

FERGUS J. KING

Stoicism and the Gospel of John

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*

629

Mohr Siebeck

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe

Herausgeber/Editor

Jörg Frey (Zürich)

Mitherausgeber/Associate Editors

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

629



Fergus J. King

Stoicism and the Gospel of John

A Study of their Compatibility

Mohr Siebeck

Fergus J. King, born 1962; holds a doctorate in Theology from the University of South Africa; has taught at St Mark's College, Dar es Salaam and The University of Newcastle, NSW; Farnham Maynard Associate Professor in Ministry and Director of the Ministry Education Centre at Trinity College Theological School, within the University of Divinity, Melbourne. orcid.org/0000-0001-6822-1529

ISBN 978-3-16-164246-3 / eISBN 978-3-16-164247-0

DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-164247-0

ISSN 0340-9570 / eISSN 2568-7484

(Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 2. Reihe)

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

© 2025 Mohr Siebeck Tübingen. www.mohrsiebeck.com

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher's written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations and storage and processing in electronic systems.

Printed on non-aging paper.

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

Preface

This is a companion volume to my *Epicureanism and the Gospel of John: A Study of their Compatibility*. WUNT 2/537 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020). I must express my thanks to Prof. Jörg Frey and the Series Editors for accepting this second of three planned volumes. I am also most grateful to Tobias Stähler, Markus Kirchner, and Tobias Weiß whose professionalism in preparing the typescript more than compensated for my amateurism and the machinations of Tittivulus, the medieval demon tasked with collecting verbiage and frustrating scribes. Technology has opened up for him possibilities unimaginable in the scriptoria of old.

The late Prof. John C. O’Neill of Edinburgh described our place as scholars as “standing on the shoulders of giants”. I must acknowledge such a vantage point. The late Prof. Ian G. Kidd and Peter Woodward shaped my studies in classical philosophy. Dr. Alistair C. Stewart has walked beside me from undergraduate days until now and always challenges me to up my game. All met at St Andrews. O’Neill and the late (but never tardy) Dr. Douglas Templeton from Edinburgh encouraged healthy distrust of majority consensus positions in NT studies. Former colleagues and students from St Mark’s College in Dar es Salaam, not least Archbishop Maimbo Mndolwa, who has recognised me as a Canon and Canon Theologian of his diocese, saved me from modernist eurocentricity. Prof. Eugene Botha, my *doktorvater* from the University of South Africa, taught me to ignore the ridiculous. Current colleagues at Trinity College in Melbourne, particularly Prof. Dorothy A. Lee (one of the most sure-footed scholars in Johannine literature one could have as a colleague, now a well-deserved *emerita*) and Assoc. Prof. Bob Derrenbacker tolerate me. None of them is responsible for the errors, which are all my own work.

My family, too, count – constant companions in following and staying with Jesus, to whom I, as always, dedicate this work: Irene, Benjamin, Jacob, Isaac, Ezekiel, Joel, Sterling (the first of a new generation), and my mother, Prue. Lastly, *in memoriam* Gregor Henderson, a fine cousin and mental health advocate.

Melbourne, January 2025

Fergus J. King

Table of Contents

Preface	V
Note on Abbreviations and Bible Quotations.....	IX
Chapter 1: Compatibility: Some Introductory Considerations	1
<i>A. Introduction</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>B. Types of Comparison.....</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>C. The Shared Environment(s) of the FG and Stoicism.....</i>	<i>17</i>
<i>D. Summary of Findings.....</i>	<i>21</i>
Chapter 2: “Living Well” in Stoicism	22
<i>A. Introduction</i>	<i>22</i>
<i>B. The Σοφός and the Προκόπτων in Stoicism.....</i>	<i>25</i>
<i>C. Πάθη in Stoicism</i>	<i>39</i>
<i>D. Φιλία in Stoicism</i>	<i>47</i>
<i>E. Πίστις in Stoicism</i>	<i>50</i>
<i>F. Ὁμοίωσις Θεῶ in Stoicism</i>	<i>53</i>
<i>G. Summary of Findings.....</i>	<i>61</i>
Chapter 3: God and the World In Stoicism.....	62
<i>A. Introduction</i>	<i>62</i>

<i>B. Naming the Stoic God: The Λόγος</i>	64
<i>C. Naming the Stoic God: The Πνεῦμα</i>	65
<i>D. The Stoic God and the Κόσμος</i>	68
<i>E. The Stoic God: Necessity, Fate, Chance and Theodicy</i>	75
<i>F. The Stoic God: Anthropomorphism</i>	82
<i>G. Stoics in the World: The Cosmopolis</i>	88
I. Κοινωνία and Ὁμόνοια	90
II. Οἰκείωσις	91
III. Οἰκείωσις and Impartiality	95
IV. Οἰκείωσις and Σοφοί	96
V. Stoic Ideas and Roman Politics.....	98
VI. Stoics and Slavery	99
VII. Stoics and Women	102
VIII. Stoics and Social Norms	108
IX. Stoics and Social Change	110
<i>H. Summary of Findings</i>	112
 Chapter 4: “Last Things” in Stoicism.....	113
<i>A. Introduction</i>	113
<i>B. The Body, Soul, and Death in Stoicism</i>	114
<i>C. Διακόμησις and Ἐκπύρωσις in Stoicism</i>	124
<i>D. Summary of Findings</i>	134
 Chapter 5: “Living Well” in the Fourth Gospel	135
<i>A. Introduction</i>	135
<i>B. Μαθητής and Διδάσκαλος</i>	137
<i>C. Πιστεύειν in the FG</i>	143
I. Ἀκολουθέω and Μένω.....	145

II. Sacraments and Sacrifice	147
III. Conclusions	151
<i>D. Φιλία in the FG</i>	152
<i>E. The “Johannine Community”</i>	157
<i>F. Summary of Findings</i>	172
 Chapter 6: God and the World in the FG	 173
<i>A. Introduction</i>	173
<i>B. The God of the FG: Πατήρ</i>	174
I. The Prologue: Creator and Father	175
II. Φιλία	179
<i>C. The God of The FG: Jesus of Nazareth</i>	180
I. The Λόγος and Creation	180
II. Λόγος and Σοφία	183
III. The Birth of the Λόγος	185
IV. From Λόγος to Ύιός	186
V. Ὁ Χρῖστος	188
VI. The Ἐγώ εἰμί Sayings	197
VII. Jesus and Ὑδωρ	201
VIII. Jesus and “Living Well”	205
IX. Jesus and Φιλία	205
X. Jesus and Πάθη	207
XI. The Death of Jesus	212
XII. The Resurrection of Jesus	219
<i>D. The God of the FG: The Πνεῦμα</i>	221
<i>E. The God of the FG: Creation and Κόσμος</i>	224
<i>F. Summary of Findings</i>	229
 Chapter 7: “Last Things” in the FG	 232
<i>A. Introduction</i>	232

<i>B. Ζωὴ Αἰώνιος in the FG</i>	233
<i>C. Ἀναστάσις in the FG</i>	236
<i>D. Τὸ Ἀφιέναι τὰς Ἀμαρτίας</i>	240
<i>E. Τὸ Σώζειν τὸν Κόσμον</i>	245
<i>F. Summary of Findings</i>	251
Chapter 8: Some Concluding Remarks on Resonance and Dissonance between Stoicism and the FG	252
<i>A. Introduction</i>	252
<i>B. "Living Well"</i>	253
<i>C. God</i>	255
<i>D. Last Things</i>	260
<i>E. Summary of Findings</i>	265
Bibliography	269
Index of References	299
Index of Modern Authors	311
Index of Subjects	313

Note on Abbreviations and Bible Quotations

Abbreviations used follow the conventions set out in Billie Jean Collins, Bob Buller, John F. Kutsko and the Society of Biblical Literature. *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Biblical Studies and Related Disciplines* (2nd ed. Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2014). Otherwise:

Cleomedes, *Cael.* – Cleomedes, *Caelestia* (On the Circular Motions of the Heavenly Bodies)
Nemesius, *De nat. hom.* – Nemesius of Emesa, *De Natura Hominis* (On Human Nature)

Unless otherwise indicated, New Testament quotations in Greek are taken from *The Greek New Testament: SBL Edition*. Copyright 2010 Society of Biblical Literature and Logos Bible Software.

Chapter 1

Compatibility: Some Introductory Considerations

A. Introduction

The potential ideological environment of the Gospel according to John or the Fourth Gospel (hereafter FG) is one which has long concerned scholars, both in relation to the stuff of the text itself, and the individuals or community involved in its genesis and possible redactions. However, one question which should be set aside is whether a primarily Graeco-Roman or Judaic background be posited. A vast amount of scholarship since Martin Hengel's watershed *Judaism & Hellenism*¹ has revealed that these were not two discrete cultures which, to borrow Philip S. Alexander's apposite phrasing, "were destined to collide like billiard balls", but rather were "in constant contact and interchange at both the material and intellectual levels from earliest antiquity".² Thus, demands that the FG belong to one or the other camp may be set aside, though, naturally, individual scholars and critics may choose to follow a preference in their investigations.

As a result, the second half of the twentieth century and first years of this have seen scholarly outputs which both stress the Judaic nature of the FG, an interest rekindled greatly by the discoveries at Qumran and in the Dead Sea Scrolls, as well as its Graeco-Roman background. These last have included reflections on the Graeco-Roman intellectual traditions which were contemporary with the FG, some preceding Hengel's work. C.H. Dodd, among others, reckoned this background to be essentially Platonic, by which is really meant Middle Platonic, a phase which sees a resurgence of interest in Plato, not least in the work of Plutarch (ca 45–120 CE).³ This would culminate, by the end of

¹ Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period*, trans. John Bowden (London: SCM Press, 1991).

² Philip S. Alexander, "Hellenism and Hellenization as Problematic Historiographical Categories" in *Paul Beyond the Judaism/Hellenism Divide*, ed. Troels Engberg-Pedersen (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 63–80, here at 69.

³ Charles H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); Gitte Buch-Hansen, "It is the Spirit that Gives Life": *A Stoic Understanding of Pneuma in John's Gospel* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und Kunde der älteren Kirche 173. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2007), 3–6.

the second century CE, in the rise of Neoplatonism and the concomitant decline of Stoicism.⁴ Stoicism and Epicureanism have been reckoned the two most popular intellectual traditions on the late first century CE, not least because they both embraced the dissemination of their core ideas and practice at a popular as well as an elite level.⁵

The potential engagement of Stoicism with emerging Christianity has been explored by Scandinavian scholars, particularly in relation to Paul and his eponymous tradition, but also to the FG and the Johannine tradition.⁶ Epicureanism has been less favoured, despite Norman DeWitt's championing, most likely over-enthusiastic, of the links between it and Pauline Christianity.⁷ There have been fewer explorations of its potential engagement with the FG and Johannine tradition; most mentions are cursory.⁸

⁴ Reginald E. Witt, *Albinus and the History of Middle Platonism* (Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society 7. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), 114.

⁵ Erlend D. MacGillivray, "Epitomizing Philosophy and the Critique of Epicurean Popularizers", *Journal of Ancient History* 3/1 (2015): 22–54, here at 24 for the Stoic usage (Seneca, *Ep.* 33.5–7).

⁶ For example, Harold W. Attridge, "An 'Emotional' Jesus and Stoic Tradition" in *Stoicism in Early Christianity*, ed. Tuomas Rasimus, Troels Engberg-Pedersen and Ismo Dunderberg (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2010), 77–92; Gitte Buch-Hansen, "*It is the Spirit*"; "The Emotional Jesus: Anti-Stoicism in the Fourth Gospel" in *Stoicism in Early Christianity*, ed. Tuomas Rasimus, Troels Engberg-Pedersen and Ismo Dunderberg (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2010), 93–114; Troels Engberg-Pedersen, *Paul and the Stoics* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2000), "Stoicism in Early Christianity: The Apostle Paul and the Evangelist John as Stoics" in *The Routledge Handbook of the Stoic Tradition*, ed. John Sellars (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 29–43, *John and Philosophy: A New Reading of the Fourth Gospel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

⁷ Thus, *inter alios*, Norman DeWitt, *St Paul and Epicurus* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1954); Clarence E. Glad, *Paul and Philodemus: Adaptability in Epicurean and Early Christian Psychagogy* (Leiden: Brill, 1995); Graham Tomlin, "Christians and Epicureans", *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 68 (1997): 51–72.

⁸ For a sustained study, see Fergus J. King, *Epicureanism and the Gospel of John: A Study of their Compatibility* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2/537. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020). On the Johannine Community and Hellenistic schools, including the Epicurean, R. Alan Culpepper, *The Johannine School: An Evaluation of the Johannine-School Hypothesis based on an Investigation of the Nature of Ancient Schools* (SBL Dissertation Series 26. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1975). For shorter studies, Jo-Ann A. Brant, *John* (Paideia Commentaries on the New Testament. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2011), 172, 213; Jaime Clark-Soles, *Death and the Afterlife in the New Testament* (New York, NY: T & T Clark, 2006), 110–149, especially 135–149 [Part of this material also appears in Jaime Clark-Soles, "'I Will Raise [Whom?] Up on the Last Day': Anthropology as a Feature of Johannine Eschatology" in *New Currents in John: A Global Perspective*, ed. Francisco Lozada & Tom Thatcher (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 29–53]; Craig S. Keener, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary Vols 1–2* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003), 57, 365, 376–377, 381, 405, 553, 573, 652, 728, 766, 845, 875, 915, 979, 1005, 1008.

Studies of Stoicism in relation to emerging Christianity have seen a resurgence of interest in methodology, many stemming from C. Kavin Rowe's *One True Life*, which has raised significant concerns about the viability of comparison.⁹ These need to be addressed as a preliminary to investigating the compatibility of the two traditions: of the FG, and of Stoicism.

B. Types of Comparison

Rowe was not the first to identify problems with comparisons. Ludwig Wittgenstein's *Remarks on Frazer's Golden Bough* had long identified the dangers of comparison which failed to identify its own perspective and imported extraneous value judgments.¹⁰ It is a viewpoint shared by Mary Douglas:

Nineteenth-century rationalists centred on what they thought of as the natives' intellectual problems. Gross superstitions, naïve magic, and immoral gods, (*sic*) were explained by reference to moral evolutionism. The mind of the primitive in aeons past had been hampered by illogical mental habits and proneness to letting emotions govern reason, and the same handicaps were thought to afflict present-day backward peoples. However, in reaction, for the students of my generation the main text was Evans-Pritchard's *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic* (1937). From this we learnt that people from alien traditions, trusting in their gods and ancestors and fearing their witches, were every bit as logical as we (or just as illogical). It is actually no more 'logical' to believe in a divinely created moral universe than to believe in an amoral self-generating universe. Foundational beliefs stand beyond the operations of logic.¹¹

Jonathan Z. Smith, in *Drudgery Divine*, had identified two issues: Christians using comparative studies to inform their own theological controversies, and comparison existing in the mind of the beholder.¹² These tendencies have been further identified by Dale B. Martin, whose lists of the various phenomena associated with Hellenism and Judaism are strikingly similar at points,¹³ and

⁹ C. Kavin Rowe, *One True Life: The Stoics and Early Christians as Rival Traditions* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016).

¹⁰ Ludwig Wittgenstein, "Remarks on Frazer's Golden Bough" in *Ludwig Wittgenstein: Philosophical Occasions 1912–1951*, ed. James Klagge and Alfred Nordmann (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company, 1993), 118–159, here at 125, 129, 131, 137. For a more positive assessment of Frazer, see Robert A. Segal, "In Defense of the Comparative Method", *Numen* 48/3 (2001): 339–373, here at 351–352.

¹¹ Mary Douglas, *Leviticus as Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), v.

¹² Jonathan Z. Smith, *Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 34, 51.

¹³ Dale B. Martin, "Paul and the Judaism/Hellenism Dichotomy: Toward a Social History of the Question" in *Paul Beyond the Judaism/Hellenism Divide*, ed. Troels Engberg-Pedersen (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 29–61, here at 58–59.

figure in critiques of Rowe's work.¹⁴ Even if not always avoided, the pitfalls have been well-documented.

In *One True Life*, Rowe juxtaposed the reflections of three Stoic thinkers with their Christian contemporaries, reaching the conclusion that they functioned as "rival traditions".¹⁵ By this, he meant that the traditions were incommensurable, as well as competing for adherents. The rationale which lay behind this came from his adoption of categories developed by Thomas Kuhn (paradigm shifts) and Alisdair MacIntyre (traditions of inquiry). The adoption of such a stance meant a departure from two other comparative methods: the "encyclopaedic" and the "genealogical". The encyclopaedic approach, which Rowe considers to have flourished in modernism and persisted in the work of scholars like Abraham Malherbe, risked seeing artificial similarities, which emerged from metanarratives or external constructs.¹⁶ However, Troels Engberg-Pedersen's description of Malherbe's "parallel comparison" as a method in which "each worldview must be investigated on its own premises, without any bias of interest in one or the other of the comparanda" indicates an evaluation which is far from the encyclopaedic.¹⁷ The genealogical, coming out of Nietzsche and stressing difference and otherness, denies the any possibility of

¹⁴ Dale B. Martin, "The Possibility of Comparison, the Necessity of Anachronism, and the Dangers of Purity" in *The New Testament in Comparison: Validity, Method, and Purpose in Comparing Traditions*, ed. John M.G. Barclay and Benjamin G. White (Library of New Testament Studies 600. London: T&T Clark, 2020), 63–77, here at 63–66. Margaret M. Mitchell, "On Comparing, and Calling the Question" in *The New Testament in Comparison: Validity, Method, and Purpose in Comparing Traditions*, ed. John M.G. Barclay and Benjamin G. White (Library of New Testament Studies 600. London: T&T Clark, 2020), 95–124, here at 111–114 views Rowe's study as having an inherent Christian bias, and so echoes Smith's first concerns. In reply, Rowe argues that, in identifying as Christian, he has simply given "a naming of the shape of rationality that I take to be possible", see C. Kavin Rowe, "A Response to Friend-Critics" in *The New Testament in Comparison: Validity, Method, and Purpose in Comparing Traditions*, ed. John M.G. Barclay and Benjamin G. White (Library of New Testament Studies 600. London: T&T Clark, 2020), 125–141, here at 128.

¹⁵ Rowe, *One True Life*, 7.

¹⁶ Rowe, *One True Life*, 177–179.

¹⁷ Troels Engberg-Pedersen, "The Past is a Foreign Country" in *The New Testament in Comparison: Validity, Method, and Purpose in Comparing Traditions*, ed. John M.G. Barclay and Benjamin G. White (Library of New Testament Studies 600. London: T&T Clark, 2020), 40–61, here at 56. For further criticism of Rowe's description, see Matthew V. Novenson, "Beyond Compare or: Some Recent Strategies for Not Comparing Christianity with Other Things" in *The New Testament in Comparison: Validity, Method, and Purpose in Comparing Traditions*, ed. John M.G. Barclay and Benjamin G. White (Library of New Testament Studies 600. London: T&T Clark, 2020), 79–94, here at 88–90. Mitchell, "On Comparing", 115 dismisses Rowe's criticism as "invective fare"; Stephen L. Young, "Let's Take the Text Seriously", *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion* 32/4-5 (2019): 328–363, here at 351–352.

comparison, even at the level of a point of origin (Gk. ἀρχή).¹⁸ Rowe’s “rival traditions” are identified with terms like Kuhn’s paradigms, which are described as incommensurable, and MacIntyre’s “traditions of inquiry” and “second first languages”.¹⁹ However, this third approach is not without its own problems. A number of these are raised in the John M.G. Barclay and Benjamin G. White, *New Testament in Comparison: Validity, Method, and Purpose in Comparing Traditions*.²⁰ If any evidence was needed as to how firmly Rowe had poked the bear of comparative studies, this volume provided it.

Both ancient practice and modern theory raise objections to Rowe’s claims. The work of the Stoic thinker Posidonius (135–51 BCE), amongst others, illustrates the practice of taking Platonic concepts, when deemed appropriate, and integrating them into Stoic theory, without compromising its central tenets.²¹ Such an incorporation might be justified as developing “a strand that was present in Stoicism all along”.²² Stoicism was also able to adopt elements of Cynicism which made it more appealing to Roman minds.²³ These reveal that ancient thinkers, and the practice was not confined to Stoics, were able to adopt and adapt vocabulary and concepts as they saw fit in developing their traditions, even if the term “eclecticism” remains fraught.²⁴ They could re-accentuate, to use Bakhtin’s term, material from elsewhere to fit their own agenda. They were not bound to some prior or original sense of a term or item of vocabulary:

¹⁸ Rowe, *One True Life*, 179–181.

¹⁹ Rowe, *One True Life*, 182–184, 202–204.

²⁰ John M.G. Barclay and Benjamin G. White, *New Testament in Comparison: Validity, Method, and Purpose in Comparing Traditions* (Library of New Testament Studies 600. London: T&T Clark, 2020).

²¹ Mauro Bonazzi and Christoph Helmig, “Introduction” in *The Dialogue between Stoicism and Platonism in Antiquity*, ed. Mauro Bonazzi and Christoph Helmig (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2007) vii–xv, here at viii–ix.

²² Alexander G. Long, “Introduction” in *Plato and the Stoics*, ed. Alexander G. Long (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 1–10 at 9. Quotation from Keimpe Algra, “Stoic Philosophical Theology and Graeco-Roman Religion” in *God and Cosmos in Stoicism*, ed. Ricardo Salles (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 224–251, here at 230.

²³ Andrew Bowden, *Desire in Paul’s Undisputed Epistles: Semantic Observations on the Use of epithymēō, ho epithymēiēs, and epithymia in Roman Imperial Texts* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2/539. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), 201, citing Margarethe Billerbeck, “Greek Cynicism in Imperial Rome” in *Die Kyniker in der modernen Forschung: Aufsätze mit Einführung und Bibliographie*, ed. Margarethe Billerbeck (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1991), 147–166, here at 149.

²⁴ Pierluigi Donini, *Commentary and Tradition: Aristotelianism, Platonism and post-Hellenistic Philosophy*, ed. Mauro Bonazzi (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca et Byzantina 4. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 197–198.

In the re-accentuation of terms, however, and in the new utterance that is created out of those traditional elements, it is possible to create the sense that one is only now understanding the true meaning of words that had long been familiar and important.²⁵

This should come as no surprise: it is given of semantics that meaning is not fixed within a term, definition, or etymology, but rather elucidated by a lexical field or semantic domain.²⁶ However, this does, as Rowe points out, raise a question of identification: whether the reaccentuated term has retained the identity it had in the “original” tradition?²⁷ Would a Platonic term adopted by Posidonius and appropriate for Stoic purposes still be identifiably Platonic given its reappropriation by a different tradition? Would the Posidonian position still fall within the parameters of Stoicism? The latter appears more likely—as Posidonius has predominantly been identified as a Stoic thinker, even if the degree of his use of Platonic material has been disputed.²⁸ It is difficult to assess Rowe’s views, as *One True Life* does not include any analysis of Posidonius’s thought or method. However, the omission raises the question that all the potential data has not been considered.

Posidonius’s practice may be described as any of “harmonization”, “syncretism”, “pooling of resources”, “eclecticism”,²⁹ or “hybridity”.³⁰ All imply a measure of commensurability. They even suggested that Rowe’s implicit claim, that people stand within one tradition, and one alone, may simply not be sustainable.³¹ Furthermore, A.G. Long’s description of Posidonius’s method counters “rival traditions”:

²⁵ Carol A. Newsom, “Apocalyptic Subjects: Social Construction of the Self in the Qumran Hodayot”, *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 12/1 (2001): 3–35, here at 7.

²⁶ James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 107–160, 206–262.

²⁷ Rowe, “A Response to Friend-Critics”, 134.

²⁸ Gretchen Reydam-Schils, *Demurge and Providence: Stoic and Platonist Readings of Plato’s *Timaeus** (Monothéismes et Philosophie. Collection dirigée par Carlos Lévy. Turnhout: Breplos, 1999), 87–89.

²⁹ Troels Engberg-Pedersen, “Introduction: A Historiographical Essay” in *From Stoicism to Platonism: The Development of Philosophy, 100 BCE to 100 CE*, ed. Troels Engberg-Pedersen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 1–26, here at 6.

³⁰ Athanasios Despotis, “The Philosophical-Religious Hybridity in John 6 and Its Reception in the Commentaries of Origen and John Chrysostom” in *Drawing and Transcending Boundaries in the New Testament and Early Christianity*, ed. Jacobus Kok, Martin Webber and Jermo van Nes (Beiträge zum Verstehen der Bibel/Contributions to Understanding the Bible 38. Zürich: LIT Verlag, 2019), 47–67, here at 48.

³¹ Martin, “The Possibility of Comparison”, 68.

When trying to understand the relations in this area [psychology] between Posidonius and Chrysippus, and Posidonius and Plato, it does not help to view the context as a battle between Stoics and Platonists.³²

Modern writers also take issue with Kuhn's description of paradigms as incommensurable, understood as indicating that:

there was no neutral measure that could be used to compare one paradigm with another, no paradigm-independent place in which to stand when considering competing paradigms.³³

Or, in David J. Bosch's words:

the perspectives of their respective champions are so different that one might even say that they are responding to different realities.³⁴

Critics claimed that this implied a "breakdown of communication" stemming from "mutually untranslatable languages":³⁵ Thus, communication became impossible. Resistance to such a conclusion was justified, linguistically.³⁶ The concept of re-accentuation, mentioned above, is one indicator of the persistence of communication. Kuhn later refined his position: there was rather a difference in "epistemic values" in which:

there is *often* no paradigm-neutral standard that one can appeal to in order to resolve the conflict between two paradigms.³⁷

The qualification is worth noting: *often* is not *always*. Matters need not end in either unintelligibility, or untranslatability.³⁸ Translations are never exact, and may be bettered, but:

it makes only an illusion of sense to say that all possible translation schemes fail to capture the 'real' sense or reference.³⁹

Owen Barfield, whilst noting Spengler's comments on the untranslatability of great cultures, dismisses such conclusions:

³² Alexander G. Long, "Plato, Chrysippus and Posidonius' Theory of Affective Movements" in *From Stoicism to Platonism: The Development of Philosophy, 100 BCE to 100 CE*, ed. Troels Engberg-Pedersen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 27–46, here at 29, 46.

³³ Daniel Garber, "Incommensurabilities", *Historical Studies in the Natural Sciences* 42/5 (2012): 504–509, here at 504.

³⁴ David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission. 20th Anniversary Edition*. (American Society of Missiology Series 16. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2011), 188.

³⁵ Garber, "Incommensurabilities", 505.

³⁶ Garber, "Incommensurabilities", 507.

³⁷ Garber, "Incommensurabilities", 506 (italics mine).

³⁸ Respectively, Engberg-Pedersen, "The Past is a Foreign Country", 46–47, 52; Martin, "The Possibility of Comparison", 69; Hilary Putnam, *Reason, Truth, and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 116–117.

³⁹ Putnam, *Reason*, 116.

But if these words are really quite untranslatable, if the gulf is truly unbridgeable, it will be said— what is the use of talking about them? The answer to this is that the meaning of such words— like all strange meaning— while not expressible in definitions and the like (the prosaic) is indirectly (*sic*) expressible in metaphor and simile (the poetic). That is to say, it is suggestible; for meaning itself can never be *conveyed* from one person to another; words are not bottles; every individual must intuit meaning for himself, and the function of the poetic is to mediate such intuition by suitable suggestion.⁴⁰

And, as he would further remind us, there is more of the poetic and metaphorical in even hard science than its proponents might care to admit; that is:

linguistic symbols have a figurative origin; a rule from which high-sounding ‘scientific’ terms like *cause*, *reference*, *organism*, *stimulus*, etc., are not miraculously exempt!⁴¹

Indeed, Hilary Putnam comments that Kuhn’s own work is ultimately “self-refuting”:⁴²

We could not translate other languages – or even past stages of our own language at all... To tell us that Galileo had ‘incommensurable’ notions and then to go on and describe them at length is totally incoherent.⁴³

This holds for more than scientific notions. Barfield’s comments on poetic diction, wherein the poet invests traditional materials with new insights, are also apposite:

The new meaning must be *strange*, not incomprehensible; otherwise the poetry of the whole passage is killed, and the fresh meaning itself will be still-born.⁴⁴

Such *strangeness* demands a continuity: a degree of commensurability.

In a longer piece, Derek L. Phillips argued that commensurability persists, rejecting the Kuhnian claim that paradigms are closed systems, recognising that movement between paradigms is possible, and that communication between paradigms remains possible.⁴⁵ He concludes:

it is only because Kuhn formulates paradigms as totally closed systems that the problem of incommensurability arises, and that Kuhn himself is an exception to the general thesis which he advances.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ Owen Barfield, *Poetic Diction: A Study in Meaning* (Oxford: Barfield Press, 2010), 130.

⁴¹ Barfield, *Poetic Diction*, 131. Michael Polanyi, *Personal Knowledge: Towards a Post-Critical Philosophy* (London: Routledge, 2002) offers a detailed critique of objective and impersonal approaches to scientific understanding, stressing the importance of the skills of the scientist for research.

⁴² Putnam, *Reason*, 114.

⁴³ Putnam, *Reason*, 115.

⁴⁴ Barfield, *Poetic Diction*, 114–115.

⁴⁵ Derek L. Phillips, “Paradigms and Incommensurability”, *Theory and Society* 2/1 (1975): 37–61, especially 49–59; see also Putnam, *Reason*, 113–119.

⁴⁶ Phillips, “Paradigms”, 60.

Commensurability is also a social phenomenon. Peter J. Katzenstein sees it:

emerge... from the partial overlaps of the multiple secular and religious traditions than mark all civilizational states.⁴⁷

The recognition that cultures have “porous boundaries”⁴⁸ raises issues for incommensurability, re-iterating Phillips’s view that paradigms are not closed systems. Kuhn himself recognised it was possible to move between paradigms, even, at one point, describing the process as a “conversion”.⁴⁹ Indeed, Phillips points out that Kuhn did not seem to apply his own findings about paradigms to his own experience.⁵⁰ The question which persists is whether such breaks as are recognised in such matters as “conversion” are clean or gradual – and the implications of this difference on commensurability and translation.⁵¹ Bosch additionally reminds us that Kuhn himself was wary of applying his theories to the social sciences.⁵² These include disciplines such as philosophy, theology and the study of religion.

Furthermore, in religious matters:

syncretism, or the phenomenon of one religion borrowing elements from another religion, has long been recognized as a nearly universal phenomenon.⁵³

Stanley Tambiah offers further reflection on the persistence of commensurability from such a perspective. He first notes that universals persist amidst human social diversity.⁵⁴ This allows for the persistence of translation, which, in turn, allows room for comparative work.⁵⁵ Admitting a preference for the approach of Louis Dumont, he sees comparison done through “proportioning”:

Dumont’s method insists on first constituting the total design in terms of the valuations of the socio-cultural tradition entity from within the tradition... This approach, contrary to common misunderstanding is *not averse* to comparison. Explicit comparison comes *after* the totalities have been constructed, and it entails the dialectical opposing of total designs, systems of valuations, and hierarchies of relations. It therefore reveals qualitative differences as well as similarities, and in highlighting the former is sensitive to civilizational options.⁵⁶

⁴⁷ Peter J. Katzenstein, “Civilizational States, Secularisms, and Religions” in *Rethinking Secularism*, ed. Craig Calhoun, Mark Juergensmeyer and Jonathan VanAntwerpen (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011), 145–165, here at 156.

⁴⁸ Milena Ivanovic, *Cultural Tourism* (Cape Town: Juta & Company, 2008), 26.

⁴⁹ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 189; Phillips, “Paradigms”, 49, 59.

⁵⁰ Phillips, “Paradigms”, 59.

⁵¹ Phillips, “Paradigms”, 53, 59.

⁵² Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 188.

⁵³ Eric Maroney, *Religious Syncretism* (London: SCM, 2006), xi–xii.

⁵⁴ Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, *Magic, Science, Religion and the Scope of Rationality. The Lewis Henry Morgan Lectures 1984 presented at the University of Rochester, Rochester, New York* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 112–115.

⁵⁵ Tambiah, *Magic*, 121–127.

⁵⁶ Tambiah, *Magic*, 126–127.

The combination of all these voices shows that a strong case may be made for both the persistence of commensurability and comparison.

Martin also suggests that Rowe has further failed to engage adequately with Wittgenstein's family resemblances,⁵⁷ to which an important codicil must be added, also from the *Philosophical Investigations*: the analogy of a thread, comprised of different fibres, which admits the extension of such resemblances through "number" and "indirect relationship" without recourse to any of a minimum number of shared phenomena, causal relationships, or external measures, ideals or forms:

And we extend our concept of number as in spinning a thread we twist fibre on fibre. And the strength of the thread does not reside in the fact that one fibre runs through its whole length, but in the overlapping of many fibres.

But if someone wished to say: "There is something common to all these constructions—namely the disjunction of all their common properties" — I should reply: Now you are only playing with words. One might as well say: "Something runs through the whole thread—namely the continuous overlapping of those fibres."⁵⁸

Yet, it must be admitted, the resemblance of any given strands is firmly in the mind of the comparator:

comparison, in its strongest form, brings differences together within the space of the scholar's mind for the scholar's own intellectual reasons.⁵⁹

Smith's dictum about the role of observers persists since they ultimately make decisions about resemblance. His words are echoed by Barfield, for whom:

the perception of resemblance, the demand for unity, is at all levels, the proper activity of the imagination, or...concrete thinking.⁶⁰

Yet this is surely unavoidable and seemingly leads to one of two conclusions. Critics may abandon the endeavour completely, which is the only option for those who would claim the kind of objective analysis sought by modernist approaches. Alternatively, they may seem to indulge in an unfettered subjectivism. But this is to go too far. Whilst recognising that any attempt at comparison cannot escape the premises on which it is founded and accept these limitations, those proposing comparisons should be resigned to the fact that their labours, like every exegesis, are circumscribed by the same factors long

⁵⁷ Martin, "The Possibility of Comparison", 70–71.

⁵⁸ Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, trans. G.E.M. Anscombe (3rd ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 1967), 32e [§67]. This analogy may also address the question of whether a particular element shifts its identity, as in Posidonius's appropriation of Platonic concepts for Stoic purpose: the thread of Platonic and Stoic strands now includes the Posidonian, but no single strand "changes" its identity.

⁵⁹ Smith, *Drudgery Divine*, 51–52, here at 51.

⁶⁰ Barfield, *Poetic Diction*, 15–16.

Index of References

Old Testament

<i>Genesis</i>		68:22 (LXX)	219
1:1–5	184	82:6 (LXX)	176
2:2–3	241	118:25–26	197
2:7 (LXX)	220	118:26 (LXX)	196
<i>Exodus</i>		<i>Isaiah</i>	
3	198	12:3	204
12:10 (LXX)	218	32:15–18	141
12:46	197	40:3	197
17:3	204	43	198
<i>Leviticus</i>		49:3 (LXX)	196
16:21–23	241	49:5 (LXX)	196
<i>Numbers</i>		51:1	204
11:25–26	220	52:13–15	196
<i>Deuteronomy</i>		52:13–53:12	197
18:15–22	188	<i>Jeremiah</i>	
32:6	177	23:1–4	200
<i>1 Kings</i>		31:31–34	141
17:1	193	<i>Ezekiel</i>	
<i>2 Kings</i>		11:17–20	141
14:25	193	34:1–10	200
<i>Nehemiah</i>		34:11–31	201
9:15	204	36:26–28	141
9:20	204	37:14	141
<i>Psalms</i>		47:1–12	204
22	197	<i>Daniel</i>	
22:18	197	3	249
34:20	197	7:13–14	194
69	197	12:2	237
68:10 (LXX)	208	<i>Nahum</i>	
		1:1	193

<i>Zechariah</i>		<i>Malachi</i>	
9:9	196	3:6 (LXX)	185
10:1–11:17	201		
12:10	197, 204, 215		
13:1	204, 215		

Intertestamental Sources

<i>1 Enoch</i>		<i>4 Maccabees</i>	
22–27	237	17:23	204
62:7	195		
<i>1 Maccabees</i>		<i>Prayer of Azariah</i>	
1:62–63	250	15–17	214
2:32–38	250		
<i>2 Maccabees</i>		<i>Sirach</i>	
6:28	204	44:16	204
7	214		
14:37–46	214	<i>Wisdom</i>	
		6:12–25	183

New Testament

<i>Matthew</i>		1:1–2	181
17:24–27	249	1:1–3	181
22:15–22	249	1:1–5	181
25	245	1:1–18	181
26:17–20	218	1:2	175
		1:3	175, 182, 230
<i>Mark</i>		1:3–4	182
8:31	213	1:4	143, 182, 225
10:45	213	1:4–5	224, 225
12:13–17	218	1:5	142, 183, 198, 216, 225, 241
16:1	235	1:6	176, 201
<i>Luke</i>		1:6–8	183
19:41	210	1:7	143
20:20–26	246	1:8–9	176
22:7–14	218	1:8–10	198
24:1	235	1:9	142, 175, 181, 183, 186, 258
<i>John</i>		1:10	186, 224
1–12	142, 205	1:10–11	183, 216, 225, 241
1:1	175, 181, 185, 186, 193, 222	1:10–13	183, 258
		1:12–13	225

1:12–14	140	2:14	209
1:12	255	2:15	209
1:13	144, 175, 183, 259	2:16	187, 209
1:14	175, 181, 185, 192, 255, 256	2:17	189, 208
1:14–18	186, 187, 188	2:19	235, 239
1:17	181	2:19–23	238
1:18	175, 258	2:20–21	139
1:19	181	2:21	219
1:23	189	2:22	144
1:24–27	139	2:22–23	143
1:24–29	201	2:23	144
1:25–26	190	2:23–25	143
1:29	190, 201, 241, 245	3	147, 222
1:29–34	230	3:1–10	185
1:29–42	189	3:1–21	222
1:30	201	3:2	141
1:31	201	3:3	144, 193, 196, 197, 239, 240, 242, 247
1:31–33	190	3:3–5	202, 244
1:32	221	3:4–10	139
1:33	190, 201, 222, 230	3:5	144, 170, 196, 197, 201, 202, 215, 222, 240, 247
1:34	222	3:5–6	226
1:36	187, 190	3:5–7	220, 222, 226, 259
1:37–42	145	3:6	202, 222, 226
1:38	141, 257	3:7	144, 263
1:38–39	145	3:8	215, 222, 224
1:39	145, 147	3:10	141
1:41	190, 257	3:11–12	215
1:42	139	3:11–15	222
1:43	145, 146	3:12–13	226
1:45	188	3:13	176, 194, 221, 226, 255, 259
1:45–46	193	3:13–15	195
1:46	145, 146, 193	3:14	193, 212, 216, 219
1:47–49	188	3:14–15	188
1:48–51	139	3:16	143, 152, 179
1:49	141, 187, 247	3:16–17	143, 159, 187
1:50	143	3:16–18	152, 227, 264
1:51	194, 196, 219	3:16–21	238
2:1	181	3:17	180, 229, 232, 245
2:1–11	202	3:18	241
2:2	138	3:19–20	225, 228, 241
2:3	202	3:22	138, 148
2:4	207, 208	3:22–24	148
2:6	202, 257	3:22–26	149
2:7–9	208	3:26	141, 148
2:10	202	3:31	193, 226
2:12	145		
2:13–22	187, 191		
2:13–23	188, 218		

3:31–36	222	5:20	179
3:34–35	230	5:21	230
3:35	179	5:22	230
3:36	143	5:24	238
4	204	5:24–27	238
4:1–2	202	5:27–28	230
4:2	148	5:28–29	238, 245
4:6	203	5:29	238
4:6–7	142	5:30	151, 229
4:9	257	5:38	241
4:10–15	139	5:39	144
4:11	203, 216	5:42	153
4:14	191, 203	5:46	188
4:14–15	202	6	192, 193, 200, 238
4:16–19	188	6:1–59	188
4:18	142	6:1–66	139
4:19	191	6:4	191
4:20	191	6:14	196
4:20–24	239	6:15	247
4:23–24	244	6:16	196
4:24	222	6:16–21	202
4:25–26	191	6:22–59	149
4:26	194	6:25	141
4:29	145, 147	6:26	144
4:31	138, 141	6:27	195
4:34	188	6:31	189
4:31–38	139	6:32	196
4:39–42	142	6:33	159
4:40	145	6:35	197
4:42	159	6:36	241
4:46–53	141	6:37	144
4:47–50	208	6:37–39	244
4:48	143, 208	6:38	151, 188
4:53	142	6:39	176
5	203, 241	6:41–65	147, 149
5:1	191, 218	6:42	193
5:1–9	191	6:44	144
5:1–15	141, 188	6:45	189
5:1–18	242	6:51–58	238, 244
5:2	203	6:53	149, 195
5:5	203	6:53–58	200
5:9	191, 194	6:56–58	149, 151
5:10	241	6:62	195, 219
5:14	241, 243	6:63	192, 226
5:16	241	6:66	138
5:17	230	6:68	139
5:17–29	187	6:69	139, 145
5:18	181, 241	6:70	227, 228
5:19	230	7	193

7:2	191, 198, 203, 218	9:2	141
7:4	156	9:2-3	241
7:10	156	9:3	243
7:11	191	9:14	191
7:13	156	9:16	241
7:14	203	9:17	142
7:21-23	242	9:22	217
7:25-26	156	9:24-25	241
7:26	156	9:34	241
7:26-27	193	9:35-37	194
7:9	145	9:38	142
7:18	151	9:41	241
7:33-36	139	10:3-5	219
7:37-38	202, 203, 216	10:9	185, 198, 200
7:37-39	149	10:11	198, 200, 204
7:38	189, 203, 215	10:11-18	155, 192, 206
7:40	193	10:14	198, 200
7:41-42	193	10:15	204
7:42	189	10:17	179, 204
7:52	193	10:18	204
8	177, 210	10:22-23	191
8:3-5	241	10:24	156
8:7	241	10:30	181
8:12	142, 143, 146, 198, 241	10:34	176, 189
8:17	189	11	210, 234
8:21	242	11:1	215
8:21-24	139	11:1-12:11	215
8:22	242	11:3	205
8:23	225, 242, 246	11:3-6	210
8:24	178, 235, 242	11:5	205
8:28	188, 195, 216, 219	11:7	138
8:31	144, 147	11:8	141
8:31-36	242	11:11-15	139
8:31-59	177	11:14	156
8:34	241	11:20-27	187
8:37	178, 227	11:21-27	211
8:39-51	260	11:24-25	139
8:44	178, 227, 228, 229	11:25	185, 198
8:46	241	11:25-26	236
8:48-49	178	11:26	195, 201
8:53	234	11:28	141
8:54-55	178	11:32	211
8:54-58	178	11:33	210, 211
8:58	178, 194	11:34	145, 147
8:59	147	11:35	210, 254
9	243	11:36	205
9:1-15	188	11:37	211
9:1-38	141	11:38	211
		11:38-44	219

11:44	235	14:2	246
11:45–50	155, 206	14:4	146
11:53	250	14:6	185, 198
11:54	156	14:14	208
12:1	191, 218	14:15	151
12:1–11	215	14:16	223
12:2	171	14:21–23	154, 180
12:12	218	14:24	181
12:13	247	14:26	223
12:14	189	14:27	211
12:15	247	14:29	188
12:20–36	227	14:30	227, 264
12:26	146	14:30–31	227
12:27	211	14:31	206, 225
12:27–33	211, 212	15:1	198
12:28	211	15:1–13	147
12:31	245, 246	15:4–10	201
12:31–32	228	15:5	198
12:32	160, 212, 216, 219	15:5–7	145
12:33	188, 211	15:9–10	145, 206
12:34	195, 196, 219	15:10	188
12:37	241	15:12	140, 154
12:38	189, 211	15:13	154, 155, 206, 207
12:39–40	189	15:13–15	153
12:42	217	15:14	154, 155, 206
12:46	241	15:15	153
13	205	15:19–21	229
13:1	191, 192, 204, 206, 218, 246	15:22	244
13:2	227, 228	15:22–25	241
13:3	216	15:23	229
13:4	204	15:25	189
13:1–20	204	15:26–27	165
13:6–10	204	16:2	217
13:6–11	139	16:3	188
13:10	204	16:7	223
13:13–14	141	16:7–11	187
13:14–15	171	16:7–14	165
13:15	204	16:7–15	223
13:18	189	16:8–11	227
13:19	188	16:9	244
13:21	211, 212, 256, 257	16:10	223
13:21–30	138	16:11	228, 245, 264
13:26–27	212	16:13–14	223
13:27	227	16:15	224
13:29	218	16:21	225
13:30	228	16:25	156
13:31	196, 219	16:27	225
14:1	211	16:28	225, 226
		16:29	156

17	139, 140, 180	19:19–23	250
17:1	189	19:21	195, 197, 247
17:5	182, 225	19:24	189
17:6	225	19:26	207
17:11	140, 180, 225, 251	19:26–27	138, 239
17:13	225	19:28	189
17:14	241	19:29–30	218
17:14–15	251	19:30	155, 165, 215, 224
17:14–19	146, 228	19:31	191, 192, 218
17:15	228	19:33	234
17:18	140, 160, 225	19:34	185, 204, 205, 215, 218, 234
17:21	160, 225	19:35	234, 235
17:21–23	140	19:36	189, 218
17:23	225, 226	19:37	189, 218
17:23–26	180	19:38	138, 235
17:24	182, 225	19:39–42	235
17:26	226	19:40	219
18:1–19:42	155, 206	19:41	210
18:9	188	19:42	218
18:15	138	20	143, 231, 238, 239
18:15–16	139	20:1–18	219
18:15–18	138	20:2–10	139
18:20	156	20:5–7	219
18:28	191, 192, 218, 250	20:7	239
18:32	188	20:9	239
18:32–39	250	20:11–18	220
18:33	197, 247	20:12	219, 220
18:33–38	247	20:16	141, 201, 219
18:36	196, 197, 246, 247, 265	20:17	230, 239, 240, 260
18:37	197, 247	20:19	239
18:37–38	139	20:19–20	138
18:38	199	20:19–23	140, 220
18:39	197, 218, 247	20:19–26	219
18:39–40	250	20:20	239
19	215, 218	20:20–31	154
19:1	218	20:21	140, 220
19:2	197	20:21–23	165, 240
19:3	197, 218, 247	20:22	220, 258
19:4	197	20:22–23	220, 224, 244
19:7	195	20:23	224
19:11	241	20:24–26	138
19:12	197, 247, 250	20:26	239
19:14	218	20:26–27	219, 224
19:14–15	197, 247	20:27	239
19:15	250	20:29	143
19:16	250	20:29–31	244
19:19	197, 247	20:30–31	154
19:19–20	197	20:31	141, 196, 231, 257

21	238, 239	<i>2 Corinthians</i>	
21:1–14	138	4:4	227
21:7	138		
21:9	235, 239	<i>Ephesians</i>	
21:11	139	2:2	227
21:13	235, 239	6:12	227
21:15	235, 239		
21:15–17	139	<i>Colossians</i>	
21:15–19	235	1:13	232
21:15–23	165		
21:20	138	<i>2 Timothy</i>	
21:20–24	235	2:18	233
		4:18	232
<i>Acts</i>		<i>Hebrews</i>	
5:34–39	195	5:4–5	195
17:16–32	236		
17:28	63	<i>1 Peter</i>	
17:31	238	1:11	232
<i>Romans</i>		2:13–16	249
5:1	245	<i>1 John</i>	
8:38–39	245	2:1	223
12:5	239	<i>2 John</i>	
12:12–17	239	1	164
13:1–7	248–249	<i>3 John</i>	
<i>1 Corinthians</i>		1	164
4:8	233	<i>Revelation</i>	
10:20–21	174	4:10	234
11:18–34a	166	14:4	146
15:44	240		
15:45–49	240		

Ancient Sources

Aeschylus		Alexander of Aphrodisias	
<i>Eumenides</i>		<i>De anima libri mantissa</i>	
648	236	179.6–7	76
Aëtius		<i>De mixtione</i>	
<i>De placitis</i>		215.13, 18, 23	126–127
1.7.1 [35–37]	81	Aratus	
1.27.5	76	<i>Phaenomena</i>	
		1-5a	63

Aulus Gellius		<i>Tusculanae disputationes</i>	
<i>Noctes atticae</i>		1.32	113–114
19.1	41–42	1.79	124
		5.70	57
Arius Didymus		Clement of Alexandria	
<i>Epitome</i>		<i>Stromateis</i>	
5b9	47	2.21.129.4–5	43
5b12	84	4.8	104
9a	48	5.14	90
9b	116		
10	40, 42	Diogenes Laertius	
11b	90	<i>Vitae</i>	
11i	49, 90	7.15	65
11m	49	7.23	44
26	132–133	7.34	103
<i>Fragments</i>		7.45–46	33
38 Diels	125	7.85	91
39 Diels	119	7.86–87	28
		7.87	27, 38
Cicero		7.88	27
<i>Academicae quaestiones</i>		7.104	36
2.145	31	7.107–108	30
<i>Academica posteriora</i>		7.119	57
1.29	77	7.121	108
<i>De finibus</i>		7.134	64
3.16	27	7.135	63
3.21	27	7.136	69
3.45	30	7.137	68
3.72–73	37–38	7.138	70
<i>De legibus</i>		7.140	74
1.25	56	7.142–143	66
1.28	56	7.151	71, 121
		7.157	116, 119
<i>De natura deorum</i>		7.160	34
2.4	62	7.187	108
2.5	86	7.189	37
2.22	73–74	Epictetus	
2.60	87	<i>Diatribai</i>	
2.70	88	1.4.18	52
2.73–74	83	1.4.28–32	60
2.167	78	1.6.19	56–57
		1.13.2	100
		1.23.1	37
		1.24.12–14	122
		2.5.24–26	94

- | | | | |
|--|---------|--|---------|
| 2.9.19–21 | 53 | 2:5–7 | 213 |
| 2.19.17 | 207 | 6:54–67 | 213 |
| 2.19.19 | 207 | 7:112 | 211 |
| 2.22.9–11 | 49–50 | | |
| 2.22.30 | 51 | Lactantius | |
| 2.24.20 | 31 | <i>Divinarum institutionum libri VII</i> | |
| 3.13.14–15 | 122–123 | 1.15.19–20 | 54 |
| 3.22.21 | 37 | 7.23 | 129–130 |
| 3.23.30 | 25 | | |
| 4.5.4–5 | 26, 28 | Livy | |
| 4.7.6 | 52 | <i>History of Rome</i> | |
| 4.12.8–9 | 34 | 25.24.11–15 | 211 |
| <i>Enchiridion</i> | | | |
| 17 | 99 | Lucian | |
| 31.5 | 58 | <i>Vitarum auctio</i> | |
| <i>Fragments</i> | | 20 | 29 |
| 26 | 37 | | |
| Eusebius | | Lucretius | |
| <i>Praeparatio evangelica</i> | | <i>De rerum natura</i> | |
| 15.1.5 | 89 | 5.8 | 55 |
| Galen | | Marcus Aurelius | |
| <i>De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis</i> | | <i>Meditations</i> | |
| 5.22.2, 298D | 25 | 4.41 | 37 |
| | | 5.31 | 100 |
| <i>De plenitudine</i> | | Musonius Rufus | |
| 525 | 65 | III | 106–107 |
| | | IV | 107 |
| Hesiod | | Nemesius | |
| <i>Opera et dies</i> | | <i>De natura hominis</i> | |
| 109–201 | 233 | 2.46 | 114 |
| Horace | | Ovid | |
| <i>Epistulae</i> | | <i>Metamorphoses</i> | |
| 1.4 | 200 | 6.488–489 | 168 |
| Josephus | | 7.450 | 168 |
| <i>Antiquitates judaicae</i> | | 12.578 | 168 |
| 17:148–164 | 213 | 13.639 | 168 |
| <i>Bellum judaicum</i> | | Philo | |
| 1: 648–655 | 213 | <i>De aeternitate mundi</i> | |
| 3.361–382 | 213 | 19.94 | 127 |

76–77	128	102.22–23	118–119
		120.14	37
<i>De migration Abrahami</i>		<i>Ad Helviam</i>	
23 (179)	73	17.3–5	105
Plato		<i>Ad Marciam de consolatione</i>	
<i>Respublica</i>		7.3–4	104
10.600a–b	199	26.6–7	123
<i>Theaetetus</i>		<i>De ira</i>	
176 a–b	55	1.8.6–7	46
Plutarch		2.1.3–5	44–45
<i>De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute</i>		2.4.1–2	45
329 a–b	95	Sextus Empiricus	
<i>De communibus notitiis contra stoicos</i>		<i>Adversos mathematicos</i>	
1075e	82	9.73–74	121
1078e	71	9.101	32
<i>De stoicorum repugnantiiis</i>		<i>Pyrrhoniae hypotyposes</i>	
1052c	128–129	1.160	108
Polybius		3.205	109
<i>The Histories</i>		3.246	109
38.22.1–2	211	Simplicius	
Rabbinic Works		<i>In Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria</i>	
<i>Beth ha-Midrash</i>		9.332.35–9.333.10	80
iii.73.17	195	Stobaeus	
<i>Sanhedrin</i>		<i>Anthology</i>	
11.5	195	4.84.20	101
Seneca		4.84.23	92–93
<i>Epistulae morales</i>		<i>Eclogae</i>	
9.16	129	1.20.7	67
41.1	85	2.93.14	30
47.10	199	Suetonius	
47.13–14	101	<i>Tiberius</i>	
47.19	101	32.2	200
65.21	37	Tacitus	
91.13	133	<i>Agricola</i>	
95.47	85	30	248
95.50	85–86		
102.22	37		

Theodoret		<i>Eclogae</i>	
		4	233
<i>Graecarum affectionum curatio</i>			
6.14	76		
6.14-15	76	Xenophon	
		<i>Memorabilia</i>	
Vergil		2.1.21-34	199
<i>Aeneid</i>			
1.614-634	211		

Index of Modern Authors

- Algra, Keimpe 19, 120, 121
Alexander, Philip S. 1
Anderson, Paul N. 150, 188, 229
Armato, Giorgio 68
Ashton, John 165
- Barclay, John M.G. 5
Barfield, Owen 7, 10, 15
Barker, Margaret 218
Barr, James 56
Barrett, C.K. 181, 229
Barth, Karl 11
Bates, Matthew W. 145
Blaine, Bradford B. 139
Blunden, Anthony 13
Bobzien, Susanne 77
Borgen, Peder 242
Bosch, David J. 9, 12
Boyarin, Daniel 184, 185
Brant, Jo-Ann 138, 159
Bremmer, Jan N. 236, 237, 238
Brown, Raymond E. 157, 161, 162, 262
Buch-Hansen, Gitte 65, 186, 215, 261, 262
Bultmann, Rudolf 11, 208
Burchard, Christoph 147, 167
- Capper, Brian J. 157, 252
Chen, Diane G. 177
Clark-Soles, Jaime 235, 259
Collins, John C. 164
Costa, Tony 143
Cooper, John 72
Culpepper, R. Alan 137, 161, 165
- Deslauriers, Marguerite 103
DeWitt, Norman 2
Despotis, Athanasios 258
Dodd, C.H. 1, 149, 182
Douglas, Mary 3
- Edwards, Ruth B. 203
Engberg-Pedersen, Troels 4, 16, 97, 146, 180, 181, 182, 222, 223, 226, 232, 252
Estes, Douglas C. 234
Eyl, Jennifer 52
- Fitzgerald, John T. 44
Ford, Josephine Massyngbaerde 138
- Gartner, Corinne 117
Glad, Clarence 22
Graver, Margaret 40, 90
- Hadot, Pierre 12, 34
Healey, Joseph 15
Hengel, Martin 1, 137, 165, 166, 248
Henrichs, Albert 168
Heil, John Paul 219
Hera, Marianus Pale 139
Hudson, Hud 130
- Inwood, Brad 73
- Jedan, Christoph 58
Jobes, Karen 184, 185
Joyce, Richard 116
Ju, A.E. 121, 126
- Käsemann, Ernst 260
Katzenstein, Peter J. 9
Kidd, Ian G. 35, 132
Klassen, William 156
Klein, Jacob 93
Kloppenborg, John S. 137
Koester, Craig R. 142
Kögler, Hans 11
van Kooten, George H. 60
Köstenberger, Andreas 197

- Lamb, David A. 162
Lee, Dorothy A. 142
Lewis, C.S. 16
Lewis, Eric 130
Litwa, M. David 54
Liu, Irene 30, 59, 83
Loader, William 175, 188
Long, A.A. 27, 130, 132
Long, A.G. 6
Lusching, C.A.E. 184
- MacDonald, Dennis 169
MacGilchrist, Iain 145
MacKinnon, Donald 173, 187, 259
Magrin, Sara 93, 94
Malina, Bruce J. 241
Manning, C.E. 111
Martin, Dale B. 3, 10, 11
Martos, Joseph 167
Martyn, J. Louis 157
Meeks, Wayne 135, 159
Meier, John P. 191
Meinwald, Constance 51
Mitchell, Deborah 184
Morgan, Teresa 50
Moscicke, Hans 220
- Nasr, Hossein 158
Nicolaci, Marida 196
Niehoff, Marin 73
- O'Day, Gail 156
O'Leary, Timothy 32
O'Neill, John C. 232
- Perkins, PHEME 237
Phillips, Derek L. 8, 9
Poirier, John C. 243
Punt, Jeremy 209
- Putnam, Hilary 8, 12
- Rohrbaugh, Richard L. 241
Rowe, C. Kavin 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 11
- Sanders, E.P. 205
Sanders, Jack T. 135
Salles, Ricardo 117, 131, 132
Schnelle, Udo 165
Schofield, Malcolm 48
Scott, E.F. 216
Sedley, David N. 64, 70, 71, 125, 130
Segal, Robert 12
Sellars, John 131, 134
Smith, Jonathan Z. 3, 10, 252
Sorabji, Richard 69
Stewart, Alistair C. 164
Stökl Ben Ezra, Daniel 218
Strijdom, John 14
- Tambiah, Stanley J. 9, 13, 15
Theobald, Michael 181
Thiselton, Anthony C. 174
Thomas, John C. 170
Tobin, Thomas 184, 185
Todd, Robert B. 73
Troost-Cramer, Kathleen 151, 192
- Vander Waerdt, Paul A. 109
van der Watt, Jan G. 136, 160, 170
- Warren, Meredith J.C. 166, 172
White, Benjamin G. 5
White, Stephen 74
Williams, Peter J. 181
Wilson, Bryan 160
Wise, Michael 14
Wittgenstein, Ludwig 10, 12, 13
Wringe, Bill 39

Index of Subjects

- action, appropriate
– καθήκον 30, 31, 35, 61, 91
– κατόρθωμα 30, 35
adherent, aspirant (προκόπτων) 23,
25, 28, 30, 35, 137, 253
Aeneas 211
Aetius 70, 81
air 74, 87, 89, 121
– element 65, 69–70, 125, 127
Alexandria 18–21, 241
allegiance 143, 145, 175, 244
angels 219
anger 42, 44–46, 100, 117, 208, 211
anthropomorphism 82–88
anthropophagy 108
Antiochus of Ascalon 37, 68
Antipater 18, 43, 65
antisemitism 210
Apollo 87
appellative, metonymy 87, 168
appropriation (οἰκειώσις) 27, 91–98,
106
Arius Didymus 20, 40, 42, 84, 90, 116,
119–120
assent 31, 41–46, 54, 116–117
– glory (δόξα) 50, 51, 139–140, 186–
187, 219
– συγκατάθεσις 33
Aratus 63, 82
assigning (Νέμεσις) 87
association 164
– religious 171
– voluntary 164
Aurelius, Marcus 19, 37, 100, 123, 133,
134

baptism 147–150, 169–172, 189–190,
201–202, 204–205, 230, 234, 244,
247, 253, 258, 266

bear, poking of 5
belief, faith (πίστις) 264
– in Stoicism 50–53
– in FG 137, 138, 140–142, 143–145,
152, 208, 232, 245, 263–265
Beloved Disciple 138, 143, 165, 235
Bethzatha 203
bicycle ride, African 15
birth from above/again 144, 170, 222–
224
blending (κρᾶσις) 71, 126
body (σῶμα) 25, 36–37, 58, 92, 114–
115
Boethus of Sidon 109
Booths, festival of 198, 203
bread 142, 198, 202
– of life 149, 159, 192, 197

Cana 191
– wedding 202, 207
Ceres 87
Chaeremon 20
chance (τύχη) 63, 76, 80, 87
Christ, Messiah 138, 140, 146, 154,
177, 181, 184, 185, 188–197, 213,
215, 216, 219, 239, 244, 246, 249,
252, 258, 259, 266
– christocentric 229, 231, 260
– king 154, 189, 196–197
Chrysippus 7, 18, 25, 38, 39, 43, 60,
66, 70, 71, 73, 78, 87, 91, 104, 108,
109, 111, 114, 116, 119, 121, 128,
129, 132, 134
Chrysostom, John 210
Cicero 18, 29, 30, 42, 54, 56, 63, 72,
76, 88, 98, 129
Cleanthes 18, 37, 82, 87, 119, 121, 132
cognition (κατάληψις) 30
commonality (κοινωνία) 89, 90–91

- community 1, 89–90, 95, 103, 135, 138, 142, 153, 155, 220, 221, 223, 240, 244
- cenobitic 157, 164
 - types of founder 95, 96, 165
 - Johannine 157–174
- comparison 3–17, 27, 156, 164, 168, 184, 196, 258, 261
- encyclopaedic 4
 - genealogical 4
 - heuristic 16
 - parallel 4, 16
- concepts 13–14, 56, 61, 64, 74, 83, 176, 196, 205, 237, 255, 258, 266
- concord (ὁμόνοια) 49, 90–91
- conflagration (ἐκπύρωσις) 113, 119, 123, 124–134
- contrary behaviour (ἀκρασία) 42, 46, 106
- convergence/divergence 53, 132, 138
- cosmopolis 88–90, 93, 97, 98
- creation/world (κόσμος)
- in Stoicism 32, 66, 68–75, 89, 95, 254, 258, 261
 - in FG 146, 152, 221, 224–229, 230, 245–251, 264–265
- cross 155, 188, 204, 215–219, 224, 239, 243, 245, 246
- crucifixion 139, 185, 192, 197, 208, 214, 220, 221, 224, 228, 250
- custom, practice (*mos*) 19, 85–86
- Cynics 19, 109, 136, 156
- Dead Sea Scrolls 1, 143, 163–164, 217
- death 31, 36, 50, 54, 55, 56, 113–124, 147, 205, 211, 234–235, 238, 242, 263
- apotropaic 155
 - exemplary 39, 204, 214, 235
 - expiatory 155
 - martyrdom 39, 214, 237, 250
 - noble 155, 206, 214, 237, 249–250, 254
 - of Jesus 140, 155, 159, 190, 196, 204, 207, 208, 212–219, 224, 232, 242, 245–246, 250, 264, 266
 - of the world, universe 67, 126–129
 - sacrificial 155, 190, 192, 218
 - vicarious 155
- deification 54, 254, 260
- demon (δαίμων) 78, 121–122, 174–175
- Diana 87
- Diogenes of Babylon 109
- Diogenes the Cynic 109
- Dionysos, Bacchus 168–169, 201, 230–231
- Dis 87
- disciple 137–143, 146, 165, 217, 234, 249, 251, 253–255, 263, 267
- διδάσκαλος 137, 141
 - μαθήτης 137–138
- dissonance/resonance 16, 201, 252, 255–257, 259–261, 263
- divination 57, 79–81, 86
- docetism 260
- Domitian 248
- persecution by? 248
- dualism 72, 225, 228, 259, 265
- above/below 188
 - ethical dimension 260
 - heaven/earth 188, 250, 264
 - physical/spiritual 260
 - spirit/flesh 260
 - spirit/matter 36
- Dumont, Louis 9
- earth 55, 70, 74, 77, 87, 89, 121, 188, 214, 226, 237, 262, 264
- element 65, 69, 122, 125, 127
- elements 45, 69, 122–124, 125–128, 144, 225, 258, 262
- Elisha 220
- emic/etic 14, 15
- Ephesus 18–21, 143, 217
- Epictetus 15, 19, 20, 25, 26, 28, 37, 39–41, 49, 51–53, 56, 58, 60, 94, 99, 100, 102, 122, 123, 145, 207,
- Epicureanism 2, 19, 55, 59, 82, 251
- Epicurus 55–56, 82
- eschatology 188
- in FG 246, 264
- ethics 22, 84, 136, 265
- in Stoicism 23, 36, 56, 59, 97, 99, 102, 109, 111, 120, 260
 - in FG 135, 136, 260
- eucharist 147, 149, 150, 244, 253, 266
- Exodus 144, 177, 198, 200, 202

- family resemblance 10, 12
 Farewell Discourses 154, 159, 222, 225, 244
 fate 18, 57, 63, 75–82, 86, 133
 – είμαρμένη 62, 73, 86
 – Μοῖρα 86
 fire 104, 119
 – element 65–66, 69–70, 88, 122, 125–128
 follow (ἀκολουθέω) 145–146
 fool (φαῦλος) 28, 31, 51, 97, 99
 foot-washing 170, 204
 frank or free speech (παρρησία) 156
 freedom
 – from mental stress (ἀταραξία) 56, 211, 256
 – from physical pain (ἀπονία) 56
 friendship, see love
- Gabriel Revelation* 196, 213
 Galen 117, 118
 Galileans 52
 god 13, 23, 168, 253–259
 – in Stoicism 29, 32, 36, 38, 52, 53–61, 63–88, 89, 96, 120, 122, 123, 127–129, 139, 255, 257–258, 263,
 – in FG 144, 145, 146, 150, 152–154, 157, 163, 170, 173–231, 238, 240, 243–247, 250, 251, 256, 258–259, 260, 263–264
 – triadic 258
 grasp, comprehension (ἀντίληψις) 91
- harmony, Stoic 23, 27–30, 52, 61, 90, 93, 97, 110–111, 120, 124, 254, 259, 263
 – συμφωνεῖν 27, 90
 Helvia 105
 Heraclitus of Ephesus 20
 hero (ἥρωες) 121
 Hierocles 55
 Hierocles the Stoic 92, 95–96
 Hippolytus 18
 Homer 199, 200
 honour/shame culture 139, 155, 177, 193, 206, 209, 241, 242
 hybridity 6
- “I am” sayings 180, 185, 197–201
 ignorance (ἄγνοια) 31, 51
 impression (φαντασία) 32–35
 impulse (ὄρμη) 33, 35, 42
 incarnation 140, 216, 217, 239, 255, 258, 260, 263, 264
 (in)commensurability 6, 8–12
 I→X→S model 146, 252
- Janus 87
 Jesus, see also Christ 137–143, 144–155, 159, 161, 165, 166, 168–170, 176–231
 – as prophet 142, 188, 193, 196, 244,
 – as teacher 136, 141, 143, 145, 165, 206, 242
 “Jewish”, “Judaean” (Ἰουδαῖος)
 – in Epictetus 53
 – in FG 250
 John the Baptist 145, 148, 176, 183, 189–190, 201–202, 221
 John the evangelist 174, 189, 192, 196, 201, 226, 231, 235, 246, 247
 Josephus 137, 156, 211, 213
 Joshua 220
 Juno 85, 87
 Jupiter 85, 87, 129
 Justin Martyr 18
- kingdom of God 170, 197, 222, 232–233, 246–247, 250–251
 knowledge (ἐπιστήμη) 49, 51, 57, 90
 Kuhn, Thomas 4, 5, 7–9, 12
- Lamb of God 190, 241
 language game 12
 last judgment 238, 245
 law, Scots 171
 Lazarus 140, 201, 205, 210, 215, 219, 234, 250
 life
 – eternal (ζωὴ αἰώνιος) 140, 143, 149, 152, 199, 201, 224, 226, 232, 233–235, 236, 261, 263
 light (φῶς) 59, 60, 85, 142–143, 146, 182–183, 198, 201, 216, 225, 228
 – enlightenment 60, 110, 142, 183, 198, 225
 likening to god (ὁμοίωσις θεῷ) 53–60, 77, 240, 254, 260

- love 17
 – in Stoicism 46, 47–50, 96, 97, 101, 106
 – in FG 135, 143, 152–157, 159, 163, 177, 179–180, 203, 204, 205–207, 226, 227, 228, 234, 246, 254, 255, 258, 266
 – ἀγάπη, ἀγαπάω 152, 206, 229
 – ἔρωσ 48, 152
 – φιλία, φιλέω 17, 46, 47–50, 51, 90, 91, 143, 152–157, 159, 172, 179–180, 205–207, 229, 249, 253–254, 267
- Lyons, destruction of 133
- MacIntyre, Alisdair 4, 5, 11
- manna 192, 200
- Marcellus 211
- Marcia 104
- Martha 187, 155, 211
- Mary 210, 211
- Mary Magdalene 138, 201, 219, 221, 261
- matter (ὕλη) 36, 64, 66–67, 69–70, 72, 76, 112, 114, 123, 125, 128, 134, 239, 255, 256, 260, 261–263, 266
- Mavors/Mars 87
- Medea* (Euripides) 169
- Menahem 213
- metempsychosis 235
- Minerva 87
- misunderstanding 139, 140, 145, 194
- monism 43, 73, 117, 259, 262, 265
- More, Thomas 96
- Moses 195, 196, 200
- Musonius Rufus, Gaius 19, 24, 105–107
- nature, god (φύσις) 28, 35, 40, 42, 55, 62, 75, 94, 104, 115, 258
- Neoplatonism 2, 19
- Neptune 87
- neutral moral category (ἀδιάφορον) 34–37, 43, 61, 99, 102, 104, 108, 254
- Nicodemus 141, 193, 215, 222, 235
- Onesimus 249
- Panaetius of Rhodes 18, 114, 123, 124, 128
- pantheism 72, 258
- pantheism 72, 74, 262
- Papyrus ⱥ52 18
- passions, emotions (πάθη) 254–256
 – correct alignment of (εὐπάθεια) 40, 46, 48, 50, 256
 – freedom from (ἀπάθεια) 40
 – in Stoicism 39–47, 116
 – of Jesus 157, 205, 207–212
- Passover 160, 190, 192, 197, 202, 218, 241
- Paul, apostle 63, 71, 146, 174, 233, 236, 237, 244, 245, 246, 249, 252
- Penates 87
- perception (αἴσθησις) 91
- Peripatetics 39
- Philemon 249
- Philo Judaeus of Alexandria 19, 20, 73, 127, 156, 182, 195, 198, 200, 241
- Pilate, Pontius 139, 197, 199, 235, 247, 250
- Plato 1, 7, 15, 55, 59, 60, 69, 72, 90, 114, 199, 212, 266
- Platonism 19, 260
 – Middle 19, 39, 47, 59, 68–69, 81, 117
- Pliny the Younger 20, 248
- Plutarch 1, 18, 29, 79, 131
- polemic 14, 15, 79, 109, 178, 194, 210
- Pompeius Magnus, Gnaeus 98
- Posidonius of Apamea 5–7, 15, 18, 43, 65, 66, 70, 73, 98, 117–118, 121, 128, 132, 133, 257, 266, 267
- preferred choice, action
 – ἀξία 34, 61
 – προηγμένα 34, 61
- preformation (ἐπιγένεσις) 186, 215
- principle
 – providence, active (πρόνοια) 75, 76, 83, 129
 – rational (ἡγεμονικόν) 33, 38, 93, 115,
- prologue (FG) 175, 181–182, 198, 216, 221, 225, 25, 258,
- Proserpina 87

- quality, personal (ιδίως ποιός) 67–70, 79
- Quartodecimans 171
- Qumran 1, 157, 163, 164
- reason (νοῦς) 50, 62, 63, 258
- reconstitution (διακόσμησις) 113, 124–134, 262
- “reduction-to-the-elements”
(ἀναστοιχείωσις) 126, 127, 262, 263
- Reinhartz, Adele 186
- religion (*res*) 85, 86, 88, 113
- religious virtuosity 157, 172, 252
- resurrection 140, 201, 211, 232, 236–240, 244, 261, 263
- as title 195, 198
 - as goddess 236
 - collective 237
 - eschatological event 148, 236, 238
 - individual 236
 - of Jesus 187, 188, 191, 197, 201, 211, 219–221, 234, 237, 258
 - of righteous 237
- ritual in ink 166, 172
- rival traditions 4–6
- Rome 19, 20, 55, 98, 102, 136, 173, 179, 191, 200, 248, 249, 265
- *Pax Romana* 248
 - rule, authority of 250
- ruler of this world (ἄρχων) 211, 219, 227–228, 230, 245, 246, 251, 253, 259, 264
- Satan 212, 228
- Sabbath 85, 191–192, 194, 241–242, 244
- Sabinus 213
- sacraments 147–151, 152, 166, 167, 170–171, 192, 200, 238, 253, 263, 266, 267
- sacrifice 57, 60, 87, 147–151, 191, 214, 216–218
- sacrificialisation 167
- sage (σοφός) 22–23, 25–39, 40, 51, 59, 81, 99, 120, 134, 137, 211, 253, 254, 256, 263, 266
- salvation (σώζειν) 135, 159, 177, 216, 219, 232, 245–251, 264
- Saturn 87
- school (σχολή) 18, 22, 29, 80, 96, 99, 103, 111, 128, 145, 157, 160–161, 163, 165, 178, 261,
- sect 95, 157, 158–159
- seed of Abraham 227
- Seim, Turid Karlsen 186
- self-sufficiency (αὐτάρκεια) 26, 28, 39, 249, 253, 255, 264
- semantics 6, 12–13, 37, 142, 266
- sending
- in FG 165, 172, 176, 179, 182, 188, 220, 221, 223–227, 229, 258
- Seneca, Lucius Annii 19, 29, 37, 39, 43, 44, 46, 50, 58, 79, 80, 85, 99, 101, 104, 117, 118, 123, 124, 129, 133
- Sextus Empiricus 108
- shepherd 192, 198, 200, 201, 204
- signs (FG) 143–144
- sin 140, 201, 211, 215, 235, 240–244, 264
- as blindness? 243
 - removal of (τὸ ἀφιέναι τὰς ἁμαρτίας) 240–244
- slave, slavery 44, 99–102, 106, 108, 111, 154, 206, 243, 244, 249, 255.
- Socrates 22, 26, 47, 61, 111, 130, 155
- Son of Man (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου) 189, 194–196, 213, 216, 219, 243, 244, 246, 247, 251
- soul (ψυχή) 25, 32, 36–37, 58, 65–66, 73, 114–115, 119, 123, 154, 206, 211
- spirit, breath (πνεῦμα) 12, 262, 264
- in Stoicism 23, 33, 64, 65–68, 70–72, 74, 79, 115, 120, 126, 128, 261, 262
 - in FG 149, 150, 155, 174, 176, 182, 184, 201, 202, 205, 215, 220, 221–224, 226, 229–231, 232, 235, 239, 240, 244, 255, 256, 257–259, 260–261
 - Paraclete 165, 172, 223, 258
- stay, abide (μένω) 145, 146, 149, 201, 206, 221, 224, 233, 238, 253, 264
- stimulus, involuntary feeling (προπάθεια) 20, 42, 45, 117, 207, 256

- Stoicism
 – early/old 18, 96, 132, 257
 – middle 18, 117, 257
 – Roman 19, 39, 122, 128, 257
 Suffering Servant 190, 241
 symbolism 142, 153, 170, 201, 203
 synagogue 141, 146, 160, 163, 164, 217
 – ἀποσυνάγωγος 217
 Synoptic Gospels 17, 136, 148, 152,
 159, 165, 191, 195, 198, 218, 232,
 235
 Syria 18–20
- teacher (διδάσκαλος) 141, 143, 145, 165,
 199, 206, 213
 tears 210–211, 254
 temple 60, 85
 – Jerusalem 18, 140, 141, 144, 160,
 187, 191, 198, 203, 216–217, 219,
 220, 242, 253
 – Jerusalem, Cleansing of 191, 208
 tension 64, 66–67, 74, 120, 126, 260,
 264
 – ἔξελξις 66
 – τόπος 120, 126
theologia tripertita 83
 theocentric 69, 229, 260
 theosis (θέωσις) 254, 260
 Theophrastus 68
 time 119, 130–134, 233–234
 – aeonic, mythic 233, 264
 – cyclic 130–131, 233
 – decline 233
 – Golden Age, progress 233
 – linear 130–131, 233
 Titus 211
tōdāh 192, 202
 trade guild 164
 tradition (ἀνθρώπινη) 161
 Trajan 248
 Tullia 54
- unknown causes (Αἰτία) 87
- unthinking* 15, 54, 136, 207
 utopia 96–97, 108, 111, 200, 246
- Varro 84
 Vesta 87
 vine 60, 147, 198
 – Jesus 201
 void (κένον) 74–75, 128, 255
- water 142, 148, 150, 170, 190, 192,
 198, 201–203, 205, 215–216, 222,
 234
 – element 65, 69, 122, 125, 127
 – living (ἕδωρ ζῶν) 170, 203, 216
 way, Jesus as the 198–199
 Wittgenstein, Ludwig 10, 12–13
 women
 – in Stoicism 24, 54, 102–108, 111,
 – in FG 138, 215
- word, god (λόγος) 12, 16
 – in Stoicism 23, 27, 28, 32–35, 40,
 50, 52, 59, 62, 63–64, 65, 67, 68–69,
 77, 110, 124, 254, 255–256, 257–
 258, 260–261, 264
 – in FG 140, 142, 153, 174, 175–176,
 180–188, 192, 201, 215, 222–224,
 226, 229, 231, 255–256, 257–258,
 260–261, 264
 – σπερματικός 64, 67–69
- Xenocrates 68
- Yom Kippur/ Day of Atonement 190,
 214, 218, 220–221, 241
- Zeno of Citium 15, 18, 28, 30–32, 38,
 39, 42, 44, 65, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75–76,
 87, 90, 91, 95, 96, 97, 99, 103, 110,
 111, 125
 Zeus 38, 179
 – as Stoic deity 38, 59, 62–63, 82, 87,
 264
 Zoroastrianism 237