

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament

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351





Ernst Baasland

# Parables and Rhetoric in the Sermon on the Mount

New Approaches to a Classical Text

Mohr Siebeck

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ISBN 978-3-16-154102-5

ISSN 0512-1604 (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament)

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

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The book was printed by Gulde Druck in Tübingen on non-aging paper and bound by Buchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier.

Printed in Germany.

## Preface

The Sermon on the Mount belongs to the prestigious group of classical texts that have changed the world. Every generation has to reinterpret its significance, and it is indeed possible – in spite of the vast literature on the Sermon on the Mount – to give new insights to this classical text.

The present book on the Sermon on the Mount investigates primarily the parables and metaphorical language in the speech. Parable-research has to a large degree ignored the Sermon on the Mount, and the research of the Sermon on the Mount has vice versa ignored the parables. The fact that more than one third of the Sermon on the Mount has this kind of language must have great impact on the interpretation of the text. These insights give in fact a new approach to the Sermon on the Mount; taking this into consideration new insights can be given to the questions of the “radicalism”, the audience of the Sermon on the Mount and many ethical and theological issues in the text.

The second focus in the book is the rhetoric of the Sermon on the Mount. The rhetorical features have great impact on the interpretation of the text, and the overall rhetorical structure illuminates the whole composition of the Sermon. The rhetoric of the Sermon is only to a certain degree the result of Matthew’s editorial work, and the parallels to Luke compel a theory of an Inaugural speech. Insights in the rhetoric of the Sermon on the Mount challenge the source problem in a new way.

The parables and rhetoric of the Sermon on the Mount illuminate its religious and philosophical setting. The Jewish background for the Sermon is often investigated and this task is continued here, but simultaneously with more emphasis on the parallels in the (Greek) Hellenistic literature. Through the parables and rhetoric in the Sermon and its parallels in Jewish and Graeco-Roman Literature we obtain a better understanding of the philosophy of life in the Sermon.

I have always had a scholarly interest in the Sermon on the Mount, but my students at Humboldt University (Berlin) in 2010 inspired me to write this book. I am grateful to them and more so to the staff at the libraries in Berlin, Tübingen, Cambridge, Stavanger and Oslo for providing all kinds of sources to this project. I am not least grateful to my colleagues Jostein Ådna (Stavanger), Hermann Lichtenberger (Tübingen), Cilliers Breytenbach,

Hans G. Bethge and also Roger Aus (Berlin) for valuable insights to parts of the book. I have appreciated in particular the understanding and support from Mohr Siebeck, represented by Henning Ziebritzki and my colleague Jörg Frey. The skilful, meticulous work of the publisher has improved the manuscript. For possible remaining deficiencies the author has to be blamed.

As retired professor one has more time for doing such an immense piece of work, but still I am grateful to my wife and family for giving me ample time for reading and writing.

Oslo/Stavanger, June 2015

Ernst Baasland

## Table of Contents

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| Preface .....   | V        |
| List of Abbreviations.....  | XXVII    |
| <br>  |          |
| <b>Chapter 1: Introduction: Enigmas of the Sermon<br/>on the Mount and Ways to Solve Them .....</b> | <b>1</b> |
| 1.1 Parables in the Sermon on the Mount .....   | 3        |
| 1.1.1 A Neglected Feature in New Testament Scholarship.....   | 5        |
| 1.1.2 Parables in Recent Research .....   | 8        |
| 1.1.2.1 Categories and Their Relation to Jewish משלים<br>and Hellenistic Rhetoric .....             | 8        |
| 1.1.2.1.1 The So-Called Marburg School and Its Critics.....   | 10       |
| 1.1.2.2 Jülicher and the Recent Discussion<br>on Metaphors/Metaphorical Language.....               | 13       |
| 1.1.2.2.1 Tropes and Other Figures of Speech<br>in the More Basic Rhetorical Argumentation.....     | 14       |
| 1.1.2.3 The Parables as Argumentation and<br>the <i>Tertium Comparationis</i> .....                 | 16       |
| 1.1.2.3.1 The Path between One-Point Approach<br>and Multiple Meaning.....                          | 17       |
| 1.1.2.3.2 Two Types of Allegorical Interpretation.....  | 18       |
| 1.1.2.4 The Parable and the Frame .....   | 19       |
| 1.1.2.5 Sociological Approaches .....   | 20       |
| 1.1.3 Parables Compared with Other Forms of Sayings<br>in the Sermon on the Mount.....              | 21       |
| 1.1.3.1 Focus on Aphorisms, Wisdom Exhortations<br>(“Mahnworte”) and Larger Units .....             | 21       |
| 1.2 Rhetoric in the Sermon on the Mount.....  | 23       |
| 1.2.1 Genre of the Sermon on the Mount.....   | 26       |
| 1.2.2 The Composition of the Sermon on the Mount .....  | 28       |
| 1.2.2.1 Composition according to Jewish-Christian Patterns .....                                    | 29       |
| 1.2.2.2 Composition according to Themes,<br>Key-Texts and Literary Skills .....                     | 29       |

|   |    |
|---|----|
| 1.2.2.3 Symmetric and Chiastic Structure of the Composition.....  | 31 |
| 1.2.3 The Sermon on the Mount as Rhetorical Composition<br>and as Deliberative Speech .....                         | 32 |
| 1.2.3.1 Rhetoric and the Audience .....   | 34 |
| 1.3 Parables and the Sources of the Sermon on the Mount .....   | 35 |
| 1.3.1 An “Inaugural Discourse” as Pre-Text?.....  | 36 |
| 1.3.1.1 Parables and the Content of the Inaugural Speech in Q:<br>Mark and the Gospel of Thomas as Comparison ..... | 37 |
| 1.3.2 Reconstruction Possible?.....   | 39 |
| 1.3.3 Open Questions and Criteria for the Evaluation .....  | 41 |
| 1.4 Parables and the Question of Wisdom versus Eschatology .....  | 42 |
| <br>  |    |
| Chapter 2: Rhetoric and Metaphorical Language<br>in the Exordium .....  | 45 |
| 2.1 Rhetoric in the Exordium .....  | 45 |
| 2.1.1 The Function and Meaning of the μακάριος-Sentences .....  | 46 |
| 2.2 Rhetoric in Matthew’s Additions.....  | 49 |
| 2.2.1 The Three (Four) Additions in the Protasis .....  | 50 |
| 2.2.1.1 Matt 5,8: “Clean in Heart” (οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ) .....   | 50 |
| 2.2.1.2 Matt 5,6: “Hungry and Thirsty for Righteousness” .....  | 51 |
| 2.2.1.3 Matt 5,3: “Poor in the Spirit” (οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι).....   | 52 |
| 2.2.1.3.1 Matthew Has Corrupted the Original Meaning .....  | 52 |
| 2.2.1.3.2 Matthew Gives the Right Interpretation.....   | 52 |
| 2.2.1.3.3 Matthew Makes the Meaning More Metaphorically Open.....   | 53 |
| 2.2.1.3.4 The Meaning of “Poor” .....   | 53 |
| 2.2.1.3.5 The Meaning of Spirit and the Use of the Dative .....   | 54 |
| 2.2.1.3.6 Traditions behind the Expression.....   | 56 |
| 2.2.2 The Three (Five) Additions in the Apodosis .....  | 57 |
| 2.2.2.1 Matt 5,5: “The Meek Shall Inherit the Earth”<br>(κληρονομήσουσιν τὴν γῆν) .....                             | 58 |
| 2.2.2.2 Matt 5,9: “The Peacemakers Shall Be Called Sons of God”<br>(υἱοὶ θεοῦ κληθήσονται) .....                    | 59 |
| 2.2.2.3 Matt 5,8: “The Pure in Heart Shall See God”<br>(τὸν θεὸν ὄψονται).....                                      | 59 |
| 2.2.2.4 Concluding Remarks .....  | 60 |
| 2.3 Rhetoric of Matt 5,11–12: Application or Part of the <i>Propositio</i> ?.....                                   | 60 |
| 2.4 Argumentation and the Topos of “Reward” in Judaism<br>and in the Sermon on the Mount.....                       | 63 |
| 2.5 Rhetoric and Metaphorical Language.....   | 66 |



|  |    |
|--|----|
| Chapter 3: The <i>Propositio</i> Matt 5,12–20 (5,12.13–16.17–20)....                               | 67 |
| 3.1 Extent of the <i>Propositio</i> and Possible Titles .....                                      | 67 |
| 3.1.1 Genre and Outline of Matt 5,12–20.....   | 69 |
| 3.1.1.1 Collection of Metaphorical Sayings .....   | 70 |
| 3.1.1.2 An Old Testament Model for the <i>Propositio</i><br>(Exod 19; Deut 28) .....               | 70 |
| 3.1.1.3 Structured Wisdom Sayings .....  | 70 |
| 3.1.1.4 Matt 5,12–20 as <i>Transitus</i> and <i>Propositio</i> .....                               | 71 |
| 3.1.1.5 The Rhetorical Outline of Matt 5,13–16 .....   | 72 |
| 3.1.2 The Composition of Matt 5,12–20 and Source Criticism.....                                    | 72 |
| 3.1.2.1 Matt 5,13–16 and Source Criticism.....   | 73 |
| 3.1.2.2 Matt 5,17–20.....  | 74 |
| 3.1.2.3 The Paradigms “Tradition plus Redaction”<br>versus “Open Theory – Rhetorical Effort” ..... | 75 |
| 3.2 The Parable Matt 5,13 (the Metaphor of ‘Salt’) .....   | 76 |
| 3.2.1 Genre and Rhetorical Form .....  | 76 |
| 3.2.1.1 Possible to Find a Pre-Text?.....  | 77 |
| 3.2.2 Explanations through Other Source-Theories or from Q .....                                   | 80 |
| 3.2.3 Socio-Historical Remarks: Salt as Reality and as Metaphor .....                              | 80 |
| 3.2.3.1 Salt – a Powerful Phenomenon.....  | 80 |
| 3.2.3.2 Salt Has Multiple Functions .....  | 82 |
| 3.2.3.3 Salt as a Metaphor .....   | 83 |
| 3.2.3.3.1 Salt as a Necessity, a Symbol for Something Fundamental ...                              | 83 |
| 3.2.3.3.2 Salt as Religious Symbol.....  | 84 |
| 3.2.3.3.3 Attributes of Salt as a Metaphor.....  | 85 |
| 3.2.3.3.4 Salt as a Symbol for Friendship .....  | 86 |
| 3.2.3.3.5 Salt as a Disaster and Symbol for Judgement .....  | 87 |
| 3.2.4 Interpretation of Matt 5,13 as Parable.....  | 87 |
| 3.2.4.1 Perspective .....  | 87 |
| 3.2.4.2 People as Salt.....  | 88 |
| 3.2.4.2.1 The Emphatic ὑμεῖς .....   | 88 |
| 3.2.4.2.2 ἐστε – Indicative or Imperative? .....   | 89 |
| 3.2.4.2.3 The Meaning of τὸ ἅλας .....   | 89 |
| 3.2.4.2.4 τὸ ἅλας τῆς γῆς: What on Earth Is Meant by “γῆ”?.....                                    | 90 |
| 3.2.4.3 A Foolish Thing: Salt or Not Salt, That Is the Question.....                               | 91 |
| 3.2.4.3.1 Become Stupid (μωρανθῆ) .....  | 93 |
| 3.2.4.3.2 ἐν τίνι ἀλισθήσεται .....  | 94 |
| 3.2.4.4 Terrible Consequence: “Except to Be Thrown Out<br>and Trampled by Men” .....               | 95 |
| 3.2.4.4.1 “It Is No Longer Good for Anything” (εἰς οὐδὲν ἰσχύει ἔτι)....                           | 95 |
| 3.2.4.4.2 εἰ μὴ βληθὲν ἔξω.....  | 96 |
| 3.2.4.4.3 “Trampled by Men” (καταπατεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων).....                                  | 96 |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| 3.2.5 Ambiguous Metaphor and a Clear Narrative .....  | 97  |
| 3.2.6 The Basic Meaning: Application and Keys to Its Understanding .....                        | 98  |
| 3.3 The Metaphor of Light, Matt 5,14 .....  | 100 |
| 3.3.1 Traditions and Motif-Historical Remarks .....   | 101 |
| 3.3.1.1 Jewish Parallels .....  | 101 |
| 3.3.1.2 Light as Metaphor .....   | 102 |
| 3.3.2 Interpretation .....  | 103 |
| 3.3.2.1 The Repetition: You Are (ὁμεις εἰστε) .....   | 103 |
| 3.3.2.2 The Light (τὸ φῶς) .....  | 103 |
| 3.3.2.3 Of the World (τοῦ κόσμου) .....   | 104 |
| 3.3.3 Conclusion .....  | 105 |
| 3.4 The Metaphor of the “City on the Mount” (Matt 5,14) .....                                   | 105 |
| 3.4.1 Metaphorical Use of the Motif .....   | 107 |
| 3.4.2 Interpretation .....  | 108 |
| 3.4.2.1 οὐ δύναται κρυβῆναι πόλις ἐπάνω ὄρους κειμένη .....                                     | 109 |
| 3.4.3 Conclusion .....  | 110 |
| 3.5 The Parable of Light and Its Effects (Matt 5,15) .....                                      | 111 |
| 3.5.1 Headings and Four Types of Interpretation .....   | 111 |
| 3.5.2 Genre, Structure and Rhetoric .....   | 112 |
| 3.5.2.1 Possible to Find a Pre-Text? .....  | 113 |
| 3.5.2.2 Is Matthew or Luke Closest to Q? .....  | 115 |
| 3.5.3 Interpretation as Parable:  |     |
| Metaphor, Social Reality and Perspective .....  | 116 |
| 3.5.3.1 Lamp and Light as Metaphors .....   | 116 |
| 3.5.3.2 Lamp and Lamp-Stand in Their Socio-Historical Setting .....                             | 117 |
| 3.5.3.3 The House and Socio-Economic Reality .....  | 118 |
| 3.5.3.4 The Stupid versus the Right Action and the Beam of the Light ...                        | 119 |
| 3.5.3.5 Possible “ <i>Tertium Comparationis</i> ” and the Perspective<br>of the Narrative ..... | 119 |
| 3.6 Matt 5,13–16 in the Framework of the <i>Propositio</i> –<br>Concluding Remarks .....        | 120 |
| 3.6.1 Litotes and Pleonasm in Matt 5,17–20 .....  | 123 |
| 3.6.1.1 The Litotes in Matt 5,19 (ἐλάχιστος) .....  | 124 |
| 3.6.1.2 The Pleonasm in Matt 5,20 (περισσεύειν ... πλεῖον) .....                                | 125 |
| 3.6.1.2.1 Qualitative (Theological, Eschatological) Meaning:<br>A New Law? .....                | 126 |
| 3.6.1.2.2 Quantitative(-Ethical) Meaning:<br>A New Understanding of the Law? .....              | 126 |
| 3.6.1.2.3 Finding the Railings: An Intentional<br>Approach of a Hyperbolic Statement? .....     | 127 |
| 3.6.1.3 Hyperbolic and Paradoxical Statements<br>as Keys to Matt 5,19–20 .....                  | 130 |
| 3.6.2 The Rhetoric of Matt 5,17–20 .....  | 131 |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Chapter 4: Rhetoric, Parables and Examples<br>in Matt 5,21–48 .....   | 132 |
| 4.1 Theses and Antitheses.....  | 132 |
| 4.1.1 Core and Additions:   |     |
| Additions as Parables/Metaphorical Language .....   | 132 |
| 4.1.2 Titles for Matt 5,21–48: Are There Alternatives to “Antitheses”?... 133   |     |
| 4.1.3 Rhetorical Form and Meaning of “Theses” and “Antitheses” .....  | 134 |
| 4.1.4 The Form and Content of the Theses .....  | 135 |
| 4.1.4.1 ἠκούσατε ὅτι Used Five Times .....  | 135 |
| 4.1.4.2 The Phrase ἐρρέθη Used in All Six Cases.....  | 136 |
| 4.1.4.3 The τοῖς ἀρχαίοις (Used Twice).....   | 136 |
| 4.1.4.4 The Formula and the Content (Quotations and Additions).....   | 137 |
| 4.1.4.5 Tentative Conclusions on the “Theses” .....   | 138 |
| 4.1.5 The Form and Content of the So-Called Antitheses ( <i>Correctio</i> ).....  | 139 |
| 4.1.5.1. The Form and Content of the Corrections .....  | 141 |
| 4.1.6 The Elaboration of the Inaugural Speech<br>in Matt 5,21(38)–48 and Luke 6,27–38 .....                             | 143 |
| 4.1.7 The Character and Outline of Luke 6,27–36 –<br>the Heart of the Sermon on the Plain .....                         | 145 |
| 4.1.8 The Character and Outline of Matt 5,38–48 – a Part<br>of the <i>Argumentatio</i> in the Sermon on the Mount ..... | 146 |
| 4.2 Hyperbolic Statement on Retaliation (Matt 5,21–22) .....  | 149 |
| 4.2.1 Rhetoric and Interpretation of Thesis and Antithesis .....  | 149 |
| 4.2.2 The Thesis.....   | 150 |
| 4.2.3 The Antithesis: A Unique Saying .....   | 151 |
| 4.2.3.1 πᾶς ὁ ὀργιζόμενος (εἰκῆ) τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ.....   | 151 |
| 4.2.3.2 Guilty of Calling Names<br>(εἶπη τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ῥακά ... εἶπη· μωρέ) .....                                     | 155 |
| 4.2.3.3 The Verdict (ἐνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσει ...<br>συνεδρίῳ ... γέενναν): Climax or Anticlimax?.....                    | 158 |
| 4.2.4 Metaphorical Value and the Character of the Antithesis.....   | 159 |
| 4.3 The Parable on Forgiveness, Matt 5,23–24 .....  | 162 |
| 4.3.1 Titles .....  | 163 |
| 4.3.2 Rhetorical Analysis and Possible Pre-Text.....  | 164 |
| 4.3.2.1 Genre.....  | 164 |
| 4.3.2.2 Outline and Style .....   | 165 |
| 4.3.2.3 A Pre-Text?.....  | 166 |
| 4.3.3 Historical Interpretation .....   | 168 |
| 4.3.3.1 Lack of Information and Filling the Gap.....  | 169 |
| 4.3.3.2 The Offering, δῶρόν σου, as Sacrifice.....  | 170 |
| 4.3.3.3 The Procedure<br>(προσφέρεις τὸ δῶρόν σου ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον).....   | 171 |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| 4.3.3.4 Offerings with Complications:<br>Is an Interruption Possible or Impossible? .....              | 173 |
| 4.3.3.5 The Broken Relationship (ἔχει τι κατὰ σοῦ):<br>An Unsolved Case and Possible Solutions.....    | 173 |
| 4.3.3.6 The Total Change in Attitude<br>(ὕπαγε πρῶτον διαλλάγηθι τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου).....                   | 174 |
| 4.3.3.7 Resuming the Offering (τότε ἐλθὼν πρόσφερε τὸ δῶρόν σου)... ..                                 | 175 |
| 4.3.4 Theological Interpretation of Matt 5,23ff as Parable.....  | 176 |
| 4.3.4.1 The Right Offering: Cult Criticism in Matt 5,23ff?.....  | 177 |
| 4.3.4.2 Does the Parable Illustrate the Theme of Reconciliation?.....                                  | 178 |
| 4.3.4.3 The Right Attitude .....   | 178 |
| 4.3.4.4 Perspective, Point of View (the “You” and the “Brother”) .....                                 | 179 |
| 4.3.4.5 Intended Language and a Constructed Parable .....  | 180 |
| 4.4 The Parable on Reconciling the Adversary (Matt 5,25–26).....                                       | 181 |
| 4.4.1 Title and Tendencies in Scholarship .....  | 181 |
| 4.4.2 Rhetorical Analysis .....  | 183 |
| 4.4.2.1 Genre.....   | 183 |
| 4.4.2.2 Outline and Style .....  | 184 |
| 4.4.3 Q as Source?<br>Does Matthew or Luke Have a More Original Text? .....                            | 184 |
| 4.4.3.1 The Different Context in Matthew and Luke .....  | 185 |
| 4.4.3.2 The Application .....  | 186 |
| 4.4.3.3 The Narrative .....  | 186 |
| 4.4.4 Historical Interpretation of the Imagery.....  | 188 |
| 4.4.4.1 The Case and Procedure .....   | 189 |
| 4.4.4.2 Verdict (εἰς φυλακὴν βληθήσῃ) and Payback<br>(ἀποδοῦς τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην) .....             | 190 |
| 4.4.5 Theological Interpretation:<br>A Single or Many <i>Tertia Comparationis</i> .....                | 192 |
| 4.4.5.1 The Features Time and Decision-Making in Matt 5,25–26.....                                     | 192 |
| 4.4.5.2 Goodwill (εὐνοῶν) as Key Word: A New Start? .....  | 192 |
| 4.4.5.3 Yielding of One’s Claim and Seeking Reconciliation .....                                       | 194 |
| 4.4.5.4 ὁ ἀντίδικος as <i>Tertium Comparationis</i> :<br>Is ἀντίδικος God and Not the Adversary? ..... | 195 |
| 4.4.5.5 Is Precautionary Measure and Clever Foresight the Point?.....                                  | 195 |
| 4.4.5.6 Time and Timing and “Morality of Expediency” .....   | 196 |
| 4.4.5.7 To Be Judged and Judgement as the <i>Tertium Comparationis</i> ....                            | 196 |
| 4.4.5.8 An Alternative Approach.....   | 197 |
| 4.4.6 Construction of the Parable.....   | 198 |
| 4.4.6.1 Perspectives (Point of View) and Application .....   | 199 |
| 4.4.6.2 Between Metaphors and Allegory: Intended Language.....   | 199 |
| 4.4.7 Matt 5,21–26 – Decomposed and as a Composition .....   | 200 |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| 4.5 Parable on Self-Control and True Wholeness (Matt 5,29–30).....                       | 201 |
| 4.5.1 Context, Titles and Tendencies in the History of Interpretation .....              | 202 |
| 4.5.2 Rhetorical Analysis .....  | 203 |
| 4.5.2.1 Outline.....   | 203 |
| 4.5.2.2. Rhetorical Tools.....   | 205 |
| 4.5.3 Why Is the Tradition Quoted Twice?.....  | 206 |
| 4.5.4 Socio-Historical Remarks on the Hyperbole<br>of Destroying Eye and Hand .....      | 208 |
| 4.5.4.1 Right Eye and Right Hand.....  | 208 |
| 4.5.4.2 The Notion σκανδαλίζει σε.....   | 209 |
| 4.5.4.3 Dramatic Actions Must Be Taken: Mutilation? .....                                | 209 |
| 4.5.5 Theological Application and the Interpretation as Parable.....                     | 210 |
| 4.5.5.1 It Is Better for You (συμφέρει γάρ σοι).....                                     | 210 |
| 4.5.5.2 Socio- and Motif-Historical Remarks<br>on the “Whole Body”-Concept.....          | 211 |
| 4.5.5.3 The Final Disaster: To Be Thrown into Hell.....                                  | 212 |
| 4.5.5.4 <i>Tertium Comparationis</i> ?.....  | 212 |
| 4.5.5.5 The Perspective (Point of View)<br>and Intended Language and Not Allegories..... | 213 |
| 4.5.5.6 The Parable as Part of the Antithesis.....                                       | 214 |
| 4.6 Matt 5,34–36.37: Return Truthfully Loyalty to God.....                               | 215 |
| 4.6.1 Titles .....   | 216 |
| 4.6.2 Genre and Outline.....   | 217 |
| 4.6.2.1 The Incongruence between Thesis and Antithesis .....                             | 217 |
| 4.6.2.2 The Casuistic Addition .....   | 218 |
| 4.6.2.3 The Paradox Matt 5,34–36<br>(Three Possible Objects and a Fourth) .....          | 222 |
| 4.6.2.4 The Paradox Matt 5,36b<br>(to Make Black White – and Not Vice Versa) .....       | 223 |
| 4.6.2.5 The Paradox Matt 5,37: Alternative to or Rejection of Oaths?....                 | 224 |
| 4.6.2.6 What Is Evil-Doing or Who is Doing Evil? .....                                   | 227 |
| 4.6.2.7 The Metaphorical Sayings as Part of the Antithesis .....                         | 228 |
| 4.6.2.8 To Give Back an Oath to the Lord Is the Issue .....                              | 229 |
| 4.7 Metaphorical Language in Matt 5,38–42 .....  | 230 |
| 4.7.1 Titles and Types of Interpretation .....   | 232 |
| 4.7.2 Genre and Rhetorical Outline.....  | 234 |
| 4.7.2.1 Rhetoric.....  | 235 |
| 4.7.3 The Enigma of the Thesis and Antithesis .....                                      | 236 |
| 4.7.3.1 The Thesis.....  | 236 |
| 4.7.3.2 The Antithesis .....   | 238 |
| 4.7.3.2.1 What Does μη ἀντιστῆναι τῷ πονηρῷ Mean? .....                                  | 238 |
| 4.7.3.2.2 The Term ἀνθίστημι .....   | 239 |
| 4.7.3.2.3 The Logic in Matt 5,38ff and the Old Testament .....                           | 241 |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| 4.7.4 Matt 5,38–42: Examples/Hyperbole in a Rhetorical Context.....                               | 241 |
| 4.7.4.1 The Relation between μή ἀντιστῆναι τῷ πονηρῷ<br>and the Examples.....                     | 242 |
| 4.7.4.2 Climax or Anticlimax in the Examples:<br>How Arbitrary or Precise Are the Examples?.....  | 242 |
| 4.7.4.3 Perspective (Point of View).....  | 242 |
| 4.7.4.4 Matt 5,39: First Example: Personal Insult or Legal Case? .....                            | 243 |
| 4.7.4.4.1 The Violent Action.....   | 243 |
| 4.7.4.4.2 The Surprising Reaction.....  | 244 |
| 4.7.4.4.3 Possible and Probable Implication.....  | 245 |
| 4.7.4.5 Matt 5,40: Is the Second Example from a Legal Case? .....                                 | 245 |
| 4.7.4.5.1 The Imagery: Legal Case or Robbery?<br>Clothing and Confusion.....                      | 246 |
| 4.7.4.5.2 Generosity and Not Halakhic Decision:<br>ἄφες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον .....                 | 248 |
| 4.7.4.6 Matt 5,41: A Third Example about Actions<br>in an Occupied Country .....                  | 248 |
| 4.7.4.6.1 The Provocation.....  | 249 |
| 4.7.4.6.2 The Surprising Reaction, ὕπαγε μετ’ αὐτοῦ δύο.....                                      | 249 |
| 4.7.4.7 Matt 5,42: Fourth/Fifth Example on Giving<br>and Receiving (Benefactor Institution) ..... | 250 |
| 4.7.4.7.1 The Imagery in Light of Jewish Texts<br>and the Benefactor Institution .....            | 251 |
| 4.7.4.7.2 The Two Imperatives (δός – μή ἀποστραφῆς):<br>Ethical and Theological Sayings .....     | 253 |
| 4.7.5 The Character and Message of the Fifth Antithesis.....                                      | 254 |
| 4.7.5.1 The Thesis: The Logic of <i>Lex Talionis</i><br>and the Theme of Retaliation.....         | 255 |
| 4.7.5.2 The Antithesis: The Logic of Evil<br>and the Theme of Renunciation.....                   | 255 |
| 4.7.5.3 Examples as Metaphorical Language.....  | 257 |
| 4.7.5.3.1 The First Three Examples: Innocent,<br>Patient Suffering or Royal Generosity .....      | 257 |
| 4.7.5.3.2 The Last Examples: The Logic of Generosity .....  | 259 |
| 4.7.5.3.3 Honour and Shame in the Two Groups of Examples .....                                    | 261 |
| 4.7.5.4 The Metaphorical Sayings as Part of the Antithesis .....                                  | 261 |
| 4.7.5.5 Limitations of the Text: What the Text Does Not Say .....                                 | 263 |
| 4.7.5.6 Preparing for a Virtue Ethics .....   | 264 |
| 4.8 Maxim and Example on Generosity (Matt 5,43–47).....   | 265 |
| 4.8.1 Title and Models of Interpretation .....  | 266 |
| 4.8.2 Inconsistency between Thesis and Antithesis.....  | 268 |
| 4.8.2.1 Is the Strange Thesis a Quotation from the Old Testament? .....                           | 268 |
| 4.8.2.2 Matt 5,43 as a General Topic.....   | 271 |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| 4.8.2.3 The Antithesis and the Additions .....  | 272 |
| 4.8.3 Rhetorical Tools .....  | 275 |
| 4.8.4 Maxim about God's Sun and Rain (Matt 5,45).....   | 277 |
| 4.8.4.1 God's Sun and Rain .....  | 277 |
| 4.8.4.2 God's Sons and His Universal Agenda .....   | 278 |
| 4.8.5 Example: Greeting Pagans and Publicans (Matt 5,46–47) .....                                   | 279 |
| 4.8.5.1 To Give Greetings as Metaphor .....   | 279 |
| 4.8.5.2 Stereotypes as Comparison<br>(οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ τελῶναι/οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ ἔθνικοί).....                 | 280 |
| 4.8.5.3 The “More-Than” Principle<br>(τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε; and τί περισσὸν ποιεῖτε;) .....            | 282 |
| 4.8.5.4. The Message of the Last Antithesis.....  | 283 |
| 4.9 The Six Antitheses in Rhetorical Perspective<br>and Their Theological Impact.....               | 284 |
| 4.9.1 The Form and Content of Theses and Antitheses .....   | 284 |
| 4.9.2 The Theses as Topoi.....  | 286 |
| 4.9.3 The Antithesis in Hellenistic Rhetorical Context:<br>Topoi and Status (νομικαὶ στάσεις) ..... | 287 |
| 4.9.4 The Antitheses as an Ethical Discourse or Commandments .....                                  | 288 |

## Chapter 5: Rhetoric and Metaphorical Language

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| in Matt 6,1–18 ( <i>Argumentatio</i> II) .....  | 291 |
| 5.1 The Rhetoric of Matt 6,1–18 (on True Reward).....   | 291 |
| 5.1.1 Headings .....  | 292 |
| 5.1.2 Context and Setting .....   | 293 |
| 5.1.3 The Genre: Ethical Issues or Halakhic Decisions? .....  | 294 |
| 5.1.4 Outline – an Antithetical Structure .....   | 295 |
| 5.1.5 Point of View and <i>Tertium Comparationis</i> .....  | 297 |
| 5.1.6 Rhetorical Opponents in Matt 6,1–18<br>Compared with Other Parts of the Sermon on the Mount ..... | 300 |
| 5.1.7 Are οἱ ὑποκριταὶ Rhetorical Figures or Real Historical Persons? ....                              | 301 |
| 5.1.8 The ὡςπερ οἱ ἔθνικοί and Its Rhetorical Function .....  | 303 |
| 5.2 The Hyperbolic and Paradoxical Statements .....   | 304 |
| 5.2.1 When the Trumpet Sounds: Matt 6,2 as Hyperbolic Statement? ....                                   | 304 |
| 5.2.2 Left and Right Hand: A Paradoxical Statement (Matt 6,3) .....                                     | 306 |
| 5.2.3 Outdoor Prayer-Meetings: Matt 6,5 as Hyperbolic Statement .....                                   | 307 |
| 5.2.4 Matt 6,6 as Hyperbolic and Paradoxical Statement.....   | 308 |
| 5.2.5 Invisible? A Hyperbolic and Paradoxical Statement in Matt 6,16 ...                                | 310 |
| 5.2.6 “Wash Your Face, Put Oil on Your Head” –<br>a Paradoxical Statement?.....                         | 311 |
| 5.3 Matt 6,1–18 and Its Rhetorical Context.....   | 313 |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Chapter 6: Parables in Matt 6,19–34 ( <i>Argumentatio</i> III) .....  | 315 |
| 6.1 Titles and Genre .....  | 315 |
| 6.2 The Rhetoric of Matt 6,19–7,12.....   | 316 |
| 6.2.1 Argumentation and Outline.....  | 317 |
| 6.3 Parables and Metaphors in Matt 6,19–24 .....  | 321 |
| 6.3.1 Parable on Gathering True Values (Matt 6,19–21).....  | 322 |
| 6.3.1.1 Titles and Tendencies in Scholarship.....   | 322 |
| 6.3.1.2 Rhetoric and Source Criticism.....  | 324 |
| 6.3.1.2.1 Genre, Outline and Rhetorical Features.....   | 324 |
| 6.3.1.2.2 Sequence, Audience, Content and Wording<br>of the Maxim in the Sermon on the Mount and in Luke..... | 325 |
| 6.3.1.3 Interpretation of the Parable .....   | 327 |
| 6.3.1.3.1 <i>Tertium Comparationis</i> and Point of View.....   | 327 |
| 6.3.1.3.2 Motif History of a Conventional Metaphor .....  | 328 |
| 6.3.1.3.3 The Threats.....  | 330 |
| 6.3.1.3.4 Heavenly Treasures and the<br>Rabbinic Conception of Reward .....                                   | 332 |
| 6.3.1.3.5 Heart and Treasure: Internal Treasure?.....   | 334 |
| 6.3.1.3.6 Honour and Pride.....   | 335 |
| 6.3.1.4 Conclusion .....  | 336 |
| 6.3.2 Parable on True Enlightening (Matt 6,22–23).....  | 337 |
| 6.3.2.1 Titles and Tendencies in Recent Research.....   | 337 |
| 6.3.2.2 Context and Audience in the Sermon on the Mount,<br>Luke and the <i>Gospel of Thomas</i> .....        | 340 |
| 6.3.2.3 Does the Text in the Sermon on the Mount<br>Have an Aramaic Background?.....                          | 343 |
| 6.3.2.4 Genre, Outline, Rhetorical Tools – and the Perspective .....  | 344 |
| 6.3.2.5 The Rhetorical Style .....  | 346 |
| 6.3.2.6 Perspective and Source/Target Domain .....  | 347 |
| 6.3.2.7 The Interpretation of Matt 6,22–23 as Parable.....  | 348 |
| 6.3.2.7.1 Matt 6,22a – a Definition and a Parable.....  | 348 |
| 6.3.2.7.2 “Intromission” or “Extramission”<br>and the Hellenistic Context .....                               | 349 |
| 6.3.2.7.3 The Theme of Enlightening of the Body<br>and the Jewish Context.....                                | 350 |
| 6.3.2.7.4 Matt 6,22b–23b: Imagery of a Good Eye or a Bad Eye .....  | 351 |
| 6.3.2.7.5 The Disputed Term ἀπλοῦς.....   | 352 |
| 6.3.2.7.6 The Evil Eye (ὄφθαλμὸς πονηρός)<br>as a Term and Concept.....                                       | 354 |
| 6.3.2.7.7 Body Language Once More (ὄλον τὸ σῶμά<br>σου φωτεινὸν/σκοτεινὸν ἔσται).....                         | 355 |



|   |     |
|---|-----|
| 6.3.2.7.8 Matt 6,23c/d: Possible Outcome<br>(εἰ οὖν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐν σοὶ σκότος ἐστίν) .....                  | 356 |
| 6.3.2.7.9 What Does the Light in You (ἐν σοί) Mean?<br>An Application?.....                               | 356 |
| 6.3.2.7.10 The Final Warning: “How Great Is That Darkness!”<br>(τὸ σκότος πόσον) .....                    | 357 |
| 6.3.2.7.11 Conclusion of the Interpretation as Parable.....   | 358 |
| 6.3.2.8 Intended Language and Extended Meaning .....  | 360 |
| 6.3.2.9 Matt 6,22–23 as Part of Matt 6,19–24.....   | 360 |
| 6.3.3 The Parable on True Stewardship (Matt 6,24).....  | 361 |
| 6.3.3.1 Possible Titles .....   | 362 |
| 6.3.3.2 Rhetorical Analysis of Matt 6,24 and Its Context.....   | 362 |
| 6.3.3.2.1 Source-Critical Remarks .....   | 362 |
| 6.3.3.2.2 Genre and Outline.....  | 364 |
| 6.3.3.3 Interpretation of Matt 6,24 as Parable .....  | 365 |
| 6.3.3.3.1 Matt 6,24a: First Step: the Impossibility of<br>Having Two Masters .....                        | 365 |
| 6.3.3.3.2 Socio-Historical Comments to the Imagery<br>(Patron/Client, Slave and Two or More Masters)..... | 366 |
| 6.3.3.3.3 Matt 6,24b/c: Either-Or<br>(Hate or Love/Despise or Be Devoted).....                            | 367 |
| 6.3.3.3.4 Honour and Shame and the Topic of Friend and Foe .....  | 368 |
| 6.3.3.3.5 Matt 6,24d: God or Mammon .....   | 369 |
| 6.3.3.3.6 Conclusion of the Interpretation as Parable .....   | 370 |
| 6.3.3.4 Eschatological Message or Theological Ethics<br>in Matt 6,19–24.....                              | 372 |
| 6.3.3.5 The Extended Meaning of Matt 6,24.....  | 373 |
| 6.4 Parables in the Diatribe on Anxiety (Matt 6,25–34) .....  | 373 |
| 6.4.1 Possible Titles.....  | 375 |
| 6.4.2 Context, Source Criticism and the Textual Question .....  | 376 |
| 6.4.2.1 A Common Text behind the Sermon on the Mount<br>and Luke 12,22ff?.....                            | 377 |
| 6.4.2.2 The Text/Two Parables in Other Early Sources.....   | 379 |
| 6.4.2.3 The Textual Tradition.....  | 381 |
| 6.4.2.4 Decomposition of the Text Is Possible, but Is It Necessary?.....                                  | 383 |
| 6.4.3 Rhetorical Analysis .....   | 384 |
| 6.4.3.1 Genre.....  | 384 |
| 6.4.3.2 Rhetorical Outline.....   | 385 |
| 6.4.3.3 Rhetorical Figures.....   | 387 |
| 6.4.3.4 Point of View/Perspective .....   | 388 |
| 6.4.4 The Socio-Historical and Philosophical Setting .....  | 389 |
| 6.4.4.1 The Phenomenon of Worrying and the Key word μεριμνᾶν .....  | 391 |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| 6.4.5 Maxim on Soul/Body versus Food/Clothes (Matt 6,25).....                       | 394 |
| 6.4.5.1. Body Language as Metaphorical Language .....                               | 395 |
| 6.4.6 Two Examples Illustrating a Maxim (Matt 6,26.28ff).....                       | 396 |
| 6.4.6.1 Comparison between the Two Parables (on Birds and Plants) ...               | 396 |
| 6.4.6.2 The Interpretation of the Parables as Parables .....                        | 397 |
| 6.4.7.3 Parable on Birds in the Sky (Matt 6,26).....                                | 398 |
| 6.4.7.3.1 Motif History .....   | 398 |
| 6.4.7.3.2 Birds (and Other Animals) as Examples.....                                | 399 |
| 6.4.7.3.3 God’s Providence for the Birds (and Other Creatures).....                 | 399 |
| 6.4.7.3.4 “Look at the Birds of the Air”, ἐμβλέψατε .....                           | 400 |
| 6.4.7.3.5 The Story: They Do Not Sow or Reap or<br>Store away in Barns.....         | 401 |
| 6.4.7.3.6 Conclusion .....  | 401 |
| 6.4.7.4 Parable on the Plants of the Fields (Matt 6,28–30).....                     | 402 |
| 6.4.7.4.1 Lilies or Grass of the Field? .....                                       | 402 |
| 6.4.7.4.2 The Growing Potential (καταμάθετε ... πῶς αὐξάνουσιν) ...                 | 403 |
| 6.4.7.4.3 The Lack of Work (οὐ κοπιῶσιν οὐδὲ νήθουσιν) .....                        | 403 |
| 6.4.7.4.4 Their Beauty: More than Solomon.....                                      | 404 |
| 6.4.7.4.5 The Sad Destiny and Intended Language .....                               | 405 |
| 6.4.7.4.6 The Double Theological Argumentation .....                                | 406 |
| 6.4.7.4.7 Conclusion .....  | 407 |
| 6.4.7.5 Paradoxical Statement on Length (Matt 6,27) .....                           | 407 |
| 6.4.7.5.1 Literary Form.....  | 408 |
| 6.4.7.5.2 ἡλικία – ἕνα πῆχυν.....   | 409 |
| 6.4.7.5.3 <i>Tertium Comparationis</i> and Conclusions .....                        | 411 |
| 6.5 The Parables in Matt 6,25–34 and Their Meaning .....                            | 412 |
| 6.5.1 Eschatological Treatise or Wisdom Reflections .....                           | 412 |
| 6.5.2 The Function of the Imperatives .....   | 414 |
| 6.5.3 The Function of the Parables: Otherwise No Comparison .....                   | 414 |
| 6.5.4 The Levels of Argumentation from a Theological Perspective.....               | 416 |
| 6.5.5 Kierkegaard on the Function of the Parables .....                             | 417 |
| <br>  |     |
| Chapter 7: Parables on Reciprocity in Matt 7,1–12<br>( <i>Argumentatio</i> IV)..... | 418 |
| 7.1 The Rhetoric of Matt 7,1–12.....  | 418 |
| 7.1.1 A Bridge between 6,19–34 and 7,1ff? .....                                     | 419 |
| 7.1.2 Rhetorical Outline in Matt 7,1–12 .....                                       | 420 |
| 7.2 Maxim on Measuring (Matt 7,2, in the Context of 7,1–5).....                     | 423 |
| 7.2.1 Titles and Scholarly Approaches .....   | 423 |
| 7.2.2 Socio-Historical Remarks and Glimpses of the Motif History.....               | 425 |
| 7.2.3 Rhetorical Analysis: Genre, Style and Point of View .....                     | 427 |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| 7.2.4 Theological Interpretation .....  | 429 |
| 7.2.4.1 What Does κρίνειν Mean? .....   | 430 |
| 7.2.4.2 Judging and Measuring: A New Way of Thinking,<br>Not a New Apodictic Law .....              | 431 |
| 7.3 Parable on Hypocritical Stringiness/Parsimony (Matt 7,3–5) .....                                | 433 |
| 7.3.1 Title .....   | 433 |
| 7.3.2 A Peculiar Tradition History .....  | 433 |
| 7.3.3 Glimpses of the Motif History .....   | 435 |
| 7.3.3.1 The Imagery and Metaphors:<br>Speck and Log, or Something Else? .....                       | 436 |
| 7.3.4 Rhetorical and Theological Interpretation .....   | 437 |
| 7.3.4.1 Genre and Outline .....   | 437 |
| 7.3.4.2 The Construction of the Parable:<br>Perspective and <i>Tertium Comparationis</i> .....      | 438 |
| 7.3.4.3 Metaphors, Hyperboles and Point of View .....   | 439 |
| 7.3.4.4 You Hypocrite, ὑποκριτά! .....  | 440 |
| 7.3.4.5 The Imperatives (ἐκβαλε πρῶτον ... τότε διαβλέψεις) .....                                   | 440 |
| 7.3.4.6 Extended Meaning of Judging and Measuring .....   | 441 |
| 7.4 Examples of Ridiculous Wasteful Behaviour (Matt 7,6) .....                                      | 442 |
| 7.4.1 A Crucial Question: What Is the Context? .....  | 442 |
| 7.4.2 Titles and Tendencies in Scholarship .....  | 444 |
| 7.4.3 The Origin of the Saying .....  | 445 |
| 7.4.4 Rhetorical and Theological Interpretation of the Parable .....                                | 447 |
| 7.4.4.1 Genre .....   | 447 |
| 7.4.4.2 The Metaphors in the Graeco-Roman World:<br>Socio-Historical Remarks .....                  | 448 |
| 7.4.4.3 Was Matt 7,6 Standard Polemic and a Proverbial Saying? .....                                | 450 |
| 7.4.4.4 Four Types of Interpretation of Matt 7,6 .....  | 451 |
| 7.4.4.4.1 The Allegorical Reading: Matt 7,6 as a<br>Cultic Rule in Light of the Holiness Code ..... | 451 |
| 7.4.4.4.2 Aramaic Language as the Key to Matt 7,6 .....   | 454 |
| 7.4.4.4.3 One Feature/Aspect in the Imagery as<br>Key to the Interpretation .....                   | 455 |
| 7.4.4.4.4 Perspective, Socio-Historical Approach<br>and a Comprehensive View .....                  | 456 |
| 7.4.5 Matt 7,6 in a Broader Thematic Context of Matt 7,6–11/12 .....                                | 458 |
| 7.4.5.1 Giving, Benefactors and Three Kinds of<br>Reciprocity in Matt 7,6–11 .....                  | 459 |
| 7.4.5.2 Benefactors and the Theme of “Giving and Receiving” .....                                   | 460 |
| 7.4.5.3 Benefactor and the Three Types of Reciprocity:<br>Marcel Mauss and Matt 7,6–12 .....        | 462 |
| 7.4.5.4 Reciprocity and Generosity: Symmetric and<br>Asymmetric Relations in Matt 7,1–12 .....      | 463 |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| 7.5 Matt 7,7–8 – a Hyperbole or a Saying on Prayer (Like Luke 11)? ..... | 464 |
| 7.5.1 Titles and Theme of Matt 7,7–11 .....                              | 464 |
| 7.5.2 Metaphorical Meaning?.....   | 466 |
| 7.5.3 Knocking and Opening – Seeking and Finding .....                   | 467 |
| 7.5.4 Asking/Praying and Receiving.....                                  | 468 |
| 7.6 Parable on Giving (Matt 7,9–11) .....                                | 469 |
| 7.6.1 Title and Tendencies in Scholarship .....                          | 469 |
| 7.6.2 Ways of Interpretation.....  | 470 |
| 7.6.3 Context of the Parable and the Meaning of ἦ .....                  | 472 |
| 7.6.4 Source Criticism and Socio-Historical Remarks .....                | 472 |
| 7.6.4.1 Is Matthew or Luke Closer to Q? .....                            | 473 |
| 7.6.4.1.1 The Frame and the Audience (Matt 7,9a and Luke 11,11a) ...     | 473 |
| 7.6.4.1.2 The Parable (Matt 7,9b–10 and Luke 11,11b–12).....             | 474 |
| 7.6.4.1.3 The Application (Matt 7,11 and Luke 11,13).....                | 474 |
| 7.6.4.2 Socio-Historical Remarks on the Narration .....                  | 476 |
| 7.6.5 Interpretation as Parable.....                                     | 477 |
| 7.6.5.1 Genre.....   | 477 |
| 7.6.5.2 Outline and Rhetorical Forms .....                               | 478 |
| 7.6.5.3 The Construction of the Parable:                                 |     |
| Perspective, Point of View and Intended Language .....                   | 479 |
| 7.6.5.4 Interpretation of the Narrative (Matt 7,9b–10).....              | 480 |
| 7.6.5.4.1 For Bread a Stone and for Fish a Snake?.....                   | 480 |
| 7.6.5.4.2 Interpretation of the Simple and                               |     |
| Extended Application (Matt 7,11) .....                                   | 481 |
| 7.6.5.4.3 “If You Then, Being Evil ...”                                  |     |
| (εἰ οὖν ὑμεῖς πονηροὶ ὄντες) .....                                       | 481 |
| 7.6.5.4.4 Good Gifts (δόματα ἀγαθὰ) .....                                | 483 |
| 7.6.5.4.5 From the First to the Second Application (πόσῳ μᾶλλον)....     | 483 |
| 7.6.5.4.6 Your Heavenly Father (ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς)....     | 484 |
| 7.6.5.4.7 Give Good Things to Those Who Ask Him                          |     |
| (δώσει δόματα ἀγαθὰ τοῖς αἰτοῦσιν αὐτόν).....                            | 485 |
| 7.6.5.5 Conclusion .....   | 486 |
| 7.7 Matt 7,1–12 as a Unit and the Role of the Golden Rule                |     |
| within 7,1–12.....   | 486 |
| 7.7.1 The Golden Rule as a General Statement                             |     |
| and within the Context of 7,1–12.....                                    | 487 |
| 7.7.2 The Significance of the Many Parallels                             |     |
| and the Positive Form of the Parable .....                               | 489 |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Chapter 8: Parables as <i>Peroratio</i> (Matt 7,13–27) .....   | 492 |
| 8.1 Titles.....  | 492 |
| 8.2 Rhetoric and Source Criticism in the <i>Peroratio</i> .....  | 493 |
| 8.2.1 Source-Critical Remarks: Can We Reconstruct<br>the Original Order and Content? .....               | 495 |
| 8.3 The Metaphors of “Gates” and Way/Crossroad (Matt 7,13–14).....                                       | 498 |
| 8.3.1 Title and Tendencies in Scholarship .....  | 499 |
| 8.3.2 Textual Tradition and Source Criticism.....  | 499 |
| 8.3.3 Socio-Historical Remarks on the Metaphors of<br>“Gate” and “Way” .....                             | 501 |
| 8.3.3.1 Socio- and Motif-Historical Remarks on “Gate” .....  | 501 |
| 8.3.3.2 The Gate as Metaphor.....  | 502 |
| 8.3.3.3 Socio- and Motif-Historical Remarks on “Way” .....   | 503 |
| 8.3.4 The Rhetoric and the Interpretation as Parable.....  | 506 |
| 8.3.4.1 Genre: Wisdom Saying or Allegory .....   | 506 |
| 8.3.4.2 Form, Outline, Rhetorical Style.....   | 507 |
| 8.3.4.3 Theological Interpretation .....   | 507 |
| 8.3.4.3.1 The Imperative εἰσέλθατε (διὰ τῆς στενῆς πύλης).....   | 507 |
| 8.3.4.3.2 Characteristics of Gates and Ways.....   | 508 |
| 8.3.4.3.3 The End of the Road:<br>ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ἀπόλειαν ... εἰς τὴν ζωὴν.....                        | 509 |
| 8.3.4.3.4 To Enter through and to Find:<br>οἱ εἰσερχόμενοι δι’ αὐτῆς ... οἱ εὐρίσκοντες αὐτήν.....       | 510 |
| 8.3.4.3.5 Many or Few: πολλοί – ὀλίγοι.....  | 510 |
| 8.3.4.3.6 Conclusions: <i>Tertium Comparationis</i> ,<br>Perspective, Intended and Implicit Meaning..... | 512 |
| 8.3.4.3.7 Intended and Implicit Meaning in Matt 7,13–14 .....  | 512 |
| 8.4 Parable on Self-Deception and Seducing Others (Matt 7,15) .....                                      | 513 |
| 8.4.1 Titles .....   | 514 |
| 8.4.2 The Parable as Allegory:<br>Possible Identification of the False Prophets .....                    | 515 |
| 8.4.3 The Parable Character and Its Interpretation .....   | 517 |
| 8.4.3.1 The Warning and Prophets in Matthew.....   | 517 |
| 8.4.3.2 The Hyperbolic and Paradoxical Image .....   | 519 |
| 8.4.3.2.1 Sheep Are the Opposite of Wolves .....   | 521 |
| 8.4.3.3 Conclusion .....   | 522 |
| 8.5 Metaphors of “Tree and Fruit” (Matt 7,16–20) .....   | 522 |
| 8.5.1 Titles and Types of Interpretation .....   | 523 |
| 8.5.2 Rhetorical Criticism and Source-Critical Remarks .....   | 524 |
| 8.5.2.1 Literary Context.....  | 524 |
| 8.5.2.2 Outline and Rhetorical Tools.....  | 524 |
| 8.5.2.3 Can the Oldest Tradition Be Found?.....  | 525 |

|          |   |     |
|----------|---|-----|
| 8.5.2.4  | The Order and Wording.....  | 526 |
| 8.5.2.5  | The Imagery as Such (Impossibility Saying) .....                                      | 527 |
| 8.5.2.6  | Frame and Goal.....   | 527 |
| 8.5.2.7  | Matthew’s Addition and the Possible Original Source .....                             | 528 |
| 8.5.3    | Interpretation as Parable.....  | 529 |
| 8.5.3.1  | Perspective .....   | 529 |
| 8.5.3.2  | Fruit: Glimpses of the History of the Motif .....                                     | 530 |
| 8.5.3.3  | Conventional Metaphors and <i>Tertium Comparationis</i> .....                         | 532 |
| 8.5.3.4  | The Thesis: Knowledge/Recognition as Goal.....  | 533 |
| 8.5.3.5  | The Imagery and Impossibilities as Premise.....                                       | 533 |
| 8.5.3.6  | Tree and Fruit.....   | 534 |
| 8.5.3.7  | Why Thorns, Thistles, Vine and Figs?.....   | 535 |
| 8.5.3.8  | First Application: Necessary Effect.<br>Good Fruit and Deeds as Fruit on a Tree ..... | 536 |
| 8.5.3.9  | Second Application:<br>The Dimension of Hidden Existence and Judgement .....          | 538 |
| 8.5.3.10 | Conclusion.....   | 538 |
| 8.6      | Parable on the Last Judgement (Matt 7,22–23).....                                     | 539 |
| 8.6.1    | Titles and Tendencies in Scholarly Interpretation .....                               | 539 |
| 8.6.2    | Preparing for the Interpretation .....  | 541 |
| 8.6.2.1  | Context and Source-Critical Observations .....  | 541 |
| 8.6.2.2  | The Saying in Matt 7,21 .....   | 541 |
| 8.6.2.3  | The Parable: Has Matthew or Luke the Most Original Text?.....                         | 541 |
| 8.6.3    | Genre, Outline, Perspective.....  | 543 |
| 8.6.3.1  | Genre .....   | 543 |
| 8.6.3.2  | Outline, Rhetoric, Perspective (Point of View).....                                   | 544 |
| 8.6.4    | Interpretation as Parable.....  | 545 |
| 8.6.4.1  | The Scene (“Many Will Say to Me”,<br>πολλοὶ ἐροῦσίν μοι ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ) .....     | 545 |
| 8.6.4.2  | The Apologies: “Lord, Lord” (κύριε κύριε)<br>and “In Your Name” (τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι) ..... | 546 |
| 8.6.4.3  | The Mighty Acts .....   | 547 |
| 8.6.4.4  | Refutations: “Then I Will Tell Them Plainly”<br>(τότε ὁμολογήσω αὐτοῖς).....          | 547 |
| 8.6.4.5  | What Does ἀνομία Mean?<br>Who Are οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν?.....                    | 548 |
| 8.6.4.6  | The Motif of Deeds instead of (Too Many) Words .....                                  | 549 |
| 8.7      | A House on a Rock Endures: The Parable Matt 7,24–27.....                              | 550 |
| 8.7.1    | Titles and Tendencies in Scholarship.....   | 551 |
| 8.7.2    | Rhetoric and Source Analysis .....  | 555 |
| 8.7.2.1  | Genre and Its Implications: Reevaluating Old Labels .....                             | 555 |
| 8.7.2.2  | One or Two Parables?<br>Antithesis, Synkrisis and Other Rhetorical Forms.....         | 556 |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| 8.7.3 The Frame: Source Criticism and Interpretation .....   | 557 |
| 8.7.3.1 The Parable and the Frame:<br>Can We Cut the Parable Out of the Frame? .....                         | 558 |
| 8.7.3.2 Interpretation of the Frame/Introduction (7,24.26)<br>as a Challenge .....                           | 560 |
| 8.7.3.3 First Frame: πᾶς οὖν ὅστις ἀκούει μου<br>τοὺς λόγους τούτους καὶ ποιῶ αὐτούς? .....                  | 560 |
| 8.7.3.4 Hearing in Jewish and Christian Contexts .....   | 562 |
| 8.7.3.5 Second Frame: ἀνδρὶ φρονίμῳ versus ἀνδρὶ μωρῷ<br>(Matt 7,24.26) .....                                | 564 |
| 8.7.4 The Parable: Source Criticism and Motif History .....  | 565 |
| 8.7.4.1 Source-Criticism and History of Tradition .....  | 566 |
| 8.7.4.2 Is Matthew or Luke Closer to Q? .....  | 567 |
| 8.7.4.3 The Imagery in Its Contemporary Context .....  | 568 |
| 8.7.5 Interpretation of the Parable (Matt 7,24–25.26–27) .....   | 571 |
| 8.7.5.1 The Four Metaphors .....   | 571 |
| 8.7.5.1.1 Motif- and Socio-Historical Remarks<br>on “House-Building” (οἰκία, בית) .....                      | 571 |
| 8.7.5.1.2 The Image of the Rock (πέτρα) and<br>the Metaphor of a House on a Rock .....                       | 573 |
| 8.7.5.1.3 The Notion of “Building” (οἰκοδομέω, Hebr. בנה) .....  | 575 |
| 8.7.5.1.4 Foundation, θεμελιώω/θεμέλιος on Rock or “Sand”<br>(ἄμμος, Hebr. עפר)? .....                       | 575 |
| 8.7.5.1.5 The Threats (7,25.27): The Storm as Natural Events<br>and as Intended Language .....               | 576 |
| 8.7.5.1.6 The Result (7,25.27) Is Everything .....   | 578 |
| 8.7.5.2 Interpretation of Matt 7,24–27 as Parable .....  | 578 |
| 8.7.5.2.1 Application and Parable: What Are the<br><i>Tertium Comparationis</i> and the Point of View? ..... | 578 |
| 8.7.5.2.2 Story-Economy: Additions and Repetitions.<br>Constructed for the Aims of Interpretation .....      | 580 |
| 8.7.5.2.3 Overstatements .....   | 581 |
| 8.7.5.2.4 Conclusion .....   | 581 |
| 8.7.5.2.5 The Argumentation as Part of the <i>Peroratio</i> .....  | 583 |

## Chapter 9: Concluding Remarks: Parables as a Key to the Interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount..... 584

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| 9.1 Preliminary Remarks: The Sources of the Sermon on the Mount..... | 584 |
| 9.1.1 The Genre of Q .....   | 585 |
| 9.1.2 The Speeches in the Gospel Tradition .....                     | 586 |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| 9.1.3 Few Overlaps between Mark and Q:<br>Mark- and Q-Overlaps in a New Light .....                              | 588 |
| 9.1.4 Thomas and the Sermon on the Mount .....   | 589 |
| 9.1.5 The “Inaugural Speech” – More than a Hypothesis .....  | 591 |
| 9.1.6 Can Material outside the Sermon on the Plain/<br>Sermon on the Mount Be Part of the Inaugural Speech?..... | 594 |
| 9.1.7 Can We Reconstruct a Fundamental (Inaugural) Speech? .....   | 596 |
| 9.1.8 Final Observations on Q in Light of the Sermon on the Mount.....   | 596 |
| 9.2 Rhetorical Argumentation in the Sermon on the Mount .....  | 598 |
| 9.2.1 Rhetorical Genre Is Deliberative, Protreptic Speech .....  | 598 |
| 9.2.2 Rhetorical Outline as Protreptic Speech .....  | 599 |
| 9.2.3 Rhetorical Tools: Proofs, Authoritative Sayings<br>and Mutual Consent.....                                 | 601 |
| 9.2.3.1 <i>Loci Communes</i> .....   | 601 |
| 9.2.3.2 The Sermon on the Mount and Justin –<br>the περί-Discussions in the Early Church .....                   | 602 |
| 9.2.3.3 The Rhetorical Function of Tropes.....   | 603 |
| 9.3 Parable and Metaphorical Language as Key .....   | 605 |
| 9.3.1 Parables, Similes and Metaphorical Language.....   | 605 |
| 9.3.1.1 The Frame and the Parables in the Sermon on the Mount .....  | 605 |
| 9.3.1.2 Inventory in the Parables and Conceptual Constructions .....   | 607 |
| 9.3.1.3 <i>Tertium Comparationis</i><br>(Openness, Point of View, Intended Language) .....                       | 608 |
| 9.3.1.3.1 The Openness of Most Imagery .....   | 608 |
| 9.3.1.3.2 The Application and the Imagery Are Intertwined.....   | 609 |
| 9.3.1.3.3 The Intended Language Opens and<br>Restricts the Potential in the Imagery .....                        | 609 |
| 9.3.1.3.4 Struggle against an Allegorical Fallacy and<br>the New Allegorical Interpretation.....                 | 610 |
| 9.3.2 Hyperbolic Language and the Realism of the Demands .....   | 610 |
| 9.3.2.1 The Parables and Metaphorical Sayings .....  | 611 |
| 9.3.2.2 Parables and the Argumentation<br>in the Sermon on the Mount .....                                       | 611 |
| 9.4 Rhetoric and Ethical Argumentation in the Wisdom Sayings.....  | 612 |
| 9.4.1 The Rhetoric of Authoritative Sayings –<br>Theological Statements .....                                    | 613 |
| 9.4.1.1 The Beatitudes as Authoritative Sayings.....   | 613 |
| 9.4.1.2 The I-Sayings .....  | 613 |
| 9.4.1.3 <i>Correctio</i> .....   | 614 |
| 9.4.1.4 Apodictic Statements .....   | 614 |
| 9.4.1.5 Theological Statements .....   | 614 |
| 9.4.1.6 Judgement Sayings.....   | 614 |
| 9.4.2 Other General Statements: πᾶς/ὅς/ὅστις-Sentences.....  | 615 |



|   |         |
|---|---------|
| 9.4.3 The Rhetoric of Mutual Consent – Deliberative Speech .....                                    | 616     |
| 9.4.3.1 Conditional εἰ- and ἐάν-Clauses .....   | 616     |
| 9.4.3.2 The συμφέρει/ἔστιν-Sentences.....   | 617     |
| 9.4.3.3 Aphorisms Demonstrating the Inner Meaning<br>as Key to the Understanding.....               | 617     |
| 9.4.3.4 The Questions.....  | 617     |
| 9.4.3.5 Admonitions and Exhortations .....  | 618     |
| 9.5 Rhetoric of Decision-Making: The Impact of<br>Many Imperatives in the Sermon on the Mount ..... | 619     |
| 9.5.1 The Forms: Future, Present and Aorist Imperatives .....                                       | 619     |
| 9.5.2 Admonitions: Does the Sermon on the Mount<br>Primarily Give Warnings?.....                    | 619     |
| 9.5.3 Positive Exhortations: Encouraging Ethics.....  | 623     |
| 9.5.3.1 Reasons for the Exhortations and Admonitions .....  | 624     |
| 9.5.3.2 Imperatives and Ethical Argumentation.....  | 625     |
| 9.5.4 Ethical Norms and the Imperatives, Aphorisms and Parables.....                                | 627     |
| 9.5.4.1 Universal Ethics for Would-Be Disciples .....   | 627     |
| 9.5.4.2 The Norms .....   | 627     |
| 9.5.4.2.1 The Antitheses as Moral Statements.....   | 628     |
| 9.5.4.2.2 Wisdom and Parables.....  | 630     |
| <br>Bibliography .....  | <br>631 |
| <br>Index of Ancient Sources .....  | <br>659 |
| Index of Modern Authors .....   | 688     |
| Index of Subjects .....   | 697     |



## List of Abbreviations

Abbreviations usually follow the *SBL Handbook of Style*.

|        |   |
|--------|---|
| AASF   | Annales Academiae scientiarum fennicae  |
| AB     | Anchor Bible  |
| ABW    | <i>Archaeology in the Biblical World</i>  |
| ACW    | Ancient Christian Writers   |
| AGJU   | Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums  |
| ANTF   | Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung   |
| AnBib  | Analecta biblica  |
| ANRW   | <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> . Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase, eds. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter 1972ff.     |
| AR     | <i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>   |
| ArBib  | The Aramaic Bible   |
| ASNU   | Acta seminarii neotestamentici Upsaliensis  |
| ASTI   | <i>Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute</i>  |
| ASV    | American Standard Version   |
| ATANT  | Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments   |
| BA     | <i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>   |
| BAGD   | Walter Bauer/William F. Arndt/F. Wilbur Gingrich/Frederick W. Danker, <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . Chicago: Chicago University Press 1979 |
| BBB    | Bonner biblische Beiträge   |
| BDF    | Friedrich Blass/Albert Debrunner/Robert W. Funk, <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1961                         |
| BDR    | Friedrich Blass/Albert Debrunner/Friedrich Rehkopf, <i>Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch</i> . Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 182001   |
| BETL   | Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum Lovaniensium   |
| BEvT   | Beiträge zur Evangelischen Theologie  |
| BFCT   | Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie   |
| BGBE   | Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese  |
| BGU    | <i>Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden</i> . 15 vols. Berlin: Weidmann 1895–1983   |
| BHT    | Beiträge zur historischen Theologie   |
| Bib    | <i>Biblica</i>  |
| BibInt | <i>Biblical Interpretation</i>  |
| BibLeb | <i>Bibel und Leben</i>  |

- Bill. (Hermann L. Strack/)Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*. 6 vols. Munich: Beck 1922–1961
- BJS Brown Judaic Studies
- BK *Bibel und Kirche*
- BKAT Biblischer Kommentar. Altes Testament
- BN *Biblische Notizen*
- BR *Biblical Research*
- BT *The Bible Translator*
- BWANT Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
- BZ *Biblische Zeitschrift*
- BZAW Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
- BZNW Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
- CahRB Cahiers de la Revue Biblique
- CBET Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
- CBQ *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
- CBQMS Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
- CCSL Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina
- CNT Commentaire du Nouveau Testament
- ConBNT Coniectanea biblica: New Testament Series
- DNP *Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike*. Hubert Cancik et al., eds. Stuttgart: Metzler 1 (1996)–16 (2003)
- EBib Études bibliques
- EJ<sup>2</sup> *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. 2nd edn. Fred Skolnik, ed. 21 vols. Detroit: Macmillan 2007
- EKKNT Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
- ETL *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses*
- ETS Erfurter theologische Studien
- EvQ *Evangelical Quarterly*
- EvT *Evangelische Theologie*
- EWNT *Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*. 3 vols. Horst R. Balz/Gerhard Schneider, eds. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 32011
- ExpTim *Expository Times*
- FAT Forschungen zum Alten Testament
- FB Forschung zur Bibel
- FRLANT Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
- GCS Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten (drei) Jahrhunderte
- GNT Grundrisse zum Neuen Testament
- GST Rudolf Bultmann, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*. FRLANT 29. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 81970 (11921)
- HNT Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
- HST Rudolf Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*. Translated by John Marsh. Oxford: Blackwell 1963
- HTKNT Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
- HTR *Harvard Theological Review*
- HUCA *Hebrew Union College Annual*
- HWR *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*. Gert Ueding/Walter Jens/Wilfried Barner/Gregor Kalivoda, eds. 10 vols. Tübingen: Niemeyer/Berlin: De Gruyter 1992–2009

|                   |  |
|-------------------|--|
| ICC               | International Critical Commentary  |
| IBD               | <i>The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i> . George A. Buttrick, ed. 4 vols. New York: Abingdon 1962   |
| <i>Imm</i>        | <i>Immanuel</i>  |
| <i>Int</i>        | <i>Interpretation</i>  |
| IS                | Inaugural Sermon   |
| JAAR              | <i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>   |
| JBL               | <i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>  |
| JJS               | <i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>   |
| JQR               | <i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>   |
| JR                | <i>Journal of Religion</i>   |
| JSHRZ             | <i>Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit</i> . Werner Georg Kümmel, ed. Gütersloh: Mohn 1 (1973) ff.   |
| JSNT              | <i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>  |
| JSNTSup           | Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series  |
| JSPSup            | Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series   |
| JTS               | <i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>  |
| KEK               | Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament  |
| KJV               | King James Version   |
| KIPauly           | <i>Der kleine Pauly: Lexikon der Antike</i> . Konrat Ziegler, ed. Stuttgart: Druckermüller 1 (1964)–5 (1975)   |
| KNT               | Kommentar zum Neuen Testament  |
| <i>Laur</i>       | <i>Laurentianum</i>  |
| LCL               | Loeb Classical Library   |
| LD                | Lectio divina  |
| LSJ               | Henry George Liddell/Robert Scott/Henry Stuart Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . 9th edition with revised Supplement. Oxford: Clarendon 1996   |
| LT <sup>K2</sup>  | <i>Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche</i> . Josef Höfer and Karl Rahner, eds. 10 vols. Freiburg i. Br.: Herder 1957–1965   |
| LUÅ               | Lunds universitets årsskrift   |
| NAC               | The New American Commentary  |
| <i>Neot</i>       | <i>Neotestamentica</i>   |
| NICNT             | New International Commentary on the New Testament  |
| NIGTC             | New International Greek Testament Commentary   |
| NIV               | New International Version  |
| NKZ               | <i>Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift</i>   |
| <i>NovT</i>       | <i>Novum Testamentum</i>   |
| NovTSup           | Novum Testamentum Supplements  |
| NPNF <sup>1</sup> | <i>A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church</i> . Philipp Schaff, ed. Series 1, 14 vols. Oxford: Christian Literature Publishing 1887–1892 (repr. Peabody: Hendrickson 1999) |
| NTA               | Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen   |
| NTD               | Das Neue Testament Deutsch   |
| NTOA              | Novum testamentum et orbis antiquus  |
| NTS               | <i>New Testament Studies</i>   |
| NTTS              | New Testament Tools and Studies  |
| OBO               | Orbis biblicus et orientalis   |
| OCT               | Oxford Classical Texts/Scriptorum classicorum bibliotheca Oxoniensis   |

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| OECT    | Oxford Early Christian Texts  |
| OTP     | <i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> . James H. Charlesworth, ed. 2 vols. New York: Doubleday 1983   |
| PG      | Patrologia Graeca   |
| PL      | Patrologia Latina   |
| PTS     | Patristische Texte und Studien  |
| PW      | Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. New edition by Georg Wissowa. Stuttgart: Druckenmüller 1893ff.   |
| QD      | Quaestiones disputatae  |
| RAC     | <i>Reallexikon for Antike und Christentum</i> . Theodor Klauser et al., eds. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 1950ff.  |
| RB      | <i>Revue biblique</i>   |
| RevExp  | <i>Review and Expositor</i>   |
| RevQ    | <i>Revue de Qumran</i>  |
| RGG     | <i>(Die) Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch in gemeinverständlicher Darstellung</i> . Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck (RGG <sup>1</sup> : <i>Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> . Friedrich Michael Schiele/Hermann Gunkel/Otto Scheel, eds. 5 vols. 1909–1912; RGG <sup>2</sup> : Hermann Gunkel/Ludwig Zscharnack, eds. 5 vols. 1922–1929; RGG <sup>3</sup> : Kurt Galling, ed. 6 vols. 1957–1962; RGG <sup>4</sup> : Hans Dieter Betz/Don S. Browning/Bernd Janowski/Eberhard Jüngel, eds. 8 vols. 1998–2007; ET: <i>Religion in Past &amp; Present: Encyclopedia of Theology and Religion</i> . 13 vols. + Index. Leiden: Brill 2007–2013) |
| RivBib  | <i>Rivista biblica</i>  |
| RNT     | Regensburger Neues Testament  |
| RSR     | <i>Revue des sciences religieuses</i>   |
| SANT    | Studien zum Alten und Testament   |
| SBLSP   | <i>Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers</i>  |
| SBLSymS | Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series   |
| SBLTT   | Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations   |
| SBS     | Stuttgarter Bibelstudien  |
| SC      | Sources chrétiennes   |
| SCHNT   | Studia ad corpus hellenicum Novi Testamenti   |
| SEÅ     | <i>Svensk exegetisk årsbok</i>  |
| SHAW    | Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse   |
| SJ      | Studia Judaica  |
| SJT     | <i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>   |
| SM      | Sermon on the Mount   |
| SNTA    | Studiorum Novi Testamenti Auxilia   |
| SNTSMS  | Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series  |
| SNTSU   | <i>Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt</i>  |
| SOTSMS  | Society for Old Testament Study Monographs  |
| SP      | Sermon on the Plain   |
| ST      | <i>Studia theologica</i>  |
| STK     | <i>Svensk teologisk kvartalskrift</i>   |
| SUNT    | Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments   |
| TB      | Theologische Bücherei   |
| TBei    | <i>Theologische Beiträge</i>  |
| TBl     | <i>Theologische Blätter</i>   |

|              |  |
|--------------|--|
| <i>THAT</i>  | <i>Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament.</i> Ernst Jenni, ed. 2 vols. Munich: Chr. Kaiser 1971–1976  |
| THKNT        | Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament  |
| ThKNT        | Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament  |
| <i>ThWAT</i> | <i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament.</i> Gerhard Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren and Heinz-Josef Fabry, eds. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 1 (1973)– 10 (2000). |
| <i>TLZ</i>   | <i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>   |
| <i>TP</i>    | <i>Theologie und Philosophie</i>   |
| <i>TQ</i>    | <i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i>   |
| <i>TRE</i>   | <i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie.</i> Gerhard Krause and Gerhard Müller, eds. 36 vols. + Index. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter 1977–2004                                    |
| <i>TRev</i>  | <i>Theologische Revue</i>  |
| <i>TRu</i>   | <i>Theologische Rundschau</i>  |
| TSAJ         | Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum/Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism  |
| <i>TSK</i>   | <i>Theologische Studien und Kritiken</i>   |
| <i>TTKi</i>  | <i>Tidsskrift for Teologi of Kirke</i>   |
| <i>TTZ</i>   | <i>Trierer theologische Zeitschrift</i>  |
| <i>TZ</i>    | <i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>  |
| TU           | Texte und Untersuchungen   |
| <i>TWNT</i>  | <i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament.</i> Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich, eds. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 1 (1932)–10 (1979)                                 |
| <i>TZ</i>    | <i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>  |
| VC           | <i>Vigiliae christianae</i>  |
| WBC          | Word Biblical Commentary   |
| WdF          | Wege der Forschung   |
| WD           | <i>Wort und Dienst</i>   |
| <i>WMANT</i> | <i>Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament</i>  |
| <i>WUNT</i>  | <i>Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament</i>  |
| ZAW          | <i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>  |
| ZDPV         | <i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>   |
| ZNW          | <i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>  |
| ZTK          | <i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>  |





## Chapter 1

# Introduction: Enigmas of the Sermon on the Mount and Ways to Solve Them

Speeches can change reality. “The Sermon on the Mount” (= the SM) has probably changed the world more than any other speech. It has influenced millions of Christians, and its influence goes far beyond the Christian communities.<sup>1</sup> In spite of its immense influence the SM is mostly perceived as a riddle, and scholars speak more about the *problems* than about the *challenge* of the SM.<sup>2</sup>

Scholarship has often dealt with *radicalism*<sup>3</sup> as the problem of the SM.<sup>4</sup> It is indeed surprising that a fundamental speech is such an extremely radical sermon. In the very beginning the radicalism of the SM was shocking. In Justin’s *Dialogue with Trypho* (about 150 C.E.) the Jew Trypho said: “I am aware that your precepts in the so-called Gospel are so wonderful and so great, that I suspect no one can keep them, for I have carefully read them.”<sup>5</sup> This radicalism has too often resulted in “only”-statements: The SM was “only for the first generation”, “only for monks”, “only for utopians”, “only for ascetics”, “only for devoted Christian disciples”, “only for individuals”

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<sup>1</sup> E.g. Swami Prabhavananda, *The Sermon on the Mount according to Vedanta* (London: Allen and Unwin 1964). Gandhi was an example of comprehensive use of the SM, see Heikki Räisänen, “Mahatma Gandhi and the Sermon on the Mount”, *Temenos* 27 (1991) 83–108. The Marxists’ use of the SM is well known.

<sup>2</sup> The SM-research has to solve seven major problems: the historical question, the radicalism, the audience, the composition, the Jewish character, the ethics and the theological issues of the SM.

<sup>3</sup> The term “radicalism” is too wide and modern as category. B. Schüller, “Zur Rede von der radikalen sittlichen Forderung”, *TP* 46 (1971) 321–341 has analysed from a philosophical point of view the use of “radicalism” in NT scholarship. G. Lohfink has followed in his footsteps in *Wem gilt die Bergpredigt? Beiträge zur christlichen Ethik* (Freiburg i. Br.: Herder 1988) 66ff.

<sup>4</sup> H. Windisch, *The Meaning of the Sermon on the Mount* (= *Der Sinn der Bergpredigt: Ein Beitrag zum geschichtlichen Verständnis der Evangelien und zum Problem der richtigen Exegese* [UNT 16. Leipzig: Hinrichs 1928, <sup>2</sup>1937]) indicates that solving the problem of radicalism is to grasp its meaning, cf. L. Goppelt, “Das Problem der Bergpredigt”, in idem, *Christologie und Ethik* 26–45 and R. Schnackenburg, *Christliche Existenz* 117 (“wie schwierig und schwerwiegend die Frage der Erfüllbarkeit ist”).

<sup>5</sup> Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 10. “Trypho” could be Justin’s own rhetorical construct, but the statement still reflects an early reaction on the radicalism in the SM.

(not for a state), etc.<sup>6</sup> This kind of reductionism is for good reasons mostly rejected in recent scholarship, but what is the alternative? This book will give some premises for an alternative through an analysis of the rhetoric and the parables in the SM. This book argues that the metaphorical and rhetorical language clarifies the radical nature of the demands much better.

Closely related to the rhetoric of radicalism is the notion of audience. Fundamental speeches usually presuppose a general audience, whereas extreme, radical speeches are mostly addressed to a smaller group. Many exegetes think that the SM in fact was designed for Jesus' disciples, like Buddha's Benares Sermon to his monks.<sup>7</sup> My analysis of the rhetoric and the parables leads in a different direction. Both the frame<sup>8</sup> and the intrinsic arguments<sup>9</sup> give force to the thesis that the audience was the (Jewish) crowd.

A fundamental question is *the Jewish setting* of the SM. The impressive 'Jewish Lexicon' from 1927 has still an article on the SM. The SM was simply perceived as part of the Jewish heritage. However, many Jewish readers of the SM ended up with ambivalence.<sup>10</sup> For a Jew the SM was and is both a favourite part of the Christian tradition and an obstacle. People who are familiar with Jewish texts will more easily understand the metaphorical character of the SM. The rhetorical character is easier to be detected if you are familiar with Hellenistic sources. Most Christian interpreters emphasise the Jewish character of the SM.<sup>11</sup> However, the Hellenistic setting is also vital for its understanding. J. J. Wettstein (1751), C. F. G. Heinrici (1900/1905), H. D. Betz (1995) and *Neuer Wettstein*<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> The best analysis of the history of research from this point of view is that of Clarence Bauman, *The Sermon on the Mount: The Modern Quest for Its Meaning* (Macon: Mercer 1985).

<sup>7</sup> Lohfink, *Wem gilt die Bergpredigt?* and D. Patte, *Discipleship according to the Sermon on the Mount* and others have recently formulated this position.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Matt 5,1 ("Now when he saw the crowds, he went up on a mountainside and sat down. His disciples came to him") and 7,27 ("the crowds were amazed at his teaching").

<sup>9</sup> My article "Audience in the Sermon on the Mount" (forthcoming) gives a broader assessment.

<sup>10</sup> G. Herlitz/B. Kirschner, eds., *Jüdisches Lexikon* (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag 1927) I, 857–860 (by Max Joseph). It states (p. 858) that the SM contains "genaue Parallelen im talmudisch-midrassischen Schrifttum". The Antitheses and some other texts are problematic from a Jewish perspective, but even these texts have been interpreted positively by C. G. Montefiore, P. Lapide, and other Jewish scholars. However, many Jewish scholars have a different view, e.g. G. Friedlander who speaks about an "Un-Jewish asceticism in the Gospels" (*Comm* 166ff). It is a sad development that *EJ<sup>2</sup>* lacks an article on the SM and did not recognise the SM as part of Jewish history.

<sup>11</sup> G. Friedlander and C. G. Montefiore knew John Lightfoot (1658), A. Wünsche (1878), etc. P. Billerbeck, P. Fiebig and later M. Hengel, W. D. Davies/D. C. Allison, etc. offered even broader Jewish material.

<sup>12</sup> *Neuer Wettstein* I/1.2: *Texte zum Matthäusevangelium*. I: *Matthäus 1–10* (U. Schnelle, ed. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter 2013).

have documented that nearly every saying in the SM has Hellenistic parallels. The influences from both Jewish and Hellenistic sources sharpen the understanding of the ethical and theological concepts in the SM and clarify its rhetorical and metaphorical character.

The parables and metaphorical sayings also give a better foundation for the evaluation of *the ethical and theological issues in the SM*. The SM has a *wisdom* character and most of the SM gives ethical instructions for everyday life. The question of wisdom versus eschatology is indeed crucial for the understanding of the SM, and is one of the theological issues we have to analyse more thoroughly. An analysis of the parables can clarify the relation between wisdom and eschatology in the SM in a new way.

The *source problem* has *historical* significance: Has Matthew shaped the SM? The differences between the SM and “the Sermon on the Plain” (= SP) in Luke 6,20–49 are obvious. On the other hand, the similarities between the SM and the SP are even more striking and indicate a memory of a fundamental inaugural sermon (= IS).<sup>13</sup> This speech was apparently fundamental in their common source (Q). But how far can we reconstruct this fundamental speech?<sup>14</sup> An analysis of the parables and the metaphorical texts in the SM can lead to some general conclusions about the IS and the nature of Q.

The fundamental historical “quest” (on the SM and the historical Jesus, on authenticity, etc.) must be investigated in a broader way than this present book allows. The theme in this book is an historical analysis of *the parables and the rhetoric* in the SM. It started with the observation that the parables in the SM play an important role in the SM, but this is mostly overlooked in scholarship. The goal of the book is to illuminate this and to argue that this gives a more comprehensive understanding of most of the problems and challenges in the SM.

## 1.1 Parables in the Sermon on the Mount

The question of the literal versus metaphorical meaning of the SM is fundamental not only in the exegesis of the antitheses, but in the exegesis of all parts of the SM.

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<sup>13</sup> D. R. Catchpole, *Quest* (79–134 on “The Inaugural Discourse”) and L. E. Vaage (“Composite Texts and Oral Mythology: The Case of the ‘Sermon’ on Q”), S. Carruth (“Strategies of Authority: A Rhetorical Study of the Character of the Speaker of Q 6:20–49”) and R. Conrad Douglas (“‘Love Your Enemies’: Rhetoric, Tradents, and Ethos”), in J. S. Kloppenborg, *Conflict and Invention: Literary, Rhetorical, and Social Studies on the Sayings Gospel Q* (Valley Forge: Trinity 1995) 75–97, 98–115, 116–131 have recently suggested this term.

<sup>14</sup> My article “Auf der Spur einer ‘Grundsatzrede’ vor der Bergpredigt?” (forthcoming) goes more into details.

It is too little observed that *about one third of the SM are parables or metaphorical language*. Already the statistics indicate that the parables or the metaphorical language must have an impact on the understanding of the SM.

It is seldom advisable to start reading a book with the last pages. However, we discover the importance of the parables in the SM more easily if we do so. The SM concludes with a parable (Matt 7,24–27) and five other parables underline the conclusion: “Two gates and two roads” (7,13–14), “Wolves in sheep skins” (7,15), “Fruit and trees” (7,16–20) and the “Day of Judgement” scene (7,21–23). The six or seven parables entirely dominate the concluding part (*peroratio*).

Moving back towards the beginning of Matthew’s Gospel, we continue to find elaborated parables like “Giving a loaf or a fish to your son” (7,9–11), “A speck or a log in the eye” (7,3–4), and metaphorical sayings about dogs and pigs (7,6) and about measurements (7,2).

In Matt 6,19–34 we have parables about, for instance, “birds of the air” (6,26) and “lilies of the field” (6,28–30), and numerous metaphorical sayings: “Moths and rust” (6,19–20), “eye and light” (6,22) and “two masters” (6,24). Sayings like Matt 6,2.3.5.6.16 and 17 also contain metaphorical language. Even the Antitheses have four parables: on “offerings and reconciliation” (5,23–24), “adversary and judge” (5,25–26), “*skandalon*” (5,29–30) and “sun and rain” (5,45).

The first part of the SM contains similes (“*Bildworte*”<sup>15</sup>) like “necessity of salt” (5,13), “light of the world” (5,14–16) and “city on the mount” (5,14).

This means that about thirty sayings, more than forty verses (about one third of the SM) *is parables*. Additionally, the SM uses the rhetorical form *παραδείγματα*, “examples”, like Solomon (Matt 6,29) and the prophets (5,12), and negative examples like “Scribes and Pharisees” (5,20), “publicans” (5,46; 6,7), “pagans” (5,47) or “hypocrites” (6,2.5.16; 7,5). Even more important is the rhetorical figure of *examples as proofs*,<sup>16</sup> which the Antitheses and other texts in the SM use abundantly.

One reason for introducing the word parable (*παραβολή*<sup>17</sup>) in Matt 13 is Matthew’s conservative attitude towards Mark as a source.<sup>18</sup> This general

<sup>15</sup> Bultmann, *GST* 181ff/*HST* 167ff.

<sup>16</sup> K. Berger, *Formen* 85 differentiates between “comparison” (“Vergleich”), “example” (“Beispiel”) and “model” (“moralisches Vorbild”).

<sup>17</sup> Matt 13,3.10.13.18.24.31.33.34.35.36.53 and also 15,15; 21,33.45; 22,1; 24,32.

<sup>18</sup> *παραβολή* denotes for Matthew *narrative* parables. The only exception is Matt 15,15 where he follows Mark 7,17. Both Mark (3,23) and Luke (4,23; 5,36, and in the SP: 6,39) use *παραβολή* for similes before the big parable speech, Matthew follows Mark’s pattern and adds only other narrative parables (Matt 13,3.10.13.18.24.31.33.34.35.36.53, cf. Mark

term, like the Hebrew מָשַׁל, has a wide range of meanings and covers both similes and the narrative parables.<sup>19</sup> “Metaphorical language” is a slippery term. We have few narrative parables in the SM, but many texts have to be classified as similes and sayings with metaphorical character.

### 1.1.1 A Neglected Feature in New Testament Scholarship

The form-historical approach and research on the parables (even research on Matthew’s parables) have contributed to the neglect of the parable-character of the SM. The classical studies on *form-history* were mainly interested in the decomposition of the SM. Rudolf Bultmann’s work, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*,<sup>20</sup> included in his chapter on “Similitudes, etc.” only one or two narrative texts from the SM (Matt 5,23–24; 7,24–27),<sup>21</sup> and M. Dibelius’ *Form-History* concluded similarly.<sup>22</sup> More recent books<sup>23</sup> on form analysis do the same,<sup>24</sup> with Zeller’s book on wisdom-sayings being a remarkable exception.<sup>25</sup>

Parable research has also neglected the parables in the SM. Studies on the parables of Jesus concentrate on the extensive narrative parables in

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4,2.10.11.13.30.33.34; Luke 8,4.9.10.11 – and later in Matt 21,33.45; 24,32, cf. Mark 12,1.12; Luke 20,9.19). The only addition from Q seems to be Matt 22,1 = Luke 14,15ff.

<sup>19</sup> B. Gerhardsson, “Meshalim in the OT” 289ff and R. Zimmermann, in idem, ed., *Kompendium der Gleichnisse Jesu* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlag 2007) 17ff and idem, “Parabeln – sonst nichts! Gattungsbestimmungen jenseits der Klassifikation in ‘Bildwort’, ‘Gleichnis’, ‘Parabel’ und ‘Gleichniserzählung’, in idem, ed., *Hermeneutik der Gleichnisse Jesu: Methodische Neuansätze zum Verstehen urchristlicher Parabeltexte* (WUNT 231. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2008) 383–419, esp. 409ff. Gerhardsson and Zimmermann started from totally different positions and reached similar conclusions.

<sup>20</sup> Bultmann, *GST* 196. *GST/HST* was until the 1990s part of the curriculum at German universities. For a comprehensive evaluation, see E. Baasland, *Theologie* 162–302.

<sup>21</sup> Bultmann, *GST* 179–222 (187, 218–219). In addition Matt 5,14.25–26; 6,24; 7,9ff (7,16 = Luke 6,43) are understood as “figures” (“*Bildworte*”). He uses them in order to illuminate the growth of the tradition (*GST* 181–182/*HST* 168ff).

<sup>22</sup> M. Dibelius, *Formgeschichte* (31959) 247–258 calls Matt 7,24ff “kurze Lehrerzählung” (251) and Matt 5,13–14; 6,22–23.24; 7,6 “*Bildworte*” (so also Bultmann). He categorises Matt 5,29–30.44–45; 6,2ff.25ff both as “kurze Gebote” and also as “metaphorical language”.

<sup>23</sup> G. Theißen, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition: Ergänzungsheft* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 51979) 65–76.

<sup>24</sup> K. Berger, *Formen* 101ff mentions some parables in the SM, and differentiates between “parables that entail something incredible” (Matt 6,24.27; 7,9ff.16.18) and “parables that entail something typical” (Matt 7,24ff).

<sup>25</sup> D. Zeller, *Die weisheitlichen Mahnsprüche bei den Synoptikern* (FB 17. Würzburg: Echter 1977) analyses the wisdom-sayings in the synoptic tradition. He did not focus on the parables as such, but still he recognises the parable-character of many wisdom-sayings in the SM.

Matthew and Luke.<sup>26</sup> The two rather short parables in the SM (Matt 7,9–11 and 7,24–27 = Luke 6,46–49) have not received much attention. Even Jewish scholars,<sup>27</sup> or scholars who are reading parables from a Jewish perspective,<sup>28</sup> have overlooked the parables in the SM. Snodgrass's book, subtitled *A Comprehensive Guide to the Parables of Jesus*, is in this respect not comprehensive.<sup>29</sup> There are, however, some exceptions: Adolf Jülicher,<sup>30</sup> T. W. Manson,<sup>31</sup> and also J. Jeremias gave brief comments on some parables,<sup>32</sup> and *Kompendium der Gleichnisse Jesu* (ed. Ruben Zimmermann) analyses even more parables in the SM.<sup>33</sup> Chr. Münch in his overview recognises thirteen parables in the SM, but not all of them are analysed specifically.<sup>34</sup> Consequently an analysis of all the parables in the SM is still lacking in the field of parable research.

It is more surprising that works on the *parables in Matthew* overlook the parables in the SM. They focus mostly on the parables in Matt 13 and Matt 18; 24–25,<sup>35</sup> perhaps due to the fact that Matthew first introduces the

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<sup>26</sup> Some books intend to cover all parables, e.g. A. Jülicher, *Gleichnisreden*; J. Jeremias, *Gleichnisse/Parables*; C. L. Blomberg, *Interpreting the Parables*; C. W. Hedrick, *Parables*; R. Longenecker, ed., *Challenge*; A. J. Hultgren, *Parables*; R. Zimmermann, ed., *Kompendium* and K. Snodgrass, *Stories with Intent: A Comprehensive Guide to the Parables of Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 2008).

<sup>27</sup> D. Flusser, *Gleichnisse*. The parable in Matt 7,24ff is, however, very important for him (pp. 98ff).

<sup>28</sup> B. H. Young, *Parables* 124–127, 244–245.

<sup>29</sup> Snodgrass, *Stories* 327ff analyses only Matt 7,24ff and mentions briefly Matt 6,25ff; 7,9ff (in connection with Luke 11,5ff, pp. 427ff). Hultgren, *Parables* also overlooks the parables in the SM.

<sup>30</sup> Jülicher, *Gleichnisreden* II, 25–36, 67–79, 79–88, 88–91, 98–108, 108–115, 116–128, 240–246, 259–265.

<sup>31</sup> T. W. Manson counts a few more in *Teaching* 67–68.

<sup>32</sup> Jeremias, *Gleichnisse/Parables* has a thematic approach, but he refers briefly to most parables in the SM.

<sup>33</sup> R. Zimmermann, ed., *Kompendium* lists three parables from the SP (SM), six from Q, two from the SM in addition to Mark 4,24 (= Matt 7,2).

<sup>34</sup> R. Zimmermann, ed., *Kompendium* 3.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. J. D. Kingsbury, *Parables*; J. Lambrecht, *Treasure*; C. Münch, *Gleichnisse*; I. H. Jones, *Matthean Parables*; W. Carter/J. P. Heil, *Matthew's Parables*. They analyse at most two of the parables in Matt 7. Most books on the parables in Matthew start with Matt 13, recently also J. Roloff, *Jesu Gleichnisse im Matthäusevangelium: Ein Kommentar zu Mt 13,1–52* (Biblich-theologische Studien 73. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag 2005), Peter Yaw Oppong Kumi, *Matthean Sets of Parables* (WUNT 2/340. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2013) and even R. Zimmermann in an important study on "Ethico-Aesthetic" in Matthew: "Die Ethico-Ästhetik der Gleichnisse Jesu: Ethik durch literarische Ästhetik am Beispiel der Parabeln im Matthäus-Evangelium", in F. W. Horn/ idem, eds., *Jenseits von Imperativ und Indikativ* (WUNT 238. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2009) 252–265.

word “parable” in Matt 13.<sup>36</sup> The parables in the SM so far have not been analysed in the overwhelming number of studies on the SM.<sup>37</sup> Jewish scholars have observed this feature best, but a thematic analysis is lacking.<sup>38</sup>

One reason for neglecting the parables in the SM could be the understanding of the audience. “[Jesus] did not say anything to them without using a parable”, according to Mark 4,34. The formulation that Jesus *exclusively* spoke in parables is of course an exaggeration and part of the parable theory in Mark.<sup>39</sup> The Synoptic Gospels convey more than forty narrative parables and the speeches to the public (in Matt 13 and 24–25) consist entirely of parables.<sup>40</sup> Jesus explained everything to his own disciples according to the same “parable theory” (Mark 4,34). This might also be an exaggeration, but the two disciple instructions, Matt 10 and 18, have indeed relatively few parables.<sup>41</sup> What about the SM, the fifth speech in Matthew? Most scholars tend to read the SM as a speech to Jesus’ disciples, with relatively few parables.

Matthew gives three different titles of the speeches: 7,28, 19,1 and 26,1 conclude with the words καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοὺς λόγους τούτους. This general phrase, τοὺς λόγους τούτους, is replaced in the disciple-speech Matt 10 by “demands” (11,1: διατάσσω τοῖς δώδεκα μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ) and in 13,53 by “parables” (τὰς παραβολὰς ταύτας). It is significant that Matt 10 – and *not* the SM – is called an instruction speech/“demands to the twelve disciples” (διατάσσω). The SM is called λόγοι like Matt 18 (with two concluding parables) and Matt 24–25, which is entirely a metaphorical speech.

The parables are not dominant in the SM as they are in Matt 13 and 24–25, but they occur more frequently than in Matt 10; 18; 23. The chiasmic *inclusio*-structure in Matthew indicates that the SM is a speech to the general public using many parables.

<sup>36</sup> Lambrecht, *Treasure* 20 counts four parables in Matt 5–12.

<sup>37</sup> The commentaries on Matthew are most comprehensive, esp. Luz, *Comm*, Davies/Allison, *Comm* and not least H. D. Betz, *Comm*. Except for Betz’s contributions the studies on the SM in the 1980s – e.g. Guelich, *Comm*; G. Strecker, *Comm*; Weder, *Comm* – do not pay attention to the parables.

<sup>38</sup> C. G. Montefiore, *Synoptic Gospels*; idem, *Rabbinic Literature* and Friedlander, *Comm*.

<sup>39</sup> Since W. Wrede, *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien: Zugleich ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des Markusevangeliums* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1963) 54–65.

<sup>40</sup> Also Matt 23 should be analysed from this perspective. There are relatively few parables, but many metaphorical sayings in the polemics against the Pharisees.

<sup>41</sup> W. Pesch, “Die sogenannte Gemeindeordnung Matt 18”, *BZ* 7 (1963) 220–235 and extensively in idem, *Matthäus als Seelsorger* (SBS 2. Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk 1966). He has correctly seen that the two parables in Matt 18 (18,9–14 and 18,22–35) are the climax of the two parts of the instruction in Matt 18.

| <i>Matt 5–7</i>  | <i>Matt 10</i>                                    | <i>Matt 13</i>                                   | <i>Matt 18</i>                         | <i>Matt 23–25</i>                                 |
|--|---|--|--|---|
| 1937 words   | 640 words   | 929 words  | 639 words                              | 2221 words  |
| About 7 narrative parables, at least 20 metaphorical sayings | No narrative parables, a few metaphorical sayings | 7 narrative parables + some metaphorical sayings | 2 parables + some metaphorical sayings | 7 narrative parables + a few metaphorical sayings |

The main reason for neglecting the theme could be that the SM is read as basically instructions and commandments and the parables are accordingly perceived as peripheral illustrations. This book challenges this view. *The parables are in fact crucial for the understanding of the instructions and commandments in the SM.*

### 1.1.2 Parables in Recent Research

The history of “parable-research since Jülicher” has often been told.<sup>42</sup> It is, however, an amazing fact that Adolf Jülicher represents a milestone and turning point in scholarly research. He wrote his famous book on parables (published in 1886) when he was a 29-year-old clergyman at an institution for social work (*Waisenhaus*) in Berlin.<sup>43</sup> The book earned him a “lic. theol.” title, and he would hardly have expected that it would become the model for parable research for 100 years. The legacy of his work persists in current research, but most of Jülicher’s principles are highly disputed in the recent comprehensive studies on parables (K. Snodgrass<sup>44</sup> and R. Zimmermann<sup>45</sup>). We will in the following comment on *five important issues*.

#### 1.1.2.1 Categories and Their Relation to Jewish מְשָׁלִים and Hellenistic Rhetoric

Jülicher’s clear categories (parables, similitude/“Gleichnis”, example-stories) are based on the differentiation between simile and metaphor. C. A. Bugge<sup>46</sup> and P. Fiebig<sup>47</sup> criticised Jülicher’s western, rationalistic

<sup>42</sup> More recently G. Theissen/A. Merz, *The Historical Jesus: A Comprehensive Guide* (London: SCM 1998) 287–292; K. Erlemann, *Gleichnisauslegung* 11–52; C. L. Blomberg, “The Parables of Jesus: Current Trends and Needs in Research”, in B. D. Chilton/C. A. Evans, eds., *Studying the Historical Jesus: Evaluations of the State of Current Research* (NTTS 19. Leiden: Brill 1994) 231–254; K. Snodgrass, “From Allegorizing to Allegorizing”, in R. Longenecker, ed., *Challenge* 3–29; R. Zimmermann, “Gleichnis-hermeneutik in Rückblick und Vorblick”, in idem, ed., *Hermeneutik* 25–63.

<sup>43</sup> At Großes Friedrichs-Waisenhaus in Berlin (Rummelsburg). Two years later a revised version came out, and as professor in Marburg (from 1888) he completed vol. II in 1899.

<sup>44</sup> Snodgrass, *Stories*.

<sup>45</sup> The contributions of R. Zimmermann (in idem, ed., *Kompodium* and idem, ed., *Hermeneutik*).

<sup>46</sup> Bugge, *Die Haupt-Parabeln Jesu* (Gießen: Ricker 1903), esp. 4–14.



approach to the parables early on. The OT and other Jewish texts make abundant use of metaphors, similes and parables without operating with such differentiations. Jülicher simply overlooked the מִשַׁל-form<sup>48</sup> and the parallels in Jewish wisdom literature,<sup>49</sup> but D. Flusser has more recently renewed Fiebig's position. B. Gerhardsson suggested similarly that we should call all parables 'meshalim' (משלים). He divides them into "aphoristic meshalim" and "narrative meshalim".<sup>50</sup> In the SM we have relatively few narrative *meshalim*, but quite a number of aphoristic *meshalim*. The study of the Jewish משלים gives a different starting point for studying the parables, because it challenges the one-point approach without returning to an allegorical method.<sup>51</sup>

Jülicher's position implied at the same time a limited use of Hellenistic rhetoric. He avoided even the classical definitions from the rhetorical handbooks. Jülicher made limited use of Aristotle (basically *Rhet.* 3.4ff), but Bultmann had no dialogue with classical rhetoric at all, and J. Jeremias argued similarly: "An inappropriate law is imposed on Jesus' parables when one forces them into the categories of Greek rhetoric."<sup>52</sup> This is in fact a false alternative.

Before Jülicher's book, the parables were seen in the framework of "hermeneutics"<sup>53</sup> and the rhetorical tradition. Jülicher refers occasionally to the rhetorical handbooks, rhetorical theories and practices, but only a few passages in the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle were import-

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<sup>47</sup> P. Fiebig, *Altjüdische Gleichnisse* (p. V) starts with a quotation from J. Wellhausen who claimed that the מִשַׁל includes all aspects: comparison, riddle, gnome, parable and allegory. On the very first page he criticises Jülicher (pp. 1ff, 107ff) and concludes (148–149): to operate with a clear-cut "either-or" may satisfy logical thinking, but wisdom literature and Jesus think in terms of "both-and".

<sup>48</sup> This criticism was launched very early (Bugge, Fiebig, etc.) and is repeated and strengthened in recent contributions, e.g. Snodgrass, *Stories* 570–575 and Gerhardsson, "Meshalim in the OT" 289, 297ff.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Flusser, *Gleichnisse*; Young, *Parables*; and Fiebig, *Altjüdische Gleichnisse*; idem, *Gleichnisreden*; idem, *Rabbinische Gleichnisse*. Cf. more recent contributions by C. Thoma/S. Lauer/H. Ernst, eds., *Die Gleichnisse der Rabbinen I–IV* (Bern: P. Lang 1986–2001) and P. Dschulnigg, *Rabbinische Gleichnisse und das Neue Testament: Die Gleichnisse der PesK im Vergleich mit den Gleichnissen Jesu und dem Neuen Testament* (Bern: P. Lang 1988).

<sup>50</sup> B. Gerhardsson, "Meshalim in the Synoptic Gospels" 339–342.

<sup>51</sup> J. Jeremias's book on the parables became a model for scholarly research in several decades. He still advocated the one-point approach, despite his studies on Jewish משלים. He added an eschatological interpretation of many parables to Jülicher's approach.

<sup>52</sup> Jeremias, *Gleichnisse* 13 ("Es heißt den Gleichnissen Jesu ein sachfremdes Gesetz aufzwingen, wenn man sie in die Kategorien griechischer Rhetorik preßt").

<sup>53</sup> Schleiermacher, Tholuck, W. M. L. de Wette and his teacher B. Weiß represented this heritage in Berlin.

ant for him.<sup>54</sup> Jülicher's lack of interest in rhetoric and hermeneutics was typical of his generation, and his one-sidedness and limited use of rhetorical tools became an object for criticism after the renewal of *rhetorical analysis* in the 1980s. This renewal has led to more emphasis on the *Hellenistic* sources. For Jülicher the dialogue with ancient rhetorical theorists was not important<sup>55</sup> except for his overall view of similes and parables as "proof" ("*Beweismittel*").<sup>56</sup>

The rabbinic interpretation (developed by Hillel and his contemporaries) shows links to Hellenistic rhetorical traditions.<sup>57</sup> In Hellenistic rhetorical handbooks metaphorical language (the use of tropes, similes/parables) was a major issue,<sup>58</sup> and Jewish and Hellenistic speeches in the first century C.E. show how frequently metaphorical language was used. K. Berger<sup>59</sup> has shown that the Hellenistic parallels to the Jesus tradition are important: for the wording (use of *τίς, μήτι, οὐδέις*, etc.), for the categories (*τίς δὲ ἐξ ὑμῶν*,<sup>60</sup> *ex-emplum*<sup>61</sup>), for much of the imagery and for ways of arguing in the parables.<sup>62</sup>

### 1.1.2.1.1 The So-Called Marburg School and Its Critics

The phrase "Marburg School"<sup>63</sup> has meaning because Jülicher and Bultmann had basic assumptions in common, e.g. the definitions of parable<sup>64</sup> as the opposite of allegory, the one-point interpretation of parables (similes and example stories), and the clear-cut separation of image and life-setting ("*Bild- und Sachhälfte*").<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Cf. R. Zimmermann, "Urchristliche Parabeln im Horizont der antiken Rhetorik", in Linus Hauser et al., eds., *Jesus als Bote des Heils* (FS D. Dormeyer. Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk 2008) 201–225 (= ET in R. Zimmermann, ed., *Hermeneutik* 238–258)

<sup>55</sup> Quintilian is mentioned only once, Cicero three times. Aristotle is referred to more than 10 times.

<sup>56</sup> Jülicher, *Gleichnisreden* I, 202, 205.

<sup>57</sup> A. Schwarz, "Enthymematische Analogieschlüsse".

<sup>58</sup> Aristotle, *Poet.* 21 (1457b); *Rhet.* 3.2.6–9 (1404b/1405a) or Quintilian, *Inst.* 5.11.22–23 ("*Similitudo* has much the same force as Example especially when it is based on nearly equal things without any mixture of metaphors"), cf. 8.6.

<sup>59</sup> K. Berger, "Hellenistische Gattungen" 1111 ("die Beziehungen der neutestamentlichen Gleichnisse zur Literatur der hellenistischen Umwelt sind fast völlig unerforscht").

<sup>60</sup> K. Berger, "Materialien" 31–32.

<sup>61</sup> E. Baasland, "Zum Beispiel der Beispielerzählungen: Zur Formenlehre der Gleichnisse und zur Methodik der Gleichnisauslegung", *NovT* 28 (1986) 193–219.

<sup>62</sup> K. Berger, "Materialien" 20ff.

<sup>63</sup> U. Mell, ed., *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu 1899–1999: Beiträge zum Dialog mit Adolf Jülicher* (BZNW 103. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter 1999). Jülicher and Bultmann developed their theories on parables before 1920. The term "Marburg School" is also used for the philosophical school in Marburg before 1920 and for Bultmann's Heidegger-influenced approach to theology.

<sup>64</sup> Both saw parables, similes ("*Gleichnisse*") and "example-stories" ("*Beispielerzählungen*") as different categories.

<sup>65</sup> The image and life-setting is identical in the example-stories.

However, Jülicher and Bultmann disagreed on the exact classification.<sup>66</sup> Bultmann follows his teacher's classification only in one single case in the SM (Matt 5,25–26):<sup>67</sup>

| <i>Jülicher's categories in the SM</i>                             | <i>Bultmann's categories in the SM</i>  |
|--|---|
| Parable: 7,24–27   | No parable  |
| 7 similitudes: 7,9–11; 5,13; 5,14; 5,25–26; 6,22–23; 6,24; 7,16–20 | 2 similitudes (“ <i>Gleichnisse</i> ”): 5,25–26; 7,24–27; 5,23 <sup>68</sup> is a special case. |
|  | Similes (“ <i>Bildworte</i> ”): 5,14; 6,24; 7,9–10  |
|  | Metaphors: <sup>69</sup> 5,13.14.16; 7,3–5.6.13–14.16.20  |

This demonstrates the general difference between Jülicher and Bultmann:

| <i>Jülicher</i>  | <i>Bultmann</i>   |
|--|---|
| 22 parables  | 15 parables   |
| 28 similitudes (“ <i>Gleichnisse</i> ”)  | 17 similitudes (“ <i>Gleichnisse</i> ”)   |
| 9 (only one third) in common with Bultmann (Matt 11,16–19; 13,33; Mark 13,28–29.34–37; Luke 12,42–48.54–56.57–59; 14,28–30; 17,7–10) | Bultmann calls 7 of Jülicher's “parables” similitudes (Matt 7,24–27; 13,44–46.47–49; Mark 4,26–29.30–32; Luke 15,4–7.8–10). |
|  | Bultmann labels 12 of Jülicher's similitudes as “similes” (= “ <i>Bildworte</i> ”).   |

The differences reflect partly Jülicher's and Bultmann's interests. Jülicher makes the similitudes the dominating category, because they illustrate most clearly his principles (opposite to allegory, the one-point interpretation, the clear-cut separation of image and life-setting/“*Bild- und Sachhälfte*”). Bultmann's main concern is the development of the tradition. He therefore puts more emphasis on the smaller units.<sup>70</sup> Partly Jülicher and

<sup>66</sup> For Jülicher's and Bultmann's different views, cf. R. Zimmermann, ed., *Kompendium* 5–8, 17–23 and idem, “Parabeln, sonst nichts!”, in idem, ed., *Hermeneutik* 385ff; Baasland, *Theologie* 273.

<sup>67</sup> Bultmann, *GST* 181 on figures/similes (“*Bildworte*”).

<sup>68</sup> Jülicher did not analyse the parable in Matt 5,23–24. Bultmann reads it as “Church order”, *GST* 140.

<sup>69</sup> Bultmann, *GST* 181ff is not consistent or is perhaps purposely vague in his definition of “metaphor”. He presupposes a development starting with “*Bildworte*” (figures) and ending with metaphors. “Not infrequently particular elements are used by the evangelists as metaphors in their editorial formulations” (*HST* 169). *GST* 183/*HST* 169: Matt 7,6 is something in-between simile and metaphor.

<sup>70</sup> In his study on ‘form-history’ Bultmann was less interested in the parable as a form. His interest was the smallest entities and to describe the growth of the tradition from the smaller units “figures” and similes (“*Bildworte*”), also hyperbole, paradox, comparison, metaphor to the similitude (“*Gleichnis*”), parable and example-stories. The subdivision of the smaller units is “comparison” (explicitly so), “metaphor” (without any particle indicating a comparison) and the original “figures”/similes (“*Bildworte*”), which have more similarity with the Jewish *mesalim* (*GST* 181/*HST* 167–168).

Bultmann have slightly different approaches to the categories. “Similitude”, according to Jülicher, is comparison with a similar or different area of life,<sup>71</sup> and parable has a different form;<sup>72</sup> he defines parables more in analogy to Aesop’s fables.<sup>73</sup> According to Bultmann a “similitude” is an extended “figure” (simile, “*Bildwort*”),<sup>74</sup> and he sees similitude as a level before the “parable”.<sup>75</sup> The parable elaborates the similes and metaphors into a narrative that is not a typical situation, but a peculiar event.<sup>76</sup>

The internal debate within the “Marburg School” is often overlooked and also the disagreement among the “form-critics” is too often harmonised in scholarship.<sup>77</sup> One should note that Dibelius had a different approach from Bultmann and is closer to Jülicher. He used “comparison” and “fable” as general categories; the fables<sup>78</sup> tell about normal but also about extraordinary events. He also observed that some of Jesus’ parables were constructed in order to give the imagery direction and meaning. This latter aspect included a criticism of basic conceptions in both Bultmann and Jülicher, which is – together with his fable category – often overlooked.<sup>79</sup>

The distinction between “similitude” and “parable” has never really functioned in Anglo-Saxon scholarship. Recently Snodgrass suggested the

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<sup>71</sup> Jülicher, *Gleichnisreden* I, 80: “*diejenige Redefigur, in welcher die Wirkung eines Satzes (Gedankens) gesichert werden soll durch Nebenstellung eines ähnlichen, einem andern Gebiet angehörigen, seiner Wirkung gewissen Satzes*”.

<sup>72</sup> Jülicher, *Gleichnisreden* I, 93.

<sup>73</sup> Jülicher, *Gleichnisreden* I, 98: “*Ich kann die Fabel nur definieren als die Redefigur, in welcher die Wirkung eines Satzes (Gedankens) gesichert werden soll durch Nebenstellung einer auf andern Gebiet abzulaufenden, ihrer Wirkung gewissen erdichteten Geschichte, deren Gedankengerippe dem jenes Satzes ähnlich ist.*” This means: only two categories are sufficient, and all parables must fit into one of these categories (except for example stories/“*Beispielerszählungen*”, Luke 10,29ff; 12,16ff; 16,19ff; 18,9ff).

<sup>74</sup> Bultmann, *GST* 184: “*die sich ... nur durch die Ausführlichkeit ... unterscheiden*” (*HST* 170: “distinguished ... only by the detail in which the picture is painted”).

<sup>75</sup> Bultmann, *GST* 184/*HST* 170, also *GST* 193 (similar to Luke 14,7ff, a preliminary stage to the example-stories) and in general *GST* 181–182/*HST* 167–168).

<sup>76</sup> Bultmann, *GST* 188: “*als Bild nicht einen typischen Zustand oder typischen bzw. regelmäßigen Vorgang, sondern einen interessierenden Einzelfall bringt*” (*HST* 174: “gives as its picture not a typical condition or a typical, recurrent event, but some interesting particular situation”).

<sup>77</sup> Cf. G. Strecker, *Literaturgeschichte* 181–184; G. Sellin, “*Allegorie und Gleichnis*”, *ZTK* 75 (1978) 281–335; Theissen/Merz, *Jesus* 294–296 underline the difference between short comparison versus longer narrative (or normal versus peculiar, hyperbolic or doubtful).

<sup>78</sup> M. Dibelius, *Formgeschichte* 252–257.

<sup>79</sup> W. Harnisch, *Gleichniserzählungen* 97–105; F. Vouga, “*Formgeschichtliche Überlegungen zu den Gleichnissen und zu den Fabeln der Jesus-Tradition auf dem Hintergrund der hellenistischen Literaturgeschichte*”, in F. van Segbroeck et al., eds., *The Four Gospels 1992* (FS F. Neiryck. BETL 100. Leuven: Leuven University Press 1992) I, 173–187, here 175ff.

following categories: aphoristic sayings, similes (double indirect), interrogative parables (also double indirect), narrative parables.<sup>80</sup> The German scholar Ruben Zimmermann makes “parable” the general term and claims boldly that we have “parables and nothing else”.<sup>81</sup> His claim is in general correct, but one should be open for divisions into subgroups of parables.

### 1.1.2.2 Jülicher and the Recent Discussion on Metaphors/Metaphorical Language

According to Aristotle, metaphor is “the application of a strange term either transferred from the genus and applied to the species or from the species and applied to the genus, or from one species to another or else by analogy”.<sup>82</sup> The revival of ancient rhetoric in scholarship and society also implies the rethinking of metaphors and of metaphorical language. The metaphor was neglected in Jülicher’s approach, contrary to recent interest in the metaphor, inspired by studies of literature (Max Black), cognitive linguistics (G. Lakoff<sup>83</sup>) and philosophical (P. Ricoeur, M. Johnson) and theological (R. W. Funk, E. Jüngel, H. Weder, W. Harnisch) reflections.<sup>84</sup> It is impossible to put the different and sometimes contradicting approaches into one consistent definition. One has to choose one definition or give a consistent perspective on metaphors and interpret the metaphors accordingly.

The first step is to evaluate the metaphor as one of the tropes. Taxonomically, the metaphor can be placed among other figures of speech, but is the crown of all tropes. The Marburg School (Jülicher, Bultmann) did in fact subordinate the metaphor under the simile. They used the famous example of Achilles, mentioned by Aristotle: Homer said he was a lion (= metaphor) and not that he fought like a lion (= simile), and consequently metaphors are understood as a shorter form (*brevior*) of similitude.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Snodgrass, *Stories* 11.

<sup>81</sup> R. Zimmermann, ed., *Hermeneutik* 383–419 (“Parabeln – sonst nichts!”). He uses four types of arguments: the categories in the Gospels, ancient rhetoric, the vagueness in scholarly works and the lack of precise criteria when it comes to content (395–404).

<sup>82</sup> Aristotle, *Rhet.* 3.2.8ff (1405a); 3.10 (1410b14–15); *Poet.* 21 (1457b), esp. 9–16 and 20–22.

<sup>83</sup> G. Lakoff/M. Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 2003); also G. Lakoff, “The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor”, in A. Ortony, ed., *Metaphor and Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1993) 202–251.

<sup>84</sup> R. Banschbach Eggen, *Gleichnis, Allegorie, Metapher: Zur Theorie und Praxis der Gleichnisauslegung* (Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter 47. Tübingen: Francke 2007) 270–298.

<sup>85</sup> M. H. MacCall, *Ancient Rhetorical Theories of Simile and Comparison* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1969). This common view is based on the definition in Quintilian, *Inst.* 8.6.8: “Metaphor is a shorter form of simile” (*in totum autem metaphora brevior est similitudo*) and continues with the problematic statement that the simile gives a comparison whereas the metaphor gives “*ipsa re*”.

The second step is to define what exactly μετά + φέρειν or μετά + φορά means. Is the imagery transferred to a similar or to a different level? Shall everything be transferred or only one aspect of the imagery?

The third step is to differentiate between a metaphor in a narrative (e.g. the king as metaphor in some parables) and the elaboration of a metaphor into a narrative, which means that the whole narrative must be seen as metaphor. The phrase “Kingdom of God” is developed into many different stories in the Gospels.<sup>86</sup>

The fourth step is to see that metaphors have a bigger potential than any other figure of speech. The very function of opening up reality gives the metaphor this potential. The metaphor can – theoretically – open up for the following: for the beauty of a phenomenon, for feelings involved, for the many aspects of a matter or an event (the secrets, the most important feature, the focus), and for the purpose of persuasion.

A fifth step is to avoid the confusion between metaphor and allegory. A metaphor can never say “something else” (ἄλλος) whereas the allegory can bring the imagery to a different level. Jülicher’s polemic against the allegory correctly made allegorical exegesis a place of no return for scholarly research.

The SM has at least thirty different metaphors (salt, light, city, shrine, court, eye, trumpet, closet, treasure, moth, rust, thieves, eye, body, master, bird, stature, lilies, measure, beam, log, dog, swine, stone, snake, way, gate, wolves, sheep, tree, fruit, house, foundation, rock). Some of them are significant, some nearly invisible.

According to Lakoff and Johnson’s understanding of metaphors, they are “conceptual constructions”, and the application of one domain of knowledge to another domain of knowledge offers new perceptions and understandings. We put the metaphors into a frame of associations and create “conceptually sustained metaphors”. Many of the metaphors in the SM like “way”, “fruit”, “foundation”, “light”, “master”, “treasure” have this potential. They are, according to Lakoff and Johnson’s terminology, the “source domain”, and we have to see how the metaphors are used (“goal/target-domain”).

#### *1.1.2.2.1 Tropes and Other Figures of Speech in the More Basic Rhetorical Argumentation*

The investigation of tropes and figures of speech is also neglected in scholarship. Many observations on the tropes and figures are of course given in

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<sup>86</sup> N. Perrin, *Jesus and the Language of the Kingdom: Symbol and Metaphor in New Testament Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Fortress 1976) and my article “Jesu Verkündigung vom Reich Gottes: Semantische Analyse von βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ”, in H. Foerster, ed., *Reich Gottes und Kirche* (Veröffentlichungen der Luther-Akademie Ratzeburg 12. Erlangen: Martin-Luther-Verlag 1988) 15–35.

the commentaries on the SM,<sup>87</sup> but the rhetorical force of the tropes and figures must be focused in a more comprehensive approach. The system of tropes and word- and thought-figures is complicated, and Cicero's or Quintilian's comprehensive lists were never standard for rhetoricians.

If we concentrate on their rhetorical function, I suggest three ways of persuasion in the tropes and figures:<sup>88</sup>

a. *Confirming reality* by repetitions and paraphrases. Tools can be tropes like periphrasis, euphemism, etc. or "word-figures of addition" (like epanalepsis, anadiplosis, anaphor, antistrophe, sympleke, synonymia, epitheton, polysyndeton, climax and also geminatio, figura etymologica) and sometimes also "thought-figures" like e.g. parallelism.

b. *Correcting or focusing on one aspect* of reality will use the following tools: The tropes emphasis, synecdoche, litotes, often isocolon and homeoteleuton, or irony (often taken as a trope) are designed for this purpose. The same are "word-figures of transposition" (like hyperbaton, synchresis, chiasm and also isocolon and homeoteleuton) and some "thought-figures" (epimone, metabasis, exclamatio, enargeia and irony, taken as a thought-figure and not a trope).

c. *Changing reality or appealing to the feeling of the audience.* Tropes like similes and metaphor can often focus on one aspect, but particularly the crown of the tropes, the metaphor, can change the reality and appeal to feelings. Allegory is less powerful, and is hardly used in the SM. The "word-figures of omission" (like ellipsis, zeugma, often interrogatio) and the "thought-figures" (antithesis, correctio, often interrogatio, apostrophe, synchresis, proparaskeue) are often used in the SM.

Some of the tropes in the SM are merely embellishments, and some are more poetical than rhetorical, but an analysis of the tropes and figures in the parables can contribute to a better understanding of the parables. The tropes and figures are frequently parts of a narrative and we call these narratives parables. The distinction between similitude and parable (typical versus peculiar event) is seldom important. We concentrate therefore on three types of rhetorical arguments:

- The sentences (maxims, *gnomai*, *sententiae*) are very powerful.<sup>89</sup>
- The examples – metaphorical, historical or imaginative – are also effective.<sup>90</sup>
- The parable (narrative with one or more similes and metaphor) is most powerful.

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<sup>87</sup> More recently W. Petersen, *Eigenart* 88ff and 313ff has collected most of them, but he uses them primarily in order to differentiate between "tradition" and redaction.

<sup>88</sup> The most extensive treatments are found in *Rhet. Her.* 4.19–69; Cicero, *De or.* 3.177, 201; Quintilian, *Inst.* 8.6 and in modern handbooks: M. Fuhrmann, *Rhetorik* 126–138; G. O. Rowe, "Style" 125–150; H. Lausberg, *Handbuch I*, 282–307.

<sup>89</sup> Aristotle, *Rhet.* 2.21.2 (1394a); 2.21.15–16 (1395b).

<sup>90</sup> Cicero, *De or.* 3.205 (*similitudo et exemplum*); 1.180; 2.173 (on irony); Cicero, *Inv.* 1.31, 51; Quintilian, *Inst.* 5.11.6.

## Index of Sources

### 1. Old Testament

|                |                   |                  |                    |
|----------------|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| <i>Genesis</i> |                   | 19,1–8           | 70                 |
| 1–11           | 269               | 19,5–6           | 89                 |
| 1,2            | 104               | 20,1–17          | 70                 |
| 1,11 ff        | 396               | 20,2–7           | 229                |
| 1,14           | 277               | 20,5             | 369                |
| 1,20–21        | 396               | 20,7             | 219                |
| 1,27           | 279               | 20,13–16         | 137, 150, 217, 285 |
| 2–3            | 395, 403          | 20,15 ff         | 125                |
| 2,5            | 380               | 20,17            | 285                |
| 2,7            | 350               | 21,12            | 150                |
| 2,9.17         | 535               | 21,23–25         | 237, 251           |
| 2,24           | 609               | 22,26–27.36      | 246, 261           |
| 3,16–18        | 380, 393, 404–405 | 23,4             | 273                |
| 4              | 153, 155          | 24,7             | 562                |
| 4,24           | 237               | 24,18            | 310                |
| 5,1 ff         | 273               | 25,31 ff         | 118                |
| 8,6–12         | 398               | 29,37            | 142                |
| 8,22           | 279               | 30,19            | 510                |
| 11             | 91                | 30,29            | 142                |
| 15,6 ff        | 58                | 30,35            | 84                 |
| 19,24          | 278               | 33,20            | 59                 |
| 19,26          | 87                |                  |                    |
| 24,7           | 219               | <i>Leviticus</i> |                    |
| 28,17          | 502               | 1,2              | 172                |
| 29,31.33       | 369               | 2,1 ff           | 170–173            |
| 34,7           | 154               | 2,13             | 83–84              |
| 37,32          | 426               | 5                | 174, 270           |
| 38,25          | 426               | 6,1 ff           | 174                |
| 40,7           | 311               | 6,11.20          | 142                |
| 43,30          | 309               | 11,7–8           | 449, 452           |
| 43,31          | 312               | 11,15            | 398                |
| 49,7           | 520               | 14,10–11(–30)    | 172                |
|                |                   | 19,2             | 50                 |
| <i>Exodus</i>  |                   | 19,8             | 273                |
| 7,28           | 309               | 19,10            | 251, 272           |
| 12,8           | 402               | 19,12            | 217                |
| 18,11          | 426               | 19,17            | 155                |
| 19             | 122               |                  |                    |



|                    |   |                        |                                  |
|--------------------|---|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 19,18              | 137, 142, 153, 179,<br>268–271, 279, 283,<br>301, 614 | 24<br>24,1<br>24,12–13 | 229<br>138, 286, 614<br>246, 261 |
| 19,34              | 268–269   | 27–28                  | 551, 558                         |
| 21,16              | 142   | 28–33                  | 158                              |
| 21,24              | 137   | 28,1                   | 551                              |
| 23,22–23           | 274   | 28,2–13a               | 70, 278                          |
| 24,17              | 114–115   | 28,15                  | 551                              |
| 24,20              | 237   | 29,22–23               | 87                               |
| 24,24              | 114–115   | 30                     | 557                              |
| 25,36–37           | 251   | 31,12                  | 562                              |
| 26                 | 557   | 31,29                  | 609                              |
| 26,4               | 278   | 32,4.6                 | 157, 564                         |
|                    |   | 33,2                   | 402                              |
|                    |   | 33,13                  | 278                              |
|                    |   | 33,21                  | 55                               |
|                    |   | 33,29                  | 268                              |
| <i>Numbers</i>     |   | <i>Joshua</i>          |                                  |
| 2,1                | 311   | 15,8                   | 151                              |
| 5,10               | 173   | 18,16                  | 151                              |
| 10,3–12            | 306   | 24,14–24               | 557                              |
| 16                 | 395   |                        |                                  |
| 18,19              | 84  |                        |                                  |
| 30,3               | 217   |                        |                                  |
| 35,16.18.31        | 150   |                        |                                  |
|                    |   | <i>Judges</i>          |                                  |
| <i>Deuteronomy</i> |   | 5,31                   | 258                              |
| 4,19               | 277   | 9,45                   | 87                               |
| 6,5–6              | 50, 335, 369–370,<br>373, 562                         | 15,1                   | 309                              |
| 6,13               | 219   | 16,9.12                | 309                              |
| 7,9                | 369   | 19,3                   | 175                              |
| 8,3                | 51, 395   |                        |                                  |
| 10,20              | 219   | <i>1 Samuel</i>        |                                  |
| 11,14              | 278   | 12,1–5                 | 436                              |
| 11,26–27           | 505   | 16,7                   | 285                              |
| 12,2               | 107   | 19,5–6                 | 270                              |
| 13,15              | 609   |                        |                                  |
| 14,8               | 449   | <i>2 Samuel</i>        |                                  |
| 14,14              | 398   | 2,2                    | 573                              |
| 15,2               | 155   | 7,11.13                | 573                              |
| 15,7–8.10–11       | 252, 354  | 12,5                   | 154                              |
| 16,17              | 609   | 13,21                  | 154                              |
| 17,3               | 277   | 22,2–3                 | 573                              |
| 19,1               | 137–138   |                        |                                  |
| 19,11              | 153   | <i>1 Kings</i>         |                                  |
| 19,21–22           | 237   | 1,8                    | 224                              |
| 20,19–20           | 532   | 2,36                   | 128                              |
| 21,15              | 369   | 3,13                   | 404                              |
| 21,18.20           | 157   | 7,49–50                | 118                              |
| 23,6–7             | 211   | 17,4ff                 | 398                              |
| 23,20–21           | 251   | 29,4                   | 175                              |
| 23,21–23           | 217   |                        |                                  |

|                     |                   |             |               |
|---------------------|-------------------|-------------|---------------|
| <i>2 Kings</i>      |                   | 6,9         | 542, 548–549  |
| 2,19–23             | 84                | 9,13.18–19  | 54            |
| 2,20–21             | 82                | 10,2.8–9.14 | 54            |
| 4,10                | 118               | 11,5–6      | 283           |
| 20–21               | 277               | 11,7        | 60            |
| 23                  | 277               | 14,1        | 157           |
|                     |                   | 15          | 50, 352, 573  |
| <i>1 Chronicles</i> |                   | 15,2        | 219           |
| 28,15               | 118               | 17,15       | 60            |
| 29,17               | 352               | 18,27–28    | 54            |
| 29,25               | 404               | 18,29–30    | 102, 116, 504 |
|                     |                   | 23,5        | 312           |
| <i>2 Chronicles</i> |                   | 24          | 50, 60        |
| 13,5                | 84                | 24,4        | 50, 335       |
| 13,7                | 156               | 24,7.9      | 502           |
| 18,29               | 508               | 25,11       | 58            |
| 19,2                | 270               | 26,4        | 302           |
| 24,7                | 173               | 27,1        | 104           |
|                     |                   | 34,19       | 56            |
| <i>Nehemiah</i>     |                   | 34,21       | 283           |
| 5,6                 | 154               | 35,13       | 304           |
| 11,3                | 151               | 35,16       | 302           |
|                     |                   | 36,9        | 102           |
| <i>Esther</i>       |                   | 36,10       | 351           |
| 2,19                | 502               | 37,2        | 239, 363      |
| 2,23                | 192               | 37,5        | 504           |
| 3,13                | 192               | 37,10       | 239, 363      |
| 6,4                 | 192               | 37,11       | 58–59         |
|                     |                   | 37,16       | 204           |
| <i>Job</i>          |                   | 37,18–19    | 51            |
| 6,6                 | 82                | 37,20       | 239, 363      |
| 8,11                | 534               | 37,21.26    | 239, 252      |
| 12,2                | 102               | 38,18–19    | 392, 392      |
| 13,28               | 331               | 39,11       | 331           |
| 14,2                | 405               | 40,9        | 50            |
| 18,5–6              | 116–117, 351, 358 | 43,3        | 108           |
| 19,26               | 60                | 45,7        | 283           |
| 21,17               | 117               | 50,14       | 218           |
| 24,15               | 351               | 55,8        | 392           |
| 34,30               | 302               | 55,18.22    | 307, 582      |
| 36,13               | 302               | 55,23       | 392           |
| 37,24               | 53                | 56,14       | 350           |
| 38,36               | 93                | 58,12       | 536           |
| 38,41               | 378, 399          | 73,1        | 50            |
| 39,6                | 87                | 73,17       | 93, 157       |
|                     |                   | 77,24       | 278           |
| <i>Psalms</i>       |                   | 78,14       | 104           |
| 1                   | 45, 531, 564      | 78,36       | 302           |
| 1,1–2               | 46                | 85,12       | 333           |
| 1,6                 | 505               | 89,6ff      | 59            |

|                 |              |           |               |
|-----------------|--------------|-----------|---------------|
| 89,14–15        | 333, 574     | 6,6–8(11) | 400           |
| 89,23           | 283          | 6,23      | 104, 117      |
| 89,27           | 484          | 7,6–23    | 281           |
| 95,11           | 219          | 8,9       | 529           |
| 97,10           | 241          | 8,17      | 467           |
| 102,13          | 584          | 9,1       | 572           |
| 103,15–16       | 405          | 9,5       | 51            |
| 104,2           | 102          | 9,9       | 452           |
| 104,12.14       | 396          | 9,10      | 283           |
| 104,15          | 312          | 10,2      | 333           |
| 104,35          | 270          | 10,23     | 564           |
| 105,9           | 219          | 11,19     | 302           |
| 106,3           | 55           | 11,24–26  | 352           |
| 107,34          | 87           | 11,28     | 531           |
| 110,1           | 222          | 11,30     | 333           |
| 112,8–9         | 252          | 12,2ff    | 104           |
| 113,7–8         | 54           | 12,7      | 572           |
| 118,20          | 502, 507     | 12,26     | 609           |
| 118,22–23       | 574          | 13,9      | 104, 116      |
| 119,2.9         | 50           | 14,11     | 572           |
| 119,105         | 104, 116–117 | 14,12     | 609           |
| 119,106         | 219          | 14,23     | 392           |
| 119,113         | 369          | 14,29     | 152, 260      |
| 125,1           | 108          | 15,6      | 204           |
| 132,11          | 219          | 15,8      | 174, 177      |
| 132,16–17       | 61, 116      | 15,16     | 392           |
| 136             | 369          | 16,8      | 204           |
| 137,8–9         | 270          | 16,31     | 223           |
| 139,19.22       | 270, 283     | 19,6      | 463           |
| 139,23–24       | 505          | 19,17     | 252, 304      |
| 140,13          | 54           | 20,12     | 337           |
| 145,9           | 270, 278     | 20,22     | 255           |
| 146,41          | 54           | 20,27–28  | 304, 309, 351 |
| 147,9           | 378, 399     | 20,29     | 223           |
|                 |              | 20,30     | 304, 309, 351 |
| <i>Proverbs</i> |              | 21,26     | 252           |
| 1,7             | 392          | 21,27.31  | 177           |
| 1,11–14         | 281          | 22,8      | 427           |
| 1,28            | 467          | 22,9      | 353           |
| 2,4             | 328, 467     | 23,31–35  | 281           |
| 2,13            | 104          | 24,29     | 256           |
| 3,3             | 304          | 25,8–10   | 191           |
| 3,10            | 531          | 25,21–22  | 270, 273      |
| 3,27            | 252          | 26,11     | 452           |
| 3,31            | 256          | 27,1      | 378           |
| 4,11            | 609          | 27,10     | 204           |
| 4,18–19         | 116          | 28,22     | 354           |
| 5,3–6           | 281          | 28,27     | 251–252, 354  |
| 5,4.11          | 93, 157      | 29,11     | 152           |
| 6,1–5           | 189, 195     | 29,13     | 278           |

|                  |               |                 |                    |
|------------------|---------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| 29,21            | 93, 157       | 50,6–8          | 240–241, 244, 253, |
| 31,18            | 117           |                 | 258                |
| <i>Qoheleth</i>  |               | 50,9            | 331                |
| 4,6              | 204           | 51,6            | 417                |
| 5,1              | 303           | 51,8            | 331                |
| 5,6–7            | 393           | 55              | 102                |
| 6,3.9            | 204           | 55,1            | 51                 |
| 7,12             | 392           | 55,6–7          | 467, 609           |
| 8,12             | 204           | 58,6–7          | 311                |
| 9,4              | 448           | 58,8            | 333                |
| 9,7–8            | 312           | 60,1 ff         | 104, 108           |
| 11,9             | 354           | 60,11           | 65                 |
| 23,14 LXX        | 93            | 60,21           | 58                 |
|                  |               | 61              | 56                 |
|                  |               | 63,16           | 484                |
| <i>Canticles</i> |               | 65,12           | 208                |
| 5,2              | 467           | 65,13–14        | 51                 |
|                  |               | 65,24           | 304                |
| <i>Isaiah</i>    |               | 66,1            | 222                |
| 2                | 109–110       | 66,5            | 63, 270            |
| 2,2–4            | 108           |                 |                    |
| 3,10             | 333, 531      | <i>Jeremiah</i> |                    |
| 5                | 575           | 2,17            | 504                |
| 6                | 60            | 2,27            | 484                |
| 6,5              | 59            | 3,4             | 484                |
| 8,14             | 571           | 3,10            | 302                |
| 10,6             | 302           | 3,19            | 484                |
| 10,17            | 351           | 4,2             | 504, 609           |
| 11,6             | 520           | 5,5             | 609                |
| 25,4             | 54            | 5,24            | 278                |
| 26,4             | 574           | 8,13            | 536                |
| 26,20            | 309           | 14,12           | 311                |
| 27,8             | 426           | 14,22           | 278                |
| 28,15–17         | 571, 577      | 17              | 569                |
| 28,16            | 571, 574, 577 | 17,6–10         | 531, 568, 576      |
| 28,26            | 609           | 17,6            | 87                 |
| 30,24            | 82            | 17,8            | 529, 569           |
| 33,17            | 60            | 17,10–11        | 93, 157, 531       |
| 33,20 ff         | 508           | 20,13           | 54                 |
| 34,11            | 398           | 21,8            | 505, 510           |
| 34,13            | 536           | 21,14           | 531                |
| 35,8             | 609           | 22,13–14        | 572                |
| 38,7             | 277           | 23,18–19        | 577                |
| 40,3             | 504           | 25,10           | 117                |
| 40,6.8           | 402–403       | 25,28–29        | 54                 |
| 42,6             | 102, 104      | 29,8            | 521                |
| 49,6             | 102, 104      | 29,13           | 467                |
| 48,17            | 609           | 31,32           | 208                |
| 49,9             | 51            | 33(26),14       | 211                |
| 49,16            | 309           |                 |                    |

|                     |          |                  |          |
|---------------------|----------|------------------|----------|
| <i>Lamentations</i> |          | 4,1–2            | 54       |
| 3,30                | 245      | 5,5              | 241      |
|                     |          | 5,18.20          | 104      |
| <i>Ezekiel</i>      |          | 6,12             | 531, 534 |
| 13,10(–16)          | 93, 577  | 8,5              | 425      |
| 16,4                | 82       | 8,11             | 51       |
| 16,59               | 219      |                  |          |
| 18,23               | 603      | <i>Obadiah</i>   |          |
| 18,25.29            | 504      | 5                | 331      |
| 20,28               | 170      |                  |          |
| 22,25.27–28         | 93, 520  | <i>Micah</i>     |          |
| 33,17.20            | 504      | 2,11             | 521–522  |
| 33,31–32            | 549, 582 | 3,2              | 241      |
| 34                  | 521      | 4,4              | 536      |
| 35,25               | 278      | 4,5–6            | 108      |
| 40,23               | 170      | 6,6              | 563      |
| 43,24               | 83       | 6,14             | 328      |
| 49,9                | 331      |                  |          |
|                     |          | <i>Habakkuk</i>  |          |
| <i>Daniel</i>       |          | 1,13             | 353      |
| 2,43                | 192      | 3,4.11           | 104      |
| 4,24                | 304      |                  |          |
| 5,5                 | 117      | <i>Zephaniah</i> |          |
| 6,11                | 307      | 2,3              | 417      |
| 7,9                 | 223      | 2,9              | 87       |
| 10,5–6              | 351      | 2,14             | 398      |
| 12,1 ff             | 499, 509 | 3,12             | 54       |
|                     |          | 4,2–12           | 118, 351 |
| <i>Hosea</i>        |          |                  |          |
| 6                   | 563      | <i>Haggai</i>    |          |
| 6,6                 | 533      | 2,6–9            | 108      |
| 6,8                 | 177      |                  |          |
| 7,9                 | 223      | <i>Zechariah</i> |          |
| 11,1 ff             | 279      | 3,3–4            | 520      |
| 11,8–9              | 484      | 4,2              | 104      |
|                     |          | 5,3              | 218      |
| <i>Joel</i>         |          | 7,5–6            | 311      |
| 3,1                 | 519      | 8,17             | 241      |
|                     |          |                  |          |
| <i>Amos</i>         |          | <i>Malachi</i>   |          |
| 2,6–8               | 54       | 1,3              | 283      |

## 2. Septuagint and Old Testament Pseudepigrapha

|                        |     |                 |     |
|------------------------|-----|-----------------|-----|
| <i>Ahiqar</i>          |     | <i>2 Baruch</i> |     |
| 43                     | 189 | 14,12           | 333 |
| 168 (75)               | 577 | 24,1            | 333 |
|                        |     | 44,13–15        | 333 |
| <i>Assumptio Mosis</i> |     | 52,7            | 333 |
| 12,10–23               | 557 | 53,3–12         | 576 |

|                           |          |  |               |
|---------------------------|----------|--|---------------|
| <i>1 Enoch</i>            |          | 7,11   | 192           |
| 2,1–5,4                   | 399, 413 |  |               |
| 41,1                      | 333      | <i>4 Maccabees</i>                           |               |
| 61,3                      | 333      | 2,20   | 193           |
| 63,8–10                   | 333      | 4,24   | 193           |
| 63,10                     | 369–370  | 7,1  | 327, 628      |
| 108                       | 557      | 13,25  | 193           |
| <br>                      |          |  |               |
| <i>2 Enoch</i>            |          | <i>Pseudo-Phocylides</i>                     | 217           |
| 30,15                     | 505      | 11   | 432           |
| 49,1–2                    | 224      | 14   | 426           |
|                           |          | 16   | 217           |
| <i>1 Esdras (3 Ezra)</i>  |          | 27   | 328, 370      |
| 1,46                      | 218      | 42(–47)                                      | 370           |
| 8,13                      | 192      | 140  | 273           |
|                           |          | 148–149, 156–157                             | 448           |
| <i>4 Ezra</i>             |          | 202  | 448           |
| 4,37                      | 426      |  |               |
| 6,5                       | 333      | <i>Psalms of Solomon</i>                     |               |
| 7                         | 502–503  | 5,9  | 399           |
| 7,4(–14)                  | 502      | 9,5  | 328, 332      |
| 7,6–7                     | 505      |  |               |
| 7,12–13                   | 503      | <i>Sirach (Jesus Sirach, Ecclesiasticus)</i> |               |
| 7,77                      | 333      | 1,28.30                                      | 334           |
| 8,33                      | 333      | 2,17   | 334           |
|                           |          | 3,4  | 328           |
| <i>Joseph and Aseneth</i> | 256      | 3,26, 29                                     | 334           |
| 10,13                     | 448      | 4,1.3–5                                      | 252–253       |
| 23,9                      | 256      | 4,3  | 334, 485      |
| 28,4.14                   | 256      | 4,10   | 281           |
|                           |          | 5,1  | 334           |
| <i>Jubilees</i>           |          | 6,28   | 393           |
| 19,29                     | 314      | 7,32–33                                      | 252           |
| 21,11                     | 85       | 10,10  | 378           |
|                           |          | 10,27  | 128           |
| <i>Letter of Aristeas</i> |          | 11,12  | 128           |
| 139, 142                  | 271      | 11,18  | 378           |
| 227                       | 273      | 12,1   | 293           |
|                           |          | 12,6   | 283           |
| <i>1 Maccabees</i>        |          | 13,7   | 520           |
| 2,24                      | 417      | 14,10  | 354           |
| 3,20                      | 128      | 17,15.19                                     | 314           |
|                           |          | 18,17  | 475           |
| <i>2 Maccabees</i>        |          | 18,20  | 195, 422, 436 |
| 4,33                      | 548      | 19,3   | 331           |
| 6,25                      | 302      | 19,18  | 189           |
|                           |          | 20,15  | 378           |
| <i>3 Maccabees</i>        |          | 21,10  | 505           |
| 2,33                      | 548      | 21,16–19                                     | 573           |
| 6,2–15                    | 484      | 22,16 ff                                     | 573           |

|  |          |  |          |
|--|----------|--|----------|
| 22,24                                      | 152      | 4,3  | 152      |
| 22,27                                      | 209      |  |          |
| 23,1 ff, 8                                 | 209      | Testament of Gad                               |          |
| 25,23                                      | 311      | 4,1 ff   | 153, 255 |
| 25,16                                      | 205      | 4,2  | 280      |
| 27,17                                      | 275      | 6,1  | 280      |
| 27,30                                      | 152, 255 | 6,3  | 257      |
| 28,1.6 ff                                  | 255      |  |          |
| 28,8–9                                     | 195      | Testament of Issachar                          |          |
| 29,1–2.7–9                                 | 252      | 3,3 ff   | 352      |
| 29,9                                       | 253      | 3,3–4  | 353, 355 |
| 29,10 ff                                   | 328      | 4,3 ff   | 352      |
| 30,23–24                                   | 392      | 4,5,3  | 214      |
| 30,38                                      | 128      | 5,2  | 280      |
| 31,8                                       | 369      | 7,2  | 214      |
| 31,13                                      | 354      |  |          |
| 34,23.29                                   | 174      | Testament of Joseph                            |          |
| 35,8                                       | 353      | 3,4  | 314      |
| 42,9                                       | 370      | 18,2   | 260      |
| 42,18                                      | 314      |  |          |
| 51,10                                      | 314      | Testament of Judah                             |          |
|  |          | 18,2–3.6                                       | 356      |
| <i>Sibylline Oracles</i>                   |          |  |          |
| 2.63                                       | 432      | Testament of Levi                              |          |
| 2.79                                       | 293      | 13,5   | 333      |
| 3.685–695                                  | 576      | 14   | 102      |
|  |          |  |          |
| <i>Testament of Abraham (A)</i>            |          | Testament of Naphtali                          |          |
| 11,11                                      | 510      | 8,5  | 333      |
|  |          |  |          |
| <i>Testament of Job</i>                    |          | Testament of Reuben                            |          |
| 9,1–12,4                                   | 252      | 6,9  | 280      |
| 36,3 ff                                    | 332      |  |          |
| 43,5–6                                     | 351      | Testament of Simeon                            |          |
|  |          | 2,11   | 153      |
| <i>Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs</i> |          | 4,4.7  | 280      |
| Testament of Asher                         |          |  |          |
| 1  | 366      | Testament of Zebulun                           |          |
| 1,3–5                                      | 505      | 4,11   | 153      |
|  |          | 7,2  | 252      |
| Testament of Benjamin                      |          |  |          |
| 3,3 ff                                     | 280      | <i>Tobit</i>                                   |          |
| 4,2–3                                      | 352, 354 | 4,6.7(–19)                                     | 252      |
| 4,3  | 260      | 4,8  | 252–253  |
| 5,1–4                                      | 102, 260 | 4,9  | 328, 332 |
| 6,4–5                                      | 302      | 4,16   | 128      |
| 8,1  | 260      |  |          |
|  |          | <i>Wisdom of Solomon (Sapientia Salomonis)</i> |          |
| Testament of Dan                           |          | 1,1  | 393      |
| 1,6–8                                      | 153      |  |          |

|         |     |          |     |
|---------|-----|----------|-----|
| 2,16    | 314 | 7,23     | 392 |
| 4,2     | 428 | 11,21    | 426 |
| 4,6     | 302 | 14,25.28 | 218 |
| 5,15–16 | 428 | 16,26    | 395 |
| 6,12    | 467 | 18,4     | 102 |
| 6,15    | 392 |          |     |

## 3. Qumran

|              |               |                       |           |
|--------------|---------------|-----------------------|-----------|
| <i>CD</i>    | 28            | 6,24 ff               | 153       |
| 6,14         | 510           | 7,4 ff                | 154       |
| 7,3          | 102, 152      | 8,5                   | 492, 492  |
| 9,1 ff       | 153           | 8,7–10                | 571       |
| 14,20        | 369           | 9,21–22               | 270       |
| 15,5         | 220           | 9,22–25               | 510       |
|              |               | 10,17(–20)            | 240, 270  |
| <i>IQH</i>   |               | 11,1                  | 56        |
| 5,8          | 56            |                       |           |
| 6,24–27      | 571           | <i>IQSa</i>           | 28        |
| 14,3         | 56            | 2,3–9                 | 211       |
| 14,21–38(42) | 571, 576      |                       |           |
|              |               | <i>IQ27</i>           |           |
| <i>IQM</i>   |               | 2,5                   | 369       |
| 14,7         | 56            |                       |           |
|              |               | <i>IQpHab</i>         |           |
| <i>IQS</i>   | 28            | 5,7                   | 214       |
| 1,9–10       | 102, 256, 270 |                       |           |
| 1,11–12      | 332           | <i>4QMMT</i>          |           |
| 2,6          | 102           | (4Q394–399)           | 140       |
| 2,24         | 256           | 4Q394,                |           |
| 3,13–4,6     | 505           | frg. 8 col. 4,8 ff    | 453       |
| 3,13         | 102           |                       |           |
| 3,18 ff      | 338           | <i>4Q425</i>          | 49        |
| 4,10         | 152           |                       |           |
| 5,4          | 256           | <i>4Q525 (4QBeat)</i> | 45        |
| 5,7 ff       | 220           |                       |           |
| 5,25         | 152–153, 256  | <i>11QTemple</i>      |           |
| 6–7          | 332           | 20                    | 56, 83–84 |
| 6,2          | 369           | 61,10–12              | 236       |

## 4. Philo and Josephus

|                    |     |                       |     |
|--------------------|-----|-----------------------|-----|
| Philo              |     | <i>De agricultura</i> |     |
| <i>De Abrahamo</i> |     | 103–114               | 505 |
| 18                 | 204 |                       |     |
| 150–156            | 349 | <i>De cherubin</i>    |     |
|                    |     | 13                    | 204 |



|                                       |     |                                    |          |
|---------------------------------------|-----|------------------------------------|----------|
| <i>De confusione linguarum</i>        |     | <i>Quod omnis probus liber sit</i> |          |
| 69                                    | 321 | 75 ff                              | 332      |
|                                       |     | 84                                 | 219      |
| <i>De decalogo</i>                    |     | <i>De sacrificiis</i>              |          |
| 87                                    | 175 | 2.32                               | 155      |
| 92, 93                                | 220 |                                    |          |
| 132–134                               | 151 | <i>De somniis</i>                  |          |
| 132                                   | 156 | 1.97                               | 394      |
| <i>De ebrietate</i>                   |     | 2.210                              | 86       |
| 150                                   | 505 |                                    |          |
| <i>Hypothetica</i>                    |     | <i>De specialibus legibus</i>      |          |
| 2.4                                   | 332 | 1.13.74                            | 535      |
|                                       |     | 1.175                              | 85, 89   |
| <i>De Iosepho</i>                     |     | 1.270                              | 174      |
| 196, 210                              | 86  | 1.289                              | 84, 89   |
|                                       |     | 2.2                                | 220, 223 |
| <i>De migratione Abrahami</i>         |     | 2.4–5                              | 225      |
| 80                                    | 578 | 3.19.104                           | 515      |
|                                       |     | 3.96                               | 86       |
| <i>De mutatione nominum</i>           |     | 3.169–180                          | 210      |
| 54–55                                 | 578 | 3.177                              | 209      |
| 245–247                               | 617 | 4.51                               | 617      |
|                                       |     | 4.75                               | 537      |
| <i>De opificio mundi</i>              |     | 4.112                              | 505      |
| 5,22                                  | 350 | <i>De virtutibus</i>               |          |
| 21                                    | 137 | 116–118                            | 260      |
| 53                                    | 349 | 179                                | 115      |
| 168                                   | 277 | 218                                | 122      |
| <i>De posteritate Caini</i>           |     | <i>De vita contemplativa</i>       |          |
| 86                                    | 562 | 37                                 | 83       |
| <i>De praemiis et poenis</i>          |     | <i>De vita Mosis</i>               |          |
| 14,79.81                              | 562 | 2                                  | 85, 562  |
| 14,82–83                              | 562 | 104                                | 85       |
| 17,101–105                            | 394 | 130                                | 562      |
| <i>Quaestiones in Genesim</i>         |     | Josephus                           |          |
| 4.52                                  | 85  | <i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i>       |          |
| <i>Quis rerum divinarum heres sit</i> |     | 4.8.35 § 280                       | 237      |
| 181                                   | 137 | 5.6.5 § 223                        | 113      |
|                                       |     | 8.5.4 § 118                        | 172      |
| <i>Quod Deus sit immutabilis</i>      |     | 8.7.5 § 190                        | 404      |
| 44–45                                 | 359 | 8.10.1 § 249                       | 275      |
| 45–46                                 | 351 | 12.3.3 § 140                       | 83       |
|                                       |     | 13.5.9 §§ 172–173                  | 332      |
|                                       |     | 15.9.2 § 314                       | 426      |
|                                       |     | 15.10.4 § 371                      | 220      |

|                   |     |                       |     |
|-------------------|-----|-----------------------|-----|
| 16.2.2 § 19       | 128 | 2.8.6–7 §§ 134–142    | 220 |
| 18.1.1 § 11       | 137 | 2.8.6–11 §§ 134–158   | 219 |
| 18.1.5 § 20       | 332 | 2.21.10 §§ 642–644    | 210 |
| 18.4.1 §§ 85–87   | 518 | 4.3.13 § 214          | 193 |
| 19.1.18 § 150     | 128 | 4.8.3 §§ 459–465      | 84  |
| 20.2.5 § 49       | 172 | 5.9.4 § 407           | 278 |
| 20.5.1 §§ 97–99   | 518 | 7.8.6 § 331           | 128 |
| 20.8.6 §§ 167–172 | 518 |                       |     |
| 20.8.10 § 188     | 518 |                       |     |
|                   |     | <i>Contra Apionem</i> |     |
|                   |     | 1.309                 | 193 |
|                   |     | 1.318                 | 193 |
|                   |     | 2.121–122             | 193 |
|                   |     | <i>Vita</i>           |     |
|                   |     | 171–173, 177          | 210 |

*Bellum Judaicum*

|                     |          |
|---------------------|----------|
| 1.4.5 § 93          | 193      |
| 1.30.6 § 596        | 275, 299 |
| 2.13.4–5 §§ 258–263 | 518      |
| 2.8.2–3 §§ 119–123  | 332      |

## 5. New Testament

|                            |                  |         |                    |
|----------------------------|------------------|---------|--------------------|
| <i>Matthew</i> (selection) |                  |         | 265), 284–292,     |
| 3,10                       | 96, 523          |         | 437, 629           |
| 4,1 ff                     | 310, 395         | 5,38–39 | 236–241            |
| 4,15–16                    | 101              | 5,39    | 243–245            |
| 4,23 ff                    | 358              | 5,40    | 245–248            |
| 5,3–10                     | 45–60            | 5,41    | 248–250            |
| 5,3                        | 52–57            | 5,42    | 250–254            |
| 5,5                        | 58–59            | 5,43–48 | 265–284 (esp.      |
| 5,6                        | 51–52            |         | 265–268, 283–      |
| 5,8                        | 50–51, 59–60     |         | 284), 284–292, 629 |
| 5,9                        | 59               | 5,43–44 | 268–277            |
| 5,11–12                    | 60–66            | 5,45    | 277–279            |
| 5,13–16                    | 67–74, 120–123   | 5,46–47 | 280–282            |
| 5,13                       | 76–100, 627      | 6,1–18  | 292–314 (esp.      |
| 5,14                       | 100–105, 105–110 |         | 292–304, 313–314)  |
| 5,15–16                    | 111–120          | 6,2     | 304–306            |
| 5,17–20                    | 74–75, 123–131   | 6,3     | 306–307            |
| 5,19                       | 124–125          | 6,5     | 307–308            |
| 5,20                       | 125–131          | 6,6     | 308–310            |
| 5,21–48                    | 132–292          | 6,9–13  | see Index of       |
| 5,21–26(37)                | 143–146, 626–627 |         | Subjects under     |
| 5,22                       | 149–161, 628     |         | “Lord’s Prayer”    |
| 5,23–24                    | 162–180, 627     | 6,16    | 310–311, 311–313   |
| 5,25–26                    | 181–201, 627     | 6,19–34 | 315–373 (esp.      |
| 5,29–30                    | 201–215          |         | 315–320)           |
| 5,33–37                    | 215–230, 629     | 6,19–24 | 321–373, 627–628   |
| 5,34–36                    | 222–224          | 6,19 ff | 322–337, 627       |
| 5,37                       | 224–228          | 6,22–23 | 337–361            |
| 5,38–48                    | 146–149, 284–292 | 6,24    | 361–373            |
| 5,38–42                    | 230–265 (esp.    | 6,25–34 | 374–417 (esp.      |
|                            | 241–243, 254–    |         | 374–394, 412–      |

|          |                              |                         |                                       |
|----------|------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|
|          | 417), 437, 477,              | 18,23 ff                | 17, 178, 299                          |
|          | 484, 627                     | 19,17(16ff)             | 290, 325, 482                         |
| 6,25     | 394–396                      | 22,36ff                 | 265, 290, 355, 369                    |
| 6,26     | 396–401                      | 23–25                   | 7–8, 129–130, 303,<br>495             |
| 6,27     | 403, 407–412, 477            |                         | 129–130, 303                          |
| 6,28 ff  | 396–398, 402–407             | 23                      | 127                                   |
| 7,1–12   | 418–491 (esp.<br>418–423)    | 23,2–3<br>23,13–14      | 440                                   |
| 7,2      | 423–433                      | 23,16ff                 | 157, 221–222                          |
| 7,3–5    | 433–441                      | 23,18–20.35             | 172                                   |
| 7,6–12   | 420–423, 442–443,<br>458–464 | 24,11<br>24,42–51       | 509, 511, 515, 517<br>185, 303, 557   |
| 7,6      | 442–461                      | 25,1–2                  | 543                                   |
| 7,7–8    | 464–468                      | 25,2–3                  | 157                                   |
| 7,9–11   | 401, 422, 437,<br>469–487    | 25,10ff<br>25,10        | 501<br>543                            |
| 7,12     | 487–491                      | 25,35–43                | 293                                   |
| 7,13–27  | 492–583 (esp.<br>492–498)    | 26,27.52.67<br>27,31.35 | 241<br>241, 247                       |
| 7,13–14  | 498–513                      |                         |                                       |
| 7,15     | 513–522, 517                 | <i>Mark</i>             |                                       |
| 7,16–20  | 522–538                      | 1,34                    | 47                                    |
| 7,22–23  | 539–550                      | 2,7                     | 109                                   |
| 7,24–27  | 550–583                      | 2,8                     | 55                                    |
| 10,12–13 | 7–8, 280                     | 2,19                    | 109                                   |
| 10,16    | 519                          | 2,21–22                 | 203                                   |
| 10,26    | 74                           | 3,23                    | 5, 109                                |
| 10,28    | 212, 395–396                 | 3,24                    | 77                                    |
| 10,34–36 | 185, 406                     | 3,29                    | 153                                   |
| 10,42    | 207                          | 4                       | 424, 452, 597                         |
| 11,8     | 404 ff                       | 4,8                     | 403                                   |
| 12,11–12 | 477                          | 4,9                     | 79                                    |
| 12,33–34 | 527–528                      | 4,21–25                 | 6, 38, 73, 113–116,<br>120, 588       |
| 12,36–37 | 226                          |                         | 6, 425, 429                           |
| 12,42    | 404, 407                     | 4,24                    | 11, 38, 556, 559,<br>587              |
| 13       | 6–7, 401, 495                | 4,26–29.30–32           | 378                                   |
| 13,9     | 79                           |                         | 7                                     |
| 13,32    | 378                          | 4,32                    | 47                                    |
| 15,3     | 290                          | 4,34                    | 136                                   |
| 15,7     | 302                          | 5,9                     | 302                                   |
| 15,18–19 | 285                          | 7,3.5                   | 4                                     |
| 15,27    | 449                          | 7,6                     | 355                                   |
| 16,2–3   | 185                          | 7,17                    | 55                                    |
| 18       | 7, 164                       | 7,22                    | 65                                    |
| 18,6ff   | 198–199, 210                 | 8,12                    | 38, 74, 133–134,<br>204, 206–207, 209 |
| 18,8–9   | 206 ff, 212, 406,<br>429     | 9,41<br>9,43 ff         | 38, 73–74, 76–80,<br>89, 93, 588      |
| 18,12–13 | 477                          |                         |                                       |
| 18,15    | 155                          | 9,49–50                 |                                       |
| 18,17    | 281                          |                         |                                       |

|  |  |                      |  |
|--|--|----------------------|--|
| 10,11  | 75   | 11,29–32             | 115                                    |
| 11,24  | 376  | 11,33 (//5,15)       | 113–117, 120                           |
| 11,25  | 166–167, 296   | 11,34–36 (//6,22–23) | 340–344, 589                           |
| 12,9   | 606, 609   | 11,37 ff             | 115, 340                               |
| 12,33  | 177  | 12,2–3 (//10,26–27)  | 74                                     |
| 12,42  | 190  | 12,15–21             | 325, 408, 410                          |
| 13,9   | 158  | 12,22–31 (//6,25–32) | 376–384; 26, 378,<br>382, 410, 542–546 |
| 13,28–29   | 11, 532  | 12,32                | 377, 379                               |
| 13,30  | 75   | 12,33–34 (//6,19–21) | 320, 323–327, 589                      |
| 13,34–37   | 11, 532  | 12,54–55 (//5,25–26) | 185–188, 302, 320                      |
| 14,63  | 247  | 12,57 ff             | 181–188; 143, 175                      |
| 14,64  | 158  | 13,6–9               | 532, 538                               |
| 15,21  | 249  | 13,23–24 (//7,13–14) | 499 ff                                 |
|  |  | 13,25–27 (//7,22–23) | 541–443                                |
| <i>Luke</i> (selection; // = in context of<br>Matthean parallel) |  | 14,34–35 (//5,13)    | 38, 74, 77–80, 588                     |
| 6,20–49  | 34–38, 589, <i>passim</i>  | 15,11 ff             | 461                                    |
| 6,20–26 (//5,3–12)   | 48, 61–63  | 16,13 (//6,24)       | 362–363, 376–377                       |
| 6,20   | 26, 34–36, 48, 589   | 16,14                | 363                                    |
| 6,23.26  | 34–36, 61–63, 517,<br>589  | 16,17–18 (//5,32)    | 74–75, 143, 363,<br>588                |
| 6,27–38 (//5,39–48)  | 145–146; 34–36,<br>144, 424  | 17,1–2 (//5,30)      | 206–207                                |
| 6,27–31 (//5,39 ff)  | 34–36, 243–244,<br>246–247, 250–251                                  | <i>John</i>          |  |
| 6,32 (//7,12)  | 34–36  | 1,15–18              | 117                                    |
| 6,33–35 (//5,43 ff)  | 34–36, 251, 267  | 1,18                 | 59                                     |
| 6,36 (//5,48)  | 34–36, 267   | 5,35                 | 117                                    |
| 6,37–38 (//7,1–5)  | 422–425, 429; 34–<br>36, 74, 145, 251,<br>260, 422, 425, 430,<br>588 | 7,34                 | 468                                    |
| 6,39   | 34–36, 422, 492,<br>591  | 8,1 ff               | 212                                    |
| 6,40   | 34–36  | 10,7                 | 91, 506, 513                           |
| 6,41–42 (//7,3 ff)   | 433–434; 34–36,<br>422, 589  | 10,9                 | 506, 513                               |
| 6,42–45 (//7,16 ff)  | 26, 34–36, 434,<br>441, 525–529, 589                                 | 10,12                | 519                                    |
| 6,46–49 (//7,24 ff)  | 557–559; 34–36,<br>589   | 12,3                 | 224                                    |
| 8,16–17 (//5,15–16)  | 73–74, 114, 120  | 14,9                 | 506, 513                               |
| 10,3   | 519  | 18,3                 | 117                                    |
| 11,1–4 (//6,9–13)  | see Index of<br>Subjects under<br>“Lord’s Prayer”                    | 18,22–23             | 262                                    |
| 11,5 ff  | 469, 476   | 19,17                | 227                                    |
| 11,9–10 (//7,7–8)  | 26, 467–468, 479,<br>589   | <i>Acts</i>          |  |
| 11,11–13 (//7,9–11)  | 26, 422, 472–475   | 1,4                  | 86                                     |
|  |  | 2,28                 | 91                                     |
|  |  | 2,30                 | 218                                    |
|  |  | 3,2                  | 114                                    |
|  |  | 3,20                 | 219                                    |
|  |  | 3,26                 | 254                                    |
|  |  | 5,36                 | 96                                     |
|  |  | 6,7                  | 403                                    |
|  |  | 6,10                 | 239                                    |
|  |  | 8,3                  | 187, 609                               |
|  |  | 9,23                 | 199                                    |

|                      |               |                      |          |
|----------------------|---------------|----------------------|----------|
| 12,17                | 208           | 2,11.16              | 55       |
| 12,24                | 403           | 3,14                 | 64       |
| 13,1 ff              | 310           | 3,18–19              | 94       |
| 13,8                 | 239           | 4,9                  | 109      |
| 13,16                | 208           | 4,10                 | 94       |
| 14,9                 | 187           | 6,1 ff               | 186      |
| 14,22                | 519           | 6,12                 | 210      |
| 14,23                | 310           | 7,9                  | 85       |
| 14,27                | 502           | 7,11                 | 175      |
| 16,16–17             | 91, 367       | 7,32–34              | 571      |
| 17,6                 | 187           | 10,18                | 172      |
| 17,21                | 96            | 10,23                | 210      |
| 19,20                | 403           | 11,4–7               | 224      |
| 20,20                | 210           | 12                   | 256, 360 |
| 23,2 ff              | 262           | 12,7                 | 210–211  |
| 24,14                | 199, 502      | 12,12 ff             | 339      |
| 25,3                 | 502           | 13,4–5               | 179      |
| 26,13                | 502           | 15,9                 | 125      |
| 27,9                 | 310           | 15,48.53             | 334      |
| 27,34                | 224           |                      |          |
| 28,20                | 114           |                      |          |
|                      |               | <i>2 Corinthians</i> |          |
| <i>Romans</i>        |               | 1,17                 | 222, 225 |
| 1,19.21              | 47            | 4,15                 | 334      |
| 1,22                 | 94            | 5,2                  | 334      |
| 2,1–3                | 422           | 5,10                 | 64       |
| 2,5                  | 328           | 8                    | 210      |
| 2,6–13               | 562           | 8,2                  | 339      |
| 2,6                  | 300           | 8,10                 | 211      |
| 2,9                  | 508           | 9,1                  | 339      |
| 2,11                 | 279           | 12,1.11              | 211      |
| 3,20                 | 47            |                      |          |
| 3,28                 | 279           | <i>Galatians</i>     |          |
| 8,7                  | 47            | 1,19                 | 96       |
| 10,21                | 208           | 2,11                 | 239      |
| 11,25                | 65, 253       | 5,22–23              | 537      |
| 12                   | 256, 360      |                      |          |
| 12,1 ff              | 178           | <i>Ephesians</i>     |          |
| 12,4 ff              | 339           | 2,20                 | 571      |
| 12,8                 | 354           | 4,23                 | 55       |
| 12,14                | 287           | 5,4                  | 228      |
| 12,17–21             | 149, 256, 287 | 6,13                 | 239      |
| 12,20                | 273           |                      |          |
| 12,21                | 255, 260      | <i>Philippians</i>   |          |
| 13,9                 | 620           | 1,11                 | 537      |
|                      |               | 3,2                  | 452      |
| <i>1 Corinthians</i> |               | 3,20                 | 334      |
| 1,18–27              | 94            | 4,13                 | 96       |
| 1,26 ff              | 56            | 4,15                 | 461      |
| 2,9                  | 56            | 4,18                 | 299      |

|                        |          |                   |                                    |
|------------------------|----------|-------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>Colossians</i>      |          | 1,11              | 277                                |
| 1,5                    | 334      | 1,19              | 152                                |
| 2,14                   | 189      | 1,22–25           | 562                                |
| 3,5                    | 207      | 1,26              | 326                                |
| 4,5                    | 86       | 2,5               | 56                                 |
|                        |          | 2,10              | 151, 158                           |
| <i>1 Thessalonians</i> |          | 2,11              | 620                                |
| 5,1                    | 391      | 3,1               | 209                                |
| 5,14                   | 368      | 3,9–10            | 220, 228, 289                      |
| 5,15                   | 287      | 3,12              | 527                                |
|                        |          | 3,14              | 326                                |
| <i>2 Thessalonians</i> |          | 3,18              | 64                                 |
| 3,10–11                | 393      | 4,3               | 47                                 |
|                        |          | 4,7–8             | 239, 326                           |
| <i>1 Timothy</i>       |          | 4,11–12           | 422                                |
| 5,25                   | 109      | 5,2–3             | 326, 328                           |
|                        |          | 5,5.8             | 326                                |
| <i>2 Timothy</i>       |          | 5,12              | 133, 143, 147,<br>220–221, 225–226 |
| 1,15                   | 253      | 5,16              | 64, 96                             |
| 3,8                    | 239      |                   |                                    |
| 4,4                    | 253      | <i>1 Peter</i>    |                                    |
| 4,14                   | 300      | 1,1               | 91                                 |
| 4,15                   | 240      | 1,24              | 405                                |
| <i>Titus</i>           |          | 2,6               | 571                                |
| 1,9                    | 368      | 2,21              | 258                                |
| 3,8                    | 392      | 3,9               | 149, 256, 289                      |
|                        |          | <i>2 Peter</i>    |                                    |
| <i>Philemon</i>        |          | 2,15              | 505                                |
| 15                     | 299      | 2,22              | 449, 451                           |
|                        |          | 3,11              | 328                                |
| <i>Hebrews</i>         |          | <i>1 John</i>     |                                    |
| 2,15                   | 158      | 3,12 ff           | 155, 227                           |
| 3,11                   | 219      | 3,15              | 143, 155                           |
| 4,3                    | 219      | 5,9               | 239                                |
| 6,16–17                | 218      |                   |                                    |
| 8,9                    | 208      | <i>Revelation</i> |                                    |
| 9,8                    | 91       | 1,14              | 223                                |
| 10,34                  | 336      | 5,12              | 63                                 |
| 10,35                  | 64       | 11,4              | 117                                |
| 11,6.26                | 64       | 11,18             | 152                                |
| 12,25                  | 253      | 19,7              | 63                                 |
| 13,10                  | 172      | 21,21             | 502                                |
| 13,12                  | 507      | 21,23             | 117, 277                           |
| <i>James</i>           |          | 22,2              | 300                                |
| 1,2 ff                 | 64       | 22,5              | 277                                |
| 1,5                    | 339, 354 |                   |                                    |

## 6. Apostolic Fathers

|                  |  |                       |              |
|------------------|--|-----------------------|--------------|
| <i>Barnabas</i>  |  | 14,1                  | 167          |
| 18–21            | 504                                    | 14,2                  | 172, 175–176 |
| 20,2             | 253                                    | 15,3                  | 152, 172     |
| <i>1 Clement</i> |  | <i>Diognetus</i>      |              |
| 1,3              | 275                                    | 6,6                   | 265          |
| 13,1             | 152                                    |                       |              |
| 46,7–8           | 207                                    | <i>Hermas</i>         |              |
| 50,4             | 309                                    | <i>Visions</i>        |              |
|                  |  | 3.7.1–3               | 504          |
| <i>2 Clement</i> |  | <i>Ignatius</i>       |              |
| 3,4              | 543                                    | <i>Ephesians</i>      |              |
| 6,1.6            | 362                                    | 6,1                   | 564          |
| 13,4             | 282                                    | 14,2                  | 527          |
| 16,4             | 294                                    | 15                    | 564          |
| <i>Didache</i>   | 28, 147–148, 162,<br>246–248, 250, 268 | <i>Trallians</i>      |              |
| 1–6              | 504                                    | 8,1                   | 172, 176     |
| 1,4              | 133, 243, 246, 248,<br>251, 267        | <i>Philadelphians</i> |              |
| 1,5              | 133, 250, 253–254                      | 1,1                   | 564          |
| 3,2              | 152                                    | <i>Martyrdom of</i>   |              |
| 4,4              | 172                                    | <i>Polycarp</i>       | 241          |
| 4,8              | 253                                    | <i>Polycarp</i>       |              |
| 8                | 301                                    | <i>Philippians</i>    |              |
| 8,1–3            | 293–294, 310                           | 4,2                   | 275          |
| 8,6              | 133                                    |                       |              |
| 14               | 167, 171                               |                       |              |

## 7. New Testament Apocrypha, Nag Hammadi and Christian Oxyrhynchus

|   |   |        |                               |
|---|---|--------|-------------------------------|
| <i>Agrapha</i>                            |   | 2,1    | 468, 589                      |
| 124                                       | 38  | 2,2    | 452, 589–590                  |
| 165                                       | 589   | 5      | 38, 114                       |
| <i>Apostolic Constitutions and Canons</i> |   | 5,2    | 74, 114, 589–590              |
| 5.12.6                                    | 225   | 6      | 293                           |
|   |   | 6,1    | 293, 589                      |
| <i>Dialogue of the Saviour</i>            |   | 6,5–6  | 74, 114                       |
| 14b                                       | 101   | 9      | 114, 606                      |
| 125,19–20.24                              | 341   | 14,1–3 | 293, 589                      |
|   |   | 20     | 38                            |
| <i>Gospel of Thomas</i>                   | 37, 39–40, 42, 63,<br>106–107, 589–591,<br>596, 603 | 23–26  | 335                           |
|   |   | 24     | 115, 452                      |
|   |   | 24,3   | 38, 74, 101, 335,<br>342, 589 |

|         |                                   |  |  |
|---------|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| 25      | 335                               | 69,2                                     | 46, 48, 50, 589–590                    |
| 26      | 335, 434                          | 76                                       | 336, 450                               |
| 26,1–2  | 38, 589–590                       | 76,3                                     | 38, 88, 326, 589                       |
| 27      | 446                               | 77,1                                     | 101                                    |
| 27,6    | 531                               | 83,1–2                                   | 101, 342                               |
| 29,9–12 | 332                               | 92–94                                    | 591                                    |
| 32–33   | 73, 589, 591                      | 92                                       | 446, 589                               |
| 32      | 38, 74, 106, 551,<br>589, 595     | 92,1–4                                   | 468                                    |
| 33–34   | 335, 589                          | 93                                       | 38, 446–447, 590                       |
| 33,2–3  | 38, 74–75, 114,<br>590            | 93,1–2                                   | 589                                    |
| 34      | 590–591                           | 94                                       | 446, 468, 589–590                      |
| 36      | 38, 376, 379–380,<br>382, 589–590 | 95                                       | 133, 253                               |
| 38–39   | 526                               | 95,1–2                                   | 38, 250, 589                           |
| 38,2    | 468                               | 96                                       | 452                                    |
| 43,3    | 525, 589                          | 101                                      | 446                                    |
| 45      | 525                               | <i>Oxyrhynchus Papyri 1, 654 and 655</i> |  |
| 45,1–2  | 526–527, 589                      | 1  | 106                                    |
| 45,3–4  | 38, 528–529, 590                  | 1,1–4                                    | 434                                    |
| 47,2    | 38, 362–363, 589–<br>590          | 1r15–20                                  | 106                                    |
| 50      | 342                               | 654.6                                    | 293                                    |
| 50,1    | 101                               | 655                                      | 38, 101, 374–375,<br>380, 382–383, 589 |
| 54      | 48, 589–591                       | 655A                                     | 376                                    |
| 61,5    | 342                               | 655.1.1–2(17)                            | 379                                    |
| 62      | 38                                | <i>Pseudo-Clementines</i>                |  |
| 62,2    | 306, 589, 595                     | Homilies                                 |  |
| 63      | 452, 591, 606                     | 3.52.2                                   | 506                                    |
| 64      | 606                               | 3.55.1                                   | 225                                    |
| 65      | 452, 606                          | 12.29.1                                  | 207                                    |
| 68–69   | 62, 589                           | 18                                       | 64                                     |
| 68      | 61, 73, 589                       | Recognitions                             |  |
| 69      | 48                                | 3  | 450                                    |
| 69,1    | 50, 61–62                         | 3.1.2(–8)                                | 451                                    |

## 8. Rabbinic Judaism

## Mishnah

|              |              |      |          |
|--------------|--------------|------|----------|
| <i>ʾAbot</i> |              | 2,10 | 156      |
| 1,3          | 64           | 2,11 | 274, 355 |
| 1,12         | 270          | 2,12 | 370      |
| 1,14         | 356, 366     | 2,16 | 64       |
| 1,17         | 550, 563–564 | 3,9  | 563      |
| 2,1          | 506          | 3,12 | 155      |
| 2,4          | 435          | 3,13 | 280      |
| 2,9          | 353–354, 563 | 3,17 | 616      |



|                    |              |                  |         |
|--------------------|--------------|------------------|---------|
| 3,18               | 531, 569–570 | <i>Nedarim</i>   |         |
| 3,21               | 571          | 3,9              | 222–223 |
| 4,2                | 64           |                  |         |
| 4,8–9              | 333          | <i>Niddah</i>    |         |
| 4,15               | 280          | 2,1              | 209     |
| 4,22               | 199          |                  |         |
| 5                  | 355          | <i>Pesaḥim</i>   |         |
| 5,13               | 353          | 1,1              | 333     |
| 5,19               | 355          | 3,1              | 173     |
| 5,20               | 541          |                  |         |
| <i>Baba Qamma</i>  |              | <i>Qiddušin</i>  |         |
| 8,6                | 245          | 4,14             | 400     |
| 9,12               | 173          |                  |         |
| <i>Baba Meši'a</i> |              | <i>Sanhedrin</i> | 517     |
| 5,6.9              | 251          | 3,2              | 222     |
| 6,3                | 249          | 4,1              | 370     |
|                    |              | 11,2             | 135     |
|                    |              | 11,5             | 517     |
| <i>'Eduyyot</i>    |              | <i>Šeqalim</i>   |         |
| 1,13               | 367          | 5,1              | 305     |
| <i>Giṭṭin</i>      |              | <i>Soṭah</i>     |         |
| 5,9                | 280          | 1,7              | 426–427 |
|                    |              | 9,15             | 86, 563 |
| <i>Ketubbot</i>    |              | <i>Temurah</i>   |         |
| 13,5               | 222–223      | 6,5              | 451     |
| <i>Middot</i>      |              | <i>Yoma</i>      |         |
| 5,3                | 84           | 5,2              | 573     |
|                    |              | 8,1              | 312     |

## Tosefta

|                   |     |                |     |
|-------------------|-----|----------------|-----|
| <i>Baba Qamma</i> |     | <i>Šebu'ot</i> |     |
| 9,30              | 432 | 5,3            | 432 |
| <i>Pe'ah</i>      |     | <i>Soṭah</i>   |     |
| 3,2               | 137 | 3,7            | 485 |
|                   |     | 11,10          | 485 |

## Babylonian Talmud/Talmud Babli

|                   |          |      |     |
|-------------------|----------|------|-----|
| <i>'Arakin</i>    |          | 11a  | 333 |
| 16b               | 437, 440 | 12b  | 518 |
|                   |          | 15b  | 440 |
| <i>Baba Batra</i> |          | 75a  | 156 |
| 4a                | 102, 117 | 146b | 541 |

|                     |              |                              |          |
|---------------------|--------------|------------------------------|----------|
| <i>Baba Meši'a</i>  |              | 67b                          | 111      |
| 49a                 | 225–226, 228 | 74a                          | 353      |
| 58b                 | 153, 156     | 88b                          | 258, 270 |
|                     |              | 105b                         | 333, 426 |
| <i>Baba Qamma</i>   |              | 108b                         | 210      |
| 109b                | 17           | 127b                         | 432      |
|                     |              | 129b                         | 85       |
| <i>Bekorot</i>      |              | 151b                         | 432      |
| 15a                 | 451          | 155b                         | 448      |
| <i>Berakhot</i>     |              | <i>Sanhedrin</i>             |          |
| 17a                 | 280, 563     | 17b                          | 312      |
| 32b                 | 156          | 30a                          | 426      |
| 33a                 | 533          | 36a                          | 225      |
| 48a                 | 533          | 58b                          | 153      |
| 61b                 | 370          | 59b                          | 210      |
| <i>Giṭṭin</i>       |              | <i>Šebu'ot</i>               |          |
| 36b                 | 273          | 11b                          | 451      |
| 58a                 | 156          | 36a                          | 224, 226 |
| <i>Ketubbot</i>     |              | <i>Soṭah</i>                 |          |
| 66b                 | 85, 541      | 8b                           | 426      |
| <i>Megillot</i>     |              | 12a                          | 102      |
| 12b                 | 467          | 13a                          | 102      |
| <i>Nedarim</i>      |              | 21a                          | 117      |
| 22b                 | 153          | 41b                          | 301      |
|                     |              | 46a                          | 531      |
|                     |              | 48b                          | 378, 407 |
| <i>Niddah</i>       |              | <i>Ta'anit</i>               |          |
| 13b                 | 209          | 7a                           | 278      |
| 32a                 | 249          | 23b                          | 563      |
| 32b                 | 426          | 24a                          | 351, 563 |
| <i>Pesaḥim</i>      |              | <i>Temurah</i>               |          |
| 29a                 | 451          | 117a                         | 451      |
| 66b                 | 153          | 130b                         | 451      |
| 88a                 | 353          |                              |          |
| <i>Qiddušin</i>     |              | <i>Yoma</i>                  |          |
| 36a                 | 278          | 35b                          | 249      |
| 40a                 | 531          | 72b                          | 522      |
| 40b                 | 564, 571     | <i>'Abot de Rabbi Nathan</i> |          |
| <i>Roš Haššanah</i> |              | 16,4                         | 269      |
| 16b                 | 427, 432     | 17                           | 85       |
|                     |              | 23,1                         | 269      |
| <i>Šabbat</i>       |              | 26,11                        | 258      |
| 31a                 | 628          | 33                           | 269      |
|                     |              | 41,15                        | 258      |

|           |          |                |     |
|-----------|----------|----------------|-----|
| (A) 15    | 489      | (B) 30         | 269 |
| (A) 16    | 269      |                |     |
| (A) 24    | 569, 570 | <i>Soperim</i> |     |
| (B) 22.24 | 570      | 15,8           | 85  |
| (B) 24    | 569, 570 |                |     |

## Jerusalem Talmud/Talmud Yerushalmi

|                   |     |                |     |
|-------------------|-----|----------------|-----|
| <i>Baba Batra</i> |     | <i>Pe'ah</i>   |     |
| 4,2, 14           | 353 | 1,15b, 63–75   | 333 |
|                   |     | 4,18a, 57 ff   | 333 |
| <i>Baba Qamma</i> |     | <i>Šeqalim</i> |     |
| 8,10, 6c          | 432 | 6,1, 49a       | 305 |
| <i>Qiddušin</i>   |     | <i>Yoma</i>    |     |
| 1,58b             | 191 | 5,2            | 575 |

## Targum

|                                       |     |                         |     |
|---------------------------------------|-----|-------------------------|-----|
| <i>Targum Neofiti</i>                 |     | <i>Targum Canticles</i> |     |
| to Gen 38,25–26                       | 427 | 8,8                     | 151 |
| to Lev 19,18                          | 269 |                         |     |
| to Deut 6,5                           | 370 | <i>Targum Isaiah</i>    |     |
|                                       |     | 27,8                    | 427 |
| <i>Targum Onqelos/Yerushalmi I/II</i> |     | <i>Targum Jeremiah</i>  |     |
| to Exod 20,7                          | 219 | 21,8                    | 501 |
| to Deut. 6,5                          | 370 |                         |     |
| <i>Targum Pseudo-Jonathan</i>         |     | <i>Samaritan Targum</i> |     |
| to Gen 4,7                            | 155 | to Gen 49,27            | 520 |
| to Deut 6,5                           | 370 |                         |     |

## Midrash

|                       |     |                         |         |
|-----------------------|-----|-------------------------|---------|
| <i>Genesis Rabbah</i> |     | <i>Leviticus Rabbah</i> | 173–174 |
| 2,3                   | 211 | 2,9                     | 180     |
| 9,11                  | 427 | 14,7                    | 269     |
| 24,7                  | 270 | 24,5 (on 19,18)         | 269     |
| 30,6                  | 537 | 32 (152a)               | 485     |
| 59 (37b)              | 102 | 50,3                    | 269     |
| 59,5                  | 108 |                         |         |
| <i>Exodus Rabbah</i>  |     | <i>Ruth Rabbah</i>      |         |
| 26,2 (on 17,18)       | 278 | 7,6                     | 225     |
| (on 18,12)            | 271 |                         |         |
| 30 (90b)              | 535 | <i>Qohelet Rabbah</i>   |         |
| 31,11 (on 22,24)      | 333 | 8,4                     | 256     |
|                       |     | 9,15                    | 156     |

|                             |     |                              |     |
|-----------------------------|-----|------------------------------|-----|
| <i>Canticles Rabbah</i>     |     | <i>Sipre on Numbers</i>      |     |
| 4,1                         | 351 | on 12,13                     | 427 |
|                             |     | 93                           | 117 |
| <i>Derek Ereš Rabbah</i>    |     | <i>Sipre</i>                 |     |
| 10                          | 273 | on Deuteronomy               | 571 |
| <i>Mekilta</i> (on Exodus)  |     | on 32,4                      | 571 |
| on 16,4                     | 378 | 116, 118                     | 252 |
| on 17,14 (18,11)            | 427 | <i>Pesiqta de Rab Kahana</i> |     |
| on 18,12                    | 278 | 8 (29)                       | 107 |
| on 20,1–2                   | 226 | 14,4                         | 563 |
| on 20,12                    | 136 | 20,7                         | 102 |
| on 20,23                    | 485 | 21                           | 108 |
| on 23,4–5                   | 271 | 195a                         | 278 |
| <i>Sipra</i> (on Leviticus) |     | <i>Pesiqta Rabbati</i>       |     |
| on 19                       | 271 | Hosafa 1                     | 270 |
| on 19,8 (89b)               | 279 |                              |     |
| on 19,15                    | 273 |                              |     |

## 9. Church Fathers

|                            |          |                                   |     |
|----------------------------|----------|-----------------------------------|-----|
| Augustine                  |          | <i>Paedagogus</i>                 |     |
| <i>De doctrina</i>         |          | 1,5                               | 378 |
| <i>Christiana</i>          | 17       | 17,2                              | 378 |
| <i>Epistulae</i>           |          | <i>Stromata</i>                   |     |
| 138,12–14                  | 264      | 1.12.65.3                         | 452 |
| <i>Sermones</i>            |          | 4.2.5                             | 505 |
| 1.6.16–17                  | 94       | 5.12.77                           | 326 |
| 1.9.23                     | 156      | Epiphanius                        |     |
| 1.9.24(–25)                | 159      | <i>Panarion</i>                   |     |
| 1.10.26                    | 164, 176 | 24.5.2                            | 452 |
| 1.11.31                    | 193      | Eusebius of Caesarea              |     |
| 1.11.32                    | 195      | <i>Demonstratio evangelica</i>    |     |
| 1.13.38                    | 214      | 3.3                               | 225 |
| 1.19.60                    | 247      | <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>     |     |
| 1.20.64                    | 264      | 4.15                              | 241 |
| 1.28.78                    | 276      | Hippolytus                        |     |
| 1.28.79                    | 279      | <i>Refutatio omnium haeresium</i> |     |
| 2.13.45                    | 357      | 9.12                              | 452 |
| 2.14.47                    | 369      | Irenaeus                          |     |
| 2.20,68(–70)               | 456      | <i>Adversus haereses</i>          |     |
| 2.21.71                    | 472      | 1.25.4                            | 181 |
| 2.24.79                    | 537      |                                   |     |
| Clement of Alexandria      |          |                                   |     |
| <i>Quis dives salvetur</i> |          |                                   |     |
| 17                         | 326      |                                   |     |

|                              |               |                                       |                    |
|------------------------------|---------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|
| Jerome                       |               | 16,1                                  | 233, 243, 286, 603 |
| <i>Commentary in Matthew</i> |               | 16,2                                  | 248–249, 603       |
| I (on Matt 7,6)              | 453           | 16,5.6.8                              | 603                |
|                              |               | 16,9                                  | 149                |
| John Chrysostom              |               | 16,11                                 | 542                |
| <i>Homiliae</i>              |               |                                       |                    |
| 16,5                         | 124           | <i>Dialogus cum Tryphone</i>          |                    |
| 16,6                         | 127           | 10                                    | 1                  |
| 16,10                        | 156, 196      | 76,5                                  | 542                |
| 16,11                        | 194           | 96,3                                  | 133, 144, 267      |
| 16,12                        | 174, 178      |                                       |                    |
| 16,13                        | 192, 194      | Lactantius                            |                    |
| 17,3                         | 211           | <i>Divinae institutiones</i>          |                    |
| 18,1–3                       | 264           | 3.21.4                                | 449                |
| 18,3                         | 213           | 5.3.20                                | 449                |
| 19,1–4                       | 291           |                                       |                    |
| 19,2                         | 305           | Pseudo-Macarius                       |                    |
| 20,1–2                       | 291           | <i>Homiliae spirituales</i>           |                    |
| 20,4                         | 356           | 43,3                                  | 326                |
| 21,2 (21,3–22,8)             | 395           |                                       |                    |
| 22,1–4                       | 415           | Origen                                |                    |
| 23,4                         | 480           | <i>Contra Celsum</i>                  |                    |
| 23,5                         | 485           | 8.3(ff)                               | 361                |
| 23,7–8                       | 514           | 8.68                                  | 231                |
| 24,3                         | 577           |                                       |                    |
| 33,5                         | 471           | <i>Homiliae in Genesim</i>            |                    |
|                              |               | 10,1                                  | 452                |
| Justin                       |               |                                       |                    |
| <i>Apologia I</i>            |               | <i>Homiliae in Leviticum</i>          |                    |
| 14                           | 602           | 6,6                                   | 452                |
| 15,1–2                       | 201, 603      | 12,7                                  | 452                |
| 15,5                         | 265           |                                       |                    |
| 15,7.9                       | 603           | Tertullian                            |                    |
| 15,10                        | 250, 603      | <i>De baptismo</i>                    |                    |
| 15,12                        | 326, 334, 376 | 18                                    | 451                |
| 15,13                        | 144, 267      |                                       |                    |
| 15,16                        | 326, 376      | <i>De praescriptione haereticorum</i> |                    |
| 15,17                        | 603           | 40,1                                  | 451                |

## 10. Greek and Latin Authors

|                            |     |                            |     |
|----------------------------|-----|----------------------------|-----|
| Aelian                     |     | <i>Prometheus vincitus</i> |     |
| <i>De natura animalium</i> |     | 378                        | 152 |
| 2.48–49                    | 415 |                            |     |
| Aeschylus                  |     | Aesop                      |     |
| <i>Agamemnon</i>           |     | <i>Fabulae</i>             |     |
| 214ff                      | 152 | 57,7                       | 190 |

|                           |              |                                |         |
|---------------------------|--------------|--------------------------------|---------|
| Apollonius of Rhodes      |              | 2.22 (1395b)                   | 16      |
| <i>Argonautica</i>        |              | 2.23 (1397a–1400b)             | 16, 601 |
| 2.123 ff                  | 519          | 2.26.1 (1403a)                 | 236     |
| 3.1057 ff                 | 449          | 3.2.6–9 (1404b/<br>1405a)      | 10      |
| 4.1393 ff                 | 449          | 3.2.8 ff (1405a)               | 13      |
| Aristotle                 |              | 3.9–10 (1409b33 ff)            | 141     |
| <i>De anima</i>           |              | 3.10 (1410b14–15)              | 13      |
| 1.1 (403a3 ff)            | 152          | 3.13 (1414a/b)                 | 37      |
|                           |              | 3.13 (1414b9 ff)               | 67      |
| <i>Ethica Eudemia</i>     |              | 3.15 (1415a34 ff)              | 67      |
| 1222a42–b4                | 264          |                                |         |
| 1234b–1246b36             | 129          | <i>Topica</i>                  |         |
|                           |              | 1.14.20–39                     | 358     |
| <i>Ethica Nicomachea</i>  |              |                                |         |
| 2.3–4 (1105b,<br>1106a)   | 152          | Pseudo-Aristotle               |         |
| 2.7 (1107b10)             | 461          | <i>Problemata</i>              |         |
| 2.7.4 (1107b12)           | 461–462      | 927a35–b5                      | 82      |
| 3.8 (1116b)               | 152          | Auctor ad Herennium            |         |
| 4.5.11 (1125b30)          | 152          | <i>Rhetorica ad Herennium</i>  |         |
| 8.3.8 (1156b27 ff)        | 86           | 2.1–26                         | 16      |
| 8–9 (1155a–1172a)         | 129          | 4.19–69                        | 15      |
| 9.5 (1166b30–<br>1167b20) | 86           | 4.33.35                        | 409     |
| 9.5 (1166b30)             | 86, 193      |                                |         |
| 9.5 (1167a3)              | 86, 193      | Cebes of Thebes                |         |
| 9.5 (1167a11 ff)          | 86, 193      | <i>Cebetis Tabula</i>          | 504     |
| 9.5 (1167a18–19)          | 86, 193, 260 |                                |         |
| 9.6–7                     | 193          | Cicero                         |         |
| 9.7 (1167b)               | 290          | <i>In Catilinam</i>            |         |
| 9.7.2 (1167b13)           | 290          | 4,6                            | 102     |
| 9.7.4 (1168a8–9)          | 524          |                                |         |
| 10.9 (1179a18–19)         | 533          | <i>Epistulae ad familiares</i> |         |
|                           |              | 14.21.2                        | 306     |
| <i>Poetica</i>            |              |                                |         |
| 21 (1457b)                | 10, 13       | <i>De inventione</i>           | 34      |
|                           |              | 1.31, 51                       | 15      |
| <i>Politica</i>           |              | 2.14.47 ff                     | 139     |
| 5.3 (1303a)               | 152          | 2.16.50                        | 139     |
| 5.9 (1314.40)             | 302          |                                |         |
|                           |              | <i>De legibus</i>              |         |
| <i>Rhetorica</i>          |              | 1.27                           | 348     |
| 1.3 (1358bff)             | 34           |                                |         |
| 1.5.6–9 (1361a1–b2)       | 461          | <i>De officiis</i>             |         |
| 2.2 (1378a31)             | 152          | 1.23                           | 264     |
| 2.12–17 (1388b–<br>1391b) | 34           | 1.47 ff, 61 ff                 | 483     |
| 2.21.2 (1394a)            | 15           | 1.103                          | 459     |
| 2.21.15–16 (1395b)        | 15           | 1.146                          | 435     |
|                           |              | 2.15.52, 55–56                 | 459     |
|                           |              | 2.22–24                        | 273     |

|                                 |          |                           |          |
|---------------------------------|----------|---------------------------|----------|
| 2.52–60                         | 461      | 5.3                       | 139      |
|                                 |          | 5.17                      | 305      |
| <i>De oratore</i>               |          | 5.21                      | 490      |
| 1.180                           | 15       | 6.6(–7)                   | 245      |
| 2.114–177 (155 ff)              | 16       | 6.50                      | 335      |
| 2.173                           | 15       | 6.88                      | 329      |
| 3.106–107                       | 139      | 8.1                       | 81–82    |
| 3.107                           | 139, 288 | 8.22                      | 219      |
| 3.177, 201, 205                 | 15       | 8.35                      | 81–82    |
| <i>In Pisonem</i>               |          | Pseudo-Diogenes of Sinope |          |
| 16 (37)                         | 453      | <i>Epistulae cynicae</i>  |          |
|                                 |          | 18                        | 524      |
| <i>Tusculanae disputationes</i> |          | Empedocles                |          |
| 1.9–15                          | 53       | frg. 84                   | 348, 366 |
| 2.14 ff                         | 53       | Epictetus                 |          |
| 2.63–64                         | 294      | <i>Diatribai</i>          |          |
| 3.73                            | 435      | 1.2.37                    | 329      |
| 4.10–32                         | 53       | 1.9.6 ff                  | 394      |
| 4.19, 21, 44                    | 152      | 1.9.19                    | 400      |
| Democritus                      |          | 1.12.12                   | 80       |
| frg. 45                         | 264      | 1.16                      | 394      |
| frg. 60                         | 435      | 1.16.1.3                  | 399      |
| Demosthenes                     |          | 1.20                      | 468      |
| <i>Orationes</i>                |          | 1.22.1                    | 477      |
| 21,147                          | 264      | 1.27.19                   | 477      |
| 40                              | 410      | 2.5.29                    | 435      |
| 56                              | 410      | 2.9.13                    | 550      |
| Dio Chrysostom                  |          | 2.13.16                   | 431      |
| <i>Orationes</i>                |          | 2.15.8–10                 | 570      |
| 1,22–23                         | 122      | 2.15.8                    | 575      |
| 1,66–84                         | 504      | 2.15.15–18                | 570      |
| 8,2                             | 306      | 2.16.18                   | 304      |
| 10,16,15                        | 394      | 2.16.44 ff                | 435      |
| 18,13                           | 85       | 2.17.8                    | 477      |
| 33,48–49                        | 348      | 2.20.18                   | 534      |
| 66,13                           | 367      | 2.22                      | 129      |
| Diodorus Siculus                |          | 2.22.19                   | 334      |
| 24.5.1                          | 368      | 3.22.53–54                | 260      |
| 31.3.2                          | 195–196  | 3.22.54                   | 272      |
| 34/35.1                         | 271      | 3.22.99                   | 435      |
| Diogenes Laertius               |          | 3.26.11–13                | 393      |
| 1.35                            | 226      | 3.26.26, 30, 33           | 394      |
| 1.36, 86                        | 452      | 4.1.79–80                 | 264      |
| 1.87                            | 431      | 4.1.79                    | 248–250  |
|                                 |          | 4.2.1–2                   | 368      |
|                                 |          | 4.2.4                     | 366      |
|                                 |          | 4.4.21                    | 304      |

|                      |          |                            |     |
|----------------------|----------|----------------------------|-----|
| 4.8.17–20            | 294      | <i>Saturae</i>             |     |
|                      |          | 1.3.28–29,                 | 436 |
| <i>Enchiridion</i>   |          | 1.3.126–127                | 436 |
| 13                   | 368      | 1.5.91                     | 480 |
| 20                   | 263      | 2.3.21–28, 34–37           | 435 |
| 31                   | 211      |                            |     |
| 33                   | 304      | Iamblichus                 |     |
| 33,5                 | 220      | <i>De vita Pythagorica</i> |     |
| 42                   | 260      | 9.47                       | 220 |
| 48,2                 | 435      | 31.187 (200)               | 202 |
|                      |          | 33.229–240                 | 194 |
| Galen                |          | 33.231                     | 194 |
| 6.422                | 331      | 47                         | 219 |
| 12.879               | 331      |                            |     |
|                      |          | Isocrates                  |     |
| Hermogenes           | 287      | <i>Nicocles</i>            |     |
|                      |          | 22                         | 220 |
| Herodotus            |          | 51–54                      | 220 |
| <i>Historiae</i>     |          |                            |     |
| 3.16.5               | 410      | Pseudo-Isocrates           |     |
| 4.4                  | 155      | <i>Orationes</i>           |     |
|                      |          | 1,41                       | 226 |
| Hesiod               |          |                            |     |
| <i>Opera et dies</i> |          | Juvenal                    |     |
| 287–290              | 504      | <i>Saturae</i>             |     |
| 334–340              | 168      | 14.96–99                   | 271 |
| 342–343              | 272, 290 |                            |     |
| 347–348              | 435      | Lactantius                 |     |
| 349–351              | 426      | <i>De ira Dei</i>          |     |
| 352                  | 290      | 13.19                      | 259 |
|                      |          |                            |     |
| Homer                |          | Lucian                     |     |
| <i>Ilias</i>         |          | <i>Rhetorum praeceptor</i> |     |
| 9.214                | 84       | 13                         | 306 |
|                      |          |                            |     |
| <i>Odyssea</i>       |          | Lucretius                  |     |
| 6.186–190            | 278      | <i>De rerum natura</i>     |     |
| 17.291 ff            | 449      | 3.330                      | 426 |
| 20.379               | 535      |                            |     |
|                      |          | Marcus Aurelius            |     |
| Horace               |          | 4.6.1                      | 534 |
| <i>Carmina</i>       |          | 10.8.6                     | 534 |
| 4.4.31–32            | 534      |                            |     |
|                      |          | Martial                    |     |
| <i>Epistulae</i>     |          | 44,13–16                   | 191 |
| 1.2.26               | 449      |                            |     |
| 1.4.16               | 453      | Maximus of Tyre            |     |
| 2.1.199              | 456      | <i>Dissertationes</i>      |     |
| 2.2.75               | 449      | 6,7d                       | 517 |
|                      |          | 12,5b–d                    | 264 |



|                                    |     |                           |         |
|------------------------------------|-----|---------------------------|---------|
| 39,80ff                            | 511 | <i>Leges</i>              |         |
|                                    |     | 4 (716d)                  | 278     |
| Menander                           |     | 9 (857a)                  | 189     |
| <i>Dyskolos</i>                    |     |                           |         |
| 9,10                               | 328 | <i>Phaedo</i>             |         |
|                                    |     | 63c–65a                   | 241     |
| <i>Sententiae</i>                  |     |                           |         |
| 57–58                              | 435 | <i>Phaedrus</i>           |         |
|                                    |     | 252d                      | 278     |
| Musonius                           |     |                           |         |
| frg. 32                            | 435 | <i>Respublica</i>         |         |
|                                    |     | 1 (331e–336a)             | 272     |
| <i>Dissertationes</i>              |     | 1 (332d)                  | 272     |
| 6                                  | 562 | 2 (373b)                  | 302     |
|                                    |     | 3 (416d–417a)             | 329     |
| Persius                            |     | 6 (507b–509c)             | 349     |
| <i>Saturae</i>                     |     | 7 (514a–518b)             | 349     |
| 4.23–24, 51–52                     | 436 | 8 (555c)                  | 366     |
| 5.154–155                          | 369 |                           |         |
|                                    |     | <i>Theaetetus</i>         |         |
| Petronius                          |     | 176a.b.f                  | 278     |
| <i>Satyricon</i>                   |     | 191c                      | 137     |
| 43,1–2                             | 191 |                           |         |
| 57,7–8                             | 436 | <i>Timaeus</i>            |         |
|                                    |     | 29e                       | 137     |
| Phaedrus                           |     | 45b–46a                   | 349     |
| <i>Fabulae</i>                     |     | 60e                       | 84      |
| 1.10                               | 436 |                           |         |
|                                    |     | Plautus                   |         |
| Philodemus                         |     | <i>Captivi</i>            |         |
| <i>De pnaenomenis atque signis</i> |     | 912                       | 519     |
| 18,30ff                            | 399 |                           |         |
| 25,1 ff                            | 399 | <i>Epidicus</i>           |         |
| 27                                 | 480 | 2,2,222–233               | 247     |
|                                    |     | 4,2,9                     | 448     |
| Philostratus                       |     |                           |         |
| <i>De vita Apollonii</i>           |     | <i>Poenulus</i>           |         |
| 1.11                               | 304 | 1,2,203                   | 304     |
|                                    |     |                           |         |
| Pindar                             |     | Pliny the Elder           |         |
| frg. 140b                          | 302 | <i>Naturalis historia</i> |         |
|                                    |     | 8.143–144 (200)           | 449     |
| Plato                              |     | 8.146                     | 449     |
| <i>Criton</i>                      |     | 9.119ff                   | 450     |
| 49a                                | 272 | 10                        | 415     |
|                                    |     | 11.139–157                | 349–350 |
| <i>Gorgias</i>                     |     | 15.1–34                   | 117     |
| 469c                               | 258 | 31.73–105                 | 81      |
| 486b–c                             | 258 | 31.82                     | 92      |
| 503d                               | 467 | 31.88                     | 83      |

|  |          |                                |        |
|--|----------|--------------------------------|--------|
| 31.89                                    | 82       | Vitae Parallelae               |        |
| 31.90                                    | 83       | <i>Cicero</i>                  |        |
| 31.98                                    | 82       | 29,5                           | 191    |
| 31.102                                   | 81       |                                |        |
| 31.106                                   | 94       | <i>Pericles</i>                |        |
|  |          | 5                              | 258    |
| Pliny the Younger                        |          |                                |        |
| <i>Epistulae</i>                         |          | Pseudo-Plutarch                |        |
| 8.22.1–2                                 | 435      | <i>Apophthegmata laconica</i>  |        |
|  |          | 218A                           | 272    |
| <i>Panegyricus</i>                       |          | <i>De liberis educandis</i>    |        |
| 35,5                                     | 277      | 1 (1A)                         | 452    |
| Plutarch                                 |          |                                |        |
| Moralia                                  |          | Polybius                       |        |
| <i>De capienda ex inimicis utilitate</i> |          | 18.37.7                        | 272    |
| 4 (88D)                                  | 436      |                                |        |
| <i>De cohibenda ira</i>                  |          | Publilius Syrus                |        |
| (452F–464D)                              | 152, 243 | <i>Sententiae</i>              |        |
| 8 (457B)                                 | 152      | 2                              | 427    |
| 9 (457B)                                 | 152      |                                |        |
| 14 (482E)                                | 152      | Quintilian                     |        |
| <i>De curiositate</i>                    |          | <i>Institutio oratoria</i>     |        |
| 12 (521A)                                | 209      | 3.3.1–15                       | 34     |
|  |          | 3.6.1 ff                       | 287    |
| <i>De fraterno amore</i>                 |          | 4.2.63–64                      | 236    |
| 18 (489C)                                | 193      | 4.5 ff                         | 16     |
|  |          | 5.11.6                         | 15     |
| <i>De garrulitate</i>                    |          | 5.11.22–23                     | 10     |
| 1 (515D)                                 | 436      | 8.3.61                         | 236    |
|  |          | 8.3.72                         | 519    |
| <i>Quaestiones convivales</i>            |          | 8.6                            | 10     |
| (612C–697B)                              | 81       | 8.6.1–76                       | 16     |
| 4.4.3 (668E)                             | 82       | 8.6.8                          | 13, 15 |
| 5.10 (684E–685F)                         | 81       | 9.1.1–2                        | 16     |
| 5.10.1 (684F)                            | 84–85    | 9.2.40                         | 236    |
| 5.10.3 (685B)                            | 81–82    | 9.2.98                         | 220    |
| 6.10 (697B)                              | 82       | 9.3.92                         | 141    |
| <i>Quaestiones romanae et graecae</i>    |          | <i>Rhetorica ad Herennium,</i> |        |
| 72 (281B)                                | 355      | see Auctor ad Herennium        |        |
| <i>De tranquillitate animi</i>           |          | Seneca                         |        |
| 2 (465C)                                 | 152, 329 | <i>Agamemnon</i>               |        |
| 13 (472F)                                | 534      | 262–267                        | 435    |
|  |          | <i>De beneficiis</i>           |        |
|  |          | 1.4.2–3                        | 461    |
|  |          | 1.9.13                         | 483    |
|  |          | 2.1                            | 459    |

|  |          |   |          |
|--|----------|---|----------|
| 2.7                                    | 477      | <i>De vita beata</i>                    |          |
| 2.7.1                                  | 480      | 4,3                                     | 329      |
| 2.30–31                                | 290      | 27,4.6                                  | 435      |
| 2.30.2                                 | 290      |   |          |
| 2.31.3, 5                              | 290      | Sextus                                  |          |
| 3.30.1                                 | 358      | <i>Sententiae</i>                       |          |
| 4.10.4                                 | 459      | 110                                     | 366      |
| 4.11.1                                 | 459      |   |          |
| 4.26.1                                 | 278      | Sophocles                               |          |
| 7.9.4                                  | 450      | <i>Antigone</i>                         |          |
| 7.31.1                                 | 260      | 355–356, 875                            | 152      |
| 7.31.2–4                               | 278      |   |          |
| 7.31.3                                 | 278      | <i>Elektra</i>                          |          |
|  |          | 221–222                                 | 152      |
| <i>De clementia</i>                    |          |   |          |
| 2.3.1                                  | 273      | Tacitus                                 |          |
|  |          | <i>Annales</i>                          |          |
|  |          | 15.6.19                                 | 241      |
| <i>De constantia sapientis</i>         |          |   |          |
| 7.1.3                                  | 258      | <i>Historiae</i>                        |          |
|  |          | 5.5.1–2                                 | 271      |
| <i>Epistulae morales (ad Lucilium)</i> |          |   |          |
| 31,5                                   | 304      | Theognis                                |          |
| 52 (52,5)                              | 570      | <i>Elegiae</i>                          |          |
| 75,7                                   | 562      | 1.537                                   | 524      |
| 81                                     | 461      |   |          |
| 87,25                                  | 534      | Theophrast                              |          |
| 92,2–3                                 | 329      | <i>De sensu et sensibilibus</i>         |          |
| 103,2                                  | 152      | 26                                      | 348–349  |
| <i>De ira</i>                          |          |   |          |
| 1.14.2                                 | 435      | Thucydides                              |          |
| 2.4.3                                  | 152      | 2.40.4                                  | 290      |
| 2.10.6                                 | 524, 534 |   |          |
| 2.26.4–5.8                             | 435      | Valerius Maximus                        |          |
| 2.31.6                                 | 152      | <i>Factorum dictorumque memorabilia</i> |          |
| 2.31.7                                 | 256      | 3.3                                     | 168      |
| 2.32.1                                 | 255–256  | 4.7                                     | 129, 260 |
| 2.32.2                                 | 152      |   |          |
| 2.32.1                                 | 255, 264 | Varro                                   |          |
| 2.33.2                                 | 258, 264 | <i>De vita populi Romani</i>            |          |
| 2.34.1                                 | 256      | 1.44–45                                 | 247      |
| 2.34.5                                 | 264      |   |          |
| 3.5.8                                  | 152      | Velleius Paterculus                     |          |
| 3.6.1                                  | 152      | 2.27.2                                  | 517      |
| 3.26.3                                 | 256      |   |          |
| <i>De tranquillitate animi</i>         |          | Virgil                                  |          |
| 13,1                                   | 329      | <i>Aeneas</i>                           |          |
|  |          | 2.355–359                               | 519      |
|  |          | 4.254–255                               | 519      |
|  |          | 6.640–643                               | 504      |

|                        |     |                    |     |
|------------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|
| Vitruvius              |     | <i>Memorabilia</i> |     |
| <i>De architectura</i> | 572 | 1.3.2              | 303 |
| 1.5.1                  | 575 | 2.1.20             | 504 |
| 2.4.2                  | 575 | 2.1.23 (21–33)     | 504 |
| 6.6.1–7                | 575 | 2.2.1–2            | 290 |
|                        |     | 2.6.20             | 193 |
| Xenophon               |     | 2.6.35             | 272 |
| <i>Hellenica</i>       |     | 3.1.21–22          | 366 |
| 7.1.10                 | 533 | 4.2.9              | 329 |

## 11. Other Sources

|                   |     |                              |     |
|-------------------|-----|------------------------------|-----|
| Amenemope         |     | Mandaean <i>Sidra Rabbah</i> |     |
| 4,19              | 273 | <i>GinzaR</i> I, 104         | 307 |
| 5,1 ff            | 273 | <i>GinzaR</i> VII, 218,30    | 416 |
| Corpus Hermeticum |     | Rabbi Shneur Zalman of Liadi |     |
| <i>Poimandres</i> |     | <i>Zohar</i>                 |     |
| 4.5–6             | 366 | <i>Tanya</i> , ch. 12        | 490 |

## Index of Modern Authors

- Aalen, S. . . . 100, 103, 104, 350  
Abu-Chaar, K. . . . 550  
Agrell, G. . . . 393  
Albertz, M. . . . 295  
Albright, W. F. . . . 253, 301, 315, 338–  
339, 341, 343, 349, 365, 418, 452,  
454, 481, 486, 516  
Allen, W. C. . . . 31, 228  
Allison, D. C. Jr. . . . 2, 7, 9, 31, 68–69, 80,  
88, 97, 103, 124, 133, 166, 192, 194,  
216, 225, 232, 241, 252, 254, 272,  
281, 285, 292, 305–306, 308, 311,  
316–318, 331, 337, 341, 345, 349,  
356, 365, 376, 418–419, 423, 441,  
443–444, 465, 470, 472, 474–475,  
485, 492, 499, 506, 514–516, 522–  
523, 529, 540, 546, 549, 552–553,  
559, 567–568, 577  
Althaus, P. . . . 42  
Amsturtz, J. . . . 337  
Anderson, F. I. . . . 225  
Armstrong, E. A. . . . 469  
Asmuth, B. . . . 139  
Aune, D. . . . 25, 35, 516  
Avemarie, F. . . . 563  
  
Baasland, E. . . . 5, 10, 40, 42, 57, 88, 124,  
221, 266, 287–288, 412, 477, 488,  
533, 562–563, 585, 592, 602, 618  
Bacht, H. . . . 352  
Bacon, B. W. . . . 27, 515  
Bailey, K. E. . . . 20, 21  
Baird, J. . . . 35  
Banks, R. . . . 124, 130  
Barr, J. . . . 301  
Barth, G. . . . 516  
Barth, K. . . . 42  
Bartlet, V. . . . 382  
Batey, R. . . . 302  
Bauckham, R. . . . 28  
  
Bauman, C. . . . 2  
Baumgartner, W. . . . 23, 204  
Baur, F. C. . . . 26  
Beardslee, W. A. . . . 23  
Behm, J. . . . 193  
Beijer, E. . . . 29, 241  
Bengel, J. A. . . . 482  
Bergemann, T. . . . 39, 40, 41, 91, 568,  
592–593  
Berger, K. . . . 4, 5, 10, 22–24, 51, 95, 165,  
265, 366–367, 409, 447, 453, 477,  
493, 514, 517  
Berger, P.-R. . . . 105, 107  
Bergier, J.-F. . . . 76  
Bergman, J. . . . 499, 503  
Bertram, G. . . . 93, 95, 97, 157, 190, 467  
Betz, H. D. . . . 2, 7, 9, 27–29, 33, 40–41,  
43, 45–46, 48, 53, 55, 58, 64, 68–69,  
76, 80, 100, 110, 121, 124–125, 128,  
133–134, 145, 147, 150, 160, 163,  
165, 167, 177, 185, 189, 193, 195–  
196, 203, 209, 215–216, 225, 227–  
229, 239, 243–246, 254, 264, 267–  
268, 271–272, 287, 289, 291–292,  
294–296, 300, 303, 305–307, 310–  
311, 316–319, 321–322, 329–330,  
337–340, 342, 344–346, 349, 357,  
364, 376, 378, 382–383, 385, 391–  
392, 395, 418–419, 423, 425, 435,  
442, 444, 446–447, 450, 453, 465,  
467, 470, 472, 482, 514–516, 522–  
523, 525, 529, 539–540, 544, 549,  
551–555, 562, 567, 571, 575, 586,  
629  
Betz, O. . . . 70, 418, 554  
Beutler, J. . . . 155  
Beyer, K. . . . 475, 559  
Beyschlag, K. . . . 466  
Birkeland, H. . . . 54

- Black, M. 79, 93, 116, 135, 148, 381, 408, 455, 559, 566  
 Blomberg, C. 8, 18, 362, 375, 420, 469, 479, 553, 558  
 Böcher, O. 515–516, 521  
 Bonhoeffer, D. 178, 262, 314, 320, 391  
 Bornhäuser, K. 262, 391, 561  
 Bornkamm, G. 28, 32, 64, 315, 318, 418–419, 464  
 Borgen, P. 350, 395  
 Boring, M. E. 586  
 Böttrich, C. 225, 550, 552  
 Bousset, W. 27, 42, 294  
 Bovon, F. 94, 181–182, 250, 282, 338, 360, 497–498  
 Braun, H. 183  
 Brennecke, H. C. 361  
 Broer, I. 48, 52, 57, 147  
 Brown, R. E. 17  
 Brown, M. J. 291  
 Brox, N. 466, 468  
 Bryce, G. E. 204  
 Bugge, C. A. 8, 9, 605  
 Bultmann, R. 4–5, 9–10, 12–13, 18, 21–27, 39, 42–43, 70, 75, 77, 80, 135, 140, 147–148, 168, 181–182, 202–203, 205, 215–217, 224, 234, 251, 266, 288–289, 292, 295, 303, 319, 323–324, 327, 329, 342, 344–345, 358, 363–364, 377, 383–385, 391, 412, 416, 420, 423, 446–447, 477, 489, 497, 500, 507, 522, 529, 543–544, 555, 568, 585, 612  
 Burney, C. F. 48, 78, 343, 455, 501, 566  
 Burchard, C. 139  
 Bussby, F. 310  
 Butt, R. 621  
 Byrskog, S. 124, 562  
 Cadbury, H. J. 337–338, 352, 360, 408, 509  
 Cadoux, A. T. 471, 482  
 Caird, G. B. 181  
 Campbell, K. M. 105, 108  
 Carlston, C. E. 23, 373, 413  
 Carrington, P. 29, 316  
 Carruth, S. 3  
 Carson, D. A. 493, 540  
 Carter, W. 469, 543, 555, 583  
 Caspari, W. 94  
 Catchpole, D. 3, 39, 41, 74, 469–471, 475, 558, 577  
 Charlesworth, J. H. 481  
 Chilton, B. D. 58, 489  
 Clark, K. W. 168  
 Combrink, H. J. B. 33  
 Cothenet, E. 513, 515  
 Couroyer, B. 424–425  
 Crossan, J. D. 23, 70, 73, 182, 202, 344, 380, 470, 472  
 Cullmann, O. 76, 98  
 Cuvillier, É. 124  
 Dalman, G. 20–21, 48, 57, 125, 129, 150, 222, 227, 402, 501  
 Danby, H. 400, 541, 563, 569  
 Daniel, C. 515  
 Danker, F. W. 460  
 Daube, D. 29, 136  
 Dautzenberg, G. 216, 219, 221, 224, 265, 271  
 Davies, M. 232, 317  
 Davies, W. D. 2, 7, 9, 29, 58, 68–69, 80, 88, 97, 103, 124, 133, 166, 192, 194, 216, 225, 232, 241, 252, 272, 281, 285, 292, 305–306, 308, 311, 316–318, 331, 341, 345, 349, 356, 365, 376, 418–419, 423, 441, 443–444, 465, 470, 472, 474–475, 485, 492, 499, 506, 514–516, 522–523, 529, 540, 546, 549, 552–553, 559, 567–568, 577  
 Davis, J. F. 231  
 Davison, J. E. 539, 548–549  
 Deatrick, E. P. 76, 80, 82, 90, 93  
 Degenhardt, J.-J. 325  
 Deines, R. 30, 41, 63–64, 69, 73, 76, 80, 84, 89, 97, 100–101, 103–104, 108, 125–127, 129, 133, 562  
 Deißmann, A. 188, 299  
 Delling, G. 310  
 Denaux, A. 41, 494–495, 498  
 Derrett, J. D. M. 105, 108, 111, 116, 177–178, 182, 194, 301–302, 233, 293, 300, 367, 373, 413, 419, 424, 498, 510, 608  
 Dibelius, M. 5, 12, 21, 27–28, 42, 70, 75, 125, 181, 185, 219–221, 224, 364, 452, 555, 585

- Diels, H. 329  
 Dietzfelbinger, C. 291–292, 294–295  
 Dihle, A. 129, 284, 337, 348–350, 489–490  
 Di Lella, A. A. 49  
 Dillon, T. J. 374, 378, 413  
 Dobbeler, S. von 514  
 Dodd, C. H. 42, 87–88, 97, 101, 111–112, 118, 182, 185, 192, 196, 477, 539, 549, 610  
 Donaldson, T. J. 105, 108, 109  
 Dormeyer, D. 22, 25, 585  
 Douglas, R. C. 3  
 Downing, F. G. 43, 233  
 Draper, J. A. 389  
 Dronsch, K. 111, 112, 113, 424, 429  
 Dschulnigg, P. 9, 563  
 Duling, D. C. 216  
 Dumbrell, W. J. 131  
 Dunn, J. D. G. 566, 585  
 Duplacy, J. 550, 552  
 Dupont, J. 31, 46, 48, 54, 11, 116, 361, 587
- Ebner, M. 44, 73, 111, 231, 267, 274, 381–383, 385, 389–390, 469–471  
 Eckey, W. 182, 188, 362  
 Edlund, C. 337–338, 342, 345, 352  
 Edwards, R. A. 22  
 Eggen, R. B. 13  
 Egger, W. 30  
 Eichholz, G. 318  
 Elliott, J. H. 338–339  
 Engberg-Pedersen, T. 145–146, 282, 422, 461, 463, 496, 596  
 Erlemann, K. 8, 16  
 Ernst, H. 9  
 Ernst, J. 183
- Fascher, E. 585  
 Feldmeier, R. 69  
 Fensham, F. C. 76, 80, 337  
 Fiebig, P. 2, 8–9, 21, 23–26, 85, 88, 101, 156, 160, 162, 164–165, 167, 173, 177, 188, 219, 230, 249, 257, 269, 273, 289, 337, 361, 432, 437, 450, 452, 506, 533, 579, 605, 610, 629  
 Fiedler, P. 68–69, 127, 130, 134, 140, 196, 232, 266, 293, 317–318, 322–323, 362, 375, 420, 492, 500, 511–514, 549  
 Fitzmyer, J. A. 29, 33, 182, 195, 430, 568  
 Fleddermann, H. T. 38, 40–41, 80, 182, 187–188, 207, 469, 585, 588, 592  
 Flusser, D. 6, 9, 162, 539, 546, 549, 551, 555, 561, 569, 571, 578  
 France, R. T. 133–134, 264, 323, 362, 383, 432  
 Frankemölle, H. 29, 45, 68–69, 95, 125, 127, 133, 154–155, 194, 286, 292, 312, 315, 323, 362, 371, 375, 420, 423, 428, 444, 459, 465, 483, 494, 498, 512, 514, 514, 516, 540, 544, 551, 560  
 Frey, J. 181, 184, 189, 195, 375, 379  
 Friedlander, G. 2, 68, 76, 126, 130, 138, 154, 163, 174–175, 177, 192, 196, 214, 228, 231, 322, 328, 330, 339, 352, 354, 361, 374, 437, 445, 499, 511, 546  
 Friedrich, J. 155  
 Fuchs, A. 75  
 Fuhrmann, M. 15  
 Funk, R. W. 13, 22, 43, 88, 101, 162
- Gaechter, P. 68–69, 134, 293, 316–317, 321–322, 338, 362, 420, 423, 444, 465, 498, 514, 540, 555  
 Gammie, J. G. 24  
 Gandhi, M. 1, 231, 262  
 Garrett, S. R. 338, 340, 343, 352  
 Gathercole, S. 38  
 Gemünden, P. von 150, 152, 523, 531–532  
 George, A. 291  
 Gerber, C. 464, 469–470, 477, 484  
 Gerhardsson, B. 5, 9, 18–20, 76, 80, 98, 291, 294, 314, 335, 357, 373, 562, 603, 605–606  
 Gerstenberger, E. 24  
 Gielen, M. 528  
 Giesen, H. 498  
 Ginzburg, L. 404  
 Giovanni, G. 318  
 Glasson, T. F. 382  
 Gnilka, J. 68–69, 163, 216, 232, 245, 292, 305, 321–322, 338, 375, 382,

- 420, 423, 430, 439, 443, 445, 453,  
465, 471, 485, 514, 552
- Goodenough, E. R. 116
- Goppelt, L. 1
- Goulder, M. D. 30
- Graystone, K. 208
- Green, H. B. 49
- Greeven, H. 20, 409, 475, 477, 479
- Gregg, B. H. 551–553, 567, 582
- Groenewald, E. P. 361, 370
- Gross, K. 208
- Grundmann, W. 96, 153, 318
- Guelich, R. A. 7–8, 45, 69, 112, 150,  
201, 234, 244, 292–293, 312, 318,  
356, 358, 419, 424, 443–444, 454,  
465, 470, 493, 498, 515–516, 549,  
558
- Gundry, R. H. 68, 80, 92, 125, 127,  
133, 165–166, 202, 216, 221, 230,  
232, 266, 305, 317, 338, 375, 382,  
420, 423–424, 428, 433, 446, 472,  
500, 506, 516, 533
- Haenchen, E. 299
- Hagner, D. A. 68–69, 92, 125, 127,  
133, 156, 163, 214, 225, 227, 229,  
232, 292, 316–317, 323, 338, 375,  
382, 362, 376, 419, 423, 444, 451,  
454, 465, 470, 478, 492, 499, 516,  
544, 549, 552–553
- Hahn, F. 111, 112, 115, 337, 343, 544
- Hall, E. T. 280
- Hanssen, O. 29–30
- Härle, W. 489
- Harnack, A. (von) 326, 499–500, 592
- Harnisch, W. 12–13, 230, 257, 288
- Harvey, A. E. 143, 160, 257, 610
- Hassler, V. 30
- Hauck, F. 370, 400
- Healey, J. F. 374, 400
- Hedrich, C. W. 195, 199
- Hehn, V. 76
- Heil, J. P. 340, 342, 374, 381–382, 390,  
398, 469, 501, 543, 550, 552–555,  
577, 583, 588, 592
- Heiligenthal, R. 97, 122
- Heinrici, C. F. G. 2, 27–28, 39, 53, 57,  
68–69, 112, 133, 163, 179–180, 194,  
204, 209, 216, 232, 266, 291, 293–  
294, 305, 316, 323, 329–330, 338,  
340, 362–364, 375, 385, 420, 435–  
436, 444, 452, 465, 470, 494, 499,  
506, 514–515, 540, 552, 587
- Hengel, M. 2, 23, 35, 46, 57–58, 64,  
141, 233, 279, 416
- Herrmann, W. 143, 161, 288
- Heubült, C. 131
- Hill, D. 514–516
- Hitzig, H. F. 190
- Hjärpe, J. 448
- Hoffmann, P. 41, 270, 340, 342, 373,  
375, 378, 381, 383, 389, 403, 497,  
501, 539, 554, 592
- Hofius, O. 265, 269, 271
- Holmström, F. 42
- Holtzmann, H. J. 30, 592
- Hoover, R. W. 22, 43, 88
- Horsley, R. A. 74, 230
- Horst, P. W. van der 299
- Hultgren, A. J. 6, 364, 469, 552–554,  
577
- Hummel, R. 166, 180, 297, 516
- Hunter, A. M. 470
- Jackson, B. S. 189
- Jacobson, A. E. 586
- Janowski, B. 60, 123, 531
- Jeremias, J. 6, 9, 19, 21, 29, 42, 79, 91,  
93, 95–97, 109, 111–112, 1116, 118–  
119, 120, 147–148, 156–157, 162–  
163, 167, 169, 171, 173–177, 181–  
190, 196, 234, 244–245, 295, 380–  
381, 389–390, 397, 414–415, 432,  
442, 454, 469, 471, 476, 484, 484,  
507, 509, 511, 553, 556, 559, 568,  
579, 585, 592, 610, 627
- Jervell, J. 519
- Johnson, M. 99, 498, 503
- Jonas, D. 539, 543
- Jones, I. H. 6, 162, 550, 552–553, 567–  
568, 582
- Jongkind, D. 383
- Joubert, S. 460–461
- Jülicher, A. 6, 8–14, 20, 70, 103, 109–  
112, 116, 118, 181–184, 187, 192,  
194, 198, 234, 244–245, 295, 339,  
344, 346, 349–350, 359, 361–362,  
371, 384, 433, 469, 471, 477, 484,  
522–523, 525, 533, 543–544, 552–



- 553, 555–556, 558, 567–568, 578,  
585, 605, 610
- Kähler, C. . . . 22
- Karpp, H. . . . 476
- Käsemann, E. . . . 22, 151, 428, 592
- Katz, P. . . . 382
- Kautsky, K. . . . 52, 401
- Kedar-Kopfstein, B. . . . 531
- Keener, C. S. . . . 133, 150, 317, 423, 552
- Kennedy, G. A. . . . 27, 32, 46, 599
- Kieffer, R. . . . 46
- Kierkegaard, S. . . . 374, 416
- King, G. E. . . . 433, 440
- King, M. L. . . . 263
- Kingsbury, J. D. . . . 6, 516
- Kippenberg, H. G. . . . 95, 366
- Kirk, A. K. . . . 112
- Klein, G. . . . 305
- Klein, H. . . . 126, 147, 165, 168, 170, 446
- Kloppenborg, J. S. . . . 23, 40, 207, 232,  
413, 424, 427, 429, 446, 482, 586,  
590
- Klostermann, E. . . . 127, 153, 199, 219,  
270, 296, 301, 551, 587
- Knierim, R. . . . 548
- Knowels, M. P. . . . 550, 552, 554, 561, 582
- Knox, W. L. . . . 183
- Koch, K. . . . 322, 332
- Köhler, K. . . . 150
- Köhler, L. . . . 76, 92, 111
- Kollmann, B. . . . 216, 229, 421
- Koschorke, K. . . . 468
- Kosmala, H. . . . 278
- Köster, H. . . . 22, 39
- Kraft, R. A. . . . 382
- Krämer, M. . . . 39, 514, 551
- Kranz, W. . . . 329
- Kraus, H.-J. . . . 54
- Küchler, M. . . . 24, 247
- Kuhn, H.-W. . . . 139
- Kümmel, W. G. . . . 135, 137
- Kürzinger, J. . . . 27
- Kutsch, E. . . . 216, 226
- Kvalbein, H. . . . 54
- Labahn, M. . . . 181, 195, 196, 361–362,  
364, 371
- Lachmann, K. . . . 26
- Lachs, S. T. . . . 222, 232, 305
- Lagrange, M.-J. . . . 31, 515, 559, 587
- Lakoff, G. . . . 13, 99, 498, 503, 607
- Lambrecht, J. . . . 6–8, 30, 139, 318, 362,  
419, 493–494
- Lampe, A. . . . 476
- Lapide, P. . . . 2
- Larfeld, W. . . . 408
- Latham, J. E. . . . 76
- Lattke, M. . . . 76, 86, 90
- Lauer, S. . . . 9
- Laufen, R. . . . 207
- Lausberg, H. . . . 15, 99
- Lee, J. A. L. . . . 216, 218
- Leonhardt-Balzer, J. . . . 76, 77, 433, 437
- Levinas, E. . . . 442
- Lichtenberger, A. . . . 575
- Lichtenberger, H. . . . 55, 57
- Liebenberg, J. . . . 57
- Lightfoot, J. . . . 308
- Lindblom, J. . . . 349
- Lindemann, A. . . . 38–39, 586, 591
- Lindenberger, J. M. . . . 260
- Lindeskog, G. . . . 115
- Linton, O. . . . 35, 265, 268, 272
- Liroy, D. . . . 285
- Lipiński, E. . . . 46
- Lips, H. von . . . 24, 44, 385, 442–445,  
447–449, 454–456
- Llewelyn, S. . . . 442
- Løgstrup, K. E. . . . 465, 483, 487
- Lohfink, G. . . . 1–2, 34, 97, 109–110, 231,  
233, 242, 262–263, 276, 320
- Lohmeyer, E. . . . 68, 80, 88, 98, 112, 130,  
136, 165, 194, 234, 242, 268, 284,  
316, 323, 362, 419, 444, 492–493,  
629
- Lohse, E. . . . 140
- Lührmann, D. . . . 230, 558
- Lund, Ø. . . . 503
- Luz, U. . . . 7, 8, 28, 31, 41, 47, 52, 58, 68,  
75, 80, 90, 97, 104, 115, 122, 127,  
133, 138, 140, 147–148, 157, 163,  
170, 192, 199, 201, 214, 216, 225,  
227, 229–230, 232, 242, 248, 254,  
257, 262, 274, 283, 292, 294–295,  
303, 305–308, 310, 312, 315–316,  
384, 389–391, 394, 407, 412, 430,  
441–442, 444, 446, 464–465, 468,  
471, 474, 477, 482, 492–493, 496,  
498–499, 501, 506, 512, 514, 518,

- 522–523, 525, 529, 533, 536, 540,  
544, 549, 552–553, 555–556, 561,  
563, 567, 574, 629
- MacCall, M. H. 13  
MacGaughy, L. C. 204  
Mack, B. L. 27, 32  
Maher, M. 269  
Maier, J. 407  
Malina, B. J. 20–21, 162, 178, 375, 462  
Mann, C. S. 253, 301, 315, 338–339,  
341, 343, 349, 365, 418, 452, 454,  
481, 486, 516  
Manson, T. W. 6, 34, 177, 182, 371,  
377, 397, 433, 474, 539, 544, 552  
Marguerat, D. 551, 577  
Marshall, I. H. 250, 465, 553  
Marshall, J. 251, 460, 463  
Marx, K. 52, 323  
Massaux, É. 602–603  
Mattill, A. J. Jr. 498–499, 509  
Mauss, M. 460, 462  
Mayordomo, M. 550, 552, 555, 575  
McEleney, N. J. 30, 305, 317, 442, 444,  
459, 472  
Mees, M. 539  
Meier, J. P. 127, 216  
Mell, U. 10  
Merklein, H. 133  
Merz, A. 8, 12, 16, 469  
Metzger, B. 381–382, 499  
Meyer, A. 353, 455  
Meyer, E. 31  
Michel, O. 442, 447, 449, 544, 547  
Michaelis, C. 49  
Michaelis, W. 499, 504, 506, 513  
Minear, P. S. 34, 76, 97, 216, 514, 516,  
518, 539  
Mitchell, M. M. 289  
Mogensen, B. 24, 624  
Molin, G. 265, 260  
Montefiore, C. 2, 7, 9, 125–126, 139,  
153, 222–227, 231, 283, 301, 312,  
330, 333, 367, 395, 401, 437, 453,  
464, 546, 549  
Morris, L. 175, 232, 323, 362, 376,  
419, 471–472, 493, 506, 554  
Moss, C. R. 338–339, 360  
Moule, C. F. D. 47, 150  
Moulton, J. H. 27, 567–568  
Muilenburg, J. 503  
Mullins, T. Y. 266  
Münch, C. 442–444, 453, 567  
Murphy, R. E. 24  
Murrey, R. 554  
Mussies, G. 156  
Mußner, F. 221, 497  
Nägelsbach, F. 30  
Nauck, W. 63, 80, 85, 86  
Nebe, G. 343  
Neiryneck, F. 40–41, 91, 342, 593  
Nestle, E. 558  
Neugebauer, F. 230  
Neuhäusler, E. 424, 431–432  
Neusner, J. 354, 489, 570  
Neyrey, J. H. 20, 261  
Nickelsburg, G. 65  
Niebuhr, K.-W. 161  
Niederwimmer, K. 201–202, 215  
Niehr, H. 191  
Nissen, A. 265  
Nolland, J. 68–69, 127, 134, 182, 194,  
197, 209, 214, 216, 232, 264, 266,  
292, 317, 322, 338, 410, 419, 433,  
444, 465, 470, 472, 492, 498, 540,  
552–554  
Norden, E. 494, 567  
Nordsieck, R. 46, 47  
Nötscher, F. 503  
Oegema, G. S. 231, 265  
Olbrechts-Tyteca, L. 34  
Olsthoorn, M. F. 380, 397, 410  
Oppong-Kumi, P. Y. 6  
Ostheeren, K. 139  
Ott, W. 474  
Patte, D. 2, 31, 69  
Patterson, S. J. 434, 447, 526, 586  
Pax, E. 432  
Pelikan, J. 100  
Percy, E. 125, 330, 338  
Perdue, L. G. 24  
Perelman, C. 34  
Perels, F. 442, 454  
Perrin, N. 14, 57  
Perry, A. M. 27  
Pesch, W. 7, 64, 322, 325, 332  
Peterman, G. W. 461

- Petersen, W. . . . 15, 27, 80, 89, 166, 292,  
305, 388, 392, 444, 446, 529, 539,  
567–568, 604, 620
- Peterson, E. . . . 27
- Petracce, V. . . . 361
- Philonenko, M. . . . 338–339
- Piper, J. . . . 287
- Piper, R. A. . . . 24–26, 70, 74, 112, 116,  
135, 147, 184, 198, 234, 266, 319,  
376, 385, 389, 393, 411, 414, 423,  
428, 430, 469, 612
- Plisch, U.-K. . . . 47, 51, 74, 106, 447
- Plümmer, H. . . . 76
- Plummer, A. . . . 133
- Polag, A. . . . 40, 567, 593
- Popkes, E. E. . . . 100, 105, 338, 348
- Popkes, W. . . . 316, 585
- Porter, S. E. . . . 375, 383
- Pöttner, M. . . . 76
- Prabhavananda, S. . . . 1
- Preisker, H. . . . 564
- Puig I Tàrrach, A. . . . 550
- Quell, G. . . . 517
- Rad, G. von . . . 105, 108
- Ragaz, L. . . . 42, 52
- Räisänen, H. . . . 1
- Rathey, M. . . . 230
- Rau, E. . . . 469, 471, 478, 485
- Reiser, M. . . . 181–183, 189, 195, 265,  
267, 272, 421, 432, 553
- Rengstorff, K. H. . . . 189
- Repo, E. . . . 504
- Richter, W. . . . 24–25
- Ricoeur, P. . . . 282
- Riesner, R. . . . 124, 559
- Riesenfeld, H. . . . 92, 317, 320, 322, 363,  
373, 375–376
- Rinikar, C. . . . 551
- Rival, L. . . . 532
- Rivkin, E. . . . 158
- Robinson, J. M. . . . 35, 39–41, 80, 340,  
342, 374, 381–382, 403, 497, 501,  
525, 586, 630
- Rogers, V. . . . 223
- Rohrbaugh, R. L. . . . 178
- Röhser, G. . . . 67
- Roloff, J. . . . 6, 168
- Rondez, P. . . . 116, 390, 397, 415, 470
- Rowe, G. O. . . . 15, 141
- Rudberg, G. . . . 349
- Rüger, H. P. . . . 151, 156, 369–370, 424,  
426
- Saebø, M. . . . 103, 350
- Sahlin, H. . . . 230, 284
- Saldarini, A. J. . . . 293, 424
- Sand, A. . . . 68–69, 292, 322, 338, 362,  
419, 423, 451, 464, 498, 514, 539,  
549
- Sanders, E. P. . . . 64, 139, 170
- Sandt, H. van de . . . 167
- Sato, M. . . . 403, 428
- Schellong, D. . . . 124
- Schenk, W. . . . 40, 592–593
- Schenke, H. M. . . . 62
- Schiffman, L. H. . . . 140
- Schlatter, A. . . . 30, 68, 92, 125, 128, 160,  
180, 188, 207, 216, 222, 225–227,  
234, 255, 257, 266, 293, 299, 305,  
310, 323, 380, 426, 454, 471, 489,  
493, 515, 529, 533, 543, 559
- Schlösser, J. . . . 57
- Schmeller, T. . . . 374–375, 390
- Schmid, J. . . . 232
- Schmidt, K. L. . . . 554
- Schnackenburg, R. . . . 76, 80, 153
- Schneider, G. . . . 6, 70, 111–112, 116,  
120, 539
- Schneider, S. . . . 231, 238, 240
- Schnelle, U. . . . 445, 585
- Schniewind, J. . . . 68, 124–126, 129–130,  
133, 192, 225, 232, 315, 322, 345,  
418, 423, 464, 493, 552
- Schöttgen, C. . . . 305
- Schottroff, L. . . . 20, 21, 52, 230, 232,  
254, 256, 265, 390
- Schrage, W. . . . 40, 107
- Schramm, T. . . . 344
- Schröter, J. . . . 73, 75, 111, 118, 374, 383,  
408
- Schüller, B. . . . 1
- Schulz, H. . . . 151
- Schulz, S. . . . 40–41, 112, 116, 138, 182–  
184, 234, 266, 283, 322–323, 325–  
326, 338, 342, 362, 367, 372, 385,  
389, 412, 428, 430, 437, 464, 477,  
483, 485, 498, 500, 523, 540, 544,  
553

- Schürmann, H. 118, 194, 480, 513–514, 516, 551, 553  
 Schwarz, A. 10, 16, 601  
 Schwarz, G. 48, 79, 93, 167, 238, 296, 306, 325, 485, 515, 519, 522, 540, 544, 549, 567  
 Schweitzer, A. 42  
 Schweizer, E. 68, 291–294, 314, 485, 515, 519, 522, 540, 544, 549, 567  
 Scott, R. B. Y. 424  
 Seaford, R. 463  
 Seeberg, A. 29  
 Segbroeck, F. van 91  
 Sellin, G. 12  
 Selwyn, E. 29, 316  
 Semino, E. 347, 534  
 Sherwin-White, A. N. 188  
 Shillington, V. G. 20, 76, 80, 90  
 Sidebottom, E. M. 432  
 Sigal, P. 124, 214  
 Sim, D. C. 516, 539  
 Sjöberg, E. 337–338, 343, 351–352  
 Skeat, T. C. 374, 382  
 Smit Sibinga, J. 29, 30  
 Smith, M. 140  
 Smith, R. H. 111, 116  
 Snodgrass, K. 6, 8–9, 12–13, 469–470, 550, 552, 555, 583, 605  
 Snyder, G. F. 205  
 Soiron, T. 27, 31, 40  
 Soltés, P. 76  
 Soucek, J. B. 76, 98  
 Stählin, G. 202, 225, 229  
 Stanton, G. N. 28, 30  
 Starnitzke, D. 523, 531  
 Stassen, G. H. 31  
 Stauffer, E. 147  
 Steck, O. H. 63  
 Stegemann, E. 324, 462  
 Stegemann, W. 52, 277, 390, 462  
 Stein, R. 182, 470, 552  
 Steinhäuser, M. G. 470, 523  
 Stendahl, K. 230, 232, 255, 316  
 Stiewe, M. 68–69, 255, 302, 314, 317, 376, 493  
 Stoll, B. 98  
 Strauß, D. F. 26  
 Streckler, G. 7, 9, 12, 22, 64, 68–70, 73, 112, 127–129, 134, 138, 140, 148, 163–164, 178, 196, 201, 215, 224, 270, 295, 315, 323, 337–338, 340, 418, 423–424, 441, 444, 447, 450–451, 454, 464, 469, 471, 492–494, 499, 506, 514, 516, 518, 530, 532–533, 540, 552, 555, 585, 602  
 Streeter, B. H. 41  
 Stuhlmacher, P. 162, 174, 178, 317  
 Suggs, M. J. 147  
 Swancutt, P. D. 554  
 Swartley, W. M. 230  
 Syreeni, K. 39–40, 291, 309, 317, 340, 345, 351  
 Talbert, C. H. 27, 30, 129, 225, 254, 289, 313, 317–318, 356, 362, 385, 420, 435, 443, 586, 629  
 Tannehill, R. 230, 245, 257, 313  
 Tennant, F. R. 482  
 Theißen, G. 5, 8, 12, 16, 17, 22, 43, 122, 230, 232–233, 255, 270, 277, 281, 315  
 Theobald, M. 101  
 Tholuck, F. G. A. 9, 26–27, 31, 305, 449, 533, 537, 598  
 Thom, J. C. 27, 30, 33, 133–134, 150, 316  
 Thoma, C. 9  
 Tilborg, S. van 368  
 Tiwald, M. 237  
 Tomson, P. J. 291, 294, 297  
 Trilling, W. 123  
 Trites, A. A. 30  
 Tuckett, C. M. 35, 471, 485  
 Turani, S. 338  
 Turner, M. 13, 99, 498  
 Unnik, W. C. van 122, 265, 282  
 Urbach, E. E. 427  
 Vaage, L. E. 3  
 Vahrenhorst, M. 133, 140, 216, 222, 224–225, 227–228  
 Veit, W. 139  
 Vermes, G. 23  
 Via, D. O. 18  
 Vielhauer, P. 586, 592  
 Villwock, J. 139  
 Volz, P. 24  
 Vouga, F. 12, 68–69, 255, 302, 314, 317, 376, 493

- Walker, W. O. . . . 281  
 Watson, F. . . . 39, 584  
 Wattles, J. . . . 489  
 Weber, M. . . . 373  
 Weder, H. . . . 7, 9, 13, 30, 56, 68–69, 134,  
 138, 160, 201, 214, 225, 240, 266,  
 283, 316, 359, 418, 465, 468, 480,  
 493, 498, 552, 629  
 Weise, M. . . . 150, 151  
 Weiß, B. . . . 346  
 Weiß, J. . . . 30, 346, 367, 401, 516  
 Weiß, K. . . . 204  
 Weisse, C. H. . . . 26  
 Weizsäcker, C. F. von . . . 55  
 Wellhausen, J. . . . 41, 116, 352, 380, 499  
 Wendland, P. . . . 567  
 Wengst, K. . . . 270, 395  
 Wenham, D. . . . 469  
 Wernberg-Møller, P. . . . 150, 154  
 Whitters, M. E. . . . 338  
 Wick, P. . . . 291, 294–295  
 Wiefel, W. . . . 68, 133, 164, 443, 493  
 Williams, J. G. . . . 586  
 Wilson, J. P. . . . 558  
 Wilson, W. T. . . . 291, 293  
 Windisch, H. . . . 1, 42–43, 46, 630  
 Wink, W. . . . 230, 240, 263, 288, 385, 499  
 Wischmeyer, O. . . . 374, 378, 385, 390,  
 393, 413  
 Witetschek, S. . . . 550–552, 577  
 Wolter, M. . . . 32, 146, 190, 232, 338,  
 343, 368, 402, 500, 554, 587  
 Wrede, W. . . . 7, 9  
 Wrege, H.-T. . . . 39–40, 226, 234, 326,  
 342, 378–379, 425, 475, 496, 567,  
 585, 592  
 Wright, N. T. . . . 574  
 Wünsche, A. . . . 156  
 Young, B. H. . . . 6, 142, 552, 561, 566  
 Zager, N. . . . 424  
 Zahn, T. . . . 29, 55, 169, 199, 268, 305,  
 443, 471  
 Zangenberg, J. K. . . . 167  
 Zehnder, M. P. . . . 503  
 Zeilinger, F. . . . 27, 32, 45, 125, 163–164,  
 169, 202, 292, 312, 314, 318, 362,  
 375, 385, 423, 444, 450, 464, 470,  
 483, 492, 514, 523, 540, 552  
 Zeitlin, S. . . . 158  
 Zeller, D. . . . 5, 25–26, 43–44, 147, 165,  
 168, 171, 182–184, 195, 201, 217,  
 229, 234, 252, 260, 266, 273, 293–  
 295, 322, 324, 327–328, 377, 379,  
 383, 385, 419, 433, 437, 447, 477,  
 485, 507  
 Zerbe, G. . . . 230  
 Zimmerli, W. . . . 23, 204, 211, 324  
 Zimmermann, C. . . . 278, 484  
 Zimmermann, F. . . . 79  
 Zimmermann, R. . . . 5–6, 8, 10–11, 13, 20,  
 70, 77, 605  
 Zöckler, T. . . . 101, 338  
 Zohary, M. . . . 402, 530  
 Zwickel, W. . . . 76

## Index of Subjects

- act – consequence (“*Tun-Ergehen*”/“*Tat-Folge*”) 65, 121–122, 228, 353
- allegorical interpretation 9, 14, 17–18, 54, 100, 110–115, 168, 181, 195, 197–200, 213, 325, 339, 344, 360, 381, 439, 445, 453–458, 470–471, 505, 554, 574, 579, 610
- allegory 9–10, 11, 14–15, 76, 113, 199, 447, 505–506, 523, 544, 555
- alliteration 48–49, 77, 96, 184, 188, 235, 364–365, 380, 525, 545, 565, 578
- alms 292–298, 301, 305–307, 310, 314, 325–328, 353–354, 373, 376
- Amen-sayings (ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν in Matt 5,18.25; 6,2.5.16) 192, 613–614
- anadiplosis* → *epanalepsis*
- anaphor 15, 72, 103, 205, 217, 275, 325, 347, 364, 388, 525, 544–545, 565, 604
- Antitheses 4, 15, 22, 30, 33, 37, 125, 127–128, 131–149, 151, 153–155, 158–161, 163, 185–186, 197, 200, 212, 218, 230, 234, 236, 241, 256, 260, 264–267, 272, 284–290, 295–298, 300, 313–314, 316–317, 321, 325, 331, 364, 388, 433, 547, 599–602, 610–612, 614, 619–620, 623–624, 626–630
- antithesis/antithetical form 72, 113, 121, 124, 131, 141, 143, 148–149, 217, 226, 229, 236, 290, 295–297, 313, 316–317, 342, 364, 544, 565, 594, 599–600, 612
- aphoristic sayings 9, 13, 23–25, 70, 112, 266, 385, 586, 590–591, 607, 612, 614, 619, 621
- apostrophe 15, 421, 437, 482, 545, 604, 609
- application, implicit/explicit 19, 98–99, 106, 108, 184, 186–187, 198–199, 210–213, 345–347, 356–358, 360–362, 436–439, 457, 473–475, 478–483, 485–486, 525–529, 536–538, 550, 578–583, 605–609
- Aramaic features 41, 47–48, 55, 59, 79–81, 93, 106, 115–117, 151, 156–158, 162–163, 167–168, 188, 207, 222, 238, 249, 306, 310, 325, 331, 343–344, 352–353, 362–363, 369, 380–381, 384, 391, 408, 425–426, 428, 434, 444–445, 454–455, 475, 478, 494–495, 501, 509, 520, 529, 543, 559, 566, 593, 596–597
- argumentatio* 37, 132–291 (esp. 146), 292–314 (esp. 292 ff), 313, 315–417 (esp. 317), 418–583 (esp. 419, 424, 428, 475, 512, 587)
- Beatitudes 24–25, 30, 45–60 (esp. 46), 224, 243, 252, 290, 308, 335, 390, 496, 499, 530, 541, 573, 592, 599–600, 613, 618–619, 623, 627, 630
- benefactor 66, 148, 171, 186, 193, 210, 233, 235, 243, 250–252, 254, 290, 306, 421, 425, 458–462, 462–463, 476, 478–480, 483
- benefit 211, 215, 283–286, 459–463, 491, 618
- “*Bild-/Sachhälfte*” → image and life-setting
- “*Bildwort*” → simile
- brother (as term) 153–157, 160–167, 169, 173–176, 179–181, 192, 194–195, 198–201, 250, 260–262, 280–281, 284, 438–441, 450, 464, 589, 629
- chastity 78, 141, 201–202, 288, 603
- chiasm 7, 15, 31, 71, 149, 165, 235, 267, 274, 276, 317, 345–346, 364, 422, 438, 494, 525, 596, 604

- chreia* 22, 586, 592  
 climax/anticlimax 15, 61, 157–159,  
 196, 217, 236, 242, 285, 299, 357,  
 424, 429, 431, 544, 604  
 comedy → surprising features  
 comparison (“*Vergleich*”) 4, 9, 11–13,  
 93, 141, 205, 280, 364, 375, 386, 397,  
 617  
 composition 27, 37–39, *passim*  
 conceptually sustained metaphors →  
 metaphor  
 conditional and unconditional  
 sayings 24, 77, 138, 151, 164, 167,  
 203, 235, 250, 272, 285, 343, 345–  
 347, 438, 447, 478, 559, 612, 616  
 constructed in order to give the imagery  
 direction and meaning 12, 170,  
 180–181, 198–199, 210, 213, 298,  
 303, 311, 327, 336, 348, 356, 359,  
 371, 402, 414, 479, 545, 560, 580,  
 609  
*correctio* (“correction”) 15, 139, 141–  
 142, 229, 274–275, 285, 289, 297,  
 599–600, 604, 612, 614, 623  
 Decalogue 134, 137, 147, 150, 155,  
 160, 179, 214, 217, 268, 274, 285,  
 289–290, 301, 311, 601, 614, 619–  
 620, 624, 626, 629–630  
 decision-making 130, 176, 180, 192,  
 376, 387, 455, 489, 494, 507, 512,  
 570, 588, 598, 605, 612  
 deliberative (symbouleutic) speech 27,  
 32, 37, 387, 394, 396, 587, 594–600,  
 613, 616  
 Deutero-Mark 75, 167  
 diatribe 179, 374ff(–417) (esp. 385–  
 388)  
*do-ut-des* 64–65, 237, 279, 282, 284,  
 290, 299–300, 429, 490  
 εἰ μὴ/ἐάν (ὄπου/ὄστις/πᾶς-  
 sentences) 616 ff, *passim*  
*enargeia* 15, 143, 160–161, 205, 236,  
 257, 604, 611, 627  
*enthymeme* → *loci*  
 entrance-requirements 71, 127, 219,  
 335, 352, 499, 630  
*epanalepsis*, *anadiplosis*, *epitheton* 15,  
 604  
*epiplotke* 184, 187–188, 388, 609  
*epitheton* → *epanalepsis*  
 eschatological interpretation  
 (flavour) 3, 9, 22, 42–44, 46, 60,  
 112, 122, 126, 158, 161–162, 176,  
 181–186, 192, 196, 202, 234, 262,  
 270, 283, 306, 323, 332, 340, 343,  
 372, 373, 384–385, 398, 412–413,  
 424, 427, 444, 471, 493, 496, 498–  
 499, 509, 516–518, 523, 533, 538–  
 539, 545–546, 551, 553, 559, 564,  
 582, 595, 630; see also → wisdom  
 interpretation  
 ethics of conviction (“*Gesinnungsethik*”)  
 50, 260, 288, 630  
 exaggeration 94, 150, 159–161, 200,  
 205, 236, 298, 312, 336, 409, 599,  
 610, 617, 628  
 examples 4, 15, 26, 33, 132–134, 136,  
 143, 145–146, 222, 230–265, 266 (ff),  
 291–292, 300, 313, 345, 396–397,  
 415, 474, 478, 480, 522, 542, 599,  
 604, 611–612, 615, 521, 626, 628–  
 629  
 exchange 299, 425–426, 432, 460–462,  
 490  
*exclamatio* 15, 145–146, 357, 387, 545,  
 547, 599, 604, 621  
*exordium* 33, 37, 45–60 (esp. 45–47),  
 66–68, 587, 599–601, 613, 623  
 extreme (strenuous commands) 44,  
 143, 160, 214, 229, 257, 610–611,  
 617, 627  
 extreme features 16, 105, 123, 143,  
 150, 209, 234, 243–245, 248, 250,  
 257, 261–262, 265, 278, 288–289,  
 303, 323, 330, 365, 367, 433, 439,  
 447, 457, 482–483, 487, 520, 545,  
 577, 611, 627  
 fable 12, 436, 456, 555  
 fasting 292–298, 310–314  
*figura etymologica* 15, 167, 276, 324–  
 325, 478, 565, 604  
 figures 13–17, 70, 99, 184, 187–188,  
 235–236, 274, 309, 387, 409, 478,  
 545, 601, 604, 610–611  
 – tropes 10, 13–16, 257, 565, 603–  
 604

- forgiveness 17, 98, 152, 160, 162–180,  
 191, 258–259, 286, 289–290, 296,  
 298–299, 424, 433, 441, 595, 610,  
 618, 629
- frame (of parables) 19–20, 163, 176,  
 275, 340, 375, 377, 379, 398, 412,  
 473, 475, 478–479, 486, 526–528,  
 530, 545, 552, 557–561, 564–570,  
 577, 579–583, 603, 605–607, 608–  
 609
- friendship 86, 99, 129, 193 ff, 198, 244,  
 260, 272, 282, 464, 468, 476
- geminatio* 217, 226, 543, 546, 604
- gender (men/women, male/female)  
 170, 207, 212, 214–215, 234, 251,  
 267, 290, 299, 381, 390, 396, 401,  
 403, 412, 447, 454, 476, 519, 564,  
 572, 611
- generosity 117, 232, 242, 244–245,  
 248, 250, 253–254, 257, 259, 261,  
 263–265, 275, 282, 284–286, 290,  
 317, 328, 352–354, 425, 431–433,  
 441, 458–459, 461–463, 469, 476,  
 489–490, 594, 625, 629
- “*Gesinnungsethik*” → ethics of  
 conviction
- gift 80, 163–181, 223, 254, 305–306,  
 416, 421, 426, 432, 456–463, 468–  
 471, 478–481, 483–486, 600, 606–  
 607
- M. Mauss’ concept of ~ 460 ff
- giving and receiving 178, 180, 208,  
 250, 299, 319, 420–421, 447, 459,  
 462–466, 468, 472, 475, 479, 486,  
 594–595
- “*Gleichnis*” → *similitudo*
- gnome* 9, 15, 112, 364, 385, 612, 615;  
 see also → *sententiae*
- Golden Rule 31, 36–37, 74, 144–146,  
 148, 254, 265, 267, 269, 282, 284,  
 317, 419–420, 427, 432, 462–464,  
 475, 486–491, 496, 530, 561, 590,  
 592, 615, 624, 626
- Gospel of Thomas*
- ~ in general 37–40, 42, 63, 106–  
 107, 589–591, 596, 603
- ~ a pre-text? 48 (Matt 5,3–10), 73–  
 74 (Matt 5,13–16), 74, 105 (Matt  
 5,14), 74, 144–145 (Matt 5,15–16),  
 250–251 (Matt 5,42), 306–307 (Matt  
 6,3), 326–327 (Matt 6,19 ff), 340–343  
 (Matt 6,22–23), 362–363, 368 (Matt  
 6,24), 424 (Matt 6,24), 446–447  
 (Matt 7,6), 467–468 (Matt 7,7–8),  
 525–526 (Matt 7,16 ff)
- ~ and Q 38–39, 589–591
- halakhah 124, 128, 133, 136–137, 139–  
 140, 161, 173, 177, 180, 214, 226,  
 236–237, 245, 248–254, 261, 269,  
 284, 286, 294–297, 310–311, 312–  
 313
- hearing and doing 33, 494, 505, 508,  
 551–552, 554, 558, 560, 562, 579,  
 582–583
- historical-allegorical interpretation 18–  
 19, 213, 506, 515–516, 539, 544,  
 554–555, 575, 610
- Holy-Law decisions 22, 151, 160, 428
- homeoteleuton 15, 347, 364, 525, 534,  
 604
- honor 21, 95–96, 103, 123, 139, 156,  
 191, 211–212, 223–224, 229, 234,  
 244–245, 247–248, 252–253, 256,  
 258, 260, 261, 265, 268, 276–277,  
 280, 297, 299–300, 306, 314, 329,  
 335, 363, 365, 368, 370, 409, 421,  
 426, 449–450, 459, 476, 548, 564–  
 565, 590, 598
- hospitality 86
- humor 83, 85–86, 94, 119–120, 311,  
 433, 441–442, 459–460, 610
- hyperbaton → *polyptoton*
- hyperbolic features 11–12, 33, 93, 105,  
 119, 124, 127, 130, 133, 143, 149–  
 161, 215, 222–225, 248, 256, 265,  
 279, 288, 291–292, 295, 298, 304–  
 314, 345, 347, 356, 358, 375, 411,  
 433–434, 436–437, 439, 445, 457–  
 467, 486–487, 519–520, 595, 610–  
 611, 627
- hypothetical 143, 202–205, 235–236,  
 266, 481
- I-sayings (ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, Matt  
 5,21.27.31.33.38.43, ἦλθον in Matt  
 5,17) 612–613



- image and life-setting (“*Bild-/Sachhälfte*”) 10, 17, 72, 99, 103, 108, 345, 371, 606
- imagery and meaning/issue (“*Sache*”, “*Sinn*”) 18, 94, 176, 182, 194, 198, 210, 212, 358, 371
- imitatio dei* 277, 283–284, 286
- immoderate view (“*Maßlosigkeit*”) 160, 214, 229, 262, 283
- imperatives 24, 61–63, 71, 89–90, 98, 121–122, 138, 141–145, 151, 167, 175, 183–184, 187, 230, 234–236, 238–239, 242, 253, 255, 257, 262, 272, 274, 288–289, 318–319, 324, 386–387, 398, 403, 414, 416, 419, 429, 431, 438, 440, 447, 507, 512, 537–538, 540, 600, 614, 619–621, 626–628
- Inaugural Speech (discourse) 36–37, 48, 71, 73, 143–144, 146–147, 248, 267, 384, 466, 475, 492, 496, 517, 528–529, 557, 591, 596, 598, 603
- inclusio* 15, 235, 274–275, 364, 388, 525, 604
- inside/outside perspective 17, 119, 180, 199–200, 213, 297, 348, 370, 388–389, 398, 438–439, 495, 502, 515, 522
- intended language 94, 96, 99, 110, 119, 121, 176, 180ff, 199ff, 213–214, 244, 247, 354, 360ff, 367, 371, 403, 405–407, 450, 456, 458, 471, 479–480, 485, 507, 512, 532, 553, 556, 574, 576–577, 605, 608–609
- internalised ethic (“*Verinnerlichung*”) 161, 214, 262, 283, 323
- interrogatio*/rhetorical question 15, 18, 24, 26, 72, 77, 94, 262, 276, 319, 321, 345, 382, 385, 387, 395, 408–409, 438, 472, 477–478, 496, 518, 584, 600, 612, 618
- irony 15, 85, 116, 129–130, 151–152, 203, 210, 213, 224, 235, 282, 295, 298–299, 311, 439–441, 457–458, 603–604
- isocolon 15, 72, 203, 205, 235, 275, 325, 346, 364, 388, 428, 507, 525, 604
- itinerant charismatics (“*Wanderradikalismus*”) 33, 47, 167, 172, 181, 189–191, 213, 271, 328, 413, 471, 518
- judgement 4, 66, 78–80, 96–97, 122, 129, 138, 158–162, 182, 191–192, 195–200, 208, 215, 263, 286, 300–301, 309, 313, 328, 331–332, 340, 347, 369, 402, 406, 420–424, 427–432, 439, 441, 443, 459, 464, 493, 510, 521, 523, 528, 532, 535–550, 560, 577, 582, 590, 594–595, 598, 600, 605, 612, 614–618, 627
- lex talionis* 138, 148, 150–151, 160, 193, 197–198, 201, 210, 229, 236–238, 253–257, 261, 263, 265, 284, 286, 290, 300, 313, 421–422, 424, 427, 429, 432, 463, 486, 490, 518, 525
- likeness  
– degree of ~ 17  
– otherwise no comparison 414–415, 581
- litotes 15, 123–124, 603
- loci (communes)* 16, 139, 601ff  
– *enthymeme* 10, 16, 601–602  
– *middoth* 6, 601
- longer/larger  
compositions/passages/units 22, 24–26, 49, 70, 135, 147, 234, 266, 319, 345, 384–385, 423, 427, 612
- Lord’s Prayer 31–32, 43, 170, 174, 200, 238–239, 291–296, 309–310, 318, 401, 419, 488, 594, 596, 620–621
- love commandment 30, 33, 127–128, 155, 197, 215, 264–266, 268–269, 272, 284, 286–287, 289, 317, 335, 341, 373, 488, 600, 628
- Mark and Q 35, 38, 73, 167, *passim*  
*mashal/meshalim* 9, 11, 20, 22, 266, 344, 446, 552
- Matthean language/features 125, 146, 148, 166–167, 246, 304, 330, 342, 425, 568, 597
- Matthew’s “Sondergut” 79, 132, 166, 266, 294, 319, 380, 446, 466, 484, 491, 588

- maxims 15, 33, 133, 321–322, 347–348, 384, 423, 426, 488, 609, 612, 615
- meaning (see also → imagery and meaning)
- aggravated ~ (“*Sinnverschärfung*”) 161, 214, 262, 283, 372
  - extended ~ 285, 360, 373, 430, 441, 463, 468, 481
- metaphor 5, 8, 11, 13–15, 50, 53, 59–60, 66, 70, 73, 78, 80, 85–86, 97–100, 103, 105, 121, 132, 158–159, 169, 199, 203, 215, 223, 279 ff, 296, 305–306, 320–322, 328, 330, 336–338, 348–351, 357–362, 364, 370, 373, 408–409, 418, 433, 436–437, 439, 442, 444, 449–450, 456, 459, 479, 481, 495, 498, 502–507, 513, 515–517, 519, 521–524, 526, 528, 530–538, 554–556, 569–576, 605–612
- conceptually sustained ~s 14, 99, 104, 190, 503, 521, 536, 538, 607, 609
  - conventional ~ 17, 99, 208, 327–328, 409, 521, 530–532, 538, 609
- metonymy 33, 57, 69–70, 66, 180, 236, 279–281, 347, 439
- middoth* → *loci*
- “more-than” 229, 262, 266, 282, 375, 388, 395, 407, 411, 415, 488, 626
- offerings 4, 133, 143, 162–181, 221, 253
- one-point analysis 9–11, 16–18, 90, 112, 162, 195, 197, 212, 248, 254, 257, 437, 445, 457–458, 554
- openness 18, 90, 154, 198, 374, 470, 558, 608
- ὄπου/ὄστις/πᾶς-sentences 616 ff, *passim*
- other (notion of the) 289, 491
- E. Levinas 491
- overstatement 94, 169, 198, 204, 225, 236, 262, 305, 330, 433, 442, 457–458, 482, 520, 581
- oxymoron 77, 95, 99, 140, 295, 311, 345, 347, 356, 359
- paradigm of open theory plus rhetoric 36, 63, 137 ff, 187–188, *passim*
- paradigm of tradition/redaction 15, 36, 63, 75, 80, 147, 187–188, 568, 620
- paradox/paradoxical 11, 25, 47, 77, 93, 95, 100, 125, 130, 133, 150, 154, 160–161, 215, 222–225, 256, 265, 279, 288, 291–292, 295, 298, 304, 306, 308, 310–314, 345, 347, 356, 358, 375, 405, 407–409, 411, 440, 483, 519–520, 525, 595, 602, 610–611
- parallelism 15, 25, 73, 150, 195, 203, 205, 325, 346, 388, 397, 454–455, 494, 499–502, 508, 544, 565, 604
- parody → surprising features
- paronomasia 21, 28, 70, 72, 142, 316, 320, 343, 376, 585
- πᾶς-sentences 616 ff, *passim*
- patronage 421, 460
- peroratio* 4, 33, 137, 315, 492–583 (esp. 492–494, 496, 499, 513–515, 520, 522–523, 527, 529, 541, 551, 557), 601, 614, 617, 622
- perspective 17–18, 87 ff, 108 ff, 116–117, 119–120, 160, 179 ff, 199 ff, 213 ff, 242 ff, 261, 344–348, 371–372, 388 ff, 439, 456 ff, 479 ff, 483–484, 512 ff, 529 ff, 544–545
- Pharisees 7, 50, 69, 123, 126–131, 143, 282, 290, 293, 302–303, 388, 424, 438, 440, 471, 512, 515–516, 528, 539, 541, 543, 602, 607, 610
- point of view 17–18, 37, 176 ff, 191, 199–200, 213–214, 242–243, 248, 297–298, 327, 348, 371–372, 388 ff, 427–429, 439 ff, 479 ff, 495, 544 ff, 578 ff, 607–609
- polyptoton* 72
- hyperbaton 15, 604
- possessions 246, 323, 325, 329–330, 332, 335–336, 370, 375, 474
- prayer 22–23, 162, 174–178, 238–239, 274–276, 291–298, 301, 303–304, 307–310, 314, 318–319; see also → Lord’s Prayer
- process-theory (development-theory) 36, 40–41, 75, 327, 382
- proof (“*Beweismittel*”) 4, 10, 16, 83, 131, 141, 469, 484, 486, 601–602

- propositio* 33, 37, 60–131 (esp. 61–63, 66–71, 73, 120–123, 131), 290, 514, 595, 600–601, 613, 623, 627
- protreptic 493, 513, 583, 598–599
- purity 50–51, 57, 60, 90, 153, 209, 211, 214, 335, 338, 447–448, 480, 505
- Q 35–42, 584–598
- ~ as epitome 28, 33, 36, 186–187, 586, 589, 591, 597, 603
  - ~ as “Grundrede” 40
  - ~ as pre-text 48 (Matt 5,3–10), 61 (Matt 5,11–12), 73–77 (Matt 5,13–16), 77–79 (Matt 5,13), 113–116, 120 (Matt 5,15–16), 74–75 (Matt 5,17–20), 143–149 (Matt 5,21–48), 200–210 (Matt 5,21–26), 164–167 (Matt 5,23–24), 185–188 (Matt 5,25–26), 206–207 (Matt 5,29–30), 320 (Matt 6,19–24), 324–327 (Matt 6,19–21), 340–344 (Matt 6,22–23), 362–363 (Matt 6,24), 376–384 (Matt 6,25–34), 422–423 (Matt 7,1–12), 424–425 (Matt 7,2), 433–434 (Matt 7,3–5), 445–447 (Matt 7,6), 467–468 (Matt 7,7–8), 472–475 (Matt 7,9–11), 495–497 (Matt 7,13–27), 499–501 (Matt 7,13–14), 525–529 (Matt 7,16–20), 541–543 (Matt 7,22–23), 557–559 (Matt 7,24–27)
  - Q<sup>mat</sup>/Q<sup>luke</sup> 41, 75, 147, 166, 185, 474, 529, 567, 585, 592, 598
- qal wahomer* 16, 388, 484, 601
- *a fortiori* 415, 417, 477, 484
  - *a minore ad maius* *la maiore ad minus* 16, 24, 316, 357–358, 387, 484, 601–602, 609
- radicalism 1, 2, 43–44, 230, 239, 289, 389, 413, 611, 628–629
- realism (lack of) 169, 520, 610
- reciprocity 25, 33, 37, 250, 284, 290, 317, 319, 418–423, 426–427, 432, 441, 460–491 (esp. 462–464, 487), 600, 615, 627
- negative, balanced, generalized ~ 237, 284, 462–464, 476
- reconciliation 143, 160–164, 170, 175–182, 187, 194–197, 201, 259, 289, 441, 494–495, 611, 629
- refutation 139–141, 266, 285–286, 319, 541–544, 547–548, 600
- reward 29, 57–58, 63–66, 71, 122–123, 145–146, 211, 282, 292–314 (esp. 293 ff, 313–314), 332–336, 407, 536–537, 562, 595, 600, 618, 625
- rhetorical figure (person, “you”, etc.) 104, 243, 258, 283, 301–303, 351, 370, 404, 481
- rhetorical question → *interrogatio*
- riddle 9, 17, 176, 344, 374, 442, 447, 451, 453, 464, 555
- righteous 30, 33, 51–52, 69, 109, 124, 127, 129–131, 133, 214–215, 229, 257–258, 262, 272, 279–280, 292, 314, 316, 331–335, 388, 545, 601–602, 613, 616, 622, 630
- satirical → surprising features
- Satyagraha* 263
- sententiae* 15, 615; see also → *gnome*
- shame 21, 95–96, 103, 139, 155–156, 160, 191, 208, 211–212, 234, 242, 244, 258, 261, 299–300, 335, 368, 421, 426, 448–449, 459, 476, 548, 564
- Shema 50, 135, 179, 294, 301, 319, 325, 355, 357, 369–370, 373, 395, 562
- signals for the interpretation 18, 196, 323, 580, 606, 609
- simile (“*Bildwort*”) 4–5, 8–12, 15, 21–22, 77, 88, 90, 99, 112, 132, 181, 183, 264, 296, 319, 344, 363–364, 371, 386, 396, 408, 413, 418, 423, 425, 437, 443, 477, 480, 482, 506, 522–523, 555
- “*Bildwort*” 4, 11–12, 21–22, 77, 112, 183, 344, 384, 506, 522
  - figures 5, 11, 13–17, 22, 70, 99, 104
  - tropes 10, 13–16
- similitudo* (“*Gleichnis*”) 5, 8, 11–13, 15, 22–23, 183, 344, 469, 492, 522, 535
- “*Gleichnis*” 8, 11, 21, 23, 77, 112, 163, 183–184, 344, 437, 479, 522, 555
- socio-historical/socio-anthropological 20–21, 24, 234, 284, 354, 366 ff, 373, 389–390, 404, 425–426, 448 ff, 456 ff, 476 ff, 501–503, 564, 585

- sociological (socio-historical/economic) 24, 26, 50, 52, 56–57, 80, 117–118, 162, 168, 183, 188–189, 208, 211, 233, 305, 350, 354, 462ff
- source domain 110, 309, 327, 347–348, 355, 357–359, 371, 498, 607
- spontaneous expressions of life 465, 483, 487, 628
- Løgstrup 465, 483, 487
- stereotypes 129, 279–280, 284, 303
- *fictio personae* 99
- “thick description” 169
- surprising features 8, 244–245
- comedy 560
- parody 150, 257
- satirical 105–106
- symbolic speech → deliberative speech
- symmetric 31, 203, 462–464
- symploke* 15, 347, 604
- synecdoche* 15, 166, 205
- target domain 105, 110, 309, 327, 347–348, 355, 359, 498, 607
- Temple of Jerusalem 29, 83, 88, 102, 118, 157, 162–164, 167–168, 171–174, 177–178, 180–195, 211, 219, 293–294, 305–308, 335, 352, 426, 501–520, 507, 518, 572–575
- tertium comparationis* 16–18, 73, 77, 99, 108–109, 119–120, 160, 163, 176, 181–182, 192, 194–197, 212–213, 297–299, 327, 336, 358–359, 371–372, 397, 401, 407, 411, 438–439, 455–456, 512, 532, 544–545, 550, 555, 578–579, 605, 608–609
- theocentric perspective 30, 60, 127, 129, 175, 216, 221, 230, 274, 300, 314, 335, 431–432, 463, 486–487, 530, 612, 618, 628, 630
- τίς-ἐξ-ὑμῶν sentences 408, 485, 605
- “*Tobsprüche*” (τοῦ-/συμφέρει-sentences) 77, 203–205, 210–215, 273, 278, 392, 484
- topoi* 139–141, 266, 268, 285–288, 290
- Torah 64, 74–75, 84–85, 88, 102, 117, 125–126, 128–129, 131–133, 135–139, 150, 158, 160, 214, 228, 256, 270, 283, 289, 367, 455, 488, 513, 548–549, 563–564, 570, 628, 630
- tranquillity 319, 329, 374–375, 391–394, 416
- transitus* 66, 71, 131
- tropoi* 10, 13–16, 257, 565, 603–604; see also → figures
- wealth/property 322–323, 329–332, 336, 338, 360–363, 366, 373, 375, 394, 404, 450, 457, 520
- wisdom interpretation 3, 42–45, 46, 90, 97–98, 121–122, 157, 161, 165, 202, 234, 239, 255, 323, 358, 373–374, 399, 498–499, 523, 533, 540, 553–554, 582, 630
- eschatological versus wisdom interpretation 42–44, 323, 412, 498–499, 523, 630, and *passim*)