

Rediscovering the Apocryphal Continent

New Perspectives on Early Christian and
Late Antique Apocryphal Texts and Traditions

Edited by
PIERLUIGI PIOVANELLI
and TONY BURKE

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament*

349

Mohr Siebeck

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

Herausgeber / Editor
Jörg Frey (Zürich)

Mitherausgeber / Associate Editors

Markus Bockmuehl (Oxford) · James A. Kelhoffer (Uppsala)
Hans-Josef Klauck (Chicago, IL) · Tobias Nicklas (Regensburg)
J. Ross Wagner (Durham, NC)

349



Rediscovering the Apocryphal Continent: New Perspectives on Early Christian and Late Antique Apocryphal Texts and Traditions

Edited by
Pierluigi Piovanelli
and Tony Burke

With the collaboration
of Timothy Pettipiece

Mohr Siebeck

PIERLUIGI PIOVANELLI, born 1961; 1987 MA; 1992 PhD; Professor of Second Temple Judaism and Early Christianity at the University of Ottawa (Ontario, Canada).

TONY BURKE, born 1968; 1995 MA; 2001 PhD; Associate Professor of Early Christianity at York University (Toronto, Ontario, Canada).

ISBN 978-3-16-151994-9 / eISBN 978-3-16-157495-5 unveränderte eBook-Ausgabe 2019
ISSN 0512-1604 (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament)

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

© 2015 by Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen, Germany. www.mohr.de

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

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

Printed in Germany.

*This volume is dedicated
to the memories of
Pierre Geoltrain (1929–2004) and
François Bovon (1938–2013),
without whom nothing of this
would have been possible.*

Acknowledgments

The essays published in this volume are revised versions of the papers presented at a series of conferences held in Groningen (Netherlands), Edinburgh (Scotland, U.K.), and Ottawa (Ontario, Canada) in 2004 and 2006. We would like to thank not only the authors who accepted our invitation to publish their contributions in the present volume, but also all the colleagues who participated in the events. The conferences in Groningen and Edinburgh were part of the Society of Biblical Literature International Meetings organized under the supervision of Kent H. Richards (SBL Executive Director). The workshop in Ottawa was generously funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the University of Ottawa. Our gratitude for the assistance received in organizing the Ottawa workshop goes especially to Lesley Strutt (Research Facilitator), Geoffrey Greatrex (Chair of the Department of Classics and Religious Studies), George Lang (Dean of Arts), and Robert Major (Vice-president, Academic). Rajiv Bhola and Robert M. Edwards, graduate students in the Department of Classics and Religious Studies, helped us in editing some of the articles, while Timothy Pettipiece prepared a first draft of the complete manuscript. Among the colleagues and friends who have constantly encouraged us, we wish to thank Ann Graham Brock, Lorenzo DiTommaso, André Gagné, Jean-Daniel Kaestli, Simon C. Mimouni, Enrico Norelli, Louis Painchaud, Anne Pasquier, Paul-Hubert Poirier, Jean-Michel Roessli, and Claudio Zamagni. We are also deeply grateful to Jörg Frey, Henning Ziebritzki, and all Mohr Siebeck's editorial staff for their kindness and competence in making this publication possible. Last but not least, this volume is dedicated to the memories of the late Pierre Geoltrain and François Bovon, the founders of the Association pour l'étude de la littérature apocryphe chrétienne, to whom all of us are so indebted.

Ottawa and Toronto, January 7, 2015

Pierluigi Piovanelli
Tony Burke

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	VII
-----------------------	-----

I. Introduction

Pierluigi Piovanelli

The Christian Apocryphal Texts at the Society of Biblical Literature International Meetings (2004–2006) and the Ottawa International Workshop (2006): Retrospects and Prospects	3
---	---

II. General Perspectives

Tony Burke

Entering the Mainstream: Twenty-five Years of Research on the Christian Apocrypha	19
--	----

Ian H. Henderson

The Usefulness of Christian Apocryphal Texts in Research on the Historical Jesus	49
---	----

James R. Davila

Did Christians Write Old Testament Pseudepigrapha That Appear to Be Jewish?	67
--	----

Annette Yoshiko Reed

“Jewish-Christian” Apocrypha and the History of Jewish/ Christian Relations	87
--	----

III. From Early Christian Texts to Late Antique Apocryphal Literature

Louis Painchaud

On the (Re)Discovery of the <i>Gospel of Judas</i>	119
--	-----

Minna Heimola

Christians and Jews in the <i>Gospel of Philip</i>	137
--	-----

Theodore de Bruyn

Christian Apocryphal and Canonical Narratives in Greek Amulets
and Formularies in Late Antiquity 153

Stephen J. Shoemaker

Mary in Early Christian Apocrypha: Virgin Territory 175

Pierluigi Piovanelli

Why Mary and Peter? From the Early Christian *Gospel of Mary*
to the Late Antique *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* 191

Peter W. Dunn

Luke's Acts or the *Acts of Paul*: Which Looks More Like
a Second-Century Text? 209

Cornelia B. Horn

Depictions of Children and Young People as Literary Motifs in Canonical
and Apocryphal Acts 223

Vahan Hovhanessian

The *Repose of the Blessed John* in the Armenian Bible: Deconstructing
the *Acts of John* 245

Timothy Beech

Unraveling the Complexity of the *Oracula Sibyllina*: The Value of
a Socio-Rhetorical Approach in the Study of the *Sibylline Oracles* 267

Michael Kaler

Gnostic Irony and the Adaptation of the Apocalyptic Genre 283

Timothy Pettipiece

The Manichaean Reception of Apocryphal Traditions:
The Case of the "Five Limbs" 303

IV. The Pseudo-Clementines:

Early Christian Traditions in Late Antique Editions

F. Stanley Jones

John the Baptist and His Disciples in the Pseudo-Clementines:
A Historical Appraisal 317

Kelley Coblenz Bautch

The Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies*' Use of Jewish Pseudepigrapha 337

Giovanni Battista Bazzana

Healing the World: Medical and Social Practice
in the Pseudo-Clementine Novel 351

Dominique Côté

Rhetoric and Jewish-Christianity: The Case of the Grammarian Apion
in the Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* 369

Nicole Kelley

Pseudo-Clementine Polemics against Sacrifice: A Window onto Religious
Life in the Fourth Century? 391

Contributors 401

Index of Ancient Sources 403

Index of Modern Authors 424

Index of Subjects 436

I. Introduction

The Christian Apocryphal Texts at the Society of Biblical Literature International Meetings (2004–2006) and the Ottawa International Workshop (2006): Retrospects and Prospects

Pierluigi Piovanelli

1. Fostering a new approach to Christian apocryphal texts

In November 2003, at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature (SBL) in Atlanta (Ga.), Kent H. Richards, who was at that time the executive director of the SBL and with whom I had already collaborated on the organization of the SBL International Meeting in Lausanne (Switzerland) in 1997, asked me if I would be interested in taking the direction of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha Section of the SBL International Meeting for the next three years. I accepted his offer with enthusiasm and as soon as I returned to Ottawa I started making plans for the next international conference to be held in Groningen, July 25–28, 2004.

Originally, the focus of that section was on Jewish Second Temple deuterocanonical (the so-called Apocrypha) and apocryphal texts (the so-called Pseudepigrapha). However, because of the ambivalent nature of many so-called Old Testament Pseudepigrapha (such as the *Life of Adam and Eve*, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the *Testament of Job*, the *Ascension of Isaiah*, and the *Paraleipomena of Jeremiah*) that, in spite of their apparently Jewish aspect, were written (or rewritten) by (Jewish) Christians, I felt that the time was ripe to also take into account the phenomenon of the Jewish pseudepigraphic traditions written and/or appropriated by Christian authors.¹ Moreover, on account of the

¹ In the wake of the researches carried out by M. de Jonge, R. A. Kraft, E. Norelli, and a few others. See especially M. de Jonge, *Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament as Part of Christian Literature: The Case of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Greek Life of Adam and Eve* (SVTP 18; Leiden 2003); idem, "The Authority of the 'Old Testament' in the Early Church: The Witness of the 'Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament,'" in *The Biblical Canons* (ed. J.-M. Auwers and H. J. de Jonge; BETL 163; Leuven 2003), 459–86; R. A. Kraft, "Setting the Stage and Framing Some Central Questions," *JSJ* 32 (2001): 371–95, reprinted in idem, *Exploring the Scripturesque: Jewish Texts and Their Christian Contexts* (JSJSup 137; Leiden 2009), 35–60; E. Norelli, *Ascension du prophète Isaïe* (Apocryphes 2; Turnhout 1993); idem, *L'Ascensione di Isaia. Studi su un*

absence of any specific international section devoted to the study of Christian apocryphal texts and in order to stress the continuity existing between Jewish and Christian parabiblical writings,² I chose to open, for the first time in its history, the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha International Section to specialists of early Christian apocryphal literature.

An *ad hoc* call for papers was then sent to the members of the SBL, the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies (CSBS), the Associazione italiana per lo studio del giudaismo (AISG), the Enoch Seminar, and the Association pour l'étude de la littérature apocryphe chrétienne (AELAC). This initiative was so welcomed that at the meeting in Groningen we were able to organize no less than four panels devoted, respectively, to Second Temple Jewish Apocrypha³ and Pseudepigrapha,⁴ their Christian rewritings and/or counterparts,⁵ and Christian apocryphal texts.⁶ After an interlude in Singapore in 2005, which only a handful of specialists was able to attend,⁷ four other sessions were organized once again in

apocrifo al crocevia dei cristianesimi (Origini, n.s. 1; Bologna 1994). More recently, see R. Nir, *The Destruction of Jerusalem and the Idea of Redemption in the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch* (SBLJL 20; Atlanta, Ga. 2003) (even if Nir's hypothesis of a Christian authorship for 2 *Baruch* is hardly receivable, her provocative monograph still contains many insightful and useful observations on the permeable boundaries of late Second Temple Jewish and early Christian pseudepigraphic literature); J. R. Davila, *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha: Jewish, Christian, or Other?* (JSJSup 105; Leiden 2005); T. Elgvin, "Jewish Christian Editing of the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha," in *Jewish Believers in Jesus: The Early Centuries* (ed. O. Skarsaune and R. Hvalvik; Peabody, Mass. 2007), 278–304; P. Piovanelli, "In Praise of 'The Default Position,' or Reassessing the Christian Reception of the Jewish Pseudepigraphic Heritage," *NedTT* 61 (2007): 233–50.

² As I argued in P. Piovanelli, "Rewritten Bible ou Bible in Progress? La réécriture des traditions mémorielles bibliques dans le judaïsme et le christianisme anciens," *RTP* 139 (2007): 295–310.

³ M. A. Christian, "Reading Tobit Backwards and Forwards: In Search of 'Lost Halakhah'"; S. Beyerle, "'Release Me to Go to My Everlasting Home' (Tob. 3:6): A Belief in an After-Life in Late Wisdom Literature?"; E. T. Noffke, "Adam, Man of Glory or First Sinner? The figure of Adam in the Book of Sirach."

⁴ H. Eshel, "Diversei ha-Me'orot and the 'Apocalypse of Weeks'"; H. C. Kim, "An Apology for God: *Psalms of Solomon* 11 and Its Jerusalem Tradition"; B. Embry, "The Name Solomon as a Prophetic Hallmark in Jewish and Christian Apocryphal Texts"; D. Patterson, "'Mother, Embrace Your Children': Maternal Imagery and the Corporate Community in 2 Esdras."

⁵ J. R. Davila, "Did Christians Write Old Testament Pseudepigrapha that Appear to be Jewish?"; J. R. C. Cousland, "The Gospel of Adam and Eve: The *Latin Life of Adam and Eve* as Gospel Antetype"; K. Coblenz Bautch, "The *Pseudo-Clementines*' Use of Jewish Pseudepigrapha."

⁶ P. Luomanen, "The Nazoreans' Commentary on Isaiah"; M. Laine Heimola, "Christians, Jews and Gentiles: Inter-faith Relationships and Identity in the *Gospel of Philip*"; T. Nicklas, "The Death of Peter"; P. Piovanelli, "Why Peter? The Authoritative Role of Peter in the Monophysite Collections of the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles"; C. Horn, "Children as Literary Device in the Canonical and Apocryphal Acts"; V. Hovhanessian, "The *Rest of the Evangelist John* and the Armenian Bible."

⁷ H. C. Kim, "The Key Signifier of 'Forever' in *Psalms of Solomon* 11"; M. Harding, "The Destruction of Jerusalem: Guilt and Hope in the Baruch Tradition and Josephus"; R. Nir, "The Struggle Between 'The Image of God' and Satan in the *GLAE* (10–12)"; J. M. Asgeirsson, "The Framing of the *Gospel of Thomas*: Logion 2"; J. W. Ludlow, "Notions of Death and Afterlife in

Edinburgh in 2006 on “Second Temple Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha,”⁸ “More Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,”⁹ “Christian Reception and Apocryphicity,”¹⁰ and “Christian Apocryphal Texts.”¹¹

As it happens, in the course of my triennial mandate as chair of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha International Section there were no less than thirty-two papers presented on Jewish Apocrypha (Tobit, Sirach, additions to Esther) and Pseudepigrapha (*1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, *Psalms of Solomon*, Pseudo-Philo’s *Biblical Antiquities*, *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch*), Christian pseudepigraphic (re)writings (*Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, *Joseph and Aseneth*, *Life of Adam and Eve*, *Odes of Solomon*) and apocryphal texts (*Gospel of Thomas*, *Gospel of Philip*, *On the Origin of the World*, *Jewish Christian Gospels*, *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies*, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*), as well as some transversal themes (such as pseudepigraphy and apocryphicity, resurrection, sacred space, and children). Some from among the best and most engaged young specialists of Jewish Second Temple and early Christian literature contributed to those panels and several of those lectures were eventually published.¹²

the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*”; E. Israeli, “The Messiah’s Expiatory Death in the Fourth Vision of IV Ezra (9:26–10:59).”

⁸ M. Tait, “Glorious and Resplendent? The Resurrection and the Resurrection Body in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha”; D. A. Fiensy, “Sacred Space in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha”; I. Fröhlich, “The Temple as a Theme in the Book of Tobit”; P. J. Jordaan, “Text, Ideology and Body in the Additions to Esther”; J. T. A. G. M. van Ruiten, “Chronological and Spatial Symmetry in the *Book of Jubilees*”; J. Hopkins, “The Description of Sacrificial Worship in the *Book of Jubilees*: Its Interpretation by and Authoritative Status for the Dead Sea Scrolls Movement.”

⁹ A. T. Wright, “Philo and the Book of Watchers”; M. H. McDowell, “Jael in Pseudo-Philo’s *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*: A Comparative and Intertextual Approach”; R. Cousland, “When, Where, and Why: Space and Time in the *Books of Adam and Eve*”; J. R. Davila, “More Jewish Pseudepigrapha.”

¹⁰ B. J. Embry, “A Story of Love? Use of Song of Songs in the *Odes of Solomon*”; R. Nir, “The Conversion of Aseneth in a Christian Context”; P. Piovanelli, “Christian Apocryphal Texts for the New Millennium: Achievements, Prospects, and Challenges”; I. Czachesz, “Cognitive Constructs of the Divine in Apocryphal Literature.”

¹¹ P. Luomanen, “Jewish-Christian Gospels: A New Reconstruction”; B. van Os, “The Date and Provenance of the *Gospel of Philip*”; J. Brankaer, “Myth as Demonstration: The Program of *On the Origin of the World* (NHC II, 5; XIII, 2)”; V. Hovhannessian, “The Apocryphal *Acts of Thomas*: A Glance at a Lost Original or an Orthodox Revision?”; J. M. Asgeirsson, “Between the God of the Hebrews and the God of the Sun: Building the Kingdom of Heaven in the Latin Passio-Version of the *Acts of Thomas*”; P. G. Schneider, “The Johannine Origins and Purpose of the Lord’s Secret Sacrament in the *Acts of John*.”

¹² See H. Eshel, “*Dibre Hame’orot* and the Apocalypse of Weeks,” in *Things Revealed: Studies in Early Jewish and Christian Literature in Honor of Michael E. Stone* (ed. E. G. Chazon, D. Satrian and R. A. Clements; JSJSup 89; Leiden 2004), 149–54; S. Beyerle, “‘Release Me to Go to My Everlasting Home ...’ (Tob 3:6): A Belief in an Afterlife in Late Wisdom Literature?” in *The Book of Tobit: Text, Tradition, Theology. Papers of the First International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Pépa, Hungary, 20–21 May, 2004* (ed. G. G. Xeravits and J. Zsengellér; JSJSup 98; Leiden 2005), 71–88; B. J. Embry, “The Name ‘Solomon’ as a Prophetic Hallmark in Jewish and Christian Texts,” *Henoch* 28 (2006): 47–62; M. A. Christian, “Reading Tobit Backwards and Forwards: In Search of ‘Lost Halakhah’,” *ibid.*, 63–95; B. van Os, “Was the *Gospel of Philip* Written

The release, then, of the second volume of the *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens* in 2005, edited by the late Pierre Geoltrain (1929–2004) and Jean-Daniel Kaestli on behalf of the AELAC, and hosting a wide selection of apocryphal texts produced in a variety of milieus and at different epochs,¹³ provided a splendid occasion for organizing an international workshop on “Christian Apocryphal Texts for the New Millennium: Achievements, Prospects, and Challenges,” held in Ottawa (On.), September 29–30 and October 1st, 2006.¹⁴ Twelve of the twenty-three papers presented there were devoted to three main areas of research – (1) the shadowy interface between Jewish Pseudepigrapha and Christian Apocrypha;¹⁵ (2) some methodological problems in the study of Christian apocryphal texts;¹⁶ and (3) Pseudo-Clementine literature as a privileged source for the history of the relations between Jews, Christians, and their cultural environment in late antique Syria¹⁷ – all inspired by, or related to, the guiding principles and textual choices of the Pléiade volume, while the remaining papers addressed specific texts and/or traditions.¹⁸

in Syria?” *Apocrypha* 17 (2006): 87–93; E. Noffke, “Man of Glory or First Sinner? Adam in the Book of Sirach,” *ZAW* 119 (2007): 618–24; R. Nir, “Did Adam and Eve Have Sex in the Garden of Eden? The Pseudepigraphic-Apocalyptic Tradition Between Judaism and Christianity,” *Henoch* 36 (2014): 1–14. See also D. Arbel, J. R. C. Cousland and D. Neufeld, “... And So They Went Out”: *The Lives of Adam and Eve as Cultural Transformative Story* (London and New York 2010); V. D. Arbel, *Forming Femininity in Antiquity: Eve, Gender, and Ideologies in the Greek Life of Adam and Eve* (Oxford and New York 2012).

¹³ P. Geoltrain and J.-D. Kaestli, eds., *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, vol. 2 (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 516; Paris 2005). It was preceded by F. Bovon and P. Geoltrain, eds., *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, vol. 1 (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 442; Paris 1997).

¹⁴ Thanks to a generous grant of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and with the support of both the Faculty of Arts and the University of Ottawa.

¹⁵ L. DiTommaso, “Jewish Pseudepigrapha and Christian Apocrypha: Definitions, Boundaries, and Points of Contact”; J. R. Davila, “More Christian Apocryphal Texts”; R. Phenix, Jr., “The Problem of the Source of Balai’s Sermons on Joseph and the *Nachleben* of Pseudepigraphical Joseph Material.”

¹⁶ T. Burke, “Researching the New Testament Apocrypha in the Twenty-First Century”; I. Henderson, “The Usefulness of Christian Apocryphal Texts in the Research on the Historical Jesus”; C. A. Evans, “The Apocryphal Jesus: Assessing the Possibilities and Problems”; P. Piovanelli, “Using Labels and Categories in a Responsible Way: The Making and Evolution of Early Christian Apocryphal Texts with the *Gospel of Mary* as a Test Case”; M. Kaler, “Gnostic Irony and the Adaptation of the Apocalyptic Genre.”

¹⁷ A. Y. Reed, “New Light on ‘Jewish-Christian’ Apocrypha and the History of Jewish/Christian Relations”; N. Kelley, “Pseudo-Clementine Polemics against Sacrifice: A Window onto Religious Life in the Fourth Century?”; F. S. Jones, “Jewish Tradition on the Sadducees in the *Pseudo-Clementines*”; D. Côté, “Orphic Theogony and the Context of the *Clementines*.”

¹⁸ T. Beech, “Unraveling the Complexity of the *Oracula Sibyllina*: The Value of a Socio-Rhetorical Approach in the Study of the *Sibylline Oracles*”; L. Painchaud, “À propos de la redécouverte de l’*Évangile de Judas*”; P.-H. Poirier, “La *Prôtennoia trimorphe* (NH XIII,1), le *Livre des secrets de Jean* et le Prologue johannique”; P. W. Dunn, “The *Acts of Paul* as an Experimental Control for the Criticism of the Acts of the Apostles”; F. Bovon, “The *Revelation of Stephen* or the Invention of Stephen’s Relics (Sinaiticus graecus 493)”; D. R. MacDonald, “The *Gospel of Nicodemus* (or, the *Acta Pilati*) as a Christian Iliad and Odyssey”; C. Horn, “From Model

The novelty of the AELAC approach, concretized in the different publications of the Association,¹⁹ including the two-volume anthology, is essentially the blurring and breaking of the traditional boundaries between Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and New Testament Apocrypha, as well as early Christian and late antique/early medieval texts, in order to rediscover the continuity of the production of new memorial traditions and narratives about Christian origins.²⁰ Consequently, renewed attention is also paid to texts as late as, e.g., the *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies* and *Recognitions*²¹ or to regional rewritings such as the Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic collections of the *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* or the Syriac *Life of the Virgin*, texts which are normally marginalized in the usual introductions or anthologies of translations devoted to Christian apocryphal literature.²²

Contrary to common belief, the production of new apocryphal narratives did not come to an end somewhere in the third century to be replaced by a new wave of hagiographic or, perhaps more appropriately, homiletic texts.²³ Actually, those early Christian traditions and texts that did not become canonical, be they more or less “Jewish Christian,” “gnostic,” “encratite,” “proto-orthodox” – a series

Virgin to Maternal Intercessor: Mary, Children, and Family Problems in Late Antique Infancy Gospel Traditions”; S. J. Shoemaker, “Mary in Early Christian Apocrypha: Virgin Territory”; T. de Bruyn, “The Power of Apocryphal Narratives in Late Antiquity: The Testimony of Amulets”; T. Pettipiece, “Manichaean ‘Apocrypha’? From Mani to Manichaeism”; A. Bara, “The Convergence between Canonical Gospels, Apocryphal Writings and Liturgical Texts in Nativity and Resurrection Icons in Eastern Churches.”

¹⁹ Nineteen volumes of the Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum, three volumes of Instrumenta, fourteen volumes of the paperback series Apocryphes – the most recent one devoted to the Syriac version of the *Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions* translated into English –, twenty-five issues of the journal *Apocrypha*, and twenty-one fascicles of the *Bulletin de l’AELAC* published since 1983.

²⁰ On this and other “paradigmatic changes” introduced by the AELAC, see the insightful comments of T. Niklas, “Écrits apocryphes chrétiens: ein Sammelband als Spiegel eines Weitreichenden Paradigmenwechsels in der Apokryphenforschung,” *VC* 61 (2007): 70–95. One should not think, however, that such a new perspective was adopted without long and sometimes stormy debates between rather conservative and more progressive scholars.

²¹ Besides the integral translation of the Greek and Latin texts in the second Pléiade volume, see also the impressive volume of proceedings published by F. Amsler et al., eds., *Nouvelles intrigues pseudo-clémentines – Plots in the Pseudo-Clementine Romance. Actes du deuxième colloque international sur la littérature apocryphe chrétienne, Lausanne–Genève, 30 août–2 septembre 2006* (PIRSB 6; Lausanne 2008).

²² In this regard, the monograph of S. J. Shoemaker, *Ancient Traditions of the Virgin Mary’s Dormition and Assumption* (OECs; Oxford and New York 2002), focused on both late antique and early medieval rewritings of the Dormition traditions, is quite exemplary.

²³ A phenomenon that I have especially discussed and highlighted in two complementary studies: P. Piovanelli, “What Is a Christian Apocryphal Text and How Does It Work? Some Observations on Apocryphal Hermeneutics,” *NedTT* 59 (2005): 31–40; idem, “Qu’est-ce qu’un ‘écrit apocryphe chrétien,’ et comment ça marche? Quelques suggestions pour une herméneutique apocryphe,” in *Pierre Geoltrain, ou comment ‘faire l’histoire’ des religions. Le chantier des ‘origines,’ les méthodes du doute, et la conversation contemporaine entre disciplines* (ed. S. C. Milmouni and I. Ullern-Weité; BEHESR 128; Turnhout 2006), 173–86.

of problematic labels that we use only for the sake of convenience²⁴ – or others, underwent a constant process of recycling and rewriting which occurred at every moment of the historical evolution from early to late antique Christianity and beyond. Thus, during the first three centuries C.E. the various groups and communities in dialogue and competition seem to develop rather different apocryphal genres (such as apocalypses, revelatory dialogues, ascents to heaven, acts of the apostles, etc.) and adopt different sets of characters in order to build their own narratives of their origins.²⁵ Originally produced to promote different understandings of what constitutes the essence of Christian identity, by the fourth century these writings were inherited by a new generation of more “globalized” Christians, who progressively transformed them into a new collection of more or less “orthodox” stories. Then, when centrifugal forces led to the emergence of new, regional churches, local editions and compilations of apocryphal texts started to see the light – and it took until the new, great globalization of the nineteenth and twentieth century to rediscover the extraordinary alterity of those late antique and medieval cultural artifacts.²⁶

If these were among the new perspectives that brought us together in Groningen, Edinburgh, and Ottawa between 2004 and 2006, two recent developments in the study of early Christianity and Christian literature have since then emerged to challenge too conventional understandings of our apocryphal texts. The first concerns the unceasing need to reassess, on the one hand, the enthusiastic allegations of the specialists who think that newly discovered texts are necessarily as ancient and meaningful as, for example, the Gospel of Mark or the *Gospel of Thomas*, and on the other hand, the apologetic counterclaims of those who dismiss every extra-canonical text as desperately late, secondary, and

²⁴ One should consider, for example, the extreme difficulty in categorizing an early Christian text as elusive as the *Paraleipomena of Jeremiah*: is it to be regarded as the outcome of a Jewish Christian, a proto-orthodox, a heterodox Johannine, or an early Valentinian circle? See Piovaneli, “In Praise of ‘The Default Position,’” 248–49.

²⁵ A. G. Brock, *Mary Magdalene, the First Apostle: The Struggle for Authority* (HTS 51; Cambridge, Mass. 2003), has drawn attention to the tendency to polemically emphasize, in both canonical and extra-canonical texts, the roles played by different heroes of the Jesus movement.

²⁶ I have described some aspects of such a complicated process in P. Piovaneli, “Le recyclage des textes apocryphes à l’heure de la petite ‘mondialisation’ de l’Antiquité tardive (ca. 325–451). Quelques perspectives littéraires et historiques,” in *Poussières de christianisme et de judaïsme antiques. Études réunies en l’honneur de Jean-Daniel Kaestli et Éric Junod* (ed. A. Frey and R. Gounelle; PIRSB 5; Lausanne 2007), 277–95; idem, “The Reception of Early Christian Texts and Traditions in Late Antiquity Apocryphal Literature,” in *The Reception and Interpretation of the Bible in Late Antiquity: Proceedings of the Montréal Colloquium in Honour of Charles Kannengiesser, 11–13 October 2006* (ed. L. DiTommaso and L. Turcescu; The Bible in Ancient Christianity 6; Leiden 2008), 429–39. Also see, in more general terms, P. Piovaneli, “Apocryfi e pseudepigrifi del Nuovo Testamento,” in *Dizionario del sapere storico-religioso del Novecento* (ed. A. Melloni; 2 vols.; Bologna 2010), 1:43–52; idem, “La réécriture des traditions mémorielles des origines dans le judaïsme et le christianisme anciens,” *Annuaire de l’École pratique des hautes études, Section des sciences religieuses* 121 (2014): 205–7.

biased. As more accurate textual, literary, and historical analyses demonstrate, the situation is rarely that simple and, even if early Christian texts are relatively rare, late antique apocryphal (re)writings can still preserve earlier and invaluable traditions and, so much as modern forgeries, may still have a lot to teach us.²⁷ The second aspect we need to take into account is the “disintegration” of not only the traditional category of “Gnosticism” as a distinct religious phenomenon – to be eventually replaced with “Two Powers in Heaven” Jewish mysticism and “Sethian,” “Valentinian,” and other varieties of gnostic, intellectual, and/or mystical Christianities²⁸ –, but also the notion of a clear-cut separation between the faithful belonging to two well-defined religious entities called “Judaism” and “Christianity” before, at least, the fourth century C.E.²⁹ There should be no doubt that the progressive dismantling of these and other dubious categories is going to have a considerable impact on our understanding of the web of socio-rhetorical relations between the different texts and groups. This will certainly contribute, in

²⁷ In this very subjective domain I prefer to direct the reader to my own researches, regardless of how personal and debatable they might be. See P. Piovaneli, “Pre- and Post-canonical Passion Stories: Insights into the Development of Christian Discourse on the Death of Jesus,” *Apocrypha* 14 (2003): 99–128 (on the *Gospel of Peter*); idem, “L’Évangile secret de Marc trente trois ans après, entre potentialités exégétiques et difficultés techniques,” *RB* 114 (2007): 52–72, 237–54; idem, “Une certaine ‘Keckheit, Kühnheit und Grandiosität’... La correspondance entre Morton Smith et Gershom Scholem (1945–1982). Notes critiques,” *RHR* 228 (2011): 403–29; idem, “Halfway Between Sabbatai Tzevi and Aleister Crowley: Morton Smith’s ‘Own Concept of What Jesus ‘Must’ Have Been’ and, Once Again, the Questions of Evidence and Motive,” in *Ancient Gospel or Modern Forgery? The Secret Gospel of Mark in Debate. Proceedings from the 2011 York University Christian Apocrypha Symposium* (ed. T. Burke; Eugene, Or. 2013), 157–83; idem, “‘Un gros et beau poisson.’ L’Évangile selon Thomas dans la recherche (et la controverse) contemporaine(s),” *Adamantius* 15 (2009): 291–306; idem, “Thomas in Edessa? Another Look at the Original Setting of the *Gospel of Thomas*,” in *Myths, Martyrs, and Modernity: Studies in the History of Religions in Honour of Jan N. Bremmer* (ed. J. Dijkstra, J. Kroesen and Y. Kuiper; Numen Book Series 127; Leiden 2010), 443–61; idem, “Thursday Night Fever: Dancing and Singing with Jesus in the *Gospel of the Savior* and the *Dance of the Savior around the Cross*,” *Early Christianity* 3 (2012): 229–48.

²⁸ See the groundbreaking monographs of M. A. Williams, *Rethinking Gnosticism: An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category* (Princeton, N. J. 1996); K. L. King, *What Is Gnosticism?* (Cambridge, Mass. 2003); I. Dunderberg, *Beyond Gnosticism: Myth, Lifestyle, and Society in the School of Valentinus* (New York 2008); D. Brakke, *The Gnostics: Myth, Ritual, and Diversity in Early Christianity* (Cambridge, Mass. 2010). Needless to say, as P.-H. Poirier, “Comment les gnostiques se sont-ils appelés? Comment doit-on les appeler aujourd’hui?” *SR* 33 (2004): 209–16, aptly reminds us, the target of such a constructive criticism should be more the traditional way of looking at Gnosticism than the reality of the phenomenon itself.

²⁹ Called especially into question by D. Boyarin, *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (Divinations; Philadelphia 2004), and many contributors to the collective volume edited by A. H. Becker and A. Y. Reed, *The Ways That Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (TSAJ 95; Tübingen 2003; 2nd ed., Minneapolis 2007). A stimulating discussion of Boyarin’s theses can be found in *Henoch* 28 (2006): 7–30 (interventions of V. Burrus, R. Kalmin, H. Lapin and J. Marcus) and 30–45 (Boyarin’s response). Also see D. Boyarin, “Rethinking Jewish Christianity: An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category (to Which Is Appended a Correction of My *Border Lines*),” *JQR* 99 (2009): 7–36.

the end, to the relativization of the boundaries between literary corpora as artificial and conventional as the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, the New Testament Apocrypha, and the Gnostic/Nag Hammadi Scriptures.³⁰ In the meantime, just after the much-awaited publication of the first volume of the seventh edition of the prestigious Hennecke and Schneemelcher's *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung* under the new, highly significant title of *Antike christliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*,³¹ and the first volumes of the equally momentous *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Noncanonical Scriptures* and *New Testament Apocrypha: More Noncanonical Scriptures*,³² these new perspectives cannot but increase our expectations.

2. The present volume

Because of the high quality and thematic coherence of the Groningen and Ottawa papers, my original intention was to have them published as two different proceedings. However, in spite of numerous attempts and announcements, this was not possible. In 2007 I became the chair of our department of Classics and Religious Studies and, for the following five years, most of my energies were spent in dealing with administrative matters, an activity on behalf of the common good that I do not regret, but that did not leave me much space for the completion of major research and publication projects. As a result, the Groningen and Ottawa proceedings remained, so to speak, on the shelves until I had the chance to meet with Henning Ziebritzki, Mohr Siebeck's editorial director for theological and Jewish studies, at the occasion of the SBL Annual Meeting in San Francisco in 2011. Henning suggested submitting the plan of the volume to Jörg Frey, the editor in chief of the prestigious *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* series, who readily accepted to publish it. My heartfelt gratitude goes to both of them. Finally, in September 2013, at the occasion of the second Christian Apocrypha Symposium organized by Tony Burke at York University,

³⁰ On the artificiality of such collections, see J.-C. Picard, "L'apocryphe à l'étroit. Notes historiographiques sur les corpus d'apocryphes bibliques," *Apocrypha* 1 (1990): 69–117 (reprinted in idem, *Le continent apocryphe. Essai sur les littératures apocryphes juive et chrétienne* [Instrumenta Patristica 36; Turnhout 1999], 13–51); A. Y. Reed, "The Modern Invention of 'Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,'" *JTS* 60 (2009): 403–36.

³¹ C. Marksches and J. Schröter, in collaboration with A. Heiser, eds., *Antike christliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung. I. Band: Evangelien und Verwandtes* (2 vols.; Tübingen 2012). The guiding principles of this new edition have been anticipated by C. Marksches, "Neutestamentliche Apokryphen: Bemerkungen zu Geschichte und Zukunft einer von Edgar Hennecke im Jahr 1904 begründeten Quellensammlung," *Apocrypha* 9 (1998): 97–132.

³² R. Bauckham, J. Davila and A. Panayotov, eds., *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Noncanonical Scriptures, Volume 1* (Grand Rapids, Mich. 2013); T. Burke and B. Landau, eds., *New Testament Apocrypha: More Noncanonical Scriptures, Volume 1* (Grand Rapids, Mich. forthcoming).

Index of Ancient Sources

1. Hebrew Bible / Old Testament

<i>Genesis</i>	70, 75, 78, 124, 143, 147, 198, 228–229, 241, 288, 343, 347	19:23–25 19:30 21:5–9 22–24 25:1–24 26:34–35	81 80 81 80–81 80 80
1–11	339		
1	344		
1:26–27	342		
2:7	147		
2:9	147	<i>Numbers</i>	78
2:17	147	11:16	106
2:19–22	147		
3	341, 344, 346–347	<i>Deuteronomy</i>	78
5:22	349	22:10	81
5:24	349	32:7	341
6	241		
6:1–4	347	<i>Joshua</i>	78
9	339		
12:3	228	<i>Judges</i>	78
15:13–14	76		
37:26–27 (LXX)	128–129	<i>1 Samuel</i>	
41:46–49	70	3	226
42:22	70		
43:13–14 (LXX)	71	<i>Isaiah</i>	
43:32	71	7:14	99
45:24	70	40:12–13	350
49:8–10 (LXX)	129		
		<i>Ezekiel</i>	
<i>Exodus</i>	75, 78, 143, 373	14:7 (LXX)	142
<i>Leviticus</i>	78–81, 85	<i>Hosea</i>	
1–9	80	6:6	393
3:17	80		
7:34	80	<i>Joel</i>	
7:36	80	2:28 (3:1 LXX)	226–227
10:9	80		
10:15	80	<i>Micah</i>	
11	80	6:6–8	72–73
16:31	80		
17–18	80	<i>Psalms</i>	61
19:1–8	80	2:7	229
19:19	80	17:2 (LXX)	169

28:7 (LXX)	159	<i>2 Maccabees</i>	
34:10 (LXX)	74	6–7	76, 82
55:11	72	6:18	83
72 (LXX)	72–73	6:21	83
90 (LXX)	156		
90:1 (LXX)	168	<i>Wisdom of Solomon</i>	
117:6–7 (LXX)	168–169	7:13	72
		7:16	72
<i>Job</i>	78	18:9	74
38	350		
		<i>Sirach / Ecclesiasticus</i>	5
<i>Daniel</i>		20:24	72
7	291	44:16	349
		<i>Baruch</i>	
<i>Esther</i> (LXX)	5	4:1	340
<i>Tobit</i>	5		
8:15	74		

2. New Testament

<i>Matthew</i>	63, 112, 391	6:16	318, 332, 334
1–2	99	7:14–23	354
4:23–24	168–169	8:28	318
4:23	160–161	9:2–8	131
5:28	258		
5:44	71	<i>Luke</i>	63, 201
6:9–13	156	1:42	189
7:17–20	308	1:48	189
8:14–15	161	1:59	226
8:26–27	162	2	99
9:13	393	2:21	226
9:35	160–161, 168–169	3:37	349
10	364	6:43–44	308
10:1	169	8:17	74
10:7–8	353	10	364
10:12–13	353	10:5–7	353
10:26	74	10:9	353
11:5	353	12:12	221
11:9	332	22:3	125
11:11	332, 334	23:34	221
12:7	393	23:46	221
14:28–31	162	24:35	264
23:2	106		
23:13	103	<i>John</i>	51, 63, 253–255, 317
23:15	142	1	320
		1:1	161
<i>Mark</i>	8, 51, 63, 58	1:3	161, 257
4:3–9	75	1:10	257
4:22	74	1:47–51	156
6:14	318, 332, 334	2:19–21	147

2:22	52	16:1	225
5:2–9	161	16:22–39	213
10:30	254	17:1	213
11:43	163	17:10	213
11:47–53	133	17:16	213
13:23	237	18–19	219
13:27	125	18:4	213
17:11	254	18:12–17	213
17:26	255	18:19	213
20:28	254	19:8	213
		19:1–7	318
<i>Acts of the Apostles</i>	13, 63, 191, 209–223, 225–231, 238, 391	19:14	225
1:12	220	20:7	264
1:14	231	20:9–12	221
1:15–26	125	20:18–35	214
1:23	220	20:25	221
2:11	142	21:5	225, 230
2:17	225–227	21:9	220, 225, 230
2:14–42	226	21:11	221
2:39	225, 227	21:21	225
2:42	264	23:16	225
2:46	264	23:17–18	230
3:2	225	23:22	230
3:25	225, 228	26:13	230
5:21	225	28:12–14	216
6:1	140		
6:15	221	<i>Romans</i>	
7	228–229	1:16	213
7:5	225	2:9–10	213
7:21	225	2:29	148
7:23	225	3:1	128
7:29	225	5:12–21	342
7:37	225	11	81
7:59	213, 221		
8:26–32	167	<i>1 Corinthians</i>	
9:15	225	3:2	234
10–11	215	5:7	133
10:26–31	167	6–7	214
10:36	225	8	84
11:26	213	9:6	220
13	228–230	16:19	219
13:5	213		
13:10	225	<i>2 Corinthians</i>	
13:15	213	6:14	81
13:26	225	11:22	140
13:33	225	12:2–4	290
14:1–6	212–213		
14:43	213	<i>Galatians</i>	57, 391
15	100, 215	1–2	215, 219
15:28–29	80, 354, 362	1:1	349
15:36–41	220	1:6–8	62
16:1–3	230	1:11	62
		1:13–17	290

1:16	349	<i>2 Timothy</i>	
2:19	147	1:16	219
4:19	233	4:19	219
<i>Ephesians</i>		<i>Hebrews</i>	
4:22–24	310	5:12–13	234
		8:9	133
<i>Philippians</i>		<i>1 Peter</i>	
2:7	133	2:2	234
3:5	140		
4:18	133	<i>2 Peter</i>	348
<i>Colossians</i>		<i>Jude</i>	346, 348
3:9	310	14	350
4:10	220		
<i>1 Thessalonians</i>		<i>Revelation</i>	247–248
2:7	233	2:14	84
		2:20	84
<i>1 Timothy</i>		14:4	258
4:10	216	21:22	147

3. Jewish and Christian Pseudepigrapha

<i>Adam Octipartite/Sectipartite</i>		12–16	342–343
12		27:1	342
<i>Apocalypse of Abraham</i>		<i>Book of Giants</i>	303, 361
23:5	342		
<i>Apocalypse of Adam (Coptic)</i>		<i>Cave of Treasures</i>	12, 32
	13, 283, 286–290, 292, 295, 297, 300–302	<i>1 Enoch</i>	5, 338, 340
82.10–19	126	1–36	338, 344, 346, 348, 360–362
82.19–20	129	1:2	349
		2–5	339
<i>Apocryphon of Seth</i>	12	5:8	340, 348
		6	345
<i>Ascension of Isaiah</i>	3, 96–97, 99	7:1–6	345
3:13–31	69	7:1	339
		8:1	345–346
<i>2 Baruch</i>	4–5, 304	8:3	339
		8:4	345
<i>3 Baruch</i>	96, 300	9:6–10	339
4:16	342	10:11	339, 346
		12:4	339
<i>Book of Biblical Antiquities</i>		14:2	349
	5	14:8	349
4:1–2	342	15:3–7	339
		16:3	339
		17–36	350

19:1	339, 346	<i>Hygromancy of Solomon</i>	
27:2	339		12
32:3	340		
37–71	350	<i>Jeremiah's Prophecy to Pashhur</i>	
48:7	74		12
72–82	338		
82:2–3	340	<i>Joseph and Aseneth</i>	5
83–90	338, 343		
83:1–3	349	<i>Jubilees</i>	5, 338, 346, 348, 360,
85:3–4	344		395
85:4	339	4:15	346
85:9	344	5:1–2	338
86–88	344	5:6–11	338
89:1	344	6:14	340
89:9–11	344	7	339
89:32–33	339	10	289
89:46	344	10:1–14	338
89:49	344	10:5–10	346
89:51–52	339		
89:54	339	<i>Legend of Melchizedek</i>	12
90	345		
90:28–29	344	<i>Life of Adam and Eve</i>	3, 5
90:37–38	344	29:2–10	287
91–108	338	49–50	287
92:1	340		
93:1–10 + 91:11–17	287	<i>Lives of the Prophets</i>	21, 184
93:4	339		
93:6	339–340	<i>3 Maccabees</i>	
93:11–14	350	6:9	74
98:7–8	74		
98:11	339	<i>4 Maccabees</i>	84
99:2	339–340	5:2	83
99:6–9	339	17:11–16	76
99:10	340		
104:7–8	74	<i>Noncanonical Psalms</i>	
104:12	340	4Q381	343
105	74		
106:14	339	<i>Odes of Solomon</i>	5, 68, 96
<i>2 Enoch</i>	348, 350	<i>Palaea Historica</i>	12
30:11	342		
30:13	342	<i>Paraleipomena of Jeremiah</i>	3, 8
<i>3 Enoch</i>	348, 350	<i>Psalms of Solomon</i>	5
<i>4 Ezra</i>	5, 283, 294–295,	<i>Selenodromion of David and Solomon</i>	
	300–301, 342		12
8:41	75		
<i>5 Ezra</i>	12, 96–97, 99	<i>Seventh Vision of Daniel</i>	
			12
<i>6 Ezra</i>	12, 96–97, 99		

<i>Sibylline Oracles</i>	13, 68, 267–268, 270–282	<i>Syriac History of Joseph</i>	12
1–8	272		
1–2	272–274	<i>Testament of Abraham</i>	114, 291
1:20	342		
1:324–400	68, 274	<i>Testament of Job</i>	3, 114
2–4	271		
2:196–213	280	<i>Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs</i>	3, 5, 96–97, 99, 103, 105, 288
2:319–324	280		
3:27	342		
3:75–92	280		
3:350–480	271	<i>The Heartless Rich Man and the Precious Stone</i>	12
3:739–795	280		
3:776	271–272		
4:4–6	277	<i>The Questions of the Queen of Sheba and Answers by King Solomon</i>	12
4:171–192	280		
5:256–259	271		
6–8	271	<i>The Relics of Zechariah and the Body Buried at His Feet</i>	12
7:119–131	280		
8:110–121	280		
8:205–212	280	<i>Tiburtine Sibyl</i>	12
8:337–358	280		
8:439–55	343	<i>Vision of Ezra</i>	12
9–10	272	38	69
11–14	271–272		
12–14	267		
<i>Story of Melchizedek</i>	12		

4. Jewish Literature

<i>Avot de-Rabbi Nathan</i>		<i>Deuteronomy Rabbah</i>	
A 5 // B 10	332	2.6	106
<i>Babylonian Talmud</i>		<i>Ecclesiastes Rabbah</i>	
<i>Berakhot</i>		6.9	343
28b–29a	95		
<i>Shabbat</i>		<i>Exodus Rabbah</i>	
13a	105	1.18	76
104b	99, 142	1.28–29	76
<i>Bava Batra</i>			
60b	100	<i>Flavius Josephus</i>	
<i>Sanhedrin</i>		<i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i>	373
56b	339	1–9	139
67a	98–99	2.205	76
		5.323	140
<i>Community Rule (1QS)</i>		11.8.6	140
4.22–23	342	<i>Contra Apionem</i>	373–376, 388
		1.1	373
<i>Damascus Document (CD)</i>		2.2–3	373
3.20	342		

2.8–144	373	Philo of Alexandria	
2.10–11	373	<i>De Abrahamo</i>	
2.12–14	374	262–276	74
2.15–20	373	<i>De mutatione nominum</i>	
2.26–27	374	117	139
2.29	374	<i>De vita Mosis</i>	
2.80–111	373	1.243–244	139
2.136	374		
<i>Genesis Rabbah</i>		<i>Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer</i>	
1.7	105	11–12	343
8.8–9	105	<i>Sifre on Deuteronomy</i>	
8.10	343	26	106
<i>Jerusalem Talmud</i>		<i>Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice</i>	
<i>Berakhot</i>		74	
4.3	95, 99	<i>Targum Neofiti</i>	
<i>Pe'ah</i>		Gen 49:8–10	129
2.6	105	<i>Targum Onqelos</i>	
<i>Megillah</i>		Ex 1:19	76
4.1	105, 107	<i>Targum Pseudo-Jonathan</i>	
<i>Hagigah</i>		Ex 1:19	76
1.7	107	Ex 2:5	76
<i>Lamentations Rabbah</i>		<i>Thanksgiving Hymns (1QH)</i>	
1.16	99	4.14–15	342
<i>Leviticus Rabbah</i>		<i>Toledot Yeshu</i>	
31.4	106	37	
<i>Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael</i>		<i>Tosefta</i>	
<i>Be-Shalach</i>	129	<i>Sotah</i>	
<i>Midrash on Eschatology (4Q174)</i>		15.11	100
148		<i>Avodah Zarah</i>	
<i>Mishnah</i>		8.4	339
<i>Shabbat</i>		8.6–8	339
19.5	226	<i>Words of the Heavenly Lights (4Q504)</i>	
<i>Avot</i>		Frg. 8	343
1–5	103, 107		
1.3	332		
<i>Arakhin</i>			
2.1	226		

5. Christian Apocrypha

<i>Acts of Andrew</i>	26, 39, 224, 231, 235,	11–12	232
	237–238, 304	12–13	238
4	232	16	232
9	232	17	263

37	232	2:1	219
49	235	3–5	212, 216
56	237	3–4	213, 219
– <i>Martyrium Andreae alterum</i>		3:1	215
3	232	3:2	212
6	232	3:3	221
		3:5–6	214–215
<i>Acts of John</i>	13, 169, 224, 231,	3:8	212
	233–234, 237,	3:11	212, 219
	241–242, 245–246,	3:14	213, 218
	249–266, 304	3:16	212
1–17	263	3:21	221
18–55	262	4:2	218
19–25	265	4:5	217
19	255	6–7	213, 216
27–28	231–232	9	212–213, 216
33–36	263	9:3	215
34	241–242	9:5–9	219
36–37	262	9:13	217
45	234	9:17	215
46–53	265	10	215
46	231	12–13	212, 216
57	254	12:1–2	215
58–86	262	13–14	216–217
60–62	255	13:1–2	221
60–61	264	14	243
68	241	14:1	221
72–86	265	14:2	220
72–74	255	23	239
77	254	39	238
81–86	265	– <i>Papyrus Heidelberg</i>	
81	232	28–29	239
82	254	41–42	243
86	235, 239, 251, 262	– <i>Martyrdom of Paul</i>	
87–105	262	5	233
87–93	264		
95	264	<i>Acts of Peter</i>	39, 45, 64, 195, 200–
97–102	264		201, 224, 233–234,
106–115	13, 203, 245–266		236, 238, 242, 304,
113	237		379–380, 392
114	235	1:1	233
– <i>Pseudo-Prochorus</i>	262	3	238
		8	235, 242
<i>Acts of Mar Mari</i>	40	9	239
		17	243
<i>Acts of Paul (and Thecla)</i>		22	239
	13, 26, 45, 209–222,	36	239, 243
	224, 233–234, 243,	– <i>Act of Peter (Coptic)</i>	195–196
	304	128.17–129.1	236
1–3	219		
1	212	<i>Acts of Peter and Andrew</i>	
1:26	217	11:2	169
2	239		

<i>Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles</i>	19.1–10	291
14, 357, 365–366	20.5–21.22	290
10.31–12.16	20.25–21.14	291
	21.18–21	292
<i>Acts of Philip</i>	22.2–12	290
11–15	22.17–23.28	291
13:4	23.13–17	292
	23.26–28	292
<i>Acts of Thaddaeus</i>	201	
6:6	169	
<i>Acts of Thomas</i>	39, 224, 231–232, 234, 237, 241–243, 262, 304, 307	
1:12	241–242	
1:16	238	
2:19	243	
2:28	237	
2:29	231	
3:32	242	
3:36	239	
6:61	241	
7:66	232	
8:74	235	
8:76	235	
9:108–110	240	
9:111	235	
9:112	240	
10:120	234	
10:126	242	
10:131–133	242	
10:158	242	
12:142	239	
12:148	235	
13:151	239	
13:153	235	
13:159	232	
13:167	235	
27:9	306	
108–113	225, 240–241	
<i>Acts of Titus (Pseudo-Zenas)</i>		
	212	
4	219	
<i>1 Apocalypse of James</i>	293	
31.2–5	131	
<i>2 Apocalypse of James</i>	293	
<i>Apocalypse of Paul (Coptic)</i>		
	13, 283, 290–293, 295, 297, 300–302	
	19.1–10	291
	20.5–21.22	290
	20.25–21.14	291
	21.18–21	292
	22.2–12	290
	22.17–23.28	291
	23.13–17	292
	23.26–28	292
	<i>Apocalypse of Paul (Visio Pauli)</i>	
	182–183	
	<i>Apocalypse of Peter</i>	13, 38, 45, 91–92, 94–97, 99, 103, 115
	1:4–5	94
	2	95
	2:4	94
	2:7–12	94
	7:2	96
	9:1–4	94
	16:5	94
	<i>Apocalypse of the Virgin</i>	
		13, 177, 182–184, 190
	<i>Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles (Coptic, Arabic, Ethiopic Collections)</i>	
		7, 13, 202–206, 224, 262
	– <i>Acts of Bartholomew</i>	
	2–3	204
	6	204
	25–47	204
	– <i>Acts of James Son of Zebedee</i>	
	2	204
	4	204
	17	204
	20–21	204
	– <i>Acts of Matthew</i>	
	29–37	204
	– <i>Martyrdom of Luke</i>	
	2	204–206
	6	206
	42	206
	63	206
	<i>Apocryphon of James</i>	197
	<i>Apocryphon of John</i>	64, 166, 195–196, 303
	– <i>short recension</i>	
	77.6–7	121

– long recension		<i>Gospel Fragments</i>	
11.15–18	134	– <i>P.Berol. inv. 11710</i>	156–157
32.8–10	121	– <i>P.Oxy. V 840</i>	39, 156
<i>Apostolic Constitutions</i>		<i>Gospel of Barnabas</i>	
	91, 110		216
6.8.1	326	<i>Gospel of Judas</i>	
<i>Apostolic History (Pseudo-Abdias)</i>			13, 30–31, 35, 38–39,
16	253		42–45, 47, 50–53, 66,
<i>Arabic Apocalypse of Peter</i>			119–136, 303
	205	33.1–6	121–122
<i>Ascents of James</i>		34.6–12	134
	101, 329, 394, 396	34.10	124
<i>Book of the Nativity of Mary</i>		35.2–13	120
	178	35.15–21	132
<i>Book of the Resurrection of Jesus-Christ</i>		35.17–18	120
<i>by Bartholomew the Apostle</i>		35.23–25	128
	201	37.3	128
<i>Book of the Rooster</i>		37.1–6	132–133
	13, 31, 92, 109, 116,	37.5	126, 128
	206	37.8	128
3 Corinthians	214, 266	38.1–43.11	144
3:19–22	235	38.1–26	124
<i>Dialogue of the Savior</i>		39.24–40.1	124
	22, 29	40.17	126, 132
<i>Didascalia Apostolorum</i>		41.1–2	124
	13, 91–92, 99–101,	42.8	126, 132
	103–104, 110	43.9	128
1	100	44.15–23	124–126
23–24	100	44.20–21	120
26	100	45.11–19	126
<i>Dormitions of Mary</i>		45.13–19	120
	7, 13, 21, 28,	45.13	126, 132
	37–38, 42, 176–183,	45.14–19	128
	185–186, 206–207	46.1–2	126
– <i>Liber Requiei Mariae</i>		46.7	129
	28, 207, 180–181,	46.14–47.4	126–130
	183–184	46.19–47.1	120
13–17	180	47.5–24	130
– <i>Transitus Mariae (Pseudo-John)</i>		48.22–23	130
	178–181	48.23–26	130
– <i>Transitus R</i>		51.24	129
	178–180	52.14–16	124
<i>Epistle of the Apostles</i>		53.[5]	129
	38–39	53.15–16	129
<i>Epistle of Titus</i>		53.24	129, 133
	258	54.14	128
		54.17	126, 132
		55.10–11	120, 129
		55.10	126, 133
		55.16–17	126
		56.11–20	123–124
		56.19–20	131
		57.8	129

57.13	128	73.15–16	147
57.16–26	130–134	74.5–7	147
58.28–29	121	74.16–18	141
58.1–2	132	75.30–34	144–145
		78.25–79.13	151
<i>Gospel of Mary</i>	13, 29, 35, 38–40, 44–45, 136, 186–190, 195–200	81.12–14	150
		82.26–29	148
7–8	196	<i>Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew</i>	
9.15–16	197		178
9.19–20	197		
10.10–23	196	<i>Gospel of the Ebionites</i>	
15.1–17.7	198		5, 91, 114, 124, 333
<i>Gospel of Nicodemus (Acts of Pilate)</i>		<i>Gospel of the Egyptians</i>	
	13, 38, 40, 45, 91–92, 108–110		166
21	171	<i>Gospel of the Hebrews</i>	
<i>Gospel of Peter</i>	9, 22, 37–39, 49, 200–201		5, 91, 114, 165
		<i>Gospel of the Nazarenes</i>	
			5, 91, 114
<i>Gospel of Philip</i>	5, 13, 45, 60, 136–151	<i>Gospel of the Savior</i> (P.Berol. Inv. 22220)	
51.29–52.1	139, 145		29–30, 206
51.29–31	142		
51.29	146	<i>Gospel of Thomas</i>	5, 8, 15, 22, 24, 37, 40, 42, 44, 49, 56, 59–60, 136, 146, 148–149, 194–195, 200, 304
52.21–24	139, 141, 145		157–158
52.33	148	1–7	74
52.35–53.6	150	5–6	141
54.31–55.4	143	6	143
55	141	7	60
55.6–14	147	10	60
55.23–30	139	13	141, 354
56.26–21	265	14	60
58.17–22	146–147	16	147
59.2–4	146	22	141
59.27–32	141	27	140–141
61.27–35	138	43	60
61.29–35	143	45	141, 148
62.5–6	139, 145	53	60
62.7–9	141	57	60
62.13	139	82	141
62.26–35	146	104	
62.26	144	<i>Gospel of Truth</i>	150
62.35–63.4	143		
65.27–66.20	265	<i>Infancy Gospel of Thomas</i>	
67.24–27	141		22, 27–28, 36, 39, 41–42, 45, 185, 206
68.22–26	147		
69.22–25	147		
70.9–22	147		
70.25–26	147		
71.16–18	147		
71.22–27	147		

<i>Judgment of Peter</i>	304	– <i>Clement's Letter to James</i>	321
<i>Kerygmata Petrou</i>	14, 103, 321–322, 325, 369–370, 391, 396	2.6	365
		– <i>Homilies</i>	
		1.1–5	384
		1.7	349
<i>Legend of Simon and Theonoe</i>		1.8–13	371
	202, 224	1.8	326
		1.15–22	371
<i>Letter of Lentulus</i>	22	1.19	106
		2.4.1	326
<i>Liber de Nativitate Salvatoris (J Compilation)</i>		2.5–12	106
	32	2.10	349
		2.13	349
<i>Life of the Virgin</i>	7, 13, 184–186, 206	2.15–18	106
		2.16.7–17.2	323–325
<i>Martyrdom of the Holy Apostle Ananias</i>		2.17.2	320, 334
	26	2.17.4	325
		2.22.3	326
<i>Memorial of Saint John the Theologian</i>		2.23.1–24.1	321
	26	2.23	323
		2.24	326
<i>Periodoi Petrou</i>	14, 370	2.26	349
		2.31.1–24.1	325–327
<i>Pistis Sophia</i>	189, 200	2.33.2	365
19	189	2.38	106, 337, 340
34	189	2.40–41	337, 340
		2.44.2	393
<i>Prayer of the Apostle Paul</i>		2.49–50	349
	197	2.51	338
		2.52	340–341
<i>Protevangelium of James</i>		3.4–5	340
	13, 45, 91–92, 98–101, 103–104, 114, 175, 182, 184–185, 206	3.11–28	106
		3.11.4	366
		3.12–27	349
		3.13	350
<i>Pseudo-Clementines</i>	5–7, 13–14, 28–29, 41, 90–92, 101–110, 115, 315–400	3.15	342
		3.17–28	370
		3.17	342
– <i>Basic Writing (Grundschrift)</i>		3.18–19	106
	14, 101–104, 110, 321–323, 325–327, 329–331, 333–335, 337, 342, 347, 351–353, 370, 375, 388–389, 391, 394	3.18	340–342
		3.20	342
		3.21	341–342
		3.23	324
		3.26.3	393
		3.35	350
– <i>Peter's Letter to James</i>		3.42	341–342
	321	3.45.1–4	393
2	349	3.49	340
2.5	340	3.50	338
– <i>Testimony regarding the Recipients of the Letter</i>		3.51	340–341
		3.52.1	393
	321	3.54–57	340

3.54	341	8.12–20	338
3.55	338	8.12	346
3.56.4	393	8.13	360
3.59	106	8.14	346
3.64.3	365	8.15	346, 361
3.70	107	8.18–20	346
4–6	371, 374–376, 379, 381	8.20.1	393
4.1.1	372	8.21.1–22.1	323
4.2.4	372	8.24.1	352
4.4.3	364	9.12.3	362
4.6.2	374, 378	9.16	106
4.7.2–3	372, 383	9.16.4–6	365
4.8.3	382	10.23.3–4	393
4.12.1–2	383	10.24.3	393
4.13	106	11.13.1–5	393
4.17.1	382	11.28–30	103
4.18.1	382	11.28	106
4.18.4–5	363	11.28.4	332
4.20.1–2	382	11.29	107
5.2–29.1	384	11.35.3–5	323
5.2.2–3	384	13.4	103
5.3.4–5	384	13.9	103
5.3.4	326	13.19	103
5.4.1	384	13.5.1	393
5.7.2	384	14.3.4	393
5.9.3	384	14.11.2	326
5.9.5	387	16.3.3	379
5.10.1–7	385	16.11	338
5.13	386	16.14	106, 337, 340
5.21.1–2	387	17.4	349
5.26.3	387	17.11.4	364
5.27.1	387	17.13–19	349
5.28.1	387	18.13	349
5.28.2	371, 375, 388	18.19.1–3	394
6	389	18.20	338
6.26.3	364	19	196
7.2.3	364	19.8	341
7.4	106	20.2.3–4	325
7.5.2	364	– <i>Recognitions</i>	
7.8	103	1	93
7.11	364	1.27–71	101–103, 107, 110, 115, 329, 331–333, 391, 394–396
8–11	393		
8	393, 346	1.30.4	394
8.1	351	1.41.2	169
8.3.3–4	352	1.41.3	320
8.5–7	105–106	1.45.3	321
8.8	345	1.47	349
8.8.3	354	1.49	349
8.8.4	352	1.53–71	335
8.9	359–360	1.53.5–54.3	328–335
8.10–20	345	1.54	321
8.10	340, 349	1.54.2	320, 332

1.54.3	326, 330	7.29	103
1.54.8	328–335	7.34	103
1.59	349	8.5.4–5	379
1.60	321, 334	8.68	103
1.60.1–4	328–335	9.27.6	321
1.63	321, 330	10.15.1–2	379
1.63.1	328–335	10.17–51	371
1.64.1	395	10.17–20	376
1.64.2	325	10.30	376
2.5	349		
2.8.1	320, 325–327, 330	<i>Qälemāntos (Ethiopic)</i>	205
2.25.1–2	380		
2.71–72	103	<i>Questions of Bartholomew</i>	
2.71.3	395		201
3.2.11	325	1:10–20	171
3.5.5–7	325	4:51–55	343
3.18	380		
3.34	380	<i>Revelation of the Magi</i>	12, 31–32
3.46.7–47.2	323		
3.55–57	323	<i>Secret Gospel of Mark</i>	22, 32–33, 35, 42–45,
3.59.9	365		47
3.61.2	320, 323–325, 330		
4–6	351	<i>Sophia of Jesus Christ</i>	195–197
4.3.6–8	352	99.17–19	129
4.5	105		
4.7.2–6	352–353	<i>Story of the Passion of Christ (Ethiopic)</i>	
4.8	360		206
4.18.2–3	362		
4.19.1	395	<i>Teaching of Addai</i>	158–160, 167–168,
4.35.3	323, 327		173–174
4.59	106	4	172
4.61	106	5	158
5.30.6	395		
5.32.2	395	<i>Testamentum Domini</i>	
6.9–11	103	1:24	170
6.11.2	332	19	170

6. Hermetic, Gnostic, Manichaean, and Islamic Literatures

<i>Allogenes</i> (NHC XI,3)	293	<i>Corpus Hermeticum</i>	
<i>Book of Allogenes</i> (AMC 4)		Tractate XIII	198
	199		
<i>Book of John</i>		<i>Eugnostos</i>	303, 306
27	334	73.9–11	306
		75.17–18	129
		76	307
		78	307
<i>Cologne Mani Codex</i>	304	81	307
48–58	304	83–85	307

Heracleon

Fragments

13 148

16 148

*Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit
(Gospel of the Egyptians)*

63.18 125

64.4 125

Hypostasis of the Archons

95.7 134

97.4–5 129

Ibn al-Nadim

Fihrist

777 305

786 305

Kephalaia 307, 312

1.17.2–20 308

1.17.32–35 308

1.19.1–17 308

1.20.12–20 308

1.21.28–36 308

1.76.19–23 309

1.84.33 311

1.91.15–33 310

1.92.12–94.22 310

1.95.13–19 310

1.95.13 312

1.96.24–97.4 310

1.97.26–99.17 311

Letter to Rheginos 22, 24

Mani

Epistles

50.8–14 306

On the Origin of the World

103.32–106.17 132

106.9–10 133

121.28–35 125

123.2–25 125

125.5–6 129

Paraphrase of Shem

38.28b–40.31a 132

Psalms-Book (Part 2) 304

23.14–18 310

120.3–11 311

126.3–122 311

137.45–47 311

161.23–24 311

166.38–167.2 311

167.29–33 311

174.12–18 311

182.20 311

182.24–28 311

Ptolemy

Letter to Flora 24*Second Treatise of the Great Seth*

53.20–27 133

57.7–58.17 132

Testimony of Truth 134

30.30–31.5 324

32.19–22 124

Treatise on the Resurrection

49.9–26 265

Trimorphic Protennoia

39.27 134

Tripartite Tractate

100.9 129–130

110.21–32 140

111.6–9 140

112.18–113.1 140

Untitled Text (Bruce Codex)

32.22 129

Valentinian Exposition 22, 150*Zostrianos* 293

4.20–23 130

4.25–27 125

4.31 130

7. Patristic and Christian Literature

Acta Carpi 217

Acta Nerei et Achillei

15 236

18 236

Athanasius of Alexandria

De incarnatione

18.4 169

Athenagoras

Legatio pro Christianis

26 397

Augustine of Hippo

Contra Adimantum

17 236

Epistulae

116.16.1 395

Sermones de Vetere Testamento

48 72–75

Book of Steps 343

Book of the Bee 32

Chromatius of Aquileia

Sermo XXI

4 260–261

Chronicle of Zuqnin 31–32

2 Clement 211

Clement of Alexandria

Protrepticus

2.40.1 383

Stromata

1.3 388

1.8 388

1.28.177 338

1.101.3 374

2.3.1–2 388

4.4.16–17 134

Cyril of Alexandria

Commentarii in Iohannem

15.9–10 169

Dialogus de Trinitate

3.494 169

De martyrio Maccabaeorum 82–85

Didache 39, 211

11–13 212

Didymus the Blind

Commentarii in Zachariam

2.17.3 169

Egeria

Itinerarium

19.8–13 172

19.19 172

Ephrem the Syrian

Commentarius in Diatessaron

319–320

16.22 320

21.5 320

Commentarius in Exodum

1–4 75–77

Commentarius in Genesim

75

Hymni contra haereses

50.3 320

Epiphanius of Salamis

Panarion

14.2.1 330

19.3.6 395

29.1.1–9 91

29.1.1 108

30.1.1–33 91

30.13.4 333

30.15.1 370

30.16 394

30.16.4–5 395–396

30.16.5 124

30.16.6–9 101, 329

30.16.7 395–396

30.18.4 349

38.3.4–5 120
38.4.9–5.1 125, 134–135

Epistle of Barnabas 25, 307
8.2 133

Eusebius of Caesarea

Commentarius in Psalmos
108.5 169
Demonstratio evangelica
6.21.3 169
Historia ecclesiastica 87, 107
1.13.2 172
1.13.6–10 158
1.13.8 172
2.24 210
3.1.2 107
3.5.3 91, 107
3.25 261
3.27.1–6 107
3.38.5 371, 375
3.39.9 220
5.1.49 357
Praeparatio evangelica 398
10.10.16 374
Theophania
3.40 169

Gregory of Tours

Liber de miraculis beati Andreae
7 238
12 237–238
19 238
24 238
26 238

Hermas

Pastor 64, 211

Hippolytus of Rome

Syntagma 330
Refutatio omnium haeresium
5.8.2 129
5.8.30 129
6.12.2 307
Traditio apostolica
21 234

Ignatius of Antioch

Ad Magnesios
10 93

Irenaeus of Lyon

Adversus haereses
1.24.3–7 307
1.26.1–2 98, 142
1.31.1 120
3.11.7–9 62
3.12.1–16 222
3.21.1 98
4.18 133
5.1.3 98

Isidore of Seville

In libros Veteris et Novi Testamenti Prooemia
74 261

Jerome of Stridon

Commentarii in Ezechielem
4.16.3 165
Commentarii in Isaiaem
40.9–11 165
Commentarii in Michaeum
2.7.5–7 165
De viris illustribus
13 373
Epistulae
112.13 93, 395–396

John Chrysostom

Homiliae in Genesim
64 70–72

Justin Martyr

1 Apologia
5.2 383
12.6 383
31.6 94
31.7.4 169
35 97
38 97
40 97
46 96
50.12 222
54.1–2 383
67 57

Dialogus cum Tryphone

	142–143
11	97
16	95
18–20	97
23	97
25–27	97
43–47	97
43.8	99
46–47	111
73	97
92	97
96	95
103	97
122.5	143
133	97

Lactantius

Divinarum institutionum

2.17	397
------	-----

Martyrium Pionii

19	217
----	-----

Martyrium Polycarpi

12.4	217
------	-----

Maximus the Confessor

<i>Life of the Virgin</i>	185
---------------------------	-----

Melito of Laodicea

<i>Passio Iohannis</i>	261
------------------------	-----

Nicetas of Paphlagonia

<i>Panegyricus Paulo</i>	212
--------------------------	-----

Novatian of Rome

<i>De cibis Iudaicis</i>	79
--------------------------	----

Origen

Commentarii in evangelium Iohannis

2.12.87	165
---------	-----

Commentarium in evangelium Matthaei

13.23	394
-------	-----

Contra Celsum

1.28	142
1.32	98, 142
1.43	99

1.57	327
3.28	397
4.32	397
6.11	327
7.6	397
8.60	397
8.62	397
<i>Homiliae in Jeremiam</i>	
15.4	165

Philastrius of Brescia

Diversarum hereseon liber

4–5	330
-----	-----

Photios of Constantinople

Bibliotheca

114	224
-----	-----

Pseudo-Cyprianus

<i>Heptateuchos</i>	78–81, 85
---------------------	-----------

Pseudo-Cyril of Jerusalem

<i>In passionem Domini</i>	15
----------------------------	----

Pseudo-Tertullian

Adversus omnes haereses

1.1	330
-----	-----

Prudentius

Peristephanon

10.700	233
--------	-----

Rufinus of Aquileia

Commentarius in symbolum apostolorum

37	395
----	-----

Sarapion of Thmuis

Euchologion

Prayer 17	170
-----------	-----

Shenoute

De idolis vici Pneueit II

Frg. 26 (Amélineau)	128
---------------------	-----

Tatian the Assyrian

<i>Diatessaron</i>	187
<i>Oratio ad Graecos</i>	
26.3–4	388
27.2–3	388

Tertullian of Carthage

<i>Adversus Iudaeos</i>	
3	103
6	103
8	103
12–13	103
<i>De baptismo</i>	
17.5	211

Theodore bar Khonai

<i>Liber scholiorum</i>	
313.16–17	305
314.17–20	305–306, 309–310

Theophilus of Antioch

<i>Ad Autolyicum</i>	
1.1	388
1.10	383

Vigilius of Thapsus

<i>Contra Arianos, Sabellianos et Photinianos</i>	
1.20	320

8. Classical Literature

Aelius Theon

<i>Progymnasmata</i>	
5–6	384
11	381–382

Ammianus Marcellinus

<i>Res gestae</i>	
22.12.6–7	399

Aphthonius the Sophist

<i>Progymnasmata</i>	
8	386

Apion

<i>Aegyptiaca</i>	373–374
<i>De mago</i>	377
<i>Glossai Homerikai</i>	377

Aristotle

<i>Ethica Nichomachea</i>	
9.2.1	382
<i>Poetica</i>	57
<i>Rhetorica</i>	
1.3 = 1358b	57

Aulus Gellius

<i>Noctes Atticae</i>	
2.7.1	382

5.14.1	377
5.14.3	377

Cassius Dio

<i>Historia Romana</i>	
67.14	371

Cicero

<i>De natura deorum</i>	392
-------------------------	-----

Digesta

27.1.6.2–4	356
50.9.1	359
50.13.1	356, 365

Dio Chrysostom

<i>De consuetudine (Oratio 76)</i>	
	381
<i>Venator (Oratio 7)</i>	382

Diodorus Siculus

<i>Bibliotheca historica</i>	
1.82.3	356

Flavius Vopiscus

<i>Vita divi Aureliani</i>	
19.2	279
21.4	280

Heliodorus

Aethiopica 384

Hermogenes

Progymnasmata
7 384

Hesiod

Opera et dies 275

Iamblichus

De mysteriis
2.11 398
5.7–10 398
5.25 398
De vita Pythagorica 63
11.54 397
21.98 397
24.107 397
28.150 397

Lucian of Samosata

Alexander (Pseudomantis)
64, 355
De morte Peregrini 64
Menippus 384

Nicolaus of Damascus

Vita Caesaris
4.9 228
5.12–13 228

Nicolaus the Sophist

Progymnasmata
12 382

Ovid

Tristia
3.13 296

Philostratus

Epistulae
30–31 387

Vita Apollonii 63–64, 380
1.31–32 397
Vitae sophistarum
572 382

Plato

Gorgias
456b 359
Symposium
202e–203a 125

Pliny the Elder

Naturalis historia
Praefatio 25 377
30.18 377

Pliny the Younger

Epistulae ad Traianum
96 214

Porphyry

De abstinentia
2.34.2–3 397
2.36.5 398
2.40.1–2 398
Vita Pythagorae
34–35 397

Quintilian

Institutio oratoria
2.1.1–3 378
2.4.24 382

Seneca

Epistulae morales
88.34 376

Suda 377–378

Suetonius

De grammaticis
4 378
Domitianus
15.1 371

Tacitus

Annales

1.76 280

15.44 280

Varro

De re rustica

1.3 279

Zosimos of Panopolis

Veridicus liber Sophe Aegyptii

130

Index of Modern Authors

- Aasgaard, R. 27–28
 Abd Al-Masih, Y. 159
 Abécassis, A. 129
 Achelis, H. 236
 Adam, A. 240
 Adamik, T. 392
 Adamson, G. 337
 Adjémian, C. 247–248
 Adler, W. 293, 338, 370, 375–376, 381–382, 384, 386–387
 Aland, B. 226, 229, 233
 Alcock, A. 304
 Alexander, P.H. 11
 Allen, P. 170, 179
 Altendorf, H.-D. 214
 Amar, J.P. 75–76
 Amélineau, É. 128
 Amidon, P.R. 395
 Amphoux, C.B. 231
 Amsler, F. 7, 14, 25, 28, 40, 200, 224, 337, 357
 Amundsen, D.W. 365
 Anderson, G. 385–386
 Antonopoulos, A. 26
 Aragione, G. 337
 Arai, S. 131
 Arbel, V.D. 6
 Argall, R. 294, 339
 Ariño-Durand, L.-M. 206
 Arjava, A. 236
 Arnal, W.E. 59–60, 195
 Arras, V. 180
 Asahu-Ejere, K. 169
 Asgeirsson, J.M. 4–5
 Ashjian, M. 248
 Asmussen, J. 303
 Attridge, H.W. 23, 87, 157, 285, 399
 Aune, D.E. 49, 53, 56, 63–64
 Auwers, J.-M. 3
 Avery-Peck, A.J. 193
 Baarda, T. 211
 Baars, W. 185
 Bächtold-Stäubli, H. 174
 Backhaus, K. 318–321, 324, 326, 331, 334
 Backus, I. 46, 111
 Baillet, M. 343
 Bakke, O.M. 223
 Balch, D.L. 223
 Baldensperger, W. 317, 334
 Balestri, I. 205
 Balog, A. 30
 Balty, J.C. 154
 Baltzer, K. 287–288
 Bammel, E. 330, 332
 Bara, A. 7
 Barbel, J. 171
 Barchiesi, A. 65
 Bar-Kochva, B. 373
 Barnett, P. 140
 Barrett, C.K. 219, 391
 Bastianini, G. 156
 Bauckham, R. 10, 39, 57, 58, 91, 94–96, 182–184, 212
 Bauer, W. 87–88, 100, 226, 319–320
 Baumgarten, A.I. 95, 102–103, 392
 Baun, J. 180, 182
 Baur, F.C. 111, 317
 Bausi, A. 34, 36, 204–205, 207
 Bautch, K.C. 4, 14, 242, 337, 345, 360
 Bazzana, G.B. 14, 337–338, 345, 360
 Beck, E. 320
 Becker, A.H. 9, 88, 110, 112–113, 115, 193, 369, 392
 Becker, E.M. 64–65
 Bedouelle, G. 321
 BeDuhn, J.D. 306–307
 Beech, T. 6, 13, 273, 279, 280
 Beltz, W. 172
 Benko, S. 176
 Benner, A.R. 387
 Berder, M. 192
 Berger, K. 12, 50, 54–55, 334
 Bergmeier, R. 130
 Berner, U. 388
 Bernhard, A. 39, 41

- Berthelot, M. 129
 Bertrand, D. A. 156
 Bethge, H.-G. 29, 30, 144, 304
 Beyer, K. 240
 Beyerle, S. 4–5
 Beylot, R. 170, 204
 Beyschlag, K. 326–327
 Bhabha, H. K. 271
 Bhola, R. 191
 Biderman, S. 92
 Bienert, W. A. 178
 Bijaoui, R. 135
 Biondi, A. 155
 Biraud, M. 211
 Birdsall, J. N. 370
 Bismuth, D. 121
 Björck, G. 162
 Black, M. 340, 344
 Blanchetière, F. 193
 Blasi, A. J. 137
 Bloom, H. 188
 Boccaccini, G. 347, 361
 Bock, D. L. 22–25, 45
 Bockmuehl, M. 339
 Boeser, P. A. A. 172
 Bogharian, N. 248–249
 Bohak, G. 92
 Böhlig, A. 307
 Boll, F. 384
 Bonnefoy, Y. 383
 Bonnet, M. 38, 231, 245–247, 250–251, 262–263, 306
 Borgeaud, P. 389
 Boring, M. E. 321, 372
 Boss, S. J. 179
 Bourdieu, P. 89
 Bousset, W. 101, 324
 Boustan, R. S. 90, 92, 94, 104–105
 Bouvier, B. 25–26, 200, 357
 Bovon, F. 6, 21, 24–26, 90, 153–155, 167, 176, 179, 184, 192, 200–204, 211, 224, 357, 366
 Bowden, J. 193, 227, 318
 Bowersock, G. W. 359
 Bowie, E. 386
 Boyarin, D. 9, 93–94, 108–109, 112–114, 137, 193
 Bradbury, S. 397–399
 Brakke, D. 9, 187, 193, 338
 Brankaer, J. 5, 30, 144
 Brashear, W. M. 161–163
 Brashler, J. 236
 Braun, W. 59
 Bremmer, J. N. 14–15, 26–27, 37, 90, 155, 167, 192, 195, 202, 225, 304, 332, 339, 372, 374, 376–378, 380, 388, 392
 Brenk, F. E. 56
 Breytenbach, C. 10
 Brightman, F. E. 171
 Brisson, L. 389
 Brock, A. G. 8, 35, 189, 195, 198, 200–201, 205, 236
 Brock, S. 88
 Bromley, D. 149
 Brooke, G. J. 148
 Brown, D. 45, 51
 Brown, P. R. L. 88–89
 Brown, R. E. 111, 135
 Brown, S. C. 32–33, 43
 Brown, S. K. 330
 Brubaker, L. 185
 Bruce, F. F. 217, 219, 227, 233
 Brucker, R. 49
 Buckley, J. J. 138–139, 143
 Budge, E. A. W. 203–204
 Buell, D. K. 137, 151
 Bultmann, R. 320
 Bumazhnov, D. 181
 Bunge, M. J. 224
 Buraselis, K. 355
 Burgess, J. P. 22,
 Burke, T. 6, 9–11, 15, 23, 27, 33, 39, 119, 153, 206
 Burnet, R. 200
 Burns, D. M. 15
 Burrige, R. 62–63
 Burrus, V. 9, 35, 90–100, 114
 Bussièrès, M.-P. 122, 198
 Butler, H. E. 377
 Byrskog, S. 54
 Cairns, F. 283, 295–297, 300–301
 Calzolari Bouvier, V. 34, 319
 Campagnano, A. 181
 Campenhausen, H. von 175
 Cancik, H. 59, 62
 Carleton Paget, J. 93
 Carlson, D. H. 337
 Carlson, S. 32–33, 43
 Carroll, J. T. 224
 Cartlidge, D. 34
 Casanova, A. 156
 Casey, R. P. 167
 Casson, L. 159–160
 Castelli, E. A. 89
 Catchpole, D. 54

- Catergian, J. 261
 Cazalais, S. 135
 Cerfaux, L. 106, 322
 Chadwick, H. 327
 Champion, J. 111, 317
 Chapa, J. 156
 Chapman, J. 321, 388–389
 Charles, R. H. 345
 Charlesworth, J. H. 12, 19, 21, 24–25, 36, 68, 99, 179, 243, 267
 Chaves, J. C. 42
 Chazon, E. G. 5, 110
 Cherix, P. 121, 125, 127, 211, 219
 Chesnut, G. F. 87
 Chesnutt, R. D. 12
 Christian, M. A. 4–5
 Cirillo, L. 92
 Clark, D. L. 381
 Clark, E. A. 89, 114, 187–188
 Clark, G. 397
 Clarke, A. D. 212
 Clarke, F. 175
 Classen, C. J. 57
 Clayton, M. 34, 202
 Clements, R. A. 5, 110
 Clivaz, C. 27, 99
 Coenen, L. 227
 Cohen, S. J. D. 113
 Colless, B. E. 240
 Collins, A. Y. 277
 Collins, J. J. 68, 267, 271–272, 275–278, 280, 284, 300, 361, 399
 Conrad, E. W. 155
 Constat, N. 176
 Coogan, M. D. 231
 Cook, J. G. 167
 Cooper, K. 90
 Copeland, K. 45, 90
 Coppins, W. 53
 Côté, D. 6, 14, 108, 115, 324, 379,
 Cotelier, J.-B. 317, 320
 Cothenet, É. 183
 Coudert, A. P. 111
 Cousland, J. R. C. 4–6
 Cox, C. E. 247
 Coyle, K. 304
 Cribiore, R. 378, 386
 Crone, P. 110
 Cross, F. M. 231, 294
 Cross, J. E. 34
 Crossan, J. D. 22–24, 45, 49, 53, 55
 Crown, A. D. 193
 Crum, W. E. 174
 Culianu, I. P. 225
 Cullmann, O. 318, 319, 323–325, 330, 371, 375, 380
 Cunningham, M. 185
 Curtis, A. H. W. 192
 Czachesz, I. 5, 27, 42
 Daly, P. 224
 Danby, H. 226
 Daniel Assefa 34
 Daniel, R. W. 154, 161–163, 165, 170
 Daniélou, J. 126
 Danker, F. W. 226
 Dart, J. 50, 55
 Davies, S. L. 35
 Davies, W. D. 93
 Davila, J. R. 4–6, 10–12, 39, 42, 74, 95–96, 343, 348, 391
 Davis, B. S. 237
 Davis, G. 41
 Davis, S. J. 188
 Dawes, G. W. 52
 De Boer, E. A. 35, 197–198
 De Bruyn, T. 7, 13, 154–156, 169, 170–171
 De Jonge, H. J. 3
 De Jonge, M. 3, 96
 De Santos Otero, A. 179, 204, 224, 258
 DeConick, A. D. 11, 31, 42, 138, 207, 337
 Denzinger, H. 170
 Derrida, J. 188–189
 Desreumaux, A. 110
 Deutsch, Y. 207
 Devos, P. 172
 Dibelius, M. 334
 Díez Macho, A. 129
 Dijkstra, J. H. F. 9, 154–157, 170, 194
 Dillery, J. 374, 377
 Dionisotti, A. C. 276
 DiTommaso, L. 6, 8, 168, 184, 207, 268
 Dixon, S. 234, 241
 Dobbeler, A. von 372
 Dobschütz, E. von 158–159
 Dodd, C. H. 214, 318
 Dodge, B. 305
 Doering, L. 200
 Dohrmann, N. B. 110
 Donaldson, J. 337
 Dorfmann-Lazarev, I. 34
 Douglas, M. 360
 Dowling, L. H. 21
 Drijvers, H. J. W. 106, 110, 158, 225, 234, 238–239, 241–242, 306, 321, 342, 345, 370, 392, 399

- Drioton, E. 158–159, 168, 172
 Droge, A. J. 87, 373
 Du Manoir de Juaye, H. 183
 Dubois, J.-D. 20, 21, 40, 177
 Dubrow, H. 301–302
 Duhaime, J. 137
 Dunderberg, I. 9, 119, 138, 140, 142–143, 187, 193
 Dunn, J. D. G. 54, 370
 Dunn, P. W. 6, 13, 211, 221
 Dyck, T. 59
- Ebert, A. 82
 Edwards, M. J. 370, 373, 380, 392
 Ego, B. 148
 Ehrman, B. D. 22–24, 30, 33, 38–39, 45, 192
 Elgvin, T. 4
 Elias, J. 298
 Élisabeth, G. 384
 Elliott, J. K. 25, 34, 38, 176–178, 181–182, 224, 245, 249, 253–258, 263–264, 265–266
 Elsas, C. 106, 321, 342, 370, 392
 Eltester, W. 210
 Embry, B. 4–5
 Emmel, S. 29–30, 119
 Endres, J. C. 242, 345
 Engelbrecht, E. 234
 Erbetta, M. 36, 176, 179–180, 182, 204
 Eriksson, A. 64
 Erlemann, K. 372
 Ernst, J. 319, 324, 334
 Eshel, H. 4–5
 Étaix, R. 261
 Evans, C. A. 6, 33, 53, 119
 Evans, J. M. 78
 Ewald, H. 190
 Eyben, E. 224
- Fabricius, J. A. 20
 Fackler, P. 108, 115
 Faerber, R. 34
 Fallon, F. T. 129
 Farcy, G.-D. 135
 Farone, C. A. 166
 Fast, L. 58
 Fatio, O. 321
 Feldman, L. H. 373
 Ferguson, E. 317
 Ferngren, G. B. 365
 Ferrara, A. 44
 Ferreira, J. 225, 240
 Fiaccadori, G. 164, 172
 Fiensy, D. A. 5, 110
- Fisher, E. J. 96
 Fitzmyer, J. A. 158
 Fletcher-Louis, C. H. T. 342–343
 Fleury, P. 385
 Fobes, F. H. 387
 Focant, C. 56
 Fonrobert, C. 100–101, 112
 Fontaine, J. 78–79, 234
 Förster, H. 38, 176, 181
 Fossum, J. E. 326, 330
 Foster, P. 39
 Fowler, A. 284, 297–300
 Fowler, R. L. 154
 Frankenberg, W. 322, 332
 Frankfurter, D. 95–96, 97, 111, 113, 166, 173, 293, 297, 300–301
 Fraser, R. S. 52
 Fredriksen, P. 110
 Frey, A. 8, 26, 206, 224
 Frey, J. 10, 14, 28–29, 158, 197
 Freyne, S. 63, 65–66
 Friedman, R. E. 275
 Frisk, H. 160
 Fröhlich, I. 5
 Frösén, J. 156
 Frow, J. 298
 Funk, R. W. 23
 Funk, W.-P. 119, 128, 304, 306–307
- Gaffron, H.-G. 138
 Gager, J. G. 92, 110, 144–145, 267
 Gagné, A. 15, 125
 Garcia, H. 237
 García Bazán, F. 121
 Gardner, G. 92
 Gardner, I. 304, 306–307
 Gasque, W. W. 209
 Gathercole, S. 31, 194
 Gatrachian, Y. 247, 249–250, 253, 256–257
 Gaventa, B. R. 235
 Geerard, M. 39, 158, 184
 Geerlings, W. 234
 Geffcken, J. 272
 Geoltrain, P. 6, 21, 91, 153–155, 176, 192, 211, 337
 Gianotto, C. 91
 Gibson, C. A. 55
 Gibson, M. 21, 44
 Gieschen, C. A. 106, 349
 Gilhus, I. S. 119
 Gitin, S. 339
 Giversen, S. 159, 168, 285, 304, 307
 Golitzin, A. 343

- Gonis, N. 156
 Good, D. 188–189
 Goodacre, M. S. 42, 194
 Goodman, M. 272, 373–374
 Goodstein, L. 51, 53
 Gori, A. 207
 Gounelle, R. 8, 26, 40, 46, 108, 171, 192, 206, 211
 Graf, F. 90
 Grafton, A. 276
 Granarolo, J. 211
 Grappe, C. 199
 Graverini, L. 65
 Green, D.E. 287
 Green, M. 213
 Greenblatt, S. 271
 Gregory, A. 38, 193
 Grenfell, B. P. 157, 159, 164–165
 Griggs, C. W. 215
 Grondin, M. 42
 Gronewald, M. 168
 Guidi, I. 202–203, 206
 Guijarro, S. 366
 Guillén, C. 302
 Gummere, R. M. 376
 Gundry-Volf, J. T. 224
 Gunn, G. 271
 Gutbrod, W. 139–140
 Gutschmid, A. von 218
 Gyselen, R. 304

 Haacker, K. 227
 Hadot, P. 388
 Haenchen, E. 221–222
 Hagen, J. L. 29
 Hagerdorn, D. 161
 Hägg, T. 380
 Hall, R. 388
 Hammond, P. E. 149
 Hansen, D. U. 370, 380, 384
 Hanson, A. E. 160
 Harding, M. 4
 Hardwicke, C. 44
 Hare, D. R. A. 101, 396
 Harkins, A. K. 242, 345
 Harmon, A. M. 355
 Harnack, A. von 112
 Harrauer, H. 355
 Harrington, D. J. 88, 193
 Harris, H. 372
 Hart, D. G. 89
 Hartin, P. J. 240
 Harvey, S. A. 90, 184

 Hasan-Rokem, G. 94, 99
 Haslam, M. W. 159
 Hata, G. 87
 Hayes, C. 104, 114
 Hedrick, C. W. 29–30, 33, 187, 287, 290
 Heiligenthal, R. 372
 Heimola, M. 4, 13, 138, 145, 150
 Heintze, W. 371, 375, 392
 Heiser, A. 10, 36, 176
 Helder mann, J. 185
 Hemer, C. J. 212, 217, 220
 Henderson, I. H. 6, 11–12, 31, 50, 55, 57–58, 61, 64, 92, 206
 Hengel, M. 45, 63
 Hennecke, E. 10, 20, 176–177, 192, 224
 Henrichs, A. 154
 Henry, R. 224
 Henze, M. 68
 Herbert, M. 111
 Herzog, R. 78–79, 82
 Heszer, C. 106
 Hettich, E. L. 159–160
 Hexter, R. 78
 Hilgenfeld, A. 319, 322, 330–331, 371
 Hilhorst, A. 372
 Hill, E. 72
 Hill, R. C. 70–71
 Hills, J. V. 23
 Himmelfarb, M. 96, 99, 183
 Hirsch, E. 297–298
 Hock, R. F. 23, 55, 381
 Hodgson, R. 187, 290
 Hoffmann, H. 371
 Hoffmann, J. 194
 Hoffmann, P. 353
 Hoffmann-Krayer, E. 174
 Holl, K. 120, 124
 Holmén, T. 49, 52
 Holum, K. G. 176
 Hoover, R. 23
 Hopkins, J. 5
 Horbury, W. 92–93
 Horn, C. B. 4, 6, 13, 34, 223, 230, 233, 236, 242
 Horner, G. 128
 Horner, T. 98–99
 Horsely, G. H. R. 161
 Hort, F. J. A. 322
 Horton, C. 63
 Hovhannessian, V. 4–5, 13, 203, 266
 Hubai, P. 30
 Hunt, A. S. 157, 159, 161, 164–165, 168
 Hunter, D. G. 90, 184

- Hurtado, L. 45, 158
 Hvalvik, R. 4, 112, 329
 Hyvernath, H. 205
- Immerzeel, M. 197
 Inowlocki, S. 87
 Ioannidou, G. 161
 Iricinschi, E. 105
 Isenberg, W.W. 137–138, 145
 Israeli, E. 5
 Isser, B. S. J. 327, 330
 Ivanovska, I. 223, 233
 Izydorczyk, Z. 40
- Jackson-McCabe, M. 337
 Jacobs, A. S. 90, 109
 Jacobsen, A. C. 338
 Jacobson, H. 377
 Jacoby, A. 171
 Jacoby, F. 373
 Jaffee, M. 106
 James, M. R. 38, 176–178, 181–182, 190, 224, 245, 253, 386
 Janif, M. M. 231
 Janowitz, N. 397
 Janz, T. 130
 Jeffery, P. 33, 43
 Jefford, C. N. 23, 91
 Jenkins, G. 304
 Jenkins, P. 22
 Jenott, L. 30
 Jensen, A. 219
 Jeremias, J. 156
 Johnson, A. 87
 Johnson, L. T. 23, 221
 Johnson, M. E. 170, 176
 Johnson, S. R. 158
 Johnson-DeBaufre, M. 198, 200
 Johnston, S. I. 155
 Jones, B. C. 42
 Jones, F. S. 6, 14, 24, 28, 35, 87, 90–91, 93, 101–105, 188, 198, 317, 329, 331–333, 337–338, 346–348, 369–371, 391–392, 394–395
 Jordaan, P. J. 5
 Judge, E. A. 155
 Junod, É. 20–21, 36, 89, 153, 169, 175–177, 184, 203, 231, 245–246, 249, 250, 252–255, 257, 261–264, 266
- Kaestli, J.-D. 6, 21, 32, 154, 169, 176–177, 191–192, 200–204, 231, 245–246, 249–253, 255, 257, 261–264, 266, 304
- Kähler, M. 62
 Kaiser, U. U. 27
 Kaler, M. 6, 13, 119, 122, 127, 283, 290, 302
 Kalmin, R. 9, 105
 Kannengiesser, C. 234
 Kappler, C. 293
 Karabacek, J. 159
 Karmann, T. R. 15, 27
 Kartschoke, D. 78, 82, 84
 Kasher, A. 375–376, 388
 Kasser, R. 24, 26, 30, 119, 121, 123, 125, 127–128, 131, 211
 Kazantzakis, N. 135
 Kee, H. C. 379
 Keller, C.-A. 285, 299
 Kelley, N. 6, 14, 89, 392, 398
 Kennedy, G. A. 55, 381–382, 384, 386
 Kenney, E. J. 296
 Keulen, W. H. 65
 Kienzle, B. M. 198
 Kim, H. C. 4
 Kimelman, R. 95
 King, K. L. 9, 23, 31, 35, 52, 187–188, 192–193, 196–199
 Kippenberg, H. G. 106, 173, 342, 370, 388, 392
 Kirby, P. 41–43
 Kittredge, C. B. 198
 Klassen, W. 135
 Klauck, H.-J. 37, 202
 Kleijwegt, M. 224
 Kleinman, A. 366
 Klijn, A. F. J. 107–108, 110, 112–113, 165, 225, 306–307
 Klimkeit, H.-J. 305, 307
 Kline, L. L. 338
 Kloppenborg, J. S. 49, 53, 353
 Klutz, T. E. 155
 Köbert, R. 240
 Koester, H. 22, 32, 88, 90, 111, 212
 Kollmann, B. 167
 Koltun-Fromm, N. 115
 Konstan, D. 90
 Koschorke, K. 324
 Köstlin, K. R. 322
 Kotansky, R. 154, 163, 166
 Kraeling, C. H. 167
 Kraemer, R. S. 69
 Kraft, R. A. 3, 67, 88, 96, 113, 319
 Krall, J. 159
 Kraus, T. J. 38, 156–157, 320
 Krause, M. 285, 304, 358
 Kraye, J. 276

- Krodel, G. 88, 319
 Kroesen, J. 9, 194
 Kroll, J. 164, 171
 Kropp, A. M. 159, 172
 Krosney, H. 30, 121
 Krückemeier, N. 229
 Kruger, M. J. 38–39, 156
 Kruse, H. 240
 Kudlien, F. 356, 358
 Kuhn, K. G. 142
 Kuiper, Y. 9, 194
 Külzer, A. 170, 179
 Kurfess, A. 272

 Lake, A. K. 167
 Lake, S. 167
 Lalleman, P. J. 27, 233, 246, 252–255, 263–264
 Lambdin, T. O. 141, 143, 354
 Lambers-Petry, D. 91
 Lambot, C. 72
 Landau, B. 10, 15, 31–32, 39, 206
 Lange, A. 148
 Langen, J. 322
 Lapham, F. 200
 Lapin, H. 9
 Lawlor, H. J. 338, 346
 Lawson, E. T. 166–168
 Layton, B. 137, 150, 157, 264, 287, 354
 Le Boeuffe, A. 132
 Le Boulluec, A. 205
 Le Déaut, R. 129
 Le Donne, A. 200
 Leipoldt, I. 130
 Leipoldt, J. 144
 Leloir, L. 34, 304, 319
 Lemarié, J. 261
 Lenzuni, A. 36
 Léon-Dufour, X. 135
 Léon, N. 384
 Leutsch, M. 64
 Levenson, D. B. 399
 Levine, A.-J. 35, 236
 Levine, L. 95, 103, 392
 Levinson, J. 106
 Levison, J. R. 373
 Lewis, C. S. 299
 Lewis, N. D. 24
 Lidzbarski, M. 334
 Lietzmann, H. 156–157
 Lieu, J. 97
 Limberis, V. 176
 Lincoln, A. T. 237

 Lindemann, A. 372
 Lindeskog, G. 318
 Lipsius, R. A. 38, 231, 246, 330
 Livingstone, E. A. 21
 Löffler, B. 223
 Löffler, M. 223
 Lourié, B. 185
 Lovering, E. 235
 Lucchesi, E. 203
 Lüdemann, G. 91, 101, 227, 318, 321, 326–327, 330–331, 372
 Ludlow, J. W. 4
 Lührmann, D. 37, 39
 Luijendijk, A. M. 157–158
 Luisier, P. 26
 Luomanen, P. 4, 5, 337, 395
 Lupieri, E. F. 318–320, 324
 Lusini, G. 207
 Luttikhuisen, G. P. 225, 395
 Lyman, R. 100

 MacCulloch, J. A. 171
 MacDermot, V. 129, 189
 MacDonald, D. R. 6, 23, 26, 90, 220
 Mach, M. 98, 300
 Mack, B. L. 56
 Mackay, T. W. 214
 MacRae, G. 291
 Magness, J. 339
 Mahé, J.-P. 133
 Maksoudian, K. H. 247
 Malan, S. C. 203
 Malbon, E. S. 58
 Malherbe, A. J. 233
 Malitz, J. 228
 Maltomini, F. 154, 159–165, 168, 171, 174
 Mannario, L. 317
 Marcovich, M. 158
 Marcus, J. 9, 96, 100
 Maresch, K. 168
 Marguerat, D. 177, 191, 200
 Marjanen, A. 35, 119, 138, 141, 143, 146, 148, 187, 193, 337, 395
 Marksches, C. 10, 27, 36–37, 46, 153, 176, 184, 193
 Marshall, I. H. 54
 Marshall, J. W. 64
 Martens, J. W. 223, 230
 Mason, S. 376, 388
 Massar, N. 355
 Mathews, E. G. 75–76
 Matthews, C. R. 25, 200–201, 357
 Matthews, S. 198

- Maunder, C. 179
 Mayer, W. 207
 Mazza, R. 165, 168
 McCauley, R.N. 166–168
 McDonald, L.M. 99, 179
 McDowell, M.H. 5
 McGuire, A. 88, 130, 138
 McKeating, H. 10
 McKenna, M. 226
 McNamara, M. 32, 34, 110–111
 McNeil, B. 37, 202, 223
 McNelis, C. 378
 McVey, K. 75
 Meerson, M. 207
 Meier, J.P. 49, 195
 Melanchthon, P. 57
 Melloni, A. 8
 Melville, A.D. 296
 Ménard, J.-É. 145
 Mendelson, A. 95
 Meslin, M. 233
 Metheun, C. 100
 Meyboom, H.U. 322
 Meyer, M. 25, 30, 32–33, 45, 119, 121,
 123–125, 127–129, 131, 154, 161–166
 Meyer, P.M. 162
 Migne, J.-P. 70
 Milik, J.T. 344
 Millar, F. 272, 374
 Miller, R.J. 23
 Miller, T.S. 242
 Mimouni, S.C. 7, 21–22, 28, 89, 91, 100,
 111, 155, 177–178, 182, 184, 193, 201,
 206–207, 370–371
 Minnerath, R. 200
 Mirecki, P.A. 29–30, 163, 166, 304, 306–307
 Mirsky, M.J. 99
 Momigliano, A. 275–276
 Mondésert, C. 134
 Montefusco, C. 59
 Montevicchi, O. 160, 171
 Monserrat Torrents, J. 121
 Moraldi, L. 34, 36
 Morard, F. 126, 197, 202–203, 287–288, 301
 Moreland, J.P. 22
 Morgan, J.R. 386
 Morgan, T. 378
 Mouson, J. 324
 Moxnes, H. 223
 Müller, U.B. 318
 Munck, J. 91, 102
 Muraviev, A. 185
 Murray, M. 370
 Murray, R. 140
 Musurillo, H. 217
 Naffah, C. 185, 206
 Nagel, P. 29, 122, 157, 304
 Neil, B. 207
 Neitzel, S. 377
 Nersoyan, T. 249
 Nestle, E. 226, 229, 233
 Neufeld, D. 6
 Neusner, J. 96, 193
 Newing, E.G. 155
 Ng, E.Y.L. 35
 Nibley, H. 243
 Niccum, C. 231
 Nickelsburg, G.W.E. 287, 289, 291, 338–340,
 344–346, 348
 Nicklas, T. 4, 15, 27, 38, 52–53, 156, 193,
 200, 320
 Nir, R. 4–6
 Noble, B. 221
 Nodes, D.J. 78–79
 Noffke, E.T. 4, 6
 Nongbri, B. 156
 Nord, C. 54
 Norelli, E. 3, 180–181, 193, 199, 202, 207,
 380
 Novak, M.A. 96
 Nutton, V. 359
 O'Donnell, J.J. 89
 O'Neil, E.N. 55
 Oates, J.F. 154, 167, 356
 Obbink, D. 166
 Oegema, G.S. 31, 92, 206
 Ohrt, F. 174
 Oliver, J.H. 356
 Olson, D. 345
 Orbe, A. 133
 Orlov, A. 350
 Osiek, C. 223
 Osterloh, K. 92
 Paffenroth, K. 135
 Pagels, E.H. 22, 31, 51–52, 138–139, 193
 Painchaud, L. 6, 11, 13, 31, 59–60, 122, 127,
 129, 132–133, 140, 144, 304
 Palmer, G. 317
 Panaanen, T. 42–43
 Panayotov, A. 10, 39
 Pantuck, A.J. 32–33, 43
 Pao, D.W. 198, 366
 Papandreou, D. 211

- Parássoglou, G. M. 160, 172
 Parke, H. W. 275
 Parker, D. C. 231
 Parrott, D. M. 187, 236, 357
 Parsons, P. J. 161
 Pasquier, A. 59, 119, 196–197, 306
 Patillon, M. 55
 Patkanian, K. 248
 Patterson, D. 4
 Patterson, S. J. 54, 158
 Paupert, C. 110
 Pearse, R. 43
 Pearson, B. A. 124, 285, 290, 301
 Pedersen, N. A. 119
 Pedley, J. G. 231
 Peiper, R. 78–79, 82
 Peltomaa, L. M. 170, 179
 Penner, T. 65
 Pépin, J. 383
 Peppermüller, R. 159–160, 172
 Pères, J.-N. 204
 Perkins, P. 122, 199, 283, 287–290, 292, 302
 Pernot, L. 388
 Pervo, R. I. 209, 380
 Pesce, M. 36
 Pesch, R. 379
 Peterson, P. 337
 Pettipiece, T. 7, 13, 148, 165–166
 Pfabigan, A. 37
 Phenix, R. R. 6, 223, 233, 286
 Picard, C. 159
 Picard, J.-C. 10, 20–21, 177, 192
 Pick, B. 245
 Pilhofer, P. 148
 Pines, S. 110
 Piovanelli, P. 4–9, 13–15, 21–22, 24, 29,
 31–34, 40, 87, 89, 109, 122, 155, 177, 192,
 194–195, 198, 204–207, 361
 Pixner, B. 92
 Pleše, Z. 38, 50, 64
 Pleyte, W. 172
 Plisch, U.-K. 29, 37
 Poirier, P.-H. 6, 9, 59, 119, 140, 171, 193,
 203, 225, 304, 307
 Pollmann, K. 67, 79
 Polotsky, H.-J. 307
 Popkes, E. E. 31, 158, 199
 Porter, S. E. 49, 52, 381
 Pouderon, B. 91, 100, 193, 371, 375, 384–386
 Powell, K. 34
 Preisendanz, K. 154–155, 162
 Preisigke, F. 154
 Price, R. M. 45
 Price, S. 373
 Prieur, J.-M. 232
 Probst, C. 363
 Puech, H.-C. 157
 Puroila, T. 156
 Quispel, G. 377
 Racine, J.-F. 15
 Rackham, H. 377
 Rahlfs, A. 129
 Rahmani, I. E. 170
 Räisänen, H. 193
 Rajak, T. 388
 Ramsay, W. 216–218
 Rassart-Debergh, M. 132
 Rawson, B. 223, 241
 Ray, W. D. 176
 Rebell, W. 24, 37
 Reed, A. Y. 6, 9, 10, 13, 62, 88, 90, 92, 100,
 104–107, 110, 113–115, 193, 347, 360, 369,
 383, 389, 392, 400
 Reed, J. L. 55
 Reeves, J. C. 96, 303, 361
 Rehm, B. 322–324, 330, 337, 352, 369–370,
 393
 Reimarus, H. S. 52
 Reinink, G. J. 107, 108
 Reitzenstein, R. 319–320, 334
 Rice, A. 44
 Richards, K. H. 3
 Riegert, R. 55
 Ries, J. 132
 Rius-Camps, J. 322–323, 326
 Robbins, M. M. 35, 236
 Robbins, V. K. 12, 56, 269–271, 279
 Roberge, M. 119, 132
 Roberts, K. A. 271
 Roberts, M. 78–79
 Robinson, J. A. 307
 Robinson, J. M. 22, 25, 30, 88, 137, 141, 353
 Roca-Puig, R. 170
 Roessli, J.-M. 15
 Rolfe, J. C. 377–378
 Römer, C. E. 168, 170
 Rordorf, W. 21, 26, 211–212, 214, 219, 222
 Rosén, T. 27
 Rosenmeyer, P. A. 386–387
 Rosenstiehl, J.-M. 290
 Rowland, C. 277
 Rowley, H. H. 278
 Rudolph, K. 88, 122, 319, 320
 Ruelle, C.-E. 129

- Ruiz Montero, C. 381
 Runesson, A. 64
 Runnals, D.R. 388
 Rüpke, J. 57
 Russell, D.A. 381

 Safrai, Z. 92
 Sahagian, D. 248
 Sala, T. 304
 Salmenkivi, E. 156
 Samama, É. 355–356
 Samuel, A.E. 167
 Sanders, E.P. 91, 95
 Sanders, J.T. 137
 Sanzo, J.E. 156, 161, 174
 Satran, D. 5, 110
 Schaberg, J. 200
 Schäfer, P. 31, 37, 99, 103, 106, 142, 173, 207
 Schäferdiek, K. 224, 232, 259–262, 264
 Scharfstein, B.A. 92
 Schenke, H.-M. 142–145
 Schenke Robinson, G. 131
 Schenkeveld, D.M. 381
 Scher, A. 305, 309
 Schiller, F. 298
 Schlarb, E. 37
 Schmeling, G. 380
 Schmidt, C. 129, 168, 171, 189–190,
 210–211, 213, 371
 Schmidt, F. 111
 Schmithals, W. 278
 Schnackenburg, R. 318–320, 331–332
 Schneemelcher, W. 10, 20, 36, 46, 153, 156,
 175–178, 182, 184, 192, 210–213, 224, 233,
 235–236, 238–239, 243, 258, 272, 306, 369,
 380, 396
 Schneider, G. 37
 Schneider, H. 59
 Schneider, P.G. 5
 Schoeps, H.J. 101, 106, 319, 322, 324, 329,
 330, 332, 334, 369, 396
 Scholem, G. 33
 Schöllgen, G. 234, 243
 Scholten, C. 134
 Schott, J. 87
 Schröter, J. 10, 14–15, 26–28, 36–37, 49, 53,
 108, 158, 176
 Schubart, W. 168, 210, 213
 Schubert, K. 318
 Schulze, C. 357
 Schürer, E. 272, 275, 374
 Schüssler Fiorenza, E. 189, 198
 Schwartz, E. 321–392

 Scobie, C.H.H. 324
 Scopello, M. 31, 119, 292–293, 297
 Scott, J.M. 395
 Scragg, D.G. 34
 Segal, A. 91
 Segal, J.B. 158, 172
 Segelberg, E. 138
 Sevrin, J.-M. 59–60
 Shanks, H. 33, 115
 Shepardson, C.C. 399
 Shoemaker, S.J. 7, 13, 28, 35, 42, 90, 99,
 176–177, 179–181, 183–186, 188, 202
 Shuve, K.E. 337
 Sijpesteijn, P.J. 162
 Siker, J.S. 97, 141–143, 148–150
 Simon, M. 100, 381, 383
 Simonetti, M. 129
 Sint, J.A. 318
 Siouville, A. 371
 Sjöberg, E. 332
 Skarsaune, O. 4, 112, 329
 Smith Lewis, A. 185, 190, 203–204
 Smith, C.B. 285
 Smith, D.A. 332
 Smith, J.Z. 63
 Smith, K. 318
 Smith, M. 32–33
 Smith, R. 154, 398
 Smith, T. 337, 352, 369
 Söder, R. 90
 Soullard, C. 135
 Spivak, G.C. 188
 Stager, L.E. 231
 Stanton, G.N. 94, 329
 Stark, R. 149
 Steely, J.E. 278
 Stegemann, V. 159, 168
 Stein, B. 94
 Steinfels, P. 50
 Stern, D. 99, 106
 Stevenson, J. 291
 Stone, M.E. 68, 248, 267, 294–295
 Stoneman, R. 386
 Stoops, R.F. 23, 27, 102
 Stowasser, M. 318
 Strange, W.A. 223, 231
 Strecker, G. 87, 100–103, 105–106, 277, 319,
 322–327, 330, 332, 334, 337–338, 340, 342,
 352, 369, 375, 393, 396
 Stroumsa, G.G. 33, 94, 207
 Strus, A. 26
 Stuckenbruck, L. 361
 Sturdy, J. 93

- Suciu, A. 42, 181
 Sullivan, K. P. 159, 168
 Sumny, J. L. 235
 Szekula, A. 248

 Tait, M. 5
 Talbert, C. H. 52
 Taniguchi, Y. 26
 Tardieu, M. 196–198, 304
 Taylor, J. E. 56, 113, 370
 Taylor, M. C. 188
 Tedros Abraha 34, 180
 Teeple, H. M. 322
 Terian, A. 34
 Thackeray, H. St. J. 373
 Theissen, G. 194, 372
 Thelwall, S. A. 78
 Thiele, W. 231
 Thomas, C. M. 90
 Thomas, J. 319, 322, 324, 326, 332, 334
 Thomassen, E. 119, 129, 139, 141, 150
 Thompson, H. J. 233
 Thomssen, H. 363
 Tigchelaar, E. J. C. 339, 346, 347
 Tigranian, A. 248
 Till, W. 159
 Tiller, P. 293–295, 297, 301, 344
 Tischendorf, C. von 38, 245
 Tite, P. L. 57
 Tobin, T. H. 399
 Toland, J. 317
 Tomson, P. J. 91
 Toniolo, E. M. 180, 202
 Tonneau, R. 75–76
 Too, Y. L. 55
 Torijano, P. A. 155
 Treu, U. 272
 Tripp, D. H. 138, 146
 Tröger, K.-W. 304
 Tropper, A. 107
 Troupeau, G. 34
 Trowbridge, G. 41
 Tsing, A. L. 61
 Tsironis, N. 186
 Tuckett, C. 38, 193, 196, 198
 Turcescu, L. 8, 168, 184, 207
 Turcotte, P.-A. 137
 Turner, J. D. 88, 130, 138, 166, 301
 Turner, M. L. 138–139, 141
 Tyson, J. B. 209

 Ullern-Weité, I. 7, 22, 89, 155, 177
 Ulrich, J. 338

 Unger, D. J. 142
 Uro, R. 143, 146

 Van Amersfoort, J. 376, 389
 Van Cangh, J.-M. 167
 Van den Broek, R. 15, 376
 Van den Hoek, A. 134
 Van der Horst, P. W. 374, 376–377
 Van der Laan, S. 42
 Van der Vliet, J. 121, 155, 197
 Van Esbroeck, M. 28, 34, 176, 179, 185
 Van Haelst, J. 160
 Van Kooten, G. H. 372
 Van Oort, J. 121
 Van Os, B. 5
 Van Rijn, M. 42–43
 Van Ruiten, J. T. A. G. M. 5
 Van Segbroek, F. 167
 Van Tongerlo, A. 304
 Van Voorst, R. E. 101, 330, 332, 392, 394, 396
 Vander Stichele, C. 65
 VanderKam, J. C. 293, 338, 344, 346–348
 Vanstiphout, H. L. J. 399
 Vassilaki, M. 186
 Veenstra, J. R. 155
 Veilleux, A. 131
 Verbeke, G. 363
 Verhelst, S. 92
 Verheyden, J. 91, 155
 Vermaseren, M. J. 377
 Vermes, G. 272, 374
 Viaud, G. 170
 Vielberg, M. 370, 380
 Vielhauer, P. 277
 Viklund, R. 43
 Visotzky, B. L. 92
 Vogt, A. 219
 Voicu, S. 27, 36, 319
 Von der Osten, D. E. 57
 Voss, B. R. 379–380
 Vouga, F. 59
 Vuong, L. 98–99, 114–115, 206

 Wacht, M. 365
 Wainwright, G. 176
 Wainwright, R. 44
 Waitz, H. 322–325, 330
 Walder, K. 57
 Walker, A. 178
 Walker, D. D. 88
 Walker, P. J. 198
 Warren, D. H. 198

- Wayment, T. A. 39
 Wear, A. 259
 Weaver, P. 223
 Webb, R. 55
 Weber, S. 189
 Weeden, T. J. 54
 Wehnert, J. 321, 362, 370
 Wehr, L. 200
 Weidmann, M. C. 82, 84
 Welch, C. 89
 Welles, C. B. 167
 Wells, L. 161
 Wenger, A. 178–180
 Westerfield Tucker, K. B. 176
 White, H. G. E. 203
 Whitmarsh, T. 56
 Wiarda, T. 200
 Wiedemann, T. 223
 Wiessner, G. 307
 Wilfong, T. G. 159, 168
 Wilkins, M. J. 22
 Williams, M. A. 9, 149, 187, 193, 285
 Willker, W. 41, 43
 Wilson, B. 270, 279
 Wilson, R. McL. 20, 138, 141–143, 145, 147, 153, 175, 192, 210, 224, 258, 272, 306, 357, 369, 377, 380, 396
 Wilson, S. G. 137, 139, 142, 145
 Winter, B. W. 212
 Winterbottom, M. 382
 Wintermute, O. S. 68
 Witherington, B. 22–23, 45
 Wolff, S. R. 231
 Woolley, R. M. 170
 Worp, K. A. 170
 Wright, A. T. 5
 Wright, N. T. 45, 49
 Wright, W. 183, 185, 190, 234, 250, 253, 257
 Wright, W. C. 382
 Wurst, G. 31, 119, 121, 123, 125, 127–128, 131, 199
 Wydra, W. 40
 Xeravits, G. G. 5
 Young, F. 179
 Young, R. 44
 Youtie, H. C. 160, 168
 Zachariades-Holmberg, E. 26
 Zahn, T. 245
 Zamagni, C. 87, 202
 Zarbanelian, G. 247
 Zellentin, H. 105
 Zetterholm, M. 137, 143–144
 Ziebritzki, H. 10
 Zimmermann, M. 371
 Zohrabian, H. 246–248
 Zsengellér, J. 5
 Zycha, J. 236

Index of Subjects

- Aaron 77, 80, 106
 Abraham 74, 76–77, 83, 102, 146, 148, 150,
 228–231, 323, 341, 344, 349
 Adam 146–147, 287–289, 304, 312, 340–345,
 347, 350, 370
 Adultery 80, 241–242, 382, 384–388
 Agrapha 338
 Al Minya Codex (“Tchacos”) 30–31, 131
 Ambrose of Milan 260
 Amulets 13, 154–174
 Angels 155, 254, 278, 287–288, 290–292,
 294, 300 (see also Watchers)
 Annubian of Diospolis 372
 Anti-Judaism 139, 372–375
 Anti-Semitism 135
 Antoninus Pius 356, 365
 Aphrahat 343
 Apion the Grammarian 371–378, 383–388
 Apocryphal texts
 – Anglo-Saxon 34
 – Arabic 7, 34, 202–206
 – Armenian 34, 245–266
 – artistic representations 34–35
 – Coptic 7, 202–206
 – defining 7–12, 20–25, 89–90, 153–155,
 175–178, 192
 – Ethiopic 7, 34, 202–207
 – in media 30–31, 50–53
 – in popular culture 44–46
 – Irish 34
 – Modern anthologies 6–7, 10, 20–21,
 36–40, 46–47, 176–182, 192, 224
 – on internet 41–44
 – Slavonic 27
 – Syriac 7, 27, 31–32, 68, 88, 158, 179, 181,
 183–185, 206, 234, 240, 250–251, 262, 304,
 306, 319–322
 Apollonius of Tyana 63, 355, 397
 Apostolic succession 107, 141
 Aristotle 363
 Asceticism 35, 100, 197, 243, 311, 343
 Association pour l’étude de la littérature
 apocryphe chrétienne (AELAC) 4, 6–7,
 20–21, 24, 39–40, 43, 46–47, 319
 Athanasius of Alexandria 110
 Athenodorus of Athens 372
 Augustine of Hippo 69, 72–74, 83, 85, 236,
 396
 Baptism 102, 147, 210, 234, 242, 394
 Bar Kokhba 94–97, 115
 Bardaisan, Bardesanites 392
 Barnabas 219–220, 371
 Barsab(b)as Justus 220
 Bartholomew / Nathanael (apostle) 68,
 156–157, 203, 357
 Baruch (scribe) 300
 Basilides 307
 Bauer Thesis 87–89
Birkat ha-Minim 95–96
 Buddha, Buddhism 60, 303
 Cain 120, 344–345
 Canon 247–249, 260
 Celsus 63, 142
 Children 13, 223–244
 Christology 114, 198
 – Angel Christology 180–181
 – Christomonism 252, 254–255, 257, 264
 – Low Christology 112 (see also Jesus of
 Nazareth as the True Prophet)
 Circumcision 76–77, 80, 85, 102, 111, 141,
 146, 148–150, 210, 215, 225–226, 356
 Clement of Alexandria 88
 Clement of Rome (Pseudo-) 328, 369,
 371–372, 375, 382–384, 387–388
 Codex Bezae 231
 Codex Bezae 231
 Commission speeches / narratives 204,
 353–354, 364
 Constantine (emperor) 398–399
 Continence 214–215
 Conversion 371, 375
 Cosmology 308–309

- Crucifixion 67, 132–133, 143, 264
 Curses 79, 95, 123, 125, 127–128, 130,
 133–134, 143, 162–163, 394
- Daniel 68, 300
 David 344
Daimon(es) 97, 115, 123–125, 154–155, 164,
 173, 345, 352, 360–364, 383, 393–395, 398
 Dead Sea Scrolls 89 (see also Qumran)
 Demiurge 124–125, 134, 291–292
 Dietary laws 79–81, 84, 392
 Diocles 363
 Docetism 259–260, 264
 Dositheus, Dositheans 325–328, 330–331
- Ebionites 14, 91, 93, 98, 101, 107–109, 112,
 114, 142, 194, 349, 370, 375, 391, 395–397
 Elijah 68, 332
 Elxai, Elchasaites 303, 361, 370, 395–397
 Enoch, Enochic literature 14, 194, 287, 300,
 304, 338–340, 345, 347–350
 Enosh 304
 Ephrem the Syrian 75–77, 343, 399
 Eros 385–387
 Eschatology 265–266, 344–345
 Esotericism 25, 30, 51, 58–60, 180–181, 207,
 286
 Essenes 333, 347, 396
 Ethnicity 77, 95–97, 100–102, 111–113
 Eucharist 136, 171, 234, 242, 245, 249, 251,
 256, 264–265
Eusebeia 383
 Eusebius of Caesarea 87–88, 91, 107, 110,
 115, 158–159, 172, 202, 220, 261, 398
 Eve 146–147, 287–288, 312, 344
 Exorcism 365–366
 Ezekiel 300
 Ezra 68
- Family 223, 228, 232, 236, 241–242
 Flavius Vopiscus 279–280
 Flood 289, 361
 Form criticism 12, 54–55
- Galen 355, 358–359, 363
 Galileans 333
 Gentiles 96, 102, 106, 137, 139, 143–144,
 149–151, 215, 229, 256, 325, 344
 George of Nicomedia 185–186
 Giants 241, 345, 361
 Gnosticism 186–187, 195–199, 203, 207,
 211, 214–216, 222, 253, 260, 264, 267,
 324–325 (see also Sethian Gnosticism;
 Valentinus, Valentinianism)
 – defining 9–10, 192–195, 284–286
 God-fearers 67, 213
- Harvard School (“New School”) 22–24
 Healing 14, 158–173, 352–354, 366 (see also
 Medicine)
 Hebrews 71, 76–77, 139–146, 150–151
 Hecataeus of Abdera 356
 Hegesippus 331–334
Hekhalot literature 89, 343, 348
 Hellanicus 389
 Hermeticism 397
 Hesiod 376
 Hieronymus 389
 Homer 376
- Ialdabaoth see Demiurge
 Iamblichus 63, 389, 398–399
 Identity 8, 55, 91–94, 96–97, 100–101,
 107–108, 112–116, 139, 146, 271, 366
 Ignatius of Antioch 88, 211
 Inscriptions 355–356
 Intertextuality 26–27, 128–129, 188–191,
 269, 384, 391
 Irenaeus of Lyon 62–63, 88, 108, 120, 135,
 138, 142, 307
 Isaac 344, 349
 Isaiah 300
 Itinerancy 354, 358
- Jacob 71, 341, 345, 349
 James (brother) 52, 89, 91, 101–102, 107,
 111, 131, 202–204, 207, 215, 218, 396
 Jerome of Stridon 260
 Jesus of Nazareth 303, 308, 312
 – as a doctor 357–358
 – as the True Prophet 106, 340–342, 345,
 349–350, 366, 370–371, 393
 – the Historical Jesus 11–12, 49–66, 320
 Jesus Seminar 23, 43–44
 Jewish Christianity 9–10, 94–116, 142,
 145–146, 149, 165, 370, 392, 395–397, 400
 – defining 12–13, 91–94, 192–194
 Jews, Judaism 95–97, 139–145
 John Chrysostom 70–72, 77, 202
 John the Baptist 102, 106, 226, 317–320,
 323–335
 John the Geometer 186
 Joseph (patriarch) 70–72
 Judah (patriarch) 71, 128–130, 133, 135
 Judaizers 78–79, 85, 215

- Judas Iscariot 30–31, 119–136, 206–207, 308
 Julian (emperor) 398–400
 Justin Martyr 63, 88, 94–97, 99, 111–112, 115, 142–143, 169, 197, 211, 380, 383
- Kellis archives 304
 Kerygma 214–215
- Lazarus 162–163, 169, 237
 Leucius 261
 Literary genres 8, 56–57, 191, 297–299
 – Apocalypses 64, 276–278, 283–295, 297, 299–302
 – *Encomia* 63, 65, 384–387
 – *Erotapokriseis* 122, 198
 – Gospels 57–60, 62–66
 – Novels 64–65, 380–381, 392
 – Poetry 295–297
- Maccabean Martyrs 76, 82–84
 Magic 89
 – Magical papyri 153–173
 Mandaean 320
 Mani, Manichaeans 13, 225, 303–313, 361
 Marcion, Marcionites 104, 194, 209, 211, 342, 345, 392
 Martyrdom 76, 84, 94–95, 97, 133–134, 136, 196, 203, 218–222, 233–234, 238, 357
 Mary (mother) 13, 98–99, 142, 175–190, 201–202
 Mary Magdalene 13, 35, 186–189, 195–202, 205, 207
 Masbothaeans 333
 Maximus the Confessor 185–186
 Medicine 14, 355–359, 362–367 (see also Healing)
 Medinet Madi 307
 Melanchthon, Philipp 57
 Memory 12, 54–55, 61, 65–66
 Metatron 350
 Milk 233–234
Misopaideia 243
 Montanus, Montanism 194, 211
 Moses 73, 75–77, 83, 85, 102–103, 105–107, 228–229, 258, 341, 349, 370, 373, 394
- Nag Hammadi Writings 10, 25, 30, 40, 88–89, 137, 144, 166, 195, 283–284, 293, 324, 357
 Nazarenes 91, 93, 107–109, 112, 114, 194
 Neoplatonism 74, 389, 397–400
 Neopythagorism 397
- New Jerusalem 344
 Noah 267, 289, 341, 344, 349
 Noahide laws 339–340
- Oral Torah 100, 103, 105–107
 Origen 197, 321, 327, 380, 388, 397
 Orpheus, Orphism 376–377, 389
 Orthodoxy and Heresy 22–23, 35, 88, 101, 107, 109, 112–113, 178–179, 192–194, 214–216
- Paideia* 371, 375–376, 379–380, 383, 388–389
 Papias of Hierapolis 220
 Papyri 355–356
 Patronage
 – rejection of 358, 365–366
 Paul (apostle) 31, 52, 54, 62, 68, 81, 140, 147–148, 202, 212–219, 290–292, 308, 324, 349
 – martyrdom of 220–222
 – opposition to 31, 101–102, 109, 112, 115–116, 372, 391
 Pausanias 274
 Persecution 90, 94–96, 115, 213–214, 221
 Peter (apostle) 13, 68, 89, 91, 101–102, 105, 107, 111, 161–162, 169, 195, 199–206, 215, 324, 328, 346, 349, 351–353, 357–366, 369, 371–372, 379, 392
 Petronilla 195, 236
 Pharisees 102–103, 106–107, 329, 332–333
 Philip (apostle) 220, 357
 Philo of Alexandria 198
 Philostratus 386–387
 Plutarch 274
 Polycarp of Smyrna 211
 Porphyry 397–398
 Proselytes 140, 142–143, 146
 Pseudepigrapha 337–350
 – Christian signature features 3–4, 21, 67–86, 96–97, 114
 – Jewish signature features 83
 – Modern anthologies 12, 21, 25, 39–40
 Purity and Impurity 79–81, 98–99, 339, 360–362, 392
 Pythagoras 63, 374, 397
- Q Source 15, 353–354
 Quartodeciman controversy 210
 Qumran 12, 67, 148, 303, 341–343, 347–348 (see also Dead Sea Scrolls)

- Rechabites 396
 Redaction criticism 15, 57, 68, 84–85,
 105–106, 268, 270–274, 281, 322, 327, 329,
 335, 348, 351
 Reimarus, Hermann Samuel 52
 Rhetoric 55–58, 60–61, 65–66, 296–297,
 359, 379–382, 384–389
 Ritual theory 166–168
 Rufinus of Aquileia 260
 Rufus of Ephesus 363

 Sabbath observance 80–81, 141, 146,
 148–150, 373, 396
 Sacrifice 80–81, 83–84, 143–144, 370
 – child sacrifice 231
 – critique of 14, 101–102, 392–400
 – human sacrifice 80, 123–124, 133–134
 Sadducees 102, 320, 328, 330, 332–333
 Saklas, Samael *see* Demiurge
 Samaritans 140, 318, 333
 Satan 76, 125, 135, 196, 235, 241, 261
 Saturninus 214
 Scriptures
 – false pericopae 337–338, 347, 393–394
 Second Sophistic *see* Rhetoric
 Sectarianism 270
 Septuagint 338
 Seth 32, 287–288, 290, 304, 344
 Sethian Gnosticism 9, 125, 207
 Shamanism 61–62, 362
 Shem 304, 344
 Sibyl 275–276
 Silius Italicus 279
 Simon the Magician 215, 307, 320, 324–328,
 330–331, 340, 346, 351, 364, 369, 372, 379,
 392
 Society of Biblical Literature (SBL) 3–5,
 10–11

 Socio-rhetorical analysis 12, 56, 268–271
 Socrates 63, 125, 385
 Solomon 155, 173, 344
 Son of Man (the) 323
 Staurogram 157, 162, 165
 Stoicism 198, 385
 Symeon the Metaphrast 186
 Synagogue 212–213
 Syzygies (doctrine) 106, 320, 323–325, 327

 Tacitus 279–280
 Teacher of Righteousness 341
 Temple 133, 146–150, 396, 399
 – destruction of 144, 394–395, 399
 Tertullian of Carthage 43, 88, 211
 Thecla 213, 218–219, 238–239
 Theurgy 398–400
 Thomas (apostle) 58, 68, 89, 238, 242, 254
 Torah 146–147, 149, 340–341, 347
 Tübingen School 369
 Turfan 305
 Two Ways (doctrine) 309

 Valentinus, Valentinianism 8–9, 24, 129,
 133, 138–141, 146–151, 194, 207, 301
 Varro 279
 Vespasian 356
 Virgil 279

 Watchers (angels) 241–242, 289, 338–339,
 341, 344–349, 360
 Wisdom (heavenly) 294–295, 339–340

 Young people *see* Children
 Zoroaster, Zoroastrianism 303, 324