

Reconsidering the Letter to the Ephesians in Ancient Context

Edited by
ANNETTE WEISSENRIEDER
and MARK GRUNDEKEN

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament*
535

Mohr Siebeck

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament

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ISBN 978-3-16-163713-1 / eISBN 978-3-16-163714-8
DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-163714-8

ISSN 0512-1604 / eISSN 2568-7476 (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament)

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

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The book was typeset by Martin Fischer in Tübingen. Printed on non-aging paper.

Mohr Siebeck GmbH & Co. KG, Wilhelmstraße 18, 72074 Tübingen, Germany
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Acknowledgments

The Letter to the Ephesians has recently received some attention from classicists, philosophers, and theologians specializing in early Judaism and Greco-Roman context alike. This collection of essays *Reconsidering the Letter to the Ephesians in Ancient Context* will explore the Letter to the Ephesians in terms of Greek philosophy and science, epistolography, and ancient Judaism(s). The collection will fill a unique niche in biblical studies by addressing the following questions: What are the relevant conceptualities and terminologies marking political, juridical, cultural, cultic, or religious distinctions? What then is its relationship to Judaism(s)? In what way is Ephesians dependent on the Pauline Letters and on Colossians?

This volume goes back to an international and interdisciplinary workshop which was held at the Martin Luther University in Halle-Wittenberg. The workshop brought together in lively conversation biblical scholars, experts on Judaism, classicists, philosophers, and historians. The international group of scholars as well as doctoral students investigated the diverse qualities of contexts for Ephesians in antiquity as well as corpuses of knowledge which have been effective in shaping the text of Ephesians. The primary focus was on epistolography, philosophy, and Greco-Roman literature. Social relationships, investigated on the basis of archaeological finds and textual sources, and urban contexts and their significance for the transfer of knowledge formed the substance of discussions within the workshop and the accompanying doctoral seminar. We have been also interested in instances where intertextual “parallels” have been re-nounced, for example, with regard to ecclesiology or pneumatology.

Many thanks go to Professor Emeritus Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr (University of Jena), Professor Emerita Elna Mouton (University of Stellenbosch), Professor Emeritus Udo Schnelle (Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg), and to our students and doctoral students at Martin Luther University who provided thought-provoking questions and suggestions in conversation on the topic of Ephesians in Contexts with regard to First and New Testament and Greco-Roman contexts, at the conference and afterwards.

The greater part of this volume consists of a selection of papers delivered at the conference. These papers appear here in revised form. In addition, Annette Weissenrieder has invited a number of other experts in the field of Ephesians to explore further issues that arose in the context of the conference.

Several people contributed to the development of this work, and we want to thank them here.

Annette Weissenrieder is especially thankful for the practical help and financial support of the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg which made the conference possible. A special word of thanks goes to André L. Visinoni and Professor Elna Mouton, and to the students of the Ephesians Seminar for invaluable administrative assistance in organizing and running the conference at MLU.

Our heartfelt gratitude goes to Professor Polly Coote (Berkeley) and Kosta Gligorijevic (doctoral student in philosophy, McGill University) for proofreading the manuscripts and to Lucas Froemberg, Hannes Stintmann, Clarissa Patrizia Paul, and Donate Wagner (Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg) for their assistance in preparing the manuscripts as well as the bibliography.

We sincerely thank the editor of this series, Professor Jörg Frey, for his continued encouragement and inclusion in the series, as well as for the helpful suggestions we received while finalizing the book. We would also like to take this opportunity to thank Tobias Stäbler and Markus Kirchner of the publishing house Mohr Siebeck for supervising the publication of the volume with great reliability and kindness.

January 2024

Annette Weissenrieder, Halle (Saale)
Mark Grundeken, Freiburg

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	V
ANNETTE WEISSENRIEDER and MARK GRUNDEKEN	
Reconsidering the Letter to the Ephesians in Ancient Context: An Introduction to the Recent Trends in Research	1
MARGARET Y. MACDONALD	
Ephesians in Context: The Impact of New Approaches for Understanding Its Distinct Perspective	57
J. ALBERT HARRILL	
Ephesians as a Circular Letter: Forms and Functions of a General Address	87
THOMAS JOHANN BAUER	
“Tychicus, the Beloved Brother and Faithful Servant in the Lord” (Eph 6:21): The Letter to the Ephesians in the Context of Pauline and Early Christian Pseudepigraphy	117
HARRY O. MAIER	
Ephesians, Spatiality, Urbanity, and Place Entrepreneurship	145
TEUN TIELEMAN	
Ephesians and Ancient Philosophy: The Communion of God and the Faithful	163
MARK GRUNDEKEN	
Ἐνότης in Ephesians 4:3 and 13: A Term from Popular-Philosophical Tradition	177
ANNETTE WEISSENRIEDER	
Thinking with the Eyes of the Heart: Ways of Knowing God in Ephesians ..	191
ANDREA TASCHL-ERBER	
Making ‘the Two’ into One Body: De- and Recategorization of (Un-)Circumcision	213

STEFAN KRAUTER

Wall, Enmity, Law, and Peace: Ancient Contexts of Ephesians 2:14–16 253

BARBARA BEYER

Salvation in One Body: The ‘in Christ’ Phrases in Ephesians 275

CHRISTINE GERBER

ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις – Interpreting a Puzzling Phrase in the Letter to the Ephesians 295

TROELS ENGBERG-PEDERSEN

Reading Ephesians through Paul: The Cosmological Role of the Pneuma in Ephesians 317

NADINE UEBERSCHAER

Ephesians as a Hypertextual Deutero-Pauline Reception of Galatians 349

DAVID E. FREDRICKSON

Subordination and Frank Criticism in Plutarch and Ephesians 4–5 367

ELNA MOUTON

Submissive to Whose Authority? Reimagining the Haustafel Dynamic of Ephesians 5:21–33 389

KWOK HANG WEN

“We Might Grow in Every Way toward Him Who Is the Head, Christ.”
Κεφαλή as the Architectural Dimensional Standard in the Growing Church in Ephesians 4:15 403

Bibliography 417

List of Authors 467

Index of Ancient Sources 469

Index of Names 505

Index of Subjects 515

Reconsidering the Letter to the Ephesians in Ancient Context: An Introduction to the Recent Trends in Research

ANNETTE WEISSENRIEDER and MARK GRUNDEKEN

This introduction will explore the Letter to the Ephesians against the background of epistolography, urbanity, cosmopolitanism and spatiality in Ephesus, Greek philosophy and medicine, ancient Judaism(s) and theologies. The questions discussed in this introduction include: does the address reflect a circular letter? In what way is Ephesians dependent on the Septuagint, the Pauline Letters, and Colossians? What concepts and technical terms mark the letter's philosophical, cultural, cultic, spatial, and religious contexts? What is Ephesians' understanding of Christian existence (Christology, pneumatology, anthropology, ecclesiology)? What is its relationship to Judaism(s)?

1. The Address ἐν Ἐφεσῶ

Of the 615 manuscripts that transmit the Epistle to the Ephesians, the address¹ ἐν Ἐφεσῶ is missing in the *adscriptio* (v. 1b) of five manuscripts (P⁴⁶; the original hand of Codex Sinaiticus \aleph^* , the original version of Vaticanus B^{*}, in the 7th century and 6th/7th century respectively, is supplemented by a different hand in a gloss;² the same is the case in the 13th century minuscule manuscript 6,³ and 10th century manuscript 1739⁴).⁵ Nevertheless, the heading ΠΙΡΟΣ

¹ Numerous older commentaries also list D (06) as having this reading; this, however, is based on an error on Tischendorf's part, as Trobisch has convincingly shown (Trobisch, *Paulusbriefsammlung*, 80 n. 61).

² Aland and Aland, *Der Text des Neuen Testaments*, 109, 117–118, 141. For the dating of the corrections in the manuscripts, see NA²⁸, *Einführung*, 15*.

³ Minuscule 6 is the only witness listed as belonging to category III ("frequently cited witnesses"). All other manuscripts are assigned to category I.

⁴ Parker, *Introduction*, 262; cf. Aland and Aland, *Der Text des Neuen Testaments*, 145, who assign minuscule 1739 to category I with respect to the Epistle to the Ephesians; this manuscript can be considered one of the main witnesses, along with P⁴⁶ P⁴⁹ P⁹² P⁹⁹ \aleph A B C D F G I Ψ 048 082 0278 0285 33 and 1881.

⁵ Some commentaries also mention 424^c (thus NA²⁵). The manuscript, however, contains no gloss (see: <http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/>, accessed June 2024). Cf. Flemming, *Textgeschichte*.

ΕΦΕΣΙΟΥΣ is also found in these manuscripts, though it does not belong to the autograph. In \mathfrak{P}^{46} and the minuscules 6 and 1739, the heading is above the text (*inscriptio*), whereas in \aleph^* and B* ΠΡΟΣ ΕΦΕΣΙΟΥΣ is placed at the end of the letter (*subscriptio*), as is customary in these manuscripts.⁶ In \aleph^* and B* the column title ΠΡΟΣ ΕΦΕΣΙΟΥΣ, appearing on each page, was added later; this may be inferred from the fact that the *inscriptio* and column title are almost faded, while the text is still clearly legible,⁷ showing that the additions were made in less durable ink. On text-critical grounds, the addition of an addressee in v. 1b is easier to justify than its omission, especially since one can assume that the *subscriptio* or *inscriptio* provided a separate reference to the Ephesians.

This observation is also made by the church fathers. Thus, Irenaeus writes in *Adversus haereses* 5.2.3⁸: “This is also what the blessed apostle says in a letter to the Ephesians: members of his body we are, of his flesh and of his bones (Eph 5:30).”⁹ Although Irenaeus refers to a letter to the Ephesians, it remains unclear whether he does this only on the basis of the *subscriptio* and the column title or also because of the *adscriptio* ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. In addition, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ is also found in Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 4.8.64) and Ignatius of Antioch (*Eph.* 12.2), who draw a connection between the household codes – and especially the subordination of women to their husbands – and the “Ephesians.”¹⁰ Even though Ignatius addresses Ephesians, the letter is mentioned rather in passing; one would expect that ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ would specifically apply to the addressees in Ephesus, but this is not the case. Marcion was aware of the letter to the Laodiceans, but he does not mention the letter to the Ephesians.¹¹ Tertullian argues that Marcion changed the title of Ephesians to *Ad Laodiceos*, which would have been possible only if the letter lacked both a title and an address. This assessment is corroborated by Epiphanius, who notes that Marcion lists the Epistle to the Ephesians in his collection of Pauline Epistles as the Epistle to

⁶ According to Trobisch, *Paulusbrieve*, 41–42, it is easier to explain the possibility that scribes “may have taken the address from the title and inserted it into the text at the appropriate place. This can still be seen today in Codex Vaticanus (B 03) and Codex Sinaiticus (\aleph 01): there the address was inserted into the text. In contrast, it is difficult to give a reasonable reason why a scribe should have deleted the address from the text but left the heading unchanged. From this consideration it seems clear that the oldest text form of the Epistle to the Ephesians offered no recipient’s name in the text.”

⁷ Jongkind, *Codex Sinaiticus*, 51–55.

⁸ Cf. Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 5.8.1; 5.14.3 and 5.24.4.

⁹ Brox, *Irenäus*, 35.

¹⁰ Ignatius, *Eph.* 12.2.

¹¹ Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 5.17.1: *Ecclesiae quidem veritate epistolam istam ad Ephesios habemus emissam, non ad Laodiceos; sed Marcion ei titulum aliquando interpolare gestit, quasi et in isto diligentissimus explorator. Nihil autem de titulis interest, cum ad omnes apostolos scripserit, dum ad quosdam.* Cf. Harnack, *Marcion*; Schmid, *Marcion*, esp. 250–259. See in this context also Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 5.11.12, who admittedly refers to 2 Corinthians: *Praetereo hic et de alia epistola quam nos ad Ephesios praescriptam habemus, haeretici vero ad Laodiceos.*

the Laodiceans.¹² The variety of transmitted readings, along with the statements of early church fathers, suggest that the address ἐν Ἐφῆσῳ in 1:1b should only be posited beginning in the middle or end of the 1st century CE.

This assessment raises new questions concerning the grammatical features of the text: if one assumes that the locative ἐν Ἐφῆσῳ was missing in v. 1, then “one would have to assume that the author of Eph had already made a rather massive mistake in the first sentence of his otherwise carefully formulated text,”¹³ since the “substantive participle” of εἶναι requires a “further determination” in addition to the “predicate noun.”¹⁴ This grammatical difficulty has led to numerous speculations, such as that the lack of a letter to the Ephesians was perceived as a gap early on, which was subsequently filled by an author belonging to the Pauline school;¹⁵ others assume that different place names could be inserted into a gap intentionally left after τοῖς οὖσιν, so that the letter had a “catholic character” but could be addressed to a congregation at the same time. It has been argued that the letter was addressed to two addressees, Hierapolis and Laodicea, an interpretation supported by the double address τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσιν καὶ πιστοῖς linked with καί.¹⁶ However, a city named Hierapolis is nowhere attested, so that the thesis is hardly convincing. Early on, Adolf von Harnack argued that the original address was ἐν Λαοδικείῳ (“in Laodicea”), as attested in Col 4:16, a reference which was then taken up in a certain way by Marcion. However, the church had fallen into disrepute at the end of the 1st century (cf. Rev 3:14–22), so that the name of the addressee was erased and replaced by the “Ephesians.” But even this hypothesis is not quite plausible, for this supposed change of addressee has left no trace in any of the manuscripts. Given the depraved syntax, scholars often suggest a “General Letter Hypothesis” in harmonizing Eph 1:1b with the syntax of Pauline letter addresses.¹⁷ In recent times, this thesis has been advocated especially by those who consider Ephesians to depend on Colossians: accordingly, the address is said to be “modelled”¹⁸ on that of Colossians, and the difficulty only arises in light of the *adscriptio* of Philippians, Romans, and 1–2 Corinthians. But here too (as in numerous other passages that are claimed as parallels for Ephesians), numerous changes may be seen in the text of Ephesians:¹⁹ one is the addition of τοῖς οὖσιν to Col 1:2; another is the fact that ἀδελφοῖς is understood as a noun and connected with τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς

¹² Epiphanius, *Pan.* 42.11.8; 42.12.3; 42.13.4. Cf. also Schmid, *Marcion*, 156. For these passages, see Williams, *Panarion*.

¹³ Lindemann, “Bemerkungen zu den Adressaten,” 235.

¹⁴ Sellin, *Epheser*, 68, with reference to BDR § 413.4.

¹⁵ Lindemann, “Bemerkungen zu den Adressaten,” 238–239.

¹⁶ Van Roon, *Authenticity*, 72–85; Dahl, *Ephesians*, 464; see also on “Frühkatholizismus” Smith, *Drudgery Divine*.

¹⁷ Lincoln, *Ephesians*, 3–4; Sellin, *Epheser*, 66–70, and more often.

¹⁸ Sellin, *Epheser*, 68.

¹⁹ See e.g. Van Kooten, *Cosmic Christology*, 195–203.

οὔσιν; at the same time the adjective πιστοῖς (faithful, reliable) is used as a noun: “those who believe in Christ Jesus.” Accordingly, one need not posit a proximity to Col 1:1b, of whatever variety, in order to understand Eph 1:1b.²⁰

When exegetes more recently examine the epistolary form, they often indicate that Ephesians was initiated as a circular letter. The epistolography of circular letters in classical antiquity remains an underexplored topic which is of relevance to the historical interpretation of Ephesians.²¹

J. Albert Harrill elaborates the discussion of the addressees in this volume by arguing that Ephesians is a circular letter distributed in multiple copies.²² He claims that both the fill-in-the blank Circular Letter Hypothesis and the General Letter Hypothesis that claims to be its improvement are red herrings in research on Ephesians. The focus on a blank formulaic address as *the* defining feature of circular letters has diverted attention away from the actual forms (and functions) of genuine circular letters in the extant source material. To break through this impasse, his essay seeks new evidence and tests out new ways to conceptualize the form and function of ancient epistolary texts. Harrill’s methodology focuses more on the social history involved in the diffusion of a common literary culture among discrete reading communities than on the search for textual source-and-derivation. He argues that Ephesians is an instance of, not just a ‘parallel’ to, official correspondence in royal Hellenistic circulars (ἐντολή). The closest parallel to Ephesians identified by Harrill is the royal circular found in the Old Greek version of Dan 4:39, which begins with a true catchall phrase, “to all the nations in their individual places (πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τόπον ἔθνεσι), and to countries and people of all languages which live in all the countries (καὶ χώρας καὶ γλώσσαις πάσαις ταῖς οἰκούσαις) in generation after generation.” Harrill’s thesis proposes a fundamental reinterpretation of Ephesians, placing the text’s epistolary frame at the forefront of our encounter with the letter.

2. Pseudepigraphy and Epistolography

The Letter to the Ephesians is presented as a letter sent from prison by the apostle Paul (Eph 1:1; 3:1; 4:1). Numerous ambiguities regarding the date make it difficult to determine the place of the letter in the chronological sequence. Various arguments are presented in favor of an early date: (1) Paul wrote the letter to the Ephesians during his imprisonment in Ephesus, of which Philemon

²⁰ For parallels in Jewish letters see the examples in Harrill, “Ephesians as a Circular Letter,” ch. 2 in the presented volume.

²¹ Cf. Roller, *Formular*.

²² Cf. Albert Harrill’s article in the present volume (ch. 2), arguing that “in Ephesus” in Eph 1:1 is a later addition.

22 subsequently informs us.²³ Chronologically, this would have occurred roughly in the mid-50s. (2) The letter could go back to Paul's first imprisonment in Rome, which one usually connects with Acts 28:14–31. This would be in the year 60 CE.²⁴ (3) Alternatively, the letter could originate in the second imprisonment, which would have occurred after the one mentioned in Acts, when Paul traveled west and ultimately arrived back in Rome (cf. 1 Clem. 5.7). In this case, the relevant period is 64–68. Two different dates are roughly mentioned as candidates for a later dating, namely the period between 70 and 90 CE²⁵ or alternatively the 2nd century.²⁶

There is no scholarly consensus on the authenticity of the letter,²⁷ yet several features suggest that the text is pseudonymous as it is shown by Thomas J. Bauer and Margaret MacDonald in this volume. The main arguments against Pauline authorship of Ephesians relate to its language, style, and content.

First, there is the use of *hapax legomena* typical of second-century early Christian writings.²⁸ It has recently been argued that, on the one hand, none of the disputed Pauline Letters uses significantly more *hapaxes* than the genuine Pauline Letters and that, on the other, only 1 Timothy shares a significantly high number of *hapaxes* with second century sources.²⁹ The statistical method (linear regression analysis) applied is, however, problematic. Besides, even if the number of *hapaxes* is indeed statistically insignificant, the possibility remains that the use of several of these terms may be best explained as stemming from discourses of the late first or early second century. Accordingly, the use of vocabulary typical of late first to early second century suggests that Ephesians is to be dated after Paul's time.³⁰

²³ White, "Imprisonment"; Wright, *Paul*, 266.

²⁴ Lampe, *Paul*, 47.

²⁵ Cf. Canavan, "Armor, Peace, and Gladiators," 246.

²⁶ Cf. the important works Barth, *Ephesians*, 50–51; Van Kooten, *Cosmic Christology*, 2; Maier, *Picturing Paul*, 3.

²⁷ For an overview of scholarly positions on the authorship of Ephesians put forth between 1519 and 2001, see Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 2–61; Hoehner himself considers the letter authentic. Grindheim, "Deutero-Pauline Mystery," argues that the ecclesiology (including the use of terms like ἐκκλησία, κεφαλή, and μυστήριον) and the view on the apostles in Ephesians (and Colossians) reflect a later stage of development of the genuine Pauline Letters but cannot serve as evidence that the author must have been someone other than Paul. According to Grindheim, these innovations are combined with typical Pauline motifs in order to reapply them in a new context for the purpose of identity formation of the church. More recently, Cohick, *The Letter to the Ephesians*, 3–25, has argued for Pauline authorship of the letter.

²⁸ One of these *hapax legomena* is ἐνότης. In Christian literature, the earliest instances of this word are found in Eph 4:3, 13 and in the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch dating from the second century CE. For recent discussion on the dating of Ignatius' Letters, see esp. Prostmeier, "Ignatius von Rom."

²⁹ Van Nes, "*Hapax Legomena*"; idem, "Pastoral Epistles."

³⁰ There is no reliable historic information about Paul after the year 60.

Second, the style of writing differs from the genuine Pauline Letters.³¹ Generally speaking, there is an excess of genitive constructions.³² Moreover, while the Epistle overall conforms to the form of the Pauline Letters, it deviates from it in important respects. The genuine Pauline Letters are occasional in character: a concrete case or a pressing question prompted their writing (which does not exclude the possibility that Paul took the opportunity to convey his views on fundamental issues). Ephesians, by contrast, reveals no concrete occasion for its composition. Moreover, the sender does not seem to know his addressees (Eph 1:15; 3:2). This is puzzling, because the *adscriptio* (if original) identifies the addressees as Christ-believers “in *Ephesus*,” a city where Paul worked as a missionary for several years (if the information in Acts 19:10; 20:31 is indeed reliable). Finally, Ephesians is a literary construct, a conflation of material found in various (deutero-)Pauline Letters (including Colossians). This suggests that the letter was not written by Paul himself but by a later author familiar with Pauline Letters. Since there must have been an interval between the time of composition and dissemination of the source texts and the time of compilation of Ephesians, this in turn suggests a dating of Ephesians in the later decades of the first century (around 80–90 CE).

Finally, there are major theological differences between Ephesians and the genuine Pauline Letters. A good example is Eph 2:5–6, where the author reveals his belief in realized eschatology by stating that God *has* “made alive” (συνεζωοποίησεν), “saved” (cf. ἐστε σεσωσμένοι), “raised” (συνήγειρεν) the Christ-believers, and also “sat (them) together” (συνεκάθισεν) with Christ.³³ Paul never says this because, for him, it is the resurrection of the dead that is eschatological. Accordingly, he states, for instance, that “we (i. e., baptized believers) *will* live with him (i. e., with Christ)” (συζήσομεν, Rom 6:8) or that “all *will* be made alive” (πάντες ζωοποιηθήσονται, 1 Cor 15:22) and not, as is the case in Ephesians, that God “*has made* us (i. e., Christ-believers) alive with Christ.” Paul’s perspective is linear: at present, baptized believers are dead and buried with Christ, but one day, they will share in his resurrection and be raised from the dead (Rom 6:3–8). By contrast, the perspective of Ephesians is spatial: baptized believers are part of the ἐκκλησία, which is presented as a heavenly as well as an earthly entity (cf. esp. Eph 1:3; 2:6 with, e. g., 4:1–6). The abovementioned differences in language, style, and content cannot be plausibly explained in terms of variation within a single author’s corpus, by reference to Paul’s use of scribes or secretaries, the contextual nature of letters, or other factors. The terminological, stylistic, and content differences comprise a strong argument

³¹ See already Erasmus, *Annotationes*, 413: *Certe stilus tantum dissonat a caeteris Pauli epistolis, ut alterius uideri possit* (“Certainly, the style is so different from Paul’s other letters, that it may appear to be by someone else”).

³² Sellin, “Genitive.”

³³ Similar but not identical: Col 2:12–13; 3:1–2.

against the authenticity of Ephesians. Ephesians is most likely a product of early Christian pseudepigraphy,³⁴ a widespread ancient phenomenon.³⁵ By ascribing his text to Paul, the author of Ephesians places his ideas under the authority of the apostle.³⁶

3. The Letter to the Ephesians in Context: Ephesus, the Metropolis of Asia

For some years now, the discussion of the cults at Ephesus has been high on the agenda. Scholars who consider an early dating possible often locate the recipients in Ephesus or Laodicea.³⁷ The underlying context is certainly the emphasis on the power of God or Christ in Eph 1:15–23, 3:14–21, and 6:10–20, which one has attempted to elucidate through local cults, but especially the cult of Artemis, and their magical practices. Scholars have also often posited a religious uncertainty concerning the proper Christian stance on cults or demonic powers.³⁸

Most publications refer, directly or indirectly, to the 1995 volume *Ephesos: Metropolis of Asia* edited by Helmut Koester. A revised edition of this publication is available in the form of *Religion in Ephesos Reconsidered*,³⁹ a volume which focuses on the setting in which early Christianity operated and aims at providing new archaeological insights. In her contribution to the latter volume, Christine Thomas employs coring and geographical surveys to shed light on the Roman development around the harbor and the *emporion*, where she suspects the “invisible Christians” are to be located.⁴⁰ A third edited volume, *Ephesos as a Religious Center under the Principate*,⁴¹ published in honor of Richard E. Oster and including a similar set of contributors, takes a more direct look at the Letter to the Ephesians: for example, Paul Trebilco, following a new thesis by John Muddiman, discusses Ephesians as a document addressed to Pauline and Johannine Christians in Ephesus. He is particularly interested in Johannine language and images, including realized eschatology, unity, and the church, which – so his argument – influenced the Epistle to the Ephesians, either through direct

³⁴ For examples of early Christian pseudepigrapha, see Thomas Bauer’s article in the present volume (ch. 3).

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Dahl, “Einleitungsfragen,” 48–60, denies the literary authenticity of Ephesians but not its diplomatic authenticity; in other words, the letter was composed not by Paul himself but one of his (Jewish Christian) companions (perhaps Jesus Justus or one of the other men mentioned in Col 4:10–11), either during Paul’s lifetime (around 60 CE) or after his death (around 80 CE).

³⁷ Cf. Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 80–89; for Laodicea see Van Kooten, *Cosmic Christology*.

³⁸ Schnelle, *Theologie*, 544.

³⁹ Schowalter, *Religion*, with further references.

⁴⁰ Thomas, “Invisible ‘Christians.’”

⁴¹ Black, *Ephesos*.

knowledge of John's Gospel and Letters or through oral tradition.⁴² In a fourth edited volume, *Ephesos: Die antike Metropole im Spannungsfeld von Religion und Bildung*,⁴³ Tobias Georges successfully went beyond the universally discussed cults, such as the cult of Artemis,⁴⁴ to treat the Second Sophistic in Ephesus (Flavius Damianos),⁴⁵ medical contexts,⁴⁶ and the religious identity of the Ephesian Jews.⁴⁷

The references to religio-political cults in Ephesus and in the Letter to the Ephesians may be highlighted in terms of three prominent aspects:

The first aspect, which is at the same time connected with the question of political theology, concerns scholarship on the *imperial cults*, which is broadly discussed in the volumes and elsewhere. Nevertheless, no consensus exists in the exegetical research concerning the question of whether Ephesians contains a theological reference to the imperial cult. While cautioning against overstating the imperial cult and attributing ubiquity to it, Simon Price writes that

(i)mperial temples and sanctuaries were extremely common. More than eighty happen to be attested in over sixty cities in Asia Minor, though it is not possible to give a precise figure even for the surviving evidence because of the problems of identification. The emperor also received statues in special rooms off the main square of half a dozen cities and buildings or other honours in various sanctuaries of the traditional gods.⁴⁸

A particular development can be traced in Ephesus: already under Augustus, a double temple was built, adhering to the Greek style and at the same time attempting a reinstatement of the cult for the "Italian" Ephesians; in 27 BCE a statue of Augustus was erected in the double sanctuary; a few years later, an Augustea was erected in the Artemision. It was only under Domitian that a *Neokoros* was inaugurated in Ephesus, a fact also attested by Acts 19:35 (see also *IvE* 647.5–7). Justin Winzenburg writes that "(t)hese imperial cults in Asia Minor projected cosmogonical (origins of the world), cosmological (ordering of time and space), and eschatological (arrival of the pinnacle of history) claims that supported wider Roman imperial ideology."⁴⁹ It has been emphasized that imperial cults were an "inescapable reality for some Christians in Asia Minor,"⁵⁰ a statement which holds true especially in Ephesus. Should we conclude that Christians became more threatened due to this development? Recent research has increasingly emphasized that material and ideological disruptions in imperial cults in Asia

⁴² Trebilco, "Reading Ephesians."

⁴³ Georges, *Ephesos*.

⁴⁴ Kerschner, "Das Artemision von Ephesos," with further references.

⁴⁵ Holder, "Die Zweite Sophistik."

⁴⁶ Nutton, "Rufus von Ephesos."

⁴⁷ Abate, "Spuren der religiösen Identität."

⁴⁸ Price, *Rituals*, 135.

⁴⁹ Winzenburg, *Ephesians and Empire*, 121.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 126.

Minor often did not so much call imperial ideology into question as undermine a network of local cults and responsibilities. Of course, the question of whether the acceptance of the imperial cult had to be publicly displayed – for instance, by pressure to participate in the cults – is controversial, as at any rate Pliny attests in the case of Trajan.⁵¹

In the present volume, Harry O. Maier in his article “Ephesians, Spatiality, Urbanity, and Place Entrepreneurship” studies Ephesians under the aspect of urbanity and spatiality. His approach goes beyond traditional methods of historical criticism. Maier shifts the focus from the historico-critical quest for the “reason” of Ephesians to the author’s creation of a newly imagined (religious) space by using civic language and metaphor. He explores Ephesians from the perspective of social geography, and especially from its concept of “spatiality,” which points at the dynamic relation or interaction between space and social relations. Maier regards Ephesians as an urban text, written in the socio-cultural context of *insulae* in a first-century metropolis in Asia Minor. For the majority of the inhabitants, such urban contexts were anything but ideal living spaces. At the same time, cityscapes were used to promote urban ideals like civic concord (ὁμόνοια or *concordia*). By means of spatial imagination, people can create imagined spaces and imagine themselves as living in these places. Maier applies the concept of “thirdspace” to Ephesians.⁵² In Maier’s view, the author of Ephesians has no means to shape (“secondspace”) the empirical world around him (“firstspace”) but creates instead an alternative, imagined space (“thirdspace”), namely the city of God. Employing Soja’s “trialectics of spatiality,” Maier asks how empirical spaces (here: urban spaces) shape people’s perceptions, concepts, and practices. He sees a reciprocal relation between urban space and religion: religion is affected by the perceptions, concepts, and practices of urban space, and urban space is likewise shaped by the perceptions, concepts, and practices of religion.

The second aspect to be considered concerns various exegetical approaches dealing with the *Artemis cult*: in his book *Ephesians and Artemis*,⁵³ Michael Immendörfer argues that “Ephesians is not a general, non-specific letter, but evinces a distinct, local character” and brings “the text of Ephesians into conversation with the ‘texts’ of ancient Ephesus and the cult of Artemis.”⁵⁴ The fourth chapter of the book is dedicated to the “Artemis Ephesia” in particular, with Immendörfer analyzing the Artemision in relation to the cult status of the deity of a “missionary religion” by comparing cult inscriptions (which he calls “sacrificial

⁵¹ For further instances of accusations and persecutions, see *ibid.*, 124.

⁵² Cf. Soja, *Thirdspace*.

⁵³ Immendörfer, *Ephesians and Artemis*.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 24. Immendörfer notably does claim that Paul wrote the letter, though this claim is not important to his overall argument.

law”) with *hapax legomena* in the Epistle to the Ephesians. He explains these numerous *hapax legomena* by reference to the specific readership in Ephesus, although the question of why this special audience is not also to be posited for the inscriptions remains open. Upon closer inspection of the numerous lexemes, one realizes that these are not so special (like *ναός, ἅγιος, κύριος* etc.)⁵⁵ and can be frequently encountered in other cults; accordingly the question of whether the Artemision is really suitable as a further intertext for the letter must remain open.⁵⁶ Rainer Schwindt, in his book *Das Weltbild des Epheserbriefes*, indirectly establishes a connection with archaeological studies by situating the letter within the framework of the city in order to understand the “zeitlich-räumlich erfassbare Welt.”⁵⁷ Schwindt identifies some similarities between the Letter to the Ephesians and the cult of Artemis. Thus, in Eph 6:12, reference is made to the powers (*τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις*), which can be explained in the context of worship of cosmocrators or planets (*IvE* 504), in which Artemis is interpreted as a superior blessing power. The “fiery darts of evil (*τὰ βέλη τοῦ πονηροῦ [τὰ] πεπτρωμένα*)” in Eph 6:16 may likewise be explained against the background of an Apollo oracle, though Eph 1:20 is merely suggestive in this respect.⁵⁸ Schwindt’s arguments are impressive and are elaborated in several articles published in the volumes mentioned above.

The third aspect under consideration consists in Norbert Zimmermann’s new insights into *domestic religion*,⁵⁹ which reveal facets of domestic religion which are not as standardized as the *lararia* in Pompeii. He points to painted and sculpted images, niches in which statuettes of deities, altars and *thymiateria* can be found, as well as to domestic shrines with various deities and the *agathos daimon*. Further studies of these insights are still a desideratum in the literature.

Thus, past research on Ephesus and Ephesians, though in many cases quite advanced, has nevertheless faced certain limitations. According to Troels Engberg-Pedersen’s paper in this volume, the worldview of Ephesians can be sufficiently understood from Paul’s letters. This means that the puzzling aspects of Ephesians are to be explained, first and foremost, by reference to the genuine Pauline Letters.

⁵⁵ See *ibid.*, 333–393 (with further references).

⁵⁶ For late antique housing structures of Christian domestic cult, see Fugger, “Early Christian Domestic Cult.”

⁵⁷ Schwindt, *Weltbild*, 511.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 127, 371–372, 377–392 (with further references).

⁵⁹ Zimmermann, “Archaeological Evidence.”

Index of Ancient Sources

Old Testament

<p>Genesis</p> <p>1-2 240n153</p> <p>1:1 301</p> <p>1:10 93</p> <p>1:26-27 172n42, 230, 240</p> <p>1:27 201</p> <p>2:2-3 228n88</p> <p>2:7 201</p> <p>2:23-24 17n86</p> <p>2:24 17, 45, 74</p> <p>12:1-3 351n8</p> <p>17 217, 220, 224</p> <p>17:4-5 217</p> <p>17:7 217</p> <p>17:13 217, 220</p> <p>18:17-18 42</p> <p>18:18 360</p> <p>Exodus</p> <p>3:14 95</p> <p>20:12 17</p> <p>24:6-8 36-37</p> <p>31-34 223n54</p> <p>31:13-17 228n88</p> <p>Leviticus</p> <p>12:3 219</p> <p>16:14-16 37</p> <p>17:11 36</p> <p>18:5 351n8</p> <p>19:15 397n46</p> <p>26:11-12 248n206</p> <p>Numbers</p> <p>24:16 195n27</p> <p>Deuteronomy</p> <p>4:26 197n31</p> <p>5:12-15 228n88</p> <p>5:16 17</p> <p>7:6-9 224</p> <p>9-10 223n54</p> <p>10:17 397n46</p>	<p>16:19 397n46</p> <p>26:15 303</p> <p>27-28 351n8</p> <p>30 221</p> <p>30:6 221</p> <p>30:10 221</p> <p>1 Samuel</p> <p>24:22 35</p> <p>1 Kings</p> <p>6:16 30n169</p> <p>8:41-43 236n126</p> <p>1 Chronicles</p> <p>29:4 24</p> <p>2 Chronicles</p> <p>6:1 24</p> <p>29:31 203n61</p> <p>Ezra</p> <p>6:21 235n123</p> <p>Esther</p> <p>9:20-32 89</p> <p>9:20 236n130</p> <p>Job</p> <p>1:6-2:10 309n68</p> <p>1:6-12 299n23</p> <p>Psalms</p> <p>2:4 303</p> <p>4:5 18</p> <p>8:7 17, 305, 305n52, 327</p> <p>13:4 191n3</p> <p>19:9 191n3</p> <p>51:12 361n50</p> <p>68 18, 18n96, 337</p> <p>68:15 300</p> <p>68:19 17-18, 73-74, 306</p> <p>72:19 226n67</p>
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89:13	201n50	31	222–223
110:1	17, 67, 228n84, 305	32:40	222n52
118:10	195n27		
118:22	248n201	Ezekiel	
119	243n172	6:11–12	236n130
148:14	236n130	11	223n54
		11:19–20	222
Proverbs		11:20	222
4:1–4	82	36	223n54
7:3	223n54	36:26–27	222
		36:26	361n50
Ecclesiastes		36:27	222
1:2	198n36	44	227n76
		44:7	221
Isaiah		44:9	221
1:13–14	228n87	45:19	24
11:2	65		
11:4–5	17	Daniel	
28	55	9:7	236n130
28:16	55	10:13	299n23, 309n68
29:13	229, 229n92	10:20	299n23, 309n68
33:13	236n130		
42:6	218n25, 218n27	Hosea	
49:6	218n25, 218n27	2:13	228n87
52:1	218n28	2:25	223n55
52:7	308n59		
56:6	223, 228n88	Habakkuk	
57:19	17, 74, 236n130	2:4	351, 352n15
59:17–19	308n59		
		Malachi	
Jeremiah		1:7	203n61
29:4–23	89	8:3	203n61

Septuagint

Genesis		Exodus	
1:1 (Aq.)	201n50	2:22	245n186
1:27	216, 240	3:14	94–95
1:27 (Aq.)	201n50	4:24–26	261n33
1:27 (Sym.)	201n50	12:45	245n186
1:27 (Theod.)	201n50	15:17	54, 204, 226n65
2:7	207n74	18:3	245n186
2:24	17, 19	19:6	245n188
3:22	240n152	20:12	17, 19n108
12:3	35, 351	22:30	245n188
15:3	245n186	24:12	243n172
15:6	351	26:33	205
17:11	217n21	40:34–35	211, 226n66
17:13	217, 217n20		
17:14	217n21, 221n46	Leviticus	
18:18	351	1:3	203, 203n61
23:4	245n186	3:3	203

4:14	203	6:15	409n46
10:19	203n61	6:16	30n169
16:2	206n70	6:18	205n70
16:12	205n70, 206n70	6:22	206n70
16:15	206n70	8:10–11	226n66
18:5	351, 351n9	8:10	211
19:21	203n61	8:13 [A]	54
19:34	247n193	8:13	226n65
20:26	245n188	8:27	226n65
22:10	245n186	8:36	211
25:23	245n186	8:39	226n65
26:1	232n106	8:43	226n65
26:11–12	248, 248n205	8:49	226n65
26:30	232n106	8:51	211
26:41	221	8:53	211
		16:2	198
		16:13	198
Numbers		4 Kingdoms	
3:10	205n70	1:13	202n57
12:7	247n198	17:13	243n172
14:21	226n67	1 Chronicles	
15:40	245n188	23:31	228n87
25:6	203n61	28:8	49n237
27:5	203n61	29:15	245n186
		29:20	202, 202n554
Deuteronomy		2 Chronicles	
5:16	17, 19n108	2:3	228n87
6:5	221	4:4	206n70
7:6	246n188	5:13–14	226n66
7:7	246n191	6:30	226n65
10:16	221	6:33	226n65
14:2	246n188	6:39	226n65
14:21	246n188	14:3	243n172
17:11	191n3	29:16	206n70
21:23	351	29:18	206n70
23:2–4	49n237	30:27	226n65
23:9	49n237	31:3	228n87
24:15	19	Job	
26:19	246n188	33:24	200n46
27:26	351n9	Psalms	
28:9	246n188	4:5	17, 19
29:1	221	4:5a	18
30:6	221	4:5b	18
30:10	243n172	8:7	17n89, 285
Joshua		12:3–5	194n25
22:5	243n172	12:4	191n3
1 Kingdoms		15:3	246n188
24:22	35	17:13	47, 195
3 Kingdoms			
2:3	243n172		
6:10	409, 409n46		

18:8-9	194	28:16	55, 248, 248n201, 248n203
18:9	191n3	29:13	251n217
28:1	93	31:7	232n106
32:14	226n65	40:26 (Sym.)	201n50
33:10	246n188	40: 26 (Theod.)	201n50
40:2	308n60	41:20 (Sym.)	201n50
48:6	308n60	42:7	191n3
50:3	227n78	43:7 (Sym.)	201n50
50:12 (Aq.)	201n50	44:3	352n11
51:12	361n50	44:22	227n78
67:15	300	45:7	237n132
67:17	226	45:23	202n54, 202n55
67:19	16-18, 306	46:6	232n106
71:19	226n67	52:7	17n89, 237, 237n131, 237n136, 245n182
73:22	226n65	53:5	237n131
75:3	54, 226n65	55:3	222n52
88:13 (Theod.)	201n50	56:3-7	247n193
102	206	56:7	223
109:1	17n89	56:8	223
117:22	248n201	57:9	17n89
118	243n172	57:19	236-237
118:19	245n186	59:17	17n89
118:54	245n186	59:20	234n114
119:5	245n186	60:4	236n130
132:13-14	226n65	60:9	236n130
135:21	226n65	62:12	246n188
Proverbs		63:7	204
1:2	171n34	63:15	204
3:19	171n34, 191n4	65:2	234n114
8:1	191n4	65:17	238n139
10:23	171n34	66:1	249n213
28:4	267	66:18	223
Isaiah		66:22	223, 238n139
2:2-4	223	Jeremiah	
2:3	223	4:4	221
2:18	232n106	9:25	221, 232
5:5	242n168	10:12	171n34, 191n4
5:26	236n126	10:25	233n112
6:1	226n66	14:8	245n186
6:3	226n67	17:17	308n60
8:18	226n65	23:24	226n68, 329n23
9:5-6	237n131	31:31	234n114
10:11	232n106	31:33	222, 234n114
10:22	234n114	31:38 (Aq.)	201n50
11:4-5	17n89	38	222
16:12	232n106	38:31	222
17:24	249n213	38:33	222
19:1	232n106	39:40	222n52
21:9	232n106		
27:5	238n145		

Ezekiel		Hosea	
10:4	226n66	2:1	223n55
11:20	222		
34:25	237n131	Joel	
36–37	249	4:17	226n65
37	249	4:21	226n65
37:25	249n207		
37:26–28	249n207	Micah	
37:26	222n52, 237n131, 249	2:5	49n237
37:27	226n65, 249	4:1–4	223
37:28	249	4:2	223
40:1–43:12	211	5:4	237n131
43:5	211, 226n66		
43:7	226n65	Nahum	
43:9	226n65	2:1	237n136, 245n182
44:4	211, 226n66		
44:9	221n48, 243n170	Habakkuk	
44:17	206n70	2:4	351, 351n9
45:17	228n87	2:14	226n67
47:22	245n186		
48:16–17	211	Haggai	
		2:7	226n66
Daniel			
2:21	171n34	Zechariah	
3:29	243n172	2:14	226n65
5:4	232n106	2:15	223
5:23	232n106	6:15	249
6:28	232n106	8:3	226n65
7:10	227n79	8:16	17, 17n91, 19–20, 287
7:18	246n188	9:10	237n131
7:21–22	246n188		
7:25	246n188	Malachi	
7:27	246n188	2:10	178, 233n107
8:24	246n188		
12:7	246n188		
34b (OG)	109n94, 114		

Deuterocanonical Works

Tobit		Additions to Esther	
5:3	227	4:17u	233n111
9:2[8]	227	16:1	108
9:5	227		
12:12	203n61	Wisdom of Solomon	
12:15	246n188	1:7	226n67
		3:18	233n112
Judith		5:15–23	308n59
5:9	245n186	5:18–19	17n89
8:6	228n87	7:22–24	178n9
8:18	232n106	7:24	178n9, 242n164
		8:1	242n164

9:8	226n65	44:19	217
9:17–18	65	45:5	243n172
13:1	198, 198n36	45:17	191n3, 233n109, 243n172
13:10	233n112		
14:8	232n106	Baruch	
14:22	198n40	4:12–13	243n172
15:6	233n112		
15:8	198n36	1 Maccabees	
15:10	233n112	1:15	222n51
16:6	243n172	1:46	246n188
18:9	246n188	2:7	233n111
18:15	17n89	4:36	206
18:22	233n109	4:48	206
19:10	245n186	10:34	228n87
19:14–15	233n111		
		2 Maccabees	
Sirach		3:22	203n61
14:18	37	3:39	39n207, 300
16:8	245n186	6:4	24
17:6	195	8:15	233n109
17:8	47, 195	13:14	234n119, 244n178, 258n19
23:17	226n74		
24:4	226n65	1 Esdras	
24:8	226n65	1:18	203n61
31:20	203n61	5:51	228n87
34:13–14	233n112	8:7	243n172
41:5	245n186		
44:12	233n109		

Old Testament Pseudepigrapha

Apocryphon of Moses		82:4–20	228n86
37.5	64	102:5	226n74
Apocalypse of Zephaniah		2 Enoch	
3:5	227n79	4–6	228n86
4:2	227n79	7	64
4:11–12	227n79	16:7	228n86
		19:4	228n88
2 Baruch		19:5	227n79
78.1–86.2	89		
1 Enoch		3 Enoch	
14:9	243n170	work	69n37
50:1	246n188, 246n191		
60:11–22	228n86	4 Ezra	
62:8	246n188, 246n191	8:44	43n217
69:21–22	228n86		
75:1–3	228n86	Joseph and Aseneth	
78–80	228n88	8:9	43n217, 240n157, 361n50
80:6	228n86	15:5	43n217, 240n157, 361n50
		20:7	240n157
		27:10	240n157

Jubilees		1:18	171n34
work	219–220	5:11	226n64
1:14	228n87	5:22	226n64
1:23	221n49	7:9	226n64
2:2	228n86	7:21	226n64
2:9	228n88	10:2	227n81
2:17–33	228n88	17:9	234n119, 258n19
4:17–18	228n88		
15	222, 224	Psalms of Solomon	
15:25	220	17:17	245n186
15:28	220		
15:33–34	220	Sibyline Oracles	
24:11	243n172	3.32	233n113
50:6–13	228n88	5.309	233n113
		8.395	233n113
Pseudo-Philo			
<i>Liber Antiquitatum biblicarum</i>		Testament of Benjamin	
11.2	191n3	10.3	20, 243n172
23.10	191n3		
Letter of Aristeas		Testament of Dan	
139	29, 242n169, 267	5.1	243n172
142	29, 243n169, 267	5.2	20
		Testament of Levi	
3 Maccabees		2.3	243n170
1:3	227n81, 268		
2:1	202	Testament of Naphtali	
2:6	246n188	3.1	379n34
2:15	226n65	8.7	243n172
6:28	300		
7:1–9	108n92	Testament of Zebulun	
7:6	300	8.1	180
7:19	245n186	8.3	180
		8.5–6	180
4 Maccabees			
1:1	226n64		

New Testament

Matthew		14:24	36
6:14–15	227n75	14:58	232n106, 249n213
21:33	267	14:62	305n51
22:36	243n172	16:8	384n55
		16:19	305n51
Mark		Luke	
2:23–3:6	228n88	2:1	227n81
6:3	122	2:14	203
7	229	2:41	414n69
7:1–23	270	22:1	414n69
7:7	229n92, 251n217	22:41	202n55
11:25	227n75		
12:10	248n201		

John		19:39	24
2:21	249n213	19:29	60, 132
3:12	297, 301	20:4	60, 132–134
4:23–24	249n213	20:26	202n55
11:13	414n69	20:31	117
13:1	414n69	21	24, 214n11
		21:18–26	141
Acts		21:21	224n58
1:23	133	21:24	224n58
2:32–33	17	21:26	224n58
2:38	414n69	21:27–28	24
2:39	236n126	21:28	243n170
3:2	25, 25n142	21:29	134
3:10	25	21:30	25, 25n141
3:19	227n78	21:31	25
4:2	200	21:32	25
4:11	248n201	21:35	25
7:6	245n186	22:28	234n118
7:8	217	27:2	60, 132
7:29	245n186	28:14–31	5
7:48–49	249n213	30:31	6
7:48	232n106		
7:51	221n47	Romans	
7:60	202n55	<i>adscriptio</i>	3
8:23	409	1:7	127, 245n188
8:24	203n58	1:8–12	128
9:40	202n55	1:8–10	325
10:36	237n136	1:13	194n17
11:3	216n19	1:16	229n94
12:25	133	1:17	352n15
13:17	245n186	1:20	194n16
14:15	198	1:28	194n16, 194n19, 207n74
15	214n11	2	213, 217, 222–223, 225
15:5	216n19	2:4	194n17
15:13–21	141	2:9–10	218n24, 229n94
15:23–29	89	2:12–29	228n83
15:37	133	2:13	218
15:39	133	2:14–15	222–223
16:4	227n81	2:14	219n33, 262n43
16:14	153	2:17–18	219n37
16:20	203n61	2:17	218n26
17:7	227n81	2:18	219
17:16–34	22n127	2:19	218n27
17:24	232n106	2:20	194n18
18:3	153	2:21	218n27
18:7	133	2:25–29	31, 217
18:12–17	121	2:25	218, 227n75
19:9	22n127	2:26	218n33, 219, 222
19:10	6, 117	2:27–29	220
19:29	60	2:27	218–219, 227n75
19:32	24	2:28–29	220, 225, 232
19:35	8	2:29	221–222, 244n178
19:39–40	24	3:1	218n24

3:2	74	7:25c(?)	262n43
3:9	218	8:1-3	228n83
3:20	194n19	8:1-2	290
3:21	219n38	8:2(?)	262n43
3:21b	262n43	8:3	237
3:22	352n15	8:11	40, 319, 326
3:23	218n31	8:14-17	246
3:24	276n13, 277	8:15	203
3:25	37n200, 236n127	8:20	197n34
3:26	352n15	8:23	324
3:29-30	224, 233	8:24	119
3:31	76, 224, 224n60, 244, 271n89, 271n94	8:29-30	75
4	224	8:34	305
4:11-12	224	9:3	233n110
4:15	227n75	9:4	233n109
4:15b	262n43	9:5	178n6
4:19	194n16	9:6	235
4:25	227n75	9:22-23	194n24
5	238	9:24-25	223n55
5:1-2	238	9:24	224
5:2	203n60, 239n149	9:26	223n55, 246n190
5:9	236n127, 239	9:27	234n114
5:10	36, 259n22	9:30	194n22
5:12-21	17n86, 43, 240	9:31	224n61, 234n114
5:13	228n83	9:33	55
5:15-18	227n75	10:1	203n58
5:20	227n75, 228n83, 239	10:2	194n19
6	119, 227n76	10:3	194n17
6:1-23	314	10:11	55
6:3-8	6	10:12	229n94
6:3-4	281	10:15	237n136
6:3	194n17	10:19	234n114
6:4	227	10:21	234n114
6:6	230, 230n96, 240n151, 339	11:1	214n10
6:8	6, 227n77	11:11-12	227n75
6:11	290	11:13	214
6:19-23	236n125	11:17-32	63
7	207n74, 243n172	11:25-26	234n114
7:1-2	262n43	11:25	194n17, 247, 247n195
7:1	194n17	11:26	247n195
7:6	220n44, 244	11:28	239n146, 259n22
7:8-13	243n172	11:33	194n18
7:12-16	219n35	11:34	194n16
7:12	244, 251n216	12	51
7:14-16	201n47	12:1	178n6
7:14	244	12:2	194n16
7:16	244	12:3	412
7:21	262n43	12:4-5	52, 226n71
7:22	174, 205	12:5	119, 241n161, 284, 290, 290n75-76
7:23	194n16	13	11
7:25	194n16	13:8-10	384n57
		13:9	302n35

13:12	308n59	3:9	247
14	228n85	3:10	248n200
14:3	228n85	3:11	55, 248
14:5–6	228n86	3:12	248n200
14:5	194n16	3:14	248n200
14:11	202n554	3:16–17	362
14:13	228n85	3:16	248, 408n41
14:17	228, 228n86	3:17	248
15:13	233n112	3:19	191n4
15:14	194n18	3:20	194n23, 198n35
15:30–32	129	4:16	178n6
16:1–23	139	4:17	130
16:3	277	4:19	194n23
16:13	279	5:9	121
16:22	120	6:14	119
16:25–26	74	6:15	226n71
16:26	194n24	6:19	248n205, 362
		7:1	121
1 Corinthians		7:12–16	82
<i>adscriptio</i>	3	7:19	219, 229n94
1:1	126	7:20	178n6
1:2	127, 139, 245n188	7:22	277
1:4–9	128	7:40	194n16
1:4	277	8–11	228n85
1:5	194n18	8:1	194n18
1:10	194n16, 375n20	8:2	194n16, 194n23
1:13	38	8:3	194n23
1:17	191n4	8:6	178n6, 233n107
1:19	191n4	8:7	194n18, 226n73
1:20–21	191n4	8:10	194n18
1:21	194n23	8:11	194n18
1:24	191n4, 224n60, 229n94	9:1–2	126
1:26	178n6	9:13–15:18	153
1:27–28	239n148	9:20–21	271n94
1:28	92, 94	9:24	194n22
1:29	94	10:1	194n17
1:30	191n4, 281, 290	10:12	194n16
2:1	191n4	10:16	236n127
2:4–6	191n4	10:17	226n71, 241n161
2:4	41, 323	10:18	234n114, 235
2:7–16	319	11:3	53–54, 342, 344
2:7–10	74	11:10	246n188
2:7–8	40	11:11	342n43
2:7	75, 191n4, 319	11:16	194n16
2:8	194n23, 319	11:25	36, 236n127
2:11	194n23	12	241n162, 284, 290n75,
2:13	191n4		362n56
2:14	194n23	12:1–13	41, 328
2:16	194n23	12:1	194n17
2:26	194n16	12:3	194n24
3	247	12:4–11	337
3:6–7	249n211	12:4–7	178n6
3:9–17	54, 155, 247	12:8	191n4, 194n18

12:12–31	41, 51–54, 328	2 Corinthians	
12:12–27	119, 226n71	<i>adscriptio</i>	3
12:12–13	241n161, 290n75	1:1	126–127, 139, 245n188,
12:13	178n6, 229–230, 242		404n5
12:22–23	194n16	1:3–7	128
12:27	290, 290n75–76	1:3	325
12:28	247n199	1:8–11	129
13:2	194n18	1:8	194n17
13:8	194n18	1:12	191n4
13:9	194n23	1:21–22	280
13:12	194n23	1:22	324, 355n22, 414n69
14	69	2:4	121, 194n23
14:6	194n18	2:9	194n23
14:9	194n23	2:11	194n17
14:14–15	194n16	2:14	72, 194n18
14:19	194n16	2:15	414n69
14:21	262n43	3	223n54
14:23–25	377n26	3:2–3	223n54
14:37	194n16	3:2	194n23
14:38	194n17	3:3	223n54
15	40, 319	3:6–18	244n177
15:1	194n24	3:6	220n44
15:3–4	352n15	3:7	234n114
15:8–11	61	3:13	234n114
15:8–10	126	3:15	262n43
15:17	198n35	3:17	41, 328n21
15:19	277	4:2	375n19
15:20–28	305, 314	4:6	194n18
15:20–22	17n86	4:16	205
15:22	6, 276n13, 305n53	5	239
15:23–28	53	5:2–5	339, 345
15:24–28	35, 305	5:5	324, 355n22
15:24	36, 305n52	5:16	194n23
15:27	17n89, 305n52, 327	5:17–19	238n139
15:32	118n3	5:17	276n13, 281, 339
15:40	39n208, 301–302,	5:18	239
	306n56	5:19	227n75, 239
15:44	336	5:20	62, 239
15:45–49	17n86, 43, 240	5:21	194n23
15:45	201n51	5:27	290
15:47–49	301–302	6:6–7	375n19
15:47–48	302	6:6	194n18
15:48–49	39n208, 301	6:9	194n17
15:48	301	6:11	383n54
15:49	301	6:14–7:1	71n44
15:50	37, 308n62	6:14	271n94
16:8	118n3	6:16	248, 248n205
16:10–11	130	8:1	194n24
16:19	139, 404n5	8:6	130
16:21	125	8:7	194n18
16:24	124	8:9	194n23
		8:16	130
		8:18	404n5

10:5	194n18	3:4	357
10:9–10	135	3:5	351, 355
10:9	194n16	3:6	351
10:10	121	3:7	351
11:6	194n18	3:8	357
11:9	178n6	3:9	351
11:16	194n16	3:10–14	361n51
12:1–10	64	3:10–13	351
12:2–4	303n45	3:10–12	357
12:2	64	3:10	194n23
12:4	64	3:10b	351n9
12:7	38	3:11	352n15
12:11–19	64	3:11a	351
12:18	130	3:11b	351, 351n9
12:19	194n16	3:12a	351
13:6	194n23	3:12b	351n9
13:11	375n20	3:13–14	354
13:13b	124	3:13	351–352
		3:13a–b	351
Galatians		3:14	21, 41n211, 42, 224n62, 334, 349–355, 358n40
1:1	126		
1:2	127, 139, 404n5	3:14a	350
1:6–9	355n25	3:14b	350
1:8	365	3:17	224n62
1:11	194n24	3:20b	357
1:12	23, 68	3:22	352n15
1:13–14	214n10	3:23	353
1:15–17	126	3:26–4:7	246
1:16	308n62	3:26–28	41n211, 290n75, 357
1:19	141	3:26–27	281
1:22	194n17	3:26	290
2	214n11	3:27–28	358
2:2	194n16	3:27	230, 281, 345, 364
2:6	141, 194n16	3:28	21, 31, 216, 229, 230n98, 240, 290, 349, 349n1, 352, 354, 354n20, 358, 358n38, 361, 395
2:9	141, 194n16, 194n23		
2:10	178n6	3:29	224n62
2:12	141	4:3	352
2:14	214, 355	4:4	41, 324, 356n33
2:15–16	352	4:5	194n23
2:15	218	4:6	203
2:16–21	350, 361n51	4:8–9	236n125
2:16c	352n15	4:8	233n112
2:16e	352n15	4:9	228n86
2:17	218	4:10	228n86
2:18–21	357n34	4:12–20	130
2:19	38, 194n23, 357	4:16	375n19
2:20	38, 352n15, 354, 357	4:21b	262n43
2:21	354	5:3	218n23
2:22	194n23	5:5	358n36
3–4	224	5:6	219n36, 229n94, 354, 354n20, 358, 358n37, 364
3	349		
3:2	351		
3:3	220n43, 355		

5:10	276n13	1:4	36, 39, 119, 173n47,
5:13–26	339		201, 246n191, 276–277,
5:13	342		279–281, 285n61, 304,
5:16	281, 357, 358n36		320–322, 353–354
5:19–21	358n36	1:4a	353
5:22–23	358n36	1:5–11	239
5:22	358n36	1:5	39, 158, 233n109, 246,
6:1	227n75, 375n20		279, 304, 320–321, 353,
6:3	194n16		360n47
6:11	96, 126	1:5a	353
6:15	21, 219n36, 229n94,	1:5b	353
	238n139, 339, 349,	1:6–7	15, 118, 170, 187, 279,
	352, 357–358, 361n51,		354, 392
	364–365	1:6	119, 276–277, 279–281,
6:16	234n114, 247		292, 321, 353–354
		1:6b	353
Ephesians		1:7–14	321
1–4	339	1:7–12	278n22
1–3	21, 41, 118, 320, 335–336,	1:7	33, 36–37, 169, 173n47,
	393		227n75, 236n127,
1:1–2:13	253		239n149, 276–277,
1	173, 329–330, 332		279–281, 321, 353
1:1–2	59, 59n9, 118, 173n47,	1:7b	353
	392	1:8–10	118, 306
1:1	3–4, 4n22, 57, 117,	1:8–9	15, 168–169
	117n3, 126, 165, 177, 187,	1:8	67, 170, 191n4, 194n20
	245n188, 262, 276–277,	1:9–10	64n21, 119, 167, 304
	278n20, 332, 354n21, 408	1:9	39, 67, 194n24, 276,
1:1b	3–4, 87–88, 90–95,		276n6, 279–280, 320,
	97–100, 114		322–323, 353–354
1:2	187, 292	1:9a	353
1:3–3:21	59, 392	1:9b	353
1:3–23	117n3	1:10–11	33
1:3–14	11, 39, 41, 75, 119,	1:10	33, 38–39, 51, 65–67, 75,
	128–129, 236, 256n8, 278,		118–119, 237n137, 239,
	278n21–22, 284–285, 289,		282n45, 297, 302n35, 310,
	291, 304, 320–325, 349,		315, 323–324, 328, 353,
	392, 398		355, 356n33, 357n33, 384
1:3–13	362	1:10 [Vg.]	295n1
1:3–12	321, 353, 356	1:10a	279
1:3–4	304	1:10b	276, 276nn5–7, 280–281,
1:3	6, 21, 33, 39, 41n211, 42,		301
	68, 119, 245n185, 255n7,	1:10c	276, 276n6, 280–281
	276–281, 282n44, 292,	1:11–16	342
	295–297, 301, 304, 313,	1:11–14	408n39
	317, 321–324, 349–350,	1:11–12	235, 354
	350n3, 353–356, 358n40,	1:11	39, 246, 276, 276n5,
	360, 363, 385n58, 392		280–281, 304, 320–321,
	295, 304, 350, 357		324, 353
1:3b		1:11b–c	353
1:4–14	295	1:11b	353
1:4–13	292	1:11c	353
1:4–11	39	1:12–14	74
1:4–6	278n22, 320		

1:12	33, 38, 276–277, 280, 321, 353		296–297, 301, 304, 306, 312–314, 317, 326–328, 330–331, 345
1:13–14	23–24, 69, 278n22, 322–323, 330, 334, 357, 360, 360n48	1:21–23 1:21–22	53, 399n53 119, 228n84, 307
1:13	21, 33, 40, 41n211, 42, 118, 173n47, 235, 280–281, 289, 321–323, 326, 349–350, 353–356, 358n40, 363–364	1:21 1:22–23	68n33, 165n10, 285, 305n52, 306, 311, 327, 333 40–41, 119, 186–187, 226n73, 282–283, 285, 288–289, 317, 330, 333, 338, 341–342, 344, 362n55, 398, 407
1:13a–b	353		
1:13a	276–277, 280–281		
1:13d	276, 276n5, 280–281		
1:14	246, 246n188, 291, 322, 324	1:22	17n89, 35, 49, 53, 167, 188, 282n47, 285, 292, 305n52, 311, 325n13, 327, 354, 397n46, 400n65, 403
1:15–23	7, 35, 59, 68, 119, 159, 211n82, 285, 322, 325–329	1:22a	327
1:15–20	291	1:22b–23	327
1:15–16	118, 128, 237, 325	1:22b	327–328, 328n20
1:15	6, 117, 173n47, 191, 246n188, 276–277, 281	1:23	45, 52, 65, 169, 173n47, 226n73, 239n150, 241, 249n207, 285, 338
1:16–19	320		
1:16–17	325	1:23b	41, 328–329
1:16	320, 325n14	1:24	291
1:17–23	129	2	26, 38, 198, 211, 230–231, 236n128, 236n130, 237–239, 244, 247n195, 249, 322, 330, 332
1:17–19	187, 191–192		
1:17–18	23, 46, 385		
1:17	69, 171, 173, 191, 191n4, 194n19, 203, 245n185, 256n11, 292, 320, 325, 328, 334	2:1–22 2:1–10	322, 329–332, 336, 392n19 12, 26, 68, 119, 128, 272, 322, 360n44
1:18–23	336	2:11–22	85, 230–231, 322
1:18–19	325, 327–328	2:1–7	378
1:18	68–69, 158, 165, 173, 194n16, 194n21, 234, 246, 246n188, 280, 291, 320, 325–326, 334, 336	2:1–3 2:1–2	306, 312, 315, 330, 408n39 26n155, 331, 360n44, 393n19
1:19–22a	331	2:1	227nn75–76, 240n157, 281, 322, 331, 361
1:19–20	285		
1:19	119, 173n47, 210, 281, 291, 325–326	2:2–3 2:2	23, 71 40, 165n10, 285n62, 312, 317, 330–331, 333, 378
1:20–23	17, 23, 51, 68, 73, 158, 320, 325, 327, 327n17, 392n19	2:3–12 2:3–7	354 26n155
1:20–22	281, 305	2:3	187, 194n16, 289, 360n44, 378
1:20–22a	327		
1:20–21	313, 328	2:4–10	119, 360n44, 409
1:20b–23	35, 327	2:4–6	40, 119, 317
1:20	10, 17n89, 33, 38–39, 41, 68, 68n34, 118, 276–277, 278n24, 281, 282n45,	2:4–5 2:4 2:5–8	281 279n26 392

2:5–6	6, 41, 73, 178n6, 281, 306, 312–313, 385	2:13	12, 26, 36–38, 236, 238, 243n170, 245, 260–261,
2:5	26n155, 38, 173n47, 187, 227nn75–76, 240, 279, 305n52, 322, 324n11, 330–331, 361–362		261n33, 264, 276–277, 279, 281, 283, 285, 289, 292, 354, 359n42, 362, 393n19
2:6–7	281n39, 305	2:13b	281
2:6	6, 23, 39, 68–69, 73, 156, 165, 227n76, 276n3, 277–278, 282n44, 292, 296–298, 304, 306, 306n56, 308, 309n65, 313–314, 331, 340, 359, 362	2:13c	281
		2:14–19	27, 158
2:7–8	173n47, 187, 227n76	2:14–18	11, 13, 177n4, 238n141, 239, 258–259, 271
2:7	69, 256n11, 276n3, 277, 292, 314n83	2:14–17	237, 283, 392
2:8–9	26n155, 359, 360n44	2:14–16	26n155, 27, 36, 45, 253–256, 262, 283n52, 393n19
2:8	279, 281, 324n11, 330, 359n41	2:14–15	238, 243, 258–259, 267, 285, 292, 365, 397
2:9	354, 359n41	2:14–15a	12
2:10	26n155, 43, 201, 228, 240, 276n3, 277–278, 281, 285n61–62, 289, 291–292, 314, 354, 359, 361	2:14	11, 24, 29–30, 37–38, 43–44, 119, 158, 204, 237–239, 242, 247, 259–261, 263, 265–266, 270m87, 281, 283, 359n42, 360–362, 398
		2:14a	265
2:11–3:13	395	2:15–16	43, 239, 289, 302n35
2:11–22	11–13, 21–23, 26, 31, 45, 63, 74–76, 78, 81n78, 84, 160, 165, 202, 213, 231, 235n124, 281, 289, 291, 357, 359, 408n39	2:15	21, 30, 41n211, 44–45, 76, 90n16, 160, 201n51, 228, 233n109, 237–238, 240, 243–244, 253–254, 259, 261–262, 267, 269–271, 276–278, 281, 285–286, 292, 338n36, 339n37, 349, 354, 358, 360–263, 394
2:11–18	261	2:15a	31, 359n41
2:11–14	258	2:15b–16	36
2:11–13	26n155, 44, 257–260	2:16	21n124, 35, 37–38, 44, 77, 160, 186, 188, 228, 235–238, 241, 246, 258–261, 276, 282–283, 285–286, 288–289, 292–293, 359nn41–42, 360n46, 362
2:11–12	64n21, 254–262, 282		281
2:11	74, 231–233, 238, 255n6, 261n33, 270, 321, 354, 358–359	2:17–18	258
2:12–19	393n19	2:17	26n155, 74, 160, 236–239, 245, 259, 264, 283, 285, 291, 359n42, 393n19
2:12	23, 26, 31, 42–44, 71, 76–77, 160, 165–166, 173n47, 233–134, 236, 245, 254–255, 260, 269, 269n75, 281, 283, 315, 354, 359–360, 363, 365	2:16a	23, 30, 69, 265
		2:17–18	176, 232
2:12b	30n171, 265	2:18	21, 26n155, 42, 203, 203n60, 237, 239, 242, 243n170, 245, 245n183,
2:12c	265		
2:13–22	350	2:18–22	
2:13–19	103	2:18–19	
2:13–18	76		
2:13–17	17, 17n89		
2:13–16	73		

	246n190, 247, 259–261,	3:7–9	66
	264, 281, 283, 285,	3:7–8	187, 283, 392
	360–361	3:7	62, 332
2:19–22	13, 26n155, 42, 45, 73,	3:8–13	75
	76–77, 155, 202, 257–260,	3:8–11	371
	292, 360n46, 361, 389,	3:8–10	307
	393n19, 394, 408–410	3:8	28, 61–62, 332–333
2:19	27, 50, 76, 83, 85, 160,	3:9–12	62
	165–166, 187–188,	3:9–10	68, 119
	233n111, 245, 247–248,	3:9	66–68, 118, 172n40,
	260, 272, 330, 360n46,		191n3, 194n23, 201n51,
	361, 397		283, 333
2:20–22	155, 243n170, 247, 287,	3:10	39, 49, 68, 188, 191n4,
	331, 360n46		194n24, 282n47, 296–297,
2:20–21	167		307, 313, 333, 399n53
2:20	70, 70n41, 77n63, 83, 245,	3:10 [Vg.]	295n1
	248, 248n203, 331	3:11–12	289, 361
2:21–22	248, 289, 331	3:11	276n11, 277, 333
2:21	33, 42, 54, 78, 187, 228,	3:12	42, 47, 173n47, 203n60,
	248–249, 286–287,		239n149, 245, 276–277,
	330–331, 338, 398		279, 281, 289, 292, 361,
2:21a	276, 276n5		371
2:21b	276, 276n4	3:13–14	85
2:22	27, 54, 77, 211, 242,	3:13	61–62, 233n109
	248–249, 276–277, 279,	3:14–21	7, 46, 332–333, 335,
	281, 330, 332, 365, 398		409
3–4	363	3:14–19	45, 203–205, 320
3	202, 332, 335	3:14–16	325
3:1–21	332–335	3:14–15	84–85, 158, 232, 389
3:1–13	61–62, 118, 283	3:14	45, 85n89, 187, 202,
3:1–11	23		245n185, 291, 320, 332
3:1–2	187	3:15–19	202
3:1	4, 11, 28, 61–62, 85n89,	3:15	39, 204, 291, 297, 301,
	129, 332, 335, 399n53,		333, 399n53
	408n39	3:16–21	333
3:2–9	246n192	3:16–19	204, 334
3:2–3	64	3:16–18	325
3:2	6, 62, 66, 117, 118, 283,	3:16–17	173–174
	332–333, 392	3:16	23, 69, 187, 204, 207,
3:3–11	118		209–212, 320, 325, 332,
3:3–10	67, 169n28		334, 363
3:3–4	67, 283	3:17–19	332
3:3	62, 194n24, 332	3:17	173, 173n47, 194n21, 249,
3:4	61–62, 194n16, 332–333		334, 398
3:5–6	67, 307, 398	3:18–19	311
3:5	23, 68–70, 70n41, 83, 85,	3:18	194n22, 320, 334
	194n24, 247n199, 283,	3:19	65, 194n18, 211n82,
	291, 332		226n73, 249n208, 320,
3:6	28, 31, 35, 52, 74, 186,		325, 334
	246, 269, 272, 276, 276n3,	3:19a	311
	282–283, 283n51–52,	3:19b	335
	286, 288–289, 293, 333,	3:20–21	187
	362–363	3:20	194n16, 328n20, 334

3:21	35, 49, 85, 167, 188, 276n3, 282n47	4:10–12	313
4–6	21, 41, 118, 291, 335–336	4:10–11	302
4–5	52	4:10	39, 65, 297, 303–304, 337
4	249, 336–339, 410	4:11–16	119, 376, 404, 409
4:1–6:20	59, 392	4:11–13	73
4:1–6:9	52	4:11–12	83, 306
4:1–5:33	380	4:11	23, 70, 70n41, 247n199, 286–287, 413
4:1–5:21	47, 369–378, 370–371, 374, 377, 383, 396	4:12–16	398, 410
4:1–5:20	407n30	4:12–13	337–338
4:1–16	21, 179, 286–287	4:12	45, 52, 54, 186, 239n150, 249, 282, 287–289, 337–338, 362n55, 363, 375, 409–410, 413
4:1–6	6, 16, 177, 178n6, 370n7, 395	4:13–16	395
4:1	4, 33, 61–62, 129, 187, 276n4, 277, 287, 289, 292, 335–336, 371, 385n58, 393, 393n19, 399n53	4:13–14	23
4:2	370–371, 377–378, 380, 382–383	4:13	5n28, 15, 45, 48, 55, 63, 65, 173, 173n47, 177, 177n4, 185–188, 194n19, 240n158, 249n208, 281, 286–287, 338, 359n41, 363n60, 372–373, 375–376, 412–413, 415
4:3–6	71, 73, 158, 283, 292, 379	4:14	62–63, 69, 287, 379–381, 385, 413
4:3–4	23, 41, 69, 245	4:15–16	52, 119, 186, 248n204, 282, 289, 337–338, 362n55, 394, 406–407, 410
4:3	5n28, 15–16, 42, 177, 177n4, 179, 185–388, 242, 286–287, 336, 370, 392, 409	4:15	48, 55, 187, 240n158, 285–286, 288–289, 325n13, 337–338, 354, 370, 373–376, 383, 388, 403, 405–406, 413, 415–416
4:4–6	11, 179, 409	4:16	45, 52, 55, 187, 239n150, 249, 287–289, 337–338, 407, 410, 412, 414–415
4:4	54, 173, 177n4, 180, 186–188, 239n150, 242, 280, 282, 286, 288–289, 292, 336–337, 362n55, 363	4:17–5:20	23, 71
4:5	173n47, 281, 337, 363	4:17–5:17	71
4:6	13, 74n53, 226n73, 232, 245n185, 286, 337, 363, 398	4:17–24	196–97
4:6a	16, 178	4:17–19	197, 312, 315, 393n19, 408n39
4:6b	16, 178	4:17	28, 194n16, 197, 197n31, 197n333, 276n4, 282n45, 292, 312, 385n58, 393
4:7–16	47, 55, 379, 404, 409, 409n43, 412, 416	4:17a	197
4:7–13	338n36	4:17b	197
4:7–11	337	4:18	194n16, 194n17, 194n21, 235n123, 378
4:7–10	409	4:19	378
4:7–8	286	4:20–24	197, 338–339, 361n51
4:7	55, 173n47, 187, 306, 337–338, 412–413, 415	4:20–21	364
4:8–10	11, 17, 81n77, 158, 305–306, 399n53		
4:8	15, 17–18, 73–74, 305, 337		
4:9–10	17n95		
4:9	303, 303n44		
4:10–13	398		

4:20	276n6	5:13–14	340
4:21	33, 364	5:13	377, 383
4:21a	276n6	5:14–18	17
4:21b	276n9	5:14	15, 17n89, 340, 340n39,
4:22	187, 197, 240n151, 339,		377, 385
	364, 393n19	5:15–6:9	393
4:22–24	118, 312	5:15–21	370n7, 393
4:23–24	393n19	5:15–20	393
4:23	194n16, 197, 339, 361n50	5:15	197n33, 292, 385, 393
4:24	19, 41n211, 172n42, 187,	5:16	370n7
	201n51, 238, 240, 339,	5:18–21	370, 398
	350, 357–358, 363–364,	5:18–19	23, 68–70
	394	5:18	17n89, 53, 65, 249n208,
4:25–5:5	48, 379		340, 340n39, 380, 393,
4:25–5:2	17		399
4:25	17n91, 19–20, 52, 282,	5:19	194n21, 339, 370
	284, 287–289, 372,	5:20	245n185, 340, 370,
	374–376, 383, 393		371n13
4:26–27	378, 382	5:21–6:9	53, 78, 150, 158, 390,
4:26	18, 377–378, 382		393–394
4:26a	18	5:21–33	47–48, 78, 81n78, 85, 288,
4:27	377		341–344, 390, 392–395,
4:28	19, 382, 385n58		400
4:29	187, 383, 398	5:21–27	393n20
4:30	23, 53, 69, 177n4, 393	5:21–24	230n98
4:31	187, 382n47	5:21	255n7, 341–343, 370, 383,
4:32–5:2	393, 398		393, 397, 397n46, 399
4:32	33, 53, 118, 187, 255n7,	5:22–6:9	370, 379
	276n8, 277, 289, 292, 368,	5:22–33	48, 79n72, 367–370, 372,
	393		377, 379, 383–388
5	26n151, 342, 392	5:22–24	118
5:1–2	53, 393	5:22	288, 341–343, 367, 369,
5:1	246		371, 383, 393–394
5:2	36, 38, 197n33, 292, 354,	5:23–33	118
	354n21	5:23–25	32, 49, 188, 282n47
5:3–20	339–341	5:23–24	384
5:3	339	5:23	17n86, 52, 54, 186–187,
5:4	339, 380		239n150, 282, 285,
5:5	194n23, 399n53		288–289, 292, 325n13,
5:6–14	48, 377, 379, 385		341, 362n55, 374n18,
5:6–9	75		397n46, 403–404, 407
5:6–7	340	5:24–25	167
5:6	23, 62–63, 71, 187, 312,	5:24	288, 386, 397n46, 400
	378–379	5:25–33	343, 343n44
5:7–8	159	5:25–27	36, 531, 79, 279n26, 343
5:8	33, 197n31, 197n33, 198,	5:25–26	397n46
	276n4, 277, 292, 312, 340,	5:25	36, 53, 288, 341, 343, 354,
	408n39		354n21, 393, 397, 400
5:9	292	5:26	385–386
5:11–14	159	5:27	36, 49, 188, 282n47, 343,
5:11–13	374		386, 387n61, 388
5:11	340, 377, 383	5:28–33	393n20
5:12	339	5:28–29	343, 368

5:28	288, 341–343, 397	6:19–20	13, 47, 62, 371, 385n58
5:29–32	45	6:19	67, 75, 169n28, 194n24,
5:29–31	74		276n6, 346, 383n54
5:29–30	288–289	6:20	74, 129, 159, 276n6,
5:29	17n86, 49, 188, 282n47,		399n53
	288, 343, 386, 397n46	6:21–24	59, 392
5:30	2, 52, 186, 239n150, 282,	6:21–22	57, 60, 118, 130
	284, 287–289, 362n55	6:21	33, 60, 133, 173n47,
5:31	17, 17n86, 19		194n24, 276n4, 277, 289,
5:32	19, 49, 67, 78, 169n28,		395
	188, 282n47, 385n58,	6:22	194n21, 194n23
	398–399	6:23	124, 173n47, 245n185
5:33	288, 342–343, 369, 378,	6:24	124, 187, 385
	383, 397n46	6:32	255n7
6	344–346		
6:1–4	23, 70, 83, 85	Philippians	
6:1–3	118	<i>adscriptio</i>	3
6:1	19n108, 33, 276n4, 277,	1:1	126–127, 245n188
	397n46	1:3–11	128
6:2–4	81	1:7	129
6:2–3	17, 19, 19n108, 31	1:9	194n19
6:2	90n16, 269, 269n75,	1:17	129
	271n89, 397n46	1:26	277
6:2b	19	1:27	242n163, 336n30
6:4	82, 84, 118, 378–379,	2:3–4	342
	382n51, 388n67	2:5	276n14
6:5–8	118	2:10	39n208, 202n554, 297,
6:5	194n21, 301, 383, 384n55,		301
	394, 397n46	2:19	130
6:9	39, 118, 297, 301, 379	2:23	130
6:9b	397n46	2:25	130, 130n65
6:9c	393	2:28	130
6:10–20	7, 23, 71, 165n10, 285n62,	3:1	277
	308, 333n25, 344	3:3	218n32, 220n43
6:10–17	17, 17n89, 21, 73, 129,	3:4	194n16
	308n59, 313	3:5–11	61
6:10	33, 119, 276n4, 277, 344	3:5	214n10, 218n32
6:11–12	308	3:8	194n18
6:11	308n63, 309, 344, 377	3:9	276n13, 290, 352n15
6:12	10–11, 39–40, 68, 68n33,	3:10–12	119
	119, 296–297, 297n10,	3:12–13	194n22
	299n23, 308, 308n63, 313,	3:20	167, 246n188
	315, 317, 345, 393n19,	4:7	194n16
	399n53	4:13	276n13, 277n16
6:13	308n60, 345	4:18	130n65
6:14–17	309, 315, 345		
6:14	345	Colossians	
6:15	237n136, 392	1–2	21, 118
6:16	10, 173n47, 309, 313, 345	1:3–23	128
6:17–18	23, 69	1:1–4	79
6:17	346, 385n58	1:1–2	118, 278n20
6:18–20	129, 346	1:1	59, 65–66, 126, 229
6:18	53, 119, 346, 393	1:1b	4

1:2	3, 88, 127, 245n188	2	213, 225, 227n76, 228n89, 244
1:2a	99		
1:3–8	119	2:1–3	58
1:3	118	2:1	60, 139
1:4–5	178n6	2:2–14	119
1:5	118–119	2:2–3	66–67
1:6	65, 249n211	2:2	65, 67, 118–119, 194n19, 194n21
1:7–8	60, 130, 139		
1:7	131n66, 132, 139n80	2:3	65, 171, 191n4, 194n18, 229n92
1:8	65n27, 69, 132, 407		
1:9–11	119	2:4	63, 228n89
1:9–10	194n19	2:5	229n92
1:9	65, 67, 119, 169n25, 191n4, 229	2:7	248n200
		2:8–3:4	21
1:10	65, 249n211	2:8–23	62–63
1:12–20	129	2:8–9	229n92
1:12	246, 280n36	2:8	63, 65, 164, 170, 226, 228n89, 229, 229n92
1:13–14	36, 118		
1:13	119, 279n28	2:9–17	225
1:14–20	280n35	2:9–13	31, 240
1:14	227n75, 239n149	2:9–10	211n82
1:15–20	75, 119, 237n134	2:9	226, 249, 329n22
1:16	228n84	2:10	226, 291
1:16a	277	2:11–22	37n201
1:16f	277	2:11–12	37n201
1:17	235n123	2:11	225, 228, 230, 230n96, 232, 261n33
1:18	52, 119, 226n71, 284, 328n20	2:12–13	6n33, 119, 227n75
1:19	65, 226, 329n22	2:12	118–119, 178n6, 225, 227, 362n53
1:20–21	77		
1:20	21n124, 36, 37n201, 227, 235, 236n127, 237–238, 269, 302n35	2:13	227, 229n92, 240, 240n157
		2:14–15	72
1:21–23	128	2:14	227, 227n79, 228n83, 243, 243n173, 269, 270n85
1:21–22	236n125		
1:21	194n16, 199n39, 233n111, 235, 235n123, 259n22	2:15	119
		2:16–23	23, 65–66, 79
1:22	21n124, 36, 37n201, 119, 226n74, 235, 238, 238n142	2:16	75, 228, 228n89
		2:17	31, 226n71, 240
		2:18	64–65, 79, 194n16, 228n86, 228n89
1:23–29	61		
1:23–28	118	2:19	31, 52, 52n257, 119, 226n71, 240, 241n162, 249, 284, 405, 407, 409
1:23	248n200		
1:24–29	119		
1:24	61–62, 226n71	2:20–21	228n82
1:25–27	118, 246n192	2:20	227, 228n86, 243, 270n85
1:25	66, 118	2:22	229, 251n217
1:26–28	66	2:23	65, 191n4
1:26–27	66, 236	3–4	21, 118
1:26	67	3	230
1:27	66, 119, 194n24, 229, 234	3:1–17	407n30
1:28	45, 63, 65, 191n4	3:1–13	62
2–3	298	3:1–4	66–67, 69

3:1–2	6n33, 119, 227, 228n82	4:12–13	132
3:1	17n89, 73, 118, 305, 362n53	4:12	60, 132, 229
3:3–4	23n136, 69	4:13	139
3:4	67–68	4:13b	131n69
3:5–4:1	79	4:15–16	60
3:5–11	119	4:15	58, 79, 85
3:5	228n82, 237n135	4:15b	133
3:8	380	4:16	3, 121, 135, 139
3:9–10	118	4:17	130
3:9	230, 240n151	4:18	62, 124, 129
3:10–11	241, 358n40	1 Thessalonians	
3:10	19, 65, 172n42, 194n19, 230, 238, 240	1:1	126–127
3:11	31, 228–229, 229n94, 230n98, 240, 358n40	1:2–10	128
3:12	246n191	1:2–3	325
3:12b–15	178n6	2:9	153
3:14–15	179	2:12	178n6, 336n30
3:14	177n3, 409	2:13–14	128
3:15–16	194n21	3:2	130
3:15	226n71, 238, 240–241	3:5	130, 194n23
3:16	70, 191n4, 249n210	3:10	375n20
3:18–4:1	53, 78, 80, 175, 390, 393, 394n21	4:1–2	130
3:18–19	344	4:1	276n14
3:18	118, 230n98	4:13–5:11	125
3:19	118	4:13	71, 194n17, 233n112
3:20	118	4:14	352n15
3:21	82, 118	4:16	119
3:22–25	118	5:7–8	308n59
3:22	194n21	5:8	17n89
3:24	80	5:12–24	129
3:27	240	5:25	129
4:1	118	5:27	135
4:2–6	165n10	2 Thessalonians	
4:2–4	129	1:1	126–127
4:3–4	118	1:3	128
4:3	62, 129	1:11	178n6
4:5–6	71, 78, 130, 377	2:1–12	125
4:5	17n89, 65, 191n4	2:2	123n32, 125, 135
4:6	396	2:13	128
4:7–9	60	3:1–2	129
4:7–8	57, 118, 130	3:6–12	130
4:7	133, 194n24	3:17	96, 135
4:8	194n21, 194n23	3:17a	125
4:9	130, 194n24	3:17b	125
4:10–15	130	1 Timothy	
4:10	60, 62	1	251n216
4:10a	132–133	1:1	126
4:10b	133	1:3	118n3, 397
4:11	251n215	1:8	251n216
4:11b	133	1:10–11	251n216
		1:15	270

1:20	138	6	194n19
2:8–15	390	9	129, 178n6
3:15	85	10	129, 131
4:3	397	13	129
5:1–2	390	19	96, 132
5:18	270	22	129
6:1–2	390	23–24	131, 139
6:13	270	23	132
6:20	22n127		
		Hebrews	
2 Timothy		1:3	305
1:1	126	3:1	301
1:3–5	128	3:6	247n197
1:5	81, 83, 138	4:14	303n45
1:6	138	7:7	239n148
1:8	129, 133, 178n6	7:16	268n68
1:12	22n127, 133	8:1	305, 305n51
1:14	22n127	8:8	234n114
1:15	138	8:10	234n114
1:16	129	9:11	232n106
1:18	118n3	9:19	243n172
2:9	129	9:23	297
2:12	270	9:24	232n106
2:17	138	10:1	228
3:15	81, 83–84	10:19–20	238n142
3:16	84	11:22	234n114
4:6–8	133	13:21	375n20
4:10–12	133		
4:10	134	James	
4:12	60, 118n3, 130, 133, 135, 137	1:26	198n35
4:14	138	2:14–26	141
4:16–18	133	3:2	372n14
4:18	301		
4:19	138–139	1 Peter	
		1:1	58
Titus		1:3	128
1:3	127	1:17	245n186
1:4	127	1:18	198n35
1:10	251	2:2–4	55n265
1:13	251	2:4–6	55
1:14	229, 251	2:5	85, 248n205
2:1–3:8	390	2:6–7	248n201
2:3–5	83	2:10	223n55
3:9	198n35	2:11	245n186
3:12	60, 130, 133, 137–138	2:13–3:7	390
		3:1–3	82
Philemon		3:4	205
1–2	131	3:15	396
1	126, 129, 178n6	3:18	203n61
2	131	3:22	305, 305n51
4–7	128	4:17	85
		5:10	375n20

2 Peter		Revelation	
2:6	414n69	1:4	58
2:18	197n34	3:14–22	3
3:1	141	12:12	303n45
3:13	238n139	18:11–13	72
3:15–16	58	20:12	227n79
		21:1	238n139

Greco-Roman Authors

Aelius Aristides		Apollonius of Tyana	
<i>Orations</i>		<i>Epistle</i>	
23–24	157n41	58.1	183
26.36	271	58.2	183
26.66	271	58.3	178n9
26.103	271	Appian	
48	99	<i>Bella civilia</i>	
<i>Sacred Tales</i>		100n63	
2	99	Aristophanes	
Aeschines		<i>Acharnenses</i>	
<i>De falsa legatione</i>		285	51n247
	368n2	<i>Ecclesiazusae</i>	
Aetius		493	29n165
<i>De placita philosophorum</i>		<i>Lysistrata</i>	
1	170n30	578–584	229n93
Alcmaeon of Croton		<i>Pax</i>	
DK 24 A 15	51	1063	51n247
Andocides		<i>Plutus</i>	
<i>De Mysteriis</i>		1051–1052	387n64
1.45	29n163	Aristotle	
Andronicus Rhodius		<i>De generatione animalium</i>	
[<i>De passionibus</i>]		780a19–21	387n62
9.2	382n47	[<i>De mundo</i>]	
Antiphon		396a14	52n259
<i>Peri homonoias</i>		397b33	178n9
work	157n41	399b	193n12
Apollodorus of Damascus		<i>De partibus animalium</i>	
<i>Polioretica</i>		667b31	181
167.5–6	180	<i>Ethica nicomachea</i>	
		6.2.1138b35–1139a1	169n29
		6.6.1141a4	51n250
		6.7	169n29

- 6.13 169n29
 6.13.1143b 192n10
 6.13.1144a28–31 172
 6.13.1144b8–13 192n10
 10.7–8 170n32
 1128a4–1128b9 380n38
- Historia animalium*
 638a10–638b37 386n60
- Metaphysica*
 987b 14–17 198
 1018a7–8 181
 1018a7 179
 1023b36 179, 181
 1054b3 179, 181
- Physica*
 222a17–19 181
 222a19 179
- Politica*
 1302b34–40 241n162
 1253b1–14 78n65
 1261a–b 229n93
 1279a37–1279b9 234n117
- [*Problemata*]
 889a20 205n68
- Artemidorus Daldianus
- Oneirocritica*
 1.2 51n248
 1.35 51n248
 3.66 51n248
- Athenaeus
- Deipnosophistae*
 5.197e 100n63
 7.14 263
 10.444e–445a 381n40
- Augustus
- Res gestae*
 12–13 237n132
 25–26 237n132
 35 237n132
- Cassius Dio
- Roman History*
 65.6 29, 264
- Chrysippus
- Fragmenta moralia*
 268.9–10 385n58
- SVF*
 3.299.4 45n228
- Cicero
- De finibus*
 3.64 (*SVF* 3.333) 166n17
- De legibus*
 2.11 269n80
- De officiis*
 3.5.22–23 241n162
- De republica*
 3.33 269n80
- In Catalinam*
 1.5 266n61
 1.33 266n61
- In Pisonem*
 16.3 267
- Orationes philippicae*
 13.2 271
- Post reditum in senatu*
 4 267
- Pro Balbo*
 41 271
- Tusculanae disputationes*
 1.28.70 193n14
- Cleanthes
- Hymn to Zeus*
 12–13 178n9
 14 178n9
- Corpus hermeticum
 4.11 173n45
 7.1 173n45
- Corpus Hippocraticum
- Aphorismi*
 6.36 205n68
 7.48 205n68
- De fracturis*
 14 205n68
- De locis in homine*
 1.1–3 201n48

<i>De natura ossium</i>		39.2	158
9	205n68	39.8	158
		41.10	158
Curtius Rufus		41.13	158
10.9.2	241n162	57	99
10.9.4	241n162	77.17	45n228
Demades		<i>Tarsica prior</i>	
		7	375n19
<i>On the Twelve Years</i>		10–11	377n28
18		13–14	379n35
Demetrius		<i>Trojana</i>	
		27	375n19
<i>Formae epistolicae</i>		Diodorus Siculus	
11	384n57	<i>Bibliotheca historica</i>	
Demosthenes		4.51.1–2	387n64
<i>Adversus Leptinem</i>		13.55	266
2052	29n164	15.6.4	382n47
<i>Contra Pantaenetum</i>		20.84.2	245n186
55	368n2	Diogenes Laertius	
<i>Epitaphius</i>		<i>Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers</i>	
26	375n19	6.63	166n17
3 <i>Olynthiaca</i>		7.33	166n17
3	368n2	7.87–88	168n23
2 <i>Philippica</i>		7.147	14n74
31–32	375n19	7.159	51n253
4 <i>Philippica</i>		Diogenes of Sinope	
53	368n2	<i>fragment</i>	
Didymus		11–14	166n17
<i>Liber de philosophorum sectis</i>		Dionysius of Halicarnassus	
64.2.20–22	385n58	<i>Antiquitates romanae</i>	
Dio Chrysostum		6.86	241n162
<i>Ad Alexandrinos</i>		9.53.6–7	381n44
6–7	368n2	11.31.4	270n86
<i>Ad Diodorum</i>		Epictetus	
4–5	368n2	<i>Diatribai</i>	
<i>De regno iii</i>		1.4.31	193
2	375n19	1.6.19–20	193
<i>Gratitudo</i>		1.22	100n63
10–11	388n67	2.9.17–18	381n42
<i>Orations</i>		2.10.7	83n83
38–41	157n41	3.15.10.1–15.13.5	205n69
38.11	157–158	3.21.22	381
38.15	158	3.22.93	381n42

Epicurus		Herodotus	
<i>Letter to Herodotus</i>		<i>Historiae</i>	
52.7–10	182	1.6	206n71
Euripides		3.24	203n61
<i>Hippolytus</i>		3.29	51n246
199	409n47	5.72.3	264n51
<i>Iphigenia aulidensis</i>		8.47	206n71
37	383n55	8.65	50n244
<i>Medea</i>		9.99	51n246
228–229	35	Homer	
<i>Troades</i>		<i>Iliad</i>	
50	266	4.162	50n244
Galen		7.102	34
<i>SVF</i>		17.242	50n244
2.416	242n164	18.82	51n245
<i>De marcore liber</i>		<i>Odyssey</i>	
7.672.12–14	387n62	2.237	50n244
<i>De propriorum animi cuiuslibet affectuum dignotione et curatione</i>		Hyperides	
5.8.6–5.9.2	375	<i>Eux.</i>	
5.10.2–5	377n28	44	206n71
5.12.2–8	371n13	Isocrates	
5.13.7–9	384n55	<i>Ad Nicoclem</i>	
5.14.2	373n16	3	368n2
5.14.9–5.15.2	373	<i>Antidosis</i>	
5.14.10	373n16	43	375n19
5.14.12	373n16	<i>Epistle</i>	
5.21.2	373n15	3	157n41
5.21.4	373n16	4.3–6	368n2
5.23.4	373n16	8	157n41
5.24.11–5.25.2	374	9	157n41
5.24.11	373n16	<i>Oration</i>	
5.30.1	371n13	4	157n41
5.30.5–8	373	<i>Panathenaicus</i>	
5.30.6–7	373n16	96	383n54
5.35.1–8	373n17	Josephus	
5.36.6–11	368n4, 371n13, 374	<i>Antiquitates judaicae</i>	
<i>De remediis</i>		2.8.2 (119)	226n64
14.313	51n254	2.73	271
<i>Definitiones medicae</i>		4.260–263	85n89
19.461.7–8	375n20	8.71 (233–236)	242n167
Golden Verses		8.71 (236)	242n167
51	178n9	8.71	264n54
61	178n8	14.306–322	112
		14.313	112

- 15.136 227n81, 268
 15.417 29, 264
 16.162–165 112n109
 18.1.2 (9) 226n64
 18.1.2 (11) 226n64
 18.1.6 (23) 226n64
 19.286–319 112n110
- Bellum judaicum*
 1.42 268
 2.2.5 (28) 225n63
 2.8.9 (147) 228n88
 2.411 24
 5.5.2 243n170
 5.187 25
 5.194 29, 264
 5.201 25
 5.238–247 25
 5.242 25
 5.565 24
 6.124 29, 264
 6.151 25
 6.248 24
 6.299 24
- Contra Apionem*
 1.42 227n81
 2.103 29, 264
 2.148 233n113
 2.171–172 84
 2.173–174 84n87
- Juvenal
Satires
 6.550–564 61n14
- Livy
Ab urbe condita
 2.32 44n223
 2.32.9–12 241n162
 36.7.12 271
- Ps.-Longinus
De sublimitate
 11.3.3 183
- Lucian
Alexander
 47 384n57
 61 370n10
Calumniae non temere credendum
 9 375n19, 377n30, 382n50
- De morte Peregrini*
 18 61n14
- Demonax*
 7 382n47, 382n49
- Deorum concilium*
 2 377n29
- Hermotimus*
 81 178n9
- Philopseudes*
 20.21 193n12
- Quomodo historia conscribenda sit*
 41 383n55
- Vera historia*
 1.21 266
- Vitarum auctio*
 8 377n26
- Marcus Aurelius
Meditations (Τὰ εἰς ἑαυτόν)
 1.16.4 45n228
 2.1 241n162
 2.16 166n17
 6.44 166n17
 15 193n13
 11.15 383n53
- Musonius Rufus
Dissertationum a Lucio digestarum reliquiae
 9.86–117 383n55
- Orphic Hymn
Orphica fragmenta
 168 240n155
- Ovid
Fasti
 1.247–252 271n93
 5.431–432 82n81
Metamorphoses
 1.89–93 271n93
- Philo
De cherubim
 18 246n189
 120–121 246n189

<i>De confusione linguarum</i>		2.192	237n132
77–78	246n188	3.2	173n44
136	226n69	4.70	246n189
190	225n63		
409	100n61		
<i>De congressu eruditionis gratia</i>		<i>De virtutibus</i>	
12.61	51n249	108	234
		186	267
		219	100n62, 234n119
<i>De decalogo</i>		<i>De vita contemplativa</i>	
168–169	384	26	226n64
174	385	40–47	380n39
<i>De fuga et inventione</i>		<i>De vita Mosis</i>	
68–72	46	1.35	246n189
68	46	2.216	226n64
72	46		
<i>De gigantibus</i>		<i>Legatio ad Gaium</i>	
22–27	65	143–151	255
52	227n81	143	255
		147	237n132
<i>De migratione Abrahami</i>		156	226n64
39	195n29	194	234
89–94	222	212	29, 264
119	195n29	245	226n64
208	202n53	315–316	112n109
220	179, 240n155	<i>Legum allegoriae</i>	
<i>De mutatione nominum</i>		1.54–55	43n219
223	226n64	1.54	37n201
<i>De opificio mundi</i>		1.55	227n81
33	237n132	1.63	170n30
142–143	166n19	3.4	178n9
		3.104	43n219
<i>De plantatione</i>		<i>Quaestiones et solutiones in Exodum</i>	
7	240n155	2.2	246n189
55	246n189	2.29	43n219
<i>De posteritate Caini</i>		2.29.46	37n201
12	246n189	2.46	43n219
135	246n189	<i>Quis rerum divinarum heres sit</i>	
<i>De praemiis et poenis</i>		206	237n132
81	170	<i>Quod deterius potiori insidari solet</i>	
<i>De somniis</i>		110	381n45
1.113	195n29		
<i>De specialibus legibus</i>		Philodemus	
1.14	178n8	<i>De libertate dicendi</i>	
1.20	195	2	382n48
1.51	234n119	7	382n47
1.54	195n29	12	383n53
1.269	227n81	14–15	376n23
1.304–305	221n49	28	376n23
1.314	234n119, 244n179	30	382n47
1.345	233n113	36	377n27

38	383n53	508c	192n10
40	372n14	509d–511e	174, 198
41	376n23	518b7–d1	172
44	376n23	519b	192n11
46	372n14, 386n59	519b3	192n10
50–51	382n52	527d–e	192n11
50	376n23	527d8	192n10
53	377n27	533d2	172
54	376n23	540a7	192n10
56	372n14	556e	241n162
61	377n27	588–589	207–208
70	376n24	588b–589d	174
80	376n23	589a	46
<i>De pietate</i>		598a7–b1	206n72
8.209–219	182	604c	381n41
12.321–333	182	613b1	172n42
13.347–349	182	<i>Sophista</i>	
13.354–360	182	254a–b	193n11
Philolaus of Croton		<i>Symposium</i>	
DK 44 B 13	51	204a	170n31
Plato		219a	193n11
<i>Alcibiades</i>		219a2	192n10
132b–133c	172, 192n11	<i>Theaetetus</i>	
133c1–2	172	176b1–3	172n42
[<i>Definitiones</i>]		176b3	172n42
415c	268n71	<i>Timaeus</i>	
<i>Euthydemus</i>		25c	206n71
283e	51n247	31b	240n155
<i>Gorgias</i>		32a	240n155
505d	51n250	32c	240n155
507b	202n53	39d	51n250
[<i>Minos</i>]		44d	415n76
314d–e	268n70	69b	51n250
<i>Phaedrus</i>		90a–d	168n23
245c–e	208n77	Plotinus	
246a	207n73	<i>Enneades</i>	
264a	51n247	6.1.26	183
<i>Philebus</i>		Plutarch	
66d	51n250	<i>Aemilius Paullus</i>	
<i>Politicus</i>		13.3	203n60
286a	100n60	<i>Alexander</i>	
<i>Protagoras</i>		7.2	375n19
313d–314d	381n41	<i>Amatorius</i>	
<i>Respublica</i>		769f3–770a2	184
423b–d	229n93	<i>An seni respublica gerenda sit</i>	
462c–e	241n162	789d–e	387n63

<i>Cimon</i>		559a6	187
10.1	263n48	559a7	186
		559a8	15, 186
<i>Conjugalia Praecepta</i>		559a11–12	187
work	47	559b1–5	186
139e–f	384n56	559b2	187
142	367	559b3	187
142d	384n56	559b4	187
145d–e	368	559b5–7	186
145e–f	388n66	559b6	187
<i>Consolatio ad uxorem</i>		559b7–c3	186
608c	388n67	559b9	187
		559b10	187
<i>De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute</i>		559c4–8	186
329a–b	245n187	559c7–8	187
		559c8–11	186
<i>De amicorum multitudine</i>		559c12–d1	186
95a6, a9–b2	184		
95a8	181	<i>De Stoicorum repugnantiis</i>	
95a9–10	181	1051c	166n19
<i>De capienda ex inimicis utilitate</i>		<i>De superstitione</i>	
89c	377n29	234n113	
<i>De cohibenda ira</i>		<i>Marcus Coriolanus</i>	
453b–c	370n10	4.2	266
454a–456d	382n47	6	241n162
455b	370n10	<i>Moralia</i>	
457b	378n31	328b	271
<i>De communibus notitiis contra stoicos</i>		329c–d	271
1085c9–10	183	538c	266
1085c9–d5	185	1026c2	178n9
1085c12–d2	183	<i>Numa</i>	
<i>De defectu oraculorum</i>		8.7	193n14
416e6–8	184	<i>Pericles</i>	
424e5–6	184	9.2	263n48
<i>De garrulitate</i>		<i>Philopoemen</i>	
504b	380n38	8.3.6	241n162
<i>De latenter vivendo</i>		<i>Phocion</i>	
1128d–e	371n12	2.1–3	368n2
<i>De profectibus</i>		<i>Praecepta gerendae rei publicae</i>	
76b.77d	193n14	802f–803d	381n44
<i>De recta ratione audiendi</i>		<i>Quaestiones platonicae</i>	
42a	368n2	1000e12–13	178n8
46d	378n33, 380n38	<i>Quaestiones romanae et graecae (Aetia romana et graeca)</i>	
<i>De sera numinis vindicta</i>		16	264n51
558f–559d	15, 185–188	<i>Quaestionum convivialum libri IX</i>	
558f7–559a12	186	715f–716c	375n19
559a2	186		
559a5–8	184		
559a5	187		

<i>Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat</i>		Pseudo-Plutarch	
35f	388n67	<i>De Homero</i>	
<i>Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur</i>		2, c. 119.1	166n17
work	47, 372	<i>Moralia</i>	
51b	368n2	9e	82n81
51c–d	381n44	Pseudo-Diogenes	
66e	370	<i>Epistle</i>	
67b	377n28, 386n59	21	377n26
67e–f	370n8, 380	Pseudo-Sallust	
68c	368n2	<i>Epistle</i>	
68d	370n7	2	157n41
69c	370n10	Rufus	
73e	368n2	<i>Ars rhetorica</i>	
74c	377	470	384n57
74d–e	376	<i>De corporis humani appellationibus</i>	
74d	382	99–100	387n64
<i>Quomodo quis suos in virtute sentiat profectus</i>		Seneca	
work	47	<i>De clementia</i>	
76d	373n15	1.2.1	241n162
80b–c	382n51	2.10.1	378n33
80b	370n10	3.2.1	241n162
81f–82a	371, 377n29	3.2.3	241n162
84e–f	373	3.3.1	241n162
<i>Solon</i>		<i>De ira</i>	
18.6.6	241n162	2.10.6	382n49
<i>Themistocles</i>		2.18	382
24.1	266	2.31.7	241n162
Polybius		<i>Epistle</i>	
<i>The Histories</i>		15.95.52	240n155, 241n162
1.4.4	45	29.1–3	380n37
2.37.11	266n61	90.4	271n93
2.44.1	44	<i>Naturales quaestiones</i>	
2.45.3	44	7.30.1–3	193n12
10.1.6	203n60	7.30.3	193
Porphry		[<i>Octavia</i>]	
<i>Sententiae ad intelligibilia ducentes</i>		296–406	271n93
22	208n78	Severianus	
29	208n78	<i>Epistula ad Colossenses</i>	
Posidonius		work	270n85
<i>fragment</i>			
137	266		
367	184n53		
Proclus			
<i>fragment</i>			
223	181–182		

Sextus Empiricus		Thucydides	
<i>Adversus mathematicos</i>		<i>History of the Peloponnesian War</i>	
9.13	170n30	1.16	206n71
Sophocles		1.74.1	34
<i>Antigone</i>		2.75.5	409n45
505	383n55	Thrasymachus	
<i>Oedipus coloneus</i>		<i>Peri homonoias</i>	
1443	34	work	157n41
<i>Trachiniae</i>		Vergil	
762	203n61	<i>Aenid</i>	
Stobaeus		4.231	271
<i>Eclogae</i>		6.852	271
2	170n30	7.202–204	271n93
3.49.61	206n72	<i>Eclogue</i>	
<i>Florilegium</i>		4	237n132
3.13.53–55	377n29	Vita Aesopi	
Strabo		<i>W recensio</i> 2 § 75	263n46
<i>Geographica</i>		Vitruvius	
100n63		<i>De architectura</i>	
Tacitus		work	211
<i>Annales</i>		1.2.4	410
1.4.1	237n132	3.1.1	411n55, 411n58–59
3.26.1	271n93	6.2.1	411n55
<i>Historiae</i>		Xenophon	
5.5	267	<i>Anabasis</i>	
5.5.2	232n102	1.4–5	29n166
5.8.1	29, 264	<i>Memorabilia</i>	
5.12	264	193n12	
Thessalus		<i>Oeconomicus</i>	
<i>De virtutibus herbarum</i>		7.21	388n67
2.6.8		Zeno	
		SVF 1	166n17

Christian Literature

Ambrose		Athanasius	
<i>Hexameron</i>		<i>Homilia de passione et cruce Domini</i>	
57	415n77	240	266n63
270	415n77	<i>Quaestiones in scripturam sacram</i>	
		761	266n59

Augustine		<i>Panarion</i>	
<i>De civitate Dei</i>		3,508	168n23
4.31	193n12	42	91n18
Basil		42.11.8	3n12
<i>Against Eunomius</i>		42.12.3	3n12
work	90–92, 95	42.13.4	3n12
2.11	92	Eusebius	
<i>Apology</i>		<i>Commentarius in Isaiam</i>	
work	91	2.41	266n59
<i>Epistle</i>		2.48	266n59
265.2	257n13	<i>Contra Marcellum</i>	
<i>Homiliae in hexaemeron</i>		1.4.16	269n81
4.5	93	<i>Praeparatio evangelica</i>	
<i>Homiliae super Psalmos</i>		12.46.2–6	206n72
28.1	93	13.12.5	193n12
Chrysostom		15.15.3–5	166n17
<i>Homiliae in epistulam ad Colossenses</i>		<i>Quaestiones evangelicae ad Stephanum</i>	
340	270n85	909	271n95
<i>Homiliae in epistulam ad Ephesios</i>		Gregory of Nazianzus	
work	259n23, 260n29	<i>Liturgia sancti Gregorii</i>	
1 Clement		705	266n59
5.7	5	Gregory of Nyssa	
36.2	173n45	<i>Refutatio Eunomius</i>	
59.3	173n45	142	257n13
Clement of Alexandria		Hippolytus of Rome	
<i>Protrepticus</i>		<i>Refutatio omnium haeresium</i>	
9.87.4	121n20	7.29.14	181
<i>Stromata</i>		7.29.17	181
4.8.64	2	Iamblichus	
5.11.76	193n12	<i>Commentary on Matthew</i>	
6.13.106–107	263n47	22.19–24	193n11
<i>SVF</i>		Ignatius	
1.223	166n17	<i>Ephesians</i>	
Cyprian		inscription	117n3
<i>Epistles</i>		4.1–2	74n53
15.4	96n40	9.1	55n265
Epiphanius		12.2	2, 117n3, 118n3
<i>Homilia in laudes Mariae deiparae</i>		21.2	61n15
501	266n59	<i>Magnesians</i>	
		10.3	251
		13.1	270n87

- Philadelphians*
 inscr. 74n53
 11.2 74n53
- Irenaeus
Adversus haereses
 5.2.3 2
 5.8.1 2n8
 5.14.3 2n8
 5.24.4 2n8
- Jerome
Commentariorum on Ephesians
 work 256n13, 257n15
 1 94
- Justin
Dialogue with Trypho
 8.4 228n87
 47.1 214n7
- Lactantius
Divinae institutiones
 2.2.14
- Origen
Commentary on Ephesians
 work 256n13, 261n34
 406 266n59
- Commentary on Matthew*
 Frag 421 267n65
- Contra Celsum*
 3.44 83n86
 3.50 83n86
 3.55 83n86
- Fragmenta ex commentariis in epistulam ad Ephesios*
 1 94
- Polycarp
Martyrdom of Polycarp
 9.2 71n45
- Shepherd of Hermas
Vision
 3.5–8 55n265
 3.12.2 201n46
- Tertullian
Adversus Marcionem
 5.11.12 2n11, 91n18
 5.17.1 2n11, 91n18
 5.18 37

Dead Sea Scrolls

- 1QH
 I,9–13 228n86
 XI[III],19–23 246n188
 XIV,14 236n130
- 1QM
 II,4 228n87
 III,5 246n188
 VI,6 246n188
 VII,6 246n188
 XII,1–2 246n191
- 1QpHab
 IX,2 226n74
 XI,13 221n49, 246n191
- 1QS
 I,14–15 228n88
 II,3 173n45
 V,5–6 247n197
 V,5 221n49
 VI,16 236n130
 VI,19 236n130
 VI,22 236n130
 VIII,5–9 247n197
 VIII,6 246n191
 VIII,7 248n201
 VIII,18 236n130
 IX,6 247n197
 IX,15 236n130
 X,1–8 228n88
 XI,7 246n191

XI,8	246n188	11Q19	
XI,16	246n191	work	219
		LVI,3–4	219n41
1QSa			
I,11	243n172	11QShirShabb	
II,8–9	246n188	work	246n188
1QSB		CD	
III,2	246n188	III,14	228n88
IV,25–26	246n188	VI,18–19	228n88
		X,14–XI,18	228n88
4Q400–405		XIV,8	243n172
work	246n188	XVI,2–4	228n88

Targums

Targum to the Psalms		Targum to Isaiah	
68:19	17	42	191n3

Rabbinic Literature

ʿAbot de Rabbi Nathan		<i>Kelim</i>	
29	218n27	1.8–9	29, 264
Deuteronomy Rabbah		Mekhilta Exodus	
2	218n27	18:6	236n130
Midrash		Numbers Rabbah	
<i>ʿAbot</i>		8:4	236n130
1.1	243n169		
3.18	243n169		

Codices, Inscriptions, and Papyri

BCH		Inscriptiones Graecae	
95.332.17	201n46	XII 5.225	264n51
		XII 7.2	264n51
BGU		Inscriptions de Délos	
I 332	88n8, 101n66	68	264n51
IV 1074	113		
Codex Parisinus graecus		IPh.	
2327, line 14	183	194	201n46
2327, line 15	183	217	201n46
FD		I Urb. Rom.	
1.121	200n46	60.2	198n36n46

IvE		P. Tebt.	
27.54	24	I 6	106-107
504	10		
645.5-7	8	Papyrus Herculaneum	
		1055, col. 4	183
OGIS		1055, col. 13	183
217	102n73	1055, col. 18	183
598	29, 264		
		REG	
PLips.		59.60 p. 361.214	201n46
33.2.9	200n46		
		SB	
PLond.		8162.2	201n46
1708.78	201n46	XII 11078	104
P. Dura		SEG	
60	112-113	26.1676	201n46
P. Petaus		UPZ	
28	88n8	I 106	106
		I 107	105
P. Rev.		ZPE	
I 37	103n77	33.1979.187	201n46

Index of Names

- Aageson, James W. 19
Abate, Elisabetta 8n47
Abbott, Thomas K. 99, 413n65, 414n71
Achte-meier, Paul J. 89n14
Adai, Jacob 323n10
Adams, Edward 85n90
Aland, Barbara 1n2.4, 225n63
Aland, Kurt 1n2.4, 225n63
Albertz, Rainer 109n95, 234n116
Aletti, Jean-Noël 64n22, 73n50, 179n10
Algra, Keimpe 174n51
Allan, John A. 14n76, 43n214, 277n17, 279n25
Almqvist, Helge 177n1
Amirav, Hagit 26
Ando, Clifford 110n101–102, 111n103–104
Arnim, Hans von 183n39
Arnold, Clinton E. 69n37, 179n10, 325n13, 326n15, 407n29
Asano, Atsuhiko 213n2, 215n16, 218n30
Ascough, Richard S. 88n8
Aune, David E. 89n14
Avermarie, Friedrich 240n154, 272n96
Averlino, Pietro *see* Filarete
- Babbitt, Frank Cole 367–368, 370–371, 376–377, 380n38, 382
Bachmann, Michael 351n10
Backhaus, Knut 268n68
Bagnall, Roger S. 104n78, 107n87
Bailey, Daniel P. 88n8, 120n16, 122n28, 123n31–32, 125n43
Bailey, John Eglinton 91n17
Baker, Coleman A. 213n1
Balch, David L. 85n90, 369n5, 389n2, 390n9, 391n12, 395n34, 396, 397n42.44
Balla, Peter 398n49
Barclay, John M. G. 11, 24n138, 75, 77n63, 83n84, 222n50, 229n93
Barth, Markus 5n26, 18n96, 31n178, 88n5, 179n10, 255n5, 257n17, 270n84, 278n20, 400n60, 406, 407n33, 413
Basore, John W. 382
Bauer, Thomas Johann 5, 7n34, 123n31–32, 124n35–38, 125n41, 126n45–46.48, 127n52, 128n54–55, 129n57, 130n64, 132n71, 136n75
Bauer, Walter 225n63, 279n30, 280n32, 297n6
Baumert, Norbert 192n6
Bauschatz, John 101n70, 104–106
Beck, Astrid B. 407n33
Becker, Adam H. 214n6
Bedale, Stephen 405
BeDuhn, Jason D. 91n18
Behr, Charles A. 99n58
Bekker, Immanuel 193n12
Bendemann, Reinhard von 49n239
Bengel, Johann Albrecht 91n21, 257n13, 264n49
Benner, Margareta 109n97
Benoit, Pierre 179n10
Berger, Klaus 49n237–238
Bergmeier, Roland 219n38
Berner, Christoph 219n40
Berthelot, Marcellin 183n47
Best, Ernest 22n127, 38n205, 43n219, 58n2, 87n3, 88n5, 89n10, 99, 164n5.8, 165n13.15, 166n15.17, 169n26.28, 171n39, 173n43.45, 179n10, 200n45, 204, 205n64, 253n2, 255n4, 256n8–9.11, 258n21, 259n22.26, 261n31, 263n49, 264n50.54, 279n25.29, 280n32.34.37, 282n44, 283n49, 290n73, 295n1, 309n66, 336n31, 339n37, 406n24, 407n32, 412n61, 413n66
Betz, Hans Dieter 177n1, 290n75
Beyer, Barbara 34–35, 275n1, 304n50, 310n73
Beza, Theodore 91
Bickerman, Elias J. 108n90
Bieringer, Reimund 302n35
Bilezikian, Gilbert 405
Billings, Bradly S. 13n73, 153
Bingen, Jean 104n79
Black, Allen 7n41
Blanke, Helmut 407n33
Blumell, Lincoln H. 95n39
Boccaccini, Gabriele 214n10
Boer, Martinus C. de 60n12
Boismard, Marie-Émile 89n11
Boran, Elizabethanne 91n20, 97n43

- Bormann, Lukas 227n80, 228n90, 229n94
 Bouttier, Michel 179n10, 200n45
 Boyarin, Daniel 214n4.10, 229n93
 Brannon, M. Jeff 39n206, 296n4, 297n8–11,
 298–299, 300n28–29, 309n68
 Braund, David C. 11n62
 Braunmuller, Albert R. 97n48
 Breytenbach, Cilliers 36n196, 164n6,
 286n63, 310n72
 Brooke, George J. 220n42
 Brox, Norbert 2n9, 122n26.30, 123n31,
 125n42, 138n79, 141n83.86, 142n89–93
 Bruce, Frederick F. 179n10, 228n90,
 232n104, 238n144, 240n157, 243n170,
 244n176, 246n190, 248n203, 404n8,
 412n61, 414
 Bruns, Peter 122n26
 Bujard, Walter 407n31
 Bultmann, Rudolf 34, 49n237, 208n77,
 282n43, 290n73.77
 Burkert, Walter 209n79
 Burns Jr., J. Patout 95n39, 96n41
 Burt, John Ormiston 375
 Bury, Robert G. 415n76
 Busse, Dietrich 299n25
 Buszard, Bradley 388n68
 Butler, Charles 97n47

 Cadbury, Henry Joel 407n27
 Caird, George B. 179n10
 Canavan, Rosemary 5n25
 Casevitz, Michel 183n40, 185n55
 Cassidy, Richard J. 61n13
 Ceccarelli, Paola 101n69
 Chadwick, Henry 407n27
 Cherniss, Harold 178n8–9
 Clarke, Graeme W. 96n40
 Clarke, Kent D. 21n124
 Coenen, Lothar 197n30
 Cohen, Adam Max 98n52
 Cohick, Lynn H. 5n27, 179
 Cohn, Leopold 178n8–9, 222n49
 Collins, John J. 109n94
 Collomp, Paul 102n71
 Colpe, Carsten 286n66
 Colson, Francis H. 100n61–62, 384–385
 Conzelmann, Hans 179n10, 407n28
 Cooper, Stephen A. 25n146
 Covington, Eric 353n18, 355n23, 360, 363
 Cranfield, Charles E. B. 412
 Crawford, Michael H. 111n103.105
 Crosby, H. Lamar 99n59
 Cugusi, Paolo 113n112

 D'Angelo, Mary Rose 63n16
 Dahl, Nils Alstrup 3n16, 7n36, 21n120,
 89n12, 159n45, 160n49, 179n10, 335n29,
 356, 364n62, 393n20, 395n28–29.33,
 397n45, 398n48
 Danker, Frederick W. 108n89, 279n30,
 280n32, 297n6, 322n9
 Darko, Daniel K. 28n159, 83n85
 Dawes, Gregory W. 341n40, 405, 406n20
 Daybell, James 97n46
 Deissmann, Gustav Adolf 33, 281n41,
 290n73, 408
 DelCogliano, Mark 91n23, 92n25, 93n32
 DellAcqua, Anna Passioni 108n93
 Delling, Gerhard 49n237
 DeMaitre, Luke 387n62
 DeMarco, David 93n30
 Derow, Peter 107n87
 Desmond, William D. 166n17
 Dettwiler, Andreas 272n97, 273n101
 Dibelius, Martin 14, 178n10
 Diels, Hermann 181n24
 Diercks, Gerardus F. 96n40
 Dillon, John 191n2
 Dindorf, Wilhelm 99n58
 Dittenberger, Wilhelm 102n73
 Dixon, Suzanne 78n67
 Doering, Lutz 89n14, 108n90
 Dolle, Katrin 37n201, 44n224, 193n14,
 199n41, 205n67, 210n80
 Domeris, William R. 396n35
 Donaldson, Terence L. 352
 Dübbers, Michael 228n83
 Dube, Musa W. 390n5, 391n15, 401n67
 Duc, Fronton du (Ducaeus) 91n17
 Duchrow, Ulrich 208n76–77
 Dudley, Donald Reynolds 166n17
 Dudley, Russ 396n37, 399n58, 400n62
 Dunn, James D. G. 59n10, 214n5.9, 224n57,
 228n90, 230n95
 Duvernoy, Sylvie 410n51

 Easter, Matthew C. 352n15
 Eberhart, Christian 36n197
 Edwards, Mark J. 26
 Ehorn, Seth M. 17–18
 Ehrenberg, Victor 110n100
 Ehrensperger, Kathy 218n29, 230n95
 Ehrman, Bart D. 87n2, 96n42, 99n55.57,
 122n28, 123n31–33, 125n43–44, 132n70,
 141n82.85.88, 142n89.92
 Eisenstein, Elizabeth L. 98n53
 Elliott, John H. 213n2, 389n4

- Elliott, Mark W. 26n151
 Elliott, Neil 392n17
 Elmer, Ian J. 87n3
 Elton, Geoffrey R. 97n49
 Engberg-Pedersen, Troels 22, 40–41, 164n4.6, 319n7
 Erasmus, Desiderius 6n31, 13, 14n74, 98
 Erdemgil, Selahattin 152n27, 153n29
 Ernst, Josef 179n10, 407n31
 Eschner, Christina 36n196
 Etzelmüller, Gregor 363n59
- Faber, Riemer A. 14n74
 Fabry, Heinz-Josef 220n42
 Falivene, Maria Rosaria 104n79
 Fantin, Joseph D. 74n53
 Faraone, Christopher A. 95n39
 Faust, Eberhard 11, 36, 37n201, 38n204, 43, 55n264, 72n47, 76n61, 161n50, 266n62, 270n83, 271, 318n3
 Feldmeier, Reinhard 353n17
 Filarete (Averlino, Pietro) 403, 416
 Fink, Robert O. 113n112
 Fiori, Emiliano 26n152
 Fischer, Claude 154
 Fischer, Joseph A. 118n3
 Fitzgerald, John T. 61n14, 182n37
 Fitzmyer, Joseph A. 18n98, 404
 Flacelière, Robert 184n51
 Flebbe, Jochen 223n56
 Flemming, Tobias 1n5
 Floor, Lambertus 17n95, 179n10
 Ford, Alan 97n43
 Foster, Paul 228n90
 Fowl, Stephen E. 255n4, 259n24
 Fowler, Harold North 100n60
 Fraine, Jean de 43n221
 Franke, Peter Robert 157n42
 Frankemölle, Hubert 49n237, 119n12
 Fredrickson, David E. 14n77, 47–48, 53n260, 164n7, 329n24, 368n1, 372n14, 381n45, 388n67
 Fredriksen, Paula 214n10
 Frenschkowski, Marco 120n15
 Frerichs, Ernest S. 214n12
 Frey, Jörg 36n196
 Friesen, Steven J. 152n27, 153
 Fugger, Verena 10n56
 Fuller, Thomas 90n17
 Furnish, Victor Paul 88n4
 Fürst, Alfons 121n22
- Gamble, Harry Y. 122n30, 381n40
 Garnsey, Peter 110n102, 395n34
 Geden, Alfred S. 177n3
 Gehrke, Hans-Joachim 157n41
 Genette, Gérard 349n2
 Georges, Tobias 8
 Gerber, Christine 22–23, 29, 33, 36, 39, 47, 48n235, 49, 52n256.258, 73n52, 166n15, 188n58, 278n24, 279n28, 282n47, 283n48–49.52, 284n57, 285n59.62, 287n67.69, 292n83, 293n86, 306n55, 307n58, 310n69, 404n5
 Gerth, Bernhard 195n26, 197n32, 199n42, 201n52, 203
 Gese, Michael 179n10, 232n104, 236n130, 248n200, 257n18, 282n43, 298n15, 305n52, 314n84, 318n6, 325n14, 354n19, 356, 359n41, 361n51, 362n54
 Gibson, Jonathan 97n45
 Gielen, Marlis 131n69
 Giet, Stanlislas 93n29
 Gilbert-Cooke, Kerry 98n52
 Gillmayr-Bucher, Susanne 219n38
 Girard, Marc 396n37, 397n46, 402n69
 Glad, Clarence E. 372n14, 375n21, 376n25–26, 377n27–28, 382n48
 Gnilka, Christian 49, 117n3, 119n8, 127n51, 128n55, 134n73, 137n78, 139n80, 178, 179n11, 197n33, 201, 231n100, 232n104, 233n109, 234n121, 236n129–130, 238n144, 242n164.166, 243n170, 245n183, 247n196, 255n4–5, 256n8, 257n18, 268n73, 269n75, 279n25, 283n49, 285n62, 302n35, 303n44, 387n64
 Goldberg, Jonathan 97n49
 Gombis, Timothy G. 18n99, 393n20, 397n47, 398n49, 399n57, 400n59.63
 Gomperz, Theodor 192n9
 Goodspeed, Edward J. 58n3
 Gordon, Pamela 384n56
 Gordon, Richard 151n25
 Görgemanns, Herwig 184n53–54, 185n56
 Goulder, Michael D. 23n133, 69n37
 Granger, Frank 410, 411n55.58, 412n59
 Green, William S. 214n12
 Greenblatt, Stephen 98n51
 Greever, Joshua M. 266n58, 273n101
 Gregg, John A. F. 93n33, 94n35, 256n13
 Gregory, Andrew F. 25n143
 Grenfell, Bernard 103n77, 107n87
 Grindheim, Sigurd 5n27
 Groh, Stefan 153

- Grohmann, Marianne 215n17, 234n116, 250n214
 Grosheide, Frederik W. 179n10
 Grudem, Wayne 404
 Gruen, Erich S. 112n109, 111
 Grundeken, Mark 15–16, 22n130, 74n53, 168n22, 302n35, 303n42
 Grundmann, Walter 297n8
 Gupta, Nijay 12, 395n27
 Gurry, Peter J. 88n6, 369n6
 Gutbrod, W. 192n7
- Haarmann, Volker 266n60, 274n104
 Haase, Wolfgang 163n2
 Hacham, Noah 108n92
 Hagedorn, Ursula 88n8
 Halasz, Alexandra 98n53
 Halfwassen, Jens 198n38
 Hanson, John W. 147n9
 Harders, Ann-Cathrin 82n80, 83n83
 Harkins, Paul W. 373–375
 Harland, Philip A. 88n8
 Harnack, Adolf von 2n11, 3
 Harrill, J. Albert 4, 15n82, 28, 71n45, 75n59, 77n63, 90n15, 103n76, 180, 255n6, 408n36
 Harris, Cyril M. 403n3
 Harris, W. Hall 17n95, 297n12–13, 302n37, 303n44, 304n49
 Harrison, James R. 72n46, 87n2
 Hassall, Mark 111n105
 Häusl, Maria 219n38–39
 Hay, David M. 164n9
 Heath, Thomas L. 411n57
 Heckel, Theo K. 208n76–77
 Heckel, Ulrich 179n10
 Heil, John Paul 78n68, 179n10, 340n39
 Heilig, Christoph 72n47, 81n76
 Heine, Ronald E. 25n145, 93n33, 94n34–36, 95n37
 Heininger, Bernhard 241n162
 Hendriks, H. Jurgens 390n5–6
 Hendrix, Holland 59n6, 74n54, 108n89
 Henze, Matthias 109n94
 Herzer, Jens 22n127, 122n29, 358n39
 Herzog, William R. II. 396n37
 Hildebrand, Stephen M. 93n31
 Himmelfarb, Martha 214n6
 Hirsch-Luipold, Rainer 177n1
 Hodge, Caroline J. 396n36–37
 Hoehner, Harold W. 5n27, 7n37, 28n160, 57n1, 73n50, 179n10, 278n20, 283n49, 299n23, 300n29, 309n68, 404n7, 406, 407n25, 408n37, 410n49, 412n61, 414–415
- Hofius, Otfried 43n217
 Holder, Stefanie 8n45
 Holladay, Carl R. 186n57
 Holland, Glenn S. 182n37
 Holmberg, Bengt 215n15
 Hooker, Morna D. 63n16
 Hoppe, Rudolf 179n10
 Horn, Fabian 310n70–72
 Horsfall, Nicholas 87n3
 Horsley, Richard A. 11, 72n47, 392n17
 Hose, Martin 143n93
 Houlden, James L. 179n10
 Howard, George 284n57
 Hoyoux, Jean 98n53
 Hubbard, Phil 147n10
 Hübner, Hans 179n10, 255n5–6, 258n19, 272n97, 324n12
 Hugedé, Norbert 166n17
 Huizenga, Annette Bourland 368n3
 Hüneburg, Martin 22n127, 87n2, 118n5, 123n34, 128n53, 136n76
 Hunter, Richard L. 368n2
 Hurley, Robert 255n6, 256n9, 260n28, 273n102
 Huss, Werner 104n79
 Huttner, Ulrich 228n90
- Immendorfer, Michael 9, 87n2, 408n40
 Isnardi Parente, Margherita 182n33
- Jaeger, Gerhard 194n15
 Janowski, Bernd 226n70
 Janßen, Martina 120n15, 123n32
 Jensen, Robin M. 95n39, 96n41
 Jeremias, Joachim 208n77, 248n203
 Jewett, Robert 208n77
 Johnson, Alan F. 404n6
 Johnson, Elizabeth E. 392n18, 394, 395n33, 396n35, 38, 400n60
 Johnson, Mark 284n56, 310n70, 311, 312n78
 Jones, Arnold H. M. 110n100
 Jones, Christopher P. 183n45–46
 Jones, Henry S. 233n111, 248n203, 296n2, 301n34, 322n9
 Jonge, Marinus de 20n113, 180n21–22
 Jongkind, Dirk 2n7
 Jordan, David R. 95n39
 Juárez-Almendros, Encarnación 387–388
 Juel, Donald H. 393n20, 395n28–29, 33, 397n45, 398n48
- Kaiser, Alan 154n35
 Kant, Immanuel 147

- Kampling, Rainer 22n126, 25n144
 Kampmann, Ursula 157n43
 Kartzow, Marianne B. 397n46
 Käsemann, Ernst 32, 282, 290
 Kat-Eliassen, Martha H. de 104n80
 Keesmaat, Sylvia C. 73n51, 77, 81n76–77
 Kemp, Jerome 368n2
 Kepper, Martina 29, 30n170.172
 Kerschner, Michael 8n44
 Kertelge, Karl 49n237
 Kidd, Stephen E. 381n40
 Kienast, Dietmar 157n42
 Kindstrand, Jan Frederik 166n17
 King, Karen L. 26n151
 Kirby, John C. 58n5
 Kirk, J. R. Daniel 395n28, 400n61
 Kitchin, Rob 147n10
 Kittredge, Cynthia B. 390n5
 Klaerr, Robert 181n25, 184n50
 Klauack, Hans-Joseph 88n8, 120n16, 122n28,
 123n31–32, 125n43
 Klein, Hans 248n203
 Klijn, Albertus F. J. 121n21
 Kloppenborg, John S. 83n82, 85n90, 88n8,
 89n14
 Knibbe, Dieter 408n40
 Koester, Helmut 7
 Kohlgraf, Peter 26n148
 Kolbet, Paul R. 373n17, 379n34, 382n46
 Konstan, David 372n14
 Kooten, George H. van 3n19, 5n26, 7n37,
 14, 20–21, 23n131, 35, 65n26, 88n5, 118n5,
 164n5.8, 166n16–17, 167n21, 172n41–42,
 174n48–49, 207n74, 240n154, 278n19
 Körtner, Ulrich H. J. 42n213
 Kovacs, David 409n47
 Kövecses, Zoltán 310n74
 Kranz, Walther 181n24
 Krauter, Stefan 26n153, 27–30, 32,
 264n51.53
 Krautz, Hans-Wolfgang 182n38
 Kreitzer, Larry J. 155
 Krinzinger, Fritz 152n27, 153n29
 Kroeger, Catherine C. 405
 Kuhn, Karl Georg 202n54
 Kühner, Raphael 195n26, 197n32, 199n42,
 201n52, 203

 Lakoff, George 284n56, 310n70, 311, 312n78
 Lamb, Walter R. M. 100n60
 Lampe, Peter 5n24
 Landi, Antonio 257n18–19, 263n44, 269n77
 Lane-Fox, Robin 193n12

 Lash, Christopher 309n64–65
 Lau, Te-Li 76n61, 179, 271n90, 408n34
 Lavan, Myles 109n98, 110n99–100.102,
 112n110
 Layton, Richard A. 25n145, 26n147, 93n33,
 95n37
 Lefas, Pavlos 411, 412n60
 Lefebvre, Henri 147–149
 Lenger, Marie-Thérèse 103n77, 105n83,
 106n85, 107n87
 Lichtenberger, Hermann 272n99
 Liddell, Henry G. 233n111, 248n203, 296n2,
 301n34, 322n9
 Liefeld, Walter L. 406n21
 Lieu, Judith 214n6
 Lilla, Salvatore 174n50
 Lincoln, Andrew T. 3n17, 20n114, 30,
 31n174, 43n220–221, 52n259, 55, 58n4,
 88n4, 89n10, 99, 100n64, 179n10, 201, 204,
 236n130, 243n170, 248n203, 272n96.98,
 278n20, 295n1, 297n10.12–13, 298n15,
 299n24, 308n60, 309n65, 323n10, 329n23,
 392n18, 395n31, 406n24, 407n31, 412n61,
 413n66, 414n71, 415n74
 Lindemann, Andreas 3n13.15, 44, 117n3,
 119n11, 120n14.18, 125n43, 179n10,
 241n162, 278n22, 279n27, 280n34.37–38,
 282n43, 285n61, 290n75–76, 298n14,
 309n65, 314n82–83, 327n18
 Loenen, Dirk 157n41
 Logan, John R. 145n3, 162n52
 Löhr, Hermut 117n3, 122n27
 Löhr, Winrich 142n90
 Lohse, Eduard 66n30, 171n38
 Long, Anthony A. 166
 Long, Fredrick J. 12, 24, 59n7, 72n47,
 395n27
 Lopez, Davina C. 394n23, 400n63, 401n66
 Lotz, John Paul 157n43
 Luckritz Marquis, Timothy 372n14
 Luther, Martin 272
 Luz, Ulrich 179n10, 278n21

 Ma, John 102n73, 103n74–75, 108n88
 Macaskill, Grant 34
 MacDonald, Margaret Y. 5, 13, 21n125,
 23, 36n199, 48n234, 53n261, 59n7.9,
 61n15, 63n16.18–19, 64n21, 65n27,
 66n29–30, 68n34–35, 69n36–39, 70n42,
 71n44, 72n47, 73n48, 75n57, 76n60.62,
 78n66–67, 79n70–71, 80n75, 81n76.78–79,
 84n88, 85n89, 145n2, 159, 164n5.8,
 165n9–10.13.15, 169–170, 171n34.37–38,

- 173n43.46, 179n10, 278n20, 295n1,
390n9, 391n10.14–15.17, 392n17, 393n20,
395n32.34, 396n34–37.40, 397n41.43.46,
398n50–51, 399n53
- MacIntyre, Alasdair 389n2
- Madubuko, John C. 302n39, 303n41.44
- Maier, Harry O. 5n26, 9, 13, 24n139,
53n261, 67n32, 72n47, 73n48–49, 74n53,
81n77, 145n2, 146n6, 149n20, 161n50,
392n17
- Malherbe, Abraham J. 163n2, 186n57,
370n7.9, 377n28, 382n46
- Malina, Bruce J. 396n35
- Manning, Joseph Gilbert 102n72
- Mansfeld, Jaap 166n16
- Marcovich, Miroslav 181n26
- Mari, Manuela 101n69
- Markschies, Christoph J. 208n76
- Marshall, I. Howard 177n3
- Martin, Aldo 17n86
- Martin, Ralph P. 145n1, 179n10
- Martyn, J. Louis 357n35
- Mason, Steve 214n8
- Masson, Charles 178n10
- Mayer, Annemarie 50, 191n1
- McConnell, Sean 376n25
- McGrath, Brendan 410n50
- McNeile, Alan. H. 407n27
- Meeks, Wayne A. 149, 389n2.4, 396n35.37,
398n52
- Meggitt, Justin J. 146n7
- Meier, John P. 405
- Menken, Maarten J. J. 17n87, 19
- Merkel, Helmut 22n127, 88n5
- Merkelbach, Reinhold 157n42
- Merklein, Helmut 55n264, 283n52, 292n82,
407n30
- Metzger, Bruce M. 87n1, 117n3, 131n69,
171n38
- Meuzelaar, Jacobus Johannes 290n74
- Michaelis, John David 91n22
- Mickelsen, Alvera 405
- Mickelsen, Berkeley 405
- Migne, Jacques-Paul 93n28
- Miletic, Stephen F. 43n220
- Millar, Fergus 109n96
- Minear, Paul S. 404n8
- Mitchell, Margaret M. 95n37, 155,
157n44
- Mitton, Charles Leslie 36n199, 58n3,
88n4, 413n64
- Moles, John L. 166n17
- Möllendorff, Peter von 178n9
- Mollenkott, Virginia R. 81n77, 390n5,
398n49, 400, 401n65
- Molotch, Harvey L. 145, 162n52
- Montanari, Franco 29
- Moore, Carey A. 108n91–92
- Moretti, Paola Francesca 26n149
- Morgan, Teresa 15n81, 34, 165n11, 173n47,
175, 277n17, 290n77, 291n81
- Moritz, Thorsten 16n85, 17–18
- Moulakis, Athanasios 157n41
- Moule, Charles Francis Digby 292n84
- Moulton, William F. 177n3
- Mouton, Elna 18, 48, 53, 306n54, 389n1,
390n5–7, 392n18, 394n22.24.26, 395n27,
396n39, 397n41.46, 398n51–52, 399n55,
402n69
- Moxnes, Halvor 395n34, 396n35–36
- Moyise, Steve 19–20
- Mras, Karl 166n17, 193n12
- Muddiman, John 7, 18n96, 20, 76n60,
89n11, 100n64, 179n10, 205n64, 255n6,
256n7, 265n54, 266n60, 267n66, 269n76,
404n5, 407, 413
- Muir, John 101n66
- Müller, Martin 102n71, 104n79
- Müller, Peter 22n127
- Muraoka, Takamitsu 177n5
- Mußner, Franz 43n218–219, 117n3, 118n5,
124n39, 128n55, 130n63, 137n77, 179n10
- Mwaniki, Lydia M. 390n5.7, 392n17,
394n22, 398n51, 399n55, 401n67, 402n69
- Nes, Jermo van 5n29, 408, 409n42
- (Yoder) Neufeld, Thomas R. *see* Y
- Neugebauer, Fritz 281n42, 290n77
- Neuschäfer, Bernard 95n37
- Neusner, Jacob 214n12
- Neville-Sington, Pamela 97n44
- Neyrey, Jerome H. 396n35
- Nicklas, Tobias 214n6
- Nigh-Hogan, Pauline 358n38
- Noffke, Eric 49, 362
- Nongbri, Brent 87n1
- Nutton, Vivian 8n46
- O'Sullivan, Timothy M. 371n11
- Obbink, Dirk 182n34.37
- Odeberg, Hugo 296n5, 297n10.12, 298n15,
302n37, 309n67
- Oduyoye, Mercy Amba 390n5, 401
- Oeming, Manfred 303n40.43
- Oepke, Albrecht 34
- Öhler, Markus 215n14

- Okure, Teresa 390n5, 394n21, 401n67
 Oliver, James H. 110n100, 113n113
 Olson, Kelly 387n64
 Omerzu, Heike 25n142
 Ophuijsen, Johannes M. van 174n50
 Osgood, Josiah 113n113–114
 Osiek, Carolyn 78n66, 79n72, 81n78, 390n9,
 393n20, 394n26, 395n34, 396n35–37,
 397n41.43–44.46, 398n51, 399n56,
 400n59–60
 Oulton, John E. L. 95n38
- Parker, David 1n4
 Parks, Malcolm B. 97n48
 Patzia, Arthur G. 179n10
 Peacey, Jason 97n44.49
 Penella, Robert J. 178n9
 Penner, Todd 394n23, 400n63
 Percy, Ernst 55n264, 88n7, 277n17, 282n43,
 290n73, 413n65
 Perkins, Pheme 24n137, 61n15, 68n35,
 75n56, 159n45, 258n20, 267n67, 268n73
 Perriman, Andrew C. 405
 Pervo, Richard I. 88n5
 Pestman, Pieter W. 96n42
 Pfammatter, Josef 179n10
 Philippon, André 181n25
 Philippson, Robert 183n43
 Pieri, Francesco 94n35–36
 Pillinger, Renate 179n12
 Pittenger, Elizabeth 98n52
 Pokorný, Petr 44, 65n28, 179n10, 255n7,
 256n10, 268n73–74, 269n75, 279n29,
 282n44, 285n61
 Porten, Bezalel 96n42
 Porter, Stanley E. 21n124
 Preisigke, Friedrich 104n80, 113n113
 Prescendi, Francesca 82n81
 Price, Simon R. F. 8, 152n27
 Prostmeier, Ferdinand R. 5n28, 122n27
 Pucci Ben Zeev, Miriam 111n106
 Punt, Jeremy 392n17, 396n34
- Radde-Gallwitz, Andrew 91n23, 92n25,
 93n32
 Rahlfs, Alfred 108n91, 178n7, 195, 202,
 409n46
 Rajak, Tessa 112n108, 113n114
 Rantzow, Sophie 40n209, 43n216, 44,
 210n81, 296n3.5, 297n8.12, 298, 300,
 301n33, 302n37, 303n41.45.47, 305n52.54,
 306n56, 309n66, 311n76, 312n79–80, 313,
 314n85, 359n41
- Rau, Susanne 147n11, 150n21.23, 154
 Reed, Annette Y. 214n6
 Rehfeld, Emmanuel L. 357n35
 Reinhartz, Adele 214n6, 260n27
 Reitzenstein, Richard 208n77
 Rey, Jean-Sébastien 24n137
 Reynolds, Joyce 111n105
 Richards, Ivor A. 310n71
 Richlin, Amy 387n65
 Rienecker, Fritz 178n10
 Roberts, Johnnie H. 392n18, 395n30
 Robertson, Archibald 404n9
 Roetzel, Calvin J. 253n3, 256n12, 263n44,
 269n78, 359n41
 Rogers Jr., Cleon L. 23n134, 70n40
 Rogers, Guy M. 77n63
 Rohde, Joachim 350n4, 352n13
 Roller, Otto 4n21, 88n7–8, 100–101, 120n15
 Roloff, Jürgen 282n43, 290n73, 292n82
 Roon, Aart van 3n16, 89n10
 Roose, Hannah 35, 36n195, 53–54
 Rosenbach, Manfred 240n155, 241n162
 Roskam, Geert 373n17
 Rost, Leonhard 49n237
 Rousseau, Philip 92n27
 Röwekamp, Georg 121n19.21–22
 Ruelle, Charles-Émile 183n47
 Runia, David T. 14, 163, 164n6, 171n35
 Rüpke, Jörg 150, 151n24, 154
 Rutoro, Ester 390n5, 401n67–68
- Saller, Richard 110n102, 395n34
 Sampley, J. Paul 20n111, 63n19
 Samuel, Alan E. 104n79
 Sanders, Ed Parish 33–34, 292n85
 Sanders, Jack T. 58n5
 Sanders, James A. 389n3
 Sandmel, Samuel 163n2
 Santoro, Mariacarolina 183n42
 Scacewater, Todd A. 18
 Schaefer, Hans Heinrich 208n77
 Scheidel, Walter 146n7, 153
 Schenk, Wolfgang 352n15
 Schenke, Hans-Martin 407n28
 Scherrer, Peter 152n27, 153n29
 Schille, Gottfried 297n10
 Schironi, Francesca 93n29–30
 Schlier, Heinrich 44, 49, 51n254, 65n28,
 179n10, 200n45, 253n1, 279n25.29,
 303n45, 315n88, 350n4, 352n13, 409n43,
 413, 414n71
 Schmeller, Thomas 22n126–127, 201n49
 Schmid, Ulrich 2n11, 3n12

- Schmidt, A. Jordan 195n28
 Schmidt, Karl Ludwig 49n236–237, 203n60
 Schnackenburg, Rudolf 21n124, 38n203, 49, 88, 89n12, 179n10, 197n31, 200, 205n64, 279n25.27.29, 280n33, 281n40, 283n52, 284n53, 287n67, 323n10, 354
 Schneemelcher, Wilhelm 121n19–21
 Schneider, Gary M. 97n46
 Schnelle, Udo 7n38, 42n212, 118n6–7, 119n10–11, 120n17, 122n30, 125n43, 132n71, 141n88, 290n77, 292n85, 365n29
 Schnider, Franz 124n36.38, 125n40.42, 126n47.49, 129n58, 130n64, 131n66
 Schofield, Malcom 166n17
 Schönberger, Otto 183n44
 Schottroff, Luise 396n37
 Schowalter, Daniel N. 7n39, 151n25, 155n40
 Schrage, Wolfgang 49n237, 405
 Schrenk, Gottlob 203n62
 Schröter, Jens 292n84
 Schubert, Paul 95n39
 Schüssler Fiorenza, Elisabeth 35, 38n204, 42n212, 48n235, 78n69, 80n73–74, 260n27, 269n74, 390n8, 391, 394n26, 401
 Schweitzer, Albert 33, 281n41, 282, 290
 Schweizer, Eduard 277n18, 328n19
 Schwindt, Rainer 10, 40, 87n2, 166n15, 205n64, 278n19, 300n28, 301n31, 302n35.37, 303n40–41.44–45, 307n57–58, 308n63, 318, 326n15, 337n34
 Scott, James C. 80, 81n76
 Scott, Robert 233n111, 248n203, 296n2, 301n34, 322n9
 Scriba, Albrecht 303n46
 Sedley, David 172n42
 Seewann, Maria-Irma 192n6
 Segovia, Carlos A. 214n10
 Seidl, Horst 181n30.32
 Sellin, Gerhard 3n14.17–18, 6n32, 26n155, 38n205, 43, 45n227.229, 52, 55n264, 87n2, 88n9, 89n10, 117n3, 118n4, 119n9, 124n39, 126n46, 128n55, 129n56.59, 130n61–62, 179, 197n31, 198n37, 200, 204–205, 210, 211n82, 232n103–104, 234n121, 236n129–130, 237n131.133, 238n144, 243n171, 245n184, 246n189, 247n197, 248n203, 249n212, 255n5, 256n8, 257n14, 259n24, 263n44–45, 264n54, 268n73, 269n79, 276n6, 278n21, 279n25–26, 280n31–32.35–36, 281n39, 282n44, 283n48–50, 284n54, 285n59–60, 286n64, 287n67–68, 288n70, 302n36, 308n60–61, 311n77, 314n84, 321n8, 322n9, 323n10, 324n13, 326n16, 327n17, 333n26, 336n32, 337n33–35, 338n36, 340n38, 341n40, 342n42, 350n3
 Semino, Elena 284n55
 Sesboué, Bernard 92n25
 Shakespeare, William 87, 97–98
 Shantz, Coleen 64n23
 Sheppard, Anthony R. R. 157n41
 Sherk, Robert K. 110n100, 112n107
 Sherwood, Aaron 361n52
 Shively, Elizabeth E. 299n27
 Shkul, Minna 407n27
 Sickinger, James 101n70, 108n88
 Simpson, Edmund K. 178n10
 Sirinelli, Jean 181n25
 Slavin, Arthur J. 97n49, 98n54
 Smith, Charles F. 409n45
 Smith, Jonathan Z. 3n16, 89n13
 Soden, Hermann von 16n84, 38n204
 Soja, Edward 9, 67, 147–149, 151, 162
 Speyer, Wolfgang 51n251–252, 122n28.30, 123n31.33, 125n40.42, 141n85
 Sprinkle, Preston M. 351n10
 Staab, Karl 270n85
 Stadelmann, Helge 179n10
 Stallybrass, Peter 97n44
 Standhartinger, Angela 22n127, 60n11, 233n108, 390n9, 394n21, 397n46
 Stegemann, Wolfgang 250n214
 Steinová, Evina 93n30
 Stendahl, Krister 49n237
 Stenger, Werner 124n36.38, 125n40.42, 126n47.49, 129n58, 130n64, 131n66
 Sterling, Gregory E. 278n19
 Steward, Eric 147n8
 Stovell, Beth M. 404n4
 Strawbridge, Jennifer R. 60n11
 Strecker, Christian 213n1, 215n14
 Stroobant de Saint-Éloy, Jean-Éric 26n150
 Sugirtharajah, Rasiah S. 391n16
 Sumney, Jerry L. 67n31, 81n76
 Tadmire, Naomi 97n44
 Talbert, Charles H. 58n2, 59n8
 Tanzer, Sarah J. 392n18, 396n36
 Taschl-Erber, Andrea 22, 26n154, 31, 43, 53n260, 220n44, 223n54, 229n91, 234n114, 237n134, 240n154, 241n162, 244n177
 Taylor, John W. 351–352, 353n16
 Taylor, Walter F. 179n10
 Tellbe, Mikael 408n39
 Thatcher, Adrian 396n34

- Theiler, Willy 184n53
 Theobald, Michael 117n1, 118n5, 119n11,
 179, 218n25.27, 222n53, 251n218, 299n24,
 323n10
 Thielman, Frank 17, 19, 20n111, 45n230,
 408n38, 409, 410n48, 412n61
 Thiselton, Anthony C. 404n6, 406, 415
 Thom, Johan C. 14n79–80, 163n2, 178n8–9,
 188n60, 278n19
 Thomas, Christine M. 7, 153
 Thomas, J. David 102n71
 Thompson, George H. P. 179n10
 Thraede, Klaus 157n41
 Thurston, Bonnie 179n10
 Tieck, William Arthur 92n26–27
 Tieleman, Teun 14n80, 15, 47, 49, 52n257,
 168n23, 172n41, 174n51
 Tiwald, Markus 214n10, 219n38, 220n42
 Toit, David S. du 281n42, 290n77
 Toner, Anne 97n48
 Torraca, Luigi 181n29
 Traub, Helmut 297n11, 300n29, 303n45
 Trebilco, Paul 7, 8n42, 147n9, 149
 Trobisch, David 1n1, 2n6, 87n3
 Tsouna, Voula 377n27, 382n48
 Tsuji, Manabu 89n14
 Tuckett, Christopher M. 25n143, 281n42,
 284n58, 286n65, 290n74.76–77
 Tutrone, Fabio 368n2, 371n13, 376n23,
 382n46

 Ueberschaer, Nadine 16n83, 20, 41–42,
 352n15, 358n36, 361n50
 Urciuoli, Emiliano R. 149n20, 161n51
 Ussher, James 90–92, 95–98

 Vallarsi, Domenico 94n36
 Van Hoof, Lieve 368n3, 378n32
 VanderKam, James C. 221n46
 Vatri, Alessandro 384n57
 Vielhauer, Philipp 117n1–3, 118n7,
 119n8.10, 120n17, 121n21.23, 122n27,
 125n43, 141n88
 Viljoen, Francois P. 17n95
 Visinoni, André L. 192n11
 Vogel, Manuel 213n1
 Vogt, Katja Maria 166n17
 Vouga, François 352n13

 Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew 154
 Walsh, Brian J. 81n76
 Walter, Matthias 51n255, 282n45, 283n52,
 290n76

 Wasserman, Emma 207n74, 379n36
 Wasserman, Tommy 88n6
 Way, Agnes Clare 93n28–29
 Wayment, Thomas A. 95n39
 Wedderburn, Alexander J. M. 272n96.98,
 290n75–76
 Weidemann, Hans-Ulrich 230n95
 Weiß, Johannes 276n2
 Weissenrieder, Annette 14–15, 29,
 30n170–172, 33, 44n224, 46–47, 85n90,
 191n1, 193n14, 199n41, 205n67, 210n80,
 242n167–168, 248n203, 249n210, 265n55,
 362, 363n59, 403n*, 408, 409n41
 Welborn, Lawrence L. 72n46
 Welles, C. Bradford 101n69–70, 102n73,
 103n75, 113n112
 Wendland, Kristin 51n251
 Wendland, Paul 178n8–9, 222n49
 Wendt, Heidi 23n135, 61n14, 63, 64n24,
 65n25, 74n55, 151
 Wet, Chris L. de 389n2, 390n5, 396n36,
 397n41
 Whitaker, George H. 100n61
 White, Joel 5n23
 Whitehead, David 181n23
 Whittaker, John 191n2
 Wilcken, Ulrich 90n16, 105n83, 106n85
 Wilder, William N. 18n97
 Williams, David John 404n4
 Williams, Frank 3n12
 Williams, Ritva H. 61n15
 Wilson, Andrew 146n5
 Windisch, Hans 201n47
 Winzenburg, Justin 8, 11–12
 Wirth, Louis 150n21
 Wisdom, Jeffrey R. 351n5.7, 352n13–14,
 360n43
 Wolff, Christian 404, 405n12
 Wolter, Michael 37, 38n202, 119n9–10.13,
 125n44, 126n46.48, 129n56.60, 130n61.65,
 131n66.69, 133n72, 134n73, 139n80,
 204n63, 266n57, 281n42, 284n53, 291n78,
 292n82, 304n50, 352n15
 Woolf, Greg 151n24
 Wright, Nicholas T. 5n23
 Wulf, Ulrike 153n33
 Wyk, Barry van 20n115

 Yee, Tet-Lim N. 30n173, 31, 215n13,
 217n22, 232n101.105, 234, 235n122.124,
 236n128, 238n138.141, 241n159.162, 242,
 244n174.180, 247n194.196, 248n203,
 255n6–7, 256n8, 266n61–62, 267n64.66,

- 268n69.72, 270n82.84, 271n90, 273,
356n31, 360n45
Yoder Neufeld, Thomas R. 390n8, 394n26,
399n54
Zaret, David 97n44
Zekl, Hans Günter 181n28
Zenger, Erich 219n38
Zetterholm, Magnus 273n103
Zimmermann, Norbert 10
Zukin, Sharon 145n4
Zumstein, Jean 349n2
Zwaan, Johannes de 14

Index of Subjects

- Abra(ha)m 20, 42, 217, 224, 234, 245n186,
349–351, 352n15, 357, 364
- Acts of Paul 121
- Adam 17n86, 43, 240, 359n41, 403, 413
- Agrippa, Menenius 44, 241n162
- Alexander the Great 271
- Alexandria 52, 102, 107, 112, 222
- Alexandrines (Letter of Paul to the) 121
- Ambrosiaster 38n204
- anēr teleios* (ἀνὴρ τέλειος) 45, 48, 66, 338,
372–374, 377, 384–386, 388, 413–414
- anti-Semitism *see* Judeophobia
- Antigonids 101
- Antioch 113
- Antiochus III 102–103
- Antiochus IV Epiphanes 24, 206
- Antonia Fortress 25
- Antony, Mark 112
- Aphrodisias 72
- Apollo 10, 193n12, *see also* temple (pagan)
- Apollonius of Tyana 183
- Aquinas, Thomas 26
- Archippus 131–132
- Aristarchus 60, 131–133
- Aristotle 15, 170, 173–174, 176, 179, 181,
386–387, 389n2, 390, 401
- Artaxerxes 108
- Artemis 7–10, 77, 102, *see also* temple
(pagan)
- ascetism 47, 79, 298
- asylia* (ἀσυλία) 103
- Atonement (Day of), *see* Yom Kippur
- Augustan Principate 271n93
- Augustine 272
- Augustus 8, 110, 112–113, 152, 237n132,
255, 409, 410n53
- baptism 6, 31, 33, 42–43, 69, 71, 119, 156,
158, 200n46, 201, 225, 227, 229, 240, 281,
282n44, 319, 355n24, 358, 363–365, 395
- Basil of Caesarea 90–93, 95
- Caesarea Maritima 59
- Canon Muratori 121
- celibacy 79, 397
- Celsus 83
- Chrysippus 182–183
- Chrysostom, John 26, 38n204
- Cimon 263
- Claudius 112–113
- cognitive studies 64, 86, 147, 253–254, 262,
266–267, 299–300, 310–311, 314, 323
- Colossae 60, 63n16, 72, 127, 130–132,
134–135, 139–140
- Comarius (pseudo-) 183–184
- commentary (ancient) 17n93, 19, 23, 25–26,
88, 93–95, 213n3, 231, 387n64
- Corinth 121, 133, 139, 409n41
- creation (new) 19n108, 21, 33, 41n211, 43,
49, 200n45, 201, 219n36, 223n56, 238, 240,
250, 281, 339, 349, 352, 357–359, 361–365,
393n19, 401
- cult (imperial) 8–9, 53n261, 74n53, 104, 106,
152, 155–156, 161, 233n108, 399n53, *see
also* temple (imperial)
- curse 95n39, 151, 351, 365
- Cynicism 164n9, 166, *see also* Diogenes of
Sinope, Peregrinus
- Cyprian 96
- Cyrene 110–112
- Damianos, Flavius 8
- date of the Letter to the Ephesians 4–7,
11–12, 72, 178n6, 395
- Decius 95–96
- Delphi 111
- Demetrius Lacon 183
- descensus ad inferos* 303, 337n34
- dianoia* (διάνοια) 173n44, 174, 192n10,
193n11, 194, 195n29, 197–200
- diaspora 89, 132, 216, 222–223, 236, 389n4
- diathēkē* (διαθήκη κτλ.) 217, 222, 224n62,
233n109, 234, 248n206, 249n207
- Didymus of Alexandria 26
- Dio of Prusa 74n53, 157–158
- Diogenes of Sinope 166n17, 377
- domestic religion (pagan) 10, 151, *see also
house church*
- Domitian 8, 152, 159, 395
- dryphaktos* (δρύφακτος) 25, 29, 243n170,
265n54
- Dura-Europos 112–113

- education 23, 47, 70–71, 81–86, 123n32, 168n22, 172, 368–369, 373, 375–376, see also *paideia* (παιδεία)
- eikasia* (εἰκασία) 174
- eikōn* (εἰκών) 46, 240, 301
- ekphrasis* 16n82, 180
- emotion 47, 170, 176, 207, 368–369, 371, 372n14, 378–379, 380n38, 383, 384n56, 386–388
- Empedocles 181
- Epaphras 60, 130–132, 139–140
- Ephraem 130n65
- Ephesus 1–4, 6–10, 57, 59, 72, 77, 87, 90, 94–95, 117–118, 126–127, 131, 133–135, 138, 140, 146–149, 151–154, 156, 159, 161, 326n15, 397, 407n28, 408
- Ephraem 117n3
- Epictetus 83, 191n2, 193, 381
- Epicureanism 329n24, 372n14, 377n27, 384n56–57, see also Demetrius Lacon
- Epicurus 182–184, 373n17, 379
- episcopos* 122
- Epistle of the Apostles 122
- Epistles of Paul and Seneca 121
- Erasistratus 52
- Esau 51
- eschatological reservation (Paul's) 40, 298, 314
- eschatology (realized) 6–7, 23, 35, 40–41, 45, 63, 68–69, 72, 74–75, 86, 103, 119, 156, 165, 296–298, 302n35, 305–308, 309n65, 313–315, 317, 322–324, 327, 329–335, 340, 345, 354n18, 361n50, 362, 364
- Essenes 226n64, 228n88
- ethnicity 11, 28, 31–32, 43, 75–77, 146, 148, 150, 161, 214, 216, 218n30, 225, 229n94, 230, 232–235, 237–238, 241–242, 244n174, 247n193.196, 250, 255n6, 264, 267n66, 270n84, 271, 273, 351–352, 358, 360n45, 408n39
- ethopoiia* 143n93
- Eumenes II 152
- feminist theory 48–49, 53, 78–81, 390–394
- Galen 372n14, 406
- Gallio 121
- Gnosticism 40, 44, 49, 65, 208n77, 253, 265n56, 286n66, 303n45, 317–318, 329n23, 338n36, 409n43, 413
- God-fearers 16n85, 133, 244n175
- godlikeness 15, 47, 158, 173
- Gospel of Philip 26n151
- halacha 228–229, 243–244
- Heraclitus 186
- Herculaneum 154
- Herophilus 52
- Hierapolis 3, 58, 60, 89, 131n69, 132, 139, 146, 152
- high priest 30, 37, 202n55–56, see also Hyrcanus II
- Hippocrates 193n12, 406, 414
- Homer 95
- homonoia* (ὁμόνοια) 9, 13, 74, 146, 155, 157–158, 179
- house church 10n56, 85, 131–132, 135, 188, see also domestic religion (pagan)
- Hyrcanus II 112
- Ignatius of Antioch 5n28, 117n3, 122, 179, 180n20, 251, 408n39
- incarnation 226n72, 261n34, 303, 359n42
- insula* 9, 13, 152–153, 156, 160
- Irenaeus 55
- Israel 18, 19n108, 24, 26, 28–32, 34, 43, 75–76, 94, 100, 160, 165, 191n3, 214, 215n17, 218n25.30, 220–224, 226n70, 233–235, 236n130, 239n146, 242n169, 244–247, 249n207, 250–251, 257–258, 260, 267–268, 270, 272–273, 283n52, 352, 354, 356, 359–360, 361n52, 365, 393n19, 395n34
- Jerome 25–26, 91, 93–95, 203n62
- Jerusalem (new) 211
- Jesus Justus 7n36, 131–133
- Johannine writings (influence on Ephesians) 7–8
- Josephus 16, 24–25, 29–30, 49, 84, 112
- Judeophobia, 28, 264, 267, 273
- judgment (last) 33, 308n60
- Laodicea 3, 7, 58, 60, 89, 121, 131–135, 139, 152
- Laodiceans (Letter to the) 2–3, 58, 90–91, 121, 135–136
- libellus pacis* 96
- Logos 37n201, 50, 166, 168, 179, 205n64, 237n131, 277, 346
- Lycus Valley 139n80, 147, 228n90
- Maccabees 206
- Macedonia 101, 132
- Macedonians (Letter of Paul to the) 121n20
- Marcion 2–3, 37, 58, 91, 117n3, 121

- materialism 40, 209n79, 319, 329n24, 332, 337n33, 347
 Menander valley 147
mesotoichon (μεσότοιχον) 29–30, 242–243, 256, 259–260, 263–267
 Methodists (ancient school of physicians) 381n45
 Middle Platonism *see* Plutarch
 midrash 18n95–96
 Mithraism 83
 monotheism 224, 233
 Moses 18n96, 29n162, 94–95, 211, 219–222, 226n64, 242n169, 245n186, 247n198, 268n69
 mystery cults 66, 70n40, 169, *see also* Mithraism

 Nebuchadnezzar 109
 neophytes 196
 Neoplatonism 192n11, *see also* Plotinus, Porphyry, Proclus
 Nero 157, 241n162
noēsis (νόησις) 174
 Nympha(s) 79, 131, 133, 135

oikonomia (οικονομία) 47, 53, 66–67, 118, 279, 322, 390, 399
 Onesimus 130–132
 Origen 25–26, 93–95, 117n3
 Orphism 193n12, 240n155
 Osor(o)mneuis 105
 Ostia 153–154

paideia (παιδεία) 81, 84, 368
parousia 175–176, 305, 359n42, 361n50
parrhēsia (παρρησία) 47, 238n142, 346, 368, 371, 374–376, 381–382
 Pastoral Epistles (as corpus) 120, 136–137, 142n93
 Pauline school 3, 7n36, 22, 60, 119–120, 142, 407n28
pax romana 12–13, 76, 237n132
 Pentecost 17n95, 18n96
 Peregrinus 61n14
 Pergamon 146–147, 152–154, 159
 peshet 18n95
 Peshitta 18n95
 Peter (Simon) 121, 141–142, 214
 Pharisees 226n64, 270n84
 Philippi 130n65
 Philo of Alexandria 12, 15–16, 37n201, 40, 43, 46, 71n45, 171, 178–179, 207n74, 222, 232, 237n131, 240n153, 286n66, 318–319, 322n9, 326n16, 329n23, 336n32, 337n33, 35, 347, 359n41, 384–385
 Philodemus 51, 182, 372n14, 382n46, 384n56
philosophia (φιλοσοφία κτλ.) 100n63, 164, 226n64, 229n92
phragmos (φραγμός) 29, 242n168, 256, 265n54, 267
phronēsis (φρόνησις) 15, 47, 169–173, 191n4, 194
pistis (πίστις) 15, 127, 165, 173–175, 224n61, 239n149, 244, 281, 334, 350–352, 354n21, 358n36, 359n41, 361, 363n60, 412
 Platonism 40, 47, 51, 92, 168, 170, 172–174, 192–193, 198, 205–210, 212, 319, 322n9, 347, 381, 389n2, *see also* Middle Platonism, Neoplatonism, Xenocrates
 Pliny the Younger 9
 Plotinus 182, 183n41
 Plutarch 16, 47–49, 177, 181, 183–188, 193
polis (πόλις) 15, 102–103, 158, 166, 184–186, 188, 268–269, 271, 389, 396
 Polybius 44, 49
 Pompeii 10, 154
 Porphyry 379
 Poseidon 267n66
 postcolonial theory 48, 53, 57, 72, 78, 86, 391–392, 394, 399n53
 preexistence (of Christ) 279–280, 285n61
 Proclus 181
progymnasmata 123n32, 143n93
 proselytes 43, 236n130, 245n184, 246n189
prosopopoiia 123n32
 Ptolemies 101–108
 Pythagoras 193n14
 Pythagoreanism 164n9, 311n77, *see also* Apollonius of Tyana

 reading (in the congregation) 126, 135
 resurrection 6, 33, 36, 40–41, 51, 53, 119, 178n6, 200, 203–204, 227, 228n82, 240–241, 278, 281, 285, 292, 302, 305–307, 312–314, 319, 322–323, 326–327, 331, 336–337, 340, 347, 352n15, 356–358, 361n50, 362, 364, 378, 386
 Rome 5, 12, 59, 77, 109–114, 134, 271

 Sabbath 216, 223, 228, 244, 246n188
 Sadducees 226n64
 sectarianism 71–72, 151, 159–160, 397
 Seneca 121, 193, 373n17, 378, 382
 Serapis/Osorapis 101, 105
 Shekinah 226

- Smyrna 146–147, 152, 159
- Socratic tradition 166n16, 168, 170, 172, 175, 192n10, 193n12
- Solomon 203, 205n70, 226n65, *see also* temple (Jewish)
- sophia* (σοφία) 15, 47, 168–173, 178n9, 191n4, 227n81, 242n164
- sophists 8, 186, 207n74, 381, *see also* Flavius Damianos
- Stoicism 13–15, 35, 47, 50–51, 164–168, 170, 172, 174–176, 182–185, 192–193, 211, 222, 242n164, 245n187, 277, 329n24, 337n33, *see also* Chrysippus, Epictetus, Philodemus, Seneca, Zeno
- supersessionism 30–32, 247, 268–269, 272, 356
- teichos* (τείχος) 242n168, 266
- telos* (τέλος) 172n42, 389n2
- temple (image) 13, 31, 45–46, 48, 54–55, 77–78, 155–156, 160, 211, 243n170, 247–250, 265, 301n33, 330–331, 338, 361, 362n52, 408n41, 409–410
- temple (imperial) 8, 72, 104, 152, 155–156, *see also* cult (imperial)
- *Augustea* 8
 - ~ of Augustus at Pergamon 152
 - ~ of Dea Roma and Divus Julius Caesar at Ephesus 152
 - *Neokoros* 8
 - ~ of the Sebastoi at Ephesus 152
 - ~ of Trajan at Pergamon 152
- temple (Jewish) 24–25, 29–30, 34, 54, 134, 149, 202, 205–206, 211, 226, 232n106, 243n170, 249, 263–264, 389n4
- ~ of Herod 29–30
 - ~ of Solomon 29–30, 205n70, 226n65
- temple (pagan), 29, 77, 103–104, 106–107, 148, 151, 156, 193, 264–265, 406, 408–414, 416, *see also* temple (imperial)
- ~ of Apollo at Amyzon 102
 - ~ of Apollo at Didyma 29–30, 242n167, 265
 - ~ of Artemis at Amyzon 102
 - ~ of Artemis at Ephesus 8–10, 77, 152, 155
 - ~ of Athena at Pergamon 152
- Torah 19, 29–31, 200, 216–217, 219–223, 224n58, 242–244, 250, 262, 267–270, 274, 351
- Trajan 9, 152
- Trinitarian controversies 91–92
- Troy 267n66
- tryphaktos* (τρυφακτος) *see dryphaktos* (δρύφακτος)
- Tychicus 60, 130–135, 137–138, 141, 395
- universalism 75, 86, 213–214, 224, 229–230, 232–233, 237, 239, 241–242, 245n187, 247, 250, 272
- Victorinus, Marius 25
- war (Jewish) 11, 395
- Xenocrates 181–182
- Yom Kippur 30
- Zeno 14n74, 166n17, 168n23, 193n12.14, 245n187
- Zeus 30, 178n8–9, 240n155, 267n66
- Zion 223, 226