

DANIEL STÖKL BEN EZRA

The Impact of
Yom Kippur
on Early Christianity

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament*

163

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163



Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra

The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity

The Day of Atonement
from Second Temple Judaism
to the Fifth Century

Mohr Siebeck

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

Printed in Germany.

to my dear parents and parents in law

Andreas Stökl and Herzeleide Stökl, born. v. Schlabrendorff

Joe Ben Ezra and Corinne Ben Ezra, born Shabtai

Preface

This study presents my doctoral dissertation “The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity,” accepted by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in May 2002. I have reworked many arguments, included further observations and updated the bibliography.

Having come to Jerusalem from the rather intellectual religions of Protestant Northern Germany and Calvinistic Switzerland, the ritual expressions of the numerous denominations assembled in the Holy City have attracted my curiosity. Reading Origen’s *Homilies on Leviticus*, I stumbled upon the amazing sentence: *Die propitiationis indigent omnes qui peccaverunt*,¹ (“All who have sinned require a Day of Atonement.”), and the principal question of this book jumped into my mind irresistibly.

That the work disregards the customary borders of academic disciplines, integrating Comparative Religion with Jewish History, New Testament, Church History and Liturgical Studies has undoubtedly resulted in many flaws that will not escape the eyes of specialists in these areas. I hope, however, that the broad scope and the perspective of *longue durée* bring with it the advantage of bringing together a coherent collage of arguments otherwise scattered among discrete fields.

To cast so wide a net was possible only thanks to numerous scholars who were most generous with their time, advice and encouragement, and taught me to read closely and widely. Many scholars have read through various parts of the work, pointed out errors and inaccuracies, and helped me to improve extensively on the overall argument. All remaining mistakes are of course my own.

I am most grateful to the dissertation’s three judges, my Doktorvater Guy Stroumsa, my Doktoronkel David Satran and John Gager. Their written and oral comments before and after submission have enhanced countless aspects of this book. Through many years, they have been most generous with their time and kind advice helping me to overcome many academic and personal hardships. What a privilege to have had them as teachers and now as colleagues. I have also benefited much from the guid-

¹ Origen, *Homily on Leviticus* 9:1:1 (SC 287:70).

ance of Rachel Elior and Oded Irshai, the remaining members of the dissertation committee.

My dearly loved wife, Dina Ben Ezra, has pored over the chapters of the book and enhanced numerous arguments with her keen intellect. I owe her more than words can express.

Clemens Leonhard was never too exhausted to be a discussion partner, from the beginning of the task to its completion. In countless cases he helped me marshal material not available in Jerusalem.

Part 1, on early Judaism, has profited from the meticulous readership of Gary Anderson, Liora Elias, Martha Himmelfarb and Günter Stemberger.

Jörg Frey, Lukas Mühlethaler and Serge Ruzer reviewed and refined part 2, on Christianity in the first and second centuries.

Peter Brown was so generous as to review part 3, on Christianity from the third to the fifth centuries, and made most helpful suggestions. Stéphane Verhelst commented *in extenso* on the chapter on Christian autumn festivals and kindly sent me parts of his book on early Christian and Jewish liturgy before its publication.

Comments by Daniel R. Schwartz on my M.A. thesis much improved those sections of parts 1 and 2 that grew out of it.

I also wish to thank the participants and organizers of workshops and conferences in Aachen, Brussels, Jerusalem, New York, Oxford, Princeton and Toronto, who responded most helpfully to some of the ideas now contained in this book. In particular, Albert Baumgarten has been most generous and kind time and again.

At different stages of writing I consulted with many other people, and the book has profited immeasurably from these discussions. Among them, I must mention at least: Ra'anan Abusch, Anders Aschim, Jan Assmann, Daniel Bailey, Giovanni Bazzana, Adam Becker, Nicole Belayche, Jonathan Ben Dov, Jonathan Benthall, Katell Berthelot, Christine Beshar, Hans-Dieter Betz, Brouria Biton-Ashkelony, Daniel Boyarin, Susan Boynton, Rudolf Brändle, Georg Braulik, Sarah Brooke, Harald Buchinger, Carsten Claussen, Yaron Zvi Eliav, Daniel Findikyan, Jonah Fraenkel, Guy Geltner, Ze'ev Gotthold, Yehoshua Granat, Moshe Greenberg, Cristiano Grottanelli, Paul Hallsall, Galit Hazan-Rokem, William Horbury, Jared Hudson, Josef Kaplan, Steve Kaplan, Wolfram Kinzig, Avner Kfir, Sergio La Porta, Herrman Lichtenberger, Amnon Linder, Basil Lourie, Christoph Marksches, Jason Moralee, Ronit Nikolsky, Lorenzo Perrone, Gerard Rouwhorst, Seth Sanders, Jonathan Schofer, Shunit Shahal-Porat, Stephen Shoemaker, Ephraim Shoham Steiner, David Shulman, Gregory Sterling, Helene Stökl, Michael Stone, Evelyne Patlagean, Michael Signer, Gregory Sterling, Michael Swartz, Stefano Tampellini, Abraham Terian, Timothy Thornton, Caes van der Freudg, Jan Willem van Henten, Katja

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Among my teachers at the universities of Bochum and Bern, I would like to thank most of all Martin Leutzsch and Marc van Wijnkoop Lüthi, as well as Magdalene Frettlöh, Christian Link, Ulrich Luz, Konrad Raiser and Klaus Wengst, who led me into the world of academic argumentation.

I have used many libraries whose staffs have been most helpful, in particular, the library of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, the Ecole Biblique, the Bloomfield Library of the Hebrew University and the Israel National Library, all in Jerusalem; Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton University Library, the British Library in London and Cambridge University Library.

I wish to express my gratitude to Jörg Frey, Martin Hengel and Otfried Hofius for accepting the dissertation for inclusion in the series of *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament*, and to the staff of the Mohr-Siebeck Verlag, Tübingen, for their friendly and efficient assistance in the production process.

The English has been thoroughly revised and improved by Evelyn Katrak to whom I owe a great deal. Working with her has been a pleasure and an honor. It goes without saying that I alone am responsible for all mistakes, inaccuracies or deficiencies that may remain in my work.

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Brief Table of Contents

Preface	VII
Brief Table of Contents	XI
Detailed Table of Contents	XIII
List of Abbreviations	XIX

Introduction	1
--------------------	---

Part One

Yom Kippur in Early Jewish Thought and Ritual

Introduction	13
Chapter 1: The Names of Yom Kippur	15
Chapter 2: The Rituals of Yom Kippur	18
Chapter 3: <i>Imaginaires</i> of Yom Kippur	78

Part Two

The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity in the First and Second Centuries

Chapter 4: Yom Kippur in the Early Christian <i>Imaginaire</i>	145
Chapter 5: Yom Kippur Imagery in Gnosticism and in Early Christian Mysticism	228
Chapter 6: Yom Kippur in Jewish Christian Legends	244

Part Three

The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity from the Third to the Fifth Centuries

Chapter 7: Christian Exegesis of Leviticus and the Polemics against the Contemporary Yom Kippur	261
Chapter 8: Yom Kippur and the Christian Autumn Festivals	290
General Conclusions	329
Appendix: Yom Kippur and Eastern Anaphoras	335

Bibliography.....	345
Index of Sources.....	397
Index of Modern Authors.....	425
Index of Names and Subjects.....	432

Detailed Table of Contents

Preface	VII
Brief Table of Contents	XI
Detailed Table of Contents	XIII
List of Abbreviations	XIX

Introduction.....	1
1. The Topic and the Research Question	1
2. Methodological Remarks and Definitions	4
2.1 Different Types of Influence	4
2.2 Rite and Ritual.....	6
2.3 Myth and Mythology	7
2.4 The <i>imaginaire</i>	8
2.5 Christian Judaism	10

Part One

Yom Kippur in Early Jewish Thought and Ritual

Introduction.....	13
Chapter 1: The Names of Yom Kippur.....	15
Chapter 2: The Rituals of Yom Kippur	18
1. The Question of the Historicity of the Mishnaic Version of the Temple Ritual	19
2. The Temple Ritual	28
2.1 The Preparation Rites	28
2.2 The Entrances to the Holy of Holies	30
2.3 The Sending Away of the Scapegoat.....	31
2.4 The Closing Rituals	31
3. The Ritual of the People	33
3.1 Between Afflictions and Joy	33
3.2 Prayers.....	36
3.2.1 Yom Kippur Prayers in Palestine: Qumran.....	37
3.2.2 Yom Kippur Prayers in the Diaspora: Philo.....	46
3.2.3 Yom Kippur Prayers after the Destruction of the Temple.....	49
Conclusion: Prayers in and outside the Temple	64
3.3 A Controversial, Popular Blood Sacrifice: <i>kapparat</i>	65

3.4 Pagan and Christian Descriptions of Contemporary Yom Kippur Rites	68
3.4.1 Pagan Texts.....	68
3.4.2 Christian Texts.....	70
Chapter 3: <i>Imaginaires</i> of Yom Kippur.....	78
1. The Apocalyptic <i>Imaginaire</i> of Yom Kippur.....	79
1.1 High-Priestly Visions of God I: Apocalyptic Texts	79
1.2 The Mythologization of ‘Az’azel	85
1.2.1 Allusions to the Myth of ‘Az’azel in <i>1 Enoch</i> 10.....	85
1.2.2 11Q <i>Melchizedek</i> : Getting Explicit.....	90
1.2.3 The <i>Apocalypse of Abraham</i> : Zechariah 3 Meets the Demonology of ‘Az’azel	92
Concluding Thoughts on ‘Az’azel in the Apocalyptic Literature	94
1.3 Etiologies.....	95
1.4 Qumran: The Current Period of Persecution as Yom Kippur	97
Conclusion.....	100
2. Yom Kippur in the Greek Diaspora.....	101
2.1 The Septuagint: Conservatism and Enculturation	102
2.2 Philo’s Allegorization of Yom Kippur	107
2.2.1 The Rationale of the People’s Yom Kippur Rituals	107
2.2.2 The Allegorizations of Yom Kippur’s Temple Ritual .	109
Conclusion.....	114
2.3 The Vicarious Atoning Death in 4Maccabees 17 and the <i>Imaginaire</i> of Yom Kippur.....	115
<i>Excursus: The Scapegoat as Background for Vicarious Atoning Suffering in Isaiah and Josephus?</i>	116
Conclusion: Yom Kippur in the Greek Diaspora	117
3. The Christian Jewish <i>Imaginaire</i> of Yom Kippur.....	118
4. Aspects of the Rabbinic <i>Imaginaire</i> of Yom Kippur.....	118
4.1 Mythological Events Connected to Yom Kippur	121
4.2 Rabbinic Interpretations of the Temple Ritual.....	124
4.2.1 The High Priests.....	124
4.2.2 Goats	127
4.2.3 Red Ribbons.....	130
4.3 Rabbinic Interpretations of Ritual of the People.....	132
5. High-Priestly Visions of God III: Aspects of Yom Kippur in the Hekhalot Literature.....	134
Concluding Thoughts to Part One	139

Part Two

The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity
in the First and Second Centuries

Chapter 4: Yom Kippur in the Early Christian <i>Imaginaire</i>	145
1. Christ and the Scapegoat: <i>Barnabas</i> , Matthew and Galatians	147
1.1 The Tradition of <i>Barnabas</i>	148
1.1.1 The First Picture (<i>Barnabas</i> 7:3–5)	150
1.1.2 The Second Picture (<i>Barnabas</i> 7:6–11)	152
1.1.3 The Interpretation of the Proto-Typology in Justin, Tertullian and Hippolytus.....	155
<i>Excursus: Did the Scapegoat Rite Influence the Earliest Account of the Passion? John D. Crossan's Thesis</i>	161
1.2 Barabbas as Scapegoat in Matthew 27:15–23	165
<i>Excursus: The Catalytic Function of the Pharmakos and the Scapegoat</i>	171
1.3 The Redemptive Curse: An Allusion to the Scapegoat in Galatians 3?	173
1.4 The Scapegoat as Catalyst? John 1:29 and 1Peter 2:24.....	176
1.4.1 John 1:29	176
1.4.2 1Peter 2:22–24	178
2. Christ as High Priest: Hebrews	180
2.1 The Setting	181
2.1.1 Sacred Time: The Present Eschaton as Yom Kippur... ..	181
2.2.2 Sacred Space: The Heavenly Sanctuary	182
2.2 The High Priest and His Actions	184
2.3 The Participation of the People	190
2.4 Conclusions Regarding the High Priest in Hebrews.....	193
2.5 History of Tradition: The Role of Zechariah 3 in the Justifi- cation of the High-Priestly Christology before Hebrews.....	194
3. Christ as <i>kapporet</i> (ἱλαστήριον): Romans 3:25–26.....	197
3.1 The Influence of Yom Kippur on Romans 3:25–26	198
3.2 Interpretation of Romans 3:25–26.....	202
3.3 Paul's Predecessor: The Pre-Pauline Formula Romans 3:24/25–26a*	204
4. Christ as Atonement (ἱλασμός): 1John.....	205
5. Yom Kippur as Background to Early Christological Hymns?	206
5.1 Colossians 1:12–20	207
5.2 Philippians 2:6–11	211
6. Historical Synthesis	212
6.1 The Observance of Yom Kippur by First-Century Christians	213
6.2 The Abolition of Yom Kippur by First- and Second-Century Christians.....	219

6.3 The History of Traditions.....	223
Concluding Thoughts	225
Chapter 5: Yom Kippur Imagery in Gnosticism and in Early Christian Mysticism	228
1. The High Priest's Entrance in Valentinian Soteriology	229
2. The High Priest's Entrance and the Ritual of the Bridal Chamber	232
3. Philonic and Valentinian Mysticism as Merged in Clement of Alexandria	237
3.1 <i>Stromateis</i> 5:6:39:3–40:4	238
3.2 <i>Excerpts from Theodotus</i> 27.....	240
Conclusions and Implications.....	243
Chapter 6: Yom Kippur in Jewish Christian Legends.....	244
1. James, the Permanently Interceding High Priest.....	246
2. Zechariah's Revelation on Yom Kippur	250
<i>Excursus: Simeon and John as High Priests</i>	255
Conclusion	257
Part Three	
The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity from the Third to the Fifth Centuries	
Chapter 7: Christian Exegesis of Leviticus and the Polemics against the Contemporary Yom Kippur	261
1. Christian Exegesis of Leviticus and the Templization of the Liturgy.....	262
2. Christian Participation in the Jewish Fast.....	273
3. Christian Polemics against the Contemporary Yom Kippur.....	277
4. Anti-Christian Polemics in Yom Kippur Texts.....	283
Conclusion	288
Chapter 8: Yom Kippur and the Christian Autumn Festivals.....	290
1. The Encaenia, the Exaltation of the Cross and Yom Kippur	290
2. The Fast of the Seventh Month (Ember Day of September) and Yom Kippur.....	303
2.1 The Origin of the Solemn Fasts.....	304
2.2 Leo's <i>Sermons on the Fast of the Seventh Month</i> and Yom Kippur	312
2.3 The Readings of the Fast of the Seventh Month and Yom Kippur	317
Conclusion.....	321
3. Eastern Commemoration of Gabriel's Annunciation to Zechariah	322
General Conclusions.....	329

Appendix: Yom Kippur and Eastern Anaphoras.....	335
Bibliography.....	345
Index of Sources.....	397
Index of Modern Authors.....	425
Index of Names and Subjects.....	432

List of Abbreviations

I tried to avoid abbreviations. Exceptions are the Septuagint, the Bible in English translation, rabbinical literature, Qumran texts and Patristic series:

LXX Septuagint.
NRSV *The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments with the Apocryphal / Deuterocanonical Books. New Revised Standard Version.* (New York, 1989).

Rabbinical Literature

Tractate names are abbreviated as follows:

<i>AZ</i>	<i>Avodah Zarah</i>	<i>RH</i>	<i>Rosh HaShanah</i>
<i>Abot</i>	<i>Avot</i>	<i>Sanh</i>	<i>Sanhedrin</i>
<i>BB</i>	<i>Bava Batra</i>	<i>Šabb</i>	<i>Shabbat</i>
<i>Ber</i>	<i>Berakhot</i>	<i>Šeqal</i>	<i>Sheqalim</i>
<i>Betzah</i>	<i>Betzah</i>	<i>Šebu</i>	<i>Shevu'ot</i>
<i>Git</i>	<i>Gittin</i>	<i>Sotah</i>	<i>Sotah</i>
<i>Hag</i>	<i>Hagigah</i>	<i>Sukkah</i>	<i>Sukkah</i>
<i>Mak</i>	<i>Makkot</i>	<i>Ta'an</i>	<i>Ta'anit</i>
<i>Meg</i>	<i>Megillah</i>	<i>Tamid</i>	<i>Tamid</i>
<i>Men</i>	<i>Menahot</i>	<i>Tem</i>	<i>Temurah</i>
<i>MQ</i>	<i>Mo'ed Qatan</i>	<i>Ter</i>	<i>Terumot</i>
<i>Ned</i>	<i>Nedarim</i>	<i>Yebam</i>	<i>Yevamot</i>
<i>Parah</i>	<i>Parah</i>	<i>Yoma</i>	<i>Yoma</i>
<i>Pe'ah</i>	<i>Pe'ah</i>	<i>Zebah</i>	<i>Zevahim</i>
<i>Pes</i>	<i>Pesahim</i>		

The collections are signified by a prefix to the abbreviation of the tractate (as in the standard German system without periods after the collection and the tractate names):

<i>m</i>	Mishnah
<i>t</i>	Tosefta
<i>y</i>	Palestinian / Jerusalem Talmud
<i>b</i>	Babylonian Talmud

Names of Qumran Writings

1QPesher Habakkuk	1QpHab
1QS <i>Rule of the Community</i>	1QS (cf. 4Q256–264, 5Q12)
1QS ^b <i>Rule of Blessings</i>	1Q28b
1QWords of Moses	1Q22
4Q161 <i>Pesher Isaiah</i>	4Q161 (cf. 4Q162–165)
4Q171 <i>Pesher on Psalms</i>	4Q171 (cf. 4Q173)
4QEnoch <i>Giants</i> ^a	4Q203 (cf. 1Q23, 1Q24, 2Q26, 4Q530–531, 6Q8)
4QEnoch ^{a,b,c}	4Q201, 202, 204 (cf. 4Q207, 212)
4QSongs of the Sage	4Q510 and 511
4QTargum of Leviticus	4Q156
4QVisions of Amram ^b	4Q544 (cf. 4Q543, 4Q545–548)
11QMelchizedek	11Q13
11QTemple Scroll	11Q19–20
<i>Damascus Document</i>	CD (CD-A, CD-B, 4Q266–273)
<i>Festival Prayers</i>	1Q34, 4Q508, 509 and 507
<i>Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice</i>	4Q400–407; 11Q17
<i>War Scroll</i>	1QM (cf. 1Q33, 4Q285, 4Q471, 4Q491–497)

DSST F. García-Martínez. (transl.). *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated. The Qumran Texts in English*. (Leiden, 1995).

Series of Church Fathers and Classical Literature

ANF	The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325; Grand Rapids [Mich.], 1986–1989, repr. of Edinburgh 1885–1896.
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina; Turnhout, 1954ff.
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium; Paris, Rome and Louvain, 1903ff.
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum; Vienna, 1866ff.
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte; Berlin, 1897ff.
LCL	Loeb Classical Library.
NPNF	A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. First Series. (14 vols; Grand Rapids [Mich.], Edinburgh, 1988, repr. of Edinburgh 1886–1890). A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. Second Series. (14 vols; Grand Rapids [Mich.], Edinburgh, 1988, repr. of Edinburgh 1885–1896).
PG	Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Graeca; 161 vols; Paris, 1857–1866.
PL	Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina; 221 vols; Paris, 1841–1864.
PO	Patrologia Orientalis; Turnhout, 1903ff.
SC	Sources Chrétiennes; Paris, 1941ff.
TLG	Thesaurus Linguae Graecae [version 8].

Introduction

1. The Topic and the Research Question

In recent years, much scholarly effort has been devoted to understanding the emergence of Christianity from Judaism and their subsequent interaction. Following Marcel Simon's groundbreaking study *Verus Israel*, scholars began to reconsider the impact of Judaism on Christians and pagans *after* the Bar Kokhba revolt.¹ The perception of early Christianity and early Judaism as two homogeneous blocks has shifted toward a more differentiated perspective of a variety of competing Judaisms and Christianities with various modes of interaction.²

I would like to argue that the study of ritual, as opposed to traditional theological concerns alone, provides a helpful vantage point for this new understanding of Judaism and Christianity. The "multifaceted sensory experience" attained through the performance of rituals involves the whole human being: body, mind, senses and emotions.³ More precisely, religious consciousness and behavior culminate particularly in festivals.⁴ The

¹ M. Simon, *Verus Israel. A Study of the Relations between Christians and Jews in the Roman Empire AD 135-425* (Littman Library of Jewish Civilization; London, 1996; French original: Paris, ²1964, ¹1948). Lately, the influence of late antique Christianity on Judaism has been taken more seriously into consideration: see e.g. I. Yuval, "Easter and Passover As Early Jewish-Christian Dialogue," in: P. Bradshaw and L. Hoffman (eds.), *Passover and Easter. Origin and History to Modern Times* (2 vols; Two Liturgical Traditions 5 and 6; Notre Dame [Ind.], 1999; vol. 2, pp. 98–124).

² E.g. D. Boyarin, "Semantic Differences; or, 'Judaism'/'Christianity'," in: A. Becker and A. Yoshiko Reed, *The Ways That Never Parted. Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 95; Tübingen, 2003; pp. 65–86); and R.A. Kraft, "The Weighing of the Parts. Pivots and Pitfalls in the Study of Early Judaisms and their Early Christian Offspring," in the same volume pp. 87–94. For the study of the emergence of Christianity, John Gager has underlined the importance in studying those groups and individuals whose identities lie in between what became "the" Jewish and "the" Christian (and the pagan) mainstreams: Judaizers, Jewish-Christians and God-fearers: see J. Gager, "Jews, Christians and the Dangerous Ones in Between," in: S. Biderman and B. Scharfstein (eds.), *Interpretation in Religions* (Philosophy and Religion, a Comparative Yearbook 2; Leiden 1992; pp. 249–257).

³ C. Bell, *Ritual. Perspectives and Dimensions* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 159–164.

⁴ Bell, *Ritual*, pp. 120–128.

cyclical repetition of rituals shapes the conceptions of time and place of the participants; the recurring commemoration and reenactment of myths embed them more deeply in life. “In fasting and feasting rites, there [is] ... a great deal of emphasis on the *public* display of religiocultural sentiments.”⁵ In collective ritual performances, therefore, the individual has to negotiate between his private conceptions and behaviors and those of the group. Moreover, the participation in collective rituals – particularly rituals observed by almost everybody belonging to a certain group – can render the generally invisible boundaries of the collective identity perceptible to observers.⁶ Festivals, then, are an appropriate focus also to elucidate the gradual separation process of two religions such as the emergence of Christianity from Judaism. Indeed, the friction caused by Christians keeping Yom Kippur in Antioch is one of Simon’s central case studies.⁷ Surprisingly, however, the impact of Yom Kippur on early Christianity has not until now been studied comprehensively.⁸

This study is a first attempt to fill this gap. It investigates the impact of Yom Kippur on early Christian thought and ritual from the first to the fifth centuries of the Common Era. In this epoch, Yom Kippur was doubtless the most important Jewish festival in the diaspora and in Palestine. It would seem, therefore, that it had a fundamental status also in the life of the first generations of Jesus’ followers. Yet unlike Passover, Pentecost or the Sabbath, this festival did not become part of the Christian liturgical calendars. In following the traces of a Jewish institution rather than the prefiguration of a Christian one, the present work should be seen as an attempt to pose a “Jewish question” to a Christian corpus of texts.

My central thesis is that Christian atonement theology and its festal calendar not only emerged under the influence of Yom Kippur (part 2) but also continued to develop in light of the ongoing challenge that the contemporary Yom Kippur posed to Christians (part 3). To address this issue I had to develop an approach that would make possible the study of a festival’s impact on a different tradition or religion. Consequently, the guiding questions are as follows: What is Yom Kippur, and what are the concepts and rituals connected to it? Where can traces of Yom Kippur’s

⁵ Bell, *Ritual*, p. 120 (emphasis added).

⁶ For example, “fasting [during Ramadan] sets Muslims off as a distinct community (*umma*) in contrast to their non-Muslim neighbors.” Bell, *Ritual*, p. 124; cf. pp. 23–60. As we shall see, the permeability of these borders, can become visible, too, e.g. if Christians observe Jewish festivals.

⁷ Simon, *Verus Israel*, pp. 217–223 and 326–328.

⁸ Research has been conducted on such topics as the presence of Yom Kippur theology in the New Testament or the exegesis of the scapegoat; but so far nobody has tried to view these phenomena as parts of a whole.

impact on early Christianity be detected in Christian literature and liturgy? Which Christians observed Yom Kippur? Why did others abandon Yom Kippur? And finally, how did Yom Kippur influence Christianity after the fast ceased to be observed?

To determine the most important areas of impact, and because no one has previously investigated the impact of Yom Kippur as a complex of rituals, institutions, myths and theology, I wanted to spread my net as widely as possible. I therefore considered the Greek, Latin, Syriac and Armenian traditions as well as the Georgian, Coptic and Arabic,⁹ mainly from the first five centuries CE. To find the relevant texts and passages, I relied largely on the indexes of the editions in the main series of Christian texts (CCSL, CSEL, CSCO, GCS, PO, SC) for references to Leviticus 16. In addition, I searched the digitalized libraries of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* and the online *Patrologia Latina* for key terms (Day of Atonement, fast, high priest, scapegoat, *kapporet*). Similarly, I checked Menahem Stern's and Amnon Linder's collections of references concerning Jews and Judaism in pagan literature and in Christian legislation¹⁰ The further I progressed, the more amazed I was by the volume and variety of Christian sources on Yom Kippur. While I have to a certain extent focused on the digitalized corpora (Greek and Latin) and there may be untouched treasures hidden in the libraries of the Christian Orient, I hope to have uncovered a promising field for further investigation.

The structure of my argument takes the following form: Part 1 is devoted to a detailed reconstruction of Yom Kippur, its rites and its *imaginaires* in the Second Temple and rabbinic periods, with the help of a broad range of Jewish and non-Jewish texts from Palestine and the diaspora. This analysis is the basis for the comparisons in the parts that follow, which proceed chronologically.

Parts 2 and 3 deal with the impact of Yom Kippur on early Christianity. Part 2 (chapters 4 to 6) covers the formative period, the first two hundred years, while part 3 (chapters 7 and 8) covers the development of early Christianity in the years 200 to 500. Part 2 begins with an investigation into the impact of the temple ritual and the Jewish myths and concepts associated with it (especially the high priest and the scapegoat) on the emerging Christian mythology about the atoning death of Christ (chapter 4). Chapter 5 deals with the influence of the Jewish apocalyptic-mystic

⁹ Being ignorant of Georgian as well as of Coptic and Arabic, I could consult only translations. The same is true for the sources in Slavonic and Ge'ez.

¹⁰ A. Linder, *The Jews in the Legal Sources of the Early Middle Ages* (Detroit and Jerusalem, 1997); M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism. Edited with Introductions, Translations and Commentary* (3 vols; Jerusalem, 1974–1984).

imagery of the high priest's entrance into the holy of holies on Valentinian Christian soteriology and on the Valentinian ritual of the bridal chamber. Valentinian concepts in turn extensively influenced Clement of Alexandria's mysticism. Chapter 6 provides a close reading of Jewish-Christian legends that depict James the Just and Zechariah, John the Baptist's father, as high priests. These legends give some hint of Jewish-Christian attitudes toward the continuing observance of the Jewish fast.

Part 3 analyzes the impact of Yom Kippur on Christianity in the years 200 to 500, the second stage of literary production, after the foundational texts of the New Testament had been written and most of them had achieved canonical status. Chapter 7 analyzes the Christian exegesis of Leviticus in relation to Christian polemics against the contemporary Jewish fast. Leading Christian theologians perceived contemporary Yom Kippur's continuing attraction for Christians as a threat to Christian identity and to the exclusivity of Christ's once-and-for-all atoning death. They responded not only with polemics but also with an exegesis of Leviticus (the biblical Yom Kippur); they developed further the sacrificial atonement theology of Hebrews and instituted new festivals to fill the fallow fall season. Accordingly, chapter 8 investigates the impact of Yom Kippur on three Christian festivals, the Jerusalem Encaenia/Exaltation of the Cross, the Roman Fast of the Seventh Month (Ember Day of September) and the Annunciation to Zechariah in the Eastern churches, all three of which are approximately contemporary with 10 Tishri and show some affinities with Yom Kippur. I decided to focus on Christian autumn festivals mainly for pragmatic reasons, to keep the book to a reasonable length; also because an influence might here be most clearly perceptible.

Before launching into the research itself, I would like to clarify some terms regarding the methodology followed, in particular, the meaning of "impact," the different types of influence, my understanding of rite, ritual, myth and mythology, and the meaning of *imaginaire* and of Christian Judaism.

2. Methodological Remarks and Definitions

2.1 *Different Types of Influence*

Judaism influenced Christianity in various modes, which can be distinguished by mediator and period. The accompanying list is divided into two parts: the first two modes (apostolic, biblical) refer only to Christianity and Judaism, the other three (adoption, compulsion, reaction) refer to the influence of any religion on another.

The first mode is connected to the collective memory of Judaism. Jewish “converts” to Christianity brought with them their *imaginaire*, their rituals, their texts, their myths and their conceptions, especially in the formative stage of Christianity in the first century. Since most of the Jewish adherents of Christ probably “converted” in the apostolic period, I have called this mode of influence “apostolic.”

The second mode is connected to the Hebrew Bible, the written foundation of Jewish culture that in its various translations influenced Christianity at all times and in all places. Waves of more intense biblical inspiration can be perceived, e.g. during the Christianization of Palestine (see next paragraph) but also in the Carolingian epoch, when kings modeled their image after David and temple terminology was used in churches. I call this mode of influence “biblical”; where influence by Jewish literature goes beyond the canon, I call it “bookish.”

A combination of the “apostolic” and the “biblical” forms of influence appeared in the fourth century during the Christianization of Palestine, when Christianity had to cope with the new situation of Christians ruling the land of the Bible. This had two contradictory effects. On the one hand, the Christian rulers were now responsible for deciding the way of commemorating the symbolic world of the Old and the New Testament in the country where the events related in these books took place. On the other hand, Christianity had to learn the local symbolic language in order to take over control of the Holy Land. Christians were influenced by the traditions and practices of the Jewish inhabitants relating to the location and commemoration of events sacred to both religions. Architecture, calendar, liturgy, administration – these are only a few of the areas affected. As I shall argue in chapter 8, “The Impact of Yom Kippur on Christian Festivals,” this influence encompasses not only holy places such as the tombs of prophets but also, for example, ways of celebrating the dedication of a sanctuary according to biblical models. I have called this kind of influence *Ortsgeist* paralleling *Zeitgeist*: the *Ort* (the land of the Bible) has a *Geist* that exerts an influence over its rulers, here its Christian rulers.¹¹ Conquering the land of the Bible confers new power and authority on the Bible, its land and its surrounding traditions as foundational stories. The Bible becomes the *raison d’être* not only to be in the land of the Bible but also to rule it, i.e. to determine its future, to “make” it as close as possible to one’s

¹¹ I mean something different from the appropriation of parts of the Jewish collective memory as developed by M. Halbwachs, *La topographie légendaire des évangiles en terre sainte. Étude de mémoire collective. Préface de Fernand Dumont* (Paris, 1971).

understanding of the biblical stories. And vice versa, the new rulers have to play according to the rules of the mythical country.¹²

Apart from these two (and a half) modes, two religions can, in a more general way, mutually influence each other by three further modes, which I have called “adoption” (voluntary), “compulsion” (forced) and “reaction” (polemical). Adoption takes place when one religion observes a practice or becomes aware of an exegetical tradition or a myth of the other religion and voluntarily adopts it. Compulsion occurs when the adherents of one religion control the life of followers of the other and impose measures on them, such as Justinian’s edict that Jews would henceforth read the Bible only in Greek. The third mode, reaction, responds with polemics or self-restriction to a certain exegetical or liturgical tradition of the other religion being perceived as a threat.

2.2 Rite and Ritual

Ritual and rite are repeated religious behavior. The difference between ritual and rite is the subordination of the latter to the former, i.e. a ritual is composed of several rites.¹³

By its definition as “repeated behavior,” rituals, especially collective rituals, belong to the most conservative religious institutions.¹⁴ Collective institutions are more conservative than are those of individuals; and a ritual, which involves the body and the senses, is more conservative than a conception, since frequently repeated movements are stored in the parts of the brain responsible for subconscious movements and will continue unchanged in this form until consciously changed or stopped. For example, one is less likely to forget how to ride bicycle than to forget how to read. Finally, it is easier to begin observing a new rite than to cease observing an old one. This, too, is valid for any religion or religious transformation. Unlike the continuation of a behavior, it is the break with it that leaves historical traces. Our working assumption should therefore be that most Christian Jews continued to observe the same festivals after hearing about Jesus as before – unless we have evidence to the contrary.

I try to distinguish as much as possible between ritual and its interpretation. Ritual acts are more or less fixed and allow for only minor changes

¹² In a sense, this process resembles a development in modern Zionism after the 1967 conquest of the Old City and the ancient heartlands of Judea and Samaria that caused a shift in the modern state of Israel toward a more religious character.

¹³ Obviously, this distinction is relative, since one may often break up rites into sub-rites.

¹⁴ See C. Bell, *Ritual*, p. 211: “Despite ... evidence for change, it is nonetheless quite true that ritual activities generally tend to resist change and often do so more effectively than other forms of social custom.”

(especially if our subject is the ritual of the most sacred space, day and person); the interpretations of rituals, however, can be manifold. Contradictory explanations may circulate in the same group, even in the same time and space, and be used according to which is more useful for elucidating a certain aspect. Only when dealing with verbal rituals such as prayers will the distinction obviously fall away.

The interpretation of a ritual may express a variety of different attitudes toward the ritual itself. For example:

- a) Interest in and support for the ritual (by proposing a new rationale)
- b) Disinterest in the realities, sometimes in favor of a more spiritualized level
- c) Substitution of the ritual on account of temporary constraints
- d) Substitution of the ritual on account of theological or sociological dissent

None of the above attitudes – and the list is not exhaustive – necessarily entails abolition of the ritual. Modern Christian interpreters of ritual rationales tend to generalize the last of the above-listed alternatives. For example, Paul Hanson argues that the existence of the eschatological interpretation of the scapegoat ritual in *1 Enoch* 10 entails a polemical stand against the temple ritual.¹⁵ Yet, as I will argue, *1 Enoch* 10 more strongly reflects the first alternative, interest in and support of the ritual by proposing a rationale. Philo's allegorical exegesis of the temple and its institutions does not entail a complete disregard for the temple ritual, though he rather fits the second group. The third attitude is the central one expressed in the rabbinic writings. For each Christian writing we will have to assess which attitude it demonstrates.

2.3 *Myth and Mythology*

A mythology is the ensemble of myths of a certain collective.¹⁶ A myth is a narrative that has a foundational status for this collective.¹⁷ With this definition, myths are only myths in a certain sociological constellation with

¹⁵ See P.D. Hanson, "Rebellion in Heaven. Azazel, and Euhemeristic Heroes in *1 Enoch* 6–11," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 96 (1977) 195–233, here p. 226.

¹⁶ For a rich and interesting introduction to various definitions and approaches, see A. and J. Assmann, "Mythos," *Handbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe* 4 (1998) 179–200. R. Bultmann, "Mythos und Mythologie IV (im NT)," *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*³ 4 (1960) 1278–1282, is a classic. On myth in the New Testament, see now the introduction and first part of G. Theissen, *The Religion of the Earliest Churches. Creating a Symbolic World* (Minneapolis, 1999), pp. 1–18 and 19–60, and his references to further literature on p. 323.

¹⁷ For such a sociological definition, see e.g. B. Baczkó, *Les imaginaires sociaux. Mémoires et espoirs collectifs* (Critique de la politique; Paris, 1984), pp. 11–63.

historical limits otherwise they are narratives. I have chosen to work with such a functionalist sociological definition of myth because the distinction commonly drawn between history, legend and myth is itself a product of Christian culture and therefore an emic definition, which is not very helpful for comparing Christianity to other religions (but has its use in other realms).¹⁸ According to the emic definition, we have to distinguish Christianity, which is based on (salvation) history, from paganism, which is based on myth, *a priori*. For the scholar of comparative religion who uses the sociological definition, legend, history and “myth” (in the old sense) are only different subcategories with the shared function of establishing the collective identity. A historical event, fiction or legend with a historical nucleus becomes part of the mythology of a group the moment it is accepted as foundational for its identity, worldview and lifestyle. The foundational status is paired with the impossibility of questioning the truth of the myth without incurring social sanctions.¹⁹ Chronologically, myths are often formulated in the formative period of the group and adapted to subsequent times by hermeneutics and exegesis, which in turn reformulate and recreate the myth. Hermeneutics and exegesis also have the task of systematizing contradictions between myths.

2.4 The imaginaire

Studying collective concepts and their relation and transmission to other collectives, I found the term *imaginaire* very useful. The term was developed in French philosophy and historiography as one referring to an ensemble of conceptions of a given collective.²⁰ Since the definition of the term often remains amorphous, I want to define my use of this term more specifically. By the *imaginaire* of X in Y, I mean the collective repertoire of motifs of a certain collective (Y) regarding the element X, from which an author of this collective (Y) derives the items with which to weave his text on X.²¹

¹⁸ For such a definition, see P. Ricoeur, “Myth and History,” *Encyclopedia of Religion* 10 (1987) 273–282.

¹⁹ Consequently, the scholar who investigates any given narrative *as a myth* in the sense of this definition takes an etic view.

²⁰ See e.g. J. Le Goff, *L’imaginaire médiéval* (Paris, 1985); E. Patlagean, “L’histoire de l’imaginaire,” in: J. Le Goff, R. Chartier and J. Revel (eds.), *La Nouvelle Histoire* (Paris, 1978; p. 249–269). In no case do I intend a connection to Jungian archetypes, on which the work of Gilbert Durand was formulated. See his *Les structures anthropologiques de l’imaginaire* (Paris, ¹²1992 = 1959).

²¹ D. Stökl, “Yom Kippur in the Apocalyptic *Imaginaire* and the Roots of Jesus’ High Priesthood. Yom Kippur in Zechariah 3, *1 Enoch* 10, 11QMelkizedeq, Hebrews and the Apocalypse of Abraham 13,” in: J. Assmann and G.G. Stroumsa (eds.), *Transformations*

The *imaginaire* differs from mythology in being a collection not only of narrative, but of unsequenced motifs with a much wider variety (including sensual impressions such as scents, songs, feelings, etc.) and of the associations between them.

All members of the collective share a basic group of elements, and in order to communicate with his listener the speaker *has to* use the common *imaginaire*. Any member of the collective can play around with the elements of the *imaginaire* of a concept and even add new elements that will slowly become part of the common *imaginaire*. This concept of a common *imaginaire* can help explain aspects of the process of creativity and its relation to tradition. While the collective aspect of the *imaginaire* makes it conservative and traditional, the new associations by individuals continually broaden it. The *imaginaire* defines the boundaries of possible associations between concepts; in other words, it is the *langue* of the collective, while the concrete expression of the individual is his *parole*. Or, as formulated by Philippe Desan:

Il ne faut toutefois pas confondre imagination et imaginaire. L'imagination relève d'une performance individuelle et se décèle au niveau de la <parole>, alors que l'imaginaire ressort du collectif et ne se conçoit qu'en tant que <langue>.²²

We can reconstruct parts of the *langue* by assembling the *paroles*. The advantage of this approach to the conventional history of traditions lies in its ability to reconstruct the potential *paroles* of a certain historical collective, rather than be limited by extant *paroles*. This process is similar to Claude Lévy-Strauss' highly controversial approach to myth.²³ However, unlike Lévy-Strauss, I do not cross the cultural boundaries of the group investigated. Neither do I claim to reconstruct a myth that supposedly once existed. The *imaginaire* defines the possibilities of expression and thought of a certain collective.

For example, the "German *imaginaire* of Christmas" may include such motifs such as Christmas tree, snow, Santa Claus, gifts, "Silent Night," family, scent of cinnamon cookies, solitude, frostiness, sledge, church, heated house, frosted windows, holidays, coziness, etc. Some elements, such as Santa Claus or the Christmas tree, are more closely associated with and refer unequivocally to Christmas, while others, such as church, solitude, presents or cinnamon cookies, are more ambiguous and may be associated with numerous other concepts. Contradictory elements such as

of the Inner Self in Ancient Religions (Studies in the History of Religions [Numen Book Series] 83; Leiden, 1999; pp. 349–366), p. 349.

²² P. Desan, *L'imaginaire économique de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1993), p. 9.

²³ C. Lévy-Strauss, "La geste d'Asdiwal," in: idem, *Anthropologie structurale II* (Paris, 1973; p. 175–233).

coziness and solitude can be part of the same *imaginaire* depending on the situation of the speaker.

Any German can evoke Christmas in the head of another German by mentioning just a selection of these elements, which do not necessarily belong to the “close” part, i.e. snow, church and cinnamon cookies may already be enough. Different groups of Germans may associate some elements more closely and dissociate others, e.g. secular Germans might associate cinema or discotheque rather than church.

2.5 Christian Judaism

I pondered for a long time which term to use for the German *Urchristentum*, i.e. the Christian groups of mainly Jewish origin with some Gentile fellow travelers in the first two generations. “Early Christianity” is too imprecise. “Primitive Christianity” imports notions of beginning from zero. For some time I considered “proto-Christianity” as best manifesting the element of transition, but it too can be understood as close to a beginning from zero and imply an ideal conception of the first Christians. Eventually, I decided in favor of “Christian Judaism,” a term that expresses adequately the relation and different level of importance of the Jewish origin and the new Christian direction. Still, it remains difficult to determine the exact point of transition from Christian Judaism to early Christianity. I suggest connecting the point of transition to a self-definition of the collective identity over and against Judaism itself. Depending upon the place, this occurred at different times and paces. In comparison, the term “Jewish Christianity” presupposes that there is also a “non-Jewish Christianity” distinct from it, which in the first generation is not very meaningful. “Christian Judaism,” however, defines itself as distinct from “non-Christian Judaism,” which makes more sense in the first century. Moreover, the inversion “Jewish Christianity” does not give the same weight to the Jewish origin and sets Christianity as main category. In addition, the term “Jewish Christianity” is a set expression (if ambiguous and hotly disputed) for a phenomenon enduring well into the second, third and fourth centuries. I prefer to consider “Jewish Christianity” as one of the developments deriving from “Christian Judaism” after this defined itself as distinct from “Judaism,” as exemplified by Ignatius of Antioch.

Index of Sources

Old Testament

Genesis		32–34	319
4:3	123	32:11–14	55, 123, 318, 319, 321
6:1–4	86	32:30	122
6:15	199	33:9	89
6:16	199	34:1ff	55, 122–123
15	92, 237	34:6–7	123
17:23–27	123	34:7	89
22	129	35–40	95
22:13	67	38:5–8 LXX	105
37:21	96–97		
37:31	126	Leviticus	
37:31–33	67	4	173
38:30	170	4:20	104
		5:5	26
Exodus		8	187
3	237	8:9	245
15:22–26	47	8–9	95
16	47	10	95, 102, 300
17:1–7	47	14	27, 170
18	121–122	16 (selection)	18, 21, 28–33, 54– 55, 62, 70–71, 81– 82, 86, 87, 93, 100, 117, 146, 171, 173, 187, 262, 318–321
18:13	121	16:1	95, 102, 300
19:1	122	16:1–28	21
23:14	308	16:2–3	106
23:14–17	307	16:3	31
24	187	16:4	28, 29, 102, 239
25:4	170	16:5	31, 102
25:9 LXX	183	16:6	26, 29
25:17	105	16:7–10	29
25:17–22	105	16:8	103
25:40 LXX	183	16:10	26, 102, 103–104, 160
26–28	238, 239	16:11	26, 29
26:1	170	16:12–13	30, 193
26:31	170		
28:36ff	245		
28:38	245		
29	271		
30:10	18, 30, 188–189		
32–33	95		

16:13	106	25:10	104
16:14	30		
16:15	30, 102, 160	Numbers	
16:16	30, 182–183	3:4	102
16:17	102, 110, 125, 181	5:7	26
16:17 LXX	110, 125	6	245
16:18–19	30	6:1–7	248
16:18–20	189	14:18	89
16:20	81, 102–103, 182–183	14:18–20	56
16:20–22	160	19	170, 187–188
16:21	26, 31, 51, 88, 89, 96, 102, 123, 175	29:7	34, 106
16:21–24	169	29:7–11	18, 28, 31–32, 54–55, 320–321
16:22	88, 94, 102, 117, 177	29:8	31
16:22–23	88	29:8–10	22, 32
16:23–24a	31	29:8–11	23
16:24	29, 31, 81, 102–103	29:11	32, 150, 160
16:24–25	32	Deuteronomy	
16:26	104	4:24	229
16:27	32, 192	8:3	33, 47, 97
16:28	192	15:2	90
16:29	33, 106	21:1–9	169
16:29–31	34	21:7–8	169–170
16:29–34	21, 26, 160, 212	21:23	154, 164, 173, 175, 178–179
16:30	47, 53	27:26	154, 173, 175
16:31	16, 33, 102	29:28	39, 339, 341
16:33	102	31:16	38
16:34	181	32	44
17:7	128	32:2b	44
18	55, 99, 320	Joshua	
18:5	173	4:19	97
18:30	55	1Kings	
23	76	6:22	253
23:26–32	62	8	123, 291, 294
23:27	15, 74, 104, 106	8:65–66	293–294
23:27 LXX	15	18:36ff	55
23:27–32	18, 26, 34, 54–55, 100, 160, 318–321, 334	18:42–45	248
23:28	15, 104	22:19	80
23:29	74, 106, 151, 219	22:19–22	82
23:32	74, 106	1Chron	
23:34–43	318, 319, 321	28:11 LXX	183
23:39	39		
25:9	15		
25:9 LXX	15		
25:9–10	18, 91, 102–103		
25:9–13	90		

28:12 LXX	183	110:1	186
28:18 LXX	183	110:4	184
28:19 LXX	183	119 (118):131	327–328
		141 (140):1	327–328
		141 (140):3	327–328
2Chron			
5–7	291		
6–7	123	Proverbs	
7	123	10:10	209
7:8–10	123, 293	12:25–13:3	327–328
7:9–10	291	18:3	92–93
11:15	128	20:27	337
30:15–20	177		
		Isaiah	
Ezra		1:11	254
3–5	195	1:13–14 LXX	15, 34
9:6	53	1:18	130–131, 268
		1:18–19	268
Nehemia		6	79, 80, 82
1:3	92–93	6:1	80
8:1–10	318, 320–321	6:2	80
9:33	43	6:3	80
		6:5–7	80
Job		13:21	128
1:6	80	26:11 LXX	186
2:1	80	30:5	92–93
33:24	66	34:14	128
38:15	285	50:6	159, 161, 165
		52:7	90
		53	116–117, 177–178, 179, 208
Psalms		53:4	177, 179
7:8–9	90	53:5	117, 177, 179
15:3	92–93	53:6	117
27	56	53:7	117, 177, 179
32:5 LXX	89	53:7–8	117
34:13	70–71	53:8	117, 177
37:11	98	53:9	179
37:19–20	98	53:10	117
47:10 LXX	295	53:10–12	177
59:8b LXX	295	53:11	117, 179
69 (68):22	151, 164	53:12	117, 177, 179
82:1–2	90	57:15ff	55, 320–321
83:5 LXX	295	57:15–58:14	55, 321
83:11b LXX	295	58	56, 70, 72, 75–76, 77, 155, 156, 280
103 (102):4	93	58:1–5	73
103:14	39	58:3–5	34
106:6	43	58:4–5	70–71
107:10–21	66		

58:5ff	320–321	Obadiah	56
58:6	56, 155, 156, 160		
61:1	56	Jonah	55, 56, 58, 70–72, 75–76, 160, 253, 280, 320–321
61:1–3	90		
Jeremiah		2:7	93
7:29	245	3	34
11:20	338		
13:17	273	Micah	
30:8–11	318–319, 321	7:14–20	318–321, 322
		7:18	56
Ezekiel		7:18–20	56, 319
1	80	7:19	267–268
8:11	106		
9–10	80	Habakkuk	
10	80	2:4	173
10:1	80	2:15	98
13:11	285		
33:9 LXX	89	Haggai	
33:11	342–343	1–2	195
36:25–26	187	2:26	183
42:15 LXX	183–184		
43	199–200	Zechariah	195
43:13	199–200	1:8	80
43:14	199–200	2:13–3:4	327–328
43:14–20	105	3	79, 80–82, 92–94, 95, 101, 160, 165, 180, 194–197, 225, 333
43:17	199–200	3:1	80
44:17–18	247	3:1–5	163
		3:2	92
Daniel	90	6:1–3	80
7:9–10	80, 82, 229, 291	6:9–15	195
9:5	43	8:14–19	318–321
9:25–26	90	8:19	73, 306, 307, 310– 312
		12:10	159, 161, 165
Hosea			
14	56, 133, 319	Maleachi	
14:2–10	318–321, 322	1:11	217, 218
14:2–3	320	1:12–13	218
14:3	133	1:14	217, 218
14:10	320	2:7	125
Amos			
9	200		
9:1	199		
9:13–15	318–321		

New Testament

Matthew	163, 167, 224	2:25–35	255
5:9	209	2:34	244
5:24	212	4:18–19	56
5:38–48	179	4:31–32	215
6	72, 75–76, 170, 313	5:17–26	318
6:17	70–71, 280	6:6	215
6:16–18	34	13:10	215
7:9–11	253	13:10–17	318
9:9	168	15:11–32	343
10:10	249	22:19–20	213
10:45	205	23:9	179
26:3	168	23:48	152
26:57	168	23:56	215
26:62–63	179		
27:12	179	John	163, 208
27:14	179	1:29	117, 138, 147, 176– 178, 179, 224–225, 226, 254
27:15–23	147, 165–171, 206, 226, 227, 267, 330– 331	2:12–22	294
27:15–26	145, 165	3:30	254
27:16	168	10:22–42	294
27:17	168	19:1	163
27:20	156, 168	19:3	163
27:21	168	19:9	179
27:28	165, 170	19:34	163, 165
27:28–31	163	19:26	177
27:30	163	19:37	163, 165
		Acts	
Mark	167, 162	1:12	215
9	237	5:30	179
9:17–29	318	6:1	215
9:29	317, 319	8:32–33	213
10:45	159	10:39	179
11:15–18	294	12:4	215
14:61	179	13:14	215
15:5	179	13:29	179
15:9	168	13:42	215
15:11	168	13:44	215
		15:13	215
Luke	163, 331	17:2	215
1	323–324	18:4	215
1:1–20	327–328	18:18	215
1:9	252	18:21	215
1:13–17	254	20:6	215
2:25	244	20:7	215

20:16	215	8:22	175
20:28	213	9:3	175
21:24	215	12:17	175
22:1	215		
27:9	16, 214–215, 227, 331	Galatians	154
Romans	7	1:4	173–174
1:18	203	2:20	173–174
2:4–5	201, 203	3	173–176
2:16	201	3–4	145, 331
3	203, 226	3:10	147, 154, 159, 173– 176, 221, 224, 226
3:21	203	3:10–14	206
3:21–26	197–198	3:10–13	164
3:24	204, 224–225	3:13	117, 147, 154, 159, 171, 173–176, 178, 221, 224, 226, 267
3:24–25	225	3:13–14	173–176
3:24–26	145, 224, 197–205, 330	4:4	174
3:25	105, 115, 146, 203, 205, 206, 221, 225, 266, 272	4:4–5	174–175
3:25–26	145, 197–205, 224– 225, 331	4:4–6	206
3:26	203	4:4–7	174
5:6–11	203	4:6	174
8:3	171, 175	4:9–10	280
8:34	189–190	4:10	216, 219
9:4	203, 221, 224	Ephesians	
10:15	175	6:22	175
14:5–6	215–216, 227	Philippians	
15:24	175	2:6–11	61, 63, 206, 211– 212, 226, 330
1Corinthians		2:8	212
1:17	175	2:9	212
1:18–24	294	2:10	212
4:17	175	2:11	212
5:7	224	2:19	175
15:25	186	2:23	175
15:26	186	2:25	175
16:3	175	2:28	175
16:6	175	4:16	175
16:11	175	Colossians	216, 227
2Corinthians		1:12	210
1:16	175	1:12–14	207
5:21	171, 173	1:12–20	61, 63, 206, 207– 210, 225, 226, 330
8:18	175	1:12–23	210

1:13	207	5:7	186–187, 191
1:13–14	209	5:8	184
1:14	207, 210	6:19	185
1:15	207	6:19–20	183, 191
1:15–20	209, 210	6:20	190
1:18	207	7	184
1:20	207, 209	7:3	184
1:21	210	7:14	194–195
1:21–23	207	7:16	191
2:16–20	216–217	7:17	184
4:8	175	7:25	181, 185, 189–190, 193
1Thessalonians		7:26	183, 184
3:2	175	7:27	181, 185
3:5	175	8:1	183, 187
2Thessalonians		8:1–5	183
2:11	175	8:2	182–183, 184, 189, 271
2Timothy		8:4	187
1:10	186	8:5	183, 184
Philemon		8:6	181, 182, 189
12	175	8:7–9:10	298, 327–328
Hebrews	180–197, 206, 266	9	145–146, 193, 266, 302, 333
1:1–4	189	9:2	247
1:3	184, 187	9:2–12	318–322
1:10	183	9:3	247
1:13	187	9:3–4	189
2:14	191	9:4	193
2:14–15	116, 185, 186, 190, 193, 197	9:7	181, 230, 232
2:17	184	9:9	187
2:17–18	194	9:9–10	181
2:18	185, 189–190	9:10	191
3:1	194	9:11	182–183
3:1–6	298	9:11–12	182
3:2	184	9:11–16	298
4:14	183, 185, 193	9:12	181
4:14–16	189–190	9:13	185, 187
4:15	184	9:14	184, 185
4:15–5:10	187	9:15–22	187–188
4:16	190	9:18–21	42
5:5	184	9:19	185, 187
5:6	184	9:19–22	193–194
		9:21	185, 187
		9:23	183, 184, 189, 193– 194
		9:23–24	183
		9:24	183, 185, 189–190
		9:25	185
		9:26	181, 185, 186

9:28	181, 190, 193	1Peter	
10:1	183	1:2	189
10:10	181, 185	2:4–5	189
10:11–18	185	2:22	179
10:12	182, 187	2:22–24	117, 147–148, 178–
10:13	186		179, 206–207
10:19	185, 187	2:24	179, 224, 226
10:19–20	183	2:25	179
10:19–22	190–191, 193, 236		
10:22	185, 187–190	2Peter	146
10:25	181, 191		
10:27	186		
10:32–39	181	1John	205–206, 221, 227,
11	336		330
11:12	183	1:7	206
11:28	177	1:7–2:2	205
12:1–12	181	1:9	206
12:2	187	2:1	189–190
12:22–24	182	2:1–2	205–206, 266
12:24	185, 187	2:2	178, 205, 206, 273
12:25	183, 183	4:10	176, 178, 205–206
12:26	183	5:15	253
12:29	182		
13:11–13	159	Jude	90
13:11–14	192	6	88
13:13	181, 191–192		
13:14	192		
		Revelation	
James		1:10	217
5:11	336	1:13	194, 196
5:16–18	248	11:1	146
5:17	336		

Qumran

Damascus Document

vi:19 16

War Scroll

i:11–17 185

1QPeshher Habakkuk

xi:2–8 98
 xi:6–8 100
 xi:7–8 16

1QS Rule of the Community

x:6 209

1QS^b Rule of Blessings

iv:28 245

1Q22Words of Moses

iii:9–11 41, 47, 97
 iii:12–iv:11 97
 iv:1 115

4Q156 <i>Targum of Leviticus</i>	46, 54, 100	1Q34 2+1 6	38
		1Q34 2+1 6-7	38, 44, 45
		1Q34 3 i	41, 45
4Q161 <i>Pesher Isaiah</i>		1Q34 3 ii	42-43, 45, 61, 63,
8-10 iii 20	245		210
		1Q34bis	37
4Q171 <i>Pesher on Psalms</i>		4Q507	37-38
	98		
ii:9-10	16	4Q508	37-38
ii:9-11	98	4Q508 1	41, 45
iii:2-3	16	4Q508 1 1-3	41
iii:2-5	98-99	4Q508 2 1	39
		4Q508 2 1-6	38-39, 45, 48, 51,
			58, 210
4Q180/181		4Q508 2 3	16, 16
4Q180	87, 98, 101, 141,	4Q508 2 4-5	37
	329	4Q508 3	43
4Q180 1 7-8	87	4Q508 7	43
4Q181	87, 98, 101, 141,	4Q508 22+23 1	38, 45
	329	4Q508 22+23 3	39
		4Q508 30	43
		4Q508 39	43
<i>Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice</i>		4Q508 40	43
	65, 84-85, 100,	4Q508 41	43
	140, 191		
4Q400-407	84	4Q509	37-38, 45
4Q401 11 3	91	4Q509 3 1-9	38
4Q401 22 3	91	4Q509 3 2-9	44
4Q405 15 ii - 16 2	231-232	4Q509 5-6 ii	38, 45
4Q405 15 ii - 16 5	231-232	4Q509 7	38, 45
11Q17	84	4Q509 8 1	38, 45
		4Q509 8 4	39
4Q <i>Enoch Giants</i> ^a	87	4Q509 12 i + 13	39-40, 45
4Q203 7 i 6	87	4Q509 16	41, 45
		4Q509 97+98 i	42-43, 45, 61, 210
4Q <i>Enoch</i> ^{a-c}			
4Q201 iii 9	86	<i>Songs of the Sage</i>	
4Q202 iv 11	88	4Q510	16
4Q204 ii 26	86	4Q511	16
<i>Aramaic Levi</i>	83		
4Q213a 1 i 10-11	341	5Q13	44-45, 61, 63
<i>Festival Prayers</i>	34, 37-46, 100, 209		
1Q34	37-38, 43	11Q <i>Melchizedek</i>	40, 41, 46, 79, 86,
1Q34 2+1 1-4	38, 44		90-92, 94, 95, 98,
			100-101, 116, 121,
			141, 185-186, 196-
			197, 210, 329, 330

ii 7–8	91	xxv:6	20, 30
ii 18	90	xxv:10–12	34
iii 7	92	xxv:12–16	31
		xxvi:10	29, 30
11Q <i>Temple Scroll</i>	46, 100	xxvii:3–4	32
xxv–xxvii	203	xxv:14–16	22
xxv:1–10	209		

Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

<i>Apocalypse of Abraham</i>	14, 79, 81, 86, 90, 92–94, 196– 197, 329, 330	10:9–10	88
		10:10–16	186
		10:11–17	89
13–14	93	10:13	185
13:1–14:14	92–93	10:13–14	92
13:6–7	92	10:17	89
13:7	93	10:18–11:2	89
13:10	94	10:20	89, 115
14:5	94	12–16	90
		13:1	89
		14	79, 82–83, 89, 100, 136, 183, 231, 329
<i>Apocalypse of Elijah</i>		14:8–25	82
1:15–21	47–48	14:9	82
		14:10	82
<i>Ascension of Isaiah</i>		14:14	82
9–10	242	14:14–23	82
		14:19	229
<i>2Baruch</i>		14:21	82, 231
6:7	189, 253	14:24	82
10:19	251–252	15:2–16:4	82
<i>1Enoch</i>	85–90, 92, 95, 100– 101, 138, 185	<i>2Enoch</i>	84
1–36	79, 85–86	22	84, 136
6–11	86, 138–139		
10	7, 40, 79, 85–90, 94, 116, 141, 185– 186, 210, 329, 330	<i>Jubilees</i>	16, 51, 79, 90, 95– 97, 99
		5:17–18	95, 96, 100
10:4	20, 31, 88	34	34, 95–96, 100, 129, 160
10:4a	87		
10:4–8	19, 31, 88	34:10	96
10:4–10	87	34:12	96, 129
10:6	88	34:12–19	202–203
10:7–8	88	34:13	34, 96
10:8	88	34:13a	96, 129
10:8b	87	34:18	95, 96, 129
		49:3	177

- Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (see under Pseudo-Philo) 49:14–16 336
50:5 190
50:5–10 181
50:5–21 32–33, 60, 136
50:12–14 32
50:15 32
50:16 32, 136
50:17 32, 136
50:17–21 60
50:18–19 33
50:19 25, 36
50:20 32, 136
50:21 32, 136
50:22 209
50:24–28 181
- 2Maccabees* 330
2:5 189
- 4Maccabees* 14, 101–102, 105, 115–116, 118, 198–199
6:28–29
17 7, 221
17:20–22 115, 200–201
17:22 115, 200
- Psalms of Solomon*
3:8 34
- Pseudo-Philo (Latin), *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*
13:5–6 36
13:6 16, 209, 210
- Pseudo-Philo (Armenian), *On Jonah* 57–59, 118, 132, 330
1:11 36, 58
1:23 58
1:30 57
1:35 57
1:37 57, 58
1:38 35, 57
1:41 36, 57
1:48 57
- Sibylline Oracles* 118
1:360–75 164
8:285–309 164
- Sirach* 32–33
4:14 61
24:15 106
45:10 170
- Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*
Testament of Dan
5:10–11 185
Testament of Levi 79, 83–84, 100, 183
2:3 (Ms Mt. Athos) 341
2:5–5:7 83
2:6–7 83
2:10 83
3 136
3:4–6 83
5 136
5:1 183
5:5 137
8 83, 136
8:1–18 83
8:2–10 196
18 185
Testament of Simon
6:6 185
Testament of Zebulun
9:8 185
- Testament of Solomon*
21:2 105, 199
- Vitae Prophetarum* (see Pseudo-Epiphanius)

Philo and Josephus

Philo	7, 46–48, 107–114, 125, 132, 221, 237– 239, 242–243	1:72 1:79–161 1:84 1:162–167 1:162–256 1:168 1:168–193 1:186 1:186–188 1:188 1:190 1:194–256 1:230 1:257–298 1:268 2:39–222 2:41 2:42–55 2:56–70 2:140–144 2:145–149 2:150–161 2:162–175 2:176–187 2:188–192 2:193 2:193–194 2:193–195 2:193–203 2:194 2:195 2:196 2:196–199 2:197 2:198–199 2:200 2:200–202 2:203 2:204–213	30, 107, 110, 112, 113 107 107, 112 107 107 16, 107 107 16, 34, 46, 108, 325 107 22, 32, 94, 112, 114 32, 150, 160 107 109 107 188 108 16, 107 108 108 108 108 108 108 108, 209, 209 16 16 108 107, 108 16 113 46, 49 48 16 41, 46 16 108 46, 48, 102–103 108
<i>De cherubim</i>			
25	199		
<i>De congressu eruditionis gratia</i>			
89	15, 107, 206		
107	15, 114, 206		
107–108	107		
25	199		
<i>De decalogo</i>			
159	16, 107		
<i>De ebrietate</i>			
86	107		
87	113		
135–136	107, 110, 112		
136	109, 110		
<i>De fuga et inventione</i>			
100	199		
101	199		
<i>De gigantibus</i>			
52	107, 110		
<i>De plantatione</i>			
61	15, 19, 31, 88, 107, 112, 113, 114		
<i>De posteritate Caini</i>			
48	15, 107, 206		
70–72	48, 51, 107, 112, 113, 114		
<i>De somniis</i>			
1:213–219	96		
1:214	28		
1:215	109		
1:215–216	107		
1:220	96		
2:188–189	110–111		
2:189	107, 110		
2:223–233	111		
2:230–231	110		
2:231	107, 110		
2:232	112		
2:233	111		
<i>De specialibus legibus</i>			
1:66–78	107		
		2:26 2:95	214 16 107 46, 48, 114 206 199

2:95–135	109, 238–239	Josephus
2:97	199	<i>Antiquitates judaicae</i>
2:109–110	196	2:312
<i>Legatio ad Gaium</i>		3:240–243
306	16, 20, 30, 112, 113, 206, 232	4:79
306–307	107, 112	5:166
<i>Legum allegoriae</i>		11:134
2:50–56	112	16:182
2:52	98, 107, 112, 113	17:165–166
2:56	107, 112	18:94
3:174	47, 107, 114	<i>Bellum judaicum</i>
<i>Quis rerum divinarum heres sit</i>		1:152
82–84	107	4:153
84	110, 111	4:164
112	107	4:165
166	199	5:236
179	15, 107, 206	<i>Contra Apionem</i>
179–187	98, 112, 113	1:209
187	107	2:282

Rabbinic and Medieval Jewish Literature

Mishnah		9:4	34
<i>mAbot</i>		<i>mSanh</i>	
5:5	22	7:4	120
<i>mBetzah</i>		<i>mŠebu</i>	
5:2	36	1:3–7	127
<i>mMak</i>		1:6	127
3:2	120	1:7	26, 127
<i>mMeg</i>		<i>mSotah</i>	
2:5	26	7:7	24
3:3	72	<i>mŠeqal</i>	
3:7	26, 55	8:5	251–252
<i>mMenah</i>		<i>mSukkah</i>	20–21
3:3	245	<i>mTa'an</i>	
9:8	26	1	34
11:7	32, 150, 160	1:6	249
<i>mParah</i>		2:1	34, 56, 72, 343
3:1	28, 188	2:2–5	49
<i>mPesah</i>		4	311
7:7	245	4:1	49, 49
<i>mRH</i>		4:7	249, 249
1:2	36	4:8	35–36, 57, 69, 72, 74, 281
4:5–6	49	<i>mTamid</i>	
<i>mŠabb</i>		7:2	136
9:3	130, 131		

7:3	32, 136,	8	21, 312
<i>mYoma</i>	19–28, 32, 171	8:1	34, 74, 249
1	21	8:8	133
1:3	125	8:8–9	257
1:4–7	22	8:9	217
1:5	23, 125	<i>mZebah</i>	
1:6	20, 23, 125	8:12	245
1:6–7	29		
1–7	21	<i>Tosefta</i>	
2	21	<i>tBer</i>	
3	21	3:6	52
3:3	29	3:12	49
3:4	24	<i>tMeg</i>	
3:4–5	29	3:7	26, 55
3:6	24, 29, 29	3:21–23	72
3:7	28	<i>tRH</i>	
3:8	24, 26, 29, 51, 339	1:13	210
3:9	29	<i>tŠabb</i>	
4	21	6:1	131
4:1	23, 29	7:11	131
4:2	19, 24, 26, 29, 51, 130, 159	<i>tSotah</i>	
4:3	20, 30	13:8	125
4:4	30	14:9	131
5	21	<i>tYoma</i>	
5:1	20, 21, 24, 30, 30	1:6	125
5:2	21	1:7	125
5:2–4	127	1:8	30, 125
5:3	30	1:12	125
5:3–6	24	2:10	284
5:4	21, 30	3:18	24, 25, 33
5:5	24	3:19	23
5:5–6	30	4:2	34
6	19, 21, 160	4:6–8	134
6:1	29, 159	4:9	133
6:2	31, 137	4:14	26, 52
6:3	31	4:14–15	52
6:4	19, 31, 88, 89, 159		
6:6	19, 29, 31, 130, 159, 160	<i>Palestinian (Jerusalem) Talmud</i>	
6:7	31	<i>yAZ</i>	
7	21	2:3, 41a	16
7:1	26, 33, 55, 60–61	<i>yBer</i>	
7:1–3	24, 25	4:1, 7b	16
7:2	31, 36	4:1, 7c	16, 49, 132
7:3	22, 23, 32	<i>yMeg</i>	
7:3–4	32	3:2, 74a	214
7:4	24, 31, 32, 33, 69, 126	3:7, 74b	26, 55
		4:5, 75b	62

<i>yMQ</i>		13b	229
1:7, 80d	123	<i>bMeg</i>	
<i>yPe'ah</i>		29a	71
7:4, 20b	16	31a	26, 55, 57
8:9, 21b	16	31b	133
<i>yRH</i>		<i>bMenah</i>	
1, 56b	123–124	100a	32
1:3, 57a	210	106b	133
<i>ySanh</i>		109b	125
10:8, 29c	214	<i>bMQ</i>	
<i>yTa'an</i>		9a	123
4:1, 67c	49, 132	<i>bNed</i>	
4:5, 20b	311	39b	132
<i>yTer</i>		<i>bPesah</i>	
8:5, 45c	16	4a	75
<i>yYoma</i>		54a	132
1:1, 38a–c	123	77a	245
1:1, 38c	125	<i>bRH</i>	
1:3, 39a	125	10b–11b	123–124
1:4, 39a	125	16a	121
1:5, 39a	125, 126	16b	36, 210
1:5, 39a–b	30	18b	311
3:7, 40d	123	21a	88
5:3, 42c	125	31b	284
5:4, 42c	126	32b	121
6:1, 43bc	159	35a	53
6:3, 43c	126, 283	<i>bŠabb</i>	
6:5, 43d	131	53a	131
7:1, 44a	25	<i>bSotah</i>	
7:3, 44b	123, 125, 319	49b	131
7:5, 44b	129	<i>bTa'an</i>	
7:5, 44b–c	126	16b–17a	49
8:6, 45b	133	24b	248
8:6, 45b–c	134	26b	49
8:9, 45c	52, 123, 319, 338, 339	27b	133
		30b	42, 122, 122
		<i>bTem</i>	
Babylonian Talmud		29a	16
<i>bBB</i>		<i>bYebam</i>	
121a	42	60b	245
<i>bBer</i>		<i>bYoma</i>	33
5b	134	2a–6a	123
17a	53	8b	125
<i>bGit</i>		14b	20, 20
68b–70b	131	18a	125
<i>bHag</i>		19b	34, 35, 126, 132
13a–14a	231	20a	121, 206
		23a	125

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 36b | 26, 62, 123, 339 | Amoraic and Later Midrashim |
| 39a–b | 126 | <i>Genesis Rabbah</i> |
| 39b | 125, 283 | 22:3 123–124 |
| 40b | 284 | 35:3 123 |
| 42a | 130 | 84:31 130 |
| 53a | 30 | <i>Exodus Rabbah</i> |
| 53b | 64, 248 | 15:12 177 |
| 54a | 126 | <i>Leviticus Rabbah</i> |
| 61a | 127 | 3:3 339 |
| 67a | 131 | 20:2 129 |
| 67b | 128 | 20:12 130, 139 |
| 68a | 131 | 21:1 56 |
| 70b | 32 | 21:10 123, 319 |
| 74b | 35, 41, 47, 97 | 21:11 110, 125 |
| 85b | 17, 133 | 21:12 110, 125 |
| 86a | 129, 134 | <i>Deuteronomy Rabbah</i> |
| 86a–b | 56, 133, 319 | 11:10 128 |
| 87b | 34, 39, 42, 43, 51,
52, 53 | <i>Psalms Rabbah</i> |
| 88a | 49 | On Ps 86:8 131 |
| <i>bZebah</i> | | <i>Canticles Rabbah</i> |
| 88b | 245 | On Cant 4:4 (sign9) 133 |
| | | <i>Pesiqta Rabbati</i> |
| Smaller Tractates | | 26:6 251–252 |
| <i>Sofrim</i> | | 35 53 |
| 18:7 | 34 | <i>Pesiqta Rav Kahana</i> |
| 19:4 | 121 | 24:1–12 54 |
| 19:6 | 49 | 24:11 55–56 |
| <i>Avot of Rabbi Nathan (A)</i> | | 24:17–19 54 |
| 25 | 121 | 25 56 |
| | | 25:2 56 |
| Tannaitic Midrashim | | 26:3 129–130 |
| <i>Mekilta de-Rabbi Yishmael</i> | | 26:11 130 |
| (ed. Horovitz) | | <i>Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer</i> 57 |
| p. 180 | 122 | 10 55–56, 58 |
| p. 196 | 42, 121–122 | 22 128 |
| | | 28 123 |
| <i>Sifra</i> | | 30 124 |
| <i>Ahare Mot</i> 2:1 | 26 | 31 124 |
| <i>Ahare Mot</i> 2:2 | 32 | 46 34, 35, 121, 122,
125, 128, 132 |
| <i>Ahare Mot</i> 2:8 | 128 | |
| <i>Ahare Mot</i> 3 | 30 | Medieval Literature |
| <i>Ahare Mot</i> 4:4 | 26 | <i>Rav Sheshna</i> 65–67 |
| <i>Ahare Mot</i> 4:5 | 127 | <i>Rashi</i> |
| | | On <i>bNid</i> 61a 128 |
| | | On <i>bŠabb</i> 81b 66 |
| | | On Exod 18:3 122 |

<i>Shulkhan 'Arukh</i>	34	<i>Hekhalot Rabbati</i>	242
<i>Yalqut Shim'on</i>		§108	138
1:44	67, 128	§181	135
<i>Seder Eliyahu Zuta</i>		§§184–185	135
25	128	§192	135
<i>The Story of the Ten Martyrs</i>		§299	135
	138–139	§§313–314	136
I 51:2	139	<i>Metatron</i>	
I 51:7	139	§390	135
III 33:12	139	<i>Hekhalot Zutrat</i>	242
VII 31:34	139	§411	135
IX 31:33	139	§424	135, 136
		<i>Seder Rabba deBere'shit</i>	
<i>Hekhalot Literature</i>	134–139	§811	135
<i>3Enoch</i>	138	§§814–816	135
4–5 (Synopsis §§5–8)		<i>Shi'ur Qomah</i>	
	138	§384	135
5 (Synopsis §§7–8)	138–139	<i>Ma'aseh Merkavah</i>	
36 (Synopsis §§54)	135	§547	138
39 (Synopsis §57)	135, 135	§548	52, 137, 137
		§§548–549	137
		§555	135

Targumim

<i>Targum Onkelos</i>		Lev 16:22	88
Genesis 49:11	170	Lev 16:30	51
		Num 31:17–18	245
<i>Targum Pseudo-Jonathan</i>			
	86	<i>Samaritan Pentateuch</i>	
Gen 37:31	126, 130	Exod 26:35	189
Lev 9:3	67, 128–130	Exod 26:36	189
Lev 16	51, 88	Exod 30:1–10	189
Lev 16:10	128		
Lev 16:21b–22	128		

Jewish Liturgy

Piyyutim and Prayers (according to their title)

' <i>Aromem le'El</i>	60, 286
' <i>Al Het</i>	50
' <i>Ana 'Eloheinu Ya'aleh veYavo</i>	50

'Asapper Gedolot	49, 60, 286
ed. Mirsky, line 197	32
'Ashanen	63
'Attah Baharta beYisrael	50
'Attah Bahartanu	42, 50
'Attah Barata	45
'Attah Konanta 'Olam beRov Hesed	49, 60, 63, 97, 287
ed. Mirsky, line 71	287
'Attah Yodea' Ma'amaqei Lev	53
'Attah Yodea 'Omqo shel Lev	53
'Attah Yodea' Razey 'Olam	39, 50, 51, 52, 53, 137–138, 139, 336–342
'Atsalsel	63
'Aval [<i>'Anahnu</i>] Hatanu	43, 50, 53
'Az be'Ein Kol	60, 286
ed. Yahalom, lines 214–215	285
ed. Yahalom, line 553	129
ed. Yahalom, lines 762–763	286
'Azkir Gevurot 'Eloah	49, 60, 287
ed. Mirsky, lines 1–4	287
ed. Mirsky, line 119	287
ed. Mirsky, line 133	15
ed. Mirsky, line 160	97
'Azkir Sela	63
'Ein Lanu Kohen Gadol	34, 286
ed. Mirsky, line 3	286
ed. Mirsky, line 11	286
ed. Mirsky, line 14	287
ed. Mirsky, line 32	287
'Eleh 'Ezkerah	138–139
'Elohai 'ad shelo Notsarti	53
'Eloheinu ve'Elohei 'Avoteinu Galleh	50
'Eloheinu ve'Elohei 'Avoteinu Mehol	50
Ha'Omrin leKhilay Shoa'	285
HaLo Kol haNistarot vohaNiglot	
'Attah Yodea'	39
Ki 'Avonoteinu Rabu miLemanot	53
Mah 'Anu uMah Hayyenu	34
Mah Ne'emar Lefaneikha	
Yoshev baMarom	50
Malkhuyot	49, 209
MiMa'amaqei Lev	53
Ribon Ha'Olamim	53
Riboni Hatati uMura' 'Asiti	52
Shiv'at Yamim	60, 62–64

<i>Shofarot</i>	49, 209
<i>uvekhen Ten Pahdekha</i>	50, 339
<i>ve'Attah Hivdalta</i>	43
<i>veHasi'enu</i>	50
<i>VeHen 'Anu 'Attah keTo'im</i>	
<i>ve'Ein Levakesh</i>	40
<i>veTitten Lanu</i>	50
<i>Zekhor Lanu</i>	42
<i>Zikhronot</i>	42, 49, 209
 (<i>Ashkenazy</i>) <i>Mahzor for the Days of Awe</i> (ed. Goldschmidt)	
2:568–574	139
2:574–576	42
 <i>Seder Rav 'Amram Ga'on</i> (ed. Goldschmidt)	
	49
p. 161	39, 340
p. 166	39, 56
p. 168	56
p. 168:5–8	63
p. 168:7–8	60, 127
 <i>Seder Rav Sa'adia Ga'on</i> (ed. Davidson, Yoel and Asaf)	
	50
p. 258	52, 137–138
p. 259	52
pp. 259–260	42, 50, 340
pp. 259–264	50
p. 261	53
p. 262	34, 43, 53, 343

Christian and Gnostic Literature

Alexander the Monk	Ambrose	
<i>On the Finding of the Venerable and Life-giving Cross</i> 292	<i>Commentary on Luke</i>	
	1:22	250
	<i>Letters</i>	
Alexios Aristenos 276	3:13–14	267
Amalar	<i>Anaphoras</i>	
269, 334	<i>Cyril (Syriac)</i>	337–342
	<i>St. James (Syriac)</i>	337–342

<i>St. James (Greek)</i>	272	2-3	149
		2-16	149
<i>Andreas of Crete</i>		5-6	149
<i>In exaltationem</i>		5:14	163, 163
<i>S. Crucis orationes</i>	292	7	129, 146, 148-155, 150, 157- 158, 160, 206, 221, 223, 225, 267-268, 330-331
<i>Anonymous from Jerusalem</i>			
<i>Commentary on Luke</i>	250, 326		16, 151, 152, 159, 164, 219
<i>Apostolic</i>			
<i>Constitutions</i>	275, 276	7:3	150-152
2:55:1	336		150, 151- 152, 159,
5:7:12	336	7:3-5	160
6:12:13	336	7:4	32
7	335		152, 160, 164, 219
7:5:5	336		19, 29, 153, 159
7:23:4	222		152-155
7:30:1	217	7:4-5	153, 159
8	335	7:5	19, 29, 31, 89, 153, 159,
8:9:8-9	342-343		160, 163, 164, 164
8:12:1-15:11	335	7:6	19
8:12:6-26	335		153, 159
8:12:9-20	335	7:6-11	149, 188
8:47:1-85	275	7:7	
		7:8	
<i>Aristides, Apology (Syriac)</i>			
14:4	220, 282, 331	7:8-9	
		7:9	
<i>Augustine</i>	320		
<i>Locutionum</i>		7:10	
<i>in Heptateuchum</i>	263		
CCSL 33:428	263, 267	7:11	
<i>Quaestionum</i>			
<i>in Heptateuchum</i>	263	7-8	
CCSL 33:211-214	263		
CCSL 33:213	266, 267		
		Basil	
		<i>Homilies on Fasting</i>	
<i>Barnabas</i>	61-62, 146, 148-150, 157, 162, 164-165, 223-224, 227, 281	1-2	76, 279
		1:1	16
		1:2	280
		1:3	15
1-6	149		

- | | | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------|--------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| <i>Canons of the Apostles</i> | 275, 331 | <i>Comes of Würzburg</i> | 304, 317–321 |
| 70 | 275–277 | | |
| <i>Chronikon Paschale</i> | 296 | Cosmas Indicopleustes | |
| §334 | 291 | <i>Christian Topography</i> | |
| | | 5:9 | 250 |
| | | 5:37 | 250 |
| Chrysostom (See John Chrysostom) | | | |
| Clement of Rome | | Council of Laodicea | |
| <i>I Clement</i> | | Canon 37 | 276 |
| 1–12 | 336 | Canon 38 | 276 |
| 36 | 194 | | |
| 40:1–5 | 218 | Cyprian of Carthage | |
| 55:1 | 172 | <i>Letters</i> | |
| 61:3 | 194 | 63:14:4 | 270–271 |
| 64 | 194 | | |
| Clement of Alexandria | 229, | Cyprian the Gaul | |
| | 237–243 | <i>Heptateuchos</i> | 264 |
| <i>Excerpts from Theodotus</i> | 229, 241 | | |
| 27 | 30, 229, 236, | Cyril of Alexandria | |
| | 238, 240– | <i>Commentary on Isaiah</i> | |
| | 243 | 1:14 | 69 |
| 27:5 | 242 | <i>Contra Iulianum</i> | |
| 34 | 230, 231 | 9 | 267 |
| 37 | 231, 234 | <i>Epistula ad Acacium</i> | 267 |
| 37–39 | 231 | <i>On the Adoration and Worship of God</i> | |
| 38 | 229–231, | <i>in Spirit and in Truth</i> | 263 |
| | 234, 236, | 1105–8 | 263 |
| 59:2 | 231 | 1105BC | 281 |
| 59:2–3 | 230 | <i>Glaphyrorum in Leviticum</i> | |
| 64 | 241 | <i>liber</i> | 263 |
| <i>Stromateis</i> | | 580A–589B | 267, 267 |
| 5 | 241 | 588A | 20, 29, 267–268 |
| 5:6 | 239 | | |
| 5:6:32–40 | 238 | <i>Homilies on Luke</i> | |
| 5:6:39:3–40:4 | 237–239 | 53 | 267, 267 |
| 5:6:39:4 | 239 | | |
| 5:6:40:1 | 239 | Cyril of Jerusalem | |
| 5:6:40:3 | 239 | <i>Catecheses</i> | |
| 5:6:40:4 | 239 | 4:10 | 299 |
| | | 10:19 | 299 |
| <i>Comes of Alcuin</i> | 304, 317–321 | 13:4 | 299 |

<i>Epistula ad Constantium</i>		<i>Homilies on the Nativity</i>	
3	299	5:14	250
		26:12	250
<i>De solstitiis et</i>		27:3	250
<i>aequinocitiis</i> (ed. Botte)		27:13	250
	55, 250, 304,	27:18	325
	308, 325–	<i>Homilies on the Exaltation</i>	
	326	<i>of the Cross</i>	292
pp. 96–98	253–254,		
	325–326	Epiphanius	246–250,
p. 95:63–65	308		256
p. 95:81–85	308	<i>De xii gemmis</i>	
pp. 95:84–96:105	307	2:1	245
		<i>Panarion</i>	
<i>Didache</i>	218	29:4	245, 246
4:14	218	78:13–14	246
14:1–3	217	78:14	248
<i>Didascalia</i>		Eusebius of Caesarea	246, 249,
21	222		256, 291,
			299
Didymus the Blind		<i>Demonstratio Evangelica</i>	
<i>Commentarii in Zachariam</i>		1:3:2	15, 16, 69
3:32	73	<i>History of the Church</i>	
		2:23:4–7	246
<i>Diognet</i>		2:23:5–6	248
3:1–4:1	219–220,	3:31:3	245, 256
	284, 331	5:24:3	245, 256
		5:24:17ff	222
Egeria, <i>Diary</i>	293–294,	<i>Vita Constantini</i>	
	298	3:28	271
48–49	291–292	4:40–46	291
Ephrem		Gelasius	305
<i>Commentary on Exodus</i>		<i>Letter 14</i>	313
12:2	253		
12:2–3	325, 250	<i>Gospel of Philip</i>	228, 232–
<i>Commentary on the Diatessaron</i>			237
1:29	250, 325	69:14–70:9	233
<i>Homilies on Fasting</i>		70:1–5	235
1:12	16, 73	70:5–10	235
2	73	70:15–25	236
2:1	76, 280	71:1–15	236
10	73	76:5–10	236
		84:20–85:21	234–235

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|-------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| 84:25–30 | 236 | Ignatius | |
| 85:1–5 | 235 | <i>To the Magnesians</i> | |
| 85:1–21 | 235 | 9:1 | 217 |
| 85:5–10 | 235, 236 | <i>To the Philadelphians</i> | |
| 86:1–5 | 235 | 9:1 | 194 |
| <i>Gospel of Peter</i> | 146, 161–165 | Irenaeus | |
| 3:6–9 | 163 | <i>apud Eusebius, History of the Church</i> | |
| 3:7 | 163 | 5:24:17ff | 222 |
| 3:8 | 163, 164 | <i>Against the Heresies</i> | |
| 3:9 | 163 | 1:7:1 | 233 |
| 5:15–16 | 163–164 | 1:13:3–4 | 233 |
| 5:16 | 151, 159, 164 | 1:21:3 | 233 |
| 7:25–27 | 152 | 3:10:1 | 252 |
| 9:35 | 217 | 3:11:8 | 252 |
| 12:50 | 217 | Ishodad of Merv | |
| Gregory of Nazianz | | <i>Commentary on Leviticus</i> | 264 |
| <i>Homily</i> | | 16 | 267–268 |
| 10:4 | 271 | 23:23–26 | 69 |
| Hegesippus | 246–250, 256 | Isidore of Sevilla (Pseudo?) | |
| <i>Hypomnemata</i> | 246 | <i>Quaestiones de ueteri et nouo Testamento</i> | 264 |
| Heracleon | 239 | <i>Quaestiones in Leviticum</i> | |
| <i>Commentary on John</i> | 233–234 | 15 | 266 |
| Hesychius of Jerusalem | | Ivo of Chartres | 269–270, 334 |
| <i>Commentary on Leviticus</i> | 263, 266 | Jacob of Sarug (ed. Bedjan) | |
| 16 | 267 | <i>Homily on the Scapegoat</i> | |
| 23 | 76 | vol. 3:259–282 | 267 |
| 23:27–32 | 281 | vol. 3:259 | 69 |
| Hildebert | 334 | vol. 3:263 | 69 |
| <i>Liber de sacra eucharistia</i> | 269 | vol. 3:264–266 | 267 |
| <i>Versus de mysterio missae</i> | 269 | vol. 3:267 | 69 |
| | | vol. 3:275 | 69 |
| Hippolytus | | Jerome | |
| <i>On Proverbs</i> | 158–159 | <i>Against Jovinianus</i> | |
| | | 1:15 | 75 |
| | | <i>Commentary on Galatians</i> | |
| | | 1 | 75 |

2:8–9	75	Johannes Damascenus	
4:10	306	<i>Sermo in annuntiationem beatae Mariae</i>	
<i>Commentary on Zechariah</i>		<i>uirginis</i>	255
8:18–19	306, 311	Johannes Scholasticus	276
<i>De viris inlustribus</i>		Johannes Zonaras	276
45	256	Justin Martyr	155–156
<i>Dialogus Adversus Pelagianos</i>		<i>First Apology</i>	
1:35:78–91	267	61	222
<i>Letters</i>		<i>Dialogue with Trypho</i>	
46:5	271	15	155, 156
46:13	296	39	155
52:10	76, 306	40:4–5	16, 19, 29, 31, 76, 154, 155–156, 159, 160, 279
108:9	296	41	155
112:10	75	42	155
John Chrysostom	280	46:2	155
<i>Against the Jews</i>	276, 301	111:1	155
1 (PG 48:854B)	16	116–117	160
1:1	69	Leo the Great	311, 312– 317, 319, 320
1:1:4–5	274–275	<i>Sermons</i>	312–317
1:2	72	12:4	313, 314
1:4	72	13:2	313, 314
1:4; PG 48:846D	74	15:1	313, 314
1:4; PG 48:849C	74	15:2	306, 313
1:4:7	275	17:1	306
1:5	76	18:2	314
1:8	76	19:2	314
2 (page 123a)	69	20:1	306
4:7:6	279	20:2	313, 314
6:5:9	279	20:3	313, 314
6:7:1–7	278	78:1	306
6:7:2	279	78:2	314
7:1 (PG 48:915)	295	78:4	314
8:4	275	79:1–2	306
<i>Christmas Homily</i>	250	81:1	306
357BC	69, 250	81:4	314
<i>Twelfth Homily on First Corinthians</i>		86:1–2	313
	131		
John of Jerusalem			
<i>Panegyricus de sancta ecclesia domini</i>			
	299, 300		
23	300		
71	300		
51	300		

87:1	313	1253	294
87:2	312, 317, 319	1257	324
87:3	313	Origen	125
88:1	313	<i>Against Celsus</i>	
88:1–2	313	1:31	172
88:2	314	<i>Commentary on John</i>	266
88:2–4	314	10:33	234
88:3	314, 315	<i>Commentary on Romans</i>	198
88:5	313	<i>Exhortation to Martyrdom</i>	266
89:1	74–75, 306, 312, 315	30:16	268
89:2	314	<i>Homily on Jeremiah</i>	
89:3	313	12:13	16, 273
89:4	306	<i>Homily on Leviticus</i>	266, 301,
89:6	313		332
90:1	306, 316		
92:1	306, 316	9:1:1	335
92:2	76, 279, 313, 316	9:3:2	159
		9:3:3	266
92:4	306	9:4:1	159
93:3	306, 313, 313	9:4:3	266
		9:5:2	266
94:1–2	313	9:5:8	266
94:4	313	9:5:9	269, 268
		9:6:1	266
<i>Liber Pontificalis</i>	304, 306– 307	9:8:5	268
		9:9:4	268
		10:2:1	273, 278
<i>Martyrdom of Polycarp</i>		10:2:2	167, 266
14:3	194	10:2:4	76, 279
		<i>On Prayer</i>	266
Maximus Confessor	324	Paterius	264
<i>Middle Armenian Lectionary</i>	295	Philaster	311
		<i>Diversarum Hereseon Liber</i>	
<i>Old Armenian Lectionary</i>	3, 292, 294– 295, 327– 328	149	304, 306
		Photius	276
<i>Old Georgian Lectionary</i>	3, 292, 294, 324, 327– 328	Pilgrim of Bordeaux	299
1225	327	Polycarp: To the Philippians	
1240	298	12:2	194
1247–1250	298		

- Polycrates
apud Eusebius 245, 256
apud Jerome 256
- Protevangeliium of James*
 250–255,
 323
 5:1 245
 8 251
 8–9 251
 8:2 251
 9:3 251
 10 251
 10:2 251
 12:3 251
 24 256
- Pseudo-Anastasius 158
- Pseudo-Athanasius
On Sabbaths and Circumcision 15
Testimonia e scriptura 255
- Pseudo-Chrysostom 158
In laudem conceptionis sancti Ioannis Baptistae 250
- Pseudo-Cyprian
Exhortation to Penitence 320
- Pseudo-Cyril of Jerusalem
Correspondence with Julius of Rome 326
- Pseudo-Ephrem (Armenian)
Commentary on Leviticus 264, 267–268
- Pseudo-Ephrem (Syriac)
Commentary on Leviticus 264, 267
- Pseudo-Epiphanius
De prophetarum vita et obitu 255
Commentary on Luke 326
- Pseudo-George the Arab 326–327
- Pseudo(?)-Isidore of Sevilla
 (see Isidore of Sevilla)
- Pseudo-Jerome 167
Commentary on Mark
 15:11 267
- Severus of Gabala
Letters 267
- Socrates
History of the Church
 1:33 291
- Sophronius
Homily on the Exaltation of the Venerable Cross and on the Holy Anastasis 292
- Sozomenos
History of the Church
 2:26 291–292, 295
- Step'anos Siwneç'i 300
- Tertullian 152, 156–158, 159
Against Marcion 281
 3:5–24 156
 3:7:7–8 19, 29, 31, 72, 154, 156–158, 159, 160

<i>Ad nationes</i>		Theodoros Balsamon	276
1:13:4	72		
<i>Against the Jews</i>	281	Theodosius, the Pilgrim	291, 323
14:9	19, 29, 31		
14:9–10	72, 156–158	<i>Traditio Apostolica</i>	222
<i>On Baptism</i>			
17:1	270	<i>Typicon of Constantinople</i>	292, 298
<i>On Fasting</i>	281		
2:13–14	222	<i>Valentinian Exposition</i> (NHC xi,2)	
14:2–3	304, 307	25:30–39	228, 234, 236
16	75		
16:6	36, 71–72		
18	222		
Theodore bar Koni		<i>Sacramentarium Veronense</i>	
<i>Scholia</i>	265		304, 305, 313
Theodoret of Cyr		873	313
		876	313
<i>Commentary on Isaiah</i>		895	313
1:14	15		
<i>Eranistes</i>	267	Victorinus	
<i>Quaestiones in Octateuchum</i>		<i>Commentary on the Apocalypse</i>	
<i>in Leviticum</i> 22	267	4:4	252
<i>in Leviticum</i> 32	36, 73–74, 280		

Pagan Literature

Aelius Herodianus		Augustus	68
<i>De prosodia catholica</i>	199	Dio Chrysostomus	
		<i>Orationes</i>	199
Aesop			
<i>Fabulae</i>	103	Diodorus Siculus	109
Agatharchides of Cnidus	71–72	Harpocration the Grammarian	103
Alexander of Lycopolis		Hecateus of Abdera	
<i>Contra Manichaei Opiniones Disputatio</i>	172	Aegyptica	68 109
Apollodorus of Athens		Hesychius, the Lexicographer	103
<i>Peri Theon</i>	103		

Isocrates		Plutarch	
<i>Philippus (oratio 5)</i>	103	<i>Quaestiones Convivales</i>	36, 68–69
Julian		Suetonius	
<i>Against the Galileans</i>	266	<i>Divus Augustus</i>	
Juvenal		76:2	68
<i>Saturae</i>	69–70, 74	100:4	75
Petronius		Tacitus	
<i>Satyricon</i>	75	<i>Historia</i>	
Plato	183	5:5:4	71
<i>Nomoi</i>	103	Terence	
		<i>Phormio</i>	75
		Xenophon	
		<i>Hellenica</i>	209

Islamic Literature

Al Biruni	324, 325		
<i>The Chronology of Ancient Nations</i> (ed. Sachau)		Qur'an	
p. 286 [291]	325	Sura 3:37	251–252
p. 326 [329]	325		
pp. 326f [329f]	325		

Archaeological Sources

Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum		Mosaic in Sepphoris	
I:725	39, 47–48, 58	Synagogue	129
Frescoes of Dura Europos Synagogue		Papyrus Fayum	
	118	(ed. Grenfell/Hunt)	
Inscriptions of Cos		337	199
(ed. Paton/Hicks)		Papyrus Oxyrhynchus	
81	199	(ed. Cowley)	6
347	199		

Index of Modern Authors

Abel, F.-M.	256, 294, 323	Baumstark, A.	294, 297, 324
Abrahams, I.	50, 52	Beck, E.	73
Abusch, R.	139	Becker, H.-J.	19
Achtemeier, P.	179	Bedjan, P.	69, 267
Ádna, J.	116	Belayche, N.	48
Aland, B.	233–234	Bell, C.	1–2, 6
Albeck, H.	20	Bell, R.	132
Aletti, J.-N.	207, 209	Berendts, A.	244
Allenbach, J.	266	Berger, K.	146
Allison, D.	166, 167, 168, 170	Betz, H.-D.	173–174
Alon, G.	29, 150, 159	Beyse, K.-M.	170
Alpigiano, C.	220	Bezalel, N.	30, 241
Altaner, B.	264	Bigg, C.	178
Amar, J.	253	Bihain, E.	299
Anderson, H.	115	Billerbeck, P.	13
Asaf, S.	34, 42, 50, 52, 53, 137, 339, 343.	Black, M.	82, 87, 88, 174, 294
Aschim, A.	90	Blaise, A.	75
Assmann, A.	7, 264	Blanc, C.	234
Assmann, J.	7	Blanke, H.	207, 216
Attridge, H.	181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 191, 194, 242, 253	Blenkinsopp, J.	80
Auf der Maur	303, 306, 309	Bloch, H.	81
Aune, D.	146, 196	Bockmuehl, M.	211
Avemarie, F.	19, 126, 133	Bolle, R.	313
Aziza, C.	71	Bolotov	324
Baczko, B.	7	Bornert, R.	269–270, 272
Baehrens, W.	262	Borret, M.	262
Baer, Y.	28, 55, 107, 120, 125	Botte, B.	308, 325
Bailey, D.	105, 116, 198, 200, 203	Bousset, W.	335–339
Baillet, M.	37–43	Bovon, F.	56
Bammel, C.	233–234	Boyarin, D.	1
Barkley, G.	262, 273, 278	Brändle, R.	74, 274, 301
Barrett, C.	176–177, 182, 214	Braun, R.	157
Barth, M.	207, 216	Bremmer, J.	171, 172
Bauernfeind, O.	117	Breytenbach, C.	176
Baumgarten, J.	35, 97, 99, 171	Bronznick	285
		Brown, P.	314
		Brown, R.	146, 149, 161, 162, 163, 164, 166, 177, 205, 206
		Brox, N.	178
		Bruce, F.	214

- Bruckner, R. 211
 Buchanan, G. 212–213
 Büchler, A. 120, 132
 Büchsel, F. 104, 105
 Buckley, J. 232–233
 Bugnini, A. 291
 Bultmann, R. 7, 148, 204, 205
 Burney, C. 177
 Buth, R. 54
 Cadbury, H. 214
 Cahill, M. 167
 Calvet-Sebasti, M.-A. 271
 Carleton Paget, J. 148, 150, 151, 157,
 158, 164, 196
 Casey, R. 229, 230, 240, 241
 Chabot, J. 267
 Charles, R. 85
 Charlesworth, J. 211
 Chavasse, A. 75, 303, 304, 305,
 309, 310, 312, 313,
 317
 Chazon, E. 85
 Coakley, J. 252, 325
 Cody, A. 182
 Collins, J. 80, 86
 Colson, F. 46, 47, 109, 110,
 111, 112, 113
 Connolly, R. 326, 327
 Conway, A.J. 75, 304, 315, 316
 Conybeare, F. 326
 Conzelmann, H. 214
 Cothenet, E. 251
 Cowley, A. 44, 62
 Cremer, F.G. 222
 Crossan, J. 146, 150, 157, 161–
 165, 167
 Cullmann, O. 251
 Culpepper, R. 244
 Daly, R. 265, 269
 Danby, H. 36
 Daniel, S. 102, 108
 Daniélou, J. 303, 305, 312
 Darnell, D.R. 342–343
 Davidson, Y. 34, 42, 50, 52, 53,
 137, 339, 343
 Davies, W. 166, 167, 168, 170
 Davila, J. 91
 Davis, R. 307
 Davison, J. 237
 De Coninck, A. 126, 232–233, 235,
 237
 de Halleux, A. 252, 325
 de Jonge, M. 83
 de Lange, N. 262–263
 de Strycker, E. 251
 Deiana, G. 18, 107, 108
 Deissmann, A. 48
 Dekkers, E. 264
 Denker, J. 161
 Der Nersessian, S. 291
 Derenbourg, J. 62
 Dershowitz, N. 300
 Desan, P. 9
 Devreesse, R. 265
 Dibelius, M. 161
 Dibelius, O. 240
 Dimant, D. 85, 87–88, 90
 Dindorf, L. 291
 Dindorf, W. 103
 Dodd, C. 176
 Dolle, R. 304, 315
 Doutreleau, L. 73
 Draguet 265
 Drake, H. 299
 Drijvers, J. 299
 du Cange, C. 272
 Duchesne, L. 307
 Dunn, J. 173, 174, 176, 203,
 214
 Durand, G. 7
 Duval, Y.-M. 57, 58
 Eckey, W. 214–215
 Eisler, R. 256
 Eizenhöfer, L. 304, 313
 Elbogen, I. 24, 26, 35, 49, 52,
 54, 55, 56, 60, 62,
 63, 120
 Elior, R. 134, 135
 Elliott, J. 179
 Engberding, H. 308, 324
 Epstein, Y. 20
 Ettlenger, G. 267, 267
 Falk, D. 37–45, 97
 Fee, G. 211
 Fernández Marcos, N. 74, 263, 267, 280
 Festugière, A.-J. 291, 295
 Fiensy, D. 335, 336, 342–343
 Fine, S. 71–72, 261, 269
 Fischer, L. 303, 305, 312, 312

- | | | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------------------|
| Fitzmyer, J. | 204, 214 | Guinot, J.-N. | 263, 267 |
| Fleischer, E. | 42, 44, 49, 50, 54,
55, 56 | Hacham, N. | 16, 97 |
| Foerster, W. | 233–234 | Hackett, H. | 214 |
| Francis, E. | 269–270 | Hager, D. | 166 |
| Franz, A. | 269 | Halbwachs, M. | 5 |
| Fraser, M. | 294, 296, 302 | Hallit, J. | 291, 300 |
| Freeland, J.P. | 75, 304, 315, 316 | Halton, T. | 246 |
| Freemantle, W. | 271 | Hamerton-Kelly, R. | 174 |
| Frey, J. | 176–177 | Hanhart, R. | 80, 81 |
| Frey, J.-M. | 48 | Hanson, P. | 7, 85–89 |
| Friedlander | 58 | Hanson, R.P.C. | 214 |
| Frolow, A. | 291 | Hanssens, J. | 269 |
| Fuller, R. | 162 | Harkins, P. | 274, 275, 279, 279 |
| Fung, R. | 174 | Harlé, P. | 103, 104 |
| Gaar, A. | 264 | Harrington, D. | 210 |
| Gager, J. | 1, 48, 277 | Hatch, E. | 104 |
| García-Martínez, F. | 90, 91 | Hawting, G. | 34 |
| Garitte, G. | 292, 324, 327, 328 | Heesterman, J. | 25 |
| Gartner, Y. | 46 | Heid, S. | 292 |
| Geerard, M. | 262 | Heimgartner, M. | 274, 301 |
| Geiger, A. | 85, 88 | Heine, R. | 234 |
| Gerlo, A. | 71, 307 | Heinemann, J. | 25, 49, 341 |
| Geyer, P. | 291, 323 | Heininger, B. | 189 |
| Gianotto, C. | 233–234 | Helm, L. | 151 |
| Gingras, G. | 291–292 | Helm, R. | 85–86 |
| Ginzberg, L. | 124 | Heiming, O. | 338 |
| Girard, R. | 165 | Hengel, M. | 116, 213, 244–245 |
| Glorie, F. | 262 | Hennecke, E. | 220 |
| Godu, G. | 304, 317 | Hermans, T. | 269 |
| Goitein, S. | 34, 64 | Herrmann, J. | 104, 105 |
| Goldschmidt, D. | 39, 40, 49, 50, 52,
56, 60, 63, 127,
139, 340 | Hespel | 265 |
| Goldschmidt, L. | 19 | Hilberg, I. | 75 |
| Goldstein, N. | 120, 131 | Himmelfarb, M. | 82–84, 90, 114,
182, 232, 242 |
| Goldstein Cohen, N. | 56 | Hock, R. | 251 |
| Goodenough, E. | 110, 335, 341 | Hoeck, J. | 255 |
| Goppelt, L. | 179 | Hoffleit, H. | 68 |
| Gordon, R.P. | 218 | Hoffman, L. | 49, 52, 60 |
| Grabbe, L. | 85, 87, 88, 90, 91,
161 | Hofius, O. | 116, 182, 183, 207,
211, 229, 231–232 |
| Gradwohl, R. | 170 | Holl, K. | 303 |
| Gramaglia, V. | 157 | Holladay, C. | 110 |
| Grässer, E. | 185, 186, 187 | Hollander, H. | 83 |
| Green, J. | 149, 162 | Holmes, M.W. | 217, 220 |
| Greenberg, M. | 80 | Horbury, W. | 148, 149, 188, 193 |
| Grillet, B. | 291, 295 | Hossfeld, F.-L. | 265 |
| Grintz, Y. | 43, 61, 63, 97 | Hovhannesian, V. | 263 |
| Griveau, R. | 325 | Hruby, K. | 120 |
| | | Hunt, E. | 294, 297, 299 |
| | | Hurst, L. | 182, 183, 189 |

- Hvalvik, R. 148, 149, 158
 Hyldahl, N. 246
 Irshai, O. 246, 249, 294, 297, 298
 Isaacs, M. 192
 Isenberg, W. 232–233
 Jacobson, H. 16, 210
 Jacquier, E. 214
 Janini, J. 303, 306
 Janowski, B. 87, 116
 Janssens, Y. 233–234
 Jegher-Bucher, V. 74, 274
 Jeremias, J. 177, 229
 Jervell, J. 214–215
 Jones, F. 247
 Jung, C.G. 7
 Jungmann 269
 Käsemann 185, 204
 Kazhdan, A. 291
 Kelly, J. 274
 Kennel, G. 211
 Kimelman, R. 1
 Kirk, A. 162
 Kister, M. 44, 45, 61, 161
 Klauck, H.-J. 115, 201
 Klingshirn, W. 314
 Klostermann 273
 Knibb, M. 86–87
 Knoch, I. 123, 188, 313–314
 Knöppler, T. 145–146, 197, 202, 204
 Kobelski, P. 91
 Koester, C. 182
 Koester, H. see Köster, H.
 Kohler, K. 335, 339
 Kosmala, H. 284
 Köster, H. 146, 149, 161, 162, 163, 164, 170, 192
 Kötting, B. 244
 Kovacs, J. 237, 239, 241, 242
 Kraft, R. 1, 148, 149, 150, 151
 Kraus, W. 22, 95, 105, 127, 146, 197–203, 205, 272
 Krauss, S. 71–72
 Kulik, A. 92–94
 Lake, K. 151, 153, 172, 214
 Lampe, G. 270, 271, 272
 Lampe, P. 232–233
 Lane, D. 102
 Lane, W. 181, 188, 190, 191
 Lang, B. 127
 Laporte, J. 107, 109
 Larsson, G. 19
 Latte, K. 297
 Lauterbach 30, 42, 65–67, 106, 125–126
 Lawlor, H. 247
 Le Boulluec, A. 237, 238–239
 Le Déaut 190
 Le Goff, J. 7
 Leclercq, H. 304, 343
 Lecuyer, J. 195–196
 Lehmann, M. 44
 Lenhardt, P. 209–210
 Leonhard, C. 69, 264
 Leonhardt, J. 107, 209
 Lévy-Strauss, C. 9
 Lewy, Heinrich 68, 70
 Liddell, H. 104
 Lieberman, S. 128, 251–252, 285
 Liebermann, S. see Lieberman, S.
 Liebreich, L. 49
 Lieu, J. 119, 205
 Ligier, L. 3, 272, 330n, 335–342
 Lilla, S. 237, 241
 Linder, A. 11, 276, 277
 Loader, W. 182, 184, 185, 190, 193–196
 Lohmeyer, E. 207, 208, 209, 211
 Lohse, E. 115, 185, 197
 Longenecker, R. 174
 Louf, A. 157, 167
 Lueken, W. 91, 231
 Lupieri, E. 196
 Luz, U. 166
 Lyonnet, S. 209
 Maccoby, H. 166
 Macdonald, J. 44
 Mach, M. 242
 Mack, H. 49
 Maher, M. 129
 Maier, J. 49, 135, 285
 Malachi, Z. 54, 59, 60, 61
 Manns, F. 251
 Mara, M. 161, 163, 164
 Marbach, E. 34, 75
 Marc, P. 92

- Marcovich, M. 155
 Marrou, H. 231, 231
 Martyn, J. 174
 Marx, F. 306
 Massingberd Ford, J. 170
 Mateos, J. 292, 298
 Mathews, E. 253, 264
 Mayer, G. 245
 McCollough, T. 263
 McLean, B.H. 127, 171, 173, 174,
 175, 176
 McNally, R. 304
 McNamara, M. 91
 McVey, K. 253
 Méhat, A. 237
 Meinhold, J. 19
 Mercenier, R. 291, 300
 Meritt, R. 167
 Merkel, J. 166
 Merklein, H. 197, 204
 Metzger, M. 217, 222, 275, 343
 Michel, O. 117, 170, 182, 185,
 186
 Milgrom, J. 18, 29, 30, 31, 100,
 106, 127
 Milik, J. 37, 87, 88, 90, 91,
 97, 115
 Mirkin, A. 177.
 Mirsky, A. 15, 32, 34, 59, 64,
 97, 286, 287
 Mittmann-Richert, U. 213
 Mohlberg, L. 304, 313
 Molenberg, C. 88
 Moo, D. 149, 162, 197, 199,
 199, 202, 204
 Morgan, M.H. 75
 Morgenstern, J. 56
 Morin, G. 303, 309, 312
 Morray-Jones, C. 85, 242
 Müller, K. 103
 Munck, J. 247
 Mutius, H.G. von 52, 134
 Naeh, S. 123, 188, 313–314
 Nathan, G. 314
 Nau, F. 323, 324
 Neiryneck, F. 162
 Netzer, E. 129
 Neusner, J. 20
 Newman, H. 71–72
 Newsom, C. 84, 85, 91
 Nibley, H. 270
 Nickelsburg, G. 82, 86, 87, 89, 162
 Niederwimmer, K. 218
 Nikiprowetzky, V. 109
 Nitzan, B. 37–44, 132
 Nocent, A. 303, 312
 Norlin, G. 103
 O'Brien, P.T. 207, 216, 217
 O'Fearghail, F. 32
 Offer, J. 54
 Ormann, G. 52
 Oswalt, J. 117
 Otto, R. 46
 Pagels, E. 233–234
 Painter, J. 244
 Paris, F. 291, 300
 Patlagean, E. 7
 Payne Smith 324
 Peiper, R. 264
 Perrot, C. 54, 56, 97
 Pesch, R. 214
 Petrosyan, E. 300
 Pfann, S. 132
 Philonenko 92, 93, 94
 Philonenko-Sayar, B. 92, 93, 94
 Pines, S. 277
 Porter, S. 244
 Pradels, W. 274, 301
 Pralon, D. 103, 104
 Pratscher, W. 244, 247
 Prigent, P. 148, 149, 150, 151,
 154, 157, 158
 Procter, E. 240–241
 Prostmeier, F. 148, 194, 196
 Puech, E. 90, 91
 Rabinovicz, R. 19, 31, 52, 53, 59,
 284
 Rabinovitz, Z. 59, 285
 Raes, A. 337
 Ramsay, G.G. 69
 Redpath, H. 104
 Reed, A. 138
 Reeg, G. 139
 Reingold, E. 300
 Rengstorf, K. 105
 Renoux, Ch. [=A.] 292, 294, 295, 298,
 300
 Reuss, J. 326
 Richard, M. 158
 Ricoeur, P. 8

- Rigg, H. 166
 Rissi, M. 182
 Ritter, A. 274
 Robinson, J. 232
 Rolfe, J.C. 68
 Roloff, J. 205
 Rordorf, W. 218
 Rosenberg, Y. 19, 24, 31, 59, 131
 Roth, C. 32, 60
 Rouwhorst, G. 213, 222, 265
 Rubin, Z. 299
 Rubinkewitz, R. 85, 89, 90, 92, 93, 94
 Rücker, A. 338
 Sabbah, G. 291, 295
 Sabourin, L. 173
 Säenz-Badillos, A. 74, 263, 267, 280
 Safrai, S. 20, 32, 120
 Sagnard, F. 229, 230, 238–239, 240
 Samter, E. 75
 Satran, D. 255
 Schäfer, P. 19, 52, 134, 135, 231
 Scharbert, J. 116
 Scheffelowitz, I. 46
 Schelkle, K. 178
 Scherman, N. 40, 65, 339
 Schiffman, L. 98
 Schlesier, R. 103
 Schlüter, M. 52, 134
 Schmithals, W. 214
 Schmitz, O. 107
 Schnackenburg, R. 177–178
 Schnelle, U. 176, 205, 224
 Schnusenberg, C. 269–270
 Scholem, G. 134, 231
 Schöllgen, G. 265, 270
 Schramm, T. 212
 Schümmer, J. 303
 Schwartz, D.R. 30, 107, 112, 117, 173, 174, 175, 252
 Schwartz, E. 247
 Schwartz, J. 294, 299, 301
 Schweizer, E. 207, 209, 216
 Schwemer, A. 255
 Scott, R. 104
 Scullard, H. 297
 Scullion, J.P. 22, 107
 Shinan, A. 54
 Shoham Steiner, E. 284
 Siegert, F. 35, 36, 57–58
 Siffrin, P. 304, 313
 Signer, M. 265
 Siles, J. 320
 Silver, D.J. 27
 Simon, M. 1–2, 72, 274
 Sindawi, K. 35
 Skarsaune, O. 150, 155, 156, 160, 196
 Smid, H. 251
 Spicq, C. 182
 Stählin, O. 238–239
 Stemberger, G. 55, 118, 119, 120, 123, 128, 129, 301, 302
 Sterling, G. 183–184
 Stern, M. 3, 68–72, 109, 172
 Stettler, C. 207, 209, 210, 216
 Stökl, D. (=Stökl Ben Ezra, D.) 8, 79, 86, 171–172, 173, 194, 195, 268
 Stökl Ben Ezra, D. 68, 212, 246, 303, 319
 Stone, M. 82, 84
 Strack, H. 62
 Strand, K. 146
 Strecker, G. 206
 Stroumsa, G. 195, 302
 Stuckenbruck, L. 86–87
 Stuhlmacher, P. 116, 176–177, 197, 200
 Sukenik, E. 129
 Suntrup, R. 269
 Swartz, M. 52, 59, 63, 64, 97, 137–138
 Synge, F.C. 195–196
 Tabory, J. 34, 49, 55, 106, 120
 Taft, R. 291
 Talley, T. 303, 305, 309, 310, 317
 Tappellini, S. 263, 265, 282
 Tarchnischvili, M. 292, 294, 298, 324, 327
 Telfer, W. 246
 ter Haar Romeny, B. 263
 Theissen, G. 7
 Thelwall, S. 71, 307
 Thornton, 161
 Tidwell, N. 217

- Tigchelaar, E. 86, 90, 91
 Tischendorf 251
 Tonneau, R.-M. 267
 Tränkle, W. 156, 158
 Treat, J. 162, 164
 Tuilier, A. 218
 Turner, J. 234
 Tyson, J. 215
 Urbach, E. 120, 132
 Vajda, G. 34
 van den Eynde, C. 69, 264
 van den Hoek, A. 237–238
 van der Woude, A. 90, 91
 van Esbroeck, M. 295, 299, 300, 302
 van Goudoever, J. 294, 295
 van Henten, J.W. 97, 116, 201
 van Tongeren, L. 291, 296, 299
 VanderKam, J. 86
 Veltri, G. 131
 Venetianer, L. 317, 320
 Verhelst, S. 3, 222, 251, 256,
 292, 293, 294, 296,
 298, 300, 327, 337–
 342
 Versnel, H. 172
 Verstrepen, J.-L. 303, 306, 308, 312
 Vincent, H. 294
 Volgger, E. 269–270
 Völker, W. 237
 Vollenweider, S. 211
 Watts, J. 117
 Weinfeld, M. 39, 43
 Weiss, H.-F. 183, 193
 Weiss, Z. 129
 Weissman Joselit, J. 282
 Wendland, H.-D. 212
 Wengst, K. 148, 150, 151, 156,
 177
 Wenschkewitz, H. 107, 109
 Werline, R. 37
 Werner, E. 317
 Whitby, M.&M. 291
 Wieder, N. 35, 49, 97
 Wilckens, U. 204
 Wildberger 80
 Wilken, R. 263, 265, 274, 282
 Wilkinson, J. 294
 Williams, D. 214
 Willis, G. 303
 Windisch, H. 148, 150, 157
 Winston, D. 132
 Wintermute, O. 48, 84, 96, 129
 Witherington, B. 214
 Wolfson 241
 Wong, C.-K. 195–196
 Wratislaw, A.H. 147, 167
 Wright, R.B. 34
 Wright, W. 266
 Wunderer, C. 320
 Yadin, Y. 30
 Yahalom, J. 59, 60, 63, 64, 129,
 285, 286
 Yoel, Y. 34, 42, 50, 52, 53,
 137, 339, 343
 Young, N.H. 22, 107, 145, 146,
 173, 177, 178, 179,
 187, 189, 197, 211
 Yuval, I. 1
 Zahn, T. 247, 256
 Zani, A. 158
 Zimmerli, W. 80, 187
 Zuckschwerdt, E. 248
 Zulai, M. 59, 285

Index of Names and Subjects

- Aaron 44n, 59, 63–64, 187–188, 336, 343n
his priesthood 108, 244
his ordination 63n, 95, 123, 128–129, 140, 188, 271–272
his rod 271
his sons 95, 102n, 123
- Abel 336
- ablution (*see* purification)
- Abraham 44n, 111, 325n, 336
as high priest 124n
blessing of 173
circumcision of 123–124, 140
his sacrifice of Isaac 66–67
in the Apocalypse of A. 92–94
- abstinence 33–34, 108, 248–249,
from eating and drinking 34, 47, 57, 71–72, 74–75, 312, 315
from haircutting 248–249
from oiling 34
from sex 34, 57, 249
from sleep 22–23, 29, 34–35, 57, 132
from washing 34, 249
from wearing shoes 74, 249
from wine and meat 248–249
from work 33, 312, 315
(*see also* kashrut, nudipedalia, sex, vigil)
- Adam 59, 236, 280, 336
- adoption (*see* influence)
- afflictions 33–36
mourning 33–35, 40, 70–71, 75n, 96, 99–101, 106, 129n, 150–152, 160, 219, 249
sorrow 44–45, 95, 100
wearing sackcloth and ashes 34, 57, 70–71, 106, 151, 219, 280
weeping 34, 40, 45, 96, 100, 129n
wipping oneself 34n
wounding oneself 34n
- (*see also* abstinence, atonement, fast, joy, nudipedalia, tears)
- Africa 334
- Aggadah (*see* Midrash)
- Alexandria 148n
Christian community in 205
Jewish prayers in 36–37, 46–48, 51n, 61, 65, 77
(*see also* Barnabas, Clement, Cyril, Origen, Philo, Pseudo-Philo)
- allegory
in Clement 238–243 and ritual implications for ritual 7, 204, 220–221
in Origen 266–267
in Philo 7, 78, 107–114
in polemics 278
- almsgiving 134, 268, 313–315
- Amalek 122, 124n
- Ambrose 250, 255, 267, 332
- Amidah 37n, 49–50
additions to 42, 43n, 49n, 50n, 52n, 209, 339
and the high-priestly prayer 24–25
- angels 80–94, 252–256
archangels 89, 230, 240
fallen 86–90, 92–94, 100, 121, 140, 330
fasting people compared to 132
Gabriel meeting Zechariah 325
God surrounded or served by 82–83, 85, 136, 182, 230–231, 240–242
high priest compared to 125, 132, 141, 189, 242, 328
high priest meeting 80–81, 125, 252–256
Mary nurtured by an 251n
polemics against worship of 216, 220

- animal sacrifice 28–33, 65–67
 (see also burnt offering, goats, *kapparot*, rams)
- annunciation
 of Gabriel to Zechariah
 250–255, 322–328, 332–333
- Antioch 10, 57, 205, 224, 261, 273–277, 301, 322
- apocalypticism 79–101, 329–330
 Azazel in 85–101
 and Gnosticism 231–232, 236, 242–243,
 and Hebrews 185–186, 194–197
 and Hekhalot texts 136
 high priest in 79–85, 89–92, 185–186, 194–197
 and Philo 112, 115–116
 and Rabbinic literature 128–130
 (see also imaginaire, apocalyptic; priests)
- apostolic (see influence)
- apotropaic 67, 130–131, 176, 177n, 245, 309n, 310n, 314
- Arabic 2, 324
 (see also Al-Biruni)
- Aramaic 54, 87n, 88n, 92, 122n, 177–178, 204, 218, 253n, 255
- Aravit 49 (see also evening)
- Aristides 220, 282n, 331
- ark of the covenant 21–22, 80, 105, 198, 203, 271, 278–279
- Armenian 2, 4n, 57–59, 262, 263, 264n, 272n, 291, 299–300, 301n
- Asael 85–90, 92, 138–139
- Ashura 34n, 325n
- Asia minor 119n, 148n, 161n, 256
- atonement 2–3, 114, 126–127
 and afflictions 47n, 96–97, 101, 114, 134, 181, 222, 253–254, 268
 and blood sacrifice (see sacrifice and *kapparot*)
 and charity or good deeds 134, 268, 313–315
 Christian in opposition to Jewish
 151, 153, 155, 273–275, 278–280, 283
 and creation 63–64, 208–210
 and the death of the sinner 133–134, 286
 and the death of a martyr 102, 115–116, 116–117, 130, 176, 268
 and the death of Jesus 145, 151, 153, 155, 171, 205–206, 208, 215, 219, 221–222, 226, 273–274
 eschatological 81–82, 91
 expiation vs. propitiation 15, 17
 and high-priestly garments 81, 126–127
 and the high-priestly intercession
 190, 194, 206, 253–254
 and high-priestly ritual 83–84, 318
 and *kapparot* 66–67, 126–127
 for mythological sins 96–97, 122–123
 as name of Yom Kippur 15–17
 and popular confessions 113–114, 126, 205–206, 217, 268
 and prayer 114, 222, 313n
 and red ribbon 131, 170, 284
 and repentance 114, 126, 134, 217, 253–254
 and sacrifices 105, 114, 126, 156, 190, 200
 and scapegoat 88, 94, 106, 113, 116–117, 127–129, 156
 and the True Cross 298–302
 universal 113, 133, 206, 208
 vicarious 102, 115–116, 116–117, 130, 145, 205–206, 219, 221–222, 226, 268, 286
- Augustine 263, 266, 267n, 283, 314, 320n
- Augustus 68n, 70
- Azazel 98, 141, 160
 as Demon 24n, 67, 79–80, 85–95, 98, 121
 goat for 24n, 29, 128
 and *kapparot* 67
 mythologization of 79, 80, 85–95, 141
- Babylonian prayers (see prayers)
- baptism 188, 193, 206, 210n, 293n, 233, 239, 268, 313n
- Barabbas 147, 165–171, 224, 266, 267, 330
- biblical (see influence)
- blood
 absence of 83, 100, 108, 279
 allegorized 112–113
 and Joseph 96–97

- animal and human 130
 atoning 97, 105, 115, 126–127, 127,
 172, 198, 205, 208
 Jesus' 166, 172, 187–193, 198, 205,
 208
 sacrifices 25–32, 65–67, 105, 127–
 130, 187–193, 205–206
 in *Seder Avodah* 60
 (see also sprinkling)
- Boethusians 30, 106, 126n
 bookish (see influence)
 Booths (see Sukkot)
 Brahmins 25
 bridal chamber 3, 85, 126, 228, 232–
 237, 239, 242–243, 330
 burnt offerings 21n, 29n, 31, 32, 129,
 152–153, 254, 271
 Caesarea 77, 132, 261, 262n, 273, 277,
 299n
 Cain 336
 Calendar, Babylonian 296–297, 309–
 311, 323–327
 Tishri 4, 69, 123–124, 253–254, 290,
 293n, 301–302, 308n, 311, 320, 322,
 323, 324–327, 331–333
 Marheshvan, Heshvan 301, 326
 Kislev 308n, 326
 Tevet 311, 326
 Shvat 326
 Adar 326
 Nisan 97, 123–124, 213n, 256, 308n,
 311n, 326, 327n, 331
 Sivan 308n
 Tammuz 56n, 311, 327
 Av 249, 311, 327
 Elul 136, 326
 Calendar, festal (see festival)
 Calendar, Julian 296–297, 309–311,
 323–327
 January 309, 311
 March 326, 327n
 April 250n, 311n, 326
 June 308–311
 July 309–311, 327
 August 296n, 297n, 309–311
 September 4, 74, 253–254, 293–303,
 303–322, 323–327, 328n
 October 254, 296n, 311n, 323–327
 November 309, 324n
 December 304, 305n, 306n, 308n,
 309, 311, 323, 324n
 Calendar, Qumran 37
 Canonization
 of Christian texts 3, 146, 226, 261,
 267, 331
 of Jewish prayers 54
 of Jubilees 99
 of Mishnah 119
 Celsus 172
 Christ (see Jesus)
 Christian Jews
 definition of term 10
 festival calendar 6, 204, 212n, 213–
 218, 273
 and high priests 256
 imaginaire 78, 85, 94–95, 118, 145–
 227, 329
 and the temple 7n, 218, 221
 Christmas 9–10, 253, 257, 281–282,
 290, 305n, 324n
 Chrysostom (see John Chrysostom)
 circumcision 220, 273
 of Abraham 123–124, 140
 Clement of Alexandria 30n, 228, 232,
 237–243, 330
 Clement of Rome 172, 194n, 218n, 270
 compassion (see mercy)
 compulsion (see influence)
 confession
 and atonement 59–60, 114, 126
 and Jesus 186–187
 and the *kapparot* 67
 and mystical prayer 138
 in the Passion narrative 167–170
 as prayer (*vidduy*) 39, 48, 50, 51–54,
 59–60, 65, 126, 127, 205–206, 212,
 217, 268, 286, 314, 335–342
 in the temple 21n, 24–27, 29n, 31,
 59–60, 127, 136, 169
 Constantine 295, 297, 299n
 Coptic 2, 324
 cosmology, cosmological 79, 83, 94,
 108–114, 132, 180, 216, 226, 231
 Council of Laodicea 276n
 covenant 42, 44n, 187–188
 renewal of 42, 45, 95, 122, 124, 188
 creation
 in Christian prayers 336, 342–343
 in Colossians 207–210

- in Hebrews 189
- in Philo 108, 113
- in Qumran prayers 41, 43, 210n
- in rabbinic texts 122, 123
- in *Seder Avodah* 45n, 59, 63–64
- in Sirach 209n
- curse
 - and scapegoat 31n, 108, 152–154, 157, 175
 - of Jesus 154, 164, 173–176
 - against Jewish priests 279
 - against Christian priests 287
- Cyprian
 - of Carthage 270–271
 - of Gaul 264, 282, 283
 - Pseudo- 320n
- Cyril
 - of Alexandria 4n, 20n, 29n, 69, 77, 262–268, 279–283
 - of Jerusalem 274, 297–299, 302, 326n
- Damascus 205
- dance 36, 57
 - Jewish d. in Jewish sources 36, 57
 - Jewish d. on Sukkot 296
 - Jewish d. witnessed by pagans 69–70, 72, 74, 77, 250n, 280–282
 - Muslim d. on Ashura 34n
- dangerous ones in between 1, 273, 333
(*see also* Christian Jews, God-fearers, Jewish Christians and Judaizers)
- Daniel bar Tubanita 264
- Days of Awe 73, 121
- David 5, 183n, 194
- Delos 39, 48, 58
- demons (*see* Azazel, Shemihaza, devil, Satan)
- demythologization 106
- destruction of the temple 13, 18–19, 35, 126, 135, 139, 221, 227, 236, 283–284, 311, 329, 331
- Dionysus 68
- devil (*see* Satan) 67, 80–81, 94, 121, 127–130, 136, 180, 185, 193, 206, 314, 318, 328 (*see also* demons)
- diaspora
 - Babylonian 54–59, 65, 119
 - Mediterranean 14, 33–34, 45–48, 54–59, 101–118, 119, 223
(*see also* prayers, Philo, Septuagint)
- Dio Chrysostomus 199
- dream 22, 165, 169
- Dura Europos 118
- Easter 4n, 124, 213n, 218, 256, 290, 292n, 293, 307, 317, 321n
(*see also* Passover)
- Egypt 45, 95, 111, 172, 292n, 334
(*see also* Alexandria)
- Elijah 55, 248, 324n
Apocalypse of 48
- Elisha 343n
- Ember Days 303–322, 333
- Encaenia 290–303, 332
- Enoch 82–83, 89, 343n (*see also* *1 Enoch*)
- Entrance (*see* high priest and holy of holies)
- Ephrem
 - on Christ's birth 255
 - on Yom Kippur 16n, 73, 76–77, 280–283, 332
 - on Zechariah 250, 253n, 325, 328
 - Pseudo-Ephrem 264, 267n, 268n, 293n
- Epiphanius 245, 246–249, 256n
- eschatology, eschatological 76, 85–95, 97–100, 115–116, 181–197, 203–204, 226–227, 318, 329–330
- atonement 91, 181, 226–227
- high-priestly liberator 90–92, 101, 185–186, 226–227
- in Gnosticism 229–231, 236, 243
- in Philo 108, 112
- judgment 82
- liberation 95, 98–99, 140, 181, 185–186
- meal 157
- purification 81, 91, 115
- victory over evil 41, 85–90, 94, 95, 98, 115–116, 138, 141, 181, 185–186
- esoteric knowledge 23, 84, 130n, 137–139, 237, 241 (*see also* priests, secret knowledge)
- Essenes (*see* Qumran)
- Eucharist
 - contrasted with fast 72, 151–161, 210n, 219, 224

- and templization 226, 233, 261, 269–272
- and Yom Kippur 269–272, 4n, 335–343
- Eusebius of Caesarea
 - on Yom Kippur 15, 68–69, 274, 282–283, 332
 - on James 246–249,
 - on the Holy Sepulcher 271, 291, 297
- Eusebius of Emesa 263
- Eve 59, 236
- evening
 - of Jacob lamenting 96, 129n
 - star 280
 - Tamid 29n, 32
 - of Yom Kippur 73–74
 - (*see also* Aravit)
- Exaltation of the Cross 4, 290–303, 332
- Exegesis of Leviticus
 - Christian 76, 148–149, 261–289
 - function of 8, 76–77, 268, 277–283
 - Jewish 18–19, 21, 23, 27, 113, 283–288
 - (*see also* allegory, typology)
- expiation (*see* atonement)
- fast
 - apotroic function 314
 - and the battle with Amalek 122
 - described by non-Jews 68–77, 253–254, 278–283, 315–316, 326–327
 - on the Exaltation of the Cross 300–302
 - of Gedaliah 318
 - as means of atonement 140, 73n, 313
 - as name for Yom Kippur 15–17, 107, 117
 - in the Diaspora 106–107, 114, 117
 - in Islam 34n
 - in Karaism 34n
 - and public fasts 56n, 57–58, 64, 72n
 - observed by non-Jews 22n, 213–218, 227, 273–277, 330–331, 343
 - polemized against by Christians 219–223, 277–283, 331
 - purifying aspect 48n
 - as punishment 101
 - in Qumran 100
 - in Samaritanism 34n
 - of the Seventh Month (*see* Ember Days)
 - on Yom Kippur 34
 - paschal 4n, 222n, 307, 308n, 317
 - Fast of the Seventh Month (*see* Ember Days).
- festivals
 - Christian participation in Jewish 71–72, 74, 77, 157, 213–223, 261, 273–277, 282, 283, 288, 306, 315–316, 322, 329, 331–334
 - Jewish observance of 46, 306
 - pagan observation of 71–72, 214
 - Jewish influence on Christian 290–328
 - (*see also* Hannukah, New Moon, Passover, Rosh Hashanah, Sabbath Shuvah, Sukkot; Christmas, Easter, Ember Days, Encaenia, Epiphany, Exaltation, Lent, Pentecost, Sunday; Ashura; Ides, *Ludi Romani*, *Thargelia*)
- food prohibitions (*see* fast, Kashrut)
- forgiveness (*see* atonement, mercy)
- Gabriel 87–88, 250–254, 322–329
- Gaonites 50n, 56, 60, 65–67, 134
- garments
 - bells on 155
 - change of 28–32, 81, 93–94, 111–112, 135–136, 193, 239, 241–243
 - festal garments of people 36, 57–58, 71–72, 77, 128, 280
 - garb of light 233, 235, 238, 239
 - garment of opinions 112
 - golden garments 22n, 28–32, 96n, 170n, 196n, 240
 - heavenly garments 80, 93, 125, 135–136, 239
 - interpretation of golden garments 96–97, 111–112, 122–123, 126, 155, 238
 - Joseph's garment 96, 129n
 - linen garments of high priest 28–32, 58, 81–83, 122–123, 247
 - linen garments of priests 80, 82–83
 - messianic 163, 170
 - of *pharmakos* 171
 - ragged clothes 74–75, 315
 - white garments of people 35
 - white garments of priests 82, 125
 - (*see also* sackcloth)

- Gentile Christian(s)
 audience 22n, 148n, 176, 201–202, 224n
 definition 10, 274n
 festal calendar 212n, 216, 222–223, 227, 331
 Hegesippus as 246n
 mission to the 158–159, 173
 salvation for 174–176, 203–204
- Georgian 2, 291–293, 339n,
gezera shavvah 26n, 122n
- Gnosticism 30n, 79, 134, 140, 185n, 228–244
- goats 127–130, 150–161, 165–171, 202–203, 266–267
 and Joseph 67, 95–97
 and *kapparot* 66–67, 128–130
 lottery between 21n, 29, 98, 113, 117, 165, 166–169, 278
 sacrificial goat 29–32, 60–61, 96n, 138, 152–161, 169–171, 187, 192, 208, 279
 similarity of two 29, 152–157, 159–160, 167–170, 266
 third goat 28n, 32, 150–152, 157, 160–161
 as two kinds of humans 113
 (*see also* scapegoat)
- God
 compassion of 39, 45, 48n, 95, 122–123, 129, 134, 203, 253, 295, 313
 grace of 46
 judgment by 52, 58, 121, 122–123, 201, 210
 lot of 98
 omniscience of 39, 48n, 58, 201, 341
 presence of 39, 48n, 79, 81, 106, 126, 135, 180–191, 193–194, 208, 249, 256
 throne of 80, 82
 vision of 79–85, 100, 107, 110–112, 114, 134–139, 232, 236–243
 wrath of 200, 203, 279
 (*see also* name)
- God-fearers 214–215, 219, 222, 342
- golden garments (*see* garments)
- Gregory of Nazianz 4n, 271–272
- Haftarah 55–59, 76, 156, 280
- Halakhah
 and *Didache* 218
 and historicity 19–28
 and Josephus 22
 and *kapparot* 67
 and Matthew 169
 and Philo 61–62
 and polemics 284, 288
 of post-temple prayers 49–65, 340
 and Proto-typology 159–160, 175, 223–224, 267–268, 332
 and the Septuagint 105
 of temple ritual 28–33
- Hanukkah 281–282, 294, 308n, 310
- Hegesippus 218, 246–250, 254–255, 256n, 257, 331
- Hekhalot 59n, 79, 118, 125, 134–139, 140, 228, 231, 242, 329
- Hellenistic Judaism 46–48, 101–118, 204–205
- Hezekiah 343n
- high priest, high-priestly 124–127
 becoming superhumane 110–112, 125, 242, 279
 bishops as 245, 269–272
 celebration at the end of Yom Kippur 33, 126
 Christian as 268–269
 confession 21n, 24–27, 29n, 31, 51, 59–60, 127, 136, 169
 corruption 124–126
 entrance to the holy of holies 30–31, 80, 82–83, 110–112, 125, 180, 229–243
 interceding 30, 83, 186–187, 189–190, 206, 218, 246–249, 253–255, 269, 222, 245, 269
 James as 246–150
 Jesus as 160, 180–197, 206, 213, 218, 225–226, 229–230, 233–234, 253–254, 261, 265–266, 318–320
 John as 256
 Messiah 90–92, 101, 195–196, 223
 mystic as 79–85, 110–112, 134–139, 233–243
 in polemics 278–279, 284–288
 popular imitation of 132
 popular observation of 32, 60–61, 269
 praying 19, 24–28, 30, 32, 83, 109, 113, 186–187, 189, 247–248, 253–254, 256–257

- reading 24–27, 32–33, 55, 58–59, 61
 sacrificing 28–33, 59–64, 187–189, 335–336
 Simeon as 255–256
 in Valentinian Soteriology 228–243
 vigil 22–23, 29, 132
 visions of God 79–85, 110–112, 134–139, 233–243
 wise man as 110–112
 Zechariah as 250–255, 322–328
 (*see also* visions of God)
 Hippolytus 154, 158–159, 195, 224, 256, 332
 holy of holies
 in Christian churches 271–272, 296
 entered by believers 188, 190–191
 entered by Gnostics 230, 233–237, 241
 entered by high priest 30–31, 80, 229–243
 entered by James 247–248
 entered by Jesus 180–197
 entered by mystic 79–85, 110–112, 134–139, 238–243
 entered by Zechariah 150
 heavenly 83–85, 110–112
 (*see also* high priest, intercession, sprinkling)
 Holy Sepulcher 271, 290, 293, 301–302
 hymns 206–212
 (*see also* *piyyut*, *Seder Avodah*)
 Ides of September 297
 Ignatius of Antioch 10, 194n, 217n
imaginaire
 definition of 8–10
 of Yom Kippur:
 Apocalyptic 79–100, 112, 115, 136, 193–197, 226
 early Christian 101, 145–227, 327
 Gnostic 100, 228–243
 Greek Diaspora 101–118
 Jewish 78–139, 243, 252, 255
 Rabbinic 118–134
 incense 21n, 24, 28, 30, 80n, 84, 100, 106, 108, 111–113, 126, 193, 250, 252, 279
 incense altar 188–189, 193n, 240–241, 242n, 253n
 influence
 adoption 5–6, 243, 288–289, 310–312, 317, 328n, 321–322, 339–341
 apostolic 4, 5, 145–227, 243, 306, 310–312, 316
 biblical 5, 311–312, 317, 339–341
 bookish 5, 57–58, 261–262, 282, 288, 301, 315–321, 328, 331
 compulsion 5–6
 definitions of types of 4–6
 Ortsgeist 5, 301, 333
 reaction 5–6, 289, 320n, 321
 (*see also* polemics)
 iniquity 39–40, 42, 43n, 51, 53n, 92n, 138, 175, 338 (*see also* sin)
 intercession
 of animals 58
 of Enoch 82–83
 of high priest 30, 83n, 246–249, 253–255, 269, 222, 245, 269
 of James 218, 221, 246–250
 of Jesus 181, 185, 189–190, 193–194, 206, 222, 253
 of Moses 55, 318
 popular intercession replacing high-priestly 222, 269, 313n
 prophetic 83n
 of Zechariah 253–255
 (*see also* high priest)
 Irenaeus 222n, 228, 233, 252n
 Isaac 43, 66–67, 129–130, 151, 336
 Islam 34n, 252n, 325n, 333
 Ivo of Chartres 269, 270n
 Jacob 43, 44n, 95–96, 128–129, 325n, 336
 Jacob of Sarug 69, 267, 281
 James the Just 3, 218, 243–250, 256–257, 323, 331
 Jerome 75n, 76, 247, 256, 267, 271, 296, 306, 311, 332
 Pseudo-Jerome 167
 Jerusalem
 benediction about 24n
 Christian Jews of 192, 215, 218, 256
 churchfathers from 77, 250n, 263, 271, 274, 282
 date for annunciation to Zechariah 324–327
 daughters of 36
 finding of relics in 323
 mountains of 88
 in polemics 155–156, 278

- qibla* to 72n
 transition of priests from 64
 (see also anonymous of Jerusalem, Cyril, Encaenia, Exaltation, Hesychius, temple)
- Jesus
 as atonement 156, 205–206
 crucifixion of 149, 154, 166–167, 187
 as high priest 180–197
 identical with Barabbas 167–169
 as *kapporet* 197–205
 Parousia of 154–160, 167, 181, 190, 193
 Passion of 147, 148–161, 161–165, 165–171, 180, 223, 225, 236, 291n
 as scapegoat 147–179, 206, 267–268, 270n
 (see also atonement, curse, high priest, intercession, scapegoat)
- Jewish Christians
 community in Jerusalem 301–302
 definition 10
 festival calendar 212–213, 218, 222–223, 244, 245–246, 257, 273–274
 and Gnostics 243
 influence on “Judaizers” 277, 321–322, 342
 legends 244–257
 (see also Hegesippus, Porphyry)
- Job 336, 343n
- John Chrysostom 74–77, 221–222, 250, 274–275, 278–283, 295, 315, 331–333
- Josef 126n, 138–139, 336
- Josephus 22–23, 78, 105, 117, 130, 199–200, 202, 214, 330
- Joshua son Jehozadak 80–81, 95, 195, 200
- Joshua son of Nun 195, 200, 336, 343n
- joy
 33–36, 69, 72–73, 77, 99, 280–281
 (see also afflictions; dance; high priest, celebration)
- Judaizers 77, 273–275, 277, 306, 315–317, 321–322
- judgment 121–122, 163, 165, 203, 210
 Yom Kippur as judgment day 36, 52, 57, 80n, 82, 83n, 87–88, 91, 94, 124, 140
- Julian 266
- Justin Martyr 155–156, 157–160, 281, 283, 332, 336
- Justinian 6
- Juvenal 69–70, 74
- kapparat* 65–67
- kapporet* (ἱλαστήριον, כַּפֹּרֶת, קַפָּוּרָה) 30, 80, 104–106, 115, 127, 187, 197–205, 261, 266, 270, 272, 299–300, 302, 331
- Karaites 34n, 35
- kashrut 216, 220
- Kingdom of God 49n, 135, 136, 138, 139, 153, 154, 207, 208, 209n (see also “malkhuyot”)
- Lamb of God 147, 176–179, 226, 254
- Lectios (see reading)
- Lent 304, 305, 321n
- Leo the Great 74–77, 281–283, 304–306, 312–317, 320–322, 332–333
- Levi (Amoraite) 53
- Levi (son of Jacob) 44n, 64, 83, 113, 137n, 238, 284 (see also Aaron)
- Levite 95, 148n, 234n, 238, 239, 244, 255, 330 (see also Aaron)
- liturgy (see festivals, ritual)
- Lot 336, 343n
- ludi Romani* 297
- magic 66, 131
- manna 33, 41, 45, 47, 73n, 97, 100, 124n, 271
- Marcion 156
- martyrs, martyrdom 78, 115–116, 139n, 154, 176, 198–201, 223n, 268
- Mary 251, 255, 256n, 323, 327n
- Melchizedek 64, 90–92, 98–99, 184, 191, 232, 284, 334, 336
- memory
 collective 4, 5n, 145
 and the Passion narrative 149
 of the temple ritual 19, 23, 27–28, 88, 139
- mercy 134, 137, 342–343
 and afflictions 34n, 45, 100, 253
 alms and 313–314
 Christian requests for divine 295, 298
 and name of Yom Kippur 16,
 and repentance 95,

- and sacrifices 129, 313–314
- special season of 45, 95
- mercy seat (*see kapporet*)
- Merkavah (*see Hekhalot*)
- Metatron 135
- Michael 84n, 89, 90–91, 184n, 231n, 291n
- Michael Syros 264
- Minhah 49, 50n, 55–56, 60n
- miracles 22n, 47, 125, 288
- Mishnah
 - attitude towards high priests 125
 - and historicity 19–28, 136–137, 202
 - Temple ritual 28–33, 119–120, 124–131
 - ritual of the people 33–36, 49–65, 119–120, 133, 202, 217, 249 (*see also rabbis*)
- mission to the Gentiles (*see Gentiles*)
- Mordechai 343n
- Moses 47, 55, 73n, 111, 121–122, 318, 325n, 336
- mourning (*see afflictions*)
- Mysticism
 - Clementine 237–243
 - Hekhalot 134–139
 - Philonic 110–112, 237–239, 242–243
 - proto-mysticism 79–85
 - Valentinian 228–243 (*see also visions*)
- myth, mythical, Mythology
 - definition 7–8
 - and Gnostic soteriology 228–232
 - and the Holy Land 6, 301–302
 - and *imaginaire* 9
 - and Passion 145–171, 173–206, 223–226, 329
- mythological events
 - connected to Yom Kippur 66–67, 85–95, 95–97, 121–124, 128, 140, 181, 328, 329
- mythologization 79
 - of Azazel 85–95, 128–129
 - of high priest 79–85
 - of Jesus 145–171, 173–206, 223–226, 268, 329 (*see also demythologization*)
- Nachmanides 67
- Nadav and Avihu 95
- name(s)
 - God's 41, 60, 135–139, 189, 211–212, 217, 240–242, 338
 - Jesus' 189, 211–212
 - of Yom Kippur 15–17
- Nazirites 215n, 245, 248–249
- Ne'ilah 43n, 49, 50n, 56, 132, 343
- New Moon 108n, 136, 216, 220
- Noah 43, 44n, 95, 140, 199, 300n, 325n, 336
- nudipedalia 34n, 70n, 74–75, 315, 322
- observance of Yom Kippur
 - by Christians 213–223, 273–277
 - by Jews 46, 71–72
 - by pagans 214n (*see also God-fearers*)
- observation of high priest by people (*see high priest*)
- ordo commendationis animae* 343
- Origen 15, 77, 110, 168, 172, 220–224, 234, 261–269, 273–283, 289, 329, 331–332
- Ortsgeist* (*see influence*)
- Oxyrhynchus 62
- Pagans 1, 3, 8, 199–200, 220
 - celebrating Yom Kippur 71–72, 214n
 - as converts to early Christianity 222–223, 227, 268, 332
 - describing the Jewish Yom Kippur 68–70
 - enculturation of pagan concepts in Judaism 101–106
 - and the Encaenia 297
 - majority of inhabitants of Jerusalem 301–302
 - origin of the Ember Days 309–310, 322 (*see also nudipedalia, pharmakos, ludi Romani*)
- Palestine 5, 16, 33,
 - Christian Jewish competition in 273–274, 278, 283–289, 334–343
 - Jewish prayers 37–46, 49, 50, 52
 - readings in 54–59 (*see also Apocalypse of Abraham, Encaenia, Exaltation, I Enoch, Eusebius, Jerusalem, Josephus, Jubilees, Origen, prayers, Seder*)

- Avodah*, temple ritual, *Testament of Levi*, Zechariah)
- Palm Sunday 296n
- Parousia 154–161, 181, 190, 193
- Participation of People
(see high priest - popular observation of; observance of Yom Kippur)
- Passover, Paschal 2, 41
Aqedah on 123–124
Christian observance of 273
circumcision of Abraham on 123–124
Lamb 155, 176–177
release of prisoner on 166
(see also Easter)
- Paul 171, 173–176, 197–205, 208, 211–212, 214n, 215–216, 219, 221, 224–227, 266, 330–331, 343n
- Peace 44, 49n, 65n, 98, 111, 113n, 132, 167, 208, 210
- Pentecost 2, 213, 215n, 290, 304, 305n, 308n, 310, 312n, 317
- Persia (see also Babylonia)
- Peter 343n
- Pharisees 30, 99, 113, 126, 202, 316
- pharmakos* 147, 155, 171–173, 176, 223n, 224, 268, 332
- Philo 46–48, 107–114, 237–239, 242–243
- Pinhas 343n
- Plato and Platonism 103n, 112, 114, 182–184
- Plutarch 36, 68–69
- polemics
anti-Christian 283–289
anti-Jewish 72, 148–161, 219–222, 277–289, 295, 315–317
pagan 68–70
(see also influence, polemical)
- Polycarp 194, 256
- Polycrates 245, 256
- Porphyry staurophylax 299
- prayers 36–65, 207–212, 284–289, 314–315, 335–343
atonement function 46
Babylonian 49–64
Christian 314–315, 330, 335–343
continuity of synagogue with temple 18–19, 24–28, 64–65, 136
day-long 45, 46, 49, 61
in the Diaspora 46–48
heavenly 82, 85, 135, 135–139, 240, 241–242
Hekhalot 137–138, 139
obligatory 49–50, 58
observed by Christians 71–73, 76, 77, 280–281
Palestinian 37–46, 49, 50, 52
Qumran 37–46
rabbinic 49–64, 284–288, 335–343
sacrifices and 100, 102, 133
(see also confession, Aravit, Haftarah, high priest, intercession, James, Minhah, Ne'ilah, observance of Yom Kippur, Priestly blessing, readings, *Seder Avodah*, Shaharit, templization, Zechariah)
- presence of God (see God)
- priest(s), priestly
and apocalypticism 79, 82–83, 232
and *Barnabas* 148n
benediction over 24
blessing 49
in Christianity 215n, 245, 270–271, 332
eating sin offering 32, 150–152, 157
Josephus as 22
ordination of 84n, 123, 187–188, 313
and Philo 30n, 108–113, 118
and polemics, 7, 82n, 152–156, 184, 278–279, 284–288, 332
priestly origin of *Seder Avodah* 45n, 63–64, 284–288
rivalry with sages 125
secret priestly knowledge 23, 84, 130n, 135–139, 237
Simeon as 256–257
the wicked 98
(see Gnosticism, high priest, *Seder Avodah*, esoteric knowledge)
- propitiation (see atonement)
- Proto-Typology 81n, 147–161, 165, 196, 219, 223–227, 267–268–332
- purification 127
of the high priest 29, 81n, 102n, 238–240
affliction as 46, 96
by baptism 193

- eschatological 81, 89, 91
 and the Fast of the Seventh Month
 309n, 312–316, 322
 Greek p. rites 171
 and Isaiah 80n
 by Jesus 187–189, 205–206
 of the land 81, 89, 115
 of the mystic 135–136
 of people 96, 99, 108n, 187–189
 of the sanctuary 106, 182n, 187–189
 before Yom Kippur 29, 73
 Qaraites (*see* Karaites)
 Quartadecimans 256
 Qumran 37–46, 90–92, 97–100
 Rab 52
 Rabbi 133
 Rabbi Abbahu 125n, 133n
 Rabbi Aqiva 23, 32n, 102n, 136, 139,
 284
 Rabbi Ba bar Bina 52
 Rabbi Eliezer 23, 32n
 Rabbi Hamnuna 53
 Rabbi Meir 121n, 133
 Rabbi Yehudah 53, 62, 121, 133n
 Rabbi Yehudah HaNasi 17n, 19
 Rabbi Yishmael 128n, 130n, 131, 133–
 134, 135
 Rabbi Yohanan 132
 Rabbi Yonathan 53
 Rabbi Yosef 248
 Rabbi Yosef Qaro 67
 Rabbis 28–33, 49–65, 118–134, 283–
 284
 rain 44, 75n, 248
 ram
 and the Aqedah 129
 Christian typologization of 266
 confused with goats 128
 in the *kapparot* ritual 66–67, 130
 moment of sacrifice of 23, 31
 number of 22, 28n, 31, 112n
 Philo on the sacrifice of the 108
 the rabbis on the sacrifice of the 124,
 128
 Rashba 67
 Rava 53
 Ravva bar Qisi 117n, 130, 140, 330
 reaction (*see* influence)
 readings
 high priestly 24–27, 32–33, 55, 58–
 59, 61
 on Sabbath Shuva 56, 319
 on the Annunciation to Zechariah
 244, 327–328
 on the Encaenia 294–295, 298
 on the Fast of the Seventh Month 76,
 304, 310, 317–322
 on Yom Kippur 54–59, 65, 76, 77,
 99, 319–321, 321–322
 ritual status of 58–59
 (*see also* Haftarah)
 Rechabites 249, 256n
 Red Heifer 169, 170n, 188n
 red ribbon 29, 124, 129, 130–131, 159–
 160, 165, 268, 279, 283–284
 redemption 121, 123–124, 140, 173–
 176, 186, 189–191, 198, 207–210,
 233
 reenactment
 of eschatological myth 98, 141
 of Jewish Christian legends 322–329
 reciting Bible as 54, 61
 reciting the Mishnah as 28
 in Second Temple Judaism 33, 45–
 46, 61–62, 65, 114, 140, 161n
 in *Seder Avodah* 33, 50, 51, 59–61,
 127
 renewal of covenant (*see* covenant)
 repentance
 of Azazel 128
 and Christian liturgy 318–319, 320n,
 342–343
 confession as manifestation of 54
 created before the world 132
 in *de solstitiis* 253–254
 golden calf and 124, 129
 in Hebrews 186
 in Hekhalot literature 136
 Joseph's brothers and 48, 51, 95–96,
 100, 101, 126n, 132
 in Justin 155–156, 160
 Noah's 95
 in Origen 266
 in Philo 108, 114, 132
 as πιστις 201
 in Pseudo-Jonah 57
 in Qumran 38–39, 45, 132
 in rabbinic sources 24n, 119, 121,
 124, 126, 128, 132–134
 and the readings of the Fast of

- and the rogations 314n
 September 318–319
 in Romans 201, 203
 of Shemihaza 128
 ten Days of Awe and 121
 vicarious repentance 133
 (*see also* atonement, mercy)
- resurrection 213n, 233, 271
 (*see also* Jesus, Parousia, Passion)
- revelation
 in Gnosticism 236–237
 on Mount Sinai 95
 natural laws and 325
 and Zechariah 250–252, 257, 325, 328
- rite 6–7
 definition of 6
 (*see also* afflictions, animal sacrifice, baptism, bridal chamber, circumcision, Eucharist, ritual, scapegoat, sprinkling)
- ritual 6–7
 definition of 6
 of the people 33–77, 107–109, 132–134
 in the temple 28–33, 109–114, 124–132
 (*see also* afflictions, animal sacrifice, bridal chamber, entrance, Eucharist, festivals, reading, reenactment, temple ritual)
- Rome 70, 74–75, 205, 214–216, 221, 273, 303–322, 329
 (*see also* Clement, Hippolytus, Justin, Juvenal, Leo)
- Rosh Hashanah
 and creation 208–209
 and Christians 275, 318–319
 as judgment day 36n, 38n, 39n, 121, 210
 mythological events on 123–124
 prayers 44n, 208–209, 285
 and Shofar 76
- Sabbath, Saturday
 anti-Christian polemics and 285
 Christian polemics against 216, 220
 Christian observance of 212n, 215n
 Christianization of 2
 and Ember Days 304–305, 307, 310–312, 317–318, 320
 and name of Yom Kippur 16, 69–70, 217–218
 in pagan texts 68
 in Philo 108n
 prayers on 49
 prohibition to fast on 307
 rest 89, 98n
 as Yom Kippur 69–70, 89, 98n, 217–218
 Yom Kippur falling on 120
 (*see also* Sabbath Shuva, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*)
- Sabbath Shuva 56, 318–319
- sackcloth and ashes 34, 57, 70, 71n, 106, 151, 219, 280
- sacred space
 open space 70–72, 280
 (*see also* synagogue, temple, church)
- sacred time
 in Hebrews 181
 in Qumran 97–100
 (*see also* calendar, eschatological, festivals)
- sacrifice, sacrificial
 animal 28–33, 65–67, 120, 150
 human 65–66, 117, 130, 158, 171–173, 181, 187
 rabbinic interpretation of 124–130
 spiritual 25, 64–65, 84–85, 108, 112–114, 132–133, 180, 181, 186, 187–189, 265–272
 and suffering servant 116–117
 (*see also* blood, burnt offering, high priest, *pharmakos*, prayer, priest, sin offering, temple)
- Sadducees 30, 106, 113, 126, 202, 284n
- Samaritans 34n, 44, 48n, 189n
- Satan (*see* devil)
- Scapegoat 29, 31
 abused 31, 88–89, 152–159,
 Barabbas as 165–171
 as Catalyst 176–179
 confession on 60, 113, 167–170
 cursed 94, 108, 152–159
 as demon 79, 85–95
 human beings as 116–117, 130, 140, 165–171, 330
 and *kapparot* 66–67, 128–130
 killed 31, 114, 152–159
 sending away 31, 89, 94, 96n, 104,

- 113, 152–154, 158, 159–160, 169,
174–179, 206
and suffering servant 116–117
(*see also* goats, Jesus, *pharmakos*,
red ribbon)
- Seder Avodah* 28, 59–64
and Christian liturgy 335–336
and polemics 284–288
in the Second Temple period 43–45,
59–62, 161, 212, 223
in *Siddurim* 50
(*see also* reenactment)
- Septuagint 15–16, 94, 102–106, 110,
113, 117, 125, 200
- Servant of God 116–117, 176–178, 226
- Seth 336
- Shaharit 49, 50n, 55, 60n
- Shemihaza 86, 89–92, 121, 128
- Shim'on Ish Mitzpeh 20
- Shmuel (Amoraite) 53
- Siddur* 49–50
(*see also Seder Rav 'Amram Ga'on*,
Seder Rav Sa'adia Ga'on)
- Simeon 244, 246, 255–256, 323
- sin(s)
beginning of 86, 94, 121
collective 115, 124, 314
end of 88, 94
hereditary 139
history of 43, 86, 89
secret 39, 58, 201, 337–341
types of 89
(*see also* golden calf, iniquity,
Joseph, transgression)
- sin offering 28n, 29, 32, 61, 128, 152,
191, 214, 223, 286
- sinless 108, 178, 184, 286
- sleep (*see* abstinence)
- Socrates 291
- sorrows (*see* afflictions)
- soul 107, 108n, 109–114, 240–243, 313,
329
- Sozomenos 291–293, 295
- Spirit, Holy 42, 152n, 173, 174, 219,
254, 271, 316
- spiritualization (*see* allegory,
templization, typology)
- sprinkling
apocalyptic texts on 84
ashes and water 29
blood 24, 29–31, 81
in Christian worship 272, 300
Hebrews on 180, 187–189, 191, 193
Philo on 108, 112–113
in polemics 179
Rabbis on 126–127
Romans on 198, 200, 203
in *Seder Avodah* 59–60, 127
- Stephen 205, 224
- Sukkot 70n, 120n,
in Qumran prayers 39n, 41,
Christian polemics against 295
confused with Yom Kippur 68–69,
250, 253–255,
and the Encaenia 294–296, 297n,
298n, 301–302
and the Fast of September 312, 318–
319,
and Palm Sunday 296n
and the Temple dedication 123,
and Zechariah 326n
- Sunday 218, 285, 295n, 300n, 304, 312
(*see also* Palm Sunday)
- Susanna 343n
- synagogue
non-Jews in 222, 273–277, 277–
278
mosaics 129
Yom Kippur ritual in 51–65, 127,
156, 212, 319–320
and temple ritual 24–28, 32, 51, 120
templization 71–72, 278–279
(*see also* sacred space)
- tabernacle 95, 150n, 182, 183n, 193,
238, 318
- Tabernacles (*see* Sukkot)
- Tacitus 71n
- Tamid 21n, 29, 32, 177n
- Targum
and confessions 51
liturgical use of 54, 100
on Melchizedek 91
in Qumran 46, 54, 100,
translation technique 101, 102, 105,
106
- temple
allegorization of 109–114
attitudes to 213–214, 220–223, 223–
225, 244–257, 286
and church (*see* templization)
in Jerusalem 28–33, 82, 88, 99, 135,

- 141
 heavenly 79–85, 134–139, 182–184, 229–243
 in polemics 278–279
 rabbinic interpretation of 124–131
 reenacted in *Seder Avodah* 59–64
 and synagogue (*see* templization)
 (*see also* destruction of the temple, *Ortsgeist*)
 temple ritual 28–33
 (*see also* allegory, animal sacrifice, high priest, incense, sprinkling, typology)
 templization 71, 261, 269–272, 278–279, 296, 341
 Tertullian
 on the contemporary Yom Kippur 36, 71–72, 76–77, 280–283
 on fasting on Saturdays 307–308
 typologizing Yom Kippur 156–161, 267, 332
Thargelion 171
 Thecla 343n
 Theodotus 228–243
 Tiberius 68n, 254
 Tish'a be'Av 249, 311n
 Torah
 blessing of 24
 giving of 42–43, 55, 122, 124, 129, 140, 210, 342–343
 in temple service 25, 32
 (*see also* exegesis, Haftarah, reading)
 transgression 39–40, 51, 53n, 91n, 92n, 95–96, 123, 128, 133–134, 213, 217, 268, 275, 286 (*see also* sin)
 typology
 of covenant institution 187
 of high-priestly ritual 180–197, 225, 230, 265–266, 271–272, 320, 328
 of *kapporet* 197–205, 225
 of ordination of Levites 187
 of rams 266
 of Red Heifer 187
 of red ribbon 159–160, 165, 268
 ritual implications of 213, 219–223, 271–272, 329, 331
 of sacrificial goat 148–161, 225
 of scapegoat 98, 138, 147–179, 206, 224, 225, 266–267, 331
 of tabernacle/temple 180–197, 271–272, 297, 330
 of veil 225
 (*see also* allegory, exegesis, templization)
 Valentinians 3, 78–79, 84–85, 118, 126n, 137, 191, 228–243, 329–330,
vidduy (*see* confession)
 vigil (*see* abstinence, afflictions, high priest)
 visions of God
 in apocalyptic sources 79–85
 in gnostic sources 229–237
 in mystical texts 110–112, 134–139
 (*see also* dreams, high priest)
 war
 with Amalek 122, 124n
 eschatological 78, 87–88, 186
 weeping (*see* afflictions)
 white garments (*see* garments)
 women, daughter 34n, 35–36, 75n, 95n, 96, 128, 171, 174, 292n, 235–236, 318, 343n
 Zechariah ben Qabutar 20
 Zechariah, father of John 244, 247, 250–255, 256–257, 322–328, 332, 333

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

Alphabetical Index of the First and Second Series

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