

JUDITH M. GUNDRY

Women, Gender, and Sex in the End-Time

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament*

Mohr Siebeck

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

Herausgeber/Editor

Jörg Frey (Zürich)

Mitherausgeber/Associate Editors

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

548



Judith M. Gundry

Women, Gender, and Sex in the End-Time

Household Roles in 1 Corinthians 7

Mohr Siebeck

Judith M. Gundry, born 1956; 1985–91 Professor of New Testament, Evandjeosko-Teološki-Fakultet, Osijek/Zagreb, Croatia; 1991–98 Assistant/Associate Professor of New Testament, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California; Research Scholar and Adjunct Professor of New Testament, Yale Divinity School.

ISBN 978-3-16-152616-9 / eISBN 978-3-16-156795-7
DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-156795-7

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

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

© 2025 Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen.

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

Printed on non-aging paper.

Mohr Siebeck GmbH & Co. KG, Wilhelmstraße 18, 72074 Tübingen, Germany
www.mohrsiebeck.com, info@mohrsiebeck.com

Dedicated
with love
to my parents
Robert and Lois

Acknowledgments

This book is the culmination of a project that began as a mere chapter in a book on Paul, women, and gender. Along the way, many individuals and institutions have helped make its completion possible, and it is my pleasant duty here to acknowledge and express my gratitude to them. Prof. Dr. Jörg Frey, general editor of *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament*, accepted the manuscript for publication in the series. Elena Müller, Tobias Stäbler, Markus Kirchner, and others at Mohr Siebeck Publishers guided the manuscript to publication with great skill and professionalism. Justin Paley, my research assistant, patiently tracked down numerous bibliographical sources and reformatted the document files. Connie Gundry Tappy and Dr. Rona Gordon expertly copy-edited the manuscript at different stages. The Alexander von Humboldt Foundation graciously awarded me two short-term research grants to continue my work for the book in Tübingen in dialogue with my German colleagues. Prof. Dr. Christof Landmesser was a gracious academic host during both of those visits and provided invaluable logistical help. The Center for Theological Inquiry, Princeton, NJ, under the directorship of Dr. William Storrar, awarded me a residential research fellowship for the academic year 2015/2016, during which I benefited from dialogue about my project with colleagues from various disciplines. I was granted a leave of absence for that academic year by Dr. Gregory Sterling, my dean at Yale Divinity School. The John Templeton Foundation provided financial support for my appointment as a Humanities Co-Investigator in Year 2 of the Philosophy, Theology, and Psychology of Christian Trust in God Research Grant, which afforded opportunities to present some results of my research for this book to a group of specialists from a variety of disciplines, to whom I am indebted for helpful feedback.

I am grateful to numerous colleagues for generously devoting time to discussing the project with me at various stages and in many cases, reading and commenting on earlier drafts of its chapters, which stimulated my thinking and certainly saved me from many errors; those that remain are my responsibility. Special thanks go to my colleague and father, Robert Gundry, my Yale colleagues, Harold Attridge, Adela Yarbro Collins, Teresa Morgan, and Brad Inwood, as well as to Jörg Frey, Beverly Gaventa, and Max Lee. I am also grateful for the opportunity to present earlier versions of some chapters to

scholarly audiences at the kind invitation of other esteemed colleagues, including Peter Lampe, Ruben Zimmermann, Matthias Konradt, William Loader, William Campbell, Max Lee, and B. J. Oropeza. I would be remiss not to express my gratitude also to my Doktorvater, Otfried Hofius, whose scholarly contributions to Pauline exegesis and theology continue to inspire and inform my own work, and for my Yale colleague, the late Abraham J. Malherbe, whose pioneering work on the interpretation of the New Testament in the light of Hellenistic moral philosophy encouraged the approach taken in this study.

Last, but not least, I want to acknowledge my parents, Bob and Lois, for their unflagging love, encouragement, and support. I dedicate this book to them with deep love and affection.

Some parts of the present book appeared in substantially different versions in the following scholarly books and journals: *Paulus – Werk und Wirkung: Festschrift für Andreas Lindemann zum 70. Geburtstag*; *Reconsidering the Relationship between Biblical and Systematic Theology in the New Testament: Essays by Theologians and New Testament Scholars*; *Portraits of Jesus: Studies in Christology*; *T&T Clark Handbook of Children in the Bible and the Biblical World*; *Practicing Intertextuality: Ancient Jewish and Greco-Roman Exegetical Techniques in the New Testament*; *Rhetoric, History, and Theology: Interpreting the New Testament*; *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*. The first footnote of Chapters 3–5, 7 provides the full bibliographical information for these earlier versions.

A note to the reader: All translations of the Greek of the New Testament (Nestle-Aland, 28th revised edition) are mine, unless otherwise noted.

Soli deo gloria

New Haven, Connecticut, Lent 2025

Judith M. Gundry

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	VII
Abbreviations	XV
Introduction	1

Part I

Chapter 1: Currents in the Interpretation of 1 Corinthians 7	7
1. Introduction	7
2. Scholarship on Women and Gender in 1 Corinthians	7
2.1 Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza	7
2.2 Excursus: Women's Roles in the Early Christian Mission and Assemblies in Authentic Pauline Texts	11
2.3 Margaret Y. MacDonald	14
2.4 Antoinette Clark Wire	17
2.5 Philip B. Payne	20
2.6 Cynthia Long Westfall	21
3. Scholarship on Sexual Abstinence, Celibacy, Marriage, and Sex in 1 Corinthians 7	23
3.1 Will Deming	23
3.2 Dale B. Martin	28
3.3 William Loader	29
4. Conclusion	31

Chapter 2: 1 Corinthians 7 and the Aristotelian Tradition of Household Management

1. The Household Rules in the New Testament	33
2. The Myth of the Continuity of the Aristotelian Tradition of Household Management	37

3. Aristotle's <i>Topos</i> of Household Management in the <i>Politics</i>	41
4. 1 Corinthians 7 and the Reception of Aristotle's <i>Topos</i> of Household Management	46
4.1 Rules on the Despotical Relationship	46
4.2 Rules on the Marital Relationship	48
4.3 Rules on the Art of Getting Wealth	57
5. The Occasion and Purpose of 1 Corinthians 7	59
6. The Hellenistic Reception of Aristotle's <i>Topos</i> of Household Management	61
6.1 Philodemus, <i>On Property Management</i>	61
6.2 Seneca, <i>Epistle</i> 94, and the Early Stoics	62
6.3 Arius Didymus, <i>Epitome of Peripatetic Ethics</i>	63
6.4 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, <i>Roman Antiquities</i>	66
6.5 [Pseudo-]Callicratidas, <i>On the Happiness of the Household</i>	67
6.6 Josephus, <i>Against Apion</i> ; Philo, <i>Hypothetica</i>	69
6.7 Ephesians	71
7. Conclusion	73

Part II

Chapter 3: Virgins and Marriage in the End-Time:

1 Corinthians 7:25–28, 32–38	77
1. Introduction	77
2. “He Who Does Not Marry Will Do Better” (7:38)	79
3. “The Ones Like These (οἱ τοιοῦτοι) Will Have Affliction” (7:28)	82
4. Eschatological Affliction for the Procreators	82
4.1 Jesus's Warnings of Affliction for Women Who Procreate in the Distress	82
4.2 Second Temple Jewish Sources on Affliction for Women and Men Who Procreate in the Distress	84
4.3 Summary	87
5. Men's Moral Obligation to the Virgins	88
6. Conclusion	89

Chapter 4: Widows and Marriage in the End-Time:

1 Corinthians 7:8–9, 39–40	91
1. Introduction	91
2. “She Is μακαριωτέρα, If She Remains So” (7:40)	93
3. “I Have the Spirit of God” (7:40)	96

4. Two Allusions to Jesus Tradition about Women in 1 Cor. 7:40.....	97
4.1 Preliminary Observations about Paul and Jesus Tradition.....	100
4.2 Paul's Allusion in 1 Cor. 7:40 to Jesus's Saying about the Widow in Lk. 20:27–36	103
a. Shared Terminology	103
b. Shared Motifs, Context, and Conceptual Agreement	104
c. Shared Unusual Ideas	105
4.3 Paul's Allusion in 1 Cor. 7:40 to Jesus's Saying about the "Fortunate" Barren Wives in Lk. 23:28–31	106
a. Shared Terminology and Form	106
b. Reference to a Particular Group.....	107
c. Shared Context	107
d. Agreement in an Unusual Idea.....	107
e. Multiple Attestation.....	108
f. Criterion of Dissimilarity	109
4.4 Summary	109
5. Conclusion.....	110

Chapter 5: Sex and Contraception in the End-Time:

1 Corinthians 7:2–5.....	111
1. Introduction	111
2. "It is Better for a Man Not to Touch a Woman" (7:1): The Corinthians' Rule on Sexual Abstinence for Contraception	113
3. "Stop Defrauding Each Other, Except ..." (7:5a–b): A Concession or Acceptable Exception?.....	115
4. "In Order That You Might Devote Yourselves to Prayer" (7:5c): The Purpose of Temporary Sexual Abstinence.....	117
5. Ancient Prayers to God/gods Who Control the Womb	118
6. "A Limited Period" or "A Suitable Period" to Abstain from Sex?.....	120
7. When to Abstain from Sex to Avoid Conception or Unfruitful Intercourse: Philo and Soranus.....	121
8. Sexual Abstinence for Contraception "By Agreement" (7:5b) and the Impact of Ancient Methods of Fertility Control.....	124
9. Paul's Anti-Imperial Rule on Contraception	126
10. A Hellenistic Tradition on the Benefits of Temporary Abstinence ...	127
10.1. Abstinence While Devoting Oneself to a Deity in a Hellenistic Milieu.....	128
10.2. Abstinence While Devoting Oneself to Prayer, Worship, and Wisdom in Philo.....	129
11. Conclusion	131

Chapter 6: Men and Begetting in the End-Time:

1 Corinthians 7:29–31	133
1. Introduction	133
2. “Paul, the Worldly Ascetic”?	135
3. Instructions to “Brothers” (7:29a)	137
4. Instructions to “Be ὡς μὴ” (7:29b–31a)	140
5. “Have a Wife in a Sexual Relationship”: Wives as Sources of Legitimate Children and Heirs.....	142
6. Mortals’ Need for Descendants	144
6.1 Biblical and Second Temple Jewish Sources	144
6.2 Hellenistic Roman Sources	149
6.3 Summary and Conclusion	152
7. The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly: Ancient Male Stereotypes.....	153
7.1 Men Invited to a Rich Man’s Feast: Jesus’s Parables about God’s Reign.....	155
7.2 Men Who Seek the Deathless Life: The Utopian Therapeutae	157
7.3 Men Who Will Inherit Adam’s Glory and Abundance of Days: The Utopian Essenes	160
7.4 Summary	166
8. Conclusion.....	168

Chapter 7: Divorce, Parents, and Children in the End-Time:

1 Corinthians 7:10–16	169
1. Introduction	169
2. Religious Exogamy and Divorce.....	172
3. The Meaning of ἅγιος/ἀγιάζεσθαι (7:14).....	174
3.1 Unbelieving “Saints”	175
3.2 “Licit” Unbelievers	179
3.3 “Ritually Pure” Unbelievers	181
3.4 “Morally Holy” Unbelievers.....	182
3.5 “Consecrated” Unbelievers.....	183
3.6 Summary	187
4. Consecration to God and Religion in the Roman Household.....	187
5. Conclusion.....	190
Conclusion.....	193
Bibliography of Works Cited.....	197

Index of Sources.....	217
Index of Modern Authors.....	229
Index of Subjects.....	235

Abbreviations

1 En.	1 Enoch (Ethiopic Apocalypse)
1QH ^a	Thanksgiving Hymns ^a
1QS	Rule of the Community
2 Bar.	2 Baruch (Syriac Apocalypse)
3 Macc.	3 Maccabees
4Q171	<i>Pesher on Psalm 37</i>
4Q251	Halakha A
4QMMT	Miqsat Ma'ase ha-Torah
11Q	Temple Scroll
AAAH	Acta Academiae Aboensis Humaniora
AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>The Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by D. N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992
AcBib	Academia Biblica
AcT	<i>Acta Theologica</i>
Acts Paul Th.	Acts of Paul and Thecla
Ag. Ap.	Josephus, <i>Against Apion</i>
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
Am.	Ovid, <i>Amores</i>
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> . Part 2, <i>Principat</i> . Edited by Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972–
Ant.	Josephus, <i>Jewish Antiquities</i>
Apoc. El.	Apocalypse of Elijah
As. Mos.	Assumption of Moses
AYB	Anchor Yale Bible
b. Yebam.	Babylonian Talmud, Yebamot
BDAG	Walter Bauer and Frederick W. Danker. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament</i> . Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001
BDF	Friedrich Blass, Albert Debrunner, and Robert W. Funk. <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961
BCCR	Brill's Companions to Classical Reception
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>
BibSem	The Biblical Seminar

<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
<i>BR</i>	<i>Biblical Research</i>
BSL	Biblical Studies Library
BTS	Biblich-theologische Studien
<i>BTZ</i>	<i>Berliner Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
BZSup	Biblische Zeitschrift: Supplements
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CD	Damascus Document
CEJL	Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature
CFTbL	Clark's Foreign Theological Library New Series
<i>CH</i>	<i>Church History</i>
<i>Chaer.</i>	Chariton, <i>Chaereas and Callirhoe</i>
<i>CJPS</i>	<i>Canadian Journal of Political Science</i>
<i>CIQ</i>	<i>The Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>Clu.</i>	Cicero, <i>Pro Cluentio</i>
<i>Comp. Lyc. Num.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Comparison of Lysurgus and Numa</i>
<i>Contemp. Life</i>	Philo, <i>On the Contemplative Life</i>
<i>Contr.</i>	Seneca (the Elder), <i>Controversiae</i>
<i>CP</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
<i>CTR</i>	<i>Criswell Theological Review</i>
DCLS	Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies
<i>Decalogue</i>	Philo, <i>On the Decalogue</i>
<i>Diatr.</i>	Musonius Rufus, <i>Diatribai</i>
<i>Diss.</i>	Epictetus, <i>Dissertationes</i>
<i>EBib</i>	<i>Études bibliques</i>
EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>Ep.</i>	Seneca (the Younger), <i>Epistulae morales</i>
<i>Eth. eud.</i>	Aristotle, <i>Eudemian Ethics</i>
<i>Eth. nic.</i>	Aristotle, <i>Nicomachian Ethics</i>
<i>EWNT</i>	<i>Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i> . Edited by Horst Balz and Gerhard Schneider. 3 vols. Stuttgart; Berlin; Köln: Kohlhammer, 2011
<i>Fast.</i>	Ovid, <i>Fasti</i>
FB	Forschung zur Bibel
FJTC	Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary
<i>frag.</i>	<i>fragmentum, fragmenta</i>
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
<i>Gen. an.</i>	Aristotle, <i>Generation of Animals</i>
<i>Good Person</i>	Philo, <i>That Every Good Person is Free</i>
Gos. Thom.	Gospel of Thomas
<i>Gyn.</i>	Soranus, <i>Gynecology</i>
Herm. Mand.	Shepherd of Hermas, Mandate(s)
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HNTC	Harper's New Testament Commentary

HThKNT	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HUT	Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie
Hyp.	Philo, <i>Hypothetica</i>
IBS	<i>Irish Biblical Studies</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
Int	<i>Interpretation</i>
JAC Ergänzungsband	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum. Ergänzungsband
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JCT	Jewish and Christian Texts
JETS	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
Joseph	Philo, <i>On the Life of Joseph</i>
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>
JSNT	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSP	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
Jub.	Jubilees
J.W.	Josephus, <i>Jewish War</i>
KEK	Kritisch-Exegetischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
Life	Josephus, <i>The Life</i>
Lib. ed.	Plutarch, <i>De liberis educandis</i>
LNTS	The Library of New Testament Studies
LSJ	Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott, and Henry Stuart Jones. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . 9 th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
LXX	Septuagint
MNTC	Moffatt New Testament Commentary
Mor.	Plutarch, <i>Moralia</i>
Mos.	Philo, <i>On the Life of Moses</i>
Nat. Hist.	Pliny the Elder, <i>Natural History</i>
NCB	New Century Bible
NEchtB	Neue Echter Bibel
Neot	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
NIBCNT	New International Biblical Commentary on the New Testament
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NovT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplements
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
OCT	Oxford Classical Texts
Oec.	Xenophon, <i>Oeconomicus</i>

<i>[Oec.]</i>	[Pseudo-]Aristotle, <i>Economics</i>
<i>Opif.</i>	Philo, <i>On the Creation of the World</i>
<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orations</i>
P. Brem.	Ulrich Wilcken, ed. <i>Die Bremer Papyri</i> . Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1936
PACS	Philo of Alexandria Commentary Series
PCNT	Paideia Commentaries on the New Testament
<i>Per.</i>	Livy, <i>Periochae</i>
PKNT	Papyrologische Kommentare zum Neuen Testament
PNTC	Pillar New Testament Commentary
<i>Pol.</i>	Aristotle, <i>Politics</i>
<i>Q. G.</i>	Philo, <i>Questions and Answers on Genesis</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>RivB</i>	<i>Rivista biblica italiana</i>
<i>Rom. Ant.</i>	Dionysius of Halicarnassus, <i>Roman Antiquities</i>
RUSCH	Rutgers University Studies in Classical Humanities
RWAW	Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften
<i>Sat.</i>	Juvenal, <i>Satires</i>
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLBS	Society of Biblical Literature Sources for Biblical Study
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
<i>Sent.</i>	Pseudo-Phocylides, <i>Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides</i>
Sib. Or.	Sibylline Oracles
SNTSMS	Society of New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SP	Sacra Pagina
<i>Spec. Laws</i>	Philo, <i>On the Special Laws</i>
<i>SPhLA</i>	<i>Studia Philonica Annual</i>
<i>ST</i>	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
StBibLit	Studies in Biblical Literature
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judea
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigraphica
<i>TBei</i>	<i>Theologische Beiträge</i>
<i>TLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
THKNT	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
T. Iss.	Testament of Issachar
T. Job	Testament of Job
T. Naph.	Testament of Naphtali
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentaries
Tob.	Tobit
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
<i>TynB</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
<i>Virt.</i>	Philo, <i>On Virtues</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WCom	Wisdom Commentary
Wis.	Wisdom of Solomon
WGRW	Writings from the Greco-Roman World

<i>WuD</i>	<i>Wort und Dienst</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
YCS	Yale Classical Studies
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZTK</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

Introduction

Women are more prominent in 1 Corinthians 7 than in any other text of comparable length in the Pauline corpus. Throughout the forty verses that make up this chapter, Paul repeatedly mentions women, addresses them directly, and distinguishes them from one another in terms of their marital status.¹ Yet, 1 Corinthians 7 has played a relatively minor or ancillary role in most scholarly treatments of Paul's views on women and gender,² with some important exceptions.³ Its significance for Paul's views on these topics is also disputed,

¹ 1 Corinthians 7 divides into sections addressed to different groups based, in part, on marital status: married men and women in sexless marriages (7:2–5), widowers and widows (7:6–9), married men and women with a spouse in the community (7:10–12), the divorced woman (7:11), married men and women with an “unbelieving” spouse (7:12–16), men bound to or loosed from a virgin (7:25–28, 36–38), men in sexual relationships with a wife (7:29b), unmarried men and women (7:32–35), and married women and widows (7:39–40). Other groups addressed are the circumcised and uncircumcised (7:18–20), slaves and free (7:21–23), and men who mourn, rejoice, buy, and use the world (7:30–31). For the suggestion that 1 Corinthians 7 is similar in form to Jewish *halakha*, see Peter J. Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law: Halakha in the Letters of the Apostle to the Gentiles*, CRINT III 1 (Assen; Maastricht: Van Gorcum; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 105–8.

² “Gender” in this study refers to socially constructed roles or characteristics associated with being “female” or “male.”

³ The following studies devote only a few brief comments to 1 Corinthians 7: Craig S. Keener, *Paul, Women and Wives: Marriage and Women's Ministry in the Letters of Paul* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1992); Ross S. Kraemer, *Her Share of the Blessings: Women's Religions among Pagans, Jews, and Christians in the Greco-Roman World* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 146; Ronald W. Pierce and Rebecca Merrill Groothuis, eds., *Discovering Biblical Equality: Complementarity without Hierarchy* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic; Leicester, UK: Apollos, 2005); Lynn H. Cohick, *Women in the World of the Earliest Christians: Illuminating Ancient Ways of Life* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2009), 282; John Piper and Wayne Grudem, eds., *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood: A Response to Evangelical Feminism* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2012); Susan Hylen, *Women in the New Testament World* (London: Oxford University Press, 2018), 89. In the recent monograph by Michelle Lee-Barnewall, *Neither Complementarian nor Egalitarian: A Kingdom Corrective to the Evangelical Gender Debate* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2016), there is no discussion of 1 Corinthians 7 but only a brief mention in the “Afterword” by Lynn H. Cohick. For other studies on women and gender in the New Testament and early Christianity that devote considerably more attention to 1 Corinthians 7, see Chapter 1, Section 2.

based on whether it is thought to agree with Gal. 3:28 and 1 Cor. 11:11–12 or 1 Cor. 14:34–35 and the household codes attributed to Paul. In this discussion, 1 Corinthians 7 has become an echo of what is known or inferred from these parallels. By contrast, the present study attempts to describe the distinctive contributions of this text to the debate on Paul, women, and gender by expanding the range of *comparanda*.

This book also addresses the vexed question of how to interpret Paul's statements about marriage, sex, sexual abstinence, and celibacy in 1 Corinthians 7 within their broader historical context. For these two debates are inextricably intertwined.⁴

The book divides into two parts. In Part I, I provide a review of representative or influential scholarly literature on 1 Corinthians 7 that focuses narrowly on Paul's views on women and gender, followed by a review of representative scholarly studies that focus narrowly on Paul's views on marriage, sex, sexual abstinence, and celibacy (Chapter 1). This chapter demonstrates the need for further discussion on all these topics combined. Then, I develop a new approach to the interpretation of 1 Corinthians 7 (Chapter 2), based on a comparison of this text with Aristotle's *topos* of household management (*οἰκονομία*) as found in the *Politics* and select Hellenistic sources that date to roughly the same period as 1 Corinthians. I explore whether Paul's instructions to the Corinthians on the topics of marriage and sex, slavery and freedom, and property management or building wealth can be interpreted as an implicit refutation of or competitive engagement with this Hellenistic tradition of household management.

Part II consists of five interrelated, exegetical-historical studies devoted to different aspects of Paul's parenesis in 1 Corinthians 7 and their implications for his views on women and their roles and relationships to men in the household. These chapters draw out the importance of Paul's eschatology for his engagement with this Hellenistic *topos* of household management.

Chapter 3 addresses the question, why Paul holds that the Corinthian men who were "bound" or betrothed to "the virgins," or had young fiancées, "will do better," if they decide to "keep" the virgins rather than to "marry" them (7:25–28, 32–38).⁵ Is there a moral or merely a practical difference between the two decisions, if we assume that Paul's references to "the impending distress" and the "affliction" that some "will have" (7:26, 28) mirror the apocalyptic tradition that women with young or unborn children will suffer and die in the distress, while men who have begotten sons will simply grieve their loss?

⁴ Interpreters agree that it is anachronistic to interpret 1 Corinthians 7 in terms of a moral or spiritual ideal of celibacy. But there is widespread disagreement on how to interpret Paul's statements about marriage, sex, and celibacy within his own historical context and what are the most useful parallels for doing so.

⁵ All chapter and verse references are to 1 Corinthians unless otherwise noted.

Chapter 4 investigates Paul's advice to the widowers ("unmarried men") and the widows that "it is better for them if they remain, as I also" remain unmarried, followed by his opinion that the widow "is more fortunate, if she remains so" (7:8–9, 39–40). Why does Paul add this macarism on the widow? What leads him to contradict the view of his contemporaries that the widow was *unfortunate*, especially if she could not marry? Does Paul's contrarian opinion reflect his knowledge of Jesus tradition about similar women who are (or will be in the last days) fortunate?

Chapter 5 tackles the interpretation of Paul's exception for sexual abstinence in marriage under certain conditions, despite prohibiting the practice, in general (7:2–5). Can this exception be explained by Corinthians' desire to control fertility through sexual abstinence in marriage, and if so, for what reason did they want to do so? Is there a logical or a lexical connection between Paul's conditions for sexual abstinence in marriage and ancient methods used to control fertility? What role might Paul have seen women to play in controlling their fertility?

Chapter 6 begins with a critique of the interpretation of Paul's five parallel admonitions to "brothers" (7:29–31) as a digression on the importance of "inner aloofness" from the world, which is transitory. The chapter then explores the possibility that Paul is addressing only a group of men who used their wives as sources of legitimate children and heirs to inherit their name and property and propagate their line after the man died. I discuss the significance of this practice for the hope of an afterlife through progeny based on the fluid boundary between the individual and the familial group, and how Paul challenges it without appealing explicitly to the hope of the eschatological resurrection of the dead.

Chapter 7 examines Paul's instructions on divorce (7:10–16) in the light of the general expectation that Roman wives should worship the same deity as their husbands in the household. Did Paul's instructions to wives to comply with their unbelieving husband's decision on divorce disadvantage the Corinthian women, and if so, how? Or if not, why not? What are the implications for women's household roles of Paul's assertions that the unbeliever "is consecrated by his wife" and "your children are consecrated"? How are these statements related to Paul's claim that "the form of this world is passing away" (7:31)?

The Conclusion synthesizes the results of these discussions and draws the implications of Chapters 2 to 7 for Paul's views on women and gender.

The historical-critical method cannot produce a completely objective interpretation of an ancient text such as 1 Corinthians 7. Nor do I pretend that my use of it here has yielded "the" interpretation of this text.⁶ Others will no

⁶ For a more skeptical assessment of the explanatory power of this method, see Laura S. Nasrallah, *Archaeology and the Letters of Paul* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,

doubt find reasons to disagree based on the same methodology. I hope however to have advanced toward "the" interpretation of 1 Corinthians 7 by this means and believe it is worth the effort to enrich the contemporary discussion of the apostle's views on women and gender.

2019), 16: "While embracing as many historical details as possible, I reject the historical critical method and its faith in exegetical tools to fix, like a butterfly pinned on a wall, the people of a given time and place, to be able to say: *This is what they thought, this is what they did, this is the explanation*"; see also pp. 2, 7.

Part I

Chapter 1

Currents in the Interpretation of 1 Corinthians 7

1. Introduction

This chapter divides into two sections. The first section illustrates the wide range of approaches to interpreting Paul's views on women and gender in 1 Corinthians 7 and the diverse results of those approaches. The second section illustrates the wide range of approaches to interpreting Paul's statements about marriage, sex, and sexual abstinence or celibacy in 1 Corinthians 7 and the diverse results of those approaches. The goal of this chapter is to demonstrate the need for a more integrated approach to interpreting Paul's views on all these topics.

2. Scholarship on Women and Gender in 1 Corinthians 7

2.1 Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza

In *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins*,¹ Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza argues that Paul “clearly had the baptismal formula [Gal. 3:28] in mind when elaborating the general theological foundation for his advice in 1 Corinthians 7” and that Paul “interprets and adapts the baptismal declaration of oneness and equality in Christ” to “the concrete situation in Corinth” and develops “direct practical elaborations of Gal 3:28c, even though the third pair of the formula [‘male and female’] is never explicitly mentioned.”² The third part of the formula, “there is no male

¹ Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroad, 1983). My discussion below draws on the sections titled, “Analysis and Interpretation of Galatians 3:28” (pp. 208–18) and “Pauline Modifications of Galatians 3:28” (pp. 218–26), which contains the subsection, “Marriage and Celibacy (1 Corinthians 7).”

² *Ibid.*, 219–20. Schüssler Fiorenza builds on the suggestion of two other scholars that Paul's discussion in 1 Corinthians 7 alludes to the early Christian baptismal formula: Scott S. Bartchy, *First-Century Slavery and 1 Corinthians 7:21*, SBLDS 11 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1973), 162–65; Dieter Lührmann, “Wo man nicht mehr Sklave oder Freier ist: Überlegungen zur Struktur frühchristlicher Gemeinden,” *WuD* 13 (1975), 53–83. This allusion is also suggested in other secondary literature: Judith M. Gundry-Volf, “Male and Female in Creation and New Creation: Interpretations of Gal 3:28c in 1 Corinthians 7,” in

and female,” “probably alludes to Gen. 1:27 LXX,” “male and female [G*d] made them” (ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς),

where humanity created in the image of God is qualified as ‘male and female’ in order to introduce the theme of procreation and fertility ... ‘No longer male and female’ is best understood, therefore, in terms of marriage and gender relationships. As such, Gal 3:28c does not assert that there are no longer men and women in Christ, but that patriarchal marriage – and sexual relationships between male and female – is no longer constitutive of the new community in Christ.³

The baptismal formula can thus be taken to imply that both women and men are “full members” of the eschatological community of Christ-believers “in and through baptism”⁴ and free “to exercise leadership functions within the missionary movement,” regardless “of their procreative capacities and the social roles connected with them” in “the patriarchal family.”⁵ Based on this interpretation of the baptismal formula, Paul “advises Christians, especially women, to remain free from the marriage bond” and to marry only if necessary due to sexual desire, without any requirement to procreate (see, e.g., 7:7–9, 11, 27c–d, 32–34, 36–38, 40).⁶ This advice was “a severe infringement of the right of the *paterfamilias*” and “a frontal assault on the intentions of existing law and the general cultural ethos.”⁷ For ordinary women in Greco-Roman society were not free to choose celibacy because they were under the authority of the *paterfamilias* and required by the cultural ethos and, in some cases, Roman law, to marry and bear children.⁸

To Tell the Mystery: Essays on New Testament Eschatology in Honor of R. H. Gundry, ed. Thomas E. Schmidt and Moisés Silva, JSNTSup 100 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 95–121; Bruce Hansen, “*All of You Are One*”: *The Social Vision of Gal 3.28, 1 Cor 12.13 and Col 3.11*, LNTS 409 (London; New York: T&T Clark, 2010), 10–11; Karin B. Neutel, *A Cosmopolitan Ideal: Paul’s Declaration ‘Neither Jew Nor Greek, Neither Slave Nor Free, Nor Male and Female’ in the Context of First-Century Thought*, LNTS 513 (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015), 190.

³ Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, 211. Schüssler Fiorenza disputes that Gal. 3:28c refers to “eliminating biological sexual distinctions or advocates androgyny” (*ibid.*), or “purely religious” equality (*ibid.*, 207); with Hans Dieter Betz, *Galatians*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 189 n. 68. For a brief discussion of the history of interpretation of Gal. 3:28, see Schüssler Fiorenza, *ibid.*, 205–7.

⁴ Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, 211.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 211, 216.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 224. All chapter and verse references are to 1 Corinthians unless otherwise noted. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 225.

⁸ *Ibid.* On the Augustan marriage legislation penalizing the unmarried and rewarding those who married and procreated among the Roman elite, see Mary R. D’Angelo, “Roman ‘Family Values’ and the Apologetic Concerns of Philo and Paul: Reading the Sixth Commandment,” *NTS* 61 (2015), 525–46; *eadem*, “Gender and Geopolitics in the Work of Philo of Alexandria: Jewish Piety and Imperial Family Values,” in *Mapping Gender in Ancient*

Paul drew no culturally explosive implications from the baptismal formula for married women, however, in Schüssler Fiorenza's opinion: Paul "implicitly limited married women to the confines of the patriarchal family" and "posited a rift between the married woman, concerned about her husband and family, and the unmarried virgin who was pure and sacred and therefore would receive the pneumatic privileges of virginity."⁹ These comments are based on 7:34: "The unmarried and chaste woman devotes care to the things of the Lord, so that she is consecrated both in body and in spirit [to the Lord], but the married woman devotes care to the things of the world, how she may serve her husband."

Schüssler Fiorenza explains that Paul limited married women to the patriarchal household for practical, not theological reasons, namely, to promote "decency and order" and reduce the "tension [between the Christian community and the wider society as a result of his emphasis on the marriage-free state of Christians] as much as possible."¹⁰ For example, in 11:2–16, 14:33–36 (the latter of which is authentically Pauline, in her view) Paul restricts the roles of married women to protect the Christian community and further its mission.¹¹

Schüssler Fiorenza concludes that in Paul's view the equality or mutuality of husband and wife is limited to "sexual conjugal relationships" (7:2–5),¹² and "it would be reaching too far to conclude that women and men shared an equality of role and a mutuality of relationship or equality or responsibility, freedom, and accountability in marriage."¹³

In sum: On the one hand, Paul "opens up a new independent lifestyle for women by encouraging them to remain free of the bondage of marriage. On the other hand, he subordinates women's behavior in the worship assembly to the interests of Christian mission, and restricts their rights not only as 'pneumatics' but also as 'women,' for we do not find such explicit restrictions on the behavior of men *qua* men in the worship assembly [sic]."¹⁴ Paul's teaching

Religious Discourses, ed. Todd Penner and Caroline Vander Stichele, BibInt 84 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 63–88; Susan Hylen, *Women in the New Testament World* (London: Oxford University Press, 2018), 71–72.

⁹ Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, 226; see also pp. 231–32. Schüssler Fiorenza contrasts Paul's view with that of Prisca and other married women who were actively engaged in the early Christian mission, not restricted to subordinate roles in the patriarchal household. They illustrate an "alternative vision and praxis" (*ibid.*, 251).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 233, 236.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 233: "Here [14:34–35], as in 7:34 and 9:5, Paul appears to limit the active participation of wives in the 'affairs of the Lord'."

¹² *Ibid.*, 224.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 236. Schüssler Fiorenza, *ibid.*, 220, comments that Paul's qualifications of the baptismal formula in 1 Corinthians 7 were "developed further in a patriarchal direction by the Pauline 'school'."

on women and their roles in the early Christian missionary movement was thus double-edged. His impact was neither entirely positive nor wholly negative.

But as others have observed, at many points in this passage Paul bends over backwards to make the same statements to or about women as he does to or about men, not just when referring to the sexual relationship. It is thus difficult to conclude that Paul *presents* marriage or the family as “patriarchal” institutions.¹⁵ Indeed, Paul presents marriage as confining also for the *man*.¹⁶

The unmarried man devotes care to the things that belong to the Lord, how he may serve the Lord. But the married man devotes care to the things that belong to the world, how he may serve his wife, and he is divided.

ὁ ἄγαμος μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ κυρίου, πῶς ἀρέσῃ τῷ κυρίῳ· ὁ δὲ γαμήσας μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου, πῶς ἀρέσῃ τῇ γυναικί, καὶ μεμέρισται. (7:32b–34a)

Here, Paul draws on an ancient stereotype of marriage as depriving the man of his freedom and reducing him to a servant with inescapable obligations to a wife, children, and in-laws.¹⁷ Instead of realizing the Stoic ideal of a life “free from distraction” (cf. 7:35), the married man “devotes care to the things that belong to the world” and strives to “serve” or “please” his wife. “And he is divided” probably refers to needing to fulfill his obligations to the Lord as “Christ’s slave” or “the Lord’s freedperson” (7:22) as well as his obligations to his wife.¹⁸ In 7:27, Paul refers to the man who “is bound (δέδεσται) to a woman” as well as in 7:39 to the woman who “is bound (δέδεσται) for as long as her husband is alive.” Finally, Paul’s statement in 7:35, “I say this for your benefit, not with the result of putting a yoke (βρόχον) on you,” probably

¹⁵ Cf. Carol L. Meyers, “Was Ancient Israel a Patriarchal Society?,” *JBL* 133 (2014), 8–27, on the inadequacy of “patriarchy” as a hermeneutical device for describing the roles of women in ancient Israel and other ancient contexts.

¹⁶ I have argued for the following translation of 7:32–34 in Judith M. Gundry, “Anxiety or Care for People? The Theme of 1 Corinthians 7:32–34 and the Relation between Exegesis and Theology,” in *Reconsidering the Relationship between Biblical and Systematic Theology in the New Testament: Essays by Theologians and New Testament Scholars*, ed. Benjamin E. Reynolds, Brian Lugioyo, and Kevin J. Vanhoozer, WUNT 2.369 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 111–30.

¹⁷ The ancient view of marriage as entailing numerous social obligations is presupposed in 1 Corinthians; see further Will Deming, *Paul on Marriage and Celibacy: The Hellenistic Background of 1 Corinthians 7*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids; Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2004).

¹⁸ 7:34a, “and he is divided,” is antithetically parallel to 7:34b: “The unmarried, virgin woman devotes herself to the Lord’s things, so that she is consecrated both in body and in spirit.” Cf. Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, 226, for the interpretation of “he is divided” (μεμέρισται, 7:34a) as “he is not equally dedicated to the affairs of the Lord.”

Index of Sources

The italicized page numbers below indicate a detailed discussion.

1. Hebrew Bible and Septuagint

<i>Genesis</i>		18:12–13	166
1:27	8, 22	18:19, 22	123
1:27–28	18, 31, 49		
1:28	71, 115, 132	<i>Numbers</i>	
2:24	30	15:19–21	184
3:16	70, 71		
5:1b–2	18	<i>Deuteronomy</i>	
6:4	144	7:12–14	119
12:3	146	25:5–10	93, 145
15:1–4	148		
15:3	118	<i>1 Samuel</i>	
15:4–5	118	1:5–6	107
15:5	146	21:5	117
15:6	118, 146, 147		
16:1–2	107	<i>2 Samuel</i>	
17:4–6	146	12:13–14	96
17:16	147	12:23	96
17:17	147	18:18	145
18:10	121		
18:11–12	147	<i>Tobit</i>	
18:14	121, 147	8:19–20	156
21:1–2	147		
22	148	<i>Psalms</i>	
22:18	146	32(31):1–2	96, 106
29:31	107	46:10 (45:11)	128
30:1–2, 22–23	107	116:6	124
		127(126):5	107
<i>Exodus</i>		128(127):3–4	107
19:5	117		
21:22–23	70	<i>Proverbs</i>	
29:37	183	23:25	107
<i>Leviticus</i>		<i>Ecclesiastes</i>	
6:18	183	3:1	156

3:1–8	120	12:1	81
<i>Wisdom of Solomon</i>		<i>Hosea</i>	
3:7–8	104	9:11–14	119
<i>Isaiah</i>		<i>Joel</i>	
56:5	145	2:15–17	120
<i>Daniel</i>		<i>Zephaniah</i>	
4:13, 17, 23	144	1:15	81

2. New Testament

<i>Matthew</i>		24:45–51	103
5:32	99, 100, 101	25:1–30	103
5:38–42	103	26:26–29	101
5:39–42	100		
5:44	100, 101	<i>Mark</i>	
7:24–27	104	4:3–9	103
10:1–16	102	6:6b–13	102
10:10	100, 101	6:8–9	101
10:34–36	173	7:15	100
10:37–39	99	9:33–50	102
11:6	103	9:42	100, 101
12:44	128	9:50	100
13:3–9	103	10:2–9	30
15:11	100	10:9	55, 173
17:20	101	10:9–12	30
18:6	100	10:11–12	99, 100, 101,
18:7	100		170
19:3–12	171	11:23	101
19:6	55, 173	12:1–12	103
19:9	100, 101, 171	12:1–40	101, 102
19:10–12	30, 99	12:13–17	100, 102
21:21	101	12:18–27	102, 103, 104
21:33–46	104	12:25	30
22:1–10	155–57	12:28–34	102
22:15–22	100, 102	12:35–37	104
22:23–32	103	13:14–20	82, 113
22:23–33	102	13:15–16	86
22:30	104	13:19, 24	81
22:34–40	102	14:22–25	101
22:41–46	104	14:30	102
24:19–22	82		
24:21	81	<i>Luke</i>	
24:29	81	1:25	107
24:37–39	156	1:36	107
24:43	100	1:42	107

6:20–21	96	4:3–21	118–19
6:27–38	100, 101, 102	4:7–8	96, 106
6:28	100, 101	4:11	146
6:29–30	100, 103	4:13	146
6:37	103	4:17	146
6:47–49	104	4:18	147
7:23	103	4:19	147
8:5–8	103	4:23–24	147
9:1–6	102	5:5	183
9:3	101	5:6	88
10:1–12	102	7:2	54
10:7	101	8:6	173
10:25–28	102	8:27	179
11:27–28	107	8:29–30	185
12:39–40	100	9:9	121
12:41–46	103	11:16–28	183–86
14:16–24	155–57	12:13	179
14:25–27	99	12:14	100–2
15:19	140	12:15	134
16:18	100, 101, 171	12:17	100
16:22–23	104	12:18	173
17:1–2	100	13:7	100, 102
17:6	101	13:8–10	102
17:26–30	156	14:13	100, 102
19:12–27	103	14:13–20	101
20:9–18	103, 104	14:14	101, 181
20:20–26	100, 102	14:17–18	56, 173
20:27–38	30, 103–5, 109, 194	14:22	106
20:27–40	102, 104	15:16	184
20:41–44	104	15:25, 31	179
21:23–24	82	16:1–2	13
22:14–20	101	16:2	179
23:27–30	83	16:3–5	11
23:28–31	98, 106–10, 194	16:6	13
23:29	31	16:7	12
		16:12	13
		16:13	13
		16:15	179
		16:19	102
		16:23	143
		16:26 v.l.	116
<i>Acts</i>			
9:43	181		
10:25–26, 28	181		
14:12	12		
16:19	12		
18:2	11		
18:18	12		
18:24–26	11, 12		
<i>Romans</i>			
1:7	174		
4	146–47		
4:3	184		
		<i>1 Corinthians</i>	
		1:1	13
		1:2	174, 178, 179,
			185
		1:14–16	170
		1:23	103
		1:26	143, 153

1:26–28	93, 172	7:10	50, 55, 101, 107, 116
3:6	103		
3:10–12	104	7:10–11	30, 54, 100, 101, 138, 196
4:1–2	103		
4:5	103	7:10–16	3, 19, 20, 33, 54, 169–91
4:7	141		
4:8	15	7:11	8, 33, 48, 50, 81
4:12	101	7:12	97, 103, 116
4:13	140	7:12–16	55, 138, 196
4:18	141	7:14	30, 36, 37, 55, 78, 79, 153, 171
5:1	142, 143		
5:2	143	7:15	55, 81
5:5	82	7:16	55, 171
5:10–11	177	7:17–24	26, 33, 47, 48, 138, 177
6:1–2	178, 179, 185		
6:7	103	7:21	59
6:11	174, 185	7:21–23	36, 37, 46
6:12–20	16, 52, 181	7:22–23	10, 47
7:1	22, 33, 48, 52, 53, 54, 59, 92, 113, 195	7:25–27	19, 26, 50, 51, 97, 116
7:2	16, 28, 29, 54, 137, 141, 142, 143	7:25–28	2, 23, 24, 33, 77–89, 138, 180, 183
7:2–3	53	7:26	2, 23, 25, 26, 27, 60, 92, 97, 104, 107, 127, 194
7:2–4	19, 170		
7:2–5	3, 9, 20, 22, 30, 33, 51, 52, 80, 92, 111–32, 137, 138, 195	7:27	8, 10, 26, 33, 48, 50, 91
7:2–16	36	7:27–29	19, 20, 36
7:3–5	11, 193	7:28	2, 20, 24, 25, 26, 29, 51, 82, 97, 103, 104, 107, 168, 194
7:4	53		
7:5	30, 53, 54, 103, 182, 195	7:29	33, 52, 54, 58, 97, 103, 104, 107, 194
7:5–40	114, 115		
7:6	31, 49, 115, 116, 127	7:29–31	3, 24, 54, 57, 58, 78, 133–68, 194
7:6–7	92		
7:6–9	33, 48, 138	7:30–31	34, 36, 58, 59
7:7	27, 30, 49, 116, 140	7:31	3, 97, 104, 107, 190
7:7–8	26		
7:7–9	8, 30, 137	7:32–34	8, 10, 15, 19, 20, 28, 95, 105, 134, 135, 170, 195
7:8	19, 49, 92, 95		
7:8–9	3, 91–110		
7:9	28, 29, 31, 49, 51, 77, 92, 93, 103, 115, 116, 195		

7:32–38	2, 23, 24, 33, 50, 77–89, 138, 139, 180, 183	15:3–5 15:3–8 15:5	100 102 12
7:33–34	18, 52, 56, 103, 193	15:6	12, 13
7:33–40	36	15:12	15, 153
7:34	9, 10, 14, 22, 30, 52, 94, 182, 183	15:25 16:1	104 179
7:35	10, 16, 52, 56, 182, 195	16:11 16:12	173 13
7:35–38	29, 96	16:15	179
7:36	24, 29, 51, 103, 138, 194, 195	16:19	11, 143, 170
7:36–38	8, 19, 20, 51, 52, 103, 194	<i>2 Corinthians</i> 1:1	13, 174, 179
7:39–40	3, 8, 10, 19, 30, 33, 48, 49, 50, 54, 91–110, 138, 173, 174, 180, 187, 194	1:13 2:6–7 6:6 6:8–10 6:14–7:1 6:16	13 82 183 141 181, 182 179, 180, 183
8:4–13	191	7:10	134
8:13	101, 102	11:28	80, 135
9:4	13	12:2, 3, 5 12:18	82 13
9:5	9, 12, 13	13:11	173
9:7, 11	103		
9:14	13, 100, 101, 102		
9:20–21	140		
10:1–13	191	<i>Galatians</i> 1:10	56
10:11	97	1:17	12
10:14–22	191	1:19	12
10:23–33	191	2:19–20	105
10:33	56	3:14–16	148
11:2–16	9, 13, 37	3:28	2, 7, 8, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 31, 32, 48, 49, 60, 116, 195
11:4–5	19		
11:11–12	2, 19, 20	4:3	47
11:17–24	58, 60, 167	4:9	47
11:18–19	167	4:27	142
11:22	58, 143, 153	5:22	173
11:23–27	101, 102		
11:31–32, 34	58		
12:23b–24a	16		
12:29	49, 167	<i>Ephesians</i> 5:18–33	190
13:1–3	100, 101	5:21–22	71–72
14:16	17, 176	5:22–24	71
14:22–25	16, 17, 176	5:22–6:9	34, 36
14:33	173, 179, 185	5:23–27	72
14:33–36	9	5:25	72
14:34	14	5:25–28	71
14:34–35	2, 9, 19, 20, 37		
14:37	100		

5:26–27	72	3:1	118
5:32	72		
5:33	71, 72	<i>Philemon</i>	
6:5–6	56	2	170
		8–23	47
<i>Philippians</i>		16–17	59
1:1	174, 179	18–19	36
1:9	118	21	59
2:25	13	24	124
4:2–3	13		
4:21	179	<i>1 Timothy</i>	
		1:1	116
<i>Colossians</i>		1:11	106
1:3, 9	118	2:8–3:15	34
2:20	47	2:15	70, 94
3:5	102	3:2, 12	94
3:12	102	5:9–14	50
3:18–4:1	34, 36	5:11	94
4:3	118	5:14	94, 195
4:6	102	6:1–2	34
4:14	124, 127	6:15	106
4:15	11		
4:17	170	<i>2 Timothy</i>	
		4:19	12
<i>1 Thessalonians</i>		<i>Titus</i>	
3:2	13	1:3	116
3:13	179	1:6	94
4:2	33	2:1–10	34
4:3–5	16, 28–29, 144	2:13	106
4:4–5	51		
4:8	102	<i>Hebrews</i>	
4:15–17	100	11:13–16	104
5:2	100, 101		
5:4	100	<i>1 Peter</i>	
5:13	100, 102	2:18	46
5:15	100, 102	2:18–3:7	34, 36
5:17	118	3:1	174, 191, 196
5:23	174		
		<i>Revelation</i>	
<i>2 Thessalonians</i>		7:14	81
1:10	179		
1:11	118		

3. Old Testament Apocrypha

<i>Apocalypse of Elijah</i>		<i>Assumption of Moses</i>	
2:35–38	86	10:3–6	81

<i>2 Baruch</i>		<i>Jubilees</i>	
10:9–12	87	19:16–17, 20	147
10:13–16	86	23:11–25	81
10:14–15	119		
25–27	81	<i>3 Maccabees</i>	
32:2–4	86	1:16 v.l.	86
54:10	107	1:18–20	85–86
<i>1 Enoch</i>		<i>4 Maccabees</i>	
15:5–7	144	7:19	104
98:9–99:10	84	16:25	104
99:1	85	17:18	104
100:7	81		
103:7	81	<i>Sibylline Oracles</i>	
<i>4 Ezra</i>		2.190–193	83
5:1–13	81	<i>Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs</i>	
5:8	84	Testament of Issachar	
6:18–24	81	2:3	123
6:21	84	Testament of Naphtali	
9:1–12	81	8:8	117–118
<i>6 Ezra</i>			
16:40–44	135		

4. Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature

<i>Damascus Document</i>		<i>Peshar on Psalm 37</i>	
CD 3:19–4:4	165	4Q171 3:1–2	165
CD 7:4b–9a/191–5a	164		
<i>Thanksgiving Hymns</i>		<i>Halakha A</i>	
1QH ^a 4:26–27	165	4Q251	166
<i>Rule of the Community</i>		<i>Temple Scroll</i>	
1QS 4:22b–23a	165	11QTemple 66:15–17	166
		<i>Peshar Habakkuk</i>	
		VI:8–14	83

5. New Testament Apocrypha

<i>Acts of Paul and Thecla</i>		<i>Gospel of Thomas</i>	
5	141	17	101
		64	156
		79	106, 108–9

6. Apostolic Fathers

Shepherd of Hermas

Mandate(s)

4.4.1–2 94

7. Rabbinic Literature

Mishnah

Qiddushin 2:1 179

Babylonian Talmud

Yebamot 12 124

8. Ancient Authors and Works

Aristotle

Generation of Animals

775a 44

Nicomachean Ethics

1134b15–17 43

1160b23–1161a10 42

Politics

1252a8–14 42

1252a27–28 41

1252a31–32 41

1252a32–1252b6 42

1252b10–14 41

1252b31 42

1253a3–4 42

1253b3–14 35, 36, 41

1253b14 62

1253b15–1255b40 41

1254b14–16 42

1255b23 43

1256a1–1259a38 35, 37

1259b1–11 35, 43

1260a10–16 42, 44

1260a33–34 41

1277b26–27 44

1287a17–19 43

1334b30–1336a3 45

1335b7–8 45

1335b9–22 45

1335b29–30 45

[Pseudo-]Aristotle

Economics

Book 1 64

Arius Didymus

Epitome of Stoic and Peripatetic Ethics

148.1–152.25 63–66

Aulus Gellius

Noctes Atticae

1.6.6 149

1.6.8 150

[Pseudo-]Callicratidas

On the Happiness of the Household

(ed. Thesleff)

106.1–10 67–68

Catullus

Carmina

61:208–211 151

Pseudo-Charandos

Law-Code(Stobaeus, *Anthology* 4.2.19) 45

Chariton

Chaereas and Callirhoe

2.8.6–2.9.6 152

Cicero		<i>Life</i>	
<i>Pro Cluentio</i>		1.10–11	161
2.32	152		
Demosthenes		Juvenal	
<i>Orations</i>		<i>Satires</i>	
59:122	143	6.592–598	125
Dionysius of Halicarnassus		Livy	
<i>Roman Antiquities</i>		<i>Periochae</i>	
2.25.4–5	66	29	149
2.25.7	67	Musonius Rufus	
2.26.1	66	<i>Diatribai</i>	
Epictetus		14.28–29	173
<i>Dissertationes</i>		14.30–31	173
3.22.69, 76	25	15	85
3.22.77	80, 149	<i>frag(s).</i>	
Galen		15a	126
<i>De simplicium medicamentorum</i>		Ovid	
<i>temperamentis et</i>		<i>Amores</i>	
<i>facultatibus</i>	119	2.13	152
		2.14	152
Hierocles		<i>Fasti</i>	
<i>Elements of Ethics</i>	173, 188–89	1.619–628	152
Josephus		Philo of Alexandria	
<i>Against Apion</i>		<i>On the Decalogue</i>	
2.121	70	96–101	129
2.199	71, 123	97–98	129
2.201	69–71	<i>On the Creation of the World</i>	
2.291	162	128	129
<i>Jewish Antiquities</i>		<i>On the Special Laws</i>	
1.183	148	1.67–70	129, 130–31
4.254–256	93, 145	2.129	145
12.248–256	86	2.194–199	129–30
18.20–21	162	3.1–3	131
<i>Jewish War</i>		3.32–33	122–23
2.119–122	162	3.34–36	123
2.120–121	164	<i>On the Contemplative Life</i>	
2.121	162	13–72	157–60
2.134	166	40–47	167
2.154–158	163	<i>On the Life of Moses</i>	
2.160	161	2.23–24	129
2.161	123, 163		
5.567–572	81		

2.211–212	129	<i>De liberis educandis</i>	
		10	62
<i>On Virtues</i>			
207	160	<i>Quaestiones Romanae</i>	
		56 (<i>Mor.</i> 278B)	152
<i>Hypothetica</i>			
7:3	69–71	Propertius	
11:14–17	160–61, 164	<i>Elegies</i>	
		2.7	150
<i>Questions and Answers on Genesis</i>			
4.47	131	Seneca (the Elder)	
		<i>Controversiae</i>	
<i>That Every Good Person Is Free</i>		5.1–2	152
63–64	131		
		Seneca (the Younger)	
Philodemus		<i>Epistles</i>	
<i>On Property Manage-</i>		94:1–4	62–63
<i>ment</i>	61–62	94:18–44	33
		95:34, 59–60	33
Pseudo-Phocylides			
<i>Sentences</i>		Soranus	
175–176	146	<i>Gynecology</i>	
186	70	1:34	143
		1.36–38	121–22, 127
Pliny the Elder		1.61	121–22, 127
<i>Natural History</i>			
5.17.4	162, 164	Strabo	
5.73	163	<i>Geography</i>	
		13.1.54	40
Plutarch			
<i>De amore prolis (Affection for Offspring)</i>		Tibullus	
2 (<i>Mor.</i> 493E–F)	149	<i>Elegy</i>	
		3.12.1–5, 14–15	189
<i>Comparison of Lycurgus and Numa</i>			
4:2	92	Velleius Paterculus	
		<i>Historiae Romanae</i>	
<i>Conjugalia praecepta</i>		2.103.3–5	151
1 (<i>Mor.</i> 140D)	188, 189		
		Xenophon	
<i>Consolatio ad uxorem</i>		<i>Oeconomicus</i>	
<i>Mor.</i> 608C–D	113	7:8	188
<i>Mor.</i> 609B–C	113	11:8–9	188
<i>Mor.</i> 610D	113		

9. Inscriptions, Papyri

Bremer Papyri

(ed. U. Wilcken)

P. Brem. 63 128

Papyri Graecae Magicae

(ed. H. D. Betz)

PGM lxxv.1–4 119

Inscriptions in the Sanctuary of

Demeter and Kore in Corinth

(ed. R. S. Stroud)

Catalog nos. 125/126 119

Index of Modern Authors

- Aasgaard, Reidar 175 n. 24
 Adewuya, J. Ayodeji 175 n. 24
 Allison, Dale C., Jr. 98 n. 24, 99 n. 27,
 100 n. 30, 101 n. 38, 102 nn. 39–40,
 105 n. 48
 Allo, Ernest-Bernard 136 n. 13
 Arzt-Grabner, Peter 128 n. 54
 Atkinson, Kenneth 164 n. 71
 Attridge, Harold W. 104 n. 44
- Baden, Joel S. 150 n. 45
 Balch, David L. 34 n. 8, 35–39, 62
 n. 105, 64 n. 112, 67 n. 118, 98
 n. 24, 99 n. 27, 103 n. 42, 117 n. 26
 Balsdon, John P. V. D. 95 n. 19
 Barclay, John M.G. 70 nn. 128 and
 131, 129 n. 55
 Barrett, C. K. 27 n. 104, 80 n. 11,
 81 n. 15, 89 n. 34, 116 n. 20,
 117 n. 25, 136 n. 13, 141 n. 21
 Barchy, Scott S. 7 n. 2
 Bartinkas, Vilius 41 n. 37
 Barton, Stephen C. 158 n. 57
 Bates, Clifford Angell, Jr. 44 n. 48
 Bauckham, Richard J. 12 n. 23,
 98 n. 24, 101 nn. 35–36, 105 n. 48,
 106 n. 50
 Beasley-Murray, George R. 174 n. 22,
 178 n. 41, 183 n. 69
 Beattie, Gillian 17 n. 48
 Belleville, Linda 12 n. 23
 Best, Ernest 175 n. 24
 Betz, Hans Dieter 8 n. 3, 119 n. 32
 Blomberg, Craig L. 109 n. 58
 Blue, Bradley B. 24 n. 84
 Booth, William J. 43 n. 44
 Bovon, François 105 n. 46
 Bradshaw, Leah 43 n. 44, 44 nn. 50–
 51
- Braun, Herbert 141 n. 22
 Breytenbach, Cilliers 98 n. 24
 Brookins, Timothy A. 33 n. 4
 Brown, John P. 98 n. 24, 101 n. 37
 Bruce, F. F. 116 n. 20, 118 n. 30
 Bultmann, Rudolf 102 n. 39,
 134 nn. 2–3, 135
 Burer, Michael H. 12 n. 23
 Burton, Ernest De Witt 12 n. 24
- Caragounis, Chrys C. 115 n. 18,
 117 n. 25
 Chadwick, Henry 114 n. 15
 Chester, Stephen J. 17 n. 47
 Chilton, Bruce 109 n. 60
 Ciampa, Roy E. 24 nn. 84 and 87,
 25 n. 94, 27 n. 103, 28 n. 106,
 46 n. 61, 47 n. 66, 48 n. 68, 89 n. 33,
 113 n. 9, 181 n. 56
 Clark, Mark E. 151 n. 47
 Clarke, Andrew D. 142 n. 23
 Coale, Ansley J. 126 n. 45
 Cohick, Lynn H. 1 n. 3
 Collins, John J. 83 n. 20, 146 n. 34,
 164 nn. 74 and 76, 166 nn. 81–82
 Collins, Nathan C. 23 n. 79
 Collins, Raymond F. 25 n. 94,
 56 n. 89, 109 n. 61, 114 n. 16,
 127 n. 50, 170 n. 4, 175 n. 24,
 183 n. 69, 186 nn. 83–84
 Conway, Colleen M. 53 n. 82
 Conzelmann, Hans 25 n. 94,
 26 nn. 97–98, 27, 81 n. 14,
 115 n. 19, 116 n. 20, 117 n. 25,
 136 n. 13, 181 n. 56
 Countryman, Louis William 117 n. 27
- D'Angelo, Mary R. 8 n. 8, 71 n. 135
 Danyłak, Barry N. 23 n. 79

- Davids, Peter H. 102 n. 38
 Davies, W. D. 98 n. 24, 102 n. 39
 Dean-Jones, Lesley Ann 122 n. 38
 Delling, Gerhard 175 n. 24
 Deming, Will 10 n. 17, 23–28, 33 n. 3,
 81 n. 12, 123 n. 39, 129 n. 56,
 155 n. 51
 Dodd, Charles H. 100 n. 30
 Downs, David J. 184 n. 72
 Dungan, David L. 98 n. 24
 Dunn, James D. G. 36 n. 14, 98 n. 24,
 99 nn. 26 and 29, 183 n. 69,
 184 nn. 75–76, 186 n. 82

 Elliott, Neil 20 n. 61
 Ellis, E. Earle 105 n. 47
 Ellis, J. Edward 29 n. 117
 Engberg-Pedersen, Troels 131 n. 58
 Epp, Eldon Jay 12 n. 22
 Evans Grubbs, Judith 161 n. 63

 Falcon, Andrea 39 n. 25, 40 nn. 26–29
 Fant, Maureen 149 n. 42
 Fee, Gordon D. 25 n. 94, 27 n. 102,
 33 n. 2, 78 n. 5, 79 n. 10, 81 n. 17,
 89 n. 34, 92 n. 8, 114 n. 15,
 115 n. 18, 116 n. 20, 183 n. 69,
 185 nn. 78 and 80–81, 186
 Finley, Moses I. 160 n. 58
 Fitzmyer, Joseph A. 25 n. 94,
 26 nn. 96 and 100, 27 n. 103,
 33 n. 2, 89 n. 33, 92 n. 8, 104 n. 44,
 116 n. 20, 117 n. 23, 120 n. 34,
 136 n. 12
 Fjärstedt, Biörn 98 n. 24
 Ford, Josephine Massyngberde 175
 n. 24
 Fortenbaugh, William W. 64 n. 113
 Fraade, Steven D. 114 n. 16
 Frede, Michael 39 n. 25
 Frier, Bruce W. 93 n. 11, 125 nn. 43–
 44
 Furnish, Victor P. 99 nn. 24–25 and
 29, 100 n. 30, 101 n. 32, 102 n. 39

 Gaca, Kathy L. 71 n. 134, 123 n. 39,
 143 n. 26
 Gager, John G. 25 n. 94
 Gardner, Jane F. 95 n. 19

 Garland, David E. 24 n. 84, 27 n. 103,
 78 n. 9, 79 n. 10, 86 n. 28, 94 n. 17
 Gaventa, Beverly Roberts 175 n. 24,
 177 nn. 33–34
 Gerber, Christine 175 n. 24
 Gillihan, Yonder Moynihan 179
 nn. 44–47, 180 nn. 48–52, 181 n. 54,
 182 n. 60
 Godet, Frédéric 79 n. 10, 80
 Gombis, Timothy G. 35 n. 8
 Gooch, Peter 98 n. 24, 99 n. 27,
 100 n. 29, 103 n. 43, 106 n. 50
 Goold, G. P. 150 n. 46
 Goppelt, Leonhard 102 n. 39
 Green, Joel B. 104 n. 45, 107 nn. 53–
 54
 Groothuis, Rebecca Merrill 1 n. 3
 Grosheide, Frederick W. 136 n. 13
 Grudem, Wayne 1 n. 3
 Guijarro, Santiago 155 n. 52
 Gummere, Richard 62 n. 106
 Gundry(-Volf), Judith M. 7 n. 2,
 10 n. 16, 14 n. 28, 30 n. 122,
 31 n. 128, 38 n. 19, 56 n. 88, 77 n. 1,
 80 n. 11, 91 n. 1, 95 n. 21, 134 n. 5,
 147 n. 36, 177 n. 34, 185 n. 79
 Gurtner, Daniel M. 86 n. 29

 Hansen, Bruce 8 n. 2
 Harder, Günther 117 n. 25
 Harrill, J. Albert 46 n. 63
 Harrison, James R. 188 n. 85,
 190 n. 92
 Harrisson, Juliette 149 n. 44
 Hatzimichali, Myrto 39 n. 25
 Hay, David M. 131 n. 58
 Hayes, Christine E. 180 n. 49,
 181 n. 57
 Hays, Richard B. 21 n. 68, 81 n. 14,
 98 n. 24, 136 n. 13
 Hengel, Martin 102 n. 38
 Héring, Jean 25 n. 94, 26 n. 99,
 136 n. 13
 Hoehner, Harold W. 43 n. 43
 Hofius, Otfried 174 n. 22, 191 n. 94
 Holford-Strevens, Leofranco 149
 n. 41
 Holtz, Gudrun 147 n. 36
 Holtz, Traugott 98 n. 24

- Hopkins, Keith 125 n. 44, 126 n. 46,
127 n. 49
- Horrell, David G. 25 n. 94, 115 n. 17,
116, 177 n. 32, 178 nn. 36–40,
180 n. 53
- Horsley, Richard A. 131 n. 58
- van der Horst, Pieter 114 n. 16
- Humbert, Michel 95 n. 19
- Hunter, Archibald M. 102 n. 39
- Hurd, John C. 27 n. 105
- Hutson, Christopher R. 70 n. 130
- Hylen, Susan 1 n. 3, 9 n. 8
- Ilan, Tal 71 n. 131
- Instone-Brewer, David 53 n. 81,
112 n. 7
- Inwood, Brad 63 nn. 107–109
- Jeremias, Joachim 13 n. 25, 27 n. 105,
174 n. 22
- Johnson Hodge, Caroline 181 n. 56,
188 n. 85, 190 n. 94
- de Jonge, Marinus 118 n. 31
- Kapparis, Konstantinos 146 n. 32,
152 n. 49
- Käsemann, Ernst 184 nn. 73 and 77,
186 n. 82
- Keener, Craig S. 1 n. 3
- Kellermann, Ulrich 143 n. 26,
148 n. 39, 166 n. 82
- King, Charles W. 149 n. 44
- King, Helen 122 n. 38, 125 n. 43
- Klauck, Hans-Josef 27 n. 101,
56 n. 89, 81 n. 15, 94 n. 17
- Klawans, Jonathan 70 n. 131,
146 n. 34
- Kötting, Bernhard 95 n. 19
- Kovacs, Judith L. 117 n. 24
- Kraemer, Ross S. 1 n. 3
- Kritzer, Ruth E. 81 n. 13, 128 n. 54
- Kuhn, Heinz-Wolfgang 98 n. 24,
100 n. 30
- Kühn, Karl 119
- Lee, Max J. 34 n. 7, 39 nn. 23–24
- Lee-Barnewall, Michelle 1 n. 3
- Lefowitz, Mary R. 149 n. 42
- Leonhardt, Jutta 130 n. 57
- Levenson, Jon D. 144 n. 28, 145 n. 31
- Lietzmann, Hans 114 n. 16, 117 n. 25,
127 n. 50
- Lightman, Marjorie 95 n. 19
- Lin, Yii-Jan 12 n. 22
- Lincoln, Andrew T. 35 n. 8, 37 n. 17
- Lindemann, Andreas 24 n. 84,
49 n. 69, 85 n. 25, 89 n. 33, 95 n. 22,
113 n. 8, 115 nn. 18–19, 116 n. 20,
117 n. 25, 178 n. 41, 181 n. 55
- Loader, William 25 n. 94, 26 n. 96,
29–31, 50 n. 73, 56 n. 89, 70 n. 131,
99 n. 28, 117 n. 25, 160 n. 60,
162 nn. 66–67, 164 n. 76, 166 n. 82,
181 nn. 56–57, 182 nn. 58–62
- Long, Anthony A. 40 n. 25
- Longenecker, Richard N. 102 n. 39
- Lührmann, Dieter 7 n. 2, 34 n. 8
- Lutz, Cora E. 126 n. 46, 173 n. 17
- MacDonald, Margaret Y. 14–17 with
nn. 29–44, 35 n. 8, 78 n. 9, 95 n. 19,
175 n. 25, 176 nn. 26–30, 183 n. 68
- Magness, Jodi 164 nn. 71 and 73
- Malherbe, Abraham J. 38 nn. 20–21,
39
- Malina, Bruce J. 59 n. 97
- Marcus, Joel 83 n. 21
- Marshall, I. Howard 104 n. 45,
156 n. 52
- Martin, Dale B. 28–29, 113 n. 8
- Martin, Ralph P. 141 n. 21
- Mason, Steve 163 n. 70
- May, Alisdair S. 25 n. 94, 81 n. 14
- Mayhew, Robert 41 n. 34, 43 n. 45
- McGowan, Andrew B. 190 n. 93
- Metzger, Bruce M. 112 n. 4
- Meyers, Carol L. 10 n. 15,
70 nn. 129–130
- Mitchell, Margaret M. 177 n. 35
- Moiser, Jeremy 25 n. 93
- Morris, Leon 136 n. 13
- Moss, Candida R. 150 n. 45
- Moulton, James Hope 140 n. 19
- Mouton, Elna 35 n. 8
- Murphy-O'Connor, Jerome 100 n. 29,
181 n. 55, 182 nn. 63–64, 183 n. 65
- Nägeli, Theodor 56 n. 89

- Nagle, D. Brendan 41 n. 33, 43 n. 42,
44 n. 47, 64 n. 112, 65 n. 115
- Nasrallah, Laura S. 3 n. 6, 119 n. 33
- Neiryneck, Frans 98 n. 24, 101 n. 35,
103 n. 43, 106 n. 50, 107 n. 52
- Nejsun, Peter 28 n. 110
- Neutel, Karin B. 8 n. 2, 161 n. 62,
162 n. 67
- Neyrey, Jerome H. 59 n. 97
- Nickelsburg, George W. E. 84 n. 23,
129 n. 55, 144 n. 29
- Niederwimmer, Kurt 25 n. 94,
116 n. 20, 117 nn. 24–25
- Nielsen, Karen Margrethe 44 n. 48
- Nolland, John 104 n. 44, 107 n. 53
- O'Neil, John C. 175 n. 24
- Orr, William F. 116 n. 20
- Osiek, Carolyn 15 n. 37
- Oster, Richard E., Jr. 117 n. 25
- Ostmeyer, Karl-Heinrich 118 n. 29
- Papathomos, Amphilochios 128 n. 54
- Patterson, Stephen J. 98 n. 24
- Payne, Philip B. 20–21 with nn. 62–68
- Phipps, William E. 28 n. 110
- Pierce, Ronald W. 1 n. 3
- Piper, John 1 n. 3, 98 n. 24
- Pitre, Brant J. 107 n. 53
- Plummer, Alfred 25 n. 94, 27 n. 103,
116 n. 20, 120 n. 35, 136 n. 13,
154 n. 50
- Poirier, John C. 117 n. 25
- Pomeroy, Sarah B. 94 n. 14, 95 n. 19,
188 nn. 86–88
- Prete, Benedetto 120 n. 34
- Puech, Émile 165 n. 80
- Quesnell, Quentin 99 n. 27
- Radl, Walter 128 n. 51
- Ramelli, Ilaria 173 n. 18, 189 n. 89
- Rawson, Beryl 183 n. 67
- Reeder, Caryn A. 71 n. 131
- Rengstorff, Karl Heinrich 34 n. 8
- Richardson, Peter 98 n. 24, 99 n. 27,
100 n. 29, 103 n. 43, 106 n. 50
- Riddle, John M. 125 n. 43, 126 n. 46
- Riesbeck, David J. 43 n. 46
- Robertson, Archibald T. 25 n. 94,
27 n. 103, 116 n. 20, 120 n. 35,
136 n. 13, 154 n. 50
- Rosner, Brian S. 24 nn. 84 and 87,
25 n. 94, 27 nn. 102–103, 28 n. 106,
46 n. 61, 47 n. 66, 48 n. 68, 89 n. 33,
113 n. 9, 117 n. 25, 136 n. 13,
175 n. 24, 181 n. 56
- Rosner, Fred 124 n. 41
- Rothstein, David 144 n. 28
- Runia, David T. 129 nn. 55–56
- Rupschus, Nicole 164 n. 73
- Saller, Richard P. 59 n. 97, 60 nn. 98–
99, 124 n. 42
- Satlow, Michael L. 143 n. 26,
164 nn. 75–76, 166 n. 82
- Sauer, Jürgen 98 n. 24
- Saxonhouse, Arlene W. 44 n. 52,
45 nn. 56–58
- Schließer, Benjamin 166 n. 81
- Schofield, Alison 164 nn. 71 and 74
- Schrage, Wolfgang 25 n. 94,
27 nn. 103 and 105, 82 n. 18,
89 n. 33, 95 n. 20, 112 n. 4,
115 n. 19, 116 n. 20, 117 n. 25,
118 n. 29, 133 n. 1, 181 n. 56
- Schroeder, David 35 n. 8
- Schürmann, Heinz 102 n. 38
- Schüssler Fiorenza, Elisabeth 7–9
with nn. 1–14, 10 n. 18, 15, 22,
113 n. 9, 172 nn. 13–15, 191
- Schütrumpf, Eckart 65 n. 116
- Seim, Turid K. 105 n. 46
- Shafer, John Kyrin 33 n. 4
- Sharples, Robert W. 40 n. 25,
64 n. 111
- Soards, Marion L. 107 n. 53,
108 nn. 55–57, 109 n. 59
- Standhartinger, Angela 34 n. 6,
35 n. 8
- Stauffer, Dana Jalbert 41 n. 34
- Sterling, Gregory E. 34 n. 7, 38 n. 20,
69 n. 125, 129 n. 55
- Strathmann, Hermann 131 n. 58
- Strecker, Georg 109 n. 61
- Stuhlmacher, Peter 98 n. 24
- Swain, Simon 64 n. 114, 67 nn. 119–
120, 68 nn. 121–124

- Swarup, Paul 165 n. 77, 80
- Taylor, Joan E. 164 n. 76
- Temkin, Owsei 121 n. 37, 143 n. 25
- Thesleff, Holger 67 n. 118, 68 n. 121
- Thiselton, Anthony C. 111 n. 2,
181 n. 56
- Thom, Johan C. 38 n. 20, 39 n. 22
- Thompson, James W. 37 n. 16
- Thompson, Michael 98 n. 24,
101 n. 35, 103 n. 41, 106 n. 50
- Thraede, Klaus 34 n. 8
- Todman, Don 123 n. 40
- Tomson, Peter J. 114 n. 16, 118 n. 29,
175 n. 24, 177 n. 31
- Trebilco, Paul 13 n. 26, 174 n. 20
- Trible, Phyllis 107 n. 54
- Tsouna, Voula 61 nn. 102–103,
62 n. 105
- Tsouni, Georgia 63 nn. 110–111
- Tuckett, Christopher M. 98 n. 24,
99 n. 27, 101 n. 34, 102 n. 38
- Vaage, Leif E. 78 n. 9, 175 n. 25,
176 nn. 26–30, 183 n. 68
- VanderKam, James C. 84 n. 23,
144 n. 29, 147 n. 38
- Verner, David C. 34 n. 8
- Wallace, Daniel B. 12 n. 23
- Walter, Nikolaus 98 n. 24
- Walther, James A. 116 n. 20
- Wassen, Cecilia 164 n. 72
- Watts, W. J. 152 n. 49
- Wedderburn, Alexander J. M. 99 n. 24
- Weiss, Johannes 25 n. 94, 81 n. 15,
116 n. 20
- Weiss, Robin 40 n. 25
- Wendland, Heinz-Dietrich 136 n. 13
- Wenham, David 98 n. 24, 99–
100 n. 29
- Westfall, Cynthia Long 21–22 with
nn. 69–78
- Wheeler-Reed, David 29 n. 116
- Wilson, Walter T. 146 n. 33
- Wimbush, Vincent L. 27 n. 102,
81 n. 17, 135 nn. 8–9, 136 nn. 10–11
- Winter, Bruce W. 23 n. 84, 60 n. 100,
61, 78 n. 6, 113 nn. 9–11, 114 n. 20,
118–119
- Winter, Franz 128 n. 54
- Wire, Antoinette Clark 17–20 with
nn. 48–60, 77, 89, 170, 171 n. 9
- Witherington, Ben, III 28 n. 106,
37 n. 16, 136 n. 13
- Wolbert, Werner 25 n. 94
- Wold, Benjamin G. 70 n. 128
- Wolff, Christian 136 n. 13
- Wright, N. T. 146 n. 35
- Wrigley, Edward A. 127 n. 48
- Yarbrough, O. Larry 24 n. 84,
25 n. 94, 27 nn. 102–103 and 105,
81 n. 16, 89 n. 33, 175 n. 24,
186 n. 84
- Zeisel, William 95 n. 19
- Zeller, Dieter 25 n. 94, 28 n. 110,
49 n. 70, 89 n. 33, 94 nn. 17–18,
95 n. 19, 117 n. 25
- Zimmermann, Mirjam 98 n. 24
- Zimmermann, Ruben 98 n. 24,
136 n. 14

Index of Subjects

- abortion 60, 85 n. 25, 87, 113 n. 8,
124–26, 151, 152 n. 49
- adultery 162–63, 172
- affliction in the future 2, 50, 78, 80–
89, 97, 104, 107, 132, 138, 194
- afterlife, post-mortem existence
 - immortal children as a source
of ~ 157–60
 - inheritance of Adam’s glory as a
source of ~ 163–66
 - progeny or descendants as a source
of ~ 3, 144–68
- agency
 - agent of betrothal 179
 - agent of consecration 177 n. 34
 - deceased men’s ~ 147–48, 152
 - freedpersons’ ~ 47–48
 - virgins’ ~ 51 n. 74
 - the Holy Spirit’s ~ 183
- Andronicus, husband (?) of Junia 12
- Antiochus IV (Epiphanes) 86
- Aquila, husband of Prisca 11
- assault 69–71, 157
- Barnabas 12
- baptismal formula, early Christian 7,
9, 17–18, 21, 31, 48–49, 60,
116 n. 21
- barrenness 31, 83–88, 96, 98, 106–10,
119, 123 n. 39, 142, 194
- begetting, generation 51, 54, 57–58,
71, 89, 119–20, 123, 132–33, 135,
142–68, 173, 188
- betrothal 2, 33, 50, 56, 71, 78–79, 89,
96, 138–39, 143, 179–80
- birth control, family planning 112–13,
60, 124–26
- body
 - Abraham’s “dead” ~ 118,
147 n. 36
 - Christ’s ~ 49, 167, 177
 - changes in the woman’s ~ 122–24,
195
 - control over the ~ 11, 18–19, 52,
111
 - virgins’ consecration in ~ 9–10,
17 n. 49, 19, 30, 50–53, 79–80, 88,
134, 139, 182
 - corruptible ~ 163
 - natural ability to do what is
necessary with the ~ 42, 45 n. 52,
79
 - female ~ 79, 122, 184 n. 72
 - male ~ 79
 - parts of the ~ 157
 - pleasures of the ~ 159
 - sound in ~ 157
 - Savior of the ~ 72
- bride 15 n. 37, 86–87, 119, 151
- bridegroom 85–87, 119
- brothers, the Lord’s 12–13
- buy, possess 1, 33, 36, 57–59, 133,
137–39, 141, 153–55, 167–68
- Cephas 12
- children, offspring
 - abandonment of ~ 158–60
 - adoption of ~ 150–51, 163–64
 - bringing up ~ 63–64, 124,
126 n. 46, 191
 - captive ~ 86
 - consecrated, holy, or impure ~ 3,
30, 54–55, 169–70, 174–90, 195
 - deliberative faculty of ~ 42, 64
 - desire for ~ 161
 - education of ~ 162–63
 - enemies of ~ 158
 - exposure of ~ 85, 87
 - fictive ~ 47, 148

- for succession, heirs 3, 67,
104 n. 45, 142–44, 149 n. 43, 152–
53, 161, 163, 166–68, 194
- inferiority of ~ 46
- loss of, grief over ~ 83–84, 87,
106–7
- maintenance and duties for ~ 10,
25, 56 n. 90, 80, 113 n. 9, 160–61,
188
- mortal and immortal, heaven-
ly ~ 86 n. 30, 146, 159–60
- mortality rate, premature deaths
of ~ 83 n. 21, 85, 88–89, 96, 127,
145–47, 151, 161 n. 63, 194
- necessity of producing ~ 61, 73,
150 n. 46, 194
- nursing ~ 31, 83 n. 20, 85, 87,
124 n. 41
- relationship of parents and ~ 35–
36, 38, 43, 65–66, 74
- roles in the Roman household
of ~ 60, 189
- survival, safety of ~ 145–46, 148–
49, 151
- produce, procreate, beget, conceive,
have ~ 23 n. 81, 45, 51, 54, 57–58,
60, 62, 64 n. 114, 71 n. 132, 73, 87–
88, 94, 107, 119, 126, 135–36, 142–
43, 147 n. 36, 149–50, 153, 167–68
- hope for afterlife through ~ 144–
60, 160
- submissiveness, subjection,
obedience of ~ 34–37, 41
- unborn, young ~ 2, 45, 61, 83, 107,
195
- virgins as ~ 183 n. 68
- childbearing and childbirth 17–18, 22,
44–45, 50 n. 72, 60–61, 67, 70, 77–
79, 81, 83–89, 92–96, 106–14, 121–
27, 132, 142–44, 147 n. 36, 152,
159, 161, 168, 171, 182, 184 n. 72,
189–90, 194–95
- childlessness 86–87, 93 nn. 12–13,
103–4, 118, 123 n. 39, 126, 145–46,
148, 151, 194
- circumcision and uncircumcision 1,
33, 60, 86, 138
- command, commandment
 - as a male prerogative 42–43, 46,
65
 - to “be fruitful and multiply” 31,
114–16, 118 n. 29, 132
 - of the Lord 50, 55, 78, 97,
100 nn. 29 and 31, 107, 115, 171,
181 n. 57
 - of Paul 34 n. 4, 54, 116, 120, 169,
194
 - of the slaveowner 46
- common advantage, common good 57,
64, 66–74
- compassionate understanding 31, 48–
49, 51, 57, 92 n. 10, 115–16, 127,
132
- complementarian 43 n. 43
- conception 60–61, 77, 84, 89, 112–27,
131–32, 168, 195–96
- contraception, contraceptive 60, 77,
111–13, 123–27, 152, 196
- created order, created “male and
female” 8, 31, 49, 116 n. 21
- crisis, tribulation, distress 2, 23–27,
50, 60, 78, 81–88, 97, 104, 107, 119,
127–28, 194
- divorce 1, 3, 19, 27, 33, 48, 50, 54–56,
78, 81, 91, 100, 138, 169–91
- end-time, the End 26 n. 96, 37, 54, 73,
81, 84–85, 87, 95–96, 104, 110, 113,
118, 126, 132, 135, 153, 167, 194–
96
- eschatology 2, 29, 31
 - in Qumran 164–66
 - eschatological community 8
 - eschatological motifs 3, 25,
28 n. 109, 60–61, 81–82, 84, 87–89,
94–97, 104, 109–10, 113, 118–19,
126–27, 131, 153–54, 167–68, 195
- Essenes 58, 154, 160–66
- eunuchism 22, 29, 31
- Euodia 13
- family
 - slave to ~ 161
 - obligations to ~ 28 n. 106, 195
 - in Qumran 164
 - patriarchal ~ 8–10
 - preservation of the ~ 64–65,
85 n. 25, 152

- role of the Roman ~ 59–60, 73, 124, 195
- transmission of religious identity through the ~ 174–78
- intergenerational transmission of property in the ~ 60, 145, 166 n. 82
- unity and division in the ~ 158, 173
- family line, familial group, *gens* 3, 58, 124, 144–45, 148–52
- family size 37, 60, 124–26, 195
- father, paternal 35, 43, 63–64, 78 n. 9, 87, 96, 142, 147, 151, 158, 163 n. 68, 165, 191
- fecundity 84, 86, 89, 96
- fertility
 - control of ~ 3, 8, 32, 37, 54, 73, 78, 86, 93, 112, 114, 118–19, 124–27, 131–32, 194–96
 - god 119
 - maximization of ~ 127
 - medical advice on ~ 121–24
- freedom, manumission 2, 46–47, 59
- gender 1–4, 7–22, 137–39, 193–96
- happiness 42, 66
 - of the household 67–68, 74, 113, 193
- heir, inherit 3, 93, 96, 104, 142–68, 194
- household
 - ~ codes in the New Testament 2, 15–17, 20 n. 65, 34–39, 59, 71–73, 94 n. 15
 - ~ rules in 1 Corinthians 7 33–34, 46–59
 - gods, religion in ~ 187–90
 - management in Aristotle and the Aristotelian tradition of ~ 33–46, 61–71
 - patriarchal ~ 9, 15, 21–22, 37 n. 16, 112
- immortality, deathless life 103–4, 144, 149–68, 194
- incest 142–43
- infertility, sterility 118–19, 125, 146–48
- interchange, interchangeability 42–44, 57, 68, 112, 193
- Jesus tradition
 - on eunuchism 29–31, 93
 - on women 3, 30, 93, 97–110
- Junia, wife (?) of Andronicus 12
- καίρως
 - with reference to the end-time 26 n. 96, 81 n. 14, 97, 104, 107, 133, 153, 194
 - with reference to the period suitable for conception 120–25
- Karpime Babbia inscriptions 119
- law of nature 123
- Lord's brothers, the 12–13
- love
 - as a euphemism for sexual intercourse 119–20, 161
 - for a husband 68
 - for the weak 88–89
 - for a wife 71–72
- macarism 3, 92, 94–98, 106–10, 141 n. 22, 194
- male and female 1–2, 7–8, 18, 22, 31, 49, 57, 195
 - bodies of ~ 79
 - natural differences and roles of ~ 42, 45–46, 65, 111
 - female believer 22
 - female celibates 157, 159
 - female deliberative faculty 42, 44, 64
 - female fecundity 86
 - female gospel-worker 12–13, 20
 - female inferiority 42–43
 - female role in sexual reproduction 45
 - female virtue 95, 191 n. 95
 - female wantonness 162
 - male celibates 153, 157–67
 - male stereotypes 153–68
 - male virtue 51–52, 88–89
 - relationship of ~ 41–43
 - rule of the male over the female 57, 68–70, 193
 - sexual hierarchy of ~ 112
 - sexual/marital union of ~ 41, 57, 64
 - sexual use of the female 57, 150 n. 44
- mamzerim* 180

- marriage, the marital relationship
 - endogamy 48–49, 55, 173–74, 180, 187, 191, 194, 196
 - equality and hierarchy in ~ 20–21
 - government in ~ 40, 53, 56–57, 72
 - practical disadvantages of ~ 10–11, 23–28, 80–81, 95
 - institution of ~ 24, 80 n. 11
 - interreligious ~ 3, 54–56, 169–91
 - law of Levirate ~ 93 n. 12, 145, 148
 - laws of Augustus on ~ 8 n. 8, 93 n. 13, 126, 142, 152 n. 49, 163 n. 68
 - laws of Romulus on ~ 66–67
 - mutual obligations of ~ 71–74
 - obsolescence of ~ 30, 104–5, 109, 168, 195
 - pagan gods of ~ 55 n. 85, 173
 - patriarchal ~ 9, 17–19
 - restrictions for men and women of ~ 9–10, 14–20, 22, 134
 - sexual desire and ~ 28–29, 30, 51, 77–78, 104
 - stereotype of ~ 10–12, 134, 161
 - yoke of ~ 10–11
- menstruation 121–23
- miscarriage 118–19
- mortality, mortal life, mortal
 - nature 93, 127, 144–48, 158–61, 165–68
- mother, maternal 13 n. 27, 45, 85–87, 105–7, 128, 148, 158, 189, 191, 196
- mourn 1 n. 1, 33, 57, 83–86, 96, 120, 133, 137–38, 141, 154, 167–68
- natural human condition, *conditio humana* 31, 57, 115–16, 132
- nursing woman, wet nurse 60, 83–89, 106, 110, 113, 124 n. 41, 126, 131
- Nympha 11 n. 20
- Onesimus 47
- parent, parentage 30, 35–36, 45, 61, 65–66, 127, 145, 150–51, 158–59, 169–91
- paterfamilias* 8, 51 n. 74, 79 n. 9
- patriarchy, patriarchal 8–10, 15, 17, 19, 31–32, 77, 112, 170–71
- Philemon 35 n. 8, 36 n. 14, 47–48
- Phoebe 13
- political government, partnership 42–46, 66–68, 73–74, 112, 193
- prayer 14, 17 n. 49, 30, 52–53, 57, 61, 73, 83, 86–87, 111–20, 124–32, 145, 147–48, 168, 182, 189, 195–96
- pregnancy, impregnate 45, 60, 70 n. 131, 77, 79, 83, 87–89, 110–19, 124 n. 41, 126–27, 131, 144, 194, 196
- “present crisis” 24, 86–87
- Prisca, Priscilla 9 n. 9, 11
- property-owners, property management 2, 35–36, 58–62, 73, 127, 145–66, 193
 - elimination of private property 42, 58–59, 145–66
 - intergenerational transmission of 3, 58–60, 73, 145–52, 161, 166 n. 82, 194
 - negative stereotype of ~ 154–68
- Ptolemy IV (Philopator) 85
- race 145, 162–63, 194
- rape 70–71
- Rebekah 147
- rejoice 1, 33, 57, 86, 133–42, 154, 167–68
- remarriage 50, 172 n. 11
- resurrection of the dead 3, 26 n. 96, 30–31, 153–54, 167–68, 194
 - Corinthians’ denial of the ~ 144, 152
 - Dead Sea Scrolls and the ~ 154, 163–66
 - widow and the ~ 97, 102–5, 110, 195
- rhetoric of equality and reciprocity 18–19, 77, 170–71
- Sarah 121, 146–48
- σχολεύειν, devote oneself to a deity, worship, contemplation 128–31, 196
- “seed,” male 66, 86, 121–25, 146–48
- self-control, lack of 19
 - absence of a divine gift for ~ 26, 30, 48–49, 92 n. 10
- sex, sexual relationship 2, 16–22, 33 n. 2, 51–53, 60, 68, 92 n. 8, 103, 111–27, 132–68, 182, 193–95

- ἔχειν ἄνδρα, ἔχειν γυναῖκα 16, 18, 52–53, 103, 111, 113, 137, 141–43, 170
- sex organ 16 n. 45, 144 n. 27
- sexual abstinence, celibacy
 - advantages of ~ 7–32, 48–57, 91–110, 111–31
 - angels and ~ 105 n. 46
 - contraceptive ~ 60–61, 111–27
 - Essenes and ~ 160–63
 - Jesus's teaching on ~ 107 n. 53
 - moral virtue and ~ 2, 52, 80, 88–89, 168, 184
 - philosophy and ~ 61–62, 157–60
 - prayer and ~ 117–20
 - temporary ~ 111–31
 - worldly asceticism 135–37, 167
- sexual desire, "burning" 8, 19, 24, 28–30, 32, 48–51, 56, 71 n. 135, 77–78, 88, 91–92, 99 n. 27, 115–16, 121, 132, 138 n. 15, 139, 159, 163 n. 67
- sexual immorality 16, 18, 28–30, 51–52, 77–78, 88
 - seemliness as euphemism for sexual propriety ~ 16
- sexual reproduction 21, 32, 44–46, 60, 64–65, 68, 73, 79, 87, 89, 112, 159, 160–61, 163, 195
- sexuality 21–22, 28–30, 99
- slave, slavery
 - rules on the despotic relationship 33–35, 41–48, 64, 66, 69, 73, 138
- injustice of ~ 58–59, 159, 162–63
- suffering, harm 28–29, 32, 54, 88–89, 127–28, 131, 151, 161, 167, 195
- Syntyche 13
- Therapeutae, Therapeutrides 58, 131, 154, 157–60
- Tryphaena and Tryphosa 13
- univira* 93–95
- utopia, utopian ideal 58–59, 153–54, 157–68
- virgin, virginity, chastity 1, 9–10, 14, 19, 23–24, 26, 30, 33, 50–52, 57, 61–62, 71, 77–89, 92, 96–97, 105, 107, 112, 134, 138–39, 159, 180, 182–83
- wealth accumulation, the art of getting wealth 2, 35–38, 41, 43, 46, 57–59, 60, 62, 73, 156–59, 161–63, 166–68, 188
- widow, widower 1, 3, 14, 19, 27, 30–31, 33, 48–51, 57, 91–110, 112, 124, 137–38, 172, 191–95
- womb 66, 83, 108, 118–19, 122, 132, 147, 194, 196
- women
 - economic insecurity of ~ 49–50, 93–94, 143, 172, 191
 - inequality and equality of ~ 19–22, 32, 36, 43, 45, 56, 68–70, 73, 170
 - marital status and roles of ~ in the early Christian movement 11–14, 20–22
 - pregnant and nursing ~ 2, 60, 82–89, 113, 126, 131, 194–95
 - in Qumran 164

