

In Search of Truth in the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies

Edited by
BENJAMIN M. J. DE VOS
and DANNY PRAET

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In Search of Truth in the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies

New Approaches to a Philosophical and Rhetorical
Novel of Late Antiquity

Edited by

Benjamin M.J. De Vos and Danny Praet

Mohr Siebeck

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Table of Contents

Abbreviations	VII
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BENJAMIN M. J. DE VOS and DANNY PRAET

The <i>Pseudo-Clementines</i> : Title, Genre and Research Questions	1
---	---

PHILIPPE THERRIEN

«Je vais te donner la connaissance de ce qui est» (Hom. 1.17.5): La règle des syzygies comme cadre de la quête de la connaissance véritable	37
---	----

WILLIAM ADLER

“Suffering after the Manner of Young Men.” Two Accounts of Clement’s Mental Distress and its Aftermath in the <i>Pseudo-Clementine Homilies</i> (Books One and Five)	55
--	----

JUDITH HACK

The Motif of “the Way” in the <i>Pseudo-Clementine Homilies</i>	85
---	----

SERGIO BASSO

<i>Homilies</i> , Hermogenes and Syriac Exegesis	107
--	-----

TOBIAS NICKLAS

Apocryphal Jesus Stories in the <i>Pseudo-Clementine Homilies</i> : The Syrophoenician Woman (Hom. 2.19) and the Dispute with the Sadducees (Hom. 3.50.1 and 3.54.2)	131
--	-----

MEINOLF VIELBERG

Rhetoric in the Ancient and Christian Novel: A Comparison between the Petronian <i>Satyricon</i> and the <i>Pseudo-Clementine Homilies</i>	145
--	-----

JOSEPH VERHEYDEN

In Tripolis (<i>Homilies</i> 8–11): Peter Orator and Healer, or How to Handle the Relationship between Knowledge, Wisdom and Truth	163
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DANNY PRAET

Truth-telling, Lying and False Wisdom in the <i>Pseudo-Clementine Homilies</i> : Simon Magus and Helen of Troy	189
--	-----

BENJAMIN M. J. DE VOS From the Dark Platonic Cave to the Vision of Beauty and the Act of ὁμοίωσις θεῶν: The <i>Pseudo-Clementine Homilies</i> as a Late Antique Philosophical Narrative	221
DOMINIQUE CÔTÉ Simon Magus in the <i>Pseudo-Clementine Homilies</i> : “Magician” or Philosopher?	261
JEFFERY AUBIN Le mélange du mal dans les <i>Homélie pseudo-clémentines: confirmatio</i> ou <i>refutatio</i> de la pensée de Bardesane d’Édesse?	301
KARIN HEDNER ZETTERHOLM Between Paganism and Judaism: The Law of God in the <i>Pseudo-Clementine Homilies</i>	317
PATRICIA A. DUNCAN Faustus at the Borders of Christian Community	335
JAN N. BREMMER Third- and Fourth-Century Aspects of the <i>Homilies</i> : Bishops, Statues and Sacrifice	351
LUISE MARION FRENKEL Peter’s Dialogical Victories: Religious Leadership in the <i>Pseudo-Clementines</i> and its Syriac Reception	375
GIOVANNI BATTISTA BAZZANA “Magic” in the <i>Klementia</i> : Reflections on an Episode of Transformation ...	395
Bibliography	413
List of Contributors	479
Index of Ancient Sources	481
Index of Modern Authors	506
Index of Subjects and Places	508

Abbreviations

<i>ActAnt</i>	<i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
<i>AEPHE/SSR</i>	<i>Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études (Section des Sciences Religieuses)</i>
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJEC	Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity
<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
AN	<i>Ancient Narrative</i>
<i>AnBoll</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
ANM	Analecta Manichaica
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt/Rise and Decline of the Roman World
ANSup	Ancient Narrative Supplementum
AS	<i>Aramaic Studies</i>
ASE	<i>Annali di Storia dell' Egesi</i>
<i>AsJT</i>	<i>Asia Journal of Theology</i>
ASR	<i>Annali di studi religiosi</i>
<i>Aug</i>	<i>Augustinianum</i>
<i>AugStud</i>	<i>Augustinian Studies</i>
BAH	Bibliothèque archéologique et historique
<i>BAI</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Asia Institute</i>
BCCS	Brill's Companions to Classical Reception
BEPHE	Bibliothèque de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études
BERG	Beiträge zur Europäischen Religionsgeschichte
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation Series
<i>BLE</i>	<i>Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique</i>
BLLS	Bibliothek der lateinischen Literatur der Spätantike
<i>BN</i>	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BSMEL	Brill Studies in Middle Eastern Literatures
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
<i>BYU Studies</i>	<i>Brigham Young University Studies</i>
<i>ByzZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CRB	Cahiers de la Revue Biblique
CBP	Cahiers de Biblia Patristica
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CCER	<i>Cahiers du Cercle Ernest-Renan</i>
CCT	Corpus Christianorum in Translation

CH	<i>Church History</i>
Chiron	<i>Chiron: Mitteilungen der Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
CJRT	<i>Canadian Journal of Religious Thought</i>
ClAnt	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
ClQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CMO	Collection de la Maison de l'Orient méditerranéen ancien
ColREJ	Collection de la Revue des études juives
CP	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CR	<i>Classical Review</i>
CRAI	Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSCP	Cornell Studies in Classical Philology
CUASEC	Catholic University of America Studies in Early Christianity
DCLY	<i>Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DTC	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique</i>
DWJ	<i>Distant Worlds Journal</i>
EAA	<i>Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica</i>
EC	<i>Early Christianity</i>
ECCA	Early Christianity in the Context of Antiquity
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain
ER	<i>Entangled Religions – Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of Religious Contact and Transfer</i>
EUHO	Euhormos: Greco-Roman Studies in Anchoring Innovation
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GCN	Groningen Colloquia on the Novel
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte
GR	<i>Greece and Rome</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
GTA	Göttinger theologische Arbeiten
Hen	<i>Henoch</i>
HR	<i>History of Religions</i>
HthKat	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
Hug	<i>Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies</i>
ICS	<i>Illinois Classical Studies</i>
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
IJCRB	<i>Interdisciplinary Journal of Contemporary Research in Business</i>
IPM	Instrumenta patristica et mediaevalia
J.S.	<i>Journal des Savants</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JEastCS	<i>The Journal of Eastern Christian Studies</i>
JECH	<i>Journal of Early Christian History</i>
JECS	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>

JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JJMJS	<i>Journal of the Jesus Movement in Its Jewish Setting</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JLA	<i>Journal of Late Antiquity</i>
JMR	<i>Journal of Mosaic Research</i>
JÖB	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
JR	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JSP	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
JSQ	<i>Jewish Studies Quarterly</i>
JSRC	<i>Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LAHR	<i>Late Antique History and Religion</i>
LCL	<i>Loeb Classical Library</i>
LECTIO	<i>Lectio. Studies in the Transmission of Texts & Ideas</i>
LTP	<i>Laval théologique et philosophique</i>
MAAR	<i>Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome</i>
MAS	<i>Mainzer Althistorische Studien</i>
MdB	<i>Le Monde de la Bible</i>
MMS	<i>Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften</i>
MTSR	<i>Method and Theory in the Study of Religion</i>
Mus	<i>Muséon: Revue d'études orientales</i>
NedTT	<i>Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift</i>
NGG	<i>Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse</i>
NHMS	<i>Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies</i>
NHS	<i>Nag Hammadi Studies</i>
NovT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	<i>Supplements to Novum Testamentum</i>
NPNF ²	<i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Series 2</i>
NTOA	<i>Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus</i>
NTD	<i>Das Neue Testament Deutsch</i>
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OCP	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
OECS	<i>Oxford Early Christian Studies</i>
OLA	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta</i>
OrChr	<i>Oriens Christianus</i>
OrChrAn	<i>Orientalia Christiana Analecta</i>
OTP	<i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha (edited by James H. Charlesworth)</i>
ParOr	<i>Parole de l'Orient: Revue semestrielle des études syriaques et arabes chrétiennes</i>
PASCH	<i>Papers of the American Society of Church History</i>
PhA	<i>Philosophia Antiqua</i>
PIASH	<i>Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities</i>
PIRSB	<i>Publications de l'Institut Romand des Sciences Bibliques</i>

PMLA	<i>Proceedings of the Modern Language Association</i>
PMS	Patristic Monograph Series
PRR	<i>The Presbyterian and Reformed Review</i>
PRSt	<i>Perspectives in Religious Studies</i>
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
RCT	<i>Revista catalana de teología</i>
REA	<i>Revue d'Études Augustiniennes et Patristiques</i>
REJ	<i>Revue des études juives</i>
RevPhil	<i>Revue de philologie</i>
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
Rhein. Mus.	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i>
RHM	<i>Römische Historische Mitteilungen</i>
RHPR	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses</i>
RHR	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
RMCS	Routledge Monographs in Classical Studies
RRE	<i>Religion in the Roman Empire</i>
RSB	<i>Ricerche Storico Bibliche</i>
RSE	<i>Rassegna di Studi Etiopici</i>
RSR	<i>Recherches de Science Religieuse</i>
SA	Studia Anselmiana
SAAA	Studies on the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLHBS	Society of Biblical Literature/History of Biblical Studies
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLTT	Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations
SCI	<i>Scripta Classica Israelica</i>
SCO	<i>Studi classici e orientali</i>
SEC	<i>Semitica et Classica, International Journal of Oriental and Mediterranean Studies</i>
SECA	Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha
SHCT	Studies in the History of Christian Traditions
SMSR	<i>Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni</i>
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica
ST	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
STAC	Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum
StPatr	<i>Studia Patristica</i>
StSin	Studia Sinaitica
SymSyrr	<i>Symposium Syriacum</i>
TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
TBl	<i>Theologische Blätter</i>
TCH	Transformation of the Classical Heritage
TENT	Texts and Editions for New Testament Study
ThKNT	Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
ThSt	<i>Theologische Studien</i>
ThT	<i>Theologisch Tijdschrift</i>
TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
TQ	<i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i>

<i>TRev</i>	<i>Theologische Revue</i>
TSAJ	Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
TSEC	Texts and Studies in Eastern Christianity
TThSt	Trierer theologische Studien
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
TUGAL	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
VC	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
VCSupp	<i>Vigiliae Christianae Supplementum</i>
WGRW	Writings from the Greco-Roman World
WGRWSup	Writings from the Greco-Roman World Supplement
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAC	<i>Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum/Journal of Ancient Christianity</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZKG	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i>
ZNT	<i>Zeitschrift für Neues Testament</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>
ZWT	<i>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie</i>

The *Pseudo-Clementines*: Title, Genre and Research Questions

BENJAMIN M. J. DE VOS and DANNY PRAET

The work this collective volume discusses is known by many titles. Traditionally it is referred to as the *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies*, and we will continue to use this title for the sake of scholarly tradition but not without a critical *caveat*. The history of research on the *Pseudo-Clementines* extends over almost two centuries.¹ In these two hundred years of research, the date in which the *Homilies* are thought to have been composed has also moved two centuries: from the second to the fourth century. In 1831 Ferdinand Christian Baur discussed the *Homilies* as an important witness for his Hegelian view on the early stages of Christianity. He thought this text – in which, by the way, the words ‘Christ’, ‘Christian’ or ‘Christianity’ do not occur – allowed us to study the early dialectic between two factions. He interpreted the character of Peter as the ‘persona’ of the ‘Petrine’, Law-observant, Jewish-Christian party and recognised in the figure of

¹ The history of research is discussed by F. Stanley Jones, “The Pseudo-Clementines: A History of Research.” *Second Century* 2 (1982): 1–33, 63–96. In this contribution we refer to the reprinted version in F. Stanley Jones, *Pseudoclementina Elchasaiticaque inter Judaeochristiana: Collected Studies* (OLA 203; Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 50–113; Jürgen Wehnert, “Literarkritik und Sprachanalyse: Kritische Anmerkungen zum gegenwärtigen Stand der Pseudoklementinen-Forschung.” *ZNW* 74 (1983): 268–301; Pierre Geoltrain, “Le roman pseudo-clémentin depuis les recherches d’Oscar Cullmann.” In *Le judéo-christianisme dans tous ses états. Actes du colloque de Jérusalem – 6–10 juillet 1998*, ed. Simon C. Mimouni and F. Stanley Jones (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2001), 31–38; Frédéric Manns, “Les Pseudo-Clémentines (*Homélie*s et *Reconnaissances*). État de la question.” *Liber Annuus* 53 (2003): 157–184; Frédéric Amsler, “État de la recherche récente sur le roman pseudo-clémentin.” In *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), ed. Frédéric Amsler et al. (Prahins: Éditions du Zèbre, 2008), 25–45, here 28–29; Jan N. Bremmer, “Pseudo-Clementines: Texts, Dates, Places, Authors and Magic.” In *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs in Early Christianity: Collected Essays I* (WUNT 379), ed. Jan N. Bremmer (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 236–249. One can also refer to the information in recent monographs like Meinolf Vielberg, *Klemens in den pseudoklementinischen Rekognitionen: Studien zur literarischen Form des spätantiken Romans* (TUGAL 145; Berlin: Akademie, 2000); Dominique Côté, *Le thème de l’opposition entre Pierre et Simon dans les Pseudo-Clémentines* (Série Antiquité 167; Paris: Institut d’Études Augustiniennes, 2001); Nicole Kelley, *Knowledge and Religious Authority in the Pseudo-Clementines: Situating the Recognitions in Fourth Century Syria* (WUNT 2.213; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006); Patricia A. Duncan, *Novel Hermeneutics in the Greek Pseudo-Clementine Romance* (WUNT 395; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017).

Simon Magus the ‘Pauline’ faction of gentile Christians who rejected the Law.² Much has changed since then, but scholars are still debating the origins of this complex work, the time and place from which it came, its possible redactional levels over the centuries and the way we should interpret the text as edited from the manuscripts. No one now will argue that the *Homilies* bring us back to the second century, but there is no consensus on many other questions. This volume will explore some new approaches and ask new questions. It is a collective volume and does not aim at ‘unisono’ answers. We hope it at least reflects the fact that the academic community reading and writing about the *Pseudo-Clementines* has become much more interdisciplinary: including not only New Testament scholars and specialists of different religious traditions, but also students of the ancient novel, rhetoric, and philosophy.

As already noted, the appropriate title to refer to this work is under discussion. Both the traditional use of ‘pseudo’ and of ‘Homilies’ have been questioned. The title *Homilies* sometimes causes confusion because it refers to a very complex work consisting, in its present form, of three introductory writings and of the narrative proper. It includes Peter’s letter to James [*EpPt*], the so-called *Diamartyria* or *Adjuration* [*Adj*], and Clement’s letter to James [*EpCl*]. These are followed by 20 books which are also individually called ‘Homilies’ [*Hom.*]. These books then offer some homilies or sermons, but also other types of speeches, disputations, and narrative sections, all presented within the framework of a first-person narrative by Clement of Rome. Confusion on a generic level with homilistic literature caused the deeply rooted idea in the history of scholarship that the *Homilies* would have better preserved the sermons of Peter whereas the *Recognitions* [*Rec.*] were supposedly influenced more heavily by the novelistic framework of recognition scenes: that it would be closer to the classic novel.³ When we use the general title *Homilies*, we also include the three introductory writings. These letters have often been approached as separate, older sources, thought not to have been written by the *Homilist*.⁴ Walter Ullmann saw the *EpCl*

² Ferdinand C. Baur, “Die Christuspartei in der korinthischen Gemeinde, der Gegensatz des petrinischen und paulinischen Christentums in der ältesten Kirche, der Apostel Petrus in Rom.” *Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie* 3.4 (1831): 61–206.

³ For a brief discussion: Duncan, *Novel Hermeneutics*, 3–4, n. 12.

⁴ The letters (in particular *EpPt* and *Adj*) as originally written by the *Basic Writer*: Carl Schmidt, *Studien zu den Pseudo-Clementinen nebst einem Anhang: Die älteste römische Bischofsliste und die Pseudo-Clementinen* (TUGAL 46.1; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1929), here 93; F. Stanley Jones, “Eros and Astrology in the Περίοδοι Πέτρου: The Sense of the Pseudo-Clementine Novel.” *Apocrypha* 12 (2001): 53–78. We refer to the reprinted version in Jones, *Pseudoclementina*, 114–137, here in particular 119. Other researchers consider the *EpPt* and *Adj* as written by the author of the KP: Adolf Hilgenfeld, *Die clementinischen Recognitionen und Homilien, nach ihrem Ursprung und Inhalt dargestellt* (Jena: J.G. Schreiber; Leipzig: Chr. E. Kollmann, 1848), 26; Georg Strecker, *Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen* (TUGAL 70; Berlin: Akademie, 1981²), 137–138; or François Bovon, “En tête des Homélie clémentines. La lettre de Pierre à Jacques.” In Amsler, *Nouvelles intrigues*, 329–336, here 335. For

as an early Christian literary witness of apostolic succession, and as a legal document concerning the papal legacy of Rome.⁵ More recently, Matthew R. Crawford supposed that the letter of Peter to James “need not have been originally tied to the *Homilies* which now follow it” and that it can be studied “largely in isolation from the remainder of the *Pseudo-Clementine* corpus.”⁶ This is just one example of the many questions we will discuss *infra* of how the academic study of the *Homilies* has dissolved this work into separate pieces.

Regarding the traditional use of “pseudo”, scholars have argued with good reasons for simply *Clementina* and for the Greek title found in important manuscripts: *Klementia*.⁷ This discussion reflects a deeper lying lack of consensus on the genre of the text we want to study here, on the way it should be approached by scholars, and even on the disciplines in which it should be studied. In 1992 Mark J. Edwards proposed *Clementina* as a title and interpreted it as “a Christian response to the pagan novel.”⁸ In a previous collective volume on the *Pseudo-Clementines*, István Czachesz defended the view that there is little ground to call it an ancient novel.⁹ The genre of the ancient novel or romance is notoriously difficult to define, and so is the category of ancient fiction.¹⁰ But our continued

the *EpPt* and *Adj* as Elchasaitic source: Luigi Cirillo, “Jacques de Jérusalem d’après le roman du pseudo-Clément.” In *La Figure du Prêtre dans les Grandes traditions religieuses*, ed. André Motte and Patrick Marchetti (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 177–188, here 185, 187. *Contra* (letters written by the *Homilist*): Wehnert, “Literarkritik”, 300.

⁵ According to Ullmann, this letter was written at the end of the second century in the vicinity of Rome: Walter Ullmann, “The Significance of the *Epistola Clementis* in the Pseudo-Clementines.” *JTS* 11 (1960): 295–317; and idem, “Some Remarks on the Significance of the *Epistola Clementis* in the Pseudo-Clementines.” In *StPatr* 4 (Papers Presented at the 3rd International Conference on Patristic Studies 1959), ed. Frank L. Cross (Berlin: Akademie, 1961), 330–337, here 331.

⁶ Matthew R. Crawford, “Καὶ νόμος and Scripture according to the Letter of Peter to James.” *ZAC* 20.2 (2016): 260–275, 262.

⁷ This title is found in a 10th-century manuscript of the *Homilies* (Codex Parisinus gr.930 folio 4v) and in two 11th-century sermons by Nicon Monachos as is pointed out by F. Stanley Jones, “Photius’s Witness to the *Pseudo-Clementines*.” In idem, *Pseudoclementina*, 345–355, here 353–354.

⁸ Mark J. Edwards, “The *Clementina*: A Christian Response to the Pagan Novel.” *ClQ* 42.2 (1992): 459–474, 459 for the title and note 2 for the reference to Bryan P. Reardon (*Collected Ancient Greek Novels*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), who, as Edwards mentions, “concedes the omission”.

⁹ István Czachesz, “The Clement Romance: Is It a Novel?” In Bremmer, *The Pseudo-Clementines*, 24–35.

¹⁰ For further references see John R. Morgan, “Make Believe and Make-believe: The Fictionality of the Greek Novels.” In *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World*, ed. Christopher Gill and T.P. Wiseman (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993), 175–229; for related genres see Koen De Temmerman, “Ancient Biography and Formalities of Fiction.” In *Writing Biography in Greece and Rome. Narrative Technique and Fictionalization*, ed. Koen De Temmerman and Kristoffel Demoen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 3–25; and Danny Praet, “Legenda Aut Non Legenda? The Quest for the Literary Genre of the Acts of the Martyrs.” In *Wiley Blackwell Companion to Christian Martyrdom*, ed. Paul Middleton (Hoboken [NJ]: Wiley Blackwell), 151–183.

use of “pseudo” in this volume does not imply the editors and authors approach the work as anything else than imaginative or inventive prose.¹¹ Eliminating the “pseudo” from the title would have the advantage of avoiding too straightforward associations with forgery or deception which seem out of place when discussing a work of fiction. Truth, falsehood, and deception are important themes in the debates and in the narrative of the *Homilies*, but in the course of its narrative the work offers sufficient markers of fictionality which would have guided the ancient reader and should also point the modern reader into the direction of make-believe. Erwin Rohde only discussed the *Pseudo-Clementines* in a footnote, but he already listed a number of plot-features the Christian work has in common with the classical novel.¹²

We agree with Mark J. Edwards who observed that modern scholars do not refer to other ancient first-person narratives by the name of their first-person narrative voices and characters such as pseudo-Socrates for the *Republic* or pseudo-Encolpius for the *Satyricon*. Nobody now believes the first-person narrative voice should really be identified with Clement of Rome, hence the work is pseudepigraphic. In the case of Plato or Petronius we are quite confident about the identity of the authors, in the case of the *Clementina* we can only guess who its author or authors, redactor or redactors were, although we can exclude contemporaries of Petronius. This volume will address questions about the intended audience, but it is probable that the educated reader would realise that what he or she is reading, is inventive prose and not the true history of Clement’s conversion. The ancient reader of Plato or Petronius, the audience of rhetorical showpieces and even the student of speeches in biographical and historiographical works approached these texts as literary creations with very different and complex relations to truth.

Academic compartmentalisation has also had an impact on the modern way the *Clementina* have been studied. Edwards noted they were absent from the collection of English translations published by Bryan P. Reardon as *Collected Ancient Greek novels*.¹³ The same could be said about the *Romans grecs et latins* published by Pierre Grimal in the Collection de la Pléiade in 1958. Grimal did cut through the divide of ‘pagan’ versus ‘Christian’ material. He included another first-person hagiographical narrative: the so-called *Confession of Saint Cyprian*. Gregory Nazianzen (*Oratio* 24) and Prudentius (*Peristephanon* 13) fused the imaginative figure of Cyprian, the magician of Antioch with the his-

¹¹ This broader terminology is suggested by Tim Whitmarsh in: Tim Whitmarsh and Stuart Thomson, *The Romance between Greece and the East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 1.

¹² Erwin Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer* (Hildesheim/New York [NY]: Georg Olms Verlag, 1974⁵), 507. Jones, “Eros and Astrology” added a few more features on pages 125–126.

¹³ But see *supra*: note 8.

torical Cyprian, the bishop of Carthage. In this hagiographical novella the magus from Antioch was hired by a client to put a love spell on the virgin Justina, but he became infatuated by her and her religion. The character of Cyprian of Antioch has some similarities with Simon Magus, *pace* the conversion, and is also seen as one of the possible sources of the Faust-legend. Grimal briefly compares this hagiographical romance with the *Pseudo-Clementines* but did not include the latter since his volume had to be selective.¹⁴ The new French translations of *Romans grecs et latins* published by Romain Brethes and Jean-Philippe Guez in 2016 exclusively offer the texts of Chariton, Xenophon of Ephesus, Petronius, Achilles Tatius, Apuleius, Longus and Heliodorus.¹⁵ The two French volumes offer, respectively, more than 1500 and 1200 pages, so simple practical considerations might explain the absence of the *Pseudo-Clementines* from both. The same practical reasons, probably combined with generic considerations,¹⁶ have caused the marginal position of the *Pseudo-Clementines* in collections of New Testament Apocrypha. In classic collections such as Hennecke-Schneemelcher or James Keith Elliott the *Clementina* are only presented in excerpts.¹⁷ We will see more examples *infra* of how the *Clementina* have often been cut up and studied in parts rather than being addressed as a whole. Full French translations of the *Homilies* and the *Recognitions* were published in 2005 by Gallimard in that same Collection de la Pléiade as *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens* under the direction of Pierre Geoltrain and Jean-Daniel Kaestli, and under the auspices of the Association pour l'Étude de la Littérature Apocryphe Chrétienne (AELAC) which has done so much for the study of the *Pseudo-Clementines*. A team of six scholars translated and annotated the Homilies.¹⁸ But when one looks at second-

¹⁴ Pierre Grimal, *Romans Grecs et Latins* (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 134; Paris: Gallimard, 1958); 1385–1413 for “La Confession de Saint Cyprien”, and XXII for a short comparison with the *Pseudo-Clementines*. Grimal also did not include the *Ephesiaca* by Xenophon of Ephesus, which he saw as “un résumé maladroît du roman primitif”: XX.

¹⁵ *Romans grecs et latins*, sous la direction de Romain Brethes et Jean-Philippe Guez (Les Belles Lettres, coll. “Editio minor” 2; Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2016).

¹⁶ Jones (*Pseudoclementina*, 36) remarked: “When the *Klementia* is compared with other New Testament apocryphal literature, the author’s quite exceptional literary abilities cannot be overlooked.”

¹⁷ James Keith Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament. A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 431–438 offers an introduction, bibliography and then seven pages of translated parts of *Hom.* 2.3.7 and 8; Johannes Irmscher and Georg Strecker, “Die Pseudoklementinen.” In *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung Band 2. Apostolisches, Apokalypsen und Verwandtes*, ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher and Edgar Hennecke (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989²), 439–488, has more substantial excerpts but is equally incomplete. English translation in Johannes Irmscher and Georg Strecker, “The Pseudo-Clementines.” In *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher and English translation by Robert McL. Wilson (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), 483–541.

¹⁸ See Pierre Geoltrain and Jean-Daniel Kaestli, *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens, tome II* (Collection Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 516; Paris: Gallimard, 2005). The text is presented by Alain Le Boulluec (1195–1214). The translation and annotation (1215–1589) was done by Marie-

ary works on the ancient novel, even recent ones, the *Clementines* are again virtually absent or only discussed in relation to the hypothetical influence from the *Historia Apollonii regis Tyrii*.¹⁹ The study of ancient narrative should not be divided on the basis of the divinities which feature in them, but this implies different scholarly traditions, each operating from within their long history of secondary literature, should interact. More and more academic borders are crossed, insights exchanged, and methodologies combined. This does not always mean the reputation of the *Pseudo-Clementines* has improved. Theologians have traditionally been very negative about this work. Charles Bigg, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at the University of Oxford from 1901–1908, did not appreciate the *Pseudo-Clementines* as a literary work:

As regards composition, let us observe that the work, though cast in dramatic form, exhibits not the least vestige of dramatic ability. The characters are merely wooden puppets, left lying in a corner until they are wanted, and then shuffled awkwardly on to the stage. Personality they have none.²⁰

And on its religious views he wrote in poetic terms:

When the Light of the World had arisen they turned aside after the marsh-fires of an idle antiquated mysticism and a gross and barbarous superstition and so fell deeper and deeper into the mire.²¹

Bigg also sharply criticised the inconsistencies he found in the theological and philosophical doctrines about God in the *Homilies*, which he qualified as “the farthest point in the realm of nonsense ever reached by any human being.”²² Many specialists of the ancient novel have also complained about the inconsistencies in the narrative and about its tedious verbosity. Graham Stanton wrote recently: “Anyone who has read the full text of either the *Homilies* or the *Recognitions* will readily understand why epitomes of their rambling, loosely organised narratives were made.”²³ The end of the third book of the *Recognitions*

Ange Calvet, Dominique Côté, Pierre Geoltrain, Alain Le Boulluec, Bernard Pouderon, and André Schneider. The general introduction to “Le roman pseudo-clémentin”, a note on the text and the bibliography were written by Pierre Geoltrain and Luigi Cirillo: 1175–1192. In the same volume, Luigi Cirillo and André Schneider presented (1593–1621), translated and annotated (1623–2003) the “Reconnaissances”.

¹⁹ Tim Whitmarsh (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Greek and Roman Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), does not mention the *Homilies* at all. It mentions the *Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions* three times and this only in passing: 13, 107 and 192. Scott McGill and Edwards J. Watts (*A Companion to Late Antique Literature*, New York: Wiley, 2018, 408, 410) mention the *Pseudo-Clementines* twice and note its supposed anti-Pauline and Arian character.

²⁰ Charles Bigg, “The Clementine Homilies.” In *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica: Essays Chiefly in Biblical and Patristic Criticism 2* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1890), 157–193, here 160.

²¹ Bigg, “The Clementine Homilies”, 192.

²² *Hom.* 17.9.3–4; Bigg, “The Clementine Homilies”, 163.

²³ Graham Stanton, “Jewish Christian Elements in the Pseudo-Clementine Writings.” In *Jew-*

(*Rec.* 3.75) summarises ten books or volumes which do not correspond to either the content of the *Recognitions* or the *Homilies*. The general appreciation of the work by Mark J. Edwards was positive: “The Clementina have therefore been compiled with no small art.” But he was not blind to its problems and he commented that the editor is seen to “convict himself of incompetence when he recapitulates a series of homilies as though they occurred in the novel, though in fact he has retailed the plan and content of a rather different work.” He concluded about the editor of the *Recognitions*: “one whom it would be equally uncritical and unkind to style the author.”²⁴ From the early nineties onwards, the Society for Biblical Literature (SBL) organised conference-sessions on “Ancient Fictions and Early Christian and Jewish Narrative” which have stimulated the cross-over between disciplines in the Anglo-Saxon world.²⁵ On the other hand, the International Conferences on the Ancient Novel (ICAN) also increasingly include panels on Jewish and Christian narrative texts. This does not mean the reputation of the *Pseudo-Clementines* as a literary text has improved much. One of the pioneers of this cross-over, Richard Pervo, characterised the long-winded storyline and the drawn-out disputes of the *Pseudo-Clementines* as “a smear-piece no less dreadful than it is tedious.”²⁶

The literary study and the scholarly appreciation of the *Pseudo-Clementines* has improved and this has gone hand in hand with a more profound analysis of certain motifs, such as Pascal Boulhol has done for the motif of the ‘anagnorismos’. There still is a tendency to harmonise the reading of the *Recognitions* and the *Homilies* instead of studying them independently, but scholars have found deeper meaning in the *Clementina*. The recognition motif is no longer considered to be just an ‘embellishment’: Boulhol’s analysis revealed how the motif is adapted to the theological and didactic goals of the *Basic Writer*.²⁷ Two years later, in 2010, János Bolyki also gave a theological interpretation of the function of this same theme and its metaphorical dynamics within the work as an act of recognition of others, of oneself and of God. In this way it is emphasised how

ish Believers in Jesus: The Early Centuries, ed. Oskar Skarsaune and Raider Hvalvik (Peabody [Ma]: Hendrickson, 2007), 305–324, here 309.

²⁴ Edwards, “A Christian Response”, 474 and 461.

²⁵ See e.g., the edited volumes Ronald F. Hock, Bradley J. Chance, and Judith Perkins, *Ancient Fiction and Early Christian Narrative* (SBL Symposium Series 6; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), or Jo-Ann A. Brant, Charles W. Hedrick, and Christine Shea, *Ancient Fiction: The Matrix of Early Christian and Jewish Narrative* (Symposium 32; Leiden/Boston [MA]: Brill, 2005); or Sara Johnson, Rubén R. Dupertuis, and Christine Shea, *Reading and Teaching Ancient Fiction: Jewish, Christian, and Greco-Roman Narratives* (WGRWSup 11; Atlanta [GA]: SBL Press, 2018).

²⁶ Richard I. Pervo, “The Ancient Novel Becomes Christian.” In *The Novel in the Ancient World* (Mnemosyne Supplementum 159), ed. Gareth Schmeling (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 685–711, here quoted 707.

²⁷ Pascal Boulhol, “La conversion de l’anagnorismos profane dans le roman pseudo-clémentin.” In Amsler, *Nouvelles intrigues*, 151–175, here 152. Nota bene, Boulhol still maintains the theory of an original novel as basic writing from ca. 170, here 160–169.

the *Basic Writer* has clearly linked the family romance, the recognition scenes included, to the doctrinal theses defended throughout the reconstructed *Grund-schrift* or *Basic Writing*.²⁸

In a recent contribution, Stanley Jones suggested that the *Homilies* are a non-idealistic novel, even a parody. He writes, “The Klementia, [...], noticeably diverges from the ‘idealistic’ to present a parody, as also happened among the ancient Greek and Roman novels; here comic elements grab the upper hand.”²⁹ He further specifies:

This author not only allows the leading characters, including Peter, to engage in intrigue and prevaricate (Hom. Clem. 20.18–22; 5.2–28), but also introduces fantastic elements such as the magic that Simon uses to avoid apprehension when he transforms the face of Clement’s father to appear to be Simon’s own (Hom. Clem. 20.11–23; Peter’s eyes alone are impervious to this magic: Hom. Clem. 20.12.6–7). When an earthquake occurs upon Peter’s entry to Beirut, Peter does not initially deny the charge that he caused the tremor but instead asserts that he is ready to overturn the entire city unless the inhabitants obey what he says (Hom. Clem. 7.9). Terrified, the inhabitants immediately agree to do whatever Peter commands (Hom. Clem. 7.10.1), soon grabbing sticks violently to chase Simon and his companions from the city (Hom. Clem. 7.10.2).³⁰

We have come a long way since the conclusion that the *Homilies* are tedious. Irony, parody, and playfulness are being studied and found at work in the *Homilies*.

We could not possibly discuss all the changes in the study and in this introduction but suffice it to say that this volume tries to bring together specialists from different departments and faculties, and will study this text from research questions which arise from various disciplines.

1. Textual Stages and Versions of the *Pseudo-Clementines*

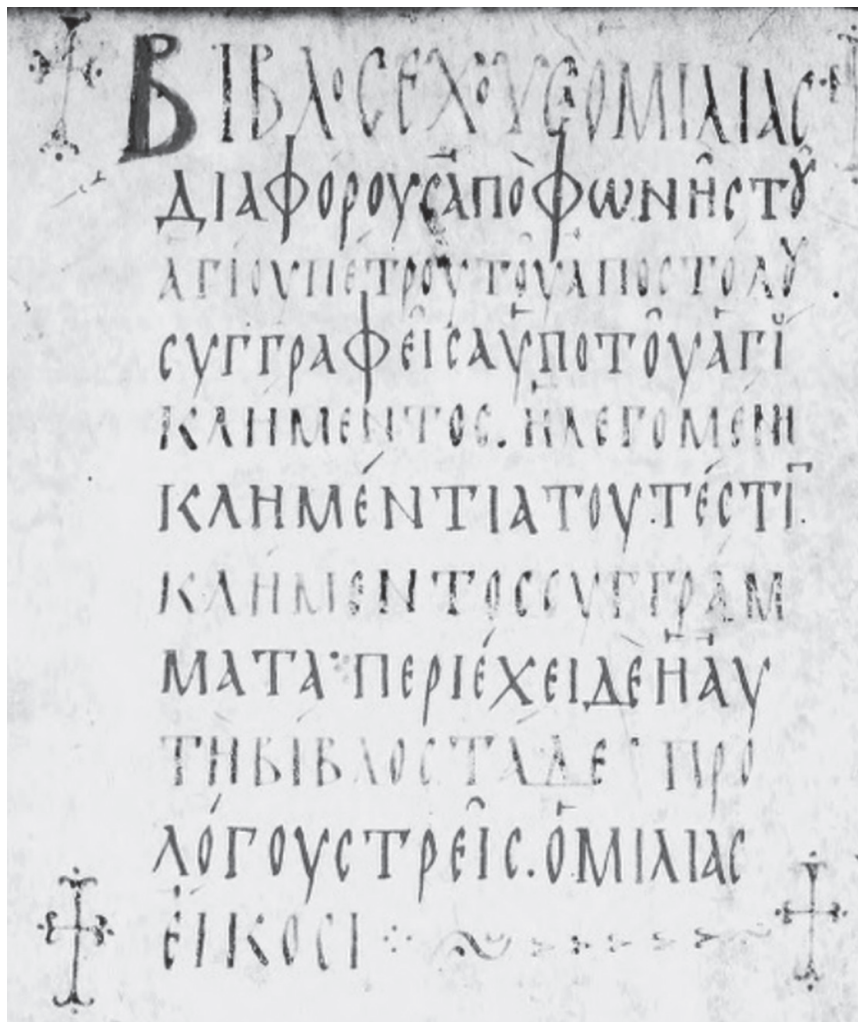
A much-debated question in the 19th and 20th centuries dealt with the mutual relationship between the *Homilies* and the *Recognitions*: to which text should be given priority? Did one influence the other? These questions belonged to the so-called *Benutzungshypothese*.³¹ In 1844, Adolph Schliemann stated that the *Rec-*

²⁸ János Bolyki, “Recognitions in the Pseudo-Clementina.” In Bremmer, *The Pseudo-Clementines*, 191–199.

²⁹ F. Stanley Jones, “Novels.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Biblical Interpretation*, ed. Paul M. Blowers and Peter W. Martens (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 295–302, here 296.

³⁰ Jones, “Novels”, 299–300. Jones even questions the earnestness of the *Homilistic* theory of false pericopes.

³¹ For an overview of the several points of view concerning the *Benutzungshypothese*: Vielberg, *Klemens in den pseudoklementinischen Rekognitionen*, 15–17; Amsler, “État de la recherche”, 30–31.



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ognitions were a later revision of the *Homilies*.³² Four years later, Adolf Hilgenfeld responded that the *Homilies* were a later reworking of the *Recognitions*.³³

³² Adolph Schliemann, *Die Clementinen nebst den verwandten Schriften und der Ebionitismus: Ein Beitrag zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte der ersten Jahrhunderte* (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1844), 316–325.

³³ Hilgenfeld, *Die clementinischen Recognitionen*, 45, 57.

In the last quarter of the 19th century, Richard Lipsius was the main promotor of the *Grundschrift* hypothesis.³⁴ This theory suggests that the *Homilies* and *Recognitions* depended on a common, but lost *Grundschrift*: in English called *Basic Writing*, in French *Écrit de Base*. One could combine this with the question whether or not there was also an additional relation of dependency between the *Homilies* and *Recognitions*.³⁵ Most scholars agreed with the hypothesis of a *Grundschrift*, but they never reached an agreement about what this *Grundschrift* would have looked like or when and where it was supposed to have been written.

In older studies which are no longer followed, scholars approached the *Homilies* as dated to the second or early third century, written in either Ebionite or Elchasaitic circles as a reaction against Greek philosophy and Gnosis.³⁶ Others labelled the *Homilistic* narrative as a Gnostic Jewish Christian witness.³⁷ In 1901, Fenton J.A. Hort considered the *Homilies* to be an abridged version of the original *Grundschrift* in order to propagate the doctrine of its Elchasaitic group in the second, early third century.³⁸ Only a year later, Charles Bigg suggested that the *Homilist* was a “Catholic convert to Ebionitism” who made the orthodox *Grundschrift* into an unorthodox work.³⁹ In 1938, Bernhard Rehm argued that the *EpPt*, *Adj* and the Ebionite, anti-Pauline material in the *Homilies* were added by an Ebionite redactor.⁴⁰ The *Homilist* has also often been approached as an anti-Marcionite and/or anti-Appellean writer, which was still relevant in the fourth century.⁴¹ Another (increasing) point of focus is the approach of

³⁴ Richard A. Lipsius, *Die Quellen der römischen Petrus-Sage* (Kiel: Schwers'sche Buchhandlung, 1872), e. g., 14.

³⁵ For an overview of the several points of view, see Jones, *Pseudoclementina*, 17.

³⁶ August Neander, *Genetische Entwicklung der vornehmsten gnostischen Systeme* (Berlin: Ferdinand Dümmler, 1818), 368–370.

³⁷ Gerhard Uhlhorn, *Die Homilien und Recognitionen des Clemens Romanus nach ihrem Ursprung und Inhalt dargestellt* (Göttingen: Verlag der Dieterichschen Buchhandlung, 1854), 431.

³⁸ See also Jones, *Pseudoclementina*, 90; Fenton John Anthony Hort, *Notes Introductory to the Study of the Clementine Recognitions. A Course of Lectures* (Cambridge/London/New York: MacMillan & Co, 1901), 88–89.

³⁹ Bigg, “The Clementine Homilies”, 175, 185–188.

⁴⁰ Bernhard Rehm, “Zur Entstehung der pseudoclementinischen Schriften.” *ZNW* 37 (1938): 77–184, here 154–155.

⁴¹ Kelley, *Knowledge and Authority*, 187–189. Think of works such as the *Vita Abercii*, or Ephraim's *Third Discourse to Hypatius*. See for a more elaborate overview of the scholarship on Marcionism/Appelleanism in the *Pseudo-Clementines*, F. Stanley Jones, “Marcionism in the *Pseudo-Clementines*.” In Jones, *Pseudoclementina*, 152–171. For a discussion of other links between Appelles and the *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies* such as the approach to the Scriptures or the theory of the four elements, see Éric Junod, “Les attitudes d'Appelles, disciple de Marcion, à l'égard de l'Ancien Testament.” *Aug* 22 (1982): 113–133, here 131 n. 51; Giovanni B. Bazzana, “Appelles and the Pseudo-Clementine Doctrine of the False Pericopes.” In “*Soyez des changeurs avisés*”. *Controverses exégétiques dans la littérature apocryphe chrétienne* (CBP 12), ed. Gabriella Aragione and Rémi Gounelle (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 11–32. See also, Alain Le Boulluec, “La Monarchia dans les *Homélies Clémentines* et l'origine du mauvais.” *Chôra. Revue d'études anciennes et médiévales* 13 (2015): 437–450, here 445.

Index of Ancient Sources

1. The Hebrew Old Testament, Old Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

<i>Old Testament</i>	23, 91, 107, 121n55, 124, 184, 259, 364, 368, 382	<i>Joshua</i>	2:18–21 108
		<i>1 Samuel</i>	14:42 313
<i>Genesis</i>	1:1–2 181 1:26–27 23, 250, 259 3:15 47 4:21–22 248 4:25 49 4:26 49 5:3 49 6:14–22 107 9:1–29 328 9:4 367 9:25–27 135 22:6 108 24:3, 37 135 28:1–8 135	<i>Proverbs</i>	1:14 313 18:18 313
		<i>Wisdom of Solomon</i>	322 14:20 364 15:7 364
		<i>Isaiah</i>	29:13 142 44:4 240 44:6 240 48:12 240
<i>Exodus</i>	18:11 210	<i>Jeremiah</i>	13:25 313
<i>Leviticus</i>	15:18 331 17:15–16 330 17–18 328, 239 18:3 135 20:27 328 20:6 328	<i>Daniel</i>	2:17–19 121
		<i>Jonas</i>	1:7 313
<i>Numbers</i>	18:2 313 26:55 313	<i>Psalms</i>	19:1–15 323 29:1–11 323 33:1–22 323 115:4–8 364 147 323
<i>Deuteronomy</i>	11:17 178 14:21 330 25:6–7 142	<i>4 Maccabees</i>	322

2. The New Testament

<i>Matthew</i>		17:20	180
3:12	178	18:10	239, 242, 254
5:10–11	181	19:3–12	142
5:17	324	19:4	142
5:18	325	19:8	142
5:21–22	183	19:16–19	91
5:27–28	183	21:1	165
5:37	141, 142	21:10	165
5:42	183	21:17	165
5:43	183	21:23	165
5:45	179	21:33	176
5:46	183	22:1–14	137, 143, 166
6:6	141	22:9	170
6:8	141	22:14	166
6:32	141	22:23–33	142, 143
7:15–16a	184	22:29	140
8:11	166	22:33	143
9:17	167	23:8–10	166
10:6	137	23:25–26	182
10:10	363	24:5	184
10:21	180	24:23	184
10:34	180	25:35–40	177
11:25	167, 332	28:19	170, 182
12:42	183		
12:43–45	172	<i>Mark</i>	
13:11	43	2:2	166
13:13	173	3:1–6	172
13:52	167	6:9	363
14:12	166	6:30–44	138
14:13	166	6:33	166
15:1–11	319	7:1–10	138
15:1–20	138	7:1–23	319
15:1–39	138	7:1–8:10	138
15:8	142	7:6	142
15:21	135	7:24	135
15:21–28	53, 99, 134, 136, 263	7:24–30	99, 134
15:22	135	7:24a–b	135
15:22a	135	7:25	136
15:23b	136	7:25a	135
15:24	136	7:26	135, 136
15:26	137	7:27	136, 137, 138
15:27	138	7:28	138
15:28	138	8:1–9	138
16:16–17	253	9:17–29	172
16:16–18	134	9:43	178
16:17	292	10:2–12	142

10:4	142	14:15	171
10:6	142	15:19–20	326
12:18–27	139, 142	16:15	165
12:24	140	21:25	326
12:27	143	22:6–21	290
15:22	135	26:9–18	290
		28:7	165
<i>Luke</i>			
3:17	178	<i>Pauline letters</i>	42n27, 253n97, 380–384, 393
6:46	167		
10:18	184	<i>Romans</i>	366
10:21	167		
11:32	183	<i>1 Corinthians</i>	
13:29	166	7:17	329
14:21	170	8:1	43
16:19–31	133	8:7	43
17:10	173	8:10	43
18:18–19	166	8:11	43
19:2	134	10:21	326
19:5, 9	134	15:50	176
20:27–28	142		
20:27–40	139	<i>2 Corinthians</i>	381
20:38	143	11:14	212
23:34	181	12:1–9	290
<i>John</i>		<i>Galatians</i>	
2:22	143	1:7–8	400
3:5	182	1:11–12	290
11	407	1:15–16	290
11:1–44	133	1:15–17	137
19:24	313	2:11 ff	146
		5:21	176
<i>Acts</i>			
1:23–26	313	<i>Ephesians</i>	
8:10–11	265	2:15	245
8:21	313	3:19	43
8:9–25	264	4:24	245
9:3–9	290		
9:10–13	133	<i>Colossians</i>	381
9:33–35	133		
10:23	165	<i>Book of Revelation/Apocalypse</i>	
10–11	399	1:8	240
13:50	353		
14:1–28	171		

3. The Jewish Pseudepigrapha, Philo, Josephus, and Rabbinical Authors and Writings

<i>Ben Sira</i>	322	<i>De Specialibus Legibus</i>	
		1.81	251
<i>Enoch (1 and 2)</i>	322, 328, 402	3.6.3	235
86 (<i>Enoch 1</i>)	49	<i>De Virtutibus</i>	
		27.4	62
Flavius Josephus		32.72	62
<i>Antiquitates Iudaecae</i>		<i>De Vita Mosis</i>	
1.68–73	49	2.49–52	325
		<i>De Abrahamo</i>	
<i>Hillel</i>	119	1.3–6	323
		57–58	235
<i>Joseph and Aseneth</i>		<i>De Ebrietate</i>	
	70	10.36–37	211
8.5	70	<i>De Mutatione Nominum</i>	
9.1	70	17.103–104	211
		<i>Sibylline Oracles (3–4)</i>	
<i>Jubilees</i>			322
5.1–3	49		
7.20	328	<i>Sifra</i>	
7.29	328	<i>Ahare Mot</i>	
7.33	328	12.1	330
<i>Kohelet Rabbah</i>	119	<i>Sifre Deut</i>	
		351	321
<i>Midrash Rabbah</i>		<i>Talmud (Jerusalem)</i>	
23.6	48	<i>Nezikin</i>	
		<i>t. 'Abod. Zar</i>	
<i>Mishnah</i>		8.6	328
<i>Seder Kodashim</i>		<i>Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan</i>	
<i>Chullin</i>			49
2.15	138	<i>Targum Onqelos</i>	49
6.4	138		
<i>Seder Moed</i>			
<i>Beitzah</i>			
2.4	138		
Philo			
<i>De Confusione Linguarum</i>			
92.1	235		

4. Pseudo-Clementines

<i>Adjuration</i>	2, 13, 38, 52, 359	§ 2.2–4	325
		§ 4.4	359
<i>Arabic MS Sinaiticus 508</i>		§ 14.2	359
	113		
<i>Basic Writer</i>	2n4, 7–8, 18n72, 20, 22, 30–31, 312n35	<i>Epitome</i>	
		<i>Arabic MS Sinaiticus</i>	113n27, 508
		<i>Greek Epitomes</i>	6, 87n6, 114, 398n10
<i>Basic Writing</i>	7, 10–12, 14–18, 20, 22, 30, 32, 86, 95, 114– 116, 165, 168, 173, 187, 193, 204, 208, 220, 225, 236, 255, 258, 312, 314–315, 318, 321, 335, 342, 345, 347–349, 351– 355, 358–362, 366– 374, 395–396, 401	<i>Syriac Epitomes</i>	358
		<i>Grundchrift</i>	See Basic Writing
<i>Circuits or Orbits of Peter</i>		<i>Homilies/Klementia</i>	
	11	Hom. 1–2	223
		Hom. 1.1.1	55, 93
		Hom. 1.1.1–5	224
		Hom. 1.1.2	40
		Hom. 1.1.3	42, 224
		Hom. 1.1.3–5	224
		Hom. 1.1.4	48
		Hom. 1.1.4–5	55
		Hom. 1.1–5	85
<i>Codex Parisinus</i>	3n7, 9, 341, 398n10	Hom. 1.2.1	62, 71
		Hom. 1.2.1–2	224
<i>Codex Vaticanus</i>	398n10	Hom. 1.2.2	38, 41–42
		Hom. 1.2.2–4	69
<i>Diamartyria</i>	See <i>Adjuration</i>	Hom. 1.2.4	40, 226
		Hom. 1.2–3	57
<i>Écrit de Base</i>	See <i>Basic Writing</i>	Hom. 1.3.1	40, 82, 225
		Hom. 1.3.1–2	56, 226
<i>Epistula Clementis</i>	2, 17, 38, 41, 46, 87, 352, 359	Hom. 1.3.2–3	56
§ 1.1–5	87	Hom. 1.3.3–4	226
§ 1.2–3	134	Hom. 1.3.3–5	58
§ 2.3	46, 94	Hom. 1.3.4	58
§ 2–18	87	Hom. 1.3.5	226
§ 13.3–14.1	90–91	Hom. 1.3–5	324
§ 14.3	352	Hom. 1.4.1–6	56
§ 19.2	87	Hom. 1.4.3	40, 226
§ 19.2–3	224	Hom. 1.4.4	56
§ 20	87	Hom. 1.4.5–6	57
		Hom. 1.4.6	55, 69
<i>Epistula Petri</i>	2–3, 10, 38, 41	Hom. 1.4.6–7	40, 57
§ 1, 3–4	118	Hom. 1.4.7	40
§ 1.1	333, 359	Hom. 1.5.1	271, 290
§ 2	359	Hom. 1.5.1–2	59
		Hom. 1.5.2	40

Hom. 1.5.4–5	225	Hom. 1.18.1–3	325
Hom. 1.5.5–8	59	Hom. 1.18.3	228
Hom. 1.6.1–1.8.3	94	Hom. 1.18.3–1.19.4	228
Hom. 1.6.1–5	60	Hom. 1.19.1	233, 325
Hom. 1.6.6	60	Hom. 1.19.1–2	233
Hom. 1.7.1–6	60	Hom. 1.19.3–8	39
Hom. 1.7.4	45	Hom. 1.19.4	157, 234, 324
Hom. 1.7.7	225	Hom. 1.19.5	42
Hom. 1.7.7–8	60	Hom. 1.19.6	65
Hom. 1.8	88	Hom. 1.19.7–8	65
Hom. 1.8.3	86	Hom. 1.19–20	125
Hom. 1.8.3–1.14.7	94	Hom. 1.20.1	44, 65
Hom. 1.9.1	61	Hom. 1.20.2	87
Hom. 1.9.2	155, 158	Hom. 1.20.5	151
Hom. 1.9–10	148, 150	Hom. 1.20.7	159
Hom. 1.9–11	174	Hom. 1.21.5–6	324
Hom. 1.9–14	225	Hom. 1.21.9	68
Hom. 1.10.1	42	Hom. 1.22.1	42
Hom. 1.10.2	62	Hom. 1.22.2–5	348
Hom. 1.10.3–4	61	Hom. 2	172
Hom. 1.10.6–7	61	Hom. 2.1	40, 123
Hom. 1.10.9	41, 42	Hom. 2.1.2	97, 133–134
Hom. 1.11.1	151	Hom. 2.1–4	124
Hom. 1.11.1–2	62	Hom. 2.2	40
Hom. 1.11.4	62, 151, 155	Hom. 2.2.1–3	66
Hom. 1.11.5	158	Hom. 2.2.3	68
Hom. 1.11.5–7	62	Hom. 2.3.1	69
Hom. 1.11.7	40	Hom. 2.3.7–8	5
Hom. 1.11–14	263	Hom. 2.4	40
Hom. 1.12.1	42	Hom. 2.4.3	233
Hom. 1.12–13	125	Hom. 2.5.2–3	42
Hom. 1.13	125	Hom. 2.5.3	43, 233
Hom. 1.1–4	125	Hom. 2.5.4	324
Hom. 1.14.1	41	Hom. 2.6.1	43
Hom. 1.14.3	41	Hom. 2.6.2	52, 324
Hom. 1.15	125	Hom. 2.6.3	233
Hom. 1.15.1	64, 86	Hom. 2.6.4	43
Hom. 1.15.2	39, 42, 151, 157, 263, 268	Hom. 2.6–7	125
Hom. 1.15–22	94, 125	Hom. 2.7.2–3	234
Hom. 1.16	125	Hom. 2.7.3–4	41
Hom. 1.16.3	157, 227	Hom. 2.8.1–3	234
Hom. 1.16.5	65, 87, 88, 157	Hom. 2.8.3	40, 216
Hom. 1.17.1	42	Hom. 2–16	223
Hom. 1.17.2	41	Hom. 2.10.1	44
Hom. 1.17.4	41	Hom. 2.11	121
Hom. 1.17.5	41, 42, 48	Hom. 2.11.2	42
Hom. 1.18.1	42	Hom. 2.12.1–2	44, 324
		Hom. 2.12.3	45

Hom. 2.13	124	Hom. 2.25.4	266
Hom. 2.15	119, 122	Hom. 2.26	124, 128
Hom. 2.15.1	48	Hom. 2.26.1–2	245, 267, 369
Hom. 2.15.2	37, 50, 93	Hom. 2.26.2–5	267
Hom. 2.15.3	43, 48, 268	Hom. 2.26.5	245
Hom. 2.15.4	43, 48	Hom. 2.26.6	267
Hom. 2.15.5	268	Hom. 2.27.3	266, 267
Hom. 2.15–17	47	Hom. 2.29	124
Hom. 2.15–18.1–2	268	Hom. 2.29–31	267
Hom. 2.16	122, 190	Hom. 2.30.1	267
Hom. 2.16.1	268	Hom. 2.31	154
Hom. 2.16.5	170	Hom. 2.32	213, 246
Hom. 2.16–17	401	Hom. 2.32.1–2	266
Hom. 2.17.3	43	Hom. 2.33	48, 119, 121, 124
Hom. 2.17.5	41	Hom. 2.33.1	48
Hom. 2.18.1	49	Hom. 2.33.2	43, 48, 268
Hom. 2.18–31	89	Hom. 2.33.3	170
Hom. 2.19	134	Hom. 2.33–34	268, 405
Hom. 2.19.1	99	Hom. 2.33.5–34.3	268
Hom. 2.19.1–3	134	Hom. 2.34	124, 256, 407, 409
Hom. 2.19.1–4	100	Hom. 2.36.3	45
Hom. 2.19.2	135	Hom. 2.36–49.1	152
Hom. 2.19.3	139	Hom. 2.38.1	320
Hom. 2.19.4	137	Hom. 2.38.2	321
Hom. 2.19–20	53, 348	Hom. 2.39	128, 232
Hom. 2.19–21	99	Hom. 2.40	240
Hom. 2.20.2	99	Hom. 2.40.3	151
Hom. 2.20.3	42, 263	Hom. 2.42.1–2	232
Hom. 2.20.3–32.3	98	Hom. 2.44.2	367
Hom. 2.20–21	99, 133	Hom. 2.51.2	141
Hom. 2.21	343	Hom. 2.54.1	39
Hom. 2.21.1	263	Hom. 2.58.1	151
Hom. 2.21.2	100	Hom. 3	268
Hom. 2.21–31.4	151	Hom. 3.2.2	273
Hom. 2.22.1–6	264	Hom. 3.4.1	326
Hom. 2.22.3	42, 266, 270	Hom. 3.4.3	232
Hom. 2.22.6	18, 274	Hom. 3.5	40
Hom. 2.22–32	263	Hom. 3.5.2	232
Hom. 2.22–34	126	Hom. 3.10.4	232
Hom. 2.23	124, 214, 264	Hom. 3.11.1	324
Hom. 2.23–24	133	Hom. 3.11.2	44
Hom. 2.24	128	Hom. 3.11–15	126
Hom. 2.24.1	133	Hom. 3.13.1	235
Hom. 2.24.5	246	Hom. 3.16	122
Hom. 2.24.5–7	266	Hom. 3.18.2–3	44–45
Hom. 2.25	215	Hom. 3.20	128
Hom. 2.25.2	246, 272	Hom. 3.22–28	48
Hom. 2.25.3	19, 266, 273	Hom. 3.23–27	124

Hom. 3.24.1	368	Hom. 3.63–72	128
Hom. 3.24.3	226	Hom. 3.73.2	135
Hom. 3.25.3	248	Hom. 3.73.2–4.1.3	89, 100
Hom. 3.26.3	367	Hom. 3.73–4.1	135
Hom. 3.27.2–3	254	Hom. 4.2.3	285
Hom. 3.27.3–28.1	235	Hom. 4.4	40
Hom. 3.29	360	Hom. 4.4.1	135
Hom. 3.31.1	325	Hom. 4.4.2–3	266
Hom. 3.31.2	325	Hom. 4.4.3	368
Hom. 3.31.4	43, 45	Hom. 4.5.2	42
Hom. 3.32.1	325	Hom. 4.5.3	276
Hom. 3.32.2–33.1	306	Hom. 4.6	42
Hom. 3.34–37	323	Hom. 4.6.2	43, 135, 272
Hom. 3.38.2	268	Hom. 4.6.2–22.2	152
Hom. 3.38.3	268	Hom. 4.7	77
Hom. 3.39.1	43	Hom. 4.7.2	72, 82
Hom. 3.41.1–2	275	Hom. 4.7.2–3	71
Hom. 3.41.2	226	Hom. 4.7.3	42, 94
Hom. 3.41.4	275	Hom. 4.7–25	128
Hom. 3.42	123	Hom. 4.8.1	46, 72
Hom. 3.42.3	323	Hom. 4.8.6	165
Hom. 3.45.1–5	324	Hom. 4.11.1	226
Hom. 3.45.5	323	Hom. 4.12.1	82, 247, 320
Hom. 3.45–47	368	Hom. 4.12.2	72
Hom. 3.46.1–2	323	Hom. 4.12–14	77
Hom. 3.46.2	323	Hom. 4.13.4–5	318
Hom. 3.47.1	320	Hom. 4.15.2	42
Hom. 3.47.2–5	321	Hom. 4.17	72
Hom. 3.47.5	323	Hom. 4.18.4	247
Hom. 3.48.2	135	Hom. 4.18–19	77
Hom. 3.49.2	45	Hom. 4.19	247
Hom. 3.50.1	39, 139–141	Hom. 4.19.2	42
Hom. 3.50.1–4	325	Hom. 4.19.4	42
Hom. 3.50.4	325	Hom. 4.20	77
Hom. 3.51.2–52.1	325	Hom. 4.24.3	165
Hom. 3.51.3	325	Hom. 4–614	16, 40, 82, 86, 88– 89, 94–95, 98, 106, 165, 174, 246, 248, 365
Hom. 3.52	119	Hom. 5	94, 123
Hom. 3.52.1	367	Hom. 5.1	127
Hom. 3.52.3	226	Hom. 5.2	42
Hom. 3.52–54	137	Hom. 5.2.1	73
Hom. 3.54.2	45, 141–142	Hom. 5.2.2	40, 71, 76, 82, 226
Hom. 3.55.2	141	Hom. 5.2.3	79
Hom. 3.58.1–2	226	Hom. 5.2–28	8
Hom. 3.58.2	151	Hom. 5.3	94
Hom. 3.59	122	Hom. 5.3.4–5	73
Hom. 3.59–72	88		
Hom. 3.60–73	360		
Hom. 3.63	360		

Hom. 5.7	40, 74	Hom. 7.8	361
Hom. 5.7.1	158	Hom. 7.8.1	368
Hom. 5.8.2–3	74, 77	Hom. 7.8.1–2	326
Hom. 5.8.4	158	Hom. 7.8.1–3	318
Hom. 5.9.3	74	Hom. 7.8.3	41
Hom. 5.9.5	42, 52, 79	Hom. 7.9	8, 32, 90, 124
Hom. 5.9.6	320	Hom. 7.9.3	154, 165, 285
Hom. 5.9–19	15	Hom. 7.9–10	124
Hom. 5.10–19	94	Hom. 7.9–12	410
Hom. 5.12–16	74	Hom. 7–11	247
Hom. 5.12–17	247	Hom. 7.10.1, 2	8
Hom. 5.18	74	Hom. 7.10.2	90
Hom. 5.20	150	Hom. 7.11.1	165
Hom. 5.20–26	94	Hom. 7.11.2	284–285
Hom. 5.25–26	77	Hom. 7.11.4	284–285
Hom. 5.26.3–4	75	Hom. 7.12	361
Hom. 5.27.1	75	Hom. 7.12.3	90
Hom. 5.27–29	150	Hom. 8.1	86, 165, 187, 360
Hom. 5.28	75, 125	Hom. 8.2.5	319
Hom. 5.29	127	Hom. 8.2–3	165–166
Hom. 6	27	Hom. 8.3.3 ff	29
Hom. 6.1.1	42	Hom. 8.4.1	39
Hom. 6.1.2	151	Hom. 8.4.4	166
Hom. 6.1.4	76, 79	Hom. 8.5	233
Hom. 6.2.1	43	Hom. 8.5.4	325
Hom. 6.2.1–2	75	Hom. 8.5–7	318
Hom. 6.10	123	Hom. 8.6.3	166
Hom. 6.11	75	Hom. 8.6.4	167
Hom. 6.19.5	43	Hom. 8.6–7	329, 331
Hom. 6.20.2	247	Hom. 8.7.5	45, 167
Hom. 6.23.4	232	Hom. 8.8	167
Hom. 6.26	89, 127	Hom. 8.8.4	248
Hom. 7.1.1–2	90	Hom. 8.9.2	167
Hom. 7.1.3	284	Hom. 8.9.3	167
Hom. 7.2.3	315	Hom. 8.9–23	159
Hom. 7.3.4	248, 368	Hom. 8–11	21, 164
Hom. 7.3.5	315	Hom. 8.10	167, 248
Hom. 7.3–4	368	Hom. 8.10.1	44
Hom. 7.3–5	124	Hom. 8.10.1–4	327
Hom. 7.4	42	Hom. 8.10.2	49
Hom. 7.4.1	248, 284	Hom. 8.10.3	52, 168
Hom. 7.4.3	318	Hom. 8.10–11	50
Hom. 7.5.3	90	Hom. 8.11	168
Hom. 7.6	127	Hom. 8.11.3	50
Hom. 7.6.1	90	Hom. 8.11–17	327
Hom. 7.6–8	92	Hom. 8.11–20	168
Hom. 7.7.6	43	Hom. 8.12.3–4	248
Hom. 7.7–8	92	Hom. 8.12–20	165, 168

Hom. 8.13.3	248	Hom. 10.4.2	346
Hom. 8.13–19	168	Hom. 10.4.3	173
Hom. 8.14.2	402	Hom. 10.5.1	47
Hom. 8.14–19	248	Hom. 10.5–6	173
Hom. 8.15.2–4	324	Hom. 10.6.1–2	249
Hom. 8.15.4	402	Hom. 10.7.1–8.4	249
Hom. 8.17.4	168	Hom. 10.7.2	173
Hom. 8.19.1	368	Hom. 10.7–10	363
Hom. 8.19.1–2	328	Hom. 10.8.1–4	155
Hom. 8.19.1–4	326	Hom. 10.8.2	364–365
Hom. 8.19.4	328	Hom. 10.9.1–2	175
Hom. 8.20.1–2	169	Hom. 10.9.3	173
Hom. 8.20.3	328	Hom. 10.10.1	47
Hom. 8.21	124	Hom. 10.10–12	173
Hom. 8.21–24	169	Hom. 10.10–15	249
Hom. 8.22.1–2	169	Hom. 10.12	173, 195
Hom. 8.22.2–23.3	169	Hom. 10.12.1	46, 362
Hom. 8.22.4	170	Hom. 10.13.3	47, 173
Hom. 8.24	126	Hom. 10.14	174
Hom. 9.1.2	170	Hom. 10.14.1–3	47
Hom. 9.1–23	159	Hom. 10.15.2	174
Hom. 9.2.2	249	Hom. 10.17.1	174
Hom. 9.2.3	170	Hom. 10.18.3	174
Hom. 9.3.1	170, 249	Hom. 10.18.6	174
Hom. 9.4–5	354	Hom. 10.19.4	175
Hom. 9.4–6	249, 359	Hom. 10.19–22	175
Hom. 9.7	369	Hom. 10.20.3	47
Hom. 9.7.1	249	Hom. 10.21.1	365
Hom. 9.7.2–3	249	Hom. 10.21.1–3	155
Hom. 9.8.1	171	Hom. 10.22.2–4	175
Hom. 9.9	243	Hom. 10.22.4–23.2	365
Hom. 9.9.1	249	Hom. 10.23.3	176
Hom. 9.9–23	171	Hom. 10.24.3	176
Hom. 9.11.4	249	Hom. 10.25.3	43
Hom. 9.12	70, 171	Hom. 10.25–26	176
Hom. 9.14.4	368	Hom. 10.26	126
Hom. 9.16.1	318	Hom. 10.26.2	319
Hom. 9.19.2	45	Hom. 10.41	50
Hom. 9.20.1	171	Hom. 11.1–15	176–179
Hom. 9.21.3	249	Hom. 11.2	40
Hom. 9.22–23	165	Hom. 11.4.1	250
Hom. 9.23	126	Hom. 11.5.1	250
Hom. 9.23.5	319	Hom. 11.5.3	46, 250
Hom. 10.2.1	172	Hom. 11.6.4	47
Hom. 10.2.2	172	Hom. 11.6.5	177
Hom. 10.3.3	172, 249	Hom. 11.7.1	46
Hom. 10.4	50, 249	Hom. 11.8.1	93
Hom. 10.4.1	173	Hom. 11.9	352

Hom. 11.9.3	178	Hom. 12.6.3	319
Hom. 11.10.2	178	Hom. 12.6.4	362
Hom. 11.11	124	Hom. 12.6.7	104, 133
Hom. 11.11.4	47	Hom. 12.7.1	98
Hom. 11.13.4	370	Hom. 12.8	123, 190, 194
Hom. 11.15.1	47	Hom. 12.8.2	252
Hom. 11.16	31	Hom. 12.8–10	89
Hom. 11.16.2	179	Hom. 12.8–9	96
Hom. 11.16.3–4	329	Hom. 12.9	190
Hom. 11.16.4	180	Hom. 12.9.1	42, 102
Hom. 11.16.6	180	Hom. 12.9.4	97
Hom. 11.17.4	232	Hom. 12.10.1–3	95
Hom. 11.17–22	180–181	Hom. 12.10.2	95
Hom. 11.18.1	47	Hom. 12.10.4	95
Hom. 11.18.2	46	Hom. 12.12	86, 192, 222, 362
Hom. 11.20.1	180	Hom. 12.12.3–13.1	155
Hom. 11.20.2	181	Hom. 12.12–13	96
Hom. 11.20.4	44, 181	Hom. 12.13	252
Hom. 11.21	251	Hom. 12.13.1	223
Hom. 11.21.4	181	Hom. 12.13.3	252
Hom. 11.21.4–22.1	155	Hom. 12.14	195
Hom. 11.22.2	181	Hom. 12.14.4	96
Hom. 11.23–24	181	Hom. 12.14–18	96
Hom. 11.24.2	250	Hom. 12.15–16	190
Hom. 11.25.2	181	Hom. 12.15–18	89
Hom. 11.26.2	182	Hom. 12.16	127, 190
Hom. 11.26.3	182	Hom. 12.19	192
Hom. 11.27	251	Hom. 12.19.4	12, 96
Hom. 11.27.2	182	Hom. 12.19.5–21.4	97
Hom. 11.28–36	182	Hom. 12.20	217
Hom. 11.29.2	182	Hom. 12.22–23	127
Hom. 11.30.2	365	Hom. 12.22–24	97
Hom. 11.31.1	183	Hom. 12.23	252
Hom. 11.32.1	183	Hom. 12.23.8	52
Hom. 11.33.4–5	45	Hom. 12.24	353
Hom. 11.35	126	Hom. 12.24.1–2	90
Hom. 11.35.1–2	95	Hom. 12.25–33	26
Hom. 11.35.4	169	Hom. 12.26	252
Hom. 11.35.6	184	Hom. 12.33.5	252
Hom. 11.36.2	360	Hom. 13.1.1	52
Hom. 12.1	86, 126, 362	Hom. 13.1.1–3	86
Hom. 12.1–3	89	Hom. 13.1.5	52
Hom. 12.1.3	86	Hom. 13.2–3	192
Hom. 12.1–11	95	Hom. 13.3	13, 127, 192
Hom. 12.2	112	Hom. 13.3.3–4	98
Hom. 12.4–11	95	Hom. 13.3.4	52
Hom. 12.6	124	Hom. 13.4	347
Hom. 12.6.2	156	Hom. 13.4.1	43

Hom. 13.5	127	Hom. 15.4.5	52
Hom. 13.5.1	370	Hom. 15.5	125, 191
Hom. 13.5.3	52	Hom. 15.5.3–4	324
Hom. 13.7	21, 216	Hom. 15.7.6	362
Hom. 13.7.3	100, 139	Hom. 15.10.5	275
Hom. 13.7.3–4	42	Hom. 15.11.1	275
Hom. 13.7.4	98	Hom. 15.11.2	341
Hom. 13.7–8	98	Hom. 16.2.1	275
Hom. 13.8	126	Hom. 16.2.4	45
Hom. 13.9.3	348	Hom. 16.3.3	275, 319
Hom. 13.11	124	Hom. 16.4	126
Hom. 13.11.3	52	Hom. 16.4.1	275
Hom. 13.11.4	52	Hom. 16.6	47
Hom. 13.13–21	191	Hom. 16.6–12	124
Hom. 13.15–16	252	Hom. 16.7.1	326
Hom. 14	127	Hom. 16–18	268
Hom. 14.1	90, 97, 336	Hom. 16–19	102
Hom. 14.2	191	Hom. 16.10	236
Hom. 14.2.2	336, 406	Hom. 16.10.2–5	247
Hom. 14.2–8	26	Hom. 16.14.3	326
Hom. 14.3.2	101	Hom. 16.14.4	326
Hom. 14.3.4	370	Hom. 16.14.4–5	318, 326
Hom. 14.5.3	312, 314	Hom. 16.19	236
Hom. 14.6–7	89	Hom. 16.20.2	154
Hom. 14.7.4	42	Hom. 16.21	126
Hom. 14.7.4–5	102	Hom. 17	243, 256
Hom. 14.8	123	Hom. 17.2.1–4	285
Hom. 14.8.6–12.4	102	Hom. 17.3.3–4	237
Hom. 14.9	252	Hom. 17.3.5–7	237
Hom. 14.9.7	252	Hom. 17.5.6	253
Hom. 14.9–10	127	Hom. 17.6	120
Hom. 14.10	191	Hom. 17.6.4–17.7.1	239
Hom. 14.11	125	Hom. 17.6–12	223, 236, 238, 246
Hom. 14.11.1	319	Hom. 17.7.1	39
Hom. 14.11.3	314	Hom. 17.7.2	94, 98, 239, 242
Hom. 14.11.5	312	Hom. 17.7.4	239
Hom. 14.12.1	43	Hom. 17.7.5	240
Hom. 14.12.4	52	Hom. 17.8.3	240
Hom. 15	17, 341	Hom. 17.8.9	240
Hom. 15.1 ff	349	Hom. 17.9.1–4	240
Hom. 15.1.1	341	Hom. 17.9.3–4	6
Hom. 15.1.2	345	Hom. 17.10	347
Hom. 15.1–4	335, 337	Hom. 17.10.3–11.3	240
Hom. 15.2.3	232	Hom. 17.11.1	229
Hom. 15.2.3–4	345	Hom. 17.12	186
Hom. 15.4	336	Hom. 17.13.1	253
Hom. 15.4.1–6	53	Hom. 17.13–19	253
Hom. 15.4.4	52	Hom. 17.13–20	252

Hom. 17.14	253	Hom. 19.16.3	93
Hom. 17.14.2	290	Hom. 19.16.4	315
Hom. 17.14.3–4	291	Hom. 19.19	354
Hom. 17.15.1–2	291	Hom. 19.19.4	216, 310
Hom. 17.16.2	243, 291	Hom. 19.19.4, 6–7	303
Hom. 17.16.2b–6	243	Hom. 19.19.4–7	303
Hom. 17.16–19	41	Hom. 19.19.6–7	303
Hom. 17.17.4	292	Hom. 19.19.7	311
Hom. 17.17.5	292	Hom. 19.23.1	311
Hom. 17.18	39	Hom. 19.23.1–5	314
Hom. 17.18.1–3	292	Hom. 19.23.4	314
Hom. 17.18.2–3	253	Hom. 19.23.5	303, 311, 314
Hom. 17.18.3	292	Hom. 19.23.6	312, 315
Hom. 18.1.1	151	Hom. 19.24.1–6	295
Hom. 18.2.1	151	Hom. 19.25	126
Hom. 18.3.2	321	Hom. 19.25.2	232
Hom. 18.3.4–5	91	Hom. 20.1–2	126
Hom. 18.5.4	154	Hom. 20.1–10	26
Hom. 18.12	128	Hom. 20.2.3	93
Hom. 18.15.7	43, 45	Hom. 20.2.4–6	92
Hom. 18.17.1–4	91	Hom. 20.2.5–3.6	133
Hom. 18.19	367	Hom. 20.2–3	48, 88, 169
Hom. 18.20.3	141	Hom. 20.5	126
Hom. 18.22.3–5	347	Hom. 20.5.2	226
Hom. 18.23	128	Hom. 20.6	128
Hom. 18.23.2	173	Hom. 20.6.8	243
Hom. 18.23.3	154	Hom. 20.9.1	133
Hom. 19	169	Hom. 20.9.2	39
Hom. 19.3	126	Hom. 20.10.1	133
Hom. 19.3.7	276	Hom. 20.10.2	93
Hom. 19.4.1–2	277	Hom. 20.11	255, 398
Hom. 19.4.1–3	277	Hom. 20.11.2	71
Hom. 19.6	125	Hom. 20.11.3	297
Hom. 19.9.1	277	Hom. 20.11.4	398
Hom. 19.9.5	154	Hom. 20.2–10	92
Hom. 19.12.3	306	Hom. 20.11–23	8
Hom. 19.12.3–23.5	306, 316	Hom. 20.12	113, 123, 128, 217
Hom. 19.12.4–5	309, 313	Hom. 20.12.4–5	255
Hom. 19.12.5	309	Hom. 20.12.6–7	8, 256
Hom. 19.12.6	302–303	Hom. 20.12.7	256, 403
Hom. 19.12–23	302–303	Hom. 20.12–14	125–126
Hom. 19.13.1–2	295	Hom. 20.13	216, 398
Hom. 19.13.2–3	309	Hom. 20.13.1	398
Hom. 19.13.4–8	295	Hom. 20.13.2	285, 403
Hom. 19.13.5	308	Hom. 20.13.4	133, 399
Hom. 19.14.1	303	Hom. 20.13.6	255, 399
Hom. 19.14.2	309	Hom. 20.13–14	127
Hom. 19.15.7–8	93		

Hom. 20.14	126, 128, 406	Rec. 1.37.3 Rec. 1.39.1	367 367
Hom. 20.14–17	125–126	Rec. 1.39.2	367
Hom. 20.15.2	52	Rec. 1.41.2–3	44
Hom. 20.15.5	52	Rec. 1.45	358
Hom. 20.16	217	Rec. 1.45.3	351
Hom. 20.16.5	399	Rec. 1.53.1–2	44
Hom. 20.16–21	53	Rec. 1.64.1–2	367
Hom. 20.17	126, 406	Rec. 1.69	358
Hom. 20.17.1–2	296	Rec. 1.72.3	360
Hom. 20.17.2	296, 399	Rec. 2.3–6	134
Hom. 20.17.6	297	Rec. 2.42	358
Hom. 20.18.1–2	296	Rec. 2.5.2–3	276
Hom. 20.18.2	400	Rec. 2.5.4	271, 276
Hom. 20.18.4	154	Rec. 2.7.1	264
Hom. 20.18–22	8	Rec. 2.71.3–4	370
Hom. 20.19	87, 217, 218	Rec. 2.71.6–2.72	370
Hom. 20.19.1	416	Rec. 2.9	124
Hom. 20.19.1–3	296	Rec. 2.12	214
Hom. 20.19.2–3	400	Rec. 2.13.1–2	267
Hom. 20.19.5–6	400	Rec. 2.13.3–4	267
Hom. 20.20	87	Rec. 2.15.1–6	245
Hom. 20.22.6	53	Rec. 2.15.4–6	369
Hom. 20.23	114, 219, 361	Rec. 2.19	360
Hom. 20.23.3	400	Rec. 2.20.2	46
Hom. 20.23.5	87, 401, 407	Rec. 2.26.6 Rec. 2.50.3	180 236
<i>Homilist</i>	2, 3n4, 10, 12, 15– 34, 102–106, 161, 192–195, 199, 210, 212–219, 236n46, 238, 241–242, 329, 362–369, 373	Rec. 3.2–11 Rec. 3.13.1–8 Rec. 3.21–22 Rec. 3.44.3–4 Rec. 3.47.4 Rec. 3.59–60 Rec. 3.61.1–2	358 276 216 267, 285 44 405 401
<i>Peter's Letter to James</i>	See <i>Epistula Petri</i>	Rec. 3.65–74 Rec. 3.75	360 7
<i>Recognitionist</i>	12, 17, 103, 161	Rec. 4–6 Rec. 4.19.1	165 370
<i>Recognitions</i>		Rec. 4.21b–25	165
Prol. 15	360	Rec. 4.26.3	402
Rec. 1.1–5	85	Rec. 4.27–29	353
Rec. 1.5.1	290	Rec. 4.29.1	354
Rec. 1.25.4–5	45	Rec. 4.35.1	169
Rec. 1.27–71	365, 367	Rec. 5.2.1	173
Rec. 1.30	365	Rec. 5.6–13	165
Rec. 1.30.4	367	Rec. 5.14–16	363
Rec. 1.36.1	367	Rec. 5.20–22	363
Rec. 1.37.1	367	Rec. 5.30.5	371

Rec. 5.31.2–3	371	Rec. 9.4.4	313
Rec. 5.34	329	Rec. 9.5.1	313
Rec. 5.36	180	Rec. 9.6.4	314
Rec. 6.4.6	180	Rec. 9.7	312
Rec. 6.4–14	180	Rec. 9.7.1–6	314
Rec. 6.5	44	Rec. 9.7.6	314
Rec. 6.9	182	Rec. 9.16.1	102
Rec. 6.14.2–3	183	Rec. 9.18.2	102
Rec. 6.15.4–6	360	Rec. 9.19–29	310
Rec. 7.1.12	362	Rec. 9.20.4	354
Rec. 7.2	112	Rec. 9.25.70	354
Rec. 7.6.4	362	Rec. 9.29.2	351
Rec. 7.8	194	Rec. 9.31	312
Rec. 7.9	352	Rec. 9.32.2	102
Rec. 7.12	222	Rec. 9.32–37	106
Rec. 7.12.1	192	Rec. 9.32–38	102
Rec. 7.14	195	Rec. 10.1	346
Rec. 7.19	195	Rec. 10.1 ff	349
Rec. 7.24	353	Rec. 10.1–4	335, 337
Rec. 7.29	347	Rec. 10.1–12	349
Rec. 7.30.1	370	Rec. 10.2	346
Rec. 7.32.2	100	Rec. 10.2.5–6	346
Rec. 8.1	336	Rec. 10.4.2	346
Rec. 8.1.2	336	Rec. 10.13	342
Rec. 8.5.2	102	Rec. 10.15.1–2	161, 276
Rec. 8.5.3	102	Rec. 10.43	342
Rec. 8.5.3–4	161	Rec. 10.43–46	349
Rec. 8.5.4	276	Rec. 10.53	113
Rec. 8.7	21, 68, 216	Rec. 10.53–72	102
Rec. 8.8	102	Rec. 10.54	398
Rec. 8.9	234	Rec. 10.55	399
Rec. 8.9.3	102	Rec. 10.55.3	255
Rec. 8.14.1	306	Rec. 10.65a	87
Rec. 8.14.5	306	Rec. 10.67	87
Rec. 8.16.1	306	Rec. 10.68.3	87
Rec. 8.16.2	306	Rec. 10.72	87, 113
Rec. 8.17	25	Rec. 10–14	349
Rec. 8.17–19	25	Rec. 12.13	222
Rec. 8.20	25		
Rec. 8.20.2–4	307	<i>Syriac Pseudo-Clementines</i>	
Rec. 8.34.8	102		36, 98, 100, 106,
Rec. 8.35.1	102		194, 195, 351, 353,
Rec. 8.41.1	102		358, 375, 376, 377,
Rec. 8.44.2	102		382, 391
Rec. 8.54.1	102	3.3–6	358
Rec. 8.56.1	102	12.12	192
Rec. 8.57.1	102	12.14	192
Rec. 8.62	358	12.8	194

13.7.3	100	BL Add. 12,150	17, 358, 375–379,
13.7.4	98		382, 384–385, 386,
			388, 399
		BL Add. 14,609	377, 378

5. Other Early Christian Authors and Writings

<i>1 Clement</i>		Athenagoras	234n41
35:2–5	92	<i>Legatio pro Christianis</i>	
51:4	95	19.2	234
<i>Acts of John</i>		Augustine	212–213, 361, 381n20
44	369	<i>De Civitate Dei</i>	
<i>Acts of Paul and Thecla</i>		X.11	212
9–10	70	<i>Contra Academicos</i>	
<i>Acts of Peter</i>	132, 270, 391	III.5.14	213
<i>Acts of Pilate</i>	135	III.6.6	212
<i>Acts of the Council of Aquileia</i>		Bardesanes	
379		<i>Libri Legum Regionum</i>	
<i>Acts of the Persian Martyrs</i>		1	302
387		9–10	303
<i>Acts of Thomas</i>		10	294, 303, 308
20	363	15	311, 315
103	93	15–17	303
<i>Hymn of the Pearl</i>		16	310
121		17	311
<i>Actus Vercellenses</i>		18 ff	303
20	132	19	311
		29	310
		45	369
Aphrates		Barhadbesabba of Arbaia	
<i>De Virginitate et Sanctitate</i>		305n12, 307	
9	49	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>	
<i>Apocryphal Acts</i>	193, 194		307
Athanasius		Basilius of Caesarea	
<i>Vita Antonii</i>		357, 361	
72–73	298	<i>Epistulae</i>	
		226.3.33	235
		<i>Cave of Treasures</i>	379
		6.21–17.22	49

Clement of Alexandria		Epiphanius	170n27, 272, 354n22
	62, 211, 250–251	<i>Panarion</i>	
<i>Paedagogus</i>		1.3.3	354
3.1	211	1.169.12	235
<i>Protrepticus</i>		21.1.2	264
12.120.4	251	3.3	171
<i>Stromateis</i>		31.1–7	269
1.21.101.3	71	31.3.1–6	273
2.19.102.6	250		
2.21.130	62	Eusebius of Caesarea	
5.14.94.5	251	271n61, 277n90,	
6.15.129.4	226	284n124, 356–357,	
		363, 375–379, 382–	
<i>Cologne Mani Codex</i>		387, 392	
	381, 383	<i>Contra Hieroclem</i>	284
		<i>De Martyribus Palaestinae</i>	376, 385
<i>Confession of Saint Cyprian</i>		<i>Demonstratio Evangelica</i>	385
	4, 5	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>	
Cyprian (Pseudo-)			378
<i>De Duobus Montibus Sina et Sion</i>		1.13.5	356
	132	2.1.3–5	332
<i>Deir al-Suryan Syriac Fragment</i>		2.1.6	356
	376	2.9	357
		3.37.1–3	363
<i>Didache</i>	92	3.38.5	356, 363
		6.3.9–13	363
<i>Didascalía Apostolorum</i>		6.18–19	271
26	315	<i>Laudatio Martyrum Omnium</i>	376
		<i>Praeparatio Evangelica</i>	
Ephrem the Syrian	10n41, 304, 305n14,		7.18.12–22
	306n18, 308n29,		11.8.1
	313n38, 357–358,	<i>Theophania</i>	378, 385
	379n15		
<i>Commentarius on Genesis</i>		<i>Gospel of Peter</i>	131, 132, 144
5.1.2	49		
6.3	49	<i>Gospel of Thomas</i>	
<i>Contra Haereses</i>		<i>Logion</i> 16	180
19.5–6	49		
7.6–7	49	Gregory of Nazianzus	
<i>Hymni de Fide</i>			4, 298
46.8	50	<i>Oratio</i> 4.92	298
<i>Hymni de Paradiso</i>		<i>Oratio</i> 24	4
1.11	49		
11.6–7	121		

- Hippolytus
Refutation of all Heresies
Praef.8 274
6.2 269
6.7.9–20 269
6.9.3 269
6.14.7 269
6.15.1 269
6.18.4 266
6.19.2–3 272
- Ignatius 329, 361
Epistula ad Magnesianos
6:1 361
8:1 329
10:3 329
- Irenaeus of Lyons
Contra Haereses
1.23.1 272
1.23.1–4 269
1.23.2 265, 272
1.23.3 311
1.23.4 272
- Itinerarium Burdigalense*
90
- Itinerarium Egeriae*
90
- Jerome
De Viris Illustribus
91 357
- John Chrysostom 297–298, 357, 409
De Babyla contra Julianum et Gentiles
79 298
- Justin Martyr 58, 66–67, 184n64,
225, 238, 258, 264–
265, 336n3
- Dialogus cum Tryphone*
1.2.1 67
1.3.1 67
1.3.7 238
2 258
3.1–2 336
- Apologia I*
16.13 184
18.3 58
26.1–3 269
26.2 264
- Letter of Barnabas*
92
- Marius Victorinus
Adversus Arium
4.24 242
- Martyrologium Syriacum* 376
- Marutha* 386–388, 390n51,
391n56
- Nilus of Ancyra
Epistulae
3.24.5 46
- Origen 234n41, 238, 243n71,
253–254, 298, 326,
332n60, 363, 404n33
- Contra Celsum*
1.6 404
1.9 65
1.48 254
1.55, 59 68
3.21 332
6.17 254
6.68 238
7.31 234
7.36 257
7.7.2 235
- De Principiis*
1.1.9 254
- Oxyrhynchus Papyrus X. 1224*
131
- Papyrus Berolinensis 11710*
131
- Papyrus Egerton 2* 131, 142
- Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 4009*
131

<i>Papyrus Oxyrhynchus</i> 840		Tatian	80–82, 258
	131	<i>Contra Graecos</i>	
		1	80
Prudentius	4	1.26	80
<i>Peristephanon</i>		1.3	80
13	4	25.3	80
		35.1	81
<i>PSI XI 1200bis</i>	131	42	81
Ptolemy		Theodoret of Cyrrihus	
<i>Epistula ad Floram</i>			286, 298n194, 323n30
3.4	323	<i>Haereticarum Fabularum Compendium</i>	
		1.20	352
Socrates	357	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>	
<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>		3.26–27	298
1.24.2–3	357	<i>Philotheos Historia</i>	
2.9	357		298
Sozomen		Theophilus	
<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>		<i>Autolytus</i>	
3.6.1–7	357	1.7.2	235
3.14.42	357		
3.16	352	Titus of Bostra	
<i>Synodicon Orientale</i>		<i>Contra Manichaeos</i>	
	387		376

6. Classical and Other Ancient Authors and Writings

Achilles Tatius	5, 22n90–92, 61n31,	Aëtius	
	353	<i>Placita</i>	
<i>Leucippe et Clitophon</i>		I.18.5	240
2.20–22	61		
5.19.4	353	Alcinous	
6.12.2	353	<i>Didaskalikos</i>	
7.3.6	353	1.1	257
16.5	353		
		Antiphon	
Aelius Theon		<i>Tetralogia</i>	
<i>Progymnasmata</i>		3.3	111
59	220	5.4	111
141.13–15	110		
		Aphrahat	
Aeschines		<i>Demonstrationes</i>	
<i>De Falsa Legatione</i>		3.12	121
3	285	19.3–5	121

Apollodorus		<i>De Inventione</i>	
<i>Bibliotheca</i>		1.98–109	109
3.5	203	2.2	109
		<i>De Natura Deorum</i>	
Appian		1.46–49	239
<i>Syriaca</i>		3.17	227
11.59–61	77	<i>De Officiis</i>	
		1.126–132	153
Apuleius	5, 154–155, 238, 257n114, 283n121, 406	1.132–137	153
		<i>De Oratore</i>	
<i>Metamorphoses</i>		1.113–203	146
3.21	406	2.1	146
3.24	407	2.4	146
		<i>Epistulae ad Familiares</i>	
Aristaenetus		12.10.1	59
<i>Epistulae Eroticae</i>		<i>De Republica</i>	
1.13	77	3.33	325
		Dio Chrysostom	
Aristotle	24, 26, 37, 52, 157, 194n14, 215	<i>De Consuetudine</i> [Or. 76]	
			319
<i>Poetica</i>		Diogenes Laertius	
1452a	37	<i>Vitae Philosophorum</i>	
1452a29–32	52	10.23.5	62
Aulus Gellius		7.50.158–159	197
<i>Noctes Atticae</i>		Epictetus	61
5.14.1	71	<i>Dissertationes ab Arriano digestae</i>	
5.14.1–3	72	2.8.23	61
14.4.4	108	4.4.9	61
45	369	Eunapius of Sardis	277–283, 293–298
Chariton	5, 12, 22n88, 105n68, 192–194, 222n6, 353, 362	<i>Vitae Philosophorum et Sophistarum</i>	
<i>De Chaerea et Callirhoe</i>		316	296
2.3.6	222	405	297
2.5.4	353	458	282
2.8.4–11.6	105	459	282, 293
4.3.1	353	463	298
4.4.3	353	470	296
6.7.10	353	473–481	294
7.5.1	192	474	294
		475	294–295
Cicero	59, 109, 146, 151–153, 156, 162, 215, 325n38	Euripides	70, 202–205, 273
<i>De Finibus</i>		<i>Alcestis</i>	205
2.69	108	<i>Bacchae</i>	205
		<i>Helena</i>	202, 273
		605–615	204

706	203	Homer	71, 73n83, 76, 151,
1665	204		155n24, 162, 195–197,
			202, 205, 207–213, 274
Galen	29, 116	<i>Ilias</i>	
<i>De Differentiis Pulsuum</i>		3.149–160	204
2.4	65	<i>Odyssea</i>	
<i>De Ordine Librorum Suorum</i>		4.121–122	196
<i>ad Eugonianum</i>		4.138–140	196
2.217.6–17	116	4.227–229	196
11.194.15f	116	4.239	196
14.630.5–9	116	4.249–250	196
19.9.16–19	116	4.277–279	196
19.10.7	116	4.286–288	197
19.17.8–12	116	4.351–570	197
19.41.16–19	116	4.455–458	197
19.49–61	116	17.485–486	201
19.50.18–51.7	116	21–22	114
56.15–17	116		
Gorgias of Leontini	77, 79, 198–200, 203,	Iamblichus of Chalcis	
	210		20, 277–284, 289–295,
<i>Helenaē Encomium</i>			298–300, 353, 369, 409
§ 6	198	<i>Babyloniaca</i>	353
§ 8	198	<i>De Communi Mathematica Scientia</i>	
§ 10	198	49.20	233
§ 10–14	77	<i>De Mysteriis</i>	123
§ 11	79, 199	1.11.12	293
<i>Greek Magical Papyri</i>		2.11	279
PGM IV.530–544	282	4.1	293
		70.8–10	291
		76.11–12	288
		90.8–10	291
		184.8	283
Heliiodorus	5, 22n91–92, 59n22,	Julian	
	161n36, 225n13, 353	<i>Misopogon</i>	
<i>Aethiopica</i>	161, 353	347a–348	77
2.17.1	161		
6.14	59, 225	Libanius	285–287
21.4–6	161	<i>Oratio</i>	
30.1	161	1.43	287
Herodotus	81, 203n45, 273n71	1.50	286
<i>Historiae</i>		1.98	286
2.112–119	203		
2.112–120	273	<i>Life of Īsō'sabran</i>	118
<i>Historia Apollonii regis Tyrii</i>		Lucian of Samosata	80–82, 207, 225–227,
	6, 13, 14n51, 351, 353		243n72, 271n63,
			324n34, 369

<i>Bis Accusatus</i>		13–14	149
27	80, 81	43.8	153
31	80	44.4	153
<i>De Morte Peregrini</i>		45.6	158
3, 14	207	46.7	159
11	207	46.8	150
13	207	47.1–4	154
<i>Menippus</i>	316	48.4	147
1–6	225	48.8	153
10	227	52.7	156
<i>De Syria Dea</i>	369	55.4	152
17	77	57.1	148
<i>Philopseudes</i>		57.2	148
31.33–36	271	58.1	148
<i>Piscator</i>		58.6–8	148, 149
11–12	225	58.7–8	149
19	79	58.13–14	149
<i>Rhetorum Praeceptor</i>		59.3	147
17	81	59.4–6	147
<i>Vera Historia</i>		61.4	148
2.12.3	243	61.6–62.14	149
		71.12	158
<i>Lucius (Golden Ass)</i>		74.10–12	154
	406–407	74.10–17	154
		74.8–10	154
Lucretius		76.5	158
<i>De Rerum Natura</i>		81.1	147
5.146–155	240	83.1	157
		85–87	149
Marcus Cornelius Fronto		88.2	157
<i>Epistulae ad Antoninum Pium</i>		101.9	157
2.10–13, 37	108	107.15	157
		111–112	149
Marius Victorinus		116.4–9	149
<i>Adversus Arium</i>		117.1–10	149
4.24	242	118.5	155
		126–129.3	151
<i>Metiochus and Parthenope</i>		132.10	151
	115	132.15	157
		141	160
Petronius	4, 5, 21, 145–162, 222		
<i>Satyricon</i>		Philodemus	
1.3–21	156	<i>On Frank Speech</i>	63
2.2	147		
3.1	147	Philostratus	29, 208–210, 225,
3.2–3	156		282n114, 283n121,
4.2	147		319n11
5	147, 150		
6.1	147		

<i>Heroicus</i>		<i>Phaedo</i>	
25.10	210	64a–67e	244
25.12	210	66b	235
43.8	210	66b–d	235
46.2	210	66e	235
<i>Vita Apollonii</i>	186n66, 208–209, 284,	67d	257
	320	79c	58
1.2.1	284	89d–90c	226
1.4	208	107c–d	227
1.7	225	112e–114a6	227
3.15	282	115b	227
4.16.5	209	<i>Phaedrus</i>	
6.11	225	230d	201
6.11.14	208	243a–b	202
7.22.1–2	209	247c	235, 238
<i>Vitae Sophistarum</i>		254e	242
1.1.9	199	275a–b	201
		<i>Philebus</i>	
Plato	4, 13, 23–28, 32–33,	28c–30e	244
	67, 150–151, 155, 157,	34d6	226
	173n32, 195, 197,	56a	234
	199–205, 212, 215,	<i>Politicus</i>	410
	219–220, 223–247,	<i>De Republica</i>	
	250–253, 257–258	377a–b	247
<i>Apologia</i>		377a ff	247
24b1	226	377c	247
38a	226	380d	200
<i>Cratylus</i>		381b	247
436a5–7	226	381d	200
<i>Euthydemus</i>		383a	247
288b	200	395e	247
388d	200	477b	233
<i>Euthyphron</i>		486d	243
15d	200	500b–501b	244
<i>Gorgias</i>	155, 158, 205	507b	242
<i>Ion</i>		509d	234
542e	200	509d–511e	246
<i>Laws</i>		511d–e	234
715e	240	514a	227–228
716a	241	514a2–521c8	227
716c–d	244	514a–515a	229
817e	234	515c	231
<i>Letter VII</i>		515c–d	230
341c	232	516a–517a	232
<i>Lysis</i>		516b	231
216c	58	517a–b	242
<i>Meno</i>		517b–c	230
80a–b	199	519a–b	228

533d	232		
537b	234		
586b–c	202		
595b	201		
611d–e	244		
613a–613b	244		
621c	231		
<i>Symposium</i>			
210–211	280		
210e	232		
212a	241		
218e	241		
221d3	226		
<i>Theaetetus</i>	251		
176a–b	244		
176b	244, 279		
191d	247		
<i>Timaeus</i>			
29a–e	258		
40a–b	240		
41d–47c	244		
45b	254		
90a–d	244		
Pliny the Elder	71, 73n83, 197		
<i>Naturalis Historia</i>			
Praef. 6	71		
30.5–6	197		
30.6	73		
Plotinus	233n38, 237–238, 242, 254, 277–281, 286– 288, 291–292, 295–298		
<i>Enneades</i>			
1.6.8	233		
4.43.1–8	287		
5.8	242		
6.7	254		
6.9.3.38–45	237		
Plutarch			
<i>Demetrius</i>			
38	77		
38.5	78		
<i>Moralia</i>			
37c–48d	110		
410a–b	225		
		<i>Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur</i>	
			63
		Porphyry	20, 212, 274, 277–281, 284, 286, 288, 290– 293, 298–299, 320, 324, 363, 369, 409
		<i>De Abstinentia</i>	
		2	320
		2.34.2	324
		2.42.1	296
		2.49.1	279
		<i>Epistula ad Anebonem</i>	
		Fr. 29	291
		<i>Vita Plotini</i>	
		1.1–2	280
		10.5	287
		10.6–15	281
		10.14–15	281
		10.21–25	281
		10.32–39	281
		23.4–8	280
		23.8–13	281
		23.15–16	280
		23.17–18	280
		Pseudo-Hermogenes	
		<i>De Inventione</i>	
		167.5–10	108
		Quintilian	
		<i>Institutio Oratoria</i>	
		1.4.1–29	146
		1.9.5	110
		1.10.34–49	146
		1.10.37	146
		1.10.9–33	146
		3.6.1–6.5.11	109
		6.2.32	108
		10	110
		<i>Rhetorica ad Herrenium</i>	
		4.51	108
		Seneca	160, 215n81
		<i>Controversiae</i>	
		6.7	78

<i>Hercules Oetaeus</i>	115	Tacitus	
<i>Phaedra</i>		<i>Annales</i>	
1126	227	16.17–20	146
Servius		<i>Urb. gr.130f. 122^v</i>	112
<i>Commentarius in Vergilii Aeneidos libros</i>		Valerius Maximus	
1.651	204	<i>Facta et Dicta Memorabilia</i>	
Sextus Empiricus	204–206, 215, 240	5.7	78
<i>Against the Professors</i>		Virgil	
2.2–3	204	<i>Georgica</i>	
<i>Against the Logicians</i>		4.411	212
1.179–181	206	4.440–442	212–213
1.253–257	206	Xenophon of Ephesus	
<i>Pyrrhoniae Hypotyposes</i>			18, 22, 192, 353
3.6–7	226	<i>Ephesiaca</i>	192, 353
Stobaeus			
<i>Eclogae</i>			
I	240		

Index of Modern Authors

- Adler, William 15, 30, 95n41, 356
Aldridge, Robert E. 92
Amsler, Frédéric 11, 44n38, 49n57, 53
Armstrong, Arthur H. 288
Asserate, Asfa-Wossen 153
Aubin, Jeffery 14, 25–26
- Bakhtine, Mikhaïl 278
Barnes, Jonathan 25, 194n14, 215–216,
234, 273n73
Basso, Sergio 11, 112n26
Baur, Ferdinand Christian 1
Bazzana, Giovanni Battista 28–29, 32,
88n14
Bigg, Charles 6, 10, 240n63
Boll, Franz 225n14
Bolyki, János 7, 104n65
Boulhol, Pascal 7
Bourdieu, Pierre 50, 299
Bousset, Wilhelm 12
Bremmer, Jan N. 19, 29, 105n69–70,
197n25
Brethes, Romain 5
Brisson, Luc 287–288
Brown, Peter 408
- Calvet-Sébasti, Marie-Ange 192,
214n76
Camplani, Alberto 305n13, 308n29,
356n35
Carlson, Donald 19
Castiglione, Baldassare 153
Chantraine, Pierre 43
Chapman, John 18, 20, 28
Cirillo, Luigi 14
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor 159
Compagnon, Antoine 278
Cooper, Kate 193, 344
Côté, Dominique 17, 20, 27–28,
199, 239, 253, 357, 369n88, 409
Cox, Patricia 282–283
- Crawford, Matthew R. 3
Czachesz, István 3
- De Temmerman, Koen 108, 110
De Vos, Benjamin M. J. 16, 23, 27–28,
40n16, 94n35, 94n38–39, 95n40, 102n59,
104n64, 191, 274n74, 395–397, 397n8,
402n24, 406, 410
Dillon, John 254
Duncan, Patricia A. 17, 23, 33, 38–39,
41n21, 44n35, 47n50, 53–54, 87n10,
91n23, 136–137, 144n43, 167–168, 170n24,
319n8, 332–333, 359, 395–397, 410
- Edwards, Mark J. 3, 4, 7, 22
Elliott, James Keith 5
Eshleman, Kendra 29
- Ferreiro, Alberto 264n16, 265n23, 270n56
Foucault, Michel 189n2, 218
Frankfurter, David 289n151, 290n152–153,
408n43
Frazer, James 293
Frenkel, Luise Marion 19, 36
- Gebhardt, Joseph G. 36
Gemeinhardt, Peter 67n50, 257–258
Geoltrain, Pierre 5, 243n71, 268n38
Geréby, György 16, 24, 26
Giulea, Dragoş Andrei 238n50
Goldhill, Simon 189n2
Goulet, Richard 282
Grimal, Pierre 4–5
Guez, Jean-Philippe 5
- Hack, Judith 27
Hadot, Pierre 26, 222, 257
Hägg, Tomas 30, 318n5, 319n11
Hansen, Dirk Uwe 22, 225n13, 406
Hauck, Robert J. 253
Hayes, Christine 321–322

- Heath, Malcolm 107, 109
 Heintze, Werner 12–13, 24–25, 30,
 337n6, 348
 Hennecke, Edgar 5
 Hilgenfeld, Adolf 9
 Hort, Fenton J.A. 10
 Hutte, Curtis 12, 35, 189n1, 191n5, 193n11
 Hvalvik, Reidar 35

 Irmscher, Johannes 35
 Irving, Jenni 12, 35, 191n4, 193n11

 Jedan, Christoph 25, 102n57, 344n17
 Johnston, Sarah Iles 280, 289n150–151
 Jones, F. Stanley 5n16, 8, 11, 17n69, 22–24,
 31, 36, 100, 255n106, 312n36, 317–319,
 346n20, 353, 365, 367, 370, 372, 395–396

 Kaestli, Jean-Daniel 5
 Kelley, Nicole 17, 26, 28, 39n8, 39n13, 44,
 47, 50, 51n61, 221–222, 312n36, 314n42–
 43, 359, 370, 382n23, 395, 397
 Kennedy, George 79, 108
 Kerényi, Karl 13
 Klein, Beate 24, 31, 222
 Knigge, Adolf Freiherr 153
 Kristeva, Julia 278

 Lachelier, Jules 43n29
 Le Boulluec, Alain 44n37, 277n90,
 305n15, 307n255
 Légasse, Simon 261
 Leppin, Hartmut 361
 Lipsius, Richard 10
 Liverani, Paolo 22
 Lotz, Almuth 285–286
 Lüdemann, Gerd 261

 Maistre (Abbé) 35
 Merkelbach, Reinhold 13–14
 Meyboom, Hajo Uden 35

 Nicklas, Tobias 33, 132n6, 203

 Paget, James Carleton 30, 356n32
 Pervo, Richard 7
 Phelan, James 342n10–11
 Pines, Shlomo 239, 240n63, 242
 Pouderon, Bernard 14, 15, 97n46

 Praet, Danny 29, 352n7
 Presezzi, Cora 245

 Reardon, Bryan P. 4
 Reed, Annette Yoshiko 11n44, 16, 40n16,
 46, 50–51, 236n46, 256, 317, 359, 367–
 368, 397
 Rehm, Bernhard 10, 16, 22, 34, 236n46,
 303n6, 349
 Riffaterre, Michael 277
 Rius-Camps, Josep 14, 304n9

 Sandnes, Karl Olav 35
 Sanzo, Joseph 408
 Schliemann, Adolph 8
 Schmidt, Carl 349, 358
 Schneemelcher, Wilhelm 5
 Schoeps, Hans Joachim 301, 309n32
 Scholem, Gershom 18, 236n46
 Shuve, Karl Evan 324
 Siouville, Auguste 35
 Smith, Thomas 35, 120n53, 155, 254n99–
 100, 268n38, 276n88, 292n168
 Snowden, Joe R. 165n2
 Stanton, Graham 6
 Strecker, Georg 16, 28n126, 34–35, 321n20,
 349

 Tanaseanu-Döbler, Ilanca 288n146, 289,
 291n16, 379
 Teeple, Howard 30
 Therrien, Philippe 28, 31
 Tigchelaar, Eibert 372

 Ullmann, Walter 2, 3n5
 Urbano, Arthur 270–271n59, 298–299,
 300n202

 Verheyden, Joseph 21
 Vielberg, Meinolf 17, 20, 24, 31, 86n4,
 88n11, 222, 256, 395, 405

 Waitz, Hans 30
 Wehnert, Jürgen 14, 24, 35, 85n3, 239–240
 Werman, Cana 328
 Wilson, Robert McL. 35

 Zambon, Marco 35
 Zetterholm, Karin Hedner 28

Index of Subjects and Places

- Aramaic 116–117, 152, 352
– Exegesis 107, 119
Abel 123, 327, 401
Abgar 356–357, 369
ἀκαταπληξία 61–62
Acacius 388
Academic Skepticism 205, 212, 253
Adam 41n21, 47n48, 49n57, 50, 123
Agraphon 141, 144
– ‘Good money-changers’ 141
Alexandria 15, 60–66, 94, 119n50, 148,
150, 152, 197, 263–264, 269–273
Allegory 175
– Greek myths 27, 76, 95, 123n56, 274
– Moses’ Law 269, 274
– Plato’s *Allegory of the Cave* 223, 227–
229, 234, 242
– Porphyry’s *Cave of the Nymphs* 364
Ambrose 361
Annubion 21, 53n72, 76, 102, 113, 125, 159,
255, 272, 297, 299, 398–399
Antaradus 86, 95–96, 192, 362
Anthropomorphism 238–239
Antioch 87–88, 90, 102, 107, 114, 116, 146,
219, 255–256, 278, 295–296, 353, 396–
403, 409–411
– Antiochene exegetical school 19
Antiochus (prince) 77–78
Antonius
– Father of Simon Magus 264
– Roman politician 146
Antonius Diogenes 353
ἀπάθεια 57
Apelles 10n41, 139n32, 303–304
Aphrahat 117, 121
Aphrodite 192, 196, 203, 222n6
Appion 15–16, 21, 27–28, 32, 40, 43n30,
46n47, 53, 69–83, 89, 94–95, 106, 125,
127–128, 150n8, 152, 159, 165, 174–175,
226, 247, 255, 272, 296, 299, 363n67, 398
– Apion 14n56, 71–74, 82, 390
– *Apiondisputation* 14–15, 28, 40n16,
50n60, 199, 202
Apostolic Council 146, 361
Aquila (and Nicetas) 12, 98–99, 103, 105,
216, 355
Aradus *See* Antaradus
Aristotelians 68n56, 217, 321
– Peripatetic 67
– (Aristotelian) Rhetoric 118
Arsaces 351
Artes liberales 146, 151, 204
Astrology 11, 13, 17, 22–23, 43n30, 102,
113, 125, 191, 274, 287n141, 290, 312–315,
382n23, 397n8
– Annubion the astrologer *See* Annubion
– Astrological determinism 23, 25, 191,
336n5, 397–398
– Astrologers 104, 125
Astronomy 67, 152, 402n26
ἀταραξία 57
Athena 272–273, 406
Athenodorus (the Epicurean) 21, 76, 272,
299
Athens 12, 101–102, 175, 190, 199, 203, 271,
278, 352
αὐτοψία 281n110, 288–289

Baptism 17, 23, 87n6, 88–90, 95, 97–98,
101–104, 113, 125–127, 169, 171, 181–184,
190–191, 251, 255–256, 312n35–36, 326,
331, 336n4, 348, 367–370
Βάρβαρος 62, 72, 81–82, 151, 211–212, 272,
404
Bardaisan and Bardesanes 14, 26, 32,
301–316, 351–352, 354–355, 361, 369, 371,
374, 383n31
Barnabas 41, 61–66, 94, 125, 133, 148–151,
155, 157–158, 225, 227, 263
Beirut 165n4
Bekehrungsschrift 30, 33
Benutzungshypothese 8

- Bernice 89n15, 100–101, 105–106, 135, 276n86
 Berytus 86, 90n18, 361, 410
 Bildungsroman 17, 51, 145
 Blood 58, 68, 248, 280, 318, 320, 326–328, 330, 367–368, 403
 – Menstruation 45n43, 326, 367–368
 Byblus 13, 86, 90n18

 Caesar
 – Caesares 174, 178
 – Caesar (*vs.* Pompeius) 155
 Caesarea 41n21, 64–66, 86, 88, 94, 127–128, 134, 151, 225, 227, 233, 263, 268, 275–276, 357, 360, 392
 Cain 123, 248n86, 327, 401
 – Cainites 49n57
 Campania 146, 162
 Canovacci 11, 115
 Caria 353
 Carneades 24
 Castration 369–370
Catanae 121
 Celsus 65, 68n58, 257n113, 277n90
 Chaldean
 – Oracles 291n160
 – Rituals 279
 Christ *See* True Prophet
 Cleanthes 363
Codex Theodosianus 408
 Coercion 73, 292–293, 321
 Contemplation 23–24, 33, 65, 223–224, 231, 236–247, 251–254, 257, 259, 262, 278–281, 291–292, 298
 Conversion 4–5, 30–32, 38, 41, 52, 67, 70n66, 71, 86, 93–104, 105n70, 113, 118n47, 176, 191, 218, 251n91, 258, 336–349, 373, 387, 406
 Cosmology
 – Bardaisan 302, 304–305, 308
 – Zoroaster 390, 392
 Council of Seleucia-Ctesiphon 386, 391
 Croton 149, 151, 156–157, 160, 162
 Cybele 179, 369

 Damascius 279, 291
 Damascus 253n97, 290
 David 136

 Deception 4, 15–16, 18, 27, 32, 93–99, 102, 105, 148, 150n8, 156–157, 195–198, 217–220, 291–292, 397, 405, 410–411
 Deification 173n32
 Democritus 62, 235n44
 Demon/Demonology 21, 29, 72, 82, 136, 164, 168, 171–172, 176, 180, 185, 247–249, 267, 281, 288–292, 320, 326–328, 360, 367–373, 399, 403, 405
 Determinism
 – Stoic 25
 – Bardaisan 25, 101, 309, 312, 315, 397–398
 Didymus the Blind 111n23
 Dionysius 369
Dispositio 109
 Disputationsbuch 12, 24, 30, 82n120
Dissimulatio 15, 32, 94n39, 102, 193, 397, 410–411
 Doctrina Apostolorum 92
 Dream
 – Mattidia's dream 96–97, 101–102, 190–192
 – Nebuchadnezzar 121n55
 – Discussion between Simon and Peter 249, 253, 291–292
 Dualism 119n52, 273, 306n19
 – Syzygy *See* Syzygy

 Ebionite 10, 18, 236n46
 Edessa 17, 19, 107, 117, 351–358, 361, 369–374, 376n5, 383, 388n47
 Egypt 56, 58, 65–66, 69, 70n66, 73, 93, 119n50, 152, 161, 174–175, 195–197, 200–204, 209–212, 215, 221, 225, 249, 270–273, 279, 281, 284, 288n146, 290n153, 364, 367, 384
 Εἰδωλον 202–204, 206, 217, 272–273, 364
 – *Simulacrum* 245, 273
 Εἰδωλολατρεία 364
 Εἰκασία 246
 Elchasaite 2n4, 10, 20, 236n46
 Eli of Qartmin 118
 Empedocles 207
 Emotion 70n67, 89n16, 95, 104, 106, 108n7, 153, 199, 218–219
 ἐναργεία 108
 Encomium
 – Encomium on Adultery 15, 69–83, 199

- Encomium on Helen 77, 79, 198
- Encomium on the fly 80
- Encomium of the Martyrs 392
- Epicureanism
 - Athenodorus *See* Athenodorus
 - Atoms 25
 - ἀταραξία *See* ἀταραξία
 - Epicurus 25–26, 57, 62, 98n49n
215–217, 239n57
 - Free will 25
 - ἐπιθυμία 55–57, 69, 71, 74–75, 85, 211,
248–249, 366, 371
- Epistemology 156–157, 197, 199, 212,
222–224, 244–245, 397n8
- Erasistratus 77–79
- Eros 198, 202, 282–283, 293
- Erotikoi logoi* 201
- Esau 401
- Esoteric 38–41, 43n29, 51n61, 118–119,
332–333, 398
- Εὐγνωμοσύνη 232n34
- Eusebius of Emesa 357
- Eusebius of Myndus 294–295, 298
- Eve 47n48, 49n57
- Evil 26, 31, 48, 49n57, 68, 92, 122–126,
169, 171, 173, 179–180, 228–229, 247, 268,
276–277, 301–316, 325, 401–403
- Ex nihilo* 308
- Eye of the soul (Plato) 228, 235, 254,
257n113
- Fake News* 410
- False pericopes 8n30, 33–34, 41n21,
44n37, 139–144, 323–326, 368
- Familienroman* 51
- Φάντασμα 204–205, 212
- Φαντασία 205
- Φάρμακον 41, 96, 192–199, 201, 209,
287n143
- Fate 17, 23, 77, 123, 167–168, 178, 312n35,
314n43, 336n5, 346
- Faustus
 - Doctor Faust 5, 23, 273n69
 - Clement's father 25, 32, 52, 86–87,
89n17, 97, 101–106, 113–114, 123, 125–128,
191, 194n12, 217–219, 252, 255–256, 275,
288, 295–297, 312, 314, 335–349, 355,
397–411
- Faustina Junior 355
- Fiction 112, 113n26, 150n8, 265, 269, 284,
342n11
 - Ancient fiction 3, 4, 7, 38, 103
 - Christian fiction 7, 219
 - Fictional contract 145, 210n64, 219
 - Fictional reality 159
 - Fictionalisation 3n10
 - Revisionist historical fiction 23,
39n10
 - Realistic fiction 194
- Flood 168, 170, 179, 249, 326–328, 372,
402
- Fortuna 154
- Free will 25–26, 92–93, 177, 186, 232,
304n11
- Gentile(s) 2, 31, 34, 46, 53, 89n16, 117,
126, 134, 136–139, 144, 166–167, 170n24,
317–319, 328–334, 397, 411
 - *Gerim* 326, 330–331
- Giant 168, 248, 354, 402–403
- Giwargi (bishop of the Arab tribes) 118
- Gnosis 10, 26, 28, 31, 37, 42–43, 48, 52,
121–122
 - Gnoseological 37–40, 44, 49–54
 - Γνώσκω 40–44
 - ἐπίγνωσις 37, 42–43, 52
 - Πρόγνωσις 42–43, 46n47, 48n53, 123
- Γόης/Γοητεία 124, 198–201, 204, 207–210,
213, 217–220, 247, 283–300, 398–411
- God 6–7, 23, 28, 31, 38–54, 57–67, 91–92,
101, 104n65, 121–128, 134–140, 191, 264–
268, 276–277, 284–285, 296, 301–310,
317–333, 336–340, 346–347, 354, 361–
371, 387, 398–402
 - Contemplation of God *See* Contem-
plation
 - Greek gods 15, 72–79, 124, 152, 174–176,
196–204, 247–249, 279–282, 293, 364,
370
 - Goddess of rhetoric 81
 - ὁμοίωσις θεῶ *See* ὁμοίωσις θεῶ
 - Simon Magus 272–275
 - Son of God 155, 292
- Graecisms 153, 161
- Grundchrift *See* *Index Ancient Sources*
 - Grundchrifthypothese 10

- Habitus* 299
Hagiography 4, 5, 282n117–118, 386, 388
Halakha 329n50, 368, 370, 372–374
Hecate 291n160, 294
Helen (of Troy) 29, 124, 193–197, 202–220, 265, 272–274
– Gorgias' *Helen* See Encomium on Helen
Hellenism 21, 40n16, 50n60, 153, 171n27, 272, 379
Heresiologist 51n62, 213, 265–269, 272, 285, 300, 384, 397
Hermes 203, 217, 273
Hermogenes 107–109, 112
Hesiod 76, 155n24, 274, 327
Hierapolis (Manbij) 369
Homerists 147
– Homeric questions 209n62
Homo dei 161, 284n124
- ἠθοποιία 16, 27, 32, 197
- Θεοσεβής/θεοσεβεία 31, 45–46, 52–53, 172n31, 318–319
- Ignorance/ἄγνοία 37–54, 66, 69, 121–122, 151–152, 167, 172–173, 202, 223, 232–233, 268, 405
Implied reader 32–34, 342n11
Inventio 109
Isaac 108, 143, 401
Ishmael 401
Isis 13, 288
Islam 31n144, 119
ἰσοσθένεια 58
- Jacob 143, 401
Jacob of Serugh 121n55
James 3, 34, 41, 87, 118n46, 133, 184, 360
Jesus 39–41, 44–46, 53, 91, 93n33, 99–100, 108, 117, 119–120, 124, 126, 128, 131–144, 165, 172–173, 183–184, 186, 207, 214, 221, 222n3, 233n36, 239n53, 253, 261n4, 290, 317–319, 324–334, 343, 356, 360–363, 367, 381, 401, 404–405, 407
– True Prophet See True Prophet
Jethro 210–211
- Jew/Judaism 7, 15–17, 21, 27, 30–34, 41n21, 50–51, 69–75, 81–82, 94–95, 98–100, 103, 105n70, 107, 116–119, 136, 139, 152, 166–167, 180, 216–217, 235–236, 238, 250n88, 258n115, 297, 317–319, 322, 326, 328–334, 343, 354–355, 363–368, 372–374, 380, 384, 389–390, 396–397, 411
– Jewish-Christianity 1, 11, 13, 16, 28, 31n144, 152, 158, 227, 236, 258n115, 320, 333, 376n5, 397
– Jewish-Hellenism 12, 15, 317, 322
– Jewish *piyyutim* 384
– Rabbinic See Rabbinic
- John
– Apostle 108n58, 407
– the Baptist 124, 128, 214, 263–266, 268, 401
John bar Aphtonia 118
John Doxopates 112
Judea 60–64, 145, 225, 399–400
Julia Domna 208
Jupiter See Zeus
Justa 89n15, 93, 97–106, 126, 133–135, 139n30, 144, 216–217, 263, 343, 348n27
- Καιρός 219
Κατάληψις 57, 205
Kirk Meğara 117
Κλῆρος 312–316
Kulturkampf 21, 30–33
- Laodicea 86–91, 97–102, 128, 236, 251, 255, 268, 275–276, 285, 295, 361, 398–401, 407
Late Antiquity 16–19, 21, 23, 26–29, 34, 91, 104n66, 116, 145, 151, 198, 204, 222, 257, 271n60, 283n121, 286, 288–289, 299n197, 320, 346n22, 365, 376, 385, 397n8, 408
- Latinitas* 159
- Law
– Mosaic Law 28, 31, 41n21, 53, 87n10, 92, 99, 141–142, 168–169, 180–183, 269, 274n73–74, 317–331
– Purity Laws 31, 137
– Food Laws 137
– Marriage 142
– Natural Law 28, 77, 216, 248, 317, 321–331, 334

- Noahide Laws 328, 330n54
- Libation 249, 327, 367, 369
- Liberti (colliberti) 147–152, 158
- Logia* 33, 132
- Logos 198–199, 220
 - Logos (divine) 44n37, 67, 120n52, 219, 238n50, 251, 385n38
- Longus 5
- Lovesickness 15, 69–77, 82, 94, 202
- Lucan 160
- Luna 214
- Lycia 353

- Maccabeans 137
 - Maccabean Martyrs *See* Martyrs
- Μαγεία*/Magic 8, 32, 65n8, 73–77, 93, 102, 117, 125, 158, 171–172, 197–204, 214–217, 247–249, 256, 261–300, 328, 354, 367, 369, 395–411
- Mani 381–383
 - Manichaeism 380–385, 390, 393
- Marcionism 268, 273
 - *Marcion* 10n41, 44n37, 303–306
 - Anti-Marcionism 10, 20, 383
- Martyrs 352, 387, 392
 - Maccabean 392
 - Palestine 385
 - Persian 385–387
- Matrona 15, 27, 97, 105
- Mattidia 12–13, 32, 53n71, 87, 90, 96–105, 125–127, 150, 189–195, 217–220, 252, 312, 336n4, 342–348, 355, 370
- Medicine 28–29, 79, 172
- Menelaus 147, 195–197, 200–207, 273n71
- Mercury 305
- Merkabah 236
- Messiah 343, 381
- Meta-literary 32–33, 239
- Metallurgy 248, 402n26
- Metamorphosis 154–155, 197, 213, 246–248, 256, 257n144, 296, 407
- Middle Platonism 158, 237–238, 244, 253, 259
- Midrash 119, 239n57, 354
- Mimesis 197, 247
- Minerva 272n68
- Monarchy/μοναρχία 45–48, 170, 309, 316, 362, 409
- Μορφή* 127, 219n87, 237, 239–243, 249–250, 252n94, 256, 399n14, 400n16
- Moses 34, 41n21, 46, 53, 65n46, 67, 81, 87n10, 91, 117n43, 122, 141–142, 166–167, 182, 186, 210, 233n36, 243n71, 269, 274, 318–334
 - Mosaic Law *See* Law
- Μῦθος* 13, 20, 32–33, 72, 75, 147–152, 195–196, 205, 219–220, 271, 273, 290, 327, 345, 371, 397n8, 402
 - Allegory *See* Allegory
 - Enochic myth 372–373, 403n27
 - Greek myth 15, 18, 75, 94, 194, 215, 246–248, 273–274
 - Platonic myth 201, 410
- Near East 88, 97, 105n69
- Nebrod (Nimrod) 170, 354
- Necromancy 58–59, 63–66, 221, 225, 266–267, 271, 286, 290n153, 298, 369n88
- Neoplatonism 20, 28, 158, 212, 237–239, 242n68, 253, 261–300, 320, 372, 384, 409–411
- Neopythagoreanism 28, 320
- Nestorianism 19, 358
- Neuinszenierungen* (recombination) 33, 132, 142–143
- New Testament 2, 5, 32, 43n29, 91, 107, 135n16, 160–161, 170, 264–265, 313, 363, 373, 380–383, 395
- Nicene Church 388, 391
- Nicetas *See* Aquila
- Nisibus 305n12, 307, 388
- Noah 170, 249, 326, 328, 365, 367
 - Noahide Laws *See* Laws
- Numenius 274, 277n90

- Odysseus 114, 151, 196–197, 406
- ὁμοίωσις θεῶ 23, 223, 240n63, 243–252
- Orphan 95, 103n60, 401
- Orphic Cosmogony 27–28
- Osiris 13

- Paideia 15–22, 27, 29–30, 33–34, 40n16, 69, 72, 76–82, 94–98, 100, 123, 193, 199, 208, 214, 219, 226, 228, 247, 258, 271n59, 299n198, 299n200, 317–320, 333, 397, 408–411

- Palestine 39, 86, 88, 94, 112n26, 116–119, 146, 150, 152, 159, 161, 363, 385
 Palinody 202, 208, 272n69
 Pardes 119
 Paris 198, 203–204, 209n62, 211
 Passion 57, 61, 66–67, 72, 78, 120n52, 202, 211, 275
 Parting of the Ways 16, 396
 Paul 70n67, 133, 137, 165n4, 170, 172, 174, 184, 194, 245, 261, 290, 317, 322n23, 326, 329n50, 331, 334, 366
 – Anti-Paulinism 6n19, 10, 20, 133n12, 144, 163n1, 245, 379, 382, 400n17
 – Pauline letters
 Pentateuch 152, 162
 Persia 118, 216, 249, 351–354, 369, 376, 383–388, 392
 – Middle Persian 107, 119
 Peter 1–3, 8, 12, 17, 21, 23, 25–29, 31–34, 64–69, 86–106, 113–114, 119–128, 132–135, 138–159, 161–162, 163–187, 189–195, 213, 216–220, 221–259, 261–279, 283–300, 318–319, 323–326, 332–333, 336–349, 359–363, 365, 372, 398–409
 Petronius
 – *Arbiter elegantiae* 145, 160
 Pharisee 91, 119n50, 182, 319n13
 Phidias 155, 222, 251
 Philanthropy 26, 252
 Phoenicia 86, 89n15, 99, 150, 152, 159, 161, 360
 – Syrophoenician 99n51, 126, 133–135, 143–144, 263, 272n67
 Physician 29, 67–70, 77, 79, 122, 268
 Physiognomy 24, 222
 Pisidia 353
 Pompeius 155
 Posidonius 24, 366
 Proclus 274, 279, 292, 298, 410n50
 Progymsmata 76, 110, 220
 Proteus 197–204, 207–214, 217–218, 220
 Providence 25–26, 50–53, 77, 101, 183, 191, 248, 312–316, 336, 339–340
 Ptolemy 323
 Pyriphlegethon 57–58, 226–227
 Pyrrhonist 98n49, 204, 215–216
 Pythagoreanism 28, 67, 208, 283, 340, 363
 Quellenkritik 11, 14, 18–19
 Rabbinic 16, 32, 49n57, 117, 119, 239–240, 250n88, 317–322, 328, 330n54, 334, 355, 364n70
 – Exegesis 119–120
 Recognition/*ἀναγνώρισις* 2, 7–8, 12–13, 30, 33, 37, 51–54, 89n16, 97–99, 102, 104, 127, 145, 190–192, 195, 197, 251, 335–336, 341, 348–349, 396, 406
 Redactor/redactive 2, 4, 10, 12, 15–19, 24, 51, 109, 116, 118, 144, 302–304, 307–317, 319, 404
 Resurrection 44–45, 139–144, 178, 184, 307, 407
 Rhetoric 17, 20–21, 24, 26–27, 31–33, 90, 196–205, 219–220, 286, 345–346, 371
 – Education 11, 13, 15–16, 27, 32, 76–82, 107–114, 118–119, 145–162, 177, 185, 196, 222, 271
 – Rhetoricalization 108, 112
 – Rhetorician 18, 71–72, 409
 – Semitic rhetoric 118
 Roman Emperors
 – Tiberius 71–72, 295, 399n13
 – Trajan 189, 355
 – Hadrian 355
 – Marcus Aurelius 355
 – Lucius Verus 355
 – Antoninus Pius 335
 – Diocletian 116, 352, 356
 – Julian 20, 215n81, 294–295, 298n195, 369n88, 389
 Rome 3, 12, 55, 60, 63–66, 71–76, 81, 83, 86–88, 94–97, 101, 104, 106, 127–128, 146, 162, 189, 195, 278, 281, 324, 360, 391
 Sabbath 137, 355
 Sacrifice 28, 108, 156n26, 171n28, 248–249, 281, 296n188, 320, 324–327, 359, 366–373
 – Sacrificial orgies 170
 Sadducee 139–144
 Salvation 17, 41n21, 62, 90–92, 107, 124, 127, 166–167, 180–181, 186, 190, 218, 233, 296n186, 329–334, 339–340, 385, 400, 405
 Samaritan 263–265, 271, 297

- Sasanian 379–380, 386–391
 Satan 124–125, 184, 212, 368
 Σχῆμα 194n14, 237–241, 252
 Scholastici 147–153, 156–158
 Scripture 10n41, 15, 18, 23, 32–34, 41n21,
 87n10, 107–108, 119, 121–124, 127, 137,
 139–143, 152, 186, 268, 275–276, 323–
 326, 357, 382–385, 391–392
 Seleucia 101, 386
 – Seleucid Empire 161
 – Seleucus 77–79, 161
 Semitic
 – Semitic exegesis 118
 – Semitic rhetoric *See* Semitic rhetoric
 Sense perception 58–59, 157, 195, 205, 253,
 256
Sermo urbanus 153
 Serpent 46–47, 173–174, 180, 197n23, 211,
 213, 246, 249–250, 268
 Seth/Sethites 13, 49–50
 Shipwreck 12, 52, 96, 98, 104, 127, 202,
 263, 340
 Shiur Qomah 236, 240
 Sidon 86, 90n18, 92, 135n18, 165, 361
 Simon Magus 2, 5, 8, 17, 21, 23, 26–29, 32,
 39n8, 41–42, 47, 49, 53–54, 87–103, 106,
 113, 119–128, 133–135, 139, 148–154, 158–
 167, 171, 173, 184–186, 189–220, 261–300,
 302–304, 310–311, 315, 319, 323, 326, 337,
 360, 368, 382, 390–391, 397–410
 Sisyphus 56
 Slave(ry) 70n66, 101, 104–105, 116, 190,
 248, 272, 282, 368, 406
 Socrates 58n16, 74, 199–202, 227–235,
 242–247
 – *Daimonion* 202
 Sodom/Gomorrah 327
 Sophist 20, 27, 29, 72–82, 174, 191, 197–
 200, 208, 212–213, 217, 220, 226, 282,
 285, 290
 Sophistic
 – First Sophistic 203
 – Second Sophistic 27, 79–80, 112n26,
 199
 Sophonias 126, 134
 Soul 29, 45, 47, 55–60, 65–76, 82, 93, 122,
 124, 134, 169n23, 176, 178, 194, 198, 205,
 211–212, 221, 224–237, 241–254, 257,
 266–267, 271, 279–280, 285, 287–295,
 298n194, 325, 337–339, 345–347, 364–
 365
 Stasis-theory 109
 Stesichorus of Himera 201–203, 272n69
 Stoicism 25, 28, 57, 61, 67, 108, 205–206,
 215, 239–240, 244n75, 247n84, 253, 306,
 321–327
 Στοιχεῖα 302, 305
 Στρογγή 76–79, 219, 232n34, 241, 347
 Stratonic 15, 78
 Syllogism 40, 56, 62, 225, 276
 Synagogue 117, 207
 Synesius of Cyrene 271n61
 Synodicon Orientale 387
 Synod of Seleucia-Ctesiphon 386–388,
 391
 Syria 19, 50, 80–81, 86, 115–123, 129, 145–
 146, 160–161, 192, 351, 358–363, 396–397,
 401, 408
 – Syriac exegesis 116–129
 – Syriac rhetoric 107, 116–119
 Szygy/συζυγία 28, 31, 37–54, 122–126,
 134, 194, 262, 268, 401, 405
 Σωφοσύνη 23, 49n57, 55, 57, 75, 85,
 93n34, 96–97, 100, 125, 179–180, 189–193,
 197, 203, 211, 252, 367
 Tantalus 56
 Tarsus 353
 Tartarus 56, 226–227
 Telemachus 195–196
 Tertullian 238n50, 258
 Theodore bar Koni 19, 305, 358, 377n11
 Theurgy 212, 279–300, 365, 369, 372, 409
 Thomas the Didymus 123
 – Eliezer (twins) 123
 Torah 137–138, 142, 180, 258, 317, 320–325,
 329–331, 334
 Τρίβων 278, 362
 Tripolis 163–187, 248–250, 256, 360, 363,
 369
 True Prophet 15, 23, 29, 34, 38–39, 42–47,
 41n21, 50, 54, 63–69, 82, 104n63, 120,
 125–128, 134, 141, 157–158, 169, 173, 180,
 191, 195, 208, 216–228, 232–235, 239–241,
 253, 259, 261, 263, 268, 275, 277, 285,
 296–297, 300, 324, 327, 367, 383, 400

- Truth/ἀλήθεια 4, 16, 18, 21, 26, 30,
32–33, 37–54, 55, 59–68, 71, 75–82,
85–106, 119–126, 140–143, 155–160,
180, 184–187, 263–264, 275–276,
285, 290, 292, 300, 318, 321, 390, 397,
400–401
- Contemplation *See* Contemplation
 - Εἶδωλον *See* Εἶδωλον
 - Gnosis *See* Gnosis
 - Parrhësia 218
 - Truth-telling 32, 189–220
 - Φιλαλήθης 62, 228, 232
- Motif of the Two Ways* 91–92
- Typological/Typos 107–108, 119–128
- Tyre 15, 72, 86–90, 94–95, 124, 128, 135,
165, 214, 246, 248, 272, 315, 368
- Varro 366
- Venus 192, 196, 203, 222n6, 305
- Widow 96, 100n56, 149, 360
- Yazdegard (shah) 388
- Zacchaeus 88, 98, 128, 134, 236, 263, 285,
343, 360
- Zeno of Citium 15, 74, 363
- Zeugma-Belkis 115
- Zeus 68, 94, 196, 203n47, 272, 305, 410
- Ζήτησις 151, 226, 268, 275, 399n15
- Zoroaster 118, 170, 172, 249, 353–354, 380,
387–390
- Zoroastrian memorization methods 118