Vision, Narrative, and Wisdom in the Aramaic Texts from Qumran

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Essays from the Copenhagen Symposium, 14–15 August, 2017

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Introduction

Mette Bundvad and Kasper Siegismund

This volume grew out of an international symposium hosted by the University of Copenhagen in August 2017, and held at the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters. While planning the symposium, one of our main goals was to create a space for an open and creative conversation about the Aramaic texts found in the caves at and near Qumran. We put together this open access volume for exactly the same reason. Scholars are increasingly turning their attention to the Aramaic texts from Qumran. Not only are these texts interesting because of their particular literary content and theological concerns, which differ markedly from the Hebrew texts found at Qumran. They also throw new light on the history of the Aramaic language and the linguistic situation in Palestine in the late Second Temple period. Their highly creative authors reworked biblical traditions, reshaping them to address contemporary concerns. When engaging the Aramaic Qumran texts, one encounters multiple genres and voices, as well as a distinct set of perspectives on the religious authorities of the past. We entitled both the symposium and this volume "Vision, Narrative, and Wisdom in the Aramaic Texts from Qumran" to indicate this wide range.

The articles in this volume fall into three distinct groups, each of which illuminates important literary, contextual, and religious features of the Aramaic texts from Qumran. The articles in the first group all explore *memory and expectation*; religious past and eschatological future—as well as the links between these wider horizons of religiously organized time and the present of the texts' authors and their communities. Each of the four articles in this group makes use of creative methodological and contextual approaches to bring the pasts, presents, and futures imagined in the Aramaic Qumran texts into sharper focus.

Andrew B. Perrin uses insights from memory studies to engage the Pseudo-Danielic manuscripts from Qumran (4Q243–245). He is intrigued by the references in these texts to both life in the exilic diaspora and the antediluvian and ancestral ages. His article explores how the Pseudo-Danielic texts organize and present memories of Israel's past for a contemporary community. This is achieved, he argues, by positioning Daniel against the backdrop of foundational, ancestral figures, through the use of genealogies and through a creative merging of memories of priestly origins with more recent memories of the priesthood during the Second Temple period.

Mika S. Pajunen is interested in the transmission of patriarchal voices in the Aramaic Qumran texts. He challenges the reliance exclusively on classic theories regarding literary transmission. How, for example, would our study of the transmission of traditions in Second Temple Judaism be affected if we properly factor in oral transmission as well? Exploring the modes of transmission described in the Aramaic Qumran texts, Pajunen goes looking for typical ways in which traditions were transmitted within the social, religious, and historical settings of these texts' authors. He looks to textual descriptions to tease out the concerns about transmission of tradition that the actual authors of these texts may have had. This approach allows Pajunen to highlight technical processes of transmission as well as literary strategies of transmission, interpretation, and embellishment.

Hugo Antonissen's article shines a spotlight on the Aramaic Qumran text New Jerusalem. This text is very fragmentarily preserved (in six or seven manuscripts), making it necessary to bring it into dialogue with other sources, including material culture, in order to fill out its many gaps. Antonissen aims to achieve just that in relation to the specific subject of the cult in New Jerusalem. He uses Greco-Roman banquet culture from circa 300–150 BCE as a lens with which to read the text, arguing that New Jerusalem describes a set-up in which cultic acts are performed not only by temple professionals, but also by Jewish pilgrims participating in pious banquets. Offering a comparison with the Largest Peristylium, a banquet house in Alexandria, Antonissen suggests that a very similar typological set-up is intended in the Aramaic New Jerusalem text.

Torleif Elgvin hones in on 4Q541, which depicts an end-time priest. Looking for diachronic and intertextual lines of development, Elgvin explores both exilic and post-exilic texts that depict future leaders. How do these texts develop and recast the traditions on which they build? Elgvin demonstrates that 4Q541 plays on figures from earlier texts when depicting its end-time priest, including the suffering servant from Isaiah 53 and the priestly leader from Ezekiel 40–48. Dialoguing with Jeremiah 30 and Zechariah 13, the author of 4Q541 innovates, envisioning a cosmic renewal rather than a restoration of the covenant for Israel.

The second group of articles focuses on Visions of Amram: a group of five manuscripts (4Q543–547) that describe the visions and testament of the biblical figure of Amram, father of Moses. Emphasizing the theological priorities, literary structures, and linguistic features of Visions of Amram, all four articles in this group offer new ways into this fascinating composition.

Liora Goldman takes her starting point in a unique feature of Visions of Amram: these texts are written in Aramaic and concerned with patriarchal figures, but they also contain themes related to Moses and the exodus. As such,

they straddle the dividing lines proposed by Devorah Dimant between the rewritten Bible texts that are written in Aramaic and those written in Hebrew. Goldman aims to identify the main theme of Visions of Amram: does this composition prioritize the establishment of the Levitical priesthood or the exodus narrative? She shows that the composition depicts Aaron as Moses' equal, and that in Visions of Amram, Moses gets his leading role by being the one who anoints Aaron and his sons for the eternal priesthood. Offering a close reading of the extant text material, Goldman concludes that the interpretation of the patriarchal past in the Visions of Amram subordinates the exodus story to the testament of the priestly line.

Jesper Høgenhaven explores the function of geography in Visions of Amram: part of Amram's farewell address to his children is a description of a journey he undertook from Egypt to Canaan and—though this return is not described in the preserved parts of the narrative—back to Egypt again. Høgenhaven ties together the time-line of the narrative in Visions of Amram with its geography to describe the importance of each. Further, he shows that the geographical names in the Visions of Amram are symbolic, enabling the author of this composition to tie his story to the exodus narrative. The familiar, geographical setting evoked by the author of Visions of Amram serves to link Amram closely to the patriarchs of the exodus story, boosting the authority of his vision. Finally, Høgenhaven addresses the intriguing contrast between the well-known geographical framework of Egypt, wilderness, and Canaan and the transcendent spirituality of Amram's vision.

Søren Holst turns to the mammoth task of piecing together the fragments of 4Q543–547—4QVisions of Amram. While two longer sequences of text can be reconstructed with a high degree of certainty due to overlaps between surviving manuscripts, much remains fragmentary or entirely missing. Holst looks anew at the state of the textual fragments of Visions of Amram: do the overlaps between the surviving manuscripts tell us more than we have assumed? If we assume that the five manuscripts of Visions of Amram are copies of the same text, might we then be able to identify not only overlaps between the different manuscripts, but also deduce the extent of missing material? Can a base text of Visions of Amram that fits all surviving manuscripts be constructed?

Finally, Kasper Siegismund examines a supposedly ambiguous form of the verb NTN in a passage in the Amram texts (4Q543) which gives rise to divergent understandings of the text: Does Amram refer to a past event in which God "gave" (past tense) wisdom to Moses, or is Amram, speaking in the plural as a representative of the ancestral line, stating (in the future tense) that "we will give" wisdom, thus underlining his important role vis-à-vis Moses? Siegismund tests Robert Duke's claim that NTN is widely used in the suffix conjugation,

noting that a significant number of the attested suffix conjugation forms of NTN occur in one single Aramaic document. In the Aramaic documents from Qumran specifically, Siegismund finds no instances of NTN in the suffix conjugation. If the verbs in lines 1 and 2 in 4Q543 are indeed in the suffix conjugation, they would represent the only example in the corpus of this usage of NTN.

The articles in the final group in the volume are interested in *context and reception*—the larger lines that connect the Aramaic Qumran texts as a corpus, as well as the ways in which these compositions may resonate with texts outside of this corpus. Misuse and manipulation come into play too as one article discusses the thorny issue of provenance.

Daniel A. Machiela approaches the Aramaic texts from Qumran as a corpus. He offers a hypothetical socio-historical scenario for this corpus of texts. Working with the basic assumption that the Aramaic Qumran texts are non-sectarian, Machiela argues that a small group of elite priests, living in Judah from the fourth to the mid-second century BCE authored the bulk of the Aramaic Qumran texts. The cultural environment in which they lived was internationally oriented and their Judean constituency was surrounded by other peoples. In addition, Judean diasporas were spreading. Maintaining their national and religious identity was an important priority to this group of priests, and one way in which they took action was by creating a new kind of religious literature: texts that built on ancestral stories, but reshaped them to address their contemporary concerns.

George J. Brooke argues that some of the special material in Luke's Gospel resonates with material from the Aramaic texts associated with Qumran. Brooke proposes that Luke had access, directly or indirectly, to Aramaic traditions and that he made use of them during his own retelling of the gospel story. He compares a number of passages, demonstrating their similarities. For example, Luke 1:32–35 and 4Q246 use the same pair of titles, as well as the phrase "he will be great," and the form of Luke's genealogy appears to be based on Aramaic traditions preserved in the Books of Enoch. Brooke suggests that Luke uses the Aramaic traditions available to him to place his particular presentation of Jesus as Son of God, Son of the Most High into a longer tradition that supports his narrative emphasis.

Melissa Sayyad Bach focuses on another text that is often brought into dialogue with the New Testament, namely 4QApocryphon Daniel ar (4Q246), because of the mention in this text of a "Son of God." Bach, however, turns to another designation in the text, namely the "People of God." She argues in favour of a collective interpretation of this figure, innovating by interpreting the role of the "People of God" separately from the "Son of God." Bach argues that when the text is read as a narrative in its own right, the collective

interpretation of the figure of the "People of God" works well. Within the narrative arc of the text, the uprising of the "People of God" ends a time of tribulation and ushers in a time of peace. Regardless of how one chooses to understand the "Son of God" figure, the "People of God" plays a decisive role in the eschatological scene in 4Q246.

Finally, Årstein Justnes looks at eight unprovenanced fragments from Aramaic texts, all of which he considers modern forgeries. He both presents a chronology for these fragments, and analyzes the available information about their origins. Justnes shows that none of the lists of previous owners and none of the stories about the provenance of the fragments are trustworthy. His excavation of the history of forged Qumran texts is fascinating and encourages us to remember that Dead Sea Scrolls scholars allowed unprovenanced fragments into their data set up until very recently.

We owe thanks to all of our contributors and to all participants at the "Vision, Narrative, and Wisdom" symposium. Thank you for your time and for sharing your insights with so much generosity. We would also like to thank the Danish foundations *Professor Johs. Pedersens og hustru Thora, født Gertz' legat*, and *H. P. Hjerl Hansen Mindefondet for Dansk Palæstinaforskning* for their financial support. We hope you will enjoy this volume as much as we have enjoyed—and are still enjoying—the process of working together on the Aramaic texts from Qumran. In particular, we hope that the ideas and approaches sketched in this volume will lead to further research on both the individual Aramaic compositions and the cultural, religious, and social environments that produced and used them.

Remembering the Past, Cultivating a Character: Memory and the Formation of Daniel in the Aramaic Pseudo-Daniel Texts (4Q243–244; 4Q245)

Andrew B. Perrin

1 Pseudo-Daniel and Intersections in the Aramaic Corpus*

The texts collected under the Pseudo-Daniel rubric are an intriguing item in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls as they bridge two predominant foci observed for the broader Aramaic corpus. On the one hand, the texts are associated with life in the exilic diaspora by way of attribution to a "Daniel" and mention of political figures and eras associated with prevailing empires of the recent past. On the other hand, aspects of their fragmentary content are anchored in the antediluvian and ancestral ages. The scribes behind these texts make regular nods to the flood, the tower of Babel, the exodus, the patriarchs, and both royal and priestly genealogies.

While this content invites many questions, in this essay I will explore but two. First, how can a reading informed by insights from memory studies advance our understanding of the situation of the Pseudo-Daniel materials at an apparent nexus of the two main narrative settings of the Aramaic corpus? Second, how did this new narrative and thematic backdrop at once enhance the emerging persona of Daniel as a literary character as well as enable the creator of these writings to redeploy this Daniel to speak into a broader set of topics?

2 The Prospects of Memory for Exploring Scribal Imaginations in the Qumran Collection

Memories are not static items tucked away in a cognitive time-capsule. They are created, changed, even updated when accessed. Pioneered in the cognitive sciences and sociology, memory studies has become a diverse and diffuse field both testing and providing tools to explore the relation between past events and their subsequent representations, recapitulations, and recreations. These

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tools may apply to different domains, from individual to social and collective memory.[1]

Olick and Robbins' essay remains the essential primer on the history of research on memory.[2] They commented that "memory is not an unchanging vessel for carrying the past into the present; memory is a process, not a thing, and it works differently at different points in time."[3] In some sense, memories deal in inherited currency but their current expressions are recreated in view of the ever-passing moment of events, individuals, and experiences. Memory is also orientational and axial insofar as it serves the purposes of identity formation and maintenance in light of both a multi-dimensional past and a present context that is equally dynamic. Representations of the past—whether individual or collective, penned or performed—are at once formed within and formed for collectives.

Schwartz's concise explanation of what constitutes social memory is a helpful departure point. "Memory is a fundamental property of the mind, an indispensable component of culture, and an essential aspect of tradition. Although individuals alone possess the capacity to remember the past, they never do so singly; they do so with and against others situated in different groups and through the knowledge and symbols that predecessors and contemporaries transmit to them."[4] Schwartz further observed that "[m]edia are memory's vehicles," with media being understood in the broadest possible sense.[5] If media are the vehicles of memory, then the Qumran library is a veritable parking lot of memories inscribed in text form.

Deploying terminology of a "textual community" coined by Brian Stock, Jan Assmann once briefly characterized the Qumran library and community in such terms. He suggested that, like the Nag Hammadi codices, the Judaean Desert finds "give us an insight into the vestiges of the libraries that were used as a foundation by such textual communities. Despite their fragmentary

1 In their programmatic essay on the emergence of memory studies, Roediger and Wertsch described the field as "a huge tent in which scholars from many perspectives and fields can find a home, using their quite disparate methods and means of inquiry," yet also underscored the need for increased methodological precision moving forward (Henry L. Roediger, III and James V. Wertsch, "Creating a New Discipline of Memory Studies," *Memory Studies* 1 [2008]: 9–22 [12]).

2 Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins, "Social Memory Studies: From 'Collective Memory' to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices," *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998): 105–40.

3 Olick and Robbins, "Social Memory Studies," 122.

4 Barry Schwartz, "Where There's Smoke, There's Fire: Memory and History," in *Memory and Identity in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity: A Conversation with Barry Schwartz*, ed. Tom Thatcher, SemeiaSt 78 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014), 7–37 (9).

5 Schwartz, "Where There's Smoke, There's Fire," 10.

condition they enable us to infer that, unlike modern libraries, they did not aim at the greatest possible variety and completeness. Instead, they confined themselves to the literature that the community deemed authoritative."[6] Stock's earlier articulation of this idea underscored the role that we might call the *tradent* in the formation of textual communities. He wrote, "[w]hat was essential to a textual community was not a written version of a text, although that was sometimes present, but an individual, who, having mastered it, then utilized it for reforming a group's thought and action."[7]

Transposing this concept to the Qumran community requires considering the creative activity of the scribes in the presentation of memories. In doing this, the motivations for scribal intervention—that is, the ways scribes engaged and extended the traditions they handled—take on new significance. One cross-section of the Qumran collection that invites this type of exploration are those writings often described as "rewritten bible/scripture," "parabiblical/scriptural," and "paratextual."[8] George Brooke recently began to bridge the gap between our understanding of scribal memory and the cultivation of traditions in our so-called rewritten texts. He wrote:

> [A]n individual mind, what it remembers, how it articulates and rearticulates what it remembers, how it functions, needs to be considered as part of the process of the transmission (and development) of authoritative traditions … They [instances of scribal intervention] might also indicate how an author considers his standing within a particular historical perspective and attempt to manipulate an audience towards a similar standing. The motivations for adjusting the received traditions in the rewriting process are ideological in one way or another.[9]

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6 Jan Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory: Ten Studies*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006), 73. See also Jan Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).

7 Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 90.

8 For a survey of texts and the thorny theoretical and terminological issues related to such materials, see Daniel A. Machiela, "Once More, with Feeling: Rewritten Scripture in Ancient Judaism—A Review of Recent Developments," *JJS* 61 (2010): 308–20; Molly M. Zahn, "Genre and Rewritten Scripture: A Reassessment," *JBL* 131 (2012): 271–88; and Jonathan G. Campbell, "Rewritten Bible: A Terminological Reassessment," in *Rewritten Bible after Fifty Years: Texts, Terms, or Techniques? A Last Dialogue with Geza Vermes*, ed. József Zsengellér, JSJS 166 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 49–81.

9 George J. Brooke, "Memory, Cultural Memory and Rewriting Scripture," in *Rewritten Bible after Fifty Years: Texts, Terms, or Techniques? A Last Dialogue with Geza Vermes*, ed. József Zsengellér, JSJS 166 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 119–36 (122).

From here, Brooke proposed four "somewhat overlapping dimensions or processes" that relate to aspects of scribal memory involved in rewriting traditions: (i) embellishment and institutionalization, (ii) distortion and obligation, (iii) invention and organization, and (iv) forgetting and the capacity for reconstruction.[10] As rightly noted by Brooke, considering such dimensions of memories embedded in texts is not concerned with recovering or reconstructing the historical past *as it really happened*; rather, "we are concerned to notice how a community's memory works to handle the traditions it receives in recognizable ways by providing implicit commentary as cultural memories are changed and adjusted."[11] Brooke's case studies focused on rewritten texts in a close degree to, and discernible dependence upon, Pentateuchal tradition (i.e., Jubilees, Reworked Pentateuch, Genesis Apocryphon, Temple Scroll, selections from Josephus' *Antiquities*). Yet, how should we approach cases where the antecedent tradition is less stable and discernable, demonstrably authoritative, or to state the obvious, a more recent creation of scribal culture? As would be the case with Daniel in the mid-Second Temple period.

On the one hand, Brooke's model for exploring the intersection of memory and rewriting could be applied to Josephus' selective and strategic rendition of Daniel in *Antiquities* 10.186–12.322. Josephus wends his way through the antecedent tradition all the while negotiating his present political context and ancestral ties. In watching Josephus work, however, it is clear that he is working with a version of what we eventually call "biblical" Daniel.[12] Therefore, the Daniel we meet in Josephus *is* to be understood as the same character from the book of his namesake, albeit a Daniel remodeled through memory.

On the other hand, unlike Josephus, the Danielic texts among the Qumran Aramaic corpus do not seem to be crafted upon a clear antecedent, a "book" of Daniel. Rather, they are oriented around a figure: Daniel. For this reason, I am not inclined to explore the topic of memory in the early Danielic tradition in terms of a genealogy of developing written traditions in degrees of succession from some postulated textual ancestor. A more favorable approach—and one that takes the cautions of canonical anachronism seriously—works toward accounting for the scope of dynamic Danielic traditions on the basis of their common core association with a shared persona.[13]

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10 Brooke, "Memory, Cultural Memory and Rewriting Scripture," 128–31.

11 Brooke, "Memory, Cultural Memory and Rewriting Scripture," 128.

12 For preliminary discussions of Josephus' interaction with Daniel traditions, see Frederick F. Bruce, "Josephus and Daniel," in *A Mind for What Matters: Collected Essays of F. F. Bruce* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990), 19–31; and Géza Vermes, "Josephus' Treatment of the Book of Daniel," *JJS* 42 (1991): 149–66.

13 See especially Hindy Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism*, JSJS 77 (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

3 A Synopsis of the Pseudo-Daniel Materials in the Qumran Collection

The materials collected under the title Pseudo-Daniel relate to fragments of three known Aramaic manuscripts recovered from Qumran Cave 4. 4QPseudo-Daniel$^{a–b}$ (4Q243–4Q244) benefit from modest textual overlap confirming they are copies of the same work. 4QPseudo-Daniel^{c} (4Q245) is highly fragmentary and does not overlap with surviving content of the preceding pair. It cannot be determined whether or not this is a third copy of the same ancient work. One potentially significant thematic similarity suggesting a degree of relation is the fragmentary references to the priestly forefathers in 4Q243 28 and the more complete list in 4Q245 1 i.[14] What is common to all three manuscripts, however, is their explicit association with our leading actor, Daniel.[15] This association locates the manuscripts in a common tradition regardless of their textual status. Pseudo-Daniel indeed exhibits some shared themes and figures with the biblical book. However, the nature of the relation between these texts or reliance upon a common shared tradition is not always clear.[16]

The dates of the manuscripts are nearly coterminous with "biblical" Daniel. As suggested by Collins and Flint, the manuscripts seem to have been penned in Herodian hands of the late first century BCE.[17] Based on internal references, formal quality, and ideological aspects, Collins and Flint concluded "[t]he most likely time of composition is somewhere between the beginning of the second century BCE and the coming of Pompey" (ca. mid-second century BCE to 63 BCE).[18] If this range is accepted even provisionally, it is entirely possible that there is nothing "pseudo" about Pseudo-Daniel at all. Rather, these Aramaic

14 As noted by Collins and Flint, "If the text is correctly read so that it [4Q243 28] refers to Qahat, Phineas, and his son Abishua, this fragment provides possible evidence for a relationship between 4Q243 and 4Q245" (John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint, "Pseudo-Daniel," in *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*, ed. George J. Brooke et al., DJD 22 [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996], 95–164 [116]).

15 4Q243 1 1; 2 1; 5 1; 6 3; 4Q244 4 2; 4Q245 1 i 3.

16 As Collins noted, "It is at least clear that *Pseudo-Daniel* is not closely modelled on the biblical book, but goes its own way, by having Daniel expound the full sweep of Israelite history. Whether it depended on the biblical book at all no longer seems as clear as it did when we relied on Milik's construction" (John J. Collins, "*Pseudo-Daniel* Revisited," *RevQ* 17 [1996]: 111–35 [118]). To date, DiTommaso has undertaken the most detailed study of the thematic and theological similarities and differences between the two works (Lorenzo DiTommaso, "4Q*Pseudo-Daniel*$^{a–b}$ (4Q243–244) and the Book of Daniel," *DSD* 12 [2005]: 101–33).

17 For palaeographical descriptions and manuscript profiles, see Collins and Flint, DJD 22:97, 122, 154.

18 Collins and Flint, DJD 22:97.

writings emerged at a time close to or contemporary with the development of Dan 1–12 in the mid-160s BCE.

While the question of the relation of the materials in 4Q243–4Q244 with those of 4Q245 is vexing, since my aim is to work towards a model that accounts for the robust tradition oriented around the figure of Daniel, I will draw on these fragments as a group to ascertain what portrait of Daniel results. With vitals of the Pseudo-Daniel fragments now taken, I will now tour through key memories included in these materials and ask how different episodes or eras contribute to the development of our recently recovered Daniel.

4 Redrawing Figures from International Lore in Early Jewish Aramaic Traditions: Dan'el, Ahiqar, Nabonidus, and Gilgamesh

It is widely recognized that at least part of the answer to the question "Who is Daniel?" is to be found in the ancient Near Eastern *Dānī'ilu* in the Aqhat Epic of Ugarit (ca. 14th–13th century BCE).[19] While this tradition predates our Second Temple Jewish traditions by a margin, references to "Danel" (דנאל) in Ezek 14:14, 14:20, and 28:3 as a figure receiving honorable mention alongside Noah and Job—who also have their own ancient Near Eastern analogues—likely represents a bridge over which the sagely figure of the Aqhat Epic entered Israelite culture and tradition. Jub. 4:20 also includes an intriguing reference to one "Dan'el." Here the figure is a near relation to Enoch.[20] While all of these references present their own interpretive challenges, they suggest that by the time we meet Daniel in our Aramaic traditions of the mid-Second Temple period, a preliminary profile for him already existed in Jewish memory that was associated with sagely expertise, visionary experience, and key antediluvian ancestors.

While the recognition that the character of Daniel has some ancient Near Eastern lineage is not new, considering this development in the context of the Qumran Aramaic texts is. What we find in this corpus is something of a trend for recasting famed figures of ancient Near Eastern lore in Jewish traditions of the Second Temple period. There are at least three texts that participate in this creative approach to characterization.

19 For an introduction and translation to this text, see "The 'Aqhatu Legend (1.103)," trans. Dennis Pardee (*COS* 1.103:343–56).

20 Compare also the parallel of 1 En. 85:3. Note also the appearance of a "Daniel" (דניאל) among the list of the wayward watchers at 1 En. 6:7 (4Q201 1 iii 8; 4Q204 1 ii 26).

First, the writer of Tobit positions Ahiqar as a high-courtier in the service of both Sennacherib and Esarhaddon yet supplies him with an unmistakable Israelite heritage: he is claimed as Tobit's own nephew of Napthalite descent (Tob 1:21; 2:10; 11:18; 14:10).[21] Second, the Aramaic Book of Giants cast "Gilgamesh" as one of the barbarous and blood-thirsty Nephilim (4Q530 2 ii + 6–12(?) 2; 4Q532 22 12).[22] In this instance, the jab at the hero of the Babylonian flood myth is that Gilgamesh was nothing more than an ill-fated accident of an angelic-human one-night stand. Third, the scribe of the Prayer of Nabonidus adopted and adapted the known political figure of "Nabonidus," yet represented him in an episode underscoring his submission to the God of Israel.[23]

Like Danel, the figures of Ahiqar, Gilgamesh, and Nabonidus are ubiquitous across ancient Near Eastern traditions yet through scribal innovation and memory they find themselves making cameos in Second Temple Jewish Aramaic texts. In this process, none of the aforementioned characters are cast out of whole cloth. The participants in the Daniel tradition in the mid-Second Temple period cultivated a character in new narrative settings but did so on the basis of a figure already existing in some outline in wider cultural lore and benefitting from a place in the more immediate memory of Israelite tradition.[24]

5 Retrospective References and Prospective Genealogies: Patriarchs, Priests, and Kings

In the biblical book, Daniel's identity as an Israelite is established in the introductory Hebrew chapters and he is momentarily associated with figures and

21 As Moore observed, "[t]he author of Tobit either modeled his Ahiqar after it [the Ahiqar tale] or, more likely, assumed his reader's familiarity with it" (Carey A. Moore, *Tobit*, AB [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996], 12).

22 On this guest appearance of Gilgamesh, see Matthew J. Goff, "Gilgamesh the Giant: The Qumran Book of Giants' Appropriation of Gilgamesh Motifs," *DSD* 16 (2009): 221–53; and Ida Fröhlich, "Babyloniaca from Qumran—Mesopotamian Lore in Qumran Aramaic Texts," in *Studies in Economic and Social History of the Ancient Near East in Memory of Péter Vargyas*, ed. Zoltán Csabai, Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean Studies 2 (Budapest: Hungarian Society for Ancient Studies, 2014), 577–601.

23 On this, see Carol A. Newsom, "Why Nabonidus? Excavating Traditions from Qumran, the Hebrew Bible, and Neo-Babylonian Sources," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts*, ed. Sarianna Metso, Hindy Najman, and Eileen Schuller, STDJ 92 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 57–79.

24 Daniel of the "biblical" book also bears noteworthy resemblance to Joseph. On this, see Lee W. Humphreys, "A Life-Style for the Diaspora: A Study of the Tales of Esther and Daniel," *JBL* 92 (1973): 211–23; and, more recently, Michael Segal, *Dreams, Riddles, and Visions: Textual, Contextual, and Intertextual Approaches to the Book of Daniel*, BZAW 455 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016), 48–51.

experiences of the ancestral past in the penitential prayer of Dan 9, which mentions Moses and alludes to the exodus (Dan 9:11, 13, 15). The Aramaic unit of Dan 2–7, however, has little recourse to such traditions or personages. Daniel's identity is largely cultivated in the space of the memory of exile looking forward. Pseudo-Daniel, however, draws upon a deeper and more diverse range of ancestral actors embedded in Israel's story remembered. While Daniel is a latecomer to Israelite tradition, the surviving fragments of 4Q243–244 and 4Q245 position him against the backdrop of its earliest foundational characters and essential institutions from both the patriarchal past and Israelite history proper.

5.1 *References to Antediluvian Figures from Genesis*

The fortuitous yet frustrating surviving text of 4Q243 9 1 reads simply the words "to Enoch" (לחנוך).[25] At a minimum, this orphaned reference to Enoch indicates some association with the memory of the liminal figure of Gen 5:18–24 who becomes a larger than life personage in Second Temple period Aramaic literature. A second anchor on the other side of the deluge is found in 4Q244 8 3, which names "Noah" (נוח) in some post-flood description. It is also possible that the reference to "the Chaldeans" (כשדיא) in 4Q243 7 2 relates to an Abrahamic tradition.

By virtue of importing named figures from the antediluvian and patriarchal past into the Aramaic text, the Daniel we meet in Pseudo-Daniel is not vaguely associated with "our ancestors" as is his counterpart in Aramaic Dan 2–7. On the contrary, naming Enoch, Noah, and perhaps others, anchors this budding Second Temple tradition in the ancestral past and associates this relatively new exilic character of Daniel with memories of essential figures from the foundational narratives of Genesis. Establishing an association between Daniel and a longer heritage of ancestors, however, is achieved most in the genealogical content of the Pseudo-Daniel fragments.

5.2 *Coordinating the Past along Genealogical Lines*

Beneath their sleep-inducing exterior, genealogies are an essential medium for selecting, ordering, and posturing a chronology of generations past in view of present individual or communal institutions and identity. Their strategic formulation and presentation is where history (in the broadest sense of antecedent events and individuals) becomes heritage, that is, the curated memory of a group. As vehicles of memory, genealogies relate to both identity and authority.

25 Unless otherwise noted, all transcriptions and translations are based on Collins and Flint, DJD 22.

More than listing figures from the past, the genealogy in 4Q245 focuses on figureheads associated with two iconic institutions in Israelite memory: the priesthood and the monarchy. While I will not undertake a comprehensive profile of the entire genealogy, some preliminary remarks on the more salient features of the list will help direct our interest to the genealogy as a mechanism of memory and tool for characterization.[26]

5.3 *Merging Memories of Diverse Priestly Origins with* **Ex Eventu** *Estimations of Second Temple Priesthoods*

As noted in the introduction to Pseudo-Daniel above, 4Q243 28 includes the first glimpse of genealogical material in the texts. If the proposed reconstructions of Collins and Flint are accepted, this fragment may include references to at least three priestly figures.

1.]*el* and Qa[hat (○אל וק○)
2. Phineha]s, Abish[ua (פינח]ס אביש[וע)
3.]…[(שׁ[ ]○י○○)

If these partially reconstructed readings are correct, it may provide a critical link to either traditional or textual affiliation with the more expansive genealogical list of 4Q245 1 i. The original text and translation of this fragment are as follows:

1.]… (יא)
2.]… and what (○○ ומה די)
3.] Daniel (דניאל)
4.]a writing that was given (כׄתב די יהיב)
5. Lev]i, Qahat (לו]י֯ קהת)
6.]Bukki, Uzzi (בׄוקי עוזי֯)
7. Zado]k, Abiathar (צדו]קׄ אבׄי֯תר)
8. Hi[l]kiah (חׄ]ל[קיה)
9.]…[…] and Onias (וׄחוני֯ה ○] [)
10. Jona]than, Simon (יונ]תׄן שמעון)
11.]and David, Solomon (וׄדו֯יד שלומוׄה)
12.]Ahazia[h, Joa]sh (אחזי֯]ה יוא[שׁ)
13.]…[(○)

When anchoring a new tradition in the past, founding figures matter. The above fragment traces the priestly genealogy through generations beginning with its earliest representatives. 4Q245 1 i 5 commences with a likely reference to "Lev]i" followed immediately by the extant name "Qahat." Incidentally, the

26 For an attempt at a comprehensive reconstruction, see Michael O. Wise, "4Q245 (PsDan^c ar) and the High Priesthood of Judas Maccabaeus," *DSD* 12 (2005): 313–62.

memories of these figures were the subject of extensive scribal creativity in the Aramaic Levi Document (1Q21, 4Q213, 4Q213a, 4Q213b, 4Q214, 4Q214a, 4Q214b) and Testament of Qahat (4Q542) at Qumran. Unfortunately, the line of text crumbles after the mention of Qahat in 4Q245 1 i 5. Given the context, it would be reasonable to posit that "Amram" followed thereafter, who likewise enjoyed an existence in Second Temple memory at Qumran in the Aramaic Visions of Amram (4Q543–547). Not unlike the focus of this fragment of Pseudo-Daniel, these Aramaic priestly pseudepigrapha exhibit emphatic interests in tracing the priestly line and genealogy from its inception.[27]

Unlike the Levi, Qahat, and Amram texts, however, Pseudo-Daniel extends to include future generations of Israel's priests beyond those remembered in Genesis. The figures "Bukki" and "Uzzi" found in line 6 of the genealogy are remembered by the Chronicler for their Aaronide lineage (1 Chr 6:3–5). The likely pairing of "Zadok" and "Abiathar" in line 7 presents the frontrunners of two priestly lines that rise to prominence and eventual contest in the early monarchic period (1 Sam 22:20–23; 2 Sam 15:24–37; 1 Kgs 2:26–27). As noted by Collins and Flint, "[t]he inclusion of Abiathar shows that this list was not exclusively Zadokite."[28] The mention of the high priest "Hilkiah" in line 8 showcases an individual responsible for rediscovering the law in the temple and subsequently instrumental in Josiah's resulting religious reforms (2 Kgs 22:2–23:7).[29]

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27 The Aramaic Levi Document traces the lines of the priesthood in moments of priestly appointment, transmission of tradition between generations, and in autobiographical interludes (ALD 8–13; 50–51; 57; 63–67). While Testament of Qahat does not include a formal list, its language of transmitting and safeguarding the tradition implies a similar model of teachings received from past generations of priests, not least traditions inherited from Jacob, Abraham, and Levi (4Q542 1 i 4–13) directed toward Amram (4Q541 1 ii 9–10). In a component of Amram's dream-vision an angelic revealer discloses the "mystery" (רז) of the priesthood to Amram, at least part of which seems to relate to seven generations of priests that have proceeded since its foundation with the patriarch Abraham (4Q545 4 13–19). I have argued elsewhere that the angelic revealer here is likely to be identified with a celestial Melchizedek figure and that association suggests the writer of Visions of Amram was drawing the earthly and heavenly priesthoods into closer proximity or continuity (Andrew B. Perrin, *The Dynamics of Dream-Vision Revelation in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls*, JAJSup 19 [Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 2015], 166–70). See now also, Blake A. Jurgens, "Reassessing the Dream-Vision of the Vision of Amram (4Q543–547)," *JSP* 24 (2014): 3–42.

28 Collins and Flint, DJD 22:161.

29 Incidentally, one of the religious practices said to have been corrected in the aftermath of the discovery was the destruction of the site of child sacrifice in the valley of Hinnom (2 Kgs 23:10). A partial line of text in 4Q243 13 2 references "sacri]ficing their children to demons of" (דב]חֹ֫ין לבניהון לשידי) before breaking away. It is, however, unlikely that this notation and the reference to Hilkiah in the genealogy above are related, since 4Q243 13 3 references the exile under Nebuchadnezzar.

To this point, the scribal memory of Pseudo-Daniel spans from the priesthood's earliest existence to expressions in the time of Solomon's temple.

Lines 9–10, however, bridge memories of the priestly forefathers from the distant past to the more recent memory or, as we will see, *ex eventu* projections, of the priesthood in the Second Temple period. The name "Onias" in line 9 is understandably associated with the Oniad dynasty, yet is not easily narrowed to a single individual with that name. As VanderKam commented, in view of the text's fragmentary nature, we "cannot be sure which Onias is meant."[30] From Josephus we learn that the first high priest named Onias held office in the time of Alexander the Great (*Ant.* 11.347). Following a few quick successions and shifts of power, his grandson, Onias II, is remembered by Josephus for gaining favor with the Ptolemies (*Ant.* 12.158–159). Succeeding Simon II, the tenure of Onias III as high priest came at a time of turmoil in Jerusalem that eventually resulted in his removal by Antiochus IV. After his untimely death (cf. 2 Macc 4:34), his son Onias IV sought refuge in Egypt and was instrumental in founding the temple establishment of Heliopolis (*Ant.* 13.62–73). While ascertaining which Onias is in view for Pseudo-Daniel is something like picking out Kirk Douglas from a crowd of Spartacuses (Spartaci?), the very inclusion of the name plugs the genealogy into a tradition associated with a dynasty of priestly prominence during critical years of transition from Ptolemaic to Seleucid rule in Judaea.[31]

The final two priestly figures plausibly found in the text in line 11 also hail from the Hellenistic era, yet are of different dynastic stock. While the name "Jonathan" is evident only by ink traces of the final two characters, the reconstruction is highly likely given the fully retained name "Simon" that follows in the sequence.[32] This pair then signals a priestly line associated with the Hasmoneans. While there are many interpretive and historical issues involved in triangulating the priestly tenure and royal claims or reigns of Hasmonean leaders, it seems that Jonathan is the first of the Hasmonean line to ascend to a position of priestly leadership.[33] In this way, Pseudo-Daniel includes yet

30 James C. VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas: High Priests after the Exile* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress; Assen: van Gorcum, 2004), 265. For a helpful survey of the emergence and existence of this priestly family, see Gideon Bohak, "Oniads," *EDEJ*, 1006–1007.

31 While it is possible that the writer of the text understood the Oniads as in the heritage of the line of Zadok, this is not certain (Collins and Flint, DJD 22:161).

32 Collins and Flint, DJD 22:160.

33 Cf. 1 Macc 10:1–45; *Ant.* 13.39–57. For a full treatment of the problems inherent in the pertinent ancient sources and perspectives on triangulating them, see VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas*, 251–70.

another figure associated with the founding or appointment of a priestly house (Jonathan) and his progeny (Simon).

While Simon is the final extant name of a priest in the line before the content picks up again with reference to kings from Israel's past, the mention of at least three priestly figures from the mid-Second Temple period is significant. If the name of Daniel at the outset of the fragment is taken to signal the narrative setting and key character of the work—it seems far less likely that Daniel was transported back in time into the ages of the genealogies—then this section of the genealogy shifts from retrospective to prospective. While the memory of all the priestly generations presented in the list is past tense from the perspective of the reader, from the narrative vantage point of our character Daniel, the generations following Hilkiah project into the narrative future. That is, the genealogy blends a memorial catalogue of past priests with an *ex eventu* prospectus of priestly lines to come. This merging of memories and their strategic projection in the narrative, therefore, adds to Daniel's characterization as it positions him as an authority for prognosticating the direction of the priesthood from past, present, and future. While "biblical" Daniel is no stranger to *ex eventu* prophecies of a political nature in light of empire and at times reflects on the polluting impact of empire on temple worship (Dan 9:27; 11:31; 12:11), the application of this mechanism to the leadership of the temple is not part of his profile as a sage or seer in that work.

5.4 *Remembering Monarchic Origins as Separate from Priestly Lines and Leadership*

As 4Q245 1 i narrows, lines 11–12 transition the genealogy into a list of names associated with the monarchy. The names "David" and "Solomon" are at or near a clear reset in the genealogy. It is possible that the list commenced with Saul at the end of line 10, yet this is speculative. The partially extant reading "Ahaziah" and the largely reconstructed reading "Joash" seem reasonable in light of their paired naming in the list of kings in 1 Chr 3:11.[34] While much could be said of the inclusion of David and Solomon here, for the present purposes it is most significant that, not unlike what was observed for the priestly list, the scribe is interested in establishing memories of an institution through the monuments of its founding figures.

34 Collins and Flint, DJD 22:160. In a preliminary edition, Flint (Peter W. Flint, "4Qpseudo-Daniel ar[c] (4Q245) and the Restoration of the Priesthood," *RevQ* 17 [1996]: 137–50) included the reading "Mana]ss[eh" (ה]שּׁ[מנ) in line 13, which was rightly omitted from the official publication.

As was also the case with the priestly list, our Daniel is associated with yet another tradition—that of the monarchic age, including its earliest representatives—that has yet to figure in his characterization elsewhere in the tradition.[35] While Daniel has an extensive resume in the service of foreign kings in the Hebrew Scriptures, Pseudo-Daniel's memory of iconic kings of Israel's own history draws him more closely to the monarchic past. This seems to have enabled the scribe to utilize the Daniel tradition as a space for comment on a more recent manifestation of Jewish monarchy.

Since it is evident that the list of priests is clearly set apart from that of the kings—the lists occur separately and there is no overlap between them in terms of content or chronology—this structural mechanism of the genealogy presents a memory of these institutions as at once jointly part of Israelite heritage and distinct in their origins and expression. This separation of offices and *ex eventu* presentation of the genealogies may have served a rhetorical purpose in the author's own past or present, in which the delineation or dual occupation of these positions was a contentious issue for some groups. As Flint observed, 4Q245 envisages "that in the divine plan priests and kings belong to separate groupings, and are not to be mingled even when they overlap chronologically."[36] By ordering the memory of the institutions in this way, the genealogies likely make a prescription for the occupation and exercising of offices in the author's own day. Without a fuller knowledge of the compositional structure and social setting of 4Q245, the particular target of this rhetoric cannot be sited with certainty.

5.5 *Textuality and Authority of Pseudo-Daniel's Genealogical Memories*

The reference to a "writing" (כתב) (4Q245 1 i 4) in advance of the genealogy suggests that the list that follows is accessed or disclosed from a document presented as a prop within the narrative. Since Daniel is mentioned at 4Q245 1 i 3, he likely has some relation to the document and its transmission. 4Q243 6 2–3 includes yet another mention of booklore.[37] However, the limited context available makes Daniel's association or interaction with it unknown.[38]

35 Given the fragmentary nature of the evidence, the relation of the reference to Daniel and the content that follows is not certain. Yet as argued below, it seems the link is perhaps via booklore read or received.

36 Flint, "4Qpseudo-Daniel ar^{c} (4Q245)," 142.

37 Whether this is related to 4Q245 1 i 4 is uncertain.

38 John J. Collins, "Pseudo-Daniel," in *Writings outside the Bible: Ancient Jewish Writings Related to Scripture*, ed. Louis H. Feldman, James L. Kugel, and Lawrence H. Schiffman (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press/Jewish Publication Society, 2013), 614–19 (619), suggested that the phrase here in 4Q243 "is apparently [a reference] to a writing

The portrayal of figures accessing, inscribing, or expounding knowledge gleaned from booklore is a common literary theme in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls. In the biblical book, Daniel is no stranger to the scribal activities of reading and writing. Most often, these actions relate to his interpretive agency in unlocking cryptically inscribed omens, symbolic dream-visions, or interpretation of ancestral traditions (Dan 5:15–17; 7:1; 9:1–2; 12:4, 9).

4Q245 associates Daniel with lore of a distinctly different nature. Daniel either pens or, more likely, accesses a veritable book of memories spanning the scope of ancestral to national histories and beyond. This retrospective encapsulates memories of Israel's most iconic institutions and offices of leadership. The content of this inscribed "writing" is certainly of political significance yet its focus is not overtly on empire. Rather, its religious-political nature is concerned with precise and detailed knowledge of institutions and individuals that were (or would become) actors in the more localized, internal history of the Jewish people. In the Hebrew Scriptures, Daniel's *ex eventu* outlooks and inscribed revelations establish him as an authoritative figure with revealed and reliable knowledge of imperial movements. In both "biblical" and Pseudo-Daniel, the writtenness of these prophecies underscores their certainty and accentuates the authority of the figure delivering them.[39]

Daniel's association with booklore takes on new significance in the larger context of the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls. The redrawn portraits of ancestors

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that includes both past and future history." In view of the naming of Enoch in 4Q243 9 1, he posited that the mention of booklore in Pseudo-Daniel could be of Enochic origin. DiTommaso ("4Q*Pseudo-Daniel*$^{a-b}$," 128) argued that this Enochic origin is unlikely since Enoch's name "is mentioned in the portion of 4Q243/244 that contains the *ex eventu* review of history." However, since the name of Enoch is the only full and legible word on 4Q243 9, the placement of this fragment in the composition cannot be determined with certainty. In view of the Arabic *Malḥamat Dāniyāl*, which relates Daniel's retrieval of Adamic tablets from a hidden cave in Jerusalem, DiTommaso queried whether or not the booklore of Pseudo-Daniel was penned by Adam. He rightly noted, however, that "this very late connection … is impossible to prove" ("4Q*Pseudo-Daniel*$^{a-b}$," 129–30). The means of access to this document is equally uncertain in the limited context. Collins and Flint (DJD 22:135) suggest that Daniel is the reader of this inscribed content. DiTommaso ("4Q*Pseudo-Daniel*$^{a-b}$," 128) noted that, "[w]hether Daniel actually reads from the writing or interprets it is impossible to say." If the composition included some sort of revelatory encounter, the book in question would presumably fit either within the episode itself, plausibly disclosed by an otherworldly revealer, or would be a document penned by Daniel as a testimony to the content of the revelation.

39 On the symbolic significance and gradual rise of authority related to claims of writtenness in exilic and post-exilic literatures, see Hindy Najman, *Past Renewals: Interpretive Authority, Renewed Revelation and the Quest for Perfection in Jewish Antiquity*, JSJS 53 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 3–38.

regularly involved their transmission of booklore, performance of inscribed tradition, pseudepigraphic attribution, association with a book from the past, or various scribal actions of reading, penning, and hearing written materials.[40] While we do not know the exact origins of the document in the narrative of 4Q245, as well as the reference to a "writing" in 4Q243 6 2, the audience encounters it presumably through the conduit of Daniel: he is cast as either a privileged reader or writer of the tradition, as one who remembers and projects. As noted above, since some components of this genealogy remembered were *ex eventu*, Daniel's prophetic prowess and authority in Pseudo-Daniel is compounded on account of his association with booklore.

6 Allusions to Episodes from the Ancestral Past in the Imperial Present

While the previous sections have solidified Daniel's association with memories of named individuals of the patriarchal and monarchic periods, combing the fragments of Pseudo-Daniel reveals that its memorial to the past includes many mentions of events and episodes culled from the primeval history or themes of the exodus traditions.

6.1 *Pseudo-Daniel's Recollection of the Deluge among Aramaic Memories of the Flood*

The primeval past looms large in 4Q244 8. The phrase "from after the flood" (מן בתר מבולא) in line 2 signals a memory of the diluvian days of Genesis. The limited words that follow, however, indicate that Pseudo-Daniel's memory is cast in terms of broader Second Temple flood traditions. The location "Lubar" (לובר) in 4Q244 8 3 features elsewhere in the Aramaic texts, in Genesis Apocryphon

40 On this phenomenon across the Aramaic corpus, see Richard C. Steiner, "The Heading of the 'Book of the Words of Noah' on a Fragment of the Genesis Apocryphon: New Light on a 'Lost' Work," *DSD* 2 (1995): 66–71; Henryk Drawnel, "The Initial Narrative of the Visions of Amram and Its Literary Characteristics," *RevQ 24* (2010): 517–54; Andrew B. Perrin, "Capturing the Voices of Pseudepigraphic Personae: On the Form and Function of Incipits in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 20 (2013): 98–123; and Mladen Popović, "Pseudepigraphy and a Scribal Sense of the Past in the Ancient Mediterranean: A Copy of the Book of the Words of the Vision of Amram," in *Is There a Text in this Cave? Studies in the Textuality of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of George J. Brooke*, ed. Ariel Feldman, Maria Cioată, and Charlotte Hempel, STDJ 119 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 308–18. These superscriptions may also be considered in light of Hebrew texts both at Qumran (War Scroll, 1QS, Pseudo-Ezekiel) and the Hebrew Scriptures (the Psalms) that couch content using titular features deploying the names of authoritative figures.

(1QapGen 12:13) and Book of Giants (6Q8 26 1), as well as in Jub. 5:28 and 7:1. Jubilees cites Mount Lubar in the context of the founding of cities by Noah and his sons (7:17) as well as the location of Noah's burial (10:15). The mention of "a city" (קֹ֯רֹיה) in 4Q244 8 4 may indicate an analogous tradition. In these ways, the terms of reference for this memory of the flood in Pseudo-Daniel are represented in particular concentration in Aramaic literature among the Qumran scrolls or writings in some relation to such traditions.

6.2 *The Tower of Babel*

Though fragmentary, 4Q243 10 seems to reference a Babel tradition (Gen 11:1–9). This is suggested by the phrases "o]n the tower, and he sent" (ע]ל מגדלא ושלח) (line 2) and "to]inspect a building" (ל]בְּקרה בבנין) (line 3).[41] The partial phrase "the tower, [whose] heig[ht" (מגדלא רו֯]מה) at 4Q244 9 2 may also relate to this scene. Kugel suggested that 4Q243 10 2 may be read in light of the phrasing "let us go down" in Gen 10:7, perhaps suggesting that the interpretation in Pseudo-Daniel implied God remained in heaven while dispatching heavenly emissaries to investigate the tower.[42]

6.3 *The Exodus as Heard through the Memory of Genesis*

The phrase "Egypt, by the hand of" (מצרין ביד) in 4Q243 11 ii 2 hints at an exodus tradition. 4Q243 12, however, includes the fullest representation of terms reminiscent of the exodus in Pseudo-Daniel:

1. fo]ur hundred [years,] and from (שנין אר]בְּעֹ֯ מאה ומן)
2.]their […] and they will come out of (סֹ֯הון ויתון מן גוא)
3.] their crossing the Jordan, the [*x*th] jubilee[43] (מעברהון ירדנא יובל]א)

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41 For comments on the likely association of these phrases with Gen 11:4–5, see Florentino García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran*, STDJ 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 141; and Collins and Flint, DJD 22:104.

42 James L. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible As It Was at the Start of the Common Era* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 242. In translation, Cook seems to have rendered and reconstructed in view of such an understanding: "agai]nst the tower and He sent [angels" (Michael O. Wise, Martin G. Abegg, and Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* [New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 2005], 343). Note that in Gen 11:5, however, the statement about descending and viewing the city and the tower is in the singular.

43 Collins and Flint (DJD 22:105) rendered this line as "their crossing the rive[r] Jordan." García Martínez (*Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 141–42) previously concluded that given the nearby reference to the "Jordan" (ירדנא), the term יובל]א should be understood as the "*river* Jordan". At the time, he indicated the meaning "jubilee" was unknown in ancient Jewish Aramaic literature. However, it is now evident that the term occurs in 1QapGen 6:10 with this meaning. Furthermore, while there is indeed precedent in Hebrew literature for the terms יָבָל ("watercourse") (Is 30:25; 44:4; Job 20:28), יוּבַל ("canal" or "stream") (Jer 17:8;

4.]and their children [(ובניהון)
5.]…[(דיתוֹן)

This fragment not only closely relates the exodus with the memory of the wanderings and entering the land (see next), it sets the recollection of Egypt in a chronological framework indicating duration of captivity. The reference to 400 years seems to represent the prediction of Egyptian bondage presented to Abram in Gen 15:13, not the figure of 430 years as found in Exod 12:40–41. García Martínez noted that Jubilees deploys both figures in chronologies (cf. Jub. 16:13; 50:4) yet Pseudo-Daniel parallels the estimations of Philo (*Heir* 54) and Josephus (*Ant.* 2.8.2; *J.W.* 5.9.4; cf. *Ant.* 2.15.2), who both remembered the period of Egyptian captivity as 400 years.[44] The conspicuous connection of the figure 400 with Gen 15:13 increases the likelihood that Abraham was one of the ancestors included elsewhere in the lost Pseudo-Daniel text.[45]

6.4 *The Wilderness Period*

Pseudo-Daniel includes scattered references to items related to the wanderings and entry into the land. While nothing survives around the word in question, 4Q243 34 1 reads simply "from the tabernacle" (מן משכנא). This mention introduces yet another important priestly institution from the past. The term משכן referring to the tent of meeting is found in the Cave 4 Aramaic Leviticus translation (4Q156 2 4 [cf. MT אֹהֶל at Lev 16:20]) as well as in the fragmentary remains of the Enochic "Animal Apocalypse." In the latter, the reading מ]שכן is minimally preserved yet comes in the context of Moses founding the tent (4Q204 4 10 [1 En. 89:36]). In view of the interest in ancestral figures, it is possible that the mention of the "tabernacle" suggests the presence of Moses in some way.

1QH 8:7, 10), or אֲבָל ("canal") (Dan 8:2), nowhere is the Jordan *river* described in such geographical terms. *HALOT* lists the present instance of the term in Pseudo-Daniel as meaning "water-course" or "canal" on the recommendation of Milik (Józef T. Milik, "'Prière de Nabonide' et autres écrits d'un cycle de Daniel," *RB* 63 [1956]: 407–15, esp. 412). Beyer read and rendered along similar lines: ויבל ("und den Bach") (Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairoer Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten: Band II* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004], 140–41). However, this understanding should now be corrected to the gloss "jubilee year," as suggested here and listed appropriately by Cook (Edward M. Cook, *Dictionary of Qumran Aramaic* [Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015], 101). See also his translation of the passage along these lines in Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 343.

44 García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 141.

45 Recall the mention of "the Chaldeans" (כשדיא) in 4Q243 7 2.

As indicated in the text cited in the previous section, 4Q243 12 3 references the crossing of the Jordan. By virtue of the partially extant reading יובל]א[, this mention is set in some jubilean chronology. While not easily coordinated with any particular tradition in the Hebrew Scriptures referencing the fording of the Jordan, given that this phrase in 4Q243 12 3 follows content relating the exodus and Egyptian captivity, Pseudo-Daniel likely broached the entrance into the promised land in some way.

7 References to Babylonian, Assyrian, and Hellenistic Imperial Rulers

The bulk of this study has explored Pseudo-Daniel's integration of episodes and actors from the ancestral past and Israel's national history. The fragments also include mentions of persons and places from the imperial contexts of the exilic and post-exilic periods.

Given the plausible narrative setting of Pseudo-Daniel in a foreign court context, references to "Nebuchadnezzar" (4Q243 23 2) and "Balshazzar" (בלשצר) (4Q243 2 2) are perhaps not surprising. 4Q243 13 3, however, reads "to give them into the hand of Neb[uchadnezzar" (למנתן אנון ביד נבֿ[כדנצר).[46] The nature of this phrasing suggests that the reference to Nebuchadnezzar is within the historical review.[47] As DiTommaso noted, the reference to Balshazzar may indicate the narrative setting of this unit or the work.[48] At a minimum, these references to Babylonian kings in Pseudo-Daniel are associated with memories of the exile.

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46 The phrasing of 4Q243 13 3 resembles an important component of Qumran sectarian memory regarding the survival of a remnant in the opening column of the Damascus Document. CD 1:6 relates that after 390 years God "gave them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon" (לתיתו אותם ביד נבוכדנאצר מלך בבל). For general comments on this parallel, see Collins, "*Pseudo-Daniel* Revisited," 128; and Collins and Flint, DJD 22:137. Note also that this language in both texts seems to be informed by a use of Ps 104:41 (40) (Armin Lange and Matthias Weigold, *Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature*, JAJSup 5 [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011], 174). However, CD and Pseudo-Daniel share a secondary development, exchanging the generic "hand of the nations" (ביד גוים) in the biblical text for the more specific "hand of Nebuchadnezzar." While the question of the relevance of the book of Daniel to sectarian memory, historiography, and identity has been broached preliminarily, Hempel is correct that this angle on community origins must also take into consideration the broader set of now-known Danielic traditions and their potentially broader social settings (Charlotte Hempel, "The Community Rule and the Book of Daniel," in *The Qumran Rule Texts in Context: Collected Studies*, TSAJ 154 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013], 231–52).

47 Note this placement in Collins and Flint's reconstruction (DJD 22:147–48).

48 DiTommaso, "4Q*Pseudo-Daniel*$^{a-b}$," 111.

The view of imperial history in Pseudo-Daniel, however, extends in both directions from the narrative present. Daniel is associated with memories of antecedent empires as well as *ex eventu* content seemingly projecting geopolitical movements in the narrative's future and the audience's recent past. On the one hand, we find a retrospective reference to "Before the nobles of the king and the Assyrians" (קודם רברבני מלכא ואשׁורׄיא) in 4Q244 1–3 1.[49] On the other hand, 4Q243 21 2 includes reference to one "Balakros" (בלכרוס). As Collins highlighted, three of Alexander the Great's officers went by this name.[50] The inclusion of this name, therefore, registers the Hellenistic period in the memory and historiography of Pseudo-Daniel. It is possible that additional figures associated with the Hellenistic or Roman empires are named in 4Q243 19 1–2; however, since only the endings of two names have survived (רהוס[; וס[), these cannot be identified with certainty.[51] In view of these few references, García Martínez concluded that "despite the fact that the personages in question must retain their anonymity and remain wrapped in mystery, the mere circumstance of their mention by name is quite interesting, and differentiates our texts from other mss. of Qumran, in which allusions of an actual historical character are extremely rare."[52] I would add that this quality in Pseudo-Daniel also sets the Aramaic work apart from "biblical" Daniel, since the latter veils its critiques of empires and pagan kings in symbolic dream-visions and ciphers.

8 Conclusions

This study treated only aspects of the often complex and challenging fragments of Pseudo-Daniel. Nonetheless, the discussion above has implications

49 For other paired references to kings and nobility in Jewish Aramaic literature, see Dan 5:23; 1QapGen 19:24; and 4Q550 5 + 5a 3.

50 Collins, "*Pseudo-Daniel* Revisited," 128; cf. the discussion in García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 144–45. Mentions of this name in classical sources include: Diodorus Sciulus 17.57; 18.22; Arrian, *Anabasis* 1.29.3; 2.12.2; 3.5.5; 3.12.3; 4.4.6; 24.10. Both Collins and García Martínez rightly critiqued Milik's forced attempt to identify Balakros with Alexander Balas (Milik, "'Prière de Nabonide,'" 415).

51 While there is no consensus on the full names in view here, Milik proposed "Demetrius" (Milik, "'Prière de Nabonide,'" 414, n. 2), Puech suggested "Darius" (Émile Puech, *La croyance des Esseniens en la vie future: immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle? Histoire d'une croyance dans le judaïsme ancien*, EBib 21–22 [Paris: Gabalda, 1993], 568), and Collins briefly considered "Pyrrhus of Epirus," though he remarked that "[i]t is difficult to imagine why Pyrrhus should be mentioned in a Jewish apocalyptic text … Ultimately, any reconstruction of the name is only a guess" (Collins, "*Pseudo-Daniel* Revisited," 119).

52 García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 145.

for the question of Daniel's broader profile in ancient Jewish literature as well as for our understanding of Danielic traditions within the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls corpus.

8.1 *Remembering as a Creative Process for Character Development and Tradition Formation*

The threefold use of the curious turn of phrase that it was "*this* Daniel" (MT דְּנִיֵּאל דְּנָה) who escaped unscathed from the lion's den is a literary device for emphatically drawing attention to the persona at the heart of that dramatic episode (Dan 6:4, 6, 29). Rhetorically, we might ask: Is "this" Daniel in the biblical book the same as "that" Daniel encountered in Pseudo-Daniel? Yes and no.

To use the analogy of scenes, characters, and storyboards, it seems safe to say that in Aramaic Pseudo-Daniel—or any other representatives of the Danielic tradition in ancient Judaism—we are dealing with the same actor known from the "biblical" book, yet we are seeing him in a different performance setting where he is drawn differently. The contributors to this rapidly developing tradition in the centuries leading up to the Common Era seem to have cast Daniel in several scenes and stories and, therefore, cultivated a dynamic persona for the figure that worked itself out differently in different narrative settings. As a character, Daniel is bigger than any one text or performance. To push the analogy further, his performance in what became the "biblical" book won the accolade of a canonical position; however, it does not follow that this subsequent reception indicates the priority of this work in early formation of the broader Daniel tradition.

In the case of Pseudo-Daniel, at least part of Daniel's characterization was enabled or enhanced by an ambitious scribal attempt to foreground Daniel against a backdrop of curated memories of individuals, episodes, and eras from Israel's past. In many instances, the presentation of these memories included ancestral figures (Noah and Enoch), individuals foundational to the origins of the monarchy (David and Solomon) and historic priesthoods (Levi, Zadok, and Abiathar), as well as reference to essential parts of Israel's collective memory (the flood, exodus, and exiles). While our Daniel in Pseudo-Daniel remains a figure plausibly set in the Babylonian period, these memories of the past enhance his profile as a reliable conduit for delivering retrospective views of Israelite experience and prospective (or even prescriptive) outlooks for Jewish identity in the contemporary world of the scribe and audience.

The evidence that the Pseudo-Daniel materials assume or require a reference point in "biblical" Daniel is limited, or at a minimum, an area in need of further study. Therefore, what is at the core of the tradition at this early stage is a character, not a particular text within that tradition. While the book of

Daniel became popular in and beyond Qumran shortly after its composition in the mid-second century BCE, I would argue that the status of the book is in many ways indebted to the stature of the character within it. This stature was achieved in part by his elevated profile developed *across* the tradition, which was initiated and cultivated in ancient Jewish Aramaic scribal settings. While we find a significant mention of Daniel in Florilegium, it is intriguing that the phrase "whi]ch was written in the writing of Daniel the prophet" (אש]ר כתוב בספר דניאל הנביא) (4Q174 1–3 ii 3) both associates this figure with some authoritative inscribed tradition as well as underscores the prophetic persona behind it.

8.2 *Implications for Articulating the Contours and Categories of the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls Corpus*

As is widely recognized in current scholarship on the Qumran Aramaic texts, these writings are generally oriented around either the antediluvian/ancestral past or the exilic age.[53] This observation certainly accounts for the predominant compositional and narrative settings across the corpus. On literary grounds, Pseudo-Daniel is no exception: Daniel again finds himself on the payroll of the Babylonian court. However, in terms of the content of the materials associated with the persona of Daniel in this exilic context, the majority of eras, episodes, and individuals included in the fragmentary remains were memories from the ancestral and national pasts. Pseudo-Daniel's recollections effectively straddled both the predominant settings of the Aramaic texts. While the work was set in the recent exilic past, a significant amount of its content and concerns were anchored in the more antiquated ancestral past, not least traditions from Genesis.

Furthermore, the work traversed the territory and times between these ages. The genealogical traditions described above perhaps best illustrate this point. This vehicle of memory included references to founding figures and lines initiated in Genesis, acknowledged the heads of multiple priestly families of

53 For comment on these predominant narrative settings, see Devorah Dimant, "Themes and Genres in the Aramaic Texts from Qumran," in *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran in Aix-en-Provence, 30 June–2 July 2008*, ed. Katell Berthelot and Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, STDJ 94 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 15–45; Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, "Aramaic Texts from Qumran and the Authoritativeness of Hebrew Scriptures: Preliminary Observations," in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism*, ed. Mladen Popović, JSJS 141 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 155–71; and Florentino García Martínez, "Les rapports avec l'Écriture des textes araméenes trouvés à Qumran," in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the Scriptures*, ed. Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, BETL 270 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 19–40.

the monarchic period, and eventually named high priests that extended into the Second Temple period.[54] The mention of royal figures—not least David and Solomon—established a space for remembering the united monarchy of Israel. While Pseudo-Daniel's narrative is related in retrospect from the eastern diaspora, the coverage of its memories was not limited to the poles of Israelite history. Rather, their trajectories originated in the ancestral past, set explicit signposts throughout Israelite history, and terminated in the eschatological future.

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54 Pseudo-Daniel includes more non-ciphered references to individuals, events, and institutions related to history proper than any other writing in the Qumran Aramaic corpus. Second to Pseudo-Daniel is the not easily understood scattered references to the "kingdom of Uzziah" (מלכות עוזיה), "Elijah" (אליה), and "Elisha" (אל֯יש[ע]) in the highly fragmentary text of 4QpapVision^{b} (4Q558 29 4; 51 ii 4; 62 2). The Enochic "Animal Apocalypse" should also register in the conversation, as this text is clearly set in the antediluvian age yet includes memories shrouded in symbolic ciphers of a large sweep of Israelite history, including content from Israel's national history (cf. 1 En. 89:39–58).

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Transmitting Patriarchal Voices in Aramaic: Claims of Authenticity and Reliability

Mika S. Pajunen

1 Introduction

The processes and mechanisms of transmitting traditions in Second Temple Judaism have from the beginning of critical scholarship been one of the focal points investigated in biblical studies. Transmission processes are indeed a complex and central issue that can be studied from a number of different perspectives and this has repercussions on more than just reconstructing the literary history of the Hebrew Bible and related literature. Classic theories concerning literary transmission, formed particularly through text- and literary-critical investigations, have been used as a methodological foundation for a plethora of individual studies. While such analyses provide much needed data on the mechanics of transmission, they cannot alone provide a full picture of the overall processes that have affected the transmission of traditions, on both theoretical and practical levels. Furthermore, the increase of source material, brought about especially by the publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls, has demonstrated the limits of the current models and methods related to textual transmission. In recent scholarship the challenge of the available empirical evidence has been taken more seriously,[1] and the oral part of the transmission processes has received some much needed attention as a counterweight to the previous predominance of the literary perspective. Some scholars, such as Raymond Person, have even claimed that the transmission of traditions in Second Temple Judaism was primarily done through oral performance, thus making literary transmission only a secondary tool in the transmission process.[2] If such views were to be accepted, it would have a profound impact

1 For fresh empirically based models of transmission mechanics seeking to revise some of the more traditional methods, see, for example, Juha Pakkala, *God's Word Omitted: Omissions in the Transmission of the Hebrew Bible*, FRLANT 251 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013); Juha Pakkala, Reinhard Müller, and Bas ter Haar Romeny, *Evidence of Editing: Growth and Change of Texts in the Hebrew Bible*, RBS 75 (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2013).

2 For recent advances on the role of orality in the transmission processes and criticism of the traditional models, see, for example, Raymond F. Person Jr., *From Conversation to Oral Tradition: A Simplest Systematics for Oral Traditions*, Routledge Studies in Rhetoric and Stylistics 10 (New York: Routledge, 2016); idem, "Education and the Transmission of

on the field of biblical studies by, for instance, marginalizing the meaning usually placed on textual variants for understanding the development of traditions as well as the historical conclusions based on such studies.

The Aramaic corpus from the Qumran caves,[3] and especially the traditions connected with patriarchal figures, highlight the process of transmission as one integral element either explicitly stressed or at least more implicitly present in most of them. The transmission process itself is not typically argued for in these works. Rather, it is something the actual authors of these works take as a given and hence as a point of departure for implementing their own literary agendas and strategies. The modes of transmission and the relative importance given to them can thus reveal something about the basic processes of transmission in the society underlying these sources. Naturally, an investigation dealing only with this particular corpus will not by itself be usable as a broad theoretical basis for conclusions about transmission of traditions, but it does show how traditions were typically transmitted in the sociohistorical setting(s) of these particular authors roughly during the early and mid-Hellenistic period.[4] This in turn should be taken into consideration when discussing the relative importance of the oral and literary parts of the transmission processes in late Second Temple Judaism more broadly.

When studying modes of transmission in a society underlying the surviving sources, it is necessary to make it clear when one is talking about the literary setting and when about the historical one.[5] On the one hand, the references that will be brought up for closer inspection in this study naturally relate, on

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Tradition," in *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Ancient Israel*, ed. Susan Niditch (West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), 366–78; Raymond F. Person Jr. and Robert Rezetko, eds., *Empirical Models Challenging Biblical Criticism*, AIL 25 (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2016).

3 For the discussion of whether the Aramaic works from Qumran constitute a distinct corpus, see, for example, Devorah Dimant, "The Qumran Aramaic Texts and the Qumran Community," in *Flores Florentino: The Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, ed. Anthony Hilhorst, Émile Puech, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, JSJSup 122 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 197–205; Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, "Aramaic Texts from Qumran and the Authoritativeness of Hebrew Scriptures: Preliminary Observations," in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism*, ed. Mladen Popović, JSJSup 141 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 155–71; Andrew B. Perrin, *The Dynamics of Dream-Vision Revelation in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls*, JAJSup 19 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 30–37.

4 The Aramaic works from Qumran are generally dated by scholars roughly to this time span; see, for example, Daniel Machiela, "Situating the Aramaic Texts from Qumran: Reconsidering Their Language and Socio-Historical Settings," in *Apocalyptic Thinking in Early Judaism Engaging with John Collins' The Apocalyptic Imagination*, ed. Cecilia Wassen and Sidnie White Crawford, JSJSup 182 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 90–91.

5 For the constant need for such differentiation, see Adele Berlin, "Speakers and Scenarios: Imagining the First Temple in Second Temple Psalms (Psalms 122 and 137)," in *Functions of*

the surface level, the transmission of traditions from the implied authors of the works to their implied audiences in a particular literary setting. On the other hand, the literary strategies and underlying motives for stressing specific elements in the transmission process display the agendas and basic assumptions of the actual authors in their attempts to reach and influence their actual target audiences in the historical setting.[6] The study will, therefore, proceed by first examining the origins claimed for particular traditions in the literary settings of the Aramaic works and how their transmission is displayed. This analysis will highlight some common literary strategies and shared motifs that plausibly reveal concerns of the actual authors related to the transmission of traditions. The potential background of these specific similarities will then be briefly explored in the second part of this article where the emphasis is on issues related to the historical rather than the literary setting.

2 The Origins and Transmission of Traditions

In the following, key references pertaining to the implied origins of traditions and their further transmission in the literary settings of the Aramaic corpus from Qumran will be examined. The investigation deals particularly with the works that have a literary setting preceding Sinai because aspects related to transmission are most clearly present in them. Other works in the Aramaic corpus not pertaining to this literary setting, at least in their present state of preservation, will be brought up only when they share important elements with the principal sources of this study. As is the case with practically all of the Qumran evidence, the works in the Aramaic corpus are highly fragmentary and hence only partial evidence has been preserved. Nevertheless, the preserved portions display enough similar literary agendas that they can provide an overall picture of the way transmission processes seem to be presented in the parts

Psalms and Prayers in the Late Second Temple Period, ed. Mika Pajunen and Jeremy Penner, BZAW 486 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017), 341–55.

6 This terminology also relates to investigating the processes whereby a work might accrue authority as shown by the insightful study of George J. Brooke, "Authority and Authoritativeness of Scripture: Some Clues from the Dead Sea Scrolls," *RevQ* 100 (2012): 507–23. However, this study will not deal with the question of whether some audiences in the late Second Temple period might have perceived the Aramaic works from Qumran as authoritative and in what way. It does note some issues pertinent to such a study and raises some questions related to similar issues but covers only small portions of possibly authority-related motifs in the Aramaic works, deals very little with the actual authors of the works, and hardly discusses the audiences of the works, implied or actual, which would be necessary for a comprehensive study related to the possible authority of these works in different communities.

of the corpus containing implied patriarchal voices, even if some individual manuscripts are too fragmentary to provide enough answers on their own.

The already well-known Genesis Apocryphon that was one of the very first scrolls discovered in Cave 1 recaps some of the traditions in Genesis,[7] and it is to be noted that most of the other Aramaic works discussed here also fall into this same general literary framework provided by the somewhat earlier Genesis accounts in Hebrew. This is a feature well acknowledged by scholars to which we will return later in this article. The persons claimed to have written and passed on the traditions now present in the Genesis Apocryphon are the patriarchs themselves, such as Enoch, Lamech, Noah, and Abram. Unlike Genesis, which features an "all-knowing narrator," the Genesis Apocryphon presents the traditions in it as largely first-person singular narrations of the events. This literary strategy used in the Genesis Apocryphon gives the traditions a stamp of authenticity as something actually related by the patriarchs involved in the events, rather than second-hand accounts written by someone else as the traditions in Genesis might be viewed. This kind of use of the first-person singular as the predominant voice of the implied author(s) is true of most of the works in the Aramaic corpus from Qumran and is one of the most distinctive features of that corpus.[8] The first-person accounts make it clear that this version of the tradition is intended to be perceived as a more reliable and complete form of the tradition than other already existing accounts, most significantly Genesis. Moreover, most of these works not only claim that the works are the words of the patriarchs themselves but that they furthermore contain revelations, previously unknown to the actual audiences of the work, received from God and reliably interpreted by the patriarchs. For instance, in the Genesis Apocryphon Enoch, Noah, and Abram all interpret dream oracles (for example, 1QapGen 2:20–21; 6:11–14; 19:14–21).[9]

The actual transmission process of diverse traditions is depicted in the Genesis Apocryphon as a primarily literary line of transmission, or at least literary works are emphasized as reliable sources that are employed in oral declaration contexts to proclaim and teach knowledge found in them. For example, Abram gives knowledge to men sent by the pharaoh by reading the words of Enoch (1QapGen 19:25) and a book of Noah is mentioned (1QapGen 5:29),

7 See Daniel Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

8 See, for instance, Devorah Dimant, "Themes and Genres in the Aramaic Texts from Qumran," in *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran in Aix-en-Provence 30 June–2 July 2008,* ed. Katell Berthelot and Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, STDJ 94 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 15–45; Machiela, "Situating the Aramaic Texts," 91.

9 See further Perrin, *The Dynamics of Dream-Vision Revelation*, 52–57, 128–43.

apparently as the title for the subsequent first-person singular account of Noah. Unfortunately, the very beginning of the Genesis Apocryphon is now lost and it cannot be known whether it contained references to the transmission of the work itself as is the case with the Testament of Qahat and Visions of Amram discussed below. Nevertheless, the literary form of Genesis Apocryphon itself also seems to point to the perceived reliability of this mode of communication.

Another work presented in a first-person singular voice, the Testament of Qahat (4Q542),[10] contains teaching and admonitions related as Qahat's words to his offspring, the priestly and Levitical lines. It also claims to contain traditions that were previously passed down in literary form to Qahat from his father Levi (4Q542 1 ii 9–13).[11] The text admonishes the audience to heed laws and deeds that are related to Abraham, Jacob, Levi, and Qahat himself (4Q542 1 i 7–12). Thus, the patriarchs are again emphasized as trustworthy originators of the traditions presented in the work. This time the patriarchs are credited as sources of knowledge, ethics, and regulations to be heeded. The preserved part of the text apparently contains part of a foreword written by Qahat for the following literary traditions presented as deriving from Levi that Qahat now in turn passes on to the care of his son Amram and the next generations in the Levitical line.

Literary traditions are thus once more given pride of place and used to claim reliability for the message of the rest of the work that is unfortunately now lost. Both Levi and Qahat are used as the implied authorial voices of the work but the authenticity of these voices is further guaranteed by the mode of literary transmission and enhanced by the notion that the literary tradition has already been reliably passed on from Levi to Qahat and will continue to be transmitted faithfully by all the subsequent generations of Levites. The stress placed on the authenticity and reliable transmission of the tradition seems to presuppose the ideal concerning the immutability of texts that is claimed in many works, such as Deuteronomy (Deut 4:2; 13:1), the Temple Scroll (11QT^a 54:5–7), and by Josephus (*Ant.* 1.17). As is well evidenced in the preserved literature from this period, in practice this ideal was not really honored by authors and editors, including the authors of the above passages. Nevertheless, the idea that literary traditions would be more reliable and stable than oral ones seems to have been present and underscored by at least some authors in

10 See Émile Puech, *Qumran Grotte 4.XXII: Textes araméens, première partie: 4Q529–549*, DJD 31 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 257–82.

11 The emphasis placed on the written form of the tradition in the Testament of Qahat, Aramaic Levi Document, and Visions of Amram has also been observed by Dimant, "Themes and Genres," 29–32.

the Second Temple period and it appears to have been further used as a way of convincing people about the authenticity of particular traditions.

As a third example, the so-called Birth of Noah text (4Q534–536)[12] is once more presented at least partly as the actual words of an authorial figure and it also displays other literary works as important sources of reliable knowledge. In 4Q534 1 i 5, three books are mentioned that a person is to learn in order to become wise. These are obviously literary traditions, and, as the father and forefathers of the implied author are mentioned next in the text, it seems these three literary works are related by the chronologically preceding patriarchs to the main authorial voice in much the same way as in the Testament of Qahat. These earlier literary traditions supposedly teach "secrets" of the universe, and the implied author of this work is presented as a transmitter of such secrets (4Q534 1 i 6–11; 2 i 8–13). In 4Q536 2 ii 12–13 further emphasis is placed on the value of literary traditions as it speaks about writing the "I" narrator's words in a book, which the composition itself obviously does. Thus, once more a scene of an oral declaration written down by the person receiving the revelation is depicted as the original source of the Aramaic literary tradition, guaranteeing its authenticity. Whether or not the words ever actually were transmitted orally before being written down is doubtful in this case, but it is important to note that the writing down and passing on of oral declarations in a literary form is seen as an occasion of solidifying the tradition and making it, or rather claiming it to be, more reliable than a purely oral tradition.

This basic picture of transmission found in the above three examples seems to be shared by a great number of the Aramaic texts. There is frequently an authorial "I" that is typically identified with a patriarch. This "I" then recounts events related to himself and his life or traditions supposedly passed down by the previous patriarchs in a direct line of succession, admonitions meant to be followed, and/or interpretations of visions allegedly seen by the implied author that are associated with the future or heavenly matters otherwise unapproachable by humans. It is quite typically emphasized in these works that the words are now in literary form, even if an oral declaration setting is given as the first occasion for the unveiling of the revelation in question. Such features are present, for example, in the Aramaic Levi Document (1Q21, 4Q213–214),[13] which mentions other literary works (4Q213 2 9; 4Q214a 2–3 ii 5) and contains

12 See Puech, DJD 31:117–70.

13 For the official editions, see, Józef T. Milik, "21. Testament de Lévi," in *Qumran Cave 1*, ed. Dominique Barthélemy and Józef T. Milik, DJD 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 87–90; Michael Stone and Jonas Greenfield, "Levi Aramaic Document," in *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*, ed. George J. Brooke et al., DJD 22 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 1–72.

revelations shown to the implied author of the work, Levi, in a literary form. Furthermore, if the larger framework of the Aramaic Levi Document, not preserved in the Qumran Levi material, is taken into account, further clues concerning the implied transmission of this tradition are found. On the whole, the traditions in the Aramaic Levi Document are presented as transmitted to Levi by the previous patriarchs and through him to the care of the Levitical line, making them the further transmitters of this literary heritage. The regulations concerning proper sacrifices are, for instance, according to the Aramaic Levi Document given to Levi by Isaac who in turn was instructed by Abraham in accordance with the Book of Noah.[14] While the tradition seems to have been passed on orally from Abraham to Isaac and then to Levi, a literary transmission is claimed to have both preceded and followed this phase. The implied origins and subsequent chain of custody for this particular tradition are thus made abundantly clear and were seemingly a matter of importance for the actual author of the work. The overall emphasis placed on the authentic origins of the traditions in the Aramaic Levi Document and on its reliable literary transmission to future generations is quite similar to that found in the Testament of Qahat, and once more the medium used to transmit the tradition from earlier patriarchal times to future generations is Levi and his descendants.

Agendas similar to these are also visible in other Aramaic works dealing with the antediluvian and patriarchal periods. The books of Enoch and the related traditions in the Book of Giants (1Q23–24, 2Q26, 4Q201–212, 4Q530–533, 6Q8) feature visions interpreted by Enoch himself and events supposedly witnessed by him,[15] and mention is made of an announcement of revelations by Enoch that he himself has written down (4Q203 8 3–4; cf. 4Q204 1 vi 9 and 19). Enoch is also said to have seen the future as written reliably on heavenly tablets and passed the tradition on to his descendants (4Q204 5 ii 26–27; 4Q212 1 ii 22–24; 4Q212 1 iii 21–23). Words of Michael (4Q529)[16] is also a first-person singular

14 See further Henryk Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document*, JSJSup 86 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 80–81.

15 For text editions of these manuscripts, see especially, Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Texts, Translation and Commentary*, TSAJ 63 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997): idem, "201. 4QEnoch^{a}, 203. 4QEnoch Giants^{a} ar, 206. 2–3. 4QEnoch^{f} ar, 1Q23. 1QEnochGiants^{a} ar, 1Q24. 1QEnochGiants^{b}? ar 2Q27. 2QEnochGiants ar, 6QpapGiants ar," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts, and Miscellanea, Part 1*, ed. Stephen Pfann (cryptic texts), Philip Alexander et al. (miscellania), DJD 36 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 3–94; Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar and Florentino García Martínez, "208–209. 4QAstronomical Enoch^{a-b} ar," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts, and Miscellanea, Part 1*, ed. Stephen Pfann (cryptic texts), Philip Alexander et al. (miscellania), DJD 36 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 95–171; Puech, DJD 31:9–116.

16 See Puech, DJD 31:1–8.

narrative where the written form of the work is emphasized at the very beginning, which introduces the work as the words of the Book of Michael that he told the angels (4Q529 1 1), and it also speaks about what is written in the book of the great eternal lord (4Q529 1 6). "I" speakers and writing on scrolls or tablets are also mentioned in the more fragmentary testamentary material, such as 4Q537, which features a revelation on heavenly tablets disclosing the future to the implied author, who is apparently Jacob (4Q537 1–3 3–5), and in 4Q541, where the implied author is depicted as studying previously hidden written revelations (4Q541 7), in turn exhorting his implied audience to study the given written revelation carefully in order to know what will happen, but to be careful not to damage the scrolls (4Q541 24 ii 3–4).[17]

A final work in the Qumran Aramaic corpus dealing with the patriarchs that deserves a separate mention is Visions of Amram.[18] In the opening line, the work is presented explicitly as "a copy of the book, the words and visions of Amram" containing all he declared and commanded to his sons Moses and Aaron (4Q543 1 1–2). Again, at least a partly oral declaration is claimed to have been written down, apparently by the "I" speaker himself who is explicitly depicted in 4Q547 9 8–9 as seeing a vision and writing it down (cf. 4Q545 4 15–16; 4Q549 2 6).[19] In light of the similar agendas found in the examples just given, a wording similar to the one at the beginning of the Visions of Amram could probably be applied to most of these Aramaic works dealing with the patriarchs, just replacing Amram with the other patriarchal voices used. In practical terms, from the point of view of the literary setting, it is of course necessary in order for the purported visions to be truthfully and reliably transmitted that they are either written down or otherwise directly related by the person who experienced them because only these specific individuals are allowed to see them, let alone interpret them correctly. And this is something that most of the Qumran Aramaic texts dealing with the patriarchs are very careful to do; they explicitly describe the alleged origin of the tradition and the chain of custody through which it ended up in the current work. Hence, by the aid of carefully chosen literary strategies, these traditions are presented

17 For the editions of the manuscripts, see Puech, DJD 31:171–90, 213–56. The New Jerusalem texts (1Q32, 2Q24, 4Q554, 4Q554a, 4Q555, 5Q15, and 11Q18) are somewhat distinct in form from these other works and the speaker is not identified in the preserved text, but it is nevertheless another first-person visionary experience that might be connected with a patriarch.

18 See Puech, DJD 31:283–406.

19 See also Henryk Drawnel, "The Initial Narrative of the Visions of Amram and Its Literary Characteristics," *RevQ* 96 (2010): 517–54 (527).

to their actual Second Temple audiences as authentic accounts that have been transmitted reliably in written form from the beginning.

To make it clear, it is not claimed here that all of these Aramaic texts should be indiscriminately grouped together; on the contrary, they should continue to be studied both separately and as a corpus containing diverse material. But nevertheless, there are some significant similarities in them, especially concerning the literary devices employed, that should be investigated as common literary strategies, whether employed by the same circles or by different groups of authors successively imitating previous works. Some of these similarities have already been quite extensively studied by scholars, and it is far beyond the scope of the present investigation to deal with all of them, but several of the similarities seem elemental for perceiving the motives behind the emphasis placed on the origin and transmission of these traditions. These will be briefly taken up in the following. One of these features is the often encountered authorial "I" that is rare in Hebrew works except for words of God and the voices of most psalmists. As always, there are some other exceptions, especially in poetic works, but overall there does seem to be a marked difference between the Hebrew and Aramaic works in this respect. Furthermore, if a comparison is made between the Aramaic narratives and Hebrew narrative works, the difference is much more distinctive. Another significant similarity in the Aramaic corpus from Qumran is the chosen literary setting, which is predominantly pre-Sinai. Only the Aramaic Tobit and Daniel traditions are clear exceptions in both these respects. They are set in the exilic period and hence presume Sinai rather than precede it, and both of them are mostly third person accounts of the events. Daniel does see visions and they are sealed in a book and the priestly lineage is present in 4Q245 1 i 4–12, where the list of high priests is preceded by a notion of a literary work. However, regardless of these few similarities, the Daniel and Tobit traditions are in overall terms quite different from the other Aramaic works discussed here, and will thus not be investigated further in this study.

An obvious similarity that is shared by all these works, and which is of course the main reason they were originally grouped together, is the Aramaic language. It is debated whether the choice of Aramaic over Hebrew is to be related to the literary settings used in these works, as a way of further strengthening their claims for authenticity, or to the sociohistorical setting of the actual authors. This is a complex question that should be discussed separately for each of the Aramaic works, as far as possible, and the answer may not be either/or in each case. Because of the other shared literary strategies in these works it seems plausible that the language may at least have served

as yet another tool for making the literary setting appear more authentic.[20] If Hebrew as a language was revealed only at Sinai to Moses, as some may have believed in the late Second Temple period,[21] then logically the pre-Sinai people had to have spoken some other language. A notion of the patriarchs as wandering Arameans (Deut 26:5) may have played into this language choice as well, or perhaps Aramaic as a widely spread Semitic language in official use at the time these Aramaic works were written was seen as a plausible lingua franca of the pre-flood people passed down to subsequent generations through Noah and his sons.[22] Be that as it may, the practical reason for writing in Aramaic could have been that if the language of the patriarchs was not yet Hebrew then Aramaic was a language at least equally understandable by the target audiences and could be presented to them as a plausible alternative for Hebrew in literary settings where Hebrew would not be the expected language. Most of the works in Aramaic from Qumran seem to deal with people living at a pre-Sinai time or in a foreign country and speaking with foreigners,[23] which does imply that some of the actual authors of these works may have used Aramaic consciously to try and paint a more authentic scene of the events to their audiences.[24] But it could also be that sometimes the selected language and terminology additionally reflect choices necessitated by the actual author's own sociohistorical setting and aim to reach more people, even abroad.[25] Of course, these are not mutually exclusive alternatives; for example, the use of more general divine epithets, such as "God Most High" (אל עליון) rather than "God of Israel" (אלהי ישראל) can be argued to relate to the real sociopolitical international setting the work was aimed at, or to have been chosen because of

20 Dimant, "The Qumran Aramaic Texts," 203, astutely notes the paucity of Aramaic works that would pertain to the period from Moses to the end of the kingdom of Judah as well as to the prophets connected with these periods.

21 For some possible sources pointing in this direction, see Jonathan Ben-Dov, "Hebrew and Aramaic Writing in the Pseudepigrapha and the Qumran Scrolls: The Ancient Near Eastern Background and the Quest for a Written Authority," *Tarbiz* 78 (2009): 27–60 (in Hebrew).

22 For Aramaic as a lingua franca in the Levant during the approximate period the Aramaic corpus was written, see Machiela, "Situating the Aramaic Texts," 101–102. When a language has such a position in the historical setting of the actual authors, it is easy, and probably even plausible to the actual audience of the works, to project a similar situation backwards in time to the imaginary literary settings as well.

23 For the predominance of these two literary settings in the Aramaic corpus from Qumran, see Dimant, "The Qumran Aramaic Texts," 197–205; "Themes and Genres," 15–45.

24 For the use of Aramaic as primarily instigated by concerns related to the literary settings of the works, see, for example, Dimant, "The Qumran Aramaic Texts," 204; Ben-Dov, "Hebrew and Aramaic Writing," 27–60.

25 See especially Machiela, "Situating the Aramaic Texts," 88–109.

a literary setting preceding the exodus, which is when God explicitly becomes the God of Israel,[26] or both kinds of motives may have played a part in the choice of terminology.

Intriguing in terms of this choice of language is Jubilees, which seems to intentionally pit itself against the Aramaic traditions concerning the patriarchs at least slightly predating it by endorsing the authentic nature of the Hebrew traditions concerning the patriarchs, and hence also its own reinterpretation of them. It not only enforces the Mosaic, Sinai-centered origins for the accounts concerning the primordial and patriarchal times, but also explicitly states that Hebrew was the language of creation and was taught by an angel to Abraham, who then studied literary works written by his forefathers that are again emphatically claimed to have been in Hebrew (Jub. 12:26–27). This emphasis on Hebrew is probably partly a move instigated by changes in the social setting of the actual authors but it is also a rather direct statement against the claims for authenticity of works written as first-person accounts in Aramaic, such as, the Genesis Apocryphon.[27] Furthermore, it implies that at least the author(s) of Jubilees took the language choice between Hebrew and Aramaic as a strategy pertaining to the authenticity of a tradition, the Aramaic patriarchal voices against the Hebrew ones, choosing to defend the authenticity of the latter over against the former. Naturally this only tells us about the possible way in which the author of Jubilees may have interpreted the matter, not about why the actual authors of the Aramaic corpus originally made the language choice. But it is a sign of how the language choice may have been perceived by some authors around the middle of the second century BCE. While the use of Aramaic at least as a literary strategy thus seems likely, the least that can be said is that the choice of Aramaic over Hebrew seems to be connected with the international setting of these works, be it literary, historical, or both.

All the literary strategies discussed above pertain to the claims of authenticity and reliability of the patriarchal traditions in Aramaic and this also appears to be the motive for highlighting the transmission of traditions in many of these works. It is clear on the basis of the above survey that the literary medium was regarded by the actual authors of these works as giving their works a further cachet of authenticity and reliability. Even in the preserved sections many of the works state that they were written by the implied authors themselves, and further literary works, by preceding patriarchs or in the form

26 The epithet is used for the first time by Moses in Exod 5:1.

27 For a more thorough analysis regarding the Jubilees passage and Jubilees as a whole in connection with the patriarchal voices in Aramaic, see Ben-Dov, "Hebrew and Aramaic Writing," 27–60.

of heavenly records, are sometimes presented as the basis of parts of the current literary work. It is also frequently asserted who were designated as the custodians and transmitters of the literary work after it left the hands of the implied author. Thus, the primary position given to the written record in these works is quite evident and it would seem an odd literary strategy if a similar value was not placed on written works in the underlying society of the early to mid Hellenistic period.

The role of the oral component in the transmission process is much harder to decipher in these works because of the marked emphasis placed on written traditions. It seems that in the literary setting of at least some of these works an oral component is part of a new interpretation given to prior literary works before the interpretation itself in turn becomes a part of the stream of literary traditions. For example, the tradition concerning sacrifices in the Aramaic Levi Document discussed above seems to go through a period of oral interpretation. The tradition is said to be based on a Book of Noah, but this book is not directly passed on to Levi. Rather, Abraham teaches the regulations to Isaac in accordance with this book, and Isaac, in turn, orally instructs Levi. This oral phase of the tradition seems to be based on the Book of Noah but interpreting it further while at the same time being generally in accordance with it. The oral teaching of Isaac is then again placed in written form by Levi and transmitted to future generations. Similarly, in the so-called Birth of Noah texts, the implied author is said to possess three prior literary works teaching secrets of the universe, but it is not stated that the so-called Birth of Noah is to reproduce these works but rather to contain the words of the implied author concerning the issues covered in these prior works, and the same can be said about the relation of the Enochic traditions to the heavenly tablets (cf. 4Q529 and 4Q537), and that of the Testament of Qahat to the traditions from Levi that Qahat claims to have received in written form. In all these cases one or more written records, presented as reliable works on their own, are depicted as a partial basis for the oral declaration and further interpretation of such traditions presented in the voice of the implied author, which are moreover typically enhanced by further divine revelations only accessible to the implied author. This fresh revelation and interpretation is then written down in turn, usually by the implied author himself.

Such fresh written works, containing both interpretation of some prior traditions as well as new revelations, also claim a legitimacy and authenticity for the interpretation of specific traditions perhaps lacking before. The so-called *Fortschreibung* technique used in the transmission of literary works, at least during the early Second Temple period, of course places later interpretive elements as parts of the prior literary work itself, but the Aramaic texts mostly

seem to represent a slightly different, and perhaps later, scenario where the tradition in written form and its oral interpretation are more often consecutive phases that result in the creation of further literary works, not in the direct editing of the interpreted literary work itself. For the most part these Aramaic works dealing with the patriarchs seem to be meant to exist alongside prior works, not as direct replacements for them. They claim to offer a more reliable and authentic account of some events, but also completely new divine revelations and historical details complementing the previously existing traditions. As literary traditions, the content of these Aramaic works would then likely be viewed in such a sociohistorical setting as open to subsequent oral interpretations but at the same time these already written traditions would continue to be transmitted to further generations. The model of transmission in at least some of the Aramaic works from Qumran appears, thus, to be cyclical, alternating between written tradition and its oral explication that forms the basis for further literary works, and so forth. The written tradition seems to be the more prominent and stable ingredient in the process whereas the oral component serves as an actualization of the message of the written works in changing times and settings. These are then in turn written down and serve once more as a basis for fresh oral interpretation. This mode of transmission seeks to simultaneously ensure the relative stability of the tradition through its relative faithfulness to the written basis and its potential to answer ever changing questions and problematic issues in the traditions through oral interpretation that is then written down in turn as another seemingly authentic revelation and enters the stream of literary traditions.[28] Thus, at least some of the Aramaic works from Qumran seem to be situated roughly in the middle of a trajectory concerning the explicitness of the interpretation of a tradition. At one end would be the kind of scene depicted in Neh 8:8–9 where the written tradition is read and subsequently orally interpreted for the people but the oral interpretation is not said to be written down. On the other end stand the commentary works from the late Second Temple period, such as the pesharim, where the base text and its interpretation are both written down in the same document, ensuring that the "correct" interpretation is also preserved in writing together with the source text, but already clearly separated from one another. Due to the fragmentary state of the material, it cannot be said whether all the discussed

28 If true, this kind of general attitude towards literary works would in time result in a great number of diverse literary works claiming to be representatives of a specific larger tradition, all of which would continue to be copied to further generations, and, incidentally, this kind of textual plurality is evident in the collection of texts preserved in the Qumran caves.

Aramaic works subscribe to a similar process of transmission but it seems that in general they depict the literary form of traditions as the more reliable one, and hence the remaining uncertainty relates most of all to the importance and place of the oral aspect of the transmission processes at the time when these works were written.

3 Compositional Agendas Related to Transmission Processes

It can be concluded from the previous discussion that the actual authors of the Aramaic works, speaking with implied patriarchal voices, used a number of similar literary strategies that served particularly to highlight the authenticity and reliability of their works. Therefore, it needs to be asked, authenticity and reliability in relation to what? For the answer to this question the literary setting chosen by the actual authors seems to be highly significant because almost all of the Aramaic works found at Qumran are set in a pre-Sinai period. The revelation at Sinai and its basic content is clearly not questioned in these works; according to the exodus traditions, the laws there were given by God, and even though they need further practical interpretation, the written form of the revelation there seems to have become close to unalterable at the time the Aramaic works were written. Most works in the late Second Temple period do not even try to challenge the general content of the Sinai revelation any more, the possible exception, depending on its dating, being the Temple Scroll. The law was thus given by God through Moses at Sinai, but a more pertinent question for these late Second Temple period authors seems to have been, where did the traditions in Genesis originate? Nothing in the text of Genesis indicates who the authority is that would guarantee the accuracy of the Genesis accounts, i.e., what is the identity of the "all-knowing narrator"? This readily perceivable gap in the Genesis accounts is probably one central reason for the stress placed in the Aramaic works on the authentic origin of their own works and on their subsequent reliable transmission. As a contrast to Genesis, these works are supposed to be seen as authentic first-person accounts of the patriarchs, and great care has been taken by the actual authors of these works to make them appear as genuine as possible. The patriarchal works in Aramaic thus claim to give a fuller and more reliable picture of the events than Genesis alone, and even to supplement the revelation at Sinai by already pre-Sinaitic revelatory traditions. And by claiming that these revelations contain especially cosmological knowledge and details about the future, not dealt with in the Sinai revelation, these Aramaic works claim to reveal the basic mechanisms

of how the world works and the theological principles guiding it from the very beginning as well as prophetic knowledge concerning the coming days.

This strategy of placing significant revelations already in the patriarchal period somewhat decentralizes Sinai or perhaps rather puts it on a continuum of noteworthy revelations that began long before Sinai, which is consequently no longer seen as the climax towards which everything points. That the murky origins of Genesis traditions seem to have been a gap to be exploited is also demonstrated by Jubilees, which gives its own interpretation of the pre-Sinai events but cleverly presents it as heavenly revelation written on tablets in Hebrew and revealed to Moses at Sinai. Hence in Jubilees Moses saw not only the future but also the past by receiving authentic and reliably transmitted knowledge of it from the angels and writing it down (Jub. 1:4–7, 26–28). It is noteworthy that in Jubilees too the literary nature of the transmitted traditions is emphasized as well as the heavenly and Mosaic transmitters of it. Thus, while the revelation at Sinai was largely set by the late Hellenistic period, the traditions preceding it could apparently still be augmented or could even be contradicted, particularly concerning the origins of evil and knowledge that had become more central theological concerns in the late Second Temple period. The use of the authorial "I" and the emphasis placed on the origin and transmission of the traditions in the Aramaic works related to the patriarchs and Jubilees seem to be deliberate strategies to exploit this void left in Genesis without leaving a similar gap open concerning the authenticity and reliability of the traditions presented in them.

A final element present in many of the Aramaic works that pertains to transmission is an emphasis on the priestly and Levitical lines and their central role in transmitting the traditions. Whether this is just another literary strategy or is also to be seen as evidence for priests and Levites as the actual authors of these particular Aramaic works is debatable. The place of Levites as key agents in the transmission of traditions during the Second Temple period has been theorized by many scholars, such as David Carr,[29] but only a few remarks, mostly concerning the Aramaic corpus, can be made about it in the scope of this study. The emphasis on the line of Levi as trustworthy tradents in some of the Aramaic works, such as the Testament of Qahat, the Aramaic Levi Document, and the Visions of Amram, is certainly tantalizing. Similarly the role given to the Levites in Neh 8:8–9 as oral interpreters of the written law certainly depicts them as reliable interpreters of the law, but in the Aramaic corpus it seems the

29 David Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

intention is to give such Levitical interpretation of traditions preceding Sinai roots as authentic literary traditions on their own, revealed to members of the Levitical line and passed on faithfully.

Whether this means the actual authors of these Aramaic works were priests and Levites, or whether the authors just used a societal perception of Levites as trustworthy interpreters as one more literary element giving their own message a further stamp of reliability, cannot be conclusively decided in this study. In my view, it is most likely that at least some of these Aramaic works were actually written by priestly or Levitical circles, but nevertheless a word of caution is in order to emphasize the need to continue the careful study of each individual document before making broader conclusions regarding the whole corpus concerning this question. After all, late Second Temple authors clearly retained the ability to employ, for instance, Deuteronomistic theology and vocabulary in their works in order to give them more legitimacy,[30] and to imitate earlier poetic styles as evinced by the different versions of Psalms 151 and 154. Furthermore, from the standpoint of transmission, if the claims of authenticity and reliability in the Aramaic works were to be taken seriously by their contemporaries, who could the actual authors use in the literary settings they had chosen as plausible mediators for transmitting their works through the centuries in a direct line of succession, except the priestly and Levitical lines? From a Second Temple perspective, there are no other genealogical lines reaching as far back that would, as a group, continually have the necessary skills to pass down literary traditions as well. Furthermore, it seems that a similar motive for emphasizing the priestly/Levitical background of a mediator is to be found at least in the afterword to LXX Esther (Add Esth F:11). Regardless of whether the information is historically accurate, the author of the afterword has chosen to emphasize that the one transmitting the translated work to Egypt and guaranteeing its authenticity was both a priest and a Levite. This is not a claim made about a priest or a Levite writing the Book of Esther, or even translating it, but ensuring its reliable transmission to the target audience. In light of this kind of role assigned to priests and Levites as caretakers of traditions it has to be questioned whether every work emphasizing them as transmitters of traditions can also be attributed to them.

There certainly are works in the Aramaic corpus that do seem to contain additional motifs commonly associated with priests, such as sacrifices, purity

30 Juha Pakkala, Marko Marttila, and Hanne von Weissenberg, eds., *Changes in Scripture: Rewriting and Interpreting Authoritative Traditions in the Second Temple Period*, BZAW 419 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011).

concerns, and priests as ideal figures,[31] as well as elements of what has often been deemed a priestly style of writing, such as the extensive use of different kinds of lists. However, each of these works should continue to be assessed separately before drawing conclusions about a potentially shared social milieu of all the writers. After all, many of these Aramaic works also employ other kinds of motifs not as commonly associated with priestly circles, such as wisdom elements and prophetic/apocalyptic discourse.[32] Moreover, it is well evidenced that these different perspectives become more and more intertwined in works written in the late Second Temple period, which would tend to make the identification of the actual writing circles even more difficult than before. For this investigation it is enough to conclude that whether or not the actual writers were priests or Levites the use of these particular family lines as a guarantee of the trustworthy transmission of literary traditions would probably have lent further credibility to the claims of authenticity and reliability made by the actual authors of the works, whoever they were.

4 Conclusions

This brief investigation of the transmission of traditions in the Aramaic texts from Qumran revealed some significant elements present in many of the Aramaic texts that seem to be best labeled as literary strategies intended to highlight the ancestry, origin, and reliability of the written works in question. The literary settings used in these works and the figures central to them show that the origins of the traditions now found in Genesis were not clear and allowed late Second Temple period authors to try to augment them with their own interpretations of events and fresh revelatory material. At the same time, these authors sought to provide their audiences with further allegedly divine knowledge by using the voices of the same mediators from the pre-Sinai past that had been established as noteworthy and trustworthy figures by the Genesis traditions. It would appear that this was done in most cases in order to

31 See, for example, the analysis of priestly concerns in the Aramaic Levi Document by Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran*, 61–63, and a survey of some facets of priestly theology in the Aramaic texts featuring dream visions by Perrin, *The Dynamics of Dream-Vision Revelation*, 158–89.

32 For a useful survey of the apocalyptic elements in the Aramaic corpus from Qumran, see Daniel Machiela, "Aramaic Writings of the Second Temple Period and the Growth of Apocalyptic Thought: Another Survey of the Texts," *Judaïsme ancien/Ancient Judaism* 2 (2014): 113–34. For the place of the Aramaic works in revelatory prophetic literature more broadly, see Perrin, *The Dynamics of Dream-Vision Revelation*.

solidify certain interpretations, practices, and theological views as the correct ones, carefully transmitted from patriarchal times to the contemporary audiences. A similar move was made in the early Hellenistic period by Chronicles in grounding the contemporary liturgical practices in King David's time and figure. But the authors of many of the Aramaic works extended the timeline of various Second Temple practices and beliefs even further back in time, into primeval and patriarchal periods. As a byproduct of this activity Sinai seems to have lost some of its revelatory centrality, as there were cosmologically and theologically more relevant revelations preceding it. Instead of being *the* central event, Sinai becomes one of several main revelatory traditions preserved in writing, Jubilees providing the obvious exception where the revelation at Sinai is practically claimed as the basis for all knowledge concerning events preceding it as well.

And at least sometimes, groups in the late Second Temple period shifted their emphasis on matters to pre-Sinai events through this gate opened up especially by the Aramaic works. For instance, it seems that in the liturgical works of the *yaḥad* community the more priest-centered and Mosaic-covenant-remembering traditions were at some point at least partly replaced by a cosmological union of chosen humans and angels representing the whole creation with the evil forces led by Belial as their opposition. Liturgy from creation onwards, instead of from Sinai or David, allows for the incorporation of a more general liturgical communion than a priestly-led one as well as the integration of a cosmological worldview of good and evil instead of Israel and the nations. Liturgy, wisdom, and knowledge, perhaps embodied in the *yaḥad* most fully by the office of the *maskil*, had, according to most available late Second Temple works dealing with these questions, all been there since the creation of the world. Hence their correct application could be seen as demonstrating a claim to have grasped God's purpose for humankind from the creation onwards. This kind of reevaluation of the significance of pre-Sinai events and traditions is the driving force behind several other theological innovations of the era. For example, Paul goes back in time beyond Sinai when he needs to explain the inclusion of the gentiles in the covenant. He goes back to Abraham, who seems to provide a suitable model for his thinking. These kinds of interpretations are the fruits of works like those dealt with in this study. They provided a basis and means for some groups to claim that their interpretation of traditions and practices preceded Sinai, and hence opened the door for interpretations where Sinai becomes more secondary in order for central theological notions of a group to be "verified."

Finally, to return briefly to the technical process of transmission, it seems that both oral and written components of transmission are presumed to exist

in the literary setting of the Aramaic works containing patriarchal traditions, but literary traditions are presented as much more central and are used as reliable anchors from which an oral interpretation of the tradition can be derived and in turn be turned into literature. The importance and value of literary works are further propagated as a way of trying to enhance the authenticity and reliability of the authors' own works, which implies that they were perceived by the writers as a more convincing medium for claims related to transmission of a tradition than purely oral transmission. Nevertheless, it needs to be stressed again that this study has only worked with one corpus of literature stemming from a specific time period, and by investigating how the wider transmission processes are presented in these works. For instance, nothing has been said about how the authors used their own source material, such as Genesis, in practice, and Hebrew works from the same general time period should also be investigated as comparative material in order to more fully discuss whether the image deduced from the Aramaic material concerning transmission processes is related to a particular circle of writers or is representative of larger societal practices.

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The Banquet Culture in New Jerusalem, an Aramaic Text from Qumran

Hugo Antonissen

1 Introduction

The Aramaic New Jerusalem text from the caves of Qumran has been preserved in a very fragmentary state on the remains of six manuscripts, 2Q24, 4Q554, 4Q554a, 4Q555, 5Q15, and 11Q18, and probably also on the still more fragmentary remains of a seventh manuscript, viz. 1Q32.[1] The author of the text describes a city with gigantic dimensions and its cult, probably in an eschatological context of some kind. Fragments 13+14 of 4Q554[2] seem to refer to a major reversal in history when it mentions the king of Media (line 15), the kingdom of the Kittim (line 16), Edom, Moab, and the Ammonites (line 18), and Babylon (line 19) on the one hand and the threat to, or oppression of, Israel on the other hand in the form of doing wrong to its descendants (line 20: "your seed), an oppression which probably came to an end (line 16) at a certain moment in history.[3] The relationship between this major reversal and the description of a planned city that is intended to accommodate and to entertain an enormous amount of people, possibly pilgrims, cannot be established. The text of New Jerusalem as such was composed probably between 175 and 150 BCE.[4]

As one struggles through the imperfectly preserved landscape of the fragments of New Jerusalem, one picks up isolated data. At first sight the relationship between some of these separate data remains unclear. As in other fragmentary texts one can proceed from the data involved to an interpretation of the contents of the text. In order to perceive, through the scattered and isolated data, the contours of the framework in which the text belongs, one can look for a vantage point. From this vantage point, the fragmentary data can be fitted and located in an acceptable presupposed overall contextual pattern. The

1 The translation of the manuscripts as referred to in the present article is based on direct personal research of the photographs concerned unless otherwise stated.

2 Émile Puech, *Qumrân grotte 4.XXVII: Textes araméens, deuxième partie: 4Q550–575a, 580–587*, DJD 37 (Oxford: ClarendonPress, 2009), 136–38.

3 Hugo Antonissen, "The Visionary Architecture of New Jerusalem in Qumran," in *Qumran und die Archäologie: Texte und Kontexte*, ed. Jörg Frey, Carsten Claußen, and Nadine Kessler, WUNT 278 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 439–80 (471–78).

4 Puech, DJD 37:100.

aim of the present article is to argue that the most appropriate vantage point is the Greco-Roman banquet culture shared by the peoples of the Mediterranean world, during the period circa 300 BCE to circa 300 CE. The thesis I shall try to support in the present article can be phrased as follows: In the city described in New Jerusalem, the cult is performed both in the form of the traditional Jewish temple cult on the one hand, and by a respectful and pious banquet custom on the other hand. Following Smith, I use the term "Greco-Roman" to refer to this period because the major cultural influences of this time and place were those of the Greeks and later of the Romans, whose culture was largely adapted from that of the Greeks.[5]

It is not the aim of the present article to give an account of an extensive and profound research. As the contents of the text of New Jerusalem have been preserved in a very fragmentary state it is impossible to study meticulously all the aspects, components, and features as well as the habits, customs, and practices of the banquet culture concerned. An inventory of the components of the formal meal in the shape of a banquet should contain at least the following items: invitation,[6] ranking and arranging of the guests,[7] both performed by the host,[8] the role of the symposiarch,[9] dining rooms with specific accommodation,[10] posture at the meal, viz. reclining,[11] a specific order of the meal, which consists of two courses: first *deipnon*, eating, and second *symposion*/*potos*, drinking,[12]

5 Dennis E. Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist: The Banquet in the Early Christian World* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2003), 18–19.

6 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 22–25, 135.

7 Katherine M. D. Dunbabin, *The Roman Banquet: Images of Conviviality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 39; Gil P. Klein, "Torah in *Triclinia*: The Rabbinic Banquet and the Significance of Architecture," *JQR* 102 (2012): 325–70 (331–34); Sandra R. Shimoff, "Banquets: The Limits of Hellenization," *JSJ* 27 (1996): 440–52 (448; "proper protocol"); Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 33, 136.

8 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 33.

9 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 136–37.

10 Dunbabin, *The Roman Banquet*, 36–43; Klein, "Torah in *Triclinia*," 331–34; Marie-Christel Hellmann, *L'architecture grecque: 3. Habitat, urbanisme et fortifications* (Paris: Picard, 2010), 50; Shimoff, "Banquets: The Limits of Hellenization," 441; Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 25–27; Pauline S. Pantel, *La cité au banquet: Histoire des repas publics dans les cités grecques* (Rome: L'École française de Rome, 1992; repr. in Les Classiques de la Sorbonne 2, Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2011), 304–7.

11 Dunbabin, *The Roman Banquet,* 11–18; Klein, "Torah in *Triclinia*," 331–32; Pantel, *La cité au banquet*, 6, 18, 277; Shimoff, "Banquets: The Limits of Hellenization," 448; Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 14–20, 137–38.

12 Dunbabin, *The Roman Banquet*, 19; Shimoff, "Banquets: The Limits of Hellenization," 441–42; Pantel, *La cité au banquet*, 483; Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 27–31.

separated by a transition,[13] entertainment,[14] and "festive joy".[15] I shall not draw up a complete checklist of the aspects, features, and components of the Greco-Roman banquet culture in order to check meticulously each separate item of the list concerned. Because of the very fragmentary state of the text preserved it is impossible to produce a definite proof of the Euclidian kind that the city as described in New Jerusalem was intended for pilgrims to participate in the performance of the cult in the form of a banquet similar to the Greek banquets on city level.

The train of thought I shall go through in the present article runs as follows. First, I shall discuss the question concerning the character of the city (section II.I). It has been possible to reconstitute one continuous story line, which describes the measuring of the city ground plan and its division by boulevards and streets surrounding compounds with identical constituting modules. Next I shall discuss the matter of couches intended for reclining (section II.II). Thereafter I shall discuss the typological similarity between the compound described in New Jerusalem, viz. an *insula*, and the "Largest Peristylium" in the city of Alexandria in the third century BCE both made up of banquet rooms (section II.III). Furthermore I shall deal with the contents of fragments of texts related to "eating" and "drinking," and the sacred character of formal banquets (section III). A closer look at some details of the course of a Greco-Roman banquet may even help to solve the mention of "an outer gutter" in connection with the description of banquet rooms in New Jerusalem (section IV). A tiny fragment refers to "rooms of joy", which in my opinion could be connected with the concept of "festive joy," an important feature of the Greco-Roman banquet culture (section V). In relationship to "festive joy," early Jewish texts, which in one way or another can be connected with the contents of New Jerusalem are discussed. The early Jewish texts concerned are Ben Sira, the Letter of Aristeas, the Temple Scroll, the Rule of the Community, the Rule of the Congregation, the Mishnah, and the Tosefta.

In the context of the present article, the early Jewish banquet tradition as dealt with in the aforementioned texts will be taken into consideration in order to check if the early Jewish religious experience is compatible with eating and drinking wine in the Greco-Roman tradition either in a more restricted circle or on a massive scale. Furthermore, I will discuss the level on which the

13 Shimoff, "Banquets: the Limits of Hellenisation", 442; Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 28.

14 Shimoff, "Banquets: the Limits of Hellenisation", 442, 446 ("singing", "retelling fables"); Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 34–38.

15 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 12, 84–85.

banquet culture is performed in the city described in New Jerusalem, viz. the city level, and the occasion on which the banquets concerned were performed (section VI). Maybe here the number of thirty-two thousand nine hundred (11Q18) might make some sense. In order to round off the support of the thesis I shall deal with the performance of the banquet culture by pilgrims on the city level (section VII).

In the present article I shall use the term "banquet" as a generic term for the festive consumption of food and drink in the aforementioned Greco-Roman banquet culture. The most general Latin term for the formal festive consumption of food and drink is *convivium*. The term literally means "living together"—"It conveys associations of festivity and conviviality."[16] Cicero expresses an idealized view of dining when he makes Cato commend the Romans for choosing the term *convivium* to describe "the reclining of friends at a banquet, because it implies the conjunction of life," in preference to the Greek terms "drinking together" or "eating together," viz. *symposion* or *syndeipnon*.[17] This brings us to the Greek terminology: "The Greeks customarily had two well-defined courses in their banquet. The first course was the *deipnon* proper, during which the meal of the evening would be eaten. The second course was the symposium (*symposion*) or drinking party, which would be an extended period of relaxed drinking, during which the entertainment of the evening would be presented."[18]

2 Architecture and Reclining

2.1 *Character of the City*

One of the questions raised by the text of New Jerusalem as preserved concerns the character of the city. In any case one has to keep in mind that the city as described in New Jerusalem is indeed Jerusalem because of the presence of the temple almost in its centre, where one of the central boulevards passes it either on the northern side or on its left: "And the th[ir]d ⟨boulevard⟩, which ⟨is⟩ n[or]th/l[ef]t (ש[מא]ל) of the temple" (4Q554 1 ii 17//5Q15 1 i 3–4). If one takes into consideration all available information, one is able to conceive a city with a rectangular Hippodamian ground plan, divided by six boulevards

16 Dunbabin, *The Roman Banquet*, 4.

17 Dunbabin, *The Roman Banquet*, 13.

18 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 27; see also Pantel, *La cité au banquet*, 4, 483; Pantel discusses the semantic field of the terms *deipnon* and *symposion* in a very meticulous way (see general index).

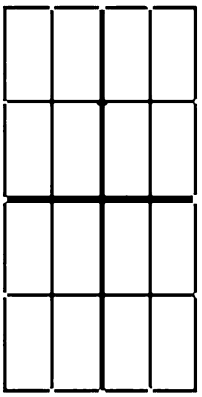

FIGURE 1
Plan of the city in New Jerusalem

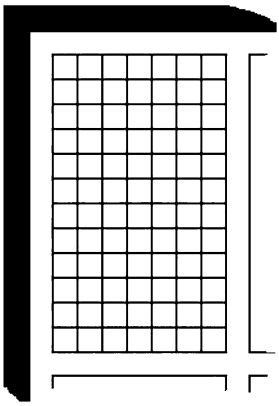

FIGURE 2
Hypothetical ground plan of the north-western rectangle

creating sixteen rectangles by intersecting each other (fig. 1). Each of the sixteen rectangles is divided by intersecting streets creating square compounds (fig. 2).

The text as preserved does not enable one to calculate the number of the square compounds. Each compound, which I call *insula*, has four gates and consists of sixty identical units all equipped with the same number of couches. This ground plan, built up gridwise on different levels, does not seem to point in the direction of a normal residential way of life on a family basis since not all families have the same number of members. Two other functions of the city itself have been suggested: a vast military camp or a pilgrimage city.[19] The regular design of the city ground plan in combination with the fortified wall could also be intended for a military purpose. Extension of the holiness to the entire city itself is an argument in favour of a pilgrimage city after a major reversal in history as mentioned above. Indeed, the whole city is covered with white stone: "And all streets of the city [⟨were⟩ paved with white stone]" (4Q554 1 ii 22//5Q15 1 i 6).[20] On first sight this clause might be simply informative in nature concerning the colour of the material used to cover the streets and probably all the buildings in the city. The presence of "white stone" in an incompletely preserved Neo- or Late Babylonian Marduk hymn (BM 36646)[21] containing an eulogy of Babylon (lines 4'–14') throws a different light on the meaning of the term "white stone." Just like other precious materials the term is used to glorify the deity, viz. Marduk, in praising his city.[22] Like in New Jerusalem,

19 For a discussion of the three functions, residential, military, or pilgrimage, see Antonissen, "The Visionary Architecture of New Jerusalem in Qumran," 478–79.

20 See also Puech, DJD 37:116.

21 BM 45986 + 46065 + 46121 + 46166 II 6'–8': Andrew R. George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts,* OLA 40 (Leuven: Peeters, 1992), 231, with figure 30.30.1.

22 Antonissen, "The Visionary Architecture of New Jerusalem in Qumran," 456–57.

Isaiah (54:11–12), and Tobit (13:16–17), precious materials are enumerated in the eulogy: obsidian, lapis lazuli, white stone, and precious jasper (lines 6'–8'): "Eternal city of privilege [...] spacious treasure house [...] bolt of carnelian obsidian, lapis lazuli, white stone [...] precious jasper like the sea ⟨it is⟩ lifted [...] as an orchard of fruit its sumptuousness [is inexhaustible (?)] as a flood-wave ⟨is⟩ its might [exalted] Delightful star of Marduk ... [...] wherever the sun ⟨is⟩, its city gate [...] Imgurenlil [...]." This mention of white stone reminds us of other precious stones, mentioned in New Jerusalem, and points to the exalted value of this stone, which in the Babylonian text is related to the deity in a glorifying perspective. Scattered all over the fragments of the manuscripts of New Jerusalem a number of other precious materials are mentioned: דהב (11Q18 10 i 2, 6; 11 4), "gold"; הובן (11Q18 10 i 5; 12 i 7; 16 i 1), a kind of stone; יהלם (5Q15 22 1), "onyx"; חשמל (4Q554 2 ii 15), "electrum"; כדכוד (4Q554 2 ii 15), "ruby"; ספיר (4Q554 2 ii 15), "sapphire." It seems reasonable to assume that these materials suggest that the gigantic city in its totality is of a divine nature.

2.2 *Reclining and Couches*

A basic and indispensable component of the Greco-Roman banquet culture is the banquet room. In the Greek tradition such a room is called *andrōn*. In the Greek fashion a typical banquet room—always of a quadrangular shape—had a slightly raised platform along the wall in order to place the (wooden) couches (sing. *klinē*, pl. *klinai*) head to toe.[23] The floor could remain undecorated or covered with cemented pebbles or a mosaic decoration. The couches were arranged along the walls on a continuous masonry ledge, with a table in front of each couch, one or two participants per couch,[24] "allowing the diners to recline on their left elbows and eat with their right hands."[25] Reclining is a common feature of the Greco-Roman banquet culture. It was part of an elaborate pattern of cultivated behavior.[26]

A room intended for formal banquet performance arranged in the Roman style was called *triclinium*. The rabbis borrowed the term but it is a common assumption that the rabbis used the loanword טרקלין, or טריקלין, to refer to any kind of dining hall.[27] According to Klein, the loanword "primarily reflects the arrangement of furniture, which would be set up in rooms of varying statures, scales and shapes, and consequently endows them with this name."[28] In the Roman tradition the design of the mosaic floors of dining rooms in the

23 Dunbabin, *The Roman Banquet*, 37; Klein, "Torah in *Triclinia*," 331.
24 Dunbabin, *The Roman Banquet*, 38.
25 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 26.
26 Dunbabin, *The Roman Banquet*, 11.
27 Klein, "Torah in *Triclinia*," 342.
28 Klein, "Torah in *Triclinia*," 343.

Roman style marked the area along the walls where the wide couches were to be arranged in the typical *pi* shape of the Roman *triclinium* or three-couch room positioned at right angles to one another.[29] The link between reclining and hierarchy was manifested in the designation of the three couches.[30] "The couch on the right was designated *lectus summus,* meaning high position; the middle couch was called *medius* or middle position; and the couch on the left was *locus imus*, or the lowest position."[31] "The participants in the convivium reclined diagonally, three per couch, with their heads to the center of the room."[32]

As already mentioned above, each of the sixteen rectangles created by the six main arteries that run through the city in the text of New Jerusalem (fig. 1) is divided by a number of streets creating square *insulae* (fig. 2). Each *insula* has four gates and consists of sixty identical units all equipped with the same number of couches (4Q554 1 ii 11–15; 1 iii 13–22; 4Q554a 1 3–13; 5Q15 1 ii 1–16; fig. 3). According to Milik the ground floor of these units is called בתי מכלא, "dining rooms", according to Puech they are called בתי מזגא, "banquet houses/rooms"[33] (5Q15 1 ii 10//4Q554a 1 7), literally "the houses of the mixed wine."[34] The term as such seems directly related to the mixing of wine, an important feature of a formal banquet.[35] The rectangular ground plan of each banquet room measures nineteen by twelve cubits (4Q554a 1 7//5Q15 1 ii 10–11). Each of the sixty banquet rooms of an *insula* had twenty-two couches and eleven windows above the couches (5Q15 1 ii 11//4Q554a 1 7–8). In addition, the specific term "couches" (ערשין) refers to pieces of furniture meant for reclining in the context of a banquet as the banquet rooms are called בתי מזגא. In addition, the specific term "couches" (ערשין) very probably refers to pieces of furniture meant for reclining in the context of a banquet. Identification of the couches mentioned in New Jerusalem with the Greek *klinai* is possible because of a bilingual

29 Dunbabin, *The Roman Banquet*, 38, 42; Klein, "Torah in *Triclinia*," 332; Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 17.

30 Dunbabin, *The Roman Banquet*, 39, 43 (with figure 21); Klein, "Torah in *Triclinia*," 332.

31 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 17.

32 Klein, "Torah in *Triclinia*," 332.

33 5Q15 1 ii 10//4Q554a 1 7; Milik, DJD 3:190: "salles à manger"; Puech, DJD 37:94: "salles à manger ou de banquet," 143: "maisons de banquet," and 145: "les maisons/salles de banquet." The reading by Puech is hardly supported by the remnants of the signs on the photographs (cf. Levy Digital Library 41.032).

34 Cf. Tg. Prov. 23:30: "Those who delay over wine and go and seek out 'the wine-house' (בית מזגא)." See John F. Healey, "The Targum of Proverbs," in *The Aramaic Bible* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1991), i–viii and 1–65 (50); Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, The Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Litarature* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2005): בית מזגא, "drinking house."

35 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 30.

inscription (CIS II 3912) from the temple of Baal Shamin in Palmyra in which the emperor Trajanus Hadrianus (117–138 CE) is mentioned. The main text in Greek has *klinēn* where the Middle Aramaic text has ערשן in the context of a banquet (כפתא).[36] According to Dirven, the word כפתא is hardly ever used for a banqueting room, but in Hatra and in the aforementioned bilingual inscription from Palmyra the term is used in this sense. The word גנא, "to recline, to lie down," leaves no doubt as to the function of this כפתא in Temple XIII in Hatra.[37] I accept that כפתא in the Palmyrene text has the same meaning as in Hatra and consequently refers to a banquet context.

Each banquet room in New Jerusalem has twenty-two couches and eleven windows as previously mentioned. According to Graham, at least in Olynthos "the andron was placed next to the street in order to receive light from the windows."[38] This observation is confirmed by Hoepfner who mentions windows of *andrōnes* facing the street.[39] Hellmann confirms the possibility of *andrōnes* with windows.[40] Excavations in the Karian Sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos in Labraunda (Asia Minor; fourth century BCE[41]) revealed the presence of two *andrōnes*, *Andrōn* A,[42] the *andrōn* of Idrieus, and *Andrōn* B,[43] the *andrōn* of Maussollos. In *Andrōn* A ten large windows have been preserved, three in each long side of the banquet room. In both *andrōnes* was room for about twenty couches. The explicitly mentioned presence of windows in banquet rooms in New Jerusalem is not surprising. Interesting is the implicit suggestion that there is a relationship between the number of couches and the number of windows. The text of New Jerusalem does not enable one to establish the connection between the couches and the windows. Furthermore, the text as preserved does not enable one to determine the arrangement of the couches. Arrangement in the Greek way seems more probable because of the number of twenty-two couches. The Roman *triclinium* consists of three couches, each occupied by three participants.

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36 Delbert R. Hillers and Eleonora Cussini, *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 56–57.

37 Lucinda Dirven, "Palmyrenes in Hatra: Evidence for Cultural Relations in the Fertile Crescent," *Studia Palmyreńskie* 12 (2013): 49–60 (54, note 24).

38 J. W. Graham, "Olynthiaka," *Hesperia* 22 (1953): 196–207 (203).

39 Wolfram Hoepfner et al., "Die Epoche der Griechen," in *Geschichte des Wohnens*, ed. Wolfram Hoepfner (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1999), 1:273, 418.

40 Hellmann, *L'architecture grecque*, 50.

41 Pontus Hellström, *Labraunda: A Guide to the Karian Sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos* (Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2007), 19.

42 Hellström, *Labraunda*, 126–33.

43 Hellström, *Labraunda*, 84–91.

2.3 *Architectural Typology and Use*

An important lead that enables one to identify the character of the city described in New Jerusalem is offered by comparison of the architectural typology of the "Largest Peristylium" in Alexandria with that of an *insula* as described in the Aramaic text. In Ancient Greece dining rooms could be part of private dwellings or of buildings with a public character such as the South Agora and the Pompeion in Athens[44] or the palace of Philippos II in Aigai (fourth century BCE).[45] Dining rooms could be arranged in clusters of small groups as evidenced by the Asklepieion at Corinth.[46] A specific kind of organization of space and form is offered by a building complex in Alexandria which Hoepfner assumes to be the "Largest Peristylium" as mentioned by Polybius in his *Histories*.[47] The building complex is surrounded by the streets R1, R2, L3, and L4 and probably dates from the first decades of the third century BCE.[48] According to Hoepfner, the "Largest Peristylium" is part of a large *andrōn*, "eines groβen Bankethauses."[49] The remains of two mosaic floors and one capital of an early Corinthian pilaster on the west side of the building complex point in the direction of dining rooms and couches, i. e. a banquet culture. According to Hoepfner, the discovery of a mosaic floor on the western side of the "Largest Peristylium" and adjacent archeological remains point in the direction of a rectangular compound which at least at its eastern side also consisted of dining rooms.[50] The remains of another mosaic floor in the centre of the building complex also belonged to a banquet room.[51]

Thanks to overlapping fragments of three manuscripts of New Jerusalem (4Q544, 4Q554a, and 5Q15) the description of a specific type of compound, which covered the largest part of the city, has been preserved in a surprisingly complete state. The manuscripts describe square compounds, consisting of four gates and sixty identical units as already mentioned above. The author of

44 Pantel, *La cité au banquet*, 553, 555.

45 Hoepfner et al., "Die Epoche der Griechen," 327–29.

46 Jürgen Riethmüller, *Asklepios: Heiligtümer und Kulte* (Heidelberg: Verlag der Archäologie und Geschichte, 2005), 1:253 (with figure 36).

47 Polybius, *The Histories*, 15.25.3 (cf. Hoepfner et al., "Die Epoche der Griechen," 464): *megiston peristylon*. See also Judith McKenzie, *The Architecture of Alexandria and Egypt c. 300 BC to AD 170* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 67.

48 Hoepfner et al., "Die Epoche der Griechen," 464–66: "Grösstes Peristyl." See fig. 4–5.

49 For a discussion of the nature of the "Largest Peristylium" see Hoepfner et al., "Die Epoche der Griechen," 464–66.

50 Hoepfner et al., "Die Epoche der Griechen," 465; Judith McKenzie, *The Architecture of Alexandria and Egypt c. 300 BC to AD 170*, 66, 68.

51 Hoepfner et al., "Die Epoche der Griechen," 466.

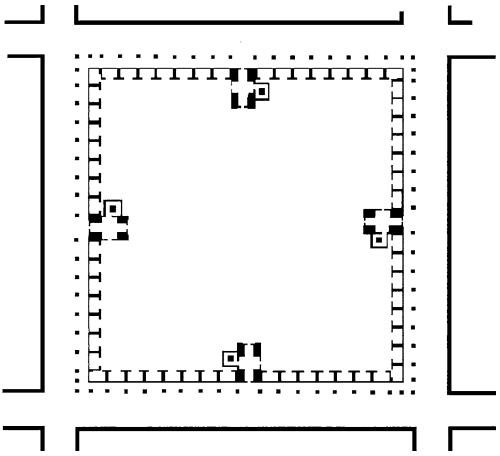

FIGURE 3
Ground plan of an *insula* in New Jerusalem

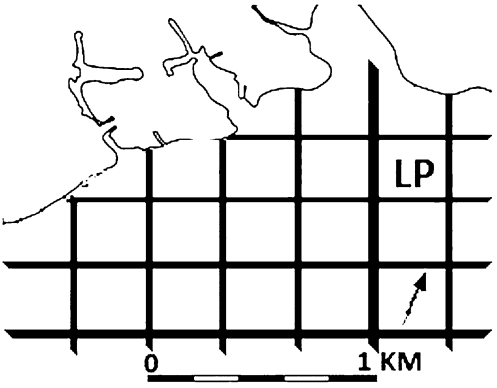

FIGURE 4
Location of the "Largest Peristylium" (LP) on a schematical city plan of Alexandria

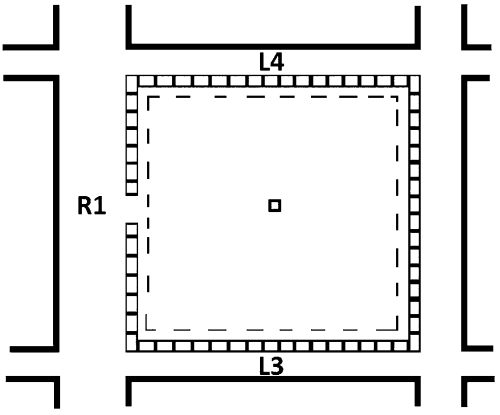

FIGURE 5
Conceptual representation of the ground plan of the "Largest Peristylium"

	Insula in Aramaic New Jerusalem (fig. 3)	"Largest Peristylium" in Alexandria (fig. 5)
1. Shape of the ground plan	Square	rectangular, almost square
2. Surroundings	streets on all four sides	
3. Components	(mostly) identical rectangular units built along the four sides	
4. Peristyle	surrounded either by a peristyle or a side-walk on the outside	it has a peristyle and a garden on the inside
5. Wide inner space	no further specification	a smaller building
6. Entrance of the compound	four gate buildings	at least one gate
7. Entrance of the units	each unit has its entrance on the inside of the compound	almost each unit has its entrance on the inside of the compound

New Jerusalem refers to the use of the modules by the term בתי מזגא, "banquet rooms," which was already dealt with above.

The typological comparison of the ground plan of an *insula* and the ground plan of the "Largest Peristylium" from seven viewpoints in the table below enables one to conclude that the two types of compound are very similar from the typological point of view, including the specific use of them. Both compounds belong to the same basic type of architecture in which a space is enclosed by four planes, while around it, identical spaces of the building are organized.[52]

Moreover, the "Largest Peristylium" and the *insula* as described in New Jerusalem are similar in use. Both building complexes are intended for banquet performance on a broad scale. The archeological remains of the "Largest Persitylium"—mosaic floors and their surroundings—clearly point in the direction of banquet rooms in the Greek tradition with couches along the walls of the *andrōn*. The Aramaic text refers to couches, intended for reclining, and banquet rooms, called "rooms of mixing wine," as discussed above.

52 Francis D. K. Ching, *Architecture: Form, Space, and Order* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons, 2007), 156.

3 Eating and Drinking and the Sacred Character of Formal Banquets

As already mentioned in the introduction above, according to the Greek tradition a formal banquet had two well defined courses. First, the meal of the evening was eaten during the *deipnon*. Second, the *symposion* or drinking party was performed, during which the entertainment was presented.[53] The Roman formal meals had the same two basic courses but the Romans added appetizers, called *propoma*, at the beginning of the meal.[54]

Because of the nature of the second course wine was obviously an important component of a Greco-Roman banquet. It was always drunk mixed, which means blended with water.[55] The presence of the *krater* stresses one of the main aspects of the classical Greek *symposion*, viz. the communal distribution and consumption of wine by the participants.[56] In the Hellenistic period, the *krater* disappears from the repertory of ceramics. Probably the practice of communal mixing of wine may already have been in decline. At least the wealthy members of society may have preferred to have their wine served in small jugs, mixed in the cup to their own taste.[57]

In New Jerusalem, wine is not mentioned in the context of banquet practices but probably in connection with cereal and libation offerings that accompany offerings by fire because of the mention of "oil and wine," "a pleasant aroma," and "the altar" (cf. Num 15:3–4): "[…]in front of [the] al[tar] … with […] before it […]oil and wi[ne …]for him/it[…]a pleas[ant aro]ma[…]" (11Q18 29 1–6). This fragment is most likely to be connected with the temple cult rather than with banquet practices.

A tiny fragment of New Jerusalem mentions eating and drinking as well as sacrifices. The fragmentary condition of the text does not allow one to connect "the sacrifices of Israel" with "and they will/shall eat and dr[ink …]" in a substantiated way. Neither does it establish the form of worshipping, viz. temple cult or banquets, "[…] from the sacrifices of Israel […] … and in the night […] the … and the glory […] … its flesh, which […] … with it, and from […] … and they will/shall eat and dr[ink …]" (11Q18 25 1–6).

All formal Greek banquets always have sacred components. Meat and wine, which together with bread are the central types of food/drink at a banquet, are

53 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 27; see also Pantel, *La cité au banquet*, 4, 483.

54 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 27.

55 Dunbabin, *The Roman Banquet*, 20; Shimoff, "Banquets: The Limits of Hellenization," 442; Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 32.

56 Dunbabin, *The Roman Banquet*, 20.

57 Dunbabin, *The Roman Banquet*, 24.

always related to deities.[58] The meat always comes from ritually slaughtered animals and the wine is directly related to Dionysos. During an ordinary formal meal it was customary to offer libations or prayers to the gods no matter how "secular" the overall context was.[59] When unmixed wine was served, it was customary to greet it with the words "to the good deity!"[60] According to the same custom, one would cry out "to Zeus Savior!" when the first cup of mixed wine was passed around after the meal. The reference to the "good deity" was generally understood as a reference to Dionysos. According to another custom,[61] three different bowls were mixed: the first cup was dedicated to the Olympian gods, the second to the heroes, and the third to Zeus Savior. Each time the wine was ladled into the cup, the name of the deity was pronounced over it: "to the good deity!" or "to Zeus Savior!" The host or symposiarch then pronounced the name of the deity again and poured out a portion into the fire on the floor. He took a sip and passed the cup around for each guest to sip, saying the name of the deity. A minor component of the formal banquet culture is the transition from the eating part to the drinking part of the meal. Even this minor component shows that in the Greco-Roman tradition no formal banquet is ever purely secular in nature: To mark the transition from the main course to the second course, in addition to rearranging the furniture and cleaning up the room, "a libation of unmixed wine was offered 'to the good daemon' or 'good deity' (*agathou daimonos*) and a 'paean' was sung (*paianizein*)."[62] On this occasion the paean was probably a solemn song or chant with religious significance.[63]

4 Drainage of Wastewater

Water was not only used in order to mix wine but also to wash the hands of the participants and to clean up the dining room. Water was poured over the participants' hands twice, first in order to signal the beginning of the meal and a second time during the transition from the first course of the meal to the second.[64] As mentioned in the previous section, the transition from the first course of the banquet to the second was marked by an elaborate formal ritual.

58 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 31–33.
59 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 6.
60 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 29.
61 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 29–30.
62 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 28.
63 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 30.
64 Shimoff, "Banquets: The Limits of Hellenization," 441–42.

In the cleaning up of the floor with water during the transition from the *deipnon* to the *symposion* proper and also afterwards when the banquet room was cleaned up once the *symposion* was over, undoubtedly the drainage of water was involved.[65] This might explain the mention of an outer gutter in the description of the modules in New Jerusalem: "And on their (= the banquet rooms') side was the outer gutter (אמה בריתא)" (4Q554a 1 8//5Q15 1 ii 12). In the standard description by Roux[66] of banquet houses referred to by Pantel, drainage of the water used in order to clean up the room is performed by a drain at ground level,[67] under the threshold, or in the wall.[68] This is also the reason why the couches were arranged along the walls on a continuous masonry ledge not only in order to keep them from being hit by the broom sticks but also to protect them against the water.[69]

5 "Rooms of Joy" in New Jerusalem and "Festive Joy" in Other Early Jewish Texts

5.1 *Introduction*

In order to support the view that in the city described in New Jerusalem the cult is not only performed by the traditional Jewish form of worshipping in the temple complex but also by a pious and respectful banquet culture, I shall focus on two aspects of the Greco-Roman banquet: entertainment in the form of "table talk" and "festive joy."

Entertainment was an important component of the banquet in Greco-Roman style.[70] The participants in a banquet could amuse one another by party games such as posing riddles, by playing *kottabos*, a drinking game where the last drops in the wine cup would be flung at a target in the middle of the room, and by engaging in sex. The participants could also be entertained by dancers and musicians or by a kind of dramatic performance. Last but not least, the participants could engage in conversations or philosophical discussions.

65 Pantel, *La cité au banquet*, 307.

66 Georges Roux, "Salles de banquets à Délos," in *Études Déliennes,* BCHSuppl. 1 (Paris, 1973), 525–54 (552).

67 Hellmann, *L'architecture grecque*, 50.

68 Pantel, *La cité au banquet*, 305.

69 Hellmann, *L'architecture grecque*, 50; Pantel, *La cité au banquet*, 305.

70 Shimoff, "Banquets: The Limits of Hellenization," 442, 446; Dunbabin, *The Roman Banquet*, 19–20; Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 34–38.

The ancient Greeks had a large number of terms to refer to banquets.[71] Two of them clearly have a festive connotation: *euphrosynē*,[72] "festive joy," and *euōchia*, "feast."[73] The term "festive joy" does not refer to an individual experience but to a social experience based on the form and function of the banquet, of which it is an inherent part.[74] A basic social function of the meal, that of giving pleasure,[75] has been idealized and made into a principle which defines the proper meal.[76] "Festive joy" was a rule according to which a "proper" banquet was judged.[77] In connection with wine it was considered to be a gift of the gods.[78] Yet, in the philosophical tradition the term "festive joy" transcends the purely secular and mundane interpretation of banquet conviviality and gives a more profound signification to the convivial experience. This interpretation of "festive joy" corresponds to a great extent to the use of pleasure in philosophical discussions of meal ethics.[79]

In order to enable one to accept that worship in the city described in New Jerusalem could take the form of banquet performance, the Epicurean view on the formal banquet is interesting because of the distinction it makes between two complementary kinds of pleasure. A closer look at the philosophical banquet enables one to take the concepts pleasure and festive joy into consideration from a more respectful point of view than that of a banquet culture dominated by immoderate physical pleasure. The ideal Epicurean banquet presupposes a microcosmos in which one is able to experience the acceptable feelings of static and active pleasure. Making a distinction between static and active pleasure, two basic concepts of his philosophical system, enables Epicurus to transcend the focus on physical pleasure.[80] Static pleasure on the one hand not only applies to the body, which means freedom from pain, but also to the mind, which means peace of mind. Active pleasure on the other hand consists of joy and delight or "festive joy." In the microcosmos of the banquet one experiences the satisfaction of basic needs, viz. static pleasure, which refers to a state of rest. The latter kind of "joy" applies both to the body, "freedom from pain," and to the mind, "peace of mind". Active pleasure applies

71 Pantel, *La cité au banquet*, 261–89.
72 Pantel, *La cité au banquet*, 273–75. Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 80.
73 Pantel, *La cité au banquet*, 275–76 ("festin").
74 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 81.
75 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 10.
76 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 12.
77 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 80.
78 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 12, 80.
79 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 37–38, 64.
80 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 10, 59–60.

to "joy", *chara*, and "delight" or "festive joy", *euphrosynē*, both terms referring specifically to a more elevated state of mind. According to Smith, "the concept of pleasure as the highest good was not to be defined as 'unbroken succession of drinking-boors and of revelry' but as 'sober reasoning.' "[81]

5.2 *Ben Sira and the Letter of Aristeas*

Ben Sira (ca. 190 BCE) is represented as the testimony of a scholar in the Jewish wisdom tradition who is engaged in training young men in the rules of ethical living. The testimony is embedded in Jewish tradition because it explicitly respects the Torah, viz. "the law of the Most High."[82] A considerable part of the instruction in Ben Sira concerns meal etiquette in the context of a banquet culture. The author does not deal systematically with a formal banquet but gives advisory instructions scattered all over the text.[83] Despite this inconvenience, Smith succeeded in drawing up a picture of the formal banquet that the author of Ben Sira probably had in mind. According to Smith, this picture shows a remarkable similarity to the formal Greek banquet tradition. He recognizes the following features: the importance of the invitation, the luxurious setting, the ranking of the guests, the role of the symposiarch, the posture at the meal, and entertainment in the form of music and "table talk." When music was not present, conversation could serve as an alternative form of entertainment. Whenever conversation does take place it has to be wise. This means it has to be concerned with the law, viz. "the law of the Most High."[84]

Meal sayings in Ben Sira (31:12–32:13) are very similar to material in the banquet tradition of Greek literature and show similarity with the Greek philosophical tradition insofar as the author sees the banquet as a place of instruction.[85] His preference for moderate banquets and his rejection of the immoderate versions fit well in the Epicurean view discussed above, as can be inferred from the view on the use of wine. On the one hand, moderation in drinking is recommended. Wine is considered to be life to men if it is drunk in moderation. Wine has been created to make men glad. When drunk in season and temperately, wine is rejoicing of heart and gladness of soul. Drunk to excess, wine is bitterness of soul, with provocation and stumbling (31:27–29). On the other hand, wisdom and conversation are preferred to wine and music (40:20–21).

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81 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 59.

82 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 139.

83 6:10–12; 9:15–16; 11:29, 34; 12:12; 13:8–13, 17–18; 18:32–33; 19:1–3; 23:6; 29:21–28; 31:12–31; 32:1–13; 33:4–6; 34:9–12; 36:21–26; 37:1–37; 38:1–34; 39:1–11; 40:20–21, 29; 41:19.

84 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 139.

85 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 142–44.

According to the Letter of Aristeas (ca. 170 BCE), the chief librarian of the king of Egypt urges the latter to have the Jewish law translated into Greek in order to add the knowledge of the Jews to the vast collection of books the empire had already collected. The high priest Eleazar chooses six men from each of the twelve tribes. On their arrival in Egypt the 72 translators are invited to a banquet, the course of which is reported extensively (185–294). The banquet is explicitly referred to as a *symposion* (181, 186, 203, 220, 236, 286, 294).

As already mentioned above, in the Greco-Roman banquet tradition each position on the couches was ranked. The guests were placed on the couches according to their social rank. At private Greco-Roman banquets the host designated the positions that the guests would occupy. The participants in the banquet of the Egyptian king recline (182), arranged according to seniority (187). As a decent host the king seriously takes into account the customs of his Jewish guests. The preparations for the banquet are made in accordance with the customs of the Jewish participants, "in order that there might be no discomfort to mar their enjoyment" (182).[86] The king dispenses with the services of the sacred heralds and the sacrificing priests and the others who are accustomed to offer the prayers, and calls upon Eleazar, the oldest of the Jewish priests, to offer prayer instead (184–185). The king takes up the function of symposiarch in drinking to the health of the participants (235, 261, 264, 274, 293) and in respecting a strict order during the round of questions, which he leads with a strong hand (e.g. 187 and 189). In the Greco-Roman banquet tradition each banquet performance has a presiding officer or "symposiarch."[87] He sets the rules for the drinking party. His first duty is to decide the proportions of the mixture of water to wine. He decides the size of the portions of wine to be served to the guests.

"Festive joy" is an important feature of the banquet in which the Jewish translators participate and directly connected with the contents of the "table talk" as can can be inferred from the following quote: "At these words there was a burst of applause with shouting and jubilation lasting for some while; and thereafter they betook themselves to the enjoyment of the banquet, which had been prepared" (186).

Applause (186, 200, 200, 230, 247, 273, 277, 292), shouting (186, 261, 292, 294), and jubilation (186, 292) are signs of approval (247, 292, 294) that qualify the "festive joy" as the general atmosphere of the banquet. "Festive joy" itself is referred to explicitly at many occasions either in its individual capacity, viz.

86 Quotations from the Letter of Aristeas are taken from Henry St. John Thackeray, *The Letter of Aristeas* (London: SPCK, 1917).

87 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 33–34.

experienced by the king (198, 207, 232, 235, 253, 268, 288, 294), or its collective capacity, viz. experienced by the translators (182, 186, 202, 247, 261, 273, 274, 294).

"Table talk" on a high moral and intellectual level is praised as the most elevated form of entertainment by comparing it to harmonious and sweet music. In answer to the question of the king, "what should be one's conduct at banquets?" (286), the participant says, "you should invite such as are lovers of learning and able to suggest what may be useful to the kingdom and to the lives of your subjects. No more harmonious or sweeter music could you find. For these are beloved of God, since they have trained their minds in the highest learning" (286–287). The main part of the report of the course of the banquet is dedicated to the entertainment in the form of high level "table talk." In order to profit from the wise teachings of his guests on the art of ruling, the king puts the wisdom of each participant in the banquet to the test, asking philosophical questions with a strong moral slant. In their answers, the Jewish translators always refer to the authority of the Most High.

5.3 *Texts from the Caves of Qumran*

Eating and drinking on a massive scale being compatible with a formal sacred context is shown in the Temple Scroll (second half of the second century BCE), on the occasion of two festivals of the first fruits. On the Festival of the First Fruits of the Wheat hierarchical order is respected.[88] First the priests shall eat the first fruits in the inner courtyard of the Temple. Afterwards all the people shall eat new bread made of fresh ripe ears (11QT^a 19:5–7//11QT^b 3:23–24). If one assumes that the sequential order of the text reflects a chronological order one can presume that—after the offerings have been eaten in the outer courtyard (11QT^a 21:3//11QT^b 5:7)—all the people, from the oldest to the youngest, shall drink new wine and rejoice, after the priests, the Levites, and the chiefs of the standards have done so (11QT^a 21:4–10; 11QT^b 5:8–13). As Schiffman notes, "in Second Temple times, festive *shelamim* sacrifices were offered as part of the celebration of the pilgrimage festivals and these offerings were consumed by the participants."[89]

Apart from references in the Temple Scroll to sacrificial meals eaten within the walls of the temple two other texts explicitly refer to formal meals, viz. the

88 Johann Maier, *Die Tempelrolle vom Toten Meer und das "Neue Jerusalem,"* UTB 829 (München: Ernst Reinhardt Verlag, 1997), 107.

89 Lawrence H. Schiffman, "*Shelamim* Sacrifices in the *Temple Scroll*," *ErIsr* 20 (1989): 176*–83* (179*).

Rule of the Community (1QS 6:4–5, 20–21),[90] and the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa 2:17–22).[91] In both texts the meals concerned are also related to the first fruits.

The Rule of the Community (end of second century BCE) stipulates that where there are ten men of the Community council there has to be a priest among them. Every one shall sit before him by rank. In this way every one shall be asked for his opinion on any matter. When they prepare the table to dine or the new wine for drinking, the priest shall bless the first fruits of the bread or the new wine. In any place where the Ten assemble, there shall be a man to interpret the law day and night, always, one man relieving another. The Many shall be on watch "together for the first third of every night of the year, reading aloud from the book, interpreting Scripture, and praying together" (1QS 6:4–8).[92] The text reflects a number of features of a Greco-Roman banquet: the sacred nature of the meal because of the mandatory presence of a priest, the importance of the ranking of the participants, the blessing of the wine, and conversation on serious matters as in Greco-Roman philosophical banquets. Although the direct connection with the preceding regulations concerning the meal is not clear, the text nevertheless also emphasizes the reading of holy scriptures and the study of the regulations as well as the importance of blessing.

The Rule of the Congregation (second half of the second century BCE) refers to a sacred meal within an eschatological context as evidenced by the mention of the "last days" (1QSa 1:1) and the presence of the Messiah (1QSa 2:11–12). The participants in the meal, the priest, as head of the entire congregation of Israel, the sons of Aaron, the priests appointed to the banquet of the men of reputation, the heads of the thousands of Israel, the heads of the congregation's clans, and the wise men of the holy congregation, are not reclining but sitting (ישב, 1QSa 2:13, 14) in a hierarchical order. The communal table is set to drink wine. When the wine is poured for drinking, the priest shall bless the first portion of the bread and next the wine. The Messiah also blesses first the bread. These stipulations have to be observed at each meal when at least ten men of the community are gathered (1QSa 2:11–22).

90 M. Delcor, "Repas cultuels esséniens et thérapeutes, thiases et ḥaburoth," *RevQ* 23 (1968): 401–25 (412–15); Edouard Lipiński, "Le repas sacré à Qumrân et à Palmyre," *ErIsr* 20 (1989): 130*–34* (130*–31*); Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 155–56.

91 Delcor, "Repas cultuels esséniens et thérapeutes, thiases et ḥaburoth," 412–15; Lipiński, "Le repas sacré à Qumrân et à Palmyre," 130–31; Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 156–57.

92 Donald W.Parry and Emanuel Tov, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader. Second Edition, Revised and Expanded. Vol. 1* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 16–17.

5.4 *The Banquet in the Rabbinic Literature*

The banquet modus operandi as such was adapted by the early rabbis in their specific way.[93] The rabbis and sages indicated clearly that some Hellenistic practices were absolutely unacceptable. The rabbinic literature sanctioned Hellenistic banquets as long as the worst excesses—from the point of view of the rabbis—were expurged.[94] They considered the libations to gods during Greco-Roman banquets flagrantly idolatrous. Once the idolatry and licentiousness were eliminated and a few Jewish practices were added, the Greco-Roman banquet seemed more acceptable to them.[95] The rabbis "required a distinctly Jewish ambiance, fostered by discussion of Scripture, sacred songs, and especially the presence of students of Torah. The table itself was sanctified and characterized by the rabbis as a substitute for the holy altar in the Temple; such statements must have encouraged even pious Jews to adopt some features of the Greco-Roman banquet."[96]

The data from the Tannaitic literature are important in order to recognize a continuous influence of the Greco-Roman banquet tradition. The texts date from the third to the seventh century CE. It may be assumed that they contain traditions that date from as early as the first century CE. According to Smith, it is possible to perceive the basic features of a Greco-Roman banquet in the Tannaitic texts.[97] Smith refers to the Tosefta as describing a meal that consists of three courses: appetizer, main course, and dessert. Hands are washed twice. The guests move from the vestibule to the dining room and there is a change of posture, i.e. from sitting to reclining. Mixed wine is served during the meal and wine is served at the end of the meal. In the anteroom every participant says the benediction over the wine for himself; in the dining room benediction is said on behalf of all: "Blessed art Thou, O Lord, our God, King of the universe, Creator of the fruit of the vine."[98] In the Tosefta, the order of reclining is discussed (t. Ber. 5:5). Distinction is made between a *biclinium*, the setting of two adjacent or parallel reclining couches, and a *triclinium*, the typical Roman *pi*-shaped setting for reclining. The rabbinic use of "upper," "middle," and "lower" couches, as well as the reference to reclining "above" and "below," follows the Latin terminology: *summus*, *medius*, and *imus*, and *supra* and *infra*.[99]

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93 Klein, "Torah in *Triclinia*," 334–41; Shimoff, "Banquets: The Limits of Hellenization," 441, 444–47; Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist,* 144–50.

94 Shimoff, "Banquets: The Limits of Hellenization," 447.

95 Shimoff, "Banquets: The Limits of Hellenization," 444.

96 Shimoff, "Banquets: The Limits of Hellenization," 444–45.

97 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 145.

98 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 146.

99 Klein, "Torah in *Triclinia*," 335.

The rabbinic response to the Hellenistic challenge of banquets did not only consist in a lukewarm, resigned acceptance of inevitable social pressures.[100] The rabbis did not only accept the Hellenistic banquet but also integrated it in the cult. The Passover meal, one of the major festivals in the Jewish year, was primarily a sacrificial meal prior to the destruction of the temple in 70 CE. It required a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where the sacrifice was held. The Passover sacrificial ritual differed from other sacrifices in that the layperson performed his own sacrifice, although presumably the priest would have to officiate in parts of it, especially in the ritual activities concerning the sacred blood of the animal. The description of a Passover meal is elaborately described in the Mishnah (m. Pesaḥ. 10:1–9), with the specification that the diners recline, the division of the meal into two (or three) courses, and the benediction of the wine that begins the formal banquet proper. Four cups of wine are mentioned (m. Pesaḥ 10:1, 7). The second and the third cup are mentioned after the main course, which means during the entertainment or "table talk." As such they are part of the *symposion* following the meal proper.[101] The table is interesting if one intends to read New Jerusalem from the vantage point of the banquet culture. From a general point of view the "table talk" fits into the pattern of the Greco-Roman banquet. From the specific Jewish point of view it shows how the Greco-Roman banquet culture had been adapted to the specific Jewish needs. The posture at the meal is reclining (m. Pesaḥ. 10:1). The use of the question-and-answer format (m. Pesaḥ. 10:4), the motif of instruction, the father instructing his son (m. Pesaḥ. 10:4), and the motif of composing etymological word games on the food, in this case the comparison of eating bitter herbs to the experience of the ancestors whose lives were embittered by the Egyptians in Egypt (m. Pesaḥ. 10:5), are part of the Greco-Roman banquet tradition.[102] The main part of the "table talk" consists of thanking, praising, and singing the *Hallel*-psalms[103] to God who set the Jews free from slavery in Egypt (m. Pesaḥ. 10:5).

5.5 *New Jerusalem*

The text of New Jerusalem contains no reference at all to the sacred nature of the banquets performed in the gigantic city. In the text as preserved no reference is made to the component of the meal that corresponds to entertainment in the form of "table talk" in the Greco-Roman tradition. Neither conversation

100 Shimoff, "Banquets: The Limits of Hellenization," 447.
101 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 149–50.
102 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 150.
103 Pss 113–118; cf. b. Pesaḥ. 117a and 118a.

nor reading from Holy Scriptures is mentioned. Singing is also not mentioned. Yet, a tiny fragment of one of the manuscripts of New Jerusalem refers to "rooms of joy": "[…]he said to me: you ⟨are⟩ looking at, the one(s)/that, w[ho]/w[hat] … in the rooms of joy (בתי חדוא) and to […]" (11Q18 18 5–6). The reference to "rooms of joy," I suggest, is best understood from the three angles dealt with above: the sacred nature of the banquet, the component of the meal that corresponds to entertainment in the form of "table talk" in the Greco-Roman tradition, and the "festive joy."

6 Banquet Culture on the City Level

6.1 *Banquet Culture on a Larger Scale*

Ancient Greek temples commonly had dining rooms.[104] The meals eaten at temple dining rooms were not necessarily sacrificial meals. Some sanctuaries were expected to provide hospitality facilities for pilgrims. The dining rooms tended to have the same structural characteristics as dining rooms in public secular buildings and in private houses. From this one may infer that the meals held in the dining rooms of the temples were not formally different from normal secular meals. The design for temple dining rooms consisted of several small rooms of standard size.

A tiny fragment of the manuscripts of New Jerusalem (11Q18 25 1–6), already referred to above (in section III), mentions eating and drinking as well as sacrifices. However, because of the fragmentary condition of the preserved text it is not possible to infer from it that what was eaten came from sacrifices, in this case from the sacrifices of Israel. Furthermore, it is impossible to identify the location where the eating and drinking were to take place.

6.2 *Banquet Culture on an Even Larger Scale*

Until now it has been established in the present article that the name of the banquet rooms, the arrangement with twenty-two couches and eleven windows, as well as the typological similarity between an *insula* and the "Largest Peristylium" point to a banquet culture which resembles the Greco-Roman one, at least concerning the aspect of reclining as dealt with above (section II, II). At first sight the performance of a banquet on the city level seems implausible. Yet, Pantel proved the contrary, dealing with a period from the eighth century BCE until the fourth century BCE: Banquets on the city level were announced publicly including the mention of the invited guests. Invited were either all

104 Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 73.

the citizens or all the free inhabitants of a city; sometimes only notables were invited.[105]

How many people could participate in the performance of a massive banquet in the city described in New Jerusalem? The text as preserved does not enable one to calculate this number precisely since, e.g., the inner circumference of the city wall cannot be established because the thickness of the city wall remains unknown. Further, the distance between the *insulae* facing the city wall and the wall itself on the one hand and the distance between the *insulae* facing the six boulevards and the edge of these boulevards on the other hand remain unknown. I propose the very conservative estimation of 361,000 couches, which points to 361,000 or 722,000 (two per couch) participants. This number might but does not necessarily explain the high number of 32,900 in 11Q18 18 1–3: "[…]seven cups and six metal plates, to smell […].. and above ⟨are⟩ seven cauldrons, installed to cook on ston[es … and al]l of them ⟨are⟩ thirty two thousand nine hundred[…]". Because of the eschatological context of the city described in New Jerusalem it does not make sense to give any realistic value to the aforementioned figures.

7 Banquet Culture on the Occasion of Pilgrimage Festivals

We now turn to the occasion on which the banquet culture on the city level was performed in the gigantic city in New Jerusalem. As mentioned above (section 11.1), the ground plan, built up gridwise on different levels, does not seem to point in the direction of a normal residential way of life on a family basis. In phrasing my thesis in the introduction of the present article in terms of two other possibilities, a vast military camp or a pilgrimage city, I only retained the latter because the text of New Jerusalem as preserved contains no indications regarding military confrontation in relation to the function of the walls and gates of the city.

The Torah prescribes that all males must go up to Jerusalem "three times a year" on the three festivals—Passover, *Shavuot*, and *Sukkot* (Exod 23:17; 34:23; Deut 16:16; 2 Chr 8:13).[106] The following quote from the Mishnah—which strengthened my choice of the Greco-Roman banquet culture as a vantage point—implicitly connects the Passover meal with pilgrimage to Jerusalem: "Therefore, may the Lord, our God and the God of our fathers, bring us in peace to the other feasts and pilgrim festivals, which are coming to meet us, while

105 Pantel, *La cité au banquet*, 380–408.

106 Cf. Moshe David Herr, "Festivals," *EncJud* 6:765–69 (765).

we rejoice in the building of our city and are glad in your worship" (m. Pesaḥ. 10:6).[107] Does the text of New Jerusalem contain indications which point to pilgrimage festivals? Two fragments mention one of these three festivals, viz. Passover: "second blessing [...].. and their celebration offerings and their Passover offerings [...] the [p]riests ⟨are⟩ receiving from their hand, that [they have] stretched ou[t]....[and] ⟨will⟩ not ⟨be⟩ entering in it each pers[on ...] his hands, all ..[...]" (11Q18 16 ii–17 i 1–5), and "[... wh]ole Israel ..[...] VACAT and as soon as ...[...]... the Passover offerings ...[... un]till the sun sets/will set and al[l ...]... their celebration offerings [...]not (?) to satisfy .[...]" (11Q18 27 1–6). Mention of the two other festivals, the Feast of the Harvest (Feast of Weeks) and the Feast of the Tabernacles/Tents/Boots as well as the mention of a commandment of pilgrimage on the three festivals concerned would offer stronger support for the thesis phrased in the introduction of the present article. The text as preserved remains silent in this regard. Two fragments refer to the cult in general without specifying if the cult referred to is the cult in the temple or the performance of a banquet: "[...]offerings of (= intended for) G[od ...] (קרבני א[להא)" (11Q18 28 4), and "[...]... of the festivals of G[od ...] (מועדי אל[הא)" (11Q18 30 4). Anyway, the mention of the Passover festival in the text of New Jerusalem does not rule out the idea of a banquet of pilgrims.

8 Conclusion

The fragmentary evidence in the manuscripts of the Aramaic text New Jerusalem—although still incomplete—enables one to conclude that in the city described the cult is performed both by the traditional Jewish cult performance in the temple complex and by a respectful and pious banquet custom. Probably after a major reversal in history, a planned city might be intended to accommodate and to enable an enormous amount of people—possibly pilgrims—to perform worship in the form of banquet practices.

It has been possible to produce elements in support of the thesis phrased in the introduction of the present article. Banquet rooms with twenty-two couches and eleven windows clearly point in the direction of reclining and banquet performance. To this one can add the similarity between the "Largest Peristylium" in Alexandria and the *insulae* in New Jerusalem, from the point of view of architectural typology as well as the use of them for the performance of the banquet practice on a massive scale. The "Largest Peristylium" in Alexandria and the *insula* in the text of New Jerusalem both contain banquet

107 Cited by Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 148.

rooms. These rooms have a specific design related to the posture at the meal, viz. reclining.

Further, it was possible to fit in a seemingly insignificant element, viz. "the outer gutter," as a logical component of banquet rooms. The frivolously sounding term "rooms of joy" can be understood as referring to pious and respectful "festive joy." If one accepts that the units of the *insulae*, covering almost the entire city, are intended for banquet performance, then the whole city is intended for such performance except the temple complex. The concept of banquet performance on a city level is well known from Greek and Hellenistic customs. A whole city intended in a uniform and standardized way for banquet performance cannot be intended for a normal residential way of life. One of the remaining possibilities regarding the use of the city is pilgrimage. Because of the mention of one of the three pilgrim feasts, Passover, it is plausible that the city was meant for pilgrims.

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Trials and Universal Renewal—the Priestly Figure of the Levi Testament 4Q541

Torleif Elgvin

1 Introduction

In this paper I will trace the traditio-historical background of the priestly figure in 4Q541, a Levi testament from the second century BCE. Developing themes from earlier texts, 4Q541 describes an end-time priest who will see trials, bring forth an atoning sacrifice, and be a tool for universal renewal. I will survey relevant exilic and postexilic texts about future and end-time leaders, their profile and "job description," and suggest some diachronic and intertextual lines of development. The servant songs of Deutero-Isaiah are important in this tradition history, and I will make some new suggestions on the understanding of these songs.

2 Predictions about Future Leaders

The different recensions of the Jeremiah scroll, preserved in Greek and Hebrew, reflect an ongoing discourse on the tasks of Israel's end-time leader. Around the time of the fall of the temple, 𝔊Jer 23:5–6 expresses the hope for a coming ruler of the Davidic line:

> Behold, days are coming, says the Lord, when I will raise up for David a righteous dawn. This king shall reign, he will have insight and execute justice and righteousness in the land. In his days Judah will be saved and Israel encamp in confidence. And this is the name by which he will be called: "The Lord Yahweh is righteousness."[1]

1 The Greek version reflects the earlier recension of Jeremiah. Translation of biblical texts is adapted from NRSV and JPS (and often polished). Texts from the Septuagint are adapted from the NETS translation and often reflect my own polishing or tentative restoration of the Greek into Hebrew. Qumran texts are adapted from Accordance. 𝔊Jeremiah 23:6b runs καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, ὃ καλέσει αὐτὸν κύριος Ιωσεδεκ. κύριος Ιωσεδεκ probably renders אדוני יהוה צדק.

Consciously avoiding both royal and priestly terminology, 𝔊Jer 37:18–21 (≈ 𝔐 30:18–22) also carries the hope of a new ruler. His "job description" will be radically changed in the proto-masoretic recension of the early third century, where the national leader is a priest who risks his life in a sacrificial act before God (see below).

Thus says the Lord:

> Behold, I will bring back the exiled Jacob and have mercy on his captivity.
> The city shall be rebuilt upon its mound and the sanctuary set on its rightful site.
> … their sons shall go in as formerly,
> their testimonies shall be rectified before me,
> and I will punish those who oppressed them.
> Its strong ones shall be set over them,
> its ruler shall come from its midst.
> I will gather them, and they shall return to me,
> because who is this one who has set his heart to return to me?
> says the Lord (𝔊Jer 37:18–21 ≈ 𝔐 30:18–22, there is no verse 22 in 𝔊).

The Lord is the main actor in this futurist vision of restoration. The prophecy concludes with a question about a supporting actor: "Who is this one who has set his heart (dedicated his heart) to return to me?" Since this is a figure in the singular it likely refers to the ruler mentioned earlier in the same verse. I interpret this figure (ἄρχων) as a future national leader who will be instrumental in the restoration of the people.[2]

An earlier version of Ezek 1–39 probably foresaw a restoration in the land without a Davidide. Chapter 34 describes the Lord as the shepherd who will himself take care of his flock that had been maltreated by the earlier shepherds, the leaders of the people. In verses 11–22 and 25–31 the Lord is the single actor who intervenes for his people.

With the introduction of a supporting actor, verses 23–24 appear as a later insert inspired by Jer 23. Ezekiel 34:23, וַהֲקִמֹתִי עֲלֵיהֶם רֹעֶה אֶחָד וְרָעָה אֶתְהֶן אֵת עַבְדִּי דָוִיד הוּא יִרְעֶה אֹתָם וְהוּא־יִהְיֶה לָהֶן לְרֹעֶה, "I will appoint a single shepherd over them to tend them—my servant David. He shall tend them and be a shepherd to them," rephrases Jer 23:4–5, וַהֲקִמֹתִי עֲלֵיהֶם רֹעִים וְרָעוּם … וַהֲקִמֹתִי לְדָוִד צֶמַח צַדִּיק,

2 While ἄρχων in 𝔊Jeremiah usually renders שַׂר (30 out of 33 cases), the Hebrew *Vorlage* here probably used מֹשֵׁל as in 22:30, cf. מֹשְׁלוֹ in 𝔐Jer 30:21.

"I will appoint shepherds over them, and they shall tend them … and I will raise up for David a righteous branch."

The description of the future restoration in Ezek 36:16–38 is void of a Davidide. In 17:3–24 the branch (יוֹנֵקֶת, verses 4 and 22) that will grow into a great tree symbolizes the future of the nation with no mention of the son of David or the Davidic צֶמַח. The Book of Ezekiel closes with a symbolic blueprint for the new temple province, chapters 40–48. In this section, 45:7–8 and 46:1–18 foresee a prince (נָשִׂיא) leading the people, a prince with a sacrificial office. No Davidic pedigree is mentioned. This distance to the Davidic tradition supports the view that the Book of Ezekiel, originating with a son of a priestly family, was transmitted and edited by priests in Babylon. Ezekiel 34:23–24 reflects a later editorial hand that maintained a central role for a Davidide in the restoration to come.

When we survey postexilic texts we need to remember that for more than three centuries Yehud was a small province and Jerusalem a tiny and powerless temple village. The population of Yehud grew slowly to perhaps 12,000 in the fourth century BCE, and Jerusalem to 400–500.[3] There was a gap between historical reality and eschatological visions of restoration. The poor conditions on the ground may in fact have caused the intense hope for God to restore the fortunes of Zion, a hope reflected in a large array of texts.

In Zech 1–8 we encounter a prophetic scroll from Jerusalem of the late sixth century. The vision of Zech 4 describes two olive trees flanking the menorah: two anointed ones on earth, a priestly and a royal one, both standing in God's presence. The Books of Haggai and Zechariah present no unified picture of the leadership structure of Yehud in the early Persian period. It stands to reason that the high priest was subordinate to the governor during the Persian period. Thus Zech 4 may present a theological ideal—an ideal that would become formative for the double messianism of some Qumran texts. It may also provide some background for the development of the idea of a messiah son of Joseph in the rabbinic period.

3 Avraham Faust, "Social, Cultural and Demographic Changes in Judah during the Transition from the Iron Age to the Persian Period and the Nature of the Society during the Persian Period," in *From Judah to Judaea: Socio-Economic Structures and Processes in the Persian Period*, ed. Johannes Unsok Ro, Hebrew Bible Monographs 43 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2012), 108–34; Israel Finkelstein "The Territorial Extent and Demography of Yehud/Judea in the Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods," *RB* 117 (2010): 39–54; idem, "Persian Period Jerusalem and Yehud Rejoinders," in *Focusing Biblical Studies: The Crucial Nature of the Persian and Hellenistic Periods*, ed. Alice Hunt and Jon L. Berquist (London: T&T Clark, 2012), 49–62; Torleif Elgvin, *The Literary Growth of the Song of Songs in the Hasmonean and Early-Herodian Periods*, CBET 89 (Leuven: Peeters, 2018), 121–27.

Zechariah 6 has undergone intensive editing. In 6:9–14 we encounter thrones both for the Davidic Shoot (צֶמַח) who shall build the temple (Zerubabel) and the priest (Joshua). An earlier text portrayed thrones both for the ruler and the priest (verse 13, וְיָשַׁב וּמָשַׁל עַל כִּסְאוֹ וְהָיָה כֹהֵן עַל כִּסְאוֹ, "he will sit as ruler on *his* throne, and there will be a priest sitting on *his* throne"), probably both being crowned. The edited text leaves the coronation for the priest only, probably reflecting the Persians' removal of the Davidide Zerubabel from the governor's seat. The priest's change from filthy clothes to festal apparel and a glorious turban in 3:1–5 will give colors to later images of a priestly end-time figure.

Zechariah 9–14 is a collage of texts from the Persian and Ptolemaic periods, a discourse with different voices that also touches the question of leadership. Here the role attributed to human kingship in the restoration is progressively abandoned in favor of the cult institution.[4] Zechariah 9:9–10 transforms the traditional royal ideology in a way that deprives the king of his military role and emphasizes his humility and piety. Against all current forms of leadership these verses expect an anti-David.[5] Zechariah 12 allows for a prominent role of the Davidic clan in Jerusalem rituals, perhaps a compensation for the renouncement of the idea of a future Davidic king. These reinterpretations of royal Judean ideology are influenced by sociopolitical changes during the early Hellenistic period. The description of a non-military king in Zech 9:9 appears as a counterproject to the martial character of most Hellenistic rulers. However, the revision of traditional royal ideology, now emphasizing the centrality of the cult, only amplifies a strategy already reflected in chapters 1–8.

We then turn to 𝔐Jer 30:18–22 (≈ 𝔊37:18–21), a text casting light on the development of a twofold messianism, and particularly helpful for understanding the text of 4Q541. As outlined above, the earlier 𝔊 version foresees a future ruler with his heart dedicated to the Lord.

The earlier version preserved in 𝔊 talks about the future ruler as "he who has set his heart to return to me," a text that may be recast in different directions. 𝔐Jeremiah is 15% longer than the 𝔊 Vorlage. This recension evinces intensive Hebrew rewriting of the Jeremiah scroll in Egypt of the early 3rd century—𝔐Jeremiah evinces knowledge of the political development in Egypt in the period 315–290 BCE.[6]

4 Thus Herve Gonzalez, "Davidides in Zech 9–14 and the Transformation of Judean Royal Ideology in the Early-Hellenistic Period" (paper presented at IOSOT, Berlin, 9 August 2017).

5 Thus Jakob Wöhrle, "Concepts of Leadership in Haggai and Zechariah" (response presented at IOSOT, Berlin, 9 August 2017).

6 Armin Lange, "The Textual Plurality of Jewish Scriptures in the Second Temple Period in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Qumran and the Bible: Studying the Jewish and Christian Scriptures in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Nora Dávid and Armin Lange, CBET 57 (Leuven: Peeters,

𝔊Jer 37:18, 20–21	𝔐Jer 30:18, 20–22
18Thus says the Lord: Behold, I will bring back the exiled Jacob and have mercy on his captivity. The city shall be rebuilt upon its mound and the sanctuary set on its rightful site.	18Thus says Yahweh: I will restore the fortunes of the tents of Jacob, and have compassion on his dwellings; the city shall be rebuilt upon its mound, and the citadel set on its rightful site.
20Their children shall go in as formerly, their testimonies shall be rectified before me, and I will punish those who oppressed them.	20Their children shall be as of old, their congregation shall be established before me; and I will punish all who oppress them.
21Its strong ones shall be set over them, its ruler shall come from its midst. I will gather them, and they shall return to me, for who is this one who has set his heart to return to me? says the Lord. (no v. 22)	21Its chieftain shall be one of its own, its ruler shall come from its midst; I will bring him near, and he shall come near to me, for who is this one who stakes his life coming near to me, says Yahweh. 22And then you shall be my people, and I will be your God.

Verse 21 runs קר״ב וְהִקְרַבְתִּיו וְנִגַּשׁ אֵלָי כִּי מִי הוּא־זֶה עָרַב אֶת־לִבּוֹ לָגֶשֶׁת אֵלַי נְאֻם־יְהוָה. *hiphil* may constitute sacrificial terminology. Of 13 biblical occurrences, the ones in Isa 5:8, Isa 26:17, Ezek 22:4, and Mal 1:8 have the general meaning "come near"—the other cases in Ezekiel and Haggai all refer to bringing sacrifices before the Lord. With the subsequent "he shall approach me," v. 21aβ brings us into the priestly, sacrificial realm. Coming into Yahweh's presence, the leader will pledge his life, risk his life. HALOT renders עָרַב אֶת־לִבּוֹ as "to pawn one's heart, meaning to stake one's life." The evidence suggests that 𝔐Jer 30:21 refers to a priestly figure.

2010), 43–96 (77–82); Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, "La datation par souscription dans les rédactions courte (LXX) et longue du livre de Jérémie," in *L'apport de la Septante aux études sur l'Antiquité: Actes du colloque de Strasbourg, 8–9 novembre 2002*, ed. Jan Joosten and Philippe Le Moigne, LD 203 (Paris: Cerf, 2005), 137–59.

The leader comes out of the people, he is "its chieftain" (אַדִּירוֹ) and "its ruler" (מֹשְׁלוֹ). Perhaps for the first time in Scripture, מֹשֵׁל is used for the priest—probably a reflection of present political reality in Yehud. In contrast to the situation during the Persian period, in Ptolemaic times the high priest was also political leader of the province of Yehud. There certainly was communication between Egypt and Yehud; also Judeans in Egypt had their eyes on the situation in Yehud and the small temple village of Jerusalem.[7] 𝔐Jeremiah 30:20–24 uses the present priestly ruler in Jerusalem as a type for a future priestly figure who in the end-times (בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים, verse 24) will risk his life in a sacrificial act before God—whether he will die in Yahweh's presence is left open.

Verses 23–24 are the same in 𝔊 and 𝔐. But 𝔐 adds a new verse (verse 22) containing the *Bundesformular*: "And then you shall be my people, and I will be your God." The ruler's risking act in God's presence will lead to a renewed covenantal relation.

Other passages in the enlarged proto-masoretic recension of Jeremiah foresee a future son of David—23:5–6 (reworked from the 𝔊 Vorlage) and 33:14–22 (not in 𝔊)—who will execute righteousness in the land, for Judah and Israel. But it is the noble priestly ruler (𝔐Jer 30:21) who will be the tool for the renewal of the covenant people, when God by his wrath fulfils his will toward the nations (30:23–24).

In Zech 13:7–9 we find a related text, also from the Ptolemaic period.[8]

> Sword, awake against my close friend,[9]
> the man who is my associate, says Yahweh of hosts.
> Smite the shepherd, so that the flock will be scattered
> when I turn my hand against the small ones.
> In the whole land, says Yahweh,
> two thirds shall be cut off and perish,
> one third shall be left alive.

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7 Cf. the communication between the Judeans of Elephantine and Jerusalem in an earlier period. Josephus reports of a migration of Judeans, including a leading priest named Hezekiah, to Egypt following the conquest of Gaza by Ptolemy I in 312 BCE (*Ag. Ap.* 1.186–87).

8 My discussion here is inspired by Hartmut Gese. Cf. his *Essays in Biblical Theology* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1983, 150–51).

9 Preferably read רֵעִי, "my close friend," for the masoretic pointing רֹעִי, "my shepherd"—רֵעִי constitutes a better parallell to the subsequent גֶּבֶר עֲמִיתִי, "the man who is my associate." This reading gives a word play between רֵעַ in 13:7a and רֹעֶה in 13:7b. Isaiah 44:28 is another example of the masoretes pointing רֹעִי, thus changing "my close friend" to "my shepherd": הָאֹמֵר לְכוֹרֶשׁ רֹעִי, "He who says to Cyrus, 'my close friend'"—suggested by Moshe Weinfeld in personal communication. Alluding to Isa 44:28, the singer of the Self-Glorification Hymn declares that he is ידיד המלך רע לקדושים, "the King's beloved and friend of the holy ones" (1QH^a 26:6; 4Q427 7 i 10; 4Q431 1 6; 4Q471b 1 7).

> I will put this third into the fire,
> refine them as one refines silver,
> test them as one tests gold.
> He will call on my name,
> and I will answer him.
> I will say, "He is my people";
> and he will say, "Yahweh is my God."

In prophetic literature "sword" signifies a violent death. Verse 7 foresees the death of God's associate, but not necessarily a sacrificial death. Is this figure who gives his life in a process that will lead the people to a covenantal renewal, a priestly or a royal figure? The concluding, "I will say, 'He is my people' and he will say, 'Yahweh is my God'" closely echoes "and then you shall be my people, and I will be your God" of Jer 30:22. And the terms "my close friend" and "the man who is my associate" bring "I will bring him near, and he shall come near to me, for who is this one who stakes his life coming near to me" of Jer 30:21 to mind.

These parallels suggest that the death of this associate of God represents a reinterpretation of the priest of Jer 30:21 who risks his life in a sacrificial act, although Zech 13:7 contains no priestly, sacrificial terminology. The nation's shepherd who is close to God is probably a priest—analogous to the ruling priest in Jerusalem. However, in contrast to Jer 30, the term "sword" rather suggests a death by the hand of enemies than in temple precincts and God's presence. The trials the people will undergo (verse 8) is a *novum* compared to earlier prophetic texts on the coming restoration.

"Shepherd" may elsewhere designate the Davidide (2 Sam 5:2; Mic 5:3–5), but here (Zech 13:7bα) it seems to be used with reference to a priestly figure. The text describes the violent death of the shepherd (cf. the later rabbinic image of the slaying of the messiah son of Joseph) and the annihilation of two thirds of the people. The wars of the Diadochi that led to the devastation of Jerusalem in the third century (cf. Dan 11:14, 16, 20) may provide some background for this scenario of the end-times.

3 The Suffering Servant

At this stage of the discussion I want to make a detour to Deutero-Isaiah's suffering servant, often suggested as a backdrop for the description of the priestly figure in 4Q541. Does the suffering servant of Isa 50:4–9 and 52:13–53:12 give color to the description of the priestly figure in 𝔐Jer 30:20–22 and the slaying

of the God-associate in Zech 13—as it later will color the Teacher Hymns of the Hodayot, the text of 4Q541, and the Self-Glorification Hymn?[10] The servant songs cannot be thoroughly discussed here, but I will give a short survey of how I interpret these texts.

Parallels in Persian royal inscriptions lead me to see Isa 42:1–7 and 49:1–6, 8–9a as Deutero-Isaiah's songs about Cyrus as liberator of Judah and the nations (with "Israel" of 49:3 as a later gloss), sung in the years 540–537.[11] The Cyrus cylinder and inscriptions of Darius I (522–486) portray the ideal king according to Achaemenid royal ideology.

> Marduk … sought a just ruler to suit his heart, he took him by the hand: Cyrus, king of Anshan, he called, for dominion over the totality he named his name. Marduk, the great lord, who cares for his people, looked with pleasure at his good deeds and his righteous heart. Like a friend and companion he went by his side … I allowed the inhabitants of Babylon to find rest from their exhaustion, their servitude I relieved … From Ashur and Susa … whose dwelling-places had of old fallen into ruin—the gods who dwelt there I returned to their home and let them move into an eternal dwelling. All their people I collected and brought them back to their homes. And the gods of Sumer and Akkad … I caused them to move into a dwelling-place pleasing to their hearts in their sanctuaries … The lands in their totality I caused to dwell in a peaceful abode. (Cyrus cylinder)[12]

> By the favor of Ahuramazda I am king; Ahuramazda bestowed kingship upon me. These are the peoples who obey me … in all twenty-three peoples. These are the peoples who obeyed me; by the favour of Ahuramazda they became my faithful subjects, they brought me tribute. (Darius' account of how he accessed the throne)[13]

> A great god is Ahuramazda, who created earth and heaven, created mankind and gave well-being to man, who made Darius king and bestowed

10 On the use of Isa 50 and 53 in the Teacher Hymns, see Torleif Elgvin, "The Individual Interpretation of the Servant Songs," *Mishkan* 43 (2005): 25–33.

11 Reinhard G. Kratz attributes only chapters 40–48 to Deutero-Isaiah and identifies the hero of 42:1–7 as Cyrus: "The Book of Isaiah and the Persians" (paper presented at SBL Annual Meeting, Boston, MA, 19 November 2017).

12 Cyrus cylinder (lines 12–15, 25, 30–36) from Amélie Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire: A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period* (London: Routledge, 2007), 71–72.

13 Darius' account of how he accessed the throne, Bisitun. Kuhrt, *Persian Empire*, 142–43.

> upon king Darius kingship over this wide earth, in which there are many lands.
>
> Ahuramazda, when he saw this earth in commotion, thereafter bestowed it upon me, made me king. By the favor of Ahuramazda I put it down in its place; what I said to them [my subjects], that they did, as was my desire.
>
> I am a friend of what is right, not of what is wrong. It is not my wish that the strong should inflict harm on the weak, neither that the strong should have harm done to him by the weak.
>
> My desire is what is right. To the man who is a follower of the lie I am no friend. (Darius' tomb inscription)[14]

The first addition to the second song (Isa 49:7), introduced by "Thus says Yahweh," brings in new perspectives, a servant despised by nations and being a slave under rulers. The final edited version of 49:1–6, 7, 8–9a suggests identity between the figures in the two oracles of verses 7–9, the one despised by nations and the restorer of the land. In neither of them the term "servant" is used, so 49:1–9a leaves it open whether this figure should be identified with the servant of verses 1–6.

Isaiah 50:4–9 is the song in the first person of a prophetic figure who listens to the Lord Yahweh and sustains the weary with his word (verses 4–5a). In verses 5b–7 the speaker complains of trials and torments, in verses 8–9 he is confident that Yahweh will rescue and vindicate him. Subsequently there is a change of speaker in verses 10–11, only here is the term "servant" used about the suffering figure. The term אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה "the Lord Yahweh" is used four times in 50:4–9, while it occurs only three times in chapters 40–49 (40:10; 48:16; 49:22). This is one of many indications that the third and fourth servant songs should be seen as later inserts into the Deutero-Isaianic book.[15]

The servant of 52:13–53:12 is portrayed with traits that could fit the exiled people, but also as an individual—a member of the people—with a ministry vis-à-vis Judah (the we-group) in front of "the many"—a phrase that may signify the nations but more probably the Judean people at large, the small population in Judah as well as the majority residing in the diaspora. Both royal,

14 Darius' tomb inscription, Naqsh-i Rustam: http://www.livius.org/articles/person/darius-the-great/9-death/.–26.

15 Cf. Konrad Schmid, *The Old Testament: A Literary History* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2012), 136: "In the course of time the basic Deutero-Isaiah writing was expanded repeatedly … we should also mention the Servant Songs, which in the traditional view were first created independently but now are more frequently thought also to be redactions added to the main text."

prophetic, and sacrificial terms and themes can be identified in the description of the servant. The servant takes upon himself God's judgment on the errant people and carries their transgressions as an offering for sins. Isaiah 53:7–8 seems to be influenced by Jer 11:19—in both texts God's elect is led as a lamb to the slaughter (although different terms are used for lamb), and the servant shall be "cut off from the land of the living." Such a use of an already recognized Jeremiah scroll emphasizes the prophetic character of the servant and suggests a postexilic date for Isa 53.

I thus see a process of *Fortschreibung* in the servant songs. Possibly recognizing the reference to Cyrus in the first two songs, an early fifth century scribe struggles to see the Deutero-Isaianic predictions realized in Zion, a small temple village in a poor and powerless province. Perhaps meditating on the Persians' violent removal of Zerubabel (commonly assumed by scholars) and Isa 40:2 (כִּי נִרְצָה עֲוֹנָהּ כִּי לָקְחָה מִיַּד יְהוָה כִּפְלַיִם בְּכָל־חַטֹּאתֶיהָ, "for her iniquity is expiated, for she has received at the hand of Yahweh double for all her sins"), he sees the need for a servant of Yahweh of a different kind (neither emperor nor Davidide),[16] who through trials will take upon himself God's judgment on the errant Judean people and carry their trespasses as a sin offering. I see this scribe as the author of the addition in 49:7 and of the last two songs, 50:4–9, 10–11 and 52:13–53:12.

The earliest textual witness to the last servant song is 1QIsa^a from around 90 BCE. In 52:14, 1QIsa^a reads "so I anointed his appearance above any man (כן משחתי מאיש מראהו), and his form above any sons of man," for 𝔐 "so marred was his appearance, beyond human semblance (כֵּן־מִשְׁחַת מֵאִישׁ מַרְאֵהוּ), and his form beyond that of any sons of man."

The text-critical value of 1QIsa^a is a subject of controversy. It has often been brushed aside as a "vulgar" scroll, or as a scroll written by creative, independent scribes. One must keep in mind that it is the oldest of the well-preserved Isaiah scrolls. Further, recent material analysis of small margin-pieces of 1QIsa^a and 1QS demonstrates that these two scrolls from around 90 BCE are made of parchment of remarkable high quality, processed with techniques earlier known only from the medieval period.[17] 1QIsa^a should therefore not be classified as a vulgar scroll. While the two scribes at times handled the text in a creative way, this scroll was highly valued by the (sectarian) community

16 There is no Davidic hope in Isa 40–66. In 55:1–5 God's love towards David is transformed into a covenant with the nation, which is exhorted to listen to the prophet. If Zerubabel's fate plays in the background, this can explain the royal features in the last servant song.

17 Ira Rabin, "Material Analysis of the Fragments," in *Gleanings from the Caves: Dead Sea Scrolls and Artefacts from The Schøyen Collection*, ed. Torleif Elgvin, Kipp Davis, and Michael Langlois, LSTS 71 (London: T&T Clark, 2016), 61–77 (66–67).

behind the scroll—as was its "cousin" 1QS, whose parchment was prepared in the same workshop.

The masoretic pointing מִשְׁחַת hardly makes sense and is usually corrected to מֻשְׁחַת, "blemished"—and 1QIsa^{b} indeed confirms the reading משחת, as do 𝔊 and 𝔖.[18] For the creative (second) scribe of 1QIs^{aa}, the servant is anointed, 52:13–15 is consistently referring to the elevation of the servant.[19] 1QIsa^{a} contains a *lectio facilior* that makes better sense in the context of 52:13–15; this reading should not easily be brushed aside as a secondary one. משחתי may either be the original reading or represent a conscious "messianic" interpretative rereading around 100 BCE—the suffering servant is Yahweh's anointed who will bring forth redemption, as Cyrus was in his time and his way.[20] According to Deutero-Isaiah as preserved in 1QIsa^{a}, there are three anointed ones: Cyrus (45:1), the anonymous prophet of 61:1 (whom I identify with Deutero-Isaiah himself),[21] and the suffering servant.

Isaiah 53:10–12 specifies that the servant will be vindicated, die as an offering for sin, and see the many as his offspring. Like the national leader in 𝔊Jer 37:18–21, the suffering servant is portrayed in open terms that leave space for future interpreters. With a fifth-century dating of these servant songs, they are clearly older than 𝔐Jer 30:18–22 and Zech 13:7–9, they colored the Jeremiah oracle and perhaps also Zech 13. The sacrificial terminology in the last servant

18 The 𝔊 translation of Isaiah is commonly dated to the 160s, two generations before the writing of 1QIsa^{a}. 𝔊Isaiah 53 is slightly targumic in style and should only be used with caution as a text-critical witness. Two tendencies can be identified: 1) God is not depicted as willingly causing the servant's suffering, but as wanting to save and vindicate him (4b, 5bα, 6b, 9a, 10aα, 10b–11a); 2) The we-group is depicted as siding with God and the servant throughout the text (1a, 2b–3, 4b, 8aα). I am indebted to Joanna Bauer for these observations. 1QIsa^{b} is a quality 𝔐-like scroll from 50–25 BCE.

19 The creative targumist behind Ps-Jon. to Isa 52:13–53:12 opens with הָא יַצְלַח עַבְדִי מְשִׁיחָא, "See my servant the messiah will prosper"—he clearly shared the interpretation (and perhaps the reading) of 1QIsa^{a}. The targumist attributes all the suffering to the nations and makes the messiah the vindicator throughout the text. This chapter may belong to the earliest strata of Pseudo-Jonathan (second century CE?)—the targumist does not know the later idea of the suffering and dying messiah of Ephraim/Joseph.

20 If the removal of Zerubabel colors the last two servant songs (see above), the anointing would make sense with the original fifth century author.

21 Thus Shalom M. Paul, *Isaiah 40–66: Translation and Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2012), 536–42: "In the first three verses … Deutero-Isaiah's appointment to prophecy is described (in the first-person) and his mission delineated" (p. 536). Duhm saw chapter 61 as Trito-Isaiah's programmatic presentation and suggested that chapters 61–66 originally opened the Trito-Isaiah scroll; see Bernhard Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia übersetzt und erklärt*, 3rd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1914), xx, 423–24.

song (and his possibly "anointed" character, if the 1QIsa[a] reading is early) may have influenced the third-century Jeremiah-scribes in their description of the priestly leader. Where Isa 53 promises offspring to the servant and healing to the we-group when the servant carries their iniquities, the two later texts speak clearly of a renewed covenant for the bruised nation at large, not only a part of the people.

Summing up: Ezekiel 40–48 expects a future priestly prince; Zechariah 3–6 regards both a priest and a royal figure as anointed; the suffering servant of Isa 50 and 53 will bear the iniquities of the many and provide healing for them; in 𝔐Jer 30:18–20 the priestly leader of the nation will risk his life in a sacrificial act before the Lord and thereby open for a renewed covenant for the nation. Zechariah 13:7–9 foresees the violent death of the national leader and tribulations for the people before a renewed covenant comes into being.

While other prophetic texts expect a coming Davidide, the texts listed above are not the only ones who concentrate on Zion, temple, and/or priestly service in their visions of the time of redemption. Sirach 36 envisions a renewed Zion without mention of a Davidide (see verses 17–22), and the panegyric praise of the high priest Simon in Sir 50:1–24 hardly allows for a Davidic ruler alongside the priest.[22] The contemporary hymn in Tob 13:8–18 similarly envisions a renewal of the temple city with no royal servant in view.

4 The End-time Levitical Priest of 4Q541

In contrast to previous texts in this line of tradition, 4Q541 is in Aramaic. Does the language point to texts of a different kind? By the time of Ben Sira there seems to be in place a collection of authoritative prophetic books in Hebrew—although they still could undergo (in part radical) editing. Like Danielic writers, the author of 4Q541 could hardly expect Judeans at large to accept his work

22 According to Sir 45:24–26, the covenant with Aaron is greater than that with David. The Hebrew version of verse 25 limits the Davidic promise to Solomon, while the covenant with Aaron is lasting: "And there is also a covenant with David, son of Isai, from the tribe of Judah; the inheritance of a man [i.e. David] is to his son alone, the inheritance of Aaron is also to his seed" (ms B); Greek "an inheritance of the king for son from son only." However, the section on David and Solomon in Ben Sira's praise of the fathers could suggest a possible future fulfillment of Davidic promises: "The Lord … exalted his [i.e. David's] horn forever; he gave him a royal covenant and a glorious throne in Israel … But the Lord would not go back on his mercy, or undo any of his words, he would not obliterate the issue of his elect, nor destroy the stock of the man who loved him; and he granted a remnant to Jacob, and to David a root springing from him" (Sir 47:11, 22).

as authoritative on a par with previous prophetic scrolls. But a testamentary form could be read as a sign of authority by priestly or Levitical circles close to the author.[23] We may note the appeal to patriarchal figures as authority rather than to the Mosaic tradition as well as intertextual links to other Aramaic texts from Qumran (see below).

Émile Puech dates the script of 4Q540–41 to around 100 BCE or slightly earlier and regards it as a pre-*yaḥad* composition in line with 4QTQahat, 4QTLevi and 4QVisions of Amram.[24] He notes that this Hasmonean hand is of the same type as 1QS, 1QIsa[a] and 4Q175. Thus it was copied after the foundation of the *yaḥad*, but long before *yaḥad* members took over the Hasmonean estate at Qumran in the early Herodian period.[25]

4Q541 is entitled "4QApocryphe de Lévi[b]? ar" and likely preserves some kind of testament.[26] 4Q540 may be another copy of the same text. In different fragments we encounter a figure with a unique teaching role who is led through trials.

>] wounds upon w[ounds …] 2 […you will be found innocent in your] case, and you will not be guil[ty …] 3 […] the tracks of your wounds

23 Machiela suggests that didactic Aramaic texts including testaments/deathbed discourses were composed in Judah during the late Persian to Hellenistic period, being written by priestly circles who promoted the Aaronic priesthood, Daniel Machiela "Situating the Aramaic Texts from Qumran: Reconsidering Their Language and Socio-Historial Setting," in *Apocalyptic Thinking in Early Judaism: Engaging with John Collins' The Apocalyptic Imagination*, ed. Sidnie White Crawford and Cecilia Wassén, JSJSup 182 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 88–109.

24 Émile Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4.XXII: Textes Araméens, première partie: 4Q529–549*, DJD 31 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 213–16, 227; idem, "Fragments d'un apocryphe de Lévi et le personnage eschatologique. 4QTestLévi[c-d](?) et 4QAJa," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March, 1991*, ed. Julie Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner, STDJ 11 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 2:449–501 (485–89).

25 Here I follow Taylor and Humbert: Joan Taylor, *The Essenes, the Scrolls, and the Dead Sea* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 250–61; Jean-Baptiste Humbert, "Reconsideration of the Archaeological Interpretation," in *Khirbet Qumrân et 'Aïn Feshka II: études d'anthropologie, de physique et de chimie*, ed. Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Jan Gunneweg (Fribourg: Editions universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 419–44; idem, "Arguments en faveur d'une résidence pré-Essénienne," ibid. 467–82; idem, "L'architecture de Qumrân avant des Esséniens" (lecture, Lausanne University, 26 April 2017): https://www.unil.ch/irsb/home/menuinst/multimedias/multimedias-actualites-even.html.

26 "Jacob (?) dévoile à Lévi un figure eschatologique que est certainement le grand pretre de l'ère messianique" (Jean Starcky, "Les quatre étapes du messianisme à Qumrân," *RB* 70 [1963]: 481–505 [492]). Puech, DJD 31:214, leans toward Levi talking to his offspring Qahat and Amram.

> th[at …] 4 […] what has been entrusted to you and all […] 5 […] your heart from [(4Q541 6)
>
> The hid[den mysteries] he shall reveal […] 2 [for the one] who does not understand he shall write […] 3 the Great Sea shall be calmed because of him[27] […] 4 Then the books of wis[dom] shall be opened […] 5 his command; and like [… his] wis[dom …] 6 [his t]eaching [(4Q541 7)
>
>]and do not mourn in sackclo[th …] 3 redeeming error[s …]revealing errors […] 4 Search and seek and know what the dove has sought. And do not renounce him by means of exhaustion and hanging li[ke …] 5 Do not bring a diadem close to him! Thus you will establish a good reputation for your father and a proven foundation for your brothers. 6 You will grow and see and rejoice in eternal light; and you will not be among the enemy [(4Q541 24 ii)

4Q541 2 ii contains a reference to a wise person with a persecutor wanting to kill him,]רדף לה ובעה, "persecute him and seeking [to kill(?) him." 4Q541 2 i 5 refers to the powerful teaching of the priestly figure: אל] וכרעות [מ]לין ׳[מל]ל יאלף, "w]ords he [shall] speak and according to the will of [God he shall teach."

According to Starcky, the text foresees an eschatological high priest.[28] Puech points to parallels in the later Testament of Levi:

> The light of knowledge you shall kindle in Jacob, and you shall be as the sun for all the posterity of Israel. (4:3)
>
> And then the Lord will raise up a new priest
> to whom all the words of the Lord will be revealed.
> He shall effect the judgment of truth over the earth for many days.
> And his star shall rise in heaven like a king;
> kindling the light of knowledge as day is illumined by the sun.
> And he shall be extolled by the whole inhabited world.
> This one will shine forth like the sun in the earth;
> he shall take away all darkness from under heaven,
> and there shall be peace in all the earth. (18:2–4)

27 The text reads ישתמק ימא רבא מנה, "the Great Sea will become red because of him." One may read ישתתק, "be calmed," for ישתמק, "become red."

28 Starcky, "Quatre étapes," 492, cf. Puech's introduction to 4Q540–41 (DJD 31:213–16).

4Q541 9 i, the longest preserved passage in 4Q540–541, continues the line from 𝔐Jer 30:20–24. But instead of God's wrath poured out on the nations and a restoration and renewed covenant for Israel only, here an end-time priest will be a tool for universal renewal. The more peaceful period under Antiochus III from 198 BCE, when the temple city was given prerogatives and the king ordered the rebuilding of the city, could provide some background for this new opening towards the gentiles.[29] The text runs as follows:

1 [ ]○○○ם̊ ה̊יה̇[כול]בני̊ ד̇ר̇ה̊ ○[ ]כ̇ל̊
2 [ ]○○[ ]○[ח]כ̊מ̇תה ויכפר על כול בני דרה̇ וישתלח לכול בני
3 [ע]מ̊ה מאמרה כמאמר שמין ואלפונה כרעות אל שמש עלמה תניר
4 ו̊יתזה נורה̇א̇ בכול קצוי ארעא ועל חשו̊כא תניר אדין יעדה חשוכא
5 [מ]ן̊ ארעא וערפלא מן יבישתא שגיאן מלין עלוהי יאמרון ושגה
6 [כדב]ין ובדיאן עלוהי יבדון וכול גנואין עלוהי י̊מללון דרה באיש יאפיך
7 [די דחה]להוה ודי שקר וחמס מקמה[ו]יטעה עמא[ ]ב̊יומוהי וישתבשון

Notes on readings, lines 1–2:
Puech's reading יאמר[ו̊י̊מ̊ס̊ר̊]להו[ן̊]ח[כ̊מתה at the beginning of line 2 is creative. In PAM 41.938 (January 1956) only a single baseline can be seen early in the line (above מאמרה), before the baseline of the *kaph* in ח[כ̊מ̇תה. And his suggested readings in line 1 are similarly far off the track. My readings have been tested with a Dino-Lite AD413T–I2V digital microscope in the scrolls lab of the IAA, April 23 and 25, 2018, cf. the recent infrared photo B-37055 (not available to Puech when he made his DJD edition).[30]

The first preserved traces in line 1 are two specks of ink followed (above על) by a descender (*qoph*?) and a possible final *mem* [Figure 1]. In the subsequent word a *yod* is preceded by a possible *he* and followed by *khet* (alternatively *waw* or *ayin*) [Figures 2, 3]. Later in the line the reading בני̊ ד̇ר̇ה̊ seems quite probable [Figures 4, 5], cf. the same term recurring in line 2. Following a word space one can see a speck of ink, possiby the beginning of a baseline. The last letters of the line can safely be read as]כ̇ל̊, perhaps the last two letters of a verbal phrase [Figure 6].

Early in line 2 there are two (unidentifiable) traces above מאמרה [Figure 7], and a trace of the last letter of the word preceding ח[כ̊מ̇תה [Figure 8].

29 Thanks are due to IAA for allowing the publication of photographs from working under the auspices of the IAA at its DSS conservation laboratory.

30 *Ant.* 12.138; 13.133–144, cf. Ben Sira's report of Shimon II's building activities at the Temple Mount (Sir 50:1–4), traces of which may be identified archaeologically, see Elgvin, *Literary Growth*, 121–22, 125.

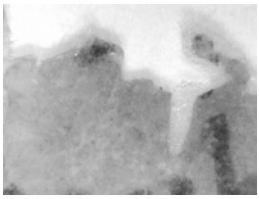

FIGURE 1

FIGURE 2

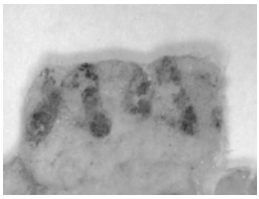

FIGURE 3

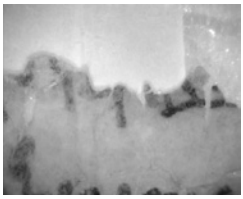

FIGURE 4

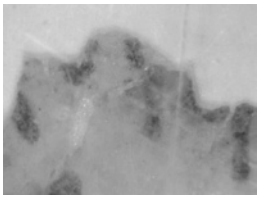

FIGURE 5

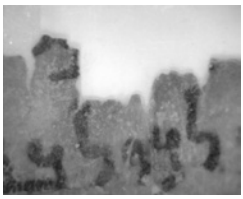

FIGURE 6

FIGURE 7

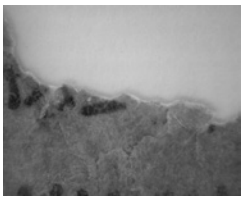

FIGURE 8

Translation:

1 [all]the children of his generation[ ] 2 [ ]his [w]isdom. He shall make atonement for all the children of his generation, and he shall be sent to all the children of 3 his peo[ple]. His words are like the words of heaven, and his teaching like the will of God. The everlasting sun[31] will shine 4 and its fire will give warmth unto the ends of the earth.

31 The phrase שמש עלמה is difficult in the context. The plain text reads "His everlasting sun," with the suffix more likely referring to the priest than to God (thus Puech, DJD 31:242–43: "Pour la proximité du 'Levite' avec Dieu, voir Test. 12 Patr. Lévi 2:10"). I follow the

> It will shine on darkness; darkness will vanish 5 from the earth and mist [fr]om the dry land.
>
> They will speak against him many words and many 6 [lie]s, invent fables about him, and speak all kinds of shameful things about him. His generation will be evil and perverted 7 [so that] it will be [rejected.] Lies and violence will be his office, in his days the people will go astray and be confounded.

The second paragraph must refer to a period before the breakthrough of universal renewal. There is internal strife in the people, the priest is controversial, and he is the victim of slandering and perhaps persecution. Are we in the 170s, close to the short terms of office of Jason, Menelaus, and Alchimus? Could Onias III, who was killed by enemies in 175 BCE, be some kind of a type for this figure, or perhaps his son Onias IV, who found refuge in Egypt and built a temple in Leontopolis?

Here Isa 53 plays in the background:[32] וישתלח לכול בני [ע]מה, "be sent to all the children of his peo[ple," recalls the we-group of Isa 53; יטעה עמא [ו]בְּיומוהי [ ], "in his days the people will go astray," echoes Isa 53:6, כֻּלָּנוּ כַּצֹּאן תָּעִינוּ, "all we like sheep have gone astray," the verb טעה recurring in the later text. שגיאן מלין עלוהי יאמרון ושגה [כדב]ין ובדיאן עלוהי יבדון וכול גנואין עלוהי ימללון, "They will speak against him many words and many [lie]s, invent fables about him, and speak all kinds of shameful things about him," recalls Isa 53:3 נִבְזֶה וַחֲדַל אִישִׁים אִישׁ מַכְאֹבוֹת וִידוּעַ חֹלִי וּכְמַסְתֵּר פָּנִים מִמֶּנּוּ נִבְזֶה וְלֹא חֲשַׁבְנֵהוּ, "He was despised and rejected by men … he was despised, and we did not recognize him." "You will grow and see and rejoice in eternal light" (4Q541 24 ii 6, see above) recalls Isa 53:11, "Through his soul's anguish he shall see light" ("light" with 1QIsa[a,b], 𝔊). Our author clearly relies on Isa 53 in his new reading of Jer 30 and perhaps Zech 13.

This Levitical priest "shall make atonement for all of his generation"—perhaps a reference to the eschatological day of atonement.[33] In contrast to Isa 53, 𝔐Jer 30, and Zech 13, the text does not signal the sacrifice of his life. The priest will teach powerfully: "his words are like the words of heaven and his teaching like the will of God." His ministry will have cosmic consequences.

Accordance translation "the sun everlasting," emending עלמה to עלמא (cf. the phonetic similarity between *aleph* and *ayin*). The idea that the priestly figure is the originator of the everlasting sun remains problematic.

32 For the following, cf. George J. Brooke, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2005), 140–51. With Puech, Brooke interprets 4Q541 also in light of the later Testament of Levi.

33 Brooke, *Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament*, 151.

Even if שמש עלמה, "his everlasting sun," is emended to שמש עלמא, "the everlasting sun," it is the godlike teaching and sacrificial ministry of the priest that open for a cosmic renewal.

There are other texts from this time period that foresee redemption for the nations in the name of Yahweh and a universal renewal, such as 4Q215a (4QTime of Righteousness) and 1Q27 (1QMysteries) 1 i 5–7.[34] In the latter text we find the images of light and darkness, prominent also in 4Q541.

> This shall be the sign that this shall come to pass: when the times of evil are shut up and wickedness is banished from before righteousness, as darkness from before light, or as smoke vanishes and is no more, thus will wickedness vanish forever and righteousness be manifest like the sun. The world will be made firm and all the adherents of the "secrets of wonder" shall be no more. Knowledge shall fill the world and there will never be any more folly. (1Q27 1 i 5–7)

5 Aramaic Noah Traditions

There are parallels between the priestly image of 4Q541, the portrayal of the elect one in the Birth of Noah (4Q534–536), and descriptions of Noah in 1 En. 106 and the Genesis Apocryphon.[35] In 1QapGen 5–15 the righteous Noah is contrasted with the wicked ones of mankind. His eyes shine like the sun (5:12, cf. 1 En. 106:6), he is given wisdom and separates from the ways of deceit that lead to everlasting darkness (6:1–6), and he atones for all the earth (10:13–17). The elect in 4Q534–536 is not named, the figure is often identified with Noah.[36]

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34 Torleif Elgvin, "The Eschatological Hope of 4QTime of Righteousness," in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition*, ed. Florentino García Martínez, BETL 168 (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 89–102; idem, "Priestly Sages? The Milieus of Origin of 4QMysteries and 4QInstruction," in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. John J. Collins, Gregory E. Sterling, and Ruth A. Clements, STDJ 51 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 67–87.

35 Edward Cook in Michael Wise, Martin Abegg, and Edward Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 2005), 539–40; Dorothy M. Peeters, *Noah Traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Conversations and Controversies of Antiquity*, EJL 26 (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2008), 100–106; Robert Jones, "A Priest like Noah: 4Q541 in Its Qumran Aramaic Context" (paper presented at SBL Annual Meeting, Denver, CO, 18 November 2018).

36 "If this personage is *not* Noah, he is at least related!" (Peeters, *Noah Traditions*, 106). Peeters doubts that the main actor in 4Q541 is eschatological, and finds a teaching figure merging priestly features of Noah and Levi more likely (*Noah Traditions*, 101). Cook, however,

This sage will teach and reveal mysteries, his wisdom will reach all people, and he will not die during the days of wickedness.

There are intertextual relations between these Aramaic compositions, but uncertainty about their various times of composition makes it difficult to postulate lines of dependence. While some texts may preserve pre-Maccabean tradition, others may be inspired (positively or negatively) by the coming to power of Hasmonean ruling priests. Chapter 106 of 1 Enoch is a late addition to the early-second century Epistle of Enoch. 1QapGen is palaeographically dated to the mid-first century BCE, while the book often is dated to the second century. 4Q534–536 were copied in the second half of the first century BCE.[37]

Noah is the first biblical sage to bring forth an animal sacrifice. Aramaic Levi, possibly going back to the third century, portrays Noah as progenitor of Levi and the priestly line, a portrayal to be followed up by subsequent Aramaic texts. 4Q541 was copied before 1QapGen and 4Q534–536, so it remains problematic to draw lines of dependence from the two latter to the former. And the portrayal in Jubilees of Noah's atoning sacrifice (7:3–5) should not be used as a backdrop for these Aramaic texts—Jubilees is probably a composite text growing throughout the first century, building on the earlier chapters 1–2.[38]

Summing up, in the footsteps of Aramaic Levi a number of Aramaic compositions portray Noah in priestly clothing. The portrayal of the end-time priest in 4Q541 may be colored also by this wider Noah tradition. For Robert Jones, the author of 4Q541 used Noah traditions to advance an Urzeit-Endzeit eschatology, according to which the last days mirror the time of the primordial flood. A critical question remains: would the author of 4Q541 regard Aramaic Levi and other Aramaic compositions on a par with the Torah and the Prophets, with the same need of subsequent interpretative texts?

---

doubts the identification with Noah and (with the majority of scholars) regards the figure as a future messiah. The testamentary form does suggest a future figure.

37 Starcky suggested a date of composition of the Birth of Noah to the Herodian period (Puech, DJD 31:131, 126). Due to his reconstruction of Essene history and his early dating of Jubilees, Puech suggests a date between 164 and 155. Puech provides the following palaeographical dates: 4Q534 and 4Q535—the last third of the first century BCE, 4Q536—the last half of the first century BCE (DJD 31:131, 155, 162).

38 Matthew P. Monger, "4Q216 and the State of Jubilees at Qumran." *RevQ* 26 (2014): 595–612; idem, "4Q216. Rethinking Jubilees in the First Century BCE" (PhD diss., MF Norwegian School of Theology, Religion and Society, 2018).

6 Conclusions

Some scholars have drawn lines from the servant songs to 4Q541 and regarded the main actor of this text as an eschatological priestly figure (Starcky, Puech, Hengel, Brooke, Knibb). John J. Collins differs somewhat: 4Q541 is a *yaḥad* composition and the author described the eschatological high priest expected by the community, crafted as a Teacher of Righteousness *redivivus*.[39] However, to ascribe 4Q541 to the *yaḥad* remains problematic—most scholars locate Aramaic compositions such as the Genesis Apocryphon, 4QVisions of Amram, 4QBirth of Noah, and 4Q541 outside the *yaḥad*, as pre-sectarian or extra-sectarian texts. And as shown above, a wide array of biblical texts should be considered as interpretative background of 4Q541.

There is no Davidide in the eschatological hope of 4Q541, the priest is Yahweh's only agent. The author found the motive of opposition, trials, suffering, and atonement in Isa 50 and 53, the central role of the priestly leader in Ezek 40–48, his role in redemption in 𝔐Jer 30:18–24 and perhaps Zech 13, and wisdom, teaching, and sacrifice in the Noah traditions. But in contrast to the Jeremiah and Zechariah oracles he has a universal perspective. In the context of universal renewal (lines 3–5), the statement "he shall make atonement for all the children of his generation" probably encompasses the nations.[40] Here the author could build on prophetic oracles such as Isa 2:1–4, 11:10, 19:23–25, and Zeph 3:9–10 as well as Noah as progenitor of mankind. The author moves from a renewed covenant for Israel (as in Jer 30 and Zech 13) to cosmic renewal, spoken of in other prophetic texts.

There are intertextual lines from Isa 50 and 53 and the Aramaic 4Q541 to the Hebrew Self-Glorification Hymn, a *yaḥad* text in which a priestly figure sings about his trials, a unique teaching role, and enjoying a seat in God's heavenly presence—perhaps using the Teacher of Righteousness as a type for the eschatological high priest. And the wider priestly tradition surveyed here would in turn influence the Letter to the Hebrews.

Through this diachronic survey we have seen intertextual lines between texts that expressed Israelite hope for the future. Some of these texts reflect aspects of the sociopolitical situation experienced by the Judeans. The hope of Israel was expressed during centuries when a tiny Yehud and a backwater

39 John J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Routledge, 1997), 100–101.

40 "He shall make atonement for all the children of his generation, and he shall be sent to all the children of his peo[ple" (lines 2–3) may constitute either a synonym parallelism (with both stichs referring to the people) or a synthetic parallelism (the first stich referring to mankind in general and the second to the people). The cosmic renewal described in lines 3–5 pulls the evidence toward the second option.

of a temple village were all they had—before things would radically change with the Hasmonean state. The trials and subordination the Judeans experienced under the Persians and the Ptolemies colored prophetic visions of a coming redemption through tribulation, while the new state of the art with Hasmonean ruling priests stimulated or provoked hopes for an eschatological priest that would inaugurate final redemption.

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Between Aaron and Moses in 4QVisions of Amram

Liora Goldman

1 Introduction

The composition known as the Visions of Amram[1] contains two main themes of the rewritten Bible genre from Qumran: narratives on the patriarchs and their testaments and narratives on the exodus and the giving of the Torah on Mount Sinai. Devorah Dimant proposed a linguistic-thematic classification that distinguishes between rewritten Bible texts composed in Aramaic and Hebrew. This scheme proposes that written traditions associated with figures from the pre-flood period and contemporary with this era, together with those relating to the patriarchs, were primarily composed in Aramaic, while those concerning the period from the exodus through the giving of the Torah on Mount Sinai to the exile were composed in Hebrew.[2]

The Visions of Amram is unique in that it combines aspects of both categories. While written in Aramaic and dealing with patriarchal figures, it also contains themes concerning Moses and the exodus. In its content and style, the composition belongs to the testament genre.[3] While these texts relate

1 In the official publication of the Visions of Amram Émile Puech identified this composition as consisting of seven scrolls: 4Q543–549. For the full editio princeps, see Émile Puech, *Qumrân grotte 4.XXII: Textes araméens, première partie: 4Q529–549*, DJD 31 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 283–405. Duke, in his edition, regards only five copies (4Q543–547) as belonging to this composition; see Robert R. Duke, *The Social Location of the Visions of Amram (4Q543–547)*, StBibLit 135 (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 35–42. Trehuedic is unsure whether 4Q548–4Q549 belong to the Visions of Amram; see Kevin Trehuedic, "Les visions du testament d'Amram A–E; F(?); G(?)," in *Torah: Exode, Lévitique, Nombres*, ed. Katell Berthelot and Thierry Legrand, vol. 2 of *La Bibliothèque de Qumrân* (Paris: Cerf, 2010), 207–31, (207–8). In my opinion, while 4Q548 does not belong to the Visions of Amram, 4Q549 should be regarded as a sixth copy, belonging to the end of the text; see Liora Goldman, "Dualism in the *Visions of Amram*," *RevQ* 95 (2010): 421–32 (425, 431–32).

2 Devorah Dimant, "The Qumran Aramaic Texts and the Qumran Community," in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, ed. Anthony Hilhorst, Émile Puech, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, JSJSup 122 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 197–205.

3 This assessment was made as early as the first scholarly work on the Visions of Amram, beginning with Starcky, who considered that the manuscripts resembled the Testament of Levi; see Jean Starcky, "Le travail d'edition des manuscrits de Qumran," *RB* 63 (1956): 49–67 (66–67). Milik subsequently pointed to the correspondences between the Visions of Amram and the testament genre in one of his early publications; see Józef T. Milik, "4QVisions de 'Amram et une citation d'Origène," *RB* 79 (1972): 77–97 (77). Puech, DJD 31, also accepted this

principally to pre-Sinaitic biblical figures, namely the patriarchs and the tribal leaders, the Aramaic testaments found at Qumran—the Aramaic Levi Document,[4] the Testament of Qahat, and the Visions of Amram—are characterized by their preoccupation with the priestly line of Levi. Since Amram's son Moses is also a scion of this priestly lineage, his life and the story of the exodus properly are treated within an Aramaic testament dealing with Levi's offspring.

In this article I wish to discuss Moses' and Aaron's role(s) as described in the visions revealed to their father Amram in his testament, in order to answer the following questions: which son is the protagonist of the composition, who is called "the angel of God," and what is the main theme of the composition—the Levitical line and the establishment of the high priesthood or the national narrative of the exodus.

2 The Role of Amram in the Visions

The Visions of Amram was composed in the testamentary form known to us from the Greek Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. On his deathbed, Amram gathers his offspring to deliver his last will and testament to them. The composition contains a blessing for his sons, a narrative of events from Amram's life, and an account of the visions revealed to him concerning Moses' and Aaron's destinies.

Since this text belongs to the testamentary genre, Amram, the patriarch—the father of the family—becomes the main character/protagonist of the composition. His significance is first and foremost in the inheritance he leaves to his sons and to those who continue his legacy. Furthermore, he is a crucial link in the Levitical line and his testament complements (in part) the gap in the biblical narrative between the time of Jacob and Levi and that of Aaron. From an anonymous figure denoted as "a certain man of the house of Levi" (Exod 2:1), mentioned in the biblical text merely for being Moses' father, Amram becomes the principal protagonist.

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evaluation in his edition. Frey too adopted this approach, stressing that the Visions of Amram constitutes a prominent example of the Qumran testamentary genre; see Jörg Frey, "On the Origins of the Genre of the 'Literary Testament': Farewell Discourses in the Qumran Library and Their Relevance for the History of the Genre," in *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran in Aix-en-Provence 30 June–2 July 2008*, ed. Katell Berthelot and Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, STDJ 94 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 345–76 (357–59).

4 It should be noted that while the Aramaic Levi Document is not generally identified as a testamentary text, it contains features characteristic of this genre; see Frey, "On the Origins of the Genre," 363–66.

Unlike the other two Aramaic compositions that are attributed to the Levitical line—the Aramaic Levi Document and the Testament of Qahat (4Q542)—the Visions of Amram presents Amram as the father of two prominent figures in Israelite history, Aaron and Moses. The visions conveyed to him, which he imparts to his offspring in his final testament, relate directly to them. Despite this clear feature, the primary message of the composition remains to be determined. Is it intended to stress the foundation of the eternal priesthood by Aaron's or rather Moses' deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt? Does the author seek to conjoin these events and their key figures? These questions will be examined here by reviewing the content of the composition and its literary structure. Unfortunately, only fragments have survived of the main section of the work, containing the visions given to Amram together with prophecies relating to his sons, Moses and Aaron, and their destiny as the deliverers of Israel. The only parts of this text preserved nearly in their entirety are the farewell scene, the narrative concerning Amram's return to Canaan to bury his forefathers, and the description of Amram's meeting with the angels.[5]

We learn about Moses and Aaron, their relations with their father, and their relative significance in the composition mainly from the first, second, and fifth units: the first unit possibly includes a reference to Moses' Hebrew name in the composition; the second unit raises the question of which son was chosen to be blessed; the fifth unit presents, as part of the visions revealed to Amram, the future deeds of Moses and Aaron.

In fact, the questions are all connected, and though the fragmentary texts are ambiguous, I will do my best to clarify the difficulties.

The first unit (4Q543 1a–c and 2a–b / 4Q545 1a / 4Q546 1), in a way typical of the testament genre, describes the deathbed scene and serves as the literary and chronological organizing framework of the composition. On his deathbed Amram gathers his family to hear his testament. This scene raises the question: does Moses have a Hebrew name?

5 The passages proceed as follows: the composition opens with a chronological framework followed by a deathbed scene, in which Amram delivers his final words to his children (4Q543 1a–c and 2a–b / 4Q545 1a / 4Q546 1). Then follows a scene in which the burial of Amram's forefathers in Canaan is described (4Q543 3–4 / 4Q544 1 1–9 / 4Q545 1a–b ii 11–19 / 4Q546 2 / 4Q547 1–2 1–8). After that comes the dream vision concerning the two angels (4Q543 5–10 / 4Q544 1–3; 4Q546 4 / 4Q547 1–2 9–13). It should be noted that the overlap between the various manuscripts permits the reconstruction of a continuous narrative from these four literary units. The continuation is too fragmentary to be reconstructed with any certainty, but it contains the visions revealed to Amram concerning Moses and Aaron. This part is the fifth unit, according to my suggestion for the structure of the composition. The closing of the composition is a list of genealogical details found only in 4Q549.

In 4Q545 1a i 8–10 (/4Q543 1a–c 8) we read:[6]

8 [י]ומי משתותא שלחׂ קרא לאהרון לברה כ[מ]א בר שנין
9 [עשרי]ן[ואמר]לה קרי לי בׂרי למלאכיה אחיכ̇ון מן בית
10 [אבונא (?)

8 the days of the feast were over, he sent for Aaron his son, [who] was a[bou]t [twen]ty years old
9 [and he said] to him, "Summon me, my son, the messengers, your brothers from the house of
10 [our father"

According to this passage, Amram sends Aaron to call a man/men from his house, as indicated in line 9. Puech considers the word אחיכ̇ון as plural and thus understands the phrase as follows: "Appelle-moi, mon fils, les messagers, vos frères de la maison de …"[7] It is difficult to accept this reading and exegesis, since it implies that Amram had additional children. Moreover, why would Moses, the youngest of the siblings, be summoned to hear his father's will together with his cousins or other close relatives, and why are the brothers referred to as "messengers"?[8]

Beyer and Duke argue that the word מלאכיה refers to Moses, to whose Hebrew name we are made privy in this passage. They consequently understand the phrase as follows: "My son, call [for me] your brother, Malachia, from [our father's] house" (קרא לי, ברי, לאחוכון מלאכיה מבית [אבונא]).[9] A scrutiny of PAM 43.566 reveals that the reading אחוכון ("your brother") rather than אחיכון ("your brothers") is possible, since only a trace of the top of the letter *waw*/*yod* remains.[10]

"Malachi"[11] appears several times in the Hebrew Bible, but is known principally from the prophetic biblical book carrying this name. The opening verse of this book presents the prophecy as "a pronouncement: the word of

6 The Aramaic texts in this article are taken from Puech, DJD 31:283–405. The English translation is taken from Emanuel Tov, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library* on *CD-ROM* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

7 Puech, DJD 31:335.

8 See also Duke, *The Social Location*, 72–73.

9 Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 2:118–19; Robert R. Duke, "Moses' Hebrew Name: The Evidence of the *Visions of Amram*," *DSD* 14 (2007): 34–48.

10 Puech, DJD 31:335.

11 "Malachi" is a Hebrew name found in the Hebrew Bible. "Malachia" is the name found in the Visions of Amram. Both have the same meaning: the messenger of God. Accordingly,

the Lord to Israel through Malachi" (מַשָּׂא דְּבַר־יְהוָה אֶל־יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּיַד מַלְאָכִי). While this expression serves as reference to the prophet's name, it can also constitute an allusion to his prophetic mission as the messenger of God. Indeed, the Septuagint understood this text to contain an allusion not to the prophet but to his commission from God, thus rendering the verse: "The burden of the word of the Lord to Israel by the hand of his messenger" (ἐν χειρὶ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ). Alternatively, the verse in Mal 3:1 (הִנְנִי שֹׁלֵחַ מַלְאָכִי וּפִנָּה־דֶרֶךְ לְפָנָי) can also be understood either as a reference to Malachi himself (i.e., to his name) or to the angel of the covenant mentioned later in the text.[12]

According to these verses, the term can be interpreted both as a reference to the prophet's name and as an expression of his task as God's messenger.[13] It is possible that the text in Exod 23:20, 23 should be read in a similar fashion: הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי שֹׁלֵחַ מַלְאָךְ לְפָנֶיךָ לִשְׁמָרְךָ בַּדָּרֶךְ וְלַהֲבִיאֲךָ אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר הֲכִנֹתִי ... כִּי־יֵלֵךְ מַלְאָכִי לְפָנֶיךָ וֶהֱבִיאֲךָ אֶל־הָאֱמֹרִי וְהַחִתִּי וְהַפְּרִזִּי וְהַכְּנַעֲנִי הַחִוִּי וְהַיְבוּסִי וְהִכְחַדְתִּיו ("I am sending an angel before you to guard you on the way and to bring you to the place that I have made ready.... When my angel goes before you and brings you to the Amorites ... and I annihilate them").[14] While in the various references to the angel of God in the exodus account (for example, Exod 32:34; 33:1–2) God addresses Moses, to whose aid the angel is sent, in this passage (Exod 20:23) God speaks to the people. It can therefore be assumed that the מלאך is in fact Moses himself.[15] The attribution of the name "Malachia" to Moses in the Visions of Amram can thus possibly be traced to an exegetical tradition identifying the angel of God mentioned in the exodus account with Moses (cf., especially, Exod 23:20 and Num 20:16).[16]

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in this article I use "Malachi" for discussions of biblical contexts and "Malachia" when referring to the Visions of Amram.

12 The majority of scholars attribute the name "Malachi" to an anonymous prophet, on the basis of Mal 1:1; see, for instance, David L. Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14 and Malachi: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 166.

13 Biblical texts written in the Second Temple period sometimes employ the term מלאך in reference to prophets: cf. Hag 1:13; 2 Chr 36:15–16.

14 It should be noted that in the Septuagint, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the Vulgate the word corresponding to MT מַלְאָךְ in v. 20 seems to reflect a form with the first-person singular suffix (מַלְאָכִי), as in v. 23.

15 Commentators throughout the ages have discussed the question of whether Moses should be considered an angel. Some regard the text as referring to God himself while others argue that it refers to either a divine agent or a human agent, or even specifically to Moses; see Uriel Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1987), 305–6; Brevard S. Childs, *Exodus: A Commentary* (OTL; London: SCM Press, 1974), 487; and the following note.

16 Some early rabbinic midrashim contain evidence that Moses was associated with the angel. For example, Exod. Rab. 32:2 interprets the verse "Behold, I send an angel before

The second unit (4Q543 2a–b // 4Q545 1a // 4Q546 1) describes Amram's recounting of his testament. The narrative in this unit switches from the third person singular to the first person singular as Amram becomes the speaker.

This section preserves, in fragmentary form, the blessing given to one of Amram's sons. Unfortunately, the name of the son has not been preserved.

3 The Blessing in 4Q543 2a–b 1–9

1] ממרך ונתן לך ○[
2]דֹרֵיְ עלמין ונתן לך חכמה[
3]○[י]הוסף לךָ[ ]○[
4 בחיר] אל תהוה ומלאך אל תתקרה [
5] תעבד בארעא דא ודין חסין תֹ[
6]והן להֹ שמך לכל מעֹ[]○[
7]כֹל דרי עלמ[ין
8]בה תעבדֹ[
9]תכֹשר [

1] your command and we will give you [
2] forever and we will give you wisdom[
3] will be added to you[ ] [
4 the elect] of God you will be, and the angel of God you will be called [
5] you shall do in this land, and a stern judgment
6] and if your name is his to all [ ] [
7] all eternal generati[ons
8] you shall do[
9] you will be/ make fit [

The blessing notes the wisdom bestowed on the son, his election by God, and his becoming an "angel of God" in the sense of being commissioned by God. Puech argues that the addressee is Aaron.[17] This indeed constitutes the most

you" as signifying that the angel is an agent, rather than God himself, and that he was sent by God due to the people's sins. It is thus clear that the angel is human, Moses being the most likely candidate. Other texts, based on Num 20:16, express the view that prophets are compared to angels and thus identify the angel with Moses; cf. Lev. Rab. 1:1; Num. Rab. 16:1. For the former text, see also below. Medieval commentators also dispute the angel's identity, Gersonides and Joseph ben Isaac Bekhor Shor both argued that the reference is to a prophet.

17 Puech, DJD 31:336–37.

obvious option if the composition is identified as a document highlighting the priestly line. The motif of the judicious priest filled with divine insight also occurs in the Aramaic Levi Document (4Q213 1 9–16) and the Apocryphon of Levi (4Q541 9 i 2). While the representation of the priest as an angel of God recalls Mal 2:7 (כִּי־שִׂפְתֵי כֹהֵן יִשְׁמְרוּ־דַעַת וְתוֹרָה יְבַקְשׁוּ מִפִּיהוּ כִּי מַלְאַךְ יְהוָה־צְבָאוֹת הוּא), this obvious allusion may, in fact, not be the true source.[18] It is indeed quite plausible to read the blessing as addressed to Moses. The term "angel" in reference to a priestly figure occurs only once in the biblical text (Mal 2:7), and, as argued above, is applied far more frequently in relation to the prophet (compare with Hag 1:13 and 2 Chr 36:15–16). Likewise, some of the verses referring to the angel who leads the people out of Egypt are interpreted and understood as alluding to Moses (Exod 23:20 and Num 20:16).

It is possible that the blessing of the other son was recounted in lines 4–11 that are missing from 4Q545 1a ii.[19] Even so, the identity of the first son to be blessed remains an open question. If, as suggested above, Moses' Hebrew name was indeed Malachia ("the angel/messenger of God"), the question can be answered. Amram's words to his son: "You will be God's chosen and be called a messenger of God" (4Q543 2a–b 4; 4Q545 1a i 17–18) constitute plausible proof that Moses' Hebrew name was indeed Malachia. It is worth noting that the word מלאך is linked to Moses also in 4QApocryphal Pentateuch B (4Q377 2 ii 11), but even there it is used as a simile, referring to an angel to whom Moses is compared (כמלאכ).[20]

The fifth unit recounts the visions imparted to Amram concerning his two sons, Aaron and Moses. It is possible that it also included visions regarding Miriam, as the mystery revealed to her is mentioned in 4Q545 12 4. Four brief

18 Several rabbinic midrashim associate the angel with the priest Phineas, based on Mal 2:7; cf. Lev. Rab. 1:1; Num. Rab. 16:1.

19 The end of the first column of 4Q545 1a contains the beginning of the blessing from the second unit of the composition, while the end of the second column contains the description of Amram's journey to bury his forefathers, appearing in the third unit of the composition. Thus, the space in lines 4–11 of the second column would have been available for an additional fragment that did not survive—possibly one recounting the blessing of the second son.

20 Although scholars are divided over the question whether Moses is actually regarded as an angel or merely compared to one in this text, the phrase does not warrant the former interpretation, since the analogy is made on the basis that God speaks through him (וכמלאכ ידבר מפיהו); see James C. VanderKam and Monica Brady, *Wadi Daliyeh and Qumran Cave 4.XXVIII: Miscellanea, Part 2,* DJD 28, ed. Moshe Bernstein et al. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 131–49, 205–17; Géza G. Xeravits, "Moses Redivivus in Qumran?" *QC* 11.1/4 (2003): 91–105 (97–99); Phoebe Makiello, "Was Moses Considered to Be an Angel by Those at Qumran?" in *Moses in Biblical and Extra-Biblical Traditions*, ed. Alex Graupner and Michael Wolter, BZAW 372 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007): 115–27.

passages from this unit possibly form part of the visions revealed to Amram concerning Moses and Aaron and their role in the exodus from Egypt.

4 4Q546 8

1]ב/פרׄקתׄה שמׄה[
2]אׄהרון ארוׄ אנ[
3 ביד (מושה)[21] ע]בׄדה יׄתובׄ[ו]לׄ[(ארע) כנען
4 ו]תקרא לה[(שמה) מושה[22]
5 ואמרת]מׄרי א[נתה

1] you redeemed his name[
2]Aaron, for behold[
3 by the hand of Moses] his servant, [they] will return to [the (land of) Canaan
4 and] you will call him [Moses
5 and I said,] "My lord, y[ou

The reference to Moses in this fragment can be determined with a relatively high degree of certainty due to line 3, the allusion to "his servant" forming the key to understanding the context of the passage. The pronoun "his" refers to God and the figure is thus described as God's servant. Moses is called עֶבֶד יְהוָה ("the servant of Yahweh") or מֹשֶׁה עַבְדִּי ("Moses, my servant") on frequent occasions in the biblical texts;[23] the phrase מֹשֶׁה עֶבֶד הָאֱלֹהִים ("Moses, God's servant") also occurs (cf. Neh 10:30; 1 Chr 6:34). Therefore, Puech's reconstruction ביד משה ע]בדה ("[by the hand of Moses] his servant") is quite plausible. Although the phrase most frequently refers to Moses' giving of the commandments,[24] here the following verb יתובו ("they will return") indicates that this is not the subject of the sentence. I concur with Puech's view that the reference is to the Israelites' return to the land of Canaan, despite the fact that the root שו״ב/תו״ב ("return") occurs neither in the biblical accounts nor in the Aramaic Targum

21 The brackets () are used by Puech for uncertain reconstructions.

22 I reconstruct here [Malachia/מלאכיה]. See my explanation below.

23 Deut 34:5; Josh 1:1, 2, 13, 15; 8:31, 33; 11:12; 12:6 [twice]; 13:8; 14:7; 18:7; 22:2, 4, 5; 2 Kgs 18:12; 2 Chr 1:3; 24:29.

24 See, for example: כ]כׄוׄל אשר צויתה ביד מושה עבדכה] (4Q504 18 15). For the text 4Q504, see Dennis T. Olson, "Words of Lights (4Q504–4Q506)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translation*, 4A: *Pseudepigraphic and Non—Masoratic Psalms and Prayers*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1997), 107–53.

of Exodus. The same root does, however, occur in the section of the Covenant between the Pieces, which speaks of the Israelites' restoration in Canaan: וְדוֹר רְבִיעִי יָשׁוּבוּ הֵנָּה כִּי לֹא־שָׁלֵם עֲוֹן הָאֱמֹרִי עַד־הֵנָּה, "And they shall return here in the fourth generation, for the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet complete" (Gen 15:16).[25]

In line 4, Amram is commanded to give a name to someone. Although neither the person nor his name has been preserved in the fragmented text, it is highly probable that the figure is Moses, who appears to have been mentioned in the preceding line and to whom the designation בדה[ע refers. Name-giving is a well-known motif in the Hebrew Bible. In the majority of cases, such a bestowing is accompanied by popular etymology explaining the meaning of the name in its context. This theme occurs repeatedly in the Visions of Amram, where the root קר״א with the meaning "call or be called (by name)" appears seven or eight times.[26]

According to the details given in Exod 2:10, "Moses" is the name given to the child by Pharaoh's daughter. The name derives from the root מש״ה—"draw from the water"—reflecting the biblical narrative of Moses' retrieval from the Nile.[27] In the Visions of Amram, however, the reference is rather to the name that Amram is commanded to give his son. If our proposed conjecture is correct—namely, that in this passage Amram is informed of Moses' future role in the exodus—we would expect Moses' Hebrew name to be related to this significant event.

On the basis of this interpretation, I would like to suggest that Amram received a revelation of his son's Hebrew name and his role as Israel's deliverer. This name marks and symbolizes him as God's messenger—Malachia. The use of both of the names—Moses and Malachia—in the composition can be explained by literary means: the Hebrew name is used when Amram is requested to give his son a name that will symbolize his essence,[28] while the biblical name is used in the rewriting of the exodus story.

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25 In most cases, שו״ב is employed with respect to the return from the Babylonian exile, cf. Jer 12:15; Zech 10:10; Ps 126:1.

26 4Q543 2a–b 4 (/4Q545 1a i 17–18); 4Q543 14 1–2; 4Q544 2 12–13; 4Q545 4 18; 4Q545 8 2; 4Q546 8 4; 4Q546 9 3; 4Q546 11 3–4. In the case of 4Q544 2 12–13, despite the fact that only the letter מ remains, the reconstruction מ[תקרא] ("is named") is quite plausible in light of the context. With respect to 4Q543 14 1–2, Puech's reconstruction is feasible, although less certain (Puech, DJD 31:301).

27 In fact, this is an Egyptian name that was given a Hebrew interpretation (midrash). See Childs, *Exodus,* 19.

28 For further discussion of the meaning of the name "Malachia," see Duke, *The Social Location*, 73–79. I would like to emphasize that I do not agree with Duke's suggestion that the name symbolizes Moses also as a king.

5 4Q546 9

2 די א]ת֯ג֯ל֯הׄ לי כוׄ[ל
3 ו]קרׄ[את]שׁמה מ[
4 ה֯וית֯[ ]בׄתרהׄ[
5 עׄדעדן ד֯י֯ בׄעות צׄ[לות(י)[29]
6 מהׄילכין לאׄ[רע כנען
7 ועוד ל[

2 which] was revealed to me, al[l
3 and I] called his name M[
4 I was [ ]after him [
5 unto the time of the petition of [my prayer
6 going to the l[and of Canaan
7 and yet [

The evidence of this fragment, which seems to refer to the commissioning of Moses, is more obscure than the previous passage. While it may contain a description similar to 4Q546 8, it may also be construed as referring to Amram's deeds. That is the way Puech reconstructs the passage.[30]

Here, too, the motif of name-giving appears in line 3. Since the letter מ is preserved, Puech reconstructs the name "Moses."[31] In light of the above discussion, however, it is also plausible to reconstruct the name "Malachia."

Line 5 appears to refer to prayer (according to Puech's reconstruction, followed here), most likely indicating an expectation that God will answer the plea. It is not clear from the passage who is praying. Is it Amram, awaiting the fulfillment of what has been revealed to him, or is it Moses? While the biblical texts record no prayer uttered by Moses in connection with events prior to his appointment as the people's deliverer or the commencement of his leadership prior to the exodus, the rewritten biblical texts regularly contain such insertions.[32] Here, I would like to suggest another option, that the prayer is uttered by all the people of Israel, crying out for deliverance from Egypt (cf. Exod 2:23).

29 See note 21 above. For a different reconstruction, see below.
30 Puech, DJD 31:361–62.
31 Puech, DJD 31:360.
32 The most prominent example is Moses' prayer on Mount Sinai on behalf of the Israelites before he received the tablets in Jub. 1:19–21.

When God reveals himself to Moses, he says that he has heeded the people's cry (Exod 3:7) and has chosen Moses to deliver them out of Pharaoh's bondage in Egypt.[33] A clear link between the people's call and their deliverance and exodus from Egypt appears in Numbers 20:16: וַנִּצְעַק אֶל־יְהוָה וַיִּשְׁמַע קֹלֵנוּ וַיִּשְׁלַח מַלְאָךְ וַיֹּצִאֵנוּ מִמִּצְרָיִם ("We cried to the Lord and He heard our plea, and He sent a messenger who freed us from Egypt"). Targum Onqelos to this verse reads: וצלינא קדם יי וקביל צלותנא ושלח מלאכא ואפקנא ממצרים ("We prayed to the Lord and He accepted our prayer and sent a messenger who freed us out of Egypt"). This reflects a tradition that explicitly understands the "cry" as a prayer. It is thus suggested that line 5 may be best reconstructed to read: עֹדעדן דֹּ֯י֯ בֹעות צֹ[לותהון ("until their prayer was answered/accepted").[34] This reconstruction suggests a different suffix in the brackets, implying that it was the people's prayer rather than Amram's.

If this passage describes the people's cry as a prayer for deliverance, which God hears and answers, it should be examined in relation to the beginning of the unit. As in 4Q546 8, analyzed above, lines 2–3 in fragment 9 appear to depict a revelation to Amram concerning Moses' name and future role. Here, too, Amram might be expected to refer to his son's name. The only extant letter in our hands is a *mem*: ו]קרֹ[את]שמה מ[("and you shall[35]] call his name M["). As noted above, Puech reconstructs "Moses." I suggest, however, that the better reading also in this case is "Malachia"—particularly in light of Num 20:16. This verse links the people's plea for deliverance from bondage in Egypt with

33 Such a use of the roots זע״ק /צע״ק to indicate a plea for divine aid is common in biblical texts: cf. 1 Sam 9:16; Isa 30:19; Jer 11:11; Ps 77:2. This form of prayer is restricted to an appeal for God's deliverance in times of trouble and crisis and does not cover the broader senses of the term "prayer"; see also,Gerhard Hasel, "Zāʿaq—Tsāʿaq," *TDOT* 4:120–21.

34 The motif of the people crying out for deliverance from bondage in Egypt, which reaches God's ears as a prayer, is also found in 4QNarrative C (4Q462). Line 12 reads: יהםה[...] ויעבודו ויתקימו ויזעקו אל ···· ("their [...] and they served and they endured and they cried to ···· (YHWH)"). Dimant also understands this verse in the biblical sense of an appeal for divine aid; Devorah Dimant, "Egypt and Jerusalem in Light of the Dualistic Doctrine at Qumran (4Q462)," *Meghillot* 1 (2003): 27–58 (39) (Hebrew). The notion of crying out as a prayer heard and answered by God corresponds to the biblical usage of the root שמ״ע ("hear") and the expression בא אלי ("came to me") in conjunction with the roots זע״ק/ צע״ק, as well as God's refusal to accept such pleas due to the people's sins. Cf. Jer 11:11. This motif is also prevalent in the Scrolls, cf. 11QT^{a} 59:6; 4Q387 2 ii 10; 4Q389 8 ii 2–3.

35 Puech, DJD 31:361, translates: "et je l']appelai de son nom M[oïse," signifying that Amram had already named his son. We have here a difficult case: Puech's translation is correct grammatically but implausible in content, since Amram received the visions prior to returning to Egypt and Moses's birth. It is thus proposed that this sentence constitutes a divine command (imperative mood) to Amram to name his son in the future; see also note 22.

the exodus affected through the aid of the angel/messenger.[36] In the light of such traditions as these, as well as Targum Onqelos to Numbers 20:16, I would propose here that 4Q546 9 constitutes a rewriting of Numbers 20:16. Moses is identified as the angel whom God sends to deliver the Israelites from Egypt following their cry, in divine answer to their prayer.

Puech translates line 6, which contains the root הל״ך, as "going to the land [of Canaan," a reading that does not accurately reflect the plural participle. It is also difficult to evaluate the reconstruction לא[רע כנען ("to the l[and of Canaan]"), since it depends on the interpretation of the previous line, namely, on the identity of the person(s) praying. If the prayer is Amram's, as Puech proposes, the "going" may allude to Amram's return to Egypt after forty-one years' sojourn in the land of Canaan, rather than to his journey *to* Canaan—although it should then be assumed that Amram was not alone.[37] If the people or Moses is praying, this line may once again refer to the exodus. Although it is difficult to determine the most accurate reconstruction in this case, Puech's suggestion is too problematic to be plausible. The present argument permits a better rendering of the plural participle מהולכין ("going"), relating it to the people, thus providing a more coherent connection to the reading לא[רע כנען] ("to the l[and of Canaan]").

6 4Q546 10

1	] מצרין בכל בשׂ[ר
2	(ת)עבדו(ן) אתי]ן ומפתין קֳ[דם פרעה
3	א]חוהי מוֹשׁ[ה
4	]חמ[ה ○ [

1] Egypt with all fl[esh
2 you shall do sign]s and wonders be[fore Pharaoh
3] his brother Mos[es
4] father-in-law (?)

36 A rabbinic midrash on this verse also makes the association between Moses and the angel clear; see Lev. Rab. 1:1.

37 Whatever the case may be in this regard, Puech's reconstruction (DJD 31:361) that Amram was on his way to Canaan to bury his forefathers when this vision was revealed to him is questionable in light of 4Q547 9 8–9. 4Q547 9 clearly indicates that Amram's visions were revealed to him when he had already reached Canaan, rather than while he was still on his way there. For the argument that Amram received the visions while in Canaan, see Goldman, "Dualism," 428.

Although this passage is extremely fragmentary, the presence of the noun מפתין (wonders) in line 2 suggests that its context is the plagues of Egypt or possibly the signs preceding them. Puech's reconstruction, ואתי]ן ומפתין ("sign]s and wonders"), is almost certainly correct, given the *waw* conjunctive joining the two terms. The plagues are frequently described as "signs and wonders" not only in the exodus account itself (cf. Exod 7:3; 11:9–10) but also in other scriptures (cf. Jer 32:20–21; Ps 78:43; 105:27).

On the other hand, the expression "all flesh"[38] in line 1 is not part of the description of the plagues in Exodus. The line may depict the striking of all the Egyptians or, in fact, of "everything"—men, women, and beasts.[39] The designation of everything living as "flesh" in the context of general destruction appears indeed in the story of the Flood (cf. Gen 6:13, 17). This may constitute the source from which the author of the scroll borrowed the motif of afflicting "all flesh," transferring it to the context of the Egyptian plagues in order to demonstrate the comprehensive devastation and ruin that was wrought.

The reference to Moses appears in line 3, although he is titled as "his brother Moses." The text suggests that Aaron is the subject of the sentence. According to the biblical story, the plagues were, in fact, brought about by Aaron and Moses, though Moses is the principal protagonist and Aaron his aide. God instructs Moses how to act while Aaron participates in the execution of the task. Two scrolls likewise attribute the plagues to Moses (cf. 4Q378 26 3–6; 4Q422 3 4–5). If Aaron is regarded as the central figure in this passage, and the plagues are ascribed to him with Moses playing a secondary role as his companion, the author of the Visions of Amram appears to have shifted the emphasis of the biblical account. The composition possibly belongs to the priestly dynasty, with the document stressing the acts of the priest (Aaron), as can be seen more clearly in the following unit.

7 4Q547 9 1–9

The final passage in which Moses and Aaron are alluded to[40] probably concludes the visions revealed to Amram. The passage is only preserved in 4Q547:

38 This is rendered "with all flesh." The fragmentary nature of the text notwithstanding, the preferable translation would appear to be "in all flesh."

39 For this meaning of the word "flesh," see Nikolaus P. Bratsiotis, "Bāśār," *TDOT* 2: 327–32.

40 The expression ברי ("my son") appears in 4Q546 14 1, and the word לעמך ("your people") in line 2 of the same fragment may also allude to Moses; however, the general context is very unclear and the fragment remains obscure. I have thus chosen not to relate to it here.

1]אֹ ○[
2]פֹּצִיתֹ[
3 ומוש]ה בנה [מדבח
4]בהר סיני יצ[יבא
5 (י/ת)[41]דב]חֹ[לבק]רֹכה רבא על מדבח נחש[א
6 ו(בר)ב]רֹה יתרם כהן מן כול בני עלמא באח[רי/ו הי
7 להוה מש]יח ובנוהי בתרה לכול דרי עלמין בקו[שט(א)
8] ואנה אתעירת מן שנת עיני וחזוא כתב[ת בלוחא
9 מן קודם נחתת]מן ארעכנען והוא לי כדי אמר[לי מלאכא

2]saved[
3 and Mos]es built [an altar
4] on Mount Sinai [
5 you shall sacrifice] your great [cattle] on the copper altar [
6] his son shall be exalted as priest over all the people of the world. Then [
7 he will be anoint]ed and his sons after him for all the eternal generations in t[ruth
8] Then I awoke from the sleep of my eyes and I wrote down the vision [in writing
9 before I went down] from the land of Canaan and it happened to me as [the angel] said [to me

Line 8 clearly concludes the receiving of the dream visions: "Then I awoke from the sleep of my eyes and I wrote the vision." Since this is the only passage in the extant fragments that speaks of waking up from a dream vision, it appears to refer to the awakening from all the visions revealed to Amram and recorded in his testament, rather than from a particular vision.

The vision described in this section seems to be a very brief rewriting of Exod 24–29, chapters that deal with the altar of the covenant, the instructions for the construction of the tabernacle, the priestly garments, and the anointing of Aaron and his sons for eternal priesthood. The passage links together details related to both Moses and Aaron in a fashion similar to the congruence of the sections in the Hebrew Bible. It commences with a description of the erection of the altar at Mount Sinai mentioned in Exod 24:4, built by Moses to implement the covenant between the people and God.

41 Puech could not determine whether the verb דבח in the future tense is conjugated for the second person singular or for the third person singular. See Puech, DJD 31:389.

The identification of the biblical passage that the Visions of Amram reworks is made possible due to the mention of the erection of the altar[42] on the mountain, which the exodus account identifies as Mount Sinai. It is unclear why the vision concerning Moses' future role is formulated in the *past* tense (בנה) in line 3. This usage may indicate the time period of the author, who had before him the biblical text in which the erection of the altar is described in *wayyiqtol* (Exod 24:4). It is also possible that בנה should be read as an imperative and the reconstruction should be different from that suggested by Puech. For example: מדבח]בנה ה[למוש אמר ("[said to Mose]s: 'build [an altar").[43]

Line 5 refers to the copper altar for the sacrifice of large cattle. Here, the text in the Visions of Amram appears to be based on the section concerning the copper altar in Exodus 27:1–7. The question is how many altars are referred to in the text. Is it one copper altar or are there two altars: one that is copper plated (rewriting of Exod 27:1–7) and the other made of stones (rewriting of Exod 24:4)? Another difficulty concerns the location of the altar(s). While line 4 asserts that the altar was built *on* Mount Sinai, Exodus 24:4 locates the altar that Moses built at the foot of the mountain, in the court of the tabernacle. In addition to all this, we must remember that the "altar" in line 3 is a reconstruction of the text. I have no unequivocal solution for this issue, though it is clear that the author of the Visions of Amram saw a relation between the two altars in the biblical description: the covenant altar and the copper altar.

Why does the author of the Visions of Amram "leap" from the erection of the covenant altar on Mount Sinai to that of the copper altar in the tabernacle? The reason may lie in Aaron's role in the two sections. The portion dealing with the making of the covenant in Exod 24:3–8 concludes with God revealing himself to Moses and Aaron and the seventy elders. This is the only biblical passage that speaks of a divine revelation given jointly to Moses and Aaron. According to the Hebrew Bible, the building of the copper altar is juxtaposed with the anointing of Aaron and his sons for priesthood (Exod 29). All the sacrifices related to the anointing ceremony and the consecration to the priesthood are meant to be offered on the copper altar. Likewise, lines 6–7 in the Aramaic work testify to the fact that the anointing of Aaron and his sons is the text's principal focus. Although the fragmented passage mentions no names, the most plausible view is that it deals with Moses anointing Aaron and his

42 Even though the word "altar" in line 3 is completely reconstructed, the context makes this reconstruction almost certain.

43 Another possibility suggested by Jesper Høgenhaven is that the vision included seeing Moses build the altar. The event was therefore referred to in the past tense, from the point of view of the person seeing the vision, while the "real world" event was still a future one.

sons for eternal priesthood, in correspondence with the description of the anointing and consecration of Aaron and his sons in Exod 29:1–9.

The ceremony of the sprinkling of the blood during the making of the covenant on Mount Sinai (Exod 24:4–8) resembles the ceremony in which Aaron and his sons were anointed for priesthood (Exod 29:15–21). While during the covenant ceremony Moses sprinkled half of the blood on the people and half on the altar, during the anointing of Aaron and his sons for priesthood, he sprinkled some of the blood, together with the anointing oil, on the men and their vestments, to consecrate them. It is possible that the similarities between the two biblical sections and Aaron's role in them both led the author of the Visions of Amram to link them together.

It thus appears that the climax of the passage lies in the acts of Moses, which led to the divine revelation to Aaron (as in Exod 24:9–11) and to the anointing of Aaron and his sons for eternal priesthood. Assuming that this section indeed concludes the visions chapter of the manuscript, it attests to Moses' central role in this priestly testament.

8 Conclusion

Very few fragments of the six extant manuscripts of the Visions of Amram deal with Moses and Aaron. An analysis of the extant legible passages of the composition demonstrates that the author presents two new characters who either replace Moses, the biblical protagonist, or attain parity with him: Amram and his son Aaron. From a figure whose weight in the Hebrew Bible derives exclusively from his status as Moses' father, Amram becomes a central figure to whom God reveals visions; who plays a leading role in the burial of his grandfather, Levi, and his brothers in the family tomb in Hebron; and whose testament to his two sons takes on significance for all of Jacob's offspring. Likewise, Aaron goes from being Moses' brother and aide in the exodus to the central protagonist, with Moses being defined as *his* brother. While Moses evidently *is* Aaron's sibling, the biblical text always portrays Aaron as secondary to Moses and as Moses' brother (compare with Exod 4:14; 7:1–2; Lev 16:2; Num 27:13; Deut 32:50).

From the present findings, it appears that the figure of Moses was shaped according to two principles. First, his role as the redeemer of the people in bringing them out of Egypt; in this aspect, Moses's Hebrew name, Malachia, emphasizes his commission to deliver the people from bondage. Second, his role as the anointer of Aaron and his sons for eternal priesthood. Thus, on the one hand, the composition represents Aaron as an equal partner to Moses in leading the people out of Egypt; on the other hand, Aaron plays the leading

role with his sons with respect to the promise of eternal priesthood and to the laws governing the sacrificial cultus. Here, Moses' function is to build the copper altar on which the sacrifices are offered during the investiture of Aaron and his sons.

I have suggested that the burial of the forefathers in Canaan and Amram's encounter with the two angels (4Q543 5–10 / 4Q544 1–3; 4Q546 4 / 4Q547 1–2 9–13) should be regarded not merely as an account from Amram's life but also as a description of significant events occupying a central place in his testament to his sons, namely, the choice of life.[44] In his final testament, Amram bequeaths his choice to his sons so that they may continue to choose life for themselves and for their descendants, by their future deeds.

The special prominence given to Aaron in this composition indicates that the Visions of Amram presents a particular interpretation of the biblical text that subordinates the exodus of the people of Israel from Egypt to the testament of the priestly line. Its message indicates that the choice of life is exemplified not only in Moses and Aaron's leading the Israelites out of Egypt to make a covenant with God on Mount Sinai, but also in the acts that established the everlasting covenant with Aaron's offspring.

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44 Liora Goldman, "The Burial of the Fathers in *the Visions of Amram* from Qumran," in *Rewriting and Interpreting the Hebrew Bible: The Biblical Patriarchs in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Devorah Dimant and Reinhard G. Kratz, BZAW 439 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013), 231–50 (246); Goldman, "Dualism," 430–32.

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Geography in the Visions of Amram Texts (4Q543–547)

Jesper Høgenhaven

1 Introduction

The purpose of this brief article is to explore the role and function of geography in the narrative structure of Visions of Amram (henceforth: VA). This Aramaic composition, which has been preserved in at least five Qumran manuscripts, is clearly a narrative. The protagonist of the story is Amram, father of Moses, Aaron, and Miriam.[1]

The narrative framework is a scene which takes place at Amram's deathbed. As his final active achievement, he has arranged for and celebrated his daughter Miriam's wedding to a family member. Having accomplished this, Amram prepares for his death, summons his children to his bedside, and recounts to them the crucial events of his life. The scene is set in Egypt, where the Israelites are situated before the events of the exodus, which are to take place in the generation of Moses, Aaron, and Miriam.

In his farewell address to his children, Amram describes a journey he undertook many years ago to the land of Canaan. He went there to build the tombs of his ancestors.[2] His sojourn in Canaan, however, dragged on for an extended period because of a war between Egypt and Philistia that kept the boarder closed. Amram had to stay in Canaan for 41 years, while his wife Jochebed remained in Egypt.

Eventually, Amram was able to return to Egypt, although his return is not narrated in the preserved text. Nevertheless, Amram clearly hints at his coming back to Egypt. Before returning from Canaan, though, he experienced a vision,

1 The text was published by Émile Puech in *Qumrân grotte 4.XXII: Textes araméens, première partie: 4Q529–549*, DJD 31 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 283–405. While Puech regards the seven manuscripts 4Q543–549 as belonging to the Visions of Amram, Robert Duke holds that only five of the scrolls (4Q543–547) belong to this group, Robert Duke, *The Social Location of the Visions of Amram (4Q543–547)*, StBibLit 135 (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 35–42. On the question of overlaps and identity between the text of the different manuscripts, see Søren Holst's article in the present volume.

2 On the burial motif in VA, see Liora Goldman, "The Burial of the Fathers in the *Visions of Amram* from Qumran," in *Rewriting and Interpreting the Hebrew Bible: The Biblical Patriarchs in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Devorah Dimant and Reinhard G. Kratz, BZAW 439 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013), 231–49.

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and the account of the vision is the central episode in his farewell address. In a dream vision, Amram encounters a transcendent dualistic world and sees otherworldly beings representing light and darkness, fighting over him. Moreover, he is informed of the dualistic structure of reality and the forces of good and evil. The revelation also includes a series of predictions regarding the future. Amram is told details of what is to take place in the generation of his children—the exodus events, the destruction of Pharaoh's army, the divine manifestation at Mount Sinai (which is explicitly mentioned in the vision account), and the future achievements of Moses and Aaron and their descendants.

The geography of VA—in its combination with the time-line of the narrative—exhibits a certain degree of complexity. The narrative framework, the scene at Amram's deathbed and his final address, takes place in Egypt. This level corresponds to the narrative's present. Amram's account of his journey—the narrative's past level—represents a movement from Egypt to Canaan, and back again. The vision seems—as I shall argue in this article—to be set during Amram's long sojourn in Canaan. Finally, the predictions included in the vision point to events taking place in Egypt and in the wilderness during the Israelites' wandering towards Canaan. These predictions represent the third, future level of the narrative.

The occurrence of geographical names as "locations" in a narrative like VA is not in itself surprising. The locations mentioned in the text are integral parts of the plot; the movements of the characters give structure and coherence to the story. However, there are good reasons to look for a deeper level of meaning behind the geography of the text: The locations mentioned may also be expected to carry a symbolic significance, in particular since the place-names in VA also play important roles in other literary traditions that were probably known to the author and intended readers.[3]

The geography of VA, in other words, is closely related to the text's character of "biblical rewriting."[4] The Aramaic composition was written as a "prequel"

3 On the mental and symbolic significance of geographical notions and designations, see Philip S. Alexander, "Early Jewish Geography," ABD 2:977–988.

4 The terms "biblical rewriting" and "rewritten bible," and their significance and usefulness, have been extensively debated. In my view, it is fruitful to understand "biblical rewriting" as an interpretative strategy which was, in antiquity, expressed in a variety of literary genres. Defining "rewritten bible" as a genre in its own right seems less relevant in this context. See Jesper Høgenhaven and Mogens Müller, "Indledning," in *Bibelske genskrivninger*, ed. Jesper Høgenhaven and Mogens Müller, FBE 17 (Copenhagen: Tusculanum, 2012), 7–18 (7–9). Cf. more generally Molly Zahn, *Rethinking Rewritten Bible: Composition and Exegesis in the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts*, STDJ 95 (Leiden: Brill, 2011). On the function of reworked compositions as a vehicle for maintaining the authority of the tradition, see George J. Brooke, "Between Authority and Canon: The Significance of Reworking the Bible for

to the well-known exodus narrative. Intertextuality is a central element in the author's strategy. VA builds on familiar material, expanding and developing its characters, and drawing on the reader's knowledge of what will happen after the events narrated in the text.

I begin by giving a brief overview of the geographical names used in VA and their significance in the context. Next, I attempt to describe the geographical framework of the narrative and to investigate how this framework supports the overall structure of the composition, and which aspects of the geography, and their interplay with the temporal sequences in the narrative, serve to enhance the authority and importance of the story told and the vision it presents. Special attention will be given to the geography of the exodus events as they are presented in VA. I also examine the way in which the spatial movements of persons reflected in the text mirror or echo patterns of movement of exile and return, known to the potential readers from the narratives of the Pentateuch.[5]

2 The Geographical Names in VA and Their Significance

The preserved fragments of VA contain the following geographical names: Egypt or "the land of Egypt" (מצרין, or ארע מצרין),[6] Canaan or "the land of Canaan" (כנען, or ארע כנען),[7] Philistia (פלשת),[8] and Mount Sinai (הר סיני, 4Q547 9 4). All these names occur in the exodus and wilderness narratives of the

Understanding the Canonical Process," in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran: Proceedings of a Joint Symposium by the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature and the Hebrew University Institute for Advanced Studies Research Group on Qumran, 15–17 January 2002*, ed. Esther Chazon et al., STDJ 58 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 85–104. Cf. also Jesper Høgenhaven, "Fortschreibung und Kanonisierung in der Bibliothek von Qumran: Bemerkungen mit besonderem Hinblick auf Genesis-Kommentar A (4Q252)," in *Rewriting and Reception in and of the Bible*, ed. Jesper Høgenhaven et al., WUNT 396 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 11–31.

5 We cannot know in which exact form these traditions were known to the author of VA, but it stands to reason that something close to the patriarchal stories in the Pentateuch must lie behind the composition.

6 מצרין, 4Q543 1 4; 3 3; 11 1; 544 1 5, 7, 9; 4Q545 1a i 4; 1a–b ii 19; 4Q546 10 1; 4Q547 1–2 5, 8; 4Q549 1 2; ארע מצרין, 4Q545 1a–b ii 16; 4Q546 2 2.

7 כנען, 4Q544 1 7; ארע כנען, 4Q545 1a–b ii 18; in one case written as a single word (ארעכנען, 4Q547 9 9).

8 4Q544 1 7; 4Q545 1a–b ii 19.

Pentateuch, which constitute the literary background of VA, and they are fundamental elements in the biblical storyline.[9]

In the longest and best-preserved account of Amram's journey to Canaan (4Q544 1 1–15), the land in which the tombs of his forefathers are located is referred to consistently as ארע כנען ("the land of Canaan," 4Q544 1 9) or more simply כנען ("Canaan," 4Q544 1 7). This corresponds in broad terms to the language of the Hebrew Bible, and, in particular, the Pentateuch. Thus, the great majority of references in the Hebrew Bible to the land of Canaan (ארץ כנען) occur in the Pentateuch and in Joshua in connection with the conquest narratives and the accounts of ongoing struggles and conflicts between the Israelites and the people of Canaan.[10] The consistent references to the promised land as "(the land of) Canaan" in VA we should probably understand as a deliberate attempt to recreate the setting of the narrative in the time between the patriarchs and the exodus.[11]

Between the land of Egypt and the land of Canaan lies, in the mind of VA, the land of Philistia. Philistia and Canaan are perceived as different countries in close vicinity—in 4Q544 1 7 they seem to be mentioned as standing on the same side over against Egypt in a conflict "between Egypt and Canaan and Philistia" (בין מצרין לכנען ולפלשת), the conflict that stops Amram from returning home to his wife in Egypt. The notion of the Philistines as playing an important role on the stage of international politics would also seem, from the vantage point of the author of VA, to reflect the ideas of a distant past, suitable for the situation in which the Amram narrative is set.[12]

The geographical language of VA, in other words, seems to be chosen to support the general perspective reflected in the composition, which presents itself

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9 According to Exod 13:17 God did not lead the Israelites "by the way of the land of the Philistines" (דרך ארץ פלשתים) lest they would repent at the sight of war (בראתם מלחמה). Moses' song depicts the terror experienced by the "inhabitants of Philistia" (ישבי פלשת, Exod 15:14).

10 Gen 11:31; 12:5; 13:12; 16:3; 17:8; 23:2, 19; 31:18; 33:18; 35:6; 36:5, 6; 37:1; 42:5, 7, 13, 29, 32; 44:8; 45:17, 25; 46:6, 12, 31; 47:1, 4, 13, 14, 15; 48:3, 7; 49:30; 50:5, 13; Exod 6:4; 16:35; Lev 14:34; 18:3; 25:38; Num 13:2, 17; 26:19; 32:30, 32; 33:40, 51; 34:2, 29; 35:10, 14; Deut 32:49; Jos 5:12; 14:1; 21:2; 22:9, 10, 11, 32; 24:3; Jud 21:12; Ps 105:11; 1 Chron 16:18. The name ארץ הכנעני ("land of the Canaanites") is used in Exod 3:17; 13:5, 11; Deut 1:7; 11:30; Jos 13:4; Ezek 16:3; Neh 9:8. By contrast, the designation ארץ ישראל ("land of Israel") occurs rarely, 1 Sam 13:19; 2 Kgs 5:2, 4; 6:23; Ezek 27:17; 40:2; 47:18; 1 Chron 22:2; 2 Chron 2:16; 30:25; 34:7. The alternative אדמת ישראל is found solely in the Book of Ezekiel (Ezek 7:2; 11:17; 12:19, 22; 13:9; 18:2; 20:38, 42; 21:7, 8; 25:3, 6; 33:24; 36:6; 37:12; 38:18, 19).

11 We note the high frequency of this geographical designation in the Joseph story, which may be regarded as a central part of the background for the narrative in VA.

12 Cf. H. J. Katzenstein, "Philistines. History," ABD 5:326–328.

as a tale coming out of the distant past, and situates its narrative between the patriarchal period and the exodus from Egypt. This situation is important for the author and the potential readers. It points back to a decisive epoch in the history of Israel, as perceived by the Second Temple period writers, and firmly associates the revealed contents with the authoritative figures of that epoch.

3 The Geographical Scheme of VA

Egypt, where the text's present, the farewell scene at Amram's deathbed, takes place, is explicitly characterized as the place where the Israelites are in exile (גלות ישראל במצרין, 4Q545 1a i 4, cf. 4Q543 1 4). Amram's vision, on the other hand, is closely associated with his journey in the past to Canaan and seems to have taken place while Amram dwelt in the land of his ancestors. The preserved text does not make it entirely clear whether Amram actually experienced the vision while he was in Canaan, on his way back, or after his return to Egypt. However, the geographical scheme of the text indicates that the vision was indeed set in Canaan.

This, in my opinion, is also implied in the text itself. An important passage is the opening of the account of Amram's vision. This text survives in two manuscripts, 4Q544 and 4Q547. The best-preserved text is that of 4Q544 1 9–10:

4Q544 1 9–10

9 כולא די אתוב למצרין בשלם ואחזה אנפי אנתתי [
10 בחזוי חזוה די חלמא *vacat* והא תרין דאנין עלי ואמרין]

9 everything, that I would return to Egypt in peace, and that I would see my wife's face …

10 In my vision, the vision of the dream. *vacat* And behold! Two were arguing over me, saying …[13]

In the parallel text 4Q547 1–2 9 only the final words of the line are preserved: חזית בחזות[. The verb חזית ("I saw") precedes the word בחזות, which can very plausibly be seen as a variant of the first word (בחזוי) or possibly the first two words of 4Q544 1 10 (בחזוי חזות). It would be natural for the verb חזית ("I saw")

13 Quotations in this article are dependent on, and generally follow, Puech's DJD edition. Differences from DJD are intentional, and based on the PAM photos. The translations are heavily indebted to both Puech's French translation and Duke's English translation.

to be the opening word of Amram's account of his vision. The phrase חזית בחזוי די חלמא ("I saw in my vision, the vision of a dream") echoes Dan 7:2 (חזה הוית בחזוי עם ליליא), cf. Dan 7:7, 13.[14]

At this point in the narrative Amram shifts his focus from recounting his sojourn in Canaan and his long separation from his wife, to describing his dream vision. The sentence "I saw in my vision, the vision of a dream" reads perfectly well as the opening of the description, followed (after a small *vacat*) by a presentation of the two angelic figures arguing over Amram (4Q544 1 10–11, cf. 4Q547 1–2 10–11). The narrative sequence, then, seems to imply that the vision experience follows immediately upon the account of the separation which still endures at the time the vision occurs. In other words, Amram receives the revelation while he is still in Canaan.

This interpretation depends on reading the imperfect forms (אתוב and ואחזה) in 4Q544 1 9 as indicating past future: Amram looks back on his time in Canaan, and recalls his confidence that he would, ultimately, return safely to Egypt and see his wife again. This is how Puech understands the two verbs: "que je retournerai en Égypte en paix et (que) je (re)verrai le visage de ma femme."[15] Duke, however, understands אתוב and ואחזה as indicating simple past, narrated tense: "… that I returned to Egypt in safety. And I saw my wife's face."[16] This interpretation of the two verbs in imperfect, however, seems strained in the context.[17] The implication would be that Amram experienced his vision after his return to Egypt. The more natural understanding is that the verbs are indeed past future and express Amram's confidence at the time, while still in Canaan, in his safe return and reunion with Jochebed in Egypt. This statement would follow naturally after his previous words that he did not take any other wife (4Q544 1 8). At the end of line 8, Puech restores a reference to an angelic message: "Au cours d'une vision, un ange me fit connaître …"[18] Amram's confidence, then, becomes the result of a revelation. This is not necessarily the case, but certainly plausible in the context of Amram's account.

14 Cf. the references in Puech, DJD 31:325.

15 Puech, DJD 31:324.

16 Duke, *The Social Location*, 17.

17 Imperfect/prefix conjugation is generally not used for past tense in this type of Aramaic. Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Grammar of Qumran Aramaic*, ANESSup 38 (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 170, mentions the forms in the sentence ועמי תמלל ולי תאמר ("and there she was speaking with me and saying to me …") in 1QapGen 2:13 as the only extant example of the prefix conjugation being used about "what went on at one point in the past." My colleague Kasper Siegismund also pointed to the verb ינדע ("that he would know") in 1QapGen 2:20. In the first case, though, we seem to have to do with ongoing action in the past, and in the second with an element of intention.

18 Puech, DJD 31:324.

4Q547 9 8–9 preserves the conclusion of Amram's vision account:

8] ואנה אתעירת מן שנת עיני וחזוא כתבְ[ת
9]מן ארעכנען והוא לי כדי אמר[

8 … and I woke from the sleep of my eyes, and I wrot[e] the vision …
9 … from the land of Canaan, and it was for me as … had said …

Here Amram states that he woke up from his sleep, and then wrote down the contents of the vision. The beginning of line 9 has been lost, but the surviving text has a reference to Canaan with the preposition מן ("from"), most plausibly indicating that Amram moved out of the land of Canaan upon writing down his vision account. This passage, in other words, would appear to confirm the notion that the vision was indeed something Amram experienced during his sojourn in the land of Canaan.

4 Geographical Locations and the Spatiality of the Vision Account

The location of Amram's visionary experience in Canaan is reminiscent of the various divine revelations granted to the patriarchs. The general pattern in the patriarchal narratives is that God speaks to them, or reveals himself to them, in the land of Canaan (Gen 12:7; 13:14–17; 15:1–21; 17:1–22; 18:1–33; 22:1–2, 15–18; 28:10–15; 32:25–30; 35:1, 9–12).[19]

Through the references to the well-known patriarchal narratives and the location of the narrative in Canaan the author of VA creates a familiar setting which supports the authority of the vision account, linking it to the authority of the biblical figures. Furthermore, the geographical reference serves to assimilate Amram to the patriarchs. In this way, VA achieves an upgrading of the relatively peripheral figure of Moses' father to a significant figure of authority. Not only is Amram firmly associated with his sons Moses and Aaron and his daughter Miriam, he also appears as a direct successor in the line of the authoritative patriarchs.

The preserved passages relating to the vision create a rather different form of spatiality. A transcendent world is revealed to Amram in his dream, an angelic figure addresses him, and he sees two supernatural beings engaged in a strife concerning himself. The angel, apparently one of the two opponents

19 At the beginning of the Abraham narrative God speaks to him while he dwells in Haran (Gen 12:1–3).

in the heavenly battle, informs him that they are the rulers of two opposing realms, that of light and that of darkness.

4Q544 2 13–16 reads:

13]ומלכי רשע *vacat* ואמרת מראי מא שלֿ[טן
14 חש]ֿכה וכל עבדה ח[ש]יך ובחשוכה הוא ד[
15 אנ]ֿתה חזה והוא משלט על כול חושכה ואנה[
16 מן מ]ֿצליא[20] עד ארעיא אנה שליט על כול נהורא וכֿ[ל
Bottom margin

13 … and Melki Resha'. *vacat* And I said, My lord, what is the dom[inion …
14 … da]rk, and all his work is dark, and in darkness he …
15 … yo]u saw. And he rules over all darkness. And I …
16 from the [saved to the terrestrial I rule over all light and al[l …

The transcendent world, then, is also spatially structured: Darkness and light become the two areas of dominion, ruled over by the angelic princes of evil and of good.

The contours of the transcendent reality shown and explained to Amram in the course of his dream vision, in other words, stand in contrast to the familiar geographical and narrative setting within which it is embedded in VA. Through this contrast the author of VA obtains a neat balance between the well-known landscape and the narratives it represents, and the revelation of an otherworldly reality conveyed to Amram (and to the readers) by the angelic figures. Thus, a twofold authority is created for the vision account: It shares the established authority of the written traditions and enjoys the authority of a divine communication mediated by angels.

5 Geography and the Exodus Events in VA

From the point of view of the narrative in VA the events of the exodus are still in the future, destined to take place in the following generation, acted out by Amram's children. The scene of Amram's deathbed address is Egypt, and the events foreseen are set in the wilderness and, possibly, in the land of Canaan

20 Puech (DJD 31:326–27) finds that *tsade* is the preferable reading of the first visible letter. Duke (*The Social Location*, 21–22) reads an *ayin* and translates: "from the highest until the lowest." This reading was originally proposed by Milik (cf. DJD 31:327).

after the conquest. The exodus is explicitly alluded to in Amram's farewell address to his children. In 4Q543 2a–b, Amram appears to be addressing Moses specifically.

4Q543 2 a–b

4] אל תהוה ומלאך אל תתקרה [
5] תעבד בארעא דא ודין חֲסין ○[21]

4 … of God you shall be, and "angel of God" you shall be called …
5 … you will do in this land, and a strong judgment …

That Moses must be envisaged as the addressee of his father's words here becomes especially clear from the words of line 5: תעבד בארעא דא ("you will do in this land"). The geographical perspective here is telling: "This land" must refer, in the context, to the land of Egypt, which is where the farewell address is delivered, and where the Israelites are still sojourning at the time of Amram's death.[22] That which Moses will do refers, in all probability, to the signs accompanying the exodus, and, in particular, to the plagues. This interpretation is supported by the following reference to a "strong judgment" (דין חסין). The most obvious reference would seem to be the plagues of Egypt and the drowning of Pharaoh and his army in the sea.[23]

Further support can be gained from the admittedly fragmentary text of 4Q546 10 which seems clearly to refer to the events of the exodus itself:

4Q546 10

1] מצרין בכל בשׂ[ר
2 אתי]ן ומפתין קָ[דם פרעה

1 … Egypt in all fl[esh
2 … sign]s and wonders be[fore Pharaoh

This passage would also seem to belong to Amram's predictions, based on the vision he has received in Canaan, regarding the events leading up to the exodus,

21 Puech (DJD 31:294–95) reads a damaged *taw*.
22 I agree with Duke's interpretation of the passage as pertaining to Moses (*The Social Location*, 15–16). Puech (DJD 31:295–296) understands the passage as referring to Aaron.
23 Cf. Duke, *The Social Location*, 16.

with Moses and/or Aaron as protagonists. As observed by Duke, the phrase אתין ומפתין ("signs and wonders"), with the first word partly reconstructed, is an unambiguous allusion to the Hebrew expression אותות ומפתים.[24]

It is noteworthy that Moses is designated מלאך אל ("angel/messenger of God") in 4Q543 2 a–b 4. As Duke has observed, this may be read as an allusion to the name מלאכיה ("Malachia"), which, in the narrative of VA, is apparently the Hebrew name of Moses (see further below).[25]

6 Moses, Aaron, and "Writing in the Land"

There are some fragmentary passages of VA which are apparently concerned with the revelation on Mount Sinai and with the roles of Moses and especially Aaron.

4Q545 4 reads:

14]ע ואחוה לכה שמ○[ ]○[[26]
15]כ̊תב̊ בארעא לה מושה ואף על [אהרון[27]
16 א]חוה לכה רז עובדה כהן קדיש הוא[
17 קד[י]ש להוה לה כל זרעה בכול דרי ע[למין
18 שביעי באנוש רעות̊[א[28] ית]קרה ויתאמר̊[
19 יתבחר לכ̊הן עלמין[[29]

Bottom margin

14 … and I will show you the name …
15 … wrote/will write (?) in the land to him, Moses. And also on [Aaron …
16 I will] show you the mystery of his work, a holy priest he …
17 Ho[l]y will all his offspring be to him throughout all generations …
18 Seventh of the men of the will [he will] be called. And it will be said …
19 He will be chosen for an eternal priest …

24 Deut 6:22; Jer 32:20; Ps 135:9; Neh 9:10. The corresponding Aramaic expression in Daniel is אתין ותמהין (Dan 3:32–33; 6:28). Cf. Puech, DJD 31:363; Duke, *The Social Location*, 16.

25 Duke, "Moses' Hebrew Name: The Evidence of the *Vision of Amram*," *DSD* 14 (2007): 34–48 (43); *The Social Location*, 15.

26 Puech (DJD 31:342) reads שמה̊[ת]ך̊[.

27 Puech (DJD 31:342) sees traces of an *aleph* before the lacuna.

28 Puech (DJD 31:342–43) restores רעות̊[ה ("qui [lui] sont agreables").

29 Line numbers follow Puech (DJD 31:342), who reconstructs the fragment as the lower part of a column with 19 lines.

The fragmentary text raises several questions at the linguistic and syntactical level. A particularly intriguing problem concerns the subject for the verb כתב in line 15. And is the verb a perfect or an imperfect form?[30] The basic form of the passage is clearly the address in the second person singular. In the context of the entire text, it seems obvious that the "you"-addressee is Amram. The fragment seems to be part of the description of his vision, and the speaker, accordingly, must be the angelic figure addressing Amram. This understanding of the text is strengthened by the repeated expression ואחוה לכה ("and I will show you") in lines 14 and 16, announcing the angel's intention of informing Amram regarding the divine plan for his descendants, which seems to be the focal point of this part of the conversation.

The repeated ואחוה לכה would seem to govern the structure of lines 14–16: There are, it would appear, two main points that the angel intends to reveal to Amram. The first point concerns his son Moses, whose name is preserved at the end of line 15. Since we have, right after the mention of Moses, the phrase ואף על ("and also on …", "and also as regards …"), it does indeed seem almost inevitable to conjecture that Aaron's name would have been mentioned in the following lacuna. The conjecture is confirmed by the references in the subsequent lines to Aaron as a "holy priest" (כהן קדיש, line 16) and an "eternal priest" (כהן עלמין, line 19), and to his offspring being holy for all generations to come.

The passage, in other words, seems clearly to have its main emphasis on the figure of Aaron and on his descendants, the priestly line. Moses, however, is mentioned first, and something important must have been included in the text with respect to him. What the angelic messenger discloses to Amram, then, is divided into a brief section on Moses (lines 14–15), followed by a longer section on Aaron (beginning with ואף על, line 15).

The word שם in line 14 may deliver a hint as to the contents of the angelic message regarding Moses. The "name" is the object of the verb אחוה. It is thus presented as that which the angel is about to reveal to Amram.[31] In this function, the name can be seen as a parallel to the expression רז עובדה ("the mystery of his work", line 16) concerning Aaron.[32] In the context, the implication of the word עובד here seems to be the priestly office of Aaron and his descendants. When the text uses the term רז ("mystery" or "secret") and combines it with the notion of Aaron's "office," the underlying idea is probably that there is a deeper

30 Puech (DJD 31:343) translates כתב as a perfect form with past meaning ("qu'il a écrit"), while Duke (*The Social Location*, 23) understands it as a future imperfect ("will write").

31 Puech (DJD 31:342–43) reads שמה[ת]ָ, and translates: "et je dirai tes noms." A singular or plural form with suffix is certainly possible, but the preserved traces allow no decision.

32 Cf. Puech, DJD 31:343 ("Le רז עובדה, 'mystère de son activité, exercice, oeuvre' est la prêtrise").

meaning inherent in the priestly functions and the reality of their exclusive transmission through the line of Aaron.

It is less clear what is implied in the term שם (whether singular or plural) if indeed it is used with regard to Moses here. Possibly, the reference to Moses' name is associated with the idea of Moses figuring under the name מלאכיה ("Malachia") in the opening scene of VA (4Q545 1 a i 9–10). Perhaps the angel speaking to Amram at this point announces that he is going to reveal to Amram the name under which his son Moses will later be known, and under which he will one day perform his deeds in the history of his people.[33] In the present context, though, it seems natural to assume that a more general reference to Moses' "office" or mission was also intended. This would be a suitable analogy to the subsequent reference to the highly important sacred function of Aaron and its inherent mysterious significance. The author of VA may have understood the name מלאכיה as encompassing all of his functions according to the tradition. These would have contributed to his name or reputation in the memory of the Israelite people and from the standpoint of the Amram narrative the angel would show his father the great name that Moses would obtain.

Regardless of how we interpret the name in line 14, the question remains what is "written" in line 15, and by whom. The letters כתב immediately preceded by a lacuna is what remains of the verb. Puech mentions the possibility that the verb could be understood as an active *peal* or as a passive form either in the past or in the future, if the initial letter or letters had been lost: אתכתב or ויתכתב. He comments: "l'ange s'adressant à Amram l'entretient sur ses deux fils, Moïse et Aaron, comme si des écrits d'un ancêtre avaient annoncé leurs missions respectives."[34] Puech assumes, then, that an ancestor of Amram must be the subject of the verb or the implied subject if the verb is to be understood as a passive form. An unknown forefather would have written something about the future mission of Moses (and, according to Puech, also of Aaron, although that is not explicitly mentioned in the preserved text).

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33 4Q545 1a i 9–10 reads: אבונא] מן בית אחיכון למלאכיה ברי לי קרי. The words are a part of Amram's farewell address. Puech translates: "Appelle-moi, mon fils, les messagers, vos frères, de la maison de [notre(?) père …" Duke, however, has argued that מלאכיה is a proper name referring to Moses and represents his Hebrew birth name (Duke, "Moses' Hebrew Name"; *The Social Location*, 69–78). Accordingly, Duke translates 4Q545 1a i 9–10: "Call to (me), my son, Mal'akyahu, your brother, from the house of [Pharaoh …" (*The Social Location*, 13). See on this question also Blake Alan Jurgens, "Reassessing the Dream-Vision of the *Vision of Amram* (4Q543–547)," *JSP* 24 (2014): 3–24 (16–17), and Liora Goldman's article in the present volume.

34 Puech, DJD 31:343.

The syntax at the end of line 15 is not unambiguous. It would be possible to read the phrase ואף על as a direct continuation of the previous sentence, with the implication that whoever "wrote" or "writes" something for, or of, Moses, also wrote/writes (something else) with regard to Aaron. Alternatively, the whole idea of writing belongs in the Moses section of the angel's speech, and ואף על marks a shift in the revelation from Moses to Aaron. For the general meaning of the passage, however, this question is less important. But to whom does the text ascribe the writing in line 15? It seems unlikely that Moses should be the subject of כתב. In that case, the prepositional clause לה would have no reference. Another important argument is the expression "in the land" (בארעא). This geographical term cannot easily mean anything else than the land of Canaan. Apart from the fact that Moses hardly wrote anything in the land of Canaan, which he was never allowed to enter, we would then be left with another intriguing question: For, or of, whom did Moses write in the land? The context makes it more natural that Moses is the object of the act of writing. Moses, then, is not the agent, but his future deeds are the subject matter of the revelation granted to Amram, whether the act of "writing" is, in the mind of the author, carried out by some unknown ancestor, by an angelic being, or even by Amram himself in the form of a written record of his vision: The angel might be instructing him to write the contents of the revelation down, or reminding him of something he was told to write down when he was in Canaan. This would accord with Amram's statement in 4Q547 9 8 that, upon waking up from his sleep, he wrote the contents of the vision down (see below).

In any case, it is apparently important for the author to mention that the writing takes place "in the land." When viewed in the perspective of the entire composition, this reference seems to provide a link to Amram's account of his own journey to the land of Canaan. This holds true even if we assume that the vision was experienced by Amram at a later stage after he had left Canaan again. The idea of a written message, closely associated with the promised land as the scene of the act of writing, again provides the combined authority of sacred tradition and of direct divine revelation.

The function of Canaan as a central part of the geographical scheme of VA seems again to be, primarily, to support the authority of the divine promises and their significance for the Israelites and especially for the Levites. The Levitical identity of the protagonist and his descendants is clearly central to VA, and compared to the pentateuchal tradition, Aaron's significance seems to be further enhanced. The text, however, strives to maintain a certain balance between the roles of Moses and Aaron.

7 Moses, Aaron, and an Altar at Mount Sinai

A passage which refers explicitly to Mount Sinai, informing us about events associated with the exodus and the journey of the Israelites towards the promised land, is found in 4Q547 9:

4Q547 9

1	]א ○[
2	]פציתי[
3	ומוש]ה בנה [מדבחה
4	]בהר סיני יצ[
5	]○[ ]רכה רבא על מדבח נחש[א
6	ב]ה יתרם כהן מן כול בני עלמא באח[
7	מש]יח ובנוהי בתרה לכול דרי עלמין בק○[
8	] ואנה אתעירת מן שנת עיני וחזוא כתב[ת
9	]מן ארעכנען והוא לי כדי אמר[

2 … I delivered …
3 … and Mos]es built [an altar …
4 … on Mount Sinai …
5 … great …[35] upon the altar of bron[ze …
6 … his [so]n shall be exalted (as) priest from all the sons of the world/of eternity in …
7 … an]ointed, and his sons after him for all the eternal generations in …
8 … and I woke from the sleep of my eyes, and I wrot[e] the vision …
9 … from the land of Canaan, and it was for me as … had said …

This fragment seems, as far as the state of the text permits us to conclude, to be concerned with events associated with the revelation on Mount Sinai. Here as in 4Q545 4 both sons of Amram, Moses and Aaron, have their respective roles to perform. The fragmentary nature of the text renders it difficult to form a coherent picture of the scenes envisaged, but it does appear that altars and sacrifices are at the center of the discourse: Moses is credited with the construction of an altar, presumably at or near Mount Sinai. The tradition echoes the biblical accounts of Moses building altars (Exod 17:15; 24:4).[36] The episode most likely hinted at here would seem to be the building of an altar

35 Puech (DJD 31:388–89) restores רכה]לבק, and translates "ton gros [bétai]l," while Duke (*The Social Location*, 24–25) restores רכה]ב, "great blessing."

36 Cf. Puech, DJD 31:389, and Liora Goldman's article in the present volume.

and twelve pillars at the foot of Mount Sinai representing the Israelite tribes. In line 5 the focus shifts to the altar of bronze and the sacrifices to be performed there. No direct mention of Aaron has been preserved in the fragment, but the assumption suggests itself that Aaron is the person destined to perform these sacrifices, in accordance with the pentateuchal tradition. This assumption is indirectly confirmed when we examine lines 6–7 where the subject is the priestly succession: "His (presumably Aaron's) sons" shall be anointed priests for all generations.

The tendency of VA to stress the position of Aaron and his descendants over against the overwhelming importance of Moses in the earlier sources is notable also in this passage, although the balance between the brothers and their respective functions is also upheld here.[37] The scene of the fundamental divine establishing and fixing of the roles of the paradigmatic leader figures is here explicitly located at Mount Sinai, as is the case in the literary traditions on which our text is modelled.

8 Mirroring Movements: Exile and Return in VA

We may summarize the chronological model presupposed in the VA texts as a sequence of clearly distinguishable periods, based on the literary traditions well known to its readers and authors, presumably from the Pentateuch. The sequence can be expressed as follows:

> Temporal/spatial sequence envisioned in VA:
>
> Patriarchs in Canaan – Israelites in Egypt (patriarchs buried in Canaan) – Israelites at Sinai – Israelites in Canaan

This, obviously, is the temporal sequence of the storyline from the Pentateuch, which provides the background story against which the author of VA intended his narrative to be understood. At the same time, we have in this text a sequence of places, indicated by the geographical names, to which major events in the storyline of VA itself are tied:

37 Cf. Hanna Tervanotko, "Visions, Otherworldly Journeys and Divine Beings: The Figures of Levi and Amram as Communicators of Godly Will in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Crossing Imaginary Boundaries: The Dead Sea Scrolls in the Context of Second Temple Judaism*, ed. Mika S. Pajunen and Hanna Tervanotko. Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 108 (Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society, 2015), 210–238.

Temporal/spatial sequence reflected in VA:

Egypt (narrative framework, scene of Amram's farewell address) – Canaan (Amram's journey retold – vision retold) – Israelites at Sinai (vision retold) – Egypt (narrative framework)

Scholars have noted that the journey of Amram and the Levites to Canaan prefigures the later movement of all Israel during the exodus and the journey from Egypt to Canaan. Interestingly, we seem also to have in the structure of VA itself an inversion or mirroring of the movement depicted in the Pentateuch:

Temporal/spatial sequence of the Pentatuch (and VA)	Temporal/spatial sequence within VA
Patriarchs in **Canaan**	Amram in **Egypt** (narrative framework, scene of Amram's farewell address)
Israelites in **Egypt** (Patriarchs buried in Canaan)	Amram in **Canaan** (Amram's journey retold, vision retold)
Israelites at **Sinai**	Israelites at **Sinai** (vision retold)
Israelites in **Canaan**	Amram in **Egypt** (narrative framework)

Furthermore, at a more detailed level in the account of Amram's journey to Canaan there is another remarkable narrative inversion when this story is compared to the narrative chain of the Pentateuch. Amram is prevented by events beyond his control from leaving the land and returning to Egypt and his wife. This motif we may read as an inversion of the biblical narrative concerning the Israelites who, at the time of the exodus, are prevented by the stubbornness of Pharaoh from leaving Egypt and setting out towards the promised land, Canaan. Amram, on his part, wishes to leave Canaan and return to Egypt but is for 41 years unable to do so.

What we can observe here, it seems, is a rather subtle remodeling of motifs from the earlier tradition with the geographical structure as the point of departure for the deliberate and significant inversions of the narrative material aimed at highlighting the importance of the traditional figures and the message they are made to convey.

9 Concluding Observations

The geographical framework of VA plays a significant role as a structuring element in the composition. The geography of the composition shows a certain degree of complexity. Geographical names in the text are familiar to the reader

from the exodus and wilderness traditions and serve to locate the narrative in the distant past between the patriarchal period and the exodus, providing a firm link to the authoritative figures of that time. The location of Miriam's marriage and Amram's farewell address reflects the exile of the Israelites in Egypt. The vision experienced by Amram is, however, set in Canaan with all the weight and importance given to the promised land where the patriarchs are buried.

At the same time, the contrast between the familiar geographical framework and the transcendent, dualistic spatiality of Amram's vision account provides authority to the contents of the vision in VA. The repeated references to Canaan as the place of a divine revelation to Amram, and the place where something of central importance is being "written" (by Amram or someone else?) enhance the authority and importance of the contents. The location of Amram's visionary experience in Canaan also enhances the authority of the Amram figure: Amram is assimilated to, and becomes a direct successor of the patriarchs, in addition to being the father of Moses, Aaron, and Miriam.

Moreover, VA achieves a subtle inversion of the familiar geographical pattern: The storyline and sequence of events and places from the pentateuchal narrative (Canaan – Egypt – Sinai – Canaan) is upheld as the well-known background of VA. Form the point of view of Amram, the patriarchal time in Canaan is in the past, and the exodus events at Mount Sinai in the future. The events narrated in VA, however, form a new temporal/spatial sequence (Egypt – Canaan – Sinai – Egypt), which inverts the sequence of the background story. In other words, the movements of Amram between Egypt and Canaan, and those of the Israelites, not narrated, but predicted in the vision, exhibit a mirroring and inversion of the movements of exile and return depicted in the biblical material. This seems to represent a deliberate and well-designed strategic use of the literary tradition with the purpose of enhancing the authority and persuasiveness of the composition.

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Fragments and Forefathers: An Experiment with the Reconstruction of 4QVisions of Amram

Søren Holst

1 Introduction[1]

Attempting to piece together the original sequence of the fragments of the Qumran Visions of Amram presents an unusually satisfactory experience—up to a certain point: It is certain that extant copies of the text include manuscripts 4Q543–547 which have overlapping sections. Due to these overlaps, two sequences of reasonably continuous text may be reconstructed with full certainty. In between the two, there is a considerable passage, altogether as long as approximately one column in the writing format of 4Q545, in which all that is left is either quite fragmentary, or in the case of the last eight lines preceding the second of the two sequences, literally no text at all.[2]

In terms of physical reconstruction rather than textual content, though, it would be more precise to speak of one continuous sequence rather than two, since—as is clear from Émile Puech's and Jean Starcky's reconstruction work—the passage that begins to grow fragmentary in the middle of 4Q545's column I, and the passage that picks up around the middle of column II, are quite securely connected by a well-preserved piece of column margin, although not by coherent text.[3]

1 I would like, with this article, to pay tribute to the unparalleled scholarship of Émile Puech, who was not able to come to the symposium chronicled in the present volume, but whose work forms an indispensable part of the basis for much that was discussed at the symposium. In the article, I use Puech's work on one group of texts as a testing ground for asking questions about our methodology in reconstructing texts. It should be evident from what follows, that even if my attempts to suggest improvements should prove successful, the conditions for working on the texts at all, inevitably belong under the well-known metaphor of a dwarf enjoying the privileged view afforded by standing on the shoulders of a giant.

2 Émile Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4.XXII: Textes araméens, première partie: 4Q529–549*, DJD 31 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 333–38: The top half of the first column in 4Q545 as well as the bottom half of the second one are extant to a large extent. Column I, lines 11–19 preserve at most a word and a half (mostly less) at the end of each line, and column II, lines 1–8 preserve no text at all, while only a few letters are extant at the beginning of lines 9–10, before continuous text picks up again in line 11. A little additional text, but no coherent sentences, may be reconstructed on the basis of 4Q543 2a–b which overlap convincingly with 4Q545 I 14–II 3.

3 Puech, DJD 31: plate XIX.

The extent of the material lost in the space spanning from 4Q545 I 11 to II 10 may be calculated with considerable exactitude, since the circumstances allow us to determine the precise column height of 4Q545 as well as the width of its first column on the basis of tangible physical evidence, and to estimate with considerable certainty the width of the following column with the help of overlapping material.

The sequence of textual content that may be reconstructed with near-certainty extends beyond what is preserved in 4Q545, since the text at the bottom of 4Q545 II overlaps very convincingly with the content of the largest of all of the other fragments in the five manuscripts identified with certainty as copies of the Visions of Amram, namely 4Q544 1, or—in the terminology of Puech's edition, which I will employ from here onwards—4Q544 II.

Deplorably, no complete lines are extant in the overlapping sections: In 4Q544 II, the left side is gone from the top part of the fragment, and a smaller bit of the beginning is missing from line 12 and onwards; the case is similar for 4Q545 II, where only the first parts of lines 9–19 are extant on the major fragment, while fragment 1b preserves a few half-words from the last part of lines 15–19. In spite of this, there is an actual overlap that comprises half a dozen completely preserved words in each line of 4Q544 II 1–4 which match material in 4Q545 II 13–19 both in terms of content and relative placement. And in 4Q544, following the section that overlaps with 4Q545 II, we have a further 10 lines, all preserving from 2–3 complete words in a row and up to nine or ten. We thus have a very considerable amount of text directly continuing that of 4Q545 II, which is presumably parallel to what would have been 4Q545 III–IV.

The assuredly interconnected stretches of text that these fragments make up, together comprise a very large percentage of the total extant amount of material from the five manuscripts. Moreover, this stretch of text reconstructed from the largest fragments of 4Q545 and 4Q544 respectively, has partial or complete overlaps with a dozen fragments or combinations of fragments from the remaining three manuscripts.[4]

An undisputed column numbering can be presupposed for the part of 4Q545 discussed above. This, again, is due not only to considerations of the physical qualities of the remains, but to the evidence provided by overlapping material in another copy. While the beginnings of the lines in 4Q545 I 1–2 are only partially preserved, with the help of a third manuscript, 4Q543 1a–c, we can restore the missing text and arrive at the wording that begins "A copy of

4 4Q543 1–2 as well as 4Q546 1 overlap with 4Q545 I. Three sets of fragments, 4Q543 3, 4Q546 2 and 4Q547 1–2, have overlaps with both 4Q544 II and 4Q545 II. And finally, 4Q543 4 and 5–9 overlap with the part of 4Q544 II that has no parallel in 4Q545.

the book 'The Words of the Vision of Amram, son of Kohath'".[5] Thus, there can hardly be any doubt that this forms the beginning of the text. And therefore we can lay out the larger part of extant material in these five manuscripts a) in sequence, b) with certainty as to their position relative to each other, and c) also relative to the beginning of the work. And this evidently will form the basis of any attempts to say anything about the placement of the remaining fragments not assigned a physical location by these observations.

2 Philology, Material and Otherwise

So far, I have simply restated the results of the reconstruction work presented in the *editio princeps*.[6] This has been taken up and elaborated upon by Robert Duke in his electronic edition found on the "Online Critical Pseudepigrapha" web site,[7] as well as in a subsequent monograph.[8] An independent reconstruction is found in Klaus Beyer's work.[9]

Duke's and Beyer's editions, however, are eclectic ones, conflating the individual manuscripts into one text, while Puech, true to DJD format, presents diplomatic editions of the individual manuscripts. But all presuppose—as I have been doing above—the feasibility of supplying missing content in one manuscript from other copies of what can supposedly be described as the same work.

Two or three questions or problems arise, however, when we consider the state of the question summed up so far:

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5 Following the translation of Edward Cook in Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov, eds., *Parabiblical Texts*, DSSR 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 413.

6 Puech, DJD 31: 283–405.

7 Robert R. Duke, ed., "Visions of Amram," *The Online Critical Pseudepigrapha*, http://ocp.tyndale.ca/docs/text/Amram.

8 Robert R. Duke, *The Social Location of the Visions of Amram* (*4Q543–547*), StBibLit 135 (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 12–35. Duke presents a composite text which he subdivides into four "chapters", supplemented by some of the larger unplaced fragments: His chapters 1 and 2 make up the first of the reconstructed passages, chapters 3 and 4 the second. The material basis for the reconstruction is as follows: Duke chapter 1 = 4Q545 1a i 1–12 // 4Q543 1a–c // 4Q546 1. Chapter 2 = 4Q545 1a i 13–19 // 4Q543 2a–b. Chapter 3 = 4Q545 1a–b ii 9–19 // 4Q543 3 + 4 // 4Q544 1 1–9 // 4Q546 2 // 4Q547 1–2 1–9. Chapter 4 = 4Q543 5–9 // 4Q544 1 10–15 // 4Q547 1–2 9–13.

9 Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairoer Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 210–14; *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer. Ergänzungsband* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 85–92; *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer. Band 2* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 117–25.

1. Can more information be wrung out of the lucky coincidence that has supplied us with such a relatively clear view of the placement of the larger fragments of several manuscripts?
2. On the other hand: Are there perhaps reasons to be cautious and not assume with too great confidence that the remains of one manuscript fit those of another, almost as if they were two copies of an identical jigsaw puzzle of the same picture that just happened to have different pieces missing?
3. What—if anything—can we say about the placement of the remaining fragments? This last question, which will depend to a large degree not on the physical qualities of the fragments or other hard evidence, but on a consideration of their content, will not be addressed systematically in the present article.

The two first questions are interrelated—or for that matter, they are opposing sides to the same coin, touching as they do upon the question whether we can safely assume that because the manuscripts have clear overlapping passages, therefore they are textual witnesses to exactly the same text, and any information found in one of them can be transplanted to the remaining ones.

The school of manuscript studies referred to as material philology has taught us within the last decade or so, to be careful not to mix up or unwittingly equate three different levels in that complicated mixture of textuality and materiality that is a manuscript. We should be aware of the different levels at which we approach the manuscript, depending on whether we see it as a copy of or textual witness to a literary *work*, an individual *text* in and of itself, or an *artefact*. While the traditional approach to the philology involved in producing a textual edition has tended to focus on manuscripts as sources to be employed in reconstructing the best possible text of an abstractly conceived original work, material philology emphasizes the importance of the individual manuscript both as an artefact and as an individual text and not just as a means of arriving at "the" text of the work in question. In other words, the textual fluidity, which we always knew to be a condition of the transmission of ancient texts, is taken seriously, not just as a problem for textual criticism, but as a quality of the texts.[10]

10 Hugo Lundhaug and Liv Ingeborg Lied, "Studying Snapshots: On Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology," in *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions: Jewish and Christian Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology*, ed. Liv Ingeborg Lied and Hugo Lundhaug, TUGAL 175 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2017), 1–19 (9–10). Cf. the title of the groundbreaking work of the field, Bernard Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante: Histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris: Seuil, 1989); English translation, *In Praise of the Variant: A Critical History of Philology*, trans. Betsy Wing (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

While Qumran scholars have in a sense practiced material philology before the term was even coined, routinely producing individual editions of discrete manuscripts, and including meticulous descriptions of their material quality, we have also to a great extent proceeded on the assumption that manuscripts with familiar-looking content were most likely copies of the work that they reminded us of. A systematic application of the principles of material philology is, perhaps not in its infancy, but still growing up.[11]

3 An Experiment

Having made all these reservations, I intend to make the experiment, while remaining fully conscious of the possible counterarguments, not only to the concrete way it is carried out, but to the endeavour as such: If we assume, on an experimental basis, that the five copies of Visions of Amram are indeed copies of the same work, and proceed to create a single text containing not only all the content available in the overlapping sections, but also all the information that can de deduced about the extent of the missing material, can this "base text" of Visions of Amram be made to fit all the extant manuscripts, or will the project defeat itself by showing that the individual manuscripts are in fact not identical as far as their textual material is concerned?

Proceeding on the assumption that the extant parts of the Amram manuscripts are indeed witnesses to basically the same text, it is relatively simple to produce an electronic version of this "base text," which we can then pour into the different moulds that are the individual manuscripts with their differing column widths, heights, letter sizes, etc.[12]

For want of Émile Puech's talent for taking up the handwriting of an ancient scribe in restoring non-extant passages of text, the ideal solution would be to produce individual Hebrew fonts imitating the script of each Amram manuscript. At this preliminary stage of investigation, I have let it suffice to pick an easily available Qumran-based font imitating a semi-formal Hasmonean

11 Norwegian scholars have been at the forefront of this. In addition to the work of Liv Ingeborg Lied (cf. the preceding note), a full-blown example from Qumran studies is Matthew P. Monger's dissertation "4Q216: Rethinking *Jubilees* in the First Century BCE", defended at the Norwegian School of Theology, Religion and Society in March 2018.

12 I speak of "basically" the same text, as there are some minor textual variants visible in the parallel passages: 4Q544 II 2 has עבדתנא שגי over against עבידתנא]ש[גיאין in 4Q545 II 15; in 4Q543 I 5 we must assume that the text read ושל[ח וקרא whereas 4Q545 I 4–5 has וקרא, but, judging from line length, most likely did not have ושלח; and the beginning of 4Q544 II 10 is read by Puech as בחזוי חזוה and the corresponding ending of 4Q547 III 9 as חזית בחזות.

script, so as to fit the Amram manuscripts.[13] As long as the width of letters relative to each other and the width of spacings relative to letters is reasonably close to that of the manuscripts, this is all we need; the ambition is not to create exact facsimiles of the scrolls, but merely to see how much text will fit into columns, or to put the same thing differently, how many lines and columns in a given manuscript our recreated text will take up.[14]

An accurate representation of the space that the non-extant parts of the relevant passages would have taken up is essential. The space between extant sections of text therefor needs to be filled up with a suitable number of place-filling dummy 'words' made up of hyphens and being approximately equal in length to the average of the extant words. This can be done with considerable accuracy for 4Q545 I, since the endings of most lines, as well as the beginnings of lines 1–7 are clearly preserved. The only source of uncertainty is the possible occurrence of *vacat*s or corrections in unpreserved text.

For column II, the matter is slightly less obvious: Part of the text restored in lines 11–19 in DJD comes from parallel passages (primarily from 4Q544 and 4Q546), but a certain amount is the inspired work of Puech. The column width suggested by the reconstruction in DJD is at least one third in excess of the first column, and one might be tempted to ponder, therefore, if it could reasonably be conceived of as being any narrower.[15] The placement of fragment 1b relative to the main fragment 1a, however, seems to be secure, based on the overlap of 4Q544 II 3 as well as 4Q546 2 3, with both 4Q545 1a and 1b in line 17 of the column. Only reconstructed text to the left of fragment 1b comes into consideration, therefore, and seeing that some of this in 4Q545 II 15–16 is paralleled by 4Q546 2 1–2, even if it were possible to propose different text forms for the relevant manuscripts, the column in question could at the very most have been half a dozen letter spaces narrower.

A reconstruction like the following, therefore, seems certain. For the lines where no text is preserved at all, the length of dummy lines should possibly be kept to slightly below the average of the fully extant lines, since we have no way of knowing how often the last part of a line was left blank or a *vacat* inserted. This allows us to arrive at a version of 4Q545 I–II that looks like this:

13 The font used is 'Hebrew Square Isaiah', based on 1QIsa[a], created by Yoram Gnat and available at *The Open Siddur Project*, https://opensiddur.org/help/fonts/.

14 The tools being developed by the *Scripta Qumranica Electronica* project (https://www.qumranica.org/) will be able to do a task like this with more precision. The present study is merely a tentative experiment.

15 Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, STDJ 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 82–83, remarks that, generally speaking, the individual columns of a sheet of parchment are either equally wide, or "columns that are unusually wide or narrow are generally found at the beginning or end of sheets".

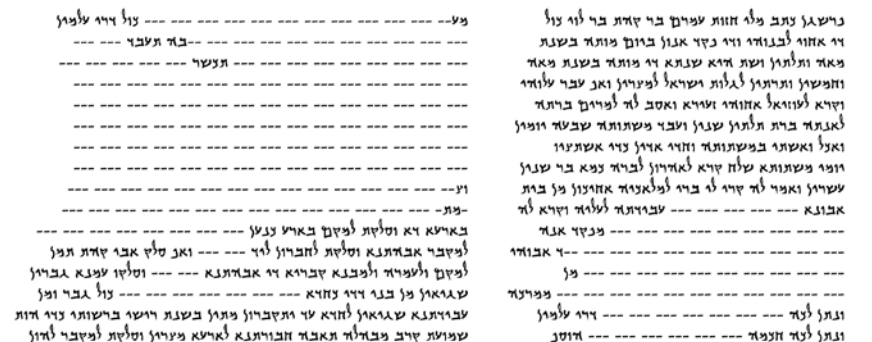

FIGURE 1 4Q545 I–II

For the large piece of text that makes up 4Q544 II, the matter is slightly less straightforward. The complete text of lines 2–3 (consisting of extant text in the fragment itself plus parallel text from 4Q545 and 4Q546 plus a certain amount of restoration by Puech to fit these together into a coherent text) makes up an average of 121 letter spaces. This is not impossible. Emanuel Tov mentions as an extreme example that 4QJeremiah[b] may have had one column that was 130 letter spaces wide.[16] This is an extreme case, though, and it seems unlikely that Puech would have reconstructed a column this wide unless the material available from fragments presumably containing a parallel text had been available. It is illustrative to notice the amount of text that he finds it necessary or reasonable to posit for the remainder of the column. All of the following lines have sections where neither parallel material nor restored text is offered, although it is not easy to see from the edition how Puech envisioned the original layout of the fragment; the endings of lines 9–13 are reconstructed (the first parts of the lines are extant, except for a very few letters at the beginning of lines 12 and 13), but the Aramaic transcription itself does not clearly indicate to what extent we are to assume an amount of non-extant and non-reconstructable text between the extant beginnings and reconstructed endings of these lines. The triple-dot markings in the French translation of all lines in the bottom half of the fragment do indicate, however, that what is there is not coherent text with no lacunae in it.

16 Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 83. Elsewhere, though, he cautions that this reconstruction (for it is a reconstruction only) "would be much beyond the length of the known Qumran scrolls," Emanuel Tov, "71. 4QJer[b]," in *Qumran Cave 4.X: The Prophets*, ed. Eugene C. Ulrich et al., DJD 15 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 171–76 (176).

To put it another way: Puech reconstructs a column which may seem a bit top-heavy, since it has very long lines at the top, and lines of uncertain length at the bottom. For our experimental purpose, then, the question is, should we really put in enough dummy words to inflate the rest of the column to the width that Puech posits for lines 2–3. The answer seems to be yes: If we mark in 4Q544 what corresponds to the beginnings of 4Q545 II 13, 15, 17 and 19—cf. fig. 2 below—we see that they are almost directly underneath each other, i.e. one line in this column corresponds in length almost exactly to two entire lines of 4Q545 II, if the manuscripts did in fact have the same text.

If the initial lines of the column can be shown almost conclusively to be of this unusual length, then evidently we must assume that this represents the width of the entire column, and that we must fill in dummy text to correspond to this. As mentioned above, though, it makes sense to keep slightly below the average of the fully reconstructed lines; the most excessively long line might for instance have had a few words left out by mistake which were later added above the line.

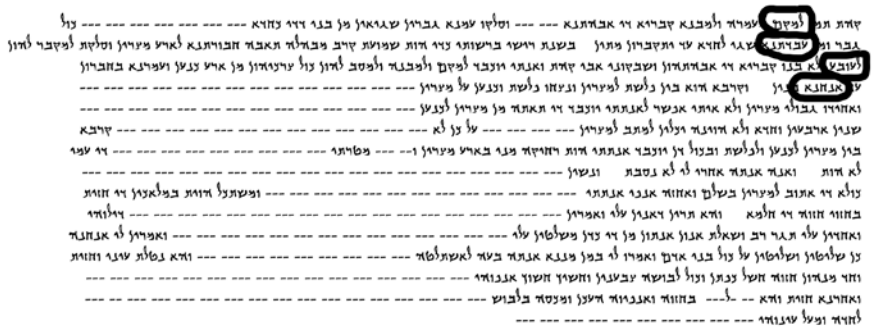

FIGURE 2 4Q544 II

4 Visions of Amram[c] (4Q545) III–IV

By means of the overlap between the bottom of 4Q545 II and the top of 4Q544 II described above, we may splice these two rather certainly reconstructed passages of text-and-dummy-markings together and use the resulting "base text" to test the assumptions that can be made about the physical layout of the different copies. Thus, we could posit that columns III–IV of 4Q545 might have looked like this, assuming a column width somewhere between the narrower column I and the necessarily broader column II:

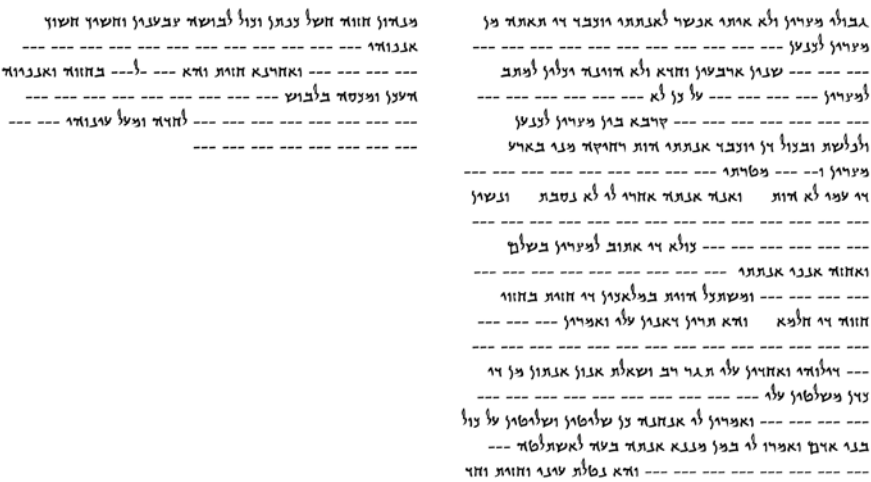

FIGURE 3 4Q545 III–IV (reconstructed)

This fits Puech's suggestion that the small fragment 2, which he places—based on its shape similar to fragment 1b—at the bottom of column IV, refers back to the material preserved in 4Q544 2,[17] as there would be ample room for the content of this fragment—one of the largest ones without any direct overlap with the main stretch of text reconstructed—in the lower half of 4Q545 IV.[18]

17 Puech, DJD 31:340–41, cf. plate XIX.

18 On the other hand, this reconstruction places the content of 4Q544 2 rather close to where the material preserved in 4Q544 II leaves off. This runs counter to the obvious suggestion that in 4Q544 itself, fragment 2 makes up the bottom part of the column following that preserved in fragment 1, which is to say that approximately 10 full lines of text—and possibly very long ones, if the column in question bore any resemblance to the preceding one—divided fragment 2 from fragment 1 (= column II). We could accommodate the reconstruction of 4Q545 III–IV to this observation by having a wider column III, creating more room for the content of 4Q544 2 between that of 5Q544 1 and the bottom margin preserved in 4Q545 2. An exact suggestion for the dimensions involves an equation with two variables: Neither the width of 4Q545 III nor of the column that ends in 4Q544 2 (column III according to Puech's very likely reconstruction, DJD 31:326–27) are known to us. The larger the width that we posit for the latter, the more material will have to go between the content of 4Q544 II and fragment 2, and the wider we will also have to assume 4Q545 III and/or IV to have been.

5 Visions of Amram[b] (4Q544) I

Going back to 4Q544, since we have a dependable estimate of the extent of the material in its first column (namely everything that went before the preserved top of the extant column II), we can say something about its possible dimensions. While we do know the amount of material, however, we know neither the width nor the height of the column. If what we have of column II reflects almost the entire height of the column (Puech presupposes a column height of 16 lines),[19] then the width of column I must have been approximately 75–80% of the width of column II, which still makes it an unusually wide one:

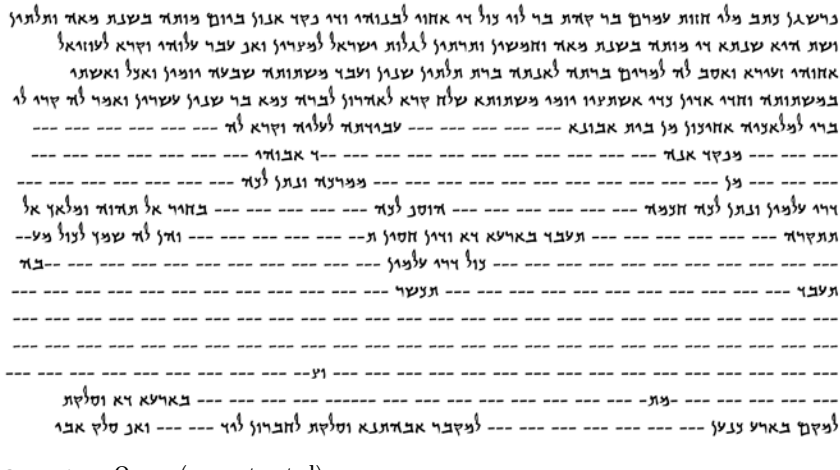

FIGURE 4 4Q544 I (reconstructed)

On the one hand, this makes for an unusually wide column, relative to its height. On average, in the typical Qumran scroll, the height would exceed the width, whereas here the opposite is the case.[20] On the other hand, while no tangible facts keep us from envisioning a taller and narrower column, this would further increase the contrast between the width of this column and the subsequent, inordinately wide, one. And with an increased column height, which would of necessity apply also to the following columns, would come an

19 Puech, DJD 31:319.

20 Tov, *Scribal Practice*, 83, while stressing that rabbinic rules prescribing for Torah scrolls a column width half of the height (Maseket Soferim 2:15) are not adhered to in Qumran, still points to "a positive correlation between the height and width of columns: the higher the column, the wider the lines, and the longer the scroll".

increase in the amount of material we would have to posit between 4Q544 1 and 2, thus rendering Puech's suggestion of locating the description of angels or watchers in 4Q544 2 prior to 4Q545 2 at the bottom of 4Q545 IV increasingly difficult. And, as Puech points out, irregularities in the line rulings seem to allow us to align fragment 2, preserving a bottom margin, with fragment 1, to demonstrate a total height of 16 lines.[21]

6 Visions of Amram[a] (4Q543)

Since the beginnings of the first six lines at the top of column I in 4Q543 are preserved, we can say with certainty how wide the first column will be if the manuscript contained the same text found in 4Q545. Furthermore, since fragments 2a and 2b, which contain text parallel to 4Q545 I 14–19, preserve a top margin, we can also estimate the total amount of text of the preceding column and thus compute the approximate column height and say that the scroll must have had 14 lines to a column:

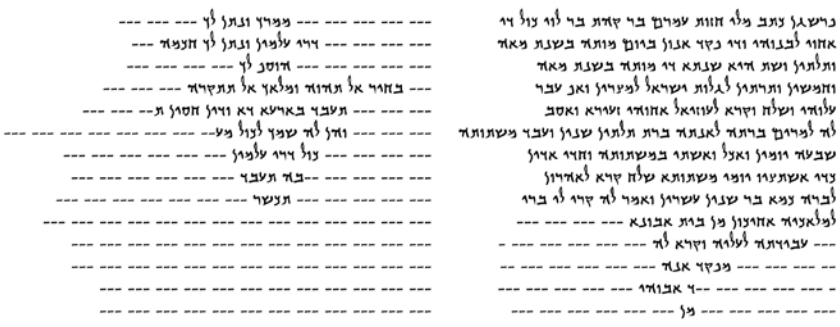

FIGURE 5 4Q543 I–II (reconstructed)

The rather unequal length of lines makes it tempting to suggest that perhaps this manuscript had a shorter text in column I line 6 than the parallel passage in 4Q545. And similarly in column II, a quite undulating left margin results from the attempt to make the text actually preserved in 4Q543 2a–b align more or less like it does in the fragment. This may reflect on the inaccuracies inherent in the attempt to represent lost text by dummy markers in the first place, or flaws in my actual estimation of the amount of dummy markers needed to

21 Puech, DJD 31:319.

represent the amount of text presumably lost from 4Q545—or, again, it might actually tell us something new about the manuscripts, namely that they very likely did not have exactly the same text. The two first explanations are certainly likely ones, but they do not rule out the possibility that the third one might apply as well.

Proceeding to column v of the same manuscript, where fragment 5 would have belonged, we encounter an even clearer example of the same phenomenon. Fragment 5 has five lines of clearly legible words, corresponding to lines 4–8 in the passage of text assembled by Puech out of fragments 5–9. Puech suggests that the passage made up lines 10–14 of column v. If we attempt to suggest a reconstruction of the relevant context on the basis of the "base text" employed above, something like this is the result (with the approximate outline of fragment 5 drawn in):

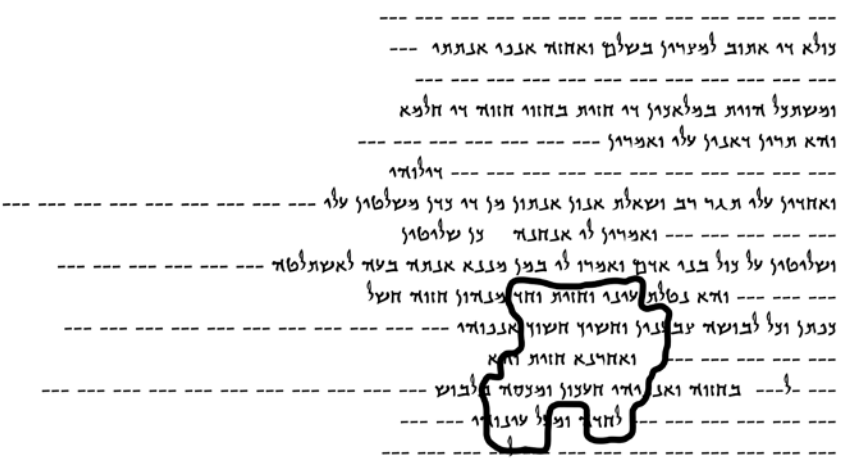

FIGURE 6 4Q543 v (reconstructed)

In the top lines of the reconstructed column, we have assumed approximately the same column width that our work on column i suggested. This presents no problem, since nothing remains of these lines in 4Q543 itself, and we can suit ourselves in distributing the "base text". Once we reach the extant fragments of the column, a problem arises. In order to get the text preserved in the five lines of fragment 5 to align under each other so as to correspond to that fragment, we are forced to let every second line of our reconstructed column v extend quite dramatically beyond the left hand margin demarcated by the remaining lines. This extra material represents the dummy text which the dimensions of 4Q544 led us to assume as having been lost from that manuscript. In

other words, if our reconstruction of the amount of text originally contained in 4Q544 fragment 1 was correct, this seems to indicate that the relevant part of that manuscript held a much longer (or altogether different) version of the text than does the 4Q543 fragment.

If we leave the experiment aside for a moment and check this observation against Puech's edition of 4Q544 itself, we see that the text preserved in the five lines of 4Q543 5 overlaps with extant text of 4Q544 at the beginning of lines 13, 14, and 15 (corresponding to 4Q543 5, lines 1, 3, and 5) and a few centimetres into lines 13 and 14 (parallel to lines 2 and 4 of the fragment).[22] As we noted above in discussing the amount of dummy text to be used in filling out the bottom part of 4Q544 II in our experiment, there can be no doubt that a certain amount of text must be assumed in addition to the extant beginnings and reconstructed endings to the lines at the bottom of that column.

In the light of the comparison between 4Q543 5 and 4Q544 II, therefore, although it is conceivable that we have slightly overestimated the amount of dummy text needed to fill out the relevant lines of 5Q544 in the experiment carried out in this article, it seems certain that the lines of text in 5Q544 II 11–15 must have held too much material for them to be basically the same passage that 4Q543 5 comes from. Most plausibly 4Q543 had a substantially shorter version of the same text, or—less likely, I presume—this fragment of 4Q543 does not belong to the passage found at the bottom of 4Q544 II at all.

7 Visions of Amram[e] (4Q547)

One last example: In fragments 1 and 2 of 4Q547 are preserved the endings of one and ten lines of text respectively. The text in the third to seventh lines of fragment 2 (reconstructed by Puech as column III 6–10)[23] clearly parallels material in 4Q544 II 7–11, and the one-and-a-half legible word in 4Q547 1 fits a well-preserved passage in 4Q545 II 16 that may be restored with near-certainty as part of 4Q544 II 2 on the basis of the overlap between 4Q545 and 4Q544.

Reconstructing 4Q547 from our experimental base text on this background yields a very neat result, except for line 12 of the column (the approximate placement of what corresponds to the preserved parts of 4Q547 in fragments 1–2 are marked in fig. 7):

22 Puech, DJD 31:322–23.

23 Puech, DJD 31:379.

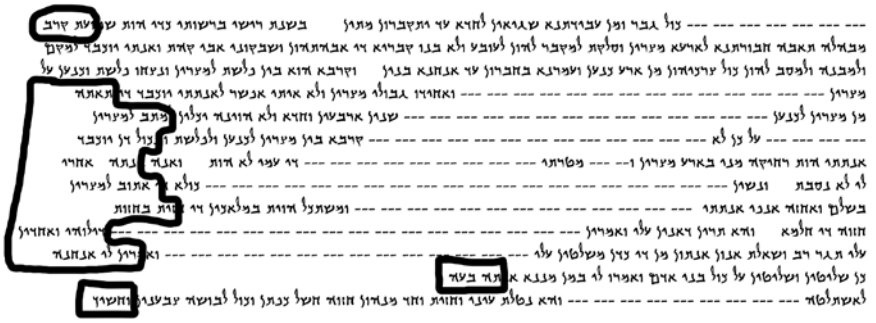

FIGURE 7 4Q547 III (reconstructed)

This supplies us with yet another example of the fascinating phenomenon that scribes who copy Visions of Amram have a preference for inordinately wide but rather short columns (Puech sees both a top and a bottom margin in the two fragments). But more pertinently, it is clear that for the most part this corroborates Puech's very precise reconstruction: With the one exception of the second-to-last line, the words preserved in 4Q547 2 do fit a column of the proper width containing the text found in 4Q544 II. The same observation could in fact have been arrived at simply by noticing where the words that correspond to 4Q547 2 3–6 (4Q547 III 6–9) are located in 4Q544 II: They are neatly spaced with approximately 90–95% of a full line between them, corresponding to the column width of the reconstructed column 4Q547 III (the equivalents of 4Q547 III 9–10 are at a distance of exactly one complete line, reflecting possibly a slightly longer text or a *vacat* in the space between them).

The one exception to this neat correspondence between our reconstructed columns 4Q544 II and 4Q547 III, too, is evident both in the above reconstruction and by means of noticing the distances between the corresponding words in 4Q544: The word בעה (4Q547 III 12) occurs in 4Q544 II 12 less than one-and-a-half lines after the words דילוהי ואחדין which are equivalent to 4Q547 III 10 (the text of 4Q547 III 11 is not extant at all in 4Q544), rather than at the expected distance of approximately 1.9 lines. In other words: 4Q547 III must have had a considerably longer text in line 12 than what is the case in the parallel passage partly preserved and partly reconstructed in 4Q544 II 12. Again, we seem to come up against the fact that parallel passages take us a long way towards reconstructing the individual manuscripts, but when we look more closely, the result also tells us that most likely there were considerable divergences between the individual manuscripts that we find it convenient to regard as copies of the same work.

8 Conclusion

It seems indisputable that for practical purposes of reconstruction, 4Q543–547 can conveniently be regarded as copies of the same work, at least up to a certain point. It would be meaningless to abstain from getting the maximum information out of the evident parallels identified by Puech, and there can be no doubt that the manuscripts are so closely related that one justifiable way of reading them is indeed as textual witnesses to one work. At the same time, exactly the effort to combine the information they give, leads at several points to the conclusion that the text of the manuscripts must occasionally have differed considerably.

Furthermore: While the philosophy of text editing is evidently open to debate, and proponents of material philology would possibly want to apply editorial principles that emphasize the abstract work less and the individual manuscripts more, my considerable respect for Puech's practical application of the principles that happen to be his, have by no means been diminished by this little exercise.

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4Q543 2 1–2 and the Verb "To Give" in Qumran Aramaic

Kasper Siegismund

1 Introduction

In fragment 2 of the Aramaic text 4Q543 (Visions of Amram), the verb נתן occurs twice (in line 1 and line 2), in both cases preceded by the conjunction *w*-, "and." The lines are only partially preserved but the verbs are clearly attested:]ממרך ונתן לך ◦[ ] דׄרׄיׄ עלמין ונתן לך חכמה[.[1] In Biblical Aramaic, as is well known, the roots NTN and YHB make up a suppletive paradigm. NTN occurs in the prefix conjugation (imperfect) and in the infinitive but is never used in the suffix conjugation (perfect). Instead, when a writer wants to use the verb "to give" in the suffix conjugation (and in the imperative and in participial form), the root YHB is used.[2]

NTN occurs in Dan 2:16 (יִנְתֵּן); 4:14 (יִתְּנִנַּהּ), 22 (יִתְּנִנַּהּ), 29 (יִתְּנִנַּהּ); Ezra 4:13 (יִנְתְּנוּן); 7:20 (לְמִנְתַּן and תִּנְתֵּן).

YHB occurs in Dan 2:21 (יָהֵב), 23 (יְהַבְתְּ), 37 (יְהַב), 38 (יְהַב), 48 (יְהַב); 3:28 (וִיהַבוּ); 4:13 (יִתְיְהִב);[3] 5:17 (הַב), 18 (יְהַב), 19 (יְהַב), 28 (וִיהִיבַת); 6:3 (יָהֲבִין); 7:4 (יְהִיב), 6 (יְהִיב), 11 (וִיהִיבַת), 12 (יְהִיבַת), 14 (יְהִיב), 22 (יְהִב), 25 (וְיִתְיַהֲבוּן),[4] 27 (יְהִיבַת); Ezra 4:20 (מִתְיְהֵב); 5:12 (יְהַב), 14 (וִיהִיבוּ), 16 (יְהַב); 6:4 (תִּתְיְהִב),[5] 8 (מִתְיַהֲבָא), 9 (מִתְיְהֵב); 7:19 (מִתְיַהֲבִין).

A similar system of suppletion can be observed in some other varieties of Aramaic.[6] On this background, the occurrences of ונתן in 4Q543 would

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1 Émile Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4.XXII: Textes araméens, première partie: 4Q529–549*, DJD 31 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 294.

2 Franz Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1961), 47 and 49.

3 The suppletion only applies to the basic stem.

4 See note 3.

5 See note 3.

6 Classical Mandaic uses NTN only in the prefix conjugation (in the basic stem) and in the infinitive. See Rudolf Macuch, *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1965), 292. In Syriac, the root in question is NTL rather than NTN due to assimilation with the preposition *l*-, which would often follow the verb "to give"; see Carl Brockelmann, *Syrische Grammatik mit Paradigmen, Literatur, Chrestomathie und Glossar*, 9th ed. (Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1962), 87. However, NTL occurs in the same type of suppletion with YHB as attested for NTN and YHB in Biblical Aramaic, i.e., NTL is used in the prefix conjugation and in the infinitive, YHB in the suffix conjugation. See, e.g., Jessie P. Smith, *A Compendious Syriac*

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naturally be parsed as a first-person plural prefix conjugation, i.e. "and we will give." This is the way Puech translates the forms in DJD 31: "] ta parole, et nous te donnerons. [ ]les générations éternelles et nous te donnerons sagesse[."[7] Similarly, García Martínez and Tigchelaar render the lines as follows in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*: "[…] your word, and we will give you […] for ever, and we will give you wisdom […]."[8] However, in his recent edition with translation and comments, Robert Duke translates the verbs using the simple past tense, i.e. as third singular masculine suffix conjugation: "[…] your word. And he gave to you […] eternal generations. And he gave to you wisdom."[9] In contrast to Puech's blanket statement that NTN is used only in the prefix conjugation in Aramaic,[10] Duke correctly notes that we do find cases of NTN in the suffix conjugation in some types of Aramaic. It is clear that the suppletion known from Biblical Aramaic and other dialects is the result of a historical evolution. Folmer states: "Originally, *ntn* 'to give' was used in all the conjugations of the Peʿal. Only later was the verb restricted to the imperfect and infinitive while *yhb*, with the same meaning, was used in the perfect, imperative, and participle (suppletion)."[11] Duke mentions four examples of suffix conjugation NTN and states that these are only a few "among many."[12]

This contribution offers a critical examination of Duke's claim in an attempt to establish the extent of the supposedly widespread use of NTN in the suffix conjugation. It is necessary to decide which types of Aramaic attest to this usage. After a general survey of the use of the verbal root NTN in earlier types of

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Dictionary (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), 354. Similarly, in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, the root used for the prefix conjugation is most often NTB, the *-b* being possibly the result of assimilation of the original final *-n* with the preposition *b-*, according to Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods* (Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press; Baltimore, MD, and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 780. Alternatively, NTB might be seen as a conflation of NTN and YHB. In modern Aramaic, the suppletion known from the earlier stages of the language does not seem to be attested (and in the Eastern varieties, the verbal system has undergone a thorough reorganization, including the loss of the basic distinction between prefix and suffix conjugation; hence, a suppletive paradigm of the older type could not be maintained in these types of Aramaic).

7 Puech, DJD 31:295.

8 Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition: Volume Two 4Q274–11Q31* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1085.

9 Robert R. Duke, *The Social Location of the Visions of Amram* (*4Q543–547*), StBibLit 135 (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 14.

10 Puech, DJD 31:295.

11 Margaretha L. Folmer, "Old and Imperial Aramaic," in *Languages from the World of the Bible*, ed. Holger Gzella (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 128–59 (154).

12 Duke, *The Social Location*, 15.

Aramaic, I examine the occurrences of the two roots NTN and YHB in Qumran Aramaic in order to determine whether there are any other convincing examples of the use of NTN in the suffix conjugation in the corpus. Finally, I will consider the connection between the linguistic analysis and the interpretation of the content of the text.

2 Suffix Conjugation NTN in Aramaic

The four cases of suffix conjugation NTN in Aramaic referred to by Duke are lines 2 and 8 in KAI 214 and two instances in the Egyptian letters designated B1.1 and B4.2.[13]

KAI 214 is the Hadad inscription of Panamuwa; it contains several clear instances of NTN in the suffix conjugation in addition to the two mentioned by Duke, in lines 11, 13, 14, and 20. Furthermore, there are prefix forms in lines 4, 12, 18, and 23. Line 24 contains a form which has been interpreted in different ways, e.g. as a participle.[14] Clearly, the suppletion known from Biblical Aramaic is not operative in this text. However, KAI 214 is from the eighth century BCE from Sam'al (modern Zincirli in Turkey) and it is counted among the inscriptions from that place that are not in "normal" Old Aramaic. Rather, it seems to reflect the local dialect, Sam'alian. Based on a thorough investigation of all the inscriptions from Zincirli—Phoenician, Aramaic, and Sam'alian—Tropper concludes that although Sam'alian probably belongs to the Aramaic group, the dialect displays several deviations from what is normally considered Aramaic usage. In addition, there are some possible Canaanisms.[15] He argues that Sam'alian should be considered an Aramaic dialect, albeit in many respects a very conservative one that must have branched off from the rest of Aramaic at a very early time, at a stage prior to what is usually termed Old

13 Duke refers to both letters as being from Elephantine but, in fact, B1.1 is from the town Korobis in middle Egypt. See Margaretha L. Folmer, *The Aramaic Language in the Achaemenid Period: A Study in Linguistic Variation* (Leuven: Peeters, 1995), 642 (the letter is called BM in this work, cf. note 17 below).

14 For the text, see Herbert Donner and Wolfgang Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften I*, 5th ed. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), 49–50. Translation and commentary: Herbert Donner and Wolfgang Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften II*, 2nd ed. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1968), 214–23. Also cf. Josef Tropper, *Die Inschriften von Zincirli: Neue Edition und vergleichende Grammatik des phönizischen, sam'alischen und aramaischen Textkorpus*, ALASP 6 (Münster: UGARIT-Verlag, 1993), 54–97.

15 Tropper, *Die Inschriften*, 47.

Aramaic.[16] Hence, the relevance of the evidence from KAI 214 for the occurrences in 4Q543 seems negligible.

The two cases from the letters noted by Duke are clearly suffix forms:

> B1.1:2(–3), נתנת לך חקלי, "I gave you my field."[17]
> B4.2:1 (= Cowley 11:1), נתנת לי כסף, "You gave me silver."

In addition to these two occurrences, a few other forms of NTN from the same corpus of Aramaic texts from Egypt are quite clearly in the suffix conjugation:

> A2.2:(4–)5, ...מסת כספה זי הוה בידי נתתן ופר\דת ל, "an amount of money that was in my hand(s) I gave as *wp*(*d*/*r*)*t* to ..." According to this translation (Porten and Yardeni), the form נתתן is a first singular form (either an error for נתנת or with an object suffix). Others see the form as second plural.[18]

> B1.1:(10 –)11, ... הן לא קמת ונקת ונתנת לך אתננהי[ו, "And] if I do not stand up and cleanse and give (it) to you, I shall give it ..."[19] Note the use of three suffix conjugation forms in the protasis of the conditional clause, and the prefix form in the apodosis. The root NTN occurs in both conjugations.

> B1.1:12, ...ונתנת לי, "And you gave me ..."

16 Tropper, *Die Inschriften*, 287–89. Cf. the *Stammbaum* on p. 311.

17 For the texts and translations, see Bezalel Porten and Ada Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt: Newly Copied, Edited and Translated into Hebrew and English*, 3 vols. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1986, 1989, 1993); Arthur Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923). Also cf. Takamitsu Muraoka and Bezalel Porten, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic* (Leiden: Brill, 1998). The designations above are from Porten/Yardeni (and Cowley). Some documents have other designations in different works. Thus, the document referred to above as A2.2 is one of the Hermopolis letters, called Herm 2 in Jacob Hoftijzer and Karel Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 2:768. Folmer refers to it as HP 2 (Folmer, *The Aramaic Language*, 643). The document B1.1 is referred to as MAI xiv/2 by Hoftijzer and Jongeling. Elsewhere it is called Bauer-Meissner, BM, or Koopmans no. 19 (see J. J. Koopmans, *Aramäische Chrestomathie: Ausgewählte Texte* (*Inschriften, Ostraka und Papyri*) *für das Studium der aramäischen Sprache gesammelt*, 2 vols [Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1962], 1:22–23 and 2:95–99).

18 Cf. the discussion by Folmer, *The Aramaic Language*, 643, note 218.

19 This text "bietet der Interpretation grosse Schwierigkeiten" (Koopmans, *Aramäische Chrestomathie*, 2:95). However, suffix forms of NTN (1s and 2sm) are clearly discernible in lines 2, 11 and 12.

B4.3:12 (= Cowley 3:12), עבורא זי נתנת ע[ל ידן, "the grain which you gave in[to our hand."

C3.28:79 (= Cowley 81 a 1, with a different reading), חשבן עבורא זי כתבת ... נתנת ל[ו] , "Account of the grain which I wrote [and] gave to ..."

Cowley 69 A:12 (= B8.5:15, but in the edition presented by Porten and Yardeni the relevant form is not represented), זי לא באגר יהבת לה אף נתנת], "which I did not give to him as payment; also I gave" (Cowley's translation). If this reading is correct, the two roots NTN and YHB seem to be used in the suffix conjugation in indiscriminate interchange.

The dictionary of Hoftijzer and Jongeling locates further cases of NTN in the suffix conjugation.[20] According to their overview, one instance is attested in Old Aramaic (in addition to the Sam'alian one in KAI 214). The form referred to is found in the inscription MDAIA ciii 62, on an ornament in the form of a horse's forehead, dated to the ninth century and of North Syrian origin.[21] The text may be read as זי נתן הדד למראן חזאל מן עמק בשנת עדה מראן נהר, "That which Hadad gave our lord Hazael from 'Umqi in the year that our lord crossed the river."[22] However, since the inscription was inscribed in continuous script, an alternative interpretation is possible—the verb may be part of a personal name (Natanhadad), i.e. "the one of Natanhadad" or "donated by Natanhadad."[23] If this interpretation is correct, the word provides no clear evidence for the actual use of the suffix form of the root in the language of the period since personal names may preserve archaic verbal forms in frozen form.

In later periods, a few more cases of suffix conjugation NTN possibly occur. However, most of those are not entirely clear. The form in RES 1795A 2, mentioned by Hoftijzer and Jongeling as highly uncertain,[24] could be a name, cf. Milik's translation of the passage שלם אחוטב אל ישגא נתן לסון מן אלפא: "Salut Ahûtâb. (Qu'on veille à ce) que Natan ne s'égare point à Syène (en descendant)

20 Hoftijzer and Jongeling, *Dictionary*, 2:767–68.

21 MDAIA = Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung. See Helmut Kyrieleis and Wolfgang Röllig, "Ein altorientalischer Pferdeschmuck aus dem Heraion von Samos," *MDAIA* 103 (1988): 37–75. Also Israel Eph'al and Joseph Naveh, "Hazael's Booty Inscriptions," *IEJ* 39 (1989): 192–200.

22 Eph'al and Naveh, "Hazael's Booty Inscriptions," 193.

23 Eph'al and Naveh, "Hazael's Booty Inscriptions," 194.

24 Hoftijzer and Jongeling, *Dictionary*, 2:767.

du bateau."[25] In a text from Tell Halaf (TH i vs. line 4; Northern Mesopotamia, late seventh century BCE), the form נתן is probably a third singular masculine suffix form although it has been interpreted as a participle: והדדסמני הן לה נתן שעריא, "Und Hadadsimanni (?), siehe, (ist) für ihn der Lieferant der Gerste."[26] Lipiński divides the text differently and translates the relevant part of the passage as "If he does not give (back) that barley."[27] In spite of the use of the English present tense in the translation, the form must be parsed as a suffix conjugation form (the use of which is not unexpected in a conditional clause; English usage in such clauses prefers a non-past verbal form).

Another possible instance occurs in a bilingual Greek-Aramaic ostrakon from the third century BCE (BASOR ccxx 55 line 3): ב12 לתמוז שנת 6 קוסידע בר חנא קפילסהו נתן [ל]ניקרתס זוזן 32, "On the twelfth of Tammuz, year 6, Qôs-yadaʿ, son of Ḥannaʾ, the shopkeeper, gave [to] Nikeratos: zuz 32."[28] However, once again, other readings have been proposed.[29] Yet another case is RES 496, line 1, which might include a third plural suffix conjugation form of NTN (זי נתנו). However, an alternative reading is וינתנו (i.e. prefix conjugation with preposed conjunction *w*-).[30] The majority of occurrences of NTN noted by Hoftijzer and Jongeling are prefix conjugation forms, as are most of the forms listed in the glossaries in Porten and Yardeni's edition of the Egyptian documents. In contrast, the lists of suffix forms from the root YHB include a greater number of cases.

An additional (but rather dubious) example from a later type of Aramaic from the Dead Sea region occurs in XḤev/Se 26 line 4, an Aramaic papyrus document dealing with deposits and barley: פקדנה אלך נתן [ ]. Yardeni provides two alternative translations—either נתן is a personal name or a

25 Józef T. Milik, "Les papyrus araméens d'Hermoupolis et les cultes syro-phéniciens en Égypte perse," *Bib* 48 (1967): 546–622 (555).

26 Johannes Friedrich, Rudolf G. Meyer, Arthur Ungnad, and Ernst F. Weidner, *Die Inschriften vom Tell Halaf: Keilschrifttexte und aramäische Urkunden aus einer assyrischen Provinzhauptstadt*, AfOB 6 (Berlin, 1940), 71–73.

27 Edward Lipiński, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1975), 118. Cf. Frederick M. Fales, *Aramaic Epigraphs on Clay Tablets of the Neo-Assyrian Period*, StSem, nuova serie 2 (Rome: Università Degli Studi "La Sapienza," 1986), 240: "If he will give back that? barley."

28 Aaron Skaist, "A Note on the Bilingual Ostracon from Khirbet el-Kôm," *IEJ* 28 (1978): 106–8.

29 See the suggestions in Hoftijzer and Jongeling, *Dictionary*, 2:767–68.

30 See Eduard Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militär-Kolonie zu Elephantine: Altorientalische Sprachdenkmäler des 5. Jahrhunderts vor Chr.* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1911), 236–37; Godfrey R. Driver, "Problems in Aramaic and Hebrew Texts," in *Miscellanea orientalia dedicata Antonio Deimel annos LXX complenti*, AnOr 12 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1935), 46–70 (58).

suffix conjugation form of the verb NTN: "[…] those deposits Nathan/gave."[31] Sokoloff, in his dictionary of Judean Aramaic, prefers the first alternative, stating that the root is not used in the suffix conjugation in this type of Aramaic.[32] Folmer notes a few additional cases of alleged suffix form NTN that have been proposed by various scholars (RES 1805, Aimé-Giron 1939 no. 120,1; Saq P [= Saqqara Papyrus] 35,3 and 43 a8). All of these, however, seem to be even more uncertain than the dubious cases mentioned above.[33]

In sum, this brief overview seems to indicate that the use of NTN in the suffix conjugation in Aramaic is not very widespread, contrary to Duke's claim. Although around twenty possible examples have been noted, some of the supposed occurrences are in texts that are open for different readings and interpretations. In several cases, it is possible to read the passages in question without claiming that NTN is used in the suffix conjugation. Furthermore, a significant number of cases that do attest to the use of suffix conjugation NTN in an unequivocal way occur in a single document written in a type of Aramaic (the Sam'alian KAI 214) that seems to have no direct relevance for the attestation in 4Q543. The remaining clear cases are from the Elephantine letters and other documents from Egypt, which are, of course, closer to 4Q543 in regard to date and type of language. Still, it is clear that they are substantially older than the Qumran documents, likely from a different geographical background, and contain texts of a type quite different from the literary works preserved at Qumran. However, the Jewish background of the writers of some of the Egyptian documents and the possibility of Hebrew influence might be seen as an important trait that unites these texts with the material from Qumran (cf. below on the idea that ונתן in 4Q543 could be a Hebraism). Yet, this cannot explain all the cases of suffix conjugation NTN.

The suppletive distribution of the roots NTN and YHB is a phenomenon that evolved at a comparatively late date in the different Aramaic varieties, and probably not at the same time everywhere. The youngest probable case of suffix conjugation NTN seems to be C3.28:79, mentioned above, from the Hellenistic period (third century, Edfu?), according to Folmer.[34] She states that

31 Ada Yardeni, "Aramaic and Hebrew Documentary Texts," in *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Naḥal Ḥever and Other Sites*, ed. Hannah M. Cotton and Ada Yardeni, DJD 27 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 7–129 (96). The exact provenance of the document in question is uncertain (see Cotton and Yardeni's "General Introduction" to the volume, p. 5).

32 Michael Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Judean Aramaic* (Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2003), 66.

33 Folmer, *The Aramaic Language*, 644–45, note 222.

34 Folmer, *The Aramaic Language*, 648 and 798.

"if this reading and interpretation is correct, then we must conclude that in the dialect of Edfu (?) the two verbs were still used side by side as late as the Hellenistic period, while in the dialect of Elephantine the use of the sf. conj. of *ntn* had become obsolete early in the 5th century."[35]

Hence, although Duke's claim of "many" Aramaic cases of suffix conjugation NTN seems rather exaggerated, it is surely correct to point out that such instances are not unheard of in the history of Aramaic. However, a more decisive question is whether there are any other examples of this usage in the Qumran material.

3 NTN and YHB in Qumran Aramaic

According to a search performed in BibleWorks, YHB occurs 47 times in the Aramaic Qumran manuscripts while NTN is attested 19 times. The general distribution is very clear. In 4Q542 1 i 5 (*Testament of Qahat*) we even have both verbs in the same sentence, YHB in the suffix conjugation and NTN in the prefix conjugation (jussive with אל):

> 4 ... וכען בני אזדהרו בירותתא די מ{א}ה̇שלמא לכון 5 ודי יהבו לכון אבהתכון ואל תתנו ירותתכון לנכראין ...
>
> Et maintenant, mes fils, faites attention à l'héritage qui vous est (*ou* a été) transmis et que vous ont donné vos pères. Et ne donnez pas votre heritage à des étrangers ...[36]

In the corpus as a whole, YHB is employed in the suffix conjugation in 30 cases and in participial form nine times (of course, since there are no vowels, some of the suffix forms might be parsed as participles instead). In addition, there are four imperatives and four prefix conjugation forms.[37] The latter are in the *ithpeel*—the suppletion only applies to the basic stem. Of course, since the root YHB is I-*y*, some of the third singular masculine forms could be claimed to be in the prefix conjugation rather than the suffix conjugation. In a few cases, the

35 Folmer, *The Aramaic Language*, 648.

36 Puech, DJD 31:268 and 271.

37 Suffix conjugation: 1QapGen 6:8; 10:16; 17:15, 16; 20:29, 31; 21:3; 22:2, 17, 25; 1Q21 34 2; 2Q24 4 15, 16, 17; 4Q204 1 vi 11; 4Q206 4 ii 15; 4 iii 18; 4Q212 1 ii 22, 26; 4Q213b 1 5; 4Q243 27 2; 4Q245 1 i 4; 4Q531 6 3; 4Q532 1 i 11; 4Q542 1 i 5; 1 ii 11; 11QtgJob 38:4, 7; 11Q18 20 6. Participle: 1QapGen 5:17; 10:17; 11:17; 14:18; 19:24; 21:10, 27; 4Q213 1 i 11, 17. Imperative: 1QapGen 22:19; 4Q197 5 10; 4Q343 1 v 13; 4Q543 46 2. Prefix conjugation (*ithpeel*): 4Q212 1 iv 13, 15, 17; 4Q550a 1 5.

context is so fragmentary that we cannot rule this out. However, given the very clear distribution in general, this seems quite unlikely. Of the 19 clear cases of NTN, two are infinitives and 12 have personal prefixes that clearly indicate that the forms are in the prefix conjugation.[38]

Five cases are ambiguous. Formally, they are simply נתן, which might be a first-person plural prefix conjugation form or a third singular masculine in the suffix conjugation. Two of these are the occurrences in 4Q543 under investigation. The form in 4Q541 5 1 (Apocryphon of Levi^{b}[?]) is more or less isolated in a completely fragmentary context:]נ̊ת̊ן̊ ל̊מׄא[.[39] Consequently, nothing can be said about this case. The two remaining cases are both referred to by Puech in his discussion of the forms in 4Q543.[40] After noting that the verbs in 4Q543 2 1–2 are probably in the prefix conjugation, he mentions the possibility that they could be Hebraisms: "[…] autrement ce serait un hébraïsme. En ce sens, voir Tb 12:1 et 4QGéants. […] Un hébraïsme est-il impossible: 'et il t'a donné', de même ligne 2?"[41] Puech does not elaborate on the two cases alluded to but it is clear that he must be referring to 4Q196 16 1 and 4Q530 1 i 5.

However, in none of those instances is there any persuasive evidence for a suffix conjugation form of NTN. The passage from Tobit (4Q196 16 1: די הוה [עמ]ךׄ ונתן לה אגרהׄ) is translated as "who was with] you, and we shall give him his wages" in DJD 19.[42] There is nothing in the Greek and Latin versions that would indicate that the meaning is past, and Puech's reference to this verb does not seem to shed any light on the verbs in 4Q543.[43]

38 Infinitive: 1QapGen 22:24; 4Q243 13 3. Prefix conjugation: 1QapGen 21:12, 14; 4Q196 17 ii 14; 4Q197 4 ii 5; 4Q203 3 4; 4Q213 1 ii–2 10; 4Q246 1 ii 8; 4Q343 1r 5; 4Q530 2 ii+6–12 14; 4Q542 1 i 5, 10; 11QtgJob 26:2. One additional occurrence (in 4Q558 46 2) is not found in BibleWorks. Puech reads the form]אנתן (Émile Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4.XXVII: Textes araméens, deuxième partie: 4Q550–4Q575a, 4Q580–587 et appendices*, DJD 37 [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009], 213). In a note, he mentions a possible alternative reading (]אנון).

39 Puech, DJD 31:236.

40 Puech, DJD 31:295.

41 Puech, DJD 31:295. On the general topic of Hebraisms in Qumran Aramaic, see Steven E. Fassberg, "Hebraisms in the Aramaic Documents from Qumran," in *Studies in Qumran Aramaic*, ed. Takamitsu Muraoka, AbrNSup 3 (Leuven: Peeters, 1992), 48–69.

42 Joseph Fitzmyer, "Tobit," in *Qumran Cave 4.XIV: Parabiblical Texts Part 2*, ed. Magen Broshi et al., DJD 19 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 1–76 (24).

43 There are two versions of the Greek text, neither of which corresponds exactly to the extant Aramaic text. However, it is clear that the verbs for giving are in the infinitive and clearly do not refer to a past event. Tob 12:1 καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Τωβιτ Τωβιαν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὅρα τέκνον μισθὸν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ συνελθόντι σοι καὶ προσθεῖναι αὐτῷ δεῖ. Tob (S) 12:1 καὶ ὅτε ἐπετελέσθη ὁ γάμος ἐκάλεσεν Τωβιθ Τωβιαν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ παιδίον ὅρα δοῦναι τὸν μισθὸν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ πορευθέντι μετὰ σοῦ καὶ προσθεῖναι αὐτῷ εἰς τὸν μισθόν. The verb "to give" occurs in verse 2 as well and again nothing indicates that this

Similarly, in the passage from the Book of Giants (4Q530 1 i 5: ונתן שיציא), nothing compels us to read the verb as a suffix conjugation form. Puech's own translation in DJD 31 is rather odd: "et nous payerons. Il a détruit."[44] The first part is clearly a (rather free) translation of ונתן, interpreted as a first-person plural prefix form. The second part indicates that he understands שיציא as a verb in the suffix conjugation third singular masculine ("he destroyed"), which is possible. However, it seems more likely that שיציא is a noun ("destruction"). After initially translating ונתן as a prefix form and שיציא as a verb at the beginning of a new sentence, Puech seems to have reinterpreted the whole passage with שיציא as a noun functioning as the object of ונתן ("give destruction" = "destroy"), retaining only the second part of the original translation ("il a détruit") and interpreting this as the translation for the entire expression ונתן שיציא. Otherwise, I can see no reason for his reference to this passage in connection with his discussion of the verbs in 4Q543 2 1–2. Note that if the occurrence of NTN in 4Q530 1 i 5 (with the meaning "and he destroyed") were a Hebraism—as suggested by Puech—the underlying Hebrew would have to be of the unclassical type, i.e., the *weqatal* would be "unconverted" with anterior/past meaning like a simple Hebrew *qatal* (the same would be the case in some of the occurrences in the Elephantine letters discussed above if they are considered Hebraisms). Alternatively, it should be stressed that the influence from Hebrew pertains merely to the use of NTN in the suffix conjugation and not to the meaning of the combined form *weqatal* in Hebrew.[45] In any case, the passage in 4Q530 1 i 5 makes perfect sense without recourse to Hebraisms,

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is a translation of a past referring verb; Tob 12:2, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ πάτερ οὐ βλάπτομαι δοὺς αὐτῷ τὸ ἥμισυ ὧν ἐνήνοχα. Tob (S) 12:2, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ πάτερ πόσον αὐτῷ δώσω τὸν μισθόν οὐ βλάπτομαι διδοὺς αὐτῷ τὸ ἥμισυ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὧν ἐνήνοχεν μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ. Similarly, the Latin Vulgate version provides no support for a past tense reading of NTN; 12:1, tunc vocavit ad se Tobias filium suum dixitque ei quid possumus dare viro isti sancto qui venit tecum. 12:2, respondens Tobias dixit pater quam mercedem dabimus ei aut quid dignum poterit esse beneficiis eius. Fitzmyer provides the Old Latin version of verse 1 (DJD 19:24): Homini illi qui tecum fuit reddamus honorem suum, et adiiciamus illi ad mercedem.

44 Puech, DJD 31:23.

45 Note that the translation of the passage in 4Q530 offered in the *Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* seems to presuppose that ונתן is a full-blown hyper-Hebraism (third singular masculine *niphal* "converted" *weqatal*): "[…] and destruction will be given (?)" (Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition: Volume Two*, 1065; the passage is referred to as Frag. 6 col. 1 in this edition). If this line of thinking is followed through, the passage from Tobit mentioned above could be interpreted in the same way ("and his wages will be given to him"). However, in neither case is there any kind of evidence that this quite unlikely scenario is the correct interpretation.

cf. Cook's rendering "we shall put destruction [on *x*]."[46] The preceding verb might support this interpretation—it is clearly a first-person plural prefix form (ונמות כחדא).

4 Why First Person Plural?

After this overview of the use of NTN in Qumran Aramaic it seems safe to say that there are no other instances of this root in the suffix conjugation in the corpus. Although an isolated Hebraism or an out-of-place dialectal archaism cannot be completely ruled out, no positive evidence exists for such a scenario. Hence, even though reading the forms in 4Q543 2 1–2 as suffix conjugation ("he gave") provides an easy interpretation of the meaning of the passage (with Amram telling Moses that God has given wisdom to him, i.e. Moses),[47] we ought to investigate how the passage may be interpreted if the verbal forms are read as first-person plural prefix forms ("and we will give").

To whom does the first-person plural prefix refer? Puech notes that the fragmentary state of the evidence does not permit any clear conclusion, yet he proceeds to speculate that the "we" might designate angelic messengers or the ancestors of Aaron. However, he also notes that the angels do not seem to play any role elsewhere in these lines.[48] The parallel text in 4Q545 indicates that Amram is the speaker in the preceding passage but because of holes in the surrounding context, we can hardly rule out the introduction of a new speaker or group of speakers after Amram (angels or God speaking in the majestic plural?). If, on the other hand, Amram is still speaking, why is he using the first person plural? As suggested by Puech, he might be referring to himself as a representative of the ancestral line. In fact, there is evidence that a tradition existed in which Amram transmitted various types of wisdom to Moses.[49] The Book of Jubilees states that Moses learned writing from Amram: *wamaharaka*

46 Edward M. Cook, *Dictionary of Qumran Aramaic* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015), 162 and 233.

47 This is Duke's interpretation (*The Social Location*, 15).

48 Puech, DJD 31:295. Whether the statements are addressed to Aaron (according to Puech) or to Moses (under the name of Mal'akyahu, according to Duke) cannot be decided here. See Duke's discussion of the question (*The Social Location*, 69–79). In any case, the answer to this question does not seem to make a difference for the interpretation of the verbal form as prefix or suffix conjugation.

49 Cf. Pieter W. van der Horst, "Moses' Father Speaks Out," in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, ed. Émile Puech, Anthony Hilhorst, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, JSJSup 122 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 491–98 (491).

ʿəbrān ʾabuka maṣḥafa, "and *ʿəbrān* [= Amram] your father taught you [= Moses] writing" (Jub. 47:9).[50] In the late Jewish work Sefer ha-Razim, Amram is mentioned as a link in a chain of people handing down mystical wisdom originally revealed to Noah by the angel Raziel. Noah wrote it down in a special book made of sapphire stone, which was later passed on to his descendants. In this way Amram received it and gave it to Moses, who also passed it on:

> וכיצאו מן התבה בו היה משתמש כל ימי חייו ובעת מותו מסרו לאברהם ואברהם ליצחק ויצחק ליעקב ויעקב ללוי ולוי לקהת וקהת לעמרם ועמרם למשה ומשה ליהושע ויהושע לזקנים וזקנים לנביאים ונביאים לחכמים וכן כל דור ודור עד שעמד שלמה המלך וניגלו לו ספרי הרזים והשכיל למאד בספרי בינה ומשל בכל חפצו בכל הרוחות והפגעים המשוטטים בעולם ואסר והתיר ושלח והביא ובנה והצליח מחוכמת הספר הזה ,כי הרבה ספרים נמסרו בידו וזה נמצא יקר ונכבד וקשה מכולם.
>
> And when they [or he?] left the ark, he [= Noah] used it [= the book] all the days of his life and at the time of his death he handed it over to Abraham, and Abraham to Isaac, and Isaac to Jacob, and Jacob to Levi, and Levi to Qahat, and Qahat to Amram, and Amram to Moses, and Moses to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the prophets, and the prophets to the sages, and so on like this for every generation until king Solomon arose. And the books of the mysteries were revealed to him and he became very learned in books of understanding and he ruled over everything that he wanted, over all the spirits and the evil spirits that roam the world, and he imprisoned [or forbade] and released [or allowed] and sent out and brought in and built and prospered from the wisdom of this book. For many books were handed down to him, and this one was found to be more precious and honourable and difficult than every one of them.[51]

A similar idea might be referred to in another Aramaic Qumran document. According to 4Q542 1 ii 11 (Testament of Qahat), Qahat states that someone

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50 For the text, see James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text*, CSCO 510 (Leuven: Peeters, 1989).

51 The text is the eclectic version published by Mordecai Margalioth, ספר הרזים (Jerusalem: Yediot Aḥronot, 1966), 66. In some manuscripts Shem figures in the list before Abraham. וכיצאו at the beginning of the passage is a bit awkward. Some manuscripts have the more straightforward וכשיצא. The translation above is my own. For an English translation of the entire book, see Michael A. Morgan, *Sepher ha-Razim: The Book of the Mysteries*, SBLTT 25, Pseudepigrapha Series 11 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983). Margalioth dated the work to the third or fourth century CE, but a later date (seventh or eighth century) has been proposed by Rebiger and Schäfer (Bill Rebiger and Peter Schäfer, *Sefer ha-Razim I und II: Das Buch der Geheimnisse I und* II, 2 vols [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009]).

gave something to his father Levi, which Levi passed on to Qahat himself (ויהבו ללוי אבי ולוי אבי לי י[הב). Unfortunately, the following passage is missing but it seems likely that Qahat passed the things in question on to his own son (Amram) and so on, cf. Puech's reconstruction אף/ואנא קהת יהב לכה ברי ולבניכה.[52] The things referred to are probably the books mentioned in line 12 (כל כתבי, "all my books").

Finally, we must mention a potential argument in favour of the suffix conjugation interpretation of the verbs in 4Q543 2 1–2, viz. the verbal form in the following line (4Q543 2 3). Duke reads this as הוסיף, i.e. a third singular masculine suffix form translated as "he added" (presumably referring to God who is also the subject of נתן according to Duke's interpretation).[53] If this reading is correct it could be taken as support for interpreting the preceding verbs as suffix conjugation forms as well. Puech, however, proposes two other readings, הוסף[י or הוסף[מ, i.e. a prefix conjugation or a participle.[54] Hence, interpreting נתן as a prefix form may lead to a perfectly smooth reading ("we will give you wisdom" and "he [God?] will add" something to that [signs and wonders?], or something "will be added"). In any case, the text is fragmentary and even if we read a suffix conjugation form (הוסיף), there is no reason to let this determine the interpretation of the verbs in lines 1 and 2 – something may have happened in the lacuna leading to a change of subject and temporal frame.

5 Conclusion

Summing up the preceding discussion, there seems to be no decisive evidence that would force us to accept Duke's interpretation of נתן in 4Q543 2 1–2. Nonetheless, as stated above, a Hebraism or an isolated archaic dialectal oddity cannot be completely ruled out and for this reason, no final judgment can be made with absolute certainty. However, it seems to be sound methodology not to base one's analysis on a linguistic phenomenon for which there is no positive evidence in the corpus most relevant for the case at hand. The secure attestations of suffix conjugation NTN are chronologically and geographically rather distant from the document under consideration. This state of affairs, combined with the fact that nothing in the context seems to speak decisively against understanding the forms as first-person plural prefix forms, gives reason for scepticism regarding the interpretation of 4Q543 2 1–2 proposed by Duke.

52 See Puech, DJD 31:269, 272, and 278.

53 Duke, *The Social Location*, 14.

54 Puech, DJD 31:294–95.

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The Compositional Setting and Implied Audience of Some Aramaic Texts from Qumran: A Working Hypothesis

Daniel A. Machiela

The occasion of the conference that produced this volume of collected papers attests to a growing interest in the Aramaic literature discovered among the Qumran caves. Because the Aramaic scrolls were, generally speaking, published later than many of the Hebrew texts, they have received less attention than their Hebrew counterparts. Consequently, many basic questions pertaining to the Aramaic texts remain to be addressed in a robust way.[1] While my research has dealt with various of these texts in detail, I have become increasingly aware of the benefit of investigating them as a corpus, asking large-scale questions about their overall coherence as a group, their compositional background and history, their intended audiences, their potential relationships with other clusters of ancient Jewish literature, and their connections with Jewish societies more broadly as reflected in the archaeological and textual records. In this two-part essay, I will offer some of my current thoughts on the Aramaic scrolls as they relate to these areas of inquiry. In the first part, I will put forward

1 The two most important studies on this topic are those of Elias J. Bickerman, *The Jews in the Greek Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 51–65; and Ben Zion Wacholder, "The Ancient Judaeo-Aramaic Literature (500–164 BCE): A Classification of Pre-Qumranic Texts," in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, JSPSup 8, JSOT/ASOR Monographs 2 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 257–81. While both of these essays contain important insights about Jewish Aramaic literature of the Second Temple period when viewed as a larger phenomenon, each study overlooks important aspects of the Qumran evidence and in my opinion fails to provide a compelling overall description. On this topic see also Józef T. Milik, "Écrits préesséniens de Qumrân: d'Hénoch à Amram," in *Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu*, ed. Mathias Delcor (Paris: Gembloux; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1978), 91–106; Devorah Dimant, "The Qumran Aramaic Texts and the Qumran Community," in *Flores Florentino: The Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, ed. Anthony Hilhorst, Émile Puech, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, JSJSup 122 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 197–205; idem, "Themes and Genres in the Aramaic Texts from Qumran," in *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran in Aix-en-Provence 30 June–2 July 2008*, ed. Katell Berthelot and Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, STDJ 94 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 15–45; and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, "Aramaic Texts from Qumran and the Authoritativeness of Hebrew Scriptures: Preliminary Observations," in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism*, ed. Mladen Popović, JSJSup 141 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 155–71.

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a hypothetical socio-historical scenario for thinking about the majority of Qumran Aramaic literature. Though experimental, I have worked to ground this scenario in extensive study of the Qumran Aramaic texts, related or relevant literature, and current archaeological and historical research on Persian- and Hellenistic-period Judaism. I view the scenario as providing a plausible background for understanding the literature under discussion insofar as it lines up with the evidence currently at our disposal, helping to make better sense of a large part of the Aramaic corpus from Qumran. In the second part of the essay, I aim to connect the hypothetical scenario with the Aramaic texts themselves, in hopes that this will make clear how, in fact, the scenario grew out of close readings of the texts. My goal in all of this is to foster more widely-framed discussions of the Aramaic literature preserved at Qumran.

Before beginning in earnest, I should state an important underlying assumption of the following analysis: I assume that a basic affinity exists between many of the Aramaic texts from Qumran, suggestive of a shared compositional setting. This assumption coincides with the previous opinions of Milik, Segert, Dimant, and a number of others who argue that the Aramaic scrolls are, generally speaking, both "pre-sectarian" and "non-sectarian."[2] I will touch on aspects of this affinity in the second part of the essay, building on a theme in some of my recent work.[3] However, I must further qualify this point with two caveats.

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2 In addition to the studies cited in note 1, see also Józef T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Judean Wilderness*, trans. John Strugnell (London: SCM Press, 1959), 139 (for the original French see Józef T. Milik, *Dix ans de découvertes dans le désert de Juda* [Paris: Les Éditions du CERF, 1957], 95–96); Stanislav Segert, "Die Sprachenfragen in der Qumrāngemeinschaft," in *Qumran-Probleme: Vorträge des Leipziger Symposions über Qumran-Probleme vom 9. bis 14. Oktober 1961*, ed. Hans Bardtke (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963), 315–39; idem, review of *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1*, by Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *JSS* 13 (1968): 281–82; Jonas C. Greenfield, "Aramaic and Its Dialects," in *'Al Kanfei Yonah: Collected Studies of Jonas Greenfield on Semitic Philology*, ed. Shalom M. Paul, Michael E. Stone, and Avital Pinnick (Leiden: Brill; Jerusalem: Magnes, 2001), 1:361–75; John J. Collins, "The Aramaic Texts from Qumran: Conclusions and Perspectives," in *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran in Aix-en-Provence 30 June–2 July 2008*, ed. Katell Berthelot and Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, STDJ 94 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 547–64; Andrew B. Perrin, "Capturing the Voices of Pseudepigraphic Personae: On the Form and Function of Incipits in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 20 (2013): 98–123.

3 See, for example Daniel A. Machiela, "Prayer in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls: A Catalogue and Overview," in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday*, ed. Jeremy Penner, Ken M. Penner, and Cecilia Wassén, STDJ 98 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 273–93; "Aramaic Writings of the Second Temple Period and the Growth of Apocalyptic Thought: Another Survey of the Texts," *JAAJ* (2014): 113–34; "The Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls: Coherence and Context of the Qumran Library," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran and the Concept of a Library*, ed. Sidnie White Crawford and Cecilia Wassén, STDJ 116 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 243–58; "The

First, not *all* of the Qumran Aramaic writings should automatically be assumed to belong to the group of loosely-related texts discussed in what follows. There are generic and linguistic attributes suggesting that the translations of Job (11Q10 and 4Q157), for example, ought to be treated separately.[4] Nevertheless, the group of outliers is fairly small compared to the relatively large cluster of texts included in the purview of this essay. Second, by proposing that these Aramaic texts have a shared compositional setting, I do not mean to imply that they were all written by the same person or group of people within a small window of time. Rather, I would characterize these texts as the products of a distinctive Jewish literary tradition that most likely existed for at least a century, and perhaps for significantly longer than that. Consequently, we might expect that the texts show some signs of development in thought or emphasis over time. A roughly analogous situation may be observed, for example, in the Hebrew sectarian texts from Qumran. While these texts obviously share a core set of tenets and ideologies which bind them together over time and place, scholars have increasingly drawn attention to the ways in which changes in time or social location impacted the various expressions of sectarian thought.

Part One: A Hypothetical Socio-Historical Setting for the Qumran Aramaic Texts

Imagine the situation of a small group of elite priests living and working in Judah sometime during the fourth to mid-second centuries BCE, before the events that led most directly to the Hasmonean revolt. These priests were

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Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls: Hellenistic Period Witnesses to Jewish Apocalyptic Thought," in *The Seleucid and Hasmonean Periods and the Apocalyptic Worldview*, ed. Lester L. Grabbe, Gabriele Boccaccini, and Jason M. Zurawski (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark International, 2016), 147–56; "'Wisdom Motifs' in the Compositional Strategy of the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1Q20) and Other Aramaic Texts from Qumran," in *HĀ-'ÎSH MŌSHE: Studies in Scriptural Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Moshe J. Bernstein*, ed. Binyamin Y. Goldstein, Michael Segal, and George J. Brooke, STDJ 122 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 223–47; "Situating the Aramaic Texts from Qumran: Reconsidering Their Language and Socio-Historical Settings," in *Apocalyptic Thinking in Early Judaism: Engaging with John Collins' The Apocalyptic Imagination*, ed. Sidnie White Crawford and Cecilia Wassén, JSJSup 182 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 88–109; and Daniel A. Machiela and Andrew B. Perrin, "Tobit and the Genesis Apocryphon: Toward a Family Portrait," *JBL* 133 (2014): 111–32.

4 Some other texts that one might include in this category are: 4Q156, 4Q318, 4Q339, 4Q342, 4Q344 (along with other documentary texts, such as deeds and loans), 4Q559, 4Q560, 4Q561, 4Q569, and 4Q583. As opposed to the main group of Qumran Aramaic texts, those listed here exhibit much more diversity in their contents, genres, and language.

deeply concerned about, and dedicated to, their ancestral occupation as Israel's teachers. They were highly educated and well-acquainted with the governing authorities, having grown up and been trained in the upper echelons of Judean society. They had been taught to read and write with a high level of proficiency in their ancestral Hebrew tongue, but also in the standardized chancery language of Achaemenid Aramaic, used widely across the Persian and eastern Greek empires at all levels of official government relations and communication, down to the second century BCE. In addition, Aramaic was used by Judeans for local business with surrounding peoples, if not within Judah itself. Popular literature that was not exclusively Israelite in nature was published and studied in Aramaic and, to a growing extent, Greek. These priests were, therefore, familiar with internationally-circulated literary works like the Ahiqar story and Darius the Great's Bisitun inscription, alongside an assortment of historical, political, and scientific writings derived from the great centers of learning in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the Greek-speaking west, much of it mediated in Aramaic or Greek.[5] Of course, they were also intimately familiar with their own ancestral Hebrew writings, which they were mandated to teach to Israel.[6] As leading priests, the chiefs among their ranks were liable to hold positions of high national visibility and significance. After all, the Jerusalem temple, which stood at the center of their vocation, was also the chief economic center of their province, serving as a national bank and treasury.[7] It was the central institution of learning, too, functioning as a national library, archive, and school where at least a portion of priests were taught the skills of

5 On the Ahiqar story and its textual history, see e.g., James M. Lindenberger, *The Aramaic Proverbs of Ahiqar* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983); Ingo Kottsieper, "Die Geshichte und die Sprüche des weisen Achiqar," in *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*, vol 3.2, ed. Otto Kaiser et al. (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1991), 320–47; and Seth A. Bledsoe, *Wisdom in Distress: The Book of Ahiqar and the Sapiential Tradition*, JSJSup (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming). For the Bisitun inscription, see the recent article by Christine Mitchell, "Berlin Papyrus P. 13447 and the Library of the Yehudite Colony at Elephantine," *JNES* 76 (2017): 139–47, along with the bibliography provided there.

6 The best discussion of the teaching role of priests in the Second Temple period is in the unpublished article of Steven D. Fraade, "'They Shall Teach Your Statutes to Jacob': Priests, Scribes, and Sages in Second Temple Times." The article can currently be found online at: https://www.academia.edu/301787/They_Shall_Teach_Your_Statutes_to_Jacob_Priest_Scribe_and_Sage_In_Second_Temple_Times. See also the comments of Annette Y. Reed, "Writing Jewish Astronomy in the Early Hellenistic Age: The Enochic Astronomical Book as Aramaic Wisdom and Archival Impulse," *DSD* 24 (2017): 1–37.

7 A useful summative overview and bibliography of the function of the Jerusalem temple in Jewish society is found in Timothy Wardle, *The Jerusalem Temple and Early Christian Identity*, WUNT II.291 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck), 13–30.

a scribe, which at this time implied high social standing and power.[8] Alongside the provincial governor (the Persian *peḥah* or Greek *oikonomos*) and an accompanying hierarchy of government officials, the high priest was a chief political figurehead and leader of the Judean people, at least as viewed from an internal perspective.[9] He oversaw all aspects of the temple, including the training of priests in the literature and traditions of their people, a task in which our priests were deeply invested.[10]

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8 One frequently-cited reference to the Jerusalem temple library is found in 2 Macc 2:13–14. For discussion of this passage and other relevant sources, see Armin Lange, "The Qumran Library in Context: The Canonical History and Textual Standardization of the Hebrew Bible in Light of the Qumran Library," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran and the Concept of a Library*, ed. Sidnie White Crawford and Cecilia Wassén, STDJ 116 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 262–79, esp. 273–77. On education taking place within the priestly, temple-centered social sphere, see Sylvie Honigman, "Intercultural Exchanges in the Hellenistic East: The Respective Roles of Temples, Royal Offices, Courts, and Gymnasia," in *Centres and Peripheries in the Early Second Temple Period*, ed. Ehud Ben-Zvi and Christoph Levin, FAT 108 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 79–107.

9 The elevated role of the high priest in this period is attested, for example, in the descriptions of Hecataeus of Abdera (as retold in Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* 40.3.1–8). For a discussion of the role of the high priest in the Persian and Hellenistic periods, see Deborah W. Rooke, *Zadok's Heirs: The Role and Development of the High Priesthood in Ancient Israel*, Oxford Theological Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000); James C. VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress; Assen: Van Gorcum, 2004), 99–124; Maria Brutti, *The Development of the High Priesthood during the Pre-Hasmonean Period: History, Ideology, Theology*, JSJSup 108 (Leiden: Brill, 2006); Wardle, *The Jerusalem Temple*, 31–40; Vasile Babota, *The Institution of the Hasmonean High Priesthood*, JSJSup 164 (Leiden: Brill, 2014). Further discussion of the interaction of priestly and secular authorities may be found in Eric M. Meyers, "The Shelomith Seal and the Judean Restoration: Some Additional Considerations," *ErIsr* 18 (1985): 33–38. On the difficulties of distinguishing between what we would now call the civil and religious social domains in Mediterranean antiquity, see Sylvie Honigman, *Tales of High Priests and Taxes: The Books of Maccabees and the Judean Rebellion against Antiochus IV* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2014), 51–64.

10 This picture of the high priest's prominent national role during the Second Temple period may find further support in the so-called Letter of Aristeas, especially in §§ 121–123: "Thus, Eleazar selected excellent men who excelled in education, inasmuch as indeed they were the product of parents of high distinction. These had not only acquired skill in the literature of the Judeans, but also not incidentally they had given heed to preparation in Greek literature. Therefore they were well suited to be appointed to embassies, and they discharged them whenever it became necessary. They possessed great natural disposition for conversations and questions about the Law, being zealous for the middle way—for this is the best state—and avoiding coarse and rude thought … All were worthy of their leader and the virtue that he possessed. It was evident, given the difficulty that they had leaving, how they loved Eleazar and he them" (English translation from Benjamin G. Wright III, *The Letter of Aristeas: 'Aristeas to Philocrates' or 'On the Translation of the Law of the Jews,'* CEJL [Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015]). The appropriateness of this description for the Ptolemaic

Archaeologists and historians have helped to inform our picture of Judean and neighboring societies at the times during which our priests lived. By the fourth century BCE, Persian rule had led to a more internationalized environment than this part of the world had ever known. The Persian satrapy of "Beyond the River" (satrapy V)—subdivided into smaller provinces governed from regional urban centers such as Dor, Samaria, Jerusalem, and Ashdod—controlled the bustling trade and military routes connecting Mesopotamia and Egypt, and felt the significant influence of western peoples through a steady presence of Phoenician settlements and traders.[11] Already during Persian rule, the archaeological record attests to considerable Greek influence in Palestine, especially in the major cities on the coast. These cities were vibrant hubs of international business, supplying their citizens and smaller towns inland with Greek, Phoenician, Persian, Syrian, Egyptian, and Cypriot pottery, jewelry, foods, and other goods, accompanied by many local imitations.[12] Athenian

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period, in which the story is purported to have occurred, is a matter of scholarly debate. While van der Kooij accepts the portrayal of the priestly establishment in the Letter as an essentially plausible one for the third century BCE, Wright argues that it can only be considered to reflect the situation of the second century BCE, during which the text was written. See Arie van der Kooij, "The Septuagint of the Pentateuch and Ptolemaic Rule," in *The Pentateuch as Torah: New Models for Understanding Its Promulgation and Acceptance*, ed. Gary N. Knoppers and Bernard M. Levinson (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 289–300 (293–94); Wright, *The Letter of Aristeas*, 243.

11 On the satrapy system and "Beyond the River" in particular, see Anson F. Rainey, "The Satrapy 'Beyond the River,'" *AJBA* 1 (1969): 51–78. A more fine-grained look at some of the smaller administrative units discussed below may be found in Yigal Levin, "Judea, Samaria, and Idumea: Three Models of Ethnicity and Administration in the Persian Period," in *From Judah to Judaea: Socio-economic Structures and Processes in the Persian Period*, ed. Johannes Unsok Ro, Hebrew Bible Monographs 43 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2012), 4–53. Also, in the same volume, Avraham Faust, "Social, Cultural, and Demographic Changes in Judah during the Transition from the Iron Age to the Persian Period and the Nature of Society in the Persian Period," 106–32, as well as Alexander Fantalkin and Oren Tal, "Judah and Its Neighbors in the Fourth Century BCE: A Time of Major Transformations," 133–96.

12 See the overview of Ephraim Stern, *Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period, 538–332 B.C.* (Warminster: Aris and Philips; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1982), 229–55; idem, "The Archaeology of Persian Palestine," in *The Persian Period*, ed. W. D. Davies and Louis Finkelstein, vol. 1 of *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, ed. W. D. Davies and Louis Finkelstein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 88–114, esp. 96–99; idem, "Between Persia and Greece: Trade, Administration and Warfare in the Persian and Hellenistic Periods," in *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*, ed. Thomas Levy (London: Leicester University Press, 1995), 432–45; Andrea M. Berlin, "Between Large Forces: Palestine in the Hellenistic Period," *BA* 60 (1997): 2–51, esp. 3–4; Einat Ambar-Armon and Amos Kloner, "Archaeological Evidence of Links between the Aegean World and the Land of Israel in the Persian Period," in *A Time of Change: Judah*

coins were being minted in some cities in the Persian period, with Gitler, Ponting, and Tal noting that much of the silver bullion appears to have come from Greek mines.[13] The more mountainous, isolated hinterlands of Samaria, Judah, and Transjordan saw far less of this international economic activity, but they were by no means immune from it, as seen in the Persian-period Attic pottery found at regional centers like Samaria, Lachish, and 'Ein-Gedi.[14] While cities on the coast increasingly became a dynamic fusion of eastern and western cultures, adopting changes in civic and domestic architecture, pottery, and social customs, the mountain regions tended to maintain the older Levantine (or 'eastern') traditions in these domains, especially in the many agricultural farmsteads and villages. This remained true well into the Hellenistic period.[15] The considerable western presence in Palestine during the Persian period is important in the context of this paper, because it suggests that the transition to Greek rule, while surely of major conceptual, symbolic importance, had a relatively small impact on the daily life of ordinary people. Researchers such as Oded Lipschits and Oren Tal have shown that the transition from Persian to Greek rule was broadly characterized by the *continuation* of earlier, Persian-period material culture into the Hellenistic era, rather than a radical break caused by an influx of Hellenism.[16] Some administrative titles changed, taxation practices and economic policies were adjusted, new coinage types were introduced, and Hellenistic ideals in city planning increased in popularity, but much stayed as it had been, simply taken over by the latest foreign rulers. Despite the growth of western influences during the Persian period, the Persian presence was clearly felt through its governance structure, its more demanding taxation policies, and especially its military infrastructure. Stern observed that, "[t]he military strongholds and many granaries discovered at

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and Its Neighbors during the Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods, ed. Yigal Levin, LSTS 65 (London: Continuum, 2007), 1–22.

13 Haim Gitler, Matthew Ponting, and Oren Tal, "Metallurgical Analysis of Southern Palestinian Coins of the Persian Period," *INR* 3 (2008): 13–27. See more generally Stern, "Archaeology of Persian Palestine," 109–10; Rami Arav, *Hellenistic Palestine: Settlement Patterns and City Planning, 337–31 B.C.E.*, BAR International Series 485 (Oxford: B.A.R., 1989), 135; Fantalkin and Tal, "Judah and Its Neighbors," esp. 148–50.

14 Stern, *Material Culture*; idem, "Archaeology of Persian Palestine," 99, 112; Berlin, "Between Large Forces."

15 This is one of the main conclusions of Oren Tal's book-length study of Hellenistic-period archaeology of Palestine: Oren Tal, *The Archaeology of Hellenistic Palestine: Between Tradition and Renewal* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2006).

16 Oded Lipschits and Oren Tal, "The Settlement Archaeology of the Province of Judah: A Case Study," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.*, ed. Oded Lipschits, Gary N. Knoppers, and Rainer Albertz (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 33–52.

nearly all large sites in Palestine reflect the Persian military system, and—most important—a large part of the weapons and several chariot accessories found in the tombs of that period are of the Scytho-Iranian type, just like those found in the guard rooms at Persepolis."[17] For Judah, it seems that a shift to more autonomous regional governance was granted sometime near the end of the fifth century BCE, if we can judge by the change from general Achaemenid royal seal impressions on vessel handles to the *Yehud* types.[18] Importantly, the many ostraca from Idumea and elsewhere show that Aramaic continued to be employed heavily in Palestine throughout the Hellenistic period, even while the use of Greek steadily increased in some social domains.[19]

When our priests considered their constituency, of whom were they thinking? The Judean population in the cities and agricultural villages was growing, following the utter devastation of the province and its population during the Babylonian deportations. These events had introduced what Avraham Faust calls a "post-collapse" society, and Judean leadership, which surely included priests, had been focused on rebuilding the people and their identity in a challenging environment.[20] Ever since the return of some of their ancestors from the

17 Stern, "Archaeology of Persian Palestine," 113.

18 Stern, "Archaeology of Persian Palestine," 113; Fantalkin and Tal, "Judah and Its Neighbors," 151–53.

19 There is a constantly-expanding published collection of ostraca and other inscribed material from Idumaea and surrounding regions, in particular. However, this is by no means the full extent of the relevant evidence. Much of the relevant bibliography for the Idumaean material can be found in the short article of Amos Kloner, "The Introduction of the Greek Language and Culture in the Third Century BCE, according to the Archaeological Evidence in Idumaea," in *Judah between East and West: The Transition from Persian to Greek Rule* (*ca. 400–200 BCE*), ed. Lester L. Grabbe and Oded Lipschits, LSTS 75 (London: T&T Clark, 2011), 158–62. Some of the additional material of relevance to the topic can be found in Jonas C. Greenfield, "Hebrew and Aramaic in the Persian Period," in *'Al Kanfei Yonah: Collected Studies of Jonas Greenfield on Semitic Philology*, ed. Shalom M. Paul, Michael E. Stone, and Avital Pinnick, (Leiden: Brill; Jerusalem: Magnes, 2001), 1:232–46; Berlin, "Between Large Forces"; Jan Dušek, *Les manuscrits araméens du Wadi Daliyeh et la Samarie vers 450–332 av. J.-C.*, CHANE 30 (Leiden: Brill, 2007 [with the bibliography cited there]); Hanan Eshel and Hagai Misgav, "A Fourth Century B.C.E. Document from Ketef Yeriḥo," *IEJ* 38 (1988): 158–76. Public documents such as the Hefzibah inscription (Jezreel Valley), the Heliodoros inscription (Shephelah), and the Yavne-Yam inscription (Coastal Plain), all dating to the first half of the second century BCE, were written in Greek. This suggests that a segment of the local population (though perhaps quite small) could read the language.

20 See, e.g., Avraham Faust, "Settlement Dynamics and Demographic Fluctuations in Judah from the Late Iron Age to the Hellenistic Period and the Archaeology of Persian Period Yehud," in *A Time of Change: Judah and Its Neighbors during the Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods*, ed. Yigal Levin, LSTS 65 (London: Continuum, 2007), 23–51; idem,

Persian east, beginning during the reign of Cyrus the Great, the region's Judean inhabitants had been surrounded by a mixture of other peoples with some of whom they shared important ancestral ties. On Judah's northern frontier were the residents of Samaria, who worshiped the same deity as the Judeans, but differed in both their regional political history and their position on where the central place of worship was to be located—differences that would eventually lead to a deep rift between the two groups.[21] We would expect that the central sanctuary's placement was of major ideological and theological importance to Judeans and Samaritans, but it also bore significant political and economic dimensions, being closely tied to regional leadership, commercial power, and perception by the ruling empire. To the south and east were the Arabian and Idumean provinces, which at places like Ashdod on the coast, or Maresha in the Shephelah, were intermingled with the inheritors of earlier Phoenician and Philistine cultures.[22] Here there existed considerably greater differences than with Samaria, with the Arabs, Idumeans, and Phoenicians worshiping an assortment of gods, such as Qos, 'Uzza, Baal, and Dagon, alongside a variety of Mesopotamian and Greek deities.[23]

Our priests must also have been acutely aware of the many Judeans living outside Judah. The textual and archaeological records suggest that a large number of individuals, families, or communities lived both near to and far

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"Social, Cultural, and Demographic Changes in Judah." On the flourishing of farmsteads in the hill country during the Persian period, and declining around the Hasmonean period, see idem, "Farmsteads in the Foothills of Western Samaria: A Reexamination," in *I Will Speak Riddles of Ancient Times: Archaeological and Historical Studies in Honor of Amihai Mazar on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Aren M. Maier and Pierre de Miroschedji (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 2:477–504.

21 Levin, "Judea, Samaria, and Idumea," 13–23; Menachem Mor, "The Samaritans in Transition from the Persian to the Greek Period," in *Judah between East and West: The Transition from Persian to Greek Rule* (*ca. 400–200 BCE*), ed. Lester L. Grabbe and Oded Lipschits, LSTS 75 (London: T&T Clark, 2011), 176–98; Gary N. Knoppers, *Jews and Samaritans: The Origins and History of Their Early Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 102–216.

22 See the discussion and bibliography in Levin, "Judea, Samaria, and Idumea," 24–39.

23 Much of the evidence comes from the archeological discoveries at Persian- and Hellenistic-period Maresha. For a presentation and discussion of the theonyms found there, see Ian Stern, "The Population of Persian-period Idumea according to the Ostraca: A Study of Ethnic Boundaries and Ethnogenesis," in *A Time of Change: Judah and Its Neighbors during the Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods*, ed. Yigal Levin, LSTS 65 (London: Continuum, 2007), 205–38. See also Michael Heltzer, "The Galgula Family in South Judah and the Local Sanctuaries," in *Studien zu Ritual und Sozialgeschichte im Alten Orient: Tartuer Symposien 1998–2004*, ed. Thomas R. Kämmerer (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 127–32 (129); Esther Eshel and Ian Stern, "Divination Texts of Maresha—Archeology and Texts," *Archaeology and Text* 1 (2017): 7–25. This reality is also reflected in literature of the period (e.g., 1 Macc 10:82–11:7; Josephus, *Ant*. 12.99 ff).

from their homeland during the Persian and Hellenistic periods. We have evidence suggesting a Judean presence elsewhere in Palestine at Tell Qasile, Tell Abu-Zeitun, Makmish, and Ashdod on the coast, and at Makkedah, Maresha, and Arad in the interior.[24] When combined with literary sources such as Ezra-Nehemiah, Tobit, Judith, 1 Maccabees, and Josephus, we gain a picture of Judeans interspersed throughout Palestine, from the Galilee to the Negev.[25] A similar situation existed outside of Palestine, with archaeological evidence coming from places as far flung as Nippur and Al-Yahudu in Mesopotamia, or Elephantine in southern Egypt, though the latter settlement had been destroyed by the time of our Judean priests.[26] The Hellenistic era saw the vigorous growth of Judean populations in distant regions and urban centers such as Lydia, Phrygia, Antioch, Hierapolis, and Alexandria.[27] All of these examples are merely emblematic of a scenario that must have been repeated in myriad locations now lost from our view. To a large extent, Judah and Jerusalem were the symbolic center for a people strewn across many thousands of kilometers, living in a diverse collection of communities and cultural contexts from the Nile to the Tigris, and stretching far to the north and west.

In light of the geographic diffusion of the Judean people, our priests faced a situation fraught with difficulties for maintaining national identity and remaining faithful to the God of Israel. Long gone were the days of autonomous reign by a domestic king. The Judeans were now but one subjected people among many, ruled by the formidable empires of Persia and then Greece.

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24 Stern, *Material Culture*, 242.

25 I do not mean to suggest that all of the literary sources portrayed actual historical situations, but that they presented a situation which would have seemed plausible to readers and listeners at the times in which the texts were written and first read.

26 A helpful overview of the cuneiform material from Babylonia, which includes the Murashu and Al-Yahudu corpora, is provided by Laurie E. Pearce, "Cuneiform Sources for Judeans in Babylonia in the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Periods: An Overview," *RC* 10 (2016): 230–43. An introduction to the Elephantine corpus can be found in Bezalel Porten, *Archives from Elephantine: The Life of an Ancient Jewish Military Colony* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968). See also Alejandro F. Botta, ed., *In the Shadow of Bezalel: Aramaic, Biblical, and Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Bezalel Porten*, CHANE 60 (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

27 Josephus's sources know of large communities in all of these places by the end of the Hellenistic period. On the Jewish military colonies stationed in Lydia and Phrygia by Antiochus III in the late third century BCE, see the extended discussion of Abraham Schalit, "The Letter of Antiochus III to Zeuxis regarding the Establishment of Jewish Military Colonies in Phrygia and Lydia," *JQR* 50 (1960): 289–318. For Alexandria, see the discussion and bibliography in Lester L. Grabbe, *The Coming of the Greeks: The Early Hellenistic Period (335–175 BCE)*, vol. 2 of *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period* (London: T & T Clark, 2008), 181–85.

The enormously powerful and resourceful Persian Empire had put in place basic administrative, legal, martial, and economic systems that tied the empire together in at least a superficial way, with most of the structures being kept in place and expanded under the Greeks, despite shifts in the basic ideology of kingship.[28] These initiatives included the construction of much better international roads for the movement of goods and armies, numerous military forts manned by foreign or conscripted domestic soldiers, new monetary currencies, and the dispersal of officials and government-affiliated businesspeople throughout the empire to oversee taxation of the satrapies and crown agricultural lands.[29] As far as we can tell, until the successful Egyptian revolt against the Persians at the very end of the fifth century BCE, during the reign of Artaxerxes II, Persia took a fairly lax attitude towards intervention in the local affairs of far-flung provinces like Judah. After the revolt, however, Judah and the area to its south became the southern line of defense against Egypt, receiving greater attention and an influx of Persian military resources as a result.[30] For Judah, this meant a heightened Persian presence, with the area to the south becoming what Ephraim Stern described as "the arena of extensive battles between Egypt … and the Persians."[31] During and after the transition to Greek rule, there would have been regular reminders of the occupying empire,

28 On the continuation of localized systems of governance that had existed under the Persians, see Lester L. Grabbe, "Hyparchs, *Oikonomoi* and Mafiosi: The Governance of Judah in the Ptolemaic Period," in *Judah between East and West: The Transition from Persian to Greek Rule* (*ca. 400–200 BCE*), ed. Lester L. Grabbe and Oded Lipschits, LSTS 75 (London: T&T Clark, 2011), 70–90. While there is no doubt that the Hellenistic rulers of lands taken from the Persians kept many of the Achaemenid governmental structures and policies in place by necessity, questions remain about the extent to which such continuation was a consciously implemented policy. For two different takes on this question, see Christopher R. Tuplin, "The Seleucids and Their Achaemenid Predecessors: A Persian Inheritance?" and G. G. Aperghis, "Managing an Empire—Teacher and Pupil," both in *Ancient Greece and Ancient Iran: Cross-Cultural Encounters. 1st International Conference* (*Athens, 11–13 November 2006*), ed. Seyed Mohammad Reza Darbandi and Antigoni Zournatzi (Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2008), 109–36 and 137–48, respectively. For an overview of the situation in Egypt, see Joseph G. Manning, *The Last Pharaohs: Egypt under the Ptolemies, 305–30 BC* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), 73–116. For the ongoing influence of the former Persian empire more generally, see Rolf Strootman and Miguel J. Versluys, eds., *Persianism in Antiquity*, OeO 25 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2017).

29 Many of these structures are assumed in archival material from the Hellenistic period, such as the Zenon papyri.

30 On the Persian-era forts built on the southern frontier of Palestine see Stern, *Material Culture*, 252; Fantalkin and Tal, "Judah and Its Neighbors," 153–69.

31 Stern, *Material Culture*, 254; idem, "Archaeology of Persian Palestine," 114. See also Dan Barag, "The Effects of the Thennes Rebellion on Palestine," *BASOR* 183 (1966): 6–12.

such as the taxing Syrian Wars waged between the Ptolemies and Seleucids over the third and second centuries BCE for domination of the lucrative, strategic territory that included Palestine. The literary and archaeological sources combine to tell an up-and-down story of this period, with peaceful phases punctuated by military interventions of various sorts that would at times force leaders in Judah and other territories to gamble on a winning side. These incursions sometimes resulted in cities and villages being violently destroyed. No one in Hellenistic Syria could have overlooked, for instance, the decimation of Samaria after their ill-fated revolt against Alexander in the late 330s BCE.[32] For those in Judah, the reality of the powerful foreign empire(s) to which they were subservient must never have been far out of mind, and at many places outside Judah this reality would have been felt just as acutely. How did our priests react to this situation? In my opinion, they took a fundamentally pragmatic, accommodationist approach that sought, at the same time, to remain faithful to their identity as Israelites who worshipped the Most High God. On the one hand, they embraced a basic stance of interaction with, and support of, the ruling authorities, to the point of endorsing high governmental offices being held by Judeans and other Israelites.[33] On the other hand, they drew a line at transgressing distinctive, non-negotiable practices that set their people apart as those who worshipped the one, true God, the Lord of heaven and earth. These practices included, for example, observing Israelite dietary laws, maintaining ancestral burial practices, and a strict refusal to worship foreign gods. This last point was of considerable ideological importance, for in the face of a national situation that was far from ideal, these priests maintained a strong belief that their God remained firmly in control of the cosmos and all of human history, including the destiny of his chosen people, Israel.

Our priests also fretted over the harmful effects of the pluralistic environments in which their people lived. Various details from the available Murashu, Al-Yahudu, Elephantine, and Idumean texts confirm what is stated much more plainly in Ezra-Nehemiah concerning the residents of Judah: many Judeans were quite happy to take full advantage of the intercultural situation of the Persian and Hellenistic periods, as seen in their embracing various facets of

32 See the account in Quintus Curtius Rufus, *History of Alexander* IV 8.34.9–11. This event has received dramatic archaeological confirmation in the excavations at Samaria and Wadi Daliyeh. See Frank Moore Cross, "The Discovery of the Samaria Papyri," *BA* 26 (1963): 109–21; idem, "The Historical Importance of the Samaria Papyri," *BAR* 4 (1978): 25–27; Hanan Eshel, "The Governors of Samaria in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.E.," in *Judah and the Judaeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.*, ed. Oded Lipschits, Gary N. Knoppers, and Rainer Albertz (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 223–34.

33 As will be discussed below, this stance is clearly seen in texts like Daniel and Tobit.

non-Judean cultures that, in the opinion of some, stood at odds with Judean ancestral traditions.[34] A special concern of our priests was intermarriage with foreigners, for it represented in a singular way crossing the line of acceptable cultural accommodation. Of course, we hear of marriages to foreigners in Ezra 9–10 and Neh 13, where the priests and Levites come in for an especially harsh rebuke due to their holy status within Israel. We also find two apparent cases of intermarriage among the marriage contracts at Elephantine from the fifth century, in the context of what John Ray and Ian Stern described as a Judean community with a high level of ethnic boundary maintenance, relative to surrounding groups in Late period Egypt.[35] Stern contrasts this situation with that in late Persian and early Hellenistic period Idumea and Judah, which he claims was marked instead by low ethnic tension, intense ethnic integration, and low ethnic boundary maintenance, based on a revealing study of names in the fourth- and third-century ostraca.[36] To put it in a less academic way, there appears to have been a lot of mingling going on between Judeans and foreigners. Judging by some of their writings, our priests were not impressed. There is onomastic evidence suggesting that a similar situation obtained at Al-Yahudu on the Euphrates. The fact that, in both Idumea and Al-Yahudu, people with Yahwistic names quite regularly named their children after foreign deities, and vice versa, suggests not only that intermarriage was occurring, but also that the Judean communities near and far from Judah were not as revolted by foreign gods as our priests would have liked.

I wish to propose that it was in the midst of a political and social situation like the one just described that our learned priests resolved to take action by developing a new sort of literature. Their decision grew from a wish to offer the people of Judah, and Israel more broadly, a paradigm for how to live in a way faithful to their God and his laws in light of the challenging political and cultural conditions that prevailed under the Persians and/or Greeks. This literature would provide guidance, encouragement, hope, and even a sense of national pride. The decision also grew from a strong desire to reinforce the legitimacy of the Aaronic priesthood and its teachings, which our priests no doubt considered to be a force for great good among their people.

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34 Concern over interactions with, and influence by, foreigners is reflected especially in Ezra 9–10 and Neh 13.

35 John D. Ray, "Jews and Other Immigrants in Late Period Egypt," in *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond*, ed. Janet H. Johnson, SAOC 51 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1992), 273. Stern, "Population of Persian-Period Idumea," 234.

36 Stern, "Population of Persian-Period Idumea," 220–25.

This literature would be grounded firmly in the older Hebrew ancestral stories, but would extend and reshape them for the purpose of addressing the trying times in which Judeans and other Israelites now found themselves. Such extending and reshaping would be accomplished primarily through the medium of entertaining, didactic narratives focused on human or angelic characters, who could speak to readers directly in the first-person voice, much as Ahiqar and Darius did in the texts already known by our priests. Many of the characters would be those found in the ancestral writings now comprising the Pentateuch, especially the books of Genesis and Exodus—figures like Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Sarah, and Levi—but other characters could also be developed. Our priests would write, for example, of the pious Tobit, his son Tobiah, and his eventual daughter-in-law Sarah. There were also Daniel, Patireza, and Bagasrav, all of whom are portrayed serving in the Babylonian and Persian royal courts. In fact, our priests tended to cluster their writings around two historical eras, that of Israel's nomadic patriarchs and matriarchs, and that of the exile.[37] Why did they do so? In my opinion, it was because these two eras provided especially relevant analogies to the present situation insofar as they were times in Israel's past when political autonomy, and therefore the ability to set and enforce broad societal norms, did not exist. As a result, the periods of the patriarchs and matriarchs, on the one hand, and of the exile, on the other, provided literary settings especially fitting to Judeans living in the Persian and Hellenistic periods.

Many characters in this literature would offer positive portrayals of wisdom and fidelity to the Most High God in the face of various trials posed by a social setting in which foreign peoples and gods dominated. These paradigmatic figures offered a response to their surroundings through righteous actions and words, thereby providing a clever, compelling literary device for conveying priestly teachings to listeners. However, not all of the characters were protagonists; there were also antagonists, who provided negative examples of corruption and wickedness, much as Nadin did in the Ahiqar story, or the liars and evildoers did in Darius' Bisitun inscription. We may think, for example, of the errant watchers and giants of Enoch's time, or the rival sages in the tales about Daniel and Bagasrav.

Our priests chose to write in a polished, literary Aramaic of a quality and register similar to that used for Ahiqar and the Bisitun edict, though adapted

37 As already noted in Jonathan Ben-Dov, "Hebrew and Aramaic Writing in the Pseudepigrapha and the Qumran Scrolls: The Ancient Near Eastern Background and the Quest for a Written Authority," *Tarbiz* 78 (2009): 27–60 (in Hebrew); Devorah Dimant, "Themes and Genres," 15–45; Tigchelaar, "Aramaic Texts from Qumran," 155–71.

slightly to its creative purpose by incorporating words and ideas from the Hebrew national literature where needed.[38] This choice of language was due, at least in part, to the fact that these writings would be aimed at a wide audience, perhaps not limited to Judeans only, but accessible to all from Israel who served the God Most High and claimed Jerusalem and its Aaronic priesthood as specially chosen by God.[39] In Aramaic, these writings could be read and understood in a house of worship overlooking the Nile, under the shade of Borsippa's ziggurat, in an agricultural town on the border of Samaria, and even in parts of Anatolia. Aramaic was also the international prestige language, not yet eclipsed by Greek in most of these areas. As such, the production of a national literature in Aramaic could only result in Judeans accruing intellectual prestige in the eyes of the ruling elite and other ethnic groups.[40] This is supported by the fact that foreign rulers in these texts tended to be cast in a favorable or neutral light.

Part Two: Connecting the Hypothetical Scenario and the Qumran Aramaic Texts

I find a historical scenario like that sketched above to explain most fully and compellingly the raison d'être and literary character of a large majority of the Aramaic writings that were kept, studied, and perhaps copied at Qumran. I realize, of course, that my scenario is hypothetical, but I have worked to ground it in the textual and archaeological data available to us, informed by the interpretive work of scholars whose focus is the Persian and Hellenistic eras. In the remainder of this article, I aim to pair some salient points of my hypothetical scenario with the relevant Qumran texts. I do so in hopes of illustrating how the texts, in fact, led me to the scenario, and how texts and scenario can be

38 For a general characterization of the Aramaic of the Qumran texts, see Edward M. Cook, "The Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, ed. Peter Flint and James C. VanderKam (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1:359–78. On the Hebrew admixture exhibited in the texts, manifest mostly in the borrowing of isolated vocabulary, see Christian Stadel, "Hebrew Influences on the Language of the Aramaic Qumran Scrolls," *Meghillot* 8–9 (2010): 393–407 [in Hebrew].

39 This point has been made in the past, though not with specific reference to the corpus of Aramaic texts from Qumran, by Bickerman, *Jews in the Greek Age*, 51; Wacholder, "Ancient Judaeo-Aramaic Literature," 273; Michael O. Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Cave 11*, SAOC 49 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1990), 84–86.

40 This point has been made recently by Reed ("Writing Jewish Astronomy," 36) with reference to the Astronomical Book of Enoch.

mutually illuminating. I will gather my remaining discussion under six points, touching upon ways in which the Aramaic texts kept at Qumran are interconnected by style and content.

2.1 *Many of the Qumran Aramaic Texts Were Written by Learned Priests, Who Actively Promoted the Pedigree of the Aaronic Priesthood*

A number of factors converge to suggest that priests composed most, if not all, of the Aramaic Qumran texts, a judgment that agrees with most scholarship on the topic. To begin, very few members of Judean society would have been trained in the scribal skills and intellectual traditions required to compose sophisticated, fairly lengthy literary works such as the Book of Giants, Aramaic Levi Document, or Tobit. Considerable research has been done on literacy rates during the Second Temple period and shortly thereafter, with suggested percentages of those who could read in this heavily agricultural society, with no public educational system, ranging between 3 and 10 percent.[41] If this is the case, say, for the ability to read at a basic level and write one's own signature, we can assume that the percentage of the population who could write something like the Astronomical Book of Enoch or the New Jerusalem text was negligible, falling well under one percent. Consider, for example, that whoever wrote the Genesis Apocryphon had knowledge of the names of the Nile Delta branches, and intimate familiarity with the so-called Ionian map of the world, also known from Strabo and Dionysius Periegetes.[42] The authors

41 Of course, many of those working on this topic have struggled with the difficulty of how to define "literacy," something that I do not presume to resolve here. Catherine Hezser (see reference below) discusses a more robust "literacy," including "the ability to read documents, letters, and 'simple' literary texts in at least one language, and to write more than one's signature oneself," and a more restricted "literacy," comprising "the ability to read a few words and sentences and to write one's own signature only." William V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), proposed a 10 percent literacy rate in the ancient Greco-Roman world, generally speaking. Catherine Hezser, *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine*, TSAJ 81 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 496, argued that this number may, in fact, be too high for Roman Palestine, based in part on the estimate of Meir Bar-Ilan, "Illiteracy in the Land of Israel in the First Centuries C.E.," in *Essays in the Social Scientific Study of Judaism and Jewish Society*, ed. Simcha Fishbane, Jack N. Lightstone, and Victor Levin (New York: Ktav, 1992), 2:46–61 (55), that literacy was under 3 percent at that time and place. For discussion and further bibliography, see Chris Keith, *Jesus' Literacy: Scribal Culture and the Teacher from Galilee*, LNTS 413 (London: T & T Clark, 2011), 73–75.

42 Daniel A. Machiela, "Some Egyptian Elements in the Genesis Apocryphon: Evidence of a Ptolemaic Social Location?" *AS* 8 (2010): 47–69 (50–59); idem, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20): A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17*, STDJ 79 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 105–30.

of the Astronomical Book could handle scientific descriptions derived from Mesopotamia, the authors of Tobit knew the Ahiqar story, those who wrote Dan 3 were acquainted with the names of Greek musical instruments, and the writers of Jews in the Persian Court drew from the language of Darius' Bisitun decree.[43] Many of these texts show close familiarity with the language and customs of the royal Persian or Hellenistic court, including the conventions of writing official decrees and correspondences (e.g., Book of Giants).[44] In addition, the authors of these texts had a very impressive command of late Achaemenid- or Hellenistic-period literary Aramaic, adeptly weaving language and concepts from the ancestral Hebrew texts into their work. Who would have had access to such knowledge and skills? It is true that we need not strictly limit this small group to priests. One might think, for example, of those non-priests who had scribal duties linked to civic administration, or others holding high positions of authority within governmental structures—people like Nehemiah, or those belonging to the Tobiad and Sanballat households in the Transjordan and Samaria. Nevertheless, the evidence points to priests comprising a large portion of those in Judean society during the Second Temple period who were able to compose a text like Visions of Amram or the tales of Daniel. An additional, even decisive, element suggesting that priests wrote much of this literature is its content. This is, perhaps, seen most readily in the three works that Hanna Tervanotko has called a "trilogy of testaments," that is, the

43 See, respectively, Jonathan Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years: Astronomy and Calendars at Qumran in Their Ancient Context*, STDJ 78 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), esp. 245–87; Jonas C. Greenfield, "Ahiqar in the Book of Tobit," in *De la Torah au Messie: Études d'exégèse et d'herméneutique bibliques offertes à Henri Cazelles*, ed. Maurice Carrez, Joseph Doré, and Pierre Grelot (Paris: Desclée, 1981), 329–36; Pierre Grelot, "L'orchestre de Daniel III 5, 7, 10, 15," *VT* 29 (1979): 23–38; and Émile Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4.XXVII: Textes araméens, deuxième partie, 4Q550–575a, 4Q580–4Q587 et appendices*, DJD 37 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009), 16–17.

44 On the use of a standard, official letter format by the giants (particularly the phrase "May it be known," ידיע להוא, also found in other Qumran Aramaic texts), see Lutz Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters and the Beginning of Christian Epistolography*, WUNT 298 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 170–74. A potentially useful model for thinking about how priests came to this knowledge is put forward by Rolf Strootman, "Babylonian, Macedonian, King of the World: The Antiochus Cylinder from Borsippa and Seleukid Imperial Integration," in *Shifting Social Imaginaries in the Hellenistic Period: Narrations, Practices, and Images*, ed. Eftychia Stavrianopoulou, Mnemosyne Supplements 363 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 67–97, and further developed with respect to a Jewish context by Honigman, "Intercultural Exchanges in the Hellenistic East." Strootman and Honigman discuss the royal "outer court" and local cults and temples as places of dynamic intellectual and cultural exchange among social elites.

Aramaic Levi Document, the Testament of Qahat, and the Visions of Amram.[45] Ever since Milik's initial suggestion that these three texts comprise a trilogy, scholars have noted the many interconnections between them, and their central interest in the line of Levi leading to Aaron and Moses.[46] In Aramaic Levi, stress is placed on the divine gift of the priesthood to Levi's family, and all three texts highlight the importance of cultivating wisdom and truth, which will lead to proper conduct. These three texts employ first-person, didactic addresses from a father to his children, something that clearly links them with other Aramaic texts like the Enochic works, the Genesis Apocryphon, Tobit, 4Q537 (Testament of Jacob), and 4Q539 (Testament of Joseph).[47] This general didactic posture, reflected in so much of the Qumran Aramaic literature, may be yet another indicator of priestly authorship, for priests are repeatedly portrayed in earlier Hebrew writings as those who instruct Israel in God's commands.[48] Before moving onto my next point, I merely observe that decidedly priestly interests extend well beyond the three texts just discussed. For example, the New Jerusalem text, 4Q537, Genesis Apocryphon, and Tobit, are a few of the other Aramaic texts that show an interest in cultic matters and the centrality of Jerusalem and its temple.[49]

2.2 *Many of the Qumran Aramaic Texts Were Most Likely Written in Judea during the Late Persian to Hellenistic Periods*

Until recently, there has been a tendency to treat Aramaic texts from Qumran in isolation from one another, or in small groupings, and this has led to a variety of conflicting suggestions as to their places of composition. For example,

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45 Hanna Tervanotko, "A Trilogy of Testaments? The Status of the Testament of Qahat versus Texts Attributed to Levi and Amram," in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the Scriptures*, ed. Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, BETL 270 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 41–59.

46 Józef T. Milik, "4QVisions de 'Amram et une citation d'Origène," *RB* 79 (1972): 77–97 (96–97); Henryk Drawnel, "Priestly Education in the *Aramaic Levi Document* (*Visions of Levi*) and *Aramaic Astronomical Book*," *RevQ* 22 (2006): 547–74; idem, "The Literary Form and Didactic Content of the *Admonitions* (*Testament*) *of Qahat*," in *From 4QMMT to Resurrection: Mélanges qumraniens en hommage à Émile Puech*, ed. Florentino García Martínez, Annette Steudel, and Eibert Tigchelaar, STDJ 61 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 55–73; idem, "The Initial Narratives of the *Visions of Amram* and Its Literary Characteristics," *RevQ* 24 (2010): 517–54 (522); Joseph L. Angel, *Otherworldly and Eschatological Priesthood in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 86 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 46–55.

47 Authorship by priests has often been argued for parts or all of 1 Enoch (see, e.g., the discussion in George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108*, Hermeneia [Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2001], 67).

48 Fraade, "They Shall Teach Your Statutes to Jacob."

49 Robert E. Jones is currently working on a comprehensive study of this topic, as part of his doctoral dissertation at McMaster University.

composition of the Aramaic tales of Daniel and Tobit has fairly often been placed by scholars in the eastern diaspora, since their literary settings and social concerns are focused on that locale.[50] Contrast this with the Visions of Amram, 1 Enoch, or the Genesis Apocryphon, which have instead been situated by most scholars working on the texts in various parts of Palestine.[51] I would propose, based on my prior judgment that much of the Aramaic Qumran corpus is the product of a coordinated literary effort, that we ought to test the hypothesis that these texts were written in a common social location, which probably (though not by necessity) implies a common geographic location.[52] To my mind, the most likely place for this literary activity is Judah, and more specifically Jerusalem. At times, there has seemed to be a tacit assumption that the literary setting of a work must directly reflect its compositional setting, but I do not find it difficult to imagine a group of priests in Jerusalem, who were exceptionally well-educated and perhaps also well-travelled, writing about Israelites living in Egypt or Babylon. In fact, I would argue that it is precisely because these priests were striving to write *for* those associated with Israel, from Egypt to Babylon and at all places in between, that this diversity of settings occurs in these texts.

I will spend little time discussing the timeframe during which these texts were composed, in large part because the late Persian to Hellenistic periods have emerged as the consensus of scholars working on both individual texts and the corpus as a whole.[53] This consensus is based on a consideration of several factors, one being the contents of the scrolls. As already noted, a number of texts are focused on the situation of the Assyrian to Persian exiles, yet they

50 On Daniel, see John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1993), 47–48. An up-to-date survey of the bibliography on Tobit can be found in Francis M. Macatangay, *The Wisdom Instructions in the Book of Tobit* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 285–86; George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2011), 34. Recently, more scholars have opted for a compositional setting in Palestine (e.g., Fitzmyer, Dimant, Macatangay).

51 There are, of course, exceptions to this trend. See, for example, the defense of a Babylonian compositional setting for the Book of Watchers, and apparently also the Astronomical Book and Aramaic Levi Document, by Henryk Drawnel, "Knowledge Transmission in the Context of the Watchers' Sexual Sin with Women in 1 Enoch 6–11," *The Biblical Annals* 2 (2012): 123–51.

52 For some of my prior work along these lines, see Machiela and Perrin, "Tobit and the Genesis Apocryphon;" Machiela, "Aramaic Writings," 113–34; idem, "Coherence and Context," 243–58; idem, "Hellenistic Period Witnesses," 147–56; idem, "Wisdom Motifs," 223–47; idem, "Situating the Aramaic Texts," 88–109.

53 As reflected, for example, in the assessment of Collins, "Aramaic Texts from Qumran," 548–49.

betray in various details that they were written looking back at that period of Israel's history. Another factor is the guarded embrace of the foreign ruling authorities in a number of these texts, something that disappears or reverses during and after the late Seleucid period. Finally, we may add that the type of Aramaic used in our scrolls reflects a late Persian or Hellenistic milieu, though this criterion must be used with caution given the propensity of scribes to update certain linguistic traits during the process of transmission. It has often been noted that the historical-fictional character of these texts means they lack the internal historical references that we find, for example, in the Pesharim texts from Qumran. In the absence of such clear indicators, a generalized dating to the late Persian to Hellenistic periods is the best we can do.

2.3 *Many of the Qumran Aramaic Texts Were Written to a Wide Audience of Judeans and Others Identifying with Israel*

The question of the intended audience of the Aramaic scrolls is an important and fascinating one. On the one hand, scholars such as Elias Bickerman, Ben-Zion Wacholder, John Collins, and Devorah Dimant have observed that many of these texts seem to be addressed to a wide Judean audience.[54] On the other hand, Henryk Drawnel has argued that these texts were written by priests for priests, highlighting the priestly character and shared didactic features of the Aramaic Levi Document and Astronomical Book of Enoch.[55] According to Drawnel, these are works intended to educate young priests in basic astronomical and calendrical knowledge derived from Babylonian sources, with an eye towards teaching them how the calendar works. I fully agree with the priestly character and shared features of these two texts, features that, I might add, extend to many others among the Qumran Aramaic corpus. Yet I remain skeptical of the idea that some texts were written exclusively for internal, priestly study. For one thing, the repetitive, mathematical sections on which Drawnel focused account for only a portion of these works, both of which are framed as narratives with apocalyptic features. Aside from calendrical computation, Aramaic Levi includes entertaining, moralistic autobiographical tales, one or two apocalyptic visions, and a long wisdom poem delivered on the occasion of

54 Bickerman, *Jews in the Greek Age*, 51; Wacholder, "Ancient Judaeo-Aramaic Literature," 273; Dimant, "The Qumran Aramaic Texts and the Qumran Community," 198–99; Collins, "Aramaic Texts from Qumran," 553–54. A number of scholars make this point obliquely, by noting that the Aramaic texts lack the "sectarian" features marking some of the Hebrew literature from Qumran.

55 Drawnel, "Priestly Education." See also Henryk Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Aramaic Levi Document*, JSJSup 86 (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

Joseph's death, listing the benefits of imitating his conduct among foreigners and praising the incomparable value of wisdom in language strongly reminiscent of parts of Proverbs and Job 28. We must also keep in mind the interconnections of Aramaic Levi with the Testament of Qahat, Visions of Amram, and other texts like Tobit and the Genesis Apocryphon, none of which seem as obviously aimed at priests-in-training. All of these factors suggest that the scientific and mathematical material in Jewish Aramaic literature was framed in such a way as to appeal to non-specialist, even popular audiences.[56] Such material is presented as specially revealed divine knowledge given to heroes of the past and eventually guarded by priests, and I wonder if sections like those highlighted by Drawnel serve a purpose akin to the lists of angels or the cosmic tour in the Book of Watchers, the long geographic descriptions of the Genesis Apocryphon, or the tedious architectural reports of the New Jerusalem text. These parts of the stories lend an awe-inspiring, numinous quality to the texts in which they are found, and give wide-eyed listeners a glimpse into the realm of revealed wisdom.[57]

Perhaps it has been noticed that I vacillate in this paper between speaking of a Judean audience and an Israelite one. My hesitancy on this score is due to a palpable blend of Judeo-centrism and what I take as a broader call to Israel among the texts when viewed as a corpus. On the one hand, Jerusalem and its temple feature prominently in Tobit, Dan 6, 4Q537, and the New Jerusalem text, suggesting a form of Judeo-centrism. Judeans are also the central characters in Daniel, Jews in the Persian Court, and the Prayer of Nabonidus. On the other hand, Tobit is focused on a family of Naphtalites, and texts concentrated on the patriarchs and matriarchs betray no sustained interest in Judah, while displaying a fair bit of interest in the wider borders of the land granted to Abram. Indeed, these texts are full of characters that could stimulate veneration and emulation by anyone associated with Israel, and worshipping the God Most High. I see two basic ways of explaining this perceived tension. The first is that we find here a point of incoherence in the Aramaic literature, speaking against

56 This point receives some support from the studies of Katharina Volk (*Manilius and His Intellectual Background* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009], 25–27) in the Greek tradition, discussed by Reed, "Writing Jewish Astronomy," 26. The basic interest of this material for a non-priestly audience is also suggested by the Astronomical Book's reception history in 1 Enoch.

57 This can be coordinated with the "lists of revealed things" discussed at length by Michael E. Stone in his influential article, "Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature," in *Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God. Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright*, ed. Frank Moore Cross, Werner E. Lemke, and Patrick D. Miller (New York: Doubleday, 1976), 414–52. See also Reed, "Writing Jewish Astronomy," 31–33.

the common background advocated in this paper. According to this view, some of the Aramaic Qumran literature is exclusively Judean in its origin or intended audience, and the rest is not. The implied difference in audience might then suggest an equivalent disparity in the geographic or social locations in which various texts were composed. A second explanation is that the priests writing this literature were Judeans who considered that province to be the center of worship and governance for the people of Israel, but who wished to reach a wider audience that was not exclusively Judean. This attitude towards Judah and Jerusalem is reflected regularly in Persian- and Hellenistic-period writings, such as in Nehemiah's and Daniel's prayers in Neh 1 and Dan 6.[58] I favor this explanation, and find compelling evidence for its acceptance in a number of places among the Aramaic Qumran texts. This is most clearly seen in the book of Tobit, which is focused on a family of Naphtalites living under Assyrian rule, yet at the same time accords a special place to Jerusalem, with its temple and priests.[59] A supporting factor is the many demonstrable literary interconnections between a group of texts like Tobit, the Genesis Apocryphon, and the Aramaic Levi Document, a topic addressed recently by Devorah Dimant and Andrew Perrin.[60] Despite their many undeniable literary affinities, one of these texts—Tobit—shows a clear interest in Jerusalem and its sacrificial cult, while the others do not, at least not in what remains for us to analyze.

In the final evaluation, I remain skeptical of the argument that some of the Qumran Aramaic texts were intended for priests only, while others were meant for a wider audience of both Judeans and those associating themselves with the people of Israel. If this scenario were the case, the texts could be said to bear affinities suggesting a related compositional background, but also reflecting a diversity of intended audiences. However, I suspect that all of this literature was meant to be dispersed as widely as possible among those of Israelite descent, which surely included many moderately-educated priests and Levites helping to oversee and teach communities in the diaspora.[61]

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58 Note that, as in Neh 1:8–9, this Judeo-centrism is sometimes combined with an acknowledgement that God's people are scattered across a wide geographical domain.

59 Tob 1:3–9; 13:7–17; 14:3–9. There is clear evidence that the final chapters of Tobit, along with their praise of Jerusalem, are present in our earliest copies of the book, i.e. those found at Qumran.

60 Andrew B. Perrin, "Tobit's Context and Contacts in the Qumran Aramaic Anthology," *JSP* 25 (2015): 23–51; Devorah Dimant, "Tobit and the Qumran Aramaic Texts," in *Is There a Text in This Cave? Studies in the Textuality of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of George J. Brooke*, ed. Ariel Feldman, Maria Cioată, and Charlotte Hempel, STDJ 119 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 371–84.

61 The fact that scientific and mathematical material can be viewed as part of a broad education finds some support in the recent study of Annette Y. Reed, who proposed the

2.4 *Many Qumran Aramaic Texts Adopted and Promoted an Accommodationist Attitude toward Foreigners and Ruling Powers*

Another trait of this literature hinting at an orientation toward a wide audience is its guarded openness towards foreign peoples and social contexts. The most blatant evidence of this openness is found in the court tales, which, with the Qumran discoveries, we can now see became incredibly popular on the Judean literary scene during the late Persian and Hellenistic periods. The Aramaic tales of Daniel, the so-called pseudo-Daniel texts, Jews in the Persian Court, Prayer of Nabonidus, Four Kingdoms, Tobit, Genesis Apocryphon, and the Aramaic Levi Document all adapt a similar literary model depicting virtuous Judeans, Israelites, or proto-Israelites who find success in the court of a foreign king.[62] Some of these texts are very fragmentary, but a theme evident in most of the better-preserved examples is the adherence of the courtier to ancestral principles in the face of pressure to abandon them. The result, quite surprisingly, is inevitably that faithfulness leads to the foreign king recognizing and placing himself under the power of the God of Israel. God, however, is never called by such an ethnocentric title in the Aramaic texts (e.g., the Tetragrammaton is not once used in the entire corpus), but is instead referred to with more generalized designations like Most High (עליון) or Lord of heaven and earth (מרה שמיא וארעא).[63] A slightly subtler approach to foreigners is found in the Aramaic Levi Document and the Testament of Qahat, both of which have the patriarchs address the topic of foreigners in discourses to their children. In the wisdom poem at the end of the Aramaic Levi Document, Levi informs his children that following the wise example of his brother Joseph will result in the accrual of honour, friends, well-wishers, and the recognition of kings in a foreign land. At the same time, Levi repeatedly stresses that his children should not be like a "foreigner" or "one who is mixed" (ולא דמ[ה בה ל]נכרי ולא דמה בה

analogy of Greek *paideia* to the Jewish Aramaic literature of the Hellenistic period, using the specific example of the Astronomical Book of Enoch. She writes that "[j]ust as the curriculum of *enkyklios paideia* (i.e., common education) encompassed Greek grammar and literature but also astronomy and mathematics, so Jewish scribes writing in Aramaic in the early Hellenistic age recast Israel's past in the image of an educational ideal that includes both scribal literacy and detailed technical knowledge about the structure and workings of the cosmos" ("Writing Jewish Astronomy," 37). I am not convinced that this didactic posture would exclude non-priests.

62 Some motifs of this model were clearly picked up in Jewish-Greek texts like the Letter of Aristeas, which is quite possibly contemporary with some of our Aramaic literature. In my opinion, the interconnections between these groups of Jewish texts (Aramaic and Greek) may prove fruitful in future research.

63 See Daniel A. Machiela, "Lord or God? Tobit and the Tetragrammaton," *CBQ* 75 (2013): 463–72.

לבילי).[64] This very theme, using the identical pair of terms, is repeated by Qahat in an address to his children (he was apparently listening!), nicely demonstrating the tension present in the court tales between integration, on the one hand, and fidelity to God and ancestral tradition, on the other.[65] The theme of accommodation in so many of the Aramaic texts makes me wonder if, in addition to my suggestions about an Israelite audience above, these texts may have been written with the intention that they could be "overheard," and even appreciated, by those outside of Israel, such as high-level foreign officials in the royal service. Far from poorly-written literature, these texts could no doubt compete on a literary level with internationally-regarded works like Ahiqar. They were composed in polished Aramaic of the late Achaemenid style (much like Ahiqar), and were often highly entertaining.[66]

A different, more oblique sort of openness to foreign knowledge is detected in the incorporation of many "foreign" elements into the Aramaic literature. Gilgamesh and Humbaba make appearances in the Book of Giants, a Greek world map is adopted in the Genesis Apocryphon, Ahiqar and Nadin are transformed into Naphtalites in Tobit (Nadin being renamed the more appropriate Nadav), and so on. The authors of this literature, it would seem, have no problem with a foreign admixture in their compositions. On the contrary, they take these traditions and reshape them so that they are domesticated and re-ascribed to the God Most High, in a way that reminds us of what Philo of Alexandria did some time later when he placed the Greek philosophical tradition within the purview of Mosaic revelation at Sinai.

Incidentally, it is difficult to imagine literature like this being written in the waning, deteriorating years of Seleucid rule, or during the Hasmonean period, a factor that again recommends its having been written largely before that time. These events of the first half of the second century BCE likely explain the demise of this type of literature in Aramaic, at which time we see a rise in more

64 For the text and commentary, see Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary*, SVTP 19 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 104–105, 211–12. For the correct understanding of the word כילי in this text, see Edward M. Cook, "Remarks on the Testament of Kohath from Cave 4," *JJS* 44 (1993): 205–19 (209).

65 4Q542 1 i 5–6: אל תתנו ירתתכון לנכראין ואחנסותכון לכילאין, "Do not give your inheritance to foreigners, or your rightful possession to those who are mixed."

66 In thinking about the possible early audiences of this literature, I have found the work of James C. Scott on "hidden transcripts" and resistance literature to be quite generative. Scott envisions a scenario in which literature can be aimed simultaneously at those outside and inside of a community, but with the intention of different messages being received by each group. See James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990).

internally-focused Hebrew literature, an example of this being the sectarian Essene writings, also found at Qumran.

2.5 *Many of the Qumran Aramaic Texts Are Hortatory, Providing Messages of Encouragement and Hope*

One of the most pervasive characteristics of the Qumran Aramaic texts is their intense interest in apocalyptic revelation. When I say apocalyptic, I am not referring only to works adhering to the genre "apocalypse," as laid out in *Semeia* 14 and subsequently adjusted by John Collins and others, though a handful of our Aramaic texts do fit such a definition.[67] Rather, I refer to a broad impulse to present the reader with divine knowledge normally inaccessible to humans. This knowledge, we discover, was revealed to only the wisest, most upright individuals, featuring prominently Enoch, Noah, and Daniel. The knowledge is derived primarily from dream-visions bestowed on these worthy individuals, and is in some cases written down in books for posterity.[68] These books, too, we learn were carefully guarded by those in a line of worthy successors. Time and time again, we encounter such knowledge in the Qumran Aramaic texts, and, as Perrin has shown, there are several categories to which this knowledge can be assigned.[69] One such category is revelation tied to the divine election of the Aaronic priesthood and its cultic duties. This is seen, for example, in the Aramaic Levi Document and strongly supports the idea of priestly authorship discussed above. I would like to highlight, however, another strand of apocalyptic revelation that for the purposes of this paper I describe as hortatory. This is the sort of revelation found in the so-called 'historical' and 'otherworldly journey' apocalypses of John Collins, which show that the Most High God is in absolute, unassailable control of the cosmos and all of human history, both of these realms being ordered according to his mysterious purposes. We find such revelation in the Enochic Book of Watchers, Book of Dreams, Apocalypse of Weeks, Animal Apocalypse, Birth of Noah, Book of Giants, Words of Michael, Genesis Apocryphon, New Jerusalem, Apocryphon of Levi, Dan 2, 5, and 7, Pseudo-Daniel, the Son of God text, Four Kingdoms, and several other, more fragmentary texts (4Q556, 556a, 557, 558). The striking similarity of the apocalyptic material spread across these texts suggests both a shared compositional milieu, and the great importance of this theme

67 I have dealt more extensively with this topic in "Aramaic Writings," and "Hellenistic Period Witnesses."

68 See Andrew B. Perrin, *The Dynamics of Dream-Vision Revelation in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls*, JAJSup 19 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015).

69 Perrin, *The Dynamics of Dream-Vision Revelation*.

for their authors. In the context of the late Persian and Hellenistic periods, the message of such revelation is not difficult to grasp: Despite what must have seemed like a helpless situation for God's people, with impossibly powerful foreign kingdoms apparently in control of Israel's destiny, such control was just that—apparent. Our texts reveal the "true situation," as seen from a divine perspective usually reserved for God and his angels. Israel's God has created everything, including those foreign kingdoms, which do only what he allows them to do. The heavens and earth run perfectly according to his plan, as does all of human history, which will culminate in the administration of justice that at present seems to be absent. At its core, this is a strong message of comfort and hope for those belonging to Israel and worshipping the Most High God. As noted above, I understand this broad message to be one function of the "scientific" material restricted by Drawnel to priestly education.

2.6 *Many of the Qumran Aramaic Texts Are Didactic, Addressing Areas of Social and Religious Concern for Their Authors*

The hortatory facet of the Aramaic literature just described fits into its broader didactic posture. This posture is seen clearly in the literary mode adopted by nearly all of the Jewish Aramaic compositions mentioned above. It is truly remarkable how many of these texts use the first-person voice for extended narration in a way that reaches out to the reader or listener, though it is not uncommon for third-person narration occasionally to break this pattern within a text, or to frame the first-person narration. This technique is used in Dan 4 and 7, the Book of Watchers, Book of Giants, Birth of Noah, Aramaic Levi, Apocryphon of Levi, Words of Michael, Genesis Apocryphon, Tobit, and many more. It is important to recognize that these narrative features are not widespread in preceding or subsequent Hebrew literature, such as the books of the Hebrew Bible or the Qumran sectarian texts, and as a result serve both to unite the Aramaic texts from a literary perspective, and to mark them off from surrounding Jewish textual corpora. I should note again, however, the similarity with other Persian-period writings like Ahiqar and the Bisitun inscription.

The characters speaking in these texts take listeners to remote times and places, offering glimpses of death-bed discourses, fantastic cosmic journeys, discussions between angels, marriage feasts, bedrooms, and the inaccessible courts of royal palaces. They are occasionally sensational, suspenseful, humorous, and even risqué. Many of the texts are also exegetical, providing information that further explains or resolves tensions in the Hebrew texts on which they were based. Amidst all of this, the characters in these texts teach listeners what it looks like to be wise and upright, especially as those who live amidst foreigners. One way in which this happens is through following proper religious

practice, or halakah, as stressed recently by Devorah Dimant with regard to Tobit.[70] To take only the case of Tobit, we may cite that book's fervent promotion of proper marriage, proper burial, prayer, tithing, almsgiving, and the observance of Israelite food laws, all traits exemplified in the book's winsome characters, and shared with a varying assortment of other Aramaic Qumran texts. Dimant and Esther Eshel have stressed, for example, that a deep concern over endogamous marriage extending even to specific Aramaic idioms characterizes not only Tobit, but also the Aramaic Levi Document, Visions of Amram, Testament of Qahat, Genesis Apocryphon, and 1 Enoch.[71] Those reading and hearing these texts would undoubtedly have come away with a strong sense of how they should live through the repeated use of key themes like marriage, care for ancestors after death, and where to draw the lines on interactions with foreigners. Follow the example of Noah, Amram, or Daniel, and prosperity and blessing would be the result. Choose to ignore the divinely revealed teachings of Enoch, Levi, and Qahat about not mixing with foreigners, and one was siding with Melkiresha and the children of darkness. I would submit that these were themes that spoke directly to the Persian- and Hellenistic-period social setting in which many associated with Israel found themselves, a setting consistent with those reflected, for example, in the Hellenistic Idumean ostraca from the archaeological side, or Ezra-Nehemiah from the textual side.

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70 Devorah Dimant, "The Book of Tobit and the Qumran Halakha," in *From Enoch to Tobit: Collected Studies in Ancient Jewish Literature*, FAT 114 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 193–212.

71 Dimant, "Tobit and the Qumran Aramaic Texts"; Esther Eshel, "The Proper Marriage According to the *Genesis Apocryphon* and Related Texts," *Meghillot* 8–9 (2010): 29–51 (in Hebrew).

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Aramaic Traditions from the Qumran Caves and the Palestinian Sources for Part of Luke's Special Material

George J. Brooke

1 Introduction

The thesis of this paper is that some of the special material in Luke's Gospel, often put together under the acronym L,[1] resonates with items which are present in Aramaic sources that have become known from the caves at and near Qumran. It is also important to state what this paper will not do with regard to Luke's sources: it is not an attempt, for example, to revisit any form of a Proto-Luke hypothesis that holds that the Gospel is based on a blend of Q and some other sources into which Luke embedded a number of Markan pericopae.[2] "Questions about Luke's sources must remain unresolved," states Eric Franklin baldly,[3] and I understand such a statement to indicate the probability that a diverse range of material lies behind the Gospel's distinctive passages, despite any overall awareness of coherence in the final form of the text as perceived by modern scholarly readers.[4]

In other words, the proposal of this study is no more than that Luke seems to have had access, directly or indirectly, to a set or sets of Aramaic traditions, either oral or more likely written or possibly both, which he could use

1 E.g., Kim Paffenroth, *The Story of Jesus according to L*, JSNTSup 147 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), which is a strong or maximalist reading of what can be claimed for L for Luke 3–19; in his review Christopher M. Tuckett, *NovT* 41 (1999): 191–92, states: "Paffenroth has made a strong case for the claim that an L source may have existed. Even if the force of the argument varies at different points (as is inevitable), he is fully justified in raising the questions about the origins of Luke's special material and forcing us all to reconsider older stereotypes."

2 To be kept in mind also is the possibility that Q reflects Aramaic traditions of its own; see, e.g., Simon J. Joseph, *The Nonviolent Messiah: Jesus, Q, and the Enochic Tradition* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2014).

3 Eric Franklin, "Luke," in *The Oxford Bible Commentary*, ed. John Barton and John Muddiman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 924.

4 In another study, I have suggested that some parts of L, those with shared traditions with the Fourth Gospel, also have early Judean settings: George J. Brooke, "Luke, John and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *John, Qumran, and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Sixty Years of Discovery and Debate*, ed. Mary L. Coloe and Tom Thatcher, SBLEJL 32 (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2011), 69–91.

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as a resource as he sought to tell and retell his version of the Gospel. If Luke's acquaintance with such material was indirect, then those early Jewish literary traditions could have already been translated in written form from Aramaic to Greek, as is now clearly visible in Judea itself for some of the Enoch materials which are known in both Aramaic from Cave 4 and Greek from Cave 7.[5] Whereas Joseph Fitzmyer in his 1970 presidential address to the Catholic Biblical Association could still feel the need to make a case for Aramaic as the most common spoken language in Palestine at the time of Jesus, his own conclusion that indeed it was has become generally accepted. In addition, there is evidence that Aramaic was used for various technical documentary purposes, even though there is sound testimony for the use of Hebrew and Greek as well.[6] Thus it remains the case that although some traditions might have been most readily known in Aramaic, those same traditions could already also be known in Judea and beyond in Greek.[7]

Two brief introductory remarks will set the scene for this essay which is an attempt to revisit the topic of the background of at least some of the special material in Luke.

First, the Aramaic compositions from the Qumran caves are overwhelmingly or completely non-sectarian religious literature. Although one composition, 4QVisions of Amram^{f} ar (4Q548 1 ii–2 16), does indeed use the label "sons of light," which was later to become a technical designation of the movement, or part of it, which preserved the composition, there is an ongoing debate as to whether that is sufficient evidence that this Aramaic work merits the label "sectarian," and it also seems to be a different composition from the Visions of Amram preserved in 4Q543–547.[8] Rather the case seems to be that the Aramaic corpus from the Qumran caves should be understood as predominantly, even

5 On the Aramaic to Greek phenomenon in Judea in the first centuries BCE and CE see the notable articles by James Barr, "Aramaic-Greek Notes on the Book of Enoch I," *JSS* 23 (1978): 184–98; idem, "Aramaic-Greek Notes on the Book of Enoch II," *JSS* 24 (1979): 179–92. See also Barr's review of Józef T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, *JTS* 29 (1978): 517–30. On issues in retroversion from Greek to Aramaic, especially with regard to the sayings of Jesus, see the cautious remarks by Edward M. Cook, "Qumran Aramaic, Corpus Linguistics, and Aramaic Retroversion," *DSD* 21 (2014): 373–83.

6 Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Languages of Palestine," *CBQ* 32 (1970): 501–31; repr. in idem, *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays*, SBLMS 25 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979), 29–56.

7 It is interesting to note that only Greek and Hebrew are considered as the language of all parts of Luke's infancy narrative by Chang-Wook Jung, *The Original Language of the Lukan Infancy Narrative*, JSNTSup 267 (London: T&T Clark International, 2004), esp. 32, n. 87.

8 Robert R. Duke, *The Social Location of the Visions of Amram (4Q543–547)*, StBibLit 135 (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 35–37.

exclusively, non- or pre-sectarian.[9] It was certainly preserved by some members of the "sectarian" movement in their caves, it was probably read by them with interest, and not just at Qumran, and it is demonstrable that at least some of the ideas of some of the Aramaic works influenced the movement's perspective on various matters.[10] Thus, much of the material in the Aramaic compositions could be used sympathetically by the movement who preserved the compositions in their caves, but it was not narrowly "sectarian" in itself.[11]

Second, ideologically the Aramaic corpus carries some features, though not uniformly, that distinguish it from contemporary Jewish literature in Hebrew or Greek. The distinction is a matter of nuance and emphasis in many cases, rather than having to do with exclusive differences: some of those ideological traits concern a stress on the traditions of the ancestors, an interest in particular priestly lore, especially as that is carried by books and apparently marked by esoteric knowledge rather than competence in sacrificial cultic matters, and there are also somewhat differing perspectives on evil, on angels and on the covenant.[12] It is possible that some of those ideological differences reflect the different cultural context of Aramaic-speaking Jews in the eastern diaspora, but such observations often involve the weighing of multiple factors and rest on several uncertainties, such as where some compositions were actually composed. For 4Q246, for example, a case has been made that its contents

9 The most explicit attempt to map the character of the Aramaic compositions found in the Qumran caves has been made by Devorah Dimant; see especially her essay, "Themes and Genres in the Aramaic Texts from Qumran," in *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran in Aix-en-Provence 30 June–2 July 2008*, ed. Katell Berthelot and Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, STDJ 94 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 15–43; repr. in Devorah Dimant, *History, Ideology and Bible Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Collected Studies*, FAT 90 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 195–218. See also the valuable comments of Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, "Aramaic Texts from Qumran and the Authoritativeness of Hebrew Scriptures: Preliminary Observations," in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism*, ed. Mladen Popović, JSJSup 141 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 155–71, who discusses the possibility of pre-Maccabean Aramaic compositions carrying authority.

10 E.g., the myth of the Watchers is reflected in D (CD 2:14–20).

11 This is also the suitable opinion of John J. Collins, "The Aramaic Texts from Qumran: Conclusions and Perspectives," in Berthelot and Stökl Ben Ezra, *Aramaica Qumranica*, 554–55.

12 Another attempt at outlining some of the distinctive characteristics of the Aramaic material is that of Andrew B. Perrin, *The Dynamics of Dream-Vision Revelation in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls*, JAJSup 19 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015). See also Ariel Feldman, "Patriarchs and Aramaic Traditions," in *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. George J. Brooke and Charlotte Hempel (London: T&T Clark, 2019), 469–80: "the notion of the transmission of knowledge within the patriarchal line is particularly endorsed by the non-sectarian Aramaic texts from Qumran" (p. 478).

echo features of Akkadian texts, but others would rather associate it with pre-Danielic tradition of a different kind.[13]

2 Luke 1:32–35 and 4Q246

Joseph A. Fitzmyer attended a lecture presented by Józef T. Milik at Harvard University in 1972 which included reference to 4Q246. Fitzmyer published an article on the text soon thereafter and the text has been the focus of much discussion ever since because it mentions a figure who is named as "son of God" and "son of the Most High."[14] In fact, such has been the interest in the remains of this composition that it has even been designated as "the Son of God text," though now it is officially known as "246. 4QApocryphe de Daniel ar."[15]

There are two approaches to the referents of the most well-known section of text, and some permutations within those two approaches.[16] The first approach reflects the initial impression of Milik that the referent is negative. For Milik the person behind the claims to divine sonship is a wicked self-promoting person of power, possibly a member of the Seleucid royal line making assertions about his own status or that of an heir to bolster his position. Perhaps out of respect for Milik's original proposals, Émile Puech in his principal edition of the work proposes that the text could refer to Alexander

13 Edward M. Cook, "4Q246," *BBR* 5 (1995): 43–66, has suggested that the background of 4Q246 lies in Akkadian prophecies. Though there may be some few shared features and idioms, overall the criticism of John J. Collins, "The Background of the 'Son of God' Text," *BBR* 7 (1997): 51–62, seems fully justified: Collins argues that Daniel is the immediate correlative for 4Q246.

14 Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Contribution of Qumran Aramaic to the Study of the New Testament," *NTS* 20 (1973–74): 382–407 (391–94); repr. in idem, *A Wandering Aramean*, 85–113 (90–94; with addendum 102–107). Fitzmyer has published further on the text in "The Aramaic 'Son of God' Text from Qumran Cave 4," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects*, ed. Michael O. Wise, Norman Golb, John J. Collins and Dennis G. Pardee, Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722 (New York: The New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 163–78.

15 The principal edition is by Émile Puech, "246. 4QApocryphe de Daniel ar," *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*, ed. James VanderKam, DJD 22 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 165–84.

16 For more detail on the various interpretations of the son of God in 4Q246 see Reinhard Kratz, "Son of God and Son of Man: 4Q246 in the Light of the Book of Daniel," in *Son of God: Divine Sonship in Jewish and Christian Antiquity*, ed. Garrick Allen et al. (University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns, 2019), 9–27; Kratz himself prefers understanding the son of God figure negatively. See also Melissa Sayyad Bach's article in the present volume.

Balas (Alexander Theopator[17] Euergetes), son of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, or possibly to Antiochus Epiphanes himself.[18] Puech sees the text as comparable to Josephus's comment on Caligula: "The insolence with which the emperor Gaius defied fortune surpassed all bounds: he wished to be considered a god and to be hailed (καλεῖσθαι) as such" (*War* 2:184). In one estimate this would be akin for a Jewish author to the hubris of an antichrist.[19]

In subsequent and especially recent scholarship the negative understanding has been adopted by those who pay attention to the structure of the passage as a whole. That the most positive aspect is reserved for the eschatological sovereignty of the people of God was first mapped out extensively by Annette Steudel.[20] A negative understanding is also adopted by Michael Segal and Reinhard Kratz. For Segal, the text builds up a negative sequence: (a) 1:1–8, a time of trial and tribulation under the king(s) of Assyria and Egypt; (b) 1:9–2:2, the so-called "son of God"; (c) 2:2–3 the nations fighting against each other; and (d) 2:4–9, the positive scene of the eschatological sovereignty of the people of God. For Segal, two matters are significant, namely, that it is possible to read the verbal forms in 1:9–2:2 as implying "so-called," and that the titles need to be juxtaposed with the language of Ps 82.[21] Segal's overall proposal, then, is that in the light of Dan 7 in combination with Ps 82 4Q246 makes the so-called son of God likely to be the representative in the divine assembly of the fourth (Greek) kingdom that is about to be destroyed.[22] For Kratz attention to the likely structure of the surviving part of the composition gives a pattern in which the "son of God" is also to be viewed negatively.[23]

The second approach understands the text to be making a positive set of claims for a Jewish king in an apocalyptic context who is represented in the

17 "Theopator" makes Alexander son of a divine father, "son of God."

18 It is such an identification that is adopted by Reinhard Kratz, "Son of God and Son of Man.".

19 David Flusser, "The Hubris of the Antichrist in a Fragment from Qumran," *Imm* 10 (1980): 31–37.

20 Annette Steudel, "The Eternal Reign of God—Collective Expectations in Qumran Texts (4Q246 and 1QM)," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 507–25.

21 Partly because of Ps 82, I have juxtaposed Luke 1:32–35 with John 10:22–39 (where the Psalm is explicitly cited) as an instance of where Luke and John might share some traditional material. In John 10 the association with the Feast of Hanukkah is explicit so that Jesus as God's son is implicitly and antithetically juxtaposed with that of Antiochus Epiphanes: Brooke, "Luke, John and the Dead Sea Scrolls," 83–85.

22 Michael Segal, "Who is the 'Son of God' in 4Q246? An Overlooked Example of Early Biblical Interpretation," *DSD* 21 (2014): 289–312.

23 Reinhard G. Kratz, "Son of God and Son of Man," 24–27.

speech by the speaker as he stands before a foreign king.[24] That was initially articulated by Fitzmyer: "The context of the fragmentary text deals with a political strife, in which the 'son of God' figure is hailed as the harbinger of peace and everlasting dominion, as a bearer of those things associated with the restoration of Davidic kingship."[25] Fitzmyer resists identifying the figure as messianic; others, especially John Collins, have not been so cautious, and possibly justifiably so.[26]

My own preference has been to see that at least one reader of this tradition, if not this actual composition, namely the author of Luke's Gospel, took the nomenclature and several other features of the tradition in a positive and messianic manner, even if they had been inappropriately adopted by a pretender. The correspondences between 4Q246 and the Lukan infancy narrative are striking.[27] In Luke 1:32–35 the same pair of titles occurs together with the phrase "he will be great" (the beginning of verse 32 reads οὗτος ἔσται μέγας καὶ υἱὸς ὑψίστου κληθήσεται; the end of verse 35 reads διὸ καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ἅγιον κληθήσεται υἱὸς θεοῦ). Collins comments that these correspondences are "astonishing" and that "it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Luke is dependent in some way, whether directly or indirectly, on this long-lost text from Qumran."[28] Here, then, in Luke's infancy narrative we have an example of the messianic reading of the text, and a reading that took the figure as an individual. In such a case, depending upon how close one considers Luke to be to the tradition, if it is thought of as originally describing a negative figure, he either misunderstood or deliberately subverted the earlier tradition to make the use of the titles entirely positive. Luke does not seem averse to subversion, since by setting the beginnings of the Gospel in the times of a decree from the Emperor Augustus, he would most likely have known that the title with which he describes Jesus is already claimed by the Emperor himself. If the Son of God figure in 4Q246 is to be read positively, as an eschatological or even messianic figure, then the same result is more easily reached.[29]

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24 A position favoured by John J. Collins in Adela Yarbro Collins and John J. Collins, *King and Messiah as Son of God* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008), 70–73.

25 Fitzmyer, "The Contribution," 106.

26 Adela Yarbro Collins and John J. Collins, *King and Messiah as Son of God*, 65–74, 143–44.

27 It is a moot point whether the Lukan infancy narratives should be seen as part of L or as a separate source. Kim Paffenroth, *The Story of Jesus according to L*, 27–28, sides with those who distinguish Luke 1–2 from the rest of L. Nevertheless, the Palestinian Jewish character of much of Luke 1–2 cannot be denied.

28 Collins, "The Messiah as the Son of God," 155.

29 Hengel, *Son of God* (London: SCM Press, 1976), 45, has stated: "Nor is it possible to rule out a collective interpretation in terms of the Jewish people, like the Son of Man in Dan. 7.13." See, for the collective interpretation, Sayyad Bach's article in the present volume.

Having noted that Luke 1:32–35 resonates with this Aramaic tradition, whether the original intention of the text was negative or positive, it is worth noting that Jesus is called both Son of God and Son of the Most High. The motif of the Son of God occurs again in the opening sections of Luke's Gospel at the baptism of Jesus where its use depends upon Mark, in the genealogy where the sonship eventually involves the descent of Adam from God himself, in the temptation narrative which seems to depend upon Q, and in the summary of his healing ministry in Luke 4:40–41. It is not too far-fetched to suppose that Luke develops his theme of "Son of God" by considering that both Mark and Q need to be supplemented by adding material which can support a reading of Jesus's sonship as that emerges from the application of and reflection upon early Palestinian traditions in Aramaic or in translation from Aramaic.

3 Luke's Genealogy and the Books of Enoch

This section of my presentation is based in large part on the insights of Richard Bauckham in a richly researched book which seems to be seldom referred to, but which has several significant observations about the traditions involving the family of Jesus, *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus in the Early Church*.[30] In Chapter 7 of his book Bauckham writes about the Lukan genealogy of Jesus. His overall concern is to argue that it "is a more important historical document than has generally been appreciated."[31] The history that Bauckham seeks to disclose concerns the circle of the first generation of the *desposynoi*; he explores how the genealogy might incorporate "the family's own tradition of its ancestry."[32] A major contribution of the analysis is an exposition of the Enochic character of various aspects of the genealogy.

There are several features of the Enochic character which, when taken together, suggest strongly that the form of the genealogy that Luke presents is not his own, but is based on Aramaic traditions available to him either directly or indirectly. First, there is the scheme of the genealogy itself. It consists of seventy-seven human generations from Adam to Jesus. Bauckham construes the final words identifying Adam as son of God as Luke's redaction. That might very well be the case, but it is in my opinion a redaction which is in part at least motivated by the inclusion of the titular designations, including Son

30 Richard J. Bauckham, *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus in the Early Church* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1990).

31 Bauckham, *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus*, 315.

32 Bauckham, *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus*, 315.

of God, from another Aramaic tradition (4Q246; see above) in Luke 1:32–35, together with reflection on the need to enhance material taken over from Mark and Q.[33] Most scholars have readily identified the scheme of the genealogy as having eleven sets of seven generations and have proposed that Jesus lies at the turning point to inaugurate the twelfth set, in a scheme designed to reflect on the symbolic significance of twelve. For Bauckham the scheme is not one of incompleteness, but of the completeness of eleven times seven, namely, seventy-seven (cf. Gen 4:24; Matt 18:22). In seventh place in the genealogy stands Enoch himself; such a position is commonly attested in contemporary compositions (1 En. 60:8; 93:3; Jub. 7:39; Jude 14). Bauckham wonders just what the significance might be of the correlation between Enoch as seventh and Jesus as seventy-seventh; if Enoch is special in some way, then Jesus must be special in some ultimate manner. Indeed, such seems to be anticipated inasmuch as the significant name at the forty-ninth, seven times seven, position is also Jesus (Luke 3:29).

For the numerical scheme, it seems that the key base text is to be found in 1 En. 10:12 (4QEn^{b} 1 iv 10). There the archangel Michael is told to bind the Watchers "for seventy generations under the hills of the earth until the [great] day of their judgment."[34] It is likely that the binding is envisaged as taking place after Enoch's ascent, during the lifetime of his son Methuselah. Thus, the last judgement will occur in the seventieth generation thereafter; in the light of such a scheme Jesus is the last generation before the judgement. The schematisation in groups of seven generations is also found in the so-called Apocalypse of Weeks (1 En. 93:3–10; 91:11–17) where the periods from Adam until the judgment are ten; there is a discrepancy with what is implied in 1 En. 10:12 since the Apocalypse of Weeks has counted the first set of seven from Adam to Enoch as part of the overall ten-week scheme. Quite how the Apocalypse of Weeks might have populated each generation with a significant figure requires some use of traditions beyond those also found in scriptural texts; but the Apocalypse is less concerned with named generations and more concerned with key events, such as Sinai, the building and destruction of the Temple, and the identification of its own group and its acquisition of Enochic revelation in the key forty-ninth position, leaving three weeks for the future.

33 Michael Kochenash, "'Adam, son of God' (Luke 3:38): Another Jesus-Augustus Parallel in Luke's Gospel," *NTS* 64 (2018): 307–25, has argued that the implied designation Son of God in Luke 3:38 is a Lukan way of setting Jesus as a counterpart to Augustus who was adopted as divine, implying that Joseph did indeed adopt Jesus.

34 Trans. Michael A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 2:89; with "great" added to the Ethiopic from the Aramaic as in the discussion of the passage by Bauckham, *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus*, 320.

Overall, through its dependence on the Enochic scheme of eleven sets of seven generations, the Lukan genealogy sets judgment imminently in the generation of Jesus's contemporaries. For Bauckham it is no accident that the Letter of Jude 6 echoes the phrase "the great day of their judgment" of 1 En. 10:12: "The angels, too, who did not keep their own position of authority, but abandoned their proper home [cf. 1 En. 12:4; 15:3, 7], he has kept in eternal chains in the nether darkness [cf. 1 En. 10:4–6] until the judgment of the great day."[35] And he further remarks that the reference to Enoch as seventh from Adam in Jude 14 strongly suggests some contact with the key elements that are foundational to the construction of Jesus' genealogy as it features in Luke.[36]

Luke has given a Davidic twist to some aspects of the genealogy. David is named in the final position of the fifth week of generations.[37] Final position in each week seems to be significant. In Luke's list the name Joseph occurs at the end of the sixth and tenth set of seven generations in anticipation of the final Joseph whose son is Jesus. But in a more Enochic style, the third position also seems to carry weight. Third from Adam is Enosh, the founder of prayer, the third in the second set of seven is Noah, the first to offer sacrifice after the flood, third in the seventh and eleventh sets of seven is Levi. Indeed, if the priestly genealogy from Ezra 7:1–5 is encoded alongside that of Luke 3, placing Levi alongside Judah (also in third place, in the fourth set of seven), then Zadok features as third in the sixth set of seven. The discreet prominence of Enosh and Levi in particular echo other Aramaic traditions in which Levi is the heir to priestly lore and the transmitter to Qahat and Amram of such priestly knowledge as might be set down in books. The Aramaic compositions associated with that priestly tradition might well lie behind and even inform Luke's considerable interest in the Temple and inclusive worship. Indeed, much in both the infancy narrative and the final scene of the Gospel are set in the Temple and a concern for inclusive worship seems to lie behind Luke's

35 The presence of "great" in both Aramaic Enoch and Jude indicates Jude's close connection with the Aramaic tradition: see further Richard J. Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter*, WBC 20 (Waco, TX: Word Publishing, 1983), 52–53.

36 Because of the coincidence in Jude of the echo of 1 En. 10:12 and the explicit note there of Enoch as seventh from Adam, Bauckham, *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus*, 364, dares to conclude: "If the genealogy is not the work of Jude himself, it must certainly have come from his circle."

37 Bauckham, *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus*, 328–47, has an extensive treatment of Zerubbabel, first in the ninth set of seven generations. He argues that his title as *rôš* was misread as a proper name by the Aramaic-speaking compiler of the genealogy to give the name Rhesa. The title could well be an assertion that Zerubbabel was indeed understood as the national "leader," the legitimate heir to the Davidic line despite his descent.

interests in shepherds, in Samaritans, in women, and possibly in those whose ailments and disabilities might also exclude them from the cult.

4 The Laying on of Hands

The two examples that have been discussed so far belong to Luke's introductory chapters where there is indeed a greater amount of distinctively Lukan material than in most other parts of the Gospel. However, in Luke 13:10–17 there is a distinctive healing narrative in which Jesus lays his hands on the woman whom he restores; the healing narrative is framed within a Sabbath controversy story.

> Now he was teaching in one of the synagogues on the Sabbath. And just then there appeared a woman with a spirit that had crippled her from eighteen years. She was bent over and quite unable to stand up straight. When Jesus saw her, he called her over and said, "Woman, you are set free from your ailment." When he laid his hands on her, immediately she stood up straight and began praising God. But the leader of the synagogue, indignant because Jesus had cured on the Sabbath, kept saying to the crowd, "There are six days on which work ought to be done; come on those days and be cured, and not on the Sabbath day." But the Lord answered and said, "You hypocrites! Does not each of you on the Sabbath untie his ox or his donkey from the manger, and lead it away to give it water? And ought not this woman, a daughter of Abraham whom Satan bound for eighteen long years, be set free from this bondage on the Sabbath day?" When he said this, all his opponents were put to shame; and the entire crowd was rejoicing at all the wonderful things that he was doing. (NRSV)

This narrative was noticed early on by David Flusser and others because the means of healing used by Jesus seems to echo that of Abram in 1QapGen 20:26–30. The Egyptian king calls Abram and says to him:

> "What have you done to me?! Why were you saying to me 'she is my sister' when she was your wife, so that I took her as a wife for myself?! Here is your wife. Take her, go and get yourself out of every district of Egypt! But now pray over me and my household, that this evil spirit may be driven away from us." So I prayed over [hi]m that I might heal him, and I laid my hands upon his [h]ead. Thus, the affliction was removed from him, and

> the evil [spirit] driven away [from him]. The king recovered, rose up, and gave to me on t[hat da]y many gift[s].[38]

The most recent comprehensive consideration of Luke 13 in the light of the early Aramaic traditions from the Qumran caves has been presented by Daniel Machiela.[39] In my opinion Machiela notes two significant matters. First, in his opinion in some texts it is clear that physical healing and deliverance from an evil spirit belong together as two sides of the same coin.[40] In Luke 13 the healing of the woman is indeed both a physical matter and also the deliverance from an evil spirit that has possessed her; she is said to have a "spirit of infirmity" (cf. Luke 6:18; 8:2, 36). Machiela's insistence on keeping the two aspects together calls into question the preference of some modern commentators to see the combination of features in Luke as indicative of Luke imposing his own editorial concerns on the narrative.[41] In the light of some other Gospel evidence Machiela sees the combination as reflective of the times: "Evidently, the borders between demon possession, physical illness, and the need for healing were blurry ones in the first century."[42] Such a view is underpinned by consideration of similar combined motifs of knowledge about medicine and evil spirits in Jub. 10:11–13, probably based on traditions in 1 En. 1–36.

Second, and of equal importance, is the way that Machiela compares the healing in Luke 13 with Luke's presentation in the triple tradition of the general statements about Jesus's healing activity based on Mark 1:32–34 (// Matt 8:16–17). The parallel passage in Luke 4:40–41 reads "As the sun was

38 Trans. Daniel A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17*, STDJ 79 (Leiden: Brill, 2009): 76–77. Loren Stuckenbruck wonders quite what the process of rebuke or exorcism is in the passage: is it a matter of expulsion from the house or household, or from Pharaoh as an individual? See Loren Stuckenbruck, "'Qumran Aramaic' Today: Reflections on the Contributions in the Issue of Dead Sea Discoveries," *DSD* 21 (2014): 285.

39 Daniel A. Machiela, "Luke 13:10–13: 'Woman, You Have Been Set Free From Your Ailment'—Illness, Demon Possession, and Laying on of Hands in Light of Second Temple Period Jewish Literature," in *The Gospels in First-Century Judaea: Proceedings of the Inaugural Conference of Nyack College's Graduate Program in Ancient Judaism and Christian Origins, August 29th, 2013*, ed. R. Steven Notley and Jeffrey P. García, Jewish and Christian Perspectives 29 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 122–37.

40 Machiela, "Luke 13:10–13," 126, makes an insightful comment on Mark 1:32–34, noting that the NRSV translation imposes on the text an assumption that separates illness from demon possession.

41 Machiela, "Luke 13:10–13," 126, notes, e.g., how Graham H. Twelftree, *Jesus the Exorcist*, WUNT II.54 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1993), 55–56, in his treatment of the passage argues that Luke has edited the tradition for his own interests.

42 Machiela, "Luke 13:10–13," 124.

setting, all those who had any who were sick with various kinds of diseases brought them to him; and he laid his hands on each of them and cured them. Demons also came out of many, shouting, 'You are the Son of God!' But he rebuked them and would not allow them to speak, because they knew that he was the Messiah." In this Lukan version of the summary narrative, the mention of the laying on of hands and the demons' exclamatory confession of Jesus as Son of God are distinctive of Luke. I will return to those matters in a closing section below.

Machiela then proceeds to work through some of the details of the Aramaic counterparts, especially to Luke 13:10–13, including alongside the Genesis Apocryphon the book of Tobit, because it too was initially composed in Aramaic. For the Genesis Apocryphon he has noted several features. First, the plagues that strike Pharaoh and his household are associated with evil spirits, a "pestilential spirit" (20:16), an "evil spirit" (20:16–17), a "spirit of pollutions" (20:26). Second, Harkenosh assumes Abram has power over spirits which the king's magicians and healers do not have (20:21–23), a power that reflects the same kind of specialist knowledge associated with divine favour as is found in Abram's skills in writing, wisdom and truth which make him sought after (19:23–29). Third, Machiela has noted that such power and knowledge are explicitly associated with the figure of Enoch (19:25, 29), not unlike what was said of Noah's insights in Jub. 10. Fourth, two items in the language of the Apocryphon (*smk* and *'tg'r*) are widely held also to lie behind the choice of *epitithēmi* and *epitimaō* (rebuke) as occur in Luke 4:40–41.[43]

The second of those terms, *g'r*, has been the subject of a detailed study by Jan Joosten who has argued that between the use of the root in Hebrew in Zech 3:2 where it does not denote exorcism and its later use on amulets where it does, there is delocution in Aramaic. In Zech 3:2 the Hebrew reads "Yhwh said to the adversary (*haśātān*), 'May Yhwh rebuke you (*yig'ar*), adversary! May Yhwh who has chosen Jerusalem rebuke you!'" Joosten is clear that no exorcism is involved and he even denies the presence of any kind of formulaic use; but the verse was certainly used for exactly such purposes as in early amulets and in b. Ber. 51a when one is threatened by the angel of death. Joosten includes Jude 9 in his list of examples of exorcism, but this is disputed by Loren Stuckenbruck who argues, rightly in my opinion, that Jude 9 only concerns a confrontation between Michael and the adversary in a dispute over the body of Moses, rather than the expulsion of something from the body.[44] Delocution is the derivation

43 On *g'r* see Jan Joosten, "The Verb *g'r* 'to Exorcise' in Qumran Aramaic and Beyond," *DSD* 21 (2014): 347–55.

44 Stuckenbruck, "'Qumran Aramaic' Today," 284–85.

of meaning from formulaic locution; so *g'r* means in effect "to say 'May the Lord rebuke you', to exorcize by reciting Zech 3:2."[45] For Joosten the shift between Zech 3:2 as written and the use of *g'r* in the Genesis Apocryphon in the sense of "exorcize" is an indication that the term had a specificity in religious practice in specifically Jewish circles. The Aramaic of the Genesis Apocryphon has to some extent been judaized.

With particular attention to Luke 13, there are three matters. First, the spirit of infirmity (*pneuma astheneias*) can be juxtaposed with the "spirit of plague" (*rwḥ mkdš*) of the Genesis Apocryphon. Second, Abram's words of healing in the Apocryphon are described as prayer, and that is another strong indicator that it is not necessary to suppose that words of prayer in such narratives in the Gospels are later editorial additions. Third, the order of spoken command, laying on of hands, and healing is common to both the Apocryphon and Luke. All three factors assist in encouraging the view that Luke's narrative concerning the healing of the bent woman reflects not just early tradition but traditions as conveyed in Aramaic. Perhaps of particular pertinence is the way such Aramaic traditions are based on or associated with the role of Raphael who in 1 En. 10:4–9 is charged with healing the earth from the effects of the watchers. That section of 1 Enoch seems to be significant for Luke's genealogy, as mentioned in the previous section of this study.

Overall comparison between 1 Enoch, Tobit, Jubilees, the Genesis Apocryphon and Luke's Jesus prompts Machiela to wonder whether at least some of the differences in the various narratives reflect some kind of understanding that the figures concerned had various levels of authority. Tobiah requires the accompanying assistance of Raphael, but Noah, Abram, and even Jesus seem to be able to function without such assistance, perhaps because they are the heirs of the knowledge of medicine and spirits possessed and passed on by Enoch. Jesus's genealogy indirectly makes the same point, amongst several others.

In the light of what I have juxtaposed in this paper, I am inclined to wonder whether Luke's concern with an Aramaic tradition for the basis of confession of Jesus as Son of God is not itself reinforced twice from reflecting on that very Aramaic tradition, namely in the Enochic-like genealogy in which Jesus's lineage is understood as based on that of the first Son of God, and in Luke 4 in which it is the demons who immediately recognize Jesus in the same way as "Son of God." In between Luke has rehearsed his version of the tradition he has in common with Matthew in which Jesus is tempted by the devil, twice with the words, "If you are the Son of God" (Luke 4:3, 9).

45 Joosten, "The Verb *g'r* 'to Exorcise' in Qumran Aramaic and Beyond," 354.

5 The Location of Such Aramaic Traditions

If it is not possible to conclude anything precise about the literary cohesiveness of the Aramaic sources which Luke seems to reflect in some of his distinctive material, it is also difficult to say anything much about their likely location. Nevertheless, in a 1981 essay George W. E. Nickelsburg wondered about placing various traditions about Enoch, Levi and Peter in Upper Galilee.[46] Nickelsburg highlights how within the three parallel sections of 1 En. 12–16 which are themselves a kind of commentary, as he sees it, on the narrative of the angelic rebellion of 1 En. 6–11, there is geographical specificity: Enoch's journey to the heavenly throne room originates as follows, "I went and sat by the waters of Dan in the land of Dan, which is southwest of Hermon" (13:7); and when he wakes up he goes to the Watchers who are "sitting and weeping at *Abel-Maîn*, which is between Lebanon and Senir" (13:9). Nickelsburg also recalls that in 1 En. 6 the descent of the rebel angels took place on Mount Hermon. For Nickelsburg it is clear that much in the Enoch corpus has a referential and reverential eye on eschatological Jerusalem, but he considers that Dan and its environs receive such an explicit mention in 1 En. 13 because there were traditions of northern Galileean provenance "which, in turn, reflect visionary activity in the area of Dan and Hermon,"[47] "the old sacred territory around Dan was recognized as sacred by our author and that it served as a locus that was catalytic of revelation,"[48] and could be a source for a polemic against contemporary priestly practices in Jerusalem, a similar polemical stance as might be taken up later by the movement part of which ended up preserving Enochic materials at Qumran. For Nickelsburg, similar geographical interests are explicit in the Testament of Levi: Levi shepherds his flock at Abel-Maîn (T. Levi 2:3), and in a vision he is taken to the top of Mount Hermon (T. Levi 2:5). The Eshels concur that Hermon is indeed a significantly holy site in the Book of Watchers, though they are hesitant on that basis to agree that northern Galilee was the

46 George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee," *JBL* 100 (1981): 575–600; repr. in Jacob Neusner and Alan J. Avery-Peck, eds., *George W. E. Nickelsburg in Perspective: An Ongoing Dialogue of Learning*, 2 vols., JSJSup 80 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 2:427–57, with some comments by Hanan Eshel and Esther Eshel (pp. 458–68) who differentiate the geographical references in the sources, distinguishing 1 Enoch, as Galilean, from the others as from other areas. More detailed comments confirming some aspects of the ideas of both Nickelsburg and the Eshels have been made by David W. Suter, "Why Galilee? Galilean Regionalism in the Interpretation of 1 Enoch 6–16," *Hen* 25 (2003): 167–212, though Suter does not comment in any detail on the languages of the sources he discusses.

47 Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee," 440.

48 Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee," 441.

provenance of the written Enoch traditions, even of chapters 12–16. Their hesitation rests not least on the stronger suggestion that the various toponyms in the Levi traditions might be better identified with sites in the Shechem region. The plausibility of their suggestions is endorsed by the constant association of Levi's concern for the rape of Dinah by Shechemites with Shechem itself, but the mention of Hermon has then to be explained away as an error. For our purposes this might only be of interest as a vague hint of Luke's concern with the region of Samaria.

Nickelsburg moves beyond consideration of 1 En. 6–16 and the Testament of Levi to wonder whether several Petrine traditions can similarly be associated with the same geographical region. His starting point is the revelation described in Matt 16 as Peter is established as the rock. And he then proposes that passages in both 1 Pet 3:19–20 and 2 Pet 2:4–5 know of Enochic traditions, the latter of which seems to revise a borrowing from Jude which cites Enoch explicitly. Nickelsburg also notes how there is evidence for the continuing association of Peter and Enoch in the Akhmîm manuscript which preserves the only extant copies in Greek of the Gospel of Peter, the Apocalypse of Peter, and the text of 1 En. 1–32. The Gospel of Peter 41–42 reflects 1 Pet 3:19–20.

What of Luke's geography? Is he aware of the possible Galilean context for the development of some of these traditions? It is possible, though he does not seem to make anything of it.[49] If he knew the Petrine tradition as exemplified in Matt 16, he comments on it through omission; more likely, his concern is to locate the concerns of his Aramaic source materials with Jerusalem, redirecting their eschatological interests in Jerusalem to the present age. In this way, Luke's use of Jerusalem as a geographical focus is all the stronger not simply for what it asserts positively, not least as that is reinforced with the way he has resurrection appearances only in Jerusalem and its environs, but also as it seems to be written against the Galilean contexts and their implications for some aspects of the very sources he seems to rely on.

6 Conclusion

This essay has taken a brief look at three traditions that involve special Lukan material. All three have been shown to have resonances of textual material that

49 In my study of some of the parallels between Luke and John, I discussed the common appearance in both of the miraculous draft of fishes, in both variously used with regard to the call of Peter. I failed to note there the possible implications of the Galilean basis of Matt 16 for the same purposes.

seems to have been originally cast in Aramaic, as if Luke had access to a set of such traditions and reflected upon them. How did his reflection work? Nudged by the Jesus traditions available to him in Mark and Q, and in juxtaposition to popular knowledge about the Roman Emperor, Luke developed an explicit and enhanced interest in Jesus as Son of God, Son of the Most High. As in Mark, that sonship was recognized by demons, but Luke gives such recognition an increased authenticity by setting it in a longer tradition of the understanding of sickness and possession. And such understanding is part of Aramaic sources that pay attention to the source of healing lore in Enoch and what he passed on to his descendants. The very passages that enhance Luke's view of what Jesus was heir to are also those which help him adopt and slightly adapt his received genealogy of Jesus. Some of the Aramaic sources from the Qumran caves can now be seen as providing a set of interrelated motifs and topics to which Luke could make direct or indirect appeal.

Beyond what might be reconstructed as sayings of Jesus, further study might reveal yet more of Aramaic origin in Luke's special material. For example, the way the majestic *anagnoreisis* of Luke's Emmaus resurrection account (Luke 24:31) is most nearly matched in contemporary Jewish literature in the recognition of the accompanying Raphael in the book of Tobit (Tob 12:15–16), again originally in Aramaic.

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4Q246 and Collective Interpretation

Melissa Sayyad Bach

1 Introduction[1]

4QApocryphon of Daniel ar, the small and fragmentary Aramaic manuscript (4Q246), despite its size and condition, has been incredibly popular among biblical exegetes.[2] The manuscript has not only aroused curiosity among Qumran and Old Testament scholars but also fellow scholars from New Testament studies. This particular interest is due to the "Son of God/Son of The Most High" figure (ברה די אל/בר עליון). The figure is often considered the protagonist of the text and consequently the fragment is often designated the "Son of God" text.[3]

However, in the following, my point of departure for reading 4Q246 is the collective interpretation of the figure "People of God" (עם אל, 4Q246 II 4). As I will argue, my reading differs from previous collective interpretations because I interpret the role of the "People of God" independently from the figure "Son of God"; whether we understand the "Son of God" figure positively, negatively, metaphorically, or historically.[4]

Methodologically, I read the fragmentary 4Q246 composition as it is preserved, as a narrative and with its own story to tell.[5] Even though I acknowledge

1 This article—and the paper on which it is based—builds on my MA-thesis, which was submitted to the Faculty of Theology at the University of Copenhagen 15 January 2016.

2 Émile Puech, "246. Apocryphe de Daniel ar," in *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*, ed. George J. Brooke et al., DJD 22 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 165–84.

3 For a more detailed overview, see Årstein Justnes, *The Time of Salvation: An Analysis of 4QAprocryphon of Daniel ar* (*4Q246*)*, 4QMessianic Apocalypse* (*4Q521 2*)*, and 4QTime of Righteousness* (*4Q215a*) (New York: Peter Lang, 2009). My interpretation of 4Q246 has been developed in close dialogue with Justnes's dissertation. For two recent contributions to the interpretation of 4Q246, with emphasis on the "Son of God" figure and the first part of the text, see George J. Brooke, "Son of God, Sons of God and Election in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Son of God: Divine Sonship in Jewish and Christian Antiquity*, ed. Garrick V. Allen et al. (University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns, 2019), 28–40, and Reinhard G. Kratz, "Son of God and Son of Man: 4Q246 in the Light of the Book of Daniel," in the same volume, 9–27.

4 Cf. the overview of scholarly positions in Justnes, *Time of Salvation*, 32–73; Brooke, "Son of God, Sons of God." For two recent alternative views see Tucker S. Ferda, "Naming the Messiah: A Contribution to the 4Q246 'Son of God' Debate," *DSD* 21 (2014): 150–75; Michael Segal, "Who is the 'Son of God' in 4Q246? An Overlooked Example of Early Biblical Interpretation," *DSD* 21 (2014): 289–312.

5 A similar methodological approach is taken by Kratz, "Son of God and Son of Man." I do not intend in this article to discuss the relationship of 4Q246 to the "sectarian" Qumran texts.

and greatly admire all the work that has been done on this fragment, I do not wish to take any suggestions of reconstruction into account.

2 "Son of God" = "People of God" as in Dan 7

Initially, I would like to sketch the different collective suggestions, which have inspired my reading of 4Q246. Martin Hengel in his 1975 book *Der Sohn Gottes* briefly opens up the possibility of interpreting the "Son of God" figure in 4Q246 as the Jewish people, in the light of Dan 7:13.[6] John J. Collins in 1993 points to several biblical passages, especially Sirach 36:17. He calls attention to the combination of "Israel" being referred to as "the firstborn", and the people being called by God's name in Sirach 36:17. Accordingly, he finds a collective interpretation of "Son of God" interesting but not preferable.[7] In several publications on 4Q246, Émile Puech switches back and forth between a negative and positive interpretation of the "Son of God" figure. Depending on how Puech understands the figure of "Son of God", he evaluates the plausibility of a collective interpretation differently.[8] A common feature for these interpretations is that scholars see a connection between the "Son of God" and the "People of God" in 4Q246. This connection is seen in light of the interrelation between the "one like a Son of Man" and the "Holy People of the Most High" in Daniel 7.[9]

For the possibility that the text, like other Aramaic compositions, could have been read and cherished by the Qumran community, see Brooke, "Son of God, Sons of God."

6 Martin Hengel, *Der Sohn Gottes: Die Entstehung der Christologie und die jüdisch-hellenistische Religionsgeschichte* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1975), 72.

7 John J. Collins, "The *Son of God* Text from Qumran," in *From Jesus to John: Essays on New Testament Christology in Honour of Marinus de Jonge*, ed. Martinus C. De Boer, JSNTSup 84 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 65–82.

8 See Émile Puech, "Notes sur le Fragment d'Apocalypse 4Q246—'Le Fils De Dieu'," *RB* 101 (1994): 533–58; DJD 22:165–84; "Some Remarks on 4Q246 and 4Q521 and Qumran Messianism," in *The Provo International Conference on The Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues*, ed. Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich, STDJ 30 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 545–65; "Le fils de Dieu, le fils du Très-Haut, messie roi en 4Q246," in *Le jugement dans l'un et l'autre testament. I: Mélanges offerts à Raymond Kuntzmann*, ed. Eberhard Bons, LD 197 (Paris: Cerf, 2004), 271–86.

9 Cf. Brooke, "Son of God, Sons of God."

3 Israel, a Collective Messiah

In 1992 at the 1OQS Paris meeting, Hartmut Stegemann argued that expectations of a *collective messianism* were more prevalent in Second Temple Judaism and probably more dominant than an individual messianic expectation.[10] Based on this hypothesis, Annette Steudel shows how this idea is also present in some of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Steudel makes a strong argument for this view by illustrating that the collective theme is present in 1QM and 4Q246. In both texts, the "People of God" plays a central part in bringing forth the new eschatological era. In both texts, there are no traces of an individual messiah, at least not in the preserved manuscripts. For Steudel it is imperative to understand the figure of "Son of God" as a negative and historical figure (Antiochus IV Epiphanes). In the light of this negative interpretation of the "Son of God", she points to the overarching contrast between the two eras and the roles of the two figures ("Son of God" vs. "People of God") in each era.[11]

The extant text can be understood as a narrative in its own right. I shall argue that when the text is read as a narrative in its own right, a collective interpretation suggests itself. Such an interpretation holds, regardless of how the "Son of God" figure is understood.

4 Transcription and Translation

My transcription of 4Q246 is based primarily on the PAM photos from The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library.[12] One general problem, beside the fragmentary condition of the manuscript (one third of the first column is missing), is that the handwriting makes it difficult to distinguish between the letters י and ו.[13]

Column I

1] ע]לוהי שרת נפל קדם כרסיא

2] מ]לכא ⟨ל⟩עלמא אתה רגז ושניך

3]○א חזוך וכלא אתה עד עלמא [

10 The paper was published in a revised and augmented version: Hartmut Stegemann, "Some Remarks to 1QSa, 1QSb, and Qumran Messianism," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 489–515.

11 Annette Steudel, "The Eternal Reign of the People of God—Collective Expectations in Qumran Texts (4Q246 and 1QM)," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 507–25.

12 I have systematically compared the photos to Puech's and Justnes' transcriptions.

13 Cf. the paleographic description of 4Q246 in Puech, DJD 22:166.

4 [ ]קְרבין עקה תתא על ארעא
5 [ ]וְנחשירין רב בְּמְדינתא[14]
6 [ ]מלך אתור[ומ]צרין
7 [ ][רב להוה על אַרעא
8 [ ]י[עְבדון וכלא ישוו[15]
9 [ ]ר[בְּא[16] יתקרא ובשמה יתכנה

Column II

1 ברה די אל יתאמר ובר עליון יקרונה כזיקיא
2 די חזותא כן מלכותהן תהוה שני[ן] ימלכון על
3 ארעא וכלא ידשון עם לעם ידוש ומדינה למד[ינ]ה
4 עד יקום עם אל וכלא ינוח מן חרב
5 מלכותה מלכות עלם וכל ארחתה בקשוט ידי[ן]
6 ארעא בקשט וכלא יעבד שלם חרב מן ארעא יסף
7 וכל מדינתא לה יסגדון אל רבא באילה
8 הוא יעבד לה קרב עממין ינתן בידה וכלהן
9 ירמה קדמוהי שלטנה שלטן עלם וכל תהומי

Column I[17]

1 [ ] settled [u]pon him. He fell before the throne.
2 [ ] the eternal [K]ing.[18] Rage is coming[19] and your years.[20]
3 [ ] … your vision, and everything will come for eternity.
4 [ ] wars; oppression will come over/upon the earth.
5 [ ] and great slaughter in the cities.
6 [ ] king/kings of Assyria [and E]gypt.
7 [ ] will be great over/upon the earth.

14 The letters *beth* and *mem* cannot be read on the PAM photos.

15 The context seems to require a verb in the third person plural (imperfect), but the middle letters cannot be identified with certainty. Puech (DJD 22:167) reads ישמְשון ("will serve").

16 The *beth* (read by Puech (DJD 22:167) and Justnes (*Time of Salvation*, 78) cannot be identified with certainty—despite Justnes' claim (*Time of Salvation*, 82; cf. Puech, DJD 22:168, "très probable").

17 My translation is heavily dependent on Justnes' English translation.

18 "The eternal [K]ing" (מ[לֶ]כא ⟨ל⟩עלמא) could also be translated: "the [K]ing forever". Cf. Puech, DJD 22:169, 171. The word לעלמא could be the beginning of a new sentence.

19 Puech understands the word אתה here and in line 3 as the second person personal pronoun ("you") (Puech, DJD 22:169, 171).

20 Justnes (*Time of Salvation*, 83) translates "your teeth."

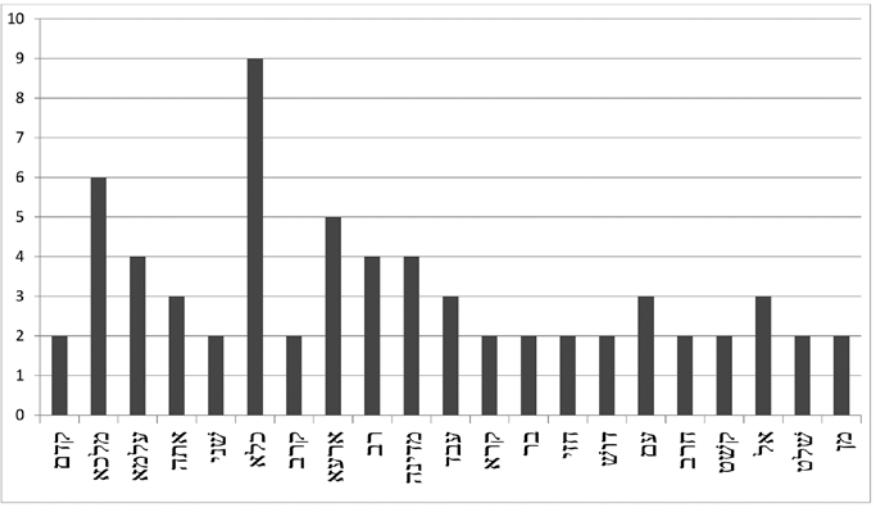
8 [ ] they [will] serve and everything *ys○○wn*
9 [ ] the [g]reat, will he be called, and by his name they will call him/ the [g]reat, will he call himself and by his name he shall designate himself.[21]

Column II
1 He shall be appointed the son of God, they shall call him son of the Most High.[22] Like the meteors
2 which you saw,[23] so shall their kingdom be. For some years they shall be kings over
3 the earth and trample everything down: people shall trample down people, and cities shall trample down [ci]ties.
4 *Vacat* Until the People of God shall rise and everything shall rest from the sword *Vacat*.[24]
5 His/their kingdom shall be an everlasting kingdom, and all his/their paths in truth, and he/they shall jud[ge]
6 the earth in truth and all will do/make peace. The sword will end/cease from the earth,
7 and all the cities will worship him/them. The great God is his/their strength;
8 he himself will wage war for him/them. He will give nations in his/their hand and
9 cast them all down before him/them. His/their dominion shall be an everlasting dominion, and all the deeps of …

5 Words in 4Q246

One of the characteristic features of this small fragment is a repetitive and minimalistic vocabulary. This could work as a deliberate rhetoric device; this simplistic feature seems to enhance the movements and the contrasts within the text. The preserved text contains a total of 129 words, including prepositions and conjunctions. In the chart, the bars represent the occurrences of the repeated words. For example, the word ארעא occurs five times, in three cases as part of the adverbial phrase על ארעא. Every time על ארעא occurs it describes the location and the amount of destruction on earth.

21 I mention both translations to show both possibilities. However, the "Son of God" figure does not play a major part in this article.
22 The verbs may be understood as reflexive or passive forms.
23 Puech understands חזותא not as a verb in the second person ("you saw") but rather as a noun ("visibility") and translates: "les comètes bien visibles" (Puech, DJD 22:170, 174).
24 The difficulty regarding the verbs in this line (יקום and ינוח) is taken up later in this article.



- קדם column I 1; II 8.
- מלכא I 2, 6; II 2 x2, 5 x2.
- עלמא I 2, 3; II 5, 9.
- אתה I 2, 3, 4.
- שני I 2; II 2.
- כלא I 3, 8; II 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.
- קרב I 4; II 8.
- על ארעא I 4, 7; II 2–3; ארעא alone: II 6 x2.
- רב I 5, 7, 9; II 7.
- מדינה I 5; II 3 x2, 7.
- עבד I 8; II 6, 8.
- קרא I 9; II 1.
- בר II 1 x2.
- חזי I 3; II 2.
- דוש II 3 x2.
- עם II 3, 4, 8.
- חרב II 4, 6.
- קשט II 5, 6.
- אל II 1, 4, 7.
- שלט II 9 x2.
- מן II 4, 6.

6 The Coming Destruction

The preserved narrative of 4Q246 seems to depict a royal scene where someone falls before another person, most likely a king or a ruler. Just after the setting the person assumed to act as interpreter gives an interpretation of a vision (חזו, I 3). The interpretation is in two parts: Part one concerns the coming of the world's destruction and downfall (I 2–II 3) and part two concerns the era of peace and the world's salvation (II 4–9).[25] The contrast between the time of turmoil and the time of peace forms the narrative framework of the preserved text.[26]

In other words, there is a radical change from the first part, the coming destruction, to the second part, the rising salvation. The changes in the text occur in two opposite directions: 1) The time of trial seems to be on its way to earth from above. 2) By contrast, the shift into the new era of salvation happens from within the earth. In the preserved text, there is no mention of any particular group causing or being affected by the destruction and annihilation. On the contrary, as the interpretation moves on, the time of trial seems to be comprehensive and universal. The destruction appears as an element coming from outside, from the heavenly, extraterrestrial realm, and hitting earth, and spreading like a disease. On the other side, the time of salvation works and rises from the inside, caused through the people of God.

In column one, the preserved text in lines 1 to 2a describes a scene where an unknown figure falls before a throne and presumably salutes a ruler or a king. The preserved text does not contain any indications about the identity of the interpreter or the ruler/king. The opening scene strongly resembles Daniel chapters 2 and 4. The unknown interpreter pushes the story forward by giving his interpretation. His task is to make the incomprehensible elements of the vision clear. Line 2b informs us that a rage is coming (אתה רגז). The narrative does not specify whether the nature of the rage is divine or human. However, it is worth noticing that the rage is described as an entity approaching, and from the context, the reader knows that the rage's destination is earth. All together, these features seem to set the mood for the interpretation of the vision, where a time of trial is foreseen.

25 Most scholars take line three as the beginning of the vision's interpretation. But I see the words אתה רגז as an indication and warning about the coming destruction.

26 Cf. Steudel, "The Eternal Reign," 514–16; Kratz, "Son of God and Son of Man."

The time of tribulation (I 2–II 3)	*The time of peace* (II 4–9)
– A rage is coming. – Wars, oppression on planet Earth. – Great slaughter in the cities. – King(s) of Assyria and Egypt. – "The Son of God". – The worldly kingdoms are like the meteors, they will crash and burn. – Kings, nations, and cities are trampling each other down.	– "The People of God" rises. – All rest from the sword and the sword will cease from the earth. – Peace occurs and they receive the everlasting kingdom. – They walk and judge in righteousness. – The great God is their strength, warrior, and salvation. – God gives the nations to "the People of God" and cast all before them. – Their dominion shall be an everlasting dominion.

The word vision (חזוך) is introduced for the first time in the preserved text in I 3, and this root is repeated later in II 2 (חזותא). These words confirm that in the text, only the interpretation is preserved and we are not able to reconstruct the whole content of the vision. The text refers to what was seen but does not include any account of the vision itself. Furthermore, we do not know whether the interpreter was informed about the vision's content in advance or had to predict both the vision and its interpretation.[27] Even more important is the fact that it would be an incorrect approach to 4Q246 if it were treated as a chronological and coherent impression of the lost vision, to which we have no access. The fact that the preserved text does not necessarily give a coherent and chronological account of the lost vision must be taken into consideration.[28]

In I 3 with the phrase "everything will come for eternity" (וכלא אתה עד עלמא), the interpreter affirms that what he is about to foresee will happen. The time of turmoil is further elucidated when the following text (I 4) describes wars and oppression approaching earth. The coming destruction spreads by manifesting itself as a great slaughter (ונחשירין רב), taking place in the cities (I 5).

The fragmentary condition of 4Q246 leaves us with so many unresolved mysteries, for example: To what extent does the interpretation of the vision correspond one to one to the vision itself? How many kings during the time of

27 Cf. the way Joseph was informed before interpreting the dreams (Gen 40:9,16–17; 41:17–24) in contrast to the situation in Dan 2:31–35.

28 Cf. the approach by Ferda, "Naming the Messiah," 160–61.

destruction does the text refer to? What is it that will be great on earth? And who is supposed to serve whom? Yet the biggest mystery so far has been the identity of the "Son of God." This figure emerges in the midst of the horrible time. However, this era does not seem to end with the entrance of the "Son of God," but continues. As the identity of the "Son of God" has been discussed and revisited extensively in scholarly research, this issue will not be addressed here, as mentioned before.[29]

Just after the "Son of God" figure is presented in II 2, the interpreter refers to the lost vision with the words "as the meteors that you saw" (כזיקיא די חזותא). As a remarkable transcendent movement, destruction strikes, moves upon, and penetrates the earth: The time of trial in 4Q246 spreads like a disease in terms of the coming rage (אתה רגז), wars, and oppression upon the earth (קְרבין עקה תתא על ארעא), and turns to a great slaughter in the cities (וְנחשירין רב בְּמְדינתא). And as the interpreter refers to the vision, the meteors become yet another metaphorical warning for the time of destruction, and with this the horrible time is again pictured as something coming from the outside. Meteors are astronomical phenomena emerging from the outer atmosphere. In the metaphorical language of 4Q246, they become symbols of a short and immediate reign of chaotic elements. The astronomical image seems to function as a metaphorical comparison to the earthly kingdoms, which will only last for a number of years. As meteors are dying stars that no longer function to illuminate and show the way on the celestial vault, so the earthly kingdoms will no longer be functional but collapse.[30] The meteors as a metaphorical image function on the one hand as a warning about the coming disaster and on the other hand as a sign for the fundamental certainty that God is the creator of the universe and the governing element behind history. In this context, kings and kingdoms become like chessmen in God's game of chess, they will last for a limited number of years but ultimately they will crash and burn like the meteors.

Lines 2–3 in column II continue describing the worldly kingdoms: "They will be kings over the earth" (ימלכון על ארעא). The kings of the tribulation time are not only kings of certain nations, but kings of the world. They seem to act as contenders to God's kingdom. The worldly kings continue the destruction by trampling everything down. This movement begins from the highest level,

29 See Justnes, *Time of Salvation*, 32–73; Brooke, "Son of God, Sons of God"; Kratz, "Son of God and Son of Man."

30 I am not concerned here with the details of astronomical knowledge or with the exact perception of astronomical phenomena like meteors in Jewish antiquity. My point is the experience of meteors—on the one hand catastrophic and frightening, and on the other hand short-lived and temporary phenomena.

the kings (ימלכון), and moves downwards to smaller sub-elements, which constitute the second level involving nations trampling nations down (ידשון עם לעם). Finally, a third level includes cities being infected by the aforementioned movements, trampling cities down (ומדינה למדינה). The notion of destruction seems once again to spread rapidly as a contagious disease, from the kings to the cities. This inner progression in 4Q246 is enhanced due to the text's repetitive and minimalist vocabulary.

7 The Rising People and Upcoming Peace

This brings us to column II 4, which consists of two short sentences, creating a chiasmus, marked by a *vacat* on each end. The temporal conjunction עד begins the short sentence עד יקום עם אל and at the same time links the new plot to the previous description of the tribulation time. Taken all together, the *vacat*s on each end, the temporal conjunction (עד) and the chiasmus seem to accentuate the line as a heading introducing a new theme.

Many scholars, including Puech, Steudel, and Justnes, understand line 4 in column II as a heading.[31] I would like to point to the chiastic structure of the line as a further argument for this interpretation. In fact, perhaps the chiastic structure could also hold the key to the much-debated question concerning the understanding of the verbs יקום and ינוח. Due to the handwriting of the fragment, it is difficult to decide whether we should read the verbs as *peal* or *haphel* imperfect. The handwriting makes it impossible to distinguish between a י and a ו. If these verbs are read as *haphel* forms then they function as causatives. In this case, both עם אל and כלא would no longer be the subjects of these verbs but rather the objects. Then obviously, we will have an implicit subject, which causes the new age of peace. If we accept that line 4 has a chiastic structure, we would expect both sentences to have a subject and an (active) verb. This speaks in favor of reading the verbs as *peal* forms.

One of the striking features of 4Q246 is the amount of information that the preserved text seems to hold. In other words, a whole lot happens in a short fragment. This feature is especially clear in II 4, where the reader meets a new protagonist: the "People of God" (עם אל). Just in two short chiastic sentences, the time of turmoil that occupies the largest part of the fragment ends and the salvations time comes about when the "People of God" rises and everything rests from the sword.

31 Puech, DJD 22:174; Steudel, "The Eternal Reign," 515; Justnes, *Time of Salvation*, 134.

Steudel interprets עם אל as an antithetic equivalent to ברה די אל and sees the "People of God" as the agent who turns the time of tribulation to the era of salvation.[32] Justnes however proposes that עם אל could be understood as a contrast subject to the kings/nations and cities from the previous lines.[33] I do not think one interpretation needs to exclude the other. It seems to me that the central point is the fact that עם אל acts as a collective entity causing the new age to begin. The "People of God" becomes the symbol of God's eternal and persistent dominion versus the short-lived earthly and hostile kingdoms. In this context, עם אל is a new actor in the text and as they rise, everything rests from the sword.

Where, then, have the "People of God" been hiding during the worldwide tribulation? Where have they been when war and slaughter spread through the earth and the cities? Where have עם אל been when the kings, nations and the cities have trampled everything down? It is possible to imagine that the sentence "until the people of God will rise" (עד יקום עם אל) does not only mean an uprising in terms of a political or religious resistance. It could also refer to the resurrection of the people of God. Craig A. Evans proposes the following interpretation: "4Q246 may also refer to resurrection. After the warfare described in II 1–3 the author writes: 'Until the people of God arise and they all have rest from the sword' (II 4). The next line goes on to speak of an 'eternal kingdom,' peace, justice, and God's eternal rule (II 5–10). It is not clear, however, that 'arise' refers to resurrection. It may, but it may also refer to the ascendancy of the people of God over their enemies."[34]

Justnes finds Evans' interpretation baseless.[35] However, in the following I attempt to demonstrate that a resurrection of the "People of God" could fit into the dynamic plot of the text and constitutes a plausible interpretation. Scholars have often emphasized the kinship between 4Q246 and the Book of Daniel.[36] In this context, it is interesting that in Dan 12:1–2 we do have the only explicit reference to resurrection in the Old Testament:

32 Steudel, "The Eternal Reign," 515–16.

33 Justnes, *Time of Salvation*, 136.

34 Craig A. Evans, "Qumran's Messiah: How Important is He?" in *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. John J. Collins and Robert A. Kugler, Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000), 135–49 (139).

35 Justnes, *Time of Salvation*, 136 ("Evans' claim that the first part of l. 4 'may … refer to resurrection' is totally baseless").

36 See most recently Kratz, "Son of God and Son of Man."

וּבָעֵת הַהִיא יַעֲמֹד מִיכָאֵל הַשַּׂר הַגָּדוֹל הָעֹמֵד עַל־בְּנֵי עַמֶּךָ וְהָיְתָה עֵת צָרָה אֲשֶׁר לֹא־
נִהְיְתָה מִהְיוֹת גּוֹי עַד הָעֵת הַהִיא וּבָעֵת הַהִיא יִמָּלֵט עַמְּךָ כָּל־הַנִּמְצָא כָּתוּב בַּסֵּפֶר וְרַבִּים
מִיְּשֵׁנֵי אַדְמַת־עָפָר יָקִיצוּ אֵלֶּה לְחַיֵּי עוֹלָם וְאֵלֶּה לַחֲרָפוֹת לְדִרְאוֹן עוֹלָם

1 […] And there shall be a time of trouble, such as never has been since there was a nation till that time. But at that time your people shall be delivered, everyone whose name shall be found written in the book.
2 And many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.[37]

There are additional references to the theme of resurrection in Isa 26:14a:

מֵתִים בַּל־יִחְיוּ רְפָאִים בַּל־יָקֻמוּ

They are dead, do not live, the dead will not rise.

Furthermore, we read in Isa 26:19a:

יִחְיוּ מֵתֶיךָ נְבֵלָתִי יְקוּמוּן הָקִיצוּ וְרַנְּנוּ שֹׁכְנֵי עָפָר

Your dead shall live; their bodies[38] shall rise. You who dwell in the dust, awake and sing for joy.

Isaiah 26:14a and 26:19a clearly stand in mutual contrast, one verse denying the possibility of a resurrection, and the other affirming such a possibility. In both passages, however, the verb קום is used to describe the performance or the lack of performance of the dead bodies. Therefore, the verb קום could, besides referring to a political or religious uprising, also connote the motive of resurrection.

Based on a thorough examination of the resurrection theme, Puech has argued that the Qumran community seems to believe in the resurrection of the dead. Furthermore, Puech argues that the Qumran community's understanding of resurrection is based on Dan 12:2, which he perceives as an explicit expression of resurrection. Puech seems to think that the resurrection motif in Dan 12:2 is derived from Isa 26:14–19 and Isa 53:12.[39]

37 This and the following translations of biblical passages are taken from ESV.
38 The Hebrew has "my (dead) bodies."
39 Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: Immortalité, resurrection, vie éternelle? Histoire d'une croyance dans le judaïsme ancien*. 2 vols. Études Bibliques 21–22 (Paris: Gabalda, 1993), 2:66–73, 79–85.

The combination of 4Q246's relation to the Book of Daniel and the occurrence of the verb קום can speak in favor of understanding the rise of the "People of God" as a potential expression of resurrection. This connotation also makes sense when we consider the "People of God" as the receiver of the eternal kingdom. This understanding also provides an answer to the question why the "People of God" are mentioned at this stage for the first time in the preserved text. If the word כלא (in column I and column II) covers all that was affected by the widespread tribulation, this must also include the "People of God." In other words, the "People of God" has been destroyed or killed during the period of tribulation.

The second sentence in line 4b, "everything will rest from the sword" (וכלא ינוח מן חרב) is an outcome of the rising of the "People of God." In this short text, the word כלא is used nine times, in total, and seems to refer to the universal and invasive tribulation. Seen in this light, the sword (חרב) functions as a symbol for war and slaughter, which is ended by the rising of the "People of God" as a collective entity causing the cessation of war and the establishment of eschatological peace. The declaration of peace "and everything will rest from the sword" (וכלא ינוח מן חרב) is the first peace announcement. Furthermore, two similar statements are repeated in line 6 (וכלא יעבד שלם חרב מן ארעא יסף) and the word חרב is taken up in line 6 again.

Another point of disagreement is the question of interpretation of the third-person suffixes in column II from line 5 to line 9: To whom do the third-person suffixes refer? Is it the "Son of God" or the "People of God"? Those scholars who view the "Son of God" as a positive figure tend to interpret and identify the reference of the third-person suffixes as the "Son of God." However, those who interpret the "Son of God" as a negative figure point to the structure of the text and exclude the possibility that the third-person suffixes can refer to the "Son of God." They argue that the suffixes must refer to the "People of God" as the positive and the antithetic protagonist that causes the eschatological peace.[40] In this discussion, I agree with Justnes when he argues grammatically for the most obvious solution, viewing the suffixes as referring to the "People of God":

> To present the problem this way, is, however, misleading. The fact that the son of God is a rather remote antecedent for the suffixes—four lines away from 2:5—makes the former solution [that the suffixes refer to the "Son of God"] only a theoretical possibility … Grammatically, it is clearly

40 Steudel, "The Eternal Reign," 515.

preferable to take the suffixes in 2:5–9 as pointing back to the subject in 2:4, the people of God.[41]

Line 5 consists of three short sentences. The first sentence "their kingdom shall be an everlasting kingdom …" (מלכותה מלכות עלם), makes it clear that the plot is a contrast between the everlasting kingdom of the "People of God" versus the worldly kingdoms of the tribulation time. The worldly kingdoms were compared to the meteors because they only lasted for a number of years; but the kingdom of the "People of God" is without end. The sentence, "their kingdom shall be an everlasting kingdom" (מלכותה מלכות עלם) creates another point of contact with the Book of Daniel. The exact same phrase is employed in Dan 3:33 and 7:27 and the same phrase appears in Ps 145:13. Both in the case of Dan 3:33 and Ps 145:13 the phrase is a salute and a description of God as the King of an everlasting kingdom that will endure through generations. The image of the "People of God" as the receiver of the eternal kingdom overlaps with Dan 7:27 where "the Saints of the Most High" are the recipients of the eternal dominion. Neither in the case of Dan 7 nor in 4Q246, has an individual messiah explicitly caused the peace in the eschatological scene. On the contrary, the "People of God" fulfills the function of a messiah by causing the new era of peace and receiving the eternal dominion. In this sense, it seems meaningful to consider the concept of a collective entity acting as a messiah.

The second sentence in line 5 continues "and all their paths [are] in truth" (וכל ארחתה בקשוט). The word קשוט becomes a key characteristic of the everlasting kingdom. This stands in contrast to the wickedness of the kingdoms of the tribulation time.

The third sentence in line 5 continues to 6a "They shall jud[ge] the earth in truth" (ארעא בקשט [ן]ידי̊). This line has been pointed out as a counterargument to the idea of collective interpretation. Collins finds it unlikely that the "People of God," as an entity, can perform judgment. Moreover, Collins only assigns the function of judgment in the Old Testament to Yahweh or a king.[42] In contrast, I do not see how we can isolate the "People of God," which is clearly the recipient of the everlasting kingdom in the narrative, from the function of judging. I agree with Steudel when she says: "The administration of judgement is a necessary part of being a king. Therefore, it is self-evident that the people of God occupying the מלכות of the time of salvation also have the power to

41 Justnes, *Time of Salvation*, 137.

42 John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient literature* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 159.

judge".[43] In addition to Steudel, I will also point to Justnes, according to whom "Collins may be interpreting the verb 'judge' too narrowly. The force of דין in this context is probably not 'to judge' in a narrow sense, i.e. in relation to a final eschatological judgement. The following sentence 'and make everything whole' rather indicates that the verb should be taken in the sense 'to rule' or 'to reign' etc."[44]

The combination of the "People of God" acting as the mediator of the era of peace, receiving and being the representatives of God's eternal dominion, who shall perform righteous judgment, seems all together to form the crucial components of a messianic practice.

Line 6b "all shall make peace" (וכלא יעבד שלם), is the second peace declaration, which confirms again that the new era has ended the worldwide turmoil. With the sentence, "Sword shall cease from the earth" (חרב מן ארעא יסף) in line 6c, we have the third and last peace declaration. This again confirms the first peace statement from line 4b, which was a result of the rising of the people of God. The way the peace and salvation unfolds in three stages corresponds to the spreading of disaster and destruction depicted in I 2–II 3, which also unfolds in three stages.

In the first part, where the time of tribulation is unfolded, the preposition על describes the direction of approaching destruction; it becomes like an external element coming toward the planet Earth. In contrast, in the second part, where a time of peace is foreseen (II 4–7), the preposition מן describes how everything (כלא) will rest *from* (מן) the sword (חרב) and the sword will cease *from* (מן) the earth. The contents of these two sentences function as symbols of peace and the end of the world war. Accordingly, these prepositions על and מן seem to describe the arrival and the departure of the tribulation. This happens in the form of two opposite movements. While different eras and protagonists replace each other, the scene, planet Earth, remains constant and persistent throughout the text.

The narrative goes on in line 7a with "and all the cities shall worship them" (וכל מדינתא לה יסגדון). Here, the cities are the acting subject in the sentence and yet another opposing feature in the narrative. While the cities, during the tribulation, were a part of and affected by the destruction, now the cities join the peace era by worshipping those who caused peace. The structure in both cases is similar: The cities represented the smallest geographical aspect mentioned in the tribulation time (cities were the place of bloodbath and they

43 Steudel, "The Eternal Reign," 517.

44 Justnes, *Time of Salvation*, 140.

were trampled down), and, likewise, the cities are the smallest geographical entities in the time of peace.

With the sentence "The Great God is their strength" (אל רבא באילה) in line 7b, the active role of God in the eschatological scene is accentuated. The image of God as "their strength" seems particularly in tune with the image of God in the Book of Psalms. In Ps 28:8 we encounter an image of God that fits into the context of 4Q246.

יְהוָה עֹז־לָמוֹ וּמָעוֹז יְשׁוּעוֹת מְשִׁיחוֹ הוּא

> The Lord is the strength of his people; he is the saving refuge of his anointed.[45]

In this verse, the second sentence elucidates the previous one. God is described as the strength of his people in the first sentence, and the second sentence explains Gods strength in terms of being the saving refuge. Furthermore, his people are paralleled with his anointed. This image seems to support the idea that the people can be the anointed one.

Further in line 8a, Gods active role seems to be stressed when the text tells us "He shall wage war for them" (הוא יעבד לה קרב). The great God wages war on behalf of his people.[46] The word קרב occurs both in time of tribulation as a part of the spreading destruction (1 4) and it occurs here in the time of salvation as a means by which God establishes peace. Once again in the narrative, the same words are repeated and in opposing contexts. The narrative unfolds by a minimalistic and repetitive vocabulary, which seems to create the inner contrast and progression in the text.

God as a warrior is yet another recognizable image from the Old Testament. In the Book of Habakkuk, we encounter a similar image of God that is particularly interesting in this context. In chapter 3:8–9 we read:

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45 The Hebrew has "strength for them" whereas ESV writes out the meaning and translates "the strength of his people." The word משיחו in the second half of the verse could also be understood as a title of the king, but the more natural understanding is to regard the anointed one as designating God's people.

46 Here, the traditional motif of God waging war for his people comes after the declaration of universal peace in lines 4–5. God's war against his enemies can be viewed as offsetting the war caused by the earthly kingdoms and as an ongoing process of upholding the eschatological peace.

הֲבִנְהָרִים חָרָה יְהוָה אִם בַּנְּהָרִים אַפֶּךָ אִם־בַּיָּם עֶבְרָתֶךָ כִּי תִרְכַּב עַל־סוּסֶיךָ מַרְכְּבֹתֶיךָ
יְשׁוּעָה עֶרְיָה תֵּעוֹר קַשְׁתֶּךָ שִׁבֲעוֹת מַטּוֹת אֹמֶר סֶלָה נְהָרוֹת תִּבַּקַּע־אָרֶץ

8 Was your wrath against the rivers, O Lord? Was your anger against the rivers, or your indignation against the sea, when you rode on your horses, on your chariot of salvation?
9 You stripped the sheath from your bow, calling for many arrows. You split the earth with rivers.

Further, in verse 13, the image of God as the warrior who brings salvation is combined with the image of his people as the anointed ones.

יָצָאתָ לְיֵשַׁע עַמֶּךָ לְיֵשַׁע אֶת־מְשִׁיחֶךָ מָחַצְתָּ רֹאשׁ מִבֵּית רָשָׁע עָרוֹת יְסוֹד עַד־צַוָּאר

13 You went out for the salvation of your people, for the salvation of your anointed.
You crushed the head of the house of the wicked, laying him bare from thigh to neck.

The joint image of God as a warrior and his people as the anointed one, seems to be comparable to the image of God and the "People of God" in 4Q246.

God as a warrior is further elucidated in lines 8b to 9a with the sentence "He shall give the nations in their hand and cast them all down before them" (עממין ינתן בידה וכלהן ירמה קדמוהי). God continues to be the main character, by rendering and humbling the nations before his people. Earlier in II 3, the nations act as the subject of the sentence and have an active part in the tribulation time. In contrast, here in line 8b the nations are the object in the sentence and therefore have a passive role in the time of salvation.

In line 9b "Their dominion shall be an everlasting dominion" (שלטנה שלטן עלם), the kingdom of the "People of God" is described once again as an eternal kingdom. This feature stands in contrast to the kingdoms of the tribulation time. Another point of contact is made with the Book of Daniel with the phrase שלטנה שלטן עלם, which appears in Dan 4:31 and in Dan 7:14.[47]

Finally, the words "and all depths" (וכל תהומי) comprise the end of the preserved fragment. What these words refer to and what might follow remains a mystery.

47 Cf. Puech, DJD 22:175; Steudel, "The Eternal reign," 516; Kratz, "Son of God and Son of Man".

8 The Notion of "Collective Messianism" Revisited

In the following and final section, I would like to move away from the fascinating world of 4Q246 with a brief excursion to the Old Testament. In the Old Testament, the word משיח appears 39 times.[48] The messianic concept in the Old Testament does not include the same understanding that was established later on. In the later tradition, the term Messiah is attributed to an eschatological figure that causes or contributes to salvation.[49]

Before briefly exploring the Old Testament for traces of the idea of collective messianism, I would like to present Ludwig Monti's definition of messianism and collective messianism.[50] In his article "Attese messianiche a Qumran: una communità alla fine della storia" from 2004, Monti defines messianism and collective messianism in the following way:

> Messianic expectations defined as concepts expressing the certainty of the coming of a new fortunate world. The establishment of this world depends on one or more mediators of salvation endowed with God's special gifts.[51]

Furthermore, he defines collective messianic expectations:

> Collective Messianic expectations can be defined as those Messianic concepts in which the establishment of salvation occurs through the action of the people of God.[52]

48 Lev 4:3, 5, 16; 6:15; 1 Sam 2:10, 35; 12:3, 5; 16:6; 24:7 (2x), 11; 26:9, 11, 16, 23; 2 Sam 1:14, 16, 21; 19:22; 22:51; 23:1; Isa 45:1; Hab 3:13; Ps 2:2; 18:51; 20:7; 28:8; 84:10; 89:39, 52; 105:15; 132:10, 17; Lam 4:20; Dan 9:25, 26; 1 Chr 16:22; 2 Chr 6:42.

49 Cf. Florentino García Martínez, "Two Messianic Figures in the Qumran Texts," in *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Donald W. Parry and Stephen V. Ricks, STDJ 20 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 14–40 (19).

50 Ludvig Monti, "Attese messianiche a Qumran: una communità alla fine della storia," *Hen* 26 (2004): 25–62.

51 "Attese messianiche: quelle concezioni in cui si esprime la certezza dell'avvento di un mondo felice, all'instaurazione del quale contribuiscono in maniera decisiva uno o piú mediatori di salvezza dotato/i da Dio di particolari carismi" (Monti, "Attese messianiche," 28, my translation).

52 "Attese messianiche collettive: quelle concezioni messianiche in cui l'instaurazione della salvezza avviene attraverso l'azione del popolo di Dio" (Monti, "Attese messianiche," 28, my translation).

Three passages in the Old Testament use the word משיח (singular or plural form) of a collective entity. In two cases the word refers to "the people of God" and in the last case to "the prophets." Additionally, the War Scroll also has a reference to a collective entity (possibly also the prophets) and the term משיח in column 11, lines 7–8.

יְהוָה עֹז־לָמוֹ וּמָעוֹז יְשׁוּעוֹת מְשִׁיחוֹ הוּא

> The Lord is the strength of his people; he is the saving refuge of his anointed. (Ps 28:8)

אַל־תִּגְּעוּ בִמְשִׁיחָי וְלִנְבִיאַי אַל־תָּרֵעוּ

> Saying, "Touch not my anointed ones, do my prophets no harm!" (Ps 105:15)

יָצָאתָ לְיֵשַׁע עַמֶּךָ לְיֵשַׁע אֶת־מְשִׁיחֶךָ מָחַצְתָּ רֹאשׁ מִבֵּית רָשָׁע עָרוֹת יְסוֹד עַד־צַוָּאר

> You went out for the salvation of your people, for the salvation of your anointed. You crushed the head of the house of the wicked, laying him bare from thigh to neck. (Hab 3:13)

וירד מיעקוב והאביד שריד מעיר והיה אויב ירשה וישראל עשה חיל וביד משיחיכה
חוזי תעודות הגדתה לנו ק[צי] מלחמות ידיכה

> It will come down from Jacob, it will exterminate the remnant of the city, the enemy will be its possession, and Israel will perform feats. And by the hand of your anointed ones, seers of decrees, you taught us the ti[mes of] the wars of your hand …[53] (1QM 11:7–8)

53 It is not altogether clear whether the last words of line 7 (וביד משיחיכה) are the beginning of a new sentence, as most translations assume. In any case, the first part of the text is an adaptation of Num 24:18–19. Notably, the sequence has been altered, to make the sentence culminate with the mention of Israel (and not an individual ruler). Cf. Steudel, "The Eternal Reign," 523.

9 Concluding Remarks

In this article I have demonstrated a reading of the preserved text of 4Q246 as a narrative. My reading has shown that the small fragment has a simplistic and repetitive vocabulary. This feature creates small but imperative movements within the narrative both with regard to the time of tribulation and the time of peace. The destruction is described as a rage approaching earth and spreading from the top down and infecting the cities. The uprising of the "People of God" causes the time of peace, and it happens within earth and spreads and repels the destruction in the opposing direction. Furthermore, I have sought to demonstrate the decisive role of the "People of God" in the eschatological scene of 4Q246 regardless of how the "Son of God" figure is identified. This interpretation seems doable in the light of the narrative structure of 4Q246 itself, and of the Old Testament and the War Scroll. Consequently, the idea of collective interpretation presents itself as the most attractive option.

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Fake Fragments, Flexible Provenances: Eight Aramaic "Dead Sea Scrolls" from the 21st Century

Årstein Justnes

> Museums and researchers often describe the origins of a particular object—its provenance, or place of discovery and subsequent chain of ownership—with only a few words and a date. This is a huge problem. The way we present provenance affects our ability to authenticate antiquities, their legal status, the professional ethics tied to them, even their price. We must ask difficult questions about the origins of the objects we study.[1]
>
> ROBERTA MAZZA

• • •

> How are things authenticated today? Basically, if the Kando family says, "this comes from Cave 4," that's about the best you can do for provenance. […] That's just the way it's been from the beginning.[2]
>
> WESTON W. FIELDS, Executive Director of the Dead Sea Scrolls Foundation

⁘

1 Introduction

The eight Aramaic fragments discussed in this article form part of a bigger story. Since 2002 more than 75 "new" Dead Sea Scroll fragments have surfaced on the antiquities market.[3] Recently, we have seen a growing consensus, especially

1 Roberta Mazza, "The Illegal Papyrus Trade and What Scholars Can Do to Stop It," *Hyperallergic*, 1 March 2018, https://hyperallergic.com/429653/the-illegal-papyrus-trade-and-what-scholars-can-do-to-stop-it/.

2 Weston W. Fields, "Dead Sea Scrolls: Significance of the Latest Developments," The Lanier Library Lecture Series, 16 April 2011, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cOcNhHsGKu4. Quoted from the Q & A session, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9qgLWNRtL5Q.

3 For a comprehensive list of all the acquisitions known to us after 2002, see Årstein Justnes and Ludvik A. Kjeldsberg, "The Post-2002 Dead Sea Scrolls Fragments: A Tentative Timeline

among younger scholars, that a majority of these are modern forgeries.[4] The issue of provenance, however, still does not seem to interest Qumran scholars much.[5] Provenance research has traditionally been a neglected element in Qumran studies. Since the majority of the "original" Dead Sea Scrolls were non-provenanced, strictly speaking, the guild has had a quite relaxed attitude towards non-provenanced material. Most scholars have until very recently treated the new fragments as Dead Sea Scroll fragments by default.[6]

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of Acquisitions," *The Lying Pen of Scribes: Manuscript Forgeries and Counterfeiting Scripture in the Twenty-First Century,* 7 June 2018, https://lyingpen.com/.

4 See first and foremost Kipp Davis, Ira Rabin, Ines Feldman, Myriam Krutzsch, Hasia Rimon, Årstein Justnes, Torleif Elgvin, and Michael Langlois, "Nine Dubious 'Dead Sea Scrolls' Fragments from the Twenty-First Century," *DSD* 24 (2017): 189–228, and Kipp Davis, "Caves of Dispute: Patterns of Correspondence and Suspicion in the Post-2002 'Dead Sea Scrolls' Fragments," *DSD* 24 (2017): 229–70. In the former article four of the eight Aramaic post-2002 fragments are dealt with at length, and it is argued that they are modern forgeries (see also Michael Langlois, "Nine Dubious 'Dead Sea Scrolls' Fragments from the Twenty-First Century," *The Blog of Michael Langlois,* 8 October 2017, https://michaellanglois.fr/en/publications/neuf-fragments-de-manuscrits-de-la-mer-morte-douteux-apparus-au-xxie-siecle). See also Årstein Justnes and Torleif Elgvin, "A Private Part of Enoch: A Forged Fragment of 1 Enoch 8:4–9:3," in *Wisdom Poured Out Like Water: Studies on Jewish and Christian Antiquity in Honor of Gabriele Boccaccini*, ed. J. Harold Ellens, Isaac W. Oliver, Jason von Ehrenkrook, James Waddel, and Jason M. Zurawski, DCLS 38 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2018), 195–203; the recent lecture by Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, "Beautiful Bookhands and Careless Characters: An Alternative Approach to the Dead Sea Scrolls," The 8th Annual Rabbi Tann Memorial Lecture, University of Birmingham, 24 January 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=5&v=thB2tH1kwtU; and the lectures from 2017 by Kipp Davis, Torleif Elgvin, Michael Langlois, Ira Rabin, and Årstein Justnes posted on the Lying Pen blog (Årstein Justnes and Ludvik A. Kjeldsberg, "Post-2002 Dead Sea Scrolls-like Fragments Online: A [Really Exhausting] Guide for the Perplexed," *The Lying Pen of Scribes: Manuscript Forgeries and Counterfeiting Scripture in the Twenty-First Century*, 26 June 2018, https://lyingpen.com/).

5 In both the Schøyen volume (Torleif Elgvin, Kipp Davis, and Michael Langlois, eds., *Gleanings from the Caves: Dead Sea Scrolls and Artefacts from The Schøyen Collection,* LSTS 71 [London: T&T Clark, 2016]) and the Museum of the Bible volume (Emanuel Tov, Kipp Davis, and Robert Duke, eds., *Dead Sea Scrolls Fragments in the Museum Collection*, Publications of Museum of the Bible 1 [Leiden: Brill, 2016]) there is a fundamental lack of critical interest in the issue of provenance. This is addressed in book reviews by Molly M. Zahn (Review of *Gleanings from the Caves: Dead Sea Scrolls and Artefacts from the Schøyen Collection*, ed. Torleif Elgvin, Kipp Davis, and Michael Langlois, *DSD* 24 [2017]: 307–9) and Årstein Justnes (Review of *Dead Sea Scrolls Fragments in the Museum Collection*, ed. Emanuel Tov, Kipp Davis, and Robert Duke, *DSD* [2017]): 310–12), cf. for instance Zahn on p. 308: "[…] there is […] [a] thought-provoking, indeed troubling issue that looms large precisely because of the relative lack of explicit attention it receives in the volume: the issue of provenance." See, however, the recent article by Dennis Mizzi and Jodi Magness, "Provenance vs. Authenticity: An Archaeological Perspective on the Post-2002 'Dead Sea Scrolls-Like' Fragments" in *DSD* 26 (2019): 135–69.

6 See Esther Eshel and Hanan Eshel, "A New Fragment of the Book of the Watchers from Qumran (XQpapEnoch)," *Tarbiz* 73 (2004): 171–79; idem, "New Fragments from Qumran: 4QGen^{f}, 4QIsa^{b}, 4Q226, 8QGen, and XQpapEnoch," *DSD* 12 (2005): 134–57; Michaela

All the eight fragments in this article are non-provenanced and undocumented. From what I know, there are no trustworthy lists of previous owners for *any* of them, only vague stories and/or allusive lists, whose main function probably is to "prove" that the fragments were taken out of Israel before 1970 or 1978 (thereby implying that their removal and exportation predated—and therefore have not contravened—the 1970 *Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property* by UNESCO or the 1978 *Antiquities Law of the State of Israel*).[7]

In what follows, I will try to place these eight fragments in a chronology and analyze the information that I have been able to gather about their origins and provenance. I will not discuss the issues of authenticity or forgery thoroughly, as I regard it as already settled that all the fragments are modern forgeries. I also fully agree with Mizzi and Magness, "Provenance vs. Authenticity," that

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Hallermayer and Torleif Elgvin, "Schøyen ms. 5234: Ein neues Tobit-Fragment vom Toten Meer," *RevQ* 22/87 (2006): 451–61; Esther Eshel and Hanan Eshel, "A Preliminary Report on Seven New Fragments from Qumran," *Meghillot* 5–6 (2007): 271–78; James H. Charlesworth, "What Is a Variant? Announcing a Dead Sea Scrolls Fragment of Deuteronomy," *Maarav* 16 (2009): 201–12; Émile Puech, "Un nouveau fragment 7a de 4QGn-Ex^{a} = 4QGen-Ex 1 et quelques nouvelles lectures et identifications du manuscrit 4Q1," *RevQ* 25/97 (2011): 103–11; Emanuel Tov, "New Fragments of Amos," *DSD* 21 (2014): 3–13; Elgvin et al., eds., *Gleanings from the Caves*, and Tov et al., eds., *Dead Sea Scrolls Fragments in the Museum Collection*.

7 Cf. Daniel Estrin, "Dead Sea Scroll fragments to hit the auction block," *Times of Israel,* 25 May 2013, http://www.timesofisrael.com/dead-sea-scroll-fragments-to-hit-the-auction-block:

> Nearly 70 years after the discovery of the world's oldest biblical manuscripts, the Palestinian family who originally sold them to scholars and institutions is now quietly marketing the leftovers—fragments the family says it has kept in a Swiss safe deposit box all these years.[…]
>
> […] Kando held much more than he surrendered to Israel. William, his son, said his father had fragments tucked away which he eventually transferred to Switzerland in the mid-1960s.
>
> In 1993, just as scholars finally began publishing research of Israeli-held scrolls, and the world was abuzz with Dead Sea Scroll fever, Kando died, bequeathing his secret collection of fragments to his sons.
>
> It was the perfect time to sell.[…]
>
> […] Kando said his father transferred fragments to Switzerland in the mid-1960s—before Israel passed its 1978 law preventing the unauthorized removal of antiquities from the country.

See also James H. Charlesworth, "The Discovery of an Unknown Dead Sea Scroll: The Original Text of Deuteronomy 27?" *OWU Magazine*, Summer 2012, https://web.archive.org/web/20140226221353/http://blogs.owu.edu/magazine/the-discovery-of-an-unknown-dead-sea-scroll-the-original-text-of-deuteronomy-27/, and Fields, "Significance."

Concerning the role of the scholars in this saga, see Årstein Justnes and Josephine M. Rasmussen, "Soli Deo Gloria? The Scholars, the Market, and the Dubious Post-2002 Dead Sea Scrolls-like Fragments," *The Bible and Interpretation*, 11 November 2017, http://www.bibleinterp.com/.

The Aramaic post-2002 fragments at a glance

Known since	Content	Collection number	DSS F.no DSS F.name [designation]	Tov's 2010 List	Lines, measurements, and material	Dealer(s) ➤ collection(s)
2003	Tob 14:3–4	MS 5234	DSS F.123 DSS F.Tob1	4Q196* papTob[a] ar	7 lines 6.8 × 2.2 cm papyrus	William Kando ➤ Schøyen Collection (September? 2003)†
2003	Tob 7:1–3		[XpapTobit ar]		4 lines papyrus	William Kando
2004	1 En. 8:4–9:3	MS 4612/12	DSS F.125 DSS F.En2	X26‡ XpapEn[a]	5 lines 5.8 × 4.3 cm papyrus	William Kando (Bruce Ferrini → Esther & Hanan Eshel) ➤ Schøyen Collection (April 2009)
2008	1 En. 7:1–5	MS 4612/8	DSS F.124 DSS F.En1	X27‡ XEn[b] ar	5 lines 3.8 × 5.3 cm parchment	William Kando ➤ Schøyen Collection (January or April 2009)
2008	Dan 5:13–16	APU5	DSS F.155 DSS F.Dan1		5 lines parchment	Lee Biondi ➤ Azusa Pacific University (August 2009)#
2008	Dan 6:22–24		DSS F.166 DSS F.Dan2	X24** XpapDan	4 lines 2.5 × 6 cm papyrus	William Kando ➤ South-western Baptist Theological Seminary (19[?] January 2010)
2009	1 En. 106:19–107:1	MS 4612/6	DSS F.126 DSS F.En3	X28‡ XEn[c] ar	3 lines 2.9 × 8.3 cm papyrus	William Kando ➤ Schøyen Collection (April–[?] 2009)
2010	Dan 7:18–19		DSS F.167 DSS F.Dan3		3 lines 1.2 × 1.6 cm papyrus	William Kando ➤ Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary (19[?] January 2010)

* Emanuel Tov, *Revised List of Texts from the Judaean Desert* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 35.

† Personal information from Martin Schøyen to Torleif Elgvin.

‡ Tov, *Revised List*, 110.

\# "Azusa Pacific's Dead Sea Scrolls and Biblical Artifacts Exhibition Opens May 21: News Release," *Azusa Pacific University,* 11 May 2010, https://www.apu.edu/media/news/release/15664/.

** Tov, *Revised List*, 110 and 129.

considerations of provenance should take priority over authenticity. Because of the space limitations, let me start with a brief overview of the fragments under scrutiny.

It should be noted that six out of the eight fragments are written on papyrus, and that seven of them are between only 3 and 5 lines. With the possible exception of Dan 5:13–16, they all seem to come from the Bethlehem antiquities dealer William Kando, son of the legendary Khalil Iskander Shahin, or "Kando."

In the autumn of 2002 William Kando started to contact American antiquities dealers, and later also the Norwegian collector Martin Schøyen.[8] The first five fragments that William Kando offered for sale were all in Hebrew and ended up after some time in the Ink & Blood collection.[9] The first Aramaic fragment landed in Norway in the autumn of 2003.

2 Tob 14:3–4 (DSS F.123, DSS F.Tob1) and Tob 7:1–3 (XpapTobit ar)

Between June 2003 and June 2004 Schøyen bought several fragments from William Kando, and among them an Aramaic Tobit fragment.[10] The fragment first appeared on Schøyen's webpage sometime between 12 December 2003 and 11 March 2004, but was—strangely and surprisingly—presented as Tob 7:1–3:

> MS 5234
> TOBIT DEAD SEA SCROLL
> BIBLE: TOBIT 7:1–3 [*captured 11 March 2004*]
>
> MS in Aramaic on papyrus, Qumran, ca. 1–68 AD, 1 fragment, 6,8 × 2,1 cm, part of right side of a column, (5,9 × 1,6 cm), part of 7 lines in a late Herodian Hebrew book script.

8 In his personal reflection in *Gleanings from the Caves*, Schøyen takes credit for having opened the market for the post-2002 fragments. See Martin Schøyen, "Acquisition and Ownership History: A Personal Reflection," in *Gleanings from the Caves: Dead Sea Scrolls and Artefacts from The Schøyen Collection*, ed. Torleif Elgvin, Kipp Davis, and Michael Langlois, LSTS 71 (London: T&T Clark, 2016), 27–31 (30), and Justnes and Rasmussen, "Soli Deo Gloria?" 3.

9 See https://inkandblood.com/index.php/project/dead-sea-scrolls/.

10 According to Elgvin, Schøyen has recently indicated the following acquisition dates for these fragments: Deut 6:1–2 (MS 5214; DDS F.108), June 2003; 2 Sam 20 (MS 5233/1; DSS F.114) and Tobit (MS 5234; DSS F.123), September 2003; and Ps 78:12/119:19/141:7 (MS 5095/5; DSS F.118), June 2004. In all probability, Exodus (4612/2) and Eschat (4612/3) were also acquired in the same period.

> *Context:* The only fragment surviving from this Dead Sea Scroll. Only 4Qpap.TobitAar=4Q196 (ca. 50 BC) and 4QTobitBar=4Q197 (ca. 30 BC–25 AD) have parts of the same text, published in DJD XIX, pl. I–VII.
>
> *Provenance:* 1. Community of the Essenes, Qumran (ca. 1–68 AD); 2. Qumran Cave 4 or 11 (68–1956); 3. Khalil Iskander Shakin ("Kando"), Bethlehem (1956–1972); 4. Private collection, Switzerland (1972–2003).
>
> *Commentary:* Part of this MS is not on 4Q196 and 4Q197, thus being the earliest witness to this part of the Bible. Tobit (or Tobias) was written in the 5th or 4th c. BC, and is an apocryphal book in the Hebrew Bible, but part of the Septuagint. The present text is first part of how Raguel gave his daughter Sarah as bride to Tobias, son of Tobit, according to the ordinance in the Law of Moses.[11]

Schøyen is here confusing the Tob 14:3–4 fragment (7 lines) with the Tob 7:1–3 fragment (4 lines). So, while the physical description of the fragment on his site matches Tob 14:3–4, the paraphrase of the content ("Commentary") fits with Tob 7:1–3.

Somewhere between 11 March and 26 April, the date, the palaeographical information, and the identification changed significantly (I have indicated the changes by italics below):

> BIBLE: TOBIT 7:1–3 [*captured 26 April 2004*]
>
> MS in Aramaic on papyrus, Qumran, *ca. 50 BC*, 1 fragment, 6,8 × 2,1 cm, part of right side of a column, (5,9 × 1,6 cm), part of 7 lines in a late *semi-formal Hasmonaean* Hebrew book script.[…]
>
> *Context: Part of fragment 14 of* 4Qpap.TobitAar=4Q196 (ca. 50 BC). 4QTobitBar=4Q197 (ca. 30 BC–25 AD) have parts of the same text, *both* published in DJD XIX, pl. I–VII.
>
> *Provenance:* 1. Community of the Essenes, Qumran (ca *50 BC*–68 AD); 2. Qumran *Cave 4* (68–1956); 3. Khalil Iskander Shakin ("Kando"), Bethlehem (1956–1972); 4. Private collection, Switzerland (1972–2003).
>
> *Commentary: This MS with the other fragments of 4Q196, is* the earliest witness to this part of the Bible. Tobit (or Tobias) was written in the 5th or

11 https://web.archive.org/web/20040311225252/http://www.nb.no:80/baser/schoyen/5/5.9/.

> 4th c. BC, and is an apochryphal book in the Hebrew Bible, but part of the Septuagint. The present text is first part of how Raguel gave his daughter Sarah as bride to Tobias, son of Tobit, according to the ordinance in the Law of Moses. *The allocation of this MS to 4Q196 was kindly communicated by Florentino Garcia Martinez.*[12]

Two short months later, further corrections were added on the website: The fragment was linked to the correct passage, the fragment number was modified, and the paraphrase changed to correspond with Tob 14:3–4. But, most notably, the last point in list of previous owners (cf. Provenance) was changed: The private collection in Switzerland was replaced by a certain "American priest, later serving in Switzerland (1972–95)." This change ends "the chain of owners" already in 1995 implying that the fragment was acquired by the Schøyen Collection as early as in the mid-nineties.[13]

> BIBLE: TOBIT *14:4–6* [*captured 17 June 2004*]
>
> MS in Aramaic on papyrus, Qumran, ca. 50 BC, 1 fragment, 6,8 × 2,1 cm, part of right side of a column, (5,9 × 1,6 cm), part of 7 lines in a late semi-formal Hasmonaean Hebrew book script.[…]
>
> *Context:* Part of *the column next to fragment 8* of 4Qpap.TobitAar=4Q196 (ca. 50 BC). *4QTobitCar=4Q198* (*ca. 50 BC*) *has* parts of the same text, both published in DJD XIX, pl. I–VIII.
>
> *Provenance:* 1. Community of the Essenes, Qumran (ca 50 BC–68 AD); 2. Qumran Cave 4 (68–1956); 3. Khalil Iskander Shahin ("Kando"), Bethlehem (1956–1972); 4. *American priest, later serving in Switzerland* (1972–*1995*).
>
> *Commentary:* This MS with the other fragments of 4Q196, is the earliest witness to this part of the Bible. Tobit (or Tobias) was written in the 5th or 4th c. BC, and is an apochryphal book in the Hebrew Bible, but part of the Septuagint. The present text is *Tobit's instructions given when he was at the point of death in Nineveh, to his son Tobias and his seven sons, ordering them to hurry away to Media, as Assyria and Babylonia will not be*

12 https://web.archive.org/web/20040426174053/http://www.nb.no:80/baser/schoyen/5/5.9/.

13 This change may have been motivated by Norway's ratification of the *UNIDROIT Convention on Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural Objects* (1995) in 2001.

> *safe according to the prophets' of Israel. The present Aramaic text is rather different from the Septuagint, and shorter.*[14]

The changing identity of the Schøyen Tobit fragment is worth noticing. It shows that already in 2003 there were two Tobit fragments in the game. Schøyen, however, only bought one of them, namely DSS F.123 (= Tob 14:3–4). Furthermore, my review above also shows that the Schøyen Collection during the first half of 2004 changed provenance information for this fragment twice.[15]

The Schøyen fragment was exhibited in Oslo during the Nordic Network in Qumran Studies Symposium 3–5 June 2004. The first scholarly mention of it was made in 2005 by Edward M. Cook on his blog,[16] where he even made use of the fragment to reconstruct "the Aramaic Urtext of the Greek Tobit in the Sinaitic Recension."[17] The fragment was subsequently published by Michaela Hallermayer and Torleif Elgvin in 2006 as part of 4Q196 (4QpapTob^{a} ar).[18] This identification, first suggested by Florentino García Martínez on the basis of a photograph on the Schøyen Collection website, however, turned out to be wrong.

From 2012 onwards, several scholars—obviously informed by Elgvin's preliminary edition written for the Schøyen volume—briefly mention the fragment in single footnotes: Hanna Tervanotko refers to a "pre-publication version" of "Torleif Elgvin, '4QpapTobit^{a} frg 18 (Tobit 14:3–4), MS 5234', in *Gleanings from the Caves. Dead Sea Scrolls and Artifacts from The Schøyen Collection* (ed.

14 https://web.archive.org/web/20040617102110/http://www.nb.no:80/baser/schoyen/5/5.9/. This version is basically accepted and presupposed (but even further developed) in Hallermayer and Elgvin, "Schøyen MS. 5234," 452: "Bevor dieses Fragment im Januar 2001 durch die *Schøyen Collection* erworben wurde, war es von 1956–1972 zunächst im Besitz von Khalil Iskander Shahin ("Kando"), Betlehem, von 1972–1995 dann im Besitz eines nicht näher genannten amerikanischen Priesters, der später in der Schweiz tätig war, von 1995–2001 schließlich im Besitz der Kando-Familie und wurde in Zürich aufbewahrt."

15 The misidentification is also reflected in Eshel and Eshel, "New Fragments from Qumran," 146, n. 29: "It has recently been revealed that there is a seven-line Aramaic papyrus in the Schøyen Collection that preserves portions of Tobit 7:1–3. This fragment […] is the first to be published from another copy of Tobit."

16 Edward M. Cook, "A Lost Scrap of Tobit from the Schoyen Collection," *Ralph the Sacred River,* 9 December 2005, http://ralphriver.blogspot.dk/2005/12/lost-scrap-of-tobit-from-schoyen.html.

17 Edward M. Cook, "Reconstruction of the Aramaic *Urtext* of the Greek Tobit in the Sinaitic Recension," https://web.archive.org/web/20060211013840/http://homepage.mac.com/edcook/TobitUrtxt.pdf.

18 Hallermayer and Elgvin, "Schøyen MS. 5234," 451–61.

Torleif Elgvin; T&T Clark, 2011), forthcoming."[19] In 2014 it is mentioned by Tawny L. Holm, but now as a fragment of a new composition, 4Q196a:

> Note also a fragment of Tobit 14:4–6 in the Schøyen private collection, MS 5234, which used to be thought of as part of 4Q196, but has now been classified as a "new papyrus copy" (4Q196a) of *Tobit*; see http://torlei felgvin.wordpress.com/english/, accessed 28 Feb. 2013.[20]

In her thorough 2017 article "Tobit and the Qumran Aramaic Texts," Devorah Dimant also pays the fragment a short visit:

> Following Józef Milik, Fitzmyer was aware of only four Aramaic manuscripts, but in 2006 two scholars published a photograph and decipherment of a small papyrus fragment from Qumran containing Tob 14:3–4 that was unknown to Fitzmyer, which is now part of the Schøyen Collection. The authors considered it a fragment of the already known Qumran papyrus copy of Tobit, 4Q196, published by Fitzmyer.[…] However, upon inspection of the photograph of the fragment forwarded to me by Prof. Elgvin, […] it became clear that the fragment comes from a different papyrus manuscript.[…] Stuart Weeks notes that another fragment from the same sixth manuscript may be found in private hands. […] Thus, the Qumran library held six copies of Tobit, five in Aramaic and one in the Hebrew.[21]

These quoted pieces illustrate the great willingness of Dead Sea Scrolls scholars to let new, non-provenanced material into the dataset. It is particularly

19 Hanna Tervanotko, "'You Shall See': Rebekah's Farewell Address in 4Q364 3 ii 1–6," in *The Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls,* ed. Nóra Dávid et al., FRLANT 239 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 413–26 (425, n. 47).

20 Tawny L. Holm, "Memories of Sennacherib in Aramaic Tradition," in *Sennacherib at the Gates of Jerusalem (701 B.C.E.): Story, History and Historiography*, ed. Isaac Kalimi and Seth Richardson, CHANE 71 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 295–323 (309, n. 56). It is also mentioned in a single sentence by George J. Brooke. See his "Dead Sea Scrolls Scholarship in the United Kingdom," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Scholarly Perspective: A History of Research*, ed. Devorah Dimant, STDJ 99 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 449–86 (481, n. 159). Loren Stuckenbruck and Stuart Weeks, "Tobit," in *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint,* ed. James K. Aitken (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 237–60 (237, n. 2), say that the "fragment belongs to the same manuscript as 4Q196." In another formulation on p. 238, probably referring to the same fragment, they mention "some additional material initially thought to be from 4Q196 and published as such, […] now believed to represent a fifth Aramaic manuscript (4Q196a)."

21 Devorah Dimant, "Tobit and the Qumran Aramaic Texts," in *From Enoch to Tobit: Collected Studies in Ancient Jewish Literature,* ed. Devorah Dimant, FAT 114 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 173–91 (175).

with this fragment in mind that Dimant summarizes the number of Tobit manuscripts as follows: "[…] the Qumran library yielded six copies of the book, five in Aramaic (4Q196–4Q199, XQTob) and one in Hebrew (4Q200)."[22] According to Dimant, XQTob consists of two fragments, the Schøyen Tobit and the fragment mentioned by Weeks. Dimant includes the last fragment into the dataset purely on the basis of a secondary reference, i.e. Weeks quoting from a private conversation with Eibert Tigchelaar.[23]

After it became apparent that the fragment was a fake,[24] the Schøyen Collection removed the fragment from its webpage. It was also removed from the Schøyen volume.

Tobit 7:1–3 is a twin to the Schøyen Tobit, and the fragment was at one point also offered for sale to Schøyen (cf. the confusion about this fragment above).[25] According to Elgvin, Dimant intended to publish it in *Revue de Qumran*, but it has still not been published.[26] However, in her 2017 book *From Enoch to Tobit*, Dimant barely seems aware of the fragment (see above).

The two Tobit papyri dealt with in this part seem to have been written by the same hand, inviting the assumption that both derive from the same scroll—a conclusion reached independently by Elgvin and Dimant (before Elgvin ended up classifying both as forgeries; cf. above).

3 1 En. 8:4–9:3 (DSS F.125, DSS F.En2)

Interestingly, the first post-2002 fragment that was published in a scholarly journal was an Aramaic fragment, 1 En. 8:4–9:3. By their own account, Hanan and Esther Eshel were invited in September 2003 to serve as academic advisors for an exhibition entitled "From the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Forbidden Book",

22 Dimant, "Tobit," 175. As is seen from the quote, she builds here on Stuart Weeks ("Restoring the Greek Tobit," *JSJ* 44 [2013]: 1–15 [3]) who speaks about "the discovery of at least five fragmentary Tobit manuscripts at Qumran."

23 See Weeks, "Restoring," 3, n. 6: "Schøyen MS 5234, previously identified as a fragment of 4Q196, actually appears to affirm the existence of an additional Aramaic manuscript; I understand from Eibert Tigchelaar that a further, unpublished fragment of that same manuscript exists in another collection."

24 On this aspect of the story, see Davis et al., "Nine Dubious," 220–21.

25 It is interesting to note that Peter Flint (*The Dead Sea Scrolls* [Nashville: Abingdon, 2013], 10) even wrote that Schøyen purchased *two* Tobit fragments between 2000 and 2005.

26 A picture of the fragment was published in the Norwegian newspaper *Vårt Land* in the wake of the "Tracing and Facing the Possibility of Forgeries" session at ISBL in Berlin, 22 August 2017. See Geir Ove Fonn, "Dødehavsruller er lukrativ svindelindustri," *Vårt Land*, 16 August 2017, https://www.vl.no/nyhet/dodehavsruller-er-lukrativ-svindelindustri-1.1013905?paywall=true.

first held in Dallas, Texas.[27] This appointment seems to have given them access to several new "Dead Sea Scrolls" fragments, also the new piece of Enoch:

> In March 2004 we received for publication a photograph of a fragmentary papyrus preserving five lines identifiable as the end of *1 En.* 8 and the beginning of *1 En.* 9 (8:4–9:3). Though undoubtedly found at Qumran, as we cannot identify the cave, we suggest labeling this fragment XQpapEnoch.[28]

In a footnote on the same page they "thank Bruce Ferrini of Bath, Ohio for providing a photograph of this fragment and for granting [...] [them] permission to publish it."[29] The Eshels also got permission to publish the five Hebrew Dead Sea Scroll fragments in the exhibition.

The Eshels worked on the fragments at remarkable speed, and submitted their article to *Dead Sea Discoveries* early in May 2004.[30] It appeared the following year.[31] The Enoch fragment was first published in Hebrew (*Tarbiz*) in 2004.[32] It was discussed on 11 October 2004 at the University of Michigan by a panel composed of Profs. Gabriele Boccaccini, James C. VanderKam, Esther Eshel, and Hanan Eshel, at the SBL Annual Meeting in November 2004 in San Antonio, and at the Third Meeting of the Enoch Seminar (Camaldoli, Italy, 6–10 June, 2005).

In November 2004 James R. Davila gave the following report from the SBL meeting on *PaleoJudaica.com*:

> Yesterday evening after the Qumran session, Esther and Hanan Eshel gave an impromptu presentation on the new *1 Enoch* fragment, whose story broke on PaleoJudaica some time ago. They are calling it XQpapEnoch,

27 Eshel and Eshel, "New Fragments from Qumran," 134. See also Lee Biondi, *From the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Forbidden Book: A History of the Bible* (Dallas, TX, 2003).

28 Eshel and Eshel, "New Fragments from Qumran," 146. See also Eshel and Eshel, "A New Fragment of the Book of the Watchers," v.

29 Eshel and Eshel, "New Fragments from Qumran," 146, n. 27. See also pp. 134–35, n. 3: "We received the first five fragments at Dallas; the sixth fragment (XQpapEnoch) was given to us in March 2004, when the exhibition was in Akron, Ohio."

30 James R. Davila, "More 1 Enoch from the Qumran Library," *PaleoJudaica.com*, 10 October 2004, http://paleojudaica.blogspot.no/2004_10_10_archive.html#109782863646134864.

31 In 2007 the Eshels published seven further fragments (six texts) mainly on the basis of pictures from exhibition catalogues ("A Preliminary Report on Seven New Fragments from Qumran," *Meghillot* 5–6 [2007], 271–78). Following basically the same approach as in the *DSD* article two years earlier, they ascribed all the fragments to previously published scrolls: Exod 3:13–15 and 5:9–14 were ascribed to 4QExod^{c}, Deut 19:13–15 to 4QDeut^{f}, Jer 24:6–7 to 4QJer^{c}, two pieces with text from Ps 11:1–4 to 11QPs^{c}, and a fragment identified with 4QInstruction to 4Q416 (4QInstr^{b}).

32 Eshel and Eshel, "A New Fragment of the Book of the Watchers."

> since they are confident it comes from a Qumran cave, but they don't know which one, and (unusually for a Qumran scroll and uniquely for a Qumran Enoch manuscript) it's written on papyrus rather than leather. It contains the damaged Aramaic text of *1 Enoch* 8:4–9:3, a passage that tells how the archangels looked down from heaven on the corruption of the earth before the Flood, and it allows us to correct one of Milik's reconstructions since the word in question survives on this papyrus. The correct reading or something very close to it was conjectured by Loren Stuckenbruck [...] some time ago, before this fragment was discovered. (Well done, Loren.)
>
> The fragment belongs to the Kando family.[...] The Enoch papyrus is one of 12 unpublished fragments owned by them. The Eshels have seen infra-red photos of 6 of these. Five are biblical fragments from three already known manuscripts: 4QIsa^{c}, 4QGen^{f}, and 8QGen. The other six look like "black corn flakes" and are now on tour in the USA in the *From the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Forbidden Book* exhibition. The Eshels haven't seen the fragment in person yet but they are confident enough of its authenticity to publish it now.[...].
>
> There are also rumors that another fragment of the same manuscript exists.[33]

As reflected in this blog post, the Enoch fragment immediately rose to prominence, and was used to correct Milik's celebrated edition of 4QEn^{a} (4Q201) from 1976.[34] Strikingly, the tiny fragment had allegedly managed to preserve a reading cautiously suggested for 201 iv 8 by Stuckenbruck only three years earlier.[35]

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33 James R. Davila, "News on the New *1 Enoch* Fragment," *PaleoJudaica.com*, 22 November 2004, http://paleojudaica.blogspot.no/2004/11/news-on-new-1-enoch-fragment-yesterday.html.

34 Eshel and Eshel, "A New Fragment of the Book of the Watchers," v: "The publication of this new fragment of 1 Enoch is important not only as a witness to the existence of another copy in addition to the eleven known Qumran manuscripts of *1 Enoch*, but also because of its contribution to the reconstruction of two Cave 4 Aramaic manuscripts. [...] Despite their poor preservation, it is possible to read and reconstruct in the three Aramaic witnesses a similar, if not identical, text.[...] If our suggested reconstruction of this new fragment is correct, it apparently preserves part of an extensive description of the harm the Watchers inflicted on humanity." See also Eshel and Eshel, "New Fragments from Qumran," 156, and Hanan Eshel, "Gleaning of Scrolls from the Judean Desert," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Context*, ed. Charlotte Hempel, STDJ 90 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 49–87 (74): "The text here is important, because it makes it possible to correct a number of reconstructions proposed by Joseph [sic] Milik for two fragments of *1 Enoch* found in Cave 4."

35 See Eshel and Eshel, "New Fragments from Qumran," 154: "קטיליא [...] is the main contribution of the new fragment.[...] The appearance of this word in the new fragment

Already in 2005, the fragment appeared in volume 3 of the authoritative *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*, with the siglum XQ8.[36] In Emanuel Tov's *Revised List of Texts from the Judaean Desert* from 2010, it bears the revised siglum X26—without "Q"—and the label XpapEn^{a}.[37] The increase from 8 to 26 reflects that many of the post-2002 fragments already at that time had made it into Tov's list. The addition of the superscript "a" in the label was in order to make space for the two other Enoch fragments, see below.

Considering that this is a Kando fragment, it is noteworthy that it was the controversial antiquities dealer Ferrini who granted the Eshels permission to publish it. Already in 2004 the Eshels said there were rumours of another fragment from the same "scroll," but this never seemed to surface. This may, however, refer to 1 En. 106:19–107:1, another papyrus fragment that Schøyen acquired from Kando five years later, together with 1 En. 8:4–9:3.[38] More about that later.

If authentic, this would have been the first Enoch papyrus from Qumran. It is, however, a forgery.[39]

4 Intermezzo: Weston Fields's List of William Kando Fragments

In November 2008, Weston Fields distributed a list of sixteen Dead Sea Scroll fragments owned by the Kando family to potential buyers.[40] The list contained three Aramaic fragments—one from Daniel, two from Enoch, and, somewhat surprisingly, none from Tobit:

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indicates that Milik's reading and reconstruction [...] [in 4Q201 iv 8] should not be accepted. L. Stuckenbruck suggested the reading קטיליא before this new fragment was discovered." Cf. Loren Stuckenbruck, "203. 4QEnochGiants^{a} ar," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Miscellanea, Part 1,* ed. Philip Alexander et al., DJD 36 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 8–41 (18): "and [the] whole [earth] was filled with e[vil and] violence (חמסה) against the ones killed (קטיליא) [4Q201 iv 7–8]." Milik read "and the whole [earth] was filled with wickedness and violence, so that sin was brought upon it (חטי עליה[את])" (Józef T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1976], 157–58).

36 Donald Parry and Emanuel Tov, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader Part 3: Parabiblical Texts* (Leiden: Brill), 2005. This is still the way it is labelled in the "Qumran Non-biblical Manuscripts" module in *Accordance*.

37 Tov, *Revised List*, 110.

38 In their 2005 discussion of the Enoch fragment ("New Fragments from Qumran," 150), Eshel and Eshel interestingly show a particular interest in 1 Enoch 106–107.

39 See Davis et al., "Nine Dubious," 217–20, and Justnes and Elgvin, "Private Part."

40 The one I have seen is dated 10 November 2008. It consists of four columns with the following headings: "fragment," "length," "height," and "chapter, verse." See also Davis et al., "Nine Dubious," 198, and Justnes and Elgvin, "Private Part," 197.

No.	Chapter, verse (or name)	No.	Chapter, verse (or name)
1	Dan 6:22–24	8	Judg 1:10–12
2	Lev 18:27–29	9	Gen 33:18–34:3
3	Temple Scroll 56:6–7	10	1 En. 7:1–4
4	Deut 12:11–14	11	Temple Scroll 54:21–55:6
5	Judg 19:10–13 (1st column); 19:23–28 (2nd column)	12	Exod 23:8–10
6	Paleo Leviticus Old Hebrew	13	Deut 9:25–10:1
7	1 En. 8:4–9:3	14	Gen 37:26–38:14; 37:14–23; 38:14–39:5 (3 fragments)

The list provides a nice overview of some of the fragments that were soon to be bought by the Southwestern Baptists and the Schøyen Collection:

Collection	Aramaic frgs	Hebrew frgs
Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary	no. 1—Dan 6:22–24 (DSS F. 166)	no. 2—later identified as Lev 20:24; 18:28–30 (DSS F.162) no. 4—Deut 12:11–14 (DSS F. 164) no. 6—Paleo Leviticus no. 12—Exod 23:8–10 (DSS F.161) no. 13—Deut 9:25–10:1 (DSS F.163)
The Schøyen Collection	no. 7—1 En. 8:4–9:3 (DSS F.125) no. 10—1 En. 7:1–4/5 (DSS F.124)	

5 1 En. 7:1–5 (DSS F.124, DSS F.En1) and 1 En. 106:19–107:1 (DSS F.126, DSS F.En3)

During the winter and spring of 2009, the Schøyen Collection acquired three Enoch fragments from William Kando: 1 En. 7:1–5 (= 1 En. 7:1–4 on Fields's

list[41]), 1 En. 8:4–9:3 (which we have already discussed; on Fields's list[42]), and 1 En. 106:19–107:1 (not on the list). According to Schøyen, 1 En. 7:1–5 arrived in Norway in January and the two others in April 2009.[43] Davis et al. indicate that these three fragments along with several others were bought from William Kando on demand, so to speak:

> Late February and early March 2009 Schøyen approached William Kando about the possibility of acquiring fragments containing text belonging to specific books: Nehemiah, Chronicles, Ezra, 2 Kings, 1–2 Samuel, Proverbs, Qohelet, Esther, Jeremiah, and 1 Enoch. And the same year he was able to obtain MS 5426 (Nehemiah), MS 4612/10 and MS 5480 (1 Samuel), MS 4612/9 (DSS F.Jer1), MS 4612/11 (DSS F.Prov1), as well as two papyri and a parchment fragment containing text from 1 Enoch (MS 4612/6, MS 4612/8, MS 4612/12).[44]

With Elgvin's permission, Esther Eshel presented the new fragments of 1 En. 7:1–5 and 1 En. 106:19–107:1 at the meeting of the 5th Enoch seminar in Naples in mid-June 2009. Davila narrates:

> Esther Eshel reported on two new Aramaic fragments of *1 Enoch*. These are attributed to Qumran (i.e., are taken to be Dead Sea Scrolls), although they were recovered on the antiquities market and are thus unprovenanced. One is a papyrus fragment containing *1 Enoch* 106:19–107:1 (from the story of the birth of Noah). The other is a parchment fragment containing *1 Enoch* 7:1–5. Eshel thinks it is part of 4QEnoch^{c} ar/4Q204.[45]

The identification of 1 En. 7:1–5 as a fragment of 4QEnoch^{c} ar (4Q204)[46] was wrong, but it is possible that this forgery was produced with the intention of

41 DSS F.124 is called "Enoch Aramaic"—length: 5.5 cm; height: 3.3 cm; chapter, verse: 7:1–4.

42 DSS F.125 is listed as "Enoch Aramaic"—length: 4.5 cm; height: 4.5 cm; chapter, verse: 8:4–9:3.

43 Elgvin believes all three arrived in Norway in April, in harmony with Davis et al., "Nine Dubious," 194.

44 Davis et al., "Nine Dubious," 194. See also p. 206 ("The fragment [1 En. 106:19–107:1, DSS F.126] arrived at The Schøyen Collection in 2009, a few months after a special request made by Schøyen to William Kando to locate fragments of 1 Enoch, as well as of Samuel, Nehemiah and Esther") and p. 214.

45 James R. Davila, "2 Enoch: All Your Base Are Belong to Us," *PaleoJudaica.com*, 20 June 2009, http://paleojudaica.blogspot.no/2009/06/2-enoch-all-your-base-are-belong-to-us.html.

46 At that stage the Eshels still tended to identify many of the recently appeared fragments with scrolls published in DJD. The five other fragments presented in "New Fragments from Qumran" were connected with four scrolls published in DJD. The 2007 publication,

looking like a fragment of that manuscript. In 2013 parts of 1 En. 7:1–5 were published by Michael Langlois.[47] After it became clear that the three Enoch fragments were forgeries, they were removed from the Schøyen Collection and—at the eleventh hour—from the Schøyen volume. The three Enoch fragments as well as Tobit 14:3–4 are, however, dealt with in Ira Rabin's chapter "Material Analysis of the Fragments,"[48] but only identified by MS-number (not by passage and DSS F.-name and number).

6 Dan 5:13–16 (DSS F.155, DSS F.Dan1)

In August 2009, about the time when the sale of post-2002 fragments exploded, Azusa Pacific University bought five fragments (none of them on Fields's 2008 list).[49] Among them was an Aramaic fragment with text from Dan 5:13–16. On 3 September the following elevated words were published on the University's website:

> In its most significant holding to date—and possibly ever—Azusa Pacific University acquires five Dead Sea Scroll fragments and a collection of rare biblical antiquities.
>
> Joining Princeton Theological Seminary and the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago, APU becomes only the third institution of higher education to own original Dead Sea Scroll fragments. These earliest known texts of the Hebrew Bible, dating back to roughly 150 B.C., were discovered in the caves of Qumran, east of Jerusalem, between 1947–56. Today, many of the estimated 15,000 known fragments are held in private collections. With this acquisition, APU can study, research, and share these fragments with scholars and the public while carefully preserving the history of Scripture.[50]

"A Preliminary Report on Seven New Fragments," connects all seven fragments with previously published scrolls.

47 Michael Langlois, "Un manuscrit araméen inédit du livre d'Hénoch et les versions anciennes de 1 Hénoch 7,4," *Sem* 55 (2013): 101–16.

48 Ira Rabin, "Material Analysis of the Fragments," in *Gleanings from the Caves: Dead Sea Scrolls and Artefacts from The Schøyen Collection*, ed. Torleif Elgvin, Kipp Davis, and Michael Langlois, LSTS 71 (London: T&T Clark, 2016), 61–77.

49 Exod 18:6–8 (DSS F.151); Lev 10:4–7 (DSS F.152); Deut 8:2–5 (DSS F.153); Deut 27:4–6 (DSS F.154); Dan 5:13–16 (DSS F.155).

50 "Azusa Pacific University Acquires Five Dead Sea Scroll Fragments and Rare Biblical Artifacts: News Release," *Azusa Pacific University*, 3 September 2009, https://web.archive.org/web/20091022130226/https://www.apu.edu/media/news/release/14307/.

The new fragments were immediately enrolled among the authentic Dead Sea Scrolls, and had also landed in the more specific context of Azusa Pacific:

> "This acquisition allows us to tell the remarkable story of how humanity came to have the Bible, and how Scripture has been preserved through history," said President Jon R. Wallace, DBA. "Having these documents also reinforces APU's history and commitment to a high view of Scriptures. This is a milestone for APU, and we are deeply grateful to Legacy Ministries International for allowing us to continue Legacy's devotion to protect these ancient documents that mark the very beginnings of the written Bible."[…]
>
> "This acquisition will set Azusa Pacific University apart from all other Christian institutions of higher education in the world," said Paul Gray, Ed.D., vice provost for graduate programs and research and dean of the University Libraries. "What better location to have available for the public to see the earliest of Scripture than in Southern California, home to millions of people."[51]

The fragments were linked to Lee Biondi, one of the antiquities dealers that William Kando had contacted already in 2002, to Legacy Ministries International,[52] and more indeterminably to James H. Charlesworth:

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51 "Azusa Pacific University Acquires Five Dead Sea Scroll Fragments."

52 In Azusa Pacific's own magazine *APU Life*, the purchase of antiquities from Legacy Ministries International is interpreted in a spiritual frame of reference, see Cynndie Hoff, "Discovery and Scholarship," *APU Life* 23.1 (2010): 12–13 (13):

> How did APU come to own these scriptural treasures? The story begins with Legacy Ministries International (LMI), an organization with a number of biblical antiquities, endeavoring to establish a permanent Bible museum. In early 2009, LMI presented an exhibition of Dead Sea Scroll fragments and biblical rarities at a church in Peoria, Arizona. Among the 20,000 visitors who attended was APU Board of Trustees Chair David Le Shana, Ph.D. "My granddaughter invited me to the exhibition, and it was a spiritually moving experience," he said. Le Shana immediately sought out LMI's Executive Director Anthony Naimo and said, "This is a powerful exhibition and fits perfectly with APU's commitment to God First and our high view of Scripture. Is there any chance we could work with LMI to bring this exhibition to APU?" That question launched a series of discussions between LMI and APU that resulted in a collaboration both institutions believe was led by God. The two organizations signed an agreement on August 5, 2009, to transfer the majority of LMI's holdings to APU's Special Collections.[…] "It was evident from the beginning that God was linking together people with a oneness of spirit and purpose," said Rev. Andy Stimer, chair of the LMI Board of Trustees. "This strategic alliance unites the strengths of two institutions

> Four of the fragments were obtained from Lee Biondi of Biondi Rare Books and Manuscripts in Venice, California. The fifth fragment came from Legacy Ministries International, a Phoenix, Arizona-based nonprofit committed to telling the story of the Bible and assembling artifacts, objects, Bibles, and documents tracing the history of Scripture.[…]
>
> "Since their discovery, many Dead Sea Scroll fragments have been known only to their owners, and many are becoming impossible to read since they are no longer accompanied by the low humidity, thick ozone layer, and coverings that protected them for almost 2,000 years," said James H. Charlesworth, Ph.D., George L. Collord Professor of New Testament Language and Literature at Princeton Theological Seminary and director and editor of the PTS Dead Sea Scrolls Project. "Now, thanks to the president and scholars at Azusa Pacific University, these fragments have been recovered and will be scientifically protected. Each one preserves priceless data from the beginnings of Western Culture and is a unique witness to documents in the Bible of Jews and Christians." Charlesworth will be working closely with several APU faculty to publish these fragments.[53]

Earlier that year, on 2 February, Davila had reported on his blog that an Exodus and a Daniel fragment were for sale at Michael R. Thompson, Booksellers. Thompson advertised the Daniel fragment as follows:

> 29. [DEAD SEA SCROLLS]. Original fragment from Daniel, Chapter 5, Verse 13–16. Found at Qumran, on the Dead Sea, in Cave 4, some time between 1952 and 1956. The fragment itself dates between 50 BC–AD 68 (the Roman destruction of Qumran). 32 mm. × 30 mm., written in Hebrew on brown animal hide. Preserved between glass, and enclosed in cloth chemise, in full black morocco clamshell slipcase. $275,000.
>
> Includes the verse translated in English as: "Art thou that Daniel, which art of the children of the captivity of Iudah …"[54]

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completely committed to the primacy of Scripture. Together, we can make these treasures accessible to scholars and believers on a grand scale."

53 "Azusa Pacific University Acquires Five Dead Sea Scroll Fragments."

54 James R. Davila, "Dead Sea Scrolls for Sale," *PaleoJudaica.com,* 2 February 2009, http://paleojudaica.blogspot.no/2009/02/dead-sea-scrolls-fragments-for-sale-by.html. Davila was quoting from Thompson's blog, but this post has since been removed.

In a follow-up two short weeks later, some quite disturbing details were revealed:

> When asked to see the pieces, Thompson reveals that he's been holding the coveted religious documents in his jacket pocket.
>
> "You put it in a big fancy case, and it pretty much screams out that 'This is worth something,'" said Thompson, figuring the items would be harder to steal when they're close to his chest.[55]

Colourful bits like these seem to have been left out of Azusa Pacific's more official narrative of the acquisition of the fragments (cf. above). Journalist Joy Juedes celebrates in particular professor Robert Duke's central role:

> Duke has helped bring the scrolls to Azusa Pacific University.[…] [he] spent most of the summer confirming the authenticity of the five scroll fragments the university recently acquired.
>
> The scrolls are the earliest known texts of the Hebrew Bible, dating back to roughly *150 B.C.* They were discovered in caves at Qumran, east of Jerusalem, between 1947–56.[…]
>
> "Ninety percent are in Israel or Jordan, and then there are these fragments that are in private collections," Duke said.
>
> Duke said it is difficult to get ancient artifacts out of their countries of origin because of international rules and a recent antiquity fraud scandal at the Getty Museum.
>
> […]
>
> Duke said when he first saw digital photos of the fragments, he was struck by how genuine they looked.
>
> "I spent a few months poring over photos, going to the seller to make sure they were authentic," he said.
>
> "Some of it is just looking at lettering—they look like what other scrolls look like that came out of Qumran or other caves," he said.
>
> The seller also provided carbon dating information, which helps verify age, he said.
>
> "By looking at it and comparing with other fragments it was pretty clear we were handling the real material," he said.

55 James R. Davila, "More on the Dead Sea Scroll Fragments," *PaleoJudaica.com*, 15 February 2009, http://paleojudaica.blogspot.no/2009/02/more-on-dead-sea-scroll-fragments-for.html.

> Azusa's special collections staff is in charge of handling, preservation, and access to the fragments. The school also checked to make sure the fragments were not illegally owned at some point.[56]

The notorious vagueness and the implicitly apologetic tone that characterises so much of the reports on the post-2002 fragments are noteworthy also in this piece. It is important for Duke to communicate that these fragments are the real thing: they look like Dead Sea Scroll fragments, behave like Dead Sea Scrolls, are treated as Dead Sea Scrolls—and even come with carbon 14 dating. They are not forgeries, and they have not been smuggled.

When Daniel Estrin writes about the new fragments in 2013, an important detail is added to the story—William Kando: "Kando told The Associated Press he was the source of all the fragments."[57] The late mention of William Kando in this part of the story is peculiar, and I am honestly not sure precisely what to make of it.[58]

Despite the hype—still ongoing[59]—it is already well established even before the official publication of the Azusa collection that the two Deuteronomy fragments Deut 8:2–5 (DSS F.153) and Deut 27:4–6 (DSS F.154) are forgeries.[60] The Daniel fragment under scrutiny here contains most of the features that we have learned to expect from these newer fragments: the handwriting is imitative and hesitant, and the letters inconsistent. Several of them are modified to

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56 Joy Juedes, "Yucaipan brings scrolls to Azusa Pacific," *Redlands Daily Facts,* 1 October 2009.

57 Estrin, "Dead Sea Scroll Fragments."

58 Cf. also Owen Jarus, "28 Dead Sea Scroll Fragments Sold in the U.S," *CBS News*, 3 April 2017, https://www.cbsnews.com/news/28-dead-sea-scroll-fragments-sold-in-the-u-s/:

> Before Azusa Pacific University purchased the scroll fragments, the university received assurances from William Kando that the Kando family had owned those fragments in the past, Duke said.

59 See "Publication of Azusa Pacific University's Dead Sea Scrolls to Enhance Biblical Scholarship," *News release*, 17 May 2017, https://www.apu.edu/media/news/release/25415/.

60 Concerning DSS F.153, see Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, "Dittography and Copying Lines in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Considering George Brooke's Proposal about 1QpHab 7:1–2," in *Is There a Text in This Cave? Studies in the Textuality of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of George J. Brooke,* ed. Ariel Feldman, Maria Cioată, and Charlotte Hempel, STDJ 119 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 293–307 (297, n. 14): "I surmise that DSS.F133 [*sic* = DSS F.153] (APU 3) is a modern forgery, imitating 4Q30 5, even up to a similarity of the shapes of some letters", and Davis, "Caves of Dispute," 256–58. Concerning DSS F.154, see Årstein Justnes, "Forfalskninger av dødehavsruller: Om mer enn 70 nye fragmenter—og historien om ett av dem (DSS F.154; 5 Mos 27,4–6) [Faking the Dead Sea Scrolls: On More than 70 New Fragments—and the Story about One of Them (DSS F.154; Deut 27:4–6)]," *Teologisk Tidsskrift* 6.1 (2017): 70–83. Tigchelaar, "Beautiful Bookhands," comments on both fragments.

fit the damage pattern on the surface of the fragment. This is hardly a fragment from a scroll, but more likely a fragment inscribed in modern times.

7 Dan 6:22–24 (DSS F.166, DSS F.Dan2) and 7:18–19 (DSS F.167, DSS F.Dan3)

On the nineteenth of January 2010, the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary (SWBTS) acquired two Aramaic papyri fragments, Dan 6:22–24 (21–23) and Dan 7:18–19, along with two Hebrew fragments, Exod 23:8–10 (DSS F.161) and Lev 20:24; 18:28–30 (DSS F.162), from William Kando.[61] As the reader may remember, all of these, with the exception of Dan 7:18–19, were on Fields's 2008 list.[62]

The acquisition of the SWBTS fragments is documented in Armour Patterson's book *Much Clean Paper for Little Dirty Paper.* Patterson's story basically starts with a failed attempt to get Kando's famous scroll jar out of Israel, and culminates in two major incidents on the fourth of July 2009:

> Knowing the prospect to be an unlikely one, Dorothy [Patterson, wife of former Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary president Paige Patterson] nevertheless made an attempt to buy Kando's jar in July of 2007. As she had suspected, though, she learned that there still was no legal way to get it out of Israel and gave up on any idea of obtaining artifacts with any connection to the Dead Sea Scrolls. Two years later, however, at the new Kando Store in Bethlehem, everything changed. The stakes in the long-running pursuit of antiquities were most unexpectedly raised with an offer that none of us could have seen coming. While in the store on July 4, 2009, with a SWBTS donor study tour group, […] William Kando approached Dorothy about the prospect of purchasing fragments of the Dead Sea Scrolls.[63]
>
> On the evening of July 4, 2009, the Pattersons, their small tour group, and SWBTS archaeologist Steve Ortiz met at the American Colony Hotel in Jerusalem with Dead Sea Scrolls specialists, Hanan and Esti Eshel. There

61 Armour Patterson, *Much Clean Paper for Little Dirty Paper: The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Texas Musâwama* (Collierville, TN: Innovo Publishing, 2012), 31–32.

62 DSS F.166 is called "Daniel Papyrus" on Fields's list. The list also provides the following information about this fragment: length: 5.5 cm; height: 2.5 cm; chapter, verse: 6:22–24.

63 Patterson, *Much Clean Paper*, 28.

> they compared the lists of fragments and photographs given to Dorothy by William Kando with the list in the hands of the archaeologists in Jerusalem. The list in the hands of the Eshels matched perfectly the list the Pattersons had been provided by William Kando, a crucial first step in authenticating the fragments. Weston W. Fields also verified the affirmation of the Pattersons that the Kando family could have genuine fragments and that they were trustworthy.[64]

On this noteworthy date, at this noteworthy place, with the support of prominent scholars Hanan and Esther Eshel, and the leader of the Dead Sea Scrolls Foundation,[65] not only the fragments, but also William Kando's business, are authenticated. There is reason to assume that the list mentioned in the quote is identical with the list mentioned above. At this point the scene changes in Patterson's narrative:

> From this point forward, the negotiations moved to Zurich, Switzerland, where the scroll fragments had been kept for decades in a vault at the UBS Bank. "Old Man Kando," as I affectionately remember him, being a shrewd businessman, had known that the time for taking any artifacts out of the country was short. He thus took fragments of the scrolls in his possession out of the country before the enactment of laws that would have prevented any such movement. Though one could make some educated guesses, the path the scroll fragments took is not important, but what is relevant here is that their final destination was the unparalleled security of the Swiss bank in Zurich.[66]

As in Schøyen's provenance lists, "Old Man Kando" is the key figure also in Patterson's fragmented provenance narrative, just as is Zurich, Switzerland:

> There were five meetings at the UBS Bank in Zurich between October 6, 2009, and May 18, 2011, in which William Kando and Dorothy Patterson were the principals. D. Cipriano, the UBS Bank officer assigned to William

64 Patterson, *Much Clean Paper,* 30.

65 Also elsewhere in the book, Fields's essential role as facilitator is honoured: "Weston W. Fields, head of the Dead Sea Scrolls Foundation in Jerusalem, a man who knows business, the Scriptures, Middle Eastern lands and cultures, and the history of the Dead Sea Scrolls, would prove not only valuable but essential in maximizing the success of the project. Others would also become patrons of the Dead Sea Scrolls project" (Patterson, *Much Clean Paper,* 28).

66 Patterson, *Much Clean Paper,* 30.

> Kando, also attended the meetings in a neutral and procedural role. Formalities of paperwork, specific counsel, and the removal of scroll fragments from the vault were handled by Cipriano. When agreement upon price had been reached and a check was produced, or sometimes when agreement was close, the bank officer assisted with formalities.[67]

In between Patterson's long descriptions of the tough, but at the same time profound and respectful negotiations between Dorothy and William, contours of an alternative provenance narrative emerge:

> Of the five meetings in Zurich between Dorothy Patterson and William Kando, neither the first[…], nor the last[…], resulted in any acquisitions. […]. The last meeting in Zurich, though resulting in no acquisition, was significant for two reasons. First, as the Pattersons already knew, more fragments were available. Second, and more important, one of the reasons for that availability was clarified. As suggested previously, no one ever knew for sure all that the Kandos had, and certainly no one knew all that the family knew. Important fragments of the scrolls had long been missing from the primary museum collections, their whereabouts unknown. The Kandos knew which private collectors had bought some of those crucial fragments in the early days of the recovery of the scrolls from the desert caves. William Kando had begun to purchase fragments from the private collectors who had originally made purchases either from William's father or from someone else known to him. Thus, more was available than the Pattersons had known when negotiations began.[68]

Patterson here offers a much-needed explanation of the growing number of fragments: after the negotiations began, Kando had allegedly started to purchase fragments from private collectors.

At their second meeting in Zurich, Dorothy Patterson purchased what later turned out to be *two* Daniel fragments,[69] along with two other fragments:

> At the end of long hours of increasingly intense negotiation, Dorothy Patterson, with the generous financial gifts of SWBTS donors, was able to

67 Patterson, *Much Clean Paper,* 31.

68 Patterson, *Much Clean Paper,* 32–33.

69 In the exhibition catalogue *Dead Sea Scrolls and the Bible* from 2012 the Daniel fragments are labelled fragments 1 and 2. See Gary Loveless and Stephanie Loveless, *Dead Sea Scrolls and the Bible: Ancient Artifacts, Timeless Treasures: Exhibition Catalogue* (Fort Worth, TX: Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2012), 91.

> purchase and take back to Texas three fragments: Daniel 6:22–24 (which was later discovered to include Daniel 7:18–19), Leviticus 18:27–29, and Exodus 23:8–10.[70]

Six months later, still according to Armour Patterson, at a third meeting in Zurich 3 September 2010, Dorothy Patterson purchased two more fragments, Deut 12:11–14 and 9:25–10:1, and received Ps 22:4–13 as a gift from William Kando. The crowning event, three months later, led to a purchase of a fragment that had been known even before 2002, and is considered by most scholars as authentic—the famous Paleo-Leviticus fragment:

> The greatest acquisition, both in size and in value, came nearly three months later after much hard work and generous gifts by Southwestern Seminary donors. At the close of negotiations on Monday, November 29, 2010, Dorothy Patterson and Candi Finch left the UBS Bank in Zurich for the flight home to Fort Worth with the Paleo-Leviticus fragment containing portions of Leviticus 21:7–12 and 22:21–27. Interestingly, we have learned that this fragment was originally sold by Kando, William's father, in 1967 to Professor Georges Roux[…]. William Kando repurchased the piece and obtained with it the old cigar box in which it was originally carried and sold. Upon the purchase of the fragment, he was kind enough to gift the original cigar box to SWBTS.[71]

Amour Patterson is a writer of fiction, and parts of *Much Clean Paper for Little Dirty Paper* read almost like a hagiography of the elder Kando and his son William. This is definitely also a tendency in Fields's Lanier Lecture from 2011, where he tries to create a space for the Psalm 22 fragment in the official story of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Estrin's piece from 2013 definitely modifies this image. He reported there that Dorothy Patterson had to pay a higher prize for the Leviticus 18 and 20 fragment because it contained material about sexual immorality:

> "That scroll fragment includes passages from chapters 18 and 20 concerning the laws of sexual morality, and carried a special price tag because of the text's significance," said Bruce McCoy of the Seminary. "The particular

70 Patterson, *Much Clean Paper,* 33.
71 Patterson, *Much Clean Paper,* 35.

> passage is a timeless truth from God's word to the global culture today," said McCoy.[72]

I have earlier suggested that this fragment might have been produced for American evangelicals.[73] As far as the Aramaic Daniel fragments are concerned, it is natural to group them among the other post-2002 forgeries: the hand in both pieces is hesitant and inconsistent, and some of the letters are adjusted along the edges of the fragments. The line spacing also differs between them.

8 Concluding Remarks

> We academics must help protect the objects we study. Some of my colleagues believe that scholarship comes first, or say that texts have no guilt, so we should be faithful to them. They publish what emerges from the market. I disagree. To publish papyri with suspicious—if not illegal—provenance is unethical. It lends a new identity to those artefacts and feeds the illicit market.[…] Those who study papyri must exercise due diligence before publishing anything, and academics should exercise an active role in educating collectors and keeping an eye on the market. Would you knowingly buy a stolen bike? Why would you buy—or publish—a stolen manuscript?[74]

Looking back, it is abundantly clear that it was wrong to purchase the Aramaic fragments under scrutiny in this article without performing due diligence. As this study has shown, the pedigrees, the lists of previous owners, and the stories by which the fragments were marketed cannot be trusted for any of the fragments.

Despite the fundamentally problematic nature of all the post-2002 fragments, most Qumran scholars that have worked on them have taken the essence of the dealers' and collectors' claims, i.e. that the fragments came from Qumran, as their point of departure, honoured it, and often to a large extent confirmed it in their own ways. Some scholars even took it upon themselves to

72 Estrin, "Dead Sea Scroll fragments."

73 Quoted in Nina Burleigh, "Newly Discovered Dead Sea Scrolls are Skillfully Crafted Fakes, Experts Suspect," *Newsweek*, 18 October 2016, http://www.newsweek.com/2016/10/28/dead-sea-scroll-fragments-fake-experts-suspect-511224.html, and Candida Moss and Joel Baden, *Bible Nation: The United States of Hobby Lobby* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2017), 34–35.

74 Mazza, "The Illegal Papyrus Trade."

improve or substantiate Kando's provenance narratives, either with the aid of physical testing or by writing the new fragments into the official story of the Dead Sea Scrolls. This definitely helped to drive up the prices of the fragments and created incentives for the production of forgeries.[75]

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75 Thanks to Ludvik A. Kjeldsberg, Kristine Toft Rosland, and Line Reichelt Føreland for critical response on an earlier draft of this article.

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