

TERESA MORGAN

Ancient Religiosities in  
Dialogue: Greek, Roman,  
Jewish, and Christian

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament  
546*

---

**Mohr Siebeck**

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament

Herausgeber / Editor

Jörg Frey (Zürich)

Mitherausgeber / Associate Editors

Markus Bockmuehl (Oxford) · James A. Kelhoffer (Uppsala)  
Christina M. Kreinecker (Leuven) · Tobias Nicklas (Regensburg)  
Janet Spittler (Charlottesville, VA) · J. Ross Wagner (Durham, NC)

546





Teresa Morgan

Ancient Religiosities  
in Dialogue: Greek, Roman,  
Jewish, and Christian

Selected Essays

Mohr Siebeck

TERESA MORGAN, born 1968; McDonald-Agape Professor of New Testament and Early Christianity, Yale Divinity School.  
orcid.org/0000-0001-6042-8349

ISBN 978-3-16-164606-5 / eISBN 978-3-16-164607-2  
DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-164607-2

ISSN 0512-1604 / eISSN 2568-7476 (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at <https://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2025 Mohr Siebeck Tübingen, Germany.

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher's written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations and storage and processing in electronic systems. The right to use the content of this volume for the purpose of text and data mining within the meaning of Section 44b UrhG (Urheberrechtsgesetz) is expressly reserved.

Typeset by Martin Fischer in Tübingen. Printed on non-aging paper.

Mohr Siebeck GmbH & Co. KG, Wilhelmstraße 18, 72074 Tübingen, Germany  
[www.mohrsiebeck.com](http://www.mohrsiebeck.com), [info@mohrsiebeck.com](mailto:info@mohrsiebeck.com).

To  
*Adela Yarbrow Collins*  
*Dorothy Thompson*  
*Susan Treggiari*



## Table of Contents

1. Introduction .....	1
2. Divine-Human Relations in the Aesopic Corpus .....	17
3. Society, Identity, and Ethnicity in the Hellenic World .....	39
4. To Err is Human, to Correct Divine: A Recessive Gene in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Religiosity? .....	63
5. Belief and Practice in Graeco-Roman Religiosity: Plutarch, <i>De Iside et Osiride</i> 379c .....	75
6. The Good, the Bad, and the Beautiful: A Neglected Aspect of Early Christian Ethical Thinking .....	91
7. Living and Loving in the “Present Evil Age” .....	123
8. The Transfiguration (Mark 9.2–8) and the Raising of Lazarus (John 11.1–44): A Johannine Transformation of Mark? .....	139
9. The Resurrection of Jesus to Earth in its Cultural Contexts .....	159
10. The Literate Education of Early Christians, and Some of its Unintended Consequences for Christian Exegesis .....	185
11. Origen’s Celsus and Imperial Greek Religiosity .....	199
12. Pagans and Christians: Fifty Years of Anxiety .....	221
13. Eusebius of Caesarea and the Paradox of Christian Historiography ....	237
14. On the Possibility of Writing the History of Divine Action in The World .....	263

15. Epilogue: Bring Your Own Hammer .....	313
Acknowledgements .....	319
Bibliography .....	321
Index of Ancient Sources .....	355
Index of Subjects .....	380

## Introduction

The essays in this volume were written between 2001 and 2025, and almost all fall into one of two related fields: religious thinking in the ancient Mediterranean, and the relationship between early Christianity and the cultures in which it evolved. I was surprised to discover this pattern when I was beginning to think about this collection, because these are not, at least explicitly, the themes of most of my larger projects. Whether or not these essays arose from those projects, however, they form an ongoing counterpoint with the subjects that have most preoccupied me since the early 1990s.

I began my research life as a classicist, writing my doctoral dissertation and first book on what I called “literate education” in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds.<sup>1</sup> Growing up in English schools and universities, while also studying violin and viola in academies of music, I became fascinated by how different educational systems can be, and how differently they transmit culture and social expectations and shape mentality and habitus. *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* was partly a study of ancient education and partly a case study from the ancient world in how education shapes lives. It made an argument which, in one way and another, has become a theme of all my work and which, in the era of digital social media and “fake news”, seems even more relevant than it did when I started work: culture and mentality are societal forces as powerful as, for instance, politics or economics. This theme is relevant not least to students of early Christianity, which invests so much importance in how people trust, believe, and hope as well as in how they are organized and act. Questions about the distinctive content and shape of Christian ideas and mentality, and their significance for the evolution of “the faith”, have driven much of my more recent work on Christian faith and ethics.

*Literate Education* investigated the development, geographical spread, and remarkable durability of *enkyklios paideia*: a curriculum which gave something between the top ten and twenty per cent of male children, and rather fewer females, practical skills of literacy and numeracy, some ethics, and a set of cultural tools for negotiating and potentially raising their social status. The book

---

<sup>1</sup> *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

did not deal with early Christian education as such (if there is such a thing<sup>2</sup>) but it did explore the culture and mentality of groups of people below the level of the socio-intellectual elite, which plausibly includes most early Christians. To my surprise and pleasure, because I was already looking for ways to combine my work in classics with my interest in the New Testament and early Christianity, it proved to be of interest to students of early Christianity who were interested in the education and culture of early Christian writers and their audiences. At the request of colleagues I have occasionally, since then, written short articles on the education of early Christians, one of which is included here.

One of the more unexpected aspects of *enkyklios paideia*, to me, was its ethical element, which was delivered not via excerpts from philosophical treatises,<sup>3</sup> but mainly through fables, proverbs, and gnomic quotations from the poets: genres that are well attested as originating in lower strata of society or in use there. Ethics is another topic that has fascinated me since childhood. What kind of person should one be? What is it good or bad, right or wrong, necessary, absurd or impossible to do, and why? How do we decide, or who decides for us? How do ethical ideas get around and exert influence over people?<sup>4</sup> My second monograph, *Popular Morality in the Early Roman Empire*, set out to tackle some of these questions in the ancient world, and specifically to investigate the ethics of “ordinary” people below the level of the philosophical elites who attract most scholarly attention.

*Popular Morality* was another “straight” classics book (between 1998 and 2022 I was teaching Greek and Roman history at Oxford University), but again I was pleased when it proved of interest to scholars of early Christianity. In 2009 I attended SBL for the first time when the Hellenistic Philosophy and Early Christianity section organized a panel discussion of the book. This was Abe Malherbe’s idea, and he was also my first contact with Yale Divinity School; I greatly valued him as a conversation partner and wish he had still been living when I moved to YDS in 2022. *Popular Morality* inevitably included discussion of the role of the gods and religion in Greek and Roman ethics. The essay “Divine-Human Relations in the Aesopic Corpus” in this volume takes this theme further by exploring the way human relations with the divine are represented in the large, popular, moralizing, and hugely influential corpus of Greek Aesopic fables.

One chapter of *Popular Morality* explored connections between the popular moral genres and ideas which were the focus of the book and the work of philos-

---

<sup>2</sup> Cf. “The literate education of early Christians, and some of its unintended consequences for Christian exegesis,” in this volume.

<sup>3</sup> Which would not have been unimaginable given that children were taught to read using the works of canonical poets and prose authors such as Homer, Euripides, Menander, Herodotus, and Isocrates.

<sup>4</sup> *Popular Morality in the Early Roman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1.

ophers in the early Roman principate, including Plutarch, Seneca the Younger, Epictetus, Dio Chrysostom and Maximus of Tyre.<sup>5</sup> Work on this chapter did not begin with any particular hypothesis about the relationship, but it became clear that elite philosophers drew constantly on popular moral material, not simply to illustrate or reinforce their discourse, but to form substantive steps and proofs in their arguments. I concluded that the connections between popular morality and “high” philosophy are often a matter of cultural “trickle up” rather than, as is almost always assumed, “trickle down”.<sup>6</sup> This was an unexpectedly significant finding, not least for students of early Christianity. It is still widely assumed in early Christian studies that any connections we may detect between Christian writings and Greek philosophy are the result of “trickle down”: of Christians being familiar, for instance, with Stoicism, middle-Platonism, or Cynicism. We often do not consider that such connections may reflect the fact that Christians are part of the culture of the world around them, and this culture feeds “up” to high philosophy.

The tendency to assume that possible Christian connections with philosophy are a product of cultural “trickle down” is part of a wider approach to early Christian studies which argues that Christian writings are routinely in dialogue with the high politics and culture of the Roman empire. When describing the justice of God, on this view, or calling Jesus the “Son of God”, Christians are drawing a contrast with the Roman emperor; when speaking of the soul they are drawing on philosophical psychology. We cannot rule out that this kind of connection is sometimes being made and is worth investigating, but ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern societies were complex and “thick” (something to which the essay on ethnicity in this volume speaks). Few Christians of the first and early second centuries at least, as far as we can tell, belonged to its higher echelons, and few are likely to have had a high level of education. Provinces and provincials of the empire, moreover, especially outside big cities, were often much less well in touch with high politics, or, we can assume, high society and culture, than we may imagine.<sup>7</sup> Granted that Roman administration and religion were some kind

---

<sup>5</sup> *Popular Morality*, 274–99; the chapter also discusses the early imperial Epicurean anthology preserved on papyrus: O. Bouquiaux-Simon, “Additamenta pour une anthologie mutilée (P. Berol. Inv. 2132 + P. Schubart 27),” *Proceedings of the 19<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Papyrology*. 2 vols. (Cairo: Center for Papyrological Studies, 1992), 461–79.

<sup>6</sup> We should not be surprised by this given that, for instance, Aristotle is said to have regarded proverbs as an earlier form of philosophy (Synesius, fr. 13), and he was the first of several Greek philosophers to collect and write studies of proverbs.

<sup>7</sup> Dates on legal and other official documents in papyri from upper Egypt offer a well known illustration of this. Official documents in this period were dated by regnal year of the emperor. To travel by sea and river from Rome to upper Egypt, depending on the season and the weather, took around eight to ten weeks, so when a new emperor took power there would inevitably be a little delay before the regnal date was changed. But occasionally we find official documents dated by regnal year of the old emperor two years after the accession of the new; news often travelled quite slowly even in a province where travel was relatively easy.

of presence in urban contexts, at least, most Christians, like most people, will have known best and been most immersed in the society and culture of their own region, city, town, and social groups. As we seek to understand any aspect of Christianity's relationship with wider society, it is often to local, regional, and largely sub-elite society and culture that we need to turn first.

Gradually, over two decades in Oxford, my research shifted increasingly towards New Testament and early Christian studies, always with an interest in Christianity's social and cultural context, especially its gentile context, and especially the society and culture of gentiles below the level of socio-intellectual elites. Some of the essays in this volume also touch on Christianity's Jewish context, but I will never be more than an appreciative visitor to ancient Jewish studies.

My third monograph, *Roman Faith and Christian Faith*, was an accidental classics/New Testament/early Christianity crossover. I wanted to follow the large-scale survey of Roman popular morality with a more detailed study of one or two important moral qualities and practices which would investigate in depth how they were thought about and operated in the world of the early Roman principate. I settled on *pistis*, *fides*, and their relatives as its focus: ubiquitous terms centering on relational trust, trustworthiness, faithfulness, and good faith, but with extended legal, administrative, commercial, philosophical, rhetorical, and religious meanings. One reason for this choice was the possibility that, within a large and complex society like the Roman empire, sub-groups might sometimes take language in common use and adapt it to local needs, creating local and regional "dialects" of meaning. I suspected that early Christians' use of *pistis/fides* language was a case of this, because what Christians came to mean by *pistis/fides* – what in English is translated "faith", in all its complexity<sup>8</sup> – represents a considerable evolution from the meanings of *pistis/fides* in regular use in the first century CE. When and how did this evolution occur?

*Roman Faith* examined the meaning and operation of *pistis*, *fides*, and their relatives in Greek and Roman society and mentality from the first century BCE to the second century CE, drawing on the whole range of surviving "literary" texts, papyri, inscriptions, and images. It sought to map where, through this period, *pistis/fides* was seen to be strong (for instance, in families), where desirable but difficult (e.g., between friends), where variously strong and weak (e.g., in divine-human relations), and where highly fragile or impossible (e.g., in relations between emperors and their subjects and in certain kinds of literature). It considered *pistis/fides* in Greek and Roman politics, society, literature, philosophy, and religious thinking; in the Septuagint and early imperial Jewish writings; and in

---

<sup>8</sup> The full complexity of Christian meanings of "faith", including belief, confidence, knowledge, hope, worship, and prayer, develops gradually through the first five centuries, and one or two meanings, such as "fideism", may not develop until the mediaeval period.

emerging Christianity. Reading closely all the *pistis* language in New Testament writings and a number of non-testamental texts in their contemporary context, it is argued that in early Christian texts, well into the second century, *pistis* and later *fides* (and, we can assume, Aramaic *hemānutā* too), sit comfortably within their social and cultural contexts, most often bearing their relational meanings of “trust”, “faithfulness”, and so on.<sup>9</sup>

The study of *pistis/fides*, especially within early Christianity, proved fertile ground: to date *Roman Faith* has two published sequels, *The New Testament and the Theology of Trust: This Rich Trust* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022) and *Trust in Atonement: God, Creation, and Reconciliation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2024), with a final volume almost complete at the time of writing. This volume does not include most of the related articles and essays that followed *Roman Faith*, but “Living and Loving in the Present Evil Age” tests the hypothesis that, for Paul, *agapē* operates between God, Christ, and the faithful somewhat like *pistis*, in ways that have not been fully appreciated, and one section of “Origen’s Celsus and Imperial Greek Religiosity” compares Origen’s and Celsus’s treatments of *pistis* in both its “trust” and “belief” aspects.

It is always interesting to see how other disciplines approach the questions that interest oneself. While researching *Literate Education* I read widely in the history and sociology of education, and in writing *Popular Morality* I became fascinated by the anthropology of ethics, which at the time was just developing and has since become a large field. *Roman Faith* and *The Theology of Trust* drew on the wealth of thinking about trust in sociology, economics, management theory, anthropology, moral philosophy, and epistemology. Studies of the ancient world that adopt theories or approaches from other disciplines take a risk, because they may be tempted to distort the evidence to fit the model, and my aim, above all, is to understand what the evidence is saying for itself. Reading comparatively, however, helps us to think self-consciously about our own approaches to our material, and to ask new and productive questions.

The history of ideas, culture, and mentality, in which almost all my work lies, does not deal mainly in events or “what actually happened.”<sup>10</sup> It often focuses on what one might call “mapping the field” of ideas and actions that were thinkable or available to people in a particular social and cultural context. Developing sensitive methods by which to map such fields is one of my ongoing concerns,

---

<sup>9</sup> This is not to say that belief is not involved: clearly it is and sometimes *pistis* language is used to express it. But ancient Greek speakers tend to use “thinking” and “knowing” language where English speakers would use “belief” language. It is with writers such as Athenagoras, Justin, and Clement, who we know had studied philosophy, especially Platonism, from the middle third of the second century onwards, that *pistis* language comes increasingly to be used by Christians, in a distinctively middle-Platonist sense, to mean “belief” (cf. “Institutionalization and inspiration: two aspects of early Christian faith,” *Studies in Church History*, 56 (2020): 6–31: 7–13.

<sup>10</sup> On which see pp. 272–73, 276–77, 280.

and the last essay in this volume argues for the relevance of this approach when thinking about divine action in history. As an example of such mapping, consider Paul's use of *pistis* language. Romans 3.21–2, for instance, refers to the righteousness of God that has been disclosed ... “for all who *pisteuein*.”<sup>11</sup> Here we seem to be talking about *pisteuein* as an attitude, and perhaps also action, which help to make possible the “righteousing” or “justification” of people (cf. v. 26): what is sometimes called “saving faith”. This *pistis* may be an attitude of belief or trust, very likely something of both, which leads to a life-changing self-commitment to God and Christ. In 1 Cor 12.9, however, Paul speaks of the *pistis* that is given by the spirit to some community members for the common good (cf. v. 7). Since these community members have presumably already experienced and enacted “saving faith”, what is the extra gift of *pistis* that some receive here, comparable with the other gifts listed in 12.7–10? It could be the gift of special faithfulness (under persecution, for instance), or the gift of entrustedness (with the office of elder or deacon, perhaps<sup>12</sup>), or the gift of trusteeship of the community. At 1 Thess 3.7 Paul celebrates the *pistis* of the Thessalonians, which he links particularly with their continuing to “stand firm in the Lord” (v. 8). *Pistis* here could refer to “saving faith”, but it could also refer to the Thessalonians’ ongoing faithfulness to Christ. These three passages therefore point not to a single meaning of *pistis*, but to a range of possible, significantly linked meanings which Paul can employ in different contexts.

It is also possible that the first recipients of this letter, and later ancient audiences, heard several different things in Paul's *pistis* language, and took different ideas from it about how to behave as Christians. It is not unthinkable that Paul knew that this might happen and took advantage of the multivalency of *pistis* language to communicate a range of ideas to those listening from different perspectives. In analysing these texts for their treatment of *pistis*, we cannot know for certain what Paul meant, what his first audiences heard, or how they responded. We can, however, map a field of possible ideas, intentions, and responses, within contemporary Greek and Paul's writings, to which the texts point. This may seem a complex and slippery exercise compared with determining precisely what a writer meant or “what actually happened” but it is both possible and, I argue, reflects the way language works in culture. We often simply cannot identify for certain one thing that a writer meant or a person or community did, and claiming we can is liable to be misleading. Language is everywhere multivalent and ambiguous, and often used to exploit its ambiguity. Culture and mentality operate by validating a range of things that are possible

---

<sup>11</sup> The meaning of v. 22a is intensely debated, but 21a and 22b, given here, are relatively straightforward. Discussed in *Roman Faith*, 288–91.

<sup>12</sup> This is an attractive option given that leadership positions in the community are not otherwise mentioned among the spiritual gifts.

and acceptable to think and feel and a range of ways in which it is possible and normal to act.<sup>13</sup> Reading texts (and objects) with this in mind allows us to offer interpretations which are neither impossibly wide nor implausibly narrow, but which point to the options that participants in real, complex situations had for thought and action.<sup>14</sup>

I was fortunate to spend my last five years at Oxford on research leave, thanks to a three-year Leverhulme Major Research Fellowship and a three-year Templeton Foundation grant for the project “The Philosophy, Theology, and Psychology of Christian Trust in God” of which I was co-PI with Daniel McKaughan and Michael Pace. Those five years allowed me to explore new directions in research, both historical and theological, and several essays in this collection have roots in them. One new direction led to a historical study of Paul’s *en Christō* language, which generated one or two articles too recent to reproduce here.<sup>15</sup> I am deeply grateful to the Leverhulme Trust and the Templeton Foundation for the gift of these years.

Throughout the years covered by these essays, work in classics, ancient religions, New Testament, and early Christianity has been interwoven in a way that I have found stimulating and I hope has been productive. An essay collection that encompassed the whole range would begin with Semonides’s Fragment 7, an infamous piece of hate-speech from the sixth century BCE with hidden depths, include studies of ancient miscellanism, encyclopaedism, and political theory, touch once or twice on patristic ethics, and end with the theology of Bridget Jones. It would be an eclectic and diverse volume, but I have opted here for coherence over inclusivity. This is not to play down the attractions or the value of breaking disciplinary boundaries, which every researcher knows are artificial and not always useful. There are many ways to transcend these boundaries: in early Christian studies, for example, by focusing on Christianity and sketching a context as “background”; by tracing a theme as it runs through multiple ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern cultures, including early Christianity; or by

---

<sup>13</sup> One advantage of this type of reading is that it allows us not always to be trying to pin down *the* meaning an author intended or the first audience received, while also avoiding the infinite regress which results from deferring meaning to an ever-widening circle of surrounding texts and contexts. It also offers an alternative to structuralist-type interpretations of societies and cultures which have difficulty explaining social and cultural change, by showing how, within relatively stable frameworks for thought and action, people had choices which, incrementally, could and did change those frameworks.

<sup>14</sup> Mapping the field of the possible in this sense is both a historiographical exercise and a claim about the subject of the exercise. We can speak of mapping the field of the possible in another sense, when, for instance, we think that something definite did happen in a particular context, but we are not certain what (did Alexander the Great die of alcohol poisoning, or of an illness, or was he murdered?). I will argue below (p. 279–80, 309–10) that divine acts in history might well be conceptualized as fields of the possible in both these senses.

<sup>15</sup> *Being “in Christ” in the Letters of Paul: Saved Through Christ and In His Hands* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020).

focusing on an aspect of ancient society and seeking to show how an aspect of Christianity evolved out of it. Different essays in this collection take all these, and other approaches. The only caveat for those breaking bounds is that one must understand all the disciplines involved as thoroughly as possible and treat them with as much care and respect as one's own. Superficial comparisons and thumbnail contextualizations are more likely to obscure a topic and mislead readers than to illuminate.

In 2022 I moved to Yale Divinity School to take up the McDonald Agape Professorship of New Testament and Early Christianity. Teaching a mixture of New Testament, patristics, and church history, with a good dash of classics, is enormously stimulating and it is a delight to be able to show students the excitement and intellectual benefits of studying these areas in relation to one another. I am especially grateful to my YDS students, for many of whom studying Christianity is a matter of existential significance, who challenge their professors to match their seriousness of purpose and nourish their hearts as well as their minds. They daily make me think afresh about what is worth studying and why, and about how education can shape cultures, mentalities, and lives in the modern world.

The essays that follow focus on the religiosity of Greeks, Romans, occasionally Jews, and early Christians as expressed in religious ideas and mentality, especially the mentality of groups of people, often sub-elite groups. (They have little to say about material culture, which, of course, is equally significant but is not the focus of my work.) "Divine-Human Relations in the Aesopic Corpus" investigates the corpus of well over 300 Greek Aesopic fables, which are told and retold, collected and excerpted in all kinds of contexts in ancient Mediterranean literature, as a source for the study of Greek "popular" and personal religion and religious thinking. I argue that although they are told in the context of a richly polytheistic society, fables, significantly, operate with a much reduced "oligotheon", within which Zeus and his messenger Hermes are far more important than any other gods. Zeus, moreover, is often portrayed noticeably more optimistically in fables than in "high" literature such as tragedy and epic. One of the most striking aspects of fables is that hardly any of the divine-human encounters they describe take place in the formal contexts of temples, shrines, festivals, or rituals; but at home, on the road, in fields, in visions, or in dreams. The gods are imagined as keenly interested in humanity, and this puts human beings in a position of some strength, but mortals should never let their guard down when dealing with beings much more powerful than themselves. The Aesopic corpus's portrayal of the gods is, in some ways, unfamiliar to students of ancient Greek religion, but it offers food for thought about Greek religiosity and also about early Christianity. It describes gods who are not punitive, amoral, or unreliable, but often benign and helpful. Zeus, in particular, as high god, creator, giver of gifts, ruler, and judge, and the go-between Hermes, for Christian readers, have

rather more in common with the God of Israel and Jesus Christ than we might expect.<sup>16</sup>

“Society, Ethnicity, and Identity in the Hellenic World” was prompted by a conversation with David Horrell about what material biblical scholars may not know, or may find difficult to access or navigate, when thinking about ethnicity in the ancient Mediterranean world. It is not explicitly about religion, confines itself almost entirely to the Greek world, and was written as a survey with little original research, but I include it because the material forms an important context for thinking about the kind of group early Christians are and navigating phrases such as “chosen race” (1 Pet 2.9–10), “new race” (*Ep. Diog.* 1) or “third race” (*Tert., nat.* 1.8.1). The essay seeks to show how complex and labile ideas about ethnicity, and the treatment of ethnicity, are in the ancient world. Two people who belong to the same *ethnos*, for example, may share (or claim to share) descent (often from a divinity), a homeland, language, culture, religion, job, citizenship, or tax status. Some “ethnic” labels are self-referential; some are only applied to others. Ethnicity is frequently accretive: many people in the ancient world have more than one and some have several. Many go by different ethnic identifiers in different contexts, and many go out of their way to advertise and apparently celebrate their multi-ethnicity. The most obvious implications of all this for the study of early Christianity is that identifying Christians as an ethnic group in itself tells us essentially nothing about the group’s size, shape, self-understanding or purpose, how it is seen by others, or how many other identities its members affirm. If “ethnic” labels do not straightforwardly define Christians, however, they do help us to map a field of possible ways in which early Christians saw themselves, and perhaps were seen, in relation to each other and their environment.

“To Err is Human, to Correct Divine: a Recessive Gene in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Religiosity?” picks up a theme identified in “Divine-Human Relations in the Aesopic Corpus”: the idea that the gods sometimes appear to people to tell them that they are doing something wrong and correct them. It argues that this theme is the trace of an idea especially characteristic of the religious thinking of the poor, which we can detect embedded in texts from the ancient Near East, the Hebrew Bible, and in the Greek and Roman worlds, the New Testament, and early Judaism and Christianity. It offers examples of the theme in texts from from Genesis to Irenaeus’s *Against Heresies*.

“Belief and Practice in Graeco-Roman Religious Thinking: Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 379c” was given as a paper at an interdisciplinary meeting hosted by the Cambridge Faculty of Divinity in 2012. It begins with a little-noticed but curious comment by Plutarch: “it is very well said by philosophers that those who do not learn to understand the names of things correctly misuse the

---

<sup>16</sup> This suggests, *inter alia*, a cultural context for Acts 14.12.

things they refer to as well.” Taking issue with a longstanding model of Greek and Roman religions as having very little interest in what practitioners think and believe, the essay explores a number of passages in which Greek and Latin writers of the first century BCE and early principate argue that right thinking is essential for right religious behaviour. In the process it considers some of the evidence for religious education in this period and the philosophical importance of understanding the names of things correctly. Understanding the names of things emerges as particularly important to Plutarch because he thinks that the gods have endowed us with the ability to think, form judgements, and speak them correctly: the capacity for knowledge of the divine is part of human nature.

The topic of this essay, the role of thinking and belief in Greek and Roman polytheism, is the one in this volume in which there has been most development in recent scholarship. At the time of writing, the idea that cognitive religiosity played much of role in ancient Mediterranean religions was still somewhat experimental. Now it is mainstream, a development which adds significantly to our understanding of Greek and Roman religiosity. This is also a significant development for the study of early Christianity, because it breaks down the longstanding assumption that polytheism is mainly interested in ritual and social order, and the concern of Christians with belief is abnormal in their world.

“The Good, the Bad, and the Beautiful: A Neglected Aspect of Early Christian Ethical Thinking” is one of three new essays in this collection (the others are “The Resurrection of Jesus to Earth in its Cultural Contexts” and “On the Possibility of Writing the History of Divine Action in the World”). It began as the second Erasmus Lecture at the University of Cambridge, and warm thanks are due to Professor George van Kooten and the Faculty of Divinity for the invitation to deliver the lecture. One of the findings of *Popular Morality* was that the many terms for “good” and “bad” in Greek and Latin are not used indiscriminately: for example, perceived “natural” goods (such love between family members) are often described as “sweet”; social goods (such as power) are often described as “useful”; while things that are charming but dangerous (such as luxury) may be described as “charming”. Students of Christian ethics often assume (not without reason, but perhaps with less reason than we think) that everything that can be evaluated in Christian thinking is either good or bad; all the good comes from and is oriented to God, while all the bad comes from and is oriented to whatever one regards as the source of evil. This essay begins with some of the simplest Christian language of good and bad, *kakos*, *agathos* and *kalos*, to examine not what these terms mean in themselves, which we know well enough, but how they are deployed. It argues that *kakos* is used exactly as it is used in Greek in general (and in the Septuagint and early Jewish writings), which establishes that early Christian writers can and do use common language in common ways when they choose. *Agathos*, however, is used much more narrowly, of the good that comes from God and is oriented to God, and also of things done by God that are un-

## Index of Ancient Sources

### Hebrew Bible (Septuagint)

<i>Genesis</i>	98, 166 n. 24	<i>1 Chronicles</i>	
1	104 n. 57, 101 n. 44	16.34	96 n. 23
1.26	241		
1.27	67	<i>Ezra</i>	
2–3	67, 111, 120	3.11	96 n. 23
2.7	67, 148		
2.9	104 n. 56, 114 n. 88	<i>Nehemiah</i>	
2.17	112 n. 83	9.20	96 n. 96 n. 23
3	70		
3.6	105 n. 56	<i>Job</i>	
3.24	68	10.3	104 n. 56
4–5	166 n. 24	38.2	66 n. 16
5.21–4	163 n. 10	42.6	66 n. 16
22.2	127 n 15		
25.8–10	162 n. 10	<i>Psalms</i>	
29.17	104 n. 56	1–3	96 n. 23
		13 (14)	96 n. 23
<i>Exodus</i>	98	14.1	73 n. 36
34.6	96 n. 23	23.6	96 n. 23
		25.8	96 n. 23
<i>Leviticus</i>		27.3	96 n. 23
23.19	171 n. 39	33.5	96 n. 23
27.10	104 n. 56	34.8	96 n. 23
		53.1	73 n. 36
<i>Deuteronomy</i>		59 (60).5	127 n. 15
30.15	96 n. 23	67 (68).12	127 n. 15
		107 (108).6	127 n. 15
<i>Judges</i>		126 (127).2	127 n. 15
11.34	127 n. 15	145.5–7	96 n. 23
		145.9	96 n. 23
<i>1 Kings</i>		<i>Proverbs</i>	
17.17–24	149, 165	1.7	73 n. 36
18.11–12	163 n. 10	1.22	73 n. 36
19.1–18	66	2.10	104
		3.17	103–4
<i>2 Kings</i>		8.1–38	104
4.18–37	149, 165		

<i>Ecclesiastes</i>		<i>Hosea</i>	
4.13	96 n. 22	6.6	63 n. 2, 132
7.20 (LXX)	99 n. 34	<i>Amos</i>	
<i>Song of Songs</i>		8.10	127 n. 15
5.1	127 n. 15	<i>Jonah</i>	
<i>Isaiah</i>			66, 70, 72 n. 35, 73, 172 n. 40
52.7 (LXX)	98, 108 n. 70, 126, 256	3.4–5	66
	98	4.1–8	66
<i>Jeremiah</i>		<i>Nahum</i>	
1.4–12	98, 168 n. 30, 256	1.7	96 n. 23
12.6 (LXX)	73 n. 38	<i>Zechariah</i>	
38.20	104 n. 56	12.10	127 n. 15
	127 n. 15	14.4	143 n. 19, 144, 161 n. 8
<i>Ezekiel</i>		<i>Malachi</i>	
10.18–23	144	4.5	167 n. 26
11.12	144	4.5–6	166 n. 24
11.16–18	144		
11.19–21	144		
24.18	104.56		

### Deuterocanonical Books of the Hebrew Bible

<i>Tobit</i>		<i>Wisdom of Solomon</i>	
3.10	127 n. 15	5.18	125 n. 11
12.13	99 n. 34	<i>Sirach</i>	
<i>2 Maccabees</i>		39.33	99 n. 34
3.22–30	72 n. 35	39.16	99 n. 34

### Other Early Jewish Writings

<i>1 Enoch</i>		<i>4 Ezra</i>	
62.15	141 n. 11	7.29–47	165
<i>2 Enoch</i>		<i>4 Maccabees</i>	
2.8	141 n. 11		113 n. 85
<i>2 Baruch</i>		<i>Apocalypse of Zephaniah</i>	
30.1–5	165	8.3	141 n. 11
41–2	165	<i>Dead Sea Scrolls</i>	
<i>2 Esdras</i>		4Q385 fr. 2	165
7.118	67	4Q521 fr. 2	165

Josephus		<i>Allegorical Interpretation</i>	
<i>Against Apion</i>		1.31–42	67
1.12	208	<i>On Abraham</i>	
2.2	208	52–4	86 n. 36
2.3	208	<i>On Mating with the Preliminary Studies</i>	
2.230	108 n. 69	35	86 n. 36
<i>Jewish Antiquities</i>		45–6	86 n. 36
1 pr. 5–7	238	<i>On the Mutation of Names</i>	
1.1	240 n. 11	13.3	83 n. 26
1.3–4, 5	240 n. 11	<i>Questions and Answers on Genesis</i>	
1.42–3	67 n. 20	1.4	67 n. 20
1.48–9	67 n. 20	1.9	118 n. 88
7.37	238 n. 4	2.16–17	67 n. 20
<i>Jewish War</i>		3.12–13	67 n. 20
1.643	108 n. 69	<i>The Migration of Abraham</i>	
Philo of Alexandria		89–90	86 n. 36
<i>On the Cherubim</i>		<i>On the Creation of the Cosmos</i>	
1	67 n. 20	127.1	83 n. 26
10	67 n. 20	<i>The Special Laws</i>	
56	83 n. 26	32	107 n. 68
<i>On the Confusion of Tongues</i>		68	107 n. 68
59	107 n. 68	<i>On Dreams</i>	
<i>Flaccus</i>		2.34	107 n. 68
2.7.2	67 n. 21		

## New Testament

<i>Matthew</i>	140 n. 7, 172, 173, 177, 183 n. 73, 105 n. 60	7.11	97, 99, 100 n. 40
1.20	175 n. 49	7.15–21	114 n. 90
2.18–21	73 n. 37	7.16b	104
3.9	104	7.17	117 n. 94
3.10	117 n. 94	7.18	104
3.15	94 n. 17	7.19	115
3.17	125 n. 10	8.11	166 n. 24
4.24	93 n. 12	8.16	93 n. 12
5	179–80	8.19–20	174
5.13–16	114 n. 90	8.21–2	174
5.16	107, 117 n. 94	8.22	175
5.43–5	97	9.12	93 n. 12
5.45	99, 100 n. 39	9.13	63 n. 2
6.34	94	9.18	149, 165 n. 20
		11.7	174

11.19	174	24.48	94 n. 17
11.27	175, 177 n. 56	25.21	100
11.28	175	26.10	109 n. 74
11.28–30	174	26.20	172 n. 41
12.12	108	26.24	107
12.18	125 n. 10	26.31–5	175
12.32b–37	114 n. 90	27.23	94 nn. 13, 14
12.33	104, 109 n. 74, 115	27.43	174
12.34–5	99, 100 n. 39	27.52	169
12.45	100 n. 39	27.64	181
13.8	104	28.1–8	175
13.23	104, 115	28.6	149
13.24–30	105	28.16	174–5
13.27	117 n. 94	28.16–20	175
13.35	105–6, 196	28.19	189
13.37	104, 106	28.19–20	175
13.44	196	28.20	168 n. 29
13.45	104, 117 n. 94		
13.48	117 n. 94	<i>Mark</i>	11–12, 105 n. 60, 162
13.49	105	1.11	125 n. 10
13.58	271	1.32	93 n. 12
14.35	93 n. 12	1.34	93 n. 12
15.4	94	1.44	146
15.7	108 n. 70	2.17	93 n. 12
15.19	94	3.4	94 n. 15, 97, 108, 117 n. 95
15.22	93 n. 12	4.8	104, 115, 117
15.26	106	4.20	104, 115
16.16	154 n. 51	5.21–3	165
16.21	149 n. 41	5.21–43	165
17.4	107 n. 73	5.25–34	310
17.5	125 n. 9	5.35–6	149, 165 n. 20
17.15	93 n. 12	5.41	148 n. 36
17.23	149 n. 41	6.5a	272
18.6	96, 117	6.5–6	271
18.7	255	6.55	93 n. 12
18.20	175 n. 49	7.6	108 n. 70
19.16	96	7.9	108 n. 70, 117 n. 94
19.16–22	98	7.9–15	146
20.1–16	97	7.10	94
20.19	149 n. 41	7.21	94
21.41	94 n. 17	7.21–3	99 n. 37
23.34–6	174	7.22–3	95 n. 20
23.37–9	174	7.27	106
24.6–8	175	7.37	106 n. 63, 109, 117 n. 94
24.25	175	8.27–9	153, 155
24.27	175–6	8.31	141, 149 n. 41, 150 n. 43
24.44–7	175	8.31–3	153
24.46–7	175–6		

8.34-5	153-4	3.22	125 n. 10
9-10	152	3.38	172 n. 41
9.2-8	11-12, 139-58	5.31	93 n. 12
9.2	125 n. 10, 143-4	6.9	97
9.3	141	6.26-7	104 n. 56
9.4	145-6	6.35	97
9.5	108 n. 73, 152	6.38	117
9.7	125 n. 10, 141, 151-2, 156	6.43	104, 115
9.9	141	6.45	99 n. 37
9.9-10	153	6.48	107 n. 67, 117 n. 94
9.12-13	146	7.2	93 n. 12
9.31	125 n. 10, 149 n. 41, 150 n. 43, 153	7.11-17	165
9.35	152	7.12-13	149, 165 n. 20
9.42	96, 117	7.14	148 n. 36
10.3-5	146	8.8	117
10.17-18	96, 112 n. 84	8.9-10	72
10.17-22	98	8.15	104, 115
10.18	99	8.33	197
10.21	152	8.49-50	149, 165 n. 20
10.34	142 n. 12	8.49-56	165
10.35-45	153	9.22	149 n. 41
10.39	152, 153-4	9.29	141 n. 10
10.44	152	9.33	108 n. 73
10.45	147	10.42	117
11.1	143 n. 19	11.13	97, 98-9 n. 33, 99, 100 n. 40
12.26	146	12.18	98-9 n. 33, 117
12.28	109, 117 n. 94	12.20	73 n. 36
12.28-32	115	12.35-8	71
12.32	117 n. 94	12.35-48	71
14.6	109 n. 74	13.3-5	72 n. 32
14.21	107 n. 67	13.35	72 n. 32
14.22-5	143 n. 17	14.34	104
14.36	152	16.11	166 n. 24
14.61	153 n. 51	16.22	162 n. 10
15.14	94 nn. 13, 14	16.25	94 n. 13, 98-9 n. 33, 117
15.34	143 n. 17	17.21b	196-7
15.39	141 n. 10	17.24	72 n. 32
16.1-8	169 n. 34	18.18	96, 99
16.5-6	141	18.18-23	97
16.6	149	18.33	149 n. 41
16.20	178 n. 61	19.17	99
		19.29	143 n. 19
		21.5	104
<i>Luke</i>	105, 173-4, 178, 192 n. 20	22.26-7	192
1.53	97 n. 27, 117	21.27	72
3.9	104, 115, 117 n. 94	23.32-3	94
		23.34a	68 n. 21, 73 n. 37

23.39	94	6.22–59	143 n. 17
23.50	117	6.32	146 n. 26
24.4	141 n. 10	6.38	176
24.5	175–6	6.44	116 n. 92
24.6	149	6.63	176
24.6–8	175	7.12	98, 99
24.25–8	189	7.19	146 n. 26
24.26	172 n. 41, 176	7.22	146
24.27	175–6	7.31	154 n. 54, 156
24.40	172 n. 41	7.39	145 n. 23
24.44	175–6	8.12	141, 146
24.44–7	175–6, 189	8.21–4	144
24.46–7	176	8.44	116 n. 92
24.47	176	8.47	156 n. 60
24.48	94 n. 17	8.48	107 n. 67
24.50	143	8.49–50	144
		9.9	141
<i>John</i>	11–12	9.30	154 n. 54
1–2	147	10.11	106, 120 n. 103, 227
1.1	146	10.14	106, 120 n. 103, 156
1.1–18	176		n. 60
1.3	141	10.16	145
1.4	146	10.26	116 n. 92
1.6–7	158, 176 n. 53	10.32–3	107 n. 66
1.9	146	10.41–2	156
1.9–10	146	11.1–44	139–58, 165
1.10	177	11.3	150
1.12	177	11.4	141, 145 n. 23, 150, 151
1.14	144 n. 22, 146, 151	11.5	150
1.17	146 n. 26	11.6	151
1.46	99	11.7	154
1.51	144 n. 22	11.8	154
2.10	104	11.8–10	154
2.11	141 n. 9, 154 n. 54	11.9–10	141, 146
2.16	145	11.15	151
2.19	149, 172 n. 40	11.16	154
2.23	154 n. 54, 156	11.17	147–8
2.23–5	154 n. 54	11.21	150
3.1–21	176	11.23–4	150
3.2	154 n. 54	11.24–6	153
3.3–8	176	11.25	141, 153
3.13	176	11.25–6	145
3.14	146 n. 26	11.25–7	147, 150, 155
3.16	151	11.26	148
4.20–4	144 n. 22	11.26–7	146
5.45	146 n. 26	11.27	150, 153
5.48	116 n. 92	11.32	150
6.1–71	176	11.34	147 n. 34

11.39	147–8, 150, 153	20.24–9	178
11.40	141 n. 9, 151, 156	20.25	177
11.41	147 n. 31, 151	20.27	172 n. 41
11.42	150, 156	20.27–9	177
11.45	154 n. 54, 156	20.28	149
11.47	150	20.31	158
12.10b–11	154 n. 54	21.15–17	189, 227
12.23	141		
12.25–6	152	<i>Acts</i>	178, 245, 250
12.27	152	1.2	168
12.28	151–2, 156	1.2–3	189
12.29	152	1.8	176
12.31–2	145	2.17	192
12.40	116 n. 92	2.24	149, 168 n. 28
13.18	116 n. 92	2.32–3	168 n. 28
13.31–2	145 n. 23	3.15	149, 168 n. 28
13.34	150	3.17	68 n. 22
14.6	145	4.10	168 n. 28
14.9	149	6.10	192
15.1–16.3	176	7.6	94 n. 13
15.9	192	7.19	94 n. 13
15.12–14	192	7.34	94 n. 13
15.16	116 n. 92, 176	8.20–5	247
15.17	176	8.22	94 n. 17
15.19	156 n. 60	8.39	192
15.26	176	9.3–6	72
15.27	176	9.13	94 nn. 13, 17
16.2	155	9.36	117
17.1	145 n. 23	9.41	148 n. 36, 149, 165
17.1–5	141	11.24	117
17.4–5	145 n. 23	11.28	192
17.6	156 n. 60	12.1	94 n. 13
17.6–7	116 n. 92	13.4	192
17.9	156 n. 60	13.9	56 n. 66
18.23	94 n. 15	14.2	94 n. 13
18.30	94 nn. 13, 14	14.12	9 n. 16
19.27	143 n. 17	15	72 n. 34
19.28	143 n. 17	16.6	268
19.30	143 n. 17, 145 n. 23	17.5	94 n. 16
20	147	17.20–1	158
20.13	176 n. 52	17.23	203 n. 16
20.16	172 n. 40, 176	18.10	94 n. 13
20.17	172 n. 41	19.6	192
20.18	176 n. 53	19.9	94 n. 17
20.21	172 n. 41, 176	20.10	148 n. 36, 149, 165
20.22	149	23.1	99 n. 36, 117
2022–3	176	23.5	94 n. 15
20.23	176	23.9	94 n. 15

25.18	94 n. 16	15.30	125
27.8	104	16.5, 8, 9, 12	127 n. 17
28.5	93 n. 12	16.17–20	132 n. 29
28.21	94 n. 16	16.19	94 n. 17
28.25	106 n. 62, 108 n. 70		
		<i>1 Corinthians</i>	
<i>Romans</i>	116 n. 92	1.19–25	207 n. 38
1.4	168	2.7	170 n. 35
1.5	249	2.9	126
1.21	120 n. 102	2.9–10	130
1.29–30	94 n. 17, 95 n. 20	3.1–11	191
2.1	120 n. 102	3.2	94 n. 17
2.9	94 n. 17	3.3	244 n. 29
3.8	94 n. 17	3.18–19	207 n. 38
5.1	123	4.17	126
5.5	125 n. 11	5.6	106, 115
5.8	125 n. 11	5.8	94 n. 17, 95 n. 20
5.12	147 n. 34	6.1–6	261 n. 78
6.2–4	172	6.12	135
7	118–20	6.13	135 n. 34
7.16, 18, 21	108	6.18	135 n. 34
7.19	94 n. 17, 100 n. 39	7.1	108 n. 73, 116
8.1–3	116 n. 92	7.8	116
8.18–39	134	7.26	116
8.21	170 n. 35	7.38	116
8.22	134	8	135
8.28	126	8.1–3	129–30
8.35, 37, 39	125 n. 11	8.9	130
8.38	264 n. 5	8.10	130
9.15–18	116 n. 92	10.6	94
9.23	170 n. 35	10.23	135
9.25	125 n. 11	11.1	192
10.15	98	11.14	94 n. 17
11.19–20	116 n. 92	12.8–10	192
11.28	125 n. 11	12.9	6
11.32	116 n. 92	12.28–31	192 n. 21
12.2	99	12.31	131, 135
12.6–8	192 n. 21	13	131–3
12.9	126	13.4–7	134
12.10	129 n. 21	13.5	94 n. 17
12.17	94 n. 17, 107 n. 67	13.7	132 n. 30
12.21	94 n. 17, 95 n. 19, 99	14.1	135
13.1–6	261 n. 78	14.1–2	192 n. 21
13.8	128	14.2	131–2
13.10	94 n. 17	14.17	108 n. 73
14.13–23	135	14.20	94 n. 17
14.20	94 n. 17	13.7	94 n. 17
14.21	108	15	169

15.3	169	3.1–2	191
15.3–8	168–9	3.1	106 n. 64
15.10	249	3.3	106 n. 64
15.12–19	170	4.8–9	191
15.14	160 n. 5	4.14	106 n. 64
15.20	166, 169, 171 n. 39	4.17	115
15.21–2	67	4.17–18	106 n. 64
15.21–57	169	5.6	128, 135
15.33	94 n. 17	5.13–15	135
15.35–54	170	5.14	128
15.52–7	170 n. 35	5.16	123
16.13–14	129, 134	5.22	98, 135
16.22	126, 135	6.6–10	107 n. 65
		6.9	106–7 n. 65
<i>2 Corinthians</i>			
2.2	127 n. 16	<i>Ephesians</i>	
2.4	136	1.6	125 n. 10
2.5–8	127	2.19–22	244
3.8	170 n. 35	4.3–6	244
4.14	170 n. 35	4.11	192 n. 21
4.17	170 n. 35	5.1–2	192
5.8	170 n. 35	<i>Philippians</i>	
5.14	126	1.9	130, 136
5.17	108 n. 73	1.9–10	130–31
5.19	310	1.23	170 n. 35
6.3–6	128	2.1	126 n. 13, 134
6.4	135 n. 36	2.1–2	130
6.4–6	125 n. 11	2.2	131
7.1	127 n. 16	2.3–4	131
8.7	127 n. 16, 136 n. 38	2.5	159–60
8.8	130	2.6–7	242 n. 20
8.21	106 n. 64, 107 n. 67	2.6–8	242, 257
9.7	125 n. 11	2.6–11	192
11.4	132 n. 29	2.8	257
12.2	168	3.20	261 n. 78
12.2–4	169 n. 30	4.1	127
12.19	127 n. 16	4.14	115
13.11	125 n. 11	<i>Colossians</i>	
13.13	125 n. 11, 131	1.4–5	129 n. 19
<i>Galatians</i>			
1.4	124	1.13	125 n. 10
1.6–9	132 n. 29	<i>1 Thessalonians</i>	
1.13–15	73 n. 38	1.3	128, 129 n. 19, 136
1.13–17	72 n. 34	1.6	192
1.15–16	168–9 n. 30	1.6–7	192
2.20	125 n. 11, 126	1.7	189 n. 13
3.1	132 n. 29		

1.9	136	6.18	117 n. 96
1.10	167, 168	6.18–19	107 n. 67
2.4	126		
2.12	170 n. 35	<i>2 Timothy</i>	
2.14	129, 134, 192	2.3	117 n. 96
3.2	126	2.9	94 n. 17
3.3	134	3.13	100 n. 39
3.4, 5	129	4.7	117 n. 96
3.6	129	4.14	94 n. 17
3.6–8	128–9		
3.7–8	6	<i>Titus</i>	
3.12	129, 135 n. 36, 136	2.7	117 n. 96
4.9–10	129	3.8	117 n. 96
4.10–11	261 n. 78	3.14	117 n. 96
4.14	167–8		
4.14–17	169	<i>Philemon</i>	
4.15	168	5	126
4.16	168	5–6	129 n. 22
4.16–17	169–70, 170 n. 35		
4.17	168	<i>Hebrews</i>	170
5.2	134	1.4	116
5.6	134	6.4	73 n. 39
5.8	129 n. 19, 134	6.10	129 n. 19
5.10	170 n. 35	7.19	116
5.11	134	7.22	117
5.13	127, 136, 138	8.6	117
5.15	94 n. 17	9.11	98
5.19–20	192 n. 21	9.23	117
5.21	105 n. 59, 115	10.22–4	129 n. 19
		10.26	68 n. 21, 73 n. 39
<i>1 Timothy</i>		10.34	117
1.1	113	11.16	117
1.3–4	113	11.35	117
1.4	113	12.5–6	73 n. 39
1.5	98	12.24	117
1.6–7	113		
1.8	108 n. 72, 117 n. 96	<i>James</i>	170
1.12–13	72–3	1.13	94 n. 17
1.18	117 n. 96	1.17	97
2.2	170 n. 35	1.21	94 n. 17
3.1	117 n. 96	2.19	105
3.4	117 n. 96	3.8	94 n. 17
3.12–13	117 n. 96	3.17	125 n. 11
4.4	117 n. 96	4.3	94 n. 17
4.6	117 n. 96	5.16	244 n. 30
5.25	107 n. 67, 117 n. 96		
6.10	94 n. 17, 95	<i>1 Peter</i>	
6.12	117 n. 96	1.8	129 n. 19

1.17	125 n. 10	<i>2 Peter</i>	
1.21–2	129 n. 9	2.3	98 n. 29
2.1	94 n. 17		
2.9–10	9	<i>1 John</i>	170
2.12	107	5.16–17	244 n. 30
2.12–20	117		
2.18	117	<i>2 John</i>	170
2.21	192		
2.23–4	192	<i>3 John</i>	170
3.9	95	11	94
3.9–13	94 n. 17		
3.10	117	<i>Revelation</i>	
3.11	117	2.2	95 n. 21
3.17	94 n. 17, 98	3.19	73 n. 39
3.19–20	178 n. 58	16.2	95 n. 21
3.21	117		
4.15	94 n. 17		
4.19	98		

## Other Early Christian Writings

<i>1 Clement</i>	170	<i>2 Clement</i>	170
1.2	244 n. 29	3.1	189 n. 12
1.3	189 n. 9	6.1	189 n. 12
2.2	117	6.6	118
2.3	117	6.9	244 n. 30
2.6	244 n. 29	10.2	118
2.7	117	13.4	189
2.8	189	15.5	118
13.1–2	189 n. 12		
16.3–7	189	<i>Acts of John</i>	
21.1	189	97	179 n. 62
21.4, 6	189		
21.6	188–9	<i>Acts of Paul</i>	
21.8	188–9	10.1–2	165 n. 19
22.1	189		
24.1	171	<i>Acts of Peter</i>	
24.5	189 n. 12	25–6	165 n. 19
33.1	117		
33.7	117	Ambrose	
34.1	117	<i>Exposition of Luke's Gospel</i>	
34.2	117	8.33	197
34.4	117		
41.1	117	<i>Apocryphon of James</i>	
49.1	189 n. 12	2.7–3.1	180
57.1	244 n. 30	2.23–6	180 n. 67

<i>Apostolic Tradition</i>		11.1–2	191
21.27–30	227	11.7	189 n. 12
		12.1	191
Aristides			
<i>Apology</i>	170	<i>Epistle of the Apostles</i>	
15	110 n. 79	9–10	178
Athenagoras		Eusebius of Caesarea	
<i>Apology</i>	170	<i>Against Marcellus</i>	
		1.4.23	241 n. 15
Augustine		1.1.22	241 n. 17
<i>City of God</i>		2.1.2	241 n. 17
4.11	203 n. 16	<i>Ecclesiastical History</i>	
<i>On Merit and the Forgiveness of Sins</i>		1.1.1–3	237, 238
1.8.8	67 n. 17	1.1.1–8	238–40
1.19.25	67 n. 17	1.1.3	248
3.11.19	67 n. 17	1.2.1	238
<i>Against Julian</i>		1.2.3	241
1.57	67 n. 17	1.2.5	261 n. 79
		1.2.6	261 n. 79
<i>Book of Thomas</i>	179	1.2.6–3.20	240
		1.2.7	242, 248
Clement of Alexandria		1.2.9	248
<i>Exhortation to the Greeks</i>		1.2.13	248
	170	1.2.23	242
2.16	164 n. 15	1.3.19	239 n. 10, 261
<i>Paedagogus</i>	170	1.4.2–3	239 n. 10
<i>Stromateis</i>		1.4.12–13	261
1.14	238 n. 4	1.5.1	240
4.26	58	1.8.1–8	256
6.6	178	1.8.15–16	248
		1.11.4	248
Cyril of Alexandria		2.2.2–6	254 n. 59
<i>Homilies on Luke</i>		2.5.1	254 n. 59
117	197 n. 34	2.5.1–5	254 n. 59
		2.6.3–8	248
<i>Didache</i>	170	2.7.1	248
1.2	189	2.9.1–4	256
3.10	118	2.13.1	250
4.3–4	244 n. 29	2.13–14	247
4.9	189	2.14.1–3	247
5.2	118	2.14.3	250
6.1	191	2.14.3–15.1	247
		2.15.1	250
		2.25.1–8	254
		3.5.1	256
		3.5.1–71	256

3.5.4–7	254 n. 59	5.24.5	250
3.5.7	248, 254 n. 59	5.28.10–12	251
3.7.1	256 n. 65	5.28.18	249
3.7.9	249	6.1.1	252 n. 56
3.16.1	247	6.1.1–5.7	253 n. 58
3.17.1	247, 254	6.2.2	253
3.20.1–5	250	6.2.4	248
3.23.6	249	6.2.11	250
3.24.3	249	6.2.13	248
3.24.4	252 n. 52	6.3.4–5	248
3.26.3–4	247	6.8.7	249
3.31.5	250	6.9	249
3.33.2	254	6.9.1–3	251 n. 50
3.37.1	251 n. 47	6.14.6	250
3.37.3	250	6.18.1	253
4.2.1	250	6.29.3	249
4.5	251 n. 49	6.34.1	254
4.7.12–13	247	6.39.1	254, 255
4.7.13	252	6.39.5	248
4.14.5	251	6.40	216
4.15.1	254	6.40.3	248
4.15.5	249	6.41.1	255
4.15.12	251 n. 48	6.43.6	249
4.15.17	251 n. 48	7.1.1	248, 254
4.15.20–39	251 n. 48	7.7.1–3	252
4.15.42	242	7.8	250 n. 44
4.18.2	253	7.10.3–4	254
4.23.12	247	7.11.1–19	216 n. 6
5 pr. 3	252 n. 56	7.11.12	249
5.1.6	249	7.13.1–2	254
5.1.9	250	7.14	251
5.1.23	253	7.17.1–4	251 n. 50
5.1.25	247	7.30.31	247
5.1.34	250, 253	7.31.1	248
5.1.42	253	7.32.1–2	251 n. 49
5.2.2	253, 257	7.32.19	252 n. 53
5.3.3	250	8	256–8
5.6	251 n. 49	8.1.3	257
5.7.2–6	250, 251 n. 50	8.1.6	249
5.14.1	247	8.1.7	255
5.14.9–18.3	247	8.1.8	255, 256
5.16.1	248	8.1.8–21	255
5.16.8	250	8.2.3	256 n. 67
5.16.9	247	8.3.3	252 n. 55
5.16.16–17	250	8.4.3	252 n. 55
5.16.21	250	8.6.4	257
5.20.4–8	253	8.7.4	249
5.24.2	250	8.8.1	257

- |                                      |                    |  |  |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------|--|--|
| 8.9.8                                | 257                |  |  |
| 8.10.2–3                             | 257                |  |  |
| 8.12.1                               | 257 n. 70          |  |  |
| 8.12.11                              | 249 n. 42          |  |  |
| 8.14.13                              | 257 n. 70          |  |  |
| 8.16.1                               | 255                |  |  |
| 8.16.1–4                             | 248                |  |  |
| 8.16.2                               | 251, 255, 256–7    |  |  |
| 8.16.3                               | 255                |  |  |
| 9.1.1                                | 258                |  |  |
| 9.1.9                                | 257                |  |  |
| 9.8.1–13                             | 249                |  |  |
| 9.8.15                               | 249                |  |  |
| 9.9.1                                | 249, 258 n. 72     |  |  |
| 9.9.3–4                              | 258 n. 72          |  |  |
| 9.9.5–9                              | 258 n. 72          |  |  |
| 10.1.1                               | 250–1              |  |  |
| 10.1.2                               | 216 n. 6           |  |  |
| 10.1.3                               | 250                |  |  |
| 10.3.3                               | 250                |  |  |
| 10.4                                 | 258–9              |  |  |
| 10.4.8                               | 258                |  |  |
| 10.4.11                              | 258                |  |  |
| 10.4.12                              | 258                |  |  |
| 10.4.25                              | 250                |  |  |
| 10.4.66                              | 250                |  |  |
| 10.4.72                              | 259                |  |  |
| 10.8.1                               | 249, 159           |  |  |
| 10.8.2                               | 258 n. 72          |  |  |
| 10.9.8                               | 259                |  |  |
| 10.40.10                             | 242                |  |  |
| <i>Ecclesiastical Theology</i>       |                    |  |  |
| 1.2                                  | 241 nn. 14, 15, 17 |  |  |
| 1.11.3                               | 241 n. 13          |  |  |
| 1.16.2                               | 241 n. 17          |  |  |
| 1.17.9                               | 241 n. 15          |  |  |
| 1.20.6                               | 241 n. 13          |  |  |
| 2.6.1                                | 241 n. 13          |  |  |
| 2.6.1–2                              | 241 n. 14          |  |  |
| 2.7.1                                | 241 n. 14          |  |  |
| 2.71–2                               | 241 n. 13          |  |  |
| 2.23.1                               | 241 n. 13          |  |  |
| <i>On the Martyrs of Palestine</i>   |                    |  |  |
| 2.3                                  | 253                |  |  |
| 3.3                                  | 253                |  |  |
| 4.1–5                                | 253                |  |  |
| 9.12                                 | 251 n. 50          |  |  |
| <i>Preparation for the Gospel</i>    |                    |  |  |
| 1.2.4                                | 207 n. 36          |  |  |
| 1.3–4                                | 242 n. 18          |  |  |
| 1.4                                  | 240                |  |  |
| 4.4                                  | 242 n. 18          |  |  |
| 4.21                                 | 242 n. 18          |  |  |
| <i>Gospel of the Hebrews</i>         |                    |  |  |
| fr. 17                               | 177 n. 55          |  |  |
| <i>Gospel of Judas</i>               |                    |  |  |
| 20                                   | 179 n. 62          |  |  |
| <i>Gospel of Peter</i>               |                    |  |  |
|                                      | 170                |  |  |
| <i>Gospel of Philip</i>              |                    |  |  |
|                                      | 170                |  |  |
| <i>Gospel of Truth</i>               |                    |  |  |
|                                      | 170                |  |  |
| <i>Homily on the Holy Pascha</i>     |                    |  |  |
| 24                                   | 180 n. 67          |  |  |
| Ignatius of Antioch and Ps.-Ignatius |                    |  |  |
| <i>Letter to the Romans</i>          |                    |  |  |
|                                      | 170                |  |  |
| 1.1                                  | 252 n. 55          |  |  |
| 2.2                                  | 252 n. 55          |  |  |
| 2.3                                  | 118 n. 97          |  |  |
| 4.1                                  | 252 n. 55          |  |  |
| 6.3                                  | 189, 193 n. 23     |  |  |
| 7.3                                  | 189 n. 12          |  |  |
| <i>Letter to the Ephesians</i>       |                    |  |  |
| 9.2                                  | 189 n. 12          |  |  |
| 14.2                                 | 189 n. 12          |  |  |
| <i>Letter to the Magnesians</i>      |                    |  |  |
| 8.10                                 | 191 n. 17          |  |  |
| <i>Letter to the Philippians</i>     |                    |  |  |
| 3.2                                  | 244 n. 30          |  |  |
| Irenaeus                             |                    |  |  |
| <i>Against Heresies</i>              |                    |  |  |
| 1.3.2                                | 179                |  |  |
| 1.14.2                               | 238 n. 5           |  |  |
| 1.23.2                               | 238 n. 5           |  |  |
| 1.24.3                               | 238 n. 5           |  |  |



<i>Life of Thecla</i>		2.61–2	178 n. 57
1.28.7–11	163 n. 10	2.63–5	181, 182
		2.68	202
<i>Martyrdom of Carpus, Papyrus, and Agathonice</i>		2.70	209 n. 48, 211
		2.75	211, 212
2.23–6	252 n. 55	2.75–8	209 n. 48
		3.3	201, 218
<i>Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas</i>		3.14	211
1.2–3	252 n. 55	3.16	202 n. 10, 204 n. 22, 206
2.1	252 n. 55	3.17	204
		3.18	215
<i>Martyrdom of Polycarp</i>		3.21	210
	170	3.22	201, 217 n. 80
1.2	189	3.24	202, 209
13.3	253 n. 57	3.25	201
15.2	253 n. 57	3.26	217 n. 81
		3.26–9	205
Origen		3.27	206, 217
		3.28	206
<i>Against Celsus</i>		3.29	206, 217
1.1	315 n. 70	3.31–2	217
1.2	88 n. 41, 110 n. 79, 204	3.32	217
1.3	204 n. 24	3.34	217
1.4	110 n. 79	3.35	202
1.5	207 n. 37	3.36	204 n. 24, 206 n. 29, 217
1.9	88 n. 41, 204 n. 22, 206, 212, 215, 218	3.37	201
1.11	207 n. 34	3.42	201
1.12	218	3.43	201
1.13	207 n. 38	3.49	215
1.14	211	3.50	215
1.15	211, 212 n. 58, 212 n. 58	3.52	215
1.16	201 n. 10, 211	3.55	215
1.18	211	3.56	215 n. 72, 216
1.23	88 n. 41, 209 n. 48	3.59	217
1.24	88 n. 41	3.64	217
1.24–5	203	3.66	217
1.27	215	3.71	217 n. 79
1.41	211	3.72	215
1.48	212	3.74	215
1.67	210, 217 n. 82	4.6	202, 209 n. 48, 211
1.67–8	218 n. 82	4.10	202 n. 10, 206
2.6	212	4.14	211, 212 n. 58, 212 n. 58
2.8	209 n. 48	4.33	215
2.16	181	4.36	210
2.27–8	211 n. 53	4.47	200
2.54	209 n. 48	4.52	209 n. 45
2.55–7	181–2	4.62	217
2.55–8	181	4.65	218

- |         |                     |  |                      |
|---------|---------------------|--|----------------------|
| 4.73    | 217 n. 79           | 8.55                                       | 203                  |
| 4.91    | 202                 | 8.58                                       | 204                  |
| 4.98    | 410 n. 51           | 8.65                                       | 203, 204 n. 24       |
| 5.2     | 203                 | 8.66                                       | 201                  |
| 5.14    | 217                 | 8.68                                       | 204, 210             |
| 5.25    | 203                 |  |                      |
| 5.34    | 204                 | <i>Commentary on the Gospel of John</i>    |                      |
| 5.34–45 | 202 n. 15           | 10.245                                     | 172 n. 41            |
| 5.45    | 201, 202, 203       | <i>Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew</i> |                      |
| 5.61    | 238 n. 4            | <i>Ad</i> 10.6                             | 196 n. 30            |
| 5.65    | 211                 | <i>Ad</i> 13.35                            | 196 n. 31            |
| 6.1     | 212                 |  |                      |
| 6.3     | 211, 213            | <i>Pistis Sophia</i>                       |                      |
| 6.6     | 217                 | 1–5  | 179                  |
| 6.12    | 215                 |  |                      |
| 6.14    | 215 n. 71           | Polycarp                                   |                      |
| 6.19    | 210 n. 50           | <i>Letter to the Philippians</i>           |                      |
| 6.22    | 202 n. 10, 204      | 2.2  | 189                  |
| 6.29    | 209 n. 48           | 2.2–3                                      | 189 n. 12            |
| 6.39    | 206, 207, 215       | 3.2–3                                      | 129 n. 19            |
| 6.40    | 207                 | 5.2  | 189 n. 12            |
| 6.41    | 208 n. 44           | 9.1–2                                      | 189                  |
| 6.42    | 202, 210, 211, 212  | 10.1                                       | 189                  |
| 6.71    | 217                 | 11.4                                       | 244 n. 30            |
| 7.3     | 202, 213            |  |                      |
| 7.6     | 202                 | <i>Refutation of All Heresies</i>          |                      |
| 7.9     | 207, 215            | 10.33.16                                   | 171–2                |
| 7.14–15 | 203 n. n. 19, 210   |  |                      |
| 7.28    | 202                 | <i>Shepherd of Hermas</i>                  |                      |
| 7.33    | 217                 |  | 170                  |
| 7.42    | 208 n. 40, 211      | Vis. 1.3.4                                 | 189                  |
| 7.53    | 201 n. 10, 202      | Vis. 4.2.6                                 | 189 n. 12            |
| 7.62–4  | 201, 202            | Vis. 4.4                                   | 118                  |
| 7.63–4  | 201 n. 9            | Mand. 4.1.8                                | 244 n. 30            |
| 7.66    | 203 n. 19           | Mand. 6.2.4                                | 189 n. 12            |
| 7.67–8  | 203                 | Mand. 30.2                                 | 118                  |
| 7.68    | 203                 | Mand 38.2–3                                | 118                  |
| 8.17    | 202, 215 n. 70      | Mand 44.1–2                                | 118                  |
| 8.24    | 203, 209 n. 48, 210 | Par 56.3–4                                 | 118                  |
| 8.25    | 203                 | Par 97.4                                   | 118                  |
| 8.33    | 203                 | Sim. 63.6                                  | 189 n. 12            |
| 8.35    | 203                 | Sim. 97.2                                  | 189 n. 12            |
| 8.41    | 206, 213 n. 62, 217 |  |                      |
| 8.43    | 213                 | Socrates                                   |                      |
| 8.45    | 202, 217            | <i>Ecclesiastical History</i>              |                      |
| 8.45–6  | 202                 | 1.22                                       | 246 n. 37, 250 n. 46 |
| 8.48    | 202 n. 10, 206      | 3.16                                       | 246 n. 37            |
| 8.54    | 210                 |  |                      |

- |                               |                      |                               |                      |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| 4.16                          | 250 n. 46            | <i>Diatessaron</i>            |                      |
| 4.19                          | 255 n. 63            | 14.54.1–8                     | 178 n. 61            |
| 4.20                          | 255 n. 63            |                               |                      |
| 4.24                          | 250 n. 46, 251 n. 50 | Tertullian                    |                      |
| 4.30                          | 255 n. 63            | <i>Apology</i>                |                      |
| 5 pr.                         | 246 n. 37            | 4.1                           | 110 n. 79            |
| 5.10                          | 255 n. 63            | 19                            | 211 n. 54            |
| 7.4                           | 251 n. 50            | 21                            | 178, 181             |
| 7.23                          | 250 n. 46            | 45                            | 244 n. 29            |
| Sozomen                       |                      | <i>On the Crown</i>           |                      |
| <i>Ecclesiastical History</i> |                      | 3.3                           | 227 n. 23            |
| 1.7                           | 246 n. 37, 250 n. 46 | <i>On the Flesh of Christ</i> |                      |
| 1.16                          | 246 n. 37            |                               | 170                  |
| 2.3                           | 246 n. 37            | 24                            | 172 n. 41            |
| 2.4                           | 250 n. 46            | <i>On the Resurrection</i>    |                      |
| 3.1–21                        | 254 N. 62            |                               | 170                  |
| 4.5                           | 250 n. 46, 251 n. 50 | <i>To Scapula</i>             |                      |
| 4.14–16                       | 251 n. 50            | 5                             | 193 n. 23, 252 n. 55 |
| 5.1                           | 250 n. 46            | Theophilus                    |                      |
| 6.16                          | 250 n. 46            | <i>To Autolytus</i>           | 170                  |
| 6.32–4                        | 251 n. 50            | <i>Wisdom of Jesus Christ</i> |                      |
| Tatian                        |                      | 1                             | 179, 180 n. 67       |
| <i>Address to the Greeks</i>  |                      |                               |                      |
|                               | 170                  |                               |                      |
| 25                            | 238 n. 4             |                               |                      |

### Greek and Roman Writings

- |                          |          |                                   |  |
|--------------------------|----------|-----------------------------------|--|
| Aelian                   |          | Aesop                             |  |
| <i>Natural History</i>   |          | <i>Fables</i> ed. Chambry (Perry) |  |
| 17.37                    | 101      | 1                                 | 36 n. 71                                     |
| Aeschines                |          | 2 (99)                            | 35 n. 66                                     |
| <i>Against Ctesiphon</i> |          | 10 (5)                            | 22 n. 23                                     |
| 142.7                    | 83 n 26  | 18 (301)                          | 22 n. 23, 22 n. 24, 31, 36<br>n. 71, 64 n. 4 |
| <i>Against Timarchus</i> |          | 19 (8)                            | 21 n. 17, 22 n. 21, 23                       |
| 24.6                     | 83 n 26  | 44                                | 21 n. 18, 22 n. 21, 36<br>n. 71              |
| Aeschylus                |          | 48 (306)                          | 32 n. 59                                     |
| <i>Prometheus Bound</i>  |          | 50 (36)                           | 22 n. 23, 33, 36 n. 72                       |
| 442–525                  | 23 n. 32 | 51                                | 22 n. 23                                     |
|                          |          | 53 (30)                           | 22 n. 24, 32 n. 59, 36<br>n. 73              |

- |           |  |                              |                                 |
|-----------|--|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 55 (28)   | 22 n. 22, 31 n. 56, 35<br>n. 67, 36 n. 72      | 262 (185)                    | 24                              |
| 57 (311)  | 23   | 273 (179)                    | 22 n. 24, 33 n. 61              |
| 61 (285)  | 22 n. 24, 35 n. 66                             | 291 (198)                    | 24                              |
| 66 (44)   | 20 n. 13, 24, 33                               | 292                          | 22 n. 22                        |
| 72 (291)  | 21 n. 18, 31–2, 36 n. 73,<br>65 n. 10          | 294                          | 22 n. 22                        |
| 73 (46)   | 21 n. 19, 32 n. 58                             | 298                          | 21 n. 19, 32 n. 58              |
| 74        | 22 n. 24                                       | 303                          | 21 n. 18, 23 n. 32              |
| 76 (50)   | 22 n. 24, 32, 64 n. 4                          | 313                          | 28                              |
| 78 (60)   | 32 n. 58                                       | 319 (367)                    | 21 n. 19, 32 n. 58, 36<br>n. 71 |
| 99 (302)  | 25 n. 38                                       | 322 (240)                    | 21 n. 18, 23 n. 31, 23<br>n. 32 |
| 108 (88)  | 30, 34   | 346 (271)                    | 21 n. 19, 32 n. 58              |
| 109 (102) | 21 n. 17, 22 n. 21, 23                         | 356                          | 21 n. 18                        |
| 110       | 30   |                              |                                 |
| 111 (103) | 26, 28   | Alcinous                     |                                 |
| 112 (309) | 28   | <i>Handbook of Platonism</i> |                                 |
| 118 (109) | 23 n. 26, 32 n. 58                             | 28                           | 217 n. 78                       |
| 119 (107) | 30 n. 53, 33, 64 n. 4                          |                              |                                 |
| 120 (108) | 23 n. 26, 29                                   | Andocides                    |                                 |
| 121 (104) | 22 n. 21                                       | <i>Against Alcibiades</i>    |                                 |
| 123 (312) | 25   | 27.9                         | 83 n. 26                        |
| 124 (100) | 20 n. 14, 22 n. 21, 24<br>n. 35, 32 n. 58      | Apollonius Paradoxographus   |                                 |
| 125 (106) | 24 n. 35, 64 n. 4                              | <i>Wonders</i>               |                                 |
| 126 (313) | 25   | 2                            | 205 n. 27                       |
| 127       | 32 n. 58                                       | Apuleius                     |                                 |
| 129 (316) | 21 n. 18, 22 n. 21, 28<br>n. 48                | <i>Metamorphoses</i>         |                                 |
| 130 (111) | 21 nn. 18, 19, 22 n. 21,<br>28 n. 48, 36 n. 71 | 11.5                         | 202 n. 14                       |
| 131       | 22 n. 24, 65 n. 8                              | Aristides                    |                                 |
| 133       | 21 n. 19, 32 n. 58                             | <i>Orations</i>              |                                 |
| 139       | 20 n. 14, 23                                   | 4.334.19–35                  | 410 m. 49                       |
| 146 (117) | 24   | Aristophanes                 |                                 |
| 162 (324) | 30 n. 53                                       | <i>Birds</i>                 |                                 |
| 166 (323) | 20 n. 13, 22 n. 24, 31, 36<br>n. 72            | 49–90                        | 30 n. 54                        |
| 210 (259) | 21 n. 18, 23 n. 32                             | 686                          | 23 n. 32                        |
| 222       | 20 n. 13                                       | Aristotle                    |                                 |
| 234 (163) | 24   | <i>Nicomachean Ethics</i>    |                                 |
| 236 (164) | 21 n. 16                                       | 1142b                        | 87 n. 40                        |
| 240       | 25   |                              |                                 |
| 246 (66)  | 22 n. 22                                       |                              |                                 |
| 253 (173) | 22 n. 24, 30 n. 53                             |                              |                                 |
| 259 (355) | 21 n. 19, 32 n. 58                             |                              |                                 |
| 260 (178) | 31, 35 n. 67, 36 n. 72                         |                              |                                 |
| 261 (174) | 21 n. 19, 31, 65 n. 10                         |                              |                                 |

- Ps.-Aristotle  
*On the Cosmos*  
 7 202 n. 14
- Arrian  
*Anabasis*  
 4.11.1–9 218  
 7.26.2 59 n. 74
- Artemidorus  
*Dream Book*  
 2.33 31 n. 56  
 5.9 65
- Athenaeus  
*Deipnosophists*  
 4.162 238 n. 4  
 10.86 17 n. 2  
 14.7 83 n. 26
- Babrius  
*Fables*  
 10 31 n. 57, 64 n. 4  
 20 65 n. 10  
 49 65 n. 10  
 58 25 n. 37  
 63 65  
 136.6 101 n. 46
- Callimachus  
*Hymns*  
 2.2 77 n. 10
- Catullus  
 64.260 77 n. 10
- Cicero  
*On Laws*  
 1.23 208 n. 41  
*On the Nature of the Gods*  
 1.2–3 85  
 1.13–14 85, 88  
 1.43–9 208 n. 41
- 2.12–15 81 n. 22  
 2.154 58 n. 71  
 3.58 164 n. 17  
*On the Orator*  
 2.55–58 301 n. 122  
*The Orator*  
 39 301 n. 122
- Conon Historicus  
 26 44 n. 19
- Demosthenes  
*Orations*  
 3.15.2 82 n. 26  
 58.67.8 102
- Demetrius of Phaleron  
*On Elocution*  
 232 17 n. 2
- Dinarchus  
*Orations*  
 Fr. 2.2 83 n. 26
- Dio Chrysostom  
*Orations*  
 39.38 210 n. 51
- Diodorus Siculus  
*Library of History*  
 1.11.4 59 n. 76  
 1.13.4–5 59 n. 76  
 1.25 59  
 1.27.3–4 59 n. 76  
 3.62.2 164 n. 16  
 4.4–5 164 n. 14  
 70.5 24 n. 33  
 82.6 24 n. 33
- Diogenes Laertius  
*Lives of the Philosophers*  
 3.57 83 n. 26  
 4.52 83 n. 26

- 5.75.4 164 N. 13
- Dionysius of Halicarnassus
- Roman Antiquities*
- 1.2.12 238 n. 4
- 7.54.2.5 102 n. 51
- 9.3.3.3 102 n. 47
- Letter to Pompey*
- 3.3–6 301 n. 122
- Epictetus
- Discourses*
- 2.8.23 208 n. 41
- 3.3.6 101 n. 44
- 3.7.18 102 n. 48
- 3.14.1 101
- Euripides 312 n. 1
- Bacchae*
- 68 77 n. 10
- 99–102 164
- Phoenician Woman*
- 638–75 44 n. 20
- Galen
- On the Natural Faculties*
- 2.24 83 n. 26
- The Best Doctor is Also a Philosopher*
- 1.62.6 83 n. 26
- On the Function of Parts*
- 1.174.5–17 29 n. 49, 85 n. 32
- Heraclides Criticus
- Fr. 3.2 44 n. 19
- Herodotus
- Histories*
- 1.1 238
- 1.56 41, 41 n. 8
- 1.57.3 41 n. 8, 44 n. 20
- 1.71.2 44 n. 21
- 1.101 41
- 1.135 45
- 1.143 41
- 1.146 45
- 1.171 45
- 2.42 59, 164 N. 12
- 2.49–50 45
- 2.51 44 n. 21
- 2.51.1–2 44 n. 20
- 2.71.3 44 n. 20
- 2.109 45
- 2.144 164 N. 12
- 2.156 59
- 4.13 162 n. 9
- 4.14–15 205 n. 27
- 4.161 24 n. 33
- 4.189 45
- 5.37 45 n. 23
- 5.91.1 41 n. 8
- 6.1 45 n. 23
- 7.62 45
- 8.144 41
- Hesiod
- Theogony*
- 506–616 23 n. 32
- 941–3 164
- Works and Days*
- 90–8 25 n. 36
- 106–76 44
- Hierocles Historicus
- FGH* 4 p. 429 207 n. 36
- Homer
- Iliad*
- 20.233–5 163 n. 10
- 24.527–8 25 n. 36
- Homeric Hymn to Demeter*
- 239–63 65 n. 7
- Horace
- Odes*
- 3.1.1 77 n. 10

- |  |                    |                                    |           |
|--|--------------------|------------------------------------|-----------|
| Hyginus                                  |                    | Marcus Aurelius                    |           |
| <i>Fables</i>                            |                    | <i>Meditations</i>                 |           |
| 167                                      | 164 n. 14          | 6.44                               | 101 n. 45 |
|  |                    | 10.1                               | 101 n. 44 |
| Isocrates                                |                    | Ovid                               |           |
| <i>Panegyric</i>                         |                    | <i>Heroides</i>                    |           |
| 41                                       | 46                 | 20.187                             | 67 n. 21  |
| 47                                       | 46                 | <i>Metamorphoses</i>               |           |
| 76                                       | 46 n. 24           | 8.679–724                          | 65 n. 7   |
| <i>Panathenaic Oration</i>               |                    | Pausanias                          |           |
| 251.8                                    | 83 n. 26           | <i>Description of Greece</i>       |           |
| <i>To Nicocles</i>                       |                    | 7.17.9–12                          | 164 N. 12 |
| 59                                       | 83 n. 26           | Phaedrus                           |           |
| Julian                                   |                    | <i>Fables</i>                      |           |
| <i>Beard-Hater</i>                       |                    | 1.2                                | 33 n. 61  |
| 2.36                                     | 207 n. 36          | 3 Prol. 43–7                       | 17 n. 2   |
| Juvenal                                  |                    | Pherecydes                         |           |
| <i>Satires</i>                           |                    | Fr. 3                              | 44 n. 20  |
| 6.512–41                                 | 208                | Fr. 6.9                            | 82 n. 26  |
| Livy                                     |                    | Philostratus                       |           |
| <i>History of Rome</i>                   |                    | <i>Life of Apollonius of Tyana</i> |           |
| 2.32.9                                   | 17 n. 2            | 4.45                               | 165       |
| 39.8–18                                  | 40                 | 5.14–16                            | 17 n. 2   |
| Lucian                                   |                    | 6.41                               | 208       |
| <i>Alexander</i>                         |                    | Philostratus the Younger?          |           |
| 38                                       | 84–5               | <i>Images</i>                      |           |
| <i>Peregrinus</i>                        |                    | 1.3                                | 17 n. 2   |
| 13                                       | 207 n. 36          | Pindar                             |           |
| Lysias                                   |                    | <i>Nemean Odes</i>                 |           |
| <i>Oration 3</i>                         |                    | 10.49–59                           | 162 n. 10 |
| Fr. 244a–c l. 11                         | 83 n. 26           | Plato                              |           |
| Macrobius                                |                    | <i>Meno</i>                        |           |
| <i>Commentary on 'Somnium Scipionis'</i> |                    | 82d                                | 239 n. 8  |
| 1.3.8                                    | 64 n. 5, 164 n. 14 | 98b                                | 87 n. 40  |

<i>Phaedrus</i>		376f	83 n. 27
165b4	164 n. 15	404b	83
<i>Protagoras</i>		416c	83 n. 26
320d	23 n. 31	421e	83
		591e	83 n. 27
<i>Republic</i>		<i>Fortune of Alexander</i>	
364b–65a	108 n. 42	333b	84
<i>Symposium</i>		<i>Fragments</i>	
209e2	102 n. 47	157.16–25	211 n. 55
<i>Theaetetus</i>		<i>How the Young Man should Listen to Poetry</i>	
176e	217 n. 78	14e	80
202b	87 n. 40	16c–e	80
<i>Timaeus</i>	29 n. 49	20e–21a	81 n. 21
Pliny		21f	81 n. 21
<i>Natural History</i>		22c–d	81 n. 21
6.22	50 n. 38	23a–24e	81 n. 21
8.2–3	210 n. 51	30e–f	81 n. 21
		37b	81 n. 21
Plutarch		<i>Isis and Osiris</i>	
<i>Agis</i>		351c–e	79
21.3	102 n. 47	355c4	79
<i>Alexander</i>		355d	88
76	59 n. 74	376f–78a	77
<i>Demosthenes</i>		378a–d	77, 79 n. 13
2.3	83 n. 26	379a	77
<i>Lycurgus</i>		379b	88
8	102 n. 48	379b–c	77
57	101 n. 46	379c	9, 75–89
<i>Philopoemen</i>		379d–e	78
4	101	382d	79 nn. 13, 15
<i>Romulus</i>		463f–5a	164 n. 16
27.2	83 n. 26	591d–f	80 n. 19
28.4–6	163 n. 10	<i>Moralia</i>	
28.5	163 n. 10	1b	101 n. 45
28.7–8	163 n. 10	21c	102 n. 48
<i>Solon</i>		27a	101 n. 45
15.2	83 n. 26	31f	101 n. 45
<i>Bravery of Women</i>		89–90	86 n. 37
242e	79 n. 14	169e	207 n. 35
<i>Decline of Oracles</i>		323e	84 n. 28
369a	83 n. 27	378d	87 n. 39
		379d	84 n. 28
		382a–b	80
		385b	84 n. 28
		386e–f	84 n. 28

- |                                     |                      |                                   |           |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------|
| 404b                                | 84 n. 28             | Quintilian                        |           |
| 406b–7c                             | 210 n. 52            | <i>Education of an Orator</i>     |           |
| 409e–38e                            | 29 n. 49, 85 n. 32   | 1.9.2                             | 17 n. 2   |
| 414b                                | 84 n. 28             | 1.10.46–8                         | 81        |
| 416c                                | 84 n. 28             | 5.11.21                           | 17 n. 2   |
| 424a                                | 84 n. 28             | 10.1.35                           | 81        |
| 444f                                | 86 n. 37             | 11.19–21                          | 17 n. 2   |
| 514e                                | 101 n. 46            | Semonides                         |           |
| 546b                                | 101 n. 46            | Fr. 7                             | 7         |
| 550d                                | 208 n. 41, 217 n. 78 | Seneca                            |           |
| 591e                                | 80                   | <i>Letters</i>                    |           |
| 605b                                | 238 n. 4             | 88.25–8                           | 81 n. 22  |
| 638b9                               | 83 n. 26             | 94.1–2                            | 17 n. 2   |
| 757f–78e                            | 84 n. 29             | 94.5–6                            | 17 n. 2   |
| 809f                                | 101 n. 45            | 95.35                             | 208 . 43  |
| 945a                                | 80                   | <i>On Benefits</i>                |           |
| 1023d–f                             | 88 n. 40             | 4.7.1–2                           | 202 n. 14 |
| 1031d                               | 84 n. 28             | Sextus Empiricus                  |           |
| <i>On the Malice of Herodotus</i>   |                      | <i>Against the Mathematicians</i> |           |
| 866d                                | 102 n. 50            | 7.90                              | 238 n. 4  |
| <i>On Superstition</i>              |                      | 9.75–6                            | 81 n. 22  |
| 167e–69e                            | 84                   | Stobaeus                          |           |
| 169d                                | 84 n. 30             | <i>Anthology</i>                  |           |
| 170d–e                              | 80                   | 1                                 | 59 n. 75  |
| <i>Progress in Virtue</i>           |                      | Strabo                            |           |
| 78e                                 | 83                   | <i>Geography</i>                  |           |
| <i>Table Talk</i>                   |                      | 1.2.33                            | 102 n. 49 |
| 707f                                | 86                   | Synesius                          |           |
| [Plutarch]                          |                      | <i>In Praise of Baldness</i>      |           |
| <i>On the Education of Children</i> |                      | 22                                | 17 n. 2   |
| 5a–b                                | 81                   | fr. 13                            | 3 n. 6    |
| 7d–e                                | 81                   | Tacitus                           |           |
| Polybius                            |                      | <i>Annals</i>                     |           |
| <i>Histories</i>                    |                      | 15.36                             | 207 n. 35 |
| 1.1                                 | 238                  |                                   |           |
| 15.35.1                             | 83 n. 26             |                                   |           |
| Pseudo-Diogenianus                  |                      |                                   |           |
| <i>Proverbs</i>                     |                      |                                   |           |
| Pr.                                 | 17 n. 2              |                                   |           |
| 2.84                                | 23 n. 29             |                                   |           |
| 3.20                                | 26 n. 42             |                                   |           |
| 7.98                                | 26 n. 42             |                                   |           |

Theocritus		Xenophon	
<i>Idylls</i>		<i>Hellenica</i>	
15.46	102 n. 47	7.2.1.8	102 n. 47
Thucydides		Zenobius	
<i>History of the Peloponnesian War</i>		<i>Proverbs</i>	
1.4	44 n. 21	1.26	23 n. 29
2.39	46	2.44	23 n. 29
2.41	46	2.48	23 n. 29
Virgil		2.93	32 n. 60
<i>Aeneid</i>		4.11	26 n. 42
6.258	77 n. 10	4.17	188 n. 7
		4.20	23 n. 29
		4.99	23 n. 29
		5.81	26 n. 42
		5.82	26 n. 42

## Inscriptions

<i>IG IV(2) 1.121–2</i>	65 n. 11
<i>IG XII 9.4</i>	48.32

## Papyri

<i>CIJ 711</i>	54 n. 54	<i>P.Oxy. 11.1380</i>	59 n. 76
<i>CPJ 1.20</i>	54 n. 54	<i>P.Oxy. 55.3239</i>	59 n. 76
<i>Mon. Epiph. 2.615</i>	82 n. 24	<i>P.Tebt. 1.546–7</i>	51.44
<i>P.Bour. 1</i>	82 n. 24		

## Index of Subjects

- agathos* 10–11, 59, 92–101, 105–12, 114–20
- Alexander the Great 7, 14, 46, 47, 50, 57, 83–4, 162, 166–7, 185–6, 218, 238–9, 278–80, 306
- allegorical interpretation 67, 69, 76–7, 79, 80, 195–6, 202, 210 *see also* spiritual interpretation
- Aphrodite 21–2, 26, 31–3, 64–5, 164
- Aristeas 162, 163, 205–6
- Aristotle 3 n. 6, 46, 79 n. 15, 82, 83, 86, 101 n. 43, 112 n. 84
- Asclepius 59, 65, 71, 73, 201, 209, 217
- authority 315
- religious 13, 22 n. 23, 88, 214–16, 214–6, 219, 245
  - of antiquity 211 n. 55
  - of disciples/apostles 161, 173, 251
  - of God 190
  - of gospel 178, 180, 182
  - of intuition 286
  - of Jesus Christ 106, 109, 131, 180, 190
  - of Paul 73, 74, 123 n. 4, 127
  - of scriptures 299, 300, 301, 303
  - of structures in churches 118, 190, 251, 282
  - of written texts 195
- belief 6, 10
- Balthasar, Hans Urs von 294, 295
- Biblical theology 294–5, 299–303
- canon
- and theology 300–2, 303
  - authority of 300–1, 302 n. 124
  - historians’ 301–2
  - relation to education 2 n. 3, 195
- “cascade” of qualities 11, 126, 128, 129, 136, 138
- causality, in history 224–5, 237, 239, 245, 253, 261
- Chiron the centaur 48
- Cicero 85–6, 88, 164 n. 17, 194
- Clement of Alexandria 5 n. 9, 58, 178, 219
- code-switching, ethnic 52–4, 55, 58, 59, 61
- cognitive religiosity 10, 20, 25, 29, 34, 63 n. 2, 88, 146 n. 28, 167, 201, 213, 215, 271 n. 29, 313
- Constantine 237, 238–9, 245–6, 249, 255, 258–60, 261 n. 74
- cult practice, relation to cognitive religiosity 22, 75–6, 88–9
- d(a)emonology 83, 203, 204 n. 23, 206, 209–10, 226–7, 228
- “decline and fall” model 13, 224
- deontology 11, 91, 286
- devil 14, 93, 243, 245–6, 247–9, 251 n. 48, 255, 258 n. 72, 259–60
- Diocletian 248, 251, 254, 255–8, 260
- diadochē* 246 n. 35, 238–9, 246 n. 35
- Dionysus 59, 163–4, 166 n. 24, 201, 213 n. 62, 217 n. 80
- Dioscuri 162, 183, 201, 217 n. 80
- disgrace 52, 102
- diversity of early Christianities 160–1
- divine command ethics 113–4, 120
- double determination 246, 255, 267
- doxa alethē/doxa orthē* 87
- education *see also enkyklios paideia*
- earliest Christian 188–91
  - Hellenistic Jewish 187–8
  - of New Testament writers 187–8
  - scribal 185–6, 192
  - unintended consequences of Christian 194–7

- Elijah 66, 70, 72 n. 35, 73, 144 n. 20,  
145–6, 149, 162, 163, 165, 166 nn. 23,  
24, 167 n. 26, 183
- emic/etic approaches to history 270–1,  
273, 277, 289, 290, 297 n. 102, 304
- emperors, Roman 3, 4, 166 nn. 23, 24,  
203, 210, 218, 246, 248, 252 n. 55,  
253–5, 258, 259 *see also* Constantine,  
Diocletian
- enkyklios paideia* 1–2, 12, 186–7, 190,  
191, 194, 195
- entrustedness 6, 29, 71 n. 30, 124, 126,  
129 n. 22, 178, 196
- Epicureans 3 n. 5, 84–5, 86, 208 n. 41
- essay collections 14–15, 267 n. 2,  
313–15, 316, 317
- ethnics, ethnicity 9, 40, 42, 50  
– means of acquiring 50–1
- ethnos* 41, 45
- Eusebius 13–14, 237–61, 263
- fables, as evidence for popular  
religiosity 17–21
- faithful, Christian self-designation 42
- faithfulness 6  
– of Christians 189, 210 n. 50, 244, 250,  
255, 256–7, 259, 260, 313  
– of Jesus Christ 189, 193, 253  
– of Paul 125 n. 11
- fides see pistis*
- Freud, Sigmund 13, 223, 224, 226, 227,  
229–30, 233
- functionalism, in history 225 n. 18
- genos* 41, 45
- genus* 41
- gnosis*, “Gnostics” 43 n. 15, 161 n. 8,  
179–80, 183, 233, 247, 248
- good works 94 n. 18, 99, 107
- grace 27, 103 n. 55, 104 n. 56, 112 n. 84,  
126 n. 13, 131, 243 n. 24, 247–9, 255,  
257, 259, 260
- Hellenistic, definition 47
- Heracles 21, 22, 28 n. 48, 32, 36, 162,  
166 n. 24, 183, 201, 213 n. 62, 217  
n. 80
- “heresy” 247, 250, 251, 252
- “heretics” 239, 239 n. 9, 245, 247, 248  
n. 40, 251, 252 n. 52, 253 n. 58 *see also*  
“Gnostics”
- Hermes 8, 21–3, 25–7, 29, 30<sup>1</sup>, 32 n. 59,  
34–5, 59
- heroes, in popular religiosity 21, 22, 23,  
29, 31–2, 48, 65–6, 161, 161–2, 165  
n. 18, 201, 203
- historia* 239–40
- Humboldt, Wilhelm von 276, 278
- idealism 276, 304
- imitation of Christ 192–3
- instrumentalism, in history 225 n. 18,  
229, 230
- intuition 283–90
- Irenaeus 68–9, 74, 171–2, 178–9, 219,  
238, 244, 253
- James, William 222, 223, 226, 229
- Jonah 66, 70, 72 n. 35, 73, 172 n. 40
- kakos* 10, 92, 93–5, 96, 100, 116, 121
- kalos* 10–11, 92, 95, 96, 100–20, 121
- law 54, 58, 94, 217 n. 76, 275, 317  
– cosmic 58  
– Egyptian 54  
– Greek 44, 193  
– Greek sacred 79, 88  
– of history 306, 307 *see also* Whig history  
– of Moses/Jewish 54, 91, 94, 96 nn. 22,  
24, 97, 108, 110, 112–13, 115, 116, 117  
n. 96, 118–20, 125, 128, 133, 135, 137,  
145, 146, 174, 177, 191 n. 17, 196  
– natural 71 n. 31, 112–4, 120  
– Ptolemaic 54, 54 n. 54  
– Roman 254 n. 60, 255
- literate education *see enkyklios paideia*
- L. Mussius Aemilianus, 216–17
- logos* 77 n. 9, 146 n. 30, 238 n. 6
- Logos, Christ as* 112 n. 84, 146 n. 30, 147  
n. 31, 174, 176, 177, 239, 240–2, 248,  
250, 251
- love, Christian 5, 11, 123–38  
– defensive, progressive, perfectionist, or  
negotiable 134–7

- horizontal/vertical 137-8
  - see also* cascade
- love patriarchalism 128
- magic 58, 59, 199, 203, 206, 208
- “mapping”, historical 5-6
- martyrs, martyrdom 118 n. 97, 181 n. 71, 192 n. 20, 193 n. 23, 225, 239 n. 10, 242, 247-53, 256-7
- memory, in history 281-3
- mentality, history of 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 13, 18, 20, 36, 76, 201 n. 8, 225, 228, 229, 230, 231-2, 279, 289, 304
- minimalist historiography 14, 237 n. 2, 245-6, 255, 260
- morality, popular 2-3, 10, 19, 24-5, 27, 37, 92, 101 n. 43, 113 n. 87, 207, 217 n. 76, 279
  - in school texts 19, 82
- Moses 63, 94, 96 n. 24, 145-6, 161 n. 8, 162, 178 n. 59, 209, 248, 258 n. 72
  - see also* law of Moses
- natural goodness 10, 11, 91, 113, 114, 120
- natural law 71 n. 31, 108 n. 73, 112-4, 120
- natural right 108 n. 73
- “new race” 9, 41
- New Testament theology 293-6, 299-301, 303
- oligotheon 8, 21-9
- onomata/pragmata see* words/names and things
- open theism 278 n. 49, 309
- Origen 5, 12-13, 15, 88 n. 41, 169 n. 31, 171 n. 40, 179 n. 63, 181, 196, 199-219, 225, 241 n. 13, 248, 249, 253, 313
- orthos*, of religious understanding 78, 82-4, 88
- orthodoxy 160, 178, 213 n. 66, 214, 227, 245, 248, 251, 253, 301
- person, God as 264 n. 6, 265-7, 273, 304, 305, 309
- Philo 67-70, 71, 73, 82, 83, 68, 99 n. 35, 107, 112-4, 188, 223, 254 n. 59
- philosophy, relationship with New Testament writings 3
  - evolution in Hellenistic period 57-8
- pistis/fides*, 4-5, 6, 13, 73, 85, 88, 114 n. 89, 126, 154, 193, 209-14, 310
  - meanings of, 4-5
- Plato 46, 79 n. 15, 101-3, 112 n. 84, 113, 208 n. 42, 211-12, 212 n. 59
- Platonism 3, 5 n. 9, 13, 81, 82, 86, 87, 88 n. 42, 112 n. 84, 195, 200, 203, 207, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 216, 217 n. 78, 218, 219, 223, 227, 228, 233, 238 n. 4, 306
- politics, Greek/Roman, relationship with New Testament writings 3
- Quintilian 81
- Ranke, Leopold von 276, 296 n. 98
- reductionism, in history 225 n. 18
- resurrections, typology of ancient 12, 148-9, 161-6, 171-2
- Romulus 162-3, 172
- shame 32 n. 58, 81, 86, 102, 171
- special acts 268
- Spirit, Holy 174, 176, 192, 196, 211, 241, 242, 249, 250, 253, 259, 264 nn. 5, 7, 267-8, 309, 298
- spirit of the age 268 n. 23
- spirits 179, 203, 207
  - evil, 203 n. 17, 216 n. 73, 250
- spiritual interpretation 182 *see also* allegorical interpretation
- Ste Croix, G. E. M. de 272
- Stoics 3, 18, 40, 57, 58, 61, 81, 86, 119 n. 100, 203, 212 n. 59, 217 n. 78, 218, 238 n. 4
- sub-elite groups 6, 8, 70, 71, 86
- Tillich, Paul 294, 298-9, 300 n. 118, 304
- “trickle up/down” 3
- Trinity 195, 241 n. 14, 242, 309
- Troeltsch, Ernst 15, 294, 296 n. 97, 297-9, 304
- trust, Christian 4-5
- Tyche 21, 31, 59, 239 n. 8
- “what actually happened” 5, 6, 272, 273, 276, 280, 305

- Whig history 274, 306 *see also* laws of  
    history
- Whig theology 306
- wisdom theme in resurrection  
    stories 173–81
- words/names and things 9–10, 76, 78, 82,  
    83, 87, 88 n. 41, 203
- Zeus/Jupiter 8, 20, 21–8, 30, 31, 32 n. 58,  
    33, 34, 36, 37, 46, 59, 162–3 n. 10, 164,  
    201, 202, 213, 270, 308 n. 137