

Authoritative Writings in Early Judaism and Early Christianity

Edited by
TOBIAS NICKLAS
and JENS SCHRÖTER

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament*

Mohr Siebeck

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

Herausgeber/Editor

Jörg Frey (Zürich)

Mitherausgeber/Associate Editors

Markus Bockmuehl (Oxford) · James A. Kelhoffer (Uppsala)
Tobias Nicklas (Regensburg) · Janet Spittler (Charlottesville, VA)
J. Ross Wagner (Durham, NC)

441



Authoritative Writings in Early Judaism and Early Christianity

Their Origin, Collection, and Meaning

Edited by

Tobias Nicklas and Jens Schröter

Mohr Siebeck

Tobias Nicklas, born 1967; 2000 Dr. theol.; 2004 Habilitation; currently Professor of New Testament at Universität Regensburg; since 2018 Director of the Centre for Advanced Studies »Beyond Canon« (DFG-Kolleg-Forschungsgruppe 2770), Universität Regensburg.

Jens Schröter, born 1961; 1992 PhD; 1996 Habilitation; currently Professor of New Testament Exegesis and Theology and New Testament Apocrypha at the Faculty of Theology, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.

ISBN 978-3-16-156094-1 / eISBN 978-3-16-158992-8

DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-158992-8

ISSN 0512-1604 / eISSN 2568-7476

(Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2020 Mohr Siebeck Tübingen, Germany. www.mohrsiebeck.com

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher's written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations and storage and processing in electronic systems.

The book was typeset by Martin Fischer in Tübingen using Minion typeface, printed on non-aging paper by Gulde Druck in Tübingen, and bound by Buchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier.

Printed in Germany.

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
KONRAD SCHMID	
Textual Authority in Ancient Israel and Judah: Factors and Forces of its Development	5
JÖRG FREY	
The Authority of the Scriptures of Israel in the Qumran Corpus	23
MATTHIAS HENZE	
2 Baruch, 4 Ezra, and Israel's Scriptures	49
NATALIO FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS	
The Meaning of the Septuagint in the Process of Authorization of Israelite Writings	67
ARMAND PUIG I TÀRRECH	
Jesus and the Jewish Writings	79
DIETER T. ROTH	
The Use of Jewish Writings and Their Collections in the New Testament Gospels	115
JENS SCHRÖTER	
The Use of »Canonical« and »Non-canonical« Texts in Early Christianity and its Influence on the Authorization of Christian Writings	129
MARTIN MEISER	
Die Autorität der Schrift bei Paulus	165
BENJAMIN J. RIBBENS / MICHAEL H. KIBBE	
»He Still Speaks!« – The Authority of Scripture in Hebrews	189
SUSANNE LUTHER	
Strategies of Authorizing Tradition in the Letter of James	209

JUDITH M. LIEU	
Marcion, the Writings of Israel, and the Origins of the »New Testament« . . .	225
JEAN-DANIEL DUBOIS	
What Kind of Jewish Bible Did the Gnostics Use?	239
TOBIAS NICKLAS	
Authority and Canon according to Some Ancient »Christian« Apocalypses: 5 Ezra and the Tiburtine Sibyl	257
JUAN CHAPA	
Early Christian Book Production and the Concept of Canon	271
THOMAS J. KRAUS	
Hebrew Psalm 91 / Greek Psalm 90: Collections and Contexts, and a Text of Authority	289
List of Contributors	313
Index of Ancient Sources	315
Index of Modern Authors	338
Index of Subjects	347

Introduction

This volume is based on papers presented at the symposium »Authoritative Writings in Early Judaism and Early Christianity: Their Origin, Collection and Meaning« in Barcelona, 25–27 May 2017. The conference was organized as a collaboration between the Ateneu Universitari Sant Pacià in Barcelona, the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, and the Universität Regensburg, and as part of a series of meetings on »New Perspectives on the Formation of the New Testament« (2015), on the Eucharist (2013), and on Gnosticism (2011).

Our leading ideas can be formulated as follows. In 1968 Hans von Campenhausen published an outstanding and still highly influential study on the formation of the Christian Bible.¹ Almost exactly fifty years later, the perspectives on the processes that have led to the formation not only of the Christian, but also of the Jewish Bible are in need of fresh consideration.

First, a current perspective cannot be restricted to the »Christian Bible,« but has to take into account that the early Christians were engaged in a process of authorization of writings that had begun in Israel and Judaism before the emergence of Christianity and was continued in the first centuries CE by Judaism and Christianity in their respective ways. These processes did not take place independently of each other, but in (at least partly) controversial debate and competition. The formation of the *Christian* Bible therefore cannot be separated from the processes that led to the *Jewish* Bible. This is one of the reasons why the paradigm of a »parting of the ways« was repeatedly called into question in recent scholarship and has to be reconsidered, perhaps even to be replaced by a different model.² In any case, early Christianity may be regarded as an inner Jewish movement, and the differentiation between Judaism and Christianity as a complex and long-lasting development that is reflected not at least in the reception and re-interpretation of Jewish authoritative writings.

The processes leading to collections of normative texts started in Israel and early Judaism. Even if it is debated at what time the idea of authoritative or even »holy« texts occurred, it is likely that after the destruction of the Jerusalem temple and the loss of political independence texts became increasingly important for the identity formation of the Jewish religion. In these processes the Torah played a key role as the first normative Jewish text corpus.

¹ HANS VON CAMPENHAUSEN, *Die Entstehung der christlichen Bibel* (1st edition; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1968; repr. in *Beiträge zur historischen Theologie* 39; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003).

² See, e. g., Tobias NICKLAS, *Jews and Christians? Second Century »Christian« Perspectives on the »Parting of the Ways«* (*Annual Deichmann Lectures 2013*) (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014).

After this, other collections, like the prophetic books, Psalms, and sapiential writings led to the emergence of corpora that served to construct an »identity« of the people of Israel, its history and self-perception, its relationship to God, and its ethical orientation. These writings, however, were not regarded as »canonical« in the sense of fixed texts. They rather existed as (partly quite diverse) collections with flexible text forms. This is proven, for example, by the so-called »Reworked Pentateuch« texts from Qumran. They even could be translated from Hebrew into Greek with the Greek text being regarded as of the same authority as the Hebrew, at least by Diaspora Jews like Philo of Alexandria or by Christian authors like Justin Martyr and others.

The emergence of authoritative text corpora was accompanied by a constant process of interpretation and rewriting, demonstrated, for example, by Philo's commentaries, texts belonging to the so-called »Rewritten Bible,« or »parabiblical texts« such as Jubilees, the Genesis Apocryphon, the Apocryphon of Moses, or additions to biblical books as to Daniel and Esther.

These processes are presupposed by early »Christian« authors who often quote »Scripture« or »the (holy) Scriptures« as authority and occasionally refer to »the Torah and the Prophets (and the Psalms).« However, early Christian authors developed a distinct view on the writings of Israel: in many cases their faith in Jesus Christ became the key and starting point of their views on the Scriptures of Israel. This resulted in a peculiar use of these writings besides that in Judaism – although many hermeneutical and methodological principles are comparable. A remarkable component of this reception of Jewish writings appears in early Christian apocalypses, which can even appear as expanded and reinterpreted Jewish apocalyptic writings.

Moreover, the emergence of early *Christian* writings marked a new step in the development of authoritative writings and their collections. The »New Testament« occurred first in form of various collections of writings – gospels, letters of Paul, Acts, and the »Catholic epistles« – and not as a book. This is corroborated by the manuscript evidence. In the second and third century the idea of a New Testament was not that of a »book,« but of a new perspective on the God of Israel and his revelation through Jesus Christ, documented in narratives about Jesus, letters to communities and individuals, theological tractates, a history of the early Christian movement, and so forth.

Against this background, the emergence of the New Testament canon in the second and third century raises questions that need to be reconsidered. Marcion's place in early Christianity was thoroughly scrutinized more recently by Judith Lieu;³ against this background also his role in the development of the

³ Judith M. LIEU, *Marcion and the Making of a Heretic: God and Scripture in the Second Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); but see also Lieu's contribution in the present volume.

New Testament needs reconsideration. The emergence of the Fourfold Gospel was brought into discussion with a provocative thesis by Francis Watson.⁴ Research on non-canonical writings of early Christianity has highlighted that the distinction of »accepted« – eventually »canonical« – writings from those that were disputed or rejected as »apocryphal« was a complex process in which different perspectives on the meaning of Jesus Christ, his origin, and his earthly activity emerged. Eventually, it has to be taken into consideration that there was no formal decision of the early Church about the New Testament canon or the Christian Bible. Certain writings were accepted as authoritative as the Christian church regarded them as being in agreement with the apostolic creed and because they were acknowledged by most Christian congregations.

The different contributions of this book offer a wide range of approaches to these ideas. They bring together perspectives from scholars dealing with the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint, early Jewish writings beyond the canon, New Testament and early Christianity including so-called Gnostic literature. We are grateful to the contributors of this volume as they bring together so many fresh and fascinating ideas coming from very different parts of the field. A special gratitude is due to Dr. Luigi Walt from the Universität Regensburg Centre for Advanced Studies »Beyond Canon« (DFG-Kollegforschungsgruppe FOR 2770) who prepared the manuscript for publication and to Judith Bauer and Judith König for their help with many details of this process. We would like to thank the publishing house Mohr Siebeck, mainly Dr. Katharina Gutekunst and Elena Müller, for taking care of the process of publication.

We do not want to finish this introduction without a special word of thanks to a very special person without whom the wonderful symposia in Barcelona would not be possible. Armand Puig i Tàrrach has always been the »heart« of the Barcelona conferences, bringing together eminent scholars from different backgrounds, creating an atmosphere of friendship and mutual exchange, and communicating the results into church, academy, and society. He is not only well-known as a scholar of highest international reputation, a former SNTS president, whose work on Jesus was translated into several languages and who published about as different topics as the Eucharist in ancient Christianity, Jesus's parables, apocryphal Gospels, Biblical hermeneutics, and the symbolism of Antonio Gaudí's *Sagrada Família*.⁵ He is also an outstanding academic leader and,

⁴ Francis WATSON, *Gospel Writing: A Canonical Perspective* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013).

⁵ We just refer to Armand PUIG I TÀRRECH, *Jesus: An Uncommon Journey. Studies on the Historical Jesus* (WUNT II/288; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010); IDEM, *Jesús. Un perfil biogràfic* (Barcelona: Proa, 2004; translated, e. g., into Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, English, French, and German); IDEM, *Un Jesús desconocido. Claves de lectura del Evangelio gnóstico de Tomás* (Barcelona: Ariel, 2008); IDEM, ed., *Els evangelis apòcrifs*, Vol. 1 (Barcelona: Proa, 2008; translated into Spanish and Italian) and Vol. 2: *Textos gnósticos* (Barcelona: Proa, 2015); IDEM, *La Sagrada Família segons Gaudí. Comprendre un símbol* (Visions 40; Barcelona: Pòrtic, 2008); IDEM, *Teologia de la Paraula a la llum de la Dei Verbum* (Col·lectània Sant Pacià 112; Barcelona: Ateneu

perhaps even more, a churchman dedicated to the spirit of the Second Vatican Council, a person who builds bridges and opens doors, a dedicated »pastor« and priest of his community who knows to connect social commitment with deep spirituality. But first and foremost we got to know him as a wonderful host, a person full of humour, and with a heart of gold – in one word: a real friend. That is why we want to dedicate this volume to him, but at the same time hope that our collaboration will continue for many years.

Regensburg and Berlin, April 2019

Tobias Nicklas and Jens Schröter

Universitaria Sant Pacià, Facultat de Teologia de Catalunya, 2015); but many, many others could be mentioned.

Textual Authority in Ancient Israel and Judah

Factors and Forces of its Development

Konrad Schmid

The *books* of the Bible were not written as the books of the *Bible*. They evolved over time in terms of their literary history, as well as in terms of their canonical history.¹ In other words, literary history and canonical history of the Bible do not coincide, but they overlap. This article will ask about factors and forces that were relevant for the development of texts' authoritativeness in ancient Israel and Judah.² Of course, this is a broadly researched topic,³ but because the problem is multi-levelled, the field is still very open in many respects.

This paper is structured in two main parts. The first part aims at clarifying three points about the developing authority of writings in ancient Israel and Judah that seem to be basic, but are nonetheless contested in scholarship. In light of these remarks, the second part tries to identify the main factors that triggered processes of authorization for writings that later became biblical.

¹ See, e.g., Konrad SCHMID, *The Old Testament: A Literary History* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012).

² For the notion of »authoritativeness« over against »authority« see, e.g., Eugene ULRICH, »From Literature to Scripture: Reflections on the Growth of a Text's Authoritativeness,« *DSD* 10 (2003), 3–25; George J. BROOKE, »Authority and the Authoritativeness of Scripture: Some Clues from the Dead Sea Scrolls,« *RevQ* 25 (2012), 507–23; Mladen POPOVIĆ, »Prophet, Books and Texts: Ezekiel, Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Authoritativeness of Ezekiel Traditions in Early Judaism,« in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism*, ed. idem (JSJSup 141; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 227–251.

³ See below n. 5 and in addition the following recent contributions that use the term and concept of »authority« with regard to the Bible: Dan BATOVIĆI and Kristin DE TROYER (eds.), *Authoritative Texts and Reception History: Aspects and Approaches* (BibInt 151; Leiden: Brill, 2017); Phillip M. LASATER, »Text Reception and Conceptions of Authority in Second Temple Contexts: A Response to Judith H. Newman,« in *Jeremiah's Scriptures. Production, Reception, Interaction and Transformation*, ed. Hindy Najman and Konrad Schmid (JSJSup 173; Leiden: Brill, 2017), 263–267; Diana V. EDELMAN (ed.), *Deuteronomy-Kings as Emerging Authoritative Books: A Conversation* (ANEM 6; Atlanta SBL 2014); Mladen POPOVIĆ (ed.), *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism* (JSJSup 141; Leiden: Brill, 2010).

1. Cornerstones of Textual Authority in Ancient Israel und Judah

1.1. *Judaism gradually developed into a book religion, and this process came to a first peak in 70 CE*

Judaism and Christianity are often identified as »book religions,«⁴ which is true insofar as holy writings play a central role in them. However, it is a truism that Judaism and Christianity emerged gradually over centuries as religions that are centred mainly on texts. This development has a counterpart in the evolution of both the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures as Bibles. Neither the writings of the Hebrew Bible nor those of the New Testament were conceived as »biblical« by their authors at the time of their writing. These texts only *became* »biblical« over the course of time, a process that has been described in different ways by various recent contributions.⁵

⁴ See, e. g., Siegfried MORENZ, »Entstehung und Wesen der Buchreligion,« *TLZ* 75 (1950), 710–716; repr. in *Religion und Geschichte des alten Ägypten: Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1975); Siegfried HERMANN, »Kultreligion und Buchreligion: Kultische Funktionen in Israel und in Ägypten,« in *Das ferne und das nahe Wort*, ed. Fritz Maass (Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1967), 95–105; Carsten COLPE, »Sakralisierung von Texten und Filiationen von Kanons,« in *Kanon und Zensur*, ed. Aleida and Jan Assmann (Beiträge zur Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation 2; Munich: Fink, 1987), 80–92; Jan N. BREMMER, »From Holy Books to Holy Bible,« in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism*, ed. Mladen Popović (JSJSup 141; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 327–360, here 333–336. For methodological distinctions see Jörg RÜPKE, »Heilige Schriften und Buchreligionen: Überlegungen zu Begriffen und Methoden,« in *Heilige Schriften. Ursprung, Geltung und Gebrauch*, ed. Christoph Bultmann, Claus P. März, and Vasilios N. Makrides (Münster: Aschendorff, 2005), 191–204; Andreas A. BENDLIN, »Wer braucht heilige Schriften?: Die Textbezogenheit der Religionsgeschichte und das ›Reden über die Götter‹ in der griechisch-römischen Antike,« *Heilige Schriften*, ed. Bultmann, 205–228.

⁵ See, e. g., Odil H. STECK, »Der Kanon des hebräischen Alten Testaments: Historische Materialien für eine ökumenische Perspektive,« in *Vernunft des Glaubens. Wissenschaftliche Theologie und kirchliche Lehre*, ed. Wolfhart Pannenberg et alii (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988), 231–252; repr. in *Verbindliches Zeugnis I: Kanon, Schrift, Tradition*, ed. Wolfhart Pannenberg and Theodor Schneider (Dialog der Kirchen 7; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1992), 11–33; John J. COLLINS, »Before the Canon. Scriptures in Second Temple Judaism,« in *Old Testament Interpretation: Past, Present and Future. Essays in Honor of Gene M. Tucker*, ed. James Luther Mays, David L. Petersen, and Kent Harold Richards (Nashville: Abingdon, 1995), 225–244; repr. in John J. COLLINS, *Seers, Sybils and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism* (VTS 54; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 3–21; Jan ASSMANN, *Fünf Stufen auf dem Wege zum Kanon* (MTV 1; Münster: LIT, 1999), repr. in *Religion und kulturelles Gedächtnis: Zehn Studien* (Munich: Beck, 2000), 81–100; Jürgen VAN OORSCHOT, »Altes Testament,« in *Heilige Schriften*, ed. Udo Tworuschka (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2000), 29–56; William SCHNIEDEWIND, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Timothy LIM, *The Formation of the Jewish Canon* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2012); Heinz-Josef FABRY, »Das ›Alte Testament‹,« in *What is Bible?*, ed. Karin Finsterbusch and Armin Lange (CBET 67; Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 283–304; Tal ILAN, »The Term and Concept of Tanakh,« in *What is Bible?*, ed. Finsterbusch and Lange, 219–234; Tobias NICKLAS, »The Development of the Christian Bible,« in *What is Bible?*, ed. Finsterbusch and Lange, 393–426; Michael SATLOW, *How the Bible Became Holy* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2015); Armin LANGE, »Canonical History of the

For the Hebrew Bible's formation as authoritative literature and its sociological background, a fundamental distinction is needed: the Hebrew Bible is a library containing books that partially go back to the First Temple period, but all of the books were reworked in exilic and postexilic times and therefore are no longer immediate witnesses to ancient Israelite religion. Rather, they reflect the religious decisions and convictions of the Judaism(s)⁶ during the Persian and Hellenistic eras.⁷ But when did Judaism (or Judaisms) begin? Usually, the term »Judaism« is applied to the religion of ancient Israel and Judah only when this religion was no longer *exclusively* based on the temple cult and the monarchies of Israel and Judah – and that means no earlier than the so-called Babylonian exile.⁸ The term Ἰουδαϊσμός »Ioudaismos« is first attested in the Maccabean period, and it reflects the encounter with »Hellenism.«⁹ Shaye Cohen, however, prefers to render this term with »Jewishness« rather than »Judaism.«¹⁰ Be that as it may, one should recall that, until 70 CE,¹¹ ancient Judah's religion remained centred primarily on the sacrifices in the temple of Jerusalem, with the same situation applying to the Samaritans at different periods as well. Of course, at that time, some synagogues in the diaspora and in the land alike had already been established, and the worship in these settings focused on liturgical and probably exegetical readings from what were considered Israel's holy writings. In the Hebrew Bible, very few passages clearly show that specific texts were considered to be authorities. John J. Collins's recent study of the Torah's normativity from Deuteronomy to Paul argues that the Torah's authority in the Second Temple period was not as central as usually assumed.¹² Indeed, by no means do all texts from the Second Temple period witness explicitly to the notion of the Torah as an authoritative text. Characteristic

Hebrew Bible,« in *Textual History of the Bible*, Vol. 1: *The Hebrew Bible*, ed. Armin Lange and Emanuel Tov (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 35–81; Timothy LIM and Kengo AKIYAMA, ed., *When Texts are Canonized* (BJS 359; Providence RI: Brown University Press, 2017); Lee M. McDONALD, *The Formation of the Bible*, 2 vols. (London: T&T Clark, 2017).

⁶ See Diana V. EDELMAN (ed.), *The Triumph of Elohim: From Yahwisms to Judaisms* (CBET 13; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1995).

⁷ See Christoph LEVIN, »Die Entstehung des Judentums als Gegenstand der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft,« in *Congress Volume Munich 2013*, ed. Christl M. Maier (VTS 163; Leiden: Brill, 2014), 1–17.

⁸ Marc Z. BRETTLER, »Judaism in the Hebrew Bible? The Transition from Ancient Israelite Religion to Judaism,« *CBQ* 61 (1999), 429–447.

⁹ Steve MASON, »Jews, Judaeans, Judaizing, Judaism: Problems of Categorization in Ancient History,« *JSJ* 38 (2007), 457–512.

¹⁰ Shaye J. D. COHEN, *The Beginnings of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties* (Oakland: University of California Press, 1999).

¹¹ See Daniel R. SCHWARTZ, »Introduction: Was 70 CE a Watershed in Jewish History? Three Stages of Modern Scholarship, and a Renewed Effort,« in *Was 70 CE a Watershed in Jewish History? On Jews and Judaism Before and After the Destruction of the Second Temple*, ed. idem and Zeev Weiss (AJEC 78; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 1–19.

¹² John J. COLLINS, »The Transformation of the Torah in Second Temple Judaism,« *JSJ* 43 (2012), 455–474; IDEM, *The Invention of Judaism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2017).

for the period is what Hindy Najman has called »the vitality of scripture within and beyond the ›canon‹.«¹³ In places like Elephantine, the Torah seemed neither present as a text nor followed by the Jews there.¹⁴

One should, therefore, be careful about interpreting pre-70 CE phenomena within the Hebrew Bible from a perspective governed by post-70 CE perceptions of Judaism. The texts of the Hebrew Bible were composed in a time when there was neither a Bible nor a Judaism that could be identified as a »book religion.« Or as Reinhard Kratz has put it, we have to safeguard the essential difference between »historical and biblical Israel«¹⁵ – biblical Israel has a Bible from the time of Moses onward, whereas historical Israel does not. In historical terms, the Bible is a post-biblical phenomenon.

1.2. Texts become authoritative not primarily because they claim authority, but because they are deemed authoritative

A specific text's authoritative *outlook* does not guarantee that it will become authoritative, normative, or canonical. Especially the apocalyptic literature that never, or only partly, became canonical in Judaism and Christianity is proof of this observation. More than most other texts, those that are considered apocalyptic exhibit extensive strategies for claiming divine origin.¹⁶ They claim to go back to heavenly revelations and visions, usually received by one of the great figures of the past such as Enoch, Abraham, Moses, Baruch, or Ezra.¹⁷ Yet these very texts had a hard time finding their way into a canon. The Syriac and the Ethiopic Bibles

¹³ Hindy NAJMAN, »The Vitality of Scripture within and Beyond the ›Canon‹«, *JSJ* 43 (2012), 497–518.

¹⁴ Reinhard G. KRATZ, »Temple and Torah: Reflections on the Legal Status of the Pentateuch between Elephantine and Qumran,« in *The Pentateuch as Torah: New Models for Understanding Its Promulgation and Acceptance*, ed. Gary N. Knoppers and Bernard M. Levinson (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 77–103; IDEM, »Zwischen Elephantine und Qumran. Das Alte Testament im Rahmen des Antiken Judentums,« in *Congress Volume Ljubljana 2007*, ed. André Lemaire (VTS 133; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 129–146; IDEM, »Elephantine und Alexandria. Nicht-biblisches und biblisches Judentum in Ägypten,« in *Alexandria*, ed. Tobias Georges et alii (COMES 1; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2013), 193–208. See also comprehensive treatment by Gard GRANERÖD, *Dimensions of Yahwism in the Persian Period: Studies in the Religion and Society of the Judaeon Community at Elephantine* (BZAW 488; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016).

¹⁵ Reinhard G. KRATZ, *Historical and Biblical Israel: The History, Tradition, and Archives of Israel and Judah* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

¹⁶ See, e.g., Ernst HAAG, *Das hellenistische Zeitalter. Israel und die Bibel im 4. bis 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Biblische Enzyklopädie 9; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2003); Michael TILLY, *Apokalyptik* (UTB 3651; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012); Florian FÖRG, *Die Ursprünge der alttestamentlichen Apokalyptik* (Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte 45; Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2013).

¹⁷ See Hindy NAJMAN, Itamar MANOFF and Eva MROCZEK, »How to Make Sense of Pseudonymous Attribution: The Cases of 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch,« in *A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism*, ed. Matthias Henze (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 308–336.

were more receptive to these writings than others, but even the Apocalypse of John remained contested for many centuries.

On the other hand, texts like Song of Songs or Qoheleth became biblical despite pursuing a very limited, literary strategy of authorization. They are ascribed to King Solomon,¹⁸ and they are rather untheological (in the case of Song of Songs) and even sceptical (Qoheleth). Even more astonishing is the book of Esther's canonical status. It neither mentions God nor is its authorship linked to a figure from Israel's past.¹⁹ For these writings, a specific reception was apparently much more important for their authority than their production.

It is fairly safe to say that when investigating the process of how biblical writings became biblical – that is, how their authority as normative writings came about – both perspectives need to be taken into account. An authoritative text is first and foremost a text that is *considered* to be authoritative by a certain community,²⁰ but an authoritative text also needs some features in and of itself that bring a community to consider it authoritative. Therefore, the factors of textual production and reception play a role in a text's becoming authoritative.

1.3. *The development of textual authority in ancient Israel and Judah must consider the originally political role of some core texts*

The kernel of the Hebrew Bible canon is the Torah. The Torah is its most authoritative element and, in historical terms, it is the oldest part of the biblical canon.²¹ Why did the Torah become authoritative?²² Over the past few decades, we have

¹⁸ See Niels Peter LEMCHE, »Solomon as Cultural Memory,« in *Remembering Biblical Figures in the Late Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods: Social Memory and Imagination*, ed. Diana V. Edelman and Ehud Ben Zvi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 158–181; see also Joseph VERHEYDEN (ed.), *The Figure of Solomon in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Tradition: King, Sage and Architect* (TBN 16; Leiden: Brill, 2013).

¹⁹ See Harald Martin WAHL, »Glaube ohne Gott?« Zur Rede vom Gott Israels im hebräischen Buch Esther,« *BZ* 45 (2001), 37–54. The LXX of Esther offers some theological interpretation: Kristin DE TROYER, *Die Septuaginta und die Endgestalt des Alten Testaments* (UTB 2599; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 26–48.

²⁰ See David CARR, »Canonization in the Context of Community: An Outline of the Formation of the Tanakh and the Christian Bible,« in *A Gift of God in Due Season*, ed. Richard D. Weis and David Carr (JSOTSup 225; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 22–64.

²¹ See KNOPPERS and LEVINSON, *The Pentateuch as Torah* (n. 14). For recent approaches to its composition see Thomas RÖMER, »Zwischen Urkunden, Fragmenten und Ergänzungen: Zum Stand der Pentateuchforschung,« *ZAW* 125 (2013), 2–24; IDEM, »Der Pentateuch,« in *Die Entstehung des Alten Testaments*, Vol. 1, ed. Walter Dietrich et alii (Theologische Wissenschaft 1/1; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2014), 52–166; Konrad SCHMID, »Der Pentateuch und seine Theologiegeschichte,« *ZTK* 111 (2014), 239–271; Reinhard G. KRATZ, »The Analysis of the Pentateuch: An Attempt to Overcome Barriers of Thinking,« *ZAW* 128 (2016), 529–561 and Jan C. GERTZ, Bernard M. LEVINSON, Dalit ROM-SHILONI, and Konrad SCHMID, ed., *The Formation of the Pentateuch: Bridging the Academic Cultures between Europe, Israel, and North America* (FAT 111, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016).

²² See Catherine HEZSER, »Torah als ›Gesetz‹? Überlegungen zum Torahverständnis im antiken Judentum,« in *Ist die Tora Gesetz? Zum Gesetzesverständnis im Alten Testament*,

learned that this process was fuelled by two very important political factors that developed the notion of textual authority within the Torah.²³ The first one is the formation of the book of Deuteronomy within its Neo-Assyrian political context as the kernel of the kernel of the Hebrew Bible canon. Since the 1960s scholars like Rintje Frankena and Moshe Weinfeld have pointed out that the book of Deuteronomy is a subversive reception of Neo-Assyrian vassal treaties.²⁴ In the 1990s Eckart Otto and Bernard Levinson confirmed this approach.²⁵ The recent findings in Tell Tayinat prove that those vassal treaties were also employed in the western region of the Assyrian Empire and thus in all likelihood also applied to Judah, probably under King Manasseh.²⁶

What does »subversive reception« of Neo-Assyrian vassal treaties mean? The vassal treaties obliged the leaders of subdued people and nations to be loyal to the Neo-Assyrian king and not to engage in any other political relations. What does the book of Deuteronomy do? It also claims Israel's complete loyalty, but toward God himself rather than an earthly king, whether the Neo-Assyrian or the Judean king.

In Deuteronomy's language, this claim upon Israel reads as follows:

שְׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל	Hear, O Israel:
יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֶחָד	YHWH, our God, is one YHWH.
וְאַהֲבַתְּ אֹת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ	You shall love YHWH, your God,
בְּכָל-לִבְבְּךָ	with all your heart,
וּבְכָל-נַפְשְׁךָ	and with all your soul,
וּבְכָל-מְאֹדְךָ	and with all your might.

Frühjudentum und Neuen Testament, ed. Udo Rütterswörden (BThS 167; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), 119–139.

²³ See Konrad SCHMID, »Anfänge politikförmiger Religion: Die Theologisierung politisch-imperialer Begriffe in der Religionsgeschichte des antiken Israel als Grundlage autoritärer und toleranter Strukturmomente monotheistischer Religionen,« in *Religion – Wirtschaft – Politik: Forschungszugänge zu einem aktuellen transdisziplinären Feld*, ed. Antonius Liedhegener, Andreas Tunger-Zanetti, and Stephan Wirz (Zurich and Baden-Baden: Pano and Nomos, 2011), 161–177.

²⁴ Rintje FRANKENA, *The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon and the Dating of Deuteronomy* (OTS 14; Leiden: Brill, 1965), 122–154; Moshe WEINFELD, »Traces of Assyrian Treaty Formulae in Deuteronomy,« *Bib* 46 (1965), 417–427; IDEM, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972).

²⁵ Eckart OTTO, »Treueid und Gesetz. Die Ursprünge des Deuteronomiums im Horizont neuassyrischen Vertragsrechts,« *ZAR* 2 (1996), 1–52; IDEM, *Das Deuteronomium: Politische Theologie und Rechtsreform in Juda und Assyrien* (BZAW 284; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999); Bernard M. LEVINSON and Jeffrey STACKERT, »Between the Covenant Code and Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty: Deuteronomy 13 and the Composition of Deuteronomy,« *JAJ* 3 (2012), 123–140. Carly L. CROUCH, *Israel and the Assyrians: Deuteronomy, the Succession Treaty of Esarhaddon, and the Nature of Subversion* (SBL Ancient Near East Monographs 8, Atlanta: SBL, 2014) argues against this assumption.

²⁶ See Hans-Ulrich STEYMANS, »Deuteronomy 28 and Tell Tayinat,« *Verbum et Ecclesia* 34 (2013), 1–13.

Index of Ancient Sources

Hebrew Bible / Old Testament

<i>Genesis</i>		32	29 n. 18
1:2	239	47:31	71, 198
1:3	183, 183 n. 124, 250		
1:7	250	<i>Exodus</i>	
1:16	89	1:24	86
1:27	84, 91, 92	3	111
1–2	111, 193 n. 14	3:6	119–120, 120, 120 n. 19, 121, 124
1–11	242	3–4	60
2:2	193 n. 12, 202	3:15	86
2:5	89	4	29 n. 18
2:7	183 n. 117, 242	6:2–3	250
2:21–22	244	7:1	197 n. 29
2:24	84, 91, 92, 167 n. 8	7:11	181 n. 108
2–9	241	8	275
3	55	12:43–46	38
4:16	173 n. 54	15:21	38
5:24	193 n. 12	17:1–7	194
6	242	17:14	12
6:1–4	243 n. 11	19	17, 55
6:13–18	194	19	55
9:9	99	19:3	17
9:20	104 n. 50	19:5	99
12:3	182 n. 113	19–20	202 n. 56
13:15	182 n. 113, 184 n. 131	20–24	100 n. 43
14:17–20	193	20:1	248
15	55	20:5	242, 248
15:6	184, 218, 218 n. 41	20:8–11	94, 95
15:10	173 n. 54	20:12	81, 91
17:4	99	20:13	90
17:5	183 n. 120, 184 n. 131	20:14	90
17:9–14	168 n. 16	20:21	43
18:1–3	233	20–23	18
18:13	173 n. 54	21	111
20:7	197 n. 29	21:12	90
21:10	180 n. 100	21:17	81
21:12	193	21:25	87
22:17	192, 194	22:25–26	87
25	8		

23:11	173 n. 50	33:2	12
24	99, 99 n. 42, 100, 101, 111	35:16–18	90
24:1–8	193		
24:3	99	<i>Deuteronomy</i>	
24:4	12, 100	1:1	17
24:5	100	1:5	17 n. 42
24:7	99	1:19–46	205
24:8	99, 100, 101, 193	1–7	276
24:8b	100	2:44	105
24:11	99	4:2	174 n. 69
25:40	193, 204	4:10–12	205
34:21	93	4:33	206
34:27–28	12	4:34	15
34:28	12	4–5	202 n. 56
40	276 n. 17	5	111
		5:1–3	205
<i>Leviticus</i>		5:6–7	11
10:10	90	5:9	242, 248
18:5	182	5:12–15	94
18:15	184 n. 131	5:16	81, 91
19	111, 217 n. 35	5:18	90
19:17	88	5:26	206
19:17–18	88	6	111
19:18	87, 88, 89, 105, 175, 181, 184 n. 131, 216, 217 n. 35	6:4–5	82, 105
19:18	82, 83, 84 n. 19, 87, 88	6:5	88
20:9	81, 91	6:22	15
24:9	94	8:1	174 n. 69
24:15–15	173	8:1–5	205
24:17	90	8:20–21	38
24:20	86	9:19	193
		9–12	276
		10:13	174 n. 69
<i>Numbers</i>		11:26–32	205
5–8	275–276	15:18	20
10	17	17	20
10:1–10	64 n. 47	17:6	206
12:6–8	197 n. 29	17:7	167 n. 8
13	276	18	16
14	202 n. 56	18:15	16
14:18	248	19:15	167 n. 8
14:1–34	193	19:21	86
18	276	21:23	180, 180 n. 102
19	276	23:26	94
24:15–17	44	24:1	84, 91, 92, 95
25–36	276	25:4	170
27–33	276	25:5	85, 119 n. 13
30:2	92 n. 26	26:8	15
		26:18	174 n. 69

27:26	180	<i>2 Samuel</i>	
28:6	15	7:11	37
28:30	104 n. 50	7:14	197 n. 30
29	275	23	299
29:3	183 n. 123	23:2	197 n. 29
29:19	205		
30	182 n. 114	<i>1 Kings (= 3 Kingdoms LXX)</i>	
30:11–16	176 n. 80	2:10	170
30:15	53	19:10	167, 171 n. 34, 183 n. 123
30:15–18	205	19:14	73, 167, 183 n. 123
30:19	53, 54	19:18	73, 167, 171 n. 34, 182 n. 1
31:9	12		
31:22	12	<i>2 Kings</i>	
31:29	207 n. 68	1:10	235 n. 29
32	186	1:10–12	86
32:11	250	14:6	173 n. 55
32:17	304	21	55
32:20	186		
32:21	182 n. 113, 186	<i>1 Chronicles</i>	
32:35	74	15:15	172 n. 40
32:35–36	206		
32:39	250	<i>2 Chronicles</i>	
32:43	71, 72	33	55
33:1–8	205	40:5	172 n. 40
33:8–10	44	40:18	172 n. 40
34	14, 14–15, 15, 16, 17, 58		
34:6b	15	<i>Ezra</i>	
34:8–9	205	4:3	37
34:10	15, 16, 197 n. 29	7	12
34:10–12	15	7:1–5	57, 261 n. 22
		7:26	12
<i>Joshua</i>		8	260
1	16, 17		
1:7	16, 17	<i>Nehemiah</i>	
1:13	16, 17	2:1–8	64 n. 47
24	20	7:72–8:12	57, 58
		8	26
<i>Ruth</i>		8–9	26
1:6	54 n. 18	8:5–8	19
2:12	54 n. 18		
		<i>Job</i>	
<i>1 Samuel</i>		1:6	72
12:12	170	2:1	72
15:11	166 n. 5		
15:22	83	<i>Psalms</i>	
21	94, 111	1:1–2	56
21:1–7	64 n. 47	1:2	80
21:2–7	94		

2:7	199 n. 42, 200 n. 45	95:7–8	192 n. 10, 197 n. 30, 201, 204 n. 61
8:4–6	192, 193		
8	199 n. 42, 202	95:7–11	194
8:5	72, 198	95:11	192 n. 10
8:6(7)	202	95(94):11	202
16:8–11	199 n. 42	99:8	88 n. 24
17:21	107 n. 59	101–105	298, 299
17:32	107 n. 59	106:37	304
17:50	182 n. 113	109	298, 299
18:5	183 n. 121	110	107, 108 n. 63, 111, 179 n. 96, 202
19(18):5	167 n. 8	110:1	81, 101, 105, 106, 108 n. 63, 109 n. 63, 109 n. 66, 112, 117, 167 n. 8, 185 n. 132, 199 n. 42, 200 n. 45, 202
22	109, 109 n. 64, 110, 111, 200		
22:2	101, 109, 110, 112	110:4	194, 200 n. 45, 201, 204
22:22	199, 200 n. 46	111(110):10	249
24(23):1	167 n. 8, 180	116:15	106
28:2	19 n. 46	118	105, 111, 299–300
31:1–2	180	118:6	195 n. 24
32(31):5	250	118:22	101, 104, 105, 105 n. 53, 106, 106 n. 56, 112, 121
40	198 n. 37, 200	118:22–23	104
40:6–8	199	118:23	105, 106
40:7	198	118–151	298, 299
43:23	180	121(120):8	295
62(61):13	167 n. 8	133:2	250
68:10	184	136:15	234
68:23	178 n. 92	143:2	167 n. 8
69:9	96	145	20, 30
80:8–14	104 n. 50	154 ^{syT}	299
89:28	99	155 ^{syT}	299
91(90)	148, 148 n. 43, 289, 290–291, 291 n. 5, 292–293, 293 n. 13, 293 n. 14, 294–295, 295 n. 23, 296–297, 297 n. 26, 304, 306	155:8	167 n. 8
91(90):1	289		
91(90):1–2	289	<i>Proverbs</i>	
91(90):1–12	295	3:34	219, 220
91(90):2	289	5–9	276 n. 17
91(90):3–4	289	8	243
91(90):4–13	306	8:22–23	243
91(90):6b	304	10:12	220
91(90):13–16	295	19–20	276 n. 17
93	299	22:8a	167 n. 8
94(93):14	171, 171 n. 34, 178	22:28	77
95	194, 194 n. 16, 199 n. 42, 202 n. 56	24:12	167 n. 8
		25:21	167 n. 8

<i>Isaiah</i>			
1	260	49	54
1:9	183 n. 120	49:6	183, 183 n. 124
5	104, 104 n. 50	49:6 ^{LXX}	67
5:1	104 n. 49	49:8	183 n. 121
5:1–2	81 n. 11, 104, 104 n. 49	51:11	250
5:2	104 n. 49	52:5	185 n. 132
5:9	220	52:7 ^{LXX}	180 n. 100
7:14	71	52:15	181
8:14	105	53:1	183 n. 123
8:17–18	199, 200 n. 46	56:7	96, 96 n. 33
9:1	183, 183 n. 124	57:6–7	96
9:16	54	57:7	96
10:22–23	182 n. 113	60:11–16	64 n. 47
11:10	182 n. 113, 266	61	103, 111, 112
13:5	171 n. 35	61:1 ^{LXX}	102
22:13	167 n. 8	61:1–2	102 n. 47, 103 n. 48
25:6	81 n. 11	61:10–62:5	64 n. 47
26:20	196	64:3	170
27:1	242	65:1	183 n. 122
28	170 n. 27	65:1f	186
28:5	170 n. 27	65:2	183 n. 123
28:11–12	184 n. 131	<i>Jeremiah</i>	
28:16	175 n. 75, 178 n. 89, 180 n. 99	1:1–3	59
28:24	170 n. 27	1:4	171 n. 36
28:24–29	170 n. 27	6–7	260
28:28	170 n. 27	7	260, 260 n. 19
29:13	81	7:9	96
29:16	102, 167 n. 8	7:10	96
29:18	102	7:11	96, 96 n. 33
32:5	180 n. 101	7:28	97
34:2–4	14	9:22–23	167 n. 8, 170
35	103, 111, 112	12:3	220
35:5	102	15:25	171
35:5–6	102	23:6	266
35:10	250	23:9 ^{LXX}	266
37:30	104 n. 50	25:19 ^{LXX}	196
40:13	167 n. 8	25:27–31	14
42:18	102	27:25 ^{LXX}	171
44:6	248	31	98
45:5	250	31:31	98
45:5–6	241 n. 6, 248	31:31–34	98, 100 n. 43, 192 n. 10, 201, 204
45:6	242	31:33	98
45:9 ^{LXX}	170 n. 27	31:34	98
45:15	167 n. 8	38:31 ^{LXX}	98
45:22	230	32:21	15
46:9	241 n. 6	32:40	98

36	57	<i>Joel</i>	
40–44	39	3:1–5	176
45:5	58	3:5	167 n. 8, 181 n. 109
49:1	171 n. 36		
<i>Ezekiel</i>		<i>Micah</i>	
1:1–3	59	4:1	196
1:10	242	<i>Habakkuk</i>	
3:18–21	221 n. 57	2:3–4	196, 196 n. 27, 202 n. 56
8:3–6	244	2:4	182, 184 n. 131
13	242	<i>Zephaniah</i>	
16:62	99	1:1	261 n. 22
28:26	104 n. 50	<i>Haggai</i>	
36:26	171	2:6	197, 201
37:1–14	242	<i>Zechariah</i>	
<i>Daniel</i>		7	260
2	40	12:10	72
2:4	44	14	98, 111
4	40	14:9	98
7	40, 102	14:16–21	97
7:13	109 n. 63	14:20	97
9:13	173 n. 55	14:21	97, 97 n. 38, 98
12	40	<i>Malachi</i>	
12:3	56	1:2–2	183 n. 118
12:10	40	1:10	37
<i>Hosea</i>		3	16
1:1	59	3:20	67
2:1	182 n. 113	13:22	16, 17
2:25	182 n. 113		
3:5	196		
6:6	83		
13:14	184 n. 131		

Deuterocanonical Books / Apocrypha and Septuagint

<i>Baruch</i>		<i>2 Esdras</i>	
3:9–4:1	243	6:18	172 n. 40
4:8–23	260	<i>1 Maccabees</i>	
6	30	2:49–60	167 n. 9
<i>1 Esdras</i>		<i>2 Maccabees</i>	
8:1–2	261 n. 22	2:13–15	26
		15:9	133 n. 21

<i>4 Maccabees</i>		32:23	174 n. 69
6:19	184 n. 126	44–50	26
17	167 n. 10	45	276 n. 17
17:21–22	167 n. 10	46:1	197 n. 29
18:10	133 n. 21	49:8–10	26
18:14	172 n. 40	50:27–28	56
		51	28, 40, 299
<i>Sirach/Ecclesiasticus</i>			
1:27	70 n. 9	<i>Tobit</i>	
2:12	221 n. 53	4:10	221 n. 57
3:30	221 n. 57		
6:19	170	<i>Wisdom</i>	
15:11–20	176 n. 80	6–8	243
24	243	11–12	276 n. 17

Old Testament Pseudepigrapha

<i>Aristeas</i>		64	55
155	172 n. 48	64.8	56
168	172 n. 48	72.1–73.2	64, 64 n. 47
		76.4	58
<i>2 Baruch</i>		77.11–26	58
1.1	59	78–86	60, 63
1.1–3.2	63 n. 45	78.1–86.3	58, 60
1.2–2.2	59	84.5–6	58
2.1	53	86.1–3	60
4.2	54		
4.3	55	<i>1 Enoch</i>	
4.3–4	52	5.20	243 n. 11
4.3–6	55	6–8	243 n. 11
4.5	53	6–16	244
5.5	53	12.1	243 n. 11
9.1–10.5	53	14–16	243 n. 11
12.1–13	263	19	243 n. 11, 244
13.11–14.3	63	21	244
17–18	52, 53	25.6	244
19.1	53, 54	32.3–6	244
25.3–29.4	63 n. 45	37–71	30, 43
33.1	53	42	243
41.4	54 n. 18	73–74	243
46.3	53, 54	78–79	243
48.42–50	52	86	243 n. 11
51.5–6	243	93	243
53–74	53		
57.1–3	52	<i>3 Enoch</i>	
59	53	3–16	246

<i>4 Ezra</i>		2.10	261
3.1	51, 59	2.33	261
3.12–14	52	2.38	262
3.19	53	2.38–48	262
3.20–27	52	2.39	262
6.8–10	52	2.40	262
7.116–126	52	2.42	261
7.118–131	176 n. 80	2.42–48	260, 262
7.129	53, 54	2.43	262
9.26–10.60	58	2.45	262
12.11	54		
12.37–39	53	<i>Jubilees</i>	
12.42	53	1.1	243
14.1–12	53	1.2	243
14.6	61	1.21	243
14.13	56	1.23	243
14.20	53	2.2	243
14.21	58	4.15	243 n. 11
14.37–38	26	4.22	243 n. 11
14.42–44	58		
14.45	58, 61	<i>Liber antiquitatum biblicarum</i>	
14.46	61	32.5	183 n. 118
14.47	61		
<i>5 Ezra</i>		<i>Psalms of Solomon</i>	
1.1	261	9.4	176 n. 80
1.1–3	261 n. 22	<i>Testament of Dan</i>	
1.4	261, 261 n. 22	5.1	174 n. 69
1.8	261	<i>Testament of Reuben</i>	
1.15	261	5	243
2.1	261		
2.2–5a	260		

Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Texts

<i>IQap Gen^{ar}</i>		4.22–23	120 n. 15
2.1–18	243	5.17	173 n. 55
		6.6–8	47
<i>IQH^a</i>		<i>4Q158</i>	
12.29–32	176	1	29 n. 18, 38
<i>IQpHab</i>		<i>4Q228</i>	
7.4–5	39	1	34
<i>IQS</i>		<i>4Q174 (= 4QFlor)</i>	
3.13–4.26	31	2.3	34

2.3–4	40	3.20–4.2	34
3.7	37	4.14–18	44
4Q397		6.13–14	37
14–21	133 n. 21	7.19	173 n. 55
11Q11 (= 11QPsAp ^a)		11.19–21	37
27.9–10	305	16.2–4	34
		16.3–4	44
<i>Damascus Document</i>		See also “Qumran texts”	
2.18	243 n. 11	in the Index of Subjects	

Ancient Jewish Writers

Josephus		162	173 n. 63
<i>Bellum judaicum</i>		165	173 n. 63
6.285	181 n. 108	168	173 n. 63
6.295–296	181 n. 108	<i>De ebrietate</i>	
<i>Contra Apionem</i>		11	173 n. 49
1.37–42	26	<i>De fuga et inventione</i>	
1.38–40	61	4	173 n. 50
Philo		<i>De opificio mundi</i>	
<i>De Abrahamo</i>		77	173 n. 50
4	173 n. 56	<i>De plantatione</i>	
24–25	233	20	233
61	173 n. 50	<i>De praemiis et poenis</i>	
68	173 n. 51	65	173 n. 53
121	173 n. 50	<i>De specialibus legibus</i>	
131	173 n. 53, 173 n. 54	1.1	174 n. 69
236	173 n. 53	1.12	174 n. 69
<i>De cherubim</i>		1.104	173 n. 56
12	173 n. 54	1.129	173 n. 63
<i>De congressu eruditionis gratia</i>		1.131	173 n. 63
34	173 n. 50	1.157	173 n. 63
<i>De decalogo</i>		2.134	173 n. 50
40	173 n. 56	<i>De vita Mosis</i>	
65	174 n. 69	1.25	233 n. 24
82	174 n. 69	2.22	94 n. 28
96	174 n. 69	2.37	70
106	174 n. 69	2.40	70, 173 n. 52
135	174 n. 69	2.84	173 n. 51
156	173 n. 63	2.95–135	254
		2.203	173

Legum allegoriae

1.104 173 n. 50
 3.88 183 n. 118

Quis rerum divinarum heres sit

106 173 n. 50
 230 173 n. 54
 266 173 n. 54

New Testament

Matthew

1:16 108 n. 61
 1:23 71, 75
 1:3–5 54 n. 18
 2:15 115
 2:23 220 n. 48
 3:9 105
 3:11 102
 4:1–11 302
 4:6 297
 4:23–24 306
 5:3 213 n. 22
 5:5 213 n. 22
 5:17 90, 133 n. 21
 5:17–19 217
 5:21 111
 5:21–22 90
 5:21–26 90
 5:22 90
 5:27–30 90
 5:27–28 90
 5:33 111
 5:38 86
 5:38–47 87
 5:39 87
 5:40 87
 5:43 89
 5:43–44 91
 5:44 88, 89
 5:44–45 88, 112
 5:45 89
 6:9–13 80
 6:12 88
 6:24 98
 7:12 133 n. 21
 8–17 94 n. 28, 95 n. 30, 97
 n. 34, 102 n. 45
 8:10–11 81 n. 11
 9:27 108 n. 60

10:17 265 n. 33
 10:38 99 n. 41
 11:2 101, 101 n. 44, 102 n. 45
 11:5 102 n. 45
 11:2–6 101, 102 n. 45, 112
 11:3 102
 11:4 102
 11:6 103
 11:13 133 n. 21
 11:27 112
 12:1–4 93
 12:8 95 n. 32
 12:11–12 95
 12:23 108 n. 60
 15:1–9 112
 15:3 81
 15:3–6 91
 15:4 81
 15:6 81
 15:22 108 n. 60
 16:24 99 n. 41
 18–25 82 n. 14, 84 n. 19
 19:6–8 251
 20:21 108
 20:30–31 108 n. 60
 21:9 108 n. 60
 21:12–13 96
 21:13 96
 21:25 108 n. 60
 21:33 81 n. 11, 104
 21:42 104, 105
 21:42b 105
 21:44 105
 22 82, 218
 22:16 89
 22:23 118
 22:23–33 118, 120 n. 19
 22:24 199 n. 42
 22:28 119 n. 14

22:29	119, 121	7:11	92
22:30	119 n. 15	7:12	92
22:31–32	120 n. 16	7:13	81, 91, 92, 93
22:32	81, 122	7:18–23	101
22:34–35	83 n. 18	8:27–16:20	83 n. 17, 122 n. 26
22:34–40	82, 216 n. 33	8:29	108
22:36	83	8:32	108
22:38	83	8:34	99 n. 41
22:39	83, 217	9:7	264
22:40	84, 133 n. 21, 217	10:2–9	84, 86, 112
22:41–46	106	10:3–5	91
22:43	81, 107	10:5	85
23:35–36	97 n. 35	10:6	84, 92, 95
23:37	97	10:9	85
23:38	97	10:37	108
24:21–22	267	10:45	110
25:41–46	136 fig. 1	10:47–48	108 n. 60
26	99, 100	11:10	108 n. 60
26:26–30	98	11:15–16	98
26:28	98, 99, 99 n. 40, 100, 101	11:15–17	96, 112
27:11	108 n. 60	11:17	96
27:29	108 n. 60	11:27–12:34	106
27:37	108 n. 60	11:28	105
27:42	108 n. 60	11:30	106
27:46	101, 109	12:1	81 n. 11, 104, 104 n. 49
		12:1–12	101, 106, 108, 112
		12:10	105, 121
<i>Mark</i>		12:11	105
1:1	148 n. 42	12:10–11	104
1:1–2	115, 145	12:18	118
1:1–8:26	92 n. 27	12:18–27	85, 86, 112, 118, 122 n. 26
1:22	81	12:23	119 n. 14
1:27	81	12:24	86, 119, 121
1:35	80	12:25	119 n. 15, 122
2:23–26	93, 94, 112	12:26	105, 120 n. 19, 122
2:24	93, 94 n. 28	12:26–27	122
2:25	93	12:27	81, 86
2:26	94	12:28	82, 83
2:27	95	12:28–33	82, 112
2:28	95 n. 32	12:29	83
3:1–5	95	12:29–31	105
3:2	93	12:31	83, 87
5:24	124	12:32	82
7:5–13	112	12:33	83
7:7	81	12:34	82
7:8	81, 92, 93	12:35	107
7:9	91, 92, 166 n. 5	12:35–37	81, 101, 106, 108, 108 n. 63, 112
7:9–13	90, 91, 92, 93		
7:10	91, 92		

12:36	81, 105, 107, 199 n. 42	7:21	102
12:36–37	120 n. 16	7:22	102
13:8	264	7:23	103
14	99	9:23	99 n. 41
14:17–26	112	9:28–35	235 n. 28
14:22–26	98	9:51–56	86
14:24	98, 99, 99 n. 40, 100, 101	9:51–14:35	82 n. 15
14:24–25	110	9:54	86, 235
14:36	109, 110	10	82
14:52	109 n. 63	10:25	82
14:61–62	109 n. 63	10:25–28	82, 82 n. 16
15:2	108 n. 60	10:25–29	82
15:9	108 n. 60	10:26	83
15:12	108 n. 60	10:27b	89
15:18	108 n. 60	10:28	82
15:26	108 n. 60	10:29	82 n. 16, 88
15:32	108 n. 60	10:29	82, 89
15:34	101, 109, 110	10:29–37	82 n. 16
15:34–36	110	10:30–37	82, 89
15:37	109	10:36	89
		10:37	89
<i>Luke</i>		11:2–4	80
1:26–35	264	11:4	87, 88
2:14	264	11:50–51	97 n. 35
3:16	102	13:15–16	95
3:1	230	13:28–29	81 n. 11
3:23	108 n. 61	13:32	103
3:8	105	13:34	97
3:32–33	54 n. 18	14:27	99 n. 41
4:1–13	302	16:13	98
4:10–11	297	16:16	133 n. 21
4:16–20	133 n. 20	16:29	126
4:16–30	103 n. 48	16:30	126
4:18	103 n. 48	18:19	230
4:21	103 n. 48, 111, 125	18:20	217
4:31	230	18:31	115
5:36–38	230	18:38–39	108 n. 60
6:1–4	93	19:11	108
6:4	95	19:37–38	108 n. 60
6:5	95 n. 32	19:45–46	96
6:6–10	95	19:46	96
6:27	88, 89	20:9	81 n. 11, 104 n. 49
6:29	87	20:17	104, 105, 106
6:35	88, 89	20:18	105
6:43–44	231	20:27	118
7:18	101, 102	20:27–38	122 n. 26
7:18–23	112	20:27–40	118
7:19–20	102	20:33	119 n. 14

20:34–36	123 n. 29	6:45	239
20:35	119 n. 15	7:38	220 n. 48
20:36	120 n. 15	7:42	108 n. 60
20:37	121 n. 20	8:2–11	90
20:37–38	120 n. 16	10:21–30	151
20:38	81	10:29–30	158 fig. 13
20:41–44	106	10:32	155
20:42	81 n. 10, 115	12:12	108 n. 60
20:42–43	199 n. 42	18:33	108 n. 60
22	99	18:39	108 n. 60
22:20	99 n. 40, 100	19:3	108 n. 60
22:14–20	98	19:7	113
22:20	98	19:14	108 n. 60
23:38	108 n. 60	19:19	108 n. 60
24	125, 126	19:37	72
24:13–35	126 n. 35	21	284
24:16	125		
24:19	126	<i>Acts</i>	
24:19–24	125	1:16	125
24:25	125	2:29–31	199 n. 41
24:27	125	2:30	197 n. 29
24:31	125	7:38	192 n. 10
24:32	125	8:32	125
24:36–38	125	8:35	125
24:39	125	2:30–31	81 n. 10
24:44	110, 115, 133 n. 21	2:34–35	199 n. 42
24:44–45	125	6:1–8:3	116
24:46a	125	13:15	133 n. 21
27:37	108 n. 60	13:33	199 n. 42
		15:1–19	284
<i>John</i>		23:30	124 n. 32
1	149	24:14	133 n. 21
1:1	243	26:22–23	126 n. 39
1:4	265 n. 33	28:23	126 n. 39, 133 n. 21
1:23	253		
1:45	133 n. 21	<i>Romans</i>	
1–12	97 n. 38	1:2	172 n. 42, 173
2:13–16	98	1:17	185 n. 134
2:13–17	96	2:6	167 n. 8, 181
2:16	97, 97 n. 38, 98	2:12–15	173 n. 61
2:18	267	2:17	173 n. 62
2:22	267	2:18	173 n. 62
4:2	267	2:20	173 n. 62
4:9–10	157 fig. 12	2:23	173 n. 62
5:44	155	2:24	180 n. 101, 185 n. 132
6:1–2	155	2:25–27	173 n. 59
6:41–42	155	3:1–8	172
6:42	108 n. 61	3:4	179

3:8	166, 176, 176 n. 81, 177	9:16	182
3:10–18	173 n. 59, 180 n. 101	9:17	175, 179, 183, 183 n. 119, 185,
3:19–20	173 n. 60		182
3:20	166 n. 5	9:19	182
3:21	133 n. 21, 174	9:20	167 n. 8, 175, 178, 182
3:25–26	167 n. 10	9:22	171 n. 35
3:27–28	173 n. 59	9:25–26	176, 182 n. 113, 185
3:29	181 n. 109	9:25–29	176 n. 78
3:31	166, 166 n. 5, 174	9:27–28	181 n. 109, 182 n. 113
4:3	184	9:29	183 n. 120
4:6–8	180	9:29–30	181 n. 109
4:13–16	174 n. 66	9:31–32	174 n. 66
4:15	166 n. 5, 174 n. 65	9:33	175 n. 75, 180 n. 99, 182 n. 114, 185 n. 134
4:17	168 n. 12, 183 n. 120, 184 n. 131	9–11	116 n. 3, 165 n. 1, 182 n. 111
4:18	182	9–16	186 n. 137
4:23	170 n. 28, 170 n. 30	10:5	186
4:24	166	10:5–8	182
5:1–8:39	176 n. 81	10:6	179
5:12	183 n. 117	10:6–8	182 n. 114
5:12–21	183 n. 117, 184 n. 126	10:6–7	179, 179 n. 98
5:13	173 n. 59	10:11	172 n. 43, 175 n. 75, 176, 181 n. 109
5:20	173 n. 59, 174 n. 64, 174 n. 65	10:12	181 n. 109
6:14f	173 n. 59	10:13	167 n. 8, 176, 181 n. 109, 185 n. 134
7	176 n. 80		180 n. 100
7:1	166	10:15	176
7:7–25	174 n. 65	10:15–18	183 n. 123
7:8–13	174	10:16	167 n. 8, 168 n. 11, 183 n. 121
7:12	173, 235 n. 30	10:18	176, 182 n. 113, 185, 186, 187
7:23	173 n. 58		176, 183 n. 122, 187
8:2	173 n. 58	10:19	186, 187
8:3–4	166 n. 5, 174 n. 66, 177	10:20	176, 183 n. 123
8:4	173 n. 59	10:20f	177
8:7	173 n. 59	10:21	171, 172 n. 41, 176, 178
8:18–22	172	11:1f	187
8:36	180	11:2	166
9:6–7	182 n. 111, 182 n. 111	11:2a	183 n. 123
9:7	168 n. 11, 168 n. 12, 182 n. 112, 185	11:2b–4	73, 74
9:8	176 n. 76	11:3	74, 176, 182 n. 110
9:9	168 n. 12, 182 n. 112, 185	11:3–4	182 n. 111
9:10–13	175	11:4	183 n. 123, 186 n. 141
9:11	182 n. 111, 182 n. 112	11:7	178
9:12	182 n. 112	11:8	266
9:13	168 n. 12, 183, 183 n. 118	11:9	
9:15	175, 182, 185	11:25	

11:25–33	266	9:10	166, 170, 170 n. 27, 171,
11:25–36	266 n. 39		171 n. 31, 220 n. 48
11:26	266	9:10b	170
11:26–27	181	10:1	168
11:27	266	10:1–5	184
11:34–35	179	10:6	184
12:1–15:13	177	10:11	166, 170 n. 28, 170 n. 30,
12:19	74		184
12:20	167 n. 8, 178	10:21–22	180 n. 104
13:8	173 n. 59, 178	10:26	167 n. 8, 180, 180 n. 104
13:8–10	166 n. 5	11:23–25	98
13:9	174, 178, 181	11:24	100
13:10	173 n. 59	11:25	98, 99 n. 40
14:11	181, 185, 185 n. 134	12:1–3	176
15:3	184	14:20–25	181, 181 n. 108
15:4	166, 170 n. 28, 170 n. 30,	14:21	168 n. 12, 173 n. 59, 175,
	172 n. 43		178 n. 89, 181, 184 n. 131,
15:9	182 n. 113		185
15:10–11	178, 179	14:23	181
15:12	182 n. 113	14:25	167 n. 8, 181
15:20	181 n. 106	14:37	174
15:21	176, 178, 179, 181	15	175
		15:1–16:24	179 n. 96
<i>1 Corinthians</i>		15:3	172 n. 42
1:1–6:11	170 n. 24	15:20–28	64 n. 47, 179 n. 96
1:2	185	15:23–28	179 n. 96
1:19	167, 168 n. 12, 175, 182	15:24	179, 267
	n. 110, 185	15:25	167 n. 8, 179, 185 n. 132
1:26–28	213 n. 22	15:25–28	199 n. 42
1:31	170, 171, 175, 178, 185	15:27	199 n. 42
1–4	170, 175 n. 73	15:30	179 n. 96
2:1–5	177 n. 82	15:32	167 n. 8, 180 n. 105
2:9	170, 220 n. 48	15:45	183 n. 117
2:16a	167 n. 8, 179	15:55	179, 184 n. 131
3:19	180		
3:19f	185 n. 133	<i>2 Corinthians</i>	
3:20	180	1–7	183 n. 124
5:7	167 n. 10	1:1–7:4	178 n. 91
5:13b	167 n. 8, 178	2:14–7:4	177 n. 84
6:2	166, 171	3:6–18	175 n. 74
6:12–11:16	170 n. 26	3:14	237
6:16	167, 167 n. 8, 175, 181	3:16	178
7:19	174, 177	4:4	232
9:2	173 n. 59	4:6	183, 220 n. 48
9:7	171 n. 131	4:7–15	177 n. 82
9:8	166, 173	4:13	175, 183 n. 116
9:8–9	173	6:1–2	179 n. 94
9:9	175, 178, 181	6:2	175, 183 n. 121, 185

6:3	183 n. 121	4:25	184
6:14–7:1	178 n. 91	4:27	178
6:16–18	175, 181, 185	4:30	178
6:17	178, 181	4:30	172 n. 43, 174
8:15	175, 183, 184	5:3–4	173 n. 59
9:7	167 n. 8	5:14	173 n. 59, 175, 178, 181, 184 n. 131
9:9	175, 183 n. 116, 184	5:18	173 n. 61
10–13	17	5:23	173, 173 n. 61
10:17	167 n. 8	6:13	173 n. 59
11:13	232	6:15	172 n. 46
13:1	167 n. 8, 181		
<i>Galatians</i>		<i>Ephesians</i>	
1:6–9	232	1:20	199 n. 42
1:11–12	232	1:20–21	199 n. 42
1:15	171 n. 36	4–5	275 n. 14
2:4	232	5:14	220 n. 48
2:9	232		
2:11–14	231	<i>Philippians</i>	
2:14	232	3:5–6	173 n. 59
2:16	167 n. 8	3:9	174 n. 66
3:1–5	176		
3:2	173 n. 59	<i>Colossians</i>	
3:5	173 n. 59	4:16	60 n. 37
3:6	171 n. 37, 184		
3:8	172 n. 41, 182 n. 113, 185, 185 n. 134	<i>1 Thessalonians</i>	
3:10	173 n. 59, 173 n. 61, 174 n. 65, 180	1–2	275 n. 14
3:11	167 n. 8, 184 n. 131	2:18	168
3:11–12	174 n. 66	5:3	171
3:12	168 n. 11, 184 n. 131	5:27	60 n. 37
3:13	180	<i>2 Thessalonians</i>	
3:16	182 n. 113, 182 n. 114, 184 n. 131, 185	2:3	267
3:19	168 n. 16, 174 n. 64, 192 n. 10	2:4	267
3:19–20	180 n. 102	<i>1 Timothy</i>	
3:20	186	5:18	220 n. 48
3:21	174 n. 65, 186, 186 n. 143	<i>Hebrews</i>	
3:21–22	174	1	199 n. 44, 200 n. 45
3:22	172	1–8	191 n. 5, 191 n. 8, 192 n. 9, 195 n. 18, 195 n. 23, 196 n. 26, 202 n. 55, 202 n. 56, 204 n. 63
3:24	174 n. 64, 174 n. 68		
4:4–5	173 n. 59	1:1	194, 197
4:21	173 n. 59, 174	1:1–2	190, 190 n. 3, 191–192 n. 8, 201 n. 52
4:21–27	176 n. 76	1:2	190, 193, 194, 201
4:21–31	175, 184		
4:21–51	174 n. 67		

1:3	199 n. 40	4:7	191 n. 7, 192 n. 10
1:5	191 n. 7, 196, 197 n. 30, 199 n. 42	4:7–8	201
1:5–12	202	4:8	195
1:5–13	198 n. 37, 200	4:8–11	196
1:5–14	200 n. 45	4:9	194, 195
1:5a	192 n. 10	4:11–13	205
1:5b	192 n. 10	4:12	191, 191 n. 6, 195
1:6	71, 191 n. 7, 192 n. 10	4:13	191 n. 6
1:7	191 n. 7, 192 n. 10	5:5	191 n. 7, 192 n. 10
1:8–9	192 n. 10	5:4–5	203
1:10–12	192 n. 10	5:5–6	200, 204
1:13	191 n. 7, 192 n. 10, 202	5:6	191 n. 7, 192 n. 10
2:1–4	206	5:11	191 n. 6
2:2	191 n. 6, 192 n. 10	5:13	191 n. 6
2:3	199 n. 40	6:1	191 n. 6
2:4	196	6:1–8	206
2:5–9	199 n. 42	6:7–8	205, 206
2:6	194 n. 14	6:9	207
2:6–8	192, 193, 200	6:14	191 n. 7, 192, 192 n. 10
2:8	202	6:18	195
2:7	198	7:1–4	193
2:9	194 n. 14	7:11–16	193
2:11	217	7:12	202
2:12	191 n. 7, 200	7:13–17	203
2:12–13	199, 200 n. 46	7:14	192 n. 10
3:1–6	205	7:15–17	204
3:2	197 n. 29	7:15–25	194
3:5	193 n. 12, 197 n. 29	7:16	200 n. 45
3:7	194	7:17	191 n. 7, 192 n. 10, 200
3:7–11	191 n. 7, 192 n. 10	7:19	202
3:7–4:6	196	7:20	193
3:7–4:7	205	7:20–25	201
3:7–4:11	194 n. 16, 205, 206	7:21	191 n. 7, 192 n. 10, 194, 200
3:7–4:13	193, 194, 201–202	7:23–25	203
3:11	202	7:25	202
3:15	191 n. 7	7:28	191 n. 6, 202
3:16–19	193, 194	8:1–10:18	193
3:18–19	202	8:2	203
3–5	198 n. 36	8:3–4	203
4:1	202	8:4–6	205 n. 64
4:1–11	204 n. 61	8:5	191 n. 7, 192 n. 10, 193, 202, 204
4:2	191 n. 6	8:7–13	201
4:3	191 n. 7, 192 n. 10, 195, 202	8:8	190 n. 2
4:4	202	8:8–12	191 n. 7, 192 n. 10, 194, 196, 204
4:5	192 n. 10	8:9	204
4:6	206		

8:13	190 n. 2, 202	12:22–24	205
9–13	198 n. 36	12:24	199 n. 40
9:1–14	203	12:26	191 n. 7, 192 n. 10, 197
9:6–7	205 n. 64	12:26–27	201
9:11–14	205 n. 64	13:5	191 n. 7, 192 n. 10, 195 n. 24
9:12	203	13:7	191 n. 6
9:14	203	13:17	191 n. 6
9:19–21	193, 203	13:22	191 n. 6
9:20	193		
9:22	203		
9:23	203, 203 n. 59, 205 n. 64	<i>James</i>	
9:24	204	1:1	210, 210 n. 4
9:24–26	203	1:2–15	212 n. 15
10:1	202, 204	1:8	221 n. 53
10:5	198	1:14–15	221 n. 53
10:5–7	191 n. 7, 199, 200	1:25	218
10:8	193	2:1–13	217, 218
10:11–12	205 n. 64	2:5	213 n. 22, 217 n. 36
10:14	204	2:8	216, 217, 217 n. 35
10:16	191 n. 7, 192 n. 10	2:10	217
10:16–17	194, 204, 2	2:12	218
10:17	192 n. 10	2:13	218
10:26–31	206	2:14–26	213
10:27	206	2:20–24	216, 222
10:28	193, 206	2:23	215, 218, 219
10:29	74, 191 n. 7, 192 n. 10, 206	2:25–26	216, 222
10:31	206	4:4	221 n. 53
10:32–12:3	202 n. 56	4:5	216, 219
10:37–38	192 n. 10, 196, 196 n. 27	4:5–6	219
11	167 n. 9, 196, 202 n. 56	4:6	216, 219
11:1–38	193	4:6b	220
11:1–40	193	4:8	221 n. 53
11:2–29	192 n. 11	4:11–12	217
11:4–39	196	4:12	218
11:5	193 n. 12	5:4–5	216, 220
11:18	191 n. 7, 192 n. 10, 193	5:10–11	216, 222
11:21	71, 198	5:16	221 n. 53
11:32–38	192 n. 11	5:17	216, 222
11:35–37	197 n. 32	5:20	216, 220, 221
11:40	196		
12	194 n. 16	<i>1 Peter</i>	
12:5–6	191 n. 7, 192 n. 10	4:8	220, 221
12:5–17	205	5:1	210 n. 4
12:16–17	193	5:5	220 n. 50
12:18–29	206		
12:20	193	<i>2 John</i>	
12:21	193	7	267
		8	54 n. 18

<i>Jude</i>		7:9–10	262
1	210 n. 4	7:13–14	262
14	43	11:1–13	267
		14	262
<i>Revelation</i>		14:1	262
1	276 n. 17	14:3	262
1:7	72	14:4	262
1:16	237	15:3	26
6:11	262	17	267
7	262	20:8	267
7:4	262	21	267
7:9	262	21–22	267

Rabbinic Literature

<i>Genesis Rabbah</i>		Talmud	
61.2	233 n. 24	<i>b. Bava Batra</i>	
		14b	36
Mishnah		14b–15a	26
		15a	36
<i>Avot</i>		<i>j. Eruvin</i>	
1.1	92	10.11.26c	297
<i>Nedarim</i>		<i>j. Shabbat</i>	
5.6	92 n. 27	6.2.8b	297
<i>Yadayim</i>		7.9b	94 n. 28
3.2–5	26		
4.6	26		

Early Christian Writings

<i>Allogenes</i> (NHC XI, 3)		73.29–30	250
45.6–58.7	245	80.8–11	250
58.26–59.7	245	82.15–20	250
68.24–34	245		
<i>Apocalypse of Peter</i>		<i>Apocryphon of John</i> (NHC II, 1)	
24–26	250	2.12.19–20	239
53.30–31	248	2.13.8–9	242
65.1–2	248	2.13.9–13	241 n. 6
62.27–65.18	248	2.19.9–10	241
64.19–20	248	2.20.35–21.3	242
64.23	248	2.21.16–22.15	244
64.24–26	248	2.23.3–4	239
71.7–8	248	2.29.6–7	242
		2.29.16–30.11	243

<i>1 Clement</i>		<i>Pistis Sophia</i>	
30.2	220 n. 50	137	292
49.5	220, 221 n. 54	147	292
<i>2 Clement</i>		<i>Tiburtine Sibyl</i>	
16.4	220, 221 n. 54	1.2	263
		2.1	264
<i>Gospel of Mary (BG, 1)</i>		2.2	264
9.1–5	239	3.1	264
<i>Gospel of Thomas</i>		3.1–2	264
5	145 n. 40	3.3–5	264
27	141	3.7	265
36–37	141	3.9–10	265
65	81 n. 11	3.15	265
66	104, 105, 105 n. 53	7.4	266
		7.6	266
		8.4	267
<i>Gospel of Truth (NHC XII, 2)</i>		<i>Tripartite Tractate (NHC I, 5)</i>	
1.3	253	97.20–23	254
<i>Hypostasis of the Archons (NHC II, 4)</i>		111.9–23	254
88.26–90.5	244	112.1–3	254
94.4–19	243	112.9–19	254
94.19–34	244	112.22–25	254
95.23–25	244	111–113	254
95.26–31	244	<i>Zostrianos (NHC VIII, 1)</i>	
<i>On the Origin of the World (NHC XIII, 2)</i>		6.27–29	246
98.11–110.10	243	29.2–15	246
100.29–103.32	244		
105.1–4	244		
110.7–111.1	244		

Ancient Christian Authors

Athanasius		Clement of Alexandria	
<i>De decretis</i>		<i>Excerpta ex Theodoto</i>	
18.3	129 n. 2	16	249
		24.1	253 n. 44
Augustine		26.3	253
<i>De civitate Dei</i>		27	254
15.42	77	56.5	253
		59.2–3	253
		62.2	253, 253 n. 44

- Paedagogous*
3.12.91 220 n. 52
- Stromateis*
2.36.1 249
3.93.1 135 n. 30
5.3.2–3 248
5.6.32–40 254
6.52.3–53.1 251
- Cyril of Alexandria
- In Isaiam*
PG 70,641–645B 170 n. 27
- Cyril of Jerusalem
- Catecheses*
4.33–36 130 n. 5
- Epiphanius
- Panarion*
42.2 231 n. 18
42.11.17 230
- Ephrem the Syrian
- Hymni contra haereses*
39 234
- Refutationes*
87.16–95.39 235 n. 28
- Eusebius
- In Isaiam*
PG 23,749D–752A 179 n. 92
- Historia ecclesiastica*
3.25.1–7 130 n. 4
4.7.7 247 n. 24
4.23.9–11 60
5.8.11–15 172 n. 39
6.12.3–6 135 n. 31
6.25.3 129 n. 3
6.25.3–4 130 n. 4
- Praeparatio evangelica*
8.10.12 172 n. 48
- (Pseudo-)Hippolytus
- Refutatio omnium haeresium (Elenchos)*
7.22.3 250
7.22.15 250
7.23.1 250
7.25.3 250
7.25.4 250
7.26 249
7.26.1 249
7.26.1–6 249
7.26.2 249
7.26.4 250
7.27.3 250
9.13.1–3 262
- Irenaeus
- Adversus haereses*
1.24.3 250
1.24.5 248
1.27.2 229 n. 12, 230, 230 n. 15,
231
3.12.12–13 229
3.21.2 172 n. 39
- John Chrysostom
- Homiliae in epistulam I ad Corinthios*
21.3 171 n. 31
36.1 181 n. 107
- Homiliae in epistulam II ad Corinthios*
8.3 183 n. 124
- John of Damascus
- In epistulam II ad Corinthios*
PG 95,725B 183 n. 124
- Justin
- Apologia I*
26.5 229
26.8 229
58.1–2 229
63 233
- Dialogus cum Tryphone*
56 233

Origen		<i>Adversus Marcionem</i>	
<i>De principiis</i>		1.19.2	230
2.5.1	231	1.19.4	231
<i>Epistula ad Africanum</i>		1.20	231
2.5	77	1.20.1	232
<i>Homiliae in Lucam</i>		2.20	233 n. 24
1.2	135 n. 30	2.21–27	230
Pseudo-Oecumenius of Trikka		2.24.3	231 n. 18
<i>In epistulam I ad Corinthios</i>		3.6.1–2	235
PG 118,760AB	170 n. 31	3.11.8–12	235
Ptolemy (the Gnostic)		3.14.3	237
<i>Epistula ad Floram</i>		3.15.5	231 n. 18
3.4	251	3.21.1	235
3.5	251	4.1.1	231, 236, 237
3.8	251	4.6.1	237
4.1	251	4.11.9–11	231 n. 18
4.3	251	4.22.1–16	235 n. 28
4.4–9	251	4.22.11	238
4.11	251	4.23.4–8	230
5.8	253	4.23.7	235 n. 29
5.10	251	4.36.3	230
6.1–2	251	5.2.1–2	237
7.4	251	5.13.14–15	235 n. 30
7.8	251	16.1–7	235
Tertullian		<i>Adversus Praxean</i>	
<i>Adversus Iudaeos</i>		15.1	237
9.18	237 n. 35	Theodoret of Cyrus	
		<i>In epistulam II ad Corinthios</i>	
		PG 8,3	183 n. 124

Greek-Roman Literature

Horace		<i>Respublica</i>	
<i>Satirae</i>		614b–621b	245
1.4.1	286 n. 56	<i>Timaeus</i>	
Plato		28–29	233
<i>Symposium</i>		Porphyry	
201d–212 a	245	<i>Vita Plotini</i>	
		16	240, 247

Inscriptions and Papyri

AF		P.Eg. 2	135, 145
255	294		
289	294	P.Giss.Lit. 5.4	308n.
I GLS			
IV 1483	292	P.Iand.	
IV 1488	289	I 6	307 f.
V 2061	293 n. 13		
		P.Mich.	
P.Ant.		II 2.130	141
I 8	276n.	inv. 5554	275
III 210	276n.		
		P.Oxy.	
P.Baden		1.1	135, 139, 141, 163
IV 56b	275	4.654	135, 139, 145, 163
		4.655	135, 139, 141, 163
P.Beatty		5.840	141, 148
V 6	275	8.1075	276n.
		8.1077	307
		8.1079	276n.
P.Berl.		10.1224	135
3607	155	50.3525	135, 145
3623	155	76.5073	145, 163
7977	149	78.5172	307
11710	149, 163		
11914	151, 163		
21315	151		
		P.Princ.	
		II 107	308
P.Bodmer			
VII	163	P.Ryl.	
VIII	163	463	145
P.Duk.inv.			
778	308 f.		

Index of Modern Authors

- Abegg, M. G. 45
Ackroyd, P. R. 67
Akiyama, K. 7
Aland, B. 216, 279
Aland, K. 216, 279
Albertz, R. 14
Albrecht, F. 14
Aletti, J.-N. 116
Alexander, L. 277
Alkier, S. 258
Allen, D. M. 194, 205 f.
Allen, G. 258
Allison, D. C. 120, 215
Amundsen, L. 297
Ando, C. 134
Ashbrook Harvey, S. 283
Assmann, A. 6, 11, 215
Assmann, J. 6, 11, 265
Attridge, H. W. 191, 195, 197, 199, 200, 202
Auffarth, C. 243
Aune, D. E. 26, 123
Auvinen, V. 109
- Baarda, T. 151
Bachmann, M. 174
Bagnall, R. S. 133, 271, 285
Baker, W. R. 214
Baltes, G. 174
Barc, B. 241, 242, 244
Barnett, P. 183
Barrett, C. K. 122
Barth, M. 191, 196–200, 204
Barthélemy, D. 70, 72, 77
Bastianini, G. 307
Bateman, H. W. 198
Batovici, D. 5, 257
Batten, A. J. 211
Bauckham, R. 191, 194, 202, 214, 216, 258, 277, 303
Bauer, T. J. 168
Bauer, W. 216
Baum, A. D. 174
- Beale, G. K. 116
Beaude, P.-M. 80
Becker, E. M. 273
Becker, M. 26, 54, 41, 61
Beckwith, R. T. 77
BeDuhn, J. D. 243
Beentjes, P. P. 76
Bendlin, A. A. 6
Ben Zvi, E. 9
Bergren, T. A. 54, 58, 258–263
Bernhard, A. E. 145
Betz, H. D. 172, 174
Beuken, W. A. M. 14
Bianquis, T. 310
Blackman, E. C. 226
Blanc, C. 253
Blomberg, C. L. 194, 221, 222
Blum, E. 13, 61
Boccaccini, G. 13, 51, 58, 63 f.
Bockmuehl, M. 115–116
Boer, M. C. de 168, 171 f.
Bogaert, P.-M. 54, 57, 62, 74
Bohak, G. 303–306
Böhm, C. 41, 165, 180, 184, 298 f., 302, 304
Bokedal, T. 273
Bonney, G. 70
Borrell i Viader, A. 81
Bovon, F. 82, 270
Boyarín, D. 60
Brashler, J. 248
Breed, B. 297
Bréhier, É. 240
Bremmer, J. N. 6, 258
Brettler, M. Z. 7
Brooke, G. J. 5, 27, 56, 302, 304
Brown, R. E. 97
Brown, W. P. 297 f.
Bruyn, T. S. de 307, 308
Bull, C. H. 290
Bultmann, C. 6
Bultmann, R. 79
Burchard, C. 213, 219, 220–222

- Burke, T. 263
 Burridge, R. A. 274
 Busto Saiz, J. R. 73
 Buttica, S. 134, 227

 Cadbury, H. 121
 Caird, G. B. 121, 191, 200, 204
 Calaway, J. 195
 Campenhausen, H. von 1, 68, 130 f., 271
 Cancik, H. 123
 Capes, D. B. 275
 Carr, D. M. 9, 61
 Carson, D. A. 116
 Casanova, A. 307
 Ceriani, A. M. 51, 64
 Cerone, J. N. 23, 29
 Chapa, J. 145, 273, 307, 310
 Charlesworth, J. H. 107, 111, 131
 Chazon, E. G. 27
 Chilton, B. 80, 96, 102
 Choat, M. 311
 Cisneros, J. de 68
 Clarysse, W. 275
 Claußen, C. 32
 Clements, R. 27
 Clivaz, C. 139
 Cockerill, G. L. 192, 196 f., 201, 204
 Coggins, R. 259
 Cohen, S. J. D. 7
 Cohn-Sherbok, D. M. 121
 Collart, P. 297
 Collins, J. J. 6, 7, 25, 50–52, 54
 Colomo, D. 145
 Colpe, C. 6
 Cranfield, C. E. B. 120, 186
 Cribiore, R. 285
 Crisci, E. 282
 Crisp, S. 75
 Crouch, C. L. 10
 Crüsemann, F. 11

 Dahmen, U. 42
 Daube, D. 119
 Davila, J. R. 52, 62, 258, 302 f.
 Davids, P. H. 211, 221
 Davies, A. T. 228
 Davies, W. D. 120
 Davis, K. 29

 Dawson, D. T. 253
 Decock, P. B. 120
 Deines, R. 110
 Demirer, Ü. 293
 Denaux, A. 120
 Denis, A.-M. 63
 Deppe, D. B. 211
 Dettwiler, A. 134, 227
 Dibelius, M. 214, 220, 221
 Dietrich, W. 9
 Dijkstra, J. H. F. 307, 308
 Dimant, D. 27, 32 f.
 DiTommaso, L. 55
 Docherty, S. 189, 192, 194–196, 198 f.,
 201 f., 204
 Dochorn, J. 302
 Dodd, C. H. 79 f.
 Doering, L. 51, 60
 Doeve, J. W. 121
 Dorival, G. 14
 Dubois, J.-D. 240
 Dubovský, P. 11 f.
 Duff, P. B. 175
 Dunn, J. D. G. 100, 109, 166 f., 180, 235
 Dyer, B. R. 199

 Edelman, D. V. 5, 7, 9
 Edwards, J. 120
 Eford, J. M. 79
 Efrogmson, D. P. 228
 Ehrman, B. D. 57, 311
 Eitrem, S. 297
 Elgvin, T. 29
 Ellingworth, P. 196 f., 201
 Elliott, J. K. 272, 277–279
 Ellis, E. E. 118, 165
 Eltester, W. 126
 Embry, B. 31
 Emmel, S. 271
 Enns, P. 121, 194
 Epp, E. J. 134, 274–276, 278 f.
 Evans, C. A. 40, 80, 96, 102, 111, 117, 122,
 124, 127, 284, 292
 Evans, C. F. 67

 Fabry, H.-J. 6, 14, 42, 46, 298
 Fainzilber, M. 118
 Feder, F. 51, 63

- Fee, G. D. 311
 Feissel, D. 290
 Feldman, A. 56
 Fernández Marcos, N. 72, 73, 74
 Finkelberg, M. 277
 Finkelstein, I. 13
 Finsterbusch, K. 6, 177
 Fitzmyer, J. A. 124, 169, 171, 173, 186, 196
 Flint, P. W. 23, 27, 30 f., 34–45, 297–304
 Focant, C. 92, 94 f., 106
 Focken, F.-E. 13
 Foerster, W. 248 f., 252 f.
 Förg, F. 8
 Fornberg, T. 52, 148
 Forster, P. 211
 Foskolou, V. A. 293
 France, R. T. 120, 194, 200, 202, 204
 Frankemölle, H. 220 f.
 Frankena, R. 10
 Freudmann, L. C. 202
 Frey, J. 23, 26, 29–32, 41, 43, 50, 54, 57, 61, 139
 Frey-Anthes, H. 304
 Fridrichsen, A. 297
 Fröhlich, I. 302
 Froschauer, H. 278
 Frösén, J. 291
 Frymer-Kenski, T. 20
 Fusco, V. 82

 Gadot, Y. 13
 Gallarte, I. M. 283
 Gamble, H. Y. 129, 133, 272, 277
 García Martínez, F. 23 f., 301–306
 Gasque, W. W. 211
 Gaudí, A. 3
 Gauger, J.-D. 267
 Gebauer, R. 177
 Geest, J. E. L. van der 237
 Gelder, G. J. H. van 63
 Georges, T. 8, 14
 Gertz, J. C. 9, 18
 Gheorghita, R. 196, 198, 200 f.
 Gitt, W. 80
 Gleaves, G. S. 76
 Gnilka, J. 83, 92, 122
 Goodenough, E. R. 290

 Goodman, M. 62
 Görg, M. 13
 Gounelle, R. 252
 Graetz, H. 26
 Grafton, A. 276, 280 f.
 Granerød, G. 8
 Grant, D. E. 299
 Grant, R. M. 285 f.
 Grässer, E. 190 f., 196
 Greer, R. A. 52
 Grenfell, B. P. 63
 Greschat, K. 236
 Griffiths, J. I. 191, 194–196, 199 f., 202
 Grundmann, W. 123
 Gundry, R. 121 f.
 Gunneweg, A. H. J. 19
 Gurtner, D. M. 274
 Guthrie, G. H. 191 f., 197–202, 204

 Haacker, K. 166, 169, 180
 Haag, E. 8
 Haber, S. 202
 Haenchen, E. 119, 121
 Hägerland, T. 109
 Hamilton, A. 64
 Hanson, P. D. 50
 Harl, M. 14
 Harlow, D. C. 52
 Harnack, A. von 132, 134, 225, 234
 Harrauer, H. 278
 Harrison, C. 271
 Harrison, P. 118
 Hartin, P. J. 212, 217, 218
 Hatina, T. R. 126
 Hays, R. B. 79, 107–109, 115–117, 123, 127, 165
 Hellholm, D. 52, 148
 Hempel, C. 32, 53
 Henze, M. 8
 Head, P. M. 148, 274
 Heckel, U. 170
 Heil, U. 179
 Heinen, H. 294
 Heininger, B. 262
 Helmer, C. 61
 Hendel, R. 243
 Henein, N. H. 310
 Hengel, M. 76, 79, 213

- Henze, M. 51, 53–56, 58 f., 63 f., 302
 Herbert, E. D. 27
 Hermann, S. 6
 Herms, R. 31
 Hernitschek, E. 130
 Heszer, C. 9
 Hieke, T. 258
 Hilhorst, A. 57
 Hill, C. E. 135, 273
 Himmelfarb, M. 245
 Hirschberger, V. 258–260, 262
 Hollander, H. W. 175
 Holmes, M. W. 283, 287, 311
 Holtz, T. 170
 Hooker, M. 119, 121
 Hötzing, H. 116
 Houston, G. W. 278
 Howard, D. M. Jr. 303
 Hübner, H. 165, 171, 184, 186
 Huebenthal, S. 98, 126
 Hughes, G. 191, 195 f., 198, 200 f., 204
 Hultgren, A. J. 104 f., 120
 Humfress, C. 271
 Hunt, A. S. 63
 Hunter, D. G. 283
 Hurtado, L. W. 133, 135, 139, 163, 271

 Ilan, T. 6
 Isaacs, M. E. 191, 204

 Jain, E. 29, 42, 297–302
 Jalabert, L. 290
 Jamieson, R. B. 203, 204
 Jenni, H. 14
 Janzen, J. G. 120, 123
 Jenott, L. 138
 Jewett, R. 166, 171, 173, 180, 183, 186
 Jinbachian, M. 75
 Jipp, J. W. 200
 Jobs, K. H. 198
 Johnson, L. T. 124, 217–219, 222
 Johnson, S. 121
 Johnson, W. A. 139
 Jokiranta, J. 302
 Jones, A. 282, 308
 Jones, B. C. 145, 307
 Judge, E. A. 276
 Junod, É. 75

 Kaestli, J.-D. 61, 75
 Kalimi, I. 57, 116, 127, 239
 Kamell, M. J. 221 f.
 Kampen, K. van 271, 278
 Karrer, M. 14, 74 f., 257
 Käsemann, E. 182, 186
 Katz, S. T. 27
 Keesmaat, S. C. 165
 Kelhoffer, J. A. 236
 Kessler, N. 32
 Kibbe, M. H. 194, 200, 206
 Kinzig, W. 130, 226, 237
 Klassen, W. 191
 Klauck, H.-J. 60, 184
 Klein, M. 213
 Klijn, A. F. J. 63, 64
 Klinghardt, M. 232
 Klingshirn, W. W. 278, 288
 Kloppenborg, J. S. 104, 106, 211–213, 276
 Knibb, M. A. 50, 56, 259
 Knoppers, G. N. 8, 9, 14
 Knox, J. 227
 Koch, D.-A. 127, 165, 169–172, 175, 178–180, 182, 184
 Koester, C. R. 190–192, 194, 196–198, 200 f.
 Koet, B. J. 168, 175
 Kollmann, B. 43
 Konradt, M. 53, 211–213, 221
 Konstantinou, M. 75
 Kooij, A. van der 19
 Körting, C. 303 f.
 Koskenniemi, E. 302
 Kotsifou, C. 278
 Kraft, R. A. 52, 56 f., 258, 272
 Kratz, R. G. 8 f., 11, 18, 165
 Kraus, T. J. 132, 138, 148 f., 163, 257, 291–295, 297, 306–308
 Kraus, W. 14, 71 f., 74, 167, 292
 Krauter, S. 14
 Kreuzer, S. 14, 292
 Kretzschmar, G. 257
 Kroehnert, O. 286
 Kruger, M. J. 129, 134, 148 f., 273 f.
 Kugel, J. L. 52, 54
 Kulakowsky, J. 295
 Kurfeß, A. 267

- La'da, C. A. 307–309
 Laansma, J. C. 195
 Laato, A. 54
 Lagrange, M.-J. 124
 Lambrecht, J. 179
 Landau, B. 263
 Landmesser, C. 61
 Lane, W. L. 121, 191, 192, 195 f., 198, 202, 204
 Lang, H. W. 278
 Lange, A. 6 f., 23, 27, 29, 32, 38, 42, 61
 Langlois, M. 29
 Larsen, J. T. 283 f.
 Lasater, P. M. 5
 La Sor, W. S. 211
 Le Déaut, R. 242
 Leemhuis, F. 63
 Légasse, S. 166 f.
 Lemche, N. P. 9
 Levin, C. 7
 Levenson, J. D. 52
 Levinson, B. M. 8–10, 18, 20
 Levison, J. R. 52
 Lewicki, T. 190 f., 194–197, 200
 Lewis, J. P. 26
 Lichtenberger, H. 14
 Liebers, R. 122
 Lied, L. I. 51, 53, 63, 64, 290
 Liedhegener, A. 10
 Lietzmann, H. 149
 Lieu, J. M. 2, 53, 227 f., 230–233, 235, 237
 Lim, T. H. 6 f., 25, 54, 196
 Lindemann, A. 170, 174, 177–180
 Lipschits, O. 14
 Litwa, D. 249
 Loader, W. R. G. 79, 202
 Löhr, W. A. 130, 233, 247–249, 252
 Lohse, E. 166 f., 179
 Longenecker, R. N. 176, 191 f., 197 f.
 López, F. G. 14
 Luijendijk, A. 139, 145
 Luisier, P. 253
 Lundhaug, H. 138
 Luther, S. 209, 213 f., 218, 221
 Luz, U. 82, 84, 94 f., 97, 102

 Maass, F. 6
 Macchi, J.-D. 16

 MacDonald, N. 11
 Macholz, C. 61
 Mackie, S. D. 196
 Maehler, H. 278
 Maier, C. L. 7
 Main, E. 122
 Makrides, V. N. 6
 Malcolm, M. R. 110
 Maltomini, F. 148
 Mann, C. S. 119, 121
 Manoff, I. 8, 54
 Manson, W. 124
 Marcus, J. 108
 Markl, D. 11
 Marksches, C. 129 f., 132, 139, 151, 251 f., 277, 287
 Marshall, I. H. 120, 124
 Martin, M. W. 205
 Martin, R. P. 183, 221
 Martin Hogan, K. 51, 59, 64
 März, C. P. 6
 Mason, E. F. 205
 Mason, S. 7
 Matera, F. J. 166
 Mathys, H.-P. 16
 May, G. 236
 Mays, J. L. 6
 McCarter, P. K. 13
 McCullough, J. C. 198
 McDonald, L. M. 7, 26 f., 76, 129 f., 134, 272 f., 284, 286
 Meier, J. P. 84
 Meinhold, A. 16
 Meiser, M. 177 f., 236
 Menken, M. J. J. 165, 191
 Merkt, A. 261
 Merz, A. 81, 109
 Metzger, B. M. 129, 131, 151, 155
 Metzner, R. 210 f., 213–217, 221
 Meyers, A. D. 117
 Michel, O. 184, 186
 Milbach, L. 258, 262
 Milik, J. T. 43, 49
 Millar, F. 62
 Miller, P. 117
 Mitchell, M. M. 213
 Moehring, H. 266
 Moffitt, D. M. 193, 196, 201, 204

- Moloney, F.J. 128
 Moo, D.J. 171 f., 220
 Moore, N.J. 190, 193, 200 f.
 Moran, W.L. 11
 Morenz, S. 6
 Morris, M. 302–304, 308
 Moser, M. 117
 Motyer, S. 199
 Moyise, S. 79, 116, 118, 165, 168, 191
 Mroczek, E. 8, 49, 54
 Mugridge, A. 276 f.
 Müller, K. 262
 Müller, M. 70, 75
 Mußner, F. 172, 221
- Najman, H. 5, 8, 39, 53 f., 57
 Nickelsburg, G.W.E. 43, 52 f., 59
 Nicklas, T. 1, 6, 57, 116, 127, 130, 132 f.,
 138, 148 f., 163, 239, 257 f., 260–262,
 264, 266, 268, 283, 308
 Niebuhr, K.-W. 177, 210, 215, 217
 Nienhuis, D.R. 215
 Nihan, C. 15
 Nineham, D.E. 121
 Nolland, J. 124
 Nongbri, B. 275
 Norelli, E. 82, 252
 Nüssel, F. 18
- Öhler, M. 165, 168
 Offerhaus, U. 14
 Olbricht, T.H. 205
 Olender, M. 241
 Oorschot, J. van 6
 Orsini, P. 275
 Osborn, E. 226
 Otranto, R. 278
 Ott, M. 13
 Otto, E. 10, 17
- Painchaud, L. 253
 Pajunen, M.S. 302
 Pakkala, J. 11
 Panayotov, A. 258, 303
 Pannenberg, W. 6
 Papathomas, A. 307–309
 Parker, D.C. 131, 277 f., 283
 Parsons, P.J. 285
- Pattie, T.S. 278
 Paul, S.M. 27, 34
 Pearson, B.A. 248
 Pecere, O. 282
 Peeler, A.L.B. 190–193, 197, 199 f.
 Peláez, J. 283
 Petersen, D.L. 6
 Petrucci, A. 282
 Pfann, S. 32
 Pfeiffer, R. 285 f.
 Pickering, S.R. 276
 Pietersma, A. 68
 Pitre, B. 100
 Pitts, A.W. 271, 274, 286
 Ploeg, J.P.M. van der 301
 Plummer, A. 124
 Pokorný, P. 111
 Polen, N. 202
 Popkes, E.E. 139
 Popkes, W. 210, 214 f., 217, 221
 Popović, M. 5 f., 19, 24, 32
 Porter, S.E. 115–117, 165, 205, 271, 274,
 286
 Pourier, P.-H. 253
 Préaux, C. 297, 310
 Prentice, W.K. 289 f., 292
 Prieur, J.-M. 252
 Prigent, P. 229
 Puech, É. 43, 57
 Puig i Tàrrach, A. 3, 105
 Puroola, T. 291
- Quecke, H. 151
- Rapp, C. 288
 Rascher, A. 191, 197 f., 200
 Rasimus, T. 290
 Rebiger, B. 296
 Reed, A.Y. 57
 Reinbold, W. 43, 182
 Reiter, F. 149
 Reynolds, B.E. 53
 Ribbens, B.J. 200, 203 f.
 Richards, K.H. 6
 Richelle, M. 13
 Riesner, R. 79
 Rigaux, B. 120
 Roberts, C.H. 272

- Robinson, J. A. T. 112
 Robinson, J. M. 239
 Roessli, J.-M. 262
 Rohde, J. 172
 Rollston, C. 13
 Rom-Shiloni, D. 9
 Römer, C. E. 278
 Römer, T. 9, 157
 Rudnig-Zelt, S. 302
 Rudolph, W. 16
 Ruhnken, D. 286
 Ruiten, J. van 54
 Rüpke, J. 6, 134
 Rütterswörden, U. 10

 Sackur, E. 263
 Saebø, M. 52
 Safran, L. 278, 288
 Sagnard, F. 249, 253
 Salmenkivi, E. 291
 Samely, A. 189
 Sánchez Caro, J. M. 76
 Sanders, J. A. 26 f., 76, 117, 129, 134, 272,
 287, 298, 300, 305
 Sandnes, K. O. 181
 Sandwell, I. 271
 Sängler, D. 53, 174, 178
 Sanzo, J. E. 307, 310
 Sass, B. 13
 Satlow, M. 6
 Saur, M. 14
 Schelenberg, A. 20
 Schenck, K. L. 191, 193, 196 f., 200
 Schenk-Ziegler, A. 221
 Schlatter, A. 221
 Schlosser, J. 210 f., 216
 Schmeller, T. 178
 Schmid, K. 5, 9–11, 14–16, 18 f., 39, 53,
 130
 Schmidt, D. D. 273, 278
 Schmutzer, A. J. 303
 Schnackenburg, R. 128
 Schneider, T. 6
 Schnelle, U. 177
 Schniedewind, W. 6, 13
 Scholz, S. 273
 Schrage, W. 170, 177, 179
 Schreiner, T. R. 180, 183, 186

 Schrenk, G. 173, 185
 Schröter, J. 130, 134, 139, 177, 211 f., 258,
 264
 Schubert, P. 126
 Schürer, E. 62
 Schwankl, O. 120, 122, 124
 Schwartz, D. R. 7
 Schweitzer, A. 110
 Schweizer, E. 125–127
 Scott Caulley, T. 14
 Seeliger, H. R. 273
 Seid, T. W. 205
 Seybold, K. 298
 Sharpe, J. L. 271, 278
 Shedinger, R. F. 300
 Shoemaker, S. J. 263, 268
 Siegert, F. 13
 Sigismund, M. 292
 Ska, J. L. 18
 Skeat, T. C. 272
 Skehan, P. 300
 Small, B. C. 194
 Smillie, G. R. 190, 191, 201
 Smith, D. M. 79
 Smith, G. S. 145
 Snodgrass, K. R. 104, 106
 Snyder, G. 191
 Sommer, M. 169, 257, 260
 Sonnet, J.-P. 11
 Speyer, W. 57
 Spieckermann, H. 11
 Stackert, J. 10
 Stamps, D. L. 117, 205
 Stanley, C. D. 165
 Stanton, G. N. 259
 Steck, O. H. 6., 14, 16, 37
 Stegemann, E. 61
 Stegemann, H. 23, 31 f.
 Stegmüller, O. 151
 Steins, G. 14
 Stettner, J. 269
 Steudel, A. 23, 34, 36, 43 f., 46 f.
 Steymans, H.-U. 10
 Steyn, G. J. 199, 201, 204
 Still, T. D. 182
 Stökl Ben Ezra, D. 23, 32
 Stone, M. E. 50–54, 58 f., 62, 64
 Stroumsa, G. G. 246, 271, 277

- Stuckenbruck, L. T. 50, 58, 243
 Stuhlmacher, P. 171, 176, 180
 Swete, H. B. 69, 119
- Tamási, B. 57
 Tappenden, F. S. 126
 Tappy, R. E. 13
 Tardieu, M. 240–244, 246
 Theissen, G. 81, 109, 215
 Thiessen, M. 192
 Thomassen, E. 251, 254
 Thrall, M. E. 183 f.
 Tigchelaar, E. 23, 26 f., 29, 39, 46 f., 51 f.,
 57, 301
 Tilly, M. 8, 165, 169
 Torres Guerra, J. B. 285 f.
 Tov, E. 7, 30, 40, 72, 284
 Treier, D. 194 f., 204
 Treu, K. 151
 Trobisch, D. 283 f.
 Troyer, K. de 5, 9, 14
 Tsuji, M. 213
 Tunger-Zanetti, A. 10
 Turner, E. G. 277, 282
 Turner, J. D. 245 f., 290
 Twiss, J. L. 118
 Tworuschka, U. 6
- Ulrich, E. 5, 27–29, 38, 40, 45, 284, 300,
 301, 303
 Utzschneider, H. 165, 169
- VanderKam, J. C. 23, 27, 30 f., 34, 37,
 39–45, 298
 Van den Kerchove, A. 243
 van de Sandt, H. 121, 212
 Van Rompay, L. 63
 Van Unnik, W. C. 57
 Verheyden, J. 9, 121, 130, 168, 261,
 264
 Vermes, G. 62
 Vicent, R. 70
 Vikan, G. 293
 Violet, B. 64
 Vivian, A. 74
 Voitila, A. 302
 Vouga, F. 79, 120 f., 172
 Vreugdenhil, G. C. 302
- Wachob, W. H. 217 f.
 Wagner, J. R. 165, 182
 Wahl, H. M. 9
 Wall, R. W. 210, 215, 217
 Wallraff, M. 133 f., 273, 275, 277, 280 f.,
 288
 Walser, G. A. 198
 Walton, B. 67
 Warren, D. 118
 Washburn, D. L. 300
 Wassen, C. 24, 32 f.
 Wasserman, T. 163, 275
 Watson, F. 3, 288
 Webb, R. L. 213
 Webber, F. R. 190
 Webster, B. 30
 Wedderburn, A. J. M. 202
 Weinfeld, M. 10
 Weinrich, W. C. 200
 Weis, R. D. 9, 61
 Weiss, Z. 7
 Weren, W. 121
 Wermelinger, O. 61, 75
 Westbrook, R. 20
 Westerholm, M. 210
 Westerholm, S. 210
 Wevers, J. W. 14
 White Crawford, S. 24, 32 f.
 Whitlark, J. A. 205
 Whitters, M. F. 53, 60
 Wider, D. 190, 195
 Wilckens, U. 182, 186
 Wilk, F. 165, 167 f., 177, 182
 Williams, M. 276, 280 f.
 Williamson, R. 191
 Willits, J. 274
 Wilson, R. McL. 248 f., 252 f.
 Wilson, S. G. 228
 Wirth, G. 294
 Wirz, S. 10
 Wischmeyer, O. 167
 Witherington, B. 221
 Wold, B. 302
 Wolff, C. 165, 170, 174, 179, 183 f.
 Wolter, M. 166 f., 180, 182, 258 f.
 Wooden, R. G. 165
 Woude, A. S. van der 301
 Wright, A. T. 31

- Wright, B. G. 68
Wright, E. J. 57 f.
Wright, N. T. 99, 106, 117
Wright, R. B. 107
Wucherpfennig, A. 252

Xeravits, G. G. 57, 239

Yarbro Collins, A. 149, 258

Zacharias, H. D. 292
Zahn, T. 129, 213

Zangenberg, J. K. 212
Zenger, E. 42, 46, 298, 303
Zeller, D. 166, 170, 176, 179 f., 183
Zenger, E. 14
Ziegler, J. 180
Zumstein, J. 139
Zuntz, G. 205
Zurawski, J. M. 13

Index of Subjects

Note: References to authority and authorization are not indexed.

- 1–2 Peter 274n., 275, 284, 287n.
2 Baruch 49–65
– claims to authority 56–62
– transmission and reception history 60, 62–64
– use of Scripture 52–56
3 Corinthians 163, 287n.
4 Ezra 49–65, 258, 261–263
– claims to authority 56–62
– connection to 5 and 6 Ezra 258, 262 f.
– reception history 62–64
– use of Scripture 52–56
5 Ezra 257–263, 270
6 Ezra 258
- Aaron 99, 197n., 203, 250
Abel 199n., 241 f.
Abraham 8, 52 f., 55, 86, 99, 105, 115, 118n., 120, 126 f., 167–168n., 171n., 174n., 175, 182–183n., 184, 192–194, 216, 218–219n., 222n., 248, 250, 280
Acta Archelai 247
Acts of Paul 287n.
Acts of Peter 287n.
Acts of the Apostles 116, 124n., 125 f., 128, 131n., 134, 227, 274n., 275, 278n., 279, 284
Adam 52n., 55, 167, 181, 184n., 229, 239, 241–245, 249, 251, 253
aemulatio 212–213n.
Aeschylus 285 f.
Aion 243
Alcaeus 285–286n.
Alexandria 67, 70, 233, 247, 250, 253, 255, 294
– canon 76
– exegetical school 255
– Judaism 233
allegory/allegorical interpretation 165n., 169, 173, 184, 227, 253–255
- Allogenes, *see* Apocalypse of Allogenes
allusion, *see* quotation/allusion
Amalek 12
Ambrose of Milan 64
Ammonite (language) 13
amulet/amulets 132, 145, 148–151, 163, 274, 292–294, 296 f., 306–311
angel/angels/angelology 31, 34, 45, 53, 59, 71 f., 85, 118 f., 128, 148, 192–193, 243, 245 f., 264, 304, 307n., 308
Antichrist, *see* anti-Messianic figures
anti-Judaism 227 f., 241
anti-Messianic figures 44, 267
Antiochene text 73 f., 75n., 292–293n., 309
Apamea 295
Apion 26
Apocalypse of Allogenes 240, 245
Apocalypse of Ezra, *see* 4 Ezra
Apocalypse of John, *see* Revelation
Apocalypse of Messos 240
Apocalypse of Nikotheos 240
Apocalypse of Paul 258, 269
Apocalypse of Peter 247 f., 250, 257, 287n.
Apocalypse of the Virgin 269
Apocalypse of Thomas 269
Apocalypse of Weeks, *see* Qumran texts (4Q247)
Apocalypse of Zoroaster 240–243, 246
Apocalypse of Zostrianos 240, 246 f.
apocalyptic/apocalypticism 2, 8, 31, 41, 43, 49 f., 53 f., 60n., 62, 85, 240, 245, 257–259n.,
apocryphal/apocryphicity 27 f., 39, 42, 52n., 65, 68 f., 76, 129, 163 f., 269 f., 298, 302, 305
Apocryphal Psalms, *see* Qumran texts (11Q11 / 11QApPs^a)
Apocryphon of John 239–244, 254
Apocryphon of Joshua 41, 44

- Apocryphon of Moses 2
- Apollonius of Rhodes 285
- apostolic tradition 60n., 214–215n., 284, 309
- Aquila 70, 72, 74–75n., 77, 242, 304
- Arabic (language) 63 f., 268
- Aramaic (language) 24, 30, 36, 40, 42 f., 50, 76, 80, 101, 105n., 109, 246, 296
- Aristarchus 286
- Aristeas (Letter of) 172
- Aristophanes 285
- Aristophanes of Byzantium 286
- Aristotle 285 f.
- armbands 292n., 293 f., 296, 310
- Armenian (language) 62, 64
- ascension/ascent 199–200n., 245 f., 294
- Asterius of Emesa 74n.
- astrology/astronomy 31, 43, 241, 243, 280–282
- Astronomical Book (4Q208–211) 43
- Athanasius of Alexandria 129–130n., 279n., 287n.
- Augustine of Hippo 70, 77
- Autogenes 245 f.
- Baal 73 f.
- Babylon 59, 267
- Babylonian exile 7, 50 f., 58, 261
- Bacchylides 285–286n.
- Balaam inscription 13
- baptism/baptisms 84n., 102, 106, 109n., 155, 246, 249, 294
- Bar Kokhba 76, 241, 259n.
- Barbelo 245 f.
- Barnabas (Epistle of) 69, 227, 287n.
- Baruch 8, 53 f., 57–60, 63
- Basilides/Basilidians 240, 247–250, 253 f.
- Belial 304
- Ben Sira/Sirach (book and character) 26, 28, 30, 42, 45, 51n., 56 f., 69, 76, 133n., 169, 171, 212n., 216 f., 220n., 247, 253, 276n., 299
- Bible oracles, *see* hermeneiai
- biblical canon, *see* canon/canonicity
- biblical manuscripts 23–31, 35, 38–44, 63, 73, 77, 151, 258, 276–279, 297–309
- book/books (passim)
- collection 1 f., 5, 23n., 24, 26, 28, 32 f., 49 f., 56, 61, 69, 75, 115–118, 126–128, 129–134, 141, 155, 215n., 216 f., 225–228, 234, 236, 271–273, 278 f., 283–287
 - format and material production 30 f., 37, 133 f., 135, 138 f., 141, 148, 163, 271–284, 287 f., 303, 305–307
 - miniature codices and scrolls 148, 163, 303, 305–307
 - religion(s) of the 6–8
- Book of Giants 30
- Book of Jubilees, *see* Jubilees
- Book of Hagi/Hagu 44
- βουϋ tablets 292 f.
- Byzantium 268
- Cain 229, 241
- Cairo Geniza 31, 76, 296
- calendars 13, 31, 35, 43, 46, 253
- Cambridge Bible 63
- canon/canonicity (passim)
- as a list 46
 - as an anthology 287 f.
 - as cross-reference table 280–282
 - as *regula fidei* 281
 - criteria 24 f., 32–37, 85, 88, 132, 252, 285 f.
 - of the New Testament 129–133, 155–164, 227, 257, 269 f., 271–273, 277, 279, 287 f.
 - of the Old Testament 76, 287
 - in the Dead Sea Scrolls 25–33, 38–44, 75–77, 291
 - in the Greek Bible (Septuagint) 30, 33, 40 f., 67–71, 76, 291
 - in the Hebrew Bible 12–21, 26–28, 33–35, 75–77, 291
 - within canon 28
- Carpianus 280n., 282
- Catholic Epistles 155, 163, 274n., 278n., 279
- Cerdo 229n.
- chi-rho*, *see* Christogram
- Chnum 294
- Christogram 289
- Christology/Christological readings 95n., 101–110, 178–179n., 191 f., 196n., 198–201, 227, 233
- Chronicles 14, 30n., 42, 46, 51, 53, 55, 77, 169

- Chusi 261
 Cicero 71
 circumcision 253
 Clement of Alexandria 60, 130n., 135, 220n., 247–251, 253
 codex (book format), *see* book/books
 Codex Alexandrinus 69, 198, 277–278n., 283n.
 Codex Ambrosianus 51, 63–65
 Codex Bezae 151
 Codex Brucianus 240
 Codex Sinaiticus 69, 277
 Codex Vaticanus 69, 198, 277–279n., 283n.
 Commodian 269n.
 Community Rule, *see* Qumran texts (IQS)
 Constans (emperor) 265–266n.
 Constantine the Great 265–266n., 268
coronis 139
 Council of Trent 263
 covenant 35, 47, 87, 98–101, 111, 193–196, 201f., 204–207, 231, 237 f.
 Covenant Code 18
 cross/crucifixion 101, 109 f., 125, 204n., 226n., 266, 294, 308 f.
 cultural memory 264 f., 268, 270

 Damascus Document 31, 39, 44, 47
 Daniel/Danielic tradition 24, 30, 34, 40, 43, 45 f., 53 f., 77, 102, 169, 171, 253n.
 David/Davidic authority 27 f., 34 f., 41, 54n., 81, 93 f., 99, 101, 105–108, 111 f., 167n., 192n., 194, 197n., 199n., 268, 303–306, 308
 Dead Sea Scrolls, *see* Qumran texts
 Decalogue 11 f., 18, 24n., 90, 93 f., 111, 217, 242, 252
 Demosthenes 285–286n.
 Deuteronomy 7–12, 16–21, 30 f., 35–38, 53, 169, 192–193n., 197n., 203, 205–207, 247, 253n., 275n., 298n.
 Devil, *see* Satan
 Dialogue of Adamantius 234n.
 Diaspora 7, 28, 76
 διαθήκη 98, 226, 237 f.
 Dies irae (hymn) 268
 Dion of Prusa 286
 Dionysius of Corinth 60
 Divine Word, *see* Word of God

 divorce 84–86, 91, 95, 112, 252
Dodekapropheton, *see* Twelve Prophets

 Ecclesiastes 9, 30n., 42, 69
 Ecclesiasticus, *see* Ben Sira/Sirach
 Egerton Gospel 135, 145
 Egypt 11, 15, 76, 115, 145, 233, 274, 279n., 285, 293 f.
 Einheitsübersetzung 124
 Εἷς θεός-formula 293 f.
El-Alitha 246
 Elephantine 8
 Elijah 37, 81n., 86, 110, 216, 222, 234 f., 267
 Elisha 81n., 230
 En Gedi 72
 Enoch/Enochic literature 8, 30 f., 35 f., 43–46, 49–52, 65, 69, 76, 243 f., 246 f., 267
 ἐντολή 172–174, 217
 Ephraem the Syrian 234 f.
 Epiphanius 251
 Epistle of Jeremiah 45, 69
 esoteric revelations 53, 58, 61 f.
 Esther (book) 9, 30, 33, 35, 45, 51, 54, 69, 169
 Ethiopic (language) 8, 50, 64, 268
 etymology 241, 246, 281
 Euripides 285 f.
 Eusebius of Caesarea 67, 129–130n., 135, 280, 282, 288n.
 Eve 244 f.
 evil eye 293 f., 310
 Exegesis of the Soul 254
 Exodus 17 f., 30, 35–37, 86, 99, 167n., 169, 197n.
 exorcism 103, 302n., 310
 Ezekiel (book and character) 30 f., 34, 39 f., 45, 47, 53, 55, 69, 254
 Eznik of Kolb 230n.
 Ezra/Ezra literature 8, 12, 14, 19, 37, 42, 49–65, 69, 257–263, *see also* 4 Ezra
 Ezra-Nehemiah 30n., 34, 46

 flood 230 f., 241–243
 Florence Bible 63
 Florilegium, *see* Qumran texts (4Q174 / 4QFlor)

- Fourfold Gospels 115, 134, 272
 Four Kingdoms, *see* Qumran texts
 (4Q552–553)
 fulfillment 196, 200, 203, 215, 218n.
 funerary strips 145

 Gabbari (necropolis) 294
 Galilee 80
 Garden of Eden, *see* Paradise
 Genesis Apocryphon 30, 37
 Georgian (language) 64
 Gezer calendar 13
gezera shawa 96n., 165n., 201
 Gnostic literature 230, 233, 239–255
 Gog and Magog 267 f.
 Gospel of John 96, 113, 117n., 128, 131n.,
 135, 138, 149, 151, 155, 163, 251–253,
 265n., 271n., 274–275n., 280n., 283n.,
 284
 Gospel of Luke 71, 81–83, 98, 104,
 118–120, 123–128, 131n., 133n., 134 f., 230
 Gospel of Mark 96, 98, 103–110, 119–124,
 134 f., 145–148, 151, 274n., 284
 Gospel of Mary 135, 145, 239
 Gospel of Matthew 101–110, 119–124,
 134 f., 280n., 284
 Gospel of Peter 135n.
 Gospel of the Egyptians 135n., 287n.
 Gospel of the Hebrews 135, 287n.
 Gospel of Thomas 104 f., 138–148
 γραφή 121, 127, 172–174, 184, 191, 210,
 215 f., 218 f.
 Great Archon 244, 250

 Habakkuk 36, 39
 halakhah 31, 33, 35, 46, 80
 heavenly tablets 34, 45
Hebraica veritas 64, 68, 72, 77
 Hebrew (language) 13, 24, 30, 37–39, 44,
 62, 64, 67–72, 75 f., 105, 109, 199n., 242,
 291, 296–297n., 300, 310
 Hebrews (Epistle to the) 74, 131n.,
 189–207, 271n., 274–275n., 287n.
 Hebrew Bible, *see* canon/canonicity
 Hecuba 263
 Hellenism 7, 14, 117n., 285
 Hellenistic Judaism 69, 72, 76, 82, 215,
 233, 241, 243

 heresy vs. orthodoxy 131, 138, 163,
 228–231, 234, 238
 Hermas 69, 129, 141, 257 f., 287n.
hermeneiai 151, 163
 Herodotus 285
 Hesiod 285
 Hexapla 72, 74, 75n., 276 f., 280
 High Priest 94, 200, 253
 Hillel 80, 84
 Hodayot, *see* Qumran texts (1QH^a)
 Holy Spirit, *see* Spirit
 Homer 134, 233, 284 f.
 Hosea 36, 39, 53, 167n., 254
 Hypostasis of the Archons 243 f.
 Hypsiphronne 246

 Ialdabaoth 244
 identity (Christian) 229, 232, 234, 268,
 286
 intertextuality 71, 79, 115–117
 Ἰουδαϊσμός 7
 Irenaeus 131, 134 f., 228–231, 247 f.,
 250–252, 254, 274, 287n.
 Isaac 86, 115, 120, 218, 248, 250
 Isaiah 30, 35–37, 41, 45–47, 53 f., 69, 81,
 96, 101–104, 111, 115, 133 f., 242, 247, 250,
 253n.
 Isocrates 285–286n.

 Jacob 17, 44, 71, 86, 115, 120, 248, 250
 James (brother of Jesus) 215
 James (disciple of Jesus) 86
 James (Letter of) 209–223, 274n., 275,
 284, 287n.
 Javneh 26
 Jeremiah (book and character) 30, 37,
 39–42, 45, 47, 53, 57 f., 69, 98, 167n.,
 169, 171, 254, 260
 Jeremiah Apocryphon 39
 Jericho 108n., 229
 Jerome 64, 67 f., 77
 Jerusalem 7, 19, 31 f., 50 f., 53, 56, 59,
 62, 64, 83, 96 f., 107–108n., 115, 125,
 179–180n., 192, 260, 267, 269, 299
 – as Israel's mother 260
 – Heavenly 54 f., 267
 – New 30
 – pillars 215n.

- Jesus of Nazareth (*passim*)
 – and the Scriptures 79–113, 118–123, 203
 – and the Temple 96–98, 99n., 105 f., 112
 – as a Jew 79
 – as an interpreter of Scripture 80–82, 118–124, 203
 – as a preacher of the kingdom 79, 81
 – as a priest 203–205
 – as the Messiah/Christ 94, 101–103, 106–108, 110–112, 176
 – as the Son of David or God 103–108, 115, 149, 198–201, 234, 264
 – authority 105 f., 119n., 138, 209–212
 – genealogy 54n.
 – last supper 98–101, 112
 – on divorce 84–86, 91, 95, 112, 252
 – on resurrection 118–124, 128
 – on Sabbath rules 81, 93–96, 112
 – parables 82–84, 89 f., 101, 103–106, 108, 126 f., 230
 – temptation 302
 – tradition 82, 135, 139, 141, 163, 210–212, 216n., 218
 – virginal birth 71, 264 f.
 – words from the cross 101, 109 f.
 Jesus (son of Eleazar), *see* Ben Sira/Sirach
 Job 30, 36, 42, 59, 69, 72, 216, 222
 John (Apocalypse of), *see* Revelation
 John (disciple of Jesus) 86, 215n., 239
 John (Gospel of), *see* Gospel of John
 John (Letters of) 76, 287n.
 John the Baptist 82n., 84n., 101–103, 105 f., 149, 248
 Jordan (river) 18
 Joseph (father of Jesus) 108n., 264
 Joseph (patriarch) 71
 Josephus 24, 26, 51, 72, 75, 181n.
 Joshua (book and character) 16, 30n., 41, 45, 69, 197n.
 Jubilees 30, 33–35, 37, 42–45, 69, 76
 Judah (kingdom and tribe) 5–14, 17, 19–21, 50, 59, 64, 97, 266, 297
 Judaea 46, 229n.
 Judith (book) 51, 69, 169
 Justin Martyr 72, 228–230, 233 f., 239, 252

 Kadesh Barnea 205
 Kaige revision 70, 72–74

 Kalyptos 246
 κανών/κανόνες 129n., 280–282, 285 f., 288n.
 Kertsch 294
 Khirbet el-Qom texts 13
 Khirbet Qumran 23, 32
 Kibyra 293
 king/kingdom/kingship 11 f., 19 f., 44, 196 f., 215 f., 218, 248, 265, 267 f., 280
 kingdom of God 79, 80–82, 101, 108n., 110 f., 196 f., 267
 Kings (books of) 5, 34, 37, 41, 45, 47, 55, 69, 77

 Lamentations 30n., 37, 39, 47, 69
 last days 30, 190, 194–197, 202, 207
 Last Supper, *see* Jesus
 law/laws (*esp.* Mosaic) 11–12, 16–18, 20 f., 47, 58, 68, 80, 83–96, 98, 106 f., 111–113, 115, 117–119, 133 f., 192n., 203n., 204, 206, 215–218, 226 f., 229–231, 233, 235n., 236 f., 239, 242, 247 f., 251–253, 264 f.
 Lord's Prayer 87 f., 148, 297, 308–311
 lectionaries 63, 65, 278n.
 levirate 85, 119
 Leviticus 30, 35–37, 111, 169, 205 f., 216
Liturgia Marci 308
 Luke (Gospel of), *see* Gospel of Luke
 luminaries 245 f.
 LXX, *see* Septuagint

 Maccabean period 7, 43
 Maccabees (books) 33, 51, 69, 169, 197n.
 majuscules (manuscripts) 73, 274–275n., 278–279n.
 Malachi 16
 Manasseh (king) 10, 55 f.
 Mani/Manichaeans 243n., 247
 Marcion/Marcionites 130n., 131, 155, 225–238, 252
 Mark (Gospel of), *see* Gospel of Mark
 Mark the Magician 251
 Martial 134, 274
 Mary (mother of Jesus) 264 f.
 Masada 23, 76, 298
 Masoretic canon/text 29n., 40–42, 68–73, 75, 104n., 198, 221, 291, 298 f., 305

- Matthew (Gospel of), *see* Gospel of Matthew
- Melchizedek, *see* Qumran texts (11Q13 / 11QMelch)
- Melchizedek (character) 193, 199, 204
- Menander 285
- Merkabah mysticism 244
- Mesha stele 13
- messiah/messianism 40 f., 44, 94, 101–103, 106–108, 110–112, 123, 176, 196, 235, 248
- Messos 240, 245
- mezuzot 30
- Micah 36
- Michael 246, 267, 308
- middot* 80
- midrash/midrashim 34, 37, 39–41, 85n., 195, 242, 296
- Midrash on Eschatology, *see* Qumran texts (4Q174 / 4QFlor)
- Milan Bible, *see* Codex Ambrosianus
- miniature books, *see* book/books
- Miqṣat Ma'asé ha-Torah^a, *see* Qumran texts (4Q394 / 4QMMT)
- Mishnah 24
- Moab/Moabite 13 f., 206
- Monastery of St. Catherine (Sinai) 63
- Moses 8, 12, 14–18, 44 f., 53–55, 58–61, 70, 84–86, 89–92, 99 f., 111, 115, 118–120, 124, 126 f., 173n., 175, 183n., 186 f., 192 f., 197, 203, 206 f., 234, 239, 242
- and the Prophets 126 f., 133, 242
- Mount of Olives 267
- Mozarabic liturgy 263n.
- Muratorian Fragment 76, 135
- Nabuchodonosor 261
- Nag Hammadi library 135n., 138–141, 240, 247, 251
- Naḥal Ḥever 23, 30n., 36, 39, 68, 70, 72, 76, 298
- Nahum 36, 39
- Nathanael 149
- Nazareth 81n., 103n., 125, 133n., 176, 182
- Nebuchadnezzar, *see* Nabuchodonosor
- Neo-Assyrian political ideology 10–11, 21
- Nephilim 243
- Neuinszenierung* 264, 267
- New Testament, *see* canon/canonicity
- New Testament manuscripts 131–138, 151, 163, 271n., 273–279
- Noah 99, 104n., 242
- nomina sacra* 135, 141, 148, 163, 283n., 284
- νόμος 166, 172–174, 186, 217 f.
- Numbers 18, 36, 38, 169, 275 f., numerology 242
- Old Testament, *see* canon/canonicity
- Old vs. New Testament 237, 247 f.
- On the Origin of the World 243
- orality/oral tradition 13, 47, 80, 82, 166, 209, 211n., 214, 236, 311
- Origen 77, 129–131, 135, 231, 234, 247, 254, 265n., 276 f., 280, 311n.
- orthodoxy 28, 68, 138, 163, 227 f., 235 f., 265, 309, 311n.
- *see also* heresy vs. orthodoxy
- Orthodox Church tradition 67 f., 75n., 278n.
- Oxyrhynchus 63, 145, 273 f., 282n.
- Papyri (individual documents)
- P.Ant. I 8: 276n.
- P.Ant. III 210: 276n.
- P.Baden IV 56b: 275
- P.Beatty V 6: 275
- P.Berl. 3607: 155
- P.Berl. 3623: 155
- P.Berl. 7977: 149
- P.Berl. 11710: 149, 163
- P.Berl. 11914: 151, 163
- P.Berl. 21315: 151
- P.Bodmer VII: 163
- P.Bodmer VIII: 163
- P.Duk.inv. 778: 308 f.
- P.Eg. 2: *see* Egerton Gospel
- P.Giss.Lit. 5.4: 308n.
- P.Iand. I 6: 307 f.
- P.Mich. II 2.130: 141
- P.Mich. inv. 5554: 275
- P.Oxy. 1: 135, 139, 141, 163
- P.Oxy. 654: 135, 139, 145, 163
- P.Oxy. 655: 135, 139, 141, 163
- P.Oxy. 840: 141, 148
- P.Oxy. 1075: 276n.
- P.Oxy. 1077: 307

- P.Oxy. 1079: 276n.
- P.Oxy. 1224: 135
- P.Oxy. 3525: 135, 145
- P.Oxy. 5073: 145, 163
- P.Oxy. 5172: 307
- P.Princ. II 107: 308
- P.Ryl. 463: 145, *see also* New Testament manuscripts
- Palaeo-Hebrew, *see* Hebrew (language)
- Palestinian Judaism 32, 38, 40
- Pamphilus 280
- Parables of Enoch 30, 43, 45
- Paradise 55, 241, 244, 249, 254
- paragraphoi* 135, 139
- Paris Bible 63
- Passion narratives 73, 99, 106, 109, 113
- Pastoral Letters 275n., 278n.
- Paul/Pauline tradition 73 f., 98, 116, 118n., 124n., 126n., 127, 131, 134, 138, 155, 163, 165–187, 191, 210, 213–215, 219, 225, 227, 230–232, 236, 238, 247, 251, 258, 269, 274n., 275n., 276, 278n., 279, 284, 302
- Pentateuch 8 f., 11 f., 14 f., 17 f., 26, 29n., 30, 36, 38, 45–47, 53, 67, 69 f., 76, 101, 167, 173n., 192, 194n., 197, 202n., 239, 252
- Reworked (4Q158, 4Q364–367) 29n., 38, 47
- Samaritan 69, *see also* Torah
- Persian Empire 7, 11–14, 21
- pesher/pesharim 30, 32, 36, 38 f., 43, 47, 196n., 298
- Pesher on the Apocalypse of Weeks, *see* Qumran texts (4Q247)
- Peter (disciple of Jesus) 210n., 215n., 231
- Pharaoh (biblical character) 15, 167n., 181n., 183n., 186, 234
- Pharisees 27n., 28, 69, 76, 81, 83–85, 92–94, 112 f., 119n., 168, 217
- Philo of Alexandria 24, 70, 72, 75, 77, 94, 173 f., 183n., 233, 254, 302n.
- Pindar 285, 286n.
- Plato/Platonism 232–234, 240–242, 245 f., 251, 285 f.
- Plotinus 240, 245–247
- Polyglot Bibles 67
- Pontius Pilate 108n., 229n., 267
- Porphyry 240, 246 f.
- Prayer of Nabonidus 40
- Priam (king) 263
- prophecy/prophetic literature 12–17, 21, 26, 30, 34, 36, 39–47, 53 f., 56–60, 68–73, 75, 79, 81 f., 84, 86, 92, 96–98, 101–103, 111, 115, 118n., 123n., 125–127, 133, 167, 169, 176, 181, 185 f., 190 f., 197–203, 216, 218, 222, 226 f., 229 f., 235, 237, 242, 248, 252–254, 258–265, 268, 276n.
- Protoevangelium of James 163
- Proto-Lucianic revision 70, 73
- Proto-Masoretic text 68, 70, 72, 299
- Proto-Orthodox Christianity 227, 235
- Protophanes 246
- Proverbs 30n., 37, 69, 155, 197n., 220 f., 247, 249 f., 253n., 276n.
- Psalms 22(21) 109 f., 112
- Psalms 91(90) 289–311
 - and the Lord’s Prayer 297, 308–311
 - in armbands 293 f.
 - in $\beta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ tablets 292 f.
 - in church inscriptions 295
 - in funerary inscriptions and sarcophagi 289 f., 292–294, 296, 310
 - in Greek papyri 306–309
 - in phylacteries 293
 - in Qumran manuscripts 297–306
 - on amulets 293 f., 296, 306–311
 - on door lintels 295
 - on rings 294
 - specific usages 296 f.
- Psalms 95(94) 192, 194 f., 197n., 199n., 201–202n., 204n.
- Psalms/Psalter 27–30, 34–37, 41–43, 46 f., 69, 81, 105, 107, 110 f., 115, 117, 133 f., 148, 178–179n., 195, 197n., 199 f., 247, 250, 253n., 280, 298n., 291, 295–306, 309 f.
 - Davidic attribution 35, 41
 - textual arrangement and form 27 f., 34, 41 f., 297–309
- Psalms of Solomon 107
- Psalms Scroll^a, *see* Qumran texts (11Q5 / 11QP^s^a)
- Pseudepigrapha 24, 30, 32, 44, 52n., 57n., 65, 72, 76, 240, 243, 245, 247, 250, 255
- pseudepigraphy 57, 65, 76, 210, 214–215n., Pseudo-Daniel texts (4Q243–245) 40

- Pseudo-Hippolytus 247, 251
 Pseudo-Jubilees, *see* Qumran texts
 (4Q225–227)
 Ptolemy (Gnostic writer) 251–254
 Ptolemy (Greek polymath) 280
 Ptolemy II Philadelphus 67
 Pythagorism 241
- qal wahomer* 165n., 205n.
 Qoheleth, *see* Ecclesiastes
qorban 91–93, 95
 Quintilian 286
 Qumran texts: 1Q26 (Instruction) 44
 – 1QH^a (Hodayot) 31 f., 38n., 41
 – 1QM (War Rule/Scroll) 31 f., 38n.
 – 1QS (Community Rule) 31 f., 38n., 41,
 44, 47
 – 1QS_a (Rule of the Congregation) 31 f.
 – 4Q83 (Ps^a) 29n., 297 f., 300
 – 4Q84 (Ps^b) 29n., 298, 300 f., 303, 306,
 309 f.
 – 4Q174 / 4QFlor (Florilegium, also
 Midrash on Eschatology^a) 34, 36n., 37,
 39–41, 45n.
 – 4Q175 / 4QTest (Testimonia) 38n., 41,
 44
 – 4Q177 / 4QCatena (Catena, also
 Midrash on Eschatology^b) 39
 – 4Q179 (A Lament for Zion) 39
 – 4Q247 (Apocalypse of Weeks) 36, 43, 47
 – 4Q225–227 (Pseudo-Jubilees) 44
 – 4Q228 (Text with a citation of Jubilees)
 34, 44
 – 4Q247 (Peshier on the Apocalypse of
 Weeks) 36, 43
 – 4Q252 (Paraphrase of Genesis and
 Exodus stories) 36
 – 4Q394 / 4QMMT (Miqṣat Ma’asê
 ha-Torah^a) 46
 – 4Q400–407 (Songs of the Sabbath
 Sacrifice) 31
 – 4Q418 / 4QInstruction^a (Instruction)
 44
 – 4Q552–553 (Four Kingdoms)
 – 7Q4, 7Q8, 7Q12 (Letter of Enoch) 43
 – 11Q5 / 11QPs^a (Psalms Scroll^a) 298–300,
 302n., 305 f.
 – 11Q6 / 11QPs^b (Psalms Scroll^b) 298
 – 11Q11 / 11QApPs^a (Apocryphal Psalms)
 301–306, 309, 311
 – 11Q13 / 11QMelch (Melchizedek) 36n.,
 38n., 39, 298
 – 11Q19 / 11QT^a (Temple Scroll) 31
 quotation/allusion 34, 36 f., 41, 47, 54,
 71 f., 74–76, 91, 104–106, 111, 123n.,
 178–180, 191–193, 196–199, 219, 227, 247,
 250
- Rabbinic tradition 93, 297
 Rahab 216, 218n., 222
 Raphael 246
 Reality of the Archons, *see* Hypostasis
 of the Archons
 Reformation 68, 225
 resurrection 85 f., 103, 105, 109n., 112,
 118–124, 127 f.
 retaliation 86–88, 90, 112
 Revelation (book) 9, 76, 268
 Rewritten Bible 49, 54n.
 Rewritten Pentateuch, *see* Pentateuch
 Rider Saint 293 f., 305, 310
 Roman empire 76, 264, 267 f.
 Rome 233, 247, 264 f., 267–269
 royal ideology, *see* king/kingdom/
 kingship
 Rule of the Congregation, *see* Qumran
 texts (1QS_a)
- Sabaoth 244
 Sabbath 31, 81, 93–96, 111 f., 229
 Sadducees 28, 82–86, 118–124, 127 f.
 Samael 244
 Samaritans/Samaritan tradition 14, 44,
 69, 76, 86 f., 89 f.
 Samuel (books of) 30n., 41, 68, 77, 111,
 169
 Sanhedrin 90
 Sapiential writings, *see* Wisdom tradition
 Sappho 285, 286n.
 Satan 168, 304
 scribal marks 37
 scribes 13, 57, 212n., 261
 Scripture (passim)
 – as divine speech 8 f., 12–18, 34, 41, 49,
 59, 81, 83, 91 f., 100, 111, 116, 121n., 130,
 189–202, 206 f., 237, 288n., 303

- as God’s design 79, 82–93, 95, 97, 103, 106, 112
- as proof 73, 119n., 123n., 126, 234
- Christological interpretation 200 f., 227, 233
- scroll (format), *see* book/books
- Second Logos of the Great Seth 247
- Second Temple Judaism 7, 19, 21, 25, 28, 32 f., 36, 50, 58, 64 f., 241
- Sefer Shimmush Tehillim 296
- semitisms 70, 73
- Septuagint 9n., 14, 24, 26 f., 30, 33, 40 f., 67–77, 97n., 98 f., 102, 104n., 116, 130n., 169 f., 173–174n., 209, 218–220, 242, 275, 283n., 290–297, 306–309
- Serapion (bishop) 135n.
- Sermon on the Mount 217
- Seth/Sethians 240–249, 254
- Shammai 80, 84
- Shema Israel 24n.
- Sibylline Oracles 267 f.
- Simon Peter, *see* Peter
- Sinai (Mount) 17 f., 55, 58, 60 f., 63, 70, 98 f., 243
- Sirach, *see* Ben Sira/Sirach
- slavery/slaves 11, 20
- Slavonic (language) 64, 268
- Solomon (king) 9, 248, 303n., 304
- Son of Man 102, 109n., 115
- Song against Demons 297
- Song for the Stricken 297
- Song of Moses 12
- Song of Songs 9, 42, 69
- Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, *see* Qumran texts (4Q400–407) 31
- Sons of Zebedee 86, 210
- Sophia (mythical figure) 239, 241, 243
- Sophocles 285 f.
- Spirit 81, 102 f., 107, 110, 189 f., 191n., 192, 196, 199, 245, 249 f., 264
- staurogram 149, 163
- stone (metaphor) 101, 105 f., 111
- superscriptions 35, 63
- Symmachus 72, 74 f., 77, 254, 304
- synagogue/synagogues 7, 19, 68, 80n., 81, 92, 103n., 111, 133, 261
- synkrisis* 205
- Synoptic tradition 79–113, 118–124, 141, 211 f.
- Syria 234, 289, 293–295
- Syriac (language) 8, 27, 51, 63–65, 277, 292n., 296–297n.
- Syro-Arabic (language) 64
- Syrohexapla 74
- Targum/Targumic literature 30, 36, 42, 80, 102n., 116, 242, 296
- tefillin 30
- Tell Deir ‘Allah 13
- Tell Tayinat 10
- temple/temple cult 7, 19, 21, 31, 55, 57, 68, 81, 83, 96–98, 99n., 105 f., 111 f., 192n., 242, 253, 265
- Temple Scroll, *see* Qumran texts (11Q19 / 11QT^a)
- Ten Commandments, *see* Decalogue
- Tertullian 130 f., 226n., 228, 230–233, 235–237, 251
- testamentum* 231, 237 f.
- Testimonia, *see* Qumran texts (4QTest)
- textual authority 9–12, 236
- textual communities 24n.
- textual standardization 47, 69 f., 73, 283n.
- theocracy 19–21
- Theocritus 285
- Theodoret of Cyrus 71
- Theodosian (emperor) 267
- Theodotion 72, 74 f., 77
- Thomas, Gospel of, *see* Gospel of Thomas
- Thucydides 71, 285
- Tiberius (emperor) 229n., 230
- Tiburtine Sybil 258, 263–269
- Tobit (book and character) 30, 42, 45 f., 69, 76, 169
- Torah 7–21, 36–39, 45–47, 53, 57 f., 60, 67, 69 f., 79, 81, 83 f., 86 f., 91 f., 111 f., 133 f., 204, 218, 250, 252, 258, 261, *see also* Pentateuch
- Tractatus Tripartitus 254
- Transjordan 17 f.
- translation 13, 24, 26, 30, 36, 45, 62–65, 67 f., 70–75, 77, 89, 97n., 124, 133n., 138 f., 151, 198, 242, 258n., 296
- Treatise on the Two Spirits 31, 38n.
- tree of life / tree of knowledge 244

- Twelve Prophets 30, 36, 39, 41, 68, 70,
72, 248
typology 108n., 165n., 169, 174n., 201n.,
204,
- Unknown Berlin Gospel 145
Uriel 62, 246
- Valens (emperor) 268
Valentin/Valentinians 131, 155, 240,
247–255
Virgil 71, 134
Vulgate 64 f., 67 f., 72, 258
- War Rule/Scroll, *see* Qumran texts (IQM)
Wisdom of Sirach, *see* Ben Sira/Sirach
Wisdom of Solomon 33, 69, 76 f., 169,
276n.
- Wisdom traditions 31 f., 44, 56, 61, 69,
209 f., 212n., 214–216, 218, 220, 223,
243 f., 246 f., 249, 276n.
Word/words of God 168, 182n., 184–187,
see also Scripture
- Xenophon 71, 285
- yahad* 31–33, 35–41, 43, 47
Youel 245
- Zechariah (book and character) 97 f., 111
Zion 39, 41, 262, 298
Zoroaster (Apocalypse), *see* Apocalypse
of Zoroaster
Zoroastrian month 246
Zostrianos, *see* Apocalypse of Zostrianos