

Prophecy and Hellenism

Edited by
HANNES BEZZEL
and STEFAN PFEIFFER

*Forschungen
zum Alten Testament 2. Reihe
129*

Mohr Siebeck

Forschungen zum Alten Testament
2. Reihe

Edited by

Konrad Schmid (Zürich) · Mark S. Smith (Princeton)
Hermann Spieckermann (Göttingen) · Andrew Teeter (Harvard)

129



Prophecy and Hellenism

Edited by

Hannes Bezzel and Stefan Pfeiffer

Mohr Siebeck

Hannes Bezzel, born 1975; 2007 Dr. theol.; 2010 Juniorprofessor of Old Testament at Friedrich Schiller University Jena; 2014 Habilitation; since 2015 Professor of Old Testament at Friedrich Schiller University Jena.

orcid.org/0000-0002-2117-4005

Stefan Pfeiffer, born 1974; 2004 Dr. phil.; 2007 Habilitation; 2010 Professor of Antiquity and Europe at Chemnitz University of Technology; since 2013 Professor of Ancient History at Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg.

orcid.org/0000-0003-3739-5184

ISBN 978-3-16-156532-8 / eISBN 978-3-16-160683-0

DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-160683-0

ISSN 1611-4914 / eISSN 2568-8367 (Forschungen zum Alten Testament, 2. Reihe)

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

© 2021 Mohr Siebeck Tübingen. www.mohrsiebeck.com

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

The book was typeset by epline in Böblingen using Minion typeface, printed on non-aging paper by Laupp & Göbel in Gomaringen, and bound by Buchbinderei Nädle in Nehren.

Printed in Germany.

Preface

This volume contains some of the papers read at the 6th meeting of the Aberdeen Prophecy Network. The meeting was held as an interdisciplinary symposium from 18th to 19th June 2018 at the Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena in cooperation with the Chair for Ancient History at the Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg and under the auspices of the network “Forum for the Study of the Global Condition”.

We look gratefully back on those two days of intense scholarly discussion in a collegial and amicable atmosphere – and we look hopefully forward to the days when it will be possible to meet again not only digitally but in real life.

Unfortunately, the book has become less voluminous than we had planned it. Not all participants of the symposium were able to hand in their paper for publication, and therefore important aspects of our topic, such as prophecy in the Dead Sea Scrolls, which were a significant part of our discussion are not represented. Hence one might argue that the book cannot keep what its ambitious title “Prophecy and Hellenism” promises. But, in any case, a volume presenting collected essays would never claim to exhaust a subject. Its purpose is rather to address certain aspects of it and to stimulate further discussion and research – in our case across the borders of some of the disciplines dealing with the Eastern Mediterranean cultural sphere.

At the same time, the contributions to this volume illustrate how important it is for scholarly exchange – between the relevant disciplines and beyond – to know and to meet each other not only in writing or digitally but also physically, in the context of an 8th prophecy network meeting or at other occasions, whenever this will be possible again.

Our gratitude goes to the publishers of Mohr Siebeck, especially Tobias Stähler and Tobias Weiß, for their patience, and the editors of the series FAT for accepting our manuscript, to Dr. Sarah Köhler for the perfect preparation and coordination of the Jena meeting, to Simon Büchner and Dr. André Zempelburg for their editorial work with this book, and to Martina-Britta Boltres and Julius Sperling for preparing the indices. Our dear friend and esteemed colleague Prof. Dr. Paul Keim (Goshen/IN) made every effort to make the English articles written by non-native speakers understandable and readable. Of course, all remaining mistakes and linguistic oddities, especially in this Preface and in the Introduction, remain within the responsibility of the respective author and of the editors.

The meeting in Jena, and hence this publication, would not have been possible without the generous funding by the Forum for the Study of the Global Condition, the Ernst-Abbe-Foundation, and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG).

Erfurt/Halle, September 2020

Hannes Bezzel/Stefan Pfeiffer

Table of Contents

| | |
|---|-----|
| Preface | V |
| <i>Hannes Bezzel / Stefan Pfeiffer</i> | |
| Introduction | 1 |
| <i>Stefan Pfeiffer</i> | |
| Predictions on the Rise and Fall of Alexandria | 11 |
| <i>Meinolf Vielberg</i> | |
| Philosophy and Religion in Cicero's Dialogue <i>De Divinatione</i> | 33 |
| <i>A. Graeme Auld</i> | |
| 'Divination' in Hebrew and Greek Bibles: A Text-historical Overview | 55 |
| <i>Pancratius C. Beentjes</i> | |
| Ben Sira and his Grandson on Prophets and Prophecy | 69 |
| <i>Uwe Becker</i> | |
| Gibt es ein hellenistisches Jesajabuch? | 83 |
| <i>Andreas Schüle</i> | |
| Third Isaiah: What's so Greek about it? | 97 |
| <i>Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer</i> | |
| What can Isaiah 24–27, Ezekiel 38–39 and Zechariah 9–14 teach us about Late Persian/Early Hellenistic Scribal Practices? | 111 |
| <i>Hannes Bezzel</i> | |
| Prophecy Concerning 'Foreign Nations' in the Hellenistic Period? Zech 9 as a Test Case | 125 |
| <i>Corinna Körting</i> | |
| Is Malachi among the Prophets? | 141 |

Jutta Noetzel

Prophetie als inspirierte Schriftauslegung: Mal 2,10–16 –
eine Deutung der Jakobgeschichte im Kontext der Frage
interreligiöser Ehen 161

Joachim Schaper

The Collective Rule of the Righteous in Hellenistic Jewish Prophecy 177

List of Contributors 185

Index of Ancient Sources 187

General Index 197

Introduction

Hannes Bezzel/Stefan Pfeiffer

When the Persian Empire was taken over by Alexander the Great, this meant in many respects a caesura for the societies and cultures in the Near and Middle East. Even though the Great Empire fell apart immediately after Alexander's premature death, his successors reigned as Macedonian kings over the Levant and Egypt (reflected in Dan 7). With this, a development took place which has been compared with modern-day globalisation:¹ It was a time of accelerated change and cultural exchange within the entire then known world between Gibraltar and the river Indus. It is with good reason that some ancient historians speak of this epoch as the age of modernity of the ancient world.²

With the Macedonian kings and the Greeks who had immigrated with them to the Levant constituting the upper class, Greek language and culture were a means and symbol of domination. As they were not exclusive but inclusive, both elements had a certain appeal to the ruled ethnicities. Becoming Greek meant social advancement, as Greekness had no ethnical implications any longer. At the same time the "Greeks" adapted themselves to the peoples they ruled. In the subjected peoples, the entire spectrum from resilience to acceptance, from aversion to adaptation of the Greek culture can be observed in the manifold cultural contacts. Without any doubt, some population groups perceived the Hellenistic dominance as suppression, especially when it was accompanied by economic pressure. The books of Maccabees are the best example for a stylisation of this resistance: Not everyone wanted to become "Greek". And yet: Although the Maccabees were completely antagonistic to Greek culture at the beginning, the books of Maccabees were written in Greek, and a sage like Philo in Roman times could call Greek "our language" (τὴν ἡμετέραν διάλεκτον).³

In addition, in the perception of at least some scribal elites in Yehud, Alexander's campaign and the Wars of the Diadochi must have meant the return of war after a relatively long period of peace. The Achaemenid Empire had been interpreted as a kind of "end of history", having brought about a kind of autonomy combined with small-scaled wealth and peace in the Levant. With the

¹ Cf. PITTS/VERSLUYS, *Globalisation*, 141–174; NEDERVEEN PIETERSE, *Globalization*; NEDERVEEN PIETERSE, *Periodizing Globalization*.

² Cf. e. g., MEISTER, *Hellenismus*, 7; see already DROYSEN, *Geschichte III*, xxi. See for a critical view on the concept: GEHRKE, *Alexander*.

³ *Congr.* 44.

return of destruction and chaos, new history-theological interpretations of the presence were needed.

In this context, a look at “prophecy” is interesting in several respects. Regarding the religio-historical phenomenon of divination, one may ask whether the deepened cultural contact led to a modification of the respective traditional concepts in the “Western” and “Eastern” societies alike: When an Egyptian, a Macedonian, and a Jewish citizen of Alexandria were speaking of *προφητεία*, did they mean the same thing? Can it be stated that under the conditions of the Hellenistic period, especially prophecy served as a catalyst for the development of ideas which – like “preadaptive advances”⁴ – much later became formative concepts within the narrative of a European history?

In concrete, the leading questions of our Jena symposium were the following four:

1) Regarding the growing corpora of prophetic literature and literature concerning prophets in the scriptures later to be known as the Hebrew Bible: which pieces were written in Hellenistic times – and why? Is there a change palpable in the conceptualisation of what a prophet or his ministry were supposed to be?

2) During the Persian period, a history-theological concept had been developed in Yehud which regarded the Persian kings as the divinely legitimated successors of the Davidic dynasty. This conceptualisation happened in direct reaction to those prophetic writings which had interpreted the Babylonian conquest and the destruction of Jerusalem as God’s punishment of Israel’s sins. Accordingly, Cyrus’ II takeover of Babylon and, whenever exactly this happened, the building of the second temple, were seen as a proof that the days of punishment were over and a time of salvation had come. With the return of massive war and destruction at the end of the 4th century, a reevaluation of this history-theological narrative was needed. How did prophetic circles cope with this challenge – and how did this coping change “prophecy” itself?

3) What was the result regarding prophecy when Near Eastern wisdom tradition and Greek philosophy would meet, for example in the work of Ben Sira?

4) Finally, what can be said about prophetic hermeneutics in Hellenistic times? Probably in the 2nd century BCE, the prophetic books of the later Bible were translated into Greek, most likely in the context of the Alexandrian Jewish community. What happened to the “prophetic” books when their respective assumed author is understood as a *προφήτης*? At the same time, in Palestine, the community which is commonly associated with the site of Khirbet Qumran,

⁴ As far as we know, the term “preadaptive advance” was minted in social science by ADAMS, *Evolution*, in 1966 and has been widely used in the context of *Systemtheorie*. The application to our subject was stimulated by Hartmut Leppin’s lecture on the XVI. Europäischer Kongress für Theologie, Wien 2017, who used it in order to describe aspects of “modernity” to be recognised in pre-Constantinian Christianity, cf. LEPPIN, *Christentum*, 55 f.

develops – in Hebrew – a new way of reading scriptures that are regarded as authoritative, among them the later prophetic books. Their actualising interpretation no longer takes place in marginal or interlinear glosses alone but is manifested by means of a new literary genre: the commentary on scripture, called *peshar*. One might ask in which way this invention of a group which with some right may be called anti-hellenistic, in itself is a child of Hellenism, and compare its techniques with, for example, the Alexandrian hermeneutics.⁵

According to the interdisciplinary approach, the conceptions of “prophecy” underlying the respective papers appeared to be slightly but not completely different.

From the point of view of Ancient History or Classic Philology, the term “prophecy”, used in a general sense, is a cover term for various kinds of future prediction, be it based on material signs or visions. This prediction can be made with the help of professional interpreters of signs and visions as well as on the basis of one’s own knowledge and estimation. The first two contributions to this volume do not deal with biblical prophecy but with predictions of the future – *Zukunftsvorhersagen* in German – in the Graeco-Roman world, taking Alexandria and Rome as starting points.

Stefan Pfeiffer uses the example of the Hellenistic world metropolis Alexandria to investigate how the Greeks, Egyptians and Jews/Judeans living in Egypt dealt with the fact of the power of the Ptolemaic dynasty and its capital, which was incredibly rich by ancient standards. The predictions about Alexandria are both positive and negative visions about its future, each of which can be explained by its historical context and the relationship of the ethnic group in question to its social environment.

The Greek visions about Alexandria all concern its foundation and predict the wealth of the city. They are *vaticinia ex eventu*. This is also true with regard to a positive Egyptian vision. However, this positive Egyptian view on Alexandria is countered by an Egyptian prophecy about the decline of Alexandria: the “oracle of the potter”. A prophecy that is to be explained by the dealing with a situation of oppression of the Egyptian population in Hellenistic time. It articulates the hope for a new “messianic” pharaoh. Just as there are two views of Alexandria among the Egyptians that are expressed in prophecies, so it is the case with Jews. In their case, too, the positive and negative prophecy can both be explained by the political and social situation in which Jews found themselves. The positive view

⁵ As noted above, the topic of “Prophecy at Qumran”, though discussed at our meeting on the basis of an excellent paper by Shani Tzoref, unfortunately is absent to this book. But see KRATZ, Text and Commentary, with the thesis that “the *pesharim* of Qumran [...] should be considered further evidence of the fact that the ‘Hellenization’ of Judaism did not exclude even the harshest opponents of the Greek spirit” (229). About the lines connecting the *pesharim* with Ancient Near Eastern divinatory practice, see also NISSINEN, Pesharim as Divination; NISSINEN, Oracles at Qumran.

arose under the good conditions for Jews under Ptolemaic rule, the negative view in the context of the very considerable conflicts between Jews and Greek citizens of Alexandria in the first century CE.

In sum, the common denominator of the Greek, Egyptian and Jewish predictions is above all that they all deal with the city's population, wealth, and prosperity. On a formal level, the visions also have in common that they are re-interpreted texts with different layers and adapted to new historical situations. The predictions can either represent *vaticinia ex eventu*, or, in the Egyptian and Jewish case, they can give hope for a change of circumstances in the near future out of a present need. However, both the Egyptian and Jewish prophecies of Alexandria's downfall are not texts calling for political action but rather texts of hope.

As far as Rome is concerned, it can be said that in the Hellenistic period there was a lively and varied exchange with Greek philosophy and religion, and thus also with the tradition of interpreting omens. In Cicero's works the Stoic philosopher Chrysipp defines divination as follows: "The power to see, understand, and explain premonitory signs given to men by the gods" (*Div.* 2.130). One may state that this definition includes both the Greek and the Roman view. The interpretation of the future itself played a decisive role in Roman politics, for no state action could be taken without consulting the gods by asking for omens. For this reason, the interpretation of *prodigia* and *omina* was in the hands of specialised priesthoods.

From a classical-philological point of view, Meinolf Vielberg deals with the relationship between prophecy and religion in the work "concerning divination" (*De Divinatione*), which Cicero wrote between 45 and 44 BCE, i. e., at a time when he may have been influenced by the murder of Caesar and his neglect of the omens foretelling his death. At this time, Cicero was already a member of the priesthood of diviners, so that he was formally involved in interpreting the future on behalf of the Roman state. His work on divination consists of two books and is structured as a dialogue between Marcus, who is to be considered as Cicero's alter ego, and his brother Quintus. Both protagonists are concerned with the question of whether divination works or not. Marcus appears as a representative of the philosophical school of academic scepticism and opposes divination, whereas Quintus defends it.

The special thing about this dialogue is that Cicero, although himself part of a prophesying and thus state-bearing priesthood, lets his alter ego speak against the art of divination. However, in Marcus' eyes, the ancient Roman art of fortune-telling is at least justified, for the sake of the state and of piety in general. It is therefore part of the *religio*, even if it does not really lead to "perceivings".

Using four examples from the dialogue of both protagonists, Vielberg first shows that the philosophical dispute is balanced and that both sides make good arguments for and against divination. The philosophical dialogue thus has an

open outcome, so that in the end, it does not show a clear view on the subject of divination: it is an open-ended discussion, which in itself was a new kind of dialogue in philosophy of these times, as Vielberg furthermore shows in a review of the history of ancient philosophy up to Cicero's time. In this way, the author makes it clear that Cicero himself deals with the new Greek currents that came to Rome (doctrines of the Epicureans, Stoics and Peripatetics) and how he wants to offer his readers a free choice between them.

From an Old Testament/Hebrew Bible point of view, at first glance, the combination "prophecy and Hellenism" seems to be a *contradictio in adiecto*: The tradition of the Tosefta and the Talmud has it that the prophetic spirit ceased with Malachi who used to be dated to the days of Ezra and Nehemiah, i. e., in the 5th century BCE (*t. Soṭah* 13:4; *b. Yoma* 9b; *b. Sanh.* 11a).⁶ Following this train of thought, there would have been no active prophecy at all in Israel in Hellenistic times. However, this theological judgment, from Roman times, itself gives witness of the reflection about the nature of prophecy, regarding it as one phase in the history of the transmission of Torah (cf. *m. Abot* 1:1). Similarly, the disputed canonical status of the book of Daniel, which is counted among the "Writings" (כתובים) in the later MT and is seen as a prophetic book in LXX and in the Christian tradition, illustrates that there was some discussion going on what prophecy might be. And contrary to the later theological dogma, Josephus informs us about charismatic people in his own time who claimed prophetic authority and gained a hearing by at least some people.⁷

In addition, critical scholarship in the past two centuries has not confined itself to the traditional dating but sometimes extended the formation process of the prophetic books far into the 2nd century BCE. Of course, as is the case with nearly all parts of the Hebrew Bible, any absolute dating of the scriptures has been a matter of dispute and has become more so within the last two decades. Accordingly, the question of whether a certain biblical book or pieces of it could be clearly dated to Hellenistic times and which criteria could be applied in order to substantiate such a decision, was one of the main points of discussion during the Jena meeting. This fruitful and constructive discussion is mirrored by the several question marks at the end of a number of titles and subtitles, and, of course, by the articles themselves which, in all their variety, can be seen as being in critical dialogue with each other.

The next two contributions are, however, not concerned with the issue of dating prophetic books. A. Graeme Auld starts with a short glimpse at the different kinds of religious specialists occupied with divination in the Greek context. From there, he proceeds to the lists of mantic practitioners in the Hebrew Bible,

⁶ Cf. *t. Soṭah* 13:4: ומשמתו נביאים אחרונים חגי זכריה ומלאכי פסקה רוח הקדש מישראל ("after the death of the latter prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, the holy spirit [i. e., of prophecy] ceased from Israel").

⁷ Cf. MEYER, *Jüdische Charismatiker und Propheten*, 129–134.

with an emphasis on Deut 18:9–14. He compares the Greek equivalents for the different abominated practices as they are provided by LXX in this pericope with the other instances where they are mentioned. In so doing, Auld draws a line of a continuing “nebisation”, or, in a manner of speech, a line from divination and manticism towards prophecy. He detects the earliest traces of this development in the reconstructed common source of both Chr and Sam–Ki, the “Book of Two Houses” (BoTH).

Pancratius C. Beentjes turns to a book whose Hellenistic origin hardly can be doubted since its author, Simeon, son of Jeshua, son of Elazar, son of Sira, reveals not only his proper name but also provides the reader with rather unambiguous clues as to his lifetime. In addition, his “grandson” documents precisely when he had translated his grandfather’s book into Greek – either 132 or 117 BCE. Thus, being written at the beginning of the 2nd century BCE in Hebrew, most probably in Jerusalem, and being translated into Greek two generations later in Alexandria, Sir is a most interesting document for our case – even more since it is the only Biblical book of wisdom literature which mentions prophecy at all. In a careful comparison of the Hebrew and the Greek version, Beentjes illustrates how Ben Sira’s grandson introduces the verb *προφητεύειν* into the book which had had no verbal representation of the Hebrew root *נבא* before. A wide range of Hebrew expressions were rendered with “prophesying” by the Greek Sir, hardly without purpose, and, as Beentjes states, creating intratextual parallel structures which had not yet existed in the source text.

With Uwe Becker’s paper, the books of the latter prophets come into focus. Becker emphasises the Hellenistic interest in books written by known authors and regards this as an important motive for the final formation of the prophetic books – and therewith for the creation of this unique literary genre. From this point of view, the final chapters 65 and 66 of the Book of Isaiah, with their many back-references to the beginning of the book, are very likely to be the product of scribes being active in Hellenistic times. Similarly, the oracle concerning Egypt in Isa 19:16–25, often interpreted against the backdrop of Onias IV temple as recorded by Josephus, most probably does represent one of the latest additions to the Isaiah scroll. However, contrary to the theory of Odil Hannes Steck,⁸ any exact dating to certain political events from the 4th to the 2nd century appears to be not possible, neither in the case of the so-called Third Isaiah nor in the case of Isa 19.

On this critique of Steck’s method, Andreas Schüle agrees with Becker. On the consequences for the interpretation of the trito-Isaianic material, however, he does not. He investigates the attitudes towards “foreign nations” argued for as well as the hints to the existence of rivalling Jewish groups which are perceptible in Isa 56–66. He points out similarities to other Biblical texts, especially to the

⁸ Cf. STECK, *Abschluß*, 26–30.

book of Ezr-Neh. As a consequence, he favours a dating of the respective layers in Third Isaiah to a similar period, i. e., the 5th century. In this way, his argumentation comes close to the Rabbis' in the dating of Malachi and the ceasing of the prophetic spirit. However, the general problem of dating one Biblical passage absolutely by means of comparing it with another one, is, of course, that one has to be on firm ground in case of the latter. While it is hardly disputable that the origins of Ezr-Neh lie in the Persian period, the exact determination of what should be reckoned as this book's core(s) and when the different *Fortschreibungen* were made to it, are a matter of intense debate themselves.

Lena-Sofie Tiemeyer elegantly avoids the "vexed issue of dating" (p. 115) by consequently speaking of "late Persian/early Hellenistic" prophecy. She defines texts from this era as literary prophecy – in other words: *Fortschreibungen* – with the purpose of interpreting and actualising older oracles or literary corpora. Tiemeyer takes a comparative look at Isa 24–27, Ezek 38–39 and Zech 9–14 and identifies common features. Most of all, the three text sections are characterised by being intertextually linked not only to their immediate literary context but to the books of the Torah as well as to the wider contexts of the Former and Latter Prophets. Furthermore, they seem to interrupt the coherence of their immediate context, which means that Tiemeyer reckons with an earlier continuation of Mal after Zech 1–8, Ezek 40–48 after Ezek 37, and Isa 28–23 after Isa 13–23. The literary unity of the later inserted pieces themselves is not questioned by Tiemeyer in this article.

This is what is done by Hannes Bezzel. Addressing the topic of the so-called "oracles concerning foreign nations" and their correlation with the Hellenistic "globalisation", he presents another diachronic study on Zech 9. Within this chapter, he identifies four to five different attitudes against "foreign nations" which he attributes to different scribal hands: A basic layer in Zech 9:1–5*, 9–10*, a small-scaled addition in V. 6b–7, a third hand adding V. 8, (10aα), 11–13, and a fourth one adding the final battle in V. 14–16. V. 17 may be seen as another scribal gloss on the catchword "soil" (אֲדָמָה). Bezzel compares the development of a theology of history as it becomes visible in the literary stratigraphy of the chapter with the redactional development of the Book of Daniel, turning the concept of *translatio imperii* more and more into an apocalyptic worldview.

The last two papers deal with the book of Malachi. The numerous intertextual links to Zech 1–8 and to further parts of the book of the Twelve notwithstanding, Corinna Körting wants Malachi to be seen not as a mere *Fortschreibung* but as a prophet in his own right. As such, he appears to be a prophet, in the words of Paul Tillich, "on the frontier",⁹ as Körting puts it, "from preaching to teaching" (p. 156), in a sphere inbetween: combining classical prophecy, wisdom literature, promulgation of Torah and apocalyptic thinking. Again, *m.ʿAbot*

⁹ For this favourite expression of Tillich's, see, for example, TILLICH, *Frontiers*, 53.

1:1 comes to mind, according to which the prophets handed over the Torah “to the men of the great assembly” (לאנשי כנסת הגדולה).

Jutta Noetzel, too, regards Malachi as a prophetic book *sui generis*. Different to the other books of the Latter Prophets, Mal as a whole can be classified as scribal prophecy. According to Noetzel, the entire book should be read as an exegetical writing on the Jacob narrative in Gen. As an example, she presents Mal 2:10–16 as an interpretation based on Gen 31:43–51. Noetzel agrees with Körting in the aspect that Mal is a scribal text which is based on scripture through-and-through. However, while Körting stresses the prophetic nature of the book, Noetzel wants to read it after Zech 13, according to which prophecy had ended. To her, Malachi rather wants to be seen as a hermeneutical key to prophecy than as prophecy itself. “Prophecy” happens by interpreting the Torah.

Finally, Joachim Schaper emphasises the fact that texts and theological conceptions do not evolve from nothing but have their social and political contexts. As an example, he takes the imagery of violence and leadership in late prophetic texts. It can be observed that the motif of the righteous’ eschatological prevailing over the wicked can be traced from later canonical prophetic books into wisdom literature and deuterocanonical and parabiblical texts. The remarkable fact that there is a strong line which proclaims the eschatological rule of a collective entity – the righteous – instead of the hope for a messianic king or the like can be interpreted as mirroring the disillusioning experiences with the actual monarchies of the age.

All in all, and the ongoing controversial discussions about the dating of certain Biblical passages notwithstanding, the papers collected in this book demonstrate that the takeover of the Persian Empire by Alexander probably did not imply a sudden and total change in the world-perception of the intellectuals in the Eastern Mediterranean World. However, it can be detected that within the following two or three centuries, perspectives concerning prophecy changed radically – and in diverse manners. On the one hand, manticism and divination continued, while, on the other hand, there was a strong tendency towards canonisation of the tradition. In this context, different hermeneutics were developed in order to actualise and interpret what was written down.

Bibliography

- ADAMS, ROBERT McCORMICK, *The Evolution of Urban Society. Early Mesopotamia and Prehispanic Mexico*, Chicago (IL) 1966.
- DROYSEN, JOHANN GUSTAV, *Geschichte des Hellenismus III*, Tübingen ³1952–53.
- GEHRKE, HANS-JOACHIM, *Alexander, der Hellenismus und die Moderne*, in: EHLING, KAY/WEBER, GREGOR (Ed.): *Hellenistische Königreiche*, Mainz 2014, 166–170.
- KRATZ, REINHARD GREGOR, *Text and Commentary. The pesharim of Qumran in the Context of Hellenistic Scholarship*, in: THOMAS L. THOMPSON/PHILIPPE WAJDEN-

- BAUM (Ed.), *The Bible and Hellenism. Greek Influence on Jewish and Early Christian Literature*, London/New York 2014, 212–229.
- LEPPIN, HARTMUT, *Christentum und das antike Erbe des Euromediterraneums*, in: MICHAEL MEYER-BLANCK (Ed.), *Christentum und Europa. XVI. Europäischer Kongress für Theologie (10.–13. September 2017 in Wien)*, VWGTh 57, Leipzig 2019, 53–72.
- MEISTER, KLAUS, *Der Hellenismus. Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte*, Stuttgart 2016.
- MEYER, RUDOLF, *Jüdische Charismatiker und Propheten in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit*, in: GERHARD WALLIS (Ed.), *Erfüllung und Erwartung. Studien zur Prophetie auf dem Weg vom Alten zum Neuen Testament*, Berlin 1990, 129–160.
- NEDERVEEN PIETERSE, JAN, *Globalization and Culture. Global mélange*, London 2009.
- , *Periodizing Globalization. Histories of Globalization*, *New Global Studies* 6 (2012), 1–25.
- NISSINEN, MARTI, *Pesharim as Divination. Qumran Exegesis, Omen Interpretation and Literary Prophecy (2009)*, in: idem (Ed.), *Prophetic Divination. Essays in Ancient Near Eastern Prophecy*, BZAW 494, Berlin/Boston 2019, 663–680.
- , *Oracles at Qumran. Traces of Inspired Speakers in the Dead Sea Scrolls (2010)*, in: idem (Ed.), *Prophetic Divination. Essays in Ancient Near Eastern Prophecy*, BZAW 494, 651–662.
- PITTS, MARTIN/VERSLUYS, MIGUEL JOHN (Ed.), *Globalisation and the Roman World. World History, Connectivity and Material Culture*, Cambridge 2015.
- STECK, ODIL HANNES, *Der Abschluß der Prophetie im Alten Testament. Ein Versuch zur Frage der Vorgeschichte des Kanons*, BThSt 17, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1991.
- TILLICH, PAUL, *Frontiers*, in: idem/JERALD C. BRAUER (Ed.), *The Future of Religions*, New York 1966, 53–63.

Index of Ancient Sources

Hebrew Bible

| | | | |
|----------------|--------------|------------------|--------------|
| <i>Genesis</i> | | 3:14 | 153 |
| 1–11 | 169 | 4:1–9 | 146 |
| 1:6–8 | 147 | 5:12 | 178 |
| 7:11 | 147 | 6 | 173 |
| 8:2 | 147 | 7:11 | 58, 61, 65 |
| 10 | 102 | 7:22 | 58, 61, 65 |
| 12:6 | 61 | 8:3 | 58, 61, 65 |
| 14:20 | 146 | 8:14 | 58, 61, 65 |
| 18:14 | 73 | 8:15 | 58, 65 |
| 28:1–2 | 168 | 9:11 | 58, 61, 65 |
| 28:22 | 145, 146 | 10:5 | 147 |
| 30 | 66 | 15:7 | 178 |
| 30:27 | 60–61 | 21–22 (23) | 64 |
| 31 | 165, 167–168 | 22:17 | 61, 64 |
| 31:19 | 66 | 24 | 119 |
| 31:33 | 166 | 32–34 | 104 |
| 31:43–51 | 8, 167 | 32:9–14 | 104 |
| 31:44 | 165, 168 | 32:14 | 172 |
| 31:45 | 167 | 32:26–28 | 104 |
| 31:48a | 167 | 32:27 | 169 |
| 31:49a | 167 | 32:34 | 172 |
| 31:50 | 167 | 34:6 | 153 |
| 31:51–52 | 167 | | |
| 31:53 | 166 | <i>Leviticus</i> | |
| 32:31 | 162 | 18–20 | 60–61, 64–66 |
| 33:18 | 168 | 18:6 | 168 |
| 37:36 | 101 | 18:21 | 60 |
| 38 | 166 | 18:22 | 59 |
| 38:3–4 | 163 | 18:26 | 59 |
| 41 | 65 | 18:27 | 59 |
| 41:8 | 58, 65 | 18:29 | 59 |
| 41:24 | 58, 65 | 18:30 | 59 |
| 44:5 | 60–61 | 19–20 | 62 |
| 44:15 | 60–61 | 19:23 | 58 |
| 49:8–12 | 166 | 19:26 | 60–61 |
| | | 19:31 | 61–62, 63 |
| <i>Exodus</i> | | 19:34 | 102 |
| 2:21 | 170 | 20:2 | 60 |
| 3:6 | 154 | 20:3 | 60 |

| | | | |
|--------------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 20:4 | 60 | 18:11b | 63 |
| 20:6 | 61–62, 63, 105 | 18:14 | 60 |
| 20:13 | 59 | 23:3 | 134–135 |
| 20:27 | 61–62, 63 | 24:1 | 169 |
| 25:49 | 168 | 26:14 | 105 |
| 26 | 150 | 27:8 | 104 |
| 26:16b | 150 | 28 | 150 |
| 26:26b | 150 | 28:11–12 | 104 |
| 27:32 | 146 | 28:12 | 147 |
| | | 28:16–19 | 150 |
| <i>Numbers</i> | | 28:30 | 151 |
| 6 | 78 | 28:33 | 147 |
| 22–24 | 66 | 28:38 | 150 |
| 22:7 | 60, 64, 66 | 28:39 | 147, 150–151 |
| 23:23 | 60–61, 64–65 | 28:51 | 147 |
| 24:1 | 60–61 | 29:24 | 104 |
| 24:5 | 78 | 30:6 | 58 |
| | | 34:10 | 172 |
| <i>Deuteronomy</i> | | <i>Joshua</i> | |
| 4:34 | 104 | 1:7 | 141 |
| 5:2–7 | 104 | 5:3 | 58 |
| 5:15 | 104 | 5:4 | 58 |
| 6:11 | 148 | 5:5 | 58 |
| 6:16 | 146 | 10:1–27 | 93 |
| 7:1–11 | 166 | 13:22 | 60, 66 |
| 7:1–4 | 170 | 22:10–34 | 93 |
| 7:12 | 104 | 24:2 | 166 |
| 7:19 | 104 | | |
| 8:8 | 148 | <i>Judges</i> | |
| 9:29 | 104 | 9:37 | 61 |
| 11:2 | 104 | 13:5 | 78 |
| 11:30 | 61 | 13:7 | 78 |
| 12–26 | 97 | 16:17 | 78 |
| 12 | 57 | 18 | 66 |
| 12:6 | 150 | | |
| 12:9 | 146 | <i>1 Samuel</i> | |
| 12:11 | 150 | 1:17 | 77 |
| 12:17 | 146, 150 | 1:18 | 77 |
| 12:29–13:6 | 58 | 1:20 | 77 |
| 12:31 | 59–60 | 1:28 | 77 |
| 14:23 | 146 | 3:20 | 78–29 |
| 18 | 60–66 | 7:6 | 78 |
| 18:9–14 | 6, 57, 64 | 7:15–17 | 78 |
| 18:10 | 64 | 6:2 | 57, 60 |
| 18:10–11 | 60, 65 | 8:6 | 72 |
| 18:10–11 LXX | 61, 63 | 8:15 | 101 |
| 18:10 | 59, 60–61 | 8:17 | 146 |
| 18:11 | 61, 62–64, 105 | | |

| | | | |
|-----------------|------------------|-----------|----------------------|
| 9:9 | 79 | 1 | 88, 106 |
| 10:19 | 72 | 1:26 | 91 |
| 12:17 | 72 | 2:1-5 | 102 |
| 15:23 | 57, 60 | 2:6 | 61 |
| 28 | 57, 62-63, 65 | 3 | 57 |
| 28:3 | 61-62, 63 | 3:2-3 | 55 |
| 28:7-20 | 71 | 3:2 | 60 |
| 28:7 | 62 | 4:2-6 | 86 |
| 28:8 | 62 | 5:1-7 | 148 |
| 28:9 | 61-62 | 5:24 | 178 |
| | | 7:10-17 | 146 |
| <i>2 Samuel</i> | | 8 | 65, 93 |
| 7:17 | 56 | 8:16 | 93 |
| 24:11 | 56 | 8:18 | 93 |
| | | 8:19 | 61, 62-62, 64 |
| <i>1 Kings</i> | | 8:19 LXX | 63 |
| 8:20 | 56 | 9:19 | 59 |
| 12:1-19 | 56 | 10:3 | 181 |
| 12:15b | 56 | 10:24 | 84 |
| 16:31 | 166 | 11:16 | 84 |
| 18:20-40 | 146 | 12:1-6 | 86 |
| 20:33 | 60-61 | 13-23 | 7, 116, 120 |
| 22 | 56 | 13 | 116 |
| 22:9 | 101 | 17:6 | 119 |
| 22:17 | 56 | 17:13 | 147 |
| 22:19 | 56 | 18-20 | 89 |
| | | 19 | 6, 90, 94 |
| <i>2 Kings</i> | | 19:1-4 | 89 |
| 9:22 | 61 | 19:3 | 61, 62-63 |
| 9:23 | 101 | 19:16-25 | 6, 86, 89, 94 |
| 13:21 | 74 | 19:18-25 | 84, 87, 93 |
| 16:3 | 58-60 | 19:18-19 | 84 |
| 17:15-17 | 57 | 19:19 | 92-93 |
| 17:17 | 58-59, 60, 65 | 19:24-25 | 84 |
| 21 | 60-62, 65 | 23 | 136 |
| 21:2 | 59 | 24-27 | 7, 111, 115-121, 177 |
| 21:6 | 58-60, 61, 62-65 | 24-27* | 86 |
| 21:6a | 56, 64 | 24 | 116 |
| 21:3-5 | 56 | 25-26 | 121 |
| 22 | 56 | 25:1-26:6 | 118 |
| 23:10 | 58-60 | 25:1-5 | 118 |
| 23:13 | 59 | 25:9-12 | 118 |
| 23:24 | 61, 63 | 26:1-6 | 118 |
| | | 26:6-8 | 87 |
| <i>Isaiah</i> | | 28-33 | 7 |
| 1-66 | 83, 118 | 28-33 | 116 |
| 1-39* | 86, 115 | 29:4 | 62-63 |
| 1-26 | 118 | 29:10 | 79 |

| | | | |
|-------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|
| 30:10 | 79 | 63:12 | 104 |
| 31:11 | 178 | 63:14–15 | 104 |
| 34 | 116 | 63:16 | 103 |
| 35 | 116 | 64:9–10 | 103 |
| 40 | 93 | 65 | 88, 104–106, 108 |
| 40–48 | 116 | 65–66 | 85, 88–89, 99, 104, 109 |
| 40–52 | 103–104 | 65:1–25 | 103 |
| 40–55 | 86, 97, 114–115, 120–121 | 65:3–5 | 105 |
| 40:1 | 107 | 65:3–4 | 108 |
| 41:2 | 103 | 65:4 | 105 |
| 44:25 | 60 | 65:13–16 | 104 |
| 44:28 | 98 | 65:11 | 105 |
| 45:1–13 | 98 | 65:21 | 148 |
| 45:34 | 93 | 66 | 88, 102, 106, 108 |
| 47 | 63, 65–66 | 66:1–5 | 106–108 |
| 47:9 | 61, 64 | 66:1 | 146 |
| 47:12 | 61, 64 | 66:2 | 108 |
| 47:14 | 178 | 66:5 | 107–108 |
| 49–54 | 119 | 66:6–14 | 106–107 |
| 51:1–19 | 107 | 66:8 | 107 |
| 51:8 | 103 | 66:12–13 | 100 |
| 52:9 | 107 | 66:13–14 | 107 |
| 56 | 100–102, 109 | 66:15–24 | 108 |
| 56–66 | 6, 98, 115 | 66:16–24 | 102 |
| 56:9–59:21 | 86 | 66:16 | 108 |
| 56:1–8 | 86, 98–100, 102–103, 108 | 66:18–19 | 108 |
| 56:1–7 | 87 | 66:23–24 | 108 |
| 56:1 | 102–103 | 66:24 | 178 |
| 56:3–4 | 101 | | |
| 57:3 | 61 | <i>Jeremiah (MT)</i> | |
| 57:14–62:12 | 109 | 1:5 | 77 |
| 60 | 100 | 2:1 | 165 |
| 60–62 | 86, 99, 108 | 3 | 170 |
| 60:4–14 | 100, 107 | 3:7 | 165 |
| 60:21–22 | 178 | 3:19 | 148 |
| 62:4 | 148 | 7:10 | 59 |
| 62:8–9 | 147 | 7:31 | 60 |
| 63–64 | 86, 99, 106 | 9:17 | 166 |
| 63–65 | 99, 104 | 10:13 | 147 |
| 63–66 | 98, 100, 109 | 14:14 | 60 |
| 63:7–65:25 | 103 | 16:5–7 | 105 |
| 63:1–6 | 86, 135 | 27:9 | 55, 60 |
| 63:7–66:24 | 86 | 29:8 | 55, 60 |
| 63:7–64:11 | 88, 103 | 32:35 | 59–60 |
| 63:7–64:12 | 98 | 27:9 | 61 |
| 63:10–12 | 103 | 30:18 | 78 |
| | | 32:17 | 73 |
| | | 32:27 | 73 |

| | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------|
| 38:7 | 101 | 9:4 | 105 |
| 46:23 | 147 | 12 | 171 |
| <i>Jeremiah (LXX)</i> | | <i>Joel</i> | |
| 34:9 ^{LXX} | 61 | 1-2 | 148, 151-152 |
| 39:35 ^{LXX} | 59 | 1:4 | 147, 151-152 |
| <i>Ezekiel</i> | | 1:17 | 151-152 |
| 1 | 119 | 2:5 | 178 |
| 3:16-21 | 107 | 2:15 | 155 |
| 4-7 | 107 | 2:19 | 151 |
| 8-11 | 119 | 2:25 | 151-152 |
| 10:4-11:23 | 107 | 4:4-8 | 136 |
| 13:6 | 60 | <i>Amos</i> | |
| 13:9 | 60 | 1:6-10 | 136 |
| 13:23 | 60 | 1:9-10 | 136 |
| 21:26 | 60 | 2:11 | 78 |
| 21:27 | 60 | 2:12 | 78 |
| 21:28 | 60 | 4:6-12 | 148 |
| 21:34 | 60 | 5:2 | 119 |
| 22:28 | 60 | 5:11b | 150 |
| 25-32 | 119 | <i>Obadiah</i> | |
| 26-28 | 136 | 10 | 170 |
| 33:1-9 | 107 | 18 | 177-178 |
| 34-37 | 117 | <i>Jonah</i> | |
| 37 | 7, 117, 119-120 | 1:5 | 150 |
| 37:25 | 117 | 3:10 | 154 |
| 37:26 | 117 | 4:2 | 154 |
| 38-39 | 7, 111, 115-121 | <i>Micah</i> | |
| 38:1-39:22 | 117 | 3 | 57 |
| 40-48 | 7, 117, 119-120 | 3:6 | 60 |
| 40 | 117 | 3:7 | 60 |
| 44 | 100 | 3:11 | 60 |
| 44:3 | 117 | 3:11 | 55 |
| 44:9 | 100 | 5:11 | 61 |
| 45:7-22 | 117 | 6:14 | 150 |
| 46:2-18 | 117 | 6:15 | 150 |
| 48:21-22 | 117 | <i>Nahum</i> | |
| <i>Hosea</i> | | 1:10 | 178 |
| 1:2 | 171 | 1:14 | 150 |
| 1:6-2:3 | 153, 157 | 3:4 | 61 |
| 1:7 | 153 | 3:15 | 147 |
| 2:1-3 | 153 | 3:17 | 147 |
| 4 | 171 | | |
| 4:9 | 119 | | |
| 4:10 | 150 | | |

| | | | |
|------------------|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Habakkuk</i> | | 9:1-5* | 7 |
| 1:8 | 150 | 9:8 | 112 |
| 1:12-13 | 180 | 9:9-17 ^{LXX} | 130 |
| | | 9:9-10 | 130 |
| <i>Haggai</i> | | 9:13 | 129-130 |
| 1:1 | 171 | 10:2 | 60, 66 |
| 1:5-11 | 148-150 | 11:5 | 149 |
| 1:5-7 | 150 | 12:2-13:6 | 118, 121 |
| 1:10 | 147 | 12:6 | 178 |
| 1:12 | 149 | 13 | 8, 161, 171, 173 |
| 1:14 | 149 | 14 | 118 |
| 2:2 | 149 | 14:1-21 | 118 |
| 2:15-19 | 148 | | |
| 2:19 | 149-150 | <i>Malachi</i> | |
| <i>Zechariah</i> | | 1:1 | 161, 171-172 |
| 1-8 | 7, 111-112, 117, 120, 141, 148, 154 | 1:2-6 | 148 |
| 1 | 171 | 1:2-5 | 143, 148 |
| 1:1-6 | 148 | 1:2 | 141, 144, 154 |
| 1:2-6 | 148 | 1:3 | 170 |
| 1:2 | 149 | 1:4 | 172 |
| 1:3 | 149 | 1:6-3:12 | 167 |
| 1:4 | 149 | 1:6-2:9 | 143, 162, 166 |
| 1:5 | 149 | 1:6-2:3 | 148 |
| 1:6 | 149 | 1:6-14 | 164 |
| 1:7-6:8 | 149 | 1:6-9 | 162 |
| 3:2 | 147 | 1:6-8 | 173 |
| 3:8 | 58 | 1:6 | 143, 155, 164 |
| 5:3 | 149-150 | 1:8b | 162 |
| 7-8 | 171 | 1:9 | 162 |
| 7:14 | 112, 148 | 1:9a | 163 |
| 8 | 151 | 1:11-14 | 162, 166 |
| 8:3 | 148 | 1:11-12 | 164 |
| 8:9-13 | 148-151, 155 | 1:14 | 149-150 |
| 8:9-10 | 151 | 2:2 | 149-150 |
| 8:9 | 147 | 2:4-8 | 164, 173 |
| 8:11 | 153-154 | 2:7 | 161, 171 |
| 8:12 | 147, 155 | 2:10-16 | 8, 142, 161, 163, 172 |
| 8:13 | 149, 151, 155 | 2:10-12 | 162 |
| 9 | 7, 125, 127-130, 135-137 | 2:10 | 144, 164, 168 |
| 9-10* | 7 | 2:10b | 168 |
| 9-14 | 7, 111-112, 113, 115-121 | 2:11 | 165, 170 |
| 9:1-10 | 130 | 2:12 | 78, 163, 166, 170 |
| 9:1-8 | 98, 110 | 2:13 | 166 |
| 9:1-6 | 127, 129 | 2:14 | 167-168 |
| | | 2:15 | 168 |
| | | 2:15b | 168-169 |
| | | 2:16 | 169, 170 |
| | | 2:17-3:5 | 144, 151-152 |

| | | | |
|-----------------|------------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| 3:5 | 61 | <i>Daniel</i> | |
| 3:6–12:1 | 142 | 1:10 | 58 |
| 3:6–12 | 142, 143–144, 148–149, | 1:20 | 65 |
| | 151–152, 154–156 | 2:2 | 58, 61, 65 |
| 3:6 | 143–144, 146, 152 | 2:10 | 65 |
| 3:6a | 153 | 2:27 | 61, 65 |
| 3:7 | 148–149, 152 | 4:4 | 65 |
| 3:8–9 | 150 | 4:6 | 65 |
| 3:8 | 143–144 | 5:11 | 65 |
| 3:9 | 149–150, 152 | 7–12 | 103 |
| 3:10 | 146–147, 149, 151–152 | 7 | 1 |
| 3:11 | 152 | 7:21–22 | 179 |
| 3:12 | 148–149, 151–152 | 7:27 | 179 |
| 3:19–21 | 178 | 9 | 99, 104 |
| 3:19 | 178 | | |
| 3:23 | 151, 172 | <i>Ezra</i> | |
| | | 1:1–4 | 97 |
| <i>Psalms</i> | | 9 | 170 |
| 57 | 61 | 9:1 | 169 |
| 58:6 LXX | 61 | 9:2 | 169 |
| 68:31 | 147 | 9:4 | 108 |
| 77:11 | 153 | 10:3 | 108 |
| 77:7–9 | 154 | | |
| 78 | 145 | <i>Nehemiah</i> | |
| 80:9–12 | 148 | 8 | 172 |
| 95 | 146 | 9 | 104 |
| 95:8–9 | 146 | 9:20 | 168 |
| 95:11 | 146 | 10:39 | 147 |
| 106:9 | 147 | | |
| 106:24 | 148 | <i>1 Chronicles</i> | |
| 111:5 | 145 | 10:13 | 62–63, 64 |
| 132:8 | 146 | 17:15 | 56 |
| 132:14 | 146 | 21:9 | 56 |
| | | 28:1 | 101 |
| <i>Job</i> | | 33:6 | 62 |
| 24:5 | 145 | | |
| | | <i>2 Chronicles</i> | |
| <i>Proverbs</i> | | 6:10 | 56 |
| 10:1 | 143 | 10:1–19 | 56 |
| 15:20 | 143 | 10:15b | 56 |
| 18:4b | 75 | 28:3 | 58–59, 60 |
| 22:23 | 145 | 33 | 60–62, 65 |
| 31:15 | 145 | 33:2 | 59 |
| | | 33:6 | 58, 60–61, 63–65 |
| <i>Esther</i> | | 33:6a | 64 |
| 1:10 | 101 | 35:19a | 63 |
| | | 36:22–23 | |

Apocrypha

| | | | |
|--------------------|--------|------------|-------------|
| <i>1 Maccabees</i> | | 46:14 | 78 |
| 1:12–16 | 107 | 46:14b | 78 |
| | | 46:15 | 77, 79 |
| <i>2 Maccabees</i> | | 49:19a | 79 |
| 2:13–15 | 113 | 46:20 | 71–72, 76 |
| | | 46:20a | 70 |
| <i>Sirach</i> | | 47:1 | 72 |
| 10:13b | 75 | 47:1b | 70, 72 |
| 19:8 | 74 | 48:13a | 73 |
| 46:12 | 79 | 48:13b | 70, 79 |
| 46:13–20 | 76, 78 | 48:22d–23b | 79 |
| 46:13–15 | 76 | 48:22d | 79 |
| 46:13a | 70 | 49:7 | 77 |
| 46:13b | 77 | 49:10 | 75, 79, 171 |
| 46:13c–d | 78–79 | 50:27 | 69 |
| 46:13e | 78 | 50:27c–d | 75 |

Pseudepigrapha

| | |
|--------------------|----|
| Letter of Aristeas | |
| 207 | 21 |

Dead Sea Scrolls

| | | | |
|--------------------|-----------|---------------------------|--------------|
| 1QpHab V 3–6 | 180 | 1QIsa ^b | 91 |
| 1QIs ^a | 83, 91–92 | 4QXII ^a (4Q76) | 156, 163–164 |
| 1QIs ^b | 83 | 4QEn ^g (4Q212) | 179 |
| 1QIsa ^a | 91 | | |

New Testament

| | | | |
|----------------------|-----|-------------------|-----|
| <i>Matthew</i> | | <i>Revelation</i> | |
| 19:28 | 181 | 20:4 | 181 |
| <i>1 Corinthians</i> | | | |
| 6:2 | 181 | | |

Rabbinic Writings

| | | | |
|--------------|------|---------------|---|
| 'Abot 1:1 | 5, 7 | b. Sanh. 11a | 5 |
| B.Bat. 16a–b | 75 | b. Yoma 9b | 5 |
| Nid. 52a–b | 75 | t. Soṭah 13:4 | 5 |
| b. Meg 15b | 171 | | |

Greek and Latin Sources

| | | | |
|--------------------------------------|----|----------------------|--------|
| <i>Alexander Romance</i> (ed. Thiel) | | div. 1.68 | 41–42 |
| 1.30.7 | 15 | div. 1.70 | 47 |
| 1.32.2 | 15 | div. 1.82–83 | 47 |
| 1.32.5–6 | 15 | div. 1.100 | 46 |
| 1.33.2 | 15 | div. 1.105 | 43–44 |
| 1.33.8 | 15 | div. 1.106 | 44 |
| 1.34.7 | 15 | div. 1.107 | 44 |
| | | div. 1.110 | 46 |
| <i>Ammianus Marcellinus</i> | | div. 1.113 | 47 |
| 22.16.7 | 13 | div. 1.114 | 47 |
| | | div. 1.119 | 34 |
| <i>Aristoteles</i> | | div. 1.125 | 45–46 |
| Anal. post. | | div. 2.4 | 36 |
| 83a32–33 | 50 | div. 2.23. | 34 |
| De An. 1,2 | | div. 2.28 | 44 |
| 403b20–405b31 | 50 | div. 2.33 | 47 |
| EN 1.4 1096a12 | 50 | div. 2.34 | 46 |
| Metaph. 1,3–5 | | div. 2.36–37 | 34 |
| 983a24–987a1 | 50 | div. 2.45–46 | 39 |
| | | div. 2.46 | 39–40 |
| <i>Arrian</i> | | div. 2.70 | 44–45 |
| 3.1.5–2.2 | 13 | div. 2.71 | 45 |
| | | div. 2.99 | 33 |
| <i>Athenaios</i> | | div. 2.110 | 34–35 |
| 620 D | 13 | div. 2.114 | 42 |
| | | div. 2.119 | 46 |
| <i>Cassius Dio</i> | | div. 2.124–125 | 47 |
| 51.17.2 | 23 | div. 2.147 | 47 |
| | | div. 2.150 | 52 |
| <i>Cicero</i> | | fam. 15.4.13–14 | 43 |
| ac. 1.15 | 49 | fam. 16,21.3–4 | 50 |
| ac. 1.46 | 50 | fam. 4.5.5 | 43 |
| ac. 2.69–70 | 51 | fat. 41 | 46 |
| ac. 2.114 | 50 | fat. 42 | 46 |
| ac. 2.139 | 52 | fin. 5.1 | 50 |
| Brut. 1 | 43 | fin. 5.6 | 50 |
| Cat. 3.18–21 | 41 | leg. 2.32 | 36, 43 |
| div. 1.8 | 41 | leg. agr. 2.18–19 | 43 |
| div. 1.13–15 | | nat. deor. 1.61 | 44 |
| div. 1.14 | 38 | | |
| div. 1.15 | 38 | <i>Curtius Rufus</i> | |
| div. 1.17–23 | 38 | 4,8,6 | 14 |
| div. 1.17–22 | 38 | | |
| div. 1.21 | 39 | <i>Epicurus</i> | |
| div. 1.60 | 47 | Ep. Pythocl. 87 | |
| div. 1.63 | 47 | (p. 28, 25–6) | 51 |

- Ep. Pythocl. 95
(p. 32, 22) 51
- Ep. Pythocl. 104
(p. 37,4-6) 51
- Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*
2, 151, § 11 14
- Herodotus*
8.105 102
- Iustin*
11.11.1-2.13 17
- Josephus*
Ant. XI,325-339 127
Ant. XII, 1 98
Ant. XII, 9.7 92
Ant. XIII, 3.1-3 92
Bell. VII, 10.2 92
c. Ap. 1,8 75
c. Ap. 2.33-37.42 21
c. Ap. 2.53-55 24
c. Ap. 2.259-260 26
- Livius*
45.11 17
- Oracle of the Potter*
P₂ col. I.29 18
P₃ col. I.1-7 19
P₃ col. I.2 18
P₃ col. I.21-24 19
P₃ col. I 49-64 20
P₃ col. I.51 18
- Ovid*
fast. 4.819-847 12
fast. 4.831-834 12
- Philo of Alexandria*
Flacc. 56-72 24
Flacc. 62-63 24
Ios. 135-136 24
Leg. 120-139 24
- Plato*
pol. 571c3-571e2 47
- Plutarch*
Alex. 26 13, 20
Cic. 36.1 43
Rom. 11 12
- Polybius*
29.27.1-11 17
- Sibylline Oracles*
5.85 22
5.119-123 22
11.232-238 22
11.239-242 23
11.248-249 27
11.298-303 23
- Strabo*
17.1.6 12
- Suetonius*
Iul. 81.2-4 33
- Valerius Maximus*
1,4, Ext. 1
- Vitae Prophetarum*
2.6 21
16.1-4 171

General Index

- העביר באש 59, 60
חזון 56
חזה (chozê) 56, 72, 76, 78, 79
יום פקדה 181
נביא 5, 55–57, 60, 70, 75, 79
קסם 55, 57–60, 62–64, 66
רואה (rô'è) 79
רועה (rô'è) 79
תועבות 56
- abominations (תועבות) 56, 132
Abraham 166
abuse of religion 36
academic scepticism 4, 34, 37, 52
Achaemenid(s) 102, 177
Achaemenid Empire 1
Agathos Daimon 15, 20, 25
Ägypten/Egypt 1, 3, 6, 11–13, 14, 15–28, 33, 61, 65, 66, 69, 84, 87, 89–95, 98, 129, 147
Ahaz 56
Akko 129
Aleppo-Kodex 170
Alexander the Great 1, 11, 12, 13, 25, 98, 127, 137
Alexandria 2–4, 11–26, 28, 69, 84, 91, 113
Ammon 15
Ancient History 3
ancient philosophy 5, 33, 37, 48, 49, 52
Antiochos/Antiochus IV 17, 26, 50, 92, 99
Antiochos of Askalon 51
Apocalypse of Weeks 179, 180
apocalyptic 7, 103, 115, 116, 135, 136, 156, 177, 178, 180–183
apocalypticism 137, 182, 183
apocalyptic thinking 7, 135
argumentatio ad hominem 38, 40
Aristander of Telmessos 13, 16
Aristeas, letter of 21
Aristobulus 12
Ashdod 132
- Ashera 56
Assurbanipal 113
Assyrian 115, 126, 128
Athenian 49, 50, 129
augur 43–45
- Babylon 2, 61, 64–66, 107, 116
balance of judgment 51
Beer-Sheba 78
belt-wearers 19, 20
Ben Sira 2, 6, 69–73, 74, 75, 77–79, 105, 113
bird 13–16, 25, 43–45, 59, 61
Book of Daniel 5, 7, 107, 120, 136, 137
Book of Enoch 179
Book of Isaiah/Jesajabuch 6, 62, 65, 83–89, 91, 92, 94, 95, 98, 102, 103, 106, 108, 109, 121, 125
Book of Jeremiah/Jeremiabuch 85, 119, 125, 126
Book of the Twelve 7, 111–113, 115, 117, 121, 136, 141, 142, 147, 148, 150, 152, 154, 156, 157, 165
Book of Two Houses (BoTH) 6, 56, 57, 63, 64
Books of Maccabees 1
boule 23
Bund 163–165, 167, 168
- Caesar 4, 33–36, 41, 42
Calchas 16
canonization 8
conversion 100–103, 108
Carthage 14
cause 33, 34, 39, 44, 46, 50, 71, 120
Chaldean 33, 37, 128, 180
chalk 12, 13
chozê (חזה) 56, 72, 76, 78, 79
Chrysipp 4, 37
Cicero 4, 5, 33–45, 47, 48–52
Classic Philology 3

- Cleopatra II 27
 comparative discussion of philosophical systems 48
 cosmic sympathy 45, 46
 cosmos 45, 46, 107
 crocodile 21
 Cypriot 129
 Cyrus (II) 2, 97, 98, 133

 Damascus 127, 129, 133
 Dan 78
 Darius 128
 Daughter Zion 133, 134, 135
 David 56, 62, 63, 69, 72, 73, 113
 Davidic dynasty 2
 day of the Lord/day of YHWH 136, 141, 151, 152, 155, 178
 Deutero-Isaiah 133, 134, 137, 156
 Deutero-Zechariah 119, 127, 128, 136, 177
 Diadochi 1, 16, 127, 128, 135
 diaspora 21, 85, 88, 90, 91, 95, 108
 diaspora, Alexandrian 21
 dietary restriction 105, 108
 divination 2, 3, 4–6, 8, 16, 34–38, 40, 41, 43–48, 55–58, 61, 63, 64, 66, 126
 divinatory specialization 44
 divine inspiration 47
 diviner 4, 35, 36, 45, 55, 57, 63
 doctrine of Logos 46
 doctrine of sympathy 45
 dream 13, 15, 17, 18, 46, 47, 48, 55, 58, 65
 DtrH 111, 112, 120

 Eastern Mediterranean coastline 129
 Edom 116, 148, 170
 Egypt/Ägypten 1, 3, 6, 11–13, 14, 15–28, 33, 61, 65, 66, 69, 84, 87, 89–95, 98, 129, 147
 Egyptian 2–4, 11, 14, 16–23, 25–28, 129
 Ehemetaphorik 165
 Elia 161, 172
 Elisha 73, 74
 Ephraim 133, 135
 Epicurean 5, 33, 52
 epistemology of the Academy 77
 Eponym 166
 Er 163

 Esau 154, 162, 164, 168, 170, 177, 178
 Esra/Ezra 5, 97, 99, 101, 103, 108, 109, 112, 113, 142, 161, 170, 172
 Etruscan priest 44
 Euergetes 69
 eunuch 101, 102
 explanation of divination 47
 Ezekiel 59, 66, 100, 101, 107, 111, 112, 115–117, 118, 119, 120, 125
 Ezra/Esra 5, 97, 99, 101, 103, 108, 109, 112, 113, 142, 161, 170, 172

 fate 21, 27, 46, 105, 131, 148
 fecundity 23, 24
 fire 46, 58, 59, 64, 177, 178
 foreigner 14, 18, 19, 100–102
 foreign nations 6, 7, 100, 125, 126, 133, 135–137, 147
 Former Prophets 7, 66, 112
 Fortschreibung 7, 84–87, 104, 130, 135, 141, 142, 148, 152, 154, 155
 fortune-telling 4
 foundation myth 16, 20, 44
 Fragmentum Sabbaiticum 14
 fremde Götter 163, 166
 Fremdgötterverehrung 166
 Fremdvölkersprüche 89

 Gad 56, 105
 Gaza 87, 133
 Gibraltar 1
 globalization 1, 7
 Gog 115, 117, 118, 119
 Greco-Persian Wars 128
 Greece 33, 37, 41, 42, 55, 127–129, 135
 Großjesabuch 86
 Güstrow 173, 174

 Hebrew 2, 3, 5, 6, 55, 57–59, 61, 63, 65, 69–79, 98, 102, 105, 113, 114, 119, 130, 153, 181
 Heilswende 86, 135
 Heliopolis 91, 92
 Helios 20
 Hellenistic philosophical systems 48
 Hellenistic school of philosophy 51
 Heraclitus 46, 49, 51
 Hermeneut 172

- hermeneutics 2, 3, 8
 history of philosophy 48
 history-theological 2
 Homer 13
 Huldah 56
 hunger 24

 identity 101, 103, 108, 114, 128
 India 27
 Indus 1
 interpretation of dreams 48, 65
 interreligiöse Ehe 163, 166–169, 170
 Intertextualität 162, 163, 165, 167, 170
 Ipsos 87
 Isis 17, 20, 18, 25, 26

 Jakob 162–165, 167, 168, 170
 Javan 131
 Jeremiabuch/Book of Jeremiah 85, 119,
 125, 126
 Jeremiah 21, 26, 59, 77, 112, 119, 120, 125,
 126, 156
 Jeroboam 56
 Jerusalem 2, 6, 55, 56, 69, 85, 86, 92, 98, 101,
 103, 105, 108, 116, 127, 128, 131, 132,
 133, 134, 135, 163, 165, 166, 173, 178
 Jerusalemer Tempel 88, 105, 113, 173
 Jesajabuch/Book of Isaiah 6, 62, 65,
 83–89, 91, 92, 94, 95, 98, 102, 103, 106,
 108, 109, 121, 125
 Jewish rebellion 27
 Josephus 5, 6, 24, 75, 91, 92, 94, 98, 127
 Josiah 56, 57, 97
 Judäa 21
 Judah 97, 101, 105, 114, 115, 120, 126,
 130, 132, 133, 135, 147, 152, 178
 Judah Maccabee 130
 Jupiter 11, 39

 Khirbet Qumran 2
 Kohärenzstörung 166

 Laban 60, 66, 165, 167–169
 Latter Prophets 5, 6, 7, 8, 57, 66, 75
 Leontopolis 84, 91, 92, 94
 Levant 1, 128
 Levi 164, 167, 169, 172, 173
 Levit 145, 169, 173

 Liebesmetaphorik 165
 literary-critical 130, 133, 136
 literati 114
 LXX/Septuagint/Septuaginta 5, 6, 57,
 58–63, 66, 72, 74, 78, 79, 83, 84, 89, 90,
 91, 92, 95, 130, 131, 133, 134, 141, 144,
 146, 163, 164, 169, 171, 172
 LXX^B 56
 LXX^L 56

 Maccabean 102, 125, 127
 Macedonian 1, 2, 13, 14
 Malachi 5, 7, 8, 111, 112, 113, 114, 117,
 120, 121, 141, 142, 144, 145–157, 161,
 169, 171, 173
 Manasseh 56, 61, 62, 64, 66
 mantic 5, 59
 Mari 125, 126
 Marsian augur 45
 Masoretic 78, 130
 Memphis 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 26
 messianic 3, 8, 135, 136
 messianic figure 130, 133, 138
 Metropolis 3, 11, 15, 22, 25, 77
 Micaiah ben Imlah 56
 mixed marriage 101, 142
 modern philosophy 37
 Mose 58, 65, 66, 103, 104, 141, 170, 172,
 173
 Mount Zion 100, 102, 106
 mündliche Tora 172

 Nahor 166
 narrative level 41, 42, 48
 Nathan 56, 72
 natural philosophy 47, 48, 51
 nature 5, 8, 19, 41, 45–47, 101, 127, 144,
 152, 156, 182
 Nazirite 76–79
 nebiisation 6
 Nehemiah 5, 99, 101, 103, 108, 109, 112,
 113, 116
 Neo-Assyria 115
 neutrality 48, 51
 Nineveh 93, 113, 125, 126
 Noah 22

 Octavian 24

- Omen 4, 11–16, 25, 34, 41, 43–46, 59
 Onan 163, 166
 Onias III 92
 Onias IV 6, 91, 92, 162
 oracle 3, 6, 7, 11, 14–16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24–27, 33, 34, 56, 65, 100, 101, 117–119, 121, 125, 126, 137
 oracle of the potter 3, 18, 19, 25–28
 origin 6, 7, 12, 16, 22, 48, 49, 62, 63, 99, 101, 112, 115
 Ornithomancy 16, 57
- palace 100, 114, 147
 palästinisches Judentum 161
 Palestine 2, 129, 177, 183
 Palestinian 129
 pantheistic doctrine 46
 parallelismus membrorum 164
 passing one's child through fire 58
 passing sons and daughter in fire 64
 penitential prayer 98, 99, 103, 104
 Peripatetics 5, 52
 Persian 1, 2, 7, 8, 98, 106, 111, 128, 129, 134
 Persian-period/Persian Period 2, 7, 99, 101, 102, 106, 109, 111–116, 120, 128, 129, 134–136, 142, 180, 183
 Peshar 3, 180
 Petropolitanus 170
 Phainomena 38
 pharisaism 177
 Pharos 13
 Philistää/Philistia 128
 Philo 1, 21, 24
 philosophy 2, 4, 5, 33, 35, 37, 39, 40, 44, 45, 47–52
 Phoenicia 128
 Phoenician 136
 pogrom of 38 21, 24, 26
 pontiff 43, 44
 Popilius Laenas 17
 Poseidonios 37, 45, 47
 preadaptive advances 2
 priest, Egyptian 14, 16
 primary cause 46
 Prodigium 4, 43
 prodigious events 39
 prognostication 39
- Prometheus 16
 prophetic critique 107
 Proto-apocalyptic 115
 Ptolemaic 3, 4, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 98, 113
 Ptolemaios VI Philometer 91
 Ptolemy I 16, 98
 Ptolemy IV 17, 24
 Ptolemy VIII 24, 27
- Qumran 2, 3, 83, 91, 113, 161, 179, 180
- Ra 20
 Rabbinic literature 75
 Rakote 19
 Ramesses II 128
 rebellion 26, 27, 57
 redaction-critical approach 126
 religio 4
 riots 23
 rituals of observation 36
 rō'ê (רואה) 79
 rō'ê (רועה) 79
 Roman augur 45
 Roman embassy 17
 Roman religion 43, 44
 Rome 3–5, 11, 12, 33, 36–39, 51
 Romulus 11, 12
 rule of the righteous 177–180
- Samaria 85, 97
 Samuel 57, 62, 63, 71, 72, 74, 75, 76–79
 Sarapis 15, 17, 19, 21, 25
 Schriftkonformitätsformel 172
 scientific foundation of divination 45
 scribal prophecy 8
 scribe 6, 71–75, 77, 112–114, 120, 121, 125, 141, 161
 second temple 2, 99, 100, 108, 109, 142
 sectarianism 109
 seer 13, 14, 16, 20, 22, 25, 33, 43, 55, 56, 72, 76, 78, 79
 semeion 12
 Septuagint/Septuaginta/LXX 5, 6, 57, 58–63, 66, 72, 74, 78, 79, 83, 84, 89, 90, 91, 92, 95, 130, 131, 133, 134, 141, 144, 146, 163, 164, 169, 171, 172
 Serapeum 18

- Seth 19
 Sibylline Oracles 21, 22
 Sidon 129
 Simeon, son of Jeshua, son of Elazar, son of Sira 6, 69
 Simon (Maccabee) 130
 Sinai 104, 129, 165
 Siwa 15
 snake 15, 21, 65
 source-critical 131
 state priesthood 43
 Stoa 37, 45, 46, 50
 stoic 4, 5, 34, 37, 45, 46, 47, 50, 52
 stoic natural philosophy 47, 48
 sympathy 45, 46
 Syriac 70–76, 77
 Syria/Syrien 17, 128
- Talmud 5, 171
 Taphnas 21
 Targum 91, 161, 163, 164, 172
 Tell el-Yahūdiyya 92
 Teman 131
 temple 2, 6, 15, 19, 92, 98–101, 103, 105–109, 113, 114, 117, 119, 131, 134, 141, 142, 145, 146–149, 150, 151, 152, 155, 156
 textual allusions 112, 119, 120
 theology of history 7, 135, 136
 theophany 104, 131, 135
 third Isaiah/Trito-Isaiah 6, 7, 99, 100, 103, 105, 106, 108, 109, 178
 throne 34, 106, 107
 tolerance 51
 Tora/Torah 5, 7, 8, 97, 100, 102, 104, 112, 141, 147–150, 156, 162, 172, 173
- Toralehrer 164, 173
 Tosefta 5
 Tradentenprophetie 86
 tradition 2, 4, 5, 8, 11, 13, 14, 16, 22, 33, 37, 48, 49, 75, 103, 112, 119, 155, 156, 170, 179, 180, 182
 translatio imperii 7, 134
 Trito-Isaiah/third Isaiah 6, 7, 99, 100, 103, 105, 106, 108, 109, 178
 trito-Isaianic 6, 98, 104
 Twelve Prophets 74, 75, 113
 Typhonians 19, 20, 26
 Tyre 133, 136, 137
- Urania 36, 38, 39
 Ursprungslegende 168
- vaticinium ex eventu 15, 16, 26
 vision 3, 4, 11, 14, 16–18, 25, 26, 56, 76, 100, 102, 106, 107, 108, 111, 117, 119, 136, 149, 150
 vitae prophetarum 21, 171
 Vorlage 130
- Wars of the Diadochi 1, 127, 135
 Weltgericht 86
 wisdom 2, 43, 69, 70–75, 77, 143
 wisdom literature 6, 7, 69, 119
 Wisdom of Solomon 180, 181
 wisdom tradition 156, 180
 wordplay on names 77
- Yehud 1, 2, 98, 101, 102, 106, 114, 116
- Zion 88, 93, 100, 102, 106, 107, 119, 129, 133, 134, 135