

CLINTON WAHLEN

Jesus and the Impurity of Spirits in the Synoptic Gospels

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185



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Clinton Wahlen, born 1960; M.Div. Andrews University, 1989; Lecturer in New Testament and Greek, Zaoksky Theological Seminary, Russia, 1992 – 1998; Ph.D. Cambridge University, 2004; currently Associate Professor of New Testament, Language and Literature, AIIAS Theological Seminary, Philippines.

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Printed in Germany.

For my wife Gina
and our precious children
Daniel and Heather

חסדי יהודה כי לא־תמנו
חדשים לבקרים

Preface

Despite my very early interest in physics and mathematics, it was not until my undergraduate studies in theology that I began to understand the vital role one's 'frame of reference' plays also for literary and historical studies. During six years of teaching New Testament and Greek at a Russian seminary, I came to see more clearly the limitations of my own culturally conditioned reading of the Bible. From there, I left to begin doctoral studies at Cambridge where I gradually became fascinated with ritually-based notions of purity. Though quite foreign to my conventional way of thinking, I was surprised at the frequency with which the Gospel writers employ these categories, particularly in connection with spirits and demons. Thus began the investigation which eventuated in the present study, submitted to the Faculty of Divinity at the University of Cambridge in 2003 as a Ph.D. dissertation. Apart from minor updating and its reformatting to conform to the preferred style for publication, the work is unchanged.

Along the way, I have received much encouragement and support from a variety of people who deserve recognition for their valuable and very tangible contribution. First, I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Jörg Frey who read the manuscript immediately upon receiving it and recommended it the next day for publication in the WUNT II series. I am appreciative also of the rapidity with which Dr. Henning Ziebritzki and his colleagues at Mohr Siebeck arranged for its publication, despite the delay in receiving the finished form of the book.

Those who have supervised my research, officially and unofficially, have helped me to see much that otherwise I would have overlooked. Foremost among these is Dr. Markus Bockmuehl, who guided my research throughout this time. I am indebted to his wise and ever-gracious suggestions. He has been a very important mentor for me, on a personal as well as on an academic level, and I treasure his continued friendship. While in Tübingen, Prof. Dr. Hermann Lichtenberger and others of the Evangelisch-Theologische Fakultät provided me with a supportive environment for study, the opportunity to present the kernel of what became chapter two of this work, and helpful feedback concerning it. Deserving special mention is Prof. Dr. Rainer Riesner, who truly became a *Doktorvater* to me, opening up his study and his home while I was so far away from my own home and family. Particularly helpful in shaping the final form of my dissertation were the assessments of

my examiners, Dr. Peter Head and Dr. Larry Hurtado. The final product is better for the help of all of these individuals; its remaining deficiencies are solely my responsibility.

I am grateful for the travel awards which I received from St Edmund's College and the Faculty of Divinity, enabling me to study in Germany for six months, as well as other financial help, especially from Andrews University. Dr. Bruce Winter, Warden of Tyndale House, opened the door for me to live and work at a library famous for its collegial atmosphere and ideal facilities for biblical studies. It was an unforgettable pleasure and privilege.

I also received invaluable encouragement and support from many relatives and friends. Notable among these are Dr. Tom Shepherd and Mrs. Peggy Wahlen of Union College who read some of my work and encouraged me to persevere at a particularly difficult point and Mrs. Ivy Ambat who, despite being just days away from giving birth to a third child, transformed my mass of cards for the indexes into a more manageable electronic form.

Finally, I am grateful to God from whom these opportunities have come and without whom I would have faltered many times. To my wife Gina and to my children, Daniel and Heather, who have experienced along with me this unique time and who have brightened the path in many ways, I affectionately dedicate this book.

Silang, Cavite, Philippines
June 11, 2004

Clinton Wahlen

Table of Contents

Preface	VII
List of Abbreviations	XIII
A Note on Style	XIV
Chapter 1 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Unclean Spirits: The Status Quaestionis.....	1
1.1.1 Commentaries on Mark 1.21-28.....	2
1.1.2 A Sampling of Research Touching on the Impurity of Spirits.....	4
1.2 The Need for the Present Study.....	8
1.3 Purity in Early Jewish and Christian Literature.....	9
1.3.1 Notions of Purity, Impurity, and Holiness in the Hebrew Bible	10
1.3.2 Notions of Purity and Impurity in Hellenistic Jewish Literature	12
1.3.3 New Testament Conceptions of Purity and Impurity	15
1.4 Delimitation, Method, and Plan of the Study	18
1.4.1 Delimitation of the Study.....	18
1.4.2 Method: Distinguishing Tradition and Redaction Within the Narrative.....	20
1.4.3 Plan of the Study	22
Chapter 2 The Impurity of Spirits in Jewish and Early Christian Literature ...	24
2.1 The Impurity of Spirits in the Hebrew Bible	24
2.1.1 Spirits and Impurity	25
2.1.2 The Impure Spirit of Zechariah 13.2.....	26
2.2 The Impurity of Spirits in Later Jewish Literature	30
2.2.1 Tobit.....	30
2.2.2 <i>1 Enoch</i>	30
2.2.3 <i>Jubilees</i>	34
2.2.4 Qumran Literature.....	37
2.2.4.1 References to Exorcism	39
2.2.4.2 References to Impure Spirits	41
2.2.4.3 Other References to Spirits and Impurity.....	48
2.2.5 Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.....	50
2.2.6 The Writings of Philo and Josephus.....	52
2.2.7 <i>Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum</i>	54
2.2.8 Rabbinic Literature	55
2.3 The Impurity of Spirits in Early Christian Literature.....	59
2.3.1 Jewish-Christian Writings	59
2.3.2 Second-Century Christian Writers	61

2.3.3 Christian Writers of the Third and Fourth Centuries	65
2.4 Summary	66
Chapter 3 The Impurity of Spirits in Mark	69
3.1 Mark and Purity	69
3.1.1 Two Baptisms	70
3.1.2 Eating Controversies	72
3.1.3 Teaching about 'Leaven'	79
3.1.4 Temple Confrontation	81
3.1.5 Healing Miracles	83
3.2 Impurity of Spirits in Mark: Tradition, Redaction, Narrative	86
3.2.1 Spirits in Mark	86
3.2.2 Exorcisms in Mark	88
3.2.2.1 Exorcism in the Capernaum Synagogue (1.21-28)	89
Excursus: Markan Summaries (1.32-34, 39; 3.11)	92
3.2.2.2 The Gerasene Demoniac (5.1-20)	94
Excursus: The Role of the Gentiles	98
3.2.2.3 The Syro-Phoenician Woman's Daughter (7.24-30)	99
3.2.2.4 The Spirit-Possessed Boy (9.14-29)	101
3.2.2.5 The Strange Exorcist (9.38-41)	103
3.2.3 Other References to Impure Spirits in Mark	104
3.2.3.1 The Beelzebul Controversy (3.22-30)	104
3.2.3.2 Sending of the Twelve (6.6b-13)	105
3.3 Summary	106
Chapter 4 The Impurity of Spirits in Matthew	108
4.1 Matthew and Purity	109
4.1.1 Apophthegms of Jesus	109
4.1.2 The Hand-Washing Dispute	111
4.1.3 Place of the Temple	112
4.1.4 Healing Miracles	114
4.2 Impurity of Spirits in Matthew: Tradition, Redaction, Narrative	117
4.2.1 Spirits in Matthew	117
4.2.2 Exorcisms in Matthew	118
4.2.2.1 The Gadarene Demoniac (8.28-34/Mark 5.1-20)	121
4.2.2.2 The Mute Demoniac (9.32-34)	123
4.2.2.3 The Beelzebul Controversy (12.22-32/Luke 11.14-23, 12.10)	124
4.2.2.4 Return of the Impure Spirit (12.43-45/Luke 11.24-26)	128
4.2.2.5 The Canaanite Woman's Daughter (15.21-28/Mark 7.24-30)	130
4.2.2.6 The Demon-Possessed Boy (17.14-21/Mark 9.14-29)	132
4.2.3 Other References to Impure Spirits in Matthew	134
4.2.3.1 Expelling Spirits with a Word (8.16)	134
4.2.3.2 The Mission Discourse (10.1-25)	135
4.2.3.3 Accusing John of Having a Demon (11.18/Luke 7.33)	137
4.3 Summary	137
Chapter 5 The Impurity of Spirits in Luke-Acts	140
5.1 Luke and Purity	141
5.1.1 Relation Between Ritual and Moral Purity	141

5.1.2 Relation with Gentiles.....	142
5.1.3 Healing Miracles.....	144
5.2 Impurity of Spirits in Luke-Acts: Tradition, Redaction, Narrative.....	148
5.2.1 The Spirit World of Luke-Acts.....	148
5.2.2 Exorcisms in Luke.....	150
5.2.2.1 Exorcism in the Capernaum Synagogue (Luke 4.31-37).....	151
5.2.2.2 The Gerasene Demoniac (Luke 8.26-39/Mark 5.1-20).....	152
5.2.2.3 The Spirit-Possessed Boy (Luke 9.37-43a/Mark 9.14-29).....	153
5.2.2.4 The Beelzebul Controversy (Luke 11.14-23).....	155
5.2.2.5 Return of the Impure Spirit (Luke 11.24-26/Matt. 12.43-45).....	159
5.2.3 Other References to Impure Spirits in Luke.....	161
5.2.3.1 Exorcisms as Healings.....	161
5.2.3.2 Healings as Exorcisms.....	163
5.2.4 Impure Spirits in Acts.....	165
5.2.4.1 Acts 5.16.....	165
5.2.4.2 Acts 8.7.....	166
5.2.4.3 Later Exorcisms in Acts.....	167
5.3 Summary.....	168
Chapter 6 Conclusion.....	170
6.1 Association of Demonic Spirits with Impurity.....	170
6.2 Synthesis of Jewish and Early Christian Conceptions.....	171
6.3 Synoptic Portrayals.....	172
Appendix 1 Designations for Evil Powers in the New Testament.....	177
Appendix 2 Source Analysis of the Beelzebul Pericope.....	179
Bibliography.....	187
Index of References.....	231
Index of Modern Authors.....	262
Index of Subjects and Key Terms.....	269

List of Abbreviations

2DH	Two Document Hypothesis
2GH	Two Gospel Hypothesis
BDR	Friedrich Blass, Albert Debrunner, and Friedrich Rehkopf. <i>Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch</i> . 14 th ed. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1976.
CEQ	<i>The Critical Edition of Q: A Synopsis including the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, Mark and Thomas with English, German, and French Translations of Q and Thomas</i> . Edited by James M. Robinson, Paul Hoffmann, and John S. Kloppenborg. Leuven: Peeters, 2000.
diff.	different
DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls
EDSS	<i>Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls</i>
HH&B	Paul Hoffmann, Thomas Hieke, Ulrich Bauer. <i>Synoptic Concordance: A Greek Concordance to the First Three Gospels in Synoptic Arrangement</i> , statistically evaluated, including <i>occurrences in Acts</i> . 4 vols. Berlin: Gruyter, 1999-2000.
IQP	International Q Project
JPSTC	Jewish Publication Society Torah Commentary
JSJSup	Supplements to the <i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
L&N	Johannes P Louw. and Eugene A. Nida, eds. <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains</i> . 2 vols. New York: UBS. 1988.
GM&T	Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar. <i>The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition</i> . 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1998.
NTIG	<i>The New Testament in Greek</i>
parr.	parallels
STP	Second Temple Period

A Note on Style

Abbreviations and citation conventions for all ancient texts follow standard forms as specified in *The SBL Handbook of Style for Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies*. Edited by Patrick H. Alexander, et al. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1999. All other abbreviations employed in this book are listed on p. XIII. Stylistic matters generally follow that of Kate L. Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*. 6th ed. Revised by John Grossman and Alice Bennett. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Unless specified otherwise, quotations of the HB are from *BHS*; Greek quotations of the LXX are from the *Septuaginta* edited by Alfred Rahlfs; NT quotations are from NA²⁷ and quotations of the Bible in English are from the NRSV; other primary literature for which more than one translation has been consulted is quoted according to the translation marked with an asterisk (*) in the Bibliography.

Chapter 1

Introduction

One of the more puzzling features of early Christian attitudes toward purity is the Gospels' frequent reference to spirits as impure.¹ The absence of similar language in Graeco-Roman literature up through the second century C.E. is striking.² How might early Christian readers of the Gospels have understood the unusual reference to πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα? A study of the Synoptic usage provides clues as to how the Gospel writers understood the activity of demons in Israel and, more specifically, how they understood Jesus' and their own relation to Israel. The particular contribution made by this study will be to describe how each Gospel's distinctive portrayal of 'unclean spirits' fits within its overall perspective on purity. A by-product of this inquiry will be the shedding of light on some early attempts at 'Christian' self-definition in relation to ethnic Israel.

1.1 Unclean Spirits: The Status Quaestionis

Remarkably few scholars have seen anything of significance in the description of spirits as 'unclean'.³ Connections are occasionally made with Christology⁴

¹ Their mention of 'unclean spirits' (πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα) accounts for 18 of 22 NT occurrences.

² A search using the TLG indicates that the earliest extant reference to unclean spirits in pagan literature comes from a third century quotation of Mark 5.8 by Porphyry (*Christ.* 49.5). Cf. Kleinknecht's observation that πνεῦμα ἄγιον is absent from what he calls 'secular Greek' (1968, 6:338).

³ E.g., Twelftree deals with all four Gospels (1999; cf. 1985, 96-131) but says little about the issue on which our study is focused. Str-B 4:503, based on usage in *T. Benj.* 5.2 and *Jub.* 10.1, 3, regard 'unclean spirits' or 'unclean demons' as identical to 'evil spirits': 'Man nannte sie aber "unreine" Geister, weil sie als böse Geister nicht von Gott ausgehende, also nicht heilige oder reine Geister waren'. Similarly, Böcher 1972a, 16-17; Flis 1990, 89-91; Reiling 1999, 882. Reflecting the same widespread view, the NIV consistently translates the designation as 'evil spirit', indicating only in the notes the literal translation. Cf. Kirchschräger 1992, col. 38: 'On ne peut affirmer qu'il y ait une différence de sens entre *daimonion* et les combinaisons variées de mots avec *pneuma* (à tout le moins dans les Évangiles); l'emploi des termes chez les Synoptiques n'est pas systématique'. Its prevalence

but such a conclusion depends almost exclusively on Mark's Gospel.⁵ It will be useful, in fact, to take into account how the expression has been interpreted in commentaries on Mark in order to illustrate the principal options which have been seriously entertained over the years in relation to our topic. Then we will turn to the relatively few investigations which discuss unclean spirits in some detail.

1.1.1 Commentaries on Mark 1.21-28

The first reference to an unclean spirit in Mark occurs in the story of the Capernaum demoniac (1.21-28) and it is here that the commentaries' principal discussion of the expression is generally found. A survey of commentaries over the past hundred years or so reveals that remarkably little attention has been given to its explication. Among those who do give it consideration, many see it as just another name for demon. Others take the reference to impurity more seriously. Among the latter, some only vaguely associate the term with impurity. A few, however, relate it more specifically to the transmission of defilement.

'Unclean Spirit' As Synonymous with 'Demon'. Many consider the expression πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον as equivalent to demon⁶ or evil spirit,⁷ which seems plausible in view of the fact that the expression sometimes appears to be used interchangeably with δαιμόνιον (Mark 3.15; 6.7, 13; 7.25-26; Luke 8.27, 29; 9.42; Rev. 16.13-14).⁸ By contrast, Luke seems to have understood 'unclean' in moral terms (i.e., as equivalent to 'evil') which helps to explain why we find πνεῦμα πονηρὸν only in Luke-Acts (see p. 87, n. 94 and appendix 1). Undoubtedly, the meaning of all three expressions overlap to some extent.

throughout the Synoptic Gospels and at various stages in the transmission of the tradition suggest that the unusual designation may reflect an important and coherent conception which is not suggested by the more generic term δαιμόνιον (*pace* Dunn and Twelftree 1980, 222).

⁴ Berger 1984, 12:178: demons are unclean spirits over which Jesus' pure spirit can rule; similarly, Page 1995, 178; Davies 1995, 95-96.

⁵ Indeed, Christology is one of two important elements in the Markan presentation of the subject, as we shall see in chapter three. Our study gives due weight to its usage in Mark, which represents more than half of the Synoptic references to πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον. Whether the phrase arises from Markan redaction (so Pimentel 1987) is given detailed consideration in §3.2.

⁶ Gould 1896, 29; Branscomb 1937, 31; Haenchen 1968, 87; Gnllka 1978, 1:80; Hooker 1991, 63-64; Müller 1995, 29 n. 9; Reiling 1999, 882; France 2002, 103. Eitrem calls them 'mostly identical' but never explains in what sense they differ (1966, 2, n. 3).

⁷ Hoffmann 1904, 57; Rice 1917, 38; cf. Pesch 1976, 1:121.

⁸ Previous studies of the subject seem to have been hampered by an imprecise use of the relevant terminology, even in scholarly translations of ancient texts where occasionally 'demon', 'evil spirit' and 'unclean spirit' are utilised interchangeably irrespective of the underlying Greek and Semitic language expressions.

The critical issue for this study will be to discover whether or not the Synoptic writers deliberately associate spirits with impurity in order to convey something that ‘demon’ and ‘evil spirit’ do not. In short, is the difference merely stylistic as Schweizer would have us believe (1976a, col. 692) or is it more significant? One reason for this investigation is to provide an adequate answer to this question.

Spirits Associated with Impurity. Some commentators refuse to adopt the stylistic explanation, preferring to understand the expression more in keeping with the Jewish religious context suggested by the term ‘unclean’. Lowrie, for example, calls it an ‘unholy spirit’, asserting that possession by such can be avoided by practicing ‘an elementary hygiene of the soul’.⁹ Hurtado interprets ‘unclean’ to mean that the spirit is ‘associated with evil and with things regarded as impure from a religious perspective’ (1989, 33). Others go further in speaking of the demon possession as ‘defiling’ (Clarke 1881, 25) or ‘polluting’ (Broadus 1905, 16-17). Unfortunately, these explanations proceed no further. The nature of the impurity and the object of defilement is left unclear. Admittedly, the passages containing πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον often appear to be ambiguous. But usually, as this study shows, the passages themselves or the way they are arranged within the narrative provide clues as to the expression’s significance.

Spirits As a Means of Transmitting Impurity. Others are more specific in their attempts to clarify the nature of the impurity. Klostermann (1936, 14), for example, asserts that the adjective ‘unclean’ tells us not so much about the spirit as about its victim. He notes the expression’s similarity to the ‘deaf and dumb spirit’ [τὸ ἄλαλον καὶ κωφὸν πνεῦμα] of Mark 9.25 where it clearly refers to the consequences of the spirit possession.¹⁰ In a similar vein, several commentators consider that the demon may convey some form of impurity to its victim. Johnson, for example, states that ‘the evil spirits are probably unclean by nature and may render their victims unclean’ (1960, 48; cf. Hauck 1965a, 428). Taylor considers the reference to spirits as ‘unclean’ to be a religious judgement by Mark: ‘In his view possession exposes men to a pollution which unfits them for worship and fellowship with God’.¹¹ Long before, Swete had taken a comparable position. Noting the usage of ἀκάθαρτος and ἀκαθαρσία in Leviticus for ‘the ceremonial pollution which

⁹ Lowrie 1929, 79; similarly, Morison 1892, 23.

¹⁰ In this passage, however, as Lagrange notes, it is the spirit who seems to be speaking (1920, 21): ‘Mc n’ eût pas marqué aussi énergiquement que l’homme était au pouvoir de l’esprit. Aussi *anthropon* pu se demander ... si ce n’ est pas l’ esprit qui a crié, ἀνέκραξεν, et d’ une façon sauvage’.

¹¹ Taylor 1966, 173-74; similarly, Nineham (1968, 78-79); also Twelftree (1993, 144), who places it within the context of the historical Jesus.

banishes from the Divine presence', he considers that the reference to an 'unclean spirit' emphasises the demon-possessed person's resulting state of 'estrangement from God' (1909, 19; cf. Allen 1915, 205). Several recent commentators reach similar conclusions.¹²

We will of necessity give detailed consideration to Mark 1.21-28 along with how the other Markan references to unclean spirits have been understood in chapter three.

1.1.2 A Sampling of Research Touching on the Impurity of Spirits

Turning to more narrowly-defined investigations reveals the unfortunate fact that extensive discussions of our topic are difficult to find. Nevertheless, some studies do address one or more of the questions we have posed even if their principal concern lies elsewhere. As with the commentaries, we here present a sampling from a variety of approaches in order to show the range of opinions which have occasionally been expressed on our topic.

Demons as a Source of Disease and Defilement. Otto Böcher has written extensively on the demonology of the ancient world, despite receiving only scant attention in the English-speaking world. He concludes from his research that belief in demons is grounded in primitive notions of sexuality and that defilement results from contact with the demonic, particularly in the sexual realm.¹³ Böcher views many of the Jewish ritual laws, including circumcision, as originally apotropaic in nature, contrasting the purity of God's sphere with the impurity of the demonic (1970, 117-18; 1990, 271). Jews, he says, see the Gentiles as unclean because their gods are demons. Other threats to Israel and to its religion are categorised similarly (1970, 137-52). Further, according to Böcher, because the ancients also believed that demons were the cause of disease, healing necessarily involves exorcism (1970, 152-56). These ideas are fundamental to his treatment of the Jesus tradition (1972a) and of the NT more generally (1972b; 1981; 1990).

One can only admire the wealth of diverse material which Böcher marshals for his synthesis, which rests on the assumption of a widespread uniformity of belief with respect to demons in the ancient world. Unfortunately for his case, there is almost no explicit biblical evidence in its support.¹⁴ There is a broad and longstanding consensus that the monotheistic outlook of the HB is not

¹² Mann (following Turner) declares that the possession leaves people 'at the mercy of a nonritual uncleanness which makes them unfit for communion with God' (1986, 212). Marcus speaks of 'fusion' of the possessed man's identity with that of the demon, going on to observe that 'since normal human beings keep their distance from uncleanness or dirt, this picture of "a man in an unclean spirit," enclosed by that which contaminates him, is horrifying' (Marcus 2000, 192).

¹³ Böcher 1970, 27, 33-39; cf. 120-36; cf. already Thompson 1908, 130-41.

¹⁴ See Yamauchi 1986, 92-93 for a similar critique.

amenable to a demonological interpretation.¹⁵ ‘Der in der alttestamentlichen Literatur durchgängig vertretene Alleinigkeitsanspruch Jahwes hat die Ausbildung einer ausgeprägten Dämonologie verhindert’.¹⁶ Dualistic ideas came later and only gradually,¹⁷ as our study also helps to confirm. It is a surprising fact that reference in the NT epistles to δαιμόνια is limited to just four verses (1 Cor. 10.20-21; 1 Tim. 4.1; Jas. 2.19). The distinct impression from this is that although many problems confronted the earliest Christian congregations, a fear of demons or oppression by them was not one of them. In the Synoptic tradition the terminology is far from standardised. But among the other NT writers the situation only becomes more complicated and uncertain (see appendix 1). Böcher’s appeal to an ancient demonological aetiology of disease likewise appears to be an overgeneralisation. As we shall see, Mark in particular distinguishes disease from demon possession, evident not only from the distinct terminology used to describe the maladies but also from the differing remedies Jesus is said to have employed (see p. 88).

More recent contributions attempt to understand Jesus’ activities within its Palestinian Jewish context. One of these examines Jesus’ relation to purity *halakhah* (Kazen 2002). Like Böcher, Kazen believes that the demonological concepts of the ancient world ‘permeated’ Jewish culture also. Citing Milgrom and Levine, Kazen sees vestiges of exorcisory practices preserved in the rites involving the scapegoat and the red cow, in the bird rite for lepers, and even in the *ḥaṭṭā’*t sacrifice (2002, 301, 307-10). This is only one possible explanation for the origins of these rituals which are dissimilar from each other and which seem to be prescribed to accomplish vastly different

¹⁵ So-called ‘vestiges’ of a popular belief in demons may be nothing more than *façons de parler* (Gaster 1962, 819). Hillers describes the role of demons in the OT as ‘practically nil’ (1971, col. 1522). Page calls the OT ‘remarkably free’ of the fear and fascination toward the demonic which were prevalent in surrounding cultures (1995, 82). Similarly, Ringgren 1958, col. 1301; Kuemmerlin-McLean 1992, 140). Even Langton, who thinks that belief in demons was widespread in ancient Israel, describes the demonology of the Old Testament as ‘slight’ compared with that of the surrounding peoples (1949, 10, 58). Theologies of the OT render a similar verdict (e.g., Eichrodt 1967, 2:226-27; Preuss 1995, 1:258-59). The entry for ‘demons’ in the *Dictionary of Judaism in the Biblical Period* leaves the OT out completely, beginning the discussion with *1 Enoch* (Neusner and Green 1996, 1:162); cf. Hamilton 1980, 906.

¹⁶ Wanke 1981, 275; cf. Maier 1976, col. 580.

¹⁷ In Jewish literature from ca. 200 BCE to 200 CE a wide variety of names and terminology are used for demons and varied aetiologies for their existence appear, suggesting no unified system of belief. There is, however, widespread agreement on the gradual increase in Jewish demonological reflection in the STP. See Langton 1949; Gaster 1962; Haag 1974, 141-80; Maier 1976; Wanke 1981; Page 1995, 43-86. More specifically with regard to later Jewish literature of the STP, see Haag 1974, 218-46; Alexander 1999; Mach 2000. By contrast, Milgrom thinks that monotheism gradually displaced a prevailing popular belief in demons (1991, 1:43-44).

objects.¹⁸ Ultimately, Kazen's conclusion rests on the unproven assumption that certain kinds of impurity necessarily involve the demonic realm. Still less satisfactory is his cursory treatment of Mark's references to impure spirits (Kazen 2002, esp. 332-39). To take one example, Kazen fails to find any hint of gentile impurity involved in the exorcism of the Syro-Phoenician woman's daughter 'since the possessing spirit is called "demon" rather than "impure spirit"' The reference to πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον in 7.25 is apparently discounted as from the tradition, despite Kazen's own acknowledgement of the deliberate Markan juxtaposition of this exorcism story with the discussion of clean and unclean (7.1-23) and its 'relevance ... for the gentile question'.¹⁹ Overall, Kazen seems to regard the references to impure spirits as vestiges of tradition with little relevance for the Markan community. Our discussion in chapter three exposes this conclusion as rather too sweeping.

Demonic Spirit Possession as a Source of False Prophecy. Another study, focusing more particularly on the miracle traditions in light of their Jewish background (Eve 1999), considers 'spirit-possession' to be the appropriate paradigm for understanding the exorcisms. Jesus would be classed either as a true or a false prophet, depending on whether his activity was inspired by the spirit of YHWH or an evil spirit (1999, 314-15, 326-27). The reference to 'unclean spirits' in the Gospel traditions are understood in terms of Zech. 13.2 and the evil spirit which took possession of Saul and which 'inspired' his (misguided) prophesying (1999, 311). However, this reductionistic interpretation of the exorcisms fails to address the central place accorded them by the Synoptic writers. Besides, the demons of the Synoptic Gospels, when they do speak, cannot be classed as sources of *false* prophecy because, from the perspective of the Evangelists, what they say is *true* despite its unhelpfulness at times. To be fair, Eve's slender discussion is subsidiary to his main purpose of illuminating the nature of Jesus' miracles, which no doubt accounts for his failure to substantiate this particular point.²⁰

¹⁸ E.g., despite some similarities, the *hattā'î* sacrifice and the scapegoat ritual contrast sharply with each other. Jenson considers that the first deals more with purification while the second (which is also called a *hattā'î*) deals primarily with sins (1992, 208). Time and spatial differences also separate the two rituals: the *hattā'î* sacrifice is performed daily and the ritual progresses from outside *into* the tabernacle; the scapegoat ritual is done only once a year and sends the goat *away* from the camp.

¹⁹ Kazen 2002, 334, 333. Further, see the discussion on this pericope in §3.2.2.3.

²⁰ As our study will show, the larger context of the verse in Zechariah connects the removal of the 'unclean spirit' *not* with a cancelling of prophecy (as Eve proposes and which, if true, would seem to undermine his basic contention about Jesus' aims) but with the eschatological purification of Israel mentioned in the previous verse (see §2.1.2).

The Demonisation of Impurity. We conclude our survey with a consideration of the work of two researchers who find a principally sociological significance to the exorcisms. Todd Klutz, in an essay which examines the Christological significance of the exorcisms, finds a ‘demonization of impurity’ in Israel comparable to Qumran’s attitude toward leprosy.²¹ He argues that people with skin diseases and uro-genital disorders became caught up in a vicious cycle of deviance-labelling that made them into ‘demoniacs’. On the one hand, this proposal is attractive because it integrates Jewish demonology into the larger system of ritual purity. Unfortunately, the fragments from Qumran can by themselves hardly bear the weight of this hypothesis. Another drawback is that Klutz’s suggestion fits certain cases but not others. On his reading, it is unclear, for example, why the spirit dominating the ‘epileptic’ boy is called unclean (Mark 9.25). There is no question that people with these physical disorders were ostracised to some extent. Whether this led to their being demonised by their fellow Jews is another matter.

Reaching similar conclusions to that of Klutz is Eric Sorensen in his study of possession and exorcism in the NT and early Christianity (2002).²² The Synoptic writers are said to depict demon possession in terms of separation from one’s community: in Mark 5, the demoniac withdraws to Gerasa; Jesus is excluded from Jewish circles as a ‘Samaritan’ (John 8.48); Judas parts company with the disciples (John 13.26-31) and Ananias and Sapphira separate from the early church. Sorensen labels the Synoptic exorcisms ‘broadly soteriological’ in the sense that physiological wellness enables social reintegration and a return to a state of purity (2001, 156-57). Early Christianity moved the soteriological process a step further by interpreting spirit possession in terms of the Pauline notion of an ethical conflict between sin and the Holy Spirit within the believer. Just as through exorcism a person is restored to a ‘pure though profane condition’ so through the ‘invocation of the divine Spirit’ one is elevated ‘from a profane condition to sanctification’ (2001, 202). Sorensen’s attempted synthesis of the NT evidence to help explain the appeal of Christianity within Graeco-Roman society is both useful and commendable. Unfortunately, his analysis of the NT itself is often gratuitous, seemingly driven more by his larger thesis than by the textual data upon which it is erected. For example, he notes various physical symptoms which give rise to a demonological interpretation of a person’s illness (deafness, dumbness, bent double, and emotional or mental disturbances) but fails to articulate a basis for this and indeed to account for why not all such

²¹ Klutz 1999, 161-62, citing Avalos, who thinks that the sect viewed illnesses as demon-induced, owing to their eschatology and the practical considerations of living in a harsh desert environment (1995, 375-76); cf. 4Q266 6 I.5-13 (the reference given by Klutz is incorrect).

²² The title is somewhat misleading as more than half of the work deals with possession and exorcism in the ancient Near East, in Israel up through the STP, and in the Graeco-Roman world.

cases are treated as demon possession requiring exorcism (Sorensen 2001, 153-54). A more careful study of the Synoptic presentation of the subject is needed. Nevertheless, both Klutz's and Sorensen's connection of 'unclean spirits' with Jewish ideas of purity is a potentially important insight which deserves more attention.

1.2 The Need for the Present Study

Our survey of literature has provided little in the way of a 'consensus' and leaves us with a number of unanswered questions.

1. Are πνεῦμα ἁκάθαρτον and δαιμόνιον essentially synonymous or do the references to spirits as 'impure' tell us something more substantial about early Christian views toward purity? This study provides evidence for the latter.

2. We found that some commentators connect unclean spirits with some form of religious impurity but seem reluctant to specify the nature of that impurity. Should we look to Jewish *halakhah* for an understanding of the impurity associated with spirits?²³ Or is it more likely that the Synoptic usage can be better understood within the broader Christian context of purity, which stresses the importance of an individual's inner motivations and conscience?²⁴ Another possibility is that, by the time the Gospels were written, the expression no longer held much significance for Christians, reflecting the concerns of an earlier time.²⁵ Which of these possibilities is the more likely is not immediately obvious. Therefore, a second task will be to identify which explanatory context is most helpful toward an understanding of the Synoptic references to the impurity of spirits. We will accomplish this task in two stages: (1) A study of purity and impurity in early Jewish and Christian literature to elucidate the range of possible meanings for the gospel terminology; (2) An examination of each Gospel's perspective with respect to purity. The first stage we will take up presently, reserving the second for the appropriate point in our study of each Gospel.

²³ It is insufficient, as some have done (e.g., Taylor 1966, 173-74), to deny a relationship between the two without offering evidence to support the assertion.

²⁴ Further, see §1.3.3.

²⁵ E.g., Chilton finds the expression helpful in understanding the concentration of Jesus' activity among the small Jewish villages of Galilee: 'to that which is outside Jesus' Israel, to the world of unclean spirits, of swine and cemeteries, of that all the legion represent, Jesus' purity is a threatening practice' (1999, 236; see also Chilton 2000, 91-92; cf. Chilton 1994a, 34). Not without some justification, Evans goes so far as to assert that all of Jesus' activities (healing, eating, fraternisation) are set within a context of purity concerns (1998, 375; cf. Chilton and Evans 1998). However, it should be observed that any significance the expression might have had for the historical Jesus or in the Jesus tradition does not preclude the possibility of its having significance (whether similar or different) also for the evangelists.

3. Is it possible that reference to the ‘impurity’ of the spirit has more to do with the impure condition of the victim brought about by the spirit (as the similar construction in Mark 9.25 might suggest)? Related to this question are the *physical* symptoms associated with the possession. Are they conceived of as being *caused* by the spirit (or demon)? One strand of research on this question tends to interpret the symptoms of disease in the light of modern medicine. But the *association* of a physical condition with certain symptoms does not necessarily imply a cause-effect relationship. Perhaps we have overemphasised the *physical* symptoms and overlooked other aspects which may have been just as important to first-century observers. A more important question may be the demon-possessed individual’s relation to worship within the community of faith.

4. A related issue, to which Page gives some attention (1995, 138), pertains to the meaning of the apparently Semitic expression, ἄνθρωπος ἐν πνεύματι ἁκαθάρτῳ. (Mark 1.23; 5.2). This is almost universally understood to mean ‘possession’ in the sense of being totally under a demon’s control. In view of the fact that other formulations also appear (e.g., ἔχων + πνεῦμα or δαίμονιον),²⁶ could it be that ‘spirit possession’ is not always perceived in exactly the same way? Are such variations simply inconsequential stylistic or linguistic differences or might they indicate varying views with regard to impure spirits and the effects they exert on their victims? Another important task, then, is to identify each Gospel’s terminological preferences in this area and to discover whether the variations from one writer to the next suggest any significant differences in how impure spirits are understood.

5. One final point which deserves reemphasis is that a study of the Synoptic exorcism stories in relation to Jewish and early Christian ideas of purity has never been pursued in detail. It is the aim of this study to fill that lacuna. Are the exorcism stories connected with a more comprehensive notion of purity? If so, how are they related?

In order to address these questions adequately, we must briefly consider how purity is described in early Jewish and Christian literature. We will then be in a better position to present a more formal definition of terms, methods to be employed and the steps which we will pursue in the remainder of this study.

1.3 Purity in Early Jewish and Christian Literature

It will be helpful to consider the questions we have raised in relation to the various conceptions of purity which obtained in first-century Judaism and

²⁶ See Luke 4.33; 7.33; 8.27; 13.11; Acts 8.7; 16.16; 19.13; cf. Matt. 11.18; Mark 3.30; 9.17; John 7.20; 8.48-49, 52; 10.20.

Christianity. Understanding what ‘impurity’ could mean in various Jewish and Christian contexts may inform our study of what such a term in relation to spirits might mean in the Synoptic Gospels. The topic of purity is so vast that all we can do here is to highlight those aspects most relevant for our study and to understand how the various perspectives develop into the NT period.²⁷ We will begin with a discussion of purity terminology found in the HB, which constituted the basis for the divergent views attested in the Second Temple period (STP), before examining the major primary sources in Greek, including the LXX, Philo, Josephus and, finally, the NT.

1.3.1 Notions of Purity, Impurity, and Holiness in the Hebrew Bible

Purity is usually defined in relation to the *halakhic* (legal) rather than *haggadic* (contemplative) portions of the HB. The latter material, which places greater emphasis on ethical concerns, generally receives less attention in Jewish treatments of *halakhah*.²⁸ Important for this study are some basic definitions. First, while scholars differ in their understanding of the precise relation between purity and holiness,²⁹ it is generally agreed that they are not synonymous.³⁰ Jenson seems to reflect best the Hebrew conceptualisation of these terms when he argues that they denote two distinct cultic spheres of activity: purity pertains to the human sphere and holiness to the divine. These spheres overlap in harmony with the biblical conception of God’s (holy) presence dwelling in the temple, which is situated in the midst of His (pure) people.³¹ Purity characterises normal life for the ordinary Israelite and is the presupposition for approaching that which is holy.³² A second assertion,

²⁷ Listed here are those discussions of purity which have been most useful throughout this study. For the HB: Douglas 1966; Wright 1991; Wright 1992; Jenson 1992; and major commentaries on Leviticus (Wenham 1979; Levine 1989; Milgrom 1991-2001). For Qumran and Rabbinic literature: Meyer 1965; Tomson 1990; Harrington 1993; Klawans 1995; Klawans 1997; Harrington 2000. For Greek literature, including the NT: Hauck 1965a; Sanders 1985; Sanders 1990; Tomson 1990.

²⁸ This does not seem to hold for Christian readings of the OT as our NT survey below suggests.

²⁹ Wright (1992, 246) considers that all four possible combinations are to be found in the HB: holy/pure, holy/impure, profane/pure, profane/impure. Milgrom (1991, 1:732, cf. 638) holds a similar view, but objects to the holy/impure pairing as impossible. Wenham (1979, 19), by contrast, understands these pairs as a continuum: holy ←sanctify/profane→ clean ←cleanse/pollute→ unclean.

³⁰ See Milgrom (1991, 1:616-17, 731-32), Wright (1992), Jenson (1992, 47-48). Neusner (1973b, 18, 22) appears to be the exception in finding them synonymous in some cases.

³¹ See Jenson 1992, 47-48. Lev. 10.10 identifies two ‘opposed pairs’: holy (קֹדֶשׁ)/profane (חֵל) and clean (טָהוֹר)/unclean (טָמֵא). The two positive (holy, clean) and two negative pairs (profane, unclean) are aligned but not identified (Jenson 1992, 44, following Barr 1972, 15). Wenham integrates these pairs into a spectrum: holy-clean-unclean.

³² Jenson 1992, 53, 139; similarly, Milgrom 1991, 1:732. Persons or things can be made holy but only by a special act of God (Jenson 1992, 48).

Index of References

1. Biblical Literature

1.1 Hebrew Bible/Old Testament

Genesis

1:2	153
3:15	158
6:1–6	54
6:2–5	63
6:4	53
7:11	153
8:2	153
10	99
12:10–20	39
14:19	97
20:17–18	40
41:35–36	78
42:2, 7, 10	78

Exodus

7:3, 9	165
8:7	60
8:18–19	60
8:19	158
11:9–10	165
14:31	124
15	97
15:5, 8	153
16:3	98
19:5–6	112
22:31	110
29:37	113
30:17–21	112

Leviticus

5:2	11
6:18, 27, 29	113
7:20	11
10:10	10
11	11, 12, 78
11:4	111
11:34	78
11:34–35	110
11:39–40	12

11:40	78
11:41–43	111
12:2	12
12:4–5	12
12:7	28, 85
13–14	83
13:11	12
13:45–46	84
14–15	115
15:19	85
15:19–20	46
15:25	85, 115
15:25–30	83
15:33	46, 115
17:13, 15	78
18:21, 24	11
19:31	34, 52
20:1–3	34
20:6	52
20:18	28
20:27	52
21:1–4	83, 141
21:11–12	141
21:17–18	113
22:3	11
22:4	121
22:4–7	112
22:8	143
24:5	99
25:6	78

Numbers

4:12	24
5	25, 58
5:2	121
5:4, 11–31	24
5:13–14	25
5:13–29	25
5:14	26
5:19–20	25

5:27–29	25
5:30	26
6:6–8	141
6:22–27	56
6:24	56
9:6	121
11:13–14, 22	98
12:7–8	124
12:10–11	85
15:38–39	115
16:22	38
19	83
19:1	58
19:9	46
19:13	11, 46
19:20	11
19:20–21	46
21:6–9	156
22:22, 32	43
24:16	97
27:16	38
34:8	27

Deuteronomy

4:19	29
4:19–20	60
4:34	165
6:22	165
7:1	99
8:15	156
9:10	158
13	136
13:1–6	29
14	11, 78
18	136
18:10–11	58
18:12	57
18:20–22	29
23:2	31
28:49	99
30:3–4	136
32	138
32:5	102, 154
32:8–9	60
32:17	12, 29
32:20 LXX	133
32:20	154
34:5	124
34:11	165

Joshua

1:1, 13, 15, 21	124
2:11	25
3:10	99
8:31, 33	124
9:22	99
11:12	124
12:6	124
13:5	27
13:8	124
14:7	124
18:7	124
22:2, 4–5	124
24:11	99
24:29	124

Judges

1:21, 27–36	99
2:8	124
2:20–23	99
8:3	25
9:23	24
9:56–57	24, 40
11:12	90
16:17	91

1 Samuel / 1 Kingdoms

15:27	115
16:14	26, 53
16:14–16	24
16:14–23	18
16:23	24
18:10	24
19:9	24
29:4	43

2 Samuel / 2 Kingdoms

5:8	83, 113, 143
11:4	12
13:5, 7, 10	78
16:10	90
19:23 MT	43
19:23 LXX	90
20:12	46

1 Kings / 3 Kingdoms

5:18 MT	43
8:13	126
10:5	78
11:14, 23, 25	43

12:11, 14	156	2:9	182
12:24	78	3:24	42
14:11	110	4:19	129
17:18	90	5:19–23	51
21:5	25		
21:23–24	110	<i>Psalms</i>	
22:21–24	26	6:3 LXX	131
22:31	143	9:14 LXX	131
		11:6 LXX	110
<i>2 Kings / 4 Kingdoms</i>		13:6 LXX	110
1	125	21:25 LXX	110
3:13	90	22:2 MT	42
5:7	85	23:4 LXX	110
5:10–11	84	26:7 LXX	131
6:21–23	99	30:10 LXX	131
9:10	110	32:3 MT	42
9:18	90	36:14 LXX	110
9:36	110	38:21 MT	43
14:28	27	40:5 LXX	131
15:5	85	50:12 LXX	110
18:12	124	51:7–11	71
		51:13 MT	26
<i>1 Chronicles</i>		58:4	156
12:41 LXX	78	68:30 LXX	110
21:1	43	69:6 LXX	110
22:9	129	71:13	43
23:28	49	73:1 LXX	110
		78:43	165
<i>2 Chronicles</i>		85:1 LXX	110
1:3	124	85:3 LXX	131
2:9 LXX	78	87:16 LXX	110
6:3	131	88:9–10 LXX	121
9:14	131	91	42, 56
18:21–24	26	95:5 LXX	29
24:6	124	103:4 LXX	38
26:7	131	105:9 LXX	121
26:19–21	85	105:27	165
29:25	46	105:37 LXX	29
35:21	90	106	28
		106:9	153
<i>Ezra</i>		106:35–39	28
9:11	46	106:37	12, 29
		106:38–39	11
<i>Nehemiah</i>		107:26	153
1:8–9	136	109:4, 6	43
		109:20	43, 44
<i>Job</i>		109:22, 25	44
1:6–9	43	109:29	43
1:12	43	118:26	129
2:1–4, 6–7	43	119:133–134	44

121	56	66:3, Sym	122
122:3 LXX	131	66:5	46
135:9	165		
140:3	156	<i>Jeremiah</i>	
		2:23	34
<i>Proverbs</i>		15:3	110
1:14	77	31:16–17	136
3:31	12	32:20–21	165
16:5	12	38:10 LXX	99
17:15	12	50:38	60
26:11	110	51:36	60
<i>Isaiah</i>		<i>Lamentations</i>	
4:2–4	109	1:8, 17	46
5:56	99		
7:14	117	<i>Ezekiel</i>	
11:10	129	7:20	46
11:11–12	136	13–14	28
11:15	60	13:2–3	28
13:21	52, 60	14	28
14	30	14:4–5, 11	28
14:12, 15	158	20:41	136
29:18	123, 130	22:3–4	11
34:11	60	28	30
34:13–14	52	28:16–28	158
35:5–6	123, 130	28:25	136
35:8	13	33:26	39
38:12	129	34	123
42:1–4	117	36:17–32	30
43:6	99	36:25	28
43:16	97	36:25–27	47, 71
44:27–28	60	37:23	11
49:12	99	37:25	34
49:24–25	158	44:19	113
50:2	97	44:31	144
51:10	97	47:1–12	30
52:1, 11	13	47:15	27
53	143		
53:11	135	<i>Daniel</i>	
56:3–5	143	1:8–16	78
59:2	57	4:8–9, 18	15
59:14	13	5:11	15
60:4, 9	99	7:25	182
61:1 LXX	110	11:32	48
63:11	97		
63:13	153	<i>Hosea</i>	
63:15	126	2:4–7 MT	25
65:3	29	4:12	25, 26
65:4	122	5:3	26
65:11	52, 122	5:4	25, 26

6:6	112	<i>Zechariah</i>	
7:11	25	3:2	40, 43
8:4–5, 11	25	9–11	27
8:13	12	9-14	26, 27
14:9 LXX	90	9:1–8	27
		9:6	31
<i>Amos</i>		9:9–11:17	27
5:24	47	10:2–3	28
6:14	27	10:8–10	136
7:17	12	10:10	27
		12-14	27
<i>Joel</i>		12:1, 9–14	27
3:3 LXX	165	12:10–13:1	71
		13:1	27, 28, 29, 30
<i>Nahum</i>		13:1–2	12, 27, 28, 29
3:6	12	13:2	6, 26, 27, 28, 29, 58, 66
		13:2–6	27
<i>Habakkuk</i>		13:3	29
3:10	153	13:3–6	29
		13:7	28
<i>Zephaniah</i>		14:4	82
7:20	136	14:8	30
		<i>Malachi</i>	
<i>Jonah</i>		1:1	27
2:6 MT	153	1:12	78
		2:11	31
		4:3	158

1.2 Deuterocanonical Books/Apocrypha

<i>Baruch</i>		<i>1 Maccabees</i>	
4:7	29	1:14–15	35
		1:47, 62	77
<i>Susanna</i>		4:41, 43	13
45	15	13:33	78
		13:43–50	13
<i>Additions to Esther</i>		<i>2 Maccabees</i>	
14:17	78	4:5	77
		9:21	77
<i>Judith</i>		10:3	13
4:3	15	10:5	13
12:1–2	78	12:39	141
12:9	13		
12:19	78	<i>4 Maccabees</i>	
13:10	78	1:34	78

6:29	13	51:30	122
6:31	13		
6:35	13	<i>Tobit</i>	
7:6	77	1:10–12	78
17:21	13	1:17–18	141
18:4	13	2:3–8	141
		3:8, 14, 17	30
<i>Psalms 151</i>	41	13:11, 17	15
<i>Sirach</i>		<i>Wisdom of Solomon</i>	
17:17	60	2:24	35
19:8	143	3:2	154
24:23–29	13	7:6	154
35:4	12	7:24–26	13
44–50	13	7:27	13
50.15	11	9:15	129
51:5–6	12		

1.3 New Testament

<i>Matthew</i>		5:2	121
1:1	117, 123	5:3	117, 121
1:18	117	5:3–12	109
1:20	117	5:8	16, 121
1:23	109	5:13	121
2:6	109	5:23–24	110, 113
2:15	109	5:47	122
2:18	109	6:7	122
2:23	109	6:30	133
3:2	127–128, 135	7:6	96, 110, 122
3:3	124	7:14–16	111
3:7	127–128	7:21–22	123
3:8	128	7:22	120
3:10	128	8	121
3:11	109, 117, 128	8–9	114, 134–136, 144
3:12	128	8:1–4	114
3:14–15	109	8:2	121–123
3:16	117, 128	8:2–3	17
3:16–17	117–118	8:4	113
4:1	117	8:5–13	114, 144
4:3	121–122	8:6	121, 123
4:6	43, 121–122	8:7	145
4:10–11	127	8:8	121, 131
4:15–16	109	8:9	123
4:17	127, 135	8:10	132
4:23–24	114	8:11–13a	145
4:23–25	114	8:13	132
4:24	119–120, 125, 132–134	8:14–15	114, 134
5–7	114, 144	8:16	89, 117–118, 120,

	122–123, 125, 132, 134–135	10:1–25 10:2–4 10:5 10:5–6 10:5–15 10:6 10:7 10:8 10:14–15 10:16–42 10:18 10:20 10:23 10:24 10:24–25a 10:25 10:26 10:27 10:36 11:2 11:2–6 11:2–19 11:3–6 11:4–5 11:5 11:7–15 11:10 11:14–15 11:16–19 11:16–30 11:18 11:19 11:25–27 11:29 12 12:1–7 12:1–14 12:1–37 12:2 12:7 12:9–14 12:10 12:12 12:18 12:18–21 12:22 12:22–23 12:22–24 12:22–32	135 135 110, 132 130, 136 135 123, 129, 139 127, 135 17, 120, 135–136 136 135 136 109, 117 136 136 135 120, 123, 126, 136 121 136 137 137 137 124 114 17 137 124 137 123 130 9, 120, 131, 137 124 109 129 184 113 129 130 184 112 114 124 113 109, 117, 124, 128 109, 124 120, 125, 155 114, 118, 179 124 124, 138, 173, 180–181, 183
8:16–17	134		
8:17	109		
8:21	123		
8:21–22	142		
8:25	121, 123		
8:26	133		
8:28	120–123, 125		
8:28–34	114, 118, 121, 138		
8:30	122		
8:31	120–123		
8:32	122, 134–135		
8:33	120–121, 125		
8:34	123		
9	121		
9:1–8	114, 120		
9:1–17	121		
9:3	184		
9:9–13	116		
9:10–13	113		
9:11	112		
9:12–13	136		
9:13	112		
9:14–15	116		
9:16–17	116		
9:18	115, 122		
9:18–26	115		
9:18–19/23–26	114		
9:18–34	114		
9:20	113		
9:20–22	114		
9:22	116		
9:27	123, 131–132, 138		
9:27–31	114		
9:28	123		
9:29	132		
9:30	84		
9:32	120, 125		
9:32–34	114, 118, 123, 135, 179, 180–181, 183–184		
9:33	125, 135		
9:33–34	120, 123		
9:34	120, 125, 184		
9:35	114		
9:35–38	135		
9:36	123		
9:38	123		
10:1	18, 29, 89, 114, 117, 120, 134–135		

12:22–45	156	12:43–45	65, 118, 128–129, 159
12:23	123, 125, 138	12:44	129
12:23–24	127	12:45	87, 117, 120, 129, 138
12:24	120, 126, 131, 137, 157, 184	12:45a	129
12:24–26	179	12:45b	129
12:24a	184	12:45c	129
12:25	124, 182, 185	12:46–50	130
12:25–26	155	13:1	129
12:25–30	124	13:14–15	109
12:25a	179	13:35	109
12:25b	184	14:1–18:9	132
12:25b–26a	179	14:26	121, 126
12:26	124, 126	14:30	121
12:26a	180	14:31	133
12:26b–28	179, 183, 185	14:35	132
12:27	120, 128	14:36	113
12:27–28	131, 155	15	112, 138
12:28	117, 120, 124, 126, 128, 129, 184	15:1–9	111
12:29	122, 124, 128, 179, 182, 184	15:1–20	111, 132
12:30	128, 155, 159, 179, 183, 185	15:2	76
12:30–42	129	15:10–11	111
12:31	117, 124, 128, 179, 182, 184–185	15:11	111, 116
12:31–32	124, 127–128, 179, 182, 185	15:12–20	111
12:31b	184	15:18	111, 116
12:32	103, 117, 124, 126, 128, 179, 182–183, 185	15:19	79
12:32a	179	15:20	112
12:32b	179, 184	15:21–28	114, 118, 130, 138, 173
12:33–37	128	15:22	120, 125, 130–132, 138
12:33b	128	15:23–24	130
12:34	124, 127–128	15:23a	132
12:34–37	116	15:23b	132
12:35	128	15:24	129–132, 139
12:36	128	15:25	122
12:37	128	15:25–26	132
12:38	184	15:26	110
12:38–42	128, 156	15:27	131–132
12:38–45	130	15:28	130, 132
12:39	129	15:30–31	113, 130
12:39b	128	16:1–2a	156
12:40b	128	16:2b–3	156
12:41	128	16:4	156
12:42	128	16:8	133
12:43	18, 117, 120, 129, 134	16:11b–12	116
		16:12	80
		16:18–19	134
		16:23	120
		17:7–8	121
		17:14	122
		17:14–21	114, 118, 132
		17:15	102, 131–133

17:16–17	102	27:25	108
17:17	102, 133, 154	27:50	117
17:18	40, 120, 125, 164	28:1	157
17:24–27	113, 132	28:10	121
17:26	132	28:18–20	135
17:27	132	28:19	71, 109–110, 117, 136
18:11	160		
18:17	122	<i>Mark</i>	
18:18	134	1–10	72
18:34	122	1:1	94
19:19	111	1:1–15	70
19:28	136	1:4	70, 109
20:22	109	1:5	71
20:29–34	114	1:7	70, 103
20:30	131	1:7–8	70
20:30–31	138	1:8	71, 87, 91
21:5	109	1:9	70
21:9	138	1:9–11	70
21:12	81	1:10	87
21:14	113	1:11	94
21:15	138	1:12	87
21:16	184	1:13	87, 90
21:23	109	1:14	70
22:36	142	1:15	70, 72, 102
22:38	113	1:16–20	90, 105
22:43	117	1:16–45	72
22:46–23:1	127	1:21	90–92, 134
23:1–3	116	1:21–28	2–4, 21, 83, 89, 101, 107, 118
23:2–3	111	1:21–31	92
23:4–36	142	1:21–38	89
23:5	142	1:21a	90
23:8	142	1:22	72, 90, 105
23:13	139	1:23	9, 18, 86, 89, 91–93
23:16–22	113, 142	1:23–26	93
23:17	113	1:24	70, 90
23:19	113	1:25	40, 89, 134, 164
23:21	113	1:26	18, 84, 86, 89, 92
23:23	111, 113	1:26–27	87, 92, 101
23:24	110, 116, 142	1:27	18, 29, 72, 86, 89–90, 92, 96, 105, 134
23:25	17, 111		
23:26	142	1:27ab	90
23:33	142	1:27b	92
23:38–39	129	1:28	90
24:14	136	1:29	90, 92
24:15–19	108	1:29–31	83, 134
25:41	122	1:31	84, 164
26:41	117	1:32	89, 93, 95, 125, 134
26:63	18	1:32–34	92, 134, 162
27:9–10	109	1:32b	93
27:19	90		

- | | | | |
|------------|-----------------------------|---------|--------------------------------------|
| 1:34 | 81, 89, 92–93, 105 | 3:22 | 89, 102, 104, 125–126, 131, 137, 184 |
| 1:34b | 93 | 3:22–23 | 126 |
| 1:37–38 | 92 | 3:22–26 | 179 |
| 1:39 | 89, 91–94, 105, 134 | 3:22–30 | 72, 104, 180–181 |
| 1:40–42 | 17, 75 | 3:23 | 184–185 |
| 1:40–45 | 83 | 3:25 | 185 |
| 1:42 | 84 | 3:26 | 185 |
| 1:43 | 81, 84 | 3:27 | 103 |
| 1:44 | 84, 95, 115 | 3:28 | 182–183 |
| 1:45 | 84 | 3:28–29 | 157, 179 |
| 2:1–12 | 72, 83, 87 | 3:28–30 | 104 |
| 2:1–17 | 72 | 3:29 | 71, 87 |
| 2:1–3:6 | 72, 83 | 3:30 | 9, 18, 86–89, 96, 104, 106, 126 |
| 2:5–10 | 71 | 3:31–35 | 100, 104, 183 |
| 2:6 | 102 | 4:1–34 | 72 |
| 2:8 | 87 | 4:2 | 185 |
| 2:10 | 96, 150 | 4:10–13 | 71 |
| 2:11 | 95 | 4:12 | 71 |
| 2:13–17 | 72 | 4:13 | 73, 79, 100 |
| 2:13–28 | 75 | 4:15 | 87 |
| 2:16 | 102, 112 | 4:33–34 | 185 |
| 2:18 | 80 | 4:35 | 94 |
| 2:18–22 | 72 | 4:41 | 91, 97 |
| 3:19b–21 | 183 | 5:1 | 94, 121 |
| 3:20–21 | 104 | 5:1–2a | 95 |
| 2:21–22 | 72, 75, 80 | 5:1–13 | 96 |
| 2:23–28 | 72 | 5:1–20 | 83, 100–101, 118, 121, 152 |
| 2:23–3:6 | 72, 76 | 5:2 | 9, 18, 86, 89, 93–96, 125 |
| 2:24 | 80 | 5:3 | 94 |
| 2:25 | 97 | 5:3b | 95 |
| 3:1–6 | 72, 83 | 5:4–5 | 152 |
| 3:4 | 85 | 5:5 | 94 |
| 3:5 | 71 | 5:6 | 94, 121 |
| 3:6 | 80, 93 | 5:7 | 18, 94, 97 |
| 3:7–10 | 94 | 5:7b | 96, 152 |
| 3:7–12 | 93 | 5:8 | 1, 18, 86–89, 94–96, 134 |
| 3:7–13 | 134 | 5:10 | 94–95 |
| 3:8 | 96, 107 | 5:12 | 94 |
| 3:10 | 84 | 5:13 | 18, 29, 84, 86, 89, 95–96 |
| 3:11 | 18, 29, 86–89, 93, 106, 161 | 5:14 | 94–95, 97 |
| 3:11–12 | 92 | 5:14–20 | 97 |
| 3:12 | 164 | 5:14b | 95 |
| 3:13–15 | 105, 135 | 5:15 | 95–96, 152 |
| 3:13–19 | 93, 105, 135 | 5:15–16 | 89, 94, 121, 125 |
| 3:14 | 95, 97 | 5:15c | 94 |
| 3:14–15 | 105 | 5:16 | 93–95, 97 |
| 3:15 | 2, 89 | 5:16b | 94 |
| 3:19/20–35 | 81 | | |
| 3:21 | 96, 128 | | |

5:17	95	6:49	121
5:18	89, 93–95, 97, 121	6:52	71, 73, 79–80
5:18a	95	6:56	84
5:18b	95	7	144
5:19	81, 93, 97	7:1	98, 102
5:19a	95	7:1–2	73
5:19b	95	7:1–13	111
5:20	94–95, 97, 99	7:1–23	6, 72, 100–101, 107, 172
5:21–24	83	7:2	72, 76–77, 111, 144
5:21–43	85, 101	7:2–3	59, 75
5:21/25–43	81, 82	7:2–4	76
5:22	94	7:3	73, 76, 80
5:23	115	7:3–4	72–73, 76, 111
5:25	115	7:4	71, 73, 76, 109
5:25–34	83	7:4a	70, 76
5:27–31	84	7:5	76–77, 102, 144
5:28	96	7:5a	73
5:30	115, 146	7:6–7	73, 76
5:30–31	86	7:7	76
5:30–33	116	7:9	76
5:31	85	7:10	84
5:33	86, 94	7:15	15, 16, 77, 79, 111
5:34	95	7:17–18	79
5:34b	115	7:17–23	111
5:35–43	83	7:18	77, 79, 100
5:37	85, 97	7:18–19	74
5:38	85	7:19	17, 74–75, 106
5:40	81, 97, 147	7:21	16
5:41	84	7:21–22	79
5:43a	85	7:25	6, 18, 86–87
6:2	90	7:25–26	2
6:6/7–30/32	81	7:27	81
6:6a	80	7:29–30	84
6:6b–13	105	7:33	84
6:7	2, 18, 29, 86–89, 97, 102, 105, 135, 163	7:6–13	73
6:7–13	103, 105, 135	7:8	73, 76
6:7–8:21	81	7:8–9	73
6:7–8:22	80	7:9a	73
6:8–9a	105	7:10–12	73
6:11	103	7:11	72, 76
6:12	163	7:13	73, 76
6:12–13	105	7:13b	73, 76
6:13	2, 89, 92, 102, 105	7:14–23	73
6:14	70	7:15	73
6:16	80	7:15a	73, 76
6:18	96, 103	7:16	72
6:24	70	7:18a	73
6:28	103	7:19c	72–74, 77–79, 112
6:30–31	132	7:20	73, 77
		7:20a	73

7:21	73, 76	9:19	154
7:22	73	9:20	86, 89, 94, 102, 133, 154
7:23	73, 76–77	9:22a	133
7:24	100	9:25	3, 7, 9, 18, 40, 86, 89, 92, 102, 125, 133–134, 154, 164
7:24a	100		
7:24–30	83, 99, 101, 118, 130	9:25–26	84
7:24–8:10	72	9:26	101
7:25	89, 93–94, 100	9:27	84
7:26	89, 101, 105, 131	9:28	89
7:27	100	9:28–29	79
7:27a	100	9:29	40, 103
7:29	95, 131	9:32	79
7:29–30	89, 101, 132	9:37	103
7:31	98–100	9:38	89, 92, 103, 105, 154
7:31–32	98	9:38–41	103, 132
7:31–37	83, 101, 117	9:39	103
7:36–37	99	9:41	103
8:1	98	10:3	84
8:1–10	79, 98, 100	10:9	75
8:3	99	10:10	111
8:4	98	10:13	84
8:7	98	10:26	90
8:11	102, 156	10:35	109
8:11–13	156	10:38–39	71
8:11–21	98	10:46	83
8:12	87	10:46–52	83
8:13–21	79	10:52	95
8:14–21	71	11–15	81
8:15	80	11:1	83
8:17	71, 80	11:11	81–82
8:17–21	73	11:12	83
8:18–21	80	11:12–25	81
8:19–21	99	11:13	82
8:21	80	11:15	81
8:22–26	83, 117, 132	11:15–17	82
8:31	102	11:16	81–82
8:31–33	79	11:17a	82
8:33	75, 87	11:18	83
8:38	102	11:22–25	82
9:6	79	11:23	82
9:7	94, 102	11:24–25	82
9:13	70	11:25	71
9:14	102	11:26	82
9:14–29	83, 101, 107, 118, 132, 153	11:27	75, 81
9:15	101	11:27–33	70
9:16	102	11:27–13:1	83
9:17	9, 86, 89, 93, 102, 125, 133, 154	11:28	82
9:18	89, 102, 103	11:28–29	105
		11:30	75

11:32	75	3:17	160
11:33	105	4:1	148
12:1	185	4:2, 3, 6	151
12:6	94	4:9	143
12:13	80	4:10	43
12:14	75	4:13	151
12:26	84	4:14	146, 149
12:28	102, 142	4:14a	149
12:33	71, 112	4:18	146, 164
12:35	81	4:22	151
12:36	87	4:23	145
13:1	81	4:27	17
13:2	82	4:31	134
13:3	81	4:32	151
13:11	87	4:33	9, 18, 125, 149–151
13:32	94	4:33–37	144
14:1–11	81–82	4:34	167
14:2	96	4:35	40, 149–152, 164
14:18	97	4:35–36	151
14:38	87	4:36	18, 29, 149–151, 156
14:49	81	4:38	163
14:53/54–72	81–82	4:38–39	134, 144, 161, 173
14:58	81, 129	4:39	151
14:61	94	4:40	145
14:67	97	4:40–41	40, 134, 162
15:29	81	4:41	40, 149–151, 162, 164
15:38	81	5:5	164
15:39	94	5:12–13	17
16:8	83	5:12–16	144
16:9	87, 89, 125, 162	5:14	115
16:9–20	118	5:15	145
16:10	97	5:17	146, 151
16:16–18	109	5:17–26	144
16:17	87, 89, 105	5:18	150, 168
		5:24	150
<i>Luke</i>		5:30	112
1:17	149	6:5	141
1:31	157	6:6–11	144
1:32	148	6:7	145
1:35	148–149	6:12–16	135
1:66	157	6:17–18	165
1:68–75	143	6:18	18, 29, 149–150, 161–162
1:71	65		146, 151
1:75	65	6:19	161
1:77	145	6:20–49	109
2:30–32	143	6:20b–23	144–145
2:38	143	7:1–10	151
2:48	90	7:7–8	146
3:4–11	137	7:9	144, 146, 154
3:16	159	7:11–17	

- | | | | |
|----------|---|-----------|---|
| 7:11b–15 | 146 | 9:31 | 154 |
| 7:12 | 150, 154 | 9:33 | 164 |
| 7:14 | 146 | 9:37–43a | 118, 144, 153 |
| 7:18–35 | 137 | 9:38 | 146, 154 |
| 7:21 | 87, 149, 161–162, 166,
168, 174 | 9:39 | 149–150, 154, 162 |
| 7:21–22 | 137 | 9:40 | 89, 150 |
| 7:22 | 17 | 9:41 | 102, 154 |
| 7:29–30 | 71 | 9:42 | 2, 18, 40, 125, 149–150,
154, 162, 164 |
| 7:33 | 9, 131, 137, 149–150 | 9:43b | 154 |
| 7:37 | 162 | 9:45 | 154 |
| 7:39 | 162 | 9:46–50 | 154 |
| 8:2 | 87, 125, 149–150,
161–163, 166, 168, 174 | 9:49 | 149–150, 154, 164 |
| 8:12 | 151 | 9:49–50 | 103, 160 |
| 8:24 | 164 | 9:51 | 154–155 |
| 8:26 | 121, 143 | 9:59–60 | 142 |
| 8:26–39 | 118, 144, 152 | 10:9 | 145 |
| 8:27 | 2, 9, 149–150, 152 | 10:17 | 91, 149–150, 156 |
| 8:28 | 121, 152, 167 | 10:17–20 | 20, 157 |
| 8:29 | 2, 18, 149–150, | 10:18 | 151, 156–157 |
| 152–153, | | 10:18–19 | 158 |
| | 162 | 10:19 | 151, 156, 164 |
| 8:29–30 | 149, 152 | 10:25 | 142 |
| 8:30 | 150, 152 | 10:30 | 141 |
| 8:30b | 153 | 10:30–37 | 146 |
| 8:31 | 153, 156 | 10:30–37a | 141 |
| 8:33, 35 | 149–150, 152–153 | 10:33 | 146 |
| 8:36 | 150, 153 | 11:9 | 137 |
| 8:38 | 149–150, 152–153 | 11:11–12 | 156 |
| 8:38–39 | 153 | 11:14 | 118, 150, 155, 159, 162 |
| 8:40–42 | 144, 154 | 11:14–15 | 144, 149–150 |
| 8:40–56 | 146 | 11:14–23 | 124, 155, 180–181 |
| 8:42 | 146, 154 | 11:14–32 | 156 |
| 8:43 | 145 | 11:15 | 126, 131, 137, 150–151,
155–156 |
| 8:43–48 | 144 | 11:15–16 | 184 |
| 8:45 | 146, 164 | 11:16 | 155, 157, 183 |
| 8:46 | 146, 151 | 11:17 | 157 |
| 8:47 | 146 | 11:17–18a | 155 |
| 8:48 | 146–147 | 11:18 | 150–151, 157 |
| 8:49–56 | 144, 154 | 11:18–19 | 151 |
| 8:50 | 147 | 11:18–20 | 149, 159 |
| 8:53 | 147 | 11:19 | 150, 160 |
| 8:55 | 147 | 11:19–20 | 131, 155 |
| 9:1 | 145, 149, 161, 163 | 11:20 | 150, 157, 160 |
| 9:1–6 | 135 | 11:21 | 151, 159 |
| 9:2 | 163 | 11:21–22 | 158–159 |
| 9:6 | 145, 153, 163 | 11:23 | 103, 128, 155, 159–160 |
| 9:11 | 145 | 11:24 | 18, 149–150 |
| 9:29 | 154 | 11:24–26 | 128, 159, 161 |

11:26	87, 129, 149–150, 160, 163	22:3	151
11:27–28	159	22:31	151
11:28	160	22:49	147, 149
11:29	183	22:51	144
11:29–30	71	22:53	151
11:29–32	156, 160	23:48	157
11:37–38	76	24:19	114
11:38	77, 144	24:39	62
11:39	17	24:47–53	143
11:39–40	142	<i>Q</i>	
11:41	142, 147	7:1–10	144
11:44	142	7:22	130
12:1	80, 142	7:29–30	137
12:2	121	7:34	124
12:10	103, 124, 180–181	11:14	125, 144
12:17	160	11:14–26	183
12:28	133	11:16	185
12:32	160	11:17	185
12:33	142	11:23	185
12:50	109	11:29	184
13:10–17	144, 161, 164	<i>John</i>	
13:11	9, 149–150, 162	2:3	90
13:12	164	2:4	90
13:14	145, 162	2:6–9	17
13:15	164	2:14	82
13:16	151, 160, 164, 169	2:15	81
13:23	145	2:16	82
13:32	80, 145, 149–150	3:5	17
14:1–6	144	3:22	71
14:3	145	3:25	17
15	160	3:25–26	71
15:15–16	96	3:26	71
16:22	160	4:1–3	71
17:6	91	4:9	141
17:11–19	144	6:31–34	80
17:12	84, 150	7:20	20, 137
17:13	164	8:48	7, 137
17:14	17	8:48–49	9, 20
17:17	17	8:51	157
17:20–21	158	8:52	9, 20, 137
18:26	145	10:20	9, 105, 137
18:35	150	10:20–21	20
18:35–43	144	10:21	105
19:9	160	11:33	84
19:10	160	11:55	17
19:17	164	12	127
19:19	164	12:31	126, 158
19:45	81	13:10	17
21:4	146		

13:26–31	7	7:55	148
14:30	126	8:1	166
15:3	17	8:1–2	166
16:11	126	8:2	150
17:20	9	8:4	166
18:28	17, 145	8:4–25	143
		8:6	165
<i>Acts</i>		8:6–8	165
1:5	149	8:7	9, 18, 89, 140, 145, 149–150, 166
1:8	143, 147, 149, 166	8:9	165
1:12	143	8:13	165
2:1–8:1	143	8:26–39	143
2:9	131	8:40	143
2:19	165	9:1–31	143
2:21	145	9:31	166
2:22	165	9:32–35	145
2:39	143	9:36	142
2:40	145	9:36–42	145
2:43	165	10:2, 4	142
2:44	77	10:14	144
3:1	147	10:14–15	144
3:1–10	145, 147	10:15	17, 144
3:2–3	142	10:28	143–145
3:6	147	10:31	142
3:8	147	10:38	149, 151, 164
3:10	142	10:43	145
3:12	147	11:1–18	110
3:16	147	11:2–3	144
3:22	165	11:8	143, 144
3:25–26	143	11:8–9	144
4:7	147	11:9	17
4:12	145	11:19	166
4:14	145	11:21	157
4:22–30	145	11:24	148
4:28	157	13:6	165
4:30	157, 165	13:8	165
5:3	151, 157, 169	13:8–10	157
5:9	157	13:9–10	165
5:12	165	13:10	151
5:12a	165	13:11	157
5:14–16	165	13:17	157
5:16	18, 140, 149–150, 162, 165, 166	13:26	145
5:18	166	13:38–39	145
6:3	148	13:46–47	145
6:7	91	13:51	136
6:11	182	14:3	165
6:13	182	14:8–10	145
7:36–37	165	15	110, 144
7:50	157	15:1	144

15:5	144	12:1	16
15:8–9	144	16:20	158
15:9	16		
15:12	165	<i>1 Corinthians</i>	
15:20	74, 78	3:2	78
15:29	74	4:5	122
16	174	5:6–8	81
16:7	147	5:7–8	16
16:12–15	167	6:11	16, 47
16:16	9, 140, 149–150, 167	7:14	11, 17
16:16–18	145	7:18	34
16:17	97	8:4	61
16:18	140, 149–150, 167	10:3	78
17:18	149	10:14	74
18:6	136	10:20	29, 74
19	174	10:20–21	5
19:11	165	10:28	74, 78
19:11–12	165	16:8	16
19:12	87, 140, 149–150, 167		
19:13	9, 18, 87, 140, 149–150	<i>2 Corinthians</i>	
19:13–17	103	3:3	16
19:13–19	145	3:6	16
19:15	150	4:4	126
19:15–16	87, 140, 149	5:1	129
19:16	150, 167	6:6	17
20:7–12	145	6:14–7:1	16
20:9–12	86	7:1	16
21:24	17	7:11	17
21:25	74	10:14	158
21:26	17	11:2	17
22:23	136	11:3	17
23:9	112		
24:17	142	<i>Galatians</i>	
24:18	17	1:14	76
26:18	145, 151, 157, 169	2	110
28:7–8	145	3:3	60
28:9	145, 165	3:8–9	60
		3:28	143
<i>Romans</i>		5:9	81
1–8	16		
1:24	17	<i>Ephesians</i>	
2:29	16	2:2	126
6:12	91	5:26	16
6:16	91	6:1	91
6:17	91	6:5	91
8:2	16	6:12	87
9:31	158		
10:10	133	<i>Philippians</i>	
10:16	91	1:17	17
12–15	16	2:15	102, 133

3:16 158
4:8 17

Colossians

2:6 16
2:20–23 16

1 Thessalonians

2:16 158
4:3 17
5:23 16

2 Thessalonians

1:8 91
3:14 91

1 Timothy

1:5 16
4:1 5
4:12 17
5:2 17
5:22 17

2 Timothy

2:22 16

Titus

2:5 17
3:5 47

Hebrews

2:14 158
9:13–14 17, 47
9:22–23 17
10:22 16
10:29 144
11:8 91

James

2:19 5
3:17 17
4:8 17

1 Peter

3:2 17
3:6 91

2 Peter

1:9 17
1:15 154

1:16 154
2:4 30
2:22 96

1 John

1:7 17
1:9 17
3:3 17

3 John

7 122

Jude

2 77
6 30
9 40

Revelation

2:14 74
2:20 74
4:8 129
8:10 157
9:1 153, 157
9:2 153
9:3–6 156
9:10–11 156
9:11 153
11:2 157
12:9 60, 156
12:12 158
13 60
13:4 60
13:11 60
13:11–12 60
13:13 60
14:10 122
14:11 129
16:12–16 59–60
16:13 18, 29, 60
16:13–14 2, 151
16:14 60
18:2 18, 59–60
19:20 60
20:1 153
20:2–3 158
20:3 153
20:10 60, 122, 158
21:2–3 60
21:22 60
21:27 60, 144

2. Jewish Literature

2.1 Old Testament Pseudepigrapha

<i>2 Baruch</i>		98.3	31
29.8	98	98.4–5	33
		98.5	33
<i>1 Enoch</i>		98.10	31
1–36	31	99.7	33
6.1–7.1	31	99.9	34
6.3	31	99.14	31
7.1	31	100.4	33
8.1–4	31	103.2	33
9.3	31	103.4	31
9.6	31	106–107	33
9.7–8	31	108.3–9	31
9.8	31		
9.9	31	<i>2 Enoch</i>	
9.10	31	29.3–5	55
10.9	31	29.4–5	30
10.11	31	31.4	31
10.15	33		
10.20	31	<i>Assumption of Moses</i>	
10.22	31	7.7–9	111
12.4	32		
12.4–5	32	<i>Joseph and Aseneth</i>	
15.2–4	32	10.13	110
15.2–7	32		
15.4	32–33	<i>Jubilees</i>	
15.6	32–33	1.9–11	35
15.7b	33	1.11	35
15.8–16.1	34	1.20	35
15.8b	32–33	1.22	43
15.9	32–33	2.2	55
15.10	33	2.18–22	35
15.11	33	2.29–30	72
16.1	33	3.31	35
19.1	34	4.15	35, 52
37–71	31	4.22	52
69.12	34	5.2	43
72–82	31	5.6	35
83–90	31	6.2–3	36
91–105	33	6.17–35	36
92–105	31	7.20	36, 39
93.2	33	7.21	35
97.4	33	7.24	43

7.27–33	36
10.1	1, 35–36, 45, 152
10.2	35–36
10.3	1
10.5	34–36
10.8–9	122
10.9	36
10.11–12	35
10.12	36
10.12–13	36
11.4	36
11.4–5	35
11.5	35
12.20	43
15.8–12	36
15.25–28	35
15.30–32	60
15.31	35
15.33–34	35–36
20.23–29	36
22.16–17	35, 78
22.16–19	35
22.20–21	36
25.1	36
30.7–17	36
33.10–20	36
50.6–13	72

Letter of Aristeas

142	78
158	115

Liber antiquitatum biblicarum

3.1–3	54
19.7	54
22.8	54
26.13	54
26.15	54
53.3	54
53.4	54
60.1	54
60.1–3	18
60.2	54–55
60.3	123
62.2	54

Psalms of Solomon

4:13	160
12:28	160

Pseudo-Phocylides

147–148	110
---------	-----

Testament of Asher

1.9	52
2.9–10	51
4.5	51
6.5	52

Testament of Benjamin

3.3–4	51–52
3.5	52
5.1–2	51
5.2	1, 67
6.1	52
8.2–3	51, 116

Testament of Dan

1.7	52
5.1	52
5.6	51

Testament of Issachar

7.7	52
-----	----

Testament of Joseph

7.4	52
-----	----

Testament of Judah

14.2	51
16.1	52
20.1–2	52
23.1	52

Testament of Levi

5.6	52
9.7–14	51
9.9	51
10.3–5	51
16.3	136
18.12	52, 122, 156, 158
19.1	51

Testament of Naphtali

2.6	51
3.1	51
3.5	32, 52
8.4	52
8.6	52, 129

<i>Testament of Reuben</i>	5.11	61
3.3	51	61
5.3	51	61
5.6–7	52	61
	11.6	61
<i>Testament of Simeon</i>	12.3	61
3.5	52	61
4.9	52	61
5.3	51	61
6.6	52	61
	15.10	61
	15.14	61
	16.3	61
<i>Testament of Solomon</i>	18	61
2.3	61	61
3.6	61	61
5.3	61	61
5.7	61	29
	20.17	61
	26.5–6	61
	26.7	29

2.2 Qumran

1Q20 (1QapGen ^{ar})		III.13–IV.26	39, 45
2 5	126	III.15–17	45
		III.18–19	45, 47
1Qap Gen ^{ar}		III.20–22	45
II.1, 15–16	36	IV.10	46
IV.15–16	31	IV.12	37–38
XIX.10–XX.32	18	IV.16	45
XX.10	40	IV.16–18a	47
XX.15	40	IV.18–20	45, 47
XX.16	38, 40	IV.19	46
XX.17	38	IV.20	47
XX.18–19	40	IV.20–22	47
XX.19–21	40	IV.21	46
XX.24	40	IV.21–22	45–47, 71
XX.26	38, 40	IV.22	39, 47, 67, 171
XX.28	49	IV.22–23	47
XX.28–29	39–40	IV.23–24	45
XX.29	38, 84	IV.23–25	47
		IV.23b	47
		IV.24	45
1QS		IV.25	45
I.16–II.25	49	V.13–14	47, 78
I.18	38	V.19	46
I.23–24	38	VIII.12	38
II.5–10	83–84, 113	VIII.16	71
II.13–17	127	VIII.16–18	78
II.19	38	VIII.17–18	47
III.2–12	111	X.24	46
III.5–6	49	XI.1	38
III.5–9	47	XI.14	46

1Q28b		XI.24	126
I.8	38	XII.13	38
		XIV.21	38
1QM		XIV.22	47
I.1	48	XV.14–15	126
I.2	48	XX.7	47
I.5–7	48	XX.11–13	71
I.6–7	48	XX.25	46
I.14–16	48	XXII ^{bot} 6	38
III.9	48	XXIV ^{mid} 3	38
IV.1–2	48		
VII.3–6	49	2Q23	
VII.4–5	84	1 7	38
X.1–2	49		
XI.8–9	38	4Q159	
XI.10	38	1 II.6–7	113
XII.1–2	126		
XII.5	48	4Q177	
XIII	127	III.10	47
XIII.2	49	IV.4	47
XIII.4–5	39, 49		
XIII.4–6	48	4Q 179	
XIII.5	49	1 II.4	47
XIII.7–14	48		
XIII.10–12	37	4Q180	
XIII.10–13	39	1 7	38
XIII.11	38		
XIII.11–12	49	4Q181	
XIV.2	48	1 II.1	47
XIV.5	48		
XIV.9–10	49	4Q184	38
XIV.10	37		
XV.14	49	4Q196	
XVII.5–6	38, 126	14 I.12	37
XVII.18	48		
XVIII.4–5	48	4Q197	
		4 I.13	37
1Q34bis		4 II.9	37
3 II.6–7	71	4 II.13	37
1QH ^a		4Q201–4Q212	31
IV.19	47		
IV.25	38, 45	4Q225	
V.19	45	2 I.9	38
V.21–22	38	2 II.6	38
IX.22	46	2 II.13	38
X.34–35	43	2 II.14	38
XI.4	126		
XI.21	38	4Q242	18
		1 4	39

4Q244			4Q386	
12 2	37		1 III.4	37
CD ^a			4Q394	
II.1	46		8 IV.8–11	110
II.12	71		4Q395	
II.17–21	44		22–23	11
III.17	47		39–49	31
IV.15–18	39		75–82	31
V.18	38		4Q396	
VIII.5	47		II. 1–5	83–84, 113
XVI.5	38		III.4–7	83, 113
CD ^b			4Q403	
XIX.17	47		1 II.27	126
4Q266			4Q405	
6 I.5–13	7		23 I.11	126
4Q269			4Q416	
6 1	47		1 11	38
4Q270			4Q417	
2 I.10	38		2 I.17–18	38
4Q271			4Q418	
4 II.6	38		2 3	47
4Q274			2 4	45
1 I.1–4	84		43+44+45 I.13	45
4Q285	50		81 1–2	38
4Q286			81 2	45
7 I.3	49		4Q429	
7 I.6	49–50		2 I.12	47
7 II.1–2	38		4Q436	
7 II.1–4	127		1 I.10	43
7 II.1–12	39, 49		4Q444	29, 39, 45, 171
7 II.3–4	49		1–4i+5 I.2	44
7 II.5	50		1–4i+5 I.3	44
7 II.6	49		1–4i+5 I.4	44
7 II.7–8	50		1–4i+5 I.8	44
7 II.11–12	50		2 I.4 (GM&T)	44
7 II.13	50		6 3	44
4Q299				
6 II.7	38			

4Q458		XXVII.5–7	41
2 1.5	39	XXVII.9–10	37, 42
4Q495		11Q6	41–42
2	48		
4Q509		11Q11	42, 171
97–98 1.8–9	71	I.3–5	43
		I.7	39
4Q510	42	I.10	37
1 5	37–38	II.1–2	43
		II.2	39
4Q511	42	II.3–4	37, 39
1 6	38	II.4	38
10 1	38	II.5	43
35 7	38	III.1	43
48–49 + 51	44	III.4–11	43
		IV.1	39
4Q525		IV.5	43
21 6	47	IV.5–8	43
		IV.12	43
4Q541	42	V.4	39, 43
		V.12	37
4Q544		A 6	43
2 3	38	A 9	43
3 2	38		
4Q560	39, 171	11Q13	
1 1.1	38, 41, 125	II.12	38
1 1.2	41	II.12–13	39
1 1.3	38, 41	II.13	38
1 1.4	38, 41	II.13–14	158
1 1.5	38, 41	II.25	38
1 II.5–6	41	III.7	38, 158
1 II.6	41		
11Q5	39, 41, 44	11Q19	
XIX.14–16	43	XXVI.13	38
XIX.15	38, 43, 67	XLVI.16–18	84
		XLVIII.14–17	84
		LI.4–5	11

2.3 Philo

De Abrahamo

93–98 40

De Cherubim

95 14

100–101 14

De Decalogo

64 53

Quod Deterius

21 14

Quod Deus

8 14
128 13

De Ebrietate

143 14

De Fuga

174 78

De Gigantibus

6 52
8 52
16 53
17 53
60 53
60–61 53
65–66 53

Quis Heres

113 14

De Vita Mosis

2.68 13
2.139 14
2.149 14

De Mutatione Nominum

124 14

De Opificio Mundi

31 13

De Plantatione

14 53

Quaestiones in Genesin

2.82 53

De Somniis

1.138 53
1.140–141 53
1.157 53

De Specialibus Legibus

1.19 53
1.19–20 53
1.257–258 14
1.259–260 14
1.261 14
1.277 14
3.93 165
3.209 13

De Virtutibus

188 14

2.4 Josephus

Antiquitates Judaicae

1.41–42 35
1.75 14
3.264 84
3.278–279 15
4.114 14
4.139 78
6.120 14
6.166–169 18, 53
6.211 53
6.214 53
6.223 53
6.236 14
6.307 14
8.45 103

8.45–48 54
8.45–49 123
8.45–50 18
8.47 103
8.54 97
8.120 14
8.290 14
8.408 149
9.64–66 141
9.74 14
9.262 14
9.288–291 141
10.70 14
11.346–347 141
12.241 35

12.257–264	141	4.486–489	96
12.277	85	5.380–381	40
13.275–276	141	6.47	53
13.297	76	6.99	15
16.177	15	6.110	15
18.29–30	141	7.43	131
18.34–20.223	167	7.185	54
18.54	97		
18.117	47, 71	<i>Contra Apionem</i>	
19.315	14	1.281–282	84
19.331	14	1.282	84
20.118–136	141	2.198	14
20.166	15	2.202	14
		2.203	136
<i>Bellum Judaicum</i>		2.210	14
1.155–156	96	2.257	14
2.136	37, 40	2.261	14
2.232–246	141		
2.463	131	<i>Vita</i>	
2.477–480	131	79.5	14
4.241	15		

2.5 Rabbinic Texts

Mishnah		<i>m. 'Ohalot</i>	
<i>m. 'Abot</i>		18.6	136
5.6	55		
		<i>m. Šabbat</i>	
<i>m. Bekorot</i>		2.5	55, 56
7.5	55	7.2	72
		18.3	85
<i>m. Berakot</i>			
9.5	136	<i>m. Sanhedrin</i>	
		7.10–11	136
<i>m. 'Erubin</i>			
4.1	55, 56	<i>m. Šebi'it</i>	
		9.1	142
<i>m. Hullin</i>			
1.1	78	<i>m. Teharot</i>	
		4.5	136
<i>m. Miqwa'ot</i>		5.8	86
6.7	110	8.6	84, 113
<i>m. Nazir</i>		<i>m. Yadayim</i>	
7.1	141	3.2	76

4.6	11	<i>b. Ta'anit</i>	
		20b	58, 59
<i>m. Yoma</i>		23b	147
8.6–7	85		
<i>m. Zabim</i>		<i>b. Yoma</i>	
5.1, 6	86	77b	58–59
Babylonian Talmud		Jerusalem Talmud	
<i>b. 'Abodah Zarah</i>		<i>y. Berakot</i>	
27b	103	8.1	111
<i>b. Berakot</i>		<i>y. 'Erubin</i>	
16b	42	10.11.2	43, 56
60b	42	4.1.1–6	55
<i>b. Giṭṭin</i>		<i>y. Pe'ah</i>	
52a	129	8.9.5	55
70a	133		
		<i>y. Šabbat</i>	
<i>b. Ḥagigah</i>		1.3.2	55
3b	58	2.5.1	55
16a	55	6.2.7	43, 56
<i>b. Hullin</i>		Tosefta	
105b	129	<i>t. 'Abodah Zarah</i>	
107b	58, 59	1.16	55–56
<i>b. Me'ilah</i>		<i>t. Baba Qamma</i>	
17b	55	7.6	56
		9.27	55
<i>b. Niddah</i>		<i>t. Bekorot</i>	
17a	58	5.3	55
<i>b. Pesahim</i>		<i>t. Berakot</i>	
112b	55	5.26	111
		6.10	115
<i>b. Sanhedrin</i>		6.19	136
43a	136		
65b	57–58	<i>t. 'Erubin</i>	
74a	39	3.8	55–56
<i>b. Šebu'ot</i>		<i>t. Hullin</i>	
15b	43, 56	2.22–23	103
<i>b. Šotah</i>		<i>t. Ta'anit</i>	
3a	25, 58	2.12	55–56

Other Rabbinic Works

Exodus Rabbah

52.4 61

Genesis Rabbah

31.6 36

Midrash Tehillim (Psalms)

91 43

Numbers Rabbah

7.1 113

7.5 85

9.12 25, 59

19.8 29, 58

Pesiqta Rabbati

6.7 61

14.12[ET 14.14] 29, 58

Pesiqta de Rab Kahana

4.7 29, 57–58

Sipra

2.1 55

9.5 55

Sipre Deuteronomy

173 56–57

193 55

258 136

313 56

318 55

321 55

355 55

Sipre Numbers

40 56

105 84

Tanhuma

5.12 113

26 29, 58

Tanhuma Leviticus

5.10 85

Zohar

1.54a 55

2.6 Targumic Texts

Targum Jonathan

Zechariah

13:2 28

Targum Onkelos

Deuteronomy

23:2–4 113

2.7 Jewish Magical Texts

Ed. Isbell		<i>Bowls</i>	
47.3	19	13.17	19
		13.22	19
Ed. Naveh/Shaked		25.3	19, 46 (lines 2–3)
<i>Amulets</i>			
13.11	19		

3. Early Christian Literature

Augustine		4.10	62
<i>De Civitate Dei</i>		4.13	63
6.9	66	4.14	63
7.14	66	5.13	63
7.27	66	6.6–7	63
8.24	66	8.7	63
		9	62
Clement of Alexandria		9.4	63
<i>Protrepticus</i>		9.4–5	62
3	65	9.6	63
		10.1–12	62
<i>Stromata</i>		10.2	63
2.20	65	10.12	63
		11.1	63
Cyprian		12.4	63
<i>Epistulae</i>		13.1	62
51.27	66	14.1	62
75.15–16	66	16.7	62, 65
		16.7–8	63
Cyril of Jerusalem		18.1	63
<i>Procatechesis</i>			
9	65	Eusebius	
		<i>Vita Constantini</i>	
Didascalia Apostolorum		3.26–27	66
26	62		
		Gospel of Thomas	
Didache		14	105
1.1–5.2	62	39.1	142
17.2	63	89	142
Epistle of Barnabas		Irenaeus	
2.6	62–63	<i>Adversus Haereses</i>	
2.9	63	1.13.3	64
2.10	63	1.16.3	65
4.9	63	2.6.2	64

2.32.4	64
2.49.3	64
3.8.2	65
4.20.4	65
4.41.1	64
5.26.2	64

<i>Proof of the Apostolic Preaching</i>	
96	64

Ignatius	
<i>To the Smyrnaeans</i>	
2	62

Justin Martyr	
<i>Apologia I</i>	
5	64
9	64
14	64
18.4	63–64
26	64, 136
30	136
44	64
54	64
56	136
57	64
58	64

<i>Apologia II</i>	
1.2	64
5.3	63
6.6	64
13	64

<i>Dialogus cum Tryphone</i>	
7.3	136
30	64
30.2–3	63
69.7	136
76	64
76.6	63
82.3	64
83	64
85	64
85.3	64
93.1	64
108	136

<i>Hortatory Address to the Greeks</i>	
21	63

Minucius Felix	
<i>Octavius</i>	
27	65

Novatian	
<i>De cibis Judaicis</i>	
5	74

Origen	
<i>Commentarium in Evangelium Matthaei</i>	
11.12.36–39	73

<i>Contra Celsum</i>	
1.6	136
1.28	136
1.68	136
1.71	136
2.32	136
2.48–49	136

Shepherd of Hermas	
<i>Mandate</i>	
5.1.1–3	63
6.2.3	63
6.2.3–4	63
6.2.5	63
10.2.4–6	63

<i>Similitude</i>	
9.17.1–9.18.4	63
9.22.3	63
9.23.5	63

Tertullian	
<i>Apologeticus</i>	
23	66
37	66

<i>De Cultu Feminarum</i>	
2.6	65

<i>De Idololatria</i>	
IV	33

<i>De Pudicitia</i>	
5	65
10	65

4. Other Ancient Sources

Bentresh-Stela		Papyri Graecae Magicae	
4–28	18	4:745	163
		4:1229	163
Diogenes Laertius		4:2735	163
<i>Philosophoi Biol</i>			
6.63	116	Papyrus Egerton	
		2.43–48	84
Herodotus			
<i>Historiae</i>		Papyrus Oxyrhynchus	
1.34, 2	164	1223.29	97
7.14, 1	164	4624.19	97
Homer		Philostratus	
<i>Odyssea</i>		<i>Vita Apollonii</i>	
5.394–398	18	IV. 20	84
<i>Ilias</i>		Plato	
10.496	163	<i>Symposium</i>	
23.106	164	202d–203a	52
Lucian of Samosata		Plutarch	
<i>Toxaris</i>		<i>De Superstitione</i>	172
24	133		
<i>Philopseudes</i>		Porphry	
16	133	<i>Contra Christianos</i>	
		49.5	1

Index of Modern Authors

- Achtemeier PJ 82, 85
 Ådna J 21, 94–96, 113
 Aland K 118, 134
 Albertz R 24
 Alexander L 61
 Alexander P 5, 20, 36–37, 39, 55
 Alexander WM 20
 Allen WC 4, 74–75, 118, 130, 135, 166
 Allison DC 70, 109–110, 114–115,
 118–124, 126, 128–131, 135, 184
 Andersen FI 26, 31
 Anderson AA 37
 Anderson H 73, 79
 André G 11
 Annen F 21, 94–96
 Arnold CE 177
 Aune DE 19–20, 119
 Avalos H 7
- Bacchiocchi S 108
 Bailey JL 83
 Baldwin JG 27–28
 Balz H 122, 164
 Banks R 141
 Barclay W 80
 Barnard LW 62–63
 Barr J 10
 Barrett CK 18, 147, 157,
 Bartlett DL 19
 Bauckham R 108, 141–142
 Bauer U 117, 118, 167
 Bauer W 90
 Baumgarten A 77
 Baumgarten JM 38
 Beale GK 29, 60
 Beavis MA 69
 Beck RR 91
 Becker J 50
 Becker M 36–37, 40, 55, 57
 Behm J 78
 Belkin S 14
 Belo F 91
 Bergemann T 128
 Berger K 2, 75, 123
 Berkhof H 177
 Best E 69, 90, 120
- Betz HD 19, 109–110, 167
 Bieder W 53
 Billerbeck P 1, 125
 Black CC 21
 Black M 31, 33–34, 111, 182
 Blackburn BL 134
 Blass F 73, 143, 184
 Blenkinsopp JA 26
 Blomberg CL 129, 141
 Boccaccini G 35, 51
 Böcher O 1, 4–5, 18, 84, 87, 102, 119,
 161–162, 164
 Bock DL 140, 164
 Bockmuehl M 15, 27, 36–37, 74, 111,
 117, 131, 136, 141–142
 Bolt PG 19
 Bonner C 33–34
 Booth RP 70, 72–73, 76, 111
 Botterweck GJ 100
 Bourquin Y 22
 Bovon F 141, 145, 152–154, 162–164
 Branscomb BH 2, 69, 73, 75
 Braude WG 57–58
 Breytenbach C 43
 Briggs CA 24
 Broadhead EK 20, 78, 81, 98
 Broadus JA 3
 Brooks JA 69, 74–75, 99
 Brown RE 117
 Bruggen J van 74
 Bultmann R 75, 80, 83, 90, 92, 94–95,
 105, 111, 118, 130, 145
 Burger C 117, 134
 Bursey EJ 119, 125, 135
 Busse U 154, 164
 Butterworth M 28
- Cadbury HJ 140
 Caird GB 177
 Caquot A 40
 Carleton Paget J 63
 Carlston CE 77
 Casey PM 82, 105
 Cassidy RJ 140
 Cave CH 96
 Charette B 118

- Charles RH 31–34, 50
 Charlesworth JH 41, 45–47, 123
 Chary T 30
 Chazon EG 44, 48
 Chilton B 8, 19, 21–22, 81–82, 85,
 91–92, 96–97, 111, 123
 Choksy JK 66
 Clarke WN 3
 Cohen SJD 86
 Collins JJ 31, 33, 38–39, 45, 66
 Conrad EW 28
 Conybeare FC 177
 Conzelmann H 140, 148
 Cope L 185
 Cousland JRC 98, 130, 136, 138
 Cranfield CEB 70, 76, 81, 92, 94
- Dahl N 143
 Dana HE 129
 D'Angelo MR 85
 Daniélou J 50
 Danker FW 99, 140, 159
 Davidson MJ 31, 34, 37–38, 43–45,
 47–48
 Davies SL 2
 Davies WD 109–110, 114–115,
 118–124, 126, 128–131, 135, 184
 Day PL 43, 125
 Debrunner A 73, 143, 184
 Deines R 112
 Delcor M 30
 Delitzsch 89
 Denaux A 128
 Derrett JDM 74, 142
 DeSilva DA 144
 Devisch M 70
 Dewey J 72
 Dobschütz E von 109
 Donahue JR 69, 82, 93
 Donaldson TL 108
 Douglas M 10, 32
 Downing FG 182, 185
 Draper J 63
 Duhaime J 48
 Duhm H 24
 Duling DC 61, 123, 130
 Dunn JDG 2, 18, 20, 70, 72, 108
 Dupont-Sommer A 39, 40, 46
- Edwards JR 69, 78–79, 82, 91, 97–98
 Eichrodt W 5
 Eitrem S 2, 18, 84, 177
 Elliott MA 33
 Ellis EE 140, 163
 Endres JC 35
 Ernst J 97, 104–105
 Eshel E 41–42
 Esler PF 140
 Evans CA 8, 69, 81, 87, 91, 102, 142,
 143, 153–156, 158, 160, 163
 Evans CF 140–141, 158
 Eve ECS 6, 18, 122
- Fabry HJ 24, 37–38, 46
 Farmer WR 182–183
 Farrar AM 182
 Feldman LC 54
 Ferguson E 52, 62, 177
 Fisher LR 123
 Fitzmyer JA 39–40, 102, 140–143, 145,
 148–149, 152–156, 160, 162–164
 Fleddermann HT 182
 Flint PW 41
 Flis KJ 1
 Floyd MH 27–28
 Flusser D 41–44, 51, 110
 Focant C 100
 Foerster W 106, 167, 177
 Fowler RM 22, 101
 France RT 2, 69, 91, 94, 97–98
 Freedman DN 26
 Frey J 45, 48
 Fridrichsen A 147
 Friedrichsen TA 154
 Frye RM 21
 Funk RW 83, 143
- Gaechter P 125, 131
 García Martínez F 39, 41, 44, 46, 48–49
 Garland DE 129
 Garrett SR 19–20, 140, 147–148, 157,
 167
 Gaster TH 5, 133
 Gaston L 87–88, 125
 Geddert TJ 82, 99
 Gerhardsson B 114–115, 119, 121, 131
 Giesen H 115
 Gignac FT 73

- Giles K 108
 Gillihan YM 16–17, 32
 Gnlika J 2, 70 72–73, 75–76, 79–81, 85,
 88, 90, 94–95, 97, 100, 104–105, 114,
 124, 184
 Goodspeed EJ 63
 Gould EP 2, 73, 158
 Goulder M 182
 Gray GB 25
 Green JB 148, 164
 Green HB 182
 Green WS 5
 Gronewald M 84
 Grundmann W 69–70, 74–75, 94, 98,
 104, 130
 Guelich RA 70, 72, 75, 78, 85, 89–90,
 93, 95, 97, 100, 104–105, 158
 Gundry RH 21, 69–70, 73, 75–76, 79,
 81–85, 88–90, 92, 94–95, 102, 114–116,
 118, 120, 122, 124, 126, 128–131,
 134–135, 151, 183–184
 Gunn DM 26

 Haag H 5
 Haenchen DE 2, 105, 147
 Hagner DA 108–109, 112, 115, 119,
 129, 134–135, 184–185
 Hall RG 35
 Hamerton-Kelly RG 91
 Hamilton VP 5
 Hanson JS 72
 Hanson PD 26, 31
 Harding J 61
 Hare DRA 81–82, 85, 99, 115
 Harrington DJ 54, 109, 115, 134–135
 Harrington HK 10, 37, 39, 78
 Harvey AE 18
 Harvey WW 64–65
 Hauck F 3, 10, 12, 14–17, 144
 Hawkins JC 87
 Hayes C 31, 36
 Hays RB 173
 Head PM 94
 Held HJ 114–115, 122, 130, 133–134
 Hengel M 100, 131, 182–185
 Henten JW van 167
 Hieke T 117, 118, 167
 Hillers DR 5
 Himmelfarb M 32
 Hoffmann LRA 2

 Hoffmann P 117, 118, 125, 137, 162,
 167, 183–184
 Hollander HW 50, 51
 Hooker MD 2, 81, 83, 85, 88, 92–93,
 98–99
 Horbury W 60, 113, 133, 136
 House C 144
 Houston W 74
 Hübner H 144
 Hull JM 19–20, 114–115, 118–119, 146,
 149, 173
 Hulse EV 84
 Hultgård A 51
 Hurtado LW 3, 99
 Hvalik R 63

 Iersel BMF van 69, 71
 Isaac E 31, 33
 Isaacs ME 38
 Isbell CD 19

 Jacobson H 54
 Jahnow H 87
 Janowski B 52
 Jastrow M 46
 Jensen PP 6, 10, 11
 Jeremias J 15, 16, 72, 75, 96, 126, 130,
 136, 163
 Jervell J 50, 140, 143, 145, 165
 Johnson LT 140, 151, 154, 158
 Johnson SE 3
 Jones AH 31
 Jones HS 12, 53, 115
 Jones RN 84
 Jonge M de 50, 51
 Juel D 82

 Kahl B 86
 Kahl W 18, 83, 119
 Kampling R 18
 Kapstein IJ 57–58
 Kazen T 5–6, 25, 28, 84, 86, 111
 Keck LE 93
 Kee HC 19, 40, 69, 119, 134, 164
 Keener CS 87, 108, 114–115, 118, 123,
 134, 136
 Kelber WH 81–82, 98
 Kermode F 22, 69
 Kertelge K 82, 85, 90, 93–94, 100, 103
 Kilgallen JJ 159–60, 161

- Kingsbury JD 22, 108, 127
 Kirchschräger W 1, 140, 152, 177
 Klawans J 10, 25, 39, 78
 Kleinknecht H 1
 Kloppenborg JS 125, 137, 162, 183–184
 Kloppenborg Verbin JS 128, 156, 183
 Klostermann E 3, 74, 76, 95, 100, 104, 119
 Klutz TE 7–8, 18
 Knibb MA 31–34, 45
 Kobelski PJ 48–49
 Koch D-A 90, 92, 94–95, 100, 103
 Koch R 24
 Koskeniemi E 19, 134
 Kovacs JL 20
 Kuemmerlin-McLean JK 5
 Kvalbein H 108, 121
- Lachs ST 111, 160
 Lacocque A 26
 Lagrange PM-J 3, 73, 81, 133
 Lake K 62–63
 Lamarche P 28
 Lambrecht J 72
 Lampe GWH 148
 Lane WL 69, 75, 79, 81, 92, 95, 97–99
 Lange A 27–30, 34, 37, 42
 Langton E 5, 66
 Larkin KJA 28, 30
 Laufen R 128
 Leaney ARC 45–46, 140, 145, 163–164
 Légasse S 97
 Leisegang H von 148
 Lenski RCH 74–75
 Leon HJ 108
 Lesky E 133
 Levine BA 5, 10–11, 25, 99
 Lewis TJ 125
 Licht J 47
 Lichtenberger H 43
 Liddell HG 12, 53, 115
 Lindars B 20
 Lindström F 24
 Loader WRG 130
 Lohmeyer E 69–70, 73, 76, 80, 91, 97, 100, 105
 Loos H van der 164
 Louw JP 17, 77
- Lövestam AE 123
 Lowrie W 3
 Lührmann D 70, 73, 80, 90, 92, 94–95, 100, 104–105
 Luz U 93, 95, 108–109, 112, 114, 121, 123–125, 129–133, 135–136, 138, 184–185
 Lys D 24, 28
- Mach M 5, 37, 42
 Mack BL 69, 83
 Maier J 5
 Mainville O 148
 Malbon ES 22, 81, 101, 129
 Mánek J 154
 Mann CS 4
 Mansfield MR 87
 Manson TW 157
 Mantey JR 129
 Marcus J 4, 21, 69–70, 72, 75–76, 80, 84, 86, 90–98, 100, 104–105, 125
 Marguerat D 22
 Marshall CD 85
 Marshall IH 140, 143, 153, 156–157, 164
 Martin DB 14
 Marxsen W 69
 Mastin BA 167
 Matson M 110
 Maynard AH 90
 McCarter PK 24
 McCasland SV 18
 McNicol AJ 182
 Meier JP 94, 174
 Menzies RP 148–149, 157
 Merrill EH 27–28
 Metzger BM 60, 73, 94, 125, 133, 155
 Meyer HAW 74
 Meyer R 10
 Meyers CL 27–28, 30
 Meyers EM 27–28, 30
 Meynet R 159
 Michaels JR 88
 Michie D 22
 Milgrom J 5, 10–11, 25, 32, 39, 46, 78, 84–86, 99
 Milik JT 31, 33–34, 50
 Minde H-J van der 78
 Mitchell HG 28
 Mitton CL 80

- Moessner DP 154
 Molenberg C 31
 Moore SD 22
 Morgenthaler R 87, 183
 Morison J 74
 Moskala J 11, 74
 Mounce RH 60
 Müller P 2, 91
 Muraoka T 12
 Myers C 81–82, 85, 96

 Naveh J 19, 46
 Neiryneck F 87, 101, 145, 154, 179
 Neusner J 5, 10, 56, 111–112
 Neve L 24
 Newton M 39
 Neyrey JH 77, 83, 184
 Nickelsburg GWE 30–33, 54
 Nida EA 17, 77
 Nineham DE 3, 81, 105
 Nitzan B 42, 44, 48–50, 127
 Noack B 177
 Nolland J 109, 145, 152, 154–156, 163–164
 Noordtzijs A 46

 Oegema GS 19
 Osiek C 63
 Osten-Sacken P von der 48
 Ottosson M 126
 Otzen B 26–28
 Overman JA 108

 Paffenroth K 141, 144, 146
 Page SHT 2, 5, 9, 19, 177
 Painter J 81, 84, 102
 Pao DW 154
 Park EC 135
 Parsons MC 140, 144
 Peake AS 25
 Penney DL 38, 41, 125
 Perrin N 21–22, 72
 Pervo RI 140
 Pesch R 2, 69–70, 72, 75, 78, 82, 84, 89–90, 92–95, 97, 99–101, 104–105, 122, 164
 Petersen DL 26–28, 30
 Peterson DN 69
 Philonenko M 50
 Pimentel P 2, 87–88

 Pixner B 94
 Ploeg J van der 41–42
 Plumer E 20
 Poirier JC 144
 Polzin R 43
 Powell MA 22
 Prabhu GMS 117
 Preisendanz K 172
 Preisigke F von 149
 Preisker H 96
 Preuss HD 5
 Pryke J 45
 Pryke EJ 72–73, 75, 80, 87, 92, 95

 Qimron E 32, 45

 Rabinowitz LI 55
 Räisänen H 76, 85
 Redditt PL 27–28, 30
 Reese DG 19
 Rehkopf F 73, 184
 Reiling J 1, 2
 Rengstorf KH 163
 Repschinski B 111, 121, 124, 138
 Rhoads D 22
 Rice EW 2
 Richardson A 69, 83, 98
 Richardson P 108
 Ridderbos H 111
 Riesner R 126, 131
 Ringgren H 5, 11, 19, 38
 Robertson AT 73–74
 Robinson JM 90, 125, 137, 162, 183–184
 Ropes JH 182
 Rousseau JJ 18
 Russell EA 132

 Sæbø M 28
 Saldarini AJ 108
 Sanders EP 10, 74, 76–78, 110–112, 136
 Sanders JA 41–43
 Sariola H 72, 75, 84
 Schenke L 82, 90, 93, 95, 100
 Schereschewsky B-Z 32
 Schlatter A 182
 Schmidt KL 92, 94, 105
 Schmithals W 72, 80, 88, 95, 105
 Schmoller A 118
 Schneemelcher W 61

- Schniewind J 114
 Schoemaker WR 24
 Schürer E 96, 115
 Schürmann H 102, 154, 156, 164
 Schweizer E 3, 70, 73, 80, 82, 92,
 94–95, 105, 114, 135, 148–149, 164
 Scott R 12, 53, 115
 Seesemann H 70
 Seifrid MA 145
 Sekki AE 37, 47
 Seybold K 79
 Shaked S 19, 46
 Shepherd T 81–82, 85, 129
 Sigal P 108, 113
 Sim DC 108
 Slingerland HD 50
 Smith JP 64
 Smith M 19–20, 125, 134
 Sorensen E 7, 8, 18, 25, 39, 62, 158
 Stanton GN 108, 119, 125–126, 128,
 136
 Stein RH 21, 69, 82, 94, 141, 145, 152,
 154, 156–158, 162–164
 Stemberger G 55–57, 141
 Sterling GE 19, 133
 Stock A 21, 73, 82, 88
 Strack, HL 1, 125
 Strange JF 79
 Strecker G 22, 110
 Streeter BH 70
 Struckenbruck LT 35, 39
 Stuhlmacher P 108
 Suter DW 31
 Svartvik J 96–97, 98, 142
 Sweeney MA 27–28
 Swete HB 3–4, 73, 91

 Talbert CH 153
 Tannehill RC 140, 153–154, 156, 158,
 164
 Tatum WB 148
 Taylor V 3, 8, 69–70, 73, 79, 88, 90, 92,
 94–95, 97–98, 100, 105
 Telford WR 81–83
 Theissen G 69, 83, 85, 88, 94–96, 100,
 114, 133–135
 Thompson RC 4, 161, 163
 Thyen H 16
 Tiede DL 141, 158

 Tigchelaar EJC 39, 41, 44, 46, 48–49
 Tomson PJ 10, 74, 76, 78
 Tov E 45
 Treves M 45
 Trilling W 130
 Trunk D 114
 Turner CH 4, 73
 Turner MMB 148–149
 Twelftree GH 1–3, 18–20, 40, 81–82, 85,
 114, 117, 119, 134, 146, 149, 162–164

 Ulrichsen JH 51
 Unger DJ 65
 Unger MF 28

 Van Ruiten JTAGM 35
 Van Tilborg S 108
 Vander Broek LD 83
 VanderKam JC 34
 Vermes G 39, 46–47, 49
 Versnel HS 52, 172
 Via DO 21
 Vogel M 54
 Volz P 25, 29

 Wacholder BZ 41
 Wahlen CL 143
 Wall RW 158–159
 Wallace DB 74
 Wanke G 5
 Waschke EJ 153
 Waszink JH 133
 Watts RE 96
 Wehnert J 74
 Weiss B 74, 135
 Weiss K 164
 Wellhausen J 74, 119
 Wenham GJ 10, 25
 Westermann C 24
 Wernberg-Møller P 45
 Whitacre RA 20
 Williams JF 90, 92, 101
 Wilson GH 41
 Wilson SG 141, 143
 Wink W 177
 Wintermute OS 34, 35
 Wise MO 38, 41, 125

Witherington B 69, 84–85, 92, 99,
143–144, 147, 161–163, 167
Wolff HW 26
Woude AS van der 41
Wrede W 85, 97
Wright DP 10–11, 25, 84

Yadin Y 34, 48, 86
Yamauchi E 4, 18, 85
Young BH 113
Zerwick M 74
Ziesler JA 147

Index of Subjects and Key Terms

- akathartos* 12–13, 16
 Angels 35, 37–38, 44, 49–50, 52–53, 56, 60–61
 — of destruction 37, 67
 Animals (*see also* dogs, swine)
 — clean (defilement of) 77–78, 143
 — sacrificial 82, 84
 — unclean 36, 67, 96, 111, 143
 — wild 52, 55, 60, 96
 Apostasy 48, 50, 64, 170
 Apostolic Decree 74, 144
 Apotropaic/Exorcisory measures 18, 40, 42–43, 53–56, 61, 133, 167, 171
 Asaph, Book of 36
 Asmodaios 30
 Authority (of Markan Jesus) 91–93, 105
 Azazel 38
- Babylon 66, (metaphorical) 59–60
 Baptism
 — of suffering 71
 — spirit 71, 79, 86
 — water 62, 64, 70–71
 Barnabas, Epistle of 62–63, 172
 Beelzebul/Beelzebub 41, 87, 89, 123, 125–127, 136, 151, 177
 Belial/Beliar 38, 49–52, 127
 — army of 48
 — nets of 39
 — sons of 48
 — titles of 50
 Boundaries 32, 36, 39, 67, 126
 — in Israel 110, 112, 117
 — social 117, 132, 138, 143–44
- Capernaum 89, 92, 145
 Christianity
 — Jewish practices in 74, 108
 — relation to Gentiles 110, 143–44
 — relation to Judaism 108, 174–75
 Christology
 — Markan 92, 103, 105, 107
 — Matthean 109, 117, 121–22, 128, 138
 Circumcision 36, 62
 Cursing 44, 48–49, 82
- daimôn* 52–54, 63, 122
daimonion 89, 120, 125, 143, 152, 165
 David 26, 123–24, (house of) 20
 Decapolis 79, 94, 96–98, 100
 Defilement
 — moral 41, 51
 — ritual 72, 76–77, 85, 141–42
 Delphi, Oracle of 167
 Demon-Possession
 — and disease 4–5, 9, 164
 — and false prophecy 6, 28, 54, 60, 64, 167
 — and human will 55, 57–59, 65, 172
 Demons
 — and disease *see* Disease
 — banishment of 40, 46, 49, 63, 94, 151–152, 164
 — chief of 118, 126, 138
 — fear of 53, 172
 — in the HB 5, 11–12
 Devil *see* Satan
 Discipleship 95, 97, 103, 105, 110, 121, 133–37, 142, 153
 Disease 4–5, 7, 9, 36, 38, 40–41, 53–56, 65, 102, 133, 162, 164
 Dogs 100, 110, 132
 Dualism 42–43, 44–45, 51–53, 55, 67
- ekballein* 88–89, 120
 Eleazer (the exorcist) 54
 Eliezer b. Hyrcanus 141
 Ephesus 167
 Epilepsy 133, 162
 Evil inclination 43–44, 56, 66–67
 Exodus 96–99, 121, 138, 154, 157–58, 165
 Exorcism
 — as healing 150, 153, 161–163, 169, 173
 — form 83
 — in Acts 145, 165–167
 — in Christianity 62–64, 66
 — in Judaism 39–41, 54, 67, 69
 — in Luke 144, 150–165

- in Mark 81, 83–84, 87–88, 104, 172–73
- in Matthew 118–135, 138, 173
- in paganism 84, 163
- techniques of 153, 167
- terminology of 81, 88–89, 120, 134, 149–151, 155, 168, 170
- Faith 133–34, 144, 146–47
- Fasting 58
- Feeding stories 79, 98–100, 173
- Food
 - and idolatry 74, 78
 - and impurity 72, 80, 141, 144
 - holy 112
 - laws 73, 77–78, 114, 172, (ethically applied) 51, 62
- Gadara 121
- Galilee 92–94
- Gentiles
 - and impure food 78–79
 - demons 29, 56, 60, 63–64, 100–2,
 - impurity of 36, 67, 96, 122
 - intermarriage with 28, 36–37, 170 149
 - Jesus and 72
 - Lukan Jesus and 143, 145
 - Markan Jesus and 79, 82, 86, 97–101
 - Matthean Jesus and 110, 130, 136, 139, 172–73
- Gerasa (or Gergesa) 94, 101
- Ghosts (or bodiless demons) 53–54, 58, 62–63, 172
- Giants 31–33, 53–54, 66
- Gnosticism 6
- Graves 58, 65, 96
- Halakhah*
 - food, *see* food, laws
 - Pharisaic 72–73, 75, 78, 86, 106, 111–12, 141
 - Sabbath 55, 72, 76, 84–85
- Hands (*see also* Touch)
 - unwashed 58–59, 73, 75–76, 112
 - washing of 77, 79, 111
- Healing
 - in Luke-Acts 144–147, 150, 163–166
 - in Mark 83–86
 - in Matthew 114–117, 119, 135
- Hermas 63
- Holiness 11, 57, 91
 - transmitting of 113, 127
- Holy war 91
- horkizō* 18, 152
- Human nature
 - divinization of 53
 - purification of 47, 67
 - sinfulness of 46
- Idolatry (*see also* Food)
 - associated with demons 33–34, 36, 60–62, 64–67, 149
 - associated with impurity 28, 68
- Immortality 25–26, 51, 65
- Imprecations, *see* Cursing
- Impurity
 - and demon-possession 7–8
 - and disease 83–84
 - as moral evil 2, 49, 52
 - corpse 83, 110, 115, 146
 - definition of 11, 36
 - *Niddah* 46, 85–86, 115–16, 146
- Incantations against demons 40–42, 64
- Insanity 58, 64, 104–5, 152
- Intention (moral) 16, 51, 74
- Israel
 - as a ‘family’ 100, 113, 129
 - boundaries of 96, 126
 - in relation to Gentiles 112
 - in relation to spirits/demons 63, 168, 171
 - membership in 85, 88, 107, 110
 - restoration of 85, 99, 106, 127, 136–37, 171
- Jerusalem 167, (heavenly) 60
- Jesus (*see also* Gentiles, Food, Impurity)
 - as Son of God 94, 117, 122, 148
 - in Luke (*see also* power) 141, 145
 - in Mark (*see also* authority) 70, 78, 82, 84–86, 94, 99, 102–104
 - in Matthew 114, 126–27, 130, 133, 137
- Jesus, name of 64, 103, 147, 167
- John, Gospel of 20, 105
- John the Baptist 70, 90, 109, 123–24, 128, 135, 137

- Joseph 51
 Josephus
 — and demons 53–54, 172
 — and purity 14–15
 Judaism 108, 111
 Judgement 128–29, 138, 153, 159
 Justin Martyr 63
- koinos/koinō* 16, 76–77, 110, 143–44
- Land of Israel 27–28, 30
 Leaven 80–81, 142
 Legion 96–97, 153
 Leprosy 7, 83–85, 114–15
 Lilith 38
- Magic (*see also* Cursing, Incantations)
 19–20, 25, 40, (and Acts) 165, 167
 (and Luke) 146–47, (and Matthew)
 115, 118–19, 122, 136
 Magicians (of Egypt) 60, 160
Mamzerim 31, 44
 Mastema 35, 38
 Mediums/Fortune-telling 52, 58, 167
 Melchiresha^c 38
 mixed unions/miscegenation 31, 36,
 66–67, 170
 Moses 124, 157
- Noah, Book of 32, 36
 Novatian 74
- Origen 73
- Passover 16, 81
 Paul 16–17, 60, 74, 87, 177
 Persian 59, 66
 Pharisees 80, 112 (*see also Halakhah*)
 Philippi 167
 Philo
 — and demons 52–53, 67, 171–72
 — and purity 13–14
 Plato 52
 Plutarch 185
 Power (of Lukan Jesus) 146–149, 151,
 158, 163
 Prayer 40, 48, 82
 Prince of Light 37, 45
 Prophets 12, 28–29, 53
 Purification 30, 47, 113
 — of the body 76, 84
 — of the Church 63
 — of Israel 83
 — rituals of 57, 61, 71, 75–77
 — waters of 30, 45–47, 66, 70–71
- Purity
 — and Jesus (in Luke) 142
 (in Mark) 85, (in Matthew) 113
 — in Luke-Acts 141–147
 — in Mark 69–86, 106–7
 — in Matthew 109–117
 — Jesus and 8, 77
 — relation to holiness 10–11, 15
 — ritual vs. moral 12–16, 35, 39, 47,
 51, 62, 84, 110–11, 113, 116, 141,
 146, 168, 173–74
- Python 167
- Q 129, 137, 144, 151, 159, 183–185
 — and Mark 69–70, 104, 182–184
- Qumran
 — and demons 37–38
 — and purity 39, 88
- Red Heifer 57
 Redaction Criticism 20–22, 69–70, 106
 — Matthean vs. Markan 110, 114,
 116–17, 119, 133
- Sabbath 113, 129, 134, 141
 Salvation 114–15, 126, 142, 145–46,
 153, 169, 173
 Samaria 166–67
 Samaritans 110, 136, 141, 143, 146,
 148, 166
 Samuel 54
 Satan 38, 60, 87, 125–26, 148, 151,
 164–65, 177
 — as personal being 43, 52
 — as tempter 64, 172,
 — chief of demons 126, 138
 — fall of 156–158, 173,
 — punishment of 153
- Saul 26, 54
 Sea of Galilee 79, 94, 96–98
 Secrecy 93, 97
Šemihazah 31
 Signs 60, 79, 156–58, 166
 — and wonders 165
 Solomon 54, 61, 123, 129, 160

- Sons (of light, of darkness) 48
- Spirit (see also Baptism)
- holy 45, 47, 57, 62–63, 66, 104, 117, 124, 128, 146–148, 157, 159–60, 165, 169
 - of purity 57–58
 - of truth 46–47
- Spirits
- in Luke-Acts 140, 148–150
 - in Mark 86–87
 - in Matthew 117–118
 - with substance 45, 65
- Spirits (evil) 2, 53–54, 64, 140, 149
- effecting the divine will 40–41, 58
 - in the HB 26, 68
 - in Luke 87, 166, 168
 - origins of 32–33, 38, 40–41, 54–55, 63, 170,
- Spirits (impure)
- as associated with impurity 3–4, 57, 152, 161, 170
 - as demons 2–3, 35, 152
 - as evil angels 63
 - indwelling of 47, 57, 63, 65, 67, 129
 - usage of 1, 86–88, 92–93, 106, 122, 152, 168, 170
- Suffering (demon-induced) 41, 57–58, 60, 66, 164–65, 169
- and defilement 25
 - and cardinal sins 39, 63
- Swine 65, 94–96, 122, 153
- Teachings (*see also* Pharisees, *halakhah*)
- false 62, 64, 67, 76
 - messianic (in Mark) 71–72, 80, 82–83, 86, 90–91, 106
- Temple 49, 61
- and impurity 113, 141
 - in Acts 147
 - in Mark 81–82, 106
 - in Matthew 112–13
 - metaphorical 62–63, 129
- Theios Anēr* 19, 134, 147
- Theophrastus 172
- Touch 40, 46
- in Luke 144–146, 162
 - in Mark 84, 86
 - in Matthew 111, 113, 115–16
- Two Document Hypothesis 22, 69, 108, 179, 182–184
- Two Gospel Hypothesis 182
- ‘Two Ways’ 45, 62–63
- Watchers 31–32, 35, 38–39, 52–53, 55, 66, 170
- Wilderness 90, 98
- Yohanan b. Zakkai 57–58
- Zion 82, 110

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

Alphabetical Index of the First and Second Series

- Ådna, Jostein*: Jesu Stellung zum Tempel. 2000. *Volume II/119*.
- Ådna, Jostein and Kvalbein, Hans* (Ed.): The Mission of the Early Church to Jews and Gentiles. 2000. *Volume 127*.
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Angel of the Lord. 1985. *Volume 36*.
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Matthew's Gospel. *Volume III/177*.
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Roman Corinth. 2003. *Volume III/151*.
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Volume 2 1997. *Volume II/80*.
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biblische Exegese. 1995. *Volume II/71*.
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in Hebrews. 2003. *Volume III/160*.
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Acts in the Period before Irenaeus. 2003.
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Jerusalemers Tempels. 2002. *Volume 147*.
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in Its Graeco-Roman Context. 2003.
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- see *Feldmeier, Reinhard*.
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- *Kreuz und Weisheit*. 2003. *Volume 159*.
- see Hofius, Otfried.
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- Klein, Hans: see Dunn, James D.G..
- Kleinknecht, Karl Th.: *Der leidende Gerechtfertigte*. 1984, ²1988. *Volume II/13*.
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- see Walter, Nikolaus.
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- : see Hengel, Martin.
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- Luomanen, Petri: Entering the Kingdom of Heaven. 1998. *Volume III/101*.
- Luz, Ulrich: see Dunn, James D.G.
- Mackay, Ian D.: John's Relationship with Mark. 2004. *Volume II/182*.
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- Die Johannesoffenbarung und die Kirche. 1981. *Volume 25*.
- Markschies, Christoph: Valentinus Gnosticus? 1992. *Volume 65*.
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- Metzler, Karin: Der griechische Begriff des Verzeihens. 1991. *Volume II/44*.
- Metzner, Rainer: Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums im 1. Petrusbrief. 1995. *Volume II/74*.
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- Mihoc, Vasile: see Dunn, James D.G..
- Mineshige, Kiyoshi: Besitzverzicht und Almosen bei Lukas. 2003. *Volume III/163*.
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