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340



The History of Religions School Today

Essays on the New Testament and Related Ancient
Mediterranean Texts

Edited by

Thomas R. Blanton IV
Robert Matthew Calhoun
Clare K. Rothschild

Mohr Siebeck

Thomas R. Blanton IV, born 1968; 1991 BA (Psychology) University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; 1994 M.T.S. Duke Divinity School; 2006 Ph.D. (Biblical Studies) Divinity School, The University of Chicago; currently teaches at the Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago.

Robert Matthew Calhoun, born 1971; The University of Chicago. Humanities Division, Department of New Testament and Early Christian Literature; Ph.D. 2011.

Clare K. Rothschild, born 1964; 1986 BA University of California, Berkeley 1992 MTS Harvard University; 2003 PhD University of Chicago; currently Associate Professor of Theology at Lewis University, Romeoville, IL.

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With sincere gratitude to our mentor and friend,
Hans Dieter Betz

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In his book, *Consilience: The Unity of All Knowledge* (Knopf, 1998) evolutionary biologist Edward O. Wilson argues that one grand scheme explains and unites everything that human beings know and can know. The author describes his initial captivation by this idea as *Ionian enchantment*. He explains the experience in Chapter 1 of the book as follows:

Preferring a search for objective reality over revelation is another way of satisfying religious hunger. It is an endeavor almost as old as civilization and intertwined with traditional religion, but it follows a very different course – a stoic's creed, an acquired taste, a guidebook to adventure plotted across rough terrain. It aims to save the spirit, not by surrender but by liberation of the human mind. Its central tenet, as Einstein knew, is the unification of knowledge. When we have unified enough certain knowledge, we will understand who we are and why we are here. If those committed to the quest fail, they will be forgiven. When lost, they will find another way. The moral imperative of humanism is the endeavor alone, whether successful or not, provided the effort is honorable and failure memorable. The ancient Greeks expressed the idea in a myth of vaulting ambition. Daedalus escapes from Crete with his son Icarus on wings he has fashioned from feathers and wax. Ignoring the warnings of his father, Icarus flies toward the sun, whereupon his wings come apart and he falls into the sea. That is the end of Icarus in the myth. But we are left to wonder: Was he just a foolish boy? Did he pay the price for hubris, for pride in sight of the gods? I like to think that on the contrary his daring represents a saving human grace. And so the great astrophysicist Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar could pay tribute to the spirit of his mentor, Sir Arthur Eddington, by saying: Let us see how high we can fly before the sun melts the wax in our wings.

To my mind, Wilson's expression of the almost religious enchantment of scientific discovery captures well the humanistic, daring spirit of honorable challenge and wonder Betz fosters among students at Chicago. This volume is dedicated with utmost admiration and respect to our mentor and friend, Professor Hans Dieter Betz (Shailer Mathews Professor Emeritus of New Testament in the Divin-

ity School, the Department of New Testament and Early Christian Literature, and the Committee on the Ancient Mediterranean World) in the hope that it fosters dialogue of the things discussed.

Clare K. Rothschild (for the Editors)

Chicago, April 1, 2014

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	VII
Abbreviations and References	XI

CLARE K. ROTHSCHILD

Introduction	1
------------------------	---

Part One: New Testament

Paul

MARK REASONER

Paul's God of Peace in Canonical and Political Perspectives	13
---	----

ROBERT MATTHEW CALHOUN

Romans 1:18–32 among Ancient Accounts of the Origin of Religion	27
---	----

MEIRA Z. KENSKY

The “Hymnic” Conclusion to Romans 11	73
--	----

Deutero-Pauline Literature

JEFFREY R. ASHER

Missiles, Demagogues, and the Devil: The Rhetoric of Slander in Ephesians 6:16	89
---	----

Gospels/Acts

LAURIE BRINK

Going the Extra Mile: Reading Matt 5:41 Literally and Metaphorically	111
--	-----

DAVID G. MONACO

The Rhetoric of Narrative in Acts 8:26–40: Ramifications of the Baptism of the Ethiopian Eunuch for the Author of Luke-Acts	129
--	-----

Apocalypse

PAUL B. DUFF

The Scroll, the Temple, and the Great City: The Crisis in the Asian
Assemblies and the Interlude of Rev 10:1–11:13 145

Jewish Christianity

MATT JACKSON-MCCABE

Orthodoxy, Heresy, and Jewish Christianity: Reflections on Categories
in Edwin Broadhead's *Jewish Ways of Following Jesus* 169

JEFFREY A. TRUMBOWER

Christians, Sabbateans, and the Dead Sea Sect: A Comparative Case Study
in Jewish Sectarian Logic 185

Part Two: Related Ancient Mediterranean Texts

CLARE K. ROTHSCHILD

Παιδεία as Solution to *Stasis* in *1 Clement* 199

MATTHIJS DEN DULK and ANDREW M. LANGFORD

Polycarp and Polemo: Christianity at the Center of the Second Sophistic . . 211

ANNETTE BOURLAND HUIZENGA

On Choosing a Wet-Nurse: Physical, Cultural and Moral Credentials 241

JUSTIN R. HOWELL

Lucian's *Hermotimus*: A Fictive Dialogue with Marcus Aurelius 253

THOMAS R. BLANTON IV

De caelo patrocinium: The Economy of Divine Patronage
in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* 283

Bibliography 297

List of Contributors 325

Indices 327

References 327

Modern Authors 355

Subjects 364

Introduction

CLARE K. ROTHSCHILD

I. Introduction

The present volume offers a glimpse at just one albeit thriving expression of the distinguished *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* begun circa 1884 at the University of Göttingen in Germany. Today applications of this approach to biblical texts made famous on the New Testament side by scholars like A. Eichhorn, W. Bousset, J. Weiß, W. Wrede, and others are diverse. Scholars young and old, liberal and conservative, all over the world ply this comparative method in the interest of biblical interpretation. German scholars convene over the topic regularly. The new publication, *Reflections on the Early Christian History of Religion*, is just one manifestation of this ongoing dialogue.¹ In North America, no one would dispute that the University of Chicago has long been a hub of this type of scholarly investigation. Although a number of Chicago faculty over the last century have indulged facets of the history of religions approach, undoubtedly the most touted in this regard is Hans Dieter Betz. If best known for his work on the implications of ancient rhetoric for New Testament interpretation, five volumes of collected essays, plus important books and monographs, demonstrate his vital commitment to exploring early Christian literature from so-called history of religions' viewpoints.² Not only did Betz pursue this line of inquiry in his own research, but – in almost forty years of teaching – he trained numerous students to do so. Two outstanding Festschrift volumes sample the industry.³ As contributors to the

¹ Cilliers Breytenbach and Jörg Frey, ed., *Reflections on the Early Christian History of Religion/ Erwägungen zur frühchristlichen Religionsgeschichte* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013).

² For a comprehensive bibliography of the works of Hans Dieter Betz, see *Antiquity and Humanity: Essays on Ancient Religion and Philosophy* (ed. A. Y. Collins and M. M. Mitchell; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 501–12. Since 2001, Betz's work has continued unabated and additional volumes have appeared: *Gottesbegegnung und Menschwerdung: Zur religionsgeschichtlichen und theologischen Bedeutung der 'Mithrasliturgie'* (PGM IV.475–820) (Hans Lietzmann Vorlesungen 6; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001); *The "Mithras Liturgy": Text, Translation, and Commentary* (STAC 18; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003); *Paulinische Theologie und Religionsgeschichte: Gesammelte Aufsätze V* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009).

³ Festschrift #1 = *Ancient and Modern Perspectives on the Bible and Culture: Essays in Honor of*

present volume note, however, these impressive works were published while Betz was still teaching. They do not, therefore, include the last cohort Betz trained. What is more, although the approach has remained essentially intact for more than a century (a testament to its enduring value), it has never been without rivals and opponents. Recently, attacks have flared warranting a response. The present volume attempts to address these two *desiderata*. It is neither a Festschrift *per se*, nor a volume dedicated solely to method. Rather, it is a collection of essays in which a handful of Betz's most recent 'generation' of students plies the history of religions school together with other historical-critical methods as a means of not necessarily discussing, but *demonstrating* various ways in which it is being used and adapted. No single adaptation is identical to another. As we will see, however, a few distinct themes are traceable throughout the studies.

II. History of Religions School

It might be helpful to begin by clarifying what the history of religions school is, particularly vis-à-vis the so-called historical-critical method. Although the two are sometimes indiscriminately referred to as one and the same, the history of religions school's approach to the interpretation of biblical texts is only one in a group of critical approaches to biblical texts often referred to today by the umbrella term, 'historical-critical method(s)'. Somewhat ironically, the history of religions school approach originated as a *reaction* to literary approaches such as source and form criticism now appreciated alongside it. Furthermore, as Gerald Seelig has shown, today the "history of religions school" is variously understood. Sometimes it refers to a highly dogmatic way of reconstructing the history of a religion. Gerd Lüdemann and others in Göttingen undertake such work.⁴ The term "new history of religions school" has been applied to the work of Martin Hengel, Larry Hurtado,⁵ and others – rather different from the work of Lüdemann and others in Göttingen. The methods Hans Dieter Betz uses and teaches offer yet another iteration of the history of religions school today.⁶ Since definitions of the method are slippery, the position this volume represents is explained next.

Hans Dieter Betz (ed. Adela Yarbro Collins; Scholars Press Homage Series; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars, 1998); Festschrift #2 = *Antiquity and Humanity* (see n. 1).

⁴ Gerald Seelig, *Religionsgeschichtliche Methode in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart: Studien zur Geschichte und Methode des religionsgeschichtlichen Vergleichs in der neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft* (ABG 7; Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2001), 151–76.

⁵ Larry Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003).

⁶ See Jörg Frey, "Eine neue religionsgeschichtliche Perspektive: Larry W. Hurtados 'Lord Jesus Christ' und die Herausbildung der frühen Christologie," in Breitenbach and Frey, *Reflections on the Early Christian History of Religion*, 117–70.

First and foremost, *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* implies that Christianity, with an emphasis on Christian religion or cult (as opposed to doctrine), is the object of pioneering research devoid, to the extent possible, of dogmatic presuppositions, and specifying presuppositions that cannot be suspended. Its primary interest is historical phenomena that developed over time within a variety of concrete Christian communities usefully compared to other roughly contemporaneous religious and non-religious groups. Among such groups, practitioners of this method typically assume a level of syncretism. The canon is not privileged in terms of its representation of the early Christian communities. Literary criticism and tradition history – active demurrals of the original school (as noted above) – is almost always incorporated in contemporary applications. Frequently, but not always, connections to dimensions of the field of Classics are made.

III. Some Objections

All of these approaches – frequently dubbed ‘historical-critical’ – have been the subject of recent public attack. While objections to historical-critical scholarship are by no means uniform, postmodern challengers object unanimously to the following ideas: (a) textual meaning as an ideal; (b) primacy of the authorial voice in interpretation; (c) commitment to the concept or concepts of truth; and (d) the history under investigation as ancient and not our own (personal or collective).⁷ A general accusation is that anyone utilizing a form of comparative interpretation is guilty of naive optimism. Walter Grundmann, Martin Hengel, Jörg Frey, *et alii* have been criticized.⁸ History itself is considered a byproduct of the nationalist and colonialist age. To purify the scholarly discourse, the idea is that it must be purged of any and all elements of nationalism and colonialism.

To be sure, in every generation, the academy must vigilantly guard against the effects of larger ideological discourses on its work. In this work, many regard scholars such as Rudolf Bultmann and Martin Hengel as earning high marks. Bultmann’s critical application of form criticism to the Synoptic Gospels and Hengel’s seminal investigation of Judaism vis-à-vis Hellenism are lauded for breathtaking diversity, deep immersion in the widest possible range of primary sources, and incisive critical acumen.⁹ Distinguished scholars including feminists and poststructuralists such as Elisabeth Schüssler-Fiorenza and Elizabeth Clark

⁷ George Aichele, Peter Miscall and Richard Walsh, “An Elephant in the Room: Historical-Critical and Postmodern Interpretations of the Bible,” *JBL* 128 (2009): 383–404.

⁸ Todd Penner and Davina C. Lopez, “Homelessness as a Way Home: A Methodological Reflection and Proposal,” in *Holy Land as Homeland? Models for Constructing the Historic Landscapes of Jesus* (ed. Keith W. Whitelam; Sheffield, England: Sheffield-Phoenix Press, 2011) 151–76.

⁹ “A New Introduction,” in Wilhelm Bousset, *Kyrios Christos: A History of the Belief in Christ from the Beginnings of Christianity to Irenaeus* (trans. J. E. Steeley; repr.; Waco: Baylor University

praise the liberation historical criticism brought. Together these men and women have, in their own individual ways, built upon the progress made by previous scholars. This point is lost on opponents advocating the demolition of the old foundation to lay a new (non-) foundation of scholarly discourse.¹⁰ As Margaret Mitchell argues (and exemplifies) in her book on Paul's art of hermeneutical interpretation in 1 Corinthians,¹¹ continuity exists between ancient scholars and post-Renaissance inquiries into Christian origins. Contemporary historical-critical scholarship is positioned in a grand arch of historical scholarship and, to this grand arch, self-assessment and criticism are integral. The landmark works of Albert Schweitzer on the historical Jesus (1906, 1910) and E. P. Sanders on Paul (1977) are cases in point. Both argue that existing scholarship fails to examine itself adequately. William Baird's *History of New Testament Research*¹² (or other similar works) often accurately situates historical-critical scholarship in an unflattering light.¹³

Thankfully, movements objecting to historical criticism(s) did not sweep the guild of Biblical Studies rendering older methods obsolete, as they did in departments of literature across North America in the 1990's.¹⁴ Rather, historical methods have continued in force across a full spectrum of international scholarship. As a result, the study of the New Testament and early Christian literature is

Press, 2013), v–xix; L. W. Hurtado, "Martin Hengel's Impact on English-Speaking Scholarship," *ExpTim* 120 (2008): 70–76.

¹⁰ See John J. Collins, *The Bible After Babel: Historical Criticism in a Postmodern Age* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005).

¹¹ *Paul, the Corinthians and the Birth of Christian Hermeneutics* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

¹² *History of New Testament Research* (3 vols.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992–2013). Note esp. the third volume, a survey "from C. H. Dodd to Hans Dieter Betz."

¹³ On the other hand, objections to postmodern approaches to biblical studies often include the following: (a) Postmodern scholars are only interested in biography: talking about themselves; they are not interested in other, ancient, historical people or groups. (b) Historical-critical methods are perfectly suitable tools for answering the kinds of questions historians ask. (c) Likewise, post-methodologies are not helpful for answering the kinds of questions we want to ask. (d) Postmodern approaches to biblical studies lack philological rigor. (e) Postmodern approaches to biblical studies reflect naiveté concerning both philosophy and literary criticism.

¹⁴ The group includes very respectable, critically trained scholars such as Michael C. Legaspi, the recipient of a Templeton Prize for Theological Promise. Recently, he published, *The Death of Scripture and the Rise of Biblical Studies* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010). In Great Britain, the Templeton Foundation and Oxford University Press are powerful financial backers of this trend. In North America, Fortress is a major champion of the approach. The following Fortress publications participate in the discussion: Yvonne Sherwood and Stephen Moore, *The Invention of the Biblical Scholar* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2011); Joseph Marchal, ed., *Studying Paul's Letters: Contemporary Perspectives and Methods* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012); and Christopher Stanley, *The Colonized Apostle: Paul in Postcolonial Eyes* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2011). Prior publications, such as Hector Avalos, *The End of Biblical Studies* (New York: Prometheus Books, 2007) and Jonathan Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible: Translation, Scholarship, Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005) have also played important roles in this conversation.

largely unaffected by the method-exhaustion that literature and other neighboring fields experience today. At a time when scholars of Islam, such as Gabriel Said Reynolds,¹⁵ influenced by the venerable tradition in Biblical Studies, are making significant inroads into questions about the Qur'an and life of Muhammad, scholars of early Christianity should hardly move *away* from, but seek to sharpen the methods, questions, and conclusions they pioneered.

IV. Present Volume

This collection of papers represents practitioners of the history of religions and historical-critical approaches to the study of early Christianity at work. The volume has five parts: Paul, Deutero-Pauline letters, Gospels/ Acts, Jewish Christianity, and Related Ancient Mediterranean texts.

New Testament

Paul

As one would expect given Betz's rich legacy to Pauline studies, four of this volume's essays are dedicated to Paul and deutero-Pauline letters. The first essay, "Paul's God of Peace in Canonical and Political Perspectives," by Mark Reasoner (Marian University) considers Paul's phrase "God of peace" which occurs four times in the undisputed letters. The phrase is not attested in the LXX, and only rarely occurs in the pseudepigrapha. Reasoner asks why Paul uses the expression "God of peace." Similar expressions in 1 Cor 14:33 and 2 Cor 13:11 demonstrate that such phrases can be used as slogans for the domestic politics of church life. Paul's phrase "God of peace" appearing near the end of 1 Thessalonians, Philippians, and Romans, however, combines Paul's reading and interpretation of scripture with his exposure to political propaganda celebrating Roman peace.

In "Romans 1:18–32 among Ancient Accounts of the Origin of Religion," Robert Matthew Calhoun (Houston, Tex.) sets out to explain the remarkably obscure beginning of Paul's argument in Romans (i. e., 1:18–32). According to Calhoun, what Paul wants the passage to do is sufficiently plain: he designs it to serve as the foundation for his contention that all humanity stands condemned before the eschatological tribunal, an argument that reaches its climax in 3:9–20. Problems accumulate, however, when one tries to explain how 1:18–32 contributes to this goal. In this essay, Calhoun argues that Paul is constructing an account of the foundation of pagan polytheism. Paul's narrative of the invention of (bad) reli-

¹⁵ *The Emergence of Islam* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012); idem, *The Qur'an and Its Biblical Subtext* (London: Routledge, 2010); idem, *A Muslim Theologian in the Sectarian Milieu: 'Abd al-Jabbār and the 'Critique of Christian Origins'* (Leiden: Brill, 2004); A. J. Droge, *The Qur'an: A New Annotated Translation* (Sheffield and Bristol: Equinox, 2013).

gion also explains the origin of the gospel, since it identifies the historical reasons for why God needs to intervene to save humanity in the first place.

Meira Z. Kensky (Coe College) also addresses Paul's letter to the Romans. In her essay, entitled "The Hymnic Conclusion to Romans 11," Kensky observes that Paul's faith, as described in his undisputed letters, often strikes students as unwavering and absolute – grounded in certainty and complete trust, not only in God and a divine plan, but in Paul himself and Paul's own confidence and certainty. This type of faith strikes students as unrealistic – a trust that contravenes the natural human tendency to doubt. Early Christian texts witness to the problem of doubt on a significant scale in the post-apostolic period. Christians suffer "shipwreck in the faith" (1 Tim 1:19) and are swept away by "youthful passions" (2 Tim 2:22). The problem of apostasy looms large in Hebrews, *The Shepherd of Hermas*, 2 Baruch, 2 Peter, 2 Timothy, and James. According to Kensky, at many points throughout his epistolary corpus, Paul anticipates this future problem of doubt. In this essay, Kensky focuses on a crucial moment in Romans in which Paul builds into his teaching how future Christ followers can effectively treat the repercussions of widespread doubt in their communities.

Deutero-Pauline Letters

In his essay entitled, "Missiles, Demagogues, and the Devil: The Rhetoric of Slander in Ephesians 6:16," Jeff Asher (Georgetown College) argues that, whereas the translation of Eph 6:16 is fairly straightforward, its interpretation is not. Although it is common practice to read this verse in light of parallels with the Jewish scripture and certain literature from Qumran on the one hand and parallels with Hellenistic moral philosophy on the other, Asher examines this passage in the context of ancient rhetorical invective and the social values informing that invective. The essay, thus, argues that what is important is not what the missiles represent, but the fact that only a worthless scoundrel (πονηρός) uses missile weapons (βέλη). In addition to the title of the adversary as a πονηρός Asher draws on the conventions of slander in the Greco-Roman world, the shameful, ineffective nature of missile weapons, the association of missile weapons with women and barbarians, and more to demonstrate how the author uses invective to position the Devil in the cosmic hierarchy.

Gospels and Acts

Laurie Brink (Catholic Theological Union) takes up yet another important aspect of Betz's work, the interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount. Her essay, "Going the Extra Mile: Reading Matthew 5:41 Literally and Metaphorically" argues that, thanks to Matthew's use of the verb ἀγαπεύω, the Roman practice known as ἀγαπεία is exclusively cited as the backdrop against which Jesus' imperative to go the extra mile (Matt 5:41) is read. A review of the inscriptional and literary evidence concerning ἀγαπεία demonstrates, however, that the official practice

concerned the transportation of goods not the wanton pressing of individuals into forced labor. Freed from a strictly imperial context, Matt 5:41 might more accurately be interpreted as an example of extortion – compelling the services of another. The Matthean Jesus advises that those disciples who are compelled to go a mile must actually go further. Set in the antitheses of the Sermon on the Mount, the extra mile logion offers an example of fulfilling the Law (Matt 5:17) by exceeding it. Read in this light, it bolsters Jesus' accusation that the scribes and Pharisees neglect the laws they compel others to uphold.

David G. Monaco (Pontifical College Josephinum) develops the themes of rhetoric and mission from Betz's rich corpus of publications. In his essay, "The Rhetoric of Narrative in Acts 8:26–40: Ramifications of the Baptism of the Ethiopian Eunuch for the Author of Luke-Acts," Monaco argues that Philip's baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch presents the reader with a powerful text of liberation. The author uses this story to advise the early community – most notably its Hellenistic Jewish element – of how they should respond to persecution: refusing to retreat. Given that the preceding chapter of Acts chronicles Stephen's death by stoning and persecution against the church in Jerusalem, Monaco suggests that, with the tale of the Ethiopian eunuch, the two episodes together offer proof of the famed final version of the quotation often attributed to Tertullian, that "the blood of martyrs is the seed of Christians."

The Apocalypse

In his essay, "The Scroll, the Temple, and the Great City: The Crisis in the Asian Assemblies and the Interlude of Rev 10:1–11:13" Paul B. Duff (The George Washington University) addresses the designation of 10:1–11:13 as an interlude or parenthesis. A variety of puzzles are associated with the interlude. Of these, perhaps the most difficult has to do with its intrusive character. In this exploratory essay, Duff queries the relationship of the interlude the rest of the book. Specifically, he asks about its placement between the sounding of the sixth and seventh trumpets. Consisting of two distinct stories, Duff examines each of the narratives in turn, highlighting various interpretive problems, and looking briefly at the crisis in John's communities that the seer was attempting to address.

Jewish Christianity

Nearly fifty years ago, Hans Dieter Betz offered critical remarks on Georg Strecker's republication of Walter Bauer's *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum*. Fundamentally appreciative of both Bauer's thesis and Strecker's correctives, Betz wished to push the discussion forward by highlighting broader, "still unresolved" problems for Christian origins. In the essay entitled, "Orthodoxy, Heresy, and Jewish Christianity: Reflections on Categories in Edwin Broadhead's *Jewish Ways of Following Jesus*," Matt Jackson-McCabe (Cleveland State University) takes a slightly different tack toward the same goal. Rather than

revisiting a classic study, he focuses on an important new one. Edwin Broadhead's recent monograph, *Jewish Ways of Following Jesus: Redrawing the Religious Map of Antiquity* (WUNT 266; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010) seriously engages the series of interrelated issues that Betz once highlighted. Betz's examination of classic studies in the 1960s and early 1990s identified problems of scholarship; Jackson-McCabe's study helps us to see where the issues stand today.

Jeffrey A. Trumbower's essay (Saint Michael's College), "Christians, Sabbateans, and the Dead Sea Sect: A Comparative Case Study in Jewish Sectarian Logic," compares Christianity and Sabbateanism in their earliest manifestations. Like Jainism and Buddhism, Christianity and Sabbateanism are two species comprising a single genus, namely, Jewish messianic movements that spawn durable new religions. Of all the Jewish messiahs over the centuries, only two, Jesus of Nazareth (ca. 4 B.C.E.–ca. 30 C.E.) and Sabbatai Tsvi (1626–1676), left a legacy of new religious communities that ultimately diverge from their Jewish roots to form a new religion. Analyzing how that process unfolded in each case raises questions not arising from the examination of either one in isolation. Further comparison with the Dead Sea sect – although it neither spawned a new religion nor focused on the arrival of a messiah – illuminates aspects of Jewish sectarian logic across time and space.

Related Ancient Mediterranean Texts

The final five essays in the volume take up the important history of religions school theme exemplified at length in Betz's career of treating non-canonical, Christian and other texts, on their own terms, in addition to using them as vehicles of comparison for early Christian literature. In "Παιδεία as Solution to Stasis in First Clement," I argue that although leading French historian of the mid-twentieth century, H. I. Marrou describes *1 Clem.* 21:8 ("Let our children receive the παιδεία in Christ") as the beginning of a long trajectory of Christian education, the point to be adjudicated in *1 Clement* is the restoration of peace from στάσις. Παιδεία, the recommended solution, does not, therefore, refer to "education" per se, but "punishment" in the form of voluntary exile, a life sentence for which there is no second chance. Since παιδεία is a categorical punishment exclusive of viable pedagogical benefits, I argue that *1 Clem.* 21:8 should be dissociated from the trajectory with which Marrou associates it.

In the co-written piece entitled, "Polycarp and Polemo: Christianity at the Center of the Second Sophistic," Matthijs den Dulk and Andrew M. Langford (University of Chicago) explore Smyrna, and in particular, Polycarp, the early Christian figure most intimately associated with this city. Bringing the literary and Christian elements of late ancient Smyrnan society into conversation they examine the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* in light of the Second Sophistic. Comparison with Polycarp's contemporary Polemo, a fellow Smyrnan demonstrates how Polycarp's martyrdom engages both the language and narrative patterns of bib-

lical texts and conventions, values, as well as expectations characteristic of the Second Sophistic as well.

Annette Bourland Huizenga (University of Dubuque Theological Seminary) addresses the topic of wet-nurses in antiquity. Her essay, entitled “On Choosing A Wet-Nurse: Physical, Cultural, and Moral Credentials,” examines a pseudonymous document rarely brought into conversation with early Christian literature: the neo-Pythagorean letter labeled, ‘Myia to Phyllis.’ Composed sometime in the second century C. E., this short letter purports to be from Myia, the renowned daughter of Pythagoras and his wife Theano. It is addressed to Phyllis, an otherwise unknown female recipient. The stated epistolary occasion is advice about caring for a newborn, in particular, the hiring of a wet-nurse. The letter communicates, in the friendly tone and plain style of paraenetic texts, recommendations about this ordinary life situation and in so doing reveals moral conventions for treating women in this role.

Picking up on Betz’s specific, early interest in Lucian of Samosata, in his essay, “Lucian’s *Hermotimus*: A Fictive Dialogue with Marcus Aurelius,” Justin Howell (University of Chicago) argues that the *Hermotimus* – Lucian’s fictive dialogue with Marcus Aurelius about how to present himself as a ruler – suggests Lucian is neither an enemy nor a sycophant, but an individual earnestly attempting, albeit through satire, to offer the emperor constructive criticism about wise and effective leadership. On Howell’s reading, scholars alleging Lucian was antagonistic toward Rome *and* those suggesting he sought to flatter the emperor must take the *Hermotimus*, his longest dialogue, into closer account as a subtle yet forceful charge by a Roman citizen with genuine interest in the good of the state.

The last essay, “*De caelo patrocinium*: The Economy of Divine Patronage in Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses*” by Thomas R. Blanton IV (Lutheran School of Theology) aims to delineate social functions of the “economy of the offering” in Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses*, a text Blanton understands as distinctly shaped by the Roman patronage system. Reliant *mutatis mutandis* upon the sociological theories of Pierre Bourdieu, Blanton attempts to demonstrate how they serve as useful heuristic devices for understanding ancient religions.

V. Conclusion

In conclusion, the editors of this volume wish to issue our readers an invitation. We invite you to explore permutations of the history of religions school as practiced today by students and admirers of one of its most significant contemporary proponents. Given the flurry of recent attacks on the method’s quaint or naive notions of knowledge and truth, we welcome you to interact with recent samples of a tradition of scholarship that has continuously, for more than a century, maintained its commitment to understanding past human phenomena

(of which religion is an amazingly revealing prism) and consider whether such demanding work still matters. From our perspective, insofar as the tradition is based on knowledge, it never falls out of scholarly vogue. This is not to say that the limitations of what can be known – ably demonstrated in fields of research from physics to philosophy – should not be admitted, accepted, and embraced. It is, nevertheless, still inherently desirable to let the chorus of voices – those of the texts and their scores of interpreters – speak for themselves to the extent possible, allowing them to serve as facilitators, even broadcasters of the foreign and the familiar, the unique and the universal. Do such messages constitute truth? The aim is not truth, but *understanding*. Painstaking sensitivity to context – to ancient language, history, art, and other aspects of culture and society and to the ways new religious phenomena simultaneously inherit and transform existing traditions – fosters a fuller *comprehension* of our subjects and ourselves. Such a priority, we think, unites the collection of essays offered in this volume.

Part One: New Testament

Paul's God of Peace in Canonical and Political Perspectives

MARK REASONER

Paul's phrase "God of peace" occurs four times in the uncontested letters, usually in blessings at the end of letters.¹ The phrase is not attested in the LXX, and only rarely occurs in the pseudepigrapha, most notably in *T. Dan* 5:2.² Why would Paul use the expression "God of peace" for the God he worshipped? Very similar expressions in 1 Cor 14:33 and 2 Cor 13:11 show that "God of peace" can be used not directly as a political slogan against the Romans, but rather as a slogan for what one could call the domestic politics of church life. But Paul's phrase "God of peace" that appears near the end of 1 Thessalonians, Philippians and Romans is a hidden transcript resulting from the intersection of his scripture reading and his exposure to political propaganda celebrating the Roman peace.

I. God Grants Peace Together with Righteousness

Paul's scriptures, including perhaps his favorite scripture – Isaiah – make it clear that the God of Israel brings peace along with righteousness. Thus we read in LXX Isa 9:5b–6 how God will bring both of these virtues:

ἐγὼ γὰρ ἄξω εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, εἰρήνην καὶ ὑγίειαν αὐτῶ. μεγάλη ἡ ἀρχὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ὄριον ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον Δαυὶδ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ κατορθῶσαι αὐτὴν καὶ ἀντιλαβέσθαι αὐτῆς ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ἐν κρίματι ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα χρόνον·

¹ 1 Thess 5:23; Phil 4:9; Rom 15:33, 16:20. In 2 Cor 13:11 he uses "God of love and peace" and in 1 Cor 14:33 Paul says that God is not one of disorder but of peace. Cf. 2 Thess 3:16; Col 3:15; Heb 13:20 for similar titles.

² ἀλήθειαν φθέγγεσθε ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐμπέσητε εἰς μῆνιν καὶ παραχάς, ἀλλ' ἔσεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἔχοντες τὸν θεὸν τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ οὐ μὴ κατισχύσει ὑμῶν πόλεμος. "Each one of you should speak truth with his companion and not fall into wrath and discord, but be in peace, staying close to the God of peace, and your cause will not fail." (This and all unattributed translations that follow in this essay are mine.)

For I will bring peace on the rulers, peace and health for him. Great will be his rule, and for the throne of David there will be no limit of his peace, and his kingdom will accomplish it and take hold of it in righteousness and in judgment from now and to eternity.

Righteousness and peace also occur together in LXX Isa 32:17: “And peace will be the effects of righteousness, then righteousness will lay hold of rest, and they will live in confidence forever,” καὶ ἔσται τὰ ἔργα τῆς δικαιοσύνης εἰρήνη, καὶ κρατήσῃ ἡ δικαιοσύνη ἀνάπαυσιν, καὶ πεποιθότες ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος. If Paul is interested in one or two of his letters in the condition of divine righteousness, on the basis of his scripture he is also interested in the condition of peace.³

II. False Prophets Who Proclaim Peace Bring Divine Judgment on Themselves

The prophet Jeremiah announces God’s judgment on those who make false proclamations of peace. Thus we read in LXX Jer 6:14–15:

καὶ ἰῶντο τὸ σύντριμμα τοῦ λαοῦ μου ἐξουθενούντες καὶ λέγοντες Εἰρήνη εἰρήνη· καὶ ποῦ ἔστιν εἰρήνη; κατησχύνθησαν, ὅτι ἐξελίπισαν· καὶ οὐδ’ ὡς κατασχυνόμενοι κατησχύνθησαν καὶ τὴν ἀτιμίαν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔγνωσαν. διὰ τοῦτο πεσοῦνται ἐν τῇ πτώσει αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν καιρῷ ἐπισκοπῆς αὐτῶν ἀπολούνται, εἶπεν κύριος.

And the affliction of my people shall be healed; those who are scornful and are saying ‘Peace, peace, yet where is peace?’ will have been shamed because they failed, nor will these shamed ones feel ashamed and their dishonor they will not understand, because they will collapse in their fall and be destroyed in the time of their visitation, says the Lord.

Similarly, LXX Jer 14:13–16 records God’s plan to judge the false prophets who prophesy that God is bringing truth and peace.

καὶ εἶπα ὦ κύριε, ἰδοὺ οἱ προφῆται αὐτῶν προφητεύουσιν καὶ λέγουσιν Οὐκ ὄψεσθε μάχαιραν, οὐδὲ λιμὸς ἔσται ἐν ὑμῖν, ὅτι ἀλήθειαν καὶ εἰρήνην δώσω ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ. καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς με Ψευδῆ οἱ προφῆται προφητεύουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου, οὐκ ἀπέστειλα αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐκ ἐνετειλάμην αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐκ ἐλάλησα πρὸς αὐτούς· ὅτι ὁράσεις ψευδεῖς καὶ μαντείας καὶ οἰωνίσματα καὶ προαιρέσεις καρδίας αὐτῶν αὐτοὶ προφητεύουσιν ὑμῖν. διὰ τοῦτο τάδε λέγει κύριος περὶ τῶν προφητῶν τῶν προφητευόντων ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου ψευδῆ, καὶ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀπέστειλα αὐτούς, οἱ λέγουσιν Μάχαιρα καὶ λιμὸς οὐκ ἔσται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ταύτης Ἐν θανάτῳ νοσερῶ ἀποθανοῦνται, καὶ ἐν λιμῷ συντελεσθήσονται οἱ προφῆται· καὶ ὁ λαός, οἷς αὐτοὶ προφητεύουσιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔσονται ἐρριμμένοι ἐν ταῖς διόδοις Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἀπὸ προσώπου μαχαίρας καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ θάπτων αὐτούς, καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτῶν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐκχεῶ ἐπ’ αὐτούς τὰ κακὰ αὐτῶν.

And I said, “O Lord, behold their prophets prophesy and say, ‘You will not see the sword, nor will there be famine among you, because I will grant truth and peace on the land and in this place.’” And the Lord said to me, “Falsely the prophets prophesy in my name; I did

³ Other texts in LXX Isaiah that link peace and righteousness are Isa 45:7–8, 60:17.

not send them, nor did I command them, nor have I spoken to them. Because they see lies and oracles and omens, and the plans of their heart they prophesy to you. Therefore, thus says the Lord concerning the prophets who are prophesying falsely in my name, though I did not send them, who say, 'There will be no sword or famine on this land' – by a sickly death they will die and the prophets will come to their end by famine, and the people to whom they are prophesying – they also will be torn apart in the streets of Jerusalem by the edge of the sword and by famine, and there will be no one to bury them and their wives and their sons and their daughters, when I pour out their evils on them."

False hope in peace is considered blasphemous by the servants of the God of Israel, who alone can bring peace. More texts from Paul's scriptures will be cited when we move to examine the specific texts where he uses "God of peace," but we have just surveyed enough to show that there is a critical mass of peace theologizing occurring in Paul's scriptures. We move now to the imperial theology of peace.

III. The Theology of Imperial Peace in the Early Principate

In his ANRW article, "The Cult of Virtues and Roman Imperial Ideology," J. Rufus Fears rightly finds the Roman cult of virtues rooted in Greek theology.

Virtues such as Eirene, Pistis, Eunomia, Philanthropia, Philostorgia, and Dikaiosyne played a fundamental role in the ideological structure of Hellenistic monarchies. ... It was into this ideological heritage that the Roman republic entered, and the cult of Virtues represented a primary conduit by which Roman leadership sought to channel and to utilize this religio-political vocabulary.⁴

The Romans had deified *Concordia* and *Salus* by the end of fourth century B.C.E. and by 200 B.C.E. (Hannibalic War) *Victoria*, *Fortuna*, *Libertas*, *Honos*, *Fides*, and *Spes* all had homes within the Roman cult of virtues.⁵

Eιρήνη was recognized as divine already in Hesiod. Within the Roman cult of virtues, the *pax Augusta* comes into its own in the early years of the Principate. Inheriting his uncle's mission to bring peace to the world, Augustus clearly communicated this mission to his propagandists. The poets Ovid, Tibullus and Virgil were all on board with this perspective on Augustus' reign.⁶ The first verb in Anchises' commission of Roman "arts" to Aeneas is "to pacify."⁷ The Augus-

⁴ J. Rufus Fears, "The Cult of Virtues," ANRW 2.17.2:850. The virtues mentioned in this quotation are: peace, faith, well-ordered law, benevolence, affection, and justice.

⁵ Ibid., 830. The virtues mentioned are: social concord, health, victory, fortune, liberty, honor, faith, and hope.

⁶ Ovid, *Fast.* 1.711–12; Tibullus, *Eleg.* 1.10.69–70; Virgil, *Ecl.* 4, *Aen.* 6.851–3. I am indebted to Klaus Haacker, *The Theology of Paul's Letter to the Romans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 117 for these references.

⁷ *Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento! (hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem, / parcere subiectis et debellare superbos* (Virgil, *Aen.* 6.851–53); "Roman, remember by

Index of References

Hebrew Bible/Septuagint

Genesis		29:3	80
1–11	53	31:6	224
1–3	29, 53	31:7	224
1:26	65	32:39	204
2–3	29		
3:15	24	Joshua	
4:1–7	53	1:6	224
9:13	148	1:7	224
9:16	148	1:9	224
15:1	89	1:18	224
19:1–29	152	9:25	224
37:36	133		
39:1	133	Judges	
		9:11	202
Exodus		1 Samuel	
12:38	190	2:7	204
21:24	121	8:16	117
22:25–26	122	8:17	119
Leviticus		2 Samuel	
19:18	124	8:2	163, 164
21:20	138	1 Kings	
22:24	138, 139	18:28	139
24:20	121	18:46	136
Numbers		2 Kings	
12:1	135	2:16	137
16:22	204	20:18	133
27:16	204	21:13	163
Deuteronomy		23:11	133
4:16–18	65	25:19	133
7:2	135	1 Chronicles	
19:21	121	22:13	224
23	135, 139	28:20	224
23:2	138, 139, 143		
23:4–9	135		

2 Chronicles		68:23	81
32:7	224	68:32	135
Ezra		82:12–14 LXX	275
9:1–10:44	135	91:13	24
9:1	135	93:11 LXX	64
Esther		105:19–23 LXX	29
2	133	105:19–20 LXX	65
Job		117:18 LXX	203
1–2	85	118	203
4:17	205	118:2 LXX	78
5:8–9	78	118:18	202, 203
5:9	80	118:114	202
5:11	204	119:2	78
5:13	85	140:5 LXX	204
5:25	205–6	141	203
9:10	78, 79, 80	141:5	202, 204
9:12	78	Proverbs	
9:15	79	3	203
37	148	3:11	202
41:3	81, 85	3:12	202, 203, 207
Psalms		5:12	202
5:12	89	10:17	202
7:10	89	12:1	207
7:13	89	13:24	202
9:31	209	22:15	202
10:10 LXX	209	23:13	202
17:36 LXX	207	25:28	207
18	89	26:18	90
18:2	89	Isaiah	
18:7–15	148	1	157, 166
18:30	89	1:10	153
18:35	89	1:24–27	153–54
28:7	89	1:24	157
32:10	204	1:25	157
32:20	89	1:27	157
33:11	205	9:5–6	13–14
34:11–17	206	10:11	80
35:8	81	11:10	22
49:17–20 LXX	202	13:11	204
50:16–23	202	14:4–5	24
50:17–20	202	18:1–2	143
63:7 LXX	78	28:16–17	164
64:7	78	28:16	80
68	110	29:10	80
		32:17	14
		34:11	163

39:7	133	42:20	164
40:13–14	81	43:13	164
40:13 LXX	81	44:15	188
40:14	81		
45:7–8	14	Daniel	
45:21	20	3:4	154
52:7	22	3:7	154
53	192	3:29	154
53:1–12	202	3:31	204
53:2	205	5:19	154
53:5	202	6:25	154
53:7–8	137	7:13	149
56	133	7:14	154
56:3–5	139, 143	7:25	152
57:15	204	10:6	149
60:4–5 LXX	23	10:19	224
60:17	14	12:7	152
66:12	17		
		Hosea	
Jeremiah		2:1	80
2:5	64	2:25	80
2:11	65	5:2	202
2:30	202		
5:3	202	Amos	
6:14–15	14, 18	4:10	153
14:13–16	14–15	7:7–9	163
17:9	81	9:7	135
31:38–40	163, 164		
34:19	133	Habakkuk	
35:2 LXX	24	2:2	190
36:1–7 LXX	21	2:4	62
38:7	133		
39:15–18	135	Zephaniah	
44:1	143	2:12	135
		3:10	135, 143
Lamentations			
2:8	163	Zechariah	
		1:16	163, 164
Ezekiel		2:12	163
1:28	148	4	151
2–3	150, 163	10:1	148
2:8–3:3	147, 150	12:3 LXX	164
11:24	137	12:8	89
16:46	153	14:1–21	164
23:14	153		
40:2	164	1 Maccabees	
40:3–42:20	163	2:64	224
41:13	164		

3 Maccabees		Wisdom of Solomon	
2:2	275	8:2	108
2:22	275	11:16	67
		13-15	31, 53-57, 64
4 Maccabees		13	53
8:20	229	13:1-9	54-55
13:16	81	13:1	64
18:24	81	13:10-14:11	55
		14	53
Tobit		14:12-31	54-57
3:8	98	15:14-19	64
		18:2	108

Old Testament Pseudepigrapha

<i>2 Baruch</i>		<i>Prayer of Manasseh</i>	
14:8-9	78-79	8	208
		11-13	208
<i>1 Enoch</i>		11	208
7-8	53	12-13	208
7:1	53	13	208
8:3	53	15	81
93:11-14	78		
		<i>Psalms of Solomon</i>	
<i>4 Ezra</i>		2:29	24-25
13:3	149		
		<i>Testament of Dan</i>	
<i>Jubilees</i>		5:2	13
4:32	67		
		<i>Testament of Gad</i>	
<i>Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah</i>		5:9-10	67
3:10	153		

Dead Sea Scrolls

CD		10:3-7	78
III, 5-13	188	II, 25-26	90
III, 21-IV, 10	188	II, 25	107
VI, 7	190	II, 29	90
VII, 17	189	X, 23-26	90
VII, 18	190	X, 25-27	193
		XI, 20-23	193
1QH		XII, 25-26	193
7:26-33	78		

1QM		1QS	
XVIII, 1	90	4:11–12	67
		V–VI	193
1QpHab		1QSa	195
VII, 1–5	190		

Rabbinic Literature

<i>y. Ber</i>		<i>b. Ned.</i>	
1.2d	117	32a	117
<i>b. B. Meši'a</i>		<i>Soṭah</i>	
78b	117	10a	117
<i>b. B. Qam.</i>		<i>b. Yoma</i>	
38b	117	35b	117, 119

New Testament

Matthew		5:38–42	111, 120, 121, 124, 127
3:17	224	5:38–39	121
5–7	6–7	5:38	120
5:1–11	111	5:39–42	120, 121, 122, 123, 124
5:1	111	5:39–41	123
5:11	98	5:39	120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125
5:12–16	111	5:40	121, 122, 123, 124, 125
5:17–20	118	5:41	6–7, 111–27
5:17	111, 112	5:42	121, 123, 124
5:18	118	5:43–48	111, 120
5:20	111, 126	5:43	120, 124
5:21–37	118	5:44–48	120
5:21–26	111	5:44	120
5:21	120	6:13	98
5:22	120	6:23	98
5:25	68	7:12	124
5:27–30	111	8:1	181
5:27	120	10:1–15	24
5:28	120	10:7	68
5:31–32	111	10:21	68
5:31	120	11:7	276
5:32	120	11:8	276
5:33–37	111, 121	12:34	98
5:33	120	13:19	98
5:34	120		

13:38	98	11:1-7	118
14:19	233	13:26	149
15:4	111	14:10-11	223
15:21	113	14:22-25	223
16:12	111, 125	14:32-43	223
16:19	125, 194	14:44-46	223
18:18	125, 194	15:1-15	223
19:2	181	15:9-15	223
19:12	132, 139	15:21	118, 123
19:28	194		
20:29-34	118	Luke	
20:29	181	1:53	204
21:1-11	223	3:22	224
22:17	114	6:27-28	120
23:1	125	6:27	120
23:3	125	6:29-30	120, 121, 122
23:4	112, 125, 126	6:29	122
23:5	125	6:30	123
23:6	126	6:32-36	120
23:7	126	7:24	276
23:15	111	7:25	276
23:26	114	9:16	233
24:9	68	11:34	98
24:20	149	12:58	68
26:14-16	223	16:18	120
26:26-46	223	16:19	276
26:26-29	223	19:28-36	223
26:47-50	223	19:29-38	118
26:67	122	21:12	68
27:2	68	21:22	149
27:11-14	223	21:24	164
27:16-23	223	22:3-6	223
27:32	114, 118, 123	22:15-20	223
27:57-61	223	22:30	194
		22:40-46	223
Mark		22:47-49	223
1:6	276	23:2-7	223
1:11	224	23:6-12	223
1:17-18	181	23:16	201
1:20	181	23:20-24	223
4:3-8	29	23:22	200
6:41	233	23:26	114
7	234	23:54	223
7:34	233, 234	24	140
8:34-38	181	24:9-35	132
10	138	24:13-35	140
10:28-31	181	24:20-21	191
11:1-10	223	24:20	149

24:26	191	10:48	142
24:27	191	11:9	225
24:32	141	12:17	232
		12:21	276
John		12:22	276
6:2	181	12:23	276
8:56–59	192	15:7	141
12:12–15	118	17	18, 19
12:28	225	17:11	207
12:38	137	17:28	81
17:1–26	223	21:11	68
17:15	98	21:40	232
18:2–5	223	22:3	201, 202
18:28–19:11	223	28:5	224
19:12–16	223		
19:31	223	Romans	
		1–8	84
Acts		1:2–4	70, 79
1:8	134	1:1–15	60
2:23	234	1:16–11:36	80
4:13	257	1:16–17	60, 61, 70
6	131	1:16	71
6:7	189	1:17	61, 62
7	7	1:18–3:20	60, 61, 71
7:22	201, 202	1:18–2:29	28
7:39–41	188	1:18–32	5–6, 27–31, 52, 57–72
7:51–52	188–89	1:18–19	60, 61–62
7:54	192	1:18	61, 62, 67
8	130, 132, 140, 141	1:19–32	61
8:1–4	140	1:19–23	66
8:3	68	1:19–20	59, 60, 65
8:5–13	140	1:19	61, 62
8:14–25	140	1:20	64
8:14	131	1:21–24	66
8:25	131, 132	1:21–23	60
8:26–40	7, 129–44, 192	1:21	64
8:26	131, 132, 136, 142, 143	1:22–24	66
8:27	133	1:22–23	66
8:32–35	137	1:23	64, 65
8:32–34	136	1:24–27	60, 66–69
8:36	138, 142	1:24–25	66
8:38	142	1:24	66, 67, 68
8:39	137, 141, 142	1:25–27	66
8:40	131, 132	1:25–26	66
9:1	132	1:25	66, 67
10	138	1:26–31	66
10:1–11:18	140, 142	1:26–27	66
10:44	142	1:26	67

1:28-32	66	11:12	82
1:28-31	60, 66, 68, 69-70	11:17-24	75
1:28	70	11:17-19	86
1:29-23	62-66, 68	11:25-32	82
1:32	60, 69	11:25-27	75, 79, 86
2-3	61	11:25	82
2:1-9	28	11:26	75, 82, 195
2:7	65	11:28-32	79
2:10	65	11:29	75, 81
2:14	68	11:32	195, 207
2:15-16	29	11:33-36	6, 73-87
2:20	201	11:33	75, 79, 80
2:28	29	11:34-35	80, 81
3:5	61	11:34	81, 86
3:7	65	11:35	81, 85
3:9-20	5, 27	11:36	79, 81
3:10-18	80	12-15	75
3:26	61	12:1-2	71
5-8	72	12:17	21
5:5	64	13:1-7	22
5:12-21	27, 72	13:3	21
7	71, 74, 193	14:16	21
7:24-25	193	14:17	22
8	74	15	23
8:16	206	15:12-13	22
8:17	206	15:33	13, 22-23
8:21	206	16:20	13, 23-25
8:24	22, 24	16:27	81
9-11	74-75, 78, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 86, 87, 195	1 Corinthians	
9	75	1-4	85
9:1-5	82	3:19-20	85
9:3-5	81, 82	4:14	203, 206
9:6-11:24	86	4:15	201, 206
9:6	75	5:3	201
9:8	75	5:5	68, 207
9:22-29	195	6:2-3	194
9:25-26	80	7	159
9:30	75	8:1-6	159
9:32-33	75	8:5-6	109
9:33	80	8:6	81
10:12	75	9:21	234
10:15	22	10:1-13	189
10:16	137	10:14-22	109
11	75, 82	11:32	200, 201, 207, 209
11:1-2	75	14:33	5, 13
11:7-10	80	16:13	225
11:11	195		

2 Corinthians		6:14	89
4:11	68	6:16	6, 89–110
6:9	200, 201, 203, 207, 209	Philippians	
6:13	206	1:30	21
6:14–7:1	171	2:5–11	19–20
10–13	48	3:20–21	20
12:14	206	4:5–9	20–21
13:11	5, 13, 22	4:9	13, 19–21
Galatians		Colossians	
1:12–2:14	48	1:16	81
1:16	68	3:15	13
2:7–8	141	3:16	64
3:23–4:7	200	3:21	199, 205, 206
3:24–25	201	1 Thessalonians	
4:6	64	1:9–10	19
4:19	206	1:10	18
4:29	189	2:12	18
5:19–21	69	2:16	192
6:16	75	4:15–17	18
Ephesians		5:3–9	19
1:5	109	5:3	18
1:18	204	5:23	13, 17–19
1:19–21	109	2 Thessalonians	
1:21	108	3:16	13, 19, 25
2:2	108, 109	1 Timothy	
2:11	109	1:19	6, 73
2:12	109	1:20	201, 202
2:13	109	4:7	247
3:8	78	2 Timothy	
3:10	108	1:5	209
3:15	108	2:22	6, 73
4:1–16	110	2:25	200, 201
4:17–5:20	110	3:6–7	247
4:17	109	3:16	201, 202
4:27	108	4:3	73–74
5:6	109	Titus	
5:16	98	2:12	202
5:19–20	64	Hebrews	
5:21–6:9	110	2:10	81
6	107	7:2	25
6:4	199, 201, 205, 206		
6:10–17	90		
6:11	108		
6:12	108		
6:13	98		

12:4-11	202	3:10	156
12:5	199, 201, 205	3:12	164
12:6	201	3:14	165
12:7-11	199, 205	3:15	166
12:7	200, 201	3:19	201
12:8	201	4:3	148
12:9	201	5	149, 150, 151, 161, 163
12:10-11	203	5:2	148, 150
12:10	201	5:5	149
12:11	201	5:9-10	155
13:14	25	5:9	150, 154
13:20	13, 25	6:1-8:5	151
13:24	25	6:10	156
		7	145
James		7:9-10	155
1:5-8	74	7:9	154, 155
		8:13	156
1 Peter		9:21	145
1:10	78	10:1-11:13	7, 145-67
2:21-25	137	10	148, 149, 150, 163
5:5	208	10:1-11	147-48
		10:1	147, 148, 149, 161
2 Peter		10:2-3	147
1:13	209	10:2	149
1:18	224	10:3-4	147
3:1	209	10:3	147, 149
		10:4	147, 224
1 John		10:5-7	147
2:13-14	98	10:5-6	147
3:12	98	10:7	147, 161
5:18	98	10:8-10	147, 150, 165
		10:8	149, 224
Revelation		10:11	148, 150, 154, 161, 163
1	151	11	156
1:1	161	11:1-13	151, 157
1:5	164, 165	11:1-3	153
1:11	150, 208	11:1-2	151, 153, 163, 164
1:15	149	11:2	152, 157, 164, 165, 166
1:16	149	11:3-13	151, 152, 165
1:19	150	11:3-6	151, 163
1:20	160	11:3	152
2-3	158, 159	11:4	161
2:8	211	11:7	151, 161
2:13	165	11:8	151, 152
2:20	160	11:9	151, 154, 155, 162
2:21	160, 166	11:10	151, 155, 156
2:23	159, 160, 166	11:11	151
2:24	159	11:12	151, 224

11:13	145, 152, 157, 166	17-18	94, 152
11:14	145	17:1-18	145
11:19	156	17:2	156
12	145	17:6	152, 165
12:6	152	17:8	156, 161
12:9	24, 156	17:15	154
12:14	152	17:18	152
13:1	161	18:4	224
13:3	156	18:10	152
13:5	152	18:16	152
13:7	152, 154	18:18	152
13:8	156	18:19	152
13:11	218	18:21	148, 152
13:12	156	18:23	24
13:14	156	18:24	152
14:1-13	146	19:4	148
14:2	224	19:11-21	146
14:6	154	19:11-16	145
14:13	224	20:2	24
14:14	149	20:7-8	146
15:6	148	20:10	24
16:6	152	20:15	146
16:14	156	21-22	164, 166
16:19	152	21:27	146

Apostolic Fathers and Other Early Christian Literature

<i>Acts of John</i>		5:7	205
55-57	211	6:2	200
55	211	10:17	202
		12:1	202
<i>Barnabas</i>		13:1	202
4:7-8	189	13:8	202
5:11	189	13:24	202
8:4	189	15:32	202
14:1-4	189	16:3	205
		16:5	202
<i>1 Clement</i>		18:17	208
1:1-3:4	207	19:3	208
1:1	199	21:6	199, 205, 206
1:2	206	21:8	8, 199-209
1:3	205	21:9	207
1:6	206	22:1	205, 206
2:8	208	22:6	208
3:3	205	22:15	202
4:1-39:9	207	23:1	206

23:4	206	<i>2 Clement</i>	
23:13–14	202	11:23	206
29:15	202		
32:2	205	<i>Didache</i>	
35:8	202, 209	1:4	123
36:2	208	10:5	98
37:2	205		
37:3	205	<i>Gospel of Peter</i>	
39:4	205	10	224
40:1–61:3	207		
40:1	209	<i>Ignatius of Antioch</i>	
44:5	205	<i>Eph.</i>	
45:2	209	21.1	211, 212
47:1–3	199		
47:1	199, 207	<i>Mag.</i>	
47:6	205, 206	15.1	211, 212
51–58	207		
51–53	207	<i>Pol.</i>	
51–52	203	1.1	231
51:5	205		
53	207	<i>Rom.</i>	
53:1	209	1.1	231
54–55	203	10.1	211
54	207		
54:1–4	203	<i>Trall.</i>	
54:2	201, 202, 203, 205, 208	1.1	211
55	208	12.1	211
55:1	205	13.1	211
55:4	205		
56	200	<i>Life of Polycarp</i>	
56:2–5	203–4	1–2	212
56:2	201, 203, 205		
56:3	201, 202, 203	<i>Martyrdom of Pionius</i>	
56:4	202, 203	2.1	219
56:5	202, 204	17.1	223
56:14	205		
56:16	201, 205, 207, 208	<i>Martyrdom of Polycarp</i>	
57	208	prescr.	218
57:1	201, 203, 205, 207, 208,	1.1	218, 238, 239
	209	2	234
59	204	2.1	218
59:2	205	2.2	212, 229
59:3	201, 202, 204, 205, 208	2.4	221
59:4	205	3.1	228, 236
60:2	200	3.2	229
60:4	205	4.1	237
62:1–65:2	207	5.1	220, 223, 229, 234, 238
62:3	199, 201, 205, 208–9	6.1–2	223

6.1	220	12.2–13.1	223
6.2	222	12.2–3	219
7.1	223	12.2	236, 237
7.2–3	223, 228	12.3	221
7.2	220, 223, 228, 229	13.2	229
7.3	220, 229, 238	13.3	221
8.1	223	14.1–3	221
8.2–9.2	236	14.1–2	220
8.2–3	223	15.1–2	218
8.2	221, 222	15.1	221, 229
8.3	220, 224, 234, 236	16.1	221, 229
9–12	214, 224–37	16.2	212, 229
9	228	17.2–3	218
9.1–11.2	223	17.2	222
9.1	218, 224	18.2–3	222, 223
9.2	220, 221, 222, 228, 231, 234	18.2	218
9.3	214, 229	19.1	239
10.1	222, 236	20.1	218
10.2	236	21	219, 223
11.2	221	21.1	222
12.1	228, 230, 231	22.3	219

Other Ancient Authors and Texts

Coins		13.88	221
BMC I, 209	23	17	216
BMC I, 241	18	18	216
		19	216
Incriptions		20	216
<i>ILS</i> 8781	18–19	21	216
<i>OGIS</i> 532	18–19	23.34	90
<i>OGIS</i> 613	18		
Papyri		Aeschylus	
BGU 4.1107	242	<i>Cho.</i>	
P.Lond. 1171	115	286	107
P.Lond. 3.951	241	<i>Pers.</i>	
P.Mich. 3.202	241	226–80	103
P.Oxy. 1.37	242	725	103
P.Oxy. 91	242	813	103
		1601–3	103
Aelius Aristides		<i>Prom.</i>	
<i>Or.</i>		649	107
4.63	223		
4.72	223		

Aesop		8.24	288
<i>Fab.</i>		9.39	116, 117, 119
71	276	9.40	116, 117, 119
239.1	276	10.15–16	290
239.2	276	11.1	288
		11.6–19	289
<i>Vitae</i>		11.6	289, 290, 295
87 W	232	11.9	289
		11.12	289
Alexander of Aphrodisias		11.13	289
<i>Prob.</i>		11.14	289
1.120	276	11.15	288, 289, 290, 294
		11.16–27	293
Ammianus		11.16	289, 291
<i>Anth. pal.</i>		11.18	289
11.180–81	217	11.19	290
		11.20–26	291
[Anacharsis]		11.20	294
<i>Ep.</i>		11.21–26	289
9	50–53, 55, 58, 59, 67	11.21	291
		11.22	291
Anaximines		11.24	292, 293
<i>Rhet. Alex.</i>		11.25–26	293
11, 1430b	264	11.25	292
		11.26	294
Anonymous Seguerianus		11.27–30	289
<i>Rhet.</i>		11.28	293, 294
161–66	60	11.29	294
		11.30	294–95
Aphthonius			
<i>Progymn.</i>		Archilochus	
9	95	fr. 3	103, 105
40–41	95	fr. 139.6	102
Apsines		Aristophanes	
<i>De fig.</i>		fr. 424	97, 99
Spengel/Hammer 330–39	261		
Spengel/Hammer 330	262	<i>Ach.</i>	
		88	93
Apuleius		99	97
<i>Metam.</i>		457	94
2.6–7	290	473–79	94
2.16–17	290	707–11	99
3.19–25	290	844	93
6.31	290		
7.16	288	<i>Av.</i>	
7.17	288	289–90	93
7.25	288	1473–81	93

<i>Eccl.</i>		Aristotle	
177	97	<i>Nic. eth.</i>	
185	97	3.7	96
<i>Eq.</i>		<i>Pol.</i>	
19	94	1328b–29a	97
132	93–94	<i>Rhet.</i>	
136	93	1355b	236
181	97	1413a–b	264
186	97		
215–19	92	Arius Didymus	
337	97	11m	268
956–58	93	Athenaeus	
1290–99	93	<i>Deipn.</i>	
1281	97	3.113d–e	281
<i>Nub.</i>		Augustan History	
353–54	93	<i>Script. hist. Aug.</i>	
549–59	92	6.1.8	266
670–80	93	Aulus Gellius	
<i>Pax</i>		<i>Noct. att.</i>	
673–78	93	1.5.2	231–32
684	97	12.1	242
1295–1304	93	12.17	247
<i>Plut.</i>		Calpurnius	
920	97	<i>Ecl.</i>	
939	97	1.46–67	16
<i>Ran.</i>		Cassius Dio	
678–82	93	68.6.4	261
710	97	71.1.2	265, 266
840	94	71.8.4	259
1456	97	71.32.3	263
1504	93	71.35.4	271
1532–34	93	71.36.1–3	266
<i>Thesm.</i>		Cicero	
383–88	94	<i>Acad. pr.</i>	
455–56	94	2.136	268
832–39	96	<i>De or.</i>	
<i>Vesp.</i>		3.59.220	228, 231
592–93	93		
822–23	93		

<i>Fin.</i>		161–62	264
4.7	268	223	244
		235	244
<i>Nat. d.</i>		282–83	264
1.4	38	285	264
1.49–50	40	287–95	261
1.118–21	32	287	262
1.118–19	45	291	262
2.5	38	292	263
2.7–12	38		
2.12–15	37–39		
<i>Off.</i>		Democritus	
1.64	268	DK 68	
3.38–39	272	A 75 (2:102–3)	33
3.78	272	B 30 (2:151)	33
		B 166 (2:178)	34
		See also s. v. Philodemus, <i>Piet.</i>	
[<i>Rhet. Her.</i>]		Demosthenes	
1.6.10	264	<i>Or.</i>	
3.10–15	95	57.18	94
3.15.26–27	231		
4.33.34	264	Digesta	
4.53.67	264	48.19.16	261
		50.4.18	113
<i>Tusc.</i>		50.5.11	113
2.18.43	224		
3.1.2	247	Dio Chrysostom	
		<i>Or.</i>	
Cleanthes		1.8	274
<i>Hymn to Zeus</i>		1.13	274
10	37	1.17	274
32	37, 284	1.21	274
36–39	37	1.23	274
		1.28	274
Critias		1.49–84	273
DK 88		1.65–83	274
B 25 (2:386–89)	35	1.65	274
		1.67	274
[Crates]		1.79–80	274
<i>Ep.</i>		1.84	274
16	278	2.6	274
		2.12	257
Demetrius		3.41	274
<i>Eloc.</i>		3.42	257
38	264	4.33–38	95
52	264	4.43–45	274
124–27	264	4.66	271
148	264	4.97	257

11.14	95	[Diogenes of Sinope]	
12 <i>passim</i>	47–50	<i>Ep.</i> 44	278
12.12	95		
23.11	95	Dionysius of Halicarnassus	
32.30	95	<i>Lys.</i>	
33.4–5	95	7	60
46.3	254		
54.1	95	[<i>Rhet.</i>]	
55.7	95	8–9	261
70.10	95		
78.27	95	Empedocles	
		DK 31	
Diodorus Siculus		B 128 (1:363)	32
1.11–12	44–45		
1.13.1	44	Epictetus (Arrian)	
1.13.3	44	<i>Diatr.</i>	
1.14.1	44	1.29.9	267
1.15.6–8	44	3.4.7–8	261
1.17.1–20.6	44	3.7.1	257
1.17.2	44, 45	3.13.9–13	20
1.17.3	45	3.15.13	257
1.18.1–2	45	3.16.1–16	257
1.18.2	44	3.19.1–6	257
1.18.4–5	44	3.22.35	274
1.20.5–6	45	3.24.21–37	90
1.21.5–11	44	4.1.79	116
1.22.2	44		
5.4.3–7	34	Euhemerus	
5.5.2–3	34	See s. v. Diodorus Siculus books 5–6	
5.41–46	46		
5.46.3	46	Euripides	
6.1	45–47	<i>Herc. fur.</i>	
		140–56	108
Diogenes of Apollonia		157–63	103
DK 64		422	107
B 3 (2:60)	34		
		<i>Med.</i>	
Diogenes Laertius		628	107
6.24–26	281		
6.40–41	281	<i>Orest.</i>	
6.53	281	536–37	94
6.58	281	608–29	94
6.67	281	903–9	94
6.104	278		
7.121	278	Eusebius	
7.122	268	<i>Hist. eccl.</i>	
8.5	259	3.27.1	178
		4.14.3–4	212

4.14.3	212		
5.5.8	212		
5.20.4–8	212		
5.24.4	212		
10.4.58	106		
Fronto			
<i>Ad M. Ant. Imp. et invincem</i>			
1.2.6	262		
1.3.2	268		
3.16.2	262		
<i>Ad M. Caes.</i>			
1.9.3	264		
1.9.4	264		
2.5	216–17		
4.13	267		
<i>Eloqu.</i>			
2.14	264		
Galen			
<i>De an. cui. pecc.</i>			
3.12 (Kühn 5.71)	278		
3.13 (Kühn 5.71–72)	279		
<i>Plac.</i>			
5.3.8	283		
Hecataeus of Abdera			
See s. v. Didorus Siculus book 1			
Heliodorus			
<i>Aeth.</i>			
10	232		
Heraclitus			
DK 22			
B 5 (1:151–52)	32		
B 14–15 (1:154–55)	32		
Hermetic literature			
<i>C. H.</i>			
13	292		
Hermogenes			
<i>Inv.</i>			
4.13	261, 262		
		<i>Prog.</i>	
		4 (Rabe 9)	264
		Herodotus	
		4	51
		4.79	107
		5.67–68	103
		6.112	103
		9.21–22	103
		9.70	103
		9.72	104
		Hesiod	
		<i>Great Eoiae</i>	
		fr. 2	96
		<i>Op.</i>	
		535–37	31
		561–67	31
		<i>Theog.</i>	
		47–58	31
		708	107
		Hippolytus	
		<i>Haer.</i>	
		531	107
		Homer	
		<i>Epig.</i>	
		14.20	96
		<i>Il.</i>	
		1.47–48	100
		1.50–53	107
		1.145	107
		2.211–77	97
		2.214–42	91
		2.243	274
		2.604	100
		2.719–20	100
		2.773–75	100
		2.848	100
		3.79–80	100
		4.196–97	100
		4.242	100
		5.103	100
		5.204–16	100

6.507	228	10.38	166
8.173	100	13.52	116
8.266–334	100		
8.513–15	100	<i>B. J.</i>	
11.191	100	1.44	257
11.380	100	1.209	257
11.385–96	100	1.387	271
11.385–90	100	3.173	106
11.386–95	103		
12.280	107	<i>Vita</i>	
12.385–96	101	9.40	98
12.387–89	100	21.102	98
12.390–91	100	27.134	98
13.50	100		
13.262–63	100	<i>Julian</i>	
13.313–19	100	<i>Caes.</i>	
13.313–14	100	34, 333b–c	259
13.361	100		
13.714–21	100	<i>Or.</i>	
13.772–78	100	1.17b	262
15.462	100	7.225c	278
16.773	100	7.226b–c	278
23.850–83	100	7.235d	278
24.758	107		
40.144	100	<i>Justin Martyr</i>	
43.318	100	<i>Apol.</i>	
44.415	100	1.16.2	123
		<i>Dial.</i>	
<i>Od.</i>		28.1	192
1.260–64	107	32.1	192
1.260–62	107		
8.219–20	100	<i>Juvenal</i>	
17.217–32	91	<i>Sat.</i>	
22.3–4	100	6.592–94	242
<i>Irenaeus</i>			
<i>Haer.</i>		<i>Lactantius</i>	
3.3.4	178, 212	<i>Opif.</i>	
		12.16–17	224
<i>John Chrysostom</i>		<i>Libanius</i>	
<i>Hom. Eph.</i>		<i>Decl.</i>	
24.6.14–17	106	11.1.2	221
		14.1.14	221
<i>Josephus</i>		19.1.13	221
<i>A. J.</i>			
4.290–91	139	<i>Or.</i>	
8.275	232	11.145	262–63

[<i>Epist.</i>]		5	282
5	248	63	253
Livy		<i>Dial. d.</i>	
21.8	106	4.1	274
		9.3	274
Longinus		<i>Dial. meretr.</i>	
<i>Subl.</i>		1	259
38	264	2.1	259
Lucian		2.2	259
<i>Abdic.</i>		4.2–3	259
7	262	4.3	259
13	257	7.1	259
23	257	12.1	259
26	257		
		<i>Dial. mort.</i>	
<i>Alex.</i>		3.2	272
48	254	7.2	280
		10.1	272
<i>Apol.</i>		12.1	272
11	254	12.5	272
12–13	282	20.13	280
12	257	21.3–4	262
13	254, 272	25.2	272
15	282	25.3	272, 275
<i>Bis acc.</i>		<i>Dips.</i>	
8	274	4–6	280
10	274	9	280
12	274	11–16	282
28	232		
32	263	<i>Dom.</i>	
33	282	2	232
<i>Cat.</i>		<i>Eunuch.</i>	
8–13	258	3	254
13	257		
25–29	258	<i>Fug.</i>	
26	257	3–4	282
<i>Char.</i>		11	282
12	259	14–16	282
		16	280
<i>Demon.</i>		20	282
1	282	21	257
2	282		

<i>Gall.</i>		71	272
2	274	73	274
24	272	77	264
		80	281
<i>Herc.</i>		81	267
4	274	84	281
		85	268, 269
<i>Hermot.</i>		86	256, 260, 264, 278, 279, 280, 282
1	279		
2	264, 265, 266		
4–5	265	<i>Hist.</i>	
5	272, 273, 277	8	264
6	266	13	264
7–9	273	20	264
7–8	273	41	262
7	272	44	262
8	262	48	262
9–10	281	61	262
9	262		
11–12	267	<i>Icar.</i>	
11	269	5	281
13	259, 263, 264	16	257
14	267, 280	19	272
15	256, 270	34	273
16	267, 274		
17	263, 264, 265	<i>Imag.</i>	
18	280	2	257
20	275	23	265
21	270		
22	270, 275, 281	<i>Ind.</i>	
23	270	1	259
24	270	20–23	274
25–28	274	21	275
25	270	22	254
29	274		
34	263, 275	<i>Jupp. conf.</i>	
47	274	5	262
48	260	13	281
50	260		
51	262	<i>Jupp. trag.</i>	
52	257, 259, 260	27	281
53	275	32	221
56	277, 278	33	260
63	258		
68–69	274	<i>Lex.</i>	
68	273, 274, 275	1	258
69	277, 278	3	258
70	269	14–18	258

17	262	37	282
25	258	38	280, 281
<i>Luct.</i>		<i>Peregr.</i>	
2	257	13	257
[<i>Macr.</i>]		18	257, 263
2	229	26	280, 282
		32	222
		37	282
<i>Men.</i>		<i>Phal.</i>	
12	272	1.3	253
17	257	2.6	253
		2.11	253
<i>Merc. cond.</i>		<i>Philops.</i>	
1	286	9	257
2	258	27	280
13	258	40	280
19	258		
23–25	286	<i>Pisc.</i>	
25	278	23	281
26–27	258	26	282
33	258	46	273
34	280	<i>Pro imag.</i>	
42	258	4	232
<i>Musc. laud.</i>		21	264
7	259	<i>Prom. es.</i>	
		1–7	264
<i>Nav.</i>		5–6	274
15	259	<i>Pseudol.</i>	
18	259	4	262
25	259	24	274
40	257	<i>Rhet. praec.</i>	
41	272	22	232
42	272	<i>Salt.</i>	
44	272	4	282
		8	257
<i>Nigr.</i>		81	253
2	280	85	282
12	281	<i>Sat.</i>	
13	269, 281	27	257
14	281		
17	281		
18	280		
21–25	281		
25–26	281		
30–34	281		

<i>Somn.</i>		9.29	268, 271
9	259	9.36	271
		9.37	271
<i>Symp.</i>		11.6.2	281
19	280		
		Musonius Rufus	
<i>Tim.</i>		8	268
41	259	9	257
		Nemesius	
<i>Ver. hist.</i>		81.6–10	283
2.31	257		
		Origen	
<i>Vit. auct.</i>		<i>Cels.</i>	
7	280	3.50	278–79
10	257		
11	278	<i>Hom. Exod.</i>	
20	267	1.5	106
23	280		
27	257	<i>Or.</i>	
		30.3	106
Lucretius		Ovid	
<i>Rer. nat.</i>		<i>Fast.</i>	
1.1–43	43	1.711–12	15
1.44–49	43	2.305	208
1.62–79	42		
5.147–48	40	Petronius	
5.1161–1240	40–42	<i>Sat.</i>	
		27–78	286
Lysias			
<i>Or.</i>		Philo of Alexandria	
10.6–9	93	<i>Ebr.</i>	
		75–76	90
Marcus Aurelius		<i>Leg.</i>	
1.3	271	3.14	90
1.7	267, 271	3.236	133
1.16.8	271	<i>Prob.</i>	
1.17.3	271	31	274
2.3.3	64	<i>Spec.</i>	
2.15	281	1.325	139
4.3–4	271		
4.26	271	Philodemus	
4.30	271	<i>Piet.</i> (P.Herc. 1428)	
4.37	271	cols. ii 28–iii 13 34	
5.9	271		
5.16	281		
6.30.1	271		
6.30.2	271		
8.3	281		

fr. 16	33	576	223
fr. 19, ll. 12–19	33	582	216
		583	236
<i>Rhet.</i>		587	220
2, col. i.26	236	595	227, 231
		605	213
Philostratus		608–12	219
<i>Vit. Apoll.</i>		608	235
1.28.3	259	611	219
		612	227
<i>Vit. soph.</i>		613	213
482	235	616	220
483	235	623	230
484	235	626	233, 236
485	234		
487	231	Pindar	
490–91	226	<i>Nem.</i>	
492	235	10.15	107
509	235		
511	213, 239	Plato	
521	235	<i>Crat.</i>	
527	235	397c–d	33
528	231, 233, 235		
529	236	<i>Pol.</i>	
530	217, 219	267a–e	274
531	213, 216		
532	220, 221	<i>Protag.</i>	
533	216, 219, 220, 223	320c–22d	31
534	217, 220	322a	37
535	220, 235		
536	220, 235, 237	<i>Resp.</i>	
537	213, 221, 227, 231, 236,	345c–e	274
	237	359d–60b	272
538	220	440d	274
539–40	222	612b	272
539	213, 226, 233		
540–42	235	Plato Comicus	
540	221, 233	fr. 182	93
541–42	232	fr. 185	93
541	232	fr. 203	93
543	214, 218, 222, 229	fr. 601	93
544	219, 222		
557	232, 265	Pliny the Elder	
561	261	<i>Nat.</i>	
562	266	11.54.144	233
563	231	34.162–63	220
564	213, 227		
572	233, 235		

Pliny the Younger		1033e	267
<i>Ep.</i>		1043b–c	267, 268
6.6.3	213	1060b	267, 268
<i>Pan.</i>		<i>Pyrrh.</i>	
65.1–3	271	34.1–3	104
78.2	271		
Plutarch		<i>Rect. rad. aud.</i>	
<i>Apoph. lac.</i>		41c	229
191e	105	<i>Thes.</i>	
210e–f	104	5.1–4	105
215d	104		
221f	104	<i>Ti. C. Gracch.</i>	
228d–e	104	5.3	95
230c	104	6.4	95
234e	104	9.4	95
		12.1–4	95
<i>Arist.</i>		<i>Vit. pud.</i>	
329c	104	528e–f	230
		529f	230
<i>Cohib. ira</i>			
456c	231		
<i>Comp. Lyc. Num.</i>		Polemo	
1.1–2	257	<i>Physiognomy</i> (Leiden)	
		1 (A5–23)	230
<i>Cons. ux.</i>		1 (A20)	226, 227
609e	242	2	225
		23 (B21–22)	230
<i>Galb.</i>		24 (B23)	230
11	95	25 (B26)	230
		26	225
<i>Is. Os.</i>		26 (B25)	230
13, 356a–b	44	27	225
18, 358a–b	44	27 (B26)	230
21, 359c–d	44	28	225
22–23, 359d–60b	44	28 (B27)	230
23	45	29 (B29)	230
		30 (B30)	230
<i>Lib. ed.</i>		40–41 (B37)	230
3c	242	40	225
5–6	246	49	225
5	246	50	225
		61	225
<i>Mor.</i>		Polybius	
592c–d	259	13.3.1–8	105
759d	278		

Porphyry		2.24.4	287
<i>Philos. orac.</i>		2.30.1–2	284, 289
2.164b	98	2.35.3–5	286
		3.1.1	287
Prodicus		3.5.2	286, 287
DK 84		3.8.2	289
B 5 (2:317)	32–33, 36	3.8.3	289
See also s. v. Philodemus, <i>Piet.</i>		6.34.1–5	287
		6.34.5	287, 292
Protagoras		7.23.1–2	264
DK 80			
B 4 (2:265)	31	<i>Clem.</i>	
		2.5.2–7.5	268
Pythagorean literature			
<i>Melissa to Kleareta</i>	249	<i>Ep.</i>	
<i>Myia to Phyllis</i>	244–52	15.5	265
<i>Sophrosyne of a Woman</i>	249	33.4	267
		33.7	267
Quintilian		33.10	267
<i>Inst.</i>		36.4	265
1.4	246	74.19–21	90
1.5	247	76.3	265
8.6.67–76	264	82.5	90
8.6.74	264	90	59
9.2.65–92	261	97	90
9.2.65	262	108.13	268
9.2.67	262		
9.2.81	262	<i>Vit. beat.</i>	
11.3.84–124	231, 232	1.3	274
11.3.67	232		
11.3.101	232	Sextus Empiricus	
11.3.102	232	<i>Math.</i>	
11.3.106	232	2.61–62	236
11.3.122	232	9.12	37
11.3.128	228	9.17	45
12.1.1	226	9.18	32–33
		9.19	34
Seneca		9.20–21	36
<i>Apoc.</i>		9.24	33
7	273	9.25	40
8	273	9.26–27	39
9	273	9.54	35
<i>Ben.</i>		Sophocles	
1.3.4–5	290	<i>Aj.</i>	
1.13.1–3	273	1120–23	104
2.4.3	293		
2.24.1	293		

<i>Trach.</i>		<i>Dial.</i>	
574	107	15.3	213
714–18	107	29	246, 247
Soranus		<i>Germ.</i>	
<i>Gyn.</i>		20	242
2.18–20	245	<i>Hist.</i>	
2.18.4	242	1.1	261
2.19	246, 247, 248	2.58	114
2.20	246	Tertullian	
2.22–23	246	<i>Apol.</i>	
2.23–24	246	50	130
Stobaeus		<i>Praescr.</i>	
<i>Ecl.</i>		32	212
2.102.13–15	267	Themistius	
4.9.16	103	<i>Or.</i>	
Strabo		30	36
<i>Geogr.</i>		Theognis	
10.1.2	105	274	96
10.1.12	105	Theon	
Suetonius		<i>Prog.</i>	
<i>Aug.</i>		9	258
49.5–50	112	Theophrastus	
52	272	<i>Char.</i>	
53–56	271	26.4–6	98
56	271	Thucydides	
<i>Tib.</i>		2.75.5	106
26–27	271	7.226–27	104
26	272	Tibullus	
26.1	271	<i>Eleg.</i>	
<i>Vesp.</i>		1.10.69–70	15
12	271	Tyrtaeus	
13	279	fr. 11	103
Tacitus		Velleius Paterculus	
<i>Agr.</i>		II.103–4	18
30	17		
<i>Ann.</i>			
2.49	23		
13.41.5	16		
15.18.1	16		

Virgil			
<i>Aen.</i>			
6.851–53	15–16		
<i>Ecl.</i>			
4	15		
Vitruvius			
<i>De architectura</i>			
10	107		
Xenophanes			
DK 21			
B 11 (1:132)	32		
B 14–16	32		
B 23 (1:135)	32		
		Xenophon	
		<i>Anab.</i>	
		1.17–20	103
		4.2.28	103
		[<i>Ath.</i>]	
		1.5	97
		<i>Cyr.</i>	
		2.1.16–18	105
		8.6.17	112
		<i>Mem.</i>	
		1.4.15	38

Index of Modern Authors

- Abbott, Thomas Kingsmill 90, 107
Abou Aly, Amal 242
Adcock, F.E. 105
Aegeson, James 80
Aejmelaeus, Lars 75
Ahearne-Kroll, Stephen 249
Ahl, Frederick 261, 262
Aichele, George 3
Aland, Barbara 142
Aland, Kurt 143
Aldrete, Gregory S. 231
Algra, Keimpe 32
Allison, Jr., Dale C. 111, 113, 122, 123,
133
Althaus, Paul 58, 59
Ames, Tracy 117
Anderson, Graham 212, 215, 256
Anderson, J.K. 103
Anderson, Janice Capel 230
Arena, Valentina 93, 95, 96
Ascough, Richard S. 221
Asher, Jeffrey R. 6, 100, 109
Asmis, Elizabeth 37, 40, 43, 267, 281
Aune, David E. 24, 25, 60, 145, 146, 147,
148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 154, 156, 157,
158, 161, 164, 166, 223, 279
Austin, Colin 93
Avalos, Hector 4
Avotins, Ivars 217

Baarda, Tjitze 132
Badian, Ernst 286
Baer, Marc David 186
Bagnall, Roger S. 241
Baines, John 55
Baird, William 4
Bailey, Daniel P. 244
Balch, David L. 223, 251
Baldwin, Barry 254, 263

Ballif, Michelle 214
Baltes, Matthias 281
Barclay, John M. G. 229
Barnes, Jonathan 32
Barnes, T.D. 217, 219
Barr, David L. 146, 162
Barr, James 28
Barrett, C.K. 27, 29, 61, 63, 140, 142
Barth, Markus 89, 90, 106
Bartley, Adam 255, 269
Barton, Tamsyn 215
Bartsch, Shadi 261
Basore, John W. 286
Bauckham, Richard 148, 150, 153, 156,
157, 161, 164
Bauer, Walter 7, 98, 169, 170, 171, 172,
173, 174, 183
Baur, F.C. 178
Beale, G.K. 149, 150
Beard, Mary 294
Beatrice, Pier Franco 211
Becker, Adam H. 179
Behr, Charles A. 216, 223
Behr, John 223
Bell, Catherine 283
Bell, H.I. 112
Bellia, Giuseppe 80
Berdozzo, Fabio 269
Berger, Klaus 161
Bernays, Jacob 277
Best, Ernest 89–90, 106
Betz, Hans Dieter VII, 1–10, 25, 27, 30,
48, 49, 59, 89, 111, 118, 119, 120, 121,
122, 124, 125, 129, 169, 170, 171, 172,
175, 179, 183, 185, 189, 211, 236, 241,
253, 273, 276, 277, 278, 281, 284, 292
Billault, Alain 215, 254
Billerbeck, Margarethe 281
Birley, Anthony Richard 259

- Bisbee, G. A. 217
 Blanton, IV, Thomas R. VII, 9
 Blass, Friedrich 142
 Boas, George 30
 Boeft, Jan den 217, 219
 Boer, Wilko de 278, 279
 Boissevain, Jeremy 287, 293
 Bompaire, J. 255, 262, 263
 Bonazzi, Mauro 277
 Bonner, Stanley Frederick 200
 Booth, J. 94
 Boring, M. Eugene 146, 148, 153, 163, 164
 Bornkamm, Günther 75, 76, 77, 81
 Boswell, Grant M. 214, 216
 Boswell, John 28
 Bourdieu, Pierre 9, 283, 284, 295, 296
 Bousset, Wilhelm 1, 3, 152, 164
 Bowden, Hugh 291
 Bowden, John 18
 Bowersock, G. W. 212, 215, 219, 223, 237, 238
 Bowie, Ewen 212, 213, 215, 217
 Boyarin, Daniel 175
 Bradbury, Jim 105
 Bradley, Keith R. 241, 243, 244, 246, 250, 290
 Branham, R. Bracht 51, 273, 279, 281
 Braund, David 93, 102, 239
 Braund, Susanna 242
 Breij, Bé 261
 Bremmer, Jan 217, 219, 231
 Brent, Allen 211, 213, 214
 Breytenbach, Cilliers 1
 Brink, Laurie 6, 7
 Broadhead, Edwin 7, 8, 169–83
 Brodribb, William Jackson 247
 Bromiley, Geoffrey W. 27
 Brown, W. Edward 46
 Bruce, Frederick F. 90, 106, 108, 134, 138, 140, 141, 142
 Brunt, P. A. 285
 Bultmann, Rudolf 3, 170
 Bunyan, John 90
 Burkert, Walter 30, 31, 32, 38, 55, 63, 273, 283–84, 291
 Burns, J. Patout 119
 Buschmann, Gerd 217, 224, 229
 Cadoux, Cecil John 216
 Caird, G. B. 157, 164
 Calhoun, Robert Matthew VII, 5, 48, 49, 60, 61, 62, 63, 79
 Campenhausen, Hans von 211
 Cancik, Hubert 213, 282
 Carroll, John T. 81, 84
 Carter, Warren 114
 Cassidy, Richard 17
 Castelli, Elizabeth A. 228
 Caster, Marcel 277
 Cébeillac-Gervasoni, M. 218
 Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de 106
 Charles, R. H. 150, 151, 152, 164
 Chiron, Pierre 261, 262
 Christ, Matthew R. 92
 Christiansen, Ellen J. 132
 Church, Alfred John 247
 Chvala-Smith, Anthony 215
 Clark, Elizabeth 3–4
 Clark, M. E. 23
 Clay, Jenny Strauss 107
 Cobb, Stephanie L. 224, 230, 237
 Cohen, J. M. 106
 Cohoon, J. W. 49
 Cole, Thomas 30, 44
 Collins, Adela Yarbro 1, 2, 146, 158, 171, 282
 Collins, John J. 4, 54
 Conley, Thomas 91
 Connor, W. Robert 92
 Conway, Colleen M. 224, 226
 Conzelmann, Hans 134, 136, 137, 142, 200
 Corbeill, Anthony 228, 231
 Cosgrove, Charles H. 81, 82, 83, 84
 Court, John M. 158
 Cranfield, C. E. B. 27, 61, 62, 63, 67, 77
 Cribiore, Raffaella 241
 Crossan, John Dominic 16, 17, 18, 19, 22
 Dangel, Jacqueline 261
 Danker, Frederick 98
 Davies, W. D. 111, 113, 122, 123, 133, 186
 De Rossi, Filippo Canali 285
 Debrunner, Albert 142
 Decharneux, Baudouin 277
 Declercq, Gilles 261

- DeFilippo, Joseph G. 288
 Dehandschutter, Boudewijn 213, 214,
 217, 237
 Deichgräber, Reinhard 77
 Dein, Simon 186
 Deissmann, Adolf 118
 Delling, G. 21
 Derrett, J. Duncan M. 117, 118
 DeSilva, David A. 208
 Dihle, Albrecht 255
 Dinkler, Erich 134, 142
 Dixon, Suzanne 242, 243, 247, 287
 Dobson, M.I. 116
 Dodd, C.H. 4, 27, 58, 61
 Dodwell, Henry 256, 259, 266
 Dominik, William 93
 Donfried, Karl P. 17, 18, 19
 Donlan, Walter 97, 105
 Drachmann, A.B. 32
 Driver, S.R. 222
 Droge, Arthur J. 5
 Dubuisson, Michel 254
 Duff, Paul B. 7, 159, 160, 166
 Dulk, Matthijs den 8
 Dunn, James D.G. 29, 61, 66, 67, 77, 85
- Easterling, P.E. 94
 Edgar, C.C. 115, 242
 Edmondson, Jonathan 261
 Edwards, M.J. 277, 282
 Edwards, Mark J. 106, 217, 225
 Ehrman, Bart 189, 205, 206, 217, 218, 229
 Eichhorn, E. 1
 Eisenstadt, S.N. 285
 Elliott, Neil 23
 Ellis, Edward Earle 21, 134
 Elsner, Jaś 211, 212, 215, 217, 230
 Engberg-Pedersen, Troels 20
 Epp, Eldon Jay 59
 Erskine, Andrew 267
 Eshleman, Kendra 211, 213
 Evans, Craig 209
 Evans, Elizabeth C. 215
 Evelyn-White, Hugh G. 96
- Fant, Maureen B. 241, 242, 244, 247, 249,
 250
 Faraone, Christopher A. 62
- Fears, J. Rufus 15, 16, 18, 22, 23, 24
 Ferguson, John 47
 Festugière, André-Jean 288, 289, 292, 293
 Fiebig, Paul 118, 123
 Fildes, Valerie A. 241, 242, 244
 Finley, Moses I. 92, 110
 Fisher, Nick 92, 93, 99
 Fitzgerald, Robert 16
 Fitzmyer, Joseph A. 29, 59, 61, 62, 63, 65,
 66, 77, 80, 123
 Flinterman, Jaap-Jan 215
 Foerster, Richard 215
 Foster, Paul 221
 Fowler, Don 290
 Francis, James A. 277
 Frankfurter, David 159
 Fredriksen, Paula 109
 Friend, W.H.C. 116
 Frey, Jörg vii, 1, 2, 3
 Freyburger, Gérard 223
- García Martínez, Florentino 53
 Garnsey, Peter 285
 Garrett, Susan R. 284
 Ghersetti, Antonella 225
 Giblin, Charles Homer 146
 Gibson, Craig A. 95
 Gibson, E. Leigh 219
 Glancy, Jennifer A. 243, 250
 Gleason, Maud W. 216, 225, 227, 228
 Goldhill, Simon 94
 Goldish, Matt 194
 Goldsworthy, Adrian Keith 105
 Gómez, Pilar 254, 258, 277
 Goulet-Cazé, Marie Odile 51, 281
 Grabbe, Lester L. 54
 Graf, Fritz 30, 231
 Graham, Holt H. 201, 203, 207
 Grandjean, Yves 292
 Grant, Robert M. 201, 203, 223, 228
 Grässer, Erich 21, 134
 Graver, Margaret 94, 96
 Green, David E. 113
 Grégoire, Henri 217
 Gregory, Andrew F. 234
 Grieve, Alexander 118
 Griffiths, J. Gwyn 289, 291, 292, 294, 295
 Grobel, Kendrick 170

- Grottanelli, Christiano 285
 Grundmann, Walter 3
 Guelich, R. 120, 122
 Gunderson, Erik 226, 232
 Gundry, Robert H. 119, 122, 123, 164
 Gunkel, Hermann 133
 Gurnall, William 90
- Haacker, Klaus 15, 16
 Habinek, Thomas N. 290
 Haenchen, Ernst 136, 138, 141, 142
 Hagner, Donald Alfred 201
 Haines, C. R. 262, 266
 Hall, Edith 101, 102
 Hall, Jennifer 254, 263, 281
 Hall, Jon 93, 231
 Halperin, David J. 189–90, 191–92, 194
 Hamilton, Richard 108
 Hammer, C. 261, 262
 Hammer, Paul 75
 Hanson, A. E. 242
 Hanson, A. T. 81
 Hanson, J. Arthur 289
 Hanson, Victor Davis 103, 105
 Harder, Günther 98, 99
 Harding, P. 94
 Harmon, A. M. 286
 Harnisch, Wolfgang 18
 Harper, Kyle 230
 Harrill, J. Albert 95, 185, 223
 Harrison, James R. 23
 Harrison, Thomas 102
 Hartog, Paul 212, 221, 222, 223, 237
 Harvey, D. 92
 Hatto, A. J. 105
 Hauck, Friedrich 107
 Hausrath, A. 276
 Hay, David 81, 85, 86
 Hay, Mary 85
 Hays, Richard B. 28
 Headlam, Arthur C. 27, 58, 63, 67
 Heath, Malcolm 96
 Heath, Sebastian 216
 Hemer, Colin J. 158
 Hendrix, Holland L. 17, 18
 Hengel, Martin 2, 3, 4, 130
 Henrichs, Albert 33, 34
 Henry, O. 162
- Heron, Helen 89
 Hill, Charles 211, 223, 236
 Hill, G. 241
 Hohl, Ernst 266
 Holford-Strevens, Leofranc 225, 227
 Holladay, Carl 53
 Holmes, Michael W. 211, 218, 228, 229, 233–34
 Hooker, Morna 29, 65
 Hopwood, Keith 239
 Hornblower, Simon 47
 Horsley, G. H. R. 118, 123
 Hout, Michel P. J. van den 217, 262
 Howell, Justin 9, 261
 Hoyland, Robert 225
 Hudson, John 256
 Huizenga, Annette Bourland 9, 244, 249
 Hultgren, Arland 77
 Hubbard, Moyer V. 292
 Hunger, H. 276
 Hunt, A. S. 115, 242
 Hurtado, Larry 2, 4
 Hvalvik, Reidar 175
- Idel, Moshe 186, 192
 Iovino, Paolo 80
 Isaac, Benjamin 116
 Ivantchik, Askold I. 102
- Jackson-McCabe, Matt 7, 8, 175, 178, 180
 Jaeger, Werner 31, 32, 33, 200, 201, 202
 James, William 290
 Jebb, Samuel 223
 Jerryson, Michael 106
 Jewett, Robert 18, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 67, 68, 69, 75, 76, 79, 80, 193
 Johnson, E. Elizabeth 76, 77, 78, 79, 81, 83, 84, 87
 Johnson, Luke Timothy 95
 Johnston, Sarah Iles 291
 Jones, A. H. M. 19
 Jones, Christopher P. 215, 217, 219, 254, 258, 273
 Jones, F. Stanley 178
 Joshel, Sandra R. 241, 243, 246
 Judge, E. A. 18, 19
 Juergensmeyer, Mark 106

- Kaerst, J. 267
 Käsemann, Ernst 27, 28, 59, 61, 62, 64, 65,
 66, 67, 76, 77
 Kassel, Rudolf 93
 Katzoff, Ranon 115
 Kayser, C. L. 213
 Keck, Leander 28
 Kedar-Kopfstein, Benjamin 133, 139
 Kelhoffer, James A. 249
 Keller, Katherine Z. 164
 Kelsay, John 106
 Kennedy, George A. 95, 221, 261
 Kensky, Meira Z. 6
 Kent, H. R. 23
 Kenyon, F. G. 112, 115
 Kern, Paul Bentley 107
 Kilburn, K. 256
 Kindstrand, Jan Fredrik 50, 51
 Kingsbury, Jack Dean 125
 Kitts, Margo 106
 Klauck, Hans-Josef 48, 49, 50, 137, 138,
 140, 211, 244, 261, 276, 291
 Klijn, A. F. J. 78, 132
 Kline, A. S. 208
 Kloppenborg, John 122
 Knust, Jennifer 227, 228
 König, Jason 213
 Konstan, D. 95
 Korenjak, Martin 232
 Koster, Severin 91, 93, 94
 Kotansky, Roy D. 59
 Kovács, Péter 259
 Kozlowsky, Jan 214, 222
 Kraft, Heinrich 149, 150, 152, 164
 Kraft, Robert A. 169
 Krentz, Peter 105
 Krodel, Gerhard 169
 Kühn, C. G. 278, 279
- Lake, Kirsopp 229
 Lakmann, Marie-Luise 281
 Lamb, Franz 18
 Lane Fox, Robin 219, 223
 Lang, Friedrich 107
 Langford, Andrew 8, 9
 Lape, Susan 94
 Lattimore, Richard 101
 Lee, J. Y. 108
- Leemans, J. 213
 Lefkowitz, Mary R. 241, 242, 244, 249,
 250
 Legaspi, Michael C. 4
 Lendon, J. E. 100, 101, 102, 104, 105
 Lesko, Leonard H. 55
 Lévi-Strauss, Claude 283
 Lewis, Naphthali 113, 116
 Lightfoot, J. B. 212, 217, 222, 223, 228, 229
 Lincoln, Andrew T. 89, 90, 106
 Lincoln, Bruce 283, 285
 Lindijer, Cord H. 132
 Lissarague, François 102
 Livingstone, E. A. 29
 Livingstone, Niall 260
 Llewelyn, S. R. 115
 Lloyd-Jones, David Martyn 90
 Lohmeyer, Ernst 150, 151, 152, 164
 Lohse, Eduard 150, 164
 Long, Anthony A. 257, 283
 Longo, Vincenzo 236, 263, 277
 Lopez, Davina C. 3
 Lovejoy, Arthur O. 30
 Lovén, Lena Larsson 251
 Lucas, Alec J. 54, 58, 66
 Lüdemann, Gerd 2, 136, 140
 Lutz, Cora 257, 268
 Luz, Menahem 277
 Luz, Ulrich 113, 114, 118, 122, 123, 125
- MacDonald, Margaret Y. 89, 90, 106, 247,
 250–51
 MacDowell, Douglas M. 93
 Mackauer, C. W. 201
 Magie, David 266
 Maier, Harry O. 146
 Malherbe, Abraham J. 18, 90, 278
 Malina, Bruce J. 215
 Maltby, R. 94
 Mansfeld, Jaap 32
 Manson, T. W. 114
 Marchal, Joseph 4
 Markantonatos, Andreas 92
 Marrou, Henri Irénée 8, 199, 200, 205
 Marsden, E. W. 107
 Marshall, John W. 153, 158
 Marshall, I. Howard 114
 Martin, Dale B. 59, 95, 226, 251

- Martin, Luther H. 291
 Martin, Richard P. 51
 Mason, Steve 261
 Matheson, Susan B. 288
 Maxfield, V. A. 116
 Mayor, Adrienne 107
 Mazzaferrri, Frederick David 147, 148
 McKelvey, R. J. 146
 McNeil, Brian 211
 Meeks, Wayne A. 84
 Mestre, Francesca 254, 258, 277
 Metzger, Bruce M. 143
 Merkelbach, Reinhold 288
 Meyer, Marvin W. 291
 Michaelis, Wilhelm 108
 Michaels, J. Ramsay 153
 Millar, Fergus 116
 Minguez, Dionisio 131, 132, 137
 Miscall, Peter 3
 Mitchell, Margaret M. vii, 1, 4, 199, 211, 279
 Mitchell, Stephen 114
 Mitteis, Ludwig 113
 Moessner, David P. 137
 Möllendorff, Peter von 260, 264
 Monaco, David G. 7
 Montefusco, Lucia Calboli 213
 Moo, Douglas J. 27, 59, 62, 66, 67, 77
 Moore, J. M. 285
 Moore, Stephen D. 4, 230
 Moran, Michael G. 214
 Morgan, Thomas 178
 Moss, Candida 211, 214, 217–18
 Most, Glenn W. 242
 Moulton, C. 91
 Moyise, Steve 146
 Muellner, Leonard 108
 Munck, Johannes 153
 Murat, Michel 261
 Murray, A. T. 100
 Murray, Oswyn 43, 44
 Mustakallio, Antti 74
 Musurillo, Herbert 217, 219

 Nagy, Gregory 100
 Nasrallah, Laura S. 213
 Nesselrath, Heinz-Günther 263, 269, 277
 Neufeld, Thomas R. Yoder 89, 90

 Newsome, Carol A. 193
 Neyrey, Jerome H. 215
 Ní-Mheallaigh, Karen 258
 Nicklas, Tobias 216
 Nilsson, Martin 32
 Nock, Arthur Darby 290, 292, 294
 Norden, Eduard 75, 76, 77, 81
 North, Helen F. 249
 North, John 294
 Novokhatko, Anna A. 96

 Oakes, Peter 21
 Ober, Josiah 97
 Obbink, Dirk 62
 O'Connor, Jerome Murphy 24
 Ogden, Daniel 103
 O'Neill, J. C. 28
 Orgels, Paul 217
 Osiek, Carolyn 223, 250–51
 O'Toole, Robert F. 131, 132, 134, 137, 140, 141
 Osborne, Robin 94
 Owen, H. P. 28

 Paget, James Carleton 175
 Palm, Jonas 254
 Parkin, T. 229
 Parvis, Sara 221
 Passaro, Angelo 80
 Patillon, Michel 258, 261, 262
 Patton, K. C. 177
 Penner, Todd 3, 225
 Peretti, Aurelio 254
 Perkins, Judith 213
 Perkins, Pheme 90, 106
 Pernot, Laurent 213, 223
 Pestman, P. W. 241, 242, 244
 Phelan, James 129, 130, 131
 Philip, Franklin 30
 Pierce, Brian 285
 Pinto, Mario 254
 Pomeroy, Arthur J. 268
 Poole, Reginald Stuart 216
 Popkes, Wiard 67
 Porter, Katherine Anne 129
 Powell, Mark Allan 125
 Pownall, Frances 94–95
 Pratt, Louise 244

- Price, Simon 294
 Pritchard, David M. 108
 Puech, Bernadette 215, 218
 Purcell, Nicholas 23
- Quet, Marie-Henriette 218
 Quiggin, E. C. 254
- Rabb, Theodore K. 97
 Rabe, Hugo 264
 Radermacher, L. 261
 Raffan, John 30, 273
 Rahlfs, Alfred 54, 208
 Räsänen, Heikki 29, 74, 75
 Randell, Thomas 222
 Ray, B. C. 177
 Reader, William W. 215, 221
 Reasoner, Mark 5, 25
 Reed, Annette Yoshiko 179
 Reed, Jonathan L. 16, 17, 18, 19, 22
 Reitz, Johan Frederik 256
 Resseguie, James L. 148, 150, 164
 Reuters, Franz Heinrich 50, 51
 Reynolds, Gabriel Said 5
 Rhodes, Erroll F. 143
 Rich, John 102
 Ridgeway, John K. 24
 Rife, J. L. 217, 218, 221
 Rigaux, B. 18
 Ritterling, E. 114
 Rives, James 261
 Robert, Louis 219
 Roberts, Jennifer Tolbert 97
 Robertson, D. S. 254
 Robinson, Christopher 256
 Robinson, Joseph Armitage 106, 107
 Roloff, Jürgen 145
 Romero-Pose, Eugenio 211
 Romm, James S. 47
 Ronchy, Silvia 217
 Roniger, L. 285
 Roodenburg, Herman 231
 Rose, Herbert Jennings 47
 Roselli, David Kawalko 94
 Rosen, Klaus 271
 Rosen, Ralph Mark 92, 95
 Rosenbloom, David 92, 96, 98
 Rosenstock, Bruce 192
- Rostowzew, Michail 113
 Rothschild, Clare K. vii, 54, 249
 Rotstein, Andrea 93, 94
 Rowe, C. Kavin 261
 Rowland, Christopher 158
 Royalty, Robert M. 218
 Ruether, R. R. 218
 Russell, D. A. 49, 212, 214, 230
 Ryle, J. C. 90
- Sadler, J. D. 94
 Said, S. 95
 Saller, Richard P. 285, 286, 287
 Sanday, William 27, 58, 63, 67
 Sanders, E. P. 4, 28, 29, 187
 Schafer, Byron E. 55
 Schlier, Heinrich 89, 90
 Schmid, Wilhelm 256, 265
 Schmithals, Walter 18
 Schnackenburg, Rudolf 89, 90, 106, 108,
 113–14
 Schneerson, Menachem 186
 Schneider, Johannes 133, 139
 Schoedel, William R. 217
 Schofield, Martin 32
 Scholem, Gershom 186, 191, 192, 194,
 195, 196
 Schöllgen, Georg 271
 Scholten, Clemens 271
 Schuller, Eileen M. 193
 Schüssler Fiorenza, Elizabeth 4, 146, 157,
 158
 Schwartz, Jacques 258
 Schweitzer, Albert 4
 Schweizer, Eduard 113, 118
 Scott, John 107
 Sedley, David N. 283
 Seelig, Gerald 2
 Shannon, Richard Stoll 100
 Sheehan, Jonathan 4
 Sherwin-White, A. N. 213
 Sherwood, Yvonne 4
 Shipley, Graham 102
 Shum, Shiu-Lun 81
 Silverman, David P. 55
 Skarsaune, Oskar 175
 Skinner, Joseph 101
 Skinner, Mary B. 230

- Sluiter, Ineke 92, 95
 Smalley, Stephen 18
 Smith, Jonathan Z. 176, 177, 285
 Smith, Robert W. 95
 Smith, Steven D. 255
 Smyth, Herbert Weir 29, 51, 52, 63, 68
 Sommerstein, Alan 92
 Sorabji, Richard 229
 Spencer, F. Scott 138, 139
 Spengel, Leonhard von 258, 261, 262
 Spicq, Ceslas 20
 Spittler, Janet E. 216, 288
 Städtele, Alfons 244
 Staden, Heinrich von 229
 Stanley, Christopher 4
 Stark, Rodney 105–6
 Steely, J. E. 3, 18
 Steiner, Deborah 94
 Stegemann, Willy 219
 Stevenson, Seth W. 23
 Stewart-Sykes, Alistair 212
 Still, Todd D. 19
 Storey, Ian 92, 95, 96–97
 Stowers, Stanley K. 29, 59, 248
 Streckler, Georg 7, 169, 170, 172, 174
 Streete, Gail Corrington 292
 Streeter, B.H. 123
 Strelan, Rick 136
 Strömberg, Agneta 251
 Suleiman, Ezra N. 97
 Süss, Wilhelm 91, 93
 Sutherland, Caroline 100, 101, 108
 Swain, Simon 215, 217, 220, 225, 230, 238, 254
 Swancutt, Diana M. 225
 Sweet, J. P. M. 150, 157, 164
 Swete, Henry Barclay 152

 Talbert, Charles H. 90, 109
 Tamez, Elsa 251
 Tannehill, Robert C. 134
 Tarn, W. W. 267
 Tarrant, H. A. S. 281
 Temkin, O. 247, 249
 Thom, Johan C. 37, 107, 284
 Thompson, Leonard L. 158, 221, 233, 236
 Thompson, Trevor W. 54, 211, 216, 249
 Thonemann, Peter 219

 Tigchelaar, Eibert J. C. 53
 Tite, Philip L. 242
 Toland, John 178, 179
 Too, Yun Lee 260
 Trout, Dennis 217
 Trumbower, Jeffrey A. 8, 195
 Tuckett, Christopher M. 234
 Tulloch, Janet H. 251

 Ueding, Gert 261
 Ullendorff, Edward 143
 Unnik, Willem C. van 132
 Uria, J. 94
 Usener, H. 261

 Valantasis, Richard 292
 Vander Stichele, Caroline 225
 Vander Waardt, Paul A. 267
 Vermes, Geza 188, 189, 190, 195
 Veyne, Paul 285
 Vidman, Ladislav 295
 Vischer, Rüdiger 281
 Vos, M. 102

 Wagner, J. Ross 22, 86
 Walker, William O. 28
 Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew 270–71, 285
 Walsh, Michael J. 106, 284
 Walsh, P. G. 213
 Walsh, Richard 3
 Wedderburn, A. J. M. 29
 Wees, Hans van 93, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 107
 Weidmann, Frederick W. 212, 221
 Weinstock, Stefan 16, 24
 Weiß, Johannes 1
 Welborn, L. L. 93
 Wellhausen, Julius 153, 164, 171, 181, 183
 Wengst, Klaus 18, 22
 Werblowsky, R. J. Zwi 186
 Wheeler, Everett C. 105
 Whitelam, Keith W. 3
 Whitman, Cedric H. 95
 Whitmarsh, Tim 93, 95, 212, 255, 260
 Whyte, Alexander 90
 Wilcken, Ulrich 113
 Wilkens, J. 92, 93, 239
 Wilson, Edward O. VII

- Wilson, J. Christian 158
Wilson, Stephen G. 73
Winiarczyk, Marek 32, 44, 45, 46
Wink, Walter 119
Winston, David 53, 55, 56
Winter, Bruce W. 17, 21
Witherington, Ben 132, 134, 136, 137, 140
Witt, R. E. 288, 289
Witulski, Thomas 218
Worman, Nancy 94
Worthington, I. 94
Wrede, W. 1
Wright, R. B. 25
Wright, W. C. 227
Wyke, Maria 226
Xenophontos, Sophia 95
Young, Robin Darling 25, 279
Zabkar, Louis V. 292
Zbirohowski-Kościa, Witold 32
Ziebritzki, Henning VII
Zimmermann, Bernhard 92

Subject Index

- Abraham 61, 74
Adultery 56, 57, 111, 119, 160, 165, 166, 202
Age 264–65
– adulthood, adult 205, 206, 226, 243, 276
– childhood, child 17, 52, 55, 82, 101, 135, 138, 189, 195, 199, 204, 205, 206, 226, 241–52, 268
– infancy, infant 241–52, 276
– old age, old person 228–30, 265–66, 275
– youth 6, 73, 205, 212, 228, 229, 262
Agriculture 36, 38, 44, 52
Alexandria 24, 53, 54, 95, 115
Alms 121
Amazon 103, 104
Anger, wrath
– divine 16, 19, 27, 28, 30, 39, 41, 61, 64, 66, 67, 70, 71, 153–54, 157, 166
– human 13, 136, 230, 245, 261
Animal 32, 37, 41, 42, 65, 70, 94, 112, 115, 117, 119, 123, 138, 236, 242, 288
– ass, donkey, mule 115, 116, 117, 118, 223, 288, 289, 290
– bird 48, 63, 101
– bull 32, 38, 117
– dog 94, 220, 278, 280, 281, 282
– dragon 24
– horse 145, 220, 228, 230, 233
– lamb 155
– lion 147, 149
– nightingale 48
– owl 48
– peacock 48
– pig 94
– quadruped 63
– reptile 63
– rooster 272
– serpent 24, 190
– sheep 274
Anointment 204
Antioch 114, 262
Apocalyptic 19, 21, 27, 28, 75, 79, 81, 82, 83, 87, 90, 145–67, 170
Apologetics 22, 169, 178, 179, 183, 217
Apostasy 6, 73, 169, 187, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195
Apostle 28, 131, 132, 141, 178, 195, 211, 212
– Paul 4, 5–6, 13–25, 27–72, 73–87, 89–110, 131, 132, 159, 170–71, 187, 189, 193, 194, 195, 199, 200, 201, 203, 206, 207, 209, 212, 224, 284
– *see also s. v. disciple*
Aretalogy 292
Art
– painting 32
– pottery, vase 101, 102, 103
– sculpture 24, 32, 37, 47, 48, 216, 218, 222, 271, 272, 280
Ascension 46, 49, 134, 151, 157, 273
Athens 34, 92, 93, 98, 99, 216, 217, 220, 238, 269

Babylon 21, 24, 46, 55, 94, 145, 152, 156, 202
Baptism 7, 129–44
Barbarian 6, 49, 91, 93, 94, 99, 102, 103, 104, 105, 108, 110, 242, 245, 247, 248, 252, 272, 273
Bath 228, 243, 245, 269
Benediction 18, 19, 22–23, 24, 25, 207
Benefaction 21, 29, 34, 44–47, 49, 56, 65, 109, 123, 216, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 292, 293, 295, 296
Betrayal 188, 223

- Biography ('Lives') 51, 94, 95, 189, 191, 211–240
 Birth 36, 96, 241, 242, 244, 245, 247, 292
 Bishop 208, 212, 284
 Body 19, 20, 32, 40, 116, 193, 201, 222, 223, 227, 229, 230, 232, 245, 283, 296
 – blood 7, 32, 38, 41, 56, 101, 109, 118, 130, 155, 205, 236
 – bones 17, 223
 – breast(s) 42, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246
 – eye(s) 204, 208, 230, 233–34
 – face 147, 148, 149, 225, 227, 228, 230–31, 232, 233
 – fingernail 242, 246
 – flesh *see s. v.*
 – foot (feet) 24, 101, 147, 148, 149, 228, 230, 235
 – forehead 225
 – genitals 138, 227
 – hair 96, 97, 227, 229, 230, 281
 – hand(s) 230–33
 – head 42, 43, 97, 100, 101, 104, 147, 148, 204, 209, 217, 230
 – heart *see s. v.*
 – legs 147, 148, 149
 – mind *see s. v.*
 – nose 225, 230, 274, 275
 – palm(s) 41
 – soul *see s. v.*
 – spirit *see s. v.*
 – uterus 249
 Boldness 225
 – *see also s. v. parrhesia, s. v. rhetoric*
 Britain 273
 Burial 44, 151, 155, 223

 Castration 133, 139
 – *see also s. v. eunuch*
 Cenchreae 288
 Character 69, 83, 87, 95, 96, 98, 99, 175, 221, 230, 231, 243, 250, 251, 252, 253
 Charity 123
 Christology 187
 – “Son of Man” 149, 150, 156, 159
 – Trinity 178
 Circumcision 109, 141, 188

 Citizenship 9, 20, 92, 94, 105, 117, 217, 255, 260, 268, 270, 271, 272, 274, 275, 280, 281
 Clothing 37, 122, 147, 148, 149, 155, 192, 219, 228, 231, 243, 264, 271, 276, 279, 281, 293
 Conflict 8, 13, 19, 20, 91, 102, 107, 125, 222
 Contract (legal) 241, 249, 250
 Conversion 131, 132, 138, 140, 141, 143, 188, 189, 240, 269, 280, 281, 282, 290
 Corinth 24, 74, 101, 103, 199, 203, 205, 206, 207, 288, 293
 Covenant 61, 98, 109, 135, 139, 180, 187, 188, 189, 195, 202
 Crete vii, 46, 257
 Crucifixion 145, 151, 152, 153, 165, 188, 191, 223, 224
 – cross 118, 123
 Custom 31, 32, 38, 45, 52, 55, 56, 68, 69, 70, 110, 233, 242

 Damascus 132, 188, 189, 190
 Deception 39, 49, 52, 53, 56, 66, 68, 100, 105
 Death 7, 15, 36, 40, 44, 55, 69, 72, 91, 92, 100, 104, 107, 130, 140, 151, 152, 154, 155, 156, 158, 165, 166, 186, 189, 191, 193, 195, 203, 212, 214, 216, 217, 218, 219, 221, 223, 224, 228, 229, 232, 234, 237, 238, 239, 242, 256, 265, 272, 276, 280, 291
 Definition 2, 42, 61, 70, 119, 163, 173, 175–76, 177, 179, 180, 182, 187, 215, 226, 227, 230, 236, 248, 288, 290, 293
 Desire 45, 51, 60, 61, 66, 67, 68, 71, 73, 90, 106, 192, 227, 245, 267, 268, 270, 272, 274, 276, 288, 290
 Devotion 49, 56, 191, 251, 256, 260, 287, 289, 291, 295
 Dialect
 – Attic 223, 258
 – barbarian 93, 252
 – Doric 244, 248
 Disciple 7, 111, 112, 117, 120, 121, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 181, 204, 219
 – James, Lord’s brother 131
 – John, son of Zebedee 131, 140, 212

- Peter 131, 140, 141, 189, 194
- Philip the Evangelist 7, 129–44
- Twelve 118, 138, 140, 223
- Divination 36, 38
- Divine being
 - Aion 55
 - angel(s) 53, 132, 136, 143, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 161, 163, 165, 167, 194
 - Anubis 45
 - Aphrodite, Venus 40, 43, 107
 - Apollo 45, 100, 107
 - Ares 103
 - Artemis 107, 108
 - Asclepius 220
 - Athena 31, 44, 46
 - The Beast 145, 151, 152, 154, 156, 161, 218
 - Bel 46
 - Belial 107
 - Cronus 46, 51, 257
 - Cupid, Eros 107, 161, 162
 - Curetes 46
 - Cybele 139
 - Demeter 33, 34, 44, 46
 - Destiny 257
 - The Devil 6, 89–110
 - Dionysus 33, 34, 44
 - Dioscouri 34
 - Elements 44–45, 54–55
 - Fates 96, 292
 - Graces 290, 295, 296
 - Hades 46
 - Hephaestus 31, 33, 44
 - Hera 46, 274
 - Heracles 45, 96, 103, 104, 107, 108, 273, 274, 294
 - Hermes 44–45, 257, 258–59, 267, 274
 - Hestia 46
 - Isis 44, 45, 288–95
 - Macedon 45
 - Muses 43, 48, 212–13
 - Ocean 44
 - Osiris 44–45, 289, 291, 293, 294, 295
 - Pan 45
 - Persephone 34, 46
 - Poseidon 33, 46
 - Prometheus 31
 - Psyche 161, 162
 - Rhea 46
 - Satan 24, 117, 146, 159
 - Tantalus 280
 - Themis 46
 - Virtue(s) (cult of) 15–17, 22–23, 218
 - Concord (*concordia*) 15, 16
 - Faith (*fides*) 15, 23
 - Fortune (*fortuna*) 15, 16, 113, 288, 294
 - Freedom (*libertas*) 15
 - Health (*salus*) 15, 24
 - Honor (*honos*) 15
 - Hope (*spes*) 15, 23
 - Peace (*pax*) 15–17
 - Victory (*victoria*) 15, 16
 - Uranus 46
 - Zeus 31, 33, 36–37, 40, 43, 44, 46–50, 96, 107, 108, 216, 220, 232, 261, 265, 274, 284
- Divorce 111, 119, 133
- Doubt 6, 31, 73–74, 84–90
- Doxology 75, 76, 81
- Dream 36, 40, 41, 288, 291, 293, 294

- Economics 9, 46, 108, 110, 111–27, 283–96
 - debt 80, 82, 121, 286, 287, 292, 293, 296
 - employment 241, 243, 246, 250, 252, 286
 - extortion 7, 111–27
 - investment 293
 - labor 7, 52, 56, 96, 97, 98, 112, 118, 284, 286, 287, 289, 291, 294, 295, 296
 - money 97, 219, 243, 251, 259, 284, 289, 291, 295, 296
 - poverty 96, 97, 98, 102, 103, 105, 116, 209, 251, 271, 281, 292, 293
 - property, assets, ‘goods’ 7, 46, 51–53, 97, 112, 113, 114, 117, 246, 284, 286, 291, 293, 294, 295, 296
 - reciprocal exchange 155, 283, 286, 290, 292, 295, 296
 - requisition (*angareia*) 111–27
 - tax 112, 114, 116
 - wealth 24, 51, 52, 53, 84, 92, 96, 97, 220, 252, 254, 257, 269, 272, 273, 274, 276, 281, 285–86
- Ecstasy 139, 247

- Education 8, 73–74, 95, 96, 97, 137, 199–209, 240, 246–47, 257, 269, 275, 278, 279
- Egypt 33, 43–45, 54, 55, 64, 65, 112, 116, 135, 143, 145, 148, 151, 152, 153, 165, 188, 190, 191, 254, 257
- Ephesus 159, 211, 213, 216, 238
- Equality 38, 220, 255, 260, 262, 268, 270, 271, 272–73, 274, 286
- Eschatology 18, 27, 64, 71, 74, 82, 83, 98, 111, 195, 196, 200
- afterlife 55, 194, 290, 291, 295
 - catabasis 290
 - divine trial 5, 27, 58, 60, 61, 65, 71, 194
 - Elysian Fields 290, 295
 - resurrection 72, 77, 109, 130, 140, 141, 149, 151, 195
 - transmigration 260
- Ethics, morality 6, 9, 21, 28, 50–53, 60, 61, 67, 69, 71, 87, 89, 90, 91, 96, 98, 99, 110, 124, 129, 130, 139, 171, 231, 234, 241–52, 255, 264, 276, 277, 278
- *paraenesis* 9, 244–45, 248, 252, 253, 255, 276
 - *see also s. v. vice, virtue*
- Ethiopia, Cush 7, 45, 129–44
- Ethnicity 102, 109–10, 139, 140, 246–48
- Ethnography 31, 43–47, 57, 101
- Eucharist 140, 141, 201
- Eunuch 7, 129–44, 227
- Evangelism 22–23, 86, 131, 134, 141, 143, 211, 278
- Exile 8, 135, 195, 200, 202, 203, 208, 209, 260, 263
- Exodus 65, 188, 189, 190, 207
- Expiation 195
- Faith (belief, fidelity, trust)
- divine 83
 - human 6, 15, 33, 47, 54, 56, 61, 62, 69, 71, 73, 74, 84, 85, 86, 87, 89, 90, 106, 110, 112, 130, 135, 141, 143, 144, 154, 156, 164, 165, 166, 170, 171, 181, 186, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 204, 206, 208, 214, 225, 237, 242, 247, 249, 250, 265, 284, 291, 294
 - *see also s. v. divine beings*
- Family 19, 192, 217, 219, 241, 243, 246, 251
- Fate 81, 82, 96, 146, 150, 151, 152, 153, 160, 166, 209, 238, 290, 292
- Fear 30, 33, 35, 36, 40, 41, 42, 58, 104, 106, 143, 151, 152, 157, 203, 205, 206, 271, 280
- Flesh 72, 75, 109, 189, 225
- Forgiveness 188, 193, 194, 196, 207, 208, 293
- Fornication 55, 56, 58, 156
- Freedom 53, 60, 86, 270
- free persons 20, 243, 244, 246, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 269, 270
 - freed persons 42, 55, 115, 221, 242, 243, 252
 - of speech 261, 262, 263, 275
- Friendship 285, 286, 287, 292
- friend 45, 78, 85, 222, 271, 287, 292
- Fulfillment 7, 62, 111, 112, 121, 124, 126, 127, 130, 137, 139, 140, 147, 164, 167
- Galilee 172
- Gaza 142, 191, 194
- Gaze 86, 225, 226, 233–35
- Gender 28, 71, 225, 226, 247
- femininity 66–69, 102, 225, 226, 227, 228, 230, 241–52
 - masculinity 66–69, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 230, 237, 239, 249
- Gentile 27, 28, 61, 75, 79, 81, 82, 84, 86, 99, 106, 108, 109, 110, 130, 140, 141, 142, 143, 151, 153, 157, 164, 165, 166, 169, 177, 178, 187, 191, 193, 195, 234
- Geography 19, 46, 132, 134, 138, 140, 142–43
- Gift 37, 42, 45, 52, 75, 81, 110, 143, 156, 259, 283–96
- Gladiator 223, 236
- Glory 17, 20, 27, 44, 63, 65, 67, 73, 76, 145, 152, 157, 166, 213, 273, 274, 290
- Gospel 6, 17, 22, 23, 27, 28, 30, 61, 62, 70, 71, 72, 75, 84, 141, 154, 234, 239
- texts *see s. v. index of passages*
- Grace 79, 84, 231, 271, 294
- Gratitude 27, 29, 30, 32, 33, 36, 38, 42, 55, 56, 57, 63, 64, 67, 78, 192–93, 207,

- 267, 277, 279, 286, 287, 288, 289, 292,
293, 296
- Greed 53, 109
- Greek 15, 30, 31, 38, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 51,
52, 53, 59, 63, 71, 75, 78, 79, 82, 91, 93,
95, 96, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 107, 135,
200, 209, 212, 213, 215, 220, 245, 246,
247, 248, 249, 251, 252, 262, 269, 271,
273, 284, 288
- Groan 233, 234, 239
- Gymnasium 39, 216
- Hagar 189
- Happiness, joy 43, 83, 84, 191, 269, 290,
293, 296
- Heart 15, 17, 20, 21, 29, 51, 58, 60, 61–72,
141, 143, 188, 189, 193, 204, 207, 208,
209, 286, 287, 289, 292, 296
- 'Heresy' 7–8, 169–83
- Apotactites 278
 - Ebionites 178
 - Encratites 278
 - Gnosis, Gnosticism 18, 30, 170
 - Marcion 278
 - Montanism 229
 - Nazarenes 178
- Hermetica 185, 292
- Hermopolis 112
- Historiography 30, 43–47, 53, 57, 169,
170, 174
- Holiness 71, 139, 151, 152, 153, 157, 164,
165, 181, 193, 203, 204, 206, 207, 208,
292
- Holy Spirit 88, 136, 137, 141, 142, 143,
163, 188, 189
- Honey 32, 259
- Honor 24, 34, 37, 44, 45, 46, 51, 53,
55, 56, 64, 66, 67, 68, 91, 96, 97, 100,
104, 107, 108, 109, 126, 199, 204, 205,
216–17, 219, 225, 237, 250, 252, 257,
258, 272, 273, 281, 286
- Hospitality 101, 113, 115, 116, 220
- Humility 87, 100, 206, 207, 208, 209, 271
- Impiety 30, 52, 61, 62, 65, 70, 237
- Infidelity 56, 69
- Injustice 35, 56, 61, 62, 69, 71, 108, 121,
124, 268, 289
- Intercession 238
- Interpolation 28–29, 43, 44, 101
- Intertextuality 214, 233, 234
- *see also s. v. allusion, s. v. rhetoric*
- Ishmael 189
- Israel 13, 15, 20, 25, 28, 53, 54, 65, 74, 75,
79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 86, 109, 117, 126,
136, 145, 148, 150, 152, 153, 180, 181,
188, 189, 190, 191, 194, 195, 196, 202
- Islam 5, 187, 190, 191
- Jerusalem 7, 15, 17, 53, 130, 132, 134, 135,
138, 140, 141, 142, 146, 152, 153, 154,
156, 157, 162, 164, 165, 166, 167, 172,
284
- Jew(ish) 6, 7, 8, 24, 25, 28, 29, 31, 54, 56,
58, 59, 61, 71, 75, 77, 79, 81, 84, 86, 113,
116, 119, 125, 126, 138, 139, 143, 158,
164, 165, 169–83, 185–96, 200, 202, 204,
207, 208, 209, 222, 223, 251, 275
- Dead Sea sectarians *see s. v. Qumran*
 - Jewish Christians 77, 140, 143, 169–83
 - Pharisees 7, 59, 81, 111, 112, 125, 126,
127, 133, 139, 173, 175, 187, 192, 194
 - Rabbis 117, 119, 125, 174, 187, 190
 - Sabbateans 8, 185–96
 - Sadducees 187
 - Scribes 7, 111, 112, 125, 126, 127
 - Zealots 164
- John the Baptist 276
- Judah 149, 150, 188
- Judaism 28, 53, 98, 138, 143, 170, 171,
172, 173, 174, 175, 177, 179, 181, 182,
192, 194, 195
- Hellenistic Judaism 7, 28, 53, 58, 59, 67,
78, 81, 82, 130
- Judgment
- divine 13–15, 24, 73, 76, 78, 82, 87, 163,
193, 194, 201
 - human 117, 154, 163, 194, 196, 201,
221, 225, 244, 275, 284
- Justice, righteousness
- divine attribute 56, 61, 62, 75, 86, 190,
191, 207
 - human attribute 15, 75, 85, 101, 111,
126, 127, 154, 166, 188, 189, 190, 191,
203, 204, 208

- principle 13–14, 16, 37, 52, 57, 60, 64, 67, 68, 111, 121, 124, 127, 154, 166
- Kabbala 186, 190, 191
- Kindness 114, 193, 286
- King, emperor
 - Alexander the Great 232, 265, 272, 273, 280
 - Alexander Jannaeus 142
 - Antoninus Pius 113, 215, 220, 222, 263
 - Attalus I 107
 - Augustus 15, 16, 18, 112, 114, 271, 285
 - Caligula 53
 - Caracalla 236
 - Cassander 45
 - Claudius 23, 24, 273
 - Constantine 22
 - Constantius 262
 - Cyrus 112, 117
 - Domitian 158, 260, 261
 - Germanicus 23, 115
 - Geta 113
 - Gyges 272
 - Hadrian 215, 216, 219
 - Hannibal 15, 272
 - Herod the Great 98
 - Herod Agrippa 276
 - Herod Antipas 223
 - Julian 259, 262, 278
 - Julius Caesar 16, 17
 - Lucius Verus 254, 266
 - Marcus Aurelius 9, 64, 76, 216, 217, 231, 232, 233, 235, 253–82
 - Nero 16, 18, 23, 134, 158, 260, 268, 275
 - Pharaoh(s) 133
 - Philip II 272, 275
 - Ptolemy I Soter 45
 - Ptolemy IV Philopator 275
 - Severus 113
 - Tiberius 18, 23, 114, 271, 272
 - Trajan 215, 220, 261, 271, 273, 274, 280, 287
 - Vespasian 260, 271, 279
- Laodicea 159, 166, 218
- Law 15, 16, 34, 35, 37, 50, 55, 56, 69, 202, 232
 - Athenian 92, 93, 94
 - *ius talionis* 111, 120, 121, 127
 - lawsuit, trial 121–22, 221
 - Roman 111–27, 250, 261, 271
 - Torah 7, 28, 29, 61, 62, 71, 85, 98, 110, 111, 112, 117, 119–21, 122, 124, 125, 126, 127, 138–39, 190, 200, 202, 203
- Leadership 9, 15
 - leaders 92, 96, 125, 126, 141, 153, 159, 160, 205, 206, 207, 208
- Levite 188
- Love
 - divine 13, 38, 43, 84, 86, 203, 204
 - human 20, 49, 50, 120, 124, 125–26, 203, 204, 206, 207, 225, 242, 251, 259, 293
- Lydia 50, 93, 272
- Macedonia 17, 19
- Madness 261, 280, 281, 282
- Magic *see s. v. religion*
- Magnesia 211
- Marriage 9, 46, 56, 57, 58, 101, 133, 135, 159, 191, 208, 226, 242, 244, 249, 250, 251, 263, 280, 289
- Martyrdom 7, 8, 130, 211–240
- Medicine 53, 242, 245–50
- Mercy 78, 79, 84, 86, 87, 193, 204, 207
- Messianism 8, 182, 185–96
- Metals
 - bronze 149, 163, 218
 - gold 46, 65, 188, 189, 190, 207
 - iron 35
 - silver 46, 271
- Methodology
 - form criticism 2, 3, 77–80
 - feminist criticism 3
 - historical criticism 1–5, *passim*
 - postmodernism 3–5, 9–10
 - redaction criticism 120, 121
 - sociological criticism 283–96
 - source criticism 2, 122, 140, 144
 - text criticism *see s. v. textual variation*
- Milk 242–49
- Mind 20, 21, 27, 32, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 55, 60–72, 73, 74, 76, 79, 82, 109, 163, 189, 225, 229, 230, 240, 247
 - cognition 35, 41, 54–55, 60, 61, 63, 64, 69, 71, 84, 230, 247

- observation 35, 38, 54–55, 61, 225, 257, 279
- Modesty 244, 249
- Moses 117, 125, 126, 135, 188, 189, 191, 207
- Murder 32, 56, 57, 58, 69, 106, 108, 111, 119, 188
- Mystery (cult) *see s. v. religion*
- Mystery (prophetic) *see s. v. prophecy*
- Name 14–15, 25, 32–33, 44, 46, 53, 56, 93, 94, 112–13, 124, 126, 131, 133, 135, 139, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 156, 166, 176–78, 188, 192, 201, 216, 219, 222, 223, 224, 230, 236, 244, 258–62
- Nature, natural phenomena 27–72, 242, 245, 247
 - air 33, 49, 54, 108, 109, 110, 245, 283
 - cloud 37, 38, 41, 147, 148, 149, 151, 273
 - comet 35, 38, 41
 - earth, land 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 23, 24, 25, 33–35, 37, 38, 40, 47, 48, 51, 52, 58, 59, 92, 97, 98, 134, 135, 147, 148, 151, 153, 154, 155, 156, 162, 166, 167, 172, 187, 188, 194, 195, 204, 218, 232, 257, 272, 273, 283, 284, 290, 292, 296
 - earthquake 20, 39, 42, 145, 152, 157, 166, 216
 - eclipse 33, 39
 - fire 20, 31, 33, 44, 53, 54, 107, 146, 147, 148, 149, 221, 224, 283
 - hail(storm) 38, 41
 - heaven(s), sky 20, 27, 33, 35, 38, 39, 41, 42, 45, 51, 54, 61, 62, 67, 81, 83, 108, 109, 111, 145, 146, 147, 149, 151, 152, 154, 157, 163, 166, 167, 193, 194, 224, 232, 233, 234, 257, 265, 273, 283, 284, 289, 296
 - hurricane 42
 - moon 32, 33, 39, 41, 42, 44, 53, 65, 107, 110, 288
 - rain(storm) 34, 35, 38, 41, 259
 - rainbow 147, 148
 - river 17, 32, 135, 228, 275
 - sea 23, 24, 51, 74, 147, 148, 218, 292
 - seasons 33, 39, 41, 49, 65, 288
 - snow 38, 41
 - stars 33, 38–39, 41, 42, 46, 53–55, 65
 - storm, tempest 38, 39, 41, 42, 148, 292
 - sun 32, 33, 39, 41, 42, 44, 65, 107, 147, 148, 149, 222, 291, 292
 - thunder(storm), lightning 20, 33, 35, 37, 38, 41, 42, 107, 147, 163
 - wind 34, 41, 49, 54, 85, 275, 276, 292
- Oath, vow 18–19, 41–42, 46, 56–58, 111, 112, 113, 147, 222, 234, 236, 237
 - Paphlagonian 18–19
- Obedience 23, 24, 29, 50, 69, 70, 71, 203, 207, 234, 287, 290
- Oracle 15, 25, 36, 38, 62, 103, 135, 164, 201, 209
 - Delphi 103
- Orthodoxy 7–8, 169–83
- Pain 56, 203, 209, 224, 234, 238, 280, 285
- Parable 29, 111
- Passion(s) 6, 28, 66, 67, 73, 109, 223, 268, 273, 274, 275
- Patriarchy 251
 - Patriarchs 86, 188, 189
- Patronage 9, 45, 254, 278, 283–96
- Peace 5, 8, 13–25, 48, 56, 116, 199, 202, 203, 269
 - *pax Augusta* 15–16, 18, 20, 21
 - *pax deorum* 221
 - *pax Romana* 25
- Pergamum 107, 158, 159, 160, 165, 218
- Pericles 91, 92
- Perjury 119
- Persecution 7, 90, 106, 130, 145, 158, 159, 165, 188, 189, 192, 238, 239
- Persia 102, 103, 112, 118, 123
- Philadelphia 156, 159, 164, 165
- Philippi 21, 212
- Philosophy 4, 6, 10, 20, 28, 31, 36–43, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 78, 82, 89, 90, 95, 231, 232, 240, 241, 242, 250, 253–82, 283
 - Cynic 50–51, 257, 262, 276–82
 - Epicurean 40–43, 49–50, 53, 257
 - Platonic 280, 281
 - Pre-Socratic 31–36
 - Pythagorean 260
 - Neo-Pythagorean 9, 244–45, 249
 - Sceptic 277

- Stoic 20, 36–39, 43, 76, 79, 81, 255, 256, 257, 263, 266, 267, 268, 269, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276–77, 280, 283
- Physiognomy 215, 225, 227, 230–31, 238
- Pleasure 43, 52, 224, 249, 250, 292
- Politics 3–5, 13–25, 35–36, 46, 47, 91–99, 106, 123, 134, 186, 187, 216, 221, 226, 238, 254, 255, 267, 274, 276, 281, 285, 286, 287
- Praise 21, 65, 75, 76, 77, 79, 83, 84, 91, 199, 220, 225, 251, 261, 262, 263, 264, 271, 275, 281, 282, 287, 288, 292, 296
- Presbyter 200, 203, 205, 208, 211
- Prophecy 24, 36, 56, 291, 294
 - Christian 145–67
 - Israelite 14–15, 24–25, 75, 111, 112, 117, 119, 127, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 165, 188, 189, 190, 191, 195, 202
 - ‘mystery’ 75, 79, 82, 83, 86, 87, 167, 186, 190, 191, 192, 195, 196
- Prostitution 93
- Providence 130, 136, 137
- Prudence (*sophrosyne*) 245, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252
- Punishment 8, 27, 29, 52, 57, 58, 60, 66–71, 85, 96, 109, 115, 199–209, 257, 261, 262, 263, 275
- Pythagoras 272

- Q (Sayings Source) 120, 122
- Qumran, Dead Sea Sect 6, 8, 53, 78, 83, 89, 90, 185–96
- Qur’an 5

- Redemption 23, 154, 155, 157, 166, 167, 189, 191, 193
- Religion *passim*
 - altar 16, 18, 32, 37, 40, 41, 43, 46, 151, 163, 164
 - ancestor worship 55–56
 - apotheosis 272, 273, 276
 - atheism 45, 90, 109, 221, 233, 234–35
 - definition 30
 - ‘divine man’ (*theios aner*) 220
 - gods *see s. v. divine beings*
 - hymn 6, 19–20, 21, 36–37, 40, 47, 48–50, 73–87, 136, 155, 192–93
 - idolatry 21, 27, 28, 29, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 65, 71, 72, 159, 189, 190, 208
 - imperial or royal cult 17–19, 22–23, 43–47, 222, 239, 272
 - impiety 52, 55, 56, 58, 61, 62, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 237
 - magic 30, 53, 55, 132, 140, 185, 288, 290
 - mystery cults, initiation 30, 36, 38, 45, 49–50, 54, 55–56, 289–95
 - Cybele 139
 - Eleusis 48, 52
 - Isis 289–95
 - Osiris 289–95
 - myth 30, 31, 32, 37, 38, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, 50, 59, 107, 178, 185, 244, 291
 - origin of religion 27–72
 - piety 25, 30, 31, 33, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 46, 54, 56, 57, 63, 64, 66, 71, 206
 - prayer 19, 30, 32, 34, 37, 42, 87, 117, 204, 207, 208, 223, 229, 234, 259, 273, 275, 292
 - priest(hood) 17, 30, 44, 45, 46, 55, 122, 138, 155, 188, 189, 195, 216, 219, 275, 288, 290, 293, 294, 295
 - ritual, rite 30, 31, 32, 36, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 53, 58, 98, 100, 185, 285, 288
 - sacrifice 30, 31, 32, 41, 43, 45, 46, 53, 71, 212, 216, 223, 237, 242, 284, 289, 292
 - superstition 30, 247
 - syncretism 3, 170
 - temple, shrine 7, 19, 23, 30, 40, 46, 47, 51, 53, 145–67, 216, 218, 219, 220, 222, 259, 273, 284, 289, 293, 294
 - theophany, epiphany 42, 63, 66, 148, 288
 - votive offerings 46, 48, 284
 - *see also s. v. theology*
- Remnant 188, 194
- Repentance 29, 154, 157, 160, 166, 193, 203, 207, 208, 234
- Retaliation 111, 121, 123, 124, 125, 127
- Revelation 27, 28, 30, 49, 60, 61–62, 65, 67, 68, 71, 75, 79, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 111, 141, 163, 188, 191, 195, 274, 277
 - *see also s. v. theophany, s. v. religion*

- Reverence 30, 66, 108, 163, 205, 206, 225, 291
- Rhetoric 1, 6, 7, 28, 47–53, 60, 61, 63, 66, 68, 69, 70, 76, 78, 79, 80, 82, 84, 89–110, 122, 123, 124, 125, 129–44, 147, 173, 177, 183, 209, 211, 213, 215, 217, 222, 223, 224, 226, 239, 240, 247, 248, 256, 260, 261, 262, 264, 269, 277, 280, 281, 282
- ambiguity 235
 - figure, trope 61, 68, 69, 70, 260–62, 264
 - allegory, symbolism 94, 106, 133, 161, 162, 164, 165, 166, 189, 209, 223, 290
 - alliteration 61, 70
 - allusion 24, 29, 58, 65–66, 78–81, 85, 98, 106, 107, 147, 150, 151, 163, 204, 207, 228, 233, 234, 255, 261–64, 269, 281
 - *antithesis* 61, 119, 120, 121–24, 126
 - *asyndeton* 70
 - *chiasmus* 70, 76–77, 137
 - *emphasis* 261–64
 - *hendiadys* 61
 - *homoiototon* 70
 - *homoioteleuton* 61, 70
 - *hyperbole* 122, 123, 209, 264
 - imagery 24, 89, 148, 163, 264, 274, 292
 - *inclusio* 131
 - irony 209, 231, 233, 236, 237, 260, 262, 264, 265, 276, 280, 292
 - *isegoria* 262
 - *isocolon* 61, 70
 - metaphor 6, 48, 49, 53, 73, 75, 90, 91, 94, 107–8, 110, 111–27, 133, 160, 185, 209, 259, 264, 273, 274, 275, 276, 280, 281, 290
 - *parenthesis* 7, 145
 - *paronomasia* 52
 - *parrhesia* 262, 263
 - *pleonasmus* 61, 151
 - *polysyndeton* 154
 - rhetorical question 76, 78–79, 80, 82–84, 248
 - *synecdoche* 68
 - *hypothesis* 235–37
 - *paideia* see s. v. education
 - parts of a speech
 - *confirmatio* 60
 - *narratio* 48, 60, 61, 66, 71
 - *prolalia* 48
 - *prooemium* 60
 - *propositio* 49, 60
 - *progymnasmata* 95
 - Second Sophistic 8–9, 211–40
 - species
 - deliberative 199, 207, 209, 264
 - advantage (*sympheron*) 199
 - example (*paradeigma*) 199, 207
 - epideictic 263
 - encomium 91, 222
 - invective, polemic 91, 95, 227, 229, 261
 - forensic 94, 97, 131, 294
 - other types/forms
 - advice 241–52
 - consolation 20
 - declamation 212, 215, 221, 222, 226, 227, 228, 235, 236–37
 - dialogue 9, 193, 253–82
 - diatribe 58, 248, 276, 277, 279, 281
 - *ex tempore* oration 233–35
 - fable 29, 48, 276
 - flattery 9, 56, 92, 93, 95, 99, 254, 255
 - florilegium 203
 - homily 28, 186
 - letter see *index of passages*
 - list 112
 - maxim 29, 278
 - narrative 5, 7, 8, 30, 43, 44, 47, 48, 52, 53, 57, 59, 60, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 102, 112, 117, 126, 127, 129–44, 145–67, 214, 221, 223, 224, 228, 229, 243, 276, 288, 291
 - paradox 207, 230, 267, 293
 - satire 9, 95, 253–82
 - slander 8, 89–110
 - witticism 234–35
 - topos 20–21, 89, 91, 93, 94, 95, 96, 199, 224, 277
 - ‘works’ of the orator
 - invention 84
 - arrangement 48–50, 60, 84
 - style 244

- brevity 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 71, 235, 246
- plain style 9, 244
- delivery 227
 - gesture 231–33, 235, 239
- Robbery 20, 53, 115, 117, 202
- Rome
 - city 23, 24, 25, 82, 114, 152, 153, 158, 211, 213, 260, 265, 269, 272, 293, 294
 - empire 7, 9, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 105, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118, 126, 158, 186, 216, 221, 225, 226, 229, 238, 241, 243, 244, 251, 253–55, 260, 268, 270, 271, 272, 273, 282, 285
 - republic 270
- Sabbath 139, 223
- Salvation 6, 19, 29, 30, 42, 62, 74, 81, 85, 86, 130, 131, 132, 135, 137, 144, 154, 155, 157, 166, 187, 192, 195, 284
- Samaria 134, 140, 153
- Sanskrit 243
- Sarah 189
- Sardis 159, 160, 221
- Scribe 111, 125, 127
- Scroll 7, 137, 143, 145–67
- Scythia 50–53, 99, 102
- Self-discipline, control 90, 207, 230, 249, 250, 252
- Sexuality 28, 29, 56, 60, 66–69, 70, 71, 93, 109, 226, 227, 247, 248–51, 290
 - abstinence, celibacy 249, 250, 251, 252, 290
 - coitus 249, 250
- Shame 6, 14, 66, 67, 68, 90, 91, 99, 104, 106, 108, 110, 204, 209, 225, 230, 232, 250, 252, 265, 281
- Simon Magus 132, 140
- Sin 25, 28, 56, 66, 68, 72, 86, 90, 99, 137, 188, 190, 193, 194, 204, 208
- Slavery (servant) 53, 56, 92, 93, 94, 97, 99, 102, 115, 117, 122, 205, 220, 223, 226, 242, 243, 246, 247, 250, 251, 252, 254, 261, 269, 270, 271, 278, 286, 287, 289
 - manumission 243
 - *see also s. v. freedom*
- Sleep 36, 49, 244, 245, 249, 250
- Smyrna 22, 159, 158, 165, 211–40
- Sobriety 249, 250, 252
- Socrates 214, 262, 282
- Sodom 145, 151, 152, 153, 157, 165, 166
- Soul 19, 36, 90, 190, 208, 230, 247, 249, 259, 260, 283, 288, 296
- Sparta 103, 104, 105
- Spirit
 - divine 22, 74, 79, 90, 98, 136, 137, 141, 142, 143, 163, 188, 189, 212, 283, 284, 291, 295, 296
 - human 19, 68, 193, 201, 208
 - *see also s. v. holiness*
- Temptation 86, 90, 106, 234, 237
- Textual variation 22, 89, 149
 - NT manuscripts (Greek)
 - Ⲙ 123
 - A 142–43
 - D 123
 - Δ 123
 - NT versions
 - Old Latin 123
 - Syriac 123
 - Vulgate 123
 - in *I Clem.* 204
 - in *Mart. Pol.* 229, 237
 - in Dio, *Or.* 12 49
- Theater 97, 227, 228
 - comedy 91, 92, 93, 94, 97, 98, 232, 263, 264, 279
 - tragedy 232
- Theft 20, 56
- Theology 15, 16, 17, 20, 22, 24, 28, 30, 31, 37, 40, 43, 45, 47, 49, 50, 53, 78, 81, 83, 103, 106, 120, 132, 135, 139, 142, 169, 170, 171, 178, 179, 186, 189, 192, 195, 218, 237, 272
 - *theologia tripertita* 50
- Thessalonica 31
- Thrace 94, 244
- Thyatira 159, 160, 165, 166
- Torture 223, 234
- Tralles 211
- Transportation 7, 112, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 137, 227, 230
- Treason 261, 266

- Truth 3, 9, 10, 13, 14, 28, 29, 30, 35, 43,
47, 49, 59, 61, 62, 66, 67, 68, 84, 195,
225, 247, 262, 270, 275
- Tyranny 70, 108, 225, 253, 257, 258, 263,
274, 275
- Universalism 24, 28, 40, 49, 58, 60, 61, 64,
66, 71, 102, 104, 130, 132, 134, 135, 136,
137, 138, 139, 144, 195–96
- Vice, immorality 29, 47, 52–53, 54–58,
60–72, 97, 98, 99, 247, 252, 253, 276,
279
- Violence 38, 42, 98, 116, 121, 122, 125,
194, 262
- Virtue 15, 16, 23, 27, 60, 70, 71, 99, 105,
224, 242, 249, 251, 252, 265, 270, 271,
272, 273, 274, 277, 278
- Warfare, military 15, 16, 20, 39, 44, 52,
56, 89–110, 111, 112, 114, 115, 116, 118,
133, 146, 158
- archer 96, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104,
105, 106, 107, 108
 - armor 100, 101, 103, 106, 242
 - army 103, 113, 116, 269
 - arrow 89, 90, 100, 101, 103, 104, 106,
107
 - battle 16, 60, 91, 93, 99, 100, 102, 103,
104, 105, 106, 146, 221, 228, 236
 - catapult 105, 106, 107
 - cavalry 102
 - crossbow 105, 106
 - hoplite 100, 102, 103, 104, 108
 - infantry 101, 102, 103, 106
 - javelin 102
 - legion 18, 104, 114, 116, 287
 - phalanx 102
 - shield 89, 90, 93, 99, 100, 103, 106, 108,
110
 - soldier 61, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118,
119, 123, 136, 226
 - spear 100, 102, 103, 106
 - sword 14, 15, 99, 117, 188, 221
 - warrior 91, 100, 101, 102, 104, 146
- Wet-nurse 9, 241–52
- Wine 245
- Wisdom 36, 73, 74, 75, 76, 83, 84, 207,
229, 264
- literature 31, 53–57, 58, 64, 78, 79, 81,
82, 83, 84, 86, 87, 200, 209