

Evil in Second Temple Judaism and Early Christianity

Edited by
CHRIS KEITH and
LOREN T. STUCKENBRUCK

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Chris Keith and Loren T. Stuckenbruck

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All abbreviations follow the SBL Handbook of Style (1st ed.).

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments.....	V
<i>Christopher A. Rollston</i>	
An Ur-History of the New Testament Devil: The Celestial 𐤍𐤔𐤁 (śātān) in Zechariah and Job.....	1
<i>Jutta Leonhardt-Balzer</i>	
Evil at Qumran.....	17
<i>Benjamin Wold</i>	
Demonizing Sin? The Evil Inclination in <i>4QInstruction</i>	34
<i>Louise J. Lawrence</i>	
Evil and the Body of Antiochus IV Epiphanes: Disability, Disgust and Tropes of Monstrosity in 2 Maccabees 9:1–12.....	49
<i>Tommy Wasserman</i>	
Variants of Evil: The Disassociation of Jesus from Evil in the Text of the New Testament.....	69
<i>James G. Crossley</i>	
Jesus, Healings and Mark 2:1–12: Forgiveness, a Release, or Bound Again to the Great Satan?.....	87
<i>Christopher W. Skinner</i>	
Overcoming Satan, Overcoming the World: Exploring the Cosmologies of Mark and John.....	101
<i>Jonathan A. Draper</i>	
Darkness as Non-Being and the Origin of Evil in John’s Gospel.....	122
<i>Loren T. Stuckenbruck</i>	
How Much Evil Does the Christ Event Solve? Jesus and Paul in Relation to Jewish “Apocalyptic” Thought.....	142

James P. Davies

Evil's Aetiology and False Dichotomies in Jewish Apocalyptic and Paul... 169

Chris Tilling

Paul, Evil, and Justification Debates..... 190

Steve Walton

Evil in Ephesus:

Acts 19:8–40..... 224

Lloyd K. Pietersen

Artemis, Demons, Mammon and Satan:

The Construal of Evil in First Timothy..... 235

Susanne Luther

The Evil of the Tongue:

Evil and the Ethics of Speech in the Letter of James..... 246

Nicholas J. Ellis

A Theology of Evil in the Epistle of James:

Cosmic Trials and the *Dramatis Personae* of Evil..... 262

Robbie Griggs

Apocalyptic Experience in the Theodicy of 4 *Ezra*..... 282

Jonathan Knight

The Portrayal of Evil in the *Ascension of Isaiah*..... 299

Chris Keith

“The Scriptures are Divine Charms”:

Evil, Books, and Textuality in Early Christianity..... 321

Dieter T. Roth

Evil in Marcion's Conception of the Old Testament God..... 340

Paul Middleton

Overcoming the Devil in the *Acts of the Martyrs*..... 357

Contributors..... 375

Index of References..... 377

Index of Modern Authors 407

An Ur-History of the New Testament Devil

The Celestial שָׂטָן (*śātān*) in Zechariah and Job

Christopher A. Rollston

There is a very long, complicated literary history for the celestial figure known in the New Testament as “Satan” and the “Devil,” but it is often primarily the later components of that literary history that are best known.¹ Moreover, because it is the later traditions that are best known, those traditions form the interpretive lens that we often bring to the table with regard to the earlier traditions. For example, those who are primarily familiar with the NT and the history of early Christianity might naturally presuppose that because there are many references in the NT to Satan (the Devil), this celestial figure must also have been mentioned in a fair number of the books of the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament) as well. Indeed, according to early Christian tradition enshrined in the NT, the snake of Gen 3 in the Garden of Eden was, in fact, the Devil himself (for example, Rev 12:9; cf. 2 En. 29:4–5); therefore, he is often presupposed to be a very early figure (chronologically) in Holy Writ. For this reason, it might seem perfectly legitimate to assume *prima facie* that he was present, active, and attested often in a fair number of Hebrew narratives (of various books) that are set in periods after the banishment of the first couple from the Garden of Eden. Striking, therefore, is the fact that the word *śātān* is arguably used in just three books of the Hebrew Bible

¹ Note that the term “devil” (Greek: *diabolos*) in the Greek NT (and also, for example, in the LXX) is essentially to be understood as a Greek translation of the presumed meaning of the Hebrew Bible’s term *śātān*. Of course, the NT also uses the term *satan* (an indeclinable masculine noun) and this is, of course, simply a transliteration of the Hebrew term *śātān*. It should be emphasized that although the precise meaning of the Hebrew root *śtn* is difficult to ascertain in all cases, it meant something along the lines of “prosecute,” “be adversarial,” “accuse,” “be a combatant.” For detailed discussion of the etymology and meaning of this root, see Peggy L. Day, *An Adversary in Heaven: Śātān in the Hebrew Bible* (HSM 43; Atlanta: Scholars, 1988), 17–43. Note also that the Greek term “devil” never occurs in the Hebrew Bible. For an accessible and useful analysis of (primarily) the NT evidence, see especially Elaine Pagels, *The Origin of Satan* (New York: Random House, 1995). See also Neil Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987). Unless otherwise noted, the translations in this article are those of the author.

to refer to the celestial figure *śātān*: Zechariah, Job, and 1 Chronicles.² Moreover, within these books, *śātān* is mentioned in a grand total of only four chapters out of more than nine hundred chapters in the Hebrew Bible: Zechariah 3, Job 1–2, and 1 Chronicles 21.³ Obviously, therefore, the celestial *śātān* is not a major character in the Hebrew Bible.⁴

A. “Satan” versus “The Satan” and Good versus Evil

Furthermore, those who are primarily familiar with the later traditions enshrined in the NT and early Christianity might also naturally presuppose that

² It is often argued that there is a reference to the celestial figure *śātān* in the book of Numbers as well. For discussion and secondary literature, see especially Day, *Adversary*, 45–67; Peggy L. Day, “Satan,” *DDD* 726–32. However, I would suggest that it is important to emphasize that the linguistic structure of the references in Numbers is different. Namely, the Hebrew text reads as follows: וַיִּתְצַב מַלְאֲכֵי יְהוָה בְּדֶרֶךְ לְשֹׁטֵן לוֹ (“the Messenger of Yahweh stood in the road as a *śātān* to him,” Num 22:22). Obviously, the Messenger of Yahweh is a celestial figure, but this figure is said to stand “as a *śātān*” rather than to “be a *śātān*.” Perhaps also of some consequence is the fact that the LXX understands the root here (*śm*) to be a verbal and renders it *diabalein* (i.e., as a verbal infinitive). Similarly, the reference a few verses later in Numbers reads as follows: אֲנֹכִי יָצָאתִי לְשֹׁטֵן (“I have gone forth as a *śātān*”). The LXX renders this as follows: ἐγὼ ἐξῆλθον εἰς διαβολήν (“I have gone forth as a *diabolē*”; Num 22:32). Note, of course, that the standard translation in the LXX of the celestial figure is διάβολος (Zech 3: 1–3; Job 1:6 et passim; 1 Chr 21:1). Thus, I am not at all certain that the references in Numbers are to be equated with those in Zechariah, Job, and Chronicles. For this reason, I do not discuss them in this article.

³ Moreover, some scholars argue that the reference in 1 Chronicles is not to the celestial figure. On the reference in Chronicles, see the discussion later in this article.

⁴ Useful also to mention in this connection is the fact that neither the Hebrew term *śātān*, nor the Greek term *diabolos*, is actually used in Gen 3. Rather, the snake in the garden is referred to simply as נָחַשׁ (*nāḥāš*), the standard Hebrew word for “snake.” The snake in the garden is definitely characterized as “crafty” (Gen 3:1) but still a snake. It is also important to note in this connection that the literary motif of the snake as the spoiler, the creature responsible for someone losing the opportunity for immortality, is beautifully attested in the great Mesopotamian “Epic of Gilgamesh.” In that case, Gilgamesh is about to partake of a plant that brings immortality, but just as he is about to partake of it, a snake steals it from him. The Old Babylonian tablets of the Epic of Gilgamesh date to the early second millennium B.C.E., but the story itself hails from the third millennium. See Andrew R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic: Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). The fact that the snake of Gen 3 talks is reflective of the fact that this narrative is a fable, similar in nature to Balaam’s talking donkey in Num 22–24. That as part of the curse the snake is told על גחנך תלך (“you must crawl on your belly”; Gen 3:14), rather than walk on legs, is a reflection that this text is a classic etiology; that is, this text provides an explanation for snakes having no legs. Etiologies abound in Genesis, with the explanations of the origins of the rainbow (Gen 9:8–17) and the multiplicity of languages (Gen 11:1–9) being prime examples.

(1) the word *śāṭān* is always a personal name, never a title, and (2) that it refers to a single, malevolent, wicked celestial figure. Significant, however, is the fact that in all of the references to the celestial figure *śāṭān* in Zech 3 and Job 1–2, the Hebrew article (*ha*) is always used. This is significant because classical Biblical Hebrew *does not use the article on proper names*.⁵ Therefore, since all occurrences of *śāṭān* in both Zechariah and Job have the prepositive article affixed (*ha-śāṭān*), it is *demonstrably not a personal name in these instances. Rather, it is a title*, meaning something such as “the accuser,” “the prosecutor,” “the litigant,” or “the adversary.” The prose sections of Job (Job 1–2; 42:7–17) and the oracles of First Zechariah (Zech 1–8) are normally dated no earlier than the sixth century B.C.E.⁶ Thus, the earliest traditions

⁵ The statements about this in the standard reference grammar of Joüon and Muraoka are representative of the field of Hebrew grammar: “No proper noun of person takes the article, not even when it has the form of an adjective or a participle” (Paul Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* [SubBi 14.2; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1993], paragraph 137b).

⁶ According to the superscription of the book of Zechariah (Zech 1:1), the prophet Zechariah son of Berechiah son of Iddo began to utter prophetic oracles in the second year of the Persian King Darius the Great (r. 522–486 B.C.E.). Thus, the year of his first oracles was ca. 520 B.C.E., delivered in Jerusalem. Among the latest of his oracles was one uttered in the fourth year of Darius, that is, 518 B.C.E. (Zech 7:1). Zechariah earnestly desired to see the Temple in Jerusalem rebuilt, but at the time of his prophetic oracles this had not yet occurred. The position of Meyers and Meyers that the book of Zechariah was written not long after Zechariah himself delivered the oracles seems to me to be the most convincing (Eric M. Meyers and Carol L. Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [AB 25b; New York: Doubleday, 1987], xliiv–xlviii). For discussion of Zechariah and ample reference to earlier scholarly literature, see Herbert Gordon May, “A Key to the Interpretations of Zechariah’s Visions,” *JBL* 57 (1938): 173–84. In any case, the main point is that Zechariah’s visions date no earlier than the late sixth century B.C.E., as demonstrated by the superscription of the book itself.

As for the dating of the book of Job, it should be emphasized that the poetic dialogue of the book of Job (Job 3:1–42:6) is normally considered to be older than the book’s prose introduction and conclusion (Job 1–2; 42:7–17). On the dating of Job in general, see especially the thorough synopsis of the discussion in Marvin H. Pope, *Job: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB 15; New York: Doubleday, 1973), xxxii–xl. Pope does not come down hard on a date, but does state that he thinks a date for the dialogue in the seventh century B.C.E. seems tenable. Probably the most detailed and linguistically-sophisticated discussion of the date of the prose introduction and conclusion is that of Avi Hurvitz, “The Date of the Prose-Tale of Job Linguistically Reconsidered,” *HTR* 67 (1974): 17–34. Hurvitz argues convincingly that the prose introduction and conclusion cannot be dated prior to the Exile (that is, not prior to the sixth century B.C.E.). For a critique of Hurvitz’s analysis and reference to more recent secondary discussions, see especially Ian Young, “Is the Prose Tale of Job in Late Biblical Hebrew?” *VT* 59 (2009): 606–29. Suffice it to say that I, in keeping with the position of the majority of scholars, date the prose material (that is, Job 1–2; 42:7–17) no earlier than the sixth century B.C.E.

in the Hebrew Bible about the celestial figure *śāṭān* are using this word *as a title, not as a personal name*.⁷

The sole instance in the Hebrew Bible in which the celestial figure *śāṭān* is mentioned without the use of the article is in 1 Chr 21:1. For this reason, it has often been argued that in 1 Chronicles (a book that is later in compositional date than Zechariah and Job), *śāṭān* is indeed a personal name.⁸ Those embracing this understanding of Chronicles have argued that the usage of *śāṭān* in Chronicles is either (1) a major development of this celestial figure that anticipates the notions of Satan that are present in the late Second Temple Period, including the NT,⁹ or (2) a demonstration of the fact that *śāṭān* of Chronicles is not actually the celestial figure at all, but rather simply a man (for example, a member of the Davidic court) functioning as an adversarial thorn in David's flesh.¹⁰ Although I prefer the former view, the latter view is a tenable position.¹¹ In the latter case, of course, the number of books referring to *śāṭān* as a celestial figure is reduced to a grand total of two.¹²

⁷ The origins of the figure *ha-śāṭān* are often said to be Persian. At some level, this is reasonable, but it remains most difficult to ascertain with certainty. For discussion of the issues and good secondary literature, see Pope, *Job*, 10–11. For discussion of the relevant Mesopotamian material for a “court accuser” of sorts, see especially Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 184–6.

⁸ On the putative date of 1 Chronicles, see especially the thorough discussion of Knoppers, who ultimately concludes that a date in the late fourth or early third century is best (Gary N. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [AB 12; New York: Doubleday, 2004], 101–17). Of course, among the most authoritative and thorough discussions of this figure in 1 Chronicles is Sara Japhet, *I and II Chronicles: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1993), 370–90.

⁹ After all, in 1 Chronicles, *śāṭān* is malevolent and out of step with the will of God.

¹⁰ The literature on this aspect of 1 Chr 21:1 is particularly vast. See especially the following for discussion and references to secondary sources: Sara Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and Its Place in Biblical Thought* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 107–17; Sara Japhet, *I and II Chronicles*, 370–90; Gary N. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10–29: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 12a; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 742–64; Ryan E. Stokes, “The Devil Made David Do It...Or Did He? The Nature, Identity, and Literary Origins of the Satan in 1 Chronicles 21:1,” *JBL* 128 (2009): 91–106; Day, *Adversary*, 128–45.

¹¹ The primary reason for my belief that *śāṭān* is a celestial figure in Chronicles is the fact that the source used by the writer of Chronicles for the census narrative is 2 Sam 24. Within the Samuel narrative, it is Yahweh who incited David to take the census (and then it is also Yahweh who was angry about that census!). For the writer of Chronicles to replace one celestial figure (Yahweh, the God of Israel) with a different celestial figure (*śāṭān*) is reasonable, especially as a means of saving Yahweh from appearing mercurial. Furthermore, this sort of “correction” is very much in keeping with the methodologies of the author of Chronicles, who frequently modifies his sources for various reasons. For example, although the writer of Chronicles uses 1–2 Samuel as a major source, he (the writer of Chronicles) excludes from his discussion of King David (among other things)

Moreover, those who are primarily familiar with the traditions in the Greek NT and early Christianity (or similar traditions in Jewish apocalyptic literature from the late Second Temple Period in general) might naturally presuppose that *śāṭān* is consistently an evil figure, from the very first reference in the Hebrew Bible to the very last reference in the NT. After all, within the NT this figure is understood as quite wicked. He incites people to evil (Mark 4:15; Luke 22:3; John 13:27; Acts 5:3; 1 Cor 7:5; Rev 12:9), causes sickness (Luke 13:16), generates false beliefs (1 Tim 5:15), is connected with demon possession (Matt 12:26; Mark 3:23), and is responsible for persecutions of Christians (Rev 2:13). Indeed, because of his great wickedness, his eternal fate will be punishment in the lake of fire and sulfur forever and ever (Rev 20:10). In short, there is no doubt that Satan (the Devil) of the NT is normally understood as evil.¹³

Despite such portrayals, I am not at all certain that the earliest traditions in the Hebrew Bible (those of Zechariah and Job) understood this figure as evil. In fact, I will argue that a close reading of the materials in Zech 3 and Job 1–

David's adultery with Bathsheba, the murder of Uriah, Amnon's rape of Tamar, Absalom's killing of Amnon, Absalom's usurpation of throne, and the rivalry of Adonijah and Solomon. Similarly, in 2 Sam 8:18, David's sons are said to have been priests (כֹּהֲנִים), but the writer of Chronicles (not comfortable with members of the tribe of Judah as priests) states that David's sons were "high officials," הַרְאֲשָׁנִים (1 Chr 18:17). Or again, 1 Sam 17 attributes the slaying of Goliath of Gath to David, but 2 Sam 21:19 attributes the slaying of Goliath not to David but to Elhanan. Thus, the writer of Chronicles, arguably sensitive about the tension between these two statements in Samuel (1 Sam 17; 2 Sam 21:9) states that "Elhanan slew Lahmi son of Yair, the brother of Goliath," וַיַּךְ אֶלְחָנָן בֶּן יַעִיר אֶת לַחְמִי (אָהֳי גִלְיָת, 1 Chr 20:5). For a thorough and authoritative discussion of these pericopae of Samuel, see P. Kyle McCarter, Jr., *2 Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary* (AB 9; New York: Doubleday, 1984), 254–5 (2 Sam 8:18), 450 (2 Sam 21:19), 504–18 (2 Sam 24). In short, it seems reasonable to contend that just as the writer of Chronicles "fixed" so many other things, so also he "fixed" 1 Chr 21:1 by replacing Samuel's "Yahweh" with *śāṭān*, so as to save Yahweh's reputation in much the same way as he had attempted to save David's reputation. For a fine discussion of the connections between 1 Chr 21 and Num 22–24, see Paul Evans, "Divine Intermediaries in 1 Chronicles 21: An Overlooked Aspect of the Chronicler's Theology," *Bib* 85 (2004): 545–58.

¹² For references in the Hebrew Bible to human adversaries referred to as *śāṭān*, see especially 1 Sam 29:4; 2 Sam 19:23; 1 Kgs 5:18; 11:14, 25; cf. Ps 109:6. Note also that a verbal form also occurs at times, namely, Ps 38:21, 71:13, 109:4, 20; Zech 3:1.

¹³ In this connection, I should perhaps mention that it seems to me to be plausible for someone to argue that the Marcan account of the temptation (Mark 1:12–13), replete with its usage of the term *satan*, might especially be preserving echoes of the early literary history of this celestial figure. Note also that in the renditions of the temptation in the Matthean and Lucan accounts (Matt 4:1–11; Luke 4:1–2), the term *diabolos* (rather than *satan*) is used, and note also that those accounts provide further details about the "testing" or "temptation" (the semantic range of *peiradzō* is such, of course, that this word could be translated either way in all three of the Synoptics).

2 demonstrate that this figure was a quality control figure, a member of the celestial court intending to ensure that those functioning as pious people were actually precisely that. That is, during the earliest period of the literary history, *ha-šātān* was not evil (Zechariah and Job), but rather a vigilant celestial prosecutor intending to discern the presence or absence of true purity and piety. As such, he was working under the authority of Yahweh. He was not some sort of evil free-agent.

B. *Ha-šātān* as Celestial Religious Purist: Zechariah 3 in Historical and Theological Context

Zechariah began to utter oracles in Jerusalem in 520 B.C.E., during the second regnal year of King Darius I (r. 522–486 B.C.E.) of Persia (Zech 1:1). But to understand the oracles of Zechariah, it is essential to understand the events that preceded his oracles, especially these three things: (1) the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.E., the destruction of the First Temple, and the exile of the Judeans; (2) the ancient theological understanding of the cause of the fall and exile; and (3) the subsequent rise, victories, decrees, and policies of Cyrus the Great of Persia. Of course, in all of this, it is also imperative to remember that which Zechariah most wished to see happen in his own time: the building of the Second Temple in Jerusalem.

I. The Fall of Jerusalem, the Destruction of the First Temple, and the Exile

Judah's capital city of Jerusalem fell in the year 586 B.C.E. to the Neo-Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar II. The city was burned, and the walls, the royal palace, and the First Temple were destroyed (2 Kgs 25:9). Zedekiah was the last king of Jerusalem. He had abandoned Jerusalem shortly before its fall. But he and his young sons were captured near Jericho, deserted by the armed Judean soldiers who had pledged to protect them. Nebuchadnezzar decreed that Zedekiah and his sons be brought forward. They were, and then Zedekiah's young sons were brutally slaughtered before their loving father's eyes. At that point, a Babylonian soldier gouged out the Judean king's eyes, his last visual memory now a haunting one. Zedekiah was led away in chains to Babylon (2 Kings 25:7). During the siege of Jerusalem, prior to its fall in 586 B.C.E., conditions inside Jerusalem had been desperate. The book of Kings laconically states that during the terminal portion of the siege הרעב היה לעם הארץ ("there was a famine in the city and there was no food for the people of the land," 2 Kings 25:3). But the poet of Lamentations limns the picture more poignantly: ידי נשים רחמניות בשלו ילדיהם היו לברות למו ("The hands of compassionate women boiled their children, they became food for them," Lam 4:10). According to the same poet, brutality of a differ-

ent sort began as hand-to-hand combat concluded: נשים בציון ענו בתלה בערי יהודה and שרים בידם התלו ("women in Zion were raped, virgins (raped) in the cities of Judah" and "princes were hung by their hands," Lam 5:11, 12). Words could not adequately describe the horror. The First Temple had been built during the time of Solomon (tenth century B.C.E.), but it was now in ruins, along with all of Jerusalem and the rest of the cities of Judah. Many were taken into exile during Nebuchadnezzar's first campaign in 597 B.C.E. or his second and final campaign in 586 B.C.E. (2 Kgs 24:13–17; cf. also 2 Chr 36:11–21; Jer 52; Jer 39:1–14). Despair reigned.

II. The Cause of the Fall and Exile in Ancient Judean Theology

In this connection, it must be remembered that it was the theological conviction of many Judeans that it was sin that caused Yahweh to bring destruction upon the Southern Kingdom of Judah. For example, the Deuteronomist argues that Judah fell to the armies of Nebuchadnezzar II of Babylon because Yahweh was "angry" with "Judah and Jerusalem" because of the sins the people had committed; therefore, he השלכו אתם מעל פניו ("removed them from before his face," 2 Kgs 24:20). The poet of Lamentations shares these sentiments and says that Judah's foes היו צריה לראש איביה שלו כי יהוה הוגה על רב פשעיה ("have become the superior (head) and her enemies prosper, because Yahweh made her to suffer because of the multitude of her transgression," Lam 1:5). Similarly, according to the Deuteronomist, the Northern Kingdom of Israel had fallen to Shalmaneser V (and Sargon II) of the Neo-Assyrian Empire in ca. 721 B.C.E. כי חטאו בני ישראל ליהוה אלהיהם המעלה אתם מארץ מצרים מתחת יד פרעה מלך מצרים ("because the sons of Israel sinned against Yahweh, their God, the One who brought them from the land of Egypt, out from under the hand of Pharaoh King of Egypt," 2 Kgs 17:7). Therefore, in keeping with that theological understanding of the reason for the destruction of Judah in 586, Zechariah declared that יהוה על אבותיכם קצף יהוה ("Yahweh was very angry with your ancestors") and had commanded them, through the prophets of earlier times to שובו נא מדרכיכם הרעים ומעליליכם ("return from your evil ways and evil deeds"). But all of this was to no avail (Zech 1:2–5). In short, sin and guilt were the cause of Judah's fall, much as it had been the cause of the fall of the Northern Kingdom of Israel.

III. The Rise and Rule of Cyrus the Great

Some three decades after Babylon's destruction of Judah, Cyrus the Great had begun to reign in Persia (around 559 B.C.E.). He soon began to weld together a full-fledged empire (ca. 550–530 B.C.E.), defeating the Kingdom of the Medes and the Kingdom of Lydia. King Nabonidus (r. 556–539 B.C.E.) was on the throne of Babylon, one of the successors of Nebuchadnezzar the Great. But he would be Babylon's last king. Nabonidus had already spent around a

decade of his reign at Tayma, an oasis in the Arabian Desert. Based on the Mesopotamian texts at our disposal, there seem to have been some rumblings against Nabonidus even during his decade at the oasis, especially within the Babylonian priesthood.¹⁴ He was said to have been most devoted to the Moon God Sîn rather than the God Marduk, the head of the Babylonian pantheon. Nabonidus was an apostate, or so it seemed to some. He returned from the oasis, disaster now looming from across the Tigris River. Cyrus began to march, and the prize he wanted most was the seat of the kingdom of Nabonidus: Babylon.¹⁵ The ancient historical sources are not all in agreement about the battles that were fought between the Babylonians and the Persians. Within the Cyrus Cylinder, Cyrus himself boasts that he entered Babylon without a battle, hailed (he says) as a liberator even by the Babylonians themselves.¹⁶

¹⁴ For texts and discussion, see especially Paul Beaulieu, *The Reign of Nabonidus, King of Babylon 556–539 BC* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 149–232.

¹⁵ Still the most authoritative discussion of the last king of the Neo-Babylonian Empire is Beaulieu, *Reign*.

¹⁶ For the translation of the Cyrus Cylinder, see the volume edited by John Curtis, *The Cyrus Cylinder and Ancient Persia: A New Beginning for the Middle East* (London: The British Museum, 2013), replete with Irving Finkel's translation of the Cyrus Cylinder itself. The content of the Cyrus Cylinder is priceless, and it is laced with some very savvy royal apologia. A brief synopsis is in order, using the translations of Irving Finkel of the British Museum. The text begins with a narrative in the third person which condemns the Babylonian King Nabonidus (whom Cyrus had just vanquished), along with statements impugning Nabonidus for not being a pious worshipper of Marduk. The Cyrus Cylinder says that because of Marduk's anger for Nabonidus, He (Marduk) raised up Cyrus the Persian, "an upright king," taking him "by the hand" and ordering him (Cyrus) to go to Babylon and remove Nabonidus from power. Moreover, Marduk was "like a friend and a companion" to Cyrus. Then, at line 20 of the Cyrus Cylinder, the grammatical first person begins to be used: "I am Cyrus, king of the world!" Cyrus himself then declares that he is the king "whom Divine Marduk and Divine Nabu love." He also states that upon his arrival in Babylon, the Babylonian people welcomed him with joy as he entered. He affirms that they viewed him as a liberator. After he became nicely ensconced in Babylon, Cyrus states that many kings from various regions "brought me weighty tribute" and "kissed my feet." In return, he decrees that the people from various regions that had come under his dominion (especially because he had just vanquished Babylon) should be allowed to return to their homelands and to rebuild their temples. In addition, he requests the following: "May all the Gods that I returned to their sanctuaries, every day before Marduk and Nabu, ask for a long life for me, and mention my good deeds." Finally, he also affirms that he has "enabled all the lands to live in peace." We do not know much at all about the personal religion of Cyrus the Great, but it is most reasonable to contend that he worshipped the Persian Gods, perhaps especially the God Ahura-mazda. This was, after all, the case for several of the Persian kings who succeeded Cyrus. Therefore, it is all the more interesting that Cyrus declares in the Cyrus Cylinder (written for a Babylonian audience) that *he vanquished Babylon because the Babylonian God Marduk told him to do so!* Of course, kings in the ancient Near East normally declared that they had divine patronage, but normally of their own Gods. In this case, however, *Cyrus declares that the Babylonian God Marduk trans-*

But the full story was certainly bloodier, and the Babylonian supporters of Cyrus fewer. Nevertheless, Cyrus gained his prize: Babylon was his in 539 B.C.E. The Persian Empire Period had begun. Babylon had fallen. The Judeans who had felt the brunt of Babylon's war machine fifty years earlier probably shed few tears at this news. Indeed, Second Isaiah would refer to Cyrus as Yahweh's משיח (i.e., "Messiah," Isa 45:1). The reason for this lofty appellation is not difficult to discern. Cyrus not only brought the Neo-Babylonian Empire to its knees, he also decreed that the exiled Judeans in his realm be permitted to return to Judah and to rebuild the Temple, using funds from the Persian royal treasury. The inaugural words of the book of Ezra suggest that these words are essentially those of Cyrus: יהוה אלהי ("Yahweh, the God of Heaven, has given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he commissioned me to build for him the Temple in Jerusalem, which is in Judah," Ezra 1:2; see also 6:3–5). The Cyrus Cylinder, written in Akkadian and intended for a Babylonian readership (rather than for a Persian readership), records material that dovetails in many ways with the basic thrust of the biblical account.¹⁷ No doubt there were aspects of the Persian hegemony that would be difficult at times, but from the vantage point of the Judean Exiles, the policies of Cyrus were a remarkable gesture and those of Darius I (522–486 B.C.E.) were as well (at least for Judah).

ferred His support from the Babylonian King Nabonidus and gave it to the Persian King Cyrus. Moreover, it is important to remember in this connection that the book of Ezra states that Cyrus had said something similar to the Judeans, namely, "Yahweh, the God of Heaven, has given me (Cyrus) all the kingdoms of the earth, and he commissioned me to build for him the temple in Jerusalem, which is in Judah" (Ezra 1:2; see also Ezra 6:1–12). Therefore, according to these texts, Cyrus told the Babylonians that the Babylonian God Marduk told him to do what he did, and Cyrus told the Judeans that the Judean God Yahweh told him to do what he did. It is entirely reasonable to suppose that Cyrus told the Persian people (in Persian inscriptions intended solely for the Persian people, but not yet discovered in Persia) that the Persian God Ahura-mazda told him to do what he did. I should note in this connection that this sort of brilliant royal apologia is not confined to Cyrus. During King Sennacherib of Assyria's siege of Jerusalem in 701 B.C.E., the Assyrian Rab-Shakeh uses (at least according to 2 Kgs 18:25) the same sort of rhetoric, arguing that it was Yahweh the God of Judah who summoned him (Sennacherib) to attack Judah. The Neo-Assyrian Kings Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal used similar rhetoric as well.

¹⁷ On Cyrus, his decrees and policies, and the putative connections with the biblical references to Cyrus, see especially, Amelie Kuhrt, "The Cyrus Cylinder and Achaemenid Imperial Policy," *JSOT* 25 (1983): 83–97; Pierre Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002); Michael Jursa, "The Transition of Babylonia from the Neo-Babylonian Empire to Achaemenid Rule," in *Regime Change in the Ancient Near East and Egypt: From Sargon of Agade to Saddam Hussein* (ed. Harriet Crawford; Proceedings of the British Academy 136; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 73–94; within this same volume, see also Erica Ehrenberg, "Persian Conquerors, Babylonian Captivators," 95–103.

IV. The Visions of Zechariah

At this juncture, it is useful to bring the three major historical and theological data-points together so as to understand in earnest the thrust of the fourth vision of Zechariah, that of *Ha-šāṭān*'s critique of the high priest Joshua.¹⁸ Reference to the three preceding visions will flesh out the general framework. The first Vision of Zechariah is of the four horsemen, those whom Yahweh has sent to patrol the entire earth (Zech 1:7–17). The verdict of these horsemen is that *והנה כל הארץ יושבת ושקטת* (“the whole earth is sitting and is at peace,” Zech 1:11). Cyrus had indeed brought peace. Furthermore, it is stated in this vision that Yahweh has returned to Jerusalem and wishes for the Second temple to be built (Zech 1:16). In short, it is a time of peace and, therefore, the time is right for the rebuilding of the temple (that is, the building of the Second Temple, which was ultimately completed in 516 B.C.E.). The second vision is that of the four horns and the four blacksmiths (Zech 1:18–21). The four horns are *הקרנות אשר זרו את יהודה* (“the horns that scattered Judah,” Zech 1:19); that is, they represent the might of Babylon (and the nations that had allied with it) and its destruction and exile of Judah. The four blacksmiths, however, terrify and strike down the horns (Zech 1:21). The point of this vision is clear: Babylon has been punished, destroyed, and is no longer a threat (compare Second Isaiah’s oracle in Isa 43:14). Cyrus had ensured that. The third vision is of the measuring angel (Zech 2:1–5). Within this vision, there is an attempt to measure Jerusalem for the purpose of preparing to rebuild its walls. However, the result of this vision is the declaration that Jerusalem will be so full of people and animals that no walls will be needed (compare Second Isaiah’s oracle in Isa 44:26–28). Indeed, according to this vision of Zechariah, Yahweh himself will be a wall of fire around the city (Zech 2:5). It seems, therefore, that everything is ready for the Second Temple to be built in Jerusalem. Indeed, the high priest Joshua is present as well (Zech 3:1), ready to officiate as soon as the temple is rebuilt. He is the subject of the fourth vision (Zech 3:1–10), but *Ha-šāṭān* also has a part to play.

The Fourth Vision of Zechariah is legal in nature, essentially a court setting.¹⁹ Within this vision, Zechariah sees the high priest Joshua standing before the messenger of Yahweh. *Ha-šāṭān* is standing at his right hand to accuse him, that is, to accuse the high priest Joshua.²⁰ However, “the Messenger

¹⁸ For a fine discussion of the high priesthood of Joshua, see James C. VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas: High Priests after the Exile* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004), 18–42.

¹⁹ It has sometimes been argued that Zech 3:1–7 was not present in the earliest “vision cycle” of Zech 1–8. For discussion, see Day, *Adversary*, 113–114.

²⁰ The verbal infinitive construct (“to accuse”) is based on the trilateral root *štn*, the same trilateral from which the noun *šāṭān* is formed.

Index of References

A. Hebrew Bible

Genesis (Gen)

1	113, 122, 124, 130, 132
1:1–2:4a	261
1:1–5	132
1:1	130, 132
1:2	123, 131
1:3–31	113
1:3	131
1:4	131
1:5	131
1:6	131
1:19	131
1:21	253
1:24–26	253
2–3	21
2:9	127
3	1, 103, 358
3:1	2
3:9	353
3:14–20	103
3:14–15	358
3:14	2
3:15	359
6	319
6:1–4	19, 177, 180, 310, 364
6:4–5	34
6:4	164
6:9	271
8:21	34, 61
9:8–17	2
11:1–9	2
22:1–5	365
22:6	271
22:8	271
22:14	271

Exodus (Exod)

4:3	129
4:24	365
4:25	277
5:24	267
7:18	55
12:12	365
15	164
20:2–3	226
21:14	274
21:17	226
29:18	61
34:6–7	88

Leviticus

18	55
----	----

Numbers (Num)

2	2
6:24–27	166
13:33	56
22–24	2, 5
22:22	2, 38, 363
22:32	2, 38
28:6	61

Deuteronomy (Deut)

4:32a	123
4:32b	123
4:32c	123
5:1–6:9	266
6:4	266
6:5–6	271
6:5	265
13:3	271
17:18	331
18:13	271
27:9–28:14	24

27:17	127	24:29	7
28–30	166	25:3	6
28	21	25:7	6
28:54	62	25:9	6
28:56	62		
29	216	1 Chronicles (1 Chr)	
29:18	24		2, 4
32:8–9	13	18:17	5
32:11	123	20:5	5
		21	2, 5, 12
Judges (Judg)		21:1	2, 4–5, 38, 264, 363, 365
9:23	363	28:9	271
1 Samuel (1 Sam)	4	2 Chronicles (2 Chr)	
16:15	363	21:18–19	62
17	5	36:11–21	7
29:4	5, 362		
		Ezra	
2 Samuel (2 Sam)	4	1:2	9
8:18	5	6:1–12	9
12:13	88	6:3–5	9
19:23	5, 362	14:–23	31
21:9	5		
21:19	5	Job	2–3, 5–6, 13–16, 362–63
22:26	271	1–2	2–3, 13–16, 365
24	4–5, 363	1	5
24:1–25	264	1:1	13
24:1	363	1:2–3	13
24:10	363	1:4–5	13
24:15	363	1:6–12	38
		1:6–7	14
1 Kings (1 Kgs)		1:6	2
5:15	362	1:7	14
5:18	5, 38	1:13–22	14
8:61	271	2	14, 200
11:4	271	2:1–10	38
11:10	271	2:6	15
11:14	5, 362	2:10	15
11:23	362	3:1–42:6	3
11:25	5, 362	41:18–23	64
15:3	271	42:7–17	3
15:14	271		
22:21–23	363	Psalms (Ps)	
		1:2b	44
2 Kings (2 Kgs)		22:6	60
17:7	7	29	13
18:4	129	32:1–5	88
18:25	9		
24:13–17	7		

38:21	5	43:25	88
41:10 [LXX 40:10]	83	44	13
47:2–3	96	44:9–20	226
51	37	44:26–28	10
51:3–4 [1–2]	88	45:1	9
51:9–11 [7–9]	88	45:7	349
58:4	254	45:20	226
71:13	5	46–55	214
74	56	51	56
74:4	56	53:12	78–79
74:14	56	66:24	60
82	13		
89:10	56	Jeremiah (Jer)	
89:32–33	200	6:24	90
90 (LXX)	338	10	13
97:7	226	10:5	52
101:2	271	39:1–14	7
101:4	271	48:26	55
101:6	271	51:17	226
103:3	88	52	7
107:8	55		
109:4	5	Lamentations (Lam)	
109:6	5	1:5	7
109:20	5	4:10	6
115:4–6	52	5:11	7
115:4	226	5:12	7
119:33	37–38		
120:2	253	Ezekiel (Ezek)	
130:4	88	21:12 (LXX) [21:7]	90
140:3	254	29:3	56
140:10	253	32:2	56
Proverbs (Prov)		Daniel (Dan)	144, 162, 284
3:19	43	2:4	183
		2:44	96
Qohelet (Qoh)		7	315
4:4–8	62	7:13	183
10:1	61	7:23	183
		7:27	96
Isaiah (Isa)		9:9	88
3:12	52		
3:24	55	Hosea (Hos)	
6:1–7	11	10:2	271
9:16	52		
14:11	60, 66	Amos	
14:19	66	4:10	55
34:3	61		
40:18–20	226	Zechariah (Zech)	2–3, 5–7, 10–12, 16
43:14	10	1–8	3, 10

1:1	3, 6	3	2-3, 5-6, 12-13, 16
1:2-5	7	3:1-10	10
1:7-17	10	3:1-7	10-11
1:11	10	3:1-3	2
1:16	10	3:1-2	38, 365
1:18-21	10	3:1	5, 10, 362
1:19	10	3:2	11, 38
1:21	10	3:4	11-12, 88
2:1-5	10	4:1-6:8	12
2:5	10	7:1	3
14:9	96		

B. New Testament

Matthew (Matt)	236	12:27	101
3:16-26	52	12:28	92, 98, 163
4:1-11	5, 368	12:31-32	92
4:1	101, 368	12:35	249
4:3	368	12:36	249
4:5	368	12:43-45	92
4:8	368	13:19	101
4:10	101, 368	13:38	101
4:11	368	13:39	101
4:23-25	92	14:19	83
5:3-12	96	15:4	226
5:8	101	15:30-31	92
5:11	101	15:36	83
5:21-22	249	16:19	98
5:23	89	16:23	101
5:25	96	18:23-35	96
5:40-42	96	18:27	89
6:10	97	19:12	99
6:12	96	19:28	96
6:19-24	243	21:21	271
6:24	96	22:1-14	96
6:25-34	96	23:34-35	97
7:15-23	249	24:5	75
9:35	92	24:42-44	97
10:23	97	24:45-51	97
10:25	101	25:1-13	97
11:8	96	25:31	96
11:19	89	25:41	101
12:16	101	26:26	80, 83
12:22-32	92	27:16-17	69, 74, 77, 85
12:22-23	369	27:16	74, 77
12:24	91, 101	27:17	74-77
12:26	5, 368	27:21	76

Mark (Mk)		3:13–19	105
1:1–8:30	105	3:14–15	92, 105
1:1–13	104	3:15	103
1:1	104	3:20–35	106
1:3–8	103	3:22–30	92, 98
1:4	104	3:22–29	92
1:7	106	3:22–27	88, 99, 106
1:9–13	103	3:22	91, 101, 103, 368
1:11	104	3:23	5, 91, 101
1:12–13	5, 104	3:25	106
1:12	104	3:28–30	92
1:13	101, 104, 368	3:30	103
1:14–15	104	3:31–35	99
1:14	104	3:36	101
1:15	97, 104–105	4:1–20	106
1:15a	105	4:2	104
1:15b	105	4:15	5, 101, 106, 368
1:21–28	103–104, 017	4:30–32	103
1:23–27	92	4:33	104
1:23–26	88, 104	5:1–20	88, 99, 104, 108
1:23	103	5:2	103
1:26	103	5:3–5	108
1:27	103	5:4c	109
1:29–45	104	5:8	103
1:29–31	107	5:13	103
1:32–34	88	5:21–43	104, 108
1:34	69, 103–4, 369	6:2	104
1:34b	73–74, 86	6:5–6	92
1:38–39	104	6:6	104
1:39	103–4	6:7–13	105
1:40–45	89, 107	6:7	103
2:1–12	87–88, 90–94, 98–99, 104	6:12–13	105
2:1–12 (Syriac versions)		6:13	103
	90	6:34	104
2:1–11	108	6:41	83
2:2	104	6:53–56	104
2:5–10	92	7:10	226
2:5	88–89	7:24–31	104
2:6–8	89, 98	7:24–30	92
2:10	89, 92–93, 99	7:25	103
2:12	91	7:26	103
2:13	104	7:29	103
2:16	89	7:30	103
3	106	7:32–37	104, 108
3:1–6	104	8:22–26	108
3:1–5	108	8:29	110
3:11–12	92	8:31–33	369
3:11	103	8:31	104–105
		8:32	369

8:33	101, 369	Luke (Lk)	
8:35–36	371	2:38	72
8:6	83	4:1–13	368
9:1	97	4:1–2	5
9:7	104	4:2	101
9:14–29	104, 108	4:3	101
9:17–29	88, 92	4:5	101
9:25	103	4:9	101
9:31	104–105	4:13	101
9:38–40	92	4:18	96
9:38	103	4:33	224–25
9:39	226	4:35–36	233
10:1	104	4:35	225
10:17–31	96	4:41	73, 225, 233
10:17–25	243	5:18	90
10:32–34	105	5:24	90
10:35–45	96	6:18	224, 233
10:45	108	6:20–26	96
10:46–52	104, 108	6:20–21	96
11:17	104	6:24–25	96
11:23	271	6:35	96
11:28	92	6:43	349
12:13–21	243	7:21	224
12:18–27	99	7:25	96
12:35	104	7:33	225
13	103	7:34	89
13:30	97	8:2	92, 224–25
13:33–37	97	8:12	101, 368
14	120	8:26–33	233
14:22	80, 83	8:27	225
14:32–42	120	8:29	224–25
14:45–46	120	8:30	225
14:49	104	3:35	225
14:62	92, 103	8:36	225
15:27	78–79	8:38	225
15:27 (Rehdigeranus)	79	9:1	225, 233
15:27 (Usserianus)	79	9:16	83
15:27 (Colbertinus)	79	9:42	225
15:34	120	9:49	225
15:37	89	10:17	225, 233
15:39	110	10:18	101
15:28	79, 86	10:19	101
17:27	369	11:2	97
19:26–27	120	11:4	72
19:30	120	11:14–23	92
27:38	79	11:14	225, 369
27:38 (Rehdigeranus)	79	11:15	91, 101, 225
27:38 (Usserianus)	79	11:17–18	368
27:38 (Colbertinus)	79	11:18	101, 225

11:19	101, 225	1:11	115
11:20	92, 98, 162, 225	1:10a	113
11:24–26	92	1:12	135
11:24	224	1:13	135, 141
11:49–51	97	1:14	114, 138
12:10	92, 226	1:18	114
12:13–21	96	1:29	113
12:22–31	96	1:51	140
12:35–38	97	2:1–12	117
13:16	101	2:1–11	112
13:32	225	2:13–22	112
13:39–40	97	2:13–17	117
12:42–46	97	2:19–22	117
12:57–59	96	3	112
13:10–17	88	3:2	134
13:10–11	91	3:3	111, 135
13:16	5, 88, 99, 369	3:5	111, 135, 138
14:12–25	96	3:6	139
15:1–2	89	3:11–21	138–140
16:1–8	96	3:11–16	139
16:12	72	3:16	113, 136
16:13	96	3:17ab	113
16:19–31	96	3:17c	113
19:1–9	89	3:19–21	134
20:34–36	99	3:19	113, 136
21:34–36	97	4	334
22	85	4:9	102
22:3–4	85	4:21–26	117
22:3	5, 101	4:22	102
22:19–21	85	4:26	111
22:19	80	4:39–42	117
22:29–30	96	4:42	113
22:31	101	4:43–54	117
22:35–38	78	4:46–54	112
22:37	78–79	5:1–18	112
23:19	79, 83	5:17	134, 140
23:32	69, 72, 74, 78–79, 86	5:19	134
23:39–41	78	6	82
24:51	72	6:5–14	112
24:53	72	6:11	82–83
		6:14	113
		6:16–21	112
John (Jn)	236	6:17	134
1:1–2	114	6:20	101, 111, 118
1:3	113–14	6:35	82, 111
1:4–5	113–14	6:41	111
1:5	115, 134	6:48	111
1:9	113–14	6:51	111, 113
1:10	114, 116	6:53–56	82

6:54–57	83	14:17b	116
6:54	82	14:23	85
7:1–7	115	14:30	101–2, 118, 238, 368
7:3–4	115	14:31b	118
7:5	115	15	125
7:7	116	15:1	111
8:12	111, 134	15:5	111
8:23	111	15:18–21	115–16
8:24	111	15:18–19	116
8:28	111	15:21	116
8:44	101, 118, 136	15:26–16:15	136
8:58	111	16	117
9:1–7	112	16:11	101–2, 118, 238, 368
9:1–3	87	16:16–24	136
9:4	134	16:20	116–17
9:5	134	16:32–33	116
10:7	111	16:33	118, 136
10:9	111	17	116
10:11	111	17:1–5	116
10:14	111	17:6–19	116
10:30	140	17:13–17	116
11:1–45	112	17:14–15	115–16
11:9–10	134	17:15	136, 138
11:10	134	17:20–26	116, 136
11:25	111	17:25	116–17
12:16	117	18	120
12:19	116–17	18:4–10	120
12:27	118–20	18:5	111
12:31	101, 118, 238, 368	18:6	111
12:35–36	134	18:8	111
12:35	134	18:20	117
12:46	134	18:36	111, 117
13	72, 81, 85, 102	18:37	117
13:2	81, 101, 118	18:39	102
13:18	83	19:3	102
13:19	111	19:39	134
13:21–30	81	20	112
13:30	134	20:3–9	117
13:26–27	72	20:29	117
13:26	69, 74, 80, 82–83, 86	21:3	134
13:27	5, 82, 101, 118, 369	21:20–23	97
13:35	136	21:25	117
14	116	Acts	
14:6	111	1:6–11	233
14:10	85	2:14–39	225
14:15–17	115–16	2:41	72
14:16	133		
14:17a	116		

3:12–26	225	19:35	227–28
4:18	233	19:37–40	234
4:23	234	19:37	226
4:29	234	19:38	228
4:30	234	20:1	234
4:31	234	28:31	109
5:3	5, 368		
5:16	224	Romans (Rom)	188, 236
5:32	72	1–4	175
8:7	90, 224	1–3	220
9:22	72	1:3	196
9:33	90	1:18–3:20	176
10:20	271	1:18–32	176, 194, 220
10:34–43	225	1:21	194, 213
13:16–41	225	1:25	194
13:20	368	1:29–31	241
17:18	225	1:29–30	190
17:25	226	1:30	194
19	224, 226, 236, 239	2	194, 217
19:8–10	234	2:5–8	174
19:8	225, 234	2:8	194
19:9	224–25	2:9	190, 194
19:11–12	234	2:28	196
19:11	225, 232	3	217
19:12	224, 232	3:8	190
19:13–16	224	3:9–20	195
19:13	232	3:9	195
19:15	224, 233	3:10–18	194
19:16	224	3:11	195
19:17a	231	3:18	195
19:18–20	334	3:20	196, 209
19:18–19	224, 234	3:21–26	155, 162
9:18	231	3:23–24	209
19:19	231, 243	3:25–26	209
19:20	234	3:25	213
19:24–27	228	3:28	209
19:25–27	224	4:1	196
19:24	228	4:5	209
19:25	227, 243	4:7	195
19:26	225	4:20	271
19:27	226	4:25	214
19:27a	227	5–8	186, 195–98, 200
19:27b	227	5	196, 206–7
19:28–34	224	5:6	196
19:29	227	5:8	196
19:30–31	228, 234	5:10	196
19:30	227	5:12–21	155–56, 218
19:34	228	5:12	196, 211, 213–14
19:35–36	228	5:14	196, 207

5:16	214	8:3	199–200, 203
5:17	196, 207	8:5–8	197
5:20	214	8:6	198–99
5:21	196, 206–7	8:8	198
6	206	8:10–11	218
6:1–11	156	8:13	199
6:4–5	206	8:18–25	218
6:6	206	8:18	207
6:7	206, 209, 218	8:35	207
6:8	206, 304	8:21	208
6:9–10	196	8:22	208
6:9	206–7	8:30	209
6:10–11	206	8:33	209
6:12	206	8:35	209
6:13	196	8:37	206
6:14	206	8:38–39	198, 218, 230
6:16	196	8:38	202, 207
6:16–17	206	8:39	206
6:18	206	9:3	142
6:19–20	206	9:4	72
6:19	196	11:1	142
6:20	206	11:37	195
6:22	206	12:9–21	249
6:23	196, 206–7	12:9	190
7	198, 207, 218	12:17	190
7:3	207	12:21	190
7:4–5	196	13:1–7	200
7:5	195–97, 199–200	13:3	249
7:6	206–7	13:5	200
7:7–14	200	13:11–12	97
7:7–11	218	13:12	199
7:8	198, 207	13:13	241
7:10	200	14:16	190
7:11	198, 207	14:23	271
7:12	197	16	199
7:13	196, 198, 200, 207	16:7	220
7:14–25	214	16:18	199
7:14	197, 199, 207	16:19	190, 248–49
7:15	207	16:20	97, 359, 368
7:17	214		
7:18	197	1 Corinthians (1 Cor)	
7:19	190, 207, 214		236
7:21	190, 207	1:18–2:16	162
7:24	207–8	1:20	199, 204
7:25	197, 199, 206	2:5	199
8	197–98, 200–1	2:6–8	310
8:2–5	209	2:6	199, 204
8:2–3	198	2:8	204
8:2	196–97	2:18	199

3:19	203	1:10	208
4:8	208	2:11	368
4:9	202	3–4	203
5:1	200	3	206
5:5	238	3:3	203
5:8	190	3:7	200
5:10–11	241	3:14–16	200
6:1–12	98	3:14	203
6:3	202	3:16	203
6:9	241	3:17	203
6:9–10	209, 241	3:22	203
6:11	209	4	200
7:5	5, 368	4:4	200, 203–6, 238, 368
7:11–13	89	5:2	208
7:29	97	5:4	208
8–10	202	5:10	190
8:4–5	202	5:17–21	209
10	196, 205	5:19	214
10:5	205	5:20	196
10:6	190	6:4–10	208
10:7	205	6:14–7:1	196
10:11	97	10:3–5	208
10:14	196, 205	10:3	208
10:19–20	203, 205	10:4–5	208
10:19	196	10:4	208
10:20	196	11:3	205, 368
11:10	202	11:14–15	198
11:13	198	11:14	368
11:14–15	198	11:23–28	208
11:23	80–81, 83	11:14	202
11:25–26	202	12:7	202, 369
11:27–29	84, 86	12:10	208
11:29	84	12:20–21	241
11:30	87		
12:2	205	Galatians (Gal)	
13:1	202	1:4	156, 158, 185–86, 195, 204
15	199	1:4a	185
15:24	200, 206	1:8	202
15:26	200, 206–7	1:13	323
15:27–28	206	1:16	162
15:51	97	2:4	205
15:56	200	2:11–15	202, 216
16:21	332	2:16–21	216
		2:16–17	209
2 Corinthians (2 Cor)		2:19–21	162
	236	3:11	209
1:8–10	208	3:19	202
1:8	208		
1:9	208		

3:21	201	2:13	214
3:22–24	219	2:18	202
3:22	205, 213	3:5–8	241
3:24	209	4:18	332
3:28	98, 202		
4:3–5	201	1 Thessalonians (1 Thess)	
4:3	170, 201, 203–4		236
4:4	201	2:18	368
4:8–9	204	3:5	368
4:8	202	4–5	97
4:14	202		
4:17	202	2 Thessalonians (2 Thess)	
4:22–23	204		236
4:26	204	1:7	202
4:30	204	2:8	239
4:31	204	3:13	249
5:1	204	3:17	332
5:14	204	5:22	249
5:16–21	204		
5:17	170, 204	1 Timothy (1 Tim)	236–37, 239–41
5:19–21	241	1:1	239
6:11	332	1:3	238
6:12–13	199	1:9–10	241
		1:9	237
Ephesians (Eph)	236	1:10	240
1:7	214	1:13	241
2:1–3	211	1:17	239
2:1	214	1:19	240–41
2:5	214	1:20	236, 238, 240–41
4:17	201	2:1–2	240
4:27	369	2:3	239
4:31	241	2:13	239
5:3–5	241	3:3	240, 242–43
6:11	369	3:6–7	238, 369
6:12	319	3:6	236
		3:7	236
Philippians (Phil)		3:8	240, 243
2:5–6	319	3:26	369
2:10–11	98, 100	4:1	236, 240
3	199	4:2	240–41
3:1	199	4:3	242
3:3	199	4:7	237
3:5	142	4:10	239
3:19	199	5:5	242
4:5	97	5:6	242
		5:8	242
Colossians (Col)		5:13	242
1:20	312	5:15	5, 236, 238, 242,
2:2	109		368

6	242, 244	1:2–16	257
6:3	240	1:2–3	262
6:4–5	241, 243	1:2	263, 270, 280
6:4	237, 242	1:2a	260
6:5	240	1:2b	260
6:9	240, 244	1:3–10a	260
6:10	237, 239–40, 243	1:4	271
6:14	239	1:4a	270
6:15	239	1:4b	270
6:17	244	1:5	256, 260, 269, 271, 275
6:20	237	1:6	271
2 Timothy (2 Tim)	236, 238–39	1:7–8	271
1:10	239	1:8	254–55, 271, 280
1:13	240	1:9	272
2:11–12	371	1:10b–13a	260
3:2–5	241	1:12–14	262, 280
4:1	239	1:12	263
4:3	240	1:13–15	272, 278
4:8	239	1:13–14	279–80
4:18	239	1:13	250, 265
Titus		1:13a	263
1:3	239	1:13b	263
1:9	240	1:13c	263
1:13	240	1:14–15	269
2:1	240	1:14	263, 269, 275, 281
2:2	240	1:15	250
2:8	240	1:17–27	257
2:10	239	1:17–18	257
2:11	239	1:17	265, 270, 275
2:13	239	1:18	254, 257–60, 281
3:3	241	1:19–27	252, 258–59
3:4	239	1:21–27	251
Philemon (Phlm)		1:21	250–51, 257–58, 260, 281
19	332	1:22–27	257
Hebrews (Heb)	236	1:22–25	259
2:6	338	1:25	257, 270, 281
4:4	338	1:26	263
5:6	338	1:27	258, 260
6:4–6	371	2:1–9	264
12:2	109	2:1–7	264
12:12	90	2:4	250
13:5	243	2:8–13	264
James (Jas)	236, 262	2:8	281
1	260	2:9	250
		2:12–13	258
		2:12	257
		2:13–14	249

2:13	264, 279	4:1–4	257, 260
2:19	250, 263, 265–66	4:1–3	259
3	249, 251, 256	4:2–3	272
3:1–18	251, 260	4:3	250
3:1–12	255, 257–59	4:4	256, 266
3:1	249, 252, 255, 264	4:5–8	271–72
3:2–12	272	4:5–6	258
3:2–3	253	4:6–8	272
3:2	252, 256, 259, 270	4:6	272
3:2–10a	252	4:6a	272
3:2a	252	4:7	250, 263, 266, 279– 80, 369
3:2b–10a	252	4:7a	272
3:2b–3	252	4:7b	260
3:2b–4b	255	4:8	266, 272, 275, 281
3:2b	252	4:11–12	264–65
3:3–4	252	4:12	279
3:4–5a	252	4:16	249
3:4	253, 260	5:1–6	242
3:5–8	263	5:9	264, 279
3:5	275	5:14	266
3:5b–6	252	5:15–16	250
3:5b	253	5:15	281
3:6–8	249, 251	5:20	250, 281
3:6	250, 253–54, 260, 275	1 Peter (1 Pet)	236, 270
3:6a	253	1:22	72
3:6b	253	2:12	249
3:7–8	252, 254	5:8–9	369
3:7	253–54	2 Peter (2 Pet)	
3:8	251, 275	3:3–10	97
3:8a	253	1 John	236
3:8b	254	5:19	236
3:9–10	254	2:22–24	371
3:9	254	3 John	
3:10a	254–55	11	249
3:10b–12	252	Jude	236
3:10b	255	22	271
3:11	255	Revelations (Rev), Apocalypse of John	
2:12–13	257	162, 188–89, 236	
3:12b	255	2:3	229
3:13–18	255, 260	2:7	163
3:13	260	2:9	369
3:15–18	260	2:10	369
3:15	255, 260, 266, 279– 80		
3:16	250		
3:17	256		
4–5	258		
4	261		

2:13	5, 370	12:14	109
3:3–9	369	12:17	370
3:8	371	13:7	370
3:16	55	13:15	370
6:10	370	15:7	109
6:11	359	16:6	370
11	370	17:6	370
11:7	370	20:2–3	88
12:9	5, 370	20:10	5
12:10	359	22:1	109
12:11	370		

C. Jewish “Apocrypha”

1 Maccabees (1 Macc)		9:4	58, 61, 65
1:62–63	367	9:5	61, 65–66
9:54–55	91	9:6	62
9:55	91	9:7	58, 64, 66
		9:8	58, 60, 64
2 Maccabees (2 Macc)		9:9	60–61, 65
	59–60, 64, 367	9:10	60
2:21	323	9:12	59–61, 64, 67
4:16–17	367	9:13	65
5:17	267	9:28	65, 67
6:1–11	66	12:34	31
6:2	61	14:38	323
6:12–16	367		
7	61	3 Maccabees (3 Macc)	
7:1	63	2:22	91
7:4	64	2:24	91
7:5	61		
7:6	63	4 Maccabees (4 Macc)	
7:7	64		367
7:18	367		
7:21	64	Sirach, Ben Sira (Sir)	
7:23	63		36, 274–75, 278–
7:24	63		79, 327
7:31–33	367	2:1	272
7:32	367	3:30	89
7:37–38	368	4:17	273
8:1	323	6:20–21	273
8:5	368	15:1–20	273
9	51, 58, 62	15:11–12	273
9:1–12	49–50, 58, 67	15:14	36, 273
9:2	59	15:18–20	273
9:1	58	17:31	36
9:3	58	21:27	273

22:27–23:2	274	8	107
30:19	226	11	107
33:1	272	8:1–3	88
34:10	272	8:2–3	366
39:4	272	11:2	90
42:16–17	273	12:19 (G1 recension)	
44:17	271		307
		14:6–7a	226
Tobit (Tob)		Wisdom of Solomon (Wis)	
3:8	366	14:8–31	226
6	107		

D. Old Testament “Pseudepigrapha”

<i>Abraham, Testament of</i>		6–10	313
	307	7	308, 313
		7.9–12	300–1, 303, 306–7, 309, 313–14, 317
<i>Ascension of Isaiah (Ascen. Isa.)</i>		7.9	308
	299	7.10	308, 316
1	314	7.12	303
1–5	300–1, 307–8, 313– 18, 320	7.12 (E)	308–9, 319
2	314	7.12 (L2)	308–9
2.1–11	301	7.12 (S)	308–9
2.1	315	7.17	301
2.2–2	308	7.25 (S/L2)	303
2.1–5	301	9	314
2.4	315	9.14–26	316
2.7–11	316–17	9.26	303–5, 310
3.13–20	314	10	309, 313
3.13	314	10.7–16	305
3.18	310, 314	10.8–15	309
3.21–31	314, 316–20	10.8–15 (C)	309
3.21	317	10.8–15 (E)	309
3.26	316–17	10.13	308
3.27–31	316	10.17–31	306
4	301, 315, 319	11	312–13
4.1–13	314–16, 318–19	11.2–22	306
4.1–14	316	11.22–33	302, 306
4.13–18	317	11.22–25	306, 311
4.13	317	11.22–25 (E)	312
4.14–18	314	11.22–25 (L2)	312
4.2–4	301, 308, 317	11.22–25 (S)	312
4.1	315	11.22–23	312
4.3	315	11.23	313
4.4	315	11.25	312
4.13	315	11.32–33	306, 313
6–11	302–10, 313–20		

- 2 Baruch (2 Bar.)* 144, 148, 162, 173,
 176, 179–81
 17:2–3 176, 179
 18:2 179
 23:4 176, 179
 48:42–43 176, 179
 53 180
 54:14 176
 54:15–19 179
 54:15 180
 54:19 176, 180
 55–74 180
 55:7 181
 56:5–16 180
 56:5–9 180
 56:5–6 179
 56:6 176
 56:10 180
 56:12–15 176
 59 302
 59:2 181
 72:2–73:2 96
 73 181
 73:1–5 180
 73:4–5 181

1 Enoch (1 En.) 144, 148, 176, 362
Book of Watchers (chs. 1–36)
 163, 173, 177–80,
 364
 1–5 177–78
 1:9 178
 5:4–10 179
 6–19 176–77
 6–36 178
 6–11 107, 177–78
 6 364
 6:2–7:5 266
 8:4–9:3 164
 9 164
 10 87, 163–64, 364,
 366
 10:1–16 164
 10:4–6 88
 10:9 166
 15–16 164
 15 364
 17–36 178
 17–19 178

 18:14 178
 19:1 179
 21–32 177, 179
 21:10 179
 22:1–5 179
 27:2 179
 32:6 179
Book of Parables (Similitudes,
chs. 37–71) 163
 40:7 38
 53:3 38
 56:1 38
 62:11 38
 63:1 38
 64:1–2 176
 65:6 38
 69:4–5 176
 69:6 176
Book of Dreams (chs. 83–90; *Animal*
Apocalypse chs. 85–90)
 163
 84 163
 84:2–6 164
 85–90 (*Animal Apocalypse*)
 163
 85 163
 86:1–6 176
 90 163
Epistle of Enoch (chs. 91–105;
Exhortation 91:1–10; *Apocalypse of*
Weeks 93:1–10, 91:11–17)
 91 163
 91:1–10 (*Exhortation*) 163
 91:5–10 164
 91:11–17 (*Apocalypse of Weeks*)
 163
 98:4–5 176
 93:1–10 (*Apocalypse of Weeks*)
 163
 99:2 266
 104:9 226
Birth of Noah (chs. 106–107)
 163
 106:13–107:1 164
 106:13–17 176

2 Enoch (2 En.)
 10:6 226
 29:4–5 1

<i>Epistula Jeremiae</i> (Baruch 6)		4:30–31	176
	226	4:33	291
6:44–59	226	4:45	291–92
		4:51	291
<i>4 Ezra</i>	144, 162, 173, 176,	5:21–30	293
	181–84, 188, 282	5:35	297
3:2	293	5:55	292
3:4–27	287, 293	6:12	292
3:5–7	176	6:33	292
3:7–10	290	6:35–59	293
3:13	298	7:12	297
3:14	292	7:49–50	148
3:19–22	294	7:75	292
3:20–22	181–82, 287, 294–	7:78	296
	95	7:89	297
3:20–21	176	7:92	297
3:20	182, 295	7:96	297
3:28–36	287, 293	7:102	292
3:28	287–88	7:116–127	148
3:29	287–88	7:118–19	176
3:29a–31a	288	7:118	182
3:30	287	7:127–129	182
3:31	287	8:46–50	298
3:32	287	8:51	298
3:33	287–88, 295, 297	9:1–13	298
3:34	287	9:11–13	182
3:35	287	9:13	298
3:36	287	9:20–21	182
4	289	9:26–10:59	282
4:2	289	9:26–37	295
4:3	289	9:30	294
4:4	289, 298	9:31	294
4:5	289	9:32–37	294
4:6	289	9:32	294
4:7–9	289	9:37	294
4:10–11	289	9:32	293
4:10	298	9:33	293
4:11	295, 298	9:38–40	296
4:12	290	9:39	293
4:13–20	290	9:43–45	296
4:22–25	293	9:45	297
4:22	290	9:46	297
4:23	290–91	9:46–10:4	296
4:24	296	10:1–23	297
4:25	290	10:4	293
4:26–32	295	10:5	293
4:26	290	10:16	296
4:27	291, 296	10:24	297
4:29	291	10:25	297

10:27–30	297	5:12	165
10:37	292	7:20–23	281
10:38–54	295	7:21–25	266
10:55	298	10	165, 267
10:56	298	10:1–6	167
10:57	298	10:1–2	364
11–12	183	10:3–6	165
11:46	183	10:4–5	176
12–14	184	10:6	165
12:11–12	183	10:7–13	86, 167
12:33	183	10:7	364
12:34	183	10:8	167, 364–65
13:3	183	10:9	364
13:5	183	10:10–13	167
13:14	292	12	267
13:15	292	12:19–20	167
13:23b	183	17:6	365
13:26	182	20:7	226
13:29	183	22	267
14	163	22:22	226
14:3	298	23:1	267
14:8	292	30:1–23	267
		31:18	267
<i>Job, Testament of (Test. Job)</i>		30:19	267
27:6	266	36:5	226
		23:29	38
<i>Joseph and Aseneth (Jos. As.)</i>		35:9	36
	307	46:2	38
11:7–9	226	48:2–3	365
12:5–6	226	48:2	267
		49:2	267, 365
<i>Jubilees (Jub.)</i>	36, 143, 148, 163, 267, 269, 272, 279– 80, 362, 364, 366	50:5	38
1	267		
1:4	267	<i>Moses, Apocalypse of (Apoc. Mos.)</i>	
1:19–20	167	17:1–5	103
3:17–25	176		
4:5	267	<i>Psalms of Solomon (Pss. Sol.)</i>	
4:18	267	12:1–4	253
4:15	176	17	96
4:22	176		
4:29–30	176	<i>Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs</i>	
5–10	164	<i>Testament of Levi (T. Levi)</i>	
5	364		38
5:1–8	176	10–12	38
5:1–5	266	18:12	88
		<i>Testament of Judah (T. Jud.)</i>	
		23:5	271

E. Philo

- | | | | |
|---|-----|--|-----|
| <i>De confusione linguarum (Conf.)</i> | | <i>De specialibus legibus (Spec. Leg.), On the Special Laws (Spec. Laws)</i> | |
| 161 | 274 | 1.30 | 265 |
| 179–82 | 275 | 1.89 | 275 |
| 179–81 | 274 | 4.160 | 331 |
| <i>De fuga et inventione (Fug.), On Flight and Finding (Flight)</i> | | 4.162 | 331 |
| 8 | 274 | 4.187 | 274 |
| 79 | 274 | <i>De vita contemplativa</i> | 124 |
| 80 | 274 | <i>Hypothetica (Hypoth.)</i> | |
| 81 | 274 | 7.12–13 | 328 |
| 153 | 62 | <i>Legum allegoriae (Leg.)</i> | |
| <i>De mutatione nominum (Mut.)</i> | | 1.31 | 275 |
| 183–85 | 275 | 2.71–72 | 128 |
| 221 | 274 | 2.79 | 129 |
| <i>De opificio mundi (Opif.)</i> | | 2.81 | 129 |
| | 124 | 2.87 | 130 |
| 1:29 | 125 | 2.90 | 129 |
| 10 | 126 | 3.68 | 128 |
| 13 | 126 | 3.75 | 127 |
| 15 | 125 | 3.107 | 127 |
| 21–23 | 125 | 3.131 | 127 |
| 21 | 126 | 3.246 | 129 |
| 22 | 126 | <i>On the Life of Moses (Moses), De vita Mosis</i> | |
| 25 | 126 | 1:303 | 226 |
| 29 | 125 | <i>Quod omnis probus liber sit (Prob.)</i> | |
| 30 | 125 | 12.81–82 | 328 |
| 33 | 126 | <i>Quaestiones et solutiones in Exodum (QEx)</i> | |
| 73 | 275 | 1:23 | 277 |
| 75 | 274 | <i>Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesim (QG)</i> | |
| 79 | 126 | 1.100 | 274 |
| 146 | 126 | <i>Quod deterius potiori insidari solet (Det.)</i> | |
| 152 | 127 | 122 | 274 |
| 156 | 127 | | |
| 158 | 128 | | |
| <i>De posteritate Caini (Post.)</i> | | | |
| 80 | 274 | | |
| <i>De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini (Sacr.)</i> | | | |
| 63 | 274 | | |

F. Josephus

<i>Against Apion (Ag. Ap.)</i>	10.272–77	96
2.17 §175	328	18.36–38
		95
<i>Jewish Antiquities (Ant.)</i>		<i>The Jewish War (J.W.)</i>
3.91	265	2.119–161
8.2.5 §§45–49	233	
8.2.5 §§45–46	225	
8.44–46	87	<i>The Life of (Flavius) Josephus (Life)</i>
9.10.1 §205	226	30
9.264	90	39
10.209–10	96	66–68
10.268	96	99
		374–84
		95

G. Dead Sea Scrolls

<i>Amram, Visions of</i>	18	4Q286–290	25–26
		4Q286	
(4Q)Barhkhī Nafshī (4Q434–438)		7 II 3, 7	166
	36, 38–40, 48, 268		
4Q436	36	4QCatena A	166
1 i–ii	38	4Q177	
1 i 10	36	III 8	166
4QBerakhot	18, 25–27, 32	<i>Community Rule (cf. Serekh ha-Yahad)</i>	
4QBera ^a	26	<i>Covenant Liturgy, see under Serekh ha-Yahad (1QS I, 16–III, 12)</i>	
1–7 II	27		18–19, 22–26,
1 a, b I, 7–8	26		31–33
1 a, b I, 9	26	4QCurses	18, 25–27, 32
1 a, b II, 6	26	4Q280	25–26
7 I	26	2, 1b–7a	26
7 II par	26		
7 II, 5b–6	27	<i>Damascus Document</i>	
7 II, 7–10	27		364
7 II, 11–12	26–27	CD	23, 27, 32
9	27	II 15	40
13, 14, 15, 17, a, b	27	II 16	38
20 a, b par	27	II 17–21	364
4QBera ^b	26–27	III 18	88
1–5	26	XVI 5	23
6, 5–6a	27	XX 34	88
6, 6b–9	27		
6, 10–11	26–27		
7–10	26		
4QBera ^d	27		

<i>Genesis Apocryphon (1QapGen)</i>		1 16	38, 41
XIX, 14	90	2 II 6	46
XX, 12–29	87, 107	2 III 6	46
		2 IV 6	46
<i>Giants, Book of</i>	163, 364	4Q417	
4Q203	364	1 I	39, 42–44
9 1	64	1 I 1–18	42
10 1	64	1 I 1–13	44
4Q206 2	364	1 I 1–2	44
4Q530–33	364	1 I 1	44
4Q530		1 I 1–2	44
2 II + 6–7 + 8–12, lines 4–20		1 I 1	44
	164	1 I 1–2	44
		1 I 1	44
<i>Hodayot (Thanksgiving Hymns)</i>		1 I 5–7	44
	33, 36–37, 39, 47,	1 I 6–7	44
	268	1 I 6	44
1QH ^a		1 I 8–9	44
II 16–17	37	1 I 9	39, 42, 45
IX 23	36	1 I 10	44–45
IX 37	36	1 I 11	39, 42, 45
X 11	36	1 I 11b–12	44
X 23	41	1 I 13	44
X 38	36	1 I 13b–18	44
XII 17	40	1 I 16–18	45
XIV 22	40	1 I 16	47
XIV 35	36	1 I 17–18	45
XVIII 25	36	1 I 17	39, 42
XXI 17	36	1 I 18	44
XXI 29	36	1 II	39–40, 46
XXI 30	36	1 II 12	36, 39–41, 45
XXII 25	38	1 II 13	41
XXII 27	40	1 II 14	41
XXIII 37–38	36	4Q418	41
XXIV 19	38	43	42
		44	42
		45	42
<i>4QInstruction (Musar)</i>		81+81a	46
	21, 35–36, 38–48	221 2	40
1Q26	35	217 1	39
4Q415–418	35	4Q418 a 11	42
4Q415		4Q423	35
9 8	46		
11 5	46		
11 9	46		
4Q416			
1	41, 45		
1 1–10	42		
1 10–11	42		
1 12–14	42		
		<i>Jubilees</i>	
		1Q18 (<i>1QJub^b</i>) 1–2 3	36
		4Q223–224 (<i>4QJu^h</i>)	36
		4QMez B-D	266

Muraba'at (Mur)		8–10 I 6–7	166
19 ar 1.2	90	4Q493	29
Nahal Hever (Hev)		<i>Serekh ha-Yahad (Community Rule,</i>	
6 HevA nab 1.13	90	„Manual of Discipline“)	
			18–19, 22–25, 27,
4QPhyl-b	266		33, 36–37, 130,
			137, 170
<i>Plea for Deliverance</i>		1QS	18–19, 25–27, 29,
	35, 37–40, 48		47, 166
11Q5 (11QPs ^a)	35	I 1–15	19
XIX	167	I 8	44
XIX 15–16	36, 37–38	I 15–19	22
XIX 15	365	I 16–III	19
		I 16–III 11	166
<i>Prayer of Nabodinus (4Q242)</i>		I 16–II, 19	22
	366	I 16–18	23
		I 18	23, 365
<i>Serekh ha-Milhamah (War Rule)</i>		I 18–19	23
1QM (<i>War Scroll</i>)	18, 23, 28–33	I 19–20	23
I–II	30	I 21–23	22
I 1–4	30	I 21–22	23
I 1, 13	365	I 22–24	23
I 2	30	I 23–24	23, 365
I 4–5	30	I 24–II 1	23
I 8–17	30	II 1–4	23
I 13–14	31	II 2	44
II–IX	30	II 3	23
III 8	30	II 4–11	22
IV 2–3	30	II 4–9	23
X–XIV	30	II 4–5	22
XI 1–12	30	II 5–7	24
XI 13–18	30–31	II 5	24
XIII–XX	32	II 6–11	22
XIII 1–5	31	II 7	24
XIII 2–6	27	II 8–9	24
XIII 4–6	26	II 8	24, 88
XIII 4	31	II 10	23
XIII 11–12	31	II 11–17	23–24
XIV 9–10	166	II 14–16	365
XIV 10	38	II 18	23
XIV 14–16	31	II 19–II 12	22
XV–XIX	30	II 19	365
XV	9	II 25–III	25
XVI 11–16	31	II 26	22
XVII, 4–6	32	III 1–10	22
4QM I–VI (4Q491–496)		III 3	25
	29	III 4–6	25
4Q491 = 4QM ^a	29	III 6–12	25

III 13–IV 26 (<i>Instruction on the Two Spirits</i>)	19, 124, 277	4Q524	15, 22	40
III 13–15	19			
III 15–18	19			
III 17–22	45			
III 17–23	170			
III 18–IV, 1	19			
III 19	20			
III 20–21	20, 365			
III 21–23	20			
III 22–23	36			
III 23	20, 31			
III 24	20			
III 25	124			
IV 2–14	19–20			
IV 5	36			
IV 9–11	20			
IV 2–8	19			
IV 9–14	19, 32, 365			
IV 11–14	20			
IV 15–26	20			
IV 15–23	20			
IV 15–20	20			
IV 19–20	20			
IV 20	20			
IV 21–22	20			
IV 22–26	170			
IV 23–26	20			
IV 23	20			
V–VII 25	19			
VI 6–8	330, 333			
VI 7	323, 331			
VIII 1–X 8	19			
VIII 3	36			
X–XI	166			
X 9–XI 22	19, 268			
<i>Songs of the Maskil (Songs of the Sage)</i>		4Q266		331, 338
	18, 25		5 II 1–4	331
4Q510–511	18, 25, 366			
4Q510	366			
1, 5	366			
4Q511	366			
<i>Temple Scroll</i>	40			
11Q19				
LXVI 8	40			
		4Q422 (<i>4QParaphrase of Genesis and Exodus</i>)		
		I 12 (<i>4QSectarian Text</i>)	36–37	
		4Q524		
		15, 22		40
		<i>Treatise on the Two Spirits</i> , see under <i>Serekh ha-Yahad</i> , 1QS III 13–IV 26		
				18–22, 25, 36, 45
		<i>4QTLevi^a</i>		38
		10–12		38
		<i>Visions of Amram</i>		
		4Q544 2,1–5		365
		4Q184 (“ <i>Wiles of the Wicked Woman</i> ”)		
				40
		1, 17		40
		4Q201		266
		4Q242 (<i>4QPrNab, The Prayer of Nabonidus</i>)		
				87, 91
		1–3		91
		4		91
		4Q246		
		II 1–9		96
		4Q252		
		V 1–4		96
		4Q255 (<i>4QpapS</i>)		22
		4Q256 (<i>4QS^b</i>)		22
		4Q257 (<i>4QpapS^c</i>)		22
		4Q370 (<i>4QAdmonition Based on the Flood</i>)		
		I 13		37
		4Q422 (<i>4QParaphrase of Genesis and Exodus</i>)		
		I 12 (<i>4QSectarian Text</i>)	36–37	

4Q434–438, see under <i>Barhkhi Nafshi</i>		4Q560	166
	36	11 Q 1–6	366
4Q504		11 Q	
1–2 iv 12–13	38	XI 6–8	167
4Q510		11Q5 (<i>11QP^s^a</i>), see under <i>Plea for Deliverance</i>	
1	166		36, 268
1.6b–7	166		
4–8	166	11Q11	
4Q511		V	166
10	166		
10, 1–6	166		
10, 4–5	166		

H. Ancient Near Eastern Texts

<i>Gilgamesh Epic</i>	2	<i>Cyrus Cylinder</i> (Curtis)	
			8–9
		line 20	8

I. Rabbinic, Hekhalot, and Medieval Jewish Literature

<i>Babylonian (b.)</i>		<i>Mishnah (m.)</i>	
<i>Abodah Zarah (b. Ab. Zar.)</i>		<i>'Abot (m. Abot)</i>	
5b	281	1.17	281
<i>Baba Batra (b. B. Bat.)</i>		<i>Berakhot (m. Ber.)</i>	
15–16	278	9.1	226
16a	278	<i>Hagigah (m. Hag.)</i>	
<i>Berakhot (b. Ber.)</i>		2.1	122
10b	129	<i>Sanhedrin (m. San.)</i>	
60a	277	7:4	226
<i>Gittin (b. Git.)</i>		7:6	226
52a	277	<i>Hagigah (Tos. Hag.)</i>	
<i>Ketubbot (b. Ket.)</i>		7:10	226
8b	277	8:7	226
<i>Nedarim (b. Ned.)</i>		11:1	226
32a	277	<i>Tosefta (Tos.)</i>	
<i>Sanhedrin (b. Sanh.)</i>		2:5	123
107a	277		
<i>Yoma (b. Yoma)</i>			
20a	277		
<i>Genesis Rabbah (Gen. Rab.)</i>			
89:1	276		

J. Targumic Literature

Targum Neofiti (Tg. Neof.)
271

K. Early Christian and Gnostic Writings

<i>Acts of John</i>	229	5:5	371
38	229	6:2	371
		6:3	371
<i>Acts of the Martyrs</i>	370	4:10	359
<i>Martyrdom of Carpus (Mart. Carpus)</i>		10:7	357, 359
4:2 (Latin)	361	10:11	358–59
17	362	10:14	358
<i>Martyrdom of Justin (Mart. Just.)</i>		18:1	360
1:1 (recension C)	362	18:7	360
<i>Martyrdom of Polycarp (Mart. Pol.)</i>		20:1	360
	372	21:8	360
2:4–3:1	372	21:9	359
3:1	372	21:10	360
4	372		
8:2	372	<i>Acts of Thomas (Acts Thom.)</i>	
9:2	372		248
17:1	362	51–61	246
<i>Martyrs of Lyons</i>	372–73	51	246
1:4–5	361	56	247
1:6	361	58	248
1:8	361	81	247
1:11	372		
1:14	372	<i>Adamantius Dialogue</i>	
1:16	372	W. H. van de Sande Bakhuyzen ed.	
1:23	373	(Greek text)	
1:25	372–73	22,1–9	353
1:26	373	32,3–6	353
1:27	361, 373	32, 24–27	353
1:42	373	36,13–14	353
1:45	373	C. P. Caspari edition (Latin translation of Rufinus)	
2:6	373	1.10	353
<i>Passion of Perpetua (Pass. Perp.)</i>		1.15	353
	361, 371	1.16	353
2:3	357	1.17	353
3:1–3	371		
4:3–4	359	Augustine	
4:4	371	<i>Epistula (Ep.)</i>	
4:7	359	55.37	337
5:1–6	371		

- In Evangelium Johannis tractatus*
(*Tract. Ev. Jo.*)
- 62 84
62.1 84
62.2–3 85
62.3 85
- I Clement (I Clem.)*
- 15:2 338
21:2 338
26:2 338
28:2 338
- Clement of Alexandria
Stromata (Strom.)
- 2.39.1 349
2.39.1 (Cl. Mondésert edition)
349
3.12.1 349
5.8 230
- Constitutiones apostolorum,*
Constitutions of the Holy Apostles,
Apostolic Constitutions (Const. Apost.)
84
- Council of Laodicea
Canon 36 337
- Epiphanius
Panarion (Adversus haereses) (Pan.)
- 7.33.1–5 347
33.3.2 346
33.3.2 (Gilles Quispel ed.)
346
33.3.3–8 346
- Eusebius
De Martyribus Palaestinae, Martyrs of
Palestine (Mart. Pal.)
- 6.3 79
Historia ecclesiastica (Hist. eccl.)
5.13.2–4 340
- Herodotus
Histories (Hist.)
- 5.39 89
- Hilary of Poitiers
Commentary on Matthew (Comm.
Matt.)
- 26:17 84
- Hippolytus
Refutatio omnium haeresium
(Philosophoumena) (Haer.)
- 7.30.1 351
7.30.2–3 351
7.31.1 351
10.15 349
10.19.1 351
- Ignatius
To the Romans (Ign. Rom.)
- 7:1 370
- Ireneaus
Adversus haereses (Haer.)
- 1.27.2 348
1.27.2 (Adelin Rousseau and Louis
Doutreleau ed.) 348
3.12.12 348
3.25.3 348
4 348
4.28.3 349
4.30.1 349
- John Chrysostom
Homilies on the Gospel of John (Hom.
Jo.)
- 321 321
32 321, 334
32.2 321, 335–36
32.3 335
- Justin (the Martyr)
Apologia I (I. Apol.)
- 26.5 345
26.5 (Charles Munier ed.)
345
Apologia II (2. Apol.)
- Marcion
Antitheses 352–54, 356
- Martyrdom of Polycarp (Mart. Pol.)*
- 9:2 229

Origenes, Origen		<i>Adversus Marcionem (Marc.)</i>	
<i>Contra Celsum</i> 79			349
1.2	76	1.2.1	349
2.44	72, 80	1.2.1 (Claudio Moreschini ed.)	
8.54	80		349
<i>Commentary on Matthew (Comm. Matt.)</i>	78	1.2.2	349–50
33	75	1.6.1	350
21	75	1.6.4	349
<i>Commentary on John (Comm. Jo.)</i>		1.11.9	349
32.24	83	1.19.4	352
<i>De principiis (Peri archōn) (Princ.)</i>		2.2.3	349
2.5.4	349	2.12.1	350
		2.14.1	349, 353
		4.10.8	353
Pseudo-Tertullian		4.23.4	353
<i>Adversus omnes haereses</i>		4.24.1	353
6	349	5.13.2	350
		5.18.10	349
Ptolemy		<i>Scorpiace (Scorp.)</i>	
<i>Letter to Flora</i> 346, 351		6	373
		12	359
Shepherd of Hermas, <i>Mandate</i> (Herm. Mand.)		<i>Thomas, Gospel of (Gos. Thom.)</i>	
1:1	265	63	243
		64	96
Tertullian			
<i>Ad Martyrs</i>			
1	359		

L. Greek and Roman Literature

Aristotle		Dio Chrysostom	
<i>Ethica nichomachea (Eth. nic.)</i>		<i>Orationes (Or.)</i>	
1114b.4–5	235	31, 54	244
Artemidorus Daldianus		Epictetus	
<i>Onirocritica (Onir.)</i>		<i>Diatribai (Diatr.)</i>	
2.35 240		2.20.18–19	255
Aulus Gellius		Lucian	
<i>Attic Nights</i>		<i>Philopseudes</i>	
13.31	338	16–17	225
16.8.3	331		
17.7.5–6	331	Parmenides	
19.1	334	<i>On Nature</i>	
19.10	338	B 6.1–2	137

- Pausanias
Graeciae descriptio
 4.31.8 227
- Petronius
Satyricon
 29 228
- Plato
Leges (Leg.)
 X.896a–e 235
Protagoras (Prot.)
 345d–e 235
Respublica (Resp.)
 335D 274
 379C–380C 274
Sophista, Sophist 137
 258–59 137
Theaetetus
 176C 274
Timaeus (Tim.)
 29E–30A 274
- Pliny
Naturalis historia
 5.15 124
- Plutarch
De superstitione
 168C 225
Moralia (Mor.)
 132d 242
 472 F 255
*Non posse suaviter vivi secundum
 Epicurum (Suav. Viv.)*
 22 274
- Quaestionum convivalium libri IX
 (Quaest. conv.)*
 7.5.4 230
- Philostratus
Vita Apollonii
 4.10 225
- Pseudo-Clementine (Ps.-Clem.)
Homilia, Homiliy 267–69
 2.13–14 268
 3.59.2 265
 7.2 268
 9.10–11 269
 9.19 268
 10.14 269
 11.16 269
 16.7.9 265
- Pseudo-Phocylides (Ps.-Phoc.)*
 54 265
- Quintilian
Institutio oratoria (Inst.)
 11.2.32 331–32
- Seneca
De Ira
 2.27.2 274
De Providentia
 1.5.70 274
- Strabo
Geographica
 14.1.6 226

Index of Modern Authors

- Abegg, M. 324.
Achte-meier, P. J. 332.
Adams, E. 97, 253.
Adams, R. M. 299.
Africa, T. 50.
Aland, B. 73, 343, 355.
Aland, K. 73.
Albrek-tson, B. 73.
Alexander, J. C. 235–237.
Alexander, P. S. 18, 22, 26, 29–31, 37, 232, 364.
Allen, W. 50.
Allison, D. C. 62, 77, 93, 97, 150, 249–250, 266, 271.
Alsup, J. E. 147.
Ameling, W. 357.
Amsler, F. 269.
Anderson, A. 77.
Anderson, G. A. 103.
Anderson, J. C. 63–64, 99.
Arndt, W. 196.
Arnold, C. E. 202, 230–231.
Ashbrook Harvey, S. 60.
Assmann, J. 338.
Athanas-iou, A. 68.
Attridge, H. 132.
Aulén, G. 312.
Aune, D. E. 33, 370.
Auslander, P. 51.
Austin, J. L. 219.
Aviam, M. 329–330.

Baarda, T. 288.
Baker, C. M. 369.
Baker, J. A. 347.
Baker, W. 248, 251–252, 254–255.
Balch, D. L. 257.
Ball, D. M. 111.
Baltzer, K. 177.

Bammel, C. P. 340.
Bar-Asher, M. 35, 268.
Barclay, J. M. G. 197, 199, 287.
Bar-Levav, A. 34.
Barr, J. 219.
Barrett, C. K. 81, 121, 205–206.
Barry, J. D. 329.
Bartholomew, C. K. 60.
Barton, D. M. 147.
Barton, J. 13.
Barton, S. C. 229, 304, 364.
Batten, A. 256.
Batto, B. F. 24.
Bauckham, R. E. 143, 183–184, 189, 247–248, 250–251, 253, 255, 302, 312.
Bauer, W. 81, 84, 196, 344.
Baumeister, T. 366.
Baumgarten, J. M. 40–41.
Bauspieß, M. 210.
Beal, T. K. 56–57.
Beaulieu, P. 8.
Beck, R. 54, 56.
Becker, E.-M. 249.
Becker, J. 147.
Becker, M. 97, 118, 164.
Beduhn, J. 355.
Beetham, D. 301.
Beker, J. C. 154, 157–158, 193, 197, 207.
Bell, G. K. A. 75.
Bell, R. H. 299.
Bengel, J. A. 70.
Berger, P. 301, 312.
Bergmeier, R. 201, 203.
Bernstein, M. J. 19–20.
Berube, M. 52.
Best, E. 231.
Bettiolo, P. 299.

- Betz, H. D. 229–230, 232–233.
 Beyer, K. 90.
 Bianchi, U. 17, 343.
 Bietenhard, H. 300.
 Binder, D. B. 328–330.
 Black, C. C. 148.
 Black, M. 154.
 Blackman, E. C. 340, 344.
 Blair, J. M. 362.
 Blomberg, C. L. 250, 252.
 Boccaccini, G. 283.
 Bockmuehl, M. N. A. 19, 315.
 Bohak, G. 337.
 Bonner, C. 337.
 Bonnet, M. 247.
 Borg, M. J. 151.
 Boring, M. E. 104, 192, 197, 303.
 Bornkamm, G. 150, 193.
 Bousset, W. 150, 343–344.
 Bovon, F. 300.
 Bowden, J. S. 313.
 Bowersock, G. W. 366.
 Bowman, C. A. 52.
 Boyarin, D. 35, 366.
 Brand, M. T. 17, 23, 25–27, 31, 37, 39,
 268, 274.
 Brandenburger, E. 282–283, 294.
 Braun, H. 147.
 Breech, E. 283.
 Bremmer, J. N. 246–247, 299, 357.
 Breytenbach, C. 363.
 Briant, P. 9.
 Broadhead, E. K. 121.
 Broer, I. 89.
 Bromiley, G. W. 154, 188.
 Brooke, G. J. 26, 41.
 Brown, D. R. 368.
 Brown, J. K. 233.
 Brown, R. 81.
 Brownlee, W. H. 18.
 Bruce, F. F. 232.
 Buchanan, N. 342.
 Bultmann, R. 82, 112, 150, 190, 192–
 193, 207, 210–215, 222–223.
 Burchard, C. 250, 256.
 Burkitt, F. C. 76.
 Burnet, J. 137.
 Burrows, M. 18.
 Bussell, F. W. 268.
 Butler, H. E. 331–332.
 Byrskog, S. 72.
 Cadoux, A. T. 270.
 Campbell, D. A. 158, 169–170, 172,
 174–176, 184–187, 190, 194, 197,
 199, 207–208, 210, 213, 217–222.
 Carr, A. W. 200.
 Carr, D. 322, 325.
 Carson, D. A. 183.
 Casey, M. 90, 92–93, 97, 143.
 Caspari, C. P. 353.
 Castelli, E. A. 357–358, 371.
 Catto, S. K. 328.
 Caudill, E. M. 153.
 Chadwick, H. 76, 80.
 Charles, R. H. 153.
 Charlesworth, J. H. 18–19, 22, 28–29,
 124, 168, 324.
 Chazon, E. G. 22, 26, 37, 267–268.
 Cheung, L. L. 254, 257, 270.
 Chilton, B. 250.
 Cirillo, T. 65.
 Clark, K. W. 71.
 Clements, R. 268.
 Clements, R. E. 161.
 Coakley, S. 59.
 Cobb, L. S. 357, 371.
 Cohen, J. 49, 57, 60–61, 66–67.
 Cohick, L. H. 329.
 Cole, S. 60.
 Coleman, K. M. 360.
 Collins, J. J. 18, 31, 66, 103, 145, 153,
 162, 173, 180, 273, 283.
 Collins, R. F. 236, 241.
 Colson, F. H. 331.
 Congdon, D. W. 193, 222.
 Conway, C. M. 98.
 Conzelmann, H. 156.
 Cook, E. 324.
 Cook, J. 34.
 Coote, R. B. 322.
 Coppins, W. 201–202.
 Cordero, N.-L. 131.
 Cornford, F. M. 137.
 Cornish, H. K. 205.
 Cornish, P. 59.
 Couenhoven, J. 206.
 Craffert, P. F. 93.

- Crawford, H. 9.
 Crenshaw, J. L. 255.
 Cross, F. L. 343.
 Crossan, J. D. 94, 96, 151, 255.
 Crossley, J. G. 87, 89, 94–96.
 Crouch, J. E. 147.
 Cryer, F. H. 46.
 Cullmann, O. 82, 156.
 Culpepper, R. A. 253.
 Curtis, J. 8.

 Danby, H. 122.
 Danker, F. W. 196.
 Davids, P. H. 260.
 Davids, P. H. 265, 271, 280–281.
 Davidson, M. J. 28.
 Davies, J. P. 169, 184, 221–222.
 Davies, P. R. 29, 32, 161.
 Davies, W. D. 46, 77, 154.
 Davila, J. R. 309.
 Davis, J. B. 159, 169, 208, 217–218.
 Davis, L. 53.
 Davis, W. H. 75.
 Day, J. 13.
 Day, P. L. 1–2, 4, 10–11, 15, 363.
 Deakle, D. W. 348.
 de Boer, M. C. 145, 158–159, 162, 169–170, 172–179, 181, 183–186, 205, 217.
 Decharneux, B. 135.
 Deines, R. 124.
 Deissmann, G. A. 75, 191, 231.
 de Jong, A. 35.
 de Jonge, M. 120.
 del Medico, H. E. 30.
 DeLuca, E. 269.
 DeMello, M. 62.
 Dendle, P. J. 50.
 Deppe, D. 62.
 Derrett, J. D. M. 60.
 Dewey, J. 332.
 de Zwaan, J. 71.
 Dhorme, E. 13.
 Dibelius, M. 250, 270.
 Diels, H. 137.
 Dillon, S. 64.
 Dimant, D. 18, 35, 268.
 Di Segni, L. 265–266.
 DiTommaso, L. 284–285, 289, 298,
 Dochhorn, J. 41.
 Dodd, C. H. 132, 146–147, 225.
 Dohmen, C. 19.
 Donaldson, A. 70, 76.
 Dormandy, R. 103.
 Douglas, M. 52, 54, 65, 67.
 Doutreleau, L. 348.
 Draper, J. A. 122, 125, 135, 323.
 Driggers, I. B. 104.
 Drijvers, H. J. W. 246.
 Drobnick, J. 59, 61.
 Duhaime, J. 18, 29.
 Dunn, J. D. G. 88, 143, 155, 159–160, 190, 192, 198, 207, 210, 213, 215–216.
 Dupont, F. 321.
 Dupont-Sommer, A. 28.

 Eckstein, H.-J. 197, 201.
 Ehrenberg, E. 9.
 Ehrman, B. D. 69, 71–73, 79, 97, 150.
 Eilberg-Schwartz, H. 67.
 Elgvin, T. 35.
 Eliade, M. 17.
 Ellis, N. J. 262, 274.
 Enslin, M. 341.
 Epp, E. J. 70–71.
 Epstein, J. 358.
 Ernst, J. 104.
 Eshbaugh, H. 71.
 Eshel, E. 26, 29, 37–38, 267.
 Eshel, H. 29.
 Esler, P. F. 94, 199, 283, 357.
 Evans, C. A. 32, 132, 250, 277, 328, 337.
 Evans, C. F. 78.
 Evans, P. 5.
 Eve, E. 147, 322, 332.

 Farmer, W. R. 155.
 Farquhar, J. 52.
 Fee, G. D. 72.
 Feine, P. 191.
 Felder, C. H. 256.
 Ferguson, J. 349.
 Fields, W. W. 22.
 Fiensy, D. A. 94–95.
 Filson, F. V. 156.
 Finkel, I. 8.

- Fitzmyer, J. A. 90–91.
 Flannery-Dailey, F. 67.
 Flint, P. W. 19, 22, 37, 364.
 Flusser, D. 37, 267.
 Foerster, W. 346.
 Foley, J. M. 323.
 Forsyth, N. 1, 11.
 France, R. T. 77.
 Frankemölle, H. 252, 255, 270.
 Fredriksen, P. 97, 150.
 Frend, W. H. C. 366.
 Frenschkowski, M. 345.
 Frey, J. 20–21, 29, 97, 118, 124, 163–164, 192.
 Freyne, S. 94, 301.
 Frisch, A. 51.
 Fröhlich, I. 27, 305, 362, 365–366.
 Funk, R. W. 81, 151.
- Gäckle, V. 203.
 Galatzer-Levy, R. M. 54.
 Gamble, H. Y. 337, 355.
 Garland, D. E. 206.
 Garland-Thomson, R. 56.
 Garrett, S. R. 229, 231–232.
 Gathercole, S. J. 119.
 Gaventa, B. R. 169–170, 173, 186, 208, 217–218.
 Gempf, C. H. 225.
 Geoltrain, P. 300.
 George, A. R. 2.
 Geyer, H.-G. 89.
 Gieschen, C. A. 307.
 Gignoux, P. 345.
 Gill, D. W. J. 225.
 Gilliard, F. D. 322.
 Gilmore, D. 50.
 Glazov, G. Y. 254.
 Gmirkin, R. 28, 30.
 Gobel, K. 150.
 Goff, M. J. 41, 152.
 Goheen, M. 60.
 Goodley, D. 53.
 Goppelt, L. 147, 193.
 Gordon, 336–337.
 Gorman, M. J. 188, 220.
 Gounelle, R. 246.
 Grabbe, L. L. 30.
 Graham Brock, A. 300.
- Granfield, P. 79.
 Green, D. E. 147.
 Green, J. B. 78, 233.
 Greenfield, J. C. 38.
 Greig, J. C. G. 110, 197.
 Greschat, K. 341, 344.
 Griffith-Jones, R. 176.
 Griggs, R. 282.
 Grillmeier, A. 312.
 Gruber, M. 54–55.
 Grundmann, W. 235.
 Grutner, D. M. 183.
 Guilbert, P. 19.
 Gundry, R. H. 88.
 Gunkel, H. 184, 282.
 Guyette, F. W. 82.
- Habel, N. C. 13
 Haenchen, E. 81, 231.
 Hafemann, S. J. 160.
 Hägerland, T. 88, 94.
 Hahn, F. 148–149, 193.
 Hall, K. 56.
 Hall, R. G. 309.
 Hannah, D. D. 306.
 Hanson, K. C. 94.
 Hanson, M. 56.
 Hanson, P. D. 13, 146, 153.
 Hardin, J. K. 202.
 Harink, D. K. 159, 169–170, 208, 217.
 Haritaworn, J. 65.
 Harnisch, W. 291.
 Harrington, D. J. 31, 35, 41–42, 90–91.
 Harris, M. J. 196, 208.
 Harris, W. 64.
 Harrison, J. R. 231.
 Harrison, P. N. 343.
 Hartin, P. J. 255, 270.
 Hartman, L. 178.
 Hauge, M. R. 104.
 Head, P. M. 71, 110.
 Hebert, A. G. 312.
 Hefferman, T. J. 358, 360.
 Heil, C. 152.
 Heine, R. 84.
 Helmbold, A. K. 311.
 Helyer, L. R. 59.
 Hempel, C. 32, 41.
 Henderson, I. H. 39, 268.

- Hengel, M. 313.
 Hennecke, E. 246.
 Henze, M. 150, 162, 283.
 Herzog, W. R. 94–95.
 Hezser, C. 322, 337.
 Hicks-Keeton, J. 150.
 Hill, C. E. 322.
 Hobbs, E. 71.
 Hobsbawm, E. J. 95–96.
 Hock, R. F. 232.
 Hoffmann, R. J. 340.
 Hoffmann, Y. 299.
 Hofius, O. 89.
 Hogan, K. M. 283–285, 291, 293–294.
 Holmén, T. 93.
 Holmes, M. W. 69–70.
 Hoover, R. W. 151.
 Horn, F. W. 193, 249, 259.
 Hornby, T. 54.
 Horrell, D. G. 111.
 Horsley, G. H. R. 229.
 Horsley, R. A. 94, 301, 323–334, 336, 338.
 Hort, F. J. A. 71, 77.
 Hoskyns, E. 82.
 Houck, D. W. 49.
 Housman, A. E. 72.
 Houtman, A. 35.
 Howard-Snyder, D. 299.
 Hübner, H. 197.
 Hughes, B. 53.
 Hultin, J. F. 261.
 Hunt, S. D. 115.
 Huppenbauer, H. W. 20.
 Hurtado, L. W. 121, 143, 322–323, 365.
 Hurvitz, A. 3.
 Hutter, M. 366.

 Idel, M. 34.
 Ingham, J. M. 53–54.
 Ingram, H. 88.
 Iser, W. 123.
 Iverson, K. R. 110–111.
 Iwuamadi, L. 105.

 Jackson-McCabe, M. A. 251.
 Jaeger, P. 52.
 Jaffee, M. S. 325.
 James, M. R. 229.

 James, S. 64.
 Japhet, S. 4, 363.
 Jastrow, M. 90.
 Jensen, M. H. 95.
 Jeremias, J. 305.
 Jervell, J. 231.
 Jewett, R. 195, 200, 206–207.
 Johnson, L. T. 257, 271.
 Johnson, W. A. 271, 321–322, 335.
 Jones, F. S. 268.
 Joüon, P. 3.
 Jungmann, J. A. 79.
 Jursa, M. 9.

 Kalin, E. R. 147.
 Kalmanofsky, A. 54.
 Kalms, J. 103.
 Kamell, M. J. 250, 252.
 Kampen, J. 19–20, 34.
 Kannaday, W. 73–74, 79.
 Karmann, T. R. 299.
 Karrer, M. 148.
 Käsemann, E. 149, 154–158, 175, 188, 210, 222.
 Kautsky, J. H. 94.
 Kautzsch, E. 282.
 Kay, J. F. 169.
 Kazen, T. 53–56, 59.
 Kearsley, R. A. 232, 239.
 Keble, J. 205.
 Kee, H. C. 107, 329.
 Keener, C. S. 85, 113.
 Keith, C. 71, 93, 319, 321–322, 324, 327, 329, 332, 365.
 Kelber, W. 323.
 Kensky, M. 263–264, 267.
 Kerr, N. 170.
 Kidd, R. M. 244.
 Kierspel, L. 114.
 Kiewe, A. 49.
 Kinzig, W. 341.
 Kirk, A. 323.
 Kister, M. 35, 39, 268, 273–274, 278, 281.
 Klauck, H.-J. 232.
 Klein, M. 270.
 Klein, T. 251, 256.
 Klijn, A. F. J. 179, 246–248, 287, 291.
 Kloppenborg, J. S. 151, 258, 272, 274–

276.
 Knibb, M. A. 19, 294.
 Knight, H. 13.
 Knight, J. 299, 303, 306–307, 310, 315–317.
 Knoppers, G. N. 4.
 Kobelski, P. J. 26.
 Koester, H. 341.
 Kollmann, B. 246.
 Kolnai, A. 49, 68.
 Kon, G. A. 81.
 Konradt, M. 253, 255, 257, 259.
 Koskeniemi, E. 27, 362.
 Köstenberger, A. 112.
 Kraft, R. A. 22.
 Kramer, R. S. 357.
 Kraus, T. J. 334.
 Kreitzer, L. 153.
 Kristeva, J. 61.
 Kroeker, T. 170.
 Kruger, M. J. 322.
 Kuhn, K. G. 30.
 Kuhrt, A. 9.
 Kümmel, W. G. 147, 193.
 Kvalvaag, R. W. 46.

 Laato, A. 362–363.
 Ladd, G. E. 146.
 Ladouceur, D. J. 50.
 Lander, S. L. 357.
 Landmesser, C. 210.
 Lang, B. 252.
 Lang, M. 125.
 Lange, A. 19, 37–38, 41, 47, 147, 364.
 Lantero, E. H. 150.
 Laperrousaz, E.-M. 28.
 Lawrence, L. J. 49, 51–52.
 Layton, B. 346.
 Leaney, A. R. C. 19.
 Le Donne, A. 71, 93, 98, 99, 321.
 Legge, F. 350.
 Lemke, W. E. 302.
 Leonhardt-Balzer, J. 17, 118–119, 124–126, 132–133, 277.
 Lesley, M. J. 41.
 Levene, D. 337.
 Levine, L. I. 328, 330.
 Levinskaya, I. 232.
 Lewis, G. S. 309.

 Lewis, S. M. 153.
 Licht, J. 22.
 Lichtenberger, H. 30, 36–37, 41, 45, 147, 364.
 Liddon, H. P. 191.
 Lidonnici, L. 66.
 Lieber, A. 66.
 Lieu, J. M. 344, 371.
 Liew, T.-S. B. 99.
 Lightfoot, J. B. 191.
 Lindemann, A. 343.
 Loader, J. A. 23.
 Loader, W. R. G. 89, 128.
 Lock, M. 52.
 Lockett, D. 258.
 Löhr, W. 344, 346.
 Lohse, E. 193.
 Longenecker, B. W. 181, 304, 364.
 Longenecker, R. N. 197.
 Longman, T. 62.
 Lorein, G. W. 365.
 Lowe, W. 170.
 Ludwig, M. 251.
 Luhrmann, D. 104.
 Luther, S. 246, 248–251, 257–258.
 Lüthi, K. 348.
 Luz, U. 304.

 Macaskill, G. 150, 187, 194, 220,
 Macbeth, H. M. 53.
 Mack, B. L. 151.
 Mack, H. 278.
 MacLaurin, E. C. B. 101.
 Maier, G. 259.
 Mangina, J. 170.
 Manhardt, L. 66.
 Mansfeld, J. 288.
 Marcus, G. E. 68.
 Marcus, J. 88, 102, 104, 106, 169, 172, 280.
 Marksches, C. 347.
 Marrow, S. B. 114.
 Marshall, I. H. 79, 238, 243.
 Marshall, J. 354.
 Martin, D. B. 99.
 Martínez, F. G. 19–20, 37, 91, 325, 331, 365.
 Martyn, J. L. 154–155, 158–159, 169–176, 181, 184–186, 190, 201–202,

- 205, 210, 217–219, 221.
 Matlock, R. B. 153, 155, 161–162, 187,
 194, 220.
 May, G. 341, 344–345, 348.
 May, H. G. 3.
 Mbembe, A. 65.
 McBrayer, J. P. 299.
 McBride, S. D. 13.
 McCarter, P. K. 5.
 McCord Adams, M. 299
 McCruer, R. 52.
 McDonough, S. M. 233, 300.
 McGinn, B. 173.
 McGowan, A. 355.
 McGuckin, J. 77.
 McKnight, S. 271–272, 281.
 McLuskey, F. 150.
 McLuskey, I. 150.
 Meeks, W. A. 120, 305.
 Meier, J. P. 77.
 Meiser, M. 341, 344.
 Menninghaus, W. 61.
 Mertz, A. 150–151.
 Meshel, N. 53.
 Metso, S. 19, 22, 26.
 Metzger, B. M. 72, 74–77, 79–81, 83,
 182.
 Meyers, C. L. 3–4
 Meyers, E. M. 3–4, 47.
 Meynet, R. 106.
 Middleton, P. 356, 358, 360, 366, 369–
 371.
 Migliore, D. L. 206.
 Milik, J. T. 26.
 Millar, F. 154.
 Miller, J. 50.
 Miller, P. D. 13, 302.
 Miller, W. 50, 53, 58, 68.
 Misset-van de Weg, M. 35.
 Mitchell, D. 52.
 Mitchell, M. M. 355.
 Mittman, A. S. 50, 56.
 Moll, S. 340–341, 343–345, 347–348,
 350–352, 355–356.
 Moloney, F. J. 81–83, 108.
 Mondésert, C. 349.
 Monserrat, D. 65.
 Moo, D. J. 185, 190, 201, 203, 210,
 212–214, 221, 251, 271, 281,
 Moo, J. 183.
 Moody Smith, D. 148.
 Moore, S. D. 63–64, 99.
 Moore Cross, F. 302.
 Moreschini, C. 349.
 Morgan, C. W. 212.
 Morgan, D. 62.
 Morgan, R. 191.
 Morray-Jones, C. R. A. 122.
 Morris, L. 81.
 Morse, C. 170.
 Moses, R. E. 75–77, 194, 198–202, 206,
 214.
 Moss, C. R. 50, 361.
 Moule, C. F. D. 155.
 Mounce, W. D. 243.
 Moxnes, H. 94, 99.
 Muehlenberg, E. 355.
 Müller, C. G. 251–252.
 Munier, C. 345.
 Muraoka, T. 3, 22.
 Murphy, R. E. 36.
 Mussies, G. 239, 244.
 Mußner, F. 255.
 Musurillo, H. 357.
 Myles, R. J. 99.
 Najman, H. 273.
 Naudé, J. A. 41.
 Nayar, P. K. 56.
 Neander, A. 341.
 Nel, P. J. 252.
 Neufeld, T. Y. 200.
 Neville, D. J. 102.
 Newman, C. C. 309.
 Newman, J. H. 273.
 Newsom, C. 58.
 Nichols, T. 60.
 Nickelsburg, G. W. E. 30, 154, 177–
 179.
 Nicklas, T. 299, 334.
 Niebuhr, K.-W. 124, 259.
 Niebuhr, R. R. 155.
 Nir, R. 180.
 Nitzan, B. 25–27.
 Nobilio, F. 135.
 Nolan, A. 146, 150.
 Norelli, E. 299, 306–307, 319, 344, 356.
 North, R. 28.

- Nussbaum, M. 53, 55.
 Oakes, P. 228.
 Oakman, D. E. 94.
 O'Brien, P. T. 183.
 Oegema, G. S. 39, 268.
 O'Flaherty, W. D. 71.
 Öhler, M. 97, 164.
 Olsson, B. 328–330.
 Olyan, S. 49–50, 52.
 O'Regan, C. 170.

 Pagels, E. 1, 11, 13.
 Pahl, M. W. 259.
 Painter, J. 250.
 Pamment, M. 113–114.
 Pannenberg, W. 312.
 Panourgíá, N. 68.
 Pao, D. W. 300.
 Parker, H. N. 64, 321.
 Parkin, D. 49.
 Parry, D. W. 27.
 Parsons, M. C. 71.
 Parsons, T. 235, 237.
 Pasquali, G. 73.
 Paul, S. M. 22.
 Pearson, B. W. R. 226.
 Penna, R. 300.
 Penner, T. C. 254, 256.
 Pennington, J. T. 233, 300.
 Perkins, J. 371.
 Perrin, N. 233.
 Perrin, N. 305.
 Pesce, M. 299.
 Pesch, R. 104.
 Petersen, D. L. 12.
 Peterson, E. 265–266.
 Peterson, R. A. 212.
 Pietersen, L. K. 235, 237–238, 242–243.
 Pinnick, A. 268.
 Piper, R. A. 111.
 Plumer, E. 111.
 Pokorny, P. 103.
 Pollard, T. E. 112.
 Ponessa, J. 66.
 Pope, M. H. 3, 4, 13–16.
 Popkes, W. 253–255, 271.
 Portenhauser, F. 210.
 Porter, F. C. 280.

 Porter, S. E. 32, 93, 272.
 Portier-Young, A. 63.
 Pouilly, J. 19, 23.
 Preisendanz, K. 229.
 Preuss, J. 59.
 Priebe, D. A. 312.
 Puech, É. 29.
 Pyper, H. 54.

 Quispel, G. 346.

 Rabens, V. 206.
 Rabin, B. 28.
 Rabin, C. 22, 28.
 Raddatz, A. 348.
 Rawls, J. 219.
 Reed, S. 337.
 Rettig, J. W. 84–85.
 Reventlow, H. 299.
 Rey, J.-S. 145, 170.
 Reynolds, B. E. 112.
 Reynolds, B. H. 47.
 Rhoads, D. 322–323, 332.
 Rhodes, E. F. 73.
 Richardson, K. A. 270.
 Riches, J. K. 102, 147.
 Rist, M. 345.
 Röder, J. 250.
 Rodríguez, R. 71, 93, 322, 324.
 Rollston, C. A. 1, 14.
 Römheld, K. F. D. 37, 147, 364.
 Rosen-Zvi, I. 35–36, 38–40, 42, 45–46,
 269, 277–278.
 Ross, J. M. 71.
 Rost, L. 28.
 Roth, D. T. 340.
 Rousseau, A. 348.
 Rowland, C. 112, 122, 162.
 Rowley, H. H. 144–145, 153.
 Rozin, P. 53–54, 62.
 Rudnig-Zelt, S. 41.
 Runions, E. 54.
 Runesson, A. 328–330.
 Rüpke, J. 203.
 Russell, D. S. 145, 153.
 Ryan, J. 329–330.
 Ryken, L. 62.

 Sacchi, P. 31.

- Salisbury, J. E. 357.
 Sand, A. 197.
 Sandahl, C. 51.
 Sandel, M. J. 221.
 Sanders, E. P. 88–89, 93, 97, 181–184, 191.
 Sanders, J. A. 37.
 Sandford, M. J. 98.
 Sandnes, K. O. 199.
 Sanger, D. 259.
 Saunders, N. 59.
 Scarry, E. 63.
 Schafer, P. 122, 123, 304.
 Scherbenske, E. W. 352.
 Schiffman, L. H. 18, 22, 28, 31.
 Schipper, J. 50.
 Schlatter, A. 191, 271, 281.
 Schliesser, B. 192.
 Schlosser, J. 259.
 Schmidt, J. M. 153.
 Schnabel, E. J. 200, 227–228, 232, 256.
 Schnackenburg, R. 81–82.
 Schneemelcher, W. 246.
 Schnelle, U. 124, 148, 192, 195, 197, 213–214, 303.
 Schoeps, H. J. 268.
 Scholem, G. G. 122.
 Schollgen, G. 346.
 Scholten, C. 346.
 Schreiner, T. R. 195.
 Schroter, J. 201–202, 329.
 Schule, E. 350.
 Schultz, B. 29.
 Schurer, E. 154.
 Schussler Fiorenza, E. 94.
 Schwartz, D. 51, 58, 61, 64, 66–67.
 Schweitzer, A. 97, 145, 150.
 Schweizer, E. 147.
 Scornaienchi, L. 253.
 Searle, J. R. 219.
 Segal, A. 122.
 Segal, M. H. 28.
 Seifrid, M. A. 183.
 Sekki, A. E. 45–46.
 Seland, T. 33.
 Sempruch, J. 58.
 Shaw, B. D. 360.
 Short, W. J. 31.
 Silberman, M. 58.
 Silva, M. 205.
 Skinner, C. W. 101, 104, 111, 114–115.
 Smith, D. 81.
 Smith, L. P. 150.
 Smith, M. S. 13, 57, 61.
 Smith-Christopher, D. 66.
 Snyder, H. G. 325.
 Snyder, S. 52.
 Soards, M. L. 169, 172.
 Socoloff, M. 90.
 Soding, T. 22, 147.
 Sontag, S. 59.
 Soper, K. 70.
 Sorensen, E. 121.
 Spicq, C. 82.
 Spitaler, P. 271.
 Spivey, R. A. 148.
 Stanton, G. N. 304, 322, 364.
 Stavrakopoulou, F. 13, 51–52, 62.
 Steck, F. 341.
 Stegemann, E. W. 94.
 Stegemann, H. 147.
 Stegemann, W. 94.
 Stendahl, K. 22.
 Sterling, G. E. 126, 132–133.
 Still, T. 313.
 Stokes, R. E. 4.
 Stone, K. 54.
 Stone, M. E. 38, 184, 188, 282–285, 288–290, 292–294, 302–303.
 Stoops, R. F. 228.
 Strange, J. R. 258.
 Straub, K. 358.
 Strecker, G. 153, 193.
 Strelan, R. 231.
 Strugnell, J. 35, 41–42.
 Stuart, C. 34.
 Stuckenbruck, L. T. 27, 38, 46–48, 118, 142, 145, 154, 164–165, 169–170, 197, 268, 283, 293–296, 364–365.
 Stuhlmacher, P. 160, 191–93.
 Stump, E. 285–286.
 Sturm, R. 158.
 Styers, R. 47.
 Sullivan, C. 313.
 Sullivan, K. P. 306–307.
 Surin, K. 299.
 Sutcliffe, E. F. 22.
 Sykes, S. W. 306.

- Talbert, C. H. 306, 311.
 Talker, G. M. D. 193.
 Tardieu, M. 345.
 Taylor, C. 235–236.
 Taylor, J. E. 18, 89.
 Taylor, M. E. 252.
 Thatcher, T. 321, 323–324, 328.
 Theißen, G. 150–151, 257.
 Thiselton, A. C. 205–206.
 Thompson, T. L. 46.
 Tigchelaar, E. J. C. 18, 35–39, 41, 91,
 324–325, 331, 365.
 Till, K. E. 58.
 Tilling, C. 175, 187, 190–191, 194,
 197–198, 208, 219–220, 223.
 Tilly, M. 149.
 Timpanaro, S. 70.
 Todman, D. 59.
 Tolmie, D. F. 115.
 Torrance, A. J. 221.
 Tov, E. 19, 70–71.
 Towner, P. H. 238, 243,
 Trebilco, P. R. 225–226, 228, 232, 234,
 239–240.
 Tregelles, S. P. 77.
 Trever, J. C. 18.
 Treves, M. 45.
 Truex, J. D. 60, 66.
 Tucker, B. 369.
 Tuckett, C. M. 111.
 Turner, B. 59.
 Twelftree, G. H. 104, 147, 266, 369.

 Ulmer, R. 62.
 Ulrich, E. C. 27.
 Ulrichsen, J. H. 33.

 van den Bergh van Eysinga, G. A. 253,
 255.
 van den Broek, R. 288.
 VanderKam, J. C. 10, 18–19, 22, 29, 37,
 364.
 van der Toorn, K. 322.
 van der Woude, A. S. 19, 37.
 van de Sande Bakhuyzen, W. H. 353.
 van Henten, J. W. 366.
 Veltri, G. 337.
 Vermes, G. 18, 22, 26, 91–93, 154, 171,
 324–325, 331.
 Versnel, H. S. 229–230.
 Vielhauer, P. 153.
 Vinzent, M. 346.
 Viviano, B. T. 259.
 Vlahogiannis, N. 65.
 Volp, U. 249.
 von Campenhausen, H. 346–347.
 von Gemünden, P. 255, 257.
 von Harnack, A. 341–346, 348, 350–
 354, 356.
 von Rad, G. 252.
 von Soden, H. 341, 343–344.
 von Tischendorf, C. 77.

 Wachtel, K. 70.
 Wall, R. W. 251.
 Wallace, D. B. 119.
 Wallraff, M. 322.
 Walls, N. H. 13.
 Walton, S. 224, 233, 239.
 Ward, J. 58.
 Ward, R. B. 264.
 Warner, D. 329.
 Warren, D. H. 300.
 Wasserman, T. 69, 70, 72–73, 81, 110,
 334, 337–338.
 Watson, D. F. 110.
 Watson, F. 207–208, 283.
 Webb, R. L. 258.
 Weder, H. 148.
 Weiss, J. 97, 145, 150.
 Weissenrieder, A. 322.
 Wenger, S. 251, 257.
 Wentz, L. 329.
 Werline, R. A. 165.
 Wernberg-Møller, P. 18.
 Westcott, B. F. 71, 77.
 Wilckens, U. 193.
 Wilhoit, J. C. 62.
 Wilkins, L. L. 312.
 Williams, C. 64.
 Williams, C. H. 112.
 Williams, F. 346.
 Wilson, R. 49.
 Wilson, R. S. 343.
 Wink, W. 199.
 Winn, A. 108.
 Wischmeyer, O. 193, 249, 253, 259.

- Wise, M. 324.
Witherington, B. 200.
Witmer, A. 364, 369.
Wold, B. 34, 41–42, 45, 47.
Wolmarans, H. L. P. 260.
Wolter, M. 192.
Woyke, J. 196, 203.
Wrede, W. 110, 175.
Wright, A. 50.
Wright, A. T. 164, 275, 311, 364.
Wright, J. W. 363.
Wright, N. T. 146–147, 163, 176, 189,
190, 201, 210, 216–217, 219, 222.

Xeravits, G. 18.

Yadin, Y. 22, 28, 30–31.

Yarbro Collins, A. 300.
Yong, A. 199.
Yoshiko Reed, A. 310.
Young, F. M. 355.
Young, I. 3.

Zacharias, H. D. 227, 337.
Zangenberg, J. K. 329.
Zapata Meza, M. 329.
Zetterholm, M. 72.
Ziegler, P. G. 169.
Zimmermann, R. 115, 246, 249–250,
259.
Zur, Y. 41.
Zwiep, A. W. 50–51.