

JUTTA LEONHARDT

Jewish Worship in Philo of Alexandria

*Texts and Studies
in Ancient Judaism*

84

Mohr Siebeck

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Jutta Leonhardt

Jewish Worship in Philo of Alexandria

Mohr Siebeck

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Preface

This book is the corrected and expanded version of my doctoral dissertation at the University of Cambridge. I have included a greater number of Philonic texts and added a brief paragraph on the scholarship on Philo in general (chapter I.2.2) and a more detailed discussion of the parallels between Philo and Plato's *Nomoi* (chapter V.3.3). I am indebted to many people without whom neither the thesis nor the book could have been completed.

Above all I am grateful to my supervisor William Horbury for guiding my work with immense insight, generosity and patience. I would also like to thank James Carleton Paget and Graham I. Davies who supervised me at various stages.

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I cannot express enough gratitude to my family, to my parents, who have always supported and encouraged me, and especially to my fiancé Jens Balzer for his assistance and loving support. To my family, past and present, I dedicate this book.

Wertheim, Christmas 2000

Jutta Leonhardt

Contents

Preface.....	v
Abbreviations.....	xiii
<i>Chapter I. Jewish Worship – Introduction and Methodology</i>	1
1. Judaism in the First Century	1
2. Sources, Methodology, and Definition of Worship	3
2.1 Sources.....	3
2.2 Brief survey of scholarship.....	5
2.3 Methodology	6
2.4 Definition of Worship	7
3. Philo’s Use of Λατρεία.....	10
3.1 Linguistic background.....	10
3.2 Λατρεία as service to a master	11
3.3 Λατρεία as worship of God.....	12
3.3.1 Jewish worship in general	12
3.3.2 Specific aspects of Jewish worship	14
3.4 Conclusion.....	15
<i>Chapter II. The Jewish Festivals</i>	18
1. Festivals (ἐορταί).....	18
1.1 Linguistic background.....	18
1.2 Festivals in general: sacred time and time of joy	19
1.3 Definition of a festival	21
1.4 Specific Jewish festivals.....	24
1.4.1 The ten universal festivals.....	24
1.4.2 The first festival: Every Day	25
1.4.3 The second festival: the Sabbath.....	28
1.4.4 The third festival: the New Moon	28
1.4.5 The fourth festival: the Passover.....	29
1.4.6 The fifth festival: the Festival of the Unleavened Bread	36
1.4.7 The sixth festival: the Sheaf.....	38
1.4.8 The seventh festival: the Festival of Weeks or of First Produce.....	39
1.4.9 The eighth festival: the Beginning of the Sacred Month with the Trumpet Festival (New Year).....	41
1.4.10 The ninth festival: the Fast (Day of Atonement).....	43

1.4.11 The tenth festival: the Festival of Tabernacles or Booths	45
1.4.12 Local festivals: festivals of certain groups of Jews	47
1.4.12.1 The Alexandrian festival in celebration of the Septuagint	48
1.4.12.2 The great festival of the Therapeutae	48
1.5 Conclusion	51
2. Sabbath and Sabbath Assemblies	53
2.1 The meaning of the Sabbath	53
2.1.1 The terms used for the Sabbath	53
2.1.2 Philo's interpretation of the Sabbath	55
2.1.2.1 The Sabbath and the world	55
2.1.2.2 The Sabbath and God	60
2.2 Sabbath observance	64
2.2.1 Sabbath rest and its laws	64
2.2.2 Details of the Sabbath Halakha	70
2.2.2.1 Common Sabbath customs	70
2.2.2.2 Sabbath observance among specific Jewish groups	73
2.3 The <i>proseuche</i> , the Sabbath assemblies and their teaching	74
2.3.1 The terms for the assembly and its function	74
2.3.2 The activities in the <i>proseuche</i> on the Sabbath	81
2.3.2.1 The <i>proseuche</i> as a Hellenistic school of philosophy	81
2.3.2.2 The Sabbath assemblies in non-sectarian <i>proseuchai</i>	83
2.3.2.3 The Sabbath assemblies of specific Jewish groups	86
2.3.3 The bible instruction in the <i>proseuchai</i>	88
2.3.3.1 General bible exposition	89
2.3.3.2 The bible instruction of specific Jewish groups	91
2.3.3.3 Allegorical bible teaching	93
2.4 Conclusion	95

Chapter III. Prayer and Praise

1. Prayer in Philo (εὐχή)	101
1.1 Linguistic outline	101
1.2 References to biblical prayers in Philo	102
1.3 Prayer as supplication	104
1.3.1 General Hellenistic prayers	104
1.3.2 The attributes of God addressed in prayer	105
1.3.3 Israel's special position among the nations	108
1.3.4 The object of true prayer	111
1.3.5 Εὐχή as blessing	114
1.4 Vows	117
1.4.1 The Nazirite vow: ἡ μεγάλη εὐχή	117
1.4.2 The purpose of a vow	121
1.4.3 The vows of women	123
1.4.4 The vows of spoils	124
1.5 Prayer and worship	124
1.5.1 Solitary prayer	124
1.5.2 Communal prayer	125
1.5.3 Prayer and women's worship	125

1.5.4 The prayer of the Therapeutae	126
1.5.5 Worship as prayer and sacrifices	127
1.5.5.1 The High Priest's worship	128
1.5.5.2 Prayers and sacrifices	129
1.5.6 Prayer for the remission of sins	132
1.5.7 Prayer on specific occasions	133
1.5.8 Prayer gestures	135
1.5.9 The correct attitude towards prayer	136
1.6 Prayer and thanksgiving	137
1.7 Conclusion	138
 2. Psalms, Hymns, and Praise	 142
2.1 The psalm quotations in Philo's writings	142
2.1.1 The selection of Philonic texts	143
2.1.2 Philo's Psalter	144
2.1.3 Introduction and text of Philo's psalm quotations	147
2.1.3.1 The psalmist	147
2.1.3.2 Introduction of quotation strings	150
2.1.3.3 Introduction by reference to the singing or reciting of the Psalter	151
2.1.3.4 Philo's use of the Septuagint text of the psalms	151
2.1.4 Examples for Philo's use of the psalms	153
2.1.4.1 The quotation of the same psalm in different contexts	153
2.1.4.2 The combination of psalms to make an exegetical point	154
2.1.4.3 Psalm quotations proving ideas which lack proof from the Pentateuch	 155
2.2 Philo's account of psalm and hymn singing in Jewish worship	156
2.2.1 Linguistic background	156
2.2.2 The problem of the recitation of psalms and hymns	158
2.2.3 Singing in Philo's idea of worship	159
2.2.3.1 Philo's theory of singing and music	159
2.2.3.2 Hymnody as praise	160
2.2.3.3 Philo's reference to biblical hymns	162
2.2.3.4 Philo's references to the hymnody of his time	167
2.3 Conclusion	172
 3. Thanksgiving	 175
3.1 Linguistic background	175
3.2 Verbal thanksgiving	176
3.3 Thanksgiving and acts of worship	177
3.3.1 Thanksgiving and worship in general	177
3.3.2 Thanksgiving and specific aspects of worship	179
3.3.2.1 Festivals	179
3.3.2.2 Prayer, vows, and hymns	180
3.3.2.3 Offerings	182
3.3.2.4 Sacrifices	184
3.4 Conclusion	188

<i>Chapter IV. Temple Tax, Sacrifices, and Purification</i>	190
1. Temple Tax and Temple Offerings (ἀπαρχή)	190
1.1 Linguistic background	190
1.2 Tithes and first-fruit offerings	192
1.2.1 The festivals concerned with the first-fruits	192
1.2.2 The offerings of Cain and Abel	197
1.2.3 First-born children	198
1.2.4 The offering of first fruits in the symbolic sense	199
1.3 Temple offerings and Temple tax	201
1.3.1 The Levites in connection with Temple offerings and taxes	201
1.3.2 Temple taxes and offerings as income for the officiating priests	202
1.3.3 The priests' reception of the offerings	205
1.3.4 The laws for the Temple tax and their observance in Philo's time	207
1.3.5 The ruling powers and the Jewish Temple taxes	209
1.4 Conclusion	211
2. Sacrifices (θυσίαι)	214
2.1 Linguistic background	214
2.2 Philo's references to biblical sacrifices	215
2.2.1 Cain's sacrifice and the sacrifice of first-fruits	215
2.2.2 Melchizedek's sacrifices	216
2.2.3 The consecration of the Tabernacle	217
2.3 Sacrifices and the Temple	218
2.3.1 The Temple as the place for sacrifices	218
2.3.2 The sacrifices and the Temple in the first century CE	220
2.3.3 The altar as sacrifice-keeper	222
2.4 Sacrifices in connection with other acts of worship	223
2.4.1 Sacrifices and festive days	223
2.4.2 The sacrifice on specific festivals	224
2.5 The priests' role in the sacrifices	228
2.5.1 Ordinary priests	228
2.5.2 The High Priest	230
2.6 The requirements for sacrifices	233
2.6.1 The sacrificial animals	233
2.6.2 The attitude of the worshippers	235
2.6.3 The purity of the worshippers	240
2.7 The various kinds of sacrifices	241
2.7.1 The three types of sacrifices	242
2.7.2 Details of the whole burnt-offering	248
2.7.3 The grain-offering	249
2.7.4 Sacrifices as thanksgiving	251
2.8 Conclusion	251
3. Purification	256
3.1 Purity in Philo (ἀγνεία)	256
3.1.1 Linguistic background	256
3.1.2 Chastity	257
3.1.3 Ritual purity and virtue	258
3.1.4 Conclusion	260

3.2 Sprinkling (περιρραντήριον, περιρραίνω).....	261
3.2.1 Linguistic background	261
3.2.2 Purification before the contact with the divine	261
3.2.3 Purification defining the borders of the sacred compound.....	262
3.2.4 Sprinkling with ashes	264
3.2.5 External and internal purification	266
3.2.6 Conclusion	267
3.3 Lustration (λούω).....	269
3.3.1 Linguistic background	269
3.3.2 Washing after sexual intercourse	269
3.3.3 Ritual washing	270
3.3.4 Conclusion	271
3.4 Conclusion.....	271
 <i>Chapter V. Jewish Worship in Philo</i>	273
1. A Profile of Jewish Worship According to Philo	273
2. Philo and Jewish Worship in the Second Temple period	278
2.1 Philo as a source for Jewish customs of his time.....	278
2.2 Philo and the various Jewish traditions	280
2.3 Philo and other Hellenistic Jewish attempts at integration of Jewish and Greek culture	280
3. Philo's Judaism and Pagan Worship	283
3.1 Philo's description of Jewish worship and Greek social and cultic practice.....	283
3.2 Philo's description of Jewish worship and the philosophers' attitudes to religion.....	283
3.3 Philo and Plato's <i>Nomoi</i>	286
3.3.1 The Laws and their divine origin: the divine Torah	286
3.3.2 The legislator as educator and the Jewish Sabbath	286
3.3.3 Music, harmony, and praise.....	287
3.3.4 The legislation's direction towards the virtue of God.....	288
3.3.5 The justification of religious laws: their social importance and divine authorisation.....	290
3.3.6 The festivals	291
3.3.7 Conclusion	292
4. Philo's Ideal of Jewish Worship	293
4.1 The rites of Jewish worship	293
4.2 The symbolic interpretation of Jewish worship.....	294
4.3 The vision of Jewish worship.....	294
 Bibliography.....	297

Index of Biblical References	321
Index of References to Philo	326
Index of References to Other Ancient Texts	333
Index of Modern Authors.....	336
Index of Greek Words	340
Subject Index.....	343

Abbreviations

Only the abbreviations which do not correspond to S. M. Schwertner, *Theologische Realenzyklopädie: Abkürzungsverzeichnis*, are listed here.

1. Philonic treatises

<i>Abr.</i>	<i>De Abrahamo</i>
<i>Aet.</i>	<i>De aeternitate mundi</i>
<i>Agr.</i>	<i>De agricultura</i>
<i>Alex.</i>	<i>Alexander (de animalibus)</i>
<i>Cher.</i>	<i>De Cherubim</i>
<i>Conf.</i>	<i>De confusione linguarum</i>
<i>Congr.</i>	<i>De congressu eruditionis gratia</i>
<i>Decal.</i>	<i>De Decalogo</i>
<i>Det.</i>	<i>Quod deterius potiori insidiari soleat</i>
<i>Ebr.</i>	<i>De ebrietate</i>
<i>Flacc.</i>	<i>In Flaccum</i>
<i>Fug.</i>	<i>De fuga et invectione</i>
<i>Gig.</i>	<i>De gigantibus</i>
<i>Heres</i>	<i>Quis rerum divinarum heres sit</i>
<i>Hyp.</i>	<i>Hypothetica</i>
<i>Immut.</i>	<i>Quod Deus sit immutabilis</i>
<i>Jos.</i>	<i>De Josepho</i>
<i>Leg. Alleg. I–III</i>	<i>Legum allegoriae I–III</i>
<i>Leg. ad Gaium</i>	<i>Legatio ad Gaium</i>
<i>Migr.</i>	<i>De migratione Abrahami</i>
<i>Mut.</i>	<i>De mutatione nominum</i>
<i>Opif.</i>	<i>De opificio mundi</i>
<i>Plant.</i>	<i>De plantatione</i>
<i>Post.</i>	<i>De posteritate Caini</i>
<i>Praem.</i>	<i>De praemiis et poenis</i>
<i>Prob.</i>	<i>Quod omnis probus liber sit</i>
<i>Prov.</i>	<i>De providentia</i>
<i>Qu. Ex. I–II</i>	<i>Quaestiones in Exodum I–II</i>
<i>Qu. Gen. I–IV</i>	<i>Quaestiones in Genesim I–IV</i>
<i>Sacr.</i>	<i>De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini</i>
<i>Sobr.</i>	<i>De sobrietate</i>
<i>Som. I–II</i>	<i>De somniis I–II</i>
<i>Spec. Leg. I–IV</i>	<i>De specialibus legibus I–IV</i>
<i>Virt.</i>	<i>De virtutibus</i>

V. contempl.
V. Mos. I–II

De vita contemplativa
De vita Mosis I–II

2. Works of Josephus

Ant.
Bellum
C. Ap.

Antiquitates
Bellum Judaicum
Contra Apionem

3. Journals, Lexica and Series

AGRL
AncBD
BJS
BTT
CPhSoc
DBS
DJDJ
EdC
HBS
HDAC
HTR
JC
JJML
JM
JSS
JTS
PAAJR
PAFLAP

Aspects of Greek and Roman Life
The Anchor Bible Dictionary
Brown Judaic Studies
Bible de tous les temps
Cambridge Philological Society, Supplement
Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément
Discoveries in the Judean Desert of Jordan
Éditions du Cerf
Herders Biblische Studien
Histoire des Doctrines de l'Antiquité Classique
Harvard Theological Review
Jerusalem Cathedra
Journal of Jewish Music and Liturgy
Journal of Musicology
Journal of Semitic Studies
Journal of Theological Studies
American Academy for Jewish Research, Proceedings
Publications des Annales de la Faculté des Lettres Aix-en-Provence N.S.
Die Religionen der Menschheit
Religions in the Greco-Roman World
Revue de Qumran
Studia Philonica Annual
Studia Philonica

RdM
RGRW
RQ
SPhA
StPh

Chapter I

Jewish Worship – Introduction and Methodology

1. Judaism in the First Century

Judaism in the first half of the first century CE at the time of Philo is a complex and much-studied subject. Jews did not live only in Israel;¹ but also – due to the Babylonian exile and because of trade links and other, more peaceful reasons for emigration – had a history of several centuries of settlements throughout the Roman empire and outside it, e.g. in Babylonia. The Jewish settlements outside Israel are especially important for the present study, and the term Diaspora will be used in the geographic sense to describe these settlements, without immediate reference to the practices in comparison with those in Israel.²

The sources, Jewish, Christian, and pagan, are numerous, and they offer a wide variety of interpretations of Judaism. The epigraphic evidence suggests that the regional differences were considerable, not only in the interpretation of Judaism, but also in its practice. The archaeological remains show similar variations from place to place.³ Even the rabbinic sources, written in retrospect, do not depict Judaism as uniform. On the other hand, the sources all describe people who define themselves as Jewish. The Jews

¹ The term Israel refers to the ‘homeland’ of the Jews, without political or precise geographic implications.

² The term Diaspora is useful to draw attention to the different perspective (not the practice!) of Jews who could witness the Temple worship regularly and those who had to travel to the Temple. As M. HENGEL has shown, esp. in *Judentum und Hellenismus*, it is not possible to separate Israel from the Diaspora by applying such terms as orthodoxy versus Hellenism. While this view has been strongly disputed by scholars such as L. H. FELDMAN, e.g. in “Palestinian and Diaspora Judaism”, 19–23, it is not possible to separate Judaism in the first century CE into mainstream Judaism and a few sects. Although some Jews, such as the Therapeutae and the Essenes, were described by other Jews (e.g. Josephus) as sects, Philo likens them more to distinctive groups within Judaism. For the present study the various traditions in Judaism will be examined for similarities to those Philo describes.

³ For an attempt at interpreting (later) synagogue buildings cf. A. T. KRAABEL, “Unity and Diversity”.

were seen as a uniform group by the pagan environment, and they regarded themselves as belonging together and as different from the pagan background. Josephus, for instance, although referring to parties and sects within Judaism, never doubted that they basically belonged to Judaism.⁴ The reason for this is firstly their common ethnicity; but by the first century CE the Jews also defined themselves – despite all differences in specific customs or interpretation – by their common traditions, above all the Pentateuch, their links with Israel and Jerusalem, and especially their monotheistic worship.⁵ This monotheism is also one of the main features distinguishing Judaism from the pagan religions

The views of Philo of Alexandria on Jewish worship, as one of the defining aspects of Judaism, are studied here as a prime example of how highly educated upper-class Jews living in one of the economically and intellectually most important Hellenistic cities of the Roman empire defined their Jewish identity in the context of the strong influences of the surrounding Greek culture. There is no doubt that Philo draws on the Hellenistic traditions, but he is above all an exegete, who used a wide variety of religious and secular concepts in his interpretation of the Jewish Torah.⁶ The question of Philo's audience cannot be answered here, but neither is it essential to the understanding of his views. It is certain that Philo wrote for the Jewish community in Alexandria, and whether he also included pagan readers is not important here, as his Jewish readers, especially in Alexandria, would be familiar with most of the Hellenistic concepts he used.⁷

Although after the first few centuries the works of Philo appear to have ceased to be part of the Jewish tradition, in his own time he was seen as a representative of the Alexandrian Jewish community; his political and economic influence at this time is proved by his participation in the embassy to the emperor Gaius Caligula, and although there is little direct contemporary evidence of his intellectual acceptance, the fact that his writings were preserved and disseminated for Josephus to draw on and for the Christians to use shows that they were not rejected during the first centuries.

⁴ It is impossible to go into detail in this complex subject, but for a comprehensive evaluation of the various degrees in which Jews in the Diaspora adapted to their environment based on an analysis of a wide range of sources, see J. M. G. BARCLAY, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*.

⁵ Cf. J. M. G. BARCLAY, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, 402–444.

⁶ The number of introductory books and articles on Philo is immense cf. D. T. RUNIA, *Bibliography*, but for a concise introduction to Philo and his writings cf. R. ARNALDEZ, "Introduction générale".

⁷ For a brief introduction to Philo's writings and a discussion of a possible audience for each cf. C. MONDÉSERT, "Philo of Alexandria".

2. Sources, Methodology and Definition of Worship

2.1 Sources

The present study is aimed at understanding Philo alone, and is not intended as a reconstruction of second Temple worship. Philo's writings are, therefore, the main source. Most have been preserved in the Greek original, but some writings exist only in Armenian translations. The present study focuses mainly on the Greek texts. The reason for this is twofold: the nature of the Armenian texts, and the methodology of this study. The Armenian texts are of two kinds: philosophical treatises and basic exegetical commentaries on passages of the books of Genesis and Exodus. The philosophical treatises (e.g. *De animalibus*) offer no insights on Jewish worship; and the commentaries on Genesis and Exodus cannot be used easily in this study because of its method, which, as described below, is based on Greek terms as guides for Philo's works.¹ But many parts of the Armenian commentaries are parallels to the Allegorical Commentary, preserved in Greek. Therefore the present study uses the Greek fragments of the *Quaestiones* and refers to the Armenian text of the commentaries only where it offers important additional evidence.

In order to understand Philo, other sources must also be considered. The individual problems of dating and regional provenance aside, background information comes from many Jewish sources of the Hellenistic and Roman period. First and foremost, the Septuagint influenced Philo's use of terms and his thought, but similar ideas to those expressed by Philo can also be found among the sources preceding Philo, such as many Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, the writings from Qumran, Hellenistic Jewish sources such as Philo's Egyptian predecessors Aristobulus and the Epistle of Aristeeas. Information can also be gathered from sources of the end of the first century or later, such as the books of the New Testament and the writings of Josephus. The Mishnah, too, must be included, although its traditions are difficult to date and were assembled long after Philo.²

¹ Cf. e.g. R. MARCUS, *Philo*, Suppl. II, 19: in note I he cannot decide which term is used, whether λατρεία, διακονία or another; cf. also J. LAPORTE, *La doctrine eucharistique*, 61, also points out that the Armenian translation only gives limited hints of the use of a Greek term.

² J. NEUSNER, "The Use of the Mishnah", has emphasised the difficulty of using the Mishnah as a source for pre-70 Judaism, and his scepticism is certainly justified. But the Mishnah definitely drew on older material and is used in the present study only to find analogues for the rites and interpretations described by Philo, not for the purpose of precise dating.

All these sources are searched according to whether they can offer parallels to the customs and interpretations found in Philo. Especially in the case of the later writings, such as the Mishnah, judgement about the date or the precise provenance of a tradition and about its relationship to Philo is suspended: the main purpose is to find parallels to Philo's views.³

In addition to the Jewish sources, information on pagan (especially ancient Greek and Hellenistic) religion is included to complete the background of Philo's picture. It goes without saying that the pagan cults in the Roman Empire cannot be described under a single umbrella. However, because Alexandria was a Hellenistic foundation, it can be said that the influences of the Greek way of life on the upper classes were stronger than either the Roman or Egyptian links. Any attempt to describe Jewish worship in Philo must consider the pagan equivalents to the rites he mentions and their interpretation in order to determine the extent to which he uses Jewish and Greek material. Greek civic cults and popular piety offer an equivalent to the literal Jewish rites Philo knew, and philosophical writings frequently present commentaries on Greek religion.

In this context one cannot always determine whether Philo drew on pagan or Jewish sources himself or whether he used material in which that connection had already been made. It is quite possible that Philo represents an Alexandrian school of thought which combined Jewish and pagan traditions.⁴ The present study cannot solve this problem, but will present Philo's perspective independently of the possibility that Philo, to a greater or lesser extent, followed Alexandrian predecessors. The basic assumption is that, unless Philo distances himself explicitly from a certain view, everything he wrote corresponds to his own convictions.

Of the sources used here only a small number are directly contemporary with Philo. But to restrict this study to those would mean to separate Philo from the intellectual environment in which he lived. Most sources used here are from the centuries before he lived. Some are later; their use is justified as they reflect practices and ideas relevant beyond their own time. If

³ For basic background information on Judaism in Greco-Roman times, see W. BOUSSET, *Die Religion des Judentums*; M. HENGEL, *Judentum und Hellenismus*; J. JUŠTER, *Les Juifs*; E. SCHÜRER, *The history*; more recently, E. P. SANDERS, *Judaism and Jewish Law*.

⁴ Cf. W. BOUSSET, *Jüdisch-christlicher Schulbetrieb*, argues that it is possible to distinguish certain school traditions in Philo's writings; the details of his source criticism have not been accepted by later scholars. The idea of Philo's sources has been widely accepted, see H. CHADWICK, "St. Paul and Philo", 290 f; "Philo", 138. There are attempts to specify Philo's sources, e.g. R. HAMERTON-KELLY, "Sources and Traditions"; R. GOULET, *La philosophie de Moïse*, attempts a reconstruction of pre-Philonian commentaries; cf. the sceptic review of D. T. RUNIA, *JTS* 40; further literature on the topic is found in E. B. "What Does Philo Mean?", 537.

there are parallels they can be pointed out, even if a direct dependence cannot be proved. In order to understand Philo it is necessary to compare his solutions to the questions he faced with the approach of others who wrote before and after him, especially as his social and geographic position permitted him to tap into a wide variety of oral and written sources,

2.2 Brief survey of scholarship

There are no studies specifically on Philo's views on worship. Some of the studies on Philo's use of Greek and Jewish traditions, however, have touched the subject. It is not necessary to go into detail about them here, as their positions on detailed aspects of worship are discussed in this study in the footnotes in the context of the texts they refer to. But a few general comments are necessary to identify the general framework of scholarship.

The first scholar to be mentioned in the context of Philo's views of worship and of Jewish traditions in general is Isaac Heinemann.⁵ In 1932 he attempted to reconstruct Philo's intellectual background and drew to a great extent on Philo's attitude to various aspects of worship to argue that Philo defined himself mainly with recourse to Hellenistic traditions. In 1947, H. A. Wolfson expanded this view in his comprehensive work on Philo as a Hellenistic philosopher.⁶ Similarly E. R. Goodenough⁷ argued for a close link with Hellenistic traditions, although he attempted to depict Philo against the background of a Hellenistic Judaism, which had already made the connection to pagan traditions and which vanished with the increasing influence of rabbinic Judaism. A few years later, in 1940, Samuel Belkin,⁸ on the other hand, argued that many of Philo's references to the Laws are related to ancient Jewish traditions which have been preserved in later rabbinic traditions. Since then, scholarship on Philo can be attributed to one of three basic positions: Philo as a more or less independent Hellenistic philosopher, Philo as representing a whole Hellenistic Jewish community's approach, and Philo as representative of many proto-rabbinic traditions. Thus Naomi Cohen attempted to find in Philo's writings references to ancient rabbinic traditions⁹ in Hellenistic guise, while Richard Goulet reconstructed a whole Hellenistic commentary from Philo's books.¹⁰ And Horst Moehring¹¹ traces Philo's arithmological argument back to a Py-

⁵ I. HEINEMANN, *Philon Bildung*.

⁶ H. A. WOLFSON, *Philo*.

⁷ E. R. GOODENOUGH, *By Light, Light!*; "The Political Philosophy of Hellenistic Kingship".

⁸ S. BELKIN, *Philo*.

⁹ E.g. N. G. COHEN, *Philo Judaeus*.

¹⁰ R. GOULET, *La philosophie de Moïse*.

¹¹ H. R. MOEHRING, "Arithmology as an Exegetical Tool".

thagorean commentary. These are just a few of the great number of studies on individual aspects of Philo's Judaism.

All these attempts have a point, but if Philo is seen as deriving his views exclusively from one or the other, they miss the mark (although few of these studies would see Philo from such a strong bias). Philo cannot be seen exclusively in terms of Jewish or Greek influence, and it is more than likely that this can also be said about the Judaism he represents. He used all the traditions at his disposal. It is unlikely that he made distinctions between the traditions he regarded as true, Greek or Jewish, with the one exception of the Mosaic Torah, which as divine Scripture held a special status, as will be seen below. For the present purpose, Philo's views on worship are studied and an attempt is made to trace his views to Greek or Jewish traditions without attempting judgment about Philo's cultural connections. Philo was a Jew of his time, and he represented a certain aspect of the Judaism of his time and his community, even if later Jews rejected him and his writings.

2.3 Methodology

The method used in this study combines commentary and systematic study. First and above all the Philonic texts are described. This has the advantage of presenting Philo's view as a whole. Until now, there has been no systematic study of Philo's view on worship; scholars have studied single issues in Philo, such as prayer of petition¹² or thanksgiving;¹³ single issues in Philo in the context of a discussion of other writings;¹⁴ or they have extracted pieces of information from Philo for a description of Second Temple worship.¹⁵ As G. Sellin points out, to use Philo as a mere "Steinbruch" instead of following his train of thought in a *lectio continua* does not do justice to his writings.¹⁶

Jewish worship is a vast subject under any circumstance, but especially so in an author such as Philo, whose writings have been preserved in such great quantity. The texts are selected according to the definition of worship described below (I.2.4), using G. Mayer's *Index Philoneus* and *The Philo*

¹² Thus C. W. LARSON, "Prayer of Petition".

¹³ Cf. the comprehensive book of J. LAPORTE, *La doctrine eucharistique*.

¹⁴ H. WENSCHKEWITZ, "Die Spiritualisierung der Kultusbegriffe", uses Philo to explain the New Testament.

¹⁵ One among the many who draw on Philo for a considerable part of their description of Judaism and Jewish practices is E. P. SANDERS in *Jewish Law and Judaism*.

¹⁶ G. SELLIN, "Gotteserkenntnis", 17f, points out the difficulty of a systematic reading of Philo.

Index by P. Borgen *et al.*¹⁷ After a brief linguistic introduction Philo's use of the Greek terms is described. Passages where Philo merely quotes the bible or describes a biblical story about worship are mentioned only briefly.

As far as possible, the passages are presented in context. This means that when Philo describes topics such as the festivals or the sacrifices in a certain order, that order is maintained, and only then are other, smaller passages on the same topic added. The Philonic context takes priority, and other authors (ancient and modern) relevant to the Philonic text are discussed, in agreement or disagreement, mainly in the footnotes. This means, however, that a number of significant modern contributions are not referred to coherently according to their own system, but are distributed over a number of different footnotes in various Philonic contexts. On the other hand, if a Philonic passage contains references to more than one aspect of worship, it is discussed in several chapters from different perspectives.

At the end of each sub-chapter a conclusion summarises the main points of the individual topics for Philo's idea of worship as a whole; and in chapter V the conclusion describes Philo's view of worship in the context of Judaism and paganism in the first century CE in order to study Philo's motives for presenting Judaism in the way he does. Philo's approach to the subject is compared to parallels from his time.

2.4 Definition of Worship

Before beginning the search of Philo's work a very concise definition of the question is needed. But the problems start with this definition of the term worship, for depending on the definition, the results can vary drastically, as McKay shows in her book *Sabbath and Synagogue*. She defines worship as "rites and rituals which pay homage, with adoration and awe, to a particular god or gods". These rites include sacrifices, dancing, singing, "[...] reading or reciting sacred texts, prayers and blessings." But she adds: "Reading, studying and explaining sacred texts I do not necessarily regard as worship unless given a place in a planned session of worship."¹⁸ McKay insists that her "[...] definition of worship depends on the worshippers' awareness that they are communally addressing their worship activities to their god".¹⁹ This definition is derived from modern, external criteria, and accordingly McKay concludes that "there is no unequivocal evidence that the sabbath was a day of worship for non-priestly Jews certainly as far as

¹⁷ P. BORGES *et al.*, *Index*, was published after the completion of this thesis. It is in many ways more user-friendly than G. MAYER, *Index*, and it includes the Greek fragments of the *Quaestiones*; therefore it is quoted with G. MAYER.

¹⁸ H. A. MCKAY, *Sabbath and Synagogue*, 3.

¹⁹ H. A. MCKAY, *Sabbath and Synagogue*, 248.

the end of the second century of the Common Era, Public, collective worship was an annual, or daily, but not a weekly, activity".²⁰ As is apparent in chapter 11,2 of the present study, most Second Temple Jews, and especially Philo, would have been surprised by McKay's conclusion that there was no worship on the Sabbath, although her conclusion is consistent with her definition; this demonstrates the danger of applying an external definition of worship to Second Temple Judaism.

The arbitrariness of defining worship according to modern concepts can be seen from the absence of a uniform definition of worship: each scholar defines the subject with greater or lesser recourse to general scholarship. S. Holm-Nielsen offers another (modern) definition, which differs from McKay's: "'Cult' and 'liturgy' together form 'worship'", with cult as "primary concept" and liturgy as "secondary concept" which transforms the individual cult into the communal worship,²¹ *Collins Dictionary of the English Language* defines worship as "religious adoration or devotion, [...] the formal expression of religious adoration; rites, prayers, etc., [...] admiring love or devotion."²² For the present study, the appropriate meaning is the second, "the formal expression of religious adoration; rites, prayers, etc.," The possibilities of variation in modern definitions are endless, and they are not helpful as a guide through the considerable amount of material preserved from Philo, although they have a certain merit for evaluating results in retrospect.

A different approach is to follow the use of an ancient term for worship. Although biblical Hebrew does not use nouns for worship as an abstract concept but rather refers to the acts associated with it,²³ the main Hebrew term used for cultic worship, as R. de Vaux points out, is עבודה, which can refer to the profane service to a king (1 Chr, 26,30) as well as to serving God in worship (Ex 3,12; 9,1,13), especially in the Tabernacle (Ex, 30,16) or the Temple (Ez, 44,14),²⁴ In later times the term was used to describe the whole of Jewish worship, but Jewish worship specifically, as expressed in the words attributed to Simon the Just in the Mishnah (Avot 1,2), that the world depends "[...] on Torah study, on the worship and on good deeds" (על התורה ועל העבודה ועל גמילות הסדים).²⁵

²⁰ H. A. McKay, *Sabbath and Synagogue*, 251.

²¹ S. HOLM-NIELSEN, *Hodayot*, 333.

²² Cf. P. HANKS (ed.), *Collins Dictionary of the English Language*, 1750.

²³ Cf. J. NEUSNER, *The Idea of Purity*, 2.

²⁴ R. DE VAUX, *Ancient Israel*, 271.

²⁵ C. TAYLOR, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, 12, argues that the passage originally referred to the Temple worship (Simon was High Priest), but that certain later tradition linked it with Prov. 15.8 and identified prayer with עבודה (Pirq. R. Eliez. 16).

The Septuagint uses various terms for the translation of עֲבֹדָה, λατρεία, δουλεία, or λειτουργία.²⁶ The term δουλεία is closely related to the idea of slavery, for which reason the Greeks and Philo avoided it in the religious context.²⁷ In Philo's writings it occurs frequently as "slavery", "servitude", but almost never in connection with Jewish worship.²⁸ The term λειτουργία is an important term for worship, for Philo and for the Septuagint; however, it refers to the Temple rites as performed by the priests and Levites, not to the worship of lay-people outside the Temple.²⁹ For these reasons neither term is appropriate to describe the whole of Jewish worship, and of the three terms used in the Septuagint the closest equivalent for the concept of worship as service to the Jewish God is λατρεία.³⁰

Another potentially important Greek term for worship rituals is θρησκειά, but it occurs only five times in Philo, once as empty "ritual" before holiness, once as "observance" in general and three times in the context of pagan worship (once as pagan worship and twice referring to the Temple before Gaius).³¹ It does not contribute to Philo's understanding of worship. The most general term for worship in Philo is θεραπεία,³² but it refers mainly to general, more abstract and philosophical, veneration of God, which can at times express itself in the particular rites of Jewish worship, but can equally be used for pagan veneration of the stars.³³ On the whole, θεραπεία is a positive term, but it does not provide a defining outline for specific Jewish worship. Therefore the fundamental terms of the present study are λατρεία and λατρεύω, not θεραπεία, although Philo uses the former much less frequently than the latter.³⁴

²⁶ On the issue of the translation of the root עֲבֹדָה in the Septuagint, see S. DANIEL, *Recherches*, 55-92, 102-117.

²⁷ On the Septuagint use cf. S. DANIEL, *Recherches*, 102-104; on the general Hellenistic and Philo's specific use cf. A. HILHORST, "Servir Dieu", 179-181.

²⁸ Cf. G. MAYER, *Index*, 82; P. BOROEN *et al.*, *Index*, 95 f.

²⁹ S. DANIEL, *Recherches*, 104-108; A. HILHORST, "Servir Dieu", 186-189; G. MAYER, *Index*, 173; P. BOROEN *et al.*, *Index*, 205.

³⁰ A. HILHORST, "Servir Dieu", 183-185, 191, calls it the "traduction normale de 'bd'" in the Septuagint (184), although its religious use in Greek is rare, and HILHORST supposes that its use in the Septuagint is a conscious separation from Greek use.

³¹ *Det.* 21; *Fug.* 41; *Spec. Leg.* 1315; *Leg. ad Galum* 232, 298; cf. G. MAYER, *Index*, 144, P. BOROEN *et al.*, *Index*, 174.

³² In ancient Greek the term is used to describe "servile activities" or in the context of the cult of Asklepios or in oriental cults it refers to the worshipper as servant of the deity, see H. W. PLEKET, "Religious History", 159-161.

³³ Cf. H.-G. SCHÖNFELD, "Zum Begriff 'Therapeutai'", 222 f, A. HILHORST, "Servir Dieu", 181-183, 191.

³⁴ Cf. G. MAYER, *Index*, 142 on θεραπεία and related terms and 172 on λατρεία etc.; P. BOROEN *et al.*, *Index*, 204 and 171 f.

3. Philo's Use of *λατρεία*

The term *λατρεία* had a firmly established meaning at the time of the Second Temple; it remains to be seen in which way Philo and his environment use the term.

3.1 *Linguistic background*

According to the Greek lexicon of Liddell and Scott, there are three different meanings in ancient Greek for the verb *λατρεύω*: firstly, “to work for hire or pay (Solon 13.48); to be in servitude (Xen. Cyr 3.1,36)” (this refers to the free employee of a paying master); secondly, “to be subject to, be bound / enslaved to (Soph. Tr. 35), to serve (Id. El.131)”; and thirdly “to serve the gods with prayers and sacrifices (Eur. Ion 152; Ib. 129)”. This can refer to any person serving the gods with sacrifices or in any other way. The noun has equivalent meanings: “service (Aesch. Pr. 966), servitude and worship (Plat. Apol. 23 B; Phaedr. 244 E, LXX and NT)”.¹ It is noteworthy that the Greek term *λάτρις* is used frequently to describe the service of priests of a particular deity or Temple servants or slaves, and there is inscriptional evidence from Argos for *λατρεία* as service to the Jewish God.²

In an attempt to define a “state cult” for Athens, S. Aleshire stresses the problem that there is no specific term for “cult” in Greek, and that the term *λατρεία* is often used for it indiscriminately, irrespectively of the fact that the modern concept may not apply to the ancient Greeks’ way of thinking. She admits, however, that

“[...] the concept of cult is, nevertheless, useful and may be employed to say something significant about Greek religion if we remember that it is no more than an analytical tool of modern scholarship. [...] we may define ‘cult’ as a complex of religious activities concentrated on one or more deities or heroes and including prayer, ritual, sacrifice, and dedication. We must be careful, however, to avoid an excessive rigid system of categories.”³

For this reason, the term was eminently suitable for use by the Septuagint translators to denote the various activities of Jewish worship, as described above. In this sense it also corresponds to the above-given definition of the Collins dictionary (p. 8).

The term *λατρεία* was not an unimportant term for the Jews of Philo's time. Due to the Septuagint the term *λατρεία* was used for the specific

¹ For the verb and the noun, see H. G. LIDDELL and R. SCOTT, *Lexicon*, 1032.

² Proof texts in H. W. PLEKET, “Religious History”, 163–166.

³ S. B. ALESHIRE, “Towards a definition of ‘state cult’”, 12.

Index of Biblical References

Numbers in italics indicate passages which are cited only in the footnotes.

<i>Genesis (Gn.)</i>		49.17–18	111, 116
1–2	60, 218	49.22	103
2.1 ff	56	49.28	116
2.2	60–62		
2.4	62	<i>Exodus (Ex.)</i>	
2.8	153	2.23–25	102
4.3–5	197, 216, 250	3.12	8, 224
4.7	183, 216	4.22	61
4.11	103	5.1–8	224
4.13	111	8.1–11	102
6.2	156	9.1, 13	8
6.8	154–155, 176	10.1–20	102
7.2–3	55, 259	12.1–13.2	198, 208
8.10	55	12.2	36
9.18–27	123	12.3	33
9.25–27	114, 115	12.6 b	33
14	136, 183	12.8	38
15.2	103, 177	12.11	35
16	103	12.34	37
17.12	55	12.39	37
17.18	102	13.1–2	199, 204
18.11–15	27	14.14–15	176
18.17	115	15	50, 126, 130, 146, 163–166, 167, 170, 171, 172, 173, 181
18.22	135		
22.1–19	183	15.1–21	134, 164
24.10	219	15.17–18	103
24.52–53	177	15.20–21	86
27.28, 41	103	15.23–25	38
27.30–40	116–117	16	64
28.11	156, 219	17.8–16	138, 183, 262
28.20–23	105, 112, 121	18.4	191
29.31	198, 257	19.6	41, 109, 115
30.24	103	19.14–19	262
31.10	264	20.1–21	18
31.11–13	105, 118	20.10	63, 69
38.20–23	104	20.23	236
46.1	215	20.24	219
48.15–16	103, 116		

20.25	239	7	187, 229, 245, 247, 252
22.29–30	204	8–9	217–218
23.14	226	8	259
23.17	209	8.21	248
23.18	19	10.1–7	248–249
23.22	143	10.8–10	120, 232–233
24.6	235, 259	11	259
24.16 b	55	15.18	269
25. 1–3	191, 199, 205	16.7–10	227, 235
25.29	38	16.17	231
26.1, 10	191	16.31	43
26.33	201	18.24–29	260, 260
27.15–17	102	19.5–6	244
27.21	13, 185, 223	19.23–25	160, 197, 261
28.40–43	217	19.31	260
29	259	21.17–18	202
29.1–37	185–186, 217,	22.6–7	
29.4	264, 268	22.10–13	202–203
29.38–39	185, 234	22.27–28	234
30.1–10	187, 239	23	25, 193
30.7–8	186, 225	23.2–4	28
30.12–16	8, 199, 207	23.10	39, 199
30.34–35	186	23.15–22	226–227
30	20	23.24	227
32	236, 277	23.27	44
32.19	113	23.32	43
33.15	103	23.40	47
33.23	112	23.43	69
34.23	209	24.3–4	185
35.5	191	24.5–8	226
38.26–27	263	25.1–7	65, 197
43	102	25.32–34	203
<i>Leviticus (Lev.)</i>		26.33–35	69
1.3–17	243–244, 253	27.3–4	223
1.3–4	233	27.30–32	200, 201
1.6	11		
1.9	270	<i>Numbers (Nm.)</i>	
1.10–11	233	3.12–13	199, 208
1.14	233	4.5	118
2.1–2	249, 253	5.12–31	150
2.11	193, 250	5.15	238
2.13	250, 253	6.1–14	118–120
2.14	215	6.2	257
3	234, 253	6.21	180
4	245–246, 253	7.14, 20	183
5.7	247	9.6–14	34, 264
5.15–16	147	14.24	271
6	184, 185, 223, 247	15.19–20	199
6.20	234	15.32–36	70–71, 124

16	237	28	103
18.5-6	204	28.12	114
18.8-12	191, 204	32	162, 163, 166
18.15-20	203	33	103, 146, 191
18.21-28	201		
19.2-9	240	<i>1 Samuel (1 Sam.)</i>	
19.11-12	265-267	1.11, 14	118
19.13-36	227	2.1-10	69, 146, 163, 166,
21.1-3	124, 183, 195		172
21.7	102	8.1-3	206
21.17-18	166, 181	15.22	241
22.31	143	16	147
23-24	116	23	147
23.18-24	116, 163		
25	236	<i>1 Kings (1 Kn.)</i>	
27.16-17	75	8.22-61	189
28-29	28, 228, 252	8.27-28	251
28.1-8	25, 291	8.41-43	220
28.2	20-21, 26-27, 63,	10.4	191
	185	15.11	147
28.3-4	225		
28.9-10	185, 225	<i>2 Kings (2 Kn.)</i>	
28.17-24	226	18.3	147
28.26-31	226		
29.7-34	227	<i>1 Chronicles (1 Chr.)</i>	
30.4-17	123, 123	25.1	149
31	182	26.30	8
35.33-34	260		
<i>Deuteronomy (Dt.)</i>		<i>2 Chronicles (2 Chr.)</i>	
4.7	103, 109	30.24	223
5.6-21	28	31.5 ff	191, 205
5.14	69	35.7-9	223
6	134		
6.7	98	<i>Ezra</i>	
10.12-22	14, 273	6.10	220
10.12-13	13-14, 185		
10.20	13-14	<i>Nehemiah (Neh.)</i>	
12.5	219	8	46, 86
16.3	37	10.35-39	205
16.16	209		
18.3	229, 252	<i>Judith (Jud.)</i>	
18.4	200, 204, 229	8.6	28
20.1	164	11.13-15	
23.5	116	16.6	214
23.18	239		
23.21	121	<i>Tobit (Tob.)</i>	
23.23	122	3.2-6, 11-15	143
26.1-11	194-194, 196, 199	8.5-8	143
26.12-15	196, 200	11.13-15	202
		12.6-7	168

12.8	109	(145)	165
12.12	214	151	147
<i>1 Maccabees (1 Macc.)</i>		<i>Proverbia (Prov.)</i>	
2.32–35	71	2.64	47
7.33	220	8.22–36	62
<i>2 Maccabees (2 Macc.)</i>		15.8	169
1.10–2.18	168	15.29	109
3.15	135	<i>Quohelet (Quoh.)</i>	
3.16	12.43–44	5.4	122
<i>3 Maccabees (3 Macc.)</i>		<i>Sapientia (Wisdom of Solomon)</i>	
3.50–53	167	8.7	83
5.25	135	9.1–2, 4	114
6.30–36	47	15.3	114
7.20	83	16.28	126
<i>4 Maccabees (4 Macc.)</i>		18.20–25	110, 231
6.29	214	<i>Ben Sira (Sir.)</i>	
17.22	214	39.1	145
<i>Psalms (Ps.) form the LXX</i>		45.6–8	231
Hebrew psalm numbers in brackets		47.9	168
22.1 (23.1)	149–151	50.1–26	281
26.1 (27.1)	151, 156	51	132
28 (29)	168	<i>Hosea (Hos.)</i>	
30.19 (31.19)	103, 148–149, 152	2.11	28
36.4 (37.4)	151, 153	2.21–23	107
41.6 (42.6)	151	9.10	199
45.4 (46.4)	219	14.3	169, 241
45.5 (46.5)	150	<i>Amos (Am.)</i>	
49 (50)	149, 169	5.14–15, 21–22	149
49.12–13 (50.12–13)	241	<i>Micah (Mic)</i>	
(57.8–9)	126	6.6–8	149, 241
1.6–14	206(60.6) 149	<i>Malachi (Mal.)</i>	
61.12 (62.12)	150, 154	3.10	205
64.10 (65.10)	150	<i>Isaiah (Is.)</i>	
74.9 (75.9)	150, 154–155	1.11–14	149
77.49 (78.49)	147, 155	1.15	109
79.6 (80.6)	151–152	3.15	149
(82.2–3)	149	6.3	171
83.11 (84.11)	149	30.4	156
90.11–12 (91.11–12)	143	56.1–8	69
93.9 (94.9)	149, 152	58.13	69
100.1 (101.1)	150, 154	66.1	251
106 (107)	245		
113.12–16 (115.5–7)	127		
113.25 (115.17)	151–152		
140.2 (141.2)	214, 241		

Jeremiah (Jer.)

3.4 257

4.14 149

5.28 149

29.7 220

Baruch

1.10–12 220

Lamentations (Lam.)

2.6 28

Ezekiel (Ez.)

3.13 171

20.31 191

44.14 8

Index of References to Philo

Numbers in *italics* indicate passages which are cited only in the footnotes.

<i>De Abrahamo (Abr.)</i>		52	152
27–30	63, 65, 95	122–124	198, 211
28	63	149	147
58	113, 277	159	116
98	258	163	111
121	106		
130	234	<i>De congressu eruditionis gratia</i>	
167–199	214	(<i>Congr.</i>)	
196	198	5	215
197–198	211	7	113, 198, 211
235	136, 216	38	161
250	103	89–99	211
		89	201
<i>De Aeternitate mundi (Aet.)</i>		93	183
10	284	95–98	183, 201
		99	103
<i>De agricultura (Agr.)</i>		106	33
44	75	107	30, 44
50	147, 149, 173	114	183
78–83	86, 98, 159, 163,	161–167	37–38
	164, 173	175	103
94–95	116		
99	111, 116, 139	<i>De Decalogo (Decal.)</i>	
127–130	216	45	262, 268
156	113, 139	72	136
158	139	96–105	62–63, 66–67, 95,
168	113		96
175–178	120	98	91
		126	104
<i>De Cherubim (Cher.)</i>		128	258
83–90	63, 95	158–159	14, 24, 102, 223,
84–97	20–21		252, 261, 268
94	123, 258	160	39–40, 179, 194,
95	270		211
98–106	83, 251	161	19, 23, 29
<i>De confusione linguarum (Conf.)</i>		<i>Quod deterius potiori insidiari soleat</i>	
35	163	(<i>Det.</i>)	
39	103, 152, 158, 173	19	269

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|-------------------------------|
| 20-21 | 9, 237, 253, 267, 268 | 31 | 177, 188 |
| 46 | 103 | 34 | 103 |
| 10 | 103 | 82 | 262, 268 |
| 114 | 162, 163 | 84 | 231 |
| 141 | 111 | 110 | 161 |
| 147 | 123 | 113-119 | 199, 211 |
| 170 | 259 | 174 | 185, 234 |
| | | 179-186 | 235 |
| | | 182-185 | 259 |
| <i>De ebrietate (Ebr.)</i> | | 196-200 | 186 |
| 2 | 119 | 205-206 | 109 |
| 66 | 130, 139, 251 | 226 | 187 |
| 79 | 130, 163, 251 | 253 | 191 |
| 94 | 159 | 259-260 | 116, 149 |
| 95 | 20, 148, 162 | 290 | 149 |
| 110-111 | 162 | | |
| 111-118 | 163, 166 | <i>Hypothetica (Hyp.)</i> | |
| 124-126 | 113 | VII 5 | 122 |
| 129-131 | 130, 177, 232-233, 252 | VII 11-14 | 84-86, 89-90, 93, 97, 99, 287 |
| 140-142 | 233 | | |
| <i>In Flaccum (Flacc.)</i> | | <i>Quod Deus sit immutabilis (Immut.)</i> | |
| 4 | 236, 252 | 3-9 | 266-267, 268 |
| 41 | 76 | 4 | 183 |
| 45 | 76 | 5-8 | 129, 139, 270 |
| 47 | 76 | 10 | 146, 163, 166, 172 |
| 48-49 | 79, 289 | 11-13 | 62 |
| 53 | 76 | 74-85 | 150-151, 154-155, 172 |
| 98 | 176, 188 | 87-90 | 120 |
| 116-124 | 46-47 | 87 | 111, 139 |
| 120-123 | 76, 79-80, 86, 98, 145, 171-173, 181, 188 | 116 | 105 |
| 167 | 104 | 132 | 139 |
| | | 156 | 114 |
| | | 164 | 112 |
| | | 182 | 143 |
| <i>De Fuga et inventione (Fug.)</i> | | <i>De Josepho (Jos.)</i> | |
| 41 | 9 | 88 | 104 |
| 49-156 | 104 | 194 | 191 |
| 59 | 151, 152, 173 | 195 | 102 |
| 81 | 263, 268 | 206 | 104 |
| 115 | 246 | 210 | 104 |
| 118 | 112 | | |
| 153 | 269 | <i>Legum Allegoriae (Leg. Alleg.)</i> | |
| 173-174 | 65 | I 2-18 | 60-63, 95 |
| 186 | 227 | I 17 | 119 |
| <i>De gigantibus (Gig.)</i> | | I 84 | 108 |
| 16-18 | 147, 155, 172 | | |
| <i>Quis rerum divinarum heres sit (Heres)</i> | | II 16 | 269 |
| 15 | 176 | II 63 | 123 |
| | | II 78 | 102 |

II 94	116	89–93	16, 19–20, 22, 51, 52, 65–66, 96, 100, 179, 274, 290–291
II 102–103	163		
III 26	148	98	263
III 82	216	99 ff	20–21
III 94	34	111–115	116, 163
III 104	116	117	114
III 105	146, 162, 172	118–124	109, 112
III 118–128	228–229, 252	132	13–14
III 133–137	229–230	142	185, 188
III 143	270	157	151
III 162–168	94	171	103
III 165	30	202	227
III 177, 179	116		
III 192–193	116		
<i>Legatio ad Gaium (Leg. ad Gaium)</i>			
1–7	277		
12	18, 215		
83	18		
134	80		
137–138	80		
145	83		
148	80		
152	80		
155–158	72–73, 80, 100, 209–210, 212, 220–221, 251		
165	80		
186–198	279		
191	80		
207–208	251		
209–333			
216	210, 212		
232	9		
235	269		
240–241	220		
280	125, 221–222		
284	181, 188		
291–297	212, 221, 251		
298	9		
306	129, 139		
311–317	75, 210–211, 212, 220, 251		
346	73, 80		
355–360	184, 221, 251		
371	80		
<i>De migratione Abrahae (Migr.)</i>			
25	35, 179		
67	248		
86–88	20–21		
<i>De mutatione nominum (Mut.)</i>			
2	201		
41	103		
43–44	259		
115	145, 151		
124	271		
125, 127	103		
143	146, 163, 166		
182	162		
186	176		
188	104		
191–192	201		
201, 204, 209–216	102		
210	103		
220–223	188		
253–263	94, 102		
<i>De opificio mundi (Opif.)</i>			
8–128	95		
75	216		
89–128	56–60		
128	67, 96		
129	62		
101 ff	61		
116	23		
134	60		
<i>De plantatione (Plant.)</i>			
29	149, 152, 173		
38–39	148, 151, 153, 173		
46–61	146		
46–49	103, 105, 163		
53	216		
59	162		
90	121, 161		
107–108	238, 240		
113–116	261, 116		
126–131	159, 161, 182,		

- | | | | |
|--|----------------------|---|--------------------|
| | 239–240, 251,
153 | isf. 29 | 12–13 |
| 135 | 148, 159, 161 | <i>Quaestiones in Genesim (Qu. Gen.)</i> | |
| 161–165 | 235–236, 240 | I 60 | 197 |
| 162 | 271 | I 62 | 216, 250 |
| | | I 64 | 183 |
| | | I 70 | 109 |
| | | I 96 | 176 |
| <i>De posteritate Caini (Post.)</i> | | II 12 | 55 |
| 63–65 | 61–62 | II 17 c | 23 |
| 64–65 | 62 | II 41 | 55 |
| 67 | 75, 102–103 | III 49 | 55 |
| 82 | 111 | III 61 | 23 |
| 96–97 | 200, 211 | IV 130 | 177 |
| 103–111 | 159 | isf 13 | 106 |
| 121 | 162, 163 | isf 17 | 195 |
| 151 | 104 | <i>De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini (Sacr.)</i> | |
| 166 | 108 | 52–58 | 121–122 |
| 167 | 162 | 52 | 111, 139 |
| 179 | 103 | 69 | 102 |
| | | 72–75 | 197–198, 211, 212 |
| | | 84 | 11 |
| | | 99 | 112 |
| | | 107–109 | 199, 212 |
| | | 110 | 248 |
| | | 111 | 21 |
| | | 117–119 | 109, 199, 208, 213 |
| | | 136–139 | 198, 211 |
| <i>De praemiis et poenis (Praem.)</i> | | <i>De sobrietate (Sobr.)</i> | |
| 56 | 137–138 | 10 | 162 |
| 79 | 103 | 12 | 103 |
| 84 | 103, 109 | 13 | 159 |
| 153–161 | 69, 100 | 51–68 | 114–116 |
| 166–167 | 109, 139 | 58 | 159 |
| 171 | 18 | 67 | 109 |
| <i>Quod omnis probus liber sit (Prob.)</i> | | <i>De somniis (Som.)</i> | |
| 15 | 200, 212 | I 35 | 159, 160, 288 |
| 63 | 104 | I 37 | 159, 288 |
| 80–88 | 86–87 | I 61–67 | 219, 248–249 |
| 80–82 | 91–92, 97 | I 75 | 151, 156, 173 |
| 81 | 73, 75–76 | I 81 | 259, 270 |
| 82 | 93 | I 101 | 114 |
| 83 | 97 | I 126 | 112 |
| 84 | 260 | I 163 | 105–106, 161 |
| 126 | 103 | I 172 | 215 |
| 140 | 18 | | |
| <i>Quaestiones in Exodum (Qu. Ex.)</i> | | | |
| I 1 ff | 34 | | |
| I 2–19 | 33 | | |
| I 4 | 35 | | |
| I 10 | 33 | | |
| I 15 | 30 | | |
| II 15 | 19 | | |
| II 46 | 55, 64, 65 | | |
| II 50 | 205 | | |
| II 105 | 13 | | |
| II 107–124 | 231 | | |

- | | | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|-----------|--------------------------------|
| I 189 | 105 | I 159 | 263, 268 |
| I 200–220, 226 | 264–265, 268 | I 161–167 | 233–234, 252 |
| I 214–218 | 230, 232, 266 | I 167 | 137, 178, 188 |
| I 215 | 112, 128, 139, 231 | I 168–193 | 23, 185, 187,
224–228, 252 |
| I 216 ff | 49 | I 171 | 186 |
| I 252–253 | 118 | I 174 | 259–260 |
| I 255–256 | 167 | I 177–193 | 226–228 |
| II 6 | 191 | I 181–182 | 34 |
| II 23–25 | 257 | I 183 | 41, 194 |
| II 34 | 148 | I 186 | 45, 179, 232 |
| II 38 | 148, 160 | I 189 | 231, 253 |
| II 71–74 | 130, 249–250, 253 | I 190–192 | 258, 267, 268, 270 |
| II 75–77 | 39, 199–198 | I 193 | 125, 167 |
| II 123–129 | 71, 100 | I 194–256 | 138, 242–248, 253 |
| II 127 | 75, 83–84, 91, 97 | I 195 | 178, 188 |
| II 144 | 18–19 | I 201 | 239 |
| II 246–254 | 219 | I 212–219 | 131, 198, 212 |
| II 148 | 191 | I 215 | 21, 51 |
| II 172 | 212 | I 224 | 138, 168, 189 |
| II 189 | 231 | I 229 | 129 |
| II 191 | 162 | I 247–254 | 118–119, 139, 248 |
| II 231 | 231 | I 256–272 | 240–241 |
| II 242 | 151, 153–154, 173 | I 257–266 | 265–266, 268 |
| II 245–246 | 150 | I 257–258 | 270 |
| II 268–271 | 159, 163, 166, 181,
188 | I 262 | 268 |
| II 272 | 199 | I 272 | 181, 288 |
| II 296–298 | 133 | I 273–284 | 239, 253 |
| | | I 274–275 | 168, 186 |
| | | I 279 | 206 |
| <i>De specialibus legibus (Spec. Leg.)</i> | | I 283–288 | 184, 223 |
| I 20 | 42 | I 289–295 | 250 |
| I 21–27 | 236, 252 | I 290 | 222 |
| I 56 | 236, 252 | I 296–300 | 185, 13, 108, 187,
189, 223 |
| I 61–70 | 251 | I 315 | 9 |
| I 60–65 | 236, 252 | I 316–318 | 212, 236, 252 |
| I 66–70 | 22, 47, 178, 188,
218–219, 289 | I 342–143 | 159 |
| I 76–78 | 206–209, 212–213 | | |
| I 83 | 123, 217 | II 1–2 | 117 |
| I 84–97 | 231 | II 2–38 | 117, 124 |
| I 97 | 128, 139, 220, 251 | II 9–17 | 122 |
| I 98–100 | 233 | II 12 | 122, 124 |
| I 113 | 128, 139 | II 17 | 133, 252 |
| I 116 | 231 | II 24–25 | 123–124 |
| I 117–144 | 202–205, 212 | II 32 | 123 |
| I 119 | 270 | II 34–38 | 117, 233 |
| I 131–132 | 211–212 | II 39–223 | 28, 55 |
| I 138 | 183 | II 39–55 | 24–28 |
| I 145–150 | 199, 229, 252 | II 39–40 | 54 |
| I 152–157 | 184, 201, 206–207,
212 | II 41 ff | 54 |
| | | II 41 | 40, 192, 291 |

II 42–55	291	III 89	262
II 56–70	55–56	III 98	268
II 56–59	57, 59, 67, 95	III 121	133
II 58–59	56	III 125	20, 162, 237
II 58 ff	62	III 129	148
II 60–70	67–69, 96, 289	III 131–132	128, 139
II 60	90	III 134	246
II 61–63	81–83, 91, 97, 287, 289	III 171	125–126
II 67	11	III 183	19, 215
II 115	117, 123	III 197	104
II 120	203	III 200–207	268
II 129	104	III 201	11
II 133–134	183, 198, 211	III 205–207	266
II 140–144	28	IV 48	236, 252
II 145–148	29–30, 133, 179, 189, 252	IV 96–99	183, 200–202, 212, 229
II 148–149	32–33, 167, 268	IV 125	198
II 150–160	36	IV 137–139	140
II 151	34	IV 180	198, 211
II 158	180		
II 162–175	38–39, 192–193, 211, 232	<i>De virtutibus (Virt.)</i>	
II 163	259	37	258
II 167	14–15, 102	59	102
II 168	179	72–75	163, 181, 188
II 171	189, 252	77	103
II 176–187	193–194	95	196, 212
II 176	39, 212	120	129
II 179	179	126	234
II 180	41	137	263, 268
II 181–186	211, 212	146	233, 263, 268
II 187	180	155–160	180, 196–197
II 188–192	41, 42	165	176
II 193–196	232	169	188
II 193	180	175–186	133
II 199	161	209	117
II 193–203	43–44, 134		
II 204	34	<i>De vita contemplativa (V. contempl.)</i>	
II 204–214	45–46	25	145
II 215–220	194–196, 212	27–29	87–88, 126, 139, 145, 146, 288
II 222	212	28–31	92–93, 97–98
II 252	122	30–37	73–74
II 299	252	32–33	86, 99
		53	104
III 6	177, 188	56	113
III 11	104	65–89	48–50, 127
III 40	18	66	135
III 52–62	250	68	258
III 63	269–270	80–88	169–171, 173
III 80	215		
III 81	258		

De vita Mosis (V. Mos.)

I 14	261, 267, 269	II 106–108	137, 184, 222, 252
I 18	161	II 109	231
I 33	176, 188	II 133	128, 139, 232
I 47	102	II 135	231
I 73	224, 252	II 136–240	263–264
I 76	224	II 137	258
I 87–89	224, 252	II 138–139	268
I 122	102	II 141–158	132, 161, 163, 166, 185, 217–218, 252
I 149	109–110, 125–126, 139	II 143	270
I 180	86, 98, 163, 165, 173	II 144–152	268
I 205–207	56, 64	II 147–153	259
I 214–219	138, 183	II 148	269
I 216	262, 268	II 149–152	262
I 252–254	124, 195, 212	II 149	247
I 253	183	II 159–173	236–237, 252
I 255	166	II 159	23, 223, 224, 252
I 277	215	II 162	148, 162
I 278–294	116, 215	II 174	129, 139
I 298	215	II 209–210	56
I 312	215	II 211–220	70, 71, 96
I 316–318	182, 195	II 214	124
		II 215–216	74, 82–83, 91, 97, 287
		II 216	84, 91
II 5	110, 125–126, 139	II 222–233	31–32, 34, 252
II 17–30	65	II 222–224	34
II 21–22	69	II 225	262, 268
II 22	71, 72	II 231	260
II 23–24	44–45, 134	II 238–239	161
II 25–44	48, 89	II 254	136
II 35–36	135, 139	II 256–257	159, 161, 165, 173, 288
II 41–42	80, 90, 134, 139, 180	II 263	56
II 68	258–259	II 263–266	64
II 101–105	187, 218	II 270–287	237, 252

Index of References to Other Ancient Texts

Numbers in *italics* indicate passages which are cited only in the footnotes.

<i>Aristeas</i>		4.212–213	98, 140
83–99	281	4.303	146, 163
96–99	231	8.106 ff	161
145	234	8.111–113	
158–160	140	14.65	132
170	234	14.66	45
191–192	109	14.214–215	85, 99
305–306	272	14.216	31, 99
		14.258	79
<i>Aristobulus</i>		14.260	31, 99, 130
Fragment 1	34	14.487	45
Fragment 5.9–16	62	16.171	279
		17.165	45
<i>Cicero, Marcus Tullius</i>		18.94	45
<i>De natura deorum</i>		18.312–313	211
I 3–4	283	19.293–294	120
II 159	159	20.179–181	206
		23.7	225
<i>Clement of Alexandria</i>			
<i>Stromateis</i>		<i>Bellum</i>	
1.72.4	95	2.128–129	126
2.100.3	95	2.313	120
		5.207–219	218
		5.231–237	231
<i>Josephus, Flavius</i>			
<i>Antiquitates (Ant.)</i>		<i>Contra Apionem (C. Ap.)</i>	
1.25	93	1.198	239
1.192	276	2.2	54
2.317	46	2.145–146	282
2.346	146, 163	2.175	74
3.151–178	231	2.282	83
3.189	232	2.190–198	282
3.224	244		
3.231	147	<i>Vita</i>	
3.251	193	63, 80	206
4.68	202		
4.71	203	<i>Jubilees</i>	
4.72	120	2.17–33, 50	66
4.205	202		

2.25–27	71	Tamid	
2.29, 508	71	4.3–5.1	126
13.25–27	202		
32.3	201	Para	
32.15	202	3.1	264
49.17–21	32		
50.10–11	28, 214	<i>New Testament</i>	
<i>Mishnah</i>		Matthew (Mt.)	
Berakhot		8.22	121
5.5	246	11.18	120
		22.34–40	140
Peah		26.30	30, 168
3.8	243	27.34, 48	121
		<i>Mark (Mk.)</i>	
Bikkurim		12.28–34	82, 140
1.6	196	14.25	121
3.2–8	194, 195	14.26	30, 168
		15.23, 36	121
Shabbat		<i>Luke (Lk.)</i>	
14.1	71	1.15	120
		1.46–55	172
Pesachim		7.33	120
4.4	31	9.60	121
5.1	132	10.25–28	140
		23.36	121
Shekalim		<i>John</i>	
2.1	208	1	62
Joma		6.31–58	94
1.1	164		
8.8–9	214	<i>Acts of the Apostles (Acts)</i>	
		2.24–30	173
Besa		13.15	89
2.7	31	18.18	120
		21.23–24	121
Nazir		27.9	45
1.3 a, 6.3 a	120		
		<i>Romans (Rm.)</i>	
Gittin		9.4	11
3,7	205		
		<i>1 Corinthians (1 Cor.)</i>	
Avot		14.15–16	173
1.2	8	14.26	99
3.2	220		
		<i>Galatians (Gal.)</i>	
Zebahim		4.25–5.15	93
10.2, 7 b	243		

Colossians (Col.)		950 d	284
1.20	42	966 c–968 b	290
Hebrews (Hebr.)		Phaidon	
1	151	84 b	163
2.6	151		
9.13	240	Politeia	
13.15–16	169	10.615	160
<i>Ovid</i>		Politicus	
Ars amatoria		290 c d	111
I 75–80	54		
I 76	80	Timaios	
		30 a	111
<i>Plato</i>		29, 30; 40, 41	216
Apologia			
23 b	10, 12	<i>Psalms of Solomon</i>	
		2.26–30, 33, 36–37106	
Cratylus			
404 e–406 a	160	<i>Qumran texts</i>	
		Community Rule (1 QS)	
Nomoi		6.3, 8	85, 99
453	29	9.3–5	169
624 a	286		
628 e–718 a	286–289	Florilegium (4 Q 174)	150
687 d e	111		
700 a b	157	Psalms	
716 c–717 a	214, 290	Ps. 151–155	144
759 a–760 a	290		
771 d	20, 290	Temple Scroll (11 QT)	
798 d	170	18–25	39
801 a	157		
814 d–817 c	170	<i>Sibylline Oracles</i>	
821 b	284	3.591–593	272
828 a	26, 27, 29, 290, 291	4.166	135
853 d–855 c	19		
884 a–912 e	290, 292	<i>Targums</i>	
885 b	238	Onkelos on Ex. 19.6	110
887 e	127	Neofiti on Ex. 19.6110	
909 d	218		

Index of Modern Authors

Numbers in *italics* indicate passages which are cited only in the footnotes.

- Albrecht, K. 22, *196*
 Aleshire, S. 10
 Amir, Y. 28, *66*, *89*, *106*, *107*, *148*,
 218–219, *237*, *276*, *277*, *278*, *282*,
 283, *293*
 Aristeas 3
 Aristobulus 3, 33
 Arnaldez, R. 2, *54*
 Aucher, J. B. 23

 Baer, Y. F. 192, *193*
 Barclay, J. M. G. 2
 Baudissin, W. W. *107*
 Beaude, P.-M. 228
 Beer, G. 33, *36*
 Behm, J. *214*
 Belkin, S. 5, *25*, *41*, *66*, *71*, *117*, *122*,
 196, *197*, *202*, *205*, *225*, *243*, *244*,
 245, *247*, *280*
 Bernard, J. *60*
 Billerbeck, P. 85
 Birnbaum, E. *277*
 Bockmuehl, M. 121
 Böcher, O. *219*
 Boertien, M. *120*, *121*
 Bokser, B. M. 32, *35*, *36*, *49*, *50*, *280*
 Borgen, P. 6, 7, 9, *11*, *16*, *18*, *27*, *53*,
 60, *77*, *79*, *93*, *94*, *191*
 Bornhäuser, H. *46*, *47*
 Bousset, W. 4, *49*, *107*, *154284*
 Boyancé, P. 285
 Bréhier, É. *178*, *254*, *271*,
 Von Bremen, R. 77
 Bremer, J. M. *157*, *167*, *171*
 Brooten, B. J. *74*
 Brown, J. P. *254*
 Bruit Zaidman, L. 22, *52*
 Büchler, A. *13*, *120*, *185*, *247*

 Bunte, W. *202*, *205*
 Burkert, W. 27, *28*, *157*, *171*, *284*
 Burkhardt, H. 27, *145*, *148*, *150*, *286*
 Burtchaell, J. T. 74

 Cadiou, R. *54*, *89*
 Camponovo, O. *110*
 Carmignac, J. *146*
 Casabona, J. *214*
 Caspari, W. *158*
 Cazelles, H. *176*, *184*, *189*, *245*
 Cerfaux, L. 77, *79*
 Chadwick, H. 4, *62*
 Charlesworth, J. H. *106*, *141*, *142*, *144*,
 167
 Chesnut, G. F. *107*
 Cimosà, M. *102*, *106*, *132*
 Cohen, N. G. 5, *30*, *69*, *82*, *90*, *100*,
 107, *140*, *278*, *280*
 Cohen, S. J. D. *131*, *220*
 Colson, F. H. *19*, *25*, *49*, *55*, *60*, *66*, *68*
 71, *71*, *149*, *184*, *224*, *264*
 Conybeare, F. C. *49*, *50*
 Conzelmann, H. *176*
 Correns, D. *51*, *69*

 Dahl, N. A. *107*, *144*
 Daniel, S. 9, *243*, *244*, *245*, *249*
 Dawson, D. 89
 Deiana, G. 45
 Delcor, M. *40*, *49*
 Delling, G. *156*, *157*, *191*, *277*
 Diamond, E. *118*, *119*
 Dillon, M. 22, *42*, *57*, *62*, *276*
 Von Dobschütz, D. *71*
 Dorrie, H. *284*

 Eerdman, B. D. 43

- Eissfeldt, O. 191, 196, 202, 203, 204, 205
 Elbogen, I. 85
 Elsas, C. 79, 284
 Fabry, H.-J. 144
 Falk, D. K. 30, 126, 132, 140, 162, 167, 168
 Feldman, L. H. 1, 38, 67, 159, 160, 161, 163, 166, 167
 Festugière, P. 60, 162, 218
 Fiebig, P. 29, 41, 42
 Fiedler, P. 173
 Finkel, J. 231, 232
 Fiore, B. 83
 Fleischer, E. 90, 141
 Flint, P. W. 145
 Flusser, D. 132, 142, 165, 272
 Foerster, W. 52
 Gauthier, P. 77
 Gianotto, C. 201, 217
 Gilat, Y. D. 64, 65, 66, 67, 71, 96
 Ginouvès, R. 263, 267
 Glickler Chazon, E. 169
 Goldberg, A. 162
 Goldenberg, R. 54, 60, 64, 72
 Goodenough, E. R. 5, 68, 77, 105, 107, 160, 284
 Gordon, R. 77
 Goulet, R. 4, 5, 281
 Græsholt, G. 52, 273, 275
 Graetz, H. 22, 194
 Grant, F. C. 290
 Greeven, H., 80
 Güting, E. 191
 Guinot, J.-N. 231
 Guthrie, W. K. C. 286, 290
 Gutmann, J. 74
 Gwyn Griffiths, J. 283, 284, 294
 Hands, A. R. 77
 Harl, M. 13, 24, 34, 89
 Hauck, F. 256
 Hayward, C. T. R. 281
 Hecht, R. D. 89, 95, 273
 Hegermann, H. 74, 230, 231
 Heinemann, I. 5, 20, 25, 26, 29, 32, 36, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 46, 51, 56, 58, 61, 68, 106, 107, 117, 118, 119, 120, 122, 124, 130, 140, 192, 193, 194, 195, 203, 204, 218, 225, 230, 231, 234, 241, 242, 244, 246, 247, 250, 251, 254, 260, 261, 265, 266, 272, 273, 274, 276, 279, 280, 283, 285, 294
 Hendrix, P. 50
 Hengel, M. 1, 4, 76, 145, 157, 158, 168, 173
 Hewitt, J. W. 175
 Hilhorst, A. 9
 Hippokrates 57, 58
 Holm-Nielsen, S. 8, 169
 Holtzmann, O. 132, 140, 233
 Horbury, W. 28, 42, 45, 69, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 83, 85, 86, 136, 146, 163, 201, 202, 208, 231, 232, 236, 237, 240, 265
 Van der Horst, P. W. 109, 111, 131, 141, 168, 232
 Horton, F. L. 217
 Hruby, K. 125, 132, 139, 225
 Idelsohn, A. Z. 131, 132
 Isaac, B. 209
 Janowski, B. 218
 Johnson, A. R. 149
 Johnson, N. B. 109, 114, 135, 139
 Juster, J. 4, 72, 74, 79, 80
 Kamesar, A. 150
 Kamlah, E. 282
 Kasher, A. 48
 Katz, P. 89
 Kee, H. K. 74
 Kern, O. 42, 52
 Kirschner, R. 249
 Klauck, H.-J. 219, 283, 284
 Klawans, J. 260
 Klein, F.-N. 49, 156, 162
 Klingbeil, G. A. 54
 Koet, B. 117, 120, 121
 Kraabel, A. T. 74, 131, 279, 281
 Kraemer, S. 88
 Kraft, A. 71
 Krauss, S. 74
 Kubo, S. 65
 De Lange, N. 30, 33

- Laporte, J. 3, 6, 175, 177, 181, 186, 187, 188, 189, 225, 227, 228, 230, 231, 232, 233, 243, 245, 249, 275
- Larson, C. W. 6, 105, 109, 114, 116, 133, 138, 139
- Lattke, M. 157, 169
- Lebram, C. H. 282
- Ledogar, R. J. 142, 175, 176, 189
- Lehnhardt, T. 106, 165
- Leisegang, J. 89, 143
- Levarie, S. 159, 170
- Levine, L. I. 74, 131
- Levinskaya, I. 71756, 78
- Lewy, H. 50, 149, 171, 284
- Lies, L. 175, 188
- Lifshitz, B. 76, 77
- Liver, J. 207
- Lohse, E. 53, 66, 67
- Lyonnet, S. 42
- Mack, B. 148
- Maier, J. 85, 98, 99, 168
- Mandell, S. 207
- Mann, J. 28, 74, 78, 82, 84
- Manns, F. 85, 90, 98, 110, 135, 166
- Marcus, R. 3
- Marmorstein, A. 107
- Mayer, G. 6, 7, 9, 11, 16, 18, 27, 53, 106, 191, 266
- McKay, H. A. 7, 8, 37, 64, 65, 76, 81, 83, 84, 88, 90, 100
- Meijer, P. A. 109, 111, 282, 286, 290
- Meinhold, J. 43
- Mélèze Modrzejewski, J. 78, 86, 89
- Mendelson, A. 31, 32, 36, 67, 72, 139
- Milgrom, J. 39
- Moehring, H. 5, 6, 55, 57, 59, 60, 61, 95
- Mondésert, C. 2
- Moore, G. F. 31, 42, 43, 73, 80, 84, 85, 86
- Morgan, M. L. 284, 286
- Nardi, C. 154
- Netzer, E. 272
- Neubecker, A. 157, 165
- Neusner, J. 3, 8, 195, 256, 260, 267, 271
- Niehoff, M. R. 285
- Nikiprowetzky, V. 49, 50, 94, 109, 218, 219, 230, 238, 239, 253
- Nilsson, M. P. 42, 119, 150, 167, 263, 285
- Nitzan, B. 110, 131, 132
- Nock, A. D. 77
- Noy, D. 77, 78, 83, 146, 236
- Oehler, J. 77
- Oesterley, W. O. E. 74, 139, 149, 168
- Orlinsky, H. M. 89
- Oster, R. E. 74
- Parker, R. 256, 257, 261, 266, 270
- Patai, R. 218, 220
- Pelletier, A. 24
- Pépin, J. 285
- Perrot, C. 89, 90, 92, 94
- Petit, F. 12, 23
- Petuchowski, J. J. 132, 141
- Philolaos 57
- Price, S. R. F. 52
- Pucci ben Zeev, M. 79, 131
- Pulley, S. 16, 111, 127, 130, 135, 157, 158, 169, 175, 177
- Quasten, J. 161
- Radice, R. 56, 62
- Rajak, T. 77, 122
- Reif, S. C. 132, 141
- Rengstorf, K. H. 58
- Reynolds, J. 173
- Riesner, R. 74, 76
- Rokéah, D. 280
- Rudhardt, J. 170, 171, 177, 191, 256, 257, 269, 270
- Runia, D. T. 2, 4, 95
- Rubenstein, J. L. 45, 47
- Safrai, S. 30, 31, 32, 35, 41, 46, 47, 74, 85, 90, 97, 194, 195, 298, 209, 242
- Salzmann, J. C. 85, 86, 90, 97, 98
- Sandelin, K.-G. 277
- Sanders, E. P. 4, 6, 31, 32, 40, 43, 46, 74, 83, 85, 98, 99, 131, 132, 165, 206, 207, 213, 266, 269, 270, 272
- Sandmel, S. 28, 42, 45, 84, 85, 97
- Schaller, B. 279
- Schaper, J. 144
- Schermann, T. 176
- Schlier, H. 157

- Schmidt, K. L. 219
 Schmitt Pantel, P. 22, 52
 Schmitz, O. 228, 248, 254, 255, 271
 Schönfeld, H.-G. 49
 Schrage, W. 74
 Schroeder, B. 84
 Schürer, E. 4, 31, 39, 49, 66, 74, 85, 92
 Schwartz, D. 219, 229
 Scott, J. M. 283
 Scullion, J. P. 43
 Segal, A. F. 107
 Seland, T. 231, 233, 253
 Siegert, F. 62, 89, 93
 Skarsten, R. 93
 Smallwood, E. M. 72, 73, 209, 210, 220, 221
 Sokolowski, F. 25, 209, 210
 Solon 57
 Staehle, K. 55, 59
 Starobinski-Safran, E. 54, 61
 Stein, S. 30, 36, 49
 Stemberger, G. 173
 Stern, M. 38, 47, 54, 236
 Stewart, R. A. 230, 231, 246
 Van Straten, F. T. 122, 135
 Sweeney, A. 39

 Tabory, J. 36
 Tannenbaum, R. 173
 Thackeray, J. 40
 Thurén, J. 169
 Thyen, H. 89, 94, 143, 144, 151
 Tondriau, J. 77, 79

 Treitel, L. 29, 32, 33, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 47, 66

 Urbach, E. E. 105, 106, 107
 Umemoto, N. 106, 107, 108
 Van Unnik, W. C. 161, 189

 De Vaux, R. 8, 25, 43, 47, 245
 Del Verme, M. 202
 Vermes, G. 49, 66, 150, 213, 280
 Versnel, S. 104, 175, 177
 Veyne, P. 77
 Vincent, R. 46
 Völker, W. 284

 Weiss, H. 54, 56, 59, 62, 65, 66, 67, 68, 71, 100
 Wenschkewitz, H. 6, 231, 239, 241, 242, 144, 248, 253
 Williams, M. H. 47, 72, 236
 Wills, L. 94
 Windisch, H. 285
 Winston, D. 83, 111
 Winter, B. W. 77
 Wischmeyer, O. 89
 Wolfson, H. A. 5, 16, 106, 107, 108, 132, 133, 161, 168, 169, 182, 222-223, 241, 251, 281
 Woolf, G. 52

 Yerkes, R. K. 243

 Zahavy, T. 132

Index of Greek words

Numbers in *italics* indicate passages which are cited only in the footnotes. If different forms of the same root (e.g. noun and verb or different nouns) are used by Philo, they appear under the noun only.

- ἀγαθός 110–112, 120
 ἀγέννητον 66
 ἁγιστεία 130, 202, 238, 264
 ἄγνεία 16, 24, 30, 190, 256–261, 262, 267
 ἀειπάρθενος 61
 αἵνεσις 168
 ἀλληγορία 92
 ἄζυμα 23, 24, 179, 226
 ἁμάρτημα, ἁμαρτία 43, 45, 119, 132, 133, 134, 178, 227, 228, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 248
 ἀμήτωρ 61, 63
 ἀνδρεία 55, 81–82
 ἀπαρχή 15, 16, 38, 39, 40, 119, 124, 179, 182–184, 190–213, 220, 221, 229
 ἀρετή 81–82, 105, 113–114, 167, 184, 199, 210, 235, 243, 244, 287
 ἀρχιεροσύνη, ἀρχιερεὺς 112, 128, 137, 220, 248
 ᾄσμα 16, 103, 145, 150, 156–158, 160, 195, 288
 αὐτεξούσιος 105
 βασιλεύς 106, 112
 γενέθλιος τοῦ κόσμου 56
 δεκάτη 183, 196, 200, 201
 δεισιδαιμονία 282
 διαβατήριον 24, 29–36, 51
 διδασκαλεῖα 81–83, 210, 287
 δίδραχμον 211
 δικαιοσύνη 45, 81–82, 87, 109, 149, 164, 199, 210, 282, 287
 δουλεία 9, 12
 δράγμα 24, 38–39, 179, 192
 δύναμις 63, 105–107, 112, 181, 244, 285
 δῶρον 118, 183, 216, 249–250
 ἐβδομή 24, 40, 43, 49, 53–100, 225
 ἐγγυτής 149
 ἔμπειρος 88
 ἔξαρχος 113, 165
 εορτή 15, 16, 18–52, 123, 125, 134, 179, 192, 215, 222–225, 227, 237, 261, 291
 ἐπαίνος 160, 181, 239, 240
 ἐπιψάλλω 160
 ἐπιστήμη 87
 εἰταίρος 150
 εὐδαιμονία, εὐδαιμονισμός 70, 138, 160, 164, 168, 245
 εὐεργέτης, εὐεργεσία 13, 35, 39, 76–79, 105, 113, 115, 121, 161, 165, 168, 180, 181, 184, 185, 195, 206, 229, 241, 245, 288
 εὐλογία 103, 114, 116, 176
 εὐσέβεια 22, 23, 44, 52, 76, 81–82, 87, 92, 118, 125, 145, 178, 182, 195, 200, 203, 205, 209, 211, 218, 221, 222, 223, 236, 237, 238, 249, 258, 281, 282, 287, 289
 εὐφροσύνη 167, 179, 258
 εὐχαριστία 16, 19, 30, 35, 37, 38, 40, 45, 48, 80, 86, 108, 128, 129, 130, 134, 137, 138, 163–165, 168, 175–189, 193, 194, 197, 200, 202, 203, 204, 215, 221, 223, 225, 234, 239, 241, 242, 245, 246, 249, 275, 288

- εὐχή 14–16, 21, 24, 30, 38, 43, 45, 48,
 70, 80, 101–141, 148, 158, 167,
 168, 174, 178, 180, 183, 192, 216,
 217, 220, 222, 230, 232, 233, 234,
 236, 238, 245, 249, 258, 261

 ἡμέρα 24, 25–28, 225, 291

 θεός 105–108
 θεραπεία 9, 12, 15, 13, 21, 121, 123,
 137, 148, 153, 160, 192, 199, 216,
 238, 243, 246, 277
 θεσπέσιος 149
 θεωρητικός 67
 θιασώτης 148
 θρησκεία 9, 238
 θυσία 14, 15, 19, 21, 22, 24, 29, 32,
 34, 35, 119, 123, 128–130, 132,
 133, 136, 138, 167–169, 178, 181,
 184–185, 187, 190, 202, 204, 209,
 210, 214–255, 258, 261, 264, 267,
 288
 θυσιαστήριον, θυμιάμα 184, 186,
 222, 241

 ἱερεύς 119, 128, 129, 192, 196, 205,
 216, 230, 259, 263
 ἱεροσύνη 110, 113
 ἱερομηνία 24, 28, 29, 41, 44, 51, 180,
 202, 225, 226–227, 229
 ἱεροφάντης 182
 ἱεουργία 129, 216, 219, 222, 224,
 233, 238, 240, 248, 249
 ἱκεσία, ἱκέτης 43, 44, 106, 109, 112,
 129, 133, 134, 137, 176, 180
 ἱλασμός 44–45, 134, 137, 235, 236
 ἵλεως 105–106, 110, 112, 129, 134

 καθαρός 123, 124, 134, 227, 229, 240,
 243, 246, 247, 256, 257, 259, 262,
 264–267, 269, 270, 271
 κάρταλον 22, 194
 κόσμος 128, 218, 230, 239
 κύριος 105–108, 114

 λατρεία, 9, 10–17, 27, 38, 148, 185,
 216, 224, 255, 256, 261, 269, 273
 λειτουργία, λειτουργός 9, 163, 206,
 222, 248, 263, 264
 λιτή 43, 44, 133, 134, 178, 180, 242

 λόγος 128, 199, 219, 230, 235, 259,
 264, 271
 λουτρόν, λουτήρ 16, 190, 236, 240,
 261, 262, 265, 267, 269–271
 λύτρον 199, 207–208, 213, 256, 263

 μέθη 50, 235
 μετάνοια 271
 μίasma 256, 265
 μνήμη 38, 193, 203

 νουμηνία 24, 28, 29, 225, 226
 νεωκόροι 201–202
 νηστεία 24, 43–45, 129, 180, 225, 227,
 263
 νόμος 27, 28, 32, 84, 89–92, 134, 145,
 204, 221, 236, 243, 259, 271, 286,
 287, 291
 νοῦς 63, 160, 164, 240, 243

 οἰκονομία 87
 ὀλοκαύτωσις, ὀλοκαύτωμα 119, 186,
 220, 226, 227, 228, 242, 243,
 248–249
 ὁμολογία 181, 183
 ὁρῶν θεόν 113
 ὀσιότης 87, 118, 237, 238, 258, 287,
 289

 πάθος 25, 34, 35, 44, 137, 200, 240,
 265
 πάνδημος 48, 56
 πανήγυρις 48, 215, 223
 παρθένος 55
 Πασχα 24, 29–31, 179
 πατήρ 134, 161, 165, 186
 πάτριος 30, 43, 72, 81–82, 84, 91–92,
 129, 131, 133, 224, 230, 232, 287
 περιρραντήριον 14, 16, 30, 32, 190,
 240, 256, 261–269, 270
 ποιητής 106, 161, 165, 169, 186
 πολιτεία 87
 πρακτικός 67
 προσευχή 70, 76, 81, 83, 105, 127,
 172, 241
 προφήτης 92, 116, 145, 147, 149, 170,
 291
 πρωτογένημα 40, 179, 193–194, 199,
 215–216, 226

- σάββατον 43, 53
 σάλπιγξ 41, 226
 σεβασμός 58
 σεμνότης 58
 σκηνή 24, 45–46, 48, 180, 227, 232
 σπουδή 249
 σύμβολον 91–92, 186, 223, 259
 συναγωγή 74–75, 81
 σωτήρ, σωτερία 102, 112, 119, 168,
 220, 227, 229, 241, 242, 243, 244,
 247, 288
 σωφροσύνη 81–82, 105, 200, 210, 258,
 286, 287

 τιμή 160, 164, 199, 206, 239, 242, 288,
 289

 ὕμνος 16, 30, 44, 56, 86, 92, 103, 104,
 115, 125, 138, 142–174, 181–182,
 237, 239, 241, 245, 288
 ὑπόμνημα, ὑπόμνησις 179, 182, 244,
 264

 ὑπηρεσία, ὑπηρετής 129, 206, 246
 ὕψος 78, 115, 220, 221

 φιλανθρωπία 87, 287
 φιλόθεος 87
 φιλοσοφία 70, 72, 82, 84, 90–92, 94,
 98, 264, 287
 φρόνησις 81–82, 287

 χαριστήριον 29, 40, 138, 175, 176,
 178, 179, 183, 194, 204, 206, 227,
 232
 χορός 164, 237
 χρησμός 150, 291, 293

 ψαλμολόγος 173
 ψυχή 44, 128, 130, 137, 184, 199, 204,
 222, 236, 238, 240, 243, 245,
 248–250, 258–260, 265, 271, 288

 ᾠδή 16, 115, 156–158, 163, 172, 182,
 196, 237, 288

Subject Index

Numbers in *italics* indicate passages which are cited only in the footnotes.

- Aaron 136, 217, 224, 229, 232, 248, 284
 Abel 183, 197, 215–216
 Abodah 8, 15
 Abraham 104, 115, 183, 198
 Agrippa I (Herod Agrippa I) 120, 125, 129, 194, 210, 279
 Allegory, allegorists 19, 51, 65–66, 69, 87, 91, 93–95, 98, 100, 142, 162, 184, 189, 212, 215–216, 219, 231, 243, 282, 290, 293
 Ancestral traditions 84, 91, 97, 224, 230, 232, 283, 287, 290
 Apion 38
 Apollonius Molon 38
 Aristotle 107
 Arithmology 5, 6, 33, 41, 54–63, 95
 Athena 57
 Attitude of worshipper 136–137, 208–209, 212, 222–223, 228, 234, 235–241, 252, 266–267, 268–269, 270, 273, 274–275
 Attributes of God 105–108, 115, 134, 139, 178, 244, 285
 Augustus 72–73, 75, 79–80, 209, 210, 220–221, 251
 Bacchus 47, 50, 148
 Balaam 116, 215
 Basket 21, 22, 194, 196, 280
 Beach, service on 48, 79–80, 165, 172
 Benefactor, benefactions 13, 35, 76–79, 97–98, 105–108, 113, 161, 165, 168, 195, 205–206, 212, 229, 241, 245, 251, 253, 285, 288, 289
 Birthday of the world, Sabbath as 56, 61, 64, 68–69, 95, 225
 Blessing 85, 106, 114–117, 117, 139, 215, 241, 242
 Booths, Tabernacles, Sukkot 23, 24, 34, 45–47, 47, 48, 168, 180, 227
 Cain 103, 111, 183, 197, 215–216
 Celebration of the Septuagint 47–48, 134, 279
 Chastity 256–258, 260
 Civic cults 52, 77–78, 209–209, 276, 282, 283, 288–289, 290–292, 293–294
 Clement of Alexandria 154
 Cultic calendars 25, 28, 29
 Cynics 26, 27
 David 148
 Day of Atonement, Fast, Yom Kippur 23, 24, 36, 43–45, 129, 131, 134, 180, 225, 227, 230, 231–232, 240, 264, 268, 278, 280, 281
 Diaspora 1, 15, 33, 34, 130–131, 213, 255, 266, 275, 278–279
 Double choir 50, 86, 146, 159, 164–166, 170, 173, 288
 Eagerness in worship 204, 207–208, 215–216
 Education 200
 Eschatological hope 116
 Essenes 1, 73–74, 75, 81, 86–87, 91, 93, 126–127, 140, 260, 279, 282
Euergetism 77–79, 121, 241
 Every day, festival of 24–28, 34, 37, 291–292
 Exodus 44, 50, 64, 70, 77, 134, 170
 Ezekiel the Tragedian 42
 Festivals 7, 14, 17, 18–52, 125, 127, 179–180, 188, 189, 192–199, 213,

- 215, 222, 223–228, 251, 252, 261, 273, 278, 287, 293
- First-fruits and tithes 15, 16, 38, 41, 191–202, 204, 213, 215, 216, 229
- Flaccus 46, 71, 79, 104, 171, 176, 181, 210, 279
- Foreigners
their attitude to Judaism 71–72, 75–76, 80, 100, 209–211, 212, 220–222, 251–252
- Gaius Caligula 72–73, 79, 80, 129, 176, 181, 184, 210, 221, 251, 277
- Grain-offering 249–250, 253
- God, seven and Sabbath 61, 62, 95, 100
- Greater Song of Moses 162–162, 181–182
- Haftarah cycle 90
- Halakha for Sabbath 66, 68, 70–71, 73, 96
- Half-shekel offering 199, 207–209
- Hallel 30, 134, 168
- Hannah 118, 146, 163, 166
- Harvest festivals 44, 45, 51, 227, 274
- Heavenly harmony 159–163, 171
- Hebrew 53–54
- Hecateus of Abdera 38
- High Priest 112, 122, 125, 128–129, 131, 138, 139, 140, 177–178, 214, 216–217, 220, 221, 229, 230–233, 246, 248, 252, 254–255, 258, 259, 262, 264–265, 268, 280, 281, 284, 285, 2292
- Historical hymnody 167–172
- Hymns and praise 16, 17, 30, 35, 46, 50, 80–81, 85, 87, 90, 98, 101, 104, 115, 127, 130, 133, 138, 141, 142–174, 188, 189, 196, 237, 239, 241, 245, 251, 275, 279, 287–288, 293
- Hypocrisy 137, 236, 237–240, 253, 267
- Idolatry 137, 162, 236, 237, 252
- Incense offering 129, 186–187, 225, 226, 239, 250, 255, 276
- Inscriptions and papyri 77–78, 85, 98, 99, 122, 131, 146, 175, 236
- Inner purity 266–267, 268–269, 270–271
- Isaac 103, 104, 117, 183, 188, 215
- Israel 108–110, 113–114, 139, 272, 277
- Jacob 61, 103, 105, 116, 117, 118, 215
- Jerusalem 33, 209, 212, 219, 221, 253–254, 276, 293
- Joy 19, 21, 27, 37–38, 43, 51, 61, 63, 65–66, 87, 95–96, 148, 153, 167, 179, 219
- Joseph 103, 104, 265
- Judah 104, 116, 148
- Kronos, see Saturn
- Laziness, accusation of 63, 67, 224
- Lesser Song of Moses 134, 146, 164, 166
- Levites 50, 109–110, 130, 149, 196, 199, 201–202, 206, 211, 214, 236–237, 252, 255
- Literal observance 51, 52, 65–66, 87, 96, 100, 253–254, 266, 271, 273, 274, 277, 285, 290–291, 293, 294
- Liturgy 30, 42, 44–45, 50, 51, 85, 86, 90, 98, 99, 131–132, 140, 141, 145, 154, 165, 166, 173, 174
- Local festivals 25, 47–50
- Logos 62, 109, 128, 219–220, 229, 230, 231, 254, 265, 273, 277, 284, 285, 294
- Lulav 47
- Lustration 14, 16, 30, 32
- Malkuyot, zikronot, shopharot 42
- Malpractice 206
- Meditation on the Sabbath 62–63, 66–67, 95
- Meetings on the Sabbath 70, 78, 83–88, 93, 97
- Miriam 146, 164, 165, 170
- Misanthropy, charge of 38–39
- Mishnah 3, 4, 8, 31, 35
- Moderation 43, 113, 120, 226, 286–287
- Moses 74, 82, 103, 109, 112, 114, 132, 136, 140, 146, 148–148, 163–165, 170, 173, 176, 188, 217, 219, 224, 229, 237, 248, 264, 273, 289, 291
- Nadab and Abihu 248–249

- Nation of philosophers 81–83, 90–91, 96–97, 141
- Nazirite vow 117–121, 132, 139, 181, 188, 248, 278, 281
- New Moon, festival of the 24, 28, 169, 225–226, 252
- New Testament 3, 6, 10
- Noah 63, 115, 116, 148, 154, 155
- Olympic games 42
- Onomastica 54
- Oracles 149–150, 290–291, 293
- Pagan cults (see also Civic cults and Ruler cults) 4, 14, 25, 29, 130, 135, 148–149, 167, 170, 171, 192, 212, 224, 232, 235–236, 254, 282, 284, 293–294
- Passions 19, 25, 26, 30, 34, 35, 37, 44–45, 159, 164, 200, 212, 213, 219, 228, 229, 240, 248, 258, 259, 265, 270, 273, 277
- Passover, Crossing 23, 24, 29–36, 47, 49, 50, 133, 168, 223, 226, 230, 233, 252, 262, 264, 268, 274, 280, 283
- Paul 94, 120
- Piety 22, 23, 44, 52, 81–83, 118, 126, 145, 182, 203, 209, 211, 213, 218–219, 221–224, 236–238, 251, 252, 258, 260, 271, 274, 281, 290, 293
- Pilgrims, pilgrimage 19, 22, 23, 35, 42, 44, 47, 51, 208–209, 209–211, 218–219, 225–226, 242, 245, 276
- Plato, Platonic philosophy 60, 107
- Pliny 127
- Praise-offering 245
- Prayer and vow 14–17, 21, 24, 30, 44, 46, 49, 50, 70, 76, 79–81, 84–85, 87, 98, 99, 101–141, 161, 163, 174, 180–182, 189, 192, 216, 217, 220, 222, 236, 245, 246, 249, 251, 274–275, 293
- communal prayer 125, 141
- prayers and sacrifices 128–132, 139, 238, 252, 255, 261, 273,
- prayers for the nation 129
- prayer gestures 135–136
- silent prayer 168
- Preceding traditions 92–95, 144–145, 154–155, 156, 172, 280–282
- Priests, priesthood 29, 31–33, 40, 41, 50, 89, 113, 119, 121, 122, 128, 129, 130, 139, 192, 193, 195, 200, 201, 202–207, 212, 217, 218, 227, 228–230, 233, 237, 243, 248, 250, 255, 258, 259, 268, 270, 275, 276–277, 280
- Prophets, prophecy 145, 147, 149–150, 170, 236, 241, 254, 273, 291
- Proseuche* (see also Synagogue) 48, 70, 74–95, 115, 171, 255, 265–266, 268, 289
- Psalms 85, 92, 99, 103, 131, 142–156, 163, 167
- psalm clusters 150–151, 154–155
- psalmist 142, 147–150
- Ptolemies 48, 77–78, 80
- Purity, purification 14–15, 29–32, 35–35, 129–130, 134, 168, 217–218, 227, 228, 229, 230, 236, 237, 238, 240–241, 246–248, 255, 256–272, 276, 278, 281, 284, 290
- Pythagoreans 57, 59, 60–62, 95, 160, 162, 260–261, 271
- Quaestiones* 3, 11, 93–95
- Qumran 3, 39, 49, 66, 85, 92, 99, 109, 132, 140, 142, 144, 146, 162, 165, 167, 168, 169, 171, 173, 213, 260, 280
- Rachel 103
- Ransom for the soul 199, 207–208, 213
- Recitation of psalms 151, 158
- Repentance and forgiveness 45, 132, 133, 218, 222–223, 227, 237, 246
- Representative worship of nation and universal w. 38, 41, 51, 109, 128–129, 140, 192, 198–199, 211, 218–220, 224, 228, 231, 232, 246, 251, 252, 254, 259, 265, 273–275, 277, 284–285, 290, 294
- Rest
- and study, Sabbath 64, 67–69, 95, 274, 289–290
- Sabbath 62–63, 65–70, 73, 219
- Reuben 103

- Ruler cult 78–80, 97, 106–108, 160, 221, 239–241, 285
- Sabbath, 7, 8, 11, 14, 15, 19–21, 23, 24, 28, 33, 36, 37, 43, 46, 53–100, 123, 179, 225, 226, 273, 274, 275, 278, 285, 289, 290
- Sabbath breaking 70–71, 122, 124
- Sabbath observance 64–65, 72, 84
- Sabbatical Year, Jubilee 54, 69, 196–197
- Sacred Month or Trumpet Festival, New Year 24, 41–43, 180, 225–227
- Sacrifices 7, 11, 14, 15, 17, 21–23, 25–27, 29, 31–35, 105, 117–121, 123, 128–132, 138, 139, 161, 168–169, 188, 189, 209, 210, 214–255, 276, 278, 281, 288, 293
salvation-offering 227, 229, 242, 244–245, 247–248, 253
sin-offering 132, 228, 242, 245–248, 253, 258
symbolic offering 199–201
Tamid 25, 125, 185, 187, 214, 225, 234–235
- Sarah 104, 188
- Saturn, Saturnalia 68–69, 96, 289–290
- Schools of philosophy, *proseuche* as 81–83, 90–91, 96–97, 210, 274, 277, 285, 287
- Second Temple sacrifices 220–222
- Self-dedication 119–121, 161, 239, 248
- Septuagint 3, 10, 11, 13, 18, 26, 52, 75, 88–89, 97, 101, 103, 135, 138, 139, 142, 147, 149, 151–153, 154, 156, 157, 180, 190, 211, 216, 224, 243, 249, 253, 263, 276, 279
- Seven 37, 39–40, 46, 49, 54–63, 281
and one 63
as motherless virgin 55, 56, 57, 59, 95
in creation 56, 57, 63, 95
in sciences 55, 57–58, 61
- Sheaf, festival 23, 24, 25, 38–39, 49, 179, 192–194, 226, 232
- Shema 98–99, 106, 125, 140
- Sobriety 50, 96, 125, 232–233, 35
- Social importance of rites 20, 22, 65–66, 87, 96–97, 100, 218–219, 273–274, 276, 288–289, 290–291, 294
- Soul 61, 66, 96, 123, 128, 130, 159, 184, 197, 204, 222, 229, 230, 234, 238, 240–242, 243, 245, 248–250, 255, 258, 259, 265, 268, 270, 288, 294
- Spirituality 148–149
- Sprinkling 261–269
- Stoa 26, 68, 161–162, 219, 231, 283–284
- Sukka 45–46
- Supplication 104–114, 122, 139, 241–242, 275
- Synagogue (see also *Proseuche*) 73–75, 85–86, 91, 106, 131, 210, 272, 278
- Tacitus 38
- Teaching 50, 70, 72, 84–88, 90–93, 96–97, 99–100, 236
- Tefillin 140
- Temple or Tabernacle 25, 30–33, 73, 99, 110, 115, 125, 126, 128–129, 130, 133, 136, 139, 167, 168, 199, 218–223, 228, 230, 236, 246, 247, 251, 253–255, 259, 260, 262–264, 268, 270, 272, 273, 275, 276, 278, 278, 281, 284, 289
- Temple dues 80, 188, 190–214, 205–209, 213, 274, 278
- Thanksgiving 16, 19, 30, 35, 37, 46, 80–81, 98, 101, 105, 108, 115, 122, 128, 130, 137–138, 161–164, 174, 175–189, 192–193, 197, 204, 205, 217, 218, 221, 223, 225, 227, 229, 232, 239, 241–242, 245, 246, 246, 248, 249, 251, 253, 255, 275, 284
- Therapeutae 1, 47, 48–50, 73, 87, 92–93, 126–127, 135, 139, 140, 145–146, 166, 169, 173, 277, 279, 280, 282, 287, 288
- Todah 187, 245
- Torah/ Laws 6, 13, 15, 25, 27, 28, 32, 41, 44, 45, 52, 62, 77, 81, 84, 88–95, 141, 145, 148, 188, 221, 240, 243, 246, 264, 273, 274, 278, 286, 289, 291, 292, 293
regular reading of 84–86, 90–91, 92

- Unleavened Bread, festival of 23, 24, 25, 30, 24, 179, 226
- Virtue 11, 25, 26, 30, 39, 52, 66, 70, 81–84, 87, 97, 107, 112–114, 120, 130, 139, 148, 159, 183, 184, 189, 196–200, 210, 212, 213, 229, 230, 235, 238, 241, 243, 244, 250, 255, 257, 258–260, 281, 286–287, 289, 290, 294
- Vows (see also Prayer and vow) 104, 105, 117–124, 133, 139, 174, 274, 279
women's vows and prayers 123–124, 125–126
- Washing 261, 267, 269–271
- Water and ashes (of the red heifer) 263–266, 268, 280
- Weeks, festival of First Produce, Shavuot 24, 39–41, 47, 49, 179–180, 193–194, 196, 226–227
- Whole burnt-offering 217, 219–221, 226–228, 242–244, 248–249, 253, 276, 284
- Yom Kippur, see Day of Atonement
- Zeus 57, 162, 283

Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism

Alphabetical Index

- Albani, M., J. Frey, A. Lange* (Ed.): *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*. 1997. *Volume 65*.
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