

EVA GÜNTHER

Wisdom as a Model  
for Jesus' Ministry

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
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**Mohr Siebeck**

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Eva Günther

# Wisdom as a Model for Jesus' Ministry

A Study on the "Lament over Jerusalem"  
in Matt 23:37–39 Par. Luke 13:34–35

Mohr Siebeck

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## Preface

This study is a slightly modified version of my PhD thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham in May 2017. It traces the influence of the Jewish wisdom tradition on the shaping of the earliest christology. It is a well known concept, which invests Jesus with Wisdom's function of a *Schöpfungsmittler*, that appears already in the earliest Christian sources (1 Cor 8:6; Col 1:15; Heb 1:3; John 1:1-3), and early patristic writers characterised the relationship between the heavenly Christ and God the Father by identifying Jesus with the pre-existent personified Wisdom of Prov 8. The present study explores a parallel development, which took place during the formation of the gospel traditions. Particularly the "Lament over Jerusalem" in Matt 23:37-39 // Luke 13:34-35 summarises Jesus' mission in terms reminiscent of Wisdom. As it can be shown that Wisdom had come to be seen as an agent in history in some prominent Second Temple texts, her role in Israel's history can be related to the ministry of the earthly Jesus.

However, rather than being presented as an incarnation of pre-existent Wisdom, Jesus is portrayed in the logion as a representation of God *like* the divine Wisdom, who in turn had taken on features of the Angel of the Lord, famously encountered as the pillar of cloud and fire on Israel's wilderness wanderings, where he acted as a manifestation and servant of God at the same time. Wisdom is related explicitly to Angel of the Lord as she is associated or identified with the pillar of cloud in Sir 24:4, 10 and Wis 10:17. Thus, just as the role of the previously known mediator, the Angel of the Lord, had been transferred to the divine Wisdom in the Early Jewish texts portraying Wisdom as a new appearance of this "older" divine representative, the logion in Matt 23:37-39 // Luke 13:34-35 continues the tradition of actualising the image of the divine mediator by presenting Jesus in an analogous way as the contemporary representative of God in the world like Wisdom or the Angel of the Lord.

I owe thanks to many people whose support contributed to the development of my thesis, beginning with a range of academic teachers at the University of Tübingen where I completed my first theological degree, for convincing me that historical investigation could establish rather than discredit the truth about God's real engagement with humanity. I have to thank especially Prof. Peter Stuhlmacher, who first introduced me to the role of the Jewish Wisdom in shaping a high Christology.

The next person I am indebted to is Prof. Roland Deines, who accepted me as a PhD student after I had taken a long break from theology to look after my children. From the beginning, I benefitted immensely from many conversations dedicated to accuracy in historical research combined with respect for the theological truth conveyed by the ancient texts. In particular, my original intention to explore in what way Jesus was understood as a representation of the divine Wisdom by the early Christians was given a wholly new orientation, when Prof. Deines suggested to reverse the perspective by asking whether it was possible that Wisdom was, and had always been, a representation of the Son rather than the other way around. This task seemed quite impossible at the time, but it was truly helpful to look at the evidence from a different angle. Thanks are also due to my external and internal examiners, Dr. Jessie Rogers and Prof. Richard Bell, whose suggestions helped improve my argument. Finally, I want to express my gratitude to Prof. Jörg Frey (Zurich) for accepting this study for publication in the *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*.

I would also like to thank Dr. David Armitage, Terry Roots, Tim Murray, Lucy Parks, Dr. Ruth Whittle and Dr. Rachel Luckman for reading parts of the manuscript and giving their much valued feedback. Lastly, I want to thank my family. This thesis could not have been written without the support of my husband, Prof. Ulrich Günther, who allowed me time to pursue my research while he was earning a living, and without the patience of our children Leonhard and Sarah. It has been much supported by the encouragement of friends and family, who took an interest in my progress and results, most of all my father, Prof. Bernhard Fischer, who is at home in a very different subject, mathematics, but made his way through long chapters of complicated theological concepts.

# Table of Contents

Preface.....	V
Table of Contents .....	VII
Abbreviations .....	XII
<b>Chapter 1: Introduction: Wisdom Christology in the Jerusalem Word?</b> .....	<b>1</b>
<i>1.1 The Impact of the Jewish Wisdom on Christology</i> .....	<i>1</i>
<i>1.2 Aim and Structure of the Study</i> .....	<i>5</i>
<b>Chapter 2: The “Lament over Jerusalem”</b> .....	<b>7</b>
<i>2.1 Introduction of the Jerusalem Word</i> .....	<i>7</i>
2.1.1 The Text of the Jerusalem Word in Q and Its Context in the Gospels .....	7
2.1.2 Contents .....	10
2.1.3 Date and Author .....	12
2.1.4 Form and Integrity.....	14
<i>2.2 Survey of Exegetical Approaches to the Jerusalem Word</i> .....	<i>16</i>
2.2.1 Matt 23:37–39 Par. Understood as a Wisdom Word.....	16
2.2.1.1 Odil Hannes Steck: Matt 23:37-39 as a Quotation of a Jewish Tradition .....	16
2.2.1.2 M. Jack Suggs, François Bovon, Felix Christ and Celia Deutsch: Wisdom-Christology in the Gospels .....	21
2.2.1.3 Hartmut Gese: The Emergence of a Wisdom-Christology from Jewish Traditions .....	22
2.2.1.4 Ben Witherington: Sapiential Features of Jesus’ Earthly Life .....	23
2.2.2 Denial of a Wisdom-Christology in Matt 23:37–39 Par.....	24



2.2.2.1 Ulrich Luz: Matt 23:37–39 Par. as a Prophecy of the Risen Jesus .....	24
2.2.2.2 Nicholas T. Wright and James D. G. Dunn: Matt 23:37-29 Par. as a Summary of Jesus' Earthly Ministry .....	27
2.2.2.3 Simon J. Gathercole: Understanding the Supra-Historical Agent in Matt 23:37–39 Par. as God .....	30
2.3 Conclusion .....	32
<b>Chapter 3: Wisdom's Functions in the Jewish Tradition .....</b>	<b>35</b>
3.1 <i>Proverbs and Job: Wisdom Involved in the Creation and Teaching the Fear of the Lord</i> .....	35
3.2 <i>Ben Sira: Wisdom Manifest in Israel's Cult and Inspiring the Sages</i> .....	36
3.3 <i>Sapientia Solomonis: Wisdom Saves the Fathers of Israel in Critical Situations in Their Lives</i> .....	36
3.4 <i>1 Enoch: Wisdom Given to the Son of Man</i> .....	37
3.5 <i>The Personification of Wisdom</i> .....	37
3.5.1 Hypostases, Divine Beings, Poetic Personification .....	37
3.5.2 Heavenly Beings in the Hebrew Scriptures .....	42
<b>Chapter 4: Wisdom as Sender of the Prophets .....</b>	<b>44</b>
4.1 <i>Prov 1:20–33: Is Wisdom a Messenger or a Sender of Prophets?</i> .....	44
Excursus: The Angel of the Lord .....	49
4.2 <i>Other References to Wisdom Sending Out Prophets</i> .....	54
<b>Chapter 5: Wisdom as Agent in Salvation History .....</b>	<b>55</b>
5.1 <i>General Introduction to Sapientia Solomonis</i> .....	55
5.1.1 Date, Provenance and Intention of the Book .....	55
5.1.2 Contents, Theme and Structure .....	59
5.1.3 Formative Influences on Sapientia Salomonis .....	60

5.1.3.1 Jewish Roots.....	60
5.1.3.2 The Influence of Greek Philosophy.....	61
5.1.3.3 Influence of the Egyptian Isis Cult.....	63
5.1.4 The Text, Structure, Genre and Context of Sap 10 .....	65
5.1.5 The End of the Encomium and Transition to Sap 11–19.....	67
5.2 <i>Wisdom as Agent in Israel's History</i> .....	69
5.2.1 The Main Areas of Wisdom's Activity in History .....	74
5.2.1.1 Wisdom as Saviour (σώζειν and ῥύεσθαι) .....	74
5.2.1.2 Other verbs describing Wisdom as saving one of the Patriarchs..	80
5.2.1.3 Wisdom Leading People on Straight Ways.....	86
5.2.1.4 Wisdom Imparting Knowledge .....	89
5.2.1.5 Wisdom Prospers Righteous People.....	94
5.2.1.6 Other Verbs: Wisdom's Miraculous Effects on Physical Nature .	95
5.2.1.7 Summary: Wisdom's Working in Sap 10.....	99
5.2.2 The Nature of Wisdom in Sapientia Salomonis .....	104
5.2.2.1 Wisdom as Divine Personage .....	104
5.2.2.2 Wisdom's Function .....	105
5.2.2.3 Wisdom's Ontological Classification.....	106
5.2.2.4 Wisdom and Spirit.....	107
5.2.2.5 Wisdom's Nature in Sap 1–9 and Her Role in History in Sap 10 .....	113
5.2.3 Is Wisdom a Divine Being?.....	114
5.2.3.1 Wisdom as Pattern or Instrument of God's Agency.....	115
5.2.3.2 The Personification of Wisdom.....	119
5.2.3.3 Wisdom's Real Impact on the Alexandrian Jewish Community in the Experience of the Sage.....	122
5.2.3.4 Conclusion: The Nature of Wisdom Remains Ambiguous .....	126
5.3 <i>Conclusion: Wisdom as Agent in History in Sapientia and Matt 23:37–39 Par.</i> .....	127

## Chapter 6: Wisdom as Manifestation of God's Presence in Sir 24 .....

6.1 <i>The Book of Ben Sira</i> .....	129
6.1.1 Date, Author, Greek Translation, Manuscripts.....	129
6.1.2 Contents: Themes and Wisdom Poems .....	129
6.2 <i>Wisdom's Role as Divine Presence in the Temple (Sir 24:1–12)</i> .....	130

6.2.1 Survey of Scholarly Contributions to the Exegesis .....	132
6.2.1.1 Johannes Marböck: Wisdom Chooses Israel as Her Specific Domain in the Historical Sphere.....	133
6.2.1.2 Gerald T. Sheppard: Wisdom's Journey Representing the Giving of the Law .....	136
6.2.1.3 Patrick W. Skehan and Alexander A. Di Lella: Focus on Prov 8 and Jessie Rogers: Wisdom as a Spirit or Angelic Being .....	139
6.2.1.4 Bernd Janowski: Wisdom as <i>inhabitatio dei</i> .....	140
6.2.2 Exegesis of Sir 24:1–12.....	143
6.2.2.1 Sir 24:1–2.....	144
6.2.2.2 Sir 24:3–7.....	145
6.2.2.3 Sir 24:8–12.....	147
6.2.3 Conclusions: Wisdom's Role as Divine Presence.....	156
6.3 <i>The Nature of Wisdom's Ministry in the Temple (Sir 24:13–17)</i> .....	157
6.3.1 General Comments on Wisdom's Role in the Temple Cult .....	157
6.3.2 Wisdom's Ministry as Anointing Oil and Incense .....	160
6.3.3 Wisdom's Ministry Symbolised by Luscious Tree Growth .....	161
6.3.3.1 Wisdom Manifested in the Priesthood .....	162
6.3.3.2 Day of Atonement or Tamid Offering in Sir 50? .....	162
6.3.4 Summary: Wisdom's Function in the Cult in Ben Sira .....	167
6.3.5 Wisdom's Role in the Temple Cult in the Wider Jewish Community ...	168
6.3.5.1 Wisdom as the Temple of the Mind in the Work of Philo of Alexandria.....	168
6.3.5.2 Wisdom as the Cosmic Order in Israel's Cult .....	173
6.3.6 Conclusions: Wisdom's Function in the Cult.....	177
6.4 <i>Wisdom's Personal Address to Her Followers (Sir 24: 19-22)</i> .....	179
6.4.1 Sir 24:19–22 .....	179
6.4.2 Is Wisdom a Hypostasis? .....	182
6.5 <i>Wisdom and the Law (Sir 24:23–30)</i> .....	187
6.5.1 Is Sir 24:23 the Hermeneutical Key to Ben Sira's Wisdom Hymn? .....	189
6.5.2 The Meaning of the ταῦτα πάντα in V. 23 .....	191
6.6 <i>Conclusions: Ben Sira</i> .....	192
Chapter 7: Wisdom Withdrawing from the Earth and United with the Heavenly Son of Man in the Similitudes of Enoch (1 En. 37–71) .....	196

7.1 *Date and Possible Influence on the NT* ..... 196

7.2 *Wisdom in 1 Enoch*..... 197

7.3 *Significance for the “Lament over Jerusalem”* ..... 199

7.4 *Conclusions: 1 Enoch*.....201

**Chapter 8: Conclusions: Jesus’ Exalted Role in the Jerusalem Word** .....203

8.1 *Jesus’ Ministry Related to a Divine Agency in the Jerusalem Word*.....203

8.2 *Is the Divine Agent Jesus Is Related to in the Jerusalem Word Wisdom or God?* .....204

8.3 *Wisdom as a Representative of God Like the Angel of the Lord* .....207

8.4 *Jesus as the Divine Mediator* .....208

Bibliography.....211

Index of References.....225

Index of Names .....236

Subject Index.....241

## Abbreviations

Abbreviations generally follow the SBL format; additional abbreviations are listed below. For Sapientia Salomonis (Wisdom of Solomon) I use the abbreviation Sap, and for the Jerusalem Word (Matt 23:37–39 // Luke 13:34–35) I use the abbreviation JW.

Translations are my own where I have not indicated otherwise.

AJEC	Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity
ATD Apokryphen	Das Alte Testament Deutsch Apokryphen
DCLY	Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook
ECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
fzb	Forschungen zur Bibel
JSJSup	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
NCBCOT	New Collegeville Bible Commentary: Old Testament
SAPERE	Scripta Antiquitatis Posterioris ad Ethicam RELigionemque pertinentia

## Chapter 1

# Introduction: Wisdom Christology in the Jerusalem Word?

### 1.1 The Impact of the Jewish Wisdom on Christology

The aim of this study is to trace the influence of the Jewish Wisdom tradition on the shaping of Jesus' messianic role. The personified Wisdom of Prov 8:22ff. is clearly identified as a model for early Christology by patristic writers such as Justin Martyr and Origen. In fact, Wisdom can be ontologically identified with Jesus in statements such as these:

God has begotten himself a certain rational Power as a Beginning before all other creatures. The Holy Spirit indicates this Power by various titles, sometimes the Glory of the Lord, at other times Son, or Wisdom, or Angel, or God, or Lord or Word.<sup>1</sup>

or

[...] the only-begotten Son of God is, seeing he is called by many different names, [...] termed Wisdom, [...]. The first-born, however, is not by nature a different person than the Wisdom, but one and the same. [...] the only-begotten Son of God is Wisdom, hypostatically ('*substantialiter*') existing [...]<sup>2</sup>

This study explores the origin of that claim. Jesus is not explicitly identified with Divine Wisdom in the NT,<sup>3</sup> but the two are set in a close relationship, as

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<sup>1</sup> JUSTIN, *Dialogue with Trypho* 61 (FC 6: 244 [Falls]).

<sup>2</sup> ORIGEN, *De principiis*, 1:2 (ANF 10:18). For further references to Christ's pre-existence being based on Prov 8 see: CYPRIAN, *Ad Quirinium testimonia adversus Iudaeos*, 2.1 (CSEL 3.3: 62–64).

<sup>3</sup> In 1 Cor 1:24 Paul says that "we preach [...] Christ the power of God and the Wisdom of God" and similarly in 1 Cor 1:30 that Jesus Christ "became Wisdom to us from God," which may be taken as indicating Christ's identification with Wisdom, as held e.g. by CHARLES KINGSLEY BARRETT, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, BNTC (London: Adam & Charles, 1968), 59–60; FREDERICK FYVIE BRUCE, *1 and 2 Corinthians*, NCBC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996), 35–36. But most exegetes are not convinced that Paul is speaking of hypostasised Wisdom in this place, see e.g. WOLFGANG SCHRAGE, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*, 4 vols., EKKNT 7 (Zurich: Benziger Verlag/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1995), 1:188, 214; HANS CONZELMANN, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, trans. James W. Leitch, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975) 48, 51 n.25; ANDREAS LINDEMANN, *Der erste Korintherbrief*,

various functions of personified Wisdom are ascribed to him, both in the gospel tradition and Paul's epistles.

In fact, Jesus had already been assigned the role of the heavenly Wisdom in one of the earliest written Christian sources, in an "ancient formula"<sup>4</sup> quoted by Paul in his letter to the Corinthians. In 1 Cor 8:6 he confesses that "But for us, there is one God the Father from whom everything [came], and we [are made] for him, and one Lord Jesus Christ through whom everything [is], and we [are] through him,"<sup>5</sup> ascribing Wisdom's role of the *Schöpfungsmittler* (God's assistant with the creation of the world) to the exalted Christ.<sup>6</sup> This concept must have been well established by the years 54–56 when Paul wrote his letter, as he neither introduces Christ's identification with the pre-existent Wisdom in 1 Cor 8:6 as a new concept, nor does he defend it.<sup>7</sup> Paul does not claim it as his own insight, whereas he feels free to do so regarding other subjects. Astonishingly, there is no opposition here or in any other letter to this idea, which must have been a highly offensive attack on Jewish monotheism, in contrast to the conflicts which arose in the early church over other issues such as Paul's view of the law or of circumcision. Wide-ranging agreement with Jesus' identification with the pre-existent Wisdom, whichever way this might have been precisely understood by these early writers, is confirmed by similar parallels between the heavenly Christ and pre-existent Wisdom being drawn in Col 1:15–20, the prologue of John's gospel and Heb 1:1–3.<sup>8</sup>

Further functions of Wisdom are transferred to Jesus in the gospel tradition: in Luke 10:22 // Matt 11:27, the Son's intimate knowledge of the Father is reminiscent of Wisdom knowing and revealing God in Sap 9:9–10. In Matt

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HNT 9,1 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 47; DAVID E. GARLAND, *1 Corinthians*, BECNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2003).

<sup>4</sup> ALOYS GRILLMEIER, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, trans. John Bowden, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vol. 1 (London & Oxford: Mowbrays, 1965), 15. See also WOLFGANG SCHRAGE, *Korinther*, 2:221.

<sup>5</sup> Some examples of Wisdom's role as *Schöpfungsmittler*, whether as observer or as instrument of the creation, include Prov 8:30, Job 28:25–27, Ps 104:24, Sir 24:3, Wis 7:22; 9:1–2. See GRILLMEIER, *Christ*, 1:15, 28–29, 44 for the influence of the Jewish Wisdom on conceptions of Jesus' pre-existence. ANTHONY C. THISELTON, "Wisdom in the Jewish and Christian Scriptures: Wisdom in the New Testament," *Theology* 115 (2011), 260–268, here p. 266, speaks of "Christ represent[ing] the Wisdom of God in person."

<sup>6</sup> See SCHRAGE, *Korinther*, 2:224; OTFRIED HOFIUS, "Christus als Schöpfungsmittler und Erlösungsmittler" in *Paulusstudien* II, WUNT 143 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 181–192, here pp. 191–192; HARTMUT GESE, "Die Weisheit, der Menschensohn und die Ursprünge der Christologie als konsequente Entfaltung der biblischen Theologie" in *Altestamentliche Studien* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991), 218–248, here p. 239.

<sup>7</sup> See LARRY HURTADO, *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity* (Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2003), 125–126, for a presupposed notion of Christ's pre-existence, which is commonly based on an appropriation of Jewish wisdom tradition.

<sup>8</sup> Especially the terms ἀπαύγασμα and εἰκόων in Heb 1:3 and Col 1:15 connect Jesus to Wisdom, who is described by the same terms in Wis 7:26. See GRILLMEIER, *Christ*, 29.

11:28–30, Jesus’ invitation to receive instruction mirrors a similar invitation issued by the sage in Sir 51:23–30, whose offer is in turn based on the invitation extended by the heavenly Wisdom herself in Sir 24:19–22.<sup>9</sup> In Luke 13:34–35 // Matt 23:37–39, Jesus’ ministry is compared to various forms of Wisdom’s engagement in Israel’s history; the significance of this logion will be explored in detail in this study. The synoptic references differ from all the other instances where Wisdom’s functions are assigned to Jesus in that they concern Jesus’ earthly ministry rather than refer to his role in creation or his exalted status after the resurrection.

The seemingly unproblematic transfer of Wisdom’s role to Jesus by the early Christian authors creates the impression that they saw Jesus as somehow related to Wisdom, which has led to the conclusion that the historical Jesus had been understood as an earthly representation or even incarnation of Wisdom. In particular, the evangelist Matthew has been seen as a champion of this concept,<sup>10</sup> because he twice substitutes Jesus as the subject of statements pertaining to Wisdom in Q (in Matt 11:19 it is Jesus who is justified by his works, whereas in the parallel Luke 7:35 it is Wisdom who is justified by her children; and in Matt 23:34 Jesus is the sender of prophets whereas in the Lukan version in Luke 11:49, Wisdom is the sender of prophets). Other authors detect a Wisdom-Christology as early as in the pre-synoptic sources.<sup>11</sup> However, this explanation is not entirely satisfactory, because this conclusion is not drawn explicitly by Matthew or any other author of the NT, and they seem not to emphasise the hypothesis of Wisdom’s incarnation in Jesus. Nevertheless, in particular Matthew and Paul clearly imply an identification of some sort, but the relationship they have in mind may be more subtle. The so-called “Jerusalem Word” (hereafter referred to as JW), or “Lament over Jerusalem” (Matt 23:37–39 par.) will be crucial to our attempt to describe this more subtle approach. This logion has played a central role in determining Jesus’ relationship to the divine Wisdom. It is preserved in nearly identical wording by Matthew and Luke:

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<sup>9</sup> See CELIA DEUTSCH, *Hidden Wisdom and the Easy Yoke: Wisdom, Torah and Discipleship in Matthew 11.25–30*, JSNTSup 18 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1987), 103–104, 114, 117, 137–138.

<sup>10</sup> See especially M. JACK SUGGS, *Wisdom, Christology, and Law in Matthew’s Gospel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), 67; also MARTIN HENGEL, “Jesus as Messianic Teacher of Wisdom and the Beginnings of Christology” in *Studies in Early Christology* (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 73–119, here p. 87: “Matthew [...] consistently identifi[es] the divine Wisdom with Jesus.”

<sup>11</sup> So DEUTSCH, *Hidden Wisdom*, 103–104, 138; FELIX CHRIST, *Jesus Sophia* (Zurich: H. Majer, 1970), 138, 145–148, 154. See also HUBERT FRANKEMÖLLE, *Frühjudentum und Urchristentum: Vorgeschichte – Verlauf – Auswirkungen (4. Jahrhundert v.Chr. bis 4. Jahrhundert n.Chr.)* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2006), 172: He speaks of a “Weisheitschristologie in der Logienquelle,” referring to Luke 13:34–35 among others; more cautiously on pp. 184–185.



Jerusalem, Jerusalem, killing the prophets and stoning those sent to her, how many times I wanted to gather your children as a bird gathers her chicks under her wings, but you were not willing. See, your house is left to you [desolate]. And I tell you, you will not see me [from now on] until you say: Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. (Matthew's additions in brackets)<sup>12</sup>

It can be understood as summarising Jesus' earthly mission in a way that relates his work to a trans-historical agent who had sent generations of prophets; this agent has been taken as the divine Wisdom by some exegetes.<sup>13</sup> The saying is the focus of the present investigation, which explores how Jesus was set in relation to the divine Wisdom in the synoptic tradition, whether by identifying Jesus with Wisdom or by more subtly incorporating aspects of Wisdom in the concept of Jesus as God's Son.

If patristic theology had identified Jesus ontologically with the divine Wisdom, modern exegesis did not see itself in a position to verify this claim. Rudolf Bultmann saw the subject speaking in the JW as a "supra-historical entity," which he identified as the Jewish Wisdom, but, ruling out the possibility that Jesus may have suggested that he was more than a mere human being, he analysed the logion as a traditional Jewish prophecy, which Jesus had either quoted, or which was later ascribed to him by the post-resurrection church.<sup>14</sup> Since Ernst Käsemann's article "The Problem of the Historical Jesus," Jesus has been widely seen as a teacher of wisdom,<sup>15</sup> explaining the many sapiential themes in Jesus' ministry without identifying him outright with the divine Wisdom.

More recently, scholars have doubted for various reasons that the logion is a wisdom saying at all. In brief, there are three main challenges to reading the logion as a wisdom saying: (1) The logion can be read simply as a summary of Jesus' earthly ministry, requiring no additional layer of meaning,<sup>16</sup> (2) The frequently claimed origin of the logion as part of a longer wisdom text, where the

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<sup>12</sup> For a more detailed analysis of the two versions see below chapter 2.1.1.

<sup>13</sup> So for example RUDOLF BULTMANN, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, trans. John Marsh (Oxford: Blackwell, 1968), 114–115.

<sup>14</sup> BULTMANN, *Synoptic Tradition*, 114–115. See also SUGGS, *Wisdom*, 66; DAVID FRIEDRICH STRAUSS, "Jesu Weheruf über Jerusalem und die Sophia tou Theou" in *Zeitschrift für die wissenschaftliche Theologie* 6, 1863, 84–93, here pp. 87–88; GÉZA VERMÉS, *The Authentic Gospel of Jesus* (London: Penguin, 2004), 328.

<sup>15</sup> ERNST KÄSEMANN, "The Problem of the Historical Jesus" in *Essays on the New Testament*, SBT 41 (Naperville, IL: Allenson, 1964), 15–47, here pp. 40–41.

<sup>16</sup> This view necessitates interpreting the "many times" Jesus had wanted to gather the children of Jerusalem either as repeated visits to the city, as understanding "Jerusalem" as *pars pro toto* for the entire Jewish people, or as Jesus merely *desiring* to gather the people. See DONALD A. HAGNER, *Matthew*, 2 vols., WBC 33 (Dallas, TX: Word Book, 1995), 2:680; RICHARD THOMAS FRANCE, *The Gospel of Matthew*, NICNT (Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2007), 883; MAURICE CASEY, *Jesus of Nazareth* (London/New York: T&T Clark, 2010), 408; JOACHIM GNILKA, *Das Matthäusevangelium*, HThKNT 1, 2 vols. (Freiburg: Herder,

JW followed on to Q 11:49, is uncertain. Without such a literary connection to a wisdom saying, which actually names Wisdom (such as Luke 11:49), it is more difficult to see why the actions of the trans-historical agent should refer to Wisdom.<sup>17</sup> (3) The implied supra-historical agent to whom Jesus is related could be God as well as Wisdom, because all of the divine actions are primarily themes related to God in the Scriptures;<sup>18</sup> they were only secondarily appropriated by Wisdom.

## 1.2 Aim and Structure of the Study

My own hypothesis is that the relationship between Jesus and Wisdom is more complex than Jesus simply being an embodiment of Wisdom: the JW portrays Jesus as a representation of God *like* the divine Wisdom.

Chapter 2 examines the challenges for interpreting the JW as a wisdom saying, scrutinising the existent exegetical options. Chapter 3 gives a short survey of the themes that characterise Wisdom in the Jewish tradition with a special focus on the emergence of her role in the historical world, which helps to establish Wisdom as a possible candidate for the trans-historical agent who Jesus is related to in the JW. The personification of Wisdom in the sapiential texts poses a crucial problem because it impacts on how Jesus could be related to her. Some discussion of the possibility of conceptualising Wisdom as a hypothesis or as a divine being is therefore required, including a consideration of whether Wisdom could have a place in the heavenly court of the Hebrew Scriptures, before an analysis of specific Jewish traditions is undertaken. The main investigation in chapters 4 to 7 demonstrates that the four elements of the JW which relate to a supra-historical subject, namely sending the prophets, gathering the children of Israel under the wings of the mother bird, withdrawing the divine presence from the temple and returning as God's messianic agent, can be seen as references to functions of the divine Wisdom, as she is presented in sapiential texts from Proverbs through Ben Sira and the Wisdom of Solomon to the Similitudes of 1 Enoch. If it can be shown that Wisdom was understood as an agent in history in Second Temple Judaism, then Wisdom could have served as a model for Jesus' earthly ministry in the gospels, just as the pre-

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1986–88), 2:303; JOHN NOLLAND, *The Gospel of Matthew*, NIGTC (Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2005), 950; NICHOLAS T. WRIGHT, *Matthew for Everyone. Part 2* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2004), 110.

<sup>17</sup> See FRANCE, *Matthew*, 879–880, 883 n. 5; ULRICH LUZ, *Matthew 21–28: A Commentary*, trans. James E. Crouch (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 153, 159–160; SIMON J. GATHERCOLE, *The Preexistent Son: Recovering the Christologies of Matthew, Mark, and Luke* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006), 213.

<sup>18</sup> LUZ, *Matthew 21–28*, 159–160; GATHERCOLE, *Preexistent Son*, 213.

existent Wisdom served as a model for the heavenly Christ in 1 Cor 8:6; Col 1:15–17; Heb 1:3 and John 1:1–3.

If Wisdom's role as agent in history was indeed transferred to Jesus, there are, however, *two* crucial aspects which contribute to shaping Jesus' messianic role: not only Wisdom's functions may have helped define Jesus' mission, but also her nature. In a second line of argument, I will contend that Wisdom was conceptualised as a representative of God in the Jewish tradition. In order to determine the nature of that representation, I will consider whether personified Wisdom can be understood as an independently acting heavenly being or hypostasis<sup>19</sup> rather than as an attribute of God in each of the Jewish texts. My thesis is that Wisdom is perceived as a tangible manifestation of God in the immanent world, acting as an independent agent to a certain degree, like the Angel of the Lord in older biblical tradition. I will show that Wisdom is merged at least functionally with the Angel of the Lord in the sapiential texts, and I will conclude in the final chapter that this creates the idea of a divine mediator, who represented God in the immanent world in different shapes throughout the ages, sometimes visible and more concrete, sometimes invisible and more abstract. As a result, I postulate that Jesus is to be understood as a new manifestation of this divine agent in the "Lament over Jerusalem".

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<sup>19</sup> See below chapter 3.5.1 for an explanation of the term "hypostasis."

## Chapter 2

# The “Lament over Jerusalem”

## 2.1 Introduction of the Jerusalem Word

### 2.1.1 The Text of the Jerusalem Word in Q and Its Context in the Gospels

Following largely the *Critical Edition of Q*,<sup>20</sup> the original version of the saying can be reconstructed as:

Ἰερουσαλήμ Ἰερουσαλήμ, ἡ ἀποκτείνουσα τοὺς προφῆτας καὶ λιθοβολοῦσα τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους πρὸς αὐτήν, ποσάκις ἠθέλησα ἐπισυναγαγεῖν<sup>1</sup> τὰ τέκνα σου ὄν τρόπον ὄρνις ἐπισυνάγει<sup>1</sup> τὰ νοσσία<sup>2</sup> αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τὰς πτέρυγας, καὶ οὐκ ἠθελήσατε. Ἴδοὺ ἀφίεται ὑμῖν ὁ οἶκος ὑμῶν<sup>3</sup>. Λέγω δὲ<sup>4</sup> ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ ἴδετέ με<sup>5</sup> ἕως ἂν<sup>6</sup> εἴπητε· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.

In cases of doubt, where Luke’s version had traditionally been judged as more likely to be the original,<sup>21</sup> the *Critical Edition of Q* now often prefers Matthew’s reading regarding some minor details. Only in the two cases where Matthew’s additional phrases apparently serve to clarify the meaning these are omitted in the reconstruction of Q. Thus,

1) Matthew’s form of the inf. aor. of ἐπισυνάγειν is used, and his repetition of the verb is retained.<sup>22</sup>

2) It is uncertain whether Luke’s τὴν ἑαυτῆς νοσσία (her brood) or Matthew’s τὰ νοσσία αὐτῆς (her chicks) was the original phrase.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> JAMES M. ROBINSON, PAUL HOFFMANN, JOHN S. KLOPPENBURG (eds.), *The Critical Edition of Q: Synopsis including the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, Mark and Thomas with English, German and French Translations of Q and Thomas*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000), 420–423.

<sup>21</sup> See CHRIST, *Jesus Sophia*, 137; ODIL HANNES STECK, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des deuteronomistischen Geschichtsbildes im Alten Testament, Spätjudentum und Urchristentum*, WMANT 23 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1967), 49–50; SUGGS *Wisdom*, 63; HENGEL, “Beginnings,” 84; and FRANÇOIS BOVON, *A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 9:51–19:27*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2013), 322.

<sup>22</sup> In contrast, BOVON, *Luke*, 322, holds that Luke’s ἐπισυνάξει is popular Greek and therefore more original than the Attic form used by Matthew.

<sup>23</sup> STECK, *Israel*, 234, 293, argues that Luke’s image must be older, because it refers to Wisdom as the original subject of the saying whereas Matthew’s version is more suited to describe Jesus as acting subject. Contrary to KIM HUAT TAN, *The Zion Traditions and the*

3) Matthew elaborates by adding ἔρημος (desolate), possibly to suggest a reference to Jer 22:5. The word is omitted in Matthew’s text according to codex B, but significantly attested in Papyrus<sup>77</sup> vid, κ, C and D etc.

4) Matthew possibly strengthens the causal relationship by replacing δὲ with γάρ.

5) Matthew adds ἀπ’ ἄρτι, emphasising the temporal distance between Jesus’ disappearance and the arrival of the “Coming One.”<sup>24</sup>

6) The ἦξει ὅτε present in some manuscripts in the Lukan version is dubious, as it reads ἄν even in Luke in papyrus<sup>45</sup> and codex κ etc.<sup>25</sup>

The context of the logion in Q is not preserved, as Matthew and Luke place it in different contexts. In Luke’s gospel, the section which includes the JW is Jesus’ journey to Jerusalem. This part of the gospel incorporates relatively unconnected sayings,<sup>26</sup> but Luke aims particularly to emphasize Jesus “setting his face” towards Jerusalem, where he knows that death awaits him.<sup>27</sup> Luke’s context is now widely regarded as editorial.<sup>28</sup> The Q logion was relocated by Luke who placed it after a passage that is unique to Luke’s gospel,<sup>29</sup> giving Jesus’ reply to the well-meaning Pharisees that he must continue on his way to Jerusalem, as it would not be right for a prophet to perish outside the city. Thus, Jesus appears as a prophet in the line of those who have been killed in Jerusalem. François Bovon’s exegesis reveals that the pericope that precedes the JW in Luke 13:31–33 already introduces the theme of the JW as it interprets Jesus’ destiny in terms of salvation history by joining a biographical note with soteriological meaning.<sup>30</sup> But this context is hardly original, because Jesus is not

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*Aims of Jesus*, SMTSNS 91 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 103, who argues that Matthew’s text is original, because Luke has a propensity for using ἐαυτός with a noun. BOVON *Luke*, 322, thinks that the Lukan τὴν νοσσίαν is original while ἐαυτῆς is a grammatical improvement on the Q text, which was made by Luke.

<sup>24</sup> Also SUGGS, *Wisdom*, 70 n.22, notices that ἀπ’ ἄρτι is characteristic of Matthew.

<sup>25</sup> Contrary to SUGGS, *Wisdom*, 70 n.22, who thinks that the Lukan version is original. Also LUZ, *Matthew 21–28*, 158 n.4. BOVON, *Luke*, 322, thinks the phrase ἕως ἦξει ὅτε goes back to Q. TAN, *Zion Traditions*, 103, thinks that ἦξει ὅτε followed by subjunctive creates such an unusual syntax that it is unlikely that Luke added it. ROBINSON, *Q*, 422, includes ἦξει ὅτε as probable but uncertain.

<sup>26</sup> See DELBERT BURKETT, *An Introduction to the New Testament and the Origins of Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 209; I. HOWARD MARSHALL, *The Gospel of Luke*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids, MI: Paternoster Press/Eerdmans, 1978), 562; BOVON, *Luke*, 321, 333.

<sup>27</sup> BURKETT, *Introduction*, 209.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*; JOHN NOLLAND, *Luke 9:21–18:34*, WBC 35B (Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1993), 739.

<sup>29</sup> DARRELL L. BOCK, *Luke: Volume 2: 9:51–24:53*, ECNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1996), 1243.

<sup>30</sup> BOVON, *Luke*, 321.

speaking in Jerusalem when he addresses the city, and it seems to have been chosen by the association with the word “Jerusalem.”<sup>31</sup>

The journey to Jerusalem brings an important theme into focus, as the holy city is the destination of Jesus’ ministry. Even the simple fact that Luke uses the Hebrew name of the holy city 26 times whereas it occurs only one time in Matthew’s gospel, in the JW, indicates that the city has a theological significance for Luke, and he would likely interpret the JW in a way that supports the role that Jerusalem plays in his gospel. Jerusalem is the “centre of the Jewish world,” which has the lead role in determining their relationship to God. This is where the final decision regarding Jesus’ ministry must be made.<sup>32</sup> Thus, Luke presents Jesus as a prophet who warns Israel of rejecting God’s envoy, and being placed before the entry into Jerusalem, the JW may leave the decision open as to whether the people of Jerusalem will welcome him as the “One coming in the name of the Lord” or not.<sup>33</sup> Luke confirms Jesus’ identity as a prophet by his editorial decision to link the JW with the saying about the necessity of prophets being killed in the city. By focussing on the city’s reaction, Luke gives a reason for the eventual destruction and the spiritual insignificance of Jerusalem as Jewish centre.<sup>34</sup> Thus, the JW is put in a context that suits Luke as he both links it to Jesus’ answer to the Pharisees’ warning that a prophet must die in Jerusalem (Luke 13:31–33) and emphasises the direction of Jesus’ travel towards Jerusalem and his death. The context of Luke’s gospel elucidates Luke’s interpretation of the JW and was not original to Q.

In Matthew’s gospel, Jesus appears as Wisdom Incarnate<sup>35</sup> for two reasons: (1) Matthew combines the “Lament” with the previous logion about sending prophets and envoys (Matt 23:34–36), which he had transformed from a word spoken by the divine Wisdom in Luke 11:49, into a word spoken by Jesus. The “Lament” follows this saying, implying that Jesus continues to speak as Wisdom.<sup>36</sup> (2) The point in the plot where Matthew placed the logion, namely Jesus

<sup>31</sup> STRAUSS, “Weheruf,” 89; BULTMANN *Synoptic Tradition*, 115; CHRIST, *Jesus Sophia*, 136; SUGGS, *Wisdom*, 64: he thinks the Lukan context is hardly original as it conveniently positions the logion before the triumphal entry into Jerusalem; WILLIAM D. DAVIES and DALE C. ALLISON, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988–1997), 3:312; BOVON, *Luke*, 321. Contrary to LUZ, *Matthew 21–28*, 158–159, who thinks that the saying is placed too awkwardly in Luke’s context to believe that Luke had created that difficulty for himself.

<sup>32</sup> JOEL B. GREEN, *The Gospel of Luke* (Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1997), 534, 537, 538.

<sup>33</sup> EDUARD SCHWEIZER, *The Good News According to Luke*, trans. David E. Green (London: SPCK, 1984), 230.

<sup>34</sup> HANS CONZELMANN, *The Theology of St Luke*, trans. Geoffrey Buswell (London: Faber and Faber, 1961), 133–134.

<sup>35</sup> Thus SUGGS, *Wisdom*, 71; CHRIST, *Jesus Sophia*, 152 “Jesus erscheint [...] als die Weisheit selbst”; less sure p.150.

<sup>36</sup> See SUGGS, *Wisdom*, 70.

leaving the temple for the last time, is ideally suited to insinuating that the presence of God departs from the temple as Jesus leaves, perhaps suiting Matthew’s theology too well to be credible.

Since the original context is uncertain,<sup>37</sup> the pre-synoptic logion, whether it first appeared in Q or goes back to a dominical saying,<sup>38</sup> must be interpreted without reference to a context.

### 2.1.2 Contents

The “Lament” appears primarily as a prophetic threat of imminent judgement, paired with the prospect of future hope. Particularly in Luke’s presentation of the logion, Jesus appears as a prophet.<sup>39</sup> As a reference to Wisdom is much more unlikely in Luke’s gospel, which distinguishes sharply between pre-existent Wisdom and Jesus who does not assume her role e.g. in Luke 11:49,<sup>40</sup> Jesus’ mission is usually interpreted as that of a prophet, who speaks and acts in God’s stead.<sup>41</sup> Consequently, Jesus’ “I” represents God’s desire to gather the children of Israel when he says “I wanted to gather your children.”<sup>42</sup> Thus, he is seen as speaking and acting in God’s place.<sup>43</sup> This avoids the difficulty of explaining how he could have called Jerusalem several times, in addition to extending the scope of his ministry to the wider Jewish community.<sup>44</sup> Accordingly, a favourite term of Luke’s in 13:32, “δεῖ,” indicates that Jesus obediently acts according to the divine imperative.<sup>45</sup> Equally, “your house is left to you” is usually not interpreted as referring to the divine presence in the temple. Rather, the “house” is understood as the city of Jerusalem and its people, which are left defenceless when God abandons the city.<sup>46</sup> However, interpreting the JW as a prophetic warning to Israel, which foretells the destruction of Jerusalem does not link the removal of God’s presence very well with Jesus being

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<sup>37</sup> CHRIST, *Jesus Sophia*, 136, doubts both Luke’s and Matthew’s context. So also STECK, *Israel*, 47–48 and NOLLAND, *Luke*, 739.

<sup>38</sup> CHRIST, *Jesus Sophia*, 148, and HENGEL, “Beginnings,” 76, 86, think it is possible that the logion goes back to Jesus himself. See also TAN, *Zion Traditions*, 107–109.

<sup>39</sup> CONZELMANN, *Theology*, 139; BOCK, *Luke*, 1243, 1245, 1249.

<sup>40</sup> See CONZELMANN, *Theology*, 110 n.1. BOCK, *Luke*, 1249. Contrarily, MARSHALL, *Luke*, 574, accepts that Jesus is using wisdom terminology and thus appears as a messenger of Wisdom; BOVON, *Luke*, 323, 328, accepts a wisdom background and accepts that personified Wisdom is the speaker of Luke 13:34–35a.

<sup>41</sup> BOCK, *Luke*, 1249; NOLLAND, *Luke*, 742.

<sup>42</sup> BOCK, *Luke*, 1249.

<sup>43</sup> NOLLAND, *Luke*, 742–743.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 742. Alternatively, he explains the address to an absent Jerusalem as a “soliloquy” on p. 743. In contrast CONZELMANN, *Theology*, 110, maintains that the context is difficult to explain because the logion must be spoken after Jesus had ministered to Jerusalem.

<sup>45</sup> BOCK, *Luke*, 1248; also GREEN, *Luke*, 534–535; SCHWEIZER, *Luke*, 230.

<sup>46</sup> BOCK, *Luke*, 1250; GREEN, *Luke*, 539; MARSHALL, *Luke*, 576, SCHWEIZER, *Luke*, 231, NOLLAND, *Luke*, 742–743.

# Index of References

## Old Testament

### *Genesis*

1:1–2:4 142  
1:2 145, 145 n.604  
1:22 175  
1:28 87, 164, 175  
1:31a 142  
2:2–3 151, 157  
2:3 142, 151, 175  
2:6 186, 146 n. 604  
3:15 87  
6:1–4 125 n. 518  
6:3 108, 109  
7:6 142  
7:23 75  
8:13 142  
9:1–3 164  
9:8–17 164  
9:11 164  
11:26–12:9 89  
16:7–13 43, 49, 50, 154  
17:1 88, 88 n. 393  
19:10–16 43  
19:13–29 75  
21:17–18 43, 49, 50, 154  
22:1 88  
22:11ff. 50  
22:12 89  
24:7, 40 50  
26:5 88  
28:3 94  
28:4 92  
28:12–15 42, 89  
28:13–15 89, 92  
28:15, 20 80, 83, 99  
28:20 92  
28:20–22 78  
32:2–3 42

32:8 75  
32:31 75  
35:9–13 90  
35:12 92  
37:6–11 93  
39:3 95  
39:2–3, 21 76, 83  
39:21, 23 83 n. 379  
41:1 83 n. 379  
41:10 83 n. 379  
41:25, 28 89  
41:38–39 83, 89, 109  
45:5, 7–8, 11 76, 82  
45:8–9 95  
45:13 95  
47:25 76  
48:16 49, 50 n. 250, 76,  
78, 86, 118  
50:20–21 76  
50:20 93

### *Exodus*

3:2ff. 50  
3:2 41, 43  
3:5 52 n. 256  
3:8 81  
5:23 76  
6:6 76  
12:23 53  
12:27 76  
12:36 94  
13:17 84  
13:21 98  
14:19 20, 41, 43, 50, 53,  
146, 154, 155, 157  
14:24 20, 98, 145, 154,  
190, 193



- 14:26 84  
 14:30 20, 76  
 18:8, 9, 10 81  
 19:1–40:35 142  
 19:4 12, 205  
 23:20 50, 53 n. 262, 98,  
 146, 154  
 23:23 50, 53, 98  
 23:20–23 52  
 23:27 43, 49, 53  
 24:15–18 142, 175  
 29:43–46 142, 148–149  
 29:45–49 141  
 29:45–46 142, 192 n. 769  
 29:45 191  
 30:23, 34 159  
 30:29–30 160  
 30:34–35 160  
 32:33 52  
 33:2–3 52  
 33:2 53 n. 262  
 33:7 170  
 33:7–11 146 n. 607  
 39:42–43 142, 151, 175  
 40:17 142  
 40:34–35 142, 146 n. 607,  
 149  
 40:34–38 139, 193
- Leviticus*  
 9:22–24 166  
 9:24b 167 n. 672  
 25:26, 28, 49 94
- Numbers*  
 9:15–23 52, 154  
 10:33–34 136  
 11:24–31 146 n. 607  
 20:16 50  
 22:22 50, 52 n. 259  
 22:23, 31 52 n. 256  
 22:31 49
- Deuteronomy*  
 1:33 136  
 4:6 137, 138  
 4:6–8 134  
 4:7 141 n. 593  
 6:5 150, 157, 184
- 8:13 94  
 12:1–11 136, 152  
 26:14, 17 180  
 30:2 180  
 30:12–14 138  
 31:14–15 146 n. 607  
 32:8 125 n. 518  
 32:8–9 152 n. 625, 153,  
 153 n. 626 and n.  
 627, 157  
 32:9 150, 152, 153  
 32:11 12, 30, 150, 203,  
 205  
 32:43 153 n. 626  
 33:4 137  
 33:22 146 n. 608  
 33:29 77 n. 359
- Joshua*  
 5:13–15 51, 52 n. 257, 154  
 7:7 84
- Judges*  
 2:1ff. 50  
 3:10 109  
 11:29 109  
 5:20 125 n. 518  
 6:11–24 154  
 6:34 109  
 13:2–25 154  
 13:25 109  
 14:6, 19 109  
 15:14 109
- 1 Samuel*  
 2:6 146 n. 608  
 8:7 90  
 10:5–6 109
- 2 Samuel*  
 12:5 82  
 12:10–12 82  
 24:15–17 43, 49
- 1 Kings*  
 8:10–11 149, 193  
 8:14–66 141  
 8:52–53, 59–60 141 n. 593  
 19:4–7 43

19:7	50, 52 n. 259	132:14	151
22:19–21	42	134:3	151 n. 622
22:19–23	125 n. 518	135:6	146
22:21	144	138:24	87
		144:13–15	94
		148: 1–3	164
<i>2 Kings</i>			
19:35	50, 52 n. 259		
		<i>Psalms LXX</i>	
<i>1 Chronicles</i>		5:9	87
21:16	52 n. 256	16:8	203
		21:28–29	90
<i>Job</i>		23:10	144 n. 600
2:6	81	26:11	87
5:1	90	30:4	87
9:8	136, 146	32:6	144 n. 600
22:14	136, 138, 146	35:8	150, 203, 205
28:25–27	2 n. 5, 168	45:8	144 n. 600
28:28	35, 147 n. 610	47:9	144 n. 600
38:16	136	59:7	78
		60:5	150, 203, 205
		62:8	150, 203, 205
<i>Psalms</i>		72:24	87
2:7	32	77:1–4	79
22:3	87	81:1	90
22:28	146	90:1	150
24:5	87	102:19–22	90
33:7	146	102:19–20	90
34:7	53	104	79
46:5	174 n. 694	104:39	150
47:8	146	105:47	79
48:2–4, 12–14	174 n. 694	107:7	78
51:11	109	131:13–15	150
61:4	12	144:10–13	90
65:7	146	148:2	144 n. 600
65:9–13	94		
72:11	146	<i>Proverbs</i>	
74:13	146	1:7	92
77:1–4	79	1:20–33	11, 44, 47, 49, 119, 205, 206
82:1	43	1:24–28	199
89:9	146	1:24	179
92:12	94	1:28	46 n. 232
93:4	146	2:8	81
104:24	2 n. 5	2:10–12	88
105:17–22	79 n. 366	4:6	99
118:26	13, 21, 22	8:4–10, 32–36	179
118:35	87	8:12	92
128:5	151 n. 622	8:15	95 n. 408
132:13	157		
132:13–15	151		

- |                      |                 |                   |   |
|----------------------|-----------------|-------------------|---|
| 8:15–16              | 87 n. 392       | 66:3–4            | 199   |
| 8:17                 | 92              | 66:4              | 46  |
| 8:22ff.              | 1, 187          |                   |   |
| 8:23a                | 139             | <i>Jeremiah</i>   |   |
| 8:27–30              | 168             | 7:13–14           | 46  |
| 8:30                 | 2 n. 5, 145     | 7:13, 24–27       | 46  |
| 8:30–35              | 31              | 7:29              | 46  |
| 8:30–31              | 147 n. 610      | 22:5              | 8   |
| 8:32–36              | 31, 35          | 29:2              | 84  |
| 8:36                 | 179             |                   |   |
| 9:1–6                | 23              | <i>Ezekiel</i>    |   |
| 9:4–6, 11            | 179             | 1:3               | 109   |
| 9:5                  | 180             | 5:5               | 173 n. 690  |
| 10:2                 | 78              | 9–11              | 26  |
| 10:22                | 94              | 10                | 199   |
| 11:2                 | 94 n. 406       | 10:2–20           | 42  |
| 11:4/6               | 78              | 11:24–25          | 109   |
| 28:6                 | 78              | 13:13             | 84  |
|                      |                 | 14:14, 16, 18     | 77 n. 360   |
| <i>Song of Songs</i> |                 | 16:25, 29         | 94  |
| 4:12–16              | 158             | 18:26             | 82  |
|                      |                 | 33:12             | 77 n. 360   |
| <i>Isaiah</i>        |                 | 38:12             | 173 n. 690  |
| 3:10                 | 57 n. 277       | 40:1              | 109   |
| 6:1–5                | 141             | 40:2              | 109   |
| 6:1–2                | 90              | 43:7–9            | 141   |
| 6:1                  | 109             | 47:1–12           | 174   |
| 6:2–7                | 42              |                   |   |
| 8:11                 | 109             | <i>Daniel</i>     |   |
| 8:16–18              | 141             | 3:25              | 49  |
| 11:2                 | 198             | 3:29              | 180   |
| 25:8                 | 91              | 7                 | 15, 22, 127 n. 518,<br>196, 197, 200, 201<br>n. 792 |
| 30:15                | 77              |                   |   |
| 35:6                 | 96              | 7:22, 27          | 90  |
| 37:16                | 90              | 8:13              | 90  |
| 37:36                | 43, 49, 53, 155 | 8:15              | 200   |
| 40:3                 | 78 n. 363       | 9:21              | 200   |
| 43:3–5               | 15 n. 66        | 10                | 201   |
| 43:3                 | 77              | 10:5              | 200   |
| 43:11                | 77              | 10:13–21          | 153 n. 627  |
| 44:20                | 57 n. 277       | 12                | 91  |
| 50:2                 | 46              | 12:6              | 200   |
| 53:11–12             | 15 n. 66        |                   |   |
| 52:12                | 12, 55          | <i>Daniel LXX</i> |   |
| 54:17                | 105 n. 426      | 3:49              | 83, 86, 118   |
| 57:9                 | 94              | 3:49–50           | 49  |
| 59:21                | 45              | 3:92              | 49  |
| 63:9                 | 53              |                   |   |
| 63:11–14             | 84 n. 382       |                   |   |

*Daniel LXX TH*

4:34 90

*Hosea*

2:8 94

8:11, 14 94

9:7 94

10:1 94

12:1 94

14:6–8 158

*Joel*

2:3 174 n. 695

4:18, 20–21 174 n. 695

*Micah*

3:4 46

3:8 109

*Habakkuk*

2:6 94

*Haggai*

1:13 50

*Zechariah*

1:1 109

1:8 109

2:3 42

2:8–9, 14–15 149 n. 716

2:14f. 142

3:1 42

7:13–14 199

7:13 46

8:3 142, 149 n. 716

14:5 90

*Malachi*

2:7 50

3:1 50

## Apocrypha

*Wisdom of Solomon (Sapientia)*

1 198, 108 n. 438

1:1–15 60

1:1–4 117

1:4–6 85, 104, 112

1:4–7 37, 112, 113

1:4 89, 113

1:5–7 62, 83 n. 378, 117

1:5–6 112

1:5 63, 107, 112

1:6–7 113

1:6 63, 111, 120

1:7 112, 113

1:15 95

2:3 111

2:12 57, 57 n. 277

2:18–20 59

2:18 32

2:22 49 n. 406

2:23 95

3:1–4 60

3:2–8 61

3:4 95

3:8 95

3:12 126

4:20 61

5:3 111

5:15 60, 61, 95

5:16 95

5:17–23 61

6–9 37, 60, 98, 124

6:12–14 104

6:16 104

6:17–18 100, 113

6:20–21 87 n. 392

6:22 89

6:22–11:1 62

7:7 11, 60, 63, 89, 104,

107, 111, 120, 124

7:7–12 61, 104, 113, 124

7:8–12 111

7:8 95, 104

7:10 105

7:12 95, 104, 105, 117

7:17–22 89

7:17 57 n. 278

7:21–25	207	10	12, 84 n. 382, 85,
7:21	105		102, 115, 117, 205,
7:21–22	89, 168		206, 207
7:22–8:1	60, 116, 187 n. 752	10:1–2	87 n. 392
7:22–26	117	10:1	81, 82, 82 n. 374,
7:22–24	62		118
7:22–23	111, 112, 113 n.	10:2	87
	453	10:3	82, 85
7:22	2 n. 5, 63, 105, 107,	10:4	74, 75, 76, 83, 84,
	117, 120		99, 118
7:23	105, 112, 116	10:5	87, 88, 88 n. 393,
7:24–27	41		89, 99
7:24	35, 36, 62, 97, 107,	10:6	74, 75, 76, 77 n.
	111, 112, 105, 113		361, 85
7:25–26	32, 62, 67, 106, 116	10:8	85
7:25	37, 60, 115, 207	10:9	75, 76, 77, 77 n.
7:26	2 n. 8, 58 n. 286		361, 78, 86, 100,
7:27	11, 35, 36, 44, 54,		102, 105, 116, 118,
	60, 83, 89, 96, 97 n.	10:10	124
	417, 102, 104, 111,		78, 86, 87, 89, 90,
	112, 118, 127, 130,		90 n. 395, 91, 91 n.
	204		402, 94, 98, 124
8:1	35, 36, 37, 87 n.	10:10–12	70, 77 n. 361, 78,
	392, 97, 105, 107,		92 n. 404
	112, 115 n. 462,	10:10–11	124
	168	10:11–12	103, 124
8:3	60, 115 n. 462	10:12	80, 80 n. 368, 86,
8:4	115 n. 462		87, 92, 99, 100,
8:5–18	124		116, 124
8:5	115 n. 462	10:13–14	79 n. 366, 93
8:6	115 n. 462	10:13	74, 75, 76, 82
8:7	89, 100, 113	10:14	76, 83, 83 n. 379,
8:8	89		93, 95, 118
8:21	124	10:15–21	68
9	113	10:15–20	206
9:2	60	10:15–19	97
9:4	60, 89, 105, 117,	10:15–17	118
	145, 199	10:15	77
9:9	60, 89, 105, 117	10:16–11:1	98 n. 416
9:9–11	31	10:16–19	36
9:9–10	2, 89, 168	10:16–17	71
9:10	104	10:16	54, 96
9:11	98	10:17	V, 86, 98, 118, 146,
9:13–17	65 n. 321		150, 155, 205, 208
9:15	58 n. 285	10:18	84
9:17	63, 107, 120	10:19	95
9:18	89, 94, 65, 65 n.	10:20	68, 84, 85, 96, 97,
	322, 74, 89		117
10–19	60, 117	10:21	181

11–19	67, 69, 117	14:26	150, 205 n.798
11:1	54, 68, 69, 71, 72 n. 350, 95	15:1	181 n. 722, 184
11:1–4	67, 68, 69, 85	15:2	184
11:2–4	68	15:2–4	184
11:4	71, 72 n. 350, 75	15:2–3	180
11:5–8	72	24:4	149, 208
11:10	68	15:5	181
11:21	57 n. 277	15:5–6	184
12:1	113	17:17	153, 153 n. 625
12:12	57 n. 278	24:1–33	129
14:6	84	24:1–22	189
15:10	57 n. 277	24:1–17	11
15:11, 16	111	24:1–12	130, 131, 143, 178
16:14	111	24:1–10	32
18:5	84	24:1–2	144
19:4	84, 85	24:2–22	190
19:6	97 n. 417	24:2	90, 181
19:18	97 n. 417	24:3ff.	187
		24:3–12	207
		24:3–7	134, 145
		24:3	2 n.5, 62, 107, 186
		24:4	V, 136, 193
		24:5–6	35, 96, 156, 181
		24:7	181
		24:8–12	147
		24:8	135, 140, 149, 152, 190
		24:10–12	205, 206
		24:10	V, 36, 131, 135, 139, 146, 146 n. 607, 149, 181, 176, 178, 190, 191, 192, 206, 207, 208
		24:11–12	149, 177
		24:11	152
		24:12	150, 151, 153, 206
		24:13–19	131
		24:13–17	143, 149, 151, 157, 158, 167, 174, 176, 186
		24:13–15	36
		24:13–14	161, 206
		24:14–15	161
		24:15	149, 160, 177, 191, 193, 206
		24:16–17	161, 175
		24:17	36, 94
		24:18–33	206
		24:19	180, 181
<i>Sirach/Ben Sira</i>			
1:1–10	129, 189		
1:9	35, 146, 156		
1:15	205		
1:16–17	180		
1:18–20	161 n. 653		
3:21–24	185		
4:11	181, 184		
4:11–19	129, 130, 154, 180, 181, 183, 184, 189		
4:11–18	183		
4:12–15	180		
4:12	184		
4:14	161, 184		
4:15	184		
4:17	181, 184		
4:17–19	184		
4:17–18	181		
4:18	184		
6:18–37	129, 179, 181, 183		
6:23–26	180		
6:26	150, 184		
6:28–31	180		
6:28–29	150		
14:20–15:10	129, 180, 181, 183, 184, 189		
14:20	184		
14:22–27	184		

24:19–34	131	50	162, 163 n. 659,
24:19–22	31, 179, 182		166, 167, 168
24:19–20	3, 158	50:5–12	206
24:22–27	152	50:5	162, 163, 193
24:22	36, 179	50:7	164
24:23–34	158	50:8–10	162, 167
24:23–30	176, 187	50:9	161
24:23	36, 131, 158, 183, 185, 187, 189, 190, 192, 193	50:11–21	163
24:24–29	161	50:16	166
24:33	48, 205	50:19–21	166
33:1	82	50:19	165
34:7	185	51:13–30	181, 183, 189
39:13ff.	36	51:13–28	129
39:13–14	161, 206	51:14	181, 183
39:14–35	160	51:17	181
39:14	160, 167, 171	51:19	181
39:15–16	160	51:20	181
39:16	160	51:21	181
39:17	160	51:23–26	31
39:18	160	51:23	183
39:22	160	51:23–30	3
39:23	160	51:30	94 n. 406
39:28–29	161		
42:15–43:33	133, 155	<i>Baruch</i>	
43:23	156	Bar 4:1	188
43:26	156, 157		
43:33	133	<i>2 Maccabees</i>	
44–50	36, 134	2:7f.	79 n. 367
44:2–5	13		
44:3–4	36	<i>1 Esdras</i>	
45:9	166	1 Esd	92
45:11	166	5:49	79
45:14	166	8:69	12, 69, 79
45:15–16	166	8:88	12, 69, 79
45:16	160, 166	9:5	79
45:23	166	9:18	12, 69, 79
48:21	156	9:55	12, 69, 79
		<i>4 Maccabees</i>	
		4 Macc	92

### Pseudepigrapha

<i>1 Enoch</i>		42	23, 37, 198, 199,
37–71	196		200, 201
38:3	198	42:2	198
		46–51	200

46:1	200		
48–49	205	<i>4 Ezra</i>	
48:1–7	37	<i>4 Ezra</i>	125
48:2–7	12		
48:7	199	<i>Jubilees</i>	
48:10	198, 200	8:19	174, 177
49:1	174, 198	50:11	166
49:1–3	12, 37		
49:3	198		
49:3–4	198	<i>Testament of Levi</i>	
51:3	37, 198	5:1–2	91 n. 402
61–62	197	9:3	91 n. 402

### Ancient Jewish Writers

Josephus		<i>De migratione Abrahami</i>	
<i>Jewish Antiquities</i>		28	171 n. 684
2.349 (2.16,6)	96 n. 412	<i>De vita Mosis</i>	
Philo		2.117	169
<i>De cherubim</i>		2.133	169
27	108 n. 442	<i>De mutatione nominum</i>	
<i>De congressu eruditionis gratia</i>		259–260	171 n. 685
116	170	2.249	110 n. 448
<i>Quod deus sit immutabilis</i>		<i>De plantatione</i>	
142–143	171 n. 682	18–26	91 n.401
<i>De ebrietate</i>		<i>De posteritate Caini</i>	
112	72 n. 348, 171 n. 685	122–123	172
<i>Quis rerum divinarum heres sit</i>		125–127	171 n. 685
112	170	<i>Quod omnis probus liber sit</i>	
112–113	171	13–14	180 n. 717
196–199	172	<i>De somniis</i>	
204	146	1.214–215	170 n. 678
264–265	110	2.241–246	174
<i>Legum allegoriae</i>		2.252	108 n. 442
1.45	171 n. 684	<i>De specialibus legibus</i>	
1.163–165	174	1.66–67	169
2.86	71	1.67	169
3.46	170	1.95–97	169
3.46–47	170, 171	1.269	171 n. 683
		1.273–277	172



3.1–6	91 n. 401, 108, 108 n. 442, 124	<i>De virtutibus</i> 8 79	171 n. 685 171 n. 684
-------	------------------------------------	---------------------------------	--------------------------

## Rabbinic Works

<i>Targum Pseudo-Jonathan</i>		Gen 41:1	83 n. 379
Gen 33:16	80 n. 368	Gen 41:10	83 n. 379
Gen 39: 21, 23	83 n. 379		

## New Testament

<i>Matthew</i>			37, 70, 127, 192, 205, 208
1:23	34, 208	23:37–38	29, 199
8:20	200	23:37	18, 27 n. 150, 28, 44, 48, 55, 69, 79, 127, 150, 209
10:5	127		
11:3	13	23:38	15, 17, 34, 178, 195, 199, 206
11:11–13	34		
11:16–19	199 n. 786	23:39	13, 17, 27, 27 n. 152, 29, 49, 199, 200, 202
11:19	3, 21, 26, 31, 33, 204		
11:20–24	27		
11:25	199 n. 786	24:1	131
11:25–30	31	25:25–27	22
11:25–27	22, 204	25:31	197
11:27	2, 15, 23, 30, 31, 34, 201	27:43	59
11:27–30	33	28:19–20	127
11:28–30	2–3, 22, 26, 26 n. 139, 30, 31, 179, 204, 206	28:20	32 n. 174
		<i>Mark</i>	
11:28	179	6:1–6	200
12:6	13 n. 57	10:45	178
16:28	17	11:9	13
23:34	3, 21, 31, 33, 127, 204	13:26	17
		14:24	178
23:34–39	24, 25	14:58	13, 17, 178
23:34–36	9, 21, 25, 30, 33	14:62	15, 17
23:35–36	27		
23:37–39	V, 3, 14, 15 n. 68, 16, 21, 22, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 199 n. 786, 31, 32, 33,	<i>Luke</i>	
		2:26–47	59
		2:29–32	11 n. 47
		7:28	34
		7:31–33	199 n. 786
		7:35	3

9:58	200	8:6	V, 2, 5, 31, 33, 60
10:21	199 n. 786		n. 291, 72, 128,
10:22	2		204, 205, 206
11:49–51	14, 33, 199 n. 786	10:1–4	72 n. 350
11:49	3, 5, 9, 10, 11, 21,	10:2–5	20
	31, 45, 54	10:4	20, 58, 71, 119
12:8–9	17 n. 78		
13:31–33	8, 9	<i>2 Corinthians</i>	
13:34–35	V, 3, 3 n. 11, 22 n.	3:18	58 n. 286
	106, 10 n. 40, 27	5:1–10	58 n. 285
	n.150, 199 n. 786		
13:35	15, 17	<i>Ephesians</i>	
		2:21–22	178
<i>John</i>			
1:1–3	V, 6	<i>Colossians</i>	
1:29	28	1:15–20	2, 204
2:19–22	178	1:15–17	5–6
14:12	28	1:15	V, 2 n. 8, 31
<i>Romans</i>		<i>Hebrews</i>	
1:18–32	58 n. 285	1:3	V, 2 n.8, 6, 31
3:25	178	1:1–3	2
		3:1–6	20
<i>1 Corinthians</i>		8:1–5	178
1:24	1 n. 3	9:12	91 n. 402
1:30	1 n. 3	9:23–26	17

## Index of Names

- Allison Dale C. 9 n. 31, 14 n. 63, 24 n. 127, 27 n. 150 and 152, 29 n. 167
- Andersen, Francis I. 176 n. 704
- Argall, Randal A. 48 n. 247, 182–185
- Barker, Margaret 174 n. 694
- Barr, James 51 n.255
- Barrett, Charles Kingsley 1 n. 3
- Baumann, Gerlinde 45, n. 225–236
- Bell, Richard VI, 178 n. 711
- Bellia, Giuseppe 57 n. 282, 58 n. 283
- Bennema, Cornelis 113 n. 453, 114 n. 455
- Black, Matthew 200, 200 n. 791
- Blischke, Mareike V. 522 n. 507
- Boccaccini, Gabriele 25 n. 134, 36 n. 183, 42 n. 215, 63 n. 305, 105 n. 427, 106 n. 432, 114 n. 455, 125, 125 n. 518, 197 n. 780
- Bock, Darrell L. 8 n. 29, 10 n. 39–46, 13 n. 53 and 55, 15 n. 65,
- Boling, Robert 51 n. 256, 52 n. 257
- Borg, Marcus 19, 27 n. 150
- Böttrich, Christfried 176 n. 704 and 705
- Bousset, Wilhelm and Hugo Gressmann 38, 114
- Bovon, François 7 n. 21 and 22, 8, 8 n. 23, 24, 26 and 30, 9 n. 31, 10 n. 40, 13 n. 53 and 56, 21
- Box, George H. 38, 114, 115 n. 460
- Bruce, Frederick Fyvie 1 n. 3
- Bultmann, Rudolf 4, 9 n. 31, 11 n. 48, 14 n. 60 and 62, 15 n. 65, 16, 35 n. 178
- Burkett, Delbert 8 n. 26 and 27
- Butler, Trent C. 51 n. 256
- Calduch-Benages, Núria 155 n. 634
- Carr, Wesley 153 n. 627 and 628
- Casey, Maurice 4 n. 16, 26 n. 147
- Charlesworth, James H. 196 n. 775, 197 n. 780
- Chester, Andrew 178 n. 712
- Childs, Brevard S. 52 n. 262
- Christ, Felix 3 n. 11, 7 n. 21, 9 n. 31 and 35, 10 n. 37 and 38, 11 n. 49, 14 n. 62, 21, 22 n. 105, 25 n. 136, 26 n. 145
- Clements, Ronald Ernest 173 n. 692, 174 n. 693 and 694, 176 n. 706
- Collins, John J. 56 n. 269–274, 57 n. 276, 279 and 281, 58 n.283, 61, 62, 67 n. 325, 69 n. 340, 90 n. 397, 103 n. 424, 106, 107 n. 433 and 435, 115, 116 n. 466, 129 n. 519, 130 n. 522–524, 144 n. 601 and 602, 189 n. 757, 196 n. 772 and 774, 197 n. 776, 777 and 779, 198 n. 781 and 785, 200 n. 788, 201, 201 n. 792 793 and 795
- Colpe, C. 214
- Conzelmann, Hans 1 n. 3, 9 n. 34, 10 n. 39, 40 and 44, 13 n. 56, 35 n. 177 and 179, 72 n. 350, 132 n. 528, 133, 187
- Corley, Jeremy 22 n. 106, 129 n. 521, 144 n. 601, 147 n. 609, 155 n. 633,
- Crossan, Dominique 214
- Cyprian 1 n. 2
- Daniélou, Jean 215
- Davies, William D. Allison 9 n. 31, 14 n. 63, 24 n. 127, 27 n. 150 and 152, 29 n. 167
- Davis, Ellen F. 44 n. 224 47 n. 226 and 227, 46 n. 231, 47 n. 238, 48 n. 246
- Deines, Roland VI, 18 n. 85, 19 n. 88, 30 n. 170, 73 n. 351
- DeSilva, David A. 56 n. 267, 57 n. 277 and 279, 58 n. 283 and 285, 59 n. 290, 60 n. 291, 62, 62 n. 295, 297 and 300, 67 n. 328, 106 n. 431, 114 n. 455, 118, 129 n. 519, 130 n. 523–525, 164 n. 654

- Deutsch, Celia 3 n. 9 and 11, 21, 22, 179 n. 714
- DiLella, Alexander A. 132, 139, 144, 144 n. 601 and 603, 145 n. 604, 146 n. 606, 147 n. 609, 149 n. 616, 155 n. 633, 158 n. 636 and 638, 161 n. 648 and 649, 163 n. 659, 179, 179 n. 713 and 715, 184 n. 739, 186 n. 747, 188 n. 753
- Dozeman, Thomas B. 51 n. 256, 25 n. 257
- Dunn, James D. G. 14 n. 59, 17 n. 77, 18 n. 80 and 82, 19 n. 85 and 90, 21 n. 104, 27, 27 n. 150, 29, 34 n. 176, 37 n. 184, 58 n. 285, 72 n. 350
- Durham, John I. 52 n. 260 and 262, 53 n. 263
- Engberg-Pedersen, Troels 58 n. 285
- Enns, Peter 58 n. 286, 70 n. 340, 71 n. 346, 72 n. 349, 95 n. 407, 100 n. 422, 115
- Erler, Michael 39 n. 192
- Fee, Gordon D. 72 n. 350
- Ficker, R. 50 n. 249
- Fishbane, Michael 173 n. 690, 174 n. 694 and 695
- France, Richard Thomas 4 n. 16, 5 n. 17, 24 n. 127, 25 n. 129, 131 and 135, 27 n. 147 and 152
- Frankemölle, Hubert 3 n. 11, 22 n. 106, 38, 39 n. 200, 40, 115 n. 460 and 461, 187, 187 n. 751 and 752
- Frey, Jörg VI, 208 n. 799
- Fritz, Volkmar 173 n. 690
- Garland, David E. 2 n. 3,
- Gathercole, Simon J. 5 n. 17 and 18, 11 n. 49, 14 n. 63, 24 n. 127, 29 n. 168, 30, 31, 31 n. 172, 204 n. 797
- Gehrke, Hans-Joachim 56 n. 272–275
- Gese, Hartmut 2 n. 6, 12 n. 50, 13 n. 57, 15 n. 66, 22, 23, 34 n. 176, 36 n. 181, 44 n. 223, 104 n. 425, 141 n. 590, 145 n. 605, 173 n. 689, 178 n. 710, 197 n. 779, 200 n. 788 and 790, 201 n. 794–796
- Glicksman, Andrew T. 58 n. 283, 64 n. 317, 65 n. 321 and 322, 67 n. 324, 68 n. 333, 336 and 337, 70 n. 341, 75 n. 355, 76 n. 356, 81 n. 369–372, 83 n. 376, 84 n. 381, 87 n. 391 and 392, 88 n. 394, 92 n. 402, 93 n. 405, 94 n. 406, 95 n. 407, 96, 96 n. 411 and 413, 98 n. 419, 114 n. 456, 116 n. 465
- Gnilka, Joachim 4 n. 16, 14 n. 62, 15 n. 65, 26 n. 138, 27 n. 149 and 150, 34 n. 175
- Goldberg, Arnold M. 150 n. 613
- Grabbe, Lester L. 57 n. 278, 59 n. 290, 114 n. 455
- Gregg, John Allen Fitzgerald 114 n. 456
- Green, Joel B. 9 n. 32, 10 n. 45 and 46, 11 n. 47, 13 n. 55,
- Gressmann, Hugo 38, 114 n. 459, 115 n. 460 and 461
- Grillmeier, Aloys 2 n. 4, 5 and 8
- Gurtner, Daniel M. 163 n. 655, 166 n. 669
- Hadas-Lebel, Mireille 216
- Haenchen, Ernst 14 n. 64
- Hagner, Donald A. 4 n. 16, 15 n. 68, 27 n. 147 and 152, 32 n. 174
- Hamori, Esther J. 42, 43 n. 221, 51 n. 253 and 255, 53 n. 264, 125 n. 518
- Hanson, Anthony Tyrrell 20, 209
- Harrington, Daniel J. 216
- Hauge, Martin Ravndal 52 n. 262
- Hawk, Daniel L. 51 n. 256
- Hayward, Charles Thomas Robert 160 n. 647, 161, 163, 164 n. 660 and 661, 165 n. 662–667, 166 n. 670, 169 n. 676, 170 n. 678, 171 n. 686, 173 n. 687, 174 n. 697, 175 n. 699
- Heininger, Bernard 217
- Hengel, Martin 3 n. 10, 7 n. 21, 10 n. 38, 14 n. 58, 15 n. 66 and 67, 18 n. 83, 26 n. 138, 33 n. 175, 59 n. 288, 205 n. 798
- Héring, Jean 72 n. 350
- Himmelfarb, Martha 174 n. 699
- Hoffmann, Paul 7 n. 20
- Hofius, Otfried 2 n. 6
- Hossfeld, Frank-Lothar 151 n. 623
- Houtman, Cornelis 52 n. 261
- Hübner, Hans 58 n. 285, 62, 65 n. 321, 67 n. 324 and 326, 68 n. 333 and 336, 71 n. 344, 72 n. 350, 76 n. 356, 81 n. 369–371, 87 n. 392, 90 n. 396, 93 n. 405, 95 n. 410, 96 n. 414, 101 n. 423,

- 104 n. 425, 116, 116 n. 466–468, 117 n. 469, 151
- Hurtado, Larry W. 2 n. 7
- Hyatt, Philip 52 n. 260, 53 n. 262
- Janowski, Bernd 123 n. 508, 132, 140, 141 n. 589–594, 142 n. 595 and 596, 143, 143 n. 599, 147 n. 609, 149 n. 615 and 617, 151 n. 620, 621 and 624, 167 n. 671 and 672, 173 n. 690 and 691, 174 n. 693, 175 n. 700 and 701, 176 n. 706 and 707, 190 n. 765, 192 n. 769
- Japhet, Sara 218
- Jeremias, Joachim 14 n. 59
- Jones, Ivor H. 97 n. 417
- Justin Martyr 1
- Kaiser, Otto 188 n. 753, 189 n. 757
- Käsemann, Ernst 4
- Klein, Anja 188 n. 756
- Kloppenborg, John S. 7 n. 20, 56 n. 268, 58 n. 283, 60 n. 291, 61 n. 292, 64, 70 n. 343, 74 n. 354, 83 n. 380, 86 n. 387, 89 n. 419 and 420, 120, 121 n. 489 and 490, 123 n. 509, 124 n. 510
- Knibb, Michael 48 n. 248, 196 n. 772 and 773, 197 n. 776 and 780, 198 n. 781 and 783
- Knox, Wilfred L. 133 n. 534, 188 n. 754
- Kraus, Hans-Joachim 53 n. 264
- Kreuzer, Siegfried 56 n. 270 and 272, 57 n. 277
- Krüger, Thomas 188 n. 756, 194 n. 771
- Leonhardt-Balzer, Jutta 169, 169 n. 674 and 676, 170, 170 n. 678, 680 and 681
- Leuenberger, Martin 123 n. 508
- Levenson, Jon D. 173 n. 688 and 690, 174 n. 693 and 698, 175 n. 701
- Levison, John R. 91 n. 401, 108, 109, 110, 110 n. 448, 112 n. 451, 124 n. 512, 125 n. 514
- Lietzmann, Hans 72 n. 350
- Lindemann, Andreas 1 n. 3, 72 n. 350
- Loader, James Alfred 45 n. 226, 46 n. 229–235, 48 n. 246
- Luz, Ulrich 5 n. 17 and 18, 8 n. 25, 9 n. 31, 11 n. 49, 13 n. 53, 14 n. 61, 62 and 64, 15 n. 65 and 68, 17 n. 78, 24–26, 27 n. 151, 28 n. 153, 32 n. 174,
- Mack, Burton Lee 36 n. 180, 56 n. 268, 58 n. 284, 60 n. 291, 62, 63, 105 n. 428, 107, 113 n. 454, 120, 123 n. 509
- Marböck, Johannes 36 n. 182, 132, 133–135, 144 n. 601, 145 n. 604, 147 n. 609 and 611, 149 n. 616, 156 n. 635, 158, 158 n. 636, 638 and 641, 161 n. 649, 650 and 652, 163 n. 659, 175 n. 699, 182, 186 n. 748, 188 n. 754, 189 n. 757
- Marshall, I. Howard 8 n. 26, 10 n. 40 and 46, 13 n. 55 and 57, 15 n. 66, 27 n. 147 and 149
- Martin, James Dean 47 n. 238 and 245, 48 n. 246, 114 n. 457, 145 n. 605,
- McKane, William 44 n. 224, 45 n. 226, 46 n. 229, 231, 233 and 235, 47 n. 236–239 and 245
- McKnight, Scot 18 n. 84
- McNeile, Alan Hugh 52 n. 260, 53 n. 262,
- Meier, Samuel A. 51 n. 254
- Metzger, Bruce M. 59 n. 290
- Meyer, Rudolf 152 n. 625, 153 n. 626
- Meyers, Carol 43 n. 222, 52 n. 262
- Mowinckel, Sigmund 38 n. 186, 39 n. 199, 40 n. 210
- Murphy, Roland Edmund 44 n. 224, 45 n. 226–228, 46 n. 229–234, 47, 47 n. 236, 238, 239 and 243, 111 n. 449
- Neef, Heinz-Dieter 42 n. 215, 217 and 218
- Neher, Martin 38, 38 n. 185, 41, 58 n. 283 and 284, 60 n. 291, 63, 65 n. 321 and 322, 68 n. 333 and 336, 69 n. 339, 76 n. 356, 77 n. 361, 81 n. 369 and 372, 82, 83 n. 378, 85 n. 383, 96, 97 n. 415, 101 n. 423, 107, 111 n. 450, 114 n. 456, 116, 116 n. 465 and 468, 117, 118, 118 n. 475, 182, 185, 186, 189 n. 757
- Nickelsburg, George W. E. 82 n. 374, 90 n. 397, 92 n. 402, 125 n. 518, 196 n. 774 and 775, 197 n. 778, 200, 201 n. 792 and 795
- Niebuhr, Karl-Wilhelm 59 n. 287, 60 n. 291
- Nolland, John 5 n. 16, 8 n. 28, 10 n. 37, 41, 43 and 46, 11 n. 47 and 49, 13 n.

- 53, 15 n. 65, 26 n. 138, 139 and 142,  
27 n. 128 and 149, 28 n. 152, 30 n.  
167, 32 n. 174
- Oesterley, William O. 38, 114, 115 n.  
460, 145 n. 604, 163 n. 655
- Ó Fearghail, F. 163
- Öhler, Markus 72 n. 350
- Olson, Daniel C. 198 n. 785
- Origen 1, 1 n. 2, 12 n. 51, 54, 55
- Orr, William F. 72 n. 350
- Perdue, Leo G. 143 n. 599, 144 n. 600,  
151 n. 619, 155 n. 632 and 634, 156  
n. 635, 158 n. 636, 159, 161 n. 648  
and 651, 179 n. 713 and 715
- Plöger, Otto 45 n. 226, 46 n. 229, 231,  
233 and 234, 47 n. 236 and 238
- Pregeant, Russell 24 n. 127, 26
- Puech, Emile 57 n. 281, 58 n. 283, 60 n.  
291, 61 n. 293, 91
- Ratzinger, Joseph/Benedict XVI. 18 n.  
84, 19 n. 86–88
- Reese, James M. 58 n. 286
- Reiterer, Friedrich V. 130 n. 522, 145 n.  
608, 154 n. 631, 180, 181 n. 718–724,  
184 n. 738, 187 n. 750, 189, 189 n.  
757, 760 and 761, 190, 191 n. 768
- Rickenbacher, Otto 188 n. 754
- Ringgren, Helmer 38, 39, 39 n. 193–199,  
48 n. 246, 122 n. 507, 133 n. 534, 158  
n. 638
- Robinson, James M. 7 n. 20, 8 n. 25
- Rogers, Jessie VI, 132, 139, 140, 144 n.  
602, 153 n. 629
- Röhser, Günter 39, 40, 40 n. 203–205, 73  
n. 352,
- Rösel, Hartmut N. 52 n. 256
- Sanders, Jack T. 189 n. 757
- Sandmel, Samuel 169 n. 673
- Sauer, Georg 146 n. 607, 149 n. 609, 155  
n. 633, 179, 179 n. 715 and 716
- Schimanowski, Gottfried 154 n. 630, 189  
n. 784, 199 n. 786 and 787, 200 n.  
789
- Schipper, Bernd U. 188 n. 756
- Schmitt, Armin 65 n. 321–323, 67 n. 327  
and 331, 38 n. 332–335, 70 n. 340,  
79 n. 365, 103 n. 424
- Schnabel, Eckhard J. 105 n. 430, 161 n.  
653, 188 n. 753, 189
- Schnackenburg, Rudolf 33, 175
- Schrage, Wolfgang 1 n. 3, 2 n. 4 and 6,  
72 n. 350, 79 n. 367
- Schroer, Silvia 161 n. 651, 173 n. 691  
and 693
- Schürer, Emil 163 n. 656, 166 n. 668
- Schweitzer, Albert 18 n. 84
- Schweizer, Eduard 9 n. 33, 10 n. 45 and  
46, 13 n. 55
- Schwenk-Bressler, Udo 56 n. 267, 58 n.  
283, 60 n. 291, 64, 65 n. 321 and 322,  
67 n. 324 and 329–331, 68 n. 337, 69  
n. 338, 70 n. 340 and 341, 71 n. 344  
and 345, 73 n. 353, 76 n. 357, 77 n.  
359 and 361, 79 n. 366, 81 n. 369,  
370 and 373, 85 n. 383, 384 and 386,  
87 n. 390, 91 n. 401, 92 n. 402 and  
403, 93 n. 405, 95 n. 407 and 409, 96  
n. 412, 97 n. 416, 98 n. 418, 100 n.  
421 and 422, 103 n. 424, 117 n. 470,  
121 n. 488, 122, 124 n. 510 and 511
- Scott, Robert Balgarnie Young 45 n. 226,  
47 n. 236, 238, 240 and 245, 48 n.  
246
- Seitz, Christopher 19 n. 88
- Sheppard, Gerald T. 132, 136–139, 145  
n. 604, 146, 146 n. 606 and 608, 147  
n. 609 and 612, 149, 158, 158 n. 637  
and 639, 160 n. 646, 186 n. 749, 190,  
190 n. 764 and 766, 208 n. 800
- Simon, William G.H. 72 n. 350
- Sinnott, Alice M. 56 n. 268, 58 n. 283, 60  
n. 291, 61 n. 292, 64, 64 n. 312 and  
318, 65 n. 321 and 322, 67 n. 324, 70  
n. 343, 96 n. 414, 98 n. 420, 114 n.  
456, 121, 122, 123 n. 509, 124 n. 510
- Skehan, Patrick W. 132, 139, 144, 144 n.  
601 and 603, 145 n. 604, 146 n. 606,  
147 n. 609, 149 n. 616, 155 n. 633,  
158 n. 636 and 638, 161 n. 648 and  
649, 163 n. 659, 179, 179 n. 713 and  
715, 184 n. 739, 186 n. 747, 188 n.  
753
- Snaith, John G. 145 n. 604, 188 n. 753
- Stadelmann, Helge 149 n. 616, 158 n.  
636 and 638
- Stanton, Graham N. 31 n. 732
- Steck, Odil Hannes 7 n. 21 and 23, 10 n.  
37, 11 n. 49, 13 n. 54, 14 n. 60 and

- 62, 15 n. 65, 16–18, 25 n. 135 and 137, 26 n. 145
- Strauss, David Friedrich 4 n. 14, 9 n. 31, 11, 49, 13 n. 54, 16, 16 n. 69 and 70, 27 n. 151
- Stuhlmacher, Peter V, 15 n. 66, 19 n. 85 and 88, 32 n. 173, 34 n. 176
- Suggs, M. Jack 3 n. 10, 4 n. 14, 7 n. 21, 8 n. 24 and 25, 10 n. 31, 35 and 36, 14 n. 60, 16 n. 70, 21
- Tan, Kim Huat 7 n. 23, 8 n. 25, 10 n. 38, 15 n. 68, 17 n. 76 and 78, 25 n. 135, 27, 30 n. 167
- Terrien, Samuel 173 n. 690, 176 n. 708
- Thiselton, Anthony C. 2 n. 5, 72 n. 350
- Thoma, Clemens 148 n. 614
- Tilly, Michael 173 n. 690, 176 n. 706
- Troeltsch, Ernst 18 n. 81
- Vermès, Géza 163 n. 656, 166 n. 668, 4 n. 14, 15 n. 65, 16 n. 71
- VanderKam, James C. 90 n. 397, 92 n. 402, 196 n. 774 and 775, 197 n. 778, 200, 201 n. 792 and 795
- von Rad, Gerhard 50, 52 n. 258 and 259, 90 n. 397, 189 n. 757
- Walther, James Arthur 72 n. 350
- Weeks, Stuart 194 n. 771
- Weimar, Peter 142, 151 n. 620 and 621, 175 n. 700 and 702
- Werman, Cana 169 n. 676
- Westermann, Claus 50, 51 n. 255, 175
- Whybray, Roger N. 46 n. 231 and 233, 47 n. 236 and 241, 48 n. 246
- Williamson, Ronald 169, 169 n. 673, 675 and 677, 170 n. 679
- Winston, David 57, 57 n. 277–280, 60 n. 291, 62, 62 n. 297 and 299, 65 n. 321, 67 n. 325 and 330, 68, 68 n. 332, 334 and 337, 81 n. 372, 84 n. 382, 85 n. 385, 86 n. 388, 91 n. 402, 94 n. 407, 97 n. 417, 105 n. 429 and 430, 106 n. 433, 114 n. 455, 115
- Witherington, Ben 13 n. 57, 15 n. 66, 23–24
- Witte, Markus 58 n. 283, 65 n. 321 and 322, 70 n. 340 and 342, 71 n. 344, 77 n. 361, 78 n. 362 and 363, 86 n. 389, 90 n. 395, 91 n. 401, 92, 402–404, 103 n. 424
- Wolfson, Harry Austryn 169 n. 677
- Wright, Benjamin G. III. 188 n. 755, 191 n. 768
- Wright, Nicholas T. 5 n. 16, 19 n. 88, 27, 27 n. 148, 28–29, 131 n. 527, 146 n. 606
- Zeller, Dieter 72 n. 350
- Zenger, Erich 151 n. 623
- Zsengellér, József 149 n. 616, 158, 158 n. 636 and 638, 159 n. 643 and 644

## Subject Index

- Abraham 69, 70, 75, 83 n. 377, 85, 87–89, 93, 99, 100, 101, 102
- Adam 69, 70, 81 n. 371, 81–82, 82 n. 374, 85, 86, 87, 88, 99, 100, 101, 102, 118, 153, 160 n. 647, 164, 165, 167
- Alexandria/Alexandrian 55–56, 59, 64, 93, 103, 103 n. 424, 120, 121, 122, 124, 125, 126, 168
- Angel/angelic 40, 42–43, 49, 75, 76, 80, 86, 90, 90 n. 397, 91, 91 n. 401, 92 n. 402, 107 n. 434, 114, 116, 118, 125, 140, 152, 153, 153 n. 526, n. 627 and n. 629, 154, 155, 155 n. 634, 157, 164, 184, 193, 198, 200, 201, 202
- Angel of the Lord/Angel of God V, 1, 6, 20, 40, 42, 43, 49–54, 50 n. 250, 50 n. 251, 51 n. 256, 52 n. 256, 52–53 n. 262, 76, 78, 83, 86, 98, 99, 101, 118, 128, 140, 146, 150, 153, 153, n. 629, 154–156, 155, n. 634, 157, 178, 182, 193, 195, 207, 208, 209
- Angelic being/angelic nature 38, 43, 53, 107 n. 434, 114, 125, 139, 140, 144, 152, 200
- Apocalyptic
- book/literature/tradition/Apocalypse 48, 57 n. 181, 91, 175, 196, 197
- movement 37, 45, 197
- outlook/expectation/thought 23, 28 n. 156, 57, 61, 91, 197 n. 780, 199
- vision/ scenario 89, 125, 197, 201
- wisdom 185, 199 n. 786
- Ben Sira (the sage) 36, 48, 129, 130, 132, 133, 134, 137, 139, 140, 144, 146, 150, 152, 153, 153 n. 626, 155, 162, 165, 166, 177, 178, 181, 182, 183, 185, 187, 188, 188 n. 755, 190 n. 757, 191, 192, 199, 208
- book of 5, 22 n. 106, 36, 41, 61, 62, 106, 114, 122, 129, 131, 132, 135, 136, 137, 138, 141, 143, 143 n. 599, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153 n. 629, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 162, 163, 163 n. 659, 167, 168, 171, 171 n. 686, 172, 173 n. 687, 174, 175, 177, 181, 182, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 192, 193, 194, 195, 198, 205
- Christology V, 1, 15, 22, 31, 201
- Wisdom-Christology 3, 15, 21–26, 26 n. 139, 31, 33, 54
- Church 2, 4, 14, 15 n. 65, 16, 17, 20, 22, 129, 204
- Cosmic 35, 59, 60, 98, 115 n. 462, 180
- order 36, 37, 71, 73 n. 351, 93, 101, 121, 133, 134, 143, 147, 147 n. 609, 151, 155, 156, 157, 162, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 173, 174, 175, 177, 182, 185, 192, 193, 197, 204
- Cosmos 60, 61, 89, 91, 98, 105, 106, 107, 112, 115, 116, 120, 129, 136, 139, 141, 146, 147, 148, 151, 156, 166, 168, 173, 178, 180, 189, 192
- , order of 59, 60 98, 165
- Creation 2, 2 n.5, 3, 35, 36, 47, 60, 81, 88, 89, 91, 97 n. 417, 111, 113, 128, 130, 133, 134, 139, 141, 142, 143, 143 n. 599, 145, 145 n. 604, 147, 147 n. 609, 151, 151 n. 620, 152, 155, 157, 165, 167, 169, 170, 175, 176, 185, 186, 189, 192, 194, 209
- Day of Atonement 162, 163, 163 n. 655, 163 n. 659, 166, 166 n. 668, 193
- Divine being 5, 35, 37–40, 42, 42 n. 215, 43, 43 n. 221 and 222, 51 n. 256, 102, 106,



- 114, 115, 116, 118, 120, 122, 125, 125–126 n. 518, 126, 182, 207
- Divine presence 5, 10, 11, 13, 17, 21, 34, 53, 53 n. 262, 79, 98, 102, 118, 119, 121, 123, n. 508, 124, 130–131, 137, 138, 141, 143, 148, 156–157, 160, 178, 182, 184, 187, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 203, 204, 208
- Education/educational 56, 59, 92, 100, 103 n. 424, 122, 140, 144, 158, 161, 162, 168, 183, 184, 188, 194
- Emanation 37, 41, 60, 62, 67, 106, 107, 107 n. 433, 113, 115, 116, 118, 119, 122, 123, 126, 127, 207
- Enoch/Enochic literature/1 Enoch 22, 23, 37, 48, 91, 125, 125 n. 518, 176, 185, 196–201, 197 n. 778 and 780, 201 n. 795
- Egypt/Egyptian 39, 53, 56–57, 61, 63, 64, 69, 70, 72, 74, 76, 79 n. 367, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 85 n. 383 and 385, 86, 88, 93, 94, 94 n. 407, 95, 96, 96 n. 412, 99, 101, 102, 103, 117, 119, 120, 121, 124, 129, 133, 133 n. 534, 136, 138, 151, 176
- Eschatology/eschatological 12, 13, 14, 15, 21, 24, 25, 28, 29, 33 n. 175, 37, 48, 59, 60 n. 291, 61, 79, 90, 90 n. 396, 91, 176, 199, 203, 204, 205
- Exile 12, 69, 79, 82, 127, 141, 148, 149, 156, 157
- Exodus 52, 60, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 76, 79, 84, 85f. n. 386, 95, 97, 97 n. 416 and 417, 99, 100, 101, 114, 140, 141 n. 590, 142, 146, 155, 205, 209
- , book of 65, 74, 84, 86, 88, 95, 98, 99, 100, 140
- Genesis, book of 42, 50, 51, 65, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 80 n. 368, 81, 82, 83, 83 n. 379, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 92, 93, 95, 99, 100, 107 n. 434, 118
- Glory 66, 67, 85, 88, 94, 95, 100, 151, 159, 175, 180
- of God 1, 62, 98, 106, 142, 152, 167, 199
- Guidance/guide 12, 42, 53, 53 n. 262, 55, 56, 60, 61, 65, 66, 69, 70, 71, 72 n. 350, 74, 78, 79, 81, 84, 88, 91, 98, 99, 101, 104, 106, 107, 108, 113, 114, 119, 121, 126, 127, 128, 130, 137, 155, 171, 189, 205
- Heavenly beings 41, 42–43, 90, 125
- Hellenism/Hellenistic/hellenised 22, 38, 40, 56, 58, 59, 60 n. 191, 64 n. 317, 64, 65, 58, 59, 64, 65, 74, 77, 78, 91, 92, 92 n. 404, 93, 103, 103 n. 424, 108, 109, 110, 119, 120, 121, 123 n. 508, 123, 125, 126, 129, 133 n. 534, 134, 142, 165, 170, 174, 192
- High Priest 129, 139, 143, 160, 161, 162–167, 165 n. 666, 168, 169, 170 n. 678, 173 n. 687, 178, 193
- Holy of Holies 163, 166, 172
- Holy Tent (see also Tabernacle) 131, 146, 149, 171, 191
- Hypostasis/hypostasised 1 n.3, 5, 6, 37–41, 38 n. 185 and 188, 48, 48 n. 246, 70, 73, 114, 115, 118, 119, 120, 125, 131, 133, 182, 187, 187 n. 752, 188
- Incense/frankincense 158, 159, 160–161, 160 n. 647, 162, 163, 164, 166, 167, 168, 171, 171 n. 686, 172, 177, 191, 193, 195, 206
- Isis 35 n. 177, 60 n. 191, 61, 62, 63–65, 71, 64 n. 317, 73, 74 n. 354, 83 n. 380, 86, 88 n. 394, 96 n. 411 and 413, 98, 103, 104, 107, 110, 114, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 125, 129, 133, 134, 134 n. 534, 135
- Jacob 42, 49, 70, 75, 76, 77, 77 n. 361, 78, 79, 80, 80 n. 368, 81, 83, 85, 86–94, 90 n. 396, 91 n. 401 and 402, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 103 n. 424, 118, 124, 147, 153, 188
- Jerusalem V, 4, 4 n. 16, 6, 8, 9, 9 n. 31, 10, 10 n. 44, 11, 13, 17, 18 n. 80, 21, 23, 26, 27, 27 n. 147, 34, 44, 55, 59, 77, 129, 131, 132, 134, 135, 141, 141 n. 590, 143, 148, 149, 150, 152, 155, 156, 159, 165, 169, 170, 173, 173 n. 690, 177, 179, 190, 192, 194, 196, 198, 199
- Word XII, 1, 3, 7, 12, 14, 16, 24, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 48, 130, 201, 203, 204, 206, 207, 208
- Jesus V, VI, 1–6, 1 n. 3, 2 n. 5 and 8, 3 n. 10, 4 n. 16, 7 n. 23, 8, 9–34, 9 n. 35, 10

- n. 38, 40 and 44, 11 n. 47 and 49, 13 n. 53 and 57, 15 n. 65, 66 and 67, 18 n. 80, 84 and 85, 19 n. 85 and 88, 22 n. 106, 25 n. 135, 26 n. 128 and 139, 27 n. 148, 150 and 152, 28 n. 152 and 156, 30 n. 167 and 170, 32 n. 173 and 174, 33f. n. 175, 34 n. 176, 37, 44, 48, 49, 59, 69, 70, 79 n. 367, 80, 125, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 143, 150, 178, 179, 194, 195, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203–209, 208 n. 799
- ministry of 55, 79, 127, 128, 130, 143, 178, 192, 195, 203, 204, 205, 206, 209
- Joseph 70, 74, 75–76, 78, 79 n. 366, 82, 83, 83 n. 378 and 379, 85, 86, 89, 93, 93 n. 405, 95, 99, 100, 101, 102, 109
- King 13, 22, 32, 42, 104, 106, 141, 153 n. 625, 164, 165, 182
- Solomon 23, 70, 104, 111
- Kingdom 29, 66, 90, 90 n. 395, 95, 103, 123, 127,
- , eschatological 13, 91, 203
- , transcendent 93, 101
- of God 24, 28, 29, 34, 66, 89–91
- Knowledge 2, 20, 45, 66, 75 n. 351, 83 n. 377, 87, 89, 91, 92, 92 n. 402, 93, 104 n. 425, 105, 112, 113, 124, 132, 168, 171, 171 n. 682, 197, 200
- Law (*see also* Torah) 2, 12, 41, 56, 69, 77, 79, 88, 93, 106 n. 430, 123, 131, 133, 135, 136, 137, 139, 152, 158, 158 n. 638, 167, 170, 172, 178, 179, 180, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187–192, 190 n. 757, 194, 195
- of nature 125
- of Wisdom 59, 100, 106, 123
- Luke 3, 7, 7 n. 22 and 23, 8, 8 n. 25, 9, 9 n. 31, 10, 10 n. 37, 11 n. 47, 13, 13 n. 53, 21, 54
- Matthew 3, 9, 10, 11, 21, 25, 26, 30, 31, 32, 33, 131, 204
- , Gospel of 3, 3 n. 10, 4, 7, 7 n. 22 and 23, 8, 8 n. 24, 9, 10 n. 37, 11, 13, 16, 21, 22 n. 106, 24, 26, 26 n. 139, 30, 32, 34, 130 n. 526, 207
- Mediator/mediatory function V, 6, 35, 36, 39, 41, 42, 43, 49, 51, 53, 54, 58 n. 284, 63, 70, 75, 76, 78, 83, 98, 100, 101, 101 n. 423, 114, 116, 119, 123 n. 508, 128, 130, 140, 146, 147, 149, 150, 154, 156, 167, 169, 171, 171 n. 682, 173, 177, 178, 193, 195, 203, 206, 208, 209
- Messiah/messianic 1, 5, 6, 11 n. 47, 13, 14, 15 n. 66, 18, 18 n. 85, 20, 21, 21 n. 102, 22, 23, 28, 28 n. 153 and 157, 29, 32, 126 n. 518, 128, 198, 198 n. 785, 199, 200, 200 n. 788, 201, 203, 206
- Middle Platonism 62, 63
- Miracles/miraculous 71, 74, 80 n. 368, 95–98, 96 n. 413, 97 n. 415 and 417, 101, 117, 118, 127, 206
- Monotheism/monotheistic 2, 37, 42, 107, 115, 116, 116 n. 467, 119, 122, 123, 123 n. 508, 125, 126
- Moses 20, 22, 50, 51, 53, 54, 68, 84, 96–97, 96 n. 414, 97 n. 415 and 416, 101, 110, 110 n. 448, 118, 124, 136, 139, 142, 143, 170, 172, 175, 180, 181 n. 722, 188, 190, 191
- Mystic/mystical 41, 89, 91, 91 n. 401, 93, 124, 125, 147, 185, 186
- Neo-Platonism 108 n. 433
- Noah 70, 74, 75, 82, 83, 84, 86, 88, 99, 100, 102, 118, 142, 164, 175
- Ontological 1, 4, 32, 36, 38, 40, 41, 104 n. 425, 106, 113, 115, 116, 118, 119, 127, 140, 144, 156
- Order of Creation/of nature/world order 22, 23, 36, 74, 101, 128, 130, 144, 152, 163, 164, 164 n. 661, 165, 167, 168, 174 n. 693, 175, 176, 177, 183, 185
- primeval 165, 166, 173
- Origen 1, 12, 54, 55
- Parousia 15, 15 n. 65, 17
- Paul 1 n. 3, 2, 3, 20, 22, 31, 32, 33, 58, 58 n. 285 and 286, 59, 71, 72, 72 n. 350, 73, 119, 178 n. 711, 206
- Personification/personified V, 1, 2, 5, 6, 10 n. 40, 21, 35, 37–41, 47, 48, 48 n. 246, 50, 55, 60, 61, 63, 65, 73, 94, 102, 104, 105, 110, 113, 114, 117, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123 n. 508, 125, 126, 127, 129, 131, 135, 139, 144, 147, 154, 155 n. 634, 163,

- 168, 177, 180, 181, 182, 183, 185, 186,  
187, 189, 194, 198, 198 n. 785, 206, 209
- Philo 71, 72, 109, 110, 110 n. 448, 124, 125,  
146, 168, 169, 170, 170 n. 679, 171, 172,  
173 n. 687, 174, 177
- Piety 87, 92 n. 404, 93, 99, 124, 130, 143 n.  
599, 168
- Pillar of Cloud and Fire V, 20, 43, 49, 50,  
52, 53, 71, 97, 98, 101, 118, 128, 134,  
136, 138, 139, 140, 145, 146, 147, 149,  
150, 154, 155, 156, 157, 190, 191, 193,  
205, 208, 209
- Platonism/Platonic 60 n. 291, 62, 63, 116
- Pneuma (*see also* Spirit) 36, 61, 62, 97 n.  
417, 103, 105, 107, 113, 113 n. 454, 120,  
126
- Priest/priesthood 50, 129, 137, 139, 159,  
160, 160 n. 647, 161, 162, 164 n. 661,  
167, 170, 171, 172, 176, 177, 178, 191,  
193, 197 n. 780, 206
- priestly 141, 142, 143, 143 n. 599, 148, 158,  
159, 161, 163, 166, 167
- function/ministry/role 36, 135, 137, 143,  
149, 157–158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 166,  
168, 177, 178, 181, 191, 193, 195, 206
- tradition/*Priesterschrift* 141, 142, 143, 143  
n. 599, 148, 151, 157, 175, 192 n. 769
- Prophet/prophetic 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 11 n.  
49, 12, 13, 13 n. 53, 14, 17, 18, 19 n. 85,  
21, 22, 27, 27 n. 150, 28, 28 n. 152, 29,  
30, 30 n. 167 and 170, 32, 34, 42, 44–49,  
44 n. 223, 45 n. 226 and 229, 46 n. 231  
and 232, 48 n. 247, 50, 51, 52, 54, 56,  
67, 68, 71, 73 n. 351, 74, 79, 85–86 n.  
386, 90, 96, 97, 97 n. 415, 99, 106, 109,  
110, 110 n. 448, 118, 124, 127, 130, 134,  
141, 149, 153 n. 627, 154, 174, 176, 195,  
199, 203, 204, 206, 208, 209
- Providence 55, 115
- Q (Gospel Source) 3, 5, 7, 8, 8 n. 23, 10, 14,  
15, 15 n. 65 and 67, 17, 21, 22, 23, 24,  
25, 26, 27, 33, 206
- Rational Mind 36, 108, 108 n. 442, 109,  
110, 124, 170, 171, 172
- Religious Experience 74, 104, 121, 123,  
124, 125
- Representation/representative 40, 42, 47, 47  
n. 237, 50, 51, 55, 70, 77, 79, 81, 82,  
104, 122, 125, 126, 152, 168, 169, 177,  
182
- of God V, 4, 6, 12, 20, 21, 26, 26 n. 138,  
31, 32, 32 n. 173, 34, 50, 52 n. 260, 101,  
182, 191, 203, 204, 205, 207, 208
- of Jesus VI
- of Wisdom VI, 3, 16, 33 n. 175, 96 n. 217,  
161, 162, 171
- Righteous, the 23, 57, 59, 60, 61, 65, 66, 67,  
70, 73, 73 n. 353, 74, 77, 77 n. 361, 78,  
85, 85 n. 385, 87, 89, 90, 91, 94, 95, 100,  
101, 103, 103 n. 424, 104, 106, 117, 119,  
126, 197, 198, 200, 201
- Sabbath 91, 141, 142, 143 n. 599, 151, 159,  
170 n. 679, 175, 175 n. 701
- Sage 3, 16, 24, 36, 48, 61 n. 292, 69 n. 343,  
92, 98, 98 n. 420, 107, 108, 110, 122,  
124, 125, 130, 131, 73 n. 351, 152, 157,  
158, 159–161, 160 n. 647, 161 n. 649,  
167, 168, 170, 171, 172, 177, 178, 180,  
181, 181 n. 722, 182, 183, 184, 185, 188,  
189, 190, 191, 193, 194, 198, 200, 205,  
206
- Salvation 28, 32, 53, 59, 60, 63, 65 n. 322,  
67, 68, 69, 75, 77, 77 n. 359 and 360, 78,  
79, 80, 82, 83 n. 380, 85, 86, 91, 92, 97,  
99, 100, 102, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121,  
123, 127, 161
- history 8, 11, 31, 32, 33, 36, 55, 79, 134,  
147, 176 n. 706
- Saviour 64, 64 n. 317, 65, 65 n. 322, 69, 74,  
75, 77, 78, 80, 85, 85 n. 385, 86, 100,  
103, 104, 114, 117, 118, 120, 121, 123,  
126, 133, 142
- Sapientia XII, 36, 43, 55, 56, 57, 58, 58 n.  
286, 59, 60, 60 n. 291, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65,  
67 n. 328, 69, 70, 71, 72 n. 349, 73, 75,  
77, 78, 79, 80, 85, 85 n. 383, 87, 88 n.  
394, 89, 90 n. 396, 91, 92, 93, 94, 97 n.  
417, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104,  
105, 106, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113,  
114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121,  
122, 122 n. 507, 123, 125, 126, 127, 128,  
146, 147
- Sapiential 4, 5, 6, 13, 23, 35, 36, 37, 42, 43,  
44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 60, 63, 65, 69, 73

- n. 351, 78, 81, 85 n. 386, 88, 92, 93, 94, 94 n. 406, 100 n. 421, 103, 107, 110, 119, 128, 132, 133, 135, 139, 143 n. 599, 155, 160, 168, 177, 179, 184, 186, 187, 188 n. 755, 191, 192, 194, 197, 197 n. 780, 205, 207
- Second Temple 141, 176
- Judaism 5
  - Literature/Texts V, 91 n. 401, 204, 207
  - Period 168, 176, 205
- Shekinah 11, 13, 23, 30 n. 167, 34, 130, 141, 142, 148, 156, 157, 204
- Similitudes of 1 Enoch 5, 12, 14, 15 n. 66, 23, 25, 37, 196, 197, 197 n. 776, 200, 201, 202
- Spirit 19, 42, 43, 45, 49, 51, 61, 62, 63, 71, 83, 91 n. 401, 96, 96 n. 414, 97, 97 n. 415 and 417, 105, 107–113, 108 n. 438, 349 and 424, 109 n. 445 and 446, 111 n. 449, 113 n. 453, 115, 116, 117, 118, 124, 125, 126, 134, 139, 140, 144, 145, 145 n. 604, 147, 156, 172, 186
- of Wisdom 60, 97 n. 417, 107, 108, 110, 111, 112
  - , Stoic 61, 63, 104, 109, 116, 120, 122 n. 507
  - , all-pervading 36, 60, 98, 101, 109, 116, 117, 119
  - , Holy/God's 1, 41, 43, 60, 62, 63, 76, 83, 83 n. 378, 84 n. 382, 107–113, 107 n. 434, 112 n. 452, 115, 117, 145 n. 604, 156
- Stoicism/Stoic 36, 60 n. 291, 61, 62, 63, 64, 86, 97 n. 417, 103, 104, 105, 107, 108, 109, 113, 116, 120, 122 n. 507, 126
- Synoptic Gospels/synoptic 3, 4, 12, 15, 17, 201 n. 795, 206
- Tabernacle (*see also* Holy Tent) 139, 140, 142, 143, 146, 146 n. 607, 148, 149, 151, 156, 157, 159, 160, 167, 170, 175, 175 n. 700, 191, 193
- Teacher 44, 45 n. 226, 47 n. 237 and 239, 181, 185, 190, 191, 194
- , Wisdom as 31, 74, 101, 178, 182, 184, 194
  - of wisdom 4, 29, 206
- Tamid/Perpetual Offering 162, 163, 163 n. 659, 166, 166 n. 668, 167, 193
- Temple 5, 10, 11, 12, 13, 13 n.57, 14 n. 64, 16, 17, 21, 22, 26, 27 n. 150, 28, 29, 30, 34, 36, 48, 49, 59, 74, 79, 90, 91–92 n. 402, 103, 119, 123, 125, 127, 130, 131, 132, 135, 137, 138, 141, 141 n. 590, 142, 143, 144, 148, 149, 150, 151, 151 n. 620, 152, 154, 154 n. 630, 156, 157–178, 158 n. 638, 161 n. 651, 163 n. 655, 169 n. 676, 173 n. 690, 174 n. 693, 175 n. 701, 176 n. 706, 182, 188, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 199, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207
- Torah (*see also* Law) 22, 36, 42 n. 215, 73, 125, 126 n. 518, 130, 131, 132, 136, 137, 138, 139, 149, 157, 158, 161, 161 n. 650, 162, 170, 171 n. 686, 176, 177, 179, 181 n. 722, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188–192, 188 n. 755, 198 n. 757, 193, 194
- Trans-historical (or supra-historical)
- agent/ministry 4, 5, 16, 20, 24, 29, 30, 32, 33, 42, 55, 130, 207, 209
- Universe 22, 35, 62, 105, 115 n. 462, 146, 155, 161 n. 650, 164, 169, 169 n. 676, 189
- Virtue 105, 106, 170, 171, 171 n. 685, 172, 174
- Vision 22, 42, 48, 52, 73 n. 351, 86, 89, 90, 91, 91 n. 401 and 402, 109, 123, 125, 126, 143, 153 n. 627, 174, 175, 185, 196, 197, 201
- Wealth/wealthy 36, 37, 61, 64, 66, 74, 78, 93, 94–95, 101, 103, 106, 111, 115 n. 462, 124, 151, 159, 161, 162, 181, 193
- Wisdom
- as agent in history 28, 31, 34, 35, 36, 55, 58, 60, 64, 69, 70, 74, 79, 80, 93, 95, 100, 103, 106, 113, 116, 117, 118, 119, 122, 127, 128, 134, (147), 194, 206
  - -Christology 3, 15, 21–26, 26 n. 139, 31, 33, 54
  - , domain of 37, 49, 77, 88, 93, 97 n. 417, 98, 101, 104, 113, 114, 115, 127, 130, 133, 134, 139, 146, 147, 156, 157, 181, 194, 204
  - , divine/heavenly/pre-existent V, VI, 1, 2, 3, 3 n. 10, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 14, 16, 17,

- 21, 22, 25, 31, 32, 33, 41, 42 n. 215, 89, 107, 119, 123, 125, 130, 131, 137, 143, 144, 145, 147, 148, 150, 162, 172, 182, 185, 186, 189, 192, 194, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 206, 209
- function of V, 2, 3, 5, 6, 11, 21, 24, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 41, 54, 60, 63, 65 n. 322, 75, 80, 83 n. 380, 84, 95, 96, 100, 101, 101 n. 423, 103 n. 424, 105, 107, 113, 114, 115, 117, 119, 120, 128, 131, 133, 134, 135, 137, 139, 140, 143, 144, 146, 149, 151, 152, 153, 157, 158, 159, 160, 162, 167, 168, 170, 171, 171 n. 682 and 683, 172, 173 n. 687, 175, 176, 177, 182, 189, 191, 193, 194, 195, 200, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208
- hymn/poem 67, 68, 69, 129, 130 n. 522, 131, 133, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 143, 144, 148, 149, 150, 151, 155, 156, 177, 185, 159, 160, 180, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 198, 199, 200, 201, 208
- , Lady 44, 102, 180, 182, 190, 206, 209
- motif/theme 25, 30, 31, 33, 35, 134, 150, 168, 177, 201, 206
- , personified/personification of V, 1, 2, 10 n. 40, 40, 47, 48, 48 n. 246, 60, 61, 65, 94, 104, 105, 110, 114, 119, 121, 122, 123 n. 508, 127, 129, 131, 133, 140, 144, 147, 154, 163, 177, 180, 181, 182, 183, 185, 187, 189, 198, 198 n. 784 and 785, 206
- tradition/myth/saying/text 1, 2 n. 7, 4, 5, 12, 14, 14 n. 64, 16, 21, 25 n. 135, 33, 35, 35 n. 178, 52, 72 n. 350, 105, 122, 125, 133, 135, 140, 185, 196, 198, 199, 199 n. 786, 200, 206
- worship 22, 29, 52, 54, 59, 64, 92, 93, 119, 123, 124, 126, 127, 143, 143 n. 599, 151, 158, 159, 161 n. 649, 162, 163, 163 n. 659, 164, 166, 167, 168, 169, 169 n. 677, 170, 170 n. 678, 171, 171 n. 683, 172, 173 n. 690
- Zion 22, 29, 131, 148, 149, 150, 151, 151 n. 623, 156, 157, 173, 174
- theology 141, 141 n. 590, 143, 16