

ERIC SORENSEN

Possession and Exorcism in the New Testament and Early Christianity

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*

157

Mohr Siebeck

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe

Edited by
Jörg Frey, Martin Hengel, Otfried Hofius

157



Eric Sorensen

Possession and Exorcism in the New Testament and Early Christianity

Mohr Siebeck

ERIC SORENSEN, born 1961; 1984 B.A. in English and Classics from Pacific Lutheran University; 1987 M.A. in Classics from the University of Washington; 1991 M.Div. in Scripture and Interpretation from Harvard Divinity School (Cambridge, MA); 2001 Ph.D. in Biblical Studies from the University of Chicago Divinity School.

ISBN 3-16-147851-7 978-3-16-157411-5 Unveränderte eBook-Ausgabe 2019
ISSN 0340-9570 (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe)

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

© 2002 by J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), P.O. Box 2040, D-72010 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 Druck Partner Rübelmann GmbH in Hemsbach on non-aging paper and bound by Buchbinderei Schaumann in Darmstadt.

*Mache dich, mein Herze, rein,
Ich will Jesum selbst begraben.
Denn er soll nunmehr in mir
Für und für
Seine süße Ruhe haben.
Welt, geh aus, laß Jesum ein.*

—Bach, *Matthäus-Passion*

Preface

This book represents a revision of my doctoral dissertation, "The Temple of God, the House of the Unclean Spirit: Possession and Exorcism in the New Testament and Early Christianity," submitted to the Divinity of the University of Chicago in December 2001. Though based upon a dissertation, my hope is that a broad audience will find the study accessible, and that readers will recognize the sometimes extensively annotated footnotes as a resource for, rather than a distraction from, the main text. I express my thanks to Dr. Henning Ziebritsky, Theology Editor at Mohr Siebeck in Tübingen for his initial interest in my manuscript, and to Dr. Jörg Frey of the Evangelisch-Theologische Fakultät, University of Munich, who, as Managing Editor read and approved the selection of my work for the WUNT 2 series. Among Dr. Frey's helpful suggestions was to present the material on "Ancient Israel and Early Judaism" as a chapter independent of the ancient Near Eastern material. I also thank the support staff at Mohr Siebeck for their patient and always friendly assistance in bringing this manuscript to print.

I would like to acknowledge my appreciation of the University of Chicago generally, which not only provided a curriculum that engendered the research topic, but a community of interested scholars and specialists who offered their time and suggestions, and whose own teachings and writings have informed the following pages. I extend my particular thanks to my dissertation committee — Adela Yarbro Collins (advisor, now of Yale Divinity School), Hans Dieter Betz, and Elizabeth R. Gebhard — for their careful reading of my work and their substantive suggestions for delineating its boundaries. I am grateful to have had the friendship and respect that they have held for each other over the years also directed toward my own scholastic development. Informal readers have included Erica Reiner and Robert Biggs of the University of Chicago's Oriental Institute, who read through various incarnations of the section on ancient Mesopotamia and offered useful bibliographic suggestions. Bruce Lincoln of the Divinity School and John J. Collins (now of Yale Divinity School) offered critical readings and constructive comments on the sections that pertained respectively to Zoroastrianism and Ancient Israel and Early Judaism. I am also grateful to the students and faculty who participated in the Divinity School's New Testament Dissertation Seminars of 1997 and 1999 for their valuable criticism and guidance; Margaret M. Mitchell's participation in the latter year proved especially fortunate. Matthew W. Dickie, of the University of Illinois at Chicago, and Peter Brown, of Princeton University, also provided helpful

bibliographic guidance for the classical world as well as a shared interest in magic in antiquity.

I received a Charlotte W. Newcombe Dissertation Fellowship in 1996, and am indebted to the encouragement that Mrs. Newcombe's gift offered at that stage. I would also like to thank Wallace A. Alston, Director of the Center of Theological Inquiry in Princeton, New Jersey, who offered me the resources of the Center for the fellowship year. Those resources extended to privileges at the Princeton Theological Seminary and Princeton University libraries, as well as at Princeton's Index of Christian Art. I would also like to express my appreciation to the CTI staff, and other residents during the 1996–1997 year, especially William Lazareth who, as acting director prior to Dr. Alston's tenure, had initially extended the invitation for residency to me.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the good-natured interest and support that my friends and family have shown toward my endeavor over the years. In particular, I would like to thank my wife Maureen for her keen eye and helpful suggestions during the final stages of editing and formatting, as well as my brother, Philip Sorensen, and my sister, Joan Sorensen Rice, and their families. Finally, I would like to thank my parents Janice Joyce Sorensen, and † Reuben Erling Sorensen, to whom I dedicate this work.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	VII
List of Tables	XII
Note on Style	XIII
Chapter 1	
<i>Introduction: The Christian Exorcist in the Greco-Roman World</i>	1
1.1 Definition of Terms	1
1.2 Argument and Scope of the Present Study	2
Chapter 2	
<i>Possession and Exorcism in the Ancient Near East</i>	18
2.1 Introduction	18
2.2 Affliction and Conjurament in Ancient Mesopotamia	18
2.2.1 The Conjurament before the Common Era	19
2.2.1.1 <i>Šurpu</i> and Human Transgression	20
2.2.1.2 <i>Udug-hul</i> and the Demonic Antagonist	25
2.2.1.3 <i>Maqlû</i> and the Defense against Witchcraft	28
2.2.2 The <i>Bārû</i> and Prophecy	29
2.2.3 Indwelling Possession in the Ancient Near East	31
2.3 Pollution and Purification in Zoroastrianism	32
2.3.1 Zoroastrian Sources	33
2.3.2 Zoroastrian Dualism and the Doctrine of Choice	35
2.3.3 Pollution and Zoroastrian Cosmogony	37
2.3.4 Purification and Zoroastrian Eschatology	40
2.3.5 The Influence of Zoroastrianism in the Eastern Mediterranean	43
2.4 Conclusion	46
Chapter 3	
<i>Possession and Exorcism in Ancient Israel and Early Judaism</i>	47
3.1 Introduction	47
3.2 Possession and Exorcism in the Hebrew Bible and Septuagint	47
3.2.1 Possession in the Hebrew Bible and Septuagint	50
3.2.2 Exorcism in the Hebrew Bible and Septuagint	53
3.3 Possession and Exorcism in the Jewish Pseudepigrapha	59
3.3.1 Possession in Early Jewish Pseudepigrapha	60
3.3.2 Exorcism in Early Jewish Pseudepigrapha	63
3.4 Possession and Exorcism in the Dead Sea Scrolls	64
3.4.1 Possession in the Dead Sea Scrolls	65

3.4.2 Exorcism in the Dead Sea Scrolls	68
3.5 Conclusion	74
 Chapter 4	
<i>Possession and the Treatment of the Possessed in Early Greece</i>	75
4.1 Introduction	75
4.2 Possession in Early Greece	75
4.2.1 Possessing Entities	77
4.2.1.1 The Gods	78
4.2.1.2 The Greek <i>Daimon</i>	80
4.2.1.3 Avenging Spirits	85
4.2.1.4 The Erinyes	90
4.2.2 Manifestations of Possession	91
4.2.2.1 Possession and Prophetic Inspiration	91
4.2.2.2 Possession and Illness	95
4.2.2.3 Possession and Madness	97
4.2.2.3.1 Tragic Madness	98
4.2.2.3.2 Madness in History	100
4.3 Treatment of the Possessed	103
4.3.1 Binding the Possessed	104
4.3.2 Medicine and Possession	104
4.3.3 Cultic Healing and Possession	107
4.3.4 Purification and Possession	109
4.4 Conclusion	117
 Chapter 5	
<i>Possession and Exorcism in the New Testament</i>	118
5.1 Introduction: Demons and Demonic Possession in the New Testament	118
5.2 Purity and Physiological Possession	127
5.3 The Significance of Exorcism	128
5.4 The Terminology of Exorcism	131
5.5 The Authority of the Exorcist	136
5.6 The Deity and Divine Possession	144
5.7 Exorcism and Early Christian Mission	148
5.8 Sanctification and Divine Possession	153
5.9 Conclusion: The New Testament's Legacy of Exorcism to the Early Church	166
 Chapter 6	
<i>Possession and Exorcism in Early Christianity</i>	168
6.1 Introduction	168
6.2 The Utility of Christian Exorcism: Transferal of Cult	169
6.3 Magic and Early Christian Exorcism	177
6.4 Exorcism and Wisdom: Philostratus' <i>Life of Apollonius</i>	186
6.5 Character versus Charisma in Christian Apologetics	189
6.6 Exorcism as Visual Rhetoric	193
6.7 Possession and Ethics: The Two Ways Doctrine	196
6.8 Heresy and the Further Articulation of Spiritual Possession	204
6.9 Exorcism and Initiation	209

6.10 The Continuation of Charismatic Exorcism: Pseudepigraphy and Hagiography	214
6.11 Conclusion	220
 Chapter 7	
<i>Conclusion</i>	222
 Bibliography of Works Cited	227
 Reference Index	253
 Author Index	286
 Subject Index	290

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	
Genesis 41:1–45 (Joseph in Pharaoh’s Court)	56
Table 2	
Exodus 6:28–12:36 (Moses and Aaron in Egypt)	56
Table 3	
Daniel 1:1–5:31 (Daniel in the Babylonian Court)	57
Table 4	
Magical Practices Prohibited in the Hebrew Bible	58
Table 5	
Comparison of “Epileptic” Symptoms in Mark and <i>The Sacred Disease</i>	107
Table 6	
The Demoniac in the Synagogue	137
Table 7	
The Gerasene Demoniac	138
Table 8	
The Possessed Boy	138

NOTE ON STYLE

The Bibliography includes all works cited in the dissertation. I have presented them in accordance with the guidelines set forth in *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies*, Patrick H. Alexander et al., eds. (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1999). I have also followed *The SBL Handbook of Style* for the journal and serial abbreviations found in the notes, and have provided the unabbreviated titles in the Bibliography. Abbreviations of early Jewish, Christian and patristic titles follow *The SBL Handbook of Style*. Abbreviations used for titles by Greek and Roman classical authors are included in the Reference Index after their full Latin titles. When I have quoted a translation for a classical work I have cited the edition of the translation and included it in the Bibliography. Translations of ancient authors in Greek or Latin without citations are my own. For the biblical passages I have referred to *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, edited by K. Elliger and W. Rudolph (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983); *Septuaginta*, edited by Alfred Rahlfs (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1979); Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (27th ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993). Unless otherwise indicated, biblical quotations in English are from the New Revised Standard Version. Translations of the Septuagint are my own.

Chapter 1

Introduction: The Christian Exorcist in the Greco-Roman World

1.1 Definition of Terms

It is important at the outset to define some central concepts of this study. Jonathan Z. Smith interprets the “demonic” as a label for what is marginal, protean, and unstructured within a given society, so that when identifying the demons one should not ask “who” they are but “what” they represent.¹ For Smith, demons are the reifications of human anxieties over what is uncertain, and they serve to identify the boundaries or liminalities of social structures. Smith’s deconstruction is helpful in understanding the concept of the demonic, but the question still remains how given societies envision their liminalities. As for the early Christians, they interpreted them as demons, which in turn dictated how they acted towards them, and it is these demons as discrete spiritual entities with which this present study is concerned. Within the context of the New Testament, demonic possession may be defined as a culturally shared belief in the potential for a maleficent spiritual being to disrupt, often in a way observable to others, the well-being of an unwilling host.² In the same context, exorcism may be defined as the forced removal of

¹“The demonic is a relational or labeling term which occurs only in certain culturally stipulated situations and is part of a complex system of boundaries and limits” (Jonathan Z. Smith, “Towards Interpreting Demonic Powers in Hellenistic and Roman Antiquity,” *ANRW* 2.16.1 [1978] 429). Compare also Jeffrey Burton Russell’s assessment of evil and its personification as a part of the human experience: “The Devil is the hypostasis, the apotheosis, the objectification of a hostile force or hostile forces perceived as external to our consciousness” (Jeffrey Burton Russell, *The Devil: Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977] 34).

²Erika Bourguignon, who takes into account the biblical record in her cross-cultural anthropological study of possession, has noted that the phenomenon of possession requires a culturally shared belief: “Possession beliefs and rituals then reflect and express both social structures and the personalities of the participants. They are not simply matters of historical inheritance. When such inheritance loses its social significance and profound personal psychological meaning, the beliefs will disappear and possession trance rituals will become theatrical performances” (Erika Bourguignon, *Possession* [Chandler and Sharp Series in Cross

such a hostile spirit for the purpose of restoring the victim of demonic possession to well-being. Exorcism is accomplished by a person, the exorcist, who engages and mediates a superior spiritual power³ against the offending demon in order to accomplish its removal from the possessed and its relocation elsewhere.⁴

1.2 Argument and Scope of the Present Study

The present study argues for the adaptation of exorcism in early Christian mission to the cultural sensibilities of the non-Christian Greeks and Romans. The subject arises when noting that exorcism was an unconventional activity in Greco-Roman society during Christianity's early centuries. Despite this, by the middle of the third century of the Common Era, as we learn from a letter of Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, to Fabius, Bishop of Antioch, the church of Rome had "fifty-two exorcists, readers and doorkeepers" on its roster of 154 clergy.⁵ This letter raises the question of how a phenomenon held at the

Cultural Themes; San Francisco: Chandler & Sharp, 1976] 49). Following this, I interpret the presence and effectiveness of exorcism also to be socially conditioned. Given the social belief in demonic possession and exorcism in first century Palestine, and given the fact that Jesus is considered by his followers and foes alike to have engaged in exorcism, I find it likely that Jesus did perform exorcisms as part of his historical activity. In his medical anthropological approach to healing in the New Testament, John Pilch also emphasizes the role society plays in constructing models for both understanding illness and applying treatment. Exorcism would fit into this context as follows: "In other words, healing boils down to meaning and the transformation of experience. The change or transformation is created by all participants who effectively enact culturally authorized interpretations. When demons are exorcized, the anxious client believes the cause of the problem is gone. This conviction is affirmed by the healer and encouraged by the social circle. It alters the client's cognitive processes from apprehension to calm" (John J. Pilch, *Healing in the New Testament: Insights from Medical and Mediterranean Anthropology* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000] 35).

³The spiritual power sometimes lies in the background of exorcism stories as that quality of divine favor in which the authors portray their miracle workers (e.g., in the synoptic authors' portrayal of Jesus, in Josephus' of Eleazar [*Ant.* 8.45–49], and Philostratus' of Apollonius [*Vit. Apoll.*]).

⁴Smith draws attention to exorcism as a relocation of the possessing spirit, and he describes the re-locative aspect of early rituals associated with demons in this manner: "The demon is 'placed' by being named, entrapped and removed to its proper realm (e.g. exorcism) or redirected to a 'proper' goal (i.e. to somewhere or someone else, as in so-called 'hostile' magic)" (Smith, "Towards Interpreting Demonic Powers," *ANRW* 2.16.1:428–29).

⁵ἐξορκιστὰς δὲ καὶ ἀναγνώστας ἅμα πύλωροις δύο καὶ πενήκοντα (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.43.11. English translation in Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History*, translated by Kirsopp Lake and J. E. L. Oulton [2 vols. LCL; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964–1965]). The letter, recorded by Eusebius and dated to 251, does not specify the number of exorcists among the fifty-two. It also does not say to what extent the

periphery of conventional healing activity not only survived in the early church, but apparently flourished to make the transition from superstition to institution in the Greco-Roman world.

Within the context of the Christian scriptural background the logic behind exorcism's eventual institutionalization is understandable.⁶ Jesus' own exorcistic activity as presented in the synoptic gospels, and his command to his disciples to do the same, grant to exorcism a place of consequence in early Christian tradition.⁷ But it also makes it a subject with which the church would eventually have to come to terms in its missionary appeal to Greek and Roman audiences. The continuation of exorcism in the westward expansion of early Christianity is noteworthy because it appears to have survived in an environment that relegated its demonology and the human powers involved with it to a magical or an occult status rather than a cultic one. In Greece the charge of magic is brought against neither medical practitioners nor the activities of the Asclepius healing cult. On the one hand, doctors rarely claim to do the extraordinary, but follow instead a naturalistic therapy of diagnoses and prognoses based upon observed precedent.⁸ Even should they solicit

exorcists may have worked within or outside of the church community. The others on Cornelius' list include one bishop, forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven sub-deacons, forty-two acolytes, and over 1500 widows and others in distress.

⁶Compare the Ordinal begun in the Byzantine Church which, "from doorkeeper to bishop," justifies by an example from the life of Christ each of the grades of clergy. (Referred to in J. N. Hillgarth, ed., *Christianity and Paganism, 350-750: The Conversion of Western Europe* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986] 179).

⁷Jesus commands his followers to perform exorcisms in his name when he commissions the Twelve Apostles (Mark 3:14-15//Matt 10:1; Mark 6:7-13//Matt 10:7-8//Luke 9:1-6), and the seventy disciples (Luke 10:17-20). After the resurrection Jesus gives a final commission to the eleven remaining apostles in the longer ending of Mark, where casting out demons is considered one of the signs that will accompany anyone who believes and is baptized (Mark 16:15-18). The idea of imitation occurs throughout a variety of New Testament works, from the gospels to the Pauline and catholic epistles, with the object of imitation ranging from the divinity ("God"—Eph 5:1; "Christ"—Matt 10:24; John 13:15-17; 1 Cor 4:16; 11:1; 1 Thess 1:6-7; 1 Pet 2:21-25), to the early apostolate ("Paul"—1 Cor 4:16; 11:1; 1 Thess 1:6-7; 2 Thess 3:9), subsequent leaders of the church ("Timothy"—1 Tim 4:12; "leaders"—Heb 6:11-12; 13:7; "presbyters"—1 Pet 5:3-4), and the congregation as a whole for other congregations ("Thessalonians"—1 Thess 1:6-7; "Churches of Judea"—1 Thess 2:14-16). Hence, supervisors and peers become models of faith and activity within the Christian community. See R. J. S. Barrett-Lennard's summary of healing in early Christianity, and the precedent for such found in the New Testament (R. J. S. Barrett-Lennard, *Christian Healing after the New Testament: Some Approaches to Illness in the Second, Third and Fourth Centuries* [New York: University Press of America, 1994]. Note especially Chapter 5: "Irenaeus: Demon-Possession and Exorcism").

⁸One occasionally comes across statements in the medical writings that all things are curable. Consider this passage from the pre-Common Era *The Sacred Disease* included in the Hippocratic corpus of writings: "This disease styled sacred comes from the same causes as others, from the things that come to and go from the body, from cold, sun, and from the

divine powers in this process the method remains essentially unchanged.⁹ On the other hand, although the Asclepius cult claims to do the miraculous, it

changing restlessness of winds. These things are divine. So that there is no need to put the disease in a special class and to consider it more divine than the others; they are all divine and all human. Each has a nature and power of its own; none is hopeless or incapable of treatment.” (Αὕτη δὲ ἡ νοῦσος ἡ ἱερὴ καλεομένη ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν προφασίων γίνεται ἀφ’ ὧν καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ ἀπὸ τῶν προσιόντων καὶ ἀπιόντων, καὶ ψύχεος καὶ ἡλίου καὶ πνευμάτων μεταβαλλομένων τε καὶ οὐδέποτε ἀτρεμιζόντων. ταῦτα δ’ ἐστὶ θεῖα, ὥστε μὴδὲν δεῖ ἀποκρίνοντα τὸ νόσημα θεϊότερον τῶν λοιπῶν νομίσαι, ἀλλὰ πάντα θεῖα καὶ πάντα ἀνθρώπινα· φύσιν δὲ ἕκαστον ἔχει καὶ δύναμιν ἐφ’ ἑωυτοῦ, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄπορόν ἐστιν οὐδὲ ἀμήχανον.) (Hippocrates, *Morb. sacr.* 21. English translation in *Hippocrates*, translated by W. H. S. Jones et al. [8 vols. LCL; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972–1995]). This passage likely represents the confident flourish of a rhetorician, but it nevertheless reveals a current opinion that whether or not a cure was known, it did in fact exist and merely awaited discovery. In general, however, and beginning with the historical Hippocrates, we see a concern to bring credibility to the healing art that includes an acknowledgment of its limitations. Also from the Hippocratic Corpus the author of *The Art* defines the tasks and limitations of medicine as follows: “In general terms, it is to do away with the sufferings of the sick, to lessen the violence of their diseases, and to refuse to treat those who are overmastered by their diseases, realizing that in such cases medicine is powerless.” (τὸ δὲ πάμπαν ἀπαλλάσσειν τῶν νοσεόντων τοὺς καμάτων καὶ τῶν νοσημάτων τὰς σφοδρότητας ἀμβλύνειν, καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐγχειρεῖν τοῖσι κεκρατημένοις ὑπὸ τῶν νοσημάτων, εἰδόμενος ὅτι ταῦτα οὐ δύναται ἱητρικὴ.) (Hippocrates, *De arte* 3 [Jones, LCL]. See also *De arte* 8). Such a public admission of its limitations ultimately served to strengthen the medical profession by setting the patient’s expectations in proper perspective. Even *The Sacred Disease* itself illustrates medicine’s limitations where it mentions epilepsy’s potential “overmastery” of the sufferer: “In fact, when the disease has become chronic it then proves incurable, for the brain is corroded by phlegm and melts, and the part which melts becomes water, surrounding the brain outside and flooding it, for which reason such people are attacked more frequently and readily.” (οὕτω δ’ ἔχει καὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ· ὁπόταν γὰρ ὁ χρόνος γένηται τῇ νούσῳ, οὐκ ἔτι ἰήσιμος γίνεται· διεσθίεται γὰρ ὁ ἐγκέφαλος ὑπὸ τοῦ φλέγματος καὶ τήκεται, τὸ δὲ ἀποτηκόμενον ὕδωρ γίνεται, καὶ περιέχει τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἐκτὸς καὶ περικλύζει· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πυκνότερον ἐπίληπτοι γίνονται καὶ ῥᾶον.) (Hippocrates, *Morb. sacr.* 14 [Jones, LCL]).

⁹That absolutes cannot be drawn between categories of medicine as a secular craft distinct from religious healing becomes clear on several counts. The definitions blur, for example, on the role of divine power in medicine. Although it is generally true that medicine depends solely on human knowledge to discern cause and cure of a given malady, on rare occasions the practitioners also implore the gods through prayer to assist in the healing (e.g., from the Hippocratic Corpus, *On Dreams* 90 [*Regimen* Book 4]). One also finds acknowledgment of the role of gods in the restoration of health, so that the sixth chapter of *Decorum* even attributes cures in medicine to gods, with physicians merely acting as the means toward that end. In addition to such prayers, there is also the commitment to the gods sworn to by the physician in the opening lines of the *Hippocratic Oath* itself: “I swear by Apollo Physician and Asclepius and Hygieia and Panacea and all the gods and goddesses, making them my witnesses, that I will fulfill according to my ability and judgment this oath and this covenant

operates within a healing tradition whose authority is recognized by the state. The accusation of magic, then, rests not upon extraordinary activity per se, but ultimately upon the authority from which that activity is perceived to derive. This is echoed in the Palestinian setting for the synoptic portrayals of Jesus, where critics question Jesus' authority to heal, not his ability to do so.¹⁰

Granted, the demarcation between magic and socially accepted religious practices in antiquity is a fluid one, and depends more upon the perspective of the one who distinguishes between the two than on any intrinsic qualities they may have held, but it is just this subjective criterion of perception that is of relevance for the present study.¹¹ The fact that some Greeks and Romans in positions of political power and cultural influence associated Christianity with magic and superstition was a perception that early Christian missionaries would have to have taken into account.¹²

..." (Ὅμνῶ Ἀπόλλωνα ἱητρὸν καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸν καὶ Ὑγίαν καὶ Πανάκειαν καὶ θεοὺς πάντας τε καὶ πάσας ἱστορας ποιούμενος ἐπιτελέα ποιήσῃν κατὰ δύνανμιν καὶ κρίσιν ἐμὴν ὄρκον τόνδε καὶ συγγραφήν τήνδε) (Ludwig Edelstein, *Hippocrates The Oath: Or the Hippocratic Oath* [Baltimore: Ares Publishers, 1943] 2–3). Although Hippocratic medicine itself originated out of the Asclepius cult and doctors of this tradition were called Asclepiads, or “sons of Asclepius,” one cannot assume that priests of Asclepius were necessarily Hippocratic doctors, and vice versa. The testimonia for the cult suggest no systematic interest in diagnosis and prognosis of ailments as were essential to Hippocratic medicine.

¹⁰In the synoptics, note especially the Beelzeboul controversy (Matt 12:22–30; Luke 11:14–23; cf. Mark 3:22–27), where the practice of exorcism is considered legitimate for other Jews.

¹¹John Gager reflects this social view of magic, and says of any attempt to define it: “... the only justifiable (answerable) historical question about magic is not ‘What are the characteristics of, for example, Greek magic?’ but rather ‘Under what conditions, by whom, and of whom does the term “magic” come to be used?’” (John Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1992] 25). Fritz Graf intentionally avoids giving a “rigid and artificial terminology” to the subject of “magic” in his study that spans from the sixth century B.C.E. to the end of antiquity, but seeks instead to understand how it was used by the early Greeks and Romans themselves in their “discourse on the relationship between the human and the supernatural” (Fritz Graf, *Magic in the Ancient World* [Revealing Antiquity 10; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997] 18–19). Although I run the risk of undermining his subtlety by attempting to gather his findings into a cohesive summary, I interpret Graf to consider magic a form of religion, whose practitioners use persuasive analogies in their communications with the divine.

¹²A charge that early anti-Christian polemic makes against Jesus was that he performed his miracles by means of magic learned in Egypt. Celsus first makes the connection: “... Jesus ... having hired himself out as a servant in Egypt on account of his poverty, and having there acquired some miraculous powers, on which the Egyptians greatly pride themselves, returned to his own country, highly elated on account of them, and by means of these proclaimed himself a God.” (τὸν Ἰησοῦν . . . διὰ πενίαν εἰς Αἴγυπτον μισθαρνήσας, κάκει δυνάμεων τινων πειραθεὶς, ἐφ’ αἷς Αἰγύπτου

The foreignness of the Jewish and Christian practices of exorcism to the Greco-Roman world becomes readily apparent in the context of healing. The synoptic gospels and Acts portray exorcism either explicitly as a healing activity (Matthew, Luke and Acts), or as a closely related event (Mark). In contrast, the practice of exorcism and demonic possession as an illness are noticeably absent from conventional Greek healing traditions until the turn of the era, and as a consequence exorcism does not play a role in medicine or the healing cults. The Hippocratic Corpus and the writings of noted medical practitioners as late as Galen (ca. 129–199) are unconcerned with the phenomena of demonic possession and exorcism or, where discussed, treat them polemically.¹³ Prior to the turn of the era, even the religious healings attributed to the god Asclepius appear to deal neither with possession as a malady from which their patients suffer nor for which they seek a cure.¹⁴

With the locus of Greek medicine in the Asclepieia, both medical and religious healing offered culturally sanctioned alternatives to magical practices, and they likewise would have benefited from magic's discreditation. On the one hand, this explains the absence of such references in earlier Greek literature, though the presence of exorcism in early magical contexts, too, is by and large wanting. On the other hand, the apparent irrelevance of possession and exorcism to culturally sanctioned healing, and the lack of evidence for it even in magic, raises the question of how exorcism was to prove effective as a missionary activity if no apparent demand for exorcism existed in Greek society prior to the Common Era.

σεμνύνονται, ἐπανήλθεν ἐν ταῖς δυνάμεσι μέγα φρονῶν, καὶ δι' αὐτὰς θεὸν αὐτὸν ἀνηγόρευσε.) (Celsus, *True Doctrine* = Origen, *Cels.* 1.28 [ANF 4.408; PG 11.713]). See, Robert L. Wilken, *The Christians as the Romans Saw Them* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984) 98–101, 109. See also Morton Smith, *Jesus the Magician* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1978).

¹³*The Sacred Disease* first states a current superstitious interpretation of epilepsy as possession by a deity, then refutes it in favor of a physiological explanation. Klaus Thraede finds exorcistic reference in Galen, *fac. simpl. med.* 6.68 (Klaus Thraede, "Exorzismus," *RAC* 7:51).

¹⁴This conclusion is based upon a survey of the evidence published in Emma J. and Ludwig Edelstein, *Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies* (2 vols.; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1975). Robert Garland notes that at least 320 Asclepieia existed around the Mediterranean by the second century Common Era (Robert Garland, *Introducing New Gods: The Politics of Athenian Religion* [Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992] 122, note 2), which, depending upon the degree of their discovery and excavation, suggests that a great amount of material evidence remains to be examined. Later literary sources do attribute exorcisms to Asclepius. In the *Acts of Pilate* (ca. late third century) Pilate credits Jesus' power to exorcize to the authority granted him by Asclepius (*Acts Pil.* ch. 1). Likewise, Philostratus (ca. 170–ca. 245) says that Asclepius heals wounds caused by demons, not by carelessness (*Ep.* 18).

In literary contexts as well exorcism remains a field untrodden, and is undocumented in Roman society until late in the first century Common Era.¹⁵ Then, Josephus (37–ca. 100), writing in Greek to a Roman audience, mentions Eleazar having exorcized a demon before Vespasian.¹⁶ In his account Josephus mentions both the technique and proof of that exorcism, as well as the pedigree of the practice in general, which he claims to stem from Solomon. It would appear to be something of a novelty to his readers. From the second century onward exorcists become occasional subjects of Greco-Roman literature in genres as diverse from Josephus' historiography as the jurisprudence of Ulpian (fl. 212–217), who distinguishes exorcism from proper medicine;¹⁷ the philosophy of Marcus Aurelius (121–180), who treats the exorcist with disdain;¹⁸ the satire of Lucian (ca. 120–ca. 180), who treats

¹⁵Although Pliny the Elder (23/24–79 C.E.) mentions magic and popular healing techniques in chapters 20–32 of his *Natural History*, he does not record any incidents of exorcism.

¹⁶Josephus, *Ant.* 8.45–49.

¹⁷Domitius Ulpianus, *De omnibus tribunalibus*, Book 8: *De extraordinariis cognitionibus*. The passage was incorporated into Justinian's digest of Roman law (Ulpian, *Dig.* 50.13.1.1–3). Ulpian states that the work of obstetricians and medical specialists are justly paid positions because of their concern with health (*salutis hominum ... curam agant*), but in contrast: "... one must not include people who make incantations or imprecations or, to use the common expression of imposters, exorcisms. For these are not branches of medicine, even though people exist who forcibly assert that such people have helped them." (*non tamen si incantavit, si imprecatus est, si, ut vulgari uerbo impostorum utar, si exorcizavit: non sunt ista medicinae genera, tametsi sint, qui hos sibi profuisse cum praedicatione adfirmant.*) (Theodore Mommsen and Paul Krueger, eds., *The Digest of Justinian*, trans. Alan Watson [4 vols.; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985] 4:929). Tony Honoré argues that Ulpian wrote during a period of heightened cultural syncretism. This was evident even in traditional Roman law, which recognized the Punic, Gallic and Assyrian (i.e., Aramaic) languages in addition to Greek and Latin, as valid for drafting certain legal documents. The metropolitan climate was most affected by the *constitutio Antoniniana* (212 C.E.), an imperial edict that granted citizenship to virtually every free inhabitant of the Roman Empire. Ulpian's prolific summation of Roman law during the reign of M. Aurelius Antoninus (Caracalla) (211–17) amounted to the systematic publication of that law for the new citizenry. This move toward political inclusion, however, did not extend to toleration of marginal social activities. As Honoré says: "Superstition, for example Judaism, or imposture, for instance that practised by exorcists, is condemned" (Tony Honoré, *Ulpian* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982] 31).

¹⁸Marcus Aurelius (121–80) says that he understood from the example of one Diogenes: "... not to be taken up with trifles; and [not] to give credence to the statements of miracle-mongers and wizards about incantations and the exorcizing of demons and such like things." (τὸ ἀκενόσπουδον καὶ τὸ ἀπιστητικὸν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν τερατευομένων καὶ γοήτων περὶ ἐπωδῶν καὶ περὶ δαιμόνων ἀποπομπῆς καὶ τῶν τοιούτων λεγομένοις.) (Marcus Aurelius, *Ad se ipsum* 1.6. English translation in Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, *The Communings with Himself*, translated by C. R. Haines [LCL; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961]).

exorcists as fraudulent entrepreneurs in a superstitious world;¹⁹ and the hagiography of Philostratus (ca. 170–ca. 245), who shows the first century wise man Apollonius of Tyana to perform his miracles under a cloud of suspicion and misunderstanding by the Roman authorities.²⁰

Exorcism, not without reason, leaves an exotic impression upon these literati, an “easterness” which they tend to interpret as “foreignness.” Thus, Vespasian encounters a Jew adept in a craft excelled in by Jews.²¹ For Lucian, a connection with the east is a near prerequisite for exorcistic conjuration. He notes Egypt for its familiarity with magic in general,²² and in particular he mentions a contemporary Syrian exorcist famous for his work in Palestine,²³ a “Chaldean” from Babylonia who successfully casts spells and incantations,²⁴ and an Arab who possesses a ring used to control demons.²⁵ Philostratus mentions that Apollonius received an education in eastern wisdom,²⁶ which in part translated into his ability to discern and control spirits.

These critical assessments of the exorcist and his craft nevertheless record their underlying popular fascination and appeal. The story of Lucian’s Arab itself attests to this interest in conjuration and its conveyance to Greece from the east. Accordingly, the Arab gives the ring to Eucrates, a Greek, and teaches

¹⁹Lucian, *Philops.* 16–17. Brenk notes: “Lucian’s ridicule of all these [exorcistic] practices is surely typical of the attitude of many Greek intellectuals of the time” (Frederick E. Brenk, “In the Light of the Moon: Demonology in the Early Imperial Period,” in *ANRW* 2.16.3, W. Haase, ed. [New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1986] 2.16.3:2112). In another work, Lucian also corroborates Ulpian’s higher expectations for medicine when he says that the physician Paetus acted in a manner unfitting of his profession by believing in the deceits of Alexander of Abonoteichus, the “false” prophet of Asclepius (Lucian, *Alex.* 60).

²⁰Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 1.2. Philostratus was commissioned to write the *Life of Apollonius* by the Syrian princess Julia Domna, Septimius Severus’ second wife, whose intellectual circle also included Ulpian (Honoré, *Ulpian*, 31). This attests to a range of views with regard to exorcism within the intellectual and social elite at this time. Wizardry is a constant charge against Apollonius, and one which Philostratus assiduously refutes (see below, Chapter 6). Lucian also views Apollonius of Tyana and a student of his, whom he identifies only as a γόης, unfavorably as the teachers of Alexander (Lucian, *Alex.* 5).

²¹Josephus, *Ant.* 8.45–49.

²²Lucian, *Philops.* 31. See also Origen, *Cels.* 1.28. Klaus Thraede considers exorcism a magical practice picked up by the Jews from the priestly magical traditions of Babylon and Egypt during the Hellenistic period, but that Egypt was the dominant source of inspiration for exorcism as it continued to spread throughout the Mediterranean during the Hellenistic period (Thraede, “Exorzismus,” *RAC* 7:57).

²³Lucian, *Philops.* 16–17.

²⁴Lucian, *Philops.* 9–11.

²⁵Lucian, *Philops.* 17; cf. 24.

²⁶Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 1.2. As a Pythagorean, Apollonius also inherited the reputation for eastern wisdom once attributed to Pythagoras himself (cf. Pliny, *Hist. nat.* 24.156; 25.13; 30.8–9). The Indian sage Iarchas also performs an exorcism (Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 3.38).

him along with it “the spell of many names”,²⁷ it is precisely the type of practice ridiculed by the critics. The Arab’s ring and spell converge with the magical papyri, amulets, and curse tablets that have survived from the early Common Era as a growing corpus of firsthand evidence of conjuration’s popularity at this time.²⁸ These sources, however, essentially confirm exorcism’s place in the eddies of the cultural mainstream.

Even while pagan authors offer their criticisms of the exorcist, Justin Martyr (ca. 100–165) and Tertullian (ca. 160–240) appeal to exorcism in their defenses of Christianity. The references to exorcism made by the apologists differ from the contemporary magical evidence in that they are directed publicly toward the civil authorities, some of whom have maligned the practice in their own writings.²⁹ Throughout their apologies both Justin and

²⁷ ἡ ἐπωδὴ ἡ πολυώνυμος (Lucian, *Philops.* 17. English translation in *Lucian*, translated by A. M. Harmon et al. [8 vols. LCL; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959–1967]).

²⁸ We can add to this evidence the collection of books found at Nag Hammadi, and the New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. See also, Marvin Meyer and Richard Smith, eds., *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power* (San Francisco: HarperSan Francisco, 1994) for texts from the first to the eleventh/twelfth centuries. Numerous curse tablets and binding spells attest to the prevalence of phenomena similar to exorcism among non-Christians, that is, the conjuring of spiritual powers to further one’s intentions (see, e.g., John G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells*). Some of the Greek Magical Papyri from the fourth century C.E. onward show the interest among exorcists themselves of passing on the formulae they have inherited and developed. See especially the exorcistic passages in *PGM* 4.86–87; 1227–64; 3007–86; 5.96–172; 7.429–58; 579–90; 12.270–350; 13.1–343 (242–44); 94.17–21; 114.1–14.

²⁹ Justin addresses his apologies to Marcus Aurelius (called here Verissimus the Philosopher), as well as the Emperor Antoninus Pius, Lucius, the holy Senate (ἱερὰ συγκλήτω), and all the Romans (δῆμῳ παντὶ Ῥωμαίων) (Justin, *1 Apol.* 1.1). In his *Second Apology*, Justin says that Jesus became incarnate: “... for the sake of believing men, and for the destruction of the demons. And now you can learn this from what is under your own observation. For numberless demoniacs throughout the whole world, and in your city, many of our [Christian] men exorcising them in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, have healed and do heal, rendering helpless and driving the possessing devils out of the men, though they could not be cured by all the other exorcists, and those who used incantations and drugs.” (ὕπερ ... τῶν πιστευόντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ <ἐπὶ> καταλύσει τῶν δαιμόνων, <ὥς> καὶ νῦν ἐκ τῶν ὑπ’ ὅσιν γινομένων μαθεῖν δύνασθε. Δαιμονιολήπτους γὰρ πολλοὺς κατὰ πάντα τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ πόλει πολλοὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀνθρώπων [τῶν Χριστιανῶν] ἐπορκίζοντες κατὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ σταυρωθέντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ἐπορκιστῶν καὶ ἐπαστῶν καὶ φαρμακευτῶν μὴ ἰαθέντας, ἰάσαντο καὶ ἔτι νῦν ἰῶνται, καταργοῦντες καὶ ἐκδιώκοντες τοὺς κατέχοντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δαίμονας.) (Justin *2 Apol.* 6.5–6. Greek text from Miroslav Marcovich, ed., *Iustini Martyris Apologiae pro Christianis* [PTS 38; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1994] 146). Tertullian addresses his apology to the Roman religious authorities (*Romani imperii antistites*) (Tertullian, *Apol.* 1.1), and at several places mentions the success of Christian

Tertullian join with their audiences in condemning magic. In order simultaneously to uphold the legitimacy of exorcism the apologists redefine Christianity for their Roman audience as an authentic religion. Having once established the legitimacy of their faith the apologists can then rehabilitate exorcism's reputation insofar as it is practiced within that faith. With Christian exorcism thus liberated from the realm of magical deception, the apologists can appeal to it as a practice that exposes the falsity of other religions while at the same time substantiates its own: by drawing their authority to perform exorcisms from the Christian godhead, Christian exorcists are able to control the so-called gods of pagan belief.³⁰

It is in the area of Christian mission, where Christian values confront non-Christian sensibilities, that one would expect the practice of exorcism to undergo the greatest adaptation. Yet, at face value the exorcisms referred to by the apologists appear consistent with the exorcisms of the synoptic tradition. The most marked departure from the synoptic precedent occurs not in the exteriority of mission, but within the confines of the church itself. The differences in form and meaning of exorcism within Christianity are highlighted when we look several centuries after the evangelists to an early example of a Christian liturgical exorcism.³¹ In the *Apostolic Tradition*, attributed to

exorcists in subduing the supposed pagan gods by the power of the one true God. References to exorcism by Christians occur at 21.17; 23.6–7, 16; 27.5–6; 32.2–3; 37.9 (cf. 43.2); and 46.5.

³⁰In the 23rd chapter of his *Apology*, Tertullian shows how exorcism validates Christianity: "Produce someone before your tribunals, who is admittedly demon-possessed. Let any Christian you please bid him speak, and the spirit in the man will own himself a demon—and truly—just as he will elsewhere call himself a god, falsely. Similarly bring forward some one or other of those persons who are supposed to be god-possessed ... if they do not confess they are demons, not daring to lie to a Christian, then shed that impudent Christian's blood on the spot! What could be plainer than such a deed? What proof more reliable?" (*Edatur hic aliqui ibidem sub tribunalibus vestris quem daemone agi constet. Iussus a quolibet Christiano loqui spiritus ille tam se daemonem confitebitur de vero quam alibi dominum de falso. Aequè producatur aliquis ex his qui de deo pati existimantur ... nisi se daemones confessi fuerint Christiano mentiri non audentes, ibidem illius Christiani procacissimi sanguinem fundite! Quid isto opere manifestius? Quid hac probatione fidelius?*) (Tertullian, *Apol.* 23.4–7. English translation in Tertullian, *Apology*, translated by T. R. Glover [LCL; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966]). In the fourth century, Athanasias reiterates the claim that any Christian worth his salt can cast out demons, which he supports by referring to Matthew 10:8 (Barrett-Lennard, *Christian Healing after the New Testament*, 213).

³¹The earliest reference to renunciation of the devil as part of the Christian baptismal ceremony is found in the gnostic writings of Theodotus of Rome (fl. early II C.E.), as preserved in the writings of Clement of Alexandria. The relevant passage reads as follows: "For this reason baptism is called death and the end of the old life, since we renounce the evil principalities; it is called life according to Christ, since he is the master of this life." (Ταύτη θάνατος καὶ τέλος λέγεται τοῦ παλαιοῦ βίου τὸ βάπτισμα, ἀποτασσομένων ἡμῶν ταῖς πονηραῖς Ἀρχαῖς, ζωὴ δὲ κατὰ Χριστόν, ἥς

Reference Index

Contents: 1. Hebrew Bible; 2. New Testament; 3. Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha; 4. Josephus; 5. Philo; 6. Dead Sea Scrolls; 7. Rabbinic and Other Jewish Literature; 8. Apostolic Literature and Christian Apocrypha; 9. Patristic and Medieval Literature; 10. Greek and Roman Literature; 11. Persian Literature; 12. Semitic Texts and Inscriptions.

1. Hebrew Bible		5:30	50 n 13
		8:19	50 n 10
		11:17	52 n 29
<i>Genesis</i>		11:24–30	52 n 29
1:26	120 n 4	11:33	50 n 10
2:19	120 n 4	12:1–16	50 n 10
6:3	51 n 24	24:2–3	52 n 29
20:18	50 n 10	27:18–23	52 n 28
41:1–45	48 n 3; 56		
		<i>Deuteronomy</i>	
<i>Exodus</i>		2:30	50 n 17
6:28–12:36	56	7:15	50 n 10
7:8–19	48 n 4	12:17	144 n 153
15:26	50 n 10	18:10	58
16:8	49 n 8	18:11	94 n 102
16:10	49 n 8	18:10–11	48 n 1; 58; 152
16:26	49 n 8		n 193
22:17	47 n 1; 58	28:21–22	50 n 10
22:18	47 n 1; 58	28:27–28	50 n 10
25:1–9	53 n 32	28: 35	50 n 10
31:1–6	51 n 25	28:59–61	50 n 10
35:30–36:2	51 n 25	30:15–19	198 n 79
		30:15–20	196 n 74; 197 n 75
<i>Leviticus</i>		32:17	55 n 44
11:1–8	130	32:23–24	50 n 10
16:1–34	113 n 211	33:29	182 n 30
19:26	47 n 1; 58; 152	34:9	52 n 28
	n 193		
19:31	47 n 1; 58; 94	<i>Joshua</i>	
	n 102	11:20	50 n 17
20:6	48 n 1; 58; 94		
	n 102	<i>Judges</i>	
20:27	48 n 1; 58; 94	3:10	51 n 26
	n 102	6:34	51 n 26
26:11	163 n 235	9:23	51 n 19
<i>Numbers</i>		11:29	51 n 26
5:14–15	50 n 13	14:6	51 n 26
		14:19	51 n 26

15:14	51 n 26	<i>Job</i>	
16:19–20	51 n 23	1:6–19	51 n 20
		4:12–16	51 n 19
<i>1 Samuel</i>		27:3	51 n 24
4:3–9	53 n 32	32:8	52 n 28
10:5–6	52 n 29	34:14–15	51 n 24
10:9–13	52 n 29		
11:6–7	52 n 28	<i>Psalms</i>	
15:23	48 n 1; 58	1:2	190 n 56
16:13	52 n 28	1:6	196 n 74
16:14–23	51; 53; 68 n 93	1:116	197 n 75
18:10–12	51	51:10	53 n 31
19:9–10	51	51:10–12 [50:12–14]	53 n 31
19:20–24	52 n 29	82:2	69
28:1–25	50 n 18	91:6	55 n 44
28:3–9	94 n 103	96:5	55 n 44; 169 n 2
28:9	58	104:30	51 n 24
28:8–9	48 n 1	105[106]:37	55 n 44
		110:1	190 n 56
<i>2 Samuel</i>		<i>Proverbs</i>	
7:8	163 n 235	2:12–15	197 n 75
7:14	163 n 235	4:10–15	196 n 74
		30:15	49 n 8
<i>1 Kings</i>		<i>Isaiah</i>	
3:3–28	153 n 194	8:19	94 n 102
3:28	52 n 27	11:2–4	52 n 28
18:21	196 n 74	13:21	55 n 44
22:19–24	50 n 14	19:3	94 n 102
<i>2 Kings</i>		28:16	163 n 235
2:9–15	145 n 153	29:10	50 n 11
13:20–21	219 n 142	29:18	190 n 56
17:17	48 n 1; 58	29:18–19	136 n 117
19:7	50 n 15	32:15	52 n 28
19:35	50 n 9	34:14	49 n 8; 55 n 44
21:6	48 n 1; 58	35:5–6	136 n 117
23:24	48 n 1; 58	37:7	50 n 15
<i>1 Chronicles</i>		40–55	141
10:13	94 n 103	42:1	52 n 28
12:19	52 n 28	44:3	52 n 28
21:1	51 n 20	44:25	94 n 102
		48:16	53 n 31
<i>2 Chronicles</i>		49:9	190 n 56
18:18–23	50 n 14	49:24–25	140–42
24:20	52 n 29	52:11	163 n 235
33:6	48 n 1; 58; 94 n 102	53:4	136 n 117
		59:21	52 n 29
35:19	94 n 102	61:1	52 n 29; 136 n 117; 149 n 182

65:3	55 n 44	5:4	50 n 16
65:11	55 n 44		
<i>Jeremiah</i>		<i>Joel</i>	
1:5–10	53 n 31	2:28–29	52 n 29
21:8	197 n 75; 198 n 79	3:1–2	52 n 29
		3:1–5	149 n 182
<i>Ezekiel</i>		<i>Micah</i>	
2:2–5	52 nn. 29, 30	3:8	52 n 29
3:22–27	52 nn. 29, 30		
11:19–20	53 nn. 31, 32	<i>Zechariah</i>	
20:34	163 n 235	2:13	54 n 39
36:25–27	53 n 31	3:1	190 n 56
36:26–27	53 n 32	3:1–2	53–54
37:5–6	51 n 24	12:4	51 n 19
37:14	51 n 24	14:13	51 n 19
37:27	163 n 235		
39:29	53 n 32	<i>Malachi</i>	
<i>Daniel</i>		3:11	53 n 35
1:1–21	48 n 6	4:5	145 n 153
1:1–5:31	57		
1:17–21	48 n 5	2. New Testament	
1:20	48 n 2	<i>Matthew</i>	
2:1–49	48 n 5; 57	3:16	145 n 156
2:10	48 n 2	4:10	195 n 72
2:27	48 nn. 2, 5; 72 n 107	4:24	84 n 48; 119 n 2; 131 n 78; 135 n 116; 143 n 145; 149 n 183
4	70 n 100		
4:4	48 n 5; 72 n 107	6:13	199 n 82
4:4–9	48 n 5	6:24	196 n 74
4:7	48 nn. 2, 5; 57	7:21–23	124 n 35; 143 n 145
4:8–9	52 nn. 29, 30	7:22	121 n 12; 131 n 80; 133 n 95; 216 n 131
4:16	50 n 17		
4:18	52 nn. 29, 30	8:1–4	128 n 68
4:24–28	48 n 5	8:11–12	204 n 95
4:33	99 n 133	8:14–15	122 n 16; 124 n 39
5:7	48 nn. 2, 5; 72 n 107	8:16	119 n 2; 121 n 13; 133 n 95
5:7–17	48 n 5	8:16–17	131 n 78; 134 n 116
5:11	48 nn. 2, 5; 72 n 107	8:23–27	129 n 73; 134 n 113
5:11–12	52 nn. 29, 30	8:28	119 n 2; 127 n 62
5:14	52 nn. 29, 30	8:28–34	123 n 24; 125 n 48; 129 n 74; 131 n 78; 138
5:15	48 n 2		
5:20	50 n 17		
6:4	52 n 28		
<i>Hosea</i>			
3:12	50 n 16		

8:29	134 n 108	12:24–28	133 n 95
8:31	80 n 22; 119 n 3; 121 n 11; 133 n 99	12:26	121 n 7
8:31–32	133 n 94; 138 n 122	12:27	121 n 7; 142 n 140
8:33	119 n 2	12:27–28	121 n 12; 142 n 139
9:6	205 n 99	12:29	133 n 101
9:1–8	126 n 58	12:30	142 n 141
9:32	119 n 2	12:32	119 n 1
9:32–34	63 n 69; 121 n 12; 123 n 27; 124 n 42; 131 n 78; 143 n 144	12:43	49 n 8; 121 n 13
9:33–34	133 n 95	12:43–44	112 n 204
9:34	119 n 1	12:43–45	14 n 39; 65; 124 n 40; 126 n 55; 154 n 195
10:1	3 n 7; 121 n 13; 128 nn. 68, 70; 131 n 80; 133 n 95; 134 n 106	12:45	119 n 3; 121 n 13
10:1–4	123 n 31	15:6	139 n 127
10:1–15	131 n 79; 144 n 150	15:10–20	128 n 67
10:5–15	131 n 80	15:21–28	123 n 25; 131 n 78; 134 n 116
10:7–8	3 n 7	15:22	119 n 2
10:7–11	123 n 32	15:28	124 n 41; 127 n 61
10:8	10 n 30; 121 n 12; 128 n 68; 133 n 95; 200 n 84	16:23	153 n 195; 195 n 72
10:20	149 n 182	17:14	84 n 48
10:24	3 n 7	17:14–21	106 n 179; 123 n 26; 124 n 44; 131 n 78; 131 n 79; 131 n 86; 134 n 109; 135 n 116; 138; 139 n 123; 144 n 151
10:25	121 n 7; 141 n 136	17:15	106 n 181; 119 n 2
11:2–6	143 n 145	17:18	121 n 12; 124 n 45; 155 n 204
11:18	119 n 3; 121 n 12; 154 n 203	17:19	133 n 95
11:2–6	124 n 36; 136 n 117; 141 n 134	17:20	184 n 35
12:18–21	146 n 170	21:18–19	126 n 56
12:22	119 n 2	26:53	129 n 75
12:22–23	123 n 27; 143 nn. 144, 145	26:63	132 n 91
12:22–24	124 n 42; 139 n 127	28:19	16 n 47; 200 n 84
12:22–30	5 n 10; 63 n 69; 123 n 34; 131 n 78; 135 n 116; 154 n 200	<i>Mark</i>	
12:22–37	140 n 128; 141 n 136	1:23	119 n 3
12:24	119 n 1; 121 nn. 7, 12	1:23–28	121 n 13; 123 n 23; 125 n 47; 128 n 68; 131 n 78; 134 n 103; 136 n 118; 137; 139 n 126
		1:24	134 n 108; 162 n 233

1:25	54 n 39; 99 n 133	5:2-4	141 n 133
1:25-28	133 n 94	5:2-5	127 n 62
1:27	134 n 106	5:3-4	134 n 102
1:29-31	122 n 16; 124 n 39	5:3-5	125 n 54
1:32	119 n 2	5:6-13	64 n 75
1:32-34	131 n 78	5:7	134 n 108
1:34	121 n 12; 133 n 95; 134 n 105	5:8	133 n 94
1:39	121 n 12; 128 n 70; 131 n 78; 133 n 95	5:9	121 n 15; 129 n 75; 136 n 118
1:40-44	128 n 68	5:10	133 n 98
2:1-12	126 n 58	5:10-13	138 n 122
2:15-17	128 n 67	5:12	133 n 97
3:7-12	135 n 115; 149 n 183	5:12-13	119 n 3
3:10-11	137 n 121	5:13	133 n 94
3:10-12	128 n 68	5:14-18	119 n 2
3:11	121 n 13	5:15	125 nn. 49, 54
3:13-15	123 n 31; 128 n 70; 131 n 79; 144 n 150	5:21-43	121 n 21
3:13-19	144 n 148	5:24-34	108 n 186
3:14-15	3 n 7	5:25-26	108 n 186
3:15	121 n 12; 133 n 95; 134 n 106	6-8	122 n 21
3:22	119 nn. 1, 3; 121 nn. 7, 12; 131 n 78; 133 n 95; 140 nn. 129, 130	6:2	186 n 44
3:22-27	5 n 10; 63 n 69	6:6-13	123 n 32; 128 n 68; 144 n 150
3:22-30	123 n 34; 154 n 200	6:7	121 n 13; 134 n 106
3:26	121 n 8	6:7-11	144 n 148
3:27	133 n 101	6:7-13	3 n 7; 128 n 70; 131 n 79
3:28-29	142 n 138	6:13	121 n 12; 133 n 95
3:29	14 n 38	6:20	162 n 233
3:30	140 n 129; 142	6:34-44	121 n 21
4-6	122 n 21	6:45-52	122 n 21
4:35-41	122 n 21; 129 n 73; 134 nn. 103, 113	6:54-56	122 n 21
4:39	54 n 39; 134 n 104	7:14-23	128 n 67
5:1-17	121 n 13; 125 n 48	7:24-30	123 n 25; 131 n 78
5:1-20	79 n 15; 120 n 4; 122 n 21; 123 n 24; 128 n 68; 129 n 74; 131 n 78; 136 n 120; 138	7:24-31	122 n 21
		7:25	121 n 13
		7:26	133 n 95
		7:26-30	121 n 12
		7:29-30	133 n 94
		7:31-37	137 n 120
		7:32-37	122 n 21
		8:1-10	122 n 21
		8:22-26	122 n 21
		8:33	153 n 195
		9:14-29	64 n 75; 106-107; 123 n 26; 124 n 44; 131 nn. 78, 79, 86; 134 n 109; 138; 139 n 123;

	144 n 151	1:80	146 n 168
9:17	106 n 180; 119 n 3; 122 n 16	3:2–3 4:18	148 n 179 146 n 167; 149 n 182
9:18	133 n 95		125 n 47
9:21	106 n 182; 126 n 57; 136 n 118	4:31–37 4:33	119 n 3; 121 n 13 121 n 13; 123 n 23; 128 n 68; 131 n 78; 134 n 103; 134 n 109; 137; 139 n 126 134 n 108
9:21–22	125 n 54	4:33–37	
9:22	106 n 183		
9:23–24	127 n 60		
9:25	121 n 13; 122 n 16; 124 n 40; 138 n 122	4:34	54 n 39; 99 n 133 133 n 94 134 n 106; 134 n 107
9:26	106 n 184	4:35	
9:27	137 n 121	4:35–36	
9:28	133 n 95	4:36	
9:29	136 nn. 118, 119; 139 n 123; 184 n 35	4:38–39 4:40–41	122 n 16; 124 n 39 128 n 70; 131 n 78; 134 n 109; 137 n 121 54 n 39; 121 n 12; 133 n 94 128 n 68 126 n 58 135 n 116; 149 n 183
9:38	121 n 12; 133 n 95		119 n 2; 121 n 13 128 n 68 134 n 107; 137 n 121 124 n 36; 134 n 116; 136 n 117; 139 n 127; 141 n 134; 143 n 145 121 n 13 119 n 3; 121 n 12; 124 n 45; 154 n 203; 155 n 204 135 n 116 121 nn. 12, 13 129 n 73; 134 n 113 125 n 48 79 n 15; 120 n 4; 121 n 12; 123 n 24; 128 n 68; 129 n 74; 131 n 78; 134 nn. 111, 112; 138 119 n 3; 127 n 62
9:38–40	131 n 83; 144 n 149; 214 n 123	4:41	
9:38–41	132 n 87; 142 n 141	5:12–14 5:17–26 6:17–19	
9:39	143 n 143		
9:40	142 n 141		
10:30	119 n 1		
11:12–14	126 n 56	6:18	
11:22–23	139 n 123	6:18–19	
12:35–37	140 n 128	6:19	
13:9–11	149 n 182		
13:21–22	158 n 214	7:18–23	
13:22	178 n 23		
14:58	165 n 244		
16:9	121 n 12; 131 n 78; 133 n 95	7:21 7:33	
16:9–20	144 n 148		
16:15–18	3 n 7; 214 n 124		
16:17	16 n 47; 121 n 12; 131 n 79; 133 n 95; 139 n 125; 144 n 148; 200 n 84	8:1–3 8:2 8:22–25	
16:17–18	123 n 33; 178 n 23	8:26–37 8:26–39	
<i>Luke</i>			
1:8–23	144 n 153		
1:15	146 n 168		
1:17	144 n 153		
1:26–38	144 n 153		
1:67	148 n 181	8:27	

- 8:28 134 n 108
 8:29 121 n 13; 133 n 94; 134 n 102
 8:30 121 n 15; 129 n 75
 8:31 112 n 204; 126 n 55
 8:31–32 138 n 122
 8:32–33 119 n 3
 8:33–35 133 n 94
 8:35 125 nn. 49, 54
 8:36 119 n 2
 8:43–48 108 n 186
 9:1 121 n 12; 134 nn. 106, 107
 9:1–2 131 n 79
 9:1–6 3 n 7; 123 n 32; 144 n 150
 9:37–42 106 n 179; 123 n 26; 131 n 86; 138
 9:37–43 124 n 44; 131 nn. 78, 79; 134 n 109; 135 n 116; 139 n 123; 144 n 151
 9:39 106 n 180; 119 n 2
 9:40 133 n 95
 9:42 121 nn. 12, 13; 124 n 41
 9:49 121 n 12; 133 n 95
 9:49–50 131 n 83; 132 n 87; 142 n 141; 144 n 149; 214 n 123
 9:50 143 n 143
 10:17 121 n 12
 10:17–18 129 n 71
 10:17–20 3 n 7; 124 n 37; 129 n 72; 131 n 80; 134 n 112; 143 n 145
 10:19 134 n 106
 10:20 183 n 33; 216 n 131
 11:14 121 n 12; 123 n 27
 11:14–15 63 n 69; 124 n 42; 140 n 128
 11:14–20 121 n 12; 133 n 95
 11:14–23 5 n 10; 123 n 34; 131 n 78; 131 n 84; 154 n 200
 11:15 119 n 1
 11:17–23 63 n 69
 11:17–27 140 n 128
 11:19 142 n 140
 11:19–20 142 n 139
 11:19–23 131 n 78
 11:20 13 n 36; 137 n 121
 11:21–22 140 n 131
 11:22 134 n 108
 11:23 142 n 141
 11:24 121 n 13
 11:24–25 112 n 204
 11:24–26 14 n 39; 65; 124 n 40; 126 n 55; 154 n 195
 11:26 119 n 3; 121 n 13
 12:10 140 n 128
 13:1–5 126 n 58
 13:10–17 123 n 28; 124 n 43; 126 n 59; 133 n 100; 139 n 126
 13:11 119 n 3
 13:11–12 122 n 16
 13:12–13 12 n 36; 137 n 121
 13:13 137 n 121
 13:15–16 190 n 56
 13:16 121 n 8; 141 n 133
 13:22–27 124 n 37
 13:31–33 124 n 38; 131 n 78
 13:32 121 n 12; 133 n 95
 15:1–2 128 n 67
 16:8 119 n 1
 17:11–19 128 n 68
 18:30 119 n 1
 20:34 119 n 1
 22:3 119 n 3; 121 n 8; 153 n 195
 22:3–6 79 n 15
 22:31 119 n 2
John
 1:14 163 n 237
 2:21 53 n 32
 3:2 158 n 214
 6:70 121 n 9
 6:70–71 153 n 195
 7:19 119 n 3; 121 n 12
 7:20 124 n 46; 135

- | | | | |
|-------------|--------------------|----------|--------------------|
| | n 114; 154 n 202 | 5:16 | 119 n 2; 121 n 13 |
| 8:29 | 158 n 214 | 7:54–60 | 147 n 177 |
| 8:31–47 | 153 n 195 | 8:4–8 | 128 n 68; 131 n 81 |
| 8:44 | 121 n 9 | 8:4–25 | 128 n 70; 152 |
| 8:48 | 127 n 63 | | n 191 |
| 8:48–49 | 119 n 3 | 8:7 | 119 n 3; 121 n 13 |
| 8:48–52 | 121 n 12 | 8:13 | 211 n 120 |
| 8:48–53 | 135 n 114 | 8:14–17 | 146 n 165; 211 |
| 8:48–59 | 154 n 201 | | n 120 |
| 8:52 | 119 n 3 | 8:14–25 | 147 n 173 |
| 9:1–41 | 205 n 99 | 8:15–19 | 147 n 171 |
| 10:19–21 | 125 n 51; 135 | 8:26–40 | 214 n 123 |
| | n 114 | 9:10–19 | 147 n 173 |
| 10:20 | 119 nn. 2, 3; 154 | 10:1–48 | 214 n 123 |
| | n 201 | 10:36–43 | 131 n 78 |
| 10:20–21 | 121 n 12 | 10:37–48 | 146 n 170 |
| 10:21 | 119 n 2 | 10:38 | 119 n 2; 121 n 9; |
| 10:31–39 | 158 n 214 | | 146 nn. 162, 167 |
| 12:31 | 119 n 1; 121 n 10; | 10:44–48 | 146 n 158 |
| | 134–35; 154 n 195 | 11:15 | 145 n 156 |
| 13:2 | 121 n 9 | 11:15–18 | 147 n 170 |
| 13:15–17 | 3 n 3 | 11:16 | 146 n 163; 211 |
| 13:26–31 | 79 n 15; 127 n 64; | | n 120 |
| | 135 n 114 | 11:28 | 148 n 181 |
| 13:27 | 119 n 3; 121 n 8; | 13:4–12 | 126 n 56; 146 |
| | 153 n 195 | | n 166 |
| 14–16 | 148 n 180 | 13:6–12 | 152 n 192; 155 |
| 14:8–11 | 158 n 214 | | n 205 |
| 14:15–17 | 148 n 178 | 13:10 | 121 n 9 |
| 14:26 | 148 n 178 | 14:8–18 | 149 n 184 |
| 14:30 | 119 n 1; 121 n 10 | 15:8 | 147 n 170; 158 |
| 15:26–27 | 148 n 178 | | n 214 |
| 16:8–11 | 148 n 178 | 16:16 | 119 n 3; 122 n 16; |
| 16:11 | 119 n 1 | | 146 n 166 |
| 20:22 | 137 n 120; 147 | 16:16–18 | 123 n 29; 131 |
| | n 172 | | n 82; 134 n 110; |
| | | | 155 n 209; 158 |
| <i>Acts</i> | | | n 215; 216 n 130 |
| 1:5 | 146 n 163; 211 | 16:16–24 | 95; 150 n 187 |
| | n 120 | 16:18 | 133 n 94 |
| 2:1–13 | 146 n 160 | 16:20–21 | 151 n 188 |
| 2:1–41 | 146 n 158 | 17:16–27 | 149 n 184 |
| 2:1–42 | 148 n 179 | 18:25 | 146 n 161 |
| 2:17–18 | 149 n 182 | 19:1–7 | 146 n 163; 147 |
| 2:38 | 211 n 120 | | n 173; 148 n 181; |
| 5:1–11 | 127 n 65 | | 211 n 120 |
| 5:3 | 119 n 3; 121 n 8 | 19:5 | 211 n 120 |
| 5:3–9 | 14 n 38; 154 n 197 | 19:6 | 145 n 156 |
| 5:12–16 | 128 n 68; 137 | 19:8–12 | 131 n 82; 133 |
| | n 121; 144 n 152 | | n 96; 158 n 215 |

19:11–12	137 n 121; 155 n 209; 157 n 213	15:25–26	162 n 233
19:11–16	121 n 13	16:20	159 n 217
19:11–20	151 n 190		
19:13	119 n 3; 132 nn. 88, 90	<i>1 Corinthians</i>	164–66
19:13–14	132 nn. 87, 91	1:2	162 n 233
19:13–20	123 n 30; 125 n 50; 131 n 85; 139 n 124	1:30	162 n 233
19:16	119 n 3	2:3	156 n 212
19:21–20:1	150 n 185	2:4	155 n 208
20:7–12	155 n 209	3:1–7	162 n 234
20:28	148 n 178	3:9–17	162 n 234
20:28–31	158 n 214	3:16	145 n 155; 206 n 104
21:4	148 n 181	3:16–17	53 n 32
21:7–14	148 n 181	3:18–4:21	162 n 234
		4:9–13	149 n 182
		4:16	3 n 7
		5:5	127 n 65; 133 n 100; 159 n 217
<i>Romans</i>		6:9–20	162 n 234
1:4	162 n 233	6:11	211 n 120
1:7	162 n 233	6:17	145 n 154
1:13	214 n 123	6:19	164 nn. 237, 238
5:5	146 n 158	7:5	159 n 217
6–7	160 n 224	8:1	164 n 238
6:1–11	161 n 231; 166 n 246	8:10	164 n 238
6:19–22	162 n 233	10:20	159 n 219
7	160	10:20–21	150; 169 n 2
7:1–25	133 n 100; 160 n 229	10:23	164 n 238
7:5	160 n 228	11:1	3 n 7
7:7–8	160 n 226	12:3	142 n 142; 158 n 214
7:7–25	160 n 225	12:8–11	155 n 210
7:8–11	160 n 227	12:9	146 n 167
7:14–25	122 n 17	12:10	156–58; 157 n 213; 158 n 214; 213 n 122
7:23	160 n 228		
8:9	145 n 155	12:13	145 n 154; 146 n 159; 161 n 231; 211 n 120
8:9–17	161 n 231		
8:15–17	161 n 231	12:28–31	155 n 210
8:18–39	161 n 231; 166 n 246	12:30	120 n 5
8:22–27	146 n 168	14:1–5	148 n 181
9:1–2	148 n 178	14:1–40	148 n 181
11:8	50 n 11; 122 n 16; 159 n 223	14:3–5	164 n 238
12:11	146 n 161	14:12	164 n 238
14:14	162 n 233	14:12	164 n 238
15:13	146 n 164	14:18–19	155 n 208
15:17–19	155 n 209	14:23	119 n 2
15:19	149 n 182	14:26	164 n 238

- 15:58 164 n 238
 16:1 162 n 233
 16:13 164 n 238
- 2 Corinthians*
 1:1 162 n 233
 1:8–9 156 n 212
 1:21–22 146 n 162
 2:11 159 n 217
 2:14–6:13 158 n 216
 3:2–3 158 n 214
 4:4 119 n 1
 5:6–10 149 n 182
 6:3–10 158 n 216
 6:14–18 163
 6:15 159 n 218
 6:16–18 53 n 32
 7:1 162 n 233; 163 n 234
 7:2–4 158 n 216
 10:1–13:10 158 n 216
 10:1 156 n 212
 10:10 156 n 212
 11:1–12:10 158 n 216
 11:1–13:13 156 n 211
 11:1–4 158 n 214
 11:14 159 n 217
 11:21–33 149 n 182
 12:1–5 156
 12:6–10 156
 12:7 122 n 18; 156 n 212; 159 nn. 217, 221
 12:7–9 206 n 104; 219 n 137
 12:7–10 156 n 212
 12:9 217 n 133
 12:11–12 156 n 211
 12:12 155 n 208
- Galatians*
 1:4 159 n 220
 3:1–5 147 n 170; 148 n 179; 155 n 209; 158 n 214
 3:2 211 n 120
 3:23–27 161 n 231
 3:25–27 161 n 231
 4:1–7 161 n 231
 4:3 119 n 1; 122 n 19;
- 4:8–11
 4:9
 4:12–14
 4:13
 4:13–14
 5:17
 5:17–24
 5:19–21
- Ephesians*
 1:20–21 119 n 1
 2:2 119 n 1
 2:19–22 53 n 32; 163 n 234
 3:17 145 n 155
 3:19 146 n 164
 3:20 145 n 157
 5:1 3 n 7
 5:18 146 n 160
 5:30 206 n 104
 6:12 119 n 1; 130 n 75; 218 n 137
- Philippians*
 1:1 162 n 233
 1:15–18 142 n 142
 2:5–11 144 n 149
 2:9 144 n 149
 3:20–21 149 n 182
- Colossians*
 1:13–14 119 n 1
 1:21–24 149 n 182
 1:29 145 n 157
 2:8 159 n 220
 2:15 119 n 1
 2:18 159 n 220
 2:20 159 n 220
 3:5 206 n 104; 218 n 137
 3:16 145 n 155
- 1 Thessalonians*
 1:5 155 n 207
 1:6–7 3 n 7
 2:9–13 148 n 179
 2:14–16 3 n 7
 2:18 156 n 212; 159

	n 217	4:14–16	149 n 182
3:5	159 n 222	5:3–4	3 n 7
3:13	162 n 233	5:8	121 n 9
4:3–7	162 n 233		
4:7	162 n 233	<i>2 Peter</i>	
		1:20–21	148 n 181
<i>2 Thessalonians</i>		<i>1 John</i>	
2:9	121 n 8	2:20–27	154 n 195
3:9	3 n 7	2:22–23	158 n 214
		3:2	149 n 182
<i>1 Timothy</i>		3:4–10	153 n 195
1:19–20	127 n 65; 146 n 166	3:7–10	121 n 9
1:20	121 n 8; 133 n 100; 217 n 133	3:23–24	158 n 214
3:6–7	121 n 9	4:1	158 n 214
3:7	133 n 100	4:1–2	158 n 214
4:12	3 n 7	4:1–6	153 n 195
6:17–19	119 n 1	4:2–3	142 n 142
		4:15	158 n 214
		5:18–19	121 n 13
<i>2 Timothy</i>		<i>2 John</i>	
1:6–7	146 n 168	9	158 n 214
1:6–14	147 n 173		
1:14	145 n 155	<i>Jude</i>	
2:20–21	141 n 134	9	54
2:26	121 n 9	19	158 n 214
3:8–9	49 n 7		
<i>Titus</i>		<i>Revelation</i>	
2:3	121 n 9	1:1–2	148 n 177
3:4–7	146 n 158	1:10	147 n 174; 148 n 177
<i>Philemon</i>		2:9	121 n 8
5	162 n 233	2:13	150 n 186; 169 n 2
<i>Hebrews</i>		3:9	121 n 8
2:4	149 n 182	4:1–2	148 n 177
2:14–15	121 n 9	4:2	147 n 175; 148 n 177
5:14	154 n 195	7:15	163 n 237
6:11–12	3 n 7	9:11	135
13:7	3 n 7	11:11	146 n 169
<i>James</i>		16:5	159 n 220
4:5	145 n 155	17:1–2	144 n 153
5:14–16	15 n 45	17:1–3	148 n 177
		17:3	147 n 176; 148 n 177
<i>1 Peter</i>		18:2	121 nn. 12, 13
2:5	163 n 234	19:20	135
2:21–25	3 n 7	20:2–3	141 n 135
3:21	210 n 119	20:7	133 n 101

- | | | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|
| 20:7–10 | 135 | 94.1–5 | 196 n 74 |
| 21:3–4 | 164 n 237 | | |
| 21:10 | 147 n 177 | <i>4 Ezra (2 Esdras)</i> | |
| | | 3:20–27 | 51; 62 |
| 3. Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha | | 3:22 | 51 n 22 |
| <i>Apocalypse of Abraham</i> | | 5:22–23 | 62 n 66 |
| | 59 n 48 | 7:75–101 | 60 n 51 |
| 14.5–8 | 64 | 7:78–99 | 14 n 39 |
| | | 16:61–62 | 51 n 24 |
| <i>Apocalypse of Adam</i> | | <i>Jannes and Jambres</i> | |
| 2.5 | 60 n 51 | | 49 n 7 |
| <i>Apocalypse of Daniel</i> | | <i>Joseph and Aseneth</i> | |
| 9.2–13 | 61 n 55 | 4.7 | 61 |
| <i>Apocalypse of Elijah</i> | | <i>Jubilees</i> | |
| | 59 n 48 | | 59 n 48; 62–63 |
| 1.21 | 214 n 125 | 1.20 | 60 n 51 |
| 1.21–22 | 63 n 69 | 1.23 | 60 n 51 |
| 3.10 | 63 n 69; 214 n 125 | 10.1–14 | 64 n 74 |
| <i>Apocalypse of Sedrach</i> | | 10.3–14 | 189 n 55 |
| 1.18 | 62 n 67 | 10.4–11 | 119 n 1 |
| 9.1–10.4 | 60 n 51 | 10.8 | 154 n 197 |
| 14.5 | 62 n 67 | 12.20 | 154 n 197 |
| <i>Ascension of Isaiah</i> | | 25.14 | 61 |
| | 59 n 48 | 31.12 | 61 |
| | | 35.9 | 62; 154 n 196 |
| | | 40.5 | 61 |
| <i>3 Baruch</i> | | <i>Letter of Aristeas</i> | |
| 9.7 | 61 n 54 | | 56 n 45 |
| 16.2 | 61 n 53 | <i>Life of Adam and Eve</i> | |
| 16.3 | 61 | | 59 n 48 |
| <i>1 Enoch</i> | | 16.5 | 61 |
| | 59 n 48; 60–61; | 17.4 | 61 |
| | 63–64 | 21.3 | 61 n 54 |
| 6–10 | 119 n 1 | 39.1–3 | 61 n 54 |
| 7.1–8.4 | 63; 189 n 55 | <i>2 Maccabees</i> | |
| 8:1 | 49 n 8 | | 49–50 |
| 9:6 | 49 n 8 | 3:22–40 | 50 nn 9, 10 |
| 10:4–8 | 49 n 8 | 5:1–4 | 50 |
| 13:1 | 49 n 8 | 9:5–29 | 50 |
| 14.3 | 63 | 10:29–31 | 50 |
| 40.7 | 63 | 11:6–13 | 50 |
| 49.1–4 | 62 | 14:34 | 50 n 9 |
| 69.12 | 60–61 | 15:22–24 | 50 |
| 69.12–15 | 63 | | |
| 91.1 | 61–62 | | |

- 4 Maccabees*
2:21–3:5 51
- Psalms of Solomon*
3.6–8 210
- Pseudo-Greek Poets*
frag. 6 196 n 74
frag. 10 196 n 74
- Pseudo-Philo*
59 n 48
9.10 61
27.10 61
28.6 62
60.1–3 53 n 34; 189 n 55
62.2 62
- Pseudo-Phocylides*
104–15 60 n 51
- Sibylline Oracles*
59 n 48; 62
2.4–5 62
3.1–7 62
3.489–91 62
3.787 62
4.18–23 62
8.399–401 196 n 74
8.460–69 62 n 67
11.315 150 n 187
11.315–18 62 n 63
- Sirach*
1:9–10 52 n 27
1:9–20 50
24:1–22 50
- Testament of Abraham*
59 n 48
11.10–12 196 n 74
18.1–11 60 n 51
- Testament of Adam*
2.10 214 n 125
3.1 63 n 69; 214 n 125
- Testament of Isaac*
4.15 53 n 32
- Testament of Jacob*
7.17 63 n 69; 214 n 125
- Testament of Solomon*
53–54; 60; 120 n 4
1.1–13 61 n 53
4.10 189 n 55
9.1–7 61 n 53
11 129 n 75
12.2 126 n 57
18.25 61 n 53
26.6–7 189 n 55
- Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*
60; 201–3; 209–10
- Testament of Asher*
1.1–7 196 n 74
1.3–9 202 n 91
- Testament of Benjamin*
5.2 210 n 117
6.4 203 n 93
- Testament of Dan*
4.7 202 n 92
- Testament of Issachar*
4.4 203 n 93
7.7 209–10
- Testament of Joseph*
7.1–8 203 n 93
- Testament of Judah*
14.8 203 n 93
16.1–4 203 n 93
20.1–2 202
20.1–5 196 n 74; 207
n 105
25.3 203 n 93
- Testament of Levi*
18.12 209 n 116
19.1–4 196 n 74
- Testament of Naphtali*
8.6 203 n 93
- Testament of Reuben*
2.1–3.7 203 n 93

- | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|--|--------------------|
| 3.3–4 | 203 n 93 | 106 | 163 n 236 |
| — <i>Testament of Simeon</i> | | <i>De sobrietate (Sobr.)</i> | |
| 3.1–6 | 207 n 105 | 62 | 163 n 236 |
| 3.1–4.9 | 209 n 114 | <i>De somniis (Somn.)</i> | |
| 6.1–7 | 209 n 115 | 1.122 | 163 n 236 |
| — <i>Testament of Zebulun</i> | | 1.149 | 163 n 236 |
| 9.7 | 203 n 93 | 1.220.8 | 94 n 102 |
| 9.8 | 140 n 131; 209
n 116 | <i>De vita contemplativa (Contempl.)</i> | |
| <i>Tobit</i> | | 9 [§85] | 146 n 160 |
| | 54–55 | 6. Dead Sea Scrolls | |
| 3:7–17 | 50 | <i>1QGenesis Apocryphon (1Q20)</i> | |
| 3:8 | 49 n 8 | | 72–73 |
| 3:17 | 49 n 8; 54 | 20.22 | 59 n 48 |
| 4:17 | 54 | 20.28–29 | 68 |
| 6:1–17 | 50 | 20.29 | 59 n 48 |
| 6:17 | 55 n 42 | <i>1QRule of the Community (1QS)</i> | |
| 6:13–17 | 54 | | 59 n 48; 65–67; |
| 8:1–3 | 50; 54 | | 198 n 79 |
| 8:3 | 54 n 41 | 3.6–4.26 | 66 n 86 |
| <i>Wisdom of Solomon</i> | | 3.9–10 | 67 |
| 1:4–5 | 52 n 27 | 3.13–4.26 | 196 n 74; 197 n 75 |
| 1:4–6 | 50 | 3.17–21 | 66–67 |
| 6:12–20 | 50 | 4.20–21 | 67 |
| 7:7 | 52 n 27 | 4.20–5.1 | 161 n 230 |
| 7:15–22 | 53 | 5.24 | 67 |
| 17:7–8 | 53 n 37 | 8.7 | 163 n 234 |
| 4. Josephus | | 10.21 | 65 |
| <i>Antiquitates judaicae (Ant.)</i> | | <i>1QHymns^a (1QH^a)</i> | |
| 8.2.5 | 76 n 4 | 4.23 | 68 n 91 |
| 8.42 | 153 n 194 | 5.21 | 65 |
| 8.42–49 | 143 n 147; 152
n 194 | 6.11–12 | 161 n 230 |
| 8.45–49 | 2 n 3; 7–8; 152
n 194 | 6.26 | 163 n 234 |
| 8.49 | 153 n 194 | 7.9 | 163 n 234 |
| <i>Bellum judaicum (Bell.)</i> | | 13.28 | 68 n 91 |
| 4.9.1 | 130 n 76 | 15.3 | 65 |
| 5. Philo | | 15.28–29 | 68 n 91 |
| <i>De cherubim (Cher.)</i> | | 19.20 | 66 n 83 |
| 98 | 163 n 236 | <i>4QEnoch^a (4Q201)</i> | |
| | | | 63 n 70 |
| | | <i>4QEnoch^b (4Q202)</i> | |
| | | | 63 n 70 |

<i>4QPrayer of Nabonidus</i> (4Q242)	27.9	53	
59 n 48; 70–73	27.9–10	68	
1.4	72		
1–3 2	73 n 108	<i>11QApocryphal Psalms^a</i> (11Q11)	
1–3 6	73 n 108	59 n 48	
		1.1–6	68
<i>4QDamascus Document^a</i> (4Q266)	59 n 48	4.2–3	65 n 77
5.17–20	49 n 7		
13.10	68 n 91; 71 n 102	<i>11QMelchizedek</i> (11Q13)	59 n 48
<i>4QDamascus Document^b</i> (4Q267)		2.11–13	69
Frag. 9 I	65 n 77	2.13	66 n 84
		2.25	66 n 84
<i>4QBlessings^f</i> (= <i>4QCurses</i> ; 4Q280)		<i>War Scroll</i>	45 n 111
66 n 83			
<i>4QExhortation Based on the Flood</i> (4Q370)		7. Rabbinic and Other Jewish Literature	
1.3	66 n 83		
<i>4QNon-Canonical Psalms B</i> (4Q381)		<i>Babylonian Talmud</i>	
Frag. 76–77.2	66 n 83	— <i>Pesachim</i>	
		112b/113a	76 n 4
<i>4QSapiential Work A^b</i> (= <i>4QInstruction^b</i> ; 4Q416)		<i>Septuagint</i> , versions	
Frag. 1	66 n 83	— <i>Aquila</i>	56–58
<i>4QSapiential Work A^c</i> (= <i>4QInstruction^c</i> ; 4Q417)		—Old Greek	55–59; 72
Frag. 2 2.12	66 n 83		
		—Symmachus	
<i>4QSongs of the Sage^a</i> (4Q510)			56–58
59 n 48			
4–8	66	—Theodotian	56–58; 72
<i>4QSongs of the Sage^b</i> (4Q511)			
59 n 48		<i>The Sword of Moses</i>	182 n 30
<i>4QAgainst Demons</i> (= <i>4QExorcism ar</i> ; 4Q560)		8. Apostolic Literature and Christian Apocrypha	
59 n 48; 69–71			
<i>6QHymn</i> (6Q18)		<i>Acts of Andrew</i>	214 n 126; 216 n 130
66 n 83			
<i>11QPsalms^a</i> (11Q5)		<i>Acts of John</i>	
59 n 48		41	214 n 126
19.15–16	65–66; 154 n 196	57	214 n 126
24.12–13	65		

Acts of Paul

10 214 n 126

Acts of Peter

11 214 n 126

Acts of Pilate

1 6 n 14; 180 n 25

1.1 214 n 126

4[20].1 214 n 126

6.1 214 n 126

8.1 214 n 126

14.1 214 n 126

Acts of Thomas

43–46 214 n 126

75–81 214 n 126

157 200 n 84

170 219 n 142

*Barnabas (Barn.)*67; 200–1; 207;
209

1.4 200 n 86

2.1 200 n 86

2.10 200 n 86

4.9 200 n 85

4.13 200 n 86

16 200–201

16.3–4 197 n 77

16.6–10 53 n 32

16.7–10 201 n 88

18.1 200 nn. 85, 87

18.1–2 200 n 86

18–20 201 n 87

18–21 197–98

20.1 200 n 85

Didache (Did.)

67; 199–201

1.1 199 n 80

1–6 197–98

3.1 199 n 82

4.2 199 n 81

6.1 199 n 82

8.2 199 n 82

10.5 199 n 82

16.4 199 n 82

Gospel of Philip

67d 16 n 45

95 16 n 45

Pistis Sophia

111–15 207 n 108

Polycarp

Epistula ad Philippenses (Phil.)

7.1 195 n 72

Shepherd of Hermas (Herm.)

—Visions

3 163 n 234

3.2–7 53 n 32

—Mandates

5.1–3 141 n 134

—Similitudes

9 163 n 234

9. Patristic and Medieval Literature

Alexander, Bp. of Alexandria

Epistola de Ariana haeresi

195 n 72

Anastasius of Sinai

Dux viae

13 184 n 34

Apostolic Church Ordinances (see *Ordo ecclesiasticus apostolorum*)Apostolic Constitutions (see *Constitutiones apostolorum*)

Archelaus

Acta disputationis cum Manete

15 207 n 108

20 171 n 6

Aristides

Apologia

16 191 nn. 57, 58

Arnobius

Disputationum adversus nationes (Adv.

- | | | | |
|---|--------------------|--|-------------------|
| <i>nat.</i>) | | 80 | 216 n 130 |
| | 177 n 20 | 83–84 | 216 n 130 |
| 1.27 | 173 n 11 | | |
| 1.43–45 | 191 n 57 | Athenagoras | |
| 1.46 | 185 n 39 | <i>Legatio pro Christianis</i> | |
| 1.48 | 170 n 4 | 26–28 | 193 n 63 |
| 1.49 | 176 n 18; 180 n 25 | | |
| 1.50 | 185 n 39 | Augustine | |
| 1.52 | 191 n 57 | <i>Confessiones (Conf.)</i> | |
| 1.54–59 | 192 n 58 | 6.4–5 | 192 n 58 |
| 1.62 | 176 n 18 | 6.21 | 192 n 58 |
| 2.69–73 | 176 n 18 | 8.12 | 192 n 58 |
| 5 | 192 n 60 | | |
| 6.3–7 | 205 n 101 | <i>De beata vita (Beat.)</i> | |
| 7.40 | 176 n 18 | 18 | 208 n 111 |
| 7.44 | 176 n 18 | | |
| 7.49 | 176 n 18 | <i>De civitate Dei (Civ.)</i> | |
| | | 19.4 | 208 n 111 |
| Asterius Urbanus | | 22.8 | 215 n 129 |
| <i>Fragmenta contra Montanistas (Fr. Mont.)</i> | | | |
| 2 | 208 n 110 | Clement of Alexandria | |
| 9 | 208 n 110 | <i>Eclogae propheticae</i> | |
| | | 15 | 184 n 35 |
| Athanasius | | | |
| <i>Contra gentes (C. gent.)</i> | | <i>Excerpta Theodoti (Exc. Theod.)</i> | |
| 1.27–29 | 184 n 37 | 77 | 10 n 31 |
| | | 83–84 | 11 n 31 |
| <i>De incarnatione (Inc.)</i> | | | |
| 19 | 185 n 38 | <i>Paedagogus (Paed.)</i> | |
| 19.1–10 | 184 n 37 | 1.1–2 | 207 n 107 |
| 32.14–33 | 185 n 38 | 1.2 | 217 n 132 |
| 46–48 | 185 n 38 | | |
| 47.1–21 | 184 n 37 | <i>Protrepticus (Protr.)</i> | |
| 48.1–44 | 184 n 37 | 1 | 170 n 4 |
| 50.17–20 | 172 n 10 | 2 | 194 n 64 |
| 55.5–8 | 184 n 37 | 4 | 170 n 4; 176 n 19 |
| | | 7 | 194 n 64 |
| | | 11 | 207 n 106 |
| <i>Vita Antonii (Vit. Ant.)</i> | | | |
| | 157–58; 215 n 128; | <i>Stromata (Strom.)</i> | |
| | 217–218 | 1.15 | 170 n 5 |
| 21 | 218 n 137 | 1.17 | 207 n 105 |
| 22 | 157 | 1.21 | 170 n 5 |
| 38 | 216 n 131 | 2 | 207 n 107 |
| 48 | 216 n 130 | 2.13 | 212 n 121 |
| 51 | 218 n 137 | 2.20 | 207 nn. 106, 107; |
| 56 | 216 n 131 | | 218 n 137 |
| 63 | 216 n 130 | 4.26 | 207 n 105 |
| 64 | 216 n 130 | 6.5 | 170 n 5 |
| 71 | 216 n 130 | 6.6.53 | 81 n 28 |

- 6.12 207 nn. 105, 108
 7.11 207 n 105
- Clement of Rome (see Pseudo-Clement)
- Concilium carthaginense (anno 256)
 16 n 47; 172 n 8;
 200 n 84
- Constitutiones apostolorum (*Const. ap.*)
 214
 2.21 195 n 72
 2.32 211 n 120
 2.39 195 n 72
 2.41 211 n 120
 2.61 196 n 72
 4.14 206 n 104
 6.7–8 196 n 72
 6.9 196 n 72
 6.27 206 n 103
 7.1 196 n 74
 7.1–21 198 n 79
 8.1 178 n 23
 8.1–2 183 n 33
 8.32 212 n 121
 8.6.5–6 14 n 40
- Cyprian
De spectaculis
 4 212 n 121
 10 212 n 121
- Epistulae (Ep.)*
 172
 1.15 172 n 9; 206 n 103
 6.1 193 n 63
 8 172 n 10
 16 212 n 122
 23 12 n 34
 51.27 206 n 103
 53 172 n 9
 54.2 172 n 8
 54.11 172 n 8
 72.6 211 n 120
 72.9 211 n 120
 73.7 211 n 120
 74.10 216 n 130
 75.15–16 200 n 84; 206
 n 103; 211 n 120
 77.22 172 n 9
- Opuscula (Opusc.)*
 3.24 211 n 120
 6.6–7 171 n 7
 6.7 175 n 16
 6.13 181 n 27; 190 n 56
 7.13 219 n 137
 10.1 217 n 132
 10.14 206 n 103
- Didymus the Blind
Brevis enarratio in epistolas catholicas
 (*Enarrat. ep. cath.*)
 1 John 4:1–2 158 n 214
- Doctrina Apostolorum
 197–98; 201
 1.1–7 201
- Ecclesiastical Canons of the Holy
 Apostles (see Ordo ecclesiasticus
 apostolorum)
- Egyptian Church Order
 11 n 32
- Eusebius
Historia ecclesiastica (Hist. eccl.)
 3.24.3 191 n 57
 4.3.1–3 173 n 11
 4.14.6–7 155 n 206
 4.14.7 195 n 72
 5.1.19–23 172 n 10
 5.16.6–19.4 208 n 110
 5.28.18 196 n 72
 6.43.11 2–3; 212 n 122
 6.43.13–15 211 n 120
- Gregory of Nyssa
Vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi
 215 n 128
 34–41 184 n 37
 47 216 n 130
 77–78 184 n 36
 99–104 172 n 7
- Gregory Thaumaturges
Metaphrasis in Ecclesiasten Salomonis
 4 217 n 132

- | | | |
|--|--|--------------------|
| Hippolytus | 4.41.2 | 195 n 72 |
| <i>Commentarium in Daniele</i> (<i>Comm. Dan.</i>) | 5 | 206 n 104 |
| 2.18 | 5.2.1–9.4 | 206 n 104 |
| | 5.6.1–2 | 208 |
| | 5.12.1 | 206 n 104 |
| <i>Canones Hippolyti</i> | 5.12.3 | 206 n 104; 218 |
| 8 | | n 137 |
| | 5.12.6 | 205 n 99 |
| <i>Refutatio omnium haeresium</i> (<i>Haer.</i>) | 5.15.2 | 205 n 99 |
| 7.20 | 5.17.2 | 205 n 99 |
| 9.9 | 5.21.3 | 141 n 134 |
| 9.11 | 5.26.2 | 195 n 72; 208 |
| 9.26 | | n 110 |
| <i>Traditio apostolica</i> (<i>Trad. ap.</i>) | Jerome | |
| | <i>Epistulae</i> (<i>Ep.</i>) | |
| 14 | 58.10 | 194 n 66 |
| 20 | | |
| 21 | <i>Vita Hilarionis</i> | 215 n 128 |
| <i>Historia monachorum</i> (<i>Hist. Mon.</i>) | | |
| 110 (Pityrion 15.2–3) | <i>Vita Malchi monachi</i> | 215 n 128 |
| 157 n 213; 217 | | |
| n 132 | | |
| Irenaeus | <i>Vita Pauli primi eremitae</i> | 215 n 128 |
| <i>Adversus haereses</i> (<i>Haer.</i>) | | |
| 207–8 | | |
| 1.13.1 | John Chrysostom | |
| 1.21.3 | <i>Homiliae in epistolam primam ad Corinthios</i> (<i>Hom. 1 Cor.</i>) | |
| 1.23.2 | 29 | 158 n 214 |
| 1.23.4 | | |
| 2.6.2 | Justin Martyr | |
| 2.13.2–3 | <i>Apologia</i> (<i>1 Apol.</i>) | |
| 2.31.2 | | 169 n 4; 174 n 16 |
| 2.32.4 | 1.1 | 9 |
| | 4 | 175 n 16 |
| 2.32.5 | 5 | 171 n 7 |
| 3.3 | 22 | 190 n 56 |
| 3.3.4 | 25 | 194 n 64 |
| 3.8.2 | 26 | 205 n 99 |
| 3.12.12 | 30 | 190 n 56 |
| 3.16.1 | 40 | 190 n 56; 206 |
| 4.20.4 | | n 101 |
| 4.20.8 | | 190 n 56 |
| 4.20.12 | 45 | 185 n 40 |
| 4.24.2 | 53 | 180 n 25; 194 n 64 |
| 4.31.1 | 54 | 205 n 99 |
| 4.38.2 | 56 | 171 n 7 |
| 4.40.1–2 | 56–58 | 195 n 72 |
| 4.41.1 | 58 | |

63	195 n 72	<i>Institutiones divinae (Inst.)</i>	177; 204
<i>Apologia secunda (2 Apol.)</i>		2.9	171 n 6
	174 n 16	2.13	171 n 6; 206 n 102
1	195 n 72	2.15	171 nn. 6, 7
5	195 n 72; 203 n 94	2.16	215 n 129
6	185 nn. 38, 40;	3.29	204 n 97
	215 n 129	4.5	191 n 58
6.5–6	9	4.13	190 n 56
8	173 n 12; 204 n 95	4.21	178 n 23
11	204 n 96	4.27	176 n 18; 184 n 37; 216 n 130
<i>Cohortatio ad Graecos</i>		4.27.12	109 n 189
32	194 n 66	4.30	206 n 102
<i>Dialogus cum Tryphone (Dial.)</i>		5.1	192 n 58
	174 n 16	5.3	186 n 42
7	205 n 99	5.22	215 n 129
26	190 n 56	5.23	174 n 13; 178 n 23; 194 n 66;
30	183 n 31; 185 n 38		217 n 133
55	169 n 2	6.3–7	204
69	180 n 25	6.15	204 n 97
73	169 n 2	6.19	91 n 85; 217 n 132
76	204 n 95; 215 n 129	6.21	192 n 58
79	190 n 56	6.25	194 nn. 65, 66; 206 n 102
85	185 n 38; 185 n 41; 215 n 129	7.5	204 n 97
115	190 n 56	Liturgia s. Jacobi	
127	190 n 56		184 n 35
131	190 n 56	Liturgia s. Marci	
140–41	174 n 16; 203 n 94		184 n 35
<i>In resurrectionem (Res.)</i>			
5	169 n 2	Magical Papyri (Christian) (see also <i>PGM</i>)	
Lactantius		— <i>Cod. Marc. gr. app.</i>	
<i>De ira Dei (Ir.)</i>		II 163	141 n 134
11	194 n 67	—Meyer, ed. <i>Ancient Christian Magic</i>	
23	206 n 102	#7 (Oxyrhynchus 1077)	
<i>De mortibus persecutorum</i>			182 n 29
15	206 n 102		
<i>Epitome divinarum institutionum (Epit.)</i>		#88 (London Oriental Manuscript 5986)	
45	190 n 56		181 n 29
47	214 n 124	#132 (London Oriental Manuscript 6796)	
51	184 n 37		182 n 29
72	204 n 97		

Melito		2.33	215 n 129
<i>Apologia</i>		2.68	215 n 129
	170 n 5	2.9	181 n 27; 193 n 61
		2.14	181 n 27
<i>De incarnatione</i>		2.38	193 n 61
	184 n 34	2.48	192 n 60
		2.48–51	181 n 27
Methodius		2.49	193 n 62
<i>Homilia de cruce</i>		2.51	192 n 59
1	184 n 37	2.52	174 n 14
		2.79	191 n 58
<i>Sermo in ramos palmarum</i>		3.24	183 n 31
	184 n 34	3.24–25	180 n 25
		3.25	199 n 83
<i>Symposium (Symp.)</i>		3.5	181 n 27
Discourse 3.1–14	219 n 137	4.24	171 n 170 n 6
		5.2	215 n 129
Minuscus Felix		5.45–46	182 n 30
<i>Octavius (Oct.)</i>		5.5	170 n 6
21–22	194 n 63	5.64	191 n 58
27	171 n 7	6.42–45	170 n 6
33	191 n 58	7.4	191 n 57; 215 n 129
Narrative of Zosimus on the Life of the Blessed		7.17	172 n 10
18–20	217 n 134	7.35	178 n 23; 205 n 101
		8.9	184 n 34
<i>Ordo ecclesiasticus apostolorum (Eccl. ap.)</i>		8.19–20	205 n 101
7–9	198 n 79	8.44	172 n 10
		8.58	185 n 39
		8.61	182 n 30
Origen		8.72	172 n 10
<i>Commentarii in Joannem (Comm. Jo.)</i>		8.9	181 n 27
2.28	192 n 60		
12.2	192 n 60		
13.3	192 n 60		
<i>Contra Celsum (Cels.)</i>			<i>De principiis (Princ.)</i>
	191–93		208–9
1.6	181 n 27; 183 n 31; 215 n 129	1	209 n 112
		1.3.2	211 n 120
1.22	182 n 30	3.2.1–2	209 n 112
1.24–25	182 n 30	3.2.3	219 n 137
1.28	8 n 22	3.2.4	209 nn. 112, 113
1.31	172 n 10	3.3.4	208
1.38	181 n 27; 183 n 31; 192 n 60	3.3.5	208 n 111; 217 n 132
1.46	181 n 27; 193 n 61	4	192 n 60
1.67	192 n 60		
1.68	181 n 27; 192 n 60		
		<i>Hexapla</i>	56

- | | | |
|--|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Homiliae in Exodum (Hom. Ex.)</i> | 4.27 | 170 n 5; 189 n 55 |
| 3.2 | 158 n 214 | 4.7 |
| | | 5.2 |
| <i>Homiliae in Josue</i> | 5.17 | 216 n 131 |
| 24.1 | 184 n 36 | 5.36 |
| | | 12 n 32 |
| Peter, Bp. of Alexandria | 6.15 | 12 n 32 |
| <i>Genuine Acts of Peter</i> | 9.8 | 217 n 133 |
| 219 n 142 | 9.38 | 216 n 130 |
| | 10.52 | 12 n 32 |
| Phileas | 10.53 | 188 n 52 |
| <i>Epistula ad Thmuitanos</i> | 10.68–71 | 12 n 32 |
| 172 n 10 | 10.70–71 | 216 n 131 |
| | | |
| Pseudo-Clement of Rome | Septuagint, codices | |
| <i>Epistulae ad virgines (Ep. virg.)</i> | — <i>Alexandrinus</i> | 55–56 |
| 1.9–12 | | |
| 1.12 | 184 n 35; 206 | |
| n 104 | — <i>Sinaiticus</i> | 55–56 |
| | | |
| <i>Homiliae Clementinae (Hom.)</i> | — <i>Vaticanus</i> | 55–56 |
| 2.26 | 183 n 32 | |
| 2.33 | 143 n 146; 183 | |
| | n 32 | |
| 3.36 | 186 n 44 | |
| 5.4 | 183 n 32 | |
| 5.5 | 183 n 32 | |
| 5.23 | 194 n 63 | |
| 6.2 | 192 n 60 | |
| 7.5 | 12 n 32 | |
| 7.7–8 | 12 n 32 | |
| 9.10 | 218 n 136 | |
| 9.22 | 182 n 30 | |
| | | |
| <i>Recognitiones Clementinae (Recogn.)</i> | Seventh Council of Carthage (see | |
| 1.58 | 189 n 55 | Concilium carthaginense) |
| 2.70 | 12 n 32 | |
| 2.71–72 | 212 n 121 | |
| 2.9 | 178 n 23 | |
| 3.13 | 188 n 52 | |
| 3.30 | 12 n 32 | |
| 3.45 | 188 n 52 | |
| 3.55 | 183 n 32 | |
| 3.60 | 143 n 146; 172 | |
| | n 7; 192 n 60 | |
| 3.63 | 214 n 123 | |
| 4.7 | 216 n 130 | |
| 4.14 | 212 n 121 | |
| 4.15–18 | 217 n 132 | |
| 4.17 | 206 n 104 | |
| | | |
| | Suda | 94 n 103 |
| | | 95 n 105 |
| | | |
| | Tatian | |
| | <i>Oratio ad Graecos</i> | |
| | 8–10 | 177 n 19 |
| | 12 | 218 n 134 |
| | 15 | 205 n 101; 218 |
| | | n 134 |
| | 16 | 218 n 134 |
| | 17–18 | 218 n 134 |
| | | |
| | Tertullian | |
| | <i>Apologeticum (Apol.)</i> | |
| | 1.1 | 9 |
| | 3 | 175 n 16 |
| | 5 | 176 n 18 |
| | 10 | 193 n 63 |
| | 18 | 195 n 71 |
| | 18–20 | 191 n 58 |
| | 21 | 181 n 27; 185 n 38 |
| | 21.17 | 9 n 29 |
| | 22 | 171 n 7 |

- 23 184 n 36; 215
n 129
- 23-24 185 n 38
- 23.4-7 10 n 30
- 23.6-7 9 n 29
- 23.16 9 n 29; 16 n 45
- 25 175 n 17
- 27 91 n 85; 184 n 36;
203 n 94
- 27.5-6 9 n 29
- 32.2-3 9 n 29
- 37 175 n 16
- 37.9 9 n 29; 176 n 18
- 43.2 9 n 29; 176 n 18
- 46 175 n 17; 185
n 38; 194 nn. 67,
68
- 46.5 9 n 29
- Ad nationes (Nat.)*
- 1.10 194 n 64
- Adversus Marcionem (Marc.)*
- 4.26 190 n 56
- De anima (An.)*
- 11 203 n 94
- 16 203 n 94
- 21 203 n 94
- 53 205 n 101
- 57 175 n 17
- De baptismo (Bapt.)*
- 200 n 84
- 8 211 n 120
- De carne Christi (Carn. Chr.)*
- 4 175 n 17
- De corona militis (Cor.)*
- 3.2 12 n 33
- 3.4 200 n 84
- 11 132 n 92
- De cultu feminarum*
- 2.1 206 n 104
- De exhortatione castitatis (Exh. cast.)*
- 10 218 n 136
- De fuga in persecutione (Fug.)*
- 2 217 n 133
- De idolatria (Idol.)*
- 11 184 n 35; 200 n 84
- De jejunio (Jejun.)*
- 8 218 n 136
- De oratione (Or.)*
- 29 184 n 35
- De praescriptione haereticorum (Praescr.)*
- 20 178 n 23
- 41 200 n 84; 205 n 99
- De pudicitia (Pud.)*
- 13 217 n 133
- De resurrectione carnis (Res.)*
- 8 211 n 120
- De testimonio animae (Test.)*
- 3 185 n 39
- Scorpiace (Scorp.)*
- 15 195 n 72
- Theodoretus of Cyrrhus
- Commentarius in Isaiam (Comm. Isa.)*
- 6.236 95 n 105
- Interpretationes in Pauli epistulas*
- 158 n 214
- Theodotus (see Clement Alex., *Exc. Theod.*)
- Theophilus
- Ad Autolycum (Autol.)*
- 2.5-6 194 n 64
- 2.8 185 n 38; 194 n 64
- Treatise on Re-Baptism
- 3 211 n 120
- 7 182 n 30

- | | | | |
|---|--------------------|--|---------------------|
| Victorinus | | <i>Edoni</i> | |
| <i>Apocalypsis beati Joannis (Apoc. Jo.)</i> | | frag. 28 | 80 n 19; 98 n 118 |
| 11.1 | 195 n 72 | | |
| 20.6 | 195 n 72 | <i>Eumenides (Eum.)</i> | |
| | | 306–96 | 112 n 203 |
| 10. Greek and Roman Literature | | 332 | 104 n 166 |
| | | 415–17 | 78 n 8 |
| Acusilaus | | 916–25 | 112 n 204 |
| Jacoby, ed. <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker (FGrH)</i> | | 916–87 | 78 n 8 |
| 2F28 | 80 n 20; 103 n 162 | 1041 | 78 n 8 |
| | | <i>Persae (Pers.)</i> | |
| Aelianus | | 353–432 | 85–86 |
| <i>Fragmenta (Fr.)</i> | | 725 | 99–100 |
| 100 | 108 n 187 | 750–51 | 99–100 |
| | | <i>Prometheus vincitus (Prom.)</i> | |
| Aeschines | | 566 | 99 n 129 |
| <i>De falsa legatione</i> | | 578–82 | 100 n 138 |
| 20 | 88 n 74 | 876–86 | 98 n 115 |
| 34 | 88 n 74 | | |
| 143 | 88 n 74 | <i>Septem contra Thebas (Sept. c. Theb.)</i> | |
| <i>In Ctesiphontem</i> | | 343–44 | 98 n 117 |
| 101 | 88 n 74 | | |
| 157 | 88–89 | <i>Supplices (Supp.)</i> | |
| 182 | 88 n 74 | 307–9 | 98 n 115 |
| 253 | 88 n 74 | 562–64 | 98 n 115 |
| <i>In Timarchum</i> | | <i>Xantriae</i> | |
| 190–91 | 90 n 82; 100 n 137 | | 98 n 119; 103 n 160 |
| | | Apollodorus | |
| Aeschylus | | <i>Bibliotheca</i> | |
| <i>Agamemnon (Ag.)</i> | | 2.2 | 102–3 |
| 749 | 86 n 62 | 3.5.1 | 80 n 19 |
| 1072–1330 | 80; 98 n 116 | | |
| 1174–76 | 86 n 55 | Appian | |
| 1209 | 92 | <i>Hispanica (Hisp.)</i> | |
| 1497–1504 | 99 n 134 | 85 | 73 n 107 |
| 1500–1504 | 85 | | |
| 1501 | 85 n 55 | Apuleius | |
| 1509 | 85 n 55 | <i>De deo Socratis (De deo Socr.)</i> | |
| 1552–53 | 85 n 55 | 20 | 81 n 28 |
| <i>Athamas</i> | | | |
| | 98 | Aristides | |
| <i>Choephoroi (Cho.)</i> | | <i>Orationes (Or.)</i> | |
| 74 | 109 n 190 | 27.40–41 | 164 n 241 |
| | | 42.8 | 108 n 188 |
| | | 47.65 | 108 n 188 |

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>Aristophanes
 <i>Equites</i> (<i>Eq.</i>)
 107 82
 1405 113 n 209</p> <p><i>Plutus</i> (<i>Pl.</i>)
 454 113 n 209</p> <p><i>Ranae</i> (<i>Ra.</i>)
 Scholia 507A.9 84 n 48
 733 (frag. 655) 113 n 209</p> <p><i>Vespae</i> (<i>Vesp.</i>)
 525 82
 1019–20 93
 Scholia 1019b 94 nn. 97, 99</p> <p>Aristotle
 <i>De philosophia</i> (<i>Phil.</i>)
 frag. 6 44 n 108</p> <p><i>De Pythagoreis</i> (<i>Pyth.</i>)
 3 (193) 81 n 28</p> <p>Callimachus
 <i>Diegeseis</i>
 2.29–40 (frag. 90) 113 n 209; 114 n 213</p> <p>Celsus (see Origen, <i>Contra Celsum</i>)</p> <p>Defixiones (Curse Tablets)
 —Audollent 118 115 n 214</p> <p>—Gager, ed. <i>Curse Tablets and Binding Spells</i>
 #104 115 n 215</p> <p>#134 115 n 215</p> <p>—Jordan, ed. <i>Contributions to the Study of Greek Defixiones</i>
 #18 (Nat. Mus., Athens, #13083) 115 n 215</p> <p>—Wortmann 1 115 n 214</p> <p>—Wortmann 2 115 n 214</p> | <p>Demades
 <i>On the Twelve Years</i> (Ἑπερ τῆς δωδεκαετίας)
 2 88 n 73</p> <p>Demosthenes
 <i>Contra Macartatum</i>
 3 88 n 74</p> <p><i>De corona</i>
 132 88 n 74
 159 89
 290 88 n 74
 296 89</p> <p><i>In Aristogitonem</i>
 1.8 88 n 74
 1.28 88 n 74
 1.52 88 n 74
 1.80 88 n 74</p> <p><i>Olynthiaca</i>
 3.16 88</p> <p>Dinarchus
 <i>In Aristogitonem</i>
 10 88 n 74</p> <p><i>In Demosthenem</i>
 30 89
 91 89
 92 88 n 74
 95 88 n 74</p> <p><i>In Philoclem</i>
 19 88 n 74</p> <p>Dio Chrysostom
 <i>Orationes</i> (<i>Or.</i>)
 8.14 114 n 213</p> <p>Diogenes Laertius
 <i>Vitae philosophorum</i>
 1.8 44 n 108
 7.32 81 n 28
 7.151 81 n 27</p> <p>Empedocles
 Diels, ed. <i>Die Fragmente der</i></p> |
|---|--|

- Vorsokratiker*
frag. 115 81–82
- Epictetus
Diatribae (*Diatr.*)
1.14.14 163 n 236
2.8.11 163 n 236
- Eupolis
frag. 384.8 113 n 209
- Euripides
Bacchae (*Ba.*)
80 n 18; 98 n 122
298–301 92
300–1 79; 98; 99 n 135
432–50 104 n 165
509–18 104 n 165
665 99 n 132
918–22 99 n 127
1122–24 79; 98; 99 nn. 126, 135
1227–29 99 n 132
1264–84 99 n 127
- Electra* (*El.*)
98 n 122
979 85
- Hercules furens* (*Herc. fur.*)
98 n 122
822–73 100 n 138
858–74 99
863 79
880–86 90 n 84
930–35 99
990 99
1035–38 104 n 166
1144 99 n 133
- Hippolytus* (*Hipp.*)
98 n 122
141–50 79
236–38 105
478–79 115–16
507–15 115–16
- Iphigeneia Aulidensis* (*Iph. Aul.*)
878 85
- Iphigeneia Taurica* (*Iph. Taur.*)
98 n 122
77–84 99
267–339 86 n 65
281–84 99 n 125
285–94 90
392–98 99 n 130
931–35 99 nn. 130, 131
934 86
971 86
1455–56 99
- Medea* (*Med.*)
98 n 122
1258 86
1258–60 86 n 62
1330 86 n 61
- Orestes* (*Or.*)
98 n 122
253–61 90; 99
264–65 86
315–27 90
1666–70 85 n 53
- Phoenissae* (*Phoen.*)
852–57 93
886–88 86
954–59 93
- Troades* (*Tro.*)
98 n 122
453–54 86 n 63; 92
457 86 n 62
500 92
940–42 86
- Galen
*De simplicium medicamentorum
temperamentis ac facultatibus* (*fac. simpl.
med.*)
6.68 6 n 13
- Herodotus
Historiae
1.43 109 n 190
1.60 87 n 69
1.63 92 n 90
1.95 90 n 82
2.160 87 n 69

3.25	101 n 140	Hippocrates	
3.26	101 n 141	<i>Aphorismi (Aph.)</i>	
3.28–30	101 n 146	8.18	163 n 236
3.29	100 n 139; 101 n 142	<i>De arte</i>	
3.30	101 nn. 145, 147	3	4 n 8
3.33	101 nn. 149, 150	8	4 n 8
3.34	101 n 148		
3.34–38	101 n 144	<i>De diaeta</i>	
3.37	101 n 143	4	4 n 9
3.38	101 n 145		
3.145	100 n 139	<i>De diaeta in morbis acutis</i>	
4.79	80 n 20		
4.187	106 n 172	<i>De insomniis (= De diaeta Book 4)</i>	
5.42	101	90	4 n 9
5.49	87 n 69		
5.78	87 n 69	<i>De morbo sacro (Morb. sacr.)</i>	
5.91	87 n 69		6 n 13; 31 n 59;
6.11–12	87 n 69		96–97; 104–7; 120
6.43	87 n 69		n 4
6.75	102 nn. 152–154,	2	97
	157	3	96–97 nn. 112, 113
6.84	102 nn. 155, 156	4	97 n 97; 104 n 167
7.135	87 n 69	5	107*
7.143	92 n 89	5.8	105 n 169
7.189	134 n 113	6–10	105
8.80	87 n 69	10	105; 107
8.110	87 n 69	11	106 nn. 173, 175
8.124	87 n 69	11.1–3	106 n 176
9.7	87	12.11–13	106 n 176
9.33–42	91 n 88	14	4 n 8; 106 n 175
9.34	102 n 159	14.1–11	106 n 173
9.35	91 n 88	14.1–27	106 n 174
9.41	92 n 88	15.8–14	106 n 173
		17	105 nn. 170, 171
Hesiod		18	106 n 177
<i>Fragmenta (Fr.)</i>		21	4 n 8; 96–97; 106
131	80 n 20; 103 n 161		nn. 175, 178; 107
			n 185
<i>Opera et dies (Op.)</i>		<i>De virginum morbis (Virg.)</i>	
121–28	80–81		82
287–92	196 n 73		
		<i>Decorum</i>	
Hesychius		5	187 n 44
<i>E</i>		6	4 n 9
123 line 2	95 n 105		
1774 line 1	95 n 105	<i>Epidemiae (Epid.)</i>	
3307 line 1	95 n 105	5.63	95
		5.63.7	150 n 187

Jusjurandum (Oath)

4 n 9

Prognosticon (Progn.)

1 22 n 13

Hipponax

frag. 10 114 n 213

frag. 153 114 n 213

Homer

Ilias (Il.)

1.222 80

2.718–25 96 n 110

3.420 80

Odyssea (Od.)

3.27 80 n 23

Hyginus

Fabulae (Fab.)

132 80 n 19

Hyperides

Against Demades for Illegal Proposals

(Κατὰ Δημάδου παρανόμων)

frag. 19.5 88 n 74

Inscriptions (Greek)

—Cyrene *lex sacra* (= *LSSupp.* 115; *SEG* 9.72)

111–14

A.1–3 111

A.9 112 n 208

A.17 112 n 208

A.22–24 112 n 203

B.28–59 111

B.29–39 111 n 202

B.32 112 n 203

B.34 112 n 203

B.40–49 112 n 204

B.44–45 112 n 206

B.50–59 112 n 207

—*Inscriptiones Graecae (IG)**IG* 4².1, no. 121–22 108 n 187—*Lois sacrées des cités grecques:**Supplément (LSSupp.)*

115 111 n 200

—Selinous *lex sacra*

110–13

A 110

B 110

B.1 110 n 199

B.7–9 110 n 199

—*Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum (SEG)*

8.574 115 n 214

9.72 111 n 200

26.1717 115 n 214

Isidorus

Origenes (Orig.)

4.7.6 84 n 48

Isocrates

Areopagiticus

73 89

Leges sacrae (see *Inscriptions* [Greek])

Lucian

Alexander (Alex.)

5 8 n 20

60 8 n 19

De luctu (Luct.)

24 81 n 26

Philopseudes (Philops.)

9–11 8

16 76 n 4; 91 n 85

16–17 8 nn.19, 23

17 8; 9

22 91 n 85

24 8 n 25

31 8; 76 n 4

Lycurgus

In Leocratem

92 100 n 137

Lysias

Areopagiticus

1 88 n 74

In Andocidem

53 88 n 74; 89

- Marcus Aurelius Antoninus
Ad se ipsum 100.1–7 nn. 219, 220
 1.6 7 178 n 23
 3.6.2 163 n 236 114.1–14 9 n 28; 116 n 220
 117 116 n 217
 123.50 178 n 23
 Oracles of Hystaspes 128.1–11 178 n 23
 33 n 63; 44 n 108
- Ovid
Ibis (Ib.)
 467–68 113 n 209
- Metamorphoses (Met.)*
 2.641 79 n 14
 15.322–28 103 n 164
- Papyri graecae magicae (PGM) (see also
 Magical Papyri [Christian])
 70 n 98; 116–17;
 169; 178; 181–82
 3.263–75 181 n 28
 3.419 178 n 23
 4.86–87 9 n 28; 116
 nn. 218, 220
 4.336–406 115 n 214
 4.1227–64 9 n 28; 116
 nn. 219, 220
 4.1231–34 183 n 31
 4.3037–45 120 n 4
 4.3007–86 9 n 28; 116
 nn. 219, 220; 136
 n 120
 5.96–172 9 n 28; 116
 nn. 219, 220
 7.260–71 77 n 7
 7.429–58 9 n 28; 116
 nn. 219, 220
 7.579–90 9 n 28; 116
 nn. 218, 220
 12.190–92 178 n 23
 12.270–350 9 n 28; 116
 nn. 218, 220
 13.1–343 9 n 28; 116
 nn. 219, 220
 13.242–44 9 n 28; 116 n 220
 13.289 178 n 23
 22.b.35 130 n 76
 35.15 130 n 76
 58.1–16 115 n 214
 94.17–21 9 n 28; 116
- Pausanias
Graeciae descriptio
 1.28.6 78 n 8
 2.11.4 78 n 8
 8.18.7 103 n 164
- Philochorus
De divinatione
 3 (frag. 192) 94 n 103
- Philostratus
Epistulae (Ep.)
 18 6 n 14; 109 n 189
- Vita Apollonii (Vit. Apoll.)*
 2 n 3; 169; 186–89
 1.2 8 nn. 20, 26;
 188–89
 3.18 187 n 44
 3.29 187 n 44
 3.34 187 n 47
 3.38 8 n 26; 76 n 4
 3.38–39 187 n 45
 3.40 187 n 46
 3.44 22 n 13
 4.10 187 n 49
 4.20 76 n 4; 188 n 51
 4.25 187 n 50
 5.2 187 n 48
 7.11 186 n 42
 8.6 187 n 44
 8.7.14 187 n 44
- Plato
Leges (Lg.)
 10 44 n 108
 10.907D–909D 94
- Phaedo*
 62.6 205 n 101
- Phaedrus (Phdr.)*
 244A–245A 91

- Politeia*
160 n 229
- Respublica (Resp.)*
364C 116 n 218
589A 160 n 229
- Sophista (Soph.)*
252C 93
252D 94
- Symposium (Symp.)*
202D–203A 82
- Timaeus (Tim.)*
82–84
31B–32C 83 n 37
34B 83 n 38
39E–40A 83 n 42
40B–E 83 n 36
41B–D 83 n 41
41D–42D 83 nn. 39, 40
69B–71D 83 n 43
70D–72B 84; 94
71D–72B 91 n 87; 148 n 181
86A–E 102 n 158
90A 82–83
90C 83 n 45
- Pliny
Historia naturalis (Hist. nat.)
20–32 7 n 15
24.156 8 n 26
25.13 8 n 26
30.8–9 8 n 26
- Plutarch
De defectu oraculorum (Def. orac.)
414E 94; 150 n 187
414F 84 n 51
414F–415B 170 n 5
414F–415I 81 n 27
416D 84 n 50
419A 82 nn. 31, 33
- De genio Socratis (Gen. Socra.)*
593C–D 91 n 87
- De Iside et Osiride (Is. et Os.)*
369A–370C 44 n 109
- 369D–F 44 n 108
361C 82 n 29
370C 84 n 51
- Dion*
55 91 n 85
- De E apud Delphos (E Delph.)*
390E 81 n 27
- Quaestiones convivales (Quaest. conv.)*
693E–F 114 n 213
- Porphyry
Contra Christianos
174 n 15
- De philosophia ex oraculis*
174 n 15
- Seneca
Epistulae (Ep.)
31.11 163 n 236
- Servius
In Vergilium commentarius
3.57 114 n 213
- Sophocles
Aechmalotides
frag. 59 93 n 94; 95 n 105
- Ajax*
59–60 98 n 121
182–85 98
611 98 n 121
- Alcmeon*
98
- Antigone (Ant.)*
790 78
955–65 78–79
- Athamas 1*
98
- Athamas 2*
98

<i>Fragmenta (Fr.)</i>		<i>Digesta (Dig.)</i>	
#941	79	50.13.1.1–3	7
		50.13.1.3	132 n 92
<i>Odysseus furens</i>			
	98	Vergil	
		<i>Aeneis (Aen.)</i>	
<i>Oedipus Coloneus (Oed. Col.)</i>		6.46–48	79 n 14
788	86 n 57		
1389–92	78	Xenophon	
		<i>Memorabilia (Mem.)</i>	
<i>Oedipus Tyrannus (Oed. Tyr.)</i>		2	39 n 90
1297–1330	98	2.1	196 n 73
<i>Phaedra</i>			
frag. 684	78; 79 n 12	11. Persian Literature	
<i>Philoctetes (Phil.)</i>		<i>Avesta</i>	33–34; 41
191–200	96 n 110; 100 n 138	— <i>Gathas</i>	32; 34–41
676–722	100 n 138		
758–59	95–96	— <i>Vendidad</i>	34; 39–43
<i>Trachiniae (Trach.)</i>		2.29	39
568–87	96 n 110	3.14	39–40
672–722	96 n 110	7.44	41 n 99
1024–30	96	8.21	42
1051–52	96 n 110	9.12–13	41 n 99
1053–89	96	10	41 n 99
1138–42	96 n 110	10.1–3	41–42
1235	86 n 57	10.4–16	42
		22.2	39
Statius			
<i>Thebais (Theb.)</i>		— <i>Yasht</i>	34; 42–43
4.542	79 n 14		
		1.6	43 nn. 104, 106
Thucydides		1.19	43
<i>De belle peloponnesiace</i>		5.13	43 n 104
	87	5.22	43 n 104
1.21	90 n 82	5.26	43 n 104
1.22	87 n 72	10.8	45 n 111
3.59	87 nn. 70, 72	10.34	43 n 104
4.57	87	10.97	45 n 111
8.69	87 n 69	11.15	45 n 111
		13.90	42 n 101
Timaeus Locrus		14.62	43 n 104
	109 n 190	17.25	42; 43 n 106
		19.76	43 n 104
Ulpian		19.80–81	43
<i>De omnibus tribunalibus</i>		57.10.25	45 n 111
8	7		

—*Yasna*

	38
12.4–5	36 n 76
28.7	33 n 63
29.1	37 n 83
29.2	40 n 97; 45 n 111
30.2	34 n 68
30.2–5	37 nn. 81, 83
30.2–6	35–36
30.3	34 n 68
30.6	40 n 97; 45 n 111
31.6–7	38 n 86
31.20	34 n 68
32.2–5	39 n 88
32.16	41 n 98
33.1	34 n 68
33.5	39 n 90
33.12	38
33.14	37 n 84
43.3	39 n 90
43.5	34 n 68
43.7–9	38
43.14	41 n 98
44.3–7	37 n 80
44.14	41 n 98
45.1–2	37 n 83
45.2	36 n 75
46.10–11	34 n 68
46.14	33 n 63
48.2–4	40 n 95
48.4	34 n 68
48.12	40 nn. 96, 97; 41 n 98; 45 n 111
49.3	34 n 68; 41 n 98
49.4–5	38–39
50.6–7	39 n 90
51.7	37 n 80
51.9	34 n 68
51.10	37 n 81
51.13	36; 39 n 90
51.13–15	34 n 68
51.16	33 n 63
53.2	33 n 63
53.9	41 n 98

Greater Bundahishn

33 n 67; 34

Indian Bundahishn

37 n 67

Fravarane

36

Washing of the Nine Nights (Barashnom-i no shaba)

41 n 99

12. Semitic Texts and Inscriptions

The Prayer of the Righteous Sufferer (Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi)

1.52	31 n 58
2.6–7	31 n 58

Maqlû

19–20; 28–29; 136

Parpola, ed. *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*

#274	29 n 49
#315	30–31

Šurpu

	19–26; 28–29; 64; 72; 136
2.1–2	25 n 30
2.5–128	23
2.34	23 n 16
2.68	23 n 16
2.129–192	23
2.134	25
3–8	25 n 35
4.1	25
4.14	25 n 31
4.16	25 n 31
4.37	25 n 31
4.39	25 n 31
4.41	25 n 31
4.73	25 n 31
4.83–86	25 n 31
4.90	25 n 30
4.93	25 n 31
4.100	25 n 30
4.102	25 n 30
4.107	25 n 30
5–6.1–16	23–24
5–6.36–37	24
5–6.38–39	24
5–6.42–44	24

5–6.89	23 n 15	3.6	27 n 42
7.5–6	25	3.20	27 n 42
7.15–34	24	3.192–97	27
7.58–59	24	3.220–25	27 n 43
7.67–70	24	4	26
7.71–72	24	5.377–78	26
7.73–75	24–25	5.430–32	26
7.76–79	25	6.567–72a	27–28
		7.669–74	32 n 61
<i>Udug-hul</i>		8.867–70	27
	19–20; 25–29; 32; 136	8.873–75	28

Author Index

Abusch T	28 nn.46, 47, 48; 29	Bremmer JN	113 n 209
Achtemeier PJ	122 n 21	Brenk FE	8 n 19; 76–77; 80 n 23; 82 nn. 33, 34; 84 nn. 47, 49; 91 n 85; 170 n 5; 188 n 53
Alderink LJ	159 n 220	Brock S	198 n 79
Alexander WM	120 n 5; 135 n 114	Brown F	72 n 107
Altaner B	198 n 78	Brown PRL	180 n 26; 190 n 56; 209 n 111; 219
Arnold CE	159 n 220	Büchsel F	158 n 214
Aune DE	147 n 177	Buck CD	111 n 200
Ayán Calvo JJ	197 nn. 76, 78	Bultmann R	14 n 38; 76 n 4; 122 n 22; 215 n 130
Barrett–Lennard RJS	3 n 7; 10 n 30; 11 n 32; 12 n 34; 16 n 46; 125 n 53; 127 n 66; 136 n 116; 175 n 17; 178 n 23; 184 n 36; 193 n 61; 216 nn. 130, 131; 218 n 135	Burchard C	61 n 59
Bauer W	213 n 123	Burkert W	44 n 107; 45 n 112; 79; 80 n 23; 81 nn. 25, 28; 82 n 31, 35; 85 n 54; 86 n 58; 111 nn. 201, 203; 112 n 204; 113 nn. 209, 212; 160 n 229; 165 n 245
Bauernfeind O	120 n 4	Cameron A	193 n 63; 194–95; 215 n 128
Beckman G	20 n 3	Cecchelli C	133 n 102
Benveniste E	33 n 64; 35 n 71; 44 nn. 108, 109	Charlesworth JH	60 nn. 49, 50
Betz HD	70 n 98; 77 n 7; 116 n 217; 129 n 75; 130 n 76; 156 n 212; 158 n 216; 159 n 220; 160 n 229	Christensen A	33 n 64; 34 nn. 69, 70; 35 n 73
Böcher O	120 n 5; 160 n 224; 210 n 119; 218 n 136	Clifford RJ	141 n 132
Bourguignon E	1 n 2; 147 n 177	Cogan M	145 n 153
Boyce M	32 n 62; 33 nn. 63, 64, 66; 34 nn. 69, 70; 35 n 74; 37 n 84; 40 n 97; 44 nn. 108, 110; 45 n 111	Collins AY	113 n 209; 129 n 72; 150 n 186; 159 n 220; 210 n 119
Bradshaw PF	11 n 32; 212 n 122	Collins JJ	45 n 111; 56 n 45; 62 nn. 63, 67; 70 nn. 99, 100; 71 n 101; 72 n 103;
Braumann G	161 n 231		
Bréhier L	134 n 102		

- | | | | |
|-------------------|---|------------------|--|
| | 73 | Geller MJ | 23 n 15; 25 n 35;
26 nn. 38, 39; 27
n 40 |
| Conzelmann H | 163 n 234 | Georgi D | 158 n 216 |
| Couliano IP | 207 n 108 | Goodspeed EJ | 198 n 78; 201
n 89 |
| Cross FM | 72 n 103 | Gould EP | 141 n 134 |
| Crossan JD | 130 n 76 | Graf F | 5 n 11; 96 n 111;
110 n 198; 116
n 217; 179 n 24 |
| Darmesteter J | 39 n 91; 40 n 94;
41 n 99; 45 n 110 | Grant RM | 79 n 14; 173
nn. 11, 12; 177
n 19; 193 n 63 |
| Davies SL | 128 n 70; 130 n 76 | Gray J | 145 n 153 |
| De Sanctis G | 111 n 203 | Grayson AK | 18 n 1; 21 n 9 |
| Diels H | 82 n 29 | Greenspoon LJ | 56 n 45 |
| Dietrich BC | 78 n 8 | Grelot P | 72 n 103 |
| Dion PE | 20 n 3 | Guelich R | 141 n 134 |
| Dix G | 11 n 32 | Gunkel H | 211 n 120 |
| Dodds ER | 76 n 1 | Harrington DJ | 61 n 60 |
| Dölger FJ | 14–17; 169 n 4;
200 n 84; 210
n 119 | Hartmann SS | 45 n 112 |
| Draper JA | 200 n 87 | Haussleiter J | 53 n 33 |
| Duling DC | 139 n 127 | Hayes C | 162 n 233 |
| Dupont-Sommer A | 68 n 92; 71 n 102;
72 | Hendel RS | 49 n 8 |
| Eddy SK | 45 n 112 | Henten JW van | 150 n 187 |
| Edelstein EJ | 6 n 14; 108 n 186 | Herrero P | 21 n 8 |
| Edelstein L | 6 n 14; 108 n 186 | Hillgarth JN | 3 n 6 |
| Eitrem S | 120 n 5; 129–30;
157 n 213 | Hodgson R | 162 n 233 |
| Everling O | 120 n 5 | Hollander HW | 202 n 90 |
| Faraone CA | 115 n 214; 116
n 218 | Honoré T | 7 n 17; 8 n 20 |
| Ferguson E | 120 n 5; 178 n 22 | Horsley RA | 130 n 76; 131 n 77 |
| Field F | 56 n 46 | Horst PW van der | 60 n 51 |
| Foerster W | 55 n 44; 142
n 137; 150 n 187 | Hübner H | 128 nn. 67, 69;
162 n 233 |
| Fraenkel E | 85 n 55 | Hughes DD | 113 n 209; 114
n 213 |
| Frankfurter D | 115 n 214 | Hultgård A | 33 n 66; 44 n 108;
45 n 112 |
| Frend WHC | 169 n 1; 174
nn. 13, 14; 219
n 142 | Hutter M | 40 n 97; 45 n 111;
49 n 8 |
| Fridrichsen A | 179 n 24 | Hvalvik R | 201 n 87 |
| Furlani G | 72 n 105 | Insler S | 35 n 72; 38 n 86 |
| Gager JG | 5 n 11; 9 n 28; 115
n 215; 116 n 218 | Isaac E | 63 n 71 |
| García Martínez F | 65 n 76; 72 n 106 | Jameson MH | 78 n 8; 90 n 83;
109 n 190; 110–11;
112 n 208 |
| Garland R | 6 n 14 | Janowski B | 49 n 8 |
| Garrett SR | 129 n 71; 151
n 189; 179 n 24 | Jewett R | 162 n 234; 164
n 237 |
| Garruci R | 133 n 102 | Johnson MD | 61 n 54 |
| Gaster M | 182 n 30 | | |
| Gaylord HE | 61 n 53 | | |
| Gebhard ER | 176 n 18 | | |

- Jones WHS 187 n 44
 Jonge M de 202 nn. 90, 92
 Jordan DR 90 n 83; 109
 n 190; 110–11; 112
 n 208; 115 n 214;
 116 n 218
 Kee HC 122 n 20; 127 n 66
 Kelhoffer JA 144 n 148
 Kellens J 35 n 71; 40 n 96
 Kingsley P 32 n 62
 Kloppenborg JS 140 n 128
 Koster WJW 84 n 48; 94 n 97
 Kotansky R 90 n 83; 109
 n 190; 110–11; 112
 n 208
 Lane Fox R 169 n 3; 178
 nn. 22, 23; 188
 n 53; 208 n 110
 Langton E 120 n 4; 121 n 5
 Lanpher JE 129 n 72
 Lee JAL 56 n 45
 Leeper EA 16 n 48; 151
 n 189; 179 n 23;
 212 nn. 121, 122;
 213 n 123
 Leidinger G 134 n 113
 Lienhard JT 157 n 213; 158
 n 214
 Lieu SNC 171 n 6
 Lightfoot JB 156 n 212; 184
 n 35
 Louw JP 55 n 43
 Lührmann D 107*
 MacMullen R 177 n 21; 178
 n 22; 185 n 38;
 215 n 128
 Macrae G 60 n 51
 Malandra WW 32 n 62; 35 n 71;
 37 n 78
 Marcus R 55 n 43
 Marksches C 213 n 123
 Martin RP 144 n 149
 Marx WG 135 n 116
 McCasland SV 124 n 41; 215
 n 129
 Metzger BM 51 n 21; 132 n 91;
 144 n 148
 Metzger M 11 n 32
 Meyer M 9 n 28; 181 n 29
 Michel O 163 n 236; 165
 n 244
 Milik JT 73
 Mitchell MM 164–66
 Müller K 94 n 103
 Myers C 130 n 76
 Nickelsburg GWE 61 n 52; 62 n 62;
 63 n 70
 Niederwimmer K 197 n 76
 Nilsson MP 82 n 32
 Nyberg HS 33 n 64; 34
 Oppenheim AL 18–19; 20 n 4;
 21–22; 25 n 34; 29
 n 52; 120 n 4
 Pagels EH 39 n 89; 87; 154
 nn. 198, 199
 Paget JC 200 n 87
 Parker R 109–10; 111
 nn. 200, 201; 113
 nn. 209, 210, 211
 Parpola S 19 n 3; 20 n 4; 29
 n 51
 Pearson AC 93 n 94
 Penny DL 69–70
 Pietersma A 49 n 7
 Pilch JJ 2 n 2
 Pirart E 35 n 71; 40 n 96
 Plummer A 156 n 212; 163
 n 236; 164 n 237
 Preisendanz K 183 n 31
 Preisker H 129 n 75
 Puech É 71 n 102; 72 n 103
 Pulleyn S 120 n 4
 Quasten J 198 n 79
 Reiner E 20–21; 23 n 15; 25
 nn. 30, 35; 30 n 54
 116 n 217
 Ritner R 21 n 8; 23 nn. 14,
 18
 Robinson SE 63 n 69
 Rordorf W 198 n 79; 199 n 83
 Rose HJ 76; 78 n 8
 Rouse WHD 165 n 245
 Roux G 23 n 17
 Ruge W 113 n 209
 Russell JB 1 n 1
 Saggs HWF 18 n 1
 Sanders EP 60 n 51; 162 n 232
 Schlier H 120 n 5
 Schneemelcher W 214 n 126
 Schoedel WR 197 nn. 76, 77

- | | | | |
|----------------|--|-----------------|--|
| Schürer E | 33 n 63; 50 n 12 | | 215 n 129; 219 n 138 |
| Schweizer E | 159 n 220 | | |
| Seeberg A | 161 n 231 | Tigchelaar EJC | 72 n 106 |
| Selwyn EG | 163 n 236 | Tov E | 55 n 43; 56 n 46 |
| Smith JZ | 1; 2 n 4 | Twelftree GH | 129 n 71; 131 n 77; 135 n 114 |
| Smith M | 6 n 12 | | |
| Smith R | 9 n 28 | VanderKam JC | 62 n 68 |
| Smith WD | 31 n 59; 75–76; 93 n 94 | Vermes G | 122 n 20 |
| | | Versnel HS | 76 n 3 |
| Smyth HW | 132 n 89 | Vielhauer P | 164 n 242 |
| Stendahl K | 160 n 225 | Vliet J van der | 115 n 214 |
| Stinespring WF | 63 n 69 | Weisman Z | 145 n 153 |
| Stol M | 22 n 11; 26 n 36; 31–32; 130 n 76 | West ML | 196 n 73 |
| | | Widengren G | 33 n 65; 37 n 79 |
| Stowers S | 160 n 225 | Wilken RL | 6 n 12; 174 nn. 13, 14, 15; 175 n 16; 176 n 18; 191 n 58; 193 n 63 |
| Stukey HJ | 111 nn. 201, 203 | | |
| Suggs MJ | 197 nn. 75, 78; 198 n 79; 202 n 92 | Winkler G | 15 n 45 |
| Tadmor H | 145 n 153 | Winston D | 53 n 37 |
| Tambornino J | 76; 80 n 23 | Wintermute OS | 60 n 51; 61 n 56; 63 n 69 |
| Temkin O | 96 n 111; 186 n 43 | | |
| Theissen G | 123 n 22; 125 n 52 | Wise MO | 69–70 |
| Thraede K | 6 n 13; 8 n 22; 15 n 44; 16 n 48; 169 n 4; 185 n 39; 212 n 122; 213 n 123; | Zaehner RC | 33 n 67; 35 nn. 72, 73; 45 n 110 |
| | | Zervos GT | 61 n 55 |

Subject Index

- Aaron 48–49, 56
 Acts, apocryphal 191, 214–17
 Ahura Mazda 32, 35–38, 40–41, 118
Alastor (see Avenging spirits)
 Angelology 49–50, 54, 60, 82, 121, 144–46
 Angra Mainyu 35–37, 39–44, 118
 Animals, demonic possession of 61, 79
 Anthropology (Platonic) 83–84
 Antony (Saint) 216–18
 Aphrodite 79
 Apocalypticism 37 n 79, 44 n 108, 44–46, 128–31, 172–75
 Apollo 80, 98, 111–12, 150
 Apollonius of Tyana 8, 186–89, 191
 Apologetics, exorcism in 9–10, 173–77, 180–82, 194–95, 203–5
 Apuleius 179 n 24
 Arab (exorcist in Lucian) 8–9
 Ares 78, 98
 Artemis, Temple of 150
 Asalluḫi (see Marduk)
 Asceticism 63 n 69, 206, 218–19
 Asclepius, cult of 3–6, 107–9, 180 n 25, 186
Āšipu (conjurer) 19–32, 48, 53 n 37, 59, 72
Āšipūtu (conjunction) 20–25, 31, 64
 Asmodeus (Aeshma) 40, 45 n 111, 49 n 8, 50, 54–55
Asû (doctor) 19, 23, 30–31
 Athanasius 10 n 30
 Avenging spirits 114
 - *alastor* 85–87, 89–90, 110
 - *hikesios* 111–13

 Bacchic frenzy 78–80, 92, 98–99, 104
 Baptism 12–15, 161–62, 196, 199–200, 210–12
Bārû (diviner) 19, 29–31
Bārûtu (divination) 29–30
 Basilides 207

 Beelzeboul (Beelzebub) 69, 121
 - Controversy 140–43
 Belial (Beliar) 49 n 7, 65–66, 69, 159, 209
 Bondage 102, 104, 114–15, 133, 140–42

 Cambyses 100–1, 103
 Cassandra 80, 86 n 55, 92 n 92, 98
 Catharsis (see Rituals, purificatory)
 Celsus 173–74, 180–81, 191–93
 Christian self-definition 185, 201 n 87
 Cicero 194
 Cleomenes 100–4
 Cornelius (Bishop of Rome) 2, 12
 Cosmomachy 125 n 52, 128–31, 135, 172, 183, 217
 Cults
 - authority of 4–6, 28, 48–49, 153
 - competition between 48–49, 57, 59, 149–53, 173–77, 180, 185
 - cooperation with medicine 30–31, 41 n 99
 - of saints 219
 - transferal of 169–77
 Curse tablets (see *Defixiones*)

Daimon
 - evil 80, 82, 84, 121, 169
 - good (ἄγαθὸς δαίμων) 82, 93–95
 - morally ambiguous 15, 55, 80–85, 169
 Daniel 48–49, 52, 57, 59, 152
 David 53, 68, 139 n 127, 189
Defixiones 9, 114–16
 Demoniac, literary presentation of 40, 124–27, 153–55
 Demonic possession (see Possession, demonic)
 Demonization
 - of opponents 39, 43, 87–90, 154
 - of pantheons 15, 150, 169–77, 190, 193–94

- of passions 16, 154, 157 n 213, 160, 203, 217–18
- Demonology
 - Christian 118–22, 159–60, 169–71
 - Greek 3, 76–77, 80–84, 178 n 22, 187–88
 - Jewish 49–51, 55, 59–61, 169–71
 - Near Eastern 18–19, 35–37, 169–71
- Devil 1 n 1, 15, 54, 121, 135
- Diagnostic method 3, 20–25, 30–31, 73 n 107, 104–7
- Dionysus (see also Bacchic frenzy) 78–79, 98–99, 103
- Discernment of spirits 111, 119–20, 156–58, 187–88, 194
- Divination 21–23, 29–31, 48, 52, 91–95, 181
 - ecstasis in 29, 52 n 29, 86 n 55, 91 n 87, 92 n 92, 208 n 110
 - healing through 22–25, 30–31, 70–73, 103–5
 - oracular prophecy 62 n 63, 80, 92, 150 n 187
 - prophets and seers 29, 91–93, 103, 158 n 214
- Divine inspiration 51–53, 61–62, 68, 91, 142 n 141, 148–49
- manifestations of 148–49, 211 n 120, 214 n 124
- Divine possession (see Possession, divine)
- Dualism
 - ethical 37–40, 45, 118, 204, 206, 198 n 79
 - in Christianity 39, 79–80, 105, 118–19, 209 n 112
 - in Judaism 39, 66–67
 - in Zoroastrianism 34–37, 39
 - influence upon Greek thought 84, 169–71
- Ea (Enki) 24–29, 32, 64
- Egypt, association with magic 5 n 12, 54, 57, 94, 116 n 217, 188, 192 n 60
- Elchasaites 194 n 63
- Eleazar 7–8, 49, 143 n 147, 152 n 194
- Elements (στοιχεῖα) 122, 159
- Elymas 152, 155
- Empedocles 81
- Endor, witch of 50, 94 n 103
- Engastrimythos* 50–51, 58, 93–95, 150 n 187
- Enki (see Ea)
- Enthusiasm 79–80
- Epilepsy (see Sacred disease)
- Erinyes 78 n 8, 90–91, 98–99, 217 n 132
- Eros 78
- Eschatology
 - in Christianity 125 n 52, 128–31, 172–75, 176 n 19, 203–4, 217
 - in Zoroastrianism 34–43, 45
- Eudemus of Rhodes 44 n 108
- Euhemerus 193 n 63
- Eumenides (see Erinyes)
- Eurycles 93–94
- Exchange of spirits (see Possession, demonic and divine correlated)
- Exorcism
 - absence of in Greece 6–7, 77
 - absence of in Hebrew Bible 48–50, 55
 - absence of in Christian literature 16 n 46, 134–35, 154 n 195, 156, 209 n 112
 - association of the East with 8–9, 57, 73
 - Christian initiation through 11–16, 65, 199–200, 209–14
 - Christian liturgical 10–17, 194–200, 210–14
 - compared to magic 3–10, 114–17, 136, 151–53, 177–83
 - conversion through 173 n 23, 180
 - criticism of in New Testament 142–43, 151
 - definition of 1–2, 31–32, 137 n 120
 - dominical mandate for 3, 16, 138, 144, 214–15
 - exegeted in Old Testament 69, 135–36, 141–42, 169 n 2, 189–90
 - Greco-Roman portrayal of 7–9, 186–89
 - healing through 6, 127–28, 135–36, 149–50, 175
 - heretical performance of 204–5
 - Jewish practice of 7–8, 131–32, 169 n 3, 185 n 41, 189–90
 - kerygma in 128–29, 131–32, 182–85, 191–93, 214
 - literary presentation of 6, 10, 122–24, 128–31, 186–87, 214–19
 - magic compared to 3–10, 114–17, 136, 151–53, 177–83

- medicine compared to 6, 135–36
- mission through 10, 73, 143–44, 175–80, 194, 205, 214
- of pagan gods 10, 150, 169–77
- purification through 127–28
- social control through 16 n 48, 151 n 189
- social integration through 127–28
- technical term of 132–33
- Exorcist
 - charisma of 157, 191–93, 212–19
 - clerical office of 2–3, 12, 14, 16, 210–14
 - definition of 2
 - literary presentation of 2 n 3, 125–26, 139, 186–87, 190–93
 - profession of 55, 132, 179 n 24
- Exorcistic method
 - aggression in 27–28, 114–16, 134, 138–39
 - command in 12–13, 27–28, 41–42, 54, 136–38
 - cross in 172, 182 n 29, 184
 - divine authority in 10, 28, 42, 54, 138–44, 204–5
 - divine names in 8–9, 43, 181–82
 - faith in 139
 - fasting in 214 n 125
 - formula in 43, 116, 136–38, 181, 185
 - fumigation in 185
 - Jesus' name in 142–44, 151, 178, 181–82, 184–85, 205
 - music in 53, 68
 - name discovery in 64, 119–20, 129, 137 n 120, 158
 - oil in 13, 15, 214 n 125
 - pharmacopeia in 50, 63, 185
 - prayer in 136 n 119, 184
 - *rhesis barbarike* in 136 n 120, 183 n 31
 - ring in 8–9, 54
 - touch in 13, 68, 137 n 121, 184
 - unprescribed in New Testament 136–38, 181, 215 n 129
- Ezekiel 52
- Fabius, Bishop of Antioch 2
- Faith 127, 139, 206 n 103
- Furies (see Erinyes)
- Galen 173–74, 191 n 58
- Gāzzar* (גזזר) 48 n 5, 57, 70–73
- Gerasene demoniac 129–31
- Gnosticism 201, 206–8, 213 n 123
- Gregory Thaumaturges 216 n 130
- Gula 24–25
- Ham (son of Noah) 170 n 5, 189 n 55
- Hecate 79
- Hera 98, 103
- Heracles 95
 - at the crossroads 39 n 90, 204
- Herodotus 44 n 108
- Hesiod 194
- Historiologiae* 115 n 214
- Holiness (see Sanctification)
- Holy Spirit, possession by 13, 142, 144–48, 155–56, 159–63, 193–96
- Homer 194
- Humors 107*
- Hystaspes 33, 170 n 5
- Iarchus 186–88, 191
- Iconography 90–91, 133, 134 n 113
- Inclination (see *Yetzer*)
- Inner person (ἔσω ἄνθρωπος) 160
- Intoxication 101–2, 146
- Invocation 13–14, 159–62, 210–12
 - methods of 146–48
- Jannes and Jambres 49 n 7
- Jesus
 - as exorcist 63, 131–32, 149
 - associations with magic 5, 180–82, 191–93
 - historical 16, 122, 125 n 53, 128–32, 136, 142
- Joseph 48–49, 56, 59, 61, 152
- Judas 61 n 55, 127, 135 n 114, 153 n 195, 208
- Kasšāptu* (witch) 19–20, 28–29
- Kasšāpu* (sorcerer) 19–20, 28–29, 56, 58–59
- Kingdom of God 119, 130–32, 143, 175 n 17, 183
- Leges sacratae* (see Ritual laws)
- Legion 64 n 75, 120–121, 129–30
- Linguistic exchange 55–59, 72, 80

- Lives, hagiographic 191, 195 n 71,
214–19
Lyssa 79, 90, 99
- Madness from possession 97–103,
124–25
- Magic
- Christian portrayal of 9–10, 180–81,
189
- cult compared to 3–6, 9–10, 28–29,
48–49, 114–17, 151–53, 188–89
- definition of 5, 28, 48
- literacy in 57, 181
- metaphorical quality of 20, 23–24
- prohibition against 47, 57–59, 152
- social status of 53 n 37, 59
Magical papyri 9, 54, 116–17, 181–82
Mani (Manichaeism) 171 n 6, 207 n 108
Marcion 195 n 72, 155 n 206
Marduk (Asalluḫi) 24–29, 32, 64
Martyrdom 172
Medicine
- compared to magic and cult 3–6, 22–23,
30–31, 77 n 7, 102–3, 107–9
- divination in 22 n 13
- lack of exorcism in 6–7, 124–25
Melampus 103
Mental illness 124
Metaphors for possession
- house 124, 164, 206 n 101
- temple 53, 162–66, 200–1, 205–8
 - *hieron* 165–66
 - *naos* 162–66
- vessel (σκεῦος) 61, 141 n 134
Michael (archangel) 54, 63
Miracle
- in Asclepius cult 3–5
- in Christianity 155–56, 158, 183,
192–93
Miracle story
- literary form of 122 n 22, 215 n 130
Montanus (Montanists) 175 n 17, 208 n
110
Moonstruck (σεληνιαῖζειν) 84, 106
Moses 48–49, 56, 152, 189
Muses 51 n 25, 91
- Nabonidus 70–73
Nag Hammadi 9 n 28, 16 n 45, 116 n
217
- Nebuchadnezzar 50, 70 n 100
Noah 64 n 74, 189
- Oracle (see Divination)
- Pan 79
Paul (Apostle)
- epistles of 122, 150, 155–66, 205–6,
218–19
- portrayal in Acts 95, 131, 151–52
Persecution 149 n 182, 172–73, 217
Pharmakos 88–89, 113–14
Philochorus of Athens 95 n 105
Pneuma 121
Philoctetes 95–96
Pollution 39–40, 127–28, 166
- *agos* 109–10, 116
- *miasma* 109–10, 128 n 67
Possession
- corporal/physiological 15–16, 65–66,
119, 127–28, 180, 208–9
- demonic 50–51, 60–61, 69–70, 119–22,
124–27, 179 n 23
 - causes of 126–27
 - defined 1
 - social separation through 127
- demonic and divine correlated 13–14,
51–52, 200, 207–12
- divine 51–53, 61–62, 77–80, 162–66,
205–6
 - as cause of illness 20–25, 50,
95–97
 - role in mission 148–53
- ethical 15–16, 62–63, 65–67, 153–55,
159–66, 196–204
- indwelling 37 n 84, 60–62, 69–70, 77,
118
 - absence of 31–32, 37–38, 40, 47,
75–77, 108–9
 - defined 147 n 177
- intellectual 148, 154–55
- literary presentation of 86–90, 97–98,
103, 107, 122–27
Possession trance 147 n 177
Potentia 219
Praesentia 219
Pre-Socratic philosophers 43–44
Prodicus 39 n 90, 196 n 73, 204
Proetides 80, 100, 102–3
Profane 162

- Prognostic method 3, 20–25, 30–31, 73
n 107, 107–9
- Purification (see Rituals)
- Pythagoras (Pythagoreans) 81, 84 n 47,
194 n 63
- Pythian spirit 95, 150–51
- Qumran 53, 64–73, 161, 172, 198 n 79
- Raphael (archangel) 50, 54, 65 n 77
- Relocation of spirits 2, 111–12, 114, 133
- Revelation through inspiration 147–48
- Rhetoric 87–90, 154–55, 193–96
- Ritual laws (*leges sacratae*) 78 n 8,
110–13
- Rituals
- apotropaic 25–29, 41–43, 54, 68–70
 - healing 20–25, 70–73
 - initiatory, Christian (see Baptism)
 - initiatory, non-Christian 67
 - purificatory 19–25, 39–41, 109–14,
127–28, 166
 - sanctifying (see Baptism)
- Sacred disease 50 n 10, 96–97, 101,
104–7
- Sanctification 162–67
- Satan
- angel of 122, 156, 159
 - as possessing entity 14 n 38, 87, 121,
126–27, 133
 - as "strong man" 140–42
 - association with sin 15, 159–60
 - in service of God 51, 53–54
 - rule of 64 n 74, 119, 129, 135
- Saul 50–51, 53, 62
- Scapegoat 113
- Sceva, sons of 125, 131, 143, 151
- Seneca 194, 206 n 102
- Serapis 186
- Simon Magus 152, 183 n 32, 188 n 52,
196 n 72, 205 n 99, 211 n 120
- Sin (see also Transgression)
- demonic possession through 122, 126,
159–61, 206–9
 - forgiveness of through exorcism 71–72,
126
 - personification of 15, 159–60, 166, 210
n 119
- Solomon 7, 53–54, 68, 139 n 127, 143 n
147, 152 n 194, 189–90
- Sorcery and Witchcraft (see also Magic)
28–29, 126, 180 n 26, 188–89
- Soteriology 127, 131, 151 n 189, 175
- Spenta Mainyu 35–37, 42
- Spirit
- life-giving 51, 60
 - unclean (ἀκάθαρτον) 128
- Sternomantis* (στερνόμαντις) 95
- Stoicism 81 n 27
- Syrian (exorcist in Lucian) 8
- Teiresius 93
- Temptation of Jesus 14 n 38, 142 n 137
- Theodotus of Rome 10 n 31, 213 n 123
- Theopompus 44 nn. 108–9
- Theurgy 181 n 29
- Timaeus of Locrus 82
- Topoi* 164–66
- Transgression (see also Sin)
- demonic affliction through 21, 23,
98–100, 109–10
- Transmigration of spirits 81–82, 144 n 153
- Two Ways doctrine
- in Christian initiation 67, 199–201
 - in Christian literature 39 n 90, 196–204,
209
 - in Greek literature 39 n 90, 196–98, 204
 - in Jewish literature 67, 196–98, 201–3
- Valentinus (Valentinianism) 207, 213 n
123
- Vespasian 7–8, 49, 143 n 147, 152 n 194
- Vishtaspa (see Hystaspes)
- Vision trance 147 n 177
- Votive offering 165–66
- Will
- bondage of 126, 208 n 111
 - freedom of 206–9, 217–18, 174 n 16,
203 n 94
- Wisdom
- personified 50
 - relevance to exorcism 8, 53, 68, 186–91
- Witchcraft (see Sorcery and Witchcraft)
- Xenocrates 82, 84
- Xenophon 196 n 73
- Yetzer* (יצר) 62, 65–66

- Zarathushtra 32–36, 41–44, 84 n 51, 170
n 5, 191 n 57
- Zeus, Great Altar of 150
- Zoroaster (see Zarathushtra)
- Zoroastrianism (see also Dualism,
Eschatology)
- choice in 34–37, 40–41
 - ethics in 37–40
 - influence of 32–34, 43–46
 - soteriology in 36
 - spiritual allegiance in 37–40, 118
 - Zervanite heresy of 33–34, 44

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*.
- Asiedu-Pepurah, 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*.
- 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 1 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*.
- Brocke, Christoph vom: Thessaloniker – Stadt des Kassander und Gemeinde des Paulus. 2001. *Volume II/125*.
- 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*.
- 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*.
- 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*.
- 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 Vasile 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*.
- Fornberg, Tord*: see *Fridrichsen, Anton*.
- Fossum, Jarl E.*: The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord. 1985. *Volume 36*.
- 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*.
- Gräbe, Petrus J.*: The Power of God in Paul's Letters. 2000. *Volume II/123*.

- Gräßer, 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*.
- 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*: Relevation 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*.
 - 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*.
- Kamlah, Ehrhard*: Die Form der katalogischen Paränese im Neuen Testament. 1964. *Volume 7*.
- Kammler, Hans-Christian*: Christologie und Eschatologie. 2000. *Volume 126*.
- 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*.
- 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*.

- 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*.
- 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*.
- 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: 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*.
- 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*.
- 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..
- 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*.
- Obermann, Andreas: Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium. 1996. *Volume II/83*.
- 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 Typus. 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*.
- Philonenko, Marc* (Ed.): Le Trône de Dieu. 1993. *Volume 69*.
- Pilhofer, Peter*: Presbyteron Kreitton. 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* (Hrsg.): 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 Markus-evangeliums. 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*.
- 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 II/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*.
- Schutter, 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*.
- Siebert, 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*: Derethorizing Paul. 2000. Volume 124.
- Treloar, Geoffrey R.*: Lightfoot the Historian. 1998. Volume II/103.
- Tsuji, 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.
- Visotsky, 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- Wucherpfennig, 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 Geschlechterverhältnis. 2000. Volume II/122.
- Zumstein, Jean*: see *Dettwiler, Andreas*

