok.1.70
Emancipation of a slave	2 silver talents, 600 silver drachmai	99 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.1.50
Registration of a sale of a house	3 bronze talents, 3000 drachmai	99 C.E.–100 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.2.338
Payment agreement	2 talents, 5000 drachmai	99 C.E.–100 C.E.	Unknown	SB.10.10276
Payment agreement	3 talents, 90 drachmai	99 C.E.–100 C.E.	Unknown	SB.10.10276
Emancipation of a slave	2 silver talents, 600 silver drachmai	100 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.1.49
Household account	3 talents, 1253 drachmai	100 C.E.–199 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Mich.18.787
Land costs	6 talents, 4000 drachmai; 2500 drachmai; 2000 drachmai; 1500 drachmai; 1100 drachmai	100 C.E.–200 C.E.	Arsinoites Karanis	O.Mich.3.975
Land costs	42 talents, 4800 drachmai	100 C.E.–200 C.E.	Arsinoites Karanis	O.Mich.3.975
Land costs	48 talents, 5500 drachmai	100 C.E.–200 C.E.	Arsinoites Karanis	O.Mich.3.975
Land costs	6 talents, 5000 drachmai	100 C.E.–200 C.E.	Arsinoites Karanis	O.Mich.3.975

Land costs	105 talents, 2800 drachmai	100 C.E.–200 C.E.	Arsinoites Karanis	O.Mich.3.975
Total of soldier's expenditures	1 silver talent, 3988 drachmai	100 C.E.–200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Princ.2.57
Tax list	1 talent	100 C.E.–200 C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Tebt.2.503
List	5 bronze talents	100 C.E.–300 C.E.	Unknown	P.Fouad.71
Sale of land	1 talent, 3000 drachmai	100 C.E.–300 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	SB.16.12553
Private letter	2 talents	100 C.E.–300 C.E.	Unknown	SB.16.12607
Sale of land	42 talents, 4800 drachmai	100 C.E.–300 C.E.	Karanis	O.Mich.3.975
Sale of land	6 talents, 4000 drachmai	100 C.E.–300 C.E.	Karanis	O.Mich.3.975
Sale of land	48 talents, 5500 drachmai	100 C.E.–300 C.E.	Karanis	O.Mich.3.975
Sale of land	6 talents, 5000 drachmai	100 C.E.–300 C.E.	Karanis	O.Mich.3.975
Sale of land	105 talents, 2800 drachmai	100 C.E.–300 C.E.	Karanis	O.Mich.3.975
List	5 bronze talents	100 C.E.–300 C.E.	Unknown	P.Fouad.71
Vineyard sale	1 talent, 3000 drachmai	100 C.E.–300 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	SB.16.12553
Shopping List; wheat	2 talents	100 C.E.–300 C.E.	Unknown	SB.16.12607
Account	1 talent	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Arsinoites	BGU.2.485
Account	5 silver talents	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Arsinoites	BGU.3.865
Account	2 silver talents	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Arsinoites	BGU.3.865

Account	1 silver talent	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Arsinoites	BGU.3.865
Sale of land	1 talent, 3000 drachmai	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Arsinoites	CPR.1.189
Sale	15 silver talents	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Euergetis	CPR.1.197
	19 talents, 2743			
Account	drachmai	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Elephantine	O.Bodl.2.2364
Letter	4 talents	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Kynopolites	P.Bad.4.73
Tax money	10 talents	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Bour.30
Tax money	15 talents	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Bour.30
Account	1 talent, 4400 drachmai	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Erl.94
Account	1 talent, 12 drachmai	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Erl.94
Accounts	1 talent	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Theadelphia	P.Fay.23a
Accounts	2 talents	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Theadelphia	P.Fay.23a
Contract	1 silver talent	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Flor.3.381
	4 talents, 3425			
Land sales	drachmai	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Philadelphia	P.Hamb.4.250
Land sales	1 talent, 805 drachmai	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Philadelphia	P.Hamb.4.250
Land sales	3 talents, 285 drachmai	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Philadelphia	P.Hamb.4.250
Land sales	10 talents, 1535			
Land sales	drachmai	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Philadelphia	P.Hamb.4.250
	3 talents, 4925			
Land sales	drachmai	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Philadelphia	P.Hamb.4.250
Land sales	2 talents	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Philadelphia	P.Hamb.4.250

Land sales	8 talents, 3440 drachmai	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Philadelphia	P.Hamb.4.250
Land sale	3 talents	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.2.374
Accounts	1 silver talent, 4452 drachmai	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Mil.Vogl.2.69
Accounts	1 silver talent, 3381 drachmai	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Mil.Vogl.2.69
Accounts	1 silver talent, 3313 drachmai	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Thmuis	P.Ryl.2.214
Accounts	6 talents, 5620 drachmai	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Thmuis	P.Ryl.2.214
Official accounts	103 talents, 4101 drachmai	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Thmuis	P.Ryl.2.215
Official accounts	101 talents, 975 drachmai	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Thmuis	P.Ryl.2.215
Official accounts	6 talents, 2874 drachmai	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Thmuis	P.Ryl.2.215
Official accounts	45 talents, 310 drachmai	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Thmuis	P.Ryl.2.215
Official accounts	45 talents, 497 drachmai	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Thmuis	P.Ryl.2.215
Official accounts	6 talents, 3060 drachmai	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Thmuis	P.Ryl.2.215
Official accounts	155 talents, 1472 drachmai	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Thmuis	P.Ryl.2.215
Official accounts	8 talents, 8 drachmai	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Thmuis	P.Ryl.2.215
Official accounts	7 talents, 4591 drachmai	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Thmuis	P.Ryl.2.215

Official accounts	8 talents, 155 drachmai	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Thmuis	P.Ryl.2.215
Official accounts	75 talents, 3752 drachmai	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Thmuis	P.Ryl.2.215
Official accounts	4 talents, 4460 drachmai	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Thmuis	P.Ryl.2.215
Official accounts	80 talents, 2213 drachmai	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Thmuis	P.Ryl.2.215
Official accounts	75 talents, 3852 drachmai	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Thmuis	P.Ryl.2.215
Official accounts	4 talents, 4467 drachmai	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Thmuis	P.Ryl.2.215
Tax list	1 talent, 2593 drachmai	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Strasb.9.836
Debt	20 talents	101 C.E.–200 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	PSI.4.281
Customs regulations	1 talent, 4 drachmai	101 C.E.–225 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	Chr.Wilck.273
Customs regulations	1 talent, 22 drachmai	101 C.E.–225 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	Chr.Wilck.273
Customs regulations	1 talent, 7 drachmai	101 C.E.–225 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	Chr.Wilck.273
Account	1 talent	101 C.E.–225 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.14.1739
Loan	12 talents, 1700 drachmai	101 C.E.–225 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.38.2848
Account	1 talent, 5576 drachmai	101 C.E.–300 C.E.	Arsinoites	BGU.1.271
Accounts	73 talents	101 C.E.–300 C.E.	Narmuthis	O.Narm.45
Accounts	50 talents	101 C.E.–300 C.E.	Narmuthis	O.Narm.45
Accounts	4 talents	101 C.E.–300 C.E.	Narmuthis	O.Narm.45

Accounts	3 talents	101 C.E.–300 C.E.	Narmuthis	O.Narm.45
Accounts	5 talents	101 C.E.–300 C.E.	Narmuthis	O.Narm.45
Account	1 talent, 400 drachmai	101 C.E.–300 C.E.	Narmuthis	O.Narm.49
Payments	1 talent, 700 drachmai	101 C.E.–300 C.E.	Narmuthis	O.Narm.57
Account	16 talents	101 C.E.–300 C.E.	Unknown	O.Stras.1.293
Account	2 talents, 1671 drachmai	101 C.E.–300 C.E.	Unknown	P.Bour.54
Account	3 talents	101 C.E.–300 C.E.	Memphis	P.Erl.47
Monthly payments	1 talent	101 C.E.–300 C.E.	Unknown	P.Hamb.4.261
Monthly payments	1 talent	101 C.E.–300 C.E.	Unknown	P.Hamb.4.261
Monthly payments	1 talent	101 C.E.–300 C.E.	Unknown	P.Hamb.4.261
Total of monthly payments	8 talents, 4500 drachmai	101 C.E.–300 C.E.	Unknown	P.Hamb.4.261
Account	1 talent, 38 drachmai	101 C.E.–300 C.E.	Elephantine	SB.5.7596
Letter	1 talent	101 C.E.–300 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	SB.12.11020
List	1 talent, 184 drachmai	101 C.E.–300 C.E.	Arsinoites	SB.16.12834
Wages	1 talent	101 C.E.–300 C.E.	Arsinoites	SB.24.15926
Letter, repayment of debt	4 bronze talents	102 C.E.	Thebes	O.Bodl.1.137
Letter, repayment of debt	1 talent, 4000 drachmai	102 C.E.	Thebes	O.Bodl.1.137
Value of Property	10 talents	104 C.E.–105 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.38.2852

Debt	1 silver talent	104 C.E.–105 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.38.2852
House Sale	9 silver talents	106 C.E.–306 C.E.	Eurgetis	P.Sakaon.59
House Sale	10 silver talents	106 C.E.–306 C.E.	Eurgetis	P.Sakaon.60
Account	16 talents	107 C.E.	Hermopolis	P.Amh.2.64
Account	50 talents	107 C.E.	Hermopolis	P.Amh.2.64
Payment	2 talents	107 C.E.–108 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.12.1434
Account	1 talent, 3675 drachmai	108 C.E.	Hermopolis	P.Brem.41
Account	1 talent, 4097 drachmai	108 C.E.	Hermopolis	P.Brem.41
Account	2 talents, 4215 drachmai	108 C.E.	Hermopolis	P.Brem.41
Loan	2 silver talents	108 C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Mil.Vogl.1.23
Account	1 talent	112 C.E.–113 C.E.	Arsinoites	BGU.3.832
Letter	1 talent	114 C.E.	Hermopolis	P.Brem.53
Account	1 talent, 5145 drachmai	114 C.E.	Hermopolis	P.Ryl.2.123
Letter	1 talent, 3503 drachmai	114 C.E.–119 C.E.	Apollonopolites	P.Flor.3.334
List	8 silver talents, 2600 drachmai	116 C.E.	Apollonopolites	P.Giss.58
List	3 talents, 3000 drachmai	116 C.E.	Apollonopolites	P.Giss.58
List	1 talent, 2200 drachmai	116 C.E.	Apollonopolites	P.Giss.58
List	4 talents	116 C.E.	Apollonopolites	P.Giss.58
List	1 talent, 1600 drachmai	116 C.E.	Apollonopolites	P.Giss.58
List	3 talents, 5500 drachmai	116 C.E.	Apollonopolites	P.Giss.58

Letter	2 talents	116 C.E.–120 C.E.	Hermopolis	P.Giss.Apoll.22
Loan	1 talent	117 C.E.	Hermopolis	Chr.Mitt.82
Accounts for work on a temple	1 talent	117 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	SB.14.11958
Accounts for work on a temple	23 talents	117 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	SB.14.11958
Accounts for work on a temple	3 talents, 2 drachmai	117 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	SB.14.11958
Accounts for work on a temple	3 talents, 12 drachmai	117 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	SB.14.11958
House sale	15 bronze talents	117 C.E.–118 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.3.577
Settlement	1 talent, 1000 drachmai	118 C.E.	Apollonopolites	P.Giss.10
Settlement	1 talent	118 C.E.	Apollonopolites	P.Giss.10
Settlement	1 talent	118 C.E.	Apollonopolites	P.Giss.10
Account	2 silver talents, 1900 drachmai	118 C.E.–119 C.E.	Hermopolis	P.Brem.43
Letter	3 talents, 5000 drachmai	119 C.E.	Thebes	O.Wilck.1569
Name list with possessions	3 talents, 5500 drachmai	119 C.E.–120 C.E.	Apollonopolites	P.Giss.59
Name list with possessions	2 talents, 2000 drachmai	119 C.E.–120 C.E.	Apollonopolites	P.Giss.59
Name list with possessions	3 talents, 3200 drachmai	119 C.E.–120 C.E.	Apollonopolites	P.Giss.59
Name list with possessions	3 talents, 1000 drachmai	119 C.E.–120 C.E.	Apollonopolites	P.Giss.59

Name list with possessions	3 talents, 2000 drachmai	119 C.E.–120 C.E.	Apollonopolites	P.Giss.59
Name list with possessions	1 talent, 4000 drachmai	119 C.E.–120 C.E.	Apollonopolites	P.Giss.59
Name list with possessions	3 talents, 500 drachmai	119 C.E.–120 C.E.	Apollonopolites	P.Giss.59
Name list with possessions	2 talents, 500 drachmai	119 C.E.–120 C.E.	Apollonopolites	P.Giss.59
Name list with possessions	2 talents, 1500 drachmai	119 C.E.–120 C.E.	Apollonopolites	P.Giss.59
Name list with possessions	2 talents, 500 drachmai	119 C.E.–120 C.E.	Apollonopolites	P.Giss.59
Name list with possessions	3 talents, 3700 drachmai	119 C.E.–120 C.E.	Apollonopolites	P.Giss.59
Tax reports	2 talents, 5207 drachmai	119 C.E.–164 C.E.	Unknown	P.Koeln.2.97
Tax reports	7 talents, 456 drachmai	119 C.E.–164 C.E.	Unknown	P.Koeln.2.97
Tax reports	7 talents, 5863 drachmai	119 C.E.–164 C.E.	Unknown	P.Koeln.2.97
Fine	1.5 silver talents	123 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.6.898
Purchase of a priestly office	1 talent	123 C.E.	Hermopolis	P.Tebt.2.296
Trial account	1 talent	124 C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Fam.Tebt.24dupl
Trial account	1 talent, 375 drachmai	124 C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Fam.Tebt.24dupl
Trial account	1 silver talent, 375 drachmai	124 C.E.	Arsinoites	SB.4.7404dupl
Register	1 talent	126 C.E.–138 C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Tebt.2.295
Tax list	170 talents, 50 drachmai	126 C.E.–175 C.E.	Unknown	SB.18.13167
Tax list	120 talents	126 C.E.–175 C.E.	Unknown	SB.18.13167

Tax list	26 talents	126 C.E.–175 C.E.	Unknown	SB.18.13167
Tax list	26 talents	126 C.E.–175 C.E.	Unknown	SB.18.13167
Tax list	17 talents	126 C.E.–175 C.E.	Unknown	SB.18.13167
Tax list	4 talents	126 C.E.–175 C.E.	Unknown	SB.18.13167
Tax list	24 talents	126 C.E.–175 C.E.	Unknown	SB.18.13167
Tax list	4 talents	126 C.E.–175 C.E.	Unknown	SB.18.13167
Tax list	45 silver talents	126 C.E.–175 C.E.	Unknown	SB.18.13167
Tax list	78 talents	126 C.E.–175 C.E.	Unknown	SB.18.13167
Tax list	76 talents	126 C.E.–175 C.E.	Unknown	SB.18.13167
Tax list	13 talents	126 C.E.–175 C.E.	Unknown	SB.18.13167
Tax list	12 talents	126 C.E.–175 C.E.	Unknown	SB.18.13167
Tax list	8 talents	126 C.E.–175 C.E.	Unknown	SB.18.13167
Total of tax list	1,154 silver talents, 2852 drachmai	126 C.E.–175 C.E.	Unknown	SB.18.13167
Land sale	5 silver talents	127 C.E.–128 C.E.	Tebtunis	SB.16.12345
Land sale	5 talents	128 C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Mil.Vogl.1.26
Payment	1 talent, 1500 drachmai	129 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.36.2774
Tax receipt	1 bronze talent	129 C.E.–131 C.E.	Theogonis	P.Fam.Tebt.26
Purchase of dates	42 talents	130 C.E.	Arabia Maoza	P.Babatha.21
Purchase of dates	1 talent	130 C.E.	Arabia Maoza	P.Babatha.21
Denial of a loan request	6 silver talents	131 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.1.68

Account	4 talents	131 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.3.472
Account	1 talent	131 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.3.472
Gift	1.5 talents	131 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.3.472
Accounts	1 silver talent, 5900 drachmai	131 C.E.–132 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.3.1177
	1 talent, 60 drachmai	131 C.E.–132 C.E.	Unknown	P.Lond.3.1177
Account	4 talents	133 C.E.–148 C.E.	Philadelphia	BGU.7.1576
Account	10 talents	133 C.E.–148 C.E.	Philadelphia	BGU.7.1576
Account	6 talents	133 C.E.–148 C.E.	Philadelphia	BGU.7.1576
Account	3 talents	133 C.E.–148 C.E.	Philadelphia	BGU.7.1576
Account	1.5 talents	137 C.E.–142 C.E.	Karanis	BGU.1.256
Account	1 talent, 555 drachmai	138 C.E.	Soknopaiu	Stud.Pal.22.183
Accounts	1 talent, 2000 drachmai	138 C.E.–139 C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Mil.Vogl.2.98
Accounts	5 talents	138 C.E.–139 C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Mil.Vogl.2.98
Account	2 talents	138 C.E.–139 C.E.	Arsinoites	PSI.Congr.XI.8
Letter	3 talents	138 C.E.–161 C.E.	Arsinoites	BGU.2.544
Letter	9 talents	138 C.E.–161 C.E.	Arsinoites	BGU.2.544
Letter	5 talents	138 C.E.–161 C.E.	Arsinoites	BGU.2.544
Letter	22 talents	138 C.E.–161 C.E.	Arsinoites	BGU.2.544
Letter	2 talents	138 C.E.–161 C.E.	Arsinoites	BGU.2.544
Letter	4 talents	138 C.E.–161 C.E.	Arsinoites	BGU.2.544
Letter	1 talent	138 C.E.–161 C.E.	Arsinoites	BGU.2.544

Letter	3 talents	138 C.E.–161 C.E.	Arsinoites	BGU.2.544
Loans	1 silver talent, 2600 drachmai	138 C.E.–161 C.E.	Unknown	Chr.Mitt.87
Loans	1 silver talent, 800 drachmai	138 C.E.–161 C.E.	Unknown	Chr.Mitt.87
Loans	1 silver talent, 2000 drachmai	138 C.E.–161 C.E.	Unknown	Chr.Mitt.87
Loans	3 talents, 1400 drachmai	138 C.E.–161 C.E.	Unknown	Chr.Mitt.87
Loans	1 silver talent, 1400 drachmai	138 C.E.–161 C.E.	Unknown	Chr.Mitt.87
Loans	4 talents, 2800 drachmai	138 C.E.–161 C.E.	Unknown	Chr.Mitt.87
Account	2 talents	138 C.E.–161 C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Bour.15
Account	5 talents, 96 drachmai	138 C.E.–161 C.E.	Soknopaiu	SB.6.9066
Account	1 silver talent, 666 drachmai	138 C.E.–161 C.E.	Soknopaiu	SB.6.9066
List	1 talent	138 C.E.–161 C.E.	Eurgetis	SB.18.13956
Lease	1 talent, 1100 drachmai	139 C.E.–140 C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Tebt.2.329
Loan	1 talent	142 C.E.	Arsinoites	Chr.Mitt.372
Land Receipt	1 bronze talent, 800 bronze drachmai	142 C.E.	Herakleia	P.Ryl.2.192
Fees	1 talent	142 C.E.–143 C.E.	Herakleia	P.Berl.Leihg.2.37
Fees	2 talents	142 C.E.–143 C.E.	Herakleia	P.Berl.Leihg.2.37
Fees	1 talent, 2000 drachmai	142 C.E.–143 C.E.	Herakleia	P.Berl.Leihg.2.37

Fees	2 talents	142 C.E.–143 C.E.	Herakleia	P.Berl.Leihg.2.37
Fees	2 talents, 2345 drachmai	142 C.E.–143 C.E.	Herakleia	P.Berl.Leihg.2.37
Fees	3 talents, 4685 drachmai	142 C.E.–143 C.E.	Herakleia	P.Berl.Leihg.2.37
Loans	1 silver talent	142 C.E.–144 C.E.	Alexandria	BGU.11.2070
Loans	1 talent, 800 drachmai	142 C.E.–144 C.E.	Alexandria	BGU.11.2070
Loans	1 talent, 2000 drachmai	142 C.E.–144 C.E.	Alexandria	BGU.11.2070
Loans	4 talents	142 C.E.–144 C.E.	Alexandria	BGU.11.2070
Loans	10 talents	142 C.E.–144 C.E.	Alexandria	BGU.11.2070
Land sale	1 talent, 600 drachmai	143 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.3.506
Account	1 talent, 1024 drachmai	143 C.E.–199 C.E.	Narmuthis	O.Narm.61
Account	1 talent, 1064 drachmai	143 C.E.–199 C.E.	Narmuthis	O.Narm.61
Accounts	2 talents, 3884 drachmai	144 C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Lond.3.1170–r
Accounts	2 talents, 3964 drachmai	144 C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Lond.3.1170–r
Accounts	2 talents, 4034 drachmai	144 C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Lond.3.1170–r
Accounts	1 talent, 53 drachmai	144 C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Lond.3.1170–r
Customs regulations	300 talents	145 C.E.	Arsinoites	Chr.Wilck.321
Customs regulations	1 talent, 1 drachma	145 C.E.	Arsinoites	Chr.Wilck.321
Customs regulations	12 talents	145 C.E.	Arsinoites	Chr.Wilck.321

Customs regulations	12 talents	145 C.E.	Arsinoites	Chr.Wilck.321
Customs regulations	300 talents	145 C.E.	Arsinoites	Chr.Wilck.321
Tax receipt	1 talent, 2664 drachmai	145 C.E.	Karanis	SB.16.12798
Taxation totals for Karanis	6 talents, 2312 drachmai	145 C.E.–169 C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Ryl.594
Tax	1 talent, 444 drachmai	149 C.E.	Karanis	BGU.1.273
Der Gnomon des Idioslogos	1 talent, 3000 drachmai	149 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.5.1210
Der Gnomon des Idioslogos	20 talents	149 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.5.1210
Payment	7 silver talents, 5160 drachmai	149 C.E.	Theadelphia	SB.14.11850
Property list	1 talent	150 C.E.–250 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Wisc.2.85
Property list	1 talent	150 C.E.–250 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Wisc.2.85
Property list	1 talent	150 C.E.–250 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Wisc.2.85
Property list	1 talent	150 C.E.–250 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Wisc.2.85
Account	3 silver talents	151 C.E.	Arsinoites	BGU.3.889
Account	1 talent	151 C.E.	Arsinoites	BGU.3.889
Tax	1 silver talent, 500 drachmai	151 C.E.	Karanis	BGU.3.991
Tax list	19 talents	151 C.E.–175 C.E.	Thmuis	P.Ryl.2.217
Accounts	1 silver talent, 4462 drachmai	151 C.E.–200 C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Mil.Vogl.7.308
Accounts	1 talent	151 C.E.–200 C.E.	Tebtunis	P.Mil.Vogl.7.308

Leases	1 silver talent, 1733 drachmai	153 C.E.–176 C.E.	Theadelphia	P.Col.5.1–v–5
Leases	1 talent, 3039 drachmai	153 C.E.–176 C.E.	Theadelphia	P.Col.5.1–v–5
Leases	1 talent, 3625 drachmai	153 C.E.–176 C.E.	Theadelphia	P.Col.5.1–v–5
Lease of Land	1 talent	154 C.E.–290 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	PSI.3.187
Wages	9 talents, 3512 drachmai	155 C.E.	Euergetis	P.Graux.3.30
Tax receipt	2 talents, 400 drachmai	155 C.E.	Eurgetis	P.Tebt.2.580
Payments	1 talent, 4000 drachmai	156 C.E.	Euhemeria	P.Fay.87
Payments	1 talent, 1400 drachmai	156 C.E.	Euhemeria	P.Fay.87
Cattle sales	1 talent, 100 drachmai	156 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	PSI.10.1119
To pitch wine jars	24 talents	157 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.50.3588
Gift	3 talents	157 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.50.3588
Gift	21 talents	157 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.50.3588
Gift	2 talents	157 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.50.3588
Dowry	1 silver talent	157 C.E.–158 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.49.3491
Tax list	1 talent, 4961 drachmai	157 C.E.–159 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1894
Tax list	3 talents, 2841 drachmai	157 C.E.–159 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1894
Tax list	3 talents, 4872 drachmai	157 C.E.–159 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1894
Tax list	3 talents, 4613 drachmai	157 C.E.–159 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1894

Tax list	3 talents, 2095 drachmai	157 C.E.–159 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1894
Tax list	1 talent, 4725 drachmai	157 C.E.–159 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1894
Tax list	3 talents, 2108 drachmai	157 C.E.–159 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1894
Tax list	1 talent, 3732 drachmai	157 C.E.–159 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1894
Tax list	3 talents	159 C.E.–160 C.E.	Theadelphia	P.Col.5.1–v–1a
Account	4 talents	160 C.E.	Koptos	SB.6.9016
Tax list	1 talent, 470 drachmai	160 C.E.–161 C.E.	Theadelphia	P.Col.5.1–v–6
Tax list	1 talent, 3700 drachmai	160 C.E.–161 C.E.	Theadelphia	P.Col.5.1–v–6
Tax list	1 talent, 3875 drachmai	160 C.E.–161 C.E.	Theadelphia	P.Col.5.1–v–6
Tax list	1 talent	160 C.E.–161 C.E.	Theadelphia	P.Col.5.1–v–6
Loan	1 silver talent	160 C.E.–288 C.E.	Eurgetis	SB.14.11386
Account	1 talent, 1100 drachmai	161 C.E.–162 C.E.	Mendes	BGU.3.904
Tax	1 talent, 4100 drachmai	162 C.E.–163 C.E.	Arsinoites	P.Flor.1.97
Account	25 talents, 5465 drachmai	164 C.E.–165 C.E.	Unknown	BGU.2.476
Account	25 talents, 5887 drachmai	164 C.E.–165 C.E.	Unknown	BGU.2.476
Account	1 talent	164 C.E.–165 C.E.	Unknown	BGU.2.476
Fine for disobeying a will	2 silver talents	165 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.3.494
Tax list	1 bronze talent, 685 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896

Tax list	1 bronze talent, 600 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	2 bronze talents, 4000 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	1 bronze talent, 1925 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	1 talent, 940 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	2 bronze talents, 615 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	1 talent, 2535 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	4 talents, 1525 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	2 talents	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	1 talent, 20 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	1 talent, 100 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	2 bronze talents, 2490 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	1 talent, 1929 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	1220 talents, 20 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	1 bronze talent, 935 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	1 bronze talent, 1015 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	1 talent, 5435 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896

Tax list	1 bronze talent, 1285 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	2 talents, 2530 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	1 bronze talent, 1465 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	1 bronze talent, 915 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	1 talent, 935 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	1 bronze talent, 2070 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	1 bronze talent, 3495 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	1 bronze talent, 35 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	2 talents, 3095 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	2 talents, 1000 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	5 talents, 5675 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	1 talent, 5635 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	1 talent, 2600 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	2 talents, 5315 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	2 talents, 435 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896

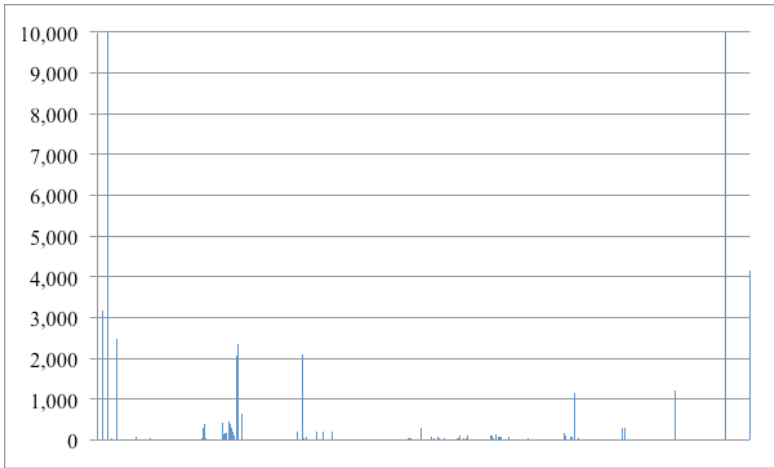
Tax list	1 talent, 3330 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	1 bronze talent, 2850 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	1 bronze talent, 1420 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	3 bronze talents, 1920 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	1 talent, 5635 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	1 talent, 2000 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	1 talent, 2600 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	1 talent, 1420 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	1 bronze talent, 145 bronze drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	1 bronze talent, 1815 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	2 bronze talent, 5350 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	1 talent, 1145 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Tax list	1 talent, 1815 drachmai	166 C.E.	Theadelphia	BGU.9.1896
Account	1 talent, 5250 drachmai	166 C.E.	Euhemeria	P.Hamb.4.249
Account	1 talent, 1500 drachmai	166 C.E.	Euhemeria	P.Hamb.4.249
Household book	1 talent, 2470 drachmai	166 C.E.	Soknopaiu	P.Louvre.1.4
Household book	1 talent, 4700 drachmai	166 C.E.	Soknopaiu	P.Louvre.1.4

Will	2 talents	166 C.E.–167 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	PSI.12.1263
List	1 silver talent	168 C.E.	Hermopolis	SB.18.13176
Tax list	1 talent, 5799 drachmai	168 C.E.–169 C.E.	Oxyrhynchus	P.Oxy.24.2413
Account	1 talent	169 C.E.	Arsinoites	Chr.Wilck.398
Fees	1 bronze talent, 430 drachmai	169 C.E.–202 C.E.	Theadelphia	P.Berl.Leihg.2.36
Fees	1 talent, 2300 drachmai	169 C.E.–202 C.E.	Theadelphia	P.Berl.Leihg.2.36
Fees	1 bronze talent, 5700 drachmai	169 C.E.–202 C.E.	Theadelphia	P.Berl.Leihg.2.36
Fees	2 talents, 1580 drachmai	169 C.E.–202 C.E.	Theadelphia	P.Berl.Leihg.2.36
Fees	1 talent, 3315 drachmai	169 C.E.–202 C.E.	Theadelphia	P.Berl.Leihg.2.36
Fees	4 talents	169 C.E.–202 C.E.	Theadelphia	P.Berl.Leihg.2.36
Fees	3 bronze talent, 1320 drachmai	169 C.E.–202 C.E.	Theadelphia	P.Berl.Leihg.2.36
Account	2 talents	170 C.E.	Unknown	BGU.4.1085

Appendix 1.1  
Statistical Analysis of Papyrological Data

Average	47.0750
Median	2.6667
Mode	1
Range	9,999
Average w/o outlier	34.6339
Median w/o outlier	2.6637
Mode w/o outlier	1
Range w/o outlier	3,169

Appendix 1.2  
Graph of Papyrological Data (in Talents)\*



Appendix 2  
Τάλαντον in Josephus

100 minas; candlestick of cast gold in Moses' tabernacle	1 talent	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 3.6.7
Bribe to Syria to accompany Israel in war against the Ammonites during David's reign	1,000 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 7.6.1
Crown of the Ammonite king	1 gold talent	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 7.7.5
Money prepared by David to build a temple	10,000 gold talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 7.14.2
Money prepared by David to build a temple	100,000 silver talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 7.14.2
David's personal contribution to the temple	200 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 7.14.9
David's personal contribution to the temple	300 pure gold talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 7.14.9
Money brought to build Solomon's temple	5,000 gold talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 7.14.9
Money brought to build Solomon's temple	10,000 silver talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 7.14.9
Money brought to build Solomon's temple	Many 10,000 iron talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 7.14.9
Money in David's sepulchre	3,000 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 7.15.3
Gold from Ophir gathered for Solomon	400 gold talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 8.6.4
Gift to Solomon from Queen of Sheba	20 gold talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 8.6.6
Total of gifts to Solomon	666 gold talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 8.7.2
100,000 hired soldiers	100 silver talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 9.9.1
Treaty from Menahem to Pul	1,000 silver talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 9.11.1

Ammon's tribute to Judah under Jotham	100 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 9.11.2
Treaty from Hezekiah to Sennacherib	300 silver talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 10.1.1
Treaty from Hezekiah to Sennacherib	30 gold talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 10.1.1
Tribute from Jehoiakim to Necho	100 silver talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 10.5.2
Tribute from Jehoiakim to Necho	1 gold talent	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 10.5.2
Darius ordered to be given to build the temple	50 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 11.3.8
Money brought by Ezra to the temple	650 silver talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 11.5.2
Money brought by Ezra to the temple	100 silver talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 11.5.2
Money brought by Ezra to the temple	20 gold talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 11.5.2
Money brought by Ezra to the temple	12 brass talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 11.5.2
Haman's personal money that he promised to give Artaxerxes if he kills all the Jews to make up for the lost revenue	40,000 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 11.6.5
Redemption money of the Jewish captives petitioned by Aristes	400 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 12.2.3
Redemption money of the Jewish captives petitioned by Aristes with children added	460 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 12.2.3
Gold for making large basins, vials, and cups from Ptolemy to the temple	50 gold talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 12.2.5
Money for sacrifices from Ptolemy	100 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 12.2.5
Money given to the translators of the LXX	3 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 12.2.13

Money given to the translators of the LXX	2 gold talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 12.2.15
Money given to the translators of the LXX	1 talent	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 12.2.15
Money given to the translators of the LXX	30 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 12.2.15
Onias' tax to Egypt	20 silver talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 12.4.1
Sum of the taxes of Coelesyria, Phoenicia, Judea, and Samaria	8,000 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 12.4.4
Borrowed money	500 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 12.4.5
Money had by the 20 principal men of Askelon who Joseph killed	1,000 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 12.4.5
Present from Hyrcanus to Ptolemy at the birth of Ptolemy's son	10 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 12.4.7
Hyrcanus' money in Alexandra	3,000 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 12.4.7
Proposed gift to the king	1,000 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 12.4.8
Slaves	1 talent each	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 12.4.9
What Ptolemy's friends say they will give as a gift	12 talents each	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 12.4.9
Hyrcanus' supposed small gift	5 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 12.4.9
What Ptolemy's friends actually give as a gift	20 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 12.4.9
Hyrcanus' actual gift to Ptolemy	200 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 12.4.9
Tribute from Judea, Samaria, Perea, and Galilee to Demetrius	300 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 13.4.9
Money to bail Jonathan out of Jail	100 silver talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 13.6.5

Money to persuade against Garrison	500 silver talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 13.8.3
Down payment for money to persuade against garrison	300 silver talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 13.8.3
Money taken by Hyrcanus from David's sepulcher	3,000 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 13.8.4
Pretended appeasement	400 silver talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 13.12.4
Gift (Aristobulus to Pompey; Hyrcanus to Pompey)	400 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 14.2.3
Gift (Aristobulus to Pompey—golden vine	500 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 14.3.1
Alleged bribe to Gabinius	300 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 14.3.2
Alleged Bribe to Scaurus	400 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 14.3.2
Buy off of punishment by Ptolemy Menneus	1,000 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 14.3.2
Sacred money in the temple seen by Pompey	2,000 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 14.4.4
Jewish payment to Rome	10,000 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 14.4.5
Appeasement of war from Aretas to Scaurus	300 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 14.5.1
All the money in the temple	8,000 + 2,000 = 10,000 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 14.7.1
Jewish money in Cos	800 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 14.7.2
Taxes laid upon Judea by Cassius	700 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 14.11.2
Appeasement from Hyrcanus on behalf of Malichus	100 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 14.11.2
Price to overthrow his kingdom from Antigonus to the Parthians	1,000 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 14.13.3

Hyrcanus' savings account	300 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 14.13.9
Head price for Herod's brother Phasaelus willing to be paid by Herod	300 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 14.14.1
Punishment for rebellion	100 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 14.15.6
Head price for Joseph's (Herod's brother) dead body	50 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 14.15.10
Yearly tribute (king of Arabia to Cleopatra that Herod pays when gaining Arabia)	200 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 15.4.4.
Gift from Herod to Caesar	800 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 15.6.7.
Auranitis (a part of Iturea of Damascus)	50 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 15.10.2
A tetrarchy for Herod's brother Pheroras	100 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 15.10.3
Gift	300 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 16.4.5
Valuable furniture taken to Caesarea Maritima	500 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 16.5.1
Amount of money Hyrcanus took from David's tomb	300 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 16.7.1
Dowry?	100 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 16.7.6
Yearly revenues of unnamed country given to Antipater	200 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 16.8.4
Money lent to Obodas, king of Arabia, for an unknown reason	60 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 16.9.1
Gift to Caesar from Aretas/Aeneas	Many (πολλῶν) talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 16.9.4
Gift to Eurycles from Alexander	50 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 16.10.1
Debt owed to Herod	500 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 16.10.8

Bribe from Herod to Antipater	100 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 17.4.1
All of Doris' fine ornaments	Many ( <i>pollōn</i> ) talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 17.4.2
Splendid ornaments as gifts	200 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 17.4.3
Minimum yearly salary of Antipater	50 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 17.5.3
Fare to get to Rome	300 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 17.5.3
Gift to Caesar from Herod when he is about to die	1000 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 17.6.1
Gift to Julia from Herod when he is about to die	500 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 17.6.1
Sabinus' portion of the temple money	400 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 17.10.2
Antipas' yearly tribute from Peres and Galilee	200 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 17.11.4
Philip's yearly tribute from certain provinces	100 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 17.11.4
The tribute money that came to Archelaus every year	600 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 17.11.4
Salome's yearly inheritance	60 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 17.11.5
All that Herod bequeathed to Caesar	1,500 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 17.11.5
Loan from Alexander to Agrippa	5 talents	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , 18.6.3
Money taken from David's sepulchre by Hyrcanus	3,000 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 1.2.5
Bribe from Aristobulus II to Scaurus	300 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 1.6.3
Money in the Temple seen by Pompey	2,000 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 1.7.6

Bribe for peace	300 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 1.8.1
All the money in the temple	2,000 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 1.8.8
Taxes laid upon Judea by Cassius	700 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 1.11.2
Herod's portion to Cassius	100 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 1.11.2
Money to make Cassius not kill Malichus	100 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 1.11.2
Price to overthrow his kingdom from Antigonus to the Parthians	1,000 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 1.13.1
Hyrchanus' savings account	300 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 1.13.9
Head price for Herod's Brother Phasaelus willing to be paid by Herod	300 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 1.14.1
Punishment for rebellion	100 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 1.16.5
Head price for Joseph's (Herod's brother) dead body	50 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 1.17.2
Yearly rent	200 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 1.18.5
Bribe to not be killed	500 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 1.19.6
Gift to Herod	30 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 1.23.4
Pheroras' revenue	100 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 1.24.5
Dowry of Herod's oldest daughter to Pheroras	300 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 1.24.5
Present to Archelaus from Herod	70 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 1.25.6
Reward to Eurycles from Herod for being his benefactor	50 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 1.26.4

A present to oneself?	100 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 1.30.3
All of Doris' fine ornaments	Many ( <i>pollōn</i> ) talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 1.30.4
Splendid ornaments as gifts	200 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 1.31.2
Antipater's yearly revenue from Herod	50 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 1.32.2
Fare to get to Rome	300 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 1.32.2
Gift to Caesar from Herod when he is about to die	1,000 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 1.32.7
Gift to Julia from Herod when he is about to die	500 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 1.32.7
Sabinus' portion of the temple money	400 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 2.3.3
Antipas' yearly tribute from Perea and Galilee	200 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 2.6.3
Philip's yearly tribute from certain provinces	100 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 2.6.3
The tribute money that came to Archelaus every year	400 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 2.6.3
Salome's yearly inheritance	60 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 2.6.3
All that Herod bequeathed to Caesar	1,000 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 2.6.3
Bribe to Florus from John the Publican to stop the construction around the synagogue	8 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 2.14.4
Seized by Florus from the temple on false pretences	17 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 2.14.6
Remainder of required tribute money	40 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 2.17.1
Medimnus of wheat	1 talent	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 5.13.7

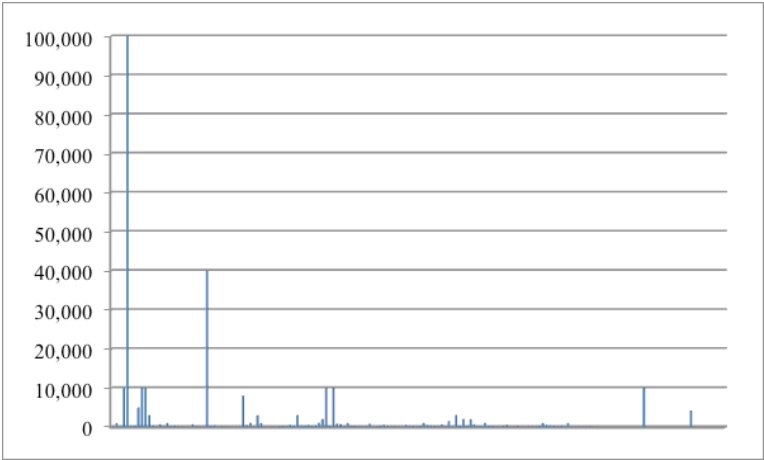
Weight of the golden table in the temple	Many talents (πολυτάλαντος)	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 7.5.5
Paeorus' ransom	100 talents	Josephus, <i>Wars</i> , 7.7.4
Gift from Hiram of Tyre to Solomon	120 gold talents	Josephus, <i>Contra Apionem</i> , 1.17
Altar and a candlestick	2 gold talents	Josephus, <i>Contra Apionem</i> , 1.22
Head price	1 talent	Josephus, <i>Contra Apionem</i> , 2.38

## Appendix 2.1

## Statistical Analysis of Josephus' Data

Mean	1,888.81
Median	300.00
Mode	100.00
Range	99,999.00

Appendix 2.2  
Graph of Josephus’ Data\*



Appendix 3  
Τάλαντον in Plutarch

Debt paid by Solon	5 talents	Plutarch, <i>Solon</i> , 15.9
Purported debt paid by Solon	15 talents	Plutarch, <i>Solon</i> , 15.9
Gift	1 silver talents	Plutarch, <i>Themistocles</i> , 7.7
Money taken	3 silver talents	Plutarch, <i>Themistocles</i> , 21.4
Indemnity paid by the Corinthians	20 talents	Plutarch, <i>Themistocles</i> , 24.1
Money sent secretly to Themistocles	100 talents	Plutarch, <i>Themistocles</i> , 25.3
Money sent secretly to Themistocles	80 talents	Plutarch, <i>Themistocles</i> , 25.3
Themistocles' worth	3 talents	Plutarch, <i>Themistocles</i> , 25.3
Head Price	200 talents	Plutarch, <i>Themistocles</i> , 26.1
Debt owed by Themistocles for turning himself in	200 talents	Plutarch, <i>Themistocles</i> , 29.3
Gold given by women for the offering	8 gold talents	Plutarch, <i>Camillus</i> , 8.3
The Price of costly statues and temples	Thousands of talents	Plutarch, <i>Pericles</i> , 12.3
Various needs for Pericles	10 talents	Plutarch, <i>Pericles</i> , 23.1
Bribes to delay war	10 talents	Plutarch, <i>Pericles</i> , 23.2
Bribes	1 talent	Plutarch, <i>Pericles</i> , 25.2
Fine	15 talents	Plutarch, <i>Pericles</i> , 35.4
Fine	50 talents	Plutarch, <i>Pericles</i> , 35.4
Booty	3,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Fabius Maximus</i> , 22.6
Price to ransom captive soldiers paid by Fabius	6 talents	Plutarch, <i>Comparatio Periclis et Fabii Maximi</i> , 3.6
Bid for public land	1 talent	Plutarch, <i>Alcibiades</i> , 5.4
Dowry	10 talents	Plutarch, <i>Alcibiades</i> , 8.3
Money demanded by Alcibiades if a child is born	10 talents	Plutarch, <i>Alcibiades</i> , 8.3
Gilding for the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter	Above 12,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Publicola</i> , 15.4
Money offered to Lucullus after being pressed by pirates	80 talents	Plutarch, <i>Lucullus</i> , 2.8

Tax upon the inhabitants of Asia	20,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Lucullus</i> , 4.1
Money to furnish a navy	3,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Lucullus</i> , 13.4
Tax upon the inhabitants of Asia	20,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Lucullus</i> , 20.4
Tax on Asia with Usury	120,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Lucullus</i> , 20.5
Booty from Tigranocerta	8,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Lucullus</i> , 29.4
Price of a Horse	13 talents	Plutarch, <i>Alexander</i> , 6.1
Present to Xenocrates	50 talents	Plutarch, <i>Alexander</i> , 8.5
Fund for Soldiers' Pay	70 talents	Plutarch, <i>Alexander</i> , 15.2
Alexander's Debt	200 talents	Plutarch, <i>Alexander</i> , 15.2
Gift	500 talents of frankincense	Plutarch, <i>Alexander</i> , 25.6
Gift	100 talents of myrrh	Plutarch, <i>Alexander</i> , 25.6
Reward for being a good actor	10 talents	Plutarch, <i>Alexander</i> , 29.6
Money found at the palace at Susa	40,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Alexander</i> , 36.1
Proof of friendship	5 talents	Plutarch, <i>Alexander</i> , 39.6
Apparel	1,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Alexander</i> , 39.11
Bonus	2,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Alexander</i> , 42.5
Gift	1,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Alexander</i> , 59.5
Money brought by Abuletes to Alexander	3,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Alexander</i> , 68.7
Alexander paid off debts of many of his soldiers	9,870 talents	Plutarch, <i>Alexander</i> , 70.3
Proposed money for a tomb	10,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Alexander</i> , 72.5
Treaty	2,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Sulla</i> , 22.5
Tax upon the inhabitants of Asia	20,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Sulla</i> , 25.2
Reward for harboring a fugitive	2 talents	Plutarch, <i>Sulla</i> , 31.4
Houses	1,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Timoleon</i> , 23.7
Bail	15,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Aemilius Paulus</i> , 7.3
Money to assist in the war	300 talents	Plutarch, <i>Aemilius Paulus</i> , 13.1
Tribute	100 talents	Plutarch, <i>Aemilius Paulus</i> , 28.6
Tribute	200 talents	Plutarch, <i>Aemilius Paulus</i> , 28.6
Coined silver in 750 vessels	3 talents	Plutarch, <i>Aemilius Paulus</i> , 32.8

Coined silver in 750 vessels	2,250 silver talents	Plutarch, <i>Aemilius Paulus</i> , 32.8
Coined gold in 77 vessels	3 talents	Plutarch, <i>Aemilius Paulus</i> , 33.3
Coined gold in 77 vessels	231 gold talents	Plutarch, <i>Aemilius Paulus</i> , 33.3
The consecrated bowl	10 gold talents	Plutarch, <i>Aemilius Paulus</i> , 33.4
Gift	4 talents	Plutarch, <i>Pelopidas</i> , 30.11
Booty	80 talents	Plutarch, <i>Aristides</i> , 20.3
Tax	460 talents	Plutarch, <i>Aristides</i> , 24.4
Athenian revenue	600 talents	Plutarch, <i>Aristides</i> , 24.4
Tax	1,300 talents	Plutarch, <i>Aristides</i> , 24.5
To become allies with the Celtiberians	200 talents	Plutarch, <i>Cato Maior</i> , 10.2
Fine	2 talents	Plutarch, <i>Cato Maior</i> , 19.3
Fine	500 talents	Plutarch, <i>Cato Maior</i> , 22.1
Low estimate of Themistocles' worth	3 talents	Plutarch, <i>Comparatio Aristidis et Catonis</i> , 1.4
High estimate of Themistocles' worth	5 talents	Plutarch, <i>Comparatio Aristidis et Catonis</i> , 1.4
House and property of Nabis	120 talents	Plutarch, <i>Philopoemen</i> , 15.6
Indemnity	1,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Titus Flamininus</i> , 9.8
Fine	1,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Titus Flamininus</i> , 14.3
Money for Pyrrhus	200 talents	Plutarch, <i>Pyrrhus</i> , 3.5
Ptolemy's payment to Antipater to give up his expedition	300 talents	Plutarch, <i>Pyrrhus</i> , 6.6
Deposit	1 silver talent	Plutarch, <i>Lysander</i> , 18.2
Money for a war	100 talents	Plutarch, <i>Lysander</i> , 21.2
Fine	1 talent	Plutarch, <i>Lysander</i> , 27.3
Fine	50 talents	Plutarch, <i>Cimon</i> , 4.4
Fine	10 talents	Plutarch, <i>Cimon</i> , 12.4
Money stolen	30 talents	Plutarch, <i>Nicias</i> , 28.4
Money sent by Lysander to Sparta	1,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Nicias</i> , 28.4
Crassus' monetary possessions before his consulship	300 talents	Plutarch, <i>Crassus</i> , 2.3
Crassus' monetary possessions after his consulship	7,100 talents	Plutarch, <i>Crassus</i> , 2.3

Loan paid by Crassus on Caesar's behalf	830 talents	Plutarch, <i>Crassus</i> , 7.7
Gift	1 talent	Plutarch, <i>Crassus</i> , 33.7
Money asked of Eumenes	300 talents	Plutarch, <i>Eumenes</i> , 2.5
Money given by Eumenes	100 talents	Plutarch, <i>Eumenes</i> , 2.5
Gold and silver melted in a fire	1,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Eumenes</i> , 2.7
Eumenes' property	5,000 silver talents	Plutarch, <i>Eumenes</i> , 3.11
Money to kill Eumenes	100 talents	Plutarch, <i>Eumenes</i> , 8.11
Gift	500 talents	Plutarch, <i>Eumenes</i> , 13.2
Money to kill Sertorius	100 silver talents	Plutarch, <i>Sertorius</i> , 22.1
Part of a treaty	3,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Sertorius</i> , 24.3
Expenses of a march	30 talents	Plutarch, <i>Agesilaus</i> , 10.5
Price of passage	100 silver talents	Plutarch, <i>Agesilaus</i> , 16.1
Spoils	100 talents	Plutarch, <i>Agesilaus</i> , 19.3
Expenses of a withdrawal	10 talents	Plutarch, <i>Agesilaus</i> , 32.8
Gift	230 silver talents	Plutarch, <i>Agesilaus</i> , 40.2
Estate of Demetrius	4,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Pompeius</i> , 2.4
Money to capture Mithridates	100 talents	Plutarch, <i>Pompeius</i> , 32.9
Fine	6,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Pompeius</i> , 33.4
Money promised by Tigranes to each tribune	1 talent	Plutarch, <i>Pompeius</i> , 33.5
Cost of Mithridates' sword belt	400 talents	Plutarch, <i>Pompeius</i> , 42.3
Present from Pompey to all the sophists in Rhodes	1 talent	Plutarch, <i>Pompeius</i> , 42.5
Money to restore Athens	50 talents	Plutarch, <i>Pompeius</i> , 42.6
Money brought by Pompey to the public treasury	20,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Pompeius</i> , 45.3
Money to feed and maintain soldiers each year	1,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Pompeius</i> , 55.7
Bribe	1,500 talents	Plutarch, <i>Pompeius</i> , 58.1
Bail	2 talents	Plutarch, <i>Caesar</i> , 1.7
Ransom	20 talents	Plutarch, <i>Caesar</i> , 2.1
Ransom	50 talents	Plutarch, <i>Caesar</i> , 2.1
Debt	1,300 talents	Plutarch, <i>Caesar</i> , 5.8
Payment	830 talents	Plutarch, <i>Caesar</i> , 11.2

Yearly Tribute	1,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Caesar</i> , 28.8
Money given to Paulus to adorn the Basilica	1,500 talents	Plutarch, <i>Caesar</i> , 29.3
Present	100 talents	Plutarch, <i>Phocion</i> , 18.1
Gift	700 talents	Plutarch, <i>Phocion</i> , 21.3
Charicles' charge to Harpalus for work done—said to be a large sum	30 talents	Plutarch, <i>Phocion</i> , 22.2
Cato's share of the patrimony	120 talents	Plutarch, <i>Cato Minor</i> , 4.1
Inheritance	100 talents	Plutarch, <i>Cato Minor</i> , 6.7
Marble	8 talents	Plutarch, <i>Cato Minor</i> , 11.3
Books	5 talents	Plutarch, <i>Cato Minor</i> , 18.5
Annual expenditure for the distribution of grain	1,250 talents	Plutarch, <i>Cato Minor</i> , 26.1
Sum	7,000 silver talents	Plutarch, <i>Cato Minor</i> , 38.1
Amount held by a coffer	2 talents, 500 drachmai	Plutarch, <i>Cato Minor</i> , 38.1
Coined money	600 talents	Plutarch, <i>Agis et Cleomenes</i> , 9.5
Money equation	500 talents	Plutarch, <i>Agis et Cleomenes</i> , 44.1
Gift	24 talents	Plutarch, <i>Agis et Cleomenes</i> , 53.5
Agis' monetary property	600 talents	Plutarch, <i>Comparatio Agidis et Cleomenis cum Tiberio et Gaio Graccho</i> , 1.8
Demosthenes' monetary property	15 talents	Plutarch, <i>Demonsthenes</i> , 4.3
Payment	5 talents	Plutarch, <i>Demonsthenes</i> , 23.6
Golden cup	20 talents	Plutarch, <i>Demonsthenes</i> , 25.4
Fine	50 talents	Plutarch, <i>Demonsthenes</i> , 26.2
Money paid to those who prepared the altar of Zeus	50 talents	Plutarch, <i>Demonsthenes</i> , 27.8
Worth of Roscius' estate	250 talents	Plutarch, <i>Cicero</i> , 3.5
Demetrius' money	5,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Demetrius</i> , 8.4
Fine	50 talents	Plutarch, <i>Demetrius</i> , 24.6
Bribe	100 talents	Plutarch, <i>Demetrius</i> , 25.1
Money for soap	250 talents	Plutarch, <i>Demetrius</i> , 27.1

Treasure	1,200 talents	Plutarch, <i>Demetrius</i> , 32.1
Antony's debt	250 talents	Plutarch, <i>Antonius</i> , 2.5
Ptolemy's proposed bribe to Gabinius to join him in invading Egypt	10,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Antonius</i> , 3.4
Treasure from Caesar's house	4,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Antonius</i> , 15.2
Money from Asia	200,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Antonius</i> , 24.8
Treaty	1,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Antonius</i> , 34.5
Treaty	300 talents	Plutarch, <i>Antonius</i> , 34.7
Money for a battle	20,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Antonius</i> , 56.2
Bribe	2,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Antonius</i> , 86.9
Reward	1 silver talents	Plutarch, <i>Dion</i> , 19.7
Money to kill someone	20 talents	Plutarch, <i>Dion</i> , 54.3
All the Rhodians' gold and silver	800 talents	Plutarch, <i>Brutus</i> , 32.4
Fine	500 talents	Plutarch, <i>Brutus</i> , 32.4
Fine	150 talents	Plutarch, <i>Brutus</i> , 32.4
Gift	25 talents	Plutarch, <i>Aratus</i> , 11.2
Admission fee	1 talent	Plutarch, <i>Aratus</i> , 13.1
Gift	150 talents	Plutarch, <i>Aratus</i> , 13.6
Gift	60 talents	Plutarch, <i>Aratus</i> , 19.1
Gift	1 talent	Plutarch, <i>Aratus</i> , 19.2
Purchase	150 talents	Plutarch, <i>Aratus</i> , 34.6
Payment for soldiers	50 talents	Plutarch, <i>Aratus</i> , 35.2
Yearly pension	12 talents	Plutarch, <i>Aratus</i> , 41.5
Money Aratus received yearly from Ptolemy	6 talents	Plutarch, <i>Aratus</i> , 41.5
Fine	20 talents	Plutarch, <i>Aratus</i> , 48.7
Fine to Philip for abusing Aratus' son	1,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Aratus</i> , 54.5
Worth of adornment around the king	12,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Artaxerxes</i> , 24.10
Dowry	1 talent	Plutarch, <i>Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat</i> , 18E
Gift	1 talent	Plutarch, <i>Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata</i> , 176A

Gift	1 talent	Plutarch, <i>Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata</i> , 179E
Payment	50 talents	Plutarch, <i>Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata</i> , 179F
Price	100 talents	Plutarch, <i>Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata</i> , 179F
Proposed treaty from Darius to Alexander to split the kingdom	10,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata</i> , 180B
Gift	50 talents	Plutarch, <i>Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata</i> , 181D
Payment	1 talent	Plutarch, <i>Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata</i> , 182E
Gift	100 talents	Plutarch, <i>Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata</i> , 188C
Gift	5,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata</i> , 196D
Gift	100 silver talents	Plutarch, <i>Apothegmata Laconica</i> , 211C
Gift	50 talents	Plutarch, <i>Apothegmata Laconica</i> , 222C
Payment	300 silver talents	Plutarch, <i>Mulierum Virtutes</i> , 248E
Price	2 talents	Plutarch, <i>Mulierum Virtutes</i> , 251F
Gift	1 talent	Plutarch, <i>Mulierum Virtutes</i> , 260E
Gift	500 gold talents	Plutarch, <i>Parallela minora</i> , 308B
Treasure	200 talents	Plutarch, <i>De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute</i> , 327D
Gift	70 talents	Plutarch, <i>De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute</i> , 327E

Bribe	50 talents	Plutarch, <i>De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute</i> , 331E
Gift	50 talents	Plutarch, <i>De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute</i> , 333B
Gift	1 talent	Plutarch, <i>De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute</i> , 333F
Price	10 talents	Plutarch, <i>De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute</i> , 334E
Gift	70 talents	Plutarch, <i>De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute</i> , 342D
Money captured by Alexander and sent back to build temples for the gods	10,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute</i> , 343D
Spoils of war	10,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>De gloria Atheniensium</i> , 349E
Loan	3 talents	Plutarch, <i>De curiositate</i> , 516B
Debt	100 talents	Plutarch, <i>De vitioso pudore</i> , 530D
Gift	1 talent	Plutarch, <i>De vitioso pudore</i> , 531E
Amount begged for	1 talent	Plutarch, <i>De vitioso pudore</i> , 531F
Gift	1 talent	Plutarch, <i>De vitioso pudore</i> , 533C
Gift	1 silver talent	Plutarch, <i>De vitioso pudore</i> , 535B
Gift	1 talent	Plutarch, <i>Quaestiones convivales</i> , 633B
Gift	1 talent	Plutarch, <i>Quaestiones convivales</i> , 633D
Payment for a concubine	10 talent	Plutarch, <i>Amatorius</i> , 760C
Labor payment	5 talents	Plutarch, <i>Praecepta gerendae reipublicae</i> , 800F
Gift	1 talent	Plutarch, <i>Praecepta gerendae reipublicae</i> , 809A
Ornaments of the goddess made by Pericles	40 gold talents	Plutarch, <i>De vitando aere alieno</i> , 828B
Value of Crates' estate	8 talents	Plutarch, <i>De vitando aere alieno</i> , 831F

Donation	2 talent	Plutarch, <i>Vitae decem oratorum</i> , 835F
Payment	1 talent	Plutarch, <i>Vitae decem oratorum</i> , 837C
Isocrates' wealth	20 talents	Plutarch, <i>Vitae decem oratorum</i> , 838A
Money that passed through Lycurgus' hands	14,000 talents	Plutarch, <i>Vitae decem oratorum</i> , 841B
Money that passed through Lycurgus' hands	18,650 talents	Plutarch, <i>Vitae decem oratorum</i> , 841B
Money entrusted to Lycurgus	250 talents	Plutarch, <i>Vitae decem oratorum</i> , 841D
Fine	1 talent	Plutarch, <i>Vitae decem oratorum</i> , 842A
Revenue of the commons before Lycurgus	60 talents	Plutarch, <i>Vitae decem oratorum</i> , 842F
Revenue of the commons after Lycurgus	1,200 talents	Plutarch, <i>Vitae decem oratorum</i> , 842F
Total money given by Lycurgus to the citizens	160 talents	Plutarch, <i>Vitae decem oratorum</i> , 843E
Fine	10 talents	Plutarch, <i>Vitae decem oratorum</i> , 844D
Gift	1 silver talent	Plutarch, <i>Vitae decem oratorum</i> , 845F
Money Harpalus brought from Asia	700 talents	Plutarch, <i>Vitae decem oratorum</i> , 846B
Accusation of embezzlement	30 talents	Plutarch, <i>Vitae decem oratorum</i> , 846C
Debt	30 talents	Plutarch, <i>Vitae decem oratorum</i> , 846D
Payment to an athlete	1 talent	Plutarch, <i>Vitae decem oratorum</i> , 848B
Payment to an orator	5 talents	Plutarch, <i>Vitae decem oratorum</i> , 848B
Maintenance of a galley	8 talents	Plutarch, <i>Vitae decem oratorum</i> , 850F
Repairing walls	3 talents	Plutarch, <i>Vitae decem oratorum</i> , 851A
Charity	1 talent	Plutarch, <i>Vitae decem oratorum</i> , 851B

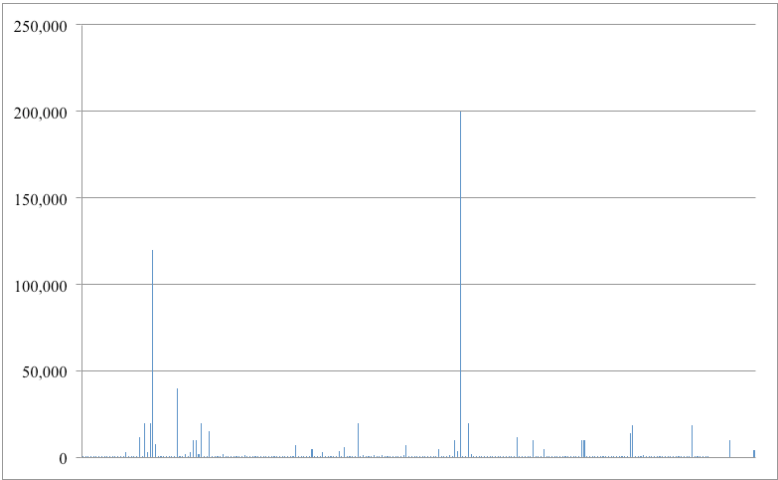
Corn	1 talent	Plutarch, <i>Vitae decem oratorum</i> , 851B
Contribution	500 talents	Plutarch, <i>Vitae decem oratorum</i> , 851B
Profit	30 talents	Plutarch, <i>Vitae decem oratorum</i> , 851E
Profit	100 silver talents	Plutarch, <i>Vitae decem oratorum</i> , 851E
Profit	50 talents	Plutarch, <i>Vitae decem oratorum</i> , 851E
Profit	20 talents	Plutarch, <i>Vitae decem oratorum</i> , 851E
Money entrusted to Lycurgus	18,900 talents	Plutarch, <i>Vitae decem oratorum</i> , 852B
Amount	650 talents	Plutarch, <i>Vitae decem oratorum</i> , 852B
Gift	10 talents	Plutarch, <i>De Herodoti malignitate</i> , 862B
Reward	50 talents	Plutarch, <i>De Herodoti malignitate</i> , 868B
Reward	1 talent	Plutarch, <i>De Stoicorum repugnantiis</i> , 1048A
Payment	60 talents	Plutarch, <i>Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum</i> , 1093E
Amount	120 talents	Plutarch, <i>Fragmenta</i> , F214

## Appendix 3.1

## Statistical Analysis of Plutarch's Data

Average	3,099.9875
Median	100
Mode	1
Range	199,999

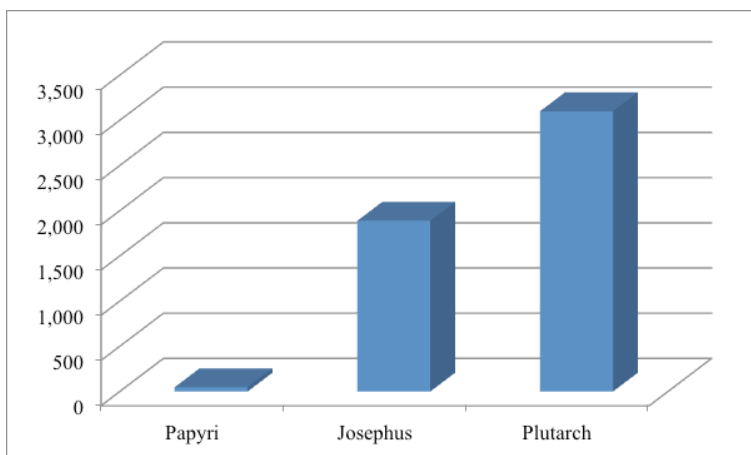
Appendix 3.2  
Graph of Plutarch’s Data\*



\*Again, the two bars to the furthest on the right, at 10,000 and 4,166, are not data from Plutarch but rather are there to assist the viewer in comparing Matthew 18’s numbers (either 10,000 or, as I prefer, 4,166) with Plutarch.

## Appendix 4

Graph of Average Amount of  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\nu$  per Occurrence among the Papyri, Josephus, and Plutarch





## BOOK REVIEWS

HANSON, VICTOR DAVIS, ed. *Makers of Ancient Strategy: From the Persian Wars to the Fall of Rome*. Princeton: Princeton, 2010. Pp. 278. Cloth. \$27.95. ISBN: 9780691137902.

Since published by Princeton University Press in 1986, *Makers of Modern Strategy from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* has become a seminal work of military history. Composed of twenty-nine essays addressing topics and military figures from Clausewitz and Mao, this 950-page behemoth has set a daunting standard for all other compilations of its type. It is in the spirit of *Makers of Modern Strategy* that editor Victor Davis Hanson—calling in such illustrious figures of ancient military history as Donald Kagan, Barry Strauss, and Adrian Goldsworthy—has sought to create an ancient world parallel in the form of his recent compilation *Makers of Ancient Strategy: From the Persian Wars to the Fall of Rome*.

From the outset, *Makers of Ancient Strategy* is more of a warm-up exercise or test run for something far more grandiose—perhaps it may be Princeton's way of mimicking the development of its modern parallel, which was originally published in 1943 and contained only seven essays (which obviously had little to say about the nuclear age). Whatever the intent behind its publication, *Makers of Ancient Strategy* is nevertheless a comparatively short work, containing ten essays spread over 278 pages. Also different from the standard set by *Modern* is the at times peculiar directive established by Hanson in his introduction. He indicates that “*Makers of Ancient Strategy* not only reminds us that the more things change, the more they remain the same, it also argues that the classical worlds of Greece and Rome offer a unique utility in understanding war of any era” (3). As such, Hanson and his collaborators have attempted,

with varying levels of effectiveness, to select topics that allow them to show the sometimes remarkably similar military situations that can be found between the ancient and modern worlds.

The introduction to Tom Holland's "From Persia with Love" (11–30), for example, executes the ancient to modern connection rather brilliantly:

The invasion of Iraq, when it finally came, was merely the climax of an ongoing period of crisis and upheaval in the international order. The stand-off between the two sides had been a geopolitical fixture for years. Both had surely long suspected that open conflict was inevitable. As the invaders crossed into Iraqi territory, they would have known that they faced a regime that was hardly unprepared for war. It had been assiduous in stockpiling reserves of weaponry and provisions; its troops, massed along the border, blocked all the roads that led to the capital. . . . Yet all the regime's defenses, in the final reckoning, might as well have been made of sand. What it confronted in its adversary was nothing less than a superpower, the most formidable on the planet. The task force brought to bear by the invaders was a quite devastating display of shock and awe. Those of the defenders who were not left corpses by the first deadly impact of the enemy onslaught simply melted away. Even in the capital itself, the population proved signally unwilling to die for the sake of their beleaguered leader. A bare few weeks after hostilities had begun, the war was effectively over. So it was, on October 12, 539 BC, that the gates of Babylon were flung open "without a battle," and the greatest city in the world fell into the hands of Cyrus, king of Persia. (11)

To modern readers familiar with the recently concluded Iraq War, this passage sounds quite similar to the newscasts and newspaper articles of April 2003—an effective technique illustrating that technology changes only a few things in the nature and circumstances of warfare. Likewise, Hanson's own "Epaminondas the Theban and the Doctrine of Preemptive War" (93–117) makes a number of allusions to the American instigation of the Iraq War. For example, Hanson points out that the Theban military's invasion and liberation of Messenia from Sparta in 370–369 B.C.E. was a decision that was met with much of the same derision and scorn that has been directed at proponents of the modern Iraq conflict. Hanson concludes that while the invasion of Messenia was controversial among Thebans, Messenia soon became an established city-state that not only provided (relative) liberty to thousands of its inhabitants, but the city also served as a strategic check on the greatly weakened Sparta. As such, Hanson implies that the war in Iraq could yield similar results for the United States in the future.

Other selections, such as Susan Mattern's "Counterinsurgency and the Enemies of Rome" (163–84) and Ian Worthington's "Alexander the Great, Nation Building, and the Creation and Maintenance of Empire" (118–37),

struggle to find parallels with the modern world, and they appear forced and unnecessary. Some selections also seem to sacrifice depth while bridging the gap between past and present; as a result, especially in the case of “Alexander the Great,” they read like textbook entries from survey courses. While a helpful leg-up for the casual or nonspecialist reader, this practice falls far short of the standard set by *Makers of Modern Strategy* and diminishes the intended significance of its ancient world counterpart. Thus, while the modern applications featured in *Makers of Ancient Strategy* are sometimes apt and informative, the book would have been more effective in its original goal if they were treated more as the novelty that they are, rather than as the general theme of the entire work.

*Makers of Ancient Strategy* is a work that aspires to something greater than the sum of its parts in attempting to supply evidence to prove to the modern world that the ancients were not so different from us and that their experiences with warfare and international politics can serve as useful case studies for our own entanglements. Though some of its essays hint at the potential of a volume of similar depth and quality to parallel that of *Makers of Modern Strategy*, it seems that we will have to wait yet a while longer for such an arrival.

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ROLLSTON, CHRISTOPHER A. *Writing and Literacy in the World of Ancient Israel: Epigraphic Evidence from the Iron Age*. Atlanta: SBL, 2010. Pp. 144. Paperback. ISBN 9781589831070.

In his new book, Dr. Christopher A. Rollston, professor of Old Testament and Semitic Studies at Emmanuel School of Religion, expands the understanding of the origins of the Israelite script and literacy by examining epigraphic evidence from ancient Israel. Rollston's excellent work presents many epigraphic sources that illuminate our understanding of Israelite literacy. In fact, in November of 2011, the American Schools of Oriental Research presented Rollston with the Frank Moore Cross Award because of his scholarly contributions. In the course of his book, Rollston addresses an educated audience who would easily comprehend the Hebrew language as well as technical terms associated with ancient studies. However, he means the book to be utilized as a tool for expanding basic knowledge of the paleography of abecedaries and scribal practices.

Rollston builds his argument by creating stepping-stones in his themes, including (1) the national scripts used in the Levant succeeding the Phoenician script, (2) the status of scribes during the Iron Age in Israel, and (3) the literacy among Israelites. Ultimately, Rollston concludes that the textual evidence left by literate Israelite scribes proves that there were standardized educational systems present in Israel during the Iron Age, despite opinions to the contrary.

Rollston begins with a comprehensive study of the origin of the Old Hebrew script that would become the national script of Israel in the ninth century B.C.E. He explains that the earliest Northwest Semitic scripts were not standardized: the letters varied in stance, writing direction was undecided, and there was a far greater number of consonants than later settled upon in the Phoenician alphabet. These factors were standardized in the second millennium, forming the early Phoenician alphabet (19).

During this segment, Rollston performs an extensive review of Phoenician texts that illustrate the developments throughout the ninth and eighth centuries B.C.E. By studying the lengthening in the strokes of the letters *samek*, *mem*, *nun*, *tet*, and *kaf*, specifically in the Ahiiram Sarcophagus inscription, Azarba'al inscription, and the Yehimilk inscription, the author argues that a text can be dated according to stroke lengths (21). More importantly, after close inspection of these alterations in scribal techniques, Rollston provides a convincing argument concerning when the Old Hebrew script was first born. Through his assessment of the nuances between similar Phoenician letters, Rollston shows with his hand-drawn copies of the inscriptions, that Old Hebrew was not developed in the tenth or ninth centuries as previously thought, but rather in the late-ninth to early-eighth centuries B.C.E. (35, 42). He argues that the distinct epigraphic developments in the Phoenician abecedar are evidence for an institutionalized educational process for the literate elite.

Alterations in the morphology of the Old Hebrew script, as Rollston points out, are careful and purposeful "national statements" which illustrate a distinct break from the *Mutterschrift* rather than "an evolutionary development" (44). This suggests that careful thought was given to the script provided by the scribes. Rollston uses the second half of his book to demonstrate that the scribes in the Levant would have been treated as elites or come from an elite family line.

He offers support of the preceding claim by presenting textual evidence discovered in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Israel. The Egyptian Papyrus Lansing "extols the scribal profession by affirming that the scribe. . . persists in training and becomes a scribe so that 'you may become one whom the king trusts; to make you gain entrance to treasury and granary (translation taken from

M. Lichtheim)" (85–86). Additionally, Rollston cites the *Satire of the Trades* and the *Papyrus Anastasi II* which both confirm the prestige that accompanies the elite status of scribes because they are saved from manual labor (86). Similarly, Mesopotamian and Hebrew texts laud the scribal profession and all the wealth and success it brings. While there are less Old Hebrew epigraphic texts, Rollston states that the canonical First and Second Temple writings "discern that the scribe was an esteemed member of elite society" from the many mentions of royal scribes that suggest their closeness with the palace (88). These textual evidences reinforce Rollston's theory of the scribal status in the Levant.

Along with demonstrating the elite nature of scribes, the book expresses the theory that literacy was contained solely among the elite in most cases. Rollston proposes that literacy is "the possession of substantial facility in a writing system . . . with minimal errors of composition or comprehension" (127). He argues that while some Israelites might have been semi-literate, the evidence does not point towards a high literacy rate (127–28).

With these limitations on the definition of literacy, Rollston is able to narrow the scope of the literate to, once again, the elite. He substantiates his theory by focusing on the cultural atmosphere that gave the elite families a higher likelihood of literacy. Speaking specifically of those in scribal families, Rollston brings forth the idea that they would have been accustomed to seeing documents, and thus their "print exposure," as he calls it, would create an environment conducive to a higher literacy rate in the next generation (124–25).

By focusing on primary textual evidence from Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Israel, Rollston presents the argument that extreme literacy would have been needed for scribes in high positions in order to be consciously aware of alterations made within their abecedar. Such literacy would only have been achieved in standardized educational institutions (ch. 6). During this time, schools were present in both Egypt and Mesopotamia. However, even though there has been no substantial evidence for such institutions in Israel, paleographers are of the opinion that such establishments must have existed. Rollston shows this possibility through Israelite records that could be student practice texts similar to those found in Deir el-Medina where more experienced handwriting stands next to an obvious novice's.

Likewise, Rollston's argument is drawn back to the origin of Old Hebrew where, it seems, a conscious decision was made to deviate from the Phoenician script (44). Through charts showing specific letters in the alphabet and how they differ between Hebrew, Aramaic, and Phoenician (shown on pp. 98–99, 101–2), Rollston convincingly reveals that "the Old Hebrew epigraphic record

reflects synchronic consistency *and* diachronic development is significant because it necessitates a mechanism, namely, formal, standardized scribal education” (103).

Rollston provides a clear explanation of ancient Israelite writing and literacy by arguing that the two were developed through standardized educational institutions. He builds upon his argument in a manner that is easy to follow. Further, his book is balanced by plenty of opinions that express both sides of the argument before he presents his view, allowing the audience to form their own opinions before being swayed by the author's. While I would have liked more explanations of why he chose his viewpoints in some instances, this well-written book gives new insights into Northwest Semitic records and scripts, creating a thirst for more knowledge on the subject. Dr. Rollston's book would make an excellent read for anyone with the desire for a more thorough understanding of the scribal impact on ancient Israel.

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LICONA, MICHAEL R. *The Resurrection of Jesus: A New Historiographical Approach*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2010. Pp 718. Paperback. \$24.00. ISBN: 978-0830827190.

Prior to reading this book, I had a well-formed opinion against the central premise of the work—a historical proof for the resurrection of Jesus. After reading it, my thoughts have changed. The author, Michael R. Licona, a research professor of New Testament at the Southern Evangelical Seminary, received his Ph.D. from the University of Pretoria. Licona's book, *The Resurrection of Jesus: A New Historiographical Approach*, is an outgrowth of his doctoral dissertation and discusses whether the resurrection of Jesus can be “proven” historically. Licona's work is by far the most thorough discussion of the methodology, historiography, and texts surrounding Jesus's resurrection from the dead. It's difficult to say how much of his approach is “new,” as many scholars before him have made similar arguments. What Licona does bring to the table is his exhaustive collection of all the arguments, theories, texts, and interpretations relevant to the question of whether or not Jesus was resurrected. In that regard, he has made the most thorough and complete argument of any scholar for the historicity of the resurrection of Jesus. Licona's fundamental thesis is if a historian “brackets the question of worldview, neither pre-supposing nor

*a priori* excluding supernaturalism, and examines the data, the historical conclusion that Jesus rose from the dead follows" (608).

Without question, the most important part of Licona's work is the first few chapters. He argues that every aspect of the historical method, particularly for ancient history, is colored by a historian's worldview, what he calls a "horizon." A horizon refers to the "knowledge, experience, beliefs, education, cultural conditioning, preferences, presuppositions and worldview" of a historian (38). Licona rightly credits the horizons of historians for producing so many theories about the resurrection of Jesus, theories ranging from historicity, to psychological delusion, to deceit, to forgery and simple confusion. By understanding the role horizons play in the writing of history, Licona notes that every historian's horizon will permeate the entire analysis of the texts surrounding Christ's resurrection. The very existence of horizons undermines historical objectivity. Though historians can establish some historical truth, they can never be absolutely sure of anything in the past because the method of history is colored by subjective elements related to the historian himself.

Following these initial and broad statements about historical inquiry, Licona outlines important assumptions for historical methodology: criteria for weighing and adjudicating between differing historical hypotheses. He presents five different categories that all hypotheses should be judged by, although he notes that there is widespread disagreement about which of the five should be given priority. The five criteria are: (1) Explanatory scope, or how many facts are accounted for by a hypothesis; (2) Explanatory power, or the quality of the explanation a hypothesis gives, how clearly it explains the facts; (3) Plausibility, meaning that if a hypothesis is implied by accepted truths, it is preferred to one that is not; (4) Less *ad hoc*, meaning a hypothesis with fewer "non-evidenced assumptions [that] go beyond what is already known" is preferable (110); and (5) Illumination, where a hypothesis provides a solution to some other historical problem. Licona admits that he values "plausibility as the most important criterion, followed by explanatory scope and power, followed by less *ad hoc*" (113).

The final discussion prior to actually examining the evidence is by far the most important. In the second chapter, Licona discusses the role of miracles in history. In doing so, he outlines and critiques the theories of philosopher David Hume and scholars Behan McCullagh, John P. Meier, Bart D. Ehrman, and A. J. M. Wedderburn and James D. G. Dunn. These scholars discuss a historian's ability to establish miracles in history, the role of probabilities when establishing historical fact, and the use of horizons in justifying a historian's

worldview. Bart Ehrman's arguments, which have become particularly popular, are discussed at great length by Licona. Ehrman makes five arguments to deny miracle claims in history, but one is more convincing than the rest. It can be summarized as follows:

1. By definition, history tries to establish what probably happened. Miracles, by definition, are the least probable outcome in any given situation.

2. Therefore, by the nature of the historical method, miracles can never be proven because in every possible situation they are the most improbable explanations.

Licona critiques Ehrman's argument by objecting to his second premise, "Why must a miracle hypothesis necessarily be the least probable explanation?" (174). According to Licona, premise two is based incorrectly on the notion of prior probabilities. In other words, Ehrman argues that because no person has ever risen from the dead, then Jesus did not rise from the dead. But, as Licona explains, this line of thinking "excludes the possibility of an external agent" who could alter the probability of an event occurring (175). For example, if God did exist and wanted to resurrect Jesus, then the probability factor dramatically shifts. The millions of other people who have never been resurrected play no part in calculating the likelihood of Jesus's resurrection because, presumably, God only wanted to resurrect Jesus. Therefore, if we allow for the possibility of an external agent, such as God, the question changes dramatically. But, as Licona notes, "The challenge for historians, of course, is that they cannot know ahead of time whether such a god exists" (175). However, in Licona's opinion, this should not of necessity lead to historical naturalism: "Instead of presupposing or *a priori* excluding it [the possibility of God's intervention], which *a priori* renders one's hypothesis as *worldview dependent*, historians ought to adopt a position of openness and let the facts speak for themselves" (175).

Licona adopts a historically neutral methodology, where miracles are granted as possibilities and God's intervention is not *a priori* excluded. Using this method, Licona thoroughly examines all of the relevant texts that discuss the resurrection of Jesus. After a 409-page discussion of these texts and the probable hypotheses to explain the historical facts, Licona concludes that the only likely hypothesis, the one which meets all five of his criteria listed above, is that the resurrection of Jesus did occur. In fact, for Licona, not only does the resurrection hypothesis become the most likely candidate among its competitors, "it outdistances them by a significant margin" (606).

Licona's book has been particularly eye-opening for me. Prior to reading it, I agreed with Bart Ehrman that miracles could not be established through the historical method. I felt that miracles were simply concepts outside the realm of history. But, Licona's arguments have changed my opinion. The crux of the entire problem starts here: should the possibility of God's intervention be *a priori* excluded from historical method? In my mind, the answer is no. Naturalism has just as many improvable assumptions as theism. Naturalism posits that God never intervenes as opposed to a theistic worldview where God can and does intervene. Why should one hypothesis be preferred over the other? Certainly neither can be proven superior on historical grounds. As such, what *a priori* basis do we have to dismiss miracle-claims as unreliable or outside of the historical discourse? If, to avoid these problems, we accept methodological neutrality, a new problem arises: if we allow for the possibility of God's intervention, how should we recognize it? How are we to be sure that some miracle is the doing of God and not a pantheon of deities, the work of an evil demon, or perhaps an aberration in the natural laws of our planet? Again, historical issues seem unable to suggest which of these "supernatural" entities is responsible for a possible miracle.

A related problem comes from Licona's discussion of horizons. If a historian is convinced, based on non-historical factors, that God exists and that he acts in history, should this historian be allowed to use that belief in historical explanations? If not, then why not? What precludes it? Every historian uses their own intuitions, reason, and biases to establish historical fact—this is the whole point of discussing horizons. The problem is especially acute in a field such as ancient historiography where an abundance of data is lacking. As such, if we are convinced of some truth, such as God's existence, why should we not apply it to our historical analysis? The opposite edge of the sword also applies: if a believer is given the right to insert God into history, a disbeliever has an equal right to remove him completely.

The question of Christ's resurrection strikes at the heart of history: what historical method should scholars accept? If we accept methodological neutrality, then any number of supernatural entities can be used to explain unusual events. Zeus, Father Time, Ahura Mazda, and Osiris could each be used to explain abnormal "miracles" in place of God. Why should God be the only possibility? Does any other "supernatural" explanation hold the same legitimacy as asserting God as the cause of unlikely happenings? Do we have some method for adjudicating between them? Whatever method is chosen, it would not be based on historical evidence but philosophical reasoning. If

methodological skepticism is adopted, then we have once again reached an *a priori* bias in the discipline that cannot be adequately defended. Why reject supernatural intervention outright? Certainly no historical event can supply us with methodological skepticism, so what philosophical or theological reasoning dictates its precedence?

If the excessive questioning and outright confusion has not explained it well enough, I am not sure where to stand on this debate. In my view, history has not developed an adequate and complete methodology to account for these problems. The entire question of Jesus' resurrection opens doors to fundamental topics in the foundations and philosophy of history. Due to the absolute importance of these debates, Licona should be praised for his ability to open the reader's mind to these questions throughout his book. The sheer exhaustiveness and accessibility of Licona's work makes these problems impossible to ignore. Whether one agrees with Licona or not, his work is commendable because it provides a strong argument for the resurrection hypothesis and it utilizes so many relevant materials. The book will remain a must-have for any historian who wishes to adequately understand the role of axiomatic truths in history and especially for any Christian wishing to understand the nature of their faith.

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## BOOK NOTICES

ADAMS, EDWARD. *The Earliest Christian Meeting Places: Almost Exclusively Houses?* London: T & T Clark, 2013. Edward Adams challenges the strong consensus in New Testament and Early Christian studies: that the early Christians met 'almost exclusively' in houses an assumption which undergirds much work in the social study of early Christianity, including the social formation of the early churches; the socioeconomic status of the early Christians; the development of leadership and worship; the social organization of early Christian mission; women in the early churches. Adams re-examines the New Testament and other literary data, as well as archaeological evidence, showing that explicit evidence for assembling in houses is not as overwhelming as is usually thought. The study also asks: What other kinds of material space, beyond private houses, might have served as early Christian meeting places, and what evidence is there for Christian utilization of such places? Adams shows that during the first two centuries, the alleged period of the house church, it is plausible to imagine the early Christians gathering in a range of settings, both domestic and non-domestic, rather than almost entirely in private houses

BARAGWANATH, EMILY. *Motivation and Narrative in Herodotus*. Oxford: Oxford, 2012. In his extraordinary story of the defense of Greece against the Persian invasions of 490–480 B.C.E., Herodotus sought to communicate not only what happened, but also the background of thoughts and perceptions that shaped those events and became critical to their interpretation afterwards. Much as the contemporary sophists strove to discover truth about the invisible, Herodotus was acutely concerned to uncover hidden human motivations, whose depiction was vital to his project of

recounting and explaining the past. Emily Baragwanath explores the sophisticated narrative techniques with which Herodotus represented this most elusive variety of historical knowledge. Thus he was able to tell a lucid story of the past while nonetheless exposing the methodological and epistemological challenges it presented. Baragwanath illustrates and analyses a range of these techniques over the course of a wide selection of Herodotus' most intriguing narratives—from those on Athenian democracy and tyranny to Leonidas and Thermopylae—and thus supplies a method for reading the *Histories* more generally.

BLUMELL, LINCOLN H. *Lettered Christians: Christians, Letters, and Late Antique Oxyrhynchus*. Leiden: Brill, 2012. With the discovery of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri just over a century ago a number of important texts directly relating to ancient Christianity have come to light. While certain literary texts have received considerable attention in scholarship by comparison the documentary evidence relating to Christianity has received far less attention and remains rather obscure. To help redress this imbalance, and to lend some context to the Christian literary materials, this book examines the extant Christian epistolary remains from Oxyrhynchus between the third and seventh centuries C.E. Drawing upon this unique corpus of evidence, which until this point has never been collectively nor systematically treated, this book breaks new ground as it employs the letters to consider various questions relating to Christianity in the Oxyrhynchite. Not only does this lucid study fill a void in scholarship, it also gives a number of insights that have larger implications on Christianity in late antiquity.

BOVON, FRANÇOIS and HELMUT KOESTER. *Luke 2: A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 9:51–19:27*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012. This is the second volume of François Bovon's three-volume commentary on the Gospel of Luke, covering the narration of Jesus' travel on the road to Jerusalem—the occasion in Luke of most of Jesus' teachings to the disciples regarding faithfulness, perseverance, and the practice of justice and mercy. Bovon's theological interest in Luke is at the forefront here: as he declares in the preface, "I wish to examine his Gospel with the sober reserve of a scholar and with the confidence of a believer. For I hope in this manner to arrive at genuine understanding." Also distinctive is Bovon's attention to the history of interpretation of this Gospel through time.

BRANDT, J. RASMUS and JON W. IDDENG. *Greek and Roman Festivals: Content, Meaning, and Practice*. Oxford: Oxford, 2012. Festivals were the heartbeat of Greek and Roman society and fulfilled significant roles in its social and political organization and within its institutions. Setting the rhythm of the year, festivals were a common denominator for a wide-ranging series of phenomena that concerned a large area of social relationships: social and political processes were formed, maintained, altered, and sanctioned through religious celebrations, as well as uniting the populace in common acts centered on common symbols. The study of religious festivals and the fundamental social functions which they filled can significantly expand our insights into understanding the Greco-Roman world, the social processes it went through, and the symbols it used. *Greek and Roman Festivals* addresses the multi-faceted and complex nature of Greco-Roman festivals and analyses the connections that existed between them, as religious and social phenomena, and the historical dynamics that shaped them. The volume contains twelve articles which form an interdisciplinary perspective of classical scholarship, ranging from archaeology, history, and history of religions, to philology.

BRUNER, FREDERICK DALE. *The Gospel of John: A Commentary*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012. The author of a much-loved two-volume Matthew commentary that he revised and expanded in 2007, Frederick Dale Bruner, now offers *The Gospel of John: A Commentary*—more rich fruit of his lifetime of study and teaching. Rather than relying primarily on recent scholarship, Bruner honors and draws from the church's major John commentators throughout history, including Augustine, Chrysostom, Aquinas, Luther, Calvin, Henry, Bultmann, Barrett, and more. This "historical interpretation" also sheds light on Bruner's "contemporary interpretation," which includes a clear translation of the text, references to major recent scholarship, and Bruner's personal application of the Gospel to present-day experience. Rich in biblical insights, ecumenical in tone, broadly historical, deeply theological, and lovingly written, Bruner's *Gospel of John* promises to be an invaluable reference for pastors and teachers.

BRYCE, TREVOR. *The World of Neo-Hittite Kingdoms: A Political and Military History*. Oxford: Oxford, 2012. In the early 12th century, the Late Bronze Age Hittite empire collapsed during a series of upheavals which swept the Greek and Near Eastern worlds. In the subsequent Iron Age, numerous

cities and states emerged in south-eastern Anatolia and northern Syria, which are generally known today as the 'Neo-Hittite kingdoms'. Bryce's volume gives an account of the military and political history of these kingdoms, moving beyond the Neo-Hittites themselves to the broader Near Eastern world and the states which dominated it during the Iron Age. Divided into three sections, *The World of Neo-Hittite Kingdoms* looks at the last decades of the empire and the features of these kingdoms and their subsequent treatment under their Anatolian successors. Through a closer look at the individual Neo-Hittite kingdoms and their rulers and a comparison with the contemporary Aramaean states and the other kingdoms of the age—notably the Neo-Assyrian empire—it concludes with a historical synthesis of the Neo-Hittites when the last kingdom was absorbed into the Assyrian provincial administration.

CARSON, D. A. *Christ and Culture Revisited*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012. Called to live *in* the world but not to be *of* it, Christians must perform a precarious balancing act as they live enmeshed a culture that is quickly abandoning its Judeo-Christian roots. D. A. Carson applies his masterful touch to this ongoing problem as he explores the classic typology of H. Richard Niebuhr's five Christ-culture options. Using an astute biblical-theological approach, Carson lays out a clear vision for unifying Niebuhr's disparate options as he provides a practical paradigm that can help Christians untangle current messy debates on living in the world. Rather than forcing a choice between Christ *against* culture or Christ *transforming* culture, Carson encourages Christians to allow *all* categories of biblical theology simultaneously to inform their worldview.

COLLOBERT, CATHERINE, PIERRE DESTRIÉE and FRANCISCO J. GONZALEZ. *Plato and Myth: Studies on the Use and Status of Platonic Myths*. Leiden: Brill, 2012. This volume seeks to show how the philosophy of Plato relates to the literary form of his discourse. Myth is one aspect of this relation whose importance for the study of Plato is only now beginning to be recognized. Reflection on this topic is essential not only for understanding Plato's conception of philosophy and its methods, but also for understanding more broadly the relation between philosophy and literature. The twenty chapters of this volume, contributed by scholars of diverse backgrounds and approaches, elucidate the various uses and statuses of Platonic myths in the first place by reflecting on myth per se and in the second place by focusing on a specific myth in the Platonic corpus.

DORAN, ROBERT. *2 Maccabees: A Critical Commentary*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012. The second-century B.C.E. Maccabean revolt against Seleucid oppression was a watershed event in early Jewish history and Second Maccabees is an important testimony to the revolt and its aftermath. Robert Doran's commentary on 2 Maccabees explores the interplay between history and historiography in the document. Providing detailed philological analysis of the elegant Greek of the text, Doran carefully sifts the evidence for the historicity of the events recounted, while giving full attention to the literary and rhetorical qualities that mark this dramatic narrative.

DU PLESSIS, PAUL J. *Letting and Hiring in Roman Legal Thought: 27 B.C.E. – 284 C.E.* Leiden: Brill, 2012. Commerce in the Roman Empire of the first three centuries C.E. operated within a well-established legal framework provided by Roman law. This framework was the product of both legal theory and legal practice. Centuries of Praetorian modification of the ancient *ius civile*, augmented by conceptual legal thought provided by the Roman jurists had produced a body of law which permitted commerce to flourish and to expand. Central to this body of law was the contract of letting and hiring, one of the four named “consensual” contracts in Roman law. Building on the pioneering work undertaken by Fiori (1999) on Roman conceptual thought about letting and hiring, this book fills an important gap in the current scholarly literature on this contract and its place in Roman commerce.

DUŠEK, JAN. *Aramaic and Hebrew Inscriptions from Mt. Gerizim and Samaria between Antiochus III and Antiochus IV Epiphanes*. Leiden: Brill, 2012. The theme of the book stands on the intersection of epigraphy and historical research: the Aramaic and Hebrew inscriptions discovered in the vicinity of the Yahwistic sanctuary on Mt. Gerizim and their historical background. The study addresses the evidence from three perspectives: the paleography and dating of the inscriptions; the identity of the community who carved them and its institutions; and, finally, the larger historical and political context in which the inscriptions were produced. This book is particularly useful for historians of Palestine in the Second Temple period, for biblical scholars, and for those dealing with Aramaic and Hebrew paleography and epigraphy.

FERRARA, SILVIA. *Cypro-Minoan Inscriptions: Volume 1: Analysis*. Oxford: Oxford, 2012. This volume offers the first comprehensive examination of an ancient writing system from Cyprus and Syria known as Cypro-Minoan. After Linear B was deciphered by Michael Ventris in 1952, other undeciphered scripts of the second millennium B.C.E. from the Aegean world (Linear A) and the Eastern Mediterranean (Cypro-Minoan) became the focus of those trying to crack this ancient and historical code. Despite several attempts for both syllabaries, this prospect has remained unrealized. This is especially true for Cypro-Minoan, the script of Late Bronze Age Cyprus found also at Ugarit in Syria, which, counting no more than 250 inscriptions, remains not only poorly documented, but also insufficiently explored in previous scholarship. Today progress in the study of this enigmatic script demands that we direct our attention to gaining new insight through a contextual analysis of Cypro-Minoan by tracing its life in the archaeological record and investigating its purpose and significance in the Cypriot and Syrian settlements that created and used it. With a new methodology concentrating on a ground-breaking contextual approach, Ferrara presents the first large-scale study of Cypro-Minoan with an analysis of all the inscriptions through a multidisciplinary perspective that embraces aspects of archaeology, epigraphy, and palaeography.

FOSTER, EDITH and DONALD LATEINER. *Thucydides and Herodotus*. Oxford: Oxford, 2012. This edited collection looks at two of the most important ancient Greek historians living in the 5th century B.C.E. who are considered to be the founders of the western tradition of historiography. *Thucydides and Herodotus* examines the relevant relationship between these historians which is considered, especially nowadays, by historians and philologists to be more significant than previously realized. The volume includes an introduction by the editors which addresses our changing view of how the historians relate to one another, and twelve papers written by leading experts in the field of ancient history and philology. Nine of the papers discuss either comprehensive issues pertaining to the historians' relationship or their common themes and practices, while three further papers discuss the ancient reception of Herodotus and Thucydides and investigate the historians' debt to Homer.

GOLDHILL, SIMON. *Sophocles and the Language of Tragedy*. Oxford: Oxford, 2012. Written by one of the best-known interpreters of classical literature today, *Sophocles and the Language of Tragedy* presents a revolutionary take

on the work of this great classical playwright and on how our understanding of tragedy has been shaped by our literary past. Simon Goldhill sheds new light on Sophocles' distinctive brilliance as a dramatist, illuminating such aspects of his work as his manipulation of irony, his construction of dialogue, and his deployment of the actors and the chorus. Goldhill also investigates how nineteenth-century critics like Hegel, Nietzsche, and Wagner developed a specific understanding of tragedy, one that has shaped our current approach to the genre. Finally, Goldhill addresses one of the foundational questions of literary criticism: how historically self-conscious should a reading of Greek tragedy be? The result is an invigorating and exciting new interpretation of the most canonical of Western authors.

GRIG, LUCY and GAVIN KELLY. *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*. Oxford: Oxford, 2012. The city of Constantinople was named New Rome or Second Rome very soon after its foundation in 324 C.E.; over the next two hundred years it replaced the original Rome as the greatest city of the Mediterranean. In this unified essay collection, prominent international scholars examine the changing roles and perceptions of Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity from a range of different disciplines and scholarly perspectives. The seventeen chapters cover both the comparative development and the shifting status of the two cities. Developments in politics and urbanism are considered, along with the cities' changing relationships with imperial power, the church, and each other, and their evolving representations in both texts and images. These studies present important revisionist arguments and new interpretations of significant texts and events. This comparative perspective allows the neglected subject of the relationship between the two Romes to come into focus while avoiding the teleological distortions common in much past scholarship. An introductory section sets the cities, and their comparative development, in context. Part Two looks at topography, and includes the first English translation of the *Notitia* of Constantinople. The following section deals with politics proper, considering the role of emperors in the two Romes and how rulers interacted with their cities. Part Four then considers the cities through the prism of literature, in particular through the distinctively late antique genre of panegyric. The fifth group of essays considers a crucial aspect shared by the two cities: their role as Christian capitals. Lastly, a provocative epilogue looks at the enduring Roman identity of the post-Heraclian Byzantine state. Thus, *Two Romes* not only

illuminates the study of both cities but also enriches our understanding of the late Roman world in its entirety.

GWYNN, DAVID M. *Athanasius of Alexandria: Bishop, Theologian, Ascetic, Father*. Oxford: Oxford, 2012. Athanasius of Alexandria (c. 295–373) is one of the greatest and most controversial figures of early Christian history. His life spanned the period of fundamental change for the Roman Empire and the Christian Church that followed the conversion of Constantine the Great, the first Christian Roman emperor. A bishop and theologian, an ascetic and a pastoral father, Athanasius played a central role in shaping Christianity in these crucial formative years. As bishop of Alexandria (328–73) he fought to unite the divided Egyptian Church and inspired admiration and opposition alike from fellow bishops and the emperor Constantine and his successors. Athanasius attended the first ecumenical Council of Nicaea summoned by Constantine in 325 and as a theologian would be remembered as the defender of the original Nicene Creed against the “Arian” heresy. He was also a champion of the ascetic movement that transformed Christianity, a patron of monks and virgins and the author of numerous ascetic works including the famous *Life of Antony*. All these elements played their part in Athanasius’ vocation as a pastoral father, responsible for the physical and spiritual wellbeing of his congregations. This book offers the first study in English to draw together these diverse yet inseparable roles that defined Athanasius’ life and the influence that he exerted on subsequent Christian tradition. The presentation is accessible to both specialists and non-specialists and is illuminated throughout by extensive quotation from Athanasius’ many writings, for it is through his own words that we may best approach this remarkable man.

HALLIWELL, STEPHEN. *Between Ecstasy and Truth: Interpretations of Greek Poetics from Homer to Longinus*. Oxford: Oxford, 2012. As well as producing one of the finest of all poetic traditions, ancient Greek culture produced a major tradition of poetic theory and criticism. Halliwell’s volume offers a series of detailed and challenging interpretations of some of the most defining authors and texts in the history of ancient Greek poetics: the Homeric epics, Aristophanes’ *Frogs*, Plato’s *Republic*, Aristotle’s *Poetics*, Gorgias’s *Helen*, Isocrates’ *Treatises*, Philodemus’ *On Poems*, and Longinus’ *On the Sublime*. The volume’s fundamental concern is with how the Greeks conceptualized the experience of poetry and debated the values of that experience. The book’s organizing theme is a recurrent Greek dialectic

between ideas of poetry as, on the one hand, a powerfully enthralling experience in its own right (a kind of “ecstasy”) and, on the other, a medium for the expression of truths which can exercise lasting influence on its audiences’ views of the world. Citing a wide range of modern scholarship, and making frequent connections with later periods of literary theory and aesthetics, Halliwell questions the many orthodoxies and received opinions about the texts analyzed. The resulting perspective casts new light on ways in which the Greeks attempted to make sense of the psychology of poetic experience—including the roles of emotion, ethics, imagination, and knowledge—in the life of their culture.

HANSON, PAUL D. and RALPH W. KLEIN. *2 Chronicles*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012. Ralph W. Klein’s magisterial commentary on 1 and 2 Chronicles is now complete. Klein brings to lively expression the unique theological voice of the Chronicler and demonstrates there have been far fewer secondary additions to the text than is normally assumed. 2 Chronicles takes full advantage of recent advances in the textual history of Samuel and Kings, demonstrating in many cases that the differences often ascribed to the Chronicler came in fact from the divergent copy of the canonical books he was rewriting.

HAUSMANINGER, HERBERT, RICHARD GAMAUF, and GEORGE A. SHEETS. *A Casebook on Roman Property Law*. Oxford: Oxford, 2012. This book provides a thorough introduction to Roman property law by means of “cases,” consisting of brief excerpts from Roman juristic sources in the original Latin with accompanying English translations. The cases are selected and grouped so as to provide an overview of each topic and an orderly exposition of its parts. To each case is attached a set of questions that invite the reader to, e.g., clarify ambiguities in the jurist’s argument, reconcile one holding with another, supply missing but necessary facts to account for the holding, and/or engage in other analytical activities. The casebook also illustrates the survival and adaptation of elements of Roman property law in the modern European civil codes, especially the three most influential of those codes: the General Civil Code of Austria (Allgemeines Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch), the German Civil Code (Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch), and the Civil Code of Switzerland (Zivilgesetzbuch). All code excerpts are accompanied by English translations. By comparing and contrasting how the codes have adopted, adapted, or rejected an underlying Roman rule or concept, it is possible

for the reader to observe the dynamic character and continuing life of the Roman legal tradition.

HILL, CHARLES E. and MICHAEL J. KRUGER. *The Early Text of the New Testament*. Oxford: Oxford, 2012. *The Early Text of the New Testament* aims to examine and assess from our earliest extant sources the most primitive state of the New Testament text now known. What sort of changes did scribes make to the text? What is the quality of the text now at our disposal? What can we learn about the nature of textual transmission in the earliest centuries? In addition to exploring the textual and scribal culture of early Christianity, this volume explores the textual evidence for all the sections of the New Testament. It also examines the evidence from the earliest translations of New Testament writings and the citations or allusions to New Testament texts in other early Christian writers.

HINGLEY, RICHARD. *Hadrian's Wall: A Life*. Oxford: Oxford, 2012. In *Hadrian's Wall: A Life*, Richard Hingley addresses the post-Roman history of this world-famous ancient monument. Constructed on the orders of the emperor Hadrian during the 120s C.E., the Wall was maintained for almost three centuries before ceasing to operate as a Roman frontier during the fifth century. The scale and complexity of Hadrian's Wall makes it one of the most important ancient monuments in the British Isles. It is the most well-preserved of the frontier works that once defined the Roman Empire. While the Wall is famous as a Roman construct, its monumental physical structure did not suddenly cease to exist in the fifth century. This volume explores the after-life of Hadrian's Wall and considers the ways it has been imagined, represented, and researched from the sixth century to the internet. The sixteen chapters, illustrated with over 100 images, show the changing manner in which the Wall has been conceived and the significant role it has played in imagining the identity of the English, including its appropriation as symbolic boundary between England and Scotland. Hingley discusses the transforming political, cultural, and religious significance of the Wall during this entire period and addresses the ways in which scholars and artists have been inspired by the monument over the years.

ISRAELOWICH, IDO. *Society, Medicine and Religion in the Sacred Tales of Aelius Aristides*. Leiden: Brill, 2012. Aelius Aristides' *Sacred Tales* offer a unique opportunity to examine how an educated man of the Second

Century C.E. came to terms with illness. The experiences portrayed in the *Tales* disclose an understanding of illness in both religious and medical terms. Aristides was a devout worshipper of Asclepius while at the same time being a patient of some of the most distinguished physicians of his day. This monograph offers a textual analysis of the *Sacred Tales* in the context of the so-called Second Sophistic; medicine and the medical use of dream interpretation; and religion, with particular emphasis on the cult of Asclepius and the visual means used to convey religious content.

JEREMIAH, EDWARD T. *The Emergence of Reflexivity in Greek Language and Thought*. Leiden: Brill, 2012. Contemporary preoccupation with the self and the rise of comparative anthropology have renewed scholarly interest in the forms of personhood current in Ancient Greece. However the word which translates “self” most literally, the intensive adjective and reflexive morpheme αὐτός, and its critical role in the construction of human being have for the most part been neglected. This monograph rights the imbalance by redirecting attention to the diachronic development of the heavily marked reflexive system and its exploitation by thinkers to articulate an increasingly reflexive and non-dialogical understanding of the human subject and its world. It argues that these two developmental trajectories are connected and provides new insight into the intellectual history of subjectivity in the West.

JOHNSON, SCOTT FITZGERALD. *The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity*. Oxford: Oxford, 2012. *The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity* offers an innovative overview of a period (c. 300–700 C.E.) that has become increasingly central to scholarly debates over the history of western and Middle Eastern civilizations. This volume covers such pivotal events as the fall of Rome, the rise of Christianity, the origins of Islam, and the early formation of Byzantium and the European Middle Ages. These events are set in the context of widespread literary, artistic, cultural, and religious change during the period. The geographical scope of this handbook is unparalleled among comparable surveys of Late Antiquity; Arabia, Egypt, Central Asia, and the Balkans all receive dedicated treatments, while the scope extends to the western kingdoms, Ireland, and Scandinavia in the West. Furthermore, from economic theory and slavery to Greek and Latin poetry, Syriac and Coptic literature, sites of religious devotion, and many others, this handbook covers a wide range of topics that will appeal to scholars from a diverse array of disciplines. *The Oxford Handbook of Late*

*Antiquity* engages the perennially valuable questions about the end of the ancient world and the beginning of the medieval, while providing a much-needed touchstone for the study of Late Antiquity itself.

JOUANNA, JACQUES. *Greek Medicine from Hippocrates to Galen: Selected Papers*. Leiden: Brill, 2012. This volume makes available for the first time in English translation a selection of Jacques Jouanna's papers on medicine in the Graeco-Roman world. The papers cover more than thirty years of Jouanna's scholarship and range from the early beginnings of Greek medicine to late antiquity. Part one studies the ways in which Greek medicine is related to its historical and cultural background (politics, rhetoric, drama, religion). Part two studies a number of salient features of Hippocratic medicine, such as dietetics, theories of health and disease and concepts of psychosomatic interaction, in relation to Greek philosophical thought. Part three studies the reception of Hippocratic medicine, especially medical ethics and the theory of the four humors, in Galen and in late antiquity.

KAHANE, AHUVIA. *Homer: A Guide for the Perplexed*. London: Continuum, 2012. Homer's poetry is widely recognized as the beginning of the literary tradition of the West and among its most influential canonical texts. Outlining a series of key themes, ideas, and values associated with Homer and Homeric poetry, *Homer: A Guide for the Perplexed* explores the question of the formation of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*—the so-called 'Homeric Problem'. Among the main Homeric themes which the book considers are origin and form, orality and composition, heroic values, social structure, and social bias, gender roles and gendered interpretation, ethnicity, representations of religion, mortality, and the divine, memory, poetry, and poetics, and canonicity and tradition, and the history of Homeric receptions. Drawing upon his extensive knowledge of scholarship on Homer and early epic, Ahuvia Kahane explores contemporary critical and philosophical questions relating to Homer and the Homeric tradition, and examines his wider cultural impact, contexts and significance. This is the ideal companion to study of this most influential poet, providing readers with some basic suggestions for further pursuing their interests in Homer.

KARFÍKOVÁ, LENKA. *Grace and the Will According to Augustine*. Leiden: Brill, 2012. The doctrine on grace, one of the most discussed themes in his later years, was regarded by Augustine as the very core of Christianity. This book traces the gradual crystallization of this teaching, including

its unacceptable consequences (such as double predestination, inherited guilt which deserves eternal punishment, and its transmission through libidinous procreation). How did the reader of Cicero and “the books of the Platonists” reach the ideas that appear in his polemic against Julian (and which remind one of Freud rather than the Stoics or Plotinus)? That is the point of departure of this book. It surely cannot be expected that there is a definite answer to the question; rather, the aim is to follow and understand the development.

LARSEN, KASPER BRO. *Recognizing the Stranger: Recognition Scenes in the Gospel of John*. Leiden: Brill, 2012. *Recognizing the Stranger* is the first monographic study of recognition scenes and motifs in the Gospel of John. The recognition type-scene (*anagnōrisis*) was a common feature in ancient drama and narrative, highly valued by Aristotle as a touching moment of truth, e.g., in Oedipus’ tragic self-discovery and Odysseus’ happy homecoming. The book offers a reconstruction of the conventions of the genre and argues that it is one of the most recurrent and significant literary forms in the Gospel. When portraying Jesus as the divine stranger from heaven, the Gospel employs and transforms the formal and ideological structures of the type-scene in order to show how Jesus’ true identity can be recognized behind the half-mask of his human appearance.

LAWSON, ANDREW J. *Painted Caves: Palaeolithic Rock Art in Western Europe*. Oxford: Oxford, 2012. *Painted Caves*, a beautifully illustrated introduction to the oldest art of Western Europe, charts the historical background to the acceptance of a Palaeolithic age for the very ancient paintings found in caves. Offering an up-to-date overview of the geographical distribution of the sites found in southern France and the Iberian Peninsula, and examples known in Britain, Italy, Romania, and Russia, Lawson’s expert study is not restricted to the art in caves, but places this art alongside the engravings and sculptures found both on portable objects and on rock faces in the open air. Written from an archaeological perspective, the volume stresses how the individual images cannot be considered in isolation, but should rather be related to their location and other evidence that might provide clues to their significance. Although many scholars have put forward ideas as to the meaning and function of the art, Lawson discusses some of the substantive theories and offers glimpses of his own experience in the field and enduring fascination for the subject.

MACLACHLAN, BONNIE. *Women in Ancient Rome*. London: Continuum, 2012. This sourcebook includes a rich and accessible selection of Roman original sources in translation ranging from the Etruscan period through Republican and Imperial Rome to the late Empire and the coming of Christianity. From Roman goddesses to mortal women, imperial women to slaves and prostitutes, the volume brings new perspectives to the study of Roman women's lives. Literary sources comprise works by Livy, Catullus, Ovid, Juvenal and many others. Suggestions for further reading, a general bibliography, and an index of ancient authors and works are also included.

METCALF, WILLIAM E. *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*. Oxford: Oxford, 2012. A large gap exists in the literature of ancient numismatics between general works intended for collectors and highly specialized studies addressed to numismatists. Indeed, there is hardly anything produced by knowledgeable numismatists that is easily accessible to the academic community at large or the interested lay reader. *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage* seeks to fill this gap by providing a systematic overview of the major coinages of the classical world. The handbook begins with a general introduction by volume editor William E. Metcalf followed by an article establishing the history and role of scientific analysis in ancient numismatics. The subsequent thirty-two chapters, all written by an international group of distinguished scholars, cover a vast geography and chronology, beginning with the first evidence of coins in Western Asia Minor in the seventh century B.C.E. and continuing up to the transformation of coinage at the end of the Roman Empire. In addition to providing the essential background and current research questions of each of the major coinages, the handbook also includes articles on the application of numismatic evidence to the disciplines of archaeology, economic history, art history, and ancient history. With helpful appendices, a glossary of specialized terms, indices of mints, persons, and general topics, and nearly 900 halftone illustrations, *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage* will be an indispensable resource for scholars and students of the classical world, as well as a stimulating reference for collectors and interested lay readers.

MURPHY-O'CONNOR, JEROME. *Keys to Jerusalem: Collected Essays*. Oxford: Oxford, 2012. The current volume provides an initial survey of the history, archaeology and theology of Jerusalem, but the twelve articles

that make up the body of the book deal with problems that the author feels have not been given a satisfactory solution. Thus Murphy-O'Connor discusses the precise location of a number of important buildings, i.e. the Temple, the Antonia and the Capitol and also treat of events in the life of Jesus that are located in Jerusalem; his dispute with the money-changers in the Temple, his agony in the garden of Gethsemane, his route from Pilate to Golgotha. The previously unpublished chapters dealing with the Christian Quarter are perhaps the most original. They describe the creation of the Christian Quarter in 1063 and define its limits relative to the present Old City. Its two most important buildings, the Holy Sepulchre and the great Hospital of the Knights of St John, are treated in great detail. The concluding chapter is a classified bibliography of sources for the study of Jerusalem. Thoughtfully illustrated with maps, photographs, and diagrams, this book is a mine of information for specialists working on Jerusalem, and for the interested reader with some prior knowledge of this fascinating and complex city.

NAM, ROGERS S. *Portrayals of Economic Exchange in the Book of Kings*. Leiden: Brill, 2012. With the growing proliferation of literature concerning the social world of the Hebrew Bible, scholars continue to face the challenge of a proper understanding of ancient Israel's economies. *Portrayals of Economic Exchange in the Book of Kings* is the first monographic study to use an anthropological approach to examine the nature of the economic life behind the biblical text. Through Karl Polanyi's paradigm of exchange as a methodological control, this book synthesizes Semitic philology with related fields of Levantine archaeology and modern ethnography. With this interdisciplinary frame, Nam articulates a social analysis of economic exchange, and stimulates new understandings of the biblical world.

NICKELSBURG, GEORGE W. E. and JAMES C. VANDERKAM. *1 Enoch*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012. *1 Enoch* was an important and popular text in ancient Judaism, well attested among the manuscripts at Qumran, and a key piece of the puzzle of Jewish origins. George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam have now revised their translation in conjunction with their publication of the complete two volumes on *1 Enoch* in the Hermeneia commentary series. This is the only English translation of *1 Enoch* that takes into consideration all of the textual data now available in the Ethiopic version, the Greek texts, and the Dead Sea

Aramaic fragments—texts not available, for example, in standard editions of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

NIEHOFF, MAREN R. *Homer and the Bible in the Eyes of Ancient Interpreters*. Leiden: Brill, 2012. Thus far interpretations of Homer and the Bible have largely been studied in isolation even though both texts became foundational for Western civilization and were often commented upon in the same cultural context. The present collection of articles redresses this imbalance by bringing together scholars from different fields and offering pioneering essays, which cross traditional boundaries and interpret Biblical and Homeric interpreters in light of each other. The picture which emerges from these studies is highly complex: Greek, Jewish and Christian readers were concerned with similar literary and religious questions, often defining their own position in dialogue with others. Special attention is given to three central corpora: the Alexandrian scholia, Philo, Platonic writers of the Imperial Age, rabbinic exegesis.

NOVENSON, MATTHEW V. *Christ among the Messiahs: Christ Language in Paul and Messiah Language in Ancient Judaism*. Oxford: Oxford, 2012. Recent scholarship on ancient Judaism, finding only scattered references to messiahs in Hellenistic- and Roman-period texts, has generally concluded that the word “messiah” did not mean anything determinate in antiquity. Meanwhile, interpreters of Paul, faced with his several hundred uses of the Greek word for “messiah,” have concluded that *christos* in Paul does not bear its conventional sense. Against this curious consensus, Matthew V. Novenson argues in *Christ among the Messiahs* that all contemporary uses of such language, Paul’s included, must be taken as evidence for its range of meaning. In other words, early Jewish messiah language is the kind of thing of which Paul’s Christ language is an example. Looking at the modern problem of Christ and Paul, Novenson shows how the scholarly discussion of *christos* in Paul has often been a cipher for other, more urgent interpretive disputes. He then traces the rise and fall of “the messianic idea” in Jewish studies and gives an alternative account of early Jewish messiah language: the convention worked because there existed both an accessible pool of linguistic resources and a community of competent language users. Whereas it is commonly objected that the normal rules for understanding *christos* do not apply in the case of Paul since he uses the word as a name rather than a title, Novenson shows that *christos* in Paul is neither a name nor a title but rather a Greek honorific, like Epiphanes

or Augustus. Focusing on several set phrases that have been taken as evidence that Paul either did or did not use *christos* in its conventional sense, Novenson concludes that the question cannot be settled at the level of formal grammar. Examining nine passages in which Paul comments on how he means the word *christos*, Novenson shows that they do all that we normally expect any text to do to count as a messiah text. Contrary to much recent research, he argues that Christ language in Paul is itself primary evidence for messiah language in ancient Judaism.

PAUKETAT, TIMOTHY. *The Oxford Handbook of North American Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford, 2012. This volume explores 15,000 years of indigenous human history on the North American continent, drawing on the latest archaeological theories, time-honored methodologies, and rich datasets. From the Arctic south to the Mexican border and east to the Atlantic Ocean, all of the major cultural developments are covered in 53 chapters, with certain periods, places, and historical problems receiving special focus by the volume's authors. Questions like who first peopled the continent, what did it mean to have been a hunter-gatherer in the Great Basin versus the California coast, how significant were cultural exchanges between Native North Americans and Mesoamericans, and why do major historical changes seem to correspond to shifts in religion, politics, demography, and economy are brought into focus. The practice of archaeology itself is discussed as contributors wrestle with modern-day concerns with the implications of doing archaeology and its relevance for understanding ourselves today. In the end, the chapters in this book show us that the principal questions answered about human history through the archaeology of North America are central to any larger understanding of the relationships between people, cultural identities, landscapes, and the living of everyday life.

PETROPOULOU, MARIA-ZOE. *Animal Sacrifice in Ancient Greek Religion, Judaism, and Christianity, 100 BC to AD 200*. Oxford: Oxford, 2012. In this study of the ritual of animal sacrifice in ancient Greek religion, Judaism, and Christianity in the period between 100 B.C. and A.D. 200, Maria-Zoe Petropoulou explores the attitudes of early Christians towards the realities of sacrifice in the Greek East and in the Jerusalem Temple (up to 70 C.E.). Contrary to other studies in this area, she demonstrates that the process by which Christianity finally separated its own cultic code from the strong tradition of animal sacrifice was a slow and difficult

one. Petropoulou places special emphasis on the fact that Christians gave completely new meanings to the term “sacrifice.” She also explores the question why, if animal sacrifice was of prime importance in the eastern Mediterranean at this time, Christians should ultimately have rejected it.

RIGGS, CHRISTINA. *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford, 2012. Roman Egypt is a critical area of interdisciplinary research, which has steadily expanded since the 1970s and continues to grow. Egypt played a pivotal role in the Roman empire, not only in terms of political, economic, and military strategies, but also as part of an intricate cultural discourse involving themes that resonate today—east and west, old world and new, acculturation and shifting identities, patterns of language use and religious belief, and the management of agriculture and trade. Roman Egypt was a literal and figurative crossroads shaped by the movement of people, goods, and ideas, and framed by permeable boundaries of self and space. This handbook is unique in drawing together many different strands of research on Roman Egypt, in order to suggest both the state of knowledge in the field and the possibilities for collaborative, synthetic, and interpretive research. Arranged in seven thematic sections, each of which includes essays from a variety of disciplinary vantage points and multiple sources of information, it offers new perspectives from both established and younger scholars, featuring individual essay topics, themes, and intellectual juxtapositions.

RUZICKA, STEPHEN. *Trouble in the West: Egypt and the Persian Empire, 525–332 BC*. Oxford: Oxford, 2012. *Trouble in the West* provides the first full and continuous account of the Persian-Egyptian War, a conflict that continued for nearly the two-hundred-year duration of the Persian Empire. Despite its status as the largest of all ancient Persian military enterprises—including any aimed at Greece—this conflict has never been reconstructed in any detailed and comprehensive way. Thus, *Trouble in the West* adds tremendously to our understanding of Persian imperial affairs. At the same time, it dramatically revises our understanding of eastern Mediterranean and Aegean affairs by linking Persian dealings with Greeks and other peoples in the west to Persia’s fundamental, ongoing Egyptian concerns. In this study, Stephen Ruzicka argues that Persia’s Egyptian problem and, conversely, Egypt’s Persian problem, were much more important in the eastern Mediterranean and Aegean worlds than our conventional Greek-centered perspective and sources have allowed us to see. In looking at this

conflict as one stage in an enduring east-west conflict between successive Near Eastern imperial powers and Egypt—one which stretched across nearly the whole of ancient history—it represents an important turning point: by pulling in remote western states and peoples, who subsequently became masters of Egypt, western opposition to Near Eastern power was sustained right up to the 7<sup>th</sup> century Arab conquests. For classicists and historians of the ancient Near East, *Trouble in the West* will serve as a valuable, and long-overdue, resource.

SKINNER, JOSEPH E. *The Invention of Greek Ethnography: From Homer to Herodotus*. Oxford: Oxford, 2012. Greek ethnography is commonly believed to have developed in conjunction with the wider sense of Greek identity that emerged during the Greeks' "encounter with the barbarian"—Achaemenid Persia—during the late sixth to early fifth centuries B.C.E. The dramatic nature of this meeting, it was thought, caused previous imaginings to crystallize into the diametric opposition between "Hellene" and "barbarian" that would ultimately give rise to ethnographic prose. *The Invention of Greek Ethnography* challenges the legitimacy of this conventional narrative. Drawing on recent advances in ethnographic and cultural studies and in the material culture-based analyses of the Ancient Mediterranean, Joseph Skinner argues that ethnographic discourse was already ubiquitous throughout the archaic Greek world, not only in the form of texts but also in a wide range of iconographic and archaeological materials. As such, it can be differentiated both on the margins of the Greek world, like in Olbia and Calabria and in its imagined centers, such as Delphi and Olympia. The reconstruction of this "ethnography before ethnography" demonstrates that discourses of identity and difference played a vital role in defining what it meant to be Greek in the first place long before the fifth century B.C.E. The development of ethnographic writing and historiography are shown to be rooted in this wider process of "positioning" that was continually unfurling across time, as groups and individuals scattered the length and breadth of the Mediterranean world sought to locate themselves in relation to the narratives of the past. This shift in perspective provided by *The Invention of Greek Ethnography* has significant implications for current understanding of the means by which a sense of Greek identity came into being, the manner in which early discourses of identity and difference should be conceptualized, and the way in which so-called "Great Historiography," or narrative history, should ultimately be interpreted.

TARÁN, LEONARDO AND DIMITRI GUTAS. *Aristotle Poetics: Editio Maior of the Greek Text with Historical Introductions and Philological Commentaries*. Leiden: Brill, 2012. This important new *editio maior* of Aristotle's *Poetics*, based on all the primary sources, is a major contribution to scholarship. The introductory chapters provide important new insights about the transmission of the text to the present day and especially the significance of the Syro-Arabic tradition. The Greek text is accompanied by a detailed critical apparatus as well as notes to the text; in addition there is a Graeco-Arabic critical apparatus and commentary. An index of Greek words, indices, and a bibliography complement the work. This publication will be an indispensable tool for all Aristotelian, scholars and historians of Greek literature and criticism, and specialists of the transmission and reception of classical works.

TZAMALIKOS, P. *A Newly Discovered Greek Father: Cassian the Sabaite eclipsed by John Cassian of Marseilles*. Leiden: Brill, 2012. This is a critical edition of texts of Codex 573 (ninth century, Monastery of Metamorphosis, Meteora, Greece), which are published along with the monograph identifying *The Real Cassian*, in the same series. They cast light on Cassian the Sabaite, a sixth-century highly erudite intellectual, whom Medieval forgery replaced with John Cassian. The texts are of high philological, theological, and philosophical value, heavily pregnant with notions characteristic of eminent Greek Fathers, especially Gregory of Nyssa. They are couched in a distinctly technical Greek language, which has a meaningful record in Eastern patrimony, but mostly makes no sense in Latin, which is impossible to have been their original language. The Latin texts currently attributed to John Cassian, the Scythian of Marseilles, are heavily interpolated translations of this Greek original by Cassian the Sabaite, native of Scythopolis, who is identified with Pseudo-Caesarius and the author of Pseudo Didymus' *De Trinitate*. Codex 573, entitled *The Book of Monk Cassian*, preserves also the sole extant manuscript of the Scholia in Apocalypsin, the chain of comments that were falsely attributed to Origen a century ago. A critical edition of these Scholia is now being published in a separate edition volume, with commentary and an English translation.

VAN OORT, JOHANNES, OTTO WERMELINGER, and GREGOR WURST. *Augustine and Manichaeism in the Latin West*. Leiden: Brill, 2012. Manichaeism, once a gnostic world religion, soon spread to the Roman West. Here, the life and the work of the future (and, without doubt, most

influential) Church Father Augustine (354–430) became inextricably connected with Manichaean teachings and practices. In view of the many new Manichaean texts in particular, it turns out that, without a thorough knowledge of the ‘Religion of Light’, Augustine’s theology and philosophy are hardly conceivable. This volume brings together the selected papers of the Fribourg-Utrecht symposium *Augustine and Manichaeism in the Latin West*, organized on behalf of the *International Association of Manichaean Studies* in Fribourg (Switzerland) in the summer of 1998. It contains a considerable number of contributions by leading authorities on the subject, focusing on the diffusion of Mani’s religion in the Latin West and on its impact upon St Augustine.

VANDERKAM, JAMES C. *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Bible*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012. The substantial value of the Dead Sea Scrolls for biblical studies is well known. However, it can be difficult to remain on the cutting edge of Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship. In this volume leading expert James C. VanderKam offers detailed summaries of significant ways in which the scrolls can enrich the reading and study of the Bible. Each chapter brings readers up to date with the latest pivotal developments, focusing on relevant information from the scrolls and expounding their significance for biblical studies. This rich compendium from a distinguished scholar is essential reading for all who work at understanding biblical texts and their contexts within the ancient world.

WESCOAT, BONNA DAIX. *The Temple of Athena at Assos*. Oxford: Oxford, 2012. This volume presents a comprehensive investigation of one of the most unusual archaic Greek temples. The Temple of Athena at Assos, in modern Turkey, was built in a city that had no prior monumental tradition in either architecture or sculpture, so that the entire building constitutes an exercise in architectural invention. In this fully illustrated study, Bonna Daix Wescoat assembles for the first time a complete inventory of the architecture (documenting two phases of construction), presents newly discovered epistyle reliefs and decorated metopes, proposes a new reconstruction of the building, and situates the Temple within the formative development of monumental architecture in Archaic Greece.

WICKETT, ELIZABETH. *Seers, Saints and Sinners: The Oral Tradition of Upper Egypt*. New York: I. B. Tauris, 2012. Traditional Egyptian folktales have a flavor and vivacity that until now has proved impossible to render

in translation. Here, Elizabeth Wickett presents a translation into English of five rich and vivid tales from Upper Egypt that accurately captures the drama, wit and vitality of Egyptian oral narrative in performance. The author explores the broader literary and social significance of each tale, as well as the aesthetics of performance, gender issues, and parallels with other Egyptian and Near Eastern tales.

WILKINSON, RICHARD H. *Tausret: Forgotten Queen and Pharaoh of Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford, 2012. One of only a few women who ruled ancient Egypt as a king during its thousands of years of history, Tausret was the last pharaoh of the 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty (c. 1200 B.C.E.), the last ruling descendent of Ramesses the Great, and one of only two female monarchs buried in Egypt's renowned Valley of the Kings. Though mentioned even in Homer as the pharaoh of Egypt who interacted with Helen at the time of the Trojan War, she has long remained a figure shrouded in mystery, hardly known even by many Egyptologists. Nevertheless, recent archaeological discoveries have illuminated Tausret's importance, her accomplishments, and the extent of her influence. *Tausret: Forgotten Queen and Pharaoh of Egypt* combines distinguished scholars whose research and excavations have increased our understanding of the life and reign of this great woman. This lavishly illustrated book utilizes recent discoveries to correctly position Tausret alongside famous ruling queens such as Hatshepsut and Cleopatra, figures who have long dominated our view of the female monarchs of ancient Egypt. *Tausret* brings together archaeological, historical, women's studies, and other approaches to provide a scholarly yet accessible volume that will be an important contribution to the literature of Egyptology—and one with appeal to both scholars and anyone with an interest in ancient Egypt culture.

WILLS, GARRY. *Font of Life: Ambrose, Augustine, and the Mystery of Baptism*. Oxford: Oxford, 2012. No two men were more influential in the early Church than Ambrose, the powerful Bishop of Milan, and Augustine, the philosopher from provincial Africa who would write *The Confessions* and *The City of God*. Different in background, they were also extraordinarily different in personality. In *Font of Life*, Garry Wills explores the remarkable moment when their lives intersected at one of the most important, yet rarely visited, sites in the Christian world. Hidden under the piazza of the Duomo in Milan lies part of the foundations of a fourth-century cathedral where, at dawn on Easter of 387, Augustine and a group of people seeking

baptism gathered after an all-night vigil. Ambrose himself performed the sacrament and the catechumens were greeted by their fellows in the faith, which included Augustine's mother Monnica. Though the occasion had deep significance for the participants, this little cluster of devotees was unaware that they were creating the future of the Western church. Ambrose would go on to forge new liturgies, new forms of church music, and new chains of churches; Augustine would return to Africa to become Bishop of Hippo and one of the most influential writers of Christianity. Garry Wills uses the ancient baptistry to chronicle a pivotal chapter in the history of the Church, highlighting the often uncomfortable relationship between the two church fathers and exploring the mystery and meanings of the sacrament of baptism. In addition, he brings long overdue attention to an unjustly neglected landmark of early Christianity.

WOODFIN, WARREN T. *The Embodied Icon: Liturgical Vestments and Sacramental Power in Byzantium*. Oxford: Oxford, 2012. In spite of the Orthodox liturgy's reputation for resistance to change, Byzantine liturgical dress underwent a period of extraordinary elaboration from the end of the eleventh century onwards. As part of this development, embroideries depicting holy figures and scenes began to appear on the vestments of the clergy. Examining the surviving Byzantine vestments in conjunction with contemporary visual and textual evidence, Woodfin relates their embroidered imagery both to the program of images used in churches, and to the hierarchical code of dress prevailing in the imperial court. Both sets of visual cross-references serve to enforce a reading of the clergy as living icons of Christ. Finally, the book explores the competing configurations of the hierarchy of heaven as articulated in imperial and ecclesiastical art. It shows how the juxtaposition of real embroidered vestments with vestments depicted in paintings, allowed the Orthodox hierarchy to represent itself as a direct extension of the hierarchy of heaven. Drawing on the best of recent scholarship in Byzantine liturgy, monumental painting, and textile studies, Woodfin's volume is the first major illustrated study of Byzantine embroidered vestments to appear in over forty years.

ZANKER, PAUL, BJORN C. EWALD and JULIA SLATER. *Living with Myths: The Imagery of Roman Sarcophagi*. Oxford: Oxford, 2012. Roman sarcophagi have fascinated posterity since the Middle Ages, largely because of their mythological reliefs. *Living with Myths* provides a comprehensive introduction to this important genre, exploring such subjects as the role

of the mythological images in everyday life of the time, the messages they convey about the Romans' view of themselves, and the reception of the sarcophagi in later European art and art history. The volume is fully illustrated with high-quality photographs, which enable readers to appreciate the artistic quality of the reliefs and to explore for themselves the messages they convey. Together with the text, which includes analyses of specific sarcophagi, the pictures open up a panorama of Roman cultural history in the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the early 4<sup>th</sup> centuries C.E.

ZHMUD, LEONID. *Pythagoras and the Early Pythagoreans*. Oxford: Oxford, 2012. In ancient tradition, Pythagoras (c. 570–c. 495 B.C.E.) emerges as a wise teacher, an outstanding mathematician, an influential politician, and as a religious and ethical reformer. Arguably the most influential thinker among the Presocratics, he was thought to have possessed supernatural qualities. This combination of characteristics has led to his portrayal as a controversial and elusive figure. In contrast, his early Pythagorean followers, such as the doctors Democedes and Alcmaeon, the Olympic victors Milon and Iccus, the botanist Menestor, the natural philosopher Hippon, and the mathematicians Hippasus and Theodorus, all appear in our sources as “rational” as they can possibly be. This volume offers a comprehensive study of Pythagoras, Pythagoreanism, and the early Pythagoreans through an analysis of the many representations of the individual and his followers, allowing the representations to complement and critique each other. Using sources dating back to before 300 B.C.E., Zhmud portrays a more historical picture of Pythagoras and of the political society founded by him in Croton. With chapters devoted to the sciences, philosophy, and religion cultivated by Pythagoreans, a critical distinction is made between the theories of individual Pythagoreans. They were as “normal” as any other Presocratic, a “normality” that ensured the continued existence of Pythagoreanism as a philosophical and scientific school.