

# The Gospel of Matthew

Edited by  
JOSEPH VERHEYDEN,  
JENS SCHRÖTER,  
and DAVID C. SIM

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament  
477*

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**Mohr Siebeck**

# Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

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477





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Studies on Its Composition,  
Theology, and Early Reception

Edited by

Joseph Verheyden, Jens Schröter,  
and David C. Sim

Mohr Siebeck

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## Table of Contents

Preface . . . . .	VII
Abbreviations . . . . .	IX
JOSEPH VERHEYDEN, JENS SCHRÖTER, and DAVID C. SIM	
Introduction . . . . .	1
CHRISTOPHER TUCKETT	
Matthew and the Synoptic Problem . . . . .	7
DANIEL A. SMITH	
What Matthew Made of Q: The Sayings Gospel as Source and Resource . . . . .	27
FLORIAN WILK	
Das Verhältnis Jesu zur Schriftprophetie nach der Darstellung des Matthäus . . . . .	55
ERNST BAASLAND	
Matthew and His Speeches, in Particular the “Inaugural Speech”: Was Matthew a Compiler or a Creative Author? . . . . .	81
JENS SCHRÖTER	
Matthew between Mark and the Pharisees . . . . .	127
BORIS REPSCHINSKI	
Kingdoms of the Earth and the Kingdom of the Heavens: Matthew’s Perspective on Political Power . . . . .	149
ANDERS RUNESSON	
Who Killed Jesus and Why? The Jewish Nature of Matthew’s Anti-Imperial Polemics . . . . .	179

CAROLIN ZIETHE Notwendige Davidsohnschaft für das Heil der Völker? Der Versuch einer Verhältnisbestimmung von David- und Gottessohnschaft Jesu im Rahmen der partikular wie universal ausgerichteten Dimension des Heils im Matthäusevangelium . . . . .	195
HEIKO WOJTKOWIAK Handeln im Lichte des Gerichts: Matthäus' Eschatologie und ihr soteriologischer Ursprung . . . . .	223
PAUL FOSTER Ignatius of Antioch's Reception of the Gospel of Matthew . . . . .	249
JOSEPH VERHEYDEN Irenaeus and the Gospel of Matthew . . . . .	289
IAN BOXALL Origen's <i>Commentary on Matthew</i> and the Reception of Matthew's Gospel . . . . .	321
List of Contributors . . . . .	341
Index of Modern Authors . . . . .	343
Index of Biblical References . . . . .	351
Index of Ancient Authors and Writings . . . . .	375

## Preface

The better part of the essays in this volume were originally presented at a colloquium held at the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies at KU Leuven from 3–5 December, 2018. The colloquium was linked to an international research project studying texts and traditions from the perspective of identity creation that is coordinated by colleagues from Australian Catholic University (ACU), Durham University and KU Leuven (J. Verheyden).

The editors wish to acknowledge the substantial financial support they received from ACU in organising the colloquium.

Joseph Verheyden  
Jens Schröter  
David Sim





## Abbreviations

ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BiTS	Biblical Tools and Studies
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
EKK	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar
ETL	Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses
EvT	Evangelische Theologie
EWNT	Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament
FzB	Forschung zur Bibel
HeyJ	The Heythrop Journal
HTKAT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
ICC	International Critical Commentary
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JSHJ	Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament. Supplement Series
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
NICNT	The New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIGTC	The New International Greek Testament Commentary
NT.S	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NTA.NF	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen. Neue Folge
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
NTS	New Testament Studies
RGG	Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies. Monograph Series
TLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZKT	Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche



# Introduction

JOSEPH VERHEYDEN, JENS SCHRÖTER, AND DAVID C. SIM

The Gospel of Matthew is placed first in the canon of the New Testament part of the Christian Bible. For that reason, it has traditionally been given a special place among the gospels. The fact that it was, from early on, attributed to one of the apostles obviously contributed to its significance. The fact that it contains quite a lot of material that is not found in the Gospel of Mark, its commonly accepted source, added to its importance. It soon became the gospel that was apparently most widely circulated and received, and the one that for a long time was thought to be the oldest gospel. All of this helped to promote Matthew's gospel to a status that it has never lost throughout the history of its interpretation, even though its place among the gospels has changed over time.

The present volume offers a collection of essays on the importance of Matthew's gospel and the special place it takes among the canonical gospels from the perspective of what is characteristically or distinctively "Matthean" about it. This common focus provides ample occasions for interesting analyses of core aspects of Matthew's composition technique, his theology, and his reception in mainstream Christianity. At the same time, it tries to throw light on questions of a broader character with regard to the composition history of the gospels in the formative years of Christianity, the strategies an author can use to create distinction, and the selection process that seems to have played in the reception history of these gospels. This is done along three lines of research, each of them with its own long history not devoid of important developments. The first line is that of Matthew's use of his sources and his place in the genealogy of the gospels. Matthew has long been considered the oldest gospel, but in modern scholarship it has gradually been moved to a middle position between Mark and Luke, or at least to a position after Mark. Most recently several scholars have even defended the view that Matthew's is the last of the three synoptic gospels, tributary to the two that preceded it. These developments clearly have important consequences for assessing the distinctive character of this gospel and its significance among its peers.

Three aspects are addressed in more detail. Christopher Tuckett (Oxford) enters in dialogue with two recent studies that have drawn attention to specific aspects of the Synoptic Problem: Robert Derrenbacher's monograph on *Ancient Compositional Practices and the Synoptic Problem* (2005) and Alan Kirk's *Q in Matthew: Ancient Media, Memory, and Early Scribal Transmission of the Jesus Tradition* (2016). The two have in common that they open up the perspective and invite studying the relationship between the first three gospels involving other aspects than the mere "synoptic look" and use these to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the various synoptic theories that are on the table. The first element is not an uncommon one in much of recent scholarship; the other is not always developed and assessed to its full significance. Derrenbacher has drawn attention to the practical aspects of working with written sources in antiquity. Kirk adds to it the role of memory and memorising in handling and transmitting these sources. Tuckett is sympathetic to both approaches and proposes additional support for Derrenbacher's, but he is slightly more critical for Kirk's, questioning the notion and indeed existence of authoritative Christian writings at this early stage and challenging Kirk on how to explain the differences there clearly are in Matthew's handling of Mark and of Q.

Daniel A. Smith (Huron University, London, ONT) focuses on Matthew's handling of his second source, Q. He argues that the diverse ways in which the evangelist transformed the material, language and interests of Q reveal the value of the source. Smith examines Matthew's at times quite creative redactional tendencies in working with Q material that show his dependence on the source. Among the compositional techniques Matthew uses are modified copying and transposing material and repetition of Q stock phrases and vocabulary, but also imitation of Q phraseology in a Markan context and combining Q with new material. Smith illustrates this from well-chosen case studies.

Florian Wilk (Göttingen) studies Matthew's "third source," his use of Old Testament material, especially in presenting Jesus in the context of Jewish prophetic tradition. Wilk first surveys relevant material relating to John the Baptist, Jesus, and the disciples, offering synopses of Matthew's reworking of Mark or Q material in this respect. He follows up with a survey of how Jesus is presented as citing from Scripture, or referring to it, as part of the message he wishes to convey. This plays a particularly important role in controversies, but it also is used in contexts in which Jesus is said to address his disciples. Matthew presents Jesus as "Ziel und Ende" of the Jewish prophetic tradition in as much as he brings this tradition to fulfilment.

The second line of studies deals with a selection of important theological themes that receive special attention in Matthew's gospel and are there presented in a specific and in part also innovative and distinctive way that goes beyond what the evangelist had found in his sources. The questions to be addressed in this

respect have to do with the context and reasons why Matthew decided to go beyond tradition by adding new material, some of which may have its roots in tradition, but some certainly also stems from his pen and was meant to answer or solve issues that he or his community thought to be vital. This part contains six essays.

Ernst Baasland (Oslo/Stavanger) contributes an essay on Matthew's reworking of the Sermon on the Mount (Jesus "Inaugural speech"). He surveys the role played by Q, Mark, and Sondergut material in Matthew's composition, dwells on the "Jewish" character of the discourse and the source material incorporated in it, and adds a substantial comparison with how Matthew devised his other discourses on the basis of source material. While recognising the uncertainties that remain, Baasland nevertheless concludes quite firmly that Matthew is best not called the "author" of his own discourses, but rather looks more (like something of) a compiler.

Jens Schröter (Berlin) looks for Matthew's place in formative Judaism and Christianity and finds it somewhere in between Mark and the Pharisees ("Mark to his left, the Pharisees to his right"). The gospel basically is the product of a reworking of a source dealing with the message and ministry of Jesus (Mark) and the portrayal of a conflict with Jewish religious circles. Matthew in part rewrites and "corrects" Mark with regard to the status of the law for Jesus and his followers and the importance of a mission outside the Jewish orbit. On the other front he faces criticism, quite ironically, of those who think Jesus poses a danger for maintaining the law. The two fronts are of course connected in their opposite positions, but Matthew promotes a viable way to safely steer his ship through the sandbanks.

Boris Repschinski (Innsbruck) revisits recent scholarship on the vexed question in how far Matthew's gospel is engaged in a confrontation with the ruling political powers. Against the view that Matthew is critical of Rome and utmost vocal about it (see, e.g., W. Carter, D. Sim), Repschinski argues that its evangelist is rather more sceptical about any earthly political power and develops a model in which the notion of power itself is transformed and heavenly power substitutes and discards any sort of earthly power. Matthew is not blind for acts of oppression in this world and the suffering that comes with it, but the answer he provides is not revolt, or not the type of revolt one naturally associates with opposing oppression, but the promotion of a different world order altogether. Jesus preaches distancing and evokes an eschatological future in which God will triumph, but judgment vocabulary is remarkably downplayed when compared with similar passages on the end of times in his sources.

Anders Runesson (Oslo) deals with the same topic but from a different angle. Taking his clue from notorious passages, such as Mt 27:25, Runesson argues that Matthew should not be read as an attempt at excusing Rome at the expense of Jewish authorities (or "Judaism" as a whole) in assigning responsibility for the

trial and death of Jesus. Reading Matthew as reflecting an inner-Jewish conflict in which “the Roman factor” plays a not unimportant role, Runesson finds the context and background of the gospel in a perspective that regards Rome and the highest Jewish religious authorities as mere tools for executing God’s plan, but makes the Pharisees the real cause of Jerusalem’s downfall.

Carolin Ziethe (Heidelberg) studies the role of the title and notion of the “son of David” in Matthew’s gospel in light of the soteriological interests of the evangelist. Presenting Jesus as the Messiah, son of David and son of God, situates him in a complex web of traditions that are partly interconnected, especially also when looked on it from the soteriological connotations that are linked to the titles. As son of David, Jesus is the saviour of Israel, but at the same time he is also the obedient son of the Father. The latter is particularly useful in interpreting the fate of this self-proclaimed son of David. His death, in turn, is a crucial factor in the salvation process that was inaugurated with his ministry. Ziethe emphasises the links between Christology and soteriology, and between these two and the future of Israel as seen by Matthew, which means, a future that includes “the nations” and in this respect is firmly rooted in biblical tradition.

Heiko Wojtkowiak (Göttingen) studies Matthew’s soteriology from an eschatological angle. Matthew stresses the importance of action, understood as living in accordance with God’s will, over confessing in order to be saved, elaborates at great length the topic of judgement, including vivid descriptions of punishment and reward, and gives much emphasis to that of the Kingdom over belonging to the community which does not seem to have such an importance in this respect. Wojtkowiak pays due attention to Matthew’s handling of his source material, all while pointing out that the evangelist keeps focused on his own interests, among them the purpose of reading theological tensions in an eschatological perspective.

The third line of research addressed in this volume is that of the earliest reception of the gospel, which in its own way may help to highlight Matthew’s importance and singularity within the gospel tradition. Indeed, quite contrary to Mark and Luke, whose gospels seem to have gone largely unnoticed, Matthew was massively received from the very beginning and all through the second century. Things did not change fundamentally for him once the other gospels (Luke, John) also started to be received on a broader scale, as Matthew seems to have maintained its place as the favourite of early Christian commentators. The central question that is addressed in this respect is: why Matthew and why so massively and persistently? This is illustrated from three case studies focusing on important figures in the early history of Christianity.

Paul Foster (Edinburgh) concentrates on Ignatius of Antioch. He opens with some methodological reflections on how to discern and identify literary de-

pendence on synoptic traditions (or the gospels), then makes his plea for Ignatius' literary dependence on Matthew's gospel as illustrated from a couple of case studies, before widening the horizon to argue for Ignatius' being familiar with other gospel traditions (though not other gospels). Foster adds two more topics when asking whether Ignatius may have personally been acquainted with Matthew and exploring how the so-called longer recension of Ignatius' letters shows further influence of dependence on the gospel. Foster has put together a solid dossier in favour of Ignatius' familiarity with the gospel as one source of inspiration in composing his letters.

Joseph Verheyden (Leuven) studies evidence for Irenaeus' dependence on Matthew as the leading gospel among the four when it comes to exploiting it for arguments in fighting off opponents. Matthew is one of the four, on equal foot with the others, yet also the one Irenaeus favours in practice when looking for ammunition. Matthew's is the gospel he turns to for formulating the decisive argument in a reasoning. And Matthew's is the source of inspiration for putting together an argument. Verheyden analyses several cases to illustrate how Irenaeus handles this one gospel in a most favourable and respectful way.

Ian Boxall (CUA Washington) focuses on Origen's *Commentary on Matthew*, studying how the work came about, how it builds on the gospel's popularity in the previous century, and how the interpreter finds inspiration and solutions in this gospel for addressing contemporary issues in matters of ecclesiology and biblical exegesis. Boxall also studies through several examples how Origen makes his reading of Matthew fit the horizon and concerns of a gentile-Christian readership, but also how he handles Matthew's parables and interest in apocalyptic scenery, and even how his own radical ideas on asceticism have marked the interpretation of Matthew by later generations.

Together, these three lines of research, or three approaches of Matthew's gospel, even though of necessity selective, may give the reader useful insights in how Matthew handled his sources in a given Synoptic hypothesis, how he dealt with some important theological themes, and how he was received and appreciated by early Christian authors.





# Matthew and the Synoptic Problem

CHRISTOPHER TUCKETT

Study of the Synoptic Problem continues to attract a significant level of interest, at least amongst some. It is probably true to say that the most widely held solution to the Synoptic Problem remains some form of the “Two Document Hypothesis” (2DH) with its twin poles of the theory of Markan priority and the existence of some kind of “Q” source. However, both these poles have been questioned, especially in recent years. In the second half of the twentieth century, the theory of Markan priority was radically questioned by advocates of the “Griesbach/Two Gospel hypothesis” (2GH), arguing that Mark was a later conflation of Matthew and Luke.<sup>1</sup> And more recently, the existence of Q has been questioned by advocates of the so-called “Farrer hypothesis” (FH), accepting the theory of Markan priority but arguing for Luke’s knowledge and direct use of Matthew to explain agreements in the “double tradition” (rather than the existence of a Q source).<sup>2</sup> These two alternatives to the 2DH are perhaps the most influential alternatives to the 2DH over the last 50 years or so:

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<sup>1</sup> See especially W.R. FARMER, *The Synoptic Problem: A Critical Appraisal* (New York: Macmillan, 1964), whose publication effectively marked the beginning of the revival of the GH/2GH in the modern era. Further significant publications defending the theory include D.L. DUNGAN, “The Purpose and Provenance of the Gospel of Mark according to the ‘Two-Gospel’ (Owen-Griesbach) Hypothesis,” in W.R. FARMER (ed.), *New Synoptic Studies* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1983), 411–40; various essays in D.L. DUNGAN (ed.), *The Interrelations of the Gospels*, BETL 95 (Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peters, 1990); A.J. McNICOL *et al.*, *Beyond the Q Impasse: Luke’s Use of Matthew* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1996); D.B. PEABODY *et al.*, *One Gospel from Two: Mark’s Use of Matthew and Luke* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2002); D. NEVILLE, *Mark’s Gospel – Prior or Posterior? A Reappraisal of the Phenomenon of Order*, JSNTSup 222 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002).

<sup>2</sup> The name given to the theory has varied. In the modern era, the theory is often traced back to the programmatic essay of A. FARRER, “On Dispensing with Q,” in D.E. NINEHAM (ed.), *Studies in the Gospels in Memory of R.H. Lightfoot* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1955), 57–88; see also M.D. GOULDER, “On Putting Q to the Test,” in *NTS* 24 (1978), 218–34, and *Luke: A New Paradigm*, JSNTSup 20 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989); M.S. GOODACRE, *The Case against Q: Studies in Markan Priority and the Synoptic Problem* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2002); essays in M. GOODACRE and N. PERRIN (eds.), *Questioning Q: A Multi-dimensional Critique* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2004), and J.C. POIRIER and J. PETERSON (eds.), *Markan Priority without Q*, LNTS 455 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark,

other solutions have been proposed by individuals from time to time but have never gathered so much common support as the 2GH and the FH.<sup>3</sup>

The effect of these modern challenges to the “standard” solution to the Synoptic Problem has not generally been to change the dominant view; but such challenges have served to highlight the provisional nature of any proposed solutions and to tone down any claims to “certainty” in the field. Further, the modern debates have helped to clarify the way in which all our proposed “solutions” to the Synoptic Problem are “hypotheses,” and represent simplifications and idealisations of what was probably a far more complex situation in reality.<sup>4</sup>

As well as toning down unwarranted claims to certainty about solutions to the Synoptic Problem, more recent studies have focused to an increasing extent on the physical, and social, realities of the production of written texts in the first century as perhaps throwing light on theories of synoptic origins. Such issues are not necessarily entirely new,<sup>5</sup> but the last 20 years or so have seen an ever-increasing focus on the physical realities of writing and reading, the activity of authors and scribes in using sources (with greater attention perhaps to the ways in which other Greco-Roman authors at the time used sources in writing their

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2015); F. B. WATSON, “Q as Hypothesis: A Study in Methodology,” in *NTS* 55 (2009), 397–415, and *Gospel Writing: A Canonical Perspective* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2013).

<sup>3</sup> The list is almost endless! In the modern era, see the work of e.g. Boismard, Gaboury, Rolland; in the slightly earlier period (i.e. the first half of the twentieth century), the Augustinian hypothesis (Mark using Matthew, Luke using Mark and Matthew) was defended by a number of (mostly Roman Catholic) scholars, perhaps under the influence of pressure from Pontifical Biblical Commission. In the most recent period, one might mention authors advocating some form of Matthean posteriority: see R. K. MACEWEN, *Matthean Posteriority: An Exploration of Matthew’s Use of Mark and Luke as a Solution to the Synoptic Problem*, *LNTS* 501 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015); A. GARROW, “Streeter’s ‘Other’ Synoptic Solution: The Matthew Conflator Hypothesis,” in *NTS* 62 (2016), 207–26, and “An Extant Instance of ‘Q,’” in *NTS* 62 (2016), 398–417; also the defence of a “Proto-Mark” theory by D. BURKETT, *Rethinking the Gospel Sources* (London/New York: T&T Clark International, 2004), and *The Case for Proto-Mark*, *WUNT* 300 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018).

<sup>4</sup> To take one example, all the main “solutions” to the Synoptic Problem today posit the use of one gospel by two other evangelists (for the 2DH and the FH, Mark was used by Matthew and Luke; for the 2GH, Matthew was used by Luke and Mark). For the purposes of critical analysis and debate, it is almost always assumed that the earlier source used by both later writers was effectively the same text. Yet it seems highly unlikely that the later two writers will have had access to the same *manuscript* of the earlier source: almost certainly they will have used different manuscripts. And in a pre-printing era, it is inevitable that the text will have been changed in any copying process, so that the exact text of two manuscripts will never be identical. On the hypothesis that, say, Matthew and Luke used Mark, with a presumption (usually unstated) that it was exactly the *same* textual version of Mark used by both, is clearly a simplification of what was originally a more complex situation. On “hypotheses” as “solutions” to the Synoptic Problem, see further J. S. KLOPPENBORG, *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 50–4: “hypotheses are heuristic models intended to aid comprehension and discovery; they do not replicate reality” (51).

<sup>5</sup> See e.g. W. SANDAY, “The Conditions under Which the Gospels Were Written, and Their Bearing upon Some Difficulties of the Synoptic Problem,” in *Id.* (ed.), *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1911), 3–26.

own works), as well as cognizance taken of the importance of memory in the writing process. For many, consideration of these issues have focused attention on some aspects of the Synoptic Problem very acutely and raised serious questions about the viability, or plausibility, of various source theories. Indeed, such considerations have thrown up questions about almost all current source theories and have shown us that no theory is immune from difficulties, problems and potential anomalies.

It is however striking that, in many modern discussions of the Synoptic Problem, the Gospel of Matthew has often *not* been the prime focus of attention.<sup>6</sup> In discussions of the 2DH, the focus has been, as often as not, on Mark, with attempts to show how Mark's contents and order are best explained by being the first gospel to be written and then used as a source by Matthew and Luke. Matthew does enter in this discussion in part, perhaps to consider the different order of Markan materials in the first half of the gospel; but this is generally felt to be reasonably satisfactorily explained (albeit in general terms) by Matthew's desire to create his five teaching blocks thematically arranged (Matthew 5–7, 10, 13, 18, 24–5) and by a general policy of being willing to change the order of his sources.<sup>7</sup> More details about Matthew's rearrangement (e.g. in Matthew 8–9) are debated and disputed, but these are rarely felt to challenge the 2DH itself (though see below). For the "double tradition" material, the focus of attention has often been on Luke, and the alleged difficulty of explaining Luke's agreements with Matthew on the basis of Luke using Matthew alone (hence leading to the invoking of a Q source to explain the Matthew–Luke agreements). For whatever reason, the possibility that Matthew might have used Luke is very often summarily dismissed from any serious consideration at the outset of any argument.<sup>8</sup>

For the 2GH, the prime attention in the earlier years of its modern revival (in the work of Farmer and others) was again on the text of Mark, seeking to show that Mark could – and/or should – be explained as a secondary conflation of Matthew and Luke.<sup>9</sup> In subsequent studies, more work was done on Luke, seeking to show that Luke's agreements with Matthew could and should be seen as a direct reworking of Matthew alone.<sup>10</sup> But Matthew, as the putative first gospel in the sequence, was then left on its own and its own possible sources left unexplored (in one way quite rightly, since the Synoptic Problem seeks to explain the relationships between the three synoptic gospels, and hence to clarify the histo-

<sup>6</sup> The recent book of Alan Kirk is one notable exception: see below.

<sup>7</sup> On the 2DH, it is generally assumed that Luke preserves the order of Q mostly unchanged, and Matthew has reordered Q.

<sup>8</sup> Why this should be so is not always clear (at least to me!). But see now more recent advocates of a possible Matthean posteriority paradigm (MacEwen and Garrow as in n. 3 above).

<sup>9</sup> This was certainly the case in the work of Farmer and Dungan in the early days of the modern defences of the 2GH.

<sup>10</sup> See e.g. the volume by McNICOL *et al.*, *Beyond the Q Impasse*.

ry of the tradition *after* the first gospel has been written).<sup>11</sup> Similarly, most modern advocates of the FH in arguing against the existence of Q, have focused on Luke's gospel, seeking to explain Luke's text as derived from Mark and Matthew; any discussion of Matthew has often been sidelined, it being simply assumed that Markan priority explains the Mark–Matthew agreements and any other possible sources which Matthew might have used are irrelevant to the study of the Synoptic Problem as such sources *ex hypothesi* do not relate directly to the Matthew–Luke agreements.<sup>12</sup>

However, Matthew has been to the forefront of discussion in relation to two recent discussions of the Synoptic problem with claims that Matthew's text could pose serious difficulties for the 2DH (especially Markan priority) – perhaps ironically both in the work of scholars who are staunch advocates of the 2DH: Robert Derrenbacher and Alan Kirk.

## I. Derrenbacher

Robert Derrenbacher's important monograph was first published in 2005, and he has since written further essays.<sup>13</sup> His work has above all highlighted the importance of taking note of how other ancient writers used sources and combined them into a new narrative,<sup>14</sup> as well as focusing on the physical logistics of

<sup>11</sup> Though one may note here the way in which Farmer argued that Matthew may be the earliest gospel by virtue of the fact that it is the most "Jewish," and that later gospels reflected the way in which Christianity became less Jewish as the movement spread outside Palestine: see FARMER, *Synoptic Problem*, 227–8; the claim that Matthew is the most "Jewish" of the gospels and also best represents the viewpoint of the "historical" (and "authentic"!) Jesus, is developed further in W. R. FARMER, *The Gospel of Jesus. The Pastoral Relevance of the Synoptic Problem* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1994). Whether one can posit such a neat, unilinear development in the course of Christianity (and by derivation also in the chronological sequence of the canonical gospels) is at the very least debatable!

<sup>12</sup> Needless to say, there has been very considerable variation by advocates of the FH on the proposed sources lying behind Matthew, ranging e. g. from Goulder (advocating virtually no direct sources at all, the non-Markan material in Matthew being due to Matthew's creativity based on his knowledge and use of Jewish scripture) to Watson (advocating possible extensive sources available to, and used by, Matthew for a lot of his non-Markan material).

<sup>13</sup> See R. A. DERRENBACHER, *Ancient Compositional Practices and the Synoptic Problem*, BETL 186 (Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 2005), and his further essays, including "The External and Psychological Conditions under which the Synoptic Gospels Were Written: Ancient Compositional Practices and the Synoptic Problem," in P. FOSTER, A. GREGORY, J. S. KLOPPENBORG, J. VERHEYDEN (eds.), *New Studies in the Synoptic Problem: Oxford Conference, April 2008. Essays in Honour of Christopher M. Tuckett*, BETL 239 (Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2011), 435–57, and "Ancient Literacy, Ancient Literary Dependence, Ancient Media, and the Triple Tradition," in W. E. ARNAL, R. S. ASCOUGH, R. A. DERRENBACHER, P. A. HARLAND (eds.), *Scribal Practices and Social Structures among Jesus Adherents: Essays in Honour of John S. Kloppenborg*, BETL 285 (Leuven/Paris/Bristol, CT: Peeters, 2016), 43–70.

<sup>14</sup> In this, Derrenbacher continues the work of Gerald Downing: see various essays in F. G.

## Index of Modern Authors

AALLEN, S.	115	BECKER, E.-M.	35 128 131
ÅDNA, J.	218-9		149-50 152
ALAND, B.	86 109		179 321
ALBRIGHT, W.F.	203	BECKER, H.-J.	229
ALLISON, D.C.	34 36-7 43-4	BEHR, J.	291 294 307
	46-8 50 52 63		312
	67 83 103	BELLINI, E.	334
	109-10 122-3	BENZ, E.	337 339
	134 136 141	BERG, I.C.	238
	153 166 174-5	BERGEMANN, T.	90
	201 212 232-4	BERGFALK, B.	203
	236-7 252 258	BETZ, H.D.	82 85 103-4
	274-5 323 333	BETZ, O.	81 101
	335 337	BIERINGER, R.	134
ARNAL, W.E.	10 13 28 50	BIETENHARD, H.	328
ASCOUGH, R.S.	10 28	BINDER, D.D.	189
AUNE, D.E.	219	BINGHAM, D.J.	291-6
AURELIUS, E.	209		298-308 310-3
AYROULET, E.	294		315-9
		BIRDSALL, J.N.	333
BAASLAND, E.	3 81-2 89	BLANCHARD, Y.-M.	291
	103-4	BLANTON IV, T.R.	153 161
BACKHAUS, K.	129	BLASS, F.	235-6
BACON, B.W.	84	BLOMBERG, C.L.	55
BACQ, P.	309-10	BLOWERS, P.M.	330-1
BALABANSKI, V.	216	BLUMENTHAL, C.	166 169 171
BARCLAY, J.M.G.	181	BOCCACCINI, G.	41
BARNES, T.D.	273 286	BOCKMUEHL, M.N.A.	149
BARQ, B.	261	BOISMARD, M.-É.	8
BARTH, G.	56 241	BORMANN, L.	231
BASTIT, A.	291	BORNKAMM, G.	56 85 129 141
BATELY, J.M.	250		241 245 335
BAUCKHAM, R.	115 292	BOSENIUS, B.	170
BAUER, W.	158	BOTHA, J.E.	112
BAUR, F.C.	82 84 124	BOTTERWECK, G.J.	214
BEALE, G.K.	55	BOVON, F.	61 257
BEARE, F.W.	117 209	BOXALL, I.	5 149 321 326
BEATON, R.	56 77 214		335
	216-7	BOYARIN, D.	84
BECKER, A.H.	330	BRIGGMAN, A.	291 296 306

BROADHEAD, E.K.	83 127 150		201 212 232-4
BROER, I.	228		236 258 274-5
BROWN, R.E.	205 274 278		333 335 337
BROWN, S.	196	DE ANDIA, Y.	317
BULTMANN, R.	35-6 81-2 97	DEBRUNNER, A.	235-6
	104 114 271	DECONICK, A.D.	261
BURCHARD, C.	71 103	DEINES, R.	101 103 149
BURKETT, D.	8 14 228		224 232 234
BURRIDGE, R.A.	149		240
BURTON, E.D.	99	DE LANGE, N.R.M.	328 330-2
BUSHUR, J.G.	310	DELEECK, H.	320
BUSSMANN, W.	100	DELOBEL, J.	231
BUTTICAZ, S.	130	DE LUBAC, H.	325
BYRNE, B.	208	DENAU, A.	94
BYRSKOG, S.	19 86 103	DEN DULK, M.	290
		DERRENBACKER, R.A.	2 10-3 25 28 87
CAREY, G.	174	DETTWILER, A.	130
CARGAL, T.B.	248	DE WETTE, W.M.L.	89
CARRUTH, S.	167	DIBELIUS, M.	92
CARSON, D.A.	55	DILLON, J.M.	334
CARTER, W.	3 150-7 159	DOBBELER, A. VON	196 211
	161-2 172 181	DODD, C.H.	129 172
	190 329	DONALDSON, T.L.	191
CATCHPOLE, D.	87	DOOLE, J.A.	22 28 88 96
CHADWICK, H.	323		132-3 150 244
CHANCEY, M.A.	214	DORFBAUER, L.J.	322
CHARLESWORTH, J.	81	DOUTRELEAU, L.	292-3 300 302
CHILTON, B.D.	143-4		307 310 312
CHUNG, J.M.	152	DOWNING, F.G.	11
CLARK, K.W.	82 163	DRAPER, J.	249
CLEMENTS, R.E.	214	DROBNER, H.R.	323
CLIFFORD, R.J.	336	DU TOIT, A.B.	166 169
COHEN, A.	182	DULING, D.C.	50 198
COHEN, S.J.D.	144	DUNDERBERG, I.	187
CONZELMANN, H.	81 84-5	DUNGAN, D.L.	7 9 88
CRAMER, J.A.	314	DUNN, J.D.G.	86 329
CRAWFORD, M.R.	327	DUPONT, J.	91
CROUZEL, H.	325 330	DZIADOWIEC, A.	323
CULLMANN, O.	81		
		EBNER, M.	153
DAHL, N.A.	81	ECKSTEIN, H.-J.	201-2
DALY, R.J.	336	EDWARDS, R.A.	245
DANIÉLOU, J.	335	EHRMAN, B.D.	86 281
DAVIES, W.D.	34 36-7 43-4	EICHHOLZ, G.	85
	46-8 50 52 63	ELLIS, P.F.	106
	67 83 103	EULER, A.	22 68 127 165
	109-10 122-3		199 224
	134 136 141	EVANG, M.	236
	153 166 174-5	EVANS, C.A.	56 189

FARMER, W.R.	7 9-10	GOODACRE, M.S.	7 13-4 30-1
FARRER, A.	7 131	GOULDER, M.D.	7 10 131 333
FELDMEIER, R.	211 231	GOWLER, D.B.	334-5
FENEBERG, R.	204	GRÄSSER, E.	242-3
FIEDLER, P.	69 114 141 203	GREER, R.A.	250
	215	GREEVEN, H.	92
FIENSY, D.A.	187	GREGORY, A.F.	10 27 100 131
FISCHER, I.	217		251 253-4 290
FLEDDERMANN, H.T.	34 88 97		326 332
FLINT, P.W.	57	GRENFELL, B.P.	260
FOSTER, P.	4 10 13 27 100	GRINDHEIM, S.	115
	131 249-51	GROSSETESTE, R.	280
	253 256 260	GUIGNARD, C.	291
	265-6 271 273	GUNDRY, R.H.	34 37 50 52 56
	283 285-6 298		157 207 217
	326		234 276 331
FOSTER, R.	169-70	GURTNER, D.M.	149 151 182
FRANCE, R.T.	109 157 205		
	262 333	HÄFNER, G.	131
FRANKEMÖLLE, H.	196 201	HAGNER, D.A.	109 191
FRANKLIN, E.	18	HAMILTON, C.S.	183 185 193
FREEDMAN, D.N.	104 143	HAMMOND, C.P.	322 325
FREY, J.	260	HANNAH, J.W.	286-7
FREYNE, S.	131 187	HANSON, R.P.C.	325 336-7
FRID, B.	95	HARB, G.	29 32-3
FRIEDLANDER, G.	101-2	HARE, D.R.A.	335
FUCHS, A.	133	HARLAND, P.A.	10 28 159
		HARNACK, A. VON	35-6 95 259
GABOURY, A.	8	HARRINGTON, D.J.	130 149-50
GARLAND, D.E.	117 121		201 207 333
GARROW, A.J.P.	8-9 249 326		337
GATHERCOLE, S.	253 261	HARTENSTEIN, F.	212
GEIST, H.	237	HARTMAN, L.	92 119
GEMEINHARDT, P.	75	HAWKINS, J.C.	100
GERDMAR, A.	82	HEIDL, G.	340
GERHARDSSON, B.	19 21 86 92	HEIL, C.	27 29 32-3 47
	112		52 88
GERTZ, J.C.	212	HEINE, R.E.	323-5 329-32
GIBBS, J.M.	199		334-7 340
GIBSON, E.L.	172	HEINRICI, C.F.G.	91
GIELEN, M.	205	HELD, H.-J.	141
GIESEN, H.	196 214	HENAUT, B.W.	112
GILLIAM III, P.R.	280	HENGEL, M.	81
GIROD, R.	324-5 328 334	HENZE, M.	57
	336-7	HICKLING, C.J.A.	113 121
GLASSON, T.F.	153 175	HILL, C.E.	290-1 297-8
GNILKA, J.	64 141 158 201	HIRSCH, E.	100
	203 207 215-6	HOEHNER, H.W.	263 270
	218-9 244 247	HÖLSCHER, M.	71



HOFFMANN, P.	31 167 225	KLEIN, H.	68 101
HOLMÉN, T.	100 252	KLIJN, A.F.J.	299
HOLTMANN, T.	208	KLOPPENBORG, J.S.	8 10 27 29 31
HOLTZ, G.	136		34 36-41
HOLTZMANN, H.J.	133		49-50 53 88
HOOD, J.	115		100 116 121
HORSLEY, R.A.	151 168 181		131 167 225
HOSSFELD, F.-L.	202 220		253 274
HOUGHTON, H.A.G.	322	KLOSTERMANN, E.	91 337 339
HOUSSIAU, A.	304 319	KÖHLER, W.-D.	20 289 326
HOWARD, G.	332	KOESTER, H.	253-4 258 262
HUCK, A.	109		284 289 326
HUIZENGA, L.A.	56 78 197	KONRADT, M.	22-4 34 52 56
HUMMEL, R.	143		62 66 68 84
HUNT, A.S.	260		113 115 127
HURTADO, L.W.	327		129-31 133-7
HVALVIK, R.	219 332		139-41 145-6
			165 196-7
INGE, W.R.	254 264		199-200-3
			206-11 214
JACKSON-McCABE, M.	329		219-20 224-8
JACOB, C.	338		230-1 234 236
JACOBSEN, A.-C.	339		239 241-5 248
JACOBSON, A.D.	34 36	KOPTAK, P.E.	203
JEFFORD, C.N.	266 285 292	KOSCH, D.	31-2
		KOVACS, J.	338
JENNINGS, T.W.	209	KOWALSKI, B.	141
JENSEN, M.H.	187	KRATZ, R.G.	66
JEREMIAS, J.	95	KRAUS, H.-J.	220
JOHNSON, L.T.	116	KRAUS, W.	128 187 201
JONES, I.H.	70		203-6
JORGENSEN, D.W.	326	KRAUSE, A.	189
		KRETZER, A.	232-4
KACZMAREK, S.	322	KRUGER, M.J.	329
KAMPLING, R.	129	KVALBEIN, H.	218
KANNENGIESSER, C.	322 330		
KEALY, S.P.	289 297 326	LAGRANGE, M.-J.	91
KECK, L.E.	81	LAMBRECHT, J.	87
KEITH, C.	329	LAMPE, P.	276
KELBER, W.H.	19	LANDMESSER, C.	201
KELLERMAN, J.A.	323	LANGE, J.	166 245
KELLY, J.N.D.	321-2	LARFELD, W.	100
KENNEDY, G.A.	52	LAU, M.	153
KILPATRICK, G.D.	278	LEANDER, H.	150
KINGSBURY, J.D.	166 200 206	LEVINE, A.-J.	83 137 208 211
KIRK, A.	2 9-10 12-30	LEVINE, L.I.	328-9
	33-5 42-5	LICHTENBERGER, H.	202
	48-9 87 131	LIDDELL, H.G.	158 167-8
KITZBERGER, I.R.	211	LIETZMANN, H.	109

LIEW, T.-S. B.	209	MEEKS, W.A.	85
LIGHTFOOT, J.B.	270 273 280-3	MEIER, J.P.	169 217 278
LINCICUM, D.	149	MENKEN, M.J.J.	56 70 75
LINCOLN, A.T.	267	MEREDITH, A.	327
LINDEMANN, A.	85 134	MERKLEIN, H.	76
LOHFINK, G.	81 214	MERKT, A.	271
LOHMEYER, E.	141	METZGER, B.M.	333
LOISY, A.	100	MIDDLETON, P.	172
LOMIENTO, G.	325 330	MODICA, J.B.	150
LOVE, S.L.	210	MOFFITT, D.M.	182
LUZ, U.	22 27-33 35 37	MOORE, S.D.	84
	44 46-8 52 59	MORESCHINI, C.	323
	63 72 74 77 83	MORGENTHALER, R.	42 254
	88 100-1	MORINGIELLO, S.D.	291
	103-4 128 131	MOSS, C. McAFEE	63
	133-4 136-8	MOURNET, T.C.	87
	140-1 144-6	MOWERY, R.L.	150 156
	163 169 173	MOYISE, S.	56
	175 196 198-9	MUECKE, D.C.	159
	207 214-6 219	MÜLLER, J.	80
	225-32 234	MURPHY, F.J.	174
	236 238 240-1	MUTSCHLER, B.	291 297-9
	244 246-7 277		303-6 308
	332-3 339		
MACDONALD, D.	260	NÄGELSBACH, F.	102
MACEWEN, R.K.	8-9	NAGEL, T.	290
MACKENZIE, I.M.	314	NAUTIN, P.	323-4
MACRAE, G.W.	336	NEIRYNCK, F.	32 86 88 94
MAISCH, I.	114	NÉMETH, C.	340
MALI, F.	323	NEPPER-CHRISTENSEN, P.	83
MANN, C.S.	203 208	NEUSCHÄFER, B.	66
MANSON, T.W.	100	NEUSNER, J.	143-4
MARCUS, J.	59 166	NEVILLE, D.J.	7 14 172-4
MARKSCHIES, C.	260 340	NEWPORT, K.G.C.	116
MARTENS, P.W.	325 331-2 336	NICKLAS, T.	271
	339	NINEHAM, D.E.	7
MARTYN, J.L.	81	NOLAN, B.M.	165
MARXSEN, W.	85	NOLLAND, J.A.	157-8 164 168
MASON, S.	188		182 202 205
MASSAUX, É.	20 262-3		209 212 257
	289-90 326	NOORMANN, R.	267 337
	335		291 297 306
MATTHEWS, S.	172		310-1 317-8
MCGUCKIN, J.A.	325 328 330	NORELLI, E.	323
	338	NOVAKOVIC, L.	198 200 204
MCIVER, R.K.	170	NOVENSON, M.	189
McKNIGHT, S.	150		
McNICOL, A.J.	7 9	OBERLINNER, L.	114
		OCHAGAVÍA, J.	304

ODEN, T.C.	323	RIUS-CAMPS, J.	325 330
ORBE, A.	299 311	ROBINSON, J.M.	27 31 34-8 50
ORTON, D.E.	50		88 167 225-6
OSBORN, E.	291 314		228 244 246
OVERMAN, J.A.	83 128 138-9 144 149-50 187	RODRÍGUEZ, R.	13
		ROHDE, J.	84
		ROLLAND	8
		ROLLENS, S.	13
PAMMENT, M.	233 235	ROLOFF, J.	76 236 244
PANNENBERG, W.	248	ROTH, D.T.	32 329
PARK, E.C.	196	ROTHFUCHS, W.	56 74 76 213
PARVIS, S.	298	ROUSSEAU, A.	292-3 300 302
PATTE, D.	211		307 310 312
PAUL, D.J.	76	ROWLAND, C.	338
PEABODY, D.B.	7	RUINART, T.	280
PENNINGTON, J.T.	169-70	RUNESSON, A.	3 35 38-9 41
PERRIN, N.	7		43 82 128 131
PERRONE, L.	325 327		137 144-5
PESCH, R.	56 228		149-50 152-3
PESCH, W.	114		157 161 174
PETERSEN, W.L.	330		179-81 185-8
PETERSON, J.	7 18		192 217 219
PETRIE, S.	167		222 321
PEYRON, O.	294	RYAN, J.	189
PICKUP, M.	143		
PIETRAS, H.	322	SAEBO, M.	338
PILGRIM, W.E.	176	SÄNGER, D.	55 71 103
PIOTROWSKI, N.	76-7	SALDARINI, A.J.	83 128 137 139
POIRIER, J.C.	7 18		143-4 146-7
POPA, R.	166		149 187 207
PORTER, S.E.	100 164 252	SALVESEN, A.	330
POWELL, M.A.	146	SANDAY, W.	8 296
Presley, S.O.	312	SANDERS, E.P.	14 81 187
PREUSS, H.D.	211	SANDNES, K.O.	82
PRZYBYLSKI, B.	257	SATO, M.	31-2
		SCHATTNER-RIESER, U.	47
QUASTEN, J.	323 325	SCHECK, T.P.	321
QUISPEL, G.	261	SCHENKE, L.	241
		SCHERRER, T.	317 319
REHKOPF, F.	235-6	SCHEUERMANN, G.	218
REID, B.E.	171-2	SCHMELLER, T.	142
REININK, G.J.	299	SCHMID, K.	212
RENOUX, A.	328	SCHMIDT, J.	149
REPSCHINSKI, B.	3 22 127 129- 31 139 143 149 150 153 162 172 275	SCHNACKENBURG, R.	228
		SCHNEEMELCHER, W.	260
		SCHNELLE, U.	57 84 100 224 242 245
RICHARDSON, P.	168	SCHOEDEL, W.R.	258 267 269
RICHES, J.K.	22 155 159 181		271 285

SCHRÖTER, J.	1 3 127 130 134 260	TELFORD, W.R.	23
SCHÜRMAN, H.	231	TEVEL, J.M.	334-5
SCHULZ, S.	36 246 259	THEISSEN, G.	130 145 150
SCHWEIZER, E.	74 230 232	THOM, J.	101
SCORNAIENCHI, L.	130 150	THOMSON, R.W.	333
SEGAL, A.	187	THROCKMORTON, B.H.	97
SENIOR, D.	58 83 100 127-8 131 141 205	TISERA, G.	208 214 217-8
SESBOÛÉ, B.	293-4	TIWALD, M.	32 36 38-40 239 244-5
SHARPE, J.L.	163	TÖDT, H.E.	236
SIM, D.	1 3 22-3 33 82 127-31 133 139 145 149-51 153 155-9 161-2 175 180-1 187 205-6 208 275 278-9 329 331	TORJESEN, K.J.	325
SIMONETTI, M.	322 326	TREBILCO, P.R.	159
SKARSAUNE, O.	332	TREU, U.	337
SKEAT, T.C.	300 327	TRIGG, J.W.	324-5 336-7 339
SMALLEY, B.	338-9	TRILLING, W.	114 217-8
SMITH, D.A.	2 27-9 32-3 37 39-42 47 119	TROBISCH, D.	327
SNODGRASS, K.	172	TSEVAT, M.	189
SOARES-PRABHU, G.M.	75 251	TUCKETT, C.M.	2 7 13 19 24 32 39 58 66 127 187 245 251 254 268 326-7
SÖDING, T.	201 204	TURNER, C.H.	296 321
SOMOS, R.	340	UDOH, F.E.	188
SOUTER, A.	296 301 304 306-7 315 318	ULRICH, H.	211
STANLEY, C.D.	176	URO, R.	108
STANTON, G.N.	84-6 124 149 227 327 329 332	USSHER, J.	280
STEGEMANN, W.	167	VAGANAY, L.	100
STEGNER, W.R.	56	VAGGIONE, R.P.	280
STEMBERGER, G.	144 154	VAN BELLE, G.	13 88
STENDAHL, K.	56 83 331	VAN DE SANDT, H.	249
STRANGE, J.R.	187	VAN OYEN, G.	289
STRECKER, G.	103-4 232 236-7 240 260	VAN RUITEN, J.	56
STREETER, B.H.	99 275	VAN SEGBROECK, F.	86
STUHLMACHER, P.	81	VAN UNNIK, W.C.	81
SUGGS, M.J.	36	VERHEYDEN, J.	1 5 10 13 27-8 39 88 100 131 253 271 289 291 308 322
SVARTNIK, J.	22 24 131 139	VERMES, G.	81 168
SYREENI, K.	187	VERVENNE, M.	56
		VIELHAUER, P.	260
		VILJOEN, F.P.	83 208
		VINE, C.E.W.	237
		VINZENT, M.	340
		VIVIANO, B.T.	151
		VOGEL, M.	224 239

VOGT, H.J.	322-5	WILKINSON, J.	328
VOLKMAR, G.	133	WILLIAMS, F.	340
VORSTER, W.S.	112	WILLITTS, J.	149-50
VOSS, I.	280	WINGREN, G.	315
		WINN, A.	150
WAETJEN, H.C.	197	WISCHMEYER, O.	70 130 134 150
WAILES, S.L.	334-5	WISCHNOWSKY, M.	78
WALCK, L.W.	41	WITTE, M.	231
WARNER, D.A.	189	WOJTKOWIAK, H.	4 57 223
WASSERMANN, T.	86	WOLTER, M.	71 91 94
WATSON, F.B.	8 10	WONG, K.-C.	207 209
WEAVER, D.J.	151 159-62	WOOD, D.	330
	167	WOUTERS, A.	224 238-9
WEBB, R.L.	29	WREGE, H.-T.	88
WEGNER, U.	141	WRIGHT, N.T.	181
WEINFELD, M.	121 124		
WEISSE, C.H.	133	YARBRO COLLINS, A.	135 244
WEREN, W.	56 66	YOSHIKO REED, A.	330
WERNLE, P.	31	YOUNG, F.M.	331
WHITE, B.L.	130	YOUNGQUIST, L.	35 131
WICK, P.	208		
WIDDICOMBE, P.	321	ZAGER, W.	85
WIEFEL, W.	61	ZAHN, T.	227 280
WILCKENS, U.	81	ZANGENBERG, J.K.	130
WILK, F.	2 55 64 66 70	ZELLER, D.	104
	72-3 75-6	ZENGER, E.	202 220
	78-80 207 209	ZIETHE, C.	4 56 78 159
	214 216 226-8		195 205 209
	233 235-6		213-5 217-8
WILKE, C.G.	133	ZIMMERMANN, R.	32 153 172

## Index of Biblical References

### *Genesis*

1:27–8	213
1:28	163
2:4	212–4 222
3–4	319
3:3	335
4:1	336
5:1	212–4 222
5:29	336
6–7	319
8:21	335
9:25–7	210
10	213
12:1–3	197
12:3	136
15:5	294
17:5	136
18:8	335
21:22	55
25:12	213
37:2	213

### *Exodus*

3	219
23:20	66
23:23	210
23:28	210
33:2	210

### *Leviticus*

18:3	210
19	123
19:18	93

### *Numbers*

21:24	163
24:17	213 295
32:22	163
32:29	163
33:52–3	210

### *Deuteronomy*

6:13	167–8 311
6:20	168
7:1–8	222
10:12	309
10:20	167
19:15	49
20:16–7	210
23	222
24	103
30:3	55

### *Joshua*

1:13	203
13:8	203
14:7	203
22:5	203

### *Judges*

6	219
15:19	336

### *2 Samuel*

5:2	70 198
7:5	203
7:8	203
7:14	200

### *2 Kings*

6:1–7	312
18:12	203

### *2 Chronicles*

1:3	203
24:9	203
24:20–2	63
29:30	57
36:21	74

<i>Ezra</i>		82	189
9–10	222	85:3 <sup>LXX</sup>	210
9:1	210	89:10	202
		89:15	216
<i>Nehemiah</i>		89:22	220
10:31	222	91[90]:11–2	67
		93:18 <sup>LXX</sup>	210
<i>Tobit</i>		98:2–4	215
13:13	208	101:1	216
		106:3 <sup>LXX</sup>	205 220
<i>2 Maccabees</i>		106:36–8	210
2:1–8	61	107	202
		107:8	215
<i>Psalms</i>		107:15	215
2:7	200	107:21	215
6:3 <sup>LXX</sup>	210	107:28–33	202
7:9	186	107:31	215
8:3	68	108:4	215
8:7	135	108:21 <sup>LXX</sup>	211
9:14 <sup>LXX</sup>	210	108:26 <sup>LXX</sup>	210
18:50	215	109:2	163
22	158	110[109]:1	66 135 251
22:7	158	118	307
22:8	158	118:(17–)26	118
22:9	158	118[117]:22–3	66
22:19	158	118:133	163
22:28–30	208	131:10–1	295
22:28–30 <sup>LXX</sup>	158	142:11 <sup>LXX</sup>	211
22:28–9	186		
24:1–2	186	<i>Proverbs</i>	
30:10 <sup>LXX</sup>	210	3:34 <sup>LXX</sup>	251
31:1–2	312	5:22	296
33:6–10	186	8:15–6	318
40:50 <sup>LXX</sup>	210	14:22	216
43:27 <sup>LXX</sup>	211	21:1	318
47	186	24:12	238
57:10	215		
61:13	238	<i>Wisdom</i>	
65:8	202	7:27	37
67:2–4	215		
67:29–30 <sup>LXX</sup>	208	<i>Sirach</i>	
72:10	208	17:4	163
75:2–3	295	24:23	37
75:12 <sup>LXX</sup>	208	35:22	238
78[77]	57	46:1	198
78:2	113	51:23–30	37
78:9 <sup>LXX</sup>	211		
80:2	220	<i>Isaiah</i>	
80:18	220	2:2–4	216

6	70	22:5	43
6:9–10	70 113	23:5	57
7–9	154	23:29	312
7:13–4	55	31[38]:15	251
7:14	213 251 295	31[38]:7–8	55
8:23–9:1	213		
11:1–4	296	<i>Ezekiel</i>	
11:1	57	10–11	183
11:2	306	34:23–4	203
13:10	174	37:24–5	203
18:17	208	44:6–9	222
19:18–25	196		
19:24–5	222	<i>Daniel</i>	
27:13	175	3:1	319
29:13	69	3:6	113
34:4	174	3:20	319
40:3	65 73 134	7	51
40:15	319	7:8	318
40:17	319	7:13–4	174–5
41:1–4	216	7:14	39 51
42:1–4	203 213 215	7:20–2	318
	297	7:23–5	318
42:1	203	11:31	70
42:4	203 217–8	12:3	113
42:8–12	215		
44:28–45:1–8	186	<i>Hosea</i>	
45:21–2	222	1:11	200
49:6	186	2:21–2	216
49:22	186	2:25	294
53	78 205	6:6	67 230
53:4	213	11:1	295
53:12	205		
54:1	21	<i>Joel</i>	
54:4–5	186	3:1–12	157
56:1–8	186		
56:7	66 222 251	<i>Jonah</i>	
60:6–7	208	1:15	251
60:6	208	1:17	251
61:1–2	296	2:1	69
61:1	306	2:1 <sup>LXX</sup>	48 251
62:11	57		
66:19–23	208	<i>Micah</i>	
		5:1–4	70
<i>Jeremiah</i>		5:1	198
1	219	5:2	268
7:25	64	6:8	216
8:16	319		
9:23	216	<i>Zechariah</i>	
22:3	216–7	3:8	57



7:9	216	7:35	36
9:9	57	9:35	16
13:7	66	10	16-7
13:9	219	10:2-16	35
14:16-9	208 222	10:7	16
		10:12	45
<i>Malachi</i>		10:16	36 49
3:1	66	10:21-2	37 51-2
		10:21	51-2
Q		10:22	36 39 51
3:7-9	41	11	16
3:7	29 44-5 47	11:2-4	34-5 46
3:8	41	11:4	51
3:9	43	11:9-13	35 45
3:17	40-1	11:14-5	44 46
4:1-13	38	11:17-20	44
4:1-11	24	11:29-32	40
4:23	16	11:29-30	33 48
5:3-12	100	11:30	48
5:13-4	100	11:31-2	45 48
5:18	100	11:31	45
5:25-6	100	11:32	45
5:30-1	100	11:33	16 48 52
5:32	100	11:34	48
5:38-48	100	11:39-44	42
6:19-33	100	11:42	24
6:20-3	46	11:44	47
6:22	46	11:46	42
6:39	47	11:47-8	30 42 47
6:40	50	11:49-51	24 30 35-6 40
6:43-5	30 41 43-4 50		42
6:43-4	45	11:49	24 36-7
6:43	43	11:52	42
6:44	44	12:10	44
6:45	40 44 50 52	12:22-34	35
6:46-9	38	12:24	46
6:46	38 44	12:28	44
6:47-9	38	12:30	45
7	16	12:39-40	39 41
7:1-5	100	12:39	50
7:1	31	12:42-6	39-41
7:7-12	100	12:42-4	40
7:18-35	14	12:45-6	40
7:21	100	13:18-9	29 53
7:22	35	13:24-7	40
7:24-7	100	13:25-7	44 51
7:31-4	36	13:25	38 44 50
7:31	40	13:26-7	38
7:33-5	24	13:27	40-1 44

13:28–9	40	1:15	305
13:28	40 44	1:17	58 101 122 336
13:29	40	1:18–2:23	76
13:30	51	1:18–2:12	77
13:34–5	35–6 42	1:18–25	55
13:35	36 39–40 42	1:18–23	123 304–5
14:16–23	33 53	1:18	55 77 200 267
14:21	50		301
14:34–5	16 48	1:20–3	55
15:4	46	1:20	23 77 107 295
16:16–8	24	1:21–3	173
16:16–7	38	1:21–2	25
16:16	44	1:21	124 138 142
17:3–4	49 52		153 180 184–5
17:23–37	37		192 196 198
17:23–4	39 42		200–2 204 206
17:26–30	39–40		215 217 221–2
17:26–7	39		248
17:30	39 42	1:22–3	55 57 75–7 134
17:34–5	40		251 295
17:37	41–2	1:22	74–5 107 123
19:12–26	39 41		200
19:16–9	40	1:23	115 135 154
19:20–6	40		196 208 213
22:30	247		282–4 286–7
			295 331
<i>Matthew</i>		2	153 168
1–4	107 122	2:1–12	127 136 159
1:1–4:17	76		191 206 215
1:1–4:16	134		218
1–2	76 161	2:1	55 122 208
1	55	2:2	78 134 192 295
1:1–18	200	2:4–6	71 73
1:1–17	201	2:4	134
1:1–2	55	2:5–6	57 70 73 76
1:1	23 55 58 122		134 306
	134 195 197	2:5	107 123
	200 212–5 222	2:6	66 127 197–8
	301 305		201–2 208 215
1:2–4:16	134		268 331
1:2–25	134	2:7	122
1:2–17	55 134 197 210	2:11–2	306
1:2	199	2:11	208
1:5	210	2:13–21	77
1:6	55 58	2:13	70 77 295
1:11–2	55	2:15	57 75–7 107
1:12	305		123 134 200
1:13	305		295 331
1:14	305	2:16	70 122 306

2:17-8	57 75-7 134	4:6-7	67 73
	251	4:6	73 204
2:17	75 107 122	4:7	67
2:18	331	4:8-10	191
2:20-1	215	4:8-9	152 190
2:20	107 190	4:8	156 167
2:21	190	4:9	311
2:23	57 75-7 107	4:10	122 311
	200	4:11	122
3-11	27 88	4:12	76 107
3:1-12	133	4:13-6	78 134
3:1-3	74 79	4:13	76
3	107	4:14-6	57 75-6
3:1	122	4:14	75 123 251
3:2	64 71 73 108	4:15-6	154 195 213
	224		215-6
3:3	57 65 73 75	4:15	107 214-5
	101 134 251	4:16	213 215
	294-5	4:17-20:34	76
3:5	122	4:17	64 74 76 101
3:6	124 258		107-8 111
3:7-12	57		122-3 136 169
3:7-10	41		198 213 224
3:7-9	294	4:18-22	198 204 214
3:7	30 44-5 124	4:23-5	108
	143 263	4:23	137 198-9 234
3:8-10	64		277
3:8	41	4:24-5	198-9 213
3:10	43 108 246 312	4:24	198 210 277
3:11-2	71	4:25	198-9 207 215
3:11	108	5-7	9 14-5 28 88-9
3:12	41 315		107-8 123 184
3:13	122		198 325 335
3:14-5	33 258	5:1-2	89 122
3:15	101 122-3	5:3-16	82 92
	256-60 265	5:3-12	89-90
	284	5:3-10	46 93
3:16-7	296	5:3-4	122
3:17	79 200-1 203	5:3	31 90 93 106
4-13	76		122
4-12	35	5:4-10	31
4-11	28	5:4	99 102-3
4	206	5:5	31 44 78 90
4:1-13	134		122
4:1-11	55 201 204	5:6-9	102
4:1	122	5:6	101 257
4:3	204	5:7-11	99
4:5-7	67	5:7-9	31 99
4:5	67 122 182	5:7	122-3

5:10-1	124	5:21	101
5:10	93 101-2 106	5:22-4	230
	122 231 257	5:22	123 307 310
5:11-2	108 245-6	5:23-4	99-100 104
5:11	46 122 127		113 122 182
5:12-20	92	5:23	100
5:12	62 91-3 118	5:24	229-30
	120 239	5:25-6	94 100
5:13-20	98	5:25	164
5:13-6	16 102 195	5:26	95
	215-6	5:27-8	99-100
5:13-4	97 123	5:27	99
5:13	33 48 97-9 101	5:28	99 101 310
	108 114 214	5:29-31	100
5:14-6	48 78 164	5:29-30	97 113 122
5:14	99-102 104	5:29	307
	107 168 214	5:30-1	171
5:15	94 97 112	5:30	307
5:16-20	100	5:31-2	94-5
5:16	48 99-100 102	5:31	99
	108 170 215	5:32	97-8 101 103
	235		122
5:17-48	55	5:33-9	99
5:17-21	38	5:33-7	99-102 118
5:17-20	139 145 331		122 229
5:17-9	23 130 240	5:34ff.	117
5:17-8	72-3 139 184	5:34	101
5:17	82 99-101 103	5:35	78 182
	108 110 122	5:38-48	90 108 171
	124 147	5:38-47	173
5:18-9	164 230	5:39-47	92
5:18	95 97-8 118	5:39-42	89
	120	5:39-40	122
5:19-24	99	5:39	92 122
5:19-20	99-100 103	5:40	122
	106 240	5:41-3	99
5:19	82 102 108 113	5:43-8	230
	239-40	5:43-7	89
5:20	82 101 103 107	5:43-6	124
	117 121 139	5:43	92-3
	143-5 225	5:45	99 102 170 283
	230-1 240 257		316
5:21-7:12	92	5:47	93 191
5:21-6:18	117	5:48	89 92-3 101
5:21-48	18 38 139 146		122-3 139 170
	240		283
5:21-38	92	6:1-18	92 100-1 104
5:21-4	100 124		117-8 122 140
5:21-2	99-101 113 216		147

6:1-16	170	6:33	96 101 231
6:1-8	99		233-4 257
6:1-7	99	6:34	99-102
6:1	101 108 116	6:46	90
	122 257	7:1-12	104
6:2-4	123	7:1-5	92
6:2	101-2 104 108	7:1	90-1 93 101
	124 137 227	7:2-5	90
6:4	57	7:2	97-8 112
6:5-15	34	7:3-5	90-1 230
6:5	101-2 104 108	7:5	122 124 227
	124 137 227	7:6-12	92
6:7-8	45 122	7:6-11	104
6:7	104 191	7:6	57 99-101 104
6:8-9	235		122-3 164
6:8	170	7:7-11	35 45 94
6:9-13	35 46 94-6	7:7-8	94-6
6:9	51 235 311	7:8	97-8
6:10	47 99 123 231	7:9-11	94-5
	235 322	7:9	108
6:11	99-100 104	7:10	172
	122 333	7:11	170
6:12	113 122 311-2	7:12	72-3 89-90 99
6:13-5	248		101 103 108
6:13	99		123-4 147 230
6:14-6	108	7:13-27	92 121 123 130
6:14-5	97-100 113	7:13-20	100
	122	7:13-4	94-6 100-1
6:14	122 170 282-3		122
6:15	57	7:13	96
6:16-8	99 122-3	7:15-20	43 50
6:16	101 124 227	7:15	89 99 108 116
6:18	102		118 122 306
6:19-7:12	92 101	7:16-20	41 45 64 90 122
6:19-21	35 94-5 122	7:17	310
	246	7:19	93 108 246 310
6:19	96-7 101		317
6:20	96	7:20	340
6:21-7:11	109	7:21-3	44 82 122 124
6:22-3	94		226 242
6:22	97	7:21-2	93
6:24	94-7 122	7:21	38 44 90 92-3
6:25-34	35 123		95 104 106 123
6:25-33	94-5 102		225 231 235
6:25	95-6 101		242 246-7 316
6:26	46 96 108	7:22-3	38 94-5 100
6:29	95-6		118 123 225
6:30	44 96	7:22	38 44 63 96 99
6:32	45 96 170 191		108

7:23	41 44 96 118	9:2	210 312
	122 242	9:5	312
7:24-7	38 90 245	9:6	108 110 220
7:24	82 93 339		312
7:26	82 93	9:8	158 312
7:28-9	90 123	9:10-3	73
7:28	15 31 106 108	9:11-3	67
	210	9:11	143-4
7:29	108 122 210	9:13	20-1 55 73 123
8-21	76		146
8-12	13 15 35	9:14-7	122
8-9	9 17 33 35 108	9:14	144
	132 335	9:20	183
8:1	90 215	9:27-31	33 46 198
8:2-15	76	9:27	23 58 122 127
8:4	122 182		135
8:5-13	141 159-60 191	9:28	210
	206 209-10	9:32-4	46
8:5-10	57	9:33	199
8:5-7	123 141	9:34	124 143-4
8:7	141 209	9:35-8	199
8:9	108 209	9:35	137 198 234
8:10	209-10	9:36-10:5	109
8:11-2	141 238	9:36-8	66
8:11	205 215 220	9:36	127 142 190
	319	10	9 92 97 99 106
8:12	44 120 226 234		108-11 120-4
8:13	57 209		214 219
8:14-34	35	10:1-11:1	325
8:16-7	76 78	10:1-16	133
8:16	76	10:1	292
8:17	57 75-6 123	10:5-25	109
	200 213 251	10:5-16	110
	331	10:5-15	109-10
8:18-27	335	10:5-6	99 109 195 216
8:18	302		303
8:20	110	10:5	82 108-9 111
8:21	210		123 215 277
8:23-7	202 204	10:6-42	107
8:25	202 210	10:6-40	109
8:26	202	10:6-8	66
8:27	202	10:6	108 195 199
8:28-34	153 207	10:7-15	35
8:28	57 209 333	10:7-8	108
9	199	10:7	64 106 166
9:1-17	132	10:8	109
9:1-8	311	10:9-11	122
9:2-8	157-8	10:9-10	109
9:2-5	124	10:10-23	109

10:10	246 340	10:42	33 110 230 245
10:15-6	109		247
10:15	45 108 110 216	11	52
	316	11:1	31 106 109 198
10:16-25	111	11:2	78 198
10:16-23	109-10	11:4-5	35
10:16	101 108 110	11:5	122 198
	259-60 265	11:7-19	73
10:17-25	110	11:7-11	65
10:17-22	33	11:9	59 71 297
10:17	108-9 116 122	11:10	65 71 73
	127 137-8	11:11-3	71
10:18	110-1 124 155	11:11	71 239 247
	168 307	11:12-3	71 73
10:20	110 170 306-7	11:12	233
10:21	109	11:13	72 147
10:22	110 219	11:14	59 71
10:23	99 108 110	11:19	101 110
	122-3 219	11:20-4	238
10:24-42	109	11:21-3	245
10:24-5	109-10	11:22-30	133
10:24	108 122	11:22	216
10:25-33	116	11:24	45 216
10:26-33	110	11:25-30	37 122
10:26-31	109-10	11:25-7	37 51 303-4
10:26	101 109-12	11:25	52 122 190
10:27	110	11:27	52 201-2 304
10:28	109-10 307	11:28-30	37 51 154
10:29	108	11:29	78 122 301
10:31	109-10	11:32	57
10:32-42	109	12:1-21	132
10:32-8	122	12:1-14	76
10:32-3	109-10 245 308	12:1-8	45 230
10:32	110 245-6	12:1-2	73
10:33	110	12:3-7	55 146 331
10:34-9	109-10	12:3-4	58
10:34-6	110	12:5-8	68 73
10:34	101 108-10	12:5-7	23
10:35	315	12:5-6	45
10:37-42	110	12:6	53
10:37-8	110	12:7	73 123 190 230
10:38	110	12:8	110
10:39	110 124 245	12:9-14	46 158
	307	12:9	137-8
10:40-2	49 52 99	12:10	138
	108-10 226	12:11-2	46
10:40-1	63	12:11	46
10:40	110 292	12:14	79 138 143-4
10:41	63 80		203

12:15–21	76 79	13:1–23	112
12:15–6	76 297	13:1	124
12:15	215	13:2–9	76
12:17–21	57 75–6	13:2	124
12:17	75 251	13:3–52	112
12:18–21	195 203 213	13:3–9	112 232
	215 221 297	13:6	116
12:18	203 215–8	13:8	64
12:19	215	13:10–7	118
12:20–1	211	13:10	124
12:20	203 215 217	13:11–2	111 116
12:21	211 215 217–8	13:11	106 112 166
12:22–37	44		232
12:22–4	46	13:12	97–8 112
12:22–3	215	13:13–23	112
12:23	23 58 127 199	13:13–5	56 70 73
12:24–30	190	13:14–7	113
12:24	124 143–4	13:14–5	57
12:26	234	13:14	113 251
12:28	79–80 190	13:15–22	49
	233–4	13:15	113 164
12:31	124	13:16–7	112
12:32	110	13:16	113 335
12:33–7	50 91 122	13:17	62 113 297
12:33–5	30 43	13:18–23	333
12:33	43 45 64 264	13:19	223 234
	310	13:21–2	52
12:34–5	44	13:24–33	76
12:34	30 44–5 124	13:24–30	40 99 112 171
12:35	310		232 333–4
12:36	310	13:24	106
12:38–42	33	13:25	318
12:38–40	48	13:26	64
12:38–9	175	13:30–2	112
12:38	143	13:30	113 315
12:39–40	57 69 73 206	13:31–3	133
12:40	48 79 110 251	13:31–2	29 53 112 232
12:41–2	48 238 245	13:31	106
12:41	45 228	13:33	106 112 232–3
12:42	45		318
12:46–50	111	13:34–5	76 78 112
12:48–50	230	13:34	76
12:50	104 123 235	13:35	57 75–6 113
13	9 50 92 97 99		200 318
	106–7 111–3	13:36–22:33	324
	119–21 123–4	13:36–52	112 122
	318	13:36–43	40 99 112 171
13:1–53	325		173 232 333
13:1–52	223	13:36–7	111



13:36	334	15:13	261
13:37	110 220	15:14	91 190
13:38	64 236	15:15–20	122
13:39	234	15:20	22 69 140
13:41–2	173 238	15:21–8	141 159 191
13:41	110 235–7		206 209–10
13:42–3	113		216 337
13:42	120 226	15:22	23 58 79 127
13:43	64 78 235		135 210
13:44–8	333	15:24–8	123
13:44–5	106	15:24	66 82 142 195
13:44	112 232 322		198–209 211
13:45–6	112 232 325		216
13:47–50	99 112 171 173	15:26	211
	226 232–3 322	15:28	79
13:47	106	15:29–31	336
13:49–50	113 333	15:29	199
13:50	113 120	15:31	182
13:51–3	99	15:32–9	337
13:51–2	111–2 232	16	203 221 297
13:52	39 50 52–3 106	16:1–4	175 206
	113	16:1	67 143
13:53–8	111	16:2–3	192
13:53	31 106	16:4	67
13:54	137 334	16:5–12	237
13:57	60	16:6	124 143
14	168	16:11–2	124
14:1–18:9	132	16:11	143
14:5	59	16:12	190
14:11	323	16:13–27:66	324
14:13–21	337	16:13–20:34	132
14:14	79	16:13	110 220 306
14:22–33	204 336	16:14	61 68
14:30	202	16:16	84 195 199
14:33	24 150 158 202		202–3 220 297
	205		306
14:35	183	16:17–9	82 130
14:65	57	16:17	297 303 306
15	22	16:18–9	138
15:1–20	69 141	16:18	114 138 279
15:1	143	16:19	80 166 292
15:3–6	55	16:20	202
15:3	190–1	16:21–28:20	123
15:6–9	69 73	16:21	111 122 136
15:7–9	57 75		202 306–7
15:7	75 227 251	16:22–3	204 307
15:11	140	16:22	210
15:12–4	140 146	16:24–8	122 224 238
15:12	143–4 262		245

16:24–5	307	18:15	113–4 230
16:24	339	18:16–20	114
16:25	124 307	18:17	82 114–5 138
16:27–8	236–7		279
16:27	41 110 124 224	18:18	115 292
	236 238 241	18:19	115
	244 246 319	18:20	114–5
16:28	80 166 235–7	18:21–35	113–4
17:1–8	331	18:21–2	111 114
17:1–4	113	18:21	230
17:3–4	60	18:22	115
17:5	203	18:23–35	51 99 114 122
17:6	158		171 226 232
17:10–2	59	18:23–5	248
17:14	336	18:23	106
17:15	210	18:24	322
17:24–7	154	18:35	51 101 230 232
17:25	152	19:1	31 106
17:27	318	19:3–9	122
18	9 92 97 99	19:3–6	146
	106–7 111	19:3	144
	113–5 120–1	19:4–8	191
	123–4 147	19:4–6	55
18:1–19:1	325	19:4	184
18:1–9	33 114	19:8	184
18:1–5	113–4 160 228	19:9	98
	240	19:12	327 340
18:1	106 240	19:13	162
18:3–4	228 240	19:14	162
18:3	106 115 231	19:16–26	122
	240	19:16–22	241
18:4	106 118	19:16	162
	239–40	19:17–21	55
18:5	115	19:17	123 162 165
18:6–14	114		245
18:6–10	113	19:19	123
18:7	113	19:21	122–3 162 165
18:8–9	122		245
18:9	307	19:23–30	241
18:10–4	114	19:23–4	233
18:10	99 101 115	19:23	162 231
18:12–14	99	19:24	162 233–4 241
18:12–4	114	19:26	234
18:12–3	46	19:27–20:16	241
18:13	115	19:28	124 166 219
18:14	101 123 170		227–9 238 242
18:15–22	99		246–7 337
18:15–20	114	19:30	241
18:15–8	49	19:39	124

20:1-16	51 232 241 335	21:31	104 123 233-4
20:1	163	21:32	101 123 257
20:15	163	21:33-46	171
20:16	241	21:34-6	64
20:17-9	163	21:36	318
20:17	306	21:40-1	146
20:18	165	21:42-4	55
20:19	165 191	21:42	55 65 73 307
20:20-8	241		316
20:21	235-7	21:43	33 64 145-6
20:23	163 166 237		233-4 248
20:24-8	237	21:45-6	61 145
20:24	235	21:45	124 143-4 190
20:25-6	162-3 166 168	22:1-14	33 51 53 171
	191		179 220 232
20:28	165 205 235		234
	237 248	22:7	184
20:29-34	33 46	22:11-4	33 232
20:29-31	323	22:11-3	217
20:30-1	58 135	22:13	120 226
20:30	23 127	22:14	20 205
20:31	23	22:15-7	144
21:1-5	331	22:15-6	143
21:1-3	76	22:23-39	143
21:1	336	22:29	190-1
21:2	330	22:31-2	55
21:4-5	57 75-6 78	22:31	75
21:4	75	22:34-40	55 143
21:5	76 122	22:37-40	73
21:6-9	76	22:37	123
21:8-9	199	22:38-40	72
21:9	23 58 118 199	22:39-40	239
21:10-1	61	22:39	123 239
21:11	199 205	22:40	72 124 147 229
21:12-3	55 73	22:41-6	135 143
21:13	65 69 190 251	22:41-5	199
21:14-7	68	22:42-4	66
21:14-5	135	22:42	195
21:15-6	55	22:43-5	55
21:15	23 58 127	22:43-4	73
21:16	73	23-5	99 107 111
21:20-2	34		115-20 123
21:26	59	23	99 115-8
21:28-22:14	64		120-2 124
21:28-43	145		145-6 182 184
21:28-32	232	23:1-24:2	179
21:29	248	23:1-36	116
21:30	122	23:1-12	42 47 331
21:31-2	66	23:1-7	146

23:1	116 146	23:34-9	117
23:2-12	116	23:34-6	42 122
23:2-8	117	23:34-5	63 308
23:2-5	116	23:34	24 37 118 127
23:2-3	99 117		137-8 183 190
23:2	23 143		307
23:3	123 237	23:35	118 183 282
23:4-5	190	23:36	117-8 238
23:5	99 122 183	23:37-9	42 116-7
23:6	137	23:37	60 190
23:7-10	99	23:38-24:2	183
23:8-12	116	23:38-9	185
23:8	117-8 146 230	23:38	42
23:9-12	117	23:39	117-8 206
23:9	117	24-5	9 42 99 106
23:10	117-8		115 118-21 124
23:11-2	118	24	97 119-20 122
23:13-39	143		155-7 173-5
23:13-36	145		183
23:13-33	116 146	24:1-26:1	325
23:13-3	42	24:1-39	92
23:13	106 116-7 190	24:1-8	119
	227 231	24:1-4	111
23:15-22	99 116	24:1-3	115-6
23:15	47 116-7 143	24:1	43
	215 227	24:2	119-20 185
23:16-22	47 122 182	24:3ff.	183
23:16-21	118	24:3-36	119
23:16	116-7 190	24:3	101 173-5 337
23:18-22	102 117	24:5	119
23:19	182	24:6	338
23:21	182	24:7	171
23:23	79 116-7 123	24:9-14	33
	143 216 227	24:9	119 157 191
	229 331		218-9
23:24	99 190	24:10-12	119
23:25	116-8 143 227	24:10-2	99
23:27-8	47 99	24:11	120
23:27	116-8 143 227	24:12-3	183
23:29-36	30	24:12	123
23:29-33	47 124	24:13-4	120
23:29-31	61-2	24:13	219
23:29	116-7 143 227	24:14-25	119
23:30-6	117	24:14	119 218 234
23:31-2	118 183	24:15-7	318
23:31	99 116	24:15-6	70 73
23:32	183	24:15	57 70 75 119
23:33	30 45 118		318 318-9 338
23:34-27:66	325	24:16	157 338

24:20	119 331	24:51	124 174 226-7
24:21	41 120 318-9		242
24:22	174	25	119
24:23	119	25:1-13	41 44 119 227
24:24-7	122		232
24:24	118 175	25:1-11	99
24:25-6	120	25:1	106
24:25	80 120	25:5	242-3
24:26-8	119	25:11-2	122 242
24:26	120	25:11	242
24:27-8	118	25:12	118 242
24:27	174 246	25:13	101 119 232
24:28	153 155		242 318
24:29-36	119	25:14-30	41 119 171 227
24:29-31	173-4 246		232
24:29-30	119	25:19	243
24:29	41 174	25:30	120 226 232
24:30	99 119-20 153	25:31-46	41 51 99 119-
	173-5 319		20 124 156-7
24:31	78 156 174-5		171 173 176 216
	238		223 226-31
24:32-25:30	227 242-3		238 247 315
24:32-44	227	25:31	219 235 246
24:32	118		319
24:34	120	25:32-4	315-6
24:35	118 120 164	25:32-3	66
24:36	101 119	25:32	173 218
24:37-25:46	119	25:33-46	217
24:37	174 246	25:34	78 80 166 171
24:37-44	174		235
24:37-51	119	25:35-6	229 238
24:37-42	119	25:35	176
24:37-41	119	25:38	120
24:37-9	174	25:40	78 227 229-30
24:39	41 120 174 246	25:41	313 315-6
24:40-1	175 238	25:42-3	238
24:41	315	25:45-51	41
24:42-4	119	25:45	229
24:42	101 242 318	25:51	120
24:43-5	118	26:1	31 106
24:43-4	41 118	26:13	168
24:44	120 242 246	26:17-9	331
24:45-25:46	41	26:24	219
24:45-51	119 171 227	26:26-46	122
	245	26:26-9	220
24:45-50	118	26:26-8	204
24:45	174	26:28	184 190 200
24:46	242		205-6 219
24:48	242-3		221-2 248

26:29	171 235	27:42	78 208
26:31	66 73 219	27:43	150 158 204–5
26:32	214	27:45	323
26:39	163 204	27:47–9	61
26:42	79 104 122–3	27:51–3	158 204
	204	27:51	183
26:48	175	27:52–4	206
26:52–54	74	27:53	182
26:53–4	67	27:54	150 156 158
26:53	156 175 204		205
26:54–6	77	27:62–6	33–4
26:54	74 77	27:62	185
26:55–6	74	27:64–5	123
26:56	55 74 77	27:64	164
26:63	203	28	52 206 214
26:64	206 246	28:4	166
26:67–9	60	28:6	80
26:67	122	28:7	80 214
26:71	77	28:9–10	33
26:73	158	28:10	214 230
27:1–2	185	28:11–5	33–4 123 128
27:1	76–7		160
27:2	270	28:16–20	33 39 78 128
27:3–10	76		130 166 214
27:4	77		219 236
27:9–10	75–7	28:16	214
27:9	55 57 75	28:17	191
27:11–26	154	28:18–20	39 51–2 82 185
27:11	78 208 270		191 195 197
27:12–4	160		206 218 292
27:14	270	28:18	122 177 185
27:15	160 270		192
27:16–7	333	28:19–20	79 136 198 214
27:21	270		216–9
27:24	160 185	28:19	128 219 286
27:25–6	179		306
27:25	3 127 179–80	28:20	18 25 115 123
	248		240 244
27:27–32	166		
27:27–31	156	<i>Mark</i>	
27:27	270	1:1–15	134
27:29	78 208	1:1–4	73
27:35	122 158	1:1	197
27:37	78 166 205 208	1:2–4	74
	218	1:2–3	73
27:39–44	67	1:2	57 65 73 134
27:39	122 158	1:3	65
27:40	204–5	1:14–5	76 136
27:41	158	1:14	76 134

1:15	134 169 224	4:35-41	16
1:21	15	4:38	202
1:22	15	5:1-20	16
1:27-8	96	5:18-20	207
1:28	107 277	5:21-43	16
1:32-4	76 163	6	16 97
1:34	16	6:1-6	111
1:39	137	6:3-4	60
2:1-22	16 132	6:6-13	111
2:12	311	6:7-13	92
2:16-7	67	6:7-12	107 109
2:16	143	6:7	292
2:17	20-1	6:14-9:47	132
2:23-3:12	132	6:15	58
2:23-8	45	6:19-20	59
2:23	16	6:52	24
2:27-8	68	7	22
2:27	22	7:1-23	69 140
3	16	7:1	143
3:1-6	46	7:5	143
3:1	138	7:6-8	69
3:6	138 143	7:15	22 140
3:7-12	297	7:18	140
3:7	76	7:19	22-3 140 142
3:8	199	7:21	140
3:10	76	7:23	140
3:11	297	7:24-30	142
3:12	76	7:27	211
3:13	96 107	7:31	199
3:22-7	44	8:11-2	16
3:22	143	8:12	98
3:28-30	44	8:25	244
3:28	98	8:27-16:8	123
3:31-5	111	8:27	96
3:33-5	230	8:28	58 61
3:35	104	8:29	203
4	92 96-7 111-2	8:31	136
	120-1	8:34-9:1	224 238 245
4:3-34	107 112	8:38	41 135 224 241
4:3-25	112		244 246
4:3-9	232	9	97 114
4:11-2	70	9:1	98
4:11	232	9:4-5	58 60
4:21-5	112	9:11-3	58-9
4:21	97	9:33-48	33
4:24	97	9:33-7	92 228 240
4:26-9	112 232	9:34-50	107 114
4:30-2	111-2 232	9:34	240
4:33-4	76 112	9:35	228

9:37	228	13:1-27	92
9:38-41	114	13:1-4	116
9:41	230 245 247	13,1-2	274
9:43-9	97	13:2-37	107 119
9:45	98	13:3-31	39
9:49-50	114	13:5-37	119
9:50	48 97-8	13:9-13	33 109
10:11-2	97	13:9	307
10:11	98	13:13	244
10:15	98	13:14	70
10:17-22	140	13:23	80
10:21	97 245	13:24-7	246
10:25	233	13:26	135
10:28-31	228	13:27	238
10:29-30	244	13:28ff.	120
10:29	98	13:28-9	40
10:31	51 241	13:28	118
10:37	237	13:30	98 118
10:46-52	33 46	13:31	97
10:47-8	23	13:32-7	40
11	66 98	13:32	119
11:1-4	76	13:33-7	118
11:7-10	76	13:35	242
11:10	235	14:18	98
11:11	61	14:25	98
11:15-7	68	14:27	58 66
11:17	58 65	14:30	98
11:18-9	68	14:48-9	74
11:20-5	34	14:49	74
11:23	98	14:61	203
11:24-5	97	14:62	135 246
11:24	97-8	14:65	60
11:25	34 283	15:26	218
11:27	143	15:35-6	58 61
11:32	59	16:15	134 292
12:3-5	64	16:7	80
12:10-1	58 65		
12:12	61	<i>Luke</i>	
12:13-37	116	1:1	18
12:29-31	72	1:35	268
12:31	229	1:75	257
12:33	229	1:78	312
12:35-7	66 135	2:34	316
12:35	23	3:1	270
12:36	58	3:4-6	295-6
12:37-40	42 47 116	3:4	65 134 295
12:38-40	107 120	3:6	295
12:43	98	3:7-9	57
13	39 41 96-7 119	3:7	30 143 263



3:9	246	6:41-2	90-1
3:16-7	57	6:43-5	90-1 310
4:1-13	167	6:44	264
4:7	167 311	6:45	94
4:8	311	6:46-9	91
4:9-12	67	6:46	90 92-4 225
4:9	67		246-7
4:10-1	58	6:47-9	90 245
4:16-30	111	6:47	94
4:18-27	107	7:1-10	57 141
4:18	306	7:1-6	141
5:17-26	311	7:1	31 90
5:20	312	7:2-10	160
5:21	312	7:2-3	160
5:23	312	7:3	141
5:25	312	7:6	141
6:17ff.	89	7:7	160
6:20-49	88-9 107	7:8	160
6:20-6	91-2	7:24-8	65
6:20-3	89	7:26	57 59 297
6:20	89 91 93	7:27	58 65
6:21	94	7:28	71 247
6:22-3	245-6	8:4-18	107 111-2
6:22	92	8:4-9	111
6:23	57 62 91 93 95	8:4-8	232
	124	8:11-5	112
6:24-6	91 94-5	8:16	94 97
6:26	89 118	8:19-21	111
6:27-38	91-2 95	9	109 114
6:27-35	92	9:1-6	121
6:27-30	89	9:1	292
6:27	91-5	9:3-6	109
6:28	94	9:4	283
6:31	72 89	9:26	264
6:32-5	89	9:46-8	114
6:32	89	9:49-50	114
6:33	93-4	9:51-13:30	94
6:34	94	9:61	302
6:35	93-5	10	109 111
6:36	89 92-3	10:1-24	107
6:37	90-4	10:1-16	121
6:38	93-4 97	10:1	303
6:39-49	91-2	10:2-20	109
6:39-48	95	10:3	259
6:39-45	91	10:7	246
6:39-40	91 94	10:11	95
6:39	91	10:12	316
6:40	50 91 108	10:13-5	245
6:41-3	230	10:14	95

10:16	63 292	12:16-59	107
10:19	292	12:22-31	94-5
10:20	95	12:27	96
10:21-2	303-4	12:31	95 231
10:23-4	112	12:33-4	94-5 97 246
10:24	57 62 297	12:39-40	119
10:26-8	257	12:40	242 246
11	98 107 115-6	12:41-6	227 245
11:1-36	107	12:42-6	119
11:2-5	96	12:45	243
11:2-4	94-5	12:46	227 242
11:2	311	12:57-9	94
11:9-13	94	12:58-9	94
11:9-10	94-5	13	111
11:10	97	13:18-9	232
11:11-3	94	13:20-35	107
11:20	233	13:20-1	112 232
11:25	304	13:21-2	233
11:29-30	69	13:23-7	94
11:30	235	13:23-4	94
11:31-2	245	13:25-7	225
11:31	235	13:25	96
11:33-6	116	13:26ff.	94
11:33	94	13:26-7	94
11:34-6	94	13:26	63
11:34-5	94	13:28-9	141
11:37-12:1	116	13:28	226
11:39-54	116	13:31	94
11:39-52	143	13:33	95
11:41	95	13:34-5	116
11:42	116	13:34	57 60
11:43-52	121	14	109
11:43	116-7	14:7-17:10	107
11:44	116-7	14:23	71
11:46-12:12	107	14:34-5	97 114
11:46	116-7	15	114
11:47-8	62	15:3-7	114
11:47	116-7	15:4-7	114
11:49-51	63 308	16:13-8	94-5
11:49	24 57 307	16:13	94 97
11:50	308	16:16	57 71-2 124
11:51	58		233
11:52	116-7	16:17-8	97
11:53-4	116	16:17	72 97
12	109 115 119	16:18	94 97-8
12:1	116	17	109 114-5 119
12:2-12	116	17:1-4	114
12:8-9	245	17:1-2	97 114
12:8	246	17:3-4	97 114

17:3	98 116 230	1:49	297
17:4	114	2:25	296
17:18	312	7:42	268
17:20–37	107	8:29	282
17:20–7	119	9	310
17:23–5	118	11:48–53	184 186
17:23–4	119	13:23–5	328
17:24	246	14:9–10	303
17:26–30	174	19:11	186
17:26	246		
17:29–30	41	<i>Acts</i>	
17:30	246	1–5	276
17:31–5	119	2:25–30	57
17:33	245 307	4:27	270–1
17:34	315	5:11	138
17:35	315	8:1	138
17:37	118–9	8:3	138
18:8	95	13:17	182
18:14	107	20:25	234
19	119		
19:27	95	<i>Romans</i>	
19:39–40	68	1:3–4	269
20	116	1:18	263
20:20–47	116	2:5	263
20:20	270	5:19	311
20:45–7	116	9:25	294
20:46	116	11:17	317
20:47–8	116	11:20–1	317
21	106 115	13:1–7	176
21:5–36	119	13:1	318
21:5–7	116	13:4	318
21:8–36	107	13:6	318
21:32	118	13:9	302
21:34–6	118–9		
21:34	116	<i>1 Corinthians</i>	
22:21–2	95	2:7	335
22:24–30	106	11:1	282
22:30	228 242 246	12:28	297
22:42	95	15:50	317
23:7–12	264 270	15:52	175
23:15	270		
23:28	95	<i>2 Corinthians</i>	
23:38	218	3	21
24:39	264	4:4	234
		4:16	302
<i>John</i>		5:1	234
1:14	304	12:2	328
1:47	297		

<i>Galatians</i>		<i>2 Timothy</i>	
1:1	303–4	4:18	302
1:13	138	<i>Hebrews</i>	
2:16	304	6:6	302
4:4	306	<i>James</i>	
<i>Ephesians</i>		2:5	234
1:6	234	4:6	251–2
1:10	302	5:14	138
1:18	234	<i>1 Peter</i>	
1:19	234	1:7	310
2:15	302	2:16	310
4:13	234	2:21	308
4:24	302	5:5	251
5:6	263	5:8	314
<i>Philippians</i>		<i>2 Peter</i>	
2:8	311	3:2	234
2:30	234	3:15	21
3:6	138	<i>2 John</i>	
<i>Colossians</i>		7–8	306
2:3	323	<i>3 John</i>	
2:12	234	6	138
3:6	263	9	138
3:10	302	<i>Revelation</i>	
<i>1 Thessalonians</i>		4:7	300 302 327
1:3	234	7:5–8	319
1:10	263	7:17	234
2:16	263	13:18	319 336
4:16–7	175	14:8	234
4:16	175	16:19	234
5:3	319	17:7	319
<i>2 Thessalonians</i>		19	156
2:3–4	318	19:15	234
2:8–12	318	19:20	319
<i>1 Timothy</i>			
2:5	311		
6:13	270		



## Index of Ancient Authors and Writings

<b>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</b>		<i>Mut.</i> 121	198
<i>1 Enoch</i>		<i>Post.</i> 127	213
42:1–2	36	<i>Virt.</i> 212–19	197
		<i>Virt.</i> 220–2	210
<i>5 Ezra</i> (2 Esdras 1–2)	332		
<i>Jubilees</i>		<b>Josephus</b>	137
20:4	210	<b>Apostolic Fathers</b>	
22:20	210	<i>Barnabas</i>	257 326
25:1–5	210	4:14	20
25:9	210	<i>1 Clement</i>	19 326 257
27:10	210	13	283
41:1	210	30.2	251–2
<i>Psalms of Solomon</i>		<i>2 Clement</i>	19 257 326
17:31	208	2.4	20–1
<i>Sibylline Oracles</i>		4.2	326
3:771–2	208	4.5	326
<i>Testament of Judah</i>		5.2–4	326
10:1	210	<i>Didache</i>	19 129 131 249
13:4–7	210		257 326
14:6	210	9:5	104
<i>Lives of the Prophets</i>		<i>Diognetus</i>	257
<i>Jeremiah</i> 9–14	61	<i>Shepherd of Hermas</i>	257
<b>Dead Sea Scrolls</b>		Ignatius of Antioch	4 249–87 326
1QM 2:15–4:17	153 175	<i>To the Ephesians</i>	
11QPs <sup>a</sup> 27	57	1.2	272
11QTemple	18	3.2	282
CD 10:16	134	5.3	251
CD 16:15	134	7.2	266–7
Community Rule	131	11.1	263
War Scroll	155	12.1	282
<b>Philo</b>	331	14.2	264
<i>Abr.</i> 1	213	18.1	282–4 286
<i>Aet.</i> 19	213	18.2	266 268–9

21.2	272	<i>The Letter to the Philippians</i>	281
<i>To the Magnesians</i>		<i>The Letter to the Tarsians</i>	281
11.1	266 270		
14.1	272	Polycarp	
<i>To the Philadelphians</i>		<i>To the Philippians</i>	257
3.1	261–2	2	283
3.2	283		
5.1	283	<b>New Testament Apocrypha</b>	
5.2	283	<i>Gospel of the Ebionites/</i>	
8.2	279 283	<i>Twelve Apostles</i>	332
9.2	283 286	<i>Gospel of the Hebrews</i>	332
10.1	272	<i>Gospel of the Nazarenes</i>	260 332
11.1	272	<i>Gospel of Peter</i>	270–1
<i>To Polycarp</i>		<i>Gospel of Thomas</i>	261
2.2	259 265		
7.1	272	<b>Classical and Ancient Christian Writings</b>	
7.2	272	Aelius Theon	
8.2	272	<i>Exercises</i>	
<i>To the Romans</i>		75–6	53
2.2	272	101	52
5.1	272 285	Ammonius	
9.1	272	<i>Diatessaron-Gospel</i>	327
10.2	272	Anastasius Sinaita	302
<i>To the Smyrnaeans</i>		<i>Quaest.</i>	
1.1–2	266 268–9	144	300
1.1	256–8 265 269		
	284	Apollinaris of Laodicea	322
1.2	264 270–1	Aristotle	
3.1–2	271	<i>Rhetorica</i>	
3.2	264	1.9.33	116
5.1	283	3.13 (1314a/b)	91
7.2	283	3.15.5–10	116
10.2	264	Athenagoras	327
11.1	272	<i>Embassy</i>	
11.2	272	32	327
<i>To the Trallians</i>		Basil of Caesarea	
8.2	282	<i>Philokalia</i>	324
9.1–2	266 268	<i>Refutation of the Apology</i>	
9.1	266–7	<i>of the Impious Eunomius</i>	280
11.1	261–2	Cassiodorus	324
13.1	272	Clement of Alexandria	323 326–7 329
Pseudo-Ignatius			332
<i>The Letter of Ignatius to</i>			
<i>Mary of Cassabola</i>	281		
<i>The Letter of Mary of</i>			
<i>Cassabola to Ignatius</i>	281		
<i>The Letter to Hero</i>	281		
<i>The Letter to the Antiochenes</i>	281 283		
3.1	284 286		

<i>Stromata</i>		Hippolytus	321
3.1	327		
Didymus the Blind	322 339	Irenaeus	5 289–320 327 329–30
Egeria	328	<i>Adversus Haereses</i>	289
Epiphanius of Salamis	332	1.1–5.10–1.14.6–7	297
<i>Panarion</i>		1.26.2	299 332
44(64).2.1	340	2.19.2	310
64.3.11–2	339	3.1–5	291 293
Eunomius of Cyzicus		3.1.1	292–3 300 326
<i>Apology</i>	280	3.3	276–7
Eusebius of Caesarea	315 322 324	3.5.1	294
	332	3.6–15	293
<i>Chronicon</i>	272–3	3.6.1–4	294
Ann. Abr. 2123	273	3.9	294
<i>Church History</i>		3.9.1–3	294
3.39.16	329	3.9.1	294
4.18.8	314	3.9.2	295
5.8.4	293	3.9.3	296
6	323	3.10.1–5	294
6.2	339	3.10.6	294
6.3.10–3	340	3.11.1–6	294 297 302
6.8.1	339	3.11.7–9	291 294
6.14.6	327		298–300
6.19.7	323	3.11.7	297 305
6.25.4	329	3.11.8	303–4 327
6.36.1–3	324	3.11.9	301
7.6.14	326	3.12–5	303
Eusebius of Cremona	321	3.13.2	303 309
Fortunatianus of Aquileia		3.14	303
<i>Commentary on the Gospels</i>	322	3.15.2	304 306
Gregory of Nazianzus	324	3.16–23	293
Hegesippus	332	3.16	304
Hermogenes		3.16.2	304–5
<i>Progymnasmata</i>		3.16.4	305
7	16	3.16.5–8	306
Hilary of Poitiers	322	3.16.7	306
<i>Commentary on the Psalms</i>	322	3.16.8	306
		3.17	306–7
		3.17.1	306
		3.18.4–6	306
		3.18.4	306–7
		3.18.5	307–8
		3.18.6–7	308
		3.21.4–9	299
		3.24–5	294
		4.6.2	314
		4.9–11	310



4.12–6	310	<i>Epistles</i>	
4.16	309	33	323
4.16.3	309	84.8	324 339
4.16.4	309		
4.16.5	309	John Chrysostom	323
4.36.7	335		
4.36.8	319	Justin Martyr	19 290 314 327
5.1.3	299		330
5.9.1	302	<i>Dialogue with Trypho</i>	326
5.9.4	317	76.7	307
5.10.1–2	317	<i>First Apology</i>	326
5.10.1	317	15–6; 19.7	326
5.10.2	317		
5.15–6.2	310	Macarius of Corinth	324
5.16.3–20	311		
5.16.3	311	Marcion	32 298 313–4
5.17	311		
5.17.1	311–2	Nicodemus of the Holy Mountain	324
5.17.2	312		
5.17.3	312	<i>Opus imperfectum in Matthaicum</i>	323
5.17.4	312		
5.18.3	312	Origen	
5.21–4	311	<i>Against Celsus</i>	324 330
5.21.2	311	1.49	330
5.24.1–2	318	2.1	332
5.24.1	318	5.65	332
5.25–30	318	<i>Commentary on John</i>	325
5.25.1.3	318	2.12	332
5.25.2	318	6.41	333
5.26–8	318	<i>Commentary on Matthew</i>	5 321–40
5.26.2–28.2	312	Preface (Jerome)	321
5.26.2	314 316	Pref. 4	321
5.27.1	313 315–6	Pref. 5	322
5.28.4	315	10.1	334
5.29–30	319	10.2	334
5.29.2	319	10.5	323
5.30.2	319	10.7	325
5.30.4	319	10.22	323
5.33	292	11.2	337
6.5–7	294	11.3	337
6.8	294	11.6	336
<i>Demonstration of the Gospel</i>	289	11.12	332
		11.16	337
Jerome	322 332 334	11.17	336
	339	11.18	336
<i>Commentary on Matthew</i>	179	12.38	331
<i>On Illustrious Men</i>		13.3	336
16	273	13.4	336
54	323	15.1–5	340

15.14	332–3	Pamphilus	322 324
15.28	335	<i>Apology</i>	322
15.32	335		
15.33	335	Papias	291 293 329
15.34	335		332
15.35	335		
15.37	335	Paschasius Radbertus	339
16.10	323		
16.12	332	Porphyry	323
16.15	330		
16.17	336	Tatian	
17.17	331	<i>Diatessaron</i>	326
<i>Comm. ser. Matt.</i>			
32	337	Tertullian	
35	338	<i>Against Marcion</i>	
42	338	4.2	327
79	332		
121	333	Theodore of Heraclea	322
134	323		
<i>Homilies on Genesis</i>		Theodore of Mopsuestia	250
3.5	332		
13.2	329	Theodotus	137
<i>Homilies on Jeremiah</i>			
15.4	332	Theon	
19.12.2	332	<i>Progymnasmata</i>	
<i>Homilies Joshua</i>		7–8	116
7.1	329		
<i>Philokalia</i>	324	Theophilus of Antioch	321 327
<i>On Prayer</i>			
27.7	333	Victorinus of Pettau	321–2 339
<i>On Principles</i>			
4.1.11–2	325		