

GEORGE H. VAN KOOTEN

Cosmic Christology
in Paul and the
Pauline School

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*

171

Mohr Siebeck

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe

Herausgeber/Editor
Jörg Frey

Mitherausgeber / Associate Editors
Friedrich Avemarie · Judith Gundry-Volf
Martin Hengel · Otfried Hofius · Hans-Josef Klauck

171



George H. van Kooten

Cosmic Christology in Paul and the Pauline School

Colossians and Ephesians
in the Context of Graeco-Roman Cosmology,
with a New Synopsis of the Greek Texts

Mohr Siebeck

GEORGE H. VAN KOOTEN, born 1969; 1995 M.A. Theology (Leiden); 1995 M.A. Theology (Durham); 1996 M.St. Oriental Studies (Oxford); 2001 Ph.D. (Leiden); since 2002 lecturer in New Testament and Early Christian Studies at the University of Groningen.

ISBN 3-16-148007-4

ISSN 0340-9570 (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe)

978-3-16-157190-9 Unveränderte eBook-Ausgabe 2019

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

© 2003 J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) Tübingen.

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

The book was printed by Druckpartner Rübelmann GmbH in Hemsbach on non-aging paper and bound by Buchbinderei Schaumann in Darmstadt.

Printed in Germany.

Preface

This book is the revised form of a Ph.D. thesis submitted at the University of Leiden (2001). I am grateful to the Council for the Humanities, part of the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO), for my appointment as a junior researcher during the years 1996—2000.

Preparatory research already started during my postgraduate studies at the University of Durham (1994—1995). When I came to Durham to study Pauline theology with Prof. James Dunn, Prof. Dunn was about to finish his commentary on the *Letter to the Colossians* (Dunn 1996). He suggested I should draw up a new synopsis of the Greek texts of the letters to the Colossians and the Ephesians as a precursor to further studies into the theologies of these letters. His deep insight into Pauline issues, his rapidity of mind, and warm interest were and remain a great stimulus.

This book also owes much to Prof. Martin Goodman, with whom I studied at the Oriental Institute of the University of Oxford (1995—1996). More than anyone else he helped me to overcome the Judaism/Hellenism divide, and urged me to give as much thought as possible to sources from the pre-500 AD period to avoid anachronistic pitfalls.

I wish to thank Prof. Henk-Jan de Jonge, my supervisor at the University of Leiden, for his unfaltering guidance and support during my studies, both at the undergraduate and postgraduate level, and for his continuous urge for unambiguous comprehensibility. I am grateful to him and the other members of staff, Dr Johannes Tromp and Dr Harm Hollander, for many energetic and valuable debates on the issues of this book.

Furthermore, I wish to express my gratitude to Prof. Michael Frede (Oxford) for his willingness to discuss various aspects of the ancient philosophical side of this book and for many important suggestions which opened up new perspectives. His view that ‘Christianity (...) [is] a thoroughly ancient phenomenon, one without which antiquity would not be fully understood, and one which would not be fully understood, at least historically, without understanding its origins in antiquity’ (Frede 1999a, p. 45) is a challenge for more interdisciplinary cooperation in this field.

Dr Maria Sherwood-Smith (Leiden), fellow-member of The House, was so kind as to check the English of this book. Naturally, all flaws and errors remain mine.

Last but not least, I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Dr h.c. Georg Siebeck, publisher, Prof. Jörg Frey, series editor, and Dr Henning Ziebritzki, editor, for accepting this study in their WUNT series, seeing it through to publication, and making it available for scholarly discussion.

Groningen, May 2003

George H. van Kooten

University of Groningen
Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies
Oude Boteringestraat 38
9712 GK Groningen
The Netherlands

Email: g.h.van.kooten@theol.rug.nl

Table of Contents

Preface.....	V
Table of Contents.....	VII
Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1: The Body of the Cosmos and its Coherence according to the <i>Letter to the Colossians</i>: Early Christian Thought in the Context of Contemporary Stoic and Middle Platonist Physics.....	9
Introduction.....	9
1.1 The centrality of the concept of body (σῶμα) in the warnings against the rival philosophy: A general analysis of <i>Col</i> 2.8—3.4.....	11
Introduction.....	11
1.1.1 The first warning (<i>Col</i> 2.8—15).....	13
1.1.2 The second warning (<i>Col</i> 2.16—17).....	15
1.1.3 The third warning (<i>Col</i> 2.18—19).....	15
1.2 The concept of body (σῶμα) against the background of Stoic and Middle Platonist physics.....	17
1.2.1 An introduction to Stoic physics and the stability of the cosmic body.....	17
1.2.2 The stability of the cosmic body according to the author of <i>Col</i>	21
1.2.3 The location of the cosmos in Christ (<i>Col</i> 1.17b).....	23
1.2.4 The cosmic body and head (<i>Col</i> 2.9—10).....	23
1.2.5 The cosmological meaning of body (σῶμα) in <i>Col</i> 2.17.....	27
1.2.6 The bonds holding together the cosmic body (<i>Col</i> 2.19).....	30
(a) Alexander of Aphrodisias (fl. c. 200 AD) on Stoic physics	31
(b) The Old and Middle Stoa.....	32
(c) Stoicism of the later period: Cornutus, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, and the account of Stoic physics in Cicero’s <i>De natura deorum</i>	34
(d) Cicero and the <i>Timaeus</i> of Plato.....	39
(e) Plato and Middle Platonism: Timaeus of Locri, Philo, Plutarch, Alcinoüs, Apuleius, Numenius, and the account of Plato’s physics in Diogenes Laertius.....	42
(f) Numismatic evidence.....	52
1.2.7 Review of previous research and conclusions.....	53

Chapter 2: Physics and Cosmic Christology in Paul's Authentic Writings.....	59
Introduction.....	59
2.1 Physics and cosmic Christology in Paul's <i>Letter to the Galatians</i> : Christ's descent to lift man's bondage to the cosmic elements (<i>Gal</i> 4.3—10).....	59
Introduction.....	59
2.1.1 The realm of the cosmic elements.....	60
2.1.2 The elements of the cosmos and (Jewish) law.....	70
2.2 Physics and cosmic Christology in Paul's <i>First Letter to the Corinthians</i> : Christ's subjugation of the cosmic principles, powers and forces (<i>1 Cor</i> 15.23—28).....	79
Introduction.....	79
2.2.1 Christ's gradual subjugation of the cosmic powers: A general analysis of <i>1 Cor</i> 15.23—28.....	80
2.2.2 The Jewish tradition of the heavenly eschatological agent.....	88
Introduction.....	88
(a) The tradition of the heavenly eschatological agent.....	89
(b) The heavenly eschatological agent in <i>Daniel</i> 7 LXX.....	93
2.2.3 Paul's understanding of 'powers' in <i>Daniel</i> 7.27 LXX as cosmological principles and forces.....	95
(a) Powers, principles, and forces in Jewish literature.....	95
The powers (ἐξουσίαι).....	95
The principles (ἀρχαί).....	96
The forces (δυνάμεις).....	97
(b) The principles (ἀρχαί) and forces (δυνάμεις) in relation to the elements of the cosmos (στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου).....	100
2.2.4 The gradual disappearance of the present cosmos and God's new reality.....	103
(a) The gradual disappearance of the present cosmos.....	103
(b) God's new reality: The Anaxagorean phrase 'all in everything'.....	104
2.2.5 Paul and the author of <i>Col</i>	108
Chapter 3: Paul and the <i>Letter to the Colossians</i> Reconsidered: The Further Hellenization of Paul's Cosmology and Cosmic Christology.....	110
Introduction.....	110
3.1 The principles and powers according to the introductory prayer (<i>Col</i> 1.9—23).....	111

Introduction.....	111
3.1.1 The structure of the introductory prayer: Creation and reconstitution of the cosmos.....	112
(a) The introductory prayer of <i>Col</i> 1.9—23.....	112
(b) Earlier attempts at the reconstruction of a hymn in <i>Col</i> 1.15—20.....	115
3.1.2 Philosophical background of the introductory prayer.....	121
Introduction: Thrones, dominions, principles and powers.....	121
(a) Prepositional metaphysics.....	122
(b) Christ's role in creating the cosmos.....	125
(c) The notion of filling the cosmos.....	126
(d) The notions of cosmic reconciliation and peace.....	127
3.2 The principles, powers and elements in the central part on the Colossian philosophy (<i>Col</i> 2.8—3.4).....	129
3.2.1 Christ and the reconstitution of the cosmos.....	129
3.2.2 Harmonising the primordial antagonism of the cosmic principles: Aphrodite and Eros.....	130
3.2.3 Resolving present cosmic discord: Osiris.....	131
Conclusion.....	134
3.3 The identity of the Colossian philosophy.....	135
Introduction.....	135
3.3.1 The general tenor of the author's criticism.....	135
3.3.2 The Colossian philosophy as it emerges from the first warning	137
3.3.3 The Colossian philosophy as it emerges from the second warning.....	138
3.3.4 The Colossian philosophy as it emerges from the third warning	139
3.3.5 The philosophies of the author of <i>Col</i> and his opponents: Two conflicting instances of Middle Platonism.....	144
 Chapter 4: The Reasons for the <i>Letter to the Ephesians</i> : The Pauline Debate on God, Christ, and the Cosmos Continued.....	 147
Introduction.....	147
4.1 Part A—Sender, addressees, and greetings (<i>Eph</i> 1.1—2).....	149
4.2 Part B—The author's thanksgiving to God (<i>Eph</i> 1.3—14) and the letter's subject matter: The cosmos will be recapitulated and summarized in Christ.....	150
4.3 Part C—The author's introductory prayer for his readers (<i>Eph</i> 1.15—2.10): The extension of Christ's influence over the cosmos	152
Introduction.....	152
4.3.1 Description of the introductory prayer in part C of <i>Col</i>	152

4.3.2 The adaptation of the introductory prayer in part C of <i>Eph</i> — first section (<i>Eph</i> 1.15—23): Christ and the cosmos.....	154
(a) General outline.....	154
(b) The relation between Christ and the cosmos.....	156
4.3.3 The notion of filling the cosmos (<i>Eph</i> 1.23).....	159
4.3.4 The adaptation of the introductory prayer in part C of <i>Eph</i> — second and last section (<i>Eph</i> 2.1—10): The remaining evil cosmic powers.....	166
4.4 Part NEW 1—The first ecclesiological passage (<i>Eph</i> 2.11—22): Fellow-citizens of the household of God.....	168
4.5 Part D—Paul’s ministry and the mystery revealed to him (<i>Eph</i> 3.1—21): The church’s mission to the cosmos.....	171
Introduction.....	171
4.5.1 Part D in <i>Col</i>	171
4.5.2 The adaptation of part D in <i>Eph</i> : The global church and its mission to the cosmos.....	172
4.5.3 The Stoic notion of the cosmic city.....	175
4.5.4 The notion of cosmic dimensions.....	179
4.6 Part NEW 2—The second ecclesiological passage (<i>Eph</i> 4.1—16): The ascending Christ, the filling of the cosmos, and the church’s active involvement.....	183
4.6.1 General outline.....	183
4.6.2 Christ’s ascension and the instruction of the church in its cosmic task.....	185
4.6.3 Critique of the notion of Christ’s cosmic body.....	187
4.7 Part NEW 3—The fight against the cosmic rulers (<i>Eph</i> 6.10—17).....	191
4.8 Part I—Ending: Personal matters, a note on the messenger, and greetings (<i>Eph</i> 6.21—24).....	193
4.8.1 General outline.....	193
4.8.2 <i>Eph</i> as the <i>Letter to the Laodiceans</i>	195
(a) The chronological order of <i>Col</i> and the <i>Letter to the</i> <i>Laodiceans</i>	195
(b) The original addressees of <i>Eph</i> : Laodicea.....	197
4.8.3 The reasons for <i>Eph</i>	202
Chapter 5: Summary and Conclusions.....	204
5.1 Cosmic Christology in Paul and the Pauline School.....	204
5.2 Leading themes in the <i>Letter to the Colossians</i> : Christ’s cosmic body and its coherence.....	204
5.3 The cosmic principles, powers and elements according to Paul.....	205

5.4 The cosmic principles, powers and elements according to the <i>Letter to the Colossians</i>	207
5.5 The cosmic principles and powers according to the <i>Letter to the Ephesians</i>	209

Appendixes

Appendix I: Towards a Genetic Interpretation of the <i>Letter to the Ephesians</i>: Brief Review of Previous Synopses & the Present Synopsis.....	215
Introduction.....	215
1 E.J. Goodspeed's synopsis (1933).....	216
2 C.L. Mitton's synopsis (1951).....	217
3 R. Reuter's synopsis (1997).....	218
4 M.-A. Wagenführer's synopsis (1941).....	220
5 The present synopsis.....	223
5.1 Analyses of the structures of <i>Eph</i> and <i>Col</i>	223
5.2 Relation between <i>Eph</i> , <i>Col</i> , Paul and the Septuagint.....	224
Introduction.....	224
(a) The relationship between <i>Eph</i> and <i>Col</i>	227
(b) The relationship between <i>Eph</i> and Paul.....	229
(c) The relationship between <i>Eph</i> and the Septuagint.....	232
5.3 Definition of parallelism.....	234
5.4 Synopsis layout.....	235
5.5 The synopsis and the reasons for <i>Eph</i>	236
5.6 Introduction and key to the synopsis.....	236
 Appendix II: Synopsis of the Greek Texts of the <i>Letter to the Ephesians</i>, the <i>Letter to the Colossians</i>, Paul's Authentic Letters and the Septuagint.....	 239

Bibliography

1 Bibliographical abbreviations.....	291
2 Sources.....	294
2.1 Individual authors or separate anonymous and pseudepigraphic writings.....	294
2.2 Other literary sources (collections of texts).....	302
2.3 Epigraphic and papyrological material.....	302

2.4 Numismatic material.....	303
2.5 Tools.....	303
3 Literature.....	304

Indexes

1 Index of Passages from Ancient Authors.....	317
1.1 Biblical references.....	317
1.1.1 Old Testament: MT, LXX, and Vulgata.....	317
1.1.2 New Testament.....	319
1.2 Classical, pseudepigraphic, apocryphal, Qumran, and patristic references.....	323
1.3 Epigraphic, numismatic, and papyrological references.....	333
1.4 References to collections of philosophical texts: Diels, Diels- Kranz, KRS, LS, and <i>SVF</i>	333
2 Index of Modern Authors.....	334
3 Index of Subjects and Selected Ancient Names.....	337

Aber auch wenn wir von der johanneischen Frage absehen, so sind doch in der älteren Zeit Elemente genug vorhanden, deren Beachtung zu demselben Ergebnisse führt wie (...) das Paar der Briefe an die Ephesier und Kolosser. Aber auch Paulus selbst kommt hier in Betracht, dessen Christologie doch jedenfalls mit der kosmischen Stellung, welche sie der Person Christi gibt, eine Linie eröffnet, auf deren gerader Fortsetzung die Logospekulation liegt. Mit anderen Worten, die Einführung der Philosophie in das Christentum erscheint nicht als die Neuerung der Apologeten, welche nur an der Gnosis ihren Vorläufer hat; sie ist schon in einer viel früheren Zeit angebahnt.

C. Weizsäcker, Review of A. Harnack's *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (Freiburg 1886, vol. 1), in: *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, October 15th, 1886, no. 21, pp. 821—831; quotation from p. 829.

... christological thinking between 50 and 100 CE was much more unified in its basic structure than New Testament research, in part at least, has maintained. (...) more happened in the first twenty years than in the entire later, centuries-long development of dogma.

Martin Hengel, *Studies in Early Christology*, Edinburgh 1995, p. 383.

Fundamental is the eschatological claim that with Christ's death a whole epoch has passed and a new age begun. Moreover, this new age is characterized by the steady reclaiming of individuals for an ever closer conformity to the risen Christ. In some sense the event of Christ's passion and resurrection has to be reenacted in believers until the renewal of the new age is complete. Not only so, but the process cannot, almost by definition, be something merely individual or individualistic. Rather, by its very nature it is a shared experience which involves creation as well. The 'with Christ' cannot be fully enacted except as a 'with others' and 'with creation.' (...) the language cannot be reduced simply to a description of baptism or of membership in the believing community. Paul's language indicates rather a quite profound sense of participation with others in a great and cosmic movement of God centred on Christ and effected through his Spirit.

James D.G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, Edinburgh 1998, pp. 403—404.

Introduction

This study is concerned with Pauline views on the interrelationship between God, Christ, and the cosmos. It relates these views to contemporary Graeco-Roman theology and cosmology. The interrelationship between God, Christ, and the cosmos may also be termed cosmic Christology as Christ is accorded a cosmic role in God's dealings with the cosmos. Sometimes, the cosmology and cosmological concerns which come to expression in this cosmic Christology may also justify calling it christological cosmology rather than just cosmic Christology. No matter how one looks at it, God, Christ, and the cosmos seem to be closely intertwined in Pauline thought.

This way of thinking comes to the fore not only in some of Paul's authentic letters, but particularly in the Pseudo-Pauline letters to the Colossians and the Ephesians. I consider these letters as constituents of a Pauline debate on God, Christ, and the cosmos because, as I will aim to demonstrate in this book, the author of the *Letter to the Colossians* (*Col*) deliberately took issue with certain aspects of Paul's cosmic Christology (chaps 2.2.5 and 3). The author of the *Letter to the Ephesians* (*Eph*), in turn, continued this debate by drawing on *Col* and commenting on some features of its Christology and cosmology (chap. 4). It seems that both authors pursued this debate from theological and cosmological positions which they shared, to some extent, with Graeco-Roman contemporaries. Paul had opened up the possibility of such a debate in terms of Graeco-Roman cosmology, as he held the widespread opinion that the cosmos is composed of elements (chap. 2.1). Paul had also played a pivotal role in opening up an important aspect of Jewish eschatology to the Graeco-Roman mind by conceiving of the figure of the heavenly eschatological agent as a being which is engaged in the subjugation of chaotic and obstinate cosmic principles and forces (chap. 2.2).

In this introduction, I shall first briefly introduce the letters to the Colossians and the Ephesians with regard to their addressees and date before commenting on their relationship. This relationship is somewhat obscure as a result of the complex manner in which the author of *Eph* is dependent on *Col*. The *Letter to the Colossians* is purportedly addressed to the Christian congregation at Colossae in the Roman province of Asia. Colossae is close to the region of Caria in southwest Asia Minor and is situated in the southwestern part of the ill-defined region of Phrygia.¹ Colossae was eas-

¹ On Phrygia, see Mitchell 1996.

ily accessible from Ephesus, the economic and administrative centre of provincial Asia, as it was situated on the Eastern Highway which led from Ephesus to the East, just over one hundred miles (i.e. 160 kilometres) to the east of Ephesus.² As I shall argue in due course, the *Letter to the Colossians* was probably written in the 80s AD at the earliest (chap. 2.2.5).

The *Letter to the Ephesians*, however, does not seem ever to have been addressed to the Christian congregation at Ephesus. The reading of Ephesus in the letter's address is probably corrupt. In this study, I shall suggest that the letter was addressed, although only purportedly, to Laodicea-Lycus (chap. 4.8). This city was on the same direct line of the Eastern Highway as Colossae, only approximately ten miles (16 kilometres) further west of Colossae in the direction of Ephesus.³ The favourable location of Laodicea and Colossae on the Eastern Highway made both cities very attractive geographical points of reference for someone producing pseudepigraphic literature.

Although the present *Letter to the Ephesians* was, in my view, originally addressed to the Laodiceans, I will continue to call it by its common name. The *Letter to the Ephesians*, is—as I shall recall in the introduction to chap. 1—generally, and rightly, regarded to be dependent on the *Letter to the Colossians* and must therefore have been composed after *Col* in the 80s AD or later. As it is doubtful whether the so-called apostolic fathers like Clement of Rome and Ignatius of Antioch were acquainted with *Eph*, the first firm evidence for the existence of *Eph* seems to derive from Marcion (fl. c. AD 140), who knew *Eph* as the *Letter to the Laodiceans* (see chap. 4.8), Tertullian (c. AD 160—240; see chap. 4.8), and Basilides (fl. AD 130—140).⁴ For that reason, the date of *Eph* ranges somewhere between the 80s and AD 140. A date in the first two decades following the

² On the geographical position of Colossae and the Eastern Highway, see Ramsay 1895, vol. 1, chap. 6.1, pp. 208—211 and chap. 6.6, pp. 217—219. For a classical map of Asia Minor, which makes it possible to measure the distance between Ephesus and Colossae, see Calder and Bean 1958 and Talbert 2000 (see bibliography, section 2.5). For the situation of Colossae near modern Honaz, see Bean 1971, pp. 257—259, with a map on p. 233.

³ On the geographical situation of Laodicea, see Ramsay 1895, vol. 1, chap. 2.2, pp. 35—37. Cf. also Bean 1971, pp. 247—257, with a plan of Laodicea on p. 252, showing the Eastern Highway which enters Laodicea by the 'Ephesian Gate' (A) and issues forth by the 'Syrian Gate' (C) in the direction of Colossae (see also Ramsay's description in Ramsay 1895, vol. 1, p. 35, with a map between pp. 34 and 35). See also Bean 1976. For the distance between Laodicea and Colossae, see again Calder and Bean 1958 and Talbert 2000 (bibliography, section 2.5).

⁴ See Lincoln 1990, pp. LXXII—LXXIII and Lindemann 1979, pp. 199—221, esp. pp. 204—205, 215 and 220. For Basilides' acquaintance with *Eph*, see the reports in Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresium* (see index locorum in ed. Marcovich, p. 424). I owe this reference to Basilides to Prof. A.P. Bos, Amsterdam.

composition of *Col* in the 80s AD is to be preferred, since the unpolemical way in which *Eph* exhibits a positive view on God and creation seems to antedate the beginnings of Gnosticism after AD 100.⁵

The obscure nature of the relationship between *Eph* and *Col* and, in connection with that, the reasons why *Eph* was written constituted the starting point of my research. As recently as 1987, in his overview of the modern scholarly discussion on *Eph*, Merkel reiterated earlier observations of others that the literary and historical problems to which *Eph* exposes its interpreters have not been overcome.⁶ Though it is generally accepted that the author of *Eph* is dependent on *Col*, neither the exact nature of this dependency nor the reasons why the author of *Eph* chose to make use of *Col* have been satisfactorily determined so far. The synopses of the Greek texts of both letters, compiled by Goodspeed (1933), Wagenführer (1941), Mitton (1951), Reuter (1997) and Vleugels (1997), have proved far from sufficient for clarifying the genetic development of *Eph* out of *Col*. For that reason, my whole study is based on a new, extensive synopsis which I have drawn up and which is included in appendix II, together with a review of all previous synopses and a description of the characteristics of the present synopsis in appendix I. This synopsis contains the Greek texts of *Eph* and *Col*, as well as those Greek passages in Paul and the Septuagint on which the author of *Eph* also draws.

This literary-critical approach to the relationship between *Eph* and *Col* is complemented with a historical enquiry into the context of contemporary Graeco-Roman cosmology which I believe to shed considerable light on several important issues in *Eph* and *Col*. In this I continue the line of research set out by scholars like Eduard Schweizer, DeMaris, Dupont and, recently, Schwindt. Unlike these scholars, however, I intend to integrate research into *Col* and *Eph*: in many studies Schweizer focused solely on *Col* and left *Eph* out,⁷ DeMaris' critical update of Schweizer's view on *Col* is likewise only concerned with *Col*,⁸ whereas Dupont's *Gnosis* contains valuable sections on important motifs in *Eph* but lacks a comparative treatment of *Eph* and *Col*.⁹ Schwindt offers a convincing interpretation of *Eph* in terms of Graeco-Roman cosmology, yet does not show how this material has a bearing upon *Col* and on the interrelationship between *Eph* and *Col*.¹⁰ Unlike Schweizer and DeMaris, I shall not only characterise the

⁵ Cf. Schwindt 2002, chap. 4.5.3, esp. pp. 503—505 and 508.

⁶ Merkel 1987, p. 3157.

⁷ Schweizer 1970, 1975, 1988, 1989*a* and 1989*b*.

⁸ DeMaris 1994.

⁹ Dupont 1949.

¹⁰ Schwindt 2002, esp. chaps 3 (ancient cosmology) and 4 (*Eph*).

philosophy which is criticised in *Col* as Middle Platonist, as they do,¹¹ but also detect many Middle Platonist motifs and overtones in the theology and cosmology of the author of *Col* himself, alongside notions which are more particularly Stoic.

As a whole, this book aims to do justice to the importance of the cosmological side of early Christian theology and Christology. Cosmological interest is not only noticeable in the Pseudo-Pauline letters to the Colossians and the Ephesians, but—as I shall show in chap. 2—already in Paul. In these letters, whether authentically Pauline or pseudepigraphic, Graeco-Roman cosmology is closely intertwined with the soteriological question of man's salvation. In this, I disagree with scholars like MacMullen and Carr. In his *Christianizing the Roman Empire*, MacMullen says that the most conspicuous difference between Christianity and Graeco-Roman culture was Paul's Jewish stress on the 'antagonism of God toward all other supernatural powers' whereas classical culture—and here MacMullen quotes Carr with much approval—'lacked any sense of mighty, hostile forces that stood over against man as he struggled for survival.'¹²

Carr's opinion is recorded at length in his *Angels and Principalities: The Background, Meaning and Development of the Pauline Phrase *hai Archai kai hai Exousiai**,¹³ which—as far as its object of research is concerned—provides the closest analogy to the research which I undertake in the present book. Carr's view on the identity of Paul's forces and the supposed absence of such forces in contemporary Graeco-Roman thought seems untenable, however. In my view, the powers Christ is thought to be confronted with in Pauline and Pseudo-Pauline letters are in fact *similar* to those antagonistic cosmological powers which—according to Plutarch—are subjugated by Eros, Aphrodite and Osiris (chap. 3.2). As soon as Paul reckoned with the reality of the elements of the cosmos (στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου) in his *Letter to the Galatians*, he took over the whole Graeco-Roman view of the sublunary cosmos as the realm in which the passive elements are subject to a destructive cosmic force (chaps 2.1 and 3.2). As far as cosmological concepts and terminology are concerned, there are many similarities between Pauline Christianity and Graeco-Roman cosmological philosophy. The importance of cosmic Christology

¹¹ Schweizer himself used the term 'Pythagorean' (see, e.g., Schweizer 1989a, pp. 103—104), but after DeMaris had demonstrated that 'Middle Platonist' is a more appropriate characterisation (DeMaris 1994, pp. 88—97 and chap. 4, pp. 98—133), Schweizer showed himself more or less convinced (Schweizer 1995): 'Richtig ist, daß ich "Pythagoreer" (...) immer in Führungszeichen hätte schreiben sollen, da mir (...) mittelplatonischer Einfluß natürlich deutlich war' (Schweizer 1995, col. 240). See also Sterling 1998.

¹² MacMullen 1984, pp. 18—19 and 130 note 8; Carr 1981, p. 174.

¹³ Carr 1981.

and cosmology in Paul and in the Pseudo-Pauline letters to the Colossians and the Ephesians is reflected in the genuine efforts made by the authors of *Col* and *Eph* to adapt Paul's view on God, Christ, and the cosmos to their own temporal and intellectual circumstances.

The interest of early Christians in cosmology did not wane, but rather increased. Physics continued to concern Christians throughout the second and third centuries AD and after. Physics even occasioned the Marcionite or Gnostic crisis in the middle of the second century, far ahead of all more specifically christological and Trinitarian issues which were decided at the great councils of the fourth and fifth centuries. The Gnostic movement, as is now increasingly acknowledged, is closely related to the history of Graeco-Roman philosophy.¹⁴ This movement is, as Dillon puts it, part of the 'Platonic underworld,' in which category he includes, among others, the Gnostic writings which he considers to reflect a particular type of Platonism.¹⁵ The emergence of Gnosticism becomes more understandable, as Mansfeld has shown, if it is understood as involving the radicalisation of a concept that had never really been adopted in Graeco-Roman philosophy but had largely remained only a logical possibility: the concept of a bad or ignorant Demiurge (Creator).¹⁶ Inasmuch as Gnosticism is a particular, though radical variation on Graeco-Roman philosophy, one can detect many similarities between Gnosticism and the letters to the Colossians and the Ephesians. Yet, these similarities are only due to their common background in Graeco-Roman philosophy. The dissimilarities between Gnostic views on the cosmos on the one hand, and those of *Col* and *Eph* on the other spring easily to mind if one looks at the interpretation of these letters by Gnostics, who have embraced the notion of a bad or ignorant Demiurge.¹⁷ This notion is certainly absent from *Col* and *Eph*. For that reason, the scholarly interpretation of *Col* and *Eph* in terms of Gnosticism has to be abandoned,¹⁸ and due attention should be paid to general Graeco-Roman cosmology as the immediate contemporary context of *Col* and *Eph*.

In this study, I shall proceed as follows. In the first chapter, I will start off by introducing *Col*, the first of the two Pseudo-Pauline letters at issue. Attention will first be drawn to the fact that in its warnings against a particular philosophy, the concept of body (σῶμα) plays a pivotal role (chap. 1.1). On closer inspection, the term 'body' (σῶμα) appears to stand for the

¹⁴ See, e.g., Roukema 1999, esp. chaps 7 and 9.

¹⁵ Dillon 1996a, chap. 8A, pp. 384—396. See also Dillon 1996b.

¹⁶ Mansfeld 1981, esp. pp. 312—314.

¹⁷ See the evidence of the Gnostic interpretation of Paul collected in Pagels 1975.

¹⁸ For an overview of this Gnostic interpretation, see Merkel 1987, chap. 2.1, pp. 3176—3195.

body of the cosmos, and a discussion of contemporary Stoic and Middle Platonist views on the cosmic body and its coherence becomes indispensable (chap. 1.2).

Having introduced *Col* and highlighted its interest in cosmic coherence, I shall try to account for the distinctiveness of the cosmology of *Col* by comparing it with the cosmology of Paul's authentic writings. In the second chapter, the way is paved for such a comparison. To this end, some important cosmological terms are discussed which occur in both cosmological systems. These terms are 'elements of the cosmos' (στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου), 'principles' (ἀρχαί) and 'powers' (ἐξουσίαι) which occur not only in *Col*, but also already in Paul's letters to the Galatians and the Corinthians. In chap. 2.1, I focus on the idea that Christ came down to lift man's bondage to the 'elements of the cosmos' (*Gal* 4.3—10). In chap. 2.2, the notion is discussed that between his resurrection and the end of time, Christ is engaged in subjugating the cosmic 'principles' and 'powers' (*1 Cor* 15.23—28). It seems that already Paul's Christology is highly cosmological in nature and has much in common with contemporary Graeco-Roman thought. On the other hand, however, Paul's expectation of a gradual and imminent disappearance of the cosmos and its powers as a result of Christ's activities appears to be in marked contrast with the stability and coherence which the author of *Col* attributes to the *present* cosmos (chap. 2.2.5).

The third chapter develops this comparison between Paul and the author of *Colossians* further, and in it I comment in detail on the latter's view on the principles, powers and elements of the cosmos. This view is expressed in the introductory prayer at the beginning of *Col* and in the central part of the letter in which the so-called Colossian philosophy is refuted. First the introductory prayer will be dealt with (chap. 3.1), and this will be followed by a treatment of the letter's central part (chap 3.2). Finally, I shall address the issue of the identity of the Colossian philosophy to which the author of *Col* is opposed (chap. 3.3).

Once a clear picture has emerged of the cosmic Christologies of Paul and of the author of *Col*, it will prove possible to understand the characteristics of the cosmic Christology of *Eph* as well. In the fourth chapter, I will demonstrate that the author of *Eph* is literarily dependent on *Col*, adopted almost its entire structure, but modified its cosmological tenets. My arguments in this chapter are largely based on the new synopsis of the Greek texts of *Eph* and *Col* which is contained in the second appendix, together with a critique of all previous synopses and a full explanation of the present synopsis in the first appendix. These appendixes are meant to promote a genetic interpretation of *Eph*, i.e. an interpretation in terms of its development out of *Col*.

At the end of this introduction, a few disclaimers apply with respect to the following chapters. First, if I use the term 'church' (ἐκκλησία) in this book, most frequently in chap. 4, I do so only reluctantly because at the beginning of Christianity the word did not yet have the specifically Christian ring to it which it acquired later. As is apparent from a footnote at the end of chap. 1.2.4, Plutarch, a contemporary of the author of *Eph*, used the word ἐκκλησία, like all Greeks, in the sense of an 'assembly of people' (*De defectu oraculorum* 426A). It is in that general sense that the term 'church' should be understood.

Secondly, for ease of reference I use the term 'Septuagint' in a broad sense as an equivalent of the Jewish Scriptures in Greek, even if the texts quoted or alluded to in Paul, *Col* or *Eph* were not yet part of the integrated body of writings which is now designated as the Septuagint.

Thirdly, the labels which I attach to some philosophical notions, such as 'Stoic' or 'Middle Platonist,' have to be taken with some caution because, as Frede has recently pointed out in his epilogue to *The Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy*, clear contours are absent in the philosophy pursued in the period between 125 BC and 250 AD.¹⁹

Fourthly, for the sake of historical transparency I usually add the biographical dates of classical authors in brackets behind their name. These dates have on the whole been derived from the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (*OCD*³), though the need to be brief sometimes coerces me to simplify its nuances.

Finally, in calling *Col* and *Eph* Pseudo-Pauline letters, rather than Deutero-Pauline letters, I follow the practice, current among classicists, of prefacing the names of pseudepigraphic authors with the prefix 'Pseudo.'

¹⁹ Frede 1999b, pp. 790—793.

Chapter 1

The Body of the Cosmos and its Coherence according to the *Letter to the Colossians*: Early Christian Thought in the Context of Contemporary Stoic and Middle Platonist Physics

Introduction

It is the assumption of this study, which will be ascertained in due course, that Paul's *Letter to the Colossians* and *Letter to the Ephesians* are in fact examples of the phenomenon of pseudepigraphic literature, which was widespread in classical antiquity.¹ A striking feature of these letters is that they seem to have been written by two distinct adherents of Pauline theology, both of whom credited their writings to Paul, while at the same time one of them was dependent on the other. Generally, *Eph* is thought to be secondary and to share many of its tenets with *Col*, the writing it was modelled on. The two pseudepigraphic writings resemble one another in many respects, but the secondary one also diverges to some extent from its model, and the question of how to account for both similarity and divergence remains puzzling till the present day.

There seems, however, to be a way out of this problem. In previous research into these letters, the relationship between the contents of these letters and the cosmological debate conducted within the religious philosophy of the Graeco-Roman period has not received the attention it deserves. Recently, James D.G. Dunn drew attention to the concept of body (σῶμα) in *Col* and showed the large semantic variety of this concept here, including the meaning of σῶμα as the body of the cosmos.² In this chapter, I aim to demonstrate that such a cosmological use of σῶμα ('body') characterizes a passage in *Col* which is devoted entirely to an analysis and refutation of a rival doctrine about the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, the elements of the cosmos (*Col* 2.8—3.4). The cosmological use of σῶμα ('body'),

¹ On pseudepigraphic literature in classical antiquity, see Rose and Parsons 1996.

² Dunn 1994, esp. 3rd section, pp. 173—177 on the cosmic body.

however, seems to disappear, as I wish to argue later, in the parallel passages in *Eph*. This disappearance might shed light on the interrelation between *Col* and *Eph*, and on the purpose of the latter.

This approach to the interrelation of these letters was already suggested by Martin Dibelius in the 1927 edition of his commentary on *Col* but seems to remain either neglected or unjustifiably criticized. According to Dibelius, the term 'body' (σῶμα) in *Col* 2.19 should be understood as referring to the body of the cosmos. Interpreting this concept as a reference to the body of the church, as the parallel but secondary passage in *Eph* does (*Eph* 4.16), amounts to imposing the meaning of *Eph* 4.16 on *Col* 2.19.³ In this chapter, I intend to provide fresh evidence for the cosmological meaning of σῶμα ('body') in *Col* and to supplement the appropriate religio-historical background of this concept which Dibelius' interpretation was still lacking.⁴ Knowledge of contemporary cosmology can contribute significantly towards the clarification of the enigmatic relationship between *Eph* and *Col*.

This argument will be developed over several stages. First, it will be argued that the term σῶμα ('body') is *central* to the section which deals with the disputed doctrine about the elements of the cosmos in *Col* 2.8—3.4 (chap. 1.1). Secondly, attention will be given to the cosmological *meaning* of the term σῶμα ('body') in this passage. This meaning clearly arises against the interpretative background of contemporary physics as developed in Stoicism and Middle Platonism (chap. 1.2). On the basis of this detailed discussion of the concept of σῶμα ('body') in the central section in *Col*, in one of the subsequent chapters a comparison can be drawn with *Eph*, where this terminology reappears but loses its cosmological meaning (see chap. 4.6.3).

³ Dibelius 1953³, pp. 36—37 on σῶμα in *Col* 2.19: 'Bei der Zurückdrängung der kosmischen Gedanken in der Kirche ist es beinahe selbstverständlich, daß Ausleger wie Theodoret [=Theodoret of Cyrrhus, c. 393—466 AD] die Stelle einfach nach *Eph* 4,16 deuten' (p. 36; =Dibelius 1927², p.27; not yet in Dibelius 1912¹). On the secondary nature of *Eph*, see Dibelius 1953³, pp. 83—85 (cf. Dibelius 1927², pp. 63—65 and Dibelius 1912¹, pp. 113—114).

⁴ Dibelius 1953³, pp. 29—30: 'Aber sichere Belege für die religionsgeschichtlichen Zusammenhänge fehlen; wir können nur den kosmischen Gebrauch von κεφαλή und σῶμα (2,19) konstatieren' (p. 30; =Dibelius 1927², p. 22; not yet in Dibelius 1912¹).

Indexes

- 1 Index of Passages from Ancient Authors
- 2 Index of Modern Authors
- 3 Index of Subjects and Selected Ancient Names

1 Index of Passages from Ancient Authors

Some short passages of *Col* and *Eph* are included under a larger unit if this is dealt with specifically and extensively in a separate chapter section, which is then mentioned between brackets. For example, *Eph* 3.10 is listed separately, but some references are included under *Eph* 3.1—21, which is treated extensively in a separate chapter section, chap. 4.5.

All sections of the index, including the section with biblical references, are arranged in alphabetical order.

- 1.1 Biblical references
 - 1.1.1 Old Testament: MT, LXX, and Vulgata
 - 1.1.2 New Testament
- 1.2 Classical, pseudepigraphic, apocryphal, Qumran, and patristic references
- 1.3 Epigraphic, numismatic, and papyrological references
- 1.4 References to collections of philosophical texts: Diels, Diels-Kranz, KRS, LS, and *SVF*

1.1 Biblical references

1.1.1 Old Testament: MT, LXX, and Vulgata

<i>Chronicles, The First Book of</i> (1 <i>Chron</i>)	18.18 LXX	97 n. 70
16.32 LXX	31.3 LXX	138 n. 47
23.31 LXX		
29.12 LXX		
<i>Chronicles, The Second Book of</i> (2 <i>Chron</i>)	<i>Daniel, The Book of (Dan)</i>	
2.3 LXX	7.2—28 LXX	93—95
	7.27 LXX	80; 94—96; 99;
		102; 121;
		134 n. 43
	7.27 Theod(otion)	94 n. 64; 134 n. 43

- Deuteronomy*
25.4 LXX 76
40 (33).12 LXX 97 n. 73
- Ecclesiasticus*
(*The Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach*)
42.16b LXX 159 n. 20
- Esther*
4.17r LXX 96; 99
- Ezekiel, The Book of the Prophet*
12.19 LXX 159 n. 20
19.7 LXX 159 n. 20
30.12 LXX 159 n. 20
- Ezra, The Fourth Book of*
(*4 Ezra—Vulgata*)
7.28—29 90 n. 59; 91
11.37—12.3 90 n. 59
11.40—46 91
12.11 91
12.31—34 90 n. 59
13.1—13 90 n. 59
13.25—26 90 n. 59
13.33—38 90 n. 59
13.37—38 91
13.39—47 91
13.51—52 90 n. 59
- Genesis*
15.15 LXX 100
- Habakkuk*
3.3e LXX 159 n. 20
- Hosea*
2.13 LXX 138 n. 47
- Isaiah, The Book of the Prophet*
6.3c LXX 159 n. 20
34.4 LXX 89 n. 57; 97 n. 70
42.13 LXX 98 n. 74
57.18—20 LXX 169
59.17 LXX 191
59.21 LXX 191
- Jeremiah, The Book of the Prophet*
8.16 LXX 159 n. 20
23.24 LXX 159
29 (47).2 LXX 159 n. 20
- Kings, The First Book of*
(*1 Kings MT; =3 Kings LXX*)
17.1 LXX 98 n. 74
18.15 LXX 97 n. 73
- Kings, The Second Book of*
(*2 Kings MT; =4 Kings LXX*)
3.14 LXX 97 n. 73
17.16 LXX 97 n. 70
19.20 LXX 98 n. 74
19.31 LXX 97 n. 73
21.3 LXX 97 n. 70
21.5 LXX 97 n. 70
23.4—5 LXX 97 n. 70
- Leviticus*
23.23—24 LXX 71
- 2 Maccabees (2 Macc—LXX)*
3.24 95; 96 n. 68; 99
7.22—23 61
- 3 Maccabees (3 Macc—LXX)*
7.9 98 n. 75
- 4 Maccabees (4 Macc—LXX)*
12.13 62; 63
- Numbers*
19.17—19 LXX 72
- Oratio Manassis (LXX)*
15 97 n. 70
- Proverbs*
8.22—31 LXX 126; 174
- Psalms*
2.7 LXX 84 n. 48
8.7 LXX 83—85; 87; 156
17 (18).10 LXX 82
23 (24).1 LXX 159 n. 20
23 (24).10 LXX 97 n. 73
32 (33).5 LXX 159 n. 20
45 (46).8 LXX 97 n. 73
45 (46).12 LXX 97 n. 73
46 (47).4 LXX 82
47 (48).9 LXX 97 n. 73

Psalms (cont'd.)

49 (50).12 LXX	159 n. 20
58 (59).6 LXX	98 n. 74
67 (68).19 LXX	180; 185; 186
68 (69).7 LXX	97 n. 73
71 (72).19 LXX	159 n. 20
79 (80).5 LXX	98 n. 74
79 (80).8 LXX	98 n. 74
79 (80).15 LXX	98 n. 74
79 (80).20 LXX	98 n. 74
83 (84).2 LXX	97 n. 73
83 (84).4 LXX	97 n. 73
83 (84).9 LXX	98 n. 74
83 (84).13 LXX	97 n. 73
88 (89).9 LXX	98 n. 74
88 (89).11 LXX	159 n. 20
95 (96).11 LXX	159 n. 20
97 (98).7 LXX	159 n. 20
103 (104).24 LXX	159 n. 20
109 (110).1 LXX	81—84; 87; 155 n. 14; 156 n. 15
118 (119).64 LXX	159 n. 20

Samuel, The First Book of

(1 Sam MT; =1 Kings LXX)	
1.3 MT	98
1.11 MT	98
4.4 MT	97 n. 73; 98
4.4 LXX	97 n. 73

Samuel, The Second Book of

(2 Sam MT; 2 Kings LXX)	
6.2 MT	97 n. 73; 98
6.2 LXX	97 n. 73
6.18 LXX	97 n. 73

Wisdom of Solomon (LXX)

1.7	159—160
5.17—18	191
7.21	126; 174

Zechariah (Zech)

1.3 LXX	97 n. 73
7.4 LXX	97 n. 73

Zephaniah (Zeph)

2.9 LXX	97 n. 73
---------	----------

*1.1.2 New Testament**Acts of the Apostles (Acts)*

2.32—36	84 n. 47
2.34—35	81; 82
13.32—33	84 n. 48

Colossians, The Letter to the (Col)

1.1—2	149—150 (chap. 4.1)
1.3—8	150—152 (chap. 4.2)
1.5—6	136
1.7—8	137
1.9—23	112—115 (chap. 3.1.1 [a]); 120; 152—154 (chap. 4.3.1)
1.9—10	11
1.11	155
1.12—13	167
1.13—22	11
1.13	118
1.14	118

1.15—20	115—121 (chap. 3.1.1. [b]); 136 n. 44
1.15—17	157; 188
1.15	17; 24; 25; 127; 167
1.16—17	18; 21—26; 30; 122; 127
1.16	17; 22; 23; 26; 59; 88 n. 54; 121—122; 123; 125; 144; 181 n. 60; 186 n. 71
1.17	22; 23; 26; 108; 123; 125; 164; 188
1.18—19	24; 25
1.18	25; 26; 56
1.19—20	25; 166; 187; 188
1.19	18; 25; 123; 125; 126—127; 163; 164; 165
1.20—23	120

<i>Colossians, The Letter to the (cont'd.)</i>		
1.20	25; 122; 123; 125; 127; 128; 164; 186 n. 71	2.12 2.14—15 2.14 2.15
1.21—23	120	129 n. 34; 155 n. 14
1.21—22	166	13—14; 144 142; 170
1.21	27	17; 22; 59; 121; 122; 129; 134 n. 43; 142; 145; 154; 167; 170
1.22—23	167	2.16—17 2.16 2.17
1.22	129 n. 34; 144; 170; 171	15; 27; 30; 136; 138; 143; 144
1.23	136; 171	12; 88 n. 54
1.24—2.7	171—172 (chap. 4.5.1)	16; 17; 23; 27; 27—30; 30 n. 46; 57; 129; 135; 144
1.24	26	2.18—19 2.18
1.25—26	172	15—16; 141
1.26—29	136	12; 136; 139; 142—143; 145
1.26—27	173	2.19
1.27	174 n. 44	10; 16—19; 23; 24 n. 33; 27; 30—31; 42; 50; 52; 53—58; 108; 129; 135; 145; 146; 167; 186 n. 71; 188; 189; 202
1.28	11	2.20—23 2.20—21 2.20
1.29	155 n. 14	14 n. 8; 17; 59; 113; 122; 129; 134 n. 43; 142; 170
2.1—3	136	2.22 2.23
2.1	172	3.1—4 3.1—3 3.1—2 3.1
2.2—3	11	14; 141 113 167 14 n. 8; 155 n. 14; 156 n. 15
2.2	173; 174 n. 44	3.3—4 3.5—17 3.5—11 3.5—9 3.5
2.4	136; 137	3.12—17 3.12—15 3.12—14 3.15
2.6—7	12; 136; 167	3.16—17 3.18—4.1 4.2—6 4.2—4
2.6	85 n. 49	136; 190 184; 190 n. 74 190 n. 74 167 184 190 n. 74 136; 190 193 193 n. 77
2.8—3.4	9; 10; 12; 56; 57; 58; 129; 136; 183	
2.8—15	13	
2.8—10	25; 26; 59; 122; 123; 145; 154; 192	
2.8	11—13; 17; 22; 134 n. 43; 136; 141; 143; 144; 145; 167	
2.9—10	13; 16; 19; 22; 23; 57; 113; 129; 135; 144; 157; 167; 188	
2.9	17; 18; 23—27; 54 n. 150; 123; 125; 127; 129; 163	
2.10	12; 17; 23; 26 n. 35; 54 n. 149; 55—57; 88 n. 54; 121; 129	
2.11—13	13—14	
2.11	24 n. 33; 27; 129; 144	
2.12—13	14 n. 8; 113; 146	

<i>Colossians, The Letter to the (cont'd.)</i>	15.51—52	103; 108
4.5	193 n. 77	15.54—57
4.6	193 n. 77	83 n. 45
4.7—18	193—203	
	(chap. 4.8)	
4.9	137	<i>Corinthians, The Second Letter to the</i>
4.10	137	(2 Cor)
4.12—13	136	1.1—3
4.12	137	154 n. 12; 200
4.13	35; 50	1.1—2
4.14	137	149
4.15—16	174	1.1
4.17	137	200; 201
		1.3—4
		149
		1.8—9
		108
		1.21—22
		150
		4.5
		85 n. 49
		4.16—5.8
		108
		5.19
		127
		6.14
		190 n. 74
		10.4—5
		191
		11.14
		100
		12.7
		100
<i>Corinthians, The First Letter to the</i>		
(1 Cor)		
2.6	167	<i>Ephesians, The Letter to the (Eph)</i>
2.8	167	1.1—3
2.12	167	200
2.13—15	107 n. 98	1.1—2
3.21—23	83 n. 45	149—150
6.2—3	100	(chap. 4.1); 195—
7.29—31	104	201 (chap. 4.8.2)
8.4—6	125 n. 28	1.3—14
8.6	125—126	150—152
9.4—10	75—76	(chap. 4.2)
10.11	103	185 n. 70
12.3	85 n. 49	1.3—4
12.4—11	104—105 n. 90	173
12.6	104—105 n. 90	1.7—10
12.28—29	186	172; 173
15.12—57	79	1.9—10
15.21	83 n. 45; 85 n. 52	165—166 n. 36;
15.23—28	6; 59; 79—87; 88;	173; 187
	89; 100; 102; 104;	1.15—2.10
	106; 121;	152
	134 n. 43; 152;	1.15—23
	156; 157; 165	154—158
		(chap. 4.3.2)
15.24—26	102	1.17—22
15.24	88—90; 93; 95;	173
	96; 99—100; 102;	1.20—22
	134 n. 43; 156	85 n. 50
15.25	156 n. 15; 157	1.20
15.26	83; 102	175
15.27	156	1.21
15.28	104; 157; 165	88;
15.35—49	107	165—166 n. 36
15.42	102 n. 84	1.22—23
15.44—49	107	169; 175; 183;
15.50	102 n. 84	185; 187
		1.23
		159—166
		(chap. 4.3.3); 189
		166—168
		(chap. 4.3.4)
		2.1—10
		88
		2.2
		88
		2.6
		191
		2.11—22
		168—171
		(chap. 4.4)
		2.12
		178

Ephesians, The Letter to the (cont'd.)

2.16	172
2.19	178
3.1—21	171—183 (chap. 4.5)
3.1	199
3.3—4	196
3.10	88 n. 54; 168; 186; 187; 192
3.18—19	122 n. 12
4.1—16	183—191 (chap. 4.6)
4.1	199
4.5—6	198 n. 79
4.8—10	180
4.15—16	56; 202
4.15	192
4.16	10; 55 n. 151; 56
4.17—5.20	190
4.17—18	190 n. 74
4.19—31	190 n. 74
4.29	193 n. 77
4.32—5.2	190 n. 74
5.3—18	190 n. 74
5.15—16	193 n. 77
5.15	178
5.19—20	190 n. 74
5.21—6.9	190
5.23—24	190 n. 74
5.25—30	190 n. 74
6.10—17	191—193 (chap. 4.7)
6.12	88 n. 54; 168; 190 n. 74
6.18—20	193
6.20	199
6.21—24	193—203 (chap. 4.8)

Galatians, The Letter to the (Gal)

1.2	70
1.6—7	70
1.19	70
2.1	70
2.3—5	70
2.9	70
2.11—12	70
2.13	70
3.28	74—75 n. 40
4.3—10	6; 59; 67; 80; 100;

4.3—5	66; 69; 75; 77; 100
4.3	59; 64; 67; 69— 70; 72; 74 n. 40; 75; 77—78; 133; 134 n. 43
4.4—5	60
4.4	75—76 n. 41; 78
4.5	70; 75; 76
4.6	79
4.8—9	66
4.8	65; 66
4.9—10	67; 70
4.9	67; 69; 72; 74; 78; 133; 134 n. 43
4.10	68; 71—72; 78
4.21	70
5.2—3	70
5.25	78; 79
6.2	74—75 n. 40
6.12—13	70
6.14—15	78; 129
6.14—16	78
6.16	78; 79

Hebrews, A Letter to (Hebr)

1.1—2a	30 n. 46
1.2	126
1.3—5	84 n. 48
1.3	84 n. 47
1.13	81; 82
2.5—9	85 nn. 50 and 53
2.8	85—86 n. 53
10.1	30 n. 46
10.12	84 n. 47
12.2	84 n. 47

John, The Gospel according to

1.3	126
1.10	126
1.14	26

Mark, The Gospel according to

12.36 parr	81
13.24—26 parr	89
13.25	88; 97 n. 70
14.62 parr	84 n. 47

<i>Peter, The First Letter of (1 Peter)</i>	8.34	84
3.18—22	185 n. 70	8.38—39
3.21—22	85 n. 50	
3.22	88	180—181
		8.38
		10.9
<i>Philemon, The Letter to (Phm)</i>	11.36	84—85
2	137	12.6
10	137	14.9
23	137	16.20
24	137	16.25—27
		173—174 n. 42
<i>Philippians, The Letter to the (Philipp)</i>		
1.19—25	108	
2.6—11	118 n. 7	<i>Thessalonians, The First Letter to the (1 Thess)</i>
2.9—11	85 n. 49	4.15—17
2.17	108	5.4—7
3.10—11	108	5.8
3.20—21	85	190 n. 74
		191
<i>Revelation of John, The (Rev)</i>		<i>Thessalonians, The Second Letter to the (2 Thess)</i>
3.14—22	200 n. 82	2.1—12
3.14	126	2.3—4
		2.5—8
		108 n. 99
		108
		108
<i>Romans, The Letter to the (Rom)</i>		
1.3—4	84 n. 48	<i>Timothy, The Second Letter to (2 Tim)</i>
1.4	84	1.8
1.7	199	1.15—18
1.15	199	1.16—17
5.12	85 n. 52	2.9
5.18	85 n. 52	4.11—21
8.20	85	4.12
8.21	102 n. 85	199

1.2 Classical, pseudepigraphic, apocryphal, Qumran, and patristic references

<i>Acta Ioannis</i>		<i>Aetius</i>	
108.9	164	<i>Placita</i>	
		1.7.11	160 n. 25
<i>Aelius Aristides</i>		1.28.4	36 n. 68
<i>Orationes</i>		2.13.11	42—43 n. 92
43.15	160—161 n. 26	4.21.4	19 n. 20
45.3	119		
45.21	127;	<i>Alcinous</i>	
	158—159 n. 19;	<i>Didaskalikos</i>	
	160—161 n. 26	167.32—37	49
		170.4—9	50

- | | | | |
|---|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------|
| 171.38—172.3 | 64 n. 20 | Apuleius | |
| Alexander of Aphrodisias | | (a) <i>De mundo</i> | |
| (a) <i>De fato</i> | | 292 | 51 |
| 191.26—193.2 | 32 n. 52 | 297 | 51 |
| 192.2—6 | 32 n. 52; 57 n. 160 | 327 | 50 |
| | | 343 | 162 n. 28 |
| (b) <i>De mixtione</i> | | (b) <i>De Platone et eius dogmate</i> | |
| 216.14—17 | 31 n. 48 | 197 | 50—51 |
| 223.7—9 | 31 n. 47 | 203 | 51 |
| 223.16—17 | 31 n. 49 | (c) <i>Florida</i> | |
| 223.25—27 | 20—21 n. 26 | Ed. Helm | |
| 223.34—36 | 31 n. 51; 35 n. 63;
57 n. 160 | 17, p. 31.8—13 | 50 n. 125 |
| 223.34 | 31 n. 50; 35 n. 63 | 18, p. 35.10—16 | 50 n. 125 |
| 225.1—2 | 18 n. 14 | 18, p. 38.8—13 | 50 n. 125 |
| 228.16—17 | 106 n. 96 | 18, p. 39.4—8 | 50 n. 125 |
| (c) <i>In Aristotelis Metaphysica
commentaria</i> | | 20, pp. 40.23—
41.5 | 50 n. 125 |
| 291.15—19 | 106 n. 96 | Ed. Vallette | |
| 303.29—304.7 | 160 n. 26 | 17.4 | 50 n. 125 |
| 310.36 ff. | 106 n. 96 | 18.14—15 | 50 n. 125 |
| 311.14 ff. | 106 n. 96 | 18.36 | 50 n. 125 |
| (d) <i>In Aristotelis Topicorum libros octo
commentaria</i> | | 18.42 | 50 n. 125 |
| 66.24 ff. | 106 n. 96 | 20.3—4 | 50 n. 125 |
| Anaxagoras | | (d) <i>Metamorphoses</i> | |
| <i>Fragments</i> | | 11.5 | 157 n. 16 |
| 6.2—3 | 105 | 11.23 | 143 |
| 6.3—4 | 105 | 11.25 | 157 n. 17 |
| 11.1 | 105 | Aratus | |
| 12.1 | 105 | <i>Phaenomena</i> | |
| 12.5—6 | 105 | 2—4 | 162 n. 28 |
| 12.27—30 | 106 | Aristotle | |
| 17 | 106 | (a) <i>Ars rhetorica</i> | |
| Annaeus Lucanus, Marcus | | 1358a36—1358b8 | 118 n. 7 |
| <i>De bello civili</i> | | (b) <i>De anima</i> | |
| 1.67—80 | 89 n. 57 | 1.5.411a | 158—159 n. 19 |
| 1.72—76 | 89 n. 57 | 1.5.411a, 7—8 | 160 |
| 1.639—672 | 89 n. 57 | (c) <i>De caelo</i> | |
| 1.663—664 | 89 n. 57 | 289a | 32 |
| 2.289—292 | 89 n. 57 | 289b | 32 |
| 7.134—138 | 89 n. 57 | 290a | 32 |
| 7.134—137 | 89 n. 57 | 292a | 32 |
| | | 293a | 32 |

296b	32	2.6	97
312b	160 n. 26	12.3	96
(d) <i>Meteorologica</i>		Calcidius	
346a	32	<i>Timaeus</i>	
		293	18 n. 16
(e) <i>Physica</i>		Cicero	
1.5.188a, 19—23	160 n. 26	(a) <i>De divinatione</i>	
4.8	20 n. 25	1.82—83	29 n. 41
		1.127	29 n. 41
Pseudo-Aristotle		(b) <i>De fato</i>	
<i>De mundo</i>		12—15	29 n. 41
392a21—23	51 n. 130	(c) <i>De natura deorum</i>	
392b35—393a2	51 n. 128	1.39	24 n. 32
397b13—16	162	1.54	181 n. 63
397b16—18	162	2.24	18 n. 17
397b17—18	162 n. 28	2.45—72	38
397b19—20	162	2.63—74	38
397b20—24	162	2.63—64	38 n. 76
Athenagoras		2.63	38 n. 75
<i>Legatio</i>		2.64	38—39
8.6	163—164	2.84	37
Augustine		2.87	37 n. 72
<i>De civitate dei</i>		2.115	38; 39 n. 79; 41
4.11	30 n. 45	2.153	181 n. 63
7.15	30 n. 45	2.155	38
8.13—22	145 n. 66	3.28	37 n. 72
10.3	145 n. 66	(d) <i>Disputationes Tusculanae</i>	
Aurelius, Marcus		5.69—70	181 n. 63
<i>Ad se ipsum</i>		(e) <i>Timaeus</i>	
4.23	123; 125	1.1—2 (pp. 177.1	40 n. 81;
6.38	36	—178.2)	202—203
7.9	36	4.13 (pp. 186.21—	40 n. 83
2 <i>Baruch</i>		25)	
(= <i>The Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch</i>)		5.14 (pp. 188.9—	40 n. 84
29.3—30.1	90 n. 59; 91	12)	
39.7—40.4	90 n. 59; 91	5.15 (pp. 190.1—	40 n. 85
72.2—73.1	90 n. 59	3)	
72.2—6	91	5.15 (pp. 190.3—	40 n. 86
73.1	91	8)	
3 <i>Baruch</i>		9.30 (pp. 204.13—	41 n. 88
(= <i>The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch</i>)		206.2)	
1.8—2.7	97		
1.8	97		

Clement of Alexandria		40.35—37	128
(a) <i>Protrepticus</i>		40.37	128
11.112	163 n. 32		
(b) <i>Stromata</i>			
4.26	179 n. 56		
Cleomedes			
<i>De motu circulari corporum caelestium</i>			
10.24—26	20 n. 25		
Cornutus			
<i>Theologiae graecae compendium</i>			
7, p. 8.3—6	35 n. 64		
24, p. 46.2—6	35 n. 64		
Dead Sea Scrolls			
(a) <i>IQH</i> (=The Thanksgiving Hymns)			
IV.11—12	29 n. 40		
(b) <i>IQpHab</i> (=Commentary on Habakkuk)			
XI.6—8	29 n. 40		
(c) <i>4Q186</i>			
	28 n. 39		
(d) <i>4Q534</i>			
	28 n. 39		
Dio Chrysostom			
<i>Orationes</i>			
12.33	143		
12.34	143 n. 63		
36.20—23	177		
36.22	176		
36.27	176 n. 47		
36.29—38	176 n. 47		
36.29—30	176 n. 47		
36.30—31	177		
36.30	176		
36.31	176		
36.32	176; 178		
36.35	176; 178		
36.36	176; 178		
36.38	176—178		
36.54	176		
36.60	176		
38.11	128		
Diogenes Laertius			
<i>Vitae philosophorum</i>			
1.27	160 n. 25		
3.68—77	52		
7.132	17		
7.139	18 n. 18		
7.148	17 n. 13		
9.7	160 n. 25		
9.8	128 n. 33		
Dionysius of Halicarnassus			
<i>Ars rhetorica</i>			
8.10, p. 309.3—4	104—105 n. 90		
9.11, p. 346.1—3	104—105 n. 90		
Empedocles			
<i>Fragments</i>			
8 (17).6—8	130 n. 35; 131 n. 37		
8 (17).16—24	131 nn. 37—38		
8 (17).16—20	130 n. 35		
14 (21).7—8	131 n. 37		
16 (26).5—7	130 n. 35; 131 n. 37		
25 (22).4—5	131 n. 38		
25 (22).6—9	130 n. 35		
47 (35)	131 n. 37		
60 (71)	131 n. 38		
86 (87)	131 n. 38		
<i>I Enoch</i>			
6.8	96		
18.14—15	97		
20.1	97		
37—71	90; 91		
38—44	91		
38.4—5	92		
45—47	91		
45.4—5	92		
46.4—7	92		
48.8	92		
49.4	92		
52.8—9	92		
53.5	92		
55.4	92		
58—59	92		
61—64	92—93		

- 61.8—12 93
 62.3—11 92
 63.1—11 92
 80.1 29
 82.7 29
- Epictetus
Dissertationes ab Arriano digestae
 1.14.1—1.14.6 35—36
- Epiphanius
 42.9.4 (p. 105.9— 198 n. 79
 14)
 42.11.8 (p. 120.3 198 n. 79
 —5)
 42.11.9—10 (pp. 198 n. 79
 123.18—124.1)
 42.12.3 (p. 182.11 198 n. 79
 —20)
 42.13.4 (p. 183.11 198 n. 79
 —14)
- Eusebius of Caesarea
Hieronymi Chronicon
 p. 183.18 137 n. 45
 p. 183.21—22 137 n. 45
- Galen
De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis
 2.5.13 19 n. 19
 3.1.25 19 n. 19
 5.3.8 20 n. 26
- Heraclitus of Ephesus
Fragments
 109 (67) 128 n. 33
- Heraclitus
Quaestiones homericae
 40, pp. 59.4—61.5 37 n. 70
- Heron of Alexandria
 1.22 182 n. 65
 1.47 182 nn. 66—67
 1.48 182 n. 67
 1.49 182 n. 67
 2.3 182 nn. 66—67
 2.4 182 n. 67
- Homer
 8.17—27 37 n. 70
 14.214 35
 15.18—21 37 n. 70
- Horace
 1.9.67—72 138—139 n. 49
- Iamblichus
 1.9 (30.1—3) 160 n. 25; 161
 1.9 (31.13—32.7) 189 n. 72
 2.3 (70.18—71.6) 192
 3.19 (146.8—9) 162
- Josephus
Contra Apionem
 2.281—282 138—139 n. 49
- Julian
Εἰς τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν
 18 (178b) 160 n. 25
- Juvenal
Satires
 14.96—106 138—139 n. 49
- Lucan, see Annaeus Lucanus, Marcus
- Macarius of Magnesia
Apocriticus (Monogenes)
 2.15 180 n. 59
- Nemesius of Emesa
De natura hominis
 Ed. Morani
 108.15—17 36 n. 68
 111.14—18 22 n. 30
 Ed. Matthaei
 37, p. 301 36 n. 68
 38, pp. 309—310 22 n. 30
- Numenius
Fragments
 18 52; 135; 146
 52.64—70 133 n. 41
 52.87—92 133 n. 41

Olympiodorus		166	46
<i>In Platonis Alcibiadem commentarii</i>		190	29—30 n. 44
p. 134: 214.10—	104 n. 90		
18		(e) <i>De decalogo</i>	
p. 134: 214.14—	104—105 n. 90	31	63 n. 18
15		53—54	65
Origen		53	101
<i>Contra Celsum</i>		66	66 n. 28
4.5	159 n. 22	83	29 n. 44
4.14	18 n. 14;	(f) <i>De fuga et inventione</i>	
	107 n. 97;	110	46
	158 n. 18;	112	35 n. 63; 46
	164 n. 34	(g) <i>De gigantibus</i>	
8.67	145 n. 65	6—9	139; 140 n. 52
Orosius		16—17	140
<i>Historia adversus paganos</i>		47	161 n. 27
7.7.12	137 n. 45	(h) <i>De migratione Abrahami</i>	
<i>Orphic Poems</i>		12	29—30 n. 44
166	37 n. 70	178—181	28
Philo of Alexandria		181	46
(a) <i>De aeternitate mundi</i>		220	45
10	66 n. 28	(i) <i>De opificio mundi</i>	
13	34; 46	33	128
19	28	52	62 n. 11
21	102 n. 83	56—57	28
29	63	58—59	28
30	34 n. 59	59—60	28
36	34 n. 59; 46 n. 109	101	28
75	34 n. 59; 46 n. 109	113	28
76—77	20 n. 23	131	45 n. 102; 62 n. 11
108—109	101	146	62
117—149	33; 34 n. 60	(j) <i>De plantatione</i>	
124—129	33 n. 56	10	45
125	33; 34; 46 n. 109	14	139—140
137	34 n. 60; 46 n. 109	120	62 n. 11
(b) <i>De agricultura</i>		(k) <i>De posteritate Caini</i>	
51	62	5	64; 101 n. 82
(c) <i>De cherubim</i>		6	161
124—127	124; 125	(l) <i>De praemiis et poenis</i>	
125	124 n. 19	65	28
127	62 n. 11; 124 n. 19	(m) <i>De providentia</i>	
(d) <i>De confusione linguarum</i>		2.45	62 n. 11
136	45; 188		

(n) <i>De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini</i>		2.90	46
67	161 n. 27	2.118	46
108	102 n. 83		
(o) <i>De somniis</i>		(w) <i>Quis rerum divinarum heres</i>	
1.15—16	62 n. 11	23	45
1.15	63	72	29—30 n. 44
1.39	62 n. 11	137	45 n. 102
1.140—142	139	140	62
1.212	72	152—153	102 n. 83
1.221	161 n. 27	188	46; 188—189
		197	62 n. 11
		246	46
(p) <i>De specialibus legibus</i>		277	102 n. 84
1.92	28	281	62 n. 11;
1.186	71		100—101
1.266	72	282	63—64
1.294	63		
2.188	71	(x) <i>Quod deterius potiori insidiari solet</i>	
2.190—192	128	8	62 n. 11
2.190—191	71	153—155	64
2.192	71; 128	154	101 n. 79
2.255	66 n. 28		
(q) <i>De virtutibus</i>		(y) <i>Quod deus immutabilis sit</i>	
118	29—30 n. 44	35	35 n. 63;
181	29—30 n. 44	57	45 n. 102
			161 n. 27
(r) <i>De vita contemplativa</i>		Plato	
3	65—66	(a) <i>Cratylus</i>	
4	66	397C	65 n. 25
(s) <i>De vita Mosis</i>		(b) <i>Leges</i>	
2.121	61; 62	896E	132
2.126	28	899B	160 n. 25
2.238	162 n. 29; 188		
(t) <i>Legum allegoriae</i>		(c) <i>Phaedo</i>	
3.4	161	99C	44 n. 97
3.5—6	64		
(u) <i>Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesin</i>		(d) <i>Philebus</i>	
3.3	28	27D	47 n. 111
4.8	101—102 n. 82	(e) <i>Respublica</i>	
		616C	44
(v) <i>Quaestiones et solutiones in Exodum</i>		(f) <i>Symposium</i>	
2.74	46 n. 108	203B—204C	160—161 n. 26
2.78	28		
2.89	46 n. 108	(g) <i>Timaeus</i>	
		30A	132

- 31B—32C 39; 42 n. 91; 43;
44; 47; 49; 50; 188
- 31B—C 40
- 32A—B 40
- 32B—C 40
- 34B—37C 132
- 34B—36D 43; 47; 49; 51;
52 n. 133
- 35A 43
- 35B—36B 43; 47 n. 112
- 36A—B 43 n. 93
- 36B—C 43; 57 n. 160
- 36C—D 43
- 36D—E 43
- 37A 43
- 37C 145 n. 65
- 38E—39A 39; 41; 43; 51;
152 n. 133
- 38E 47
- 41A—D 63
- 41A—B 33; 41 n. 87
- 41A 46
- 41B 47
- 42E—43A 63; 64
- 43A 41 n. 87
- 43D 43
- 44D—45B 19
- 53A—B 132
- 53B 130
- 53C—57D 48
- 69C—E 19
- 73C—D 19
- 89E—90B 19
- 92C 153 n. 11;
160—161 n. 26;
175
- Pseudo-Plato
Epinomis
991E—992A 44 n. 97
- Plutarch of Chaeronea
(a) *Adversus Colotem*
(*Moralia* 1107D—1127E)
1113B 61
- (b) *Aquane an ignis sit utilior*
(*Moralia* 955D—958E)
957B 61 n. 6
- (c) *Compendium libri de animae
procreatione in Timaeo*
(*Moralia* 1030D—1032F)
1020A—B 47 n. 112
1031A 48 n. 116
1032C 47 n. 113
- (d) *Consolatio ad Apollonium*
(*Moralia* 101E—122A)
109E 102 n. 84
- (e) *De animae procreatione in Timaeo*
(*Moralia* 1012A—1030C)
1014D—E 132 n. 39
1015D—E 132 n. 39
1016F—1017A 47
1023C 48 n. 116
1024D—E 47
1027B—C 47 n. 112
- (f) *De defectu oraculorum*
(*Moralia* 409E—438D)
416C 141
416E 48
417A 141; 142—143
417B—C 141; 143 n. 60
417C 138 n. 48
420A 140
426A 7; 26 n. 37
430C—D 61 n. 6
- (g) *De E apud Delphos*
(*Moralia* 384C—394C)
388C—389D 164
391D 138 n. 88
393E—394A 164
393F 49; 51
- (h) *De facie quae in orbe lunae apparet*
(*Moralia* 920A—945E)
926E—927A 101 n. 80
926E—F 131
926E 130
926F—927A 48 n. 116; 130
926F 130; 131
927C 48
936A 29
937F 180
939A—B 180
941F—942A 140

- 943F 47
944C—D 140
- (i) *De genio Socratis*
(*Moralia* 575A—598F)
591B 49; 103
- (j) *De Iside et Osiride*
(*Moralia* 351C—384C)
353E 73
353F 73
361B 138 n. 48; 141
368A 138 n. 48
368C 138 n. 48
369B—D 103
369C—D 131
369E—371A 132
370E 132
370F 132
371A 133
373D 60; 103; 133
374B 160—161 n. 26
374D 160—161 n. 26
376D 60
376E 60
382F 102 n. 84
- (k) *De primo frigido*
(*Moralia* 945E—955C)
947E 101
954F 42 n. 92; 49 n. 119
- (l) *De Stoicorum repugnantiis*
(*Moralia* 1033A—1057C)
1052C—D 128 n. 31
1053B 18 n. 15
- (m) *Fragments*
213 65
- (n) *Non posse suaviter vivi
secundum Epicurum*
(*Moralia* 1086A—1107C)
1104C 102 n. 84
- (o) *Platonicae quaestiones*
(*Moralia* 999C—1011E)
1001B 47
- (p) *Quaestiones convivales*
(*Moralia* 612C—748D)
687A 49 n. 119
719D 48
- (q) *Quaestiones romanae*
(*Moralia* 263D—291C)
263D—E 72; 101
- Ptolemy
Tetrabiblos
1.19 181 n. 61
1.23 122 n. 13
- Qumran, see Dead Sea Scrolls
- Seneca
(a) *Ad Lucilium Epistulae morales*
65.7 124 n. 22
65.8—9 125 n. 27
65.8 124
65.9—10 124
- (b) *Naturales quaestiones*
1, praefatio 7 181 n. 63
1, praefatio 12— 181 n. 63
13
1, praefatio 16— 181 n. 63
17
- Sextus Empiricus
Adversus dogmaticos
(=*Adversus mathematicos* 7—11)
4.10 (10.10) 123; 125 n. 25
- Sibylline Oracles*
5.107—109 91
5.108—110 90 n. 59
5.155—157 91
5.158—161 90 n. 59
5.158—160 91
5.414—427 90 n. 59; 91
5.416—417 91
5.418—419 91
5.428—433 90 n. 59
5.429—431 91

- Simplicius**
In Aristotelis Physicorum libros commentaria
 1.2, p. 27.5—9 105
 1.2, p. 27.7 106 n. 95
 1.3, p. 145.27—28 42 n. 92
 1.3, p. 146.3—4 42 n. 92
 1.3, p. 146.9—11 42 n. 92
 3.4, p. 460.19 106 n. 94
- Stobaeus**
Anthologium
 1.1.29b 160 n. 25
 1.129.7—10 19 n. 22; 21 n. 27
 1.166.6—19 20 n. 24
 1.166.13—15 21 n. 28
- Tacitus**
Annales
 14.26 137 n. 45
 14.27.1 137 n. 45
- Tertullian**
Adversus Marcionem
 5.11.12 198 n. 79
 5.17.1 198 n. 79
- Testament of Abraham*
 Long recension
 9.3 97
 14.12 97
 Short recension
 13.10 96
- Testament of Job*
 48.3 97
 49.2 96
 50.1 97
 50.2 97
- Testament Levi* (in: *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*)
 3.8 96
- Themistius**
In libros Aristotelis De anima paraphrasis
 35.28—29 160 n. 25
- Theodoret of Cyrrhus**
 3.23, pp. 74.23— 65 n. 25
 75.3
 82.625C 198 n. 79
- Theon of Smyrna**
De utilitate mathematicae
 113.2—8 182 n. 65
- Theophrastus**
 (a) *De causis plantarum*
 2.18.2 33 n. 58
 (b) *Historia plantarum*
 7.11.3 33 n. 58
- Timaeus of Locri**
De natura mundi et animae
 39—41 (217.5— 44
 14)
- Varro**
Antiquitates rerum divinarum
 Fragment 24 30 n. 45
 Fragment 27 30 n. 45
 Fragment 230 30 n. 45
 Fragment 233 30 n. 45
 Fragment 234 30 n. 45
- Vettius Valens**
Anthologiae
 7.6 (p. 265.26— 192 n. 75
 27)
 8.7 (p. 301.10— 192 n. 75
 11)
 9.16 (p. 345.10— 192 n. 75
 14)
- Virgil**
Bucolica
 3.60 162 n. 28

1.3 Epigraphic, numismatic, and papyrological references

<i>BMC</i>		no. 1095	53 n. 138
nos. 4064—4069	52 n. 135		
nos. 4338—4340	53 n. 139	Hicks 1891	
no. 4341	53 n. 139	pp. 233—236: nos. 16—17	138 n. 49
<i>CPJ</i> III			
pp. 43—56: nos. 1; 3; 4; 5; 6	138—139 n. 49	<i>Michigan papyrus</i>	
		No. 1, fragm. 3	122 n. 13
<i>CREBM</i>		<i>OGIS</i>	
vol. 2, p. 45: no. 251	53 n. 140	vol. 2, pp. 262—264: no. 573	138 n. 49
vol. 2, pp. 245—246: nos. 128—134	53 n. 141	<i>PHerc. (Herculaneum papyri)</i>	
vol. 4, pp. 264—265: nos. 1641—1646	53 n. 143	No. 1428	177 n. 50
<i>CRR</i>		<i>RSC</i>	
no. 1056	52 n. 136	vol. 1.1, p. 24: Carisia 4	52 n. 135
no. 1063	53 n. 137	vol. 1.2, p. 119: no. 60	53 n. 139

1.4 References to collections of philosophical texts: Diels, Diels-Kranz, KRS, LS, and SVF

Diels, <i>Doxographi graeci</i>		No. B 28, fragm. 8.30—31, p. 237	42 n. 92
p. 301.21—23	160 n. 25	No. B. 28, fragm. 8.36—38, p. 238	42 n. 92
p. 342	42—43 n. 92	No. A 54, p. 293.26—27	42—43 n. 92
pp. 478—480: fragm. 4	105 n. 91; 106 n. 95	Vol. 2	
pp. 486—491: no. 12	33 n. 55	No. A 41, p. 15	105 n. 91; 106 n. 95
Diels-Kranz, <i>Vorsokratiker</i>		No. A 45, p. 18	106 n. 94
Vol. 1		No. B 60, p. 48.19—21	42 n. 92
No. 11 A 1, p. 68.28—29	160 n. 25	No. 68 A 44, p. 95.20—22	160 n. 26
No. 11 A 3, p. 73.9	160 n. 25	No. 68 A 45, p. 95.23—24	160 n. 26
No. 11 A 22, p. 79.26—27	160 n. 23		
No. 11 A 23, p. 79.33—34	160 n. 25	<i>KRS</i>	
No. 22 A 1, p. 141.11	160 n. 25	No. 91	160 n. 24
No. 22 A 1, p. 141.17—25	128 n. 33	No. 204	128 n. 33
No. 22 B 67, p. 165.8—11	128 n. 33		
No. B 28, fragm. 8.26—27, p. 237	42 n. 92		

No. 298.26—27	42 n. 92	2.413	19 n. 22; 21 n. 27
No. 298.30—31	42 n. 92	2.433	160 n. 26
No. 299.36—38	42 n. 92	2.441	20—21 n. 26; 32 n. 53; 35 n. 63 35 n. 63; 45 n. 102
LS		2.458	
38E	29 n. 41	2.463—619	33 n. 54
42D	29 n. 41	2.469	160 n. 26
43A	17 n. 13	2.473	31 n. 48
43B	17 n. 12	2.501	123 n. 17
44E	18 n. 16	2.540	20 n. 25
45H	18 n. 14	2.545	160 n. 26
46F	18 n. 15	2.548	46
46G	176 n. 46	2.549	38 n. 73
46H	18 n. 14; 107 n. 97; 158 n. 18; 164 n. 34	2.604 2.605 2.625 2.634	128 n. 31 18 n. 15 22 n. 30 18 n. 18
46P	20 n. 23	2.719	35 n. 63; 46 n. 106
47A	19 n. 22; 21 n. 27	2.836	19 n. 20
47C	18 n. 17	2.841	20 n. 26
47H	20 n. 26	2.886	19 n. 19
47L	20—21 n. 26	2.917	36 n. 68
47O	18 n. 18	2.918	36 n. 68
49H	20 n. 25	2.944	29 n. 41
49J	20 n. 24; 21 n. 28	2.945	32 n. 53
52C	22 n. 30	2.1022	17 n. 13
53H	19 n. 20	2.1046	160 n. 25
53U	19 n. 19	2.1052	18 n. 14; 107 n. 97; 158 n. 18; 164 n. 34
54B	24 n. 32		24 n. 32
55J	36 n. 68		17 n. 13
55O	29 n. 41		29 n. 41
65H	19 n. 19	2.1077	104—105 n. 90
<i>SVF</i>		2.1132	
1.99	20 n. 24; 21 n. 28	2.1192	19 n. 19
1.106	46 n. 109	3.302	3: Diogenes 29
2.1—332	33 n. 54		3: Zeno Tarsensis
2.310	18 n. 14		5
2.333—631	33 n. 54		

2 Index of Modern Authors

Abbott, T.K. 54	Barnes, T.D. 180 n. 59
Adams, E. 89 n. 57; 104 n. 89	Barth, M. 54; 55; 228 n. 49
Alföldi, A. 52 n. 136; 53 n. 137	Bean, G.E. 2 n. 2; 2 n. 3
	Beaujeu, J. 50 nn. 124 and 126; 162 n. 28
Babut, D. 164 n. 35	Beck, R.L. 29 n. 42
Baltes, M. 39 n. 80; 44 nn. 98—99	

- Benoit, P. 115 n. 2; 227; 229
 Berger, K. 94 n. 66
 Best, E. 200 n. 82; 228 n. 49; 229 n. 53
 Betz, H.D. 133 n. 41
 Black, M. 94 n. 66
 Blanke, H. 228 n. 49
 Bouché-Leclercq, A. 181 n. 61
 Brenk, F.E. 140 n. 56
 Bruce, F.F. 55; 56
 Brucker, R. 118—119
 Buffière, F. 37 n. 70
 Burger, C. 117—118
 Burkert, W. 143 nn. 60 and 63
- Calder, W.M. 2 n. 2; 2 n. 3
 Cardauns, B. 30 n. 45
 Carr, W. 4; 134 n. 43; 141 n. 58
 Chadwick, H. 169 n. 40
 Clarke, K.D. 228 n. 49
 Collins, J.J. 174 n. 45
 Colpe, C. 158 n. 19
 Courtney, E. 162 n. 28
- Dahl, N.A. 166 n. 37; 179 n. 57
 Davidson, M.J. 139 n. 51
 De Jonge, H.J. 94 n. 66
 DeMaris, R.E. 3—4; 140 n. 56; 144
 Dibelius, M. 10; 19 n. 21; 24 n. 33;
 26 n. 35; 54; 55—56 n. 155; 56
 Dierse, U. 190 n. 73
 Dillon, J. 5; 45 n. 100; 49 nn. 119 and
 121; 50 n. 124; 52 n. 132; 126; 140
 Dörrie, H. 39 n. 80; 133 n. 41;
 143 n. 60
 Downing, F.G. 89 n. 57
 Dunn, J.D.G. 9; 26 n. 36; 54; 84 n. 48;
 129 n. 34; 138 n. 47; 163 n. 31
 Dupont, J. 3; 158—159 n. 19;
 160 n. 25; 160—161 n. 26;
 163 n. 31; 179—182
- Eißfeldt, O. 97 n. 73
- Farquharson, A.S.L. 36 nn. 67 and 69
 Faust, E. 169 n. 41
 Fitzer, G. 54 n. 148
 Francis, F.O. 141 n. 58; 215 n. 1
 Frede, M. 7; 42 n. 90; 52 n. 132;
 126 n. 30, 133 n. 41; 145
- Gabathuler, H.J. 115 n. 2
 Gese, M. 149 n. 6; 232 n. 55
 Giomini, R. 39 n. 80
 Gnilka, J. 54; 55; 56
 Goguel, M. 228 n. 49
 Goldenberg, R. 138—139 n. 49
 Goodman, M. 61 n. 7; 90 nn. 60—61;
 92 n. 63; 95 n. 67; 97 nn. 71—72
 Goodspeed, E.J. 3; 148; 215—221;
 223; 226; 232 n. 55
 Goulder, M.D. 200 n. 82
 Gundel, H.G. 29 n. 42;
 52—53 nn. 134—143
 Gundel, W. 29 n. 42
 Gütting, E. 200 n. 82
- Hagendahl, H. 30 n. 45
 Hahm, D.E. 20 nn. 24—25
 Halfwassen, J. 126 n. 30
 Harnack, A. 180 n. 59; 198 n. 79;
 200 n. 82
 Harrison, S.J. 50 n. 124
 Hayward, R. 29 n. 40
 Hegermann, H. 126 n. 29
 Henrichs, A. 139 n. 50; 177 n. 50
 Hicks, E.L. 138 n. 49
 Hijmans, Jr., B.L. 50 n. 124
 Hofius, O. 23 n. 31; 55 n. 153; 117 n. 4
 Hollander, H.W. 75—76
 Holleman, J. 75 n. 41; 89; 90 n. 59;
 94 n. 65
 Hooker, M.D. 136 n. 44
 Hübner, H. 55
 Hübner, W. 29 n. 42
 Hurtado, L.W. 141 n. 58
- Jones, R.M. 124 n. 22
 Jülicher, A. 216 n. 9
- Käsemann, E. 23 n. 31; 55 n. 153
 Kent, J.P.C. 53 n. 142
 Kloppenborg, J.S. 174 n. 45
 Koestermann, E. 137 n. 45
 Kreitzer, L.J. 53 n. 139; 94 n. 66;
 185 n. 70
- Lähnemann, J. 137 n. 45
 Lang, B. 174 n. 45
 Lapidge, M. 17 n. 11; 34—35; 42 n. 91
 Lebram, J.C.H. 90 n. 62

- Lévêque, P. 37 n. 70
 Lietaert Peerbolte, L.J. 108 n. 99
 Lietzmann, H. 54
 Lightfoot, J.B. 53
 Lincoln, A.T. 2 n. 4; 147; 169 n. 39;
 186—187 n. 71; 200 n. 82;
 201 n. 83; 228—229; 232 n. 56
 Lindemann, A. 2 n. 4; 88 n. 55;
 151 n. 10; 165 n. 36; 232 n. 55
 Lohmeyer, E. 24; 26 n. 35; 54
 Lohse, E. 54
 Lona, H.E. 165 n. 36
 Long, A.A. 18—19 n. 18; 20 nn. 25 and
 26; 29 n. 42; 39 n. 80
 Lovejoy, A.O. 160—161 n. 26
 Luz, U. 165 n. 36
- Mach, M. 139 n. 51; 141 n. 58
 MacKendrick, P. 39 n. 80
 MacMullen, R. 4; 134 n. 43
 Mansfeld, J. 5; 133
 Marcus, R. 101—102 n. 82
 Martin, T. 138
 Martyn, J.L. 74—75 n. 40
 May, G. 133 n. 42
 Meade, D.G. 173 n. 42
 Merkel, H. 3; 5 n. 18; 151 n. 10;
 216 n. 9; 227; 229
 Merklein, H. 147; 186—187 n. 71
 Merlan, P. 162
 Metzger, B.M. 234 n. 58
 Mikalson, J.D. 139 n. 50
 Millar, F. 61 n. 7; 90 nn. 60—61;
 92 n. 63; 95 n. 67; 97 nn. 71—72
 Mitchell, S. 1 n. 1; 140
 Mitton, C.L. 3; 55; 148; 185 n. 70; 215;
 217—221; 223; 226; 227—229
 Moritz, T. 232 n. 56
 Moule, C.F.D. 54
 Mußner, F. 61 n. 5; 67—69; 158 n. 19;
 163 n. 31
- Nelis, J.Th. 96 n. 68
 Noormann, R. 151 n. 10
 Norden, E. 115 n. 2
- O'Brien, P.T. 54; 55
 Ochel, W. 54; 227
 Osborn, E. 151 n. 10
 Overbeck, B. 53 n. 142
- Pagels, E. 5 n. 17; 133 n. 40
 Parker, R.C.T. 139 n. 50
 Parsons, P.J. 9 n. 1; 202 n. 85
 Pelletier, A. 228
 Pépin, J. 37 n. 70
 Percy, E. 55; 57; 228 n. 49
 Pleket, H.W. 142 n. 59
 Pokorný, P. 54
 Porter, S.E. 228 n. 49
 Powell, J.G.F. 39 n. 80
 Puelma, M. 39 n. 80
- Ramsay, W.M. 2 n. 2; 2 n. 3
 Redfors, J. 50 n. 124
 Reuter, R. 3; 148; 196 n. 78; 201 n. 84;
 215; 218—221; 223; 226; 234
 Rich, A.N.M. 124 n. 22
 Robbins, F.E. 122 n. 13
 Rose, H.J. 9 n. 1; 72—73 n. 38;
 202 n. 85
 Roukema, R. 5 n. 14
 Rousseau, P. 139 n. 50
 Rudhardt, J. 131 n. 38
 Runia, D.T. 42 n. 90; 46 nn. 109—110
- Sampley, J.P. 215 n. 1
 Schade, H.-H. 94 n. 66
 Schlier, H. 158 n. 19
 Schmauch, W. 55
 Schmid, U. 198 n. 79
 Schneemelcher, W. 164 n. 33;
 198—199 n. 79
 Schofield, M. 176 nn. 47 and 49;
 177—178
 Schröder, W. 190 n. 73
 Schürer, E. 61 n. 7; 90 nn. 60—61;
 92 n. 63; 95 n. 67; 97 nn. 71—72;
 138 n. 49
 Schweizer, E. 3—4; 24—25; 55; 56;
 115—118; 120 n. 10; 144
 Schwindt, R. 3 n. 5; 3; 147; 157 n. 17;
 165 n. 36; 167 n. 38; 174 n. 45;
 178 n. 52; 179 nn. 55 and 57;
 192—193 n. 76
 Sedley, D.N. 18—19 n. 18; 20 nn. 25—
 26
 Sharples, R.W. 32 n. 52
 Sheppard, A.R.R. 140 nn. 52—53
 Sider, D. 105 n. 91
 Speyer, W. 202 n. 85

- Standhartinger, A. 137 n. 46
 Stanton, G. 74 n. 40
 Sterling, G.E. 4 n. 11; 30 n. 46; 122—
 123; 125 n. 24; 144 n. 64; 145 n. 66
 Stettler, Chr. 113 n. 1; 120 n. 11
 Stuckenbruck, L.T. 141 n. 58
 Stylow, A.U. 53 n. 142
 Syme, R. 137 n. 45
- Talbert, R.J.A. 2 n. 2; 2 n. 3
 Talmon, S. 29 n. 40
 Thesleff, H. 202 n. 85
 Todd, R.B. 20—21 n. 26;
 31 nn. 48 and 51
 Tromp, J. 66 n. 28; 98 n. 75
- Van der Horst, P.W. 89 n. 57
 VanderKam, J.C. 29 n. 40
 Van der Woude, A.S. 97 n. 73
 Van Henten, J.W. 62 n. 9
 Van Kooten, G.H. 29 n. 40; 215 n. 2;
 223 nn. 40—41; 229 n. 53
 Van Raalte, M. 33 nn. 55 and 58;
- 57 n. 160
 Van Roon, A. 200 n. 82; 228 n. 49
 Van Winden, J.C.M. 18 n. 16
 Vermes, G. 28 n. 39; 61 n. 7;
 90 nn. 60—61; 92 n. 63; 95 n. 67;
 97 nn. 71—72
 Vernant, J.-P. 131 n. 38
 Vleugels, G.A.M. 3; 148; 215 n. 1; 222;
 223
- Wagenführer, M.-A. 3; 54; 147—148;
 215; 220—222; 223
 Walter, N. 165 n. 36
 Wambacq, B.N. 97—98 n. 73
 Weiß, H.-F. 126 n. 29
 Weiß, J. 216 n. 9
 West, M.L. 37 n. 70; 119 n. 9
 Wettstein, J.J. 53 n. 144
 Whittaker, J. 49 n. 121
 Winger, M. 75—76 n. 41
 Wolter, M. 54
- Zobel, H.-J. 97 n. 73; 98

3 Index of Subjects and Selected Ancient Names

- Adam 85
 —stars/heavenly bodies 15—16;
 27—30; 35; 38; 39; 41; 47; 49—50;
 63; 97; 119—146; 157; 176—177;
 180
 —thrones 23; 121—122
- Anaxagoras
 —‘all in everything’ 104—107;
 157—158
- Angels and/or demons 95—97; 100;
 134 n. 43; 139—146; 167—168;
 176; 191—192
 —worship of angels/demons 15—16;
 136; 139—146; 208
- Aristeas
 —*Letter of Aristeas and Josephus’*
Antiquities 228—229
- Astronomy/astrology 27—30; 73—74
 —depth 96; 100; 180—182
 —dominions 23; 121—122
 —height 96; 100; 180—182
 —planets 28—30; 41—43; 47—51;
 122; 144; 176—177; 181; 191—192
- Baptism 14; 112; 146
- Body
 —centrality of the concept in *Col* 13—
 16; 57; 204—205
 —see: Cosmos, body of the cosmos
 —see: Church, body of the church
- Calendar 15; 27—30; 68; 71—72; 136;
 138—146
- Christ
 —ascension 166; 180; 185—186; 212
 —body, see: ‘Church’ or ‘Cosmos’
 —Christ as Demiurge 125—126;
 207—208

- Christ and/as the heavenly eschatological agent or the son of man 89—95; 99; 111; 131; 206; 209
- death 13—14; 78; 113; 142; 167
- descent into Hades 185 n. 70
- eschatological reign 79—109
- firstborn of all creation 25; 112—113; 119; 153; 167
- firstborn from the dead 24—25; 112; 119; 153
- headship over cosmic entities 13—16; 19; 56—57; 129; 145; 150—152; 152; 157; 167—168; 186—187; 187—190
- incarnation 25—26; 59; 64—65; 69; 77—78; 142; 185 n. 70
- resurrection 13; 24—26; 80; 84—87; 112; 157; 186; 206
- Spirit 79
- Christology**
- cosmic Christology 1; 4—5; 111; 149; 172; 179; 202—203; 212; 213
- Church**
- body of the church 10; 26—27; 53—56; 112; 116—117; 119; 168; 184; 187—190; 204
- church and cosmos 156—158; 166; 168; 171; 172—174; 175—179; 183; 185—190; 191—193; 203; 211—213
- household of God 168—170
- terminology 7; 26 n. 37
- Colossae** 1—2; 136—137; 195—196
- Colossians, Letter to the*
- date 2; 108; 208—209
- dependence on *Philemon* 137
- relationship with *Eph* 1; 9
- structure 110; 223
- Cosmology**
- christological cosmology 1
- cosmology and theology 17; 205
- Graeco-Roman cosmology 3; 5; 213
- optimistic cosmology 164—165; 192; 212—213
- Platonic/Middle Platonist cosmology 3—4; 39—58; 123—125; 125—126; 130—135; 143; 144—146; 207—208
- prepositional metaphysics: in, through, for 17—18; 21—22; 23; 26; 112; 122—125; 207
- Pre-Socratic cosmology 42—43 n. 92
- Stoic cosmology 4; 17—42; 53—58; 107; 123—125; 158; 169—179
- Cosmos**
- as an animate being 52; 160; 175; 176
- body of the cosmos 9—10; 15; 17—58; 110—111; 113—114; 119; 125; 126—127; 129; 135; 144—146; 153—154; 163; 167; 187—190; 202—203; 204—205; 205; 207—209; 209; 212
- bonds holding together the cosmos 30—58; 188—189; 208
- coherence and stability 18—24; 27; 30—31; 35—36; 41; 44; 48—49; 51—52; 106—109; 111; 145; 158; 188; 205; 207
- commanding faculty 18—19; 22; 24; 27; 107; 158
- conflagration 19—20; 22; 101; 107; 158; 164
- cosmic city 169—170; 175—179; 211; 213
- cosmic dimensions 179—183
- cosmic plenitude 160—161 n. 26
- cosmic rulers 190 n. 74; 191—192
- cosmic wisdom 11—12; 22; 126; 135—136; 137—138; 171—175; 183; 186; 190; 192
- cosmos and religious laws 69; 70—78; 141—142; 206
- cosmos and sin 166—168
- deification of the cosmos 65—66, 68
- Demiurge 5; 51—52; 125—126; 132—133; 207—208
- dissolution and death 60—61; 83; 85; 102—103
- elements of the cosmos 1; 17; 19—22; 25; 37—38; 40; 44; 47; 48; 49; 50—51; 59—70; 70—79; 100—103;

- 129—130; 131—132; 143; 145—146; 157; 167; 192; 205—206
- end of the cosmos 19—20; 88—89; 103—104; 107—108
- ethics 62—63; 167—168
- evil cosmic powers 166—168
- filling the cosmos 126—127; 157; 159—166; 177; 185—186; 188—190; 203; 210—211
- Logos 45—46; 124; 126
- matter 47; 48; 51—52; 66; 122—125; 132—133
- microcosmos and macrocosmos 62—65; 73—74; 129
- principles, powers, forces *passim*, but esp. 88—89; 95—99; 100—103
- recapitulation 150—152; 172; 186—187; 210
- reconstitution 22; 107; 113—114; 119—120; 127—128; 129—135; 158
- strife (and peace) 74; 127—128; 129—134
- soul of the cosmos 18; 43—44; 47; 48; 49—50; 132—133
- theology of process 152; 156; 164—165; 189—190; 203; 210—211

Demons, see: angels

Dietary regulations 15; 136; 138—146

Empedocles 130—132

Ephesians, Letter to the

- authorising its interpretation of *Col* 173—174; 196
- conflation (literary technique) 155—156 n. 14; 227—228
- date 2—3
- dependence (including literary dependence) on *Col* 1—3; 9—10; 147—149; 155—156 n. 14; 193 n. 77; 203; 216—222; 224—229
- dependence on Paul's authentic letters 149—150; 216—221; 226; 229—232
- dependence on *I Cor* 156—158; 164—165; 185; 210; 230

- dependence on the Septuagint 232—234
- divergence from *Col* 187—190; 202—203; 212
- imposing the meaning of *Eph* on *Col* 10; 55—56
- as the *Letter to the Laodiceans* 195—203; 213
- posteriority of *Eph* 155—156 n. 14; 193 n. 77; 194
- reasons for *Eph* 3; 9—10; 147—149; 169; 202—203; 236
- re-Paulinizing tendencies 165—166; 209—210
- structure 148; 210; 223—224

Ephesus 2; 149

Eschatology 19—20; 30 n. 46; 79—109

- Paul's imminent eschatology 103—108; 146; 165—166; 208—209; 211
- Col*'s eschatology of individual death and afterlife 154; 167; 209
- Eph*'s future eschatology 151 n. 10; 152; 165—166; 209—211

Gnosticism 5; 132—133; 192—193

God

- Demiurge (Creator) *passim*, but esp. 5; 51—52; 125—126; 132—133; 207—208
- God being all in everything 107; 158
- God's dominion over the cosmos 95—99
- ideas as the thoughts of God 124
- identification with the vicissitudes of the cosmos 164
- knowing God by contemplating the cosmos 181—182
- monotheism 145
- panentheism 189—190
- pantheism 162

Gods 65

- Aphrodite 4; 35; 130—131; 133—135; 145; 208
- Atropos 48—49
- Clotho 48—49
- Demeter 65

- Eros 4; 130—131; 133—135; 145; 208
- Hephaestus 65
- Hera 65
- Isis 157
- Jupiter 38
- Kore 65
- Lachesis 48—49
- Osiris 4; 131—135; 145; 208
- Pluto 65
- Poseidon 65
- Saturn 38—39
- worship of gods 65—66
- Zeus 35

- Hierapolis 35; 50; 137; 185 n. 70

- Hymns and epideictic rhetoric 118—119

- Initiations 141—145; 157

- Laodicea 2; 137; 149; 171; 195
 - the *Letter to the Laodiceans* 194; 195—203; 213

- Moses 46; 76

- Politics
 - political activities of the heavenly eschatological agent, but depoliticized in Paul's understanding 89—95; 99—103; 206
 - political vocabulary depoliticized and applied to the cosmos in the Stoa 177—178
 - removal of ethnic divisions 78; 169—170; 172; 177; 178

- Pseudepigraphy 7; 9; 136—137; 201; 202—203

- Sabbath 15; 27; 136; 138—139

- Soteriology 4; 14; 77—78; 113—114; 119—120; 154

- Synopses 3; 147—148; 215—237
 - layout, introduction, and key 235—237
 - parallelism (definition) 234—235
 - primary and supplementary parallels 224—226

- Thales of Miletus
 - 'all things are full of gods' 160—162; 164; 175

- Tychicus 193—194; 196—197; 199—201

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

Alphabetical Index of the First and Second Series

- Ådna, Jostein*: Jesu Stellung zum Tempel. 2000. *Volume II/119*.
- Ådna, Jostein and Kvalbein, Hans* (Ed.): The Mission of the Early Church to Jews and Gentiles. 2000. *Volume 127*.
- Alkier, Stefan*: Wunder und Wirklichkeit in den Briefen des Apostels Paulus. 2001. *Volume 134*.
- Anderson, Paul N.*: The Christology of the Fourth Gospel. 1996. *Volume II/78*.
- Appold, Mark L.*: The Oneness Motif in the Fourth Gospel. 1976. *Volume II/1*.
- Arnold, Clinton E.*: The Colossian Syncretism. 1995. *Volume II/77*.
- Ascough, Richard S.*: Paul's Macedonian Associations. 2003. *Volume II/161*.
- Asiedu-Peprah, Martin*: Johannine Sabbath Conflicts As Juridical Controversy. 2001. *Volume II/132*.
- Avemarie, Friedrich*: Die Taufferzählungen der Apostelgeschichte. 2002. *Volume 139*.
- Avemarie, Friedrich and Hermann Lichtenberger* (Ed.): Auferstehung – Resurrection. 2001. *Volume 135*.
- Avemarie, Friedrich and Hermann Lichtenberger* (Ed.): Bund und Tora. 1996. *Volume 92*.
- Bachmann, Michael*: Sünder oder Übertreter. 1992. *Volume 59*.
- Back, Frances*: Verwandlung durch Offenbarung bei Paulus. 2002. *Volume II/153*.
- Baker, William R.*: Personal Speech-Ethics in the Epistle of James. 1995. *Volume II/68*.
- Bakke, Odd Magne*: 'Concord and Peace'. 2001. *Volume II/143*.
- Balla, Peter*: Challenges to New Testament Theology. 1997. *Volume II/95*.
- *The Child-Parent Relationship in the New Testament and its Environment*. 2003. *Volume 155*.
- Bammel, Ernst*: Judaica. Volume I 1986. *Volume 37*.
- *Volume II* 1997. *Volume 91*.
- Bash, Anthony*: Ambassadors for Christ. 1997. *Volume II/92*.
- Bauernfeind, Otto*: Kommentar und Studien zur Apostelgeschichte. 1980. *Volume 22*.
- Baum, Armin Daniel*: Pseudepigraphie und literarische Fälschung im frühen Christentum. 2001. *Volume II/138*.
- Bayer, Hans Friedrich*: Jesus' Predictions of Vindication and Resurrection. 1986. *Volume II/20*.
- Becker, Michael*: Wunder und Wundertäter im früh-rabbinischen Judentum. 2002. *Volume II/144*.
- Bell, Richard H.*: Provoked to Jealousy. 1994. *Volume II/63*.
- *No One Seeks for God*. 1998. *Volume 106*.
- Bennema, Cornelis*: The Power of Saving Wisdom. 2002. *Volume II/148*.
- Bergman, Jan*: see *Kieffer, René*
- Bergmeier, Roland*: Das Gesetz im Römerbrief und andere Studien zum Neuen Testament. 2000. *Volume 121*.
- Betz, Otto*: Jesus, der Messias Israels. 1987. *Volume 42*.
- *Jesus, der Herr der Kirche*. 1990. *Volume 52*.
- Beyschlag, Karlmann*: Simon Magus und die christliche Gnosis. 1974. *Volume 16*.
- Bittner, Wolfgang J.*: Jesu Zeichen im Johannes-evangelium. 1987. *Volume II/26*.
- Bjerkelund, Carl J.*: Tauta Egeneto. 1987. *Volume 40*.
- Blackburn, Barry Lee*: Theios Anēr and the Markan Miracle Traditions. 1991. *Volume II/40*.
- Bock, Darrell L.*: Blasphemy and Exaltation in Judaism and the Final Examination of Jesus. 1998. *Volume II/106*.
- Bockmuehl, Markus N.A.*: Revelation and Mystery in Ancient Judaism and Pauline Christianity. 1990. *Volume II/36*.
- Bøe, Sverre*: Gog and Magog. 2001. *Volume II/135*.
- Böhlig, Alexander*: Gnosis und Synkretismus. Teil I 1989. *Volume 47* – Teil 2 1989. *Volume 48*.
- Böhm, Martina*: Samaritanen und die Samaritaner bei Lukas. 1999. *Volume II/111*.
- Böttrich, Christfried*: Weltweisheit – Menschheitsethik – Urkult. 1992. *Volume II/50*.
- Bolyki, János*: Jesu Tischgemeinschaften. 1997. *Volume II/96*.

- Bosman, Philip*: Conscience in Philo and Paul. 2003. *Volume II/166*.
- Brocke, Christoph vom*: Thessaloniker – Stadt des Kassander und Gemeinde des Paulus. 2001. *Volume II/125*.
- Brunson, Andrew*: Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John. 2003. *Volume II/158*.
- Büchli, Jörg*: Der Poimandres – ein paganisiertes Evangelium. 1987. *Volume II/27*.
- Bühner, Jan A.*: Der Gesandte und sein Weg im 4. Evangelium. 1977. *Volume II/2*.
- Burchard, Christoph*: Untersuchungen zu Joseph und Aseneth. 1965. *Volume 8*.
- Studien zur Theologie, Sprache und Umwelt des Neuen Testaments. Ed. von D. Sänger. 1998. *Volume 107*.
- Burnett, Richard*: Karl Barth's Theological Exegesis. 2001. *Volume II/145*.
- Byron, John*: Slavery Metaphors in Early Judaism and Pauline Christianity. 2003. *Volume II/162*.
- Byrskog, Samuel*: Story as History – History as Story. 2000. *Volume 123*.
- Cancik, Hubert* (Ed.): Markus-Philologie. 1984. *Volume 33*.
- Capes, David B.*: Old Testament Yaweh Texts in Paul's Christology. 1992. *Volume II/47*.
- Caragounis, Chrys C.*: The Son of Man. 1986. *Volume 38*.
- see *Fridrichsen, Anton*.
- Carleton Paget, James*: The Epistle of Barnabas. 1994. *Volume II/64*.
- Carson, D.A., O'Brien, Peter T. and Mark Seifrid* (Ed.): Justification and Variegated Nomism: A Fresh Appraisal of Paul and Second Temple Judaism. Volume 1: The Complexities of Second Temple Judaism. *Volume II/140*.
- Ciampa, Roy E.*: The Presence and Function of Scripture in Galatians 1 and 2. 1998. *Volume II/102*.
- Classen, Carl Joachim*: Rhetorical Criticism of the New Testament. 2000. *Volume 128*.
- Colpe, Carsten*: Iranier – Aramäer – Hebräer – Hellenen. 2003. *Volume 154*.
- Crump, David*: Jesus the Intercessor. 1992. *Volume II/49*.
- Dahl, Nils Alstrup*: Studies in Ephesians. 2000. *Volume 131*.
- Deines, Roland*: Jüdische Steingefäße und pharisäische Frömmigkeit. 1993. *Volume II/52*.
- Die Pharisäer. 1997. *Volume 101*.
- Dettwiler, Andreas and Jean Zumstein* (Ed.): Kreuzestheologie im Neuen Testament. 2002. *Volume 151*.
- Dickson, John P.*: Mission-Commitment in Ancient Judaism and in the Pauline Communities. 2003. *Volume II/159*.
- Dietzfelbinger, Christian*: Der Abschied des Kommenden. 1997. *Volume 95*.
- Dobbeler, Axel von*: Glaube als Teilhabe. 1987. *Volume II/22*.
- Du Toit, David S.*: Theios Anthropos. 1997. *Volume II/91*.
- Dunn, James D.G.* (Ed.): Jews and Christians. 1992. *Volume 66*.
- Paul and the Mosaic Law. 1996. *Volume 89*.
- Dunn, James D.G., Hans Klein, Ulrich Luz and Vasilé Mihoc* (Ed.): Auslegung der Bibel in orthodoxer und westlicher Perspektive. 2000. *Volume 130*.
- Ebertz, Michael N.*: Das Charisma des Gekreuzigten. 1987. *Volume 45*.
- Eckstein, Hans-Joachim*: Der Begriff Syneidesis bei Paulus. 1983. *Volume II/10*.
- Verheißung und Gesetz. 1996. *Volume 86*.
- Ego, Beate*: Im Himmel wie auf Erden. 1989. *Volume II/34*.
- Ego, Beate and Lange, Armin with Pilhofer, Peter* (Ed.): Gemeinde ohne Tempel – Community without Temple. 1999. *Volume 118*.
- Eisen, Ute E.*: see *Paulsen, Henning*.
- Ellis, E. Earle*: Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity. 1978. *Volume 18*.
- The Old Testament in Early Christianity. 1991. *Volume 54*.
- Endo, Masanobu*: Creation and Christology. 2002. *Volume 149*.
- Ennulat, Andreas*: Die 'Minor Agreements'. 1994. *Volume II/62*.
- Ensor, Peter W.*: Jesus and His 'Works'. 1996. *Volume II/85*.
- Eskola, Timo*: Messiah and the Throne. 2001. *Volume II/142*.
- Theodicy and Predestination in Pauline Soteriology. 1998. *Volume II/100*.
- Fatehi, Mehrdad*: The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul. 2000. *Volume II/128*.
- Feldmeier, Reinhard*: Die Krisis des Gottessohnes. 1987. *Volume II/21*.
- Die Christen als Fremde. 1992. *Volume 64*.
- Feldmeier, Reinhard and Ulrich Heckel* (Ed.): Die Heiden. 1994. *Volume 70*.
- Fletcher-Louis, Crispin H.T.*: Luke-Acts: Angels, Christology and Soteriology. 1997. *Volume II/94*.
- Förster, Niclas*: Marcus Magus. 1999. *Volume 114*.
- Forbes, Christopher Brian*: Prophecy and Inspired Speech in Early Christianity and its Hellenistic Environment. 1995. *Volume II/75*.

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

- Fornberg, Tor*: see *Fridrichsen, Anton*.
- Fossum, Jarl E.*: The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord. 1985. *Volume 36*.
- Fotopoulos, John*: Food Offered to Idols in Roman Corinth. 2003. *Volume II/151*.
- Frenschkowski, Marco*: Offenbarung und Epiphanie. Volume 1 1995. *Volume II/79* – Volume 2 1997. *Volume II/80*.
- Frey, Jörg*: Eugen Drewermann und die biblische Exegese. 1995. *Volume II/71*.
- Die johanneische Eschatologie. Volume I. 1997. *Volume 96*. – Volume II. 1998. *Volume 110*.
- Volume III. 2000. *Volume 117*.
- Freyne, Sean*: Galilee and Gospel. 2000. *Volume 125*.
- Fridrichsen, Anton*: Exegetical Writings. Edited by C.C. Caragounis and T. Fornberg. 1994. *Volume 76*.
- Garlington, Don B.*: 'The Obedience of Faith'. 1991. *Volume II/38*.
- Faith, Obedience, and Perseverance. 1994. *Volume 79*.
- Garnet, Paul*: Salvation and Atonement in the Qumran Scrolls. 1977. *Volume II/3*.
- Gese, Michael*: Das Vermächtnis des Apostels. 1997. *Volume II/99*.
- Gheorghita, Radu*: The Role of the Septuagint in Hebrews. 2003. *Volume II/160*.
- Gräbe, Petrus J.*: The Power of God in Paul's Letters. 2000. *Volume II/123*.
- Gräber, Erich*: Der Alte Bund im Neuen. 1985. *Volume 35*.
- Forschungen zur Apostelgeschichte. 2001. *Volume 137*.
- Green, Joel B.*: The Death of Jesus. 1988. *Volume II/33*.
- Gregory, Anthony*: The Reception of Luke and Acts in the Period before Irenaeus. 2003. *Volume II/169*.
- Gundry Volf, Judith M.*: Paul and Perseverance. 1990. *Volume II/37*.
- Hafemann, Scott J.*: Suffering and the Spirit. 1986. *Volume II/19*.
- Paul, Moses, and the History of Israel. 1995. *Volume 81*.
- Hahn, Johannes (Ed.)*: Zerstörungen des Jerusalemer Tempels. 2002. *Volume 147*.
- Hannah, Darrel D.*: Michael and Christ. 1999. *Volume II/109*.
- Hamid-Khani, Saeed*: Revelation and Concealment of Christ. 2000. *Volume II/120*.
- Hartman, Lars*: Text-Centered New Testament Studies. Ed. von D. Hellholm. 1997. *Volume 102*.
- Hartog, Paul*: Polycarp and the New Testament. 2001. *Volume II/134*.
- Heckel, Theo K.*: Der Innere Mensch. 1993. *Volume II/53*.
- Vom Evangelium des Markus zum viergestaltigen Evangelium. 1999. *Volume 120*.
- Heckel, Ulrich*: Kraft in Schwachheit. 1993. *Volume II/56*.
- Der Segen im Neuen Testament. 2002. *Volume 150*.
- see *Feldmeier, Reinhard*.
- see *Hengel, Martin*.
- Heiligenthal, Roman*: Werke als Zeichen. 1983. *Volume II/9*.
- Hellholm, D.*: see *Hartman, Lars*.
- Hemer, Colin J.*: The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History. 1989. *Volume 49*.
- Hengel, Martin*: Judentum und Hellenismus. 1969, ³1988. *Volume 10*.
- Die johanneische Frage. 1993. *Volume 67*.
- Judaica et Hellenistica.
- Kleine Schriften I. 1996. *Volume 90*.
- Judaica, Hellenistica et Christiana.
- Kleine Schriften II. 1999. *Volume 109*.
- Paulus und Jakobus.
- Kleine Schriften III. 2002. *Volume 141*.
- Hengel, Martin and Ulrich Heckel (Ed.)*: Paulus und das antike Judentum. 1991. *Volume 58*.
- Hengel, Martin and Hermut Löhr (Ed.)*: Schriftauslegung im antiken Judentum und im Urchristentum. 1994. *Volume 73*.
- Hengel, Martin and Anna Maria Schwemer*: Paulus zwischen Damaskus und Antiochien. 1998. *Volume 108*.
- Der messianische Anspruch Jesu und die Anfänge der Christologie. 2001. *Volume 138*.
- Hengel, Martin and Anna Maria Schwemer (Ed.)*: Königsherrschaft Gottes und himmlischer Kult. 1991. *Volume 55*.
- Die Septuaginta. 1994. *Volume 72*.
- Hengel, Martin; Siegfried Mittmann and Anna Maria Schwemer (Ed.)*: La Cité de Dieu / Die Stadt Gottes. 2000. *Volume 129*.
- Herrenbrück, Fritz*: Jesus und die Zöllner. 1990. *Volume II/41*.
- Herzer, Jens*: Paulus oder Petrus? 1998. *Volume 103*.
- Hoegen-Rohls, Christina*: Der nachösterliche Johannes. 1996. *Volume II/84*.
- Hofius, Otfried*: Katapausis. 1970. *Volume 11*.
- Der Vorhang vor dem Thron Gottes. 1972. *Volume 14*.
- Der Christushymnus Philipper 2,6-11. 1976, ²1991. *Volume 17*.
- Paulusstudien. 1989, ²1994. *Volume 51*.
- Neutestamentliche Studien. 2000. *Volume 132*.

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

- Paulusstudien II. 2002. *Volume 143*.
- Hofius, Otfried* and *Hans-Christian Kammler*: Johannesstudien. 1996. *Volume 88*.
- Holtz, Traugott*: Geschichte und Theologie des Urchristentums. 1991. *Volume 57*.
- Hommel, Hildebrecht*: Sebasmata. *Volume 1* 1983. *Volume 31* – *Volume 2* 1984. *Volume 32*.
- Hvalvik, Reidar*: The Struggle for Scripture and Covenant. 1996. *Volume II/82*.
- Joubert, Stephan*: Paul as Benefactor. 2000. *Volume II/124*.
- Jungbauer, Harry*: „Ehre Vater und Mutter“. 2002. *Volume II/146*.
- Kähler, Christoph*: Jesu Gleichnisse als Poesie und Therapie. 1995. *Volume 78*.
- Kamleh, Ehrhard*: Die Form der katalogischen Paränese im Neuen Testament. 1964. *Volume 7*.
- Kammler, Hans-Christian*: Christologie und Eschatologie. 2000. *Volume 126*.
- Kreuz und Weisheit. 2003. *Volume 159*.
- see *Hofius, Otfried*.
- Kelhoffer, James A.*: Miracle and Mission. 1999. *Volume II/112*.
- Kieffer, René* and *Jan Bergman (Ed.)*: La Main de Dieu / Die Hand Gottes. 1997. *Volume 94*.
- Kim, Seyoon*: The Origin of Paul's Gospel. 1981, ²1984. *Volume II/4*.
- “The ‘Son of Man’” as the Son of God. 1983. *Volume 30*.
- Klauck, Hans-Josef*: Religion und Gesellschaft im frühen Christentum. 2003. *Volume 152*.
- Klein, Hans*: see *Dunn, James D.G.*
- Kleinknecht, Karl Th.*: Der leidende Gerechtfertigte. 1984, ²1988. *Volume II/13*.
- Klinghardt, Matthias*: Gesetz und Volk Gottes. 1988. *Volume II/32*.
- Köhler, Wolf-Dietrich*: Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums in der Zeit vor Irenäus. 1987. *Volume II/24*.
- Kooten, George H. van*: Cosmic Christology in Paul and the Pauline School. 2003. *Volume II/171*.
- Korn, Manfred*: Die Geschichte Jesu in veränderter Zeit. 1993. *Volume II/51*.
- Koskenniemi, Erkki*: Apollonios von Tyana in der neutestamentlichen Exegese. 1994. *Volume II/61*.
- Kraus, Thomas J.*: Sprache, Stil und historischer Ort des zweiten Petrusbriefes. 2001. *Volume II/136*.
- Kraus, Wolfgang*: Das Volk Gottes. 1996. *Volume 85*.
- see *Walter, Nikolaus*.
- Kreplin, Matthias*: Das Selbstverständnis Jesu. 2001. *Volume II/141*.
- Kuhn, Karl G.*: Achtzehngebet und Vaterunser und der Reim. 1950. *Volume 1*.
- Kvalbein, Hans*: see *Ådna, Jostein*.
- Laansma, Jon*: I Will Give You Rest. 1997. *Volume II/98*.
- Labahn, Michael*: Offenbarung in Zeichen und Wort. 2000. *Volume II/117*.
- Lambers-Petry, Doris*: see *Tomson, Peter J.*
- Lange, Armin*: see *Ego, Beate*.
- Lampe, Peter*: Die stadtrömischen Christen in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten. 1987, ²1989. *Volume II/18*.
- Landmesser, Christof*: Wahrheit als Grundbegriff neutestamentlicher Wissenschaft. 1999. *Volume 113*.
- Jüngerberufung und Zuwendung zu Gott. 2000. *Volume 133*.
- Lau, Andrew*: Manifest in Flesh. 1996. *Volume II/86*.
- Lawrence, Louise*: An Ethnography of the Gospel of Matthew. 2003. *Volume II/165*.
- Lee, Pilchan*: The New Jerusalem in the Book of Revelation. 2000. *Volume II/129*.
- Lichtenberger, Hermann*: see *Avemarie, Friedrich*.
- Lieu, Samuel N. C.*: Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China. ²1992. *Volume 63*.
- Loader, William R.G.*: Jesus' Attitude Towards the Law. 1997. *Volume II/97*.
- Löhr, Gebhard*: Verherrlichung Gottes durch Philosophie. 1997. *Volume 97*.
- Löhr, Hermut*: Studien zum frühchristlichen und frühjüdischen Gebet. 2003. *Volume 160*.
- : see *Hengel, Martin*.
- Löhr, Winrich Alfried*: Basilides und seine Schule. 1995. *Volume 83*.
- Luomanen, Petri*: Entering the Kingdom of Heaven. 1998. *Volume II/101*.
- Luz, Ulrich*: see *Dunn, James D.G.*
- Maier, Gerhard*: Mensch und freier Wille. 1971. *Volume 12*.
- Die Johannesoffenbarung und die Kirche. 1981. *Volume 25*.
- Markschies, Christoph*: Valentinus Gnosticus? 1992. *Volume 65*.
- Marshall, Peter*: Enmity in Corinth: Social Conventions in Paul's Relations with the Corinthians. 1987. *Volume II/23*.
- Mayer, Annemarie*: Sprache der Einheit im Epheserbrief und in der Ökumene. 2002. *Volume II/150*.
- McDonough, Sean M.*: YHWH at Patmos: Rev. 1:4 in its Hellenistic and Early Jewish Setting. 1999. *Volume II/107*.

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

- McGlynn, Moyna: Divine Judgement and Divine Benevolence in the Book of Wisdom. 2001. *Volume II/139.*
- Meade, David G.: Pseudonymity and Canon. 1986. *Volume 39.*
- Meadors, Edward P.: Jesus the Messianic Herald of Salvation. 1995. *Volume II/72.*
- Meißner, Stefan: Die Heimholung des Ketzers. 1996. *Volume II/87.*
- Mell, Ulrich: Die „anderen“ Winzer. 1994. *Volume 77.*
- Mengel, Berthold: Studien zum Philipperbrief. 1982. *Volume II/8.*
- Merkel, Helmut: Die Widersprüche zwischen den Evangelien. 1971. *Volume 13.*
- Merklein, Helmut: Studien zu Jesus und Paulus. Volume 1 1987. *Volume 43.* – Volume 2 1998. *Volume 105.*
- Metzdorf, Christina: Die Tempelaktion Jesu. 2003. *Volume II/168.*
- Metzler, Karin: Der griechische Begriff des Verzeihens. 1991. *Volume II/44.*
- Metzner, Rainer: Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums im 1. Petrusbrief. 1995. *Volume II/74.*
- Das Verständnis der Sünde im Johannesevangelium. 2000. *Volume 122.*
- Mihoc, Vasile: see Dunn, James D.G..
- Mineshige, Kiyoshi: Besitzverzicht und Almosen bei Lukas. 2003. *Volume II/163.*
- Mittmann, Siegfried: see Hengel, Martin.
- Mittmann-Richert, Ulrike: Magnifikat und Benediktus. 1996. *Volume II/90.*
- Mußner, Franz: Jesus von Nazareth im Umfeld Israels und der Urkirche. Ed. von M. Theobald. 1998. *Volume 111.*
- Niebuhr, Karl-Wilhelm: Gesetz und Paränese. 1987. *Volume II/28.*
- Heidenapostel aus Israel. 1992. *Volume 62.*
- Nielsen, Anders E.: “Until it is Fullfilled”. 2000. *Volume II/126.*
- Nissen, Andreas: Gott und der Nächste im antiken Judentum. 1974. *Volume 15.*
- Noack, Christian: Gottesbewußtsein. 2000. *Volume II/116.*
- Noormann, Rolf: Irenäus als Paulusinterpret. 1994. *Volume II/66.*
- Novakovic, Lidija: Messiah, the Healer of the Sick. 2003. *Volume II/170.*
- Obermann, Andreas: Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium. 1996. *Volume II/83.*
- Öhler, Markus: Barnabas. 2003. *Volume 156.*
- Okure, Teresa: The Johannine Approach to Mission. 1988. *Volume II/31.*
- Oropeza, B. J.: Paul and Apostasy. 2000. *Volume II/115.*
- Ostmeyer, Karl-Heinrich: Taufe und Typos. 2000. *Volume II/118.*
- Paulsen, Henning: Studien zur Literatur und Geschichte des frühen Christentums. Ed. von Ute E. Eisen. 1997. *Volume 99.*
- Pao, David W.: Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus. 2000. *Volume II/130.*
- Park, Eung Chun: The Mission Discourse in Matthew’s Interpretation. 1995. *Volume II/81.*
- Park, Joseph S.: Conceptions of Afterlife in Jewish Inscriptions. 2000. *Volume II/121.*
- Pate, C. Marvin: The Reverse of the Curse. 2000. *Volume II/114.*
- Peres, Imre: Griechische Grabinschriften und neutestamentliche Eschatologie. 2003. *Volume 157.*
- Philonenko, Marc (Ed.): Le Trône de Dieu. 1993. *Volume 69.*
- Pilhofer, Peter: Presbyteron Kreiton. 1990. *Volume II/39.*
- Philippi. Volume 1 1995. *Volume 87.* – Volume 2 2000. *Volume 119.*
- Die frühen Christen und ihre Welt. 2002. *Volume 145.*
- see Ego, Beate.
- Pöhlmann, Wolfgang: Der Verlorene Sohn und das Haus. 1993. *Volume 68.*
- Pokorný, Petr and Josef B. Souček: Bibelauslegung als Theologie. 1997. *Volume 100.*
- Pokorný, Petr and Jan Roskovec (Ed.): Philosophical Hermeneutics and Biblical Exegesis. 2002. *Volume 153.*
- Porter, Stanley E.: The Paul of Acts. 1999. *Volume 115.*
- Prieur, Alexander: Die Verkündigung der Gottesherrschaft. 1996. *Volume II/89.*
- Probst, Hermann: Paulus und der Brief. 1991. *Volume II/45.*
- Räsänen, Heikki: Paul and the Law. 1983, ²1987. *Volume 29.*
- Rehkopf, Friedrich: Die lukanische Sonderquelle. 1959. *Volume 5.*
- Rein, Matthias: Die Heilung des Blindgeborenen (Joh 9). 1995. *Volume II/73.*
- Reinmuth, Eckart: Pseudo-Philo und Lukas. 1994. *Volume 74.*
- Reiser, Marius: Syntax und Stil des Markusevangeliums. 1984. *Volume II/11.*
- Richards, E. Randolph: The Secretary in the Letters of Paul. 1991. *Volume II/42.*
- Riesner, Rainer: Jesus als Lehrer. 1981, ³1988. *Volume II/7.*

- Die Frühzeit des Apostels Paulus. 1994. *Volume 71*.
- Rissi, Mathias: Die Theologie des Hebräerbriefs. 1987. *Volume 41*.
- Roskovec, Jan: see Pokorný, Petr.
- Röhser, Günter: Metaphorik und Personifikation der Sünde. 1987. *Volume II/25*.
- Rose, Christian: Die Wolke der Zeugen. 1994. *Volume II/60*.
- Rüegger, Hans-Ulrich: Verstehen, was Markus erzählt. 2002. *Volume II/155*.
- Rüger, Hans Peter: Die Weisheitsschrift aus der Kairoer Geniza. 1991. *Volume 53*.
- Sänger, Dieter: Antikes Judentum und die Mysterien. 1980. *Volume III/5*.
- Die Verkündigung des Gekreuzigten und Israel. 1994. *Volume 75*.
- see Burchard, Christoph
- Salzmann, Jorg Christian: Lehren und Ermahnen. 1994. *Volume II/59*.
- Sandnes, Karl Olav: Paul – One of the Prophets? 1991. *Volume II/43*.
- Sato, Migaku: Q und Prophetie. 1988. *Volume II/29*.
- Schaper, Joachim: Eschatology in the Greek Psalter. 1995. *Volume II/76*.
- Schimanowski, Gottfried: Die himmlische Liturgie in der Apokalypse des Johannes. 2002. *Volume II/154*.
- Weisheit und Messias. 1985. *Volume II/17*.
- Schlichting, Günter: Ein jüdisches Leben Jesu. 1982. *Volume 24*.
- Schnabel, Eckhard J.: Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul. 1985. *Volume II/16*.
- Shutter, William L.: Hermeneutic and Composition in I Peter. 1989. *Volume II/30*.
- Schwartz, Daniel R.: Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity. 1992. *Volume 60*.
- Schwemer, Anna Maria: see Hengel, Martin
- Scott, James M.: Adoption as Sons of God. 1992. *Volume II/48*.
- Paul and the Nations. 1995. *Volume 84*.
- Shum, Shiu-Lun: Paul's Use of Isaiah in Romans. 2002. *Volume II/156*.
- Siegert, Folker: Drei hellenistisch-jüdische Predigten. Teil I 1980. *Volume 20* – Teil II 1992. *Volume 61*.
- Nag-Hammadi-Register. 1982. *Volume 26*.
- Argumentation bei Paulus. 1985. *Volume 34*.
- Philon von Alexandrien. 1988. *Volume 46*.
- Simon, Marcel: Le christianisme antique et son contexte religieux I/II. 1981. *Volume 23*.
- Snodgrass, Klyne: The Parable of the Wicked Tenants. 1983. *Volume 27*.
- Söding, Thomas: Das Wort vom Kreuz. 1997. *Volume 93*.
- see Thüsing, Wilhelm.
- Sommer, Urs: Die Passionsgeschichte des Markusevangeliums. 1993. *Volume II/58*.
- Souček, Josef B.: see Pokorný, Petr.
- Spangenberg, Volker: Herrlichkeit des Neuen Bundes. 1993. *Volume II/55*.
- Spanje, T.E. van: Inconsistency in Paul? 1999. *Volume II/110*.
- Speyer, Wolfgang: Frühes Christentum im antiken Strahlungsfeld. Volume I: 1989. *Volume 50*.
- Volume II: 1999. *Volume 116*.
- Stadelmann, Helge: Ben Sira als Schriftgelehrter. 1980. *Volume II/6*.
- Stenschke, Christoph W.: Luke's Portrait of Gentiles Prior to Their Coming to Faith. *Volume II/108*.
- Stettler, Christian: Der Kolosserhymnus. 2000. *Volume II/131*.
- Stettler, Hanna: Die Christologie der Pastoralbriefe. 1998. *Volume II/105*.
- Strobel, August: Die Stunde der Wahrheit. 1980. *Volume 21*.
- Stroumsa, Guy G.: Barbarian Philosophy. 1999. *Volume 112*.
- Stuckenbruck, Loren T.: Angel Veneration and Christology. 1995. *Volume II/70*.
- Stuhlmacher, Peter (Ed.): Das Evangelium und die Evangelien. 1983. *Volume 28*.
- Biblische Theologie und Evangelium. 2002. *Volume 146*.
- Sung, Chong-Hyon: Vergebung der Sünden. 1993. *Volume II/57*.
- Tajra, Harry W.: The Trial of St. Paul. 1989. *Volume II/35*.
- The Martyrdom of St. Paul. 1994. *Volume II/67*.
- Theißen, Gerd: Studien zur Soziologie des Urchristentums. 1979, ³1989. *Volume 19*.
- Theobald, Michael: Studien zum Römerbrief. 2001. *Volume 136*.
- Theobald, Michael: see Mußner, Franz.
- Thornton, Claus-Jürgen: Der Zeuge des Zeugen. 1991. *Volume 56*.
- Thüsing, Wilhelm: Studien zur neutestamentlichen Theologie. Ed. von Thomas Söding. 1995. *Volume 82*.
- Thurén, Lauri: Derhetorizing Paul. 2000. *Volume 124*.
- Tomson, Peter J. and Doris Lambers-Petry (Ed.): The Image of the Judaeo-Christians in Ancient Jewish and Christian Literature. 2003. *Volume 158*.

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

- Treloar, Geoffrey R.*: Lightfoot the Historian. 1998. *Volume II/103*.
- Tsujii, Manabu*: Glaube zwischen Vollkommenheit und Verweltlichung. 1997. *Volume II/93*
- Twelftree, Graham H.*: Jesus the Exorcist. 1993. *Volume II/54*.
- Urban, Christina*: Das Menschenbild nach dem Johannesevangelium. 2001. *Volume II/137*.
- Visotzky, Burton L.*: Fathers of the World. 1995. *Volume 80*.
- Vollenweider, Samuel*: Horizonte neutestamentlicher Christologie. 2002. *Volume 144*.
- Vos, Johan S.*: Die Kunst der Argumentation bei Paulus. 2002. *Volume 149*.
- Wagener, Ulrike*: Die Ordnung des „Hauses Gottes“. 1994. *Volume II/65*.
- Walker, Donald D.*: Paul's Offer of Leniency (2 Cor 10:1). 2002. *Volume II/152*.
- Walter, Nikolaus*: Praeparatio Evangelica. Ed. von Wolfgang Kraus und Florian Wilk. 1997. *Volume 98*.
- Wander, Bernd*: Gottesfürchtige und Sympathisanten. 1998. *Volume 104*.
- Watts, Rikki*: Isaiah's New Exodus and Mark. 1997. *Volume II/88*.
- Wedderburn, A.J.M.*: Baptism and Resurrection. 1987. *Volume 44*.
- Wegner, Uwe*: Der Hauptmann von Kafarnaum. 1985. *Volume II/14*.
- Weissenrieder, Annette*: Images of Illness in the Gospel of Luke. 2003. *Volume II/164*.
- Welck, Christian*: Erzählte ‚Zeichen‘. 1994. *Volume II/69*.
- Wiarda, Timothy*: Peter in the Gospels. 2000. *Volume II/127*.
- Wilk, Florian*: see *Walter, Nikolaus*.
- Williams, Catrin H.*: I am He. 2000. *Volume II/113*.
- Wilson, Walter T.*: Love without Pretense. 1991. *Volume II/46*.
- Wisdom, Jeffrey*: Blessing for the Nations and the Curse of the Law. 2001. *Volume II/133*.
- Wucherpfeffig, Ansgar*: Heracleon Philologus. 2002. *Volume 142*.
- Yeung, Maureen*: Faith in Jesus and Paul. 2002. *Volume II/147*.
- Zimmermann, Alfred E.*: Die urchristlichen Lehrer. 1984, ²1988. *Volume II/12*.
- Zimmermann, Johannes*: Messianische Texte aus Qumran. 1998. *Volume II/104*.
- Zimmermann, Ruben*: Geschlechtermetaphorik und Gottesverhältnis. 2001. *Volume II/122*.
- Zumstein, Jean*: see *Dettwiler, Andreas*

*For a complete catalogue please write to the publisher
Mohr Siebeck • P.O. Box 2030 • D-72010 Tübingen/Germany
Up-to-date information on the internet at www.mohr.de*

