

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe 48

James M. Scott

Adoption as Sons of God



Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe

Begründet von Joachim Jeremias und Otto Michel

Herausgegeben von

Martin Hengel und Otfried Hofius

48

Adoption as Sons of God

An Exegetical Investigation
into the Background of ΥΙΟΘΕΣΙΑ
in the Pauline Corpus

by

James M. Scott



J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) Tübingen

Die Deutsche Bibliothek – CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

Scott, James M.:

Adoption as sons of God: an exegetical investigation into the background of huiothesia in the Pauline corpus / by James M. Scott.

– Tübingen: Mohr 1992

(Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament: Reihe 2; 48)

ISBN 3-16-145895-8

978-3-16-157460-3 Unveränderte eBook-Ausgabe 2019

NE: Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament / 02

© 1992 by J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), P.O. Box 2040, D-7400 Tübingen.

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

The book was printed by Gulde-Druck in Tübingen on acid-free paper from Papierfabrik Niefern and bound by Heinr. Koch in Tübingen.

Printed in Germany.

ISSN 0340-9570

For
Gail, Kathryn and Elizabeth

Foreword

The present volume presents a somewhat shortened version of my dissertation which was accepted by the Evangelisch-theologische Fakultät of the University of Tübingen in 1989.

I realize that in offering this dissertation for publication, I am deeply indebted to many people. My profound thanks go first and foremost to my *Doktorvater*, Prof. Dr. Peter Stuhlmacher, because he not only very graciously allowed me to pursue my own research interests, but also personally encouraged and guided me every step of the way to the completion of the project. One could not wish for a more dedicated and stimulating doctoral supervisor. My thanks go also to Prof. Dr. Otto Betz, who was nothing less to me than a second *Doktorvater*, always willing to discuss my research and share his own insights. Prof. Betz's vigorous example of scholarship and humanity has marked me for life. I would like to thank the Protestant Faculty and the University of Tübingen for the opportunity of studying in such ideal conditions. I gratefully acknowledge the scholarships from the University and from the *Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst* which allowed me to finish my dissertation in Tübingen. I must also express my gratitude to my family for wholeheartedly supporting me in the process of research and writing. Without their help and encouragement, I could not have made it. In particular, I would like to thank my wife Gail for all her hard work in editing and typing the various drafts of the manuscript. Finally, I would like to thank Professors Hengel and Hofius for accepting this monograph in the series, *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament*.

June, 1991

James M. Scott

Contents

Foreword	V
Abbreviations	XI
Introduction	XIII

Part I

Greco-Roman Background

<i>Chapter 1: Υίοθεσία: The Greco-Roman Institution and the Semantic Field</i>	3
Introduction	3
The Greco-Roman Institution of Adoption	3
Greek Adoption	3
Roman Adoption	7
The Semantic Field of Υίοθεσία	13
Εἰσποιεῖν Word Group	14
Ἐκποιεῖν Word Group	24
Ποιεῖσθαι Word Group	27
Υἰοποιεῖσθαι Word Group	32
Τίθεσθαι Word Group	39
Υἰοθετεῖν Word Group	44
Conclusion	55

Part II

Old Testament/Jewish Background

<i>Chapter 2: Adoption in the Old Testament and Early Judaism</i>	61
---	----

Introduction	61
Profane Adoption	62
Profane Adoption in the Old Testament	62
Profane Adoption in Early Judaism	75
Divine Adoption	88
Divine Adoption of the Proselyte in Philo	88
Divine Adoption in the 2 Sam. 7:14 Tradition	96

Part III

Pauline Letters

<i>Chapter 3: Υἱοθεσία in Galatians 4:5</i>	121
Introduction	121
Gal. 4:1–7 as a Unit of Thought	121
Gal. 4:1–2 and the First Exodus	122
The <i>Opinio Communis</i>	122
Exegetical Oversights of the <i>Opinio Communis</i>	126
Summary of the Exegesis	145
Gal. 4:3–7 and the Second Exodus	149
The Nature of the Comparison in Gal. 4:1–7	149
Exegesis of Gal. 4:3–7	155
Conclusion	186
<i>Chapter 4: The Use of 2 Samuel 7:14 in 2 Corinthians 6:18 and its Correlation with Υἱοθεσία in Galatians 4:5</i>	187
Introduction	187
The Form and Structure of 2 Cor. 6:14–7:1	188
The Zitatkombination of 2 Cor. 6:16c–18	195
The Introductory Formula (v. 16c)	195
The Covenant Formula (v. 16def)	195
The Parenetic Middle (v. 17abc)	201
The Adoption Formula (vv. 17d–18b)	205
The Closing Quotation Formula (v. 18c)	213

The Authenticity and Integrity of 2 Cor. 6:14–7:1	215
The Question of Authenticity	215
The Question of Integrity	217
<i>Chapter 5: Υἱοθεσία in Romans 8:15, 23</i>	<i>221</i>
Introduction	221
The Adoption of the Son in Rom. 1:3–4 Against the Background of 2 Sam. 7:14	223
Structural Analysis	223
The Self-Descriptions of Paul (v. 1)	224
Statements About the Gospel (vv. 2–3a)	226
Statements About the Messianic Son of God as a Summary of Paul’s Gospel (vv. 3b–4)	227
The Adoption of Sons in Rom. 8	244
The Future Aspect of Υἱοθεσία in Rom. 8	244
The Present Aspect of Υἱοθεσία in Rom. 8	260
Conclusion	266
<i>Conclusion</i>	<i>267</i>
Bibliography	271
General Index	339
Index of Biblical and Other Ancient Sources	345
A. Old Testament	345
B. New Testament	348
C. Extra-Canonical Works	351

Abbreviations

References to journals and standard references are abbreviated according to Siegfried Schwertner, *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Abkürzungsverzeichnis (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1976), and Jean S. Wellington, *Dictionary of Bibliographic Abbreviations found in the Scholarship of Classical Studies and Related Disciplines* (Westport, CT/London: Greenwood Press, 1983).

Classical sources are abbreviated according to N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard, eds., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), and supplementally to Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, eds., et al., *A Greek-English Lexicon*, rev. ed., with a Supplement (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).

Rabbinic sources are abbreviated according to Thomas Lehnardt, *Einheitssachtitel zur rabbinischen Literatur. Midraschim, Traktate in Mischna, Tosefta und den Talmuden, Wochenabschnitte, Arbeitsblätter zur rabbinischen Literatur* (Tübingen: privately published, 1987).

Other Jewish sources are abbreviated as follows:

Apoc Abr	The Apocalypse of Abraham
Apoc Mos	The Apocalypse of Moses
Ass Mos	The Assumption of Moses
1 Bar	1 Baruch (Apocryphal)
2 Bar	2 Baruch (Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch)
3 Bar	3 Baruch (Greek Apocalypse of Baruch)
1 En	1 Enoch (Ethiopic Book of Enoch)
2 En	2 Enoch (Slavonic Book of Enoch)
3 En	3 Enoch (Hebrew Book of Enoch)
4 Ezra	The Ezra Apocalypse (2 Esdras)
Jos As	Joseph und Asenath
Jub	Jubilees
LAB	Pseudo-Philo, <i>Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum</i>
1 Macc	1 Maccabees

2 Macc	2 Maccabees
3 Macc	3 Maccabees
4 Macc	4 Maccabees
Ps Sol	Psalms of Solomon
Sib	Sibylline Books
Sir	Sirach
TJud	Testament of Judah
TLev	Testament of Levi
TAbr	Testament of Abraham
Tob	Tobit
Wisd.	Wisdom

Introduction

This monograph provides an opportunity to explore a concept which has been largely overlooked or inadequately handled in the secondary literature.¹ Although two recent, rather wide-ranging dissertations on sonship in Paul go a long way towards meeting the need,² their very scope prohibits them from devoting special attention to *υιοθεσία*.³ Yet such attention is warranted; for, although *υιοθεσία* occurs in some of the most interesting and crucial passages in Paul (Gal. 4:5; Rom. 8:15, 23; 9:4; Eph. 1:5), *there is still much confusion about the meaning and background of the term*. Does *υιοθεσία* mean “adoption as son” or “sonship” in Paul? Is the term to be seen against a Greco-Roman background, an Old Testament/Jewish background, or some other? The answer to these

¹Cf. Allen Mawhinney, “*ΥΙΟΘΕΣΙΑ* in the Pauline Epistles: Its Background, Use and Implications” (Ph.D. diss., Baylor University, 1982); Jan Lodewyk de Villiers, *Die betekenis van ΥΙΟΘΕΣΙΑ in die Briewe van Paulus* (Amsterdam: Drukkerij Holland, 1950). Add to these, of course, a trickle of journal and encyclopedia articles on *υιοθεσία* (see the Bibliography).

²Cf. Brendan Byrne, ‘*Sons of God*’—‘*Seed of Abraham*’: *A Study of the Idea of the Sonship of God of all Christians against the Jewish Background*, *Analecta Biblica*, 83 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1979), with a concise history of research on pp. 2–6; Charles A. Wanamaker, “The Son and the Sons of God: A Study in Elements of Paul’s Christological and Soteriological Thought” (Ph.D. diss., University of Durham, 1980). Although both of these British dissertations (Byrne’s was supervised by Morna D. Hooker, and Wanamaker’s, by C. K. Barrett) were able to profit from Martin Hengel’s insightful booklet, *Der Sohn Gottes. Die Entstehung der Christologie und die jüdisch-hellenistische Religionsgeschichte*, 2nd ed. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1977), neither was able, unfortunately, to benefit from the work of the other. Therefore, one of the advantages of the present study is that the others have already done some of the groundwork. On the new “symbolic” approaches to sonship in Paul, see Norman R. Petersen, (*Rediscovering Paul: Philemon and the Sociology of Paul’s Narrative World* [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985], pp. 206ff) and Daniel von Allmen (*La famille de Dieu: La symbolique familiale dans le paulinisme*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis*, 41 [Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981]).

³Cf. Byrne, *Sons of God*, p. 8: “What might be termed the fine point of focus of the enquiry—though by no means its chief aim—lies upon the term *υιοθεσία*.”

questions is not inconsequential to the aforementioned passages and, to that extent, to Pauline theology as a whole.

The present study addresses these issues in three main parts. In the first part (chap. 1), the meaning of the term is substantiated beyond all doubt by an extensive, computer-assisted word study. The whole study rests on the well-founded premise, about which there can be no confusion, that in the Hellenistic period *υιοθεσία* always denotes “adoption as son” and never merely, as commonly supposed, “sonship.” This terminological distinction has important methodological consequences. For one, it justifies the restriction of the study to “adoption” in Paul; for, as the means by which believers enter into divine sonship, *υιοθεσία* provides the logical starting point for any further investigation of sonship in Paul. This strict distinction also allows the study to focus on “adoption” wherever it occurs in relevant primary sources, rather than open up the floodgate of material on “sonship” in general. Thus the first part also contains a brief outline of the Greco-Roman institution of adoption. The second part (chap. 2) follows with a discussion of Old Testament/ Jewish adoption. Much of the confusion about the background of *υιοθεσία* in Paul, when rightly understood as a term of adoption, stems from the common misconception that the Old Testament and ancient Judaism contain little or nothing about adoption, and that therefore Paul must have had some other background in mind. However, the second part provides ample evidence to dispel this notion. In the third part (chaps. 3–5), the use of *υιοθεσία* in the Corpus Paulinum is examined exegetically in light of the cumulative evidence of the first two parts.⁴ This final section

⁴In the rest of the New Testament, several passages are sometimes discussed in terms of adoption, but few of them contain a demonstrable term of adoption or an adoption formula. For example, idiosyncrasies in the Matthean and Lukan genealogies of Jesus are occasionally attributed to implicit adoptions (see chap. 2 below); the fact that (as a child?) John the Baptist was “in the desert” (Lk. 1:80) is often taken to indicate that John was adopted by the Essenes (see chap. 2 below); the highpoints of the Gospel of Mark are frequently summarized as Jesus’ *baptism*, *transfiguration*, and *crucifixion*, directly corresponding to a supposed ancient Egyptian enthronement scene involving *adoption*, *presentation* and *acclamation* (see chap. 5 below); and Jesus’ address to Mary and the beloved disciple standing at the foot of the cross (Jn. 19:26–27) is often explained as the pronouncement of a son-mother relationship between the two (cf., e.g., H. J. Wolff, “Römisches Provinzialrecht in der Provinz Arabia [Rechtspolitik als Instrument der Beherrschung],” in *ANRW* II.13, ed. Hildegard Temporini

resists the urge to commence with the use of *υιοθεσία* in Rom. 9:4,⁵ and begins instead more naturally with Gal. 4:5 (chap. 3), the earliest occurrence of the word in Paul. For purposes of the present study, the use of *υιοθεσία* in Rom. 9:4, appearing as it does in a later Pauline epistle and that in a bare *list* of Israel's privileges, serves rather to corroborate the suggested interpretation of *υιοθεσία* in Gal. 4:5 against a specific Old Testament/Jewish background of adoption.⁶ For reasons that will become clear later, 2 Cor. 6:18 also attests to this interpretation of *υιοθεσία* in Gal. 4:5, and so a full discussion of it is included (chap. 4), even though *υιοθεσία* does not occur there and 2 Cor. 6:14–7:1 is widely held to be spurious. The inclusion of 2 Cor. 6:18 does not represent a departure from the limits set for the study, but rather a confirmation that a particular Old Testament/Jewish background of adoption influenced Paul. Furthermore, the correlation between Gal. 4:5 and 2 Cor. 6:18, among other evidence, shows that the recent doubts about the authenticity of 2 Cor. 6:14–7:1 are largely unsubstantiated. Finally, Gal. 4:5 remains the point of departure for the discussion of *υιοθεσία* in Rom. 8 (chap. 5). There the twofold aspect of the concept—present (v. 15) and future divine adoption (v. 23)—has often compounded the confusion of the exegetes.

[Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1980], p. 795 n. 91; S. Ben-Chorin, "A Jewish View of the Mother of Jesus," *Concilium* 168 [1983]:12–16). A full discussion of these tentative suggestions lies outside the scope of the present study on divine adoption in Paul, although some of them will be encountered again in the course of the paper. Other passages, however, more or less clearly contain a term or formula of adoption and need to be considered below: the statement of Jesus' adoption by Joseph in Lk. 3:23 (see chap. 5); the mention of Moses' adoption by Pharaoh's daughter in Acts 7:21 (see chap. 2); and the use of 2 Sam. 7:14 in Heb. 1:5; Rev. 21:7 (see chap. 5).

⁵So expressly, Byrne, *Sons of God*, p. 81; de facto, Mawhinney, "ΥΙΟΘΕΣΙΑ," pp. 134ff.; Martin W. Schoenberg, "Huiiothesia: The Adoptive Sonship of the Israelites," *American Ecclesiastical Review* 143 (1960):261–273.

⁶Likewise the use of *υιοθεσία* in Eph. 1:5, occurring as it does incidentally in an exegetically difficult passage (vv. 3–14) in a letter of disputed authenticity, may be drawn into the discussion marginally for the purpose of comparison.

PART I

Greco-Roman Background

Chapter 1

ΥΙΟΘΕΣΙΑ: The Greco-Roman Institution and the Semantic Field

INTRODUCTION

Although it has often been alleged that Paul's concept of *υιοθεσία* can be traced to a Greco-Roman background of one sort or another (see Ch. 3 below), only one other New Testament study, the dissertation by J. L. de Villiers,¹ has made an attempt to delve into this background material, and even his work leaves room for improvement. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is (1) to sketch the Greco-Roman institution of adoption, and (2) to examine the semantic field of *υιοθεσία*. The latter in particular has long been needed, in order to demonstrate conclusively that, in the period under consideration, *υιοθεσία* univocally denotes "adoption as son," and to appreciate Paul's use of *υιοθεσία* over against other possible word choices. In the process, the word study surfaces many interesting examples of adoption which have so far gone unnoticed.

THE GRECO-ROMAN INSTITUTION OF ADOPTION

GREEK ADOPTION

Sources for Greek Adoption. It seems impossible to refer to "Greek adoption" as if it took on the same complexion in all the Greek city-states and at all times.² Nevertheless, more attention has been given to the Athenian adoption of the fourth century B.C., because most of the extant literary sources on adoption come from Attic orators, particularly Isaeus and Demosthenes, who dealt with

¹Jan Lodewyk de Villiers, "Die Betekenis van *ΥΙΟΘΕΣΙΑ* in die Briewe van Paulus" (Amsterdam: Drukkerij Holland, 1950), pp. 48–70.

²However, Isaeus stresses the continuity of the Attic practice compared with that of the barbarians (2.24).

cases of disputed inheritance. Although these Attic sources do not contain a code of laws on adoption, as found for example in Gortyn,³ they clearly presuppose a code and occasionally cite it. Therefore, the present study sketches Attic adoption as a point of reference.⁴

Purpose of Adoption. Attic adoption in general served to perpetuate the family line and cultus, and adoption *inter vivos* provided in addition a means of securing care for the adoptive father in his old age.⁵ Thus towards the end of his life Meneclēs “began to consider how he could put an end to his childless condition and have someone to tend to his old age and bury him when he died and thereafter carry out the customary rites over him,” so he adopted a son from another family (Isae. 2.10–12).⁶ In Attic adoption, the adopter’s personal interests and purposes were paramount. Therefore, although a few cases of adoption of a daughter are recorded,⁷ the adoption of a son—often an adult⁸—was

³Cf. Ronald F. Willetts, *The Law Code of Gortyn*, Kadmos, Suppl. 1 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1967), pp. 3, 7, 10–11, 13, 21, 30–31, 34, 48–49, 73, 76–78; idem, *Aristocratic Society in Ancient Crete* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1955), pp. 63–68 *et passim*; W. K. Lacey, *The Family in Classical Greece*, Aspects of Greek and Roman Life (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968), pp. 201, 213–214.

⁴On Attic adoption: A. R. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens: The Family and Property* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), pp. 82–96; *PW*, s.v. “Adoption,” by Theodor Thalheim, 1:396–398; *Der Kleine Pauly*, s.v. “Adoption,” 1:71; *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, s.v. “Adoption (Greek),” by W. J. Woodhouse, 1:107–110; Douglas M. MacDowell, *The Law in Classical Athens*, Aspects of Greek and Roman Life (Ithica, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978), pp. 99–101; Robert J. Littmann, “Kingship in Athens,” *Ancient Society* 10 (1979):17–20; Frederic Earle Whitaker, “The Legal Fiction of Adoption in Ancient Greece” (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1899); Lacey, *Family*, pp. 145–147; *OCD*, s.v. “Adoption, Greek,” by Martin S. Smith, p. 9; W. E. Thompson, “Athenian Attitudes towards Wills,” *Prudentia* 13 (1981):13–23; Ugo Enrico Paoli, “Note giuridiche sul Δύσκολος di Menandro,” *Museum Helveticum* (1961):53–62; J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600–300 B.C.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), index; V. Polaček, “Quelques remarques sur l’adoption dans le ‘Dyskolos’ de Ménandre,” *RIDA* 14 (1967):157–167.

⁵For the Greek ideal, cf. Pl. *Hipp. mai.* 291D.

⁶Adoption could also provide a cure for the loneliness of the adoptive father (Isoc. 19.49; Isae. 2.20).

⁷Cf. Isae. 7.9; 11.8, 41. Thus the primary purpose of adoption should not be made into a *sine qua non*. Cf. Justus Hermann Lipius, *Das attische Recht und*

predominant, because only a son could perpetuate the family and the family cultus. The state had a vested interest in preserving the *οἶκος* from dying out and thus encouraged adoption as a last resort.⁹

Modes of Adoption. There were three modes of adoption in Attica: *inter vivos*, testamentary, and posthumous. In adoption *inter vivos*, the adopter acquired an adopted son during his life time.¹⁰ In testamentary adoption, the adopter designated an adopted son in his last will and testament to take effect after his death.¹¹ In posthumous adoption, if a man died without legitimate male offspring, and without having adopted a son (either by adoption *inter vivos* or testamentary adoption), the next-of-kin succeeding to the estate, or that person's offspring, was adopted into the family of the deceased.¹²

Restrictions on Adoption. Although the head of a household was relatively free to adopt whomever he wished,¹³ he was in fact limited by law and custom. For example, both parties had to be citizens, and the candidate had to be a legitimate son of another marriage.¹⁴ Moreover, the law required the adopter be without a legitimate son and free from outstanding debts.¹⁵ A man could not adopt if he had pending litigation, indebtedness to the state, or a conviction.¹⁶ For an adoption to be considered valid, the adopter had to be in his right mind and had to be acting on his own

Rechtsverfahren (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1915), p. 513 n. 51.

⁸Cf. Isae. 2.6, where the adopted son is old enough to go off on a campaign in Thrace. Adopting an adult had the advantage that the adopter knew by experience his successor's ability and integrity (cf. Isae. 7.33, 34).

⁹Cf. Isae. 7.30.

¹⁰Cf. Isae. 2.12, 14.

¹¹Cf. Isae. 6.6; 5.6; 9.5, 6; 11.8, 9; 10.9; Dem. 46.24; Pl. *Leg.* 11.923E.

¹²Cf. Isae. 7.31; 11.49; Dem. 43.11; 44.43. Cf. also Pl. *Leg.* 9.878A.

¹³Cf. Isae. 2.17—'Ὅς μὲν τοίνυν ἔξῃν τῷ Μενεκλεί ποιήσασθαι υἱὸν αὐτῷ ὄντινα ἐβούλετο. Cf. Dem. 20.102.

¹⁴Cf. Isae. 7.16. There were exceptions to this general rule which will be noted subsequently under "municipal adoption." Cf. Whitaker, "Legal Fiction," p. 37–42.

¹⁵Cf. Dem. 44.49; Isae. 2.46.

¹⁶Cf. Aeschin. *In Ctes.* 3.21; Dem. 22.34; Cf. Plut. *Antiphon* 834B.

volition, not under persuasion of a woman.¹⁷ Furthermore, although the adopter was not legally required to adopt a relative, the extant evidence shows that he customarily did so.¹⁸

Ceremony of Adoption. In the case of adoption *inter vivos*, the three introductory ceremonies encompassed aspects both public and private, legal and sacred. First, the adopted son was introduced into the *γεννήται* or associated relatives, then into the *φράτρα* or religious brotherhood, and finally into the *δῆμος* or local township. Isae. 7.15–17 details how a man introduced his adopted son into the familial and religious orders:¹⁹

When the Thargelia came round, he conducted me to the altars and to the members of the families and the phratry. Now these bodies have a uniform rule, that when a man introduces his own son or an adopted son, he must swear with his hand upon the victims that the child whom he is introducing, whether his own or an adopted son, is the offspring of an Athenian mother and born in wedlock; and, even after the introducer has done this, the other members still have to pass a vote, and, if their vote is favorable, they then, and not till then, inscribe him on the official register; such is the exactitude with which their formalities are carried out.

All three bodies were needed to witness to one's proper adoption in case it was ever challenged.²⁰

Rights and Duties of the Adopted Son. The adopted son had the duty of fulfilling the purpose for which he was adopted. As the perpetuator of his adoptive father's family, the adopted son took a new name, usually that of his new paternal grandfather. Thus in one case the adopted son says that he was registered in the phratry records as "Thrasyllus the son of Apollodorus."²¹ As perpetuator of his adoptive father's cultus, the adopted son collected the remains of his deceased adoptive father, laid them out and performed the burial rites.²² As curator of his adoptive father in old age, the

¹⁷Cf. Isae. 2.1, 14, 19, 25, 38; 6.10. For a similar concern about the influence of women in Roman adoption, cf. Pliny *Pan.* 7.4.

¹⁸Cf. Isae. 2.20, 23.

¹⁹For further detail on the role of the animal sacrifice in the admission ceremonies, see Dem. 44.14, 22.

²⁰Cf. Isae. 2.16.

²¹Isae. 7.17. Cf. Dem. 39.27; Isae. 2.36.

²²Cf. Isae. 9.4.

adopted son had to serve and honor him as faithfully as a natural son would. Thus one adopted son testifies to his own filial piety:

Menecles exercised the forethought on my behalf which a father would naturally exercise for his son, and I tended him and respected him as though he were my true father . . . I, the adopted son, . . . tended Menecles while he lived and gave his name to my little son, in order that his family might not lack a representative. On his death, I buried him in a manner befitting both him and myself, and I erected a fine monument to him and celebrated the commemorative ceremony on the ninth day and performed all the other rites at the tomb in the best manner possible . . .²³

There were also privileges associated with adoption, the chief being the right of inheritance. The adopted son became at once the legal and necessary heir of his adoptive father, as he severed ties with his natural family.²⁴ In the case of adoption *inter vivos*, the adoptive son was like a natural son, in that he could enter without litigation into the possession of the estate upon his adoptive father's death.²⁵ Collaterals and testamentary heirs, on the other hand, had first to establish their claims in court.²⁶

ROMAN ADOPTION

Sources for Roman Adoption. Roman adoption may have been more unified than Greek adoption, but it was no less susceptible to change. In his monograph on adoption law in the classical period of Roman jurisprudence (ca. A.D. 120–250), Marek Kurylowicz emphasizes that Roman adoption presents a difficult and complex problem “wegen der tiefgreifenden Veränderung, die sie im Laufe der Jahrhunderte in der rechtlichen Regelung wie in der sozialen Funktion erfahren hat”²⁷ Kurylowicz refers here to the

²³Isae. 2.18, 36. On the second speech, cf. Liselot Huchthausen, “Beachtungen zur II. Rede des Isaios,” *Klio* 46 (1965):241–262.

²⁴Cf. Isae. 10.4. The main exception to this general rule was that the relationship to the natural mother was never severed (Isae. 7.25).

²⁵Cf. Isae. 2.

²⁶Cf. Isae. 3.1, 56, 60; 4.10ff; 5.6; 9.3.

²⁷Marek Kurylowicz, *Die adoptio im klassischen römischen Recht*, *Studia antiqua*, 6 (Warsaw: Univ. Warszawskieigo, 1981), p. 12 [emphasis mine]; cf. p. 164. The purpose of Kurylowicz's monograph is to give a complete outline of Roman adoption in the classical period such as has not been available previously (pp. 12–13). It is to be regretted therefore that Kurylowicz's work is marred by poor editing and printing. Kurylowicz considers C. Gunnar Bergmann's work, *Beiträge zum römischen Adoptionsrecht*, *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, N.F.

change which began in the Republic and continued until the Justinian reform.²⁸

In view of this situation, it is disconcerting to realize that, except for a few political adoptions²⁹ and some inscriptional evidence,³⁰ knowledge of first-century Roman adoption must be

AFD. 1, Bd. 8, Nr. 1, pp. 3–157 (Lund: Gleerup/Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1912), inadequate. On Roman adoption see further: *PW*, s.v. "Adoption," by R. Leonard, 1:398–400; *ibid.*, s.v. "Adrogatio," 1:419–421; *RAC*, s.v. "Adoption," by L. Wenger, 1:100–102; *OCD*, s.v. "Adoption," by Adolf Berger and Barry Nicholas, pp. 8–9. Judith P. Hallet, *Fathers and Daughters in Roman Society: Women and the Elite Family* (Princeton: University Press, 1984), index, s.v. "adoption"; Max Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht*, Part 1: "Das altrömische, das vorklassische und klassische Recht," 2nd ed., *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, 10.3.3.1 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1971), pp. 65–68, 347–350.

²⁸On the changes which took place at that time, cf. Marek Kurylowicz, "Die justinianische Adoption," in *Sodalitas. Scritti in onore di Antonio Guarino*, 10 vols., Biblioteca di Labeo, 8 (Naples: Jovene, 1984–1985), 7:3305–3315.

²⁹Cf. Marcel-Henri Prévost, *Les Adoptions politiques à Rome sous la République et le Principat*, Publications de l'Institut de Droit Romain, 5 (Paris: Recueil Sirey, 1949), pp. 35–59; Herbert Nesselhauf, "Die Adoption des römischen Kaisers," *Hermes* 83 (1955):477–495; Barbara Levick, "Drusus Caesar and the Adoption of A.D. 4," *Latomus* 25 (1966):227–244; Hans Ulrich Instinsky, "Augustus und die Adoption des Tiberius," *Hermes* 94 (1966):324–343; *PW*, s.v. "Princeps," by Lothar Wichert, 22:2187–2190; Elke Merten, "Die Adoption Hadrians," in *Bonner Festgabe Johannes Straub zum 65. Geburtstag am 18. Oktober 1977*, Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher, 39 (Bonn: Rheinland-Verlag, 1977), pp. 247–259. By Trajan's day (the beginning of the so-called "Adoptivkaisertum" of the second century), adoption as a means of Imperial legitimization had lost its effectiveness, so that legitimization by the deity overshadowed the adoption which transferred *imperium*. Although this divine election was never called an "adoption," it is significant that, in adopting Trajan, Nerva was simply the agent of Jupiter (cf. Pliny *Pan.* 8.2: *Nerva tantum minister fuit, utque adoptaret . . .*). Cf. Dietmar Kienast, "Nerva und das Kaisertum Trajans," *Historia* 17 (1968):51–71; J. Rufus Fears, "The Cult of Jupiter and Roman Imperial Ideology," *ANRW II*. 17.1, ed. Wolfgang Haase (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1981), pp. 81–85; *idem*, *Princeps a diis electus: The Divine Election of the Emperor as a Political Concept at Rome*, Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, 26 (Rome: American Academy, 1977), pp. 145–154; Karl Büchner, "Tacitus und Plinius über Adoption des römischen Kaisers (Das Verhältnis von Tacitus hist. I. 15–16 zu Plinius, Panegyricus 7–8)," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* N.F. 98 (1955): 289–312.

³⁰Cf. P. R. C. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris: A Social Study of the Emperor's Freedmen and Slaves* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp.

inferred from the agreement between literary sources of the late Republic and the law code of the classical period. In both eras, however, the picture is surprisingly sketchy.³¹

Purpose of Adoption. Similar to Attic adoption, the original purpose of Roman adoption was to perpetuate the familia and the gens. A person who was not by birth part of the family was made son of an adoptive father, in order that he might carry on the nomen, the pecunia, and the sacrum of a family which might have otherwise died out.³² According to Kurylowicz, however, this original purpose did not hold for the late Republic and on into the classical period, when adoption had the main purpose of establishing patria potestas over the adoptee. This authority, in turn, was used for social and/or political maneuvering, for avoiding the responsibility of raising one's own children, for helping a child, etc.³³ In his dissertation on the subject, G. Alfs also notices a shift in emphasis in adoptions during the late Republic, but he does not argue that the original purpose of the institution was thereby forsaken. According to Alfs, perpetuation of the family line remained the primary purpose of adoption, while such things as social and political maneuvering were secondary motives, and establishing patria potestas was the overall result of adoption.³⁴

143–145, 153, 158–159, 171, 176, 254; Ursula Vogel-Weidemann, *Die Statthalter von Africa und Asia in den Jahren 14–68 n.Chr. Eine Untersuchung zum Verhältnis Princeps und Senat*, Antiquitas, 1.31 (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1982), index, s.v. "Adoption."

³¹Cf. Kurylowicz, *Die adoptio*, p. 50; Gerd Alfs, "Adoptionen in der Zeit der römischen Republik bis auf die des Caesar Octavianus" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Köln, 1950), p. v. As Alfs mentions (p. viii n. 48), the fact that extant sources are fragmentary is shown by Cicero's reference to "countless other cases" of adoption (*Dom.* 35); Alfs can muster only 83 cases from the period 329 B.C.–31 B.C. Note, however, that D. R. Shackleton Bailey (*Two Studies in Roman Nomenclature*, American Classical Studies, 3 [New York: American Philological Association, 1976], pp. 81–135) lists approximately 85 cases of adoption from the shorter period of ca. 130 B.C.–43 B.C.!

³²Cf. Cic. *Dom.* 35: *quorum uterque nostra memoria, summa senectute, alter Oresten, alter Pisonem adoptavit: quas adoptiones, sicut alias innumerabiles, hereditates nominis, pecuniae, sacrorum secutae sunt.*

³³Cf. Kurylowicz, *Die adoptio*, pp. 14, 17–18, 24, 26–27, 157. Note, however, that in subsequent pages Kurylowicz seems to say that the original purpose of adoption still held sway in the classical period (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 76, 81).

³⁴Cf. Alfs, "Adoptionen," pp. v, vii n. 38, 85–87.

Modes of Adoption. Of the three forms of Attic adoption—*inter vivos*, testamentary, and posthumous—Roman adoption had analogues to the first two, no trace of the third, and a new mode called *adrogatio* (*ad* + *rogatio* “request,” referring to the fact that a motion had to be put before the *comitia curiata* for its approval).³⁵ The Latin *adoptio* (*adoptare*) is a generic term which can refer to either *adrogatio* or *adoptio sensu stricto*. It was not until the second century A.D., in Gaius and Gellius, that the two modes of adoption began to be distinguished terminologically and thus ended possible equivocation.³⁶

The original mode was *adrogatio*. This was required when the person to be adopted was *homo sui iuris* (one who was free of his father’s *potestas*). With *adrogatio*, the one adopted lost *patria potestas* over his own children, and he, his children and his property came under the *potestas* of the adoptive father.³⁷ In the process, all the previous debts of the adopted son were cancelled.³⁸ Because *adrogatio* actually extinguished one *familia* (including possibly its *sacrum*) to perpetuate another, the institution required public approval and pontifical sanction.

Adoption *sensu stricto* (*datio in adoptionem*) was a later development in Roman law to supplement *adrogatio*. It involved a more private and secular transaction, in which a *homo alieni iuris* (someone still under his father’s authority) was removed from the *potestas* of his natural father and placed under that of an adoptive father. This mode of adoption did not entail such an extensive reordering of society as *adrogatio* and did not therefore require public approval.

The third and latest mode, testamentary adoption,³⁹ was practiced from the time of the late Republic, and parallels testamentary adoption in Attica.⁴⁰ It is uncertain whether Roman testamentary

³⁵Cf. Gai. *Inst.* 1.99.

³⁶Cf. Kurylowicz, *Die adoptio*, pp. 14 n. 1, 24–26, 78.

³⁷Cf. Gai. *Inst.* 1.107; 3.83.

³⁸Cf. Gai. *Inst.* 3.84; 4.38. There is some question, however, how early this aspect of *adrogatio* may have applied (cf. Kaser, *Privatrecht*, p. 67).

³⁹The most conspicuous example is the will of Julius Caesar adopting Octavius (Suet. *Iul.* 83.2). Cf. Walter Schmitthenner, *Oktavian und das Testament Cäsars. Eine Untersuchung zu den politischen Anfängen des Augustus*, 2nd ed., Zetemata, 4 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1973).

⁴⁰Cf. Kaser, *Privatrecht*, p. 349; Rudolf Düll, “Bausteine und Lücken im

GENERAL INDEX

- Abba-cry, 182ff., 250, 261, 262, 265
- Abraham, 76f., 89-95
- Abrahamic promise, 134f., 141, 143, 146, 147f., 179ff., 185ff., 248-254, 263, 266,
 - Abrahamic promise fulfilled in the Davidic, 180ff., 233, 254, 263
 - heirs of, 132, 134, 179, 182, 185, 186, 248-252, 254f., 263
 - seed of, 128, 135, 179, 180f., 212, 233, 248, 251
- Ada, 18, 39
- Adoption
- adoptio in fratrem*, 83
 - and grafting, 81
 - and infertility, 43f.
 - and orphans, 78f., 84f.
 - Babylonian and Assyrian, 67f.
 - Egypt, 34f., 46f., 64f., 70, 85f., 101, 103
 - Elephantine, 85-88, 101
 - Greek, 3-7
 - inter vivos*, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 13, 19
 - postumous, 5, 10, 13, 14f., 23
 - testamentary, 5, 7, 10f., 13, 19, 24, 53, 54f.
 - on Rhodes, 48, 50f., 55
 - municipal, 20ff., 24, 31, 40f., 44f.
 - of student by his teacher, 41
 - prohibitions against, 27, 34
 - in Qumran, 81, 83ff.
 - in the Bosporan cult of the God Most High, 81ff.
 - Mesopotamia, 63ff.
 - Nuzi, 65f., 69, 78
 - of foundlings, 33ff., 70
 - of proselytes, 81ff., 88ff.
 - of slaves, 85f.
 - Roman, 7-13, 23, 25, 31, 32, 36f., 41f., 44, 46f., 51, 54, 56
 - adrogatio*, 10, 11f., 36
 - of a grandson, 73, 80
 - patria potestas*, 9, 10, 11, 12, 46, 66ff., 70, 73
 - sensu stricto*, 10, 11, 12, 70
 - testamentary, 5, 7, 10f., 13, 19, 24, 53ff.
 - volksrechtliche*, 47
 - Syria-Palestine, 63ff.
- Adoption Formula, 74f., 96ff., 213, 242, 264
- and Ex. 2:10, 62f., 70ff., 74, 102
 - and Ps. 2:7, 101f.
 - and the Covenant Formula, 99, 101, 105, 107ff., 114, 197-201, 209f., 213
 - and the marriage formula, 74f., 102
 - in early Judaism, 61, 75ff., 88ff., 104ff.
 - in 4QFlor. 1:11, 104, 105f., 114, 116
 - in Jub. 1:24, 104, 107ff., 112, 114, 116
 - in TJud. 24:3, 104, 109ff., 112ff.

- of 2 Sam. 7:14, 96ff., 187,
 205-215, 242, 264
Adoptionsfreilassung, 85f.
 Adriel, 78
 Aegeus, 39
 Aemilius, 54
 Aesop, 29, 38, 87f.
 Ahiqar, 38, 87f.
 Alexander, 15-18, 23, 36, 39f., 56,
 92, 95, 133
 adopted by Ada, 18, 39
 adopted by Darius, 23, 36f.,
 40
 as the adopted son of
 Ammon-Zeus, 15-
 18, 56, 92, 95
 Annunciation
 and Rom. 1:3-4, 237
 Antiochene School, 222
 Aphidnus, 22, 31
 Apollinaris of Laodicea, 223
 Ark, 97f., 214
 Aseneth, 95f.
 Asterius, 33
 Athena, 17, 29f., 50f., 56

 Babata papyri, 126ff.
 Babylonian exile, 151, 152-155
 Baptism, 262-265
 into Christ, 166f., 265

 Castor, 21f., 31
 Christian Creed, 227
 Christological titles, 227, 229
 Chronological Speculation, 162ff.
 Claudius, 80
 Cleitus, 15ff.
 Covenant Formula, 99, 101, 105,
 107ff., 114, 197-201, 209f.,
 213
 Cyril of Alexandria, 166, 222
 Cyrus, 23, 37, 40, 61, 152

 Daniel, 133, 138
 Darius, 23, 36f., 40, 139
 David, 96ff., 224
 Davidic monarchy, 104ff.,
 106, 111f., 115,
 213f.
 Davidic promise, 104f., 117,
 180f., 182, 213f.,
 233, 241, 253, 254f.
 seed of, 179, 181, 213, 229,
 233, 237-241, 254
 Divine adoption, 85f., 88ff., 96ff.,
 123, 126, 161, 166, 174-
 179, 185, 263ff.
 Greek and Roman, 15-18,
 19, 29f., 35f., 56
 Dualism, 190

 Egypt, 34, 46f., 64f., 70, 85f., 129,
 136, 139, 141-155, 167
 Egyptian Exile, 157, 160, 162ff.,
 173f., 198
 Eighteen Benedictions, 232
 Ephraim and Manasseh, 73f.
 Epianax, 49
 Esther, 70ff., 74
 Europe, 33
 Exodus Typology, 150, 151-155,
 160, 162-164, 165f., 172ff.,
 178, 186, 203, 207, 208,
 212, 264f.
 Exposure, 33ff.

 First Exodus, 122, 129f., 142ff.,
 146, 148f., 155, 173, 212
 Fosterage, 14, 49, 63

 Gaius, 80
 Gentiles, 155, 156, 157, 173, 199
 and the Abrahamic promise,
 181
 Gobryas, 40
 Gospel, 205, 224, 225, 226-229,
 233, 236, 243
 Guardianship, 124ff., 129f., 136,
 140
 among Nabataean Jews,
 126-128
 testamentary, 122
 Haran, 77
 Hegelochus, 17f.

- Heleikonias, 42, 49
 Hera, 19, 35ff., 56
 Heracles, 19, 22, 31, 35ff., 56
Hoheitstitel, 130-134
 Holy Spirit, 156, 169, 179, 182, 185, 203, 213, 216, 219, 221, 239f., 243ff., 256f., 259f., 261-266
 and divine adoption, 110, 113f., 115, 189, 221, 263
 and the New Covenant, 203, 213, 264
 and the resurrection, 243-244, 256, 259
 and sonship, 260-265
 firstfruits of, 258-259
- Initiation rite, 22, 90
 Israel
 and Babylonian Exile, 104, 151f., 155
 and the Return, 107, 115, 116ff.
 divine sonship, 95, 100f., 104f., 109, 117, 129f., 210ff.
 eschatological Israel, 104, 114, 148, 152, 185, 198f., 201, 211
 eschatological redemption, 151ff., 173, 178, 186, 198f., 207
 Heilsgeschichte of, 98, 105, 117, 142, 169, 186
 regathering of, 207
 slavery in Egypt, 142-147, 157f., 160f., 164, 174, 212
 universal sovereignty, 142
 and the Abrahamic promise, 134f., 147, 182
 and the Messiah, 182
- Jacob, 73, 74, 77f., 94
 Jesus Christ, 131, 154f., 162, 166, 170, 183f.
 as the seed of David, 179, 181, 208f., 212, 228, 233, 237, 241, 254
 as the seed of Abraham, 179, 180-182, 251
 baptism of, 110, 262f.
 divine adoption of, 239-244, 255
 prayer in Gethsemane, 183f.
 substitutionary death, 154f., 174
- Jesus tradition, 154, 183
 Jethro, 77
 Joseph, 74, 78, 138
 Joshua, 224
 Judah, 111f.
 Julius Caesar, 54, 91f.
- Laban, 77f.
 Law, 141, 148, 158ff., 173f., 260
 and the New Covenant, 199, 203, 263f.
 Legitimation, 27f.
 Leucon, 31
 Locrus, 44
 Lot, 76f.
- Messiah, 104f., 106, 112, 113f., 115, 116, 151ff., 162f., 165, 178f., 181f., 198, 209, 211, 225, 226, 233, 238, 241, 253, 256, 259
 and eschatological redemption, 151, 153, 178
 and the Abrahamic promises, 179-182, 233, 255
 and the New Covenant, 198f., 209
 as a Second Moses, 151, 153ff., 165ff.
 divine adoption of, 101, 104, 106, 178f., 252, 254, 255, 263, 266
- Michal, 78
Mischizitat, 195-197
 Mnesikleides, 49

- Moses, 70, 74ff., 102, 107f., 224
 as typological redeemer,
 151-155, 165-169
- Mystery religions, 90
 Eleusinian, 22
 Orphic, 37f.
- Nahal Hever, 126
 Naomi, 68, 69, 78
 Nathan, 96f.
 Nebuchadnezzar, 133, 138
 Nero, 80
 Nerva, 36
 New Covenant, 105, 108f., 114,
 195-201, 203-205, 209-211,
 217, 219, 264
 Paul as minister of, 217f.
- Octavian, 53f., 176
- Parmenides, 41
 Participial style, 224, 227f., 229,
 232, 236, 237, 239
- Paul
 apostleship, 219f., 225f.,
 234, 235
 Damascus-Road
 Christophany, 225,
 227, 235, 243, 244
 Gentile mission, 225, 227,
 243
 speech at Pisidian Antioch,
 235
- Philipp of Macedon, 17f., 132
 Pollux, 21f., 31
 Potiphar's wife, 78
 Preexistence of the Son, 228, 234,
 236
 Preexistent Wisdom, 169
primus inter pares, 99, 248
 Prophets, 198, 224, 226, 244
 Pylus, 19, 22
- Qumran, 81, 83ff., 105f., 190f.,
 194, 195, 210f., 216
- Redemption, 149, 151-155, 157,
 160, 163, 165, 166, 172-
 174, 178, 186, 203, 205,
 212, 246, 255, 257, 265
- Resurrection, 221, 223, 225, 228,
 229-236, 239, 243, 246,
 253f., 257, 259, 260, 265,
 266
- Return from Exile, 151f., 178, 199,
 200, 210
- Roman *procurator*, 137f.
 Ruth, 68f., 78
- Sanctification, 199, 204, 219
 Sarah, 76
 Scipio, 54
 Second Exodus, 108, 149, 150, 151,
 155, 173, 175, 178, 198,
 199, 203, 207f., 212, 264
- Semitisms, 228, 232f.
 Sending Formula, 169-171
 Severian, 222
 Sinaitic Covenant, 105, 108, 200f.,
 203
- Solomon, 139, 145, 169
 Solon, 56
 Stephen's speech, 142, 155
 Stoicism, 91f., 95
 Sulla, 18f.
- Temple, 97f., 105f., 116, 191, 200,
 202, 214, 259
 believers as the temple of
 God, 191f.
- Terah, 77, 94
 Theseus, 39
 Tobias, 77
 Trajan, 36
- Universal Sovereignty, 131-134,
 135, 147, 182, 221, 251,
 253f., 266
- Virgin Birth, 237f.
 "born of a woman," 167f.,
 237

Wisdom, 169, 190

Zeno, 41

Zeus, 15-18, 29f., 33, 35f., 44, 56,
91f., 95, 131, 133

Ammon-Zeus, 15-18, 29f.,
56

Zitatkombination, 192, 194f., 200ff.,
206, 209, 214f.

INDEX OF BIBLICAL AND OTHER ANCIENT SOURCES

A. Old Testament

<i>Genesis</i>	2:10, 65, 70f., 74ff., 92	18:15, 18, 165
12:3, 181	2:21, 77	21:13, 75
12:4, 76	2:23-24, 148	24:4, 75
12: 7, 134	3:8 (7), 144	32:6, 94
12:10-20, 68f.	4:16, 102	
13:14-15, 135	4:22, 130, 149	<i>Joshua</i>
13:14-17, 134	5:6, 10, 13, 144	14: 7, 224
15, 165	5:14, 144	24: 29, 224
15:6, 93, 181	12:40, 141, 142, 148, 163	
15:7, 18-21, 134	15:17, 106	<i>Judges</i>
15:13, 142, 143, 147, 148, 164	15:17b-18, 105	2: 8, 224
15:14-21, 142	19:6, 155	
15:18, 179, 233, 254	20:5, 26	<i>Ruth</i>
16:2, 72, 76	30:12, 259	4:13, 75
17:7, 180		4:16-17, 68f.
17:8, 134	<i>Leviticus</i>	4:17, 78
20:1-18, 68	26:11-12, 195-201	
20:12, 75	26:12, 107, 198, 199, 200f.	<i>1 Samuel</i>
24:67, 75	26:13, 174	18:19 78
26:6-11, 68	26:45, 164	25:42 75
28:14, 135		<i>2 Samuel</i>
29:21-30, 77	<i>Deuteronomy</i>	6, 214
30:1-13, 72	1:31, 130	6:17, 97
40:18-19, 141	4:20, 152	6:23, 78
48, 65	7:6-8, 154	7, 96, 100, 105, 112, 114,
48:5, 74, 75	9:26-29, 154	
48:5-6, 73, 74	14:1, 130	
	14:1-2, 95	
<i>Exodus</i>	16:3, 153	
1:11, 144f.		

116, 117,
214
7:1-3, 97
7:4-17, 97f.
7:8, 214
7:10-11a, 105ff.
7:11b-14a, 106
7:12, 212, 223,
238f., 243
7:12ac, 106
7:12, 14, 151,
241, 254,
263
7:13a, 106
7:14, 96ff., 179ff.,
185, 186,
205-215,
221, 223ff.,
242, 243f.,
254f.,
263ff.
7:18-29, 98
11:27, 75
12:10, 75
21:8, 78f.

1 Kings

4:6, 139
5:28, 145
19:10, 18, 146,
207

2 Kings

17:23, 224

1 Chronicles

4:18, 78
17:13, 102
22:10, 102

Esther

2:7, 15, 70ff., 74
4: 17 (LXX), 131

Psalms

2:7, 101f., 235f.
2:7-8, 252
32:1-2, 181
72:8, 182
72(71):17, 181
74:2, 154
89, 99, 104, 182
89:3, 224
89:27-28, 99,
253f.
89(88):28, 100,
252ff.
110, 182
110:1, 244, 253,
255
110:3, 101
132, 101

Isaiah

1:9, 214
10:24-27, 174
11:10, 233
11:11, 151
40-55, 152
40:3-5, 152
41:17-20, 152
42:14-16, 152
43:1-3, 152
43:1-7, 151, 178,
208
43:3-4, 155
43:6, 205-208,
209, 212
43:6-7, 94
43:14-21, 152
48:10, 152

48:20-21, 152
49:8-12, 152
51:9-10, 151
51:9-11, 152
52:7, 205
52:11, 201-205,
207f.
52:11-12, 152
55:3, 104f.
55:12-13, 152
63:7-64:12, 152
63:9, 16, 152
63:16, 130
64:8, 94

Jeremiah

3:19, 94
11:4, 152
23:7-8, 153
24:7, 198
30:9, 104
30(37):18-22, 199
30:22, 105, 199
31(38):1, 198f.
31:31, 108
31:31-33, 108f.,
200, 219
31(38):33, 199,
264
32(39):38, 199
36:10 LXX, 162

Ezekiel

4:4-6, 163
4:5, 164
11:19, 219
11:20, 114, 198f.
14:11, 199
20:34, 207f., 209
20:34b, 205-208
34:11-24, 112
34:23, 30, 199

34:24, 105
 36:24-26, 109
 34:25, 30, 199
 36:26, 108, 219
 36:26-27, 108, 114
 36:26-28, 263f.
 36:28, 198f.
 37:5, 14, 243
 37:15-28, 112
 37:23, 198f.
 37:23,27, 114, 199
 37:24, 114
 37:24-28, 211
 37:27, 195-201,
 211, 213

Daniel

2:8, 172
 2:37-38 (Theod.),
 133, 134

7:18, 22, 27, 147
 7:22, 182
 9, 164

Hosea

1:9, 210
 1:10, 109
 2:1, 105, 107, 109,
 117,179,
 210
 2:25, 109, 210
 11:1, 129f., 143,
 146, 148,
 149

Joel

3:1ff., 111

Amos

9:11, 106
 9:11-15, 112

Habakkuk

2:3, 161

Zechariah

2:14-15, 199
 8:8, 198, 199, 200
 9:10, 182
 10:8-11, 152
 12:10, 111, 113

Malachi

2:10, 94

B. New Testament

- Matthew*
 1:1, 17, 181
 3:16, 110
 3:16-17, 262
 20:28, 154
- Mark*
 1:9-11, 110
 1:10-11, 262
 1:11, 111
 1:15, 162
 10:45, 155
 14:36, 183
- Luke*
 1:31-35, 237
 3:21-22, 262
 3:22, 263
 4:18, 263
 8:3, 138
- John*
 1:32-34, 262
 3:17, 170
 8:15, 231
 8:31-59, 181
 8:56, 181
- Acts*
 7:6-7, 142
 7:17, 142
 7:21, 76
- 7:35, 155
 7:51f., 155
 9:1-9, 225
 10:36, 131
 13:33, 235
 17:28, 91
- Romans*
 1:1-7, 223f.
 1:1, 224-226
 1:2-3a, 226-227
 1:3, 179, 181,
 231, 254
 1:3b, 233, 237-
 239
 1:3b-4, 227-244
 1:4, 221-223, 229,
 235f., 244,
 255, 259,
 266
 1:4a, 221-223,
 239-244
 1:5, 225
 2:20, 129
 3:9-20, 173
 3:10-18, 192, 194
 4:1, 231, 238
 4:3-9, 181
 4:13, 129, 135,
 146, 147,
 248f., 252,
 266
 4:17, 232
 5:17, 182
 6:12, 233
 7:24, 233
 8, 221, 223, 232,
 244-266
 8:1, 255
- 8:2, 233, 261
 8:3, 170
 8:4, 203, 263
 8:9, 14, 261
 8:11, 233, 243,
 256, 259,
 261f.
 8:12, 231
 8:13, 260
 8:14-17, 250, 260-
 263
 8:15, 86, 175, 182,
 256, 261,
 263f.
 8:15, 23, 175f.,
 221, 259,
 265
 8:17, 246, 248-
 252, 255,
 266
 8:23, 246, 255,
 256, 259
 8:23, 29, 223, 260
 8:28-29, 246
 8:29, 247f.,
 252ff., 255,
 266
 8:29-30, 245
 8:32, 249, 251,
 252, 255,
 266
 8:34, 253, 255
 9:3, 5, 231
 9:4, 81, 148-149,
 166, 175,
 186, 249
 9:6ff., 249
 9:7, 233
 9:25-26, 210
 9:29, 214
 10:12, 132, 182

10:15, 205
 11:1, 233
 11:2, 146
 11:3, 207
 11:17-24, 81
 11:28, 241
 12:19, 214
 15:8, 181
 15:12, 181, 233
 16:23, 139

1 Corinthians

1:9, 227
 1:26, 231
 3:1, 129
 4:1, 2, 139
 5:6ff., 216
 6:2, 147, 182
 6:9, 182
 6:9-11, 216
 6:14, 243
 9:2, 218
 10:1-13, 166, 203f.
 10:1-2, 166
 10:2, 166
 10:18, 231
 12:8, 242
 13:11, 129
 14:21, 214
 15:9, 225
 15:12, 13, 21, 42,
 228
 15:20, 23, 259
 15:25, 254
 15:42-50, 259
 15:45, 243
 15:50, 254

2 Corinthians

1:17, 231
 1:20, 213, 226,
 263

1:21-22, 263
 1:22, 258
 2:14-7: 4, 218
 3:1-6, 218
 3:2, 219
 3:2-3, 219
 3:3, 218
 3:6, 219
 3:16, 217
 4:13, 233
 5:5, 258
 5:16, 231
 5:21, 174
 6:11-7:4, 219
 6:13, 219
 6:14-7:1, 187-195,
 215-220
 6:14-16a, 189ff.
 6:14a, 188f., 195
 6:16b, 191, 219
 6:16c, 189, 192,
 195, 197,
 206, 214
 6:16def, 189, 191,
 195-201,
 202, 209,
 211
 6:16-18, 192-213
 6:17abc, 201-205,
 207
 6:17d-18b, 189,
 195, 205-
 213
 6:17d, 205ff.
 6:18, 185, 187,
 211-213,
 264f.
 6:18c, 192, 197,
 206, 213-
 215
 7:1, 189, 195
 7:2, 219
 7:3, 219
 7:4, 219
 10:2, 3, 231
 11:8, 231

11:22, 233

Galatians

1:1, 3, 4, 143
 1:3, 4, 156
 1:4, 156
 1:7, 232
 1:8, 9, 156
 1:15, 225
 1:15-16, 235
 1:16, 225, 227,
 236, 243
 1:23, 156
 2:4, 5, 9, 10, 156
 2:15, 16, 17, 156
 2:20, 232
 3-4, 179, 181,
 184, 186,
 251, 254
 3:8, 180
 3:10-13, 174
 3:13, 156, 171,
 172, 174
 3:15, 130
 3:16, 179, 180-
 182, 186,
 212, 233
 3:17, 141, 142,
 146, 147f.,
 180
 3:23, 173
 3:23-26, 156
 3:23-4:5, 158
 3:26, 156
 3:26-27, 166, 179,
 263
 3:26, 29, 212
 3:28, 212
 3:29, 128, 179,
 233
 4:1, 122, 129-135,
 146, 182
 4:1-2, 121-149,
 155, 166,

- 186, 212
 4:1-7, 121-122,
 143, 149-
 151, 153,
 172, 177,
 182, 186,
 212, 221,
 265
 4:2, 122, 128,
 135-149
 4:3, 9 157-160
 4:3-7, 86, 121,
 149-185,
 186, 212
 4:4, 161f., 228,
 230, 232
 4:4a, 161-165
 4:4b-d, 165-172
 4:4c, 237
 4:4d, 174
 4:4-5, 161, 166,
 179, 213
 4:4-6, 171
 4:4-7, 249, 250
 4:5, 55, 172f.,
 174, 175,
 179, 187,
 210, 211-
 213, 221,
 263, 265
 4:5a, 172-174
 4:5b, 174-182
 4:6, 182-185, 213
 4:6, 7, 156, 179,
 261
 4:7, 212, 249, 251
 4:9, 157-160
 4:23, 29, 231
 4:21, 173
 4:31, 156
 5:1, 156, 174
 5:1-4, 156
 5:5, 156
 5:16, 18, 156
 5:25, 26, 156
 6:8, 243
 6:14, 18, 156
- Ephesians*
- 1:5, 154, 175
 1:10, 161
 1:14, 154
 2:19, 23
 4:14, 129
 5:16, 172
 6:5, 231
- Philippians*
- 2:6, 236
 3:3, 232
 3:11, 228
 3:20-21, 246f.
- Colossians*
- 2:8, 20, 157
 3:4, 247
 3:22, 231
 4:5, 172
- 1 Thessalonians*
- 1:10, 229
 2:14-15, 232
- 1 Timothy*
- 2:5-6, 154
- 2 Timothy*
- 1:8-9, 232
 2:8, 228f., 236
- Titus*
- 1:7, 139
 2:14, 154
- Hebrews*
- 2:14-15, 260
 11:24, 76
- 1 John*
- 3:2, 247
 4:9, 10, 14, 170
- Revelation*
- 1:5-6, 155
 5:9-10, 155
 14:3-4, 155

C. Extra-Canonical Works

<i>Ahiqar</i>	<i>Jubilees</i>	<i>Psalms of Solomon</i>
1.2, 87	1, 108, 178	17-18, 116
1.8, 87	1:1, 5, 9-11, 108	17:4, 116, 238
2.18, 30, 87	1:5, 13, 15, 107, 108	
	1:15-18, 200	
	1:17, 107, 108,	<i>Pseudo-Philo</i>
<i>Apoc. of Abraham</i>	200f., 210	<i>LAB</i> 9:16, 76
28:2, 164	1:19-25, 107, 108f.	
28:4, 164	1:22-23, 112	
	1:22-25, 200	<i>Sirach</i>
	1:23, 108, 114, 179,	4:10, 128
	185	13:2, 17-18, 161
<i>2 Apoc. of Baruch</i>	1:24, 104, 107ff.,	44:19-23, 135
	112, 114,	44:21, 181, 182
29:3, 162	115, 116,	
29:8, 162	178, 185,	
30:1, 162	186, 209,	
	210, 213	
	1:24-25, 210	<i>Tobit</i>
<i>1 Enoch</i>	1:25, 109, 179	8:21(S), 77
	11-12, 94	14:5, 162
99:5, 88	12:30, 76	
	17:2-3, 134	
	19:28-29, 95	
<i>1 Esdras</i>	22:11b, 13-14, 134	<i>Wisdom of Solomon</i>
	32:19, 134	7:17, 160
4:47, 139		9:10, 17, 169
	<i>1 Maccabees</i>	11-19, 160
<i>4 Ezra</i>	4:9-11, 153	18:13, 130
		19:18, 160
7:28, 164		
	<i>2 Maccabees</i>	<i>Testaments of the</i>
<i>JosAs</i>	11:1, 138	<i>Twelve Patriarchs</i>
	13:2, 138	<i>Joseph</i>
12, 95f.	14:2, 138	3:7-8, 78

- Judah*
 1-23, 111
 1:1, 111
 1:6, 111
 15:2, 5, 6, 111
 17:3, 5-6, 111
 22-24, 112
 23:1, 111
 23:5, 111, 178
 24:1-3, 110ff.
 24:2, 111, 213
 24:2-3, 263
 24:3, 104, 109,
 112ff., 178f.,
 186, 208,
 210, 211,
 213, 263f.
- Levi*
 2:6, 111
 5:1, 111
- Mishnah*
- Aboth.*
 3:14, 95, 130
- Pes.*
 10:5, 146
- Babylonian Talmud*
- Ab.Zar.*
 9b, 163
- BB*
 9a, 259
 15b, 181
- Ned.*
 22b, 131
- Sanh.*
 19b, 78
- 99a, 164
- Mek. Exodus*
 14:5, 145
- Josephus*
- Ant.*
 1.154, 76
 2.288, 144
 2.232, 76
 2.237, 76
 2.263, 77
 3.248, 146
 3.269, 141
 7.89, 79
 8.59, 145
 8.164.308, 139
 9.47, 139
 11.61, 138
 11.272, 139
 12.220, 138
 15.378, 141
 18.170, 138
 19.292, 138
 20.90, 131
 20.150, 80
- BJ*
 1.399, 138
 2.25, 80
 2.120-121, 83
 2.249, 80
 10.212, 138
- Philo*
- Abr.*
 75, 93
 250, 76
- Agr.*
 6, 80
- Congr.*
 20-23, 80
- Decal.*
 2.8, 93
- Flacc.*
 2, 138
 43, 138
 132, 138
 163, 138
- Fug.*
 87, 141
- Jos.*
 97, 141
 184, 138
 190, 138
 196, 138
 207, 138
 210, 138
 218, 138
 232, 138
- Mos.*
 1.19, 76
 1.32-33, 76
 1.37, 144
 1.40.43, 144
- Mut.*
 147, 76
- Leg.*
 22-31, 80
- Post.*
 54, 144
- Sobr.*
 56, 88ff., 176

- Som.*
2.43, 138
- Spec. Leg.*
1.77-78, 259
- Virt.*
218-219, 93ff.
- Qumran*
- CD
1:5-11, 164
4:13-14, 195
6:13, 195
8:9, 195
8:14-15, 194
19:27-28, 194
- 1QapGen
20:13, 131
- 4QFlor
1, 115
1:1-13, 105f.
1:10f., 238
1:11, 104, 105f., 114,
115, 116, 178,
186, 210
- 1QH
9:34b-36, 84
- 4QOrd
2:6-7, 259
- 4QPB
4, 238
- 1QpHab
7:2-14, 161
- 1QS
2:25-3:12, 216
3:4,5, 216
3:8-9, 216
- 11QT
39:7-8, 259
50:6, 7, 216
59:9-13, 199
59:13, 200
- 4QTest.
1-8, 194
- Targumim*
- Fragment-Targum to
Ex. 12: 42,
153, 165
- Galilean Targum to
Ex. 14, 167
- Targum Ps.-Jonathan
to Gen. 41:
35, 145
- Targum to Ps.
89:4, 182
89:27, 184
- Sifre*
- Dev 333 to 32,43,
155
- Bam 115 to 15,41,
172
- Tosefta*
- Shek. 1: 6, 259
- Mekhilta*
- MekhY 21, 30, 155

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

Alphabetical Index of the First and the Second Series

- Appold, Mark L.*: The Oneness Motif in the Fourth Gospel. 1976. *Volume III/1.*
- Bachmann, Michael*: Sünder oder Übertreter. 1991. *Volume 59.*
- Bammel, Ernst*: Judaica. 1986. *Volume 37.*
- Bauernfeind, Otto*: Kommentar und Studien zur Apostelgeschichte. 1980. *Volume 22.*
- Bayer, Hans Friedrich*: Jesus' Predictions of Vindication and Resurrection. 1986. *Volume III/20.*
- Betz, Otto*: Jesus, der Messias Israels. 1987. *Volume 42.*
– Jesus, der Herr der Kirche. 1990. *Volume 52.*
- Beyschlag, Karlmann*: Simon Magnus und die christliche Gnosis. 1974. *Volume 16.*
- Bitner, Wolfgang J.*: Jesu Zeichen im Johannesevangelium. 1987. *Volume III/26.*
- Bjerkelund, Carl J.*: Tauta Egeneto. 1987. *Volume 40.*
- Blackburn, Barry Lee*: 'Theios Anēr' and the Markan Miracle Traditions. 1991. *Volume III/40.*
- Bockmuehl, Markus N. A.*: Revelation and Mystery in Ancient Judaism and Pauline Christianity. 1990. *Volume III/36.*
- Böhlig, Alexander*: Gnosis und Synkretismus. Part 1. 1989. *Volume 47* – Part 2. 1989. *Volume 48.*
- Büchli, Jörg*: Der Poimandres – ein paganisiertes Evangelium. 1987. *Volume III/27.*
- Bühner, Jan A.*: Der Gesandte und sein Weg im 4. Evangelium. 1977. *Volume III/2.*
- Burchard, Christoph*: Untersuchungen zu Joseph und Aseneth. 1965. *Volume 8.*
- Cancik, Hubert* (Ed.): Markus-Philologie. 1984. *Volume 33.*
- Capes, David B.*: Old Testament Yaweh Texts in Paul's Christology. 1992. *Volume III/47.*
- Caragounis, Chrys C.*: The Son of Man. 1986. *Volume 38.*
- Dobbeler, Axel von*: Glaube als Teilhabe. 1987. *Volume III/22.*
- Ebertz, Michael N.*: Das Charisma des Gekreuzigten. 1987. *Volume 45.*
- Eckstein, Hans-Joachim*: Der Begriff der Syneidesis bei Paulus. 1983. *Volume III/10.*
- Ego, Beate*: Im Himmel wie auf Erden. 1989. *Volume III/34.*
- Ellis, E. Earle*: Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity. 1978. *Volume 18.*
– The Old Testament in Early Christianity. 1991. *Volume 54.*
- Feldmeier, Reinhard*: Die Krisis des Gottessohnes. 1987. *Volume III/21.*
- Fossum, Jarl E.*: The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord. 1985. *Volume 36.*
- Garlington, Don B.*: The Obedience of Faith. 1991. *Volume III/38.*
- Garnet, Paul*: Salvation and Atonement in the Qumran Scrolls. 1977. *Volume III/3.*
- Gräßer, Erich*: Der Alte Bund im Neuen. 1985. *Volume 35.*
- Green, Joel B.*: The Death of Jesus. 1988. *Volume III/33.*
- Gundry Volf, Judith M.*: Paul and Perseverance. 1990. *Volume III/37.*
- Hafemann, Scott J.*: Suffering and the Spirit. 1986. *Volume III/19.*
- Heckel, Ulrich*: see *Hengel*.
- Heiligenthal, Roman*: Werke als Zeichen. 1983. *Volume III/9.*
- Hemer, Colin J.*: The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History. 1989. *Volume 49.*
- Hengel, Martin*: Judentum und Hellenismus. 1969, ³1988. *Volume 10.*
- Hengel, Martin und Ulrich Heckel* (Ed.): Paulus und das antike Judentum. 1991. *Volume 58.*
- Hengel, Martin und Anna Maria Schwemer* (Ed.): Königsherrschaft Gottes und himmlischer Kult. 1991. *Volume 55.*
- Herrenbrück, Fritz*: Jesus und die Zöllner. 1990. *Volume III/41.*
- Hofius, Otfried*: Katapausis. 1970. *Volume 11.*
– Der Vorhang vor dem Thron Gottes. 1972. *Volume 14.*
– Der Christushymnus Philipper 2,6 – 11. 1976, ²1991. *Volume 17.*
– Paulusstudien. 1989. *Volume 51.*
- Holtz, Traugott*: Geschichte und Theologie des Urchristentums. Ed. by Eckart Reinmuth and Christian Wolff. 1991. *Volume 57.*
- Hommel, Hildebrecht*: Sebasmata. Volume 1. 1983. *Volume 31.* – Volume 2. 1984. *Volume 32.*
- Kamlah, Ehrhard*: Die Form der katalogischen Paränese im Neuen Testament. 1964. *Volume 7.*
- Kim, Seyoon*: The Origin of Paul's Gospel. 1981, ²1984. *Volume III/4.*
– »The Son of Man« as the Son of God. 1983. *Volume 30.*

- Kleinknecht, Karl Th.*: Der leidende Gerechtfertigte. 1984. ²1988. *Volume III/13*.
- Klinghardt, Matthias*: Gesetz und Volk Gottes. 1988. *Volume III/32*.
- Köhler, Wolf-Dietrich*: Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums in der Zeit vor Irenäus. 1987. *Volume II/24*.
- Kuhn, Karl G.*: Achtzehngebet und Vaterunser und der Reim. 1950. *Volume I*.
- Lampe, Peter*: Die stadtrömischen Christen in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten. 1987. ³1989. *Volume III/18*.
- Maier, Gerhard*: Mensch und freier Wille. 1971. *Volume 12*.
– Die Johannesoffenbarung und die Kirche. 1981. *Volume 25*.
- Marshall, Peter*: Enmity in Corinth: Social Conventions in Paul's Relations with the Corinthians. 1987. *Volume III/23*.
- Meade, David G.*: Pseudonymity and Canon. 1986. *Volume 39*.
- Mengel, Berthold*: Studien zum Philipperbrief. 1982. *Volume II/8*.
- Merkel, Helmut*: Die Widersprüche zwischen den Evangelien. 1971. *Volume 13*.
- Merklein, Helmut*: Studien zu Jesus und Paulus. 1987. *Volume 43*.
- Metzler, Karin*: Der griechische Begriff des Verzeihens. 1991. *Volume III/44*.
- Niebuh, Karl-Wilhelm*: Gesetz und Paränese. 1987. *Volume III/28*.
– Heidenapostel aus Israel. 1992. *Volume 62*.
- Nissen, Andreas*: Gott und der Nächste im antiken Judentum. 1974. *Volume 15*.
- Okure, Teresa*: The Johannine Approach to Mission. 1988. *Volume III/31*.
- Pilhofer, Peter*: Presbyteron Kreiton. 1990. *Volume III/39*.
- Probst, Hermann*: Paulus und der Brief. 1991. *Volume II/45*.
- Räsänen, Heikki*: Paul and the Law. 1983. ²1987. *Volume 29*.
- Rehkopf, Friedrich*: Die lukanische Sonderquelle. 1959. *Volume 5*.
- Reinmuth, Eckhardt*: see *Holtz*.
- Reiser, Marius*: Syntax und Stil des Markusevangeliums. 1984. *Volume III/11*.
- Richards, E. Randolph*: The Secretary in the Letters of Paul. 1991. *Volume III/42*.
- Riesner, Rainer*: Jesus als Lehrer. 1981. ³1988. *Volume III/7*.
- Rissi, Mathias*: Die Theologie des Hebräerbriefs. 1987. *Volume 41*.
- Röhser, Günter*: Metaphorik und Personifikation der Sünde. 1987. *Volume III/25*.
- Rüger, Hans Peter*: Die Weisheitsschrift aus der Kairoer Geniza. 1991. *Volume 53*.
- Sänger, Dieter*: Antikes Judentum und die Mysterien. 1980. *Volume III/5*.
- Sandnes, Karl Olav*: Paul – One of the Prophets? 1991. *Volume III/43*.
- Sato, Migaku*: Q und Prophetie. 1988. *Volume III/29*.
- Schimmanowski, Gottfried*: Weisheit und Messias. 1985. *Volume III/17*.
- Schlichting, Günter*: Ein jüdisches Leben Jesu. 1982. *Volume 24*.
- Schnabel, Eckhard J.*: Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul. 1985. *Volume III/16*.
- Schutter, William L.*: Hermeneutic and Composition in I Peter. 1989. *Volume III/30*.
- Schwartz, Daniel R.*: Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity. 1992. *Volume 60*.
- Schwemer, A. M.*: see *Hengel*.
- Scott, James M.*: Adoption as Sons of God. 1992. *Volume III/48*.
- Siebert, Folker*: Drei hellenistisch-jüdische Predigten. Part 1. 1980. *Volume 20*. – Part 2. 1992. *Volume 61*.
– Nag-Hammadi-Register. 1982. *Volume 26*.
– Argumentation bei Paulus. 1985. *Volume 34*.
– Philon von Alexandrien. 1988. *Volume 46*.
- Simon, Marcel*: Le christianisme antique et son contexte religieux I/II. 1981. *Volume 23*.
- Snodgrass, Klyne*: The Parable of the Wicked Tenants. 1983. *Volume 27*.
- Speyer, Wolfgang*: Frühes Christentum im antiken Strahlungsfeld. 1989. *Volume 50*.
- Stadelmann, Helge*: Ben Sira als Schriftgelehrter. 1980. *Volume III/6*.
- Strobel, August*: Die Studie der Wahrheit. 1980. *Volume 21*.
- Stuhlmacher, Peter* (Ed.): Das Evangelium und die Evangelien. 1983. *Volume 28*.
- Tajra, Harry W.*: The Trial of St. Paul. 1989. *Volume III/35*.
- Theißen, Gerd*: Studien zur Soziologie des Urchristentums. 1979. ³1989. *Volume 19*.
- Thornton, Claus-Jürgen*: Der Zeuge des Zeugen. 1991. *Volume 56*.
- Wedderburn, A. J. M.*: Baptism and Resurrection. 1987. *Volume 44*.
- Wegner, Uwe*: Der Hauptmann von Kafarnaum. 1985. *Volume III/14*.
- Wilson, Walter T.*: Love without Pretense. 1991. *Volume III/46*.
- Wolff, Christian*: see *Holtz*.
- Zimmermann, Alfred E.*: Die urchristlichen Lehrer. 1984. ²1988. *Volume III/12*.