

ECKHARD J. SCHNABEL

Jesus, Paul,
and the Early Church

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament*

406

Mohr Siebeck

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zum Neuen Testament

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406



Eckhard J. Schnabel

Jesus, Paul, and the Early Church

Missionary Realities in Historical Contexts

Collected Essays

Mohr Siebeck

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To

Bob Yarbrough, Hans Bayer, Craig Blomberg

friends in Aberdeen thirty-five years ago,

friends and colleagues still, in Deerfield, St. Louis, and Denver

Preface

The essays collected in this volume have been written over the past 25 years, the 1992 essay shortly after my return from Manila, Philippines, where I had been teaching at the Asia Theological Seminary. It continues to be the norm, or at least the aspiration, of most European New Testament scholars to engage in research and writing across all the major areas of New Testament research, from Jesus to Paul and to the early church, utilizing philological and historical methods and newer approaches to literary texts to elucidate the world of the earliest Christians and the meaning of their texts in context, while also focusing their questions and the synthesis of the results of their research on the theological concerns and implications of the life and teaching of Jesus, Paul, and the early church. This variegated interest has informed my research, teaching, and writing since my doctoral studies at the University of Aberdeen and as I have taught in Manila, Wiedenest, Gießen, Deerfield/Chicago, and Hamilton/Boston. Twenty-five years ago, there were not many New Testament scholars who wrote on the missionary work of the early church, nor even on the missionary work of Paul. This has changed considerably. My own research interests have turned again and again to the realities of the work of Jesus, Paul, John, and the early church, as the following essays indicate.

Most of the essays published in this volume were written as a response to invitations to contribute to *Festschriften* and other essay volumes, or as presentations at conferences. The essays have been harmonized as far as format is concerned, and infelicities have been eliminated; they have not been updated in the light of more recent research. The bibliographies at the end of each essay list the primary sources and the secondary literature referred to in the essay.

I am most grateful to Professor Jörg Frey for accepting the volume for the WUNT series, to Dr. Henning Ziebrizki and Katharina Gutekunst from Mohr Siebeck for facilitating the publication with the cheerfulness and competence that continue to be the trademark of Mohr Siebeck, and to Bettina Gade and Elena Müller for their editorial work on the manuscript. I am again grateful to Steve Siebert of Nota Bene for a wonderful word-processing software that allows the production of camera-ready manuscripts. I thank my assistant Kelly

R. Bailey for help with the manuscript, especially with the indexes. Above all, I thank my wife Barbara for her cheerful and unstinting support during all these years living and working in Asia, Europe, and North America.

This volume is dedicated to Bob Yarbrough, who initiated my move to the North America and was a colleague at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School in Deerfield/Chicago, and to Hans Bayer and Craig Blomberg – all fellow doctoral students at the University of Aberdeen when I. H. Marshall modeled New Testament scholarship at its highest levels while contributing to the life and mission of the church, who now teach at Covenant Theological Seminary in St. Louis and in Denver Seminary, respectively, and who continue to be friends, always ready with a word of encouragement.

Hamilton, Mass., Mai 2018

Eckhard J. Schnabel

Table of Contents

Preface	VII
Abbreviations	XI

Jesus – Messianic Teacher

1. Jesus and the Beginnings of the Mission to the Gentiles	3
2. The Silence of Jesus: The Galilean Rabbi Who was More Than a Teacher	31

Paul – Missionary Theologian

3. Introducing Foreign Deities: The Documentary Evidence	85
4. Repentance in Paul's Letters	121
5. Evangelism and the Mission of the Church	151
6. Lives That Speak: ἡ λογικὴ λατρεία in Romans 12:1	175
7. How Paul Developed his Ethics: Motivations, Norms, and Criteria of Pauline Ethics	193

The Early Church

Missionary Realities in Historical Contexts

8. The Meaning of βαπτίζεῖν in Greek, Jewish, and Patristic Literature	225
9. The Language of Baptism: The Meaning of βαπτίζω in the New Testament	259
10. Jewish Opposition to Christians in Asia Minor in the First Century	289

11. Early Christian Mission and Christian Identity in the Context of the Ethnic, Social, and Political Affiliations in Revelation	333
12. Christians, Jews, and Pagans in the Book of Revelation: Persecution, Perseverance, and Purity in the Shadow of the Last Judgment	353
13. John and the Future of the Nations	385
14. Singing and Instrumental Music in the Early Church	415
15. Divine Tyranny and Public Humiliation: A Suggestion for the Interpretation of the Lydian and Phrygian Confession Inscriptions	451
16. Knowing the Divine and Divine Knowledge in Greco-Roman Religion	479
17. The Theology of the New Testament as Missionary Theology: The Missionary Reality of the Early Church and the Theology of the first Theologians	505
First Publication and Permissions	535
Index of Ancient Sources	539
Index of Modern Authors	579
Index of Subjects	591

Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	Anchor Bible Dictionary. Edited by D. N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday, 1972
ABR	Australian Biblical Review
AE	Année épigraphique
AGAJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Edited by W. Haase, and H. Temporini. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1972–
AThANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
AV	Authorized Version
AYB	Anchor Yale Bible
BA	Biblical Archaeologist
BAGD	Bauer, W., W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich, and F. W. Danker, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature. Second Edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979.
BAR	Biblical Archaeology Review
BBB	Bonner Biblische Beiträge
BBR	Bulletin for Biblical Research
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
BDAG	Bauer, W., F. W. Danker, W. F. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich. A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature. Third Edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000
BDF	Blass, F., A. Debrunner, and R. W. Funk. A Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961, Reprint 1982.
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BEvTh	Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie
BHS	Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia
BHTh	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
Bib	Biblica
BNP	Brill's New Pauly. Edited by H. Cancik, and H. Schneider. Leiden: Brill, 2002–2012
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
BT	Bible Translator
BTB	Biblical Theology Bulletin
BU	Biblische Untersuchungen
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology

CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CIIP	Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palestinae. Edited by H. M. Cotton, L. Di Segni, W. Eck, B. Isaac, A. Kushnir-Stein, H. Misgav, J. Price, I. Roll, A. Yardeni, and W. Ameling. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010–2014
CIJ	Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum. Edited by J. B. Frey. New York: Ktav, 1975
CIQ	Classical Quarterly
CNT	Commentaire du Nouveau Testament
CPJ	Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum. Edited by V. Tcherikover, and A. Fuks. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957–1964
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Judaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
DDD	Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible. Edited by K. van der Toorn, B. Becking, and P. W. van der Horst. Brill: Leiden, 1995
DGE	Diccionario Griego-Español
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert [of Jordan]. Oxford: Clarendon, 1955–2002
DJG	Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels. Edited by J. B. Green, S. McKnight, I. H. Marshall. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1992
DLNTD	Dictionary of the Later New Testament and Its Developments. Edited by P. H. Davids, R. P. Martin. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1997
DNTB	Dictionary of New Testament Background. Edited by C. A. Evans, S. E. Porter. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2000
DPL	Dictionary of Paul and his Letters. Edited by G. F. Hawthorne, R. P. Martin, and D. G. Reid. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1993
DSSSE	The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition. Edited by F. García Martínez, and J. C. E. Tigchelaar. Leiden: Brill, 1997–1998
EA	Epigraphica Anatolica
EBC	Expositor's Bible Commentary
EDNT	Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament. Edited by H. Balz, and G. Schneider. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990–1993
EKK	Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar
EBib	Études Bibliques
EHS	Europäische Hochschulschriften
EPRO	Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain
ET	English Translation
ETAM	Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris
ETL	Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses
EÜ	Einheits-Übersetzung
EUS	European University Studies
EWNT	Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. Edited by H. Balz and G. Schneider. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1980–83
ExpTim	Expository Times
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FilNT	Filologia Neotestamentaria
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
FS	Festschrift
fzb	Forschungen zur Bibel
GNB	Gute Nachricht Bibel
GThA	Göttinger Theologische Arbeiten

HAL	Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament. Edited by L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner, and Johann J. Stamm. Third Edition. Leiden: Brill, 2004 [1995]
HALOT	The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament in English. Edited by L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner, and J. J. Stamm. Leiden: Brill, 1994–2000
HdA	Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft. Begründet von Iwan von Müller
HDR	Harvard Dissertations in Religion
HFA	Hoffnung für Alle
HNT	Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
HThK	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
HUTH	Historische Untersuchungen zur Theologie
HWR	Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDB	Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Edited by G. A. Buttrick. Nashville: Abingdon, 1962
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
IGLS	Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie. Edited by L. Jalabert, R. Mouterde, J.-P. Rey-Coquais, M. Sartre, and P.-L. Gatier. 21 vols. Paris: Institut français du Proche-Orient, 1911–1993
IGR	Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes. Edited by E. Leroux. Paris: Leroux, 1906–1927; reprint Chicago: Ares, 1975
IJudO	Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis. Edited by D. Noy, A. Panayotov, H. Bloedhorn, and W. Ameling. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004
IK	Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien
ILS	Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae. Edited by H. Dessau, Berlin: Weidmann, 1892–1916 [1954–1962]
Int	Interpretation
IVPNTC	IVP New Testament Commentary
JAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JETS	Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society
JGRChJ	Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
JRASup	Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JSHJ	Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus
JSJ	Journal the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods
JSJSup	Journal the Study of Judaism Supplement Series
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSP	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament
KJV	King James Version

KNT	Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
KP	Ziegler, K., W. Sontheimer, and H. Gärtner, eds., <i>Der Kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike. Auf der Grundlage von Pauly's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.</i> 5 vols. Stuttgart: Druckenmüller, 1964–75
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LD	Lectio Divina
LEH	Lust, J. E. Eynikel, and K. Hauspie. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint.</i> Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1992–1996
LN	Louw, J. P., E. A. Nida. <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains.</i> New York: United Bible Society, 1988
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
LSJ	Liddell, H. G., R. Scott, and H. S. Jones. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon.</i> Ninth Edition, with revised supplement edited by Peter G. W. Glare. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
LÜ	Luther-Bibel (1984)
LXX	Septuagint. LXX texts are taken from the Göttingen Septuaginta
Maj	Majority Text
MAMA	Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua
MM	J. H. Moulton, G. Milligan. <i>The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament Illustrated from the Papyri and Other Non-Literary Sources.</i> Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982 [1930]
MT	Masoretic Text
NA ²⁸	Nestle-Aland. <i>Novum Testamentum Graece.</i> 28th Revised Edition. Edited by B. Aland, K. Aland, J. Karavidopoulos, C. M. Martini, B. M. Metzger, and H. Strutwolf. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary
NEAEHL	New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land. Edited by E. Stern. Jerusalem/New York: Israel Exploration Society/Carta, 1993
Neot	Neotestamentica
NET	New English Translation
NewDocs	New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity. Edited by G. H. R. Horsley and Stephen R. Llewelyn. North Ryde, New South Wales: Macquarie University, 1981–2012
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary
NIBC	New International Biblical Commentary
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIDB	New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Edited by K. D. Sakenfeld. Nashville: Abingdon, 2006–2009
NIDNTT	The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology. Edited by C. Brown. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975–1978
NIDOTTE	New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis. Edited by W. A. VanGemeren. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NIV	New International Version
NJB	New Jerusalem Bible
NKJV	New King James Version
NLT	New Living Translation
NovT	Novum Testamentum
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplements series
NPNF	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers

NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NTA	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
NTD	Neues Testament Deutsch
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
NTS	New Testament Studies
NTTS	New Testament Texts and Studies
OCD	Oxford Classical Dictionary. Edited by S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth. Fourth Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
OGIS	Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae. Edited by W. Dittenberger. 2 vols. Leipzig: Hirzel 1903–1905
ÖTK	Ökumenischer Taschenbuchkommentar
OTP	Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Edited by J. H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. Garden City: Doubleday, 1983–1985
P. Coll. Youtie	Collectanea Papyrologica: Texts published in Honor of H. C. Youtie. Edited by A. E. Hanson, et al. Bonn: Habelt, 1976
P. Oxy.	Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Edited by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, et al. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1915–
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
Petzl	Petzl, G. Die Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens. EA 22. Bonn: Habelt, 1994.
PKNT	Papyrologische Kommentare zum Neuen Testament
PNTC	Pillar New Testament Commentary
PSI	Papiri greci e latini. Edited by G. Vitelli, M. Norsa, V. Bartoletti, et al. Florence: Ariani, 1912–2008
PTMS	Princeton Theological Monograph Series
PW	Pauly, A. F. von, and G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, K. Mittelhaus, K. Ziegler, and H. Gärtner, eds. Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. 84 vols. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1894–1980
QD	Questiones disputatae
QR	Quarterly Review
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum. Edited by T. Klauser et al. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1950–
RB	Revue Biblique
RdQ	Revue de Qumran
RE	Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Edited by A. F. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, K. Mittelhaus, K. Ziegler, H. Gärtner. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1894–1980
REB	Revised English Bible
ResQ	Restoration Quarterly
REÜ	Revidierte Elberfelder Übersetzung
RHDFE	Revue historique de droit français et étranger
RHPR	Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses
RNT	Regensburger Neues Testament
RRJ	Review of Rabbinic Judaism
RSV	Revised Standard Version
RV	Revised Version
SB	Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten. Edited by F. Preisigke, et al. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1974 (1913–14)
SBAB	Stuttgart Biblische Aufsatzbände
SBB	Stuttgart Biblische Beiträge

SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBM	Stuttgarter Biblische Monographien
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum. 55 vols. Edited by J. J. E. Hondius, H. W. Pleket, R. S. Stroud, and J. H. M. Strubbe. Leiden: Brill, 1923–2010
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SNTSMS	Society of New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SP	Sacra Pagina
StANT	Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
StNT	Studien zum Neuen Testament
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
TAM	Tituli Asiae Minoris
TANZ	Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter
TDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–1976
TDOT	Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament. Edited by G. J. Botterweck, H. Ringgren, and H.-J. Fabry. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974–2006
ThHKNT	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
TRu	Theologische Rundschau
ThWNT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. Edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933–1979
TLNT	Theological Lexicon of the New Testament. Edited by C. Spicq. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1995
TLOT	Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament. Edited by E. Jenni and C. Westermann. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997
TNIV	Today's New International Version
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentary
TRE	Theologische Realenzyklopädie. Edited by G. Krause, and G. Müller. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1977–2007
TynBul	Tyndale Bulletin
USQR	Union Seminary Quarterly Review
VoxEv	Vox Evangelica
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
ZECNT	Zondervan Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZEE	Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik
ZRGG	Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte
ZTK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche

The abbreviations of ancient sources follow Patrick H. Alexander et al. *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies*. Second Edition. Peabody: Hendrickson, 2014; Hubert Cancik, Helmuth Schneider, Manfred Landfester, eds. *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopedia of the Ancient World*. Leiden: Brill, 2002–2010.

Jesus – Messianic Teacher

1. Jesus and the Beginnings of the Mission to the Gentiles

In his Inaugural lecture, I. H. Marshall asserted that “Jesus saw his task as the renewal of the people of Israel who had fallen away from the true relationship to God. Although he restricted his activity almost exclusively to the Jews, he showed a particular concern for the poor and the outcasts of society, which suggests that in principle he was open to the inclusion of Samaritans and Gentiles under God’s Kingdom”.¹ Among the implications regarding the common basis in the teaching of Jesus, Paul and John, he pointed out that “for all the three teachers the salvation events are regarded as the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy and that the area of fulfilment is the people of Israel now open in its membership, at least in principle, to all who accept Jesus as Lord”.²

Indeed, Jesus has been called “the primal missionary”: his conduct was the starting point of the early Christian mission.³ Since the early Christian movement saw the mission to the Gentiles as a logical feature of its mission,⁴ the issue of Jesus’ position regarding the Gentiles is of fundamental importance.⁵ This question has been answered in basically two ways.⁶ First, Jesus did not

¹ I. Howard Marshall, “Jesus, Paul and John”, *Aberdeen University Review* 51 (1985): 18–36 (= I. Howard Marshall, “Jesus, Paul and John”, in *Jesus the Saviour: Studies in New Testament Theology* [London/Downers Grove: SPCK/InterVarsity Press, 1990], 35–56, esp. 42). The Inaugural lecture to the Chair of New Testament Exegesis in the University of Aberdeen was delivered on 9 November 1983.

² Marshall, “Jesus, Paul and John”, 52–53.

³ Martin Hengel, “The Origins of the Christian Mission [1971]”, in *Between Jesus and Paul: Studies in the Earliest History of Christianity* (London: SCM, 1983), 48–64, 166–79, esp. 62, referring to Erich Gräßer, “Jesus in Nazareth”, *NTS* 65 (1969–70): 1–23, here 22.

⁴ Cf. E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 220.

⁵ Pace Hengel, “Origins”, 62, who claims that this question is “a secondary problem”.

⁶ For reviews of the history of research see particularly Ferdinand Hahn, *Das Verständnis der Mission im Neuen Testament*, WMANT 13 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1963), 19–22; David J. Bosch, “Jesus and the Gentiles’ – a Review after Thirty Years”, in *The Church Crossing Frontiers: Essays on the Nature of Mission*, FS Bengt Sundkler, ed. P. Beyerhaus and C. F. Hallencreuz (Uppsala: Gleerup, 1969), 3–19; Hubert Frankemölle, “Zur Theologie der Mission im Matthäusevangelium”, in *Mission im Neuen Testament*, ed. K. Kertelge, QD 93 (Freiburg: Herder, 1982), 93–129, esp. 100–2; Werner G. Kümmel, “Das Urchristentum. II. Arbeiten zu Spezialproblemen”, *TRu* 52 (1987): 268–85, esp. 268–78.

sanction a mission to the Gentiles. There are at least three versions of this position: (1) Jesus forbade his disciples on principle to engage in a mission among Gentiles; the Gentiles are thought to be brought into the kingdom of God by God's own action in the last days as fulfilment of the prophetic vision of the nations' pilgrimage to Zion.⁷ (2) Jesus deliberately limited his ministry to Israel, not wanting his disciples to witness to non-Jews; the conception of an active Gentile mission derives from the Hellenistic Jewish Christians in Jerusalem or from Paul.⁸ (3) A more cautious version of this view suggests that Jesus did not express any conviction about the Gentiles and the kingdom of God since his vision concentrated on the restoration of Israel.⁹

Second, the Gentile mission originated with Jesus in some way: (1) Jesus limited his ministry to Israel while envisaging a future inclusion of the Gentiles in the kingdom of God, with the resurrection and the Great Commission being the starting point of the universal mission of the disciples.¹⁰ (2) Jesus' vision was concentrated on Israel, the positive encounters with Gentiles were unplanned exceptions, there is no clear evidence for the assumption that he advocated a future inclusion of the Gentiles, but Jesus' ministry and some of his sayings opened up perspectives which logically led to the early Christian Gentile mission.¹¹ (3) Jesus himself was consciously involved in outreach to Gentiles and may be regarded as the first missionary to the Gentiles.¹²

⁷ Cf. Joachim Jeremias, *Jesu Verheißung für die Völker*, Franz Delitzsch-Vorlesungen 1953 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1959 [1956]), 32–33, 47ff, 60ff; also Bengt Sundkler, "Jésus et les païens", *RHPR* 16 (1936): 462–99 (= Bengt Sundkler, "Jésus et les païens [1936]", in *Contributions à l'étude de la pensée missionnaire dans le Nouveau Testament*, Arbeiten und Mitteilungen aus dem neutestamentlichen Seminar zu Uppsala, ed. B. Sundkler and A. Fridrichsen [Uppsala: Das Neutestamentliche Seminar zu Uppsala, 1937], 1–38); Helene Stoevesandt, *Jesus und die Heidenmission*, Diss. theol, Göttingen, 1943), 141ff.

⁸ Cf. Heinrich Kasting, *Die Anfänge der urchristlichen Mission*, BEvTh 55 (München: Kaiser, 1969); Frankemölle, "Theologie der Mission", 117–18.

⁹ This view is held, with variations, by Adolf von Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, Fourth Revised Edition (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1924 [1902]), I, 39ff; Hengel, "Origins", 54ff, 62; Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 221.

¹⁰ Cf. Max Meinertz, *Jesus und die Heidenmission*, NTA 1/1–2 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1925 [1908]), 84ff and passim; similarly David Bosch, *Die Heidenmission in der Zukunftschau Jesu. Eine Untersuchung zur Eschatologie der synoptischen Evangelien*, AthANT 36 (Zürich: Zwingli, 1959), 76ff, 193ff, and passim; more recently David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in the Theology of Mission*, American Society of Missiology 16 (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1999 [1991]), 29–31, 39ff, 64–65.

¹¹ Cf. Hahn, *Mission*, 19–32; David J. Bosch, "Jesus and the Gentiles' – a Review after Thirty Years", 16–17; Rudolf Pesch, "Voraussetzungen und Anfänge der urchristlichen Mission", in *Mission im Neuen Testament*, ed. K. Kertelge, QD 93 (Freiburg: Herder, 1982), 11–70, esp. 36–38, 54ff; cf. Hengel, "Origins", 63.

¹² Cf. Friedrich Spitta, *Jesus und die Heidenmission* (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1909), 72ff, 109ff; Adolf Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus. Seine Sprache, sein Ziel, seine Selbständigkeit. Ein Kommentar zum ersten Evangelium* (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1963 [1948]), 277–73, 339, 701–2; similarly Don A. Carson, *Matthew*, The Expositor's Bible Commentary with

We will first review three basic facts which are most relevant for our discussion: the relationship between Jews and Gentiles, the vigor of the early Christian mission to the Gentiles, and the evidence in the Gospels for a link between Jesus and the concern for Gentile mission. Secondly we will investigate Jesus' encounters with Gentiles and relevant statements about Gentiles in order to determine whether the Gospel narratives give a reliable portrait of the missionary concerns of Jesus.

1. Basic Facts

1.1 Jews and Gentiles

The attitude of the pagan world towards the Jews was mixed. There were on the one hand those who were impressed with the integrative potential of Israel's monotheistic faith and with the ethical rigor of the corresponding praxis.¹³ As a result there were Gentiles who decided to become Jews, despite the social alienation from their old context demanded by the Jewish cultic regulations. Besides these "proselytes" there were "God fearers", people who remained sympathizers and who took over several of the (less strict) Jewish laws. On a more official level, in the Diaspora Jews were generally appreciated as loyal citizens. Many Hellenistic cities welcomed them as traders. Around 200 BC Antiochus III Megas settled 2,000 Jewish families from Mesopotamia in Lydia and Phrygia to consolidate his strategic interests in these regions (Josephus, *A.J.* 12.148–153). Around 139 BC further Jews migrated to Asia Minor (cf. 1 Macc 15:16–23).¹⁴

the New International Version. 2 vols. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995 [1984]), 202, 248, 596–97; evidently also I. Howard Marshall, *Luke: Historian and Theologian*, Second Edition (Exeter: Paternoster, 1989), 140–41, and I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 768, 903–04; R. T. France, *Matthew: Evangelist and Teacher* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1989), 232–35.

¹³ Fergus Millar wrote recently that "no full and satisfactory study of proselytism in the Graeco-Roman period has yet been written"; in Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Christ (175 B.C. – A.D. 135)*, revised by G. Vermes, et al. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1973–87), III.1, 150.

¹⁴ Cf. Getzel M. Cohen, *The Seleucid Colonies: Studies in Founding, Administration and Organization*, *Historia. Einzelschriften* Heft 30 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1978), 4ff, 87ff; Paul R. Trebilco, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor*, SNTSMS 69 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 5ff.

On the other hand, there was a hostile attitude vis-à-vis the Jews which should not be underestimated.¹⁵ This attitude was the effect of official manipulations of public sentiments in times of crises, or the result of the provocation which the non-conformistic and yet attractive Jewish religion constituted for non-Jews, particularly the refusal to intermarry and the impossibility of cult- and table fellowship. There was an anti-Jewish propaganda which sometimes resulted in outright persecution. Polemical and mocking remarks about Jews are found in the writings of Cicero, Seneca, Quintilian, Juvenal, and Tacitus.¹⁶

It is disputed whether there was an active Jewish missionary effort among Gentiles. Some scholars interpret the available literary and archaeological evidence as indicating that there must have been an “advertising” activity by Jews among Gentiles.¹⁷ Others deny that there was an active Jewish mission to Gentiles.¹⁸ It seems to be true, at any rate, that in most cases the impetus for conversion had to come from the Gentile: “It was extremely unusual for any Jew in the first century AD to view the encouragement of gentiles to convert to Judaism as a praiseworthy act”.¹⁹ The number of proselytes was probably not very high.²⁰ The barriers for Gentiles wanting to become Jews were considerable. The main hindrances were the requirement of separation (corresponding

¹⁵ See generally J. N. Sevenster, *The Roots of Pagan Anti-Semitism in the Ancient World*, Numen Sup 41 (Leiden: Brill, 1975); Menachem Stern, “The Jews in Greek and Latin Literature”, in *The Jewish People in the First Century*, ed. S. Safrai and M. Stern, CRINT I.2 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1976), 1101–59; Schürer, *History*, III.1, 150–58; Nicholas R. M. de Lange and Clemens Thoma, “Antisemitismus I. Begriff/Vorchristlicher Antisemitismus”, *TRE* III (1978): 113–19; John G. Gager, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism: Attitudes toward Judaism in Pagan and Christian Antiquity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983).

¹⁶ Cicero, *pro Flacco* 28.67; Juvenal, *Sat* 6.160; 14.96–106; Tacitus *Hist.* 5.8; Menachem Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, 3 vols. (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Science and Humanities, 1974–84), I, nos. 68, 298, 301; II, no. 506. The Alexandrian anti-Jewish polemic can be seen in Josephus’ apologetic text *Contra Apionem*.

¹⁷ Cf. Heikki Solin, “Juden und Syrer im westlichen Teil der römischen Welt. Eine ethnisch-demographische Studie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der sprachlichen Zustände”, *ANRW* II.29.2 (1983): 587–798 (Index 1222–49), esp. 616 n.45; also Schürer, *History*, III, 153–59.

¹⁸ Cf. Martin Goodman, “Proselytising in Rabbinic Judaism”, *JJS* 40 (1989): 175–85; Scot McKnight, *A Light Among the Gentiles. Jewish Missionary Activity in the Second Temple Period* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991).

¹⁹ Goodman, “Proselytising”, 175, concludes from the (scarce) evidence in the Talmud that no Amoraic text reports a tanna of the second century AD making a positive statement on proselytizing; the first such positive statements come from the third and the early fourth century. Goodman advances the hypothesis that Jewish interest in a “mission to convert”, based on a conviction that this was a natural corollary of religious belief, increased during the third century AD as a result of the effectiveness of the energetic Christian mission (184–85).

²⁰ Cf. Solin, “Juden”, 610ff, who states that among the inscriptions from Rome only six refer definitely to proselytes (623 n.55). Differently Schürer, *History*, III, 160–61, who regards the success of the assumed Jewish mission as “considerable”.

to the prevention of assimilation for the Jews) and the close relation between nation and religion.²¹

When the Jews read the Scriptures with a view to establishing the attitude towards the Gentiles in their own time and in the future of the promised Messiah, they read of a pilgrimage of the nations to Zion (Isa 2:2–3; 60:3–4; Zech 8:20–23; Mic 4:1–2) and of Gentiles worshipping God in all parts of the earth (Isa 45:6; 59:19; Mal 1:11; cf. Isa 45:22; 49:6,23; 56:6–8; Zech 2:11; Micah 7:17), but they would also read of a future destruction of the Gentiles (Isa 54:3; Mic 5:10–15; Zeph 2:10–11).²² Early Jewish literature reflects this ambiguity: hope is expressed that many Gentiles will share Israel's salvation (Tob 14:6–7; *1 Enoch* 90:30–33; *Sib. Or.* 3:616, 716–718, 752–753) and there are predictions of their destruction on account of their idolatry and sexual immorality (Sir 36:7–9; *1 Enoch* 91:9; Bar 4:25,31–32,35; 1QM XII, 10; *T. Mos.* 10:7; *Jub.* 23:30; *Pss. Sol.* 17:25–27; *Sib* 3:517–518, 669–672, 761). The conclusion of Sanders seems to be correct when he states that “the evidence does not permit a precise account of the views of Jesus' contemporaries about Gentile conversion at the end-time ... most Jews who thought about the matter one way or the other would have expected many Gentiles to turn to the Lord when his glory was revealed”.²³

1.2 The Early Christian Gentile Mission

When we turn to the evidence for the early Christian Gentile mission in the letters of Paul and the book of Acts, it appears that no Jewish Christian group disapproved of a mission to the Gentiles as such.²⁴ The disagreements which underlie the discussion of Paul in his letter to the Galatians and to the Romans concerned only the terms and conditions of the Gentile mission. The movement started by Jesus saw the Gentile mission as an entirely natural venture.

When the Christians of the Jerusalem church were forced to flee to other regions they seem to have regarded it as the natural thing to spread the gospel

²¹ Cf. Martin Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus: Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palästinas bis zur Mitte des 2. Jhr. v. Chr.*, 3. Aufl., WUNT 10 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1988), 560ff; Solin, “Juden”, 616. Cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.5.2: “Those who cross over into their manner of life adopt the same practice, and, before anything else, are instructed to despise the gods, disown their native land, and regard their parents, children, and brothers as of little account”.

²² The latter point is emphasized by Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 213ff, who argues against Jeremias, *Jesu Verheißung für die Völker*, passim (= Joachim Jeremias, *Jesus' Promise to the Nations* [London: SCM, 1958]), and John Riches, *Jesus and the Transformation of Judaism* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1980).

²³ Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 218.

²⁴ Cf. Kasting, *Anfänge*, 110–14.

beyond the confines of Judaea, not needing specific guidance from the Spirit.²⁵ This matter-of-factness included going to Samaria and preaching about the Messiah (Acts 8:4–5). The boundary between Jews and Samaritans was crossed by Philip and then by Peter and John with apparently no compunction about the legitimacy of such a move (8:5–25). When Philip’s preaching met with dramatic success, the Jerusalem apostles evidently wanted to examine this new advance with care, but the report of the visit of Peter and John (8:14ff) does not hint at any reticence regarding the possibility of faith of Samaritans. On the contrary, the apostles are described as “preaching the gospel to many villages of the Samaritans” (8:25).

The conversion of the Ethiopian court official (8:26–39) does not pose any problems for Philip who had the confidence of the Jerusalem leaders (cf. 6:5). We do not know whether the Ethiopian was a Gentile God-fearer or, as a proselyte, “a Jew of a peculiar sort” whose status in the Jewish community was evidently ambiguous.²⁶ That Luke reports no problems regarding the conversion of the Ethiopian may be due to the fact that he returned immediately to his own, distant country without having contact with the Palestinian church.²⁷ We should notice that Luke ends the story with a note of joy (8:39).

The longest single story in the Book of Acts (10:1–11:18) recounts the conversion of Cornelius, the Roman centurion, and his family. The fundamental problem which is overcome by God giving supernatural guidance to Peter is not the Gentile mission *per se*, i.e. not the recognition that the gospel is for the Gentiles as well as for the Jews,²⁸ but the apartheid of Jewish Christians and believers among the Gentiles, particularly in the area of forthright fellowship at the table and communal living.²⁹

When Luke points out that the Christian refugees from Jerusalem who reached Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Antioch “spoke the word to none except Jews” (11:19), he may emphasize the fact that evangelizing the Gentiles had already been initiated by Peter and approved by the Jerusalem apostles.³⁰ When some of them started to preach Jesus Christ as Lord before a Gentile

²⁵ I. Howard Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles. An Introduction and Commentary*, TNTC (Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 1980), 156.

²⁶ For the status of the proselyte in Judaism cf. Shaye J. D. Cohen, “Crossing the Boundary and Becoming a Jew”, *HTR* 82 (1989): 13–33, esp. 28–30.

²⁷ Marshall, *Acts*, 160.

²⁸ Pace Marshall, *Acts*, 181; Rudolf Pesch, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, EKK 5 (Zürich/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Benziger/Neukirchener Verlag, 1986), I, 330: “Der Judenmissionar Petrus ... wird gegen seinen Widerstand zum Heidenmissionar”.

²⁹ Note the repeated reference to eating/food (γέδομαι, 10:10; φαγεῖν, 10:13, 14; 11:7; συνεσθίω, 11:3; also 11:8) as well as to the house of Cornelius (οἶκος, 10:2, 22, 30; 11:12, 13, 14) and the house of Simon in which Peter stayed (οἰκία, 10:6, 17, 32; 11:11). The emphasis on the house of Cornelius is further seen in the verbs εἰσερχομαι (10:27, 28; 11:3) and ἐπιμείνω (10:48) used in the same context.

³⁰ Cf. Pesch, *Apostelgeschichte*, I, 351.

audience, many believed. Howard Marshall observes that whereas it had taken divine intervention to persuade Peter to take the step to preaching to the Gentiles, “here it seems to have happened almost casually without any issues of principle arising at the outset or later”.³¹

Finally, when the church was prompted by God’s Spirit to release Barnabas and Paul for the mission to the Gentiles (13:2), the possibility of such a mission seems to have posed no problem. The fasting and praying (13:3) no doubt took place as spiritual support for their future work,³² rather than being a time of “distinguishing between spirits” (cf. 1 Cor 12:10), assessing whether a mission to the Gentiles was a viable option.

There was a group in the Jerusalem church who opposed admitting Gentile converts into the community of believers without circumcision (and possibly also adherence to food laws and) being demanded of them (Gal 2:12; Acts 15:1). We have no idea, however, how large and how influential this group of “right wing Jewish Christians in Jerusalem” were, but nothing suggests that they were dominant in the church.³³

1.3 The Gospels and the Mission to the Gentiles

It is a fair assumption that the early Christians had developed a theology of missions which included the mission to the Gentiles. The theology and the praxis of the apostle Paul, whose missionary ministry began just three or four years after the death and the resurrection of Jesus,³⁴ is the most obvious case in point. Without doubt such a theology of mission would not have been uniform, as the dispute between Paul and “those of the circumcision” shows.

Less conspicuous is the fact that all four Gospels show a discernible interest in missionary outreach to the Gentiles, although the degree to which this interest is a central or a more peripheral motif varies. I will not attempt to present the full evidence at this point. A rather sketchy review of Matthew’s Gospel and a some hints regarding the Gospel of Luke must suffice.

³¹ Marshall, *Acts*, 201.

³² Cf. Marshall, *Acts*, 216; cf. Ernst Haenchen, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 7th Edition, KEK 3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977), 380.

³³ Marshall, *Acts*, 202.

³⁴ Assuming that his sojourn in Arabia (Gal 1:17) was not a spiritual retreat for purposes of mediation and that the time in Syria-Cilicia (Gal 1:21) was not devoted to the pursuit of personal interests but missionary outreach (cf. Gal 1:23 and the probable background of 2 Cor 11:32–33 and Acts 9:24–25); cf. Marshall, *Acts*, 174; F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians. A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 96, 104–5; recently Martin Hengel, “Der vorchristliche Paulus [1990]”, in *Paulus und das antike Judentum*, ed. M. Hengel and U. Heckel, WUNT 58 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991), 177–293, esp. 220.

In his opening sentence Matthew links Jesus with David and Abraham (Matt 1:1). This can be interpreted in terms of the conviction that the hope of a “new creation” is fulfilled in Jesus Christ, who is the messianic king of Israel and heir to the Davidic promises and who is the one through whose ministry God’s promise to the patriarchs that all the nations of the earth will be blessed is being realized.³⁵ That Jesus’ designation as “son of Abraham” marks him not only as a true Jew but as the instrument of divine blessing for the nations (taking up Gen 12:3; 18:18; 22:18) is indicated (1) by the fact that Abraham is regularly seen in critical distance to Israel (Matt 3:9; 8:11; 22:32) and (2) by the end of the Gospel 28:19–20 where the commission to evangelize the nations clearly implies the universality of the salvation taught and brought by Jesus.³⁶

The first reported speech by human beings is the inquiry of Gentile magi who have come from the East to worship the King of the Jews (2:2) – before Jesus’ task to Israel has even begun and in tragic contradistinction to the leaders in Jerusalem. “Thus the commission to be the Son of Abraham (1:1) is here already going into effect”.³⁷ And the first “action” of Jesus, the infant Messiah, takes him to Egypt (2:13–15), another element in the introduction which points outside Israel.³⁸ The first episode of Jesus’ ministry in Galilee and his first reported words in the main body of the narrative (4:18–22) are his commissioning of Simon Peter and Andrew, James and John to follow him and to become “fishers of people” (4:19). Since the last reported words of Jesus which conclude the entire narrative (28:18–20) contain the commission to make disciples of all nations, the ἄνθρωποι in 4:19 may well imply a universal dimension.³⁹

³⁵ Cf. William D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988–97), I, 159–60, who interpret βίβλος γενέσεως in terms of “book of origin”. Carson, *Matthew*, 61, disagrees with the “increasingly popular view”, advocated by Zahn, Davies, Hill, Maier and others who see the phrase as a heading for the entire gospel. Even though it is true that no occurrence of the expression βίβλος γενέσεως for a book-length document has been discovered, and that it should therefore be taken as a heading to 1:2–17 or to 1:2–25, it is not impossible to assume, on the basis of Matthew’s use of γένεσις, that the evangelist wants Jesus Christ understood as a new beginning in the sense of a new creation (cf. R. T. France, *Matthew*, TNTC [Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 1985], 73).

³⁶ Joachim Gnilka, *Das Matthäusevangelium*, HThK I (Freiburg: Herder, 1986–88), I, 7.

³⁷ Cf. H. J. Bernard Combrink, “The Structure of the Gospel of Matthew as Narrative”, *TynBul* 34 (1983): 61–90, esp. 77; also Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, I, 253.

³⁸ Cf. France, *Matthew: Evangelist and Teacher*, 233. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, I, 281 n.53, find it questionable that the references to Egypt further the Gentile theme, referring to Ulrich Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*, EKK I (Zürich/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Benziger/Neukirchener, 1985–2001), I, 129 who allows, however, that such a hint is “durchaus möglich”.

³⁹ Similarly Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, I, 398: “Perhaps Matthew thought of the Gentiles as included in the *anthropon*”.

Index of Ancient Sources

I. Old Testament

<i>Genesis</i>		15:20	425
1–2	385	15:21	415, 424
3	385	19:5–6	333
3:1–24	369	19:13	425
3:8	386	19:16	425
3:15	363	19:19	425
4:21	424	20:3–5	396
4–11	385	22:15	363
10:20	333	28:33–34	425
10:31	333	34:6–7	472
11:8	385	34:29–35	129
12:3	10, 335, 337, 385	39:25–26	425
18:18	10		
19:4	343	<i>Leviticus</i>	
22:18	10	4:6	241
24:22	343	14:6–7	241
28:14	335	4:17	241
31:27	424	6:22	472
31:27	425	19:18	197, 203
36:40	335	23:24	425
37:34	390	26:11–12	407
41:40	344		
41:40	344	<i>Numbers</i>	
		10:2	425
		10:8	425
		10:9	425
		10:10	425
		19:17–20	247
		19:18	241
		21:17–18	424
		21:17	415
		14:18–19	472
		22:22	369
<i>Exodus</i>			
1:22	344		
4:22	399		
5–11	56		
12:22	241		
15:1	415		
15:1–18	403, 424		
15:14–16	403, 404		
15:17	46		

22:32	369	13:1–10	56
35:30	390	18:18	56
		19:18	396
<i>Deuteronomy</i>		21:20–26	56
6:4–15	396	22:8	56
17:6	390	22:17	56
19:15	390		
21:22–23	369	<i>2 Kings</i>	
23:18	363	5	242
27–28	134	5:10	241
27:27	162	5:14	241
28:53–57	134	8:13	363
30:15	33	11:14	425
30:19	33	16:15	343
31:19	415	19:30–31	399
31:21	415	23:1	416
31:22	415		
32	403	<i>4 Kings</i>	
		5:14	260
<i>Joshua</i>			
3:15	241	<i>1 Chronicles</i>	
6:13	425	6:16	415
6:20	425	6:31–48	423
7:19	395	13:8	424, 425
		15:16	415, 425
<i>Judges</i>		15:16–22	425
1:13	415	15:16–24	423
5:3	416	15:20	424
11:34	425	15:22	415, 424
		15:24	425
<i>1 Samuel</i>		15:27	425
6:5	395	15:28	424, 425
10:5	424, 425	16:4–6	423
17:43	363	16:5	425
18:6	425	16:9	416
29:4	369	16:41–42	425
		23:3–5	425
<i>2 Samuel</i>		25:1–7	425
6:5	415, 424, 425	28:12	425
19:22–23	369		
21:10	390	<i>2 Chronicles</i>	
22:50	416	5:12	424, 425
		5:12–13	425
<i>1 Kings</i>		5:13	425
4:32	415	7:6	416, 425
5:18	369	9:11	424
10:12	424	23:13	425
11:14	369	29:25	425
11:23	369	30:21	425
11:24	369		

<i>Ezra</i>		18	418
3:10	425	18:49	416, 418
3:11	421	22	66, 421
4:4	343	22:3	66
10:2	343	22:15–16	66
10:11	343	22:16	66
		22:22	416, 421
<i>Nehemiah</i>		24	426
3:37	472	25:7	472
9:10	344	27:6	416
9:17	472	29:1–2	395
10:31	343	32:1	472
12:24	425	32:5	472
12:27–29	425	33:2	416, 424
12:45	425	33	425
		38:14–16	66
<i>Esther</i>		39:10	66
4:17	416	40:3	416
		42:4	424
<i>Job</i>		47:5	425
1:6–9	369	48	426
1:6–12	369	51	127
1:6–8:12	369	51:6[4]	127
1:12	369	53	425
2:1–4	369	54	425
2:1–6	369	55	425
2:1–7	369	56:9	424
2:6–7	369	57	425
4:8	403	60	425
13:4	68	61	425
21:12	416, 424	61:8	416
26:11–12	35	63:5	270
30:9,31	424	65:13	416
30:31	416	65:8	35
		66:4	416
<i>Psalms</i>		66:6	35
4	425	67	425
4:1	415	68:4	416
6	425	68:22–23	242
6:1	416	70:22	424
7:1	415	71	425
7:17	416	71:22–23	416
7:18	416	75:8	403
8:3	38	76	425
9:2	416	79:8	472
9:3	416	81:2	424, 425
9:17	415	81	425, 426
12:6	415	81:2	416
13:6	416	82	426
18:49	416	85:3	472

86:9–10	403	<i>Kohelet</i>	
86:15	472	3:7	68
91:4	424		
92	425, 426	<i>Isaiah</i>	
92:1	416	2:2–4	404
93	426	2:2–3	7
94	426	2:3–4	404
96:2	400	3:24	390
96:7–8	395	5:1	415
97:5	424	5:12	424, 425
98	425	5:21	202
98:1–2	403	6:13	396
98:5	416	12:1–2	403
103:8	472	12:4–6	403
103:12–13	472	12:4	416
105:3	270	12:5	416
106:37	362	13:1–14:23	361
107:3	424	14:1–2	404
107:9	35	16:11	424
107:29–30	35	17:4–5	403
108	425	21:1–10	361
109:6	369	21:4	250, 260
115–118	428	22:12	390
129:8	270	22:15–25	371
135:3	416	23	361
137	425	23:15–18	361
137:2	425	23:16	424
145:8	472	24:8	424
146:7	424	27:1	363
147:1	416	30:15	124
150:3	424, 425	30:29	425
150:3–5	416, 424	30:32	424, 425
150:4	425	33:24	472
150:5	425	38:17	472
		42:10	416
<i>Proverbs</i>		42:12	395
3:7	202	43:25	472
8:22	44	45:6	7
11:13	68	45:14	404
15:23	68	45:22	7
20:19	68	47	361
22:8	403	49:6	7, 157, 158, 335
23:9	68	49:23	7
26:5	202	51:17	403
26:11	363	53	65
26:12	202	53:4	65
28:26	202	53:6	65
30:32	68	53:7	63, 64, 65, 66

53:10	65	<i>Ezekiel</i>	
53:12	65	2-3	394
54:3	7	2:10	394
54:13	203	4:7	393
56:6-8	7	6:2	393
56:7	13, 21	7:27	344
56:10	363	11:4	393
59:19	7	13:2	393
60:1-3	404	13:17	393
60:3-4	7	18:32	124
60:14	372	20:32	335
66:18	339	21:2	393
66:18-20	157	23:33	403
66:19	404	25:2	393
66:19-21	404	26-28	361
		28:21	393
<i>Jeremiah</i>		29:2	393
2:2-3	399	29:3	371
3:8	399	32:2	371
4:8	390	34:2	393
6:26	390	35:2	393
7:11	21	37:27	407
7:11-15	21	38:2	393
7:12-15	46	39:1	393
10:6-7	403	47:12	408
12:13	403	48:8	99
13:16	395	48:10	399
15:19	124	48:20	399
16:19	404		
20:13	415	<i>Daniel</i>	
25:12-38	361	3:4	333
25:15d	403	3:7	333
26:4-6	46	3:31	333
26:9	46	3:4	339
31:8	425	3:5	424
31:33-34	202	3:5-15	424
31:34	203, 472	3:7	339, 424
31:36	424, 425	3:10	424
32:30	393	3:15	424
34:1-7	56	3:24	416
37:3-10	56	3:51	416
37:17	56	3:57	416
41:1-3	253	4:30	395
42:2	425	4:34	395
49:12-13	403	5:19	333
50-51	360	5:21-23	395
51	362	6:25	333
51:33	400, 403	7	399

7:2–8	358	4:12–13	401
7:9–12	402	5:10–15	7
7:13–14	399, 402	7:17	7
7:13	402	7:18:19	472
7:22	402		
7:14	333	<i>Nahum</i>	
7:25	391	1:4	35
9:27	391		
12:7,11	391	<i>Habakkuk</i>	
		2:16	403
<i>Hosea</i>		3:1,19	415
3:2–3	141		
8:7	403	<i>Zephaniah</i>	
14:3	472	2:10–11	7
<i>Joel</i>		<i>Zechariah</i>	
2:13	472	2:11	7
2:28	280	3:1–2	369
3:13	401, 403	3:1–5	369
		5:1–5 (LXX)	402
<i>Amos</i>		5:1–3 (LXX)	401
5:3	396	8:20–23	7, 404
5:23	415	8:21	404
		14:9	404
<i>Jonah</i>		14:11	409
2:4	472		
3:5–8	390	<i>Malachi</i>	
		1:11	7
<i>Micah</i>			
4:1–2	7		

II. New Testament

<i>Matthew</i>		3:12	401
1:1	10	3:13	264, 270
1:2–25	10	3:14	264, 270
1:2–17	10	3:16	62, 264, 267, 270
1:21	12	4:1	369
2:1–12	12	4:10	369
2:2	10	4:15	369
2:13–15	10	4:18–22	10, 16
3:1	227, 264, 270	4:19	10
3:5–6	264	4:23–25	11
3:6	264, 267, 270, 474	4:23	342
3:7	264, 270	4:24–25	16
3:9	10	4:25	16, 323
3:11	264, 270, 280	5:13–16	11

5:13–14	22	15:12	36
5:13	11	15:13–14	37
5:14	11	15:21–28	12, 19
5:16	395	15:23–25	37
5:39–42	208	15:23	37
5:39–40	209	15:24	37, 38
5:43–44	201, 208, 209	15:27	19
6:2	417	15:28	19
6:5	427	15:32–39	20
7:6	363	15:38	323
8:1–9:34	11	16:1–4	39
8:5–13	11, 16, 24	16:1	38, 39
8:5ff	17	16:14	264, 270
8:5–6	37	16:23	369
8:7–13	37	17:10	36
8:31	37	17:11–12	37
8:34	37	17:13	264, 270
8:9	17	18:1	36
8:11–12	12, 17	18:2–5	37
8:11	10, 13, 17	18:6–7	211
8:19	31	18:16	390
8:28–34	11, 18	18:23–35	473
9:3	38	19:3	38
9:23	416	19:5	38
9:35	346	19:4–9	39
10:5–6	519	19:16	31
10:13–14	337	19:18–19	37
10:18	22, 348, 393, 394	19:18	37
10:19–20	62	19:20	37
10:19	62	19:21	37
11:1	270	19:28	335
11:3	37	21:12–17	21
11:4–6	37	21:14–17	38
11:11	264	21:15–16	39
11:12	264, 270	21:16	38, 39
11:17	416, 418	21:23–25	39
11:21	390	21:23	38, 39
12:10	38, 39	21:45–46	39
12:18	62	21:18–22	21
12:26	369	21:20	36
12:28	62	21:21–22	37
12:38	31	21:25	264, 270
13:30	401	21:33–46	23
13:31–32	23	21:43	23
13:38	22	22:1–14	22
13:39–42	401	22:9–10	22
14:2	264, 270	22:15–17	38, 39
14:8	264, 270	22:15	38
14:21	323	22:16	31
14:30	262	22:18–21	39

22:18	39	27:22–23	365
22:23–28	38	27:24	49
22:23	39	27:39	66
22:24	31	27:46	66
22:29–32	39	27:64	342
22:32	10	28:1–20	12
22:34–36	39	28:18–20	10, 24
22:35–36	38	28:19–20	10, 269
22:35	39	28:19	13, 269, 349
22:36	31		
22:42–45	39	<i>Mark</i>	
22:46	39	1:4–5	264
22:67–68	50	1:4	121, 264, 265
22:69	50	1:5	264, 267, 474
22:70	50	1:6	390
23:2	50	1:8	264, 280
23:3	50	1:9	264, 267
24:2	21	1:10	62, 267
24:4–14	12	1:13	369
24:12	418	1:16–20	16
24:14	12, 23	1:24	33
24:15–21	21	1:25	33, 35
24:18	393	1:31–32	20
24:27–51	402	1:34	35
24:30	335	1:44	263
24:31	417	1:45	20
24:47	13	2:1–12	34
26:5	343	2:2	20
26:6–27:66	12	2:7	33
26:6–13	12	2:8–12	33
26:13	12, 24	2:13–17	34
26:22	37	2:16	33
26:23–25	37	2:17	25, 33
26:25	31	2:23–28	34
26:30	416, 417	2:24	33
26:39	70	2:25–26	33
26:42	70	3:1–6	33, 34
26:49	31	3:2	33
26:62	31, 48, 55, 64, 70	3:4	34
26:63	31, 55, 64, 70	3:6	34
26:63	48	3:7–8	20
26:64	48, 55, 71	3:9–10	35
26:67–68	31, 47	3:12	35
26:68	55, 72	3:20	20
27:11	49, 55, 73	3:23	369
27:12	49, 55, 64	3:26	369
27:14	49, 55, 64, 74	4:1–2	20
27:11–12	71	4:10	32
27:12–13	71, 49	4:11–12	32
27:12–14	31, 72	4:15	369

4:38	31	9:12–13	32
4:39	35	9:17	31
5:1–20	18	9:25	35
5:6–13	35	9:28	32
5:7	33	9:29	32
5:9–13	33	9:31	70
5:15	18	9:34	36
5:17	33	9:38	31
5:20	19	10:2	33
5:48	429	10:3–12	33
5:56	346	10:7–8	33
6:6	346	10:10	32
6:14	264	10:11–12	32
6:24	264	10:17	31, 32
6:25	264	10:19	32
6:30–44	20	10:20	31
6:32–44	20	10:21	32
6:34	20	10:32–34	70
6:44	323	10:35	31
6:56	346	10:38	281, 282
7:1–23	13	10:39	281
7:3–4	262, 263, 265	10:45	70
7:4	227, 228, 263	10:48	36
7:5	33	10:51	31
7:6	33, 343	11:15–17	21
7:7–9	33	11:17	21
7:7–8	16	11:18	21
7:10	33	11:21	31
7:11–14	33	11:27–33	33
7:15	211	11:28	33
7:17	32	11:30	264
7:18–23	32	12:1–9	47
7:24–30	13, 19, 519	12:14	31
7:24	20	12:18	33
7:27	363	12:19	31
7:31	20	12:24–27	33
8:1–10	20	12:31	203
8:5–10	519	12:32	31
8:9	323	12:34	34
8:23	346	13:1	31
8:27	346	13:3–4	32
8:28	264	13:5–37	33
8:30	36	13:9	393, 394
8:31–38	36	13:10	13, 23
8:31	70	13:11	62
8:33	369	13:26	402
8:35	25	14:1	71
9:5	31	14:9	24
9:9	36	14:10	71
9:11	32	14:19	32

14:20–21	33	4:34	42
14:26	416, 417	4:38	39
14:36	70	4:39	40
14:39	70	5:7	262
14:45	31	5:14	263
14:53–59	46	5:21	40
14:58	444	5:22–26	40
14:59	55, 70	5:30–32	41
14:60	31, 46, 55, 62, 64, 70, 73	5:32	121
14:61	31, 46, 47, 55, 64, 70, 71, 73	6:26–28	208
14:62	47, 48, 55	6:27–28	201
14:63–64	47	6:29–30	209
14:65	31, 55, 47, 72	7:1–10	16
15:1–22	47	7:3	40
15:2	55	7:5	16, 17
15:3	31, 48	7:6–10	40
15:4–5	62, 73	7:10	16
15:4	31, 48, 55, 64, 72	7:16	395
15:5	55, 64, 72	7:20	264, 529
15:11–15	321	7:21–23	40
15:12–14	365	7:29	264, 343
15:12	48	7:30	264
15:29	66	7:32	416, 418
15:34	66	7:33	264
16:16	269	7:36	39, 40
		7:40	31
<i>Luke</i>		8:1	346
1:1	13	8:9	39
1:5	264	8:10–15	40
2:22	263	8:12	369
2:31	343	8:26–39	18
2:32	13	8:38	31
3:1–2	529	8:39	18, 19
3:3	264	8:49	31
3:4–6	13	8:52	429
3:7	264	9:6	346
3:12	264	9:18	13
3:16	264, 280	9:19	264
3:17	401	10:1–2	390
3:21	264	10:13	390
3:22	62	10:18	369
4:1	62	10:25	31, 40
4:2	369	10:26–37	41
4:14	62	10:38	346
4:16–29	427	11:18	369
4:18–19	62	11:20	473
4:25–27	21, 22	11:21	473
4:32–33	41	11:22–24	473
4:31	22	11:37–38	263
		11:37	39, 40

11:38	227, 228, 263	21:38	40
11:45	31	22:2	344
11:53–54	41, 41	22:3	369
12:1	323	22:30	335
12:11–12	62	22:31	369
12:13	31	22:37	65
12:41	40	22:42	70
12:42–48	40	22:54	49
12:50	281	22:63–71	49
13:16	369	22:63–64	47
13:28–29	17	22:66	49
12:30	347	22:67–69	49, 50
13:22	346	22:67	49, 55
13:31–33	343	22:70	48, 55, 56
14:15–24	22	23:3	55
14:23	23	23:4	50
15:11–32	473	23:6–12	51
15:25	417	23:9	31, 55, 64, 65, 68, 73
16:24	261	23:9	51, 73
17:1–2	211	23:9–10	65
17:12	346	23:13	344
17:18	395	23:20–23	365
17:20–21	41	24:5	394
17:20	40	24:17	24
17:37	40	24:37	394
18:18	31, 40	24:18–20	24
18:19–22	40	24:44	416
18:43	395	24:47	24
19:39	31		
19:45–46	21	<i>John</i>	
19:46	13	1:25	264
19:47	21	1:26	264
20:2	40	1:28	264
20:3–8	41	1:31	264
20:4	264	1:32–33	62
20:21	31	1:33	264, 280
20:22	40	1:38	31
20:23–25	41	1:49	31
20:27	40	2:6	263
20:28	31	3:2	31
20:34–38	41	3:9	42
20:39	31	3:10	42
20:42	416	3:22	267
21:7	31, 39	3:23	264
21:8–11	40	3:25–26	267
21:12–15	62	4:1	268
21:12	393	4:2	268
21:27	402	4:9	43
21:32	40	4:31	31, 42
21:37	40	4:35–38	399, 403

4:40	42	13:25	42
4:47	42	13:26	42, 261
6:25	31, 43	13:27	369
6:26	43	13:34	203
6:28	43	13:36	42
6:30–31	43	13:37	42
6:32–35	43	13:38	42
6:45	203	14:5	42
7:15	43	14:6–7	42
7:16	43	14:15–26	62
7:37–39	62	14:16	42
8:19	43	15:26–27	62
8:21–58	43	16:16–19	42
8:22	43	16:20–23	42
8:23–24	43	16:26	42
8:23	43	17:9	42
8:25	43	17:11	270
8:26	44	18:12–24	51
8:31–32	44	18:19	51
8:33	44	18:20–21	51, 54
8:34–36	44	18:23	51, 55
8:37–44	44	18:28–19:16	51
8:44	369	18:31	51
8:45–51	44	18:33	51
8:57–59	44	18:34–37	48
9:2	31, 42	18:34	51, 55
9:3	42	18:35	52
9:16	44	18:36–37	74
9:22	44	18:36	52, 55
9:24	44	18:37	52, 55
9:28	44	18:38	52
9:29	44	19:6–7	365
9:34	44	19:9–10	69
9:39	44	19:9	31, 52, 55, 64, 74
9:40	44	19:10	52
10:1–18	23	19:11	52, 55
10:16	23	19:14–15	365
10:24	44	20:16	31
10:25–30	45		
10:31	45	<i>Acts</i>	
10:33	45	1:5	226, 264, 280, 281
10:40	264	1:8	13, 157, 349
11:8	31	1:20	416
12:27	70	1:22	264
12:34	45	2:14–36	271
12:35–36	45	2:15–36	529
13:6	42	2:36	273
13:7	42	2:37–41	271
13:8	42	2:38–39	529
13:24	42	2:38	139, 269, 270, 271, 273

2:41	228, 269, 271	10:6	8
2:42	428	10:10	8
2:46	444	10:13	8
2:47	343	10:14	8
3:1	444	10:17	8
3:11	444	10:22	8, 347
3:17	128	10:27	8
3:19	128, 139	10:28	8
3:23	343	10:32	8
4:1–22	366	10:33	8
4:5–12	347	10:37	264
4:8–12	61	10:47	269
5:3	369	10:48	269, 270
5:12	444	11	530
5:17–41	366	11:3	8
5:17	297	11:7	8
5:27–42	343	11:8	8
5:29–32	61	11:11	8
5:36	324	11:12	8
6:5	8	11:13	8
6:8	342	11:14	8
6:9–7:60	366	11:16	264, 280, 281
6:9	318	11:19	8, 366
6:11–14	368	11:26	321
7:2–53	61, 531	12:1–19	366
7:17	343	12:1–4	324
8	530	12:18	136
8:1	366	13:2	9
8:4–5	8	13:3	9
8:5–25	8	13:6–12	347
8:9	347	13:13–52	295
8:12–13	269	13:14–41	427
8:16	136, 269, 270	13:14–16	290
8:22	138	13:16	307
8:25	8, 346	13:19	347
8:26–39	8	13:24	121, 264
8:36–39	273	13:27–29	320
8:36	269, 273	13:28	320
8:38	269, 274	13:33	416
8:39	8, 274	13:42–43	290
9:1–14	366	13:45	290, 295, 297, 326, 368
9:18	269	13:46–47	295
9:19	162	13:47	349
9:23–24	366	13:48–50	307
9:24–25	9	13:48–49	290
9:29–30	366	13:50	291, 295, 354, 366
10	159	14:1	291, 307
10:1–11:18	8	14:2	291
10:2	8	14:3	291
10:4	394	14:5	291, 292, 348, 354, 366

14:6	292	19:24	362
14:8–20	292	19:33–34	294
14:8–9	292	19:38	294
14:11–12	341	20:3	366
14:19	292, 293, 295	20:6–12	294
14:20–21	294	20:15	295
14:25	294, 295	20:16	323
15:1	9	20:17–38	295
15:7	159	20:21	121, 128
15:9	271	20:28	318
15:14	343	21:27–28	295, 326
16:1–2	292	21:27	366
16:1	292	21:28	295
16:13	427	21:31	295
16:14	307	21:32–33	295
16:15	269	21:40–22:21	61
16:19	354	22:16	269
16:25	416, 417, 442	22:25–30	61
16:33	269	23:1–6	61
16:37–38	61	23:30	128
17:1–9	318	24:4	176
17:4	307	24:5	367
17:5–7	367	24:10–21	61
17:5	297, 366	24:17	323
17:6	354, 367	24:19	295
17:8	354	24:25	394
17:12	307	25:8–11	61
17:17	343	25:8	366
17:18	85	25:23–26:29	347
17:19	85	26:1–29	61
17:22–31	116	26:7	176
17:26	347, 349	26:18	128, 162, 369
17:30	121, 139	26:19–20	162
18:1–17	343	26:20	121, 128, 139
18:8	269	27:23	176
18:12	366	28:17	343
18:13	367		
18:14–15	61	<i>Romans</i>	
18:25	264	1:1–6	164, 165
19:1–20:1	293	1:1	164
19	289	1:2–4	164, 165
19:3	264	1:2–3	164
19:4	121, 128, 264	1:3–4	165, 373
19:5	136, 269, 270	1:4	127
19:8	293	1:5	157
19:9	293, 294	1:7	501
19:10	346	1:9	176
19:18	474	1:14	337
19:24–27	294	1:16–17	164, 165, 166, 373
19:24–25	366	1:16	165, 166, 189

1:18–3:20	131	7–8	527
1:18–32	126, 130, 166, 373	7:4	186
1:18	373	7:7–25	130
1:20	167	7:13–25	127
1:24	186	7:21–23	219
1:25	167, 176	7:23	200
1:26	218	7:24	186
1:28	138, 200, 219	8:1–4	217
1:29–31	199	8:1	130
1:29	199	8:3–4	130, 131, 216
1:32	126	8:4–5	218
2:1–3:20	127	8:5	219
2:1	126	8:9–13	218
2:3–4	126	8:10	186
2:4	121, 122, 123, 127	8:11	186
2:5–11	126	8:12–13	131
2:5	126	8:13	186
2:14–15	205, 218	8:14–17	175
2:17–24	126	8:15–17	130
3:1–8	127	8:19–22	167
3:4	127, 185	8:23	186, 399
3:6	167	8:29	161
3:9	318	8:31–39	442
3:19	167	8:33	130
3:21–5:21	130, 131, 277	8:37	130
3:23	318	8:39	130
3:25	189	9–11	189
3:29	318, 348	9:4	176
4:13	167	9:6	185
4:19	186	9:9	185
5:2	444	9:25	343
6	216	9:28	185
6:1–11	277	11:2	140
6:1	131, 277	11:11–24	163
6:2–11	161	11:27	131
6:2	131, 277	11:32–36	132
6:3–6	277	11:36	167
6:3–5	274	12–15	143, 175, 200
6:3	269, 270, 274, 275, 276, 277	12–13	200, 202
6:4	277	12:1–2	175, 189
6:5	277	12:1	176, 179, 180, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 189
6:6	186, 277	12:2	138, 143, 144, 189, 200, 213, 216, 219
6:7	131	12:3	200, 201
6:9	130	12:4	186
6:10	131	12:5	186, 201
6:12–13	131	12:9–21	209
6:12	186	12:14	201
6:14	130	12:16	201, 202, 216
6:16	140		

13:1-7	218	1:23	153
13:5-8	217	1:26-31	140
13:8-10	202	1:26-28	346
13:8	197	2:1-5	140, 153
13:9	185, 202	2:1	152, 153, 186
13:11	216	2:2	155
13:13	199, 205, 218	2:4-5	153
14:1-15:13	209, 418	2:4	155, 186
14:5	219	2:5	156
14:6-7	212, 216	2:6-16	140
14:8-9	216	2:6-10	206
14:10	219	2:13	185
14:12	185	3:1-21	140
14:13	210	3:3-4	206
14:14	211	3:5	206
14:20	218	3:11-14	216
14:21	210	3:11	140
14:23	219	3:16-17	123, 444
15:1	209	3:16	140
15:5	216	3:18-23	206
15:7	189	3:18	218
15:9	416, 418, 419	3:21-23	206
15:11	157	3:22	206
15:14	219	3:23	206, 207
15:16	444	4:1-21	140
15:18	185	4:5	210
15:25-28	323	4:16-17	217
15:30	216	4:19	185
16:4	348	4:20	185
16:20	369	4:36	185
16:21	292	5-6	158
		5:1-13	123, 140
<i>1 Corinthians</i>		5:2	139
1:2	206, 318, 500	5:3-13	139
1:3	206	5:3-5	139
1:5	185	5:3	139
1:10-13	205	5:4-5	140
1:10-12	206	5:5	369
1:10	135, 205, 206	5:6	140
1:11-12	135	5:10-11	199
1:13	135, 206, 269	5:11	139
1:14-17	269	5:13	139, 217
1:14-16	136	6:1-11	123, 140
1:15	269	6:1-6	209
1:17-31	206	6:1-3	208
1:17	136, 185	6:1	207, 208
1:18-4:21	140	6:2-3	207
1:18-2:5	140, 153	6:2	140, 208
1:18-25	140, 152	6:3	140
1:18	185	6:4	208

6:5	207	10:15	141
6:6	207	10:16–17	141
6:7–8	207, 209	10:16	141
6:7	208	10:22	141
6:8–10	208	10:23	210, 216
6:9–11	138	10:24	210
6:9–10	199	10:25–29	211
6:9	140, 208	10:25–27	219
6:10	208	10:25–27	211
6:11	130, 209	10:25	212
6:12–20	139, 217	10:26	218
6:15	140	10:27	212
6:16	140, 444	10:31	210, 216
6:19–20	141, 187	10:32	205, 218, 219, 318
6:19	140	10:33	210, 211
6:20	216	11:1	217
7:4–5	218	11:10	217
7:5	216, 369	11:13	218
7:10	217	11:16	216, 318
7:19	217	11:17–34	123
7:31	143	11:17	141
7:35	218	11:21–22	141
7:36–38	218	11:22	318
8	211, 216	11:23–26	141
8:1	210	11:23–24	217
8:6	167, 210, 218	11:25	131
8:7–12	211	11:27	141
8:7–8	219	11:28	141
8:7	211	11:29–30	474
8:8	210, 211	11:29	141
8:9	210	11:30	141
8:10–11	210	11:31	141
8:12	123, 210	11:32	141
9:13	140, 210	11:33–34	428
9:14	217	12	216
9:19–23	163	12:2	140
9:19–20	159	12:3	368
9:19	163	12:7–10	428
9:20	163	12:10	9
9:21–23	525	12:13	130, 269, 278, 280
9:21	163	13	218, 442
9:22	157, 163	13:1	417, 418
9:23	164	13:5	218
9:24–25	216	14:1–40	428
9:24	140	14:7–8	418, 419, 442
10:1–2	279	14:7	416, 417
10:1	143	14:15	416, 419, 442
10:2	235, 275	14:24–25	129
10:13	210	14:26	416, 420, 427, 442
10:14	141	14:40	218

15:1	318	11:32	156
15:2	185	12:7	369
15:3–8	164, 165, 166	12:19–13:10	123
15:4	166	12:20–21	138, 199
15:5–8	154	12:21	121, 122, 136, 139
15:9	366	13:1–2	139
15:29	269	13:1	139
15:52	417, 418		
15:54	185	<i>Galatians</i>	
16:1–4	323	1:4	143
16:8–9	152	1:6	133
16:15	140	1:11	142
		1:13–14	162, 366
<i>2 Corinthians</i>		1:13	318
1:1	318	1:15–17	161, 162
2:1–4	136	1:17	9, 156
2:5–8	139	1:21	9
2:5–6	139	1:23	9, 366
2:7	140	2:1–10	160
2:9	217	2:2	160
2:10	139	2:6–10	160
2:11	369	2:7–9	159
2:12	152	2:8	160
3:6	131	2:12	9, 348
3:14	129	2:19–21	134
3:15–16	129	2:19–20	198
4:2	211	2:20	196
4:4	143	3:1–5	133
5:9–10	216	3:1	134
5:10	219	3:8	165
5:11	211	3:10	162
5:14–15	216	3:13	368
5:17	130, 167	3:15	142
6:6	199	3:22	167
6:14–7:1	123	3:26–28	130
6:15	370	3:27	269, 270
6:16	444	3:28	318
7:8–10	122	4:4–6	130
7:9–10	122, 123, 137	4:12	142
7:9	121, 136, 137, 138, 139, 144	4:13	140
7:10	121, 136, 137, 138, 139	4:14	152
7:11	139	4:28	142
8:15	217	4:31	142
9:9	217	5–6	198
10:5	219	5:1	198
11:14	369	5:6	197
11:24	319	5:10	135
11:25	293	5:11	142
11:32–33	9	5:13–6:10	195, 196
		5:13–26	196

5:13–16	216	1:17–30	214
5:13–14	196	1:27	214, 219
5:13	142, 196, 198	1:29–30	214
5:14	196, 197, 198	1:29	214
5:15	196	2:1–4	214
5:16–26	196	2:2	214, 216
5:16–17	218	2:3	214, 215
5:16	142, 198	2:4	215
5:19–21	198, 199, 216	2:5–11	216
5:19	138	2:6–11	442, 444
5:20	138	2:9	270
5:21	198, 199	3	161
5:22–23	199	3:2	176, 363
5:22	197	3:3	371
5:25	198, 199	3:6	366
6:1	217, 298	3:14	216
6:2	197	3:17	217
6:7–9	216	4:2	216
6:7–8	403	4:8–9	219
6:7	199	4:8	199, 205
6:8	199	4:9	217
6:9	199	4:15	140, 185
6:12	188		
6:15	167	<i>Colossians</i>	
6:16	217, 371	1:1	295
6:18	142	1:7	295
<i>Ephesians</i>		1:9–10	218
1:4	167	1:15–20	442, 444
1:9–10	529	1:23	167
3:1	348	2:1	295
4:2–3	199	2:18	219
4:17	219	3:5	199
4:31	199	3:8	199
4:32	199	3:11	337
5:3–5	199	3:12	199
5:10	144	3:16	415, 416, 420, 421, 427, 442
5:19	415, 416, 420, 421, 427, 442	4:3	152
5:25	216	4:12–13	295
		4:13	295
		4:15	295
<i>Philippians</i>		<i>I Thessalonians</i>	
1:6	135	1:1–10	157
1:9–11	213	1:9–10	128
1:9–10	213, 218, 219	1:9	152, 211
1:9	212, 213	1:5	140
1:10–11	213	2:1	140
1:10	213	2:5	140
1:11	213	2:11	140
1:12–26	213	2:13	217

2:14–16	366		
2:14	318		
2:18	369		
3:3	140		
3:4	140		
4:1–2	217		
4:1	217		
4:2	140		
4:9	202		
4:11	204		
4:12	218, 219		
4:13–5:11	204		
4:15	217		
4:16	417, 418		
5:1–11	216		
5:2	140		
5:14	218		
5:15	209, 219		
5:21	216		
<i>2 Thessalonians</i>			
2:1–12	204		
2:6	140		
2:9	369		
2:9–10	369		
3:6–12	204		
3:7	140		
3:14	139		
4:1	318		
<i>1 Timothy</i>			
1:20	369		
2:2	219		
3:16	442		
<i>2 Timothy</i>			
1:3	176		
2:8	165		
2:25	121, 122		
<i>Titus</i>			
1:15	167		
<i>1 Peter</i>			
2:2	185, 189		
2:9–10	371		
2:12	205, 395		
2:21–24	442		
4:16	321		
5:8–9	371		
<i>2 Peter</i>			
2:21–22	363		
<i>Hebrews</i>			
2:12	416, 421		
2:14	369		
2:17	343		
5:3	343		
6:1	138		
7:5	343		
7:27	343		
9:10	263		
12:17	127		
12:19	417		
<i>James</i>			
1:18	399		
5:13	416, 421, 442		
5:16	474		
<i>1 John</i>			
1:6			
1:9	474		
<i>Revelation</i>			
1:1	353		
1:3	353, 373		
1:4–5	353		
1:4	359		
1:5–6	364		
1:5	373, 377, 391, 393, 409		
1:6	373, 395		
1:7	335, 376, 402		
1:8	359, 373		
1:10	417		
1:11–12	354		
1:11	295, 337		
1:12	389		
1:13–20	402		
1:13	399		
1:16	373		
1:17	394		
1:20	389		
2:1–3:22	357, 422, 471		
2:1	389		
2:5	375, 377		
2:6	374		
2:7	374, 377, 410		
2:8–11	294		
2:9	294, 254, 366, 367, 368, 369		

2:10–11	374	5:10	374
2:10	294, 357, 367, 375, 394	5:12–13	395, 446
2:11	377	5:13–14	442
2:12–17	295	5:13	374
2:12	337	6:1–17	377, 390
2:13	294, 355, 357, 365, 366, 371, 374, 376, 391	6:9–10	355, 376, 377
2:14	374	6:10	349, 354
2:15	374	6:11	378
2:16	375, 377	6:12	396
2:17	374	6:15	393, 445
2:19	377	6:16	365
2:20	374	6:17	364
2:21–22	138, 377	7:1–17	377, 389, 397
2:18–29	295	7:1–8	422
2:21	138	7:3	378
2:25	375	7:4	335
2:26	348, 373, 374	7:5–8	335
2:28	377	7:9–10	411
3:1–6	295	7:9	333, 337, 338, 339, 342, 343, 348, 349, 378, 379, 392, 393, 407, 408, 409
3:3	375, 377, 400	7:11	374
3:5	374, 377	7:12	395
3:7–13	294, 371	7:14–17	364
3:9	294, 354, 366, 373	7:14–16	377
3:10	349, 354, 400	7:14	411
3:11	375	7:15–17	374
3:12	374, 377	8:1–5	377, 390
3:14–22	445	8:2	417, 418
3:14	295, 363	8:5	396
3:17	445	8:6–11:19	377
3:19	375, 377	8:6–9:21	390
3:21	374, 377	8:6	417, 418
4:1	417	8:7	417
4:8	359, 374	8:8	417
4:9	395	8:10	417
4:10	374	8:12	417
4:11	442	8:13	349, 354, 417, 418
5:1–9	387	9:1–2	358
5:5	376, 377	9:1	417
5:6–10	364	9:11	358
5:6	376, 377, 387	9:13	417
5:8–10	422, 423, 442	9:14	417, 418
5:8	417, 418	9:15	400
5:9–12	442	9:20–21	362, 378, 391
5:9–10	376, 377, 446	9:20	138, 395
5:9	333, 335, 337, 338, 339, 343, 348, 349, 374, 378, 379, 387, 392, 393, 407, 408, 409, 411, 415, 421, 442	9:21–20	390
		9:21	138, 363
		10:1–11:14	377, 398
		10:1–10	387

10:7	378, 417	12:14	391, 398
10:8–10	394	12:17	357, 371, 373
10:11	333, 338, 339, 343, 378, 387, 392, 393	12:18–13:4	357
10:13	394	12:18	358
11:1–14	379	13:1–10	357, 377
11:1–13	387, 394, 395, 397	13:1	358
11:1–2	389	13:2	358
11:1	389	11:3–13	410
11:2	348, 391, 398	13:4	358
11:3–13	387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 397	13:5–8	358
11:3	334, 390, 391, 398	13:5	391, 398
11:4	389, 390	13:7–10	358
11:5	389	13:7	333, 338, 339, 343, 378, 392, 393
11:6	390	13:8	349, 354
11:7–10	391	13:10	355, 365, 376
11:7–8	355, 365, 376	13:11–17	357, 359
11:7	358, 378	13:11	357, 360
11:8	371, 389, 390, 395	13:12	354, 358, 360
11:9	333, 339, 378, 387, 390, 392, 393, 394	13:13–14	360
11:10	349, 354, 390	13:14–15	360
11:11–13	392, 396	13:14	349, 358, 360
11:11–12	397	13:15–17	358
11:13	391, 392, 394, 395, 396, 400	13:15	355, 360, 365, 376
11:14	395	13:16–17	360
11:15–19	390, 395	13:16	363
11:15	395, 396, 417, 442	14:1–5	398, 422
11:17–18	374, 442	14:2–3	422, 423
11:17	359	14:2	417, 418, 442
11:18–19	396	14:3	415, 421, 446
11:18	348, 394	14:4	398, 399
11:19	396	14:6–7	378, 398
12:1–15:4	398	14:6–11	398, 401, 402
12–13	389, 398	14:6	333, 338, 339, 343, 378, 392, 393, 410
12:1–6	398	14:7	375, 378, 394, 400
12:1–4	357	14:8	339, 348, 360, 361, 362, 398
12:3–4	357	14:9–11	398
12:3	357, 358	14:12	402
12:5	348, 371	14:13	355, 365, 376, 402
12:6	391, 398	14:14–20	398, 400, 401, 402
12:7–10	357	14:14–16	387, 388, 398, 399, 400, 402, 403
12:9	357, 398	14:14	399, 400, 401, 402
12:10–12	372, 374	14:15–16	401
12:10	357	14:15	400, 402
12:11	377, 411	14:17–20	398, 400, 403
12:12	357, 391	14:17–19	401
12:13–16	357	14:17	401, 402
		14:18	402

14:20	403	18:11	361
15:1–4	398	18:12–13	361
15:1	403, 405	18:15	394
15:2–4	387, 388, 403, 405, 406, 442	18:16	361
15:2–3	422, 423, 442	18:17	361, 400
15:2	405, 417, 418, 442	18:19	400
15:3–4	374, 387, 446	18:20	339
15:3	373, 405, 415	18:22	415, 417, 418, 423
15:4	378, 394, 395, 403, 404, 405	18:23	339, 348
15:5	398	18:24	339, 362
15:7	403	19:1–10	374
15:14	348	19:1–8	442
15:15–16:21	403	19:1	355, 361, 362, 365, 376, 395
16:1	403	19:5	394
16:5–7	374, 405	19:7	395
16:9	378, 395, 404	19:11–20:2	358
16:11	138, 378, 404	19:11–21	364, 376, 379, 411
16:12	358	19:13	261
16:13	359, 360	19:15	348
16:18	396	19:16	373
16:19	339, 362	19:17–21	403
16:21	404	19:18	364
17:1–19:10	362	19:19	364, 393
17:1–8	360	19:20	359, 360, 409
17:1	362	19:21	395
17:2	349, 354, 361, 362, 393	20:1–15	364
17:4	361	20:1	358
17:5	360, 362	20:3	348
17:6	339, 355, 362, 365, 376	20:5	395
17:8	349, 354, 359	20:7–15	411
17:9–13	359	20:10	358, 364
17:9	360	20:11–15	379
17:10	393	20:12	364, 411
17:11	359	20:13	364
17:12–13	400	20:14–15	364, 409
17:12	393	20:15	411
17:14	373, 374	21–22	386, 406
17:15	333, 339, 339, 343, 378, 392, 393	21:1–8	406, 408
17:16	362	21:3–4	374, 387, 388
18:1–8	362	21:3	343, 378, 386, 387, 406, 408
18:2	362	21:4	386
18:3	339, 348, 361, 362, 393	21:5–6	386
18:4	343, 355, 365, 375, 376	21:7	409, 411
18:8	362	21:8	362, 363, 388, 407, 411
18:9–24	362	21:9–22:5	408
18:9	361, 362, 393	21:9	411
18:10	394, 400	21:12	335
		21:24–27	378, 387, 388
		21:24–26	406, 408
		21:24–25	386

21:24	348, 386	22:7	353, 373, 411
21:26	348	22:10–14	373
21:27	388, 407, 411	22:11	363, 365, 375, 379, 411
22:1–5	386	22:14	408, 411
22:1–2	409	22:15	362, 363, 388
22:1	408	22:16	393
22:2–3	378, 387, 388	22:17	379, 409, 411
22:2	348, 386, 408, 409, 410	22:20	379
22:3	409, 411	22:21	411

III. Second Temple Literature, Rabbinic Literature

<i>2 Baruch</i>		15:33	370
8:5	199	23:30	7
13:4	199	46:6	417
84:10	473		
<i>1 Enoch</i>		<i>1 Maccabees</i>	
53:3	402	2:36–38	376
56:1	402	2:39–41	376
63:1	402	2:42–47	376
66:1	402	3:10–26	376
62:6–13	395	4:54	425
63:2–12	395	15:16–23	5
90:28–29	46	<i>3 Maccabees</i>	
90:30–33	7	4:6–8	429
91:9	7	6:23–28	61
<i>2 Enoch</i>		6:32	425
10:4–5	199	6:35	425
<i>3 Enoch</i>		7:2, 11	61
32:2	402	7:16	425
32:1	402	<i>4 Maccabees</i>	
33:1	402	1:26–27	199
<i>4 Ezra</i>		2:15	199
3:18–22	127	5:1–17:6	57
9:36–37	127	5:14–38	61
7:30	69	9:1–9	61
<i>Joseph and Aseneth</i>		11:12–9	61
11:18	473	18:15	429
13:11–13	473	18:18	429
<i>Jubilees</i>		<i>Odes of Solomon</i>	
10:9	396	31:8–13	62, 69
		<i>Psalms of Salomon</i>	
		2:15–18	127

17:25–27	7	<i>Wisdom of Salomon</i>	
17:32	203	12:10	125
		12:19	125
<i>Sibylline Oracles</i>		14:23–31	199
3:616	7		
3:716–718	7	Qumran	
3:752–753	7		
12:60–61	492	<i>CD</i>	
26:11–13	361	VI, 9	370
		IX, 13	473
<i>Sirach</i>		<i>IQS</i>	
31:30	260	IV	199
34:25	245	X, 9	429
34:30	245	X, 11–13	127
		X, 23	429
<i>Testament of Abraham</i>		XI	199
4:11	402	XI, 11–17	125
8:9–10	402		
		<i>IQH</i>	429
<i>Testament of Job</i>		X, 22	370
3:3–4	362	XIV, 5	370
		XV, 10	203
<i>Testament of Moses</i>		XV, 23	370
10:7	7		
		<i>IQM</i>	
<i>Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs</i>		IV, 9	370
T.Benj.		XII, 10	7
5:4	64	XV, 9	370
		<i>4QFlor</i>	
T.Gad		I, 2–7	403
4:7	369	I, 3	46
		I, 6	46
T.Jud.		<i>4Q393</i>	
16	199	II, 4–8	472
		<i>4Q400–405</i>	430
T.Levi		<i>11QTemple</i>	
3:6	180, 182, 184	XXIX, 8–10	46
17:11	199		
		Josephus	
T.Reu.		<i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i>	
2:4	370	1.117	263
3:3–6	199	2.45	164
<i>Tobit</i>			
14:6–7	7		
<i>Vitae Prophetarum</i>			
3:6–7	402		

3.102	249	16.166	300, 301, 305, 312
5.24	164	16.167–168	301, 305, 311
7.50	164	16.167	305
11.65	164	16.169–170	301, 305
12.6	347	16.171	301, 305, 313
12.119–128	325	16.172–173	301, 306, 313
12.135	347	16.172	306
12.148–153	5	18.55–89	75
14.112–113	309	18.57–59	57
14.172	58	18.116	264
14.190–195	300	18.229	164
14.196–198	300	18.257–260	301
14.199	300	18.259	317
14.200–201	300	19.279	320
14.202–210	300	19.280–285	302, 303, 306
14.211–212	300	19.285	302
14.213–216	300, 301	19.287–291	303, 306
14.214–216	305	19.288–290	303
14.214	300, 310	19.290–291	303
14.215	305	20.9	425
14.219–222	300	20.34–48	15
14.225–227	305	20.97–99	324
14.227	310	20.125–133	58
14.235	306		
14.256–258	307	<i>Bellum Judaicum</i>	
14.241–243	307	1.607	164
14.242	307	2.169–171	75
14.244–246	307	2.385	320
14.245	310	2.420	164
14.256–258	307	2.487–498	325
14.259–261	307	2.556	247
14.262–264	307	3.143	164
14.277	305	3.368	247
14.235	207, 301	3.423	247
14.241–243	301	4.563	249
14.244–246	301, 305	4.618	164
14.245	305	4.656	164
14.252–254	301	5.192	316
15.55	243	5.201	316
15.218–236	59	5.205	316
16.27–28	305, 312, 314	5.252	295
16.27	307	6.300–309	58
16.31–57	312	7.100–103	324
16.41	313	7.110–111	325
16.45	305, 307, 313	7.218	325, 369
16.60	305	7.323	44
16.162–165	300, 301, 305, 311	7.361–368	325
16.163	305, 311	7.407–421	325
16.165	305	7.433–453	325

<i>Contra Apionem</i>		<i>De providentia</i>	
2.17	427	2.67	250
2.262–268	87		
<i>Vita</i>		<i>De somniis</i>	
15	247	1.106	186
Philo		<i>De specialibus legibus</i>	
<i>De Abrahamo</i>		1.78	315
32	199	1.235	473
<i>De decalogo</i>		1.277	180, 184
96	347	1.290	180
<i>In Flaccum</i>		2.184	417
11.86–91	320	4.18	123
15.121	427	<i>De vita contemplativa</i>	
<i>Hypothetica</i>		46	251
7.13	427	80	429
<i>Legatio ad Gaium</i>		83–85	429
8	302	<i>De vita Mosi</i>	
18	164	1.84	186
99	164	Rabbinic Literature	
231	164	<i>Mishnah</i>	
299–310	75	‘Arakin	
311	312	2:3–6	425, 426
315	312	<i>Baba Metsi’a</i>	
370–371	301, 302	6:1	429
<i>Legum allegoriae</i>		<i>Bikkurim</i>	
1.10	185	1:4–5	15
1.69	315	3:4	425, 428
3.18	250	<i>Ketubbot</i>	
3.213	125	2:10	429
<i>De migratione Abrahami</i>		<i>Middot</i>	
204	250	2:5–6	425
<i>De opificio mundi</i>		2:5	428
34	164	<i>Pesahim</i>	
115	164	5:7	417, 428
119	185	9:3	428
<i>De praemiis et poenis</i>		10:4	428
2	186	10:6–7	417
		10:7	428

Rosh Hashanah		Rosh Hashanah	
4:7	428	30b–31a	426
Sota		Shabbat	
5:4	428	55a	402
9:11	429	88a	402
9:14	429	Sota	
Sukkah		32b	473
3:10–11	428	48a	429
5:4	428	Yebamot	
Ta'anit		47a–b	14
3:9	328	<i>Palestinian Talmud</i>	
Tamid		Yebamot	
7:4	426, 428	8:3	473
<i>Tosefta</i>		<i>Targumim</i>	
Ta'anit		Targum Jeremiah	
1:8	473	51:55	362
<i>Babylonian Talmud</i>			
Baba Batra			
9a	325		

IV. New Testament Apocrypha, Apostolic Fathers, Church Fathers

<i>Acta Petri</i>		Eusebius	
38	355	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>	
Athenagoras		2.25	355
<i>Legatio pro Christianis</i>		3.1.2	355
13.4	183	5.1.5–6	371
Clemens Alexandrinus		Gospel of Peter	
<i>Protrepticus</i>		4:10	62
1.4	253	Ignatius	
4.48	103	<i>To the Magnesians</i>	
<i>Quis dives salvetur</i>		Prol.	295
34.3	247	<i>To the Trallians</i>	
Didache		Prol.	295
7:1–3	274	Irenaeus	
9:5	363	3.12.8	274

<i>Fragmenta deperditorum operum</i>	9–11	61
36	183	12:2–3 366
		13:1 366
John Chrysostom	17:1	371
<i>Homilies on the Gospel of St. Matthew</i>		
86:1	61	Nag Hammadi
		<i>The Discourse on the Eighty and Ninth</i>
		VI, 57, 18–19 179, 180, 182
Justin Martyr		
<i>Apologia</i>		
31.5	366	Origen
		<i>Commentarium in evangelium Ioannis</i>
		13.24.148 183
<i>Dialogus cum Tryphone</i>		
16.4	366	<i>Commentarii in epistulam ad Romanos</i>
47.4	366	12.2 183
93.4	366	
95.4	366	<i>Contra Celsum</i>
96.2	366	Pr. 1–2 61
108.3	366	
102–103	61	<i>Fragmenta in Lucam</i>
110.5	366	123.4 183
131.2	366	
133.6	366	<i>Selecta in Ezechielem</i>
137.2	366	13.785.44 183
<i>Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas</i>		
10:4	371	Tertullian
20:1	371	<i>Ad nationes</i>
		1.14 294
<i>Martyrdom of Polycarp</i>		
2:2	62	
3:1	371	

V. Greek and Roman Authors

Achilles Tatius		Aeschylus
<i>Leucippe et Clitophon</i>		<i>Prometheus vinctus</i>
3.1.3	243	11 497
		862–863 239
Aelian		
<i>De natura animalium</i>		<i>Supplices</i>
11.17	459, 468	86–103 480
<i>Varia historia</i>		
7.9	249	Aesop
		75 239
		223 246

Agatharchides		<i>Magna moralia</i>	
Frag. 20b	347	1208b30	488
Apollonius Rhodius		<i>Metaphysica</i>	
<i>Argonautica</i>		1080a10	184
1.179–184	240		
Apuleius		<i>Poetica</i>	
<i>Apologia</i>		81	237
47	363	1449a	154
<i>Metamorphoses</i>		<i>Politica</i>	
3.16	363	93a15	184
		1336a	244
Aratus		1252b23–26	485, 486
<i>Phaenomena</i>		1324b10	348
949–953	240	1341a21–26	419
		1341a21	440
Aristides, P. Aelius		1341b	432
<i>Orationes</i>		1340a	432
26.11–13	361		
42.4	482	<i>Protrepticus</i>	
		19.1	434
Aristides Quintilianus		<i>Rhetorica</i>	
<i>De musica</i>		1355a13	184
2.4	431		
Aristophanes		<i>Topica</i>	
<i>Ecclesiazusae</i>		1.156a.3–6	132
216–219	248	162b27	184
<i>Pax</i>		Pseudo-Aristotle	
390–399	496	<i>Problemata</i>	
		19.1	434
<i>Plutus</i>		19.15	445
530	248	11.22	434
		11.46	434
Aristotle		Arrianus, Flavius	
<i>Analytica posteriora</i>		<i>Epicteti dissertationes</i>	
101b39–102a40	166	2.9.20	232
<i>Athēnain politeia</i>		Callimachus	
41.3	338	<i>Hymn to Artemis</i>	
<i>De coloribus</i>		186	492
794a16–19	248	<i>Hymn to Demeter</i>	
		18–19	493
<i>Ethica nicomachea</i>		24–30	493
1108b9	184	134–138	495

<i>Hymn to Zeus</i>		13:19	179, 182, 184
80–85	495	13:21	179, 182, 184
Cassius Dio		Demetrius	
<i>Historiae Romanae</i>		<i>De elocutione</i>	
52.36	87	42	184
60.6.6	322		
66.7	325	Demosthenes	
Chariton		19	87
<i>De Chaerea et Callirhoe</i>		281	87
6.5.5	164		
17.7.1	164	Dio Chrysostom	
Chrysippus		<i>Orationes</i>	
3.95	184	12.60–61	492
		36.15	498
Cicero		Diodorus Siculus	
<i>De finibus</i>		<i>Bibliotheca Historica</i>	
1.7.22	185	1.67.5	123
		1.73	250
<i>Pro Flacco</i>		2.52.4	242
28.67	6	16.80.3	246
67–68	309, 310	26.23.1	348
		33–34 Frag. 1	347
<i>De legibus</i>		Diogenes Laertius	
2.16.40	86	<i>Vitae philosophorum</i>	
		2.40	86
<i>De natura deorum</i>		3.19	68
1.1	481	3.58	184
1.51	484	5.85	184
3.70	488	7.88	178, 179
3.86	498, 499	7.119	179
3.87–88	499	9.115	68
3.93	488	9.124–125	364
<i>Pro oratore</i>		Douris of Samos	
2.58.236	154	<i>Apud Athenaios</i>	
		13.253F	487
<i>De partitione oratoria</i>		Dionysius Halicarnassus	
13.47	133	<i>Antiquitates romanae</i>	
<i>Tusculanae Disputationes</i>		4.14	335
3.43	441		
4.14.33	185	<i>De compositione verborum</i>	
Corpus Hermeticum		11	184
1:31	179, 182, 184	11.119	185
13:18–19	179, 182, 184	14.86	185
		14.108	185

Epictetus		<i>De venae sectione</i>	
<i>Dissertationes</i>		11.214	243
1.16.20–21	178		
2.9.2–3	179		
Euripides		Heraclitus	
<i>Alcestis</i>		<i>Allegoriae</i>	
935	487	69.16	242
<i>Andromache</i>		Herodotus	
98	487	<i>Historiae</i>	
<i>Bacchae</i>		1.105	94
108	108	2.3	485
127	440	5.69	335
576–603	494	5.131	335
772	494	Hesiod	
<i>Hippolytus</i>		<i>Fragmenta</i>	
121–124	246	322	85, 86
591	487	<i>Theogonia</i>	
<i>Ion</i>		49.534–548	486
211	495	Hippocrates	
<i>Iphigenia aulidensis</i>		<i>De affectionibus interioribus</i>	
1136–1137	487	(<i>Epidemiae</i>)	
1142	73	7.13–14	240
<i>Medea</i>		20.9	482
1347	487	<i>De diaeta</i>	
<i>Phoenissae</i>		3.79.11–12	240
1577–1578	247	<i>De morbis popularibus</i>	
Galen		5.63.3–7	240
<i>De alimentorum facultatibus</i>		Hipponax	
1.24	244	<i>Fragmenta</i>	
2.50	244	26	239
<i>De differentia pulsuum</i>		Homer	
8.585	340	<i>Ilias</i>	
8.586	340	2.84	347
<i>De sanitate tuenda</i>		2.308	357
6.51	244	2.350	486
<i>De sectis ingredientibus</i>		2.362	335
1	185	2.412	486
		2.459	347
		2.469	347
		2.515	486
		3.32	347
		8.266–366	485

8.273	485	Marcus Aurelius	
11.360	363	3.4	252
12.330	348	5.16	252
13.495	347		
16.667	488	Marcus Vetruius	
17.552	347	<i>De architectura</i>	
20.131	484	5.5.1.7–8	418
<i>Odyssea</i>		Martial	
4.415	486	5.56.9	440
5.4	486	6.39.19	440
9.392	239	11.75.3	440
17.248	363		
Iamblichus		Menander	
<i>De vita Pythagorica</i>		<i>Epitrepontes</i>	
64	432	1069–1075	240
		<i>Fragmenta</i>	
Isidorus		544	468
<i>Etymologiae</i>			
3.22.14	417	Moschus	
		9.440.28–29	242
Juvenal		Ovid	
6.77	440	<i>Fasti</i>	
6.160	6	4.305–327	468
6.535–541	459, 468	6.249–252	491
14.96–106	6		
Lactantius		<i>Metamorphoses</i>	
<i>Divinarum institutionum</i>		11.129–143	468
6.25.3	179		
Livy		<i>Ex Ponto</i>	
<i>Ab urbe condita</i>		1.1.51–58	453, 458, 468
39.8.8	433		
Pseudo-Longinus		Pausanias	
<i>De sublimi</i>		<i>Graecae descriptio</i>	
9.2	67	1.5.1	362
18.1–2	132	4.19.5	164
23.2	132		
26.1	132	Philostratos	
27.1	132	<i>Vita Apollonii</i>	
39.2	440	1.28.37	164
		4.38.3	359
Lucian		5.21.2–3	440
<i>Alexander</i>		8.27.2	164
8	467	<i>Vitae sophistarum</i>	
23	455	1.22.1	184

1.508.14	164	Plutarch	
2.13	340	<i>Alcibiades</i>	
2.572.12	164	2.5	185
Pindar		<i>Artaxerxes</i>	
<i>Pythionikai</i>		22	242, 243
2.76–80	249		
3.108–109	487	<i>Caesar</i>	
		49	243
Plato		<i>Cleomenes</i>	
<i>Apologia</i>		54	103
21b	86		
24c	86		
24d	60	<i>Consolatio ad uxorem</i>	
33c	86	11	491
<i>Gorgias</i>		<i>Marcus Coriolanus</i>	
521e	60, 61	38	184
<i>Leges</i>		<i>De defectu oraculorum</i>	
665e	434	14, 21	490
669e–670a	437	51	491
910b–c	87		
<i>Protagoras</i>		<i>Galba</i>	
325f	432	21.2	251
<i>Respublica</i>		<i>De genio Socratis</i>	
327a–328a	101	24	251
398c–400c	432	<i>De Iside et Osiride</i>	
424c	432	20	490
429d–e	248	<i>De liberis educandis</i>	
<i>Symposium</i>		13	251
176a–b	253	<i>Numa</i>	
215e	425	17	433
Pliny the Elder		<i>Pompeius</i>	
<i>Naturalis historia</i>		41.2	164
2.27	482	<i>Questionum convivalium</i>	
8.157	417	6	253
9.24	441	7	440
Pliny the Younger		<i>Romulus</i>	
<i>Epistulae</i>		20	335
10.96.7	444		
10.96.8–10	474		
10.96.8–9	367		

<i>Septem sapientium convivium</i>		713A	440
2	359	1101E	489
		1102B	489
<i>Sertorius</i>		Polybius	
11.4	164	<i>Historiai</i>	
<i>Non posse suaviter vivi</i>		1.31.2	348
21	489	1.51.6–7	246
		3.72.4	240
<i>De superstitione</i>		5.34	103
2	489	5.47.2	241
3	489		
6	489	Porphiry	
7	468	<i>De abstinentia</i>	
<i>Theseus</i>		2.18	86
24.6	243	2.45	180, 182
		4.15	468
		4.22	86
<i>Timoleon</i>		Quintilian	
6.4	124	<i>Institutio oratoria</i>	
<i>De virtute morali</i>		1.12.3	435
12	123, 124	2.13.12–13	67
		5.11.5	133
<i>In virtute sentiat profectus</i>		7.3.6	153
11	468		
<i>Moralia</i>		Seneca	
9B	251	<i>Epistulae morales</i>	
82A	468	76.4	440
147B	359	84.9	434
165B	489		
166B	489	<i>Fragmenta</i>	
167E–F	489	123	179
168A	468		
168C	489	Servius	
168D	468	<i>Aeneid</i>	
184A	164	8.187	86
266B	164	Sophocles	
347D	164	<i>Ajax</i>	
359A	490	534	487
404E	490		
417C	490	<i>Antigone</i>	
438D	491	1140–1141	494
593F	251		
612A	491	<i>Elektra</i>	
686B	253	1157	487

Strabo		Nero	
<i>Geographica</i>		16.2	367
1.2.16	242		
1.2.34	341	Tacitus	
1.2.39	341	<i>Annales</i>	
2.1.31	341	1.10.4	362
2.3.4	341	15.44	355, 367
2.3.7	341		
3.1.8	157	<i>Historiae</i>	
4.4.3	342	5.5.2	7
5.1.9	341	5.8	6
5.2.4	341		
5.4.12	342	Theon	
6.3.6	342	<i>Progymnasmata</i>	
7.6.1	342	97.11–13	184
8.12.2	341	98.21	184
10.4.6	341	99.4	184
11.14.8	342	101.24	184
12.1.2	342	101.30	184
12.3.4	342	102.8	184
12.3.25	342		
12.4.6	342	Timaeus Locrus	
12.8.3	342	99e	184
13.1.53	343		
13.1.65	340	Varro	
13.3.2	336	<i>Saturae Menippeae</i>	
14.1.3	338, 343	561	440
14.1.37	366		
14.2.3	340	Vergil	
14.2.6	335	<i>Aeneid</i>	
14.2.8	340	2.207	357
14.2.10	335	8.187	86
14.2.28	341		
14.4.3	344	Xenophanes	
14.5.26	341	<i>Fragmenta</i>	
15.1.30	249	14	485
16.2.34	335	15	485
16.2.42	242	23	486
16.4.10	242	34	480
17.1.11	440		
		Xenophon	
Suetonius		<i>Anabasis</i>	
<i>Augustus</i>		2.2.9	239
32.1	320		
		<i>Cyropaedia</i>	
<i>Claudius</i>		2.2.5	239
25.4	322		
		<i>Memorabilia</i>	
<i>Domitian</i>		1.1.1	60, 86
12.2	325	1.1.2–4	86
		1.3.1	86

VI. Inscriptions, Papyri

Inscriptions		III 645	435
		III 742	435
BGU		III 790	435
VI 1211	102	III 892	435
VI 1247	293	III 908	435
		III 921	435
CIG		III 973	435
3088	432	IV 1002–04	435
4001	291	IV 1029	435
4142	458, 461	IV 1030	435
		IV 1033	435
CIIP		IV 1035	435
I.1 2	295	IV 1039	435
I.1 3	315	IV 1041	435
I.1 98	317	IV 1042	435
		IV 1106	437
CIJ		IV 1137	440
II 738	309	IV 1145	435
II 766	307	IV 1149	435
II 1256	317	IV 1061	435
		V 1600–4	435
<i>ETAM</i>		V 1850	435
19 55	453	VI 2446	435
		VII 3081–88	435
I. Alexandria Troas		VII 3247	435
123	433	VII 3801	435
		VII 3813	437
I. Delos		VII 4336	435
IV 1519	109, 110, 115		
		I. Ilion	
I. Didyma		33	344
50	435		
182	438	I. Kition	
140	310	159	92
183	438		
264	438	I. Laodikeia	
480	96	81A	434
492	344, 345, 346	95	348
I. Eleusis		I. Milet	
28	88	II 792, 793	440
		III 1023	336
I. Ephesus		III 1038	336
I 17–19	435	III 1052	348
I 24B	347	III 1140	438
Ia 10	435	III 1357	249
II 599	359	VI.3 1224	96
III 616	435	VI.3 1225	97

I. Pergamon		IGR	
I 246	337	III 302	293
II 374	435	IV 1327	309
II 485	436		
		IJudO	
I. Philadelphia		II 10	315
1539	363	II 168	307, 308
		JIGRE	
I. Pisidia		153	317
32	436		
		MAMA	
I. Priene		IV 202	321
113	436	IV 229	458
		IV 260	309
I. Rhamnous		IV 265–312	468
II 179	109, 114	IV 267	456
		IV 270–293	451
I. Sardes		IV 279	459, 460, 462, 464
VII 1	344, 346	IV 280	456
		IV 281	454, 460
I. Smyrna		IV 282	460
I 208	435	IV 283	460
I 500	435	IV 284	458, 460
II 594	435	IV 285	458
II 595	435	IV 286	460
II 659	438	IV 287	461
II 697	435	VI 153	309
		VI 264	307
IG			
I.2 10	335		
I.3 32	91	OGIS	
I.3 78	88	I 90	348
I.3 136	99	I 225	344
I.3 383A	99	II 536	293
I.3 386–387	91	II 598	295
I 5	88	II 599	317
II.1 337	92		
II.2 237	95	SEG	
II.2 337	92, 95	II 184	184
II.2 444	348	IV 647–652	451
II.2 1255	100	IV 648	461
II.2 1283	98, 99, 100, 101	IV 649	460
II.2 1337	94	VI 248–260	451, 468
III.1 171	499	XXIV 276	495
IV.2 I 121–122	481	XXIV 1158	104
IX.2 341	184	XXV 376	495
IX.4 1299	104, 115	XXVII 1737	459
		XXVIII 913	466
IGCB		XXVIII 914	464, 466
I 15	369	XXVIII 1568	456

XXIX 1174	453	V.1 317	457, 458, 459, 463, 364
XXX 384	495	V.1 318	459
XXXII 1001	461	V.1 329	459
XXXIII 1012	454, 455, 471	V.1 429	459
XXXIII 1013	454, 455, 462	V.1 440	459, 471
XXXIV 1210	460	V.1 443	471
XXXIV 1211	459	V.1 453	459
XXXIV 1212	455, 459	V.1 459	460
XXXIV 1213	459	V.1 460	453, 460, 463
XXXIV 1218	459	V.1 461	463
XXXIV 1219	459	V.1 464	455, 464
XXXIII 1277	315	V.1 501	470
XXXIV 1210	315, 460	V.1 510	459
XXXV 1157	315	V.1 525	463, 471
XXXV 1205	453	V.1 537	463
XXXV 1269	460	V.1 541	453
XXXV 1174	453	V.1 592	460
XXXV 1187	453	V.1 593	460
XXXIX 1278	462		
XXXIX 1279	463		
XL 98	95		
LX 65	91		
SIG			
III 590	348		
Syll			
83	88		
280	92		
663	104		
TAM			
V.1 159	459, 463, 464		
V.1 160	465		
V.1 167a	465		
V.1 172	465		
V.1 179a	460, 466		
V.1 179b	460, 464, 466		
V.1 180	459		
V.1 213	457		
V.1 231	459		
V.1 238	460		
V.1 250	460		
V.1 251	456, 459		
V.1 254	454		
V.1 255	454, 463		
V.1 257	459		
V.1 261	459		
V.1 264	460		
Papyri			
CPJ			
II 153	300, 303, 306		
II 160	325		
II 192	325		
II 207	325		
II 321	325		
II 421	325		
C.Ord.Ptol.			
29	102		
P. Cairo Zenon			
IV 59630	244, 245		
P. Fayyum			
I 12	293		
P. Köln			
206	348		
260	348		
P. London			
V 1731	369		
VI 1912	303, 304		
VII 2193	293		
P. Michigan			
II 121	245		
XI 622	245		

P. Oslo		P. Rylands	
1413	444	II 150	293
P. Oxy		P. Tebtunis	
VII 1020	348	701	347
XV 1786	443, 444	PSI	
XLII 3008	491	577	347
XLII 3010	468	SB	
P. Paris		III 6705	245
47	250	III 7179	347, 347
P. Petrie		III 7266	102
3	348	XII 11018	293
13	347	Select Papyri	
14	347	II 208	102
15	347	UPZ	
P. Strasbourg		I 70	250
93	344	I 110	344, 347

Index of Modern Authors

- Achtemeier, Paul J. 177, 186, 190
Adam, Jens 171
Adler, Yonatan 272, 284
Adrados, Francisco R. 229, 255
Aertsen, Jan A. 170f
Aitken, Ellen Bradshaw 442, 446
Allen, Leslie C. 424, 446
Allison, Dale C. 10f., 17–19, 23–26, 37, 62, 77, 209, 211, 220, 270, 284, 394, 412
Alvar, Jaime 109f., 116
Ameling, Walter 307–310, 315f., 321, 327, 340, 350
Amundson, Leiv 443, 447
Apergis, Gerassimos G. 344f., 350
Apresjan, Yuri D. 235, 255
Arnaoutoglou, I. N. 91, 99–101, 116
Arndt, William F. 190, 226, 230, 255, 260, 284
Artz-Grabner, Peter 250, 255
Ascough, Richard S. 87, 92, 94f., 98–101, 104, 110, 116, 118
Atkins, Sue 235f., 255
Attridge, Harold W. 426, 449
Auer, Anton 194, 220
Aune, David E. 132, 146, 294, 324, 327, 333f., 343, 350, 356f., 361f., 366f., 371f., 380, 387, 390, 392–394, 396, 398, 400, 402f., 406, 409–411, 422, 445, 446
Avemarie, Friedrich, 155, 172, 269, 270, 284

Babbitt, Frank Cole 251, 468, 489f., 501
Bachmann, Philipp 137, 146
Bagnall, Roger S. 102, 116

Balla, Peter 527, 532
Balme, M. 240
Balz, Horst 134, 176, 214
Bammel, Ernst 298, 327
Barclay, John M. G. 307, 310, 313, 327
Barker, Andrew 430f., 438, 445f., 513, 533
Barnbrook, Geoff 235, 255
Barnett, Paul W. 129, 137, 140, 146
Barrett, C. K. 42–44, 76, 85, 116, 177, 181, 189f., 267, 271, 284, 291–294, 296, 327, 523, 532
Barth, Karl 189f.
Bartsch, H. W. 178
Baslez, Marie-Françoise 95, 110, 116
Bauckham, Richard J. 298, 327, 333, 338f., 343, 349f., 355, 357f., 360f., 364f., 370, 376, 378, 380, 385, 387–393, 397–400, 402f., 406–408, 411, 506, 532
Bauer, Karl-Adolf 186, 190
Bauer, Walter 190, 226, 230, 255, 260, 284, 436, 446
Baum-Bodenbender, Rosel 74, 76
Baumgartner, Walter 241, 256, 448
Baur, Ferdinand Christian 510, 512, 532
Bayer, Hans F. 417, 446
Beale, Gregory K. 65, 80, 333f., 350, 353, 356, 361, 367, 371, 376, 380, 388–394, 396, 398–405, 407–411, 422, 445f.
Beard, Mary 499, 501
Beasley-Murray, George R. 22f., 25, 228, 242, 255, 278, 284, 334, 350, 353, 380, 389, 392, 398, 400f., 411
Becker, Jürgen 134, 146, 209, 212, 220, 525, 526, 532
Beckheuer, Burkhard 323, 327
Behm, Johannes 145f.

- Bélis, Annie 430f., 446
 Belleville, Linda L. 129, 146
 Benardete, Seth 253, 257
 Bengel, Johann Albrecht 72, 76
 Berger, Klaus 126, 146
 Bertram, Georg 128, 146, 214, 292, 347
 Best, Ernest 25, 203, 220, 421, 446
 Betz, Hans Dieter 134, 142, 146, 159, 172, 180f., 190, 196, 197, 200, 220
 Betz, Otto 47, 72, 76, 325, 327
 Bieberstein, Klaus 315, 327
 Bieder, W. 228
 Bietenhard, Hans 270
 Bilde, Per 290, 327
 Billerbeck, Paul 69, 76
 Binder, Donald D. 308, 327
 Bird, Michael F. 165, 172
 Black, Matthew 28, 177, 190, 222, 316, 331
 Blakely, Jeffrey A. 273, 285
 Bleek, Friedrich 511
 Bleicken, Jochen 359, 380
 Blevins, James L. 34, 77
 Blinzler, Josef 70, 77
 Bloedhorn, Hanswulf 315, 327
 Blomberg, Craig L. 22, 23, 25
 Blount, Brian K. 377, 380
 Bock, Darrell L. 40f., 50, 65, 68, 77, 282, 284, 325, 327
 Bockmühl, Klaus 194, 220
 Böckle, Franz 194, 220
 Börker, Christoph 433, 446
 Bohn, Richard 355, 380
 Bonhoeffer, Dietrich 142, 146
 Bonnet, Corinne 112f., 116
 Booth, Roger P. 262, 284
 Borgeaud, Philippe 115f.
 Borgen, Peder 203, 220, 301, 317, 327, 370, 380
 Boring, M. Eugene 282, 284
 Bornkamm, Günther 523, 532
 Borse, Udo 196, 220
 Bosch, David J. 3f., 23, 25, 168f., 172
 Botermann, Helga 301, 304, 321f., 327
 Bousset, Wilhelm 356, 365, 380
 Bradley, J. J. 320
 Brain, Peter 243, 255
 Bratcher, Robert G. 393, 412
 Braun, Joachim 423f., 446
 Brawley, Robert L. 22, 25
 Bredin, Mark R. J. 368, 380
 Bremer, Jan M. 234, 256, 479–482, 493f., 496, 499, 502
 Brent, Allen 356, 380
 Breystenbach, Cilliers 290, 327
 Briant, Pierre 345, 347, 350
 Bricault, Laurent 92, 116
 Brickhouse, Thomas C. 86, 116
 Brodersen, Kai 88, 92, 116
 Brown, Raymond E. 42–52, 61, 63f., 66, 69–74, 77, 474, 476
 Brownson, C. L. 239
 Brox, Norbert 186, 190
 Bruce, F. F. 9, 26, 177, 190, 196, 197, 200–204, 220, 292, 327
 Brucker, Ralph 442, 446
 Brunt, John C. 209, 220
 Buchanan, George Wesley 403, 407, 412
 Buchegger, Jürg 175, 190
 Büchsel, Friedrich 463
 Buckler, William H. 344, 346, 350f., 476
 Bultmann, Rudolf 186, 190, 194, 203f., 214, 220, 499, 518–520, 522, 524, 528, 532
 Burkert, Walter 482, 484f., 487f., 490, 496, 498, 501
 Burnet, Régis 102, 116
 Burnett, Andrew M. 308, 327
 Burrell, Barbara 435, 446
 Burrows, Edward W. 266, 284
 Buschmann, Gerd 62, 77
 Butler, H. E. 133, 434, 446
 Byrne, Brendan 177, 190
 Byrne, Sean G. 488, 502
 Byrskog, Samuel 31, 77
 Caird, George B. 237, 255, 387, 392, 401, 403, 412, 522, 532
 Calboli Montefusco, L. 153, 172
 Calder, William Moir 293, 327, 451, 476
 Calhoun, Robert M. 164–166, 172
 Cameron, Alan 452, 458, 460, 462, 464, 476
 Camp, John M. 91, 116
 Carey, G. 366
 Carpenter, Tom H. 500f.
 Carroll, John T. 63, 67
 Carson, D. A. 4, 10, 17–20, 24, 26, 37, 44, 49, 52, 63, 73, 77, 129, 146, 162, 173, 227, 255, 259, 268, 284, 361
 Cary, E. 87
 Catchpole, David R. 48, 77

- Cavanaugh, Maureen B. 91, 116
 Chadwick, Henry 459, 468, 476
 Chadwick, John 236, 238, 255
 Chaniotis, Angelos 461, 476
 Chapman, David W. 154, 172, 354, 380
 Charles, Robert Henry 356, 380, 392f.,
 403, 408, 412
 Charlesworth, James H. 62, 180, 190, 272,
 286, 429, 446, 473, 476
 Cheung, Alex T. M. 141, 146
 Choi, Jae Duk 121, 146
 Ciampa, Roy E. 129, 139, 141, 146
 Cineira, David Alvarez 322, 327
 Clinton, Kevin 88, 91f., 116
 Cohen, Getzel M. 5, 26
 Cohen, Shaye J. D. 8, 14f., 18, 26, 265, 284
 Cohoon, James W. 498, 501
 Collange, Jean-François 194, 213–215, 220
 Collier, J. 253
 Collins, Adela Yarbrow 355f., 358f., 370,
 374, 380
 Collins, John J. 307, 327
 Collins, Raymond R. 278f., 284
 Colson, F. H. 180, 302, 312, 315, 429
 Combrink, H. J. Bernard 10, 26
 Comotti, Giovanni 430, 447
 Conant, Thomas Jefferson 239, 255
 Cook, John Granger 154, 172
 Copenhagen, Brian P. 179, 190
 Corley, Bruce 45, 77
 Corsaro, Mauro 345, 350
 Corsten, Thomas 348, 350
 Cotterell, Peter 237, 256
 Craigie, Peter C. 66, 77
 Cranfield, C. E. B. 47, 77, 144–146, 165,
 172, 175, 177f., 181, 183, 189f., 201,
 211, 220, 275, 284
 Cremer, Marie-Louise 463, 476
 Crossan, John Dominic 32, 61f., 66, 77,
 156, 172
 Crossley, James G. 121, 146
 Croy, N. C. 366

 Dalman, Gustaf 20, 26
 Daly-Denton, Margaret 444, 447
 Danker, Frederic W. 68, 77, 190, 226, 230,
 235, 255, 260, 284
 Darr, John A. 56f., 77
 Daube, David 205, 220

 Dauer, Anton 51, 77
 Davies, William D. 10f., 17–19, 23f., 26, 37,
 62, 77, 209, 220, 270, 284, 316, 324, 328,
 332, 394, 412
 Davila, J. R. 444, 447
 Davis, Basil S. 134, 146
 Debord, Pierre 97, 116, 345, 350
 Deissmann, Adolf 355, 380
 Delling, Gerhard 213
 Derenne, Eudore 87, 95, 117
 Derow, Peter 102, 116
 Deutsch, Celia 407, 412
 Diakonoff, Irina 452f., 455, 459–463, 466,
 468f., 476
 Dibelius, Martin 193, 220
 Dickson, John P. 164, 172
 Diebold-Scheuermann, Carola 74, 77
 Dillon, Matthew 88, 117
 Dinkler, Erich 209, 220
 Dirkse, P. A. 180
 Dirven, Lucinda 490, 501
 Dittenberger, Wilhelm 88, 117
 Doehhorn, Jan 372, 380
 Doglio, Claudio 376, 380
 Dormeyer, Detlev 31, 61, 77
 Dover, Kenneth J. 132, 146
 Drew-Bear, Thomas 471
 Dryden, J. 243, 251
 Dueck, Daniela 342, 350
 Dülmen, Andrea van 197, 200
 Dumbrell, William J. 11, 26
 Dunn, James D. G. 35, 77, 131, 134, 142f.,
 146, 155, 162, 172, 175, 177, 181, 190,
 199f., 202, 211, 220, 237, 256, 264, 267,
 273, 276–279, 284, 297–299, 327, 419,
 447, 523, 532
 Duvall, J. Scott 356, 381

 Eastman, Susan 134, 146
 Eck, Werner 310, 330
 Eckstein, Hans-Joachim 211f., 220, 382
 Edelstein, Emma J. L. 481f., 501
 Edelstein, Ludwig 481f., 501
 Edgar, C. C. 102, 117
 Edmonds, J. M. 242
 Edwards, James R. 177, 190
 Edwards, Ormond 316, 328
 Eger, Otto 455f., 476
 Egger, Peter 75, 77

- Eggs, Ekkehardt 233, 256
 Ehrhardt, Norbert 96f., 117, 249, 256, 336, 351, 438, 447
 Eichholz, Georg 524, 528, 532
 Einarson, Benedict 251, 489, 491, 502
 Eitrem, Samson 443, 447
 Elbogen, Ismar 428, 447
 Elliott, James K. 427, 447
 Elliott, John H. 186, 190
 Elliott, Matthew A. 144, 146
 Engberg-Pedersen, Troels 160f., 172
 Engelmann, H. 104, 109f., 117, 435, 447
 Evans, Christopher 178, 185, 190
 Evans, Craig A. 35, 58, 78, 263, 282, 284, 286, 298, 328, 376, 417, 447

 Fabbro, Elena 494, 501
 Fabry, Heinz-Josef 124f., 147
 Fallon, Francis T. 145f.
 Fanizza, Lucia 367, 381
 Fascher, Erich 207–209, 220
 Fee, Gordon D. 205, 207–209, 220, 278, 279, 284
 Fekkes, Jan 361, 381
 Feldman, Louis H. 15, 26, 246, 256, 263, 284, 302–304, 308, 322, 325, 328
 Feldmeier, Reinhard 186, 190
 Ferguson, Everett 225, 236, 238, 241, 244, 246, 256, 266–270, 273f., 281f., 284, 436, 443, 449
 Ferguson, William Scott 100, 117
 Finley, Moses I. 297, 331
 Finn, Thomas M. 15, 26
 Fitzmyer, Joseph A. 19, 23, 26, 69, 78, 128, 146, 165, 172, 177, 182, 190, 263, 275, 278, 279, 284, 292, 294, 328
 Fleischhauer, Günter 430, 432, 445, 447
 Fletscher, W. 179
 Foakes-Jackson, Frederik J. 273, 285, 291, 293, 328
 Foerster, W. 369
 Fohrer, Georg 124, 146,
 Foley, Helen P. 483, 501
 Follet, Simone 115, 117
 Fontenrose, Joseph E. 348, 350
 Fornara, Charles W. 88, 117
 Forster, E. S. 132
 Fotopoulos, John 141, 146
 Foucart, Paul F. 92, 94f., 109, 117
 Fox, Kenneth A. 374, 381

 Fränkel, Max 337, 350
 France, R. T. 5, 10–12, 18, 26, 49, 65, 78, 262, 264f., 281, 284
 Frankemölle, Hubert 3f., 14, 26, 343
 Frey, Jörg 369, 375, 379, 381
 Friesen, Steven J. 354, 356f., 359f., 371f., 381
 Frisch, Peter 468f., 476, 497, 501
 Furley, William D. 104, 108f., 117, 234, 256, 479, 480f., 483, 492–494, 496, 498f., 501
 Furnish, Victor P. 138f., 146, 193f., 221
 Fyfe, W. H. 237

 Gabba, Emilio 324, 328
 Gäckle, Volker 182, 186, 190
 Gager, John G. 6, 26
 Garbarino, C. 366
 García Martínez, Florentino 473, 476
 Garland, David E. 141, 147, 163, 172, 278, 279, 284
 Garland, Lynda 117
 Garland, Robert 86, 88, 100, 108
 Garnsey, Peter 73, 78
 Gaselee, S. 243
 Gast, W. 153, 172
 Gaston, Lloyd 298, 328
 Gathercole, Simon J. 127, 147
 Gauthier, Philippe 100, 117
 Georgi, Dieter 139, 147, 387, 406, 412
 Gerhardsson, Birger 11, 26, 194, 221
 Giblin, Charles H. 392, 412
 Gibson, Shimon 272, 285
 Giesen, Heinz 214f., 358, 381, 389–392, 395, 397f., 401–404, 406–408, 412
 Gilbert, Gary 14, 26
 Gill, David W. J. 155, 172
 Gillespie, Thomas W. 278, 285
 Ginrich, F. W. 190, 226, 230, 255, 260, 284
 Glare, Peter G. W. 228
 Gnilka, Joachim 10f., 18, 20, 26, 34–36, 38, 48f., 63f., 66, 78, 214, 522f., 532
 Godet, Frédéric 277, 285
 Goetzmann, Jürgen 122, 128, 147
 Goldstein, Horst 213
 Gooch, Paul W. 32, 60f., 78
 Gooch, Peter David 141, 147
 Goodman, Martin 6, 14, 26, 28, 222, 316, 331, 370, 381, 521f., 532
 Goppelt, Leonhard 186, 190
 Gouw, Patrick 438, 447
 Grabner-Haider, Anton 175, 191, 193, 221

- Gräßer, Erich 3, 26
 Graupner, M. 124f., 147
 Gray, Rebecca 324, 328
 Green, Joel B. 50, 52, 63, 65, 67, 76–78, 473, 476
 Green, Robert M. 244, 256
 Gruen, Erich S. 300, 303, 317, 328
 Greenspoon, L. J. 241
 Grenfell, Bernard P. 431, 447
 Grundmann, Walter 18, 26, 200, 207, 213
 Guelich, Robert A. 20, 26, 34, 78, 262, 265, 285
 Guen-Pollet, Brigitte 98, 117
 Günther, Wolfgang 96f., 117, 249, 256, 336, 351, 438, 447
 Gundry, Robert H. 33–36, 38, 46–48, 64, 66, 69–71, 78, 262, 281, 285, 394, 407, 412
 Gusmani, Roberti 340, 350
 Guthrie, Donald, 522, 532
 Guthrie, William K. C. 451, 476

 Haacker, Klaus 48, 73, 78, 127, 147, 165, 172, 275, 285
 Habicht, Christian 100, 113, 117
 Hackenberg, Wolfgang 212
 Hägerland, Tobias 121, 147
 Haenchen, Ernst 9, 26, 43, 63, 78, 292, 328
 Hafemann, Scott 129, 147
 Hagel, Stefan 430f., 447
 Hagenow, Stephan 122f., 130, 137, 143, 147
 Hagner, Donald A. 37–39, 48f., 63, 66, 69, 71, 78, 533
 Hahn, Ferdinand 3f., 12, 23, 26, 51, 78, 197, 221, 522, 532
 Hainz, Josef 160, 172
 Halfmann, Helmut 308, 328
 Hamilton, V. P. 65
 Hansen, Mogens H. 337, 351
 Harder, M. Annette 492, 495, 502
 Harland, Philip A. 104, 110, 116, 308, 328
 Harnack, Adolf von 4, 26
 Harrington, Wilfrid J. 389, 392, 403, 406
 Harris, Murray J. 129f., 137–140, 147
 Harris, William, 418, 447
 Hartman, Lars 270, 285
 Hasenstab, Rudolf 193, 194, 221
 Hatton, Howard A. 393, 412
 Hauck, Friedrich 199
 Haugg, Donatus 391f., 412
 Hausmaninger, Herbert 367, 381
 Hawthorne, Gerald F. 122, 147, 212–215, 221, 289, 329, 448
 Hays, Richard B. 129, 147, 163, 172
 Heemstra, Marius 369, 381
 Heiligenthal, Roman 165, 174, 374, 381
 Heitsch, Ernst 485, 502
 Helmbold, W. C. 124
 Hemer, Colin J. 290, 294, 324, 328, 366, 381
 Henderson, Jeffrey 497, 502
 Hengel, Martin 3f., 7, 9, 13, 26f., 35, 78, 154, 172, 300, 308, 321f., 328, 420, 426, 442, 447
 Hennecke, Edgar 62, 78
 Henrichs, Albert 103, 117, 434, 447, 495, 502
 Hermisson, Hans-Jürgen 65, 78
 Herrmann, Peter 96f., 117, 249, 256, 336, 351, 438, 447, 451, 454f., 463, 470f., 476
 Herz, Peter 309, 328
 Heseltine, M. 468
 Hett, W. S. 240, 248
 Hetteema, Theo L. 370, 381
 Hicks, R. D. 179
 Hill, David 10, 49, 78
 Hiller von Gaertringen, Friedrich 88, 117
 Hirschberg, Peter 368, 381
 Hoehner, Harold W. 421, 447
 Hoffleit, H. B. 253
 Hofius, Otfried 155, 171f., 368
 Holladay, William L. 124, 147
 Hollander, Harm W. 184, 191
 Holtz, Traugott 128, 147, 202–205, 207–209, 221, 398
 Holtzmann, Heinrich Julius 512f., 532
 Holzhausen, Jens 179, 184, 191
 Honnefelder, Ludger 194, 221
 Hooker, Morna D. 64, 78
 Hopkinson, Neil 493, 502
 Horn, Friedrich Wilhelm 35, 80, 274, 285, 368, 381, 522, 533
 Horsley, G. H. R. 204, 208, 221, 237, 256, 293, 309, 314, 328, 347f., 351, 433, 436, 447
 Horton, Fred L. 273, 285
 Houlden, J. Leslie 194, 221
 Hubbard, Benjamin J. 24, 27
 Hübner, Hans 35, 78, 197, 201, 221, 420f., 447, 522, 532
 Hunt, Arthur S. 102, 117, 431, 447
 Hurtado, Larry W. 155, 173, 444, 447
 Hutter, Ulrich 214

- Isaac, Benjamin 315f., 328
- Jackson, J. 355, 362
- Jameson, Michael H. 495, 502
- Janouchová, Petra 99, 117
- Janowski, Bernd 64f., 78
- Jauhainen, Marko 377, 381
- Jáuregui, Miguel Herrero de 103, 117
- Jefford, Clayton N. 324, 328
- Jeremias, Joachim 4, 7, 23, 27, 65
- Jervell, Jacob 291, 296, 328
- Jewett, Robert 177, 182, 191, 275, 285
- Johnson, Luke Timothy 294, 328, 366
- Jones, Arnold H. M. 313, 328
- Jones, Christopher P. 359
- Jones, H. L. 242, 249, 337f., 341, 343
- Jones, Henry Stuart 191, 228, 256
- Jones, N. F. 95, 100, 117, 336f., 351
- Jones, S. 315, 330
- Jones, W. H. S. 240
- Jong, I. J. F. de 492, 502
- Jong, Irene de 485, 502
- Jonge, Marinus de 184, 191
- Joubert, Stephan 323, 328
- Jüngel, Eberhard 197, 221
- Juster, Jean 301, 303, 321, 328
- Käsemann, Ernst 144, 147, 175, 178, 181, 183, 186f., 189, 191, 201, 213, 221
- Kaftan, Julius 516, 533
- Kamleh, Ehrhard 199, 221
- Kammler, Hans-Christian 155, 173
- Karrer, Martin 31, 78, 334, 351, 353, 381
- Kaser, Max 73, 78, 367, 381
- Kasher, Aryeh 303, 329, 427, 448
- Kasting, Heinrich 4, 7, 23, 27
- Kato, Zenji 12, 19–21, 27
- Katz, Steven T. 289, 299, 324, 329
- Kearsley, Rosalinde A. 340, 351
- Keener, Craig S. 268, 285
- Kellermann, Ulrich 183, 191
- Kennel, Gunter 442, 448
- Kerkeslager, Allen 324f., 329
- Kertelge, Karl 213
- Kidd, D. 240
- Kiddle, Martin 407, 410, 412
- Kilmer, Anne D. 424, 448
- Kilpatrick, George D. 23, 27
- Kim, Seyoon 162, 173
- Kim-Rauchholz, Mihamm 121, 139
- Kingsbury, Jack Dean 39, 78
- Kirchner, Johannes 92, 98, 117
- Kirk, Geoffrey S. 480, 502
- Kittel, Gerhard 178
- Klaffenbach, Günther 98, 117
- Klein, Günter 188, 191
- Klein, J. 153
- Klein, William W. 418, 448
- Kirk, Geoffrey S. 480, 502
- Klauck, Hans-Josef 375, 382, 451f., 476
- Klein, Günter 188, 191
- Klein, J. 153, 173
- Klein, William W. 418, 448
- Kleinknecht, Karl Theodor 66, 78
- Klinzing, Georg 177, 191
- Kloppenborg, John S. 87, 92, 94f., 98–101, 104, 110, 116, 118
- Knibbe, Dieter 435, 437, 448
- Knox, Bernard M. W. 482f., 502
- Koch, Dietrich-Alex 129, 147, 318f., 329, 365, 383
- Koehler, Ludwig 241, 256, 448
- Köstenberger, Andreas J. 268, 285, 514
- Koester, Craig R. 353, 355–357, 363f., 366–371, 376–378, 380, 382f.
- Koester, Helmut 338, 352
- Konopasek, Jaroslav 132, 147
- Konstan, D. 242
- Kooij, Arie van der 370, 381
- Kooten, George H. van 177, 191
- Korff, Wilhelm 194, 221
- Kosmala, Hans 64, 79
- Kovacs, D. 246
- Kraabel, A. T. 15, 27
- Kraft, H. 356, 368, 376, 382, 387, 406, 412
- Kraus, M. 153, 173
- Kraybill, J. Nelson 358, 369, 382
- Krencker, Daniel M. 305, 329
- Krieger, Klaus-Stefan 320, 329
- Kritzer, Ruth Elisabeth 250, 255
- Kruse, Colin G. 177, 191, 289, 329
- Kselman, John S. 472, 476
- Kühn, Ernst 102, 118
- Kümmel, Werner G. 3, 27, 520, 533
- Kuhn, Heinz-Wolfgang 154, 173
- Kunkel, Wolfgang 73, 79
- Kunze, Max 356, 382
- Kuss, Otto 276, 285

- Lacy, Phillip H. de 251, 489, 491, 502
 Lake, Kirsopp 273, 285, 291, 293, 328
 Lamb, Walter R. M. 254, 256
 Lambrecht, Jan 138, 147, 402, 413
 Lancellotti, Maria Grazia 115, 118
 Landels, John G. 430, 436, 448
 Lane, Eugene N. 497, 502
 Lang, Friedrich 205, 208, 221
 Lang, Friedrich Gustav 20, 27
 Lang, George H. 388, 412
 Lange, A. 178, 192
 Lange, Joachim 24, 27
 Lange, Nicolas R. M. de 6, 27
 Launey, Marcel 110, 119
 Lausberg, Heinrich 153, 173
 Lawrence, Jonathan D. 272, 285
 Le Cornu, Hilary 275, 286
 Lee, John A. L. 229, 232, 235, 237, 257
 Lefka, Aikaterini 87, 118
 Legrand, Lucien 159, 160, 173
 Leiwo, Martti 95, 118
 Lemmer, H. Richard 133, 147
 Lenger, Marie-Thérèse 102, 118
 Leshner, James H. 485, 486, 502
 Levi, Mario-Attilio 346, 351
 Levick, Barbara 321, 329
 Levine, Lee I. 295, 308, 315, 329, 426, 427, 448
 Levinskaya, Irina 307, 329
 Lewis, David M. 88, 91, 118, 495, 502
 Lewis, G. S. 444, 447
 Lewis, Naphtali 313, 329
 Légasse, Simon 128, 147, 165, 173
 Liddel, Peter 95, 118
 Liddell, Henry George 228
 Lietzmann, Hans 178, 191, 276, 285
 Lieu, Judith M. 297f., 329
 Lifshitz, Baruch 249, 257
 Lightfoot, Robert H. 61, 79
 Linder Ammon 299, 304, 314, 325, 329
 Linnemann, Eta 63, 79
 Lintott, Andrew W. 367, 382
 Lips, Hermann von 68, 79
 Llewellyn, Stephen R. 203, 208, 221, 293, 309, 314, 328, 347, 348, 351, 433, 447
 Lohfink, Gerhard 11, 27
 Lohmeyer, Ernst 34, 63, 79, 214, 355, 382, 405, 412
 Lohse, Eduard 178, 191, 194, 221, 370, 382, 389, 392, 412, 521, 523, 533
 Lombardo, Stanley 496, 502
 Long, G. 252
 Longenecker, Richard N. 134, 142f., 147, 162, 173, 177, 191
 Longman, Tremper 282, 286
 Louw, Johannes P. 231f., 237, 256f.
 Louw, Theo A. W. van der 344, 348, 351
 Luca, Gioia De 356, 384
 Lücke, Friedrich 353, 382
 Luter, A. Boyd 122, 147
 Luz, Ulrich 10f., 27, 38, 79, 208, 221
 Lüdemann, Gerd 159, 173
 Macdonald, C. 310
 MacLennan, R. S. 15, 27
 MacMullen, Ramsay 470, 476, 486, 491f., 502
 Magda, Ksenija 156, 173
 Magness, Jodi 272, 285
 Maier, Gerhard 10, 20, 27
 Maier, Johann 21, 27
 Maillot, Alphonse 277, 285
 Malay, Hasan 452–454, 457, 459–461, 463–466, 476, 477, 497, 502
 Malherbe, Abraham J. 128, 147
 Malitz, Jürgen 300, 329
 Marchant, E. C. 86
 Marcus, Joel 262f., 266, 281, 285, 417, 448
 Marcus, Ralph 247, 253, 300, 307, 311–313
 Marguerat, Daniel 67, 79
 Marshall, I. Howard 3, 5, 8f., 13, 19, 22, 27, 39–41, 50, 63, 77–79, 171, 173, 202, 204f., 221, 263, 274, 280–282, 285, 296f., 329f., 333, 351
 Marshall, John W. 368, 382
 Martens, E. A. 65, 241
 Martin, D. B. 426, 449
 Martin, Ralph P. 139, 145, 147, 289, 329, 442, 448, 524
 Martyn, J. Louis 134f., 142, 148, 159, 174
 Marxsen, Willi 23, 27
 Mason, Steve 246f., 256, 290, 329, 370, 381
 Matera, Frank J. 177, 191
 Mathiesen, Thomas J. 430f., 433, 436, 445
 Matusova, Ekaterina 103, 118
 Maurer, C. 335
 Mayo, Philip L. 368, 382
 Mazzaferri, Frederick D. 387, 412
 McCartney, Dan G. 185f., 191
 McDonough, Sean M. 361, 379, 380
 McKinnon, James W. 426–428, 448

- McKnight, Scot 6, 27, 77f.
 Mealy, J. Webb 387, 405, 407, 412
 Meiggs, Russel 88, 91, 118, 495, 502
 Meinertz, Max 4, 27
 Mellor, Ronald 360, 382
 Mendels, Doron 295, 329
 Méndez Dosuna, Julián 341, 351
 Merk, Otto 186, 190, 194, 204f., 220f., 518, 532
 Merkelbach, Reinhold 86, 109, 118, 433, 435, 446–448, 468, 476
 Merklein, H. 121f., 124, 128, 136, 148
 Merz, Annette 35, 80
 Meyer, Reinhold 303f., 308, 322, 325, 328
 Michaelis, Wilhelm 214
 Michel, Otto 126f., 148, 175, 178, 181, 183, 186, 191
 Mikalson, Jon D. 85, 94, 118
 Milgrom, Jacob 472, 473, 476
 Miller, A. F. 239
 Miller, Kevin M. 451, 471, 476
 Miller, W. 239
 Mitchell, Stephen 291–293, 305, 308–310, 319, 321, 329, 340, 351, 436, 447, 456–460, 464, 467, 469, 470f., 474, 476f.
 Moessner, David P. 121f., 148
 Mohr, Till Arend 35, 61–63, 79
 Mommsen, Theodor 367, 382
 Montevecci, Orsolina 344, 347, 351
 Moo, Douglas J. 63f., 79, 177, 191, 275
 Mora, Fabio 95, 118
 Moreau, A. Scott 168, 173
 Morgan, M. Gwyn 359, 382
 Morgan, R. 527, 534
 Morris, I. 345, 352
 Morris, Leon 177, 191, 275, 285, 522, 533
 Moss, Candida R. 366, 382
 Mounce, Robert H. 334, 351, 390, 400
 Mowinckel, Sigmund 428, 448
 Moyer, Ian S. 104, 108, 110, 118
 Müller, Helmut 97, 118
 Müller, H. P. 318, 329
 Müller, Karl 87, 118
 Müller, Karlheinz 214, 353, 382
 Müller, Ulrich B. 356, 382, 390, 392, 396, 401, 404f., 407, 408, 412
 Müller-Luckner, E. 310, 330
 Muraoka, Takamitsu 260, 285
 Murphy-O'Connor, Jerome 157, 173, 297, 330, 418, 448, 523, 533
 Murray, A. T. 239
 Murray, John 177, 191
 Murray, M. 368, 382
 Mußner, Franz 142, 148, 196f., 199, 221
 Musurillo, Herbert 57, 79
 Nave, Guy D. 121, 148
 Newman, Barclay M. 226f., 256
 Newman, C. C. 444, 447
 Newport, Kenneth 393, 412
 Nicolaou, Kyriacos 94, 118
 Nida, Eugene A. 226, 231f., 237, 256f., 265
 Niederwimmer, Kurt 198
 Nielsen, K. 369
 Nijf, Onno van 101, 112, 116, 118
 Nilsson, Martin P. 99, 118
 Noethlichs, Karl Leo 302, 330
 Nolland, John 22, 27, 41, 50, 63, 73f., 79, 263
 Nollé, Johannes 433, 448, 463, 476
 North, John 499
 Noth, T. 243, 501
 Noy, David 315, 330
 Nützel, J. M. 18
 O'Brien, Peter T. 162, 173, 212–215, 221, 420f., 448
 O'Neill, Eugene 248
 O'Neill, John C. 32, 79
 Oberlinner, Lorenz 213
 Oepke, Albrecht 228, 238
 Oertel, Friedrich 313, 330
 Ohm, Thomas 169, 173
 Okoye, J. I. 68, 79
 Okure, Teresa 12, 28
 Olbrechts-Tyteca, Lucie 135, 148
 Oldfather, W. A. 178, 242, 246, 250
 Olson, S. Douglas 493, 502
 Omerzu, Heike 367, 382
 Ortkemper, Franz-Josef 177, 191
 Orrieux, Claude 347, 351
 Osborne, Grant R. 178, 191, 333f., 339, 351, 378, 383, 388, 392, 400, 406, 412, 422
 Osborne, Michael J. 99, 118, 488, 502
 Osborne, Robin 92, 119
 Ouweneel, Willem J. 388, 389, 412
 Padberg, Lutz E. von 170, 173
 Page, Denys L. 404, 502
 Panayotou, Anna 341, 351
 Papatomas, Amphiloichios 250, 255

- Papazoglou, Fanoula 345f., 351
 Parker, Robert 95, 118, 469
 Paton, W. R. 241, 246
 Paulsen, Henning 215
 Pečirka, Jan 95, 100, 118
 Penna, Romano 165, 173, 175, 191
 Perelman, Chaim 135, 148
 Perkins, PHEME 31, 79
 Perkins, L. J. 241
 Perrin, B. 124
 Pervo, Richard I. 85, 118
 Pesch, Rudolf 4, 8, 13, 20f., 23, 26, 28,
 33–36, 38, 46–48, 63, 66, 79, 281, 285,
 294, 296, 330, 368, 382, 417, 448
 Peterson, David 297, 330
 Peterson, Erik 321, 330
 Peterson, Eugene H. 261, 274, 281, 285
 Petrakos, Vasileios 114, 118
 Petrovic, Ivana 492f., 495, 496, 503
 Pettazzoni, R. 458, 467–469, 477, 497, 503
 Petzl, Georg 363, 382, 438, 448, 451–466,
 470f., 476f., 482, 497, 503
 Pickard, W. A. 132
 Pickavé, Martin 170f.
 Pietersmaa, Albert 241f., 256
 Piper, Ronald A. 68, 79
 Planeaux, Christopher 99, 119
 Platt, Verity 484, 503
 Plummer, Alfred 138, 148, 163, 173
 Pöhlmann, Egert 431, 443, 448
 Pohl, Adolf 405, 412
 Poland, Franz 95, 119
 Popkes, Wiard 200
 Porter, Stanley E. 67, 79, 177, 192, 237,
 256, 264, 266, 274, 276, 284–286, 354
 Pouilloux, Jean 114, 119
 Powell, Mark Allan 12, 28
 Powell, Owen 244, 257
 Price, Simon R. F. 157, 173, 359, 360,
 382, 499, 501
 Prott, Johannes von 88, 98, 119
 Ptassek, P. 154
 Pucci Ben Zeev, Miriam 290, 300–303,
 305–307, 311–314, 320, 322, 323, 325
 Pulleyn, Simon 498, 503

 Quanbeck, Warren A. 122, 148

 Rabello, Alfredo Mordechai 301, 330
 Race, William H. 249, 257, 487, 503

 Rackham, Harris 244, 481, 486, 503
 Rad, Gerhard von 386, 412
 Radin, Max 95, 119
 Radl, Walter 73, 79
 Radner, E. 366
 Radt, Wolfgang 356, 383
 Räisänen, Heikki 35, 79, 197, 221, 374, 383,
 527, 533
 Rajak, Tessa 301, 308, 330
 Ramsay, William M. 321, 330, 356, 383, 460
 Rapske, Brian M. 297, 330
 Raven, John E. 480, 502
 Redfield, James M. 482, 503
 Reed, Jonathan L. 156, 172
 Regev, Eyal 272, 284, 286
 Rehm, Albert 438, 449
 Reichert, Angelika 184–186, 188f., 192
 Reid, Daniel G. 122, 147, 289, 329, 448
 Reinbold, Wolfgang 45, 63, 66, 79, 159, 173
 Rendtorff, Trutz 193, 221
 Reynolds, Joyce 309, 330
 Rhodes, Peter J. 92, 95, 119
 Richardson, Nicholas J. 483f., 503
 Richardson, Peter 194, 221, 298, 320, 328
 Riches, John 7, 28
 Ricl, Marijana 433, 441, 449, 451, 458, 461,
 467, 469, 475, 477, 497, 503
 Riemer, Ulrike 358, 383
 Riesner, Rainer 31, 79, 290, 321, 322, 330
 Riethmüller, Albrecht 419, 430, 449f.
 Rissi, Mathias 356, 378, 383, 386–388, 392,
 395, 403, 407, 412
 Rivière, Yann 367, 383
 Robbins, Vernon K. 31, 80
 Robert, Louis 466, 470f., 477
 Robertson, Archibald 163, 173
 Robinson, David M. 344, 346
 Robinson, Edward 228
 Robinson, James M. 68, 80, 180, 192
 Robinson, Olivia F. 367, 383
 Rodriguez Ruiz, Miguel 12, 28
 Rogers, Clement F. 255, 257
 Rohde, Joachim 196f., 199, 221
 Roloff, Jürgen 296, 330, 392f., 397, 403, 413,
 522, 532
 Roose, Hanna 121, 148
 Rosenmeyer, Patricia A. 493, 503
 Rosner, Brian S. 129, 139, 141, 146, 149, 499–
 501, 503
 Roussel, Pierre 104, 110, 119

- Rouselle, Aline 299, 330
 Ruck-Schröder, Adelheid 270, 286
 Ruppert, Lothar 66, 80
 Russell, Donald A. 132, 148, 242
 Rütli, Ludwig 168, 173
 Ryken, Leland 282, 286
- Sabou, Sorin 276f., 286
 Sänger, Dieter 289, 331
 Safrai, Shmuel 6, 28, 315, 330
 Sand, Alexander 75, 80, 199, 214, 399
 Sanday, William 177, 192
 Sanders, E. P. 3f., 7, 28, 295, 298, 330, 427, 449
 Sanders, Jack T. 194, 221, 442, 449
 Sandin, Pär 480, 503
 Sandmel, Samuel 298, 330
 Sartre, Maurice 313, 331
 Satake, Akira 334, 351, 353, 367, 383, 390, 413
 Schade, Hans-Heinrich 202, 222
 Schäfke, Rudolf 431, 449
 Schaik, Antonius P. 402, 413
 Schenk, Wolfgang 61, 80, 208
 Scherrer, Stephen J. 338, 351, 360, 383
 Scherrer, Peter 338, 351
 Schlatter, Adolf 4, 11, 17, 19, 27, 28, 42, 80, 145, 148, 181f., 189, 192, 207f., 211, 222, 420, 449, 513–515, 527–529
 Schleiermacher, Friedrich 60, 79, 511
 Schlier, Heinrich 135, 148, 159, 174, 182, 192, 196, 199, 222
 Schmeller, Thomas 126, 129f., 148
 Schmidt, Karl Ludwig 61, 80, 347
 Schmitz, Otto 215, 356
 Schmithals, Walter 177f., 192
 Schmitt, Hatto H. 88, 92, 116
 Schnabel, Eckhard J. 128, 136, 141, 148, 152, 155, 157, 159, 163, 169, 170, 172, 174, 195, 197, 215, 222, 259, 269, 278, 286, 289, 290–293, 304, 307, 326, 331, 354, 365f., 378, 380, 383, 419f., 449, 498, 503, 507, 533
 Schnackenburg, Rudolf 12, 23, 26, 28, 42, 51, 80, 193, 194f., 222, 474, 477
 Schneemelcher, Wilhelm 62, 78
 Schneider, Gerhard 321, 331
 Schnelle, Udo 178f., 187, 192, 289, 331
 Schoeps, Hans-Joachim 179, 222, 523, 533
 Schofield, Malcolm 480, 502
- Schowalter, Daniel N. 356, 383
 Schrage, Wolfgang 136, 148, 163, 174f., 192–195, 201, 203, 205f., 209f., 212, 222, 278f., 286, 420, 449
 Schrammen, Jakob 356, 383
 Schreiber, Johannes 32, 61, 63, 69, 70f., 73
 Schreiner, Thomas R. 135, 143, 148, 159, 174, 177, 189, 192, 275, 286, 526–528, 533
 Schubart, Wilhelm 102, 118f.
 Schürer, E. 5, 28, 207, 222, 316, 321, 331
 Schürmann, Heinz 65, 80
 Schuler, Chrisof 345f., 351, 465, 477
 Schuler, Christof 345f., 351, 465, 477
 Schulz, Siegfried 194, 222
 Schwabe, Moshe 249, 257
 Schwartz, Daniel R. 324, 331
 Schwemer, Anna Maria 321f., 328
 Schwenk, Cynthia J. 92, 94, 119
 Scott, Ian W. 126, 148
 Scott, James M. 103, 119
 Scott, Kenneth 487, 503
 Scott, Robert, 191, 228, 256
 Seaton, R. C. 240
 Seccombe, David P. 65, 80
 Segal, Alan F. 289, 331, 523, 533
 Seidel, Hans 423f., 449
 Seiss, Joseph A. 388, 413
 Selb, Walter 367, 381
 Sellin, Gerhard 205f., 222
 Sellner, Hans Jörg 139, 148
 Setzer, Claudia J. 389, 331
 Sevenster, J. N. 6, 28
 Sherwin-White, Adrian Nicolas 69, 73, 80
 Shulam, Joseph 275, 286
 Siard, Hélène 110, 119
 Siegert, Folker 178, 180, 182f., 192, 307, 318, 329, 331
 Silva, M. 250
 Simms, Ronda R. 95, 99, 119
 Simon, Erika 492, 503
 Skarsaune, Oskar 295, 297, 331
 Slingerland, H. Dixon 298, 331
 Slater, William 436, 449
 Smallwood, E. Mary 301–303, 309, 312, 331
 Smarczyk, Bernhard 88, 91, 119, 335
 Smith, John A. 424–429, 444, 449
 Smith, Nicholas D. 86, 116
 Smyth, H. W. 239
 Snell, Bruno 484, 493, 503
 Soards, Marion L. 32, 59, 63, 65, 80

- Söding, Thomas 165, 174
 Sokolowski, Franciszek 88, 92, 98, 119
 Solin, Heikki 6f., 28
 Solmsen, Friedrich 18, 28
 Sordi, Marta 321, 331
 Spek, Robartus J. van der 345, 352
 Spengler, H.-D. 153
 Speyer, Wolfgang 454, 477
 Spicq, Ceslas 123, 144, 148, 343f., 347
 Spitta, Friedrich 4, 28
 Stählin, Gustav 213f.
 Stamm, Johann Jakob 241, 256, 448
 Stauffer, Ethelbert 203
 Ste Croix, Geoffrey E. M. 297, 331, 345
 Stegemann, Ekkehard W. 298, 331
 Stegemann, Wolfgang 298, 331
 Steinleitner, Franz S. 451, 456, 460, 464, 466, 468, 477
 Stendahl, Krister 161, 174
 Stephan, Eckhard 319, 331
 Stephens, Susan A. 495, 503
 Stern, Menachem 6, 28
 Sterrett, J. R. Sitlington 293, 331
 Stettler, Hanna 177, 189, 192
 Stock, Klemens 12, 28
 Stoevesandt, Helene 4, 28
 Stoops, Robert F. 289, 331
 Stowers, Stanley K. 126, 148
 Strahtmann, Hermann 176, 214, 343
 Strauss, Mark L. 65, 80,
 Strecker, Georg 11, 23, 28, 35, 80, 178f., 192, 194, 214, 222, 387, 412, 522, 527, 533f.
 Strelan, Richard E. 359, 383
 Strobach, Anika 340, 352
 Strobel, August 45, 66, 75, 80, 325, 331, 353, 383
 Strubbe, Johan H. M. 452, 456, 477
 Stuhlmacher, Peter 35, 64f., 76, 78, 80, 126f., 130, 148, 171, 174, 200–202, 211, 222, 276, 286, 521, 528f., 533
 Suggs, M. Jack 68, 80
 Sundkler, Bengt 3f., 25, 28

 Taeger, Jens-Wilhelm 365, 383
 Tajra, Harry W. 355, 383
 Talbert, Charles H. 177, 192, 293, 331, 389, 403, 413
 Talbert, Richard J. A. 293, 331
 Talgam, Rina 425, 449
 Tambyah, T. Isaac 203, 222
 Tannehill, Robert C. 298, 331
 Tannenbaum, Robert 309, 330
 Taylor, B. A. 229, 256
 Taylor, Joan E. 364, 268, 286
 Taylor, Justin 297, 321, 331
 Taylor, T. 180
 Taylor, Vincent 34, 61, 80
 Tcherikover, Victor A. 300, 304, 332
 Texier, Jean Georges 345, 352
 Thackeray, St. J. 87, 243, 246–248, 251, 316
 Thayer, Joseph Henry 231
 Theißen, Gerd 35, 80
 Thiselton, Anthony C. 140, 142, 148, 163, 174, 278f., 286, 420, 449
 Thoma, Clemens 6, 27
 Thomas, Elodie Matricon 114f., 119
 Thomas, Johannes 193
 Thomas, Robert L. 388f., 413
 Thomas, Rodney L. 360, 383
 Thome, Gabriele 471, 477
 Thompson, J. A. 65
 Thompson, James W. 12, 28
 Thompson, Leonard L. 355, 384
 Thompson, Lloyd A. 370, 384
 Thompson, Michael B. 201, 222
 Thrall, Margaret E. 129, 137–139, 149
 Thür, Hilke 338, 352
 Todd, Marcus N. 95, 119
 Tolmie, D. Francois 133f., 149
 Totti, Maria 104, 119
 Townsend, G. F. 239, 246
 Trask, Robert L. 236, 257
 Trebilco, Paul R. 5, 15, 28, 307f., 319, 323, 332, 359, 375, 384
 Tuckett, Christopher 34f., 77, 80
 Turner, Eric G. 102, 119
 Turner, Max M. B. 237, 256, 269, 280–282
 Unnik, Willem C. van 205, 222
 Vahrenhorst, Martin 183, 189, 192
 Vandersleyen, Claude 347, 352
 VanGemeren, Willem A. 257
 Varinlioglu, Ender 453, 455, 457, 476f.
 Veit, Walter F. 153, 174
 Vermaseren, Maarten Jozef 114, 120

- Vermes, Geza 5, 28, 47, 81, 207, 222, 316
 Versnel, Hendrik S. 85–87, 94f., 104, 110,
 113, 115, 120, 452, 468f., 471f., 477,
 479, 481f., 486, 487, 497, 503
 Vidman, Ladislav 104, 120
 Vielhauer, Philipp 265, 286
 Vollenweider, Samuel 163, 174
 Vorholt, Robert 171, 174
 Voss, Florian 155, 174

 Wahlde, Urban C. von 272, 286
 Waldner, Katharina 490, 503
 Walter, Nikolaus 347, 374, 384
 Walvoord, John F. 388, 413
 Wander, Bernd 307, 309, 332
 Waner, Mira 425, 449
 Warmington, E. H. 468
 Watson, A. 357
 Watson, Duane F. 132, 149
 Weatherly, Jon A. 325, 332
 Webb, Robert L. 265–267, 286
 Wegner, Uwe 16, 24, 28
 Weil, Henri 493, 503
 Weiser, Alfons 329, 332
 Weiß, Bernhard 507–509, 534
 Weiß, Johannes 69, 81
 Weiss, Zeev 425, 449
 Welles, C. Bradford 344, 352
 Wellesz, Egon 427, 443, 449
 Wendland, Heinz-Dietrich 194, 222
 Wengst, Klaus 442, 449
 Wenham, David 18, 23f., 28
 Wenschkewitz, Hans 177f., 192
 West, Martin L. 86, 118, 424, 430f., 434,
 436f., 439–441, 443f., 448f., 480, 503
 Wheeler, A. L. 458, 477
 Whiston, W. 252
 Whitaker, G. H. 250f., 256
 White, John L. 156, 174
 Wibbing, Siegfried 199, 222
 Wick, Peter 183, 192
 Wilckens, Ulrich 42f., 81, 128, 149, 175,
 178, 181f., 187, 189, 192, 197–202,
 209, 211, 222, 276, 286, 522, 534
 Wilhoit, James C. 282, 286
 Wille, Günther 430, 432f., 442, 450
 Williams, Margaret 316f., 332
 Williams, P. J. 155, 172
 Willis, Wendell Lee 209, 222
 Wilson, M. W. 356, 383
 Wilson, N. G. 249
 Wilson, P. 436, 446
 Wilson, Stephen G. 12, 23, 29, 328, 384
 Windisch, Hans 121, 136f., 139, 139
 Winkler, M. 154, 174
 Winnington-Ingram, Reginald P. 443, 447
 Winter, Bruce W. 141, 149, 152, 155, 172
 Winter, Franz 250, 255
 Wischmeyer, Oda 126, 149
 Witetschek, Stephan 356, 384
 Witherington, Ben 35, 81, 178, 192, 290f., 296,
 324, 332, 334, 352, 356, 384
 Witulski, Thomas 353, 384
 Wörrle, Michael 97, 120
 Wolff, Christian 163, 174, 420, 450
 Wolff, Hans Walter 64, 81, 124, 149
 Wrede, William 34, 63, 69, 81, 527, 534
 Wright, Benjamin G. 241, 245, 256, 272, 286
 Wright, N. T. 35f., 76, 81, 151, 156, 158–
 168, 170f., 174, 177f., 192, 529, 534
 Wuellner, Wilhelm 132, 135, 140, 149
 Wuest, Kenneth S. 274, 276, 278, 281, 287

 Yon, Marguerite 92, 120
 Young, Robert 227, 257
 Ysebaert, Josef 236, 238, 241, 257, 283, 287

 Zager, Werner 76, 81
 Zahn, Theodor 10, 42, 43, 49, 81, 159, 160,
 174, 334, 352f., 356, 384, 398, 413, 517,
 528, 534
 Zamminer, Friedrich 419, 430–432, 434, 436f.,
 440f., 449f.
 Zeller, Dieter 136, 141, 149
 Zerwick, Maximilian 71, 81
 Zgusta, Ladislav 235, 257
 Ziebarth, Erich G. L. 95, 120
 Ziegenaus, Oskar 356, 384
 Ziehen, Ludwig 88, 98, 119
 Zingerle, Josef 456, 459, 460, 464, 467, 477,
 497, 503
 Zmijewski, Josef 291, 292, 294, 296, 332
 Zoltan, Franyö 493, 503
 Zuntz, Günther 103, 104, 120

Index of Subjects

- Abonuteichos 340
Abraham 10, 17, 44, 167, 261, 337, 385, 500, 526
absenteeism 460, 487
abstinence 129, 212
absurdity 38
abuse 47, 49, 53, 55, 64, 66, 72, 293, 489
accommodation 144, 163, 164, 365, 374
acculturation 484
Achaia 157, 329, 366f., 505, 531
Achilles 243, 485
actors 418, 432f.
Adam 130f., 155, 217, 277, 385, 511, 526
Adrados 229, 255
Adramyttium 157, 310
adultery 363, 460, 485
Aeolian, Aeolic 431, 341, 351
Aeschylus 239, 434, 480, 497, 503
Aesop 239, 246
Aetolian 487
Agamemnon 485
agapē 196f., 212f.
Agatharchides 347
Agathemeros 438
agriculture 170, 493
Agrippa I 303, 322, 324
Agrippa II 162
Ahab 56
Aizanoi 440
Akmonia 307f., 319
Alabanda 310
alabarch 316f.
Alexandria 62, 102–104, 300–304, 306, 314, 316f., 320, 440
Alexandria Troas 157, 294, 433
alienation 5
allegiance 128, 227, 354, 499
allegorization 23
allusion 13, 21, 34f., 64, 66, 202, 216, 333, 363, 393f., 396, 399–402
ambassadors 303f.
ambition 214
anachronism 232, 354
Anaitis, Meter Anaitis 457, 462–464
Ananias 58f.
anapaests 444
Anastasis 115
Anaxagoras 87
Anazarbus 157
ancestors 85f., 279
Androclus 338f.
angels 207, 395, 398, 401f., 405
anger 138, 142, 198, 239, 463, 472, 497
animals 65, 179, 182, 196, 335, 348, 359, 454, 493
animosity 293
Annas, High Priest 51–56, 529
Antalcidas 243
anthropology 162, 191, 511, 518, 520–522, 524, 526
anthropomorphism 180, 191, 484f.
Antioch (Maeander) 321
Antioch (Syria) 8, 11, 114f., 169, 314, 320–322, 324, 427, 430, 505, 530f.
Antioch (Pisidia/Phrygia) 157, 290, 292f., 295, 296, 297, 310, 319f., 322, 325f., 366, 368
Antiochos II 345
Antiochos IV Epiphanes 376
Antipas, tetrarch 51, 53–55, 57, 68, 73, 529
Antipas, Christian in Pergamon 294, 355, 357, 366, 391
antipathy 145
Antipatros 437
antiphonal, antiphony 421, 424, 429, 444
antisemitism 298, 327
Anytus 60

- Apamea 309f., 470
aparche 91
 Aphrodisias 15, 309, 330
 Aphrodite 93f., 441, 485, 487, 492f., 496, 501f.
 apocalypse 25, 353, 355f., 358f., 368, 371f., 380–382, 384, 413, 512, 524
 apocalyptic 23, 353, 389, 393, 418, 524
 Apollo 101, 107, 109, 111, 336, 346, 348, 358, 430f., 433, 436–438, 445, 488, 490, 494
 Apollo Lairbenos 451, 458, 462, 471, 474
 Apollo Tarsios 463f.
 Apollodoros 93, 341
 Apollonia 321
 Apollonios 104, 107–110, 250, 455, 457, 466
 Apollos 135f., 205
 apostles 8, 160, 206f., 217, 232, 271, 281, 337, 397, 422, 509–517, 528, 529, 531
 apostasy 134, 289, 331, 533
 Apostles' Council 159, 508, 512
 apostleship 298, 513, 522
 Apphia 461
 Appian 60
applicatio 528
 application 155, 166, 202, 217, 236, 512, 525, 531
 Apuleius 363, 468
 Arabia 9, 156f., 173
 Arabians 341
 Aramaic 241, 256, 264, 270f., 280, 339, 340, 448
 Aratus 240
 arbitrators 209
 archangels 180
archisynagogos 308
 architect 90, 96f., 418
 archive, archives 114, 245, 250, 305
archon, *archontes* 91–94, 99, 111f., 114f., 117, 308
 Areopagus 85, 92, 116
 Ares 119, 242, 352, 485, 501
 aretalogy 104, 117f.
 Argos 438
argumentatio 153, 174
 Aristes 103, 118f.
 Aristides 361, 431, 448, 450, 482
 Aristobulus 102, 251
 aristocracy 33, 38–40, 291, 483
 Aristodikides 344
 Aristophanes 172, 248, 253, 496, 502
 Aristotle 132, 153f., 184, 233, 236f., 240, 338, 348, 418f., 431f., 434, 440, 445, 485, 488
 Aristoxenus 431, 446
 Armenians 341
 Arrianus 232
 arrogance 68, 71, 409
 arson 355
 Artaxerxes 242
 Artemidoros 456, 462f., 497
 Artemis 97, 249, 346, 359, 383, 436, 462, 492, 493, 502
 Arval, Arvales 432
 Asclepios, Asklepius 190, 356, 481f., 494, 499, 501
asebeia 86, 110
 Aseneth 473
 Asklepiades 436
 assemblies 143, 176, 289, 355, 379, 419, 421, 428, 431, 442, 444–446, 519
 assembly 58f., 93f., 97–99, 109, 111–113, 123, 129, 141, 208, 312, 322, 331, 363, 370, 395, 420f., 441
 assimilation 7, 191, 198
 assize 310
 associations 22, 95, 101, 116–118, 275, 320, 328, 348f., 379, 429
 Assos 157
 assurance 51, 53, 125, 472, 514
 Astarte 94
 astronomy 432
 asylum 311
 Atargatis 486
 atheist 87, 161
 Athenagoras 183
 Athene 346
 Athenians 85–87, 90f., 95, 99, 112, 115, 243, 299, 348, 487
 Athens 85, 88, 90–94, 98–101, 112–115, 335f., 338, 348, 390, 432, 438, 481, 486, 494f.
 atonement 173, 197, 217, 457, 459, 467, 471, 475
 Attalia 295
 Attalis 337
 Attalos 337, 455
 Attic 101, 117f., 341, 351
 Attica 91, 115, 118f., 502
 Attis 104, 118
auctoritas 154, 172

- audiences 142, 151–153, 155, 163, 232, 531f.
 Augustus 87, 292, 300–306, 310–313, 317, 320, 356, 359, 364, 435, 438
 aulete 445
 aulos, auloi 416, 418f., 424f., 432–434, 439f., 442, 445
 auspices 103
 authorities 31, 43, 51, 59, 72, 74, 109, 170, 207, 209, 294, 297, 302f., 307, 314, 321f., 324, 357, 364, 368, 369, 371–474
 authority 12, 17, 24, 32f., 38–41, 43f., 48, 52, 71, 77, 104, 108, 137, 187, 195, 201–203, 206f., 212, 216–219, 299, 325, 356, 374, 380, 390f., 395, 397, 401, 404, 459, 462–464, 466, 527
 awe 123, 452, 475

 Babylon 339, 349, 356, 360–362, 375, 383, 393, 398, 400, 412, 423
 Babylonia 468
 Bacchae 120
 Bacchus 440f.
 banquet 20, 22f., 253, 439
 baptism 15, 121f., 136, 171, 206, 225–228, 230, 234, 237, 250, 255f., 259f., 263–266, 268f., 271, 273–286, 517, 536
 Baptist, see John (Baptist)
 barbarians 239, 244, 335, 337, 342
 Barnabas 9, 160, 290–292, 295–297, 314, 319f., 326, 505, 520, 530
 Bartimaeus 36
 bathing 245, 254, 266, 285
 Belial 370
 Bendis 99, 100f., 117, 119
 benedictions 125, 426
 benefaction 319
 benefactor, benefactors 112, 319, 328, 330
 benevolence 203, 464
 Beroea 157, 295
 Bethany 12, 24
 Bethesda 272, 285
 Bethlehem 514
 bilingual 340
 biography 523, 525
 birth 23, 42, 165, 185, 244, 358, 371, 398, 399, 404
 Bithynia 157
 Bithynians 342
 blasphemy 38, 45–47, 49f., 53, 162, 327, 368
 blood 49, 179, 239, 241f., 248, 252, 261, 335, 357, 359, 362, 377, 405, 422
 boastfulness 215
 Boule 90–93, 96, 112, 119
 bronze 107, 237, 248, 262, 300, 317, 361, 362, 418, 433f., 436, 441, 447, 456, 493
 brother 201, 204, 208, 210, 212, 219, 243, 250, 297, 317, 457, 464

 Caesar 156f., 243, 299–301, 303, 310–313, 317, 320, 323, 326f., 329
 Caesarea 13, 20, 159, 290, 367, 531
 Caiaphas 46, 48, 50, 52, 55, 77, 529
 Cain 385
 Caligula 301f., 320
 Capernaum 16f., 22, 33, 38, 40, 42, 514, 519
 Cappadocia 157, 342
 Cappadocian 340
 Carian 340
 Carians 337, 341
 catalogues 119, 199, 475
 catechesis 169
 Celsus 61
 Celts 244, 340
 centurion 8, 11, 16–18, 40, 285, 519
 ceremonial 226, 231–233, 235, 263, 268, 283
 ceremony 14f., 26, 87, 231, 263, 282, 284, 432f., 435, 441, 452, 489, 491
 chariot 273, 361, 496
 charioteer 355
 children 7, 19, 38, 60, 123, 125, 170, 244, 271, 300, 307, 363, 389, 429, 430, 455, 457, 464, 470, 472, 483, 489, 492
 – children of Abraham 44
 – children of Eve 357
 – children of God 130, 175, 219, 407, 500
 – foster children 459
 chorus, choruses 429, 432, 434, 436, 439f., 445, 450, 495
christianoï 318, 321
 christology 78, 80f., 193, 509, 511, 518, 520f., 524, 526
 Chrysippus 184
 Cicero 6, 86, 132f., 153f., 185, 309f., 441, 479, 481, 484, 488, 490, 498f., 503
 Cilicia 9, 157, 344f., 505, 531
 circumcision 9, 14–16, 133f., 217, 289, 296, 325f.

- citizenship 163, 304, 336f., 351, 357
 Claudius 245, 249, 302–304, 306, 322, 327, 435, 437
 cleansing 230, 235, 242, 263, 265–271, 281, 283
 Cleanthes 479
 Cleisthenes 335
 Clement 255, 257
cohortatio 253
collegium, *collegia* 312, 320f.
 colonies 26, 303, 329
 colonisation 335, 338, 492
 colonists 470
 Colossae 157, 295
 comedy 154, 434, 438
 comic, comical 154, 433, 439
comicus 154
 commandments 37, 188, 202, 296, 373, 402
 confession 50, 67, 142, 372, 426, 451f., 454, 459, 464–466, 469–475, 482, 497
 – confession of faith 269, 271
 – confession of sin 127, 457, 458, 467f.
 confession inscriptions 451, 453, 455–458, 462, 465–472, 475, 479, 482, 497
 confidence 8, 135f., 347, 444
confirmatio 72
 confirmation 14, 22, 24, 55, 75, 289, 301f., 305f., 314, 464, 472
 conflict 25, 56, 67, 214, 302, 304, 318f., 370, 398, 399
 confrontation 39, 56, 165, 169, 398, 484
 congregation 139, 143, 189, 338, 371, 418–420, 422, 424, 443–445, 519
 congregations 151, 158, 321, 328, 346, 349f., 354, 368, 375, 379, 415–423, 427f., 442, 444f., 505, 506f., 512
 consensus 218, 234, 270, 353, 392, 499
 consolation 375
 consultation 101, 160
consultum 300, 488
 consummation 17, 23, 395–397, 406, 408, 410, 511
 contempt 69–73, 208, 363
contemptum 488
 conversion 6–8, 14–20, 26, 122, 128–130, 134, 137–139, 155, 159–163, 172–174, 187, 211, 259, 273, 277, 284, 290, 323, 378, 385–387, 391f., 394f., 397, 400f., 403, 404, 406, 408–410, 508, 512f., 515, 519, 524, 526
 converts 9, 14f., 24, 26, 136, 139, 155, 269, 272, 291, 293f., 297, 320, 365, 430, 516
conviviali 501
 conviviality 430, 437
 Corinth 136, 139, 152, 155, 163, 205, 207, 295, 343, 346, 366, 418, 420, 433, 505
 Cornelius 8, 17, 305, 508
 countryside 104, 264, 268, 474
 courage 154, 251, 334, 406
 courtroom 390, 402
 courts 14, 69, 92, 207f., 284, 286, 327
 covenant 21, 25, 38, 76, 129, 131, 203, 210, 213, 241, 325, 385, 387f., 391, 395, 406, 407, 474, 500
 cowards 363, 431
 coworkers 215
 creation 10, 20, 43, 122, 164, 170f., 196, 198, 206, 211, 217f., 265, 277, 357, 385f., 388, 399, 406–408, 410, 411, 524
 Cretans 341
 Crete 172, 341, 505
crimen 77, 367
 cross 7, 36, 45f., 48–51, 54f., 62, 67, 69f., 72, 76, 77f., 131f., 134, 136, 140, 145, 153f., 166, 167, 172f., 187f., 206, 217, 237, 240, 247, 252, 256, 277, 284–286, 374, 392, 412, 513, 524, 531; see also crucifixion
 crowds 11, 16, 20, 36, 41, 43, 58, 290, 295, 296, 337, 339, 343
 crucifixion 36, 52, 154, 172, 206, 271, 277, 321, 354, 373, 380, 389
 cults 85f., 88, 94f., 104, 110, 115f., 178, 180–182, 356f., 359, 364, 367, 381, 441, 467, 468f., 470, 500f., 503
 culture 116, 244, 284, 330, 347–349, 352, 377, 379f., 423, 425, 430, 432, 438, 442, 444f., 447, 449, 468, 503
 customs 99, 300, 302, 304, 306, 311–314, 316f., 326, 341, 368, 374
 cymbal 417f., 423–426, 433, 441
 Cynic 57, 67
 Cyprians 94
 Cyprus 8, 94, 160, 505, 531
 Cyrenaica 329
 Cyrene 301, 305
 Cyrenians 318

 daimon/demons 87, 487f., 490f.
 Damascus 11, 20, 159, 161–163, 169, 173, 312, 328, 430, 530

- dance, dances 425, 429–431, 434, 437, 441, 445, 489, 493
 dancers 432, 434
 David 10, 56, 164, 220, 354, 356, 367, 376, 418, 422f., 429, 500
 – son of David 36, 38
 debts, debtors 131, 232, 237f., 249, 254, 260, 459
 deception 188, 363, 377
 decision, decisions 92, 95–97, 115, 144, 195, 208–211, 215, 219, 233, 290, 299, 310, 312f., 322, 326, 404, 481, 524
 decree 90–97, 99–104, 112f., 115, 300, 306f., 311, 336f., 348, 495
 defamation 459
 defense 22, 35, 53f., 57, 60–63, 67, 69f., 73, 75, 294f., 525
 deities 85f., 88, 92, 95, 109, 115, 128, 161, 176, 179, 433, 470, 489, 491, 535
 Dekapolis 27
 delator 367, 382
 deliverance 18, 137, 403, 421, 425
 Delos 104, 107–110, 113, 115, 300f., 305
 Delphi 60, 90, 101, 438, 488, 490, 495
 Demeter 91, 115, 338, 479, 483f., 487, 493–495, 501–503
 Demetrius 184, 503
 demigods 490, 491
 Democritus 238, 260
 demoniacs 11, 18f.
 demon, demons 33, 35, 37, 247, 362, 390
 Demosthenes 87
 Derbe 157, 292, 294f., 320
 desires 142, 188, 198, 496
 despair 247, 344
 dialogue 34, 37, 45, 74, 126f., 132f., 298, 352, 366, 492, 527
 diaspora 5, 181, 271, 273, 289, 297, 299, 300, 302, 304, 309, 314–320, 324–330, 426f., 447
 Didyma 97, 344–348, 350, 435, 438, 449
 dignity 19, 75, 76, 208, 358, 490, 496
 Diocletian 331
 Dionysus 104, 119, 425, 433, 437, 438, 440f.
 dirge, dirges 58f., 415, 425
 discipleship 16, 19, 63, 142, 146, 167
 discipline 141, 143, 510, 512, 527
 discrimination 196, 205, 212, 366, 375
 dithyramb 434, 445
 divinity 43, 180, 358, 360, 458, 467f., 484, 517, 527
 divorce 32f., 38, 345
 docetism 62
 Domitian 370, 384
 Dorian 431
 Dorians 335, 341
 Doric 341, 351, 492
 dragon 357–360, 363f., 371f., 422
 dream, dreams 107, 109, 250, 451, 454, 462, 464f., 481, 465, 492, 500
 drowning 237, 243, 246, 262, 276f., 454
 drum, drums 417, 423, 429, 433, 440f.
 drunkenness 142, 198, 237, 251
 dye, dyes 225, 229, 236–238, 246, 248f., 252, 254, 260f., 276, 282
 dyer 245, 248f.
 earthquake 392, 396
 ecclesiology 509–511, 518, 521f., 527
 ecstatic 433
 edict, edicts 103, 119f., 302–306, 310f., 320
 edification 210, 216, 505
 Edom 404
 Edomite 335
 education 135, 418, 430, 432, 437, 444, 458
 effeminate 432
 egotism 198, 214f.
 Egypt 10, 104, 107–109, 123, 250, 304, 314, 324, 341, 347f., 371, 389, 390, 427, 429, 443, 445
 Egyptians 94f., 243, 344, 403
 ekklesia 159, 370, 500
 elders 16, 55, 72, 262, 344, 422, 427, 462
 Eleazar 44, 57
 election 526
 elegiac 430
 Eleusinians 91
 Eleusinion 90
 Eleusis 88, 90f., 116, 483f., 493
eleutheria 174, 198
 Elijah 21, 37, 56, 392, 396
 Elisha 21, 241, 252
 elite, elites 292, 319, 339, 354, 365, 367
 eloquence 184
 embassy 112f., 301f., 320
 emperor, emperors 40, 48, 50, 52, 157, 245, 301f., 304f., 309, 311f., 314, 322f., 336, 339, 354, 356, 359f., 364, 367, 382, 435, 444, 529

- empire 50, 52, 78, 170, 172, 299, 303, 306,
 319, 325, 329–331, 334, 350, 355, 357–
 361, 365, 370, 384, 432f., 501f., 513
 enemies 36, 66, 166, 201, 242, 301, 310,
 312, 324, 338, 377, 391–393, 395,
 397f., 402, 404, 499
 enharmonic 431
enktēsis 99
 Enoch 7, 46, 395
 envy 108, 142, 195, 198, 200, 296, 312,
 326
 Epheseia 437
 Ephesus 157, 289, 293–295, 301, 305–307,
 310–313, 323, 326, 336, 338–340, 346,
 348, 354, 356, 359, 366, 375, 435, 438,
 440, 470, 474, 505, 531
 epichoric 469
 epics 479
 Epictetus 57, 178, 179
 Epicurean 85, 170, 484
 Epidaurus 468, 481
 epideictic 135
 epiphany 451, 461, 484, 495f., 501, 503
epiphthegma 493
 eschatology 16, 162, 170, 204, 509, 527
 Esther 392
 ethics 116, 158, 169, 174, 191, 193–196,
 198–200, 203f., 206, 208, 213, 215–
 219, 221f., 506, 509, 521, 524, 527, 535
 Ethiopia 505
 Ethiopian, Ethiopians 8, 273, 285, 485,
 530
 ethnos 16, 99, 101, 337
 eunuch 239, 273, 285
 Euodia 215
 Euphrates 341
 Euripides 73, 108, 246, 247, 440, 482, 487,
 494, 495, 502
 evangelists 12f., 24, 338, 350, 379, 397,
 505, 530
 Eve 311, 357, 385
 evil 18, 32–34, 37, 40, 108, 125, 127, 134,
 143, 146, 166, 198, 219, 249, 293f.,
 348, 357, 358, 361, 364, 376f., 398,
 400f., 410, 433, 442, 488f.
 evildoer 137, 411, 452, 475
 exaltation 130, 172, 269, 327, 475, 498,
 516
 excommunication 139
 execution 46, 55, 59, 75, 323f., 365–367, 468
 exorcism 32, 35
 expectations 18, 23, 58, 153, 176, 204, 337,
 372, 485, 511
 expenses 95–96, 112, 457
 expiation 451, 471, 477
 exploitation 361, 475
 export 310
 expulsion 291, 366, 520
 eye, eyes 15, 40, 67, 134, 146, 153, 162, 248,
 374, 386, 453, 465, 480f., 486, 490, 497
 eyewitness 154
 Ezekiel 124, 361, 371, 393f.
 Ezra 69, 127, 343, 421
 fabric 238, 248, 254, 260
 factionalism 138
 factions 87, 135, 142, 324
 Fadus 324
 faith, faith in Jesus 8, 17–19, 36f., 43, 128,
 132–139, 142, 145, 153, 156, 160–162,
 167, 169, 171, 182, 187, 194, 196–198,
 200f., 204, 210, 214, 217, 219, 234, 247,
 250, 255, 269, 272, 278, 283, 296, 325,
 337, 339, 346, 349, 350, 355, 357, 363,
 365, 371, 373, 375–377, 379, 389, 391f.,
 394–396, 402, 407, 409–411, 421, 442f.,
 446, 468, 470, 474, 479, 489, 491, 505,
 510, 512, 515–519, 520–522, 526, 528
 – community of faith 140, 163, 169, 234, 506
 – confession of faith 271, 452, 471
 – faith and repentance 122, 397
 – faith in the gospel 135
 – faith of the Jews 15, 16
 – monotheistic faith 5
 – obedience of faith 218
 faithful, faithfulness 135, 146, 151, 174, 187,
 234, 357, 365, 373–375, 377f., 387, 391f.,
 396f., 407f., 410f., 472, 535
 fame 404
 farmers 347
 farms 346
 fate 104, 107, 301, 357, 358, 363, 387, 396,
 405, 407, 491
 fathers 15, 17f., 26, 87, 262, 282f., 303, 311,
 464, 472, 475
 fear 66, 108, 124, 138, 153, 247, 250, 297,
 320, 323, 365, 373, 375, 378, 394, 396,
 403–406, 410, 467, 489

- feasts 22, 43f., 58, 307, 315, 428f., 431, 434, 473
 feelings 123, 140, 145, 214, 252, 490, 498
 fellowship 6, 8, 18, 20, 25, 33, 34, 140f., 160, 200, 204, 210, 214, 216, 397, 409, 410f., 415
 festivals 70, 91, 99, 115, 243, 271, 307, 315, 417, 428, 430, 432f., 436, 444, 449, 484, 489, 500
 fiction 336
 firstborn 155, 399
 firstfruits 315, 325, 398f., 400
 fiscus 325, 369, 370, 381
 fish, fishing 240, 244, 459, 461
 fishers 10, 513
 flattery 41, 359, 496
 flogging 366, 468
 flute, flutes 416, 424, 429, 433, 435, 436, 439f.
 flutists 417
 food 8f., 41, 57, 146f., 180, 210, 212, 240, 250, 289, 307, 326, 428, 434, 484
 foreigners 108f., 115, 163, 348f., 379
 forgive 33, 38, 40, 467, 472–474
 forgiveness 40, 43, 121, 125, 142, 154, 162, 166, 264, 269f., 318, 377, 408, 458, 465f., 471–476, 498
 formula, formulae 65, 95, 118, 184, 186, 201, 219, 334, 336, 348, 393, 457
 fornication 142, 198, 361, 390, 411
 frankincense 361
 freedmen 115, 163, 346
 freedom 44, 163, 187, 194, 198, 210, 219–221, 300, 306, 314, 317, 345, 357, 433, 494, 520
 friends 36, 45, 59, 68, 71, 142, 253, 300, 303, 487
 friendship 303, 498
 fruit, fruits 90f., 248, 305, 312, 399, 495
 fruit of repentance 137
 fruit of the Spirit 142f., 197, 199
 fulfillment 3, 4, 44, 49, 65f., 72, 75, 80, 158, 165, 198, 203, 267, 280, 337, 388, 408f., 454, 509, 526, 530
 funeral, funerals 429f., 433
 future 4, 7, 9, 13, 22, 25, 39, 59, 90f., 112, 126, 137f., 168, 170, 198–200, 205–207, 216, 251, 304, 358, 363, 378, 383, 385f., 392, 395, 397, 405, 410, 412, 500, 536
 Gadara 20
 Gades 240
 Gaius Antonius Septimius Publius 438
 Galatia 133, 134, 146, 157, 160, 172, 220, 323, 324, 340, 366, 476, 505
 Galatians 7, 26, 134f., 146–149, 172–174, 195, 220, 340, 517, 524
 Galba 251, 305, 359
 Galen 185, 243, 244, 255–257, 340
 Galilee 10f., 16, 20, 22, 159, 247, 323, 343, 346, 349, 365, 426, 449, 529f.
 Gallio 367
 games 304, 308, 338, 348, 430, 433, 435, 437f., 440–442
 Gentiles 3–24, 127f., 152, 157, 159f., 162, 188, 211, 289f., 295f., 306, 309, 312, 318–320, 325, 348f., 354, 363, 367f., 373, 376, 379, 387, 391, 393, 418, 505, 508, 511, 516, 519, 524, 526, 528, 531f., 535
 Gerasa 33
 Gerasene 11, 18f., 40
 Germanicus 303
 Germans 244
 Gethsemane 67, 77, 500
 gifts 57, 178, 200, 207, 219, 242, 250, 309, 419f., 428, 435, 483, 496
 gladiator 433f.
 glass 405, 490
 glorification 213, 219, 395, 405
 glossolalia 233, 418f.
 gnosis 232, 330
 gnosticism 232, 516
 goddess, goddesses 90f., 115f., 119, 360, 382, 457, 460, 462–464, 482f., 492, 493, 495f.
 Godfearers 63, 307, 316, 319, 323
 godlessness 188
 godlike 179
 goodness 108, 112, 144, 489, 498
 goodwill 111–113, 252, 308, 483
 gospel 5, 13, 22, 24, 129, 134–136, 140, 153, 158, 160f., 163f., 167, 169, 171–176, 183, 189, 195f., 201, 206, 210f., 220, 256f., 270, 284–286, 334, 351, 363, 375f., 390, 392, 397, 410, 412, 474f., 511, 517, 521f., 524, 525f., 530–532
 – and the kingdom of God 23, 25
 – a different gospel 133
 – definition of 165f.
 – proclamation of 7f., 12, 151f., 155, 157, 159, 170, 186–188, 202, 214, 291, 293, 330,

- 338, 342, 346f., 349f., 377–379, 387,
 421, 501, 506, 509, 512, 528
 gossip 138, 310
 governors 22, 152, 312, 356, 393f.
 grace 20, 108, 125, 130f., 133, 142, 144f.,
 161, 169, 182, 189, 201, 206, 234, 274,
 277, 386, 409, 411, 496, 520
 grain 90f., 94, 336, 398, 399–401
 granary 459
 greed, greedy 195, 363
 greeting 300, 306, 311, 313
 grief 136–139, 144, 247, 360, 440, 483
 guests 23, 417, 441
 guidance 8
 guilds 112, 348f., 432f.
 guilt 50, 52, 71–73, 127, 271, 355, 454,
 471, 475, 477
gymnasiarchoi 304
gymnasion 435

 habits 139, 469
 Hades 462, 464, 484, 503
 Hadrian 353, 356, 384, 435, 438
 Haplokomas 461
 hardships 22, 329, 366, 410
 harlot 360–362
harmonia 445
harmoniai 431
 harmonics 431, 432
 harmony 101, 179, 200–202, 205, 206,
 429, 431
 harpists 417, 422, 434, 439
 harps 417, 422, 424, 425, 436
 harvest 199, 347, 390, 398–403, 495
 hatred 355
 haughtiness 201
 healing 11, 13, 17f., 20, 33–40, 245, 386,
 408–410, 465, 468, 481, 494, 497
 health 244, 253, 300
 hearsay 506
 heart 76, 108, 125–127, 137, 142, 145, 161,
 166f., 176, 179, 189, 239, 250f., 271,
 274, 420f., 436, 483, 485, 496, 520
 heaven 23, 41, 43, 47f., 53, 128, 152, 158,
 162, 168, 170, 220, 240, 357, 378, 386,
 392, 394f., 404–407, 496
 Hebron 274
 Hecataeus 396
 Hector 503
 hedonistic 158

 Hellenists 520
 helplessness 21
 henotheism 120
 Hephaestus 242, 485
 Heracles 240
 Heraclitus 242, 487
 heretics 363
 heritage 299, 349, 379
 Hermes 120, 292, 327, 437, 496
 Hermetica 179, 184, 190f.
 Herod I (the Great) 58f., 243, 249, 251, 272,
 312, 316, 328; see also Antipas, Agrippa I
 – Herod II, king of Chalcis 303
 Herodians 34, 39
 Herodotus 335, 344, 485, 490
 heroes 86, 117, 364, 416
 Hesiod 85, 479, 486
 Hestia 99, 100
 hetaira 86
 hexameter 108, 429, 445
 Hierapolis 157, 295, 340, 451, 470f.
 hierarchy 36, 309
 hierophant 90f.
 hieropoioi 90f.
 Hippocrates 240, 482
 Hippolytus 246
 Hipponax 239
 Hippos 20
 historicity 21, 34, 45, 50f., 286, 511
 historiography 67, 290
 Hittite, Hitties 468f.
 holiness 129, 134, 165, 176, 217, 219, 374,
 405, 429, 516
 homage 497
 homeland 112
 Homer 239, 335, 347f., 357, 363, 479, 482,
 484–486, 488
 homily 129, 427, 530
 honor 112f., 229, 256, 292, 313, 338, 374,
 415, 429, 437f., 444, 483, 486f., 492
 hope 7, 10, 37f., 40, 125f., 134, 140, 142, 199,
 216, 251, 286, 359, 365, 378, 385, 386–
 388, 467, 475, 489, 526, 528, 531
 horns 90, 357–359, 441
 horse, horses 357, 361, 485
 hortatory 142, 509
 Hosanna 38, 493
 Hosea 146
 Hosios 464
 hospitality 203

- hostility 21, 39, 54, 201, 291, 297–299, 314, 364, 372, 407, 409f., 509
 house 8, 21, 39, 109, 252, 287, 301, 338, 404, 417, 425f., 449, 459, 461, 464, 483, 496, 536
 households 345
 humiliation 451, 467, 472, 497, 503, 536
 humility 58, 62, 214, 379, 390, 479, 500, 511
 husband, husbands 141, 239, 291, 461
 hymns 104, 108, 178, 256, 403, 406, 415–417, 420f., 425, 427, 429, 430, 435f., 442, 444, 448, 479f., 483f., 486f., 492f., 495, 499, 501, 503
 hymnodists 494
 hymnodoi 435
 hymnody 443f., 449
 hypocrisy 41
 Hypsistos 477, 502
 Hyrcanus 300, 311
 hyssop 241, 246

 iambics 429
 Iamblichus 432
 Iconium 157, 291–295, 320, 326, 330, 366
 iconography 437, 439, 499
idiophones 436, 441
 idleness 204
 idolaters 362, 411
 idolatry 7, 141f., 198, 363f., 389, 398, 408
 idols 128, 146, 209, 211, 362, 377, 390
 Ignatius 295, 332, 359, 384
 ignorance 38, 128, 253, 454, 462, 481f.
 Iliad 482, 485, 503
 Ilion 344, 346
 illness, illnesses 141, 451, 456, 458, 462, 465, 475, 488
 Illyria 157, 505
 immersion 139, 227–229, 234, 236, 238, 245, 254f., 259f., 262–268, 270–279, 281, 283
 immigrant 98f.
 immorality 7, 129, 138, 195, 362f.
 imperialism 168, 357, 372
 imprecations 456
 imprisonment 62, 367
 impulse, impulses 58, 194
 impurity 138, 142, 198, 245, 263
 incense 180, 361, 426
 incest 140

 India 505
 Indian 249, 341
 indictment 60, 86, 126, 371
 infant, infants 10, 226, 228, 234, 244
 infantry 241
 inheritance 198f., 216, 459, 486
 iniquity 125, 472
 initiation 14f., 103, 226, 230f., 234, 266, 269, 273, 275, 277, 468, 474, 489f.
 injunctions 201, 204, 208, 217, 299, 484
 inscriptions 6, 94, 116–120, 157, 257, 293, 295, 316, 330, 332, 340f., 344, 346, 348, 350f., 431, 433, 435–437, 440f., 447, 449, 451, 453–458, 461f., 464–472, 475–477, 479, 482, 497, 502f., 536
 instruments, musical 416f., 422–425, 428, 430–433, 436, 437, 440–442, 445
 – percussion instruments 433, 436, 441
 – string instruments 416f., 425f., 436
 – wind instruments 418, 433, 436, 439
 insult 53, 252, 293, 486
 intentions 34, 38, 123, 125, 171
 intercalation 91
 intercession 130
 intercourse 138, 246, 460f.
 intermarriage 6, 15, 343
 interrogation 51f., 62, 66, 68, 71, 357
 intoxication 237f., 253, 260
 invocations 494
 Ionia 307, 309, 312, 338, 340, 343, 366
 Ionian 312, 314, 338, 431f., 492
 Ionians 335
 Ionic 335, 341, 351
 Iranian 340
 Irenaeus 183f., 274
 irony 196, 371, 483
 irrational 177, 181f.
 irrationality 189
 Isaac 17, 500
 Isaiah 124, 349, 361, 403, 427
 Iscariot, *see* Judas
 Ishmael 253
 Isiaca 118, 120
 Isis 18, 28, 94f., 107, 109, 116, 118–120, 458, 459, 468
 Isocrates 85, 153
 Israelite, Israelites 230, 279, 314, 375, 407, 426, 500, 510
 Italia 309
 Iturea 529

- Iulia Severa 307–309, 319
 Iullus Antonius 306
 ivory 361, 437, 439
 ivy 103
 Izates 15, 26
- James, son of Zebedee 10, 324
 James the Just, brother of Jesus 297, 531
 James, author of epistle, 421, 505, 511, 516, 530
 jealousy 138, 141f., 198, 290, 296f., 326
 Jeremiah 21, 56, 124, 360, 472
 Jericho 243
 Jeroboam 56
 Jerome 173, 330, 418, 448, 523, 533
 Jerusalem
 – church 7
 – apostles 8, 160
 – and diaspora communities 315f., 325
 – immersion pools 273
 – missionary work 8, 13
 – New Jerusalem 203, 348, 373, 378, 386f., 406
 – opposition to Gentile believers 9
 – pilgrims 271
 – priestly aristocracy 33, 39
 – in Revelation 371
 – Romans 57, 324, 369
 Jesus of Nazareth
 – death; see cross, crucifixion
 – disciples 36, 283
 – and Jerusalem 76
 – the Lamb 256, 334, 338, 342, 360, 365, 373, 375, 376–379, 387–389, 392f., 395, 397f., 403, 406–411, 422f.
 – Messiah 13, 34, 36f., 44f., 47–50, 53–56, 61, 69f., 75f., 133f., 151, 153, 162, 165, 273, 277, 318, 371, 376f., 422, 508, 517, 521, 530
 – miracles 530
 – resurrection 75, 127, 154, 166, 201, 216, 517, 530
 – Son of Man 36, 45, 47–50, 61, 67, 72, 76, 338, 399, 401f., 518, 530
 – Son of God 48, 50, 53, 55f., 76, 155, 164f., 196, 517, 530
 – Kyrios (Lord) 158, 165, 194, 206, 210, 215, 505, 526, 530f.
 – trial 31–76
- Jewish Christians 3, 8, 170, 319, 323, 354, 362, 366, 373, 417
 – in Jerusalem 9
 – missionary activity 322
 Jezebel 56, 374
 John, son of Zebedee 8, 10
 John the Baptist 37, 40f., 121, 226f., 230f., 234, 260, 264–266, 268, 273, 390, 510, 514, 517, 529
 Jonah 138, 247, 390, 394f., 472
 Jordan 11, 241, 252, 264f., 267f.
 Joseph, husband of Mary 510
 Joshua 241
 joy 8, 42, 107, 440, 483, 489
 Judaea 8, 58, 297, 325, 330f., 355
 Judah 364, 376f., 422
 Judas Iscariot 31, 37, 47, 261
 judges 75, 127, 140, 207f., 212, 312, 336, 347, 441
 Judith 245, 260, 297, 329
 Jupiter 325, 369, 499
 jury 60, 92, 310
 justice 60, 207f., 252, 292, 313, 347, 378, 470, 477, 513
 justification 13, 22, 95, 165, 172f., 175, 196f., 209, 375f.
 Justin 61, 66, 246, 252, 294, 298, 329, 331, 366, 371
 Justinian 328
 Juvenal 6, 432, 440, 459, 468
- kenodoxia* 215
 kerygma 518–520
 kettledrum 103
 Kidron 272
 killings 366, 376
 kindness 112, 126–128, 303f.
 kingship 48f., 52f., 55
 kinship 347, 348f., 379, 492
 kithara 416, 418f., 422–424, 430, 432–434, 436–439, 442, 445
 kitharodes 417, 422, 434, 437, 442, 445
 Kitians 93–95
 koinon 112, 305
 Kore 91, 487
- Lactantius 179
 Lamb, see Jesus
 lame 38, 292, 481

- lament 487
 lamentation 394
 laments 433
 lampstands 389
 languages 233f., 334, 339–342, 349, 379, 387, 390–394, 407, 418f., 469
 Laodicea 157, 295, 301, 307, 309f., 340, 445
laoi 345, 347, 350f.
 Lasterkataloge 222
 Latin 28, 61, 190, 228, 235, 292, 300, 339–342, 350, 439, 471, 476
 laughter 485, 487
 law
 – Athenian laws 87, 101, 299
 – Jewish (ancestral) laws 299–301, 303, 306, 312–314, 323, 326, 427; see Torah
 – food laws 9, 289, 326
 – laws of the city 99, 100, 493,
 – Mosaic Law 26, 57, 80, 116, 125, 130, 133–135, 146, 162, 172, 174, 219, 221f., 262, 268, 301, 311, 367, 383, 427, 530f.
 – purity laws 460
 – Roman law 299, 323
 – Sabbath laws, see Sabbath
 lawless, lawlessness 65, 208, 250
 lawsuits 92, 140, 208f.
 Lazarus 148, 261
 leadership 39f., 47, 50f., 56, 74, 323–326, 343, 365, 372, 515
 lease 94
 leasehold 345
leitourgoi 114
 Leto 358, 463, 482
 Leucippe 243
 Leukophryene 493
 Levites 422–424, 426, 444
 lexicographers 232, 235f.
 lexicography 225, 229, 231f., 235–237, 255–257
 liar, liars 127, 362, 363, 411
 libations 426, 429
 liberty 198, 302
 licentiousness 138, 142, 198
 lifestyle 33, 158, 204, 210, 361, 375
 Limyra 157
 lion, lions 244, 358, 376f., 422, 485
 liturgy, liturgical 15, 130, 147, 158, 190, 256, 284, 313, 328, 412, 423, 426, 428, 442, 469, 472, 513, 533
 liturgies 313
 Livy 433
 loan 227f., 232–235, 260, 267f.
 Locrian 431
 Locrus 184
 love 17, 41, 112, 129, 130, 144, 182, 187, 194, 195–198, 200, 202–204, 210, 212–215, 218–220, 363, 373, 377, 418, 429, 472, 483, 485, 492f., 496, 500, 515, 526, 528
 loyalty 16, 24, 113, 135, 140, 303, 336, 361, 369, 467, 474, 475, 499
 Lucius Antonius 306, 313
 Lucretius 364
 Lud 156, 404
 Luther 194
 Lycaonia 292, 340
 Lycaonian 310, 341
 Lycaonians 354
 Lycia 340
 Lycians 348
 Lycurgus 94, 164
 Lydia 5, 340, 451, 458, 469f., 476
 Lydian 340, 342, 431f., 445, 451, 453, 468f., 471, 475, 479, 503, 536
 Lydians 337
 lying 41, 439, 459
 Lykophron 94
 Lykourgos 94
 lynch 292, 366
 lyre, lyres 416–418, 422–426, 430, 431, 433, 436, 437, 445, 448, 493
 Lysander 437, 446
 Lysanias 529
 Lystra 157, 292f., 295, 320, 326
 Macedonia 118, 157, 203, 366, 505, 531
 Macedonians 100, 348
 Macrobius 445
 madness 108, 302
 Maecenas 85, 87
 Maeonia 471, 482, 497
 magic 363, 469, 477
 magicians 134
 magistrates 58f., 88, 152, 291f., 299f., 305–307, 311–314, 321, 336f., 369, 371, 397
 Magnesia 295, 336, 493
 Magnesian 493
 Maiandros 328
maiestas 367
 Maimonides 70

- Maionia 451, 466
 Maionian 475
 Malalas 320
mandatum 210, 305
 manna 43, 220
 marble 91, 97, 361
 Marcus Aurelius 252
 Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa 305, 311, 312f.
 Mariamme 59, 60, 243
 market 107, 109, 209, 227, 262, 307, 528
 marketplace 262
 marriage 170, 218, 308
 Martial 440
 martyrdom 230, 298f., 355, 362, 366, 376,
 380, 382f., 391, 398
 martyrs 61f., 75, 79, 366, 376f., 397, 404
 Mary 510
 masturbation 460
 meal, meals 39–41, 108f., 141, 240, 262,
 306, 310, 417, 428, 429
 meat 99, 209–211, 222, 239, 250, 426, 460,
 465
 mediation 9, 513
 mediator, mediators 206, 217, 500
 medical, medicine 247, 482
 melody, melodies 417, 419, 429, 431, 444,
 448
 Melqart 112f., 116
membranophones 436
 memory 127, 338, 434, 442, 446
 Memphis 107f., 250
 Men (mood god) 452–454, 457, 474, 497
 – Men Artemidorou 453, 456f., 461–463,
 497
 – Men Axiottenos 454, 456, 461, 462f., 465
 – Men Labanas 462, 463
 – Men Petraeites 462, 464
 Menachem 28
 Menander 104, 240, 468, 489
 Menandros 465
 Menexenos 79
 mentalities 475
 mentality 468, 498
 merchant, merchants 94f., 112f., 336, 361
 mercy 19, 21, 58, 64, 76, 215, 261, 385,
 418, 457, 464, 472, 498, 500
 Meshech 156
 Mesopotamia 5, 424
 Messiah, see Jesus
 Miletus 15, 60, 157, 249, 295, 301, 305, 307,
 310, 336, 340, 348, 437f., 440
 military 123, 244, 287, 302, 312, 358, 360,
 368, 376, 430
 milk 185f.
 millennium 469
 miqveh, miqvaot 263, 271f.
 miracle, miracles 17, 20, 33, 35, 40, 44, 56f.,
 110, 135, 340, 360, 468, 475, 481f., 530
 misbehavior 87, 468, 497
 miscarriage 135
 misdeed 452, 454, 462, 469
 missiology 25, 151, 172, 527
 mission, missionary work
 – and the gospel 164–167
 – Jesus and the Gentile mission 3–25
 – Jewish opposition 289–326
 – of the church 151–171
 – of Paul 151–160
 – of Peter 159, 160
 – in Revelation 333–350
 – and New Testament theology 505–507, 528–
 531
 missionaries 22–24, 62, 136, 140, 156, 162,
 168–171, 290, 292–299, 314, 318, 320,
 322–324, 326, 334, 338f., 346f., 350, 379,
 397, 475, 500, 505f., 511, 513, 518f., 530
 Mithraeum 501
 Mithras 116
 Mithridates 309
 Mitylene 157
 Mixolydian 431, 432
 mockery 6, 49, 55, 66, 460
 Molossian 342
 money 91, 96, 247, 305, 310, 312–315, 317,
 438, 459
 monotheism 5, 486
 Mopsus 344
 morality 194f., 199, 374
 Moschus 242
 Moses 39, 56, 129f., 182, 235, 246, 273, 279,
 392, 403f., 406, 422, 424, 427, 429, 500
 murder 92, 240, 253, 362, 390
 murderers 362, 411
 music 167, 415–450, 536; see also instruments
 musicians 417, 423f., 426, 431–433, 437
 Mylasa 157, 336
 myrrh 361
 Mysia 340, 451

- Mysians 337, 342
 mysteries 87, 90, 103, 115, 120, 460, 484, 487, 490
 mystery 75, 103, 153, 206, 250, 467–469, 501, 503, 529
 mysticism 179, 182
 myth, myths 103, 116, 118, 358, 366, 380, 382, 482f., 490, 496

 Naaman 241
 Nabatea 156f., 505, 531
 Nag Hammadi 179, 182, 192
 Naphtali 329
 Narcissus 483
 narrator 39, 56, 72, 74, 502
 Nazareth 21f., 59, 321, 427, 473, 514
 Neapolis 438
 Nebuchadnezzar 395f.
 neighbor, neighbors 109, 169, 196f., 203f., 248, 296, 324, 363, 386
 Nemea 438
 Nemesis 462, 483
 Nero 355, 358f., 367
 Nicanor 317
 Nicodemus 42, 44
 Nicolaitans 374f., 381, 383
 Nicomedia 157
 Nikephoros 355, 380
 Nikias 114
 Nikokrates 93f.
 Noah 385
nomos 197, 445, 448; see also law
 norms 144, 193, 195, 196, 201, 205, 211–213, 216, 218f.
nous 182, 200, 205, 212f., 219, 277
nouthetein 219

 oath, oaths 48, 239, 311, 363, 459, 485
 obedience 37, 101, 125, 133, 187, 198, 218f., 289, 464
 obligation 114, 131, 204, 216, 313, 397, 410, 516
 Odysseus 479
 Oenoanda 157
 offense 46f., 50f., 59, 205, 207, 210f., 296, 451, 462
 offerings 90, 179, 305f., 310, 313, 315, 325, 431, 500; see sacrifice
 officials 91, 100, 161, 272, 289, 307, 314, 347, 360

 Olympiad 438
 Olympian 257, 483f., 494, 503
 omnipotence 462, 481, 499f.
 omnipresence 26, 482, 494, 500
 oracle, oracles 21, 56, 60f., 86, 96f., 99–101, 243, 340, 348, 350, 360f., 499f.
 orators 132, 153
 orchestra 424
 orchestration 492
 ornamentation 308
 orphans 92, 459
 Orpheus 437
 Orphism 117
 ossuary 317
 outsiders 23, 25, 31, 205, 211, 214, 321
 Ovid 453, 458, 468, 477, 491

 paean 435, 445
 Pamphylia 321, 344
 Pamphylian 340
 Pamphylians 344
 Panathenaia 437
 Pannonia 441
 panpipe 440
 pantomime 445
 pantomimi 432
 Paphlagonia 340, 342
 Paphlagonian 342
 Papias 457
 parable, parables 22f., 25, 28, 32, 39, 40f., 368, 382, 473
 paradise 387, 409f.
 paraenesis 193, 466
 paraklesis 193, 195, 198, 200, 202, 205, 208, 215f., 219
 parody, parodies 357, 359f.
 Paros 300, 305
 parousia 23, 42, 157f., 198, 204, 215f., 397, 400
 passions 131, 154, 180, 245, 250, 254, 482
 Passover 417, 428, 444
 Patara 157
 patience 62, 126, 128
 patriarchs 10, 62, 184, 191, 422
 patron 111–113, 163, 437, 492–494
 patronage 103
 Paul
 – in Athens 85, 115f.
 – and Christian living 175–189
 – evangelism 151–171

- ethics 193–219
- and Jewish opposition 289–326
- metaphorical use of *baptizein* 274–279
- missionary work; see mission
- and repentance 121–145
- Pausanias 164, 253, 362
- peace 62, 71, 195, 206, 214, 302, 307, 320, 359f., 362, 364, 487, 495, 502
- pearls 361
- peasant, peasants 58f., 344–346, 433
- penalty 54, 60, 87, 108, 139f., 294, 355, 357, 396, 409, 458, 466
- Pentecost 228, 271, 529
- percussion 433, 436
- Pergamon 157, 295, 300, 337, 355f., 366, 371, 375f., 391, 435f., 438
- Perge 157, 294f.
- perjury 459
- Perpetua 371
- persecution 6, 129, 134, 162, 188, 205, 289, 291, 298, 319, 324, 329f., 353f., 358, 366f., 370, 374f., 382f., 388f., 397, 407, 516, 536
- Persia 243
- persuasion 153, 293, 492
- Peter 39, 42
 - called by Jesus 9
 - confession of Jesus as Messiah 13
 - and the Gentile mission 8f.
 - missionary work 159f., 343
 - and repentance 271
 - and Samaritans 8, 346
- petition, petitions 39, 94, 113f.
- Petronius 468
- Phaiakes 485
- Phalereus 184
- Pharaoh 56, 123, 344, 371, 405
- Pharisees 33f., 36–44, 228, 262, 343, 533
- Philemon 420f., 447
- Philippi 13, 20, 212, 295, 417
- Philistines 395
- Philodamos 493
- Philomelium 310
- Philopator 103, 119f.
- philosophers 61, 85, 87, 132, 142, 182, 185, 432, 489, 491, 502
- Philostratus 60, 164, 184, 340, 440
- Phoebe 505
- Phoenicia 8, 116, 344
- Phoenician 94, 335, 340
- Phoenicians 240
- phratría 336, 337
- Phrygia 5, 321, 340, 451, 458, 469f., 470, 503
- Phrygian 115, 341f., 431, 451, 453, 468f., 471, 475, 503, 536
- Phrygians 337, 354, 486
- phylai* 337f., 349, 379
- phylarchs 337
- physician, physicians 185, 245, 488, 498; see also medical
- Pilate (Pontius), prefect 32, 45, 47–59, 63f., 69, 71–75, 324, 344, 354f., 529
- Pindar 249, 257, 487, 503
- pipe 416, 423f., 433, 439, 440f.
- piper, pipers 79, 430, 434
- Piraeus 95, 98–101, 117
- pirates 487
- Pisidia 436, 447
- Pisidian 157, 290, 293, 295, 310, 319, 322, 325f., 340, 366, 368, 427
- plague, plagues 304, 375, 390, 395, 403–405, 410
- Plancii 330
- Plato 60, 86, 87, 101, 104, 132, 184, 248, 253, 256f., 425, 432, 434, 437
- Platonists 170
- pleasure 124, 179, 252f., 300, 441, 484, 493, 499
- Pliny 367, 417, 441, 444, 447, 474, 482
- Plutarch 103f., 123f., 164, 184f., 242f., 251, 253, 335, 352, 359, 432f., 440, 468, 479, 488–491, 501f.
- poet, poets 154, 237, 429, 433, 435f., 438, 484, 486, 492
- Poimandres 179
- polemic, polemics 6, 168, 178, 181, 331, 365, 370, 380, 475
- Polias 355, 380
- Pollux 440f.
- Polybius 103, 240f., 246, 347, 348
- Polycarp 298, 329, 366
- polytheists 156, 348f., 479, 526, 529
- polytonality 432
- Pompey 331
- Pontus 157, 340, 505
- Pontius; see Pilate
- pool, pools 234, 241, 271–273, 278, 285, 315, 483
- Porphyry 86, 180, 182, 468, 486
- Poseidon 112f., 240, 242, 485, 487

- praescriptio* 73
 praetor 310f.
 praetorium 461
 pragmatics 126, 236
 praise 107, 112, 132, 153, 178, 213, 215, 395, 403, 415–417, 419–422, 424, 427, 452, 455, 466
 prayer 21, 107, 123, 127, 159, 161, 179, 213, 252, 301, 426f., 444, 461, 466, 487, 489, 491, 493f., 498, 500
 preaching 8f., 13, 19, 21, 23, 121f., 127, 136, 142, 145, 151f., 155, 157, 159, 163, 169, 289, 291, 293, 297, 318, 365, 390, 421, 509f., 513, 517, 519, 522, 524, 529
 pride 44, 445
 Priene 336, 343, 436
 priestess 87, 99, 308, 490
 priests 21, 38, 41, 45–50, 53, 55f., 70, 72, 96, 103, 115, 157f., 241, 343f., 348, 360, 373f., 377, 426, 456, 465, 467, 474f., 497, 500, 529
 Priscilla 505
 prison 152, 357, 368f., 417, 442
probatio 153
 processions 115, 429f., 432f., 435, 441f., 497, 500
 proclamation 14, 16, 19, 34, 90, 109, 112, 115, 121, 134, 139f., 153, 155, 162, 164f., 169, 173, 186, 188, 202, 214f., 217, 273, 343, 376f., 390f., 395, 402, 404, 409f., 501, 505f., 508–531
 Proclus 445
 proconsul 305, 309–311, 313
 procurator 58, 324, 355
 profanation 425
 Prometheus 239, 496f.
 promises 10, 18, 62, 151, 164, 188, 203, 241, 267, 280, 360, 385, 388–390, 418, 446, 510, 530
 prooemium 165
 proofs 71, 154
 prophecy 3, 13, 22, 23, 37, 62, 65, 269, 285, 327, 339, 348–350, 353, 357, 361, 380, 389, 391–394, 409, 411f., 421, 509, 519
 prophets 21, 40, 56, 61, 124, 126, 129f., 135, 137, 141, 164, 171, 252, 265, 357, 360, 362, 364, 390, 394, 405, 426–428, 472f.
 propitiation 452, 454, 456, 463, 472, 483
 proquaestor 306
 prosecution 101, 110
 proselyte, proselytes 5f., 8, 15–17, 63, 161, 265–266, 268, 314, 319f., 323, 526
 prosperity 302, 307, 445, 494f.
 prostitutes 23, 361, 363
 prostitution 138, 141
 Protagoras 87
 provincials 52, 331
 Prytaneion 99f.
 pytany 90–94, 336
 psalmist, psalmists 66, 429
 Ptolemaios IV Philopator 103
 purification 104, 226, 230–234, 245, 254, 260, 262f., 265, 267f., 271, 273, 283–286, 469
 purity 13, 180, 213, 217, 262, 284, 296, 326, 353, 373, 375, 460, 475, 536
 Pythagorean 182, 206, 431
 Pythagoreans 182, 431
 Pythia, Pythian games 249, 490, 437, 491
 Python 358
quaestio 72, 481
 quarrels 135f., 139f., 142
 Quintilian 6, 67, 133, 153, 430, 434, 435, 446
 Qumran 265f., 370, 403, 429, 445, 473
 quotation 13, 21, 38, 57, 65, 131, 163, 171, 181, 184, 201, 244, 261, 302, 339, 388, 392, 491, 511, 514f., 517, 520f.
 rage 395, 397
 ransom 76, 452
 rebirth 226, 234
 rebuke 35f., 51, 70, 123
 redemption 376, 386, 400–404, 407, 408, 524
 regeneration 209, 517
 release 9, 52, 69, 457, 484, 496
relegatio 366
 repentance 15, 121–145, 162, 271, 273, 362, 375, 377–379, 390, 391, 395, 398, 400, 404, 406, 458, 535
 resurrection 4, 9, 12, 23, 25, 33, 36, 38, 40–42, 75, 127, 130, 132, 154f., 165–167, 172f., 175, 187, 198, 201, 215–217, 269, 274, 276f., 318, 365, 377, 391f., 397, 408, 410, 412, 422, 446, 472, 500, 511, 517, 530f.
 revenge 379, 485
 revenue 96, 250, 305, 314, 337
 reward 135, 216, 250, 396

- rhetoric 67, 77, 79, 133, 135, 146, 148f.,
 152–154, 167, 173, 233, 298, 299, 367,
 371f., 380f., 434, 492, 506
 Rhodes 92, 119, 157, 316, 335, 438
 Rhodians 335
 rhythm, rhythms 431f., 440, 442, 445, 493
 ridicule 41, 168, 485
ridiculum 154
 righteousness 75, 131, 167, 172, 174, 176,
 189, 192, 197f., 213, 219, 252, 377,
 488, 520
 riot, riots 289, 294, 297, 331, 367
 rites 87, 88, 99f., 102f., 109, 147, 260,
 262f., 265, 267, 283, 310, 429, 432f.,
 443, 468, 483, 490
 ritual 13f., 161, 181, 217, 226–235, 242,
 245, 254, 260, 262f., 265–268, 273,
 278, 282–286, 432f., 456, 475, 482,
 484, 489, 490, 501
 rulers 22, 57, 291, 338, 359, 363f., 377,
 462f., 475, 496
 rumor, rumors 294, 355

 Sabaeon 469
 Sabazios/Sabazius 87, 104, 441, 460
 sabbath 33f., 38f., 246, 290, 306f., 311,
 426–430
 sacrament 159, 226, 230f., 234, 269, 515
 sacrifice, sacrifices 80, 85, 90f., 96f., 99,
 101, 107, 112, 152, 158, 175–177, 179–
 186–189, 196, 202, 305, 310, 337, 362,
 368, 377, 395, 411, 426, 430, 433, 442,
 452, 457, 489f., 497, 521
 Sadducees 33, 38–41
 Sagalassus 157
 salvation 3, 12, 14, 17, 24, 62, 116, 124f.,
 127f., 136f., 145, 154, 162, 165f., 169,
 176, 187, 189, 193, 195, 197, 203, 213,
 216f., 247, 289, 296, 318, 339, 349f.,
 359, 360, 373f., 376, 379, 386, 388,
 390, 397, 399, 402, 406f., 418, 421,
 445, 474, 506, 510, 518, 526, 530f.
 Samaria 8, 11, 42, 365, 505, 530f.
 Samaritan 43, 58, 346f.
 Samaritans 3, 8, 25, 43, 58, 530
 Samos 157, 487
 Samothrake 346
 Samson 443, 447
 Samuel 56, 77, 174, 330
 Sanhedrin 32, 38–41, 45–50, 52f., 55f., 58f.,
 66, 70–75, 324
 Sappho 439, 496, 502f.
 Sarapis 104, 107–110, 117–119, 250
 Sardis 157, 301, 305f., 310, 313, 340, 350f.,
 470f., 477
 Satan 143, 162, 294, 348, 355–358, 365, 368–
 374, 377, 380–382, 391, 411
 Saturnalia 445
 Saturninus 499
 Saul 56, 331, 533
 savior 85, 115, 128f., 133, 139, 154f., 168,
 227, 234, 269, 273, 279, 320, 325, 354,
 366, 368, 372f., 443, 446, 494, 505f., 519
 saviours 107
 scapegoat 472
 scourging 52, 58, 62
 scribes 21, 33f., 38–41, 343, 432
 Scythian 337
 sedition 252, 367
 selfishness 138, 198, 215
 Selge 157, 340
 Selinus 341
 Seneca 6, 179, 432, 434, 440, 486
 Sephoris 425f., 449
 Serapion 437
 serfs 344–346
 Sergii Paulii 319
 serpent 242, 357, 369, 398
 servants 23, 344, 377f., 387, 394, 400, 411,
 465
 Servenii 308
 Servius 335
 Sextus Caesius 310
 shame 123, 125, 140, 154, 247
 Shechem 343
 sheep 20, 23, 45, 179, 272, 361, 457, 459, 461
 shepherd 20, 23, 246, 440, 510
 shipowners 112f., 361
 Sidon 16, 20, 27, 300
 signa 154
 Silandos 462, 466
 Silanus 311
 Silas 417
 Sillyum 321
 Siloam 272
 silver 238, 260, 262, 316, 361f., 426, 481, 491
 silversmith 366
 Sinai 25

- sinful, sinfulness 108, 126f., 130–132, 139,
 166, 188f., 198, 217f., 276, 393, 509
 singer 434f.
 singers 424, 431f., 434f.
 singing 178, 415–449, 469, 471, 536
 sinners 23, 25, 33f., 40, 69, 121, 127, 132,
 138f., 166, 175–277, 339, 373, 376,
 388, 407, 458, 473, 500
 Sinope 57
 Sirach 245, 260
 slander 138, 249, 293f., 310, 509
 slavery 44, 170, 195
 slaves 15, 44, 115, 163, 239, 278, 345,
 346, 361, 363f., 432
 sleep 108, 253, 481
 Smyrna 157, 294, 326, 336, 338–340, 357,
 366–372, 435, 438, 448, 477
 Socrates 60f., 86f., 154, 341
 Sodom 371, 389f.
 soldiers 16f., 45, 123, 225, 460
 solo 419f., 424, 434, 437, 440, 445
 soloist, soloists 419, 423, 434, 436f., 440
 Solomon 44, 125, 423, 444
 Solon 299
 Solymian 340
 songs 256, 415f., 418, 420–425, 427, 429f.,
 432, 439, 442, 446, 448, 494, 502
 Sophists 174
 Sophocles 487, 494
 Sophrone 240
 sorcerers 87, 362, 390, 411
 sorcery 142, 198, 362f.
 sorrow 123, 125, 137, 139, 248, 281
 soteriology 147, 162, 509, 511, 518, 521,
 522, 524, 526
 soundboard 436
 soundbox 436, 439
 Sparta 438
 Spartans 242
 staters 96f.
 stela, stelae 91, 95f., 99, 336, 345f., 451–
 458, 461–471, 475, 498
 Stephen 29, 221, 297, 319, 324, 328f., 351,
 360, 365, 368, 383f., 433, 436, 447,
 456, 467, 469, 476, 502, 505, 511, 530
 Stoics 57, 67, 85, 160, 172, 178, 180–184,
 213, 487f.
 stoning 45, 292f., 460
 Stratonike 114
 submission 18, 43, 64, 65, 71, 97, 207, 420
 Suetonius 320, 322, 325, 367
 suffering 63–66, 69, 71, 75, 129, 214, 28f.1,
 334, 375, 387, 389, 397, 410, 421, 454,
 509, 526
 suicide 43, 359
superstitio 355
 superstition 86, 178, 181, 310, 355, 367, 489
 symbol 20, 226, 233f., 358, 360f., 386, 403,
 452
 symbolism 333, 357, 428
 sympathizers 5, 15, 36, 296, 314, 319f., 323
symphoniai 431
 symphony 424
 synagogues 31, 152, 159, 181, 289, 294, 307,
 312, 314, 318, 320, 322, 325, 327f., 365f.,
 370f., 373, 381, 423, 426–428, 445, 448,
 528, 531
 synecdoche 165
 Synnada 310
 synodoi 112
 synoidiai 431
 Syntonolydian 432
 Syntyche 215, 461
 Syria 9, 11, 58, 123, 157, 169, 304, 305, 314,
 320–322, 344, 468, 505, 531
 Syrians 341, 486
 Syrophoenicia 519
 Syrophoenician 13, 19

 Tacitus 6, 7, 355, 362, 367, 432
 tambourines 423f., 441
 Tarshish 156, 404
 Tarsic 299
 taxation, taxes 38, 40f., 50, 250, 313, 347, 433
technites 433, 437
 Telemachos 479
 Telesphoros 499
 Temenothyrae 470f.
 temptation 24, 143f., 188, 210, 409, 411
 Tertullian 294
 textiles 225, 237, 261
 thanksgiving 420f., 429, 489
 Theaetetus 184
 theater 67, 294, 336, 366, 418, 423, 433, 440–
 443
 theft 310, 363, 459
 Theodotion 395
 Theon 184, 304
 Theophilos 93f.
 Therapeutae 429, 445

- Theseus 243
 Thessalonians 147, 202, 204, 220f.
 Thessalonica 128, 202, 204, 295, 318
 Thessaly 493
 Theudas 324, 328
thiasitai, thiasoi 86f., 112f.
 thief 461, 469
 Thomas, disciple of Jesus 42, 505
 Thrace 99, 117f.
 Thracian 99, 100f., 119, 342, 437
 Thracians 98–101, 485
 Thyatira 157, 295, 340, 437
 Tiberius 302f., 316f., 355, 437, 529
 Timothy 292, 328, 505
 Titus 172, 324, 360, 440
 tomb, tombs 364f., 474
 tonality 431, 442, 445
 Torah 41, 125, 154, 163f., 195, 197f., 202f.,
 211, 213, 217, 289, 426–428, 521; see
 also Law
 torture 57, 62, 75, 357
 traders 5, 113, 361
 tragedy 434, 438
 Trajan 327, 356, 383, 444
 Tralles 295, 301, 307, 438
 transgressions 143, 289, 451, 459, 461f.,
 466, 472, 474, 526
 treasurers 112f., 311
 treasury 99, 250, 311
 tribes 334–341, 348f., 376, 379, 387, 390f.,
 394, 407, 480, 488
 tribunal 71, 211f.
 tribunus 295
 tribute 300, 315
 Troas 157, 294, 433, 441, 449
 Trophimus 295
 trumpet 378, 390, 395–397, 417–419, 425,
 433–435, 441
 trumpeters 417, 423, 433, 441
 trumpets 377, 390, 403, 424, 426, 441
 truth 14, 38, 44, 52, 71, 74, 131, 134, 153,
 155f., 166, 169, 181, 183, 195, 210, 304,
 376–378, 397, 399, 480, 490, 506, 509
 Trypho 298, 366
 Tubal 156, 404
 tuna 239, 461
 Tyche 456
 tympanon 433
 Tyre 16, 20, 60, 361f.
 Tyrian, Tyrians 112f.
 unbelief 21, 39, 391, 464
 unclean 33, 35, 57, 210f., 363
 uncleanness 245, 266
 unity 13, 50, 135f., 206f., 210, 212, 214f.,
 269, 418, 507, 514f., 522, 527f.
 universalism 22, 333, 385, 387, 407, 513, 516
 unrest 314, 320f.
 Valerius Flaccus 309
 values 67, 138, 144, 152, 175, 188f., 199, 298,
 410
 Velleius 484
 Ventitius 58
 Vesta 491
 Vitruvius 418
 vinegar 243f.
 vineyard 23
 violence 65, 209, 248, 275, 292, 363, 372,
 376, 480
 Vipsanius 305, 311
 Virgil 86, 357
 virginity 461
 virtue, virtues 67, 112, 158, 179f., 199, 289,
 436, 484, 498, 499, 511
 vision 4, 13, 22, 162, 172, 334, 337, 339, 342,
 354, 358, 364, 375, 381, 385–389, 394f.,
 397f., 402, 406–408, 410, 422f., 481
 warning 22, 33, 54, 135, 141, 195, 200, 251,
 295, 306, 375, 464, 479, 500
 wars 40, 250, 431
 washings 228, 230f., 265f., 268f.
 weakness 21, 56, 125, 153
 wealth 37, 169, 365, 374, 445, 494f.
 weapons 206, 459
 wedding 22, 429, 430, 434, 444
 widows 21, 203, 360
 wine 228, 232, 234, 237f., 240, 251, 253f.,
 260, 361, 426, 429, 456, 461
 winepress 399
 witnesses 46f., 51, 53, 55, 70f., 74, 139, 154,
 334, 337, 343, 351, 362, 379, 388–391,
 396f., 399, 484, 510, 514, 518, 533
 worship 10, 18, 85, 92, 101, 107, 112f., 129,
 159, 175–178, 180–183, 186–190, 213,
 252, 309, 319, 337, 348f., 358–362, 367,
 375, 378f., 382, 391, 396–398, 403–408,
 420–423, 426–428, 442–446, 448, 462,
 471, 474, 481, 486, 489, 491, 493, 500

- wrath 126, 128, 130, 137, 157, 166, 188,
364, 365, 395, 403, 405, 406, 455
- Xenophanes 479, 480, 485, 486, 502
- Xenophon 60, 85, 86, 114, 239
- zeal 157, 180, 296, 308, 326, 464
- Zealots 44
- Zeus 100f., 118, 179, 292, 355f., 383, 454–
457, 462f., 465f., 474, 479f., 486, 488,
493–497, 499
- Zion 4, 7, 398f., 404, 422
- zithers 436, 439