

FELIPE A. MASOTTI

# But the Wise Shall Understand

*Forschungen  
zum Alten Testament 2. Reihe  
157*

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**Mohr Siebeck**

# Forschungen zum Alten Testament 2. Reihe

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157





Felipe A. Masotti

# But the Wise Shall Understand

Reuse of Prophecies, Chronotope, and Merging of  
Eschatological Horizons in Daniel 10–12

Mohr Siebeck

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## Preface

This book originated from my doctoral dissertation, defended at Andrews University (Michigan, USA) in May 2023, and stemmed from a convergence of several personal interests. Initially, my dissertation proposal aimed to analyze how Zechariah's and Daniel's reinterpretations of older prophecies impact their genre. I suspected that the communicative strategies usually associated with the apocalyptic discourse might prove more flexible and adaptable than commonly acknowledged. However, as cautioned by my dissertation committee, this proved to be an immense undertaking. After significant refinement, it culminated in the creation of this book.

I am grateful to several individuals and institutions who have played pivotal roles in developing the ideas expressed in this work. Mohr Siebeck and their team deserve special thanks for accepting my book for publication and guiding me through its production process. I am also deeply appreciative of the mentors, friends, and professors who made this project possible. Particularly, I thank Luiz, Silvana, Elisete, Luzia, Mark, Diane, and Rute for their unwavering support over the years.

I am profoundly grateful for all the guidance my professor, advisor, and mentor, Dr. Roy Gane, has offered me. You have always been generous, fair, pastoral, and exigent with me, combining high academic standards and considerate encouragement. Thank you for being more than an advisor but a true inspiration throughout my doctoral training. In addition to Dr. Gane, I thank my professors Dr. Jacques Doukhan, Dr. Richard Davidson, Dr. Oliver Glanz, Dr. Constance Gane, Dr. Jiří Moskala, Dr. John Matthews and Dr. Reinaldo Siqueira for inspiring me in my journey with the Hebrew Bible. I also thank Dr. John Goldingay who, as the external examiner of my dissertation, has offered me invaluable insights. I sincerely thank my friend and brother Kenneth Bergland for suggesting ideas, helping me through their development and thus fostering the inception of what now is seen in this book.

Several institutions provided essential support for completing this work, including the Brazilian Southern Union Conference (USB), the Adventist College of Paraná (FAP), and the Seventh-day Adventist Seminary at Andrews University. I am grateful for their sponsorship and institutional encouragement.

Camila, Miguel, and Helena, your presence has been my greatest victory. We are stronger, more united, and closer together after everything we lived during the years leading to the completion of this book. Miguel, you gave me strength with your clever way of seeing the world, intensity, and joy in life.

Helena, you have lightened our burdens with your smile, creativity, humor, and acuteness. Camila, you saw it all, lived it all, and felt it all. Of all the human beings to whom I dedicate this book, you are the main one.

As the people here acknowledged are so remembered for their participation on this journey, my hope is that this book serves as an open pathway for those who engage with it. May their eschatological horizons never cease to expand towards the wisdom its object of research describes. Whether through compelling arguments or steadfast faith, rigorous analysis or heartfelt search, may they become wise. As they so are made, may them acquire a better understanding of the One to whom this work is ultimately dedicated.

October, 2024.  
Faculdade Adventista do Paraná, Brazil

Felipe A. Masotti

## Table of Contents

Preface.....	V
List of Abbreviations.....	XIV
Chapter 1: Background to the Study.....	1
<i>A. Introduction.....</i>	1
<i>B. Background to the Study.....</i>	5
<i>C. The Problem.....</i>	42
<i>D. Scope and Delimitations.....</i>	44
<i>E. Chapter Overview.....</i>	44
PART ONE: PROPHETIC REUSE IN DANIEL 10–12.....	47
Chapter 2: Parallel Passages: Method and Indicators.....	49
<i>A. Introduction.....</i>	49
<i>B. Influence and Intertextuality.....</i>	50
<i>C. Inner-Biblical Interpretation.....</i>	63
<i>D. Inner-Biblical Prophetic Reuse.....</i>	79
<i>E. Literary Indicators for Identification of Parallel Passages.....</i>	82
I. Uniqueness .....	82
II. Distinctiveness .....	83
III. Multiplicity .....	84
IV. Thematic Correspondence.....	86
V. Inversion, Conflation, and Recombination.....	88



<i>F. Literary Indicators for Identification of Direction of Dependence</i> .....	89
I. Volume of Use.....	91
II. Modification.....	91
III. Reference to a Source.....	92
IV. Integration .....	93
V. Conceptual Dependence.....	94
VI. Availability of Options.....	94
VII. Amalgamation.....	95
VIII. Stylistic Split-Up of Source Text.....	95
IX. Metaphorical Wordplay .....	96
<i>G. Summary</i> .....	97
Chapter 3: The Reuse of Ezekiel 1–3; 8–11 and Isaiah 6 in Daniel 10.....	98
<i>A. Daniel 10, Ezekiel 1–3 and 8–11</i> .....	98
I. Textual Parallelism .....	103
1. Uniqueness.....	103
2. Distinctiveness.....	104
3. Multiplicity.....	106
4. Thematic Correspondence.....	112
II. Direction of Dependence.....	116
1. Volume of Use .....	116
2. Integration.....	118
3. Availability of Options.....	119
4. Combination, Modification, and Amalgamation.....	119
<i>B. Daniel 10 and Isaiah 6</i> .....	122
I. Textual Parallelism .....	123
1. Uniqueness .....	123
2. Multiplicity .....	124
3. Thematic Correspondence.....	125
II. Direction of Dependence.....	127
<i>C. Summary</i> .....	128
Chapter 4: The Reuse of Isaiah 7–12 and 28 in Daniel 11.....	129

<i>A. Daniel 11:17 and Isaiah 7:7</i> .....	129
I. Textual Parallelism .....	129
1. Uniqueness .....	130
2. Thematic Correspondence.....	130
II. Direction of Dependence.....	131
<i>B. Daniel 11:10, 22, 26, 40 and Isaiah 8:7–8</i> .....	132
I. Textual Parallelism .....	134
1. Distinctiveness.....	135
2. Uniqueness .....	135
3. Thematic Correspondence.....	136
II. Direction of Dependence.....	138
1. Metaphorical Wordplay and Conceptual Dependence .....	139
2. Amalgamation .....	139
<i>C. Daniel 11:36 and Isaiah 10:23–25</i> .....	140
I. Textual Parallelism .....	141
1. Distinctiveness.....	142
2. Uniqueness .....	142
3. Thematic Correspondence.....	143
4. Recombination.....	146
II. Direction of Dependence.....	147
<i>D. Daniel 11:7, 42–43 and Isaiah 11:1, 14–15</i> .....	149
I. Textual Parallelism .....	150
1. Uniqueness and Multiplicity .....	150
2. Thematic Correspondence .....	150
II. Direction of Dependence.....	152
<i>E. Daniel 11 and Isaiah 28</i> .....	153
I. Textual Parallelism .....	155
1. Multiplicity.....	155
2. Thematic Correspondence.....	155
II. Direction of Dependence.....	158
<i>F. Summary</i> .....	160
 Chapter 5: The Reuse of Habakkuk 2, Numbers 24 and Ezekiel 7 in Daniel 11.....	 161

<i>A. Daniel 10:14, 11: 27, 35 and Habakkuk 2:2–3</i> .....	161
I. Textual Parallelism .....	162
1. Uniqueness and Multiplicity .....	162
2. Thematic Correspondence.....	162
II. Direction of Dependence.....	163
<i>B. Daniel 11:30 and Numbers 24:24</i> .....	165
I. Textual Parallelism .....	166
1. Uniqueness .....	166
2. Thematic Correspondence .....	166
II. Direction of Dependence.....	167
1. Availability of options.....	167
2. Conceptual Dependence.....	167
3. Amalgamation .....	169
<i>C. Daniel 11:31 and Ezekiel 7:20–24</i> .....	169
I. Textual Parallelism .....	170
1. Uniqueness and Distinctiveness.....	170
2. Multiplicity.....	171
3. Thematic Correspondence.....	172
II. Direction of Dependence.....	175
1. Volume of Use and Amalgamation.....	176
2. Metaphorical Wordplay.....	177
<i>D. Summary</i> .....	178
<b>Chapter 6: The Reuse of Isaiah 52:13–53:12, Jeremiah 30, Isaiah 26 and 66 in Daniel 11–12</b> .....	179
<i>A. Daniel 11–12 and Isaiah 52:13–53:12</i> .....	179
I. Textual Parallelism .....	180
1. Distinctiveness and Uniqueness.....	180
2. Thematic Correspondence .....	181
II. Direction of Dependence .....	182
<i>B. Daniel 12:1 and Jeremiah 30:7</i> .....	183
I. Textual Parallelism .....	184
1. Distinctiveness.....	184

2. Uniqueness .....	184
3. Thematic Correspondence.....	185
II. Direction of Dependence.....	188
C. <i>Daniel 12:2, Isaiah 26:19 and 66:24</i> .....	189
I. Textual Parallelism .....	191
1. Uniqueness .....	191
2. Thematic Correspondence.....	191
II. Direction of Dependence .....	194
D. <i>Summary</i> .....	196
PART TWO: CHRONOTOPE AND DANIEL 10–12.....	197
Chapter 7: Chronotope: Method and Criteria.....	199
A. <i>Chronotope Theory</i> .....	199
I. Chronotope and Time-spatial Referentiality.....	203
II. Chronotopical Method and Literary Adaptation.....	213
1. Micro Chronotopes .....	214
2. Minor / Local Chronotopes.....	214
3. Major / Dominant Chronotopes.....	217
B. <i>Summary</i> .....	219
Chapter 8: Chronotope in Daniel 10:1–11:1.....	221
A. <i>By the Tigris: The Visionary Experience Minor Chronotope</i> .....	221
B. <i>Princes of Heaven, Kings of Earth: The Supernatural War     Minor Chronotope</i> .....	228
C. <i>Chronotopical Synthesis</i> .....	237
Chapter 9: Chronotopical Function of Source Texts' Shared Language with Daniel 10:1–11:1.....	238
A. <i>Isaiah 6</i> .....	238

<i>B. Ezekiel 1–3</i> .....	241
<i>C. Ezekiel 8–11</i> .....	244
<i>D. Summary</i> .....	246
<b>Chapter 10: Chronotope in Daniel 11:2–45</b> .....	247
<i>A. Daniel 11:2–4: Succession of Events</i> .....	248
<i>B. Daniel 11:5–8: From Peace to War</i> .....	250
<i>C. Daniel 11:9–12: The Flooding Battle of Multitudes</i> .....	252
<i>D. Daniel 11:13–19: Southward Attack</i> .....	253
<i>E. Daniel 11:20–26: The Spread of Deceitfulness</i> .....	256
<i>F. Daniel 11:27–35: The War against the Holy Covenant</i> .....	258
<i>G. Daniel 11:36–45: The Time of the End and the Holy Mountain</i> .....	261
<i>H. Chronotopical Synthesis</i> .....	264
<b>Chapter 11: Chronotopical Function of Source Texts’ Shared Language with Daniel 11:2–45</b> .....	267
<i>A. Numbers 24</i> .....	267
<i>B. Isaiah 7</i> .....	270
<i>C. Isaiah 8</i> .....	271
<i>D. Isaiah 10</i> .....	273
<i>E. Isaiah 11</i> .....	275
<i>F. Isaiah 28</i> .....	278
<i>G. Isaiah 52:13–53:12</i> .....	279
<i>H. Ezekiel 7</i> .....	281
<i>I. Habakkuk 2</i> .....	284
<i>J. Summary</i> .....	288
<b>Chapter 12: Chronotope in Daniel 12:1–13</b> .....	291

<i>A. Daniel 12:1–3: Michael Arises</i> .....	291
<i>B. Daniel 12:4–13: How Long?</i> .....	294
<i>C. Chronotopical Synthesis</i> .....	301
<b>Chapter 13: Chronotopical Function of Source Texts’ Shared Language with Daniel 12:1–13</b> .....	303
<i>A. Jeremiah 30</i> .....	303
<i>B. Isaiah 26</i> .....	306
<i>C. Isaiah 66</i> .....	308
<i>D. Summary</i> .....	310
<b>Chapter 14: Summary and Conclusions</b> .....	312
<i>A. Summary</i> .....	312
<i>B. Interpretation of the Findings</i> .....	319
I. Chronotope and Theology.....	320
II. Eschatology and Textual Saturation .....	323
<i>C. Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research</i> .....	326
Bibliography.....	329
Index of Ancient Sources.....	385
Index of Modern Authors.....	403
Subject Index .....	411



## List of Abbreviations

AAW	Approaching the Ancient World
AB	Anchor Bible
<i>ABD</i>	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by David Noel Freedman. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992
<i>ABR</i>	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>
<i>AcTh</i>	<i>Acta Theologica</i>
ADPV	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
AG	Analecta Gregoriana
AIL	Ancient Israel and its Literature
<i>AJS</i>	<i>Australian Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>AJSR</i>	<i>Association for Jewish Studies Review</i>
AKM	Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ALBA	The Abundant Life Bible Amplifier
AMD	Ancient Magic Divination
<i>AMR</i>	<i>Academy of Management Review</i>
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
ANEM	Ancient Near Eastern Monographs
<i>Antip</i>	<i>Antipode</i>
<i>Antiq</i>	<i>Antiquity</i>
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AoF	Altorientalische Forschungen
AOTC	Apollos Old Testament Commentary
<i>APB</i>	<i>Acta Patristica et Byzantina</i>
ARM	Archives royales de Mari
AS	Advances in Semiotics
ASORSVS	American Schools of Oriental Research Special Volume Series
ASSL	Astrophysics and Space Science Library
ATDan	Acta Theologica Danica
ATS	Adventist Theological Society
ATSAT	Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament
<i>Aug</i>	<i>Augustinianum</i>
<i>AUSS</i>	<i>Andrews University Seminary Studies</i>
<i>AUSSJ</i>	<i>Andrews University Seminary Student Journal</i>



AYBRL	Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library
<i>BA</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BAC	The Bible in Ancient Christianity
<i>Bakh</i>	<i>Bakhtiniana: Revista de Estudos do Discurso</i>
<i>BAR</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
<i>BBR</i>	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BBRSup	Bulletin for Biblical Research, Supplements
BerO	Berit Olam: Studies in Hebrew Narrative & Poetry
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BI	Biblical Intersections
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BibInt</i>	<i>Biblical Interpretation</i>
BibJS	Biblical and Judaic Studies
BibOr	Biblica et Orientalia
BIS	Biblical Interpretation Series
BISNELC	Bar-Ilan Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Culture
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BJSUC	Biblical and Judaic Studies from the University of California
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament
<i>BNNF</i>	<i>Biblische Notizen Neue Folge</i>
<i>BQ</i>	<i>Baptist Quarterly</i>
BQSup	Baptist Quaterly Supplement
<i>BR</i>	<i>Biblical Research</i>
<i>BRev</i>	<i>Bible Review</i>
BRIR	Biblical Research Institute Release
BRISH	Biblical Research Institute Studies in Hermeneutics
BSac	Bibliotheca Sacra
BSGN	Biblical Studies: Gospel Narratives
BSSTB	Biblioteca di storia e storiografia dei tempi biblici
<i>BT</i>	<i>The Bible Translator</i>
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
BThSt	Biblich-Theologische Studien
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZAR	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte

BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CA	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–2006
CAJ	<i>Cambridge Archaeological Journal</i>
CB	Coniectanea Biblica
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis & Theology
CBQ	<i>The Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CBR	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
CBSC	Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges
CC	Concordia Commentary: A Theological Exposition of Sacred Scripture
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CJAS	Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Series
CLCWeb	<i>Comparative Literature and Culture: A WWWeb Journal</i>
CoPh	Contributions in Philosophy
COS	<i>The Context of Scripture</i> . Edited by William W. Hallo. 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1997–2017
CPh	<i>Comparative Philosophy</i>
CRBS	<i>Currents in Research: Biblical Studies</i>
CrIn	<i>Critical Inquiry</i>
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
Crit	<i>Critique</i>
CTJ	<i>Calvin Theological Journal</i>
CTM	Calwer Theologische Monographien
CTS Journal	<i>Chaffer Theological Seminary Journal</i>
CV	<i>Communio Viatorum</i>
DARCOM	Daniel & Revelation Committee Series
DBI	<i>Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation</i> . Edited by Hayes. 2 vols. Nashville: Abingdon, 1999
John	
DOTP	<i>Dictionary of the Old Testament: Prophets</i> . Edited by Mark J. Boda and J. Gordon MacConville. Downers Grove: IVP, 2012
DR	<i>The Downside Review</i>
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
DSO	<i>Rivista degli studi orientali</i>
DWO	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
ÉB	Études Bibliques

EBC	Expositor's Bible Commentary
ECC	Eerdmans Critical Commentary
EEC	Evangelical Exegetical Commentary
<i>EHLL</i>	<i>Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics</i> . 4 vols. Edited by Gary A. Rendsburg. Leiden: Brill, 2013
ÉHR	Études d'Histoire des Religions
<i>ESP</i>	<i>English for Specific Purposes</i>
<i>EstBib</i>	<i>Estudios bíblicos</i>
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses</i>
ETS	Evangelical Theological Society
<i>EvT</i>	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
<i>ExA</i>	<i>Ex Auditu</i>
<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>The Expository Times</i>
FA	Frontiers of Anthropology
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FAT2	Forschungen zum Alten Testament 2. Reihe
FBE	Forum for Bibelsk Eksegese
FOTL	The Forms of the Old Testament Literature
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GD	Gorgias Dissertations Series
<i>GM</i>	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
GOF	Göttinger Orient-Forschungen
<i>GR</i>	<i>Georgia Review</i>
<i>GTJ</i>	<i>Grace Theological Journal</i>
<i>HALOT</i>	<i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testa- ment</i> . Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner, and Johann J. Stamm. Translated and edited under the supervision of Mervyn E. J. Richardson. 2 vols. Lei- den: Brill, 2001
HB	Hebrew Bible
HBM	Hebrew Bible Monographs
HBS	History of Biblical Studies
<i>HBT</i>	<i>Horizons in Biblical Theology</i>
HCOT	Historical Commentary on the Old Testament
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
<i>HeBAI</i>	<i>Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel</i>
HeBS	Herders Biblische Studien
<i>Henoch</i>	<i>Henoch</i>
HEPhL	Hermeneutical, Exegetical, and Philological Library
HistTh	History and Theory
<i>HR</i>	<i>History of Religions</i>

HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HThKAT	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
<i>HTS</i>	<i>HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies</i>
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
<i>HvTSt</i>	<i>Hervormde Teologiese Studies</i>
IBC	Interpretation Bible Commentary
IBT	Interpreting Biblical Texts
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>IDBSup</i>	<i>The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible: Supplementary Volume</i> . Edited by Keith Crim. Nashville: Abingdon, 1976
IECOT	International Exegetical Commentary on the Old Testament
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
<i>Iraq</i>	<i>Iraq</i>
<i>IS</i>	<i>In die Skriflig</i>
<i>JAAC</i>	<i>Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism</i>
<i>JAH</i>	<i>Journal of Ancient History</i>
<i>JAJ</i>	<i>Journal of Ancient Judaism</i>
<i>JAJSup</i>	Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements
<i>JANES</i>	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society</i>
<i>JANESCU</i>	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JATS</i>	<i>Journal of the Adventist Theological Society</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JBQ</i>	<i>Jewish Bible Quarterly</i>
JBS	Jerusalem Biblical Studies
JCPS	Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
<i>JEGP</i>	<i>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</i>
<i>JEP</i>	<i>Journal of Experimental Psychology</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
JHebS	Journal of Hebrew Scriptures
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JL	Janua Linguarum
<i>JLT</i>	<i>Journal of Literary Theory</i>
<i>JNSL</i>	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i>
JPSC	Jewish Publishing Society Comentary Series

JPSSDS	JPS Scholar of Distinction Series
<i>JS</i>	<i>Journal for Semitics</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
JSJSup	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JSSR</i>	<i>Journal of Scientific Study of Religion</i>
<i>JTC</i>	<i>Journal for Theology and the Church</i>
<i>JThS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>KBN</i>	<i>De Kémi à Birīt Nāri: Revue Internationale de l'Orient Ancien</i>
<i>Ke</i>	<i>Kerygma</i>
LAI	Library of Ancient Israel
<i>LBYP</i>	<i>Leo Baeck Institute Year Book</i>
LCBI	Literary Currents in Biblical Interpretation
LHBOTS	The Library of Hebrew Bible / Old Testament Studies
<i>Lit</i>	<i>Literatura</i>
LRS	Leipziger rechtswissenschaftliche Studien
<i>LS</i>	<i>Letter &amp; Spirit</i>
LSAWS	Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic
LSTS	The Library of Second Temple Studies
LTHS	Literature and Theology of the Hebrew Scriptures
Maarav	Maarav
<i>MARI</i>	<i>MARI: Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires</i>
<i>MGWJ</i>	<i>Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums</i>
MMST	Masters of Modern Social Thought
NAC	New American Commentary
NBS	Numen Book Series
NCBC	The New Century Bible Commentary
NCI	The New Critical Idiom
<i>Neotest</i>	<i>Neotestamentica. Journal of the New Testament Society of South Africa</i>
NIBC	New International Biblical Commentary

<i>NIBD</i>	<i>The New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i> . Edited by David Noel Freedman. 5 vols. Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 2006–2009
NICOT	New International Commentary of the Old Testament
NIVAC	NIV Application Commentary
<i>NLH</i>	<i>New Literary History</i>
<i>NovR</i>	<i>Nova Religio</i>
NSBT	New Studies in Biblical Theology
NSKAT	Neuer Stuttgarter Kommentar Altes Testament
<i>NTT</i>	<i>Norsk teologisk Tidsskrift</i>
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
ÖBS	Österreichische biblische Studien
<i>OEAGR</i>	<i>Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome</i> . Edited by Michael Gagarin. 7 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010
OIS	Oriental Institute Studies
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OMLLM	Oxford Modern Languages and Literature Monographs
<i>OPMS</i>	<i>Occasional Publications of the Museum of the Sealand</i>
OPSNKF	Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund
<i>Or</i>	<i>Orientalia</i>
<i>OTE</i>	<i>Old Testament Essays</i>
OTG	Old Testament Guides
OTL	Old Testament Library
<i>OTS</i>	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>
OtSt	Oudtestamentische Studiën
<i>Par</i>	<i>Paragraph</i>
PFES	Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society
PhiA	Philosophia Antiqua
<i>Phron</i>	<i>Phronema</i>
<i>PhS</i>	<i>Philosophische Studien</i>
<i>PIBA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association</i>
PIOL	Publications de l'Institut Oriental de Louvain
<i>PRSt</i>	<i>Perspectives in Religious Studies</i>
PrTMS	Princeton Theological Monograph Series
<i>PTL</i>	<i>Poetics and Theory of Literature</i>
PTMS	Pittsburg Theological Monograph Series
RA	Rewriting Antiquity
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>

RBS	Resources for Biblical Study
RCS	<i>Revue canadienne des slavistes</i>
RelC	<i>Religion Compass</i>
RelSRev	Religious Studies Review
RelT	<i>Religion &amp; Theology</i>
ResQ	<i>Restoration Quarterly</i>
RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
RRJ	<i>Review of Rabbinic Judaism</i>
RSF	<i>Revista di studi fenici</i>
RSR	Recherches de science religieuse
RTT	Research in Text Theory
SAA	State Archives of Assyria Studies
SABH	Studies in American Biblical Hermeneutics
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations
SB	Sources Bibliques
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLAIL	Society of Biblical Literature: Ancient Israel and Its Literature
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature: Early Judaism and Its Literature
SBLRBS	Society of Biblical Literature: Resources for Biblical Study
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
ScrHieros	Scripta Hierosolymitana
ScrS	Scripture Symposium
ScrTh	<i>Scripta Theologica</i>
SDABC	Seventh-Day Adventist Bible Commentary
SDSSRL	Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature
SEÅ	<i>Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok</i>
SECA	Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha
SemSt	Semeia Studies
SetC	<i>Semitica et Classica: International Journal of Oriental and Mediterranean Studies</i>
SFEG	Schriften der Finnischen Exegetischen Gesellschaft
SHBC	Smyth & Helwys Bible Commentary

SHCANE	Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions
SHS	Scripture and Hermeneutics Series
Siphrut	Siphrut: Literature and Theology of the Hebrew Scriptures
SJ	Studia Judaica
<i>SJOT</i>	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Sottish Journal of Theology</i>
SP	Studia Patristica
<i>SpL</i>	<i>Spiegel der Letteren</i>
SREL	Studies in Russian and European Literature
SSEJC	Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity
SSLL	Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica
<i>ST</i>	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
STB	Studia Post Biblica
StBL	Studies in Biblical Literature
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StTe	Studies and Texts
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
TCRPOGA	Travaux du Centre de recherché sur le Proche-Orient et la Grèce antiques
<i>TDOT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> . Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Translated by John T. Willis et al. 8 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974–2006
TEh	Theologische Existenz heute
<i>Textus</i>	<i>Textus</i>
THL	Theory and History of Literature
<i>ThL</i>	<i>Theological Librarianship</i>
<i>ThT</i>	<i>Theology Today</i>
<i>TMSJ</i>	<i>The Masters Seminary Journal</i>
TOTC	The Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>UF</i>	<i>Ugarit Forschungen</i>
UTB	Uni-Taschenbücher
UUÄ	Uppsala Universitets Ärsskrift
<i>VF</i>	<i>Verkündigung und Forschung</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>



<i>VTSup</i>	<i>Supplements to Vetus Testamentum</i>
VWGTh	Veröffentlichungen der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World
WBBC	Wiley-Blackwell Bible Commentaries
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WeBC	Westminster Bible Companion
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>WTJ</i>	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
<i>WZKM</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
ZAC	<i>Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum</i>
ZAH	<i>Zeitschrift für Althebraistik</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZBK	Zürcher Bibelkommentare
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
ZThK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

## Chapter 1

# Background to the Study

### A. Introduction

On March 4, 1865, large delegations converged on the American capital for the second inauguration of President Abraham Lincoln. The event was received as a meaningful and glad moment in the nation's history. However, "just beneath the outward merry-making lay a different emotion. A weariness of spirit pervaded the nation."<sup>1</sup> War's grim effects had heavily touched American families. "An estimated 623,000 men died in the Civil War."<sup>2</sup> The conflict's psychological, economic, and spiritual impacts affected the people's perspectives about the future, prompting a solemn but hopeful expectation that Lincoln's second inaugural speech would address their concerns.

The speech turned out to be admirably short, but marked by a profound theological elaboration on divine providence and sovereignty over human history. After briefly describing how the war between the Union and rebel sides came about, Lincoln observed:

Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with or even before the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces, but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses; for it must needs be that offenses come, but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the

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<sup>1</sup> Ronald C. White Jr., *Lincoln's Greatest Speech: The Second Inaugural* (New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2002), 23.

<sup>2</sup> White, *Lincoln's Greatest Speech*, 23.

lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said “the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.”<sup>3</sup>

The American president displayed a particular theological view about God’s interaction with human reality. He regarded American slavery as an offense against God that, according to divine providence, had to occur. However, the offense brought the divine woe of war against those who caused it.

The speech employed a particular time-space literary architecture (i.e., the way it organized notions of time and space for construing the framework of his message). Thus, Lincoln asserted that slavery’s existence ran through God’s “appointed time.” That divinely marked period allowed not only slavery’s presence in American society but also certainty about the time for its removal.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, he used geographical referents for the nation’s psychologically and politically divided territory, describing the divine woe of war touching “North and South.” Lincoln’s ideas about divine providence, sovereignty over the northern and southern American territories, and God’s appointed time functioned as a powerful background for his emphasis on the need for prayer to end the strife. He united himself with the people in fervent prayer and work to remove their offense against heaven amid a catastrophic reality. Nevertheless, if God wanted the conflict to continue, he believed further destruction through war would be a righteous act of divine judgment.

Lincoln crafted the expression of his perspective through a carefully connected web of reused biblical passages “to give meaning to the sacrifices of the war by placing them in a biblical context.”<sup>5</sup> These passages gave force to his speech, intensifying the conceptualization of a world functioning under divine providence.

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<sup>3</sup> Margaret E. Wagner, Gary W. Gallagher, and Paul Finkelman, eds., *The Library of Congress Civil War Desk Reference* (New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2002), 229–30.

<sup>4</sup> Abraham Lincoln’s struggle to comprehend the intersection between divine providence and the American Civil War can already be seen in a private note he wrote in September of 1862: “The will of God prevails. In great contests each party claims to act in accordance with the will of God. Both may be, and one must be wrong. God cannot be for and against the same thing at the same time. In the present civil war, it is quite possible that God’s purpose is something different from the purposes of either party – and yet the human instrumentalities, working just as they do are the best adaptation to effect His purposes. I am almost ready to say that this is probably true – that God wills this contest, and wills that it shall not end yet. By his mere quiet power on the minds of the now contestants, he could have either saved or destroyed the Union without a human contest. Yet the contest began. And, having begun, he could give the final victory to either side any day. Yet the contest proceeds” (Abraham Lincoln, “Meditation on the Divine Will,” in *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 9 vols., ed. Roy P. Basler [New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1953], 5:403–4).

<sup>5</sup> Fred Somkin, “Scripture Notes to Lincoln’s Second Inaugural,” *Civil War History* 27.2 (1981): 172.

The first notable reuse of a biblical passage in this speech is an allusion to Gen 3:19. Genesis describes God's punishment of the first human being with toil in cultivating food due to his sinful decision that affected all humankind. Lincoln used this passage to question the insurgents' prayers for God's favor. By indicating that no man should gain his subsistence from another man's sweat,<sup>6</sup> he was tacitly affirming enslaved people's right to freedom while defending the concept that no party had the privilege of limiting God's universal curse to a single class of humans and profiting from it. Through this literary strategy, he emphasized that the divine curse did not fall solely upon enslaved people, but upon all humankind. All men and women are equal before God, even under divine punishment and condemnation.

The speech also evokes Matt 7:1: "Judge not, that you be not judged." The passage refers to the human tendency toward polarization and hypocrisy. Jesus urged those whose moral sensibilities led them to notice others' mistakes to correct their own problems before accusing their brethren. Using Christ's words in this passage, Lincoln stressed that both parties were under divine judgment and that the abolitionist side should not rush to judge. For him, even those who fought on the Union side should carefully weigh their paths as the war unfolded, for the divine purpose could be different from that of either human side: "The prayers of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully."<sup>7</sup> Thus, Lincoln combined Matt 7:1 with Gen 3:19 to intensify his call for a process of collective non-judgmental analysis while delivering enslaved people from their misery.

The American president defended the idea that God appointed times for allowing evil and bringing good: "If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove [...]"<sup>8</sup> He supported that perspective by quoting Matt 18:7: "Woe unto the world because of offenses; for it must needs be that offenses come, but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." In this passage, Jesus warned his audience against bringing stumbling blocks into the world, especially for children, the most vulnerable stratum of society. Jesus backed up his warning with a time-space architecture intimately linking heaven and earth: "For I tell you that in heaven their angels are always in the presence of my heavenly Father" (Matt 18:10). It appears that Lincoln's reuse of Matt 18:7 helped him to balance his perspective on divine sovereignty with the need for human prayer and action toward ending the war. For him, the fact that divine providence was in charge did not erase human free will.

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<sup>6</sup> Wagner, Gallagher, and Finkelman, *Civil War Desk Reference*, 230.

<sup>7</sup> Wagner, Gallagher, and Finkelman, *Civil War Desk Reference*, 230.

<sup>8</sup> Wagner, Gallagher, and Finkelman, *Civil War Desk Reference*, 230.

A last biblical passage quoted in the president's second inaugural speech is Ps 19:9: "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether." In its original context, this biblical passage describes God's sovereign reliability. Psalm 19 celebrates the Lord's control over the sky and the sun (Ps 19:1–6) and his providential interaction with human endeavors through his law, statutes, and precepts (Ps 19:7–9). The psalm closes with a petition for God to keep one from willful sins (Ps 19:13) and to accept this prayer as pleasing (Ps 19:14). Given Lincoln's stress on divine sovereignty, his reuse of Ps 19:9 fits into the speech's theology of God's providential will and interaction with humans, particularly during the American Civil War. Although the nation fervently prayed for the end of the conflict, God's righteous judgments ultimately would be fulfilled through either peace or war.

Lincoln's second inaugural speech illustrates how analyses of reuse and literary time-space architecture are valuable and significant for understanding a speech's full force. Every author makes particular artistic choices to express time and space structures within which his / her composition will unfold. These choices comprise the inner world of a piece of literature, shaping the articulation and development of ideas. Mikhail Bakhtin pioneered the identification of a work's generic time-space architecture, which he termed "chronotope." He emphasized the tendency of literary works to operate in tension between conservatism and innovation of previous generic representations while rendering their chronotopes.<sup>9</sup> Accordingly, his theory allowed for the development of an approach to genre differentiation that takes the phenomenon of literary adaptation into account, as one of the choices an author can make in building a composition is to reuse previous texts to intensify and expand a given concept.

A similar phenomenon occurs in exilic and post-exilic prophecies in the Hebrew Bible (HB). Scholars have suggested the existence of a dominant interest in earlier prophecies during the exilic and post-exilic periods, with such prophecies reused for the composition of other prophetic narratives / visions. A clear example of the phenomenon occurs in Dan 9. Daniel's prayer in Dan 9:3–19 reuses language from Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple (1 Kgs 8:22–54) and Deuteronomy's covenantal curses (Deut 30). In addition, Dan 9:1–3 connects Daniel's supplications with his reading of Jeremian prophecies about the end of the Babylonian exile, as he understood from those prophecies that the exile would last seventy years (Jer 25:11–12; 29:10). Bringing these textual strands together, the author of Dan 9 interpreted the seventy years as conditionally related to the need for a covenantal spiritual revival. Accordingly, Daniel's very impulse to pray is reminiscent of Jer 29, for the Jeremian prophecy urged the people to pray for deliverance at the end of the promised period (29:12–13). The connection intensifies the evoking text's depiction of

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<sup>9</sup> For a thorough review of Bakhtin's works, as well as a detailed explanation of the concept of chronotope, see chapter 7.

its praying hero, who, as a sage of past divine predictions, understands prophecy and the time in which he lives.

The literary intensification effect of textual reuse also has an eschatological dimension. In Dan 9:24–27, the connection between Jeremiah’s classical prophecy and Gabriel’s apocalyptic discourse becomes the basis for the evoking text’s eschatological referentiality. Daniel’s reference to the prophetic seventy years intensifies the text’s space-time architecture: Jeremiah’s classical prophecy becomes a pattern for a more extended period (the seventy weeks of years [Dan 9:24]), a higher sacrifice (Dan 9:26), and an enduring covenant (Dan 9:27). Therefore, the reuse charges the evoking text’s discourse with the sense that God’s liberation of Judah from Babylon set the pattern for a greater future deliverance, in a period far removed from Daniel’s vantage point.

Among the apocalyptic texts of the HB, Dan 10–12 is one of those that most frequently reuse past prophecies. It continues Dan 9’s dynamic, portraying how God will lead humankind to the end of the present age and effect a greater liberation of Daniel’s people at that time than in the past. Texts such as Isa 7–12, 26, 28, 53, 66; Jer 30; Ezek 1–3, 8–11; and Hab 2 are reused in Dan 10–12’s depiction of a great war that leads to a final divine intervention in human history (Dan 12:1–3). These reuses appear to function as structures of meaning intensification, on which the prophetic expectations elicited by Dan 10–12 build with a more intense and developed eschatological focus on time-space dynamics leading to the time of the end. As a result, the question arises: What is the significance of the reuse of previous prophecies for understanding representations of time and space in Dan 10–12?

This chapter lays out the scholarly background for the present study, formulates the research problem, and states the purpose of and justification for this research. A final section provides an overview of this study’s chapters.

## B. Background to the Study

The present section covers observations drawn from three distinct areas / subjects of biblical scholarship: (1) the relationship between classical and apocalyptic<sup>10</sup> prophecy, (2) post-exilic dominant interest in older prophecies, and (3)

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<sup>10</sup> Since Koch’s nuanced treatment of the concept of “apocalypse,” it has been the assumption in academia that it represents both a literary genre and an intellectual / social movement (Klaus Koch, *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic: A Polemical Work on a Neglected Area of Biblical Studies and Its Damaging Effects on Theology and Philosophy*, SBT 22 [Naperville, IL: Alec R. Allenson, 1970], 18–35). As John J. Collins observed, “More recent scholarship has abandoned the use of “apocalyptic” as a noun and distinguishes between apocalypse as a literary genre, apocalypticism as a social ideology, and apocalyptic eschatology as a set of ideas and motifs that may also be found in other literary genres and social

the definitions and natures of the post-exilic biblical prophecy and apocalyptic genres.<sup>11</sup>

Contemporary discussion concerning Jewish apocalypses is rooted in a renewal of interest in the topic during the second part of the twentieth century, when “two foci of scholarly attention” were proposed: “definition and derivation.”<sup>12</sup> That is, what is the precise nature of Jewish apocalyptic literature, and

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settings” (John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to the Jewish Matrix of Christianity*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. [New York: Crossroad, 1998], 2). Cf. M. Smith, “On the History of Apocalypso and Apocalypsis,” in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12–17, 1979*, ed. David Hellholm (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1983), 9–20; Richard E. Sturm, “Defining the Word ‘Apocalyptic’: A Problem in Biblical Criticism,” in *Apocalyptic and the New Testament: Essays in Honor of J. Louis Martyn*, ed. J. Marcus and M. L. Soards, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., BSGN (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 17–48. In addition to the differentiation pointed out by Collins, the following terms are here adopted: *canonical apocalypticism*, referring to Daniel and Revelation; *proto-apocalypticism*, referring to a tendency of canonical writers toward classical prophetic activity in line with that of Daniel; and *Jewish apocalypticism* or *apocalypstics*, referring to Second Temple Jewish extra-canonical compositions.

<sup>11</sup> Several reviews of literature on Jewish apocalypticism and the above-mentioned related topics have been published. Here, I focus on information important to the present study’s research question. For surveys of scholarly literature on Jewish apocalypticism, see Gabriele Boccaccini, “Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition: The Contribution of Italian Scholarship,” in *Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies since the Uppsala Conference*, ed. John J. Collins and James H. Charlesworth, JSPSup 9 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 33–50; Frederick J. Murphy, “Apocalypses and Apocalypticism: The State of the Question,” *CRBS* 2 (1994): 147–79; David C. Sim, “Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism in the Ancient World: Problems and Prospects,” in *Religion in the Ancient World: New Themes and Approaches*, ed. M. Dillon (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1995); D. Hellholm, “Apokalyptiken som religionshistorisk och litterärt fenomen,” *NTT* 3 (1997): 131–42; Stefan Beyeler, “Die Wiederentdeckung der Apokalyptik in den Schriften Altisraels und des Frühjudentums,” *VF* 42 (1998): 34–59; John N. Oswalt, “Recent Studies in Old Testament Apocalyptic,” in *The Face of Old Testament Studies: A Survey of Contemporary Approaches*, ed. David W. Baker and Bill T. Arnold (Leicester: Apollos, 1999), 369–90; Paul B. Decock, “Some Issues in Apocalyptic in the Exegetical Literature of the Last Ten Years,” *Neotest* 33 (1999): 1–33; Heinrich Hoffmann, *Das Gesetz in der frühjüdischen Apokalyptik*, SUNT 23 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999); Gabriel M. Nápole, “Desarrollo y evolución de los estudios sobre la apocalíptica,” *EstBib* 59 (2001): 325–63; Lester L. Grabbe, “Introduction and Overview,” in *Knowing the End From the Beginning: The Prophetic, the Apocalyptic and their Relationships*, ed. Lester L. Grabbe and Robert D. Haak, JSPSup 46 (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 2–7; Lorenzo DiTommaso, “Apocalypses and Apocalypticism in Antiquity,” *CBR* 5.2 (2007): 235–86; 5.3 (2007): 367–432.

<sup>12</sup> Oswalt, “Recent Studies,” 371. The renewal was first promoted by a few German scholars who, during the mid-twentieth century, critiqued the Wellhausenian view of Jewish apocalypticism as “a denial of true Old Testament faith” (Oswalt, “Recent Studies,” 369–70; cf. Julius Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* [Berlin: Reimer, 1899], 225–34; Friedrich Lücke, *A Commentary on the Epistles of St. John*, trans. Thorleif Gudmundson, HEPHL 15 [Edinburgh: Thomas Clark, 1837]; G. Ebeling, “The Ground of Christian Theology,” *JTC* 6

what are its historical and literary antecedents / roots? The conventional scholarly approach has been to place the biblical books of Daniel and Revelation within the category of apocalyptic literature along with those written during the Second Temple period, such as 1–3 Enoch, 2–3 Baruch, Jubilees, 4 Ezra, the Apocalypse of Abraham, and the Sibylline Oracles.<sup>13</sup> This approach initially facilitated attempts to provide definitive lists of features found in apocalyptic literature,<sup>14</sup> but some scholars claimed it tended toward oversimplification of the phenomena.<sup>15</sup> The debate impelled scholarship toward a search for a definition that accounted for the complexity of the genre, leaving space for a further nuancing of the genre's historical and literary features.

Following a revival promoted by scholars such as Klaus Koch, Paul Hanson, and Michael Stone,<sup>16</sup> the publication of *Semeia* 14 in 1979 represented the efforts of the "Society of Biblical Literature Forms and Genres Project" toward

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[1969]: 51). The main ideas comprising the "rediscovery" were first promoted by Ernst Käsemann, who saw OT apocalypticism as "the mother of all Christian Theology – since we cannot really class the preaching of Jesus as theology" (Ernst Käsemann, "The Beginnings of Christian Theology," *JTC* 6 [1969]: 69; cf. Adolf Hilgenfeld, *Die jüdische Apokalypik in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung: Ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte des Christentums, nebst einem Anhang über das gnostische System des Basilides* [Leiden: Brill, 1966], viii–2), a position that broke with Rudolf Bultmann's stress on the independence of the NT's historical eschatology from the OT's mythic apocalyptic movements (Rudolf Bultmann, *Jesus Christ and Mythology* [New York: Scribner, 1958], 18–26). Opposing Bultmann, Käsemann stated that apocalypticism was the actual link between the theologies of both testaments. Wolfhart Pannenberg made another crucial contribution to the beginning of modern interest in the topic: he saw the apocalyptic view of history as essential to comprehend the historical horizon for the inception of Christian theology (Wolfhart Pannenberg, "Redemptive Event and History," in *Basic Questions in Theology: Collected Essays*, trans. G. H. Kehm, 2 vols. [Philadelphia: Fortress; London: SCM, 1970–71]: 1:15–80). See also a useful depiction of the debate in Koch, *Rediscovery*, 13–17. Koch presents Käsemann and Pannenberg as responsible for engendering "in certain of the younger German theologians [...] a positive Apocalyptic renaissance" (Koch, *Rediscovery*, 15).

<sup>13</sup> Cf., e.g., Tom de Bruin, *The Great Controversy: The Individual's Struggle Between Good and Evil in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and in Their Jewish and Christian Contexts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015).

<sup>14</sup> See, e.g., Koch, *Rediscovery*, 24–30.

<sup>15</sup> John J. Collins, "Jewish Apocalyptic against Its Hellenistic Near Eastern Environment," *BASOR* 220 (1975): 27–36. See also D. S. Russell, *Divine Disclosure: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992).

<sup>16</sup> Klaus Koch, "Vom profetischen zum apokalyptischen Visionsbericht," in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World*, 413–46; Paul D. Hanson, "Jewish Apocalyptic Against its Near Eastern Environment," *RB* 78 (1971): 31–58; Hanson, "Apocalypse, Genre," *IDBSup* 1:27–34; Hanson, "Prolegomena to the Study of Jewish Apocalyptic," in *Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright*, ed. Frank M. Cross et al. (Garden City: Doubleday, 1976), 389–413; Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic*



a definition and outline of the literary genre “apocalypse.” John J. Collins observed that the project was based upon a classificatory etic approach, defining genre as “a group of texts marked by distinctive recurring characteristics which constitute a recognizable and coherent type of writing.”<sup>17</sup> The group’s form-critical classificatory approach led to the elaboration of a master-paradigm aiming to distinguish the defining characteristics of the genre, embracing both the form and the content of the analyzed books. The paradigm was divided into two main sections: the framework of the revelation – including its manner and the concluding elements – and its content – organizing the prevalent eschatological events in time and the otherworldly places and beings in space. Using the master-paradigm, the following definition of *apocalypse* was achieved:

A genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages Eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world.<sup>18</sup>

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*Eschatology*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979). See John J. Collins, “The Genre Apocalypse Reconsidered,” *ZAC* 20.1 (2016): 22n3. Cf., e.g., Michael E. Stone, “Lists of Revealed Things in Apocalyptic Literature,” in Cross et al., *Magnalia Dei*, 414–52; Stone, “Apocalyptic: Vision or Hallucination?” *Milla wa-Milla* 14 (1974): 47–56; Stone, “Apocalyptic Literature,” in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus*, ed. Michael E. Stone, CRINT 2.2 (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 383–441; Stone, “On Reading an Apocalypse,” in *Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies Since the Uppsala Colloquium*, ed. John J. Collins and J. H. Charlesworth, JSPSup 9 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1991), 65–78; Stone, “A Reconsideration of Apocalyptic Visions,” *HTR* 96.2 (2003): 167–80.

<sup>17</sup> John J. Collins, “Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre,” in *Semeia 14: Apocalypse, The Morphology of a Genre*, ed. John J. Collins (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1979), 1. Cf. Collins, “The Genre Apocalypse Reconsidered,” 24. The publication of *Semeia* 14 was one of several scholarly advancements of the last quarter of the twentieth century. Collins observes that 1979 was also the year of the Uppsala (see nn. 14–15) and Louvain conferences (J. Lambrecht, ed., *L’Apocalypse johannique et l’apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament*, BETL 53 [Gembloux: Leuven, 1980]), as well as major studies like Jean Carmignac, “Qu’est-ce que l’apocalyptique? Son employ à Qumrân,” *RevQ* 10 (1979): 3–33; Paolo Sacchi, “Il ‘Libro dei Vigilanti’ e l’apocalittica,” *Henoch* 1 (1979): 42–92 (John J. Collins, “Genre, Ideology and Social Movements in Jewish Apocalypticism,” in *Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies since the Uppsala Conference*, ed. John J. Collins and James H. Charlesworth, JSPSup 9 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991], 12).

<sup>18</sup> Collins, “Introduction,” 9. See also Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016), 5. Collins himself suggested a division between historical and cosmological Jewish apocalypses: “It would seem that there are two strands of tradition in the Jewish apocalypses, one of which is characterized by visions, with an interest in the development of history, while the other is marked by otherworldly journeys with a stronger interest in cosmological speculation” (Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., 5). Cf. Carmignac’s definition of the genre: “genre littéraire qui présente, à travers des symboles typiques, des revelations soit sur Dieu,

Despite criticism,<sup>19</sup> the definition has been widely influential.

Four years after the publication of *Semeia* 14, another influential work came into print. The Uppsala volume is comprised of papers presented at an international colloquium on apocalypticism held at Uppsala University (Sweden) on August 12–17, 1979. The group represented by the volume voted for a “*contra definitionem, pro descriptione*”<sup>20</sup> perspective, respecting the representation of generic features of each individual apocalyptic book / tradition instead of agreeing on a wider definition for the genre. Such a decision was a natural outcome of the widely different opinions expressed in the twenty-five papers presented. Within this perspective, Lars Hartman’s opening chapter of the book’s section on the literary genre of apocalypses (*Literaturgattung*), for example, demonstrated the need for deliberate work on how the sociolinguistic function, literary structure, themes, motifs, and illocutionary structure of the apocalyptic genre interconnect in each ancient apocalyptic work. “In this way our work may bring us into deeper understanding of what the authors of apocalypses wanted to say to which kind of readers in what kind of situation. But in the long run it may also turn out to be even more interesting, as we may recognize that their problems are reminiscent of ours.”<sup>21</sup>

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soit sur les anges ou les demons, soit sur leur partisans, soit sur les instruments de leur action” (Carmignac, “Qu’est-ce que l’apocalyptique?,” 20).

<sup>19</sup> Hellholm, for example, has noted that the definition does not indicate the function of the genre, therefore leaving it disconnected from its alleged Hellenistic setting (David Hellholm, “The Problem of Apocalyptic Genre and the Apocalypse of John,” *Semeia* 36 [1986]: 27). Lester L. Grabbe has reacted to this critique, arguing against the categorization of these books’ setting as being that of groups in political and spiritual crisis, but rather defining their identity as that of visionary communities / groups “analogous to modern millenary groups” (Oswalt, “Recent Studies,” 373; cf. Lester L. Grabbe, “The Social Setting of Early Jewish Apocalypticism,” *JSP* 4 [1989]: 27–47). However, despite the historical context, Oswalt interestingly observes that this definition shows a striking similarity to what would be expected for a definition of Israelite prophecy in general, except for the mediation of an otherworldly being, which therefore stresses a possible overall continuity between apocalypticism and prophetic tradition (Oswalt, “Recent Studies,” 373). Cf. additional criticism in E. P. Sanders, “The Genre of Palestinian Jewish Apocalypses,” in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World*, 447–59; Stone, “Lists of Revealed Things,” 131–56; Jean Carmignac, “Description du phénomène de l’Apocalyptique dans l’Ancien Testament,” in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World*, 163–70; Hartmut Gese, “Anfang und Ende der Apokalyptik, dargestellt am Sacharjabuch,” *ZThK* 70 (1973): 20–49; Michael A. Knibb, “Prophecy and the Emergence of the Jewish Apocalypses,” in *Israel’s Prophetic Tradition: Essays in Honour of Peter R. Ackroyd*, ed. Richard Coggins, Anthony Phillips, and Michael Knibb (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 155–80.

<sup>20</sup> David Hellholm, “Introduction,” in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World*, 2.

<sup>21</sup> Lars Hartman, “Survey of the Problem of Apocalyptic Genre,” in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World*, 341. E. P. Sanders, also writing in this volume, argued for a descriptive approach that would take into account more nuanced perspectives of the

In regard to the issue of derivation, scholars have elaborated on three source possibilities, taken separately or combined.<sup>22</sup> The first is the possibility that Jewish apocalypticism originated from a borrowing movement during the Second Temple period, carrying either signs of a strong Iranian / Persian influence<sup>23</sup> or possible syncretism between Hellenistic and oriental elements.<sup>24</sup> The

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content of specific apocalyptic compositions (E. P. Sanders, "The Genre of Palestinian Jewish Apocalypses," in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World*, 447–59). The difficulty of relying solely on formally oriented definitions was already seen in Carmignac's resort to ancient cultural perspectives to differentiate prophecy from Jewish apocalypticism (Carmignac, "Qu'est-ce que l'apocalyptique?," 21).

<sup>22</sup> From 1960 to 1980 the general tendency was to link apocalypticism to Israelite prophecy (see, e.g., Jürgen Moltmann, *Theology of Hope*, trans. J. W. Leitch [New York: Harper & Row, 1967], 124–26; Koch, *Rediscovery*; Leon Morris, *Apocalyptic* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972]). However, in the 1970s, important studies appeared suggesting that while prophetic and apocalyptic traditions indeed have strong connections, their differences must be considered as evidencing some of the major marks of biblical apocalypticism. These studies initiated a movement toward exploration of foreign elements and the usage of other literary genres for a better understanding of the origins of Jewish apocalypticism (see Koch, *Rediscovery*; Morris, *Apocalyptic*; Walter Schmithals, *The Apocalyptic Movement: Introduction and Interpretation*, trans. J. E. Steely [Nashville: Abingdon, 1975]).

<sup>23</sup> The first parallel between Daniel and the Persian apocalypse Bahman Yasht was drawn by F. Delitzsch in 1855 (F. Delitzsch, "Daniel," in *Real-Encyklopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, ed. J. J. Herzog, 24 vols. [Hamburg: Rudolf Beffer, 1854–1868], 3:271–87). This parallel still remains an influential possibility for scholars. See, e.g., Harold H. Rowley, *The Relevance of Apocalyptic* (London: Lutterworth, 1944); David S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964); David Winston, "The Iranian Component in the Bible, Apocrypha, and Qumran: A Review of the Evidence," *HR* 5 (1966): 183–216; William R. Murdock, "History and Revelation in Jewish Apocalypticism," *Int* 21 (1967): 167–87, esp. 174; John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel* (Missoula: 1977), 39–43; D. S. Russell, *Apocalyptic: Ancient and Modern* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978); Sven S. Hartman, "Datierung der jugavestischen Apokalyptik," in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World*, 61–75; Anders Hultgård, "Forms and Origins of Iranian Apocalypticism," in Hellholm, *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World*, 387–411; Ernest C. Lucas, "The Origin of Daniel's Four Empires Scheme Re-Examined," *TynBul* 40.2 (1989): 185–202; Anders Hultgård, "Bahman Yasht: A Persian Apocalypse," in *Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies since the Uppsala Conference*, ed. John J. Collins and James H. Charlesworth, *JSPSup* 9 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 114–34; Hultgård, "Persian Apocalypticism," in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, ed. John J. Collins, 3 vols. (New York: Continuum, 1998), 1:39–83; Jason M. Silverman, "Persian Influence on Jewish Apocalyptic," *PIBA* 32 (2009): 49–60; Domenico Agostini, "On Iranian and Jewish Apocalypses, Again," *JAOS* 136.3 (2016): 495–505.

<sup>24</sup> See, e.g., William W. Hallo, "Akkadian Prophecies," *IEJ* 16 (1966): 231–42; Hans D. Betz, "On the Problem of the Religio-Historical Understanding of Apocalypticism," *JTC* 6 (1969): 134–56. Cf. Wilfred G. Lambert, *The Background of Jewish Apocalyptic* (London: Athlone, 1978); Gerhard F. Hasel, "The Four World Empires of Daniel 2 against Its Near Eastern Environment," *JSOT* 12 (1979): 17–30; Jack M. Sasson, "An Apocalyptic Vision from Mari? Speculations on ARM X:9," *MARI* 1 (1982): 151–67; James C. VanderKam,

## Index of Ancient Sources

### Hebrew Bible

#### *Genesis*

1–2	117–118, 299
1–3	117
1:26	105, 117–119
1:26–28	94
3:19	3, 191, 293
4:3	287
5:1	105, 117
5:1–3	118
5:3	105
6–9	192, 245
8:6	287
10:4	105, 166, 168
18:14	287
19:30–38	276
25:3	167
32	186, 304
36:1	276
36:43	276
38:9	132
41:1	222, 287
45:11	162
47:18	103
49:1	231

#### *Exodus*

3:20	153
7:5	153
9:5	153
9:15	153
9:18	292
12:41	287
14:21	153
19:16	113
20:8–11	81
21:2–11	75, 81
23:7	181

24:11	153
24:17	104, 117
28:20	105
28:42	103
32	282
34:11–16	61
34:11–26	90
34:22–26	90
39:13	105
39:28	103

#### *Leviticus*

1:11	244
6:3	103
6:21	135
11:43	241
13:43	117
15:11	135
15:12	135
16	81, 241
16:4	103
16:23	103
16:29	224
16:31	224
16:32	103
20:3	171
21:12	171
21:23	171
23	81
23:2	287
23:27–32	224
25	81
25:1–55	321
25:10	81
25:39–46	81
26:19	283

<i>Numbers</i>		33:2–3	114
8:4	104, 117		
9:15	104, 117	<i>Joshua</i>	
10:35–36	114	1:11	162
11:7	105	8:14	287
21–36	168	22:22	261
22:1–24:25	167, 268		
23:1–24:9	268	<i>Judges</i>	
23:5	123	3:12–30	276
23:7	142	5:19–20	114
23:8	142	7:25	143
24	45, 161, 166, 178, 268–270, 314	10:6–12:7	276
24:10–24	268	10:14	184
24:14	166–167, 169, 231, 268	13:6	104, 117
24:15–24	166, 269	14:8–9	103
24:15–25	268–269	19	72
24:17	166	<i>1 Samuel</i>	
24:17–19	268	2:18	103
24:21–24	269	11:1–13	276
24:22	269	14:47	150, 276
24:23	168	20:35	287
24:24	94–95, 165–169, 267–269, 289, 318, 325	22:18	103
		31:10	103
		31:12	103
		<i>2 Samuel</i>	
<i>Deuteronomy</i>		1:9	162
1–3	206	2:9	167
2:19–37	276	6:14	103
2:25	186	7:4–17	64
4:2	61	8:2	276
4:30	231	8:12	276
5:12–15	81	8:13	276
7:1–5	61	10:1–11:25	276
10:17	261	12:26–31	276
11:25	186	13:23	222
15	81	14:28	222
15:12–18	75, 81	15:4	181
16:16	224		
18:18	123	<i>1 Kings</i>	
21:13	222	8:22–54	4
24:1–4	81	8:32	181
25:1	181	10:22	105
30	4	11:15–16	276
31:10	287	22:19–23	31
31:29	231	22:38	135
32	126	22:49	105
32:40	295		

<i>2 Kings</i>		7–12	5, 45, 129, 131, 153, 160, 314
3:1–27	276		
4:16	288	7:1	270
4:31	191	7:1–6	130
16:10	105	7:1–9	271
17:13	61	7:1–9:7	130
19:35	31	7:2	270
22	60	7:4–6	270
		7:7	129–132, 159–160, 270–271, 289, 325
<i>Isaiah</i>		7:7–9	130, 270
1–39	91	7:8	270
1:19	240	7:9	270
2:2	231	7:18–19	153
2:2–4	85–86	8	46, 134, 136, 138– 140, 143, 158, 267, 271–273, 289, 318
2:16	105		
5:23	181	8–10	148
6	45, 98, 120, 122– 128, 225, 239–241, 314, 316, 324	8–11	153
6:1	122, 124–125, 127, 239–240	8:1–8	272
6:2	239	8:5–8	136, 139, 271
6:1–2	127, 238	8:7–8	132–139, 325
6:1–3	239	8:8	96–97, 132–134, 135–136, 159–160, 252, 271–272, 289
6:1–4	127		
6:1–7	124, 127, 238–239	8:9–10	136–138, 271–272
6:2	122, 124, 127	8:10	131, 138, 159–160, 271
6:3	124, 127, 240		
6:3–5	239	8:11–15	137–138
6:4	124, 239	8:14	137
6:5	122, 124, 239–240	8:14–15	96, 132, 160, 271
6:6	239	8:15	135, 137, 159
6:6–7	124–125, 127	8:16	295
6:7	122–123, 128, 238– 241	9:8–10:4	143
6:8	123	10	46, 139, 142–144, 146, 148, 152–153, 158, 267, 273–275, 283, 289, 318, 327
6:8–13	122, 124		
6:9	122	10–11	168, 278
6:9–13	124	10–12	153
6:7	95, 124, 127	10:5	140, 142–143, 273
6:9–10	91, 92	10:5–6	273
6:10	92	10:5–19	273
6:11	123	10:6b	143
6:13	126–127	10:7	273
7	45, 140, 158, 267, 270–271, 289, 318	10:7–11	145, 273
7–10	153–154, 158–159, 278	10:8–10	273
7–11	168, 278	10:12	140, 143, 273
		10:12–14	144

10:12–19	140	14:13	140
10:13	273	14:15	140
10:13–14	144–145, 273	14:24–27	144, 327
10:13–19	143, 273	14:25	144
10:14	273	15–16	25
10:15	140, 159–160	17:7–8	91
10:16	123, 140	21:3	186
10:20–34	274	21:3–4	195
10:22	135, 143, 274	22:8–14	91
10:22–23	147–148, 274	23:1	105, 166
10:22–25	142	23:4	195
10:23	147, 159–160, 274	23:6	105
10:23–25	140–148, 160, 273, 289, 325	23:10	105
10:24–25	143	23:11	326
10:24–27	144, 153	23:12	166
10:25	142, 147, 162, 275	23:14	105
10:27	185	24–25	192
10:28–32	144	24–27	14, 29, 59, 191– 192, 306–307
10:32	145	24:1	306
10:33–34	144–145	24:21	306
11	46, 140, 142, 150– 153, 267, 275–278, 289, 318	24:22	306
11:1	149–153, 160, 275, 325	24:21–22	192
11:2	275–276	25:6–9	307
11:3–4	275	25:7	193, 307
11:1–9	151	25:7–8	307
11:5	275	25:9	306
11:9	150, 152, 275	26	5, 45–46, 179, 193, 195, 303, 305–307, 309–311, 314, 319
11:10–16	152	26:1	306
11:11	276	26:1–13	310, 319, 325
11:12–16	151	26–27	192, 306
11:13–14	276	26:13	192
11:14–15	149–153, 160, 325	26:13–14	307
11:14	149–150, 153, 275– 277	26:14	193
11:15	152–153, 276	26:17	306
11:15–16	151, 153, 277	26:17–18	195
11:16	276–277	26:17–19	195
11:17	31	26:18–19	307
11:20–34	275	26:19	30, 189–196, 306, 307, 309–310
13:4	105	26:19–20	311, 319, 325
13:5	142	26:20	142, 307
13:7–8	195	26:20–21	193, 309–310
14	140, 152	27:1	306
14:3–20	140	27:2	306
14:12	140	27:8	306
		27:12	306

27:13	306–307	35:9	171
28	5, 45–46, 129, 153– 160, 267, 278–279, 289, 314, 318, 325, 327	37:5–7	327
28:1	156	37:36	31
28:1–13	156	39:1–7	40
28:1–29	91	40:18	105
28:2	135, 155	40:22	130
28:5	279	40:27	130
28:7	156	40:28–31	130
28:9	155, 157	42:14	195
28:9–10	278	43:2	135
28:10	157	47	283
28:11	157	50:8	181
28:11–13	157	51:3–6	85–86
28:13	155, 278	51:16	123
28:13–22	154–155, 159–160	52:13	179–180, 182–183, 196, 279
28:14	278	52:13–15	280
28:14–22	156, 278	52:13–53	179
28:15	135, 155–157	52:13–53:12	45–46, 179–183, 196, 279–281, 289, 314, 326
28:15–22	96, 132–135, 153– 160, 278, 289	52:14	181
28:16–17	156	52:15	181
28:23–29	156	53	5, 25, 267, 289, 318
28:17	135, 155, 157	53:1–3	280
28:18	135, 155, 157, 278	53:4	182
28:19	155, 157–158, 279	53:4–5	280
28:21	157–158	53:4–6	280
28:22	155, 157, 278	53:5	182
29:9–11	327	53:7–9	280
29:9–13	126	53:8	280
29:9–16	91	53:8–9	182
29:11–12	295	53:9	280
29:13	278	53:10–12	182, 280
29:15	278	53:11	181–183, 279–280
29:17	278	53:11–12	179–180, 181–182, 279
29:18	127	53:12	25, 181–182
30:8–17	92, 126	56–66	14
30:18–26	92	57:2	327
30:27	142	58:1–14	81
30:28	135	60:9	105
32:3	92, 127	65	31
32:3–4	91–92	65:17–25	16
33:2	184	66	5, 45–46, 179, 195, 305, 308–310, 314, 319
33:17	125	66:7–8	195
33:21	166	66:7–9	195
33:22	125		
34:5–6	276		



66:7–14	310	26	309
66:8	310	27–29	189
66:10–11	310	28:3	222
66:12	135	28:11	222
66:14	142, 310	29	4, 189, 211, 305, 321
66:15	308	29:10	4, 93, 321
66:15–16	309	29:10–14	228
66:15–24	308	30	5, 45–46, 179, 185– 189, 195, 303–306, 309–311, 314, 319
66:17	308	30–31	189
66:19	105, 194, 308	30–33	186
66:19–21	310, 319, 325	30:1–24	310, 319, 325
66:20	308–310, 319, 325	30:5–6	195
66:21	308	30:5–7	195
66:22	308	30:5–8	185
66:22–23	194	30:6	305
66:22–24	193–194, 316	30:7	183–189, 194, 196, 292, 303–304
66:23	308	30:8	304
66:24	189–196, 308–310	30:8–10	185
<i>Jeremiah</i>		30:10	186, 304
1	123	30:10–11	304
1–25	186	30:11	186
1:6	123	30:12	186, 304
1:9	123	30:14	304
2:10	166	30:15	304
2:27	184	30:16	186, 304
3:1–10	81	30:17	186
4:31	195	30:18	186, 304
6:24	195	30:21–22	186
7:11	171	30:23–24	187–188, 309–310
8:6	135	30:24	187, 231, 305–306
9:25	150	31	186
10:9	105	31:7	186
13:21	195	31:11	186
14:8	184	33:14–16	95–96
15:11	184	34:8–22	81
15:17	142	37	30
17:19–27	81	41:6	82
22:23	195	48	25
23:5–6	95–96	48:29–33	26
23:19–20	187–188	48:41	195
23:15	105	48:47	231
23:20	187, 231	49:1–6	276
25	189, 211, 305, 320– 321	49:7	82
25:11	321	49:16	82–83
25:11–12	4	49:17–22	82
25:12	93		
25:21	150		

49:22	195	1:24	113, 120
49:35–39	316	1:24–26	113
49:39	231	1:26	95, 104–106, 117– 119, 121, 127–128, 241
50:25	142		
50:43	195		
51:39	191	1:26–27	120–121, 127, 225, 242
51:57	191		
51:51	175	1:27	93–94, 104–107, 121, 127, 225, 241
51:57	191	1:28	104–105, 107, 109, 241
<i>Ezekiel</i>			
1	99, 101, 106–107, 226, 242–243	1:28–2:2	107–108, 243
1–3	5, 45, 91, 98–122, 124–128, 238, 241– 244, 246, 283, 314, 316, 324	1:28–2:3	
		2:1	107, 109
		2:1–2	116
		2:1–6	115
		2:1–8	111
1–11	122, 283	2:2	109
1:1	107, 109, 112, 241, 243	2:3	116
1:1–2	241	2:3–7	116
1:1–14	120, 127, 225, 242	2:4	116
1:1–17	225	2:3–5	115–116
1:1–28	241	2:5	112
1:1–3:15	101, 112	2:8	116
1:3	241, 243	2:8–3:3	116
1:4	105, 128, 241	2:9	112
1:4–28	116	2:9–10	111
1:5	105, 117, 241–242	2:9–3:3	112
1:5–25	127	3:1–2	107
1:7	103, 105–106, 120, 128	3:1–15	111
		3:4–6	115
1:10	105, 117, 241	3:4–11	116
1:11	103	3:11	112
1:12	242	3:11–15	112
1:13	103–106, 119–120, 127, 241	3:14	116
1:13–14	128	3:16–21	115–116
1:14	103–104, 106, 117, 120, 241	3:24–27	116
1:15	117	3:26	109
1:15–17	120–121, 127, 225	3:27	115, 116
1:15–28	110	4–8	283
1:16	104–106, 119, 121, 128, 241	6	173
		7	45–46, 161, 169– 171, 173–178, 254– 255, 281–284, 314 281
1:18	242	7:2	281
1:19	242	7:2–3	171–173
1:22	105, 241	7:5	175, 281
1:23	103, 107	7:6–7	171–173
		7:7	281–282

7:11	172	9	242
7:12	172	9:1-7	112
7:12-13	173	9:2	104, 120-121, 127-128, 225, 244-245
7:13	172		244, 246
7:14	172	9:2-3	104, 120-121, 127-128, 225, 244
7:14-15	173	9:3	244
7:14-16	282	9:4	171
7:14-27	267, 289, 318, 325	9:6	244
7:15	171, 175, 282	9:8	112
7:16	171	9:8-10	104, 112, 120-121, 127-128, 225, 244
7:16-18	173	9:11	104-105, 127
7:17	282		112
7:18	282	10:1	112
7:19	175	10:1-22	104, 120-121, 127-128, 225, 244
7:19-22	173, 282	10:2	127
7:20	171	10:3-5	244
7:20-21	173	10:5	104, 120-121, 127, 225, 244
7:20-24	169-178, 281-284, 289	10:6	128
7:21	171, 175-176	10:6-7	104, 120-121, 127, 225, 244
7:22	171, 176-178, 281, 284	10:7	127
7:23-27	174	10:8-15	104-105, 128
7:24	171, 175-176, 282-283	10:9	105
7:26	171, 174	10:10	101
7:27	172, 174, 176-177	10:15	105
8	127, 173	10:16	101
8-10	99, 101, 244-246	10:20	105, 117
8-11	5, 45, 91, 98-122, 124-125, 127-128, 244-246, 283, 314, 316, 324	10:21	105
		10:22	112
8:1	109, 112	11:1	112
8:2	93-94, 104-105, 128	11:2-13	115
8:2-5	112	12:4	115
8:3	244	12:9	326
8:4	101, 104	13:6	135
8:6	112	13:11	135
8:7	112	13:13	171
8:7-16	244	13:19	171
8:8	112	18:10	171
8:9-11	112	20	171
8:12-13	112	20:9	171
8:14	112	20:13	171
8:15	112	20:14	171
8:16	112	20:16	171
8:17-18	112	20:21	171
		20:22	171
		20:24	171

20:39	171	44:9	175
21:20–32	276	45:7–9	113
21:36	142	45:17	113
22:8	171	40–48	14, 101
22:16	171		
22:24	142	<i>Hosea</i>	
22:25–28	88–89	1:4	162
22:26	171	3:4–5	316
22:31	142	3:5	231
23:15	105	6:1–3	193
23:38	171	7:16	142
23:39	171	9:5	287
24:21	171	12:10	287
25:1–7	276	13:13–14	193
25:3	171	13:12	177
27:6	166	14:5–9	193
27:12	105		
27:25	105	<i>Joel</i>	
28	106	2:1–2	292
28:1–19	140	2:1–11	16, 29
28:7	171	2:4	104
28:13	105	2:20	177
28:16	171	3–4	29
28:18	171	3:3–5	316
30:9	166	3:17	175
34:23–24	113		
35:5	287	<i>Amos</i>	
36:20	171	1:11–12	276
36:21	171	1:13–15	276
36:22	171	5:18–20	303
36:23	171	6:14	284–285
37	327	8:11–12	327
37:10	326	9:1–6	31
37:11–14	193		
37:24	113	<i>Obadiah</i>	
38–39	15, 29, 327	3–4	82–83
38:13	105	5–9	82
38:16	231		
38:19b–20	94	<i>Micah</i>	
38:22	135	4:1	231
38–39	144, 152	4:1–4	84–86
39	87–88	4:9–10	195
39:7	171	6:10	142
40:3	104		
41:21	104	<i>Nahum</i>	
42:11	104	1:6	142
43:3	104	2	103, 284–288
43:7–9	113	2:5	103–104
44:7	171, 175		

<i>Habakkuk</i>		<i>Malachi</i>	
1-3	284, 286	1:4	142
1:3-4	284	3:19-24	316
1:5	284-285		
1:6	132, 284	<i>Psalms</i>	
1:7-11	285	2	271
1:11	285	7:6	191
1:12	285	7:12	142
1:12-17	163	17:4	171
1:13-17	285	17:14	177
2	5, 45-46, 161-163, 178, 284-288, 314	18:8-16	113
2:1	163	19	4
2:2	163	19:1-6	4
2:2-3	161-165, 178, 254- 255, 267, 284-287, 289, 318, 325	19:7-9	4
		19:9	4
2:2-4	286	19:13	4
2:2-20	163	19:14	4
2:3	162-164, 167, 169, 286-288	37:39	184
2:4	163, 286	40:2	191
2:4-20	286	42:6	162
2:5-20	163	42:12	162
3:12	142	43:5	162
3:12-13	114	48:8	105
		50:1	261
		54:9	308
		56:5	130
		56:12	130
		58:5	105, 118
<i>Zephaniah</i>		60:18	66
2:8-10	276	69:3	135
2:13	269	69:4	142
3:3-4	88-89	69:16	135
3:8	142	69:25	142
		72:1-8	83
<i>Haggai</i>		72:2	84
2:12	66	72:4	84
2:7-8	327	72:8	84
		72:10	105
<i>Zechariah</i>		74	306
1-6	19, 38	74:7	171
1-8	14-16, 29, 38	78	75, 90
1:7-6:15	38	78:20	135
1:12	142	78:49	142
6:5	250	79:1-4	87-88
9-12	19	82:3	181
9-14	38, 58, 326	83:4	177
9:8	326	88	191
9:9-10	83-84	88:5	191
14:4-5	31	89	64

102:4	142	1:21	223
102:11	142	2	34, 211, 231, 296
110:6	103	2:6	223
124:4	134–135	2:12–13	223
136:2	261	2:28	231
141:5	162	2:31–35	231
145:11–13	326	2:36–38	231
		2:36–45	231
<i>Job</i>		2:37–38	114
3:13	191	2:44	231
4:19	191	2:44–45	114
7:21	191	3	223
12:4	66	4–5	223
14:12	191	4:23–25	114
16:4	72	4:34–35	114
20:26	177	5:24–28	114
27:5	181	6	223
36:2	162	6:1	240
		6:1–3	234
<i>Proverbs</i>		6:25–27	114
13:22	177	7	20, 34, 179, 188, 210, 247, 296, 299, 316
17:15	181		
22:14	142	7–8	211, 321
24:24	142	7–9	41, 212, 299
25:23	142	7–11	175
27:16	177	7–12	13, 19, 34–35, 37, 43, 122, 175–176, 210, 250, 279, 299, 305, 308, 326
30:15–31	249		
<i>Song of Songs</i>			
5:15	104	7:1	122
6:3	124	7:7	296
8:7	135	7:8	247
		7:9	122
<i>Lamentations</i>		7:9–10	114
2:6	142	7:10	122
2:7	287	7:11	247
2:22	287	7:13–14	114
		7:14	299
<i>Daniel</i>		7:19–25	299
1	223, 243	7:20	247
1–2	223	7:25	165, 188, 247, 296, 299
1–3	182		
1–6	223, 250	7:27	114
1:1	223	7:28	236
1:4	223	8	20, 135, 148, 163, 164–165, 169, 175– 176, 188–189, 212, 231, 235, 247, 255,
1:7	223		
1:8–16	223		
1:17	223		
1:20	223		

	270, 284, 299, 316, 320	9:20–27	188, 235, 299
8–9	164, 211–212, 244– 245, 289	9:21–23	107, 188
8–12	165, 245	9:22	114, 189
8:1–14	188	9:23	122, 235
8:1–2	231	9:24	5, 114, 224, 321
8:2	94, 164	9:24–27	5, 93, 188, 211
8:3–14	188, 231	9:25	139
8:3–4	231	9:25–26	224
8:7	135	9:25–27	257
8:8	135	9:26	5, 135, 139, 147, 164, 321
8:8	278	9:26–27	139, 147–148
8:9–12	247	9:27	5, 139, 147, 174, 176
8:10	135	10	45, 91, 98–128, 148, 188–189, 215– 216, 219, 221, 223– 225–233, 236, 238, 241–247, 265, 286, 301, 314, 316, 322
8:11	176	10–11	161–163, 178, 280, 289
8:11–12	174	10–12	5, 25, 39, 41–42, 44–45, 49, 63, 73– 74, 78, 81, 86, 95, 98, 103–104, 109, 114–116, 127, 131, 135, 148, 160, 164, 167, 168, 188–189, 194–196, 199, 203, 211–214, 218–219, 223, 226, 230, 235– 238, 241–244, 254– 259, 262, 264, 267– 268, 271–272, 278– 280, 284–288, 295– 296, 300–305, 309– 310, 312–315, 320– 327
8:12	299		
8:13	164, 175, 231, 299		
8:13–14	283		
8:13–27	299	10:1	107–109, 135, 158, 160, 187, 222–223, 228, 235–236, 240, 243, 248–250, 273, 288, 292, 301, 319
8:14	284, 299	10:1–2	224, 248
8:15	104, 164, 231	10:1–3	188, 305
8:15–27	188	10:1–4	215, 222, 232, 255
8:16–18	107	10:1–14	323
8:17	164, 188, 231	10:1–21	295
8:19	142, 163–164		
8:19–26	188		
8:20	231		
8:22	135		
8:23	140		
8:24	114		
8:24–27	114		
8:25	135, 140		
8:26	231		
8:27	236		
8:28	236		
9	4–5, 15, 92, 139, 147–148, 165, 188– 189, 211, 225, 228, 234, 236, 242, 250, 321		
9–12	224, 231, 236, 321		
9:1–2	92, 189		
9:1–3	4, 234, 321, 323		
9:1–19	189, 305, 323, 325		
9:3	188, 223		
9:3–19	4		
9:4	288		

10:1–11:1	45, 215, 219, 221–246, 291, 301, 315–316, 319, 324	10:14	112, 114, 126, 158, 161–165, 169, 187, 189, 216, 228, 230, 231–233, 247–248, 254–255, 279, 284, 287, 289, 292, 300, 317, 325
10:1–11:2	248	10:14–15	109
10:2	222, 234, 237, 240, 315	10:15	227
10:2–3	114, 215, 223, 236	10:15–18	232
10:2–7	225	10:15–19	240
10:3	107, 222–223, 230	10:16	95, 105, 107, 118–124, 127–128, 131, 215, 226–227, 238, 240, 242
10:4	107–109, 114, 215, 222–223, 228, 237, 243, 315	10:17	131, 226, 231
10:4–6	237, 315	10:18	104, 107, 117, 226–227, 240
10:5	101, 104–107, 113, 120, 240, 244	10:18–21	226
10:5–6	102, 110, 225, 242, 244, 246	10:19	226, 254
10:5–7	215	10:20	228, 232–234, 254, 259
10:5–10	232	10:20–21	114, 230, 237, 291, 315
10:6	103–107, 117–120, 242	10:20–11:1	232–234
10:7	225–227, 236, 295	10:20–11:2	232
10:7–8	112, 215, 227, 235–237, 315	10:21	112–113, 126, 187, 226, 230, 233, 234, 245, 247, 270, 291, 295, 315
10:7–11	243	10:21–11:1	234
10:8	226	10:21–11:2	116, 232, 234
10:8–9	112	11	39, 41, 45, 94–97, 114, 122, 129, 132, 134–144, 148, 151–165, 167–171, 174–177, 185, 211, 214, 219, 223, 230, 234, 236, 247–248, 250, 268–269, 271–278, 281–284, 299–300, 314
10:8–16	237, 315		
10:9	107–109, 215, 226–227, 241		
10:9–11	107–108, 188		
10:10	107–109, 187, 215, 226, 240, 279		
10:10–13	226		
10:10–18	226		
10:11	107–109, 114, 131, 227–228, 236, 254		
10:11–14	111, 232, 237, 315		
10:11–11:1	237		
10:12	114, 187, 228, 230–233, 254, 279		
10:12–13	223–225		
10:12–14	114, 232–234	11–12	41, 45, 179–183, 196, 267, 274, 280–281, 314–316
10:12–19	230, 232		
10:13	126, 131, 187, 222, 228–230, 232–233, 237, 245, 259, 291, 315	11:1	131, 234–235, 248, 251
10:13–14	114, 211	11:1–4	248
		11:1–12:3	291, 315



11:1–12:4	295	11:12	135, 172, 253–254, 265, 317
11:2	131, 228, 234, 247– 249, 254, 259	11:13	131, 172, 247, 253– 254, 317
11:2–4	45, 248–250, 316	11:13–16	255
11:2–5	251	11:13–19	253–256, 316
11:2–45	45–46, 219, 247– 291, 301, 307, 315– 316, 318–319, 325	11:14	131, 135, 155, 164, 171, 182, 247, 251, 254–255, 265, 275, 281, 289, 317, 322, 326
11:2–12:3	188, 219, 230, 236– 237, 274–277, 284, 289–290, 301, 318– 319, 323, 325	11:14–19	45
11:2–12:4	247, 299	11:15	131, 135, 155, 247, 251, 255, 260
11:2–12:13	45	11:16	131, 144, 171, 188, 255, 259, 264, 272, 275, 278, 300, 322
11:3	131, 249, 251, 259, 272, 275, 322	11:16–19	322, 326
11:3–4	300	11:17	129–132, 154–155, 159, 255–256, 265, 270–272, 289, 317, 326
11:4	135, 155, 249–250, 265, 317	11:17–19	256, 278–279
11:5	247, 250–251, 317	11:18	132–135, 155, 171, 255–256
11:5–6	250	11:18–19	154–155, 159, 271
11:5–8	45, 250–252	11:18–30	263
11:6	131–132, 247, 250– 251, 254, 257, 265, 317	11:19	135, 138, 155, 182, 251, 255–256, 265, 317
11:7	131, 149–153, 247, 251–253, 256, 272, 276–277, 289, 300, 317	11:20	131, 135, 155, 256, 258, 265, 326
11:7–8	251, 276	11:20–21	258, 300
11:7–14	151	11:20–26	45, 256–258
11:8	131, 247, 252, 264, 317	11:20–36	316
11:9	247, 251–252, 259, 272, 317	11:21	131, 140, 247–248, 256–257
11:9–12	252–253, 316	11:21–45	140
11:9–13	45, 253	11:22	132–139, 155, 159, 188, 257, 260, 273, 288, 324
11:10	96, 132–139, 154– 155, 158–159, 172, 188, 247, 251–253, 259, 271–272, 278– 279, 289	11:22–24	257–258
11:10–11	275	11:23	257–258
11:10–13	253	11:24	172, 247, 254, 258, 265, 272
11:11	131, 172, 247, 251– 254, 317	11:25	131, 247, 251, 258– 259, 265, 326
11:11–13	137	11:25–26	257–258
11:11–15	300	11:25–30	262

11:26	132–139, 155, 159, 258, 271	11:36	140–148, 154–155, 160, 175, 188, 223, 247, 259, 261, 265– 266, 272, 274–275, 278, 289, 317, 322 272
11:27	138, 161–165, 247, 254, 258–259, 265, 272, 275, 284, 287– 289, 296, 300	11:36–37	
11:27–28	322	11:36–39	145–146, 259, 261, 266, 273–275, 282, 288, 298, 318
11:27–35	45, 258–261, 282, 288, 298–299, 316	11:36–45	45, 140, 261–264, 316
11:28	257–259, 261, 278, 324	11:36–12:4	327
11:28–31	168	11:37	262, 327
11:29	247, 251, 254, 259– 260, 269, 272, 275, 296	11:38	251, 262
11:29–35	174, 259, 260	11:38–39	259
11:30	94, 140, 165–169, 174–175, 257, 259– 260, 267–269, 288– 289	11:39	251, 262
11:31	131, 169–178, 188, 247, 251, 259–260, 281–283, 289, 298, 300	11:40	94, 132–139, 155, 159, 171–172, 231, 247, 251, 254, 259, 261–263, 271–272, 288–289, 298, 300, 305
11:31–32	260, 282	11:40–42	263
11:32	175, 257, 260, 326	11:40–45	144, 151–152, 262, 263, 266, 277, 318
11:32–35	114, 259	11:40–12:3	282
11:33	40, 135, 158, 171, 175, 179–183, 187, 223, 236, 260, 279, 281, 295	11:41	135, 144–145, 155, 171, 182, 247, 255, 263, 268, 272, 276
11:33–34	175	11:41–42	152, 277
11:33–35	127, 132–134, 138, 155, 158–159, 175, 179–182, 193, 195– 196, 271, 275, 279– 322, 326	11:41–43	149–153, 289
11:34	135, 181, 260	11:42	144, 150, 171, 247, 263, 276–277
11:34–35	323	11:43	144, 247, 264
11:35	40, 135, 161–165, 171–172, 180, 182, 230, 247, 254, 259– 262, 265, 272, 275, 279, 282, 284, 287– 289, 294–300, 317	11:44	138, 155, 172, 176– 177, 247, 264
11:35–45	231	11:45	145, 150, 175–178, 254–255, 263–265, 292, 300, 307, 309, 311
11:35–12:3	243	12	30–31, 116, 165, 185–190, 193–196, 210, 237, 263, 279, 293, 299–300, 305, 308, 310, 327
		12:1	131, 152, 183–189, 194, 229–233, 247, 254, 284, 288, 291– 293, 303–305, 323

12:1-3	5, 46, 114, 181, 190, 196, 219, 231, 243, 259, 265-266, 273, 277, 279, 287- 289, 291-294, 301, 307-310, 317-319, 322-325, 327	12:9	115, 187, 294, 297, 300, 302, 319, 325
12:1-4	193-194, 305	12:9-10	115, 187-188
12:1-13	46, 219, 291-302, 304-311, 315, 318- 319, 323	12:10	116, 158, 179-182, 187, 193, 236, 279- 281, 294, 297-298, 300, 306, 326
12:2	152, 186, 189-196, 293, 300, 306-310	12:11	298-300
12:2-3	210, 307	12:11-12	299
12:3	31, 40, 152, 158, 179-183, 193, 210, 236, 259, 279-281, 288, 294-295, 300- 301, 306, 318-319, 323, 325-327	12:12	191, 298-300
12:3-4	293	12:13	131, 254, 300-301, 325, 327
12:3-10	180, 182, 196	<i>Ezra</i>	
12:4	112, 115, 158, 187, 227, 254, 294-295, 297, 300, 305	1:1-2:70	229
12:4-13	46, 291, 294-300, 301, 319	1:24	113
12:5	131, 295	5:1	61
12:5-6	226	9:10-15	61
12:5-12	299	<i>Nehemiah</i>	
12:5-13	295, 299	8:1-8	61
12:6	101, 104, 294-296, 300	8:8-12	61
12:6-7	294	9:27	184
12:6-13	299	9:37	103
12:7	101, 104, 188, 196, 211, 294-300	<i>1 Chronicles</i>	
12:7-11	298	1:7	105, 166
12:8	158, 296, 297-298	2:55	77
12:8-9	187	15:27	103
12:8-13	294	17:3-15	64
		18:11	150
		<i>2 Chronicles</i>	
		4:3	105
		6:23	181
		9:21	105
		20:36	105
		20:37	105
		32:4	135
		36:21	321
		36:22-23	229

## Second Temple Literature

### *1 Enoch*

22	30
104	30

### *1 Maccabees*

1:1	168
8:5	168

**New Testament**

*Matthew*

7:1           3  
18:7          3  
18:10         3  
24:21        184  
24:29–31     292

*Mark*

13:19           184, 292

*Revelation*

1:13–15       99, 101  
16:18           29



## Index of Modern Authors

- Abernethy, A. T. 125  
Achteemeier, E. 163  
Aczel, R. 72  
Agostini, D. 10  
Aichele, G. 54, 69  
Albertz, R. 208, 209  
Alfrink, B. 235, 293  
Algra, K. 205  
Allen, G. 51–52, 55  
Allen, L. C. 13, 185, 187, 241  
Alter, R. 96  
Altman, A. 206  
Alvar, J. 105  
Amsler, S. 38  
Anderson, B. W. 153  
Anderson, L. O., Jr. 230  
Anderson, S. D. 234  
Annus, A. 11  
Antonova, C. 202  
Archi, A. 204  
Arnold, B. T. 32  
Ashley, T. R. 268  
Assmann, J. 205  
Aune, D. E. 38  
Austin, J. L. 217  
Averbeck, R. 35
- Bacher, W. 64  
Bäckersten, O. 130, 136  
Bader, C. 17  
Bailey, D. P. 307  
Baker, D. W. 105  
Baker, M. 29  
Bakhtin, M. 4, 41–43, 45, 51–52, 55, 60, 199–203, 212–219, 314  
Baldwin, J. G. 179, 225, 249–250, 255–256, 259, 262, 264, 293, 326  
Bar-Asher, M. 69  
Barkay, G. 77
- Barr, J. 207  
Barta, W. 205  
Bartelt, A. H. 130, 137  
Barthes, R. 53–54  
Barton, J. 24–28, 40, 56, 58, 74, 131, 196  
Barstad, H. M. 21  
Bateman, H. W. 33, 36–37  
Bauer, A. 195  
Baumgarten, A. I. 18  
Bautch, R. J. 80  
Baxandall, M. 50  
Beal, T. K. 55  
Beale, G. K. 33  
Becking, B. 185, 186  
Bedenbender, A. 20, 28  
Behrens, A. 109–111, 124  
Bellis, A. O. 186  
Bemong, N. 199–200, 202–203, 214, 217–219, 315  
Ben-Porat, Z. 79  
Berges, U. 145, 151, 192  
Bergland, K. 77, 80–81, 91, 97, 313  
Bergman, J. 11  
Bergsma, J. 209, 321  
Berlin, A. 208  
Berman, J. 59, 80, 206  
Bernstein, M. J. 70  
Bertoluci, J. M. 105  
Betancourt, R. 26  
Betz, H. D. 10  
Beuken, W. A. M. 137, 142, 151, 157  
Bevan, A. A. 295  
Beyerle, S. 6  
Bidmead, J. 204  
Blenkinsopp, J. 20, 61, 79, 116, 123, 130, 137, 142–143, 152, 157, 174, 240, 271, 274–275, 279, 306

- Block, D. I. 72, 88, 109, 113, 116, 169,  
174, 241–242, 245, 282, 283
- Bloom, H. 50
- Boccaccini, G. 6, 11, 21, 33
- Boda, M. 26, 38, 58–59, 80, 83
- Boer, R. 37, 42
- Bogaert, P. M. 175
- Bolin, T. M. 207
- Bommas, M. 204
- Bosshard-Nepustil, E. 192
- Bourguet, D. 186
- Boutflower, C. 189, 235
- Bowker, G. C. 37
- Branham, R. B. 202,
- Brawley, R. L. 33
- Brenner, M. 66
- Brettler, M. Z. 207, 322
- Bright, J. 185
- Brin, G. 207
- Britton, J. P. 203
- Brooke, G. J. 21, 69
- Brown, D. 203, 205
- Bruce, F. F. 65
- Brueggemann, W. 157, 193–194
- de Bruin, T. 7
- Buber, M. 14
- Budd, P. J. 167
- Bultmann, R. 7
- Bürki, M. 192
- Callaham, N. 253
- Callender, D. E. 117
- Canale, F. L. 246, 316
- Carey, G. 32
- Carmignac, J. 8, 9, 10
- Carr, D. M. 55, 57–59, 77, 90, 97, 209
- Carroll, R. P. 17, 49, 98, 208, 304
- Cazelles, H. 76
- Chandler, J. K. 71
- Charles, R. H. 300
- Charpin, D. 204
- Childs, B. S. 19, 34, 125, 136–137, 153,  
156–157, 239, 270–273, 278, 280,  
307
- Chilton, B. 69
- Christman, A. R. 100
- Clay, J. 205
- Clayton, J. 50, 51, 53
- Clements, R. E. 13, 23, 91, 107, 126–  
127, 140, 147, 156–157, 173–174,  
192
- Clifford, R. J. 189, 247
- Clines, D. J. A. 55
- Cole, R. D. 168
- Collington, T. 199, 213
- Collins, A. Y. 211, 300
- Collins, J. J. 5–8, 10–17, 24, 27–33, 37–  
38, 40, 99, 101, 108, 132, 153, 165,  
168, 171, 181, 183, 189, 199, 201,  
210–211, 223, 225, 230, 236, 248,  
252–253, 260–262, 264, 280–281,  
291–294, 296–300, 307–308, 314,  
327
- Collins, T. 83
- Cook, S. L. 15, 24, 28–29, 38
- Corral, M. A. 106
- Coupric, D. L. 205
- Craghan, J. F. 23
- Crawford, S. W. 69–70
- Crossley, S. 41
- Crouch, C. L. 106
- Culler, J. 55
- Custer, J. S. 236
- Darr, K. P. 117
- Davidson, R. M. 33–36, 106, 122, 268,  
283
- Davies, P. R. 14, 21
- Dawson, L. L. 17
- Day, J. 192, 295
- Debel, H. 70
- Decock, P. B. 6
- Delcor, M. 65, 113
- Delitzsch, F. 10
- Depuydt, L. 203, 205
- DeVries, S. 207
- Dicou, B. 82
- Dillery, J. 22
- Disalle, R. 203
- DiTommaso, L. 6, 210–211
- Doak, B. R. 19
- Doukhan, J. 34, 109, 136, 140, 225,  
228, 245, 250–257, 259, 262–264,  
274, 281, 300, 321, 326–327,
- Doyle, B. 193
- Duff, D. 56
- Dunand, F. 205

- Duniya, R. E. 229
- Ebeling, G. 6
- Edenburg, C. 62
- Ego, B. 73, 74
- Eichrodt, W. 114, 117, 173–174, 241, 245, 282–283
- Einstein, A. 203
- Eisenbeis, W. 83
- Elwolde, J. 75
- Engnell, I. 125
- Eslinger, L. 70–73
- Evans, A. 93
- Ezra, D. S. B. 209
- Fales, F. M. 204
- Festinger, L. 17
- Fischer, B.
- Fischer, G.
- Fishbane, M. 18–21, 57–58, 64–71, 76, 79–81, 88, 95, 99, 105, 109, 114, 117, 140, 147, 153, 161, 165, 169, 175, 181, 190, 211, 282–284
- Fisk, B. N. 70
- Flannery-Dailey, F. 33
- Fleming, D. M. 126
- Flower, M. A. 22
- Floyd, M. H. 26, 38
- Fohrer, G. 69
- Fontenrose, J. 22
- Ford, D. 34, 222, 257
- Foucault, M. 54
- Frankel, Z. 66
- Friedman, S. S. 53
- Frow, J. 37
- Galter, H. D. 16
- Gammie, J. G. 12
- Gane, R. 34, 188, 231, 235, 249–252, 256–257, 262, 264, 296, 317
- Gardner, A. E. 293, 307
- Geiger, A. 66
- Geller, S. A. 127
- Gerhards, M. 206
- Gese, H. 9, 38, 76
- Gibson, J. 26
- Gilan, A. 206
- Ginsberg, H. L. 181,
- Glassner, J. J. 205
- Gnuse, R. 13
- Goff, M. 16
- Goldingay, J. 140, 188, 189, 223, 225–226, 232, 234, 248–253, 261–262, 290–300, 303, 308, 327
- Grabbe, L. L. 6, 9, 11, 14, 27, 30–31, 33, 93, 235
- Gray, G. B. 269
- Grech, P. 65
- Green, B. 56, 201
- Greenberg, M. 107, 113–114, 117, 173–174, 242, 244–245, 282
- Greene, B. 203
- Gressmann, H. 12
- Gribetz, S. K. 205
- Griffiths, G. 11
- Grillo, J. 40
- Gromova, D. 206
- Gruenwald, I. 210
- Guillaume, P. 106
- Gunkel, H. 11, 299
- Haberer, A. 55
- Habel, N. 98, 124
- Hagelia, H. 156
- Hagen, F. 204
- Halliwell, S. 200
- Hallo, W. W. 10, 207
- Halperin, D. 100
- Hals, R. M. 110–111
- Hamerton-Kelly, R. G. 14
- Hamori, E. J. 23
- Han, J. H. 33
- Hanson, P. D. 7, 13–16, 28–31, 38, 76
- Harmon-Jones, E. 17
- Harrison, R. K. 167
- Hartman, S. S. 10
- Hartman, L. 9
- Hartman, L. F. 100, 168, 225–227, 243–244, 247–252, 257–258, 260, 262–264, 281, 291–293, 299–300, 307, 326
- Hasel, F.
- Hasel, G. F. 10, 34, 127, 143, 204
- Hasslberger, B. 164–165, 189
- Hays, C. B. 13, 56, 79, 157, 260, 294
- Hays, R. B. 49, 56
- Hayes, E. R. 98
- Hayes, J. H. 125



- Heintz, J. G. 12, 22–23  
 Heiser, M. S. 126  
 Helberg, J. A. 211  
 Hellholm, D. 6, 9  
 Hempel, C. 181  
 Hendel, R. 28–29, 63, 91, 96, 183, 193,  
 295  
 Henze, M. 11, 25, 41, 78, 80, 98–99,  
 106, 140, 144, 161, 181, 190, 211  
 Hermerén, G. 50  
 Hernandez, A. F. 299  
 Hertzberg, H. W. 64  
 Hibbard, J. T. 24, 192  
 Hiebel, J. M. 101  
 Hilgenfeld, A. 7  
 Hill, J. 208  
 Hinds, S. 72  
 Hirschkop, K. 202  
 Hoffmann, H. 6  
 Høgenhaven, J. 24, 136, 157  
 Holladay, W. L. 186, 187  
 Hollander, J. 72  
 Holquist, M. 202  
 Hom, M. K. Y. W. 130, 138, 140, 143,  
 153  
 Hornkohl, A. D. 62–63  
 Horowitz, W. 204  
 Horst, F. 110  
 Huddleston, N. A. 206  
 Hultgård, A. 10  
 Hummel, H. D. 242, 244  
  
 Irwin, W. 54–55  
 Iser, W. 78  
  
 Jansen, H. L. 101  
 Janzen, D. 17–18  
 Japhet, S. 208  
 Jassen, A. P. 26, 33  
 Jenks, G. C. 263  
 Jeppesen, K. 67  
 Jindo, J. 12  
 Johnson, T. 12  
 Johnsson, W. G. 34  
 Johnston, G. H. 33–34, 37  
 Johnston, E. E. 66  
 de Jonges, M. J. 23  
 Joosten, J. 63  
 Joyce, P. M. 100, 242, 244, 281  
  
 Kahn, C. 205  
 Kaiser, O. 125, 136, 158, 239–240,  
 272–276  
 Kalmanofsky, A. 194–195  
 Kaminka, A. A. 64  
 Kang, E. 43  
 Kant, I. 202  
 Käsemann, E. 7  
 Kashner, R. 26  
 Katz, D. 205  
 Keunen, B. 199, 203  
 Kelle, B. E. 21  
 Kellermann, U. 293  
 Kelly, J. R. 74, 80  
 Keown, G. L. 185, 189, 304  
 Kessler, J. 26  
 Kilchör, B. 80–81  
 Kim, D.-H. 62  
 Kim, S. J. 60  
 Klein, A. 23  
 Kline, J. G. 72, 90  
 Knibb, M. A. 9, 19, 38, 80, 140, 146,  
 153, 161, 165, 181  
 Knierim, R. P. 167  
 Knight, D. A. 67  
 Knoppers, G. 207  
 Koch, K. 5, 7, 10, 20, 28, 234, 235  
 der Kooij, A. 171  
 Korošec, V. 205  
 Kramer, S. N. 204  
 Kratz, R. G. 21–23, 69  
 Kristeva, J. 51–56  
 der Krone, K. 66  
 Krüger, T. 54, 85  
 Kugel, J. 65–68, 78, 208  
 Kutsko, J. F. 118  
 Kuzmičová, A. 72  
 Kvanvig, H. S. 11, 101  
 Kynes, W. 56  
  
 Laato, A. 137  
 Lack, R. 137  
 Lacocque, A. 43, 99, 104, 107, 180,  
 189, 224–227, 233, 238, 245, 248–  
 250, 254–255, 257, 259–263, 280,  
 288, 292, 294, 297, 299, 308, 327  
 Ladin, J. 203, 214–218, 237, 264, 301,  
 316–317, 325  
 Lalleman, H. 187

- Lambert, D. 224  
 Lambert, W. G. 10  
 Lambrecht, J. 8  
 Lange, A. 22  
 Larkin, K. J. A. 26  
 LaRondelle, H. K. 35  
 Latteri, N. E. 15, 17  
 Laubscher, F. 83  
 Lauderville, D. 113  
 Lawson, J. 41  
 Lee, H. 56  
 Lee, L. 106  
 Lee, S. Y. 38  
 van Leeuwen, C. 24  
 Leite, A. B. 54  
 Leithart, P. J. 76–77  
 Leonard, J. M. 80, 90  
 Leonhard, C. 209  
 Lester, G. B. 27, 56, 71–72, 79, 140  
 Leuchter, M. 189  
 Levenson, J. D. 190–191, 294  
 Levine, B. A. 168, 207, 268  
 Levinson, B. M. 69, 71, 74–75  
 von Lieven, A. 204–205  
 Lipiński, E. 105  
 Liverani, M. 207  
 Longman III, T. 11  
 Lorein, G. W. 263  
 Lucas, E. C. 10–11, 20, 41, 114, 228,  
     233, 236, 243, 248–249, 255, 257,  
     260, 262, 279, 281, 288, 292–293,  
     295–297, 299–300, 307, 326–327  
 Lücke, F. 6  
 Lust, J. 148, 175  
 Lyons, M. 27, 71–72, 79  
  
 Machinist, P. 77, 91, 136, 207, 211  
 Manning Jr., G. T. 100  
 Mackay, J. L. 186  
 Mackie, T. 175–176  
 Maier, H. O. 43  
 Malamat, A. 23  
 Mandel, P. 21  
 Marchesi, G. 204  
 Martens, E. A. 30  
 Mason, R. 39, 83  
 Masotti, F. A. 54, 206, 317  
 Mastnjak, N. 157  
 Matheny, J. M. 43  
  
 Maxwell, C. M. 225  
 Mazar, A. 77  
 McAlpine, T. H. 191  
 McComiskey, T. E. 321  
 McCown, C. C. 11  
 McDonald, L. M. 61  
 McGarry, E. P. 295  
 McGhee, G. S. 17  
 McGinn, B. 263  
 Meadowcroft, T. 236–237  
 Medvedev, P. 200  
 Meek, R. L. 56, 60, 62, 73, 79  
 Mein, A. 101  
 Melugin, R. F. 21  
 Mendenhall, G. E. 67, 205  
 Menn, E. M. 20, 69  
 Mermelstein, A. 126  
 Meyers, C. 77  
 Michalowski, P. 204  
 Mieroop, M. 57, 206  
 Milgrom, J. 168, 268  
 Millar, W. R. 192  
 Millard, A. R. 77, 206  
 Miller, G. D. 54, 55, 80  
 Miller, J. E. 106  
 Miller, Jr., P. D. 126  
 Miller, S. R. 257–259, 293, 295  
 Miner, E. 71  
 Mitchell, C. W. 105  
 Moltmann, J. 10  
 Montgomery, J. A. 104, 108, 181, 223–  
     224, 226, 232, 234, 249, 253, 257,  
     259, 260, 281, 293, 295, 297, 299–  
     300, 327  
 Moran, W. L. 23  
 Morawski, S. 71  
 Morgan, T. 55  
 Morris, L. 10  
 Morson, G. S. 201–202, 214  
 Moskala, J. 206  
 Motyer, A. 130, 150–151, 194, 308  
 Mowinckel, S. 30  
 Mullen, E. T. 125  
 Müller, D. H. 88  
 Müller, H.-P. 20  
 Müller, K. 19  
 Müller, R. 25–26, 85  
 Muraoka, J. P. 104  
 Murdock, W. R. 10

- Murphy, F. J. 6, 13
- Nahin, P. J. 203
- Najman, H. 13
- Nápole, G. M. 6
- Nasuti, H. P. 80
- Naveh, J. 77
- Neujahr, M. 11, 13, 19, 212
- Nevader, M. 117
- Newsom, C. 11, 31–37, 41–43, 99–101, 106, 132, 144, 152, 161, 165, 174, 179, 181, 189, 191, 194, 200–201, 212, 216, 219, 228–231, 236, 243, 247–249, 253, 255–263, 269–270, 280, 292–299, 307, 314, 327
- Newton, I. 203
- Nickelsburg, G. W. 101, 181, 193, 292, 294
- Nicol, G. G. 40, 98, 122
- Niditch, S. 77, 114, 140
- Niehaus, J. J. 242
- Nielsen, K. 56
- Niskansen, P. 11
- Nissinen, M. 11, 21–24
- Noble, P. R. 60
- Nogalski, J. D. 79, 82, 163, 177, 284–286
- Noth, M. 69, 269
- Noth, R. 38
- Nurmela, R. 39, 80
- O'Connor, K. M. 17, 224
- O'Connor, M. 232, 234, 253, 261
- Odell, M. S. 117
- Oelsner, J. 204
- Ogden, G. S. 82
- O'Leary, S. 17
- Olyan, S. M. 23
- Orr, M. 53
- Osswald, E. 19
- Osten-Sacken, P. 12
- Oswalt, J. N. 6, 9, 13, 15, 126, 130–131, 136–137, 143, 157, 182, 196, 240, 270, 273–277, 280, 306
- Otto, E. 21
- Otzen, B. 67, 226
- Owen, P. 12
- Pace, S. 103–104
- Page, H. R. 140
- Pakkala, J. 25–26, 91
- Paltridge, B. 37
- Pannenberg, W. 7
- Parker, R. 22
- Parker, S. B. 23
- Parpola, S. 22
- Parunak, H. D. 101
- Patmore, H. 106
- Paulien, J. K. 34, 72, 317
- Paulus, S. 204
- Pearce, L. 199
- Pechey, G. 201
- Peckham, B. 67
- Peerbolte, L. J. L. 263
- Perdue, L. G. 20
- Peterson, B. N. 243
- Pfandl, G. 33, 231
- Pinch, G. 205
- Plant, R. J. R. 186
- Plett, H. F. 55
- Plöger, O. 14–15, 28, 38, 263, 292, 296, 308, 327
- Polasky, D. C. 56
- Polzin, R. 132
- Porteous, N. W. 99, 223, 229, 257, 262, 299
- Porter, D. 125
- Porter, P. A. 20
- Portier-Young, A. E. 16, 33, 108, 179
- Purves, A. C. 205
- Pyper, H. S. 43
- von Rad, G. 12, 14
- Rajan, T. 55
- Rappaport, U. 16
- Rast, W. E. 67
- Rata, T. 189
- Redditt, P. L. 16
- Reynolds III, B. H. 269
- Rezetko, R. 62–63
- Richardson, S. 19
- Riffaterre, M. 53–54
- Robbins, V. K. 56
- Roberts, J. J. M. 31, 123, 126, 131, 193, 285
- Robson, E. 206
- Rochberg, F. 205
- Rodriguez, L. 54

- Rooker, M. F. 34  
 Rosch, E. 37  
 Rouillard, H. 167  
 Rouwhorst, G. A. M. 209  
 Rowland, C. 18, 99, 101, 221  
 Rowley, H. H. 10–11, 235  
 Rudman, D. 192  
 Russell, D. S. 7, 10, 229
- Sæbø, M. 12  
 Sailhamer, J. H. 268  
 Sals, U. 168  
 Sanders, E. P. 9–10  
 Sanders, J. A. 61  
 Sarna, N. H. 64, 66  
 Sasson, J. M. 10  
 Saur, M. 106  
 Savran, G. W. 78  
 Schedl, C. 299  
 Scheetz, J. M. 35  
 Schiffman, L. H. 209  
 Schmithals, W. 10  
 Schlatter, A. 171  
 Schmid, K. 54, 69, 71  
 Schmidt, J. M. 126  
 Schniedewind, W. 18, 61, 71  
 Scholz, B. F. 199, 202  
 Schoors, A. 56  
 Schulte, C. 66  
 Schultz, R. L. 58, 76, 79, 81–82, 90  
 Seeligmann, I. L. 40, 64, 65  
 Segal, M. 70, 291  
 Segal, A. F. 294  
 Seidl, U. 204  
 van Seters, J. 207  
 Seow, C. L. 189, 327  
 Sharp, C. J. 186  
 Shaw, D. 73  
 Shea, W. 93, 122, 189, 194, 222, 225,  
     229, 233–234, 249, 255–260, 292–  
     293, 299–300  
 Shinan, A. 65  
 Silverman, J. M. 10  
 Sim, D. C. 6, 15  
 Simon, Z. 206  
 Sjöberg, A. W. 205  
 Ska, J. L. 68  
 Skjoldal, N. O. 192  
 Slanski, K. E. 204
- Smith, B. 217  
 Smith, G. V. 126  
 Smith, J. Z. 12, 24, 61  
 Smith, M. S. 6, 76  
 Smith, N. D. 22  
 Smith, R. L. 163, 284–286  
 Sommer, B. D. 56, 64, 70, 72, 74, 78–  
     79, 81, 85  
 de Souza, E. B. 34, 239  
 Spacks, P. M. 50  
 Sparks, K. L. 11, 207  
 Stahlberg, L. C. 79  
 Stead, M. R. 19, 38  
 Steck, O. H. 21  
 Steele, J. 203  
 Stefanovic, R. 100  
 Stefanovic, Z. 35, 222, 224–225, 230,  
     249–250, 252, 255, 257, 261, 263,  
     287, 291–293, 297, 300, 327  
 Steinmann, A. E. 12, 107, 184, 222,  
     224, 230–232, 234, 236, 243–244,  
     248–249, 251, 257, 259–262, 269,  
     293–295, 299–300  
 Steinschneider, M. 65–66  
 Stele, A. A. 294  
 Stern, D. 67  
 Stern, S. 209  
 Stevens, D. E. 230  
 Stökl, J. 21, 23  
 Stone, M. 7–9, 208  
 Strand, K. A. 34–35, 317  
 Stromberg, J. 23  
 Stulac, D. J. 156–157  
 Stulman, L. 186  
 Sturm, R. E. 6  
 Sweeney, M. A. 21–24, 29, 106, 124,  
     138, 192, 287, 308  
 Sykes, S. 41, 43
- Tabor, J. D. 13  
 Täckholm, U. 105  
 Tadmor, H. 206  
 Tai, N. H. F. 39  
 Talmon, S. 208, 293  
 Tanner, J. P. 235, 252, 257, 262–263,  
     269, 292–293, 296–297  
 Tarvi, L. 201  
 Tawil, H. 296

- Teeter, A. 39, 69, 80, 90, 129, 132, 135,  
 154, 158–159, 196, 271  
 Thelle, R. 24  
 Thomas, D. W. 295  
 Tiemeyer, L.-S. 100  
 Tigchelaar, E. J. C. 13, 37–38, 209  
 Tihanov, G. 218  
 Tollington, J. E. 38  
 Tooman, W. A. 27, 44, 60, 71, 78–81,  
 84, 86–87, 90–91, 94, 97, 113, 176,  
 313  
 der Toorn, K. 11  
 Tov, E. 78  
 Tronier, H. 210–211  
 Tuell, S. S. 113, 241–242, 244, 282  
 Tull, P. K. 49, 54, 56, 60, 79, 125, 240,  
 270, 272–273, 276–278, 306  
  
 Udd, K. 106  
 Uhlig, T. 126  
 Ulrich, E. 22, 61  
  
 VanderKam, J. C. 10–11, 16, 20  
 Vawter, B. 13  
 Venter, P. M. 80, 211–212  
 Verderame, L. 203–204  
 Vermes, G. 65, 69  
 Vermeylen, J. 193  
 Vines, M. E. 41–43, 200–201, 221  
 Vlasov, E. 203  
  
 Wagner, M. E. 2–3  
 Waltke, B. K. 224, 232, 234, 253, 261  
 Walton, J. H. 206–207  
 Watts, J. D. 137, 143, 151, 158, 238,  
 270, 308  
 Webb, G. R. 43  
 Weeks, N. 205  
 Weeks, S. 21  
 Weingreen, J. 65  
 Wellhausen, J. 6, 15, 32  
 Were, L. F. 35  
  
 Werline, R. A. 211  
 Westermann, C. 194, 280, 309  
 Weyde, K. W. 90  
 Whybray, R. N. 280, 309  
 Wilcke, C. 204  
 Wildberger, H. 123, 130, 137, 150, 157,  
 240, 272, 274, 277  
 Wilhelm, K. 66  
 Willey, P. T. 79  
 Williamson, H. G. M. 91, 126–127  
 Willi-Plein, I. 65  
 Willis, A. C. M. 18, 40, 140, 189, 212  
 Willis, J. T. 130  
 Wilson, I. D. 21  
 Wilson, R. R. 14, 106  
 Wimsatt, W. K. 50  
 Winitzer, A. 114  
 Winston, D. 10  
 van Wolde, E. 55, 62, 107  
 Wolff, H. W. 177  
 Wong, G. C. I. 136  
 Woude, A. S. 80, 144, 152, 181, 183,  
 190, 196  
 Woude, A. 191  
 Wright, B. G., III 12–13  
 Wright, D. P. 90  
  
 Yoon, D. I. 56  
 Young, E. J. 137–138, 140, 151, 157,  
 293  
 Young, I. 62–63  
  
 Zahn, M. M. 70, 90  
 Zakovitch, Y. 65, 68, 71, 75  
 Zaman, L. 61, 76  
 Zimmerli, W. 101, 109, 113, 153, 172–  
 174, 242, 244, 282  
 Zipor, M. A. 72  
 Zukowski, J. C. 299  
 Zunz, L. 66  
 Zvi, E. B. 21, 24, 79, 82

## Subject Index

- absolute chronology 44, 59, 62–63, 73, 89, 152, 312
- Alexander, the great 23, 168
- allusion 3, 29, 39, 50, 52, 54–55, 70–80, 90–91, 97, 165
- amalgamation, textual 65, 97, 116, 119, 127–128, 131–132, 138, 139, 147, 164, 167, 169, 174–177, 190–191, 225, 313
- Ammon 149–152, 160, 263, 265, 275–277, 279, 317
- ancient near east 10–11, 13, 16, 19–21, 63–64, 77–78, 97, 113, 203–212, 242–243, 276
- Antiochus 15, 40, 165, 247, 255, 257, 262–263
- atonement 122, 224–225, 240, 245
- apocalyptic prophecy 312, 316, 321
- apocalypics 6, 10–11, 15–16
- apocalypticism 5–20, 24–32, 35, 37–38, 42, 177, 210, 211
- architecture, generic 2–5, 43, 45, 199, 201, 213, 217–219, 225, 227, 230, 238, 241–242, 247, 249, 251, 253, 255, 257–259, 264–268, 270–278, 281, 288, 294, 298, 301, 303–304, 310–315, 318, 320–321, 325, 327
- Assyria 19, 22–23, 39, 41, 77, 97, 125, 130–133, 136–140, 143–144, 151–153, 156–157, 160, 165–168, 204, 206, 252, 271–277, 283, 285
- authorial intentionality 50–51, 53–54, 57, 62–63, 73, 76, 78, 84, 97, 107, 146, 178, 312
- availability of options 62, 94–95, 97, 116, 119, 167, 313
- Babylon 4–5, 17, 19, 23, 40, 57, 113, 125, 140, 169, 175, 186, 205, 208–209, 225, 231, 243, 245, 248, 250, 263, 283–287, 304–305, 321, 323
- bakhtinian 42, 200, 314
- boundary crossing 261, 265–266, 272, 317–318, 323–324
- canon, canonical 6, 27, 31–34, 36, 42, 44, 54, 57–59, 62, 64, 67, 69, 73–74, 81, 126, 144, 196
- chronotope 4, 41–45, 49, 197–221, 225, 227–228, 234, 237–238, 242–243, 247–248, 257, 270, 278, 280, 282, 288–291, 295, 298, 301, 309, 314–320, 324–325, 327
- classical prophecy 5, 15, 27–31, 36, 42, 221, 316, 321–322
- conceptual dependence 94, 97, 138–139, 167–168, 175, 188, 195, 313
- conditionality 34, 322, 324
- conflation 88–89, 97, 313
- conservatism, genre 4, 37, 289, 316, 318, 327–328
- covenant 5, 35–36, 45, 75, 106, 139, 148, 154, 156, 159, 163, 165–168, 174–175, 257–261, 269, 276, 278, 282–283, 288, 296, 316, 321, 324, 326
- covertness 32, 75
- Cush 144, 149, 152, 264
- Cyrus 222–223, 228–229, 234–235, 243, 248, 292
- danielic 19, 34–35, 39–40, 107, 116, 135, 144, 222, 238
- Darius 234–235, 248
- decreed (destruction) 141, 145, 147–148, 155, 160, 261, 265, 273–274
- derivation 6, 10, 12, 15, 37, 42, 151

- direction of dependence 44, 49–50, 62–63, 78–81, 88–92, 95, 97, 101, 116, 127, 131, 138, 147, 152–153, 158, 163, 167, 175, 182, 188, 194, 312–314
- discourse, apocalyptic v, 5, 32, 45, 221, 246, 274–275, 314, 320–325, 328
- discourse, prophetic 109, 275
- distinctiveness 35, 83–84, 97, 103–106, 135, 141–142, 170, 180, 184, 313
- divination 21–22, 24, 27, 205–206
- East 149, 151, 176–177, 251, 264–265, 317
- Edom 82, 149–152, 160, 263, 265, 275–279, 317
- Egypt 144, 149–153, 156–157, 204, 252–253, 262–265, 268, 276–279, 317
- endings, abrupt 265, 317
- eschatological horizon vi, 284, 289, 318, 320, 324,
- eschatology 5, 7, 12–14, 30–36, 38, 292, 305, 310, 316, 323–324
- eschatology, apocalyptic 5, 12–14, 30–31, 292, 324
- eschatology, appropriated 36
- eschatology, consummated 36
- eschatology, inaugurated 36
- eschatology, prophetic 14, 38
- echo 58, 71–73, 78, 97
- ex eventu, vaticinia 18–19, 165, 200, 262
- free will, human 3, 259, 274–275
- genre (generic) v, 4–9, 13, 23, 26–29, 31–32, 34, 37–43, 56, 61, 67, 69, 74, 188, 199–201, 207, 210, 213, 216, 218–219, 221, 314, 317, 320, 328
- Greece, greek 15, 22, 60, 168, 175, 200, 207, 213, 249–250, 252
- holy mountain, The 45, 145, 150–152, 261–265, 275, 306–310, 316, 319, 325
- influence 50
- immanence 212
- implicitness 72, 78, 130–131, 148, 187, 216–217, 223, 250
- inner-biblical interpretation 19, 44, 56, 58, 63–79, 97, 312
- inner-biblical reuse 44, 50, 78, 81, 97, 218, 312
- integration 38, 74, 93–94, 97, 116, 118–119, 292, 313
- intertextuality 41, 44, 49–60, 62, 69–70, 73–74, 97, 312
- inversion 88–89, 97, 313
- Jacob 85, 88, 143, 183–187, 195, 304
- king of the north 131, 137–138, 141, 151–152, 163, 168, 171–178, 196, 250–265, 268–279, 282, 288, 292, 298–299, 305, 309, 311, 317, 322
- king of the south 131, 137–138, 169, 172, 250–258, 262, 276–277, 317
- literary parallelism 44, 49–97, 127, 131, 147, 150, 162, 194, 196, 312–314
- literary prophecy 20–23
- Libya 144, 149, 152, 264, 279
- major chronotope 45, 217–218, 301, 325
- mantic (shamanic) 18–19, 27–28, 32, 98
- mapping, divine 265, 317
- Mediterranean Sea 267
- Mesopotamia 204, 223, 272
- messianic 35–38, 257, 268
- metaphorical wordplay 96–97, 138–139, 175–178, 313
- Midianites 143, 267
- minor chronotope 45, 215, 222–238, 248–264, 291–301, 315, 319
- Moab 149–152, 160, 263, 265, 267, 275–277, 279, 317
- modification 72, 91–92, 97, 116, 119, 127, 131, 313
- multiplicity of connectors 84–85, 97, 103, 106, 118, 124, 150, 155, 162, 170–171, 313
- narrative, prophetic 45–46, 162, 212, 230, 236, 243–244, 249–255, 257–

- 265, 272, 277, 287, 292–293, 301,  
305, 315–319, 324–327
- overflowing (flood) 97, 132, 135, 137–  
138, 141, 147–148, 157, 160, 253,  
271, 274
- overtness 75
- Passover 223–224, 245
- pattern of containment 41, 247–249,  
258, 265, 269, 291, 317, 323
- Persia, persian 125, 187–188, 222–225,  
228–235, 243, 245, 248, 250, 259,  
276, 286–287, 292
- poetry 28, 50, 96, 108
- post-exilic prophecy 4, 14, 16, 29
- prince of the covenant 133, 139, 257,  
324
- providence 1–3, 322
- reader, ideal 78, 325
- reference to a source 92, 97, 313
- recombination 29, 88–89, 97, 141, 146–  
147, 182–183, 313
- relative chronology 44, 63, 73, 90
- reverberation 71, 78
- sanctuary 103–104, 127, 133, 139, 147,  
169, 238–240, 250, 259, 298
- Seleucid(s) 14, 18, 39, 41, 144, 165
- sovereignty, divine 1–4, 14, 42, 114,  
125, 138, 142, 152, 189, 221, 241,  
243, 246, 274, 283–284, 289, 318,  
320
- space 2–8, 41–45, 49–52, 59, 79, 98,  
200–227, 232, 239–241, 246–247,  
250–251, 255, 260, 264–265, 292,  
301, 312–317, 320–321, 325
- stylistic split-up of source text 95, 97,  
313
- temple 4–7, 10, 14–15, 18–19, 26–28,  
31, 33, 36, 40, 60, 64, 69, 73, 74, 87,  
90, 105, 113–117, 124–127, 137,  
165, 169, 170–178, 190, 208–211,  
224, 238–246, 255, 260, 281–284,  
289, 298, 316
- textual parallelism 49–50, 80–81, 97,  
103–116, 123–126, 129–131, 134–  
138, 141–146, 150–152, 155–157,  
162–163, 166–167, 170–175, 180–  
182, 184–187, 191–194, 267, 305,  
312
- textual saturation 320, 323–326
- thematic correspondence 86–87, 97,  
103, 112–116, 125–126, 130–131,  
136–138, 143–146, 150–152, 155–  
158, 162–163, 166–167, 172–175,  
181–182, 184–188, 191–194, 313
- theodicy 286
- time, appointed 1–3, 134, 161–164, 172,  
180, 230, 243, 247, 255, 259–260,  
265–266, 269, 272, 282, 285–288,  
294, 297, 317–318
- time, at that 5, 96, 183–187, 291–292,  
305
- time of distress 152, 183–185, 195–196,  
292, 303–305
- time of the end 5, 45, 115, 134, 138,  
158, 162–163, 172, 180, 187–188,  
196, 231, 260–262, 265–266, 282,  
284, 288–290, 294–298, 300, 302,  
305, 307, 316, 318, 322–326
- time, prophetic 211, 320
- time-space 2–5, 44–45, 201–202, 206,  
212, 218–219, 221, 227, 238–241,  
292, 314–315, 321
- transcendence 240–243, 246, 316, 324
- unconditionality, prophetic 36, 316,  
321–322
- uniqueness 82–83, 97, 103–104, 123–  
124, 129–130, 135–136, 141–142,  
150, 162, 166, 170–171, 180–181,  
184–185, 191, 313
- visionary experience 41, 45, 98, 112,  
114, 117, 127, 222, 225, 227, 229,  
232, 234–237, 245, 279, 294, 296,  
315
- volume of use 91, 97, 116–118, 176–  
177, 313
- West 149, 151, 251, 259, 265, 267, 279,  
317
- whole sweep of history 236, 323
- wisdom 12, 14, 16, 19–20, 27–28, 32,  
67, 138, 146, 182, 249, 273, 326



wise ones, the 25, 40–41, 115–116, 134,  
138, 152, 158, 162, 172, 175, 179–  
182, 187–188, 193–196, 210, 236,  
243, 246, 260–261, 275, 279–280,  
281, 287–288, 293–298, 300–302,  
307, 309, 317–319, 322, 325–326