

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe 76

Joachim Schaper

Eschatology  
in the Greek Psalter



Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe

Herausgegeben von  
Martin Hengel und Otfried Hofius

76

# Eschatology in the Greek Psalter

by

Joachim Schaper



J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) Tübingen

*Die Deutsche Bibliothek – CIP-Einheitsaufnahme*

*Schaper, Joachim:*

Eschatology in the Greek psalter / by Joachim Schaper.

– Tübingen: Mohr, 1995

(Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament: Reihe 2; 76)

ISBN 3-16-146434-6 978-3-16-157122-0 Unveränderte eBook-Ausgabe 2019

NE: Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament / 02

© 1995 by J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), P.O. Box 2040, 72010 Tübingen.

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

The book was printed by Gulde-Druck in Tübingen on acid-free paper from Papierfabrik Niefern and bound by Heinr. Koch in Tübingen. Printed in Germany.

ISSN 0340-9570

Meinen Eltern



## Preface

The present study is a revised version of a Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the University of Cambridge in August 1993 and examined by Professor J. A. Emerton, Cambridge, and Dr M. P. Weitzman, London. I should like to thank the editors of *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament*, Professors M. Hengel and O. Hofius, for accepting it into their series, and Mr Georg Siebeck of J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) for affirming this decision.

Looking back at the writing of this study and its subsequent typesetting, many thanks are due to a number of individuals and institutions. As far as the latter are concerned, I am particularly grateful to the *Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes* and its representative for Tübingen, Mr Gerhard Vöpel, for originally enabling me to come and study at Cambridge. Furthermore, I should like to thank the Master and Fellows of Trinity College for generously awarding me their Research Studentship in Theology, which enabled me to devote three carefree years to my research. Thanks also go to the Master and Fellows of Clare College who elected me to a Research Fellowship, which has given me the opportunity to pursue my research and also to prepare the present study for publication.

Many friends have contributed suggestions, helpful criticism and general support. Dr J. N. B. Carleton Paget kindly proof-read and commented on an earlier version of this study. At the memorable Rich Seminar on the Hexapla in July/August 1994, Dr Geoffrey Jenkins, Mr Galen Marquis and Mr Bas ter Haar Romeny gave me most helpful advice on how to cope with the niceties of computer typesetting. Later this year, Miss Rosamund Ions, with extreme generosity, copy-edited the whole typescript for me with true Oxford precision. I am particularly grateful and indebted to my wife, Mrs Marie-Luise Ehrenscheidtner, whose continual support and understanding made it ultimately possible for me to write my Ph.D. thesis at all and, eventually, to turn it into a book.

There are a number of scholars who, in advising the author, gave him the benefit of their considerable erudition. My warmest thanks go to Professor J. A. Emerton and Dr N. R. M. de Lange of Cambridge University, as well as to Professor M. Hengel at Tübingen whose enthusiastic interest in the topic has always proved a welcome source of inspiration. I also greatly appreciate the

help I received from a number of scholars at the Göttingen *Septuaginta-Unternehmen*, most notably Professor R. Hanhart, and from Professor M. Harl, Paris, who kindly invited me, in March 1992, to give a paper to her seminar. I am grateful too to Dr O. Munnich for making available to me a copy of his immensely valuable dissertation on the Greek Psalter.

The debt I owe to my supervisor, Dr W. Horbury, is immeasurable. Always patient, extremely helpful, and in possession of the most impressive knowledge of a wide variety of subjects, he has been the model supervisor and a true 'gentleman scholar'. I have also cherished the wonderful hospitality provided by him, his wife, Katharine, and his daughters, Mary and Kate. Furthermore, my sincere thanks go to Professor M. D. Hooker who, in her capacity as editor of the *Journal of Theological Studies*, gave me permission to reprint, in revised form, an article originally published in *JTS* NS 45 (1994), pp. 117-136. It appears here as ch. 8.2.10.

With regard to the work done by colleagues in the same field, I should like to stress that M. Rösel's interesting study *Übersetzung als Vollendung der Auslegung* on the Septuagint of Genesis only came to my attention when my typescript was being copy-edited. Dr Rösel and I share some basic assumptions concerning Septuagint translations, and I should have liked to discuss some of his theses. This will now have to be postponed to some other occasion.

Finally I should like to thank my parents for their unflagging support in many things and through many years. To them I dedicate this volume.

Clare College, Cambridge  
Quinquagesima Sunday 1995

J. L. W. Schaper

## Table of Contents

Preface.....	V
Table of Contents.....	VII
List of Abbreviations.....	IX
A. Septuagint Exegesis	
1. Introduction.....	1
2. The Hebrew Text and its Greek Version.....	7
3. 'Translation Technique' and the Character of this Study.....	16
4. Septuagint Hermeneutics.....	21
5. On the Question of Eschatology and Messianism.....	26
6. The Greek Psalter as a Translation.....	31
7. Indications of Date and Place of Origin.....	34
B. Theological Features of the Greek Psalter	
8. Interpreting the Psalms.....	46
8.1 Eschatology.....	46
8.1.1 Psalm 1.....	46
8.1.2 Psalm 15 (16).....	48
8.1.3 Psalm 21 (22).....	50
8.1.4 Psalm 45 (46).....	52
8.1.5 Psalm 47 (48).....	53
8.1.6 Psalm 48 (49).....	57
8.1.7 Psalm 55 (56).....	62
8.1.8 Psalm 58 (59).....	65
8.1.9 Psalm 72 (73).....	68
8.2 Messianism .....	72
8.2.1 Psalm 2.....	72
8.2.2 Psalm 8.....	76
8.2.3 Psalm 44 (45).....	78



8.2.4	Psalm 59 (60).....	83
8.2.5	Psalm 67 (68).....	85
8.2.6	Psalm 71 (72).....	93
8.2.7	Psalm 79 (80).....	97
8.2.8	Psalm 86 (87).....	99
8.2.9	Psalm 109 (110).....	101
8.2.10	A Network of Messianic Texts .....	107
C.	The Greek Psalms in Jewish Religious History	
9.	The Temple in the Greek Psalter.....	127
10.	The Greek Psalms in Jewish Worship.....	131
11.	'Un grand palais plein d'échos'.....	134
12.	Eschatology and Messianism in the Greek Psalms.....	138
12.1	Messianic Concepts and their Historical Background.....	138
12.2	Eschatological and Messianic Expectations.....	144
12.3	The Greek Psalms as a Document of Proto-Pharisaic Theology.....	160
D.	The Jewish Psalms and the Christian Bible	
13.	The Greek Psalms and Christian Thought.....	165
E.	Eschatology, Messianism and the Septuagint Psalter	
14.	Conclusion.....	174
	Select Bibliography.....	177
	Index of Biblical and Related Texts.....	194
	Index of Modern Authors.....	199
	Index of Subjects .....	202

## List of Abbreviations

AASF	Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae
AAWG	Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen
AB	Anchor Bible
AC	<i>L'Antiquité Classique</i>
AGAJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Antiken Judentums und seiner Umwelt
AHAW	Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften
ALGHJ	Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums
ATA	Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen
ATD	Altes Testament Deutsch
Aug	<i>Augustinianum</i>
AUL	Acta Universitatis Lundensis
AUU	Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis
AV	Authorised Version
BA	La Bible d'Alexandrie
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BB	Bibliotheca Bodmeriana
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BCAT	Biblischer Kommentar über das Alte Testament
BFCTL	Bibliothèque de la Faculté Catholique de Théologie de Lyon
BHK	<i>Biblia Hebraica</i> , ed. R. Kittel
BHS	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i>
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar: Altes Testament
BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur <i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
CBOTS	Coniectanea Biblica Old Testament Series
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CCL	Corpus Christianorum Latinorum
CCWJCW	Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 200

CE	Codices ex ecclesiasticis Italiae bybliothezis delecti phototypice expressi
<i>CHB</i>	<i>Cambridge History of the Bible</i>
<i>CHJ</i>	<i>Cambridge History of Judaism</i>
CM	Collection Massorah
CRB	Cahiers de la <i>Revue Biblique</i>
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
DJD(J)	Discoveries in the Judaeian Desert (of Jordan)
DMOA	Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui
<i>EJ</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia Judaica</i>
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses</i>
FOTL	The Forms of the Old Testament Literature
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten Testaments
FS	<i>Festschrift</i>
GAT	Grundrisse zum Alten Testament
GB	W. Gesenius/F. Buhl, <i>Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch</i>
GHKAT	Göttinger Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
GK	W. Gesenius/E. Kautzsch, <i>Hebräische Grammatik</i>
GT	Grundkurs Theologie
<i>HAL</i>	L. Köhler/W. Baumgartner, <i>Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon</i>
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HPB	Haupt's Polychrome Bible
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
ICA	Initiations au Christianisme ancien
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
IOSCS	International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies
ISLL	Illinois Studies in Language and Literature
JB	Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap 'Ex Oriente Lux'
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JBS	Jerusalem Biblical Studies
JLAS	<i>Jewish Law Annual</i> , Supplement
<i>JNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>

JSNTS	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament, Supplement Series</i>
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTS	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series</i>
JSPE	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
KEHAT	Kurzgefaßtes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament
KHCAT	Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament
LBS	Library of Biblical Studies
LD	Lectio Divina
LSJ	H. G. Liddell/R. Scott/H. S. Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i>
MD	<i>Maison Dieu</i>
MPG	Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Accurante J.-P. Migne. Series Graeca
MPL	Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Accurante J.-P. Migne. Series Latina
MSU	Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen
MV	Mededelingen en Verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap 'Ex Oriente Lux'
NEB	New English Bible
NJB	New Jerusalem Bible
NTG	Neue theologische Grundrisse
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OE	Orientalistische Einführungen in Gegenstand, Ergebnisse und Perspektiven der Einzelgebiete
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
PsG	Psalterium Gallicanum
PsH	Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos
PSV	<i>Phoenix Supplementary Volume</i>
QS	Quaderni di <i>Salesianum</i>
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
RE	<i>Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche</i> , 3rd edn.
RGG	<i>Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> , 3rd edn.
RSV	Revised Standard Version
SAT	Die Schriften des Alten Testaments

SB	Sources Bibliques
SBG	Studies in Biblical Greek
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBPAW	Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
<i>SCO</i>	<i>Studi Classici e Orientali</i>
SCSS	Society for Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies Series
<i>Sem</i>	<i>Semitica</i>
SeT	Studi e Testi
<i>SJOT</i>	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
SNES	State University of New York Series in Near Eastern Studies
SPB	Studia Post-Biblica
<i>ST</i>	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
TE	Textos y Estudios «Cardenal Cisneros»
<i>THAT</i>	<i>Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i>
<i>TLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum
<i>TWAT</i>	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i>
<i>TWNT</i>	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i>
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTS	Supplements to <i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WB	Die Welt der Bibel
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>WO</i>	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
<i>Wörterbuch</i>	W. Bauer, <i>Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
YJS	Yale Judaica Series
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästinavereins</i>

# A. Septuagint Exegesis

## 1. Introduction

The literary history of the Greek Bible, its linguistic characteristics and its role in the transmission of Israel's faith to the Hellenistic world have been the subjects of controversial academic debates over several decades. Scholarly dialogue has not yet found a common basis from which to proceed towards a deeper understanding of what probably is 'the most important translation ever made'.<sup>1</sup> The work to be done in this field confronts the student with a plethora of problems, of which one of the most serious is the scarcity of historical evidence concerning the political, social and religious factors which influenced the translation of the 'Seventy'.

Much outstanding work concerning Septuagintal questions has been done,<sup>2</sup> especially in the area of textual criticism and textual history in general, but, surprisingly enough, not much effort has been expended on research into the *theological* innovations to be detected in the Greek Bible. Nevertheless, in conjunction with a number of articles in various journals,<sup>3</sup> there are studies which prove to be exceptions to this rule: I. L. Seeligmann's book on the Septuagint of Isaiah,<sup>4</sup> which, on a sound philological basis, investigates the political, religious and social situation of Jewish Alexandria at the time of the translation, and L. Prijs' study *Jüdische Tradition in der Septuaginta*.<sup>5</sup> Seeligmann tries to view the Greek Isaiah as an attempt to actualize and to reinterpret an important part of the Jewish religious tradition – a rewriting of an

---

<sup>1</sup> E. J. Bickerman, *The Jews in the Greek Age*, Cambridge, Mass./London 1988, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> For extensive bibliographies cp. E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135): A New English Version, rev. and ed. by G. Vermes, F. Millar, M. Goodman*, III.1, Edinburgh 1986, pp. 489-493, and S. Sabugal OSA, 'La interpretación septuagintista del Antiguo Testamento', in: *Aug 19* (1979), pp. 341-357. Cp. throughout M. Harl/G. Dorival/O. Munnich, *La Bible Grecque des Septante: Du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien*, Paris 1988 (ICA), and N. Fernández Marcos, *Introducción a las versiones griegas de la Biblia*, Madrid 1979 (TE 23), and, comprising all the relevant literature up to 1973, S. P. Brock/C. T. Fritch/S. Jellicoe, *A Classified Bibliography of the Septuagint*, Leiden 1973 (ALGHJ 6).

<sup>3</sup> Cp. the bibliographies in Harl *et al.*, *La Bible grecque*, pp. 219, 222.

<sup>4</sup> *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of its Problems*, Leiden 1948 (MV 9).

<sup>5</sup> Leiden 1948, repr. (together with his *Die grammatikalische Terminologie des Abraham Ibn Esra*) Hildesheim/Zürich/New York 1987.

ancient book to suit the mental framework of the contemporary Hellenistic Jewish community which, of course, was a society entirely different from that of the Israelite fathers. This need informed all Greek translations of biblical books, which are commonly referred to collectively as 'the Septuagint'. Before Seeligmann, C. H. Dodd had already stressed this important point in his study *The Bible and the Greeks*,<sup>6</sup> in which he undertook a semantic survey of Septuagintal terms and an enquiry into the influence Hellenistic Jewish beliefs exercised upon contemporary paganism. In German scholarship it was especially G. Bertram who pursued research into 'Septuagintal piety' and theology,<sup>7</sup> albeit often exaggerating the significance of his observations for the reconstruction of a supposed *Septuaginta-Frömmigkeit*.

Since the publication of Seeligmann's book in 1948 some progress has been made<sup>8</sup> in interpreting those hints in the work of the 'Seventy' concerning its historical setting and the changed ideological and religious outlook influencing its theology. J. Koenig, to name just one example, has published a significant study which has greatly contributed to our understanding of the Septuagint as a monument of Jewish exegesis and to which we shall devote more attention in due course.<sup>9</sup>

Z. Frankel asks: 'Liegt hier nur eine Uebersetzung oder auch zugleich ein Religionswerk vor?'<sup>10</sup> Against the background of such a question it is the aim of this study to demonstrate as clearly as possible the character of the Greek Bible as a work displaying a new, distinct quality in the religious history of Judaism and Hellenism.

---

<sup>6</sup> London 1935.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. for instance, G. Bertram, 'Vom Wesen der Septuaginta-Frömmigkeit', in: *WO* 2 (1956), pp. 274-284, and 'Zur Bedeutung der Religion der Septuaginta in der hellenistischen Welt' in: *TLZ* 92 (1967), cols. 245-250. Cp. also nn. 46 and 48.

<sup>8</sup> But cp. R. Hanhart, 'Die Septuaginta als Interpretation und Aktualisierung: Jesaja 9:1(8:23)-7(6)', in: A. Rofé/Y. Zakovitch (edd.), *Isac Leo Seeligmann Volume, III: Essays on the Bible and the Ancient World*, Jerusalem 1983, pp. 331-346. Hanhart treats the Isaiah passage as an example of Septuagintal 'actualization'. Cp. his comment on the state of research into the subject, p. 331, and the conclusion, pp. 331f.: '... dann dürfte auch von den Fortschritten in diesem Bereiche [i.e. textual history] her Recht und Verpflichtung gegeben sein, die Frage nach der Bedeutung der LXX als Interpretation und Aktualisierung ihrer eigenen Zeit, des vorchristlichen hellenistischen Judentums, immer neu aufzuwerfen.'

<sup>9</sup> Cp. n. 17.

<sup>10</sup> *Ueber den Einfluß der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik*, Leipzig 1851 (repr. Farnborough 1972), pp. 2f. Cp. p. 3: 'Von einer Seite ist sowohl nach der damaligen geringen Stufe der Hermeneutik als dem herrschenden religiösen Geiste anzunehmen, dass bei einer Version der heil. Schrift das religiöse Element sich unwillkürlich geltend machen musste und eine völlig objective, nur an den Worten der Schrift haltende und von der religiösen Exegese der Gegenwart nicht berührte Auffassung [*sic*] nicht in der Macht, und wohl auch nicht in dem Willen der Uebersetzer lag.'

In the face of an enormous array of Septuagint texts which were produced over a span of roughly four centuries<sup>11</sup> we shall have to narrow down the scope and choose a single and singularly important body of texts within the Greek Bible: the Psalms.

The Hebrew Psalter has rightly been described as the 'hymn-book' of post-exilic Judaism.<sup>12</sup> Comprising material from very different times and backgrounds it served as the focus of worship, connected with the temple and also probably with common prayer and praise elsewhere.<sup>13</sup>

The *Greek* Psalms were to be of no lesser importance to Jewish life in the Diaspora than their Hebrew equivalents had been and still were to Palestinian Judaism. To take just one example: we find liturgical dedications in the Greek version (e.g. the superscriptions of the psalms assigning them to the days of the week) which form an addition to the original and were necessitated by changing liturgical needs in a new environment, by the ever-growing importance of synagogal worship.<sup>14</sup>

At a time when the canonical shape of the Prophets and, even more so, of the Hagiographa, was still in flux, it was therefore only natural that the thoughts and needs of the religious community using these texts would be left in traces detectable by modern exegesis. More than any other biblical book the Greek Psalter, because of its links with communal prayer, can be trusted to reflect the history of the Jewish community in a changing environment, trying to come to terms with the intellectual challenge of the emerging Hellenistic world civilization. Being the liturgical basis on which Jews expressed themselves as a

<sup>11</sup> On the dates of the translations of the Pentateuch, and, subsequently, of the Prophets, the Hagiographa and the 'deutero-canonical' books, consult Harl *et al.*, *La Bible grecque*, pp. 55-58, 86-101, esp. 96f.

<sup>12</sup> Cp. O. Eißfeldt, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament unter Einschluß der Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen sowie der apokryphen- und pseudepigraphenartigen Qumran-Schriften*, 3rd edn., Tübingen 1964 (NTG), p. 604: 'In der . . . Phase der Psalmenforschung, die den weitaus größten Teil der Psalmen aus nachexilischer Zeit herleitete und nur bei ganz wenigen von ihnen die Möglichkeit höheren Alters erwog, bezeichnete man den Psalter als das Gesangbuch der nachexilischen jüdischen Gemeinde. Insofern unser Psalmbuch als ganzes erst in nachexilischer Zeit entstanden ist, trifft diese Bezeichnung auch zu.'

<sup>13</sup> On the role of the psalms in Israelite and Jewish worship cp. E. Gerstenberger, *Psalms Part 1 with an Introduction to Cultic Poetry*, Grand Rapids, Ia. 1987 (FOTL 14), pp. 5-22. For the domestic use of psalms cp., for instance, Pes 10,6. For their communal application in thanksgiving cp. Taan 3,9. On the probable liturgical usage of psalms (canonical and non-canonical) in the Qumran community and beyond, cp. 11 Q Ps<sup>a</sup>, col. XXVII, in: J. A. Sanders (ed.), *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11 Q Ps<sup>a</sup>)*, Oxford 1965 (DJDJ IV), pp. 91-93.

<sup>14</sup> This does *not* necessarily indicate any support by the present author for H. St. J. Thackeray's theory of the Septuagint's liturgical *origin*. For criticisms of Thackeray's hypothesis (put forward in *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship: A Study in Origins [The Schweich Lectures 1920]*, 2nd edn., London 1923) cp. Harl *et al.*, *La Bible grecque*, pp. 68f., and N. Fernández Marcos, *Introducción*, pp. 62-64.



community, and at the same time serving as a source of personal consolation, the Psalms formed one of the most important bodies of biblical literature, for the congregation as well as for the individual. They are therefore a source of the highest importance for any scholar intent upon investigating the history of Judaism in its transition towards 'universalism', its abandonment of a single national centre and language for the liberty of a world culture. This process in turn laid the religious, ideological and practical foundations for the rise of Christianity.

To perceive the intellectual atmosphere out of which the Greek translation of the Psalter emerged is indeed a formidable task. A first important step towards achieving this objective was made by M. Flashar<sup>15</sup> who argued that the translator was influenced by a 'highly distinctive religious thought-world'.<sup>16</sup>

Unfortunately, Flashar has never really found a successor building on the foundation he laid nearly eighty years ago. His work is in fact preoccupied with the hitherto unexplored philological aspects of the Septuagint Psalter, with lexicography, statistical and semantic studies, and so his statements on the translators' ideas, motives and intellectual-historical background had to remain very general. Naturally, this study will also be subject to very strict philological demands. On the other hand, it will try to establish, on this philological basis and with the additional support of recent findings in biblical studies and in the historiography of the ancient world, a reliable picture of the date and place of origin, aspects of the history and theology and the role in Jewish religious life of the Greek Psalter.

In recent years, J. Koenig undertook a survey of the analogical hermeneutics of ancient Judaism with special reference to the Septuagint of Isaiah.<sup>17</sup> Koenig has endeavoured to penetrate the depths of the Greek Isaiah and tackle the problems of its textual idiosyncrasies *vis-à-vis* the Hebrew original. His work is an important contribution to current Septuagint scholarship and has further refined our perception of the texts, as well as providing scholars with more precise methods of investigating the character of Septuagint texts.

Let us also make a few more general remarks on the scope of this study. Eschatological beliefs are at the heart of ancient Judaism and early Christianity.

---

<sup>15</sup> Cp. 'Exegetische Studien zum Septuagintapsalter', in: ZAW 32 (1912), pp. 81-116, 161-189, 241-268.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 266: 'Dazu kam, daß dem Übersetzer eine scharf ausgeprägte religiöse Gedankenwelt und Frömmigkeit eignete. Ihr Einfluß erstreckt sich bis in die kleinsten Einzelheiten der Übersetzung, sei es, daß G die Aussagen, die seinem Denken nicht conform waren, änderte, sei es, daß er seinen eigenen Lieblingsgedanken und Vorstellungen bewußt oder unbewußt Geltung zu schaffen suchte.'

<sup>17</sup> *L'herméneutique analogique du judaïsme antique d'après les témoins textuels d'Isaïe*, Leiden 1982 (VTS 33).

This is why it is so important to scrutinize the Greek Psalter in search of the impact such beliefs may have had on the Jewish Greek translators. This cannot be done without taking into account their cultural and religious circumstances. Contrary to many other studies in the field, we shall therefore not concentrate on one single feature of the book we have undertaken to analyse. We shall rather endeavour to develop a fresh approach to the exegesis of a Septuagint text which takes into account the extreme variety of the world it came from, i.e. that of 'inter-testamental' Judaism.

This means that, while some space will be given to the inner-Septuagintal 'dialogue' between the translators of the various books, the author will attempt to view the Greek Psalter in context, viz. as a document of one of the most fertile periods in Jewish history and religion,<sup>18</sup> 300 BC to AD 200. Therefore 'what was called "intertestamental" now antedates the latest book in the Old Testament (or Tanach), *Daniel*, by about one hundred years'.<sup>19</sup> This contextual view will give us some new insights into the development of individual and national eschatology in second century Judaism as exemplified in the Greek Psalter and related religious documents of Jewish thought of that time.

In order to succeed with this approach we shall have to rid ourselves of the notion of unconnected 'corpora' of literature.<sup>20</sup> This notion has led to, amongst other things, a certain neglect of religious-historical aspects of the study of Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Jewish and Christian scholarship. Our perception of these matters has been impaired by religious and practical developments (the formation of the canon, transmission of the texts, history of biblical translation, hermeneutical considerations of the Catholic and the

---

<sup>18</sup> It is of small importance whether we call this period 'middle Judaism' (an interesting new term introduced by G. Boccaccini, *Middle Judaism: Jewish Thought, 300 B.C.E. to 200 C.E.*, Minneapolis 1991; cp., for instance, pp. 18-25) or, more traditionally, 'early Judaism' (cp. *ibid.*, 'Foreword by James H. Charlesworth' pp. xiii-xix, esp. p. xviii). What matters is to realize the essential unity of this epoch and to overcome the prejudices that led to the segmentation it suffered in scholarly treatment.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

<sup>20</sup> Cp. *ibid.*, p. 13: 'We now arrive at the root of the problem: the existence of the corpora. They make sense in relation to epochs and ideologies that formed, delimited, and reinterpreted them. They are absolutely misleading, however, in their prejudicial interposition between the sources (their authors, their age and their ideological horizons) and the modern interpreter. The task of the historian of thought is to describe an age in its complexity and in the contradiction of its expressions, using *all* the material available, canceling and verifying every traditional division without confessional presupposition. The historian of thought is also to reconstruct as much as possible the chronological and ideological links among the sources. In short, the focus of attention should be shifted from the corpora to the age in which the consistent writings were composed, thus freeing the documents from the cage of their respective corpora and placing them on the same level. In so doing, the interpreter should not be afraid of or surprised at finding forgotten connections or unexpected distances, new hierarchies or unsettling marginalities, supporting roles elevated to protagonists and protagonists reduced to supporting roles.'

Protestant churches, etc.). In consequence, we shall dedicate ourselves to an 'organic' interpretation of the Greek Psalter and cognate texts, let them be canonical, deuterocanonical/apocryphal or pseudepigraphal. We shall attempt to look at the Septuagint Psalms not merely from a philological point of view, but also from the perspective of the history of ideas. Tracing the development of early Jewish eschatology, so far as this is possible within the physical limits of this study, and trying to assign to the Greek Psalter its proper place in this development will give us a fresh view of the importance and the formative power of Septuagint texts in early Judaism.

## 2. The Hebrew Text and its Greek Version

Is it academically justifiable to write a study based on a comparison between Hebrew and Greek texts of the Old Testament? Such a comparison would make sense only if the Hebrew text as preserved and presented in the shape of the Massoretic Text were more or less identical with the one to which the Greek translators referred. The second requirement is that of a reconstructable, basic Septuagint text representing the *unique original form* of the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible. It used to be taken for granted that both these methodological requirements were actually met by the historical facts. However, these assumptions have come under fierce attack from two diametrically opposed angles. Should only one of these criticisms stand up to careful scrutiny, our initial question would have to receive careful reconsideration.

A central objection, destined, if true, to undermine the whole of the Göttingen project of a critical Septuagint edition was that of P. Kahle. According to his thesis, the extant collection of books commonly called 'the Septuagint' does not go back to one unique, original translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek. It is, rather, a collation of translations from the Hebrew that can be traced back to a plurality of places and situations. Kahle claims that what we now misleadingly name *the* Septuagint came into existence in a way very similar to the one in which the Aramaic Targums were produced. They were originally, according to Kahle, *oral* Greek translations of the portions of the Torah to be read out in synagogue services which were later collected, collated, and edited.

However, there are serious objections to Kahle's thesis that allow for its definite refutation. The first important thing to be said against Kahle is that his comparison between the Greek Bible and the Targums rests on an assumption that cannot be validated. Whereas we *know* that the Targums represent a collation of formerly oral material we have no proof whatsoever for the Septuagint origins being analogous to those of the Targums. Kahle's hypothesis is a tempting one, but after all it is a *petitio principii*.<sup>21</sup>

Secondly, the existence of New Testament and patristic quotations of Septuagint passages differing from the extant text of the Greek Bible does *not* prove, contrary to Kahle's thesis, that there were independent Greek versions of the original. The different renderings could be due to distorted quotations from the New Testament authors' *memories*, to early Jewish versions of the

---

<sup>21</sup> This was pointed out first by P. Katz, 'Das Problem des Urtextes der Septuaginta', in: *TZ* 5 (1949), pp. 1-24.

Septuagint text or to reinterpretations of Septuagint texts in an early Christian framework.<sup>22</sup>

Thirdly, and most importantly, the papyruses with a different Greek text adduced by Kahle in support of his hypothesis witness to revisions of the Old Greek text, not to independent traditions.<sup>23</sup>

While O. Eißfeldt was still hesitating to give a final evaluation of the matter,<sup>24</sup> things are much clearer now: D. Barthélemy's interpretation of the manuscripts found at Nahal Hever in 1952 and 1960 has proved to be the more satisfying one. Kahle took these fragmentary manuscript witnesses to a hitherto unknown Jewish Greek version of the *Dodekapropheton* as evidence of just another, *independent* Jewish Greek translation of a biblical text. However, Barthélemy was able to demonstrate that these texts represent an early *revision* of the Old Greek of the Twelve Prophets. He called it the *καίτε* recension, according to its rendering of the Hebrew  $\square$ , argued conclusively that the revisors' work predated that of Aquila and that they were influenced by the prevalent rabbinical hermeneutics of their time.<sup>25</sup>

This in turn proves that the general idea behind the Göttingen Septuagint edition, the reconstruction of the oldest available text, is not futile. The books of the Greek Bible are indeed unified translation enterprises, and it makes sense to try and proceed, by means of textual criticism, towards an edition of the oldest recoverable texts.<sup>26</sup> P. de Lagarde's thesis of the Septuagint's original unity has thus been vindicated.<sup>27</sup> The Göttingen edition proceeds on the basis of this concept,<sup>28</sup> and the present study can therefore use one of the fruits of its labours, the 1931 edition of the Psalms published by A. Rahlfs.<sup>29</sup>

But what can we say about the other side of the coin, i. e. the Hebrew text used by the translators as opposed to the extant Massoretic text? The evaluation

<sup>22</sup> Cp. Harl *et al.*, *La Bible grecque*, p. 184.

<sup>23</sup> Cp. *ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> Cp. *Einleitung*, p. 962.

<sup>25</sup> Cp. *Les Devanciers d'Aquila*, Leiden 1963 (VTS 10).

<sup>26</sup> Cp. R. Hanhart, 'Septuaginta', in W. H. Schmidt/W. Thiel/R. Hanhart, *Altes Testament*, Stuttgart/Berlin/Cologne/Mainz 1989 (GT 1), p. 193: 'Daß es sich ursprünglich um ein in sich einheitliches Übersetzungswerk handelt, ergibt sich durch den Befund, daß die ältesten LXX-Texte jüdischer Herkunft grundsätzlich bereits die christlich überlieferte Textform der LXX zeigen; demgegenüber lassen sich abweichende Textteile, die meist der hebräischen Vorlage näherstehen, als Rezensionselemente nachweisen.'

<sup>27</sup> Cp. *ibid.*, p. 195.

<sup>28</sup> For a description of the concept of textual reconstruction followed in Göttingen cp. *ibid.*, pp. 195f.

<sup>29</sup> A. Rahlfs (ed.), *Septuaginta Societatis Scientiarum Göttingensis auctoritate, X: Psalmi cum Odis*, Göttingen 1931. It was the first publication of the project and has its shortcomings. A new edition of the Psalter is being planned in Göttingen but will not be executed in the foreseeable future.

of their relation is an even thornier problem of textual history and criticism. On the basis of Barthélemy's analysis it can reasonably be claimed that the revision of the Old Greek text rested on an already quite closely defined Hebrew text that is normally referred to as 'proto-Massoretic'. However, this only applies to the texts used from the first half of the first century AD onwards. Before that time, the text of the Hebrew Bible was still in what we may paradoxically call a state of 'restricted openness'.<sup>30</sup> Around 100 AD the basic form of the MT was already established; in earlier times, the Jewish community seems not to have felt such an immense need to pinpoint even the minutest details of its scriptures.<sup>31</sup>

H. M. Orlinsky has mounted several attacks on the notion of a 'Massoretic Text' altogether and prefers just to speak about the *textus receptus* handed down to us.<sup>32</sup> According to Orlinsky, 'scholars have usually assumed that just as the books of the Bible were canonized, so was the Hebrew text of the books; expressions such as the "official" or "standard" or "stabilized" Hebrew text are the norm. Bu[t] this scholarly assumption, whether it be fiction or simply unproved or unprovable, has little practical value'.<sup>33</sup> However, he then goes on to admit that, concerning the story of the Letter of Aristeas, 'the idea behind the story is the fact that an acceptable translation could derive only from an acceptable Hebrew text, one that had the blessings of the head of the Jewish people'.<sup>34</sup>

This is easy enough to accept. Unfortunately Orlinsky does not endeavour to offer a solution to the problem he highlights. In order to understand the nature of the question and the attitude of pre-Christian Judaism towards its sacred scriptures we have to go beyond a simple listing of textual diversities. Orlinsky's criticism is in fact, to a great extent, a play with words. We still have to account for the fact that early on in the textual history of the Bible a need was felt to return as closely as possible to what was conceived of as the original text.<sup>35</sup> The Scroll of the Twelve Prophets found at Nahal Hever is a case in

---

<sup>30</sup> Cp. Hanhart, 'Septuaginta', p. 195, naming as one of the criteria for finding out about the origin, age and place of recensional elements 'die hebräische Vorlage, die von der zweiten Hälfte des 1. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. an in der protomasoretisch verfestigten einheitlichen Form, für die vorangehende Zeit noch in einer *begrenzten Offenheit* [my italics] vorauszusetzen ist.'

<sup>31</sup> Cp. Eißfeldt, *Einleitung*, pp. 928f.

<sup>32</sup> Cp. 'The Septuagint and its Hebrew Text', in: *CHJ*, II, pp. 557ff.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 557.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 558.

<sup>35</sup> Cp. R. Hanhart, 'Die Septuaginta als Problem der Textgeschichte, der Forschungsgeschichte und der Theologie', in: P. A. H. de Boer (ed.), *Congress Volume Uppsala 1971*, Leiden 1972 (VTS 22), p. 188: 'Es ist die Grundgegebenheit dieser von Anfang an bestehenden, theologisch: in einer bestimmten Form von Kanonisierung, begründeten Verfestigung des alttestamentlichen Textes sowohl in der Gestalt der Ursprache als auch in der

point. Without the existence of some kind of standard Hebrew text the whole enterprise of such a recension would have been impossible. 'It should be noted . . . that the *Vorlage* of the Greek text is by no means identical with the surviving *textus receptus*, but may be called Proto-Massoretic, since it differs even more decidedly with the Old Palestinian Hebrew text.'<sup>36</sup> The Hebrew text available to the scholars establishing the *καίτε* recension, on the other hand, was not fully identical with, for example, that used by Aquila later on. Both the Greek and the Hebrew texts were still, to some degree at least, in flux. This is once again proved by the *Dodekapropheton* of Nahal Hever.

There is no doubt that this Greek text was an early Jewish attempt to revise the standard Septuagint into conformity with a Proto-Massoretic Hebrew text, just as Aquila represents a sequent attempt to revise this revision in the direction of the official Rabbinic or Massoretic text which had been established by his day. We see, then, a series of attempts to bring the Greek Bible into conformity with a *changing* Hebrew textual tradition.<sup>37</sup>

These changes only came to a halt when 'by the beginning of the second century A.D. an authoritative text of the Hebrew Bible had been promulgated, the archetype of the Massoretic manuscripts of the Middle Ages'.<sup>38</sup> However, Orlinsky upholds his theory, against the evidence drawn together by F. M. Cross,<sup>39</sup> and argues that there is no reason to assume the existence of a standardized, authoritative text by the beginning of the second century – or, for that matter, at any time from the pre-Septuagint to the mediaeval eras.<sup>40</sup> Orlinsky is right in stressing the fact that different texts of some canonical books 'were simultaneously in circulation, none of them any longer – if any ever were – identifiable as official, and all of them having experienced or still in the process of experiencing change'.<sup>41</sup> Even in Aquila, as Orlinsky points out, we find some readings which differ widely from what has been handed down to us as the 'Massoretic Text'.<sup>42</sup> Even so, and in full knowledge of the fact that Cross's explanation also raises a number of questions,<sup>43</sup> it seems to be an

---

Gestalt der griechischen Übertragung, aus der allein sich das Phänomen erklären lässt, das das Wesen der Textgeschichte in dieser ersten Zeit ausmacht: Dieses Phänomen besteht in der immer deutlicher werdenden Rückbewegung des im Anfang noch relativ freien Übersetzungstextes zur formalen und inhaltlichen Identität mit dem Text des Originals zurück.'

<sup>36</sup> F. M. Cross, 'The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judean Desert', in: *HTR* 57 (1964), p. 282.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 283.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 287f.

<sup>39</sup> *Cp. ibid.*, *passim*.

<sup>40</sup> *Cp. n.* 32.

<sup>41</sup> 'Septuagint', p. 559.

<sup>42</sup> *Cp. ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> It should be noted that Cross bases his case mainly on the evidence provided by *Greek* documents (*cp.* 'History', pp. 278f.) and that his Hebrew textual evidence is confined to the

## Index of Biblical and Related Texts

1. Old Testament		24,17	100
		24,17 LXX	77, 78
<i>Genesis</i>		24,8	109, 111, 114
1,1	172	24,8 LXX	121
22,2	78	24,9	121
22,12	78	24,17	44, 117
22,16	78	24,17 LXX	117
49	116		
49,9	121	<i>Deuteronomy</i>	
49,9f	116, 121	32,48-52	86
49,10	44, 84, 100	33	113, 116
49,10 LXX	117	33,13-17	113, 116
		33,17	109, 111, 113, 125, 149, 164
<i>Exodus</i>		<i>Judges</i>	
4,21	53	11,23	91
14,13f.	60		
17,1-7	86	<i>1 Samuel</i>	
29,6	128	15,8f.	119
34,29-35	114		
<i>Leviticus</i>		<i>2 Samuel</i>	
8,9	128	15,2	60
25,5	128		
25,5 LXX	127	<i>1 Kings</i>	
<i>Numbers</i>		30,17	102
20,2-13	86	<i>Isaiah</i>	
20,22-29	86	14,12	102
21,18	83	15,1-16,2	44
21,30	43	15,2	43, 44
23,18-24	111	15-16	44
23,22	109, 113, 114, 119	16,8-9	44
23,24	121	24-27	63
24	116, 142	25,8	63, 155
24 LXX	121	25,9-12	44
24,3-9	121	26,19	30
24,7	100, 119	34,7	116, 122
24,7 LXX	77, 78, 92	42,7	87
24,7-8	117, 118, 119	66,7	100
24,7-8 LXX	121, 142, 149	66,7-11	100, 101



<i>Jeremiah</i>		30 (31),12	90
1,5 LXX	172	34 (35),7	31, 32
21,12	60	35,15	32
48,1	44	36 (37),3	86
48,32	44	37,1	71
		37,5	32
<i>Ezekiel</i>		44	36
38f.	119, 121	44 LXX	78, 79, 80
		44,9	35, 36
<i>Zechariah</i>		45	80, 81
7,3	128	46,9 LXX	52, 53
		47 LXX	56
<i>Malachi</i>		47,15	155
3,16	63	47,15 LXX	55, 155
		48	56, 131, 156
<i>Psalms</i>		48,12 LXX	57, 134, 135,
1	54, 156		155
1,5	46, 47, 48, 155	48,15	53
1,5 LXX	48, 165	48,15 LXX	72
2	75	49,8 LXX	31
2 LXX	75	49,15	72
2,9 LXX	75	54 (55)	41, 64
8	76, 77, 98	54 (55),8	90
8,5	98	54 (55),22	32
8,5 LXX	32, 98	55,9 LXX	63, 62, 64, 134,
8,7 LXX	168, 169		155
9,19	31	56	65
15 LXX	50, 157, 165,	57,13f. LXX	67
	166, 168	58 LXX	65, 146
15 (16),8	31	58,9 LXX	150
15,8-11 LXX	166, 167	58,13f. LXX	68, 152, 156
15,9f. LXX	48, 155	58,14 LXX	65, 67, 68
15,10 LXX	166	59 LXX	42, 83, 84, 138,
16	166, 167, 168		139
17 (18),26	32	59,9	42, 83, 84
17 (18),32	32	60,9	43
20,1	31	65 LXX	145
21	156	67 LXX	79, 88, 90, 92
21,22 LXX	109	67,7 LXX	88, 136
21,30	156	67,12-13 LXX	78, 79, 91, 134
22	109, 111	67,13 LXX	78, 79, 128
22,22	113, 114	68	88
22,30	52	68,7	86, 87, 89, 90
22,30-32	50	68,7 LXX	90
23	129	68,19	87
24	131	68,21	69
27,2 LXX	127	69,10	129
28 LXX	79, 133	71 LXX	93
28 (29),1	129	71,5 LXX	172
28,6 LXX	79, 92, 109, 117	71,7	53



17,32	75	10,6	3
17,42	75		
18	75		
<i>Wisdom of Solomon</i>		<i>M Ta'anit</i>	
6,1-11	74	3,9	3
		4,2	132
<i>Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs</i>		<i>M Sanhedrin</i>	
Sim 6	154	10,1-4	71
Sim 7,1-2	147, 148	10,1	48
Lev 10,2	147, 152	10,3	59
Lev 10,2f.	152	97b	120
Lev 18	154	98c	163
Jud 24,1	92		
Jud 24,1f.	118	<i>M Tamid</i>	
Jud 25	151, 154	7,4	131
Iss 5,7	147, 148		
Zeb 9,9	147, 152	<i>M Yadayim</i>	
Zeb 10	154	4,6	47
Dan 5,10	149		
Benj 10,6-8	145	<i>B Shabbat</i>	
Benj 10,8	155	28b	123
Benj 11	147		
Benj 11,1-2	147, 148	<i>B Pesakhim</i>	
Benj 11,2	79, 92, 148, 149	54a	163
Benj 11,3	146, 152	<i>B Sukkah</i>	
		52a-b	112, 120
<i>4 Ezra</i>		<i>B Nedarim</i>	
7,42	162	39b	163
<i>1 Enoch</i>			
22	72	<i>B Sanhedrin</i>	
39,7	103	97b	120
48,2-3	96	98c	163
48,3	96, 104		
51,3	74	<i>B 'Abodah Zarah</i>	
83-90	153	8a	123
90	141		
90,9	124	<i>Aboth de Rabbi Nathan</i>	
90,33	154	1,7	123
		<i>Soferim</i>	
3. Qumranic, Rabbinic and other Jewish Writings		18,3	133
		<i>Bereshit Rabba</i>	
<i>11 Q Psa</i>		1	163
154	100	75,6	112
		75,12	112
<i>M Pesakhim</i>		99	125

<i>Pesikta Rabbari</i>		10,25-28	168
152b	163	11	165
161b	163	11,32	165
<i>Midrash Tehillim</i>		<i>Acts</i>	
Ps 16	50	2	167
Ps 39	124	2,25	166
Ps 49	58, 61	2,25-28	166
Ps 73	71, 72	2,30f.	166
Ps 75	110	2,31	166, 167
		4,25f.	72
<i>Targum on Psalms</i>		7, 55f.	169
Ps 72	95		
Ps 72,17	96	<i>1 Corinthians</i>	
Ps 80	98	8,6	170
		15,25-27	168, 169
Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i>		<i>Ephesians</i>	
11,98-99	36	1,20-22	169
18,14	48, 160		
Josephus, <i>Jewish War</i>		<i>Philippians</i>	
1,118	38	2,6-11	170
<i>Letter of Aristeas</i>		<i>Hebrews</i>	
227	79	1,5	72
		1,13-2,8	169
4. New Testament and Patristic Writers		<i>1 Peter</i>	
		3,22	169
<i>Matthew</i>		<i>Revelation</i>	
12	165	2,26-27	72
12,41	165		
13,43	103	Justin, <i>Dialogue with Trypho</i>	
22,41-46	168	45,4	172
<i>Mark</i>		Tertullian, <i>Adversus Marcionem</i>	
12,35-37	168	III,2-4	125
<i>Luke</i>		Tertullian, <i>Adversus Praxean</i>	
3,22	72	7	172

## Index of Modern Authors

- Aejmelaeus, A., 16, 19, 21  
Allison, D. C., 165  
Avigad, N., 153
- Bacher, W., 58  
Bammel, E., 139  
Barr, J., 19, 31, 56, 126  
Barrett, C. K., 165  
Barthélemy, D., 8, 41  
Basevi, C., 109  
Bauckham, R., 72  
Beasley-Murray, G. R., 148  
Begrich, J., 72  
Benoit, P., 153  
Bentley, R., 37  
Bentzen, A., 126, 162  
Bertram, G., 2, 11  
Bickerman, E. J., 1, 31, 144, 146,  
149, 150, 160  
Billerbeck, P., 77  
Black, M., 96, 104, 124, 125, 153  
Boccaccini, G., 5  
Bousset, W., 26, 27, 48, 76, 93,  
121, 125, 140, 141, 142, 158,  
169  
Bowker, J. W., 96  
Brandenburg, H., 121, 122  
Braude, W. G., 50, 56, 58, 61, 71,  
124  
Brock, S. P., 23, 25  
Brownlee, W. G., 117, 118  
Buber, S., 58, 61, 71  
Buhl, F., 38
- Caird, G. B., 108  
Carmignac, J., 26  
Charles, R. H., 30, 96, 118, 144,  
145, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151,  
153, 154  
Charlesworth, J. H., 5  
Collins, J. J., 140
- Cross, F. M., 10, 11
- Davies, W. D., 165  
Delcor, M., 159  
Delling, G., 67  
Devrèesse, R., 37  
Dilthey, W., 23  
Dodd, C. H., 2, 77, 166  
Dogniez, C., 108, 112  
Dorival, G., 1  
Driver, G. R., 81
- Eißfeldt, O., 3, 8, 9, 67  
Ellis, E. E., 165, 166  
Emerton, J. A., 81  
Ervin, H. M., 52, 53, 59
- Fedak, J., 153  
Feldman, L. H., 160  
Fernández Marcos, N., 3, 16, 126  
Figueras, P., 103  
Flashar, M., 4, 43, 63, 67, 127,  
129  
Frankel, Z., 2, 16, 25, 35, 41, 138  
Fraser, P. M., 82
- Gard, D. H., 145, 161  
Gerleman, G., 149  
Gerstenberger, E., 3  
Gesenius, W., 38, 60  
Ginzberg, L., 123, 124  
Glasson, T. F., 20, 26  
Goldstein, J. A., 44, 139, 140, 143  
Greibmann, H., 26, 48, 76, 93,  
120, 121, 125, 169  
Gunkel, H., 43, 47, 49, 53, 54,  
57, 59, 72, 73, 74, 81, 86, 109,  
110
- Haenchen, E., 167  
Hanhart, R., 2, 9

- Hanson, P. D., 166, 167  
 Harl, M., 1, 3, 12, 39, 84, 97,  
 108, 112, 145  
 Hart, J. H. A., 64, 65, 161  
 Hay, D. M., 169  
 Hengel, M., 28, 47, 104, 132,  
 143, 159, 168, 169, 170, 171  
 Hollander, H. W., 67, 93, 148,  
 150, 151  
 Horbury, W., 97, 100, 116, 159  
 Hühn, E., 49  
 Hupfeld, H., 60  
  
 Instone Brewer, D., 64, 136  
  
 Janowski, B., 62  
 Jenni, E., 55  
 Jirku, A., 114  
 Jonge, M. de, 67, 75, 93, 148, 151  
  
 Kahle, P., 7  
 Kaiser, O., 44  
 Kaminka, A., 58, 89  
 Katz, P. (= P. Walters), 7, 18  
 Kautzsch, E., 60  
 Keller, C. A., 119  
 Kern, O., 122  
 Klausner, J., 20, 27, 29, 120, 149  
 Koenig, J., 2, 4, 22, 23  
 König, E., 60  
 Kooij, A. van der, 34, 35, 36, 38,  
 39, 42, 127, 129, 130, 131  
  
 Lagarde, P. de, 8, 11, 14, 47  
 Latte, K., 37, 91  
 Lattimore, R., 103  
 Le Déaut, R., 95, 96, 134, 136  
 Lewy, H., 37  
 Lietzmann, H., 168, 169  
 Lindars, B., 18, 165, 166  
 Liver, J., 147  
  
 McNeil, B., 98  
 Meineke, A., 37  
 Meyer, R., 58  
 Montfaucon, B. de, 38  
 Montgomery, J. A., 113  
 Mozley, F. W., 63, 66, 74, 78, 99,  
 100  
  
 Munnich, O., 34, 35, 36, 37, 39,  
 40, 41, 42  
  
 Naber, S. A., 38  
 Nickelsburg, G. W. E., 146, 155  
 Nowack, W., 60  
 Noy, D., 159  
  
 Olofsson, S., 16, 22, 61  
 Orelli, C. von, 163  
 Orlinsky, H., 9, 10, 11  
  
 Parente, F., 104, 172, 173  
 Piejko, F., 37  
 Pietersma, A., 62  
 Podechard, E., 59  
 Porter, J. R., 114  
 Prijs, L., 1, 58, 89  
  
 Rahlfs, A., 8, 14  
 Reicke, B., 51  
 Riehm, E., 60  
 Rivkin, E., 28  
 Robert, L., 37  
  
 Sabugal, S., 1, 24  
 Sanders, J. A., 100  
 Schaper, J., 106  
 Schimanowski, G., 94, 104, 105,  
 106  
 Schleusner, J. F., 69  
 Schmuttermayr, G., 99  
 Schrader, E., 115, 122  
 Schürer, E., 1, 26, 43, 50, 53, 56,  
 131, 132, 161  
 Seeligmann, I. L., 1, 2  
 Soden, W. von, 114  
 Soffer, A., 33  
 Soisalon-Soininen, I., 12, 16, 19,  
 21  
 Sollamo, R., 16, 19, 21  
 Stemberger, G., 91, 125  
 Stone, M. E., 162, 164  
 Strack, H.-L., 77, 91, 125  
  
 Thackeray, H. St. J., 3, 17  
 Torczyner, H., 58  
 Tournay, R. J., 51, 80, 81, 102,  
 106  
 Tov, E., 13, 17, 18, 24, 69

Ulrichsen, J. H., 150

Venetz, H. J., 34, 35, 36, 38, 40,  
42

Vermes, G., 83, 100, 101, 117,  
118, 121

Volz, P., 76, 77, 93, 96, 102, 103,  
104, 107, 141, 145, 151, 156,  
161

Wallis, G., 80, 81

Walter, N., 55

Walters, P. (= P. Katz), 18

Weiser, A., 55

Wellhausen, J., 106, 122

West, M. L., 123

Wünsche, A., 125

Wutz, F., 12

Ziegler, J., 22, 60

Zuntz, G., 55

## Index of Subjects

- Aaron, 86  
abolition of war, 53  
Abraham, 124  
accession of a Judaeen king, 72  
actualizations, 24, 25  
Adam, 123, 124  
administration of justice, 60  
adornment of the temple with spoils, 129  
afflictions as the distinction of the righteous, 71  
afterlife, 29, 46, 62, 157, 158, 162, 168  
Agag, 119, 120  
agnosticism, 159  
Alexander the Great, 113  
Alexandria, 175  
Alexandrian hermeneutics, 35  
allegorical interpretation, 86  
*al tiqre* reading, 52, 89  
ancient Near Eastern mythology, 114  
'Animal Apocalypse', 142  
anthropomorphisms, 33  
anthropopathisms, 33  
anti-anthropomorphism, 33  
anti-anthropopathism, 33  
Antiochus IV Epiphanes, 139  
apocalyptic groups, 158, 159  
apocalyptic ideas, 157  
apocalyptic literature, 138, 157  
apocalyptic writers, 158  
Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, 5  
apocryphal literature, 157  
Apostolic Fathers, 172  
Aquila, 8, 32, 40  
Aristobulos, 44  
aristocratic and priestly circles, 158  
Aristotle, 115  
Asia Minor, 38  
astrological speculation, 123  
astrology, 123, 126  
atomistic exegesis, 136  
Bar Kokhba, 142  
Ben Sira, 144, 158, 159  
Benjamin, 144  
biblical exegesis in early Judaism and Christianity, 134  
biblical hermeneutics, 20  
birth of the Messiah, 100  
blessings of Judah, 116  
bodily resurrection, 50  
bull imagery, 114, 116, 122, 142  
bull statues, 114  
bull symbolism, 114  
bull/unicorn imagery, 116, 124  
burnt offering, 131  
Callimachus, 55  
canonical books, 10  
'Chosen Nation', 29  
Christ as the mediator of creation, 170  
Christ, pre-existence of, 171, 172  
Christ, 166, 167, 169, 171  
Christian doctrine, 170  
christological developments, 169  
christological thinking, 170  
Christology, 126, 170, 171  
chronological relation between Septuagint books, 40  
Commagene, 82  
commander's staff, 84  
commentary on the whole of the Septuagint, 18  
communal prayer, 3  
comparative philology, 16  
concept of royal power, 106  
concept of the pre-existence of the Messiah's name, 96



- concept of the pre-existent Messiah, 124  
 concept of two Messiahs, 149  
 consistency in translation, 33  
 consummation of the ages, 68, 147, 152  
 contextual exegesis, 87, 88  
 corpora of literature, 5  
 counsel of the Most High, 88  
 covenant, 29  
 creation, 124, 132, 172  
 crown of bull's horns, 114  
 cult, 82
- daily sacrifice, 132  
 date and place of origin of the Greek Psalter, 25, 34, 39, 40, 42, 45  
 David, 113, 143, 165, 166, 168  
 David as a prophet, 166  
 Davidic hope, 116  
 Davidic line, 140  
 Davidic Messiah, 44, 120, 142, 151  
 Davidic restoration, 27  
 day of judgement, 63, 65, 72, 74, 152  
 dedicatory formula, 82  
 demonstrations of divine power, 107  
*descensus ad inferos*, 166, 167  
 deuterо-canonical passages, 20  
 Diaspora synagogues, 133  
 Dionysius Areopagita, 69  
 divine epithet, 81, 91  
 divine judgement, 103, 174  
 divine kingship, 80, 81  
 divine oracle, 42  
 doctrine of immortality, 144  
*Dodekapropheton*, 8, 10  
 dominion of the righteous over the wicked, 60  
 dynastic cult, 81
- early science, 115  
 Edom, 43, 45  
 Egypt, 119  
 Egyptian Jewish inscriptions, 159  
 Empedocles, 55
- encomia to rulers and governments, 55  
*Endzeit*, 162  
 enthronement, 105  
 Ephraim, 42  
 eschatological actions of God, 86  
 eschatological and messianic beliefs, 50, 160, 175  
 eschatological and messianic imagery, 146  
 eschatological banquet, 63  
 eschatological battle against Gog and Magog, 120  
 eschatological consummation, 65  
 eschatological expectation, 61, 152  
 eschatological faith, 135  
 eschatological hope, 160, 168  
 eschatological ideas, 159  
 eschatological interpretation, 46, 65, 83, 167  
 eschatological judgement, 60, 163  
 eschatological language, 107  
 eschatological leader, 139, 147  
 eschatological promises, 140  
 eschatological salvation, 64  
 eschatological saviour figure, 102  
 eschatological speculation, 121, 152  
 eschatological thought, 152  
 eschatologizing rendering, 52, 161  
 eschatology, 20, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 56, 139, 145, 146, 156, 159, 171  
 eschatology of the individual, 29, 30, 153  
 eschatology of the nation, 30  
 Essene community, 159  
 eternal death, 58, 156, 174  
 eternal life, 103, 151, 156  
 eternal salvation of the righteous, 58  
 eternal shepherd, 56  
 eternity, 55  
 exegesis of inclusive particles, 34, 41  
 exegetical concepts, 175  
 exegetical techniques, 41, 135  
 exodus from Egypt, 86  
 'exodus' from death, 90

- feast of Tabernacles, 133  
 feast of Weeks, 133  
 final judgement, 68  
 Finnish School of Septuagint  
   exegesis, 136  
 fortress Antonia, 38  
 free translation, 19  
 funerary monuments, 153  
 future hope, 61, 154, 156, 157,  
   174  
 future king, 73  
 future life, 71, 145
- Geisteswissenschaften*, 23  
 Gezerah Shavah, 41, 64, 99  
 Gilead, 42, 45  
 God's promise, 65  
 God's saving power, 111  
 God's work in Israelite history, 86  
 Gog 'apocalypse', 119  
 Gog, 119, 120, 121  
 Greek Pentateuch, 40  
*Grundschrift* of the Testaments of  
   the Twelve Patriarchs, 150, 154,  
   157
- Hades, 49, 61, 62, 155, 156, 157  
 Haggada, 58  
*Hallel*, 133  
 harmonizations, 134  
 Hasidim, 158  
 Hasmonaean dynasty, 28, 42, 45,  
   139  
 Hasmonaean Palestine, 175  
 Hasmonaean rulers, 150  
 Hasmonaeans, 28, 142  
 heavenly book, 63  
 heavenly existence of the saints,  
   105  
 Hebrew and ancient Oriental myth,  
   122  
 Hellenistic eschatology, 59  
 Hellenistic Jewish audience, 122  
 Hellenistic Jewish thought, 15  
 Hellenistic Jewish translators, 75  
 Hellenistic Judaism, 123  
 Hellenistic mythology, 122  
 Hellenistic world civilization, 27  
 Hellenization, 47, 160  
 Hellenization of Jewish life, 132  
 hermeneutical approach, 12  
 hermeneutical influence, 40  
 hermeneutical methods, 42, 157  
 hermeneutical principles, 23  
 hermeneutical techniques, 87, 134  
 hermeneutics, 25, 137, 175  
 hermeneutics of contemporary  
   Judaism, 52  
 Hesiod, 122  
 high priest, 147, 148  
 high priesthood, 141  
 Hillel, 91, 137  
 Hillel's seven *middoth*, 91  
 Hillel's seventh rule, 87  
 holy animals, 114  
 Homer, 55  
 hope for restoration, 43  
 'horns of the unicorns', 109  
 'horns of the wild bulls', 110  
 Hyrcanus I, 43, 44, 141
- idea of eternity, 55  
 Idumaeans, 43  
 immanent retribution, 47  
 immortality, 145, 161  
 immortality of the soul, 157, 163  
 inconsistency in translation, 87  
 India, 122  
 individual afterlife, 152, 153  
 individual eschatology, 157, 158,  
   159  
 individual resurrection, 56  
 individual salvation, 27, 29, 151,  
   152  
 individual survival, 153  
 inner-worldly retribution, 56  
 intellectual life of Hellenistic  
   Judaism, 19  
 intellectual movements, 30  
 'inter-testamental' Judaism, 5  
*interpretatio graeca*, 122, 143  
 interpretation, 23, 25  
 interpretative methods, 40  
 interpretative renditions, 64  
 interpretative translation, 78  
 Iran, 122  
 Irenaeus, 172  
 Isaac, 124  
 Israel's eternal restoration, 44

- Jacob, 66, 118  
 Jazer, 44  
 Jeroboam II, 81  
 Jerome, 36  
 Jerusalem, 113, 123, 129, 159  
 Jesus, 165, 166, 167, 168  
 Jewish biblical interpretation, 16  
 Jewish eschatology, 43, 44, 45  
 Jewish exegesis, 2, 46  
 Jewish exegetical tradition, 83  
 Jewish folklore, 119  
 Jewish Greek translators, 54  
 Jewish hermeneutics, 31  
 Jewish legends, 123  
 Jewish liturgy, 131  
 Jewish textual hermeneutics, 64  
 Job, 145  
 John Hyrcanus I, 141, 150, 151  
 Joseph, 112, 116  
 Josephus, 36, 48, 160  
 Judah, 43, 116, 144, 147, 148, 149, 151  
 Judas Aristobulos I, 143, 150, 151  
 Judas Maccabaeus, 44, 124, 125, 142, 150  
 judgement, 59  
 Justin Martyr, 172
- kaige*-texts, 39, 42  
 καίγε group, 34, 40  
 καίγε recension, 40, 41  
 king, 147, 148, 149  
 King Messiah, 44, 98, 143  
 King of Heaven, 154  
 kingship, 79, 82, 94, 142  
 Ktesias, 115
- last judgement, 29, 29, 46, 47, 104  
 law, 116  
 Letter of Aristeas, 9  
 Levi, 147, 148, 149, 151  
 Levites, 131, 132  
 lexicographers, 40  
 lexicographical methods, 42  
 literal translation, 19  
 literalist translation technique, 34  
 literary imagery, 104, 113  
 liturgical life, 175  
 liturgical superscriptions, 129, 131  
 liturgy, 175  
 liturgy of the temple and of the synagogue, 133  
 Luke, 165, 166, 167, 169  
 lunar month, 123  
 Lycophron, 55
- Maccabaeian architecture, 153  
 Maccabaeian revolt, 47, 63, 158  
 Maccabaeian times, 29  
 Maccabaeian Wars, 161  
 Magog, 120  
 Manasseh, 42, 45  
 martyrdom, 153  
 Massoretic Text, 10, 13  
 Mattathias, 158  
 Medaba, 43, 44  
 mediation at creation, 171  
 Melchizedek, 129  
 Meribah, 86  
 Mesopotamia, 114, 123  
 Messiah, 53, 74, 75, 93, 98, 107, 117, 119, 121, 142, 162, 163, 164, 166, 167, 168, 172  
 Messiah as an angelic, pre-existent being, 103  
 Messiah ben Joseph, 120, 149, 164  
 Messiah, kingdom of, 119  
 Messiah, pre-existence of, 129, 163, 164  
 messianic age, 53, 75, 120, 139  
 messianic and eschatological doctrines, 158  
 messianic and eschatological imagery, 150  
 messianic and sapiential concepts, 170  
 messianic beliefs, 126, 140  
 messianic exegesis, 73  
 messianic expectation, 129, 150  
 messianic figure, 29, 84, 93, 113, 172  
 messianic hope, 26, 27, 29, 149, 151, 152  
 messianic hymn, 75  
 messianic idea, 25, 29  
 messianic imagery, 76, 88, 90  
 messianic interpretation, 76, 83, 84, 116, 142, 170

- messianic judgement, 106, 107, 165  
 messianic king, 79, 94, 106, 148, 149, 151  
 messianic kingdom, 56, 145, 151, 154  
 messianic kingship, 149, 169  
 messianic language, 126  
 messianic leader, 148  
 messianic metaphor, 164  
 messianic oracle, 142  
 messianic pre-existence, 96  
 messianic psalms, 75, 168, 169  
 messianic rule, 75, 168  
 messianic ruler, 83, 117  
 messianic saviour figure, 92, 104, 118  
 messianic Septuagint psalms, 170  
 messianic speculation, 129, 137, 140  
 messianic texts, 116, 121, 124, 168  
 messianic texts in the Septuagint, 117  
 messianic thought, 99  
 messianic titles, 93, 142  
 messianism, 20, 27, 29, 30, 56, 126, 141, 142, 151, 159  
 messianization, 98, 126  
 messianization of Old Testament texts, 117  
 messianized Septuagint passages, 121  
 messianology, 171  
 meta-history, 162, 163  
 metre, 54  
 metrical poetry, 54  
*meturgeman*, 95  
*middoth*, 87, 137  
 midrash-type exegesis, 24, 69, 70, 91  
 midrashic interpretation, 63  
 Midrashim, 46  
 military action, 92  
 Moab, 43, 44, 45, 150, 151  
 moon god, 114  
 morning star, 102  
 'morning' motif, 62  
 Moses, 86  
 Moses' blessing over Joseph, 111  
 Mount Gerizim, 43  
 Murabba'at, 11  
 mythical motifs, 122  
 mythological concepts, 162  
 mythological imagery, 164  
 mythological motifs, 143  
 mythological thought-forms, 142  
 mythology, 115, 122, 175  
  
 Nahal Hever, 9, 10  
 name of the Messiah, 94, 163  
 national-conservative circles, 159  
 national hope for resurrection, 56  
 national liberation, 27, 142  
 national restoration, 139  
 nationalistic feeling, 28  
 neologisms, 40  
 nether world, 72  
 network of messianic texts, 121  
 new moon, 123  
  
 official religion, 82  
 optional interpretations, 24  
 oracle, 121, 142  
 oral and literary transmission, 12  
 oral Greek translations, 7  
 Origen, 172  
 Orphic fragments, 124  
 Orphic poetry, 122  
  
 pagan civilization, 142  
 pagan ideology, 82  
 Palestine, 122  
 Palestinian exegesis, 35  
 Palestinian Greek, 35  
 Palestinian origin of the Greek Psalter, 34, 35, 39, 40, 45  
 Palestinian recension, 34  
 Palestinian text-type, 34  
 paradise, 158  
 paratextual factors, 22  
 Patriarchs, 144, 145  
 patricians, 159  
 Paul, 168, 170, 171, 173  
 Pauline christology, 170  
 Pauline concept of pre-existence, 170  
 Pentateuch, 20, 78, 84, 88, 121, 126, 144  
 pentecostal sermon, 167

- Pergamon, 82  
 personal afterlife, 47, 53, 68  
 personal eschatology, 59, 72  
 personal religion, 28  
 personal salvation, 28, 29, 56, 152, 161  
 Peter, 165, 167  
 Pharisaic Judaism, 28  
 Pharisaic milieu, 39  
 Pharisaic recension, 161  
 Pharisaic theology, 164  
 Pharisaism, 64  
 Pharisees, 160, 168  
 Philistia, 43  
 Philo, 157  
 philological method, 17  
 physical resurrection, 49, 50  
 Pindar, 55  
 political and social climate, 158  
 political liberation, 29  
 political life of Hellenistic Judaism, 19  
 political messianism, 142  
 portents, 53  
 pre-existence, 163, 171, 173  
 pre-existence of Christ, 170, 172, 173  
 pre-existence of the Messiah's name, 93, 95, 163  
 pre-existence of the name of the messianic Son of Man, 96, 104  
 pre-existent messianic figure, 129, 140, 169, 171, 175  
 priestly and Levitical courses, 132  
 priestly circles, 127, 129, 159  
 priestly kingship, 129, 142  
 priestly Messiah, 130, 140, 141  
 priestly office, 141  
 priestly party, 159  
 priestly saviour figure, 148  
 priests, 132  
 primitive Christianity, 20  
 'Prince of Peace', 143  
 Proclus, 122  
 proof-texts, 135, 167, 168, 169  
 prophetic corpus, 140  
 prophetic office, 141  
 prophets, 47, 139  
 proto-Massoretic Hebrew text, 10  
 proto-Pharisaic circles, 47  
 proto-Pharisaic exegetical tradition, 65  
 proto-Pharisaic groups, 158  
 proto-Pharisaic theology, 20, 164, 175  
 proto-Pharisaic thought, 48  
 proto-Pharisees, 59, 130  
 proto-rabbinic exegesis, 176  
 proto-rabbinic exegetical methods, 22, 41, 42, 45, 64  
 proto-rabbinic hermeneutical rules, 88  
 proto-rabbinic hermeneutics, 42, 91  
 protology and eschatology, 104, 106, 171  
 psalm of judgement, 90  
 Ptolemaic Egypt, 35, 45, 82  
 Ptolemaic language, 82  
 Pythagoreanism, 28  
  
 Q source, 165  
 Quinta of Psalms, 42  
 Qumran, 11  
  
 R. Eliezer, 137  
 R. Hanan b. Tahlipha, 120  
 R. Ishmael, 137  
 rabbinic belief in resurrection, 50  
 rabbinic exegesis, 40, 175, 176  
 rabbinic writers, 59  
 rebuilding of the temple, 129  
 redeemer, 82  
 rejection of eschatological hope, 159  
 religious individualism, 28  
 religious life of Hellenistic Judaism, 19  
 religious symbolism, 115  
 religious universalism, 29, 138  
 remythologization, 162, 164  
*restitutio in integrum*, 104  
 resurrection, 29, 46, 144, 145, 146, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 161, 165, 169, 174  
 resurrection of Christ, 167  
 resurrection of the wicked, 59, 70  
 resurrection theology, 146  
 return from the Babylonian exile, 86

- revision of the Old Greek text, 8  
 'rising star of Jacob', 142  
 role of the Septuagint in worship,  
   68  
 royal 'insignia' of the wild bull's  
   horns, 114  
 royal office, 141  
 royal power, 114  
 royal psalm, 72, 75  
 royalty, 56  
 ruler-worship, 81, 82
- Sabbath psalms, 132  
 sacrifice, 123  
 saints, 104  
 saints as heavenly bodies, 103  
 salvation, 166, 171  
 Samaritans, 43  
 Sargonids, 114  
 Saul, 121  
 saviour, heavenly provenance of,  
   102  
 saviour figure, 104  
 saviour priest, 148, 149, 151  
 scenes of judgement, 107  
 sceptre, 84, 107  
 'Scribes of the Pharisees', 64  
*scriptura sui ipsius interpres*, 134  
 scriptural interpretation, 168  
 Scroll of the Twelve Prophets, 9  
 Seleucid kingdom, 82  
 Septuagint hermeneutics, 20  
 Septuagint of Job, 102  
 Septuagint Pentateuch as the  
   standard text for later translators,  
   84  
 Septuagint *Urschrift*, 14  
*Septuaginta-Frömmigkeit*, 2  
 Septuagintal theology, 126  
 sepulchral memorials, 153  
 Shekem, 43  
 Sheol, 60, 72, 153, 157  
 Shiloh, 113  
 Solomon, 74  
 Son of Man, 97, 98, 104, 142,  
   169, 175  
 Son of Man imagery, 143  
 soul, 29, 110, 157, 160  
 spirit, 118  
 spoils, 90
- standardization of terms, 32  
 Stoicism, 28  
 Stoics, 29  
 experience, 28  
 Succoth, 42  
 suffering, 63, 151, 153, 156  
 sufferings of the righteous, 47  
 'sun of righteousness', 118  
 Symmachus, 40  
 synagogal worship, 3  
 synagogues, 132  
 Syria, 38  
 Syro-Palestinian cultural area, 38
- Targums, 7, 46  
 temple, 20, 31, 112, 127, 133,  
   140, 141, 175  
 temple and synagogue liturgies, 133  
 temple service, 131, 132  
 territorial expansion of Israel, 139  
 Tertullian, 125, 172, 173  
*testimonium*, 167  
 textual history, 16  
 textual transmission, 21  
*textus receptus*, 9  
 Theodotion, 40  
 theological exegesis, 24, 54, 58,  
   136  
 theological innovations, 19, 41  
 tendentious interpretation, 54  
 theophany, 92  
 transcendent messianic figure, 140,  
   141, 142, 143  
 Transjordan, 43  
 translation technique, 14, 16, 17,  
   19, 20, 25, 31, 33, 35  
 'true prophet', 139, 140  
 'two-way theology', 146
- 'unicorn', 108, 111, 112, 123  
 unicorn imagery, 113, 116, 117,  
   119, 121, 122, 124, 125, 126,  
   142, 143  
 unity of scripture, 136  
 universal resurrection, 154  
*Urschrift*, 12  
*Urzeit*, 162
- Venus, 104

Vetus Latina, 131  
visions, 158

weekday psalms, 132  
wisdom, 73, 74, 171  
wisdom literature, 47  
wisdom psalm, 47  
wisdom tradition, 171

'World to Come', 46  
worship, 20  
worship of the early Church, 19

Zebulon, 144  
Zion, 100, 113, 143  
Zion as mother, 100, 101

# Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

## *Alphabetical Index of the first and second series*

- Appold, Mark L.*: The Oneness Motif in the Fourth Gospel. 1976. *Volume III/1*.
- Bachmann, Michael*: Sünder oder Übertreter. 1991. *Volume 59*.
- Baker, William R.*: Personal Speech-Ethics. 1995. *Volume II/68*.
- Bammel, Ernst*: Judaica. 1986. *Volume 37*.
- Bauernfeind, Otto*: Kommentar und Studien zur Apostelgeschichte. 1980. *Volume 22*.
- Bayer, Hans Friedrich*: Jesus' Predictions of Vindication and Resurrection. 1986. *Volume III/20*.
- Betz, Otto*: Jesus, der Messias Israels. 1987. *Volume 42*.  
– Jesus, der Herr der Kirche. 1990. *Volume 52*.
- Beyschlag, Karlmann*: Simon Magnus und die christliche Gnosis. 1974. *Volume 16*.
- Bittner, Wolfgang J.*: Jesu Zeichen im Johannesevangelium. 1987. *Volume II/26*.
- Bjerkelund, Carl J.*: Tauta Egeneto. 1987. *Volume 40*.
- Blackburn, Barry Lee*: 'Theios Anēr' and the Markan Miracle Traditions. 1991. *Volume III/40*.
- Bockmuehl, Markus N. A.*: Revelation and Mystery in Ancient Judaism and Pauline Christianity. 1990. *Volume III/36*.
- Böhlig, Alexander*: Gnosis und Synkretismus. Part 1. 1989. *Volume 47* – Part 2. 1989. *Volume 48*.
- Böttlich, Christfried*: Weltweisheit – Menschheitsethik – Urkult. 1992. *Volume III/50*.
- Büchli, Jörg*: Der Poimandres – ein paganisiertes Evangelium. 1987. *Volume II/27*.
- Bühner, Jan A.*: Der Gesandte und sein Weg im 4. Evangelium. 1977. *Volume II/2*.
- Burchard, Christoph*: Untersuchungen zu Joseph und Aseneth. 1965. *Volume 8*.
- Cancik, Hubert* (Ed.): Markus-Philologie. 1984. *Volume 33*.
- Capes, David B.*: Old Testament Yaweh Texts in Paul's Christology. 1992. *Volume III/47*.
- Caragounis, Chrys C.*: The Son of Man. 1986. *Volume 38*.  
– see *Fridrichsen*.
- Carleton Paget, James*: The Epistle of Barnabas. 1994. *Volume II/64*.
- Crump, David*: Jesus the Intercessor. 1992. *Volume III/49*.
- Deines, Roland*: Jüdische Steingefäße und pharisäische Frömmigkeit. 1993. *Volume II/52*.
- Dobbeler, Axel von*: Glaube als Teilhabe. 1987. *Volume III/22*.
- Dunn, James D. G.* (Ed.): Jews and Christians. 1992. *Volume 66*.
- Ebertz, Michael N.*: Das Charisma des Gekreuzigten. 1987. *Volume 45*.
- Eckstein, Hans-Joachim*: Der Begriff der Synecdesis bei Paulus. 1983. *Volume III/10*.
- Ego, Beate*: Im Himmel wie auf Erden. 1989. *Volume III/34*.
- Ellis, E. Earle*: Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity. 1978. *Volume 18*.  
– The Old Testament in Early Christianity. 1991. *Volume 54*.
- Ennulat, Andreas*: Die Minor Agreements. 1994. *Volume III/62*.
- Feldmeier, Reinhard*: Die Krisis des Gottessohnes. 1987. *Volume III/21*.  
– Die Christen als Fremde. 1992. *Volume 64*.
- Feldmeier, Reinhard* and *Ulrich Heckel* (Ed.): Die Heiden. 1994. *Volume 70*.
- Forbes, Christopher Brian*: Prophecy and Inspired Speech in Early Christianity and its Hellenistic Environment. 1995. *Volume III/75*.
- Fornberg, Tord*: see *Fridrichsen*.
- Fossum, Jarl E.*: The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord. 1985. *Volume 36*.
- Fridrichsen, Anton*: Exegetical Writings. Ed. by C. C. Caragounis and T. Fornberg. 1994. *Volume 76*.
- Garlington, Don B.*: The Obedience of Faith. 1991. *Volume III/38*.  
– Faith, Obedience and Perseverance. 1994. *Volume 79*.
- Garnet, Paul*: Salvation and Atonement in the Qumran Scrolls. 1977. *Volume II/3*.
- Grässer, Erich*: Der Alte Bund im Neuen. 1985. *Volume 35*.
- Green, Joel B.*: The Death of Jesus. 1988. *Volume II/33*.
- Gundry Volf, Judith M.*: Paul and Perseverance. 1990. *Volume III/37*.
- Hafemann, Scott J.*: Suffering and the Spirit. 1986. *Volume II/19*.  
– Paul, Moses, and the History of Israel. 1995. *Volume 81*.
- Heckel, Theo K.*: Der Innere Mensch. 1993. *Volume II/53*.
- Heckel, Ulrich*: Kraft in Schwachheit. 1993. *Volume III/56*.  
– see *Feldmeier*.  
– see *Hengel*.



- Heiligenthal, Roman*: Werke als Zeichen. 1983. *Volume II/9*.  
*Hemer, Colin J.*: The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History. 1989. *Volume 49*.  
*Hengel, Martin*: Judentum und Hellenismus. 1969, <sup>3</sup>1988. *Volume 10*.  
 – Die johanneische Frage. 1993. *Volume 67*.  
*Hengel, Martin and Ulrich Heckel* (Ed.): Paulus und das antike Judentum. 1991. *Volume 58*.  
*Hengel, Martin and Hermut Löhr* (Ed.): Schriftauslegung. 1994. *Volume 73*.  
*Hengel, Martin and Anna Maria Schwemer* (Ed.): Königsherrschaft Gottes und himmlischer Kult. 1991. *Volume 55*.  
 – Die Septuaginta. 1994. *Volume 72*.  
*Herrenbrück, Fritz*: Jesus und die Zöllner. 1990. *Volume II/41*.  
*Hofius, Otfried*: Katapausis. 1970. *Volume 11*.  
 – Der Vorhang vor dem Thron Gottes. 1972. *Volume 14*.  
 – Der Christushymnus Philipper 2,6–11. 1976, <sup>2</sup>1991. *Volume 17*.  
 – Paulusstudien. 1989, <sup>2</sup>1994. *Volume 51*.  
*Holtz, Traugott*: Geschichte und Theologie des Urchristentums. Ed. by Eckart Reinmuth and Christian Wolff. 1991. *Volume 57*.  
*Hommel, Hildebrecht*: Sebasmata. Volume 1. 1983. *Volume 31*. – Volume 2. 1984. *Volume 32*.  
*Kähler, Christoph*: Jesu Gleichnisse als Poesie und Therapie. 1995. *Volume 78*.  
*Kamlah, Ehrhard*: Die Form der katalogischen Paränese im Neuen Testament. 1964. *Volume 7*.  
*Kim, Seyoon*: The Origin of Paul's Gospel. 1981, <sup>2</sup>1984. *Volume III/4*.  
 – »The »Son of Man« as the Son of God. 1983. *Volume 30*.  
*Kleinknecht, Karl Th.*: Der leidende Gerechtfertigte. 1984, <sup>2</sup>1988. *Volume III/13*.  
*Klinghardt, Matthias*: Gesetz und Volk Gottes. 1988. *Volume III/32*.  
*Köhler, Wolf-Dietrich*: Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums in der Zeit vor Irenäus. 1987. *Volume II/24*.  
*Korn, Manfred*: Die Geschichte Jesu in veränderter Zeit. 1993. *Volume II/51*.  
*Koskenniemi, Erkki*: Apollonios von Tyana in der neutestamentlichen Exegese. 1994. *Volume III/61*.  
*Kraus, Wolfgang*: Das Volk Gottes. 1995. *Volume 85*.  
*Kuhn, Karl G.*: Achtzehngebet und Vaterunser und der Reim. 1950. *Volume 1*.  
*Lampe, Peter*: Die stadtrömischen Christen in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten. 1987, <sup>2</sup>1989. *Volume III/18*.  
*Lieu, Samuel N. C.*: Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China. 1992. *Volume 63*.  
*Löhr, Hermut*: see *Hengel*.  
*Löhr, Winrich A.*: Basilides und seine Schule. 1995. *Volume 83*.  
*Maier, Gerhard*: Mensch und freier Wille. 1971. *Volume 12*.  
 – Die Johannesoffenbarung und die Kirche. 1981. *Volume 25*.  
*Markschies, Christoph*: Valentinus Gnosticus? 1992. *Volume 65*.  
*Marshall, Peter*: Enmity in Corinth: Social Conventions in Paul's Relations with the Corinthians. 1987. *Volume II/23*.  
*Meade, David G.*: Pseudonymity and Canon. 1986. *Volume 39*.  
*Meadors, Edward P.*: Jesus the Messianic Herald of Salvation. 1995. *Volume III/72*.  
*Mell, Ulrich*: Die »anderen« Winzer. 1994. *Volume 77*.  
*Mengel, Berthold*: Studien zum Philipperbrief. 1982. *Volume III/8*.  
*Merkel, Helmut*: Die Widersprüche zwischen den Evangelien. 1971. *Volume 13*.  
*Merklein, Helmut*: Studien zu Jesus und Paulus. 1987. *Volume 43*.  
*Metzler, Karin*: Der griechische Begriff des Verzeihens. 1991. *Volume II/44*.  
*Metzner, Rainer*: Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums im 1. Petrusbrief. 1995. *Volume III/74*.  
*Niebuhr, Karl-Wilhelm*: Gesetz und Paränese. 1987. *Volume II/28*.  
 – Heidenapostel aus Israel. 1992. *Volume 63*.  
*Nissen, Andreas*: Gott und der Nächste im antiken Judentum. 1974. *Volume 15*.  
*Noormann, Rolf*: Irenäus als Paulusinterpret. 1994. *Volume II/66*.  
*Okure, Teresa*: The Johannine Approach to Mission. 1988. *Volume III/31*.  
*Philonenko, Marc* (Ed.): Le Trône de Dieu. 1993. *Volume 69*.  
*Pilhofer, Peter*: Presbyteron Kreiton. 1990. *Volume III/39*.  
*Pöhlmann, Wolfgang*: Der Verlorene Sohn und das Haus. 1993. *Volume 68*.  
*Probst, Hermann*: Paulus und der Brief. 1991. *Volume III/45*.  
*Räsänen, Heikki*: Paul and the Law. 1983, <sup>2</sup>1987. *Volume 29*.  
*Rehkopf, Friedrich*: Die lukanische Sonderquelle. 1959. *Volume 5*.  
*Rein, Matthias*: Die Heilung des Blindgeborenen. (Joh 9). 1995. *Volume III/73*.  
*Reinmuth, Eckart*: Pseudo-Philo und Lukas. 1994. *Volume 74*.  
 – see *Holtz*.

- Reiser, Marius: Syntax und Stil des Markusevangeliums. 1984. *Volume III/11*.
- Richards, E. Randolph: The Secretary in the Letters of Paul. 1991. *Volume III/42*.
- Riesner, Rainer: Jesus als Lehrer. 1981, <sup>3</sup>1988. *Volume III/7*.  
– Die Frühzeit des Apostels Paulus. 1994. *Volume 71*.
- Rissi, Mathias: Die Theologie des Hebräerbriefs. 1987. *Volume 41*.
- Röhser, Günter: Metaphorik und Personifikation der Sünde. 1987. *Volume III/25*.
- Rose, Christian: Die Wolke der Zeugen. 1994. *Volume III/60*.
- Rüger, Hans Peter: Die Weisheitsschrift aus der Kairoer Geniza. 1991. *Volume 53*.
- Salzmann, Jörg Christian: Lehren und Ermahnen. 1994. *Volume III/59*.
- Sänger, Dieter: Antikes Judentum und die Mysterien. 1980. *Volume III/5*.  
– Die Verkündigung des Gekreuzigten und Israel. 1994. *Volume 75*.
- Sandnes, Karl Olav: Paul – One of the Prophets? 1991. *Volume III/43*.
- Sato, Migaku: Q und Prophetie. 1988. *Volume III/29*.
- Schaper, Joachim: Eschatology in the Greek Psalter. 1995. *Volume III/76*.
- Schimanowski, Gottfried: Weisheit und Messias. 1985. *Volume III/17*.
- Schlichting, Günter: Ein jüdisches Leben Jesu. 1982. *Volume 24*.
- Schnabel, Eckhard J.: Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul. 1985. *Volume III/16*.
- Schutter, William L.: Hermeneutic and Composition in I Peter. 1989. *Volume III/30*.
- Schwartz, Daniel R.: Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity. 1992. *Volume 60*.
- Schwemer, A. M.: see Hengel.
- Scott, James M.: Adoption as Sons of God. 1992. *Volume III/48*.  
– Paul and the Nations. 1995. *Volume 84*.
- Siegert, Folker: Drei hellenistisch-jüdische Predigten. Part 1. 1980. *Volume 20*. – Part 2. 1992. *Volume 61*.  
– Nag-Hammadi-Register. 1982. *Volume 26*.  
– Argumentation bei Paulus. 1985. *Volume 34*.  
– Philon von Alexandrien. 1988. *Volume 46*.
- Simon, Marcel: Le christianisme antique et son contexte religieux I/II. 1981. *Volume 23*.
- Snodgrass, Klyne: The Parable of the Wicked Tenants. 1983. *Volume 27*.
- Söding, Thomas: see Thüsing.
- Sommer, Urs: Die Passionsgeschichte des Markusevangeliums. 1993. *Volume III/58*.
- Spangenberg, Volker: Herrlichkeit des Neuen Bundes. 1993. *Volume III/55*.
- Speyer, Wolfgang: Frühes Christentum im antiken Strahlungsfeld. 1989. *Volume 50*.
- Stadelmann, Helge: Ben Sira als Schriftgelehrter. 1980. *Volume III/6*.
- Strobel, August: Die Stunde der Wahrheit. 1980. *Volume 21*.
- Stuckenbruck, Loren: Angel Veneration and Christology. 1995. *Volume III/70*.
- Stuhlmacher, Peter (Ed.): Das Evangelium und die Evangelien. 1983. *Volume 28*.
- Sung, Chong-Hyon: Vergebung der Sünden. 1993. *Volume III/57*.
- Tajra, Harry W.: The Trial of St. Paul. 1989. *Volume III/35*.  
– The Martyrdom of St. Paul. 1994. *Volume III/67*.
- Theissen, Gerd: Studien zur Soziologie des Urchristentums. 1979, <sup>3</sup>1989. *Volume 19*.
- Thornton, Claus-Jürgen: Der Zeuge des Zeugen. 1991. *Volume 56*.
- Thüsing, Wilhelm: Studien zur neutestamentlichen Theologie. Ed. by Thomas Söding. 1995. *Volume 82*.
- Twelftree, Graham: Jesus the Exorcist. 1993. *Volume III/54*.
- Visotzky, Burton L.: Fathers of the World. 1995. *Volume 80*.
- Wagener, Ulrike: Die Ordnung des ›Hauses Gottes‹. 1994. *Volume III/65*.
- Wedderburn, A. J. M.: Baptism and Resurrection. 1987. *Volume 44*.
- Wegner, Uwe: Der Hauptmann von Kafarnaum. 1985. *Volume III/14*.
- Welck, Christian: Erzählte ›Zeichen‹. 1994. *Volume III/69*.
- Wilson, Walter T.: Love without Pretense. 1991. *Volume III/46*.
- Wolff, Christian: see Holtz.
- Zimmermann, Alfred E.: Die urchristlichen Lehrer. 1984, <sup>2</sup>1988. *Volume III/12*.

For a complete catalogue please write to the publisher  
J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), P. O. Box 2040, D-72010 Tübingen.