

CARL R. HOLLADAY

Hellenistic Jewish
Literature and the
New Testament

Edited by

JONATHAN M. POTTER
and MICHAEL K.W. SUH

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament*

Mohr Siebeck

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468



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Collected Essays

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Jonathan M. Potter and Michael K.W. Suh

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Table of Contents

Editors' Foreword	VII
Author's Preface	IX
List of Abbreviations	XI

I. Hellenistic Judaism

1. The Portrait of Moses in Ezekiel the Tragedian	3
2. Demetrius the Chronographer as Historian and Apologist	10
3. Preparing a Critical Edition: An Appraisal of H. W. Attridge and R. A. Oden, <i>Philo of Byblos</i>	20
4. Jewish Responses to Hellenistic Culture in Early Ptolemaic Egypt . . .	36
5. The Textual Tradition of Pseudo-Orpheus: Walter or Riedweg?	59
6. Pseudo-Orpheus: Tracking a Tradition	80
7. Acts and the Fragments of Hellenistic Jewish Historians	104
8. Hellenism in the Fragmentary Hellenistic Jewish Authors: Resonance and Resistance	133
9. Paul and His Predecessors in the Diaspora: Some Reflections on Ethnic Identity in the Fragmentary Hellenistic Jewish Authors . . .	155
10. Acts and the Fragmentary Hellenistic Jewish Authors	182
11. Spirit in Philo of Alexandria	207
12. Hellenism, Hellenistic Judaism, and Christian Origins: Pfleiderer and Harnack	229

II. New Testament

13. New Testament Christology: Some Considerations of Method	273
14. 1 Corinthians 13: Paul as Apostolic Paradigm	292
15. Luke's Use of the LXX in Acts: A Review of the Debate and a Look at Acts 1:15–26	312
16. The Beatitudes: Jesus's Recipe for Happiness?	399
17. The Beatitudes: Happiness and the Kingdom of God	415
18. Happiness Pursued: What the Beatitudes Have Meant	440
19. Schweitzer's Jesus: Crushed on the Wheel of the World?	481
20. Jesus and His Followers in Galilee: Albert Schweitzer's Reconstruction	520
21. Baptism in the New Testament and Its Cultural Milieu: A Response to Everett Ferguson, <i>Baptism in the Early Church</i>	543
22. The Church of the Spirit, the Spirit of the Church: A Lukan Perspective; Part 1: The Church of the Spirit	566
23. The Church of the Spirit, the Spirit of the Church: A Lukan Perspective; Part 2: The Spirit of the Church	585
24. Acts as Gospel: The Familiar and the Foreign; Part 1: Pisidian Antioch and Athens	601
25. Acts as Gospel: The Familiar and the Foreign; Part 2: Paul's Synagogue Sermon and the Areopagus Speech	618
 List of Original Publications	 637
Index of Ancient Sources	641
Index of Modern Authors	684
Index of Subjects	694

Editors' Foreword

The essays collected in this volume span the scholarly career of Carl R. Holladay, from an early paper on Ezekiel the Tragedian, presented at the 1976 meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, to recent publications and lectures centered on major topics and interpreters of the New Testament. Throughout, Carl's keen eye for detail is as readily apparent as his ability to relate the findings of his meticulous research to issues of broad significance in the study of early Judaism and the New Testament. As two students from the last phase of his active teaching career at Emory, we were honored when Carl invited us to compile and edit this collection of essays.

The purpose of this collection is threefold. First, most of the essays collected here were originally published in a wide range of edited volumes and journals. Several of these have now fallen out of print or are otherwise inaccessible to many readers. This volume thus brings together many of Carl's essays within a single, high-quality volume produced by Mohr Siebeck. Readers who have dared to consult old volumes of SBL seminar papers know what an improvement this is! Now Carl's major essays on Hellenistic Jewish literature and the New Testament are available in one place. Second, the compilation of this volume created a context for publishing six new essays deriving from recent lectures and conferences (chapters 12, 18, and 22–25). Third, editing this collection has provided an opportunity to correct errors that persisted in the previously published articles. The following paragraphs describe the technical aspects of this volume's creation.

Our guiding editorial principle has been to reproduce the content of the previously published articles in essentially unaltered form, while conforming them to a consistent style with regard to primary and secondary source citations, as well as general formatting of headings, etc. The six new essays are also largely unchanged from their original forms as conference papers and lectures, although slightly more liberty has been taken in updating and correcting them.

As much as possible, we have followed the *SBL Handbook of Style*, second edition. Thus all essays now use full footnote citations for secondary literature and consistent abbreviations for ancient sources. Since each chapter fully cites all secondary sources upon first citation, there is no need for a comprehensive bibliography. Thus the few chapters that originally included a bibliography no longer do so. Abstracts have similarly been removed from the few journal articles that previously included one.

Several typographical and typesetting errors in the originals have been corrected. In the case of appendix 1 to chapter 15, "Luke's Use of the LXX in Acts," the table has been completely recreated due to the high number of errors in the Greek text of the original. The second appendix of this chapter also appears in a revised and enhanced form, now distinguishing scriptural allusions and echoes. In chapter 20, "Jesus and His Followers in Galilee: Albert Schweitzer's Reconstruction," a block of text that was mistakenly printed in the wrong location has now been relocated to its correct position. Additionally, chapter 19 now includes two new appendices. All appendices are located immediately after the chapters to which they relate.

Despite the technical changes and corrections, neither we nor Carl have attempted to update the previously published essays with regard to content or incorporating more recent scholarship (the primary exception is the case of citations of previously "forthcoming" works that have subsequently been published; the actual publication details are now given). To facilitate locating references to the previously published essays, we have indicated the original page numbers in the page headers, with a vertical bar in the text | indicating where the page breaks occur. But readers should bear in mind the aforementioned adjustments that result in minor variations between the originals and their forms in this volume.

Both Carl and the editors of this volume would like to thank the original publishers of the essays for their gracious permission to reprint their copyrighted work. A full listing of the original publication details follows (see "List of Original Publications" below), and each essay also contains an initial, unnumbered footnote indicating the original publication venue. For each of the new essays, a similar note explains the context of its original creation.

In producing this volume, the two editors split the chapters between them and then double-checked each other's work. We have striven to reproduce, correct, and reformat the originals as accurately as possible, and it is our sincere hope that we have achieved the high level of precision for which Carl is known. We also acknowledge the help of Zane McGee in the substantial task of creating comprehensive indices for the whole volume. We are most grateful to Henning Ziebritzki and the rest of the team at Mohr Siebeck for their care in producing this lengthy and complex volume, and we would also like to thank Jörg Frey for accepting the volume into WUNT. Carl himself reviewed the full volume once it was typeset, and readers may thus be assured that this volume represents the authoritative versions of the essays contained here.

Jonathan M. Potter and Michael K.W. Suh

Author's Preface

Exploring the ways in which Hellenistic values and traditions informed Judaism during the Second Temple period has been one of my recurrent research interests. While doing research for my doctoral dissertation at Cambridge in the 1970s, I read Martin Hengel's *Judentum und Hellenismus* and have been fascinated ever since with the range of issues he addressed so provocatively.¹ Trying to figure out how the complex set of questions relating to Christian origins relates to the equally complex phenomenon of Hellenistic Judaism has taken me in several different directions. At an early stage, I spent a good bit of time producing serviceable text-and-translation editions of Jewish texts written in Greek that were preserved only in the form of scattered quotations rather than as complete works themselves. Since then, these fragmentary Hellenistic Jewish texts have received even closer scrutiny, while at the same time being incorporated into comprehensive treatments of Second Temple Judaism as well as into monographs exploring various aspects of Judaism during this period.

This collection brings together essays that I have written over several decades in which I explore specific interpretive problems arising in Hellenistic Jewish texts. In some cases, these essays were related to the text-and-translation volumes that I was preparing; in other cases, they were papers delivered at conferences devoted to broader themes. It was only inevitable that the two other major collections of Hellenistic Jewish writings – Philo of Alexandria and Josephus – would be taken into account in these essays, which was already the case in my Cambridge dissertation. Equally inevitable was the necessity to take into account yet another corpus of Hellenistic Jewish writings – the Septuagint.

Along with essays that directly address certain aspects of Hellenistic Judaism are included several that focus more specifically on the New Testament writings themselves. Rather than seeing this as a thematic shift in which I move from exploring one discrete phenomenon – Hellenistic Judaism – to exploring another social-historical reality – early Christianity, I see greater continuity in these lines of inquiry. In one sense, the twenty-seven writings of the New Testament, with

¹ Martin Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus: Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palästinas bis zur Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts vor Christus*, 2nd rev. and enlarged ed., WUNT 10 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1973); ET *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period*, trans. John Bowden, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974).

the possible exception of Luke-Acts – and even that is now highly debatable – can be read as Hellenistic Jewish writings. Like their roughly contemporary counterparts Philo and Josephus, and the spate of earlier writers who produced the Hellenistic Jewish fragmentary texts, along with those who produced the Septuagint, the writers of the New Testament were Jews writing, and presumably thinking, in Greek, even if in some cases Aramaic was their mother tongue. They may have been articulating and promoting a particular form of Jewish messianism that eventually became a distinctive form of religious belief in its own right, but in the first century and the early decades of the second century those Christ-followers who were writing in various genres were operating with many of the same assumptions as their Jewish counterparts in the land of Israel and in other places such as Alexandria and Rome. Moreover, they were having to deal with many of the same political and social challenges facing others who defined themselves as heirs of Israel's tradition.

Accordingly, rather than seeing these essays as organized around two separate themes – Hellenistic Judaism and Early Christianity – I invite readers to see them as exploring the texts and traditions of the broader phenomenon of Greek-speaking Judaism during the Second Temple period, in which specific configurations of belief and practice can be identified.

The main responsibility for editing these essays has fallen to Jonathan Potter and Michael Suh, and I owe both of them heartfelt thanks for their work. They have worked hard to ensure precision and accuracy, but naturally I take full responsibility for the content of the essays and for whatever imprecision and inaccuracy remain.

March 18, 2018

Carl R. Holladay

List of Abbreviations

For the following abbreviations of primary and secondary sources, we have followed the *SBL Handbook of Style*, 2nd ed., wherever possible. For journals and series not listed there, we have consulted Siegfried M. Schwertner, *Internationales Abkürzungsverzeichnis für Theologie und Grenzgebiete*, 3rd ed. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014). We have not listed abbreviations of the biblical books (including deuterocanonical works and LXX titles) nor sigla from the critical apparatus of editions cited. Frequently used alternate titles in English or another language are given in parentheses.

Primary Sources

1 Clem.	1 Clement
1 En.	1 Enoch
1QH ^a	Hodayot ^a
1QM	War Scroll
1QpHab	Peshar Habakkuk
1QS	Rule of the Community
2 Bar.	2 Baruch
2 En.	2 Enoch
4QBeat	4QBeatitudes (4Q525)
4QD ^b	Damascus Document ^b (4Q267)
<i>Ab urbe cond.</i>	Livy, <i>Ab urbe condita</i> (<i>From the Founding of the City, or History of Rome</i>)
ʿAbot	ʿAbot
ʿAbot R. Nat.	ʿAbot de Rabbi Nathan
<i>Abr.</i>	Philo of Alexandria, <i>De Abrahamo</i> (<i>On the Life of Abraham</i>)
Acts Paul	Acts of Paul
Acts Thom.	Acts of Thomas
<i>Aen.</i>	Vergil, <i>Aeneid</i>
<i>Ag. Ap.</i>	Josephus, <i>Against Apion</i> (<i>Contra Apionem</i>)
<i>Alex.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Alexander</i>
<i>Anab.</i>	Xenophon, <i>Anabasis</i> (<i>The March Up Country</i>)
<i>Ant.</i>	Josephus, <i>Antiquitates judaicae</i> (<i>Jewish Antiquities</i>)
Apoc. Pet.	Apocalypse of Peter
<i>Apol.</i>	Plato, <i>Apologia</i> (<i>Apology of Socrates</i>)
<i>Argon.</i>	Apollonius of Rhodes, <i>Argonautica</i>
<i>Att.</i>	Cicero, <i>Epistulae ad Atticum</i> (<i>Letters to Atticus</i>)
<i>Autol.</i>	Theophilus, <i>Ad Autolyicum</i> (<i>To Autolyclus</i>)
Bar	Baruch

<i>Bib. hist.</i>	Diodorus Siculus, <i>Bibliotheca historica</i> (<i>Library of History</i>)
<i>Carm.</i>	Horace, <i>Carmina</i> (<i>Odes</i>)
CD	Cairo Genizah Damascus Document
<i>Cels.</i>	Origen, <i>Contra Celsum</i> (<i>Against Celsus</i>)
<i>Chae.</i>	Chariton, <i>De Chaerea et Callirhoe</i> (<i>Chaereas and Callirhoe</i>)
<i>Cher.</i>	Philo of Alexandria, <i>De cherubim</i> (<i>On the Cherubim</i>)
<i>Cic.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Cicero</i>
<i>Cim.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Cimon</i>
<i>Coh.</i>	Pseudo-Justin, <i>Cohortatio ad Graecos</i> (<i>Exhortation to the Greeks</i>)
<i>Con. Jul.</i>	Cyril of Alexandria, <i>Contra Julianum</i> (<i>Against Julian</i>)
<i>Conf.</i>	Philo of Alexandria, <i>De confusione linguarum</i> (<i>On the Confusion of Tongues</i>)
<i>Contempl.</i>	Philo of Alexandria, <i>De vita contemplativa</i> (<i>On the Contemplative Life</i>)
<i>Cyr.</i>	Xenophon, <i>Cyropaedia</i>
<i>Decal.</i>	Philo of Alexandria, <i>De decalogo</i> (<i>On the Decalogue</i>)
<i>Demon.</i>	Lucian of Samosata, <i>Demonax</i>
<i>Descr.</i>	Pausanias, <i>Graeciae descriptio</i> (<i>Description of Greece</i>)
<i>Det.</i>	Philo of Alexandria, <i>Quod deterius potiori insidari soleat</i> (<i>That the Worse Attacks the Better</i>)
<i>Deus</i>	Philo of Alexandria, <i>Quod Deus sit immutabilis</i> (<i>That God Is Unchangeable</i>)
<i>Diatr.</i>	Epictetus, <i>Diatribai</i> (<i>Dissertationes; Discourses</i>)
<i>Did.</i>	Didache
<i>Ecl.</i>	Vergil, <i>Eclogae</i> (<i>Eclogues</i>)
<i>Eloc.</i>	Demetrius, <i>De elocutione</i> (<i>Peri hermēneias; On Style</i>)
<i>Ench.</i>	Epictetus, <i>Enchiridion</i>
<i>Ep(p).</i>	Various writers, <i>Epistle(s)</i>
<i>Ep. Apos.</i>	Epistle to the Apostles
<i>Epin.</i>	Pseudo-Plato, <i>Epinomis</i>
<i>Epir.</i>	Menander, <i>Epitrepontes</i> (<i>The Arbitration, or The Litigants</i>)
<i>Eth. nic.</i>	Aristotle, <i>Ethica nicomachea</i> (<i>Nicomachean Ethics</i>)
<i>Exp. Luc.</i>	Ambrose, <i>Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam</i> (<i>Exposition of the Gospel according to Luke</i>)
<i>Fam.</i>	Cicero, <i>Epistulae ad familiares</i> (<i>Letters to Friends</i>)
<i>Fast.</i>	Ovid, <i>Fasti</i> (<i>The Book of Days, or On the Roman Calendar</i>)
FHJA	Fragmentary Hellenistic Jewish Authors
<i>Frg(s).</i>	Fragment(s)
<i>Fug.</i>	Philo of Alexandria, <i>De fuga et inventione</i> (<i>On Flight and Finding</i>)
<i>Geogr.</i>	Strabo, <i>Geographica</i> (<i>Geography</i>)
<i>Georg.</i>	Vergil, <i>Georgica</i> (<i>Georgics</i>)
<i>Gig.</i>	Philo of Alexandria, <i>De gigantibus</i> (<i>On Giants</i>)
<i>Gk. Apoc. Ezra</i>	Greek Apocalypse of Ezra
<i>Gorg.</i>	Plato, <i>Gorgias</i>
<i>Gos. Thom.</i>	Gospel of Thomas
<i>Gr. aff. cur.</i>	Theodoret, <i>De Graecarum affectionum curatione</i> (<i>On the Cure of Greek Maladies</i>)
<i>Haer.</i>	Irenaeus, <i>Adversus haereses</i> (<i>Against Heresies</i>)

<i>Her.</i>	Philo of Alexandria, <i>Quis rerum divinarum heres sit</i> (<i>Who Is the Heir of Divine Things?</i>)
<i>Herc. fur.</i>	Euripides, <i>Hercules furens</i> (<i>Madness of Hercules</i>)
<i>Hist.</i>	Various writers, <i>Historiae</i> (<i>Histories</i>)
<i>Hist. eccl.</i>	Eusebius, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> (<i>Ecclesiastical History</i>)
<i>Hom. Beat.</i>	Gregory of Nyssa, <i>De beatitudinibus</i> (<i>Homilies on the Beatitudes</i>)
<i>Hom. Hymn</i>	<i>Homeric Hymns</i>
<i>Ign. Eph.</i>	Ignatius, <i>To the Ephesians</i>
<i>Il.</i>	Homer, <i>Iliad</i>
<i>Inst.</i>	Quintilian, <i>Institutio oratoria</i> (<i>The Orator's Education</i>)
<i>Ios.</i>	Philo of Alexandria, <i>De Iosepho</i> (<i>On the Life of Joseph</i>)
<i>Iph. taur.</i>	Euripides, <i>Iphigenia taurica</i> (<i>Iphigeneia at Tauris</i>)
<i>Is. Os.</i>	Plutarch, <i>De Iside et Osiride</i> (<i>Isis and Osiris</i>)
<i>Isthm.</i>	Pindar, <i>Isthmionikai</i> (<i>Isthmian Odes</i>)
<i>Jos. Asen.</i>	Joseph and Aseneth
<i>Jub.</i>	Jubilees
<i>J.W.</i>	Josephus, <i>Jewish War</i> (<i>Bellum judaicum</i>)
<i>Leg.</i>	Cicero, <i>De legibus</i> (<i>On the Laws</i>)
<i>Leg.</i>	Philo of Alexandria, <i>Legum allegoriae</i> (<i>Allegorical Interpretation</i>)
<i>Legat.</i>	Philo of Alexandria, <i>Legatio ad Gaium</i> (<i>On the Embassy to Gaius</i>)
<i>Let. Aris.</i>	Letter of Aristeas
<i>Log.</i>	Logion (Saying)
<i>Lives</i>	Diogenes Laertius, <i>Philosophōn Bioi</i> (<i>Lives of Eminent Philosophers</i>)
<i>LXX</i>	Greek Bible (Septuagint)
<i>Lys.</i>	Dionysius of Halicarnassus, <i>De Lysia</i> (<i>Lysias</i>)
<i>m.</i>	Mishnah
<i>Magn.</i>	Ignatius, <i>To the Magnesians</i>
<i>Mat. med.</i>	Pedanius Dioscorides, <i>De materia medica</i> (<i>On Medical Material</i>)
<i>Mem.</i>	Xenophon, <i>Memorabilia</i> (<i>Memoirs, or Conversations of Socrates</i>)
<i>Men.</i>	Lucian of Samosata, <i>Menippus</i> (<i>Necyomantia; Descent into Hades</i>)
<i>Metam.</i>	Ovid, <i>Metamorphoses</i> (<i>Transformations</i>)
<i>Midr.</i>	Midrash
<i>Migr.</i>	Philo of Alexandria, <i>De migratione Abrahami</i> (<i>On the Migration of Abraham</i>)
<i>Mon.</i>	Pseudo-Justin, <i>De Monarchia</i> (<i>On the Monarchy of God</i>)
<i>Mor.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Moralia</i> (<i>Morals, or Moral Matters</i>)
<i>Mos.</i>	Philo of Alexandria, <i>De vita Mosis</i> (<i>On the Life of Moses</i>)
<i>Mut.</i>	Philo of Alexandria, <i>De mutatione nominum</i> (<i>On the Change of Names</i>)
<i>MT</i>	Masoretic Text
<i>Names</i>	Rufus of Ephesus, <i>De corporis humani appellationibus</i> (<i>Peri onomastias</i> [LSJ]; <i>On the Names of the Parts of the Human Body</i>)
<i>Nat.</i>	Tertullian, <i>Ad nationes</i> (<i>To the Heathen</i>)
<i>Nic.</i>	Isocrates, <i>Nicocles</i> (<i>Or. 3</i>)
<i>NT</i>	New Testament
<i>Num. Rab.</i>	Numbers Rabbah
<i>Od.</i>	Homer, <i>Odyssey</i>
<i>Odes Sol.</i>	Odes of Solomon

<i>OF</i>	<i>Orphica Fragmenta</i>
<i>Op.</i>	Hesiod, <i>Opera et dies</i> (<i>Works and Days</i>)
<i>Opif.</i>	Philo of Alexandria, <i>De opificio mundi</i> (<i>On the Creation of the World</i>)
<i>Or.</i>	Various writers, <i>Oration(s)</i>
<i>Or. Graec.</i>	Tatian, <i>Oratio ad Graecos</i> (<i>Pros Hellēnas; Oratio to the Greeks</i>)
<i>OT</i>	Old Testament
<i>Per.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Pericles</i>
<i>Phaed.</i>	Plato, <i>Phaedo</i>
<i>Phaedr.</i>	Plato, <i>Phaedrus</i>
<i>Phaen.</i>	Aratus, <i>Phaenomena</i>
<i>Phoc.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Phocion</i>
<i>Plant.</i>	Philo of Alexandria, <i>De plantatione</i> (<i>On Planting</i>)
<i>Pol.</i>	Aristotle, <i>Politica</i> (<i>Politics</i>)
<i>Pol. Phil.</i>	Polycarp, <i>To the Philippians</i>
<i>Pomp.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Pompeius</i> (<i>Pompey</i>)
<i>Post.</i>	Philo of Alexandria, <i>De posteritate Caini</i> (<i>On the Posterity of Cain</i>)
<i>Praep. ev.</i>	Eusebius, <i>Praeparatio evangelica</i> (<i>Preparation for the Gospel</i>)
<i>Pre. Pet.</i>	Preaching of Peter (<i>Kerygma Petri</i>)
<i>Princ.</i>	Origen, <i>De principiis</i> (<i>Peri archōn; On First Principles</i>)
<i>Prob.</i>	Philo of Alexandria, <i>Quod omnis probus liber sit</i> (<i>That Every Good Person Is Free</i>)
[<i>Probl.</i>]	Pseudo-Aristotle, <i>Problemata</i> (<i>Problems</i>)
<i>Prot.</i>	Plato, <i>Protagoras</i>
<i>Protr.</i>	Clement of Alexandria, <i>Protrepticus</i> (<i>Exhortation to the Greeks</i>)
<i>Prov.</i>	Philo of Alexandria, <i>De providentia</i> (<i>On Providence</i>)
<i>Ps.-Phoc.</i>	Pseudo-Phocylides
<i>Pss. Sol.</i>	Psalms of Solomon
<i>Pyth.</i>	Pindar, <i>Pythionikai</i> (<i>Pythian Odes</i>)
<i>QG</i>	Philo of Alexandria, <i>Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesin</i> (<i>Questions and Answers on Genesis</i>)
<i>Rab.</i>	Rabbah
<i>Rer. nat.</i>	Lucretius, <i>De rerum natura</i> (<i>On the Nature of Things</i>)
<i>Resp.</i>	Plato, <i>Respublica</i> (<i>Republic</i>)
<i>Rhet.</i>	Aristotle, <i>Rhetorica</i> (<i>Rhetoric</i>)
<i>Rom.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Romulus</i>
<i>Rom. Hist.</i>	Cassius Dio, <i>Roman History</i>
<i>Sacr.</i>	Philo of Alexandria, <i>De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini</i> (<i>On the Sacrifices of Cain and Abel</i>)
<i>Sat.</i>	Juvenal, <i>Satirae</i> (<i>Satires</i>)
<i>Scorp.</i>	Tertullian, <i>Scorpiace</i> (<i>Antidote for the Scorpion's Sting</i>)
<i>Serm. Dom.</i>	Augustine, <i>De sermone Domini in monte</i> (<i>Sermon on the Mount</i>)
<i>Sib. Or.</i>	Sibylline Oracles
<i>Sifre Num.</i>	Sifre Numbers
<i>Somm.</i>	Philo of Alexandria, <i>De somniis</i> (<i>On Dreams</i>)
<i>Soph.</i>	Isocrates, <i>In sophistas</i> (<i>Or. 13</i>)
<i>Spec.</i>	Philo of Alexandria, <i>De specialibus legibus</i> (<i>On the Special Laws</i>)
<i>Stoic. rep.</i>	Plutarch, <i>De Stoicorum repugnantiis</i> (<i>On Stoic Self-contradictions</i>)

<i>Strom.</i>	Clement of Alexandria, <i>Stromateis (Miscellanies)</i>
<i>Superst.</i>	Plutarch, <i>De superstitione (On Superstition)</i>
T. Levi	Testament of Levi
T. Mos.	Testament of Moses
Tg. Onq.	Targum Onqelos
Tg. Ps.-J.	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
Thdrt	Theodoret
Theod	Theodotion
<i>Theog.</i>	Hesiod, <i>Theogonia (Theogony)</i>
<i>Tim.</i>	Plato, <i>Timaeus</i>
TTu	Theosophia Tubingensis (Tübingen Theosophy)
<i>Virt.</i>	Philo of Alexandria, <i>De virtutibus (On the Virtues)</i>
Vis. Paul	Vision of Paul
<i>Vit. Apoll.</i>	Philostratus, <i>Vita Apollonii (The Life of Apollonius of Tyana)</i>

Secondary Sources

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by David Noel Freedman. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992
ABR	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AGWG.PH	<i>Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen: Philologisch-historische Klasse</i>
ALBO	Analecta Lovaniensia Biblica et Orientalia
ALUOS	<i>Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society</i>
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
ANF	<i>The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A. D. 325</i> . Edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. 10 vols. 1885–1887
ANRrAW	Abhandlungen der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> . Part 2, <i>Principat</i> . Edited by Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972–
ANQ	<i>Andover Newton Quarterly</i>
A-O	Attridge, Harold W., and Robert A. Oden Jr., <i>Philo of Byblos: The Phoenician History; Introduction, Critical Text, Translation, Notes</i> . CBQMS 9. Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981
APOT	<i>The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament</i> . Edited by Robert H. Charles. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1913
AR	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>

ArBib	The Aramaic Bible
ARGU	Arbeiten zur Religion und Geschichte des Urchristentums
B	Schweitzer, Albert. <i>The Quest of the Historical Jesus: First Complete Edition</i> . Edited by John Bowden. Translated by William Montgomery, J. R. Coates, Susan Cupitt, and John Bowden. London: SCM, 2000; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
BASF	Beiträge zur Albert-Schweitzer-Forschung
BASP	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BDAG	Danker, Frederick W., Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich. <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . 3rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000
BDF	Blass, Friedrich, Albert Debrunner, and Robert W. Funk. <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961
BEC	Ferguson, Everett. <i>Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology, and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries</i> . Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009
BegC	<i>The Beginnings of Christianity</i> . Part 1: <i>The Acts of the Apostles</i> . Edited by Frederick J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake. 5 vols. London: Macmillan, 1920–1933
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BMI	The Bible and Its Modern Interpreters
Bolls	Bollingen Series
<i>BT</i>	<i>The Bible Translator</i>
BT(N)	Bibliothèque théologique (Neuchâtel)
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CCSA	Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum
CCWJWCW	Cambridge Commentaries on the Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 200
CHJ	Cambridge History of Judaism
<i>ChrCent</i>	<i>Christian Century</i>
<i>ChW</i>	<i>Die christliche Welt</i>
<i>CIM</i>	Dunn, James D. G. <i>Christology in the Making: A New Testament Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation</i> . Philadelphia: Westminster, 1980
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Classical Journal</i>

ConBNT	Coniectanea Neotestamentica
CPJ	<i>Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum</i> . Edited by Victor A. Tcherikover and Alexander Fuks. 3 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957–1964
CWS	Classics of Western Spirituality
DCLY	<i>Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook</i>
D.-K.	Diels, H., and W. Kranz. <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> . 3 vols. 11 th ed. Berlin: Weidmann, 1964
DLZ	<i>Deutsche Literaturzeitung</i>
Ebib	Études bibliques
EC	<i>Early Christianity</i>
EPhM	Études de philosophie médiévale
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain
ErJb	<i>Eranos-Jahrbuch</i>
EvT	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
ExpTim	<i>Expository Times</i>
FGrH	Jacoby, Felix, ed. <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . Berlin: Weidmann, 1923–1930; Leiden: Brill, 1940–1958
FHG	<i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> . Paris, 1841–1870
FHJA	Holladay, Carl R. <i>Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors</i> . 4 vols. Chico, CA; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1983–1996
FKDG	Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte
FTS	Frankfurter theologische Studien
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte
GM	García Martínez, Florentino. <i>The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English</i> . Trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson. 2nd ed. Leiden: Brill, 1994
GLAJJ	Stern, Menahem. <i>Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism</i> . 3 vols. Fontes ad res Judaicas spectantes. Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974–1984
GLJF	Schweitzer, Albert. <i>Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung</i> . 2nd ed. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1913
HAPG	Heidelberger Abhandlungen zur Philosophie und ihrer Geschichte
HCS	Hellenistic Culture and Society
HD	Harnack, Adolf. <i>History of Dogma: Complete in Seven Volumes Bound as Four</i> . Trans. from the 3rd German edition by Neil Buchanan. 7 vols. published in 4 vols. New York: Dover, 1961
Helikon	<i>Helikon: Rivista di tradizione e cultura classica</i>
HeyM	Heythrop Monographs
HibJ	<i>Hibbert Journal</i>
HKAW	Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
HUCM	Monographs of the Hebrew Union College
IBS	<i>Irish Biblical Studies</i>

ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDBSup	<i>Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible: Supplementary Volume</i> . Edited by Keith Crim. Nashville: Abingdon, 1976
<i>Imm</i>	<i>Immanuel</i>
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
IRT	Issues in Religion and Theology
ISBL	Indiana Studies in Biblical Literature
JAAR	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>
JAL	Jewish Apocryphal Literature Series
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JBR	<i>Journal of Bible and Religion</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
J ECS	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
JJP	<i>Journal of Juristic Papyrology</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JR	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
JRelS	<i>Journal of Religious Studies</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JSHJ	<i>Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus</i>
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
JSHRZSt	Studien zu den jüdischen Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>
JSNT	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSP	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
JTC	<i>Journal for Theology and the Church</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (Meyer-Kommentar)
KJV	King James Version
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
Lewis and Short	Lewis, Charlton T., and Charles Short. <i>A Latin Dictionary</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879; repr., 1969
LNTS	The Library of New Testament Studies
LSJ	Liddell, Henry George, Robert Scott, and Henry Stuart Jones. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996
LUÅ	Lunds universitets årsskrift
LW	<i>Luther's Works</i> . Edited by Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut T. Lehman. American Edition. 55 vols. Philadelphia: Muehlenberg and Fortress; St. Louis: Concordia, 1955–1986
LZD	<i>Literarisches Zentralblatt für Deutschland</i>

M	Schweitzer, Albert. <i>The Quest of the Historical Jesus: A Critical Study of Its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede</i> . Trans. William Montgomery. New York: Macmillan, 1910
<i>Mnemosyne</i>	<i>Mnemosyne: A Journal of Classical Studies</i>
NA ²⁸	<i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> , Nestle-Aland, 28th ed.
NETS	<i>A New English Translation of the Septuagint</i> . Edited by Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007
<i>NewDocs</i>	<i>New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity</i> . Edited by Greg H.R. Horsley and Stephen Llewelyn. North Ryde, NSW: The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, Macquarie University, 1981–
<i>NIDB</i>	<i>New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i> . Edited by Katharine Doob Sakenfeld. 5 vols. Nashville: Abingdon, 2006–2009
NIV	New International Version
NJB	New Jerusalem Bible
NJPS	<i>Tanakh: The Holy Scriptures: The New JPS Translation according to the Traditional Hebrew Text</i>
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
<i>NTApoc</i>	Hennecke, Edgar. <i>New Testament Apocrypha</i> . 2 vols. Revised ed. Edited by Wilhelm Schneemelcher. English trans. ed. Robert McL. Wilson. London: Lutterworth, 1963–1965; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2003
NTL	New Testament Library
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OBT	Overtures to Biblical Theology
<i> OCD³</i>	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> . Edited by Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth. 3rd. ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996
<i> OCD⁴</i>	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> . Edited by Simon Hornblower, Antony Spawforth, and Esther Eidinow. 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012
<i> ODCC</i>	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church</i> . Edited by Frank L. Cross and Elizabeth A. Livingstone. 3rd ed. rev. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005
<i> OTP</i>	<i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> . Edited by James H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983–1985
PACS	Philo of Alexandria Commentary Series
PapyCol	Papyrologica Coloniensia
<i> PC</i>	Pfleiderer, Otto. <i>Primitive Christianity: Its Writings and Teachings in Their Historical Connections</i> . Trans. William Montgomery. 4 vols. Clifton, NJ: Reference Book Publishers, 1965
PEY	Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks
<i> PRSt</i>	<i>Perspectives in Religious Studies</i>
<i> PSTJ</i>	<i>Perkins (School of Theology) Journal</i>
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece

PW	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.</i> New edition by Georg Wissowa and Wilhelm Kroll. 50 vols. in 84 parts. Stuttgart: Metzler and Druckenmüller, 1894–1980
QD	Quaestiones Disputatae
QHJ	Schweitzer, Albert. <i>The Quest of the Historical Jesus: First Complete Edition.</i> Ed. John Bowden. Trans. William Montgomery, J. R. Coates, Susan Cupitt, and John Bowden. London: SCM, 2000; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum.</i> Edited by Theodor Klauser et al. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1950–
RE	<i>Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche</i>
REG	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
RelSRev	<i>Religious Studies Review</i>
ResQ	<i>Restoration Quarterly</i>
RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
RGG	<i>Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart.</i> Edited by Hans Dieter Betz. 4th ed. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998–2007
RMP	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i>
RW	Schweitzer, Albert. <i>Von Reimarus zu Wrede: Eine Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung.</i> Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1906
RPP	<i>Religion Past and Present: Encyclopedia of Theology and Religion.</i> Edited by Hans Dieter Betz et al. 14 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2007–2013
RSV	Revised Standard Version
SBA	Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLSBS	Society of Biblical Literature Sources for Biblical Study
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SCHNT	Studia ad Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti
ScrB	<i>Scripture Bulletin</i>
SCS	Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SE	<i>Studia Evangelica</i>
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
Smyth	Smyth, Herbert Weir. <i>Greek Grammar.</i> Revised by Gordon M. Messing. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956; repr., 1968
SNT	Studien zum Neuen Testament
SNTA	Studiorum Novi Testamenti Auxilia
SNTSU	Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt
SP	Sacra Pagina
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
SPAW.PH	Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Klasse
SPhiloA	<i>Studia Philonica Annual</i>
SSEJC	Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity
StPB	Studia Post-biblica

Str-B	Strack, Hermann L., and Paul Billerbeck. <i>Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch</i> . 6 vols. Munich: Beck, 1922–1961
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SVF	<i>Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta</i> . Hans Friedrich August von Arnim. 4 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1903–1924
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigraphica
TANZ	Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter
TBAW	Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft
TDNT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–1976
TF	Theologische Forschung
ThH	Théologie historique
THKNT	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
TPINTC	TPI New Testament Commentaries
<i>TrGF</i>	Snell, Bruno, et al., eds. <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> . 5 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971–2004
<i>TRu</i>	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i>
<i>TS</i>	<i>Theological Studies</i>
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
<i>TSK</i>	<i>Theologische Studien und Kritiken</i>
<i>TTDF</i>	<i>Teologisk tidsskrift for den danske folkeskirke</i>
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
TUGAL	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
UBS ⁵	<i>The Greek New Testament</i> , United Bible Societies, 5th ed.
UFHM	University of Florida Humanities Monograph
VC	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
VCSup	Vigiliae Christianae Supplements
VFVRG	Veröffentlichungen des Forschungsinstituts für vergleichende Religionsgeschichte an der Universität Leipzig
VF	<i>Verkündigung und Forschung</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WIC	Harnack, Adolf. <i>What Is Christianity?</i> Translated by Thomas B. Sanders. Fortress Texts in Modern Theology. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
WW	<i>Word and World</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>
ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

I. Hellenistic Judaism

1. The Portrait of Moses in Ezekiel the Tragedian*

One of the more intriguing facets of religious propaganda is the manner in which revered figures of the past are interpreted by the adherents and proponents of the religious heritage in which those figures played a formative role. Critical analysis of these interpretations yields valuable historical information on at least two fronts. First, the mirror-image syndrome implicit in such interpretations makes it possible to achieve greater historical clarity about the personality types and ethical ideals dominant within a given era and sufficiently popular to elicit or repel admiration and imitation. This obviously yields valuable information about the proponents themselves. Second, our understanding of the inner dynamics of religious propaganda is broadened. Traditions about religious figures are notoriously susceptible to historical transgressions. The resulting portraits easily render the historical figures giving rise to them unrecognizable, but the same process that tends to detach the portrait from history produces the distinctive modifications within the traditions. These modifications become the raw data for reconstructing the distinctive features of the portrait as well as for recognizing the distinctive stages through which the propaganda has passed.

An unusual tradition about Moses preserved by Ezekiel the Tragedian, a Hellenistic Jewish author who flourished in the mid-second century BCE in Alexandria, poses some interesting questions when examined as one of the numerous cameos of Moses which emerged within Hellenistic Jewish propaganda. The passage is as follows:

- 3 λέγει δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ Μωσῆς δι' ἀμοιβαίων πρὸς τὸν πενθερὸν οὕτως πως·
 “Ἐδοξ’ ὄρους κατ’ ἄκρα Σιναίου θρόνον
 5 μέγαν τιν’ εἶναι μέχρῃς οὐρανοῦ πτυχός,
 ἐν τῷ καθῆσθαι φῶτα γενναῖόν τινα
 διάδημ’ ἔχοντα καὶ μέγα σκῆπτρον χερὶ
 εὐωνύμῳ μάλιστα. δεξιᾷ δέ μοι
 ἔνευσε, κάγῳ πρόσθεν ἐστάθην θρόνου.
 10 σκῆπτρον δέ μοι παρέδωκε καὶ εἰς θρόνον μέγαν
 εἶπεν καθῆσθαι βασιλικὸν δ’ ἔδωκέ μοι
 διάδημα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ θρόνων χωρίζεται.
 ἐγὼ δ’ ἐσείδον γῆν ἅπασαν ἔγκυκλον

* “The Portrait of Moses in Ezekiel the Tragedian,” in *Society of Biblical Literature 1976 Seminar Papers*, SBLSP 10 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976), 447–52.

- καὶ ἔνερθε γαίας καὶ ἐξὑπερθεν οὐρανοῦ,
 15 καὶ μοί τι πλῆθος ἀστέρων πρὸς γούνατα
 ἔπιπτ', ἐγὼ δὲ πάντας ἠριθμησάμην,
 κάμου παρήγεν ὡς παρεμβολὴ βροτῶν.
 εἶτ' ἐμφοβηθεὶς ἐξανάσταμ' ἐξ ὕπνου.
 ὁ δὲ πενθερὸς αὐτοῦ τὸν ὄνειρον ἐπικρίνει οὕτως:
 20 "ὦ ξένε, καλὸν σοι τοῦτ' ἐσήμηνεν θεός·
 ζῶην δ' ὅταν σοι ταῦτα συμβαί<ν>η ποτέ.
 ἀρὰ γε μέγαν τιν' ἐξαναστήσεις θρόνον
 καὶ αὐτὸς βραβεύσεις καὶ καθηγήσῃ βροτῶν;
 τὸ δ' εἰσθεᾶσθαι γῆν ὅλην τ' οἰκουμένην
 25 καὶ τὰ ὑπένερθε καὶ ὑπὲρ οὐρανὸν θεοῦ·
 ὄψει τὰ τ' ὄντα τὰ τε προτοῦ τὰ θ' ὕστερον."¹ |

The passage occurs in the *Ἐξαγωγή*, notable among other things for being the longest extant fragment of a Hellenistic tragedy. One of several tragedies composed by Ezekiel, it is a five-act drama which probably spanned the events of Moses's life from his birth to the encampment at Elim. As one might expect, Moses is the biblical figure who receives the most attention in the drama, although he is but one of the *dramatis personae*, along with Zipporah, Raguel (= Jethro), God, and a member of the pursuing Egyptian army; brief reference is made at the outset to Jacob. A perusal of the extant 269 lines of the drama reveals that Ezekiel's aim was more than simply to depict the life of Moses. The dream scene apparently served to bridge the gap between the first and second act.

The portrait of Moses in the dream seems clearly intended for outsiders in spite of Tcherikover's insistence that Hellenistic Jewish Alexandrian literature was written to bolster the faith of Jews who were coming to grips with Hellenization.² If Jewish aversion to the theatre still obtained in Alexandria at this time as the less than complimentary reference to Theodectus in *Let. Aris.* 316 suggests, this would hardly have been the ideal way of addressing Jews. Moreover, the lengthy description of the origin and manner of celebrating the Passover (*Denis* 212: 30 ff.) would be an admirable attempt to explain this apparently strange custom to persons unfamiliar with it, or perhaps curious about it. Propagandic intentions are further suggested by the speech of the Egyptian soldier (*ἄγγελος*, *Denis* 214: 3) into whose mouth Ezekiel places the description of the crossing of the Red Sea. Toward the end of the soldier's speech Ezekiel employs the common stylistic device of placing a confessional formula in the mouth of a pagan, a point that would not easily be missed by a pagan reader. But perhaps the most cogent argument suggesting Ezekiel's ulterior motives is his choice of Greek tragedy as

¹ Text and line numeration from Albert-Marie Denis, *Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum Quae Supersunt Graeca: Una cum Historicorum et Auctorum Iudaeorum Hellenistarum Fragmentis*, PVTG 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 210. References cited to the text in Denis are as follows: page number in Denis followed by line(s) number.

² Victor Tcherikover, "Jewish Apologetic Literature Reconsidered," *Eos* 48 (1956) 169–93.

a literary genre. Some idea of the extent of his literary pretensions is the mere inclusion of the dream scene itself. For the most part Ezekiel adheres closely to the LXX. Even when he embroiders it, as when he fills in the gap between Exod 2:10 and 2:11 by including a brief resumé of Moses's childhood, it is mild in comparison with the highly embellished birth-youth traditions in Josephus (*Ant.* 2.205–237). Neither the dream nor the interpretation is found in the biblical account, and considering Ezekiel's usual scrupulous adherence to the biblical narrative, this is all the more remarkable. The most plausible explanation is provided by those who have noticed his dependence upon classical Greek models, Euripides in particular. Since it was a stock stylistic device to incorporate a dream into the narrative of Greek tragedies, it is clear that Ezekiel includes the dream scene to impress his readers with a knowledge of Greek literary conventions as well as his finesse in handling them.

One major interpretive problem is determining the fundamental portrait of Moses that Ezekiel intends to emerge from the dream scene. Those who see the image of Moses as king as the dominant element of the portrait point to the prominence of the heavenly throne (lines 4, 9, 10, 12) and the conferral of the regal trappings upon Moses. Yet this image is neither undiluted nor pervasive. If the dominant image of the dream is Moses the king, the dominant image of Raguel's interpretation (lines 20–26) is Moses the prophet. The throne motif of the dream is picked up in Raguel's interpretation (line 22), yet his subsequent role is not articulated | with βασιλεύειν terminology, as one might expect, but in the somewhat surprising formulation καὶ αὐτὸς βραβεύσεις καὶ καθηγήση βροτῶν (line 23). Even more remote from the kingship image is Raguel's final prediction in line 26. The net result is a double exposure of two distinct images.

The juxtaposition of two distinct images may be intentional as was Philo's quintuple portrait of Moses over a century later (*Mos.* 2.2–3). Or, it is possible that the prophetic image, being the *interpretation* of the dream, is intended to override the monarchical image. Another possibility is that a common portrait lies beneath both images and that what appear to be separate images are but different aspects of this common image. This third possibility we shall pursue in this paper.

The question of sources and interpretation are, as always, difficult to separate, for if the sources upon which Ezekiel drew in composing the dream scene could be isolated and identified with any degree of certainty, one could perhaps interpret the overall portrait with greater assurance.

The depiction of the heavenly throne in the dream employs OT motifs, but their final blend results in a peculiarly distinctive image. The OT records frequent exchanges between Moses and God (Exod 3:1–4:17, 21–23; 5:22–7:19; *passim*), but the throne of God motif does not figure in them. A throne in the heavens is common enough in the OT (Pss 9:5, 8; 10:4; 44:7 [?]; 46:9; 88:15; 92:2; 96:2; 102:19), but it is not identified with Sinai. Under the monarchy Israel's

kings as God's appointees in a sense sat upon God's throne since He established the throne and since the throne as an institution extended beyond a single ruler and thus could be called *θρόνος βασιλείας κυρίου ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραήλ* (1 Chr 28:5). It is most often associated with David and Solomon, who figure most prominently in rabbinic speculations about the throne of God, although the rabbis understood Moses's reception of the rod of God (Exod 4:20) to mean that he was given the royal scepter of God (Midr. Ps 21:2).

Certain motifs Ezekiel may have derived from the dreams that he knows from the OT, especially the dreams of Jacob (Gen 28), Isaiah (Isa 6), Daniel (Dan 7), and possibly Joseph (Gen 37), although the differences are striking. The unadorned throne of the dream scene (lines 4–5) sharply contrasts with the elaborate and sometimes grotesque imagery that characterizes the throne descriptions of Isa 6:1 ff., Ezek 1:26 (cf. 10:1), Dan 7:9 ff. (cf. 1 Kgs 10:18; 2 Chr 9:17). The anthropomorphic appearance of the figure seated upon the throne (line 6) is far closer to the figure in Ezek 1:26 than to the enthroned Lord of Isa 6:1, or even to the Ancient of Days of Dan 7:22. Although it is never explicitly said that the figure seated upon the throne is God, the fact that the throne reaches to the vaults of heaven (line 5) makes this identification probable.

As for Moses's being seated on the heavenly throne on which he assumes the sceptre and crown, Ezekiel's rendition of the vision is singular when compared with other traditions depicting dreams involving the throne of God. In the biblical visions connected with prophetic calls (Ezek 1:4–2:11; Isa 6:1–13) the throne of God appears but no mention is made of the prophet's taking a seat upon the throne. The throne and the accompanying imagery bear no direct connection with the prophet nor his call except to underscore the majesty and sublimity of the God who issues the commission. |

The Targum of Jonathan on Gen 28:1, which mentions "Jacob the pious, whose likeness is inlaid in the throne of glory," although illuminating because it shows how the patriarchs were glorified in rabbinic traditions, does not bear directly upon our passage since Jacob is not made to sit on the heavenly throne. There are also parallels in the midrashic interpretation of Exod 7:1, in which God's declaration to Moses, "I appoint you a god ..." is interpreted as a display of God's magnanimity. Unlike a mortal king who allows no one else to ride his horse, sit on his throne, wear his crown, God "assigns glory to those who fear him," i.e., he shares the signs of his dignity with his vicegerents: Solomon sits on his throne, Elijah rides on his horse (i.e., the whirlwind), Moses holds his sceptre, Messiah wears his crown, Israel wears his mantle, Moses is called by his own name (Exod. Rab. 8.1; also Ps. Rab. 21.2). Nevertheless, the distance between these midrashic passages and the Moses dream in Ezekiel is considerable.

Much closer, both in verbal and conceptual similarity, is the enthronement of the messianic Elect One in 1 Enoch. In almost identical language 1 Enoch tells of the Lord who seats the Elect One upon His throne from which he executes

judgment and righteousness upon the earth (62.1 ff.; cf. 55.4; 61.8; 69.27). Moses's vision of the heights and depths of the universe along with his knowledge of heavenly things (lines 13–14, 24–25) closely resembles the description of Enoch's vision in 1 En. 17–18. This raises the interesting possibility that certain features of Ezekiel's portrait are derived from apocalyptic traditions, although it should be noticed that the strong eschatological note of 1 Enoch is absent from Ezekiel. While it is true that the throne mentioned in Raguel's interpretation is to be erected in the future and line 21 may be a cryptic reference to the distance of the event, there are no indications that Ezekiel has in mind a final judgment scene in which Moses will be God's vicegerent who judges all men as is the case in 1 En. 61–62.

Another motif that may have OT antecedents is the submission of the “host of stars” to Moses (lines 15–16), which may recall Gen 37:9, since the astral motif within a dream is common to both.

This admittedly sketchy review of the traditions that have been suggested as the sources upon which Ezekiel draws in formulating the dream scene succeeds only in underscoring the multiplex nature of the portrait rather than providing a coherent interpretation of the portrait of Moses that emerges. Although a certain reluctance is required in proposing yet another tradition that may illuminate the Moses-portrait, there are justifiable reasons for doing so.

To state the thesis briefly, the portrait of Moses that emerges from the dream is heavily influenced by the image of the *mantis* as it had developed in the Greek classical tradition. This image not only provides the basis for a coherent interpretation of both the dream and interpretation, but also suggests a plausible explanation for the emergence of this portrait within an Alexandrian *Sitz im Leben*. |

Heinemann may be correct in asserting that Ezekiel borrows only the *technique* of including a dream, not the content of the dream itself, from the Greek dramatists, but there are features of the dream scene that suggest otherwise.³ The prediction that Moses, from the vantage point of his newly erected throne, will see “the present, the past, and the future” (line 26) is a strikingly non-OT depiction of the prophetic role. Yet it bears a remarkable resemblance to Homer's description of the *mantis* Calchas: ὄς ἤδη τά τ' ἐόντα τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα (*Il.* 1.70). The identical formula is employed in Hesiod, *Theog.* 36–39, of the Muses; also worth noticing in this same connection is *Theog.* 32 where the inspired poet's role as spokesman for the gods is indicated by his reception of the sceptre; compare lines 7 and 10 of the dream scene. Of Proteus the seer (*vates*), Vergil, *Georg.* 4.392–393 writes: ... *novit namque omnia vates, quae sint, quae fuerint, quae mox ventura trahantur*. Similarly, in Ovid, *Metam.* 1.517–518, it is said of Apollo: ... *quod eritque, fuitque, estque patet*.

³ I. Heinemann, “Moses,” *PW* 16.1: 365.

By employing what appears to have been an ancient Greek formula for describing prophecy, Ezekiel clearly intends to locate Moses within the tradition of the Greek seer. His omission of the actual term *mantis* may be owing to its unfavorable connotations in the LXX (cf. Deut 18:10, 14; 2 Kgs 17:17; et al.). In Euripides and the tragedians the *mantis* is a familiar and respectable figure, as seen in Euripides, *Iph. taur.* 711–714, where it is implied that for a *mantis* to practice deception is exceptional behavior.

If our suggestion is correct that Ezekiel's portrait of Moses in line 26 was drawn from the Greek *mantis* tradition, it is possible to interpret the throne motif within the same conceptual framework, thus resolving the apparent conflict of two distinct images in the dream scene.

The incorporation of classical Greek depictions of the throne of Zeus into Jewish depictions of the throne of God is seen as early as Aristobulus, Ezekiel's near-contemporary and fellow Alexandrian whose dependence upon Orphic traditions is indisputable.

In Euripides, *Iph. taur.* 1249–1258, in which Apollo's oracle is being vindicated over against Iphigenia's dream, the *mantis* and the throne motif occur in a combination strikingly similar to what we find in Ezekiel. Phoebus establishes his right to the oracles and from this "throne of truth" (ἐν ἀλευδῆι θρόνῳ, *Iph. taur.* 1254) dispenses the divine oracles to mortals (*Iph. taur.* 1255–1256). Thus it is from this throne that he executes his mantic role over mortals. The same combination is seen in Aeschylus, *Eum.* 616, where Apollo issues his judicial verdict *μαντικοῖσιν ἐν θρόνοις* (cf. also v. 29, *ἔπειτα μάντις ἐς θρόνους καθιζάνω*).

A coherent interpretation is achieved if lines 20–26 are seen as portraying Moses in the role of the Greek *mantis*, most notably Apollo. The dream and Raguel's interpretation are logically coherent when it is remembered that as a *mantis* Apollo issues his oracles under the promptings of Zeus. In fact, lines 4–17, especially 10–12, of the dream scene may very well have been inspired by a passage such as Aeschylus, *Eum.* 17–19, in which Zeus seats Apollo as *mantis* upon his throne with the result that Apollo becomes *Διὸς προφήτης*. |

As the spokesman for Zeus, Apollo can function in a judicial role as when he is called upon to be the advocate for Orestes (Aeschylus, *Eum.* 609–621). Not surprisingly, the mantic role of Apollo shades off into his legislative role. The widespread influence of the oracle of Apollo at Delphi was connected with his role as the one who issued divinely given laws, and he was indeed looked to as the source of divine law; he was also regarded as the "national expositor."

Against this background Ezekiel's portrait of Moses becomes more intelligible. The interchange between Moses and God may be seen as an intentional counterpart to the Zeus-Apollo relationship in which Apollo serves as the spokesman for Zeus. The divine investiture signals the authentication of Moses as God's spokesman. By incorporating the dream into the drama, Ezekiel has no intentions of portraying Moses as a king per se. The throne he is to set up is

the throne on which he is to act as arbiter and guide of mortals, on which he has access to the divine secrets of the universe, and to the knowledge of the present, past, and future; in short, the mantic throne – or, if properly understood, the prophetic throne. By formulating the dream in these terms he is consciously placing Moses in direct competition with Apollo, the spokesman of Zeus, the one who issues divinely given laws, the arbiter and guide of mortals. The ecumenical tendency, as reflected in the extensive use of universal language (lines 13, 16, 17, 23–24), cannot be unintentional and serves to underscore the universal extent of Moses's influence. The audience (readers) would hardly fail to see the point of the dream scene: Sinai replaces Delphi as the place where the divine oracles are issued; Moses replaces Apollo as the spokesman for God; accordingly, the whole of mankind is to seek the divine will not from the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, but from the law of God given to Moses at Sinai.

2. Demetrius the Chronographer as Historian and Apologist*

The beginnings of Hellenistic Jewish propaganda, after the Greek translation of the Pentateuch, are linked with Demetrius the Chronographer,¹ whose work *Concerning the Kings in Judaea*² was written in Alexandria during the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator (ca. 221–204 BCE).³ Using the Greek Bible as his primary, if not his only source,⁴ he composed a chronicle of biblical events punctuated with chronographical calculations whose complexity is surpassed only by their ingenuity. The fragments of this chronicle, preserved first by

* “Demetrius the Chronographer as Historian and Apologist,” in *Christian Teaching: Studies in Honor of Lemoine G. Lewis*, ed. Everett Ferguson (Abilene, TX: Abilene Christian University, 1981), 117–29.

¹ In addition to the literature mentioned in Emil Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, 4th ed. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909), 3:472 ff., and Albert-Marie Denis, *Introduction aux pseudépigraphes grecs d’ancien testament*, SVTP 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 248 ff., see Moses Gaster, “Demetrius und Seder Olam: Ein Problem der hellenistischen Literatur,” in *Festschrift i anledning af professor David Simonsens 70-aarige fødselsdag* (Copenhagen: Hertz, 1923), 243–52; reprinted in Moses Gaster, *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Mediaeval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha, and Samaritan Archaeology* (London: Maggs, 1925–1928), 2:650–59; Ben Zion Wacholder, “Biblical Chronology in the Hellenistic World Chronicles,” *HTR* 61 (1968): 451–81, esp. 452–58; now incorporated, with further material, in *Eupolemus: A Study of Judaeo-Greek Literature*, HUCM 3 (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, 1974); Elias J. Bickerman, “The Jewish Historian Demetrios,” in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults*, ed. Jacob Neusner (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 3:72–84. Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 1.218, confusing him with Demetrius of Phalerum, lists him among the pagans who attest the antiquity of the Jews. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.13.7, correctly identifies him as one of the Jewish writers who argue for the antiquity of the Jews. Jacob Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor und die von ihm erhaltenen Reste jüdischer und samaritanischer Geschichtswerke* (Breslau: Skutsch, 1875), 80, refers to him as “the first original author among the Jewish Hellenists.” Ben Zion Wacholder, “Pseudo-Eupolemus’ Two Greek Fragments on Abraham,” *HUCA* 34 (1963): 87n29, remarks, “Except for the LXX itself, Demetrius the Chronographer (221–204 BCE) is the oldest known Greek writer on a biblical theme.”

² On the discrepant titles of the work, see Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor*, 205.

³ Contra Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor*, 57–65, who argues for the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes (246–221 BCE), one of the few points Freudenthal seems to have lost. See Alfred von Gutschmid, “Zeit und Zeitrechnung der jüdischen Historiker Demetrios und Eupolemos,” *Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1890), 2:186–95, esp. 186–91.

⁴ See Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor*, 40–41; 50–51; also Henry B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902; repr., 1968), 17–18, 369–70.

Index of Ancient Sources

Old Testament

<i>Genesis</i>		10	124n40, 125, 125n42,
1–3	210, 633n49		129n51
1	210	10:5	125n42
1:2	214, 216–19, 547	10:8	125n42
1:4	210	10:9	125n42
1:7	220	10:10	125n42
1:14	393, 632n39	10:11	124n40, 125n42
1:24	383–84	10:15	125n42
1:26–28	631	10:18	125n42
1:26	383	10:19	125n42
1:27	219–20	10:30	125n42
1:28	393, 631	11:2	125n42
1:30	384	11:10–32	125n42
2:1–3:19	209	11:10–30	125
2:2–3	144, 146, 147n66	11:27–12:3	200
2:2	145	11:31–12:9	126n43
2:4–28:9	209	11:31–32	371
2:4	147n66	11:31	371
2:6	212	12	126n44, 130
2:7	210–11, 214–15, 219–21, 223, 631	12:1–9	124
		12:1	126n44, 347
2:9	220	12:1 LXX	347
3:14	215	12:1 MT	347
3:19	221	12:3	343, 369
3:24–41:24	209	12:3 LXX	343
4:8–15	215	12:3 MT	343
5–14	124, 126	12:4–9	126
5–11	125n42	12:5	126n44, 371
5	125, 129, 129nn50–51	12:6	126n44
5:24	625n13	12:7	371
6:1–4	215	12:8	126n44
6:3	216–17, 592n7	12:9	126n44
6:4	216n9, 328n76	12:10–20	124–25, 128
8:1	222	12:10	128, 128n49
8:8–11	547	12:11–16	128
9:4	222, 391	12:12	160n31
9:19	631	12:14	160n31
9:20	218	12:18–20	128
10–11	125	13:1–18	124
		13:12	160

13:15	349, 371	28	6
14	125	28:1	6
14:1–12	127	28:12–17	449n46
14:4	125n42	28:12–15	221
14:13–17	127n46	29:30	18n41
14:13	160	29:31–30:24	372
14:17–24	127n46	30:15–16	148n69
14:17–20	127	31:11–21	221
14:20	127n47	31:50	148n69
14:21–24	127, 127n47	32:2	11n12
15:2–18	220, 226	32:25	18n41, 108n13
15:2	220	33:4	395
15:6	126n43, 550n26	33:18 LXX	108n13
15:7	371	33:19	147n67, 374
15:12	226, 383	34	134, 147, 193
15:13–14	349	34:2–4	148
15:13–14 LXX	349	34:25–31	151
15:13–14 MT	349	34:25	151
16:6–14	226	34:26	151
16:7	227	35:6	108n13
17	150	35:16–26	372
17:8	347, 371, 377	35:16	108n13
17:8 LXX	347	35:27	108n13
17:8 MT	347	37	6
17:9–14	149–50	37:1–36 LXX	200
17:10	372	37:9	7
17:11	150	37:11	372
17:12	450n53	37:28	372
17:13	372	39:2–3	372
18:18	369	39:21	372
18:19	550n26	39:23	372
19:4–5	148n69	41	107n11
19:32–35	148n69	41:43	372
20:5	550n26	41:45	159n18, 196
20:7	226	41:45 LXX	161
21:4	372	41:46	372
21:23	550n26	41:50–52	159n18
21:25	221	41:54	373
22:2	547	42:1–2	373
22:18	343	42:5	373
22:18 LXX	343	42:16	373
22:18 MT	343	45:1	373
22:21	160	45:2	373
23:3–20	374	45:4	372
24:7	631n35	45:6	107n11
25:20	160	45:8	372
25:26	372	45:9–11	373
26:4	343, 345	45:14	395
26:4 LXX	345	45:15	373
26:4 MT	345	45:18	373
26:10	148n69	45:23	373
26:17–22	221	46–49	167
27–50	107, 107n7	46:3	373

46:11	18n41	2:22	349, 375
46:27	373	2:22 LXX	349
46:31–34	108nn13–14	2:22 MT	349
47:27	374	2:24	353, 355
48:4	349, 371, 377	2:24 MT	355
48:4 LXX	349	3:1–4:17	5
48:4 MT	349	3:2	351, 375
50:13	374	3:2 LXX	351
		3:2 MT	351
<i>Exodus</i>		3:3	376
1–15	50, 167	3:5	353
1	116, 160n31, 167, 172	3:5 LXX	353
1:1–15:19	112	3:5 MT	353
1:5	373	3:6	315n20, 341, 353, 368
1:6	373	3:6 LXX	341, 353
1:7	160, 374	3:6 MT	341, 353
1:8	351	3:7–8	353
1:8 LXX	351	3:7–8 LXX	353
1:8 MT	351	3:7–8 MT	353
1:9–11	374	3:7	353
1:9–10	200	3:7 LXX	168
1:9	160	3:8	353
1:12	160	3:10	353
1:13	160	3:10 LXX	353
1:15–22 LXX	200	3:10 MT	353
1:15	160	3:12	349, 351, 371
1:16	160	3:12 LXX	351
1:16 LXX	201	3:12 MT	351
1:17	374	3:14–15	169n70
1:19	160	3:14–15 LXX	168
1:22	160, 374	3:14	454
1:22 LXX	167, 201	3:15	341, 368, 370, 396
2	169, 172	3:15 LXX	341
2:1–10	167	3:15 MT	341
2:2	374	3:16	368
2:5	375	3:17	169n72
2:6	160	3:18	169
2:6 LXX	167	3:20	56
2:7	167	4:5	368
2:10	5, 375	4:11	142n34
2:10 LXX	201	4:20	6
2:10–15	191, 191n74	4:21–23	5
2:11	5, 56, 375	5:3	169n72
2:11 LXX	168	5:22–7:19	5
2:12	375	6:1	387
2:13–14	351	6:6	387
2:13–14 LXX	351	6:15	126
2:13–14 MT	351	7:1	6
2:13	375	7:3	376
2:14	355	7:16	169n72
2:14 LXX	355	8:4	381
2:14 MT	355	8:24	381
2:15	375	9:1	169n72

9:13	169n72	32:23	355
9:28	381	32:23 LXX	355
10:17	381	32:23 MT	355
12	168	33:18	476n165
12 LXX	168	33:3	378
12:1–20	168	33:5	378
12:2–28:34	209	33:20	441
12:3	168, 169n70	34:1	94
12:3 LXX	169n70	34:6–7	406
12:17	168	34:29	94
12:21	168, 369	35:2	144n57
12:27	168, 169n70	35:31	370
12:40	14		
12:42	388	<i>Leviticus</i>	
13	168	11:4	383
13:5	168	12:2–3	450n53
13:9	56	17:10–14	391
14:28	54n54	17:11	215, 220, 223
15:4	376	19	52n47
15:22–27	107n7	19:15	397
15:27	167	23:29	341, 343
16:4–30	225	23:29 LXX	343
16:23	144n57	23:29 MT	343
16:35	126, 388	24:14	379
17:2	391	25:25–38 LXX	199
17:8–13	108n14	26:4	391
18:3	375	26:41	378
18:4–12	375		
18:4	385	<i>Numbers</i>	
20:3	74n19, 88	1:18	328n78
20:11	144–45, 345, 347, 392,	1:20	328n78
	630n32	1:22	328n78
20:11 LXX	345	6:2	395
20:11 MT	345	6:5–6	396
20:16	371	6:9	395–96
22:27 LXX	37n2, 365	6:18	396
22:27 MT	365	11:16–17	570
22:28	365	11:16	227
23:12	144n57	11:17	217
25:40	377	11:24–30	570
26:9	328n79	14:3	376
27:21	377	14:33	376, 388
28:43	377	15:35–36	379
31:2–3	216, 218	22	224
31:3	370	22–24	224
31:15	144n57	22:16	382
31:18	94, 376	26:53	328n78
32:1	355	26:55	328n78
32:1 LXX	355	27:4	328n77
32:1 MT	355	27:7	328n77
32:4	377	27:14	378
32:6	377	27:16	370
32:8	377	27:18	370

27:23	370	28	401n10
31:16	331	28:28–29	396
		29:17	381
<i>Deuteronomy</i>		30:15–20	401n10
1:31	388	32:5	368
2:5	371	32:8	393, 632n40
2:25	367	32:29	74n19
4:10	376	32:39	70, 88, 96, 142
4:12	382	32:45	376
4:28	377, 394	32:47	376
4:29	393, 632n41	32:49	371, 377
4:34	387	33:2	379
4:37	386	33:3–4	315n20, 376, 395
4:38	405	33:16	376
5:15	387	33:17	366
7:1	377, 388	33:29	423n16
7:22	377	34:9	370
8:2	329n84		
9:10	376	<i>Joshua</i>	
9:16	329n85, 366	1:9	394
9:26	387	2:15	382
9:28–29	387	7	324
10:15	386	7:1	369
10:16	176	10:6	392
10:17	383	14:1	388
12:12	380	17:4	328n77
14:2	391	17:6	328n77
14:27	380	18:10	329n86
14:29	380	23:9	377
15:4	369	24:18	377
17:7	379	24:32	374
17:20	329n85, 366		
18:1	380	<i>Judges</i>	
18:10	8	2:10	390
18:14	8	2:15 (B)	386
18:15–19	314, 341	2:16	388
18:15–19 LXX	341	2:18	409n24
18:15–19 MT	341	3:9	620, 620n2
18:15–18	323n58	3:10	570
18:15–16	341	3:15	620, 620n2
18:15	315n20, 343, 355, 622	6:23–24	408
18:15 LXX	343, 355	11:29	570
18:15 MT	355	13:25	570
18:16	343, 376	14:6	570
18:18–19	343	14:19	570
18:18–19 MT	343	15:14	570
18:18	315n20	17:6	328n76
18:19	341, 343	18:1	328n76
18:19 LXX	343	18:6 (B)	392
21:14	148n69	18:9	382
21:22	315n20, 370	19:1	328n76
23:5	331n99		
26:5	373		

<i>1 Samuel</i>		10:18	6
8:4–22	119	13:34	330
9:27–10:27	119	15:29–30	330
10:6	570	17:17–24	324n60
10:10	570	18:12	570
11:6	570	19:12	473
13:14	359	21–22	330
13:14 MT	359	21:8–13	324n61
15:22	47n39	21:19	330
16:13	570	21:21	330
		21:22	330
		22:24	570
		22:34–38	330
<i>1 Kingdoms</i>		<i>3 Kingdoms</i>	
3:20	388	2:10	367, 390
8:5	389	5:10	375
8:10	389	6:1	388
10:21	389	6:2	378
10:24	389	8:20	378
12:15	386	8:39	329n84
13:14	390	13:34	330
13:14 LXX	359	15:29	330
15:23	389	17:19	382
16:1	389	17:21	395
16:7	329n84	18:12	382
16:12–13	389	18:36	368
16:13	328n77, 384	19:10	378
25:25	397	19:14	378
		20 LXX	330
		20:19	330
		20:22	330
		22:34–38	330
<i>2 Samuel</i>		<i>2 Kings</i>	
7	120, 323n58, 620, 625, 627	2:1–12	625n13
7:4–17	619–20	2:16	570
7:12–14	626	4:1–37	323n60
7:12–13	622	5	324n60, 324n61
7:12	620, 624–25	17	107n7
13:12	148n69	17:3	18n41
13:14	148n69	17:12	612
22:50–51 LXX	620, 620n3	17:17	8
23:2	570	18:9	18n41
24	120	18:13–19:37	107n7
		19:15	630n32
		23:5	471n135
		24–25	107n7
<i>2 Kingdoms</i>		<i>4 Kingdoms</i>	
3:12	385	2:16	382
7:12	390	4:33	382
20:10	329	4:35	382
21:9	328n79		
22:6	367		
22:51	390		
<i>1 Kings</i>			
2:33	408		
5	136		
5:1–12	118		
8:23–53	632n45		
8:48	634n53		

10:32	328n76	5:17–18	142n34
13:21	390	9:17	142n34
15:37	328n76	10:8	142n34
19:15	347	12:13–25	142n34
19:35	385	13:26	142n34
23:9	328n77	16:9	379
		16:10	379
<i>1 Chronicles</i>		19:28	409n24
1:34	372	25:2	408
9:38	328n77	28:24	366
10:6	328n79	30:21	409n24
12:18	370	32:11	367
16:35	398	32:19	367
17	120	42:6	634n53
21	120		
22:6	378	<i>Psalms</i>	
22:8	120	1:1–3	402
22:9	408	1:1	397, 418n5, 423n16, 466n119, 467
22:18	408		
24:31	329n86	1:4–6	402
25:8	329n86	2:1–2	317, 347
26:13	329n86	2:1–2 LXX	347
26:14	329n86	2:1–2 MT	347
28:3	120	2:7	361, 547, 617, 622, 622n9, 623, 625–26
28:5	6		
28:9	329n84	2:7 LXX	361
29:18	368	2:7 MT	361
		4:6	476n165
<i>2 Chronicles</i>		4:7	412
2	136	6:1	450n52
2:1–16	118	7:12	634n53
2:12	120	8:4–6	633n49
9:17	6	9:5	5
14:6–7	408	9:7–8	634
15:1	570	9:8	5
18:23	570	9:9	394
19:7	383	9:38	385
20:6	370	10:2	409n24
20:14	570	10:4	5
21:8	328n76	10:17 LXX Sym	385
36:16	379, 413	11:1	450n52
		11:8	368
<i>Nehemiah</i>		12:1	450n52
9:6	347, 630n32	13:5–6	412
9:26	378, 410	14:1–2	383
		15	627
<i>Esther</i>		15 LXX	624
8:17 LXX	181	15:8–11 LXX	337, 339
9:22	328n76	15:10	367, 623–27
		15:10 LXX	339, 361
<i>Job</i>		16	318, 323n58
2:10	96, 142n34	16:8–11	323n58, 337, 339
5:17	466n119	16:8–11 MT	337, 339

16:10	339, 361, 617	69:26 MT	335
16:10 MT	339, 361	71:8	366
17:6	367	71:8 LXX	88
18:15	376	73:1	407
19:7	367	73:2	395
21:2	6	73:17	393
21:28	343	74:17	632nn39–40
21:28 LXX	345	77 LXX	196
22:27	345	77:8	368
22:28 MT	345	77:12–53 LXX	196
24	407	77:35	376
24:4	407	77:37	380
24:5	407	77:49 LXX	216
24:6	407	78:34	634n53
28:3	371	78:53	54n54
29:11	408	83:1	408
31:15	409n24	85:8	408
32:1–2	555nn51–52	88:4	367
34:16	379	88:15	5
34:18	404n17	88:21	359, 389
36:6	459	88:21 LXX	359
36:12	379	88:26 LXX	88
37	405	89:20	359
37:3	405	89:21 MT	359
37:9	405	92:2	5
37:11	405, 441n3	95:13	394
37:22	405	96:2	5
37:29	405	96:11–13	634
37:34	405, 446	97:3	398
44:7	5	97:9	394
44:21	329n84	98:8–9	634
45	292n2	102:19	5
45:2	592n7	104 LXX	196
45:10	366	104:21	373
46:9	5	104:24	374
47:11	366	104:26–44 LXX	196
49:5	409n24	104:27	376
50:8–15	47n39	105 LXX	196
51:11	570	105:19	377
62:3	379	106:20	383, 390
66:3	398	107	405, 411
67:32	381	107:4–9	411
68 LXX	327	107:5	405
68:19 LXX	327	107:9	405
68:20–22 LXX	327	108:2 LXX	327
68:22 LXX	327	108:4–5 LXX	327
68:23–29 LXX	327	108:8 LXX	326–28, 335
68:23–24 LXX	327	108:16	368
68:25 LXX	327	109:1 LXX	339
68:26 LXX	326–28, 335	109:8	335
68:29 LXX	327	109:8 MT	335
69:25	335	110	318, 495, 519, 524–25
69:26	317, 409n24	110:1	317, 339

110:1 MT	339	19:13	305
111:10	379	22:10	397
113:12	377	23:13–14	305
114:3	367	24:28	371
115:3–8	44n27, 634n51	28:10	331n100
117:16	370	29:8	397
117:22	369	29:15	305
117:22 LXX	345		
118:22	317, 345	<i>Ecclesiastes</i>	
118:22 MT	345		265
119:84	409n24	1:14	459
119:86	409n24	9:7	368
119:150	409n24	10:17	423n16
119:157	409n24	11:2	456
119:161	409n24		
128:1–2	423n16	<i>Isaiab</i>	
131:5	378	1:2	387
131:11	367	1:10–17	47n39
131:11 LXX	339, 620, 622, 625	2	588
132:11	339, 620n4	2:2	337, 367
132:11 MT	339	2:2 LXX	588
132:17	620n4	3:9–12	401n10
134 LXX	196	5:9	385
135 LXX	196	5:22	413
135:15–18	634n51	6	6
142:5	459	6:1–13	6
142:6	409n24	6:1	6, 379
144:15	391	6:9–10	365, 581
144:18	394	6:9–10 LXX	365
145:5–6	392	6:9–10 MT	365
145:5–6b LXX	345	6:10	365
145:18	632	11:1	592n7
145:5b–6	345	11:2–3	437, 459, 459n98, 461–63, 469n122
146:5b–6 MT	345		
146:6	630n32	14:6	409n24
146:8	391	19:13	161n35
147:4	390	26:10	454
147:7	390	27:9	555n52
147:8	384	30:9–11	414
147:14	408	32:15	366
		32:20	423n16
<i>Proverbs</i>		33:24	384
1:22–23	634n53	35:6	368
1:23	367	37:16	347, 630n32
3:4	397	40:3	386
3:13	466n119	40:5	398
8:13	386	40:12	73
8:22–31	37n4	40:17	395
10:9	386	40:18–20	44n27, 634n51
10:10	408	40:18	394
11:18	332	41:10	394
14:5	371	42:1	547
17:24	366	42:5	392–93, 630n32

42:7	398	66:1	88, 357
42:16	398	66:2	357
43:5	394		
44:2	547	<i>Jeremiah</i>	
44:6	74n19, 88	1:7–8	398
44:9–20	44n27, 634n51	1:8	394
44:28	359, 390	1:16	377
44:28 LXX	359	1:19	394, 398
44:28 MT	359	2:5	391
45:7	96, 142n34	2:16	161n35
45:21	363	3:18	388
45:21 LXX	363	5:24	391
45:21 MT	363	5:27	386
46:1–13	634n51	5:30–31	414
48:20	366	6:10	378
49:6	363, 366	6:13–14	414
49:6 LXX	363	6:26	380
49:6 MT	363	7:18	377
51	410	7:21–26	47n39
51:7	410	8:2	377
52:7	384	9:25	378
52:13	368	10:1–16	44n27, 634n51
53:7–8	317, 359	11:20	329n84
53:7–8 LXX	359	12:15	363
53:7–8 MT	359	15:15	409n24
53:11	319	17:5–8	401n10
53:12	313n4, 319, 368	17:10	329n84
55	625	17:18	409n24
55:3	361, 617, 623–27	19:13	377
55:3 LXX	361	20:11	409n24
55:3 MT	361	23:16–17	414
55:6	394, 632	23:23–24	632n45
56:3	381	23:23	394
57:15	393, 404n17	29:13	632n41
57:19	368	31:20	547
58:6	313n4, 381	31:31	319
58:11	384	38:20 LXX	547
59:20–21	555n52	38:31	319
61	564, 569	48:8	328n77
61:1–2	313n4, 411, 575		
61:1	73, 369, 384, 569, 573	<i>Lamentations</i>	
61:2	383, 405	3:15	381
61:3	405		
62:11	366	<i>Ezekiel</i>	
63	570	1:4–2:11	6
63:10	378, 570	1:26	6
63:11	570	2:1	390, 397
63:19 MT	547	3:22	382
64:1	547	4:14	383
64:1–2	73	9	531
66:1–2	357	10:1	6
66:1–2 LXX	357	11:5	570
66:1–2 MT	357	11:24	382

13:15	396	2:28–32	335, 337, 556, 561, 569
14:6	634n53	3–4	529
21:5	383	3	588, 599
22:10–11	148n69	3 LXX	588
28:2	385	3:1–5	318, 337
28:6	385	3:1–5 LXX	335, 337
28:9	385	3:1–5 MT	335, 337
30:13	161n35	3:1	337
30:16	161n35	3:5	368
33:4	394		
44:7	396	<i>Amos</i>	
<i>Daniel</i>		3:3	328n79
2:5 LXX Theod	380	3:6	96, 142n34
2:8	383	5:25–27	357
3:1–3	303	5:25–27 LXX	357
3:26	370	5:25–27 MT	357
3:52	370	5:26	357
3:95 LXX Theod	385	5:27	357
3:96 LXX Theod	380	6:4–7	413
4:8–9	570	9:11–12	202, 363
4:18	570	9:11–12 LXX	363
5:4	51n47	9:11–12 MT	363
5:12	570	<i>Jonah</i>	
6:3	570	1:5	398
6:4	570	<i>Micah</i>	
6:23 LXX Theod	385	1:8	380
7	6, 275, 632	5:4	366
7:9ff	6	<i>Nabum</i>	
7:22	6	2:1	384
8:4	381	<i>Habbakuk</i>	
8:9	381	1:5	361, 617, 627
10:7 LXX Theod	382	1:5 LXX	361
12:2	397, 436, 457	1:5 MT	361
<i>Hosea</i>		2:18–19	634n51
6:2	384	<i>Zephaniah</i>	
6:6	47n39	1:4	471n135
9:6	161n35	3:10	381
10:5	471n135	<i>Zechariah</i>	
13:2–3	634n51	8:9	328n76
13:4	377	8:15	328n76
14:10	386	9:10	366
<i>Joel</i>			
1:2–12	414		
1:5	413		
2	567		

New Testament

<i>Matthew</i>			
1-7	416n2, 417n4, 418nn5-6, 419n7, 419n9, 422n12, 422n14, 425n20, 426n22, 440n1	5:10 5:11-12	406, 406n20, 409, 417, 421, 425-26, 429, 431, 438, 441-44, 450, 451n59, 460-61, 474, 477, 550n28 416n1, 421, 460, 462-63, 474, 477
1:18	572		
1:20	572	5:11	409, 433, 440, 442-43, 460
3:2	404, 426, 429, 431	5:12	443
3:7-10	548n18, 549n25	5:17-48	400, 474
3:11	548n19, 550n29	5:17	469n122
3:13	549	5:19-20	404
3:14-15	549	5:19	523n12
3:15	406, 406n20, 409, 549	5:20	406, 406n20, 417, 550n28
4:1	573	6	473
4:8	300n35	6:1-18	400
4:17	404, 426, 429, 431	6:1	406n20, 417
4:23	426, 431	6:14	441n2
5-7	400, 416, 529	6:19-21	400
5	473	6:24	400
5:1-12	399, 400, 415n1, 421, 474	6:25-34	400
5:1-4	473n145	6:25-32	432
5:1-2	421	6:33	406n20, 409, 417, 432, 550n28
5:3-17	422n12	7	473
5:3-12	416, 416n1, 437, 462	7:1-5	400
5:3-11	460	7:1-2	441n2
5:3-10	463	7:12	400
5:3-6	415n1	7:21-23	400
5:3	403, 416n1, 419, 419n9, 421, 425-26, 429, 431, 436-37, 445-46, 446n36, 450, 457, 462	7:21	404
5:4-5	449n47	7:24-27	400
5:4	404, 421, 437, 442, 459n100, 462, 465n118, 470n133, 474	7:28-29	475
5:5-7	473n145	9:13	47n39
5:5	405, 421, 437, 441, 441n3, 441n6, 443-46, 457, 459n100, 462, 465n118, 470n133, 474	9:27	406
5:6	405-6, 406n20, 417, 421, 436-37, 443-44, 457, 459, 462, 550n28	10	400n7, 483n13
5:7	406, 421, 437, 440, 441n2, 443n22, 460, 462	10:7	429n28
5:8-12	473n143	10:16-33	529
5:8	407, 421, 437, 441-43, 445, 445n31, 446, 460, 462	10:16-23	410
5:9	407, 416, 421, 437, 443, 445, 457, 460, 462	10:20	574
5:10-12	442	10:23	527, 529, 539
		10:32-33	529
		11	483n13, 527
		11:1-19	530
		11:11	523n12
		11:14	530
		11:25-30	496
		11:25-27	573
		11:25	631n35
		11:29	419n8
		12:7	47n39
		12:32	574
		13	400n7, 404

13:16	423n16	2:20	528
14:13–21	530	3:7–19	537n75
15:21–28	577	3:19–4:34	537n75
15:22	406	3:29	574
16:17	423n16	4	526–27
16:18–19	529	4:10–12	526
16:18	539n83	4:35–6:6	537n75
16:21	300	6:1–6	522, 536, 538, 573
16:28	428	6:6–13	536, 538
17:9–13	530	6:7–7:37	537n75
17:15	406	6:30–44	530, 532
17:19–20	302	6:30	530
18	400n7	6:31–9:30	495n71, 532n53
18:4	419n8, 523n12	7:1–23	537
18:18	529	7:24–30	532, 532n52, 577
18:23–25	406	7:31–37	532n52
19:16–30	413	8–9	538
19:28	529	8:1–9:50	537n75
20:30–31	406	8:1–10	532, 532n52
21:21	302	8:11–13	532n52
21:32	406n20	8:14–21	532n52
23	400n7	8:22–26	532n52
23–25	400n7	8:27–9:1	532
23:12	419n8	8:27–33	532n52
23:29–36	410	8:34–9:29	495n71, 532n53
24	400n7	9:1	428n27
25	400n7, 450	9:2–13	532
25:31–46	450	9:2–8	532n52
25:41	496	9:9–13	532n52
25:43	496	10:1	537
26:29	531	10:17–31	413
27:3–10	324, 330	10:17–27	526
27:7–8	330	10:45	533
27:8	330, 330n92	12:1–12	533
27:10	330	12:35–37	519, 524
27:34	327	14:15	300n35
27:57–61	621n6	14:25	531
27:57	621n6	15:23	327, 535
28:18–20	531n49, 565n82	15:38	547
28:19–20	551n33	15:42–47	621n6
		15:43	621, 621n6
		16:16	565n82
<i>Mark</i>		<i>Luke</i>	
1–8	547n16	1–2	572, 586
1–7	525	1:1–9:50	417n3, 440n1
1	537n75	1:1–4:22	323n60
1:1	548	1:15	583, 586
1:5	547	1:35	572, 582
1:8	548n19, 550n29	1:41	583
1:12	573	1:42–43	411
1:15	429	1:67	583
1:44	300n35	1:77	555n51
2:1–3:6	537n75		
2:5–10	529		

2:1	602n5	6:20	410, 421, 426, 429,
2:1–2	111		441–42, 576n5
2:11	620n4	6:21	411–12, 421, 423, 436,
2:22–24	411		442, 457
2:29–32	586	6:22–27	443n20
2:32	577, 588	6:22–23	421
3	111	6:22	412–13, 433, 436, 440,
3:1–17	621		442, 444, 457
3:1–2	585	6:23	413, 421, 443n21
3:1	602n5	6:24	413, 421, 442
3:3	548n23, 555n51, 572	6:25	413–14, 421, 442
3:4	602n3	6:26	414, 421, 442
3:7–9	548n18	6:31	441n2
3:10–14	548n18	6:35	401
3:15–18	548n19	6:36–38	441n2
3:16	548n19, 550n29, 561–62,	7	576–77
	578	7:1–10	576
3:17	578	7:11–17	324n60, 576
3:19–20	548n20	7:16	412
3:21–22	548n21, 549, 549n24	7:36–50	323n60
3:21	548	7:38	412
3:22	623	8:1	576n5
3:23–38	561	8:10	576n5
3:23	566	8:41–42	576
4:1–13	561	8:49–56	576
4:1	573, 583	8:52	412
4:2	411	9:2	576n5
4:5	300n35	9:10–17	412
4:13–20	612	9:11	576n5
4:14	561, 573	9:21–22	413
4:16–31	414	9:22	634n55
4:16–30	401, 549, 561, 611n40	9:23–27	413
4:16	611n38	9:27	576n5
4:17	602n3	9:31	324, 324n63
4:18–19	313n4	9:43–45	413
4:18	411, 575	9:51–19:27	413
4:19	411	9:51–19:18	575
4:21	569, 573	9:54	578
4:31–37	576	9:60	576n5
4:40–41	411, 576	9:62	576n5
4:43	576n5	10:1–16	573
5:12–16	411	10:9	429, 576n5
5:14	300n35	10:11	429
5:17–26	411	10:13	414, 564n81
5:32	564n81	10:17–20	574
6:6–11	411	10:17	573
6:12–16	401	10:18	573
6:17–19	401	10:19	573
6:19	576	10:21	573, 631n35
6:20–49	416	10:25–37	413
6:20–26	400, 416, 416n1, 421	11:2	574n4, 576n5
6:20–23	415n1	11:13	574, 595
6:20–21	418n6	11:20	576n5

11:32	564n81	22–23	318, 318n36
11:42–44	414	22:12	300n35
11:45–52	414	22:15–20	319
12	574	22:16	576n5
12:4–12	574	22:18	576n5
12:10	574	22:20	319
12:11	574	22:22	319, 414
12:12	574	22:29	576n5
12:13–21	413	22:30	319
12:31–32	576n5	22:31	319
12:49	578	22:37	313n4, 319
13:3	564n81	22:69	319
13:5	564n81	23:28	412
13:18	576n5	23:29	319
13:20	576n5	23:30	319
13:28–29	576n5	23:32–43	576
13:28	412	23:34	319, 327, 576, 634n52
14:14	423n16	23:35	319
14:15–24	412	23:36	319, 327
14:15	576n5	23:46	319, 576
15:7	564n81, 634n53	23:47	330
15:10	564n81	23:48–49	319
15:11–32	413	23:50–56	621n6
15:13	413	23:50–51	621, 621n6
15:17	411	23:51	576n5, 621n6
15:23–24	411	24	320, 320n40, 621
16:16	110, 428, 576n5, 602n1, 621	24:5–7	634n55
16:19–31	413	24:39	632n44
16:19	413	24:40	300n35
16:20–21	411	24:44	602n4, 625
16:30	564n81, 634n53	24:46	634n55
17:1	414	24:47	555n51, 564n81
17:3–4	564n81	24:49	622n8
17:20–21	576n5	24:51	621
17:21	428	<i>John</i>	
17:24–25	413	1:6–9	550
18:11	628n19	1:12–13	555
18:16–17	576n5	1:18	454
18:18–30	413	1:31	550
18:24–25	576n5	1:32–34	550
18:29	576n5	1:33	550–51
18:31–34	413	2:18	300n35
18:33	634n55	3	550n30, 555n34
18:35–43	411	3:1–21	555
19:1–10	413	3:3	555
19:8	628n19	3:5	550, 555
19:11	576n5	3:22–24	544n6
20:24	300n35	3:22	550
20:37	634n55	4	551n32
20:42	602n4	4:1–2	544n6, 550
21:23	414	4:2	550n31
21:24	632n38	4:34	459

4:42	620n4	1:21–26	326
5:20	300n35	1:21–22	325
5:22	634n54	1:22	328n75, 621
5:27	634n54	1:23–26	325, 328n75
6:32–33	406	1:24–25	325
6:35	406	1:24	329, 595
7:35	608	1:25	329, 366
7:39	567	1:26	329
9	324n60	2	199, 318, 323n58, 557–61, 564, 564n80, 586, 590, 605
10:32	300n35		
13:17	423n16	2:1–5	558n73
14–16	551	2:2–3	578n8
14:2–3	436, 457	2:2	367
14:8–9	300n35	2:3–4	578
14:15–17	567	2:4	367, 561, 583, 595
14:22	476n165	2:5	367, 588
14:26	567	2:6	607
19:38–42	621n6	2:9–11	566
19:38	621n6	2:11	367
19:39–40	621n6	2:13	367
19:42	621n6	2:14–36	323n58
20:20	300n35	2:14	367, 628n19
20:22	551, 567	2:16–21	317n30, 334, 336
		2:16	569
		2:17	315n19, 335, 337, 367, 588
		2:18	335, 337
		2:19	335
		2:24	315n19, 367, 622, 634n55
		2:25–31	624, 627
		2:25–28	336, 338, 617
		2:29	328n80, 367, 624
		2:30–31	338
		2:30	367, 620, 620n1
		2:31	367
		2:32	622, 634n55
		2:33	622n8
		2:34–35	338
		2:34	317
		2:36	367, 624
		2:37	328n80, 368
		2:38	553n44, 555n51, 558–61, 558n73, 578, 634n53
		2:39	368, 588–89, 607, 622n8
		2:40	315n18, 368
		2:42	595
		2:43–47	413
		2:46	368
		3	314, 323n58, 324n63, 622
		3:1–10	576
		3:8	368
		3:13	315n18, 315n20, 340, 368, 370
		3:15	634n55
<i>Acts of the Apostles</i>			
1–15	315, 315n16, 316		
1–7	586		
1–2	556		
1	199, 324n63		
1:3	576, 621		
1:4–5	561		
1:4	622n8		
1:5	548n19, 560–62, 568, 578, 621		
1:8	366, 566, 607		
1:9–11	325		
1:10	366		
1:12–14	325		
1:14	595		
1:15–26	203, 312, 323–32, 324nn64–65, 325n68, 638		
1:15	324n64, 328, 328n75		
1:16–22	325, 325n68		
1:16	325–26, 328, 328n75, 328n80, 569		
1:17–19	326		
1:17	325n68		
1:18–19	325n68, 329–30		
1:18	328, 328n82, 331, 366		
1:19	325, 328n75, 330, 330n92, 330n94		
1:20	317, 317n30, 325–27, 334, 602n4		

3:17–26	579	7:2–53	323n58
3:17	634n52	7:2–8	130
3:19	634n53	7:2	130, 200, 328n80, 371
3:21	578, 602n2	7:3	300n35, 315n18, 346–47
3:22–36	121	7:4	315n18, 371
3:22–25	317	7:5	315n18, 346, 348, 371
3:22–23	317n30, 340, 342–43	7:6–7	348–50
3:22	315n20, 341	7:7	371
3:23	341	7:8	372
3:24	602n2	7:9	200, 372
3:25	342–44, 369	7:10	200, 315n18, 372
3:26	318, 622, 634n55	7:11	373
4	324n63, 594	7:12	373
4:8	583, 594	7:13	373
4:10	594, 634n55	7:14	373
4:11	316n21, 317, 344, 369	7:15	373
4:13	594	7:16	315n19, 374
4:24–30	319, 595	7:17	200, 374, 622n8
4:24	344, 346, 369, 630	7:18	350
4:25–26	346	7:19	200, 374
4:25	317, 569	7:20–22	201
4:27	369	7:20	374
4:31	583, 594, 596	7:21	375
4:32–37	413	7:22	201, 375
4:34	369	7:23	375
4:36	325n67	7:24	375
5	105, 113–14, 324	7:26	328n80, 375
5:1–11	324n61, 413	7:27–28	350
5:1–2	369	7:29	375
5:3	582, 596	7:30	350–51, 375
5:7	369	7:31	376
5:9	569	7:32	315n18, 315n20, 352
5:12–16	576	7:33–34	352, 354
5:15	576	7:33	315n19, 353
5:20	628n19	7:34	353
5:21	369	7:35	354, 376
5:29	594	7:36	376
5:30	315nn19–20, 368, 370, 396, 634n55	7:37–43	121
5:31	370, 555n51, 620n4	7:37	315n20, 354
5:32	558–59, 582, 594–95	7:38	376
5:39	370	7:39	376
5:41	413	7:40	354–55
6:1–12:25	557n62	7:41	377
6:3	370, 559, 583, 596	7:42–43	317n30, 356
6:5	559, 576, 583, 597	7:42	377
6:6	370	7:43	357
6:9–14	324n61	7:44	377
6:10	559, 597	7:45	377
6:13	371	7:46	378
7	110, 120–21, 123, 192, 196–97, 199–200, 205–6, 314, 318–19, 617, 622, 627	7:47	378
		7:48–50	356, 602n3
		7:49–50	317n30
		7:49	357

7:50	357	9:20	611n40
7:51	378, 569, 576, 582	9:25	382
7:52	378	9:31	582
7:53	379	9:32–43	576
7:54	379	9:37	382
7:55	379, 559–60, 576, 583, 595–96	9:38	382
7:57	379	9:39	382
7:58–8:1	324n61	9:40	382
7:58	324n61, 379	10–11	549n24, 558–60, 562, 564, 567, 576, 586–87, 591–92, 605
7:59–60	596		
7:59	576	10	557, 564n80, 590
7:60	576	10:1–11:18	556, 579
8–12	323	10:1–33	203
8	205, 549n24, 558–60, 564, 564n80, 591–92	10:1	603n15, 603n18
8:2	380	10:2	383
8:4–25	556, 579	10:10	383
8:9–40	324n61	10:12	383
8:9–24	324n61	10:14	383
8:12	563, 576, 579, 586	10:19–20	582
8:15–17	563	10:19	559, 587
8:16	553n44, 558, 563, 579	10:22	383, 603n18
8:17–18	558	10:26	383, 616
8:20	380	10:28	300n35, 607
8:21	380	10:30	383
8:22	634n53	10:34	383
8:23	381	10:35	383
8:24	381	10:36	383–84
8:26–40	324n61, 556, 579	10:37–38	549
8:26	381	10:37	549, 562
8:27	381	10:38	384, 572, 575
8:28	602n3	10:39	315nn19–20
8:29	582	10:40–41	634n55
8:30	602n3	10:40	384
8:32–33	358	10:42	634n54
8:32	315n19, 316n21, 317, 359	10:43	384, 555n51, 602n2
8:34	602n3	10:44–48	587
8:37	557, 557n62	10:44–46	558n73
8:39	382, 557n60, 559–60, 569, 582, 587	10:44	579
9	559, 580, 591	10:45	579
9:1–30	324n61	10:48	553n44, 580
9:1–19	556, 557n65	11	587
9:6	382	11:6	384
9:7	382	11:12	559, 582
9:10	587	11:15–18	580
9:12	558	11:15–16	562
9:15	557, 557n65, 589, 598	11:16	578, 621
9:17–19	559	11:17	562, 568
9:17–18	558, 587	11:18	384
9:17	580, 583	11:21	385
9:18	580	11:22	385
		11:23	385
		11:24	559, 583

11:26	625	13:33–37	323n58
11:27–30	413	13:33–34	634n55
11:28	602n5	13:33	360, 602n4, 617, 622
12	105, 113–15, 132, 190, 329n88	13:34	360–61, 617, 623, 624n12
12:1–24	324, 324n63	13:35	360, 602n4, 624n12, 627
12:1–11	201, 203	13:35–37	617
12:1	603n8	13:36–37	624
12:4	114	13:36	390
12:5	385	13:37	634n55
12:10	204	13:38–41	617, 619
12:11	385	13:38–39	623n9
12:20–23	603n8	13:38	328n80, 555n51
12:22	385	13:39	617, 619, 627
12:23	115, 385–86	13:40–41	360
13	110, 120, 199, 319, 591, 605, 608, 609n32, 623	13:40	602n2
13:1–4	581	13:41	317n30, 361, 617
13:2–4	560	13:42–52	616
13:2	559, 582, 587, 598	13:43	611n40
13:4	559, 587, 598	13:47	315n19, 362
13:7–12	602n6	13:48–52	581
13:9	581, 583, 587, 591, 595	13:48	579
13:10	386	13:52	581, 583, 587, 591, 595
13:11	315n18, 386	14–21	608
13:14–15	616	14	104–5
13:14	609n30, 610, 611n40	14:1	608, 611n40
13:15	328n80, 602n1, 610–12	14:3	302
13:16–41	317, 616, 619	14:4	557n65
13:16	608	14:6–20	617
13:17–22	617, 619, 621	14:6	615
13:17	386–88, 619	14:8–18	576
13:18	388, 619	14:10	390
13:19–20	388	14:11	615
13:19	388	14:12–13	604
13:20	619	14:14	390, 557n65
13:21	389, 619	14:15	390, 630–31
13:22	315n18, 358–59, 389–90, 619	14:16	634n52
13:23–25	617, 619, 626	14:17	391, 632
13:23	390, 598, 620, 620n2, 622	14:22	576
13:24–25	627	15	586
13:26–31	617, 619, 621	15:4	391
13:26	328n80, 390, 608, 612, 621	15:7	328n80, 622n7
13:27–29	621	15:8	587, 597
13:27	602n2, 611n38, 634n52	15:10	391
13:29	621	15:13	328n80
13:30	621, 634n55	15:14	391, 608
13:31	621	15:15–18	362–63
13:32–37	617, 619, 621–22	15:16–18	317n30
13:32–35	318	15:16	315n21, 363
13:32–33	622	15:17	363
13:32	621–22	15:20	391–92
		15:21	611n38
		15:22	316n24
		15:23	597

15:28	568, 582	17:31	394, 622
15:29	392	17:32–34	617
15:38	597	17:32	614
16–20	568	18:1–18	579
16–18	587	18:2	602n5
16	105, 113	18:4	608, 611n40
16:1–5	608	18:6	394
16:6–8	591, 598	18:8	556, 559
16:6–7	587	18:9–10	394
16:6	559, 581	18:12–17	602n7
16:7	581	18:18	395
16:9	392	18:19	611n40
16:11–15	579	18:24–19:7	549, 556, 558
16:12–15	556	18:24–28	563
16:12	603	18:26	611n40
16:13	611n40	19–20	558
16:14	392	19	549n24, 559–60, 564, 564n80, 590, 592, 605
16:16–34	556	19:1–41	604
16:16–24	302	19:1–7	563, 579, 581
16:16	604	19:1–6	559
16:20–21	603	19:1	580
16:25–34	579	19:2–3	558
16:25	413	19:2	580
16:36	392	19:5–6	559
16:37	603	19:5	553n44, 580
16:38	603	19:6	558, 580
17	105, 605, 608, 627	19:8	576, 611n40
17:1–9	579	19:10	608
17:1–2	611n40	19:11	302
17:4	608	19:17	608
17:7	602n5	19:21	559
17:10–15	579	19:27	395
17:10	611n40	19:28	395
17:11	625	20	605
17:12	608	20:7–12	576
17:16–34	628n17	20:10	395
17:16–33	579	20:17–38	203
17:16–21	604, 617	20:18–35	587
17:16	612	20:21	608
17:17	611n40, 613, 628	20:22–23	559–60, 581
17:18	612, 614	20:22	582, 597
17:19	614	20:23	597–98
17:20	614	20:24	622n7
17:22–31	617	20:25	576
17:22	628	20:26	395
17:23	392, 629n25, 630	20:28	395, 582, 597–98
17:24	392	20:32	315n20, 395
17:25	393	20:35	395
17:26	393, 631, 635	20:37	395
17:27	393	21–28	575
17:28	190, 202, 633, 633n48	21	581
17:29	202, 394, 633–34	21:4	581, 587, 598
17:30	394, 630		

21:11	581–82, 587, 598	26:15–16	397
21:21	608	26:16	557n65
21:24	396	26:17–18	398
21:26	396	26:17	398
21:28	396, 608	26:18	315n20, 555n51
21:31–40	603n17	26:22	602n1
21:31	603n14	26:24–25	603n13
21:32	603n20	26:25	398
22	559	26:27	602n2
22:1	328n80	26:28	625
22:3–21	556, 557n65	27:1	603n16, 603n19
22:6	396	27:6	603n19
22:9	396	27:11	603n19
22:12–16	580–81	27:19	398
22:12	587	27:21	628n19
22:14	396	27:31	603n19
22:15	557n65	27:43	603n19
22:16	559	28	104, 569
22:21	607	28:3–6	302
22:24–30	603n17	28:7–9	576
22:25–27	603n21	28:11	604
22:25–26	603n20	28:17–18	603n21
22:29	603n21	28:17	328n80
23:1	328n80	28:23	576
23:3	396	28:25–27	364
23:5	364	28:25	569, 581, 587, 602n3
23:6	328n80	28:26	365
23:15	603n17	28:27	365
23:17–22	603n17	28:28	398
23:17	603n20	28:31	576
23:23–24:26	603n11		
23:23	603n20	<i>Romans</i>	
23:26–30	603n17	1–8	554n47
23:26	603n17	1:3–4	622, 622n9
23:27	603n21	1:3	620n1
24:2	397	1:5	176
24:5	397, 568	1:7	408n22
24:14	397, 602n1	1:13	177, 180
24:15	397	1:14	178–79
24:16	397	1:16	174, 177
24:22	603n17	1:18–32	634
24:23	603n20	2:9	174, 177
24:27–25:22	603n12	2:10	174, 177
24:24	553n45	2:14	177
25:11	305n46	2:16	634n54
25:13–26:32	603n9	2:17–29	175
25:16	603n21	2:17–24	174
25:18	628n19	2:20	174
25:19	629n24	2:24	177
25:23	603n17	2:25–29	175–76, 179
26:6–8	622n8	2:25	176
26:8	634n55	2:26	176
26:14	202	2:27	176

3:1	176	14:20	47n38
3:9	174, 177	15:8–9	177
3:25	555n52, 634n52	15:8	176
3:29–30	175	15:9–12	177
3:29	174, 177	15:16–18	176
3:30	176	15:19	179, 302
4	126n43	15:25	179
4:7	555nn51–52	15:26	179
4:9	176	15:27	177
4:10	176	15:31	179
4:11	176	15:33	408
4:12	176	16:4	177, 180
4:17–18	177	16:5	553n45
4:25	304	16:20	408
5–8	555n52	16:26	176
5	553		
5:3–5	462	<i>1 Corinthians</i>	
5:14	554n47, 555n52	1–4	303
6	552–54, 556	1:3	408n22
6:1–11	552	1:10–17	307
6:2	555	1:12–17	552
6:3	553n45, 554	1:12–14	553
7:5	555n52	1:17–25	304
7:13	300	1:17	304
8	239	1:18–26	46
8:9	593	1:19–3:21	293n6
8:15	555	1:22–24	174
8:17	556	1:22	174, 177
8:29	239	1:23	174, 177
8:32	304	1:24	174, 177
9:3	175	1:30	454
9:4–5	157	2:1	302
9:6	175	2:2–16	302
9:24	174, 177	2:4	304
9:27	175	2:6–16	302
9:30–31	177	2:8–10	302
9:30	175	2:9–10	302
9:31	175	2:9	307
10:12	174, 177	2:10	302
10:19	175, 177	2:12	302
10:21	175	2:14	97n44
11:1	175	2:16	302
11:2	175	3:3	307
11:7–10	175	4:1	302
11:11–12	177	4:6	300n38, 307
11:13	176	4:11	303
11:25–26	175	4:15	305
11:25	175, 177	4:18	307
11:27	555n52	4:21	305
11:29	157	5:1	177
12:21	459	5:2	307
14:9–10	634n54	6:7–8	307
14:14	47n38	6:9–11	553

7	237	14:6–12	311
7:1–7	295n19	14:6	301–2
7:3	307	14:11	178
7:18–19	176	14:14–15	311
7:19	178, 305n46	14:18–19	311
7:40	302	14:18	301
8–10	295–96, 299	14:20	307, 310
8:1–2	311	14:33	408
8:1	307	14:37	301
8:3	307	15	237, 308, 553
8:7–13	296	15:3	555nn51–52
8:8	47n38	15:5–8	621
8:9	296	15:11	308
8:10–12	296	15:14	308
8:12	296, 553n45	15:17	308, 555nn51–52
8:13	296, 296n20	15:19	308
9	293n7	15:29	552
9:12	302, 308	15:31	304
9:20	174	15:32	305
10	238, 309	15:42–57	239
10:1–22	296	15:50	441
10:2	554n48	15:51	302
10:18	175	15:56	555, 555n52
10:20	176	16:3	179
10:24	309	16:14	307
10:31–11:1	295n19	16:24	305, 307
10:32	174, 177		
10:33	307, 309	<i>2 Corinthians</i>	
11	238	1:3–7	400
11:1	309	1:3–4	405
12	292–93	1:7	308
12–14	295–96, 299, 307	1:8	300
12:2	177, 612	1:16	179
12:8	302	1:21	553n45
12:13	174, 177, 552, 552n39	2:4	305
12:31	292, 294–95, 295nn15–16, 301, 310n50	2:17	304n45
13	292–311, 476, 638	3:7	175
13:1–3	294, 296n20, 301, 303, 305–6, 309	3:13	175
13:1	296, 301, 304	3:14	611n38
13:2–3	305	3:17	238
13:2	301–2	4:2	304n45
13:3	302–4	4:7–15	304
13:4–7	293n6, 306–8	4:7	240
13:4	307	4:11	304
13:5	307, 309	5	239
13:6	307	5:1–8	239
13:7	307–8	5:1ff	240
13:8–13	309	5:14–21	553
13:9–10	441, 446	5:14–15	554
14	292–93, 307, 310–11	5:21	555n52
14:1	292, 296, 306, 311	6:3–10	303, 307
		6:4	308
		6:6	305–7

6:11	180	3:22	555n52
8:9	452	3:24	553n45
8:24	303	3:26–29	552
9:2	180	3:26–27	552n39, 555
9:4	180	3:27	238, 553n45, 554
10:1	304n45	3:28	174, 177
10:10	304n45	4	179
10:15	308	4:4–5	282
11:6	304n45	4:4	276, 282
11:7–11	302	4:5–7	555
11:7	555n52	4:9	302
11:11	305	4:25–26	179
11:22	175	4:26	496
11:24	174	5:2	176
11:26	177	5:3	176
12:9–10	303	5:6	176, 178
12:11	305	5:11	176
12:12	302, 308	6:3	305n46
12:14	305	6:12	176
12:15	305	6:13	176
12:16	304n45	6:15	176, 178
13:8	307	6:16	175
13:11	408		
		<i>Ephesians</i>	
<i>Galatians</i>		1:3–14	400
1–2	557n65	1:13	621n5
1:4	555nn51–52	1:23	476n165
1:13–14	174	2:11	176n84
1:13	300	2:12	175
1:14	174	2:14–15	408
1:15–16	302	4:4–6	552
1:16	176	5:23	620n4
1:17	179	5:32	553n45
1:18	179		
1:22	179	<i>Philippians</i>	
2	177, 553	1:13	436, 457
2:1	179	1:21	239
2:2	176	1:23	239
2:3	175–76, 178	2:5–11	276, 282
2:7–9	176	2:16	303
2:7	176, 589	3:3	176
2:8–9	177	3:5	175–76, 178
2:12	176–77	3:12–17	295n19
2:13	174	3:14	450
2:14–15	174	3:20	179, 620n4
2:14	174, 177, 180–81	3:21	239
2:15	174, 177–78	4:7	408
2:16	553n45	4:15	180
2:17	555n52		
2:20	304	<i>Colossians</i>	
3	552, 554	1:14	555n51
3:8	177	1:20	408
3:14	177	2:5	553n45

2:11–13	552	<i>James</i>	
2:11	175	1:1	608
3:11	174, 176–78	1:11	179
3:14	293n8, 294n12	1:12	423n16
3:15	408	2:5	410
4:11	176	2:13	407
<i>1 Thessalonians</i>		2:18	300n35
1:1	180	3:13	300n35
1:9–10	634n54	3:18	408
2:13–16	180	4:9	414
2:14–16	177	<i>1 Peter</i>	
2:14	174, 179	1:1	179, 608
2:16	555nn51–52	1:3–12	400
2:19	303, 308	1:11	553n45
4:5	177–78	2:12	409
4:17	436, 457	2:20	409
5:23	408	3:14	409, 423n16
<i>2 Thessalonians</i>		4:5	634n54
1:4	303	4:14	423n16, 433, 440
2:3	555n52	<i>2 Peter</i>	
3:16	408	1:1	620n4
<i>1 Timothy</i>		1:11	620n4
4:13	611n38	2:13–15	331
<i>2 Timothy</i>		2:13	331
1:10	620n4	2:15	331, 331n97
4:1	634n54	2:20	620n4
<i>Titus</i>		3:2	620n4
1:4	620n4	3:18	620n4
1:10	176	<i>1 John</i>	
2:13	620n4	1:1	632n44
3:4–7	552	1:3	476n165
3:6	620n4	1:9	555n51
<i>Philemon</i>		2:12	555n51
6	553n45	2:29–3:3	555
<i>Hebrews</i>		3:1	424
1:1–4	425n18	3:9–12	424
1:5	622	3:9–10	555
4:15	552	3:9	551n34
8:5	300n35	3:10	551n34
10:5–10	47n39	4:14	620n4
11:17	91n22	5:1–2	555
12:18	632n44	5:1	551n34
13:20	408	5:2	551n34
13:22	611	5:6–7	551n34
		5:18	551n34
		5:19	551n34
		<i>Revelation</i>	
		1:1	300n35
		1:3	423n16

4:1	300n35	21:9–10	300n35
7:16	406	22:1	300n35
14:13	423n16	22:6	300n35
17:1	300n35	22:8	300n35

Early Jewish Literature

Deuterocanonical Works and Septuagint		13:6–7	632n41
<i>Tobit</i>		13:10	45, 394
1:3	383	14:12–20	45
1:16	383	14:20	392
4:6–8	383	15:17	392
4:16	383	18:1	382, 396
7:17	393	18:3	328n81
7:17 LXX	631n35	19:10	387
8:5	370	<i>Sirach/Ecclesiasticus</i>	
12:8	383		265
<i>Judith</i>		1:30	386
4:9	385	4:31	395
8:26	391	10:20	328n77
9:12	369, 631n35	11:22	332
10:8	370	14:20–27	423n16
10:13	398	17:24	634n53
14:8	328n76	19:26	386
14:16	390	21:6	634n53
16:17	386	24:32	368
<i>Wisdom of Solomon</i>		25:7–11	423n16
1:5	570	28:7	394, 634n52
1:7	570	35:12–16	383
2:22	332	36:7	367
3:13–14	423n16	48:12	367
3:17	395	48:21	386
4:19	328n82, 366	48:24	405
5:5	315n20, 395, 398	<i>Baruch</i>	
5:15	332	4:4	423n16
6:7	384	<i>Susanna</i>	
7:1	383	45	570
7:3	390	46 LXX Theod	395
7:15	328n81	<i>Bel and the Dragon</i>	
7:18	393, 632n39	18	395
7:22	570	41	395
8:3	384	<i>1 Maccabees</i>	
9:1	393	1:8	366
9:9	393, 631n34	3:9	366
9:15	239	3:49	396
9:17	570	4:2	328n81
12:19	384		
13–15	45, 634n51		
13:6	394		

7:41 385
 10:25 383
 11:30 383
 11:33 383
 12:6 369

2 Maccabees

1:4 392
 1:10 171, 369
 2:1–10 120
 3:1–40 329
 3:26 366
 4:6 397
 4:32 369
 5:15 328n81
 7:19 370
 7:23 631n34
 8:33 332
 9 329n88
 9:1–29 329
 9:5–6 329n90
 9:9 386
 11:8 383
 13:21 159n25
 14:1–15:37 329
 14:35 631

3 Maccabees

1:12 51n47
 2:1–20 57n57
 2:2–3 52n47
 2:7 52n47
 2:9–15 52n47
 2:21–22 52n47
 2:29 162n45
 2:32–33 51n47
 3:4 52n47, 57n57
 4:16 51n47
 4:17 369
 5:6–8 52n47
 5:13 52n47
 5:50 328n82
 6:1–15 57n57
 6:2 52n47
 6:23 328n82
 7:6 52n47
 7:10–16 52n47

2 Esdras

7:27 370
 8:1 328n81
 19:6 347
 19:9–21 376

19:18 377
 19:26 378
 20:35 329n86
 21:1 329n86
 23:2 331n99

4 Maccabees

4:10 149n74
 5:2 392
 5:6 11n12
 5:25 631n34
 8:19 328
 12:13 391
 12:17 397

Old Testament Pseudepigrapha

Abiqar

8.38 329n83

Aristobulus

Frg. 1 172
 Frg. 1.16 172n77, 172n79
 Frg. 1.17–18 49
 Frg. 2 171
 Frg. 2.1 49
 Frg. 2.12b–17 49
 Frg. 2.2 48
 Frg. 2.3 48
 Frg. 2.5 48
 Frg. 2.7–9a 48
 Frg. 2.9b–12a 49
 Frg. 2.10.1 173
 Frg. 2.10.3 173
 Frg. 2.10.8 173
 Frg. 2.10.13 173
 Frg. 2.12b–17 49
 Frg. 2.14–15 64n13
 Frg. 3 171–72, 172n78
 Frg. 3.1 48, 64n13
 Frg. 3.12.1 172–73
 Frg. 4 51, 202n126
 Frg. 4.4 48, 64n13
 Frg. 4.5 48
 Frg. 4.6 48, 139n28, 202
 Frg. 4.7 64n13, 174n80, 202,
 630n31
 Frg. 4.12.3 173
 Frg. 4.12.8 173
 Frg. 5 49, 143–44
 Frg. 5d 172n78
 Frg. 5e 172
 Frg. 5e.13.7 172

- | | | | |
|------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Frg. 5.9–11 | 64n13 | <i>Demetrius the Chronographer</i> | |
| Frg. 5.11 | 64n13 | Frg. 1 | 107n8, 111 |
| Frg. 5.12.11 | 173 | Frg. 2 | 107, 107n7, 158n16 |
| Frg. 5.12.13 | 173 | Frg. 2.3 | 107n12 |
| Frg. 5.13–16 | 64n13 | Frg. 2.5 | 108n12 |
| Frg. 5.13–14 | 202 | Frg. 2.7 | 108n13, 110, 159 |
| Frg. 5.13 | 64n13 | Frg. 2.8 | 108n12 |
| Frg. 5.14 | 202n126 | Frg. 2.9 | 159n19 |
| T. 2 | 171n75 | Frg. 2.10 | 108n13, 111, 159 |
| T. 3 | 171n75 | Frg. 2.11 | 108n13, 200 |
| T. 4 | 171n75 | Frg. 2.12 | 107n11, 159n17 |
| T. 8 | 171n75 | Frg. 2.13 | 159n22 |
| T. 10 | 171n75 | Frg. 2.14 | 108n12 |
| T. 12 | 171n75 | Frg. 2.16 | 159n20 |
| T. 13 | 171n75 | Frg. 2.18 | 109, 158n15, 159n21 |
| T. 14 | 171n75 | Frg. 2.19 | 111 |
| T. 15 | 171n75 | Frg. 3 | 107n7 |
| | | Frg. 3.1–3 | 52 |
| <i>Artapanus</i> | | Frg. 3.22b–26 | 113 |
| Frg. 1 | 53, 159–60, 162n42, 196 | Frg. 4 | 107n7, 111 |
| Frg. 1.1 | 160, 206n134 | Frg. 5 | 107n8, 159 |
| Frg. 2 | 53, 196 | Frg. 6 | 107n7, 109, 111 |
| Frg. 2.1 | 159n24, 160, 195, 200 | | |
| Frg. 2.3 | 53, 160n29, 161n32 | <i>1 Enoch</i> | |
| Frg. 2.4 | 162n43 | 5.7 | 405 |
| Frg. 3 | 196 | 9.8–9 | 401n10 |
| Frg. 3.1 | 159n24, 195 | 17–18 | 7 |
| Frg. 3.2 | 54, 160, 162n44 | 37–71 | 523n15 |
| Frg. 3.3 | 160, 161n34, 162n41 | 41–44 | 129 |
| Frg. 3.4 | 201 | 55.4 | 7 |
| Frg. 3.5–20 | 54 | 58.2 | 423n16 |
| Frg. 3.6 | 161n39 | 61–62 | 7 |
| Frg. 3.7–18 | 116 | 61.8 | 7 |
| Frg. 3.8 | 161n33 | 62.1ff | 7 |
| Frg. 3.10 | 161n40 | 69.27 | 7 |
| Frg. 3.12 | 161n34 | 72–82 | 129 |
| Frg. 3.17 | 161n34 | 99.10 | 423n16 |
| Frg. 3.19 | 53, 161n37 | | |
| Frg. 3.20 | 54 | <i>2 Enoch</i> | |
| Frg. 3.21–37 | 54 | 52.1–15 | 423n16 |
| Frg. 3.21 | 160, 161n38 | | |
| Frg. 3.22 | 54, 160 | <i>Eupolemus</i> | |
| Frg. 3.23–26 | 54, 112, 135n13 | Frg. 1 | 117–18 |
| Frg. 3.23–25 | 201 | Frg. 1.4 | 126n44 |
| Frg. 3.23 | 204 | Frg. 2 | 117–18, 117n26 |
| Frg. 3.31 | 160 | Frg. 2b.30.1 | 121 |
| Frg. 3.34–35 | 53n50 | Frg. 2b.30.4 | 121 |
| Frg. 3.34 | 54, 160 | Frg. 2b.30.7 | 122 |
| Frg. 3.35 | 53n51, 160, 161n36 | Frg. 2b.34.4 | 121 |
| Frg. 3.37 | 54, 160 | Frg. 2.1–2 | 117n25 |
| | | Frg. 2.8 | 117n25 |
| <i>2 Baruch</i> | | Frg. 2.18 | 136 |
| 11.7 | 423n16 | Frg. 2.30.3–8 | 118 |

- | | | | |
|------------------------------|-------------|---------------------------------|----------------|
| Frg. 2.30.5–6 | 120 | 240 | 50 |
| Frg. 2.31.1–34.3 | 136 | 254–269 | 50 |
| Frg. 2.31.1–32.1 | 118 | Frg. 1 | 167, 170 |
| Frg. 2.32.1 | 117n26 | Frg. 1.7 | 200 |
| Frg. 2.33.1–34.3 | 118 | Frg. 1.12–13 | 201 |
| Frg. 2.34.1–18 | 117n26 | Frg. 1.13 | 201 |
| Frg. 3 | 117, 117n25 | Frg. 1.16 | 201 |
| Frg. 4 | 117, 120 | Frg. 2 | 56, 168, 170 |
| Frg. 4.3 | 120 | Frg. 2.14 | 201 |
| Frg. 4.4 | 120 | Frg. 2.32–38 | 201 |
| Frg. 4.5 | 122 | Frg. 2.37 | 201 |
| Frg. 5 | 117, 123 | Frg. 3 | 57 |
| | | Frg. 4 | 50–51, 57 |
| <i>Ezekiel the Tragedian</i> | | Frg. 5 | 50 |
| 1–3 | 170 | Frg. 6 | 50 |
| 12 | 167, 171 | Frg. 7 | 170 |
| 22 | 167 | Frg. 9 | 51, 168 |
| 24–25 | 167 | Frg. 13 | 50, 56, 168–69 |
| 35 | 170–71 | Frg. 13.28–29 | 169 |
| 42–58 | 56 | Frg. 14 | 50, 168 |
| 42–43 | 56 | Frg. 15 | 50, 168–69 |
| 43 | 168 | Frg. 16 | 167 |
| 45 | 170 | Frg. 17 | 50, 167 |
| 58 | 170 | | |
| 59–65 | 50 | <i>Greek Apocalypse of Ezra</i> | |
| 60 | 170 | 7.16 | 571 |
| 61–62 | 170 | | |
| 66–67 | 50 | <i>Joseph and Aseneth</i> | |
| 68–69 | 3–4, 193 | 14.3 | 547n16 |
| 69–82 | 50 | | |
| 86 | 170 | <i>Jubilees</i> | |
| 87 | 170 | 1 | 197 |
| 99 | 51 | 8.1–4 | 94 |
| 104 | 170 | 11–23 | 197 |
| 106 | 157, 157n13 | 12.15–24 | 200 |
| 107 | 168 | 12.21 | 200n121 |
| 110 | 168 | 16.4 | 372 |
| 112 | 170 | 34 | 197 |
| 152–174 | 50 | 39–40 | 197 |
| 152 | 168 | 40.5 | 200 |
| 154–155 | 168, 170 | 41–43 | 197 |
| 155 | 169, 171 | 47–49 | 197 |
| 167 | 170 | 47.2–3 | 201 |
| 170–174 | 50 | 47.9 | 201 |
| 175–192 | 50 | 47.10–12 | 56, 375 |
| 175 | 168 | | |
| 187 | 168 | <i>Letter of Aristeas</i> | |
| 204 | 169 | 4 | 55 |
| 212–213 | 50 | 6 | 55 |
| 217 | 50 | 12 | 55 |
| 223 | 169 | 15–16 | 46 |
| 236 | 50 | 16 | 74n19 |
| 239 | 50 | 35 | 55 |

36	55	Frg. 1.195	166n63
109	55	Frg. 1.197	166n62
111	55	Frg. 1.201–204	138n22
122	46, 48	Frg. 2	166n64
128–171	46n37	Frg. 2.43	138n23
130	47		
134–138	46, 51n47, 55	<i>Pseudo-Orpheus</i>	
138	55		59, 60n5, 84
140–141	55	14	140n30, 141, 141n33
142	56	16	140n30, 141
151–152	47	24	141
170	47	Recension A	86–88, 141n31
172	47	Recension B	89–92, 141n32
187–300	46	Recension C	92–98, 141n32
189	46	Recension D	98–102
195	46		
200–201	46	<i>Pseudo-Phocylides</i>	
205	96, 143	75	52n47
211	631n36	103–104	52n47
231	96, 143n51	163	52n47
223	46		
234	47	<i>Psalms of Solomon</i>	
234	47n40	1.4	366
235	46	8.15	366
256	46	17.37	571
257	56		
312–313	48	<i>Sibylline Oracles</i>	
316	4	3.1–45	44n29, 45
		3.1–96	44n29
<i>Odes of Solomon</i>		3.97–161	44n29
6.7	571	3.105–155	45n32
11.2	571	3.162–195	44n29
14.8	571	3.192–193	55
19.2	571	3.196–294	44n29
19.4	571	3.199–210	54
23.22	571	3.208	54
		3.220–230	54
<i>Pseudo-Eupolemus</i>		3.234–247	45
Frg. 1	124nn39–40, 130, 200	3.248–258	45
Frg. 1.2–3	124	3.265–294	54
Frg. 1.2	124n39	3.279	54
Frg. 1.4	126n44	3.295–349	54
Frg. 1.8	126n43	3.314–318	54
Frg. 2	124n39, 130	3.348–349	55
		3.489–544	54
<i>Pseudo-Hecataeus</i>		3.545–572	54
Frg. 1.186	164n56	3.545–656	44, 44n29
Frg. 1.188	165n61	3.547–549	44
Frg. 1.189	164n57	3.551–555	44
Frg. 1.190	166n65	3.554	54
Frg. 1.191	164n58, 166	3.573–600	45
Frg. 1.192	138n21, 165n59	3.575–579	45
Frg. 1.194	165n60, 200	3.580	45

- Sifre Numbers*
- 157.4 331n100 19 216
157.8 331n100 22 216
23 216, 218
24 216
- Targum Onqelos*
- Num 22:7 331n100 27 217
28 217
29 217
- Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*
- 2 Kgs 9:25–26 330n94 30 217–18
47 217
49 217
- Philo of Alexandria 53 217
55 217
- On the Life of Abraham (Abr.)*
- 60–88 200
68–72 200
69–71 90n22
87 632n41
- On the Cherubim (Cher.)*
- 32–34 331n100
42 629n21
87–90 147n66
111 218
- On the Confusion of Tongues (Conf.)*
- 161 143n52
179–181 143n52
- On the Contemplative Life (Contempl.)*
- 8–9 44n27
- On the Decalogue (Decal.)*
- 52–81 634n51
96–101 147n66
175 224–25
- That the Worse Attacks the Better (Det.)*
- 80 214–15
82–84 215
122 143n52
- That God Is Unchangeable (Deus)*
- 2–3 216n9
- On Flight and Finding (Fug.)*
- 70 143n52
79–80 143n52
173 147n66
182 227
183 227
186 227
- On Giants (Gig.)*
- 6–18 215
10 218
16 215
19–57 214, 216, 227
- 19 216
22 216
23 216, 218
24 216
27 217
28 217
29 217
30 217–18
47 217
49 217
53 217
55 217
- Who Is the Heir? (Her.)*
- 54 220
55 213, 220
55–57 200, 214
56–57 220
170 147n66
249 226
258 226
259 226
263–265 226–27
265 226
- On the Life of Joseph (Jos.)*
- 106 200
116 224–25
- Allegorical Interpretation (Leg.)*
- 1.5–7 146, 146nn65–66
1.13–31 634n51
1.33–42 214
1.33 218
1.37 214
1.42 214
3.42 631n35
3.104–106 143n52
3.161 214
- On the Embassy to Gaius (Legat.)*
- 281 610n36, 613
355ff 11n12
- On the Migration of Abraham (Migr.)*
- 91 147n66
113–115 331n100
- On the Life of Moses (Mos.)*
- 1.5 95
1.8 201
1.10–11 201
1.15 167n69, 201
1.17 94n31
1.21 201
1.23 201

- | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|---|---------------|
| 1.43–44 | 56 | | |
| 1.175 | 224 | | |
| 1.206–207 | 147n66 | | |
| 1.263–304 | 331n100 | | |
| 1.263–293 | 224 | | |
| 1.277 | 224, 227 | | |
| 2.1 | 201 | | |
| 2.2–3 | 5 | | |
| 2.8–65 | 225 | | |
| 2.66–186 | 225 | | |
| 2.187–292 | 225 | | |
| 2.259–265 | 224 | | |
| 2.258–269 | 225 | | |
| 2.264–265 | 224–25 | | |
| 2.265 | 225 | | |
| <i>On the Change of Names (Mut.)</i> | | | |
| 46 | 147n66 | | |
| 221 | 143n52 | | |
| <i>On the Creation of the World (Opif.)</i> | | | |
| 29–30 | 210 | | |
| 75 | 143n52 | | |
| 128 | 147n66 | | |
| 131 | 212 | | |
| 134–135 | 210–11, 211n7, 214–15 | | |
| 140 | 211 | | |
| 142 | 211 | | |
| 143 | 211 | | |
| 144 | 211 | | |
| <i>On Planting (Plant.)</i> | | | |
| 6 | 218 | | |
| 8 | 218 | | |
| 18–20 | 214, 218–19 | | |
| 23 | 219 | | |
| 24 | 214, 219 | | |
| 44 | 214, 220 | | |
| <i>On the Posterity of Cain (Post.)</i> | | | |
| 63–65 | 147n66 | | |
| 80 | 143n52 | | |
| <i>That Every Good Person is Free (Prob.)</i> | | | |
| 84 | 143n52 | | |
| <i>On Providence (Prov.)</i> | | | |
| 2.53 | 143n52 | | |
| <i>Questions and Answers on Genesis (QG)</i> | | | |
| 1.51 | 221 | | |
| 1.100 | 96n42, 143n52 | | |
| 2.28 | 221–22 | | |
| 2.41 | 147n66 | | |
| 2.59 | 221–23 | | |
| | | <i>On the Sacrifices of Cain and Abel (Sacr.)</i> | |
| | | 63 | 96n42, 143n52 |
| | | <i>On Dreams (Somn.)</i> | |
| | | 1.14 | 221 |
| | | 1.21 | 221 |
| | | 1.25 | 221, 223 |
| | | 1.30–33 | 214 |
| | | 1.31–32 | 221 |
| | | 1.30–31 | 223 |
| | | 1.30 | 221 |
| | | 1.31 | 221 |
| | | 1.33 | 221 |
| | | <i>On the Special Laws (Spec.)</i> | |
| | | 1.170–171 | 213 |
| | | 1.171 | 210 |
| | | 1.257 | 213 |
| | | 1.277 | 210, 213 |
| | | 2.59 | 147n66 |
| | | 4.49 | 224–25 |
| | | 4.100–115 | 213 |
| | | 4.116–118 | 213 |
| | | 4.119–120 | 213 |
| | | 4.122 | 213 |
| | | 4.123 | 210, 213 |
| | | 4.187 | 143n52 |
| | | <i>On the Virtues (Virt.)</i> | |
| | | | 105 |
| | | 212 | 90n22 |
| | | 214 | 226 |
| | | 216 | 226 |
| | | 217 | 225–26 |
| | | Josephus | |
| | | <i>Against Apion (Ag. Ap.)</i> | |
| | | 1.194 | 200 |
| | | 1.218 | 10n1 |
| | | 2.137 | 11n12 |
| | | 2.141 | 11n12 |
| | | 2.167 | 630n30 |
| | | 2.130 | 629n23 |
| | | <i>Jewish Antiquities (Ant.)</i> | |
| | | 1–4 | 196 |
| | | 1.15–23 | 19n42 |
| | | 1.67 | 94n32 |
| | | 1.70 | 94n32 |
| | | 1.82 | 18n41 |
| | | 1.133–134 | 108 |
| | | 1.148 | 18n41 |
| | | 1.154 | 200 |
| | | 1.158 | 90n22 |

1.222	91n22	12.415	118n27
2.87	200	14.149–155	613n44
2.205–237	5	18.116–119	544n5
2.225–226	167n69		
2.236–238	201	<i>Jewish War (J. W.)</i>	
2.255	56	2.454	181n87
8.108	632n45	2.463	181n87
12.147–153	610n35	7.453	329n83

Early Christian Literature

Apostolic Fathers		3.5	442n14
<i>1 Clement</i>		3.6	442n15, 443nn16–17
	440	<i>Acts of Pilate</i>	
13.2	433n39, 441n2	A 2.1	181n87
18	359	<i>Acts of Thomas</i>	
<i>Didache</i>		94	433n39, 443n18
1.5	441n3	107	433n39, 443n19
3.7	433n39, 441n3	<i>Apocalypse of Peter (Ethiopic)</i>	
Ignatius, <i>To the Ephesians</i>		16	443
18.2	551n35	<i>Epistle to the Apostles</i>	
Ignatius, <i>To the Magnesians</i>		38	433n39, 443n20
10.3	181n87	40	433n39, 443n21
Polycarp, <i>To the Philippians</i>		42	443n21
2.3	433n39, 441n4	50	443n20
New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha		<i>Gospel of Thomas</i>	
<i>Acts of Paul</i>		Log. 54	433n39, 442
3.5–6	433n39	Log. 58	433n39, 442
		Log. 68	433n39, 442
		Log. 69	433n39, 442
		<i>Vision of Paul</i>	
		16–17	443n22
		21	433n39, 443n22

Other Christian Writings

Ambrose		Augustine	
<i>Exposition of Luke</i>		<i>Sermon on the Mount (Serm. Dom.)</i>	
5 § 46	456n86	1.1.3	419n10
5 § 48	456n87	1.2.3	459n101
5 § 49	456n89	1.2.4	459n102
5 §§ 50–51	456	1.2.5	459n103
5 § 55	456n88	1.2.6	459n104
5 § 60	436n50, 457n91, 457n93	1.2.7	460n105
5 § 61	436n51, 457n92, 457n94	1.2.8	431n33, 460n106
5 § 63	436n52, 457n95	1.2.9	437nn54–55, 438n56,
5 §§ 67–68	437n53, 458		460n107

- | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|---|-----------------------|
| 1.3.10 | 460n110, 461n111 | 5.14.133.2 | 61, 64, 70–71, 79 |
| 1.4.10 | 461n112 | 5.78.4–5 | 61, 76 |
| 1.4.11 | 461n113 | 5.123.1 | 66, 76 |
| 1.4.12 | 462, 462n114 | 5.123.2–124.1 | 76 |
| 1.5.13–15 | 462n115 | 5.126.5 | 76 |
| 1.5.15 | 463n116 | 5.127.2 | 76 |
| 1.12.34 | 438n57, 460n108 | 5.133.2 | 76 |
| 2.11.38 | 432n38, 458n97 | 6.3.32.5–33.1 | 64n13 |
| | | 6.3.32.5 | 64n13 |
| Clement of Alexandria | | 6.5.1 | 605n26 |
| <i>Exhortation to the Greeks (Protr.)</i> | | 6.14.108.1 | 445n31 |
| | 78 | 6.16.137.4–138.4 | 64n13 |
| 2.12.1 | 449n50 | 6.16.141.7b–142.1 | 64n13, 145 |
| 7.73.2a | 64n13 | 6.16.142.4b | 64n13 |
| 7.74.3–5 | 76 | 7.3.13.2 | 445n31 |
| 7.74.4–5 | 61, 64, 78 | | |
| 7.74.4 | 65–66, 68, 71 | Cyril of Alexandria | |
| 7.74.5 | 69, 71–72 | <i>Against Julian (Con. Jul.)</i> | |
| <i>Miscellanies (Strom.)</i> | | | 63, 66–69, 67n15, 79, |
| | 167 | | 83–84 |
| 1.15.72.4 | 64n13 | 1.35 | 76 |
| 1.22.150.1–3 | 64n13 | | |
| 1.22.150.1 | 64n13 | Eusebius of Caesarea | |
| 1.23.154.2–3 | 201 | <i>Church History (Hist. eccl.)</i> | |
| 1.23.155.1 | 156n2 | 6.13.7 | 10n1, 17n38, 18n41 |
| 2.5.17.7 | 445n31 | <i>Preparation of the Gospel (Praep. ev.)</i> | |
| 2.11.50.2 | 445n31 | | 183 |
| 2.20.14.6 | 445n31 | 9 | 167 |
| 4.6.25–41 | 444n24 | 9.17.3–4 | 200 |
| 4.6 | 434n40, 445n27 | 9.18.1 | 206n134 |
| 4.6.40.1 | 445n28 | 9.21.11 | 200 |
| 5.1.7.7 | 446n33 | 9.22.11 | 196 |
| 5.12.78.4 | 64, 69, 71–72, 79, 84 | 9.23.1 | 195, 200 |
| 5.12.78.5 | 64, 71, 79 | 9.24.1 | 156n4 |
| 5.14 | 62, 73 | 9.27.1 | 195 |
| 5.14.97.7 | 64n13 | 9.27.4 | 201 |
| 5.14.99.3 | 64n13 | 9.27.23 | 204 |
| 5.14.101.4b | 64n13 | 9.27.23–25 | 201 |
| 5.14.107.1–4 | 64n13 | 9.28.2 | 200–201 |
| 5.14.107.2–3 | 202 | 9.28.3 | 201 |
| 5.14.122.4–126.5 | 73 | 13.12.5 | 59, 76, 83 |
| 5.14.122.4 | 71 | 13.12.6 | 202 |
| 5.14.123–133 | 83 | 13.12.7 | 202 |
| 5.14.123.1–2 | 64 | 13.12.13–14 | 202 |
| 5.14.123.1 | 61, 65, 71–72, 79 | 13.13.50–51 | 76 |
| 5.14.123.2–124.1 | 61 | | |
| 5.14.123.2 | 71–73, 90n22 | Eusebius (Jerome) | |
| 5.14.124.1 | 64, 67, 70, 72, 79 | <i>Chronicle (Chronicon)</i> | |
| 5.14.124.2 | 72 | Olymp. 151 | 156n3 |
| 5.14.126.1 | 72 | | |
| 5.14.126.5 | 61, 64–65, 70–71, 79 | | |
| 5.14.127.2 | 61, 64, 70–72, 79 | | |

- Gregory of Nyssa
Homilies on the Beatitudes (Hom. Beat.)
 1.77.4–78.1 447n41
 1.77.4 447n40
 1.78 448n42
 1.79–80 435n44
 1.79 451n60, 452n61
 1.80 435nn45–46, 452
 1.81.18 452n62
 1.82 452nn63–65
 1.84 419n10, 452n66
 1.87 449n50, 452n67
 2.89.31–90.1 449
 2.90 430n31, 449nn48–49
 2.91 449n50
 2.92 449n51
 2.94.16 453n68
 2.96 453n69
 2.97.13 453n70
 2.99 453n71
 3.98.24–99.1 449n46
 3.104 453n72
 3.104.8 453n73
 3.106 453n74
 3.108 453n75
 4.109.23 449n46
 4.111 454n76
 4.112 454nn77–78
 4.117 454n79
 4.118 454
 5.123.20 449n46
 6.138.10 431n32, 455n80
 6.141 455n81
 6.143 455n82
 6.144.14 449n46
 6.145 455n83
 8.161.10 449n46
 8.162.4 450nn54–55
 8.163 450n56
 8.167 451, 451n57
 8.168.15 435n48, 451n58
 8.169 435n47, 451
- Irenaeus
Against Heresies (Haer.)
 3.12.8 557n63
 3.14.3 433n39, 442n12
 3.17.3 459n98
 3.22.1 433n39, 441n5
 4.9.2 433n39, 441n7
 4.20.5 433n39, 441n8, 442n9
- 4.33.9 433n39, 442nn10–11
 5.9.4 441n6
- Origen
Against Celsus (Cels.)
 3.46 201
 5.2 285
 6.52 631n36
 6.61 144n58
 7.65 631n36
 8.21 631n36
On First Principles (Princ.)
 2.3.7 446
- Ps.-Justin
Exhortation to the Greeks (Coh.)
 59, 60nn2–3, 65–66,
 68–69, 78, 82, 84, 95
 15.1 76
On the Monarchy (Mon.)
 60n3, 78, 82, 247
 2.4 76
- Tatian
Oration to the Greeks (Or. Graec.)
 58 12n15
- Tertullian
To the Heathen (Nat.)
 1.8 605n26
 1.20 605n26
The Pallium (Pall.)
 4 (PL 2.1098a) 304n44
Antidote for the Scorpion's Sting (Scorp.)
 10 605n26
- Theodoret
Cure of the Greek Maladies (Gr. aff. cur.)
 63, 79, 84
 2.30–31 76
- Theophilus
To Autolycus (Autol.)
 75
 3.2 60, 76, 85

Thomas Aquinas		21:33	470n130
		21:34	469n125
<i>Summa Theologica</i>		21:35	470n130
Question 68	464	21:37	472n143
Question 69	464, 464n117	21:69	469n122
Question 70	464		
Martin Luther		John Wesley	
<i>Luther's Works (LW)</i>		Sermon 21, Intro. § 3	473n148
21:3	469n122	Sermon 21, Intro. § 4	473n149
21:4	469n127	Sermon 21, Intro. § 5	473n145, 475n162
21:4n2	469n128	Sermon 21, Intro. § 8	473n150
21:5–6n3	471n135	Sermon 21, Intro. § 10	473n151, 474n152
21:9	472n144	Sermon 21, I.1	473n145, 474nn156–57
21:10	469n126	Sermon 21, I.2	473n150
21:11	470n129, 470n134	Sermon 21, I.4	419n10
21:14–15	470n132	Sermon 22, II.1	475n160, 475nn158–60
21:17–22	470n133	Sermon 22, II.4	473n150
21:17	470n130	Sermon 22, III.1–18	475n163
21:22–25	470n133	Sermon 22, III.17	476n164
21:22	471n136, 471nn139–40	Sermon 23, I.2	475n161
21:23	471n141	Sermon 23, I.11	476n166
21:24	470n130	Sermon 23, III.1	474n153
21:26	469nn122–123	Sermon 23, III.3	474n155
21:28	471n137	Sermon 23, III.4	473n150
21:29	469n124	Sermon 23, III.5	477n170
21:30	470n130	Sermon 23, III.7–13	474n154
21:31	471n138	Sermon 23, IV	476nn167–69
21:32–39	471n142		
21:32	470n131		

Classical Greek and Roman Writers

Aeschylus		Alexander	
	95	<i>On Mixture</i>	
<i>Eumenides (Eum.)</i>		223.25–36	212n8
17–19	8	Alexander Polyhistor	
29	8	<i>On the Jews</i>	183
616	8	Apollodorus	
609–621	8	<i>Library</i>	
<i>Niobe</i>		3.8.1	616n56
Frg. 154a.15	142n42	Apollonius of Rhodes	
<i>TrGF</i>		<i>Argonautica</i>	
2.488	142n42		151
2.489	142n42	4.82	152n83
Aetius		4.1013	152n83
1.7.33	212n8		

- Aratus
Phaenomena
 2–4 633n46
 4 632, 632n42
 7–9 632n39
- Aristotle
Nicomachean Ethics (Eth. nic.)
 1.2 (1094a19–23) 451n59
 1.7 (1097a34) 451n59
 1.10.14 (1101a8) 451n59
 1.10.16 (1101a20–22) 451n59
Politics (Pol.)
 5.9.15 (1315a) 629n21
On Rhetoric (Rhet.)
 1413a29 300n37
- Cassius Dio
Roman History (Rom. Hist.)
 13.17.2 630n30
- Chariton
Chaereas and Callirhoe (Chaer.)
 1.11 615n50
- Cicero
Letters to Atticus (Att.)
 5.15 615n51
Letters to Friends (Fam.)
 15.1.2 615n51
 15.2.1 615n51
 15.4.2 615n51
On Laws (Leg.)
 1.8.24 631n37
- Cleanthes
Hymn to Zeus
 3 633n48
- Demetrius
On Elocution (Eloc.)
 11 628n20
 52 300n37
 280 628n20
 283 628n20
- Demosthenes
Orations (Or.)
 1.14–16 628n20
 4.8–10 615n50
- Dio Chrysostom
Orations (Or.)
 8.2 301n40
 12 634n50
 12.27 633n49
 12.32 634n50
 12.55–83 634n50
 12.61 633n49
 12.74 633n49
 12.75–76 633n49
 30.26–27 633n49
 54.3 628n18
- Diodorus Siculus
Library (Bib. hist.)
 1.10–98 12n13, 15n28
 1.10.1 15n29
 1.12.1 15n29
 1.13.2 15n29
 1.14.1 15n29
 1.14.4 15n29
 1.15.8 15n29
 1.16.1 15n29
 1.23.1 16nn33–34
 1.23.2 16n32
 1.26.1 16n32
 1.44.1 15n29, 16n32, 16n35
 1.45.1 15n29
 1.45.3 16n32
 1.50.1 15n29
 1.69.6 16n32
 1.94.1 15n29
 1.97–98 15n30
 18.5.4 615n51
 40.3 13n20
- Diogenes Laertius
Lives
 1.49 628n20
 1.109–111 633n47
 2.21 628n18
 10.139 635n56

Dionysius of Halicarnassus		<i>Iphigeneia at Tauris (Iph. taur.)</i>	
		711–714	8
<i>Lysias (Lys.)</i>		1249–1258	8
33	628n20	1254	8
		1255–1256	8
Epictetus			
<i>Discourses (Diatr.)</i>		Heraclitus	
1.4.10	299n34	Frg. 22B 111 D.-K.	67
1.4.29	299n34		
1.4.32	299n34	Hesiod	
1.10.7–13	298n32	<i>Works and Days (Op.)</i>	
1.12.12–16	298n32	90–104	142n38
1.16.15–21	298n32	213–247	96n38, 142n47
1.17.13–19	298n32	242–243	143n53
1.18.15–16	298, 298n32	638	96n38, 142n46
1.19.4–6	298n32	667–669	96n37, 142n45
1.21.1–4	298n32	717–718	96n38, 142n46
1.22.13–16	298n32	<i>Theogony (Theog.)</i>	
1.24.18	305n46	32	7
1.25.23–24	298n32	36–39	7
1.27.7–21	298n32	218–220	96n37, 142n45
1.28.28–33	298n32	633	142n44
1.29.7–8	298n32	634	142n44
1.29.20–29	298n32	900	96n37, 142n45
1.29.60–64	298n32	905	96n37, 142n45
2.19.10	305n46		
2.24.25	305n46	Homer	
3.1.10	305n46	<i>Homeric Hymns (Hom. Hymn)</i>	
3.22.1–109	298	2.90–117	615n54
3.22.23–25	298	2.147	142n35
3.22.26	298	2.216	142n35
3.22.32	299	<i>Iliad (Il.)</i>	
3.22.38	299	1.7	7
3.22.44	299	2	203
3.22.45–46	299	2.419–420	142n35
3.22.47–49	299	2.875	149n72
4.8.25	305n46	3.371	152n79
4.8.30–31	299	3.444	149n71
<i>Enchiridion (Ench.)</i>		3.446	148n70
25.4	305n46	5.146	152n84
		5.504	88n18
Euripides		5.579	152n84
<i>Bacchanals (Bacch.)</i>		5.892	152n80
	135	5.896	633n48
794–795	202	6	203
		7	203
<i>Fragments</i>		8.325	152n84
Frg. 839	146n66	8.365	149n73
<i>Madness of Hercules (Herc. fur.)</i>		8.442	88n18
1345	631n36	10.15	152n81
		11.92	152n78

- | | | | |
|--|---------------|--------|--|
| 11.217 | 152n78 | | |
| 11.738 | 149n72 | | |
| 13.202 | 152n79 | | |
| 14.175 | 152n81 | | |
| 14.401 | 152n78 | | |
| 14.412 | 152n79 | | |
| 15.109 | 142n35 | | |
| 15.726 | 152n78 | | |
| 16.182 | 148n70 | | |
| 16.208 | 148n70 | | |
| 16.250–252 | 142n36 | | |
| 16.258 | 152n78 | | |
| 16.340 | 152n85 | | |
| 17.425 | 88n18 | | |
| 17.548 | 149n73 | | |
| 18.177 | 152n79 | | |
| 20.223 | 148n70 | | |
| 21.64–135 | 152n82 | | |
| 21.65 | 152n82 | | |
| 21.116–118 | 152n85 | | |
| 21.117 | 152n84 | | |
| 21.199 | 149n73 | | |
| 22.324 | 152n84 | | |
| 23.141 | 152n81 | | |
| 24 | 203 | | |
| 24.357 | 152n83 | | |
| 24.525–533 | 95n35, 142n37 | | |
| <i>Odyssey (Od.)</i> | | | |
| 2.85 | 152n80 | | |
| 2.267–269 | 615n54 | | |
| 3.2 | 88n18 | | |
| 3.104 | 152n80 | | |
| 4.236–237 | 142n36 | | |
| 8.62–63 | 142n36 | | |
| 8.494 | 149 | | |
| 11.18 | 149n73 | | |
| 12.381 | 149n73 | | |
| 12.412 | 152n79 | | |
| 15.488–489 | 142n36 | | |
| 17.482–487 | 615n54 | | |
| 20.19 | 152n80 | | |
| 20.199–203 | 142n35 | | |
| 22.339 | 152n83 | | |
| 22.342–343 | 152n83 | | |
| 22.365–366 | 152n83 | | |
| 22.472 | 152n79 | | |
| Horace | | | |
| <i>Odes (Carm.)</i> | | | |
| 1.2.41–42 | 285 | | |
| Hyginus | | | |
| <i>Fabulae</i> | | | |
| 176 | | 616n56 | |
| Isocrates | | | |
| <i>To Demonicus (Or. 1)</i> | | | |
| | | 305 | |
| <i>Epistles (Ep.)</i> | | | |
| 4.88 | | 300n37 | |
| 8.10 | | 297n25 | |
| <i>Nicoles (Or. 3) (Nic.)</i> | | | |
| 27–47 | | 298n29 | |
| 35 | | 298n29 | |
| 37–38 | | 298n29 | |
| <i>In Sophistas (Soph.)</i> | | | |
| 16–18 | | 297n27 | |
| Juvenal | | | |
| <i>Satires (Sat.)</i> | | | |
| 6.158ff | | 11n12 | |
| Livy | | | |
| <i>From the Foundation of the City (Ab urbe condita)</i> | | | |
| | | 630n30 | |
| 45.27 | | 612n43 | |
| Lucan | | | |
| <i>On the Civil War (Pharsalia)</i> | | | |
| 2.592–593 | | 630n30 | |
| Lucian of Samosata | | | |
| <i>Demonax (Demon.)</i> | | | |
| 11 | | 628n20 | |
| 57 | | 628n20 | |
| <i>Menippus (Men.)</i> | | | |
| 4 | | 299n34 | |
| Lucretius | | | |
| <i>On the Nature of Things (Rer. nat.)</i> | | | |
| 2.991–998 | | 631n37 | |
| Macrobius | | | |
| <i>Saturnalia</i> | | | |
| 2.4.11 | | 11n12 | |

- Marcus Aurelius
Meditations
 3.11.2 299n34
 5.3 299n34
 6.22 299n34
- Maximus of Tyre
Dialexis
 14.6–7 629n21
- Menander
 95
Epitrepontes (Epitr.)
 1085–1086 142n43
- Mimnermus
 95
 Frg. 2.15 142n40
- Nicolaus of Damascus
 Frg. 43 (Müller,
 FHG 3.378) 616n56
- Orpheus
Orphica Fragmenta (OF)
 245 81n2
 247 81n2
- Ovid
Fasti (Fast.)
 5.1d.11 (493–544) 615n54
Metamorphoses (Metam.)
 1.231–261 616n56
 1.517–518 7
 8.611–724 616n55
- Palladas
Anthologia Palatina
 10.72 449n50
- Pausanias
Description of Greece (Descr.)
 1.1 612n42
 1.1.4 629n27
 1.24.3 629n22
 5.14.8 629n27
- Pedanius Dioscorides
Materials of Medicine (Mat. med.)
 4.153 150n76
- Philostratus
Life of Apollonius of Tyana (Vit. Apoll.)
 6.3.5 629n28
 8.7.8 604n22
- Pindar
 95
Isthmian Odes (Isthm.)
 5.52 142n41
Pythian Odes (Pyth.)
 4.110 150n75
- Plato
Apology (Apol.)
 17A–C 628n20
 17C 628n18
 24B 614n49
Gorgias (Gorg.)
 508A 631n33
Ion
 534B–D 228n13
Phaedo (Phaed.)
 109B–110B 447n39
Phaedrus (Phaedr.)
 242C–250C 228n13
 265B 228n13
Protagoras (Prot.)
 320D–E 631n37
 329A 304n44
Republic (Resp.)
 1.354A 451n59
 2.379C 96
 379A–E 142n48
 379C 141n49
 379E 142n50
 7.514A–520A 447n39
Timaeus (Tim.)
 145, 147n66
 27A 631n33
 29E–30A 96n39, 142n50
 42E 145

- Pliny the Elder
Natural History
 Pref. 25 304n44
 1048E–F 96n40
 1049A–B 96n40
 1049D–E 96n40
 1050C–D 96n40
- Plutarch
Superstition (Superst.)
 629
 2.165C 629n24
- Alexander (Alex.)*
 1b 297n24
- Cicero (Cic.)*
 7.6 11n12, 181n87
- Cimon (Cim.)*
 2 297n24
- Isis and Osiris (Is. Os.)*
 28 12n14
 357 615n54
- Moralia (Mor.)*
 24B 142n38
 84C–E 297n24
 85A–B 297n24
 105C 142n38
 505A–511E 297n24
 539A–547F 297n25
 539D–E 297n25
 550D 297n24
 551A–B 297n24
 576E 297n24
 576F–577A 297n24
 583F–585D 297n24
 600D 142n38
 768B–D 297n24
 770D–771C 297n24
 811B–C 298n30
 816D–E 298n30
 1040B–C 143n54
 1048E–F 143n54
 1049A–B 143n54
 1049D–E 143n54
 1050C–D 143n54
- Pericles (Per.)*
 1–2 297n24
- Phocion (Phoc.)*
 10 628n20
- Pompey (Pomp.)*
 8 297n24
- Romulus (Rom.)*
 28.2 285
- Stoic Self-contradictions (Stoic. rep.)*
 1040B–C 96n40
- Polybius
Histories (Hist.)
 12.25b.3 632n38
 12.25e.3 632n38
- Pseudo-Aristotle
De mundo
 139
- Problems (Probl.)*
 18.3 (916b 26–36) 297n24
- Pseudo-Diogenes
Epistles
 36.1 629n25
- Pseudo-Heraclitus
Fourth Epistle
 629n25
- Pseudo-Plato
Epinomis (Epin.)
 978A 142n50
- Quintilian
Institutio oratoria (Inst.)
 2.2.8 297n28
- Rufus of Ephesus
Names (Onom.)
 102 150n76
- Rutilius Namatianus
De Reditu Suo
 1.384 11n12
 1.391–392 144n58
- Seneca
Epistles (Ep.)
 6.3–5 298nn 31–32

41.1–2	633n46	171–172	142n39
41.2	585n1	230–232	142n39
71.7	298n31	463–464	142n39
92.11–13	298n32	591–592	142n39
92.21–22	298n32		
Strabo		Vergil	
<i>Geography (Geogr.)</i>		<i>Eclogues (Ecl.)</i>	
1.2.33	300n37	4.6–10	285
2.5.31	615n51	<i>Georgica (Georg.)</i>	
2.5.39	615n51	4.392–393	7
3.2.9	300n37	Xenophon	
9.1.16	612n42	<i>Anabasis (Anab.)</i>	
12.2.10	615n51	1.2.19	615n51
12.6.1	615n52	3.2.23	615n51
14.1.24	604n23	<i>Cyropaedia (Cyr.)</i>	
14.2.29	615n51	3.3.58	629n21
<i>Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta (SVF)</i>		<i>Memorabilia (Mem.)</i>	
2.441	212n8	1.1.1	614n49
2.1027	212n8	1.1.10	628n18
Theognis		1.7.1	299n33
<i>Elegies (El.)</i>		2.1.11	299n33
	95	2.1.21	299n33
133	142n39	2.1.23	299n33
155–158	142n39	4.4.19	632n43
165–166	142n39		

Index of Modern Authors

- Abel, Eugenius 61n7
Adcock, F.E. 58n58
Adler, William 193
Agouridès, S. 415n1
Albl, Martin C. 317, 317n31
Alexander, Loveday A. C. 589, 589n4, 590n5
Alexandre, Charles 256n45
Allcock, P.J. 293n6
Allen, O. Wesley, Jr. 114, 114n23, 329n89, 399, 416n1, 638
Alles, Gregory D. 543n3
Allison, Dale C. 416n2, 417n4, 423n15
Annas, Julia 614n47
Applebaum, S. 255n41
Aquinas, Thomas 438, 464–68
Argall, Randal A. 193n80
Arundell, F.V.J. 609n32
Ascough, Richard S. 611n37
Attridge, Harold W. 20–35, 121n35, 134n5, 134n8, 139n26, 629n25, 637
Avermarie, Friedrich 556n60, 560n77
- Bacon, Benjamin W. 400n8
Bagnall, Roger 610n32
Bähr, Walter 481n2
Bahrdt, Karl Friedrich 488n32, 510
Baird, J. Arthur 427n23
Balch, David L. 292, 638
Baldensperger, Wilhelm 494n66
Bammel, Ernst 416n1
Bar-Kochva, Bezalel 133n3, 137, 137n20, 162–64, 162n47, 163nn48–52, 164nn53–55
Barbour, Robin 426n23, 481n2
Barclay, John M. G. 133n2, 156–57, 156n7, 157n12, 178, 178n85, 187, 187nn39–42, 189n61, 191–92, 191n74, 202n126, 204–5, 230, 230n5
Barrett, C. K. 293n7, 295n15, 300n36, 313, 313n6, 328nn78–80, 329n83, 416n1, 483n8
Barth, Karl 310, 310n50
Bartlett, John 188, 188n51
Batey, Carolyn 481n1
Batey, Richard 481n1
- Bauckham, Richard 331, 331n100
Bauer, Bruno 505, 509, 513
Bauernfeind, Otto 190n65
Baur, Ferdinand Christian 233, 258, 262n57, 511
Becker, Eve-Marie 197n108
Beierwaltes, Werner 458n96
Belkin, Samuel 262
Benckert, H. 323n58
Bennema, Cornelis 208n1
Bernays, Jacob 256nn48–50
Berti, S. 232n10
Bertram, G. 415n1
Best, Ernest 415n1, 419n9
Bethune-Baker, J.-F. 483n11
Betz, Hans Dieter 181n87, 250n34, 268, 268n94, 297n23, 297n25, 416nn1–2, 417n3, 418n5, 419n7, 420, 422n11, 423n15, 429–30, 430n29, 440n1, 449n47
Betz, Otto 312n1
Bickerman, Elias J. 10n1, 11n5, 88n17, 186nn27–32, 255, 255n42, 261n55
Bieder, Werner 207n1
Bigg, Charles 257n51
Bilde, Per 36, 42n21, 42n23, 45n34, 140n29, 637
Binder (Schweitzer) 511
Binder, Donald D. 613n44
Binet-Sanglé, Charles 489, 490n39
Bjerkelund 294n14
Black, Allen 20, 287n24
Black, Matthew 287n24, 315, 315n14
Blenkinsopp, Joseph 245n26
Blomqvist, Jerker 42n23
Boadt, L. 245n26
Bock, Darrell 312n1, 316n24, 321, 321n49, 321n52, 322, 322nn53–57, 324n66
Boers, Hendrikus 284, 284n17
Boger, Frieda 512
Bohak, Gideon 189n61
Bombelli, Luciano 184, 184n12
Bonz, Marianne P. 203n131

- Bousset, Wilhelm 259n53, 280, 280n11, 284,
 284n18, 502, 502n106, 505
 Bovon, François 313n1, 417n3, 418n5,
 440n1, 444n23
 Bow, Beverly A. 193n80
 Bowden, John 184n7, 197n110, 229n1,
 426n23, 477n171, 482, 482n7, 484, 487–88,
 488n31, 492n54, 507–10, 513, 520, 520n4,
 521nn6–7, 522nn9–11, 523nn11–14,
 524nn15–16, 525nn17–20, 526nn21–24,
 527nn25–29, 528nn30–34, 529nn35–38,
 530nn39–46, 531nn47–49, 532nn50–51,
 532n53, 533nn54–57, 534nn58–63,
 535nn64–67, 536nn68–72, 537nn73–79,
 538nn80–82, 539nn83–84, 540n85, 542n86
 Bowersock, G. W. 269n95
 Bowker, John W. 316n24, 319n39, 323n58
 Brabazon, James 481n2, 483n8, 487, 487n29,
 499n95, 507n129
 Braumann, G. 415n1
 Braun, Martin 39, 39n9, 53n50, 191, 191n69
 Brawley, Robert L. 324n65
 Bréhier, Émile 208n2
 Bright, John 426n23
 Brodie, Thomas L. 323–24, 323n60,
 324nn60–61
 Broer, Ingo 416n1
 Brooke, George J. 416n1
 Brooten, Bernadette J. 611n37
 Brown, Raymond E. 282n16, 319n39
 Brown, William P. 418n5
 Bruce, F. F. 312n1, 578n8, 579n9, 593n7,
 599n13
 Buchanan, George W. 416n1, 427n23
 Buchanan, Neil 241n18
 Bulman, Joan 481n2
 Bultmann, Rudolf 241, 320n40, 428n26,
 483n8, 551n35, 605n26, 625n15
 Buri, Fritz 482n2
 Burkert 74n19
 Burkitt, F. C. 483n10, 487, 487n26, 487n31
 Burton, Anne 12n13
 Buswell, Geoffrey 321n47, 590n6
 Butler, H. E. 297n28
 Buzy, Denis 415n1

 Cadbury, Henry J. 202n124, 313, 320nn44–
 45, 320–21, 323n58, 325n69, 624, 624n11
 Cairns, Huntington 145n61
 Calderón de la Barca, Pedro 449n50
 Callahan, Johannes F. 447n37
 Cambe, Michel 605n25
 Camp, J. M., II 613n45
 Campbell, Joseph 207n1
 Campion, C. T. 483n13
 Cancik, Hubert 59, 103n48, 637
 Cardman, Francine 419n10, 458n96
 Carleton Paget, James 230n6, 482n2, 483n8,
 484–85, 484n18, 485n21, 487n25, 488n33,
 494n66, 502n106, 521n8
 Carroll, John T. 312n1, 324n63
 Carson, D. A. 313n6
 Catchpole, David 546n9
 Caulley, Thomas Scott 312, 638
 Cerfaux, Lucien 314n7
 Chadwick, Henry 449n50, 606n28
 Chapman, Mark D. 426n23, 481n2, 483n10
 Charles, R. H. 329n83, 488, 488n35
 Charlesworth, James H. 85, 91, 155n1,
 183n1, 184, 287n24, 329n83
 Charlesworth, M. P. 58n58
 Cherniss, Harold F. 447n38
 Childers, Jeff 566
 Chilton, Bruce D. 427n23
 Clark, Henry 484, 484n15
 Clark, Kenneth W. 415n1, 601, 618
 Clarke, W. K. L. 314n7, 315n13, 323,
 323n59, 328n75, 328n82, 329n83,
 329n88, 334–65
 Clemen, Carl 293n10
 Coates, J. R. 477n171, 482n7, 488n31, 520n4
 Cohen, Shaye J. D. 185–86, 185nn18–19,
 186nn20–26, 230, 230n4
 Cohoon, J. W. 301n40
 Collins, Adela Yarbro 40, 139n24, 416n1,
 547n16
 Collins, John J. 36n1, 37n1, 39n8, 41n19,
 44nn28–29, 45, 45nn32–33, 46n36, 49n43,
 49n45, 53n48, 54n53, 55n55, 135n12, 185,
 185nn15–17, 193, 193n80, 203n129, 262,
 262n58
 Colson, F. H. 196n107, 210–15, 216n9, 217,
 219–20, 224–27, 224n10
 Conzelmann, Hans 293n11, 295nn15–16,
 300n36, 303n42, 321, 321n47, 325n69, 329,
 329n87, 590n6
 Cook, S. A. 58n58
 Cornell, T. J. 269n95
 Cornford, Francis M. 145, 145n62
 Cowey, James M. S. 198n115
 Crombie, Frederick 446
 Cross, Frank L. 415n1
 Crouch, James E. 416n2, 440n1
 Cullmann, Oscar 280, 280n6
 Cupitt, Susan 477n171, 482n7, 488n31,
 520n4

- Dahl, Nils A. 123n37, 294n14
 Dähne, August Ferdinand 156, 246n28, 256n51, 259
 Dalbert, Peter 13n16, 18n41, 104, 104n3
 Daley, Brian E. 427n23
 Dalman, Gustaf 492, 496, 515
 Daniélou, Jean 447n38
 Daniels, Boyd L. 415n1
 Daube, David 416n1
 Davidson, Robert 191n74
 Davies, W.D. 186nn33–36, 187nn37–38, 230n6, 263, 263n63, 400n8, 416nn1–2, 417n4, 423n15, 601, 611n37
 Davis, Moshe 263, 263n65
 Deissmann, Adolf 552, 552n42
 Delaunay, Ferdinand H. 256n45
 Delcor, Mathias 186, 187n37
 Delling, Gerhard 85, 184, 184n4
 Demirer, Ünal 609n31, 610n32
 Denis, Albert-Marie 4n1, 10n1, 11n6, 36n1, 60n5, 61n6, 62n10, 63n12, 70
 Denton, Andrew N. 502n108, 510
 Descamp, Albert-Louis 415n1
 Dibelius, Martin 198, 198n112, 293n7
 Dirkse, Peter A. 297n23
 DiTommaso, Lorenzo 185, 185n14
 Dobschütz, Ernst von 483, 483n10
 Dodd, C.H. 37n2, 282, 316, 316n26, 415n1, 427n23, 428, 428n25, 484n16
 Doeve, J. W. 319n39
 Doran, Robert 124n39, 136n15, 137n19
 Dragutinović, Predrag 207, 638
 Drew-Bear, Thomas 610n32
 Drobner, Hubertus R. 419n10, 434n41, 445n29, 446n36, 447n37, 448n43, 451n59
 Droysen, J. G. 12n13, 268–69, 269n95
 Drummond, James 208n2, 246n28, 257n51
 Drury, John 319n39
 Dubnow 156
 Duling, Dennis C. 426n23, 427n23
 Dulles, Avery 487, 487n28
 Dungan, David L. 403n14, 481n2, 484n16, 498n81, 502, 502n109, 504n121
 Dunn, James D. G. 273–91, 273n1, 552n39, 554n47
 Dupont, Jacques 314n7, 317, 318n34, 323n58, 415n1, 419n9, 440n1
 Eliot, T. S. 568, 568n2
 Elliott, J. K. 442n13
 Ellis, E. Earle 312n1
 Elter, Anton 62n8, 63, 81n2, 85
 Eltester, Walther 320n40, 625n15
 Emerton, J. A. 316nn22–24, 316
 Empson, William 626n16
 Engberg-Pedersen, Troels 36, 268, 268n94, 637
 Evans, C. F. 401n10, 417n3
 Evans, Craig 322n52
 Fallon, Francis T. 134n6, 136n17
 Farber, Zev 330n94
 Farmer, William 416n1
 Feldman, Louis H. 144n58, 188, 188n52, 229, 229n2, 262
 Ferguson, Everett 10, 80, 110n17, 292, 543–65, 543nn1–2, 544n4, 545nn7–8, 546nn9–11, 547nn12–14, 547n16, 548n17, 548n22, 549n25, 550n27, 550n30, 551n32, 551n35, 552nn36–41, 553n46, 555n50, 555n53, 556nn54–60, 557n61, 557nn63–68, 558nn69–74, 560n76, 561n78, 637–639
 Ffrench, G. E. 483n11
 Filson, Floyd V. 426n23
 Finkelstein, Louis 186nn33–36, 187nn37–38
 Fiore, Benjamin 294n14, 295n18, 296nn21–22, 297nn25–28, 298nn29–31, 300n38, 301n39, 306n47
 Fischel, Henry 285, 285n22
 Fitzgerald, Edward 481n2
 Fitzgerald, John T. 155, 157n9, 268n94, 585n1, 606n27, 638
 Fitzmyer, Joseph A. 287n24, 312n1, 314n7, 317n33, 321n46, 328, 329n84, 417n3
 Flusser, David 415n1, 416n1
 Foakes Jackson, F. J. 113n20
 Focke, F. 190n64
 Foskett, Mary F. 399, 416n1, 638
 Frankenmölle, Hubert 415n1
 Fraser, Peter M. 12nn13–14, 13–15, 13nn17–18, 14n22, 14n25, 36n1, 37n1, 38, 38nn5–6, 39n12, 42, 42n22, 53n50, 184, 184n9
 Freudenthal, Jacob 10nn1–4, 13, 13n16, 15, 15n27, 18n41, 53nn50–51, 124, 124n39, 183, 184n3, 206, 206n134, 257n51
 Fridrichsen, Anton 292n4, 293nn6–8, 294n12, 295n15, 299n34, 301n40, 305n46, 308n48
 Friedländer, Moritz 515
 Friedlieb, J. H. 256n45
 Fritz, Adolf 482n8
 Fuchs, Albert 416n1
 Fuller, Reginald H. 280, 280n9, 428n26
 Furley, D. J. 613n46

- Gabba, Emilio 187, 187n38
 Gager, John G. 427n23
 García Martínez, Florentino 404n15, 592n7
 Gardner, Gregg 193n81
 Gardner, Percy 483n11
 Garrard, L. A. 426n23
 Garrett, Susan 324, 324n63
 Gaster, Moses 10n1
 Gathercole, Simon J. 481n2
 Gazda, Elaine K. 609n31, 610n32
 Geffcken, Johannes 36n1
 Georgi, Dieter 157n9
 Gfrörer, August Friedrich 246n28, 255, 255n38, 256n51, 259
 Gilmour, S. McLean 233n13
 Giraudet, Gustave 94n32
 Goguel, Maurice 314n7
 Goldsmith, Dale 323n58
 Goltz, Timothy D. 197n108
 Goodenough, Erwin R. 88n17, 196n107, 231–32, 232nn7–9, 232n12, 263, 285, 285n20
 Goodman, Martin 611n37
 Goold, G. P. 615n50
 Goudriaan, Koen 45n34
 Goulder, Michael 279, 279nn3–4, 416n1
 Grabs, Rudolf 482n2, 520n2
 Graef, Hilda C. 447n37
 Grant, Robert M. 294n12
 Gräßer, Erich 481n2, 482n2, 482n8, 484n16, 485n20, 487n25, 487n27
 Gray, Patrick 323n58
 Green, Peter 265–67, 265nn76–79, 266nn80–82, 267n83
 Greene, Theodore M. 502n108
 Greenfield, Jonas C. 287n24
 Greeven, Heinrich 198n112
 Gregor, Mary 502n108
 Gregory, Andrew F. 313n2
 Gregory, C. R. 293n10
 Greig, J. C. G. 520n5, 547n15
 Griffiths, Paul J. 604n24
 Grobel, Kendrick 605n26
 Groos, Helmut 481n2, 485n21, 487n25
 Gruen, Erich 156, 157n8, 178, 178n86, 187–88, 187n44, 188nn45–50, 189n61
 Guelich, Robert 415n1, 416n1, 422n13
 Günzler, Claus 482n2
 Gutbrod, W. 174n81
 Guthrie, Shirley 280n6
 Gutman, Y. 184, 184n5
 Gutschmid, Alfred von 10n3
 Hackett, Jo Ann 331n98
 Hadas, Moses 36n1, 40n16, 45n35, 47n40, 51n47, 297n23
 Haenchen, Ernst 113n20, 190, 190nn65–66, 314n7, 316n22
 Hahn, Ferdinand 280, 280n7, 280n12, 281n13
 Hall, Charles A. M. 280n6
 Hall, Stuart George 419n10, 447–55, 447n37, 447nn40–41, 448n42, 449n46, 449nn48–51, 450n52, 450nn54–56, 451–52, 451nn57–60, 452nn61–67, 453nn68–75, 454nn76–79, 455nn80–83
 Halleux, André de 415n1
 Hamilton, Edith 145n61
 Hamm, M. Dennis 416n1
 Hanks, Thomas D. 410n28
 Hannestad, Lise 36, 637
 Hanson, J. 135n11
 Hanson, K. C. 416n1
 Harnack, Adolf 233, 241–62, 235n17, 241nn18–19, 242nn21–23, 244n24, 245n25, 245n27, 248nn30–31, 249nn32–33, 250n34, 261n54, 292n3, 294n12, 428n25, 605n26, 638
 Harräus, K. 511
 Harrington, Daniel J. 330n94
 Harris, J. Rendel 316, 316n25
 Harrisville, Roy A. 312n1
 Hartmann, Lars 543n3
 Hase, Karl August von 509, 511, 537, 537n73
 Hatch, Edwin 256n51
 Hauck, F. 415n1
 Hausrath, A. 511
 Havet, Ernest 257n51
 Hawthorne, Gerald F. 312n1
 Hayes, John H. 314n10, 408n23, 481n2
 Heathcote, A. W. 293n6
 Hefner, Philip 426n23
 Hegel, G. W. F. 494, 502, 505, 512
 Hegermann, Harald 186, 186n36
 Heine, Ronald E. 446n36
 Heitmüller, Wilhelm 280, 280n10
 Hellholm, David 416n1, 563n79
 Hengel, Martin 36n1, 37n1, 37n4, 49n42, 49n44, 59, 102n48, 121n32, 156, 156n6, 184, 184n7, 186, 186n35, 197n110, 229, 229nn1–2, 248n31, 256, 256n44, 262, 262n57, 265, 285, 285n21, 416n1, 637
 Hennecke, Edgar 605n25
 Héring, Jean 293n6, 295n15, 295n17
 Hermann, H. 11n5

- Herzfeld 156
 Hick, John 279, 279n2
 Hiers, Richard H. 426n23, 427n23
 Hilhorst, Anthony 193n82
 Hill, David 427n23
 Hiller, Doris 197n108
 Hillers, Delbert 483
 Hirsch, William 489, 489n39
 Hitchcock, F.R. Montgomery 292n2
 Hitzig 512
 Hoffmann, Ernst 293n8, 294n12
 Holladay, Carl R. 53n49, 53nn51–52,
 110n17, 157n9, 183n1, 184, 192n77,
 192n79, 196n101, 232n9, 268n94, 323n58,
 402n13, 404n19, 416n1, 510, 555n51,
 601n*, 606n27, 618n*
 Holland, David L. 426n23
 Holmes, Michael W. 441n2
 Holtz, Gottfried 323n58
 Holtz, Traugott 314, 314n7, 314nn9–10,
 315n13, 316, 316n28, 323n58, 324n66
 Holtzmann, Heinrich Julius 238, 505,
 521n8, 537, 537n75
 Horbury, William 157n13, 230n6, 611n37
 Horst, Pieter W. van der 52n47, 324n65, 629,
 629nn25–26, 630n29
 Howard, W.F. 295n15, 328n79
 Hudson, Hoyt H. 502n108
 Humphrey, John W. 610n32
 Hyatt, J. Philip 268n93

 Iber, Gerhard 295n16
 Ice, Jackson Lee 481n2
 Inowlocki, S. 193
 Isaacs, Marie E. 207n1

 Jacobson, Howard 39n11, 135n9, 166n68,
 193, 193nn83–85
 Jacoby, Felix 11n5, 12n13, 20–35, 21n1
 Jaeger, W. 294n12
 Jeremias, Joachim 282
 Jervell, Jacob 312n1, 317n32, 589n2, 625,
 625n14
 Jipp, Joshua 628n17
 Johnson, Hewlett 483n11
 Johnson, Luke Timothy 121n36, 294n13,
 319, 319nn38–39, 399n6, 401nn11–12
 Jones, A. H. M. 615n52
 Jonge, Moritz de 515
 Jowett, B. 145n61
 Joy, Charles R. 484, 484n14, 491
 Juel, Donald H. 321n47, 323n58
 Jülicher, Adolf 482n8, 521n8

 Kabisch, Richard 249n33
 Kaempf, Bernard 482n2
 Kähler, Christoph 415n1
 Kant, Immanuel 502, 502n108, 505
 Karakolis, Christos 207, 520, 638–39
 Kartveit, M. 193
 Käsemann, Ernst 242n20, 594n9
 Käser, Walter 415n1
 Kautzsch, Emil 488n35
 Kazen, Thomas 546n11
 Keating, John R. 314n7
 Keck, Leander E. 269n98
 Kee, Howard C. 233n13
 Kees, H. 12n13
 Keim, Theodor 537, 537n77
 Kelber, Werner 427n23
 Kelsey, Francis W. 609n32
 Kern, O. 61n7, 88, 88n15
 Kieffer, R. 415n1, 416n1
 Kilgallen, John 323n58
 Kilpatrick, G.D. 316, 316n22, 317n30
 King, Karen 427n23
 Kingsbury, Jack Dean 426n21
 Kinzig, Wolfram 606n26
 Kirchbach, Wolfgang 515
 Kirk, G.S. 631n33
 Kirkpatrick, Patricia G. 197n108
 Klauck, Hans-Josef 324n65
 Klausner, Joseph 514
 Klein, Günther 427n23
 Kloppenborg, John S. 611n37
 Kneib, Philipp 490n39
 Knibb, Michael A. 287n24
 Knight, Harold 280n7
 Knox, Wilfred L. 263, 282, 282n15
 Koch, Traugott 481n2, 484n16
 Koester, Helmut 268, 268n93, 288, 288n26,
 290
 Koet, B.J. 312n1
 Kooten, George H. van 193n82
 Koskeniemi, Erkki 199n117
 Kovacs, Judith L. 434, 434nn41–42, 445,
 445nn29–31, 446, 446n32, 446nn34–35
 Kraabel, A. Thomas 232n7, 321n47
 Kraft, Robert A. 245n26, 250n36,
 254n37
 Kramer, Werner 280, 280n8
 Kraus, W. 323n58
 Krauss, Samuel 514
 Kremer, Jacob 312n1, 317n30
 Krüger, Paul 11n12
 Kuenen, Abraham 257n51
 Kugel, James L. 133, 200n121, 638

- Kugler, R. A. 193, 193n82, 198–99,
 198nn113–114, 116, 205
 Kuhrt, Amélie 267n89
 Kümmel, Werner Georg 60n5, 85n6, 233n13,
 234nn15–16, 242n20, 249n32, 292n2,
 426n23, 428, 428n26, 482n8, 485n20
 Kyrychenko, Alexander 577, 577nn6–7

 Lachmann, Karl K. F. W. 512
 Ladd, George Eldon 427n23, 428n26
 Lafargue, Michael 48n41, 61n6, 62n10,
 65n14, 70, 85, 85n7, 91, 91nn25–26, 94,
 94n30, 135n10
 Laible, Heinrich 514
 Lake, Kirsopp 113n20, 325n69, 623, 624n11
 Lampe, Geoffrey W. H. 571n3, 594n8,
 595n10
 Lane Fox, Robin 610n34
 Lang, Wilhelm 489n38
 Lantero, Erminie H. 428n26
 Lapsley, Jacqueline 434n43
 Laqueur, R. 12n14, 13n15
 Larkin, William 318–19, 318n36, 319n37,
 321n47
 Laurentin, André 207n1
 Laurentin, René 319n39
 Lee, D. H. 193
 Lehmann, E. 292n4, 293nn7–8, 294n12,
 295n15, 299n34, 301n40, 305n46, 308n48
 Lehnardt, Andreas 185, 185n13
 Leisegang, Hans 207n1, 208n4
 Lemche, Niels Peter 169n71
 Lemke, Antje Bultmann 482n2
 Lentzen-Deis, Fritzleo 543n3
 Levick, Barbara 609n32, 610n32, 610n33
 Levine, Lee I. 611n37, 611n39, 613n44
 Levison, John R. 208n1
 Lewis, Charlton T. 399nn3–4
 Lewis, LeMoine 110n17, 637
 Lichtenberger, Hermann 59, 103n48,
 185n13, 189nn57–60, 312, 637–38
 Lieberman, Saul 255, 255n40, 285, 285n19
 Lietzmann, Hans 292n2, 492
 Lightfoot, John 492
 Lightfoot, R. H. 571n3, 594n8
 Limburg, James 321n47
 Lindars, Barnabas 313n6
 Lobeck, Christian A. 62n8, 62n9, 81n2
 Lohse, E. 13n16
 Loisy, Alfred F. 551n35
 Lomer, Georg 489n39
 Long, A. A. 212n8, 585n1
 Long, W. R. 262n58

 Longenecker, Richard N. 312n1, 314n7
 Loofs, Friedrich 241n19
 Loosten, Georg Lomer de 489, 489n39,
 490n39
 Lovering, Eugene H., Jr. 312n1
 Lowrie, Walter 426n23, 483–84, 483n13
 Lull, David J. 312n1
 Lumpe, A. 297n23
 Lund, Nils W. 292n2, 309n49
 Lundström, Gösta 426n23, 481n2
 Luttkhuizen, Gerald P. 193n82
 Luz, Ulrich 416n2, 417n4, 418nn5–6, 419n7,
 419n9, 422nn12–13, 425n20, 426n22,
 440n1, 482n2

 Maahs, Charles H. 415n1
 Macaulay, A. B. 426n23
 MacDonald, Dennis R. 202–3, 203nn127–
 128
 MacDonald, Nathan 434n43
 Mackintosh, H. R. 426n23
 MacMullen, Ramsey 267–68, 267nn84–88
 Malherbe, Abraham J. 80, 155, 268, 268n94,
 292, 294nn13–14, 297n23, 606n27, 629n25,
 637–38
 Manheim, Ralph 207n1
 Manson, T. W. 282
 Marcovich, Miroslav 60n3, 65
 Marcus, Joel 547n16
 Marcus, Ralph 222, 262
 Maresch, Klaus 198n115
 Märklin 511
 Marsh, H. G. 543n3
 Martin, Dale 629n21
 Martyn, J. Louis 269n98
 Masella-Gayley, Maura 232n10
 Massebieau, Louis 256n51
 Matter, Jacques 256n51
 McCown, Chester C. 415n1
 McCracken, Victor 312n1
 McDonald, J. I. H. 427n23
 McEleney, Neil J. 416n1
 McNeile, Alan H. 400n8, 416n2, 417n4
 McRoberts, Steven 203, 203n130
 Mearns, Christopher L. 287n24
 Meeks, Wayne A. 280n10, 292, 638
 Meier, John P. 546n9
 Menzies, Allan 262n57
 Meredith, Anthony 446n36, 449n50, 459n99
 Merentitis, Constantinos 14n22
 Merk, Otto 483n8, 485n20
 Merklein, Helmut 427n23
 Metelmann, Volker 190n65

- Metzger, Bruce M. 303n41, 303n43, 449n47, 574n4
- Michaelis, Christine 415n1, 425n18
- Milik, J. T. 287n24
- Millar, Fergus 229n2, 267–68, 267nn89–90, 269, 269nn91–92
- Miller, Rhena Schweitzer 482n2
- Mitchell, Stephen 609n31, 615n52, 616n55
- Mittmann-Richert, Ulrike 189, 189n57
- Moessner, David P. 104, 192n76, 323n58, 324, 324n62, 589n3, 637
- Moffatt, James 605n26
- Mohr, J. C. B. 482
- Moltmann, Jürgen 487n27
- Momigliano, Arnaldo 229n2, 232, 232n10, 262, 262n56, 264–65, 264n72, 265nn73–75, 269nn95–97
- Mommsen, Theodor 256n51
- Montefiore, C. G. 263
- Montgomery, William 234n14, 477n171, 482–84, 482n4, 482n7, 487–88, 487n31, 488nn31–32, 492n54, 510, 520, 520nn3–4, 522n11, 532n53
- Morgan, Robert 426n23, 481n2
- Mosbech, H. 293n7
- Mosshammer, Alden A. 448, 448nn43–45
- Moule, C. F. D. 281n14, 282, 552n42
- Moulton, James H. 295n15, 328n79
- Moxnes, Halvor 427n23
- Mras, Karl 20–35, 21n1, 69, 69n16, 94n31, 97
- Mühling, Andreas 481n2
- Müller, C. 12n13
- Murray, Oswyn 12n13, 13n15, 16n37, 41n18
- Nestle-Aland 366–98
- Neuenschwander, Ulrich 426n23, 482n2
- Neugebauer, Fritz 552n42
- Neusner, Jacob 313n3
- Newman, Barclay M. 415n1
- Newsom, Carol A. 425n19, 434n43, 440
- Neyrey, Jerome H. 331n96, 331n100
- Ng, Diana Y. 609n31, 610n32
- Nickelsburg, George W. E. 184, 184n10, 245n26, 250n36, 254n37, 287n24
- Niebuhr, Karl-Wilhelm 207, 520, 638–39
- Nietzsche, Friedrich 499, 499n95, 512
- Nilsson, Martin 565
- Nineham, Dennis 481n2, 485n19, 505n123, 536n69, 571n3, 594n8
- Nock, Arthur Darby 232, 232n11, 546n9, 551n35, 553n43, 565, 565n83, 631n37, 632n38
- Norris, Frederick W. 80, 637
- Noy, David 611n37
- O'Connor, Edward D. 459n98, 464n117, 465n118
- O'Day, Gail R. 323n58
- O'Neill, John C. 104–5, 104n1, 104n4, 112, 112n19, 132, 132n52, 157, 157n10, 192, 192n78, 481n2
- O'Rourke, John J. 316n22
- Oden, R. A. 20–35, 637
- Oegema, Gerbern S. 185n13, 189nn57–60
- Ogg, George 280n7
- Olbricht, Thomas H. 155, 157n9, 638
- Oldfather, W. A. 299
- Olsen, Derek 160n27
- Olsson, Birger 613n44
- Osterloh, Kevin L. 193n81
- Ottley, Richard R. 313n7
- Otto, Rudolf 426n23, 428n25
- Outler, Albert C. 419n10, 431n35, 473nn145–51, 474, 474nn152–57, 475nn158–63, 476nn164–69, 477n170
- Pacini, David 502n108
- Pamment, Margaret 427n23
- Parsons, Mikeal C. 313, 313n2
- Parthey, Gustav 256n51
- Paulus, H. E. G. 509–512
- Pearson, Birger 286n23
- Pelikan, Jaroslav 230–31, 230n3, 419n10, 431n34, 437nn54–55, 438, 438nn57–58, 458nn96–97, 459nn101–4, 460nn105–10, 461nn111–13, 462, 462nn114–15, 463n116, 468n120
- Percy, Ernst 415n1
- Perrin, Norman 426n23, 427n23, 431, 431n36, 432n37
- Pervo, Richard I. 112n18, 113, 113n22, 117n24, 135n14, 190–91, 190n67, 191n68, 191n70, 198n111, 202nn123–24, 204n132, 205, 313, 313n2, 324n64, 325n69, 326n71, 328n78, 328n80
- Pfleiderer, Otto 233–41, 233n13, 234n14, 235n17, 258–64, 638
- Philip, Finny 208n1
- Phillips, Thomas E. 323n58
- Picht, Werner 481n2
- Pietersma, Albert 327n73
- Pleins, J. David 410n27
- Pleitner, Henning 481n2, 484n16, 485n19
- Plümacher, Eckhard 328n75, 366
- Plummer, Alfred 292n2

- Powell, Mark Allan 416n1, 422n12
 Pulver, Max 207n1
- Quasten, Johannes 436n49, 456n85
- Rabens, Volker 596n11
 Rad, Gerhard von 169n71
 Rahlfs, Alfred 334–98
 Rajak, Tessa 611n37
 Ramsay, William 609n32
 Rasmussen, Emil 489, 490n39, 515
 Raven, John E. 631n33
 Read-Heimerdinger, Jenny 557n62
 Reimarus, Hermann Samuel 507, 509–10
 Reinhold, Meyer 144n58, 188, 188n52
 Reitzenstein, Richard 300n36
 Renan, Ernest 513
 Rese, Martin 312n1, 313, 313n5, 314, 314n7,
 314n11, 316n29, 318–19, 318n35, 321,
 321n48, 322n55, 323n58, 324n66
 Reynolds, Philip 399n6, 415, 440
 Richard, Earl 315n20, 324n60
 Richards, Kent Harold 637
 Riedweg, Christoph 59–76, 59n1, 60nn2–3,
 60n5, 61n6, 62nn7–8, 62n10, 67n15, 68–71,
 73, 74n19, 75n20, 81n2, 85, 86n10, 87–89,
 87nn12–14, 88n16, 89n21, 96n43, 102n48,
 637
 Riesenfeld, Harald 292n1, 293n7, 294n12
 Rife, J. Merle 415n1
 Rigaux, Beda 415n1
 Ringgren, Helmer 314n7
 Ritschl, Albrecht B. 249n32, 261, 261n54,
 426n23, 438, 500
 Rius-Camps, Josep 557n62
 Robertson, Archibald 292n2
 Robertson, Robert G. 49n45, 135n9
 Robinson, David M. 609n32
 Robinson, James M. 288, 288n26, 290,
 482n6, 484n16, 520n2
 Robinson, John A. T. 554, 554n49
 Rogalsky, Sviatoslav 520, 639
 Ross, W. D. 145n59
 Rostovtzeff, Michael I. 58, 58n58
 Rothenburg, Arthur 490n39
 Rothschild, Clare K. 633n47
 Rowe, C. Kavin 313n2, 628n17
 Rudberg, Gunnar 294n12
 Runesson, Anders 613n44
 Runia, David T. 145n60, 145n63, 147n66,
 209n6, 211n7
 Rusam, Dietrich 312n1, 314n7, 315n20
 Rzach, A. 256n45
- Sæbø, Magne 187n43
 Saldarini, Anthony J. 330n94
 Sanday, William 483, 483nn9–10
 Sanders, Jack T. 292n1, 293n9
 Sandmel, Samuel 196n107, 209n5, 232,
 232n9, 262–64, 262nn59–60, 263nn61–62,
 263n64
 Sandnes, Karl Olav 628n17
 Satran, David 229
 Saunders, Thomas 241n19
 Scaliger, Joseph J. 94n31
 Schaefer, Heinrich 490n39
 Schäfer, Peter 59, 103n48, 637
 Schebest, Agnese 512
 Schenck, Kenneth 209n5
 Schenkel, Daniel 537, 537n76
 Schenkl, Heinrich 144n58
 Schiffman, Lawrence H. 188, 188n55
 Schlatter, Adolf 13n16, 300n36
 Schleiermacher, F. E. D. 509, 511
 Schlier, H. 297n23
 Schmid, Wilhelm 12nn13–14, 13n15
 Schmiedel, Otto 515
 Schmitt, A. 323n58
 Schnabel, Paul 13n15
 Schnackenburg, Rudolf 416n1, 427n23
 Schneemelcher, Wilhelm 605n25
 Schneider-Flume, Gunda 197n108
 Schoedel, William R. 293n6
 Schubert, Paul 269n98, 294n14, 320–21,
 320nn40–43, 321n46, 323n58, 625, 625n15
 Schürer, Emil 10n1, 36n1, 37n4, 43n25,
 156n5, 183n2, 190, 256n46, 488, 494n66,
 496, 514, 613n44
 Schwartz, Daniel 229
 Schwartz, Eduard 11n5, 12n13, 13n15
 Schwarz, G. 416n1
 Schweitzer, Albert 426n23, 428, 438,
 477n171, 478nn172–177, 481n2, 481–
 519, 482nn2–7, 483nn12–13, 484n14,
 489nn36–38, 490nn39–44, 491nn45–48,
 494n63, 494n66, 494n71, 495n71, 502n107,
 506n129, 508n134, 520–42, 520nn1–4,
 521nn6–7, 522n11, 523n12, 523n15,
 524n15, 525n20, 527n29, 531n49, 532n53,
 533n54, 536n69, 537n79, 539n83
 Schweizer, Alexander 512
 Schweizer, Eduard 415n1
 Scott, Bernard Brandon 427n23
 Sedley, D. N. 212n8, 585n1, 613n46
 Seeberg, Reinhold 233, 233n13
 Segal, Alan 552n42
 Seters, John van 37n3

- Sevenster, J. N. 11n12, 585n1
 Shepherd, William H. 567, 567n1
 Sherwin-White, Susan M. 267n89
 Short, Charles 399n4
 Shutt, R. J. 45n35
 Siegert, Folker 187, 187n43, 202,
 202nn125–126
 Siegfried, Carl 256n47
 Silberman, Lou 492
 Smalley, Stephen S. 427n23
 Smallwood, E. Mary 37n1
 Smekalov, Sergei 610n32
 Smekalova, Tatiana 610n32
 Smith, Edgar W., Jr. 297n23
 Smith, Jonathan Z. 286n23, 288n25, 289,
 289nn28–29, 291, 604n24
 Smith, Louise P. 428n26
 Smith, Morton 232, 232n12, 255, 255n43,
 263–65, 263nn65–67, 264nn68–71, 297n23,
 313n3
 Smyth, Herbert Weir 422n12
 Sommer, Andreas Urs 482n2
 Soury, Jules 490n39
 Sparks, H. F. D. 316n23, 483n11
 Spicq, Ceslas 300n36, 304n44
 Spoerri, Walter 12n13
 Stählin, Otto 12nn13–14, 13n15
 Stambaugh, John E. 12n14
 Steely, John E. 259n53, 280n11
 Stegner, W. Richard 322n52
 Steinberg, Saul 606, 606n29
 Stephan, H. 482n8
 Stephanus 146n65
 Sterling, Gregory E. 105–6, 105n5, 108n14,
 119n29, 124n39, 125n41, 157, 157n11,
 191–92, 191nn71–73, 192n76, 194n90,
 196n101, 196n104, 197, 197n109, 200,
 200nn118–20, 204–5, 204n133, 268n94,
 589n3, 606n27
 Stern, Menahem 144n58, 630n30
 Stewart, Zeph 232n11, 546n9, 551n35,
 565n83
 Steyn, Gert J. 323n58
 Stone, Michael E. 287n24
 Stowers, Stanley K. 268, 268n94
 Strack, Hermann L. 514
 Strauss, David Friedrich 488n33, 489,
 489n38, 505, 509, 511–12, 521
 Strawn, Brent A. 415, 418n5, 425n19,
 434n43, 440, 638
 Strecker, Georg 415n1, 416n1
 Streeter, B. H. 499n95
 Stroup, C. 193
 Strugnell, John 170n73, 184
 Sturdy, John 230n6, 611n37
 Suggs, M. Jack 415n1
 Swete, Henry B. 10n4, 313n7, 314, 314n12,
 315n13
 Swing, Albert T. 426n23
 Swing, Alice Mead 426n23
 Talbert, Charles H. 321, 321nn50–51,
 323n60
 Taşhalan, Mehmet 610n32
 Tasker, R. V. G. 312n1
 Taylor, Joan F. 543n3
 Taylor, Mark C. 604n24
 Tcherikover, Victor A. 4, 4n2, 37n1, 42n20,
 255, 255n41
 Thackeray, H. St. J. 313n7
 Thomas, Christine M. 417n3, 440n1, 610n32
 Thompson, Dorothy J. 42n21, 140n29
 Thompson, James W. 80, 268n94, 606n27, 637
 Thompson, Richard P. 323n58
 Thrall, Margaret E. 552n42
 Tiede, David L. 53n50, 281n13, 289, 289n27
 Tissot, Gabriel 436n49, 456n84
 Titus, Eric L. 293n8
 Tomkinson, Theodosia 435n49, 436nn50–52,
 437n53, 456n84, 456n86–89, 457nn91–95,
 458
 Torrey, C. C. 315–16, 315n15
 Trebolle Barrera, Julio C. 314n10
 Troeltsch, Ernst 505
 Tuckett, Christopher M. 416n1
 Turner, Nigel 295n15, 328n79
 Twelftree, Graham 546n9
 Tyson, Joseph B. 317n32, 323n58
 Unnik, W. C. van 269, 269n98
 Valckenaer, L. C. 71, 71n17, 73, 73n18, 81n2,
 146n65
 Vallance, J. T. 212n8
 Vermes, Geza 36n1, 156n5, 183n2, 256n46,
 404n15, 484n17, 613n44
 Viciano, Albert 419n10, 434n41, 445n29,
 446n36, 447n37, 448n43, 451n59
 Vielhauer, Philipp 281, 281n13
 Viviano, Benedict T. 416n1, 427n23
 Vogt, Ernst 183n1
 Wacholder, Ben Zion 10n1, 11n5, 13n15,
 14–15, 14n21, 15n26, 18n41, 38, 38n7,
 108–9, 109n15, 119n28, 121nn33–34,
 123n38, 136n16, 158n15

- Wachsmuth, Curt 16n36
 Waddell, W. G. 12n14, 13n15
 Waelkens, Marc 609n31
 Wagner, Günter 416n1
 Wallace, James Buchanan 207, 638
 Walter, Nikolaus 14n22, 40nn14–15, 60–66,
 60n5, 61n7, 62n8, 63nn11–12, 64n13, 70,
 85, 85nn5–6, 94n31, 102n48, 108n14, 144,
 144n56, 183n1, 184, 184n6, 186, 186n34,
 189n60, 190, 190n63, 415n1, 637
 Ware, James 585n1
 Watson, Wilfred G. W. 592n7
 Weaver, John B. 202n123
 Weaver, Mary Jo 207n1, 208n4, 227,
 228nn11–12
 Weaver, Walter P. 482n8, 487, 487n30,
 499n95
 Weber, Reinhard 189, 190n62
 Weder, Hans 416n1
 Wehnert, Bruno 502, 502n106
 Weidel, Karl 502, 502n106
 Weiffenbach, Wilhelm 514
 Weinreich, Otto 113, 113n21, 190, 190n64,
 202
 Weiss, Bernard 293n10, 513
 Weiss, Johannes 292n5, 293n7, 293n10,
 294n12, 295n17, 296n20, 299nn33–34,
 301n39, 309n49, 426n23, 428, 428n24, 438,
 481n2, 483n8
 Weisse, Christian Hermann 537, 537n78
 Weizsäcker, Karl Heinrich 537, 537n76
 Welborn, Laurence L. 416n1
 Welch, Claude 426n23
 Welles, C. Bradford 12n13, 13, 13n19,
 15n31
 Wellhausen, Julius 505, 512, 514
 Wendt, H. H. 513
 Werline, Rodney A. 193n80
 Werner, Hermann 490n39, 515
 Wernle, Paul 482n8, 521n8
 Wesley, John 419n10, 431n35, 438, 473–77
 Wesseling, P. 81n2
 West, Martin 25n4, 31
 Wettstein, J. J. 294n12
 Wevers, John W. 160n28, 355
 Wheelwright, Philip 431, 431n36
 Whitaker, G. H. 210–12, 214–15, 216n9, 217,
 219–20, 226–27
 White, Devin 366
 White, L. Michael 155, 157n9, 638
 Wicker, Kathleen O'Brien 297nn23–24
 Wikgren, Allen P. 294n12
 Wilckens, Ulrich 323n58, 324n66
 Wilcox, Max 313n3, 315–16, 315nn16–17,
 315nn20–21, 316nn22–24, 316n27, 324n65,
 325n68, 330n93
 Wilder, Amos 426n23
 Wiles, Maurice 280n5
 Wilke, Christian Gottlob 512–13
 Wilke, Wilhelm Ferdinand 512
 Wilken, Robert L. 293n6, 451n59
 Williams, Margaret 188, 188n54, 189n61
 Williams, Michael A. 444n26
 Williamson, H. G. M. 313n6
 Willis, Wendell 426n23, 481n2
 Willoughby, Harold R. 294n12
 Wills, Lawrence M. 189, 189n56
 Windisch, Hans 482n8, 483n8
 Winston, David 146n66
 Wischmeyer, Oda 292n1, 301n39
 Witte, John 440
 Witvliet, Charlotte 440
 Wobbermin, Georg 88n17
 Wolfson, Harry A. 208n2, 262
 Woolf, Bertram L. 426n23
 Wordelman, Amy L. 616, 616n54,
 616nn56–57
 Woytt, Gustav 482n2
 Wrede, William 496, 504, 507, 509–10,
 515–16, 520–21, 520n5, 540, 547n15
 Wright, Benjamin G. 327n73
 Wuellner, Wilhelm 293n6, 295n17
 Wyrick, Jed 193, 206, 206n135
 York, John O. 401n9
 Zager, Werner 482n2
 Zahle, Jan 36, 637
 Zahn-Harnack, Agnes von 241n19
 Zehnle, Richard F. 323n58
 Zellentin, H. 193–94, 193n81, 194nn87–89,
 194nn91–94, 195–96, 195nn95–100,
 196nn102–3, 197–98, 201n122, 205
 Zeller, Dieter 157n9
 Zeller, Eduard 256n51, 262n57, 511
 Zerwick, Maximilian 316n22
 Ziegler, Joseph 337, 363
 Ziegler, Theobald 489n38, 511–12
 Zimmerli, Walther 416n1
 Zürcher, Johann 482n2

Index of Subjects

- Abraham
 - Ascent, apotheosis 91
 - Astrologer, astronomy expert 90, 126–27, 126n43, 126n45, 127n45
 - Babylonian science 126
 - Call in Ur 125n42, 126n44, 130, 200
 - Cultural benefactor 53, 125n43, 126n43, 126nn44–45, 127n45, 128, 128n50, 130–31, 161–62, 194–95, 199
 - Discovers astrology and Chaldean science 125, 126n43, 128, 128n50
- Accad 124n40, 125n42
- Achilles 39, 152
- Acts of the Apostles 601–36
 - Familiar and foreign 607–8
 - Godfearers 608
 - Greco-Roman portrayal 602–3
 - Hellenistic Jewish writings comparison 105
 - Jews and Greeks 608
 - Judaism portrayal 602
 - OT citations, parallel chart 334–65
 - Political rhetoric 105
 - Romanness 603
 - Textual tradition 557, 557n62
 - Trifocal perspective 602, 604, 606
- Aegina 613
- Aeschylus 8, 39, 95, 134–35, 139–40, 142, 193
- Agamemnon, negative example 298–99
- Agatharcides of Cnidus 137, 140
- Agraphon 605
- Ahab 330
- Akeldama, *see* Hakeldama
- Albl, M. C., Luke's use of *testimonia* 317
- Alexander Jannaeus 163
- Alexander Polyhistor 10nn1–4, 11, 13, 13n16, 14n22, 15n27, 53nn50–51, 115, 124, 124nn39–40, 131, 133n3, 136, 147–49, 155–56, 160, 167, 180, 183–84, 184n3, 193, 195–96, 206n134, 266
 - Adler, W. 193
 - Artapanus 195
 - Biographical information 183
 - Cleodemus Malchus 133n3
 - Date 183
 - Demetrius the Chronographer 14n22, 131
 - Ezekiel the Tragedian 167
 - Freudenthal, J. 10nn1–4, 13n16, 15n27, 53nn50–51, 124n39, 183–84, 184n3, 206n134
 - Green, P. 266
 - Hellenistic Jewish poets conduit 266
 - Mediator of eastern wisdom (Adler) 193
 - Philo the Epic Poet 156
 - Ps.-Eupolemus 124, 136
 - Rape of Dinah 180
 - Source for Hellenistic Jewish authors 155, 183
 - Source of Artapanus 115, 160
 - Theodotus 147–49, 151, 180
- Alexander the Great 39, 137–38, 164–66, 245, 253, 269
- Alexander, Ephesian 604
- Alexandria, Jewish community in, *see* Judaism in Egypt
- Alexandrian religious philosophy 236–37
- Alexandrian-Gnostic Christianity 237
- Allegory, Allegorical interpretation 40–41, 43, 46–49, 51, 58, 95–96, 133, 139, 142, 163, 166, 171, 173, 178–79, 187, 209–10, 214–15, 216n9, 218, 220–21, 224, 226–27, 232, 235–36, 246, 253, 318, 434, 436, 439, 445, 447, 453, 456, 458–59, 463, 468, 472, 475, 480
 - “Allegorists” 163, 246
 - Ambrose 456, 458, 475, 480
 - Aristobulus 40, 48–49, 58, 139, 171–74, 187
 - Augustine 459, 463, 468, 472, 480
 - Beatitudes 434, 436, 456, 459, 463, 468, 472, 475, 480
 - Gregory of Nyssa 480
 - Jewish 41, 43, 133, 171, 235–36, 253
 - Jewish exegetical school 173
 - Letter of Aristeas 40, 46–47, 187
 - Luke 318

- Luther, M. 472
- OT 40
- Philo 187, 209–10, 214–15, 216n9, 218, 220–21, 224, 226–27, 232
- Plato’s cave 434, 445, 447, 453
- Ps.-Hecataeus 163, 166
- Stoicism 40, 139
- Two jars 85, 142
- Wesley, J. 475
- Amasa, Joab’s slaying of 328
- Ambrose 456–58
- Anastasis, female deity 614
- Anatolius 172, 172n79
- Angels, Philo of Alexandria 215–16
- Animism 237–40
- Antioch, Pisidian 605, 609–12
 - Archaeological excavation 609n32, 610n32
 - Architecture 609n32, 610n32
 - History 609n32, 610n32
- Antiochus IV Epiphanes 329
- Antisthenes 301n40
- Antonius Felix 603
- Apollo
 - Seer 8
 - Slaying dragon 604
 - Spokesman for Zeus 8
- Apollonius of Rhodes 39, 134, 149–52, 203n130
- Apollo, mediator of Alexandrian thought in Corinth 236–37
- Apologetic historiography 105
- Aporia-lusis 11, 38
- Apostle, Lukan understanding 557n65, 563–65
- Arabia 112, 116, 121, 180
- Aramaic
 - expressions in NT 325
 - Gospel language 514–15
 - Jesus’s language 515
 - Sources for Luke–Acts 315
 - Hakeldama 330
- Aratus, *Phaenomena* 48, 139, 171, 173, 202, 630, 632–33, 635
- Aratus, Zeno’s pupil 633
- Archisynagōgoi*, Pagan associations 610
- Archisynagōgos* 610–11
- Areopagus speech 202, 627–35
 - Epimenides echoes 202, 633
- Aristarchus, Macedonian 604
- Aristeas, Exegete 108n14, 133n3, 156, 182, 183n1, 185, 185nn12–13, 187–89
- Aristeas, Letter of 4, 36n1, 40–41, 40n16, 41n18, 45–50, 45n35, 46n37, 47n40, 51n47, 52n47, 55–56, 58, 96, 105, 173, 187–88, 313n7
 - Alexandrian setting 40
 - Allegorical interpretation 46–47, 58
 - Aristotelian mean 46
 - Critique of pagan religion 46, 51n47, 55
 - Cult maintained 47
 - Date 40
 - *Diēgēsis* 40
 - Egypt portrayal 55
 - Eleazar’s apology for the law 46
 - Ethical allegory 47
 - Food laws 46–47
 - God and evil 96
 - Greek philosophers borrow from Moses 48
 - Hellenistic accommodation 45–46, 173, 187
 - Hellenistic Jewish setting 36n1, 188
 - Kingship tractates 40–41
 - Mediating position 46–48
 - Monotheism 48
 - Orpheus 48
 - Political apologetic 105
 - Rhetoric of moral superiority 56
 - Septuagint 40, 313
 - Theodectus 4
 - Universal outlook 47, 52
- Aristobulus 8, 36n1, 40, 42, 48–51, 48n41, 56, 58–60, 60n5, 61, 63n12, 64, 64n13, 65n14, 66–67, 70–71, 73–76, 78–80, 81n2, 83, 93, 108n14, 133n3, 139, 139n24, 143–46, 156–57, 171–74, 178–79, 182, 183n1, 184–85, 185n13, 186–88, 188n50, 190, 202, 630n31
 - 2 Macc 1:10 171
 - Alexandrian Museum 40, 42
 - Allegorical exegesis of OT 40, 58, 139, 171, 173, 178–79
 - Antiquity, priority of Mosaic law 48–49
 - Aratus of Soli 48
 - Aratus, *Phaenomena* 139, 171, 174, 190, 630n31
 - Aristotle 139
 - Author of longer recension Ps.-Orpheus 139
 - Author of Ps.-Aristotle, *De mundo* 139
 - Barclay, J. 156, 187
 - Changing name of Zeus to God 202, 630n31
 - Clement of Alexandria 64–66, 64n13, 71, 172
 - Clement of Alexandria’s quotations of 64

- Contact with royal circles in Alexandria 40, 42
- Contemporary with Letter of Aristeas 40
- Cultural superiority of Judaism 51
- Date 40, 83, 133n3
- Diaspora consciousness 157, 174
- Earliest Jewish hermeneutical theologian 40, 49
- Eclectic philosophical interests 40, 139
- Egyptian provenance 171
- Ethnic identity 157, 172–73
- Ethnicity attitude 56
- Eusebius 79–80, 83, 93, 172
- Exegetical interests 40, 49, 56, 108n14, 139, 144, 156, 171, 183n1, 185n13
- Fidelity to ancestral tradition 172–73
- First known Jewish philosopher 40
- General profile 48–49, 139–40, 171–74
- God's inactivity 145
- God's resting 143–46
- God's transcendence 67
- Greek philosophers borrow from Moses 48, 139–40, 171–73, 202
- Gruen, E. 188, 188n50
- Hellenistic accommodation 42, 48, 50–51, 139, 171, 173, 186
- Jewish philosopher 83, 139, 182, 185
- Jewish school of allegorical exegesis 173
- Jewish *sophos* 172
- Law of Moses, philosophical respectability 49
- Luke comparison 202
- Moses portrayal 83
- Moses's two-tablet law 73, 94
- Orpheus 171, 174
- "Our school" (*haireisis*) 173
- Pagan religion 48
- Pagan texts cited 202
- Passover, philosophical explanation 49
- Paul comparison 178–79
- Peripatetic 139, 171
- Philo's predecessor 174, 186–87
- Philosophical outlook 51, 56
- Ps.-Orpheus 59–60, 60n5, 61, 64, 65n14, 67, 70–71, 73–79, 81, 83, 93, 139
- Ps.-Orpheus Recension C 63
- Ptolemaic Egypt setting 36n1
- Relationship to Ps.-Orpheus recensions 64, 65n14
- Sabbath, philosophical respectability 49, 143–46, 171, 173
- Siegert, F. 202
- Stoic and Pythagorean influence 40, 139
- Teacher of King Ptolemy 171
- Throne of God depicted 8
- Valckenaer, L. C. 81n2
- Walter, N. 144, 144n56, 183n1, 184, 184n6
- Aristotle 46, 139, 145, 297n24, 434, 434n43, 447, 451, 451n59, 464, 479, 613
 - Aquinas, T. 464
 - Aristobulus 139, 145
 - Athens 613
 - Beatitudes 479
 - Doctrine of the mean 46
 - *Eudaimonia* 434, 434n43, 437, 447, 451
 - Gregory of Nyssa 434, 447, 451, 451n59
 - Plato, *Timaeus* 145
 - Unmoved Mover 145
 - Value of examples 297n24
- Artapanus 36n1, 38–39, 43–44, 48–49, 53–54, 53nn50–51, 57, 105, 111–21, 112n18, 127n45, 130–32, 133nn2–3, 135, 135n12, 136, 155–57, 159–62, 160n27, 175, 178, 182, 183n1, 185, 185nn12–13, 186–88, 188n50, 189, 191–93, 193nn81–83, 194–97, 197n108, 198, 198n111, 199, 199n117, 200–201, 204–6, 206nn134–35
 - Abraham teaches astronomy to Pharethothes 162
 - Acts of Apostles comparison 113–17, 192–93, 196–97, 199, 204–5
 - Alexander Polyhistor quotation of 115, 160, 195, 200
 - Alexandrian setting 155
 - Barclay, J. 156, 187, 192, 204
 - Braun, M. 39
 - Caricature of Egyptians 199n117
 - Chanethotes's attempted assassination of Moses 116
 - Chenephres 54, 116, 162, 194, 199
 - Circumcision adopted by Egyptians 161
 - Cohen, S.J.D. 186
 - Collins, J.J. 185
 - Cultural benefactor topos 43, 53, 113, 116, 119, 127n45, 130, 161, 194–95, 199
 - Date 36n1, 38, 133nn3–4, 194, 198
 - Demetrius the Chronographer comparison 132
 - Diaspora consciousness 161, 194–95
 - Diodorus Siculus 194
 - Egyptian provenance 38, 155, 194, 198
 - Elephantiasis 53
 - Eupolemus comparison 117–21
 - Euripides 135

- Eusebius 159–60, 195
- Familiarity with Egyptian traditions 53
- Feldman and Reinhold 188
- General profile 38–39, 53–54, 111–17, 159–62, 193–99
- Gruen, E. 156–57, 187–88, 188n50
- *Hebraios*, use of 160n27, 175
- Hellenistic accommodation 49, 53, 112, 114, 136
- Hellenistic Jewish writing 156, 182, 183n1, 184–85nn12–14
- Hengel, M. 186
- Herakleopolis papyri 198–99
- Jacobson, H. 193
- Jewish community as *politeuma* 198
- Jewish ethnic identity 160
- Jewish identity disputed 44, 112, 193
- Jewish patriarchs cultural benefactors of Egypt 53, 162, 194
- Jewish triumphalism 54
- Jewish writing, Ptolemaic Egypt 36n1
- Jews as “Hermiouth” 160
- Jews clash with Egyptians 53–54
- Joseph’s marriage to Asenath 53, 57, 162
- Kugler, R. A. 198–99, 205
- Lukan source 115, 197–98
- Luke comparison 112n18, 115–17
- MacDonald D. 203
- Memphis provenance 198
- Merentites, C. (K.J.) 14n22
- Mixed marriage acceptable 53, 112
- Moses as Hermes 43–44, 161, 194–95
- Moses as teacher of Orpheus 162, 201
- Moses before Pharaoh 112–13, 119
- Moses cultural benefactor of Egypt 116
- Moses defeats Ethiopians 116, 119, 161
- Moses portrayal 43–44, 53
- Moses recipient of Egyptian divine honors 105, 161
- Moses’s miraculous prison escape 105, 112–13, 135, 201
- MT as possible source text (Wyrick) 206
- Patriarchs portrayal 112
- Popular historical romance 39, 112, 119, 204
- Positive portrayal of Egyptian religion 44
- Pro-Egyptian perspective 53, 199
- Ps.-Eupolemus comparison 127n45, 130
- Reports of Jewish-Egyptian conflicts 53–54, 161
- Response to Manetho 53, 53n50
- Septuagint as source 194
- Siegert, F. 187
- Sterling, G. E. 157, 192, 197, 204–5
- Storytelling technique 112
- Syncretistic tendency 48–49, 112
- Terms describing Jews 160
- Title of work *Peri Ioudaion* 159
- Walter, N. 186, 186n34
- Wyrick, J. 206
- Zelletin, H. 193–98, 205
- Arundell, F. V. J. 609n32
- Asenath (Aseneth) 36n1, 53, 57, 107n9, 158, 162
- Asiarchs 604
- Assimilation, cultural 37, 43, 57
- Astibares, King of Medes 122
- Athenodorus 235
- Athens
 - Academy 613
 - Agora 613
 - Ancient views of 612, 614, 629
 - Epicurus, Epicureans 612–13
 - Epimenides’s rescue of 633
 - Foreignness 613
 - Jewish presence 612, 612n43
 - John Hyrcanus I statue 613n44
 - Luke’s description 612–14
 - Lyceum 613
 - Plague 633
 - Stoics 613
- Atlas 129, 129n51, 136
- Attridge, H. W. 20–35
- Augustan Cohort 603
- Augustine 458–63
- Babel 124n40, 125n42
- Bagnall, R. 609–10n32
- Balaam 331–32
- Baptism
 - Acts of Apostles 556–65
 - Apollos 563
 - Corporate implications 552–54
 - Dove symbolism 547
 - *En Christō* 552–54
 - Filial identity 555–56
 - Forgiveness of sins 555, 555nn51–52
 - Holy Spirit’s role 556–60
 - Initiate’s affinity with baptizer 553n43
 - John’s 546
 - Lukan understanding 556–65
 - Luke-Acts, inconsistencies 556–65
 - Paul 552–56
 - Proselyte 544–45
 - Samaritans 563
 - With fire 561

- Baptism, Christian
 - Antecedents 544
 - Origin 545
- Baptism of Jesus 546–52
 - Gospel of John 550–51
 - Historicity 551n35
 - Luke 548–49
 - Mark 547–48
 - Matthew 549–50
 - Gospel accounts as theological interpretations 551–52
 - Heavenly voice 547
 - Paradigm for disciples 546
 - Problematic nature 547–52
 - Relation to John the Baptist 548–52
 - *Sui generis* 546–52
- Baucis and Philemon 616
- Beatitude, etymology 399
- Beatitudes 399–480
 - Alliteration 425n18
 - Ambrose 435–37, 456–58
 - Apostolic fathers 433–34, 440–41
 - Aquinas 438, 464–68
 - Ascent of soul 434, 437
 - Augustine 432n38, 437–38, 458–63
 - Bibliography 415–16m1–2
 - Christian Apocrypha 442–44
 - Clement of Alexandria 432, 434, 444–46
 - Entrance requirements 422
 - Four cardinal virtues 436–37, 447, 454, 456–58, 464
 - Gregory of Nyssa 430, 434–35, 447–455
 - Happiness 418
 - Irenaeus 441–42
 - Isa 11:2–3 437
 - Kingdom of God 415–39
 - Literary parallels 423–24
 - Lord’s Prayer petitions 432n38, 437, 458, 479
 - Lukan 410–14
 - Lukan, OT prophetic resonance 410–11
 - Luther, M. 431, 468–73
 - Matthean 403–10
 - Origen 446
 - Poor in spirit 419
 - President Carter 408
 - Psalms parallels 402, 404–5, 407, 411–12
 - Qumran parallels 403–4, 404n15
 - Reception history 418–19, 433–38, 440–80
 - Schweitzer, A. 477–78
 - Spiritual perfection steps 430, 434, 447–55
 - Two Gospel versions 400, 402–3, 416–18, 420–24
 - Wesley, J. 438, 473–77
- Beginning, middle, end, God as 73, 94
- Belus, Giant (Kronos) 129–30, 129n51, 136
- Bernice 603, 603n17
- Berosus 12, 12n15, 13, 15, 18n41, 105, 109, 135
- Biblical chronography, school of 38
- Bidkar 330n94
- Bivalence, rhetorical 628
- Body of Christ, Robinson, J. A. T. 554
- Body-Soul, Spirit, popular anthropology 237
- Body, spirit, ancient conceptions 237
- “Born, reared, educated” 201
- Bosor 331
- Braun, M. 39
- Caecilius, freedman suspected of Jewish practices 181n87
- Calchas, *mantis* 7
- Callimachus 39, 134, 149–50, 152, 203n130, 266
- Camp David Accords, Beatitude citation 408
- Castor and Pollux 604
- Catholicism 244
- Catholicism, Early 246–47
- Catullus, Death of 329n83
- Chanethotes 116
- Chariton 614
- Chedorlaomer, king of Elam 127, 127n46
- Chenephres 54, 116, 162, 194, 199
- Christianity
 - Break with Judaism 244, 254
 - Corinthian 236–37
 - Gentile 246
 - Hellenism 232–33, 235, 238, 243–44, 247, 259, 262–63, 285
 - Hellenization of 232–33, 235, 244, 253–54
 - Jewish Alexandrian influence 236
 - Varieties of early 290
- Christology
 - Adam 274–75, 282
 - Chronological development 281, 286–87
 - Geographical schematization 280
 - Historical development 283–84
 - History and theology 273, 283–84, 290–91
 - History of religions school 284, 289
 - “Holy One” 624
 - Jesus as David’s seed 620
 - Logos 274–75, 277

- Methodology 288–89
- Myth 278–80
- NT 273
- Pre-existence 275–76, 278
- Primal man 279
- Similitudes of Enoch 287–88
- Son of God 274–77, 282, 284
- Son of Man 275, 279, 287
- Stages of development 275, 280–81
- Titular 274, 280–81
- Trajectories model 288–89
- Wisdom 274–77
- Chronography 38
 - Apologetic role 16
- Chronologies, biblical, chart MT, LXX, Josephus 18n41
- Chrysippus 96, 143, 212n8, 613
 - *Pneuma*, Cosmic breath 212n8
- Circumcision 116, 147, 149–50, 153, 161, 166, 175–78, 180–81, 181n87, 246, 249, 257, 450, 462, 552, 571, 589, 608
- Clark, K. W. 601
- Clarke, W. K. L., Septuagint use in Acts 314n7, 323, 328n75, 329n83, 329n88, 334–65
- Classical authors, Luke's use of 202
- Claudius Lysias, tribune 603, 603n17
- Claudius, emperor 602–3
- Cleanthes 613
 - *Pneuma*, vital heat 212n8
- Cleodemus Malchus 36n1, 133n3, 156, 182, 183n1, 185, 185nn12–13, 188–90, 192, 205
- Clement of Alexandria 444–46
- Clothes, ripping 616
- Colonia Caesarea 608
- Comparison, use of 289–90
- Confessional formula by pagan 4
- Corpus Hellenisticum 268
- Cosmic origin
 - “First Man” 631, 631n37
 - Single progenitor 631
- Cosmogony 145
- Cosmos
 - Pre-Socratic use 630n33
 - Pythagoras neologism 631
- Critical edition, preparing 20–35
- Croesus, unhappy wealth 297
- Cultural antiquity, priority, superiority 15, 17
- Cultural assimilation 140
- Cultural benefactor topos 43, 53, 113, 116–19, 121–22, 125, 126–27nn44–45, 127–28, 130, 161–62, 164, 194–95, 199
 - Abraham 53, 125–26, 125n43, 126n44, 127n45, 128, 129n50, 130–31, 161–62, 194–95, 199
 - Artapanus 43, 53, 113, 116, 119, 127n45, 130, 161, 194, 199
 - Eupolemus 117–18, 121–22, 130
 - Joseph 53, 127n45, 161–62, 194–95, 199
 - Moses, Egypt 43, 53, 116–19, 121–22, 127n45, 161–62, 194–95, 199
 - Ps.-Hecataeus 164
 - Ps.-Eupolemus 125–26, 125n43, 126n44, 127n45, 128, 129n50, 130–31
- Cultural borrowing, *see* Judaism, source of Greek wisdom
- Cymbals, pagan use 301n40, 304, 304n44
- Cynic preacher 298–99
 - Messenger of God 298–99
 - Moral example 299
- Cyrus 39
- Death, Epicurean view 635, 635n56
- Deity, appearance disguised as human 615, 615n54
- Deity sculpture, sophisticated pagan view 633n50
- Delphic oracle 9, 604
- Demetrius, Chronographer 10–19, 10n1, 11n6, 11n12, 13n16, 14n22, 15n26, 18n41, 36n1, 38, 38n7, 42, 48–50, 52–53, 56, 58, 105, 107–11, 107n7, 107n9, 108nn13–14, 109, 110n17, 117–19, 123, 130–32, 133n4, 135, 135n11, 140, 155–59, 159n18, 178–79, 182, 183n1, 185, 185nn12–13, 186–89, 192, 200, 204, 206, 206n134, 637
 - Academic writer (Fraser) 14
 - Acts of Apostles comparison 110–11
 - Alexandrian chronographical school 15, 38
 - Alexandrian intellectual circles 11, 42
 - Alexandrian Museum 42
 - Alexandrian provenance 10, 36n1, 42, 158
 - *Annus mundi* 109
 - Antiquity of Jews 18–19, 109
 - Apologetic historian 11, 13
 - Apologetic historiography 204
 - *Aporia-lusis* 11, 38, 108n14, 110
 - Aristobulus comparison 49
 - Berossus 135
 - Biblical chronological problems 38, 48, 108, 108n14, 158
 - Biblical chronology 17, 107, 109, 130, 158
 - Biblical events mentioned 107n9, 109, 158, 200

- Biblical exegete 108n14, 133n3, 156, 182, 183n1, 185, 185nn12-13, 187-89
- Biblical omissions 107, 107n10
- Biblical riddles addressed 11, 108n14
- Bibliicism 107-8, 110, 158
- Bibliography 10n1
- Bickerman, E.J. 186
- Chronicle of biblical events 10, 108-9
- Collins, J.J. 185
- Date 10, 36n1, 133n4, 158
- Diaspora consciousness 159
- Divergences from Bible 107, 107n12, 108n13
- Eratosthenes 12-13, 38, 42, 111, 135
- Ethnic identity 159
- Ethnic pride 13
- Eupolemus comparison 117, 123
- Eusebius traditor 11
- Exod 12:40 14
- Extent of historical coverage 38
- Fraser, P.M. 42
- General profile 10-19, 107-11, 158-59
- God, references 111
- Greek Bible as source 10, 38, 109, 140, 159, 206
- Gruen, E. 187-88
- Hellenistic historiography 135, 158, 179, 182
- Hellenistic Jewish writing 36n1, 38, 182, 183n1, 184-85nn12-14
- Hengel, M. 186
- Historical timeline 109
- Intellectual milieu 12, 14, 135
- Intended audience 12-13, 108
- Inter-marriage 53
- Joseph's marriage to Asenath 158-59
- Length of Israelites' stay in Egypt 14
- Moses's marriage to Zipporah 52, 56-57
- Non-heroic tendency 17, 38, 158
- Notable biblical omissions 14
- Palestinian exegesis 15
- Patriarchal ages lengthened 18n41, 109, 140
- Patriarchs as historical figures 16-18
- Patriarchs portrayal 17-18
- Pioneer, Hellenistic biblical chronology 108-9, 158
- Preserved by Alexander Polyhistor 10-11
- Ps.-Eupolemus comparison 130
- Ptolemy IV Philopator 10
- Response to Manetho 12-13, 135
- Scientific historiography 15, 38, 42, 52, 58
- Septuagint early witness 38n7, 206
- Septuagint origin 14
- Siegert, F. 187
- Sterling, G.E. 105
- Terms describing Jewish people 159
- Title *Concerning Kings in Judaea* 13, 15, 38
- Wacholder, B.Z. 38, 108-9
- Walter, N. 186
- Weber, R. 189
- Demetrius, Silversmith 604
- Derbe 615
- Diaspora 75, 155-57, 161-67, 170-80, 185, 192, 197, 205, 230-35, 241-50, 253-59, 262, 264, 589-99, 602-8, 611, 627
- Diēgēsis* 40
- Diodorus Siculus, description of Egypt 15
- Diogenes, Cynic 301n40
- Dionysus 51n47, 113, 115, 194-95
- Dioscuri Castor and Pollux 604
- Diphilus 134
- Discoverer/inventor (*heuretēs*) topos 121, 126n43, 126n45, 127n45
- Divine necessity 325
- Dorotheos 198n116, 199
- Drew-Bear, T. 609n32
- Droysen, J.G., Hellenism, *Praeparatio evangelica* 268-69
- Dualistic spiritualism 237
- Dunn, J.D.G. 273-91
- Dura Europos 232
- Ecstatic experience, paganism 237
- Edict of Worms 468n121
- Egypt
 - Greek authors read in school 42n21
 - Hellenistic education 42n21
 - Origin of human life 16
 - Plato's utopia 15n31
- Elana, city in Arabia 121
- Eleazar, Jewish high priest 46n37, 47, 51n47, 55, 57n57
- Elephantiasis 53
- Elijah-Elisha typology 323-24
- Elijah, ascent 624n13
- Eliot, T.S. 568
- Enoch
 - Ascent 624n13
 - Discoverer, inventor of astrology 126n43
 - Similitudes, date 287
- Epameinondas, example Socratic paradigm 297n24
- Ephesus, ancient reputation 604

- Epictetus 614
- Ethical paradigm 298
 - Self as example 298
- Epicurus 613
- “Death is nothing” 634n36
- Epimenides 202, 633, 633n47
- Eratosthenes 11n5, 12–15, 38, 42, 42n23, 111, 135, 140
- Erech 124n40, 125n42
- Eschatology
- Pagan 239
 - Realized 428
- Ethnic identity 43, 56, 172
- Ethnicity 36, 52–57
- Eudaimonia* 399, 434, 434n43, 437, 447
- Eupolemus 10n1, 38n7, 105, 109n15, 117–23, 118n27, 119n28, 120n31, 121n33, 121n35, 123n38, 124n39, 126n45, 130–32, 133n3, 136, 136n17, 137, 155–56, 158n15, 182, 183n1, 185, 185nn12–13, 186, 188–89, 192, 204
- Accos priestly family 118n27, 123
 - Acts of Apostles comparison 120–23, 132
 - Adam 117
 - Anachronisms 131
 - Apologetic historiography 105, 204
 - Artapanus comparison 119
 - Bartlett, J. 188
 - Biblical chronography 123, 130
 - Biblical embellishment 118–20
 - Biblical events treated 117–19
 - Bibliography 184–85nn12–14
 - Chronicles redaction 119
 - Chronographical summary 117
 - Cohen, S.J.D. 186
 - Collins, J.J. 185
 - *Concerning the Jews of Assyria* 124n39
 - Cultural benefactor topos 117–30
 - Date 123, 133n3
 - David 118, 118n27, 120
 - David and Solomon 117, 119
 - Davidic kingdom enlarged 118n27, 122
 - Elijah 121
 - Eusebius 121
 - Feldman and Reinhold 188
 - General profile 117–23
 - Golden pillar for temple of Zeus in Tyre 122, 136
 - Gruen, E. 188
 - Haggadic tendency 120
 - Hellenistic letters 137
 - Heroizing tendency 119–20, 122, 137
 - Hiram 118, 136
 - Historical timeline 117
 - History genre 182, 183n1
 - Holladay, C. 192
 - Jeremiah 117, 120, 122
 - Jerusalem destruction 120, 123
 - Jewish political supremacy 121–22, 137
 - Joshua as prophet 121
 - Mittmann-Richert, U. 189
 - Moses as cultural benefactor 117–18, 121–22, 130
 - Moses as prophet 121
 - Moses portrayal 118
 - Nathan the prophet 121
 - Palestinian provenance 155
 - Prophecy of Elijah 121
 - Prophecy, interest in 121
 - Samuel and Saul 119
 - Scope of treatment 156
 - Solomon 117n26, 118, 122
 - Solomon-Souron correspondence 122, 136–37
 - Solomon-Vaphres correspondence 118, 122, 136–37
 - Sterling, G.E. 105, 119, 204
 - Temple construction 117n26, 118–20, 136
 - Temple dimensions 117n26
 - Temple idealization 119–20, 123, 124n39, 136
 - Vaphres 117n26, 118, 121–22, 137
 - Wacholder, B.Z. 10n1, 38n7, 109n15, 158n15
 - Walter, N. 183n1
 - Weber, R. 189
- Euripides 5, 8, 39, 42n21, 134–35, 140, 146n66, 202, 266
- Evil eye 331n100
- Evil, God as source 69, 74n19, 86–90, 93, 95–96, 98–101, 140–43
- Exagoge*, Ezekiel 43
- Examples, value of 297n24
- Exempla, teacher as model 297–98nn27–28
- Exodus*, Tragedy 3–4, 266
- Expiation, pagan 236
- Ezechias (Hezekiah), Jewish high priest 138, 164
- Ezekiel, Tragedian 3–9, 36n1, 39, 39n11, 42n21, 49–51, 49n45, 56–57, 133n3, 134, 135n9, 156–57, 157n13, 166–71, 166n68, 170n73, 175, 179, 182, 183n1, 185, 185n13, 186–88, 188n50, 189, 191–92, 200–201, 203–4, 637
- Acts of Apostles comparison 200–201
 - Alexander Polyhistor 167

- Alexandrian provenance 3, 7, 39, 166
- Apollo 8, 50
- Astral motif 7
- Barclay, J. 187, 191–92, 204
- Biblical events treated 167
- Bibliography 184–85nn12–14
- Bickerman, E. J. 186
- Collins, J. J. 185
- Date 3, 36n1, 39, 133n3, 166
- Diaspora consciousness 167, 170
- Egypt portrayal 56
- Egyptian school curricula 42n21
- Ethnic identity 56–57, 166–71
- Euripides as model 5, 7–8, 39
- Eusebius 167
- *Exagôge*, Hellenistic tragedy 4, 167
- Explicit Hellenization 39
- Extent of work 156
- General profile 3–9, 49–51, 166–71
- Greek tragedians influence 39, 135, 203
- Gruen, E. 187–88, 188n50
- *Hebraios*, Use of 167–71, 175
- Hellenistic influence 39, 49
- Hellenistic Jewish writing 182
- Herodotus 135
- Horbury, W. 157
- Jacobson, H. 39n11, 135n9
- Letter of Aristeas and Aristobulus comparison 51
- *Mantis* motif 7
- Monarchical image 5
- Moses as Greek *mantis* 8
- Moses as Greek seer 7
- Moses's childhood 5
- Moses's dream 5–6, 50
- Moses's heavenly enthronement 3–4, 6, 50
- Moses's killing an Egyptian 56
- Moses's marriage 56
- Moses's universal significance 9
- Oegema, G. S. 189
- OT throne imagery 5–6
- Passover origin 50, 169
- Paul comparison 179
- Phoenix tradition 50
- Prophetic image 5
- Ptolemaic Egypt provenance 36n1
- Response to Hellenism 49
- Septuagint usage 5, 167, 169
- Terms used to describe Jews 170
- Use of Greek literary forms 39, 49, 134–35
- Vogt, E. 183
- Farber, Z. 330n94
- Ferguson, E. 543–65
- Festus, Porcius 603, 629n24
- Finding God, elusive 632
- Fitzmyer, J., types of OT usage in Qumran 317n33
- Four cardinal virtues, Beatitudes 436
- Gaius, Macedonian 604
- Gallio, proconsul of Achaia 602
- Gazda, E. K. 609–10n32
- Genus tertium* 605n26
- Gfrörer, A. F., Jewish-Alexandrian theosophy 255
- Gnostic Christianity, Corinth 237
- Gnosticism 244
- Gnosticism, definition 444n26
- God
 - Beginning, middle, end 73, 94
 - Creator 630
 - Eternal creativity 146–47
 - Indefatigable 147n66
 - Laziness, pagan critique 144
 - Nearness to humanity 632
 - Nearness, Stoic view 632
 - Needing nothing 631
 - Offspring of, humans as 633
 - Proximity, pagan view 633n50
 - Resting 144–45
 - Self-sufficiency 631
 - Vision of, *see* Seeing God
- Godfearers 607–8
- Golden pillar for temple of Zeus in Tyre 122
- Goodenough, E. R. 232
- Greek *paideia*, Jewish use 179
- Gregory of Nyssa 447–55
- Groping after God 632
- Haftarah 611
- Haggadic midrash 319
- Hakeldama
 - Aramaic tradition 330
 - Field of Blood 330
 - Word play 330, 330n94
- Harnack, A. 229–69
 - *Essence of Christianity*, popularity 241
 - Hellenism as negative influence 253
 - Jesus and Judaism 248
 - Jesus insulated from Hellenism 247
 - Jesus, cultural immunity 247
 - Judaism, negative portrayal 254
 - Stages of Hellenistic influence on early Christianity 243

- Third race 605
- Heavenly man, ideal 236
- Hebraios*, ethnic label 160n27, 172, 175
- Hecataeus of Abdera 12–13, 12nn13–14, 13n15, 15–18, 15n29, 15n31, 16n37, 105, 137, 140, 163–65
 - *Aigyptiaka* 12, 12n13, 16, 163
 - Alexandrian provenance 12n13
 - Antiquity of Egyptian culture 15
 - Berossus 12n15, 13n15
 - Bibliography 12n13
 - Chronography 16
 - Court historian 13
 - Date 12n13
 - Demetrius Chronographer comparison 17
 - Diodorus Siculus 12n13, 15
 - Egyptian culture 15
 - Exemplary Hellenistic historiography 16
 - Greeks who visited Egypt 15
 - Humanity’s origin in Egypt 15
 - Intellectual horizon for Hellenistic Jews 140
 - Manetho 12n14, 16
 - Mythical figures 18
 - Ps.-Hecataeus 137
 - Sterling, G.E. 105
 - Sympathetic portrait of Jews 163
- Hecataeus of Miletus 12n13
- Hegel, Spirit in history 585
- Heliodorus, Seleucid official 329
- Heliopolis/Heliopolitan 12n14, 53, 53n51, 128, 159, 160–61
- Hellenism and Judaism, *see* Judaism and Hellenism
- Hellenism, “alien wisdom” 262–63
- Hellenistic Jewish writings, intended audience 4
- Hellenistic Judaism
 - Early Christianity 229–30
 - History of scholarship 183–90, 256, 256–57nn45–51
 - Typologies 233
 - Writings comprising 36–37n1, 133n3, 155–56, 183n1, 229, 233–34, 246, 256
- Hengel-Feldman debate 262
- Heracles at crossroad, myth of 299
- Heracles, moral paradigm 305
- Herakleopolis papyrus 198–99, 198n115, 205
- Hermes 44, 161, 604, 615
- Hermes/Zeus 615
- Hermopolis 44, 161
- Herod Agrippa I 602, 603n8
- Herod Agrippa II 603, 603n17
- Herod the Great 602
- Herod, dyed hair 543n2
- Herodotus 12n14, 39, 119, 135, 193
- Hesiod 7, 49, 81, 87, 87n13, 95–96, 134, 142–44, 142n38, 171, 173, 202
- Heteroglossolalia* 590
- Hieros logos*, Orpheus 83
- Historical epochs, cyclical 631–32
- Historiography, Hellenistic 16, 37–38, 42, 58
- History of religions 190, 234, 242, 260, 283, 285, 286n23, 288–89
- Holy Spirit
 - Blasphemy against 593
 - Character in Luke-Acts 567
 - Church’s possession of 575–77
 - Cornelius 579–80
 - Ecclesial role 596–99
 - Ethnic universalism 588
 - Geographic universalism 586–92
 - Lukan conception 566–600
 - Mission 598
 - OT pseudepigrapha 571
 - OT roles 569–70
 - Possessors in Luke-Acts 572–73
 - Prayer 595–96
 - Qumran 592–93n7
 - Resisting 594
 - Samaritans 579
 - Saul of Tarsus 580–83
 - Scripture catalyst 569
 - Sin against 594, 594n9
 - Transfer to disciples 567
 - Twelve Ephesian disciples 580
 - Wisdom 597
- Homer 7, 39, 40, 42n21, 49, 58, 81, 87, 87n13, 88, 88n17, 95–96, 134, 142–43, 148–53, 171, 173, 179, 202–3, 266
 - Acts of Apostles comparison (MacDonald) 203
 - Allegorical interpretation 58
 - Allegory of the jars 95–96, 142
 - Aristobulus 49
 - Borrowed from Mosaic law 173
 - Bronze heaven 88, 88n18
 - Calchas *mantis* 7
 - Egyptian school curriculum 42n21
 - Ezekiel the Tragedian 39
 - God source of good and evil 95–96, 142–43
 - Golden throne 88, 88n18
 - Model for Hellenistic Jews 179

- Negligible influence on Hellenistic Jews 266
- Ps.-Orpheus 81, 87–88, 87n13
- Stoic interpretation 40
- Theodotus 134, 148–53
- Use of number “seven” 171, 202
- Hyrchanus, John I, Athens statue 613n44
- Iconium 615
- Idolatry, critique 235, 633
- Ignorance, worshipping God in 630
- Incarnation, origin of idea 274, 276–79
- Incarnation, pagan parallels 285
- Inclusio 444n25
- Inscription, introductory rhetorical device 629, 629n25
- Ioudaios*, ethnic label 172
- Irenaeus 441–442
- Isis 53, 113, 115, 266, 615n54
- Isocrates, self as example 297n25
- Israēliēs*, ethnic label 172
- Italian Cohort 603
- James, apostle, death 603n8
- Jars, allegory of 95–96, 142, 142n38
- Jason of Cyrene 265
- Jesus
 - See also Schweitzer, *Quest*: Jesus
 - Agent of Holy Spirit in Luke-Acts 574–75
 - Baptism of, see Baptism of Jesus
 - Davidic lineage 620
 - Hellenism 247
 - Self-consciousness 276
- Jethro, see Raguel
- Jewish belief, pagan views 630n30
- Jewish Christianity 230–31
- Jewish food laws, pagan views 11n12
- Jewish monotheism, oddity 630n30
- Jews, populousness 200
- Jews/Judaism, antiquity 17–19, 183
- John Hyrcanus 163
- John Mark, defection 611
- Johnson, L. T., Septuagintal midrash 319
- Joseph and Aseneth (Asenath) 36n1, 53, 57, 105, 107n9, 158, 162, 547n16
- Joseph of Arimathea 621, 621n6
- Joseph, Cultural benefactor 53, 113, 194, 199
- Josephus
 - Abraham as astrologer 90n22
 - Abraham’s call in Ur 200
 - Acts 7 comparison 200
 - Antiochus III’s transfer of Jews to Asia Minor 610
 - Apologetic historiography 105, 191
 - Artapanus 198n111
 - Athenians 629
 - Biblical chronology chart 18n41
 - Catullus’s death 329, 329n83
 - Court historian 13
 - Demetrius of Phalerum 10n1
 - Demetrius the Chronographer 10n1
 - Evidence for baptism 545
 - Food laws 11n12
 - God as unknown 630n30
 - Greek second language 229
 - Hellenistic influence 285
 - Hellenistic Jew IX–X, 155, 188, 230, 233, 246, 256, 265
 - Herod dying hair 543n2
 - Historian 265
 - *Hylogēnēs* 94n32
 - Interaction with Greco-Roman world 155
 - Jacob wrestling with angel 108
 - Jews’ populousness in Egypt 200
 - John Hyrcanus statue in Athens 613n44
 - John the Baptist 544
 - Joseph’s wisdom 200
 - Judaism source of Greek wisdom 246
 - Lord’s nearness 632n45
 - Luke’s source 198
 - Metilius conversion 181n87
 - *Monogenēs* 90n22
 - Moses’s childhood 5, 167n69
 - Moses’s education 201
 - Omission of Moses’s killing an Egyptian 56
 - Palestinian context 155
 - *Pneuma* 207–8n1
 - *Pneuma*, Levison, J. 208n1
 - Ps.-Hecataeus 162, 165–66, 166n65
 - Schweitzer’s use 491–92
 - Source of Hellenistic Jewish fragments 183
 - Summary of biblical story 196
 - *To ethnōs* 166
 - Two pillars, Adam’s prediction of two world destructions 94n32
- Judaism
 - Acceptance of Hellenism 42, 81, 87, 103, 139–40, 142, 151, 155, 179, 186, 203, 236, 253, 285
 - Alexandrian 236
 - Attitudes toward pagans 37n2, 51–52n47, 163
 - Cultural assimilation 36, 140, 155, 163, 171, 203, 253, 261–69, 285

- Pagan views 11n12
- Political benefits 105
- Source of Greek wisdom 48, 73, 139–40, 144, 171, 173, 202, 246
- Judaism and Hellenism 139, 163, 179, 203, 229, 236, 246, 254–55, 261–69, 285
- Judaism in Egypt 3–4, 7–8, 10–11, 36–58, 37, 37n1, 42n20, 75, 81, 103, 140–41, 155, 158, 166, 183–84, 196, 207–28, 232, 236–37, 245–47, 253, 255–57, 266
- Aristobulus 156
- Artapanus 155
- Brief history 37n1
- Demetrius the Chronographer 10–11, 155, 158
- Ezekiel the Tragedian 3–4, 7–8, 156, 166
- Gfrörer, A. F. 255
- Green, P. 266
- Harnack, A. 245–47, 256
- Jewish responses to Hellenistic culture 36–58
- Pflleiderer, O. 236–37
- Philo of Alexandria 207–28, 232, 253
- Ps.-Hecataeus 155–56
- Ps.-Orpheus 59–103, 140–41, 156
- Septuagint 37
- Judas, death of 323–33
- Judgment, final universal 239–40, 634
- Justus of Tiberias 133n3, 156, 182

- Kelsey Museum of Archaeology 609n32
- Kelsey, F. W. 609n32
- Kernel and husk metaphor 252–53, 260–61, 500
- Kingdom of God
 - Bibliography 426–27n23
 - Harnack, A. 428n25
 - Nineteenth-century ideas 426n23
 - Perrin, N. 431
 - Realized eschatology 428
 - Ritschl, A. 426n23, 428n25, 438
 - Schweitzer, A. 426n23, 438
 - Temporal dimensions 426–33
 - Tensive symbol 431–32, 431n36
 - Two stages 436
 - Weiss, J. 438
- Kingship tractates 41
- Kinship with God, pagan notions 633n49
- Kinship, God and humanity 633
- Kohath 18n41
- Kronos 129n51, 136
- Ktesias 119
- Kulturbringer*, see Cultural benefactor
- Leipzig Disputation 468n121
- Leontopolis 55
 - Temple at 44n29
- Levick, B. 609n32
- Life “in God” and Stoicism 632
- Linus 49, 139, 171
- Literalists, extreme 49
- Logos, burning bush 51
- Luke, “fundamentalist” (Jervell) 317, 625
- Luke-Acts
 - Bible, nature and extent 314
 - Cadbury, H. J. 313
 - Continuation of biblical history (Dahl) 123
 - Hebrew or Aramaic sources 315, 325, 330
 - Historical accuracy 121, 121n32
 - Literary unity 313
 - Messianic *testimonia* 316
 - OT citations, lists 313–14n7, 314
 - Peshar usage 319
 - Pneumatology, incoherence 577–83
 - Semitisms 315
 - Septuagintal style 328–29, 328nn75–82
 - Speeches 323
 - Speeches, Bibliography 323n58
- Luke’s hermeneutic 317–322
 - 2 Sam 7:4–17 619–20, 622, 624–25
 - Biblical typology 332
 - Biblicistic (Schubert) 320
 - Bock, D. 321–22
 - Brodie, T. L. 323–24
 - Cadbury, H. J. 320
 - “Divine necessity” 320–21, 325
 - Dupont, J., model 317–18
 - Elijah-Elisha typology 323–24, 323n60
 - Familiarity with classical authors 202
 - Isa 55:3 623–24, 623nn10–11
 - Johnson, L. T., model 319
 - Larkin, W., model 318–19
 - Maccabean sources 329n28
 - Midrash 319n39
 - OT echoes 366
 - OT open-ended 625
 - Promise and fulfillment 319–22
 - Ps 2:7 622–23
 - Ps 15:10 LXX 623–24
 - Ps 131:11 LXX 620
 - Rich and poor 410–14
 - Rese, M., model 318
 - Samaritan sources 315, 315–16n21
 - Schemes for classifying 317–19
 - Schubert, P. 625
 - Septuagintalisms 328–29

- Talbert, C. 321
- Three-stage salvation history 321
- Luther, Martin 468–73
- Lycaon of Arcadia 615
- Lycaon-Zeus legend 616, 616n56
- Lycaonia 615
- Lycaonian dialect 615
- Lystra, Anatolian village 604, 615–16

- Maccabees, Third 36n1, 51–52n47
 - Letter of Aristaeas 51–52n47
 - View of paganism 51–52n47
- Manes 39
- Manetho(n) 12–13, 12–13nn14–15, 15–18, 18n41, 105, 109, 135
- Marburg, Colloquy of 469n121
- Marcus Aurelius 614
- Martyrology, Christian 303
- Matthew, five discourses 400
- Matthias, selection as apostle 324–25
- McRoberts, S. 203n130
- Megasthenes 105, 137, 140, 191
- Memphis/Memphians 53n51, 116, 161, 198
- Mempsasthenoth 196
- Menander 95, 134, 142
- Menemachus 298
- Merris 116
- Messiah, pre-existent 236
- Messianic enthronement, 1 Enoch 6
- Metilius, Roman commander, conversion 181n87
- Metiochus 39
- Michigan, University of, Antioch of Pisidia 609–10n32
- Middle Platonism 447
- Mimnermus 95, 142
- Mission of Seventy 573
- Mitchell, S. 609n32
- Monotheism, pagan resonance 171
- Monotheism, Zeus’s name changed to God 174, 202, 630n31
- Moral paradigms, Greco-Roman moralists 297
- Mosaic law, universal 96
- Moses
 - As god (Exod 7:1) 6
 - Chaldean 95
 - Cultural benefactor 43, 53, 113, 116–19, 121–22, 161–62, 194–95, 199
 - Egyptian education 201
 - Egyptians assign divine honors (Artapanus) 44, 105
 - Exposure as infant 201
 - Founder of Hermopolis 44
 - *Hylogenēs* 94, 94nn31–32
 - Inventor of alphabet 121
 - Organizer of Egyptian religion 43
 - Source of Greek wisdom 49, 73, 144, 171
 - Teacher of Orpheus (Artapanus) 43, 162, 201
 - Use by Greek philosophers 49, 73, 82, 171–72
- Mosollamus, Jewish archer 138, 165–66
- Musaeus 61, 81, 87
 - Ps.-Orpheus 86, 89, 92, 97–98, 101, 120
- Musonius Rufus 614
- Myron, negative example 298
- Mystery cults 237
- Mystery religions 236, 238–39
- Myth of God Incarnate debate 279

- Naboth’s vineyard 330
- Nag Hammadi 444n26
- Nebuchadnezzar 109, 122–23
- Nero, negative example 297
- New Testament, as Hellenistic Jewish writings IX–X, 230
- New Yorker* cover 606
- Ng, D. Y. 609n32, 610n32
- Nicanor, governor of Judea 329
- Nicocolos, ideal ruler 297
- Nimrod 124n40, 125n42
- Ninus 39

- Oden, R. A. 20–35
- Old Testament polemic against idols 44n27
- Old Testament, Qumran usage 317n33
- Old Testament, use in Luke-Acts, *see* Luke’s hermeneutic
- Ophellius, negative example 298
- Ophir 122
- Oracle of Apollo 8–9
- Oribasius 150n76
- Origen 446
- Orpheus 43, 48, 48n41, 61, 70, 73–74, 81–87, 91–93, 95, 97, 101–2, 135, 141, 162, 171, 173, 201
 - Aristobulus 171, 174
 - Aristobulus citation 48, 48n41
 - Artapanus 161, 201
 - Clement of Alexandria 70, 73–74
 - Guide to Musaeus 101
 - *Hieros logos* 61
 - Inability to see God 91, 95
 - Monotheistic belief 85
 - Moses’s student (Artapanus) 43, 162

- Myth informing Ps.-Orpheus 81–87
- Reputation 135, 141
- Revelatory knowledge 92–93, 97
- *Sacred Discourse (Hieros logos)* 83
- Testament to son Musaeus 61
- Orphic Tractate (*Diathēkai*) 82
- Osiris 113, 115, 194–95, 615n53

- Pagan deities, name changes 174, 202, 630n31
- Paganism, critique 85, 235
- Palestine, Hellenistic influence 255, 263–65
- Palladas 449n50
- Palmanotheres 53, 162, 196
- Paraenesis 295
 - Ethical paradigms 297
- Parousia 240
- Passover, philosophical respectability 49
- Patient brilliance, masterpiece of (Nock) 565
- Patriarchs, lengthened ages 18n41
- Paul
 - 1 Cor 13 292–311
 - 1 Cor 13, autobiographical 301–6
 - 1 Cor 13, bibliography 292–94nn1–14
 - 1 Cor 13, digression, interpolation 292–94
 - *Agapē* over *gnōsis* 307
 - Alexandrian influence in Corinth 236
 - Allegory use 179
 - Anomalous diaspora Jew (Barclay) 178, 230
 - Apostolic paradigm 301–6
 - Apostolic self-understanding 304
 - Appeal to Caesar 603
 - Areopagus speech 202, 627–35
 - Aristobulus comparison 179
 - Baptismal theology 238, 552–56
 - Boasting 303
 - Body burned 303
 - Body of Christ 554
 - Childhood metaphor 310
 - Conduit for two separate systems of thought 240–41
 - Diaspora consciousness 179–80
 - Doctrine of the Spirit 238
 - *En Christō* 552–53
 - Epimenides *redivivus* 633
 - Eschatology 238–40
 - Eucharist 238
 - Glory as pride 303
 - Heavenly man 554n47
 - Hellenistic Jews comparison 178–79
 - Hermes 615–16, 615n54
 - Holy Spirit in Acts 580–83
 - Homeland 179–80
 - “I”, meaning of
 - *Imitatio Pauli* 309
 - Imitative model 295–99
 - Knowledge (*gnōsis*) 302
 - Love characterized 307
 - Love primal impulse 305–6
 - Martyr 303
 - Miracle worker 302
 - New Socrates 628
 - Openness to Hellenism 235, 239–40
 - Originality and genius 240
 - Pauper 302
 - Pisidian Antioch sermon 619–27
 - Portrayed prophetic mysteries 302, 306
 - Ps.-Hecataeus comparison 178
 - Resurrection theology 239
 - Rhetorical figures of speech, use of 300
 - Sacramental theology, sources of 238
 - Self-abnegation 309
 - Sources of thought 238
 - Theology of cross 237, 304
 - Wisdom of Solomon influence 236
- Pauline anthropology, sources 237
- Pauline paraenesis 295
- Pausanias, unknown gods 629
- Pentecostalism, modern 568
- Pentecosts, two in Acts 567
- Personal example, Plutarch 298
- Personal example, use by Greco-Roman moralists 297–98
- Peter and Paul, twin pillars of church 568
- Pfleiderer, O. 229–69
- Pharethothes 162
- Pharisaic theology 235–38
 - Hellenistic influence 255
- Phidias, depicting God 634n50
- Philemon and Baucis 616
- Philemon, poet 134
- Philo of Alexandria 5, 44, 56, 75, 94n31, 95–96, 98, 105, 143, 146, 147n66, 155, 174, 179, 186–87, 191, 196, 196n107, 200–201, 204, 207–28, 229–30, 232–34, 237, 243, 246–47, 253, 255–57, 259, 262, 265, 281, 285, 331n100, 491n48, 492, 545, 610, 612
 - Abraham’s call in Ur 200
 - Abraham’s prophetic inspiration 226
 - Angels 215–16
 - Anthropology summarized 223–24
 - Anthropology bipartite 211
 - Aristobulus’s successor 174, 186–87
 - Conversion language 105
 - Cosmopolitan Hellenism 253
 - Creation eternal 147n66

- Creation theology 210–11
- Ecstasy, four types 226
- Esoteric revelation 75
- Evidence for baptism 544–45
- Extreme allegorists 246
- Gen 2:7 exposition 210–11, 214–15
- God and evil 96, 98, 143
- God's eternal creativity 146, 146n66, 147n66
- God's indefatigability 147n66
- God's resting 146, 147n66
- Goodenough, E. R. 231–32
- Greek native language 229
- Hellenization 155, 232, 246, 262, 265, 285
- Humans quadripartite 221
- Jewish mysticism 232, 237
- Jewish-Alexandrian school 255
- Judaism in Asia Minor 610
- Judaism in Attica 612
- Law observance defended 246
- Logos 243
- Major representative of Hellenistic Judaism 155, 234, 247, 256
- Moses as Chaldean 95
- Moses as *sophos* 218
- Moses kills an Egyptian 56
- Moses portrayal 204
- Moses, five roles 5
- Moses's birth 94n31
- Moses's birth and life 191
- Moses's "divine spirit" 216–17
- Moses's education 201
- Moses's exposure as infant 201
- Moses's prophetic inspiration 225
- *Noētos*, *aisthētos* human 211
- Non-messianic 247
- Noumenal, phenomenal humanity 210–11
- *Nous* 214, 218–19
- NT comparanda 230
- Origen 247
- Patriarch lives 196
- Platonism and Stoicism blended 247, 257
- *Pneuma* (spirit) 207–28
- *Pneuma* and wisdom 218
- *Pneuma* as cosmic breath 212–13n8
- *Pneuma* as divine agency 210
- *Pneuma* as "invisible power of God" 222
- *Pneuma* as life breath 210
- *Pneuma* as unifying cosmic force 212
- *Pneuma* in Stoic thought 211–12, 212n8, 213n8
- Polemic against pagan religion 44, 44n27
- Prophecy, classic statement 226
- Prophetic inspiration explained 225
- Prophetic spirit, summary 227–28
- Sabbath, birthday of world 147n66
- Sabbath observance 147n66
- Sacrifice spiritual 213
- Sacrifice symbolizing self-restraint 213
- Sandmel, S. 232
- "Seven" symbolism 147, 213
- Soul, creation of 218–19
- Soul, defining human category 213
- Soul, different senses 220
- "Soul's soul" 220
- Spirit, bibliography 207–8nn1–2
- Spirit, classification schemes 208n4
- Spirit of God, Divine Spirit 210–24
- Spirit of prophecy 224–27
- Stoic thought compared 212–13n8
- Sun, symbol of human mind 226–27
- Universal ethic 253
- Universalizing tendency 253
- Use by A. Schweitzer 491n48, 492
- Use by J. D. G. Dunn 281
- Writings, classification 209, 209n5
- Philo of Byblos 20–35, 126
- Philo, Epic Poet (Philo Epicus, Philo the Elder) 36n1, 39, 42n21, 133n4, 134, 134n8, 155–56, 166n67, 179, 182, 183n1, 184–85, 185n13, 186, 188–90, 203, 266
- Alexandrian provenance 36n1, 39, 42n21
- Bibliography 184–85nn12–14
- Bickerman, E. J. 186, 186n27
- Charlesworth, J. H. 183n1
- Date 39, 133n4
- Green, P. 266
- Gruen, E. 187–88, 188n50
- Gutman, Y. 184
- Hellenistic Jewish writing 182
- Length of work 156
- MacDonald, D. 203
- Mittmann-Richert, U. 189
- Obscure language 134
- Oegema, G. S. 189
- *On Jerusalem* 134
- Palestinian provenance 155, 166n67
- Paul comparison 179
- Walter, N. 183n1
- Weber, R. 189–90, 190n62
- Philostratus 604
- Pindar 95, 142, 150
- Piraeus 613
- Plato 15n31, 48, 61, 67, 96, 98, 139, 142, 145, 147n66, 171, 173, 179, 203n127, 228, 247, 304n44, 447, 452, 613, 630n33

- Acts of Apostles comparison (MacDonald) 203
- Aristobulus 48, 139, 145, 179
- Athens 613
- Cave allegory 434, 445, 447, 453
- Cornford, F.M. 145
- Demiurge cessation of activity 145
- Ecstatic prophecy 228
- God not source of evil 96, 98, 142
- Gregory of Nyssa 447, 452
- Hecataeus of Abdera 15n31
- Idea of creator God borrowed from Moses 48, 139–40, 171, 173
- *Kosmos*, significance of term 630n33
- Philo of Alexandria 228, 247
- Ps.-Orpheus 61, 67
- Sophist as cymbal 304n44
- *Timaeus* and Genesis creation story 145, 147n66
- Plutarch, self as example 298
- Pneumatology, Lukan 566–600
 - OT influence 571
- Poor in spirit, meaning 403–4, 419
- Porcius Festus 603, 629n24
- Prayer of Joseph 288
- Preaching of Peter 604
- Present, past, future formula 7–8
- Prison escape topos in ancient authors 113, 201
- Prophecy, promise-fulfillment in Luke-Acts 320–22
- Prophetic symbolism 546
- Proteus the seer 7–8
- Ps.-Aristotle, *De mundo* 139
- Ps.-Eupolemus 10n1, 13n15, 36n1, 90n22, 105, 124–32, 124nn39–40, 125nn41–42, 126nn43–44, 127n45, 128nn48–50, 129nn50–51, 133n3, 136, 136n15, 155–56, 182, 183n1, 185, 185nn12–13, 188–90, 192, 200, 204–5
 - Abraham (Gen 5–14) 124
 - Abraham as cultural benefactor 90n22, 125, 125n43, 126nn43–44, 126n45, 127n45, 128, 128n50, 129n50, 130
 - Abraham as military hero 126n44, 127
 - Abraham as *sophos* and moral paradigm 125n43
 - Abraham in three stages: Babylon, Phoenicia, Egypt 125, 130
 - Abraham in Heliopolis 128
 - Abraham in Phoenicia 124–27
 - Abraham teaches Babylonian science to Phoenicians 126, 126–27nn44–45, 130
 - Abraham’s call in Ur 126n44
 - Abraham’s Egyptian stage 128–29
 - Abraham’s migration from Babylon 124
 - Abraham’s piety 126n43, 127n45, 128
 - Abraham’s war with Armenians 127, 128n48
 - Abraham’s war with four kings 127
 - Acts of Apostles comparison 130–31, 200
 - Alexander Polyhistor 124n39, 136
 - Apologetic historiography 157
 - As “Anonymous” 124n39, 182
 - Belus, a giant 130, 136
 - Bibliography 182–83nn1–2, 184–85nn12–14
 - Collins, J.J. 185
 - *Concerning the Jews of Assyria* 124n39
 - Cultural benefactor topos 124–31
 - Date 133
 - Discoverer, inventor (*heuretēs*) topos 126
 - Doran, R. 124n39, 136n15
 - Enoch as discoverer/inventor of astrology 126n43, 128, 128–29n50
 - Enoch identified as Atlas 129
 - Enoch traditions 129
 - Eusebius 124nn39–40
 - Extent of coverage 156
 - Freudenthal, J. 124n39
 - Gen 10 geography 125n42
 - Genealogical traditions 129, 129n51, 136
 - General profile 124–32
 - Giants as flood survivors 125, 130
 - Greek Bible as source 125n42
 - Gruen, E. 187–88
 - Hellenistic Jewish writing 155, 182
 - Heroizing tendency 130–31
 - Melchizedek episode 127–28, 127n47, 128n48, 130
 - Mittmann-Richert, U. 189
 - Nimrod traditions 125n42
 - Palestinian provenance 155
 - Ptolemaic Alexandria provenance possible 36n1
 - Samaritan authorship 124, 124n39, 128n48
 - Sarah’s marriage to Pharaoh 128
 - Sterling, G.E. 105, 124n39, 125n41, 157, 192, 204–5
 - Temple Argarizin 124n39, 127, 128n48
 - Tower of Babel 125, 125n42, 130
 - Wacholder, B.Z. 10n1, 13n15
 - Walter, N. 183n1, 186
 - Weber, R. 189–90
- Ps.-Hecataeus 36n1, 133n3, 137–39, 137nn19–20, 155–56, 162–66, 162n47,

- 163n48, 166n65, 174, 178, 182, 183n1, 185–86, 185n13, 189, 200
- Acts 7 200
- Agatharcides of Cnidus 137
- Alexander the Great and Samaria 138
- Alexandrian provenance 36n1, 155–56, 163
- Aristobulus comparison 174
- Authenticity 163
- Babylonian Jews’ fidelity 164–65
- Bar-Kochva, B. 133n3, 162–66
- Bibliography 184–85nn12–14
- Circumcision 166, 178
- Cohen, S.J.D. 186
- Conservative diaspora Jew 163–64
- Date 133n3, 163
- Diaspora consciousness 163–65
- Diaspora Jewry’s loyalty to homeland 174
- Ethnic identity 165–66
- Ezechias (Hezekiah), Jewish high priest 138, 164
- General profile 137–39, 162–66
- Genre “history” 182
- Greek models 137–38
- Hecataeus of Abdera 137
- Hellenistic ethnography 137
- Hellenistic Jewish writing 155–56, 182
- Hellenistic values 138–39
- Jewish civic rights 138
- Jewish soldiers’ fidelity 138
- Jews and Alexander the Great 138
- “Jews,” ethnic nomenclature 166
- Jews’ populousness 200
- Josephus *Ag. Ap.* source 162
- Land of Israel idealized 165
- Megasthenes 137
- Mittmann-Richert, U. 189
- Mosollamus, Jewish archer 138, 165–66
- Paul comparison 178
- Pro-Ptolemaic outlook 137, 164
- Resistance to pagan worship 166
- Temple loyalty 163, 165
- Use of language 166
- Walter, N. 183n1
- Ps.-Orpheus 48n41, 59–103, 59n1, 60n5, 80, 81n2, 85nn6–7, 102n48, 135, 139–40, 140n30, 183n1, 186, 189, 637
- Abraham’s monotheism 81–82
- Alexandrian provenance 48n41, 81
- Aristobulus source 48n41, 139
- Bickerman, E.J. 186
- Clement of Alexandria 83
- Cyril of Alexandria 83–84
- Eusebius of Caesarea 83
- Fluid poetic tradition 80–82
- General profile 59–103
- God’s elusive presence 81–82
- Good and evil 140–43
- Greek poetic tradition 135
- Homer and Hesiod 81
- Jewish authorship 81
- Monotheism 81, 135
- Moses’s monotheism 82
- Oegema, G.S. 189
- Ostensible setting, Orpheus and Musaeus 81
- Patristic witnesses 82–85
- Ps.-Justin 82
- Recension A 86–88
- Recension B 89–92
- Recension C 92–98
- Recension D 98–102
- Recensional history 59–103
- Recensions 85–102
- Reception history 80, 82–85
- Riedweg, C. 59–103
- Textual tradition 80, 82
- Theodore 84
- Theophilus of Antioch 85
- Tübingen Theosophy 84
- Verse numbering system 60n5
- Walter, N. 85, 183n1
- Ps.-Phocylides 36n1, 52n47, 256
- Psalter, Luke’s use 325–29
- Ptolemy I Soter 12nn13–14, 137–38, 164, 166
- Ptolemy II Philadelphus 12n14, 55
- Ptolemy III Euergetes 10n3
- Ptolemy IV Philopator 10, 51n47, 52n47, 57n57, 107n7, 109
- Ptolemy VI Philometor 37n1, 40, 44n29, 55, 171–73
- Ptolemy VIII Physcon 194, 198
- Pythagoras, Pythagorean, Neo-Pythagorean(s) 40, 48–49, 139–40, 171, 173, 179, 239, 631
- Pythian spirit 604
- Qumran, OT usage 317n33
- Raguel (Jethro) 4–5, 7–8, 53, 112, 161, 170
- Ramsay, W. 609n32
- Repentance, universal 634
- Res Gestae* 609
- Reward of unrighteousness 331
- Righteousness, Matthew 405–6
- Robinson, D.M. 609n32

- Roman citizenship 603
 Romance literature, popular 39
- Sabbath
 – Birthday of world 147n66, 213
 – Observance defended 49
 – Philosophical respectability 49, 139, 144, 171, 173, 202
- Sais 161
 Sarapis 12n14, 16, 266
 Sardanapalus, negative example 297
 Sceva, Seven sons 604
 Schubert, P., “proof from prophecy” 320
 Schweitzer, A. 477–78, 481–542
 – Jesus’s eschatology 523, 524n15, 540
 – Medical thesis 484
 – Psychiatric study of Jesus 489–91
 – Resurrection of Jesus, view of 506–7n129
 Schweitzer, *Quest*
 – Bauer, B. 486, 505, 509, 513
 – Bibliography 481n2, 482n2
 – Bowden edition 484–85
 – Brabazon, J. 481n2, 483n8, 487, 487n29, 499n95, 507n129
 – Burkitt, F. C. 487
 – Caesarea Philippi 495n71, 532, 532n53, 533–34, 538–39
 – Carleton Paget, J. 481n1, 482n1, 483n8, 484–85, 485n21, 487n25, 488n33, 494n66, 502n106, 521n8
 – Christology 494–95
 – Concluding ellipsis 507
 – Critique of European culture 501–3
 – Dalman, G. 492
 – Delay of parousia 529–30, 535, 541
 – Dobschütz, E. von 483
 – Dulles, A. 487
 – Dungan, D. 481n2, 484n16, 498n81, 502, 502n109, 504n121
 – Editions, translations 482, 482nn3–7, 520, 520nn1–4
 – Eschatological sacraments 531
 – Feeding 5000 sacramental meal 530–31
 – Final paragraph 506–7
 – Heavenly hierarchy 523, 539
 – Hegel influence 494, 502, 505
 – History, dogmatic 529
 – Holtzmann, H. J. 505, 521n8, 537, 537n75
 – Isaiah servant songs 533
 – Jesus, aversion to publicity 525
 – Jesus, baptism 494n71, 495n71, 522, 522n11, 523n11, 531n49
 – Jesus, changed views 529–30, 533, 541
 – Jesus, Danielic Son of Man 523, 527
 – Jesus, Davidic lineage 523, 525
 – Jesus, death 535
 – Jesus, enigmatic figure 526, 526n24
 – Jesus, eschatology 484, 523, 523n15, 524n15, 540
 – Jesus, fanatic 489n38
 – Jesus, Galilean ministry 522–35
 – Jesus, hiddenness 525, 529
 – Jesus, in Jerusalem 533–34
 – Jesus, Jewish context 491–97
 – Jesus, mental health 489–90, 515, 523n11
 – Jesus, messianic consciousness 495n71, 523, 528–29, 533–35, 540–41
 – Jesus, ministry few weeks 525
 – Jesus, pre-existence 496
 – Jesus, predestinarian teaching 478, 526, 526n24
 – Jesus, resurrection 506–7n129
 – Jesus, transfiguration 495n71, 532–33, 532n53, 538
 – Jesus, use of parables 526–27
 – Jesus, vicarious death 533
 – Jesus, worldview 499
 – Jewish apocalyptic thought 539
 – Jewish eschatology 492–93
 – Jewish messianism 493
 – Jewish pseudepigrapha, use of 493
 – John the Baptist 522, 522n10, 525, 530
 – John the Baptist as Elijah 533
 – John’s baptism 531, 531n49, 540
 – Judas betrayal 534
 – Kant, I. 502, 502n108, 505
 – Kingdom of God 500–501, 534
 – Kingdom of God, failure to arrive 529
 – Kingdom of God, imminence 527
 – Lord’s Supper 531n49
 – Mark’s narrative confusion 532–33, 532n52, 536, 538
 – Matthew and Mark primary sources 505n123, 521, 521nn7–8, 536, 536n69, 539
 – Matt 10:23 pivotal role 527–29, 539
 – Messianic kingdom 493, 534
 – Messianic secret 530, 533
 – Messianic woes 528–29
 – Metamorphosis eschatological 528, 540
 – Mission of the Twelve 527–29, 537–38, 541
 – Moltmann, J. 487
 – Montgomery, W. translation 482–83, 482n4, 488nn32–34
 – Narrative criticism 538
 – Nietzsche, F. 499
 – Non-creedal Jesus 506–7

- Pauline eschatology 494
- Pre-existent church 539n83
- Prophetic and Danielic eschatology 492–95, 497, 523–25, 523n15
- Ps 110 Jesus's use 495, 524–25
- Rabbinic sources 491n48, 492n48
- Reception and reviews 482–83, 482–83nn8–11
- Redaction criticism 538
- Revised conclusion 497–508
- Ritschl, A. 500–501
- Role of history 502–6, 504n121, 529, 536, 538
- Sanday, W. 483
- Schweitzer's changed views 522n11, 523n11, 532n53
- Schweitzer's Christology and Jewish thought 518–19
- Schweitzer's other writings 483–84
- Second edition neglected 484, 492, 508n134
- Second edition, changes in 485–86
- Similitudes of Enoch 493, 523n15, 524n15, 524
- Spirit (*Geist*) language 498–99
- Stages in Galilean ministry 537–38
- Strauss, D. F. 488n33, 489, 489n38, 505, 511–12, 521
- Synoptic problem 521, 536
- Table comparing 1st and 2nd editions 508–9
- Table, differences between 1st and 2nd editions 510–17
- Two streams of messianic thinking 492–95, 497, 523–25, 523n15, 524n15
- Weaver, W. P. 483n8, 487, 487n30, 499n95
- Weisse, C. H. 537
- Wheel of the world 486–88, 491, 494, 497, 516
- Will (*Wille*) 499
- Wrede, W. 485–86, 496, 504, 507, 509, 515–16, 520–21, 536, 540, 547n15
- Seasons, cyclical change 631–32
- Seeing God 87, 91, 93, 95, 97, 101, 103, 407, 421, 424–25, 429–31, 439, 441–43, 445–46, 454–55, 460, 462, 465–66, 471–72, 476
- Beatitudes 407, 421, 424–25, 429–31, 439
- Beatitudes, Aquinas, T. 465–66
- Beatitudes, Augustine 460, 462
- Beatitudes, Clement of Alexandria 445–46
- Beatitudes, Gospel of Thomas 443
- Beatitudes, Gregory of Nyssa 454–55
- Beatitudes, Irenaeus 441–42
- Beatitudes, Luther, M. 431, 471–72
- Beatitudes, Wesley, J. 476
- Humans 97
- Impossibility, biblical view 454
- Moses 95
- Orpheus 87, 91, 93, 95, 101, 103
- Human desire 632
- Semiramis 39
- Seneca the Younger 613–14
- Seneca, self as example 298
- Sennacherib 18n41, 111
- Septuagint 36n1, 37, 172
- Aristobulus as translator 172
- Chronology 109
- Date 37n4, 171
- Fluid textual tradition 121, 151, 202, 325
- Lengthening age of patriarchs 18n41
- Luke's use 312–98, 325, 326–32
- Luke's use, bibliography 312n1, 313n1
- Luke's use, citations and allusions 318
- Luke's use, Clarke, W. K. L. 314n7, 323, 328n75, 329n83, 329n88, 334–65
- Luke's use, Gospel tradition as conduit 313
- Main source of Hellenistic Jewish literature 266
- Previous Greek translations 171–72
- Septuagintal midrash 319
- Septuagintalisms, Luke's use of 328n75
- Sergius Paulus 602
- Sesostriis (Sesoosis) 12n13, 39, 113, 115, 194–95
- Seven symbolism 18n41, 144, 171, 213
- Shakespeare, William 449n50
- Shalmaneser 18n41
- Shinar 124n40, 125n42
- Sibylline Oracle, Third 36n1, 41, 44–46, 44n29, 48–49, 54–55, 57
- Aristobulus comparison 48–49
- Critique of gentiles 54
- Date 36n1, 41, 44n29
- Divine election 45
- Leontopolis provenance 44n29, 55
- Letter of Aristeas comparison 46
- Polemic against pagan worship 44
- Pro-Ptolemaic view 55
- Ptolemaic Alexandria setting 36n1, 41, 54
- View of Egypt, Egyptians 54–55, 57
- Sibylline Oracles 36n1, 41, 41n19, 44–46, 44n29, 48–49, 54–55, 57, 96, 105, 173, 188, 246–47, 256, 524n15, 571
- Bartlett, J. R. 188
- Charlesworth, J. H. 36n1

- Christ as Word, part of Trinity 571
- Collins, J.J. 41n19, 44n29
- Critique of paganism 44–45, 173
- Date 44n29
- Divine election 45
- Ethnic identity 45n34
- Euhemerism 45n32
- Fraser, P.M. 36n1
- Geffcken, J. 36n1
- God and evil 96
- Harnack, A. 246–47, 256
- O’Neill, J.C. 105
- Polemic against idols 44, 44n29
- Positive view of pagan traditions 45, 45n32
- Retribution theology 96
- Schweitzer, A. 524n15
- Titans battle Cronos 45n32
- Widespread use in antiquity 41
- Wisdom of Solomon comparison 45
- Simon Magus, incarnation 279
- Socrates 48, 171, 594, 613–14, 628
- “Nothing” 305n46
- Sophocles 39, 134
- Soul, ascent of 419, 430, 434, 437, 445, 447–48, 448n43, 449n46, 455, 461, 463, 467, 474–75, 479
- Aquinas 467
- Augustine 437, 461, 463
- Beatitudes 430, 437, 479
- Clement of Alexandria 434, 445
- Gregory of Nyssa 430, 434, 447–49, 448n43, 455
- Humility first step 419
- Wesley, J. 474–75
- Soul, Immortality 235, 239
- Souron, King of Tyre 117n26, 120–22, 136–37
- Spermologos* 614
- Spirit and fire 578
- Spirit, Philo of Alexandria 207–28
- Spirit, Python 604
- Spirit, Stoic thought 585n1
- Spirit, body, Ancient conceptions 237
- Stage, world as 130–31, 449n50
- Steinberg, Saul 606
- Steno-symbols 431n36
- Stephen speech forecasts universal mission 589
- Stoicism, Stoics 40, 61, 63, 67, 74, 86, 90–91, 96, 96n40, 98, 139–40, 143, 211–12, 212n8, 235, 237–38, 240, 243, 246–47, 253, 257, 260, 268n94, 293n7, 294n12, 308, 435, 439, 447, 451, 585, 585n1, 604, 613, 617
- 1 Cor 13 294n12, 308
- Aristobulus 40, 139
- Athens 604, 617
- Beatitudes 439
- Chrysippus 613
- God sends calamities 96, 96n40, 143
- Cleanthes 613
- Gregory of Nyssa 435, 447, 451
- Hellenistic Judaism (Harnack, A.) 246
- Influence on Hellenistic Jewish authors 140
- *Logos* 243
- Long and Sedley 212–13n8, 585n1
- Major proponents 613
- Moral ideal 308
- Only good are free 435, 451
- Paul 235, 238, 240, 260, 268n94, 293n7, 294n12, 308
- Philo of Alexandria 247, 253, 257
- *Pneuma* 211, 212n8, 213n8, 585, 585n1
- Ps.-Orpheus, Recension A, *Logos* 86
- Ps.-Orpheus, Recension B 90–91
- Ps.-Orpheus, Recension C 98
- Ps.-Orpheus, Recension X (Walter, N.) 63
- Ps.-Orpheus, Urfassung 61, 67, 74
- Sevenster, J. 585n1
- Tarsus in Cilicia 235
- Ware, J. 585n1
- Zeno 613
- Superstition 260, 285, 628–29, 628n21
- Synagogue leadership 611n37
- Tacitus, Felix portrait 603
- Tashalan, Mehmet 609n32
- Telemachus 615n54
- Temple, diaspora loyalty 163, 174
- Tensive symbol 431n36
- Tertullian, Athens and Jerusalem 604
- Testament of Job 36n1
- Testimonia*, Harris, J.R. 316
- Testimonia*, Luke’s use 316–17
- Thallus 133n3, 156, 182, 185
- Theater, Jewish aversion 4
- Theodectus 4
- Theodotus 36n1, 39, 42n21, 133n3, 134, 134n6, 147–53, 155, 166n67, 179–82, 183n1, 185, 185n13, 186, 188–89, 203, 203nn127–130, 266
- Alexander Polyhistor 151, 180
- Alexandrian provenance 36n1, 39, 42n21
- Apollonius of Rhodes 134, 150
- Becoming a Jew 181
- Bibliography 184–85nn12–14

- Bickerman, E.J. 186
- Callimachus 134, 150
- Charlesworth, J.H. 183n1
- Circumcision 149–50, 180
- Circumcision and endogamy 147–53
- Cohen, S.J.D. 186
- Collins, J.J. 203n129
- Date 133n3
- Endogamy 180
- Fallon, F. 134n6
- Feldmann and Reinhold 188
- Gen 17:9–14 149
- God's covenant with Abraham 149
- Greek epic tradition 134, 147, 149, 152
- Green, P. 266
- Gruen, E. 187–88, 188n50
- Hamor and Shechem slain by Levi and Simeon 134, 151
- Hellenistic Jewish writer 155
- Hellenistic school curriculum 42n21
- Homeric battle scene 134, 152
- Homeric phrases 134, 148–49, 152, 203, 203n129
- *Ioudaizein* 180–81
- Jewish fidelity 153, 180
- Literary license 151, 153
- MacDonald, D. 203
- McRoberts, S. 203n130
- Oegema, G.S. 189
- Palestinian provenance 155, 166n67
- Paul comparison 180–81
- Rape of Dinah (Gen 34) 134, 147–48, 151–53, 180
- Recasting biblical events 148, 150, 152–53
- Septuagint as source 148–51
- T. Levi 6.4 152
- Use of Homer 148–53, 203
- Walter, N. 183n1
- Theognis 95, 142
- Theological geography 590
- Theomachus*, God-fighter 116, 329
- Theophilus, Jewish author 156, 182, 185nn12–13, 189
- Theosophia Tubingensis, *see* Tübingen Theosophy
- Theseus, moral paradigm 305
- Third race 605, 605n26
- Thomas, Acts of 444n26
- Thomas Aquinas, St. 464–68
- Timothy, circumcision 608
- Timothy, hometown 615n53
- Torrey, C.C., Aramaic Acts 315–16
- Tübingen Theosophy 59, 63n12, 76–77, 80n1, 84, 99
- Tyrannus, lecture hall 604
- Tyrant's death, literary topos 329, 329n89
- Universe, single cause 631
- Unknown God 604
 - Cults 629
 - Interpretive options 629–30
- Unknown gods, Pausanias 629
- Valentinus 444n26
- Vaphres, King of Egypt 117n26, 118, 121–22, 137
- Via Sebaste* 609
- Vicarious expiation 236
- Virtues, four cardinal 436–37, 447, 454, 456–58, 464
- Waelkens, M. 609n32
- Water, Cosmic glue 212
- Way, showing the 299–300
- Wesley, John 473–77
- Wheelwright, P., symbols 431n36
- Wilcox-Emerton debate 316, 316nn22–24
- Wilcox, M., Acts Semitisms 315–16
- Wisdom of Solomon 36n1, 37, 45, 105, 173, 234, 236–37, 239, 570
- Word of exhortation 611
- Wordelman, A., Lystra literary constructions 615–16
- Worms, Edict of 468n121
- Xenophanes, critique of poetic myths 18
- Zeno 613
- Zeus 604
 - Apollo 8–9
 - Aratus, *Phaenomena* 202, 632, 633n46
 - Barnabas 615
 - Castor and Pollux 604
 - Cleanthes, *Hymn* 633n48
 - Jewish authorship 74n19
 - Jupiter 616n55
 - Lystra 615–16
 - Phidias 634n50
 - Ps.-Orpheus 74, 86–88, 90–96, 101, 141
 - Source of calamities 143
 - Temple in Tyre 122, 136
 - Two jars 142
 - Yahweh 50, 202, 630n31
- Zipporah 4, 11, 14, 50, 52, 57, 107n7, 108n14