

FRANÇOIS BOVON

# Studies in Early Christianity

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament*

161

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**Mohr Siebeck**

# Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

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161





François Bovon

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Mohr Siebeck

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## Preface

Circumstances and inclination have driven me to write and publish articles. The papers that are collected and reprinted here are the result of academic lectures, contributions to symposia, *Festschriften* and special investigations. With the exception of a few bibliographical modifications, they are published here as they appeared the first time.

At the suggestion of Dr. Siebeck, the numerous French papers have been translated, and I would like to thank all those who turned them into English or helped me polish my own writing in that language: Laura Beth Bugg, Jane Haapiseva-Hunter, Ken McKinney, Laura Nasrallah, Charles Frederic Stone, and David Warren.

Dr. Hengel advised me to open the book with an unedited paper, general enough to introduce the collection but specific enough to indicate my fields of interest: Luke-Acts, non-canonical or so-called apocryphal literature, and early Christian theology. The first article fulfils this request. This paper, "The Apostolic Memories in Ancient Christianity," was delivered at the International Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature at Lausanne (Switzerland) in July 1997. I am grateful to Dr. Ann Graham Brock who improved my English and helped me sharpen my argument. The paper was also presented to the New Testament Dissertation Seminar at the Harvard Divinity School the following year.

I did not realize how much work is needed in order to create a collection of essays, to harmonize them, and to make everything ready for publication. I express my gratitude to Ms. Linda Grant, a former Master of Divinity student at the Harvard Divinity School, who did not spare her skill and energy to prepare with me the manuscript for publication and read the proofs. My gratitude is also great to Dr. Eugene McGarrie who established the indices of ancient and modern authors. I am responsible for the index of subjects.

Mohr Siebeck published my dissertation more than thirty years ago. I was then in contact with Dr. Hans-Georg Siebeck. Today his son, Dr. Georg Siebeck, showed me the same hospitality and the same generosity. I am grateful to be, in a modest way, part of this venerable scholarly tradition. I would also like to thank Dr. Siebeck's collaborators, particularly Dr. Henning Ziebritzki and Ms. Ilse König.

Last but not least, I wish to express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Martin Hengel and his colleagues, who expressed their interest in this collection and accepted the volume as part of the “Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament.”

Cambridge, MA  
May 2003

F.B.

## Contents

|                                                         |   |
|---------------------------------------------------------|---|
| 1. The Apostolic Memories in Ancient Christianity ..... | 1 |
|---------------------------------------------------------|---|

### Part One: Luke-Acts

|                                                                                                                                                                                           |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 2. Studies in Luke-Acts: Retrospect and Prospect .....                                                                                                                                    | 19  |
| 3. Wetterkundliches bei den Synoptikern (Lk 12,54–56 par.) .....                                                                                                                          | 38  |
| 4. Apocalyptic Traditions in the Lukan Special Material:<br>Reading Luke 18:1–8 .....                                                                                                     | 51  |
| 5. The Law in Luke-Acts .....                                                                                                                                                             | 59  |
| 6. The Lukan Story of the Passion of Jesus (Luke 22–23) .....                                                                                                                             | 74  |
| 7. The Role of the Scriptures in the Composition of the Gospel<br>Accounts: The Temptations of Jesus (Luke 4:1–13 par.)<br>and the Multiplication of the Loaves (Luke 9:10–17 par.) ..... | 106 |
| 8. „Schön hat der heilige Geist durch den Propheten Jesaja zu euren<br>Vätern gesprochen“ (Act 28,25) .....                                                                               | 113 |

### Part Two: New Testament Theology

|                                                                                                         |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 9. Parabel des Evangeliums–Parabel des Gottesreichs .....                                               | 123 |
| 10. The Church in the New Testament, Servant and Victorious .....                                       | 132 |
| 11. These Christians Who Dream: The Authority of Dreams in the First<br>Centuries of Christianity ..... | 144 |

|                                                         |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 12. The Canonical Structure of Gospel and Apostle ..... | 163 |
| 13. Israel in the Theology of the Apostle Paul .....    | 178 |

### Part Three: Apocryphal and Patristic Literature

|                                                                                                                     |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 14. Jesus' Missionary Speech as Interpreted in the Patristic Commentaries and the Apocryphal Narratives .....       | 195 |
| 15. The Synoptic Gospels and the Non-canonical Acts of the Apostles ..                                              | 209 |
| 16. The Suspension of Time in Chapter 18 of the <i>Protevangelium Jacobi</i> .....                                  | 226 |
| 17. The Words of Life in the <i>Acts of the Apostle Andrew</i> .....                                                | 238 |
| 18. Miracles, Magic, and Healing in the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles .....                                       | 253 |
| 19. A New Citation of the <i>Acts of Paul</i> in Origen .....                                                       | 267 |
| 20. Eusebius of Caesarea's <i>Ecclesiastical History</i> and the History of Salvation .....                         | 271 |
| 21. From St. Luke to St. Thomas by Way of St. Cyril .....                                                           | 284 |
| 22. The Apocryphal Reception of Luke's Gospel and the Orthodox Reading of the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles ..... | 293 |
| Publication Credits .....                                                                                           | 303 |
| Index of Ancient Authors .....                                                                                      | 306 |
| Index of Modern Authors .....                                                                                       | 328 |
| Index of Subjects .....                                                                                             | 334 |

## The Apostolic Memories in Ancient Christianity

In this paper<sup>1</sup> I would like to ask several related questions about the memories of the apostles in ancient Christianity: were the Christians of the first centuries interested in the history of their religious movement? What memories of their apostles did they keep and develop? How did the first Christians choose from among their traditions? What parts of the past did they feel free to develop extensively? Do we not meet surprising cases of forgetfulness?

There are no straight and unanimous answers to such questions, because for a significant period of time early Christianity was not a homogeneous movement. What, therefore, explains the colorful range of opinions on these questions? Answers are often indirect or implicit. Therefore new questions arise in the mind of the interpreter: who were the keepers of the memories, and who was most willing to forget? What were the reasons for accepting or rejecting the protective shadow of the holy history<sup>2</sup> and what were the social forces behind these opinions? Jesus himself was not always remembered: when the apostle Paul deals with ethical problems he makes reference to Jesus' teaching, but he does not always refer specifically to either his Lord or to the origin of the wisdom traditions he utilizes (see Rom 12:14; 1 Thess 5:2)<sup>3</sup>; why? A whole generation of apologists in the second century is very discreet in using the names of both Jesus and his followers (see the *Supplicatio* of the Athenian Athenagoras, for example).

It is my hypothesis that there was a natural and distinct tendency to memorialize the first Christian generation, the generation of the apostles and witnesses, both men and women, and this for several reasons. The first was to create an ethical model based on examples drawn from the Hebrew scriptures, Jesus' life, the lives of the apostles, and the more recent destiny of the martyrs. The second reason was to follow the command of love and develop the Christian notion of communion: to love is to remember. The third reason articulates the defense of the

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<sup>1</sup> This paper was presented at the international meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, Lausanne, July 1997.

<sup>2</sup> On the notion of beginnings of Christianity, see Harold W. Attridge and Gohei Hata, "Introduction," in *Eusebius, Christianity, and Judaism* (ed. Harold W. Attridge and Gohei Hata; Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992) 27–49; Ron Cameron, "The Gospel of Thomas and Christian Origins," in *The Future of Early Christianity: Essays in Honor of Helmut Koester* (ed. Birger A. Pearson; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991) 381–92.

<sup>3</sup> See Helmut Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels: Their History and Development* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990) 52–62.

truth and the preservation of a holy doctrine in reaction to opponent groups. A fourth reason, related to the third, concerns the authority of Christian ministry, the apostolic origin of the most important episcopal seats. All of these reasons explain not only the collection and preservation of memories but also their transformation and, finally, the constitution of newly created ad hoc memories. But to these historical reasons I would like to add a theological one, perhaps an all-encompassing one: as long as the Christians of antiquity tried to preserve the historicity of the revelation and the very real incarnation of their Lord, they could not avoid emphasizing the historical and human face of the communication of the gospel, that is to say, the actual value of the apostles themselves, including both their voices and their role as intermediaries.

I will also attempt to explain why the early Christians sometimes avoided the names of Peter and Paul, the roles of Mary Magdalene and Johanna, the fates of John and James, and the teachings of Thomas and Luke. One reason is the early Christian focus on Christology: Jesus' teaching and the Lord's redemption, rather than the occasional fate of his first disciples, was of seminal importance to those Christians. The second reason has to do with the priority of the "message" over its messengers, because the Christian message is a gospel proclaimed and not a material legacy handed down. A third explanation considers the passage of time and the evolution of doctrine, because in time the words, attitudes, and reactions of the first Christian generation became archaic and were no longer bearable to the generations that followed, which were probably better educated and less ready to suffer persecution, or less inclined to defend radical opinions. A fourth reason, which is related to the evolution of church order, can also be offered: the present situation of the Christian communities and their interrelations with one another were of definitive importance. The titling of a bishop, the precedence of the patriarch of a venerable see, and the ascribed destiny of a holy figure became as relevant as the memory of apostles such as James and Andrew.

## The Memory

Let us start with a kind of *terminus a quo*: the work of Eusebius of Caesarea. As a historian, Eusebius knows how to distinguish his sources; as a theologian, he knows how to ponder them. He cherishes the scriptures in which he seems to have complete confidence; then he calculates from case to case the value of ancient venerated stories,<sup>4</sup> such as that of Thaddaeus, ἱστορίαν ἐλθοῦσαν εἰς ἡμᾶς ("an account which has come down to us," *Hist. eccl.* 1.12.3). Eusebius adheres to the canonical Gospels when he presents the selection of the Twelve out of a larger group of disciples and mentions the special favor they received (*Hist. eccl.* 1.10.7). He then relies on the book of Acts and on the Epistle to the Galatians for other

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 1.1.8.

stories: the names of the apostles, the appearances of the Resurrected One, the choice of Matthias as an apostle, and the martyrdom of Stephen (*Hist. eccl.* 1.12.1–5; 2.1–3). Eusebius has a clear interest in these figures and he gathers as much material about them as his critical conscience will permit. Book 2 of his *Historia ecclesiastica* is devoted to the period of time following the ascension of Christ and preceding the death of the apostles. He demonstrates an interest in the apostolic seats and their authentic successions: he explains, for example, how Peter, James, and John did not dispute the episcopal seat of Jerusalem but decided together to confer it on James the Just, the brother of the Lord (*Hist. eccl.* 2.1.3). Oddly, he is not very clear about the location of the apostles during the church's earliest years; on one occasion, however, he observes that God was patient with Israel and waited forty years before punishing Jerusalem, and that during this time of forbearance the presence of the apostles in the city was like a protective wall (*Hist. eccl.* 3.7.8). But on another occasion (*Hist. eccl.* 3.5.2), speaking of the persecution of Stephen, he refers to the subsequent flight of the disciples as coinciding with the beginning of the world mission, the collective realization of Christ's command (Matt 28:19).

It would be wrong to believe that Eusebius's interest in the first generation of Christians is peculiar to him. A similar interest, both historical and theological, is found even earlier in the texts of Christian authors such as Tertullian and Irenaeus. In his *De praescriptione haereticorum*, the African theologian makes polemical use of the apostolic heritage by basing the authenticity of the truth on the reliable sequence of bishops, beginning with the apostles. He supports his argument with the examples of Polycarp of Smyrna, who was installed by the apostle John, and of Clement of Rome, who was ordained by Peter (*Praescr.* 32.1–3). A little later in the same treatise, in a similar argument, Tertullian states that the best places to identify the authentic epistles of the apostles are in the churches with an apostolic seat. He adds that in such churches one finds not only authentic writings but also authentic memories (*Praescr.* 36.1–3), which for him – writing in the late second to early third centuries – means that both the person of the apostle and his writings receive equal credence. With respect to the church in Rome, Tertullian chronicles several apostolic stories that are absent from the canonical writings but nevertheless highly valuable in his eyes: these include the martyrdom of Peter, which is similar to Christ's; the beheading of Paul, which is similar to the fate of John the Baptist; and the ordeal of John, who is dipped into boiling oil (*Praescr.* 36.1–3).

This catholic interest in both succession and tradition was certainly polemical and built a defense against similar claims by the Gnostics. We know, for instance, that this type of argument had been advanced by Ptolemaios in his *Letter to Flora*.<sup>5</sup> Elsewhere we encounter the examples of Basilides claiming a connection

<sup>5</sup> Preserved by Epiphanius of Salamis, *Pan.* 33.7.9.

to Peter through Glaukias<sup>6</sup>; of Valentine arguing a relation to Paul via Theodas<sup>7</sup>; of the disciples of Carpocrates affirming an affiliation with Salome, while others claim an affiliation with Mary Magdalene or Martha<sup>8</sup>; and of the Naasenes, who said that they received their teaching from Mary Magdalene through James, the brother of the Lord.<sup>9</sup> Truly, the notions of tradition and succession were nothing new in antiquity. Philosophical schools had used them for centuries,<sup>10</sup> but what was new in the Christian church since Irenaeus (the way having been prepared by Hegesippus, see Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4.22.1–6) was a link established between doctrinal transmission and the succession of bishops: the value of a tradition could no longer be sufficiently established by claims to apostolic origin but depended as well on the apostolic succession of bishops.

Even Aristides of Athens, one of the Christian apologists who – it was said – was not particularly interested in the fate of the apostles, acknowledges the role of the first generation in the proclamation of the gospel. In his *Apologia*, which was probably written during the reign of Antoninus Pius (138 to 146 C.E.),<sup>11</sup> Aristides mentions the twelve disciples within the context of the salvific economy. He refers to the crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ, then adds the mission of the twelve disciples and their teaching in the several provinces of the inhabited earth.<sup>12</sup>

I am arguing here against the opinion of a strong exegetical school of scholars, ranging from Franz Overbeck to Martin Dibelius to Rudolf Bultmann's disciples (like Günther Bornkamm), which holds that in the first Christian generations there was no religious interest in the fate of the apostles; that is, that there was no *Sitz im Leben*, no setting for such memories, because the kerygma was focused exclusively on Jesus Christ. Because of several specific statements in the Pauline epistles and the existence of archaic traditions that are preserved in the book of Acts, I would say – on the contrary – that conditions were favorable for the formation of traditions concerning the apostles and their first communities.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 7.106.4. According to *Elench.* 20.7.1, traditionally attributed to Hippolytus of Rome, Basilides had been the disciple of Matthias.

<sup>7</sup> Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 7.106.4.

<sup>8</sup> Origen, *Cels.* 5.62. Origen speaks of disciples of Harpocrates, but he must have confused Harpocrates with Carpocrates.

<sup>9</sup> *Elench.* 5.7.1.

<sup>10</sup> See Hans von Campenhausen, *Kirchliches Amt und geistliche Vollmacht in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (2d ed.; BHT 14; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1963) 172–76.

<sup>11</sup> See David Harold Warren, "The Text of the Apostle in the Second Century: A Contribution to the History of Its Reception" (Ph. D. diss., Harvard University, 2001) 124–29.

<sup>12</sup> Aristides, *Apol.* 15.2. The text of Aristides must be established from a Syriac version and a Greek adaptation found in the *Life of Barlaam and Ioasaph*, traditionally assigned to John of Damascus. This text is therefore far from certain. Both versions, however, mention the mission of the twelve disciples after Easter. See the edition of Edgar J. Goodspeed, *Die ältesten Apologeten. Texte mit kurzen Einleitungen* (1914) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984) 19–20.

<sup>13</sup> Jacob Jervell, "Zur Frage der Traditionsgrundlage der Apostelgeschichte," *ST* 16 (1962)

The teachings of the apostles were used in the formulation of new sermons; apostolic examples were chosen for catechetical purposes; prayers, particularly eulogies, recalled the memory of the first Christian witnesses. Each community tried to remember the story of its origin. The christological speeches of Acts preserved archaic material<sup>14</sup>; *1 Clement*, after enumerating examples drawn from the Bible and from the life of Jesus, refers to models of “our generation” that include the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul and the tortures of holy women.<sup>15</sup> One of the oldest Christian prayers, quoted in the book of Acts, emphasizes not only the work of Christ but also the ethical responsibility of the first Christian generation.<sup>16</sup> Additionally, one of the traditions behind the conversion of Cornelius in the canonical book of Acts probably reflects the story of the founding of the church in Caesarea (Acts 10:1–11,18). Similarly, the name of Lydia is connected with the origin of the church at Philippi (Acts 16:14, 40). Even the earliest forms of the creed do not neglect the presence of the disciples at the resurrection of Jesus and their subsequent apostolic witness. A good portion of the short hymn found in 1 Tim 3:16 is devoted to this early time period in the church’s life: after the words “he was manifested in the flesh, justified by the Spirit and contemplated by the angels,” the text continues that “he was proclaimed among the nations and believed in the world.”

It seems as if the entire Christian construction is based not on Christ alone, but on the fulfillment of the holy scriptures through Jesus Christ as preached and accepted by the apostolic church. Paul himself recognizes these two poles when he makes a distinction between the *work* of reconciliation accomplished by Christ and the *logos* of reconciliation proclaimed by the apostles (2 Cor 5:19–20). The prologues to the Gospel of Luke and the Epistle to the Hebrews both articulate the time of the salvation of Jesus and the time of the proclamation through his chosen witnesses (see Luke 1:1–4 and Heb 2:3–4).<sup>17</sup> The canonical Acts of the Apostles are not a completely new genre nor are they an unexpected creation. We know that apostolic successes were narrated, because at the end of the first century Luke writes that at the Jerusalem conference “there was silence among the whole gathering, and every one listened to Barnabas and Paul explaining (ἐξηγοῦμαι) all the work that God had accomplished through them and how he opened the door of the faith to the pagans.”<sup>18</sup>

25–41; ET in *Luke and the People of God: A New Look at Luke-Acts* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972) 19–49; François Bovon, “L’origine des récits concernant les apôtres,” *RTP* 3/17 (1967) 345–50; reprinted in idem, *L’œuvre de Luc: Études d’exégèse et de théologie* (LD 130; Paris: Cerf, 1987) 155–62.

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, Acts 10:34–43.

<sup>15</sup> *1 Clem.* 5.1–6.3.

<sup>16</sup> See Acts 4:24–30.

<sup>17</sup> See François Bovon, “La structure canonique de l’Évangile et de l’Apôtre,” *CrSt* 15 (1994) 559–76; English translation, see pp. 163–77.

<sup>18</sup> Acts 15:12; see also Acts 14:27; 15:3, and Luke 10:17.

This interest in both the first mission and the well-being of the first communities of believers was probably remembered in liturgical celebrations. The communication of news was not a profane activity but just as much a part of early Christian worship as thanking God and asking for help. The letters of Ignatius of Antioch confirm this effort to remember: community delegations as well as letters exchanged evince an effort to preserve memories that time and geographical distance might otherwise have eliminated. Ignatius rejoices when favorable news reaches him, this time not about Jesus Christ but about the recovery of peace in his own church at Antioch (*Phld.* 10.1–2).<sup>19</sup> Not only the canonical and apocryphal acts of the apostles but also the first acts of the martyrs testify to this decisive momentum of the *communio sanctorum*. The author of the *Passion of Marianus and James* writes:

The very noble witnesses of God conferred also upon us this mission to proclaim (*praedicare*) his [God's] glory ... When they began under the inspiration of the heavenly Spirit a sublime fight against the persecutions of a wild world and the attacks of the pagans, they [Marianus and Iacobus] commissioned us to bring to the knowledge of our brothers and sisters the story of their struggle ... in the thought that tribulations of those who had gone before could strengthen as examples of faith the multitude and particularly the people of God.<sup>20</sup>

It must be immediately added that these memories of the apostles were partisan and marked by ideological biases. The early centuries of Christianity can be described as a long struggle among different communities to establish authentic, legitimated memories, so that one could say, "Tell me who your apostle is and I will tell you who you are." The distinction between early Christian groups was largely made by their affiliation to a particular apostle and their characterization of this foundational figure. Note, for example, the very different treatment the authors of the Pastoral Epistles and Luke-Acts give to Paul: the former venerates Paul as virtually the sole apostolic intermediary, and the latter merely respects him as a beloved witness alongside the group of the Twelve. The churches of Asia Minor, according to Polycrates of Ephesus, proudly to rely on John and Philip (see Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.31.2–3). The early Syrian churches, who show an intense interest in the apostles,<sup>21</sup> try to preserve their own memories of the apostles,

<sup>19</sup> See also Ignatius, *Smyrn.* 11.1–3.

<sup>20</sup> *Passion of Marianus and James* 2–3. See Gustav Krüger and Gerhard Ruhbach, eds., *Ausgewählte Märtyrerakten* (SAQ 2/3; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1965) 67; Paul Monceaux, *La vraie légende dorée. Relations de martyre* (Paris: Payot, 1928) 202–3; Herbert Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs: Introduction, Texts and Translations* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972) 194–97; see also the "Passion of Montanus and Lucius," in Krüger and Ruhbach, *Ausgewählte Märtyrerakten*, 75–82.

<sup>21</sup> Geo Widengren insisted on the intense interest in the apostles on the part of the Syrian Christians; see Geo Widengren, *Muhammad, the Apostle of God, and His Ascension* (Uppsala: Lundequistska bokhandeln, 1955) 65–72; mentioned by Walter Schmithals, *Das kirchliche Apostelamt: Eine historische Untersuchung* (FRLANT 79; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961) 171 n. 370.

choosing to remember Thomas and Thaddaeus on one side and Jesus' family, particularly James, the brother of the Lord, on the other.<sup>22</sup> Among the few remains of Judaeo-Christianity, the teaching of Elkasai (according to patristic witnesses) and the *Life of Mani* attest to the divisions and tensions that existed among the several groups mentioned by Epiphanius over the true relationship between Christian origins and the authentic understanding of the selected apostles.<sup>23</sup> What is true for Syria is also true for other regions, whether it be Africa or Greece, and for other cities, whether it be Rome or Alexandria. The fact remains and cannot be ignored: for many groups, the mediation of the apostles was extremely important.

What I can confidently say, then, is that the very existence of stories in the gospels confirms an interest in apostolic memories; and that not only twelve men but also several women and other men serve as agents of the evangelical communication. The tendency to select certain apostles as the guarantors of a particular community is already perceptible in the earliest Christian documents and can explain several omissions and marginalizations. Clearly, the presence of human mediation is central from the earliest times.

Further confirmation of this relevance of memory can be found in three related phenomena that occurred within early Christian tradition-building: first, in the intellectual decision that the apostles were not numerous individuals but members of a constituted group, a board of religious leaders; second, in the slow merging of two originally distinct categories, the Twelve called by the historical Jesus and the apostles sent by the resurrected Lord; and third, in the additional dimension of locating Paul in either category. These three steps were connected by a special understanding of Jesus' disciples, which considered them less as missionaries and more as founders of the church. Despite Günter Klein,<sup>24</sup> Luke was neither the first nor the only one to speak of the twelve apostles in this way.

Let me mention a few texts here. As a constituted *group* the apostles are mentioned in the canonical Epistle to the Ephesians (Eph 2:20: ἐποικοδομηθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν ...; see further Eph 3:5; 4:11). They are also mentioned by Clement of Rome in his *First Epistle* (chapter 42), where the vision of Christ's resurrection is constitutive for the group of the apostles, yet Paul is also called an apostle (1 *Clem.* 47.1–4; 5.3–7); and in 2 *Clem.* 14.2 the church relies on the books of the prophets and on the apostles.<sup>25</sup> We also find the apostles

<sup>22</sup> Marie-Joseph Pierre, intr. and trans., *Aphraate le Sage persan, Les exposés* (2 vols.; SC 349, 359; Paris: Cerf, 1988–89) 1. 79–83.

<sup>23</sup> See Luigi Cirillo, "Livre de la révélation d'Elkasai," in *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens* I (ed. François Bovon and Pierre Geoltrain; Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 442; Paris: Gallimard, 1997) 1.827–72; Albert Henrichs and Ludwig Koenen, "Der Kölner Mani-Kodex (P. Colon. inv. nr. 4780) ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΓΕΝΝΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΩΜΑΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ," *ZPE* 19 (1975) 1–85; 32 (1978) 87–199; 44 (1981) 201–318; 48 (1982) 1–59.

<sup>24</sup> See Günter Klein, *Die zwölf Apostel: Ursprung und Gehalt einer Idee* (FRLANT 77; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961).

<sup>25</sup> Not yet on the books of the apostles!

mentioned as a group in the letters of Ignatius of Antioch: in his letter to the Philadelphians, the apostles constitute the “presbytery of the church” (*Phld.* 5.1) and Jesus Christ is the door to the Father through which the patriarchs, the prophets, and the apostles enter (*Phld.* 9.1); elsewhere, the Lord does nothing without the Father or without the apostles (*Magn.* 7.1; 13.1; *Trall.* 7.1; *Eph.* 11.2). Again, in the canonical Epistle written by Jude (v. 17) we find “Remember the words pronounced by the apostles of our Lord.”<sup>26</sup> And in 2 Pet 3:2, we find a curious reworking of the wording in Jude 17, from “the apostles” to “your apostles,” which was probably done to avoid their confiscation by other Christian groups. A little earlier, in 2 Pet 1:16, Peter and the others have been ἐπόπται (“eyewitnesses”) of Christ’s magnitude at the transfiguration.

There are other texts as well. The *Epistle of Barnabas* (5.9) speaks of the selection of the apostles by Jesus Christ for the purpose of proclaiming the gospel; these men were sinners, but they were saved by the Lord. In *Shepherd of Hermas* 13.1 (Vis. III 5.1) the white stones of the vision, fitted together, are the apostles, the bishops, the teachers, and the deacons; in 92.4 (Sim. IX 16.4) the stones of the construction are ten for the first human generation, twenty-five for the following, thirty-five for the prophets and servants, and forty for the apostles<sup>27</sup>; in 93.5 (Sim. IX 16.5) the forty apostles preached the gospel to the dead and gave them the seal; in 94.1 (Sim. IX 17.1) the twelve apostles preached the Son of God to the twelve tribes of Israel; and in 102.2 (Sim. IX 25.2) the believers of the eight mountains are the apostles who taught the whole world and who never went wrong because the Spirit led them (therefore their place is with the angels). Finally, in the *Epistle of Polycarp* the apostles brought the gospel (6.3) and Paul and the other apostles are examples of perseverance (9.1).

The conception of the twelve apostles as a church-founding group occurs in several writings at the end of the first century and the first half of the second. Instead of attributing the influence to Luke, I consider this theological construction to be an element of the institutionalization of the early church. Several Christian groups were in search of a holy origin and firm ground. Luke-Acts clearly limits the number of apostles to the Twelve, under the leadership of Peter.<sup>28</sup> The book of Revelation, which mentions the apostles three times (Rev 2:2; 18:20; 21:14), notes precisely that the protective walls of the new Jerusalem possess twelve foundations and that on them one can read the names of the apostles (probably one on each foundation, but how can they be visible? Rev 21:14). Written around 130 C.E., *Barn.* 5.3 mentions the twelve apostles, but this verse has been suspected of being

<sup>26</sup> See Eric Fuchs and Pierre Reymond, *La deuxième épître de saint Pierre: L'épître de saint Jude* (2d ed.; CNT 2/13; Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1988) 180: “On pourrait dire que toute l'œuvre de Jude tient dans cette intention de faire mémoire, de rappeler ce sur quoi la foi chrétienne est fondée.”

<sup>27</sup> Why forty?

<sup>28</sup> I date the composition of Luke-Acts between 80 and 90 C.E.

an interpolation; 5.9, however, which I mention above, brings together the calling of the Twelve according to the canonical Gospels and the title “apostle.” A few years later, between 140 and 150 C.E., we find in Hermas 94.1 (Sim. IX 17.1), also mentioned above, that the twelve mountains represent the twelve tribes to which “the Son of God was preached by the apostles,” which probably presupposes one apostle for each tribe (see the canonical logion of Q on the twelve thrones, Matt 19:28//Luke 22:30). The Christian *Ascension of Isaiah* 3.2, probably dated early second century C.E., mentions explicitly “the prophecy of the twelve apostles” (3.21; see also 4.3)<sup>29</sup>; the same is true of a fragment of the *Kerygma Petrou*,<sup>30</sup> also dated early second century C.E.: “I choose you, twelve disciples, considering you worthy of me, following the will of the Lord. Seeing in you faithful apostles, I am sending you into the world in order to preach the gospel to the inhabitants of the earth.” The twelve apostles share their authority with Paul in the the *Apocalypse of Paul*<sup>31</sup> (Nag Hammadi Codex V,2), probably dated the second or third century C.E. Here Paul receives from the little child who represents the Savior the following command: “Now it is to the twelve apostles that you shall go, for these are the elect spirits, and they will greet you.” Later in the text, Paul must ascend to the fourth heaven and from there he considers the earth, seeing the twelve apostles placed at his left and at his right; he himself occupies the central position. The twelve apostles will accompany the Apostle in his ascension to the subsequent heavens, in his spiritual discovery of the esoteric meaning of visible reality.

From the middle of the second century the expression “the twelve apostles” became very common. This is confirmed by the two secondary titles (titles later than the text itself) of the *Didache*, namely, the *Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles* and the *Doctrine of the Lord to the Nations through the Twelve Apostles*.<sup>32</sup> We also find confirmation in the title of another work, a lost gospel mentioned by Origen, namely, the *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles*<sup>33</sup>; and in still another title, the *Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles*, from Nag Hammadi (NHC VI,1).

<sup>29</sup> The Greek text has “prophecy,” the Ethiopic has “teaching”; see Paolo Bettolo et al., *Ascension of Isaiah*, vol. 1: *Textus* (CChr.SA 7; Turnhout: Brepols, 1995) 62–63, 142–43; see also Enrico Norelli, *Ascension of Isaiah*, vol. 2: *Commentarius* (CChr.SA 8; Turnhout: Brepols, 1995) 192–95, 212–14. In “Ascension d’Isaïe” (in *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, 1.505), Enrico Norelli dates the text to the beginning of the second century C.E.

<sup>30</sup> Quoted by Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 6.6.48; see Michel Cambe, “Prédication de Pierre,” in *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, 1.19. In his introduction to *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, 1: 6, Cambe dates the text between 110 and 120.

<sup>31</sup> See George W. MacRae and William R. Murdoch, introduction to the *Apocalypse of Paul* in *The Nag Hammadi Library* (ed. James M. Robinson; rev. ed.; New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 1990) 257: “Nothing in *Apoc. Paul* demands any later date than the second century for its composition.”

<sup>32</sup> Willy Rordorf and André Tuillier, eds. and trans., *La Doctrine des Douze Apôtres (Didachè)* (SC 248; Paris: Cerf, 1978) 11–17. The number twelve does not appear in the indirect tradition, see pp. 108 nn. 2–4 and 109 n. 1.

<sup>33</sup> See Origen, *Hom. Luc.* 1. 2.

Actually, the statement “Tell me who your apostle is and I will tell you who you are” is only partially applicable to my argument and needs a qualification, namely: “How do you see your apostle?” Adversaries could venerate the same apostle, and yet emphasize different aspects of his or her personality, or of his or her ministry. Peter was claimed not only by the early catholic churches but also by gnostic groups who viewed him as a mystic missionary or a spiritual leader.<sup>34</sup> The several portraits of Paul also serve as a warning: church leader in the Pastoral Epistles, theologian of the universal church as the Body of Christ in the Epistle to the Ephesians, martyr for righteousness in *1 Clement*, and esoteric mystic in the *Apocalypse of Paul* from Nag Hammadi (NHC V,2). Even the figure of James the Just, the brother of the Lord who was the possession of the Judaeo-Christian churches, could be reversed and reinterpreted. We see this in the numerous Nag Hammadi treatises related to James: the *Apocryphon of James* (NHC I,2); the *Apocalypses of James* (NHC V,3 and V,4); and the *Gospel of Thomas*, with its veneration of James.

Even Marcion, who was totally devoted to Paul (he was the apostle *par excellence*), did not reject completely the Galilean disciples of Jesus but gave to them a new interpretation. According to Marcion, Jesus chose the Twelve but during his lifetime he could not convince them that he was the Son of the unknown God rather than the Son of the negative divinity of the Hebrew Bible. Nevertheless, at some moments – at the confession of Peter, at the transfiguration, at the disciples’ request that Jesus teach them how to pray – the first disciples understood Jesus’ divine mission. Later, the resurrection helped them receive a correct understanding of the revelation, but – and this is Marcion’s construction – they fell back into a legalistic interpretation of Jesus’ words.<sup>35</sup>

The apostles who were neglected by the main streams of early Christianity, that is, by the church in Jerusalem or the church of the Hellenists in the capital and then in Antioch, would be taken up by other groups. One has only to remember the lively existence of Mary Magdalene in Gnostic and ascetic circles (see the *Gospel of Mary*, the *Pistis Sophia*, and the *Acts of Philip*), the argument of the Montanists and their appeal to Philip’s prophetess daughters,<sup>36</sup> and the traditions about Philip, Thomas, and John that are imbedded in the Nag Hammadi Library.<sup>37</sup> Fi-

<sup>34</sup> NHC VI,1, mentioned above (*Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles*); see also NHC VII,3 (*Apocalypse of Peter*).

<sup>35</sup> Adolf von Harnack (*Marcion: das Evangelium vom fremden Gott* [2d ed.; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1924; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1996] 39) writes: “Die Urapostel waren nicht dezidierte Irrlehrer, aber sie sind in einer schweren Konfusion stecken geblieben, ...”

<sup>36</sup> See Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.17.3, and Origen, *1 Corinthians Fragment* (14:36); see Pierre de Labriolle, ed., *Les sources de l’histoire du montanisme* (Fribourg [Switzerland]: Librairie de l’Université, 1913) 55.

<sup>37</sup> See the *Gospel of Philip* (NHC II,3), the *Letter of Peter to Philip* (NHC VIII,2), the *Gospel of Thomas* (NHC II,2), and the *Book of Thomas the Contender* (NHC II,7).

# Index of Ancient Authors

## 1. Manuscripts

|                           |                                                |                                                                 |                  |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| Athos, Megali Lavra, Z 59 | 209 n. 3                                       | Papyrus Bodmer XIV–XV<br>(P75)                                  | 25, 35, 210 n. 3 |
| Athos, Xenophontos, 32    | 214 n. 24, 216–<br>19, 220 n. 34,<br>221 n. 36 | Paris, Bibliothèque Nationa-<br>le, Coptic MS 129 <sup>17</sup> | 213 n. 19        |
| minuscule 700 (Luke 11:2) | 24                                             | <i>Parisinus graecus</i> 769                                    | 270              |
| New York, Morgan Library  |                                                | Turin Papyrus, PSI 6                                            | 228              |
| Coptic MS 576             | 213 n. 19                                      |                                                                 |                  |
| P72                       | 212                                            |                                                                 |                  |

## 2. Greek, Latin, and Other Ancient Literature

|                                                 |                       |                               |           |
|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|-----------|
| Albinus                                         |                       | Euripides                     |           |
| <i>Didaskalikos</i> 32                          | 251 n. 80             | <i>Bacchae</i>                | 259       |
|                                                 |                       | 1084–87                       | 232       |
| Artemidorus                                     |                       | <i>Orestes</i>                |           |
| <i>Onirotica</i>                                |                       | 1685                          | 230 n. 26 |
| 1.1                                             | 145 n. 5, 146<br>n. 9 | Herodotus                     |           |
| 1.2                                             | 146 nn. 10, 11,<br>12 | <i>Histories</i>              |           |
| 1.6                                             | 146 n. 13             | 1.34                          | 148 n. 19 |
| 1.66                                            | 147 n. 14             | 1.38–40                       | 148 n. 19 |
|                                                 |                       | 1.43                          | 148 n. 19 |
| Athenaeus                                       |                       | Hesiod                        |           |
| <i>Deipnosophists</i>                           |                       | <i>Theogony</i>               |           |
| 2.60A                                           | 230 n. 26             | 378–80                        | 47–48     |
| 2.61B                                           | 230 n. 26             | Hesychius of Alexandria       |           |
| Cicero                                          |                       | <i>Sunagoge (Lexicon)</i>     | 229 n. 18 |
| <i>De divinatione</i>                           |                       | Homer                         |           |
| 1.63                                            | 156 n. 59             | <i>Odyssey</i>                |           |
| <i>De republica</i>                             | 148 n. 20             | 6.42–46                       | 232       |
|                                                 |                       | 19.562–67                     | 145 n. 2  |
| <i>Corpus hermeticum</i>                        |                       | <i>Homeric Hymn to Athena</i> |           |
| 13.16                                           | 232                   | (no. 28)                      | 232       |
| <i>Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta</i> |                       | Josephus                      |           |
| 839                                             | 147 n. 16             | <i>Bellum judaicum</i>        |           |
|                                                 |                       | 2.111–13                      | 151 n. 27 |

|                                 |                |                                 |                         |
|---------------------------------|----------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Livius                          |                | <i>Phaedrus</i>                 |                         |
| <i>Ab urbe condita</i>          |                | 252E                            | 233 n. 48               |
| 2.32                            | 234 n. 50      | <i>Politicus</i>                |                         |
|                                 |                | 273E–274A                       | 232                     |
| <i>Life of Mani</i>             | 7              | <i>Respublica</i>               |                         |
|                                 |                | 4.436C                          | 233 n. 48               |
| Limenios                        |                | <i>Sophista</i>                 |                         |
| <i>Delphic Paean to Apollos</i> | 232            | 252A                            | 233 n. 48               |
|                                 |                | <i>Symposium</i>                |                         |
| Lucian of Samosata              |                | 175B                            | 233 n. 48               |
| <i>De syria dea</i>             |                | <i>Theaetetus</i>               |                         |
| 19                              | 147 n. 15      | 181E                            | 233 n. 48               |
| <i>Vera historia</i>            |                | <i>Timaeus</i>                  |                         |
| 2.33                            | 145 n. 3       | 89A                             | 251 n. 80               |
| Macrobius                       |                | Plutarch                        |                         |
| <i>Commentary on the Dream</i>  |                | <i>De defectu oraculorum</i>    |                         |
| <i>of Scipio</i>                | 148 n. 20      | 17                              | 232                     |
| Philo                           |                | Pseudo-Callisthenes             |                         |
| <i>De Abrahamo</i>              | 274 n. 26      | <i>Historia Alexandri Magni</i> |                         |
| <i>De migratione Abrahami</i>   |                | 1.12                            | 232                     |
| 190                             | 152 n. 34      |                                 |                         |
| <i>De Somniis</i>               |                | Pseudo-Plato                    |                         |
| 1                               | 152 n. 37      | <i>Timaeus Locrus</i>           |                         |
| 1–2                             | 152 nn. 33, 35 | 102E                            | 251 n. 80               |
| 2                               | 152 n. 38      |                                 |                         |
| <i>De vita contemplativa</i>    |                | Sophocles                       |                         |
| 26                              | 152 n. 34      | <i>Oedipus coloneus</i>         |                         |
| <i>Legatio ad Gaium</i>         |                | 1620–30                         | 232                     |
| 277                             | 60 n. 3        |                                 |                         |
| Plato                           |                | Suetonius                       |                         |
| <i>Leges</i>                    |                | <i>De vita Caesarum</i>         |                         |
| 10.893C                         | 233 n. 48      | 2.94                            | 147 n. 17, 148<br>n. 18 |
| <i>Parmenides</i>               |                |                                 |                         |
| 165D                            | 233 n. 48      |                                 |                         |

## 3. Hebrew Bible

|                |                         |               |           |
|----------------|-------------------------|---------------|-----------|
| <i>Genesis</i> |                         | 40:4–23       | 151 n. 28 |
| 12:10–20       | 150                     | 40:8          | 151 n. 30 |
| 16:5           | 55 n. 20                | 41:1–43       | 151 n. 28 |
| 18:25          | 55 n. 20                | 41:5–7        | 38        |
| 20:3           | 150 n. 25, 151<br>n. 28 | 41:6          | 38 n. 2   |
| 20:6–7         | 150 n. 25, 151<br>n. 28 | 41:16         | 151 n. 30 |
|                |                         | 41:39         | 151 n. 30 |
| 21:12          | 186                     | <i>Exodus</i> |           |
| 28:11–19       | 151 n. 28               | 3:14          | 139       |
| 31:10–13       | 151 n. 28               | 10:13         | 40        |
| 31:53          | 55 n. 20                | 10:19         | 39 n. 3   |
| 37:5–11        | 151 n. 28               | 12            | 268       |

|                    |                |                         |           |
|--------------------|----------------|-------------------------|-----------|
| 12:11              | 197            | <i>Esther</i>           |           |
| 14:21              | 40             | 10:4–8 (LXX Addition F) | 150 n. 24 |
| 19–20              | 107            |                         |           |
| 24                 | 107            | <i>Job</i>              |           |
| 25:40              | 275            | 4:12                    | 232       |
| 32–34              | 107            | 4:16                    | 232       |
| 34:28              | 107            | 38:24                   | 40        |
| <i>Leviticus</i>   |                | <i>Psalms</i>           |           |
| 11:3               | 118            | 7:11                    | 55 n. 20  |
| 13:49              | 63             | 22:19                   | 84        |
| 14:2–32            | 63             | 33:16–19 (LXX 32)       | 281       |
|                    |                | 46:9–10 (LXX 45)        | 281       |
| <i>Numbers</i>     |                | 55:22 (LXX 54:23)       | 197, 206  |
| 11:31              | 108            | 65:8                    | 232       |
| 12:6               | 151 nn. 28, 30 | 68:5                    | 55 n. 20  |
| 12:6–8             | 160            | 73:20                   | 151 n. 29 |
|                    |                | 78:26 (LXX 77)          | 40        |
| <i>Deuteronomy</i> |                | 98:1–2 (LXX 97)         | 281       |
| 6:13               | 111            | 104:3–4                 | 40        |
| 6:16               | 111            | 107:29                  | 232       |
| 8:3                | 111            | 110:1                   | 277       |
| 10:18              | 55 n. 20       | 141:5 (LXX 140)         | 197       |
| 13:2–6             | 151 n. 29      | 146:3–4 (LXX 145)       | 281       |
| 15:4               | 136 n. 16      |                         |           |
| 18:15              | 34, 61         | <i>Isaiah</i>           |           |
| 18:18              | 34, 61         | 2                       | 76        |
| 25:4               | 197            | 6:9–10                  | 31        |
|                    |                | 8:23                    | 110       |
| <i>Joshua</i>      |                | 8:23–9:1                | 110       |
| 10:12–14           | 232            | 10:14                   | 197       |
|                    |                | 11:6                    | 204       |
| <i>Judges</i>      |                | 52:5                    | 182 n. 8  |
| 7:13–15            | 151 n. 28      | 53:12                   | 99 n. 75  |
|                    |                | 54:1                    | 99        |
| <i>1 Samuel</i>    |                | 54:4                    | 55 n. 20  |
| 3:1–18             | 151 n. 31      | 54:5–8                  | 55 n. 20  |
| <i>2 Samuel</i>    |                | <i>Jeremiah</i>         |           |
| 12                 | 129            | 2:2                     | 55 n. 20  |
|                    |                | 3:8–9                   | 55 n. 20  |
| <i>1 Kings</i>     |                | 10:13                   | 39        |
| 3:4–15             | 151 nn. 28, 31 | 14:14                   | 197       |
| 3:5                | 151            | 23:16                   | 197       |
| 17                 | 28, 108        | 23:16–32                | 151 n. 29 |
| 18:41–44           | 39             | 23:21                   | 197       |
| 19:11–13           | 232            | 27:9–10                 | 151 n. 29 |
|                    |                | 28                      | 260 n. 69 |
| <i>2 Kings</i>     |                | 29:8–9                  | 151 n. 29 |
| 4                  | 108            | 49:36                   | 39        |
| 4:29               | 197            |                         |           |
| 4:42–44            | 28, 109        | <i>Ezekiel</i>          |           |
|                    |                | 1:10                    | 224       |
|                    |                | 16:6–14                 | 55 n. 20  |

|               |                 |                  |           |
|---------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------|
| 17:10         | 38              |                  |           |
| 27:26         | 40              | <i>Joel</i>      |           |
| 40:44         | 40              | 3:1              | 154       |
| 42:20         | 40              | 3:5              | 183       |
| <i>Daniel</i> |                 | <i>Amos</i>      |           |
| 2:1–49        | 151 n. 28       | 4:13             | 39        |
| 2:28          | 151 n. 30       |                  |           |
| 4:1–23        | 151 n. 28       | <i>Habakkuk</i>  |           |
| 7             | 151 n. 28, 276, | 2:7              | 197       |
|               | 276 n. 48       | 2:20             | 232       |
| 7:12 (LXX)    | 46 n. 24        |                  |           |
| 9             | 276             | <i>Zephaniah</i> |           |
| 9:27 (LXX)    | 46 n. 24        | 1:7              | 232       |
| 11:35 (LXX)   | 46 n. 24        |                  |           |
| 12:4 (LXX)    | 46 n. 24        | <i>Zechariah</i> |           |
| 12:7 (LXX)    | 46 n. 24        | 1:8–6:15         | 151 n. 28 |
|               |                 | 2:13             | 232       |
| <i>Hosea</i>  |                 | 6:1–8            | 39        |
| 2–3           | 55 n. 20        | 10:2             | 151 n. 29 |
|               |                 | 13:7             | 227 n. 5  |

#### 4. Deuterocanonical and Pseudepigraphical Literature

|                    |           |                    |           |
|--------------------|-----------|--------------------|-----------|
| <i>1 Enoch</i>     |           | <i>2 Maccabees</i> |           |
| 18.1               | 39        | 7:6                | 117 n. 13 |
| 18.33–34           | 39        |                    |           |
|                    |           | <i>Sirach</i>      |           |
| <i>3 Enoch</i>     | 39, 183   | 35:15–19           | 53 n. 12  |
|                    |           | 46:4               | 232       |
| <i>4 Ezra</i>      |           | <i>Wisdom</i>      |           |
| 7:39–43            | 232, 235  | 6–9                | 250       |
|                    |           | 18:14–15           | 230, 232  |
| <i>1 Maccabees</i> |           |                    |           |
| 4:24               | 117 n. 13 |                    |           |
| 7:17               | 117 n. 13 |                    |           |
| 9:21               | 117 n. 13 |                    |           |
| 9:41               | 117 n. 13 |                    |           |

#### 5. Qumran Literature

|                                     |           |                                     |           |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|-------------------------------------|-----------|
|                                     |           | 5.17                                | 117 n. 12 |
| <i>Genesis Apocryphon</i> (1QapGen) |           | <i>Hodayoth</i> (1QH <sup>a</sup> ) |           |
| 19.13–23                            | 150 n. 26 | 9.9–13                              | 39        |
| <i>Community Rule</i> (1QS)         |           |                                     |           |
| 5.15                                | 117 n. 12 |                                     |           |

#### 6. Rabbinic Literature

|                       |     |                |     |
|-----------------------|-----|----------------|-----|
| <i>Midrash Rabbah</i> |     | Song 1:1 (79a) | 129 |
| Exod 29:9             | 232 |                |     |

*Sifre*  
Deut 32:1, piska 306

232

*Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*  
Deut 28

232

*y. Ta'anit*  
4.7 or 5 (6) (68d)

184 n. 15

## 7. New Testament

*Matthew*

|           |          |                |
|-----------|----------|----------------|
| 21–22, 23 | 10:19–20 | 207            |
| 1:15      | 10:22    | 207            |
| 1:20–25   | 10:28    | 207            |
| 2:9       | 10:38    | 207            |
| 2:12      | 11:25–27 | 138, 189 n. 26 |
| 2:13      | 12:43–45 | 296            |
| 2:13–15   | 12:46–47 | 126            |
| 2:19      | 12:46–50 | 125            |
| 2:22      | 12:47    | 126            |
| 4:1       | 12:48    | 126            |
| 4:1–11    | 12:49    | 125, 126       |
| 4:12–13a  | 12:50    | 125            |
| 4:13b     | 13:1     | 126            |
| 4:13b–16  | 13:2     | 126            |
| 4:15      | 13:3     | 126            |
| 4:15–16   | 13:4–7   | 126            |
| 4:16      | 13:10    | 126            |
| 4:17      | 13:11    | 126            |
| 4:18–22   | 13:12a   | 126            |
| 5:1–12    | 13:12b   | 126            |
| 5:14–16   | 13:16–17 | 126            |
| 5:44      | 13:17    | 281            |
| 6:9–13    | 13:18–23 | 126            |
| 6:10      | 13:23    | 128            |
| 6:21      | 13:24    | 128            |
| 7:6       | 13:24–30 | 123            |
| 8         | 13:31    | 128            |
| 8:5–13    | 13:33    | 128            |
| 8:11–12   | 13:36–43 | 123, 128       |
| 8:19–22   | 13:44    | 128, 130       |
| 9:6       | 13:45    | 128            |
| 9:8       | 13:46    | 130            |
| 10        | 13:47    | 128            |
|           | 14:13–21 | 108            |
|           | 15:7     | 118            |
| 10:1      | 16:2b–3  | 42             |
| 10:2–4    | 16:3     | 43, 44, 45     |
| 10:5–6    | 16:18    | 173            |
| 10:7 par. | 16:19    | 168            |
| 10:8      | 18:10–14 | 168            |
| 10:9      | 18:18    | 168            |
| 10:16     | 19:18–20 | 202            |
| 10:17–20  | 19:28    | 9              |
| 10:18     | 21:33–46 | 189 n. 26      |

|               |                |               |           |
|---------------|----------------|---------------|-----------|
| 23            | 138            | 14:27         | 227 n. 5  |
| 23:37         | 137            | 14:31         | 95        |
| 23:37–39      | 189 n. 26      | 14:32–42      | 95        |
| 24:31         | 39             | 14:43–52      | 95        |
| 25:14–30      | 124            | 14:43b        | 95        |
| 26:53         | 80 n. 9        | 14:44         | 95        |
| 27:19         | 154            | 14:50–52      | 95        |
| 27:45–51      | 232 n. 38      | 14:53         | 95, 96    |
| 27:56         | 100            | 14:53–64      | 88, 95    |
| 27:57         | 100            | 14:54         | 88        |
| 28            | 199            | 14:55         | 95, 96    |
| 28:1–10       | 174            | 14:56–61a     | 95, 96    |
| 28:16–20      | 11, 167        | 14:65         | 88, 95    |
| 28:18a        | 167            | 14:66–72      | 88, 95    |
| 28:18b        | 167            | 15:1          | 95, 96    |
| 28:19         | 3, 167         | 15:1–5        | 96        |
| 28:20         | 167            | 15:13         | 96 n. 62  |
|               |                | 15:16–20a     | 96        |
| <i>Mark</i>   | 23, 196        | 15:20b–21     | 96        |
| 1:1–11        | 216            | 15:24         | 96 n. 63  |
| 1:10–11 par.  | 153 n. 45      | 15:29–32 par. | 264 n. 87 |
| 1:12 par.     | 153 n. 45      | 15:33         | 97        |
| 1:14–15       | 168            | 15:33–38      | 232 n. 38 |
| 2:10          | 53 n. 11, 168  | 15:34 par.    | 264 n. 88 |
| 3:7–12        | 214            | 15:34–36      | 97        |
| 3:13–19       | 167, 214       | 15:37         | 97        |
| 3:16–19       | 14 n. 54       | 15:38         | 97        |
| 4:3–9         | 123            | 15:39         | 97        |
| 4:9           | 56 n. 23       | 15:40         | 100       |
| 4:12 par.     | 116 n. 9       | 15:40–41      | 97        |
| 4:13–20       | 123, 128       | 15:42         | 100       |
| 4:26          | 128            | 15:42–47      | 97        |
| 4:30          | 128            | 15:47         | 97 n. 64  |
| 6             | 195            | 16:1–8        | 97        |
| 6:7           | 201            | 16:8          | 97        |
| 6:7–13 par.   | 167            | 16:12–18      | 295       |
| 6:32–44       | 108            |               |           |
| 7:6           | 118            | <i>Luke</i>   |           |
| 8:22–26       | 216            | 1–2           | 223       |
| 9:7 par.      | 153 n. 45      | 1:1–4         | 5         |
| 10:35–37      | 168            | 1:1           | 165       |
| 10:45         | 94             | 1:2           | 60, 165   |
| 11:15–17 par. | 216            | 1:3           | 60        |
| 12:1–12       | 189 n. 26      | 1:4           | 250       |
| 13:9–13       | 201            | 1:5–4:13      | 27        |
| 13:10         | 168, 189 n. 26 | 1:5–4:15      | 27        |
| 13:20         | 134            | 1:6           | 63        |
| 13:28–31      | 93             | 1:11          | 153 n. 45 |
| 14:1–2        | 94             | 1:19          | 66 n. 20  |
| 14:3–9        | 88             | 1:26          | 153 n. 45 |
| 14:10–17      | 94             | 1:26–2:52     | 11        |
| 14:25         | 94             | 1:26–39       | 296       |
| 14:26–31      | 95             | 1:74–75       | 176       |

|             |                  |              |                  |
|-------------|------------------|--------------|------------------|
| 2:7–10      | 297              | 9:1–50       | 28               |
| 2:8         | 235              | 9:6          | 66 n. 20         |
| 2:8–14      | 231              | 9:10–17      | 108              |
| 2:8–20      | 63 n. 10         | 9:10–17 par. | 106–12           |
| 2:9         | 153 n. 45        | 9:13 par.    | 108              |
| 2:10        | 66 n. 20         | 9:22         | 59               |
| 2:13        | 153 n. 45        | 9:35         | 66               |
| 2:22        | 60               | 9:51         | 58 n. 33         |
| 2:24        | 60, 61           | 9:51–52      | 58 n. 34         |
| 2:25–35     | 67 n. 25, 85     | 9:51–56      | 28               |
| 2:49        | 59, 297          | 9:51–10:24   | 28               |
| 3           | 215              | 9:51–10:42   | 28               |
| 3–9         | 92               | 9:51–19:44   | 27               |
| 3–24        | 54 n. 16         | 9:51–21:38   | 27               |
| 3:1–22      | 216              | 9:54         | 202              |
| 3:16        | 216              | 9:57–60      | 137              |
| 3:18        | 66 n. 20         | 9:57–62      | 28, 297          |
| 4:1         | 106              | 9:57–10:11   | 28               |
| 4:1–3       | 77               | 10           | 196, 200, 207    |
| 4:1–13 par. | 106–12           | 10:1–24      | 28               |
| 4:14–9:50   | 27               | 10:4b        | 197              |
| 4:16        | 109              | 10:17        | 5 n. 18          |
| 4:16–30     | 29               | 10:18        | 153 n. 45        |
| 4:16–9:50   | 27               | 10:21        | 66, 138, 139 bis |
| 4:18        | 66 n. 20         | 10:21–22     | 138, 189 n. 26   |
| 4:33        | 66 n. 20         | 10:22        | 138              |
| 4:36        | 66               | 10:25–28     | 61               |
| 5           | 26               | 10:25–37     | 30               |
| 5:6         | 36               | 10:26        | 63, 69           |
| 6:12–19     | 214              | 10:27        | 69               |
| 6:13–16     | 14 n. 54         | 10:28        | 63, 69           |
| 6:14–16     | 11               | 10:30–36     | 54 n. 15         |
| 6:19        | 79               | 10:30–37     | 124              |
| 6:20–23     | 201              | 10:38–42     | 28, 54 n. 15     |
| 6:20–49     | 64 n. 13         | 11           | 138, 285, 287–   |
| 6:27–28     | 96 n. 61         |              | 88               |
| 6:47        | 32               | 11:1         | 289              |
| 7           | 297              | 11:1–4       | 138, 288–90      |
| 7:1–10      | 63 n. 10, 67     | 11:1–13      | 290              |
|             | n. 25, 189 n. 26 | 11:2         | 24, 289, 289     |
| 7:22        | 66 n. 20         |              | n. 16            |
| 7:36–50     | 88, 94           | 11:3         | 289              |
| 7:50        | 63               | 11:4         | 290, 291         |
| 8:1         | 66 n. 20         | 11:5–8       | 56 n. 27, 290    |
| 8:1–3       | 11, 14 n. 51, 97 |              | n. 18            |
| 8:10        | 116 n. 10        | 11:7–8       | 54               |
| 8:15        | 69               | 11:8a        | 54               |
| 8:46        | 295              | 11:9–13      | 290 n. 18        |
| 8:48        | 63               | 11:23–26     | 296              |
| 9           | 196 bis, 199     | 11:27–28     | 99               |
| 9–10        | 138, 195         | 11:28        | 69               |
| 9–19        | 58               | 11:37–54     | 69               |
| 9:1         | 201              | 11:42        | 61, 70 bis       |

|               |                  |             |                   |
|---------------|------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| 12:11–33      | 64 n. 13         | 18:2–5      | 56, 57            |
| 12:16–20      | 124              | 18:4–5      | 54                |
| 12:17–19      | 54               | 18:5        | 52                |
| 12:21         | 124              | 18:6        | 52, 56 bis, 57    |
| 12:33         | 62, 71           | 18:6–8      | 53 n. 8           |
| 12:37         | 296              | 18:7        | 134               |
| 12:41–48      | 45               | 18:7a       | 52, 55, 56 n. 22, |
| 12:49–53      | 45               |             | 57                |
| 12:49–59      | 45               | 18:7b       | 52, 55 n. 19, 57  |
| 12:54         | 41               | 18:7–8      | 189 n. 26         |
| 12:54–56 par. | 38–50            | 18:7–8a     | 53, 56 n. 26      |
| 12:54–59      | 45–46            | 18:8        | 69                |
| 12:55         | 41               | 18:8a       | 52, 57            |
| 12:56         | 43–45, 47, 48    | 18:8b       | 53, 55 n. 19, 57  |
| 12:58–59      | 297              | 18:9        | 53 n. 8           |
| 13:1–9        | 45               | 18:9–14     | 53, 63 n. 10, 189 |
| 13:6–9        | 296              |             | n. 26             |
| 13:18         | 128              | 18:14       | 53 n. 8           |
| 13:20         | 128              | 18:18–23    | 61, 63            |
| 13:22         | 58 n. 33         | 18:20       | 63                |
| 13:23–30      | 189 n. 26        | 18:29b–30   | 47                |
| 13:28–29      | 189 n. 26        | 18:35       | 58                |
| 13:34         | 137              | 18:42       | 63                |
| 13:34–35      | 189 n. 26        | 19:1        | 58                |
| 14:16–24      | 64 n. 13         | 19:1–10     | 54 n. 15, 63      |
| 14:26         | 71               |             | n. 10, 67 n. 25   |
| 14:28–33      | 67               | 19:2        | 295               |
| 14:33         | 62, 64 n. 13, 71 | 19:8–10     | 295               |
| 14:35         | 56 n. 23         | 19:12–27    | 124               |
| 15            | 129, 130         | 19:22       | 58                |
| 15:1–2        | 129              | 19:28       | 58 n. 33          |
| 15:1–7        | 168              | 19:44       | 47                |
| 15:3–7        | 129              | 19:45–24:53 | 27                |
| 15:8–10       | 129              | 20:1        | 66 n. 20          |
| 15:11–32      | 63 n. 10, 67     | 20:9–19     | 189 n. 26         |
|               | n. 25, 129       | 21          | 56 n. 27          |
| 15:18         | 54               | 21:1–4      | 56 n. 27          |
| 15:21         | 54               | 21:5–36     | 56 n. 27          |
| 16            | 30               | 21:12–19    | 56 n. 27, 201     |
| 16:13         | 71, 197          | 21:12–24    | 56 n. 27          |
| 16:16         | 64, 66 n. 20, 71 | 21:19       | 56 n. 27          |
| 16:23         | 295–96           | 21:22       | 56 n. 27          |
| 17            | 53               | 21:23       | 99                |
| 17:8b         | 53 n. 7          | 21:29–33    | 93, 97            |
| 17:14         | 63               | 21:34–36    | 97                |
| 17:19         | 53 n. 7, 63      | 21:36       | 56 n. 27, 57      |
| 17:20–21      | 295              |             | n. 31             |
| 17:21         | 47               | 21:37–38    | 93                |
| 17:22         | 57 n. 31         | 22          | 76 bis, 90        |
| 17:37         | 53 n. 7          | 22–23       | 74–105            |
| 18:1          | 53, 53 n. 8      | 22:1–6      | 81                |
| 18:1–8        | 51–58            | 22:1–14     | 94, 97            |
| 18:2          | 54               | 22:1–24:53  | 27                |

|            |                       |             |                   |
|------------|-----------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| 22:2       | 80                    | 22:61–62    | 168               |
| 22:3       | 77, 79                | 22:62       | 86 n. 18          |
| 22:4       | 87                    | 22:63–65    | 88, 95, 96        |
| 22:5       | 83, 87                | 22:63–71    | 78                |
| 22:6       | 80, 87                | 22:66       | 77, 78, 95, 96    |
| 22:7       | 78                    | 22:66–71    | 88 bis, 95        |
| 22:8       | 76                    | 22:67       | 96                |
| 22:10      | 83                    | 22:70       | 96                |
| 22:10–12   | 76                    | 22:71       | 96                |
| 22:12      | 76                    | 23          | 90                |
| 22:13      | 76                    | 23:1        | 77, 80            |
| 22:14      | 78                    | 23:1–5      | 96                |
| 22:14–38   | 64 n. 13, 75          | 23:1–7      | 81                |
| 22:15      | 76 n. 3               | 23:4        | 81 n. 11          |
| 22:15–20   | 94                    | 23:6–13     | 96, 99            |
| 22:15–46   | 97                    | 23:6–43     | 97                |
| 22:16–18   | 94                    | 23:7        | 77                |
| 22:17–18   | 83                    | 23:8–12     | 88                |
| 22:19      | 83                    | 23:11       | 96                |
| 22:19–20   | 94                    | 23:13       | 80                |
| 22:21      | 83                    | 23:13–25    | 81, 96            |
| 22:21–23   | 94 bis                | 23:14       | 81 n. 11          |
| 22:24–30   | 94                    | 23:18       | 80                |
| 22:27      | 94                    | 23:20       | 77 n. 4           |
| 22:28–30   | 94                    | 23:21       | 80, 84, 96 n. 62  |
| 22:30      | 9, 83                 | 23:22       | 81 n. 11          |
| 22:31      | 83                    | 23:24       | 77                |
| 22:31–34   | 95                    | 23:25       | 77                |
| 22:35–38   | 83 bis, 95            | 23:26       | 81, 84, 96        |
| 22:37      | 87 bis                | 23:27       | 80                |
| 22:38      | 84 n. 13              | 23:27–31    | 96                |
| 22:39      | 76 n. 3, 77, 87       | 23:28–31    | 99                |
| 22:39–46   | 77, 95                | 23:29       | 99 n. 73          |
| 22:40      | 77                    | 23:32–43    | 96                |
| 22:42      | 79, 82                | 23:33       | 76, 77, 84        |
| 22:42b     | 77                    | 23:34       | 82, 84, 87, 99    |
| 22:43      | 80 n. 9               | 23:34a      | 96                |
| 22:43–44   | 82, 98                | 23:34b      | 96 n. 63          |
| 22:46      | 79                    | 23:35       | 80 bis            |
| 22:46–47   | 76                    | 23:36       | 84                |
| 22:47      | 80                    | 23:36b      | 96                |
| 22:47ff.   | 75                    | 23:37       | 96                |
| 22:47–51   | 77                    | 23:38       | 84, 96            |
| 22:47–53   | 78, 81, 95            | 23:39–43    | 85, 96, 100, 295  |
| 22:47–23:5 | 97                    | 23:44       | 77 n. 5, 78       |
| 22:48      | 76                    | 23:44–45    | 84, 97, 232 n. 38 |
| 22:49      | 80, 83                | 23:44–24:11 | 98                |
| 22:49–51   | 83                    | 23:45       | 78, 84, 87        |
| 22:51      | 76, 80                | 23:46       | 100               |
| 22:52      | 76, 95                | 23:46a      | 97                |
| 22:53      | 77, 78                | 23:46b      | 97                |
| 22:54      | 77, 88                | 23:46c      | 97                |
| 22:54–62   | 78, 81, 87, 88,<br>95 | 23:47       | 97                |

|             |                 |                             |                  |
|-------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|------------------|
| 23:48       | 80 bis          | 14:15–21                    | 167              |
| 23:48–49    | 97              | 14:16                       | 189 n. 26        |
| 23:49       | 100, 296        | 14:26                       | 167, 189 n. 26   |
| 23:50       | 87              | 15:1–8                      | 189 n. 26        |
| 23:50–51    | 100             | 15:18                       | 135 n. 12        |
| 23:50–54    | 81, 87          | 15:26                       | 167              |
| 23:50–56    | 97              | 16:7                        | 167              |
| 23:51       | 79 n. 8, 100    | 17:1–26                     | 189 n. 26        |
| 23:53       | 77, 78 n. 6, 84 | 18:13–14                    | 88               |
| 23:54       | 76, 79, 100     | 18:19–23                    | 88               |
| 23:54–56    | 79              | 18:24                       | 88               |
| 23:55       | 78 n. 6, 97     | 18:36                       | 280 n. 73        |
| 23:55–56    | 81, 100         | 19:38                       | 100              |
| 23:56       | 76, 296         | 20:1–18                     | 174              |
| 24          | 78, 87          | 20:11–18                    | 168              |
| 24:1        | 79, 84          | 20:23                       | 168              |
| 24:1 ff.    | 76              | 20:25                       | 101 n. 83        |
| 24:1–11     | 97              | 20:27                       | 101 n. 83        |
| 24:4 par.   | 153 n. 45       | 20:30–31                    | 249              |
| 24:10       | 97              | 21                          | 11               |
| 24:12–49    | 97              | 21:18–23                    | 11               |
| 24:12–53    | 97              | 21:24–25                    | 249              |
| 24:13–32    | 54 n. 15        |                             |                  |
| 24:29       | 67              | <i>Acts of the Apostles</i> | 3, 165, 169, 206 |
| 24:30       | 78              | 1–15                        | 92               |
| 24:32       | 78              | 1:1                         | 176              |
| 24:36       | 78              | 1:1–8                       | 167              |
| 24:36–53    | 167             | 1:5                         | 216              |
| 24:39       | 101             | 1:8                         | 67               |
| 24:50–53    | 97              | 1:13–14                     | 11, 14 n. 54     |
|             |                 | 1:14                        | 11               |
| <i>John</i> | 206             | 1:15–20                     | 11, 85           |
| 1:1–18      | 189 n. 26       | 1:21–26                     | 11               |
| 1:18        | 166             | 2:1–41                      | 167              |
| 1:23        | 12              | 2:14–41                     | 168              |
| 1:51        | 51              | 2:16 f.                     | 118              |
| 2:11        | 206 n. 47       | 2:17                        | 154              |
| 3:1–20      | 246             | 2:23                        | 86               |
| 4:35–36     | 123             | 2:33                        | 20, 168          |
| 5:19–29     | 189 n. 26       | 2:36                        | 86               |
| 5:19–47     | 206 n. 47       | 2:42                        | 68               |
| 6:1–13      | 108             | 2:42–47                     | 64 n. 13, 68     |
| 6:36–40     | 189 n. 26       | 2:46                        | 134              |
| 6:44        | 189 n. 26       | 3:1–11                      | 11               |
| 6:68–69     | 250             | 3:6                         | 198, 200         |
| 8:12        | 280             | 3:17                        | 79               |
| 8:51        | 250             | 4:12                        | 66               |
| 9:1–7       | 206 n. 47       | 4:13–19                     | 11               |
| 11:4–16     | 206 n. 47       | 4:24–30                     | 5 n. 16          |
| 11:38–44    | 206 n. 47       | 4:25                        | 118              |
| 11:49–52    | 160             | 4:27–28                     | 99               |
| 12:20–32    | 189 n. 26       | 4:32–35                     | 64 n. 13, 68     |
| 13:25       | 166             | 4:33                        | 198              |

|            |              |          |                  |
|------------|--------------|----------|------------------|
| 4:34       | 136 n. 16    | 13:22    | 66, 66 n. 20     |
| 5:1–16     | 64 n. 13     | 13:27    | 79               |
| 5:12–16    | 68           | 13:38–39 | 30, 64 n. 12     |
| 5:15       | 206 n. 47    | 13:46    | 116              |
| 5:42       | 66 n. 20     | 14:3     | 206 n. 47        |
| 6:1–8:40   | 58           | 14:7     | 66 n. 20         |
| 6:2        | 134          | 14:8–10  | 206 n. 47        |
| 6:2–4      | 176          | 14:15    | 66 n. 20         |
| 6:8–8:1    | 85           | 14:15–18 | 66               |
| 6:13       | 59           | 14:21    | 66 n. 20         |
| 7:2        | 66           | 14:27    | 5 n. 18          |
| 7:2–38     | 59           | 15       | 68, 130          |
| 7:30–39    | 66           | 15:3     | 5 n. 18          |
| 7:37       | 61           | 15:5     | 72               |
| 7:38       | 59, 68       | 15:7–11  | 11               |
| 7:39       | 67           | 15:9     | 68               |
| 7:48       | 84           | 15:10    | 64, 72           |
| 7:51       | 119          | 15:10–11 | 30               |
| 7:51–53    | 66           | 15:12    | 5 n. 18          |
| 7:55–56    | 156, 233     | 15:23–29 | 60               |
| 7:56       | 57 n. 31     | 15:26    | 71               |
| 8:4        | 66 n. 20     | 15:28    | 72               |
| 8:4–40     | 169          | 15:28–29 | 30               |
| 8:9–24     | 198 n. 19    | 15:35    | 66 n. 20         |
| 8:12       | 66 n. 20     | 16:1–3   | 63, 70 n. 30     |
| 8:14       | 11           | 16:9     | 153 n. 44        |
| 8:35       | 66 n. 20     | 16:9–10  | 154              |
| 8:40       | 66 n. 20     | 16:10    | 66 n. 20         |
| 9:3        | 134          | 16:14    | 5                |
| 9:15       | 72           | 16:15    | 62               |
| 9:32–11:18 | 11, 169      | 16:40    | 5                |
| 10:1–11    | 5, 63 n. 10  | 17       | 215, 259         |
| 10:3       | 153 n. 43    | 17:18    | 66 n. 20         |
| 10:9–16    | 158          | 17:23–29 | 66               |
| 10:17      | 153 n. 43    | 17:28    | 117              |
| 10:18      | 5, 63 n. 10  | 17:32    | 198              |
| 10:19      | 153 n. 43    | 18:2     | 175 n. 47        |
| 10:23      | 134          | 18:6     | 116              |
| 10:34–35   | 70           | 18:9     | 154              |
| 10:34–43   | 5 n. 14      | 18:18    | 14 n. 53, 70     |
| 10:36      | 66, 66 n. 20 |          | n. 30, 175 n. 47 |
| 11:16      | 216          | 18:26    | 14 n. 53, 175    |
| 11:18      | 68 n. 27     |          | n. 47            |
| 11:19–30   | 58           | 19:11–17 | 206 n. 47        |
| 11:20      | 66 n. 20     | 19:21    | 59               |
| 11:28      | 134          | 20:16    | 70 n. 30         |
| 12:1–2     | 11, 168      | 20:36–38 | 169              |
| 12:3–10    | 11           | 23:11    | 154              |
| 12:20–23   | 85           | 24:14    | 70 n. 30         |
| 13–14      | 169          | 24:25    | 47               |
| 13:1–3     | 139          | 25:8     | 70 n. 30         |
| 13:3       | 169          | 26:22    | 70 n. 30         |
| 13:9–12    | 206 n. 47    | 26:23    | 66               |

|               |                 |                      |              |
|---------------|-----------------|----------------------|--------------|
| 27:23–24      | 154 n.50        | 9:11                 | 185          |
| 28:17         | 70 n.30         | 9:14                 | 186          |
| 28:25         | 31–32, 113–119  | 9:31                 | 179          |
| 28:25b        | 114             | 10:1                 | 181          |
| 28:26         | 114             | 10:12                | 183          |
| 28:26–27      | 31              | 10:13                | 183          |
| 28:27         | 116             | 11:1                 | 181, 188     |
| 28:28         | 31–32, 113, 116 | 11:5                 | 185          |
| 28:28a        | 116             | 11:7                 | 185          |
| 28:30–31      | 11              | 11:11–15             | 187 n.20     |
|               |                 | 11:12                | 187, 188     |
| <i>Romans</i> |                 | 11:16                | 187          |
| 1–3           | 182, 184        | 11:21                | 187          |
| 1–8           | 142             | 11:25                | 188          |
| 1:8           | 169             | 11:25–26             | 183, 188     |
| 1:16–3:31     | 189 n.25        | 11:25–36             | 32           |
| 1:17–18       | 189 n.25        | 11:26                | 188          |
| 2:17          | 180             | 11:28                | 185          |
| 2:17–24       | 182             | 11:33                | 291          |
| 2:19          | 188             | 12:4–5               | 143          |
| 2:23          | 188             | 12:14                | 1            |
| 2:24          | 182 n.8         | 13:8–10              | 184          |
| 2:25          | 188             | 14–15                | 141          |
| 2:28–29       | 180             | 15:22–29             | 142          |
| 3:1–2         | 186             | 16:3                 | 14 n.53      |
| 3:3–4a        | 187             | 16:3–5               | 175 n.47     |
| 3:23          | 182             | 16:7                 | 14 n.53, 175 |
| 4             | 185 n.17, 274   |                      | n.48         |
| 4:1–25        | 185             |                      |              |
| 4:17          | 274             | <i>1 Corinthians</i> | 141          |
| 5:12–21       | 182             | 1:2                  | 135 n.9      |
| 5:20          | 188             | 1:22                 | 179, 187     |
| 8:1           | 142             | 3:11                 | 165, 176     |
| 8:18–28       | 142             | 5:7                  | 187          |
| 8:19–23       | 57              | 6:15–17              | 143          |
| 8:24          | 142             | 7:29                 | 269, 270     |
| 8:29          | 164             | 7:31                 | 175          |
| 8:31          | 142             | 7:32–35              | 71           |
| 8:31–39       | 142             | 9:5                  | 14 n.53, 164 |
| 8:31b–39      | 141, 142        |                      | n.6          |
| 8:36          | 143             | 9:11                 | 197          |
| 8:37          | 142             | 10:1–13              | 187          |
| 9             | 185             | 11:1                 | 164          |
| 9–11          | 141, 178, 184,  | 11:23–25             | 94           |
|               | 188             | 11:24                | 94 n.60      |
| 9:3           | 179, 180, 181   | 12:12–31             | 143          |
| 9:4           | 179, 181        | 12:28                | 139          |
| 9:5           | 181             | 14:15                | 160          |
| 9:6           | 179, 185        | 15:5–8               | 174          |
| 9:6–9         | 185             | 15:7–10              | 164 n.6      |
| 9:7a          | 186             | 16:19                | 14 n.53, 175 |
| 9:7b          | 186             |                      | n.47         |
| 9:10–13       | 185             |                      |              |

*2 Corinthians*

|         |           |
|---------|-----------|
| 3:6     | 182       |
| 3:7     | 182       |
| 3:12–18 | 182       |
| 4:4     | 164       |
| 5:18    | 163 n. 3  |
| 5:18–21 | 135 n. 10 |
| 5:19–20 | 5         |
| 10:3    | 186       |
| 11      | 184       |
| 11:22   | 180, 181  |
| 12:1    | 153       |
| 12:1–5  | 160       |
| 12:2–5  | 153       |

*Galatians*

|         |                        |
|---------|------------------------|
| 1:4–5   | 188                    |
| 1:15–16 | 164                    |
| 1:15–17 | 184                    |
| 1:23    | 168                    |
| 2:2     | 153                    |
| 2:7–8   | 168                    |
| 2:8     | 180                    |
| 2:8–9   | 164 n. 6               |
| 2:10    | 141                    |
| 3:13    | 181                    |
| 3:15–18 | 180                    |
| 3:27    | 143                    |
| 3:28    | 182                    |
| 4       | 184                    |
| 4:4     | 181                    |
| 4:4–5   | 188                    |
| 4:21    | 182                    |
| 4:21–31 | 182                    |
| 5:14    | 184                    |
| 6:16    | 136 n. 14, 179,<br>180 |

*Ephesians*

|      |             |
|------|-------------|
| 2:14 | 175         |
| 2:20 | 7, 165, 176 |
| 3:5  | 7           |
| 4:11 | 7           |
| 6:17 | 84          |

*Philippians*

|       |           |
|-------|-----------|
| 1:21  | 184       |
| 2:15  | 137 n. 19 |
| 3     | 184       |
| 3:2   | 182       |
| 3:2–3 | 181       |
| 3:5   | 180, 181  |
| 3:8   | 182       |
| 4:8   | 205       |

*Colossians*

|      |                |
|------|----------------|
| 1:15 | 136 n. 15, 164 |
| 1:18 | 136 n. 15      |

*1 Thessalonians*

|        |     |
|--------|-----|
| 1:4    | 185 |
| 1:6–10 | 169 |
| 2:14   | 180 |
| 4      | 184 |
| 5      | 280 |
| 5:2    | 1   |

*1 Timothy*

|       |           |
|-------|-----------|
| 2:5–7 | 166 n. 11 |
| 3:13  | 117       |
| 3:16  | 5, 169    |
| 5:17  | 117       |

*2 Timothy*

|        |                        |
|--------|------------------------|
| 1:8–12 | 166 n. 11              |
| 4:7    | 117                    |
| 4:19   | 14 n. 53, 175<br>n. 47 |

*Hebrews*

|         |           |
|---------|-----------|
| 1:8     | 136 n. 15 |
| 2:3–4   | 5         |
| 4:12–13 | 84        |
| 5:7     | 99        |
| 7:27    | 155 n. 56 |
| 9:12    | 155 n. 56 |
| 10:10   | 155 n. 56 |
| 11:10   | 272 n. 10 |

*1 Peter*

|      |     |
|------|-----|
| 2:12 | 117 |
| 4:16 | 134 |

*2 Peter*

|        |     |
|--------|-----|
| 1:5    | 205 |
| 1:16   | 8   |
| 3:2    | 8   |
| 1 John | 166 |
| 1:3    | 167 |

*Jude*

|    |   |
|----|---|
| 17 | 8 |
|----|---|

*Revelation*

|       |     |
|-------|-----|
| 1:1   | 139 |
| 1:1–3 | 139 |
| 1:3   | 139 |
| 1:3b  | 140 |

|           |               |       |           |
|-----------|---------------|-------|-----------|
| 1:4       | 139           | 4:7   | 224       |
| 1:4–22:21 | 139           | 7:1   | 40        |
| 1:7b      | 140           | 14:3  | 281 n. 83 |
| 1:9       | 139, 140, 233 | 18:20 | 8         |
| 1:10      | 140           | 18:23 | 57 n. 30  |
| 1:10–20   | 153 n. 46     | 21:14 | 8         |
| 2–3       | 139           | 21:9  | 57 n. 30  |
| 2:2       | 8             | 22:17 | 57 n. 30  |

## 8. Christian Apocrypha (including Nag Hammadi Literature)

|                                                       |                                           |                                                        |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Acta Pilati (Descensus Christi ad inferos)</i>     | 46 (14)                                   | 241 n. 21                                              |
| 26 (10)                                               | 85 n. 16                                  | 243 n. 29, 246, 248, 251                               |
| <i>Acts of Andrew</i>                                 | 10, 174, 203, 238–52, 298                 | 243                                                    |
| <i>Acts of Andrew in Greek</i><br>(abb. <i>AAgr</i> ) | 205 n. 43                                 | 246 n. 47, 249, 256 n. 27                              |
| 6                                                     | 246                                       | 255 n. 16                                              |
| 6–12                                                  | 239–40                                    | 243 nn. 30, 31, 248, 249                               |
| 7                                                     | 239 n. 5, 240 n. 6                        | 207 n. 54                                              |
| 8                                                     | 240 n. 7, 249                             | 244 n. 34                                              |
| 8–9                                                   | 246, 247                                  | 244                                                    |
| 9                                                     | 240 nn. 8, 9, 10, 11; 248, 249, 251 n. 78 | 206 n. 52                                              |
| 10                                                    | 248                                       | 244 n. 35                                              |
| 11                                                    | 240 n. 13                                 | 244 n. 36                                              |
| 12                                                    | 240 nn. 12, 14; 248, 249                  | 207 n. 55                                              |
| 16                                                    | 248                                       | 207 n. 56                                              |
| 25                                                    | 201 n. 30                                 | 244 n. 37, 248, 264 n. 90                              |
| 29                                                    | 249, 249 n. 71                            | 244 n. 38, 247, 248 n. 55                              |
| 37 (5)                                                | 241 nn. 17, 18, 246, 246 n. 48            | 244 n. 36                                              |
| 37–41 (5–9)                                           | 241–42                                    | 244–45                                                 |
| 38 (6)                                                | 241 n. 19, 248                            | 207 n. 57, 244 nn. 39, 40, 248, 248 nn. 56, 57, 58, 59 |
| 39 (7)                                                | 241 n. 20, 249                            | 245 n. 41, 248, 248 nn. 60, 61, 249                    |
| 40 (8)                                                | 249 n. 65, 255 n. 17                      | 245 n. 42, 246 n. 49, 248                              |
| 42 (10)                                               | 242 nn. 22, 23, 24; 247, 248, 249 n. 72   | 249 n. 67, 251                                         |
| 42–45 (10–13)                                         | 242–43, 247                               | 207 n. 58, 245 n. 43                                   |
| 43 (11)                                               | 242 n. 26, 246, 247                       | 245 n. 44                                              |
| 44 (12)                                               | 243 n. 27, 247, 249, 250, 250 n. 73       | 213 n. 17                                              |
| 45                                                    | 207 n. 53                                 | 245, 249, 249 n. 68, 251                               |
| 45 (13)                                               | 243 n. 28                                 | <i>Acts of Andrew and Matthias</i> 199                 |

|                                               |                                    |                                 |                                            |
|-----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| <i>Acts of John</i>                           |                                    | <i>Acts of Paul Martyrdom</i>   |                                            |
| 106–15                                        | 213 n. 20, 216<br>n. 32, 263 n. 86 | 1                               | 255 n. 14                                  |
| 108                                           | 258 n. 54                          | 1–5                             | 202 n. 31                                  |
| 18–55                                         | 213 n. 20                          | 2–4                             | 259 n. 55                                  |
| 19–25                                         | 257 n. 34                          | 3                               | 202 n. 32                                  |
| 22                                            | 258 n. 54                          | 4                               | 256 n. 24                                  |
| 24                                            | 258 n. 47                          | 5                               | 256 nn. 23, 25,<br>27                      |
| 30–36                                         | 254 n. 5                           | 6                               | 256 n. 24                                  |
| 31                                            | 260 n. 66                          | 6–7                             | 257 n. 40                                  |
| 42                                            | 205 n. 46, 256<br>n. 27            | 7                               | 256 nn. 25, 27                             |
| 46–47                                         | 257 n. 34                          | <i>Acts of Peter</i>            |                                            |
| 47                                            | 257 n. 35, 258<br>n. 46            | 1                               | 203                                        |
| 48                                            | 155 n. 54, 255<br>n. 15            | 2                               | 255 nn. 14, 17;<br>258 n. 48               |
| 51                                            | 257 n. 34                          | 4                               | 254 n. 9                                   |
| 52                                            | 261 n. 73                          | 5                               | 260 n. 67                                  |
| 56                                            | 258 n. 54                          | 7                               | 255 n. 17                                  |
| 56–57                                         | 206 n. 50                          | 9                               | 201 n. 28                                  |
| 58–86                                         | 213 n. 20                          | 10–13                           | 255 n. 19                                  |
| 62                                            | 246 n. 51                          | 11                              | 256 n. 27                                  |
| 75                                            | 257 n. 34                          | 12                              | 255 n. 20                                  |
| 80                                            | 257 n. 34                          | 17                              | 259 n. 59                                  |
| 82–83                                         | 257 n. 34                          | 20                              | 256 n. 27                                  |
| 97                                            | 257 n. 38                          | 23                              | 173 n. 35, 297<br>n. 15                    |
| 98                                            | 257 n. 43                          | 23–28                           | 259 n. 60                                  |
| <i>Acts of John (Metastasis of<br/>John)</i>  |                                    | 23–29                           | 215 n. 30, 259<br>n. 61                    |
| 216                                           |                                    | 26–27                           | 205 n. 41                                  |
| <i>Acts of John by Pseudo-Pro-<br/>chorus</i> |                                    | 28                              | 256 n. 27, 257<br>n. 34                    |
| 256 n. 26                                     |                                    | 31 (2)                          | 260 n. 68                                  |
| <i>Acts of John in Rome</i>                   |                                    | 32                              | 260 n. 68                                  |
| 5–6                                           |                                    | 32 (3)                          | 254 n. 10                                  |
| 201 n. 27, 206<br>n. 50                       |                                    | 40 (11)                         | 259 n. 62                                  |
| <i>Acts of Paul</i>                           |                                    |                                 | 257 n. 40                                  |
| 267, 270                                      |                                    | <i>Acts of Peter and Andrew</i> |                                            |
| <i>Acts Paul (Papyrus of Heidelberg)</i>      |                                    | 13–21                           | 204 n. 36                                  |
| pp. 41–42                                     |                                    | 257 n. 34                       |                                            |
| <i>Acts of Paul and Thecla</i>                |                                    | 220, 258 n. 54                  |                                            |
| 1–43                                          |                                    | 200 n. 24                       |                                            |
| 5                                             |                                    | 269, 269 n. 12                  |                                            |
| 20                                            |                                    | 260 n. 67                       |                                            |
| 21                                            |                                    | 257 n. 39                       |                                            |
| 33–39                                         |                                    | 255 n. 22                       |                                            |
| 38                                            |                                    | 256 n. 27                       |                                            |
| <i>Acts of Paul (Papyrus of Hambourg)</i>     |                                    | 1.3                             |                                            |
| pp. 3–4                                       |                                    | 256 n. 33                       |                                            |
|                                               |                                    | 1.18 (1–5)                      | 10, 204, 211,<br>217                       |
|                                               |                                    |                                 | 262                                        |
|                                               |                                    |                                 | 257 n. 36                                  |
|                                               |                                    |                                 | 256 n. 31, 257<br>nn. 31, 34, 262<br>n. 76 |
|                                               |                                    |                                 | 262 n. 78                                  |
|                                               |                                    |                                 | 256 n. 31, 257<br>n. 34                    |

|                                  |                |                        |                |
|----------------------------------|----------------|------------------------|----------------|
| 2                                | 212, 259       | 6–8                    | 205 n. 42      |
| 2.1 (6)                          | 259 n. 58      | 10                     | 251 n. 76, 258 |
| 2.26–29                          | 215 n. 29      |                        | n. 54          |
| 3.5–6                            | 257 n. 42      | 11                     | 257 n. 39      |
| 3.10–14 (33–34)                  | 255 n. 21      | 16                     | 260 n. 65      |
| 4.1                              | 262 n. 78      | 20                     | 260 n. 65      |
| 4.1 (37)                         | 260 n. 67      | 21–25                  | 257 n. 36      |
| 4.2 (38)                         | 257 n. 41      | 33                     | 257 n. 34      |
| 4.4 (40)                         | 258 n. 51      | 37                     | 258 n. 54      |
| 4.4 (41)                         | 258 n. 52      | 39                     | 251 n. 76      |
| 4.4 (42)                         | 258 n. 53      | 42–50                  | 254 n. 4       |
| 5–7                              | 215            | 46                     | 296 n. 12      |
| 5.5                              | 262 n. 78      | 47                     | 251 n. 76      |
| 5.6–8 (48–50)                    | 259 n. 59      | 52                     | 256 n. 30      |
| 5.8 (49)                         | 255 n. 16      | 53–54                  | 257 n. 34      |
| 5.12 (54)                        | 255 n. 16      | 55–58                  | 257 n. 36      |
| 5.14–22 (56–60)                  | 201 n. 27      | 59                     | 256 n. 28      |
| 5.16 (58)                        | 255 n. 16      | 66                     | 261 n. 74      |
| 5.22–23 (60–61)                  | 255 n. 18      | 69–70                  | 255 n. 13      |
| 5.63                             | 221 n. 36      | 78                     | 251 n. 76      |
| 6.1–22 (64–86)                   | 259 n. 61      | 80–81                  | 257 n. 34      |
| 6.15–22 (80–86)                  | 256 n. 29, 257 | 81                     | 262 n. 75      |
|                                  | n. 34          | 89                     | 260 n. 65      |
| 6.16 (80)                        | 259 n. 59      | 94                     | 262 n. 79      |
| 6.64–86                          | 215 n. 30      | 95                     | 258 n. 54      |
| 7.7 (93)                         | 200 n. 25      | 96                     | 260 n. 65      |
| 8                                | 212            | 98–102                 | 260 n. 65      |
| 8.1–5                            | 254 n. 7       | 104                    | 260 n. 65      |
| 8.7 (93)                         | 206 n. 50      | 106                    | 260 n. 65      |
| 8.15–21 (96–101)                 | 203 n. 34, 254 | 106–7                  | 256–57 n. 33   |
|                                  | n. 7           | 114                    | 260 n. 65      |
| 9.1–5 (102–6)                    | 259 n. 55      | 116–17                 | 260 n. 65      |
| 11                               | 220            | 117                    | 263 n. 80      |
| 11.1–10                          | 259 n. 55      | 118–22                 | 257 n. 33      |
| 12.1–8                           | 254 n. 7       | 120                    | 263 nn. 81, 82 |
| 13                               | 200 n. 23, 255 | 121                    | 257 n. 37, 263 |
|                                  | n. 17          |                        | nn. 83, 84     |
| 13.1–5                           | 259 n. 56      | 123                    | 260 n. 65      |
| 13.4                             | 258 nn. 49, 50 | 124                    | 263 n. 85      |
| <i>Acts of Philip, Martyrdom</i> | 214            | 130                    | 260 n. 65      |
| 1–2 (107–8)                      | 215 n. 26      | 134                    | 260 n. 65      |
| 19 (125)                         | 260 n. 66      | 138–39                 | 260 n. 65      |
| 19 (125)                         | 260 n. 67      | 143                    | 258 n. 54      |
| 22 (128)                         | 216–19         | 154                    | 155 n. 53, 257 |
| 23–48 (127–45)                   | 202 n. 33      |                        | n. 33          |
| 36 (142)                         | 215 n. 29      | 156                    | 258 n. 54      |
| 29 (135)                         | 220 n. 34,     | 158                    | 257 n. 37      |
|                                  | 257 n. 38      | 162                    | 257 n. 33      |
| 41 (147)                         | 256 n. 23      | 162–63                 | 260 n. 65      |
|                                  |                | 170                    | 256 n. 27      |
| <i>Acts of Thomas</i>            |                |                        |                |
| 1                                | 199 n. 21      | <i>Acts of Timothy</i> | 255 n. 21      |

|                                                |                        |                                                                                                  |                             |
|------------------------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Apocalypse of Paul</i> (NHC V,2)            | 9, 10                  | <i>Gospel of Thomas</i> (NHC II,2)                                                               | 10, 23, 35                  |
| <i>Apocalypse of Paul</i>                      | 155 n.52               | prologue                                                                                         | 251 n.76                    |
| <i>Apocalypse of Peter</i> (NHC VII,3)         | 10 n.34                | title                                                                                            | 173 n.38                    |
| <i>Apocalypse of Peter</i>                     | 35, 155 n.52, 223 n.44 | 1                                                                                                | 251 n.76                    |
| 2                                              | 296 n.11               | 3                                                                                                | 295                         |
| <i>Apocalypses of James</i> (NHC V,3 and V,4)  | 10, 174 n.40           | 12                                                                                               | 173 n.38                    |
| <i>Apocryphon of James</i> (NHC I,2)           | 10, 174 n.39           | 79                                                                                               | 99 nn.72, 73                |
| <i>Arabian Infancy Gospel</i>                  |                        | 91                                                                                               | 42, 45, 48                  |
| 3                                              | 232 n.41               | <i>Gospel of the Ebionites</i>                                                                   | 223, 295                    |
| <i>Ascension of Isaiah</i>                     | 98 n.68                | <i>Gospel of the Nazarenes</i>                                                                   | 99                          |
| 2–5                                            | 260 n.70               | <i>Gospel of the Twelve Apostles</i>                                                             | 9                           |
| 3.2                                            | 9                      | <i>Historia Passionis Domini</i>                                                                 | 98, 99                      |
| 3.21                                           | 9                      | <i>Infancy of Gospel of Thomas</i>                                                               | 35                          |
| 4.3                                            | 9                      | 3–5                                                                                              | 254 n.8                     |
| 4.16                                           | 296 n.7                | 8                                                                                                | 254 n.8                     |
| 6.1–11.43                                      | 155 n.52               | 14–15                                                                                            | 254 n.8                     |
| <i>Book of Thomas the Contender</i> (NHC II,7) | 10 n.37                | 19                                                                                               | 296 n.10                    |
| <i>De nativitate Mariae</i>                    |                        | <i>Kerygma Petrou</i>                                                                            | 9                           |
| 10.2                                           | 236 n.55               | <i>Leabhar Breac</i>                                                                             | 237                         |
| <i>Epistle of Pseudo-Titus</i>                 | 257 n.34               | <i>Letter of Peter to Philip</i> (NHC VIII,2)                                                    | 10 n.37                     |
| <i>Epistle of the Apostles</i>                 | 223 n.44, 295          | <i>Liber de infantia salvatoris</i>                                                              | 237                         |
| 3 (14)                                         | 296 n.5                | <i>Life of Adam</i> (Greek)                                                                      |                             |
| 5 (16)                                         | 296 n.5                | 38.3                                                                                             | 40                          |
| 14 (25)                                        | 296 n.5                | <i>Passio sancti Andreae Apostoli</i> ( <i>Epistle of the Presbyters and Deacons of Achaëa</i> ) |                             |
| 27 (38)                                        | 296 n.5                | 12                                                                                               | 206 n.51                    |
| <i>Gospel of Mary</i>                          | 10                     | <i>Pistis Sophia</i>                                                                             | 10                          |
| <i>Gospel of Peter</i>                         | 223 n.44               | <i>Protevangelium of James</i>                                                                   | 35, 223 n.44, 236 n.53, 295 |
| 1–5                                            | 99 n.71                | 1–10                                                                                             | 226                         |
| 4.13                                           | 295                    | 1–17                                                                                             | 230                         |
| 10–16                                          | 100 n.77               | 9.3                                                                                              | 226                         |
| 13                                             | 100 n.78               | 11                                                                                               | 226                         |
| 19                                             | 264 n.88               | 12                                                                                               | 226                         |
| <i>Gospel of Philip</i> (NHC II,3)             | 10 n.37                | 13–14                                                                                            | 226                         |
|                                                |                        | 15–16                                                                                            | 226                         |
|                                                |                        | 17–18.1                                                                                          | 226                         |

|                                                     |           |                                                               |                      |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-----------|---------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|
| 18                                                  | 226–37    | <i>Pseudo-Clementine Homilies, Letter of Clement to James</i> | 174                  |
| 18.2–3                                              | 226, 227  |                                                               |                      |
| 18–20                                               | 230       |                                                               |                      |
| 19                                                  | 226       |                                                               |                      |
| 19.2                                                | 232 n. 41 | <i>Pseudo-Clementine Homilies, Letter of Peter to James</i>   | 174                  |
| 19–20                                               | 256 n. 30 |                                                               |                      |
| 20                                                  | 226       |                                                               |                      |
| 21                                                  | 226       | <i>Pseudo-Matthew</i>                                         | 254 n. 6, 294        |
| 22                                                  | 226       | 13.2                                                          | 232 n. 41, 236 n. 55 |
| 22–24                                               | 230       |                                                               |                      |
| 23–24                                               | 226       | 18–19                                                         | 255 n. 11            |
| 25                                                  | 226       | 22–24                                                         | 255 n. 12            |
| Pseudo-Clement                                      |           | <i>Questions of Bartholomew</i>                               | 10                   |
| <i>Homilies</i>                                     | 174       | 2.14–22                                                       | 296 n. 9             |
| 2.12                                                | 295 n. 3  |                                                               |                      |
| 2.21.1                                              | 295 n. 3  | <i>Secret Gospel of Mark</i>                                  |                      |
| 2.35.1.5                                            | 295 n. 3  | 3.4–5                                                         | 246                  |
| 3.29.1                                              | 295 n. 3  |                                                               |                      |
| 3.63.1.2                                            | 295 n. 3  | <i>Story of Joseph the Carpenter</i>                          |                      |
| 3.71.1                                              | 295 n. 3  | 7                                                             | 236 n. 56            |
| 3.72.1                                              | 295 n. 3  |                                                               |                      |
| 13.8.3                                              | 295 n. 3  | <i>Syriac History of the Virgin</i>                           | 232                  |
| 17.1.1.3                                            | 295 n. 3  |                                                               |                      |
| 17.6.2                                              | 295 n. 3  | <i>Testament of Adam</i>                                      |                      |
| <i>Recognitions</i>                                 | 295 n. 3  | 1.7                                                           | 232                  |
| 3.57–61                                             | 260 n. 71 | <i>Traditions of Matthias</i>                                 | 295                  |
| 7                                                   | 256 n. 32 |                                                               |                      |
| <i>Pseudo-Clementine Homilies, Formal Agreement</i> | 174       |                                                               |                      |

## 9. Patristic, Byzantine, and Medieval Literature

|                                           |           |                                                  |           |
|-------------------------------------------|-----------|--------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| Ambrose of Milan                          |           | Aphrahat                                         |           |
| <i>Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam</i> |           | <i>Speeches</i>                                  |           |
| 7.44–53                                   | 196 n. 4  | 1.336 [7.15]                                     | 13        |
| 7.54                                      | 198       | 1.41 [1.17]                                      | 13        |
|                                           |           | 1.453 [10.4]                                     | 13        |
| <i>Antimarcionite Prologue</i>            | 35        | Augustine                                        |           |
| Aristides                                 |           | <i>De diversis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum</i> |           |
| <i>Apology</i>                            |           | 2.1                                              | 160 n. 71 |
| 15.1–2                                    | 171 n. 26 | <i>De Genesi ad litteram</i>                     |           |
| 15.2                                      | 4 n. 12   | 12                                               | 159–60    |
| Athenagoras                               |           | <i>Tractatus in Ioannem</i>                      |           |
| <i>Supplicatio</i>                        | 1         | 124.2                                            | 256 n. 26 |

|                            |                   |                                                    |                |
|----------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Barnabas</i>            |                   | <i>Thesaurus de sancta consub-</i>                 |                |
| 5.3                        | 8                 | <i>stantiali trinitate</i>                         |                |
| 5.9                        | 8, 9              | 13.2                                               | 288 n. 13      |
| 10.11                      | 118               | <i>Didache</i>                                     | 9              |
| Bede the Venerable         |                   | <i>Ecclesiastical Constitution of the Apostles</i> |                |
| <i>In Lucam</i>            |                   | 21                                                 | 158 n. 67      |
| 3.1871–74                  | 196 n. 5          | Epiphanius of Salamis                              |                |
| 3.1921–26                  | 206 n. 49         | <i>Panarion</i>                                    |                |
| 4.185–86                   | 198 n. 19         | 3.13.6                                             | 295 n. 4       |
| Clement of Alexandria      |                   | 31.22.1                                            | 14 n. 56       |
| <i>Hypotyposes</i>         | 298 n. 21         | 33.7.9                                             | 3 n. 5         |
| <i>Letter to Theodorus</i> | 222 n. 42         | 51.4.5–12.6                                        | 299 n. 23      |
| <i>Stromata</i>            |                   | 51.6.6–7.8                                         | 224 nn. 49, 50 |
| 2.9.45.4                   | 295 n. 2          | 88.7.7–9                                           | 173 n. 37      |
| 3.4.26.3                   | 295 n. 2          | Eusebius                                           |                |
| 3.52.4                     | 14 n. 55          | <i>Chronikon</i>                                   | 273            |
| 3.53.1                     | 14 n. 55          | <i>Eclogae</i>                                     | 274 n. 32      |
| 4.6.35.2                   | 295 n. 2          | <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>                      |                |
| 6.6.48                     | 9 n. 30           | 1                                                  | 276, 277       |
| 7.13.82.1                  | 295 n. 2          | 1.1–4                                              | 272 n. 7       |
| 7.63.3                     | 14 n. 55          | 1.1.1                                              | 172, 272 n. 4  |
| 7.106.4                    | 4 nn. 6, 7        | 1.1.2                                              | 276 n. 41      |
| 1 Clement                  |                   | 1.1.8                                              | 2 n. 4         |
| 10                         |                   | 1.2.3                                              | 272 nn. 9, 11  |
| 5.1–6.3                    | 5 n. 15           | 1.2.4                                              | 274 nn. 29, 30 |
| 5.3–7                      | 7                 | 1.2.6                                              | 274 nn. 31, 32 |
| 42                         | 7                 | 1.2.6–13                                           | 272 n. 13      |
| 42.1–2                     | 170               | 1.2.13                                             | 274 n. 32      |
| 47.1–4                     | 7                 | 1.2.18–20                                          | 273 n. 16      |
| 2 Clement                  |                   | 1.2.21                                             | 273 n. 17      |
| 14.2                       | 7                 | 1.2.22                                             | 275            |
| Cyril of Alexandria        |                   | 1.2.23                                             | 276 nn. 46, 47 |
| <i>Homiliae in Lucam</i>   |                   | 1.2.24                                             | 276 n. 48      |
| 47                         | 284, 286, 292     | 1.2.24–25                                          | 276 n. 49      |
|                            | 197 nn. 7, 9, 10, | 1.3.1–5                                            | 275 n. 38      |
|                            | 11, 13, 204       | 1.3.2                                              | 275 nn. 35, 37 |
|                            | n. 38, 206 n. 48  | 1.3.3                                              | 274 n. 33, 275 |
| 60–64                      | 197 n. 7          |                                                    | n. 34          |
| 61                         | 198 n. 18         | 1.3.9–11                                           | 277 n. 50      |
| 62                         | 197 n. 12, 198    | 1.3.16                                             | 277 n. 50      |
|                            | n. 16             | 1.4.6                                              | 274 n. 25      |
| 64                         | 197 n. 8, 198     | 1.4.7                                              | 274 n. 24      |
|                            | n. 15             | 1.5.2–6                                            | 282 n. 88      |
| 76                         | 291 n. 22         | 1.6.11                                             | 276 n. 49      |
| 95                         | 48 n. 29          | 1.7.1–16                                           | 297 n. 16      |
|                            |                   | 1.10.7                                             | 2              |
|                            |                   | 1.12.1–5                                           | 3              |
|                            |                   | 1.12.3                                             | 2              |
|                            |                   | 2                                                  | 3, 277         |
|                            |                   | 2.1                                                | 277 n. 52      |

|                            |           |                                                  |               |
|----------------------------|-----------|--------------------------------------------------|---------------|
| 2.1–3                      | 3 bis     | Gregory of Nyssa                                 |               |
| 2.1.12                     | 277 n. 52 | <i>Homiliae in orationem dominicam</i>           |               |
| 2.7                        | 280 n. 75 | 3.737–38                                         | 24            |
| 2.14.3                     | 278 n. 60 |                                                  |               |
| 2.15.2                     | 298 n. 21 |                                                  |               |
| 2.25.6–8                   | 13 n. 44  | Gregory of Tours                                 |               |
| 3.1.1–3                    | 267 n. 4  | <i>Liber de miraculis beati Andreae apostoli</i> | 239 n. 3, 298 |
| 3.5.2                      | 3         |                                                  | n. 18         |
| 3.7.8                      | 3         |                                                  |               |
| 3.30.1                     | 14 n. 55  | 28                                               | 249 n. 70     |
| 3.31                       | 277       |                                                  |               |
| 3.31.2–3                   | 6         | Haymon of Auxerre                                |               |
| 3.31.6                     | 277 n. 54 | <i>Commentary on Isaiah</i>                      | 100 n. 75     |
| 3.39.3                     | 171 n. 25 |                                                  |               |
| 3.39.15–16                 | 298 n. 20 | Hermas                                           |               |
| 4                          | 277 n. 56 | <i>Shepherd</i>                                  |               |
| 4.19.6                     | 222 n. 42 | 1–25 ( <i>Vis.</i> 1–5)                          | 155 n. 52     |
| 4.22.1–6                   | 4         | 13.1 ( <i>Vis.</i> 3.5.1)                        | 8             |
| 5.17.3                     | 10 n. 36  | 43 ( <i>Mand.</i> 11)                            | 260 n. 71     |
| 5.17.4                     | 279 n. 70 | 92.4 ( <i>Sim.</i> 9.16.4)                       | 8             |
| 6.12.2–6                   | 223 n. 44 | 93.5 ( <i>Sim.</i> 9.16.5)                       | 8             |
| 6.14.5–7                   | 298 n. 21 | 94.1 ( <i>Sim.</i> 9.17.1)                       | 8, 9          |
| 7–8                        | 280       | 102.2 ( <i>Sim.</i> 9.25.2)                      | 8             |
| 8.1.1                      | 280       |                                                  |               |
| 8.7.1                      | 279 n. 72 | Hippolytus of Rome                               |               |
| 8.7.2–5                    | 280 n. 73 | <i>Apostolic Tradition</i>                       |               |
| 8.7.6                      | 279 n. 72 | 41                                               | 233 n. 44     |
| 8.9.5                      | 279 n. 68 | <i>Elenchus</i>                                  |               |
| 8.10.3                     | 143 n. 28 | 5.7.1                                            | 4 n. 9        |
| 8.13.2                     | 278 n. 64 | 20.7.1                                           | 4 n. 6        |
| 9.1.8                      | 280       |                                                  |               |
| 9.7.15                     | 280       | Ignatius of Antioch                              |               |
| 9.9.9                      | 281 n. 77 | <i>Ephesians</i>                                 |               |
| 9.10.5                     | 281 n. 79 | 9.2                                              | 143 n. 28     |
| 9.11.8                     | 281 n. 80 | 11.2                                             | 8             |
| 10.1.1                     | 280       | 19.1                                             | 230           |
| 10.1.3                     | 281 n. 82 | <i>Magnesians</i>                                |               |
| 10.1.4                     | 281 n. 84 | 7.1                                              | 8             |
| 10.1.6                     | 281 n. 81 | 13.1                                             | 8             |
| 10.1.8                     | 280       | 13.1–2                                           | 171 n. 24     |
| 10.2.1                     | 280       | <i>Philadelphians</i>                            |               |
| 10.4.6                     | 281 n. 85 | 5.1                                              | 8             |
| 10.4.66                    | 279 n. 69 | 9.1                                              | 8             |
| 10.8                       | 280 n. 75 | 10.1.2                                           | 6             |
| Praeparatio evangelica     |           | <i>Smyrnaeans</i>                                |               |
| 5.17.6–9                   | 232       | 3.1–3                                            | 101 n. 83     |
| <i>Vita Constantini</i>    |           | 11.1–3                                           | 6 n. 19       |
| 1.28–29                    | 158 n. 66 | <i>Trallians</i>                                 |               |
| 3.15                       | 283 n. 91 | 7.1                                              | 8             |
|                            |           |                                                  |               |
| Evagrius Ponticus          |           | Innocent I                                       |               |
| <i>Tractatus practicus</i> |           | <i>Letter 6, to Exuperius of Toulouse</i>        |               |
| 78                         | 251 n. 80 | 7.13                                             | 236 n. 53     |

|                                    |                         |                                            |                         |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Irenaeus                           |                         | Julian the African                         | 297                     |
| <i>Adversus haereses</i>           |                         | Lactantius                                 |                         |
| <i>praef.</i>                      | 171                     | <i>De morte persecutorum</i>               | 85 n. 15                |
| 1.1.3                              | 297                     | <i>Lalita Vistara</i>                      |                         |
| 1.3.1                              | 297                     | 1                                          | 232                     |
| 1.3.2                              | 297                     | <i>Legenda aurea</i>                       |                         |
| 1.7.2                              | 14 n. 56                | 6                                          | 232 n. 43               |
| 1.7.4                              | 297                     | <i>Life of Cyprian</i>                     |                         |
| 1.8.3                              | 297                     | 12–13                                      | 156 n. 62               |
| 1.16.1                             | 297                     | <i>Life of Barlaam</i>                     |                         |
| 1.20.2                             | 297                     | <i>and Ioasaph</i>                         | 4 n. 12, 171<br>n. 26   |
| 1.25.4                             | 297                     | <i>Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas</i> |                         |
| 1.30.11                            | 297                     | 4                                          | 157 n. 64, 283<br>n. 90 |
| 3.1.1                              | 210 n. 8                | <i>Martyrdom of Polycarp</i>               |                         |
| 3.1.1–2.1                          | 224 n. 49               | 5.2                                        | 156 n. 60               |
| 3.2.1                              | 222 n. 41               | Melito of Sardis                           |                         |
| 3.11.3                             | 14 n. 56                | <i>Homily on the Passover</i>              | 137 n. 18               |
| 3.11.7                             | 222 n. 41               | Miltiades                                  | 279                     |
| 3.11.8–9                           | 224 n. 49               | <i>Muratorian Canon</i>                    | 35, 173, 298            |
| 4.6.1                              | 297                     | Origen                                     |                         |
| Jerome                             |                         | <i>Contra Celsum</i>                       |                         |
| <i>Commentariorum in Isaiaam</i>   |                         | 1.34                                       | 232                     |
| <i>libri XVIII</i>                 |                         | 1.38                                       | 232                     |
| <i>praef.</i>                      | 101 n. 81               | 2.27                                       | 222 n. 41, 223          |
| <i>De perpetua virginitate</i>     |                         | 5.62                                       | 4 n. 8, 13 n. 48        |
| <i>beatae Mariae adversus Hel-</i> |                         | <i>Commentarii in evangelium</i>           |                         |
| <i>vidium</i>                      |                         | <i>Joanni</i>                              |                         |
| 8                                  | 236                     | 13, 44                                     | 123                     |
| <i>Epistulae</i>                   |                         | 20.12                                      | 267 n. 4                |
| 22.30 ( <i>ad Eustochium</i> )     | 157 n. 65               | <i>1 Corinthians Fragment</i>              |                         |
| 120.8                              | 100 n. 76               | 14:36                                      | 10 n. 36                |
| <i>De viris illustribus</i>        |                         | 34.2–15                                    | 268 n. 7                |
| 16                                 | 101 n. 81               | Ezekiel Fragment                           |                         |
| John Chrysostom                    |                         | 7.22                                       | 268 n. 7                |
| <i>De cruce et latrone homilia</i> |                         | <i>Homiliae in Lucam</i>                   |                         |
| 1.4                                | 101 n. 83               | prologue                                   | 267 n. 2                |
| <i>Homiliae in Matthaeum</i>       |                         | 1.2                                        | 9 n. 33                 |
| 33                                 | 198 n. 17,<br>208 n. 59 | 1:1–2                                      | 222 n. 40               |
| Justin                             |                         | 34.3                                       | 298 n. 17               |
| <i>Apologia I</i>                  |                         | <i>Homiliae in Jeremiam</i>                |                         |
| 23.1                               | 12 n. 41                | 20.1                                       | 267 n. 4                |
| 44.8                               | 12 n. 41                |                                            |                         |
| 60.10                              | 12 n. 31                |                                            |                         |
| 61.9                               | 171                     |                                            |                         |
| 67.3                               | 173 n. 34               |                                            |                         |
| <i>Dialogus cum Tryphone</i>       |                         |                                            |                         |
| 71–73                              | 221                     |                                            |                         |
| 103.8                              | 99 n. 70                |                                            |                         |
| 105.5                              | 100 n. 70               |                                            |                         |

- |                                      |           |                                       |                    |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|
| <i>On the Passover</i>               | 268       | Pseudo-Hippolytus                     |                    |
| 3.12–13                              | 269 n. 13 | <i>In sanctum Pascha</i> 30           | 101 n. 83          |
| 6.17                                 | 269 n. 13 |                                       |                    |
| 12.17                                | 269 n. 13 | Ptolemy                               |                    |
| 12.30                                | 269 n. 13 | <i>Letter to Flora</i>                | 3                  |
| 26.–9                                | 269 n. 13 | 4.1–2                                 | 222 n. 39          |
| 26.–13                               | 269 n. 13 |                                       |                    |
| 33.16                                | 269 n. 13 | Roswitha of Gandersheim               |                    |
| 33.32                                | 269 n. 13 | <i>Historia nativitatiss...</i>       | 236 n. 56          |
| 34.12                                | 269 n. 13 |                                       |                    |
| 34.18–19                             | 269 n. 13 | <i>Sibylline Oracles</i>              |                    |
| 35.5                                 | 269 n. 13 | 3.199–201                             | 232                |
| 36.6                                 | 269       | 8.477–79                              | 297 n. 14          |
| 36.23–33                             | 269 n. 9  | 8.474–75                              | 230                |
| 36.33–37.2                           | 269 n. 10 |                                       |                    |
| 37.2                                 | 269 n. 13 | Symeon Metaphrastes                   |                    |
| 37.26                                | 269 n. 13 | <i>Vitae sanctorum</i>                | 298 n. 19          |
| 38.27                                | 269 n. 13 |                                       |                    |
| <i>De Principiis</i>                 |           | Synesius of Cyrene                    |                    |
| 1, prooemium 8                       | 101 n. 82 | <i>On Dreams</i>                      | 159 n. 69          |
| 1.2.3                                | 267 n. 4  |                                       |                    |
|                                      |           | Tatian                                |                    |
| <i>Passio sanctorum Scilitanorum</i> |           | <i>Diatessaron</i>                    | 100, 223, 295, 296 |
| 12                                   | 173 n. 32 |                                       |                    |
|                                      |           | Tertullian                            |                    |
| <i>Passion of Marianus and James</i> |           | <i>Adversus Marcionem</i>             |                    |
| 2–3                                  | 6 n. 20   | 4                                     | 20 n. 8, 102       |
| 7                                    | 156 n. 61 | 4.4                                   | 223 n. 47          |
|                                      |           | 4.5                                   | 222 n. 42          |
| Photius                              |           | 4.15                                  | 48 n. 28           |
| Bibliothèque, Codex 114              | 213 n. 18 | 4.21                                  | 196 n. 3           |
|                                      |           | 4.24                                  | 197 n. 6           |
| Polycarp                             |           | 4.29                                  | 48 n. 28           |
| <i>Epistle to the Philippians</i>    |           | <i>De praescriptione haereticorum</i> |                    |
| 6.3                                  | 8         | 32.1–3                                | 3                  |
| 9.1                                  | 8         | 36.1–3                                | 3 bis              |
| Pseudo-Denys the Areopagite          |           |                                       |                    |
| <i>Epistle</i> 10                    | 300 n. 25 | Thomas Aquinas                        |                    |
|                                      |           | <i>Catena aurea</i>                   | 284–92             |
| Pseudo-Eustathius                    |           | <i>Summa theologiae</i>               |                    |
| <i>Commentary on the Hexameron</i>   | 236 n. 52 | 2.2.Q83.A9                            | 288 n. 15          |
|                                      |           |                                       |                    |
| Pseudo-Gelasius                      |           |                                       |                    |
| <i>Decree</i> 8                      | 236 n. 53 |                                       |                    |

## Index of Modern Authors

- Agaësse, P. 159 n.70  
 Aillet, M. 288 n.15  
 Aland, B. 43 n.16, 296 n.13  
 Aland, K. 43 n.16, 98 n.69, 211 n.9, 296 n.13  
 Aldama, J.A. de 229 n.19  
 Aletti, J.-N. 19 n.4, 27, 74 n.2, 92  
 Alexander, P.S. 39 n.5, 183 n.12  
 Amann, É. 230, 232 n.42, 236 nn.51, 53  
 Amphoux, C.B. 25–26, 102 n.84, 210 n.6, 212 n.12, 216 n.31  
 Amsler, F. 254 n.7  
 Antonopoulos, A. 299 n.24, 300 n.26  
 Archambault, G. 98 n.70  
 Aring, P.G. 190 n.31  
 Attridge, H.W. 1 n.2, 147 n.15, 172 n.29  
 Aubineau, M. 286  
  
 Balanos, D.S. 276 n.40  
 Balch, D. 27 n.42  
 Balthasar, H.U. von 159 n.70  
 Bammel, E. 267 n.1  
 Bardy, G. 267 n.1, 273 nn.16, 22, 276 nn.40, 42, 48, 278 n.66, 279 nn.68, 70, 71, 280 n.75, 282  
 Barr, J. 44 n.18  
 Barthes, R. 20 n.10, 74 n.2  
 Bauckham, R. 296 n.11  
 Bauer, W. 43 n.16, 230  
 Baur, F.C. 51 n.2  
 Baus, K. 190 n.29  
 Baynes, N.H. 281 n.77  
 Bell, R.H. 178 n.1, 182 n.9, 187 n.20  
 Bengel, J.A. 209 n.1  
 Benoît, A. 158 n.66  
 Berchman, R.M. 152 n.35  
 Bergh van Eysinga, G.A. van den 230  
 Berkhof, H. 274 n.27, 282  
 Bertram, G. 234 n.49  
 Bertrand, D.A. 223, 295 n.4  
 Bettio, P. 9 n.29  
 Betz, H.D. 164 nn.5, 6  
 Bibliander, Th. 228 n.14  
 Bienert, W.A. 174 n.45  
  
 Blass, F. 25  
 Blomberg, C.L. 65, 73 n.33  
 Bock, D.L. 52 n.5  
 Boismard, M.-É. 22, 25, 91 n.50, 216 n.31, 217  
 Böker, R. 41 n.8  
 Bonnard, P. 168 n.16  
 Bonnet, M. 209, 212 n.15, 215 nn.29, 30, 220 nn.34, 35, 221 n.36, 238 n.2, 239 n.3, 241 n.15, 269 n.12, 298 n.18  
 Bornkamm, G. 4, 12, 141 n.26  
 Botte, B. 233 n.44  
 Boulanger, R. 47 n.26  
 Boureau, A. 233 n.43  
 Bouttier, M. 165 n.9  
 Bouvier, B. 36, 254 n.7  
 Braun, F.-M. 256 n.26  
 Brawley, R.L. 29, 65  
 Brecht, B. 129  
 Bridges, C.B. 285 n.5  
 Brooten, B. 175 n.48  
 Brown, R.E. 13 n.45, 154 n.48, 166 n.12  
 Büchele, A. 91  
 Bultmann, R. 4, 24 n.29, 88–89 n.24, 90 n.39, 132–33  
  
 Cadbury, H.J. 44 n.18, 92 n.57, 98 n.66  
 Cailliois, R. 144 n.1  
 Calvin, J. 197 n.6  
 Calzolari Bouvier, V. 244 n.33  
 Cambe, M. 9 n.30  
 Camelot, Th. 101 n.83, 171 n.24  
 Cameron, R. 1 n.2  
 Campbell, W.S. 187 n.19  
 Campenhausen, H. von 4 n.10, 163 n.2  
 Cangh, J.-M. van 108 n.8  
 Casan, É. F.X. 285 n.5  
 Castagno, A.M. 268 n.5  
 Castelli, E.A. 164 n.6  
 Cerfaux, L. 69 n.29, 91 n.50, 134  
 Chabot, J.-B. 286 n.10, 287  
 Chadwick, H. 222 n.41, 233 n.44  
 Charlesworth, J.H. 109 n.10, 239 n.2  
 Cirillo, L. 7 n.23

- Colignac, A. 159 n.70  
 Collange, J.-F. 181 n.7  
 Compagnon, A. 114, 115 nn.4, 5, 6  
 Conzelmann, H. 27, 31 n.65, 32, 64, 73  
   n.32, 110 n.12, 166 n.12, 259 n.63  
 Cramer, J.A. 287 n.11  
 Cranfield, C.E.B. 178 n.1  
 Crouzel, H. 222 n.40, 268 n.7, 298 n.17  
 Cullmann, O. 134, 278 n.59, 223 n.43, 273  
   n.23, 275 n.39, 296 n.10  
 Dalgairns, J.D. 285 n.5  
 Daly, R.J. 268 nn.5, 8, 269  
 Darwin, C. 51 n.2  
 De Lorenzi, L. 178 n.1  
 Delebecque, E. 25  
 Delehay, H. 85 n.17  
 Delling, G. 46 n.23, 48 n.27  
 Delobel, J. 24 n.27  
 Delorme, J. 74 n.2  
 Detorakis, Th. 238 n.2  
 Devreesse, R. 286, 287 n.11, 290 n.19  
 Dibelius, M. 4, 12, 13 n.43, 86, 89 n.24, 90  
   n.39  
 Dodds, E.R. 205 n.45  
 Döllinger, I. 189  
 Dorival, G. 286  
 Downing, F.G. 65, 72 n.31  
 Drewermann, E. 24 n.29, 33  
 Drijvers, H.J.W. 262 n.77, 263 n.82, 296  
   n.12  
 Druon, H. 159 n.69  
 Druthmar, C. 232 n.42  
 Dschulnigg, P. 98 n.67  
 Dumiege, G. 185 n.16  
 Duplacy, J. 211 n.10  
 Dupont, J. 12 n.42, 31, 33, 34, 44 n.19, 59  
   n.1, 64, 91 n.50, 113 n.1  
 Eger, H. 275 n.36, 282 n.88  
 Ehrlich, E.L. 144 n.1  
 Elliott, J.K. 24  
 Ellis, E.E. 184 n.14  
 Erlemann, K. 34  
 Ernst, J. 32, 43 n.17  
 Esler, P.F. 31, 65  
 Fabricius, J. 228 nn.13, 16  
 Faivre, A. 158 n.67  
 Farmer, W.R. 21 n.15  
 Feine, P. 90  
 Festugière, A.J. 146 n.6, 205 n.42, 296 n.12  
 Fieger, M. 45 n.21, 99 n.73  
 Finegan, J. 89  
 Fitzmyer, J.A. 32, 53, 58 n.34, 65, 88, 90,  
   91 n.50, 178 n.1  
 Flamion, J. 216 n.32, 251 n.81  
 Foerster, W. 272 n.10  
 Ford, J.M. 33  
 Foucault, M. 253  
 Fournier, F. 222 n.40, 298 n.17  
 Fremantle, W.H. 157 n.65  
 Fretté, S. É. 284, 287, 288, 288 n.13  
 Freud, S. 162 n.72  
 Friedrichsen, T. 23 n.25  
 Fros, H. 229 n.19  
 Fuchs, E. 8 n.26  
 Furnish, V.P. 164 n.4  
 Geerard, M. 159 n.69, 199 n.20, 201 n.26,  
   204 n.36, 206 n.61, 239 n.2, 287 n.11  
 Geffcken, J. 171 n.26, 297 n.14  
 Genette, G. 74 n.2, 114 n.2, 203 n.35, 293  
 George, A. 31, 32, 43 n.17, 64, 91 n.50  
 Gerhardsson, B. 23  
 Gibert, P. 144 n.1  
 Gijssels, J. 229 n.19, 237 n.59  
 Gills, F. 108 n.6  
 Gnllka, J. 31, 64, 113 n.1, 116 n.8  
 Gnuse, R. 144 n.1  
 Godu, G. 173 n.36  
 Goetz, G. 229 n.18  
 Goguel, M. 165 n.9  
 Goldenberg, R. 184 n.15  
 Goodspeed, E.J. 4 n.12, 171 n.26  
 Görgemanns, H. 101 n.82  
 Goulder, M.D. 21–22  
 Graesse, J.G.T. 232 n.43  
 Green, H.B. 22 n.19  
 Greene, W.C. 251 n.80  
 Greenlee, J.H. 286  
 Greilsamer, L. 231 n.36  
 Gribomont, J. 229 n.19  
 Grobel, K. 89  
 Grundmann, W. 53  
 Grunebaum, G. von 144 n.1  
 Guéraud, O. 268 n.5, 269, 270  
 Gunkel, H. 21, 214  
 Haenchen, E. 13 n.43, 31 n.65, 43 n.15, 64  
 Hahn, F. 196 n.2  
 Hainz, J. 141 n.24  
 Hall, S.G. 268 n.5  
 Hampe, R. 47 n.26  
 Hanson, J.S. 144 n.1, 148  
 Harl, M. 271, 273 nn.18, 20, 274 n.25, 275  
   n.36

- Harnack, A. von 10 n.35, 102 n.84, 158 n.67, 172 nn.40, 41, 229, 230 n.24, 231, 267 n.1, 268 nn.4, 8, 278 n.62  
Harnisch, W. 44 n.19, 56 n.24  
Hata, G. 1 n.2, 172 n.29  
Haufe, G. 127  
Haulotte, E. 84 n.14  
Hauser, H.J. 113 n.1  
Hawkins, J.C. 91, 98 n.66  
Hay, D.M. 152 n.35  
Hayoun, M. 151 n.32  
Hedrick, C.W. 52 n.5, 53 n.12, 56 n.24  
Hegel, G.W.F. 51 n.2  
Heikel, I.A. 283 n.91  
Heil, G. 300 n.25  
Heinrici, G. 278 n.60  
Hengel, M. 182 n.9, 212  
Henrichs, A. 7 n.23  
Henrix, H.H. 189 n.28  
Henry, R. 213 n.18  
Herder, J.G. 214  
Hetzberg, H.W. 40 n.6  
Heussi, K. 271 n.4, 278 n.63  
Hierzenberger, G. 270 n.17  
Hilgenfeld, A. 229  
Hilgert, E. 152 n.35  
Hoek, A. van den 267 n.1  
Hoffmann, P. 23, 41  
Hoffmann, R.J. 102 n.84, 223  
Hogan, E. 237 n.60  
Holmes, P. 223 n.47  
Holtz, T. 113 n.1, 116  
Hornschuh, M. 251 nn.80, 81  
Hübner, H. 184 n.13
- James, M.R. 237 nn.59, 60  
Janzen, J.G. 221 n.37  
Jaubert, A. 170 n.23  
Jenkins, C. 268 n.7  
Jeremias, J. 90, 98 n.66, 259 n.63  
Jervell, J. 4 n.13, 28, 31 n.65, 61, 64, 73 n.32, 112 n.14, 169 n.19  
Jewett, R. 180 n.4  
Jonge, M. de 183 n.12  
Jülicher, A. 123, 125  
Jung, C.G. 148 n.21, 162 nn.73, 74  
Junod, É. 155 n.54, 205 n.46, 213 n.18, 214 n.21, 216 n.32, 246 n.51, 253 nn.1, 3, 257 n.43, 267 n.1, 268 n.4
- Kaestli, J.-D. 13 n.47, 43 n.17, 53 n.12, 155 n.54, 167 n.14, 173 n.33, 199 n.21, 205 n.46, 213 nn.18, 21, 216 n.32, 241 n.16, 246 n.51, 257 n.43, 267 n.1, 296
- Kaibel, G. 147 n.16  
Kampling, R. 191 n.33  
Karpp, H. 101 n.82  
Karris, R.J. 33, 91  
Käsemann, E. 133 bis, 142 n.27, 178 n.1, 180 n.5  
Kasser, R. 25 n.35, 210 n.5  
Kelber, W. 26 n.39  
Kennedy, G.A. 74 n.2, 93 n.58  
Kermode, F. 74 n.2  
Klauck, H.-J. 250 n.74  
Klawek, A. 231, 233 n.46  
Klein, G. 7, 43 n.17, 185 n.17  
Klinghardt, M. 30, 62 n.9, 65  
Kloppenborg, J.S. 23, 41 n.10, 137 n.20  
Knopf, R. 283 n.90  
Koenen, L. 7 n.23  
Koester, H. 1 n.3, 20 n.6, 23, 35 n.80, 51, 101 n.83, 181 n.7, 224 n.51, 238 n.1, 250 n.75  
Korger, M.E. 159 n.70  
Körtner, U.H.J. 171 n.25  
Krikones, C. 286  
Krüger, G. 6 n.20, 173 n.32  
Kuhli, H. 180 n.6  
Kümmel, W.G. 209 n.1  
Kundera, M. 231
- L'Eplattenier, C. 27, 92  
Labourt, J. 100 n.76  
Labriolle, P. de 10 n.36, 156 n.63, 232 n.39  
Lagrange, M.-J. 175 n.48, 299 n.22  
Lake, K. 156 n.60  
Lamartine, A. de 232 n.37  
Lamouille, A. 25, 216 n.31  
Layton, B. 251 n.76  
Leclercq, H. 173 n.36  
Leenhardt, F.J. 134, 141 n.25, 178 n.1  
Leloir, L. 74 n.1, 222 n.42, 243 n.31, 244 n.33  
Lemche, N.P. 180 n.3  
Léon-Dufour, X. 91 n.50  
Légasse, S. 138 n.22  
Lévi-Strauss, C. 20, 74 n.2  
Linnemann, E. 55 n.21  
Lipsius, R. 209, 229, 230 n.23, 251 n.79, 269 n.12  
Lobrichon, G. 284 n.2  
Logi, E. 285 n.5  
Lohfink, G. 66 n.21  
Louis, T. 109 n.10  
Lührmann, D. 23, 41  
Luz, U. 42 nn.13, 14, 106 n.1, 110 n.13, 208 n.60

- Lyonnet, S. 178 n.1  
 MacDonald, D.R. 199 nn.20, 22, 238, 239  
     nn.2, 3  
 MacRae, G.W. 9 n.31  
 Mai, A. 287 n.12  
 Mainville, O. 20  
 Mara, M.G. 99 n.71  
 Marjanen, A. 13 n.50  
 Marquez, G.G. 231 n.37  
 Marrou, H.-I. 93 n.58  
 Marshall, I.H. 43 n.17  
 Martin, V. 25 n.35, 210 n.5  
 Martin-Achard, R. 20 n.10  
 März, C.P. 38 n.1  
 McKnight, E.V. 21 n.13  
 McNamara, M. 237 n.60  
 Meeks, W.A. 135 n.8  
 Melanchthon, P. 33  
 Ménard, J.E. 99 n.73  
 Menoud, P.H. 31, 182 n.10  
 Merkel, H. 65, 73 n.34, 176 n.49, 210 n.8,  
     214 n.22, 222 n.40, 223 n.43, 298 nn.20,  
     21, 299 nn.22, 23  
 Metzger, B.M. 24, 100 n.80, 170 n.22, 296  
     n.13  
 Meyer, A. 230  
 Meynet, R. 19 n.4, 27–28, 53, 92  
 Michel, C. 230 n.29, 296 n.10  
 Mill, J. 209 n.1  
 Miller, P.C. 144 n.1  
 Moessner, D.P. 34  
 Möhler, J.A. 51 n.2  
 Momigliano, A.D. 179 n.2  
 Monceaux, P. 6 n.20  
 Moreau, J. 85 n.15  
 Morgenthaler, C. 144 n.1  
 Mounin, G. 27  
 Mowinckel, S. 23  
 Müller, C. 178 n.1  
 Müller, C.D.G. 296 nn.5, 7, 11  
 Müller, U.B. 65  
 Munier, C. 12 n.41  
 Murdoch, W.R. 9 n.31  
 Mussies, G. 119 n.15  
 Mußner, F. 178 n.1, 188 n.22  
 Musurillo, H. 6 n.20  
 Neyrey, J. 91  
 Nichols, A. 285 nn.5, 6  
 Nola, A. di 231, 233 n.46  
 Norelli, E. 9 n.29, 98 n.68, 155 n.52, 172  
     nn.40, 41, 191 n.32, 260 n.71, 296, 296 n.7  
 O'Neill, J.C. 31, 64  
 O'Toole, R.F. 33  
 Oden, R.A. 147 n.15  
 Oepke, A. 144 n.1, 145 n.5, 147 n.16, 152–  
     53  
 Opitz, H.G. 274 n.27, 281 n.85  
 Orbe, A. 101 n.83  
 Osty, E. 91 n.50  
 Overbeck, F. 4, 169 n.17, 210, 272 n.7, 276  
     n.43, 277, 278 nn.61, 62, 280, 280 n.76  
 Panier, L. 107 n.3  
 Pattison, M. 285 n.5  
 Paulsen, H. 101 n.83  
 Pawlikowski, J.T. 189 n.28  
 Peeters, P. 230 n.29, 232 n.40  
 Pelikan, J. 14 n.57  
 Pérès, J.-N. 296 n.5  
 Périchon, P. 222 n.40, 272 n.9, 298 n.17  
 Perry, A.M. 91  
 Pervo, R.I. 20, 199 n.20  
 Petersen, W.L. 100 n.80, 296 n.13  
 Petzke, G. 24, 33–34, 54 n.17  
 Piédagnel, A. 12 n.39  
 Pierre, M.-J. 7 n.22  
 Piontek, F. 267 n.1  
 Piper, R.A. 24 n.27  
 Pistelli, E. 228 n.12  
 Plümacher, E. 199 n.20  
 Poffet, J.-M. 167 n.14  
 Postel, G. 228 nn.14, 16, 229, 236  
 Poupon, G. 156 n.62, 257 n.33, 259 nn.60,  
     63  
 Prete, B. 113 n.1  
 Preuschen, E. 211 n.9  
 Prieur, J.-M. 174 n.43, 201 n.29, 205 n.43,  
     206 n.51, 213 n.17, 238, 238 n.1, 239 nn.3,  
     4, 244 n.32, 251 n.80, 261 n.72, 298 n.18  
 Prigent, P. 138 n.23  
 Puech, H.-C. 99 n.72, 251 n.76  
 Quasten, J. 159 n.69  
 Quispel, G. 222 n.39  
 Rabelais, F. 146 n.7  
 Radl, W. 117 n.14  
 Räisänen, H. 178 n.1

- Rauer, M. 286  
 Redalié, Y. 166 n.10  
 Refoulé, F. 178 n.1, 188 n.22  
 Rehkopf, F. 90, 98 n.66  
 Rehm, B. 174 n.41  
 Rendtorff, R. 189 n.28  
 Rengstorff, K.H. 135 n.11  
 Resch, A. 220  
 Rese, M. 90  
 Reuss, J. 286, 287, 287 n.12, 288 nn.13, 14, 289, 290, 286  
 Reymond, P. 8 n.26  
 Richardson, E.C. 158 n.66  
 Riché, P. 284 n.2  
 Riesenfeld, H. 53 n.14  
 Riley, G. 13 n.46  
 Rilke, R.M. 232 n.37  
 Ritter, A.M. 300 n.25  
 Robert, P. 114 n.3  
 Roberts, C.H. 36, 212 n.11  
 Robinson, J.M. 41, 250 n.75  
 Rolfe, J.C. 147 n.17  
 Rolland, P. 22  
 Roloff, J. 143 n.29  
 Rordorf, W. 9 n.32, 269 n.12  
 Rosenstiehl, J.-M. 151 n.32  
 Rousseau, A. 172 n.28  
 Rücker, A. 286  
 Ruckstuhl, E. 98 n.67  
 Ruhbach, G. 6 n.20, 173 n.32  
 Ruwet, J. 267 n.1, 268 n.4  
 Ryder, T.D. 285 nn.5, 6  
  
 Salaverri, J. 272 n.7, 277, 278 n.58, 282 nn.88, 89  
 Salo, K. 31, 62 n.8, 65  
 Sanders, J.T. 29–30, 65, 112 n.14  
 Sanneron, S. 144 n.1  
 Santos Otero, A. de 85 n.16, 237 n.59  
 Sartre, J.-P. 29  
 Sato, M. 24 n.27, 41–42  
 Sauget, J.-M. 286 n.10  
 Savinel, P. 152 n.33  
 Scheemelcher, W. 268 n.4, 297 n.15  
 Scheidweiler, F. 296 n.9  
 Schelkle, K.H. 178 n.1, 189 n.27  
 Schiffman, L.H. 57 n.29  
 Schlatter, A. 90  
 Schmidt, K.-L. 135 n.8  
 Schmithals, W. 6 n.21, 224 n.51  
 Schnackenburg, R. 134  
 Schneemelcher, W. 155 n.52, 257 n.34, 296 n.9  
 Schneider, G. 32, 53 n.12, 60 n.5, 69 n.28, 169 n.20  
 Schoedel, W.R. 101 n.83  
 Schottroff, L. 33  
 Schramm, T. 90, 98 n.66  
 Schreckenber, H. 191 n.33  
 Schürmann, H. 23, 32, 98 n.66  
 Schüssler Fiorenza, E. 12 n.38, 14 n.52  
 Schwab, M. 184 n.15  
 Schwartz, E. 271 nn.1, 4, 273 n.22, 277 n.54, 278 n.61  
 Schweizer, E. 19 n.3, 53 n.7, 56 n.26, 90, 90 n.31, 98 n.66, 134, 143 n.29  
 Searle, J.R. 45 n.20  
 Seferis, G. 146 n.7  
 Segal, A.F. 190 n.30  
 Segbroeck, F. van 58 n.34, 65, 67 n.23  
 Segond, L. 186 n.18  
 Senft, C. 178 n.1, 188 n.24, 270 n.17  
 Senior, D. 90  
 Sgherri, G. 268 nn.5, 8, 269  
 Sickenberger, J. 286  
 Siegert, F. 178 n.1, 287 n.19  
 Silberman, L. 215  
 Silva, M. 184 n.14  
 Simon, M. 158 n.66, 221 n.38  
 Sirinelli, J. 271, 272, 272 nn.6, 8, 273 nn.15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 274, 274 nn.25, 32, 275 n.36, 276 nn.42, 43, 44, 48, 49, 277 n.51, 278 n.65, 279 nn.67, 71, 280 n.74, 281, 282, 282 nn.86, 87  
 Skeat, T.C. 36, 212 n.11  
 Smalley, B. 284 n.2  
 Smid, H.R. 228 n.15, 231, 233 n.45  
 Smith, M. 222 n.42, 246 n.52  
 Smith, R.P. 198 n.18, 286 n.10  
 Soards, M.L. 90, 92, 93  
 Söder, R. 205  
 Spada, C.A. 267 nn.1, 3  
 Spicq, C. 56 n.27, 284 n.2  
 Stagg, F. 31  
 Stahl, W. 148 n.20  
 Starobinski, J. 20 n.10, 74 n.2  
 Stegemann, W. 33  
 Steinmann, J. 107 n.2  
 Strecker, G. 99 n.69, 100 nn.74, 75, 174 nn.21, 22, 295 nn.3, 4  
 Streeter, B.H. 91, 214 n.23  
 Strycker, E. de 227–29, 229 n.19, 236 n.57  
  
 Talbert, C.H. 19 n.4, 26–27, 28, 92  
 Taniguchi, Y. 299 n.24, 300 n.26  
 Tannehill, R.C. 19 n.4, 27, 28, 92

- Tardieu, M. 14 n.56, 205 n.40  
 Taylor, V. 91, 92 n.57  
 Testuz, M. 212 n.13, 228 n.11, 231  
 Thackeray, H. St. J. 151 n.27  
 Theissen, G. 40 n.7, 108 n.7  
 Thilo, J.C. 229  
 Tischendorf, K. von 209, 228 n.13, 229, 270 n.18  
 Ton, G. del 272 n.5, 277 n.57, 282 n.88  
 Tonneau, R. 286 n.10  
 Torrell, J.-P. 285 n.6  
 Tournier, M. 231 n.37  
 Treu, U. 297 n.14  
 Trocmé, É. 89 n.25  
 Troeltsch, E. 31  
 Tuckett, C.M. 22 n.19  
 Tuillier, A. 9 n.32  
 Tyson, J.B. 91  
  
 Uhlig, S. 39 n.4  
 Untergassmair, F.G. 78 n.7, 90  
 Usener, H. 255 n.21  
  
 Vaganay, L. 25, 210 n.6, 212 n.12, 216 n.31  
 Vanhoye, A. 86, 91 n.50  
 Vermes, G. 150 n.26  
 Vidal-Naquet, P. 215  
 Vielhauer, P. 32, 64 n.11, 99 n.69, 100 nn.74, 75, 295 n.4  
 Vischer, L. 176 n.50  
 Visona, G. 101 n.83  
 Voelker, W. 279 n.70, 280 n.75, 282 n.87  
 Voicu, S. 254 n.8  
  
 Vouaux, L. 173 n.35, 257 n.44, 258 n.54, 268 n.4, 297 n.15  
 Vouga, F. 65, 133 n.5  
  
 Wallace-Hadrill, D.S. 271 n.1, 274 nn.25, 28, 278 n.58, 280 n.72, 281 nn.77, 84, 85  
 Wanke, J. 180 n.3  
 Warren, D.H. 4 n.11  
 Wartelle, A. 171 n.27  
 Weaver, D.J. 196 n.2  
 Weder, H. 56 n.25  
 Weinreich, O. 259 n.63  
 Weiser, A. 154 n.51  
 Weiss, B. 90  
 White, R.J. 146 n.6  
 Widengren, G. 6 n.21  
 Widmer, G. 59 n.1  
 Wiefel, W. 88  
 Wilckens, U. 178 n.1, 185 n.17  
 Wills, L.M. 32 n.68  
 Wilson, R. McL. 99 n.73, 201 n.28, 202 n.32  
 Wilson, S.G. 31, 65, 73 n.33  
 Wolff, C. 221 n.37  
 Wright, W. 286 n.10  
  
 Yorke, G.L.O.R. 141 n.24  
  
 Zahn, T. 255 n.21, 256 n.26  
 Zeller, D. 24 n.27  
 Zimmerman, H. 52 n.5  
 Zingg, P. 31  
 Zumstein, J. 167 nn.14, 15  
 Zycha, J. 159 n.70

## Index of Subjects

- Adaptation of sources 213–15  
Afterlife 253–66  
Agency 7–9, 15, 204, 206–7  
Allegory 123–31  
Animal 200, 203–4, 235  
Apocalypticism 51–58  
Apocryphal literature 20, 98–101, 199–208,  
209–25, 267–70, 293–301  
Apostle 1–16, 163–77, 195–208, 238–52,  
276–78  
Asceticism 71, 201  
Athos 209–25  
Authority 201  
Autobiographical statement 233
- Beatitudes 220–21  
Behavior 202  
Birth 226–37  
Byzantium 284–92
- Canon law 71  
Canon 163–77, 209–25, 293–301  
Characters 79–82  
Christian apocrypha 20, 98–101, 199–208,  
209–25, 267–70, 293–301  
Christian life 68–71  
Church 132–43, 278–81  
Citation 113–19, 267–70  
Climate 38–50  
Codicology 209–25  
Commentary 196–99  
Constantine Era 271–83  
Conversion 67, 239–49  
Cosmology 271–73  
Creation 271–73  
Cross 84
- Day 76–79  
Death 85, 202  
Divine will 77  
Dream 144–62
- Ecclesiology 132–43  
Ecumenism 284, 292
- Election 178–91  
Elements 235  
Elimination of sources 213–15  
Emendation 221–24  
Emmaus 78  
End of a writing 245  
Eschatology 235–52, 267–70  
Ethic 202  
Eyes 234
- Faith 67  
Fall 273–75  
Farewell speech 243–45  
Food 200–1  
Fulfillment 113–19
- Gentiles 113–19  
Geography 40–41  
Gnosticism 25–51  
God 56–58, 77, 178–91  
Good 117–18  
Gospel 163–77, 209–25
- History of interpretation 34–35, 195–208,  
284–92, 295–98  
History of reception 34–35, 195–208, 284–  
92, 295–98  
History of salvation 271–83  
History 106–12, 236, 271–83  
Holy Spirit 67–68, 113–19  
Hour 78  
House 76–78  
Human will 77
- I (personal pronoun) 233  
Imitation 215–17  
Immobility 226–37  
Information 5–8  
Instant 234–35  
Integrity of texts 221–24  
Israel 113–19, 178–91
- Jerusalem 75–76  
Jesus, the historical Jesus 106–12

- Jesus' birth 226–37  
 Jesus Christ 276–78  
 Jewish wisdom literature 250  
 Judaism 28–32, 113–19, 178–91  
  
 Kingdom of God 271–83  
  
 Law 59–63, 71, 107–8, 273–75  
 Life 238–52  
 Literary analysis 26–28  
 Liturgy 88–89  
 Luke–Acts  
   – narrator 86–87  
   – Special material 23–24, 51–58  
   – text 24–26  
   – theology 32–34  
  
 Manuscripts 36–37, 209–25  
 Martyrdom 201, 206, 253–66  
 Mary the mother 14–15  
 Means 204, 206–7  
 Mediation 7–9, 204, 206–7  
 Medieval exegesis 284–92  
 Memory 1–16  
 Metaphor 123–31, 203–4  
 Middle Ages 284–92  
 Miracle 108–9, 253–66  
 Mission 195–208, 247–50  
 Money 197–98, 200–1  
 Moses 107–8  
 Mount Athos 209–25  
 Mount Olives 77  
 Movement 233–35  
  
 New Testament 293–301  
 News 5–8  
 Night 76–78  
 Non-canonical writings, 267–70  
  
 Objects 83–84  
 Oral 267–70  
  
 Paleography 209–25  
 Parable 123–31, 203  
 Passion narrative 74–105  
 Passover 76, 78  
 Patristic exegesis 284–92, 293–301  
 Paul 178–91  
 Pauline theology 178–91  
 Place 75–79  
 Place of the Skull 77  
 Platonism 251–52  
 Poverty 197–98, 200–1, 206  
  
 Power 201, 204–6, 253–66  
 Pragmatics 129–30  
 Prayer 51–58  
 Preaching 253–66  
 Present time 280–82  
 Prophecy 108–9  
  
 Q 41–48, 137–38  
 Quotation 113–19, 267–70  
  
 Redaction 21–24  
 Religious fear 235  
 Ritual 70, 253–66  
  
 Sabbat 79  
 Sacrament 253–66  
 Salary 197–98, 200–1  
 Salvation 65  
 Scripture, Scriptures Holy Scripture 106–  
   12, 113–19, 300–1  
 Scripture–Tradition, 300–1  
 Selection of sources 213–15  
 Sending 199–200  
 Sermon 253–66  
 Service 132–43  
 Shepherd 235  
 Silence 233  
 Skull 77  
 Source of the logia 41–48, 137–38  
 Source, sources 92–98, 213–15, 215–17  
 Speak 118–19  
 Speech 118–19, 239–45, 253–66  
 Spirit 67–68, 113–19  
 Spiritual life 253–66  
 Stewardship 132–43  
 Structure Gospel–Apostle, 163–77  
 Suffering 201, 207–8, 253–66  
 Suspension of time 226–37  
 Synoptic Gospels 209–25  
 Synoptic problem 21–24  
  
 Temple 84  
 Temptation 106–7, 109–11  
 Textual criticism 209–25  
 Theology of glory 195–208  
 Theology of the cross 195–208  
 Time 43–48, 75–79, 226–37, 271–83  
 Tradition, traditions 21–24, 300–1  
 Transmission 209–25  
  
 Usefulness 186–88  
  
 Vengeance 202

Victory 132–43  
Vision 144–62, 226–37  
Voice 267–70

Wages 197–98, 200–1  
Weakness 206, 253–66  
Weather 38–50

Well 117–18  
Will 77  
Wind 38–50  
*Wirkungsgeschichte*, 34–35, 195–208, 284–92  
Wisdom literature 250  
Word, words 238–52, 253–66  
Written 267–70

# Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

## *Alphabetical Index of the First and Second Series*

- Ådna, Jostein: Jesu Stellung zum Tempel. 2000. *Volume II/119*.
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