

ERIK WAALER

The *Shema* and The First Commandment in First Corinthians

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Mohr Siebeck

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The *Shema* and The First Commandment in First Corinthians

An Intertextual Approach to
Paul's Re-reading of Deuteronomy

Mohr Siebeck

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Preface

This work is a revised version of my dissertation presented to the Norwegian Lutheran School of Theology, Oslo, 2005. The foundation for this book was laid while I was a research fellow (1995–1999) and assistant Professor (1999–) at the *NLA School of Religion, Education and Intercultural studies* in Bergen, Norway. An additional grant has been obtained from *Nansen-fondene og de dertil tilsluttede fond*. I want to extend my sincere gratitude to these institutions.

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Bergen, September 22, 2008

Erik Waaler

Table of Contents

Preface	V
Style and abbreviations	XIII
1. Introduction	1
2. History of Research and Methodology	4
2.1 Johannes Weiß	5
2.2 Bousset, Norden and Peterson	5
2.2.1 Kyrios Christos.....	6
2.2.2 The so-called ‘omnipotence formula’	8
2.2.3 Peterson.....	9
2.2.3.1 The Content of ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ	9
2.2.3.2 Further Discussion of Peterson’s Perspective	12
2.2.4 The Resulting Consensus.....	14
2.3 The Question of Intermediate Jewish Stages.....	15
2.4 The ‘ <i>Shema</i> Connection’ in Recent Research.....	19
2.4.1 Paul Rainbow	21
2.4.2 Howard Pilgrim	22
2.5 The Current State of Research.....	24
2.6 Intertextuality and the Interpretation of 1Cor 8:1–6.....	27
2.6.1 Classification of Author, Reader and Text	30
2.6.2 Diachronic or Synchronic?	33
2.6.2.1 Degrees of Intertextuality.....	36
2.6.2.2 Correspondence, Consciousness and Reference.....	36
2.6.3 Proofs of Intertextuality.....	40
2.6.3.1 Availability.....	40
2.6.3.2 Volume	41
2.6.3.3 Coherence	43
2.6.3.4 Historic Plausibility	44
2.6.3.5 Tertiary Reader Response	44
2.6.3.6 Cultural Reinforcement.....	45

2.7 Conclusion	46
3. <i>Shema</i> , its Context and its Relevance for 1 Corinthians.....	49
3.1 The Argument of this Chapter	50
3.2 Versions of the Old Testament Used by Paul	50
3.3 Paul's Use of the Old Testament in First Corinthians	53
3.3.1 Deuteronomy and the Pentateuch in 1Cor 5–7	56
3.3.2 Explicit and Implicit use of Deuteronomy in 1Cor 9	61
3.3.3 The Exodus Motive in 1Corinthians 10.....	62
3.3.3.1 Parallels to Other Texts in 1Cor 10	69
3.3.4 The Use of Deuteronomy in 1Cor 5–10, a Conclusion	70
3.4 The Possible Archetexts from Deuteronomy.....	71
Excursus: Thematic parallels to the treaties	72
3.5 The Two First Commandments.....	76
3.5.1 The Introduction to the Decalogue.....	78
3.5.2 The First Commandment	80
3.5.2.1 The First Commandment in the Pentateuch	81
3.5.2.2 The Song of Moses	84
3.5.2.3 The 1 st Commandment in Other OT Texts	86
Excursus: The only God	92
3.5.3 The Second Commandment (Deut 5:8–10)	94
3.5.4 Conclusion to the Two First Commandments.....	97
3.6 The Shema	98
3.6.1 Deuteronomy 6:4.....	101
3.6.1.1 Other OT Texts with a link to Deut 6:4	106
3.6.1.2 Zechariah 14:9	106
3.6.1.3 Jeremiah 32:38–41	108
3.6.1.4 Malachi 2:10–11	110
3.6.1.5 Conclusion	114
3.6.2 Deuteronomy 6:5 in Context.....	114
3.6.3 Texts Akin to Shema, the 1 st and 2 nd Commandment	118
3.7 Conclusion	120
4. Between the Two Testaments.....	123
4.1 Resume of the Argument of This Chapter.....	123
4.2 <i>Tefillin</i> , <i>Mezuzot</i> , Rituals and Daily Prayer.....	124
4.2.1 Tefillin and Mezuzot	124
4.2.2 Worship Rituals and Daily Prayer.....	129
4.2.3 Relevance	132
4.3 Texts Akin to the First Commandment	133
4.3.1 Used in Prayers That are Part of a Power-encounter	134

4.3.2	Judith's Confrontation with Idolatry	135
4.3.2.1	Contextual Emphasis on Purity	137
4.3.2.2	The Picture of God.....	138
4.3.2.3	To Know God – as Part of Alliance with God	139
4.3.2.4	Links to the Pentateuch.....	140
4.3.3	'No Other God' and 'Only God' Found Together	142
	Excursus: The Only God.....	146
4.3.4	Conclusion and Relevance.....	151
4.4	One God (Deut 6:4).....	154
4.4.1	One God and no Other.....	158
4.4.2	The 1 st Commandment in Philo – One God and no Other... ..	160
4.4.2.1	The 1 st Commandment Explicitly	165
4.4.2.2	One Lord	167
4.4.3	The First Commandment in Josephus	168
4.4.4	One God, One Temple, One Community, One World	172
4.4.5	Conclusion and Relevance.....	178
4.5	Texts Akin to Deut 6:5	181
4.5.1	The Kind of Texts That Invites Reuse of Deut 6:5	188
4.5.2	Cluster of Themes Associated with Deut 6:5	191
4.6	The Double Commandment.....	194
4.6.1	The Hellenistic Version of the Double Commandment	198
4.7	Conclusion Concerning Jewish Pre- and Co-texts.....	201
5.	Monotheism in the New Testament.....	206
5.1	The Shema and the 1 st Commandment in the Synoptics.....	208
5.1.1	Gerhardsson	208
5.1.1.1	The Temptation Story (Matt 4:1–11)	209
5.1.1.2	The Parable of the Sower (Matt 13:1–23).....	213
5.1.1.3	Conclusion.....	215
5.1.2	The Double Commandment in the Preaching of Jesus.....	216
5.1.2.1	The Double Commandment in Mark 12:28–33	217
5.1.2.2	The Double Commandment in Matthew 22–23	222
5.1.2.3	Conclusion.....	226
5.1.3	Deuteronomy 6:4 and Mark 2:7, 10:18	227
5.1.4	Conclusion to the Synoptic Texts	230
5.2	The Shema and the First Commandment in John's Writings.....	231
5.2.1.1	One Father	232
5.2.1.2	"One flock and One shepherd"	235
5.2.1.3	The Double Commandment of Love	237
5.2.1.4	The Parallel between 'Knowing' and 'Loving'	238
5.2.1.5	Conclusion.....	240
5.3	James 2:8–11, 19.....	241

5.4 The ‘One God’ Phrase in the Letters Attributed to Paul	243
5.4.1 One God, One Church	244
5.4.1.1 Unity of the Circumcised and Uncircumcised	245
5.4.1.2 One God in Ephesians.....	251
5.4.1.3 One Spirit	255
5.4.2 1Tim 2:5.....	257
5.4.3 Conclusion to Pauline Epistles.....	259
5.5 Conclusion to New Testament Material	259
 6. One God and One Lord in First Corinthians.....	 262
6.1 Relevance of Jewish Material for 1Cor 8–10	262
6.2 Outline of 1Cor 8:1–6	264
6.3 The Integrity of 1Corinthians 8–10.....	267
6.3.1 Conflicting Worldviews?.....	271
6.3.2 The Integration of Chapter Nine in its Context	275
6.3.3 Semantic and Thematic Focus	279
6.3.4 Conclusion Concerning Unity of 1Cor 8:1–11:1	281
6.4 Did Paul Quote from a Corinthian Letter?	281
6.4.1 The ‘περί-phrase’	283
6.4.2 The ‘οἶδαμεν ὅτι Phrase’	289
6.4.3 Preliminary Conclusion	291
6.5 Food Sacrificed to Idols (v. 1a)	292
Excursus: Paul’s Attitude to Sacrificial Food.....	294
6.6 The Contrast between Knowledge and Love (8:1–3).....	303
6.6.1 Loving God	307
6.6.1.1 Love and the Double Commandment.....	310
6.6.1.2 Paul’s Use of ἀγαπάω and φιλέω	313
6.6.1.3 Love in 1Cor 8:1	316
6.6.2 What Kind of Knowledge is Paul Speaking about?	318
6.6.3 Who is Paul Speaking about in Chapter 8?	318
6.6.3.1 The Knowers.....	320
6.6.3.2 Those with a Weak Conscience.....	323
6.6.3.3 Different Kinds of People	326
6.6.4 The Meaning of γνῶσις and γινώσκω.	327
6.6.4.1 Common Knowledge in 1Cor 8:1	328
6.6.4.2 The Apparent γνῶσις of the Knowers	330
6.6.5 Contextual Clues to the Meaning of the Idol Sacrifices.....	333
6.6.5.1 Does Food Bring one Closer to God?	333
6.6.5.2 Are εἰδωλόθυτον Sacrificed to God?.....	337
6.6.5.3 Conclusion.....	338
6.6.6 The Knowers Defence of Their Partaking in Idolatry.....	338
6.6.6.1 How Separate must we be? How Free are We?.....	340

6.6.6.2 Freedom versus the Beneficial	343
6.6.6.3 Is Paul up against Antinomism?	344
6.6.6.4 Freedom and Polytheism in Josephus	346
6.6.6.5 Conclusion: “Free, Strong-headed Know-it-all”	348
6.6.7 Paul’s Alternative Knowledge (1Cor 8:3)	348
6.6.7.1 Not as he Ought to Know (1Cor 8:2b)	351
6.6.8 The Knowledge of the Weak 1Cor 8:7	354
6.6.9 Conclusion	357
6.7 Monotheism and Christology in 1Cor 8:4–6	358
6.8 One God and no Idols 1Cor 8:4	358
6.8.1 There are no Idol in the World (1Cor 8:4A)	361
6.8.2 The Meaning of εἰδωλον in 1Cor 8:4 A	362
6.8.2.1 Contextual Clues to the Meaning of εἰδωλον	364
6.8.2.2 A Material Interpretation of εἰδωλον?	368
6.8.3 Paul’s Use of the Term κόσμος in 1Cor 8:4a	370
6.8.4 The Jewishness of 1Cor 8:4a, a Conclusion	371
6.9 The so-called ‘gods’ and ‘lords’ 1Cor 8:5	371
6.9.1 So-called gods in Heaven and on Earth	374
6.9.2 As There are Many ‘gods’ and Many ‘lords’	376
6.10 Conclusion to the Discussion of 1Cor 8:4a and 8:5	381
6.11 We Know That There is no God but One (1Cor 8:4B)	382
6.11.1 A Jewish Reading Implies Avoidance of Idolatry	388
6.11.2 The Function of v. 4 in the Argument	391
6.12 One God and One Lord – 1Cor 8:6	395
6.12.1 One God the Father	398
6.12.1.1 Peterson	401
6.12.1.2 Father and Creator	402
6.12.2 The Prepositional Phrases in 1Cor 8:6	406
6.12.2.1 The So-called ‘Omnipotence Formula’	406
6.12.2.2 Paul’s Use of ἐξ οὗ - εἰς αὐτόν	409
6.12.2.3 A Salvific or Creational Interpretation	412
6.12.2.4 Creation Through Christ 1Cor 8:6b	416
6.12.2.5 The Personification of σοφία	418
6.12.2.6 “We to Him” and “We through Him”	422
6.12.3 One Lord Jesus Christ	423
Excursus: κύριος as a title	423
6.12.3.1 ‘One Lord’ or ‘Jesus is Lord’ in 1Cor 8:6b	428
6.12.3.2 Paul’s Use of the Term κύριος about Jesus	429
6.12.4 One God – One Lord	432
6.12.5 The Relationship between the Father and Jesus	434
6.12.6 Concord and Unity That is Founded on Christ	436
6.13 1Cor 8–10 and the Christology of Paul	438

7. Conclusion.....	440
7.1 The Jewishness of 1Cor 8:1–6 and its Context.....	441
7.2 Christology – Jesus within the Pattern of Monotheism	443
Appendix: Selective list of Monotheistic phrases.	447
a. Only God	447
b. One God	448
c. No other God	450
d. All my heart	453
Literature	455
Texts and translations	455
Bibliography.....	461
Reference list, computer software:.....	505
Indexes of Texts and Literature	507
Index of Sources.....	507
Index of Modern Authors.....	555

Style and abbreviations

The major part of the abbreviations follows the instruction for contributors in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* (*JBL* 117(3):560–579).¹ Some abbreviations, not present in *JBL*, follow the system in the *OTP* 1. Page layout and other elements of style are based on *The Chicago Manual of Style* (CMS 14th ed.) and the ‘author date citation and reference list’ system. If not otherwise noted references to the Bible are from the NIV, the Apocrypha from the RSV, the Pseudepigrapha from the *OTP*, Qumran texts from the *DSSSE*, and Philo and Josephus from the *LCL*. Articles in well-known reference works such as the *TDNT*, *TDOT*, *APOT*, *OTP* and *NIDNTT* are not included in the reference list (*cf.* CMS 15:293, p. 594), but the authors of the articles are usually named in the text.

¹ With the exception of ch. 8.3 and 8.4 p. 560.

Chapter 1

Introduction

In Israel's Declaration of Independence it is written: "We trust in the Rock of Israel, we affix our signatures in testimony to this declaration" (May 14, 1948).¹ According to Donin the expression "Rock of Israel" is lifted from the morning prayers of the Jews, which accompanies the *Shema* in the morning service of the Synagogue.² About 1900 years earlier, Paul wrote to the Corinthians: "And that Rock was Christ" (1Cor 10:4). In the morning prayer of the Jews, we find the reference to God's oneness together with the description of God as the Rock of Israel. In a similar way, we find the description of God's oneness together with the description of Christ as the Rock in First Corinthians (8:4, 6; 10:4). The combination of 1Cor 10:4 and Israel's Declaration of Independence gives an interpretation of the term 'rock' which the founders of the State of Israel would find repulsive. The devout Christian, however, would sense a prophetic spirit behind such a combination. It may be argued that both texts have roots in the OT (Isaiah 30:29; cf. Deut 32:4). Which is the right interpretation of the phrase 'the Rock of Israel'? To answer such a question one would have to identify a culture-specific context, the cultural context of those involved in the act of communication. This example shows the fundamental difference in meaning which might be attached to a phrase in different cultures and the tremendous power of dominant texts.

The person of Christ is the focus of religious controversy in many cultures, not only in present day Israel but also in many Muslim countries. During my ministry at a theological seminary in Java, I witnessed the theological struggle that my students went through. One of their questions was, 'How can I describe Christ in a way that is not repulsive to my Muslim friends?' It led to a tremendous intellectual struggle with the biblical texts, a struggle resembling the Christological debates in the early church, bordering on Adoptianism and Modalism. Their struggle led me on to the is-

¹ Donin 1980:162. The original uses the words בצור ישראל (11:45 18/10-00 <http://www.israel.org/mfa/go.asp?MFAH024z0>).

² In some texts the expression sounds זור ישיעתנו and earlier in the text זור יצקב (Sabbath and Festival Prayer Book 1973:94–95, Siddur 1950:57–58).

sue pursued in this study, the relationship between monotheism and Christology in Pauline theology.³

At the outset, the plan was to make a comparative study focusing on the Indonesian Christians ‘squeezed’ between Muslim monotheism and Javanese monism, as compared to the early church and its relationship with Jewish monotheism and Hellenistic philosophy. However, along the road, the two parts of the dissertation drifted apart; thus, in this volume, only the New Testament issue is left. Despite enticing parallels, the Indonesian part of the project has been and will be published elsewhere.⁴ This has led to a New Testament project with a focus on the culturally conditioned meaning of 1Cor 8:1–6. It is my hypothesis that there are profound links between 1Cor 8:1–6 and the *Shema*. Initially it was the phrases “one God” and “one Lord” that led some scholars to assume that 1Cor 8:4b and/or 8:6 are dependent on the *Shema*. Once this is established, a series of questions arise: How did the Jews use the *Shema*? To what degree does the literary context of 1Cor 8:4b and 8:6 support the theory that Paul is reinterpreting the *Shema*? How is Paul changing Jewish theology by applying the *Shema* to Jesus? What is the relationship between God and Jesus in such a double use of the *Shema*? The importance of this discussion is underlined by four circumstances that are vital to the argument of this study: 1) the *Shema* is a *strong pretext*, committed to memory and used in daily prayer and other rituals. 2) The belief that the Lord is one, as described in the *Shema*, was a *core value* in first century Jewish religion. 3) The use of the *Shema* and the First Commandment made the belief in one God an *explicit* core value. 4) Belief in one God, as described in the *Shema*, was a *boundary marker* that distinguishes Jews from non-Jews.

Initially the task was limited to the interpretation of 1Cor 8:1–6 in light of the *Shema* (Deut 6:4–5). We chose to focus on this issue for two reasons: 1) the parallels between 1Cor 8:6 and the *Shema* are well known, but a thorough investigation of the nature of the relationship is still wanting. 2) The vast task ahead clearly needed to be limited to a certain field of study. However, there seems to be a close connection between the *Shema* and the first two Commandments (Deut 5:7–10) in Deuteronomy, as well as in

³ The term ‘monotheism’ is notoriously difficult. It is a modern word used about the past (see Lorenz 1994:491–492). As its primary use is as a description of the three major monotheistic religions, it should be used with direct reference to the picture of God described in their respective texts. Thus monotheism is exclusive devotion to one God, but it does not exclude the existence of angels, demons and lower spiritual beings, which might be called ‘gods’ in the wider sense of this term (so Rainbow 1987:57, see also pp. 22–30, Sanders 1995:33–34, Wildberger 1977:507–510 and Barr 1959:52ff).

⁴ Waaler 1997b:11–36, 1998:266–279, 1999b:241–258, 2007a:89–108, 2007b:109–127 and 2008 (upcoming).

Jewish thought.⁵ Such a combination might also be seen behind two statements in 1Cor 8:4 saying that “there is no idol in the world” (my trans. *cf.* Deut 5:8) and “there is no God but one” (my trans.; *cf.* Deut 5:7). Thus a discussion of the intertextual relationship between the *Shema* and 1Cor 8:1–6 cannot avoid the question of the First Commandment. Even the Second Commandment might be of relevance in this context. The focus on reuse of texts from the OT leads to a focus on Jewish texts rather than non-Jewish Hellenistic texts or Greek philosophy.

⁵ This monograph uses Josephus’ and Philo’s division of the commandments. This is a matter of convenience, as this division is more specific (*i.e.*: First Commandment Deut 5:7, Second Commandment Deut 5:8–10). For a different division, with Deut 5:7–10 as the Second Commandment, see *e.g.* the upper cantillation of the MT (*cf.* Melammed 1990:214) and *Tg. Ps.-J. Deut 5:6–21* (See further *e.g.* Sarfatti 1990:408).

Chapter 2

History of Research and Methodology

It has been argued that 1Cor 8:1–6 is the earliest NT text testifying to the pre-existence of Christ and His participation in the act of creation.¹ Hahn calls it “The oldest confessional text.”² This text contains reference to themes like knowledge, love, creation, salvation, Christology, idolatry, food sacrificed to idols and monotheism. We have chosen to focus on the relationship between the Christology in 1Cor 8:1–6 and testimonies to the oneness of God in Deuteronomy, primarily the *Shema* and the First Commandment. Due to the phrase “one Lord Jesus Christ” and the apparent parallel between 1Cor 8:6 and the *Shema*, this verse deserves special attention in the discussion:³

... yet for us there is but one God, the Father, from whom all things came and for whom we live, and there is but one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom all things came, and through whom we live (1Cor 8:6).

Several authors have found analogies to this verse in Greek philosophy (e.g. Stoicism). Some have seen the correlation between this passage and the Jewish confession, the *Shema*. However, few have elaborated on the latter observation. The discussion of the relationship between Deut 6:4–5 and 1Cor 8:1–6 will be dealt with elsewhere. At this stage, it is necessary to explore the nature of the problem. It may be argued that there is an intertextual relationship between these texts, meaning that the latter interacts with the former in the discursive space formed by first century Jewish culture.

¹ Pre-existence: Weiß 1910:225, Klauck 1984:62, Rainbow 1987:166. Creation: Allo 1956:201, Schneider 1992:336.

² Hahn 1980, 2:72.

³ In this monograph, the term *parallel* is not used in a restricted sense such as in the discussion of the Synoptic Gospels, but in a general manner about similar elements in different texts, much akin to the term ‘intertext’. Thus the term ‘parallel’ does not necessarily mean genetic influence from a common source.

2.1 Johannes Weiß

The modern discussion of the background of 1Cor 8:1–6 was initiated by Johannes Weiß.⁴ He found a double monotheistic statement in 1Cor 8:4, a positive confession to God's oneness and a negative phrase akin to the First Commandment. He identified parallels between 1Cor 8:4, Mark 12:29–32 and Deut 4:35. He further associates 1Cor 8:4 with Deut 5:7, 6:4–5 and *m. Ber.* 1:1–4.⁵ Apparently, Weiß confines these intertextual links to the relationship between 1Cor 8:4 and its pretexts, isolating 1Cor 8:6 from its innertextual context.⁶ Weiß focuses on the Hellenistic influence in his discussion of 1Cor 8:5–6, interpreting the term κύριοι with reference to the emperor cult or local deities. The description of Christ is seen as a fusion of the Jewish (Palestinian and Hellenistic) concept σοφία, the λόγος concept of Stoic pantheism and the γνῶσις concept of Egyptian Hellenism, possibly transmitted through Philo. Weiß finds it difficult to understand the process that led these half-personal beings to be identified with Jesus. He ends up with two worldviews in 1Cor 8–10: 1) an antique, possibly Jewish view, identifying idols with demons and prohibiting any contact with any form of food sacrificed to idols (1Cor 10:20ff). 2) A Gnostic view (1Cor 8:1, 4), describing idols as nothingness and allowing participation in temple meals. Thus he finds a contrast between Paul's indifference to - and demonization of idols.⁷

2.2 Bousset, Norden and Peterson

Many modern commentators find the following so-called 'formulas' behind 1Cor 8:6:

- 1) κύριος Ἰησοῦς
- 2) ἐξ σοῦ πάντα, ἐν σοὶ πάντα, εἰς σὲ πάντα.
- 3) εἷς θεός

Despite some variation, similar phrases are found in various parts of the letters attributed to Paul, together or apart; however, there is no undisputed

⁴ Some early commentaries are silent about OT pretexts to 1Cor 8:4, 6 (Heinrici 1880:221–229, see also Bousset 1917:110–113). Hofmann describes idols as 'Unding' based on the relationship between Deut 10:17 and 1Cor 8:5 (Hofmann 1864:177, 178 n. 2, see also Burger 1859:110, Meyer 1870:224–227). Wexels, however, draws a parallel between 1Cor 8:4, Deut 6:4, 1Tim 2:5, Isa 42:8, 43:10, and 45:5 (Wexels 1844, 2:104).

⁵ Weiß 1910:219, n. 3.

⁶ The term *innertextual* means the context in the same book or occasionally from the same body of books.

⁷ Weiß 1910:222, 225–227; 212, 219; see also Bousset 1917:111.

consensus about their background. Despite this, some general trends may be detected. Three monographs, written at the beginning of the twentieth century, set the agenda for the modern discussion.⁸ None of these focused on 1Cor 8:6, but rather on the genetic development of the so-called formulas.⁹

2.2.1 *Kyrios Christos*

Bousset's contribution to our topic is his discussion of the phrase: κύριος χριστός.¹⁰ He claims that Paul initiated the use of the term κύριος about Christ. Bousset based his discussion on a division of the early church into a Palestinian *Urgemeinde* and a Hellenistic church.¹¹ He holds the twin confession of God the Father and the Lord Jesus (1Cor 8:6) to be 'thinkable' only in a cultural context without a firm monotheistic basis, namely the Hellenistic church.¹² This conclusion is based on the alleged absence of the divine title 'Lord' in Hebrew and Aramaic parts of Jewish literature and its use in Hellenistic mystery religions and emperor cults.¹³ Bousset found a basic distinction between the vocative κύριε, used as a polite address in early gospel tradition and the title ὁ κύριος. He denies that the title was taken from the LXX and adapted to Jesus. Arguing for a non-theological origin of the term κύριε, he argues that the phrase Χριστὸς κύριος, found in Luke and possibly adapted from an Aramaic source, may have been a mistranslation of 'Yahweh's Messiah'. He further claimed that

⁸ Bousset 1967(1926), Norden 1913 and Peterson 1926. See further Horsley 1978a:130, Probst 1991:132 and Lietzmann 1923:268.

⁹ Hurtado 1979:307.

¹⁰ Note the subtitle of his work: "Geschichte des Christusblaubens von den Anfängen des Christentums bis Irenaeus" (Bousset 1967, orig. 1913). See also the follow-up to this book (*i.e.* Bousset 1916).

¹¹ Bousset 1967:75–78, see also p. VIII and Capes 1992:20). Through Baur, Hegel's distinction between 'thesis, antithesis and synthesis' has influenced the study of the NT. Baur identified the Jewish church as the thesis, the Hellenistic church as the antithesis, and the Catholic Church as the synthesis (Baur 1835:668–740, 1866:49, 270–272 and the outline of Baur's "Vorlesung über neutestamentliche Theologie" [sic.], Baur 1973 [1864], see also Kümmel in Baur 1973:XI, Knuth 1998:228–229, Neill and Wright 1989:23, Hareide *et al.*, 1996:376–378). To some extent, the historical framework of Bousset resembles this (Bousset 1967:75). Today the comparatively firm division between Hellenistic and Palestinian Judaism is questioned (see *e.g.* Hurtado 1979:308–309).

¹² Bousset 1967:100, see also pp. 99, 83.

¹³ Bousset 1967:86, 91–92. "Zu dem edessenischen (*sic.*) כְּרִיִּיָּא und dem christlich-palästinensischen כְּרָא gibt es keine jüdische Parallele" (Dalman 1965:147, quoted with consent by Bousset 1967:83 [with reference to p. 247sic.]).

the phrase *καπάνα θά* (1Cor 16:22, cf. Rev. 22:20) originated in the bilingual church in Antioch.¹⁴

Bousset gives evidence for the use of the *κύριος* title from Egyptian, Syrian and Gnostic religion, and regards Paul's comparison of God with many gods and lords in 1Cor 8:5 as proof for a Hellenistic origin of the confession of Jesus as Lord. Whilst comparing the titles 'god' and 'lord' to each other in the gentile cults, he admits that they were given to the gods in the centre of each cult.¹⁵ According to Bousset, Paul did not believe that Jesus was God, but rather a mediator who depended on God as the church depended on Him (1Cor 3:22–23).¹⁶ Bousset admits that belief in one God was essential in Diaspora Judaism and he denies that 1Cor 8:5–6 was an expansion of the angelic figures described in Jewish literature: "Es handelt sich eben hüben und drüben um eine gewisse Erweichung und Verschleierung des alttestamentlichen Monotheismus."¹⁷ Thus, he described Jesus as '*Halbgott*'.¹⁸

Despite his strong emphasis on the gentile origin of the *κύριος* title, Bousset admits that Paul uses OT quotations about 'Jesus', where the Hebrew original reads 'Yahweh'. He sees this as a natural development, after the title *κύριος* had been fixed to Jesus. However, Bousset still claims that Paul made a difference between the words *θεός* and *κύριος*, thus underlining the difference between the Father and Jesus.¹⁹ Even though he regards the title *ὁ κύριος* to be a fruit of the cult and praxis of the early church, he admits that Paul could find it anywhere in the LXX.

It is significant that Bousset calls 1Cor 8:6 a 'confession', even though he describes the phrase *κύριος Ἰησοῦς* as a cultic or ecstatic outcry, the background of which is sought in exorcisms as described in the gospel narrative. He describes the name of the Lord as "das gewaltige Kultmittel," arguing that this practice led to the acceptance of Jesus as the cult hero of

¹⁴ Bousset 1967:78–79; 82–84, 151; see below p. 426.

¹⁵ Bousset 1967:98–99. About the gentile use of the term *κύριος* Bousset says: "Es lassen sich drei Enklaven für den Gebrauch des Terminus nachweisen: Kleinasien, Ägypten und Syrien" (Bousset 1967:95, see also Capes 1992:10–12). The use of *κύριος* in the translation of LXX is related to its Egyptian background (Bousset 1967:98, see also p. 99).

¹⁶ Bousset 1967:99, 154).

¹⁷ Bousset 1967:101, see also p. 102–103, 150 n. 2.

¹⁸ Bousset 1967:150. Rainbow claims that Bousset interpreted Paul by means of Gnosticism and polytheism leading to a description of levels in the Godhead (Rainbow 1987:7).

¹⁹ Bousset 1967: 102, 98–101, 154. Bousset saw a similar difference between gentile gods and lords, the former being superior to the latter (Bousset 1967:150).

the Hellenistic church.²⁰ Thus Bousset separates the original use of the phrase from its use in 1Cor 8:6.

Based on new archaeological evidence, it may be argued that Bousset's treatment of the κύριος title is open to reconsideration.²¹ Secondly, a discussion of its use in 1Cor 8:5–6, as part of a literary analysis of the whole letter, might lead to greater emphasis on its OT background.

2.2.2 The so-called 'omnipotence formula'

The important matter in Norden's *'Agnostos Theos'* is his focus on the so-called 'omnipotence formula'. It is notable that he focused on form or *Stilgeschichte*.²² He argued that Christian worship and liturgy was dependant on Jewish liturgy, but he found our text to be an exception. In his comments on 1Cor 8:6 and parallels (Rom 11:33ff, Col 1:16f, Eph 4:5f, Heb 2:10), Norden focused on Paul's use of the so-called τὰ πάντα formula. This 'formula' he calls a Stoic doxology.²³ He found no OT parallels to the phrase ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα (Rom 11:36). However, he found clear parallels in Hellenistic writings, especially from Stoic pantheism: "Alles was harmonisch ist, o Welt, das ist es auch mir. Nichts kommt mir zu früh oder zu spät, was dir zeitgemäss erscheint. Alles was deine Jahrläufe bringen, ist mir Frucht, o Natur: ἐξ σοῦ πάντα, ἐν σοὶ πάντα, εἰς σὲ πάντα" (Marcus Aurelius).²⁴ Norden claims that Paul's use of the preposition διὰ is closer to the original Stoic usage.²⁵ He finds the same so-called formula from *die Vorsokratikern* to second century A.D. Christianity, arguing that the original was a threefold formula, which at times was reduced to a double formula (1Cor 8:6).²⁶ Norden admits that the combination of the so-called 'omnipotence formula' and monotheism is

²⁰ With reference to 1Cor 12:1–3 (Bousset 1967:87, see also pp. 89–91, 99, 101–102). Bousset's term 'ecstatic outcry' is similar to Peterson's 'acclamation' (see below p. 10 n. 39).

²¹ See discussion below pp. 424ff.

²² See e.g. Norden 1913:141ff, 223, etc. "Sein Werk 'Agnostos Theos' war eine Vorarbeit zur formgeschichtlichen Methode" (Verheule 1973:290, n. 1; see also Neill and Wright 1989:257, n. 1).

²³ Norden 1913:240. He describes 1Cor 8:6 and Col 1:16 as "zwei die knappe Formel paraphrasierende Varianten" (Norden 1913:241). Thus he describes them as paraphrases of doxologies.

²⁴ Norden 1913:240–241, see also p. 246, Bousset 1917:112, Barrett 1976b:193 and Kramer 1966:97. [Somewhat similar texts are found in 2Esdr LXX 19:6 (Nehemiah 9:6), Judith 8:14; cf. Lev 25:23, Sib. Or. 3:20, 2Macc 1:24, Sir 24:8, Wis 12:13, Philo Spec. 1:14].

²⁵ "... der schon erwähnten ... überaus verbreiteten stoischen Etymologie Δία δὲ αὐτὸν λέγουσιν, ὅτι πάντων ἐστὶν αἴτιος καὶ δι' αὐτὸν πάντα (so Chrysippos bei Stob. ecl. I 1,26)" (Norden 1913:242).

²⁶ Norden 1913 244–250.

Jewish but he finds proof for the combination of the τὰ πάντα phrase and confessions to the oneness of ‘the all’ in the early Greek philosophers like Heraclitus, in a form of pantheism or monism describable by the phrase: “unum esse omnia.”²⁷ Most of his examples use the term μόνος, sometimes in combination with εἷς. Through Hellenistic Judaism, Norden links the Greek use of the τὰ πάντα phrase with the Christian. He underlines the linguistic parallel between the Sibylline ὁρῶν μόνος αὐτὸς ἅπαντα (*Sib. Or.* 5:11f [*sic.*, probably 3:11f]) and, as he says: “der Zeusenkommion des Aristeides angeführten αὐτὸς ἅν μόνος (εἰπῶν) und τέλειον μόνον αὐτὸν ὄντα τῶν πάντων.”²⁸ He concludes that the so-called Stoic “τὰ πάντα Formula” was a syncretistic element in Paul’s letters.²⁹ However, the implications of this conclusion for the interpretation of 1Cor 8:6 are more or less left to the readers of his monograph.

2.2.3 Peterson

Peterson’s book “ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ” is the latest and for our issue the most important of these three monographs. It is partly dependent on its predecessors.³⁰ Peterson’s discussion of the phrase εἷς θεός is first and foremost an investigation of Christian epigraphic literature and liturgy. Hence most of his material is late.³¹ Despite his division of liturgies into acclamations, confessions and exorcisms, his focus is on acclamations.³² The methodology has much in common with the *religionsgeschichtliche Methode*.³³ Additionally the issue of *form* plays an important part in his discussion of the ‘one God’ phrase.³⁴

2.2.3.1 The Content of ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ

To begin with, Peterson describes the occurrences of the ‘one God’ formula on graves and houses, at times over entrances, on amulets and other small artefacts like seals and rings. He argues that this has to do with the

²⁷ Norden 1913:247, quoted from Cicero *Acad.* 2:118.

²⁸ Norden 1913:245. Other such parallels are found in *Sib. Or.* 5:497ff and Sir 43:27, see Norden 1913:244–49.

²⁹ Norden 1913:250.

³⁰ So Nichtweiß 1992:274. See e.g. Peterson 1926:134, 139, 305 n.1, and 131 n.2.

³¹ So Rainbow 1987:33, Nichtweiß 1992:286; see also Capes 1992:23. Examples of the late date is item number 48) εἷς θεός ΧΜΓ μόνος (378 A.D.) and the Muslim texts (see e.g. Peterson 1926:154). Peterson discusses whether the term ΧΜΓ is a transcription of ܡܬܐ, but dismisses it (1926:16–17). For more examples, see Peterson 1926:1–129, 130–140.

³² See Fellechner and Gertges 1978:85.

³³ See Nichtweiß 1992:287 (see also pp. 261ff, 286 and Anglet 1995:119).

³⁴ Note the subtitle of his book: “Epigraphische, formgeschichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen” (Peterson 1926, see also Nichtweiß 1992:274).

protective use of the formula.³⁵ He fails to ask whether there is a relationship between amulets and phylacteries, or between house inscriptions and *mezuzot*. The material presented by Peterson includes many texts with combined reference to Father, Son and Holy Spirit.³⁶ The combination of 'εἰς θεός' and 'μόνος ...' is quite common in his material.³⁷

The second and third part of the monograph underlines Peterson's emphasis on formcriticism. He argues that the εἰς θεός acclamation was imported from paganism to Judaism,³⁸ thus being incorporated into Jewish and Christian liturgy, but still in the form of acclamations. An acclamation is defined as an enthusiastic cry of a multitude, sometimes with legal implications; hence, it was often written down. Peterson describes such acclamations as expressions of *consensus populi*.³⁹ He maintains that it was such relatively spontaneous acclamations, rather than Jewish confessions of the oneness of the Lord, that influenced Christian liturgy.⁴⁰ However, with reference to ecumenical councils he speaks of prepared acclamations (or confessions), playing down the difference.⁴¹ This concession gets little attention in his discussion, as his main emphasis is on the spontaneous and ecstatic elements; but many of the texts he reviewed were formulaic rather than spontaneous.⁴²

In the following parts, Peterson argues that the acclamations are closely connected with an instant reaction to a miracle. However, many of his examples to this effect are martyr stories. This is interesting, as the Jewish use of the *Shema* in martyr stories is well known.⁴³ Peterson admits that

³⁵ Peterson 1926:1–29, 47, 81–129; see also Nichtweiß 1992:283.

³⁶ Peterson 1926:1ff; e.g. the Syrian examples no. 1, 2, 6–8, 11–18, 20–22, etc.

³⁷ See e.g. Εἰς θεόν κ[ύριον] ὁ μόνος (Peterson 1926:29).

³⁸ Peterson 1926:216.

³⁹ Peterson 1926:147, see also pp. 130–141, 145 and Nichtweiß 1992:283. According to Peterson, acclamations with juridical implications are found in the West from the time of the emperors, but in Asia they were earlier. They might be seen as divinely inspired, but sometimes they function purely as literary features. Peterson differentiates between inscriptions using εἰς θεός and liturgies using εἰς ἅγιος, εἰς κύριος. About the latter he adds: "Es ist der Ruf, mit dem der Gott bei seiner Epiphanie begrüßt wurde" (Peterson 1926:140, cf. pp. 138, 142–143 and 222).

⁴⁰ Peterson 1926:136, 142. This is strange since the *Shema* was important in Jewish liturgy (see below chap. 4.2.3, p. 132). The discontinuity between Jewish and Christian liturgy is based on order of words (see Peterson 1926:135).

⁴¹ "der im begrifflichen Sinne verstandenen biblischen Glaubensformel" (Peterson 1926:151; see also p. 149).

⁴² Rainbow found only one acclamation (1King 18:39 [number 14]) (Rainbow 1987:51).

⁴³ See below pp. 149, 151, 183, 292 and 311; see also p. 14 n. 66, p. 42 n. 219, p. 182, n. 261, p. 226 n. 93, p. 311 n. 233 and p. 312 n. 235. "Besonders zahlreich sind die Akklamationen in dem Martyrium des Matthaeus (Acta apost. apocr. II 1)" (Peterson 1926:184; with reference to the popular outcry: Εἰς θεός ὁ τῶν χριστιανῶν).

Indexes of Texts and Literature

Index of sources

Old Testament

Gen 1–2 416
Gen 1–5 55
Gen 1–9 55
Gen 12:1 376
Gen 1:3 160
Gen 1:6 160
Gen 1:9 160
Gen 1:14 160
Gen 1:20 160
Gen 1:24 160
Gen 1:26 157, 175
Gen 1:26–27 379
Gen 1:27 191
Gen 1:30–2:1 415
Gen 1:31 157, 415
Gen 2:1 157, 370, 415
Gen 2:4 415
Gen 2:7 52, 54–55
Gen 2:15 424
Gen 2:16–17 424
Gen 2:18 83
Gen 2:18–24 112
Gen 2:24 52, 54, 56, 58–59, 70, 254,
291, 421
Gen 3:23 424
Gen 4:1 168, 417
Gen 7:9 191
Gen 11:1 104
Gen 11:6 104
Gen 12:1–5 168
Gen 12:3 246, 249
Gen 12:7 168, 246
Gen 12:10 168
Gen 13:3–4 426
Gen 13:4 426
Gen 13:15 246
Gen 14:18 165
Gen 15:2 426

Gen 15:5 246
Gen 15:6 246
Gen 16:10 419
Gen 16:12 419
Gen 16:13 419
Gen 19:9 104
Gen 21:17 419
Gen 21:19 419
Gen 22:2 92, 104
Gen 22:11 419
Gen 22:12 92
Gen 22:16 92, 104
Gen 22:17 150
Gen 24:7 246
Gen 27:38 104
Gen 31:35 362
Gen 32:30 351, 419
Gen 32:31 351
Gen 33:10 351
Gen 34 140–141
Gen 37:2 57
Gen 37:10 234
Gen 47:25 141
Gen 48:15–16 419
Gen 49:2 106
Gen 49:17–18 161

Exod 2:5 89
Exod 2:24–25 141
Exod 3:8 215
Exod 3:6 285
Exod 3:14 162, 234
Exod 4:11 89
Exod 5:3 80
Exod 5:5 80
Exod 6:7 109
Exod 8:6 219
Exod 9:29 55
Exod 10:2 141

- Exod 11:5 140
Exod 12–14 55
Exod 12:3–20 70
Exod 12:8–13:7 57
Exod 12:19 58
Exod 12:20 58
Exod 12:20–21 70
Exod 12:21 58, 70
Exod 12:23 67
Exod 12:29 140
Exod 12:37 82
Exod 12:43–13:16 126
Exod 12:46 104
Exod 13–17 55
Exod 13:1–10 125
Exod 13:3 69
Exod 13:5 99
Exod 13:7 70
Exod 13:9 99
Exod 13:9–10 127
Exod 13:11–16 125
Exod 13:16 69, 99, 127
Exod 13:21–22 63, 70
Exod 14:21–22 64
Exod 14:22–29 63, 70
Exod 14:31 110
Exod 15 141
Exod 15:1 141
Exod 15:1–19 140
Exod 15:3 141
Exod 15:9 140
Exod 15:21 161
Exod 16 141, 233
Exod 16–17 64
Exod 16:1–35 64
Exod 16:4 64, 70
Exod 16:7 66
Exod 16:12 64
Exod 16:23 67
Exod 16:35 70
Exod 17 119
Exod 17:1–7 63, 66, 141
Exod 17:2 67
Exod 17:6 64, 429
Exod 18 58
Exod 19 119
Exod 19:5 55
Exod 19:16 119
Exod 19:19 119, 143
Exod 20:2 79, 81, 89, 91, 119, 128, 164
Exod 20:2–3 82, 85, 128
Exod 20:2–6 360
Exod 20:2–17 78, 126
Exod 20:3 81, 128, 136, 140, 163, 170, 383–384, 386
Exod 20:4 95, 293, 362, 375, 387
Exod 20:5 68, 89, 91, 96, 142, 197
Exod 20:7 123, 220
Exod 20:10 376
Exod 20:11 97, 110, 121, 376
Exod 20:12 111, 150, 187, 254
Exod 20:13–17 247
Exod 20:17 246
Exod 20:22–24 143
Exod 20:25 177
Exod 20:26 177
Exod 21:12 78
Exod 21:15–17 78
Exod 22:19 92, 106
Exod 22:20 81
Exod 22:26 103
Exod 22:28 177
Exod 23 55, 233
Exod 23:13 81
Exod 23:23–24 81
Exod 24:5ff 76
Exod 24:7 142
Exod 24:18 210
Exod 25:8 57
Exod 26:33 378
Exod 29:45 57
Exod 29:46 164
Exod 32:1 367
Exod 32:4 367
Exod 32:5 94, 337, 367
Exod 32:5–6 366
Exod 32:6 52, 54, 65, 70, 78, 98, 365, 367
Exod 32:8 80
Exod 32:25 167
Exod 34:6–7 96
Exod 34:14 81, 96, 98, 142, 382–383
Exod 34:14–16 382
Exod 34:15 299, 382
Exod 34:15–16 113, 115
Exod 34:17 382
Exod 34:28 77, 210
Exod 34:30 107
Exod 37:22 104
Lev 4:2 352
Lev 5:17 352

- Lev 6:16 62, 70
 Lev 6:26 62, 70
 Lev 7:6 62, 70
 Lev 7:15 70
 Lev 7:31–34 62
 Lev 7:35–36 62
 Lev 11:4 70
 Lev 18:5 246
 Lev 18:8 70
 Lev 18:13 191
 Lev 18:31 70
 Lev 19 217
 Lev 19:11–19 198
 Lev 19:12 198
 Lev 19:13–18 78
 Lev 19:14 198
 Lev 19:16 198, 243
 Lev 19:17 191
 Lev 19:18 28, 74, 115, 164, 191, 194,
 196, 198–199, 216–218, 220–223,
 228–229, 237–238, 240, 242–243,
 247, 260, 308–310, 344
 Lev 19:25 163–164
 Lev 19:28 198
 Lev 19:30 198
 Lev 19:31 198
 Lev 19:32 198
 Lev 19:34 115, 194, 198, 222
 Lev 20:2–5 113
 Lev 20:11 57, 70
 Lev 22:31–33 79
 Lev 23:28 191
 Lev 24:16 177
 Lev 25:23 8, 167–168
 Lev 26:12 115

 Num 5:14 96
 Num 6:24–26 185, 427
 Num 6:26 427
 Num 11 67, 141
 Num 11–25 55
 Num 11:1 66
 Num 11:1–3 66
 Num 11:3 65
 Num 11:4 65
 Num 11:28 333
 Num 11:31 65
 Num 11:33 67
 Num 11:34 65, 70
 Num 12:6–8 351
 Num 13:25 66

 Num 14 141, 210
 Num 14:16 70
 Num 14:22 66
 Num 14:23 70
 Num 14:26–33
 Num 14:27 66
 Num 14:29 65–66, 70
 Num 14:30 70
 Num 14:32 65
 Num 14:34 210
 Num 14:36 66, 70
 Num 14:37 67
 Num 15:14 115
 Num 15:37–41 129–130
 Num 15:41 69
 Num 16:5 236, 258
 Num 16:31 66
 Num 16:41–49 70
 Num 16:41–50 66
 Num 16:46–49 67
 Num 17:5 66
 Num 17:6–5 66
 Num 17:6–10 108
 Num 18:8 62
 Num 20:2–13 141
 Num 20:5–6 64
 Num 20:8–10 64
 Num 21 66
 Num 21:5–6 70, 429, 437
 Num 21:5–9 66
 Num 21:18 191
 Num 24:1–16 347
 Num 24:13
 Num 25 26, 201
 Num 25:1 66
 Num 25:1–5 66, 83
 Num 25:1–9 60, 66, 70
 Num 25:1–16 347
 Num 25:10–13 113
 Num 25:11–13 142
 Num 30:7–9 189, 191, 287
 Num 30:17 191
 Num 31:16 66
 Num 31:49 110
 Num 32:25 110

 Deut 1 58
 Deut 1–3 105
 Deut 1–4 77
 Deut 1–6 101
 Deut 1–7 397

- Deut 1–11 70
 Deut 1–12 68
 Deut 1:1–5 76
 Deut 1:6 79, 99
 Deut 1:8 59, 150
 Deut 1:9 59, 70
 Deut 1:9–18 56, 59
 Deut 1:12–15 59, 70
 Deut 1:15 59
 Deut 1:16 51, 56, 58–59, 70
 Deut 1:19 99
 Deut 1:20 99
 Deut 1:21 59
 Deut 1:25 99
 Deut 1:26 59, 70
 Deut 1:26–31 103
 Deut 1:33 63
 Deut 1:35 215
 Deut 1:35–39 59
 Deut 1:41 99
 Deut 2:29 99
 Deut 2:36 99
 Deut 2:37 99
 Deut 2:39 192
 Deut 3:3 99
 Deut 3:24 95, 376
 Deut 4 77, 81, 83–84, 98, 105, 120, 142
 Deut 4–5 164
 Deut 4–6 55, 98, 109–110, 114, 120–121
 Deut 4–10 442
 Deut 4–12 441
 Deut 4:1 78, 83–84, 99
 Deut 4:1–13:18 78
 Deut 4:1–40 105
 Deut 4:2 66, 128, 147
 Deut 4:3 70, 83, 117
 Deut 4:3–4 67, 78
 Deut 4:5 83
 Deut 4:6 83, 158, 419
 Deut 4:6–8 83
 Deut 4:7 99
 Deut 4:7–8 246
 Deut 4:8 83
 Deut 4:9–10 109, 121
 Deut 4:9–31 84
 Deut 4:12 84
 Deut 4:13 76–77, 84
 Deut 4:14 83, 110
 Deut 4:15–19 78, 83, 274, 359
 Deut 4:15–24 375
 Deut 4:16 95, 293, 363
 Deut 4:16ff 94
 Deut 4:16–18 375
 Deut 4:16–19 84
 Deut 4:16–20 84
 Deut 4:17 375
 Deut 4:17–19 95, 121
 Deut 4:18 375
 Deut 4:19 82, 94–95, 165, 338, 359, 363, 370, 372, 375
 Deut 4:19–20 78, 94
 Deut 4:20 56
 Deut 4:21 215
 Deut 4:22 78, 215
 Deut 4:23 78, 95–96, 293
 Deut 4:23–24 76, 96
 Deut 4:24 84, 86, 96–98, 115, 121
 Deut 4:25 78, 95, 293
 Deut 4:25–26 95
 Deut 4:26 78, 121
 Deut 4:26ff 177
 Deut 4:28 78, 82, 93, 116, 369, 374–375, 379
 Deut 4:28–30 192
 Deut 4:29 115, 186, 193
 Deut 4:31 113, 116
 Deut 4:32 97, 110, 136
 Deut 4:32–34 84
 Deut 4:32–39 82
 Deut 4:34 78, 97, 109, 141
 Deut 4:34–35 78
 Deut 4:35 5, 27, 70, 79, 81–82, 84, 87–88, 90, 92, 105–106, 144–145, 219, 348, 354, 384, 386, 401
 Deut 4:35–36 95
 Deut 4:37 97, 110, 121, 226
 Deut 4:38 78
 Deut 4:38–40 110
 Deut 4:39 12, 70, 78–79, 81–83, 87, 90, 95, 98, 105, 121, 136, 161, 163, 165, 219, 348, 354, 375–376, 386, 400
 Deut 4:40 78, 83–84, 109, 121, 150
 Deut 4:44–49 76–77
 Deut 4:44–5:1 76
 Deut 4:45 73, 77, 98, 170
 Deut 5 105, 309
 Deut 5–6 28, 74, 114, 118, 120, 129, 153, 218, 224, 313, 396, 409, 439
 Deut 5–8 261
 Deut 5–10 127
 Deut 5–11 77, 216

- Deut 5–26 76
 Deut 5–28 77, 105
 Deut 5:1 78, 83–84, 99, 102, 106, 110, 121
 Deut 5:1–2 99
 Deut 5:1–5 77
 Deut 5:1–6:5 126
 Deut 5:1–6:9 126, 383
 Deut 5:1–11:32 76
 Deut 5:2 79, 99, 102
 Deut 5:2–3 78, 121
 Deut 5:3 78, 80, 109, 397
 Deut 5:4 351
 Deut 5:5 80, 249
 Deut 5:5–6 82
 Deut 5:5–7 103
 Deut 5:6 78–79, 81, 84, 89, 91, 97–99, 110, 116, 119, 121, 139, 192
 Deut 5:6–7 82, 85, 88–89, 91, 119
 Deut 5:6–10 136
 Deut 5:6–21 78, 126
 Deut 5:7 3, 5, 26, 28, 47, 49–50, 70, 80–82, 84, 90, 98–99, 113, 116–119, 121, 123–124, 126, 132, 134–136, 143–144, 154, 159, 165, 168–170, 175, 202, 212, 263, 313, 359, 362, 375, 383, 385–387, 442
 Deut 5:7–8 110, 440
 Deut 5:7ff 105, 204
 Deut 5:7–9 78, 80
 Deut 5:7–10 2–3, 104, 315, 362, 439–441
 Deut 5:7–16 309
 Deut 5:7–21 247
 Deut 5:8 3, 49, 65, 70, 80, 83, 90–91, 95–96, 98, 110, 115–116, 121, 212, 292–293, 359, 361–363, 372, 375, 377, 386–387
 Deut 5:8–9 84, 121, 142, 170
 Deut 5:8–10 3, 94, 137
 Deut 5:9 68, 80, 86, 89, 91–92, 96–98, 111, 118–119, 121, 142, 153, 164, 197, 203
 Deut 5:9f 78, 109, 121, 313
 Deut 5:10 49–50, 67, 70, 96, 98, 115, 308, 310, 314–316, 362
 Deut 5:11 116, 212
 Deut 5:12 191, 200, 287
 Deut 5:15 78, 97, 109, 110, 141, 234
 Deut 5:16 78, 99, 110–111, 121, 150, 187, 254
 Deut 5:16–20 228
 Deut 5:17–18 242, 344
 Deut 5:17–21 309
 Deut 5:21 228, 246
 Deut 5:24 99
 Deut 5:25 99
 Deut 5:26 117
 Deut 5:27 99
 Deut 5:29 109, 125
 Deut 5:31 353
 Deut 5:33 121
 Deut 6 98, 120, 125, 230
 Deut 6–8 69, 210, 213, 261
 Deut 6–9 69
 Deut 6–10 64
 Deut 6:1 77
 Deut 6:1–3 78, 121
 Deut 6:2 73
 Deut 6:3 68, 99, 106, 110
 Deut 6:4 5, 12–13, 19, 24, 26–29, 33, 47, 49, 70, 78, 84, 98–102, 104–106, 108, 114–115, 119, 121, 126, 128, 130–132, 143–144, 147, 150, 154, 157, 159, 162–165, 167, 170, 174, 177, 179, 202, 205, 211, 217, 219, 224, 226–228, 234, 237, 240–241, 243, 245–246, 250–251, 254, 258, 262–263, 311, 359–360, 382, 385, 387, 389, 397, 399–402, 406, 421, 423, 427, 431–433, 442
 Deut 6:4–5 2, 4–5, 25, 29–31, 49–50, 77, 103, 105, 108, 112, 114, 120, 123–126, 154, 185, 190, 202, 209, 215, 217–218, 223–224, 226, 229, 231, 233–234, 259–260, 377, 439–441
 Deut 6:4ff 201, 204, 223
 Deut 6:4–9 125, 129–130, 136
 Deut 6:4–15 360
 Deut 6:4–25 105
 Deut 6:5 13, 28, 50, 61, 70, 73, 74, 87, 96, 98–99, 102, 109, 114–116, 121, 131, 133, 152, 154, 178, 181–185–195, 197, 199, 201–202, 204–205, 208–212, 214–215, 217, 220, 222, 227, 230, 237, 240, 243, 246, 263, 308, 310–311, 316, 318, 321, 353, 356, 362, 377, 433, 435
 Deut 6:6 125
 Deut 6:6–7 121
 Deut 6:6ff 128

Deut 6:6–8 77
 Deut 6:6–9 121, 125, 127–128
 Deut 6:7 72, 99, 109, 127–128, 141,
 187, 189
 Deut 6:7f 78
 Deut 6:8–9 127, 177
 Deut 6:9 99
 Deut 6:10–11 78, 121, 150
 Deut 6:10ff 212
 Deut 6:10–12 78, 110
 Deut 6:12 98, 116, 121
 Deut 6:12–13 78
 Deut 6:12–15 84, 116
 Deut 6:13 98, 114, 116, 210, 212–213,
 215–216
 Deut 6:13–14 69
 Deut 6:13–15 117–118
 Deut 6:13–16 78
 Deut 6:14 81, 96–98, 104, 110, 114,
 117–118, 121
 Deut 6:14–15 68, 97
 Deut 6:15 96–98, 110, 115, 117, 121,
 141, 213
 Deut 6:16 27, 64, 66, 69–70, 86, 117,
 121, 141, 146, 209–213, 215, 429,
 431, 437
 Deut 6:17 98, 121
 Deut 6:17–25 118
 Deut 6:18 60, 99, 150, 215
 Deut 6:20 79, 99
 Deut 6:21 121
 Deut 6:21–23 78, 121
 Deut 6:23 121
 Deut 6:24 79, 99, 114
 Deut 6:24–25 99
 Deut 6:25 79
 Deut 7–8 55
 Deut 7:1–4 174
 Deut 7:2–3 111, 115
 Deut 7:3 111–112, 113
 Deut 7:3–4 233, 393
 Deut 7:3–5 111
 Deut 7:3–6 111
 Deut 7:4 81, 109, 113, 118
 Deut 7:4–5 78
 Deut 7:8 191
 Deut 7:8–9 79
 Deut 7:9 52, 67, 70, 87, 90, 102–103,
 115, 191
 Deut 7:16 81
 Deut 7:18 127

Deut 7:21 97
 Deut 7:25 65, 177, 293
 Deut 7:25–26 78, 111
 Deut 8 211, 230
 Deut 8:1–3
 Deut 8:1–5 210
 Deut 8:1–20 105
 Deut 8:2 117, 210, 348
 Deut 8:2–3 210
 Deut 8:3 64, 69–70, 138, 209–210, 212,
 215
 Deut 8:5 211, 421
 Deut 8:7 215
 Deut 8:10–20 79
 Deut 8:11 78, 212
 Deut 8:11–19 84
 Deut 8:14 212
 Deut 8:15 64, 66, 70
 Deut 8:15–16 64, 70
 Deut 8:16 64, 117
 Deut 8:17 212, 321
 Deut 8:17–18 121
 Deut 8:17–20 68, 321
 Deut 8:18 113, 321
 Deut 8:19 81, 117–118, 321
 Deut 8:19–20 78, 321
 Deut 9–10 78
 Deut 9:1 106
 Deut 9:3–5 67
 Deut 9:5 150, 191
 Deut 9:6 215
 Deut 9:7 78
 Deut 9:8 67
 Deut 9:8–23 67
 Deut 9:9 210
 Deut 9:9–11 76
 Deut 9:12 78
 Deut 9:13–17 65
 Deut 9:14 67
 Deut 9:16 78, 212
 Deut 9:18 144, 210
 Deut 9:18–24 121
 Deut 9:19 67
 Deut 9:21 144
 Deut 9:20 67
 Deut 9:22 64–67, 429
 Deut 9:22–23 67, 70
 Deut 9:23 65–66, 70, 191
 Deut 9:24 348
 Deut 9:25–26 67
 Deut 9:26 143–144

- Deut 9:27 144
 Deut 9:29 143
 Deut 10 377–378
 Deut 10:8 333
 Deut 10:12 73, 115–116, 186, 377
 Deut 10:12–13 187
 Deut 10:12–17 377
 Deut 10:12–11:17 105
 Deut 10:12–11:21 126, 261
 Deut 10:13 116
 Deut 10:14 55, 375, 377
 Deut 10:15–18 115
 Deut 10:16 246
 Deut 10:17 5, 22, 24, 90, 105, 121, 136, 144, 165, 246, 258, 377–378
 Deut 10:18 377
 Deut 10:21 127
 Deut 10:22 377
 Deut 11 230
 Deut 11:1 115, 194, 222
 Deut 11:4 63–64, 77
 Deut 11:6 66
 Deut 11:10 69
 Deut 11:13 73, 99, 115–116, 186
 Deut 11:13–21 118, 125, 129–130, 215, 222, 261
 Deut 11:14 214–215
 Deut 11:14–16 222
 Deut 11:16 81, 118
 Deut 11:16–17 68, 321
 Deut 11:17 214–215, 222
 Deut 11:18 146, 177, 222
 Deut 11:18ff 128
 Deut 11:18–20 77, 127
 Deut 11:18–22 73, 127
 Deut 11:19–20 99, 177
 Deut 11:19–21 121
 Deut 11:20 177
 Deut 11:20–28 95
 Deut 11:21 222
 Deut 11:22 115
 Deut 11:28 78, 81, 117–118
 Deut 12–26 77, 193
 Deut 12:1 77, 83
 Deut 12:1–14 187
 Deut 12:1–26:16 76
 Deut 12:2f 177
 Deut 12:2ff 212
 Deut 12:2–5 78
 Deut 12:2–13:19 57, 77
 Deut 12:3 293
 Deut 12:5 177
 Deut 12:25 60, 150
 Deut 12:28 60, 150
 Deut 12:30–31 78
 Deut 12:32 128, 147
 Deut 13:1–5 78
 Deut 13:1–6 193
 Deut 13:2 78
 Deut 13:2–3 116
 Deut 13:2ff 211–212
 Deut 13:3 81, 117–118
 Deut 13:4 115–117, 186
 Deut 13:4–5 73
 Deut 13:5 57, 70
 Deut 13:6–7 78
 Deut 13:6–11 78
 Deut 13:7 81, 118
 Deut 13:12ff 193
 Deut 13:13 78
 Deut 13:14 81, 115–116, 118, 141
 Deut 13:17 59
 Deut 14:1–21 77
 Deut 14:22 66
 Deut 14:22ff 177
 Deut 14:22–16:17 77
 Deut 16–27 55
 Deut 16:2 58
 Deut 16:2–3 70
 Deut 16:3 70
 Deut 16:3–16 57–58
 Deut 16:4 56
 Deut 16:5 58
 Deut 16:6 58, 187
 Deut 16:18–18:22 77
 Deut 17–24 56
 Deut 17:2 76
 Deut 17:3 81, 370
 Deut 17:3–7 57
 Deut 17:6 104
 Deut 17:7 51, 54–57, 70
 Deut 17:12 57, 70, 333
 Deut 17:16–17 174
 Deut 17:17 191
 Deut 18:1–2 62
 Deut 18:1–3 70
 Deut 18:3–8 62
 Deut 18:5 333
 Deut 18:7 333
 Deut 18:20 81, 118
 Deut 19:1–21:23 77
 Deut 19:9 115

Deut 19:12 116
Deut 19:15 104
Deut 19:18–19 57
Deut 19:19 57, 70
Deut 20:1 161
Deut 20:3 106
Deut 20:5–15 62
Deut 20:6 61–62, 70
Deut 20:6–7 62
Deut 20:17 400
Deut 21:9 60
Deut 21:14 167
Deut 21:20 57
Deut 21:21 57, 70
Deut 21:22f 177
Deut 21:23 246
Deut 22–23 58
Deut 22:1–12 77
Deut 22:7 150
Deut 22:11 177
Deut 22:13–23:14 77
Deut 22:21 57–58, 70
Deut 22:22 57, 70
Deut 22:24 57–58, 70, 191
Deut 22:30 56, 58, 70
Deut 23:1 56–57
Deut 23:1–8 56, 58
Deut 23:2 60
Deut 23:2–9 56
Deut 23:3–4 165
Deut 23:15–25 77
Deut 23:17 60
Deut 23:17–18 56
Deut 23:18 60, 177
Deut 23:24 61, 189
Deut 23:25 61
Deut 24:1 61
Deut 24:1–4 56
Deut 24:5 61
Deut 24:5 52
Deut 24:6–7 77
Deut 24:7 57, 70
Deut 24:8 77
Deut 24:8–25:4 77
Deut 24:19–22 77
Deut 24:21 61
Deut 25:1 56, 59
Deut 25:1–3 61
Deut 25:1–15 113
Deut 25:4 54, 59, 61, 70, 258
Deut 25:5 77

Deut 25:5ff 61
Deut 25:5–16 77
Deut 25:17 77
Deut 25:19–20 95
Deut 26:11–12 62
Deut 26:12 62
Deut 26:16 83, 115–116, 186
Deut 27:9 106
Deut 27:15 95
Deut 27:15ff 78
Deut 27:20 56–57, 70
Deut 27:26 246
Deut 28:12–14 95
Deut 28:14 81, 117–118
Deut 28:17 363
Deut 28:21 110
Deut 28:23 95
Deut 28:26 95
Deut 28:36 81, 118
Deut 28:64 81, 118
Deut 28:69–29:1 76
Deut 29ff 105
Deut 29:14 99
Deut 29:16 361
Deut 29:17 99
Deut 29:19 246
Deut 29:25 81, 118, 338
Deut 29:25–28 116
Deut 29:28 99
Deut 30 230
Deut 30:2 115–116, 177, 183, 186, 193
Deut 30:2–3 191
Deut 30:6 115, 186, 246
Deut 30:8 116, 246
Deut 30:10 115–116, 186
Deut 30:11–14 37
Deut 30:12–14 246–247
Deut 30:16 115, 187
Deut 30:17 118
Deut 30:17–20 95
Deut 30:20 115
Deut 31:9 177
Deut 31:10 177
Deut 31:13 121
Deut 31:15 63
Deut 31:16 113
Deut 31:18 113, 118
Deut 31:20 118, 212
Deut 31:28–29 95

- Deut 32:24, 26–28, 55, 64, 66–70, 81,
 86–87, 90, 96, 106, 133, 153, 295,
 366, 431, 441–442, 444
 Deut 32:4 1, 52, 63, 67, 70, 71, 87, 97,
 146
 Deut 32:1 84, 86, 95
 Deut 32:1–33 126
 Deut 32:4 86, 90
 Deut 32:4ff 121
 Deut 32:4–6 111
 Deut 32:6 86, 111–112, 122, 193, 405–
 406
 Deut 32:12 81–82, 84–85, 111, 113,
 150–151, 405
 Deut 32:13 421
 Deut 32:14 366
 Deut 32:14–20 126
 Deut 32:15 63, 66, 71, 86
 Deut 32:15ff 212
 Deut 32:15–27 365
 Deut 32:16 68, 70, 86, 111
 Deut 32:17 64, 68, 70, 86, 212, 295,
 337–338, 349, 365–366, 379
 Deut 32:17–18 68
 Deut 32:17–21 27, 68
 Deut 32:18 63, 71, 86–87, 444
 Deut 32:19 321
 Deut 32:21 24, 26, 68, 70, 86, 296, 349,
 361–362, 366, 379, 429, 437
 Deut 32:26 402
 Deut 32:27 24
 Deut 32:30 63
 Deut 32:30–31 63, 86
 Deut 32:31 63–64, 85–86, 379
 Deut 32:32–33 126
 Deut 32:33 189, 191
 Deut 32:36 86, 149
 Deut 32:36–38 68, 321
 Deut 32:37 63–64, 86
 Deut 32:37–38 296, 365
 Deut 32:37–39 405
 Deut 32:38 366
 Deut 32:39 27, 81–82, 84–85, 87, 106,
 136, 140, 154, 242, 359, 366, 379,
 386
 Deut 32:51 65, 70
 Deut 33:1–2 76
 Deut 33:4 142, 419
 Deut 33:8 66
 Deut 33:8–10 113
 Deut 33:8–11 141
 Deut 33:9–10 110
 Deut 33:26 82
 Deut 34:1–4 211
 Deut 34:5 110
 Deut 34:10 350
 Josh 1:1 110
 Josh 1:2 110
 Josh 1:7 110
 Josh 1:13 110
 Josh 1:15 110
 Josh 2:10–11 375
 Josh 2:11 83, 376
 Josh 8:31 110
 Josh 8:33 110
 Josh 9:24 110
 Josh 11:12 110
 Josh 11:15 110
 Josh 12:6 110
 Josh 13:8 110
 Josh 14:7 110
 Josh 18:7 110
 Josh 22:2 110
 Josh 22:4 110
 Josh 22:5 110, 115–116, 186
 Josh 23:10 104
 Josh 23:14 115
 Josh 23:14–15 116
 Josh 23:16 116, 215
 Josh 24:2 168
 Josh 24:16–17 79
 Josh 24:17–18 79
 Josh 24:19 115
 Josh 24:19–20 68
 Josh 32:9–12 79
 Judg 5 140
 Judg 5:4–5 140
 Judg 6:8–10 92, 119
 Judg 6:22 351
 Judg 11:3 215
 Judg 11:5 215
 Judg 13:12 419
 Judg 17:3 95
 Judg 17:4 95
 Judg 18:14 95
 1Sam 2:1–10 86
 1Sam 2:2 63, 86–88, 121
 1Sam 2:3 92
 1Sam 2:6 87

- 1Sam 2:10 87
 1Sam 2:12 239, 348
 1Sam 7:3 93, 115–116
 1Sam 7:3–4 83
 1Sam 7:4 93, 106
 1Sam 12:20 115
 1Sam 12:21 116
 1Sam 12:24 115
 1Sam 15:2 221
 1Sam 15:22 221
 1Sam 22:22 115
 1Sam 25:26 191
 1Sam 25:27 333

 2Sam 7:18–29 86
 2Sam 7:22 85–88, 109, 140, 145
 2Sam 7:23 87
 2Sam 7:24 109
 2Sam 22:32 136

 1King(1Reg) 2:2 56
 1King 2:3 116
 1King 2:4 115, 186
 1King(1Reg) 2:10 56
 1King 4:19 103
 1King 8:9 87
 1King 8:10–13 87
 1King 8:16 87
 1King 8:23 83, 86–88, 376
 1King 8:23ff 375
 1King 8:23–53 86
 1King 8:39 93
 1King 8:48 115–116, 186, 191
 1King 8:51 116
 1King 8:53 110
 1King 8:56 110, 146
 1King 8:56–61 87
 1King 8:60 87–88, 219
 1(3)King 11:5 95
 1King 11:29 103
 1King 14:8 115
 1King 14:9 116
 1King 18:21 82
 1King 18:22 171
 1King 18:39 204
 1King 19:1–8 210
 1King 19:8 210
 1King 19:17–18 88

 2King 4:14 352
 2King 5:15 19

 2King 10:31 115
 2(4)King 17:12 363
 2King 17:35 80
 2King 18:12 110
 2King 19:15 83, 92–93, 103, 106, 150, 375–376
 2King 19:17–18 93
 2King 19:19 19, 83, 92, 103, 106, 150, 219
 2King 19:32 83
 2King 20:5 109
 2King 23:1–23 58
 2King 23:2 142
 2King 23:3 115–116
 2King 23:4 116
 2King 23:21 142
 2King 23:24 116
 2King 23:24–25 187
 2King 23:25 115–116, 186–187, 191–192
 2King 23:34 424

 Isa 1 90
 Isa 1:3 348
 Isa 1:3f 238
 Isa 1:11 221
 Isa 2:8 80, 93
 Isa 2:11 83, 93, 106
 Isa 2:17 83, 93, 106
 Isa 2.18 93
 Isa 5 90
 Isa 6:3 311
 Isa 6:9 214
 Isa 6:9f 213
 Isa 6:10 313
 Isa 7:17 191
 Isa 8:14 63, 325
 Isa 10:5 93
 Isa 10:10–11 93
 Isa 11:2 349
 Isa 11:9 349
 Isa 19:3 293
 Isa 19:19 425
 Isa 21:9 293
 Isa 22:13 52, 54, 341
 Isa 24:17 191
 Isa 24:21 370
 Isa 25:8 54
 Isa 25:28 52
 Isa 26:13 93
 Isa 26:13–14 93

- Isa 28–30 90
 Isa 28:11–12 52, 54
 Isa 28:16 63, 325
 Isa 29:14 52, 54
 Isa 30:1 137
 Isa 30:29 1, 63, 90
 Isa 30:39 63
 Isa 37:15 375
 Isa 37:16 83, 92–93, 103, 150
 Isa 37:19 93
 Isa 37:20 83, 92–93, 150, 219
 Isa 37:32 142
 Isa 38:3 60
 Isa 40:1 109
 Isa 40:3 429
 Isa 40:13 52, 54, 410, 429
 Isa 40:17 368
 Isa 40:18 411
 Isa 40:19–20 26
 Isa 40:23 368
 Isa 40:25 411
 Isa 40:26 370
 Isa 40:28 411
 Isa 41:4 27, 410–411
 Isa 41:4ff 234
 Isa 41:4–10 411
 Isa 41:12 368
 Isa 41:13 91
 Isa 41:21ff 90
 Isa 41:29 26
 Isa 42:4 85
 Isa 42:5–6 411
 Isa 42:8 5, 90, 135, 411
 Isa 43–47(54) 89
 Isa 43:1 90
 Isa 43:3 91
 Isa 43:4 90
 Isa 43:7 90
 Isa 43:8ff 90
 Isa 43:8–13 226
 Isa 43:10 5, 27, 85, 89–90, 238
 Isa 43:10–11 226
 Isa 43:10ff 359
 Isa 43:10–13 90
 Isa 43:11 89–90, 92, 144
 Isa 43:13 27, 85
 Isa 43:14 90
 Isa 43:15 90
 Isa 43:15–16 411
 Isa 43:16–17 90, 141
 Isa 43:23–24 90
 Isa 44 90
 Isa 44:6 19, 89, 90, 410–411
 Isa 44:6ff 90
 Isa 44:8 27, 63, 86, 90, 92, 121, 146
 Isa 44:9 411
 Isa 44:9–17 26
 Isa 44:9–20 90, 201
 Isa 44:10–20 411
 Isa 44:24 83, 89, 91, 93, 375
 Isa 44:24–28 411
 Isa 44:28 90
 Isa 45 90
 Isa 45:5 5, 89, 144–145, 154, 411
 Isa 45:6 89, 106, 359, 411
 Isa 45:7 132
 Isa 45:7–9 90
 Isa 45:11 90
 Isa 45:12 90
 Isa 45:14 54, 56, 89–90, 144, 411
 Isa 45:15 90
 Isa 45:16 90
 Isa 45:17 90
 Isa 45:18 89–90, 411
 Isa 45:19 145
 Isa 45:20 90
 Isa 45:20ff 90
 Isa 45:21 89–90, 92, 136, 145, 154, 219,
 226, 411
 Isa 45:21–22 226
 Isa 45:22 368, 411
 Isa 46:1 90
 Isa 46:4 27, 85
 Isa 46:6–7 90
 Isa 46:9 89, 368, 411
 Isa 47:4 90
 Isa 47:6 90
 Isa 47:8 89
 Isa 47:10 89, 411
 Isa 47:11 90
 Isa 48:5 106
 Isa 48:11 135
 Isa 48:12 27, 85, 106, 410–411
 Isa 48:13 106
 Isa 48:17 91
 Isa 48:18 106
 Isa 48:19 106
 Isa 48:21 106
 Isa 51:1–2 63
 Isa 51:2 104
 Isa 51:15 89, 91
 Isa 51:22 378

Isa 52:7 368
 Isa 53:7 55
 Isa 54:16 191
 Isa 55:10–13 414
 Isa 63:10–12 313
 Isa 63:16 193
 Isa 64 313
 Isa 64:1–3 313
 Isa 64:3 54, 56, 313–314
 Isa 64:4 52, 313–314
 Isa 64:4–5 313
 Isa 65:4 310
 Isa 65:16 52
 Isa 66:24 140

 Jer 2 90
 Jer 2f 233
 Jer 2:1 33
 Jer 2:2 33
 Jer 2:8 348
 Jer 3:4 193
 Jer 3:12 33
 Jer 4:4 246
 Jer 4:27 33
 Jer 7 118
 Jer 7:9 88, 118
 Jer 7:16ff 90
 Jer 9:2–5 348
 Jer 9:22 55
 Jer 9:22–23 429
 Jer 9:24(23) 52, 54–56, 429
 Jer 9:25 246
 Jer 9:26 246
 Jer 10 90
 Jer 12:14ff 90
 Jer 13:20–27 233
 Jer 14:22 362
 Jer 15:17 85
 Jer 16:19 338
 Jer 23:7–8 79
 Jer 24:7 191
 Jer 29:13 115
 Jer 31:9 111–112
 Jer 31:13–15 112
 Jer 31:16–23 112
 Jer 31:24–28 112
 Jer 31:29–33 112
 Jer 31:31–34 109
 Jer 31:33 107
 Jer 32 110
 Jer 32:17 110

Jer 32:18 109
 Jer 32:19 110
 Jer 32:20–21 110
 Jer 32:21 109
 Jer 32:22 110
 Jer 32:22–23 110
 Jer 32:29–41 112
 Jer 32:34–35 110
 Jer 32:38 109
 Jer 32:38–41 108
 Jer 32:39–40 108–109, 114
 Jer 32:39–41 393
 Jer 32:40 109
 Jer 32:41 115
 Jer 33:20–21 414
 Jer 33:36–41 103
 Jer 34:23–25 108
 Jer 39:39 109
 Jer 44 90

Ezek 4:5f 210
 Ezek 6 90
 Ezek 8 90
 Ezek 9:4 191
 Ezek 11:18 90
 Ezek 11:16 57
 Ezek 18:25 106
 Ezek 20 90
 Ezek 25:6 115
 Ezek 33:24 104
 Ezek 34:23 235
 Ezek 36:28 109
 Ezek 37:16–17 108
 Ezek 37:17ff 108
 Ezek 37:19 108
 Ezek 37:19–28 235
 Ezek 37:22 104, 235
 Ezek 37:23 108
 Ezek 37:23–24 109
 Ezek 37:24 108, 235
 Ezek 37:26–28 57
 Ezek 37:27 108
 Ezek 44:15 191
 Ezek 44:16 393

Hos 1–3 233
 Hos 1:9 115
 Hos 2:4 115
 Hos 2:25 107, 109, 115
 Hos 3:5 108, 191
 Hos 4:1 349

- Hos 4:1–2 88, 91, 238, 239
 Hos 4:6 349
 Hos 4:12 90
 Hos 4:16 191
 Hos 5:10 191
 Hos 6:6 220–221, 349
 Hos 8:2 330
 Hos 9:10 66, 79
 Hos 11:1–9 233
 Hos 12:9 79
 Hos 12:10 89, 91, 119
 Hos 13:1–3 92
 Hos 13:4 81, 88–89, 91–92, 119, 136
 Hos 13:14 52, 54
 Hos 13:15 59
- Joel 2:11 376
 Joel 2:12 115, 191
 Joel 2:31 430
 Joel 2:32 430
 Joel 3:5 430
- Amos 5:26ff 90
 Amos 5:26–27 191
 Amos 9:11 191
- Mich 2:6 191
 Mich 2:7 287
 Mich 5:12 80
 Mich 7:2 191
- Nah 1:2 96, 115, 191
 Nah 1:14 90
- Hab 2:4 246
 Hab 2:19f 90
- Zech 1:1–14:21 43
 Zech 8:8 107
 Zech 8:16 254
 Zech 10:10–11 79
 Zech 11 43
 Zech 11:3 107
 Zech 11:4ff 107
 Zech 11:4–17 107
 Zech 11:5–13 43
 Zech 12:1 107
 Zech 12:3 107
 Zech 12:10ff 107
 Zech 13:2 107
 Zech 13:7 191
- Zech 13:7–8 107
 Zech 13:7ff 107
 Zech 13:7–9 107
 Zech 13:9 107
 Zech 13:8–9 107
 Zech 14:1–5 107
 Zech 14:1–9 107
 Zech 14:2 107
 Zech 14:6–8 107
 Zech 14:8–9 107
 Zech 14:9 27, 102–104, 106–108, 114, 359, 402, 432–433, 438
 Zech 14:10–11 103
 Zech 14:16–18 107
 Zech 14:17 107
- Mal 1:2 110
 Mal 1:6 110–111, 234, 379
 Mal 1:7 68, 393, 429
 Mal 1:7–14 111
 Mal 1:10 191
 Mal 1:11 338
 Mal 1:12 68, 393
 Mal 2:2 111
 Mal 2:3 111
 Mal 2:4 113
 Mal 2:4–8 110
 Mal 2:5 113
 Mal 2:8 113
 Mal 3:8–9 404
 Mal 2:10 12–13, 25, 110–114, 122, 166, 179, 224, 232, 235, 250, 254, 393, 400, 405–407, 410, 416, 432
 Mal 2:10–11 110–111, 122, 254
 Mal 2:11 111–113, 233, 393
 Mal 2:13 113
 Mal 2:14 112–113
 Mal 2:15 112, 254, 393
 Mal 2:16 112
 Mal 2:17 110
 Mal 3:1 110, 113
 Mal 3:6–7 110
 Mal 3:7 110
 Mal 3:13–14 110
 Mal 3:22 110
 Mal 4:4 110
- Ps 1 195, 419
 Ps 4:4 254
 Ps 5:10 310
 Ps 8:6 438

- Ps 8:7(6) 52, 54
 Ps 9:10 348
 Ps 18:3 63
 Ps 18:13 136
 Ps 18:31 86
 Ps 18:32 63
 Ps 19:1–7 414
 Pa 19:8 419
 Ps 19:8–12 414
 Ps 24(23) 69
 Ps 24(23):1 52, 54–55, 69, 120, 299–300, 416, 429
 Ps 24:1–2 414
 Ps 24:2 416
 Ps 24(23):4 70, 299
 Ps 24:3–10 414
 Ps 30:24 310
 Ps 30:25 310
 Ps 33:4 414
 Ps 33:6 140
 Ps 33:6–9 414
 Ps 33:20–22 414
 Ps 34:10 348
 Ps 37:30 419
 Ps 39:7 221
 Ps 42–83 69
 Ps 50 118, 120
 Ps 50:4 120
 Ps 50(49):5 69, 76, 120
 Ps 50:6 120
 Ps 50(49):7 69, 106, 109, 118–119
 Ps 50(49):8–9 69
 Ps 50(49):12 55, 69, 120
 Ps 50(49):12–13 69
 Ps 50:18 120
 Ps 50:19–20 120
 Ps 50:21 221
 Ps 51:3 118
 Ps 51:6 83
 Ps 51:16 140
 Ps 55:18 129
 Ps 68:18 254
 Ps 71:16 83
 Ps 72(71):18 93
 Ps 72:18 83
 Ps 73–83 118
 Ps 74:16–17 414
 Ps 74:18–23 414
 Ps 77:18 141
 Ps 77:41 141
 Ps 78 55, 65, 68, 70–71, 213
 Ps 78:1 213
 Ps 78:2 213
 Ps 78:12–31 68
 Ps 78:13 63
 Ps 78:13–14 64
 Ps 78:14 63
 Ps 78:15–16 63
 Ps 78:17–18 66
 Ps 78:17–31 65
 Ps 78:18 65–66, 429
 Ps 78:20 63
 Ps 78:24 64, 66
 Ps 78:30 65
 Ps 78:31 65
 Ps 78:35 63
 Ps 78:49–50 67
 Ps 78:58 68
 Ps 79:6 238
 Ps 81 118–120
 Ps 81:4 119
 Ps 81:4–5 119
 Ps 81:8 118
 Ps 81:9 119
 Ps 81:9–10 118
 Ps 81:9–11 118
 Ps 81:12–13 119
 Ps 81:13 119
 Ps 81:10 81, 119
 Ps 81:10–11 92, 119
 Ps 81:11 89, 91, 119
 Ps 81:12 119
 Ps 81:14 119
 Ps 82:6 236
 Ps 83:8 136
 Ps 83:9 103
 Ps 83(82):19 83, 106, 149
 Ps 85:10 150
 Ps 86:4 349
 Ps 86:10 83, 106
 Ps 86:12 115
 Ps 88:13 130
 Ps 89:1–5 414
 Ps 89:6–15 414
 Ps 89:11 55, 69
 Ps 89:39–52 414
 Ps 91 211
 Ps 94:5 414
 Ps 94:6 414
 Ps 94:10–13 414
 Ps 94(93):11 52, 54, 431
 Ps 95:1 63

- Ps 95:5 68
 Ps 95:7 118
 Ps 96:7 363
 Ps 104:1–30 414
 Ps 104:35 414
 Ps 105:14 141
 Ps 105:26 110
 Ps 105:37–38 68
 Ps 106 55, 68, 70–71
 Ps 106:6–12 67
 Ps 106:14 66
 Ps 106:14–18 67
 Ps 106:14–25 65
 Ps 106:19 65
 Ps 106:19–23 67
 Ps 106:24–27 65–67
 Ps 106:25 66
 Ps 106:26 65
 Ps 106:28–30 66
 Ps 106:28–31 67
 Ps 106:32 66
 Ps 106:32–33 67
 Ps 106:45 67
 Ps 106:37 212, 295
 Ps 110:1 54, 223, 226, 352
 Ps 111 419
 Ps 111:1 115
 Ps 113:1–12 375
 Ps 114:1–2 79
 Ps 114:2 57
 Ps 115:48 26
 Ps 119:97ff 419
 Ps 135:2 136
 Ps 135:15–18 26
 Ps 135:26 376
 Ps 136 377
 Ps 136:2 377
 Ps 136(135):2–3 376–377
 Ps 136:3 377
 Ps 136(135):4 83, 93, 378
 Ps 136:5–9 377–378
 Ps 136(135):7 93
 Ps 136:10–15 79, 377–378
 Ps 136:10–24 378
 Ps 136:25 377
 Ps 136:25–26 378
 Ps 136(135):26 377
 Ps 145:13 426
 Ps 148:13 83
 Job 1:6 333
 Job 5:12–13 52
 Job 5:13 52, 54
 Job 9:4–10 414
 Job 9:8 83, 93
 Job 9:12ff 414
 Job 18:21 349
 Job 23:13 103
 Job 23:13–14 112
 Job 24:10–12 414
 Job 24:13–15 414
 Job 25:2–6 414
 Job 26:5–14 414
 Job 31:1–4 111
 Job 31:5–8 111
 Job 31:9–12 111
 Job 31:15 103, 108, 111–112
 Job 34:13 407
 Job 35:32–37:24 414
 Job 36:10–12 239
 Job 38 414
 Job 40 414
 Job 41:3 411
 Job 41:11 410
 Job 42:1 426
 Job 42:1–6 414
 Job 42:9 426
 Job 42:10 426
 Job 42:11 426
 Prov 1:22 65
 Prov 1:7 349
 Prov 6:19 59
 Prov 6:20 120
 Prov 8 414
 Prov 8:15–16 417
 Prov 8:22ff 419
 Prov 8:22–31 420
 Prov 9:10 116, 349
 Prov 15:8 191
 Prov 16:7 221
 Prov 21:3 221
 Prov 22:14 352
 Eccl 5:6 83
 Eccl (Qoh) 4:8ff 104
 Eccl 10:20 355
 Eccl (Qoh) 11:5 407
 Eccl 24 414
 Ode 2:4 67
 Odes of Solomon 3:3 353

Esth 2:17 137

Dan 1:8 147

Dan 2:2–9 103

Dan 2:28–29 352

Dan 2:47 136, 204, 378, 426

Dan 3 311

Dan 3:12 95

Dan 3:17 533

Dan 3:18 95

Dan 2:37 378

Dan 3:38–41 150

Dan 3:38ff 221

Dan 3:90 136

Dan 3:93 136

Dan 3:95–96 382

Dan 4:17 376

Dan 4:33 136

Dan 4:34 136

Dan 4:37 136, 376–378

Dan 5:23 426

Dan 6:11 129

Dan 6:28

Dan 9:11 110

Dan 11:32 349

Dan 11:36 136

Dan 14:41 145

Ezra 6:13–22 58

Ezra 9:11 111

Ezra 9:12–14 111

Ezra 9:14 111

Ezra 10:7–10 58

Neh 1:7 110

Neh 1:8 110

Neh 9:6 (2Esdr 19:6) 8, 83, 93, 106,
149, 168

Neh 9:6–11 79

Neh 9:7–37 93

Neh 9:9–21 83

Neh 9:14 110

Neh 9:22–25 83

Neh 10:1–39 93

Neh 10:30 110

Neh 12:46 118

Neh 13:1 110

Neh 13:29 110, 113

1Esdra 1:1 58

1Esdra 1:6 58

1Esdra 7:12 58

1Esdra 7:14 58

2Esdra 10:11 60

2Esdra 19:16 168–169

1Chr 6:34 110

1Chr 6:39 118

1Chr 12:39 109

1Chr 15:16–19 118

1Chr 17:20 86, 145

1Chr 28:8 215

1Chr 28:9 238, 348

1Chr 29:11 376

1Chr 29:18 116

2Chr 1:3 110

2Chr 5:9 87

2Chr 5:13–14 87

2Chr 6:14 86, 376

2Chr 6:30 83, 93

2Chr 6:38 115, 186, 191

2Chr 13:4 106

2Chr 15:12 115, 186

2Chr 15:12–15 119

2Chr 15:14 119

2Chr 15:15 115, 186

2Chr 15:16 95, 116

2Chr 17:3 362

2Chr 22:9 115

2Chr 24:6 110

2Chr 24:9 110

2Chr 29–30 58

2Chr 30:12 109

2Chr 31:21 115, 186

2Chr 33:8 146

2Chr 33:13 219

2Chr 34:30 142

2Chr 34:31 115, 186

2Chr 34:33 116

2Chr 35:1–19 58

2Chr 35:19 186–187, 191

Ancient Semitic Texts

VTE 51 74

VTE 53 74

VTE 98 74

VTE 169 74

VTE 195–197 80

VTE 207–208 73

VTE 266–268 73
 VTE 288 73
 VTE 288–301 72
 VTE 310 74
 VTE 385ff 73
 VTE 387–388 72
 VTE 395–396 73
 VTE 507–510 72
 VTE 553–554 73
 VTE 1:59 81
 VTE 1:50–53 74
 VTE 1:71–72 75, 81
 VTE 4:266 74
 VTE 4:288 74
 VTE 4:301 75, 81
 VTE 7:507–510 81
 VTE 24:266–268 74
 Codex Hammurabi r25:96–26:1 83
 The treaty of Suppiluliuma with Tetti of
 Nushassi II, 19:23 74
 KAgr (9):8,1–2 100
 KAgr (9):10,2 100
 The vassal-treaties of Esarhaddon col. 7,
 l. 513ff 76

Apochrypha

1Macc 1:24 152
 1Macc 1:57 142
 1Macc 1:62–64 149
 1Macc 2:24–25 142
 1Macc 7:23 152
 1Macc 7:28 152
 1Macc 13:14 152

 2Macc 1:10 158
 2Macc 1:24 8
 2Macc 1:27 353
 2Macc 2:2 293
 2Macc 3:28 330
 2Macc 6:1–4 153–154, 338
 2Macc 6:4 154
 2Macc 6:7–9 153
 2Macc 7:1 149
 2Macc 7:1–42 147
 2Macc 7:3ff 311
 2Macc 7:6 149
 2Macc 7:23 152
 2Macc 7:30 149
 2Macc 7:37 149, 151, 203–204
 2Macc 13:4 378

3Macc 1:12 352
 3Macc 2:3 407
 3Macc 4:16 369
 3Macc 5:35 378–379
 3Macc 7:6 330

 Tob 1:4–5 187
 Tob 1:5 187, 194
 Tob 1:6–9 194
 Tob 1:6–11 194
 Tob 1:8 194
 Tob 1:10–12 194
 Tob 1:12 181, 190, 194
 Tob 1:16–18 194
 Tob 2:2 181, 185, 190, 194
 Tob 6:17 68
 Tob 7:1 181
 Tob 13 192
 Tob 13:1 190
 Tob 13:1–2 192
 Tob 13:1–18 190
 Tob 13:2 192
 Tob 13:4–7 193
 Tob 13:6 181, 190–191
 Tob 14:3–11 192
 Tob 14:6–7 187
 Tob 14:6–9 187, 191–192, 194
 Tob 14:8 60
 Tob 14:9 181, 187, 190
 Tob 14:9–10 194
 Tob 32:29 192

 Jdt 3:2 60
 Jdt 3:8 136
 Jdt 4:13 141
 Jdt 4:14 333
 Jdt 5:5–21 141
 Jdt 6:2 136
 Jdt 6:13 181
 Jdt 7–13 141
 Jdt 7:24–25 139
 Jdt 7:27 141
 Jdt 8–9 141
 Jdt 8:5–8 137
 Jdt 8:9–13 141
 Jdt 8:11–27 134
 Jdt 8:12 141, 203
 Jdt 8:12–13 152
 Jdt 8:14 8, 138, 141, 152
 Jdt 8:17 141, 203

- Jdt 8:18 136, 139, 142, 153, 203, 364,
 369, 375, 386
 Jdt 8:18–19 137
 Jdt 8:19 139
 Jdt 8:20 133, 136–139, 141–143, 153–
 154, 203, 238, 353–354
 Jdt 8:21 137, 153
 Jdt 8:22 141
 Jdt 8:24 141, 153
 Jdt 8:24–25 137
 Jdt 8:33 140
 Jdt 9 134
 Jdt 9:1 130, 134, 152
 Jdt 9:1–4 141
 Jdt 9:2 140
 Jdt 9:2–14 134
 Jdt 9:3 140
 Jdt 9:4 140–141, 152
 Jdt 9:7 141
 Jdt 9:7–8 141
 Jdt 9:8 137, 141, 153–154
 Jdt 9:9–10 140
 Jdt 9:11 152
 Jdt 9:12 138–139, 152, 405
 Jdt 9:13 137, 153, 298
 Jdt 9:14 133–134, 136–140, 154, 226,
 353
 Jdt 10:5 137, 153
 Jdt 11:9–16 141
 Jdt 11:11–15 137, 153
 Jdt 11:12–13 203
 Jdt 12:1–2 13, 298
 Jdt 12:1–3 137, 153
 Jdt 12:1–4 203
 Jdt 12:5–9 130
 Jdt 12:14 60
 Jdt 12:16–20 203
 Jdt 12:19 137, 153
 Jdt 13:1 333
 Jdt 13:16 137
 Jdt 12:16–20 203
 Jdt 15:1–19 140
 Jdt 16:13–17 140

 Sir 0:1–20 154
 Sir 1:5 420
 Sir 1:8 314
 Sir 1:9 314
 Sir 1:10 314
 Sir 1:11ff 314
 Sir 1:13 314

 Sir 1:26 420
 Sir 2:15 314
 Sir 2:16 314
 Sir 3:1–16 187
 Sir 3:3 234
 Sir 3:5 234
 Sir 3:8 234
 Sir 3:16 187
 Sir 6:19 52
 Sir 6:37 420
 Sir 7:21 194
 Sir 7:22–26 194
 Sir 7:27–28 187, 433
 Sir 7:27–30 155, 181, 187–188, 190,
 194, 202, 433
 Sir 7:28 187
 Sir 7:29f 433
 Sir 7:30 187, 193
 Sir 7:31 194
 Sir 7:31–32 187
 Sir 7:31–35 194
 Sir 13:15 194
 Sir 17:4 216
 Sir 15:1 420
 Sir 18:1 407
 Sir 23:17 140
 Sir 23:20 407
 Sir 24 83, 142, 419
 Sir 24:1–2 142
 Sir 24:4 419
 Sir 24:8 8, 138
 Sir 24:23 142, 419
 Sir 24:23–24 138
 Sir 24:23–25 420
 Sir 24:24 138, 142, 151, 154–155, 226
 Sir 25:1 194
 Sir 30:9 95
 Sir 31:15 194
 Sir 31:19 314
 Sir 32:23 419
 Sir 33:2 420
 Sir 36:1–7 134
 Sir 36:2 140
 Sir 36:4 135, 140, 145, 153, 154–155
 Sir 36:5(4) 139–140, 353–354
 Sir 36:9 140
 Sir 36:9–10 139
 Sir 36:10 140
 Sir 36:17 140
 Sir 36:23 343
 Sir 37:28 343

- Sir 39 195
 Sir 39:5 130
 Sir 42:1–14 155
 Sir 42:15 155
 Sir 42:15 ff 180
 Sir 42:15–43:33 155
 Sir 42:16 155
 Sir 42:17 155
 Sir 42:18 155, 355
 Sir 42:21 155
 Sir 43:21 155
 Sir 43:25 155
 Sir 43:27 9, 155
 Sir 43:27–28 155
 Sir 43:28 155
 Sir 43:33 155, 180
 Sir 47:21 108
 Sir 47:22 314
 Sir 50:16–21 130
 Sir 50:27ff 154

 Wis 1:14 407
 Wis (Sap) 6–9 414
 Wis 7:20–29 158
 Wis 7:22 158
 Wis (Sap) 7:22ff 418
 Wis 7:22–29 158
 Wis 7:25–26 158
 Wis 7:27 421, 433
 Wis (Sap) 8:10–13 417
 Wis 9:1–2 158
 Wis (Sap) 9:1f 418
 Wis 9:1–19:22 134
 Wis 9:5 355
 Wis 9:17–18 18
 Wis 12:19 352
 Wis 18:21 134
 Wis 10:1 405
 Wis 10:10 354
 Wis 10:15–21 18
 Wis (Sap) 10:18f 63
 Wis (Sap) 11:4f 63, 418
 Wis 12:3 154
 Wis 12:13 8, 138
 Wis 12:27 238
 Wis 14:21–22 354
 Wis 15:2–3 353
 Wis 16:28 352
 Wis (Sap) 19:8 65

 Bar 2:11–3:8 134

 Bar 3:9–4:4
 Bar 4:7 68, 295, 366
 Bar 4:36 419

 Ep. Jer. 22 238
 Ep. Jer. 28 238
 Ep. Jer. 50 238
 Ep. Jer. 64 238
 Ep. Jer. 71 238
 Ep. Jer. 72 362

Pr Azar 6 (Dan 3:29) 150, 203
Pr Azar 7 (Dan 3:30) 150
Pr Azar 11 (Dan 3:34) 150
Pr Azar 12–13 (Dan 3:35–36) 150
Pr Azar 15 154
Pr Azar 18 (Dan 3:41) 150, 152, 190
Pr Azar 22 (Dan 3:45) 150–151, 153, 353

 Sus 1:30 57

 Bel 3 95
 Bel 3–7 203
 Bel 4–5 136
 Bel 4–7 134
 Bel 5 133, 136, 138–139 151, 154, 385
 Bel 6 136
 Bel 7 144
 Bel 10 203
 Bel 11 203
 Bel 41 133, 135–136, 204

 Bel Th. 1:5 363, 375
 Bel 1:5 386

 Add Esth 4:17–17^z 134
 Add Esth 4:17^b 139
 Add Esth 4:17^{b-c} 139
 Add Esth 4:17^c 138–139
 Add Esth 4:17^d 137
 Add Esth 4:17^{d-e} 137
 Add Esth 4:17^f 144
 Add Esth 4:17^g 141, 143–144
 Add Esth 4:17^h (C:13) 144
 Add Esth 4:17ⁱ (C14, C15) 63, 134–135, 138–139, 142–143, 151–154, 229, 386
 Add Esth 4:17^m (C16) 141
 Add Esth 4:17ⁿ (C17) 139, 144, 203
 Add Esth 4:17^{n-q} 137

Add Esth 4:17^o (C20) 137, 143, 154
 Add Esth 4:17^{o-p} (C:21) 203
 Add Esth 4:17^r 140, 143, 378
 Add Esth 4:17^t (C25) 63, 135, 138, 143,
 152, 154, 203
 Add Esth 4:17^{t-w} 298
 Add Esth 4:17^u (C28) 137, 144
 Add Esth 4:17^{u-x} 153
 Add Esth 4:17^{t-w} 137
 Add Esth 4:17^x (C28) 137, 153, 203,
 298
 Add Esth 4:17^z 138
 Add Esth 14:12 378

Pseudepigrapha

Apoc. Abr. 10:3–4 419
 Apoc. Abr. 13 214
 Apoc. Abr. 17:3 419

2Bar 48:23–24 133
 2Bar 54:1 411

1Enoch 19:1 274
 1Enoch 89:59 274
 1Enoch 99:7–9 366
 1Enoch 108:9 314

2Enoch J9:1 147
 2Enoch 10:6 369
 2Enoch 29:5 214
 2Enoch A33:3–4 144
 2Enoch J33:8 144, 353
 2Enoch J36:1 144
 2Enoch J47:3–4 144
 2Enoch J66:0 147
 2Enoch J66:1 147
 2Enoch 66:2 369
 2Enoch J66:4–5 147
 2Enoch J66:6 147

Ep. Arist. 3 147
Ep. Arist. 16 150, 338
Ep. Arist. 24 148
Ep. Arist. 31 147
Ep. Arist. 128–129 153
Ep. Arist. 128–139 147
Ep. Arist. 129 149
Ep. Arist. 130–160 384
Ep. Arist. 130–169 147
Ep. Arist. 131 147–148, 153, 199
Ep. Arist. 131–132 147

Ep. Arist. 132 18, 21, 127, 143, 147,
 149, 402
Ep. Arist. 134 127
Ep. Arist. 134–137 149
Ep. Arist. 134–138 149, 153, 369
Ep. Arist. 138 149
Ep. Arist. 139 127, 147, 149–150
Ep. Arist. 141 147
Ep. Arist. 142 149
Ep. Arist. 143 127, 147
Ep. Arist. 144 149
Ep. Arist. 145–152 153
Ep. Arist. 146–147 149
Ep. Arist. 150 149
Ep. Arist. 151 150
Ep. Arist. 152 154
Ep. Arist. 155–160 126–127
Ep. Arist. 158 127
Ep. Arist. 158–159 152
Ep. Arist. 159 127
Ep. Arist. 160 127
Ep. Arist. 161–162 149
Ep. Arist. 168 148
Ep. Arist. 189 148
Ep. Arist. 225 148
Ep. Arist. 228f 148
Ep. Arist. 305–306 130

Jub 1:1 192, 405
Jub 1:8–11 192–193
Jub 1:9 405
Jub 1:11 366, 405
Jub 1:14–15 192
Jub 1:15 182, 190, 192, 197
Jub 1:15–18 405
Jub 1:17 192
Jub 1:18 192
Jub 1:23 192, 405
Jub 1:23–24 192
Jub 1:24 404–405
Jub 1:28 193
Jub 6:17 119
Jub 7:20–21 198, 202
Jub 11:3 273
Jub 11:11 214
Jub 12:1ff 274
Jub 12:19 147
Jub 15:30ff 274
Jub 16:25 188
Jub 19:31 188
Jub 20:2 197, 216

- Jub* 20:2–4 197–198
Jub 20:7 197
Jub 20:7–9 369
Jub 20:8 197
Jub 20:9 198
Jub 22:17 274
Jub 22:27–28 188
Jub 30:18 142
Jub 35:10 188
Jub 35:12 188
Jub 36 197
Jub 36:4 196
Jub 36:4–5 312
Jub 36:4–8 204, 216
Jub 36:5 196
Jub 36:7 196
Jub 36:7–8 196
Jub 36:9–11 196
Jub 36:20 182, 190, 197–198
Jub 36:24 188
Jub 99:7–9 366
- 4Macc 1:1 148
 4Macc 1:16–17 354
 4Macc 4:26 153
 4Macc 5 148
 4Macc 5:1–38 147
 4Macc 5:2 148, 153, 203, 292–293, 296
 4Macc 5:2–4 149
 4Macc 5:23–25 153
 4Macc 5:24 153, 199, 292
 4Macc 5:24–25 148
 4Macc 5:25 152
 4Macc 5:25–29 203
 4Macc 5:26 292
 4Macc 6:26 311
 4Macc 7:12 311
 4Macc 7:31–36 152
 4Macc 16:21–17:6 311
 4Macc 18:1 249
- PsSal 14:1 314
- Sib. Or. frag.* 1:3 157
Sib. Or. frag. 1:7–8 156
Sib. Or. frag. 1:7–12 25
Sib. Or. frag. 1:31f 238
Sib. Or. frag. 1:35 156
Sib. Or. frag. 3:3 25
Sib. Or. frag. 3:3–5 156
Sib. Or. 2:96 292, 296
- Sib. Or.* 2:127 18
Sib. Or. 3:1–10 156
Sib. Or. 3:1–45 156
Sib. Or. 3:8 156–157
Sib. Or. 3:8–45 25, 156
Sib. Or. 3:10 157
Sib. Or. 3:11 9, 27, 178–179
Sib. Or. 3:11–20 157
Sib. Or. 3:12 156
Sib. Or. 3:13–14 369
Sib. Or. 3:12–14 180
Sib. Or. 3:15 156
Sib. Or. 3:13–14 156
Sib. Or. 3:17 156
Sib. Or. 3:17–19 156
Sib. Or. 3:19–20 180
Sib. Or. 3:20 8, 157, 180
Sib. Or. 3:22 157
Sib. Or. 3:24 157
Sib. Or. 3:29 180
Sib. Or. 3:29–45 157
Sib. Or. 3:30–32 180
Sib. Or. 3:31 369
Sib. Or. 3:34 157, 180
Sib. Or. 3:35 157, 180
Sib. Or. 3:36 180
Sib. Or. 3:36–38 157
Sib. Or. 3:36–45 156
Sib. Or. 3:37–38 180
Sib. Or. 3:38 180
Sib. Or. 3:44 180
Sib. Or. 3:112 18
Sib. Or. 3:545–554 138
Sib. Or. 3:548 138
Sib. Or. 3:553–557 369
Sib. Or. 3:556ff 138–139
Sib. Or. 3:560 139
Sib. Or. 3:573–579 138
Sib. Or. 3:576–579 145
Sib. Or. 3:584–589 138
Sib. Or. 3:584–590 138
Sib. Or. 3:591–593 130, 145
Sib. Or. 3:593 130, 139
Sib. Or. 3:593–594 202
Sib. Or. 3:594–595 144
Sib. Or. 3:601–617 134
Sib. Or. 3:601–618 138–139
Sib. Or. 3:617 139
Sib. Or. 3:624–631 144, 153, 199
Sib. Or. 3:627–629 134
Sib. Or. 3:628–630 130

- Sib. Or.* 3:629 139, 144, 154
Sib. Or. 3:632 138
Sib. Or. 3:632–634 139
Sib. Or. 3:652 139
Sib. Or. 3:657–668 137
Sib. Or. 3:665 153
Sib. Or. 3:669–702 138
Sib. Or. 3:704–705 139, 173, 179
Sib. Or. 3:718 139
Sib. Or. 3:742 138–139
Sib. Or. 3:757 139
Sib. Or. 3:760 138–139, 144, 154
Sib. Or. 3:760–766 138
Sib. Or. 3:761 138–139, 146
Sib. Or. 3:763 138–139, 154
Sib. Or. 3:763–765 138
Sib. Or. 3:764 153
Sib. Or. 3:773–775 138, 434
Sib. Or. 4:7 369
Sib. Or. 5:80 369
Sib. Or. 5:173 154, 385
Sib. Or. 5:497ff 9
Sib. Or. 8:376 411
Sib. Or. 8:378 144, 369
- T. Ben.* 3:1 214
T. Ben. 3:1–3. 181, 190, 193, 196–197
T. Ben. 3:1–4 195
T. Ben. 3:2–5 196
T. Ben. 3:3–5 199
T. Ben. 3:4 214
T. Ben. 3:4–5 196
T. Ben. 4:3 197
T. Ben. 4:5 197
- T. Dan.* 5:1 195
T. Dan. 5:1–3 199
T. Dan. 5:3 181, 190, 195, 237
T. Dan. 5:3–4 185, 194
T. Dan. 5:5–6 193
T. Dan. 6:1 195, 249
T. Dan. 6:2 258
- T. Gad* 6:1 195
T. Gad 6:3 195
T. Gad 7:7 195
- T. Iss.* 3:2 185
T. Iss. 3:6–8 185
T. Iss. 4:1 60
T. Iss. 4:1–2 185
- T. Iss.* 4:1–6 312
T. Iss. 4:2–6 312
T. Iss. 4:6 185
T. Iss. 5:1 197
T. Iss. 5:1–2 131, 197
T. Iss. 5:1–3 185
T. Iss. 5:2 194–195, 237
T. Iss. 5:8 185
T. Iss. 6:1 185
T. Iss. 6:1–2 312
T. Iss. 6:2 312
T. Iss. 7:1–6 185, 199
T. Iss. 7:2–6 194
T. Iss. 7:5 199
T. Iss. 7:5–6 237
T. Iss. 7:6 181, 190, 195
T. Iss. 7:6–7 195
T. Iss. 7:7 60, 185
T. Iss. 7:7–8 244
- T. Jos.* 2:7 147
T. Jos. 3:1–9:5 147
T. Jos. 3:6 130
T. Jos. 4:5 147
T. Jos. 4:8 147
T. Jos. 5:1 147
T. Jos. 6:1–6 147
T. Jos. 6:5 147
T. Jos. 6:8 147
T. Jos. 10:1 147, 196
T. Jos. 11:1 196
T. Jos. 11:1–16:6 196
T. Jos. 17:2 195
- T. Jud.* 19:1 369
T. Jud. 25:2 182
- T. Levi.* 6:3 142
T. Levi 13:1 185, 190, 195
T. Levi 13:1–2 198
T. Levi 13:5 198
T. Levi 13:7 186
T. Levi 14:5–7 194
- T. Naph.* 3 273
- T. Reub.* 4:1 194
T. Reub. 4:1–2 244
T. Reub. 4:6 60
T. Reub. 5:4 60
T. Reub. 5:5 60

- T. Reub.* 6:9 195
T. Zeb. 10:3 195, 199
T. Zeb. 10:5 195
T. Zeb. 10:5–6 185
T. Mos 3:9–12 249
T. Job 47:11 311
T. Job 48:1–3 311
Vita Adam 6 210
Vita Adam 14 210
- Qumran texts*
 1Q17–18 182
 1Q21 182
 1Q28b 1:1 191
 1Q28b 3:1 427
 1Q375 1:1–3 191
- CD 1:3–4 288
 CD 7:4–8:2 188
 CD 7:16 189
 CD 7:19 189
 CD 8:9 189
 CD 9:8 287
 CD 9:22 288
 CD 10:10 287
 CD 10:14 287–288
 CD 10:14–17 287
 CD 10:14–11:18 288
 CD 10:16 291
 CD 15:2 160
 CD 15:5 188
 CD 15:5–6 188
 CD 15:8 188, 191, 204–205
 CD 15:8–10 184
 CD 15:9 188, 192
 CD 15:9–10 183
 CD 15:10–11 185
 CD 15:12 183, 188, 191–192
 CD 15:15 188
 CD 15:18 188
 CD 16:1 191
 CD 16:1–2 192
 CD 16:13 288
 CD 16:14 288
 CD 16:15–16 288
 CD 16:6f 189
 CD 16:10 189, 287
- CD 16:10–15 287
 CD 16:14 288
 CD 20:9 193
- 1QapGen 19:6 426
 1QapGen 20:12–15 426
 1QapGen 21:1–3 426
 1QapGen 21:2 426
 1QapGen 22:16 426
 1QapGen 22:32 426
 1QDM 1:5–8 193
 1QM 10:9 191
 1QM 14:12–14 129, 135
 1QpHab 12:10b–13:4 193, 369
 1Qphyl[1Q13] 125
- 1QS 1:1–2 183–184
 1QS 1:1–9 191
 1QS 1:2 191
 1QS 1:4 191
 1QS 1:9 191
 1QS 1:1–12 353
 1QS 1:1–13 75
 1QS 1:1–15 183
 1QS 1:1–3:12 185
 1QS 1:2 191
 1QS 1:3 184, 191
 1QS 1:3–4 184, 191
 1QS 1:5 184
 1QS 1:6 184
 1QS 1:7 191
 1QS 1:9 131, 191
 1QS 1:9–10 184
 1QS 1:11 185, 238
 1QS 1:11–12 321, 353
 1QS 1:11–15 184, 186
 1QS 1:11–16 215
 1QS 1:13 186
 1QS 1:16 188
 1QS 1:17–18 186
 1QS 1:18–2:18 75
 1QS 1:20 185
 1QS 1:24 185
 1QS 2:1–17 188
 1QS 2:2–4 131, 185
 1QS 2:10 185
 1QS 2:11 192–193
 1QS 2:18 185
 1QS 2:19 75, 185
 1QS 2:21 185
 1QS 2:25 185

- IQS 2:25–26 185
 IQS 2:26 184–185
 IQS 3:2 183–185, 215, 353
 IQS 3:6–11 185
 IQS 4:22 191
 IQS 5:4–7 57
 IQS 5:5 183
 IQS 5:7–9 184
 IQS 5:7–10 188, 192
 IQS 5:8 184, 188, 191, 204
 IQS 5:8–9 183, 188, 353
 IQS 5:13 188
 IQS 6:14–23 188
 IQS 6:16 188
 IQS 6:18–20 186
 IQS 6:20 188
 IQS 6:21–25 186
 IQS 6:25 188
 IQS 6:27 430
 IQS 6:27–7:2 156, 169, 424, 427
 IQS 7:3 188
 IQS 7:5 188
 IQS 7:21–22 188
 IQS 8:4–7 57
 IQS 8:8–10 57
 IQS 9:3–6 57
 IQS 9:4 221
 IQS 10 189
 IQS 10–11 414
 IQS 10:1–3 129
 IQS 10:1–8 135
 IQS 10:9–14 190
 IQS 10:10 189–190, 205
 IQS 10:11–12 190
 IQS 10:13 189
 IQS 10:13–14 189
 IQS 10:14 190
 IQS 10:24 185
 IQS 11:7 191
 IQS 11:16 185
 IQS 11:17 190
 IQS 11:17–18 190
 IQS 11:18 135
 IQS 11:19 190
 IQS 11:20–22 190

 IQH^a 6:26–27 183, 189
 IQH^a 7:16 183
 IQH^a 7:13 191
 IQH^a 7:13–14 186, 189, 216
 IQH^a 7:13–14 189

 IQH^a 7:14–15 194
 IQH^a 7:15 191
 IQH^a 7:17 193
 IQH^a 7:18 194
 IQH^a 7:19 193
 IQH^a 7:21 193
 IQH^a 7:22 193
 IQH^a 7:23 193
 IQH^a 7:25 193
 IQH^a 8:15 191
 IQH^a 8:21 191
 IQH^a 8:23 191
 IQH^a 8:25 191
 IQH^a 12:4–7 129, 135
 IQH^a 12:13–15 193, 369
 IQH 14:13–14 249
 IQH^a 15:6–25 134
 IQH 15:28 139, 144, 152, 154
 IQH^a 15:28–29 193
 IQH 15:29–30 139, 152
 IQH 15:30 139
 IQH 15:32 135
 IQH 16:7 188
 IQH^a 18:1–13 134
 IQH 18:8 139, 144, 152, 154, 378
 IQH 18:9 135
 IQH^a 19:15 64 129, 146, 153
 IQH^a 20 140
 IQH 20:1–4 135
 IQH^a 20:3–5
 IQH^a 20:4–7 129
 IQH^a 20:4–11 135, 152
 IQH^a 20:9 146, 153
 IQH^a 20:10 140
 IQH^a 20:11 135, 140, 153, 353
 IQH^a 20:11b–36 134–135
 IQH^a 20:13 140
 IQH^a 20:19 135
 IQH^a 20:22 140, 153
 IQH^a 20:31 135
 IQH^a 26:7–8 291

 2Q18 216
 2Q19–20 182

 3Q5 182
 3Q7 182

 4Q88 216
 4Q88 8:10–11 183
 4Q159 1:2:6 287

- 4Q159 2-4:5 288
 4Q174 57
 4Q176 16-53:5 191
 4Q196-200 182
 4Q197 4:2:1-7 181
 4Q197 4:3:1b-4 181
 4Q201-212 216
 4Q213 182
 4Q214 182
 4Q215 182
 4Q216-221 182
 4Q255 1:2 183
 4Q375 1:1-3 183, 191
 4Q387a 2:6 194
 4Q387a 3:2:1-2 183
 4Q387a 3:2:4 194
 4Q394-399 287
 4Q394 8:1 287
 4Q394 8:4:5 287
 4Q394 14 287
 4Q395 1-12 288
 4Q396 1:3 287
 4Q396 1:3-4 288
 4Q396 1-2:1:5 287
 4Q396 3:3-6 288
 4Q396 3:4-5 287
 4Q396 3:8 287
 4Q396 4:2 287
 4Q396 4:4 288
 4Q396 4:9 287, 291
 4Q396 4:9-10 291
 4Q397 5:3 287
 4Q397 7+8 193
 4Q397 6-13:1 287
 4Q397 6-13:6 287
 4Q397 6-13:11 287
 4Q397 6-13:8 287, 291
 4Q397 14-21 193
 4Q397 14-21:5 193
 4Q397 14-21:1-14 194
 4Q397 14-21:6 288
 4Q397 14-21:6-7 192
 4Q397 14-21:7 193, 287-288, 291
 4Q397 14-21:8 287, 291
 4Q397:14-21:10 288
 4Q397 14-21:12-15 288
 4Q398 14-17:1:7-8 183, 191
 4Q398 14-17:2:3-7 194
 4Q400 frg. 2:5 378
 4Q406 131-132:9-10 291
 4Q408 frag. 1+1:6 427
 4Q414 2:3:16 379
 4Q427 7:2:14 291
 4Q427 7:2:18 291
 4Q484 182
 4Q503 135
 4Q504 145-146
 4Q504 1-2:1:8-10 145
 4Q504 1-2:2:11-12 145
 4Q504 1-2:2:12-13 191
 4Q504 1-2:2:13 146, 183
 4Q504 1-2:3:3-4 145
 4Q504 1-2:4:1-5 146
 4Q504 1-2:4:2-5:6 137
 4Q504 1-2:5:2-21 134
 4Q504 1-2:5:3 146, 153-154
 4Q504 1-2:5:3-5 152
 4Q504 1-2:5:3-9 145
 4Q504 1-2:5:4-5 146
 4Q504 1-2:5:4-6 146
 4Q504 1-2:5:6-8 146
 4Q504 1-2:5:7-11 146
 4Q504 1-2:5:8-9 145-146
 4Q504 1-2:5:9 153
 4Q504 1-2:5:9-14 145
 4Q504 1-2:5:9b-21 146
 4Q504 1-2:5:12c-14 146
 4Q504 1-2:5:14 153
 4Q504 1-2:5:18-21 146
 4Q504 1-2:5:19 153
 4Q504 1-2:5:19-20 146
 4Q504 1-2:6:2-3 146
 4Q504 1-2:6:5-6 146
 4Q504 1-2:6:6 145
 4Q504 1-2:6:10-14 146
 4Q504 4:4-5 291
 4Q504 3:2:13-14 145
 4Q504 5:6b-13 139
 4Q504 6:2:10ff 145
 4Q506 145
 4Q537 182
 4Q538 182
 4Q540 182
 4QapocrMoses A 2:1:1-3 191
 4Qdeut 5:8 95
 4QdibHam^a 1-2:5:6-8 145
 4QdibHam^a 1-2:5:6-9 404
 4QdibHam^a 2:13 191
 4QdibHam^a 5:19 64
 4QMMT 91 191
 4QMMT 95 191

4QMMT 96 191
 4QMMT 97 191
 4QMMT 99 191
 4QMMT 103 191
 4QMMT 107 191
 4Qphyl^a 95, 125
 4Qphyl^b 125
 4Qphyl^g 95
 4Qphyl^{g-i} 125
 4Qphyl^j 95, 125
 4Qphyl^{j-k} 125
 4Qphyl^{l-n} 125
 4Qphylⁿ 126
 4Qphyl^o 125
 4Qphyl^c 125
 4Qphyl^{d-f} 125
 4Qphyl^e 125
 4QPs^f 7:15 191
 4QPs^f 8:10 191
 4QPs^f 22:12 191
 4Qpseudo-Ezekiel^b 4:2 191
 4QRP^a 6:1-9 191, 193
 4QRP^a 7-8:6 193

8Qphyl[8Q3] 125

11QtgJob 37:3 426
 11QtgJob 38:2 426
 11QtgJob 38:3 426
 11QtgJob 37:7 426

11Q5 216
 11Q19 59 193
 11Q19 54:8-20 193
 11Q19 54:10 193
 11Q19 54:12 194
 11Q19 54:12-13 193
 11Q19 54:16 193
 11Q19 54:17-18 194
 11Q19 54:20 193
 11Q19 59:3 193
 11Q19 59:10 193-194
 11Q19 59:11-12 193-194
 11Q19 59:14 193
 11Q19 59:16 194
 11QTa 54:12-19 353
 11QTa 55:3-18 353

Philo

Abr. 56 57
Abr. 58 405
Abr. 121 162
Abr. 208 217

Aet. 15:3 405

Cher. 14 333
Cher. 27 162
Cher. 83 179
Cher. 86 179
Cher. 99 165, 180
Cher. 118 167, 180
Cher. 119 167-168, 179-180, 432-433
Cher. 121 167
Cher. 124 168
Cher. 125 408
Cher. 125-127 417
Cher. 127 18, 408
Cher. 130 168

Conf. 33 162
Conf. 146-148 421
Conf. 170 404, 405, 433
Conf. 170-171 18
Conf. 171 179
Conf. 173 180, 378

Cong. 79 354

Cont. 1-2 118
Cont. 27-28 118, 129
Cont. 90 405

Decal. 8 353
Decal. 8-9 354
Decal. 16 64
Decal. 18-19 143, 163
Decal. 19 169
Decal. 31 370
Decal. 32 143, 419
Decal. 50-51 165, 172, 370
Decal. 51 165, 173, 179, 200, 202, 369, 405
Decal. 52ff 166
Decal. 52-65 165
Decal. 58 165
Decal. 58-65 165
Decal. 61 274
Decal. 62-63 167

- Decal.* 64 166–167, 179–180, 404
Decal. 64f 166, 404
Decal. 64–67 165
Decal. 65 21, 147, 165–166
Decal. 65–67 178, 180, 384
Decal. 66 166, 274
Decal. 66ff 166
Decal. 68–81 369–370
Decal. 70 274
Decal. 82 165–166
Decal. 96 165
Decal. 106 165
Decal. 106–110 198, 237, 241
Decal. 108–110 217
Decal. 110 199
Decal. 132 165
Decal. 134 370
Decal. 135 165
Decal. 154–155 173
Decal. 155 162, 172, 179, 287
Decal. 155–156 369–370
Decal. 156 369
Decal. 158 287
Decal. 165 287

Det. 54 18, 166, 421
Det. 115–118 64

Deus 30–31 405

Flacc. 164 363

Fug. 71 179
Fug. 84 405
Fug. 109 421
Fug. 164 353
Fug. 164–165 421
Fug. 190 18

Gig. 6–7 273
Gig. 16–17 273–274
Gig. 64 179

Her. 143 179
Her. 169 172
Her. 183 179
Her. 200 405
L.A. 1:20 418
L.A. 1:53 424
L.A. 1:55 418
L.A. 1:88 424

L.A. 1:90 424
L.A. 1:96 424
L.A. 1:125 418
L.A. 2:1 162
L.A. 2:1–3 179
L.A. 2:51–52 179
L.A. 2:86 63–64, 418
L.A. 3:11 420
L.A. 3:81 165
L.A. 3:81–82 179
L.A. 3:82 161, 163–165, 178, 226
L.A. 3:96 18, 166
L.A. 3:104–105 179
L.A. 3:105 179
L.A. 3:126 353
L.A. 3:173 401

Leg. 114–118 166
Leg. 115 165–166, 179, 404–405, 421
Leg. 118 421
Leg. 188 338
Leg. 265 338
Leg. 346 338

Mig. 178ff 169
Mig. 180 169
Mig. 180–181 169

Mos. 1:75 179
Mos. 2:48 405
Mos. 2:97 162
Mos. 2:99–100 162, 179–180
Mos. 2:165 167
Mos. 2:166 249, 258
Mos. 2:167 168
Mos. 2:167–168 168
Mos. 2:167–169 167, 369
Mos. 2:213 163
Mos. 2:256 405

Mut. 8–10 421

Op. 10 405
Op. 21 405
Op. 24–25 18
Op. 72 175
Op. 100 172
Op. 101 172
Op. 170 162
Op. 170–171 172
Op. 170–172 18, 26

Op. 171 173–174, 433–434

Op. 171–172 172

Op. 172 172, 199, 434

Plant. 52 420

Plant. 95 163

Plant. 137 163, 179

Praem. 32 405

Sac. 8 18, 166

Sob. 66 57

Som. 1:42 249

Som. 1:228–229 179

Som. 1:141 274

Som. 2:253–254 179

Spec. 1:0 154, 163, 165, 178, 181, 369

Spec. 1:0–8 164

Spec. 1:1 165

Spec. 1:2 164, 180

Spec. 1:2ff 164

Spec. 1:9 164, 180

Spec. 1:12 172–173

Spec. 1:12–4:135 384

Spec. 1:13 173, 370

Spec. 1:13–14 274

Spec. 1:13–20 165

Spec. 1:14 8, 173, 179, 404

Spec. 1:15 165

Spec. 1:18 165, 173, 180

Spec. 1:19 173

Spec. 1:20 165, 173, 180

Spec. 1:20ff 173

Spec. 1:20–22 369–370

Spec. 1:21 274

Spec. 1:21–22 170, 369

Spec. 1:23–25 369

Spec. 1:25–28 363

Spec. 1:28 369

Spec. 1:29 369

Spec. 1:29–30 370

Spec. 1:30 18, 162, 169–170, 178–180,
354

Spec. 1:31 170

Spec. 1:35 370

Spec. 1:42 199

Spec. 1:50 354

Spec. 1:67 434

Spec. 1:67–68 174

Spec. 1:81 18, 166, 370, 408

Spec. 1:96 370

Spec. 1:97 370

Spec. 1:294–295 370

Spec. 1:169–171 162

Spec. 1:171 129

Spec. 1:208 15, 17

Spec. 1:269 354

Spec. 1:300 370

Spec. 1:302 370

Spec. 1:315–316 298

Spec. 1:316 298

Spec. 1:332 353

Spec. 2:1–38 163

Spec. 2:5 370

Spec. 2:29–222 163

Spec. 2:62ff 200

Spec. 2:63 198–199

Spec. 2:151 370

Spec. 2:224 173

Spec. 2:256 173, 405

Spec. 3:1–82 163

Spec. 3:29 164

Spec. 3:83–4:40 163

Spec. 3:178 405

Spec. 3:189 405

Spec. 4:133 128

Spec. 4:134 128

Spec. 4:41–77 163

Spec. 4:78ff 127

Spec. 4:78–131 163

Spec. 4:133–141 179

Spec. 4:136–142 384

Spec. 4:137 127–128

Spec. 4:137–139 128

Spec. 4:141 128

Spec. 4:142 127–128

Spec. 4:143 128

Spec. 4:147 128

Spec. 4:148 128

Spec. 4:157 173

Spec. 4:158 174

Spec. 4:159 173, 180

Virt. 34 201

Virt. 34–35 201

Virt. 34–41 201

Virt. 35 174, 180, 201

Virt. 35ff 180

Virt. 40 201

Virt. 51 199, 217
Virt. 65 385
Virt. 95 217
Virt. 173–174 320
Virt. 179 173, 179, 404–405
Virt. 212–219 273
Virt. 220 173

Q.G. 1:58 408, 417
Q.G. 2:62 161, 420

Quod Deus 92 354

Ps Phil 6:4 353
 Ps Phil 23:2 205
 Ps Phil 26:13 313
 Ps Phil 44:6 369

Josephus

Ag. Ap. 1:1 176
Ag. Ap. 1:7 175
Ag. Ap. 1:36 333
Ag. Ap. 1:117 176
Ag. Ap. 1:145 175
Ag. Ap. 1:146 184
Ag. Ap. 1:164 176
Ag. Ap. 1:167 176
Ag. Ap. 1:168 176
Ag. Ap. 1:176 176
Ag. Ap. 1:194 176
Ag. Ap. 1:213 176
Ag. Ap. 2:1 176
Ag. Ap. 2:2 176
Ag. Ap. 2:5 176
Ag. Ap. 2:6 176
Ag. Ap. 2:7 176
Ag. Ap. 2:28 176
Ag. Ap. 2:136 176
Ag. Ap. 2:139 370
Ag. Ap. 2:145 176
Ag. Ap. 2:146 184, 200
Ag. Ap. 2:164 157
Ag. Ap. 2:165–167 25, 157
Ag. Ap. 2:168 176
Ag. Ap. 2:170 184
Ag. Ap. 2:170–171 199
Ag. Ap. 2:173–174 347
Ag. Ap. 2:184 176
Ag. Ap. 2:185 175
Ag. Ap. 2:188 176
Ag. Ap. 2:190 147, 175–176, 287, 411

Ag. Ap. 2:190–191 130
Ag. Ap. 2:190–192 176
Ag. Ap. 2:190–193 170, 175
Ag. Ap. 2:191 175–176, 200
Ag. Ap. 2:192 175–176, 411
Ag. Ap. 2:192–193 180
Ag. Ap. 2:193 15, 133, 174, 177–178, 180, 253, 393, 411, 434
Ag. Ap. 2:193ff 177
Ag. Ap. 2:193–198 130
Ag. Ap. 2:196 176, 411
Ag. Ap. 2:199 176
Ag. Ap. 2:199–203 175–176
Ag. Ap. 2:204 176
Ag. Ap. 2:205 176
Ag. Ap. 2:206 175–176
Ag. Ap. 2:208 175–176
Ag. Ap. 2:209–210 175
Ag. Ap. 2:215 176
Ag. Ap. 2:216–217 176
Ag. Ap. 2:217 176
Ag. Ap. 2:237 176
Ag. Ap. 2:262 176
Ag. Ap. 2:276 176
Ag. Ap. 2:287 176
Ag. Ap. 2:291 176, 184, 217
Ag. Ap. 2:293 184

Ant. 1:17 169
Ant. 1:20–21 404
Ant. 1:27 176
Ant. 1:72 200
Ant. 1:155 170–171
Ant. 1:155–156 170, 178
Ant. 1:156–157 169, 176
Ant. 1:157 169
Ant. 1:161 168
Ant. 2:276 169, 424
Ant. 3:5 219
Ant. 3:89–90 169
Ant. 3:90 178
Ant. 3:91 18, 26–27, 169–171, 178, 180, 359, 369–370, 383, 402
Ant. 3:123 176
Ant. 3:181 176
Ant. 4:40 176
Ant. 4:126–155 347
Ant. 4:126–158 347
Ant. 4:130 200
Ant. 4:133 128
Ant. 4:137 346

- Ant.* 4:146 346
Ant. 4:148 128
Ant. 4:149 346
Ant. 4:154 168
Ant. 4:155–156 168
Ant. 4:155–160 168
Ant. 4:157 168
Ant. 4:177 177
Ant. 4:180 170, 177
Ant. 4:180–201 178
Ant. 4:190 177
Ant. 4:190–213 177
Ant. 4:192 177
Ant. 4:194 177
Ant. 4:196 177
Ant. 4:196–197 169
Ant. 4:197 168
Ant. 4:199ff 179
Ant. 4:200 177, 393
Ant. 4:200–201 128, 177, 434
Ant. 4:200–213 170, 384
Ant. 4:201 15, 27, 133, 176–177, 180, 393
Ant. 4:202 177
Ant. 4:205 177
Ant. 4:206 177
Ant. 4:207 177
Ant. 4:208 177
Ant. 4:209 177
Ant. 4:211 128, 177
Ant. 4:211–213 179, 393
Ant. 4:212 128
Ant. 4:212–213 127, 130, 177
Ant. 4:213 128, 177
Ant. 4:233 179
Ant. 4:234 179
Ant. 5:93 405
Ant. 5:97 178
Ant. 5:97–98 180
Ant. 5:98 178
Ant. 5:101 178
Ant. 5:111–112 133
Ant. 5:112 27, 178
Ant. 5:185 200
Ant. 5:220 248
Ant. 6:17 201
Ant. 6:18–19 201
Ant. 6:21 201
Ant. 6:22–24 201
Ant. 6:160 199
Ant. 6:252 290
Ant. 6:265 199
Ant. 7:269 199, 290
Ant. 7:380 180
Ant. 7:394 169
Ant. 8:107
Ant. 8:120 199
Ant. 8:120–121 199
Ant. 8:121 199
Ant. 8:295 199
Ant. 8:335 171, 178, 180
Ant. 8:335–337 171
Ant. 8:338 171, 174
Ant. 8:343 170–171, 178, 180
Ant. 8:349 171
Ant. 8:350 180
Ant. 8:395 200
Ant. 9:9 363
Ant. 9:153 200
Ant. 9:155 200
Ant. 9:157 200
Ant. 9:243 200
Ant. 10:50 199, 363
Ant. 10:63 200
Ant. 10:69 363
Ant. 10:83 200, 217
Ant. 10:215 199
Ant. 10:218 169
Ant. 10:253 171
Ant. 10:263 171, 180
Ant. 12:22 338
Ant. 12:271 200
Ant. 13:2 199
Ant. 13:4 199
Ant. 13:68 425
Ant. 14:146 75
Ant. 14:147–148 75
Ant. 15:373–375 199
Ant. 15:374–375 199
Ant. 15:376 199
Ant. 18:23 172
Ant. 18:117 199
Ant. 20:90 171, 180, 425
Ant. 4:200ff 130
J.W. 1:584 176
J.W. 1:648ff 311
J.W. 2:121 176
J.W. 2:137–139 188
J.W. 2:139 184
J.W. 2:348 290
J.W. 7:323 171–172

J.W. 7:410 172
J.W. 7:451–452 363

Life. 1:5 168
Life (Vit.) 418 168

Rabbinic Literature

m. Abod. Zar. 1:4–5 297
m. Abod. Zar. 1:5 391
m. Abod. Zar. 2:3 297
m. Abod. Zar. 3:4F 297
m. Abod. Zar. 4:1–2 297–298
m. Abod. Zar. 4:3 297
m. Abod. Zar. 5:1 297, 300
m. Abod. Zar. 5:5 298
m. Abod. Zar. 5:5–8 301
m. Abod. Zar. 5:6A–D 297
m. Abot. 3:3 299–300

m. Ber. 1–3 189
m. Ber. 1:1–4 5
m. Ber. 1:1–2:2 130
m. Ber. 1:1–4:1 131
m. Ber. 1:5 128
m. Ber. 2:2:1 75
m. Ber. 7:1 298
m. Ber. 9:5:a 60, 182
m. Ber. 9:5:E–F 321

m. Sanh. 11:3:C 125

m. Sot. 7:1 131

m. Tam. 4:2–5:1 130
m. Tam. 5:1 128, 185, 190
m. Tam. 5:1:a–b 129
m. Tam. 5:1:c 129
m. Tam. 7:2:d 129
m. Tam. 7:3–4 130

b. Ber. 11a–b 190
b. Ber. 11b 131
b. Ber. 12b 128
b. Ber. 35a 69
b. Ber. 61b 130

b. B. Mes. 33a 210
b. B. Mes. 85a 210

b. Git. 56a 210

b. Pes. 56a 60, 131, 183, 244

b. Sanh. 89b 210

b. Taan. 2a 60, 183

t. Abod. Zar. 6:4–6

t. Ber. 2:1 118
t. Ber. 4:1 69, 300, 416
t. Ber. 11b 132

y. Ber. 1:5 I:2 128
y. Ber. III:3c [I:4:III:F] 130

Gen Rab. 23:15d 273

Exod Rab. 5:71c 274
Exod Rab. 15:77b 274
Exod Rab. 21:83c 274
Exod Rab. 29 131
Exod Rab. 29:9 131
Exod Rab. 43:99c 274

Deut. Rab. 1:195c 274
Deut. Rab. 1:196d 274
Deut. Rab. 1:197d 274
Deut. Rab. 1:198b 274
Deut. Rab. 2:35 183
Deut. Rab. 6:4 131, 183, 242

Sifra Lev 19:18 216

Sifré Deut 6:4 131, 244
Sifré Deut 6:5 60, 131, 183, 194, 222
Sifré Deut 6:7 183
Sifré Deut 11:12 (§40) 131
Sifré Deut 11:13 (§41) 60
Sifré Deut 11:16 274
Sifré Deut 32 183
Sifré Deut 32:17 274
Sifré Deut 33 183

Melkita Exod 15:1 274
Melkita Exod 15:2 131
Melkita Exod 15:11 274
Melkita Exod 20:3 274
Melkita Exod 23:13 274

Midr. Tehillim Ps. 93:1 131

Pirque R. Eliezer 45 212

Tg. Neof. Deut 6:5 183

Tg. Onq. Deut 6:5 182–183

Tg. Ps.-J. Deut 6:4–5 182–183

Tg. Ps.-J. Deut 5:5–6:21

Tg. Yer. I Gen 2:26 273

Tg. Yer. II Gen 49:1–2 131, 183

Tg. Yer. I–II Gen 49 244

Tg. Yer. I–II Gen 49:1–2 60

Tg. Yer. I–II Deut 6:4 60, 131, 183, 244

Tg. Yer. I–II Deut 6:5 131

New Testament

Matt 1:22 417

Matt 3:13–17 213

Matt 3:17 213

Matt 4 213

Matt 4:1–2 210

Matt 4:1ff 213

Matt 4:1–11 69, 209–210, 213

Matt 4:3 211, 213, 231

Matt 4:4 64, 69, 210

Matt 4:6 211, 213

Matt 4:7 69, 141, 152, 211

Matt 4:8 211

Matt 4:10 69, 212, 216

Matt 4:53 209

Matt 5:9 211

Matt 5:21–43 230

Matt 5:43 223

Matt 6:1–6 209

Matt 6:1–21 210

Matt 6.10 376

Matt 6:16–21 209

Matt 6:24 209, 378

Matt 7:6 285

Matt 7:12 209

Matt 7:23 236

Matt 8:18 225

Matt 8:23–27 209

Matt 8:29 211

Matt 9:6 285

Matt 9:11 225

Matt 9:13 209, 220

Matt 10:24 225

Matt 10:25 225

Matt 11:25 403

Matt 11:27 385, 403

Matt 11:29–30 75

Matt 12:7 209, 220

Matt 12.31 242

Matt 12:38 225

Matt 13 215

Matt 13:1–23 213

Matt 13:1–52 209

Matt 13:9 213

Matt 13:15 214

Matt 13:18 213–214

Matt 13:19 213–214

Matt 13:19–23 214

Matt 13:20 213

Matt 13:21 214

Matt 13:22 213, 215

Matt 13:23 213–215

Matt 13:35 213

Matt 13:51f 213

Matt 13:55 231

Matt 14:1–11 209

Matt 14:13–21 209

Matt 14:22–31 209

Matt 14:33 211

Matt 15:17–20 340

Matt 15:29–39 209

Matt 16:1 211

Matt 16:16 211

Matt 16:21–28 209

Matt 17:8 385

Matt 17:10 352

Matt 17:24 225

Matt 17:25–27 209

Matt 19:16 225, 229

Matt 19:16–22 218, 228, 308

Matt 19:17 228–229, 231

Matt 19:18 228

Matt 19:18–19 229–230, 242

Matt 19:19 209, 223, 229

Matt 19:21 230–231

Matt 19:24 230

Matt 19:29 231

Matt 20:28 380

Matt 21:5–26:56 43

Matt 21:10–17 221

Matt 21:12–13 58

Matt 21:16 290

Matt 21:18–22 209

Matt 22 208

Matt 22–23 222

Matt 22:16 225

- Matt 22:24 225
Matt 22:31 285
Matt 22:34–40 209, 250
Matt 22:34–46 223
Matt 22:35 223, 227
Matt 22:35–23:12 222
Matt 22:36 212, 225
Matt 22:37 114, 208, 220, 224–225, 308
Matt 22:37–38 223, 313
Matt 22:37–40 209, 223, 237
Matt 22:38 218, 225
Matt 22:39 222
Matt 22:40 209
Matt 22:41–45 223
Matt 22:41–46 225–226
Matt 22:42 231
Matt 22:44 226
Matt 22:46 212, 223
Matt 23:1–36 227
Matt 23:5 114, 223–225
Matt 23:5–6 223
Matt 23:6–7 114
Matt 23:8 225, 244
Matt 23:8–9 245
Matt 23:8–10 113, 223–225, 232, 404, 446
Matt 23:9 113, 224, 232, 244, 403, 405
Matt 23:10 224–225, 244
Matt 23:11 226
Matt 23:12 225
Matt 23:14 227
Matt 23:18 227
Matt 23:23 209, 225, 227, 242
Matt 23:26 355
Matt 25:32 380
Matt 24:9–13 227
Matt 24:35 403
Matt 24:36 403–405
Matt 25:14–46 227
Matt 26:18 225
Matt 26:31 107
Matt 26:54 352
Matt 26:63 211
Matt 27:3–4 311
Matt 27:3–10 43
Matt 27:4 311
Matt 27:33–50 209
Matt 27:40 211
Matt 27:43 211
Matt 27:54 211
Matt 28:18 376
Mark 2:7 227–228, 231, 244
Mark 4:3 214
Mark 4:9 213
Mark 4:15 214
Mark 7:6 290
Mark 7:9 209
Mark 9:11 352
Mark 10:13–16 230
Mark 10:17 229
Mark 10:17–22 308
Mark 10:17–31 228
Mark 10:18 227, 229, 231, 244, 361, 385
Mark 10:18–19 228, 230, 242
Mark 10:19 228, 291
Mark 10:21 209, 230
Mark 10:22 219
Mark 10:23 230
Mark 11:15–18 58
Mark 11:15–19 221
Mark 11:17 290
Mark 11:23 207
Mark 11:27 221
Mark 11:43 209
Mark 12 25, 208
Mark 12:8–34 25
Mark 12:19 290
Mark 12:26 285
Mark 12:28 218, 221
Mark 12:28–33 217–218, 221, 434
Mark 12:28–34 207, 209
Mark 12:29 218, 244, 399, 432–434
Mark 12:29–31 237
Mark 12:29–32 5, 21
Mark 12:29–30 208
Mark 12:30 219–220, 308, 321
Mark 12:31 218–219, 313, 316
Mark 12:32 105, 207, 218–221, 226–228, 231, 263, 285, 290, 384–386, 399–400, 433
Mark 12:33 208, 219–220, 260, 321
Mark 12:34 221
Mark 12:35 221
Mark 12:35–37 223, 226
Mark 12:36 226
Mark 12:38–40 227
Mark 12:40–44 227
Mark 13:9–13 227
Mark 13:31 403
Mark 13:32 403

- Mark 14:21 311
Mark 14:18–25 311
Mark 14:27 107
- Luke 1:10 130
Luke 1:19 333
Luke 1:75 257
Luke 2:23 290
Luke 4:4 290
Luke 4:10 290
Luke 4:11 290
Luke 5:21 227
Luke 6:27–36 209
Luke 7:5 209
Luke 7:36–50 209
Luke 8:8 213
Luke 8:12 214
Luke 8:13 214–215
Luke 8:15 214
Luke 10 208
Luke 10:1–20 207
Luke 10:7 207
Luke 10:21 403
Luke 10:22 385, 403
Luke 10:25–18 207
Luke 10:25–28 222
Luke 10:25–37 209
Luke 10:27 208, 220, 224, 308
Luke 10:27ff 207
Luke 10:30 227
Luke 11:13 403
Luke 11:14–54 222
Luke 11:14–12:34 222
Luke 11:37–12:1 227
Luke 11:42 227, 352
Luke 12:1–12 222
Luke 12:4–12 227
Luke 12:13–34 222, 227
Luke 12:16–48 222
Luke 12:30 403
Luke 12:49–13:9 222
Luke 13:4 352
Luke 13:10–21 222
Luke 13:14 352
Luke 13:16 352
Luke 15:32 352
Luke 16:13 209, 378
Luke 17:6 207
Luke 18:1 352
Luke 18:18–23 308
Luke 18:19 229, 244, 361, 385
- Luke 18:20 228, 291
Luke 18:22 230
Luke 18:24 230
Luke 19:45–47 58
Luke 19:45–48 221
Luke 20:41–44 226
Luke 22:7 352
- John 1:1–3 434
John 1:3 408
John 1:13 416
John 1:14 422
John 1:31 232
John 2:13–22 58
John 3:13 247
John 3:14 66
John 4:20 32
John 4:23 402, 404
John 4:26 237
John 4:34 232
John 5:18 241
John 5:21 402
John 5:22 402
John 5:23–24 232
John 5:26 402
John 5:30 232
John 5:36 402, 404
John 5:37–39 232
John 6:20 237
John 6:27 404
John 6:32 401
John 6:35 237
John 6:37 402
John 6:41 237
John 6:44 232, 402, 404
John 6:48 237
John 6:51 237
John 6:69 330
John 7:18 232
John 7:20–21 236
John 7:28 232
John 7:33 232
John 8 236
John 8:12 237
John 8:13 232
John 8:14 234
John 8:16 232
John 8:16–18 232
John 8:18 237
John 8:19 234, 240
John 8:21ff 234

- John 8:24 234, 237, 240
John 8:25 236
John 8:27 232
John 8:27–28 234
John 8:28 237, 402, 404
John 8:30–31 240
John 8:32 234
John 8:34 232
John 8:35 232
John 8:37 233
John 8:38 232–233
John 8:39 233
John 8:39–40 233
John 8:39–41 233
John 8:41 113, 232–234, 244
John 8:41–42 233
John 8:41–44 240
John 8:42 234
John 8:42–45 239
John 8:43 234, 236
John 8:44 232–233
John 8:45–46 240
John 8:47 233–234
John 8:48 233
John 8:48–49 232, 236
John 8:49 233–234
John 8:52 232, 234, 236
John 8:55 234, 236, 239, 330
John 8:58 237
John 9:9 237
John 10 235–236
John 10:3 235
John 10:7 237
John 10:7–18 237
John 10:11 235, 237
John 10:11–12 236
John 10:13–17 238
John 10:14 237, 239–240
John 10:14–15 236
John 10:14–16 240
John 10:15 237, 239–240, 402
John 10:15–17 236
John 10:16 133, 235–236
John 10:17 239, 402
John 10:17–18 237
John 10:20–21 236
John 10:21 236
John 10:24 236
John 10:24–25 235
John 10:25 237
John 10:27 239
John 10:29–30 237
John 10:30 235, 404
John 10:33 236, 241
John 10:34 236, 290
John 10:34–35 375
John 10:36 402, 404
John 10:38 236, 402, 404
John 10:39 402
John 11:25 237
John 11:50 245
John 11:52 235
John 12:34 352
John 12:26 402
John 12:50 402, 404
John 13:3 404
John 13:10–11 355
John 13:13 402
John 13:19 237
John 13:34 237, 239, 308
John 14:6 237, 385
John 14:7–9 330
John 14:10 402
John 14:10–11 404
John 14:11 402
John 14:13 402, 404
John 14:26 402, 404
John 14:28 402
John 14:31 402, 404
John 15:1 237
John 15:3 355
John 15:4 410
John 15:5 237
John 15:8 402
John 15:8–9 404
John 15:9 402
John 15:12 237, 239
John 15:15 404
John 15:17 237
John 15:25 290
John 15:27 404
John 15:32 404
John 16:11 285
John 16:15 402
John 16:27 402
John 16:27–30 234
John 16:32 402
John 17:11 236
John 17:20–24 235
John 17:22 235
John 17:22–23 236
John 18:5 237

- John 18:6 237
 John 18:8 237
 John 18:11 402, 404
 John 18:14 245
 John 19:37 107
 John 20:9 352
- Acts 1:7 403
 Acts 2:20 430
 Acts 2:21 430
 Acts 2:30 291
 Acts 2:31 290
 Acts 3:12 257
 Acts 3:22 290
 Acts 3:25 397
 Acts 5:29 352
 Acts 4:9–11 226
 Acts 4:12 226
 Acts 5:29 352
 Acts 7:6 290
 Acts 7:40 375
 Acts 7:41 367
 Acts 7:41–43 367
 Acts 14:11 375
 Acts 15:5 352
 Acts 15:10 141
 Acts 15:20–29 331
 Acts 15:28 331
 Acts 15:28–29 331
 Acts 15:29 296
 Acts 18:8 323
 Acts 19:26 375
 Acts 19:28 396
 Acts 20:35 352
 Acts 21:25 285, 296, 331
 Acts 22:16 430
 Acts 23:1 355
 Acts 23:4 333
 Acts 23:5 291
 Acts 23:14 314
 Acts 24:16 355
 Acts 25:11–12
- Rom 1:7 315, 403
 Rom 1:21–23 350
 Rom 1:23 246
 Rom 1:25 416
 Rom 2:2 289
 Rom 2:11 246
 Rom 2:18 352
 Rom 2:18–20 352
- Rom 2:20 353–353
 Rom 2:22 367
 Rom 2:29 246
 Rom 3–4 251, 325
 Rom 3:2 246
 Rom 3:8 341, 344
 Rom 3:10 290
 Rom 3:19 289
 Rom 3:21–26 248
 Rom 3:22 250
 Rom 3:27–30 244
 Rom 3:27–4:21 246
 Rom 3:28–29 250
 Rom 3:29 247
 Rom 3:29–30 113, 131, 247
 Rom 3:29–4:25 247
 Rom 3:30 26, 174, 224, 233, 243–246,
 248, 250, 261, 372, 389, 403, 442
 Rom 3:31 250
 Rom 4:1 244
 Rom 4:1–25 233, 243, 246–247
 Rom 4:11 244
 Rom 4:12 244
 Rom 4:16 244, 250, 412
 Rom 4:17 290, 411
 Rom 4:18 248
 Rom 4:24–25 243, 248
 Rom 5:1 423
 Rom 5:3 289
 Rom 5:11 423
 Rom 5:12–19 245
 Rom 5:12–21 247
 Rom 5:13 371
 Rom 5:15 258
 Rom 5:16 412
 Rom 5:17 423
 Rom 5:21 423
 Rom 6:4 403, 422
 Rom 6:9 289
 Rom 6:13 333
 Rom 6:16 62, 289
 Rom 7:7 246
 Rom 7:14 289
 Rom 7:18 289
 Rom 8:9 372
 Rom 8:15 403
 Rom 8:16 255
 Rom 8:17 372
 Rom 8:22 289
 Rom 8:23 422
 Rom 8:38f 351

Rom 8:26 351
 Rom 8:28 218, 289, 308, 313, 413
 Rom 8:32 413
 Rom 8:36 290
 Rom 9:12 290
 Rom 9:17 33, 290
 Rom 9:30–10:13 63
 Rom 9:32–33 325
 Rom 9:33 63
 Rom 10:5 290
 Rom 10:5–8
 Rom 10:7–9 247
 Rom 10:9 63, 247, 428
 Rom 10:10 247
 Rom 10:12 246–247
 Rom 10:12–13 247
 Rom 10:13 247, 430
 Rom 11:17 305
 Rom 10:19 366
 Rom 11:33ff 8
 Rom 11:34 429
 Rom 11:34–35 410
 Rom 11:36 8, 19, 407–408, 410–411,
 413–414, 416, 418
 Rom 12:1
 Rom 12:1–15:13 309
 Rom 12:3 351
 Rom 12:4 245
 Rom 12:4–5 392
 Rom 12:5 245, 254
 Rom 12:9–10 309
 Rom 12:17 309
 Rom 13:3–10 308
 Rom 13:8–9 228, 243, 260, 308
 Rom 13:8–10 242, 308–309
 Rom 13:9 200, 228–229, 309
 Rom 13:9–14 247
 Rom 14 309, 320
 Rom 14–15 325
 Rom 14:1–23 247
 Rom 14:1–15:7 309
 Rom 14:1–15:6 345
 Rom 14:1–15:13 324
 Rom 14:2 356
 Rom 14:3 317
 Rom 14:4 326
 Rom 14:4–5 356
 Rom 14:5 356
 Rom 14:10 333
 Rom 14:10–13 326
 Rom 14:13 325

Rom 14:14 345
 Rom 14:15 309
 Rom 14:22 326, 345
 Rom 14:23 356
 Rom 15:1 320–321, 344
 Rom 15:2 309
 Rom 15:7 309
 Rom 15:29 289
 Rom 16:20 315
 Rom 16:27 247

 1Cor 1–2 421
 1Cor 1–3 350
 1Cor 1–4 54–55, 276, 328
 1Cor 1:2 328, 430–431
 1Cor 1:3 315, 402–403
 1Cor 1:5 304, 318
 1Cor 1:9 67, 86, 211
 1Cor 1:10 268, 328, 430
 1Cor 1:10–2:5 275
 1Cor 1:10–4:21 275
 1Cor 1:13 430
 1Cor 1:14 323, 385
 1Cor 1:14–15 65
 1Cor 1.15 430
 1Cor 1:16 70
 1Cor 1:18 350, 430
 1Cor 1:19 52, 54
 1Cor 1:20–24 327
 1Cor 1:21 327
 1Cor 1:22 306
 1Cor 1:22–23 350
 1Cor 1:22–24 315
 1Cor 1:23 324, 350
 1Cor 1:23–24 327
 1Cor 1:24 328, 350
 1Cor 1:25 280, 305, 321
 1Cor 1:26 320
 1Cor 1:26–29 55, 320
 1Cor 1:27 280
 1Cor 1:27–28 320
 1Cor 1:30 54, 199, 423
 1Cor 1:31 52, 54–56, 429, 431
 1Cor 2:1 398
 1Cor 2:3 280
 1Cor 2:6 410
 1Cor 2:6–7 320
 1Cor 2:6–16 275, 303, 315
 1Cor 2:7–8 350
 1Cor 2:8 330

- 1Cor 2:9 52, 54, 56, 218, 306, 308, 313–315, 317, 320
 1Cor 2:10 320, 413
 1Cor 2:11 330
 1Cor 2:13 306
 1Cor 2:14 397
 1Cor 2:16 52, 54, 429, 431
 1Cor 2:25–29 246
 1Cor 3:1 398
 1Cor 3:1–4:21 275
 1Cor 3:2 280
 1Cor 3:3 306
 1Cor 3:7 337
 1Cor 3:8 236
 1Cor 3:10 305–306
 1Cor 3.10–11 317
 1Cor 3:16–17 57, 62, 289, 291, 415
 1Cor 3:18 324, 350
 1Cor 3:19 52, 54
 1Cor 3:20 52, 54, 431
 1Cor 3:22–23 7
 1Cor 3:23 19
 1Cor 4:6 329
 1Cor 4:6–7 329
 1Cor 4:9 280, 306
 1Cor 4:9–13 324
 1Cor 4:9–14 279
 1Cor 4:10 324
 1Cor 4:11 306, 324
 1Cor 4:13 324
 1Cor 4:18 329
 1Cor 4:18–19 318
 1Cor 4:18–5:2 329
 1Cor 4:19 329
 1Cor 4:21 310
 1Cor 4:39 98
 1Cor 5 55–57, 71, 324, 389, 441
 1Cor 5–6 61, 275, 295
 1Cor 5–7 56, 302
 1Cor 5–10 55, 65, 70, 138, 205, 263, 279, 281, 322, 441, 443
 1Cor 5–11 54–55, 269
 1Cor 5:1 56, 58, 70
 1Cor 5:1ff 332
 1Cor 5:1–5 58
 1Cor 5:1–8 279
 1Cor 5:1–13 302, 323
 1Cor 5:1–23 275
 1Cor 5:1–10:22 50, 54, 281, 443
 1Cor 5:1–11:1 280
 1Cor 5:1–11:34 54, 301, 342
 1Cor 5:2 318, 329
 1Cor 5:4 430, 437
 1Cor 5:4–5 56
 1Cor 5:5 56, 430
 1Cor 5:6 56, 59, 61–62, 289, 291
 1Cor 5:6–8 57
 1Cor 5:7 55, 70, 306
 1Cor 5:7–8 56, 58, 70
 1Cor 5:8 61, 70, 98
 1Cor 5:9 57, 302
 1Cor 5:9–10 297, 302
 1Cor 5:9–11 294, 326
 1Cor 5:9–13 58, 71, 325
 1Cor 5:10 279, 293, 302, 307, 322
 1Cor 5:10–11 279, 295, 323, 332, 362
 1Cor 5:10–6:10 279
 1Cor 5:11 57, 61, 193, 279, 293, 295, 302, 322, 389, 394, 441
 1Cor 5:12–13 71, 325
 1Cor 5:13 51–52, 54, 56–58, 70, 76
 1Cor 6 58, 389
 1Cor 6–10 153–154, 331
 1Cor 6:1–6 56
 1Cor 6:1–7 312, 343
 1Cor 6:1–8 279
 1Cor 6:1–11 275
 1Cor 6:2 62, 289, 291
 1Cor 6:3 62, 74, 140, 289, 291, 306
 1Cor 6:4 59
 1Cor 6:5 52, 56, 58–59, 70, 307
 1Cor 6:9 62, 289, 291, 293, 295, 297, 302, 323, 362, 394
 1Cor 6:9–10 57, 279, 295, 389, 441
 1Cor 6:9–11 57, 59
 1Cor 6:10 306, 322
 1Cor 6:11 71, 295, 430
 1Cor 6:12 60, 276, 280, 282, 305, 340–343, 394
 1Cor 6:12–13 341
 1Cor 6:12–14 342
 1Cor 6:12–20 56, 275, 279, 322
 1Cor 6:12–7:40 302
 1Cor 6:13 59–60, 280, 302, 340, 340–342, 343, 345
 1Cor 6:13–17 60
 1Cor 6:13–20 393
 1Cor 6:15 61–62, 280, 289, 291, 392
 1Cor 6:16 52, 54, 56, 59, 52, 70, 245, 280, 289, 291, 306, 340, 392
 1Cor 6:16–17 434
 1Cor 6:17 61, 244, 391–392

- 1Cor 6:17–10:33 54
 1Cor 6:18 60, 140, 343
 1Cor 6:19 57, 59, 61–62, 280, 289, 291, 392
 1Cor 7 58, 61, 280, 291, 393
 1Cor 7ff 267, 332
 1Cor 7–16 332
 1Cor 7:1 282–283, 285, 287–288
 1Cor 7:1ff 286
 1Cor 7:1–16 278
 1Cor 7:1–40 278
 1Cor 7:1–8:13 275
 1Cor 7:1–11:1 275
 1Cor 7:1–11:34 277
 1Cor 7:1–14:40 309
 1Cor 7:4 280
 1Cor 7:10 207–208, 306
 1Cor 7:10–11 207
 1Cor 7:12 208
 1Cor 7:12–14 393
 1Cor 7:12–16 250
 1Cor 7:17–20 278
 1Cor 7:21 280
 1Cor 7:21–22 280
 1Cor 7:21–24 278
 1Cor 7:24–11:21 328
 1Cor 7:25 207–208, 285
 1Cor 7:25ff 286
 1Cor 7:25–40 278
 1Cor 7:32–34 60, 393
 1Cor 7:32–35 60
 1Cor 7:34 60
 1Cor 7:35 60
 1Cor 7:37 280
 1Cor 7:39 250
 1Cor 7:39–40 56
 1Cor 8 21–22, 55, 70, 149, 181, 213, 247, 262–263, 269–271, 282–283, 290–291, 316–318, 324, 331, 336, 338, 345
 1Cor 8–10 5, 24–27, 54, 61, 84, 86, 118, 121, 133, 146, 154, 203–204, 208, 213, 215–216, 262, 267, 270–272, 280, 294–295, 300, 303, 309–310, 316, 324–325, 346, 431, 434, 436, 438, 443
 1Cor 8–11 302
 1Cor 8–12 443
 1Cor 8:1 5, 60–61, 76, 79, 121, 148, 264–268, 276, 282–283, 285–290, 292–294, 303–304, 315–319, 323, 327, 328–330, 332, 342–343, 350, 357, 359, 373, 396, 429
 1Cor 8:1–2 350
 1Cor 8:1ff 239
 1Cor 8:1–3 24, 50, 75, 98, 181, 186, 202, 208–209, 234, 236, 240, 252, 264–267, 303–304, 307, 311, 318–319, 328, 345, 349, 358
 1Cor 8:1–6 2–5, 22, 24, 27–31, 33–34, 36, 40, 43, 46–47, 49–50, 92, 96, 123, 129, 175, 181, 202, 207, 215, 251, 262–264, 267, 276–277, 280–281, 283, 295, 303, 317, 331–332, 395–396, 439–443
 1Cor 8:1–9 277
 1Cor 8:1–13 136, 139, 270, 272, 275–276, 278, 280, 294, 315, 389
 1Cor 8:1–10:22 270, 294
 1Cor 8:1–11:1 262, 269, 276, 278, 281, 294–295, 302, 356, 364, 441
 1Cor 8:2 236, 264–265, 267, 304, 306–307, 317–320, 326–328, 330–332, 350–352, 354, 373, 380–381
 1Cor 8:2–3 240, 266, 304–306, 316, 319
 1Cor 8:3 20, 49, 70, 76, 96, 196, 208, 218, 265, 267, 286, 303–304, 306–308, 313–320, 326, 328, 330, 332, 334, 345–346, 348–352, 358, 362, 373, 377, 396, 398
 1Cor 8:3–4 310, 362
 1Cor 8:4 1–3, 5, 18–19, 22, 24–26, 28, 49, 69–70, 76, 79, 81, 85, 89, 92, 95, 97–98, 105, 113, 120–121, 129, 132, 134–136, 142, 148, 151–152, 154, 160, 163–164, 168, 181, 201–203, 207–208, 219, 221, 224, 226–227, 231, 262–267, 269, 272, 274, 280–283, 285, 288–289, 292–294, 296–298, 314, 317, 331, 337, 343, 348, 350, 354, 358–364, 366–373, 380–391, 394–397, 401, 403, 409, 431–432, 434–436, 438–441, 445
 1Cor 8:4–5 83, 265, 292, 362, 400
 1Cor 8:4–6 19, 21–22, 24, 27, 47, 76, 157–158, 226, 231, 243, 260, 264–265, 266–267, 303, 306–307, 358–360, 362, 370, 391, 404, 406, 416, 421, 444
 1Cor 8:5 5, 7, 24, 49, 70, 105, 121, 136, 143, 157, 163, 266–267, 272, 274, 292, 296, 307, 330, 332, 349, 352,

- 358–362, 370–381, 385, 390, 397–398, 400, 414
- 1Cor 8:5–6 5, 7–8, 22, 91, 96, 113, 147, 154, 265–266, 272, 282, 372, 379, 397, 423
- 1Cor 8:6 1–2, 4–9, 11–12, 14–20, 22–24, 26–29, 49, 69–70, 79, 84, 86, 96–98, 102, 107–108, 111–114, 121–122, 136, 138–139, 157–158, 162, 166–168, 172, 179, 181, 202–203, 220, 224–226, 231, 241, 244, 252, 255, 258–259, 261–264, 266–267, 307, 317, 320, 328, 332, 352, 358–360, 364, 372–374, 379–384, 386, 390–391, 393–407, 409–410, 412, 414–418, 421–423, 427–429, 431–439, 441, 443–446
- 1Cor 8:7 61, 186, 276, 280, 292–293, 300, 304, 307, 318–319, 323–324, 326, 328, 335, 340, 354–357, 362
- 1Cor 8:7ff 201, 307
- 1Cor 8:7–13 25, 296, 316, 320, 323, 346, 355, 381, 394, 423
- 1Cor 8:7–9:27 277, 304
- 1Cor 8:7–13 336
- 1Cor 8:8 61, 276–277, 280, 282, 292, 302, 316, 333–336, 338, 343, 416
- 1Cor 8:8–12 389
- 1Cor 8:9 62, 239, 279–280, 319–321, 325, 335, 339, 342, 423
- 1Cor 8:9–10 322
- 1Cor 8:9ff 316
- 1Cor 8:9–12 277
- 1Cor 8:9–9:27 276
- 1Cor 8:10 66, 186, 269–270, 275, 280, 292–293, 297, 300, 304, 317, 319, 323, 332, 339, 342, 366–367
- 1Cor 8:10–11 319, 321
- 1Cor 8:10–12 297
- 1Cor 8:10–13 270
- 1Cor 8:11 121, 270, 280, 304, 306, 319, 323–325, 335, 339, 415, 423
- 1Cor 8:11–12 436–437
- 1Cor 8:11–13 312
- 1Cor 8:12 186, 269, 280, 306, 319, 335, 437
- 1Cor 8:13 270, 278, 280, 292, 302, 306, 319, 323, 325, 332, 335–336, 339, 359, 366, 389, 423
- 1Cor 8:13–9:23 277, 280
- 1Cor 9 61, 183, 207, 261, 275–277, 339
- 1Cor 9–10 280, 395
- 1Cor 9:1 278–280, 323, 325, 339, 346, 436–437
- 1Cor 9:1–2 275
- 1Cor 9:1ff 279
- 1Cor 9:1–18 187, 275, 278–280, 339
- 1Cor 9:1–23 270
- 1Cor 9:1–27 275, 278
- 1Cor 9:1–10:13 278, 343
- 1Cor 9:1–11:34 283
- 1Cor 9:1–18 339
- 1Cor 9:2 398
- 1Cor 9:3 61
- 1Cor 9:3–5 302
- 1Cor 9:4 61, 280
- 1Cor 9:4f 279
- 1Cor 9:4–6 33, 279, 339
- 1Cor 9:4–7 62, 278–279
- 1Cor 9:4–12 277
- 1Cor 9:5 61, 279–280
- 1Cor 9:6 280
- 1Cor 9:7 61–62, 70, 280
- 1Cor 9:8 61, 305
- 1Cor 9:8–9 61
- 1Cor 9:9 54, 59, 61, 70, 305, 325, 346
- 1Cor 9:10 61–62
- 1Cor 9:12 62, 279–280, 339, 437
- 1Cor 9:13 62, 70, 187, 280, 289, 291, 366
- 1Cor 9:13–18 275, 277
- 1Cor 9:14 207, 437
- 1Cor 9:15 279
- 1Cor 9:18 280, 339
- 1Cor 9:19 61, 276, 278, 280, 325, 339
- 1Cor 9:19–22 423
- 1Cor 9:19–23 275, 277, 312, 325, 339
- 1Cor 9:20 324–325
- 1Cor 9:20–21 324, 344
- 1Cor 9:21 324–325, 344–345, 358
- 1Cor 9:22 280, 325, 423
- 1Cor 9:24 61–62, 289, 393
- 1Cor 9:24–27 275, 277, 339
- 1Cor 9:27 276, 280, 325, 415
- 1Cor 10 28, 55, 67–70, 86, 98, 133, 149, 212, 216, 263, 270–271, 295, 312, 323–324, 364–365, 367, 381, 392, 431, 436, 443–444
- 1Cor 10:1 62, 70
- 1Cor 10:1ff 120–121, 141, 186, 213, 275
- 1Cor 10:1–4 65, 97, 444

- 1Cor 10:1–5 210, 280
 1Cor 10:1–6 76
 1Cor 10:1–10 79, 121
 1Cor 10:1–11 79
 1Cor 10:1–12 61
 1Cor 10:1–13 67, 276, 278, 325
 1Cor 10:1–17 277
 1Cor 10:1–22 27, 29, 71, 85, 213, 269–270, 272, 275, 279–280, 296, 352
 1Cor 10:1–33 346
 1Cor 10:1–11:1 280
 1Cor 10:1–11:34 275
 1Cor 10:2 63–64, 213, 437
 1Cor 10:2–4 152
 1Cor 10:3 64, 67, 69–70, 212, 280, 292, 302
 1Cor 10:3–4 63, 70, 138
 1Cor 10:4 1, 63, 66–67, 70, 86–87, 97, 141, 146, 153, 280, 392, 421, 429
 1Cor 10:4–9 213
 1Cor 10:5 65, 70–71
 1Cor 10:5–10 98
 1Cor 10:6 63, 65, 67, 70
 1Cor 10:6–10 67, 321
 1Cor 10:6–11 68
 1Cor 10:7 52, 54, 65, 70, 98, 280, 292–293, 295, 323, 365, 367, 375, 380, 394
 1Cor 10:7–8 302, 322, 366
 1Cor 10:7–10 65, 76
 1Cor 10:8 60, 65–66, 70–71, 83, 201, 347, 393
 1Cor 10:9 64, 65–66, 69–71, 117, 121, 141, 146, 152, 212–213, 227, 322, 429, 431, 437, 439
 1Cor 10:9–10 65, 121, 322, 324–325
 1Cor 10:10 65–67, 70–71
 1Cor 10:11–13 67
 1Cor 10:12 270
 1Cor 10:12–13 67
 1Cor 10:13 52, 67, 70, 117, 213, 227, 261, 332, 415
 1Cor 10:14 97, 270, 280, 293, 295, 297, 323, 362
 1Cor 10:14–22 67, 270, 272, 277, 294, 297
 1Cor 10:14–11:1 278
 1Cor 10:16 64, 299, 301, 437–438
 1Cor 10:16–17 253, 280, 392, 434
 1Cor 10:17 24, 110, 245, 301, 392, 393–394, 399, 435–437
 1Cor 10:18 70, 98, 137–138, 154, 292, 301, 366
 1Cor 10:18ff 366–367
 1Cor 10:18–22 76, 280
 1Cor 10:18–11:1 277
 1Cor 10:19 272, 293–294, 297, 305, 337–338, 364, 367
 1Cor 10:19–20 67, 105, 272, 337, 362, 364–365
 1Cor 10:19ff 359, 374
 1Cor 10:19–21 317, 321, 389
 1Cor 10:20 24, 59, 64, 68–70, 86, 193, 241, 274, 292, 295, 301, 333, 337, 340, 364–367
 1Cor 10:20–21 365–366, 389, 409
 1Cor 10:20ff 5
 1Cor 10:21 68, 70, 270, 280, 292, 298, 301–302, 317, 323, 332, 343, 393, 429, 431, 437–438
 1Cor 10:21–22 296, 326
 1Cor 10:22 24, 65, 68, 70–71, 76, 86, 97–98, 121, 141, 152, 213, 261, 270, 294, 321, 429, 431, 437
 1Cor 10:22–22 27
 1Cor 10:23 60–61, 276, 280, 282, 316, 340–343, 394
 1Cor 10:23ff 60, 390
 1Cor 10:23–30 277
 1Cor 10:23–11:1 269–270, 272, 276–277, 280, 294, 304, 389
 1Cor 10:24 312, 316, 358
 1Cor 10:25 280, 292, 355–356
 1Cor 10:25–29 300
 1Cor 10:26 52, 54–55, 69, 120, 299, 345, 391, 416, 429, 431, 437
 1Cor 10:27 280, 292–293, 299, 356
 1Cor 10:27ff 302
 1Cor 10:27–29 355
 1Cor 10:28 280, 292–294, 296, 299–300, 305, 363
 1Cor 10:29 278, 280, 299–300, 345, 355–356
 1Cor 10:29–30, 326
 1Cor 10:30 299–300, 391
 1Cor 10:31 280, 292, 300
 1Cor 10:31–11:1 277, 300
 1Cor 10:32 325–326, 332, 350, 445
 1Cor 10:32–33 325
 1Cor 10:33 61, 312, 316, 325, 358, 415, 423
 1Cor 11 55

- 1Cor 11–16 55
 1Cor 11:1 277, 344
 1Cor 11:2 277
 1Cor 11:2–34 277
 1Cor 11:2–12:31 275
 1Cor 11:2–14:40 275
 1Cor 11:3 289
 1Cor 11:5 393
 1Cor 11:9 416
 1Cor 11:10 280
 1Cor 11:12 23, 415
 1Cor 11:17ff 64
 1Cor 11:19 351
 1Cor 11:22 59
 1Cor 11:23 207–208, 437
 1Cor 11:30 280, 326
 1Cor 11:36 410
 1Cor 12 253, 312, 368, 392, 436, 439
 1Cor 12–14 277, 310, 312
 1Cor 12–16 54
 1Cor 12:1 285, 288, 290
 1Cor 12:1ff 286, 290
 1Cor 12:1–3 8
 1Cor 12:2 275, 289–290, 293, 295–296,
 362, 368
 1Cor 12:3 275, 314, 331, 428, 439
 1Cor 12:3ff 286
 1Cor 12:4–6 252, 261, 291, 393, 439
 1Cor 12:4–11 394
 1Cor 12:5 312
 1Cor 12:6 313, 328, 413
 1Cor 12:8 304
 1Cor 12:9 244, 392, 398
 1Cor 12:10 275, 290
 1Cor 12:11 244, 312, 328, 392–394,
 399, 439
 1Cor 12:12 245, 392–393, 399, 437
 1Cor 12:12–13 252, 254, 392, 394
 1Cor 12:12–27 280
 1Cor 12:13 110, 244–245, 253, 280,
 392–393, 399, 434–437
 1Cor 12:19 328
 1Cor 12:20 245, 392, 437
 1Cor 12:22 280
 1Cor 12:22–23 324
 1Cor 12:26 328
 1Cor 13 306, 310, 312–313, 317, 350–
 351
 1Cor 13:1 311
 1Cor 13:1–2 311
 1Cor 13:1–3 309–312, 332, 351
 1Cor 13:1–13 275, 303
 1Cor 13:2 207, 311, 350
 1Cor 13:3 311
 1Cor 13:4 329
 1Cor 13:4–7 312
 1Cor 13:5 308, 312, 358
 1Cor 13:8–13 312
 1Cor 13:12 307, 332, 334, 349–351
 1Cor 13:13 306, 310, 313, 316, 350,
 358, 443
 1Cor 14:1–40 275
 1Cor 14:2 317
 1Cor 14:3 317
 1Cor 14:4 316, 342
 1Cor 14:10 371
 1Cor 14:14 317
 1Cor 14:17 316, 342
 1Cor 14:21 52, 54, 290
 1Cor 14:24 280, 403
 1Cor 14:25 54, 56
 1Cor 14:26 328
 1Cor 14:27 393
 1Cor 14:31 393
 1Cor 14:34–35 269
 1Cor 14:37 207–208
 1Cor 14:40 269
 1Cor 15 55, 438
 1Cor 15:1–58 283
 1Cor 15:1–59 275
 1Cor 15:3 207
 1Cor 15:3–5 208, 324
 1Cor 15:10 423
 1Cor 15:12 340
 1Cor 15:14–19 340
 1Cor 15:21ff 258
 1Cor 15:24 403
 1Cor 15:25 54, 223, 351–352
 1Cor 15:27 52, 54, 438
 1Cor 15:28 211
 1Cor 15:29 340
 1Cor 15:32 52, 54, 341
 1Cor 15:33 341
 1Cor 15:34 341, 352
 1Cor 15:40 305
 1Cor 15:43 280
 1Cor 15:45 52, 54, 305
 1Cor 15:45–49 258
 1Cor 15:52 422
 1Cor 15:53 351
 1Cor 15:54 52, 54, 305
 1Cor 15:55 52, 54

- 1Cor 15:58 289
 1Cor 16:1 285, 288
 1Cor 16:1–2 321
 1Cor 16:1ff 286
 1Cor 16:1–3 312
 1Cor 16:2 393
 1Cor 16:5–11 283
 1Cor 16:12 285, 288
 1Cor 16:13 310
 1Cor 16:13–14 310, 315, 317
 1Cor 16:13–24 283
 1Cor 16:14 310
 1Cor 16:18 305
 1Cor 16:20 314
 1Cor 16:21 314–315
 1Cor 16:21–24 314
 1Cor 16:22 7, 218, 314–315, 358, 425, 428, 435, 439
 1Cor 16:22–23 76
 1Cor 16:22–24 76, 315
 1Cor 16:23 314, 315
 1Cor 16:24 310, 315

 2Cor 1:2 315
 2Cor 1:6–7 305
 2Cor 1:7 289
 2Cor 1.14 430
 2Cor 2:16 412
 2Cor 3.18 422
 2Cor 4:14 289, 333
 2Cor 4:15 413
 2Cor 5:1 289
 2Cor 5:6 289
 2Cor 5:15 305
 2Cor 5:16 239, 330
 2Cor 5:18 411, 413
 2Cor 5:21 422
 2Cor 6:16 422
 2Cor 6:16–17 367
 2Cor 8:19–20 305
 2Cor 9:1 285
 2Cor 9:7 313
 2Cor 9:11 286
 2Cor 10:17
 2Cor 13:13 315

 Gal 1:1 403
 Gal 1:3 315, 403
 Gal 1:6 305
 Gal 1:8 315
 Gal 1:9 315

 Gal 1:12 207
 Gal 2:6 337
 Gal 2:1–21 247
 Gal 2:11 290
 Gal 2:11–13 247
 Gal 2:16 248, 289, 422
 Gal 3 247
 Gal 3:2 248
 Gal 3:6 246, 248
 Gal 3:6–18 246
 Gal 3:6–29 233
 Gal 3:8 246, 248–249, 290
 Gal 3:10 246, 290
 Gal 3:11 246, 248
 Gal 3:12 246, 248
 Gal 3:13 246
 Gal 3:14 244, 249
 Gal 3:14–25 246
 Gal 3:16 233, 243, 246–248
 Gal 3:16–17 247
 Gal 3:17 250
 Gal 3:18–20 258
 Gal 3:19 247–248, 305
 Gal 3:19–20 248
 Gal 3:20 233, 243–249, 257, 261, 349, 403
 Gal 3:21 248–249
 Gal 3:22 244, 248
 Gal 3:22–29 243
 Gal 3:24 248
 Gal 3:26 248
 Gal 3:26–27 247, 249
 Gal 3:26–29 244, 247
 Gal 3:27 244
 Gal 3:28 243, 247–249
 Gal 3:28–29 249
 Gal 3:28 249
 Gal 3:29 247, 249
 Gal 4:2 403
 Gal 4:2–8 349
 Gal 4:6 305, 403
 Gal 4:8 375
 Gal 4:8f 337, 349–350
 Gal 4:9 236, 307, 349
 Gal 4:13 289
 Gal 5:2–6 247
 Gal 5:5 248, 422
 Gal 5:6 247, 344
 Gal 5:13 346
 Gal 5:13–15 250
 Gal 5:14 242, 308, 344, 350

- Gal 5:22 344
 Gal 6:2 344–345
 Gal 6:3 337
 Gal 6:10 344
 Gal 6:15 337
 Gal 6:18 315
- Eph 1:1 305
 Eph 1:2 315
 Eph 1:10 376
 Eph 1:13–14 255
 Eph 1.15 315
 Eph 1:17 255–256, 403
 Eph 1:18 256
 Eph 1:22–23 256
 Eph 1:23 315
 Eph 2 254, 256
 Eph 2:2 214
 Eph 2:11 256
 Eph 2:11–18 256
 Eph 2:11–22 235
 Eph 2:11–3:13 256
 Eph 2:14 245
 Eph 2:14–16 251
 Eph 2:14–18 252
 Eph 2:15 245, 250
 Eph 2:15–16 256
 Eph 2:16 245, 255, 315
 Eph 2:18 244, 251, 255–256, 403
 Eph 2:18–22 255
 Eph 2:19 256
 Eph 2:20 257
 Eph 2:21 257
 Eph 2:21–22 256
 Eph 3:2–5 255–256
 Eph 3:5 256
 Eph 3:6 256
 Eph 3.14 403
 Eph 3:14–17 255
 Eph 3:14–21 255
 Eph 3.15 376
 Eph 3:16 256
 Eph 3:17–19 255
 Eph 4:1–3 253
 Eph 4:1–6 252
 Eph 4:2 244, 252, 255, 315
 Eph 4:3 252–253
 Eph 4:3f 256
 Eph 4:3–6 235
 Eph 4:4 244, 245, 251, 253, 315, 410
 Eph 4:4–6 18, 113, 133, 243, 249, 252–256, 261, 315, 404
 Eph 4:5 243, 244, 244–245, 251, 389, 393, 402, 433
 Eph 4:5f 8, 446
 Eph 4:6 26, 113, 179, 244, 251, 254, 402–403, 407, 410, 432
 Eph 4:7 244
 Eph 4:8 254
 Eph 4:11–16 253
 Eph 4:12 256
 Eph 4:13 244, 256
 Eph 4:14–22 243
 Eph 4:16 244, 315
 Eph 4:23 256
 Eph 4:24 199
 Eph 4:25 254
 Eph 4:26 254
 Eph 4:30 255
 Eph 5:18 256
 Eph 5:18–20 255
 Eph 5:20 403
 Eph 5:30–31 254
 Eph 5:31 254, 256
 Eph 5:31–32 245, 251
 Eph 5:33 308
 Eph 6:2–3 254
 Eph 6:8 289
 Eph 6:9 289
 Eph 6:23 315, 403
 Eph 6:24 218, 308, 313, 315
- Phil 1:2 315
 Phil 1:6 289, 430
 Phil 1:10 430
 Phil 1:19 40, 289
 Phil 1:25 289
 Phil 1:27 244–245
 Phil 2:9 430
 Phil 2:9–11 432
 Phil 2:16 430
 Phil 3:9 416
 Phil 2:7 258
 Phil 2:8 258
 Phil 2:9–11 430
 Phil 2:11 403, 428
 Phil 2:15 371
 Phil 2:21 312
 Phil 4:11–12 335
 Phil 4:15 386
 Phil 4:24 315

Col 1:2 315
 Col 1:12 403
 Col 1:15–16 415
 Col 1:15–17 418
 Col 1:15–20 414
 Col 1:16 8, 414–415
 Col 1:16f 8, 407
 Col 1:17 415
 Col 1:18 415
 Col 1:18–20 415
 Col 1:19–20 407, 414–415
 Col 1:20 371, 413–414
 Col 1:23 415
 Col 2:18–20 329
 Col 3:10–11 257
 Col 3:11 410
 Col 3:15 245, 392
 Col 3:17 403
 Col 3:24 289
 Col 4:1 289
 Col 4.18 315

1Thess 1:1 315, 403
 1Thess 1:9 24, 241, 367
 1Thess 2:13 207
 1Thess 3:3 289
 1Thess 4:1 352
 1Thess 4:9 285
 1Thess 5:1 285
 1Thess 5:2 289
 1Thess 5:5 430
 1Thess 5:28 315

2Thess 1:2 315
 2Thess 2.2 430
 2Thess 2:16 402
 2Thess 3:18 315

1Tim 1:2 315, 403
 1Tim 1:3 355
 1Tim 1:5 308, 355
 1Tim 1:8 289
 1Tim 1:9 289
 1Tim 1:19 355
 1Tim 2:1 257
 1Tim 2:2 257–258
 1Tim 2:3 258
 1Tim 2:4 244, 257–258

1Tim 2:5 5, 12, 243–244, 256, 258, 261, 389, 446
 1Tim 2:5–6 399
 1Tim 2:5–8 244
 1Tim 2:6 258
 1Tim 2:6–7 257–258
 1Tim 2:7 258
 1Tim 2:8 244, 257–258
 1Tim 3:2 352
 1Tim 3:9 355
 1Tim 3:15 352
 1Tim 4:1 409
 1Tim 4:3–5 410
 1Tim 4:4–5 299
 1Tim 5:18 258
 1Tim 6:14–15 378
 1Tim 6:15 258
 1Tim 6:15–16 258
 1Tim 6:20 331
 1Tim 6:21 315

2Tim 1:2 315, 403
 2Tim 1:3 355
 2Tim 1:5 289
 2Tim 2:15 333
 2Tim 2:19 236, 258
 2Tim 2:23 289
 2Tim 3:1–5 308
 2Tim 3:5 257
 2Tim 4:13 51
 2Tim 4:22 315

Tit 1:1 257
 Tit 1:4 315, 403
 Tit 1:15 355
 Tit 3:5 314
 Tit 3:11 289
 Tit 3:15 314, 315

Phlm 1:3 315
 Phlm 1:21 289
 Phlm 1:25 315

Heb 1:1–3 418
 Heb 2:10 8
 Heb 7:17 290
 Heb 8:6 258
 Heb 9:15 258
 Heb 10:8 290
 Heb 10:22 355
 Heb 11:6 352

Heb 11:18 290
 Heb 11:34 311
 Heb 12:24 258
 Heb 13:18 355
 Heb 15 77

Jam 1:12 313–314
 Jam 1:27 355
 Jam 2:5 242, 314
 Jam 2:8 242, 308–309
 Jam 2:8–11 241–242
 Jam 2:8–12 345
 Jam 2:11 228, 242, 309
 Jam 2:19 241, 244–245
 Jam 2:19 241
 Jam 2:19–24 246
 Jam 2:21–23 246
 Jam 4:11 243
 Jam 4:12 242–243

1Pet 1:7 257
 1Pet 1:16 290
 1Pet 1:22 355
 1Pet 1:24 290
 1Pet 2:4 290
 1Pet 2:8 325
 1Pet 2:17 308
 1Pet 3:16 355
 1Pet 3:21 355
 1Pet 5:5 290

2Pet 1:3 257
 2Pet 1:6 257
 2Pet 1:7 257
 2Pet 2:14 331
 2Pet 2:21 330
 2Pet 3:11 257
 2Pet 3:14 397

1John 2:3–4 330
 1John 2:7 237
 1John 2:10 308
 1John 2:13–14 330
 1John 2:22 237
 1John 2:23 238
 1John 3:1 239
 1John 3:6 330
 1John 3.11 308
 1John 3:14 290
 1John 3:23 238, 308
 1John 3:24 237, 344

1John 4:1 237
 1John 4:1–5:3 239
 1John 4:2 237, 330
 1John 4:6 237, 330
 1John 4:6–7 239
 1John 4:7–8 239
 1John 4:7–21 237
 1John 4:8 239
 1John 4:10 239–240
 1John 4:10–11 308
 1John 4:11–12 239
 1John 4:12 241
 1John 4:15 237
 1John 4:16 239
 1John 4:19 239–240
 1John 4:20–21 237, 308
 1John 4:21 237–238, 308, 344
 1John 5:1 237, 240
 1John 5:1–2 308
 1John 5:2 239, 308
 1John 5:2–3 237, 240
 1John 5:3 239
 1John 5:5 237
 1John 5:15 290
 1John 5:19 289–290
 1John 5:20 289

2John 1:5 308
 2John 1:7 238

Jude 11 331

Rev 1:8 160
 Rev 2:6 331
 Rev 2:14 66, 296, 331, 341, 344
 Rev 2:14–15 331
 Rev 2:17 385
 Rev 2:20 296, 331, 341, 344
 Rev 2:20–24 331
 Rev 2:24 331
 Rev 4–5 414
 Rev 5:3 376
 Rev 5:13 376
 Rev 9:20 367
 Rev 14:3 385
 Rev 17:14 378
 Rev 19:12 385
 Rev 19:16 378
 Rev 22:20 7
 Rev 22:20f 425

Ancient Christian Texts

AposCon 7.39.4 42

Barn. 2:6–10

Barn 4:5 285

Barn 5:2 284–285

Barn 13:2 285

Barn 16:1 285

Chrysostom *Hom.* 1Cor. 20:4 369

Chrysostom *Hom.* 1Cor. 20:5 361, 375, 380

Chrysostom *Hom.* 1Cor. 25:1 296

Chrysostom *Hom.* 40:2 340

Chrysostom *Orat.* 14:17 340

Clem. *Stromata* 5:14:133 404–405

Clem. *Stromata* 5:113 158

1Clem. 17:3 284–285

1Clem. 38:2 321

1Clem. 38:4 314

2Clem. 3:4 199

2Clem. 4:3 199

Did 1f 228

Did 1:6 284–285

Did 6:3–7:1 287

Did 9:5 285

Did 10:6 425

Eusebius *PrEv* 9:25:1–4 42

Eusebius *PrEv* 9:27:4 332

Eusebius *PrEv* 12:8 160

Eusebius *PrEv* 13:12:1f 26

Eusebius *PrEv* (*Aristob.*) 13:12:3 160, 179

Eusebius *PrEv* 13:12:3–8 158

Eusebius *PrEv* (*Aristob.*) 13:12:4–5 159, 178–80

Eusebius *PrEv* (*Aristob.*) 13:12:5 25–26, 159–160, 178, 180

Eusebius *PrEv* 13:12:7 159

Eusebius *PrEv* (*Aristob.*) 13:12:8 180

Eusebius *PrEv* (*Aristob.*) 13:13:5 178, 338

Eusebius *PrEv* 13:13:15 404

Eusebius *PrEv* 13:13:40 26

Hermas *Mand* I:1 26, 147

Irenaeus *Adv. Haer.* 3:6:5 331, 362, 375

Irenaeus *Adv. Haer.* 3:11:1 331

Ign. *Eph.* 7:2 399

Ign. *Magn.* 8:2 26

Justin, *apol.* 1,16,6 212

Martyrium des Matthaëus (*Acta apost. apocr.* II 1 10

Polc. *Phil.* 3:1 284–285

Sozomus, *Hist. Eccl.* 7:15:6:5 368

Tertullian, *De bapt.* 20 210

Other Ancient Sources

Anaxagoras *Frg.* 8, Diels⁵, I 159, If

Aristotle *Phil et Cor–Pol* 2385b30 433

Aristotle *Pol.* 1292a5–6 342

Aristotle *Pol.* 1292a16 342

Aristotle *Pol.* 1318b38–40 342

Demostenes *Orat.* *Or* 19 64.4,

Chrysippos bei Stob. *ecl.* I 1,26 8

Cicero *Acad.* 2:118 9

Corp. *Herm.* 11:11 399

Seneca in *De Beneficiis* 4:7:1–4:8:3 387

Didymus. *Caecus Scr. Eccl., Fragmenta in Ps.* 1195:19 378

Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* 14:17 340

Diogenes Laertius 7:121 339

Epictetus *Diss.* 3:1:23 339

Epictetus *Diss.* 3:1:25 339

Epictetus *Diss.* 3:9:14 320

Epictetus *Diatr.* 2.15.20 326

Euripides *Med.* 580f 397

Euripides *Trojan Women* 612ff 320

Historia Alexander Magni Recencio F 70.7.5 378

Homer *Od.* 11:476 363

Iliad 2:204–205 433

Marcus Aurelius 4:23:1:3 410

Marcus Aurelius *Medit.* 7:9 26

Marcus Aurelius Antonius *Impera* 4:21:1:3 406

Marcus Aurelius Antonius *Impera* 4:40 406

Phil *Comic frag* 31:1 433

Phil *frag theb* 1:1 433

- Phil *Rhet* 1366a 433
 Phil *Rhet* 1365b 433
 Phillip V. and Hannibal v.4, l.14–15 75
 Phillip V. and Hannibal v.8, l.32 75
 Phillip V. and Hannibal v.9, l.34 75
 Phillip V. and Hannibal v.16, l.47 75
 Plato *Euthydemus* 302B 342
 Plato *Nomon* 4:716c 2f. 175
 Plato *Nomon* 4:216c 175
 Plato *Nomon* 4:718c 175
 Plato *Phil. Leg* 891e2 361
 Plato *Phil.* 330d6 433
 Plato *Rep.* 359C 342
 Plato *Rep.* 557B 342
 Plato *Rep.* 563B 342
 Plato *Timaeus* 41 175
 Plato *Timaeus* 42 175
 Plato *Timaeus* 49A–50D 166
 Plutarch *Superst.* 274
 Plutarch *Is. et Osir.* 359F–360A 274
 Ps.–Heraclitus *Ep.* 4 274
 PsPhokyl 8 147
 Sophocles *Aias* 1282 397
 Sophocles *Ajax* 1094–1097 320
 Strabo *Geography* 4:5:9 341
 Xenophanes frag. 23 18
 Xenophon, *Mem.* IV:2 397
 Xenophon, *Mem.* IV:14 397

Index of modern authors

- Aalen, Sverre. 158, 212, 215, 436
 Aaron, David H. 34–35, 46
 Aasgaard, Reidar. 305
 Abbott, T. K. 251–252, 254–255
 Achtemeier, Paul J. 63
 Adamson, James B. 241–243
 Aejmelaesus, Anneli. 289
 Aland, B. 305–306
 Aland, K. 305–306
 Albertz, Rainer. 100
 Albright, W. F. 102
 Alexander, Philip S. 124, 168–169
 Allison, Dale C. 210–212, 214, 218, 222–224, 228–229
 Allo, E.-B. 4, 283, 348
 Alonso-Schökel, L. 141
 Amir, Yehoshua. 18, 161–163
 Anderson, Gary A. 183
 Anderson, R. D. 267–268, 275
 Andrew, Maurice Edward. 78–80, 94–95
 D'Angelo, Mary R. 200
 Anglet, Kurt. 9
 Appold, Mark L. 155, 232, 235–236, 396
 Argyle, A. W. 244
 Aschim, Anders. 287–288
 Attridge, Harold W. 168
 Aune, David E. 70

 Bachmann, Philipp. 282, 309, 316, 348, 385, 397–398
 Bade, William F. 99–100
 Baltzer, Klaus. 72, 75, 89–90, 195
 Balz, Horst R. 232
 Bamberger, Bernard J. 73, 117
 Bar-Ilan, M. 130
 Barkay, Gabriel. 129
 Barr, J. 2
 Barrett, Charles K. 8, 14, 24, 26, 233, 235–237, 239, 266, 331, 361
 Barth, Karl. 233
 Barth, Markus. 251–253, 255, 410
 Barthelemy, D. 125–126
 Barthes, Roland. 28, 32–33
 Bartlett, John R. 156
 Bassler, H. W. 1987. 168–169
 Bassler, Jouette M. 257
 Bauckham, Richard. 402, 413, 420, 422, 430–431
 Baudissin, W. W. Graf von. 423–424
 Baumgarten, Albert I. 130
 Baur, Ferdinand C. 6
 Beal, Timothy K. 28–29, 33
 Beavis, M. A. L. 150
 Becker, Jürgen. 147, 181–182, 186, 196, 344
 Beckman, Gary. 75
 Beker, J. Christiaan. 28
 Bekken, Per J. 37, 288
 Belkin, Samuel. 129, 162
 Bell, Richard H. 68, 366
 Belleville, Linda L. 28
 Berger, Klaus. 77, 84, 99, 126, 147, 182, 188, 199, 216–219, 257
 Bergey, Ronald. 63, 90
 Best, Ernest. 251, 356
 Betz, Hans D. 245, 248, 274, 344, 349
 Bilde, Per. 168–170
 Billerbeck, Paul. 125, 129–132, 273, 405
 Binger, Tilde. 100
 Black, D. A. 325
 Blank, Josef. 232, 234
 Blass, Friedrich. 372
 Bloom, Harold. 28–29, 33, 39
 Bockmuehl, Markus. 421
 Boer, Martinus C. De. 268
 Borgen, Peder. 161–162, 168, 300–302, 331–332, 338, 340, 346–347, 355–356, 401
 Bornkamm, Günther. 200, 209, 216, 219–220, 364
 Bousset, Wilhelm. 5–8, 14–17, 20, 24, 130, 155, 273, 309, 316, 345, 350, 425, 428
 Braulik, Georg. 57, 71–72, 76–78, 82–84, 86, 88, 90, 96–98, 100, 105, 121
 Brawley, Robert L. 28, 36, 39–40, 45
 Brekelmans, C. 1985. 89
 Brewer, David I. 41, 168–169, 171
 Brodie, Thomas L. 55, 59, 61
 Brown, Colin. 431

- Brown, Raymond E. 232, 237–239, 243–244, 431
 Brown, Stephen G. 28
 Bruce, F. F. 24, 251, 254, 345, 349
 Brueggemann, Walter. 66–67, 82–84, 118
 Bruns, Gerald L. 1987. 45–46
 Brunt, C. 26
 Bultmann, Rudolf. 235, 238–239, 323–324, 327, 348–350, 353, 425
 Burchard, Christoph. 147, 200, 217, 222–223
 Burdo, Pere Franquesa I. 213
 Burger, C. H. A. 5, 377
 Baasland, Ernst. 283–286
- Calvin, Jean. 375
 Capes, David B. 6–7, 9, 15–16, 20, 63–64, 68–69, 295, 419, 424–425, 429, 431–432, 434
 Carroll, Robert P. 109
 Carson, D. A. 233, 380
 Carter, Warren. 28, 31–32
 Casey, P. M. 422
 Caspary, Gerhard E. 162
 Cavallin, Anders. 397
 Cheung, Alex T. 24, 26, 269, 272, 282, 294–295, 297, 301, 319, 331, 333, 335, 338, 379, 388, 394
 Childs, Brevard S. 313
 Chipman, Jonathan. 135, 145, 188
 Chow, J. K. 320
 Christensen, Duane L. 77–79, 99, 105, 116
 Clark, Kenneth W. 337
 Clarke, Ernest G. 158
 Clements, R. E. 76, 78, 84
 Cohen, Naomi G. 127–128, 161–62, 198, 200, 419–420
 Collins, John J. 156
 Collins, Raymond F. 14, 24, 267, 269, 275, 278, 305, 310–311, 318, 389, 337, 341, 343, 345, 350–351, 361, 395–396, 404, 418, 429, 437
 Colwell, E. C. 143
 Conzelmann, Hans. 14, 16, 25–26, 60, 251, 268–269, 275, 288, 310–312, 316–317, 327, 337–338, 345, 350, 364, 374, 396, 398, 404, 408, 417–418, 422
 Cook, Stanley A. 102, 126, 136
- Craghan, John. 135–137, 140–141, 182, 187
 Craigie, Peter C. 73, 80, 86, 95, 101, 104, 120
 Cranfield, C. E. B. 245, 309, 324
 Cryer, Frederick H. 135
 Culler, J. 28–29, 33
 Cullmann, Oscar. 16, 428,
 Cuvillier, Élian. 208
- Dahl, Nils A. 27, 131–132, 177, 216, 224–225, 250, 446
 Dalman, G. 6
 Dana, H. E. 59, 352
 Dancy, C. 136, 182
 Davids, Peter. 182, 241,
 Davies, W. D. 28
 Davies, W. D. 210–212, 214, 222–224, 229
 Dawes, G. W. 271, 309
 Day, John. 100
 Deasley, Alex. 193
 Debrunner, Albert. 372
 Delling, Gerhard. 92–94, 142, 147–150, 152, 172, 204, 402
 Delorme, Jean. 28
 Deming, W. 342–343
 Demke, Chr. 15
 Deselaers, Paul. 187, 193
 Deurloo, Karel A. 104
 DeVries, Simon J. 87
 Dibelius, Martin. 16, 252–253, 364, 366, 410
 Di Lella, Alexander A. 140, 142, 155, 182, 187–188, 192, 419
 Dimant, Devorah. 38, 145, 189
 Dittert, Kurt. 89, 91, 219
 Dodd, C. H. 345
 Duguid, Ian M. 108
 Donin, Hayim H. 1, 130–132
 Downing, F. Gerald. 169
 Driver, S. R. 68, 85–86, 105, 125
 Drummond, James. 162
 Dunn, J. D. G. 17, 19–20, 24, 250, 269, 324, 344, 396, 418–419, 429
 Dupont, Jacques. 327, 347, 349–350
 Dupont-Sommer, A. 135
 Durham, John I. 94, 96, 367
- Eckstein, Hans-Joachim. 355–356
 Edwards, Mark J. ed. 344

- Egger, Wilhelm. 92
 Eissfeldt, Otto. 134–135, 155–156, 181
 Elliger, Karl. 89–91
 Elliott, J. K. 307
 Ellis, E. Earle. 27, 37, 51–52, 54–55, 61, 63, 65, 68, 70, 246, 421, 423
 Engberg-Pedersen, Troels. 20, 328
 Enns, P. E. 63
 Eriksson, Anders. 11, 20, 268–269, 276, 300, 317, 324, 326, 336, 343, 372
 Eshbaugh, H. 305
 Evans, Craig A. 28–29

 Falk, Daniel K. 129–130, 135, 170, 184, 189–190
 Faw, C. E. 283–285, 356,
 Fee, Gordon. 24, 270–271, 293–294, 296–297, 301, 304–307, 316, 323, 330, 337, 345, 351, 385, 394, 397
 Feldman, Luis H. 169
 Fellechner, Ernst L. 9
 Feuillet, A. 14, 24, 409–411, 413–414, 417
 Fewell, Danna Nolan. 28
 Finegan, Jack. 304
 Fishbane, Michael. 41–42, 78, 96, 120
 Fischer, J. B. 268, 425
 Fisk, B. N. 269, 296, 301
 Fitzmyer, Joseph A. 37, 426
 Fjärstedt, Björn. 207
 Fletcher-Louis, Crispin H. T. 188
 Flusser, David. 195–200, 216–217, 247, 295–296, 297, 299–300, 308–309
 Foster, Paul. 220
 Fotopoulos, John. 11, 60, 277, 292, 294–295, 297, 299, 318, 322–324, 339–340, 360, 376, 391
 Fraade, Steven D. 188
 Frankemölle, Hubert. 241–243
 Frankena, R. 72–74
 Freyne, Sean. 28, 33
 Fridrichsen, A. 148, 310
 Frövig, D. A. 250, 349
 Fuller, Reginald H. 16, 425, 428
 Furnish, Victor Paul. 262, 325, 328

 Gadamer, Hans - Georg. 30
 Garland, David E. 19, 24–25, 272, 293, 299, 309, 318–319, 321, 323, 326, 337, 339, 345, 359, 361, 372
 Gardner, P. D. 367

 Gärtner, Bertil. 250
 Geffcken, Johannes. 156–157
 Gerber, Christine. 168, 175–176, 199
 Gerhardsson, Birger. 115, 148, 183, 194, 208–216, 220–225, 230, 312, 356
 Gertges, Michael. 9
 Gesenius, Wilhelm. 83, 104, 109, 135, 378
 Giblin, C. H. 14, 24, 337, 359, 361, 370–371, 410, 412–413, 423, 434
 Gnilya, Joachim. 212, 221, 225, 227–229, 251, 253, 255–257, 384
 Godet, F. 24, 361, 374, 397,
 Goedhart, Hendrik. 189
 Goldenberg, David M. 168–169
 Gooch, Peter D. 24, 270, 272, 298, 322, 334, 340–341, 359–360, 390
 Goodenough, Erwin R. 161–162
 Gordon, Cyrus H. 24, 102
 Goulder, Michael D. 350
 Grabbe, Lester L. 158
 Grant, Robert M. 15, 275
 Green, William Scott. 28, 38
 Greene, Thomas M. 28–29, 32, 38–39
 Greenberg, Moshe. 91–92, 274
 Grimm, Werner. 89, 91, 219
 Grosheide, F. W. 24, 282, 374
 Groß, H. 136, 187
 Gross, Walter. 109
 Gäckle, Volker. 264, 395
 Gräßer, Erich. 19–20, 26, 245, 249, 404
 Guerra, Anthony J. 12–14, 25, 111–113, 131, 156–159, 161–162, 164, 174, 199, 202, 224, 245, 247, 250
 Gundry, Robert H. 210, 212, 215, 220
 Guthrie, Donald. 249
 Gärtner, Bertil. 250

 Haag, Ernst. 135–136
 Hadley, Judith M. 100
 Hagner, Donald A. 212, 215, 222–224, 229
 Hahn, F. 4, 16, 132, 262, 404
 Hallbäck, Geert. 30
 Halpern-Amaru, Betsy. 169
 Hamerton-Kelly, R. G. 41, 161–162,
 Hammer, Reuven. 183
 Hanhart, Robert. 181
 Hardwick, Michael. 175
 Hareide, Stig. 6

- Harnack, Adolf von. 305–306, 337
 Harris, M. J. 318, 431
 Hata, Gohei. 169, 177
 Hatch, Edwin. 104, 148, 348
 Hatina, Thomas R. 29, 33, 44
 Haubeck, Wilfrid. 398
 Hays, Richard B. 14, 19, 28–33, 35, 38–40, 42, 57, 262, 269, 311, 351, 393
 Hayward, C. T. R. 193
 Hegermann, Harald. 158, 166
 Heil, Christoph. 241, 281, 302
 Heinrich, C. F. G. 5, 66, 283–285
 Held, M. 294
 Heller, Jan. 104, 116
 Hellmann, Monika. 136, 141
 Hengel, Martin. 20, 150, 155, 158, 176, 419, 464
 Héring, Jean. 268
 Hermann, Ingo. 393,
 Herrmann, Wolfram. 102, 135
 Hertzberg, Hans Wilhelm. 86
 Hill, Andrew E. 110–113, 254
 Hjelmervik, Egil. 6
 Hofius, Otfried. 19, 27, 102, 227, 265, 382, 386, 395–400, 402–403, 410, 428, 432, 434–435, 445
 Hofmann, J. Chr. K. v. 5
 Holladay, William L. 109.
 Hollander, H. M. 148, 181–182, 186, 195–196, 199
 Hollander, John. 28, 20, 38, 182, 195–196
 Holm-Nielsen, Svend. 135, 189
 Holter, Knut. 29, 96
 Holtzmann, Heinrich Julius. 37
 Hooker, Morna D. 418
 Horbury, William. 56–57, 272, 378, 419
 Horrell, David. 207, 270, 325, 339, 345
 Horsley, Richard A. 17–19, 304, 338, 353–354, 388–389, 408–409, 417
 Hossfeld, Frank-Lothar. 77, 80, 84
 House, Paul R. 87
 Hruby, Kurt. 75
 Huntress, E. 237
 Hurd, John C. 267–272, 280, 282–283, 285, 290, 328, 332
 Hurtado, Larry W. 20–21, 26, 47–48, 166, 169, 419, 421–422, 425, 430–432, 434–435
 Hübner, Hans. 158
 Hvalvik, Reidar. 126
 Janzen, J. Gerald. 98, 100, 102–103, 106, 109, 112
 Jeanrond, Werner G. 115
 Jeremias, J. 222, 257–258, 309, 318
 Johnson, Aubrey R. 421
 Joly, R. 307
 Jonas, Hans. 39
 Jonge, M. de. 148, 181–182, 185–186, 195–196, 199
 Junack, K. 305–306
 Kaiser, W. C. 56, 61, 63, 65–66
 Kamlah, Ehrhard. 176
 Kammler, Hans-Christian. 19, 418, 431, 444
 Kautsch, E. 109, 135, 378
 Keck, Leander E. 27
 Keel, Othmar. 114, 129
 Keerankeri, George. 79, 98, 105, 114–116, 219, 225
 Keesmaat, Sylvia C. 29
 Kelly, J. N. D. 257
 Kerst, Rainer. 16–17, 402
 Kistemaker, S. J. 24
 Kittang, Atle. 39, 44
 Kjær-Hansen, Kai. 237
 Kjær, Torben. 14, 24–25, 268–269, 324, 372, 374, 379–380, 382, 387, 398, 403, 412, 416
 Klauck, Hans-Josef. 4, 14, 24, 27, 68, 148, 232, 237–238, 270, 275, 345, 382
 Klein, G. L. 54
 Klein, Ralph W. 86
 Klinghardt, Matthias. 299, 392
 Klumbies, Paul Gerhard. 245, 433
 Knierim, Rolf. 80–81, 94
 Knight, A. F. 104, 109
 Knight, George A. F. 90
 Knight, George W. III. 257–258
 Knowles, Michael P. 63–64
 Knuth, Hans. C. 6
 Koch, Dietrich-Alex. 37, 43, 51–52, 61, 63–64, 68, 246, 293, 300–302, 391, 401
 Köckert, Matthias. 16, 101
 Konradt, Matthias. 24, 65–66, 72, 195, 199, 271, 326, 333, 335, 365, 390
 Koole, J. L. 140, 155
 Kooten, Georg H. van. 161, 413, 417
 Kottsieper, Ingo. 134, 143–144, 150

- Kraft, Robert A. 53, 228, 256
 Kramer, Werner. 8, 15–17, 395, 411, 425, 428
 Krebern timer, Manfred. 72–74, 80–81
 Kreitzer, L. Joseph. 429, 432
 Kremer, J. 345
 Kristeva, Julia. 28–30, 32–33
 Kuhn, Karl Georg. 95, 125–126
 Kvilhaug, Terje. 6
- Lacey, D. R. 396–397, 425, 427, 438
 Lack, Roland F. 29, 33
 Lambrecht, J. 2000. 247, 313, 351, 360
 Lampe, Peter. 298, 301
 Lane, William L. 220
 Lang, Friedrich. 24, 418
 Lang, Bernhard. 136
 Langkammer, H. 14, 24, 410
 Lasine, Stuart. 31
 Lategan, Bernard. 32
 Lehmann, E. 148, 310
 Lehnardt, Thomas. 147
 Lenski, R. C. H. 59, 233, 245, 398
 Leupold, H. C. 89, 313
 Levin, Christoph. 72
 Levinson, Bernard M. 76
 Liddell, Henry. 363
 Lietzmann, Hans. 6, 14, 24, 238
 Lindemann, Andreas. 14, 26, 262, 264, 268–269, 305, 330, 345, 348, 350–352, 395, 398, 404, 418, 422
 Litwak, Kenneth D. 29, 41–42, 53
 Lock, Walter. 379
 Lohfink, Norbert. 72–73, 78–79, 83–84, 98, 100–101, 104–105, 121
 Lohmeyer, Ernst. 211, 218, 220, 224, 229, 384, 430
 Loretz, Oswald. 100, 106, 111–112
 Louw, Johannes P. 252, 368
 Lueken, Wilhelm. 257
 Lund, Nils W. 278
 Lundblom, Jack R. 76–77, 99
 Lutikhuisen. 32
 Luz, Ulrich. 210–212, 216–217, 222, 324–225, 228, 251–254, 256
- MacDonald, Nathan. 102–103, 105, 115, 125
 Machalet, Christian. 340
 Mack, Burton L. 419, 421
 Maier, Gerhard. 232, 234
 Maier, Johann. 129, 189
 Malan, F. S. 57–58, 61, 65–66, 69
 Malina, Bruce J. 33
 Malherbe, Abraham J. 324, 326, 339–341
 Mann, C. S. 218
 Mansoor, Menahem. 135, 140
 Mantey, Julius R. 59, 352
 Marböck, Johannes. 139, 142, 420
 Marcus, Joel. 221, 227, 406
 Marshall, I. H. 20
 Martyn, J. Louis. 344–345
 Mason, Steve. 168
 Mauser, Ulrich. 24, 245, 247–249, 368
 Mayes, A. D. H. 378
 McBride, S. Dean Jr. 99, 101, 103, 106
 McCarter, P. Kyle. 87
 McCarthy, Dennis J. 77
 McConville, J. G. 72
 McConville, Gordon. 100–101
 McEwen, A. 63
 McKay, J. M. 73, 83, 98
 McKenzie, John L. 89
 McKenzie, Steven L. 60, 73, 105
 McKnight, Edgar V. 34
 McKnight, Scot. 344
 Meecham, Henry G. 148
 Meeks, Wayne A. 63, 65–68, 174, 243, 255, 269, 326
 Meggitt, J. J. 322
 Melammed, Ezra Zion. 3, 128–130
 Mendenhall, George E. 72
 Merklein, Helmut. 14, 24, 230, 267–270, 275, 277, 283, 345, 350, 397–398
 Metzger, Bruce M. 305
 Meyer, Heinrich August Wilhelm. 5, 24, 311
 Meyer, Werner. 24, 382
 Michel, Otto. 245, 316
 Milik, J. T. 125–126
 Miscall, Peter D. 28–29, 33, 38
 Mitchell, Margaret M. 268–269, 275–278, 280–284, 320, 325, 343, 391, 436, 441
 Miyoshi, Michi. 129, 131, 183–185, 191, 194–195, 199, 209, 222, 244
 Moberly, R. W. L. 79, 99, 101, 104, 106, 115, 307
 Moe, Olaf. 232–233, 235–237, 251–257, 324

- Moffatt, James. 24, 273
 Montes-Peral, Luis Angel. 162
 Moo, Douglas. 245, 250
 Moore, Carey A. 134–136
 Moran, William L. 72–73, 98, 115
 Morris, Leon. 24, 233, 236–238
 Mosbech, H. 24–25, 345, 397
 Moule, C. F. D. 426
 Mowinkel, Sigmund. 69, 118–120
 Moxnes, Halvor. 244, 246, 250, 325, 429, 436, 440
 Murphy, Roland E. 419
 Murphy-O'Connor, J. 334, 336, 342, 343, 385, 396, 398, 408, 412–413, 415
 Murray, John 245–246, 324
 Mußner, Franz. 241–243, 249, 349

 Nanos, Mark D. 208, 212, 245, 247
 Neill, Stephen. 6, 12
 Neirynck, F. 207–208
 Nelson, Milward D. 155
 Neudecker, Reinhard. 427
 Neufeld, V. H. 14
 Neusner, Jacob. 53, 125, 128–129
 Newman, Judith H. 141–142
 Newton, Derek. 14, 24–25, 66, 270, 274, 280, 288, 297–299, 328, 336, 339, 363–365, 368–369, 381
 Nichtweiß, Barbara. 9–11, 13
 Nickelsburgh, G. W. E. 187, 190
 Nida, Eugene A. 252, 368
 Niehoff, Maren R. 169
 Nielsen, Eduard. 75, 79, 99, 100–102, 106, 114
 Nikiprowetzky, V. 162
 Nissen, Andreas. 216
 Nitzan, Bilhah. 72, 129–130, 135, 146, 184–185, 190
 Nodet, É. 168
 Norden, Eduard. 5, 8–9, 14–15, 406, 410, 417
 Noth, Martin. 87, 367
 Nygren, A. 308, 310, 312
 Nyberg, H. S. 101–102, 378

 Oberlinner, Lorenz. 257–258
 O'Brian, Peter T. 430
 O'Day, Gail R. 55
 Odell-Scott, D. W. 318–319
 Oepke, Albrecht. 344–345

 Olofsson, Staffan. 86, 144, 426
 Oropeza, B. J. 14, 24, 27, 56, 61, 63, 67, 69, 79, 85, 269, 281
 Orr, W. F. 24, 311, 351
 Osb, Benoît Standaert. 36
 Oswalt, John N. 90, 93, 313
 Otto, Eckart. 60, 74, 77–78, 83

 Patrick, James. 277
 Perels, Hans-Ulrich. 173
 Perrin, Norman. 12
 Perrot, C. 65–66, 68
 Pesch, Rudolf. 218–222, 227–228, 230, 268
 Peterson, Erik. 9–17, 202, 387, 401
 Petzer, J. H. 311
 Pfeifer, Gerhard. 419
 Pilgrim, Howard Nicholson. 22–24, 398, 400, 411–412, 415
 Plummer, Alfred. 24, 397
 Pogoloff, S. M. 34, 269, 327
 Porter, Stanley E. 38
 Pressler, Carolyn. 103
 Probst, Hermann. 6, 47, 262, 267, 276–277, 283, 290, 348, 361, 384–385
 Pulikottil, Paulson. 424, 426

 Qimron, Elisha. 135, 145, 287

 Rabenau, Merten. 190, 192
 Rabinowitz, Peter. 31–32, 34, 45–46
 Rad, Gerhard Von. 77–78, 80, 99–101, 105
 Rainbow, Paul. A. 2, 4, 7, 9–10, 14, 21–22, 133, 204, 262, 379, 396–397, 404–406, 408, 411, 424–425, 433, 435
 Ramsaran, R. A. 266, 276, 282–283, 343, 360
 Redpath, Henry A. 104, 148, 348
 Rehkopf, Friedrich. 372
 Reicke, Bo. 242
 Reiterer, F. V. 138, 155
 Reventlow, Henning G. 78, 80, 95, 97, 106, 111–113
 Richardson, Neill. 15, 413
 Richardson, Peter. 366
 Ricoeur, Paul. 33
 Riffaterre, M. 45
 Robbins, Vernon K. 29, 38–39, 71
 Roberts, Graham. 33

- Robertson, A. T. 59, 282, 290, 324, 339, 342, 360, 373, 376, 385, 398, 410, 413, 417–418
- Robertson, Archibald. 24, 397
- Rodhe, E. 432
- Roloff, Jürgen. 257–258, 344
- Roon, A. van. 63, 65, 68, 407, 418, 421
- Rose, Martin. 69, 82, 99–101, 103, 105, 115, 377–380
- Rosner, Brian. 29–30, 41–42, 56–60, 63, 68, 291, 321
- Royse, James A. 304–305, 307
- Rudolph, Wilhelm. 106–107, 110, 112–113
- Rusche, H. 54
- Rüterswörden, Udo. 104
- Römer, Thomas. 76
- Saebö, Magne. 106–107, 121
- Safrai, S. 129
- Sagnard, F. M. M. 24, 412–413
- Sandelin, Karl-Gustav. 64, 268, 301, 323, 339
- Sander, Reinhold. 96, 117, 187–188, 196
- Sanders, E. P. 2, 37, 189, 217
- Sanders, J. T. 326, 419
- Sanders, James A. 28, 31, 38
- Sanders, Paul. 21, 84, 86
- Sandmel, Samuel. 161–162
- Sandnes, Karl Olav. 65–67, 226, 277, 341, 343, 367
- Sarfatti, Gad B. 3
- Sauer, Georg. 140, 155, 314, 420
- Schedl, Claus. 126
- Schenk, Wolfgang. 37, 268, 270, 277, 279–280, 283
- Schenke, Hans-Martin. 268
- Schenker, A. 16, 21, 80
- Schlatter, Adolf. 15, 24, 170, 175–176, 373
- Schlier, Heinrich. 15, 249–250
- Schmid, Hans Heinrich. 420
- Schmidt, Werner H. 71, 88, 90, 98, 105, 108
- Schmidt, Werner H. 95, 101
- Schmithals, Walter. 267–268, 270, 275, 277–280, 283, 323, 327, 353
- Schnackenburg, Rudolf. 232–237, 239, 351, 253, 256
- Schneider, Gerhard. 4, 417–418
- Schneider, H. 78, 126
- Schneider, S. 326
- Schottroff, Luise. 421
- Schrage, Wolfgang. 345, 398, 403, 408, 411, 431, 435, 437, 439
- Schreiner, Thomas R. 243, 245
- Schröder, Bernd. 176, 198
- Schweizer, Eduard. 200, 211–212, 216, 220, 225
- Scott, James M. 28, 114, 363
- Scott, Robert. 363
- Sedlmeier, Franz. 114
- Segal, Alan F. 420–421
- Seland, Torrey. 150, 442
- Sellin, Gerhard. 267–269, 279, 283
- Sengelmann, H. 181
- Sheppard, Gerald T. 142
- Shires, Henry M. 55, 61
- Sieenthal, Heinrich von 398
- Siegt, Folker. 53, 126–127, 147, 150, 161–162
- Slingerland, H. Dixon. 181
- Smit, Joop F. M. 276–277, 280–281, 293, 297–299, 321, 333, 335, 356, 366, 372, 391, 436–437
- Smith, Morton. 169
- Smith, Ralph L. 106, 110–112, 254
- Snyder, Graydon F. 350
- Söding, T. 24, 194, 308, 335
- Solders, Severin. 397
- Sonnet, Jean-Pierre. 76, 125
- Soards, Marion L. 24
- Spicq, C. 313
- Spilsbury, Paul. 169
- Stamm, Johann Jakob. 78–80, 94–95
- Stanley, Christopher D. 28, 37, 39, 54, 70
- Stegemann, Hartmut. 193, 425–427
- Stegner, William R. 56, 63
- Stendahl, Krister. 22, 51, 220, 226, 382, 396
- Stern, Jay B. 70, 197
- Steymans, Hans Ulrich. 72–73
- Steyn, Gert J. 430
- Still, E. Coye. 277, 294, 296
- Still, J. 29, 33
- Stockhausen, Carlo K. 28, 42
- Stolle, Volker. 245, 249
- Stott, John. 253
- Strack, Hermann. 125, 129–132, 273, 405

- Strobel, August. 345
 Stuckenbruck, Loren T. 419
 Sumney, Jerry L. 277
 Swanson, Dwight. 193
- Talbert, Charles H. 275, 339
 Talmon, Shemaryahu. 132
 Tatum, W. Barnes. 95, 160, 169
 Taylor, V. 227, 431
 Tcherikover, V. 147, 150
 Terry, Ralph Bruce. 275, 283, 395
 Testuz, Michel. 182, 197
 Thayer, Joseph Henry. 329–330, 335, 372
 Theissen, Gerd. 320, 322–323, 341
 Theobald, M. 247, 251
 Thiselton, Anthony C. 272, 289, 306, 310–311, 319–320, 326, 329, 333, 336–337, 341, 343, 345, 355–356, 361, 366–367, 372, 383, 385, 397, 417
 Thomas, J. D. 39, 181
 Thompson, R. W. 250
 Thompson, W. G. 24,
 Thüsing, Wilhelm. 262, 409
 Tigay, Jeffrey H. 78, 96–97, 100
 Tilborg, Sjeff van. 30, 36, 43, 46
 Tomlin, G. 340, 359
 Tomson, Peter J. 25, 54, 280, 294, 302, 312, 355
 Tournay, Raymond J. 118–119
 Tov, Emanuel. 125–126
 Turner, Nigel. 378, 397–398, 400, 429
- Uehlinger, Christoph. 129
 Ulmer, Rivka. 323
 Unnik, W. C. van. 346–347
 Urbach, Ephraim E. 99, 130, 147, 216–217
 Ulrichsen, Jarl Henning. 182, 186, 195
- Van Henten. 141,
 VanderKam, James C. 182, 188, 192, 197
 Varneda, Pere Villalba I. 169–170
 Veijola, Timo. 73, 79, 99–104, 106
 Verheule, Anthonie F. 8
 Vermes, Geza. 125–126, 129–130, 160, 437
 Vokes, F. E. 208
 Voelz, James W. 28, 36, 37
- Vorster, Wilhelm S. 28
- Waaler, Erik. 2, 100, 125, 129, 427,
 Wainwright, A. W. 431
 Walker, William O. Jr. 310
 Wallace, Daniel B. 361, 373, 397–398
 Walter, James A. 24, 311, 351
 Walter, Nikolaus. 24, 51, 62, 299, 311, 351, 367
 Waschke, Ernst-Joachim. 81, 92
 Weiler, Gershon. 168
 Weinfeld, Moshe. 52, 60, 72–80, 84, 94–96, 98–99, 105, 115–119, 125–126, 137, 189, 212, 378
 Weiß, Johannes. 4, 5, 15, 18, 63, 265, 267–272, 275, 278, 282–283, 288, 290, 307, 316–317, 329–330, 337, 348, 350, 355, 359–360, 364, 372–374, 376, 383, 396–398, 408, 412, 418, 422–423
 Weiss, Meir. 88, 91–92, 118–119, 130, 267, 270, 283, 361, 363, 373
 Wendland, Heinz-Dietrich. 26, 316
 Wengst, Klaus. 17
 Wernberg-Møller, P. 135, 185, 189
 Wevers, John W. 66, 81, 95, 98, 102, 115–116, 397
 Wexels, W. A. 5
 Wiesinger, August. 241–242,
 Wilckens, Ulrich. 233–236, 245
 Wildberger, Hans. 1977.
 Wildberger, Hans. 2, 86, 89–90, 93
 Willer, Arnold. 199
 Williams, Cathrin H. 181
 Willis, Wendel Lee. 24, 283, 289, 304, 316–317, 324–325, 339–340 355, 359–360
 Winston, David. 157, 158, 161, 166
 Winter, Bruce W. 24, 69, 275, 286, 297, 300, 322, 340–342
 Wire, Antoinette Clark. 247
 Wischmeyer, O. 239, 311, 314, 340–341
 Wiseman, D. J. 74–76
 Witherington, Ben III. 14, 27, 233–234, 262, 268–269, 276, 292, 296, 310, 312
 Wold, Benjamin G. 379, 429
 Wolde, Ellen Van. 28, 30, 36, 42
 Wolff, Christian. 27, 262, 283, 307, 311, 344–345, 383, 379, 382, 395–397, 408, 433, 443

- Wolfson, Harry A. 161–162
Worton, M. 29, 33
Wright, N. T. 6, 8, 12, 19–20, 24, 26,
27, 245–246, 248–251, 273–274,
282, 408, 414–415, 418
Wright, Tom. 6, 12
Würthwein, Ernst. 86
Yadin, Yigael. 193
Yardeni, Ada. 125, 139
Yeo, Khiok-Khng. 20, 24, 63–64, 67,
256, 268–269, 272, 276, 283, 289,
320, 336, 361
Young, Edward J. 313, 414
Zenger, Erich. 137, 140–141, 223,
Zahn, Theodor. 223
Zimmerli, Walter. 108
Zorell, Franciscus. 104
Zuntz, G.. 265, 305–306, 319, 334

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

Alphabetical Index of the First and Second Series

- Adna, Jostein*: Jesu Stellung zum Tempel. 2000. *Vol. II/119*.
- Adna, Jostein* (Ed.): The Formation of the Early Church. 2005. *Vol. 183*.
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- Alexeev, Anatoly A., Christos Karakolis and Ulrich Luz* (Ed.): Einheit der Kirche im Neuen Testament. Dritte europäische orthodox-westliche Exegetenkonferenz in Sankt Petersburg, 24.–31. August 2005. 2008. *Vol. 218*.
- Alkier, Stefan*: Wunder und Wirklichkeit in den Briefen des Apostels Paulus. 2001. *Vol. 134*.
- Allen, David M.*: Deuteronomy and Exhortation in Hebrews. 2008. *Vol. II/238*.
- Anderson, Paul N.*: The Christology of the Fourth Gospel. 1996. *Vol. II/78*.
- Appold, Mark L.*: The Oneness Motif in the Fourth Gospel. 1976. *Vol. II/1*.
- Arnold, Clinton E.*: The Colossian Syncretism. 1995. *Vol. II/77*.
- Ascough, Richard S.*: Paul's Macedonian Associations. 2003. *Vol. II/161*.
- Asiedu-Peprah, Martin*: Johannine Sabbath Conflicts As Juridical Controversy. 2001. *Vol. II/132*.
- Attridge, Harold W.*: see *Zangenberg, Jürgen*.
- Aune, David E.*: Apocalypticism, Prophecy and Magic in Early Christianity. 2006. *Vol. 199*.
- Avemarie, Friedrich*: Die Taufferzählungen der Apostelgeschichte. 2002. *Vol. 139*.
- Avemarie, Friedrich and Hermann Lichtenberger* (Ed.): Auferstehung – Resurrection. 2001. *Vol. 135*.
- *Bund und Tora*. 1996. *Vol. 92*.
- Baarlink, Heinrich*: Verkündigtes Heil. 2004. *Vol. 168*.
- Bachmann, Michael*: Sünder oder Übertreter. 1992. *Vol. 59*.
- Bachmann, Michael* (Ed.): Lutherische und Neue Paulusperspektive. 2005. *Vol. 182*.
- Back, Frances*: Verwindung durch Offenbarung bei Paulus. 2002. *Vol. II/153*.
- Baker, William R.*: Personal Speech-Ethics in the Epistle of James. 1995. *Vol. II/68*.
- Bakke, Odd Magne*: 'Concord and Peace'. 2001. *Vol. II/143*.
- Balch, David L.*: Roman Domestic Art and Early House Churches. 2008. *Vol. 228*.
- Baldwin, Matthew C.*: Whose Acts of Peter? 2005. *Vol. II/196*.
- Balla, Peter*: Challenges to New Testament Theology. 1997. *Vol. II/95*.
- The Child-Parent Relationship in the New Testament and its Environment. 2003. *Vol. 155*.
- Bammel, Ernst*: Judaica. Vol. I 1986. *Vol. 37*.
– Vol. II 1997. *Vol. 91*.
- Barton, Stephen C.*: see *Stuckenbruck, Loren T.*
- Bash, Anthony*: Ambassadors for Christ. 1997. *Vol. II/92*.
- Bauernfeind, Otto*: Kommentar und Studien zur Apostelgeschichte. 1980. *Vol. 22*.
- Baum, Armin Daniel*: Pseudepigraphie und literarische Fälschung im frühen Christentum. 2001. *Vol. II/138*.
- Bayer, Hans Friedrich*: Jesus' Predictions of Vindication and Resurrection. 1986. *Vol. II/20*.
- Becker, Eve-Marie*: Das Markus-Evangelium im Rahmen antiker Historiographie. 2006. *Vol. 194*.
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- Bell, Richard H.*: Deliver Us from Evil. 2007. *Vol. 216*.
- The Irrevocable Call of God. 2005. *Vol. 184*.
- No One Seeks for God. 1998. *Vol. 106*.
- Provoked to Jealousy. 1994. *Vol. II/63*.
- Bennema, Cornelis*: The Power of Saving Wisdom. 2002. *Vol. II/148*.
- Bergman, Jan*: see *Kieffer, René*
- Bergmeier, Roland*: Das Gesetz im Römerbrief und andere Studien zum Neuen Testament. 2000. *Vol. 121*.
- Bernett, Monika*: Der Kaiserkult in Judäa unter den Herodiern und Römern. 2007. *Vol. 203*.
- Betz, Otto*: Jesus, der Messias Israels. 1987. *Vol. 42*.
- Jesus, der Herr der Kirche. 1990. *Vol. 52*.
- Beyschlag, Karlmann*: Simon Magus und die christliche Gnosis. 1974. *Vol. 16*.

- Bieringer, Reimund: see Koester, Craig.
- Bittner, Wolfgang J.: Jesu Zeichen im Johannes-evangelium. 1987. *Vol. II/26.*
- Bjerkelund, Carl J.: Tauta Egeneto. 1987. *Vol. 40.*
- Blackburn, Barry Lee: Theios Aner and the Markan Miracle Traditions. 1991. *Vol. II/40.*
- Blanton IV, Thomas R.: Constructing a New Covenant. 2007. *Vol. II/233.*
- Bock, Darrell L.: Blasphemy and Exaltation in Judaism and the Final Examination of Jesus. 1998. *Vol. II/106.*
- Bockmuehl, Markus N.A.: Revelation and Mystery in Ancient Judaism and Pauline Christianity. 1990. *Vol. II/36.*
- Bøe, Sverre: Gog and Magog. 2001. *Vol. II/135.*
- Böhlig, Alexander: Gnosis und Synkretismus. Vol. 1 1989. *Vol. 47* – Vol. 2 1989. *Vol. 48.*
- Böhm, Martina: Samaritanen und die Samaritaner bei Lukas. 1999. *Vol. II/111.*
- Böttich, Christfried: Weltweisheit – Menschlichkeitsethik – Urkult. 1992. *Vol. II/50.*
- / Herzer, Jens (Ed.): Josephus und das Neue Testament. 2007. *Vol. 209.*
- Bolyki, János: Jesu Tischgemeinschaften. 1997. *Vol. II/96.*
- Bosman, Philip: Conscience in Philo and Paul. 2003. *Vol. II/166.*
- Bovon, François: Studies in Early Christianity. 2003. *Vol. 161.*
- Brändl, Martin: Der Agon bei Paulus. 2006. *Vol. II/222.*
- Breytenbach, Cilliers: see Frey, Jörg.
- Brocke, Christoph vom: Thessaloniki – Stadt des Kassander und Gemeinde des Paulus. 2001. *Vol. II/125.*
- Brunson, Andrew: Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John. 2003. *Vol. II/158.*
- Büchli, Jörg: Der Poimandres – ein paganisiertes Evangelium. 1987. *Vol. II/27.*
- Bühner, Jan A.: Der Gesandte und sein Weg im 4. Evangelium. 1977. *Vol. II/2.*
- Burchard, Christoph: Untersuchungen zu Joseph und Aseneth. 1965. *Vol. 8.*
- Studien zur Theologie, Sprache und Umwelt des Neuen Testaments. Ed. by D. Sänger. 1998. *Vol. 107.*
- Burnett, Richard: Karl Barth's Theological Exegesis. 2001. *Vol. II/145.*
- Byron, John: Slavery Metaphors in Early Judaism and Pauline Christianity. 2003. *Vol. II/162.*
- Byrskog, Samuel: Story as History – History as Story. 2000. *Vol. 123.*
- Cancik, Hubert (Ed.): Markus-Philologie. 1984. *Vol. 33.*
- Capes, David B.: Old Testament Yaweh Texts in Paul's Christology. 1992. *Vol. II/47.*
- Caragounis, Chrys C.: The Development of Greek and the New Testament. 2004. *Vol. 167.*
- The Son of Man. 1986. *Vol. 38.*
- see Fridrichsen, Anton.
- Carleton Paget, James: The Epistle of Barnabas. 1994. *Vol. II/64.*
- Carson, D.A., O'Brien, Peter T. and Mark Seifrid (Ed.): Justification and Variegated Nomism. Vol. 1: The Complexities of Second Temple Judaism. 2001. *Vol. II/140.* Vol. 2: The Paradoxes of Paul. 2004. *Vol. II/181.*
- Chae, Young Sam: Jesus as the Eschatological Davidic Shepherd. 2006. *Vol. II/216.*
- Chapman, David W.: Ancient Jewish and Christian Perceptions of Crucifixion. 2008. *Vol. II/244.*
- Chester, Andrew: Messiah and Exaltation. 2007. *Vol. 207.*
- Chibici-Revneanu, Nicole: Die Herrlichkeit des Verherrlichten. 2007. *Vol. II/231.*
- Ciampa, Roy E.: The Presence and Function of Scripture in Galatians 1 and 2. 1998. *Vol. II/102.*
- Classen, Carl Joachim: Rhetorical Criticism of the New Testament. 2000. *Vol. 128.*
- Colpe, Carsten: Iranier – Aramäer – Hebräer – Hellenen. 2003. *Vol. 154.*
- Crump, David: Jesus the Intercessor. 1992. *Vol. II/49.*
- Dahl, Nils Alstrup: Studies in Ephesians. 2000. *Vol. 131.*
- Daise, Michael A.: Feasts in John. 2007. *Vol. II/229.*
- Deines, Roland: Die Gerechtigkeit der Tora im Reich des Messias. 2004. *Vol. 177.*
- Jüdische Steingefäße und pharisäische Frömmigkeit. 1993. *Vol. II/52.*
- Die Pharisäer. 1997. *Vol. 101.*
- Deines, Roland and Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr (Ed.): Philo und das Neue Testament. 2004. *Vol. 172.*
- Dennis, John A.: Jesus' Death and the Gathering of True Israel. 2006. *Vol. 217.*
- Detwiler, Andreas and Jean Zumstein (Ed.): Kreuzestheologie im Neuen Testament. 2002. *Vol. 151.*
- Dickson, John P.: Mission-Commitment in Ancient Judaism and in the Pauline Communities. 2003. *Vol. II/159.*
- Dietzfelbinger, Christian: Der Abschied des Kommenden. 1997. *Vol. 95.*
- Dimitrov, Ivan Z., James D.G. Dunn, Ulrich Luz and Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr (Ed.): Das Alte Testament als christliche Bibel in orthodoxer und westlicher Sicht. 2004. *Vol. 174.*

- Dobbeler, Axel von*: Glaube als Teilhabe. 1987. Vol. II/22.
- Downs, David J.*: The Offering of the Gentiles. 2008. Vol. II/248.
- Dryden, J. de Waal*: Theology and Ethics in 1 Peter. 2006. Vol. II/209.
- Dübbbers, Michael*: Christologie und Existenz im Kolosserbrief. 2005. Vol. II/191.
- Dunn, James D.G.*: The New Perspective on Paul. 2005. Vol. 185.
- Dunn, James D.G.* (Ed.): Jews and Christians. 1992. Vol. 66.
- Paul and the Mosaic Law. 1996. Vol. 89.
 - see *Dimitrov, Ivan Z.*
 - , *Hans Klein, Ulrich Luz and Vasile Mihoc* (Ed.): Auslegung der Bibel in orthodoxer und westlicher Perspektive. 2000. Vol. 130.
- Ebel, Eva*: Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden. 2004. Vol. II/178.
- Ebertz, Michael N.*: Das Charisma des Gekreuzigten. 1987. Vol. 45.
- Eckstein, Hans-Joachim*: Der Begriff Syneidesis bei Paulus. 1983. Vol. II/10.
- Verheißung und Gesetz. 1996. Vol. 86.
- Ego, Beate*: Im Himmel wie auf Erden. 1989. Vol. II/34.
- Ego, Beate, Armin Lange and Peter Pilhofer* (Ed.): Gemeinde ohne Tempel – Community without Temple. 1999. Vol. 118.
- and *Helmut Merkel* (Ed.): Religiöses Lernen in der biblischen, frühjüdischen und frühchristlichen Überlieferung. 2005. Vol. 180.
- Eisen, Ute E.*: see *Paulsen, Henning*.
- Elledge, C.D.*: Life after Death in Early Judaism. 2006. Vol. II/208.
- Ellis, E. Earle*: Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity. 1978. Vol. 18.
- The Old Testament in Early Christianity. 1991. Vol. 54.
- Endo, Masanobu*: Creation and Christology. 2002. Vol. 149.
- Ennulat, Andreas*: Die 'Minor Agreements'. 1994. Vol. II/62.
- Ensor, Peter W.*: Jesus and His 'Works'. 1996. Vol. II/85.
- Eskola, Timo*: Messiah and the Throne. 2001. Vol. II/142.
- Theodicy and Predestination in Pauline Soteriology. 1998. Vol. II/100.
- Fatehi, Mehrdad*: The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul. 2000. Vol. II/128.
- Feldmeier, Reinhard*: Die Krisis des Gottessohnes. 1987. Vol. II/21.
- Die Christen als Fremde. 1992. Vol. 64.
- Feldmeier, Reinhard and Ulrich Heckel* (Ed.): Die Heiden. 1994. Vol. 70.
- Fletcher-Louis, Crispin H.T.*: Luke-Acts: Angels, Christology and Soteriology. 1997. Vol. II/94.
- Förster, Niclas*: Marcus Magus. 1999. Vol. 114.
- Forbes, Christopher Brian*: Prophecy and Inspired Speech in Early Christianity and its Hellenistic Environment. 1995. Vol. II/75.
- Fornberg, Tord*: see *Fridrichsen, Anton*.
- Fossum, Jarl E.*: The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord. 1985. Vol. 36.
- Foster, Paul*: Community, Law and Mission in Matthew's Gospel. Vol. II/177.
- Fotopoulos, John*: Food Offered to Idols in Roman Corinth. 2003. Vol. II/151.
- Freischkowski, Marco*: Offenbarung und Epiphanie. Vol. 1 1995. Vol. II/79 – Vol. 2 1997. Vol. II/80.
- Frey, Jörg*: Eugen Drewermann und die biblische Exegese. 1995. Vol. II/71.
- Die johanneische Eschatologie. Vol. I. 1997. Vol. 96. – Vol. II. 1998. Vol. 110. – Vol. III. 2000. Vol. 117.
- Frey, Jörg and Cilliers Breytenbach* (Ed.): Aufgabe und Durchführung einer Theologie des Neuen Testaments. 2007. Vol. 205.
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- Fridrichsen, Anton*: Exegetical Writings. Edited by C.C. Caragounis and T. Fornberg. 1994. Vol. 76.
- Gäbel, Georg*: Die Kulttheologie des Hebräerbriefes. 2006. Vol. II/212.
- Gäckle, Volker*: Die Starken und die Schwachen in Korinth und in Rom. 2005. Vol. 200.
- Garlington, Don B.*: 'The Obedience of Faith'. 1991. Vol. II/38.
- Faith, Obedience, and Perseverance. 1994. Vol. 79.
- Garnet, Paul*: Salvation and Atonement in the Qumran Scrolls. 1977. Vol. II/3.
- Gemünden, Petra von* (Ed.): see *Weissenrieder, Annette*.
- Gese, Michael*: Das Vermächtnis des Apostels. 1997. Vol. II/99.
- Gheorghita, Radu*: The Role of the Septuagint in Hebrews. 2003. Vol. II/160.
- Gordley, Matthew E.*: The Colossian Hymn in Context. 2007. Vol. II/228.
- Gräbe, Petrus J.*: The Power of God in Paul's Letters. 2000. Vol. II/123.
- Gräßer, Erich*: Der Alte Bund im Neuen. 1985. Vol. 35.
- Forschungen zur Apostelgeschichte. 2001. Vol. 137.
- Grappe, Christian* (Ed.): Le Repas de Dieu / Das Mahl Gottes. 2004. Vol. 169.

- Gray, Timothy C.: The Temple in the Gospel of Mark. 2008. Vol. II/242.
- Green, Joel B.: The Death of Jesus. 1988. Vol. II/33.
- Gregg, Brian Han: The Historical Jesus and the Final Judgment Sayings in Q. 2005. Vol. II/207.
- Gregory, Andrew: The Reception of Luke and Acts in the Period before Irenaeus. 2003. Vol. II/169.
- Grindheim, Sigurd: The Crux of Election. 2005. Vol. II/202.
- Gundry, Robert H.: The Old is Better. 2005. Vol. 178.
- Gundry Volf, Judith M.: Paul and Perseverance. 1990. Vol. II/37.
- Häußer, Detlef: Christusbekenntnis und Jesusüberlieferung bei Paulus. 2006. Vol. 210.
- Hafemann, Scott J.: Suffering and the Spirit. 1986. Vol. II/19.
- Paul, Moses, and the History of Israel. 1995. Vol. 81.
- Hahn, Ferdinand: Studien zum Neuen Testament. Vol. I: Grundsatzfragen, Jesusforschung, Evangelien. 2006. Vol. 191.
- Hahn, Johannes (Ed.): Bekenntnisbildung und Theologie in urchristlicher Zeit. 2006. Vol. 192.
- Hahn, Johannes (Ed.): Zerstörungen des Jerusalemer Tempels. 2002. Vol. 147.
- Hamid-Khani, Saeed: Revelation and Concealment of Christ. 2000. Vol. II/120.
- Hannah, Darrel D.: Michael and Christ. 1999. Vol. II/109.
- Hardin, Justin K.: Galatians and the Imperial Cult? 2007. Vol. II/237.
- Harrison, James R.: Paul's Language of Grace in Its Graeco-Roman Context. 2003. Vol. II/172.
- Hartman, Lars: Text-Centered New Testament Studies. Ed. von D. Hellholm. 1997. Vol. 102.
- Hartog, Paul: Polycarp and the New Testament. 2001. Vol. II/134.
- Heckel, Theo K.: Der Innere Mensch. 1993. Vol. II/53.
- Vom Evangelium des Markus zum viergestaltigen Evangelium. 1999. Vol. 120.
- Heckel, Ulrich: Kraft in Schwachheit. 1993. Vol. II/56.
- Der Segen im Neuen Testament. 2002. Vol. 150.
 - see Feldmeier, Reinhard.
 - see Hengel, Martin.
- Heiligenthal, Roman: Werke als Zeichen. 1983. Vol. II/9.
- Heliso, Desta: Pistis and the Righteous One. 2007. Vol. II/235.
- Hellholm, D.: see Hartman, Lars.
- Hemer, Colin J.: The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History. 1989. Vol. 49.
- Hengel, Martin: Judentum und Hellenismus. 1969, ³1988. Vol. 10.
- Die johanneische Frage. 1993. Vol. 67.
 - Judaica et Hellenistica. Kleine Schriften I. 1996. Vol. 90.
 - Judaica, Hellenistica et Christiana. Kleine Schriften II. 1999. Vol. 109.
 - Paulus und Jakobus. Kleine Schriften III. 2002. Vol. 141.
 - Studien zur Christologie. Kleine Schriften IV. 2006. Vol. 201.
 - and Anna Maria Schwemer: Paulus zwischen Damaskus und Antiochien. 1998. Vol. 108.
 - Der messianische Anspruch Jesu und die Anfänge der Christologie. 2001. Vol. 138.
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- Hentschel, Anni: Diakonia im Neuen Testament. 2007. Vol. 226.
- Hernández Jr., Juan: Scribal Habits and Theological Influence in the Apocalypse. 2006. Vol. II/218.
- Herrenbrück, Fritz: Jesus und die Zöllner. 1990. Vol. II/41.
- Herzer, Jens: Paulus oder Petrus? 1998. Vol. 103.
- see Böttrich, Christfried.
- Hill, Charles E.: From the Lost Teaching of Polycarp. 2005. Vol. 186.
- Hoegen-Rohls, Christina: Der nachösterliche Johannes. 1996. Vol. II/84.
- Hoffmann, Matthias Reinhard: The Destroyer and the Lamb. 2005. Vol. II/203.
- Hofius, Otfried: Katapausis. 1970. Vol. 11.
- Der Vorhang vor dem Thron Gottes. 1972. Vol. 14.
 - Der Christushymnus Philipper 2,6–11. 1976, ²1991. Vol. 17.
 - Paulusstudien. 1989, ²1994. Vol. 51.
 - Neutestamentliche Studien. 2000. Vol. 132.
 - Paulusstudien II. 2002. Vol. 143.
 - Exegetische Studien. 2008. Vol. 223.
 - and Hans-Christian Kammler: Johannesstudien. 1996. Vol. 88.

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