

Aramaica Qumranica

*Proceedings of the Conference
on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran
in Aix-en-Provence
30 June – 2 July 2008*

Edited by

KATELL BERTHELOT AND

DANIEL STÖKL BEN EZRA

BRILL

Aramaica Qumranica

Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah

Edited by

Florentino García Martínez

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To Hanan Eshel
our irreplaceable colleague and friend
May his memory be blessed

כל דעבד טב מתגזי ליה טב
וכל אנש עובדוי אזלין קודמוי

(Eulogy 65:27–28 from Sokoloff & Yahalom,
Jewish Palestinian Aramaic Poetry)

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PREFACE

From 30 June – 2 July 2008, the Centre Paul-Albert Février in Aix-en-Provence, France, invited twenty four scholars to investigate the important and remarkable group of Aramaic texts from Qumran. Many more colleagues from France, the Czech Republic, Germany and the USA participated in the discussions that enjoyed the hospitality of the *Maison Méditerranéenne des Sciences de l'Homme* (MMSH). The organizers are most grateful to all participants, young scholars and distinguished emeriti for their kind agreement to come and for the friendly and erudite discussions and for the enthusiasm for the discipline during the venture.

A gist of the discussions has been included after every contribution depending on what the participants decided to include or not. While it can give only a faint record of the spirit of encounter, innovation and creativity that ruled the discussions, many points go beyond what could be expressed in the articles.

The discussions at the conference became often particularly lively when our colleague Hanan Eshel, חנן, contributed from his fountain of knowledge. The community of Qumranologists is left bereft after his death at only 51 years and our thoughts are with his family and his wife. In Aix, nothing was yet known of his grave illness. On sending out the proofs, he has already left us. It is in admiration of the vast achievements of his short life and in memory of his charismatic personality that the editors have decided to dedicate this volume to him. May something of his voice continue to be heard through the discussion in this volume.

Many institutions have contributed generous financial support, a great pleasure to acknowledge: the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), the Université de Provence (Aix-Marseille I), the Conseil régional de la région Provence-Alpes-Côte-d'Azur (PACA), the Conseil général du département des Bouches du Rhône, the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Centre Paul-Albert Février (UMR 6125), Orient et Méditerranée (UMR 8167), the Centre de Recherche Français à Jérusalem (UMIFRE 7 CNRS-MAEE). Special thanks are due to Gilles Dorival, director of the Centre Paul-Albert Février, who gave us every possible support and much encouragement. The organizers wish to express their deep gratitude to these institutions and their directors for enabling the French community of scholars to invite a substantial number of international specialists from all over the world. Despite the fact that many scholars from France and from French institutions have had a great impact on Qumran studies, international conferences on the Dead

Sea Scrolls have been a rare venture in this country. Our hope is that this conference will be followed by many others.

The 37th volume of *DJD* was published shortly after the conference took place in Aix-en-Provence. This explains why several papers, whose final version was sent before the publication of *DJD XXXVII*, do not refer to it yet, and sometimes refer to a manuscript with a different title.

For the kind permission to reproduce copyrighted material for the figures to the article of Armin Lange, we thank the Classical Numismatic Group Inc.; Numismatik Lanz in Munich; Ira and Larry Goldberg Coins and Collectibles Inc.; The New York Auction, Baldwin's (London), Markov (New York), and M&M (Washington); Fotostudio Lübke und Wiedemann; Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG; and Ancient Imports, Inc.

Finally, the index of this book exists thanks to many days of painstaking work of Thierry Murcia, Ph.D. candidate at the University of Aix-Marseille I. We are indeed most grateful to him for his kind and generous help.

ARAMAICA QUMRANICA: INTRODUCTION

Katell Berthelot and Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra

The Aramaic texts form an important and remarkable group within the Qumran “library.” Among some 900 manuscripts found in the Qumran caves, 129 are—or appear to be—in Aramaic, and roughly 87 are sufficiently well-preserved to be studied. This constitutes at least ten percent of all the scrolls.¹ From a thematic point of view, the Aramaic texts tackle a great variety of topics and belong to different literary genres: (1) Targums (one of Leviticus, two of Job); (2) narrative compositions (including *Jews at the Persian Court* and an Aramaic version of Tobit), sometimes inspired by biblical texts (as in the case of the *Genesis Apocryphon*), or, in a more distant way, by Babylonian literature (e.g. the *Book of Giants* and the *Prayer of Nabonidus*); (3) apocryphal texts connected to the Patriarchs, which to some extent belong to the testamentary genre, and combine narrative sections, exhortations and predictions (*Testament of Jacob* (?), *Testament of Judah*, *Testament of Joseph*, *Testament of Qahat*, *Visions of Amram*, *Aramaic Levi Document*); (4) apocalyptic texts, such as *I Enoch* and the Danielic literature; (5) a visionary text entitled *New Jerusalem*, which can be compared to the end of the Book of Ezekiel and to the *Temple Scroll*; (6) wisdom literature (Aramaic Proverbs); (7) an astrological text, a Brontologion and an horoscope; (8) an exorcism; (9) a list of false prophets; and so on. Obviously, some texts belong to more than one literary genre.

¹ Counting manuscripts is hazardous. Some scrolls have been proved to be written by several scribes so that the attribution of fragments to one scroll on the basis of the handwriting is not a waterproof argument. Many unidentified fragments may or may not belong to numbered manuscripts. For many caves, unidentified manuscripts simply received one common number and are therefore counted as one. The language of 4Q352-359 cannot be determined with certainty. In addition, sixteen manuscripts, for the most part administrative or accounting documents, are in fact of uncertain origin (see A. Yardeni, *DJD XXVII*, 283). One manuscript, 4Q360a, seems to be a literary text, but it is too fragmentary for clear conclusions to be drawn. If one retains only those manuscripts whose Qumran origin is certain, there are roughly 113 literary texts, coming from caves 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 et 11. However, 26 mss are so fragmentary that they cannot be identified nor classified.

Among the questions we asked the participants of the conference to address were the following ones. Can we find categories that allow us to regard the Aramaic texts as one corpus? If the Aramaic texts cannot be classified within a single category, so to speak as a corpus, does this mean that they have nothing in common? Are they completely independent of one another, with the implication that the choice of Aramaic does not involve a common origin? From a thematic view, a certain emphasis on themes connected to Genesis seems to be recognizable. And from a linguistic point of view—even if the Aramaic of the Qumran texts is not uniform—at least one characteristic distinguishes them from the other Aramaic texts or documents found outside Qumran: the pronominal suffix *-kh* in the 2nd masc. sg.—the only exception being 11QtgJob.² Other features are still debated.

From a cultural perspective, several texts refer to a Mesopotamian or a Persian background or imply a connection of some sort with one of these cultures. Apart from the *Book of Giants* and the *Prayer of Nabonidus*, at least 4QZodiacal Calendar ar, *1 Enoch*, Daniel, Proto-Esther and Tobit fall within this category. Yet, with regard to the question of the origin of these texts, one should keep in mind that although they show connections with the Babylonian and Persian worlds, they are generally written in a Western type of Aramaic.

While not appearing to be uniform, the collection of Aramaic texts found at Qumran therefore shows certain tendencies that need to be identified more precisely. On the one hand, one has to compare the Aramaic texts with Aramaic literature outside Qumran. On the other hand, with regard to the specific character of the Aramaic texts within the Qumran corpus, one has to ask where they differ from the texts in Hebrew and where they are similar. Thus for instance, the issue of the connections with the Babylonian and Persian worlds can be answered satisfactorily only if one compares the situation of the Aramaic texts with that of the other Qumran texts.

A possible “sectarian” origin of some Aramaic texts has been evoked for some scrolls. Because of the dualistic terminology of 4Q543-549 (*Visions of Amram*), some scholars have considered it a sectarian text. But is this really the case? Conversely, can one affirm that no Aramaic text is of sectarian origin and that they all come from a different non-sectarian milieu? At least in the case of 4Q246, 11QtgJob and *New*

² Cf. S. E. Fassberg, “Qumran Aramaic,” *Maarav* 9 (2002): 19–31; idem, “Qumran Aramaic,” *Meghillot* 2 (2004): 169–184 (in Hebrew).

Jerusalem, the issue is debated. But if one characterizes some texts as sectarian, then the question arises: What led members of the community to write certain texts in Aramaic rather than in Hebrew? Apart from these possible exceptions, are most of the Aramaic texts pre-Qumranite compositions? Were they copied outside Qumran? Finally, what kind of information can the Aramaic texts provide with regard to the history of the collection found at Qumran and its origin? These were some of the questions on crucial issues that we sent out to the invited speakers to guide them in the preparation of their papers.

In her opening lecture on “Themes and Genres in the Aramaic Texts from Qumran,” Devorah Dimant offers further reflections on the initial thematic classification of the Aramaic texts she proposed in 2007.³ Bearing in mind that the two most important groups of Aramaic texts from Qumran deal with the antediluvian generations (*I Enoch* and the *Book of Giants*) and the patriarchs, Dimant underlines the predominance of the testament form and the fact that pseudepigraphic testaments are attributed mainly to Enoch and to the biblical patriarchs. Dimant relates these foci to the authors’ self-perception as guardians of a specific sapiential tradition revealed to the ancient forefathers of humanity and Israel. Moreover, these works are mostly set as farewell addresses, formulated as written documents. Dream-visions also appear in most of the compositions included in this group but, unlike the farewell discourse, they are found in other Aramaic texts as well. For example, the court tale combines predictive dream-vision and third person narrative. After reviewing the evidence from the other Aramaic texts and paying attention to their stylistic and contextual markers, Devorah Dimant concludes that the generic study of the Aramaic texts provides a new and larger perspective on these works, on the Qumran library as a whole, and on Jewish works which were known before the discovery of the scrolls.

Émile Puech sets out to present the Aramaic texts published in *DJD XXXVII* (2008) beginning with an overview of the whole group of Aramaic texts whose publication was originally assigned to Jean Starcky and then to himself. He begins with 4Q246, a text with apocalyptic and

³ See D. 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. A. Hilhorst, É. Puech and E. J. C. Tigchelaar; JSJSup 122; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 197–205.

messianic overtones entitled *Apocryphon of Daniel*, published in *DJD XXII*. Puech then presents the texts published in *DJD XXXI*: 4Q529 (*Words of Michael*), the copies of the *Book of Giants*, the copies of a text entitled *Birth of Noah* (4Q534–536), the manuscripts corresponding to testaments of patriarchs (4Q537 *Testament of Jacob*; 4Q538 *Testament of Judah*; 4Q539 *Testament of Joseph*; 4Q540–541 *Apocryphon of Levi*; 4Q542 *Testament of Qahat*; and the *Visions of Amram* [4Q543–549]). Finally, Puech presents the texts published in *DJD XXXVII*: 4Q550 (*Jews at the Persian Court*), which is not a proto-Esther; 4Q551 (4QRécit ar, or 4QTale), which has nothing to do with Daniel and Suzanna; 4Q552–553–553a (*Four Kingdoms*); 4Q554–554a–555 (manuscripts of the *New Jerusalem*); fragmentary manuscripts grouped under the heading “Prophecies and Visions” (4Q556, 4Q557, 4Q558); 4Q559 (*Biblical Chronography*); 4Q560 (a kind of magical book, perhaps including medical aspects); 4Q561 (*Horoscopes*); 4Q569 (*Aramaic Proverbs*); the other manuscripts are too fragmentary to be characterized with any certainty, but can provide useful informations as far as linguistic issues are concerned.

Three papers deal primarily with different linguistic issues of the Aramaic corpus. Steve Fassberg’s paper focuses on some “Salient Features of the Verbal System in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls.” The distribution of these features in the Jewish Aramaic corpora of Biblical Aramaic, Targums Onqelos and Jonathan, and Qumran Aramaic lends support to Jonas Greenfield’s notion of a Standard Literary Aramaic, in this case a Standard Literary Jewish Aramaic. The inverted word order in the compound tenses $\sqrt{\text{hwy}}$ + participle also reveals links to and dependence on Biblical Aramaic. Other features, however, do not belong to Standard Literary Aramaic, and are instead salient features of later Jewish Palestinian Aramaic. Their existence in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls shows that the scribes who wrote or copied the Scrolls were influenced not only by the literary Aramaic of earlier sources, but also by the evolving Palestinian Aramaic dialects. These Palestinian forms are the earliest attestations of the phenomenon of Palestinian vernacular forms penetrating literary Aramaic works.

In his article “L’araméen de Qumrân entre l’araméen d’empire et les Targumim : l’emploi de la préposition ‘devant’ pour exprimer le respect dû au roi et à Dieu,” Jan Joosten first examines the use of the formula “in front of/before (*qdm*) the king” in biblical texts written in Aramaic, especially in Daniel, and in other Aramaic texts from the Persian period. This formula is used in order to show respect to the king. Biblical texts

also used the same technique in connection with God, speaking of actions performed or words said “from before God.” As a matter of fact, this extension to the religious realm is already found in Imperial Aramaic. Later on it is very frequent in the Targumim. This influence of the language used at the Persian court can also be perceived in late Biblical texts written in Hebrew such as Esther, and in a religious context in some Qumran texts such as *Damascus Document* XX 28. It is also attested in the Septuagint, where this phenomenon is to be explained by a direct influence of the Aramaic usage. Finally, and not surprisingly, it is found in the Aramaic texts from Qumran, although it is used rather sporadically. Even in the specific case of the *Targum of Job* from Qumran the use of this formula is far less systematic than in the other Targumim. Moreover, in the Qumran texts the formula is not used in a court context, but only in a religious one, in connection either with God or with celestial beings, angels etc.

Ursula Schattner-Rieser studies linguistic archaisms in the Aramaic texts from Qumran, asking how they can help to determine the date of these Aramaic compositions. The Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls is generally considered to belong to the category of Middle Western Aramaic, according to Joseph Fitzmyer’s classification. Ursula Schattner-Rieser first analyzes the consonantal changes in the process that leads from ancient Aramaic up to Qumran Aramaic. Then she examines the use of archaic pronouns, the forms of the verb “to be,” the non-dissimilation of pharyngals and other characteristics that can be considered archaic. She finally studies the mass of archaisms found in texts such as *1 Enoch* and the related literature, the *Book of Noah*, the *Aramaic Levi Document*, the *Prayer of Nabonidus*, the *Genesis Apocryphon*, the *Targum of Job*, Tobit, and the *New Jerusalem*. Whereas *1 Enoch* and the *Aramaic Levi Document* display the greatest amount of archaic features, the Aramaic of a text like Tobit is either late or modernized at some point.

Two papers analyze the onomastics of Aramaic texts found at Qumran in comparison with those of the neighbouring cultures of Mesopotamia and Ugarit. In his article on “Nabonidus and Gilgamesh: Aramaic in Mesopotamia and at Qumran,” André Lemaire focuses on the connections between the Aramaic texts from Qumran and Babylonian culture, using the examples of the references to Nabonidus and Gilgamesh in 4Q242 and the *Book of Giants*. He argues that the two works seem to have been composed in the oriental, and more precisely Babylonian, diaspora. While acknowledging that little can be known

about the Babylonian Jewish community during the Persian and Hellenistic period, André Lemaire points out that the little information we have shows that the Jews lived in communities, had access to cuneiform documents, worked in the local administration, etc., so that one may speak of a “Judaean-Akkadian symbiosis.” Accordingly, Jews could have access to the Epic of Gilgamesh even if it was not translated into Aramaic. Finally, André Lemaire formulates the hypothesis that the Teacher of Righteousness may have come from the Jewish Babylonian diaspora, or that some direct connection may have existed between Qumran and Mesopotamia.

Michael Langlois’s paper deals with the names of the fallen angels, the so-called Watchers, mentioned in *1 Enoch*. Through a very detailed epigraphical and etymological analysis of their names in the Aramaic, Ethiopic, Greek and Syriac versions of *1 Enoch*, he comes to the conclusion that among the 19 names found in the Aramaic manuscripts, only 2 or 3 do not contain the divine name El; he suggests that the list could have an ancient West-Semitic origin, and include words that are not found later on in Hebrew or Aramaic. These words are known in Ugaritic during the second millennium BCE—a fact which, of course, does not imply that the list is of Ugaritic provenance, but only that it could be very old. The names of the angels could correspond to ancient West-Semitic deities, as well as to climatic phenomena often associated with deities. Two other papers deal with possible Babylonian influences on scientific literature and the literary presentation of architectural features (see below, on Antonissen and Ben-Dov).

A number of contributions investigate the relation of the Aramaic texts from Qumran to “biblical” texts. Katell Berthelot analyzes the biblical references contained in the non-biblical Aramaic texts from Qumran. The term “biblical” designates those books that were to be included into the canon of the Hebrew Bible later on, and is used for the sake of convenience in spite of its anachronistic character. The focus on biblical books does not preclude the possibility that other books may have been considered authoritative by the authors of the Aramaic texts from Qumran. The survey shows that, apart from the book of Genesis, clear references or allusions to biblical books are sparse, but not inexistent. First, there are formulas in the Aramaic texts that point to the influence of a specific biblical passage. Moreover, one can find numerous references to the cult, the sacrifices and the temple, which imply the use of biblical texts from the Books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers or Deuteronomy (with a special interest in the book of

Leviticus, so it seems), in *Genesis Apocryphon*, *Aramaic Levi Document*, *Visions of Amram* and *New Jerusalem*. This last text also uses Ezekiel 40-48 extensively. Finally, other Aramaic texts from Qumran contain clear references to kings, prophets and priests known from biblical books. Apart from the Pentateuch, the biblical book that influenced the Aramaic texts from Qumran to the greatest extent is probably the book of Daniel.

In his paper “‘The False Prophets who Arose against Our God’ (4Q339 1),” Armin Lange argues that the list of false prophets in 4Q339 is bilingual (Aramaic-Hebrew), and explains the shift in language as a consequence of the fact that the author was referring to biblical prophets and biblical books written in Hebrew. Between the two possible reconstructions of line 9 proposed so far, Armin Lange opts for the reconstruction that designates John Hyrcanus I as a false prophet, and underlines his negative image among Pharisees and Essenes, both because of his claims to be a prophet and because of his openness towards Hellenism, attested among other things by his coinage. Finally, he argues that the lack of reference to the false prophets mentioned in Nehemiah 6:10-14 points towards the idea of a limited collection of authoritative scriptures. Therefore, in his view 4Q339 could be considered one of the earliest witnesses to the canon in ancient Judaism.

In his paper on targumic exegesis and rewriting techniques in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, Thierry Legrand argues that several exegetical devices used by the author of the *Genesis Apocryphon* can be compared to those of the Targumim. Thus, for instance, great attention is paid to the characters of the biblical stories, even secondary ones; the text sheds light on their characters, qualities and emotions. In a similar way, the Targumim give the names of anonymous biblical characters and add several details; like the *Genesis Apocryphon*, they insist on the piety of the biblical heroes. But the *Genesis Apocryphon* tends to add new developments to an even greater extent than the Targumim. It gives numerous chronological and geographical indications that do not appear in the Bible, embellishes the narrative, and tends to emphasize miraculous or extraordinary episodes. In the second part of his paper, Thierry Legrand analyzes the way the author of the *Genesis Apocryphon* freely uses biblical and non-biblical traditions and creates an original literary composition, a selective and free rewriting of Genesis that differs therefore in many ways from the Targumim.

Three authors deal from different angles with the birth of Noah in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, 4Q534–536 (sometimes called “Birth of Noah”),

I Enoch 106–107 and 1Q19. Loren Stuckenbruck’s “The Lamech Narrative in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen) and Birth of Noah (4QEnoch^c ar): A Tradition-Historical Study” focuses on the history of tradition, especially the complex relationship between *I Enoch* 106–107 and the *Genesis Apocryphon* II 1–V 26. After a very detailed study of similarities and differences, Stuckenbruck arrives at the conclusion that the similarities are substantial enough to argue for a genetic relationship but that the relation is so complicated and the texts so fragmentary that it is difficult to be more precise. Both the *Genesis Apocryphon* and *I Enoch* 106–107 have some surplus material. Some of the material in *Genesis Apocryphon* seems older than *I Enoch* 106–107. Stuckenbruck assumes a common link that was not fixed and might have existed only in oral form.

Esther Eshel’s “The *Genesis Apocryphon* and other related Aramaic texts from Qumran: The Birth of Noah” focuses on Noah’s birth in the *Genesis Apocryphon* and 4Q534–536 (whose association with Noah she supports). She points out several shared details especially with regard to terminology (רז, חכמה, חשבון). She discusses the possibility that 4Q534–536 as well as the end of *Genesis Apocryphon* V might have included the description of Noah’s birth. Yet, she reminds us that due to the very lacunary state of both texts any conclusions with regard to the literary development are very tentative. The traditions shared between the *Genesis Apocryphon*, 4Q534–536 and *I Enoch* 106–107 probably go back to one or several book(s) of Noah. Each subsequent author then elaborated this narrative nucleus in keeping with his own needs and interests.

Matthias Weigold’s “Aramaic *Wunderkind*: The Birth of Noah in the Aramaic Texts from Qumran” looks at the relation between the accounts of Noah’s miraculous birth accounts and Genesis in order to answer the question as to why Noah’s birth becomes so special. Taking up and elaborating on a forgotten thesis of Gad Ben-Ami Sarfatti, Weigold suggests that the reason lies in an exegetic explanation of Lamech’s prophetic statement about Noah (Gen 5:28–29): Lamech could perceive the special character of his son when he was born. Weigold then turns to the popularity of Noah’s figure and especially his birth in the Qumran texts. Weigold also argues for a fourth independent source of the *Genesis Apocryphon* for columns 0–I 28. Taking up ideas of Devorah Dimant and Michael Stone he analyzes some details in the story that evoke Noah as a prototype whose Urzeit struggle prefigures that of the

Endzeit, as well as a bridge over the cataclysm of the Flood that conveys antediluvian knowledge to posterior generations.

In his “The Genre(s) of the Genesis Apocryphon,” Moshe Bernstein further develops his arguments for distinguishing the sources behind the *Genesis Apocryphon*, observing a discrepancy in the relationship to Scripture between the Lamech/Noah sections (cols. 0–I and II–XVII) and the Abram section (cols. XIX–XXII). Despite general reservations concerning the term “rewritten Bible,” Bernstein classifies the genres of part I (Noah) as “parabiblical” and of part II (Abram) as “rewritten Bible.” The difference consists in the former part having a much looser relationship to the Bible than the second, which stays quite close to Genesis 12–15. An editor combined both parts into one composite work, which is—at least when speaking from a modern perspective—of a composite, “multigeneric” *Mischgattung*.

Concerning the *Genesis Apocryphon*, some disagreements are worth noticing. Esther Eshel sees a more active author for the *Genesis Apocryphon* than Bernstein whose thesis of an editor assembling three texts is accepted by Weigold. A number of questions remain open, for example whether the interest in Noah is greater in Aramaic sources than in Hebrew texts.

Another paper on the question of genres is Jörg Frey’s “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.” After a brief survey of the central non-Qumranic examples of testamentary literature and a discussion of the principal elements employed in characterizing the genre, Frey disagrees with the classification of some Qumran scrolls sometimes called “Testament of” as such (3Q7, 4Q215, 4Q484, 4Q537, 4Q538, *ALD*). He does support the classification of the *Visions of Amram* (4Q543–549) and the *Testament of Qahat* (4Q542) as testaments and, with less certainty, the *Apocryphon of Levi* (4Q540–541) and the *Testament of Joseph* (4Q539). Frequent comparisons with the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* lead to a number of important implications regarding its origin and relation to the Qumran texts at the end of the article.

Two contributions focus on scientific or esoteric traditions attested in the Aramaic texts. Jonathan Ben-Dov’s contribution “Scientific Writings in Aramaic and Hebrew at Qumran: Translation and Concealment” argues for a more important place of scientific traditions in the Aramaic texts from Qumran than expressed in Devorah Dimant’s sixfold classification of this corpus. According to Ben-Dov, the texts

found in Qumran seem to have shared a policy of restricting such traditions to a small circle of initiated persons, as in Mesopotamian culture and in contrast to the Greek world. Employing a wide definition of science, Ben-Dov discerns a varied field of disciplines: astronomy, geography, metrology, physiognomy, astrology and exorcism. He carefully weighs the arguments for Babylonian and Hellenistic influence. Whereas earlier texts embed scientific traditions in compositions attributed to patriarchs, later texts are entirely dedicated to science. In the second part of his article, Ben-Dov addresses the issue of and the reasons for translating scientific works from Aramaic to Hebrew (e.g. 4Q317 and 4Q186), possibly by *yahad*-related translators.

Tackling the issue of esoteric knowledge in the Aramaic Qumran texts, Samuel Thomas first tries to shed light on the Aramaic texts by putting them into a larger framework, that of studies of the phenomenon of religious esotericism as a whole. He shows that the Aramaic texts display a great number of features that characterize esoteric works, and emphasizes that in the Aramaic compositions, there is a connection between the possession of esoteric knowledge and righteousness and election. Several Aramaic Qumran writings also refer to an illicit knowledge, e.g. the knowledge transmitted to humankind by the Watchers for instance. It appears that many of the Aramaic compositions contain features that correspond to the *yahad*'s social and religious self-understanding: the transmission of special revelations in written form, through books generally attributed to figures of the past, mainly ante-diluvian ones and patriarchs; a special interest in astronomical, astrological and physiognomical knowledge; and the possibility of personal, revelatory religious experience for those who deserve it.

Four papers deal with the important issue of apocalyptic and eschatological traditions in the Aramaic corpus. In his paper entitled "Aramaica Qumranica Apocalyptica (?)," Florentino García Martínez, following the conclusions formulated by Dimant and Tigchelaar in previous papers, first underlines that the Aramaic literature found at Qumran is characterized by a predominant interest in "pre-Mosaic" protagonists or by a setting in the diaspora. He then draws attention to another characteristic feature of the Aramaic compositions, namely the apocalyptic outlook of a relatively large number of them. Concerning the question of the Qumranic or non-Qumranic (sectarian or non-sectarian) origin of the Aramaic texts, Florentino García Martínez concludes, after having explained why he considers the categories

sectarian / non-sectarian and biblical / non-biblical inadequate, that the question is irrelevant, because the only context we have for the Aramaic compositions is the context provided by the collection in which they have been found. Finally, in terms of function, García Martínez describes the Aramaic texts as playing an influential role in shaping the group of Qumran as an “apocalyptic community.”

Lorenzo DiTommaso’s article “Apocalypticism and the Aramaic Texts from Qumran” reopens the discussion about the definition and the taxonomy of apocalypticism, apocalypse and apocalyptic literature. Observing the dearth of full-fledged apocalypses in ancient Jewish literature (particularly in Qumran) and simultaneously the great mass of apocalyptic writings, especially among the Aramaic Qumran scrolls, he proposes shifting the literary focus from apocalypses to a broader category of “apocalypica” in order to understand the cultural phenomenon of apocalypticism. (In an appendix, he lists 24 Aramaic apocalypica from Qumran, of which one third was previously known.) For DiTommaso, the temporal and spatial dimensions of apocalypses are of primordial importance and all other elements “contingent.” While he sees apocalypticism as always eschatologically oriented to the resolution of the conflict between the forces of good and evil, DiTommaso does not limit the social setting for the emergence of apocalyptic literature to oppressed classes or historical catastrophes, but underlines the possibility that privileged and ruling classes also participated in this worldview.

In his article on “Architectural representation technique in *New Jerusalem*, Ezekiel and the *Temple Scroll*,” Hugo Antonissen investigates numerous details of the description techniques of these three texts. No conclusive pattern of resemblance can be observed—*New Jerusalem* can be closer to Ezekiel or to the *Temple Scroll* or to both. In a final section, Antonissen suggests some elements of possible influence of Mesopotamian texts on the early Jewish tradition.

“Messianic Figures in the Aramaic Texts from Qumran” is the topic of Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra’s contribution. He investigates four Aramaic Qumran texts that have sometimes been interpreted on a messianic background: 4Q246 (the “Son of God” text), 4Q534 (*Birth of Noah*), 4Q541 *Apocryphon of Levi*^b? ar and and 4Q558 (papVision^b ar). Stökl proposes new interpretations for certain details: the eighth to the Elect One in 4Q558 is seen as referring to the eighth (eschatological) priest; on the basis of the rare use of השתלח in the hitpaal, the atonement in 4Q541 is linked to the ritual of the scapegoat. Combining both

hypotheses put forward for the identification of the protagonist of 4Q534, Stökl suggests this protagonist could be a Noah redivivus *as* (eschatological?) redeemer figure. The absence of the Son of Man from 4Q246, a text close to Daniel 7 may be due to a version of Daniel without this figure. In general, the number of messianic passages in Second Temple texts is very low. These four texts are therefore a substantial addition to the small corpus, a view now accepted by Devorah Dimant while John Collins stays sceptic.

The conference concluded with the paper of John Collins, which proposes a synthetical analysis of all the papers presented at the conference and a global reflection upon the Aramaic texts from Qumran. Collins focuses on three issues: 1) the relation of these texts to what we know as the Hebrew Bible; 2) the question of their sectarian or non-sectarian provenance; 3) the character of the corpus, and specifically its relevance to the development of apocalypticism in the Jewish tradition and 4) messianism. He underlines that a significant proportion of the Aramaic literature found at Qumran is likely to date from pre-Maccabean times and that the interest in figures other than Moses is typical of this literature, even if its authors were familiar with the traditions found in the Pentateuch. Moreover, as far as the use of a book later included in the Bible is concerned, Collins points out that the most important question to be asked pertains to the kind of use the Aramaic texts make of it. In many cases the biblical text is only a jumping off point for a new composition. What is more, Collins sees very little evidence of an appeal to older literature as normative in the Aramaic texts from Qumran. As far as the issue of sectarian or non-sectarian provenance is concerned, he reaches the conclusion that in a general way, it is sound to assume that the Aramaic texts are of non-sectarian origin; even 4Q541 cannot be claimed to be a clear case of a sectarian text written in Aramaic. Nor do the Aramaic texts seem to have been considered normative by the authors of the sectarian scrolls. Finally, as far as the third issue is concerned, Collins refrains from characterizing the Aramaic corpus as a whole as “apocalyptic,” but deems several Aramaic compositions illustrative of the kind of milieu in which the earliest apocalyptic writings developed. Finally, he regards Aramaic literature as nearly devoid of messianic expectations. He concludes that “the Aramaic literature found at Qumran was most probably a segment of popular Jewish literature in the Hellenistic period,” from which lines of tradition can be traced which influenced the sectarian literature of the first century BCE.

PART I: GENERAL APPROACHES

THEMES AND GENRES IN THE ARAMAIC TEXTS FROM QUMRAN

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The study of literary themes and genres is a type of enquiry which will obtain the best results when performed on complete texts, within the framework of a well-established discipline. One may rightly ask if the Qumran texts, many of which are fragmentary and ill-defined, constitute a proper corpus for such a study, and whether Qumran research has reached the requisite mature stage for it. Alert to the dynamic, and in some respects even erratic state of Qumran research, I nevertheless think that a fresh start in this direction can and should be made, first because the last two decades have seen the full publication of all the Qumran texts, adding a wealth of new data and placing Qumran research on more solid ground; and secondly, because the new texts create a new factual basis for generic analysis, dictating a re-assessment of previous generic definitions of the Qumran as well as the affiliated literature. The need for such a fresh investigation is particularly felt in the domain of the Aramaic texts from Qumran, the latest to be published and the least researched.¹

The present survey offers further reflections on the initial thematic classification of the Aramaic texts I have recently proposed.² In this paper I aim at defining the genres of the Aramaic texts by their particular stylistic and contextual markers. Since elements of content are prone

¹ The last publication of Cave 4 Aramaic texts has just come out. See É. Puech, *Qumran Cave 4. XXVII: Textes en araméen, deuxième partie: 4Q550–575a, 580–587 et Appendices* (DJD 37; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009). Previous surveys of the Aramaic texts were handicapped by the incomplete picture of the Qumran library known at the time. See F. García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (STDJ 9; Leiden: Brill, 1992); D. Dimant, “Apocalyptic Texts at Qumran,” in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. Ulrich and J. C. VanderKam; Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 10; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993), 175–185. For the early collections of the Qumran Aramaic texts see also J. A. Fitzmyer and D. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts* (*Biblica et Orientalia* 34; Rome: Pontifical Institute, 2002 [1978]), 2–136; K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984).

² See 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. A. Hilhorst, É. Puech and E. J. C. Tigchelaar; JSJSup 122; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 197–205.

to appear in different forms and are open to various interpretations, here they are considered here as subordinate to the formal configuration. This of course is only one way of looking at genres, but the preliminary character of the present undertaking, and the different assessments of many Qumran issues, prescribe the precedence of formal terms of reference, for they are less given to divergent interpretations.³

Concentrating on the Qumran Aramaic literature also has the merit of remaining within a relatively homogeneous corpus, well defined from the literary and historical points of view.⁴ This literature belongs to a specific literary milieu and period, between the third and first centuries BCE. In this way, I hope to avoid generic definitions based on heterogeneous specimens, coming from different regions and different historical periods.⁵ Indeed, the Qumran Aramaic literature helps to

³ A recent example of such a *mélange* is offered by García Martínez, in the article contained in the present volume. E. J. C. Tigchelaar, “The Imaginal Context and the Visionary of the Aramaic *New Jerusalem*,” in *Flores Florentino*, 257–270 (see 261), suggests classifying the Aramaic texts according to their narrative settings: one group of works is set in pre-Mosaic times, the other in the Eastern Diaspora. This thematic distinction is similar to the one I suggested, viz. to distinguish works set in antediluvian and patriarchal times on the one hand, and writings set in the Jewish diaspora on the other. See Dimant, “Aramaic Texts.” However, my classification offered additional categories to cover works that do not fall into either group. In the present analysis the thematic framework is secondary to the formal-structural one.

⁴ Study of the literary genres employed by Jewish compositions authored between the Hebrew Bible and the Mishna did not start with the discovery of the Qumran Scrolls, some sixty years ago. But the discovery of these ancient documents opened new vistas on the Jewish Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha and gave remarkable impetus to the analysis of their genres. Yet it is surprising to see how little generic studies of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha have recourse to the Qumran material, despite the obvious affinity between the two corpora.

⁵ Such an inclusive definition was formulated nearly thirty years ago by J. J. Collins, “Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre,” in *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre* (= *Semeia* 14) (ed. J. J. Collins; Missoula, MT: SBL, 1979), 1–20. By a synchronic approach, the resultant definition consisted of a list of structural and thematic elements said to characterize the apocalyptic compositions, and considered to reflect the “morphology” of the genre (*ibid.*, 5–8). The list is abstracted from a wide spectrum of compositions, covering works authored in various localities from the third century BCE to the third century CE and later. However, this definition is extracted from such a variety of geographic and historical settings that it does not apply to all the apocalyptic works in the same way. For instance, one theme included in this paradigm is the “Otherworldly Journey,” in which “the visionary travels through heaven, hell or remote regions...” (*ibid.*, 6). However, this theme is absent from apocalyptic works stemming from the Second Temple period (see Dimant, “Apocalyptic Texts,” 182). These are concerned solely with the revelation of history and future events. This is true of the apocalypses of the biblical Book of Daniel 7–12, the *Book of Dreams* (1 *Enoch* 83–90) and the *Apocalypse of Weeks*

supplement and rectify previous assessments of the Jewish apocalyptic literature and other related works. Despite the limited nature of the present undertaking it is nevertheless hoped that it will contribute to clarifying some basic issues and suggest new trajectories for further study.

As far as we may ascertain, the Qumran Aramaic works were authored in Eretz-Israel between the third and the first centuries BCE. This does not exclude possible influences and sources originating earlier and outside this territory; such influences are readily detected. However, in the centuries under the Persian and Hellenistic rules Eretz-Israel was a focus of various cultural influences, so the appropriation of external motifs by Jewish Aramaic works does not necessarily mean that they were authored abroad.⁶ Moreover, the fact that the Aramaic texts under

(=1 *Enoch* 93:1–10; 91:11–17), the *Testament of Moses*, the vision of Levi in the *Aramaic Levi Document* (4Q213a 2 15–18), and the apocalypse of *Jubilees* chapter 23. This means that the element of the Otherworldly Journey does not apply to the whole range of early apocalypses. Even the mythical trips of Enoch (*I Enoch* 12–36, 37–71, 72–82) cannot be considered “otherworldly” since they are conducted in various mythical domains of the created world. Only in a dream-vision (*I Enoch* 14–16) does Enoch go beyond, and ascends to see the heavenly Throne. In fact, Enoch’s journeys are peculiar to this patriarch and nothing in the ancient apocalypses parallels them. Besides this, otherworldly journeys are linked to the system of the seven heavens, through which they take place. Yet this system is not present in early apocalypses, but only in those dated to the first century CE and later (see A. Y. Collins’ survey, “The Seven Heavens: Apotheosis in Pre-Christian Judaism,” in *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys* (ed. J. J. Collins and M. Fishbane; Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 57–93). Telling in this respect is the example of the Greek *Testament of Levi* 2–3. As Collins notes (*ibid.*, 63) that the late Greek recensions speak of the ascension of Levi through seven or three heavens. But R. A. Kugler, (*From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition from Aramaic Levi to Testament of Levi* [Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1996], 47) comments that the early source of the Greek work, the *Aramaic Levi Document*, does not have them.

⁶ The Babylonian and Iranian influence on the Qumran texts, both Hebrew and Aramaic, has been noted since the early days of the Qumran research. For Babylonian elements see, for instance, P. Grelot, “La légende d’Hénoch dans les Apocryphes et dans la Bible: origine et signification,” *RevScRel* 46 (1958): 5–26; 181–210; *idem*, “La géographie mythique d’Hénoch et ses sources orientales,” *RB* 65 (1958): 33–69; G. Kvanvig, *Roots of the Apocalyptic* (WMANT 61; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988); Dimant, “Apocalyptic Texts,” 176–177, 189, with further references. For Babylonian influence in calendrical and metrological matters see recently H. Drawnel, “Priestly Education in the *Aramaic Levi Document* (*Visions of Levi*) and *Aramaic Astronomical Book* (4Q208–211),” *RQ* 22 (2006): 547–574; *idem*, “Moon Computation in the *Aramaic Astronomical Book* (1),” *RQ* 23 (2007): 3–41; J. Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years: Astronomy and Calendars at Qumran in Their Ancient Context* (STDJ 78; Leiden: Brill, 2008). The Iranian influence was analyzed by D. Winston, “The Iranian Component in the Bible,

discussion were all found at Qumran reflects to some extent the particular tastes and religious preferences of the group that owned their copies. Still, the presence among the Qumran scrolls of works such as Tobit warns us against narrowing the perspective down to this specific community alone. Some of the strongest links of the Qumran library to contemporary Judaism are observed in the Aramaic texts.

The two most important groups of Aramaic texts that turned up at Qumran concern the antediluvian generations and the biblical patriarchs, occupying nearly half of the Aramaic texts found there. Each group comprises some twenty manuscripts. Together, the two number more than forty scrolls, marking the keen interest of the Qumranites entertained in this topic.

Two Aramaic compositions deal with the antediluvian period: *I Enoch* and the *Book of Giants*. I leave aside the reason for the interest in this particular subject;⁷ these writings focus on a single antediluvian context, namely the Flood and the surrounding events and figures. No Aramaic text surfaced at Qumran that concerns earlier generations, such as the fortunes of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, or Seth and his descendants, themes well known from other apocryphal and pseudepigraphic compositions.⁸

Let us turn now to the Aramaic writings devoted to the generations preceding the Flood. Our chief and most complete exemplar of this literature is the compilation that goes under the name *I Enoch*. Fully pre-

Apocrypha and Qumran: A Review of the Evidence,” *HR* 5 (1965–66): 185–216 (see 200–210), and S. Shaked, “Qumran and Iran: Further Considerations,” *IOS* 2 (1972): 433–446. See the remarks on 4Q549–550 and n. 49 below. However, the subject still awaits a thorough and systematic analysis in the light of recently published Qumran texts, especially the Aramaic ones.

⁷ It certainly has to do with the sectaries’ belief that they were the custodians of the ancient antediluvian wisdom, transmitted through Enoch and his descendents to Abraham and the people of Israel. Also important was the analogy that the Qumranites may have perceived between the sinfulness of the antediluvian generations and that of the “period of Evil” in their own times. For such a comparison see e.g. the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (*I Enoch* 91:15; 93:4); Matthew 24:37–39; Luke 17:26–27.

⁸ A discussion of this issue is beyond the framework of the present article, but this feature merits systematic investigation. For now, see E. Glickler-Chazon, “The Creation and Fall of Adam in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation* (ed. J. Frishman and L. van Rompay; *Traditio exegetica Graeca* 5; Louvain: Peeters, 1997), 13–24; J. J. Collins, “Before the Fall: The Earliest Interpretations of Adam and Eve,” in *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation: Essays in Honor of James L. Kugel* (ed. H. Najman and J. H. Newman; *JSJSup* 83; Brill: Leiden, 2004), 292–308 (see 299–308).

served in the Ethiopic translation, it has the advantage of completeness. It will therefore serve a convenient starting point for our generic and thematic study.⁹ *1 Enoch* assembles independent literary units, interrelated by common themes and traditions. Qumran texts have yielded fragments of four of the five units contained in the Ethiopic collection: the *Book of the Watchers* (= *1 Enoch* 1–36), the *Astronomical Book* (= *1 Enoch* 72–82),¹⁰ the *Book of Dreams* (= *1 Enoch* 83–90) and the *Epistle of Enoch* (= *1 Enoch* 91–105). Various texts resembling the narrative appendix in *1 Enoch* 106–107 also turned up at Qumran.¹¹ We may leave out of the discussion the *Book of Parables*, preserved in *1 Enoch* 37–71 but not discovered among the scrolls. Most scholars agree today that it was not part of the Enochic collection at Qumran, and is a Jewish composition, apparently authored outside Qumran around the middle of the first century CE.¹² It therefore came into being well after most if not all of the Qumran community's literary products had been created.

The four Enochic works mentioned above provide us with a series of genres and literary forms, shared, as will be shown below, by most of the Aramaic texts of this group. These forms are of three types: a. addresses; b. autobiographic narrative accounts (1. dream-visions; 2. cosmic journeys); c. third-person narratives.

⁹ The following generic analysis is based on the relevant writings in the form known today. It is therefore synchronic in nature. Diachronic considerations, such as the underlying sources or stages of development of given works, are noted only sporadically and only inasmuch as they clarify central issues in the research (see nn. 15, 27, 29 below).

¹⁰ J. T. Milik judged that the Ethiopic translation is partly an abbreviated version of the original Aramaic work, preserved in 4Q208–4Q211 (“Problèmes de la littérature Hénochique à la lumière des fragments araméens de Qumrân,” *HTR* 64 [1971]: 333–378 [see 339]; idem, *The Books of Enoch* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976], 273–275). Ben-Dov, *Calendars*, 76–77, arrives at the same conclusion but considers the two versions as two phases of the same calendrical tradition. See n. 15 below.

¹¹ See the Hebrew 1Q19 and the Aramaic *1QGenesisApocryphon*, col. II.

¹² See e.g. J. C. Greenfield, “Prolegomenon,” in H. Odenberg, *3 Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch* (New York: Ktav, 1973), xvii; J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids, Mich.: W. B. Eerdmans, 1998), 178; D. Dimant, “The Book of Parables (*1 Enoch* 37–71) and the Qumran Scrolls,” *Meghillot* 3 (2005): 49–67 (Hebrew) (see 52). Milik's arguments for a Christian and late character of the *Book of Parables* (in idem, “Problèmes,” 375) failed to convince the scholarly community.

1. *Enoch addresses, phrased in the second person plural:*

Two sections fall into this category, *1 Enoch* 1–5 from the *Book of the Watchers*, and 91–106, the *Epistle of Enoch*. Both are exhortations addressed to the righteous and the wicked, foretelling their respective future reward and punishment. In the *Epistle of Enoch* the admonition is presented as Enoch's farewell discourse to his son Methuselah (91:1, 18–19; 104:1). Notably the discourse is committed to writing (92:1; 103:2). Evidently, Enoch's admonition and prediction were transmitted to his sons in written form as testimony and a memoir. The title of the section *1 Enoch* 1–5 (1:1) may also suggest a written document.

2. *Enochic autobiographical accounts, told in the first person singular:*

This second group is marked by the autobiographical style of Enoch himself. It comprises two kind of personal reports.

a) *Dream-visions about history:*

Here belong chapters 12–16 from the *Book of the Watchers*. Chapters 14–16 constitute a written description of Enoch's dream-vision, as stated in 14:1. It relates the content of the dream-vision about Enoch's ascent to the heavenly temple to learn the judgment of the Watchers. This report is prefaced by chapters 12–13, which supply the background to Enoch's dream-vision. Told in first-person autobiographic style, these chapters relate the exchange between the Watchers and Enoch and their request that he intervene on their behalf. Notably the account of the Throne vision is presented as “the book of the word of righteousness and reprimand to the Watchers” (14:1). Two other dream-visions of Enoch are reported by the *Book of Dreams*. In the first, Enoch is shown the coming flood; in the second he sees the entire sequence of history. Both dreams are told to Methuselah, Enoch's son (93:1.2). Of the same genre, but different in detail, is the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, preserved in chapters 93:1–10; 91:11–17. This report also contains a vision about history, divulged to Enoch through three channels: a vision, an angelic message and reading the heavenly tablets (93:2).¹³ It too is addressed to

¹³ Perhaps all three refer to a single experience, in which Enoch was shown the heavenly tablets in a vision, under angelic guidance.

his sons (93:1.3) and read by Enoch “from books” (93:1),¹⁴ probably the written accounts of his experiences.

b) *Enoch’s cosmic journeys with the angels:*

Besides the reports of his visions, Enoch relates another type of experience, namely his journeys in various mythical places of the world, such as the garden with the Tree of Life (*1 Enoch* 24:4–25:5) or the place where the spirits of men await the final judgment (*1 Enoch* 22:3–4). These trips are conducted in the company and under the guidance of various angels. Two sections of the Enochic compilation embody this type of narrative: chapters 17–36 from the *Book of the Watchers* and chapters 72–82 of the *Astronomical Book*. The reports of these journeys are also said to be written down. Chapters 72–82 are explicitly presented as a book written by Enoch (*1 Enoch* 72:1) while the conclusion in 81:6; 82:1 shows that the experience was written in compliance with the instruction of the angels and for the purpose of future testimony. This instruction is part of the concluding scene, written in the same autobiographical style, which describes Enoch’s return from his voyage (81:5–10).¹⁵ The second person addresses to Enoch’s son (79:1; 82:1–2) make

¹⁴ Thus the Ethiopic. See M. A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch, 2: Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 223. A Qumran Aramaic fragment of this passage, 4Q212 1 iii 18–19, reads *ונסב ח[נ]ך מתלה אמר* (“and En[och] took up his parable saying”—see Num 21:7, 18; 24:3; *1 Enoch* 1:2). The Qumran variant is adopted by G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 434, 441. See also the comments of L. T. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108* (CEJL; Berlin–New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 69–70. Both authors think that the Aramaic formulation in the fragment in question depends on the *Book of the Watchers* (= *1 Enoch* 1:2), but this is not necessarily so. The two texts may have drawn independently on Numbers 21 and 24, which contain the prophecies of Balaam. Since Enoch is a gentile visionary, Balaam is the proper biblical model for his discourses.

¹⁵ The narrative conclusion of chapters 80–81 has not surfaced in any of the Aramaic copies from Qumran. Accordingly, several scholars have argued that chapters 80:2–82:3 were later additions to the astronomical chapters. E. J. C. Tigchelaar, “Some Remarks on the Book of the Watchers, the Priests, Enoch and Genesis, and 4Q208,” *Henoch* 24 (2002): 143–145 (see 145), notes that originally 4Q208 contained only the astronomical sections, the so-called *Synchronistic Calendar*. M. A. Knibb, “Interpreting the Book of Enoch: Reflections on a Recently Published Commentary,” *JSJ* 33 (2002): 437–450, argues in similar vein (see 447–448). Both Tigchelaar and Knibb conclude that the Aramaic *Synchronistic Calendar* was different from the Ethiopic *Astronomical Book*. Consequently they do not accept the early date of 4Q208, around 200 BCE, as relevant to the Ethiopic section. But others estimate that the autobiographic conclusion in these chapters was part of the original work. Drawnel, “Priestly Education,” 562–563, thinks that the

the entire autobiographical account a testamentary farewell address. Such features are missing from chapters 17–36, perhaps, because of the fragmentary character of this section. By attaching this block of material to chapters 12–16, the final editor of the *Book of the Watchers* may have considered the act of writing mentioned in 14:1 applicable to chapters 17–36 too. While chapters 72–82 are devoted to the skies and luminaries,¹⁶ chapters 17–36 take Enoch to various cosmic regions. Both sections are aggadic elaborations of the enigmatic phrase from Genesis 5:22: “and after begetting Methuselah Enoch walked with the angels three hundred years.” In the Enochic literature, as well as in *Jubilees* 4:21, this verse is taken as an allusion to Enoch’s cosmic journeys with the angels. This biblical background highlights the unique character of this motif, which is particular to Enoch, at least in the literature of the early Second Temple period.¹⁷

3. Narrative sections, formulated in the third person singular:

Only two short sections have this character: chapters 6–11 from the *Book of the Watchers*, telling about the sin of the Watchers, and the appendix of chapters 106–107 about the birth of Noah.

The foregoing inventory of literary forms highlights the essential character of *1 Enoch* as a collection of disparate materials, aligned by common themes. Most patent is the units’ pseudepigraphic framework, presenting their content as the authentic words of this sage. The Enoch compilation attributes to the patriarch two types of discourse: addresses and autobiographical narratives. Each literary form embodies a particular topic related to the patriarch. In this way, the genres employed match the major themes in the legendary biography of Enoch, as summarized

conclusion is in line with the exhortatory character of its literary framework. Ben-Dov, *Calendars*, 76, is of the opinion that the Qumran Aramaic work was not restricted to astronomical matters but also contained “other parts of what is now the *Astronomical Book*.” The fact that some Aramaic fragments contain an Enochic autobiographical narrative (see 4Q209 26 6 ברי לך אנה לך [“And now I am showing to you, my son”], corresponding to *1 Enoch* 76:14) supports such a possibility.

¹⁶ Drawnel, “Moon Computation,” 21–31, shows that in calculating the orbit of the moon the *Synchronistic Calendar*, as well as its Ethiopic counterpart the *Astronomical Book*, uses fraction calculation of Babylonian origin. Drawnel, in “Priestly Education,” 557, notes that the *Aramaic Levi Document* employs the same method of calculation for metrological matters.

¹⁷ See my analysis in D. Dimant, “The Biography of Enoch and the Books of Enoch,” *VT* 33 (1983): 14–29, and n. 5 above.

in *Jubilees* (4:16–26), in the narrative conclusion of the *Astronomical Book* (*I Enoch* 81–82:1–2), in the introductions to the *Book of Dreams* (*I Enoch* 83:1–3.10–11; 85:1), and in the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (93:1–3). According to these accounts Enoch was shown the future, was taken by the angels on cosmic journeys, and admonished the wicked (compare Sir 44:16 LXX). This configuration suggests that the Enochic literature was composed on the basis of already well developed traditions around the figure of Enoch and his role in the events that led up to the Flood.¹⁸

The literary framework that encompasses the variety of forms used to communicate Enoch's testimony is the pseudepigraphic farewell address to his sons. Four Enochic works are explicitly presented as such: the *Astronomical Book*, the *Book of Dreams*, the *Epistle of Enoch* and the *Apocalypse of Weeks*. Consisting of truncated pieces, the *Book of the Watchers* lacks a proper narrative framework, but the first-person style of chapters 12–36 suggests a similar farewell discourse. Thus, hortatory discourses and autobiographical accounts alike are introduced in the framework of farewell addresses. This pseudepigraphic device is adopted to convey the authority and reliability of Enoch's personal experiences, his ethical message and his sapiential legacy. In this context, it is significant that most of the addresses are presented in the form of documents already written or to be written in the future. This is the case with the *Astronomical Book*, the *Apocalypse of Weeks* and the *Epistle of Enoch*. Writing is a clear sign of authority and duration. It also permits the true authors behind the pseudepigraphic disguise to claim the antiquity of their product. Moreover, the insistence on the written nature of these compositions may have led the Qumranites to believe that they were indeed authored by the ancient sage and transmit his hidden wisdom.¹⁹

Against the autobiographical style of most of the Enochic units, the third-person narrative form of chapters 6–11 and 106–107 stands out.

¹⁸ See for further details D. Dimant, "The Fallen Angels" in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic Books Related to Them (dissertation; Jerusalem 1974) (Hebrew). In Dimant, "Biography," 23, I drew this conclusion on basis of my demonstration that the Ethiopic collection of *I Enoch* is arranged according to the legendary sequence of Enoch's life.

¹⁹ For the stress on wisdom transmitted in written form as "authority conferring strategy," especially in *Jubilees*, see H. Najman, "Interpretation as Primordial Writing: Jubilees and its Authority Conferring Strategies," *JSJ* 30 (1999): 379–410 (381–388). Interestingly, this "strategy" is indeed adopted in the farewell addresses to invest them with authority.

These sections were apparently inserted at some stage of the editing of the Enochic compilation, perhaps to fill gaps in the narrative background.

The autobiographical character of the early Enochic works outlined here, conveyed by the pseudepigraphic framework, is typical of the collection assembled in *1 Enoch*; this book may therefore be viewed as an anthology of the patriarch's œuvre. The form and style of the *Book of Giants* are obviously different. Although known only in nine, and perhaps two other, fragmentary copies, enough has survived to establish that the work is written in the third-person narrative style.²⁰ This feature serves the framework and main narrative axis of the composition.²¹ The surviving fragments contain deliberations in the assembly of the giants (4Q530 1 ii 8; 2 ii 1–5)²² and accounts of their portentous dreams.²³ The plot is situated chiefly before the Flood, and Enoch plays a secondary role in it. Even though he announces the final judgment of the Watchers and interprets the dreams of their offspring the Giants, the central characters are the giants themselves. So in literary mode and tone the *Book of Giants* does not fit into the Enochic compilation, contrary to Jozef Milik's argument, because it does not center on Enoch.²⁴ The distinct

²⁰ The nine positively identified are the following: 1Q23, 2Q26, 4Q203, 4Q206a, 4Q530, 4Q531, 4Q532, 4Q533 and 6Q8. Manuscripts 1Q24 and 6Q14 may also belong to this composition. For editions see É. Puech, *Qumran Cave 4. XXVII: Textes araméens, première partie: 4Q529–549* (DJD 31; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 9–127. Note especially p. 11. For 4Q203 14 and 4Q531 48–51, see Puech, *Textes araméens II*, 509–510, 521–522.

²¹ The narrative third-person verbs dominate the surviving text in various fragments. See, for instance, 1Q23 9 4; 4Q203 7a 7; 7b i 3; 4Q230 4–5; 4Q531 1 2–5; 4Q533 2.

²² The giants' dreams are told in one of the substantial fragments from the *Book of Giants*, 4Q530 2 ii. In another passage the giant Mahawi is sent to Enoch to learn the interpretation of the dream (4Q530 2 ii 14–15).

²³ Best preserved are the dreams of the brother giants Hahyah and Ohayah. Hahyah dreams about the imminent flood (4Q530 2 ii 12), while Ohayah's dream is about the final divine judgment (4Q530 2 ii 15–20). See É. Puech, "Les Songes des fils de Šemiḥazah dans le Livre des Géants de Qumrân," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres* 144/1 (January–March 2000): 7–25. The fragmentary state of the manuscripts does not yield a clear narrative sequence of the *Book of Giants*. For attempts to reconstruct the narrative outline see García Martínez, *Apocalyptic*, 110–113; L. T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran* (TSAJ 63; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 21–24.

²⁴ As I noted in Dimant, "Biography," 16, n. 8. Similar views are expressed by J. C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions* (HUC Monographs 14; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992), 55; Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 25–26; Puech, *Textes araméens I*, 13, 16.

character of the *Book of Giants* is also supported by manuscript evidence. Against Milik's claim, that two sections of the *Book of Giants*, 4Q206 2 and 3, are part of 4Q206, a copy of *1 Enoch*, it has been shown that these two fragments do not belong to that manuscript.²⁵ But while the *Book of Giants* could not have been part of the Enochic compilation it shares many thematic links with the Enochic cycle,²⁶ in particular with the *Book of the Watchers*.²⁷ The fact that the *Book of the Watchers* is in itself a compilation, whereas the *Book of Giants* seems to come from a single author, speaks for the dependence of the *Book of Giants* on the *Book of the Watchers*, or on some of its sources, rather than the reverse. Such a conclusion is also corroborated by the practice of the *Book of Giants* to develop in greater details themes found in concise form in various individual works collected in *1 Enoch*. This also suggests the developed character of the traditions about the Flood underlying *1 Enoch* and the *Book of Giants*, and for that matter of *Jubilees*. It points to their antiquity, perhaps even earlier than the third century BCE.

The Enochic works and the *Book of Giants* share another interesting feature, namely their manner of reworking the biblical sources. Both draw their main themes from the biblical account of Genesis chapters 5–

²⁵ As pointed out by Puech, "Songes," 8, and idem, *Textes araméens I*, 16. Puech states that 4Q206 2–3 came from a different, later, manuscript, which he designates 4Q206a. See also my review of Puech's volume in Dimant, "Review," *DSD* 10 (2003): 292–304 (see 295–296). For Milik's opinion see Milik, *Enoch*, 58, 236–238.

²⁶ Compare, for instance, Enoch's testimony against the Watchers in *1 Enoch* 12–16 and 4Q203 8. The episode which relates the journey of the giant Mahawi to Enoch's mythical abode (4Q530 7 ii) is similar to Methuselah's trip to Enoch, related in *1 Enoch* 106–107 and *1QGenesis Apocryphon*, col. V.

²⁷ See J. T. Milik, "Turfan et Qumran: Livre des Géants juif et manichéen," in *Tradition und Glaube: Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt* (ed. G. Jeremias, H.-W. Kuhn and H. Stegemann; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 117–127 (117–118); idem, *Enoch*, 298–299. The various sources embedded in the *Book of the Watchers* can be observed even in the work itself as incorporated into the compilation of *1 Enoch*, for they remain distinct in form and matter. See, for instance, Dimant, "1 Enoch 6–11: A Fragment of a Parabiblical Work," *JJS* 53 (2002): 223–237. These sources must therefore precede the creation of the complete *Book of the Watchers*. However, as far as the surviving fragments indicate, the *Book of Giants* is the work of a single author. Its familiarity with the traditions of *1 Enoch* 6–16 suggests dependence on this section of the *Book of the Watchers* and not on the whole of it (as Puech thinks, *Textes araméens I*, 14). For this reason the dating by Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 31, of the composition of the *Book of Giants* to the late third century BCE seems plausible. Puech, "Songes," 11, and Puech, *Textes araméens I*, 14, assigns the composition to the first half of the second century BCE. García Martínez, *Apocalyptic*, 115, dates it to the second half of the same century, but it seems too late to suit the above literary considerations.

10. However, the brief, and some scholars say truncated, Genesis comments on Enoch and the Sons of God (5:21–24; 6:1–4) offer little information, unlike the elaborate stories of *1 Enoch* and the *Book of Giants*. Indeed, most of the material in these works is non-biblical and unconnected with the immediate narrative of Genesis 5–10. In this respect, *1 Enoch* and the *Book of Giants* illustrate a method common to the Jewish Aramaic compositions whereby rich fabrics are woven around meager biblical allusions. The secondary and post-biblical character of such amplifications is conveyed by the effort to explain difficulties and fill in lacunae in the concise biblical remarks, and by interlacing allusions to biblical passages from other contexts. For instance, Enoch's admonition in *1 Enoch* 1–5 is partly built on the prophecies of Balaam in Numbers (compare *1 Enoch* 1:1 with Num 23:18; 24:3, 15).²⁸ Two Throne visions, one of Enoch in *1 Enoch* 14, the other of the giant Ohayah in the *Book of Giants* (4Q530 2 ii 16–19), are similar to the Throne vision in the book of Daniel chapter 7 (compare 4Q530 2 ii 16–19 with Daniel 7:9–10). All three may reflect an older tradition of Throne vision.²⁹

Another major element shared by the *Book of Giants* and the Enochic works is the central role played by predictive dreams. In the *Book of Giants* such dreams are a central feature of the plot. In the compilation attributed to Enoch, the forecast of history (*1 Enoch* 83–90) and the

²⁸ See the analysis of L. Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning* (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1979), 22–26; Nickelsburg, *Enoch*, 137–139. Already the biblical account sees Balaam's third blessing as a prediction (Num 24:15–24; note in particular 24:17). It was interpreted thus by Jewish writings from the Second Temple period. See Daniel 11:20, alluding to Num 24:24; LXX of Num 24:17, and the interpretation of the same verse in three Qumran texts: CD VII 19, 1QM XI 6 and 4Q175 12.

²⁹ García Martínez, *Apocalyptic*, 115, and others hold that the Throne vision in Ohayah's dream depends on Daniel 7. Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 123, is of the opinion that the dream from the *Book of Giants* preceded Daniel 7. R. E. Stokes ("The Throne Visions of Daniel 7, *1 Enoch* 14 and the Qumran *Book of Giants* (4Q530): An Analysis of Their Literary Relationship," *DSD* 15 [2008]: 340–358), argues for the priority of Daniel 7 in regards to both *1 Enoch* 14 and the *Book of Giants*. For E. Eshel ("Sources of the Book of Daniel," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception* [ed. J. J. Collins and P. W. Flint; SuppVT 83/II; Leiden: Brill, 2001], 2:387–394), the Throne visions in Daniel 7 and in the dream of Ohayah "might be based on an earlier common source." Puech, "Songs," 21 and n. 48 and idem, *Textes araméens I*, 13–14, suggests that both drew on a common tradition. Puech's suggestion is the most judicious explanation. It is also valid for the affinity between the Throne vision in *1 Enoch* 14 and that in Daniel 7. The possible use of older, pre-biblical legends to expand Genesis 5–11 is beyond the framework of the present article. See the references in n. 6 above.

Throne vision (*I Enoch* 14) are experienced in dreams. The themes of history and the Throne vision are also the subject of the giants' dreams in the *Book of Giants*. So in both the two topics are treated only in dreams. By contrast, Enoch's journeys with the angels, specific to the Enochic literature, take place in wakefulness, in real space and in real time.³⁰ This distinction points to the different levels of involvement in each type of experience. Accordingly, the Throne vision and the temporal dimension of the historical sequence are beyond the reach of human perception while awake. They may therefore be approached only in dreaming. But localities thought to exist in the physical world were deemed accessible to inspection by wakeful human perception.

As a final comment, note that the *I Enoch* compilation and the *Book of Giants* were very popular at Qumran. *I Enoch* is represented by eleven copies (including the work parallel to chapters from the *Astronomical Book*).³¹ The *Book of Giants* is represented by nine copies, or perhaps eleven. Copies of the two constitute the most prominent part of the Aramaic literature at Qumran, a fact in itself significant. Yet unlike *I Enoch*, copies of which were found only in the library cave 4, copies of the *Book of Giants* were unearthed in four caves: 1, 2, 4 and 6.³²

The second prominent group of Qumran Aramaic works concerns the biblical patriarchs. Notable among them are those attached to the priestly lineage of Levi. Of these, extant are seven copies of the *Aramaic Levi Document*,³³ six copies of the *Visions of Amram*, with a possible seventh,³⁴ and several fragments from a single manuscript of the *Testament of Qahat*.³⁵ The dates of composition of all three span the third and early second century BCE, as is evident from the mutual links and the

³⁰ As noted in Dimant, "Apocalyptic Texts," 181–182.

³¹ The following are the copies of *I Enoch*: 4Q201, 4Q202, 4Q204, 4Q205, 4Q206, 4Q207, 4Q212. Four copies (4Q208–4Q211) contain fragments related to the *Astronomical Book*.

³² The work known as the *Birth of Noah* (4Q534–536) is discussed below, since it is unconnected to Noah. However, the composition known as *Words of Michael* may belong to the Enochic literature. See below.

³³ 1Q21; 4Q213, 4Q213a, 4Q213b, 4Q214, 4Q214a, 4Q214b. In what follows, the references to these manuscripts are given according to the editions of Milik (1Q21) and Greenfield–Stone (4Q213–4Q214b) as reproduced in D. Parry and E. Tov (eds.), *Parabiblical Texts (The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader 3)*; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 378–401. For 4Q213a 3 see Puech, *Textes araméens II*, 511–517.

³⁴ 4Q543, 4Q544, 4Q545, 4Q546, 4Q547, 4Q548, 4Q549(?).

³⁵ 4Q542, dated to around 100 BCE. See Puech, "Le Testament de Qahat en araméen de la grotte 4 (4QTQah)," *RQ* 15 (1991): 23–54 (see 27).

early date of their copies.³⁶ The stylistic and thematic links among the three have led some scholars to claim that the *Visions of Amram* and the *Testament of Qahat* depend on the *Aramaic Levi Document* or are modeled on it.³⁷ All three are formulated as farewell addresses, delivered to the speakers' offspring before their death.³⁸ As such they use a first-person singular style, sprinkled with short third-person phrases, belonging to the narrative framework. In their addresses the speakers report major events in their lives, their wisdom exhortations, their prayers and their dream-visions. The three testaments treat the biblical narratives in a similar way. On the sparse biblical references to the priestly genealogy the Aramaic compositions depict broad landscapes and weave intricate plots. In this respect they closely resemble the Enoch literature and the *Book of Giants*.

The most extensive evidence is available for the *Aramaic Levi Document*. Besides the Qumran texts, there are extant fragments from an Aramaic Geniza manuscript and sections from a Greek translation of the Aramaic.³⁹ The Greek *Testament of Levi* is a later Christian adaptation

³⁶ See Puech, "Qahat," 52; idem, *Textes araméens I*, 285; J. C. Greenfield, M. E. Stone and E. Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document* (SVTP 19; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 19. Many scholars assign the composition of the *Aramaic Levi Document* to the third century BCE by asserting that it precedes the *Damascus Document*. This argument is based on the claim that the *Damascus Document* quotes the *Levi Document* (CD IV 15: "They are the three nets of Belial about which Levi, son of Jacob, spoke"). See J. C. Greenfield, "The Words of Levi Son of Jacob in Damascus Document IV, 15–19 (CD)," *RQ* 13 (1988): 319–322, who sees in the phrase a reference to Bodl b 14–18 (see Greenfield–Stone–Eshel, *Aramaic Levi*, 74). However, the citation in the *Damascus Document* differs from the wording of the Geniza text. At best the *Damascus Document* may reflect a tradition shared with the *Aramaic Levi Document*, rather than dependent on it. The early date of the *Levi Document* is established through other considerations (see n. 49 below).

³⁷ See M. E. Stone, "Amram," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L. Schiffman and J. C. Vanderkam; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1:23–24 (see 24), and Greenfield–Stone–Eshel, *Aramaic Levi*, 30–31; Puech, *Textes araméens I*, 259.

³⁸ For the *Aramaic Levi Document* see 4Q213 4 4, 4Q214a 2–3 ii 5. For the *Visions of Amram* compare 4Q543 1 i 1–3//4Q545 1 i 1–3. For the *Testament of Qahat* see 4Q542 1 i 4–13; ii 9–11.

³⁹ Remnants of seven copies of the *Aramaic Levi Document* were unearthed at Qumran; see n.33 above. Two pieces of a single Geniza manuscript are kept in separate collections (Cambridge T.S. 16 and Oxford Bodleian Library Heb c 27). Both supply eight complete columns of the manuscript, with the lower parts of another two. See Puech, "Le Testament de Lévi araméen de la Geniza du Caire," *RQ* 20 (2002): 511–556 (see 513–514). The Greek translation survived in passages inserted into a copy of the Greek *Testament of Levi* from Mount Athos. See Greenfield–Stone–Eshel, *Aramaic Levi*, 1–6. An overall reconstruction of the text according to the available witnesses is proposed by Puech, "Geniza," for the Aramaic version (see also Kugler, *Patriarch*, 227–233), and for

of these older sources, but since it is available in a complete version it helps the reader grasp the sense and purpose of the Aramaic document.⁴⁰ In the surviving Qumran fragments the speaker is Levi, as is clear from the reference to his father Jacob (1Q21 4 i 4),⁴¹ so the didactic second-person admonitions are addressed to his sons.⁴² The wisdom exhortation formulated in this style suggests a farewell address of the type found in the *Epistle of Enoch* and the *Testament of Qahat* (cf. below).⁴³ In several fragments books of wisdom are mentioned, which Levi transmits to his sons (4Q213 1 i 9; 1 ii + 2 5, 9; 4Q214a 2–3 ii 5). They express the importance assigned to the written form of the patriarch's teaching. In his addresses Levi also records his prayer (4Q213a 1–2) and his dream-vision at Abel Mayin (1Q21 1, 3; 4Q213a 2 13–18).⁴⁴ A short narrative piece (1Q21 8) corresponds to the autobiographic story, which mentions the vengeance Levi took with his brother Simeon on the Shechemites because of the rape of their sister Dinah (Gen 34:1–29; compare *T. Levi* 2:2; 6:3–4).⁴⁵ In the Greek *Testament of Levi* 2–6 this tale comes after Levi's prayer and the dream-vision of his heavenly ascension, so this may also be the sequence of the parallel passages preserved in the *Aramaic Levi Document*. Other passages describe Levi's induction into the priesthood⁴⁶ and his apprenticeship as a priest. He is instructed by his

the Aramaic with the Greek by J. C. Greenfield and M. E. Stone, "The Aramaic and Greek Fragments of a Levi Document," in *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (ed. H. W. Hollander and M. de Jonge; SVTP 8; Leiden: Brill, 1985), Appendix III, 457–469; and Greenfield–Stone–Eshel, *Aramaic Levi*.

⁴⁰ The relationship of the Greek *Testament of Levi* to the Aramaic Levi sources is discussed by H. W. Hollander and M. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (SVTP 8; Leiden: Brill, 1985), 23–25.

⁴¹ Preserved also by the Cambridge ms. a (col. I, 18: יעקב אבי). See Puech, "Geniza," 514; Greenfield–Stone–Eshel, *Aramaic Levi*, 70.

⁴² See 4Q213 1 i 4; 4 4; 4Q214a 2–3 ii 5.

⁴³ For wisdom passages see 4Q213 1 i–ii, 4, 5; 4Q214b 8 1–2. For the *Testament of Qahat* see 4Q542 1 and n. 56, 57 below. Drawnel, "Priestly Education," 551, suggests the title "Visions of Levi," modeled on the *Visions of Amram*. However, these titles are inappropriate for both the *Aramaic Levi Document* and the *Visions of Amram*.

⁴⁴ This fragment was published and discussed by J. T. Milik, "Le Testament de Lévi en araméen," *RB* 62 (1955): 398–406. The bulk of the dream is preserved in the Bodleian ms. a (XIII, 1–9, Puech's numbering). See Puech, "Geniza," 522–523; Greenfield–Stone–Eshel, *Aramaic Levi*, 68.

⁴⁵ See Greenfield–Stone–Eshel, *Aramaic Levi*, 57.

⁴⁶ See Bodleian ms. a (XIII, 19, Puech's numbering). See Puech, "Geniza," 523; Greenfield–Stone–Eshel, *Aramaic Levi*, 70.

grandfather Isaac to safeguard his purity (4Q214b 7)⁴⁷ and to marry within the family (4Q213a 3–4).⁴⁸ A special section lists Isaac's instructions concerning sacrifices, their precise weights and measures, and the selection of timbers for the sacrificial fire (4Q214 2; 4Q214b 2–3 8).⁴⁹

The second composition well represented at Qumran is now labeled the *Visions of Amram*. Unknown from any other source,⁵⁰ it purports to be a copy of the book written by Amram to his sons (4Q543 1 1–2; 4Q545 1 i 1–2). The book relates the events occurring during the patriarch's sojourn in Canaan, where he went to bury his ancestors. A short introductory passage in a third-person narrative style (4Q543 1 1–8; 4Q545 1–8) identifies the protagonist and the circumstances of the subsequent story. The speaker is Amram, who addresses his sons before his death. The remaining fragments yield a first-person autobiographical narrative of the patriarch's experiences. Most interesting is Amram's dream-vision, in which he sees two angels, one of whom governs the domain of light, while the other is responsible for the domain of darkness (4Q543 5–9; 4Q544 1, 2).⁵¹ No less intriguing is the dualistic division of humanity into the "sons of Light" (4Q544 2 16; 4Q548 1–2 ii 10, 15) and "sons of Darkness" (4Q548 1–2 ii 10–15), governed by each angel. Yet unlike other dreams surveyed above, Amram's is not about history but depicts the general conditions prevalent in the human sphere.

⁴⁷ Bodleian ms. b (XIV, 8–23, Puech's numbering). See Puech, "Geniza," 527; Greenfield–Stone–Eshel, *Aramaic Levi*, 74–78.

⁴⁸ Bodleian ms. b (XIV, 10–21, Puech's numbering). See Puech, "Geniza," 427; Greenfield–Stone–Eshel, *Aramaic Levi*, 74.

⁴⁹ Bodleian ms. c–d (XV–XVI, Puech's numbering). See Puech, "Geniza," 528–532; Greenfield–Stone–Eshel, *Aramaic Levi*, 78–89. Drawnel, "Priestly Education," 549–550, emphasizes the Babylonian origin of the measures involved. Note Drawnel's table of fraction notations used by the *Levi Document* and the Babylonian parallel (*ibid.*, 569). See n. 6 above.

⁵⁰ Milik's arguments for references to this work in Later Christian writings are unconvincing. See Milik, "4QVisions de Amram et une citation d'Origène," *RB* 79 (1972): 77–97 (see 86–88); *idem*, "Écrits préesséniens de Qumrân : d'Hénoch à Amram," in *Qumrân : sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (ed. M. Delcor; Paris–Leuven: Duculot–University Press, 1978), 91–106 (see 103).

⁵¹ In 4Q544 3 2 three names of the dark angel are referred to, but only one has survived: מלכירשע (in 4Q545 2 13). Milik, "Amram," 86, followed by others, identified this figure with the Angel of Darkness (מלאך חושך) in 1QS III 20–21 or Belial in the Qumran sectarian texts (e.g., Alexander, "Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years* [ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1999], 2:331–353; see 341). But this is not necessarily the case, since the Aramaic work may have contained a different demonology.

It is therefore difficult to know whether it has predicative ramifications also.

The clearly dualistic elements in the presentation of the *Vision of Amram* have often been likened to the dualistic view of the Qumran sectarian literature, and have sometimes been taken to indicate the sectarian provenance of this composition. However, dualistic terms are present in the *Aramaic Levi Document* (4Q213 4 1–6) and in the *Testament of Qahat* (4Q542 2 11–12) as well.⁵² This then is one of the themes shared by the three compositions.⁵³ Yet the *Aramaic Levi Document* seems earlier than the sectarian literature so its dualistic ideas cannot have come from the sectarian thought.⁵⁴ The three works may, therefore, reflect the wide dissemination of dualistic views and ideas in contemporary Jewish literature, rather than pointing to a sectarian provenance.

The fragments concerning Qahat⁵⁵ belong to another composition previously unknown. Unfortunately it is poorly represented by remnants of a single manuscript. It contains mainly an exhortation to the patriarch's children, similar to the *Aramaic Levi Document*. The fragment should therefore be viewed as the remains of Qahat's address to his sons before his death.⁵⁶ Like in the *Testament of Levi*, the *Visions of Amram* and the *Testament of Qahat* also emphasize the written documents

⁵² See also the Light and Darkness terminology in an eschatological passage of 4Q541 9 i 3–5, comparable with the Hebrew fragments 1Q27 1 i 5–7 and 4Q215a 1 i 4–6.

⁵³ The sectarian provenance of the *Testament of Levi* has also been suggested because it establishes the dates of birth of Levi's children according to the 364-day calendar, espoused by the Qumran community (see the Geniza ms. Cambridge c (XXI, Puech's numbering). See Puech, "Geniza," 535; Greenfield–Stone–Eshel, *Aramaic Levi*, 94–101. But this is not evidence of a sectarian provenance since the said calendar was adopted by circles outside Qumran, as attested in the Enochic *Astronomical Book*. See Puech, *Textes araméens I*, 259.

⁵⁴ See Puech, *Textes araméens I*, 259; Greenfield–Stone–Eshel, *Aramaic Levi*, 30–31.

⁵⁵ The name of Qahat has not survived in the fragments but the speaker addresses Amram as his son (4Q542 1 ii 9–10) so he must be Qahat (see Gen 46:11; Ex 6:16, 18).

⁵⁶ See Puech, "Qahat," 50; idem, *Textes araméens I*, 258. As pointed out by Stone, "Qahat," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L. Schiffman and J. C. Vanderkam; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2:731, no narrative framework has survived in 4Q542 to indicate a testament situation. Nevertheless, its content and affinity to the *Aramaic Levi Document* suggest such a context. On some ideas and phrases that the *Testament of Qahat* shares with *Aramaic Levi*, see Greenfield–Stone–Eshel, *Aramaic Levi*, 29. For a more detailed comparison of the two see Drawnel, "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. F. García Martínez, A. Steudel and E. Tigchelaar; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 55–73.

transmitted to their descendents. Both are presented as handed down in written form (4Q543 1 i 1//4Q545 1 i 1; 4Q542 1 ii 12).⁵⁷

Discussions of the Qumran Aramaic texts have rightly emphasized the prominence of topics connected with the ancient priestly lineage. But the special regard to that lineage should not overshadow the presence and importance of texts about other biblical figures of that period. Works attributed to the biblical patriarchs were known before the discovery of the Qumran scrolls. One instance is the Greek collection of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, assembling various testaments assigned to the sons of Jacob. Also other testaments, attributed to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, have been transmitted. The *Testament of Abraham* is in Greek, Coptic, Ethiopic, Slavonic and Rumanian versions,⁵⁸ whereas the *Testament of Isaac* and the *Testament of Jacob* have survived only in Coptic, Ethiopic and Arabic versions.⁵⁹ Not surprisingly, Milik, having identified among the Qumran scrolls remnants close to the Greek *Testament of Levi*, believed he had found at Qumran other pieces belonging to the Greek collection. In the Aramaic fragments of 4Q538 he saw remains of the *Testament of Judah*,⁶⁰ and the Aramaic 4Q539 was for him a copy of the *Testament of Joseph*.⁶¹ However, subsequent research has shown that this is not the case. 4Q538 has nothing to do with Judah but is related to Benjamin and therefore should be named the “Words of Benjamin.”⁶² 4Q539 seems indeed to refer to Joseph⁶³ and

⁵⁷ Drawnel thinks that the three compositions belong to priestly “school literature” (“Qahat,” 72; idem, “Priestly Education,” 551). This characterization is not a formal definition but involves certain historical presuppositions. Formally the three works in question are farewell addresses. This genre may have been selected for didactic purposes, but the assertion that they belonged to a “priestly school” remains hypothetical.

⁵⁸ See the summary of research and a fresh translation with commentary by D. C. Allison, *Testament of Abraham* (CEJL; Berlin–New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003).

⁵⁹ See W. F. Stinespring, “Testament of Isaac,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983), 1:902–911; idem, “Jacob,” in *ibid.*, 1:913–918; Allison, *Testament of Abraham*, 36.

⁶⁰ See Milik, “Écrits,” 97–101, followed by Puech, *Textes araméens I*, 191–199, and T. Legrand, “Apocryphe de Juda araméen (4QTestament de Juda ar) – 4Q538,” in *La Bibliothèque de Qumrân – 1: Torah – Genèse* (ed. K. Berthelot, T. Legrand and A. Paul; Paris: Cerf, 2008), 529–533.

⁶¹ See Milik, “Écrits,” 101–103, followed by Puech, *Textes araméens I*, 201.

⁶² See my re-edition and interpretation in Dimant, “Not ‘The Testament of Judah’ but ‘The Words of Benjamin’—On the nature of 4Q538,” in *Sha’arei Lashon: Studies in Hebrew, Aramaic and Jewish Languages Presented to Moshe Bar-Asher* (ed. A. Maman et al.; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2007), 10–26 (Hebrew). Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Vol. 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 103, gives a few lines of the work under the title “Benjamin in Ägypten.” Milik (*Ten Years of Discovery in*

apparently tells of his misfortunes in Egypt after being sold by his brothers. But the similarity to the autobiographical chapters in the Greek *Testament of Joseph* 13–16 is general and does not justify the identification of the Qumran text as a copy of the Greek composition. Perhaps it was one of its sources.⁶⁴ In conclusion, no copy, either in Hebrew or in Aramaic, of the Greek *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* has been found among the Qumran manuscripts.⁶⁵ What was discovered is a series of Aramaic works about these patriarchs that formed part of the Jewish sources, from which the Greek collection apparently drew some of its material.

Milik associated with Jacob another Aramaic text, 4Q537.⁶⁶ Although it has no bearing on the Coptic, Ethiopic and Arabic *Testament of Jacob*, Puech adopted the same name.⁶⁷ The text does indeed display some of the traits typical of a pseudepigraphic farewell address: a first-person style (4Q547 1–2 1–3, 4–5), a second-person plural address (4Q547 5–

the Wilderness of Judaea [London: SCM Press, 1959], 34; idem, “Écrits,” 97) identified the piece of 4Q215 also as the remains of a Hebrew *Testament of Naphtali*, corresponding to its Greek counterpart. But despite the similarity of the Qumran Hebrew fragment and the Greek *Testament of Naphtali* 1:6–8, they differ in important respects. Some Qumran lines do not have any counterpart in the Greek *Testament* (see 4Q215 7–11). Another indication of the distinct character of the Qumran text is its close similarity to a passage in the medieval midrash *Genesis Rabati* (on Genesis 29:4; see Ch. Albek, *Midraš Berešit Rabati* [Jerusalem 1940], 119). Both contain details not found in the Greek *Testament*. 4Q215 is therefore better defined as one of the sources used by the Greek *Testament of Naphtali* rather than a piece from a copy of it. See M. Himmelfarb, “R. Moses the Preacher and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,” *AJS Review* 9 (1984): 55–78 (see 60–64); Stone, “The Genealogy of Bilhah,” *DSD* 3 (1996): 20–36 (see 35–36); idem, “215. 4QTestament of Naphtali,” in *Qumran Cave 4. XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 73–82 (see 75). See also the comments of M. de Jonge, “The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and Related Qumran Fragments,” in *For A Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. R. A. Argall, B. A. Bow and R. A. Werline; Harrisburg, Penn.: Trinity Press, 2000), 63–77 (see 67–72).

⁶³ 4Q539 3 2 mentions “the sons of my uncle Ishmael” (בני דודי ישמעאל) and may therefore allude to Joseph. For the edition and commentary see Puech, *Textes araméens I*, 201–211.

⁶⁴ Puech, *Textes araméens I*, 202, notes that some of the details found in 4Q539 have no counterparts in the Greek *Testament of Joseph*. See also de Jonge, “Testaments,” 73–74.

⁶⁵ De Jonge (“Testaments,” 77) arrives at the same conclusion.

⁶⁶ See Milik, “Écrits,” 103–105.

⁶⁷ Albeit hesitantly: see Puech, *Textes araméens I*, 171–190. In his preliminary publication Milik, “Écrits,” 103–105, proposed calling it the *Visions of Jacob*. For Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte I*, 186, it was the *Apocryphon of Genesis* but in his subsequent volume *Die aramäischen Texte II*, 102, the name given to this scroll is *Jacob in Bethel*.

9), and a report of tablets in which the speaker reads about future events.⁶⁸ One fragment (4Q547 12) describes the cult in the temple, probably as part of a visionary forecast. Perhaps it is related to the content of the tables shown by the angel to the speaker. This detail may be related to Jacob's son Levi and his descendents. In another passage, 4Q537 1–3 4, the speaker mentions “all my troubles,” which may point to Jacob's words in Genesis 47:28.⁶⁹

Another work, represented by 4Q540–4Q541, has been tentatively named the *Apocryphon of Levi*.⁷⁰ The surviving fragments yield a narrative told in the first-person singular (4Q541 2 ii 6; 3 2) and addresses by the speaker in the second-person singular (e.g. 4Q541 2 ii 5; 3 2; 6 3; 4 ii 4; 24 ii). At one point (in 4Q541 ii 24 5) the speaker mentions the addressee's father and brothers, which would support his identification as Jacob. The themes treated by these sections concern wisdom sayings (e.g. 4Q541 3; 7; 24) and visions (4Q541 9 ii 4). One section refers to a messianic figure (4Q541 9). In this way the two manuscripts produce style and themes typical of other Aramaic farewell addresses from Qumran.

Be that as it may, these fragments illustrate the predominance of the testament form in Aramaic compositions attributed to personalities from early historical periods.⁷¹ The fact that pseudepigraphic testaments are attributed by this literature mainly to Enoch and the biblical patriarchs mirrors these authors' self-perception as guardians of a specific sapiential tradition, revealed to ancient forefathers of humanity and Israel in written documents.⁷² The emphasis on the written form of the wisdom

⁶⁸ Puech, *Textes araméens I*, 175, follows Milik, “Écrits,” 104, and restores two initial lines of fragments 1–3, which identify these tablets as the seven handed to the speaker by an angel descended from heaven (on the basis of *Jubilees* 32:21–22). In his recent re-edition of the fragment T. Legrand, “Apocryphe de Jacob araméen (4QTestament de Jacob? ar) – 4Q537,” in *La Bibliothèque de Qumrân – I: Torah – Genèse* (ed. K. Berthelot, T. Legrand and A. Paul; Paris: Cerf, 2008), 403–415, did well not to include these lines for they do not rest on manuscript evidence (see 405).

⁶⁹ See Puech, *Textes araméens I*, 172, 176.

⁷⁰ See Puech, *Textes araméens I*, 213–256. Puech, *ibid.*, 173, raises the possibility that 4Q537 and 4Q540–541 come from the same work.

⁷¹ Drawnel, “Priestly Education,” 556, notes the similarity of the *Astronomical Book* and the *Aramaic Levi Document* in their nature as didactic transmissions to their sons. In fact, the two fall within a larger group defined above.

⁷² There is, however, a group of fragmentary texts labeled by the editor as “testments” (4Q580, 4Q581, 4Q582, 4Q587; see Puech, *Textes araméens II*, 415–446, 501–504). Their fragmentary state does not permit a positive identification, but perhaps the genre appropriated additional figures for dispensing farewell addresses.

and instructions espoused by such addresses reflects the belief in the chain of transmission. For references to “books” and written documents are present in all the specimens of the testament genre, from the Enochic to the patriarchal farewell discourses. By preserving these texts in their library, the Qumranites express their particular interest in these traditions, and may have seen themselves as heirs to the wisdom and revelations they contain.

To conclude this section we may observe that the Aramaic farewell addresses of Enoch and the biblical patriarchs have much in common in their literary genres and concerns. Especially close are the compositions devoted to the ancient forefathers of Israel. However, contrary to previous assessments the Qumran library has not yielded Aramaic or Hebrew copies of the Greek Testaments compilation, but probably their sources. The Aramaic manuscripts constitute vestiges of a rich Jewish Aramaic literature about the biblical patriarchs, and “belong to the overall pool of traditions about the patriarchs that existed in the Second Temple period.”⁷³

Before leaving the group of works devoted to early history, a word must be said about the *Genesis Apocryphon*. Written in a narrative third-person style, the *Genesis Apocryphon* is another narrative work dealing with pre-Sinaitic times. In this respect it resembles the *Book of Giants*. Nevertheless the two differ considerably in the relationship to the biblical sources. While the story about the giants is by and large an independent product, the *Genesis Apocryphon* depends on the sequence of the Genesis story, and its major episodes and characters. The non-biblical expansions are inserted into the skeletal narrative of the biblical account, infusing it with life and color. However, this statement may be further nuanced by noting that the sections of the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QGenApoc I–XVIII)⁷⁴ concerned with Enoch and Noah abound with non-biblical elaborations, whereas the latter part of the work about Abraham follows the biblical material more closely.⁷⁵ In fact, it is the first

⁷³ Quoted from Greenfield–Stone–Eshel, *Aramaic Levi*, 29.

⁷⁴ Including the remains of column 0, preceding column I. The references are to the edition by D. A. Machiela, “The Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20): A Reevaluation of Its Text, Interpretative Character, and Relationship to the Book of Jubilees” (PhD dissertation, Notre Dame IN, 2007). A revised version has just been published as Daniel Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20): A New Text Edition and Translation, with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17* (STDJ 79; Leiden: Brill, 2009).

⁷⁵ This observation was made by Moshe Bernstein in the article “The Genre(s) of the *Genesis Apocryphon*” published in this volume pp. 317–343.

part of the *Genesis Apocryphon* that has many points of contact with other Aramaic works, above all the Enochic compendium and similar works.⁷⁶ This feature suggests the use of extra-biblical sources and traditions for themes that are only sparingly referred to by the Hebrew Bible. Regarding Abraham the biblical material is more detailed, so the author of the *Genesis Apocryphon* has drawn on it more extensively.⁷⁷ The recourse to earlier compositions related to antediluvian themes points to the relatively late date of the *Genesis Apocryphon*.

As a group, the Aramaic works about early antediluvian and patriarchal times are mostly set as farewell addresses, formulated as written documents. By comparison, other types of Aramaic compositions from Qumran do not use farewell addresses at all. In fact, the farewell address is employed only by works attributed to an ancient sage or patriarch. The choice of this form reflects the authors' wish to present the cosmological secrets and divine forecasts as the direct teaching of authoritative sages of old. The means, by which the specific revelations are imparted, especially about history, is the predictive dream-vision. Dream-visions appear in most of the specimens belonging to this group: *I Enoch*, the *Book of Giants*, the *Aramaic Levi Document*, the *Visions of Amram* and the *Genesis Apocryphon*. But while the farewell address is peculiar to writings about ancient seers and sages, narratives and predictive dreams are not; they also appear in other types of Aramaic works.

One of the genres that combine third-person narratives and predictive dream-visions is the court-tale. A form widely disseminated in Jewish and pagan literature of the ancient Near East,⁷⁸ it is adopted by several Qumran Aramaic works which are attested for the first time. The narrative settings depict courts of gentile monarchs who have enigmatic

⁷⁶ See the survey of sources offered by Machiela, "Genesis Apocryphon," 19–47.

⁷⁷ The lengthy additions to the biblical material in the episodes about Enoch and Noah prove that the *Genesis Apocryphon* is not a targum, as was judged by many in the initial stage of Qumran research. See J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I (1Q20)* (Biblica et Orientalia 18/B; 3d ed.; Rome: Pontifical Institute, 2004), 18–20.

⁷⁸ Typical examples of the genre are the biblical stories of Joseph at the court of Pharaoh (Genesis 42–46), Daniel at the courts of Babylonian and Persian kings (Daniel 2–6), the story about the three pages at the court of Darius, embedded in the apocryphal 1 Esdras (chapters 3–4), and passages from Tobit. The Aramaic story of Ahiqar, known and used by Tobit, is a court-tale composed in an Aramaic pagan environment. For a survey of court-tales see L. M. Wills, *The Jew in the Court of the Foreign King: Ancient Jewish Court Legends* (Harvard Dissertations in Religion 26; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990). Wills provides a good review of the literature outside Qumran, but the survey needs to be supplemented by the rich vestiges of court-tales from the library of Qumran.

dreams, interpreted by wise Jewish courtiers. The fullest examples are to be found in chapters 2–6 of the biblical Book of Daniel, but Qumran has yielded a series of similar stories. Thematically related to the canonical Daniel is the *Prayer of Nabonidus* (4Q242).⁷⁹ Another specimen of court-tale setting is the text *Jews at the Persian Court* (4Q550).⁸⁰ This is a most interesting text in that it abounds with Persian names and other elements. It relates the story of two Jewish courtiers, father and son, in the courts of Darius I (520–486 BCE) and Xerxes I (486–465 BCE). This work appears to be one of the earliest preserved among the Qumran Aramaic texts.⁸¹ The text named the *Four Kingdoms* also seems to belong among court-tales (4Q552–4Q553–4Q553a[?]).⁸² From a generic perspective the similarity of all these court-setting dream-visions is striking, suggesting a well established literary genre.

Besides stories woven around visionary revelations the Aramaic collection includes didactic stories. Such is the recently re-named *4QStory* piece (4Q551).⁸³ The fragments of Tobit (4Q196–4Q199; 4Q200) may also be included in this category.⁸⁴ In these works the narrative third-

⁷⁹ See J. T. Milik, “Prière de Nabonide et autres écrits d’un cycle de Daniel,” *RB* 63 (1956): 407–415; J. J. Collins, “242. 4QPrayer of Nabonidus ar,” in *Qumran Cave 4. XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (ed. G. Brooke et al.; DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 83–93.

⁸⁰ See Puech, *Textes araméens II*, 1–46. Puech has shown that all the fragments belong to a single manuscript, and not to five separate ones, as stated by Milik, “Les Modèles araméens du Livre d’Esther dans la Grotte 4 de Qumrân,” *RQ* 15 (1992): 321–399, and followed by Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte II*, 149–153, and E. Cook, “Proto-Esther,” in *Additional Genres and Unclassified Texts* (ed. D. Parry and E. Tov; *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* 6; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 6–12. Puech has also restored the initial title given above, which is more appropriate.

⁸¹ Puech, *Textes araméens II*, 9 assigns it to the third century BCE.

⁸² See the references in n. 89, 90 below.

⁸³ See Puech, *Textes araméens II*, 47–56. Puech has provided a neutral title, more in line with the character of the text, to replace the connection made by Milik with the apocryphal story of Susanna. See Milik, “Daniel et Susanne à Qumrân?” in *De la Tôrah au Messie: Mélanges Henri Cazelles* (ed. J. Doré, P. Grelot and M. Carrez; Paris: Desclée, 1981), 337–359 (see 355–359), and E. Cook, “4Q551. Daniel–Suzanna(?) ar,” in *Additional Genres and Unclassified Texts* (ed. D. Parry and E. Tov; *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* 6; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 334. Puech, *ibid.*, 49, rightly emphasizes that there is nothing in the text which links it to Suzanna. However, the similarity of certain formulations to the story of Judges 19 suggests at least a strong stylistic influence of the biblical episode.

⁸⁴ The fragments of Tobit present an interesting case of Aramaic copies, as well as Hebrew: four manuscripts in Aramaic (4Q196–199) and only one (4Q200) in Hebrew. The original seems to have been composed in Aramaic. However, the situation is more

person narrative style is dominant and the tales aim at conveying moral and religious lessons.

Didactic stories and court-tales appear at Qumran as independent literary forms in distinct literary frameworks. They may have been based on ancient antecedents going back to non-Jewish Aramaic or even Babylonian sources.⁸⁵ Yet didactic scenes and dream-visions alike are woven into the farewell addresses of Enoch and the patriarchs. These addresses as they appear in the Aramaic literature under discussion are indeed complex and elaborate, and may represent a later, more developed genre.

While predictive dreams in court-tales acquire their particular character from the narrative framework of the royal surrounding, other Aramaic texts focus on the visionary experience itself. Due to the fragmentary state of most of these writings, little or nothing can be learnt about the seers or how the revelations were divulged. Among them are the so-called *Words of Michael*, (4Q529, 4Q571, 6Q23),⁸⁶ the *Pseudo-Daniel* text (4Q243–245), the *Birth of Noah* (4Q534–4Q536), and the *New Jerusalem* text (1Q32, 2Q24, 4Q554–4Q555, 11Q18).

The *Words of Michael* purports to be the written words of the angel Michael to the angels (4Q529 i 1). The seer seems to be Enoch, since some of the scenes in 4Q529 i 2–4 resemble views shown to Enoch during his cosmic journeys with the angels (*I Enoch* 14:8, 17:1), so the text may belong to the Enochic literature.

Most intriguing are the three copies of *Pseudo-Daniel* (4Q243–4Q245).⁸⁷ The name of Daniel appears in the three of them. The many small fragments preserve a vision of history. In a manner familiar from the *Animal Apocalypse* (*I Enoch* 85–90) or the Hebrew *Apocryphon of Jeremiah* (4Q385a–4Q390), the historical sequence contains details about events of the past such Noah and the flood (4Q244 8), the sojourn

complex since the Aramaic copies display an elaborate relationship to the biblical Hebrew.

⁸⁵ See the general survey of A. Salvesen, "The Legacy of Babylon and Nineveh in Aramaic Sources," in S. Dalley, *The Legacy of Mesopotamia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 139–161. But Salvesen does not include the bulk of the Qumran Aramaic texts.

⁸⁶ For the identification of 6Q23 as another copy of this work see Milik, *Enoch*, 91; Puech, *Textes araméens I*, 1 and also 2–8; idem, *Textes araméens II*, 399–403. See also my comments in Dimant, "Review," 293–294.

⁸⁷ For the edition see J. J. Collins and P. W. Flint, "243–245. 4Qpseudo-Daniel^{a-c} ar" in *Qumran Cave 4. XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (ed. G. Brooke et al.; DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 95–164.

in Egypt (4Q243 11), or the crossing of the Jordan (4Q243 12). Details about evil kings (4Q243 21, 24) or the redemption of Israel (4Q243 16) belong to the future, so the composition seemingly attributes to Daniel a vision about the entire sequence of history. It is undoubtedly based on the predictive visions of Daniel in the canonical Book of Daniel, which does not, however, contain reviews of early antediluvian and biblical history. Yet this manner of readapting the biblical Daniel reflects the already authoritative status of the book of Daniel, a status also assumed by the sectarian literature.⁸⁸ It is interesting that together with the explicit attribution to Daniel, as is the case with *Pseudo-Daniel*, the Qumran library yielded two other pieces related to the Book of Daniel: the *Prayer of Nabonidus* (4Q242) and the *Four Kingdoms* (4Q552–4Q553–4Q553a[?]).⁸⁹ The best preserved fragment from the *Prayer of Nabonidus* presents a written version of the *Prayer of Nabonidus*, king of Babylon. In the prayer Nabonidus mentions his illness at Taima, inflicted on him as punishment for his idolatry. This he learns from a “Jewish diviner” (4Q242 1 4). Other fragments refer to the narrative framework of this prayer (fr. 4). The few details identify the speaker with the historical Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon. This tale is similar to Nebuchadnezzar’s madness in Daniel 4. The two stories may reflect the same tradition and both are embedded in a court-tale setting.

The *Four Kingdoms* text resembles the Book of Daniel in a different way. It relates a vision about four trees that represent four kingdoms (4Q552 1 ii ; 4Q553 3+2 ii). The names of the first two, Babylon and Media, are preserved (4Q552 2 ii 5; 4Q553 3+2 ii 4–6) and the third one represents Greece, like the four kingdoms scheme in Daniel 2 and 7.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Daniel 9:25 is interpreted by 11Q13 ii 18. Daniel 11:32 is explained by 4Q174 1–3 ii 3–4a.

⁸⁹ For the *Prayer of Nabonidus* see the references in n. 79 above. For the *Four Kingdoms* see the final edition of Puech, *Textes araméens II*, 57–90, which should replace the previous ones by Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte II*, 144–145 and E. Cook, “4Q552–4Q553. 4QFour Kingdoms^{a-b} ar,” in *Additional Genres and Unclassified Texts* (ed. D. Parry and E. Tov; *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* 6; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 76–80. Puech splitted 4Q553 into two manuscripts on basis of paleographic considerations. However, the poorly preserved fragments of 4Q553a do not yield a clear idea of their content. Puech expresses doubt as to their identification as a copy of the *Four Kingdoms* work. See *idem*, *ibid.*, 57, 81.

⁹⁰ The actual name “Greece” has not been preserved. So while the affinity of the description to the visions in the book of Daniel is clear, it nevertheless does not justify the restoration of the actual word “Greece” (יִרְאֵן) by Puech in 4Q552 1 ii 12 and 4Q553 3+2 ii 7. Although the visionary may be Daniel, his name is not found in the surviving text.

From one fragment (4Q552 1 i 8) it is clear that the vision appeared to a monarch and the speaker is a Jewish courtier who interprets it to him (cf. 4Q552 1 i 8). The name of the visionary does not occur in the surviving fragments but given the affinity to the Book of Daniel he may be Daniel himself. The court-tale setting is quite clear here, and provides another Aramaic instance of this genre. In this way the Qumran Aramaic court-tales offer a wider literary context to the stories of Daniel 2–6. It is now evident that the Danielic stories originated in a more extensive Jewish Aramaic literature of this type.

Two more texts need to be considered: the so-called *Birth of Noah* (4Q534–4Q536) and the text now labeled *Apocryphon of Daniel* (4Q246).⁹¹ The former is preserved in three very fragmentary copies. Most of the pieces contain parts of a predictive revelation. An important passage is devoted to an unusual personality, endowed with exceptional wisdom and knowledge of secrets (4Q534 1 i 6–11; 4Q536 2 i). He is called “the Elect of God” (בְּחִיר אֱלֹהִים—4Q534 1 i 10) and is recognized by special physical properties observed in his birth (4Q534 1 i 1–4; ii 1–5). It was initially entitled *Elect of God*,⁹² but most scholars accepted Joseph Fitzmyer’s proposal to identify the remarkable birth and personality with those of Noah, given the extant descriptions of Noah’s miraculous birth in *I Enoch* 106–107 and *Genesis Apocryphon II*.⁹³ However, the name Noah is not mentioned in the work and the miraculous birth and physical characteristics accord equally well with a messianic figure. Possible allusions to the Flood and the Watchers’ misdeeds (4Q535 3 ii) may belong to a historical review, which is often part of the predictive vision. The presence of a speaker who tells this vision is hinted at in one section (4Q536 2 i 13). So the work seems to offer another review of history which contains an eschatological part concerning the future savior. The fact that other Aramaic pieces (4Q246, 4Q580) also describe

Therefore there is no cause to restore it, as did Puech in 4Q552 1 i 6 (see Puech, *Textes araméens II*, 61). See n.94 below.

⁹¹ For the *Apocryphon of Daniel* see Puech, “246. 4QApocryphe de Daniel ar,” in *Qumran Cave 4. XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (ed. G. Brooke et al.; DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 165–184. For the *Birth of Noah* see Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte II*, 162–165.

⁹² See J. Starcky, “Un texte messianique de la grotte 4 de Qumran,” *École des Langues orientales anciennes de l’Institut Catholique de Paris: Mémorial du cinquantenaire 1914–1964* (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1964), 51–66.

⁹³ See J. A. Fitzmyer, “The Aramaic ‘Elect of God’ Text from Qumran Cave 4,” *CBQ* 27 (1965): 348–372.

messianic figures with extraordinary qualities adds weight to the messianic interpretation of 4Q536.⁹⁴ It seems that 4Q534–4Q536 and 4Q246 (perhaps also 4Q580) reflect messianic and apocalyptic traditions current in the Jewish circles that authored the Aramaic works. The name *Birth of Noah* blurs this text's predictive and eschatological character, and it is suggested that the initial title, the *Elect of God*,⁹⁵ be restored.⁹⁶

Of particular interest is the text called *New Jerusalem*. It seems to have been popular at Qumran, since it is represented by seven copies from five different caves (1, 2, 4, 5 and 11).⁹⁷ The work purports to describe the eschatological Jerusalem and the temple of inordinate dimensions, as shown by an angel to an unnamed seer. The depiction is built on Ezekiel 40–48 but shows affinity also to the temple's description in the Qumran Hebrew *Temple Scroll* (11QT^a). Yet the *New Jerusalem* speaks of the temple of a future era, while the *Temple Scroll* addresses the temple of historical times. The final sections of the *New Jerusalem* include a forecast about the envious kings of the nations who try to conquer the city but are defeated by divine intervention (4Q554 fragments 13 and 14). The predictive aspect of these descriptions links the *New Jerusalem* to dream-visions on the one hand, and to non-

⁹⁴ Compare the above-mentioned term בַּחִיר אֱלֹהִים (“the elect of God”) in 4Q534 1 i 10 with the expression בְּרֵה דִי אֵל (“the son of God”) in 4Q246 ii 1. For an edition of 4Q246 see Puech, “Fragment d’une apocalypse en Araméen (4Q246=Pseudo-Dan^d) et le ‘royaume de Dieu’,” *RB* 99 (1992): 98–131, and idem, “Apocryphon of Daniel.” The text is given a misleading title: the *Apocryphon of Daniel*. For 4Q580 see Puech, *Textes araméens II*, 415–430.

⁹⁵ For additional arguments in favor of this proposal see Dimant, “Review,” 297–298. See also Puech, *Textes araméens II*, 303, 415. 4Q246 is given another misleading title: the *Apocryphon of Daniel*. See Puech, “Apocryphon of Daniel.” This title is a leftover from the previous wrong identification of the text as a copy of *Pseudo-Daniel*. In fact, 4Q246 has nothing to do with Daniel, and the name does not occur in it. In his early edition of the text Puech, reconstructed the name Daniel in 4Q246 i 2 (*ibid.*, 106–107), but he omitted it in his final edition (*ibid.*, 167).

⁹⁶ One copy of the “Elect of God” work, 4Q534, describes the physical properties of the messianic figure. Following the initial comments of Starcky, this section was understood as astrological and was associated with the Hebrew (4Q186) and Aramaic (4Q561) horoscopes. But as pointed out by Puech, *Textes araméens II*, 303–304, the two are different. The physical description of 4Q534 is only one aspect of the description, whereas 4Q561 is entirely devoted to physiognomic matters.

⁹⁷ The copies are 1Q32, 2Q24, 4Q554, 4Q554a, 4Q555, 5Q15, 11Q18. See E. Cook, “New Jerusalem,” in *Additional Genres and Unclassified Texts* (ed. D. Parry and E. Tov; *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* 6; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 38–58; García F. García Martínez, E. J. C. Tigchelaar and A. S. van der Woude, “18. 11QNew Jerusalem ar,” *Qumran Cave 11. II: 11Q2–18, 11Q20–31* (DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 305–355; Puech, *Textes araméens II*, 91–152.

Qumranic apocalyptic revelations about history on the other. The presence of other visionary apocalyptic texts, too fragmentary for positive identification, attests to the importance of this genre in the Qumran Aramaic corpus.⁹⁸

Some genres are represented only by one or two manuscripts, and therefore remain at the fringes of the Aramaic corpus. Nonetheless, their presence suggests a wider generic selection than the one indicated by the better preserved scrolls. Among the disparate fragments of this kind two merit special notice. The text numbered 4Q569 is of a sapiential character, containing proverbs formulated in the second person singular. Some are prefaced by the title “to the sage” (למשכיל) (4Q569 1–2 1). Both subject-matter and form link this text with the large sapiential work 4QInstruction. However, 4QInstruction is written in Hebrew, while 4Q569 is an Aramaic text. This distinction gives food for thought about the relation of the two languages as means of expression in literary compositions.

Another papyrus scroll, 4Q559, contains a chronology of biblical figures. The best preserved pieces begin with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (fragments 1–2), fragment 3 speaks of Levi and his descendents and fragments 4–6 list Joshua and the judges.⁹⁹

A special group consists of magical and astrological texts. From a generic viewpoint the texts of *Zodiology and Brontology* (4Q318), and a physiognomic text (4Q561),¹⁰⁰ as well as the magical compilation (4Q560), are atypical, and in fact isolated, in the corpus of the Aramaic texts from Qumran.¹⁰¹ They may in fact not be part of the Qumran library but were brought in from the outside.

⁹⁸ See 4Q556–556a (= 4QProphecy^{a-b}), 4Q557–4Q558, 4Q565, 4Q568, 4Q575 and 4Q583, all published by Puech, *Textes araméens II*. See also 4Q580.

⁹⁹ See Puech, *Textes araméens II*, 354–361 (4Q569), 263–289 (4Q559).

¹⁰⁰ See Puech, *Textes araméens II*, 303–321. The proximity of the Hebrew horoscope 4Q186 to 4Q561 has been noted long ago and therefore 4Q261 has also been considered a horoscope. However, Puech, *Textes araméens II*, 303–304 notes that 4Q561 does not contain the astrological but only the physiological elements. He suggests that 4Q186 is a Hebrew adaptation and enlargement of the Aramaic 4Q561, rather than its straight forward translation. If this is the case it supports the assumption that 4Q561 was brought to the library from outside. This conclusion is also supported by the affinity of the physiognomic material in 4Q561 to similar Mesopotamian and Greek treatises of physiognomy.

¹⁰¹ For 4Q318 see J. C. Greenfield and M. Sokoloff, “318. 4QZodology and Brontology ar,” in *Qumran Cave 4. XXVI: Miscellanea, Part 1* (ed. P. Alexander et al.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 259–274. For 4Q560 see Puech, *Textes araméens II*, 291–302.

Also isolated are remains of two Targumim, one of Leviticus (4Q156), the other of Job (4Q157; 11Q10). The Targum genre is poorly represented among the Qumran Aramaic manuscripts. The only work closely related to this genre is the *Genesis Apocryphon*. But seen in the wider perspective of the Qumran Aramaic corpus the *Genesis Apocryphon* appears to be well rooted in the literary scene of the Aramaic literature at home in the Land of Israel during the Second Temple period. This is true also of other categories discussed here, namely the farewell addresses and the narrative legends. Thus the generic study of the Aramaic texts found at Qumran provides a new and larger perspective on these works, as well as on the Qumran library as a whole. It also cast new light on Jewish works known before the discovery of the scrolls.

DISCUSSION

Florentino García Martínez: What is specific about this Aramaic Literature which we cannot say about the literature in Hebrew?

Devorah Dimant: Specific to Aramaic works are 1) Pseudepigraphic works attributed to patriarchs of prehistory times and Patriarchal period, or to exile in Babylon/Persia; 2) Biblical protagonists and their circumstances provide only the general framework. The reworking of biblical elements is freer than in Hebrew. 3) The amount of non-biblical additions and elaborations is considerably larger. 4) Absence of reworking of Israelite history (from Sinai to the fall of Jerusalem).

John Collins: How can you say that the *Zodiology* (4Q318) and *Horoscope* (4Q561) are not part of the Qumran library?

Devorah Dimant: I never said that. Evidently these texts were found among the Qumran scrolls and so they are part of them. What I said was that these texts may not be part of the Qumran Aramaic corpus, for they share with them only the language but differ from the majority of the Qumran texts in content, literary character and purpose.

John Collins: Would everyone agree that the *Book of Giants* depends on Genesis?

André Lemaire: Certainly not.

Devorah Dimant: Whether everyone agrees to it or not is irrelevant. What is relevant is the fact that the *Book of Giants* depends on Genesis for the choice of protagonists (giants, watchers, Enoch) and circumstances (flood). The large amount of aggadic non-biblical material inserted into this framework should not obscure its dependence on Genesis for its basic essentials. Denying such a connection implies the supposition that this framework stemmed from some unknown narrative tradition, non-biblical albeit similar to Genesis, a proposition I find improbable.

Michael Stone: Observe the danger of making strong assertions on the basis of the non-occurrence of types of documents among the surviving manuscripts. The manuscripts we know are only part of what was there. Non-occurrence of a work is not probative.

Devorah Dimant: We are working with what we have. The fact that the Qumran library forms only a part, perhaps even a small part, of the Second Temple Jewish literature should not deter us from trying to make sense of the data at our disposal.

André Lemaire: Merci pour votre présentation générale à laquelle vous me permettez de faire une remarque aussi générale : j'ai bien peur que, parfois, vous ne tombiez dans le piège du bibliocentrisme en faisant dépendre pratiquement tous les livres de Qoumrân de la Bible—par exemple, le *Livre des Géants* de la Genèse—alors que c'est l'inverse : certains passages bibliques supposent l'existence d'une littérature plus large, probablement araméenne. C'est déjà vrai pour le personnage de Balaam fils de Bé'or (Nombres 22–24) mais c'est aussi probablement vrai pour Genèse 6,4. Le danger du bibliocentrisme dans l'étude des textes de Qoumrân doit être d'autant plus souligné que la Bible, en tant que canon précisément limité de livres, n'existe pas encore et est un anachronisme.

Devorah Dimant: Bibliocentrism is not my fault, but the fault of the Qumran texts. This tendency is typical of all Qumran literature, both Hebrew and Aramaic. As for the *Book of Giants*, there is no doubt that it drew on vast literature outside the Hebrew Bible. But what is significant is the basic story and figures, and I do not think that they can be explained by literary works other than Genesis. See also my response to John Collins.

Daniel Stöckl: In an attempt to reconcile the approaches suggested by Devorah Dimant and Michael Stone, I think it is important to try to understand the collection as a whole but take more into consideration probable distortions. Texts such as those studied in Jonathan Ben-Dov's contribution are much harder to identify from small scraps of paper than the quotation of the text otherwise known. Biblical texts may therefore be overrepresented as they are more easily identified, or as brief texts with just a few words may be wrongly categorized as biblical while in reality they are remains of a text quoting something biblical (or a source for a biblical text).

Jonathan Ben-Dov: While 4Q318 may indeed be considered extraneous in the Qumran library, as it does not accord with Enochic astronomy, the *Physiognomy* of 4Q561 certainly fits very well with the interests of the authors represented in this library. Other texts from Qumran—Aramaic and Hebrew, sectarian and non-sectarian—attest to a physiognomic awareness by the authors.

Hanan Eshel: According to my understanding, Mur 42 shows that people were trying to express themselves in Hebrew during the second Jewish Revolt, but were not able to do so. Therefore, they shifted back to Aramaic every time they had to say complicated words. The letter from Nahal Hever (P. Yadin 52) hints that the rebels were ordered to write Hebrew. In light of those documents, I believe that the mother language in Judea in the first and second centuries CE was Aramaic.

Jan Joosten: Hebrew was still a spoken language in the first century CE, as is shown by many indications and as is agreed upon by most linguists.

Steven Fassberg: With regard to Mur 42, P. Yadin 52 and similar texts, I would rather say that the writer knows both languages and goes back and forth between the two of them without even noticing it. This is shown by the number of Hebraisms in Aramaic texts and the Aramaisms in Hebrew texts. But let me forward the following question to Devorah Dimant: Is the dearth of attested targumic texts (only Leviticus and Job) at Qumran a matter of chance or could it be because that genre was associated with the opponents of the sect?

Devorah Dimant: The problem of the Targumim is a difficult one. In my opinion running Targumim for the Torah and Prophets were still non-existent at that time, namely

during the second and first centuries BCE. Perhaps Hebrew texts were translated into Aramaic in isolated cases, when a specific need arose.

Moshe Bernstein: I agree with you that the *Genesis Apocryphon* is neither targum nor midrash. I think that you just made a very important point that not every Aramaic version of the Hebrew Bible that we find should be called targum, and I think that what you called ad hoc targum just now is very much what is happening in the *Genesis Apocryphon*. This is one of the things that we have to think about even when we find a few verses in Aramaic, although Hanan may take issue with me on this. We have to consider the possibility that they are translating and they don't have anything in front of them that we would call formally a targum. Those few verses from Leviticus 16 from Cave 4 which is the only targum of Torah, I think, that we find in Qumran, are really not enough to indicate anything about written targum at Qumran.

Let me ask you the following two questions: first of all do we have to think about the way that we name things? I think that there is a larger problem (and I wrote about it years ago [in James L. Kugel, ed., *Studies in Ancient Midrash*]) and I see it again in the Aramaic stuff just as much as in the Hebrew. When the original editors gave names to these documents, the names that were given were very grandiose. You have two or three small pieces of leather with a little bit of writing on them and you give it a name which implies something very large; the name too often promises much more than the text can actually give us. So do you think that we should think about how we name things because how we name things influences the way we think about them?

The other point (and I have to tell you that you solved a problem for me in this paper): What would you say if you find lexical, literary or other forms of unifying data which would go to confirm your classification of the corpus of Aramaic documents which was made on purely formal grounds? Is it merely formal grounds that you are interested in using or are you saying that for today I'm only going to use formal grounds and the next step is to look at the language and then at the ideology to see whether these texts are connected on a level beyond the merely formal?

Devorah Dimant: Since the presentation I offered was the first of its kind in scope and breadth, I started with what appears to me methodologically sounder, namely the formal aspect of the genres. Language is another element which should be taken in consideration, but it requires a separate study. With "ideology" we are on shifting ground, since it is open to various interpretations. I tried to avoid such pitfalls by adopting a literary descriptive, and yes, formal approach.

Florentino García Martínez: A question about labels: Why do we talk about a Targum of Leviticus from Cave 4 when dealing with this very small fragment, instead of referring to an Aramaic composition (which in the preserved part happens to overlap with the known Hebrew text) and not (for example) about a Hebrew Targum of Tobit (which happened to overlap with an Aramaic composition)?

LE VOLUME XXXVII DES *DISCOVERIES IN THE JUDAEAN DESERT*
ET LES MANUSCRITS ARAMÉENS DU LOT STARCKY

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Dans le lot assez disparate des manuscrits de la grotte 4 confié à Jean Starcky, en 1954, se trouvaient des manuscrits en hébreu et en araméen. En 1958, J. Starcky céda à Maurice Baillet qui venait de finir l'étude des fragments des 'Petites Grottes' (Grottes 2 et 3, et 6 à 10), une série de manuscrits hébreux à l'exception de quelques rares fragments insignifiants de papyrus en araméen, qui vinrent grossir les manuscrits hébreux d'abord confiés à C. H. Hunzinger. Il restait encore une masse de fragments à la charge de J. Starcky. La situation géopolitique locale ayant changé en 1967, J. Starcky demanda de l'aide pour finir l'étude de ses fragments. Il me proposa une collaboration en 1974, d'abord pour ses manuscrits hébreux restant dans son lot, dont il se déchargea en 1981, mais il envisageait toujours une collaboration pour la publication du lot araméen. En 1986, sa santé se dégradant, il me confia la responsabilité de l'ensemble, y joignant quelques papyri nabatéens du Désert de Juda dont il avait publié le mieux conservé dès 1954. Ce bref rappel d'histoire m'a paru utile pour expliquer mon entrée en cours de route dans l'équipe internationale de la publication des manuscrits de la grotte 4.

Les manuscrits araméens constituent la partie la plus importante du lot des manuscrits de Qumrân restés à la charge de J. Starcky. C'était en effet son premier centre d'intérêt qui avait motivé son retour à Jérusalem en 1952. Józef T. Milik qui avait identifié plusieurs fragments, en particulier ceux du *Livre d'Hénoch* et du *Testament de Lévi*, avait pris en charge l'étude de ces manuscrits, ainsi que celle des fragments des targums du Lévitique et de Job, celle des fragments des quatre copies de Tobie, du *Pseudo-Daniel*, de la *Prière de Nabonide*, du *Livre des Géants* et d'un *brontologion*, soit en tout une trentaine de manuscrits araméens. Le reste, le plus souvent non encore identifié, était confié à J. Starcky.

Venant d'en finir leur étude pour l'*editio princeps*, il m'est plus aisé de livrer l'essentiel du contenu des quelques cinquante-sept manuscrits de son lot, augmenté de soixante-quatre groupes de fragments non-identifiés et non classifiés. Cela montre l'importance des manuscrits en araméen de la grotte 4, comparés aux quinze manuscrits en araméen

identifiés dans les grottes 1, 2, 5, 6 et 11, augmentés d'une série de fragments non-classifiés, y compris dans la grotte 3.

1. 4Q246 dans Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXII¹

En échange de fragments araméens cédés à J. T. Milik pour compléter des copies des livres d'Hénoch et de Lévi, J. Starcky recevait un beau fragment qui se rattache, par le style et le contenu, à des chapitres araméens du livre de Daniel, manuscrit que j'ai intitulé *Apocryphe de Daniel*, et ainsi il a été intégré dans un volume regroupant des restes d'autres manuscrits attribués au prophète Daniel. Ce fragment est en fait de type apocalyptique, puisque, interprétant une vision d'un roi vraisemblablement païen, le prophète lui en révèle le sens et tout ce qui arrivera jusqu'à l'éternité : détresses, guerres et massacres entre rois et provinces, mais se lèvera un autre roi, le dernier, qui sera grand sur la terre et tous feront la paix avec lui, « le fils du gra]nd [souverain] Il sera appelé et de son nom Il sera nommé, Il sera dit le fils de Dieu et le fils du Très-Haut on l'appellera ». Telle est la désignation de ce dernier puissant roi, puis après la description des règnes éphémères des puissants rois et de massacres entre les peuples, suit la description de son règne « lorsque se lèvera ou qu'il fera se lever le peuple de Dieu ... Son règne est un règne éternel, il jugera la terre en vérité/avec justice, le Grand Dieu est lui-même sa force et livrera les peuples dans sa main, sa domination est éternelle et tous les abîmes [de la terre lui obéiront] ».

Non seulement ce fragment donne une interprétation personnelle de la figure apocalyptique si discutée que Daniel 7 décrivait comme le fils de l'homme venant avec les nuées des cieux, mais encore il annonce, prophétiquement, la figure du Messie roi davidique que l'évangile de Luc décrit avec des mots identiques dans le récit de l'Annonciation : « Il sera grand et Fils du Très-Haut on l'appellera, le Seigneur Dieu lui donnera le trône de David son père, il règnera sur la maison de Jacob à jamais et son règne n'aura pas de fin » (Lc 1, 32–33)². La conservation de ces

¹ Voir É. Puech, "246. 4QApocryphe de Daniel ar", dans *DJD XXII. Qumran Cave 4. XVII. Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (dir. par G. Brooke et al. ; DJD 22 ; Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1996), 165–184.

² B. C. Reynolds, "The 'One Like a Son of Man' According to the Old Greek of Daniel 7,13–14", *Biblica* 89 (2008) : 70–80, conclut aussi à une nature messianique de la figure du fils de l'homme en Daniel 7, figure recevant une autorité royale sur son royaume éternel et distincte des Saints du Très-Haut.

colonnes, même quelque peu lacunaires, pourrait passer pour providentielle, tant elles éclairent des passages importants de la tradition biblique dans les derniers siècles avant notre ère, dans la ligne même de la tradition évangélique, nous donnant par là la clé de lecture ou de relecture de ces passages prophétiques, car le livre de Daniel était alors classé parmi les prophètes, comme l'attestent les sources du judaïsme ancien : les LXX, les écrits qumraniens, le Nouveau Testament et Flavius Josèphe. A ce sujet, je m'écarte d'une suggestion du Prof. Hartmut Stegemann que j'avais fini par intégrer aussi dans la publication *princeps* du fragment, et je ne retiens plus maintenant que l'interprétation messianique de cette figure royale qui était ma première intuition et interprétation³.

2. *Le volume XXXI des Discoveries in the Judaeen Desert*⁴

Parmi les rares manuscrits araméens à avoir conservé le titre original figure 4Q529, *Paroles du livre que Michel dit aux anges*. Il semble qu'on ait affaire au récit d'une vision d'Hénoch au cours de son voyage céleste (au septième ciel ?) où, accompagné de Michel, il rencontre Gabriel, l'ange préposé à la révélation des mystères. Semblent y être révélées les grandes étapes de l'histoire : le partage de la terre entre les fils de Noé, la construction d'une ville au nom de « mon maître, le Seigneur d'éternité » (*rby mr' 'lm*), désignant certainement Jérusalem et son temple où sera fait tout ce qui est mal. Mais le Seigneur se souviendra de sa création à cause d'une ville, il retournera dans son temple rebâti (avec une allusion probable à Aggée 2:8) et il fera miséricorde. Avec la phrase « Une lumière sera visible pour tous les habitants du pays », a-t-on affaire à un oracle de salut à l'adresse des déportés « dans la province lointaine » (de Babylonie ?), rappelant la fidélité à ses promesses du Dieu créateur de l'univers ? Un fragment identifié depuis lors, 4Q571, a permis de retrouver une deuxième copie de cette compo-

³ Voir É. Puech, "Le fils de Dieu, le fils du Très-Haut, messie roi en 4Q246", dans *Le jugement dans l'un et l'autre Testament. I – Mélanges offerts à Raymond Kuntzmann* (dir. par E. Bons ; Lectio Divina 197 ; Paris : Le Cerf, 2004), 271–286 (273, ligne 2 : lire *rgz* et non *rgš*).

⁴ Voir É. Puech, *DJD XXXI. Qumrân Grotte 4. XXII. Textes araméens, première partie 4Q529–549* (DJD 31 ; Oxford : Clarendon Press, 2001), et idem, *DJD XXXVII. Qumrân Grotte 4. XXVII. Textes araméens, deuxième partie 4Q550–575, 4Q580–4Q587 et appendices* (DJD 37 ; Oxford : Clarendon Press, 2009).

sition et de restaurer des lignes de la première colonne du manuscrit, sans toutefois permettre de résoudre toutes les difficultés du passage⁵.

Quatre copies du *Livre des Géants* de la grotte 4 et un fragment de la cinquième se retrouvent dans le lot Starcky, toutes dans un état très fragmentaire. Toutefois, le plus grand regroupement des fragments a permis, avec l'aide d'une copie sur papyrus de la grotte 6 correctement déchiffrée et réordonnée (6Q8), de restaurer une bonne colonne de texte suivi⁶. Même si le contenu du livre reste bien lacunaire, on a quelque idée de la deuxième série de songes d'Ohayah et d'Haayah, les deux fils du prince des anges déchus, Shemiḥazah, songes qui tourmentaient les Géants malgré leurs efforts pour en trouver une signification⁷. Le texte parle du second voyage de Mahawai, fils de Baraqiel, autre décurion des anges déchus, auprès d'Hénoch, le scribe de discernement, qui lui révélera leur condamnation et leurs châtiments : une réclusion éternelle dans les abîmes de la terre. Le grand jugement sera un déluge d'eau et un déluge de feu dont seront épargnés les trois rejetons d'un arbre : Noé et ses trois fils.

Outre le fait d'avoir retrouvé des restes de la composition araméenne du *Livre des Géants* que connut Mani dans une traduction syriaque et dont il tirera son propre Livre canonique *Livre des Géants*, ces fragments ont révélé des noms des Veilleurs et des Géants, tels Gilgamesh, Ḥobabish⁸, Ahiram, qui, avec les Veilleurs Hermoni⁹, Danel, etc., dans

⁵ La copie 4Q571 qui a conservé une bonne page de garde, assure le début du rouleau et le titre de la composition, ce qui n'était pas aussi clair avec la copie 4Q529, sans marge à la couture. On pouvait alors penser aussi bien à un début de 'chapitre' comparable à *pršgn ktb mly nwh*, « Copie du livre des paroles de Noé » en 1QApGn V 29.

⁶ Voir É. Puech, "Les fragments 1 à 3 du *Livre des Géants* de la grotte 6 (pap6Q8)", *RQ* 74 (1999) : 232–238, et idem, *Qumrân Grotte 4. XXII*, 28–43.

⁷ Voir É. Puech, "Les songes de *Šemiḥazah* dans le *Livre des Géants* de Qumrân", *Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* (Paris : De Boccard, janvier–mars 2000), 7–25.

⁸ En 4Q203 3 3, le nom du Géant *w'dk*^o[qui suit *hwbbš*, ne peut être lu comme Atambish ou Atnabish, pour y retrouver la figure d'*Utnapištim*, comme certains le voudraient ; voir A. Lemaire, "Nabonide et Gilgamesh : l'araméen en Mésopotamie et à Qoumrân", dans le présent volume. J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1976), 311, donne des indications à ce sujet.

⁹ La lecture Hermoni « de l'Hermon » s'impose, malgré les remarques de M. Langlois, "Shemiḥazah et compagnie(s). Onomastique des anges déchus dans les manuscrits araméens du *Livre d'Hénoch*", dans le présent volume, qui veut lire *hrmw*(s). D'autres lectures et interprétations ne peuvent être retenues, lire le 14^e : *stw*^l en 4QHen^c 1 ii 27, le 16^e : *šhry*^l « lune de Dieu » (avec J. T. Milik), le 17^e : *twmy*^l n'est pas impossible (fragment non en place sur les reproductions), le 19^e : *ymy*^l meilleur que *ym*^l, pour le 20^e : *whdy*^l est possible mais *yhdy*^l le serait tout autant. Une quelconque lointaine

le *Livre des Veilleurs* de *1 Hénoch*, semblent situer le milieu d'origine de la composition. En effet, le combat opposant le roi Gilgamesh et son ami Enkidu au monstre Hōbabish-Humbaba, le gardien de la forêt des cèdres du Liban, héros d'une épopée des plus recopiées, est bien représenté sur des sceaux et cylindres, sceaux bien connus en Canaan et en Palestine même depuis des siècles¹⁰. Ainsi ces deux noms ont-ils depuis longtemps dépassé les frontières de la Mésopotamie¹¹. Quant aux autres noms des décurions des Veilleurs, ils sont typiques du milieu sémitique de l'ouest, ce que la légende de Sanchuniaton viendrait appuyer qui, analogiquement, donne aussi aux Géants des origines des noms de montagnes, de villes ou de héros de Phénicie et du nord-Canaan. Ainsi, le *Livre des Géants* est certainement familier de la tradition du *Livre des Veilleurs* de *1 Hénoch* qu'il semble bien connaître, sans devoir revendiquer une origine mésopotamienne directe, comme certains le prétendent¹². Mais le *Livre des Géants* est une composition indépendante du *Livre d'Hénoch*, sans preuves épigraphiques d'une appartenance à un Pentateuque hénocrite¹³.

Des restes de trois manuscrits sont désignés dans l'*editio princeps* sous le titre *Naissance de Noé* comme titre répondant mieux, me

influence ugaritique paraît peu vraisemblable sur ces listes d'un millénaire postérieures, le fond du commun sémitique de l'ouest suffit largement à les expliquer. Voir les explications ci-dessous.

¹⁰ Pour la tablette de Mégiddo, voir R. J. Tournay et A. Shaffer, *L'épopée de Gilgamesh. Introduction, Traduction et Notes* (LAPO 15 ; Paris : Le Cerf, 1998), 174–177. Pour la Palestine, un sceau a été trouvé à Tell Keisân en Galilée et un autre à Tell Nagilâh dans le sud ; voir O. Keel, "La glyptique", *Tell Keisân (1971–1976). Une cité phénicienne en Galilée* (dir. par J. Briand et J.-B. Humbert, assistés de É. Puech ; OBO, Series Archaeologica 1 ; Fribourg : Editions Universitaires – Göttingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht – Paris : Gabalda, 1980), 257–295, n°18, 276–277. Le nom de Gilgamesh a été invoqué dans les incantations ; voir Tournay–Shaffer, *L'épopée de Gilgamesh*, 23s. Par ailleurs, un village à 8 km au sud-est de Jenin et à 25 km de Mégiddo, porte le nom de Galqamus ; voir F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine* (Paris : Lecoffre – Gabalda, 1933), vol. I, 70.

¹¹ Pour le nom et la diffusion de l'épopée dans les civilisations hittite, hurrite, phénicienne, en plus des versions en Ancien Babylonien, Babylonien Récent, Néo-Babylonien, Assyrien et version ninivite, Sumérien, voir Tournay–Shaffer, *L'épopée de Gilgamesh*, 9–18.

¹² Voir dernièrement l'article de Lemaire dans le présent volume, où il va jusqu'à proposer une origine babylonienne du Maître de Justice ! Une position plus nuancée est adoptée par J. Ben-Dov, "Scientific Writings in Aramaic and Hebrew at Qumran: Translation and Concealment" dans le présent volume.

¹³ Voir J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 227 ; É. Puech, *DJD XXXI*, spécialement 111–113, où je montre que 4Q206 2–3 doivent être séparés de 4Q206, et être identifiés comme un manuscrit à part, 4Q206a.

semble-t-il, au contenu perceptible de ces fragments, que *Texte messianique araméen* d'abord proposé par J. Starcky, naissance à laquelle font allusion les premières colonnes de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* retrouvé dans la grotte 1, ainsi que la finale de *1 Hénoch*, retrouvée dans la grotte 4, d'autant que le manuscrit donne même le poids de l'enfant à la naissance. Ces restes renseignent quelque peu sur le genre physiognomonique et horoscopique jusque-là inconnu dans la littérature du judaïsme ancien. Le personnage en question se distingue par des détails de son apparence, certainement révélateurs de ses dispositions intérieures, et par son thème de géniture astrologique qui sera parfait, « car il est l'Élu de Dieu ». Parfait dans sa naissance et affiné dans sa jeunesse, il aura la pleine connaissance quand il aura lu les trois livres. Prudence et sagesse seront avec lui pour guider les hommes, connaissant les secrets de tous les vivants, mais les secrets de ses frères le chagrineront, car tout ce qui les concerne, se réalisera. Tels sont le contenu essentiel et la phraséologie du passage. Quels sont les trois livres en question ? Comme on ne peut penser y voir des livres célestes, et en conséquence cachés, on devrait y voir, selon une suggestion de P. Grelot, les « trois livres de la création » de la trilogie hénochite dont une tradition samaritaine (le *kitâb al-Asâtir*) a gardé le souvenir. C'est dans ces trois livres sacrés légués par Hénoch (le *Livre des Signes*, le *Livre des Étoiles* et le *Livre des Guerres*) que sera éduqué Noé, le seul survivant du déluge et, de fait, le lointain ancêtre du grand sacerdoce, désignant ainsi *in nuce* l'identité de l'« Élu de Dieu », mais on y lirait plus difficilement une claire et directe désignation messianique¹⁴. Le manuscrit contient des restes d'au moins un autre horoscope, à l'aspect négatif celui-là, et les fragments 1 ii + 2 font clairement allusion à des événements pré-diluviens et diluviens, alors que d'autres fragments insistent sur la voie de sagesse à suivre, sans doute à la suite du sage Noé, pour ne pas périr comme les impies.

Une série de manuscrits semble devoir être rangée dans le genre *Testament des Patriarches*. Un manuscrit (4Q537) rapporte une vision d'un

¹⁴ D. Dimant, dans son compte-rendu de *DJD XXXI*, dans *DSD* 10/2 (2003) : 297s, met en doute l'identification avec Noé, et penche pour l'interprétation messianique, interprétation reprise dans "The Qumran Aramaic Texts and the Qumran Community", dans *Flores Florentino. Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (dir. par A. Hilhorst, É. Puech et E. Tigchelaar ; SJSJ 122 ; Leiden : Brill, 2007), 197–205, 201 note 16. Une figure du roi messie paraît bien difficile, le « messie sacerdotal » me paraît bien préférable en arrière-plan, comme le sage vers qui on va pour recevoir une instruction.

patriarche qui décrit tout ce qui doit lui arriver¹⁵. Ce patriarche ne peut être que Jacob [ou son fils Lévi], étant donné l'âge dont le manuscrit a conservé quelque trace, « 14]7 ou 13]7 ans » (4Q537 1–3 4), puis sont transmises des indications sur le sanctuaire et le service du culte¹⁶. Comme le *Testament de Lévi* rappelle que Lévi reçut le sacerdoce des mains de son père à Béthel, l'attribution à Jacob me paraît de loin la meilleure.

Des restes possibles d'un *Testament de Juda* (4Q538) racontent essentiellement, dans l'état présent, l'entrevue de Joseph avec ses frères en Égypte, mais le rôle central est joué par Juda dans la descente en Égypte et dans l'exécution de ce plan (voir Gn 44–45), même si Joseph use ici de subterfuges pour se faire reconnaître de ses frères et même si Benjamin est le locuteur des lignes conservées dans deux des fragments (4Q538 1–2 1–6)¹⁷. D'autres restes sont manifestement à attribuer à un *Testament de Joseph* (4Q539) qui rappelle le prix de sa vente en Égypte par des Ismaélites. Ces restes testamentaires ont surtout de l'intérêt, quand il y a matière avec ces maigres restes, pour une comparaison avec les thèmes de l'édition grecque des *Testaments des Douze Patriarches* qui ont ainsi une origine sémitique maintenant mieux assise.

¹⁵ L. DiTommaso, “The Development of Apocalypticism in Light of the Aramaic Texts from Qumran”, dans le présent volume, note 71, oppose Vision et Testament, mais les *Testaments* incluent aussi beaucoup de visions, ainsi le *Testament de Lévi* araméen, le *Testament (Visions) d'Amram*, etc. Si on n'avait pas retrouvé la première colonne de 4Q*Visions d'Amram*, aurait-on jamais donné aux autres fragments le titre *Testament d'Amram* ou *Visions d'Amram* ? On peut en douter fortement.

¹⁶ Dimant, *DSD* 10/2 (2003): 298s, met en doute cette solution et pencherait pour Hénoch comme candidat, mais elle semble oublier qu'Hénoch vécut 365 ans d'une part et que, d'autre part, les tablettes (au pluriel) ne s'opposent pas à « sept tablettes », tout comme la « vision » ne s'oppose pas à la qualification de *Testament* (voir les *Visions d'Amram*) et bien d'autres exemples.

¹⁷ Dernièrement Dimant, *ibid.*, en ferait une autre copie du *Testament de Joseph*, et dans “The Qumran Aramaic Texts”, 200, une copie du *Testament de Benjamin*. Voir encore D. Dimant, “4Q538 של כתב היד לטיבו בנימין: לטיבו של כתב היד” dans *Sha'arei Lashon. Studies in Hebrew, Aramaic and Jewish Languages Presented to Moshe Bar-Asher. Volume I: Biblical Hebrew, Masorah, and Medieval Hebrew* (dir. par A. Maman, S. E. Fassberg et Y. Breuer ; Jerusalem : The Bialik Institute, 2007), 10–26. De même encore J. Frey, “On the Origins of the Literary Testament: Farewell Discourses in the Qumran Library and Their Relevance for Reconstructing the Genre of Testamentary Discourse”, dans le présent volume. Le *Testament des Douze Patriarches, Juda* 12:12–13, connaît la descente de Juda en Égypte, même s'il ne s'y arrête pas ; voir déjà la remarque de J. T. Milik, et le *Testament des Douze Patriarches, Benjamin* 2:1 qui mentionne en passant la reconnaissance de Benjamin par Joseph.

Des restes de deux autres manuscrits en rapport avec le sacerdoce semblent bien appartenir eux aussi au genre testamentaire (4Q540–541). Est attendu un personnage “eschatologique” dont la sagesse et la justice seront reconnues mais qui finira par être rejeté par une génération pervertie dans le mal. Ce personnage paraît en relation avec le sanctuaire qu’il aura restauré et il fera l’expiation (*wykp̄r*), comme il est dit de Pinḥas, de la descendance de Lévi, en Nombres 25:13 par exemple. À la fin de la composition, une série de recommandations est adressée à ce personnage pour qu’il agisse dans la droiture et qu’il juge selon le droit et en connaissance de cause, ainsi paraîtra sa justice. Défense est faite au grand prêtre de crucifier un agitateur, car il ne connaît pas les intentions du cœur de l’homme, Dieu seul les connaît. Les nombreux contacts de vocabulaire avec le *Testament de Qahat* et les *Visions d’Amram* laissent entrevoir des conseils de Jacob à Lévi ou mieux de Lévi à ses descendants (*Apocryphe de Lévi*)¹⁸.

De la même veine mais plus clairement, un beau fragment (4Q542) a conservé presque entièrement la finale du *Testament de Qahat*, fils de Lévi, où le patriarche rassemble ses dernières recommandations à ses fils, en particulier à son aîné, Amram. Agir selon la volonté de Dieu, garder fidèlement l’héritage que vous ont transmis les pères, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Lévi et Qahat, en particulier le sacerdoce dans toute sa pureté et vérité, et répondre ainsi à l’appel à la sainteté, et enfin garder tous les livres reçus des pères pour bénéficier des bénédictions éternelles liées à la lignée sacerdotale.

Le troisième livre de la trilogie sacerdotale¹⁹, les *Visions d’Amram*, dont au moins des restes de cinq ou mieux sept copies ont été retrouvés, est connu par le titre : *Copie du livre des paroles des visions d’Amram, fils de Qahat, tout ce qu’il déclara à ses fils et qu’il leur recommanda le jour de sa mort* (4Q543 1 et 4Q545 1). Les dernières instructions à Aaron et Moïse revêtent un caractère didactique accentué dans la vision du rêve des deux anges aux trois noms antagonistes, qui se disputaient à son sujet : Michel-Béliel, Prince de Lumière-Prince de Ténèbres, Melkî-

¹⁸ Dimant, *DSD* 10/2 (2003): 300–302, met en doute ce rapprochement et la fonction sacerdotale du personnage, mais l’acquisition de la sagesse, les sept jubilés sacerdotaux et le prêtre nouveau au centre du *Testament de Lévi* des *Testaments des Douze Patriarches* au vocabulaire et images très proches semblent bien appuyer une telle qualification et réunir 4Q540 et 4Q541 qui se compléteraient, ainsi que l’avait déjà proposé J. Starcky lui-même.

¹⁹ Voir les *Constitutions Apostoliques* VI 16 3 qui citent parmi les τὰ βιβλία ἀπόκρυφα un ouvrage intitulé περὶ τῶν τριῶν πατριαρχῶν.

sédeq-Melkîresha²⁰, alors qu'Amram était monté à Hébron construire le tombeau des Patriarches et qu'avait éclaté une guerre entre l'Égypte et la Philistie et Canaan. D'autres fragments annoncent le rôle des deux frères dans l'exode des fils d'Israël. Une copie (4Q549) paraît avoir conservé la finale du livre : la mort de Jokabed et celle d'Amram ainsi que la descendance directe du patriarche. Un des principaux intérêts de cette composition est le long développement sur le dualisme, dont on avait déjà des esquisses dans les copies par trop fragmentaires des *Testaments de Lévi* et de *Qahat*. Comme le vocabulaire et l'idéologie de ce milieu sacerdotal seront repris dans la *Règle de la Communauté* et d'autres compositions esséniennes, ces écrits constituent sans doute, dans la première moitié du II^e s. ou peu avant, un des terreaux où plongent les racines de la plantation à l'origine du mouvement essénien dont on sait l'importance de la composante sacerdotale sadocite.

3. *Le volume XXXVII des Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*

Un manuscrit dont il a été possible de restaurer six à sept colonnes, rapporte des aventures de juifs ou de Judéens à la cour perse (4Q550, *Juifs à la cour perse*). L'historiette de cour concerne une famille juive : le père accrédité comme scribe du roi Darius cherche à faire nommer son fils comme scribe auprès de Xerxès. Surgissent des intrigues, le roi s'enquiert des méfaits et condamne à mort le coupable. Le roi confesse le Dieu Très-Haut, Dieu du prophète qu'il comble d'honneurs et qu'il nomme au poste de scribe ayant autorité dans tout le royaume. L'historiette finit par une maxime de sagesse, et une recommandation à suivre le bon exemple du haut fonctionnaire intègre. Ces restes ne sont pas sans rappeler le roman du sage Ahiqar et des chapitres araméens de Daniel. Mais le conte ne peut être qualifié de *Proto-Esther* comme il a été proposé²¹.

Des restes d'un récit (4Q551) ont de fortes affinités avec le récit du crime de Gibé'a en Juges chapitre 19 et avec la guerre contre Benjamin de la fin du livre biblique, récit construit sur le modèle de la visite des anges à Sodome en Genèse 19, mais où le vieillard y remplace Lot. On

²⁰ Ainsi J. T. Milik avait déjà fort bien compris cette triple opposition.

²¹ J. T. Milik, "Les modèles araméens du Livre d'Esther dans la grotte 4 de Qumrân", dans *Mémorial Jean Starcky. Textes et études qumraniens*, II, RQ 59 (1992): 321-406, thèse acceptée par H. Stegemann dans *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Täufer und Jesus. Ein Sachbuch* (Freiburg-Basel-Wien : Herder, 1993), 124-125.

n'a certainement pas affaire à un récit parallèle à *Daniel et Suzanne*, comme il a d'abord été suggéré²².

D'autres fragments rapportent une vision d'anges et de Quatre arbres symbolisant Quatre Royaumes : de Babylonie, de Perse et de Grèce, royaumes auxquels succédera un autre et dernier royaume (4Q552–553–553a, *Les Quatre Royaumes*). Malgré l'état lacunaire des trois manuscrits, ce dernier royaume semble être celui des saints du Très-Haut décrit en Daniel 7, puisqu'il ne peut désigner Rome, comme il en sera plus tard dans les Targumim²³, confirmant ainsi un *terminus ante quem* de la composition.

Trois autres manuscrits traitent du thème de la *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, sujet déjà connu par des copies des grottes 1, 2, 5 et 11. Mais deux copies donnent enfin une bonne partie du début du rouleau sur 4 colonnes assez bien récupérables, suivies d'autres restes fragmentaires (4Q554 et 554a)²⁴. Cette composition dépend manifestement de la finale d'Ézéchiel. Un ange accompagne le visionnaire et, la canne à la main, ils font le tour du rempart de la ville, donnant toutes les dimensions des côtés et des portes, ainsi que leurs noms d'après les douze fils de Jacob, puis ils entrent dans la ville et en mesurent les îlots, les rues, les portes secondaires, les tours, les maisons, et en décrivent les matériaux de grande valeur. La description détaillée de la ville fortifiée devait introduire un passage mentionnant une séquence de rois et royaumes qui se sont disputés et se disputeront cette ville si riche et si bien protégée, mais aussi tout autant convoitée, jusqu'à ce que Dieu les livre dans sa main au temps de la bataille eschatologique. Dans une seconde partie, devait suivre la description du temple et de son culte dont seuls quelques fragments d'un manuscrit (4Q555) sont préservés dans le lot Starcky. La séquence suit l'ordre inverse de la présentation d'Ézéchiel, et la ville y est un rectangle de 480 stades, et non un carré de bien plus petite dimen-

²² Voir J. T. Milik, "Daniel et Susanne (*sic*) à Qumrân ?", dans *De la Tôrah au Messie. Mélanges Henri Cazelles pour ses 25 années d'enseignement à l'Institut Catholique de Paris (Octobre 1979)* (dir. par J. Doré, P. Grelot et M. Carrez ; Paris : Desclée, 1981), 337–359.

²³ Voir le Targum du Pseudo-Jonathan ; pour les références, voir Puech, *DJD XXXVII*, sub 4Q552–553–553a.

²⁴ J'ai dû dédoubler cette entrée, en 4Q554 et 554a que Starcky n'avait pas distingués. Contrairement à ce que nous attribue Dimant, "The Qumran Aramaic Texts", 200, note 14, je ne suis pas J. T. Milik qui faisait de 4Q232 la copie en hébreu à l'origine de la composition araméenne.

sion. Ce thème annonce la description de la Jérusalem céleste, un cube immense mais sans temple, de l'Apocalypse de saint Jean.

Des restes de 6 à 7 manuscrits ont été regroupés sous l'appellation générale « Prophéties et Visions »²⁵, sans qu'il soit possible d'être plus précis. Prophétie *ex eventu* possible pour un rouleau (4Q556) dans la mesure où il est fait mention du siège et de la prise de Jaffo et de l'avancée dans la montagne, peut-être d'Antiochus IV Épiphane. Un autre (4Q557) mentionne l'ange des annonces et l'interprète des visions, Gabriel. Un papyrus composé de nombreux fragments (4Q558) porte plusieurs fois les mentions : visions, écrits, rêves, messagers, prophète, sage, élu, mais aussi de royaumes, domination, dévastation, mal, iniquité, vengeur, flamme, eaux, etc. Ce vocabulaire, même sans contexte clair, n'est pas sans rappeler des thèmes eschatologiques et apocalyptiques. Dans ce cas, les mentions de l'Oreb, Élie, Élisée à côté de l'Égypte et d'Aram ne surprennent pas totalement. Il semble qu'on ait affaire à un rappel d'histoire justifiant l'intervention de Dieu en faveur de son peuple. Alors la mention de l'envoi par Dieu d'Élie « devant[] » ou « avant[] », et de l'éclair ensuite, reprenant Malachie 3:23, avec la mention « le huitième comme élu » à la ligne précédente, ne peut guère que faire allusion à la venue du prophète eschatologique, Élie redivivus, comme c'est le cas en Ben Sira 48:1–11, annonçant et précédant la venue du jour de Yhwh. « Le huitième comme élu » devrait alors faire probablement allusion au nouveau David, qui était le huitième fils de Jessé, dans la ligne des attentes messianiques et eschatologiques du judaïsme ancien, comme il en est encore dans le manuscrit hébreu (4Q521)²⁵.

Des fragments d'un autre papyrus (4Q559) sont des restes d'une *Chronographie biblique*, de préférence à une *Chronologie biblique*, couvrant la période depuis Abraham jusqu'à Samuel, mais le rouleau pouvait aller de la création à la construction du temple ou même à l'exil. Trois observations au moins méritent d'être relevées. D'abord, dans la généalogie des patriarches, l'auteur qui s'intéresse à l'année de la conception des fils par leur père (*ʿwld*), de même en 4Q549 2 8–11, et non à

²⁵ Voir É. Puech, *DJD XXV. Qumrân Grotte 4. XVIII. Textes hébreux (4Q521–4Q528, 4Q576–4Q579)* (DJD 25 ; Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1998), “4Q521”, où je souligne la venue du prophète eschatologique précédant la venue du messie roi (fragment 2 iii). Voir aussi 4Q175, 1QS VIII, etc. 4Q545 4 16–19(18) mentionne le septième parmi les prêtres, comme élu de Dieu, prêtre à jamais, mais ce prêtre éternel n'est pas dit « le huitième » ! De ce fait « le huitième » semble devoir être identifié au messie roi, de même 4Q547 9.

celle de la naissance, donne des chronologies qui lui sont propres. Ensuite, il a retenu la lignée patriarcale sacerdotale et non les aînés, par exemple Jacob, Lévi, Qahat, Amram, Aaron, Éléazar. Enfin, sa chronologie se signale par les 430 années pour le séjour d'Israël en Égypte et en Canaan, au lieu des 390 années le plus souvent retenues, englobant les 40 années supplémentaires du séjour d'Amram à Hébron pour la construction des tombeaux des ancêtres. Il est ainsi un témoin important des calculs de l'école sacerdotale à l'époque de la composition finale du Pentateuque²⁶.

De maigres restes d'un *Livret magique* ou médico-magique ont été identifiés (4Q560). Une colonne paraît avoir conservé une liste de maladies et de coups portés par des démons et démons à une parturiente, et la colonne suivante a conservé une formule de conjuration pour repousser l'esprit mauvais et neutraliser ses effets néfastes dans le corps de la personne possédée. Ces restes sont les plus anciens témoignages de ce genre de livrets dont l'existence est rapportée par le livre des *Jubilés* et autres documents plus tardifs. La tradition biblique attribuait déjà à Salomon la connaissance des plantes et la rédaction d'incantations pour conjurer les divers maux, suite à l'activité d'exorciste de son père David.

Des fragments (4Q561) se révèlent appartenir au genre horoscopique où la partie physiognomonique occupe la place la plus importante : portrait physique de divers types de personnages, décrits de la tête aux pieds, comme indicateur de leurs différents caractères, et les prédictions sur la destinée de chacun selon la position astrologique de leurs « maisons » ou « horoscopes », mais dont peu d'éléments sont préservés. Une composition qumranienne en hébreu crypté (4Q186) a connu ce type d'ouvrage araméen, mais l'auteur araméen s'est sans doute inspiré des divinations et des horoscopes akkadiens plutôt que des *Physiognomonica* gréco-romains, le tout organisé dans un agencement qui lui est propre. Ce manuscrit est le plus ancien témoin de ce genre horoscopique dans la littérature juive.

Quelques maigres fragments révèlent l'existence d'un recueil de *Proverbes* (apocryphes) en araméen (4Q569), apparentés au livre biblique en hébreu ou aux *Proverbes* araméens d'Aḥiqar. D'autres proverbes araméens ont été dernièrement identifiés sur des bols ayant servi

²⁶ Voir la tradition samaritaine dans l'introduction au *Testament d'Amram*, Puech, *DJD XXXI*.

d'exercice scolaire à Marésha à l'époque hellénistique²⁷, enrichissant notre connaissance de la culture populaire de cette époque.

Une vingtaine d'autres manuscrits trop fragmentaires restent difficilement classifiables : visions, prophéties, testaments, écrits de sagesse ? En l'état présent de la publication, leur intérêt est plutôt d'ordre linguistique et philologique, tout comme les nombreux (64) fragments non-identifiés qui occupent trois planches du volume, en attendant que des mains plus expertes leur trouvent une identification plus assurée. En effet, au cours de ce travail, une dizaine de fragments, publiés ici en appendices, ont pu être intégrés dans des manuscrits déjà publiés ce qui montre que la recherche doit être poursuivie, tant un petit fragment peut parfois changer le sens de lignes—et j'en ai fait l'expérience avec 4Q213a 3—, que l'on croyait avoir bien déchiffrées et comprises.

L'intérêt linguistique de ces fragments manuscrits, y compris les non-identifiés, réside avant tout dans ce que, bien que recopiés entre la deuxième moitié du II^e siècle avant J.-C. et la première moitié du I^{er} siècle de notre ère, on y retrouve des formes qualifiées habituellement d'archaïsmes côtoyant des formes plus récentes ou plus évoluées de la langue. Citons par exemple dans les manuscrits du lot Starcky le pronom relatif ou particule génitive *zy* à côté de *dy*, et *dy* à côté de *d*, les formes anciennes des pronoms personnels indépendants *hw* et *hw'*, peut-être aussi *hy* (mais le passage est moins clair, ce pourrait être le pronom interrogatif), d'autres manuscrits connaissent encore les formes *'ntm* et *-hm*, *-km* et d'autres *'ntwn*, *-hwn*, *-kwn*, tout comme on trouve plusieurs exemples (cinq cas) de la séquence de deux interdentes pharyngales non dissimilées, par exemple avec le mot "– "y et cinq autres avec la dissimilation *'c* et *'c'y*²⁸. Plusieurs hébraïsmes sont reconnaissables dans certains manuscrits, en particulier dans les pluriels en *-m*, ou dans le vocabulaire, voir en particulier 4QTestament de Qahat. Mais cela ne saurait surprendre dans un milieu culturel qui médite les livres de la Loi de Moïse, les livres des Prophètes et autres écrits de référence, à tel point que la forme de l'imparfait du verbe 'être–*hwh*' cherche le plus souvent à éviter de reproduire le tétragramme, tout comme en ara-

²⁷ Pour le premier groupe, voir E. Eshel, É. Puech et A. Kloner, "Aramaic Scribal Exercises of the Hellenistic Period from Maresha: Bowls A and B", *BASOR* 345 (2007): 39–62.

²⁸ Voir É. Puech, "Sur la dissimilation de l'interdentale *ç* en araméen qumranien. À propos d'un chaînon manquant", *RQ* 76 (2000): 607–616, et la bibliographie, où j'ai précisé la période du changement orthographique. Y ajouter les cas des manuscrits publiés dans *DJD XXXVII*, paru en 2009.

méen biblique en insérant le *lamed*, mais on a des exceptions (4Q546 13 4 et 4Q584 i 4, de même déjà 1Q21 11 1, soit, dans deux cas identifiés sur trois, deux *Testaments* de la trilogie sacerdotale, de *Lévi* et *d'Amram*)²⁹. Ces archaïsmes peuvent servir de critères de datation de la composition, certainement avant le milieu du II^e siècle, mais sans plus de précisions : dans le III^e siècle ou un peu auparavant ? Cela ne veut pas dire que les manuscrits qui ne portent pas ou plus ce genre d'informations sont nécessairement récents (ou plus récents !), car les copistes ont laissé des traces de leurs interventions en essayant de mettre à jour l'orthographe de leur copie, assez souvent avec des oublis, mais il est le plus souvent impossible de connaître avec précision leurs différentes interventions dans la chaîne de la transmission. On pourrait aussi, dans certains cas, avoir affaire à des témoins de l'évolution de la langue, de sa phonétique régionale ou dialectale, ainsi qu'en témoignent plusieurs formes dans les ostraca iduméens et les bols de Marésha qui, eux, n'ont pas subi ce genre d'intervention de copistes successifs. Ainsi en est-il des formes *q(?)* à côté de *ꜥ* par exemple encore au III^e siècle ou *circa* 200.³⁰ Ce genre d'argument est donc à manier avec la plus grande prudence pour la datation des compositions, pour la plupart d'entre elles à situer sans doute entre les IV^e et II^e siècles. Mais il faut le plus souvent faire appel à d'autres critères de recoupement pour proposer une datation de la composition, différente dans la plupart des cas de la datation paléographique de la copie manuscrite.

Voilà brièvement présenté le contenu des principaux manuscrits araméens de la grotte 4 du lot Starcky, dont j'avais reçu la charge de l'*editio princeps*. Plusieurs d'entre eux avaient fait l'objet d'une publication préliminaire par J. Starcky lui-même et surtout par J. T. Milik³¹. Toutefois, des répartitions et des regroupements différents des fragments, l'insertion de quelques autres, un déchiffrement plus poussé, etc., ont abouti à des sigles et à une présentation quelque peu différents de ceux qui avaient été d'abord envisagés et, en conséquence, à des résultats autres dans la plupart des cas. Ainsi, il n'y a plus de trace d'un *Pro-*

²⁹ On ne peut sans plus les qualifier d'écrits « profanes », comme le propose U. Schattner-Rieser dans « L'apport de la philologie araméenne et l'interprétation des archaïsmes linguistiques pour la datation des textes araméens de Qumrân », publié dans le présent volume. Cela n'est sûrement pas démontré, ainsi que bien d'autres affirmations.

³⁰ Voir Eshel-Puech-Kloner, « Aramaic Scribal Exercises », Bol A 1 4 : *hn ꜥ ytn y ʔsh* [, et les ostraca de Maqqédah.

³¹ Les éditions non autorisées ne peuvent recevoir cette appellation.

to-Esther ou d'un *Daniel et Suzanne*, par exemple. D'une part, ces fragments araméens ont enrichi nos connaissances sur des compositions dont on n'avait auparavant, pour la plupart d'entre elles, aucune idée et, d'autre part, ils nous ont fait un peu mieux connaître l'état de la langue araméenne aux derniers siècles avant J.-C. principalement (aux époques hellénistique et romaine), ainsi que la grande diversité du milieu culturel juif à une période charnière de notre civilisation.

DISCUSSION

Hugo Antonissen : A votre avis la ville décrite dans le texte que nous appelons *La Nouvelle Jérusalem* est une ville fortifiée qui fait partie d'un royaume avec à la tête un roi en attente de la bataille finale. Si on lit bien les fragments disponibles, il n'y est nulle part fait mention d'un tel roi. Reste la question du rapport matériel du fragment de caractère eschatologique dans le cadre de la structure globale du texte.

Émile Puech : Il est clair que la *Jérusalem Nouvelle* est décrite comme une ville fortifiée et très richement construite. Elle ne peut alors qu'attirer les convoitises de rois puissants comme par le passé. Pour la bataille eschatologique où tous les textes connus mentionnent la présence du roi messie, on doit supposer que cette composition ne faisait pas cavalier seul et que le dernier grand roi sera le roi Messie, vainqueur des ennemis au nom et avec l'aide de Yhwh qui a son temple dans la ville sainte, comme le décrit la partie finale de la composition. En conséquence, le fragment à caractère eschatologique ne dépare absolument pas dans cette composition.

Thierry Legrand : Vous avez évoqué le rapprochement possible entre 4Q529 (les *Paroles de Michel*) et 4Q571. Qu'en est-il exactement?

Émile Puech : En préparant la publication du manuscrit 4Q571, l'identification avec 4Q529 s'est imposée d'elle-même. Je vous renvoie à l'*editio princeps* en DJD XXXVII.

PART II : LINGUISTICA ET ONOMASTICA

SALIENT FEATURES OF THE VERBAL SYSTEM
IN THE ARAMAIC DEAD SEA SCROLLS

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The provenance, date of composition, and linguistic nature of the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls are still debated more than five decades after the publication of the first Aramaic papyri. Were some of the manuscripts composed by the sect at Qumran? Or does their discovery in the caves behind Qumran merely indicate that they were part of the library of the sect? To what extent do the texts reflect an earlier literary Aramaic and to what extent do they reflect a vernacular? Analyses of the contents and the language of the Scrolls have attempted to answer these and other questions. See, for example, Devorah Dimant's recent study of the main themes and literary characteristics of the Aramaic documents.¹ I intend to focus, however, on the nature of the language, which was first taken up by Eduard Yechezkel Kutscher in 1958 in his now classic treatment of the *Genesis Apocryphon*.² Subsequent linguistic investigations based on additional Aramaic texts include Klaus Beyer's *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (1984, 1986, 2003),³ the survey articles by Edward M. Cook (1998),⁴ Michael Sokoloff (2000),⁵ and Steven E. Fass-

¹ D. Dimant, "The Qumran Aramaic Texts and the Qumran Community," in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino Garcia Martínez* (ed. A. Hilhorst et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 197–205.

² E. Y. Kutscher, "The Language of the *Genesis Apocryphon*," *SchHier* 4 (1958): 1–35.

³ K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984); idem, *Ergänzungsband* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986); idem, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer*, Band 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003).

⁴ E. M. Cook, "Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1:359–378. See also Cook, "Qumran Aramaic and Aramaic Dialectology," in *Studies in Qumran Aramaic* (ed. Takamitsu Muraoka; AbrN Supp 3; Louvain: Peeters, 1992), 1–21.

⁵ M. Sokoloff, "Qumran Aramaic in Relation to the Aramaic Dialects," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L. H. Schiffman et al.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and The Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 2000), 746–754.

berg (2002, 2004),⁶ and the grammar by Ursula Schattner-Rieser (2004).⁷

The language of the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls has been generally recognized as belonging to the period of Middle Aramaic, i.e., a variety of Aramaic that is contemporary with Nabatean, Palmyrene, Edessan, Hatran, and the origins of *Targum Onqelos* and *Targum Jonathan*. It reflects a stage of Aramaic after the relatively uniform language of the Official Aramaic period but before the clear and sharp division between eastern and western dialects in the Late Aramaic period.⁸ As expected, Middle Aramaic corpora retain, on the one hand, many features of Official Aramaic and, on the other, display phenomena that presage Late Aramaic.⁹

Yet this chronological division of Aramaic, which was first suggested by Joseph A. Fitzmyer,¹⁰ is not the only relevant one in discussing Aramaic corpora. In addition to investigations that focus on chronology, geography, or genre, ancient and medieval Near Eastern literatures must also be examined in the light of religious communities. Just as the language of the Hebrew Bible greatly influences later Jewish Hebrew writings, and the Qurʿan has an impact on later Muslim writings in Arabic, and the language of the Peshitta leaves a mark on later Christian Syriac literature, so too does the language of Jewish Aramaic texts mold later Jewish Aramaic texts. For example, no one would dispute the influence of the language of *Targum Onqelos* or the language of the Babylonian Talmud on medieval Jewish Aramaic.¹¹

⁶ S. E. Fassberg, "Qumran Aramaic," *Maarav* 9 (2002): 19–31; idem, "The Language of the Aramaic Documents from Qumran," *Meghillot* 2 (2004): 169–184 [Hebrew].

⁷ U. Schattner-Rieser, *L'araméen des manuscrits de la mer Morte, I. Grammaire* (Instruments pour l'étude des langues de l'Orient ancien 5; Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 2004).

⁸ In simplified schematic form: Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, Samaritan Aramaic, and Christian Palestinian Aramaic in the West vs. Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, Mandaic, and Syriac in the East.

⁹ So too Joosten in his response in this volume, pp. 78–80.

¹⁰ J. A. Fitzmyer, "Phases of the Aramaic Language," *A Wandering Aramean. Collected Aramaic Essays* (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1979), 57–84.

¹¹ A. Tal, "The Status of *Targum Onqelos* in Medieval Aramaic Works," *Leš* 65 (2003): 261–278 [Hebrew]; *ibid.*, "The Role of *Targum Onqelos* in Literary Activity During the Middle Ages," in *Aramaic in Its Historical and Linguistic Setting* (ed. H. Gzella and M. L. Folmer; VOK 50; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 2008), 159–171.

Jonas C. Greenfield suggested the term ‘Standard Literary Aramaic’ in 1969¹² in reaction to the claim that the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls scrolls reflect vernacular Aramaic; he sought to stress the similarity in the written language of the documents at Qumran to the language of other Aramaic corpora. He argued that “Qumran Aramaic is also Standard Literary Aramaic but written on Palestinian soil. It is in this language that Tobit, Enoch, the Testament of Levi, and ‘Daniel’ pseudepigraphs were written.”¹³ Greenfield defined the corpus of Standard Literary Aramaic as the framework story to the proverbs of Aḥiqar from Elephantine, the Bar Punesh fragment, Ezra and Daniel, the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls, *Targum Onqelos* and *Targum Jonathan*, and *Megillat Ta’anit*.¹⁴

In his survey of Qumran Aramaic, Sokoloff followed Greenfield but modified the term slightly to ‘Jewish Literary Aramaic.’¹⁵ Greenfield’s proposal has been widely adopted, though not by all. One who has taken issue with this approach is Cook, who, among other things, objected that Greenfield does not give any philological criteria.¹⁶

In the following I seek to highlight a few salient features of the verbal system¹⁷ in the Aramaic Dead Scrolls. In doing so, I will touch on some philological criteria that appear to support the notion of a Standard Jewish Literary Aramaic. Some of the features to be discussed are representative of Greenfield’s Standard Literary Aramaic, whereas others are

¹² J. C. Greenfield, “Standard Literary Aramaic,” in *Actes du premier congrès de linguistique sémitique et chamito-sémitique, Paris, 16–19 juillet 1969* (ed. A. Caquot and D. Cohen; The Hague, 1974), 281–289; reprinted in Jonas C. Greenfield, *‘Al Kanfei Yonah; Collected Studies of Jonas C. Greenfield on Semitic Philology* (ed. S. M. Paul et al.; Jerusalem and Leiden: Magnes and Brill, 2001), 111–120.

¹³ Greenfield, “Standard Literary Aramaic,” 286. He later added “even though there are slight linguistic distinctions among them” (J. C. Greenfield, “Aramaic and Its Dialects,” in *Jewish Languages: Theme and Variations. Proceedings of Regional Conferences of the Association for Jewish Studies Held at the University of Michigan and New York University in March–April 1975* [ed. Herbert H. Paper, Cambridge, Mass., 1978], 35; reprinted in *‘Al Kanfei Yonah*, 367).

¹⁴ Greenfield, “Aramaic and Its Dialects,” 34–35.

¹⁵ Sokoloff, “Qumran Aramaic,” 746. This is the designation used in the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon project. See S. A. Kaufman, “Dating the Language of the Palestinian Targums and Their Use in the Study of First Century CE Texts,” in *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in Their Historical Context* (ed. D. R. G. Beattie and M. J. McNamara; JSOT 166; Sheffield: JSOT Press and Royal Irish Academy, 1994), 118–141.

¹⁶ Cook, “Qumran Aramaic,” 1.

¹⁷ The following features are morphological, with the exception of the word order of compound tense, as noted by Joosten in his response.

vernacular phenomena that will over time come to be representative of a later, different Jewish literary Aramaic. The Jewish Aramaic corpora that are relevant for our discussion include Biblical Aramaic,¹⁸ *Targum Onqelos* and *Targum Jonathan*, and the younger Jewish Palestinian Aramaic texts.

1. *Salient Verbal Phenomena*

a) *Imperfect of √hwy with prefixed lamedh*

In Qumran Aramaic, with only three attested exceptions,¹⁹ the prefix of the third person m.s., m.pl., and f.pl. imperfect forms of the root √hwy “be” occur regularly with lamedh: m.s. להוּא, להוּה; m.pl. להוּן, להוּן; 3 f. pl. להוּין.²⁰ Several explanations have been given for the origin of the lamedh. The most widely accepted view takes it to be the old jussive prefix,²¹ which has replaced the expected yodh prefix; the prefixing of the lamedh was done in order to prevent the writing or the pronunciation of a form similar to the Tetragrammaton.²² להוּא and its congeners function with indicative and jussive force in both Biblical Aramaic and in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls.

The prefixing of lamedh to 3rd person imperfect forms of the root √hwy is restricted to the Jewish Aramaic corpora of Biblical Aramaic, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and non-literary Jewish texts from the Judean

¹⁸ In the case of the book of Daniel, it is thought to be only slightly older than some of the Qumran material.

¹⁹ Schattner-Rieser, *Grammaire*, 71: יהוּא 1Q21 11 1, יהוּן 4Q546 13 4, יהוּין 4Q580 1 ii 7.

²⁰ There are more than sixty examples. They are found in 1Q20, 1Q21, 2Q24, 4Q197, 4Q201, 4Q202, 4Q203, 4Q204, 4Q205, 4Q212, 4Q243, 4Q246, 4Q318, 4Q529, 4Q532, 4Q534, 4Q536, 4Q537, 4Q541, 4Q542, 4Q543, 4Q545, 4Q546, 4Q547, 4Q548, 4Q550, 4Q552, 4Q556, 4Q561, 4Q569, 11Q18. In the light of the frequency of these forms, the statement by Rubin, “A few examples of *hwh* with *l-* are also found in Qumran texts,” needs to be modified. See A. D. Rubin, “On the Third Person Preformative *l-/n-* in Aramaic, and an Ethiopic Parallel,” *ANES* 44 (2007): n. 10.

²¹ It is first attested in Old Aramaic inscriptions from Zinčirli (KAI 214) and Tell Fekherye (KAI 309). In Late Eastern Aramaic the *lamedh* (sometimes *l- > n-*) replaces the *yodh* prefix in all 3rd person forms and expresses both the indicative and the jussive moods.

²² For a detailed and critical analysis of the different explanations that have been put forward, see Rubin, “Third Person Preformative.”

Desert.²³ The lexical conditioning factor at play here (viz., it occurs only with the root $\sqrt{hw/y}$) differs clearly from the general use of lamedh as a 3rd person imperfect prefix (and its secondary form n-) on all verbs in Late Eastern Aramaic dialects.

b) *Verbal Forms of the Root $\sqrt{hw/yk}$*

The Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls exhibit almost twenty examples²⁴ of Peal imperfect and infinitive forms derived from the root $\sqrt{hw/yk}$ ²⁵ ‘walk, go’: אהך, תהך, יהך, נהך, תהכון, יהכון and למהך. Participial and perfect forms of the root \sqrt{hlk} ‘walk, go’ in Pael²⁶ occur in a suppletive paradigm with the imperfect and infinitive forms of $\sqrt{hw/yk}$ in the Dead Sea Scrolls; this is roughly the case in Old Aramaic,²⁷ Egyptian Aramaic,²⁸ Biblical Aramaic,²⁹ and the language of *Targum Onqelos* and *Targum Jonathan*.³⁰ Forms of $\sqrt{hw/yk}$ in the Peal also show up in MS A of the Samaritan Aramaic Targum in Peal in the perfect, imperfect, and infinitive.³¹

The attestations in Old Aramaic demonstrate that the root $\sqrt{hw/yk}$ is an old feature of Aramaic. It is noteworthy that it is a significant feature in the Jewish corpora of Biblical Aramaic, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and *Targum Onqelos* and *Targum Jonathan*. In Late Aramaic, however, the

²³ Sokoloff, “Qumran Aramaic,” 751; idem, *Dictionary of Judean Aramaic* (Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University, 2003), 43; Schattner-Rieser, *Grammaire*, 71.

²⁴ See 1Q20, 4Q197, 4Q209, 4Q212, 4Q213, 4Q530, 4Q553, 4Q534, 4Q541, 4Q548, 4Q561.

²⁵ This root is not related etymologically to \sqrt{hlk} . See T. Nöldeke, “Die aramäischen Papyri von Assuan,” *ZA* 20 (1907): 142.

²⁶ Forms of this root are less frequent. They are attested in 1Q20, 4Q212, 4Q542, 4Q546, 4Q550^d, 11Q10. There also two attestations of the *Ithpaal* stem (4Q530 and 4Q542).

²⁷ Only $\sqrt{hw/yk}$ is attested and only in the imperfect.

²⁸ $\sqrt{hw/yk}$: imperfect and infinitive; \sqrt{hlk} : participle.

²⁹ $\sqrt{hw/yk}$: imperfect and infinitive; \sqrt{hlk} : participle.

³⁰ $\sqrt{hw/yk}$: imperfect and infinitive; \sqrt{hlk} : perfect, participle, imperative, and infinitive. In his response to the oral presentation of this paper, Jan Joosten prefers to take $\sqrt{hw/yk}$ and \sqrt{z} as forming a suppletive paradigm. He believes that the semantics of $\sqrt{hw/yk}$ and the *Pael* of \sqrt{hlk} are different.

³¹ A. Tal (Rosenthal), *The Language of the Targum of the Former Prophets and Its Position within the Aramaic Dialects* (Tel-Aviv: Tel-Aviv University, 1975), 95 [Hebrew]; idem, *The Samaritan Targum of the Pentateuch: A Critical Edition* (Tel-Aviv: Tel-Aviv University, 1983), 3:87–88; idem, *A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 1:202–203. The limited distribution of $\sqrt{hw/yk}$ in a late manuscript of the Samaritan Aramaic Targum (MS A) strongly suggests it is not a living form in the language.

distribution of $\sqrt{h}lk$ (D Pael stem) increases and takes the place of $\sqrt{h}w/yk$ also in the imperfect and infinitive. The same is true for the root $\sqrt{b}zl$ ‘go,’³² which is also first attested in Old Aramaic,³³ it too increases in frequency over time and by the Neo-Aramaic period has displaced both $\sqrt{h}w/yk$ and $\sqrt{h}lk$ entirely.

c) 2 m.s. Perfect Suffixes [-t], [-tā]

The 2 m.s. perfect suffix is realized sometimes as [-tā] in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls as demonstrated by the orthographies הת- and תא- ,³⁴ and other times [-t], as reflected by the orthography ת- .³⁵ The existence of the biforms [-t] /[-tā] is not unique to Qumran; it is also found in other Jewish Aramaic corpora: Biblical Aramaic, *Targum Onqelos* and *Targum Jonathan*, as well as in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic texts, in which [-tā] is much less common than [-t].³⁶ Though some prefer to view it as a Hebraism,³⁷ it would appear that the lengthened form is a reflex of the anceps proto-Aramaic vowel³⁸ in the light of the suffix in a non-Jewish Aramaic dialect: [-tā] is the rule in the oral tradition of the

³² In the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls $\sqrt{b}zl$ shows up less than fifty times.

³³ $\sqrt{b}zl$ and $\sqrt{h}lk$ are not precise synonyms as shown by קום הלך ואזל 1Q20 XXI 13.

³⁴ For examples see Schattner-Rieser, *Grammaire*, 68.

³⁵ Sokoloff, “Qumran Aramaic,” 752, claims that all 2 m.s. forms in Qumran Aramaic, with the exception of those in 11Q10, are written with a final vowel letter, and therefore the orthography ת- should be taken as reflecting [-tā]. This is inaccurate, however, since ת- also occurs in documents apart from 11Q10.

³⁶ It is rare in the Cairo Geniza fragments of Palestinian Targum (S. E. Fassberg, *A Grammar of the Palestinian Targum Fragments from the Cairo Genizah* [HSS 38; Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1990], 165) and infrequent in the Geniza fragments of Palestinian Talmud (S. Heijmans, “Morphology of the Aramaic Dialect in the Palestinian Talmud According to Geniza Manuscripts” [M.A. thesis, Tel-Aviv University, 2005], 73, 75 [Hebrew]).

³⁷ E.g., Schattner-Rieser, *Grammaire*, 69. If Hebrew influence is responsible, it could be either Biblical or Tannaitic. Note that there is one ancient Hebrew tradition that prefers the form without a final vowel, viz., that underlying the Greek and Latin transliterations. See Z. Ben-Hayyim, *Studies in the Traditions of the Hebrew Language* (Madrid and Barcelona: Instituto Arias Montano, 1954), 43–50.

³⁸ E.g., H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1927), 101. E. M. Cook (“The Orthography of Final Unstressed Long Vowels in Old and Imperial Aramaic” [ed. E. M. Cook, *Sopher Mahir: Northwest Semitic Studies Presented to Stanislav Segert* (Maarav 5–6; Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 62–63] believes that the suffix was [-tā] in Old and Official Aramaic. T. Muraoka and B. Porten (*A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic* [HdO 32; Leiden: Brill, 1998], 99–100) also believe that the 2 m.s. was [-tā] in Egyptian Aramaic, despite the defective orthography, basing their view in part on the form with object suffix יהבתהי “you gave it.”

Samaritan Aramaic *piyyuṭim* and the plene orthography תה– is sometimes attested in manuscripts of the Samaritan Targum.³⁹

d) *Compound Tense* √*hwy* + *Participle*

Though there may be an attestation of the phenomenon already in Old Aramaic,⁴⁰ compound verbal forms composed of √*hwy* + participle are frequent beginning in Official Aramaic.⁴¹ The Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls reveal a significant number of examples (more than sixty) of perfect, imperfect, and infinitive forms of √*hwy* with participle expressing habitual or durative action. In about one-sixth of the examples, one finds the inverted word order of participle + √*hwy*:

1Q20 III 9 חזי הוית לדהבא ולכס[פי]א

1Q20 XIII 10 חזי הוית לשמשא ולשהרא [ו]לכוכביא

1Q20 XIII 11 חזה הוית עד די אסיפוהי

1Q20 XIII 14 מתבונן הוית בויתא דן

2Q24 4 17 חזי הוית עד די יהיב לב

4Q203 8 6 ידיע להוא לכון ד[י]

4Q204 5ii 27 ובאש להוא]

4Q242 3 3 כתיש הוית שנין שבע ומן [די] שוי

4Q242 3 6 כתיש הוית בשחנא ב[אישא]

4Q242 3 7 שנין שבע מצלא הוית[קדם] אלהי

4Q530 15 ע[נא] הווא אחוהי אוהיה ואמר

4Q550 7 ידיע להוא לכון די כול אנוס ושקר

³⁹ M. Florentin, “Features of the Samaritan Aramaic Verbal System: A Diachronic Investigation Based on the Samaritan Targum” (M.A. thesis, Tel-Aviv University, 1982), 6–7 [Hebrew]. One should also keep in mind that Hebrew and Aramaic were in contact in Palestine and influenced one another. Thus it is possible that the Samaritan Aramaic form, like the forms in Jewish Aramaic corpora, was influenced by contact with Hebrew. On Hebrew and Aramaic symbiosis in Palestine, see Z. Ben Ḥayyim, “The Contribution of the Samaritan Inheritance to Research into the History of Hebrew,” *The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities Proceedings*, Vol. 3, No. 6 (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1968).

⁴⁰ והוי חלפה KAI 224:22.

⁴¹ J. C. Greenfield, “The ‘Periphrastic Imperative’ in Aramaic and Hebrew,” *IEJ* 19 (1969): 199–210; reprinted in *‘Al Kanfei Yonah*, 56–67.

Two of the compounds⁴² immediately bring to mind similar frequent collocations from the corpus of Biblical Aramaic: חזה הָוִית/הָוִיתָ (Dan 2:31,34; 4:7,10; 7:2,4,6,7,9,11[2x],13,21) and ידיע להוא לכון (ידיע להוא-לך Dan 3:18; ידיע להוא למלכא Ezra 4:12,13; 5:8). The similarity between חזו/חזי הוית at Qumran and חזה הוית in Daniel, particularly the identical reversed word order,⁴³ points to the influence of the book of Daniel on the language of the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls. The same is true for ידיע להוא לכון at Qumran and ידיע להוא לך/למלכא in Daniel and Ezra.⁴⁴

In general the unmarked order in Aramaic dialects is $\sqrt{\text{hwy}}$ + participle.⁴⁵ The most frequent word order of compound forms in Biblical Aramaic is also $\sqrt{\text{hwy}}$ + participle.⁴⁶ This word order presents the foreground and moves the narrative along; inverted order, on the other hand, signals background and, thus like chiasm in Biblical Hebrew, it serves to disrupt the narrative and indicate a clause boundary.⁴⁷ In the non-translational poetic portions of *Targum Onqelos* and *Targum Jonathan* (e.g., Gen 49, Deut 33, 1 Sam 2) the order is also $\sqrt{\text{hwy}}$ + participle. Of the Aramaic dialects Syriac is unique in that the unmarked word order is participle + $\sqrt{\text{hwy}}$ for the past; in the future, however, it is $\sqrt{\text{hwy}}$ + participle.⁴⁸

⁴² A third compound also bears resemblance to Biblical Aramaic. See מתבונן הוית 1Q20 XIII 14 and משתכל הוית Dan 7:8.

⁴³ See להאנה הוית חזה עד ארעא חפית מין [ח]4Q206 4i 18.

⁴⁴ The second collocation is also attested once at Elephantine לך יהוה לך (TADAE A6.8 3). On the influence of the Biblical Aramaic expression on Hebrew (להוי), see M. Mishor, “להוי ידוע,” *Leshonenu La'am* 35 (1984): 233–242 [Hebrew].

⁴⁵ For a general discussion see Greenfield, “Periphrastic Infinitive.” See also Muraoka and Porten, *Grammar*.

⁴⁶ Bauer and Leander, *Grammatik*, 293–294. See, e.g., ומן רבותא די יהב-לה כל, עממיא אמיא ולשניה הוו זאעין ורחלין מן קדמוהי די הוה צבא הוה קטל ודי הוה צבא להוי Dan 5:19. See also M. Z. Kaddari, “The Existential Verb HWH in Imperial Aramaic,” in *Arameans, Aramaic and the Aramaic Literary Tradition* (ed. M. Sokoloff; Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 1983), 43–46.

⁴⁷ See A. Mirsky, *Hebrew Style* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1999) [Hebrew].

⁴⁸ R. Duval, *Traité de grammaire syriaque* (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1881), 318–323; T. Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar* (trans. J. A. Crichton; London: Norgate, 1904), 216–218, 238–240.

e) *Imperfect and Infinitive Forms of Peal with [o]: yiqtol and miqtol*

One finds a few plene spellings of the Peal imperfect and infinitive with thematic [o], yiqtol and miqtol, where one expects, based on other Aramaic dialects, yiqtal⁴⁹ and miqtal forms:

ישכון 11Q10 XXXIII 9

ישכונן 4Q542 1ii 3

יפשור 4Q530 2ii 15⁵⁰

ינטור 4Q534 7 4⁵¹

ינטור[ת] 4Q541 24ii 5

במעול (1Q20 VI 4)⁵²

More occurrences are surely obscured by scriptio defectiva. This phenomenon is well attested in later Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (both in the older stratum of the Palestinian Targumim as well as the younger stratum of the Palestinian Talmud and midrashim),⁵³ as well as in Christian Palestinian Aramaic,⁵⁴ and even in the imperfect of the Western Neo-Aramaic dialect of Ma^clula.⁵⁵ The phenomenon of yiqtol replacing yiqtal

⁴⁹ The remodelling of older imperfect yiqtal verbal forms (from both *qatil and verbs III–guttural) is on the pattern of the more common active–transitive yiqtol verbs.

⁵⁰ Schattner-Rieser, *Grammaire*, 70, prefers to interpret this form as a Hebraism. For the most recent treatment of Hebraisms in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls, see C. Stadel, *Hebraïsmen in den aramäischen Texten vom Toten Meer* (Heidelberg: Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg, 2008), 97, who considers this form to be the result of an internal Aramaic process.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² The form למשכונן 1Q20 XIX 15 is now read by many scholars as למשבק and thus is not an example of the phenomenon under discussion. Note also from elsewhere in the Judean Desert למפרורע 5/6Hev 7 17,57.

⁵³ E. Y. Kutscher, *Studies in Galilean Aramaic* (trans. Michael Sokoloff; Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 1976), 29–30; A. Tal, “The Forms of the Infinitive in Jewish Aramaic,” in *Hebrew Language Studies Presented to Professor Zeev Ben-Hayyim* (ed. M. Bar-Asher et al.; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1983), 210–219 [Hebrew]; Fassberg, *Grammar*, 168, 172–174; Heijmans, *Morphology*, 78.

⁵⁴ M. Bar-Asher, *Palestinian Syriac Studies: Source-Texts, Traditions and Grammatical Problems* (Jerusalem: n.p., 1977), 448, 451–452 [Hebrew]; C. Müller-Kessler, *Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen, 1: Schriftlehre, Lautlehre, Formenlehre* (Texte und Studien zur Orientalistik 6; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1991), 155–158, 163.

⁵⁵ A. Spitaler, *Grammatik des neuaramäischen Dialekts von Ma^clula (Antilibanon)* (AKM 23.1; Leipzig: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, 1938), 145; W. Arnold, *Das Neuwestaramäische, V. Grammatik* (Semitic Viva 4/V; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1990), 71–73.

is a prominent feature too of Tannaitic Hebrew,⁵⁶ whose roots are contemporary with Qumran Aramaic. Another phenomenon found in Tannaitic Hebrew that parallels the pair of forms *yiqtol* and *miqtol* is the reformation of the thematic vowel of the infinitive (as well as the consonantal structure) on the vowel of the imperfect (e.g., לִיִּתֵן based on לִיִּתֵן).⁵⁷

f) *Infinitival Forms of the Derived Stems with Prefixed [m-]*

The infinitival forms of the derived stems in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls are identical to the forms without prefixed [m-] that are found in Biblical Aramaic and *Targum Onqelos* and *Targum Jonathan* (*qattālā*, *ʿaqṭālā*, *ʾiṭqəṭālā*, *ʾiṭqattālā*).⁵⁸ There are only two examples with prefixed [m-]: למחזיא 4Q542 l ii 6, למעמרא 4Q544 (cf. לעמרה 4Q545 l ii 13).⁵⁹ Forms with [m-], which are a hallmark of later Western Aramaic dialects,⁶⁰ show up, however, already in Official Aramaic in the Hermopolis papyri and the Aḥiqar proverbs.

⁵⁶ G. Haneman, *A Morphology of Mishnaic Hebrew According to the Tradition of the Parma Manuscript (De-Rossi 138)* (Tel-Aviv: Tel-Aviv University, 1980), 99 [Hebrew].

⁵⁷ In verbs I-y and I-n. See M. H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1927), 75–76, 78.

⁵⁸ As well as in Old Aramaic and at Elephantine. On the distribution of infinitival forms in Aramaic, see S. E. Fassberg, “Infinitival Forms in Aramaic,” in *Historical Linguistics 2005: Selected Papers from the 17th International Conference on Historical Linguistics, Madison, Wisconsin, 31 July – 5 August 2005* (ed. J. C. Salmons and S. Dubenion-Smith; Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Sciences: Series IV – Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, Vol. 284; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2007), 239–256.

⁵⁹ Elsewhere in the Judean Desert one finds additional forms with prefixed [m-]. See J. C. Greenfield, “The Infinitive in the Aramaic Documents from the Judean Desert,” in *כשי לחיים רבין: Studies on Hebrew and Other Semitic Languages Presented to Professor Chaim Rabin on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday* (ed. M. Goshen-Gottstein et al.; Jerusalem: Academon, 1990), 77–81 [Hebrew]; Y. Yadin et al., *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Nabatean-Aramaic Papyri* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 2002), 24–25; Schattner-Rieser, *Grammaire*, 72.

⁶⁰ Tal, “Infinitive.”

g) 3 m.pl. Perfect Suffix [-un]

3 m.pl. perfect verbs end in [-u] in Qumran. There are, however, six possible readings of final [-un], though in four of the cases a reading with yodh (and thus a m.pl. participle) is also possible:⁶¹

אתון/אתין 1Q20 XIX 26

בעון/בעין 1Q20 XIX 15

אשתבשון ואתכלון 1Q20 V 16

אתון/] תין

אתון/אתין 11Q10 XXXVIII 4

Only in the two examples of the strong verbs $\sqrt{\text{šbš}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{kly}}$ is a yodh grammatically impossible and therefore unequivocal evidence for the ending [-un]. The suffix [-un] is a distinctive feature of III-y verbs in Palestinian Targumic Aramaic and of all verbs in the Aramaic of the Palestinian Talmud and midrashim.⁶²

h) 3 f.pl. Perfect Suffix [-ā]

The 3 f. pl. perfect suffix [-ā] is attested in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls in the forms

שלמא 1Q20 XX 6, XXII 28

ודנחא 1Q20 V 12

חבלא 1Q20 XIII 16

הויה 4Q201 Iiii 16.⁶³

This ending is found in the Jewish Aramaic corpora of Biblical Aramaic (according to the qere⁶⁴) and *Targum Onqelos* and *Targum Jonathan*. There are no examples of the 3 f.pl. perfect in Old Aramaic; in Egyptian Aramaic the orthography is identical to the Biblical Aramaic ketiv.⁶⁵

⁶¹ A. Tal, "Layers in the Jewish Aramaic of Palestine: The Appended Nun as a Criterion," *Leš* 43 (1979): 172 [Hebrew]; Fassberg, "Qumran Aramaic," 2002:25.

⁶² Tal, "Appended Nun."

⁶³ Schattner-Rieser, *Grammaire*, 70.

⁶⁴ Z. Ben-Ḥayyim, "The Third Feminine Plural in Old Aramaic," *ErIsr* 1 (1951): 135–139 [Hebrew]. On 3 f.pl. endings in Aramaic in general, see J. Huehnergard, "The Feminine Plural Jussive in Old Aramaic," *ZDMG* 137 (1987): 266–277.

⁶⁵ Muraoka and Porten, *Grammar*, 101.

The suffix [-en] of later Jewish Palestinian Aramaic and other Late Aramaic dialects is unattested at Qumran.

2. Standard Jewish Literary Aramaic

The distribution of several of the phenomena discussed above (להוה, יהך/מהך, קטלת/קטלתה/קטלתא, [2 m.s. perfect], קטלא, [3 f.pl. perfect]) in the Jewish Aramaic corpora of Biblical Aramaic, *Targum Onqelos* and *Targum Jonathan*, and Qumran Aramaic lend support to Greenfield's notion of a Standard Literary Aramaic, or to be more precise, a Standard Literary Jewish Aramaic. The inverted word order in the compound tenses $\sqrt{\text{hwy}}$ + participle (ידיע להוא, חזה הוית) also reveals links to and dependence on literary Aramaic, in this case, the biblical books of Daniel and Ezra. The linguistic similarity of 1Q20 to the book of Daniel is striking, as has been noted by many, in particular by Harold H. Rowley,⁶⁶ who listed, among other features, the following expressions common to both sources:

Biblical Aramaic	1Q20
צלם אנפוהי אשתנו	לבי עלי משתני, לבי עלי אשתני
מן-יציב	ביצבא
באש עלוהי	באש עלי
בגוא נדנה	לגו נדנהא
צלם אנפוהי	צלם אנפיהא
לעלא מנהון	לעלא מן
בחזוא די ליליא	בחזוא די ליליא

Rowley concluded that "Here it is possible that the scroll has been influenced by the Biblical text, though it is equally possible that both were reflecting the idiom of their age."⁶⁷ Fitzmyer added additional parallels from the book of Daniel as well as in the book of Ezra such as באדין ... בקושט, עירין ... קדישין, עליא, עבד לי דין מנה, אתא עלי. He concluded

⁶⁶ H. H. Rowley, "Notes on the Aramaic of the *Genesis Apocryphon*," in *Hebrew and Semitic Studies Presented to Godfrey Rolles Driver* (ed. D. Winton Thomas and W. D. McHardy; Oxford: Clarendon, 1963), 116–129.

⁶⁷ Rowley, "Genesis Apocryphon," 128.

⁶⁸ J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20): A Commentary* (3^d ed.; BiOr 18/B; Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2004), 35.

that “From such a list it can be seen that the language of the *Genesis Apocryphon* is not far removed from that of Daniel.” Based on themes and literary characteristics, Dimant reaches a similar conclusion with other works from Qumran. She remarks: “The place of the book of Daniel is particularly intriguing, for a number of texts from this group build upon or are influenced by it. They are the *Prayer of Nabonidus*, *Pseudo-Daniel*, *Proto-Esther*, the *Four Kingdoms*, and the so-called *Apocryphon of Daniel*. But others seem to be contemporaries of Daniel, sharing the same milieu and literary conventions.”⁶⁹

Other features noted above, however, do not belong to the Standard Literary Aramaic proposed by Greenfield. Peal imperfect and infinitive forms with [o], the suffix [-un] on the 3 m.pl. perfect, and the infinitives of the derived stems with [m-] are unknown in other sources of Standard Literary Aramaic. They are, however, all salient features of later Jewish Palestinian Aramaic. Their existence in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls demonstrates that the scribes who wrote or copied the Scrolls were influenced not only by the literary Aramaic of earlier sources, but also by the evolving Palestinian Aramaic dialects. These Palestinian forms are the earliest attestations of the phenomenon of Palestinian vernacular forms penetrating literary Aramaic works. Eventually this process would lead in the second half of the first millennium CE to a new type of ‘Late Jewish Literary Aramaic’⁷⁰—one that combined forms of the older ‘Standard Literary Aramaic’ with newer Palestinian forms.⁷¹ This younger Jewish literary Aramaic is attested in *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*, the Fragment Targum, and the Targumim to the Writings, in which one sees Palestinian features intertwined with elements of Biblical Aramaic, *Targum Onqelos* and *Targum Jonathan*, as well as an occasional Jewish Babylonian Aramaic form. Like the earlier ‘Standard Literary Aramaic’ of which Greenfield spoke, this newer Aramaic was an artificial entity that did not reflect actual Aramaic speech.

⁶⁹ Dimant, “Qumran Aramaic Texts,” 204.

⁷⁰ S. A. Kaufman, “Targum Pseudo-Jonathan and Late Jewish Literary Aramaic,” in *Studies in Bible and Exegesis, Vol. III: Moshe Goshen-Gottstein, in Memoriam* (ed. M. Bar-Asher et al.; Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 1993), 363–369 [Hebrew].

⁷¹ Another “Late Jewish Literary Aramaic” also came into being in the medieval ages, one that was based primarily on the Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Babylonian Talmud and Targum Onqelos. See, e.g., the language of the Zohar (M. Z. Kaddari, *The Grammar of the Aramaic of the “Zohar”* [Jerusalem: Kiryath-Sepher, 1972] [Hebrew]).

Conclusion

Salient features of the verbal system reflected in the Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls reveal a literary Aramaic that shares several isoglosses with the Aramaic of the Old Testament as well as *Targum Onqelos* and *Targum Jonathan*. As proposed by Greenfield, the Dead Sea Aramaic documents are part of a Standard Literary Aramaic. Unfortunately, he never identified those diagnostic features. In this paper I have attempted to point out some of those features, or more precisely salient linguistic phenomena from the verbal system that the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls share with Biblical Aramaic and *Targum Onqelos* and *Targum Jonathan*.

Qumran Aramaic indeed reflects a variety of Aramaic that indicates a period of transition from Official Aramaic to Late Western Aramaic. The mixture of classical features and vernacular-looking forms signals the harbinger of a new Jewish literary Aramaic, which is reflected in the much later Targumim of Pseudo-Jonathan, the Fragment Targum, and the Writings. But unlike the earlier ‘Standard Literary Aramaic,’ in which the classical features far outnumber Palestinian features, in these later compositions written in ‘Late Jewish Literary Aramaic,’ the ratio of Palestinian features to classical features has been reversed and the Palestinian phenomena are significantly more numerous than the use of older literary forms.⁷²

RESPONSE: JAN JOOSTEN

From a linguist’s point of view, the Aramaic texts found in Qumran present a certain diversity. For instance, scholars have been able to indicate characteristic differences between the language of the *Genesis Apocryphon* and the Aramaic translation of Job showing that the latter re-

⁷² Joosten in his oral presentation considers the language of Late Jewish Literary Aramaic compositions to be an “eclectic hodge-podge that came about purely in writing.” I think this view is too extreme concerning both the eclectic and written nature of the language: 1) Barak Dan demonstrates in “The Targum of Psalms: A Morphological Description” (Ph.D. thesis, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2008) [Hebrew] that the language though literary, is, on the whole, internally consistent; 2) There are poems written in this language that were read out as eulogies, on holiday festivals, weddings, and circumcisions (see Michael Sokoloff and Joseph Yahalom, *Jewish Palestinian Aramaic Poetry from Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1999) [Hebrew]).

flects a slightly older type of language. Nevertheless, these texts also undeniably manifest a linguistic family relationship justifying to treat them as a corpus.⁷³

Fassberg looks at the corpus as a whole and tries to relate its language to other—earlier, contemporary and later—varieties of Aramaic. The data are taken from the limited domain of verbal morphology. Three important parameters emerge, a chronological one, a geographical one and a cultural one:

Qumran Aramaic is Middle Aramaic: it stands close to the Official Aramaic of the Persian period, but shows some characteristic innovations that presage later, Late Aramaic dialects. A good example illustrating the continuity with Official Aramaic is the suppletive paradigm made up of forms of $\sqrt{hwk/hyk}$ and forms of \sqrt{z} *zl*, both meaning “to go.”⁷⁴

Qumran Aramaic is a western dialect: novel features presaging the later development of the language are characteristically western. Examples of this principle are the addition of a nun to the 3rd pl. masculine of the Suffix Conjugation (*ištappašun*, instead of *ištappašu*) and the assimilation of the peal infinitive to the corresponding Prefix Conjugation (*meʿol* after *neʿol*, from *ʿIl*, “to enter”). If these innovative features are found only sporadically, this is according to expectation.

Qumran Aramaic is a Jewish dialect. Clear influence of the Jewish religion is attested in the forms of the verb *hwy* with a third person prefix *lamed* instead of *yod*. The background of this feature is probably the desire to avoid homography (or homophony?) with the name of God. It should be noted that the direct influence of religion on the morphology of a language contradicts de Saussure’s postulate as to the unmotivated nature of the linguistic sign and is highly remarkable (and perhaps unique).

The procedure followed by Fassberg conforms to the methodological canons observed in Hebrew and Aramaic studies and his main conclusions seem to be well established. One may deplore that so few features

⁷³ In this perspective, the papers of Fassberg and Schattner-Rieser complement one another nicely: while the former stresses the common features that define Qumran Aramaic in relation to other corpora, the latter stresses the inner diversity of the texts (i.e. both differences between texts and differences within one and the same text).

⁷⁴ Fassberg prefers to pair $\sqrt{hyk/hwk}$ and the *paʿel* of *hlk*, but the semantics of these verbs are different.

were used (nine features in all) to advance such sweeping claims. But one should keep in mind that only diagnostic traits have been selected.

A few critical remarks are called for. Although Fassberg's title mentions the "verbal system" the paper is practically limited to questions of morphology. This limitation is defensible.⁷⁵ It may be noted that the one instance where syntax is brought into the discussion is actually a bit doubtful (as Fassberg realizes). The section on the periphrastic forms consisting of the verb *hwy* and the participle is concerned with syntax. But the conclusions are equivocal: the expressions *haze hwet* and *yedia^c lehwe* attest the influence of Biblical Aramaic on the Qumran texts on a literary level. But beyond showing that the sequence *hwy*-participle is possible in Qumran Aramaic, they say very little about the language as such. Another striking syntactical feature shared by the *Genesis Apocryphon* and the book of Daniel—not mentioned by Fassberg—is the use of the prefix conjugation as a preterit: 1Q20 II 13 "Then she suppressed her emotion, talked with me (*temallel*) and said (*temar*) to me...." This usage compares to such biblical Aramaic examples as Daniel 6:20 "Then the king arose (*yequm*) very early in the morning...." But it is hard to say whether one is dealing here with linguistic continuity or literary influence.

Finally, the typological remarks at the end of the paper are perhaps less than helpful. One hesitates to compare Qumran Aramaic to the "Late Jewish Literary Aramaic" of *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* and similar writings. The mixture of earlier and later features in the former stays within the limits of what is normal in the literary style of any language; the latter, however, is an eclectic hodge-podge that came about purely in writing.

DISCUSSION

Florentino García Martínez: I was surprised by the different labels used in the presentation and in the response. While Steven used "Jewish Aramaic" (an ethnical or religious label) for all the sections, Jan was using chronological or geographical labels. It is true that the Aramaic vernacular of the people of the Decapolis or other "non Jewish" inhabitants of the country has not been preserved and we can only speak of things that we now have, but it certainly existed at the time and we should not imply that it was different from the Jewish literature in Aramaic that has been preserved.

⁷⁵ See E. Qimron, "Observations on the History of Early Hebrew (1000 BCE–200 CE) in the Light of the Dead Sea Documents," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 349–361, 354: "Linguists agree that morphology is the most stable segment of a language".

In view of the difficulties encountered with the use of ethnic or religious labels with epigraphical material, I would advocate a more general labeling of the linguistic evidence.

Steven Fassberg: It is reasonable to suppose that there were differences at early periods based not only on chronology and geography, but also ethnicity. A look at the later Western Aramaic dialects of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, and Samaritan Aramaic reveals clear dialectal differences according to ethnic and geographical grounds. This state of affairs goes back, no doubt, to an earlier period.

Hugo Antonissen: In Daniel the periphrastic use of the participle appears several times in what seems to be a particular and fixed form (4:7 and 10; 7:4, 6, 7, 9, 11 [bis], 13 and 21). In *New Jerusalem*, this kind of syntactical construction appears seven times (2Q24 4 15–16; 8 5; 11Q18 7 2; 14 ii 5; 15 2; 26 6; 28 1). Six times the verb “to be” precedes the participle and once the participle is followed by the verb (2Q24 4 15–16), exactly as in Daniel חזי הריית.

Steven Fassberg: The distribution of the two different syntagms involving the compound tense in the *New Jerusalem* document (7:1 in favor of \sqrt{hwy} + participle as against participle + \sqrt{hwy}) pointed out by Hugo Antonissen is close to the general distribution of the syntagm in other Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls too.

John Collins: Is the distinction between Eastern and Western Aramaic still significant?

Steven Fassberg: The distinction between Eastern and Western Aramaic, or possible precursors of the two varieties, appears to be valid already in Old Aramaic and continues to exist even into Neo-Aramaic.

Ursula Schattner-Rieser: It is difficult to distinguish clearly between eastern or western dialects, the Qumran texts are still very close to Official Aramaic from the Achaemenid period with the same phonetic adaptations we find in Biblical Aramaic. There are however clear distinctive features, which allow us to distinguish between oriental and western features: such as the masculine emphatic state without emphatic meaning which is clearly an eastern element we have in 11QtgJob. To go back to להרה: As we have no single evidence for the Tetragrammaton in the Qumran texts, despite a lot of evidence for other titles for God, I think the spelling of the verb ה-י-ר-ה in the prefixed form is due to the respect for the name of God, which is also characteristic of the Biblical Aramaic, and therefore a typical Jewish Aramaic feature. On the other hand, to stress the closeness to Official Aramaic I want to underline that the direct object in Qumran Aramaic is generally introduced by *lamedh* (or not at all) and that we have only a couple of times the objective marker *yat*, which is so abundant in targumic Aramaic.

Steven Fassberg: I am not certain the use of *lamedh* on the 3 person forms of the imperfect of the verb *hwy* stems from a taboo regarding the pronunciation or writing of the Tetragrammaton.

L'ARAMÉEN DE QUMRAN ENTRE L'ARAMÉEN D'EMPIRE ET LES
TARGUMIM : L'EMPLOI DE LA PRÉPOSITION « DEVANT » POUR EXPRIMER
LE RESPECT DÛ AU ROI ET À DIEU

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La langue araméenne attestée, avec une certaine diversité, dans les grands textes découverts à Qumran—l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse*, le *Targum de Job*, le *Testament de Lévi*, etc.—se situe sur deux trajectoires historiques qu'on démêle avec difficulté. D'une part, l'araméen de Qumran illustre l'évolution naturelle d'une langue humaine : à partir d'une base proche de l'araméen achéménide, la langue se développe en s'ouvrant à de nouveaux modes d'expression d'origine diverse. Avec le nabatéen et le palmyréen, l'araméen de Qumran représente une phase intermédiaire entre l'araméen d'empire et les dialectes occidentaux dits tardifs : araméen galiléen, samaritain et syro-palestinien. D'autre part, l'araméen de Qumran représente une étape dans l'appropriation juive de la langue araméenne en tant que langage religieux. Ce second processus, déjà bien engagé dans l'araméen biblique, va trouver son aboutissement dans le langage des Targumim.

Dans la présente étude, nous nous attacherons à un seul trait de langage qui illustre le chevauchement de ces deux trajectoires à travers les textes araméens de l'époque perse, les textes de Qumran et les Targumim. Il s'agit de la formule de distanciation employant la préposition **קדם**, « devant », dans laquelle cette préposition se substitue à d'autres afin d'exprimer le respect pour le roi ou pour la divinité.

1. *L'emploi de **קדם** pour exprimer le respect dû au roi en araméen biblique et achéménide*

Une particularité bien connue de l'araméen biblique est l'emploi récurrent de la préposition **קדם**, « devant », à la place d'autres prépositions pour exprimer le respect envers le roi¹. Dans le livre de Daniel, on dit, on répond et on raconte « devant le roi » :

¹ M. L. Klein, "The Preposition **קדם** ('Before'): A Pseudo-Anti-Anthropomorphism in the Targums", *JTS* 30 (1979): 502–507.

Dn 2:9 וּמְלֵה כְּדָבָה וּשְׁחִיתָהּ הַיְדֻמְנֹתוֹן לְמֵאמַר קְדָמַי
 « Vous vous préparez à dire devant moi des mensonges et des faussetés »²

Dn 2:10 עָנוּ כַשְׂדִּיִּיא קְדָם־מְלֶכָא וְאַמְרִין
 « Les Chaldéens répondirent devant le roi : ... »³

Dn 2:11 וְאַחֲרָן לֹא אִתִּי דֵי יְהוֹנָה קָרָם מְלֶכָא
 « Il n'y a personne qui puisse le dire devant le roi »

De même, on fait — ou plutôt, on ne fait pas — des choses inconvenantes « devant » le roi :

Dn 6:23 וְאַף קְדָמָךְ מְלֶכָא חֲבוּלָה לֹא עֲבַדְתָּ
 « Et devant toi non plus, ô roi, je n'ai rien fait de mauvais »

De façon analogue, les actions émanant du roi peuvent être présentées comme se déroulant « devant » le roi. Ainsi, dans le livre d'Esdras, une missive est envoyée « de devant le roi et ses sept conseillers » (Esd 7:14).

Esd 7:14 מִן־קְדָם מְלֶכָא וְשִׁבְעַת יְעִטְהִי שְׁלִיחַ לְבַקְרָא
 « Il a été envoyé de devant le roi et ses sept conseillers pour inspecter ... »⁴

D'un point de vue grammatical, ces derniers exemples où le roi est le sujet logique de l'action se distinguent des exemples précédents où il en est le complément d'objet. En profondeur, il s'agit cependant d'un procédé semblable. La préposition קדם reflète un style particulier qui vise à créer une distance entre les actions humaines et le roi⁵. Le procédé sur lequel ces emplois se fondent s'apparente à l'euphémisme : pour éviter une expression qui pourrait choquer, on en utilise une qui signifie autre chose. Sans abandonner son sens local habituel, la préposition קדם se substitue à d'autres prépositions, notamment à ל, « à, pour », על, « vers », לוח, « auprès de ». Tout le monde comprend que « parler devant le roi » signifie « parler au roi », mais on ne le dit pas. Et tout le monde comprend que c'est le roi qui a expédié la missive envoyée « de devant lui », mais on ne le dit pas.

² Voir aussi Dn 2:36 ; 5:17 ; 6:13.14.

³ Voir aussi Dn 2:27.

⁴ Voir aussi Dn 2:6.15 ; 6:27.

⁵ En Daniel 4:4 (« devant » les sages) et 4:5 (« devant » Daniel), le complément prépositionnel ne se réfère pas au roi (ni à Dieu). Voir D. Shepherd, "Mn qdm: Deferential Treatment in Biblical Aramaic and the Qumran Targum of Job?", *VT* 50 (2000): 401–404, 401.

Ce trait stylistique n'est probablement pas l'invention des auteurs bibliques. Comme l'a reconnu Sebastian Brock, des tournures analogues se rencontrent dans l'araméen d'empire⁶ :

Sheikh el Fadl, 5, 9–10 מלן זי אנה אמר ק[ד]ם מראי מלכא
« Les paroles que je dis devant mon seigneur, le roi... »

Cowley 16, 8 אנה קדם מראי שלחת
« J'ai envoyé un message devant mon seigneur (officier du roi) »

Les exemples dans les textes de l'araméen d'empire sont moins nombreux qu'en araméen biblique⁷. Cela tient vraisemblablement au genre littéraire des textes préservés. Il existe peu de textes mettant en scène le langage de la cour⁸. Les exemples suffisent cependant pour qu'on y observe le même procédé stylistique : pour éloigner les actions humaines de la personne du roi, ou de ses représentants, on situe ces actions « devant » ces personnes en substituant la préposition קדם au lien grammatical attendu. Le procédé stylistique mis en œuvre dans le livre de Daniel et, dans une moindre mesure, dans le livre d'Esdras semble ainsi refléter une connaissance authentique du langage officiel de l'époque perse.

2. La transposition du style de cour dans le langage religieux

En araméen biblique, la formule de distanciation se rencontre également dans le domaine théologique. Daniel loue et implore « devant » sont Dieu :

Dn 6:11 ומצלא ומודא קדם אלהה

Dn 6:12 בעא ומתחנן קדם אלהה

Et dans le livre d'Esdras, il s'agit de transférer « devant » le Dieu de Jérusalem les ustensiles du temple :

⁶ S. Brock, "A Palestinian Targum Feature in Syriac", *JJS* 46 (1995): 271–282, 271–272.

⁷ Voir J. Hoftijzer, K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions* (Handbuch der Orientalistik, Part One & Two ; Leiden : Brill, 1995), 989, 991 ; M. Folmer, *The Aramaic Language in the Achaemenid Period. A Study in Linguistic Variation* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 68 ; Leuven : Peeters, 1995), 390, 590.

⁸ Sauf erreur, les récits araméens mettant en scène la cour royale ont tous un arrière-plan assyrien : Ahiqar, le récit des deux frères préservé en écriture démotique, Sheikh el Fadl.

Esd 7:19 וּמֵאֲנִיָּא דִּי־מְתִיבֵינָן לֵךְ לְפָלְחֹן בֵּית אֱלֹהֵךְ הַשְּׁלֵם קְדָם אֱלֹהֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם

« Les ustensiles qui te sont remis pour le service de la maison de ton Dieu, transfère-les devant le Dieu de Jérusalem »⁹.

Il est vrai que les verbes concernés ne sont pas ceux qu'on rencontre dans les exemples illustrant le langage de la cour. Mais le procédé fondamental est le même. Les verbes « louer », « implorer », etc. ne se construisent pas normalement avec la préposition קְדָם, « devant », mais avec d'autres prépositions ou avec la marque de l'accusatif. L'emploi de קְדָם vise à créer, dans le langage, une distance entre l'agir humain et Dieu. De même, l'agir de Dieu peut être présenté comme se déroulant devant lui :

Dn 5:24 בְּאֲרִינְ מִן־קְדָמוּהִי שְׁלִיחַ פָּסָא דִּי־יָדָא

« Alors de devant lui une paume de main fut envoyée »

Comme l'ont reconnu David Luzzato et Michael Klein, ces exemples reflètent probablement le style de cour évoqué ci-devant, transposé dans un contexte religieux¹⁰. Dieu étant considéré comme un souverain céleste, il semblait juste de parler de lui et à lui comme on parlait du roi et au roi.

Il paraît que cette transposition dans le domaine religieux n'est pas non plus une innovation des auteurs bibliques. Il est difficile de trouver dans les textes anciens des exemples de tournures du genre « dire/prier devant le dieu » ou « commettre un péché devant le dieu ». Néanmoins, la préposition קְדָם se combine assez souvent avec des noms divins dans un sens figuré. Déjà dans l'araméen d'empire on trouve des tournures du genre « un tel sera béni devant Belshamin », ou « reçois de l'eau de devant Osiris » :

KAI 269 מִן קְדָם אוֹסְרִי מִיֵן קְחִי

« Reçois de l'eau de devant Osiris »

La fonction de la préposition קְדָם est sensiblement la même que dans les exemples précédents. Au lieu de dire « Belshamin bénira » ou « Osiris donnera de l'eau » on utilise une circonlocution qui éloigne les actions des dieux dont elles émanent. On en conclura que, dans le langage théologique comme dans la représentation littéraire du langage de la cour, les auteurs bibliques ont adopté un procédé stylistique répandu en araméen dès l'époque perse.

⁹ Il est possible que le sens de la préposition soit simplement local dans cet exemple.

¹⁰ Voir Klein, "Preposition" (Klein renvoie à Luzzato).

Comme nous allons le voir, l'influence de ce procédé ne s'étend pas seulement à l'araméen biblique mais touche encore d'autres textes juifs de l'époque du second temple.

3. *L'influence du style de cour araméen sur l'hébreu biblique tardif*

Il n'est guère étonnant de constater que ce trait du langage de cour de l'époque perse a marqué l'hébreu du livre d'Esther. A plusieurs reprises, en effet, les personnages du livre d'Esther parlent ou disent « devant » le grand roi Assuérus :

Est 1:16 וַיֹּאמֶר מְמוּכָן לִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ וְהַשְּׂרִים
« Memucan répondit devant le roi et les princes »

Est 8:3 וַתֹּסֶף אֶסְתֵּר וַתְּדַבֵּר לִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ
« Puis Esther parla de nouveau devant le roi »¹¹

Comme en Daniel 2:10, la formule de distanciation se trouve ici dans la bouche du narrateur. Il s'agit d'une exploitation littéraire du trait stylistique qui nous occupe. Cela étant dit, il n'y a pas de doute que l'auteur du livre d'Esther se montre ici au courant des coutumes de l'époque perse. Il n'est pas plus habituel en hébreu qu'en araméen de dire que quelqu'un parle « devant » un autre lorsqu'on veut signifier qu'il parle « à » l'autre.

En dehors du livre d'Esther, ce procédé stylistique ne semble pas avoir affecté la représentation du discours interhumain, dans les pages de la Bible hébraïque : alors que de nombreux passages mettent en scène les rois, israélites et étrangers, la préposition « devant » n'y est jamais utilisée d'une manière autre que locale¹².

Il faut cependant signaler une exception. Un passage dans le Pentateuque pourrait en effet faire écho au langage illustré dans les livres de Daniel et d'Esther :

Nb 36:1 וַיִּקְרְבוּ רְאֵשֵׁי הָאֲבוֹת לְמִשְׁפַּחַת בְּנֵי-גִלְעָד בְּנֵי-מָכִיר בְּנֵי-מָנַשֶׁשֶׁה מִמִּשְׁפַּחַת בְּנֵי יוֹסֵף וַיִּדְבְּרוּ לִפְנֵי מֹשֶׁה וְלִפְנֵי הַנְּשָׂאִים רְאֵשֵׁי אֲבוֹת לְבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל
« Les chefs de la famille de Galaad, fils de Makir, fils de Manassé, d'entre les familles des fils de Joseph, s'approchèrent et parlèrent devant Moïse et devant les princes, chefs de famille des enfants d'Israël ».

¹¹ Voir aussi Est 7:9.

¹² En 1 R 3:22, les femmes parlent *devant* Salomon, pas à lui !

L'expression « parler devant » n'a pas ici un sens purement local et semble relever d'un style solennel. Elle ne trouve de parallèles dans la Bible hébraïque que dans les passages cités dans le livre d'Esther. Le linguiste s'étonne de trouver un réflexe de l'araméen d'empire dans Nombres. Souvenons-nous qu'il n'y a pas de mots perses dans le Pentateuque et que, d'après les recherches d'Avi Hurvitz et d'autres, même les strates littéraires qu'on juge être les plus récentes restent libres de l'influence de l'hébreu biblique tardif caractérisant les livres postexiliques. Le Pentateuque relève de l'hébreu classique. Pourtant, à moins de trouver une explication différente, on est bien obligé de se demander si la péricope de Nombres 36 ne serait pas un ajout tardif reflétant des influences linguistiques de l'époque perse¹³. Le contenu de la péricope n'est pas défavorable à cette idée puisqu'il s'agit d'une sorte de rectification par rapport à une réglementation antérieure, stipulée en Nombres 27:1–11.

Dans le domaine religieux, il faut signaler l'occurrence de l'expression « prier devant » en Néhémie 1:4.6

Né 1:4 וְאֵהִי צָם וּמִתְפַּלֵּל לִפְנֵי אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם

En hébreu classique, ce tour implique que la prière est prononcée dans le temple¹⁴, mais Néhémie se trouve en exil, loin du sanctuaire. « Prier devant Dieu » signifie donc la même chose que « prier Dieu »¹⁵. L'effleurement de ce style particulier reste exceptionnel dans l'hébreu biblique tardif. En d'autres passages, même à l'intérieur du livre de Néhémie, le verbe *hitpallel*, « prier », se construit avec la préposition *'el*, « vers »¹⁶. D'autres verbes aussi, tels *hodah*, « remercier », ou *hillel*, « louer », se construisent dans le corpus tardif avec les mêmes prépositions qu'en hébreu classique.

L'hébreu de Qumran et de Ben Sira se trouve en continuité avec l'hébreu biblique tardif, dans ce cas comme dans bien d'autres. Dans les textes hébreux de Qumran, on rencontre ainsi deux fois l'expression « prier devant », tandis que le document de Damas atteste une occurrence de « confesser devant » :

¹³ L'expression וְאֵהִי צָם וּמִתְפַּלֵּל suivie de ל – X se retrouve ailleurs seulement dans la littérature post-exilique : Esd 1:5 ; 4:3 ; 10:16 ; Ne 8:13 ; 12:12 ; 1 Ch 8:13 ; 9:34 ; 15:12 ; 23:9,24. Voir cependant Jos 19:51 et Ex 6:25.

¹⁴ 1 S 1:12 ; 1 R 8:28 ; 2 R 19:15.

¹⁵ Voir aussi Qo 5:5 (Septante).

¹⁶ Ne 2:4 ; 4:3 ; voir aussi 2 Ch 32:24 ; 33:13.

4Q364 26b,e ii+ 2 [יום וארבעים לילה] ואתפלל לפני יהוה ארבעים
 Voir aussi 1Q21 1 4.

Ecrit de Damas XX 28 ויתודו לפני אל

L'expression « pécher devant », alors qu'on attend « pécher contre », se trouve dans le texte hébreu du livre de Ben Sira :

Ben Sira 38:15 אשר חוטא לפני עשהו
 « Celui qui pêche devant son créateur »

Ces quelques occurrences dans l'hébreu de l'époque du second temple montrent que le procédé araméen mentionné a pu traverser la barrière de la traduction. Ce fait, remarquable en soi, s'explique par la proximité entre l'hébreu et l'araméen au sein de la communauté juive postexilique. Par ailleurs on observe dans ces exemples bibliques et post-bibliques une tendance importante qui va s'accuser dans la suite : si le *Sitz im Leben* primitif de l'emploi se situe dans le langage de la cour, les textes juifs vont le développer notamment dans le domaine du langage religieux.

4. La Septante

Et le passage d'une langue à une autre et la limitation au discours théologique s'illustrent également dans le domaine du judaïsme de langue grecque. En effet, l'emploi discuté de la préposition araméenne קדם, « devant », a laissé de nombreuses traces dans la Septante¹⁷. Les exemples de la Septante manifestent une certaine originalité de par leur distribution, puisque la majorité écrasante des cas concerne le verbe ἀμαρτάνω, « pécher ». Alors que ce verbe se construit avec la préposition εἰς ou avec un simple datif lorsque le complément d'objet désigne un être humain, lorsque il désigne Dieu la construction change :

Gn 39:9 πῶς (...) ἀμαρτήσομαι ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ
 « Comment (...) pécherai-je devant Dieu ».

L'expression « pécher devant » se rencontre dans le Pentateuque grec¹⁸, ainsi qu'en Josué, en Jérémie α, en Job et dans quelques autres passages¹⁹.

¹⁷ J. Joosten, "L'Agir humain devant Dieu. Remarques sur une tournure remarquable de la Septante", *RB* 113 (2006): 5–17.

¹⁸ La seule exception dans le Pentateuque est Gn 20:6.

De façon sporadique, les prépositions grecques signifiant « devant » (έναντίον, ένώπιον, έναντι) s'emploient de façon similaire avec d'autres verbes. On trouve ainsi trois fois la formule « prier devant » (Ex 32:11 ; Dt 9:18.25) alors que les tours « regarder devant » (Ex 3:6), « s'insurger devant » (Nb 27:3), « donner devant » (1 S 1:11) et « louer devant » (2 Chr 7:6) n'ont qu'une seule occurrence. Le complément prépositionnel se réfère invariablement à Dieu :

Ex 32:11 και έδεήθη Μωυσης έναντι κυρίου του θεου²⁰

Ex 3:6 εύλαβεϊτο γάρ κατεμβλέψαι ένώπιον του θεου

Nb 27:3 και αυτός ουκ ήν έν μέσω της συναγωγής της έπισυστάσης έναντι κυρίου

1 S 1:11 και δώσω αυτόν ένώπιόν σου
« Et je le donnerai devant toi »

2 Chr 7:6 του έξομολογεϊσθαι έναντι κυρίου
« pour confesser devant le Seigneur »

Pour une raison inconnue, ce mode d'expression est sensiblement plus fréquent dans le livre de Job. On y rencontre, outre le tour « pécher devant (Dieu) », déjà mentionné, les verbes suivants qui se construisent de la même façon : « dire » (1:9 ; 2:2 ; 19:28), « parler » (13:7 ; 34:37 et 42:7), « reprendre, critiquer » (13:3)²¹, « parler franchement » (22:26 ; cf. 27:10) et « mentir » (31:28)—toujours dans un contexte religieux²² :

Jb 2:2 τότε ειπεν ο διάβολος ένώπιον του κυρίου
« Alors l'adversaire dit devant le Seigneur »

Jb 31:28 έψευσάμην έναντίον κυρίου
« J'ai menti devant le Seigneur »

Ces tournures n'imitent pas le modèle hébreu. Elles sont absolument inhabituelles en grec. Elles découlent, semble-t-il, de l'enracinement des traducteurs de la Septante dans une culture bilingue gréco-araméenne²³.

¹⁹ Gn 39:9 ; Ex 32:33 ; Lv 4:2 ; Nb 32:23 ; Dt 1:41 ; 9:16 ; 20:18 ; Jos 7:20 ; 1 S 7:6 ; Jr 3:25 ; 8:14 ; 14:17.20 ; 16:10 ; Jb 1:22 ; 2:10 ; 8:4 ; 2 Ch 12:2 ; voir aussi Gn 13:13. Ce trait particulier du langage de la Septante trouve une continuation dans certains écrits judéo-hellénistiques tels le *Testament de Dan* et *Joseph et Aséneth* ; voir Joosten, "Agir humain".

²⁰ Voir aussi Dt 9:18.25.

²¹ En Job 13:15 ce tour correspond au TM.

²² Voir cependant Job 31:34.

²³ Joosten, "Agir humain".

Ainsi, la formule araméenne de distanciation a donné son empreinte au langage religieux de la Septante.

Dans le domaine du langage de la cour, ce mode d'expression est pratiquement sans attestation dans la version grecque²⁴.

5. *Le Targum d'Onkelos et le Targum de Jonathan*

Avant d'aborder les textes araméens de Qumran, il convient de dire quelques mots des Targumim rabbiniques. Les Targumim ont été mis par écrit assez tardivement. D'après un relatif consensus, les textes les plus anciens, dont le Targum d'Onkelos du Pentateuque et le Targum de Jonathan des Prophètes antérieurs auraient conservé l'essentiel, remontent à la période entre les deux guerres juives. Il est toutefois certain que les Targumim s'appuient sur une longue tradition orale et qu'ils charrient des éléments exégétiques et linguistiques beaucoup plus anciens.

En ce qui concerne l'emploi de la préposition קדם en tant que moyen de distanciation, les Targumim l'attestent abondamment et dans toute sa diversité. Pour ce qui est du discours théologique, on trouve à la fois קדם dans des propositions où Dieu est désigné par le complément d'objet et מן קדם dans des proposition dont Dieu est le sujet logique. Dans Onkelos et Jonathan, on dit et on parle « devant Adonai » selon le procédé que nous avons décrit ci-dessus. D'autres verbes qui prennent leur complément au moyen de la préposition קדם lorsqu'il s'agit de Dieu sont : « prier » (Gn 20:17), « louer » (Gn 29:35), « pécher » (Gn 39:9), « servir » (Ex 3:12), « mettre à l'épreuve » (Ex 17:2.7) ; « donner » (Nb 15:21), « fâcher » (1 R 14:15)—la liste n'est pas exhaustive.

Ex 6:12 ומליל משה קדם ירי
« Et Moïse parla devant le Seigneur »

Dt 32:3 הבו רבותא קדם אלהנא
« Donnez grandeur devant notre Dieu »

Lorsque le texte hébreu attribue une action à Dieu, le Targum substitue généralement une circonlocution qui emploie le passif du verbe et la préposition composite מן קדם :

²⁴ Les cas en Daniel et en Esther où la préposition « devant » exprime le respect dû au roi sont tous transformés dans la Septante. En Dn 6:7, la formule de distanciation est cependant introduite contre le texte araméen. Des traces de l'emploi de la formule dans le langage de la cour pourraient se trouver en Ex 7:10 ; 10:3 ; 1 S 16:16.

Gn 41:16 אֱלֹהִים יַעֲנֶה אֶת־שְׁלוֹם פְּרַעֲה
 « Dieu qui donnera une réponse favorable à Pharaon »

Tg. Onq. מִן־קִדְמָא דְפִרְעָה יִתְתַּבּ יְיָ שְׁלָמָא דְפִרְעָה
 « De devant Dieu il sera donné une réponse favorable à Pharaon »

Nb 30:6 וַיְהִי־הָיָה יְסַלַח־לָהּ
 « Le Seigneur lui pardonnera »

Tg. Onq. וּמִן־קִדְמָא יְיָ יִשְׁתַּבֵּיק לָהּ
 « De devant le Seigneur il lui sera pardonné »²⁵

Ces exemples manifestent une grande parenté avec l'araméen biblique. Il convient cependant de noter que l'emploi de la préposition קדם s'est étendu dans les Targumim relativement à l'araméen biblique. Ainsi, le haphel du verbe רגו, qui se construit avec Dieu pour complément d'objet direct en Esd 5:12 se construit avec קדם en 1 R 14:15 TJ. Alors qu'en araméen biblique קדם n'est qu'une préposition parmi plusieurs à se combiner avec les noms qui désignent Dieu²⁶, dans le Targum, קדם est pratiquement la seule préposition dans cet emploi²⁷. En d'autres mots, dans le Targum, l'emploi de la préposition est devenue systématique dans le langage religieux.

L'extension qu'a prise l'emploi de notre préposition dans le discours religieux montre que le Targum se situe à quelque distance de l'araméen d'empire où ce mode d'expression trouve son origine. Pourtant, le lien avec l'emploi primitif n'est pas rompu. La continuité entre l'araméen d'empire et le langage des Targumim se montre notamment par le fait que le Targum conserve quelques traces de la formule de distanciation dans le langage de la cour. Comme en araméen d'empire et en araméen biblique, on parle « devant » le roi dans le Targum :

Gn 41:55 *Tg. Onq.* וַיִּצְוֶה עַמָּא קִדְמָא פִרְעָה
 « et le peuple cria devant Pharaon »²⁸

2 S 14:15 *TJ* וַיָּבֹאוּ לְמִלְכָּא קִדְמָא מְלִיכָא רְבוּנִי
 « Maintenant, je suis venue pour parler devant le roi, mon seigneur »²⁹

²⁵ Voir aussi Gn 43:29 ; 44:16 ; 45:8 ; 50:20 ; Ex 19:19 ; 20:19 ; 21:13 ; Nb 9:8 ; Dt 1:37 ; 3:26 ; 4:21 ; 9:20 ; 32:27 ; 2 R 4:27 ; 7:6 ; 9:25.

²⁶ Voir, par exemple : Dn 2:19 ; 5:23 ; Esd 5:12 ; 6:9.10 ; 7:15.

²⁷ Il existe quelques rares exceptions, par exemple : *Tg. Onq.* Ex 8:6 ; 16:7 ; Nb 27:3 ; Dt 13:6.

²⁸ Le verbe צוה se construit avec ל en Nb 11:2.

²⁹ Voir aussi Ex 5:15 ; 1 R 1:14.22 ; 2:18 ; 20:39.

Dans le registre interhumain, ce mode d'expression reste peu fréquent dans le Targum. Le verbe מלל, « parler », se construit également avec d'autres prépositions lorsque son complément d'objet désigne le roi. D'autres verbes se construisent normalement dans le langage de la cour selon la version du Targum. Ces quelques exemples attestent cependant que le langage Targumique garde un souvenir de l'origine des tournures employant la préposition קדם.

La description des *Targum d'Onkelos* et *Targum de Jonathan* vaut à peu de choses près pour les autres Targumim rabbiniques du Pentateuque. Dans la Peshitta, aussi, on rencontre les traces d'un système semblable. Mais l'exploration de ces autres textes ne doit pas être tentée ici.

6. Les textes araméens de Qumran

Après ces longs détours, venons-en, finalement, aux textes qui sont au centre de notre colloque. Dans les textes araméens de Qumran, l'emploi discuté de la préposition קדם est bien attesté sans être particulièrement abondant. Si l'on fait abstraction de quelques attestations douteuses, les exemples se classent en deux catégories.

Premièrement, nous retrouvons à Qumran l'emploi théologique déjà bien connu de l'araméen biblique :

11Q10 XXXVII 3 ענא אירב ואמר קדם אלהא
« Job répondit en disant devant Dieu »

Le célèbre *Targum de Job* de la grotte 11 donne une seule occurrence de la tournure qui nous intéresse³⁰. Le texte hébreu de Job 42:1 dit simplement : וַיַּעַן אֱיֹב אֶת־יְהוָה וַיֹּאמֶר, « et Job répondit au Seigneur et dit ». La combinaison du verbe אמר avec la préposition קדם n'est pas attestée dans un contexte théologique en araméen biblique, mais elle l'est dans le langage de la cour.

A vue d'œil, l'exemple en 11QarJob se conforme en tout point au langage des Targumim rabbiniques. Pourtant il y a une différence importante du fait que dans le « Targum » retrouvé à Qumran l'emploi figuré de קדם reste exceptionnel alors qu'il est systématique dans le *Targum d'Onkelos* et le *Targum de Jonathan*. En 11QarJob, d'autres

³⁰ Pour d'autres exemples possibles, voir Shepherd, "Mn qdm".

prépositions accompagnent les références à Dieu et on trouve également l'expression : « dire à Dieu »³¹.

1Q20 XXI 3 לי יהב די וטבחה די נכסיה וטבחה על כול קודם אלהא

« Et je remerciai là devant Dieu pour tous les troupeaux et les biens qu'il m'avait donnés »

Dans l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse*, aussi, l'emploi qui nous intéresse trouve une occurrence³². L'expression אודי קדם, « louer ou remercier devant », se rencontre déjà en Daniel 6:11 et plus tard dans les Targumim rabbiniques. Cependant, dans l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* comme dans la version araméenne de Job, l'emploi de la préposition קדם pour créer une distance par rapport à Dieu reste sporadique. En parallèle à la tournure « louer devant », le même passage fait apparaître l'expression « bénir Dieu » (1Q20 XXI 2–3, וברכת [א]להא)³³.

4Q550c li 1–2 ובחובי אבהתי די חטו דקמיך

« ... et dans les fautes de mes pères qui ont péché devant toi »

Une troisième attestation de la préposition קדם en contexte théologique se trouve dans les fragments de 4QProto-Esther. L'expression « pécher devant » n'est pas attestée en araméen biblique mais elle trouve un parallèle dans la Septante et dans l'hébreu de Ben Sira, ainsi que dans les Targumim rabbiniques.

Deuxièmement, les textes de Qumran attestent la formule de distanciation dans quelques passages qui n'ont pas de réel analogue en araméen biblique ni, pour autant que je sache, en araméen d'empire. Le complément introduit ici par la préposition se réfère à des êtres célestes autres que Dieu :

4Q204 1vi 7 ומללת קודמיהון כול [חזיון די חזית

« Et je parlai devant eux (de) toute [vision que j'avais vue...] »

Il s'agit d'un des fragments araméens du livre d'Hénoch, correspondant à *I Hén* 13,10³⁴. Hénoch rapporte ici qu'il a parlé devant (c'est à dire : à) les Fils du Ciel (בני שמים).

³¹ Voir 11Q10 VII 2 אמרין ל[אלהא] ; XIX 2 לאלהא ;

³² Voir aussi, dans un contexte brisé : 1Q20 a0 18 (= GM-T 1Q20 2 5) קודם מרה [...] עלמא]

³³ Voir aussi 1Q20 V 23 ; XI 12 ; XII 17.

³⁴ Le texte éthiopien correspond à celui du fragment araméen : *watanagarku baqed-mehomu kwello re'iyata zare'iku*.

4Q530 2ii+6 12(?) 15–16³⁵ באדִיִן עִנָה הוּא אַחֻי אֹהִיָּה וְאִמְרָ קֶדֶם גְּבִרִיא
 « Alors son frère Ohaya répondit et dit devant les héros »

Les « héros » dont il est question dans le *Livre des Géants* sont justement les géants, descendants des anges déchus et des femmes humaines.

Il n'est pas facile d'expliquer les deux exemples relevant de la deuxième catégorie. On pourrait y voir une extension de l'emploi théologique : de la même manière qu'on parle « devant » Dieu, on parle « devant » d'autres êtres célestes. Une telle extension trouverait un parallèle en araméen d'empire, où l'emploi royal de la préposition קדם s'étend parfois à d'autres chefs. Une autre possibilité serait de donner à la préposition son sens local habituel et d'expliquer le tour « parler/dire devant » en fonction de la pluralité de l'auditoire. On ne parle pas à une assemblée comme on parle à un individu³⁶. Les exemples sont finalement trop peu nombreux pour décider sur ce point.

Ce qu'on ne trouve pas dans les rouleaux araméens c'est un emploi de la formule de distanciation qui relève du langage de la cour. A priori, on serait tenté d'attribuer ce manque au hasard : les texte araméens découverts à Qumran ne parlent pas beaucoup des rois et de leur cour. Néanmoins, on rencontre quelques passages, notamment dans l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse*, où l'absence de la formule de distanciation paraît significative :

1Q20 XX 9–10 ואמרת שרי למלכא דאחי הוא
 Et Saraï dit au roi : « Il est mon frère »

1Q20 XX 24 וזָדִי שִׁמְעַ חֲרָקְנוֹשׁ מִלִּי לוֹט אֶזֶל אִמְרָ לְמִלְכָא
 Et quand Horqenosh entendit les paroles de Loth, il alla dire au roi...³⁷.

Au moins dans le second exemple, où il s'agit d'un conseiller du roi qui tient un discours formel, on se serait attendu à ce que la préposition קדם soit employée à la place de ל. Ces exemples suggèrent que l'auteur de l'*Apocryphe* ne connaît pas l'emploi de la formule de distanciation dans le langage de la cour³⁸.

³⁵ GMT 1063.

³⁶ Voir *Tg. Onq.* Dt 31:30 et Dn 4:4 (note 2 ci-dessus).

³⁷ Dans ces deux derniers passages, Abram parle au roi de Sodome : peut-être ne faut-il pas s'attendre ici à une formule exprimant un respect particulier. Voir aussi 1Q20 XX 23 ; XXII 20 et 25.

³⁸ Un fragment de 4Q243 contient les mots, partiellement reconstruits : 4Q243 2 1 [...] [...] דניאל קודם. Il est probable, d'après les autres fragments, que le complément prépositionnel désignait ici le roi, comme dans le livre de Daniel. Voir aussi : 4Q244 1–3 1 קודם רבִּרְבָנִי מִלְכָּא וְאִשְׁרִיא, « devant les ministres du roi et les assyriens ».

Conclusions

Les explorations textuelles proposées ci-dessus ont pu paraître laborieuses. Elles permettent cependant une comparaison intéressante des textes de Qumran avec d'autres textes araméens dans une perspective historique. Essayons de formuler quelques conclusions.

La comparaison des textes de Qumran avec l'araméen biblique fait apparaître une continuité dans le domaine du langage religieux. Il est peu probable qu'il faille attribuer ce phénomène à une influence directe. Les verbes qui se combinent avec la préposition קדם dans sa fonction séparatrice sont en partie les mêmes en araméen de Qumran et en araméen biblique (אמר), mais en partie il s'agit d'autres verbes (ni אמר ni הטי ne sont attestés en contexte religieux dans l'araméen biblique). Il est préférable de dire que les deux corpus attestent indépendamment un trait important du langage religieux des juifs de langue araméenne.

L'araméen de Qumran se distingue de l'araméen biblique en ce qu'il ne connaît pas l'emploi de קדם pour exprimer la distanciation dans le langage de la cour. A cause des limitations du corpus, cette conclusion n'est pas entièrement certaine. Mais dans la limite des données disponibles, il semblerait qu'en araméen de Qumran, le lien entre la formule de distanciation et son *Sitz im Leben* primitif soit rompu. Alors que dans les récits du livre de Daniel, la formule s'emploie à la fois dans le langage de la cour et dans le langage théologique, ce qui a permis aux chercheurs de restituer l'arrière-plan historique de ce dernier, dans l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse*, seul l'emploi religieux est conservé. Sans doute cette différence s'explique-t-elle par la date plus tardive des textes de Qumran ou, du moins, de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse*. Les coutumes et les conventions de l'époque perse sont encore assez proches pour les auteurs des récits de Daniel, mais elles se situent dans un passé lointain pour l'auteur de l'*Apocryphe*.

La comparaison avec les Targumim rabbiniques montre que l'emploi systématique de la formule de distanciation caractérisant le langage théologique des derniers est encore inconnu dans les textes de Qumran. En araméen de Qumran, l'emploi de la préposition קדם dans un sens figuré reste une option et on n'hésite pas à combiner d'autres prépositions avec les noms divins. Nul ne doutera que le système sans faille du *Targum d'Onkelos* et du *Targum de Jonathan* relève d'un développement ultérieur. L'attestation de la tournure « dire devant » en 11QarJob annonce et prépare la phraséologie habituelle des Targumim rabbiniques.

Néanmoins, il serait faux de conclure simplement que le langage des Targumim est postérieur à celui des rouleaux de Qumran. Le fait que les Targumim connaissent encore l'emploi de la formule de distanciation dans le contexte de la cour royale montre que cette version araméenne a des racines profondes : elle transmet des éléments très anciens. En comparaison, l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* apparaît comme un texte plus populaire, plus local, moins riche en traits archaïques.

Pour ce qui est de l'emploi de la préposition קדם pour qualifier le discours adressé aux Géants et aux Fils du Ciel, il s'agit là d'une particularité des textes qumraniens. Sans doute une recherche plus poussée sur les textes reliés à *1 Hénoch* et au *Livre des Géants* pourra-t-elle jeter plus de lumière sur ce phénomène qui, dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, reste assez obscur.

RESPONSE: URSULA SCHATTNER-RIESER

La recherche sur les particules attestées à Qumran peut nous fournir des détails importants et indispensables pour situer et classer un texte. Cette approche se fait de manières différentes : soit en analysant l'aspect extérieur, c'est-à-dire en observant par exemple son écriture—y a-t-il *scriptio plena* ou *defectiva*?—soit en observant des changements morphologiques conditionnés par des mutations phonétiques ; ainsi les adverbes כמה, תמה, תנה, ou encore du pronom דנה qui ajoutent dans certains textes un *noun* à la fin pour fermer la syllabe ouverte ; phénomène peut-être dû à la nasalisation de la finale.

La recherche entreprise par Jan Joosten va plus au fond des choses en analysant la préposition *qdm* non d'après son « aspect extérieur », mais d'après sa valeur sémantique ; donc non en tant que préposition locale, mais en tant qu'expression de « distanciation », c'est-à-dire comme marque de respect. Cette recherche contribue de manière originale et importante à la démonstration que certains textes de Qumrân remontent bien à une époque plus ancienne ; surtout s'il s'agit d'un trait typique et authentique tant de l'Araméen Biblique que de l'Araméen d'Empire, c'est-à-dire du langage pratiqué à la cour achéménide.

L'insertion de la préposition *qdm* « devant » là où on ne l'attend pas forcément, là où on n'a pas besoin d'elle puisqu'il y a des moyens plus simples pour s'adresser à une personne, a pour but de créer une distance entre le simple humain et le souverain.

Après des exemples courants en Araméen Biblique, Jan Joosten mentionne quelques exemples tirés des témoignages d'époque achéménide

attestés en Araméen d'Empire d'Égypte. Mais il convient de dire que les exemples sont plutôt peu nombreux. Ensuite Jan Joosten démontre la transposition du langage de cour, c'est-à-dire de la distance envers le souverain, vers le langage religieux en Araméen Biblique où Dieu se substitue au souverain.

Une première observation doit être faite ici : à l'époque perse, comme aux époques assyriennes, le souverain est en même temps divinisé et donc au même titre distancié en tant que roi et dieu. Jan Joosten constate d'ailleurs que ce n'est pas un trait novateur des auteurs bibliques, puisqu'on le trouve aussi dans les inscriptions en Araméen d'Empire, par exemple dans KAI 269 : « recevoir de devant Osiris ».

Ensuite Jan Joosten aborde l'influence de cette distanciation attestée en araméen dans le corpus de l'hébreu biblique tardif. Et en effet on obtient la confirmation que la préposition לפני dans Esther occupe la même fonction en tant que particule de distanciation que son homologue araméen *qdm* en Araméen d'Empire.

J'aime bien les phrases introductives « L'araméen de Qumran représente une étape dans l'appropriation juive de la langue araméenne en tant que langage religieux. Ce second processus, déjà bien engagé dans l'araméen biblique, va trouver son aboutissement dans le langage des Targumim », qui exprime en d'autres termes, ou plutôt on pourrait dire qu'elle résume en quelque sorte ce que Steve Fassberg appelle à juste titre « Standard Jewish Literary Aramaic ».

Puis il est démontré que cet usage d'Araméen d'Empire a pénétré l'Hébreu postbiblique d'Esther. En revanche l'exemple de Nombres 36:1 n'a pour moi pas un sens local, et est à mon avis tout à fait comparable à l'allemand « vorsprechen »... bien que la *Einheitsübersetzung* ou la version de Luther opte pour « reden vor » dans ce passage.

Le grec de la Septante utilise aussi trois prépositions grecques inhabituelles ailleurs. Et comme on peut dater la Septante du III^e siècle nous avons un critère valable de datation. L'emploi fréquent de la particule *qdm* dans les Targoums semble appuyer la thèse d'un noyau ancien de ces derniers. Dans les textes araméens de Qumrân l'emploi de *qdm* comme particule de distanciation est attestée, mais pas particulièrement fréquente.

Mais ce qui a tout de suite attiré mon intérêt est l'emploi de la préposition *qdm* dans des textes où j'ai trouvé moi-même—par une autre approche—un usage qui pointe vers une origine à l'époque perse de certaines parties de textes, dont : 4Q204 (*1 Hénoch*) ; 4Q530 (*Livre des*

Géants); 11Q10 (*Targum de Job*); 1Q20 (*Apocryphe de la Genèse*) XXI; 4Q550 (*Proto-Esther=Histoire de la cour perse*).

En conclusion, je voudrais souligner que, grâce à l'approche philologique, quoique par des voies différentes, on arrive à un résultat objectif, car il s'agit d'une science purement descriptive et quelle ne devrait pas être négligée, mais au contraire prise en considération par ceux qui font de la recherche littéraire ou théologique sur les manuscrits de la mer Morte. Juste une réserve : je n'ai pas compris la phrase de conclusion « La comparaison avec les Targums montre que la formule de distanciation est encore inconnue dans les textes de Qumrân ». Cette phrase nécessite une explication, car pour moi les textes de Qumrân précèdent la littérature targoumique alors que le « encore inconnu » exprime le contraire. Certes les Targoums contiennent des parties anciennes, mais pour ce qui est de l'emploi de la particule *qdm* on pourrait tout simplement conclure à une continuité de l'usage connu de l'Araméen Biblique.

DISCUSSION

Moshe Bernstein: I have two very specific comments. The first involves the passage in Numbers 36. There is another way to explain it. I think that what we have here is a zeugma: you have two verbs, ויקרבו and וידברו לפני משה. If I think of it as being a joining of the two verbs, I need to use לפני with ויקרבו. So alternatively to your suggestion that it's a linguistic phenomenon, we might be able to explain it syntactically on the basis of the fact that he needs to use לפני with ויקרבו; he has paired verbs and that's what it comes from. I think that it's worthy of consideration.

The other point is on the following page where I think that there is a very interesting textual-linguistic phenomenon, ואתפלל לפני ה' ארבעים יום וארבעים לילה, this is Reworked Pentateuch and it does not occur in the Hebrew Bible if I'm not mistaken. What you have in the Hebrew Bible is ואתנפל לפני ה' כראשונה את, ואתנפלתי ארבעים היום וארבעים הלילה אשר התנפלת, but still has in mind the biblical original of ואתנפל לפני. With ואתנפל it has to be לפני, so even though he is using ואתפלל and perhaps is influenced by the later Hebrew, the reason for the use of לפני there is psycholinguistically probably because he's got a biblical text ואתנפל לפני.

Jan Joosten: In regard to your first point, I'd be happy to agree with you. The idea that such a late feature, showing dependence on Imperial Aramaic, should occur in Numbers bothers me. But we have to bow to the facts.

Steven Fassberg: The use of *qdm* with gods and royalty goes back even further in Aramaic. There are about twenty attested occurrences of *qdm* in Old Aramaic inscriptions: two are temporal, and the rest occur with gods and kings. See, for example, in the Sefire inscriptions the repeated use of the preposition before the pairs of gods who are invoked as witnesses. It is not surprising that the occurrences in Old Aramaic are before gods and royalty since that is what inscriptions are usually about. In

Tel Dan you have the god *Hdd* going before the king (*wyhk Hdd qdmy* “and Hadad went before me”).

Jan Joosten: The examples from Old Aramaic may be relevant in an indirect way, but they do not attest the same phenomenon as I tried to describe in Achaemenid and later Aramaic. The difference is in the function of the preposition: in the Old Aramaic examples, it is really local: a covenant is established “before” the gods, i.e., in their presence. What we find in the Persian period texts is that *qdm* is substituted for other prepositions in order to express respect for the god or the king.

Jonathan Ben-Dov: I suggest looking for antecedents for the term “in front of” (*ina pān* in Akkadian) in the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions. Many of the majestic habits of language originated in that corpus.

Jan Joosten: Thanks for the tip. One should make sure, though, that the usage is really the same. Examples of enemies fleeing “before” the king are local, they do not have the “distancing” function that characterizes the Aramaic examples I discuss.

Michael Langlois: En 4Q201 1t 4 (Milik : 1 iv 9) la préposition 𐤒𐤓𐤓 est employée au sujet des anges déchus qui, selon les versions (*I Hénoch* 9:2), se dirent « l’un à l’autre » (grec πρὸς ἀλλήλους, éthiopien *babaynātihomu*). Cet emploi de la préposition 𐤒𐤓𐤓 est-il simplement dû à la présence d’êtres célestes ? Y a-t-il un lien avec le sens réfléchi attesté par les versions ?

Jan Joosten: Je pense en effet que cet exemple, qui a été exclu de la base de données à cause de l’état fragmentaire du texte, pourrait, s’il est réel, s’expliquer comme les autres cas dans les rouleaux de Qumran où l’on parle “devant” les êtres célestes.

L'APPORT DE LA PHILOGIE ARAMÉENNE ET L'INTERPRÉTATION
DES ARCHAÏSMES LINGUISTIQUES POUR LA DATATION
DES TEXTES ARAMÉENS DE QUMRÂN

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Les compositions araméennes de Qumrân appartiennent chronologiquement à la phase dite de l'Araméen Moyen de type occidental selon le classement de Joseph Fitzmyer¹. Cet araméen littéraire est riche en innovations et se distingue de l'araméen d'empire (AO) de l'époque perse (de 525 à 330 avant notre ère) par de nombreux traits dans tous les domaines de la grammaire, et plus particulièrement aux niveaux phonologique, graphique et morphologique. Il s'agit d'une langue en pleine transition, propre à un groupe ethno-religieux, annonçant le judéo-araméen tardif que Steven Fassberg appelle à juste titre « Standard Jewish Literary Aramaic »². Certains traits lui sont d'ailleurs tout à fait propres, tels les suffixes longs³ et la distinction entre formes verbales 3^e pers. masc. et sing. au Ketiv.

Cependant on y trouve quelques vestiges archaïques que le copiste inattentif semble avoir oubliés, tels le pronom relatif יי, les démonstratifs זא, דך, דנא/דנה, le pronom personnel indépendant הו, formes caractéristiques de l'araméen d'Empire, mais qui connurent un changement en araméen moyen et tardif. Les changements consonantiques caractéristiques de l'Araméen Moyen (AM) incluent la mutation des interdentes, les passages de /h/ à /aleph/ et de /m/ > /n/. Il y a aussi des oublis

¹ Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *A Wandering Aramean. Collected Aramaic Essays* (California : Scholars Press, 1979), 61.

- AA Araméen ancien regroupant divers dialectes (du IX^e au VII^e siècle)
- AB Araméen biblique
- AE Araméen officiel (AO) des documents d'Égypte (-500 à 400)
- AM Araméen moyen = AO se divisant en dialectes (-200 à +200)
- AO Araméen officiel aussi Araméen d'Empire : Langue de communication internationale du VI^e au IV^e siècle avant notre ère, regroupant les époques pré-achéménide (-626 à -539) et achéménide (jusqu'à 332 avant notre ère)
- AQ Araméen de Qumrân
- AT Araméen tardif (+200 à 700)

² C'est une juste amélioration par rapport au terme "Standard literary aramaic" proposé par Jonas Greenfield. Voir ici : "Salient Features of the Verbal System".

³ Bien qu'ils ne soient pas tous inconnus des Targoums, ces formes sont exceptionnelles et influencées par l'hébreu.

du verbe הרה « être », préfixés de yod à l'inaccompli et non pas du lameth habituel. S'y ajoutent d'autres détails significatifs, comme l'emploi du prohibitif, la non-assimilation des verbes géminés, et la non-dissimilation des pharyngales.

On pourrait argumenter qu'il s'agit d'archaïsmes volontairement insérés. Mais à quoi cela aurait-il servi ? Et qui les aurait compris ? Aussi, l'exemple de 4Q*Enoch*⁸ [4Q212] avec hypercorrection de יז en די prouve le contraire.

Afin que l'on puisse mieux estimer l'importance des exceptions orthographiques et morphologiques que l'on trouve ci et là dans les textes araméens de Qumrân il me paraît indispensable de passer en revue les traits qui distinguent l'Araméen d'Empire plus ou moins standardisé (AO) et que l'on peut dater, puisque les textes sont le plus souvent datés ! L'interprétation des archaïsmes pour la datation d'éventuelles anciennes *Vorlagen* dépend d'une prise de conscience de ces changements consonantiques.

1. *Les changements consonantiques survenus en araméen depuis l'AA jusqu'à l'AQ*

Entre le VI^e et la fin du V^e siècle avant notre ère, à l'époque perse donc, une série de changements orthographiques est survenue en araméen. Les trois interdentes /d/, /z/ et /t/ sont désormais représentées par les dentales correspondantes /d/, /t/ et /t⁴/ et l'interdentale protosémitique *d est passée à une vélaire /g/ > /ǵ/, représentée par *'ayin*⁵. Ces changements orthographiques s'observent dans tout le monde araméophone de l'époque, en commençant par l'Égypte, pour se répandre vers l'est. En Palestine et en Asie Mineure en revanche, aux IV^e et III^e siècles, l'orthographe est encore hésitante et plus archaïque ou archaïsante. A Qumrân on trouve généralement l'orthographe post-achéménide, c'est-à-dire des dentales pour noter d'anciennes interdentes, mais on trouve très exceptionnellement un *t écrit avec shin, jamais un *d écrit avec

⁴ Trait caractéristique de l'orthographe arabe.

⁵ Une prononciation locale a peut-être été élevée au rang de prononciation standard, ou bien il s'agit d'une réforme de l'orthographe, imposée par la chancellerie, pour mettre en évidence la singularité de l'orthographe (plutôt que de la prononciation) araméenne par rapport à celle des Phéniciens, Hébreux et autres, avec lesquels les araméophones partageaient l'emploi des sifflantes dans l'écriture, mais prononçaient des interdentes. Dans ce cas, le changement graphique aurait précédé la mutation phonétique ; il l'aurait provoquée et/ou accélérée.

qof, mais par contre on trouve plusieurs exemples de *d écrit avec zayin, généralement dans les pronoms.

Tableau 1

PS	AA	A0	AM	valeur phonétique en AM
* <u>h</u>	ה	א, ה	א, ה	confusion par amuïssement
* <u>d</u>	ק	ק, ע	ע	ǵ > ʿ
* <u>d</u>	ז	ז, ד	ד (ד)	d
* <u>t</u>	ש	ת	ת	t
* <u>z</u>	צ	ט	ט	ʔ
* <u>m</u>	מ	נ, מ	נ, מ	confusion par nasalisation ? m > n

a) La mutation des interdentesles *d et *t

*d : Dans les dialectes anciens de l'araméen, l'interdentale protosémitique *d est exclusivement représentée par la lettre⁶. L'écriture de *d au moyen de la dentale correspondante /d/, est pour la première fois attestée dans deux lettres d'Hermopolis avec כדי « lorsque » dans TAD A2.5, et דה « celle-ci » dans TAD A2.5,7⁷. Dans les documents d'Éléphantine du V^e et IV^e siècle, l'interdentale *d est généralement représentée par ד, avec quelques précurseurs en ד; le plus ancien exemple daté est למאחד « pour saisir », qui se trouve dans le contrat TAD B4.4,17 de 483 avant n. ère.

En araméen biblique *d est déjà passée ou a été modernisée en ד, tout comme généralement dans les mss araméens de Qumrân et en araméen tardif. Alors que les documents archaïsants du ouadi Daliyéh du IV^e

⁶ S. Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik mit Bibliographie, Chrestomathie und Glossar* (Leipzig : VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1975), § 3.2.3.7.4. Le phonème qui correspond à l'arabe ǵ a d'abord vraisemblablement connu la mutation graphique, qui débuta fin VI^e siècle avant notre ère : *ǵ > z > d, ce qui semble avoir entraîné ou favorisé la mutation phonétique, close à la fin du Ve siècle ou au courant du IV^e siècle : *ǵ > d > d. Voir U. Schattner-Rieser, *L'araméen des manuscrits de la mer Morte. Analyse phonétique et grammaticale, diachronique et comparée* (Thèse de l'EPHE, 2001, basée sur mon doctorat de 1998).

⁷ L'existence d'un contingent de mercenaires syriens à Hermopolis est documentée depuis le VI^e siècle. Les huit lettres d'Hermopolis dateraient de la fin du VI^e ou du début du V^e siècle avant notre ère ; d'après les innovations כדי, דה et עמר < קמר < *dmr (TAD A2.2,7 et A2.2,9), on les situerait plutôt au V^e siècle.

siècle emploient toujours /z/ à une exception près⁸. Il est d'ailleurs intéressant de constater que l'apparition de l'orthographe avec 𐤆 apparaît côte à côte avec l'ancienne orthographe, comme si pour des raisons didactiques on préparait des scribes à un changement d'écriture⁹.

Tableau 2

PS	Phonème	Période	Graphème
* <i>d̥</i>	<i>d̥</i>	AA	z
	<i>d̥</i> > <i>d</i>	AO	z > d
	<i>d</i>	AM	d

Puisque d'après les sources araméennes en caractères cunéiformes du deuxième siècle avant notre ère (le texte d'Uruk)¹⁰ et le papyrus Amherst 63¹¹ en démotique du IV^e siècle avant notre ère, l'ancienne interdente est toujours transcrite par une dentale, on peut en conclure que dès le IV^e siècle il n'y avait plus de friction et que le passage de **d̥*/>/d/, donc vers la prononciation dentale fut consommé. La prononciation n'était pas ou certainement plus /*d̥*/, même si le son existait encore localement sous l'influence des langues arabes, comme par exemple en na-

⁸ D. M. Gropp, "The Language of the Samaria Papyri: A Preliminary Study", *Maarav* 5–6 (1990): 169–187, en particulier 172. La seule occurrence avec /d/ se trouve dans le pronom démonstratif *dnh* (SP 1, 2).

⁹ Dans la lettre TAD A2.4 par exemple on a le relatif 𐤆 "que", mais aussi la conjonction 𐤆𐤀, "lorsque". Dans la lettre TAD A2.5 le pronom démonstratif féminin 𐤃 "celle-ci" est écrit avec *daleth*, alors que le pronom démonstratif masculin 𐤃𐤀 "celui-ci" est orthographié avec *zayin*. Dans un contrat à intérêts d'Éléphantine, daté de 456 avant notre ère (TAD B3.1), on lit à la ligne 6 : 𐤃𐤀 𐤃𐤀𐤁 "cet argent-ci", alors que la même expression s'écrit avec *daleth* à la ligne 21 : 𐤃𐤀 𐤃𐤀𐤁 "cet argent-ci", puis 𐤃𐤀 𐤃𐤀𐤁 "or et argent" à la ligne 9. Dans la Pétition des Juifs d'Éléphantine TAD A4.7, adressée au gouverneur de Judée Bagohi en 407 avant notre ère (à la suite d'une demande faite au samaritain Sanballat et ses fils), l'interdentale **d̥* est généralement écrite au moyen de la sifflante *zayin* 𐤆 "que", 𐤃𐤀 "or", 𐤃𐤀 "lorsque", mais elle est représentée par une dentale aux lignes 26 : 𐤃𐤀𐤃𐤀 "l'autel" et 28 : 𐤃𐤀𐤃𐤀 "sacrifices".

¹⁰ Voir C. H. Gordon, "The Aramaic Incantation in Cuneiform", *AfO* 12 (1937–39): 105–117. L'incantation d'Uruk du II^e siècle avant notre ère transcrit toujours **d̥* par *daleth*. Il est vrai que l'akkadien ne connaît pas de spirantes, mais si le phonème avait été spirantisé, le scribe aurait pu le marquer par *zayin*.

¹¹ Voir S. Vleeming et Jan W. Wesselius, "Betel the Saviour", *JEOL* 28 (1983–84): 110–140. Dans le texte littéraire du papyrus Amherst 63 en écriture démotique, l'interdentale est toujours transcrite par *daleth*. Il y a quelque raison de croire que le texte ait été copié directement d'une *Vorlage* en araméen¹¹, qui, au IV^e siècle, aurait alors exclusivement utilisé l'orthographe avec /d/! Voir Vleeming et Wesselius, "Betel", 26.

batéen¹². Mais même là, il s'agit plutôt d'une orthographe historique et stéréotypée, car l'orthographe avec /z/ se limite aux mots usités *zy*, *znh*, *zk*, *zhh* et *zkyr*.

Que l'écriture avec /z/ appartienne indubitablement au style officiel est démontré par les deux occurrences de זנה dans une inscription du Mont Garizim du II^e siècle avant notre ère¹³. À Murabba'ât il y a quelques exemples de זנה (Mur 62 et Mur 72)¹⁴. Dans les textes littéraires de Qumrân on trouve aussi quelques occurrences de זי, mais, à mon avis, il s'agit là plutôt d'archaïsmes oubliés. On trouve encore des vestiges de la graphie archaïsante avec /ʔ/ dans quelques textes non littéraires et à caractère officiel de la Palestine du II^e siècle de notre ère du Naḥal Hever et de Murabba'ât¹⁵ et dans tous les dialectes araméens tardifs, tel le nabatéen et le mandéen, qui alterne /z/ et /d/¹⁶.

*ʔ: La mutation de l'interdentale *ʔ > /t/ qui correspond étymologiquement au ʔ arabe se situe vers la fin du VI^e siècle avant notre ère¹⁷. En araméen d'empire d'Égypte¹⁸, on ne trouve plus que deux fois l'orthographe avec /š/ dans le mot ʔnšth « sa femme » dans deux lettres d'Hermopolis (TAD A2.1, 14 et TAD A2.4, 3).

Partout ailleurs on trouve /t/: הריב « de nouveau » (TAD B7.1, 5), התיב « il retourna » (TAD B2.9, 7), תור « taureau » (TAD A4.1, 10) et אנתחה « la femme ».

¹² J. Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen. Notions générales, écriture, grammaire* (Paris : Leroux, 1930), 1:42.

¹³ Voir J. Naveh, "Scripts and Inscriptions in Ancient Samaria", *IEJ* 48 (1998): 91–100, en particulier 94.

¹⁴ J. T. Milik, *DJD II*, 295.

¹⁵ S. Segert, "Zur Orthographie und Sprache der aramäischen Texte von Wadi Murabba'at", *ArOr* 31 (1963): 122–137, en particulier 130.

¹⁶ R. Macuch, *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic* (Berlin : Walter De Gruyter, 1965), 66–67.

¹⁷ En AA le phonème /t/ est généralement représenté par la lettre *shin* laquelle se prononça [ʃ], par exemple *yšb* "s'installer", *šbr* "détruire", *lyš* "il n'y a pas", *šwrh* "vache", etc. Le texte de Tell Fekheriyé est le seul document connu, qui représente l'interdentale par un *samekh*, par ex. *yšb* "s'installer", *šr* "riche", etc. (voir R. Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik der Inschriften des 10.–8. Jh.* [Wiesbaden : Franz Steiner Verlag, 1969], 35). Mais l'influence akkadienne y est sûrement pour quelque chose, car dans cette langue les sifflantes s'échangent facilement faute d'écriture adaptée. Dans tous les cas il faut y voir seulement une représentation graphique différente ; voir R. Garr, *Dialect Geography of Syria–Palestine, 1000–586 B.C.* (Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 29. Voir aussi U. Schattner-Rieser, *Analyse phonétique et grammaticale, Diachronique et comparée*, 89s.

¹⁸ M. L. Folmer, *The Aramaic Language in the Achaemenid Period: A Study in Linguistic Variation* (Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta 68 ; Leuven : Peeters, 1995), 70–74.

Cependant on continua à utiliser l'orthographe avec shin de manière stéréotypée pour désigner l'unité d'un sièle = שֵׁקֶל, abrégé en *š*. À partir du V^e siècle avant notre ère on ne trouve plus que la graphie avec /t/ pour l'ancien **š*, ce qui correspond probablement à la prononciation réelle du phonème. En AM et donc en AQ, il y a peu d'occurrences de l'orthographe avec shin : בהשתא « honte » 4QEnoch^s (4Q212) ; תשוב « elle retournera » 11QTargumJob et le toponyme אשור au lieu de אתור « Assour » (1QapGen XVII 8), mais ici il s'agit plutôt d'hébraïsmes que d'archaïsmes¹⁹. Dans tous les dialectes tardifs, du nabatéen, palmyrénien, hatréen, syriaque, mandéen au judéo-araméen tardif, le graphème /t/ < **š* correspond au phonème [t].

Tableau 3

PS	Phonème	Période	Graphème
* <i>š</i>	<i>š</i>	AA	<i>š</i>
	<i>t</i> rare: <i>š</i>	AO	<i>t</i> rare: <i>š</i>
	<i>t</i>	AM	<i>t</i>

b) L'amuissement de ה > א

Bien qu'exceptionnel en AA, un aleph initial pouvait s'affaiblir et tomber, comme dans *hd* « un » < *ʔhd*. En AE, tout comme en AB²⁰, à Qumrân et dans les dialectes araméens postérieurs, la quiescence du aleph concerne toutes les positions dans un mot : à l'initiale, au milieu et en fin de mot. Le hé était aussi quiescent mais seulement à l'initiale et en finale, autrement il n'y aurait pas eu d'échanges dans les préformantes Aph'el, Ithpe'al et Ithpa'al.

La suppression du /h/ intervocalique de l'inaccompli, infinitif et participe Aph'el a transité par le passage à aleph, c'est-à-dire que la quiescence a été conditionnée par le passage de /h/ > /ʔ/ > Ø de l'accompli.

Dans les écrits de Qumrân la quiescence des lettres aleph et hé est à l'origine de nombreux échanges et de confusions à l'initiale des conjugaisons H/Aph'el, H/Ithpe'al et H/Ithpa'al et en fin de mot (état emphatique, état absolu féminin, verbes Lamedh-Aleph/Hé). En règle générale, le ה quiescent s'est affaibli en aleph avant de disparaître.

¹⁹ S. Fassberg, "Hebraisms in the Aramaic documents from Qumran", dans *Studies in Qumran Aramaic* (dir. par T. Muraoka ; Abr Nahrain Supplement Series 3 ; Leuven : Peeters, 1992), 48–69, 58.

²⁰ F. Rosenthal, *Grammaire d'Araméen Biblique* (Paris : Beauchesne, 1988), 26.

c) *Changement des nasales* נ > ן²¹

Ce phénomène phonologique serait dû à la nasalisation²² de la voyelle qui précède un /m/ ou un /n/ final ce qui entraîne ensuite la confusion de deux phonèmes nasaux en fin de mot : l'occlusive bilabiale /m/ et l'apico-dentale /n/. En araméen cette confusion ne se trouve jamais à l'initiale.

Une caractéristique de l'araméen est la nunation de la finale des noms au pluriel ou au duel. Il s'agit là d'un trait commun à l'arabe et au moabite, tandis qu'en nord-ouest sémitique (hébreu, ougaritique, phénicien)²³, la mimation est la règle.

En AA le changement de /m/ étymologique > /n/ est attesté à Deir Allah et à Sfiré, où la conjonction « si » est orthographiée הן et non pas מה²⁴.

²¹ La confusion des labiales et nasales est commune à l'araméen, à l'hébreu et au phénicien. En phénicien : *bm* “fils” au lieu de *bn* ; *dm* “seigneur” au lieu de *dn* ou dans les noms propres *B'ḥnn* au lieu de *B'ḥmn* (CIS 477, 3) et *Bdnlqrt* au lieu de *Bdmlqrt* (CIS 3768). En hébreu biblique les cas d'échanges sont rares : on les trouve dans un petit nombre de mots de l'époque postexilique (voir M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaïsmen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch* (BZAW 96 ; Berlin : A. Töpelmann, 1966), 135 ; U. Schattner-Rieser, “L'Hébreu postexilique”, dans *La Palestine à l'époque perse* [dir. par E. M. Laperrousaz et A. Lemaire ; Paris : Cerf, 1994], 189–224, en particulier 205), toujours en position finale, par ex. מְלִכִּין “rois” en Pr 31:3 ; חַיִּין “vie” en Jb 24:22 ; חֲטִיין “blé” en Ez 4:9 ; etc. Il peut s'agir d'une interférence avec l'araméen. En hébreu mishnique et post-biblique la confusion est courante, par exemple לשם “langue” au lieu de לשן ; אדם “homme” au lieu de אדם (voir M. H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* [Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1927], §54 ; E. Y. Kutscher, “Mishnaic Hebrew”, dans *Encyclopaedia Judaica* [Jerusalem : Keter, 1971], 16:1593, 1595–96, 1598–99 ; idem, *Studies in Galilean Aramaic* (dir. par M. Sokoloff ; Ramat Gan : Bar-Ilan University, 1976), 19–20. Elle est aussi un phénomène commun en hébreu et araméen samaritains (voir R. Macuch, *Grammatik des samaritanischen Aramäisch* [Berlin : Walter De Gruyter, 1982], 294–295) où la confusion des nasales et en particulier le changement de /m/ > /n/ en position finale. est fréquente : *dm* > *dn* “homme”, *hm* > *hn* “ils”, la marque du pluriel masc. *-ym* > *-yn*.

²² Voir E. Y. Kutscher, “The language of the Genesis Apocryphon: A preliminary Study”, *ScrHier* 4 (1957–58) : 23–24 : la nasalisation est prouvée par l'emploi indifférent de /n/ ou /m/ dans des transcriptions grecques de la LXX ; voir le nom de lieu Siloé, est rendu par Silwa–Silwam dans le Nouveau Testament et des LXX, mais Silwam et Silwan chez Josèphe. L'échange de n/m est fréquent en hébreu qumrânien, en mishnique, en hébreu et araméen samaritains.

²³ De même en akkadien et certains dialectes sud-arabiques, voir S. Moscati et al., *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages. Phonology and Morphology* (Wiesbaden : Harrassowitz, 1964), 99.

²⁴ J. Tropper, *Nekromantie: Totenbefragung im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament* (Kevelaer : Butzon & Bercker, 1989), 303 ; Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik*, 63.

En AO des documents d'Égypte de la fin de l'époque achéménide et du début de l'époque hellénistique (début IV^e siècle) le passage de /m/ > /n/ s'étend aux pronoms suffixes des deuxième et troisième pers. plur.²⁵ : *-km* > *-kwn*; *-hm* > *-hwn*, aux pronoms indépendants : *'ntm* > *'ntwn*; *hmw* > *'nwn*; aux finales de l'accompli : *-tm* > *-twn* et au démonstratif *zkm* > *dkn* « celui-ci »; à la particule conditionnelle *'m* > *'n* « si ». Tous ces exemples s'écrivaient avec /m/ en araméen ancien.

En AM, donc aussi à Qumrân, le processus est quasiment terminé, et il est à l'origine de la confusion, puis de la substitution de /m/ par /n/²⁶. La nunation²⁷ connaît une extension considérable et devient un phénomène courant de toutes les parties du discours. Elle se trouve généralement dans l'affixation d'un /n/ aux pronoms qumrâniens: אַנּוּן ; דַּנּוּן ; aux particules כַּמֶּן תַּמֶּן... et aux noms propres se terminant par une voyelle, qui est une autre caractéristique de l'époque²⁸.

La nasalisation n'a pas seulement causé l'affixation d'un nun, par exemple dans le nom propre הַזִּיקִין < הַזִּיקִיה (Mas 386) mais elle a aussi causé l'apocope d'un nun étymologique, comme nous pouvons le cons-

²⁵ T. Muraoka et B. Porten, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic* (Leiden : Brill, 1998), 26.

²⁶ L'affaiblissement/confusion du /m/ final > /n/ a influencé ensuite le changement de /m/ à /n/ à l'intérieur d'un mot. D'abord le /m/ final disparaît en faveur du /n/, par exemple le pronom suffixe de la 3^e pers. masc. plur. *-hm* > *-hn* ; puis, de là, extension de cette préférence pour le /n/ aussi en position médiane, par exemple le pronom indépendant *hmw(n)* > *hnwn* / *'nwn*. Voir E. M. Cook, "Qumran Aramaic and Aramaic Dialectology", dans *Studies in Qumran Aramaic*, 10. Pour l'échange de m/n en judéo-araméen, voir G. Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch, nach den Idiomen des palästinischen Talmud, des Onkelostargum und Prophetentargum und der jerusalemischen Targume. Aramäische Dialektproben* (2^e éd. ; Leipzig : Hinrichs. 1905), 102–103 ; Kutscher, *Studies*, 58–66. Pour n/m en nabatéen et palmyrénien (*tnn*, *md'n* "quelque chose"), voir K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer, samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairoer Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten Zitaten* (Göttingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 81, 149, 418–419.

²⁷ Pour la *nunation* voir J. Margain, "À propos des voyelles de transition en samaritain", *GLECS* 24–28 (1979–1984) : 85–89.

²⁸ Voir Kutscher, "The language of the Genesis Apocryphon", 23–24. Voir *Mariam* à *Marian* et ultérieurement à *Maria/Maria* avec chute du /n/ final, considéré comme épen-thétique (accusatif grec) ; Kutscher, *Studies in Galilean Aramaic*, 61. La forme *mryn* est attestée dans le Tg samaritain Nb 26:59 et sur plusieurs ossuaires et amulettes (Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer*, 736). Voir Margain, "A propos des voyelles de transition", 81–84. Le /m/ final dans עוֹמְרִים "Gomorrhe" (1QApGen XXI 24.32) s'explique aussi par la nasalisation de la voyelle, causant l'affixation d'une consonne nasale.

tater dans l'orthographe du nom propre יוהנהי/והנא < יוהנן dans les archives de Babatha (5/6 HēvBA 14, 45 ; 15, 38...)²⁹.

2. Archaïsmes dans les manuscrits araméens de Qumrân

a) Les pronoms archaïques en AQ

- a. הו, הי, הוּן : Les pronoms personnels indépendants masc. sing. et fém. sing. s'écrivent généralement הוּא et היא dans les manuscrits de Qumrân et les formes הו et הי sont des grandes exceptions. En effet il n'y a que deux occurrences de הו, dans l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* XX 29 et 4Q550c 7+7a 1 (*Proto-Esther*). L'orthographe avec aleph, qui suit waw et yodh est une caractéristique du judéo-araméen (tout comme en hébreu). Aucun autre dialecte araméen, excepté l'araméen samaritain³⁰, mais qui lui aussi emploie fréquemment הו et הי, n'utilise la forme longue. En AE l'écriture est toujours הו et הי³¹. La 2^e pers. masc. sing. est אנתה, l'ancienne écriture אנת (AA, AE) ne se trouve plus que trois fois dans 4QDaniel^{a32}, alors qu'en araméen biblique le Ketiv du pronom est אנתה, exactement comme à Qumrân, avec cependant un Qéré en ^ʿant. La 3^e pers. du masc. plur. à Qumrân est généralement אנון, avec de rares exceptions en הוּן, que l'on trouve dans 4QPrière de Nabonide (4Q242 4 1), 4QDaniel^a (4Q112 3 ii–6 2, Dn 2:34) et trois fois dans 11QTargumJob (XXV 2, XXVIII 2, XXXIV 9) ; alors qu'en AA et AE les formes employées sont הם et הוּ. En AB les formes anciennes הוּן, הוּ, côtoient le récent אנון attesté dans le livre de Daniel.
- b. זא, דנה/א, אלה, זא : Le pronom démonstratif masc. sg. est דן, forme déféctive qui annonce le tardif דין. La forme longue דנה /denâ/ que l'on connaît de l'AB et qui est la forme évoluée de זנה de l'AE, se trouve plusieurs fois à Qumrân³³ à côté du courant, trois fois orthographié דנא.

²⁹ Y. Yadin et J. C. Greenfield, "Babatha's Ketubba", *IEJ* 44 (1994): 75–101.

³⁰ R. Macuch, *Grammar of Samaritan Aramaic*.

³¹ En AA הוא.

³² Voir U. Schattner-Rieser, *L'araméen des manuscrits de la mer Morte. I. Grammaire*, 52.

³³ Voir ici. note 9 supra.

26 exemples de דנה/דנא dans 16 textes: 1Q20, 4Q214, 4Q243, 4Q346, 4Q531, 4Q537, 4Q541, (4Q548), 4Q549, 4Q550, 4Q551, 4Q556, 4Q559, 4Q562, 4Q570 et 11Q10. Le pronom démonstratif proche fém. sing. זא est une seule fois attesté avec /z/ comme en AE, 4Q530 2 ii+6–12 1 contre une cinquantaine d'exemples en דא/דא. Signalons encore le cas du plur. אלה « ceux » de 4Q536 2 ii 12.

- c. דך, דכן: Les pronoms démonstratifs à élément déictique /k/ sont exceptionnels à Qumrân, alors qu'ils sont courants en AB (דך et דכן) et en AE sous la forme דך.

Dans les textes de Qumrân, la série des pronoms démonstratifs lointains à élément /k/ a quasiment disparu³⁴ ; le déictique דך « celui-là » paraît comme un « oubli » dans 4Q556a 5 i 13, 4Q558 135 1 et דך מלכא de 4Q533 3 15 (4QEnGiants^e ou Pseudo-Hénoch).

Si dans le cas de מלכא דכא de 5Q15 (5QNouvelle Jérusalem) 1 ii 10 il s'agit bien d'un démonstratif, il viendrait confirmer l'authenticité d'une telle forme dans un cas douteux d'AE³⁵. La forme דכן (AB + AE זכם) est limitée à une unique occurrence dans le texte de Daniel 2:31 en 4Q112 3 i+17 16.

- d. זי: Le pronom relatif s'écrit généralement זי à Qumrân, mais la forme évoluée די est bien documentée. La forme caractéristique de l'Araméen d'Empire d'époque perse et hellénistique זי se trouve ci et là dans les textes qumrâniens. Le pronom démonstratif proche fém. sg. est rare à Qumrân, mais généralement écrit דא/דא comme en AB, à l'exception d'un cas unique de זא. Dans les mss de Qumrân il y a au moins 5 occurrences de זי, peut-être même 6, et je pense que l'on peut en tirer la conclusion que les originaux des textes qui les contiennent remontent au IV^e siècle avant notre ère. Les voici : 4Q206 4 ii 13 ; 4 iii 16 ; 4Q213a 3–4 5 ; 4Q530 2 ii+6–12 1 ; 4Q536 2 i+3 4 ; et sous réserve 4Q489 1 1.

³⁴ Voir F. Rosenthal, *Grammaire d'araméen biblique* (Paris : Beauchesne, 1988), 36.

³⁵ Voir Muraoka et Porten, *Egyptian Grammar*, 57 et note 275. Seulement, en AE דכא est classée sous les démonstratifs fém. sg., alors que dans notre cas le substantif est masculin (on devrait avoir מלכתא). Dans le cas contraire il pourrait s'agir d'une forme hybride fautive de דנה et דך ou bien tout simplement de l'adjectif "pur".

b) *Le verbe « être »*

- e. הוה « être » : Le préfixe du verbe « être » est le seul à être préfixé de ל- et de ce fait, il paraît évident que ce fut fait pour des raisons théologiques³⁶. Il s'agit d'une caractéristique du juéo-araméen littéraire typique de l'AB et de l'AQ, que l'on trouve en dehors de Qumrân exceptionnellement dans un acte de divorce et un acte de mariage juifs de Murabba'at³⁷. On trouve cependant quelques formes avec yod : יהוה dans 1Q21 11 1 (1QLévi); יהוה dans 4Q546 13 4 (4QAmram) et la 3^e pers. fém. pl. יהוין dans 4Q580 1 ii 7, alors que dans les 60 autres occurrences, le verbe est toujours préfixé avec lamedh (24x להוון; 20x להוה; 12x להוה; 2 ou 3x להוין).

c) *La non-dissimilation des pharyngales* : עע « bois », ערע « rencontrer » et לעבע « immédiatement » < *q³⁸

- f. Les textes araméens de Qumrân nous ont fourni quelques chaînons manquants impliquant *q, orthographié avec ק en AA et qui a connu le changement vers > ע en AE. Le mot bois s'écrit עק en AA et AE, puis אע en AT. M. Folmer, dans une étude minutieuse, remarque qu'à partir de 471 avant notre ère *q commence à être remplacé par 'ayin, mais que les écritures historiques avec /q/ se poursuivent³⁹. Les occurrences de עע⁴⁰ sont : 4Q214b 2-6 3 et 5 ; 4Q196 18 8 ([עע]יהא) ; 4Q554 2 ii 15 ; 4Q558 69 1 ; 70 2 ; 6Q8 3 2 ; לעבע : 1Q20 XX 9 ; 4Q544 1 3 ; 4Q545 1a-b ii 17 (reconstruit dans le texte parallèle 4Q546 2 2).

d) *Autres caractéristiques traduisant une certaine ancienneté*

- g. Quiescence et échange de א et ה : bien que les lettres א et ה se confondent dès l'AO, il est certain que le maintien du /h/ à

³⁶ Cela n'a rien à voir avec le préfixe général de la 3^e pers. en AT talmudique.

³⁷ J. T. Milik, *DJD II*, 294.

³⁸ U. Schattner-Rieser, "Note sur *q et la (non-)dissimilation des pharyngales en araméen. À propos d'un chaînon manquant découvert à Qumrân", dans *Etudes sémitiques et samaritaines offertes à Jean Margain* (dir. par C.-B. Amphoux, A. Frey, U. Schattner-Rieser ; Lausanne : Editions du Zèbre, 1998), 95-100.

³⁹ Ainsi l'orthographe d'un certain Mauwziah bar Nathan est plus archaïque que celle de son père. Voir Folmer, *The Aramaic Language in the Achaemenid Period*, 65.

⁴⁰ On trouve l'orthographe אע dans 4Q211 1 i 3.

l'initiale des conjugaisons Haphel, Hithpeel et Hithpaal et d'un ה intervocalique dans les participes Haphel surtout, est à considérer comme une caractéristique archaïque (plutôt que archaïsante), qui disparaît aussi en AB. Mais il convient de signaler que le *Document araméen de Lévi* de la Guénizah du Caire (CTL) conserve cet archaïsme, contre la version qumrânienne ! On pourrait encore mentionner la particule conditionnelle הן au lieu du plus courant הן en AQ.

- h. L'emploi du prohibitif אל, particule habituellement employée en AO, qui est abandonnée au profit de la simple négation לא en AM et AT, témoigne aussi de la continuité ou de la conservation d'un archaïsme.
- i. L'orthographe historique des ע"ע avec non-assimilation de la seconde consonne, n'est attesté que trois fois : עללין dans 11Q18 (*Nouvelle Jérusalem*), 4Q209 (*Livre astronomique d'Hénoch*) 23 5 et 4Q197 (Tobit) 4 ii 8.

L'orthographe des textes de Qumrân correspond généralement au Qéré de l'araméen biblique⁴¹ avec assimilation réelle de la seconde consonne, lorsqu'elle est dépourvue de voyelle⁴² : עלת « je suis entré », *Apocryphe de la Genèse* II 3 ; עלו « ils sont entrés », 1QEnGiants^a (1Q23 77 1) ; בזו « ils ont pillé », *Apocryphe de la Genèse* XXII 11 ; alors que la tradition massorétique a conservé le témoignage d'un état jadis dissocié, par exemple עללת « elle est entrée », Dn 5:10, prononcé [ʿalʿlat] < [ʿalalat] à une date ancienne, avec au moins un *sh^hva* moyen après une voyelle brève, et non pas [allat] comme l'indique le Qéré de l'AB, attesté par exemple pour la 1ère pers. du sing. vocalisé en עללת. D'après l'AO d'Égypte l'assimilation est documentée dès le V^e siècle avant notre ère⁴³.

- j. Le schème qutul : Le maintien de la première voyelle du schème *qutul est le dernier archaïsme que nous ajoutons ici dans cette

⁴¹ Tandis que le *K^etiv* reflète un stade plus archaïque. La situation linguistique de l'araméen de certains manuscrits de la mer Morte correspond au même état de langue auquel appartient le texte d'Uruk du II^e siècle avant notre ère ; voir C. H. Gordon, "The Aramaic incantation in Cuneiform", *AfO* 12 (1937–39): 105–117, spéc. 115 ; A. Dupont-Sommer, "La tablette cunéiforme araméenne de Warka", *RA* 39 (1942–44): 35–62 et la transcription *ḥa-al-lī-tu* = עללת, aux lignes 4 et 29.

⁴² Contrairement à Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik*, 282, nous ne pensons pas que cette orthographe reflète un moyen de rendre la gémination.

⁴³ Muraoka et Porten, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic*, 133.

sélection, bien qu'il ne soit pas datable. Ce schème aboutit dans tous les cas à **q̄tol* en AB et AT.

3. Accumulation d'archaïsmes dans certains écrits

a) *Le Livre d'Hénoch et la littérature apparentée (4Q206, 4Q209, 4Q211, 4Q212, 4Q530)*

Les différents livres qui composent le *Livre d'Hénoch* accumulent un bon nombre d'archaïsmes. On trouve au moins 3, peut-être 4 occurrences du relatif זי dans deux manuscrits différents : 4QEnoch^c (4Q206) 4 ii 13 ; 4 iii 16 et 4QEnoch^s (4Q212) 1 iii 25 et sous réserve v 17.

Dans 4Q206 le copiste a tout simplement copié la *Vorlage* ancienne et négligé de moderniser ces occurrences. Dans 4Q212 1 iii 25 le scribe a d'abord écrit זי puis l'a corrigé en די.⁴⁴

Les deux manuscrits, 4QEnoch^c (4Q206) qui contient le premier et le quatrième livres d'Hénoch et 4QEnoch^s (4Q212) qui contient l'Épître d'Hénoch (*l Hén.* 91–105), sont datés paléographiquement du I^{er} siècle avant notre ère par Milik⁴⁵. Outre les pronoms זי on remarquera que l'orthographe du manuscrit 4QEnoch^c est relativement déficiente et que aleph et śin étymologiques sont maintenus : שכירי en 4 ii 2 ; שמוקא « (mer) rouge » en 1 xxvi 20. Il y a autant de conjugaisons verbales à préformante ה־ (hophal et hitpeel) qu'avec aleph.

Le manuscrit 4QEnoch^s contient outre le pronom זי d'autres archaïsmes : l'écriture avec ש pour protosémitique *š dans le substantif fém. sg. ét. emph. בהשתא pour בהתתא « honte » < בוש de 4QEnoch^s 1 ii 25 ; le maintien de *ś dans שגי « beaucoup » en iv 25 ; et la *scriptio defectiva* כל קשט, etc. Milik remarque que “the scribe must have been very tired, to judge from numerous errors and corrections... The orthography of En^s is relatively archaic; the scribe was fairly discreet, though also inconsistent, in his modernization of the orthography of exemplar.”⁴⁶

Au niveau lexicographique, mais conditionné par la phonétique, on peut citer le verbe זרהין « lever (du soleil), briller » et le substantif מזרה

⁴⁴ Voir J. T. Milik et M. Black, *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1976), 246 ; M. G. J. Abegg, *Qumran Sectarian Manuscripts* (Bellingham, WA : Logos Research Systems, Inc., 2003).

⁴⁵ Milik et Black, *Books of Enoch*, 5.

⁴⁶ Milik et Black, *Books of Enoch*, 246.

« lever du soleil à l'est » dans 4QEnastr^b (4Q209) 23 7. La racine **drh* « briller » est normalement orthographiée דנה en AQ, les exemples de ⁴⁷דנה avec remplacement de l'interdentale par une dentale, et échange des liquides /r/ et /n/. Les exemples de 4QEnastr^b sont ou bien des hébraïsmes ou bien des archaïsmes oubliés. Une autre caractéristique ancienne est la non-assimilation dans עללין en 4Q209 23 5. Dans 4QEnastr^d (4Q211) 1 i 3 se trouve le mot עא « bois ».

Le schème *qu^l avec maintien de la première voyelle primitive est bien documenté pour le mot קושט « vérité, justice », par exemple dans 4QEn^c (4Q204) 1 ii 7, etc.⁴⁸

Dans 4QEnastr^b 23 5.7 il y a l'orthographe historique et/ou par non-assimilation עללין.

De par sa thématique on peut ajouter les fragments du livre des Géants qui contient le démonstratif masc. sing. דנה en 4Q531 (4QEnGiants^c) 6 3, puis le relatif זי et le pronom démonstratif fém. sg. זא, corrigé de זמא dans la même ligne 4Q530 (4QEnGiants^b) 2 ii+6–12 1.

b) *Le Livre de Noé (4Q534–536)*

Les fragments intitulés « Livre de Noé » contiennent quelques archaïsmes, tel le maintien de la voyelle prétonique dans זועירן (« petites ») dans 4Q534 (4QElu de Dieu) 1 i 3 et le relatif זי dans 4Q536 (4QNoéc) 2 i+3 4.

c) *Le Document araméen de Lévi (1Q21, 4Q213–4Q214)*

Bien que l'araméen du *Document Araméen de Lévi* ait été fortement remanié⁴⁹, il y a des indices d'une origine ancienne et curieusement le document de la Génizah du Caire conserve davantage de caractéristiques typiques de l'AO que les fragments qumrâniens⁵⁰. Les fragments 4Q213–213a sont caractérisés par une écriture généralement défective :

⁴⁷ Attesté dans les aramaïsmes des archives de Muraššu, datés de la seconde moitié du 5^e siècle avant notre ère donc en Araméen d'Empire (Beyer, *Aramäische Texte*, 570) et transcrit en caractères akkadiens *za-ar-aḥ* ; voir Beyer, *Aramäische Texte*, 570.

⁴⁸ Pour plus d'exemples, voir Milik et Black, *Books of Enoch*, 392.

⁴⁹ Voir la *scriptio plena* dans יעקוב (4Q213a 2 12), le proclitique ד־ (4Q213a 1 15) < ד־.

⁵⁰ Comme le maintien du /h/ intervocalique au Haph'el (par exemple מהצלחין), alors que les fragments de Qumrân ne le font pas ; et le pronom démonstratif est דנא, alors qu'à Qumrân on a דן! Voir M. Stone et J. C. Greenfield, *DJD XXII*, 66.

קשט (4Q213 1 ii-2 8 ; 213a 1 12), לכן « à vous » (4Q213 1 i 5), מנכן (4Q213 1 ii-2 18) et עבדכן « vos actions » (4Q213 1 i 6), כל, עליכן etc., le maintien du *š et *ʿ étymologique : שימה « trésor » (4Q213 1 i 20 ; 1 ii-2 3), שגיא « nombreux » (4Q213 1 i 18), מאלף (4Q213 1 i 13). Parmi les éléments morphologiques citons : le démonstratif דנה dans 4Q214 2 8 ; le relatif זי dans 4Q213a 3-4 5 ; l'emploi du prohibitif avec אל (par exemple אל תמחלו de 4Q213 1 i 13 et אל יתחזי dans 4Q214 2 4) ; plusieurs occurrences du chaînon manquant עע « bois » (4Q214a 1 2 ; 4Q214b 2-6 i 3 et 5) alors que la copie de la Génizah du Caire a אע⁵¹ et le préfixe yod avec הוה « être » dans יהוה de 1Q21 11 1. L'orthographe avec /s/ pour *š dans l'exemple סיגרה « l'amandier » en 4Q214b 2-6 i 4⁵² est à considérer comme une isoglosse dialectale⁵³.

Nous signalons au passage que les fragments de 4Q213a ont été copiés par le même scribe que celui de 4QEnoch^b et que Milik les date paléographiquement du II^e siècle avant notre ère⁵⁴. Par ailleurs Milik propose une date bien plus ancienne pour le *Document Araméen de Lévi*, le III^e ou le IV^e siècle avant notre ère⁵⁵, voire le V^e siècle dans sa monographie non publiée.

d) La Prière de Nabonide (4Q242)

La prière de Nabonide est malheureusement trop courte et fragmentaire pour en tirer des conclusions approfondies. Le texte contient des archaïsmes évidents tels le pronom המון « ils » (4Q242 4 1), le relatif די (4Q242 1-3 1) et la particule comparative כמה « comment, combien » (4Q242 4 4), d'autre part le pronom de la 2^e pers. masc. sing. est אנתה « toi » comme partout ailleurs et on y rencontrerait l'exceptionnel « modernisme » אע « bois » (4Q242 4 8) avec dissimilation des gutturales, alors qu'ailleurs à Qumrân l'orthographe est עע.

e) L'Apocryphe de la Genèse (1Q20)

L'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* occupe une place spéciale parmi les textes de Qumrân. Il est non seulement le texte araméen le plus long, mais il contient plusieurs archaïsmes et en même temps il contient toutes les inno-

⁵¹ Voir Stone et Greenfield, *DJD XXII*, 66.

⁵² Voir Beyer, *Aramäische Texte*, 421.

⁵³ Il s'agirait d'un emprunt en araméen ; d'après l'ougaritique la racine serait **iqd*, ce qui donnerait en AM **iqd*. Voir Stone et Greenfield, *DJD XXII*, 63.

⁵⁴ Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 5.

⁵⁵ Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 24.

vations qui annoncent le judéo-araméen tardif des Targoums : les pronoms longs, les particules avec nunation : תמן et כמן. Parmi les archaïsmes on compte הו⁵⁶, דנה⁵⁷, די, כמה/א, puis la particule הן « si » à côté du tardif et plus fréquent אן, le schème qutul (קושט, סודום), le prohibitif avec אל et la locution לעובע « immédiatement » (1Q20 XX 9). Des formes verbales comme par exemple בעון et אתון (1Q20 XIX 15) annoncent en revanche la langue tardive. Il n'est pas anodin de trouver plus d'archaïsmes dans la première moitié du rouleau, qui est consacrée à l'histoire de Noé et semble être un récit qui reprend et développe un noyau ancien que l'on trouve dans *1 Hénoch* 106:18s et 4Q204 5 ii 22–30, proche de 4Q534 (4QElu de Dieu/Noé) 1 i 1–11. On peut reconnaître un substrat plus ancien qui a été remanié et adapté à l'évolution de la langue.

f) *Le Targum de Job (11Q10)*⁵⁸

Le Targum de Job contient les archaïsmes המון (XXV 2, XXXIV 9), דנה (XIX 1), la conjugaison passive préfixée de הת- prévaut sur les formes en את- ; en revanche il y a autant de formes causatives en ה- qu'en א-, les suffixes courts ou défectifs ת-, ה- et ך- ; la non-dissimilation des pharyngales dans לעבע (III 7) et peut-être le maintien de *l dans תשוב (XXXI 2) mais il pourrait s'agir autant d'un archaïsme que d'un hébraïsme. En somme le texte consonantique de 11QTargumJob est beaucoup plus proche de l'AB que de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse*.

g) *Le livre de Tobit*

Le livre de Tobit se compose de quatre fragments araméens (plus un autre en hébreu). Mais il y a des indices d'une provenance pouvant remonter jusqu'à l'époque perse, parmi lesquels on compte le prohibitif avec אל (4Q197 4 i 2–3, etc.) ; le haphel avec /h/ dans l'infinitif להוריה « pour louer » et le /h/ intervocalique dans le participe מהודה (4Q196 17 ii 3) ; le maintien du *s étymologique שגיא (4Q196 5 2, etc.) ; l'orthographe historique על־יין (4Q197 4 ii 8) avec le second /ל/ rajouté par le copiste ; le lexème עע[יתא] « bois » puis les emprunts à l'akkadien מסכך « pauvre » (4Q197 2 1) et au persan המרכלות « fi-

⁵⁶ 1Q20 XX 29.

⁵⁷ On le trouve cinq fois : en II 2.17, V 21, VII 8 et XX 30.

⁵⁸ Voir M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job from Qumran Cave XI* (Ramat-Gan : Bar-Ilan University, 1974), 1–24.

nances », המרכל « trésorier », שיזפן « administrateur », נפתניא « mets, délices » ; et des mots nouveaux comme פתור « table » et שרו « repas ».

h) *La Nouvelle Jérusalem (2Q24, 4Q554, 5Q15, 11Q18)*

Les fragments de la *Nouvelle Jérusalem* contiennent les archaïsmes suivants : la non-dissimilation des pharyngales dans עעיתא (4Q554 2 2), peut-être le démonstratif lointain דכא (5Q15 1 ii 10), le schème *qutl פותי « largeur » (5Q15 1 i 12) et סוחר « autour » (5Q15 1 i 1), le relatif די et l'orthographe historique du verbe עללין ע"ע (11Q18 15 3). Le texte contient aussi des mots nouveaux et des emprunts au persan : ר(א)ס « res, stade » (4Q554 1), פרוזיטא « bloc d'immeubles » (4Q554 1 ii 12.15), פנבר « près de » (2Q24 4 16) et à l'akkadien : שבק < *subqu* « passage, portique » (4Q554 1 ii 14), אסר < *asuppu* (5Q15 1 16–19). Il s'agit d'une langue en transition, puisque beaucoup de traits novateurs s'y trouvent, comme דן, la marque exceptionnelle du c.o.d. ית et le causatif Aphel au lieu de Haphel.

i) *Ecrits qui contiennent des archaïsmes isolés (liste non exhaustive)*

Dans 4QAmram (4Q546) 13 4 il y a le verbe « être » יהוון, dans 4QProto-Esther (4Q550c) 1 iii 1 le pronom הו « il », 1 iii 5 le démonstratif דנה, et des mots persans comme פתירזא, בגושי, בגסרו ; dans 4Q558 6 1 on trouve הי « elle » et dans 4Q541 13 3 on a le schème *qutl קושט.

Conclusion

L'examen diachronique de ces quelques particularités phonologiques et morphologiques montre que les anciennes formes אנת « toi », הו « il », המון « ils » et זי « que, quoi » abandonnées au profit des formes modernisées אנתה, הוא, אנון, די et ד, sont bien des cas isolés mais qu'ils peuvent nous fournir quelques indices sur l'âge des *Vorlagen* ou au moins sur le noyau de textes que les copistes ont eu sous les yeux, puisque les changements orthographiques sont datables d'après la comparaison avec l'AO et qu'ils peuvent remonter à l'époque perse, c'est-à-dire au moins au IV^e siècle avant notre ère, voire davantage, puisque les changements orthographiques ont lieu avant 400 avant notre ère. Il est évident qu'un archaïsme isolé dans un texte ne peut servir de critère de

datation⁵⁹, mais l'accumulation de plusieurs archaïsmes dans un même texte est à notre avis significative d'un texte bien plus ancien que l'âge paléographique. A notre avis, le *Livre d'Hénoch* et le *Document Araméen de Lévi* appartiennent à une strate ancienne regroupant la quasi-totalité des points a-j mentionnés dans la partie 2.

On pourrait avancer que les textes araméens de Murabba'at et du Naḥal Hever contiennent eux aussi certaines de ces caractéristiques et que l'argument de l'ancienneté n'est pas pertinent, mais ces documents ne contiennent que nos points a-d (et à deux exceptions près, le point e) et appliquent des formes stéréotypées ou formules transmises depuis l'AO, typiques du style de chancellerie.

Certains textes comme le livre de Tobit contiennent quelques orthographes relativement archaïsantes telles דַי, הַי, le prohibitif לֹא, la non-assimilation des צ"ע, mais dans l'ensemble la langue est tardive, ou, disons, bien modernisée. D'autres textes en revanche sont écrits dans un araméen tardif⁶⁰, réunissant toutes les caractéristiques spécifiques du judéo-araméen targoumique, comme par exemple le prototype du *Testament de Qahat*⁶¹ (4Q542) qui se distingue par une écriture pleine, des pronoms longs, l'amuïssement et la chute du /h/ intervocalique du haph'el à l'inaccompli et au participe....

Malgré une tendance à s'approcher de la langue des Targoums, la grande différence réside dans la quasi absence de la marque du c.o.d. (accusatif) תי⁶² si fréquent dans les Targoums, mais exprimé par לֹא dans les écrits de Qumrân, ce qui rapproche la langue de l'AB et de l'AE en général.

⁵⁹ Voir E. M. Cook, "The Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls", dans *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years* (dir. par P. W. Flint et J. C. Vanderkam ; Leiden : Brill, 1998), 1:362 (à propos de *§).

⁶⁰ Pour une comparaison de l'araméen de Qumrân avec l'Araméen Tardif, on se sert des particules, comme par exemple le pronom relatif qui est דַי dans le Targoum de Job de la grotte onze (copié vers 100 avant notre ère), donc équivalent à l'Araméen Biblique, mais דַי et דַי dans l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* qui annonce l'emploi de דַי en Araméen des Targoums. De même la particule conditionnelle "si" s'écrit הַי dans le Targoum de Job, comme le fait l'Araméen Biblique, mais הַי et הַי dans l'*Apocryphe* puis הַי dans les Targoums. Voir U. Schattner-Rieser, "Observations sur l'araméen de Qumrân : la question de l'araméen standard reconsidérée", dans *J. T. Milik et le cinquantenaire de la découverte des manuscrits de la mer Morte* (dir. par D. Dlugosz ; Actes de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences à Paris ; Krakovie : Enigma Press, 2001), 51-63.

⁶¹ Schattner-Rieser, *Textes araméens*, 98.

⁶² On la trouve avec certitude dans 11QTgJob XXXV 9 ; XXXIV 9, dans 4QNJ (4Q554) 1 iii 14 et 4Q554a 1 13 et 4Q559. Voir Schattner-Rieser, "Observations sur l'araméen de Qumrân", 53 et note 27.

Que l'araméen des manuscrits de Qumrân ait été de type littéraire, et non pas un vernaculaire parlé, est prouvé par l'araméen des textes trouvés dans le Nahal Ḥever et du Wadi Murabba'at, qui contiennent des formes vernaculaires malgré un style épistolaire archaïque⁶³. Le caractère profane des écrits araméens de Qumrân, en dépit de leur lien avec la littérature biblique, est démontré par le fait que l'on n'y écrit jamais le tétragramme et que, par respect pour le nom propre de Dieu, le verbe « être » à la troisième personne de l'inaccompli est précédé de la préformante lamedh comme en AB, alors que les Targoums ne respectent pas cette coutume⁶⁴.

RESPONSE: STEVEN FASSBERG

Ursula Schattner-Rieser's paper on the use of linguistic archaisms for dating Aramaic texts is a comprehensive and enlightening inventory of differences between certain phonological and morphological phenomena in Official Aramaic and the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls. Whereas some have focused on the affinities between the Dead Sea Scrolls and later Aramaic in order to highlight the origins of later Palestinian features, Schattner-Rieser has gone the other way concentrating on older Aramaic sources in order to point out the linguistic phenomena found in the Scrolls that date from an earlier Aramaic period. She does this convincingly through her use of dated Official Aramaic sources, and this enables her, among other things, to demonstrate on the basis of changing graphic representation of consonants, when consonantal sound changes took place, e.g., the shift of the uvular *qof* to the velar *'ayin*, or the interdental *ḡ* to the dental *d*.

In addition to isolating and presenting the phonological and morphological categories in which archaisms are found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, the paper also is important because of Schattner-Rieser's examination of the distribution of archaisms according to literary work. The combination of features and frequency presents researchers with a linguistic tool with which to attempt to date the composition of the works based on linguistic factors. Used together with literary and historical tools, it holds promise as a reliable yardstick for better determining the date of the compositions.

⁶³ Schattner-Rieser, "Observations sur l'araméen de Qumrân", 56–58.

⁶⁴ Voir Schattner-Rieser, "Observation sur l'araméen de Qumrân", 57.

The contributions of the paper to the on-going analysis of the Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls raise a question of methodology that merits consideration and discussion, namely, archaic vs. archaizing. It can be notoriously difficult to distinguish between what is a genuine archaism as opposed to what is deliberate archaizing on the part of an author or a scribe. Has the scribe merely copied, either on purpose or unthinkingly, what he has found in an older exemplar of a composition, or has he made a conscious decision to present a form that will create the impression of an older stage of the language and work? An archaic form is a genuine, authentic, old form that has survived from an earlier period. An archaizing form is artificial and a pseudo-classicism: it combines older and newer elements.

Schattner-Rieser writes: “On pourrait argumenter qu’il s’agit d’archaïsmes volontairement insérés. Mais à quoi cela aurait-il servi?” I am not sure that I fully agree with her on this point. The Hebrew Dead Sea Scrolls as well as other roughly contemporary literature, i.e., the late books of the Bible and Ben-Sira, are replete with what are best understood as deliberate attempts at archaizing. See, e.g., at Qumran the non-classical use of the lengthened imperfects in the first person, which are clearly no longer living forms (contra Qimron). Note also the study of Avi Hurvitz in the Samuel Iwry Festschrift, for example, where he compared the parallel poetic passages in 1 Samuel 2:1–10 and Psalm 113:5–9 in order to determine which of the two versions is the older.⁶⁵ His investigation demonstrated that some of the uses of the hireq compaginis, the relic of a case ending, in Psalm 113 are indeed archaic (on the participles מְקִימִי and מְוֹשִׁיבִי), but other uses of the phenomenon are unattested in Classical Biblical Hebrew and thus archaizing - the addition of an i-vowel to a participle with the definite article (הַמְגַבִּיּהִי for expected הַמְגַבִּיּה and הַמְשַׁפִּילִי instead of הַמְשַׁפִּיל) or the addition to an infinitive (לְהוֹשִׁיבִי for לְהוֹשִׁיב).

Since archaizing occurs in Hebrew texts of this period, I see no reason why it is not a possibility also for Aramaic texts. Authors and scribes may have deliberately sought to give their works an archaic flavor to order to make them look older and thus more prestigious. Thus, cannot

⁶⁵ A. Hurvitz, “Originals and Imitations in Biblical Poetry: A Comparative Examination of 1 Sam 2:1–10 and Ps 113:5–9”, dans *Biblical and Related Studies Presented to Samuel Iwry* (dir. par A. Kort et S. Morschauser ; Winona Lake : Eisenbrauns, 1985), 115–121.

one always rely on what looks at first blush to be archaic and not archaizing.

Another point related to the question of dating of texts and which may be of interest for general discussion is what, if anything, does the language of the Qumran Aramaic fragments of Biblical Aramaic teach us about the date of the composition of the Aramaic portions of the Masoretic text? Is the Aramaic of Qumran Daniel and the solitary fragment of Jeremiah Aramaic a linguistic modernization of an older language?

A cursory glance at the Qumran fragments reveals a mixed bag with regard to the Masoretic text. On the one hand, there are what could be argued to be forms that look older than the Masoretic text:

scriptio defectiva at Qumran as opposed to Masoretic plene spelling: חותא (Q) vs. חיתהא (MT) Dan 4:12; להם (Q) for להום (MT) Jer 10:11.

absence of nun in the noun “knowledge:” מדעה (Q) for מנדעה (MT) Dan 2:21 and ומנדע (MT) Dan 5:12.

Yet, on the other hand, there are forms that seem to reflect Aramaic contemporaneous or younger than that of the Masoretic text:

free fluctuation of *aleph* and *he* as final matres lectionis, in both directions, e.g., נחזה ענא (Q) vs. נחזא ענה (MT) Dan 2:4–5.

the nun-less form (to which was added a raised nun) in the 3 m pl. imperfect indicative : תאמרין (Q) for תאמרין (MT) Jer 10:11

There is also the metanalytic form הא-כדי Dan 2:43 ‘just as’ for היך די, which is replaced by a different syntagm altogether: די הכה (Q) ‘where’

DISCUSSION

Ursula Schattner-Rieser: Concerning archaizing: the example from the Enoch palimpsest shows clearly that the Qumranites used older texts which had been rewritten. Why should a scribe introduce an archaism? The example of a hypercorrection in an Enochic fragment from *zy* to *dy* proves the contrary. The scribe who copied an older *Vorlage* corrected himself afterwards, when he recognized that he copied an older form, no more in use at his time. I am convinced that the *Genesis Apocryphon* is composed from different sources. Although there is a general linguistic harmonization throughout the entire text, it seems to me that there are more archaic features in the first part of *Genesis Apocryphon*, but I didn't establish a list right now.

Concerning the distinction of Official Aramaic (Araméen d'Empire) and Middle Aramaic: the distinction is a chronological one and thus it is still useful (but not really helpful); what is clear when we speak of Middle Aramaic is that we deal with texts from 200 BCE to 200 CE. Nevertheless it doesn't say anything about the state of the language itself. For example: Qumran Aramaic, Nabatean, and Palmyrene Aramaic are part of Middle Aramaic but these are different dialects. Qumran Aramaic is

a literary Aramaic, what isn't the case of the other dialects. To finish with the objective marker ת: as it is only limited to few texts we can confirm its rareness.

Moshe Bernstein: I wonder if you could say a few more words about the two parts of the *Genesis Apocryphon* because it very much affects work that I am doing. Am I correct in understanding that there is more archaic material in Part I, the Lamech-Noah material, than there is in the Abram material, that is to say you find more of the things that you are looking for in the first section than in the second section? Now are you hypothesizing that the person who is the copyist or the composer (we can't be sure what he is here) is maybe making changes in the first part and then slows down and doesn't make them in the second part? Or would you be saying, as I would hypothesize now, that this work is put together from two different pieces or parts—if he's using written sources and one of them is written in a slightly more archaic than the other and therefore we find more archaic material in the first part than in the second?

Ursula Schattner-Rieser: The *Genesis Apocryphon* is clearly written in a unified language and surely by one and the same person. It contains a lot of late features known from targumic Aramaic and one can find throughout the text *scriptio plena* and the long suffix third person feminine *-hâ*. Still, the archaic features are more concentrated in the first part—that's up to col. XII: the Qutl pattern in קישטא in *Genesis Apocryphon* VI 4; the demonstrative pronoun דנה in II 2.17; V 21; VII 8 with only one example of דנא in XX 30 (without being sure as it is not readable); the negation with אל, but the late forms תמן and כמן which we know very well from the Targumim are to be found only in the col. XX.

Daniel Stökl: How broad is our database for Second Temple Aramaic dialects? Could there also be two simultaneously existing dialects, one more, one less archaizing? If we take two simultaneously existing German dialects as an example, Swiss German with its many archaisms compared to High German—how certain can we be that your observations give evidence for a diachronic phenomenon rather than a synchronic one?

Ursula Schattner-Rieser: In the Second Temple period up to the Hellenistic period we have no dialects. "Reichsaramäisch" of the Persian and Hellenistic periods is a unified standard. If a language or dialect, like Swiss or Austrian German, is characterized by its archaic features you find them throughout the text or speech especially in a situation where there exists no distinction between an official/higher or popular language. The *Genesis Apocryphon* is written in Late Aramaic and it contains all late features and they are predominant. On the other hand there exist some archaic features, perhaps underlying in the older *Vorlage*, which seems to have been forgotten by the modern copyist.

John Collins: Is the distinction between Imperial and Middle Aramaic, as made, e.g., by Fitzmyer, still satisfactory?

Ursula Schattner-Rieser: Yes, the distinction between Imperial Aramaic and Middle Aramaic is still valid for it is only a chronological one. You can have a look in Fitzmyer (*A Wandering Aramean*, [Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979], 58–60) for a discussion about the problematic attempts for a division of Aramaic. The problem is that that distinction doesn't take into account the philological characteristics or the impact of copying or rewriting an older underlying text.

Hugo Antonissen: Cinq textes araméens de Qumran contiennent la nota accusativa יה, une forme tardive, qui apparaît trois fois dans la *Nouvelle Jérusalem* (4Q554 2 iii 14–15; 4Q554a 1 ii 13). D'autre part le texte de la *Nouvelle Jérusalem* contient un grand nombre de termes que vous qualifiez dans votre article de “mots nouveaux” empruntés à l'Akkadien (שִׁבְכָּ et אִסְרָ) et au Persan (פְּנִיבֵד, אִסְרָ et פְּרִיזִיָּה) mais qui sont en fait plus anciens que la date de composition du texte. En plus, ce texte ne contient aucun exemple de l'usage de לָ comme nota accusativi. Y a-t-il, d'après vous, une explication pour ce phénomène?

Florentino García Martínez: I see that you have made Moshe Bernstein very happy, but in order to completely reassure him: can you assert that these archaic features are present not only in the parts already analyzed by Kutscher but also in the new tiny fragments published recently?

Émile Puech: J'ai du mal à vous suivre dans l'usage des archaïsmes pour dater une composition. La phonologie/l'orthographe de l'araméen a varié certes depuis en gros le milieu du V^e siècle avant J.-C. Que peut-on en retenir pour dater la composition d'un document et même un manuscrit ? Peut-on utiliser l'argument de l'oubli du copiste dans la mise à jour de l'orthographe du texte copié ? Dans ce cas l'araméen biblique est plein d'oublis des copistes au cours des siècles. On connaît la présence côte à côte de יִי et יִי en 4Q530 et 4Q536 ou celle de עֵע et אֵע à Qumrân comparables à l'orthographe des proverbes araméens de Marésha vers 200 avant J.-C. où se trouvent côte à côte les formes עֵא et יִי et הֵן par exemple. On doit sérieusement réviser les propositions de datation que vous donnez des différentes formes orthographiques analysées. On a un nombre égal pour le moment dans les manuscrits qumraniens des attestations des formes עֵע—עֵעֵי et אֵע—אֵעֵי, mais en 4Q211 1 i 3 יֵעֵא est un verbe (« germer ») et non un substantif comme il est accepté, et dans les ostraca d'Idumée, la forme עֵק est encore usitée. L'orthographe avec שֵׁ est de loin la plus fréquente à Qumrân, comparée à la forme avec סֵ en שֵׁגִיא : 7 attestations de סֵגִיא sur 12 en 11QtgJob qui ne semble pas comporter autant d'archaïsmes que vous le suggérez ; c'est, à mon avis, une composition essénienne dont on a retrouvé une copie des débuts du 1^{er} siècle de notre ère (et non avant J.-C. comme vous l'écrivez). Le pronom démonstratif דִּכְמָ n'est pas à lire en 5Q15 1 ii 10, c'est un substantif. On ne peut pas qualifier d'orthographe archaïsante les formes דִּי, הֵן ou la particule de la défense אֵל. Comment alors qualifier les emplois de הֵן et הֵן côte à côte en 4Q544 ? En archéologie, on date une strate par les artefacts les plus récents, ici on la date par les archaïsmes, mais on a très peu d'éléments assurés pour dater ces supposés archaïsmes des manuscrits qumraniens. Il faut avant tout tenir compte de l'orthographe régionale ou « dialectale » depuis l'époque hellénistique tout au moins, on n'est plus à l'époque des écoles officielles des scribes achéménides où une certaine uniformité orthographique pouvait avoir cours.

Ursula Schattner-Rieser : Je ne cherche pas à proposer une datation exacte, mais à souligner que plusieurs archaïsmes dans un texte, à côté de formes évoluées, montrent qu'il s'agit de copies de textes à partir de *Vorlagen* plus anciennes et que linguistiquement parlés, ils sont en cela proche des textes araméens de la colonie juive d'Éléphantine de la fin du 5^e siècle avant notre ère.

NABONIDE ET GILGAMESH:
L'ARAMÉEN EN MÉSOPOTAMIE ET À QOUMRÂN

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La littérature araméenne attestée, malheureusement souvent de façon très fragmentaire, par les manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Qoumrân apparaît, de prime abord, très variée. Vivant plus de deux mille ans après la copie de ces manuscrits, un contemporain est tenté d'y reconnaître d'abord un certain nombre de textes reprenant ou développant des histoires centrées autour de personnages de la littérature classique hébraïque, c'est-à-dire de ce qui vers la fin du I^{er} s. de n. è. deviendra la Bible. Ce lien direct avec les livres bientôt "bibliques" semble évident d'après les intitulés donnés à certains manuscrits. Il suffit de citer ici l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* (1Q20), l'*Apocryphe de Daniel* (4Q246), le *Targum du Lévitique* (4Q156), ou le *Targum de Job* (4Q157, 11Q10). De telles appellations sont généralement justifiées. Cependant elles risquent de donner l'impression que les manuscrits araméens de Qoumrân étaient centrés sur la Bible et en dépendaient alors que la Bible elle-même, en tant que canon des écritures sacrées de référence, précis et bien délimité, n'existait pas encore. Une telle vision bibliocentrique apparaît donc anachronique.

Plusieurs commentateurs ont fait remarquer que toute cette littérature araméenne ne semblait pas présenter de caractéristiques sectaires¹ et reflétait probablement la littérature araméenne ayant cours dans le judaïsme du tournant de notre ère, spécialement dans le judaïsme palestinien puisque le site est clairement situé en Judée. Cependant une telle interprétation suffit-elle à expliquer la présence, parfois en plusieurs exemplaires, de ces manuscrits araméens dans les grottes de Qoumrân ? Bien plus, l'araméen de cette littérature variée reflète-il vraiment l'araméen parlé en Palestine à cette époque ?

¹ Voir, par exemple, B. Z. Wacholder, "The Ancient Judaeo-Aramaic Literature (500–164 BCE), A Classification of the Pre-Qumranic Texts", dans *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* (dir. par L. H. Schiffman ; JSPSup 8 [JSPT/ASOR Monographs 2] ; Sheffield : JSOT Press, 1990), 258–281 ; D. Dimant, "The Qumran Aramaic Texts and the Qumran Community", dans *Flores Florentino. Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (dir. par A. Hilhorst et al. ; JSJSup 122 ; Leiden : Brill, 2007), 197–205, spéc. 198–199.

Il est très difficile de répondre à ces questions car la documentation araméenne reste très fragmentaire. Nous voudrions simplement ici souligner un aspect important et qui risque d'être facilement oublié étant donné la position géographique de Qoumrân : à savoir le lien entre certains manuscrits araméens de cette bibliothèque et la Mésopotamie, plus précisément la Babylonie.

Nous rappellerons d'abord le fait ; nous essaierons ensuite de le situer dans un contexte historique tenant compte de la documentation actuelle. Enfin, nous réfléchirons à ce que cela pourrait signifier quant à l'histoire du groupe de Qoumrân.

1. *Les textes araméens de Qoumrân et la Babylonie*

Plutôt que de présenter un catalogue des fragments littéraires araméens rattachés à la Babylonie, nous voudrions aborder le problème à partir de deux exemples concrets tout à fait évidents : la mention dans les textes araméens de Qoumrân de deux personnages symboliques de l'histoire et de la littérature babyloniennes : Nabonide et Gilgamesh.

Le texte araméen mentionnant NBNY, hypocoristique du nom du dernier roi de Babylone, Nabonide, est le fameux texte 4Q242 dit « Prière de Nabonide » suivant le titre même conservé dans les fragments que Jozef T. Milik a publiés de façon préliminaire dès 1965². Ce texte a donné lieu à une bibliographie très abondante³ qui s'est efforcée

² J. T. Milik, "Prière de Nabonide et autres écrits d'un cycle de Daniel", *RB* 63 (1965): 407-411.

³ Voir surtout A. Dupont-Sommer, "Exorcismes et guérisons dans les écrits de Qoumrân", dans *Congress Volume Oxford 1959* (SVT 7 ; Leiden : Brill, 1960), 246-261 ; R. Meyer, *Das Gebet des Nabonid. Eine in den Qumran-Handschriften wiederentdeckte Weisheitszählung* (Sitzungsberichte der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philologisch-historische Klasse Band 107, Heft 3 ; Berlin : Akademie Verlag, 1962) ; A. S. van der Woude, "Bemerkungen zum Gebet des Nabonid", dans *Qumrân. Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (dir. par M. Delcor ; BETL 46 ; Paris/Gembloux : Editions Duculot, 1978), 121-129 ; P. Grelot, "La prière de Nabonide (4Q Or Nab). Nouvel essai de restauration", *RQ* 9/36 (1978): 483-495 ; J. A. Fitzmyer et D. J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts* (Biblica et Orientalia 34 ; Rome : Biblical Institute Press, 1978), 2-5 ; F. M. Cross, "Fragments of the Prayer of Nabonidus", *IEJ* 34 (1984): 260-264 ; F. García Martínez, "The Prayer of Nabonidus: A New Synthesis", dans *Qumran and Apocalyptic. Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (STDJ 9 ; Leiden : Brill, 1992), 116-136 ; J. J. Collins, "242. 4QPrayer of Nabonidus ar", dans *Qumran Cave 4, XVII. Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (dir. par G. Brooke et al. ; DJD 22 ; Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1996), 83-93 ; A. Lange et M. Sieker, "Gattung und Quellenwert des Gebets des Nabonids", dans *Qumranstudien* (dir. par H.-J. Fabry et al. ; Schriften des

de proposer des restitutions pour les lacunes des huit premières lignes et de préciser le rapport de ce texte avec le livre de Daniel. Sur ce dernier point, bien qu'il y ait, comme toujours, une ou deux voix discordantes⁴, la plupart des commentateurs sont d'accord, à juste titre, pour rapprocher la *Prière de Nabonide* de Daniel 4 en soulignant que 4Q242 est non seulement un texte indépendant de Daniel 4 mais représente une tradition littéraire probablement antérieure, que Daniel 4, sous cette forme ou sous une autre, a pu utiliser en la transférant de Nabonide à Nabuchodonosor, roi de Babylone évidemment mieux connu de son auditoire juéo-palestinien⁵.

En fait, on a déjà plusieurs fois fait remarquer que la *Prière de Nabonide* fait référence à certains aspects du règne de Nabonide connus par les inscriptions néo-babyloniennes et nord-arabes⁶, en particulier son séjour dans l'oasis de Teima, même si, dans le texte araméen, celui-ci a

Intitutum Judaicum Delitzschianum 4 ; Göttingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 3–34 ; É. Puech, “La prière de Nabonide (4Q242)”, dans *Targumic and Cognate Studies: Essays in Honour of Martin McNamara* (dir. par K. J. Cathcart et M. Maher ; Sheffield : Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 208–227 ; *DSSSE* I, 486–487.

⁴ Voir, par exemple, W. Dommershausen, *Nabonid im Buche Daniel* (Mainz : Matthias-Grünwald, 1964), 85 (avec hésitation) ; A. Steinmann, “The Chicken and the Egg. A New Proposal for the Relationship between the *Prayer of Nabonidus* and the *Book of Daniel*”, *RQ* 20/80 (2002) : 557–570.

⁵ Voir, par exemple, D. N. Freedman, “The Prayer of Nabonidus”, *BASOR* 145 (1957) : 31–32 ; K. Beyer, *Die aramäische Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 223 ; Wacholder, “The Ancient Judaeo-Aramaic Literature”, dans *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 259, 269 ; Collins, “Nabonidus, Prayer of”, *ABD* 4 (1992) : 976–977 ; García Martínez, “The Prayer of Nabonidus”, 136 ; Collins, *DJD* XXIX, 86–87 ; M. Henze, *The Madness of King Nebuchadnezzar: The Ancient Near Eastern Origins and Early History of Interpretation of Daniel 4* (JSJSup 61 ; Leiden : Brill, 1999) ; E. Eshel, “Possible Sources of the Book of Daniel”, dans *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception* (dir. par J. J. Collins et P. W. Flint ; SVT 83/2 ; Leiden : Brill, 2001), 387–388.

⁶ Voir A. Beaulieu, *The Reign of Nabonidus King of Babylon 556–539 B.C.* (New Haven–London : Yale University Press, 1989) ; R. H. Sack, “Nabonidus of Babylon”, dans *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons. Studies in Honor of M. C. Astour* (dir. par G. D. Young et al. ; Bethesda : CDL Press, 1997), 455–473 ; H. Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids von Babylon und Kyros' des Grossen* (AOAT 256 ; Münster : Ugarit-Verlag, 2001) ; H. El-Saady, “Nabonidus in Arabia: A Re-Assessment”, *Adumatu* 4 (2001) : 7–20 ; H. Hayajneh, “Der babylonische König Nabonid und der RBSRS in einigen neu publizierten frühnordarabischen Inschriften aus Taymā”, *Acta Orientalia* 62 (2001) : 22–64 ; Lemaire, “Nabonidus in Arabia and Judah in the Neo-Babylonian Period”, dans *Judah and the Judeans in the Babylonian Period* (dir. par O. Lipschits et J. Blenkinsopp ; Winona Lake : Eisenbrauns, 2003), 285–298, spéc. 285–286 ; H. Schaudig, “Nabonid, der ‘Archäologe auf dem Königstron’”, dans *Festschrift für Burkhard Kienast* (dir. par G. J. Selz ; AOAT 274 ; Münster : Ugarit-Verlag, 2003), 447–497.

été apparemment ramené de « dix ans » à « sept ans », peut-être pour mieux se conformer au topos littéraire ouest-sémitique des sept années.

Nabonide n'est nulle part mentionné dans les livres bibliques et apparaît seulement ici dans la littérature hébraïque et araméenne ancienne. Ce fait est un argument très fort en faveur de son ancienneté par rapport à Daniel 4.

Étant donné que Nabonide ne semble pas avoir fait campagne dans le territoire de Juda et qu'il n'y a laissé aucune trace dans la littérature hébraïque, on en déduit assez naturellement que l'auteur de la prière de Nabonide était très probablement un membre de la communauté judéenne exilée en Babylonie, soit durant l'époque achéménide, soit au début de l'époque hellénistique, plus précisément à l'époque séleucide. Même si les commentateurs ne prennent pas toujours position sur ce point, il est assez révélateur que tous pensent que le "judéen (YHWDY)" de la ligne 4 était un "des fils de l'Exil (BNY GLWT)". Même si cette dernière expression est une restitution et ne peut donc être considérée comme assurée, elle révèle bien le milieu auquel appartenait très probablement l'auteur de cette prière, comme d'ailleurs celui du niveau le plus ancien du livre de Daniel (spécialement chap. 2–6)⁷.

⁷ Voir, par exemple, K. Koch, *Das Buch Daniel* (EDF 144 ; Darmstadt : Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980), 170–171 ; J. J. Collins, "Current Issues in the Study of Daniel", dans *The Book of Daniel* (SVT 83/1 ; Leiden : Brill, 2001), 1–15, spéc. 9 : "It is generally agreed that the setting of the tales is different from that of the visions [...] the actual authors or tradents of these tales worked in the service of foreign kings, most probably the Seleucids" ; K. van der Toorn, "Scholars at the Oriental Court: The Figure of Daniel against its Mesopotamian Background", *ibid.*, 37–54, spéc. 53 : "It should come as no surprise that in the melting pot of the Hellenistic Age, Jews from the Eastern diaspora made use of Mesopotamia's cultural heritage to offer Jews in the diaspora new models of Jewish identity" ; S. M. Paul, "The Mesopotamian Background of Daniel 1–6", *ibid.*, 55–68 ; S. Beyerle, "The Book of Daniel and its Social Setting", *ibid.*, 205–228, spéc. 211 : "the court tales and visions—representing two different genres—go back to different social settings (Sitze im Leben): the court tales reflecting the fate of Jews in the diaspora, and the visions offering examples of persecuted, pious Jews in Jerusalem" ; D. L. Smith-Christopher, "Prayers and Dreams: Power and Diaspora Identities in the Social Setting of the Daniel Tales", *ibid.*, 266–290, spéc. 273 : "... a diaspora setting certainly, but one that can be comfortable and even encourage aspirations to high office". Voir déjà Freedman, "The Prayer of Nabonidus", *BASOR* 145 (1957): 31–32, spéc. 31 : "the Babylonian origin of chaps. 1–6 is strengthened by the new evidence. Behind Daniel 4 there is a story of the third (or an earlier) century, originating in Babylon". Pour un milieu commun à Daniel et à Qoumrân, voir C. Hempel, "MASKIL(IM) and RABBIM: From Daniel to Qumran", dans *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays in Honour of*

La mention de Teima dans la prière de Nabonide a, un moment, conduit certains commentateurs à la rapprocher du livre de Job en rattachant ces deux traditions littéraires à des communautés juives d'Arabie du Nord⁸. Une telle interprétation pourrait redevenir d'actualité après les découvertes récentes du bas-relief de Nabonide à Es-Sela' en Jordanie⁹ et des mentions de « Nabonide, roi de Babylone » dans des inscriptions nord-arabiques teimanites¹⁰. Cependant cette interprétation resterait purement conjecturale car ces nouveaux documents ne font nullement mention d'une communauté juive dans la région de Teima au VI^e s. av. n. è. alors que de nouveaux documents contemporains (infra) confirment tout à fait celle de déportés et descendants de déportés judéens en Babylonie.

Dans l'état actuel de la documentation, le rattachement de la *Prière de Nabonide* à un milieu juif nord-arabique apparaîtrait donc comme une pure hypothèse, apparemment inutile, et le rattachement au milieu des déportés en Babylonie, éventuellement même au milieu de la famille royale judéenne vivant à Babylone¹¹, beaucoup plus vraisemblable¹².

M. A. Knibb (dir. par C. Hempel et J. M. Lieu ; JSJSup 111 ; Leiden : Brill, 2006), 133–156.

⁸ Voir, par exemple, G. Fohrer, “4Q Or Nab, 11 Q Tg Job und die Hioblegende”, *ZAW* 75 (1962): 93–97 ; Meyer, *Das Gebet des Nabonid*, spéc. 107 : “... entweder an Babylonien oder noch eher an die jüdischen Gemeinden in Nordarabien” ; voir aussi M. Delcor, “Le testament de Job, la prière de Nabonide et les traditions targoumiques”, dans *Religion d'Israël et Proche Orient ancien* (Leiden : Brill, 1976), 201–218, spéc. 206.

⁹ Voir S. Dalley et A. Goguel, “The Sela' Sculpture: A Neo-Babylonian Rock Relief in Southern Jordan”, *ADAJ* 41 (1997): 169–176 ; F. Zayadine, “Le relief néo-babylonien à Sela' près de Tafileh. Interprétation historique”, *Syria* 76 (1999): 83–90.

¹⁰ Voir Hayajneh, “Der babylonische König” ; idem, “First evidence of Nabonidus in the Ancient North Arabian inscriptions from the region of Taymâ”, *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 31 (2001): 81–95 ; W. W. Müller et S. F. Al-Said, “Der Babylonische König Nabonid in taymanischen Inschriften”, *BN* 107–108 (2001): 109–119 ; Lemaire, “Nabonidus in Arabia and Judah” ; A. Livingstone, “Taimâ' and Nabonidus: It's a Small World”, dans *Writing and Ancient Near Eastern Society. Papers in Honour of Alan R. Millard* (dir. par P. Bienkowski et al. ; New York–London : T&T Clark, 2005), 29–39.

¹¹ Voir 2 Rois 25:27–30 ; E. F. Weidner, “Jojachin, König von Juda, in Babylonischen Keilschrifttexten”, dans *Mélanges syriens offerts à R. Dussaud* (Paris : Paul Geuthner, 1930), 2:923–935 ; O. Pedersén, “Foreign Professionals in Babylon: Evidence from the Archive in the Palace of Nebuchadnezzar II”, dans *Ethnicity in Ancient Mesopotamia. Papers read at the 48th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Leiden, 1–4 July 2002* (Leiden : Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2005), 267–272, spéc. 269 ; idem, *Archive und Bibliotheken in Babylon. Die Tontäfel der Grabung Robert Koldeweys 1899–1917* (ADOG 25 ; Saarbrücken : SDV, 2005).

La brillante identification de fragments araméens du *Livre des Géants* parmi les manuscrits fragmentaires de Qoumrân remonte à Jozef T. Milik¹³ et c'est lui aussi qui révéla la double attestation de Gilgamesh, ainsi que celle de Hôbabish/Humbaba¹⁴ parmi ces fragments¹⁵. Il s'agit là de deux personnages bien connus de la littérature mésopotamienne, en fait du personnage principal et d'un des principaux personnages secondaires de l'*Épopée de Gilgamesh* tandis que le *Livre des Géants*, un des livres de référence du manichéisme¹⁶, n'était connu jusqu'ici que de manière très partielle par divers fragments de manuscrits en pehlvi, sogdien, parthe et ouïgour. À la suite de la publication de Milik, de nombreuses études ont été consacrées à ce *Livre des Géants*, en particulier de la part de John C. Reeves¹⁷ et de Loren T. Stuckenbruck¹⁸.

¹² Voir déjà Grelot, "La prière de Nabonide", 494 : « Il s'agit d'une légende d'origine orientale, attribuable aux communautés juives de Babylonie plutôt qu'à celle de Tey-mân ».

¹³ Milik, "Problèmes de la littérature hénochique à la lumière des fragments araméens de Qumrân", *HTR* 64 (1971) : 333–378 ; idem, "Turfan et Qumran. Livre des Géants juif et manichéen", dans *Tradition und Glaube. Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt. Festgabe K.G. Kuhn* (dir. par G. Jeremias et al. ; Göttingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 117–127.

¹⁴ Hôbabish suit Gilgamesh en 4Q530 ii 2 et précède un autre géant en 4Q203 3 3.

¹⁵ Milik, *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1976), spéc. 311, 313.

¹⁶ Ce livre pourrait aussi comporter la mention d'Utnapishtim sous la forme Atnabish. Voir J. C. Reeves, "Utnapishtim in the Book of Giants?", *JBL* 112 (1993) : 110–115 ; M. Schwartz, "Qumran, Turfan, Arabic Magic, and Noha's Name", dans *Charmes et sortilèges. Magies et magiciens* (dir. par R. Gyselen ; Res Orientales 14 ; Leuven : Peeters, 2002), 231–238.

¹⁷ Reeves, "An Enochic Motif in Manichean tradition", dans *Manichaica selecta. Studies presented to Professor Julien Ries* (dir. par A. van Tongerloo et S. Giversen ; Manichaean Studies 1 ; Leuven : International Association of Manichean Studies, 1991), 295–298 ; idem, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony. Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions* (Cincinnati : Hebrew Union College Press, 1992) ; idem, *JBL* 112 (1993) : 110–115 ; idem, "Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Manichaean Literature: The Influence of the Enochic Library", dans *Tracing the Threads. Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha* (dir. par J. C. Reeves ; SBL Early Judaism and Literature 6 ; Atlanta : Scholars Press, 1994), 174–203 ; idem, *Heralds of That Good Realm. Syro-Mesopotamian Gnosis and Jewish Traditions* (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 41 ; Leiden : Brill, 1996).

¹⁸ Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran* (TSAJ 63 ; Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 1997) ; idem, "The Throne-Theophany of the Book of Giants: Some New Light on the Background of Daniel 7", dans *The Scrolls and the Scriptures. Qumran Fifty Years After* (dir. par S. E. Porter et C. A. Evans ; JSOTSup 26, Sheffield : Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 211–220 ; idem, "The 'Angels' and 'Giants' of Genesis 6:1–4 in Second and Third Century BCE Jewish Interpretation: Reflections on the Posture of Early Apocalyptic Traditions", *DSD* 7 (2000) : 354–377 ; idem, "Giant Mythology and Demonology: From the Ancient Near East to the Dead Sea Scrolls", dans *Die Dämonen/Demons* (dir.

De façon assez surprenante, l'*editio princeps*, par Émile Puech, dans la série des Discoveries in the Judaean Desert¹⁹, des fragments mentionnant Gilgamesh (4Q530 2 ii+6–12(?) 2 et 531 22 12) propose de rattacher le « milieu d'origine » du *Livre des Géants* à des « pratiques culturelles près de sources et de fleuves dans la région du Liban et de l'Hermon », plus précisément au « Paneion de Baniyas-Césarée »²⁰, en déclarant que « la mention des Géants Gilgamesh et Hôbabish est insuffisante pour une origine babylonienne de la composition »²¹.

En fait, les arguments pour une origine près des sources du Jourdain paraissent bien faibles : le rapprochement entre le géant Aḥiram du *Livre des Géants* et le roi de Byblos Aḥirom célèbre par son sarcophage inscrit vers l'an 1000 av. n. è. risque fort d'être une déformation professionnelle d'un épigraphiste car, à ce jour, ce roi de Byblos ne semble être mentionné dans aucune tradition littéraire. De plus, le renvoi à Philon de Byblos est assez étonnant puisque celui-ci ne cite ni Gilgamesh, ni Hôbabish, ni même Aḥiram.

De son côté, Milik remarquait que ces manuscrits de Qoumrân constituaient "the only mention of Gilgamesh outside the cuneiform literature"²², ce qui n'est peut-être pas tout à fait vrai, en particulier à cause

par A. Lange et al. ; Tübingen : Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 318–338 ; voir aussi García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic. Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (STDJ 9 ; Leiden : Brill, 1992), 97–115 ; É. Puech, "Les fragments 1 à 3 du *Livre des Géants* de la grotte 6 (*pap6Q8*)", *RQ* 74 (1999) : 227–238 ; idem, "Les songes des fils de Shemiha-zah dans *Le Livre des Géants* de Qumrân", *CRAI* 144/1 (2000) : 7–25 ; E. J. C. Tigchelaar, "Notes on 4Q206/206a, 4Q203–204, and Two Unpublished Fragments (4Q59?)", *Meghillot* 5–6 (*Festschrift for D. Dimant*) (2007) : 187*–199*.

¹⁹ Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4 XXII. Textes araméens. Première partie 4Q529–549* (DJD 31 ; Oxford : Clarendon Press, 2001), spéc. 28–30 et 74–78. Le rattachement des petits fragments 4Q533 au *Livre des Géants* (ibid., 105–115) semble assez incertain et mériterait une vérification tandis que García Martínez et Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Study Edition* (2 vols. ; Leiden : Brill, 1998), 2:1068–1071 ont apparemment confondu 4Q533 et 4Q556 (voir Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 105). Pour les autres fragments probables du *Livre des Géants*, voir Milik, dans D. Barthélemy et J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I* (DJD 1 ; Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1955), 97–99 (1Q23 ; 24) ; M. Baillet et al., *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân* (DJD 3 ; Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1962), 90–91 (2Q26), 116–119 (6Q8), 127–128 (6Q14) ; Stuckenbruck, dans S. J. Pfann et al., *Qumran Cave 4 XXVI* (DJD 36 ; Oxford : Clarendon Press, 2000), 8–48 (4Q203 ; 206a) (voir aussi ibid., 49–94 ; Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 11).

²⁰ Ibid., 15.

²¹ Ibid., 15, note 25 ; voir déjà l'hésitation de García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 114.

²² Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 313 ; Stuckenbruck (*Giants*, 109) est plus précis : "The name 'Gilgamesh' does not occur anywhere in extant Jewish literature".

de sa mention dans Claudius Aélien²³. Cependant les recherches sur l'Épopée de Gilgamesh se sont multipliées ces dernières années²⁴, en particulier à l'occasion de nombreuses traductions²⁵ mais aussi et surtout par l'étude de l'évolution de cette épopée²⁶ et l'édition critique de A. R. George²⁷. Il est clair aujourd'hui que cette œuvre littéraire était encore considérée comme classique et utilisée au moins au premier niveau de l'apprentissage scribal²⁸, aux époques néo-babylonienne et perse, si l'on en juge par le nombre de copies retrouvées²⁹. Bien plus, selon J. H. Tigay, « the latest-dated tablet of Gilgamesh is apparently from the second or first century BCE »³⁰ et l'édition critique de George mentionne une tablette de l'épopée de Gilgamesh datée de la deuxième moitié du II^e s. av. n. è., probablement du début de l'époque parthe arsacide³¹. Gilga-

²³ *De natura animalium* XII, 21. Voir R. Tournay et A. Schaffer, *L'épopée de Gilgamesh* (LAPO 15 ; Paris : Cerf, 1994), 26–27 ; A. R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic* (2 vols. ; Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2003), 61–70 ; D. Bodi, “Les Mille et une nuits et l'Épopée de Gilgamesh : éléments de comparaison”, dans *Les Mille et une nuits en partage* (dir. par A. Chraïbi ; Paris–Arles : Sinbad–Actes Sud, 2004), 394–411, spéc. 411.

²⁴ Voir récemment J. Azize et N. Weeks, *Gilgamesh and the World of Assyria. Proceedings of the Conference held at Mandelbaum House. The University of Sydney, 21–23 July 2004* (Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement 21 ; Leuven : Peeters, 2007) ; J. Keetman, “König Gilgamesh reitet auf seinen Untertanen ; Gilgamesh, Enkidu und die Unterwelt politisch gelesen”, *BO* 64 (2007) : 5–31.

²⁵ Voir M. G. Kovacs, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (Stanford : Stanford University Press, 1989) ; Tournay et Schaffer, *L'épopée de Gilgamesh* ; R. Foster, *The Epic of Gilgamesh: A New Translation, Analysis, Criticism* (New York : W. W. Norton, 2001).

²⁶ J. H. Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982).

²⁷ *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic* (2003).

²⁸ Voir D. Gesche, *Schulunterricht in Babylonien im ersten Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (AOAT 275 ; Münster : Ugarit-Verlag, 2001), 149–150 et 172 ; A. R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*, 34–39.

²⁹ Voir déjà D. J. Wiseman, “Additional Neo-Babylonian Gilgamesh Fragments”, dans *Gilgamesh et sa légende (VII^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Paris, 1958)* (dir. par P. Garelli ; Paris : C. Klincksieck, 1960), 123–135. Voir aussi Tournay et Schaffer, *L'épopée de Gilgamesh*, 13.

³⁰ Tigay, *The Evolution*, 251.

³¹ Avant 185 de l'ère séleucide : George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*, 1:740. Pour la fin ultérieure de l'écriture cunéiforme, voir M. J. Geller, “The Last Wedge”, *ZA* 87 (1997) : 53–56 ; A. Salvesen, “Babylon and Nineveh in Aramaic Sources”, dans *The Legacy of Mesopotamia* (dir. par S. Dalley et al. ; Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1998), 151–155 ; George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*, 1:740, note 11 ; A. Westenholtz, “The Graeco-Babylonian Once Again”, *ZA* 97 (2007) : 262–313 ; Geller, “33. Graeco-Babylonian Utukkū Lemnūtū”, *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* (2008/2) : 43–44.

mesh et Hôbabish / Humbaba étaient donc bien connus de la littérature babylonienne jusque vers le tournant de notre ère.

On notera que Gilgamesh et Humbaba apparaissent ensemble dans l'épisode fameux de la forêt des cèdres³², un épisode dont l'horizon géographique a pu être particulièrement apprécié des Judéens déportés et qui pouvait être connu par l'exercice de copie d'extraits de ce passage (premier niveau de l'apprentissage scribal) aussi bien que par un commentaire oral.

Dès lors, avec André Caquot et d'autres commentateurs³³, on peut en déduire que « la référence à Gilgamesh plaide en faveur d'une origine du *Livre des Géants* dans une diaspora orientale »³⁴. De façon plus précise, même si les mentions de Gilgamesh et de Humbaba à Qumrân ne reflètent pas nécessairement une dépendance directe de l'épopée akkadienne³⁵ mais peut-être seulement de certains extraits³⁶, on pensera naturellement à une origine babylonienne en contact direct avec la tradition scribale akkadienne.

On peut d'ailleurs noter que les fragments araméens du *Livre des Géants* mentionnent huit fois le terme LWH « tablette »³⁷ et il semble qu'on efface cette tablette en la plongeant dans l'eau (2Q26 1-2)³⁸, ce qui peut renvoyer soit à une tablette de bois ou de pierre écrite à l'encre³⁹, soit à une tablette d'argile séchée au soleil qui se dissout dans l'eau.

³² Voir, par exemple, Tournay et Schaffer, *L'épopée de Gilgamesh*, 292–305.

³³ Voir Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer*, 259.

³⁴ A. Caquot, « Les prodromes du déluge : légendes araméennes de Qumrân », *RHPR* 83 (2003) : 41–59. Voir aussi, tout en restant très prudent sur son origine précise, Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 39 : « Such a Jewish reaction is conceivable in regions of the Near East which saw the interpenetration of Hellenistic and Babylonian cultures ».

³⁵ Voir la remarque de George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*, 1:69 : « None of the texts reviewed above presents real evidence for the wholesale adoption of the story into other languages ». Stuckenbruck est plus nuancé : « If the reconstruction is correct, the author(s) of BG not only borrowed the name of *Gilgamesh* and identified him as a culpable giant but also drew upon the broad storyline of the Epic myth with which this ancient cultural hero was associated » (« Giant Mythology and Demonology », 332). Voir aussi M. Goff, « Gilgamesh the Giant: The Qumran *Book of Giants*' Appropriation of *Gilgamesh*-Motifs », *DSD* 16 (2009) : 221–253.

³⁶ Voir le premier niveau de l'apprentissage scribal : George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*, 1:35–39.

³⁷ 1Q23 16 1 ; 31 3 ; 2Q26 1.2.3 (*bis*) ; 4Q203 7b ii 2 ; 8 3.

³⁸ Voir García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 101.

³⁹ Voir Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 335 ; Puech, *CRAI* 2000, 23.

Au total, il semble donc tout à fait clair que les fragments littéraires araméens de la *Prière de Nabonide* et du *Livre des Géants*, mentionnant des personnages totalement inconnus dans la tradition hébraïque mais de premier plan dans l'histoire et la littérature néo-babyloniennes, indiquent assez clairement une tradition littéraire araméenne juive originaire de Babylonie. On pourrait d'ailleurs faire la même remarque à la suite, par exemple, d'une étude des textes physiognomiques / astronomiques / astrologiques⁴⁰ et des textes calendaires⁴¹, ainsi que de l'importance de l'angéologie⁴² ou de la notion de « savoir secret que l'initié devait transmettre à l'initié »⁴³.

Mais que savons-nous du judaïsme babylonien avant notre ère ?

⁴⁰ Voir, par exemple, M. Albani, *Astronomie und Schöpfungsglaube: Untersuchungen zum astronomischen Henochbuch* (Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament 68 ; Neukirchen-Vluyn : Neukirchener Verlag, 1994) ; U. Glessmer, "Horizontal Measuring in the Babylonian Astronomical Compendium MUL.APIN and in the Astronomical Book of 1 En", *Henoch* 18 (1996) : 259–282 ; M. J. Geller, "New Documents from the Dead Sea: Babylonian Science in Aramaic", dans *Boundaries of the Ancient Near Eastern World. A Tribute to C. H. Gordon* (dir. par M. Lubetski et al. ; JSOTSup 273 ; Sheffield : Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 224–229 ; idem, "The Survival of Babylonian Wissenschaft in Later Tradition", dans *The Heirs of Assyria* (dir. par S. Aro et R. M. Whiting ; Melammu Symposia 1 ; Helsinki : Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2000), 1–6 ; H. Drawnel, "Priestly Education in the Aramaic Levi Document (Visions of Levi) and Aramaic Astronomical Book (4Q208–211)", *RQ* 22/88 (2006) : 547–574, spéc. 551, 554–555, 567–568 ; idem, "Moon Computation in the Aramaic Astronomical Book", *RQ* 23/89 (2007) : 3–41 ; M. Popovic, "Reading the Human Body and Writing in Code: Physiognomic, Divination and Astrology in the Dead Sea Scrolls", dans *Flores Florentino*, 197–205.

⁴¹ Voir, par exemple, J. Ben-Dov, "The Initial Stages of Lunar Theory at Qumran", *JJS* 54 (2003) : 125–138 ; Ben-Dov et W. Horowitz, "The 364-Day Year in Mesopotamia and Qumran", *Meghillot* 1 (2003) : 3–26 ; Ben-Dov, "DWQ and Lunar Phases in Qumran Calendars. New Mesopotamian Evidence", *Meghillot* 3 (2005) : 3–28 ; idem, "The Babylonian Lunar Three in Calendrical Scrolls from Qumran", *ZA* 95 (2005) : 104–120, ainsi que sa contribution dans le présent volume.

⁴² Voir déjà "Ainsi Rabbi Shim'on ben Laqish [III^e s.] : 'Les noms des anges ont été aussi amenés avec ceux qui rentrèrent de Babylone'", dans *Talmud de Jérusalem, Rosh Hashana* 1, 2 (56d) (voir, par exemple, A. Lehnardt [trad.], *Rosh ha-Shanah/Neujahr. Übersetzung des Talmud Yerushalmi II/7* [Tübingen : Mohr Siebeck, 2000], 40) ; voir aussi *Bereshit Rabba* 48, 8 (ad 18,2) (485). Voir par exemple E. E. Urbach, *The Sages, Their Concepts and Beliefs* (Jerusalem : Magnes, 1979), 1:166 et 2:759 (= Urbach, *Les sages d'Israël* [Paris : Cerf, 1996], 175 et 769–770).

⁴³ D. Charpin, *Lire et écrire à Babylone* (Paris : PUF, 2008), 260. Sur cette notion de savoir secret en Babylonie d'époque hellénistique, voir aussi A. Lenzi, *Secrecy and the Gods: Secret Knowledge in Ancient Mesopotamia and Biblical Israel* (State Archives of Assyria Studies 19 ; Helsinki : Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2008) et, dans le présent volume, la contribution de Samuel Thomas.

2. Le judaïsme babylonien avant notre ère

Sans pouvoir entrer dans le détail ici, il faut à la fois reconnaître que nous ne savons presque rien du judaïsme babylonien avant le tournant de notre ère et, en même temps, qu'il a joué un rôle de premier plan.

Après la publication des tablettes « Weidner » de Babylone⁴⁴, il y a encore une dizaine d'années, on mettait surtout en exergue les noms juifs apparaissant dans les tablettes Murashu de Nippur. Depuis une bonne dizaine d'années, au moins depuis 1995, sont apparues sur le marché des antiquités, puis dans des collections privées, plus d'une centaine de tablettes néo-babyloniennes datant des derniers quarts du VI^e ou du tout début du V^e siècles av. n. è., écrites essentiellement dans trois endroits: âl-Yâhûdu, Nashar et Bît-Abîram. Ces tablettes, surtout celles d'âl-Yâhûdu, comportent une proportion assez importante de noms propres typiquement Judéens, en particulier de noms comportant l'élément théophore *iama/yahu*. Avec Francis Joannès, nous avons publié les premières, appartenant à la collection Moussaïeff, il y a plus de dix ans⁴⁵, deux autres viennent d'être publiées par Kathleen Abraham⁴⁶ tandis que Laurie E. Pearce, qui doit publier le lot le plus important avec Cornelia Wunsch, a déjà fait une présentation très préliminaire de son lot⁴⁷. Bien qu'il s'agisse là généralement de contrats et non de textes littéraires, ces nouvelles tablettes révèlent clairement, parmi d'autres, trois aspects importants de la vie des exilés :

⁴⁴ E. F. Weidner, "Jojachin, König von Juda, in Babylonischen Keilschrifttexten", dans *Mélanges syriens offerts à René Dussaud*, 2:923–935.

⁴⁵ Joannès et Lemaire, "Contrats babyloniens d'époque achéménide du Bît-Abîram avec une épigraphe araméenne", *RA* 90 (1996): 41–60 ; idem, "Trois tablettes cunéiformes à onomastique ouest-sémitique (collection Sh. Moussaïeff)", *Transeuphratène* 17 (1999): 17–34. Ces publications ne semblent pas connues de E. Yamauchi, "The Eastern Jewish Diaspora under the Babylonians", dans *Mesopotamia and the Bible. Comparative Explorations* (dir. par M. W. Chavalas ; JSOTSup 341 ; London/New York : Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 356–377.

⁴⁶ K. Abraham, "West Semitic and Judean Brides in Cuneiform Sources from the Sixth Century BCE", *AfO* 51 (2005/2006): 198–219 ; eadem, "An Inheritance Division among Judeans in Babylonia from the Early Persian Period", dans *New Seals and Inscriptions, Hebrew, Idumean and Cuneiform* (dir. par M. Lubetski ; Hebrew Bible Monographs 8 ; Sheffield : Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2007), 206–221.

⁴⁷ L. E. Pearce, "New Evidence for Judeans in Babylonia", dans *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period* (dir. par O. Lipshits et M. Oeming ; Winona Lake : Eisenbrauns, 2006), 399–412 ; voir aussi les communications de Pearce et Wunsch à paraître dans la publication du symposium international *The Judeans in the Achaemenid Age: Negotiating Identity in an International Context*, Heidelberg, April 13–16, 2008.

- Les exilés, au moins au début, semblent avoir été regroupés dans des villages leur permettant une vie communautaire réelle et active à laquelle fait déjà allusion le livre d'Ézékéiel.
- Les exilés ont été, pratiquement dès le début, en contact direct avec des documents cunéiformes puisqu'ils ont utilisé ces tablettes pour leurs contrats et documents juridiques.
- Très vite, certains des exilés ont exercé des fonctions administratives, en particulier la collecte des impôts, même si celles-ci étaient généralement à l'échelle locale.

Les deux derniers aspects révèlent une certaine symbiose judéo-akkadienne et pas seulement judéo-araméenne puisque, même si la langue parlée en Babylonie à cette époque devait être souvent l'araméen, il est clair que, au VI^e s. av. n. è., l'administration se faisait encore essentiellement en akkadien et que tout fonctionnaire devait donc pouvoir pratiquer l'écriture cunéiforme après en avoir eu un certain apprentissage scribal. Or nous avons vu plus haut que l'*Épopée de Gilgamesh* faisait apparemment partie des classiques dont des extraits étaient recopiés au moins lors du premier niveau de l'apprentissage scribal. Il apparaît donc aujourd'hui comme très probable que, en Babylonie, certains déportés et surtout descendants de déportés aient eu un contact direct avec la littérature babylonienne classique, en particulier l'*Épopée de Gilgamesh*, même s'il ne s'agissait probablement que d'extraits correspondant au premier niveau de l'apprentissage scribal⁴⁸. Il ne semble donc plus nécessaire de supposer l'existence d'une traduction ou adaptation araméenne de cette épopée—dont nous n'avons jusqu'à maintenant aucune trace⁴⁹—pour expliquer les mentions de Gilga-

⁴⁸ Le héros du livre de Daniel est présenté comme ayant suivi trois ans le *curriculum* de l'apprentissage scribal babylonien (Dn 1:4–5) ; voir S. Pace, "Diaspora Dangers, Diaspora Dreams", dans *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint Presented to Eugene Ulrich* (dir. par P. W. Flint et al. ; SVT 101 ; Leiden : Brill, 2006), 21–59, spéc. 23.

⁴⁹ Voir A. R. George, *The Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh*, 1:70 ; Stuckenbruck, "Giant Mythology and Demonology", dans *Die Dämonen/Demons*, 332 : "It is not necessary to assume that there must have been an Aramaic translation of the Gilgamesh Epic known to BG author(s), as there is no evidence that such a translation ever existed". Pour le rôle de l'araméen dans la transmission des traditions mésopotamiennes, voir A. Salvesen, "The Legacy of Babylon and Nineveh in Aramaic Sources", dans *The Legacy of Mesopotamia*, 139–161 ; B. A. Levine, "On the Role of Aramaic in Transmitting Syro-Mesopotamian Legal Institutions", dans *Ideologies as Intercultural Phenomena* (dir. par A. Panaino et G. Pettinato ; Melammu Sumposia 3 ; Milano : IsIAO, 2002), 157–166.

mesh et Humbaba dans des textes écrits par des scribes judéo-babyloniens.

Les mentions de Nabonide, Gilgamesh et Humbaba ne sont qu'un exemple. En fait, c'est aussi une partie non négligeable de la littérature biblique, en particulier la rédaction sacerdotale, qui devrait être réexaminée à la lumière de ces contacts directs avec la littérature akkadienne en Babylonie. Il apparaît clairement que, dès 597/587 av. n. è., le centre intellectuel du judaïsme s'est déplacé de Jérusalem en Babylonie et que, pendant plusieurs siècles, il est resté en Babylonie. Ce rôle de la Babylonie est bien indiqué par le fait que c'est de Babylonie, probablement en 398⁵⁰, qu'Esdras, prêtre et « scribe de la loi du Dieu des cieux » (Esd 7:12) est venu pour proclamer et promulguer le texte qui allait servir de référence à tout le judaïsme postérieur de la Judée, de la Samarie et de toute la diaspora.

Cette vitalité du judaïsme babylonien n'a pas disparu avec Esdras, ni avec l'arrivée d'Alexandre, même si nous n'en avons que quelques indications dans les siècles suivants, essentiellement par Flavius Josèphe, qui rapporte, par exemple, la migration de deux mille familles juives de Babylonie vers la Lydie et la Phrygie sous Antiochos III⁵¹, et le fait que les communautés juives de Babylonie comprenaient plusieurs dizaines de milliers de membres⁵². Les indications les plus nombreuses concernent le règne d'Hérode, probablement grâce à l'utilisation des livres de Nicolas de Damas:

- Hérode installa en Batanée, face aux Trachonites, le judéo-babylonien Zamaris avec ses cinq cents cavaliers⁵³;
- de plus, au début de son règne, il nomma comme grand-prêtre Ananel, un membre d'une famille sacerdotale judéo-babylonienne⁵⁴;
- enfin il fit courir le bruit que sa famille était originaire de Babylonie⁵⁵.

⁵⁰ Voir Lemaire, "La fin de la première période perse en Égypte et la chronologie ju déenne vers 400 av. J.-C.", *Transeuphratène* 9 (1995): 51–62.

⁵¹ *Antiquités juives* 12.147–153.

⁵² *Antiquités juives* 11.133 ; 15.14, 39 ; 18.313. Philon, *Legat.* 216–217. On notera que, vers 142 av. n. è., le roi parthe Arsace est le destinataire de la lettre des Romains aux responsables politiques des pays comportant une population juive (1 Maccabées 15:22) tandis que 2 Maccabées 8:20 mentionne une victoire contre les Galates où l'armée séleucide aurait comporté 8000 Juifs (vers 220 av. n. è. ?).

⁵³ *Antiquités juives* 17.23–31.

⁵⁴ *Antiquités juives* 15.22, 34, 39–41, 56. Ces familles sacerdotales babyloniennes étaient réputées pour la mise à jour de leurs généalogies : voir *Contre Apion* 1.9.

⁵⁵ *Antiquités juives* 14.9.

C'est aussi durant le règne d'Hérode que Hillel vint de Babylonie à Jérusalem où il fut bientôt reconnu comme l'un des chefs d'école des Pharisiens⁵⁶.

Tous ces faits révèlent la haute estime dans laquelle était tenue, en Palestine même, la tradition juive transmise en Babylonie. Ils permettent de mieux comprendre la connection babylonienne de certains textes araméens de Qoumrân et posent la question concrète de liens particuliers entre Qoumrân et la Babylonie.

3. *Qoumrân et la Babylonie*

Le problème n'est pas nouveau. Il avait déjà été posé par W. F. Albright dès 1946 :

It seems probable that the Essenes represent a sectarian Jewish group which had migrated from Mesopotamia to Palestine after the victory of the Maccabees. This theory would explain their interest in the virtues of plants and stones (Berossus is said to have composed a treatise on the latter subject), their attention to divination and astrology, their frequent lustrations (hygienically necessary in Iraq, but not in Palestine) as well as their prayer to God for sunrise, performed daily before dawn, facing eastwards, since all these points were characteristic of Mesopotamian practice.⁵⁷

Cette interprétation avait été reprise par Jerome Murphy O'Connor, qui pense que « only the hypothesis of Babylonian origin can account for a number of indications... » et que « 'Damascus', therefore, is a symbolic name for Babylon »⁵⁸.

De fait, l'importance des textes et traditions visiblement d'origine babylonienne dans les textes de Qoumrân, d'une part, et le fait que ce groupe vive apparemment sans problème son éloignement de Jérusalem

⁵⁶ Voir par exemple J. Neusner, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia I. The Parthian Period* (Leiden : Brill, 1965), 36–38 ; M. Hadas-Lebel, *Hillel, un sage au temps de Jésus* (Paris : Albin Michel, 1999), 9–28, 46–49.

⁵⁷ W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, 289 ; voir déjà ses remarques sur la vocalisation de 1QIs^a dans "New Light on Early Recensions of the Hebrew Bible", *BASOR* 140 (1955): 27–33.

⁵⁸ J. Murphy O'Connor, "The Essenes and their History", *RB* 81 (1974): 215–244, spéc. 221–222 ; voir déjà idem, "An Essene Missionary Document? CD II, 14 – VI, 1", *RB* 77 (1970): 201–229 ; voir aussi R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the 'Damascus Document'* (JSOTSup 25 ; Sheffield : Sheffield Academic Press, 1983), 47, 202–203 ; J. G. Campbell, "Essene–Qumran Origins in Exile: A Scriptural Basis?", *JJS* 46 (1995): 143–156 ; R. Davies, "The Scribal School of Daniel", dans *The Book of Daniel*, 247–265, spéc. 257–259.

et du culte de son temple, d'autre part, s'expliqueraient bien si une partie, au moins, de l'origine de la tradition intellectuelle de ce groupe se situe en Babylonie⁵⁹.

Cela ne signifie pas nécessairement que tout le groupe—et le mouvement essénien en général—soit originaire de Babylonie mais on peut, au moins, sérieusement poser la question d'une origine babylonienne pour le “maître de justice”, prêtre-enseignant, qui a apparemment imprimé sa marque à la tradition religieuse et intellectuelle d'un groupe qui, auparavant, a tâtonné quelque temps (CD I 9–11). Les parallèles du grand-prêtre babylonien Ananel et de “Hillel le Babylonien” sous le règne d'Hérode montrent qu'il n'y aurait rien là d'in vraisemblable.

RESPONSE: JONATHAN BEN-DOV

The Aramaic texts from Qumran represent cultural elements which originated from ancient Mesopotamia. André Lemaire, in his fine paper, seeks to enquire more deeply into this process of transmission: how was the information transferred? By which circles? In which period? In which language and by which media? Lemaire concentrates on two main examples: the names from the Gilgamesh epic attested in the *Book of Giants*; and the *Prayer of Nabonidus*. The presence of Gilgamesh and Nabonidus in Jewish texts, despite the fact that they are never mentioned in the Bible or elsewhere in the Jewish tradition, constitutes proof that a contact existed between late cuneiform culture and the Jews.

According to Lemaire, the *Prayer of Nabonidus* was composed by a Jew from the Babylonian diaspora, where Jews were well integrated into the local literary culture. He also cautiously considers whether the *Prayer of Nabonidus* is somehow related to the North-Arabic / Idumaeon milieu, a cultural environment created after Nabonidus' stay in Teima. With regard to the presence of Gilgamesh in the *Book of Giants*, Lemaire emphasizes the popularity of the Gilgamesh epic in the scribal tradition of the Late Babylonian period, thus suggesting that the *Book of Giants*, too, was derived from the Mesopotamian diaspora. He takes issue with Émile Puech, who had claimed that the *Book of Giants* was not derived from Babylonia, but rather from a northwest-Semitic envi-

⁵⁹ Une telle origine expliquerait aussi l'importance des éléments iraniens présents dans certains textes araméens, rappelée récemment par D. Dimant (“The Qumran Aramaic Texts and the Qumran Community”, dans *Flores Florentino*, 197–205, spéc. 205).

ronment, where (according to Puech) elements from Gilgamesh circulated together with various other literary motifs. Lemaire then continues to seek traces in recently-published inscriptions for the “Jewish-Akkadian symbiosis” maintained by the exiles. Finally, he raises the view of W. F. Albright, Jerome Murphy-O’Connor, and Philip Davies, claiming that there was a Babylonian connection in the history of the *yahad*, possibly concentrated in the place called “Damascus” in the *Damascus Document*.

The perspective required for assessing the paper could be derived from the following anecdote. A colleague from Haifa who grew up in Iraq, recalls being scolded by his mother as a boy: “If you do not finish your supper, the monster Humbaba will come and get you.” This is more than just a funny story. It exemplifies the fact that elements from the epic of Gilgamesh remained in the cultural memory of Mesopotamia until our times. At the same time, one should not overstate the case for the *Nachleben* of Gilgamesh, since these elements are no more than vague recollections of the main characters. No real part of the plot is preserved here. This notion might prove helpful in the case of the Qumran material too.

As demonstrated by Andrew George, although motifs from Gilgamesh survived in later literature, none of the later sources actually preserves the plot or even portions of it. Further, one could not be sure whether the Gilgamesh epic was so extensively copied in the late period, as Lemaire puts it. In Petra Gesche’s book on the Babylonian school curriculum, only one late Babylonian copy of Gilgamesh is registered among several hundreds of other texts. I would therefore dare say (*pace* Andrew George), that Gilgamesh was not an essential part of the scribal curriculum after the end of the Neo-Assyrian period. By that time no more stories were appended to the Gilgamesh epic (the latest ones being tablet 12 and possibly parts of the prologue), and the epic is much less frequently cited in secondary literature like folk songs, royal inscriptions etc. Surprisingly enough, the latest text where one finds verbal quotations from Gilgamesh is Qohelet, probably a product of the third century BCE. In contrast, the *Book of Giants* is too far removed from the actual epic to be considered the fruit of a direct influence of its text. Rather, it is surely an indication for the presence of Mesopotamian folklore.

Nabonidus, the last Babylonian king, was not a celebrity in the book-culture of the second half of the first millennium. There was significant writing about him immediately after his defeat, when the famous “verse

account” and other documents were written. But later references to Nabonidus are quite mild, as for example in the reports by Berossus and Herodotus. In this case we must assume that the tales on Nabonidus originated not later than the Persian period. When comparing the motifs on Gilgamesh and Nabonidus at Qumran I would say that the *Prayer of Nabonidus* is closer to the Mesopotamian origins than the *Book of Giants*. Perhaps here it is safer to assume a more direct transmission. The Arabic/Idumaeen contact suggested by Lemaire makes good sense, because, unlike in Babylonia proper, Nabonidus’ figure seems to have attracted much attention in the Arabian peninsula even in later times. In order to underscore the importance of the *Prayer of Nabonidus* as an independent source, it may be helpful to mention the conclusions of Matthias Henze, namely that Daniel 4 is not necessarily dependant on the *Prayer of Nabonidus*, but rather that they are entirely independent traditions. The variety of Jewish traditions on Mesopotamian kings was therefore wider than what is represented in the book of Daniel.

Lemaire therefore rightly points out the liveliness of Jewish literary activity on Mesopotamian soil. More concrete examples for this activity would come from the field of science and divination, as I hoped to show in my essay. In that field one finds a mention of the Jewish scribe called *šema’yah* in the colophon of a late-Babylonian scholarly text.

I find intriguing Lemaire’s notice of a *lwh*, “board” (of wood or stone) mentioned in 2Q26 as being wiped with water. This is not a traditional Babylonian method, nor is it typically Palestinian. A similar writing surface appears also in 4Q203 and 4Q537. In fact, לוח as a writing material—outside of the pentateuchal “tablets of the covenant”—is highly characteristic of the Aramaic texts. The motif then appears in the Heavenly tablets of the book of *Jubilees*. Although the *lwh* may in some way correspond to a Greco-Roman *pinax*, it may better reflect the Mesopotamian practice, well-attested since a very early period, of writing excerpts and school exercises on wooden boards. This board is called in Akkadian *lē’u*, a perfect etymological parallel to the Aramaic *lwh*. Nabonidus himself boasts that he has read the ancient (stone) tablets and (wooden) boards and learned the wisdom contained in them. The board as a writing material is an elegant link connecting Nabonidus with the episodes from the *Book of Giants*, the two protagonists of the paper. The mentions of *lwh* in the Aramaic texts are archaizing elements, meant to convey to the compositions the stamp of hoary antiquity.

A significant and highly variegated corpus of knowledge moved from Mesopotamia and ended at the caves in Qumran. Lemaire's interesting paper demonstrates the richness of this promising scholarly venture.

DISCUSSION

André Lemaire: Thank you very much for your "response." Actually our researches go exactly in the same direction: they emphasize the importance of the Babylonian culture and tradition in the Aramaic Qumran texts. We differ only in a few nuances. I am very well aware that my research about Nabonidus and Gilgamesh is limited and that there are more important fields—like science and divination—where the Babylonian influence is very clear. I explicitly referred to these other fields at the end of my paper and I fully agree with you on that. I also agree that the *Book of Giants*—at least what we know right now about it—does not seem to be under the influence of the text of the whole Gilgamesh epic. However it is clear that this epic was still copied in Mesopotamia at least till the second century BCE. It was still part of the scribal curriculum after the end of the Neo-Assyrian period, but only—as I mentioned in a note following Andrew George—of the first level (copy of extracts of literary texts) and not of the second level. Actually this is also the position of Petra D. Gesche (*Schulunterricht in Babylonien* [Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2001], 148–149 and 172).

Katell Berthelot: Compte tenu des rapprochements que vous avez soulignés, considérez-vous que des textes comme la *Prière de Nabonide*, le *Livre des Géants* ou d'autres aient pu être composés dans la diaspora juive babylonienne ? Ou bien sont-ce malgré tout des compositions judéennes ?

André Lemaire: Tout le but de mon argumentation est de montrer qu'il s'agit très probablement de compositions de la diaspora juive babylonienne et je rappellerai simplement que, en ce qui concerne le *Livre des Géants*, c'était déjà la position d'André Caquot.

John Collins: Contrary to what you claimed in your paper, separation from the Jerusalem cult was very problematic for the authors of the Scrolls. Most of the Babylonian elements appear in non-sectarian texts. For this reason, it is difficult to claim that the Teacher of Righteousness came from Babylon.

André Lemaire: I am not sure to understand your remark. The fact that the Jerusalem cult is still well attested and discussed in the so-called "sectarian" texts does not seem to me to contradict a Babylonian origin and we may mention two good parallels for texts dealing in details with the Jerusalem cult without implying actual participation in the temple cult: it is accepted by many commentators that the biblical priestly redaction (P) was written in Babylonia, and the Mishnah still deals in detail with the Jerusalem cult.

Kevin Trehuedic: Il y a peut-être un indice des contacts de lettrés juifs avec les traditions littéraires ou sribales de Mésopotamie dans le livre d'Esther (version hébraïque). J.-C. Picart, « Les clous d'Esther » (1988), a mis en évidence un jeu sur les dates (la proclamation d'un proqram 11 mois plus tard et le renversement 70 jours après) qui s'explique par la graphie cunéiforme des chiffres (11 <Y / 70 Y<). Dans un texte mésopotamien, Marduk planifie une destruction de Babylone pendant 70 ans puis la

réduit à 11 ans. Dans le livre d'Esther, formalisé à l'époque hellénistique, le choix des dates peut témoigner d'un topos littéraire ou d'une connaissance du cunéiforme.

André Lemaire: Merci pour cette remarque. Cependant cette interprétation me semble rester assez incertaine.

Armin Lange: Thank you very much for directing our attention to the Babylonian material. My question is simple. Why do we need to think of one moment in time or one way when and how the Mesopotamian influence came to Israel or Judah? Various Mesopotamian empires were in close cultural contact with the people living in Judah at so many different times, why does it all need to happen together?

André Lemaire: You are right that Mesopotamian influence on the kingdoms of Israel and Judah lasted for a long time. However it was apparently mainly a political influence and it seems that the cultural contacts were mainly through Aramaic. With the Babylonian Exile, the situation is different: as it is now very clear from the *al-Yahudu* tablets, exiled Jews had direct contact with the Babylonian Cuneiform culture. They were immersed in it and very soon—at least some of the Babylonian Jews—followed—again at least—the first level of the Babylonian scribal curriculum. It is clear that Babylonian Jews were under a strong Babylonian influence! Now to find such an important Babylonian influence in Judea, in Qumran, is astonishing and we have to look for an explanation.

Jonathan Ben-Dov: Another comment: one should not confuse the sporadic mentions of Gilgamesh in the *Book of Giants* with the actual copies found outside Mesopotamia in the second Millennium BCE. These are two very different phenomena.

André Lemaire: I totally agree.

Émile Puech: Prolongeant les remarques de Jonathan Ben-Dov sur les traditions orales et sur les citations de Gilgamesh en Qohélet, une composition en Palestine vers le troisième siècle, la citation des noms propres Gilgamesh et Hōbabish est insuffisante pour faire du *Livre des Géants* une composition en Mésopotamie. L'*Épopée de Gilgamesh* est connue en Canaan-Palestine depuis le deuxième millénaire, voir la tablette de Mégiddo, encore le toponyme Galqamus au sud-est de Jenin, les sceaux représentant le combat de Gilgamesh et Humbaba trouvés à Tell Keisân au Fer II et au sud à Tell Nagilah, ce qui s'oppose indéniablement à une rupture de l'influence culturelle mésopotamienne entre les deux millénaires en Canaan, comme vous l'affirmez. En revanche, toute l'onomastique des Veilleurs en *I Hénoch*, si proche du *Livre des Géants*, suppose un milieu culturel cananéno-phénicien : le pays des cèdres que garde Humbaba, ce à quoi renvoient encore les noms d'Ahiram (en vocalisation araméenne et non phénicienne dans cette composition) et les toponymes de la région qui auraient si peu d'intérêt pour une composition en Babylonie. (On ne peut rien dire sur les légendes et mythes phéniciens qui nous restent pour l'essentiel inconnus). Quant à l'origine du Maître de Justice en Babylonie, à l'époque d'Hérode le grand, c'est une théorie originale qu'on peut ne pas partager.

André Lemaire: Merci pour ces deux remarques mais elles me semblent révéler quelque confusion. En ce qui concerne la seconde remarque, mon texte provisoire et mon hypothèse de travail ne datent pas du tout le Maître de Justice de l'époque d'Hérode le Grand. Je ne fais que souligner trois exemples concrets d'influence du judaïsme babylonien sur celui de Judée à l'époque d'Hérode (en partie parce que, grâce à Nicolas de Damas et à Flavius Josèphe, ce règne nous est beaucoup mieux connu que les précédents). La datation du Maître de Justice est un autre problème dans lequel

je n'entre pas ici. En ce qui concerne le premier problème, celui du *Livre des Géants*, il ne me semble pas de bonne méthode de l'assimiler à *1 Hénoch*. Ces deux traditions littéraires sont différentes et ont d'ailleurs eu une postérité différente.

Florentino García Martínez: Thanks for bringing to the fore an element that is certainly important when talking about the Aramaic texts from Qumran: the setting in the Oriental diaspora. But we should not forget that we are dealing with a literary text, not with a documentary text, and that the story of Nabonidus has a completely different literary genre than the documentary tablets you are alluding to, and that we should not move from literature to sociology.

André Lemaire: I agree completely, as an epigrapher, that we must distinguish literary and documentary texts. However, even though their posterity and influence are completely different, both categories are written by one or several authors and both categories must, first, be understood in their milieu, in their *Sitz im Leben*.

SHEMIHAZAH ET COMPAGNIE(S). ONOMASTIQUE DES ANGES DÉCHUS
DANS LES MANUSCRITS ARAMÉENS DU LIVRE D'HÉNOCH.

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Qui sont les anges déchus ? D'où viennent-ils ? Comment s'appellent-ils ? Au cours de cette étude, nous nous intéresserons à cette dernière question, et plus particulièrement à l'onomastique des anges déchus dans les manuscrits araméens du *Livre d'Hénoch* découverts à Qumrân. Celui-ci contient en effet la liste des vingt chefs du groupe de Veilleurs descendus sur terre prendre pour femmes des filles d'homme, donnant ainsi naissance aux Géants. Ce récit de *1 Hénoch* 6 est bien sûr à rapprocher de Genèse 6:1–4, bien moins prolixe sur le sujet et ne fournissant aucune indication quant à l'identité des fils de Dieu. On retrouve un tel intérêt pour l'onomastique angélique chez les Esséniens qui, selon Flavius Josèphe, s'engagent à préserver « les noms des anges » (τὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ὀνόματα, *B.J.* 2.142) ; ceux-ci avaient depuis longtemps été étudiés par les commentateurs¹, mais sur la base de rétroversions parfois inexactes, comme l'ont démontré les manuscrits araméens du *Livre d'Hénoch* découverts à Qumrân. D'excellentes études onomastiques ont depuis été proposées², mais un examen à frais nouveaux semble aujourd'hui utile.

Nous proposons donc d'effectuer pour chacun de ces noms une nouvelle étude épigraphique et philologique détaillée comparée aux témoins grecs, éthiopiens et syriaques du *Livre d'Hénoch*. Nous aborderons notamment les questions morphologiques et lexicographiques mettant en évidence la polysémie de ces angélonymes. Nous nous interrogerons également sur l'origine de ces noms : est-elle araméenne ou hébraïque ? Orientale ou occidentale ? Ceci nous conduira certainement à formuler

¹ Voir e.g. A. Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch. Übersetzt und erklärt* (Leipzig : F. C. W. Vogel, 1853), 93–95.

² Voir notamment J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (with the collaboration of M. Black ; Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1976), 152–156 ; M. A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments* (2 vols. ; Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1978), 2:69–76 ; M. Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: A New English Edition* (Leiden : Brill, 1985), 118–124 ; A. Caquot, “1 Hénoch”, dans *La Bible. Écrits intertestamentaires* (dir. par A. Dupont-Sommer et M. Philonenko ; Paris : Gallimard, 1987), 477, n. 7 ; G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108* (Minneapolis : Fortress Press, 2001), 178–181.

quelque hypothèse ou conclusion quant à la composition de cette liste et de celle du *Livre d'Hénoch*.

a) *Premier décarque*

Le chef des anges déchus apparaît à plusieurs reprises dans les manuscrits araméens du *Livre d'Hénoch* ; on notera en particulier 4Q201 1c ii 6 ~ 1Hé 6:7, où le seul mot attesté est שמיִהזח, et 4Q201 1f 1 ~ 1Hé 8:3, où il est orthographié חזמי, avec un espace entre les deux composantes. En 1Hé 6:7, les versions ont Ⓞ^A Σεμιαζά, Ⓞ^S Σεμιαζᾶς, et Ⓞ^{*} *səmyāzā*³. Ⓞ^{MS} présente un texte abrégé et ne mentionne pas les chefs des anges (hormis le quatrième) ; l'incise *'yḏ' dsmz* n'a pas été traduite par Chabot⁴, tandis que Brock⁵ estime qu'il « n'est pas capable de l'interpréter ». On peut néanmoins proposer de considérer *smz* comme une forme abrégée du nom propre Semiaza (Ⓞ^A Σεμιαζά ; cf. Ⓞ^{T9} *səmyāz*)⁶, et la « main » comme un symbole de « puissance »⁷—un sens déjà connu en hébreu biblique pour désigner par exemple l'autorité d'un chef sur ses subalternes (cf. e.g. Ex 38:21 ; Nb 31:49...). La présence d'une préposition *b* permettrait donc la traduction suivante : « Et ceux-ci étaient, sous le commandement de Samaz, leurs décarques » ; c'était peut-être le sens du texte Ⓞ^{MS}. En 1Hé 8:3, on trouve Ⓞ^{A,S} Σεμιαζᾶς et Ⓞ^{*} *'amezārāk*⁸.

La vocalisation attestée par les versions suggère une lecture שמיִהזח ou שמיִהזח ; on reconnaît aisément le verbe חזי « voir » conjugué à l'accompli (cp. e.g. חזל 1 R 9:15 ; ראהו *WSS* 624), bien mis en évidence par l'orthographe חזמי en 4Q201 1f 1. Le terme qui précède doit être un nom issu d'une racine contenant les radicales ש/ש et מ. Avec une lecture ש, on pense à la racine שים, mais sans trouver de sens plausible. En revanche, une lecture שם ne surprend pas, car on trouve cet élément théophore dans plusieurs anthroponymes sémitiques (e.g.

³ Nombreuses variantes orthographiques, notamment Ⓞ^B *semi'azāzi*, Ⓞ⁹ *semi'azāz*, Ⓞ^{tu} *sem'azāz*, Ⓞ^{T9} *səmyāz*.

⁴ J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche, 1166–1199* (4 vols. ; réimpression de l'édition originale en 3 vols., 1899–1924 ; Bruxelles : Culture et civilisation), 1:8.

⁵ S. Brock, “A Fragment of Enoch in Syriac”, *JTS* 19 (1968) : 631, n. 1.

⁶ Voir récemment S. Bhayro, *The Shemihazah and Asael Narrative of 1 Enoch 6–11* (AOAT 322 ; Münster : Ugarit-Verlag, 2005), 133.

⁷ Voir L. Costaz, *Dictionnaire syriaque-français. Syriac-English Dictionary* (Beirut : Imprimerie catholique, 1963), 136.

⁸ Ⓞ^B *'amizirās* ; Ⓞ^m *'amizarās* ; Ⓞ^{u,III} *'amizārās* ; Ⓞ^{tu} *'amizrās* ; Ⓞ^{T9} *'amārās*.

שמטב ou שמרם⁹ ; cf. aussi l'hypocoristique שמ, WSS 55) et même bibliques (e.g. שמאָר Gn 14:2 ; שמידע Nb 26:32 ; שמואל Nb 34:20). Il pourrait dériver de la racine שמי « être élevé », mais correspond plutôt au substantif primitif « nom ». Il s'agit d'un titre divin, et peut-être même d'un théonyme¹⁰. Il est ici séparé du verbe par une voyelle ʔ que l'on peut interpréter de deux façons :

- (1) Il peut s'agir d'une simple voyelle de liaison (hireq compaginis), auquel cas שמיהוה signifie « Shem voit » ou « Le Nom voit ». On remarquera d'ailleurs l'orthographe C^{tu} *semʔazāz* sans voyelle de liaison, un phénomène que l'on rencontre dès la ligne suivante en araméen (cf. 4Q201 1c ii 7 [כוכבא]ל ~ C^{A} Χωχαρηίλ ~ C^{S} Χωβαβιήλ), ce qui tend à confirmer cette interprétation. On pourrait objecter que le hireq compaginis traduit en principe une relation génitive, mais on retrouve le même phénomène avec שמיאבד 1Q20 XXI 25 ~ שמאָר Genèse 14:2 (écrit avec un ד dans le *PSam*) où l'on n'a pas non plus de relation génitive. En outre, Zadok¹¹ confirme lui aussi l'usage d'une voyelle de liaison *i* dans des noms propres à structure de proposition nominale, expliquant ainsi son usage exclusivement médial dans des formes inverses (e.g. עמיאל 1 Ch 3:5 = אָליעם 2 S 11:3 et non *אָלעמי*). Il n'est donc pas nécessaire de traduire un état construit tel que שמיהוה « le nom du voyant »¹².
- (2) Il peut s'agir d'un suffixe pronominal 1cs, auquel cas שמיהוה signifie « Mon Nom a vu ». On écarte ainsi le hireq compaginis sans relation génitive, mais שם ne peut alors être un théonyme ; il ne peut s'agir que d'un titre divin. Reste à justifier la disparition du suf-

⁹ Voir W. Kornfeld, *Onomastica Aramaica aus Ägypten* (Wien : Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978), 74.

¹⁰ Voir M. Lubetski, “*Šm* as a Deity”, *Religion* 17/1 (1987): 1–14, et C. H. Gordon, “Notes on Proper Names in the Ebla Tablets”, dans *Eblaite Personal Names and Semitic Name-Giving: Papers of a Symposium Held in Rome July 15–17, 1985* (dir. par Alfonso Archi ; *ARES* 1 ; Rome: Missione archeologica italiana in Siria, 1988), 153–158, cités par *DDD* s.v. Shem ; N. Avigad et B. Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals* (Jerusalem : The Israel Academy of Science and Humanities–The Israel Exploration Society–The Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1997), 536 ; cp. M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namentgebung* (Suttgart : Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1928), 123–125.

¹¹ R. Zadok, *The Pre-hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy and Prosopography* (Louvain : Peeters, 1988), 45–46.

¹² Cp. שמיהוה “les cieux du Voyant”, lecture proposée par Caquot, “I Hénoch”, 477, n. 7, mais qui se heurte à la vocalisation des versions, et propose un titre divin “Voyant” peu probable.

fixe pronominal en $\mathfrak{E}^{t,u}$ *sem'azāz* (cp. שמיאבד 1Q20 XXI 25 ~ שְׁמִיאָבֶד Gn 14:2), peut-être due à une mauvaise lecture d'un texte consonantique à orthographe défective.

Une dernière hypothèse doit être signalée : Bhayro¹³ a récemment proposé la lecture *Šem Hazzi* « Shem du mont Hazzi », un nom divin syrien équivalent de l'ougaritique *b'l-spn* « Baal du mont Çaphôn ». Une telle interprétation est-elle plausible ? A Ougarit. *b'l-spn* correspond régulièrement à l'akkadien ^d*IM* (*EN/BE.EL*) ^{hur.sag}*ha-zi* « Baal/Hadad (Seigneur) du mont Hazi »¹⁴ ; ce parallèle permet d'associer les deux toponymes à une même montagne, nommée *haz(z)i* en hourrite et en akkadien (cf. grec Κάσ(σ)ιος), et *spn* en nord-ouest sémitique¹⁵. Le Seigneur de cette montagne est le dieu de l'orage, appelé Hadad ou Baal en nord-sémitique (cf. hourrite *tesšup*, grec Ζεύς). Une lecture **שמִיחֶזָה* « Shem du mont Casius » suppose donc (1) une identification du dieu Shem avec le dieu de l'orage Hadad / Baal ; (2) une influence hourrite ou akkadienne conduisant à employer le toponyme *haz(z)i* plutôt que l'habituel צפן ; (3) une transcription de *haz(z)i* par חזה, alors que les transcriptions connues (ougaritique *hš* et peut-être *ks*, grec Κάσ(σ)ιος)¹⁶ suggèrent une orthographe כשי ou חסי etc. Ces difficultés défavorisent une telle interprétation ; les parallèles mentionnés ci-dessus (e.g. חֶזָה 1R 9:15 ; שמִיחֶזָה Nb 26:32) nous conduisent à préférer la lecture שמִיחֶזָה « Shem voit ».

b) *Second décarque*

Le nom du second décarque est très peu attesté à Qumrân, et toujours partiellement : en 4Q201 1e 3 ~ 1Hé 6:7, seule la finale ה] a été préservée ; les deux lettres précédentes sont visibles en 4Q202 1p 4 ~ 1Hé 8:3, où l'on peut lire הַה]. Dans les versions de 1Hé 6:7, cet ange s'appelle \mathfrak{E}^A Ἀραθάκ ~ \mathfrak{E}^S Ἀταρκούφ ~ \mathfrak{E}^* *urākibarāme'el*¹⁷. Il apparaît clairement que deux noms ont été mis bout à bout en \mathfrak{E}^* , à l'exception

¹³ *I Enoch 6–11*, 234–235.

¹⁴ Voir M. Dietrich, O. Loretz et J. Sanmartín, “Zur ugaritischen Lexikographie (VII)”, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 5 (1973): 97.

¹⁵ Voir K. Koch, “*Hazzi-Šafōn-Kasion*. Die Geschichte eines Berges und seiner Gottheiten”, dans *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament* (dir. par B. Janowski, K. Koch et G. Wilhelm ; OBO 129 ; Göttingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993).

¹⁶ Voir G. del Olmo Lete et J. Sanmartín, “*ks* (Kásios/Casius) = *Hazzi* = *hš*”, *Aula Orientalis* 13 (1995): 259–261.

¹⁷ \mathfrak{E}^g *urāki barāme'e* ~ \mathfrak{E}^{uII} *urākibarā* ; *me'el* ~ \mathfrak{E}^{T9} *la'ārākeb. rāme'el*.

de quelques manuscrits qui les distinguent — sans pour autant être d'accord sur la division des mots. En 4Q201 1e 3, le nom suivant commence par מ , ce qui concorde avec la division proposée par \mathfrak{C}^{T9} . Le problème inverse se produit en \mathfrak{S}^{A} , qui comporte un nom supplémentaire : Κιμβρά . Celui-ci commençant justement par un κ (la dernière de lettre de Ἀραθάκ), il faut certainement rattacher les premières lettres au nom précédent et diviser les deux noms entre le β et le ρ (cf. \mathfrak{C}^{T9}). On obtient ainsi le nom $\mathfrak{S}^{\text{A}} \mathfrak{S}^{\text{A}} * \text{Ἀραθακκίμβ}$; le μ est bien sûr secondaire (cf. *BDF* §39). Si l'on compare cette forme à $\mathfrak{S}^{\text{S}} \text{Ἀταρκούφ}$, on note deux différences principales : (1) la permutation $\rho \sim \tau/\theta$; (2) la finale $\beta \sim \phi$. On notera à ce sujet l'orthographe $\mathfrak{C}^* \text{'arsīqifā} \sim \mathfrak{C}^{\text{B}} \text{'artāqifā} \sim \mathfrak{C}^{\text{T9}} \text{'arsāqis}$ rencontrée en 1Hé 69:2 dans la liste parallèle des décarques. Les manuscrits araméens du *Livre d'Hénoch* confirment une finale η ; le b résulte donc d'une sonorisation du p .

Reste à déterminer l'ordre dans lequel le ρ et le τ/θ se trouvaient avant permutation (et même disparition du t en 1Hé 6:7 \mathfrak{C}) ; seul \mathfrak{S}^{S} atteste l'ordre $\tau-\rho$, et la trace de lettre au début de 4Q202 1p 4 ne peut correspondre à un η tandis qu'une lecture η ne pose pas de problème. En outre, la racine תקף « être fort, puissant » est bien connue tant en hébreu qu'en araméen, alors que la racine רקף « fermer ; trembler » est beaucoup plus rare. La vocalisation $a-i$ suggérée par \mathfrak{S}^{A} et \mathfrak{C} correspond d'ailleurs à l'adjectif תקיף « puissant » (Esd 4:20...), voire au participe actif תקיף « puissant » ; mais le redoublement possible du κ en \mathfrak{S}^{A} favorise la première lecture. Quant à la vocalisation $a-u$ suggérée par \mathfrak{S}^{S} , elle correspond au substantif תקיף « puissance » (Dn 2:37) ; une confusion des matres lectionis י et ו (presque identiques dans certains manuscrits) est certainement à l'origine de cette double lecture, comme c'est le cas dans les targums (cf. e.g. Dt 33:29 ; Is 26:4 ; Ps 92:16).

Pour identifier la première partie du nom, on cherche une racine à première radicale gutturale et à seconde radicale ר . Plusieurs solutions sont possibles : אור « briller », אָרע « terre », ארר « maudire », ערי « montrer », עור « être éveillé », ער « être ennemi », etc. Le nom pourrait donc par exemple signifier « ennemi puissant » ou « lumière du puissant ». Puisqu'il s'agit du nom d'un Veilleur, on pense à une signification « Veilleur puissant », mais la vocalisation des versions suggérerait alors une forme de participe actif hébreu עָרע . Une lecture אָרע permet quant à elle d'expliquer la présence d'un s dans l'orthographe du nom en 1Hé 69:2 (cf. l'hébreu אָרָץ), mais elle se heurte à la vocalisation u en 1Hé 6:7, qui doit dès lors être considérée comme tardive. Si l'on adopte néanmoins cette restitution, on peut alors traduire « terre de puissance »

(*אַרְעֵתְקִיפָה)¹⁸, voire même « terre du Puissant » (*עֲרַעֲתְקִיפָא) en lisant un nom théophore : un tel usage de l'adjectif תְּקִיף est sans parallèle, mais on notera que Dieu est appelé le « Puissant de Jacob » (אַבִּיר יַעֲקֹב) à plusieurs reprises dans la Bible (Gn 49:24 ; Is 49:26 ; 60:16 ; Ps 132:2, 5 ; « Puissant d'Israël » en Is 1:24), où les targums emploient justement l'adjectif תְּקִיף.

L'absence de ה final en 4Q201 1e 3 et 4Q202 1p 4, ainsi que l'absence de י mater lectionis dans ce dernier, nous conduisent cependant à préférer une lecture אַרְעֵתְקִיפָא. On peut alors tenter de préciser le sens de cette expression ; en effet, le terme תְּקִיף apparaît régulièrement dans les targums dans un contexte géologique : il traduit des termes tels que בְּמָה « hauteur » (2 S 1:19, 25 ; 2 S 22:34 ; Is 58:14 ; Mi 1:3 ; Ha 3:19 ; Jb 9:8), מְרוֹם « hauteur » (2 R 19:23 ; Is 37:24 ; Jr 49:16), תּוֹעֲפּוֹת « hauteur » (Ps 95:4), תֵּל « colline » (Jos 11:13), סְלֵעַ « pente » (Ez 25:9), עֲרוֹץ « flanc » (Jb 30:6), סֶלֶע « rocher » (Jr 51:25), etc. Cet emploi correspond bien à la notion de solidité et de sécurité que l'on retrouve dans de nombreux passages où תְּקִיף traduit des termes tels que מְעוֹז « forteresse (naturelle ou non), refuge » (Jg 6:26 ; Is 17:9 ; 23:4, 11 ; 30:2, 3 ; Ez 30:15), מְצוּר « forteresse » (Mi 7:12 ; Za 9:3), מְבֻצֵר « forteresse » (Is 34:13), מְשָׁגֵב « hauteur, citadelle, refuge » (Is 25:12), etc. Les emplois métaphoriques sont alors très nombreux, et תְּקִיף traduit des qualificatifs divins tels que צוּר « roc » (Is 26:4 ; 44:4 ; Ps 19:15 ; 62:3, 7, 8 ; 89:27 ; 92:16 ; 94:22 ; 144:1), סֶלֶע « roc » (2 S 22:2 ; Ps 18:3 ; 31:4 ; 42:10 ; 71:3 ; 141:6), מְשָׁגֵב (Ps 9:10 ; 46:8, 12 ; 48:4), מְעוֹז (Is 25:4), מְצוּרָה « forteresse » (Ps 91:2), מִגֵּן « bouclier, protection » (Gn 15:1 ; Dt 33:29 ; 2 S 22:31, 36), etc.

Cet emploi très varié autorise plusieurs sens possibles pour le nom אַרְעֵתְקִיפָא : « haute terre », « terre escarpée », « terre de refuge », ou « terre protectrice ». Ces différentes interprétations ne sont d'ailleurs pas mutuellement exclusives ! On signalera enfin que la « Terre » fait partie du panthéon nord-ouest sémitique dès le second millénaire, comme on

¹⁸ D. Stökl signale l'expression parallèle אֶתֶר תְּקִיף en Tg. Ps.-J. Lv 16:10, un passage où apparaît également עֲזָאֵל (voir le dixième décarque), ce qui pourrait suggérer une lecture אֶתֶר־תְּקִיף pour le second décarque. L'ordre τ - ρ attesté par \mathfrak{S}^s serait alors original, et la disparition du second t pourrait être due à sa position interconsonantique entre le r et le q (sachant que le scribe a lu תְּקִיף et non תְּקִיף). Difficile, en revanche, d'expliquer \mathfrak{S}^A et \mathfrak{C} pour lesquelles une lecture עֲרַעֲ semble préférable. Enfin, signalons une autre occurrence de l'expression אֶתֶר תְּקִיף en Tg. Ps.-J. Nb 33:14 dans un tout autre contexte ; son emploi en Lv 16:10 serait-il dès lors une pure coïncidence ? Une étude des traditions liées à cet ange déchu nous permettra peut-être de répondre à cette question.

peut le voir à Ougarit (cf. *DUL* s.v. *ars*) ; ce nom se rapportait donc peut-être initialement à cette divinité terrestre (« Ar^á » en araméen moyen), d'où une traduction « Ar^á est puissance ».

c) Troisième décarque

Le nom du troisième décarque a été partiellement préservé en 4Q201 1e 3 :]רמש. La dernière lettre comporte un large trait oblique qui limite les possibilités d'identification (ר, ש, ז, ש) ; elle possède également un trait oblique apparemment symétrique, mais ne descendant pas plus bas, ce qui exclut un ז. De même, le ש est probablement à écarter, le trait de droite semblant lui aussi s'arrêter. Une lecture ר paraît elle aussi difficile en l'absence de boucle bien marquée au sommet du premier trait. Une lecture ש ne pose quant à elle aucun problème ; elle est même favorisée par la présence, le long de la déchirure, de particules d'encre parallèles au premier trait, invisibles sur les photographies mais observables à la loupe binoculaire.

Ce nom a été rattaché au second dans la plupart des mss \mathfrak{C} ; seul \mathfrak{C}^{T9} a correctement séparé les deux noms : \mathfrak{C}^{T9} *rāme'el*. Les autres mss proposent la même orthographe après correction (/ absent de \mathfrak{C}^{g}). On retrouve le même problème en \mathfrak{C}^{A} , où le découpage des mots a eu pour conséquence l'apparition d'un ange supplémentaire nommé Κιμβρά. Comme expliqué plus haut, la première syllabe doit certainement être rattachée à la fin du nom précédent, tandis que la seconde syllabe correspond au début du nom suivant, en l'occurrence Σαμμανή. On obtient ainsi le nom \mathfrak{C}^{A} *Ρασσαμμανή, à rapprocher de \mathfrak{C} *'armen* (1Hé 69:2). La finale νη est probablement secondaire, et l'orthographe \mathfrak{C}^{g} **rāme'el* nous conduit à restituer une finale ηλ : un η à la barre horizontale oblique aura été pris pour un ν, puis un λ collé à la lettre précédente et au trait gauche peu incliné aura été pris pour un η. L'orthographe de notre fragment nous invite également à inverser le σ et le ν ; la permutation pourrait être due à une confusion ς / σ dont les formes sont parfois très proches (à condition que le ש de notre fragment soit un ש et non un ש), ou tout simplement à une facilitation de la prononciation (bilabiale sonore suivie d'une sifflante).

Il faut donc certainement restituer le nom théophore רמש|אל¹⁹, qui autorise plusieurs interprétations : « El foule » (accompli du verbe רמש),

¹⁹ Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 155 préfère quant à lui restituer רמט|אל ; une lecture ר est néanmoins difficile, et la signification d'un tel nom reste incertaine : Milik suggère de

« Reptile de El » (substantif issu de la racine רמש), « Douceur de El » (cp. syr. *rmys*’ « doux », *rmyswt*’ « douceur »), « El touche » (cp. arabe *ramašā* « toucher/saisir du bout des doigts »), « Soir de El » (substantif רמש), etc. Le caractère cosmologique ou climatologique de plusieurs noms de notre liste favorise cette dernière interprétation, d’autant qu’en 4Q201 le *w* est le plus souvent noté *s* (cf. עסי, סגי, עסר ; שותו). On aurait ainsi une mention du soir juste avant la mention des étoiles en quatrième position (cf. כוכבאןל 4Q201 1c ii 7). Mieux encore : nous verrons que le seizième décarque s’appelle peut-être שְׁחִיָאֵל « Aurore de El » (cf. 4Q201 1c ii 11) ; on aurait alors le couple aurore / crépuscule. Le parallèle va plus loin : שְׁחִיָאֵל est le nom d’une divinité présente en onomastique biblique et nord-ouest sémitique (cf. ci-dessous), et cela pourrait également être le cas de רמש. En effet, trois textes ougaritiques (CAT 1.46 13 ; 1.109 7 ; 1.130 6) mentionnent une divinité nommée *rmš* inconnue par ailleurs²⁰.

Ces différents arguments nous conduisent ainsi à adopter la lecture רַמְשָׁן־אֵל « Crépuscule de El » ou « Ramash est Dieu », mais il reste encore à expliquer Ⲭ^S Ἀρακίηλ. Plutôt qu’une corruption du nom de notre décarque²¹, il s’agit sans doute de la transcription du nom *ארקאל* basé sur le substantif ארֶק « terre » (ṣ étymologique noté ק avant la généralisation du *w* au cours de l’époque achéménide, cf. e.g. Jr 10:11). C’est en tous cas ainsi que ce nom a été compris, puisqu’en 1Hé 8:3 on lit : Ⲭ^S ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐδίδαξε τὰ σημεῖα τῆς γῆς « le troisième (i.e. Araquel) enseigna les signes de la terre ». Sachant que le nom du second décarque est lui aussi construit sur le substantif אֶרֶע—si du moins la restitution ארעתקק est correcte—, il s’agit peut-être d’une conflatio de deux leçons relatives au nom du second décarque, au détriment du troisième.

d) Quatrième décarque

Le nom du quatrième décarque est attesté en 4Q204 1c ii 3, où l’on trouve כוכבאל ; il apparaît également en 4Q201 1c ii 7 : כוכבאןל. Ces deux occurrences correspondent à 1Hé 6:7, où les versions ont : Ⲭ^A

lire une racine **rmš* au sens de “brûler”, mais on attendrait une orthographe רמע ou רמק (voire רמק en hébreu).

²⁰ Voir la synthèse de D. Pardee, *Les textes rituels, fascicule 1* (Ras Shamra–Ougarit XII ; Paris : Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 2000), 285–286.

²¹ Selon Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 153, 155, Ἀρακίηλ < *Ῥακίηλ, le α initial correspondant peut-être à un ρ superflu écrit à la fin du mot précédent.

Χωχαριήλ ($\beta > \rho$), S^{S} Χωβαβιήλ ($\chi > \beta$)²², C^* *akibe'el*²³, S^{MS} *nwkb'yI* ($k > n$). Ce nom est évidemment composé du substantif כוכב « astre » suivi du théonyme אל. Les versions attestent la présence d'une voyelle *i* entre les deux termes, mais une telle prononciation n'est pas signalée ici par un ʾ mater lectionis. Cette graphie plaide en défaveur d'un suffixe pronominal lcs, que le scribe n'aurait certainement pas manqué de noter—à moins que la signification de cette voyelle *i* n'ait été oubliée avec le temps. Il peut néanmoins s'agir d'un hireq compaginis non nécessaire à la compréhension du nom propre, d'où son absence dans la graphie. Il semble en revanche difficile d'écarter toute prononciation sur la seule base d'une graphie défective, puisque celle-ci n'est pas régulière ; nous préférons donc proposer la vocalisation כוכבֿאל²⁴, traduite « Astre de El » de préférence à « El est mon astre ».

e) Cinquième décarque

Le nom du cinquième décarque n'est pas attesté en araméen. Cette absence est fortuite, due à l'état fragmentaire des manuscrits qumraniens du *Livre d'Hénoch*. Les versions grecques et éthiopiennes de cet angélonyme sont signalées dans le tableau de synthèse à la fin de cette étude.

f) Sixième décarque

Le nom du sixième décarque est attesté en 4O201 1e 4 ~ 1Hé 6:7, où l'on trouve אל רעם ~ $\text{S}^{\text{A,S}}$ Ραμιήλ, C^* *rāmu'el*²⁵. Les versions ne posent pour une fois aucun problème, et l'on peut sans hésitation lire רעם אל ; on notera l'espace entre les deux composantes du nom, soulignant probablement la signification de celui-ci. A ce sujet, le contexte météorologique permet de traduire רעם « tonner » ou « tonnerre » (de préférence à « miséricorde », « tristesse », « colère », etc) ; רעם אל signifie alors « Tonnerre de El » ou « El tonne » (de préférence à « El est mon tonnerre »).

²² Black. *Book of Enoch*. 118. lit Χωχαβιήλ.

²³ $\text{C}^{\text{S,m}}$ *kokabi'el*, C^{q} *kokabā'el*, $\text{C}^{\text{l,u}}$ *kokab'el*.

²⁴ Le „sous le second כ permet de conserver le timbre de la voyelle *a* tout en respectant les règles de vocalisation massorétique (qui n'interdisent d'ailleurs pas l'usage de demi-voyelles sous des non-gutturales, e.g. גלי Dn 2:19 ; צפרי Dn 4:9 ; סגר Dn 6:23). Nous ne prétendons aucunement indiquer la longueur de cette voyelle telle qu'elle était prononcée par les lecteurs de ce manuscrit !

²⁵ $\text{C}^{\text{l,u}}$ *rāmi'el*, $\text{C}^{\text{m,T9}}$ *rām'el*, C^{S} *rāmo'el*.

g) *Septième décarque*

Le nom du septième décarque, דניאל, apparaît en 4Q201 1c ii 8 ~ 1Hé 6:7. Il est fréquent dans la Bible ; on notera tout particulièrement Ez 14:14, 20 ; 28:3 où l'on rencontre l'orthographe דניאל sans י mater lectionis (mais qeré דניאל dans certains mss), comme c'est le cas pour certains noms d'anges déchus ici. Si la voyelle *i* correspond à un suffixe pronominal, le nom signifie « El est mon juge » ; s'il s'agit en revanche d'un hireq compaginis, on peut comprendre « Juge de El » (relation génitive) ou « El juge » (accompli du verbe דין avec simple voyelle de liaison *i*, cf. שמיהזה ci-dessus)²⁶. En outre, l'onomastique sémitique pourrait suggérer l'existence d'une divinité Dan²⁷, d'où une traduction « Dan est dieu ».

Les versions ont, en 1Hé 6:7, Ⓞ^A Δανειήλ, Ⓞ^E dān'el, et Ⓞ^S Σαμψίχ. Ce dernier reflète l'araméen **שמשיך (avec μσ > μπ), ou plutôt שמשיאל, le quinzième chef des anges, d'où une possible erreur de copie dans Ⓞ^S ; on peut par exemple imaginer que la liste occupait trois lignes, le septième et le quinzième nom apparaissant côte à côte à la fin des deux premières lignes²⁸.

h) *Huitième décarque*

Le nom du huitième décarque apparaît à deux reprises dans les manuscrits araméens du *Livre d'Hénoch* : en 4Q204 1c ii 4 ~ 1Hé 6:7, avec l'orthographe זיקיאל, et en 4Q201 1f 3 ~ 1Hé 8:3, où l'on peut lire זיקיאל, avec un ק supralinéaire corrigeant le כ initialement écrit. Cette correction suggère un amuïssement de l'uvulaire (ou vélaire ?) occlusive sourde emphatique /q/ en vélaire non-emphatique /k/²⁹, de préférence à un durcissement du /k/ en /q/ peu cohérent avec les phénomènes

²⁶ Cette interprétation est préférable à “El est fort” (voir e.g. l'akkadien *dan-ni-ilu* cité par K. L. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names* (Hildesheim : Georg Olms, 1966), 69, basé sur l'adjectif *dannu* “fort”) où l'on attendrait un redoublement du נ qui n'est attesté ni dans la Bible ni dans les versions de ce passage du *Livre d'Hénoch*. En outre, l'akkadien *dān-ilu* (voir Tallqvist, *ibid.* ; cp. *dān-uruk* etc.) basé sur la racine *dānu* “juger” confirme la lecture de cette même racine ici.

²⁷ Voir J. Lewy, “The Old West Semitic Sun-God *Ḥammu*”, *HUCA* 18 (1944): 463, n. 179 ; G. R. Driver, “Aramaic Names in Accadian Texts”, *RSO* 32 (1957): 49 s.v. יתנן ; voir aussi *ʿzrdn* dans G. Lankester Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions* (Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 1971), 418.

²⁸ Voir aussi l'hypothèse de Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 155.

²⁹ Voir U. Schattner-Rieser, *L'araméen des manuscrits de la mer Morte. I. Grammaire* (Lausanne : Éditions du Zèbre, 2004), 37.

d'affaiblissement constatés ailleurs. Cet amuïssement est néanmoins limité, l'orthographe כ étant considérée comme fautive. On en déduit également que le phénomène de spirantisation du /k/ n'avait pas encore pris place dans le milieu environnant la copie de ce manuscrit, vers le milieu du second siècle avant notre ère.

Si l'on s'intéresse aux versions en 1Hé 6:7, on note que 𐤄^S זאקיהל correspond bien à l'araméen, tandis que 𐤄^A 'עזקיהל et 𐤄^{*} 'ezeqe'el³⁰ ont adjoint un e initial permettant de lire le nom du prophète Ézéchiel juste après celui de Daniel (lequel est mentionné en Ez 14:14, 20 ; 28:3). La découverte des manuscrits de Qumrân confirme le caractère secondaire de cette lecture, et c'est bien le substantif זיקי qui constitue le premier élément de ce nom. Plusieurs interprétations sont possibles :

- Le sens le plus répandu de l'araméen זיקי est « vent, bourrasque » (cf. akkadien *ziqū* « souffle, vent, bourrasque » < *zāqu* « souffler » ; syriaque *zyq'* « tempête »). Ce sens est attesté à Qumrân en 11Q10 XXVIII 5 ~ Jb 36:27, où ce n'est pas le TM זיקי (une forme verbale) qui a été lu mais un substantif pluriel construit וזיקי ; l'expression זיקי מטר peut ainsi être traduite « bourrasques de pluie ». Ceci nous conduit à traduire זיקיאל « Vent de El » ou « Bourrasque de El », voire « Tempête de El ».
- Le substantif זק désigne une « outre » contenant de l'eau ou du vin (e.g. *Tg. Neof.* Gn 21:14ss) ; l'expression זיקי מטר (11Q10 XXVIII 5 ~ Jb 36:27) peut donc être également traduite « outres de pluie ». Une lecture זיקיאל « Outre de El » est ainsi possible, mais plutôt incongrue ; on notera également que l'emploi d'un י mater lectionis pour une voyelle brève n'est pas dans l'habitude du copiste de 4Q201.
- En Proverbes 26:18, on trouve des projectiles nommés זקים (cp. akkadien *ziqtu* « pointe, dard » et *ziqqu* « crête, bord, rempart »). On pourrait donc envisager de traduire זיקיאל « Pointe de El », mais l'absence d'attestation de ce terme en hébreu et araméen associée à la présence d'un י mater lectionis rend cette lecture peu probable.
- En Isaïe 50:11 et CD V 13, le pluriel זיקרות désigne des flammes ou des objets enflammés (cf. akkadien *ziqū* et *ziqtu* « torche ») ; en 11Q10 XXXVI 6 ~ Jb 41:13, les זיקין (substantif féminin, cf. le verbe זיקן) traduisent l'hébreu ללהב (« flamme, lame »). Une image similaire est employée en *Tg. Neof.* et *Tg. Ps.-J.* Ex 20:2 (cf. aussi

³⁰ 𐤄^t 'azāqi'el, 𐤄^b 'azqe'el, 𐤄^x 'azqu'el, 𐤄^o 'ezeqi'el.

Tg. Neof. Dt 5:6–7) où la parole sortant de la bouche de Dieu est semblable à des זיקין, ברקין (« éclairs ») et למפדין/שלהוביין דנור (« lampes/flammes de feu »). On peut donc traduire זיקאֵל « Flamme de El » ou « Torche de El », mais peut-être aussi « Éclair de El ».

- En Siracide 43:13, les זיקות sont des phénomènes météorologiques parallèles à ברק « éclair » dans le ms B et à ברד « grêle » dans le ms M³¹. La LXX traduit tout simplement ἀστραπή « éclair ». D'autres phénomènes peuvent cependant être désignés par ce terme : en y. *Berakhot* 9.13c, il est question de זיק « passant par Orion », ce qui suggère une comète ou un météore. En 4Q204 1 i ii 5 ~ 1Hé 14:8, זיקין est traduit Ⲛ^{A} διαδρομαὶ τῶν ἀστέρων « courses des astres », une expression employée par Aristote dans ses *Météorologiques*. Il y décrit justement plusieurs phénomènes célestes incandescents : φλόγες αἰ καιόμεναι... καὶ οἱ διαθέοντες ἀστέρες καὶ οἰ... δαλοὶ καὶ αἶγες, « les flammes embrasées... et les astres filants et les... brandons et chèvres » (341b 2-3)³². Les φλόγες καιόμεναι correspondent à un embrasement dans plusieurs directions, les αἶγες à un embrasement unidirectionnel produisant des étincelles, et les δαλοὶ à un embrasement unidirectionnel sans étincelle. Il est donc possible que זיק ait de même été employé pour désigner certains électrométéores (éclairs en nappe, en boule, feux Saint-Elme, ou autres phénomènes étudiés depuis peu—sylphes rouges, elfes, jets bleus). En l'absence de précisions quant au phénomène désigné par זיק, on se contentera d'une traduction générale « météore » ; le nom du huitième décarque signifierait alors « Météore de El ».
- Plusieurs amulettes ou bols magiques emploient le terme זיק pour désigner une catégorie de démons³³, à côté d'autres catégories telles que מזיק ou טלני. Il pourrait donc s'agir de démons « rafales », « flammes », ou « météores » (puisque ces phénomènes ont souvent été associés à des êtres divins ou surnaturels ; cf. e.g. l'emploi moderne du terme « sylphe » mentionné ci-dessus). Dans tous les cas,

³¹ Voir P. C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew: A Text Edition of All Extant Hebrew Manuscripts and a Synopsis of all Parallel Hebrew Ben Sira Texts* (SVT 68 ; Leiden : Brill, 1997), 172.

³² Voir P. Louis, *Aristote : Météorologiques* (Paris : Les Belles Lettres, 1982), 1:11.

³³ Voir e.g. J. Naveh et S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem : Magness Press, 1985), A 11.8 ; G 7.16.

cela ne correspond pas à un sens de זיק permettant une autre interprétation du nom propre זיקיאל.

Parmi toutes les traductions possibles, laquelle est la plus probable ? Puisque la plupart des noms des décarques s'inscrit dans un cadre climatologique ou cosmologique, les traductions « Bourrasque de El » ou « Météore de El » semblent préférables. Plus précisément, la proximité avec ברק (cf. ברקאל ci-dessous ; en 4Q204 1i ii 5 ~ 1Hé 14:8, זיקין est certainement suivi de ברקין ~ Ⓞ^A διαστραπαί ; cf. aussi 1Hé 14:11, 17) privilégie la traduction « Météore de El »—notamment un électrométéore, voire un lithométéore incandescent.

i) Neuvième décarque

Le nom du neuvième décarque, ברקאל, est attesté en 4Q201 1e 5 ~ 1Hé 6:7 ; il apparaît également dans le *Livre des Géants* en 4Q203 1 2, 6Q8 1 4, et probablement 4Q531 7 2 (ברקאל). En 1Hé 6:7, les versions ont Ⓞ^A Βαρακίηλ, Ⓞ^S Βαλκίηλ, Ⓞ^{*} sarāq^wayāl³⁴. Le contexte météorologique nous conduit à lire le substantif ברק « éclair » (voire le verbe ברק « éclairer ») et le nom théophore ברקאל³⁵ « Éclair de El » ou « El éclaire » (de préférence à « El est mon éclair »).

j) Dixième décarque

Le nom du dixième décarque est notamment attesté en 4Q201 1c ii 9, où l'on peut lire עסאל. En 4Q204 1d 1, les deux premières lettres sont partiellement endommagées mais suffisamment lisibles, et l'on peut restituer עשאל. Ces deux occurrences correspondent à 1Hé 6:7, où les versions ont : Ⓞ^A 'Aσέαλ, Ⓞ^S 'Aζαλζήλ³⁶, Ⓞ^{*} 'asā'el³⁷. On reconnaît le théonyme אל précédé de la racine עשי « faire » ; en 4Q201, le װ est (comme souvent dans ce manuscrit) noté ם. Dans les deux manuscrits, la troisième radicale faible est absente ; cp. עֶשְׂהֶאֱל (2 S 2:18...) / עֶשְׂהֶאֱל (2 S 2:30...) et עֶשְׂהֶאֱל (1 Ch 4:35). Nous pouvons donc proposer de

³⁴ Ⓞ^t bārāq'el, Ⓞ^u barāq'el, Ⓞ^{q,T9} barāqyāl, Ⓞ^s barāqiyal, Ⓞ^m barāqeyal.

³⁵ Le װ sous le ך permet de conserver la couleur de la voyelle tout en respectant les règles massorétiques de réduction vocalique, et ne prétend pas refléter la longueur de la voyelle telle qu'elle était prononcée par les lecteurs de ce manuscrit.

³⁶ Black. *Book of Enoch*, 118, lit 'Aζαλζήλ.

³⁷ Ⓞ^t 'asāhel ; Ⓞ^q 'arās'ol.

vocaliser לְאַשַׁע « El accomplit »—de préférence à לְאַשָׁע —en accord avec ע^q et ע^A (après métathèse $\varepsilon \leftrightarrow \alpha^{38}$).

ע^S reflète un autre nom, que l'on peut comparer à $\text{ע}^* \text{'azāz'el}^{39}$ qui désigne le même personnage dans le *Livre d'Hénoch* (1Hé 8:1 ; 9:6 ; 10:4, 8 ; 13:1 ; 54:5 ; 55:4 ; et 69:2 où l'on retrouve la liste des décarques) ~ $\text{ע}^{A,S} \text{'Azāhēl}$. On a donc au final quatre orthographes :

(1) Asaël, qui correspond à לְאַהֲשָׁע , basé sur la racine שָׁע « faire ». Par confusion des sifflantes (sourde / sonore), on obtient la seconde orthographe :

(2) Azaël, qui correspond à לְאַזָּשָׁע (cf. *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gn 6:4), basé sur la racine bilitère זָשָׁע « être fort ». En dédoublant la 2^e radicale longue, on obtient la troisième orthographe :

(3) Azazel, qui correspond à לְאַזָּזָשָׁע (cf. 4Q180 1 7–8), et n'est qu'une variante orthographique du même nom. On trouve la même orthographe en 11QT XXVI 13, où le terme correspond à לְאַזָּזָשָׁע (Lv 16:8, 10, 26)—une forme que l'on peut expliquer par des considérations phonétiques (la métathèse permet au ז devenu quiescent de retrouver une utilité en signalant la séparation des deux ז dans la prononciation) ou théologiques (déformation du nom propre d'un être maléfique, jeu de mot avec זָשָׁע « bouc » au v. 5, etc).

(4) Azazel : cette unique occurrence (en ע^S) peut dériver de l'orthographe précédente par des mécanismes phonétiques (insertion d'un ל de dissimilation entre les deux ז ou dédoublement du groupe זל), auquel cas le sens reste le même. Mais cette forme concorde justement avec l'une des interprétations proposées pour לְאַזָּזָשָׁע dans les commentaires et dictionnaires, à savoir une forme intensive de la racine זָשָׁע « retirer, renvoyer » avec dédoublement des deux dernières radicales, d'où לְזָזָשָׁע . Cela expliquerait la traduction des LXX, qui emploie les termes ἀποπομπᾶτος / ἀποπομπή et ἄφεις « renvoi ». Cette hypothèse, jusqu'alors purement conjecturale, est désormais accréditée par l'attestation ici de l'orthographe Ἀζαλζήλ ; c'est donc certainement cette forme que les traducteurs de la LXX avaient sous les yeux. Est-elle pour autant antérieure à celle du TM ? Difficile à dire, car les deux formes sont directement ou indirectement attestées tant dans des textes anciens (LXX ; Qumrân) que tardifs (ע^S ; TM). En outre, le passage d'une

³⁸ Puisque la racine שָׁע a une troisième radicale faible, le ε pourrait également correspondre à une monophthonguisation $\text{ay} > e$. Mais cette prononciation n'est pas attestée ailleurs, et le α resterait inexplicable.

³⁹ $\text{ע}^q \text{'azāzā'el}$ 1Hé 9:6 ; $\text{ע}^{\text{mss}} \text{'izeze'el}$ 1Hé 69:2 (seconde occurrence).

forme à l'autre est possible d'un point de vue phonétique (affaiblissement de la liquide ל > א ; insertion d'un ל ou redoublement du groupe זל). Il est également possible que Azaël et Azalzel soient deux noms originaires distincts mais ultérieurement confondus, tout comme Asaël et Azaël ont été confondus dans notre passage. Dans tous les cas, c'est bien un nom propre qu'il faut lire dans le texte du Lévitique et non un hypothétique « bouc émissaire ».

k) Onzième décarque

Le nom du onzième décarque est attesté en 4Q204 1c ii 5, où l'on peut lire חרמנון. Ce passage correspond à 1Hé 6:7, où les versions ont : Ⲭ^A Ἀρεαρώς, Ⲭ^S Φαρμαρός, Ⲭ^* ⁴⁰ armars ; la présence un r au lieu du n pourrait être due à une erreur de lecture n / r dans un manuscrit au ductus cursif et peu accentué, à moins qu'un v à la traverse recourbée vers le haut pour tracer le jambage droit n'ait été pris pour un ρ ouvert. La finale -ς résulte de l'hellénisation (cf. BDF §53) d'un nom semble-t-il dépourvu (ou privé ?) de finale אל. En outre, la présence d'une voyelle o et non i/e suggère une lecture ו et non י pour la dernière lettre. Au final, plusieurs lectures sont possibles pour cet angélonyme : [חרמני, חמרני|אל] ; חרמני, ou חרמנו, la troisième lecture étant favorisée par les versions.

Ce nom est construit à partir d'une racine חרם, que l'on rencontre à plusieurs reprises en onomastique biblique : חרמים (e.g. Esd 2:32, 39 ; cp. ougaritique {hrm} /haramu/ CAT 4.69 I 9 ; 4.75 1 ; 4.775 14), חרם (Jos 19:38), חרמה (e.g. Nb 14:45), et bien sûr חרמון (e.g. Dt 3:8 ; cf. בעל חרמון Jg 3:3 ; 1 Ch 5:23). En araméen d'Égypte, on trouve également les anthroponymes חרמן (e.g. TADAE C3.15 4 ; C4.4 2 ; D9.14 6, 12)⁴¹, חרמביהאל (e.g. TADAE B7.2 7), et même חרמנתן (e.g. TADAE B3.9 12 ; B6.4 10 ; D18.6a, b ; D18.10a, b ; D22.36) et חרמשוב (e.g. TADAE D18.2a, b ; D22.6 ; et peut-être D22.5) ; ces deux derniers noms confirment l'existence d'un théonyme חרם « Haram », certainement présent dans le nom du onzième décarque déchu. D'autres hypothèses sont néanmoins envisageables : on peut par exemple penser au substantif חרמן, qui désigne une espèce de serpent venimeux (e.g. Tg. Onq. Gn 49:17), ou au toponyme חרמון signalé plus haut, lieu du serment des anges déchus (cf. 1Hé 6:6).

⁴⁰ Ⲭ^e armors ; $\text{Ⲭ}^{s,q,T9,n}$ armāros ; Ⲭ^m armaros ; $\text{Ⲭ}^{t,u?}$ armeros.

⁴¹ Cp. thamoudéen hrmn dans G. Lankester Harding et E. Littmann, *Some Thamudic Inscriptions from the Hashimite Kingdom of the Jordan* (Leiden : Brill, 1952), n°83, 113, 219, 259A, 318, 498.

Cette dernière lecture⁴² s'intègre bien au contexte du récit, mais correspond probablement à une interprétation ultérieure de ce nom primitivement théophore. Nous pouvons donc proposer de lire הַרְמֹנִי ou הַרְמֹנִי « (de) Haram », avec une affirmante hypocoristique (adjectivale ?) הַרְ⁴³ suivie d'un וּ préservant le nominatif⁴⁴, voire d'un ך̄ adjectival. Cette voyelle finale a d'ailleurs pu alterner (cp. e.g. ידִי / ידו Esd 10:43 ; 1 Ch 27:21 ; חצרו / חצרי 2 Sa 23:35 ; 1 Ch 11:37) et même disparaître complètement, cf. הַרְמֵן en araméen d'Égypte et thamoudéen mentionné ci-dessus.

Un dernier mot concernant les versions : si l'absence de μ en Ⓔ^A est certainement accidentelle, la présence d'un φ en Ⓔ^S peut difficilement l'être ; comme le suggérait déjà Dillmann⁴⁵, il s'agit certainement d'une innovation grecque visant à faire correspondre le nom du onzième décarque à son enseignement. En effet, le Syncelle précise en 1Hé 8:3 que Ⓔ^S ὁ δὲ ἐνδέκατος Φαρμαρός ἐδίδαξε φαρμακείας, ἐπαιοιδίας, σοφίας, καὶ ἐπαιοιδῶν λυτήρια « Le onzième, Pharmaros, enseigna (les) usages de philtres, (les) enchantements, (les) savoir-faire, et (les) délivrances des enchantements ». Alors que les décarques suivants ne sont pas nommés, le Syncelle prend soin de préciser que le onzième s'appelle Φαρμαρός et qu'il enseigne les φαρμακείας, reproduisant ainsi le procédé employé ailleurs en araméen.

l) Douzième décarque

Le nom du douzième décarque est mentionné en 4Q201 1e 6, où l'on trouve אל מטר écrit avec un espace entre les deux composantes (cp. e.g. חזי שמִי 4Q201 1f 1 ; רעם אֵל 4Q201 1e 4). Les premières lettres sont également attestées en 4Q204 1c ii 5, où l'on peut lire מטרֵאל. On reconnaît la racine מטר « pleuvoir », qui s'inscrit parfaitement dans le cadre météorologique de la liste. Ces deux occurrences correspondent à 1Hé 6:7, où les versions ont Ⓔ^S Ἀμαριήλ, Ⓔ^A Βατριήλ, Ⓔ^{*} *batār'el*⁴⁶. Ces formes s'expliquent aisément : le *t* a disparu de Ⓔ^S tandis qu'un *a* prothétique a fait son apparition ; une confusion ב / מ est à l'origine de Ⓔ^A et Ⓔ. Nous pouvons donc sans problème lire מטרֵאל « Pluie de El ».

⁴² Proposée par Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 153.

⁴³ Voir e.g. Zadok, *Anthroponymy*, §22215–22216.

⁴⁴ Voir e.g. Zadok, *Anthroponymy*, §22113–22114 ; WSS 841.

⁴⁵ *Buch Henoch*. 94.

⁴⁶ Ⓔ^{*} *batra'al*, *batra'al*, Ⓔ^{b,x} *batra'al*, Ⓔ^l *batara'al*, Ⓔ^a *batr'el*, Ⓔ^{lll} *bat'el*.

m) *Treizième décarque*

Le nom du treizième décarque, עננאל, est attesté en 4Q201 1c ii 10 et 4Q204 1d 2, qui correspondent tous deux à 1Hé 6:7 où les versions ont Ⓔ^A Ἀνανθνά, Ⓔ^S Ἀναγημάς, Ⓔ^{*} *'anān'el*⁴⁷. Une fois encore, Ⓔ a mieux préservé le nom que Ⓔ^{A,S}; dans la Bible, on trouve ענניָה (Ne 3:23 ; 11:32), ענן (Ne 10:27), ענני (1 Ch 3:24), et עני (1 Ch 15:18, 20 ; Ne 12:9) ; cf. aussi ענניהו (*WSS* 571) et ענניהו (*WSS* 42) ; cp. l'ammonite ענמורה (*WSS* 875, avec la divinité מורה). La racine pourrait être עני suivie d'un suffixe pronominal 1cs (cf. accentuation TM ענני 1 Ch 3:24), auquel cas on pourrait comprendre « El me répond » (cp. ענניהו « YHWH me répond », *WSS* 571) ; il faudrait alors vocaliser ענניאל, en notant l'absence de ם mater lectionis—possible mais surprenante pour un suffixe pronominal. Il semble donc préférable de se tourner vers la racine ענ ; dans le cas d'une forme verbale⁴⁸, on peut par exemple comprendre « El se manifeste », vocalisé ענניאל (ou עננאל avec une petite voyelle de liaison *i*, cf. שמיהזה). S'il s'agit d'une forme nominale, on signalera l'ougaritique *mn* « serviteur, messenger » (cf. *DUL* s.v.) à côté de l'habituel ענן « nuage, nuée », d'où une traduction « Serviteur de El » ou « Nuée de El » (de préférence à « El est ma nuée » en l'absence de ם mater lectionis). Parmi toutes ces traductions, deux sont favorisées par le contexte : « El se manifeste » (cp. עשאל) et « Nuée de El » (cp. מטראל). La majorité des noms faisant référence à un phénomène cosmologique ou climatique, cette dernière interprétation semble préférable dans ce passage. On signalera enfin l'existence à Ugarit d'une divinité *n*⁴⁹ présente dans des noms tels que *bd'n* (*CAT* 4.75 V 23) ou *'nil* (*CAT* 4.159 3) ; si le *n* était long, un dédoublement serait possible (cp. *hd* et *hdd* « Hadad », cf. ci-dessous pour le vingtième décarque), et עננאל pourrait se rapporter à cette divinité, d'où une traduction « Anān est Dieu ».

Reste à expliquer les orthographes de Ⓔ^A et Ⓔ^S. Les quatre premières lettres de Ⓔ^A Ἀνανθνά ne posent pas de problème ; les trois dernières peuvent être expliquées par une erreur de lecture de ⒺⒺ^A : un ε presque fermé—ou mieux : suivi d'un ι—a été pris pour un θ, un η dont la barre horizontale était oblique a été pris pour un ν, et un λ légèrement barré

⁴⁷ Ⓔ^{mss} *'anān'ē*.

⁴⁸ Voir Noth, *Personennamen*, 184.

⁴⁹ Voir *DUL* s.v. ; F. Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit* (Rome : Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1967), 110.

(peut-être par le η ?) a été pris pour un α. D'où *'Ανανειήλ > 'Ανανθνά ; notre hypothèse rejoint celle de Milik⁵⁰.

Pour Ⲅ^S 'Αναγημάς, on peut envisager qu'un ν à la barre oblique peu inclinée a été pris pour un γ, le trait vertical droit étant associé au ι pour former un η (surtout si la barre du ν dépassait à droite) ; un η à la barre concave aura quant à lui été pris pour un μ, et enfin un λ aura été confondu avec un α. Le nom propre, qui se termine désormais par une voyelle, a ensuite été hellénisé au moyen d'un ζ final (cf. *BDF* § 53). D'où *'Ανανιήλ > 'Αναγημά(ς)⁵¹.

Les orthographes ainsi restituées, ⲄⲄ^A *'Ανανειήλ et ⲄⲄ^S *'Ανανιήλ, confirment la vocalisation 𐩧𐩣𐩪𐩮, avec une petite voyelle de liaison *i* comme pour les autres noms ; on notera à ce sujet les deux orthographes 'Ανανιήλ et 'Ανανηλ en Tb 1:1⁵².

n) Quatorzième décarque

Au début de 4Q201 1r 1 ~ 1Hé 6:7, on peut lire la finale 𐩧𐩣 du quatorzième angélonyme ~ Ⲅ^A 'Ρακειήλ, Ⲅ^S ἰδ' Θαυσαήλ, Ⲅ^{*} *zaqebe*⁵³. Les variantes éthiopiennes s'expliquent aisément à partir de Ⲅⁿ *zaqi'el* : *qi* est lu *qe*, 'e devenu quiescent n'est plus noté, *l* est lu *le* puis *se* puis *be*. En outre, Ⲅⁿ *zaqi'el* peut être rapproché de Ⲅ^A 'Ρακειήλ, la seule différence étant la première consonne P et non Z. Une erreur de lecture étant peu probable, on signalera la présence de Ⲅ^S Ζακιήλ en huitième position, qui pourrait expliquer cette confusion. Par ailleurs, dans la liste parallèle de 1Hé 69:2 on trouve Ⲅ *ṭuryāl* qui correspond au dix-huitième décarque, ce qui montre bien qu'il y a eu confusion. Seul Ⲅ^S Θαυσαήλ propose un nom original, mais la finale 𐩧𐩣 préservée ici ne permet pas de déterminer si celui-ci correspond davantage à notre texte araméen. Signalons enfin que l'identification et la lecture d'un petit fragment positionné à gauche de 4Q204 1d (non numéroté par Milik) sont pour le moins hasardeuses et ne peuvent donc être prises en compte pour établir le nom du quatorzième décarque.

⁵⁰ *Books of Enoch*, 153.

⁵¹ Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 153, suppose quant à lui une forme intermédiaire *'Ανανιήλ.

⁵² R. Hanhart, *Tobit* (Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum, vol. VIII,5 ; Göttingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 64.

⁵³ Ⲅ^{g,m,u?} *zaqile*, Ⲅⁿ *zaqase*, Ⲅ^t *zaqe*, Ⲅ^{T9} *zaqe'el*, Ⲅⁿ *zaqi'el*.

o) *Quinzième décarque*

Le nom du quinzième décarque est partiellement attesté à la fin de 4Q201 1e 7 et 4Q204 1c ii 6, où l'on peut lire שמש . Ces deux occurrences correspondent à 1Hé 6:7, où les versions ont S^{S} $\Sigma\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\lambda$, S^{A} $\Sigma\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\lambda$, C^* *samsāpe'el*⁵⁴. On notera que tous les mss C ont préservé les deux *s*, contrairement à $\text{S}^{\text{A,S}}$ où le second σ a disparu. Il faut bien sûr lire le substantif שֶׁשֶׁשׁ « soleil », conforme à la thématique cosmologique de la liste. Cet ange s'appelle donc שמשאֵל « Soleil de El » ou « Shamash est Dieu », à comparer avec le phénicien משמשאל ⁵⁵ et l'ougaritique *ilšpš, špšmlk*. Signalons enfin qu'en 4Q201 1f 4 ~ 1Hé 8:3, les lettres שאי correspondent certainement à שמשאל , de préférence au troisième décarque למשאל . En effet, on peut dès lors restituer שמשאֵל « les présages du soleil » ~ S^{S} $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\acute{\eta}\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$, alors qu'il est plus difficile de proposer une restitution s'il s'agit du troisième décarque ; celui-ci est également mentionné en S^{S} , mais il enseigne $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\gamma\eta\varsigma$ « les présages de la terre », ce qui concorde avec l'orthographe de son nom en S^{S} (Αρακιήλ , qui transcrit probablement ארקאל , cf. ci-dessus), mais pas avec celle des autres témoins. En outre, la liste des enseignements des décarques de S^{A} et C est plus courte et ne mentionne pas le troisième ange ; il n'y a donc aucun parallèle permettant de proposer une restitution probable. Mieux vaut donc lire l'enseignement de שמשאל , le quinzième décarque.

p) *Seizième décarque*

Le nom du seizième décarque est mentionné en 4Q201 1c ii 11, où l'on peut lire שחריאל ou שחריאל . Il apparaît également en 4Q204 1d 3, où une lecture ח semble plus probable, bien qu'un ה reste possible. Ces deux occurrences correspondent à 1Hé 6:7, où les versions ont : S^{A} $\Sigma\alpha\theta\acute{\iota}\eta\lambda$, S^{S} $\Sigma\alpha\rho\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}\zeta$, C^* *sarta'el*⁵⁶. Deux lectures sont envisageables : שחריאל (cf. שחַר « lune ») et שחריאל (cf. שחַר « aurore »).

L'orthographe ש favorise une lecture ש , car ש est le plus souvent noté ס en 4Q201 (cf. עסי , סגי , עסר ; mais שתו). Signalons également l'emploi

⁵⁴ $\text{C}^{\text{a,b,x}}$ *samsāwe'el*, C^{d} *samsāwo'el*, C^{m} *sāmsapese'el*, C^{q} *səmsāpes'el*, C^{t} *səmsapebe'el*, C^{u} *samsapebe'el*, C^{T9} *sasomasp'el*.

⁵⁵ L. Alexander Wolfe et F. Sternberg, *Objects with Semitic Inscriptions 1100 B.C. – A.D. 700: Jewish, Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities. Auction XXIII, Monday 20 November 1989* (Zürich : F. Sternberg, 1989), 11, n° 8.

⁵⁶ $\text{C}^{\text{B,m}}$ *satar'el* ; C^{t} *sātrā'el* ; C^{T9} *səstār'el* ; C^{n} *sorsā'el* ; C^{q} *ārta'el* ; $\text{C}^{\text{b,x}}$ *ərta'el*.

de רְחֹשׁ dans les anthroponymes bibliques רְחֹשׁ־הַיָּם (1 Ch 7:10), רְחֹשׁ־הַיָּם (1 Ch 8:8), et surtout רְחֹשׁ־הַיָּם (1 Ch 8:26) qui démontre la plausibilité d'un nom propre לְרֹחֶשׁ ; cf. l'hypocoristique רַחֵשׁ dans de nombreux sceaux (*WSS* 453, 627–29, 672–73, 701, etc ; cf. p. 534). D'ailleurs, on rencontre déjà l'anthroponyme *ilšhr* à Ougarit (cf. *DUL* s.v.), où *šhr* est par ailleurs un nom divin (cf. *ibid.*).

Il y a pourtant en 1Hé 8:3 un ange enseignant la « conduite de la lune » ($\text{ⓐ}^{\text{A}} \text{σεληναγωγίας}$) ou les « signes de la lune » ($\text{ⓐ}^{\text{S}} \text{τὰ σημεῖα τῆς σελήνης}$). Selon ⓐ^{A} il se nomme Σεριήλ ; ⓐ^{S} indique simplement qu'il s'agit du vingtième décarque, précédemment nommé Σαριήλ en 1Hé 6:7. Nous reviendrons sur cette identification plus loin.

Dans le même passage (1Hé 8:3), ⓐ^{A} mentionne Σαθιήλ (le seizième décarque) comme enseignant « l'observation des astres » (ἀστεροσκοπία) ; mais selon ⓐ^{S} c'est le neuvième décarque (i.e. Βαλκιήλ) qui enseigne cette science, tandis que ⓐ^{A} Βαρακιήλ (le neuvième décarque) enseigne l'astrologie (ἀστρολογία), une science attribuée au quatrième décarque (i.e. Χωβαβιήλ) par ⓐ^{S} , etc. Il y a donc un décalage entre ⓐ^{A} et ⓐ^{S} , si bien que la fonction de Σαθιήλ, qui n'apparaît pas en ⓐ^{S} , reste incertaine. Celui-ci a pu être ajouté ultérieurement pour correspondre à « l'observation des astres » (ἀστεροσκοπία) qui avait été oubliée ; il pourrait également enseigner une autre science, qui n'apparaît pas en ⓐ^{S} , mais qui correspondrait à la lacune de 4Q202 à cet endroit⁵⁷. Dans tous les cas, le caractère répétitif et général des termes employés trahit la difficulté des traducteurs à préciser le contenu de ces enseignements et ne permet pas de restituer l'araméen sous-jacent.

Un dernier élément doit être pris en considération : le quinzième décarque faisant référence au soleil, une lecture לְרֹחֶשׁ en seizième position paraît légitime⁵⁸. Mais les décarques ne semblent pas toujours à leur place (cf. e.g. לְרֹחֶשׁ en septième position, לְרֹחֶשׁ en dixième position), si bien que cet argument ne nous permet pas à lui seul de privilégier cette option. Nous garderons donc la lecture לְרֹחֶשׁ « Aurore de El » (avec hireq compaginis, de préférence à « El est mon aurore » avec suffixe pronominal 1cs) ou « Shahr est Dieu » (avec simple voyelle de liaison *l*).

⁵⁷ Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 159, fait quant à lui correspondre $\text{ⓐ}^{\text{A}} \text{ἀστεροσκοπία}$ à $\text{ⓐ}^{\text{S}} \text{ἀεροσκοπία}$, et donc $\text{ⓐ}^{\text{A}} \text{Σαθιήλ}$ à $\text{ⓐ}^{\text{S}} \text{Ζακιήλ}$, mais (1) une confusion θ/κ semble peu probable, et (2) ⓐ^{A} distingue bien Σαθιήλ et Ἐζεκιήλ dans la liste de 1Hé 6:7.

⁵⁸ Voir Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 154.

Quelle que soit la vocalisation proposée, la transcription grecque ne devrait guère changer, puisque ψ et \wp sont notés σ , tandis que η et π ne sont pas transcrits (cf. LXX pour $\eta\psi\eta\eta$, $\eta\psi\eta$ et $\eta\eta\psi$) ; on s'attend donc à trouver e.g. $\Sigma\alpha\rho\iota\eta\lambda$. $\Theta^S \Sigma\alpha\rho\iota\tilde{\alpha}\zeta$ s'explique aisément à partir de cette forme : un η à la barre oblique aura été pris pour un ν , tandis qu'un λ légèrement entravé (par la barre du η ?) aura été pris pour un α . Le nom propre, qui se termine désormais par une voyelle, a ensuite été hellénisé au moyen d'un ζ final (cf. *BDF* § 53).

La confusion du π (ou η) avec un η pourrait être à l'origine de Θ^A et Θ , d'où une transcription Θ^t *sātrə'el*, $\Theta^{g,m}$ *satar'el*, et $\Theta\Theta^A$ * $\Sigma\alpha\theta\rho\iota\eta\lambda$. La perte accidentelle du ρ donne ainsi Θ^A $\Sigma\alpha\theta\iota\eta\lambda$ ⁵⁹. Les autres formes Θ résultent d'altérations secondaires (métathèse, redoublement, syncope, etc).

q) Dix-septième décarque

Le nom du dix-septième décarque est attesté en 4Q201 1e 8 + 1s 1 et 4Q202 1d 1, correspondant à 1Hé 6:7 : Θ^S $\text{E}\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\iota\eta\lambda$, Θ^A $\text{O}\omega\nu\iota\eta\lambda$. Cet ange est absent de Θ , mais attesté dans la liste de 1Hé 69:2 : Θ^* *tumā'el*⁶⁰. Un Θ mal fermé aura été compris comme un E en $\Theta\Theta^S$. La seconde lettre devait être une mater lectionis γ lue tantôt γ (cf. Θ^A) et γ (cf. Θ^S et Θ^g). On pense bien sûr au substantif $\eta\eta$ « intégrité, plénitude, perfection », d'où une restitution * $\eta\eta\mu\iota\alpha\lambda$ « Intégrité de El » ou « Perfection de El ». Cette lecture concorde-t-elle avec les traces préservées ?

En 4Q202 1d 1, une telle lecture est possible si l'on envisage un η à la base étroite et recouvert par un γ que le scribe a peut-être ajouté ultérieurement. La lettre qui précède pourrait être un η si les traces au pied du η correspondent à son empatement ; dans le cas contraire, il faut supposer la présence d'une mater lectionis γ . En 4Q201 1e 8 + 1s 1, la lacune entre la préposition $\eta\lambda$ qui précède et la finale du nom propre ne peut être comblée à l'aide de $\eta\mu\iota\alpha\lambda$. On pense alors à un *vacat* intentionnel, mais cela ne correspond pas à l'habitude du copiste ; en outre, la présence d'une trace d'encre juste après la préposition $\eta\lambda$ (vérifiée lors d'un examen du fragment à la loupe binoculaire) invite à restituer un nom plus long. Signalons également qu'en 4Q201 1s 1, la première lettre présente un tracé fin et arrondi difficilement compatible avec le

⁵⁹ Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 154, suggère quant à lui la succession * $\Sigma\alpha\epsilon\rho\iota\eta\lambda$ > * $\Sigma\alpha\epsilon\rho\iota\eta\lambda$ > * $\Sigma\alpha\theta\rho\iota\eta\lambda$ > $\Sigma\alpha\theta\iota\eta\lambda$.

⁶⁰ Θ^A *tuma'el*, Θ^g *tāmu'el*.

jambage gauche d'un ה. Ces difficultés nous invitent à la prudence ; ainsi, même si une lecture אל(י)מ(ו)ת est envisageable dans les deux manuscrits, il est possible que le dix-septième décarque portait ici un autre nom que celui suggéré par les versions.

r) Dix-huitième décarque

Le nom du dix-huitième décarque, טוריאל, est bien attesté en 4Q201 1c ii 12 ~ 1Hé 6:7. L'orthographe suggère une vocalisation טוריאל, confirmée par les versions : ⚡^A Τουριήλ, ⚡^S Τουριήλ, ⚡^{*} *tur'el*⁶¹. L'élément טור a plusieurs significations : « rangée », « mur », « enclos », etc. Mais le sens le plus courant est celui de « rocher, montagne », écrit צור en hébreu⁶² et présent dans plusieurs anthroponymes bibliques : צור (Nb 25:15...)⁶³, צורישדי (Nb 1:6...), אָל־צור (Nb 1:5... ; cp. *WSS* 68), et surtout צוריאל (Nb 3:35). On peut donc proposer la traduction « Rocher de El » (avec hireq compaginis, de préférence à « El est mon rocher » avec suffixe pronominal 1cs) ou « El est un rocher » (avec voyelle de liaison *i*, cf. e.g. שמחה). טור pourrait même être un théonyme, comme c'est semble-t-il le cas dans la Bible pour פְּדַה צור « Çour a racheté » (Nb 1:10... ; cp. פְּדַה אֵל « El a racheté » Nb 34:28), d'où une traduction « Tour est Dieu »⁶⁴.

s) Dix-neuvième décarque

Il n'y a pas d'attestation complète du dix-neuvième décarque dans les manuscrits araméens de Qumrân ; le positionnement de 4Q202 1f étant incertain, seule l'occurrence de 4Q201 1r 3 ~ 1Hé 6:7 est assurée. Les deux premières lettres, ימ, correspondent aux versions : ⚡^A Ἰωμειήλ, ⚡^S Ἰουμειήλ, ⚡^{*} *yomyā'el*⁶⁵. Une lecture α pour la troisième lettre est pos-

⁶¹ ⚡^{g,t,u,y} *wər'el*, par confusion graphique *tu ~ wə*.

⁶² L'interdentale sourde emphatique /b/ devient *š* (צ) en hébreu et *t* (ט) en araméen (voir E. Lipiński, *Semitic Languages: Outline of a Comparative Grammar* [Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 80 ; Louvain : Peeters, 1997], 150). Elle est généralement préservée en ougaritique (= *z*), mais devient parfois *š* (voir P. Bordreuil et D. Pardee, *Manuel d'Ougaritique* [2 vols. ; Paris : Geuthner, 2004], 1:37–38) ; c'est justement le cas pour *šr* (voir *DUL* s.v. *šr*1).

⁶³ Cp. phénicien צר ; F. L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions: A Catalog, Grammatical Study and Glossary of Elements* (Studia Pohl 8 ; Rome : Institut Biblique, 1972), 178.

⁶⁴ Voir Noth, *Personennamen*, 129.

⁶⁵ ⚡^t *yomyal*.

sible, et préférable à un י si l'on tient compte de ses dimensions et du tracé vertical à droite ; nous proposons donc de restituer ימאןל.

Plusieurs interprétations sont possibles pour ce nom. Tout d'abord, le premier élément pourrait être le substantif יום « jour », d'où une traduction « Jour de El », que l'on peut comparer au seizième décarque qui se nomme peut-être שְׁהַרְיָאֵל « Aurore de El ». D'ailleurs, ne pourrait-on pas, comme pour ce dernier, considérer יום comme un théonyme ? En effet, le Jour et la Nuit font partie des dieux antiques des mythologies proche-orientales, et on les rencontre à ce titre dans la liste des dieux témoins sur une inscription araméenne de Sfiré (I A 12)⁶⁶ : וקדם יום « et devant (le) Jour et (la) Nuit, témoins, tous les d[ieux] ». Ainsi, pour Zadok⁶⁷ suivi par *DDD* (s.v. Day), יום est bien une divinité ouest-sémitique⁶⁸. Ce dernier signale également l'emploi de l'ougaritique *ym* en parallèle à la divinité solaire (*CAT* 1.4 vii 55) et le titre *bn-ym* attribué aux dieux *šhr* et *šlm* (*CAT* 1.23 59, 61, et probablement 23), qui pourraient suggérer l'existence d'une divinité diurne *ym* à Ougarit.

Mais ces occurrences de *ym* ne sont pas nécessairement concluantes : dans le premier texte, on peut souligner le fait que le jour est dû à la présence du soleil, et ne correspond donc pas obligatoirement à une divinité à part entière ; dans le second texte, les dieux « Aurore » et « Crépuscule » peuvent être qualifiés de « fils du jour » puisqu'ils appartiennent au règne diurne, marquant même le début et la fin de celui-ci. Il n'empêche que la divinisation de l'aurore et du crépuscule autorise—pour ne pas dire favorise—la divinisation du jour, quitte à l'assimiler à une divinité solaire dont il est indissociable.

Il faut donc prendre au sérieux la mention, parmi une liste de dieux dans un vocabulaire polyglotte⁶⁹, d'une divinité suméro-akkadienne *d[U]D* (= *ūmu* « jour »⁷⁰ et non le dieu Shamash, contra *DDD*, 222)

⁶⁶ Voir e.g. A. Dupont-Sommer et J. Starcky, *Les inscriptions araméennes de Sfiré (stèles I et II)* (Paris : Imprimerie nationale, 1958), 17–19.

⁶⁷ R. Zadok, “On the Historical Background of the Sefire Treaty”, *AION* 44 (1984): 529, n. 2.

⁶⁸ Pour des textes parallèles en suméro-babylonien, voir e.g. Lambert 2002.

⁶⁹ Ug V 137 IV a 17 ; voir J. Nougayrol, “Textes suméro-accadiens des archives et bibliothèques privées d’Ugarit”, dans *Ugaritica V* (dir. par J. Nougayrol, E. Laroche, C. Virolleaud et C. F.-A. Schaeffer ; Mission de Ras Shamra XVI ; Paris : Imprimerie nationale, 1968), 248, spéc. n. 5.

⁷⁰ Voir J. Huehnergard, *The Akkadian of Ugarit* (Harvard Semitic Studies 34 ; Atlanta : Scholars Press, 1989), 391.

correspondant à l'ougaritique *yv-m[u]*⁷¹. Il y avait donc bien une divinité diurne *ym* à côté de la divinité maritime *ym* (= /*yammu*/). Cette homonymie consonantique rend leur identification difficile dans les textes religieux et l'onomastique ougaritiques : si l'anthroponyme *'bdym* peut être rattaché au dieu maritime en le rapprochant du suméro-akkadien [Ⓣ]*ĪR-A.AB.BA*⁷², d'autres noms tels que *ilym* ou *mlkym* peuvent se rapporter à l'un ou l'autre de ces dieux. On notera tout particulièrement l'anthroponyme *ymil* (cf. *DUL* s.v.) qui correspond exactement au nom du dix-neuvième décarque traduit alors « Yom est Dieu ».

D'autres traductions sont néanmoins possibles. Par exemple, le même substantif יום pourrait signifier « vent, tempête », un sens incertain dans la Bible (cf. *HALOT* s.v. יום II) mais bien attesté en akkadien (cf. *AHW* s.v. *ūmu(m)* B ; peut-être un emprunt au sumérien, cf. *TDOT* s.v. יום I.1.a), et qui convient parfaitement au contexte météorologique de cette liste (cp. e.g. רַעַמְאֵל « Tonnerre de El » ; מַטְרָאֵל « Pluie de El »), d'où une traduction « Tempête de El ». En fait, ce terme est employé à plusieurs reprises dans la littérature akkadienne pour désigner un (type de) démon, offrant ainsi un parallèle intéressant à son emploi ici où il désigne un ange déchu.

Il faut cependant noter l'absence du ו étymologique (cp. 4Q201 1c i 13, 14 ; 1c ii 4), qui pourrait suggérer un autre terme que le substantif יום. On pense par exemple au verbe ימי « jurer », qui apparaît dans le même manuscrit à l'inaccompli avec une orthographe défective (cf. גַּמְא 4Q201 1c ii 1). Or, le causatif de ce verbe est bien attesté en araméen (cf. e.g. *Tg. Onq. Ex* 20:7 ; *Tg. 1 R* 8:31 ; *Ps* 15:4 ; 62:5) ; un accompli à orthographe défective ימא est donc envisageable, d'où une traduction « El promet » pour le nom de notre décarque⁷³.

Si l'on met de côté la vocalisation suggérée par les versions, l'absence de mater lectionis ו permet de lire le substantif ים « mer », qui convient bien au contexte de ce passage : en effet, le décarque précédent se nomme טוריאל et fait lui aussi appel à un terme géographique, טור « rocher, montagne ». La « montagne » et la « mer » peuvent même former un couple, puisque ces deux termes désignent les régions aux altitudes

⁷¹ Vocalisée /*yōmu*/ de préférence à /*yāmu*/ ; voir J. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription* (Harvard Semitic Studies 32 ; Atlanta : Scholars Press, 1987), 133.

⁷² Voir Huehnergard, *Akkadian of Ugarit*, 411.

⁷³ Cp. M. Sokoloff, «Notes on the Aramaic Fragments of Enoch from Qumran Cave 4», *Maarav* 1/2 (1979) : 207.

les plus élevées et les plus basses respectivement. En outre, ils désignent tous deux des divinités, et tout comme nous avons proposé de traduire **טוריאל** « Tour est Dieu », nous pouvons également traduire **ימיאל** « Yam est Dieu », cf. l'ougaritique *ymil* mentionné plus haut et qui pourrait se rapporter au dieu maritime *ym*. D'autres occurrences du théonyme Yam en onomastique nord-ouest sémitique ont été proposées mais restent incertaines ; ainsi, le nom propre biblique **מרים** (e.g. Ex 15:20) pourrait être rattaché au dieu Yam, mais de nombreuses étymologies ont été avancées (cf. e.g. HALOT s.v.). De même, l'anthroponyme **חיים** attesté sur un sceau possiblement philistien (*WSS* 1069), peut être lu **אחים** (aphérèse du **א**) comme suggéré par Eduard Yechezkel Kutscher⁷⁴, d'où une traduction « Yam (est) (Frère) »⁷⁵ ; mais il pourrait aussi s'agir, par exemple, d'un hypocoristique du dieu Milk. Enfin, selon Zadok⁷⁶, le nabatéen **ימו** (*CIS* 2/1 259) pourrait être un hypocoristique du dieu Yam, mais aucune autre attestation ne vient appuyer cette proposition.

Au final, deux lectures s'imposent parmi celles envisagées : **ימאל** et **ימאל** ; toutes deux emploient des termes bien connus, conformes au contexte de la liste des décarques, et trouvent un parallèle dans l'ougaritique *ymil* ; si l'absence de **ו** favorise légèrement une lecture **ימאל**, les versions ont toutes opté pour une lecture **ימאל**, ce qui suggère une tradition de lecture antérieure aux traductions. On pourra enfin signaler que l'anthroponyme équivalent **ימואל** attesté dans la Bible en Genèse 46:10 et Exode 6:15 est vocalisé **ימואל** par les massorètes et *Ἰεμουήλ* par la LXX, ce qui favorise là encore une lecture **יום** pour le premier élément (on aurait attendu **ימואל** dans le cas contraire). Ce dernier argument doit néanmoins être relativisé puisque l'on trouve également l'orthographe **נמואל** (Nb 26:12 ; 1 Ch 4:24) ; celle-ci est soit (1) indépendante (cf. LXX *Ναμουήλ*), auquel cas **ימואל** peut être comparé à **ימאל** ; soit (2) primitive, auquel cas **ימואל** n'est pas lié à **ימאל**, soit (3) secondaire⁷⁷, auquel cas la signification de **ימואל** a pu être perdue et la vocalisation ne pas refléter le sens primitif éventuellement identique à celui de **ימאל**.

⁷⁴ E. Y. Kutscher, "Two Hebrew Seals", *Kedem* 1 (1942): 44 (hébreu).

⁷⁵ P. Bordreuil, "Sceaux inscrits des pays du Levant", dans *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* (fascicule 66 ; dir. par J. Briand et É. Cothenet ; Paris : Letouzey & Ané, 1992), 165 ; voir *WSS* 480, 497.

⁷⁶ R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods: An Onomastic Study* (Jerusalem : H. J. & Z. Wanaarta, 1977), 67.

⁷⁷ Voir HALOT s.v. ; Zadok, *Anthroponymy*, 9.

t) *Vingtième décarque*

La seule occurrence possible du nom du vingtième décarque se trouve en 4Q202 1d 2 ~ 1Hé 6:7. La première lettre est certainement un \aleph , de préférence à un \aleph doté d'un crochet ou un \aleph étroit et haut. Elle est suivie d'un η puis d'un \aleph bien lisibles. La dernière lettre semble être un \aleph , mais il pourrait s'agir d'une autre lettre partiellement effacée. Les versions ont \mathfrak{E}^A Ἀτριήλ, \mathfrak{E}^S Σαριήλ, \mathfrak{E}^* *'arāzyāl*⁷⁸. Ces formes suggèrent une orthographe $\aleph \aleph \aleph \aleph$ > $\aleph \aleph \aleph \aleph$ > $\aleph \aleph \aleph \aleph$ pour le vingtième décarque. Les phénomènes phonologiques à l'origine de cette évolution (/s/ noté \aleph puis > /s/ ; sonorisation du /s/ en /z/) sont en outre favorisés par une confusion avec les racines *shr* (« être rond ») et *zhr* (« briller ») qui autorisent elles aussi la formation d'un substantif désignant la lune. L'orthographe \mathfrak{E}^S Σαριήλ ne pose dès lors aucun problème ; \mathfrak{E}^A Ἀτριήλ est probablement due à la lecture τ d'un ζ (voire un σ , mais cf. \mathfrak{E}) à la base étroite ; une permutation $r \leftrightarrow z$ conduit alors à \mathfrak{E}^* *'arāzyāl*.

Un dernier élément vient appuyer cette interprétation : en 1Hé 8:3, le décarque enseignant la « conduite de la lune » (\mathfrak{E}^A σεληναγωγίας) ou les « signes de la lune » (\mathfrak{E}^S τὰ σημεῖα τῆς σελήνης) se nomme Σεριήλ en \mathfrak{E}^A , tandis que \mathfrak{E}^S précise qu'il s'agit du vingtième décarque, sans le nommer (mais cf. \mathfrak{E}^S Σαριήλ en 1Hé 6:7). Cela montre bien que le vingtième angélonyme a été compris comme faisant référence à la lune, et confirme donc la restitution * $\aleph \aleph \aleph \aleph$ « Lune de El » proposée ci-dessus. Ce nom s'intègre parfaitement à la thématique cosmologique et climatique de la liste ; la lune est le principal luminaire nocturne (ce qui pourrait expliquer sa présence après le « jour » en dix-neuvième position), et l'on n'est guère surpris de la rencontrer dans une liste mentionnant le soleil (cf. $\aleph \aleph \aleph \aleph$ en quinzième position), autre grand luminaire céleste.

En outre, de même que $\aleph \aleph \aleph \aleph$ peut se rapporter à la divinité Shamash (d'où une traduction « Shamash est Dieu »), * $\aleph \aleph \aleph \aleph$ peut faire allusion au dieu lunaire Sehar que l'on rencontre à plusieurs reprises en onomastique nord-ouest sémitique : עבדשהר « Serviteur de Sehar » (WSS 1075, cf. p. 404), שהרעקב « Sehar a protégé » (cf. TADAE B3.9 l. 10)⁷⁹, שהרנתן « Sehar a donné »⁸⁰, Šhrnwry « Sehar est ma lumière »⁸¹,

⁷⁸ \mathfrak{E}^m *'arāzyal* ; \mathfrak{E}^t *korāz'el*, par confusion $\aleph \sim k$.

⁷⁹ De préférence à עקב שהר, voir E. G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri. New Documents of the Fifth Century B.C. from the Jewish Colony at Elephantine* (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1953), 227.

⁸⁰ WDSP 3 l. 10a ; voir e.g. J. Dušek, *Les manuscrits araméens du Wadi Daliyeh et la Samarie vers 450–332 av. J.-C.* (Leiden : Brill, 2007), 152, 488.

et peut-être les hypocoristiques שהר^{82} et שהרא^{83} , où une lecture ד est néanmoins possible. Ces occurrences du dieu Sehar en onomastique nous invitent donc à traduire שְׁהַר־יֵאֵל^* « Sehar est Dieu ».

Peut-on suivre les versions et lire ce nom en 4Q202 1d 2 ? Une lecture ד en début de mot paraît difficile, puisqu'un crochet est bien visible sur les photographies et le fragment lui-même ; en revanche, la troisième lettre ne peut en aucun cas être un ר , toujours doté d'une épaulement au tracé incompatible avec l'apex de ce ד . Nous ne pouvons donc suivre Knibb⁸⁴, suivi par Black⁸⁵, qui propose de lire זהר־יֵאֵל . Milik⁸⁶ propose quant à lui la lecture יְהוּדִי־אֵל , basée sur le verbe הָדִי « guider », d'où une traduction « Dieu guidera ». Mais cette racine n'est que tardivement attestée en araméen ; en outre, la première lettre est certainement un ו et non un י étroit et haut, si bien que l'on n'a pas nécessairement affaire à une forme verbale. On peut par exemple lire le substantif הָדָר « ornement », ou l'hébreu הוֹד « gloire » (avec scriptio defectiva). Mais la thématique météorologique de la liste nous conduit à préférer une lecture הַד « grondement de tonnerre » (cf. *HALOT* s.v. הָד et הוֹד ; *CAD* s.v. *addu* B), d'où une traduction הָדִי־יֵאֵל « grondement de tonnerre de El ». Difficile, dès lors, de ne pas y voir une référence au dieu de l'orage Hadad, bien connu de l'onomastique nord-ouest sémitique, e.g. עַבְד־הַדָּד « Serviteur de Hadad »⁸⁷, הַדָּד־עֶזֶר « Hadad est secours »⁸⁸, הַדָּנָתַן « Hadad a donné » (cf. e.g. *WSS* 786), *brqd* « Éclair de Hadad » ou « Hadad éclaire » (*CAT* 4.377 15), etc. Ces occurrences nous conduisent naturellement à traduire הָדִי־אֵל « Hadad est Dieu ».

Au final, nous avons retenu deux noms plausibles pour le vingtième décarque : שְׁהַר־יֵאֵל^* , suggéré par les versions, et הָדִי־אֵל , d'après 4Q202 1d 2. Il est peu probable que l'on ait affaire à deux traditions totalement

⁸¹ Voir e.g. E. Lipiński, "Aramaic-Akkadian Archives from the Gozan-Harran Area", dans *Biblical Archaeology Today. Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, April 1984* (dir. par J. Amitai ; Jerusalem : Israel Exploration Society, 1985), 344–345 ; M. Maraqtan, *Die semitischen Personennamen in den alt- und reichsarmäischen Inschriften aus Vorderasien* (Hildesheim : Georg Olms, 1988), 102, 216.

⁸² WDSP 11r l. 12 ; voir e.g. Dušek, *Wadi Daliyeh*, 259–260, 488.

⁸³ Voir N. Aimé-Giron, "Adversaria Semitica", *BIFAO* 38 (1939): 8, pl. IV ; Kornfeld, *Onomastica*, 72.

⁸⁴ *Book of Enoch*, 2:75.

⁸⁵ *Book of Enoch*, 120.

⁸⁶ *Books of Enoch*, 166.

⁸⁷ Voir e.g. *WSS* 832 ; Maraqtan, *Personennamen*, 193.

⁸⁸ Voir e.g. 2S 8, 3ss ; *WSS* 785 ; Maraqtan, *Personennamen*, 155.

indépendantes, puisqu'une erreur de lecture permet aisément de passer de **זהריאל** à **והדיאל** et inversement, comme c'est le cas pour Knibb et Black. En revanche, puisque les deux noms s'intègrent parfaitement à la thématique météorologique de la liste, il n'a peut-être pas été nécessaire de corriger la leçon secondaire, qui a ainsi acquis un statut à part entière.

Conclusion

Sur les vingt décarques du *Livre d'Hénoch*, dix-neuf apparaissent dans les manuscrits araméens de Qumrân. Ces attestations permettent le plus souvent d'expliquer l'orthographe des versions, une tâche difficile avant la découverte des manuscrits araméens ; cf. e.g. Dillmann⁸⁹ dont les propositions étaient tantôt justes (**כוכביאל**, **שמשיאל**, **ברקיאל**, **ענניאל**...) et tantôt erronées (**הרמיאל** ou **ערכיאל** pour le troisième décarque, **רמיאל** pour le sixième, **עזזול** pour le dixième...).

Seuls deux ou trois des dix-neuf angélonymes ne contiennent pas le théonyme **אַל** : **שְׁמִיחָזָה** (1^{er} décarque), **אַרְעֶתְקָה** (2^e), et probablement **הַרְמָנו** (11^e). Il est intéressant de noter que ces noms pourraient être araméens, avec le verbe **חזי** (auquel l'hébreu préfère souvent **ראה**), les substantifs **אַרְע** et **תְּקָה** (si la restitution proposée s'avère juste), et le théonyme **הרם** (cf. araméen d'Égypte). C'est aussi le cas pour **רְמִשְׂיָאֵל**, puisque **רמש** est inconnu en hébreu mais bien attesté en araméen (moyen, palestinien, judéo-araméen littéraire tardif, et en syriaque). **טוּרִיָאֵל** présente une orthographe araméenne, mais pourrait tout aussi bien être d'origine hébraïque (cf. exemples ci-dessus).

Avant de conclure à une origine araméenne pour ces décarques angéliques, rappelons que le verbe **עשי**, sur lequel est construit le nom du dixième décarque **עשאל**, est délaissé en araméen au profit du verbe **עבד**, si bien qu'on ne le trouve pas en onomastique araméenne⁹⁰. De même, le substantif **הם** employé dans le problématique **תומיאל** n'apparaît pas en araméen (cf. *Tg. 2 S 15:10* pour une rare exception).

Au final, cette liste peut difficilement être purement hébraïque ou araméenne. Puisque l'on est en contexte religieux juif, on pourrait imaginer qu'une liste de noms cananéens ait été adaptée et complétée en araméen ; mais une autre hypothèse peut être avancée : elle pourrait être plus ancienne, d'origine nord-ouest sémitique, et ainsi employer un

⁸⁹ *Buch Henoch*, 93–95.

⁹⁰ Voir Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 156, pour une éventuelle occurrence.

vocabulaire absent des langues hébraïques et araméennes postérieures. L'apport de l'ougaritique est ici des plus précieux : presque tous les termes sont attestés au second millénaire, et les quelques exceptions (e.g. זיק, תקף) pourraient être dues au nombre limité d'inscriptions connues. Cela ne signifie bien sûr pas que cette liste est d'origine ougaritique, mais qu'elle pourrait être ancienne.

On signalera en outre que bon nombre des termes attestés dans cette liste pourraient correspondre à des divinités nord-ouest sémitiques majeures ou mineures⁹¹ ; d'autres termes correspondent à des phénomènes cosmiques ou climatiques attribués dans l'antiquité à des êtres divins, et peuvent donc trouver leur place dans cette liste. Quant à עשאל et l'hypothétique תומיאל, nous n'avons pas trouvé de justification à leur présence au sein de cette liste ; d'autres découvertes nous permettront peut-être d'en savoir plus sur leur identité et la raison de leur mention ici.

⁹¹ Le septième décarque, דניאל, pourrait également faire allusion au héros légendaire que l'on retrouve à Ugarit (voir *dnil*) et dans la Bible (voir Ez 14:14, 20 ; 28:3), et qui a ainsi pu être divinisé. On notera à ce sujet la présence à Qumrân d'un Géant nommé Gilgamesh (4Q530 2 ii + 6-12 2 ; 4Q531 22 12) faisant sans aucun doute référence au non moins légendaire roi divinisé d'Uruk (voir aussi Hobabish en 4Q530 2 ii + 6-12 2 ; 4Q203 3 3, qui correspond peut-être à Humbaba, gardien de la forêt de cèdres et adversaire de Gilgamesh dans son *Épopée* ; voir É. Puech, *Qumrân grotte 4 XXII : Textes araméens première partie, 4Q529-549* [DJD 31 ; Oxford : Clarendon Press, 2001], 32).

	Nom	Signification	א	Ⓐ	Ⓔ	Ⓒ*	
1	שְׁמִיָּהוּ	Shem voit	Le Nom voit	4Q201 1 c ii 6	Σεμιαζά	Σεμιαζᾶς	<i>səmyāzā</i> ⁹² ₉₃
	שְׁמִי הַזֶּה			4Q201 1 f 1	Σεμιαζᾶς	Σεμιαζᾶς	<i>'amezārāk</i> ⁹⁴
2	אַרְעֵתְקַן ⁹⁵	Ar'a est puissance	Terre de puissance ; Haute terre ;	4Q201 1 e 3	Ἀραθάκ ⁹⁶	Ἄταρκούφ	<i>'urākibarāme'el</i> ₉₇
	אַרְעֵתְקַה		Terre de refuge ; Terre protectrice	4Q202 1 p 4			
3	רַמְשָׁאֵל	Ramash est Dieu	Crépuscule de El	4Q201 1 e 3	Κιμβρό Σαμμωνή ⁹⁸	Ἄρακιήλ ⁹⁹	¹⁰⁰
4	כּוֹכְבָאֵל		Astre de El	4Q204 1 c ii 3	Χωχαριήλ	Χωβαβιήλ	<i>akibe'el</i> ¹⁰¹ ₁₀₂
	כּוֹכְבָאֵל			4Q201 1 c ii 7			
5					Ταμιήλ	Ἵοραμμανη	<i>tamiel</i> ¹⁰³
6	רַעַם אֵל		Tonnerre de El ; El tonne	4Q201 1 e 4	Ῥαμιήλ	Ῥαμιήλ	<i>rāmu'el</i> ¹⁰⁴
7	דַּן אֵל	Dan est Dieu	El juge ; Juge de El	4Q201 1 c ii 8	Δανειήλ	Σαμψίχ ¹⁰⁵	<i>dān'el</i>
8	זִיקֵאֵל		Météore de El	4Q204 1 c ii 4	Ἴζεκιήλ	Ζακιήλ	<i>'ezeqe'el</i> ¹⁰⁶
	זִיקֵאֵל			4Q201 1 f 3			
9	בְּרַקֵּאֵל		Éclair de El ; El éclair	4Q201 1 e 5	Βαρακιήλ	Βαλακιήλ	<i>sarāq'ayāl</i> ¹⁰⁷
10	עֲסָאֵל		El accompli	4Q201 1 c ii 9	Ἀσέαλ	Ἀζαλζήλ	<i>'asā'el</i> ¹⁰⁸

⁹² Nombreuses variantes orthographiques, notamment Ⓔ^g *semi'azāzi*, Ⓒ^q *semi'azāz*, Ⓒ^{tu} *sem'azāz*, Ⓒ^{T9} *səmyāz*.

⁹³ Voir aussi probablement Ⓔ^{MS} *smz*.

⁹⁴ Ⓔ^g *'amizirās* ; Ⓔ^m *'amizarās* ; Ⓔ^{q,Ull} *'amizārās* ; Ⓒ^{tu} *'amizrās* ; Ⓒ^{T9} *'amāsrās*.

⁹⁵ De préférence à אַרְעֵתְקַן "Terre (du) Puissant".

⁹⁶ Ⓔ[Ⓐ] *Αραθακκίμβ.

⁹⁷ Ⓔ^g *'urāki barāme'e* ~ Ⓒ^{Ull} *'urākibarā* ; *me'el* ~ Ⓒ^{T9} *la'ārākeb. rāme'el*. Voir 1Hé 69:2
Ⓒ* *'arstiqifā* ~ Ⓔ^g *'artāqifā* ~ Ⓒ^{T9} *'arstāqis*.

⁹⁸ Ⓔ[Ⓐ] *Ρασαμμωνή ; voir Ⓒ *'armen* (1Hé 69:2).

⁹⁹ Ⓔ[Ⓐ] *ארקאל.

¹⁰⁰ Voir ci-dessus : Ⓒ^g * *rāme'el*.

¹⁰¹ Ⓔ^{g,m} *kokab'el*, Ⓒ^q *kokabā'el*, Ⓒ^{tu} *kokab'el*.

¹⁰² Voir aussi ~ Ⓔ^{MS} *nwkbvl*.

¹⁰³ Ⓔ^g *tami'el*. Ⓔ^{g,o,a} *tāme'el*.

¹⁰⁴ Ⓒ^{tu} *rāmi'el*, Ⓒ^{m,T9} *rām'el*, Ⓔ^g *rāmo'el*.

¹⁰⁵ Voir שמשאל, le quinzième décarque.

¹⁰⁶ Ⓒ^t *'azāqi'el*, Ⓔ^b *'azae'el*, Ⓔ^x *'azqu'el*. Ⓒ^o *'ezeai'el*.

¹⁰⁷ Ⓒ^t *bārāq'el*, Ⓒ^u *barāq'el*, Ⓒ^{q,T9} *barāqyāl*, Ⓔ^g *barāqiyal*, Ⓒ^m *barāqeyal*.

¹⁰⁸ Ⓒ^t *'asāhel* ; Ⓒ^q *'arās'ol*.

	עֲשָׂאֵל			4Q204 1 d 1			
11	חַרְמֵנוֹ ¹⁰⁹	(de) Haram	(de l')Hermon	4Q204 1 c ii 5	Ἀρεαρώς	Φαρμαρός	<i>'armārs</i> ¹¹⁰
12	מָטָר אֵל		Pluie de El	4Q201 1 e 6	Βατριήλ	Ἄμαριήλ	<i>baṭār'el</i> ¹¹¹
	מָטָרְאֵל			4Q204 1 c ii 5			
13	עֲנָנֵאֵל	Anān est Dieu (?)	Nuée de El ; El se mani- feste	4Q201 1 c ii 10	Ἄνανθνά	Ἄναγημάς	<i>'anān'el</i> ¹¹²
				4Q204 1 d 2			
14	זָאֵל ...			4Q201 1 r 1	Ῥακειήλ	Θαυσαήλ	<i>zaqebe</i> ¹¹³
15	שָׁמְשֵׁאֵל	Shamash est Dieu	Soleil de El	4Q201 1 e 7	Σεμιήλ	Σαμιήλ	<i>samsāpe'el</i> ¹¹⁴
	שָׁמְשֵׁאֵל			4Q204 1 c ii 6			
	שָׁמְשֵׁאֵל			4Q201 1 f 4			
16	שָׁחַרְיָאֵל ¹¹⁵	Shahar est Dieu	Aurore de El	4Q201 1 c ii 11	Σαθιήλ	Σαρινᾶς	<i>sarta'el</i> ¹¹⁶
	שָׁחַרְיָאֵל			4Q204 1 d 3			

¹⁰⁹ Voire חַרְמֵנוֹ.

¹¹⁰ \mathfrak{C}^e *'armors* ; $\mathfrak{C}^{g,q,T9,n}$ *'armāros* ; \mathfrak{C}^m *'armaros* ; $\mathfrak{C}^{t,u?}$ *'armeros*.

¹¹¹ \mathfrak{C}^* *batra'al*, *baṭra'āl*, $\mathfrak{C}^{b,x}$ *baṭrā'al*, \mathfrak{C}^l *baṭara'al*, \mathfrak{C}^a *baṭr'el*, \mathfrak{C}^{ull} *baṭ'el*.

¹¹² \mathfrak{C}^{mss} *'anān'e*.

¹¹³ $\mathfrak{C}^{g,m,u?}$ *zaqile*. \mathfrak{C}^a *zəqəse*. \mathfrak{C}^t *zaqe*, \mathfrak{C}^{T9} *zaqe'el*. \mathfrak{C}^n *zaqī'el*.

¹¹⁴ $\mathfrak{C}^{a,b,x}$ *samsāwe'el*. \mathfrak{C}^d *samsāwo'el*, \mathfrak{C}^m *sāmsapese'el*, \mathfrak{C}^a *səmsāpes'el*, \mathfrak{C}^t *səmsapebe'el*, \mathfrak{C}^u *səmsapebe'el*, \mathfrak{C}^{T9} *sasomasp'el*.

¹¹⁵ De préférence à שָׁחַרְיָאֵל “Sehar est Dieu ; Lune de El” (voir vingtième décarque).

¹¹⁶ $\mathfrak{C}^{g,m}$ *satar'el* ; \mathfrak{C}^l *sātrə'el* ; \mathfrak{C}^{T9} *səstār'el* ; \mathfrak{C}^n *sorsə'el* ; \mathfrak{C}^a *'ārtə'el* ; $\mathfrak{C}^{b,x}$ *orta'el*.

17	תּוֹמָאֵל (?)		Perfection de El (?)	4Q201 1 e 8 + 1 s 1	Θωνιήλ	Εὐμιήλ	¹¹⁷
	תּוֹמָאֵל (?)			4Q202 1 d 1			
18	טוריאל	Tour est Dieu	Rocher de El	4Q201 1 c ii 12	Τουριήλ	Τουριήλ	<i>tur'el</i> ¹¹⁸
19	יַמָּאֵל ¹¹⁹	Yom est Dieu	Jour de El ¹²⁰	4Q201 1 r 3	Ἰωμειήλ	Ἰουμιήλ	<i>yomyā'el</i> ¹²¹
20	הַדָּדִי־אֵל ¹²²	Hadad est Dieu	Grondement de tonnerre de El	4Q202 1 d 2	Ἄτριήλ	Σαριήλ	<i>'arāzyā'</i> ¹²³

RESPONSE: ESTER ESHEL

The lecture presented by Michael Langlois, on the Onomastikon of the Angels in the book of *I Enoch*, is an impressive piece of scholarship, which deals with the twenty Watchers who descended from heaven and mated with the “daughters of men.” He starts with a meticulous epigraphical and philological study of the Aramaic names of the angels as preserved in the Aramaic Qumran manuscripts. He then proceeds to a careful and detailed comparative investigation, using the parallel sources of *I Enoch* as preserved in the Greek, Ethiopic and Syriac versions. In some cases he also deals with the possible interpretation of those names in Ugaritic. This detailed and very learned analysis of each name, shows wide philological knowledge of no less than six languages: Aramaic, Hebrew, Greek, Ethiopic, Syriac and Ugaritic.

One very useful feature of Langlois’s presentation is the table he has compiled, providing, for each name, its meaning; documentation of its occurrence in Qumran manuscripts; and its occurrence in parallels in the Greek version attested in Codex Panopolitanus as well as in the version attested in Syncellus and in Ethiopic. To that, Langlois has also added a useful apparatus with the variants of the Ethiopic manuscripts, as well as

¹¹⁷ Voir 1Hé 69:2 : 𐤅 *tumā'el*, 𐤅 *tuma'el*. 𐤅 *tāmu'el*.

¹¹⁸ 𐤅^{g,t,u,y} *wər'el*, par confusion graphique *tu* ~ *wə*.

¹¹⁹ Voir יַמָּאֵל “Yam est Dieu ; Mer de El”.

¹²⁰ De préférence à “Tempête de El”.

¹²¹ 𐤅 *yomyal*.

¹²² Les versions suggèrent *הַדָּדִי־אֵל > *הַדָּדִי־אֵל “Sehar est Dieu ; Lune de El”.

¹²³ 𐤅^m *arāzyal* ; 𐤅 *korāz'el*, par confusion 𐤅 ~ *k*.

some Greek variants. The table also includes a transcription of each Ethiopic word, making this information accessible to scholars who cannot read the Ethiopic script.

Langlois's survey leads him to present a new hypothesis for the origin of the names of the Watchers: According to his interpretation, since most of the names appear in the Ugaritic onomasticon, the author of *I Enoch* might have used an ancient Ugaritic list of names, most of which are of deities. This list, according to his interpretation, has been adapted by the author of *I Enoch* in order to make it suitable for his book.

This proposal is intriguing, but I would like to bring attention to three possible difficulties with his theory of origin, most of which are related to the general hypothesis, rather than to any specific interpretation, and I look forward to Langlois' response about these. Most significantly, as is well-known, any theory that posits the influence of one culture upon the literature of another, must account for discrepancies in time and space between the text at hand and the purported source.

A. Date—The tablets of Ugarit are dated to the 15th century BCE, or to the first half of the 14th century. The composition of the *Book of the Watchers*, where the list of names appears is usually dated to around the third century BCE. Thus, in order to assume dependence upon such an ancient list of deities, we need to overcome a gap of at least a millennium.

B. Place—A connection between the Books of Enoch and Mesopotamia was argued by some scholars, especially with regard to the *Astronomical Book* (see Ben-Dov's paper). Already in 1945, in his study of Noah, Danel and Job, Shalom Spiegel tried to connect the myth of the fallen angels with the Canaanite myth, mainly based on the place names Abilim and Hermon, a theory which was later debated. Other scholars have argued that the *Book of the Watchers* was influenced by the Greek mythology of Prometheus. The mention of Gilgamesh and Humbaba in the *Book of Giants* is usually considered to be a proof for a Babylonian origin, but no one has suggested a West Semitic origin.

C. As for the particular etymologies suggested, some of which might be disputed, I would like to mention here the study of Morris Swadesh, who argued that a survey of the first 100 Phoenician words in the dictionary shows that 82% have the same meaning in Hebrew. A comparison with Ugaritic on the basis of word list of Morris Swadesh shows 79% with the same meaning as in Hebrew.

It is necessary, in order to overcome the time gap as well as the geography, to have very strong evidence for suggesting a use of the Ugaritic myth by the author of the *Book of the Watchers*. Such an argument could have been built on strong cases where only the Ugaritic etymology could explain the names of the Watchers. Of the 20 names, Langlois suggested Ugaritic vocabulary origin for 14 names, but in all those cases other west-Semitic etymology, mainly coming from Hebrew or Aramaic are also available. None of these names have exclusively Ugaritic etymology. To that, one should add a list given by Langlois of names that can only be explained based on Hebrew or Aramaic, and are not documented in Ugaritic, such as the elements: זיק, תקף, חרם, טור, עשאל. Therefore, it is hard to accept the hypothesis, that this list is an adaptation of the Ugaritic Pantheon.

Based on his assumption, Langlois presents another hypothesis as an explanation for choosing such a list of names which includes Ugaritic deities. He suggests that since we are dealing with a list of angels who committed sins, the author used a polytheistic list of deities in a monotheistic text, in order to express his negative attitude to such gods. This theory also raises some doubts, among them in regard to the character of דניאל. One cannot be sure that the name of this Watcher was connected with דנאל, known from the Ugaritic myth, which some scholars interpreted as semi-divine, or to the wise and righteous man דניאל, known from the Bible.

I look forward to responses to these reservations I have voiced about Langlois' large-scale hypotheses. In doing so, I by no means aim to detract from my appreciation for the thoroughness of his research and presentation of the relevant data. I want to conclude by praising Langlois for this learned study, which is important and useful and might help us understanding an intriguing list in the *Book of the Watchers*.

DISCUSSION

Michael Langlois: In my paper, I clearly stated that the presence of most terms in Ugaritic texts “does not mean that this list is of Ugaritic origin;” Ugarit is a unique source of knowledge for second millennium BCE northwest semitic philology, hence its frequent references in my paper. Even if we had here a list of deities similar to those found at Ugarit, it would not mean that the list is of Ugaritic origin—merely that it fits second millennium BCE northwest Semitic pantheons. But what we have here is not a list of deities; it is a list of angels' names bearing theonyms, and we could hardly expect such a list at Ugarit where there are no angels.

The fact that most angels' names point to deities (in the case of דניאל, to a god named Dan and/or the mythological Daniel) is in line with the occurrence of such

characters as Gilgamesh among the Giants, and calls for an explanation. I suggested that this might be a way of rejecting polytheistic beliefs together with related cultic and divinatory practices; as I stated in my paper, and as Esther Eshel rightly emphasizes, this proposal remains hypothetical and calls for further research.

John Collins: Granted that these names were known before the time of *1 Enoch*, must they have existed in the form of a list?

Michael Langlois: There is no evidence that this list existed prior to the redaction of *1 Enoch*. However, the order in which the names appear suggests that the list was not compiled at once. Since the *Book of the Watchers* seems composite in nature, the list may have existed in some form before its inclusion. Unfortunately, the paucity of evidence prevents us from reaching any conclusion at this point.

Daniel Stökl: Your article evoked the following connection in my mind: Many scholars agree that *1 Enoch* 10 is closely related to Leviticus 16, Yom Kippur, e.g. in the angels Asael (angel 10 in your system) and the ominous Azazel, the destination of the scapegoat. Now, in *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* on Leviticus 16, the destination of the scapegoat is described as אַתְּרַ תְּקִיף וְקָשִׁי. This seems to me to stand in a surprisingly close correlation with angel 2 in your system whose name is Ἀραθακ or Ἀταρκουφ in the Greek versions and for whom אַרְעִיתֶקֶף has been restituted in 4Q201. If the Greek preserved the beginning and 4Q201 the end of the name, the Targum might give in fact an attestation that might be more faithful to the original, something like אַתְּרַתֶּקֶף. Alternatively it might be a midrash, hard to decide, but unlikely to be the result of chance and probably worth to be discussed.

Michael Langlois: I shall address it in the revision of my paper.

Florentino García Martínez: You bring up two possibilities of explanation: a mythological one and another based on the function. In the Hebrew and Aramaic contemporaneous literature on which angelology is very developed, we do find in most of the cases an explanation of the names of the angels linked to the functions they have. My question is very simple: why should we give preference to a temporally remote mythological interpretation when the contemporaneous explanation for the basis of their function is at hand?

Michael Langlois: Some of the angels' names may of course be understood in relation to their functions, which is obvious in *1En* 8. But this explanation does not account for all of them, e.g. דְּנִיאל or שְׁמִיחֻזָּה. Moreover, an interpretation based on theonyms may not be as temporally remote as one may think, cf. the occurrences of names bearing the theonym חֶרֶם in Egyptian Aramaic, or the presence of גִּלְגַּמִּישׁ in the *Book of Giants*. This, of course, does not mean that all second century BCE readers of the *Book of the Watchers* or *Book of Giants* would recognize the theonymic or mythological origin of these names.

Émile Puech: En un mot, même si on peut discuter nombre de vos interprétations des noms de l'angélogogie, votre lecture רַמְשָׁן du troisième décurion est assurée, comparée à רַמְטָן de Milik. Mais le onzième décurion est certainement à lire הרַמְנִי, le quatorzième doit être lu סְרוּאֵל avec Milik, qu'on retrouve dans la métathèse du grec θαυσαρηλ, le seizième me paraît écrit שְׁהַרְיָאֵל (ductus du *he* préférable à celui de *het*) avec Milik, le dix-septième est très probablement תְּרוּמִיאֵל, le dix-neuvième doit être lu יְמִיאֵל (non יְמִיאֵל). En conséquence il me semble que l'ensemble de l'onomastique témoigne du milieu culturel cananéen, sans qu'on puisse dire davantage et vouloir y reconnaître des traditions polythéistes anciennes.

Michael Langlois: La première lettre du onzième angélonyme est assurément un π et non un η (la traverse part sous le sommet du jambage droit et ne dépasse pas le jambage gauche) ; la dernière lettre est un γ ou un γ' , la déchirure au bord de 4Q204 1c ii 5 ne permettant pas de trancher entre ces deux lectures.

Pour le quatorzième décarque, la lecture de Milik repose sur un petit fragment dont le positionnement à gauche de 4Q204 1d est incertain ; il ne peut donc être pris en compte.

La seconde lettre du seizième décarque est dotée d'un jambage gauche plus court en 4Q201 1c ii 11, ce qui favorise une lecture η , mais la traverse n'est pas proéminente, ce qui favorise un π . En 4Q204 1d 3, c'est à nouveau la traverse non-proéminente qui favorise un π (celle-ci n'ayant pas simplement disparu, cf. l'approche réduite du γ qui suit). Au final, bien qu'une lecture η soit possible dans les deux cas, une lecture π semble préférable.

La troisième lettre du dix-neuvième angélonyme peut difficilement être un γ étant donné son gabarit et le tracé vertical à droite confirmé par un examen du fragment lui-même. Même en supposant la présence d'un γ entre le η et le κ , le λ se trouve au cœur de la lacune séparant les frag. 1r et 1s ; il n'en reste donc aucune trace (la petite tache au bord de 1s 1e ne correspond pas à la haste d'un λ).

Armin Lange: How does what you presented relate to the redactional history of the *Book of the Watchers*? I think a lot of us disagree on how the *Book of the Watchers* developed but almost everyone thinks what we have today is the final stage of a long history of redactional growth. How do your observations relate to that?

Michael Langlois: This is a difficult question. On the one hand, a study of the angels' names suggests that they are old and may be related to northwest Semitic mythology. On the other hand, this list's compilation may be later and does not necessarily predate the redaction of the *Book of the Watchers* (cf. John Collins' question).

Loren Stuckenbruck: The study of fallen angels' names can be ideally set within the wider Enochic context of meanings attributable to angels' names. This is so in two respects: (1) The meanings (or possible meanings) of names of the "good" angels in the *Book of the Watchers*—are these names, also with *-el* endings, very different in character from those given to the bad or fallen angels? (2) The fallen angels' names in the *Book of Parables*. In particular, a proper—or contextual—appreciation of the meanings of the fallen angels' names in the *Book of the Watchers* needs to be aware of meanings associated with Uriel, Raphael, Gabriel, Michael, and Sariel.

Jonathan Ben-Dov: I would like to note the rabbinic tradition in the Yerushalmi (y. RH 56d [1:2]), saying that the names of angels originated in Babylonia with the Jewish exiles, just like the names of months.

PART III: EXEGESE AND GENRES

REFERENCES TO BIBLICAL TEXTS IN THE ARAMAIC TEXTS FROM
QUMRAN

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Before I tackle the issue of references to biblical texts in the Aramaic texts from Qumran, it is necessary to formulate a few preliminary remarks. First, I will not address manuscripts that correspond to *biblical* texts written in Aramaic, such as Daniel and Ezra.¹ Neither shall I deal with the targums of Leviticus (4Q156, *DJD VI*) and Job (4Q157, *DJD VI*; 11Q10, *DJD XXIII*). Instead, I will focus on the non-biblical Aramaic texts from Qumran, and I will try to analyze the biblical references they may contain.

Second, I will exclude from my investigation all the references to the book of Genesis. It is now well known that nearly half of the compositions in Aramaic from Qumran refer to the book of Genesis, and my purpose in this paper is to examine whether other biblical books are referred to in these Aramaic texts—which ones, for what reasons, and so on and so forth. This means that, in a manuscript that deals mainly with the events and characters of the book of Genesis, I will try to learn if there are references to other biblical books as well.

Third, I accept the view that 4QTales of a Persian Court (4Q550–550f, also known as Proto-Esther) and 4QPrayer of Nabonides (4Q242) do not depend on the biblical books of Esther and Daniel, respectively. Rather, they may have inspired the authors of the biblical books, or could be independent compositions relying on the same sources or traditions.²

¹ For Daniel, see 1Q71, 1Q72 (*DJD I*), 4Q112–116 (*DJD XVI*), 6Q7 (*DJD III*). For Ezra, see 4Q117 (*DJD XVI*).

² On 4QProto-Esther, see J. T. Milik, “Les modèles araméens du livre d’Esther dans la Grotte 4 de Qumrân,” *RQ* 15/3 (1992): 321–399. For S. White Crawford, “it is plain from 4QTales of a Persian Court that the type of tales associated with Daniel and Ahiqar was more widespread than previously known, that a popular literature in Aramaic existed among the Jews in Palestine and was preserved by the community at Qumran, and that books of the Hebrew Bible do have sources, as biblical scholars have claimed for many years, and that in documents like 4QTales of a Persian Court we may discern one of those sources” (“Has ‘Esther’ been found at Qumran? 4QProto-Esther and the ‘Esther’ corpus,” *RQ* 17/1–4 [1996]: 325). Concerning 4QPrayer of Nabonides, see F. García Martínez, “The Prayer of Nabonidus: A New Synthesis,” in *Qumran and Apocalyptic. Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 129–130; É. Puech, “La Prière de Nabonide (4Q242),” in *Targumic and Cognate Studies. Essays in Honour of Martin*

Fourth, I shall not consider suggested restitutions because scholars tend to use biblical texts to fill in the lacunae, so that it would amount to a circular reasoning. Finally, it must be underlined that I focus on the content of a given biblical book or on explicit quotations (insofar as an Aramaic translation of a biblical verse can be considered a quotation).. I leave out of this enquiry many stylistic similarities, which are often subjective or vague. However, since this is an important methodological problem in itself, I will start with a few considerations on some passages that could be inspired by a particular biblical verse (not stemming from Genesis).

1. *Stylistic similarities: common linguistic and cultural background or conscious references?*

a) *Common vocabulary*

In the *Book of Enoch*,³ the *Genesis Apocryphon*,⁴ as well as in other manuscripts from Qumran,⁵ the term “mystery” (רִזְא or רִז in Hebrew) figures prominently. In the biblical corpus, however, it is used only in the book of Daniel (2:18–19, 27–30, 47; 4:6). There is no reason to suppose *a priori* that the presence of the word רִזְא in an Aramaic text from Qumran results from the influence of the book of Daniel. Nor is it possible to affirm that the use of this term in the latter reflects the influence of the *Book of Enoch* on the author of Daniel, for instance. The word “mystery” apparently belonged to the vocabulary used in several ancient Jewish texts written in Aramaic. Since other common terms are found in the *Book of Enoch* and the book of Daniel, this common vocabulary probably reflects the fact that their authors shared a particular worldview, or at least some aspects of it. But these words are not proof of a direct literary borrowing.

In 4Q204 1 v 4 (one of the manuscripts of the *Book of Enoch*), one finds the expression קִישְׁטָא צְבָחָא, “plant of righteousness” (or truth).

McNamara (ed. K. J. Cathcart and M. Maher; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 226–227; J. J. Collins, *DJD XXII. Qumran Cave 4 – XVII. Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 86; E. Eshel, “Possible Sources of the Book of Daniel,” in *The Book of Daniel. Composition and Reception* (ed. J. J. Collins and P. W. Flint; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 387–394.

³ See 4Q201 1 iv 5; 4Q203 9 3; 4Q204 5 ii 26.

⁴ See 1QapGen I 2–3; V 20–21.25; VI 12; XIV 19.

⁵ See 4Q534 1 i 8; 4Q536 2i+3 8–9.12; 4Q545 4 16; 4Q546 12 4.

The use of such an expression could be inspired by Isaiah 61:3, in which the afflicted of Zion are called “oaks of righteousness” (אילי הצדק) and “a planting of YHWH” (מטע יהוה). Or, more adequately, it could be an equivalent of the expression used in Jeremiah 33:15, צמח צדקה, which, however, in the context of the book of Jeremiah, refers to the successor of David, and has a political and even a messianic connotation. In the context of the *Book of Enoch* as we have it in Ge‘ez (see *1 Enoch* 10:16),⁶ it can hardly refer to a political figure. Still, the authors of the *Book of Enoch* could have known the expression and used it in a different context, giving it a different meaning. But it could also be an independent use of the same kind of expression based on the existence of a shared vocabulary.

In the *Aramaic Levi Document* (4Q213a 5 i 3), one finds the expression כְּהֹנֵן עֹלָמָא, “eternal priesthood,” but without any context that would help the reader understand what or who the author(s) had in mind.⁷ This expression is found only twice in the biblical texts; first in Exodus 40:15 (“their anointing shall admit them to an eternal priesthood (לְכַהֲנַת עוֹלָם) throughout their generations”) and then in Numbers 25:13 (“And it shall be to him, and to his descendants after him, the covenant of an eternal priesthood”) (וְהִיְתָה לוֹ וּלְזֵרְעוֹ אַחֲרָיו בְּרִית (כְּהֹנֵן עוֹלָם)). In Exodus it refers to the priesthood of the descendants of Aaron in general, and in Numbers to the covenant of perpetual priesthood between God and some of the descendants of Aaron, Pinhas and his seed because of Pinhas’ zeal for God. Whether the author of *Aramaic Levi Document* had the verse from Exodus or Numbers in mind is difficult to affirm with certitude. This expression, even if biblical in origin, could have just become part of his own religious vocabulary. But the words כְּהֹנֵן עֹלָמָא show that he probably had the Aaronite priesthood in mind. This is in line with other allusions to the cult and the sa-

⁶ The text, in *1 Enoch* 10:16–17, reads as follows: “Destroy all perversity from the face of the earth, and let every wicked deed be gone; and let the plant of righteousness and truth appear, and it will become a blessing, (and) the deeds of righteousness and truth will be planted forever with joy. And now all the righteous will escape, and they will live until they beget thousands, and all the days of their youth and their old age will be completed in peace” (*1 Enoch. A New Translation* [ed. G. Nickelsburg and J. C. VanderKam; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004], 30). The expression “plant of righteousness” may refer to Abraham, or to the people of Israel.

⁷ See M. E. Stone and J. C. Greenfield (ed.), in *DJD XXII*, 25–36 (see 35). This fragment containing three words has not found its place in the reconstruction proposed by M. E. Stone, J. C. Greenfield, and E. Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document. Edition, Translation, Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

crifices (and, therefore, to traditions from the books of Exodus to Deuteronomy) in the *Aramaic Levi Document*.⁸ We shall deal at greater length below with the general issue of references to the cult and the priesthood (topics not tackled as such in the book of Genesis) in the Aramaic texts from Qumran.

In short, the use of a common term or expression is generally insufficient to deduce the influence of a particular text upon another. The fact that people shared a common vocabulary should not be underestimated. It should also be kept in mind that one may use biblical images or expressions without consciously thinking about the biblical book in which they appear, and with no intention to actually refer to this book.

b) *Use of a particular biblical verse?*

In some cases, however, particular formulas might be considered allusions or references to specific biblical verses that go beyond the existence of a common vocabulary. But even then, some similarities may be misleading.

For instance, in the *Book of Giants* (4Q530 2 ii + 6 + 7i + 8 + 9 + 10 + 11 + 12(?), lines 17–19),⁹

Ohyah has a dream in which “thrones were erected, and the Great One s[at down. A hundred hu]ndreds were serving him; a thousand thousands [were worshiping?] him; 18 [a]ll were standing [b]efore him. And behold, [book]s were opened, and judgment was spoken; and the judgment of 19 [the Great One] was [wr]itten [in a book] and sealed in an inscription. (...)”¹⁰

As already underlined by Jozef T. Milik,¹¹ the phraseology of the dream seems to be derived from the throne-theophany in Daniel 7 (particularly Dan 7:10, which states that “thousands of thousands ministered unto

⁸ See in particular 4Q214 2.

⁹ According to L. Stuckenbruck’s reconstruction, this is column II. See *The Book of Giants from Qumran. Texts, Translation, and Commentary* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 119–123.

¹⁰ Aramaic text:

וכרסו יחיטו וקדישא רבא יתב מאה מאזיו לה משמשיו אלף אלפיו לה	17
18 סגדיו כ לן ק למוהי הוא קאמין וארו (?) ספ רין פתיחו ודין אמיר ודין	18
19 רבא בכתב כ תיב וברושם רשים	19

¹¹ See “Turfan et Qumran: Livre des géants juif et manichéen,” in *Tradition und Glaube: Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt* (ed. G. Jeremias, H.-W. Kuhn and H. Stegemann; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 117–127 (see 122). See also É. Puech, *DJD XXXI. Qumrân Grotte 4 – XXII. Textes araméens première partie (4Q529–549)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 35–36.

him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him,” and “the judgment was set, and the books were opened”). Because of these similarities, Florentino García Martínez argues that the dating of the *Book of Giants* depends on the dating of the book of Daniel (Dan 7:9–10).¹² As Loren Stuckenbruck highlights, there are four types of correspondences between the two texts (identical vocabulary, identical grammatical forms, an identical sequence of phrases and identical order of words within the parallel phrases),¹³ which clearly lead to postulate a relationship of some sort between the two texts. However, the precise nature of this relationship remains difficult to determine. Stuckenbruck concludes that “the theophany of B[ook of] G[iants] may well provide a piece of tradition which illumines the traditio-historical background of Daniel 7, thus throwing possible light on that author’s redactional activity.”¹⁴ Once more, parallels in wording, even those extending beyond one or two words, do not necessarily prove the influence of the book that later was to become part of the Hebrew Bible (in this case, Daniel) upon the text from Qumran. With the example of 4Q530 and Daniel 7 (as with 4QPrayer of Nabonides), one should also be reminded that some of the Aramaic texts from Qumran may be very ancient—more ancient than some parts of the biblical texts.

The following example—4Q246—probably illustrates the opposite case (i.e., one in which a text from Qumran depends on the book of Daniel). The extant fragment of 4Q246 mainly consists of a vision and some predictions about eschatological events. In addition to very general thematic similarities with Daniel 7 (e.g., the advent of a just kingdom after a period of suffering, the promise that justice and blessings will come upon the people of God), several stylistic analogies can be noticed as well. However I will discuss only the most striking ones. First, in col. i, l.8, one reads: “[... w]ill make and they will all serve” (יַעֲבֹדוּן (וּכְלָא יִשְׁמְשׁוּן), which recalls Daniel 7:10 (אֵלֶּף אֲלֵפִים יִשְׁמְשׁוּנָהּ). Col. ii, l.5–6, “(Then) his kingdom (shall be) an everlasting kingdom, and all his ways (shall be) in truth [or: justice]. He shall jud[ge] the land with

¹² See *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 104.

¹³ See *The Book of Giants from Qumran*, 121–122.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 123. See also his article “The Throne-Theophany of the Book of Giants: Some New Light on the Background of Daniel 7,” in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures. Qumran Fifty Years After* (ed. S. E. Porter and C. A. Evans; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 211–220.

truth [or: justice] (...),”¹⁵ has close similarities with Daniel 4:34 (“the king of heaven, all his works are truth, and his ways justice,” מלך שמיא די כל מעבדוהי קשט וארחתה דין). Both passages may ultimately derive from Deuteronomy 32:4 (כל דרכיו משפט). Finally, col. ii, 1.8–9, “He shall make war for him. Peoples He shall put in his power, and all of them He shall cast before him. His dominion (shall be) an everlasting dominion, and none of the abysses of [the earth shall prevail against it],”¹⁶ probably quotes Daniel 4:31 or 7:14 (שלטנה שלטן עלם),¹⁷ and may also be a paraphrase of Deuteronomy 7:21–24.¹⁸ In sum, when considered together, the similarities of content and style are striking enough to suggest that the author of 4Q246 was dependent upon the book of Daniel.

Finally, in the *Testament of Qahat* (4Q542 1 i 5–7), a verse from Numbers and a verse from Deuteronomy seem to be paraphrased. First, on line 1, one reads that “(God) will make his light shine upon you” (וינהר נהירה עליכון), which is probably a rewording of the sacerdotal blessing in Numbers 6:25, יאר יהוה פניו אליך.¹⁹ Then, in lines 5–7, the patriarch warns his children not to “give your inheritance to strangers or your heritage to assimilation, so that you become low and foolish in their eyes and they despise you; for those who are foreign residents among you would become authorities over you”.²⁰ In this passage, the reference to Deuteronomy 28:43–44 is clear, as the similarity between

¹⁵ Translation by J. A. Fitzmyer, “4Q246: The ‘Son of God’ Document from Qumran,” *Biblica* 74/2 (1993): 153–174 (see 155–156). Aramaic text (4Q246 1 ii):

מלכותה מלכות עלם וכל ארחתה בקשוט ידון	5
ארעא בקשט וכלא יעבר שלם (...)	6

¹⁶ Translation by J. A. Fitzmyer, *ibid.*, 156. Aramaic text:

הוא ועבד לה קרב עממין ינתן בידה וכלהן	8
ירמה קדמוהי שלטנה שלטן עלם וכל תהומי	9

¹⁷ See J. A. Fitzmyer, “4Q246,” 166; É. Puech, “Fragment d’une apocalypse en araméen (4Q246 = pseudo-Dan^d) et le ‘Royaume de Dieu,’” *RB* 99 (1992): 98–131 (see 122); *idem*, *DJD XXII*, 178: “Le dernier stique (...) cite explicitement Dn 4:31 à propos du Dieu Très-Haut, Dn 7:14b à propos du Fils d’homme, avec des parallèles aussi en Dn 3:33, 6:27, et 7:27b à propos du peuple des Saints”.

¹⁸ See J. A. Fitzmyer, *ibid.*, 165; É. Puech, *DJD XXII*, 178.

¹⁹ See É. Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 272, who also recalls the similarity between 4Q542 and Targum Onqelos on Numbers 6:25, as well as the Samaritan targum on the same passage. See also A. Caquot, “Les testaments qumrâniens des pères du sacerdoce,” *RHPR* 78/2 (1998): 3–26 (see 17).

²⁰ Aramaic text:

(...) ואל תתנו ירותתכון לנכראין ואחסון לכון >נותכותן <	5
לכילאין ותהון לשפלון} ולנבלו בעיניהון ויבסרון עליכון די	6
להון תי(הב) >ת < בין לכון ולהון עליכון ראשין (...)	7

the words *וּלְהוֹן עַל־כּוֹן רֵאשִׁין* in 4Q542 1 i 7 and *הוּא יְהִיָּה לְרֵאשׁ* in Deuteronomy 28:44 shows.²¹ Not only is the wording similar, but the meaning and the contexts are identical as well: both speeches are exhortatory and aim to prevent the Israelites from going astray by announcing the disastrous consequences of such a choice (in this case, domination at the hands of those who are foreign residents in the land). In this particular passage, it can therefore be stated that 4Q542 clearly relies on the Deuteronomic verses.

Whereas stylistic similarities or the use of common words are often not sufficient proof of a direct literary borrowing or influence between two texts, there are nevertheless cases in which they are specific enough for us to conclude that the authors of the Qumran Aramaic texts knew and used texts from the Torah, as well as, for instance, from the book of Daniel.

2. *Texts that refer (directly or indirectly) to the content of biblical books (other than Genesis)*

a) *References to Moses and the giving of the Torah at Sinai*

In the Qumran manuscripts of the *Book of Enoch*, as in the text preserved in Ge‘ez, there are several references to Moses and the events at Sinai, which are all located in the so-called *Animal Apocalypse* (1 En. 85–90).²² First, 4Q204 frag. 4 preserves parts of the passage that recalls the episode of the golden calf (Ex 32), as well as the building of the Tabernacle in the desert (Ex 25–26 and 36–37, 40):²³

“(31) And they all were afraid [and trembling] before Him, [and they cried to the sheep who was the second (in command) to Him], who was among them: ‘We

²¹ Strangely enough, it seems to have gone unnoticed by the editor of the text, É. Puech (ibid., 274). E. Cook, “Remarks on the Testament of Kohath from Qumran Cave 4,” *JJS* 44 (1993): 205–219, misses it as well.

²² On this section of the *Book of Enoch*, see the recent work by D. Assefa, *L’Apocalypse des animaux (1 Hen 85–90) : une propagande militaire ? Approches narrative, historico-critique, perspectives historiques* (Leiden: Brill, 2007). Speaking about the metaphorical dimension of the *Animal Apocalypse*, he correctly states that “ce sont les récits bibliques qui nous permettent d’identifier les référents des personnages de l’AA,” and “l’AA perdrait son sens si l’on n’avait pas une connaissance préalable des récits bibliques” (155–156). On the biblical scenes alluded to in *1 Enoch*, see G. W. Nickelsburg, *A Commentary of the Book of Enoch, chapters 1–36; 81–108* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 358.

²³ See *1 En.* 89:31–37.

are not able to stand before [the Lord.ʹ (32) Thereupon that sheep that led them] went up [again for] a second time to the summit of that rock. But the flock began to go blind [and to stray from the way which had been shown] them: but the sheep did not know about these (happenings). (33) And the Lord of the flock was filled with [great] wrath against [the flock and that sheep knew it and came down from the summit of] that [rock]; and he came to the flock, and found all the majority of them blinded [and straying. (34) And when they saw him, they began to fear] before him, and desired to return to their folds. (35) [And the sheep took other sheep with him and came] to the flock; and they slaughtered every one that had gone astray; and they began to fear [before him.... Then] that sheep restored all the straying flock to their folds. [And when the straying flock had returned to their folds] that [sheep] set about reproaching and slaying and punishing (every-one) who swore by [the name of the golden calf(?). (36) And I watched in this dream until] that sheep was changed and became a man and made a Tabernacle [for the Lord of the flock; and he brought all the flock to that Tabernacle. (37) And I watched until] that sheep who was associated [with (the first sheep) fell asleep...].”²⁴

The similarities between the Aramaic text and the text in Ge‘ez are sufficient enough for us to safely conclude that the former refers to the biblical episodes mentioned above.

Two other manuscripts, 4Q205 and 4Q206, allude to chapters 19–20 of the book of Exodus. 4Q205 2 ii (*I En.* 89:29–31) is very fragmentary, but it preserves the following passage of *I Enoch*:

“[... (29) and that sheep went up to the summit of] a high [rock], and [the Lord of the sheep sent him to the flock, and they all stood at a distance. (30) Then I saw and behold, the Lord of the sheep stood] facing the flock, and his appearance was strong and great and fearful; [and all the flock saw Him and were afraid before Him. (31) And all of them] were trembling and fearful [before Him...].”²⁵

This text alludes to Exodus 19:10–25 and 20:18–21, two passages that precede and follow the episode of the giving of the Torah on Mount Sinai.

4Q206 4 iii (*I En.* 89:26–30) partly overlaps with 4Q205 2 ii. It evokes the drowning of the Egyptians, the crossing of the Red Sea by the Hebrews (Ex 14:15–31, ll.13–16), the water of Mara (Ex 15:22–26, l.18), the manna (?) (Ex 16, l.19) and then, as in 4Q205 2 ii, the ascension of Moses on Mount Sinai when he received the Law and the fear of the people who stood at a distance (Ex 19–20, ll.19–21).

²⁴ J. T. Milik (with the collaboration of M. Black), *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 205.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 223.

In one of the manuscripts of the *Visions of Amram* (4Q545), the name “Moses” is mentioned in fragment 4, line 15. The name Aaron may have been written as well. Only the first letter, א, may be read before the lacuna, but the reference to a “holy priest” in the following line makes it probable that Aaron was mentioned. Moreover, the fragmentary text seems to focus on the priesthood rather than on Moses. However, it is difficult to know the content of the preceding lines. In another manuscript, 4Q547 9, a reference to Mount Sinai (הר סיני, 1.4) and to Maryam (1.10) can be found. There may be another reference to Moses, who seems to have built an altar; but this is a very hypothetical reconstruction.²⁶ In any case, the issue of the Aaronite priesthood is raised again, and it is stated very strongly that it should last for eternity (11.6–7). A bronze altar is also mentioned on line 5—probably the one described in Exodus 27:1–8 and 38:1–7. Although not as central as the stories of Genesis, the priesthood, the cult and the sacrifices nevertheless represent one of the main thematic issues addressed by the Aramaic texts from Qumran, as we will now see.

b) *Texts pertaining to halakhic issues, with a special emphasis on the cult and the priesthood*

First, let us look at the *Genesis Apocryphon*, X 14–17:

14 the [...] first, and after it came [...] I burned the fat upon the fire, and second [...] 15 [...] I poured out their blood at the base of the altar, [and] I burned the entirety of their flesh upon the altar; then, third, the turtledove 16 [...] on the altar as an offering [...] upon it I placed fine flour soaked with oil together with frankincense, as a grain offering. 17 [...] upon all of them I was sprinkling salt. Then the savour of my burnt offering ascended to [he]aven. *vacat*.²⁷

Whereas the biblical text merely states that “Noah built an altar to the Lord, and took of every animal and of every clean bird, and offered burnt offerings on the altar” (Gen 8:20), the *Genesis Apocryphon* describes the sacrifices according to the laws mentioned in other books of the Torah, especially Leviticus. To burn the fat on the altar (1.14) is found in Exodus 29:13, Leviticus 1:8, 12 and 4:10, 19; to pour the blood on the base of the altar, in Exodus 29:12, Leviticus 1:5, 11 and 4:7, 18, 25, 30; and to burn the flesh on the altar, in Leviticus 1:8–9, 12–13 (the

²⁶ See É. Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 388–389.

²⁷ Translation by M. Abegg and M. Wise, *DSSR 3. Parabiblical Texts* (ed. D. W. Parry and E. Tov; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 15.

holocaust). Turtledoves are mentioned in Leviticus 1:14 (a holocaust), 5:7 (a guilt offering), 14:22 (in the context of the purification of the leper); the mixture of flour and oil, or grain offering, in Leviticus 2:1–2, 15 and 14:21; the frankincense, in the description of the grain offering in Leviticus 2:1–2; and the salt, in Leviticus 2:13 (as well as Ezekiel 43:24). The only point that could contradict the biblical prescriptions is the fact that Noah burnt “the entirety of their flesh upon the altar,” which violates Exodus 29:14 and Leviticus 4:11–12. However, the second sacrifice referred to in the *Genesis Apocryphon* certainly refers to a holocaust, as in Leviticus 1 (as well as Exodus 29:15–18); in this case, the pouring of the blood on the base of the altar is followed by the burning of the whole animal upon the altar. The reference to the burning of the fat, followed by the words **והניאנא**, makes it probable that the author first referred to a sacrifice of guilt (**הטאת**) and then to a holocaust, as in *Jubilees* 6:2–3a.²⁸ In any case, the passage from the *Genesis Apocryphon* clearly presupposes the laws of Leviticus.

In col. XXI, another biblical passage (Gen 13:3–4), which merely evokes the fact that Abram built an altar between Bethel and Ai and invoked the name of the Lord there, is amplified as well. The biblical text does not explain what kinds of sacrifices were brought upon the altar; however, the *Genesis Apocryphon* specifies that after having rebuilt it, Abram offered to God holocausts (**עלואן**) and an offering (**מנחה**) (1Q20 XXI 2). Only after having performed these ritual acts does he invoke the name of the Lord, with praises and blessings. In the Hebrew Bible (MT), the term **מנחה** designates all kinds of offerings. The first chapter of Leviticus deals with the holocausts, and it is immediately followed by considerations about the grain offering (**מנחה**). The passage in *Genesis Apocryphon* XXI may therefore be based upon Leviticus 1–2.

Finally, another law from the book of Leviticus was considered to be known and practiced by the patriarch Noah. Although not as directly linked to the cult, it is also worth mentioning because it deals with the fruits of the earth (another issue of concern for priests). In XII 15, one reads that Noah, who had planted a vineyard and made wine from its fruits, “began to drink it on the first day of the fifth year (since planting).” Therefore he behaved according to the prescription of Leviticus

²⁸ As already suggested by J. C. Reeves, “What Does Noah Offer in 1QapGen X, 15 ?,” *RQ* 12/3 (1986): 415–419. See also J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20). A Commentary (Third Edition)* (Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2004), 154.

19:23–25, which, concerning the fruits of the trees planted in the promised land, states that they shall be forbidden during three years, that the fruits of the fourth year shall be offered to God and that only in the fifth year should one eat of them.²⁹

The composition known as the *New Jerusalem* has been preserved in several manuscripts.³⁰ Even if the text is fragmentary, several cultic issues are alluded to. For instance, in 2Q24 4 (which corresponds to 11Q18 20): offerings (קורבן, 1.2); flour probably meant for the cereal offerings, as in Leviticus 2:1 and 24:5 (תמנא סאין סולתא, 1.4); an altar (מד[בחא], 1.6); piles (of bread) on the table (סדרין על פת[ורא], 1.7), as in Leviticus 24:6; priests (כהניא, 1.13–14); two breads that are to be given to the priests (תרתי להמא, 1.14–15), which recall those that are to be brought during the feast of Shavuot, according to Leviticus 23:17, 20; a ram (איל, 1.18), which may correspond to several passages pertaining to the sacrifices in Leviticus,³¹ and particularly 23:18 (the offering of two rams during the feast of Shavuot).³² In frag. 8, 1.5 probably refers to the atonement on the altar,³³ a notion that is found in Exodus 29:36–37, Leviticus 4:26, 31, 35, 8:15, 14:20, 16:18, as well as in Ezekiel 43:26 (another book that strongly influenced the *New Jerusalem*, as is widely known).³⁴

Fragments from 11Q18 can be given as examples as well. For instance, frag. 13 deals with details pertaining to the sacrifices: how the animal should be bound (1.1: “[...] by its four legs (...))”, how it should be prepared (1.2: “[... he wa]shed its legs and its intestines (רגלוהי וקרבוהי, and salted all of it [...]”)), the fire for the sacrifice (1.3, נורא), the flour that accompanies the sacrifice (1.3, קמה סולת), the altar (1.4, מדבחה) and a certain measure (probably of flour), the סתא or סאה in Hebrew (1.4–5), which should probably be connected with cereal offer-

²⁹ See Fitzmyer, *ibid.*, 162.

³⁰ The only comprehensive reconstruction of the text until now is that of M. Chyutin, *The New Jerusalem Scroll from Qumran. A Comprehensive Reconstruction* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997). But it is very problematic; see the review by E. Tigchelaar in *RQ* 18/3 (1998): 453–457.

³¹ See Lev 5:15–16.18.25, 8:2.18.20–22.29, 9:2.4.18–19, 16:3.5, etc. See also Ex 29.

³² See M. Baillet, in *DJD III. Les ‘petites grottes’ de Qumran* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 87–88.

³³ Aramaic text, *ibid.*, 89: ולהיון מכפרין בה על[נהי] בלס[]

³⁴ On the connections between the *New Jerusalem* and Ezekiel, see below. 2Q24 8 6, [ב] ולא יתכלא עוד כול יום[ויום]

ings (although in the Pentateuch, the term סאה is mentioned only in Genesis 18:6, a passage that does not refer to sacrifices or offerings). As stressed by the editors, the association of the legs and the intestines points to Leviticus 1:9, 13, even if the Massoretic text uses a different word for “legs” (כרעים).³⁵ The salt mentioned in 1.2 corresponds to Leviticus 2:13. The offering of flour mentioned in 1.3 stems from Leviticus 2:1–10. One more reference to the cult in 11Q18 (among many others) is frag. 29, 1.1, in which the words “in front of [the] alt[ar ...]” (קודם (מד]ב]חא) can be read. A similar expression is to be found in Leviticus 6:7 (אל פני המזבח). Moreover, in 1.4, oil and wine are mentioned (as, for instance, in Numbers 15:4–5), and in 1.6, the words “a pleas[ant aro]ma” (ר]יח נ]יח]רה) can be restituted, probably a reminiscence of Numbers 15, in which this expression can be found five times (15:3, 7, 10, 13, 14).³⁶

To these references to the cultic laws stemming from the Torah, one must add the numerous references or allusions to (or reminiscences of) Ezekiel 40–48, a central feature of the *New Jerusalem*, which describes in a very detailed way the new Jerusalem and the ideal temple of the eschatological future. One of the first editors of the text, Maurice Baillet, writes that “la description de la Jérusalem Nouvelle, qui reprend la Thora d’Ezéchiel, est une construction liturgique inspirée par le Temple de Jérusalem, mais se rapportant à l’Israël idéal des temps messianiques.”³⁷ In the same DJD volume, concerning another manuscript of the *New Jerusalem*, 5Q15, Joseph Milik similarly describes the text as “un écrit araméen qui est une révision de la ‘Torah’ d’Ezéchiel (chapitres 40 à 48).”³⁸ This analysis has been confirmed by subsequent studies,³⁹ so the use of Ezekiel 40–48 by the author of the *New Jerusalem* can be taken for granted.

³⁵ *DJD XXIII. Qumran Cave 11 (11Q2–18, 11Q20–31)* (ed. F. García Martínez, E. J. C. Tigchelaar and A. S. Van der Woude; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 326.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 348.

³⁷ See *DJD III*, 85.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 184.

³⁹ See S. Fujita, *The Temple Theology of the Qumran Sect and the Book of Ezekiel: Their Relationship to Jewish Literature of the Last Two Centuries B.C.* (Princeton Univ. 1970). Unfortunately, his dissertation was unavailable to me, and I rely on Florentino García Martínez’ remarks in *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 186. See also É. Puech, “A propos de la Jérusalem Nouvelle d’après les manuscrits de la mer Morte,” *Semitica* 43–44 (1995): 87–102 (in which he mainly underlines the differences between the NJ and Ez 40–48); F. García Martínez, E. J. C. Tigchelaar and A. S. Van der Woude in *DJD XXIII*, 308: “The text seems to adopt the theme of Ezekiel 40–48: a guiding angel shows the author the city and the Temple, including their architectonic features and measurements”.

One can therefore conclude that the author of the *New Jerusalem* relied on biblical traditions that are found in the Torah (especially in Leviticus) and in the book of Ezekiel.

c) *Texts evoking judges, kings, prophets and priests known from biblical books*

A few Aramaic texts from Qumran also refer to judges, kings, priests and prophets that are known from biblical books that would later be called “the Prophets” and “the Writings.” In 4Q205 frag. 2 col. iii (1 *Enoch* 89:43–44), for instance, one finds clear allusions to Saul and to the stories told in 1 Samuel 9 to 15, with a particular emphasis on the wars he led against the Ammonites (1 Sam 11:1–15) and the Amalekites (1 Sam 15:1–9).⁴⁰

The remaining fragments of 4Q559, now entitled by its editor, Émile Puech, “4QpapChronologie biblique ar,”⁴¹ contain a chronology of events from the period of the patriarchs to that of the judges (at least). Frag. 4 refers to the crossing of the Jordan (l.4) and to Gilgal (Jos 4:19–20, 5:1–10) (l.5), to the king Kushan-Rishathaim mentioned in Judges 3:8 (l.7), to the judge Othniel (Judg 3:9–11) (l.8), to Eglon king of Moab (Judg 3:12–30) (l.9), to the judge Ehud son of Gera (Judg 3:15–30) (l.10) and to the judge who came after him, Shamgar son of Anath (Judg 3:31). 4Q559 frag. 5 contains further references to the book of Judges: the Canaanite king Yabin is mentioned l.1, as well as Deborah the prophetess and Baraq (Judg 4–5) (l.1). Frag. 6 may have contained references to Samson and to the prophet Samuel, but these restitutions are mere conjectures. The text seems to have dealt with chronological issues only.

As for the texts known as *Pseudo-Daniel* a and b, not only do they explicitly mention the figure of Daniel,⁴² but they also refer to biblical episodes from the time of the conquest of the Land under Joshua until the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, with explicit references to personal names (in contradistinction to the book of Daniel itself). As John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint write, “Daniel speaks before a king and his courtiers. His discourse reviews history from the time of the Flood to the Hellenistic age and so has a broader scope than any-

⁴⁰ See J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 225.

⁴¹ See É. Puech (ed.), *DJD XXXVII. Qumrân grotte 4 XXVII. Textes araméens deuxième partie* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009), 263–289.

⁴² See 4Q243 1 1; 2 1; 5 1; 6 3; 4Q244 4 2.

thing we find in the biblical books.”⁴³ In 4Q243 12, one finds a reference to the crossing of the Jordan under the leadership of Joshua (Jos 3), after what is apparently a reference to the four hundred years the children of Israel had to spend in Egypt.⁴⁴ Moreover, frag. 13 (which overlaps with 4Q244 12) describes the children of Israel as erring and sacrificing their children to demons, an accusation that recalls Psalm 106:37 (which itself depends on Deuteronomy 32:17), as well as 2 Kings 16:3, 21:6, 23:10, Jeremiah 7:31, 19:5, 32:35, Ezekiel 16:20–22, 36, 20:26, 31, 23:36–37. These passages do not mention demons (שַׂדִּיִּם), but accuse the Israelites of sacrificing their children. The consequence of this heinous behavior is that God delivers them into the hands of the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar, whose name is restituted in l.3. As underlined by Lorenzo DiTommaso, 4Q243/244’s theology of history is Deuteronomic.⁴⁵

In another composition inspired by the figure of Daniel,⁴⁶ 4Q245, one apparently finds two lists of names. The first one, which focuses on priests, mentions “5 [... Lev]i, Qahat 6 [...]Bukki, Uzzi 7 [... Zado]k, Abiathar 8 [...]Hi[1]kiah 9 [...] and Onias 10 [... Jona]than, Simon,” whereas the second one refers to kings from line 11 onward: “11 [...]and David, Salomon 12 [...]Ahazia[h, Joa]sh 13 [...]”⁴⁷ That Levi and Qahat should be included in a list of priestly figures is not surprising. Other Qumran Aramaic and Hebrew texts describe them as serving as priests and offering sacrifices, even before the Torah was given to Moses. The background of the list of priests could be 1 Chronicles 5:27–41, which lists the descendants of Levi, and mentions, among many others, Bukki (the grand-son of Pinhas) and his son Uzzi, as well as Zadok. In this instance, Zadok is followed by his son Ahimaaz. However, Zadok and Abiathar were the two main priests under David, as can be learnt from 2 Samuel 15:24, 29, 35 and 17:15, as well as 1 Chronicles 15:11.⁴⁸ Strikingly enough, this list also includes

⁴³ *DJD XXII*, 133. On this composition, see also L. DiTommaso, “4QPseudo-Daniel^{a-b} (4Q243–244) and the book of Daniel,” *DSD* 12/2 (2005): 101–133, and *The Book of Daniel and the Apocryphal Daniel Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 206–209.

⁴⁴ The previous fragment contains the word “Egypt” (11 ii 2).

⁴⁵ See his “4QPseudo-Daniel^{a-b} (4Q243–244).”

⁴⁶ See 4Q245 1 i–ii 3–4.

⁴⁷ See J. J. Collins and P. W. Flint, *DJD XXIII*, 159–161. See also Flint, “The Daniel Tradition at Qumran,” in *The Book of Daniel. Composition and Reception*, 329–367 (see 351–360).

⁴⁸ *DJD XXIII*, 160.

the names of Onias (probably Onias III) and the Hasmonean high priests Jonathan and Simon. A possible explanation (put forward by Peter Flint) is that Jonathan and Simon were accepted by the author of 4Q245 as legitimate high priests: “The line may have incurred blame only when it combined the offices of High Priest and King. This latter possibility is favoured by the fact that the list of priests is followed by a separate list of kings.”⁴⁹ As to the latter, the reference to Ahaziah and Joash could go back to 1 Chronicles 3:11, which lists the descendants of Salomon.⁵⁰

One last example of figures known to us from various biblical books (which also takes the form of a list) is 4Q339, the so-called “List of False Prophets.”⁵¹ It runs as follows: “1 Prophets of [l]ie who arose in [Israel:] 2 Balaam [son of] Be‘or (Num 22–24) 3 [and the] old man [from] Bethel (1 Kings 13:11–19) 4 [and Zede]qiah son of Kena‘anah (1 Kings 22:11–12, 24–25) 5 [and Aha]b son of Q[o]liah (Jer 29:21–23) 6 [and Zede]qiah son of Ma[‘a]seiah (ibid.) 7 [and Shema‘iah the Ne]hlemite (Jer 29:24–32) 8 [and Hananiah son of ‘Azz]ur (Jer 28) 9 [...]‘on.” As indicated in the parentheses, this list implies references to at least Numbers, 1 Kings and Jeremiah. (References to Chronicles could be added as well.)

Conclusions

Although half of the texts focus almost exclusively on the book of Genesis and on figures like Enoch, Noah or the patriarchs whose stories are told in Genesis, a careful reading of the Aramaic texts from Qumran first shows that references to Moses and the laws of the Torah are far from lacking. Even in the *Book of Enoch* itself, Moses and the events at Sinai are referred to unambiguously.⁵² Moreover, several Aramaic texts from Qumran have a sacerdotal background and refer to the cultic laws contained in the Pentateuch. In the case of the *New Jerusalem*, this con-

⁴⁹ “The Daniel Tradition,” 356.

⁵⁰ *DJD XXIII*, 160.

⁵¹ See M. Broshi and A. Yardeni, “On *Netinim* and False Prophets,” *Tarbiz* 62/1 (1992): 45–54 (see 50–54) in Hebrew; E. Qimron, “About the Interpretation of the *List of False Prophets*,” *Tarbiz* 63/2 (1994): 273–275 (in Hebrew); M. Broshi and A. Yardeni (ed.), in *DJD XIX. Qumran Cave 4 – XIV. Parabiblical Texts Part 2* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 77–79.

⁵² D. Assefa rightly notes, although in passing: “(...) il nous semble que la Torah et l’Alliance ont une place importante dans l’AA” (230, n.140).

cern for priestly issues and for the temple led to the use of Ezekiel 40–48 as well.

Second, several Aramaic texts from Qumran contain references to the history of the children of Israel, from the Exodus down to the Hellenistic period (with references to Onias, Jonathan and Simon in 4Q245). Biblical books such as Joshua, 1–2 Samuel, 1–2 Kings, 1–2 Chronicles, Jeremiah and possibly Psalms, were apparently known to the authors of these Aramaic texts. Whether these texts were produced in the same milieu as the ones that focus on the patriarchs and on issues linked to the temple cult remains an open question. Moving from groups of texts to groups of people with a particular religious or ideological as well as linguistic background is often problematic. The few texts referring to the so-called historical books of the Bible seem to be connected with Daniel in one way or another and to correspond to visions, revelations or dreams that contain apocalyptic reviews of Israel's history and maybe eschatological teachings as well.

The book of Daniel, parts of which were already written in Aramaic, actually holds a special place among the Aramaic texts from Qumran. His influence on some Aramaic compositions can be perceived in the vocabulary, the themes of the text, or in direct references to the figure of Daniel himself, to a book given to him (4Q245 1 i–ii 4), to the court setting known from the biblical text (for instance the name Belshazzar in 4Q243 2 2), etc.

Do these results shed light on the difficult question as to why these texts were written in Aramaic? The idea according to which it was a question of topic—Aramaic being used for stories dealing with the period preceding the giving of the Torah on Sinai—is not devoid of problems. The pseudo-danielic literature and 4Q339, in particular, tend to contradict it. Moreover, there are Qumran texts written in Hebrew that deal with the Flood and the patriarchs as well (see for instance 4Q369, *Prayer of Enosh*, or 4Q215, *Testament of Naphtali*). Is there, then, an issue of sociological milieu? Should we presuppose a particular link with the Jewish diaspora in the Babylonian / Persian world, which would explain the place held by the book of Daniel, the reference to Gilgamesh in the *Book of Giants*, the fragments from Tobit, as well as the use of Aramaic itself, among a certain group (or among certain groups) of people? Unfortunately, these answers lie beyond the scope of this paper.

RESPONSE: MICHAEL STONE

Katell Berthelot has written a paper in which she examines the extent of the knowledge of the Aramaic documents from Qumran of the works that became the Hebrew Bible. She starts off trying to exclude Genesis, but in the doing this intention is confuted and a substantial part of her presentation does deal with uses of Genesis. She wisely excludes restorations from consideration, since the biblical text often supplies the basis for the restorations and so, to find biblical text in the restoration would be circular argument.

Then, though disclaiming the study of “stylistic similarities,” she does provide some examples: The use of the term *razʾa* which, in the biblical corpus only occurs in Daniel. This and other terms shared by *1 Enoch* and Daniel reflect shared ideas or *Weltanschauung*, she maintains, and not borrowing. Indeed, one might even argue that this is simply use of words current in contemporary Hebrew and Aramaic.

The use of “plant of righteousness” in *naʿbath quštaʾ* in 4Q204 perhaps as “plant of righteousness” is perhaps related, Berthelot suggests, to Isaiah 61:3 or Jeremiah 33:15 *šemah šedaqa*, but this is surely too glancing an allusion, obscured too by the process of translation.

Her third stylistic example is *kahanut ʿalmaʾ* in *Aramaic Levi Document* which might refer to Numbers 15:13 and Exodus 40:15. This seems to us quite possible, but it is unclear how it differs in category from the use of particular biblical verses, which forms the next section.

The category “stylistic” needs further precision and refinement; perhaps what it contains at present is best regarded as allusion or evocation. With *kahanut ʿalmaʾ*, as with certain of the allusions isolated in the next section, it is hard to say that there is more than an ultimate connection with biblical language. We have no idea how widely the expression may have been used in Second Temple period, in either Hebrew or Aramaic (the same is probably also true of *razʾa*). Moreover, these connections with the biblical text, if they are such, are not specific or distinctive enough to exclude the intermediary stage of contemporary discourse in Hebrew and Aramaic in which expressions from biblical language may have become embedded without their use implying an explicit reference to a specific biblical source.

So the *Book of Giants*, which describes Ohyah’s dream using phrases derived from or very similar to Daniel 7. These similarities led Florentino García Martínez to a conclusion of literary dependence and so he dates the *Book of Giants* after Daniel. Yet, Berthelot points out, Loren

Stuckenbruck uses the types of correspondence he discerns in this parallel to postulate a relationship between these texts, which might lie in the “traditio-historical background of both texts.” All this is said, without considering issues of dating and status.

4Q246 is probably a case, Berthelot points out, in which a Qumran text does depend on Daniel, evoking Daniel 7:10 and 4:34 and, ultimately Deuteronomy 32:4. So, where does this leave us? As always, it leaves us with the alternatives of direct or indirect dependency and no real criteria may be isolated for determining which. If indirect, is the intermediary daily discourse, a particular religious / literary tradition, or what else might it be?

In fact, with one more example (4Q542 1 i 7 and Deut 28:44) she has exhausted those she isolated. It is striking that we are talking of either the Torah or Daniel as the sources, and even more specifically of Daniel 2–7, i.e., the Aramaic chapters. How about Prophets and Psalms and historical books, not to speak of the rest of Ketubim? Is this distribution pure chance or does it reflect some sort of reality? Does it make sense to draw inferences from the Aramaic texts’ usage without comparing it with that of the Hebrew texts? In general, it needs to be demonstrated that the Aramaic texts share more than Aramaic. At the end of her paper, Berthelot in a series of rhetorical questions raises the issues of Aramaic, Aramaic and Hebrew, and the sociology or history of language use in the period. But she leaves these, probably wisely, as questions with no answers.

The rest of the paper deals with points at which Aramaic texts show familiarity with ideas, concepts, language or activities drawn, directly or ultimately, from the biblical writings. Even the texts relating to sacrifice, which seem to have much terminology and usually ritual congruence with the texts in Leviticus, differ in details. Some scholars have spoken of *Genesis Apocryphon*’s greater affinities in a number of respects with the ritual teaching of Ezekiel than with that of Leviticus. The existence of the ritual instruction book in *Aramaic Levi Document* may serve to remind us that there must have been a literature of priestly instruction, even if partly oral, which one might think drew ultimately on Pentateuchal legislation, at least in part. The whole issue is complex and, in our view, in need of further analysis.

It is helpful to ask about the use of “biblical” works in the Aramaic Qumran documents. That the sectaries were familiar with Genesis traditions, with some other Pentateuchal matters, and with figures from

Israel's past is striking. That there are almost no references to prophetic and poetic books is also noteworthy.

The open questions of what can be learnt from this, whether the Aramaic writings are a distinct corpus, the chronology of the writings, the specific role of Daniel, and the relationship of this material with what we have in Hebrew from Qumran and in various languages from outside Qumran, remain, perhaps more starkly emphasized by this study.

DISCUSSION

Armin Lange: I would like to pick up on one point which was already addressed by André Lemaire this morning. That is the use of the word biblical. I think we create a vicious hermeneutical circle by using categories like Bible or biblical. You use the word biblical and that predisposes the corpus of literature you are analyzing. Biblical is a word that did not exist when the Qumranites lived. You speak about biblical quotations and allusions and limit the text base you are looking for and draw your conclusion based on evidence limited by later theological categories. I agree that there is a particular rhetoric in ancient Jewish literature which uses language of existing authoritative texts or scriptures. But to limit our studies to what later on became the Bible predefines our results. We are now at a point where we have more ancient Jewish literature available not just what happened to become part of the TaNaKH. Therefore, we need to ask if e.g. a book like *Jubilees* influenced texts in a similar way as Daniel did. My impression is that if you are doing text-critical work it might be acceptable to limit yourself to quotations of and allusions to biblical books because you are asking, e.g., how far is the Masoretic text of Jeremiah reflected in its quotations and allusions or not. But if you want to draw more far-reaching conclusions, e.g., if the Aramaic texts from Qumran are predominantly interested in events before the revelation of the Torah on Mount Sinai, I think you need to take all the evidence available into consideration.

Katell Berthelot: The question, "How much of ancient Jewish literature in general is quoted, referred to or alluded to in the Aramaic texts from Qumran?" is a completely legitimate question, I agree, but I do not see anything illegitimate in asking a narrower question such as: "Which parts of what later on became the Hebrew Bible (outside of Genesis) are quoted, referred to or alluded to in the Aramaic texts from Qumran?" Does the awareness of the fact that the canon did not exist as such until the beginning of the Christian era forbid us to continue to have a special interest in the ways the book of Deuteronomy, or the book of Isaiah, or the book of Ezekiel, were quoted, interpreted or used in other Jewish texts of the Hellenistic period? By choosing to focus on the books later called biblical, I do not imply that other Jewish books could not have been used, quoted and considered authoritative by the authors of the Aramaic texts from Qumran.

Lorenzo DiTommaso: Is there a categorical difference between references to data whose "biblical" sources are specific enough to be securely isolated in another text (like the examples from 11Q18), and references to more general data (like the idea of a regularly shaped, monumental New Jerusalem, whose antecedents may potentially derive from multiple sources)? If so, is this difference meaningful?

Katell Berthelot: I would say yes. Linking your question to the preceding one, one could say that the fact that multiple sources are at stake means that the author may also have sources which, using the terminology at hand, are “non-biblical.”

Samuel Thomas: Regarding your point about the use of *raz* in *1 Enoch* and Daniel: I’m not sure whether it impacts your statement one way or the other, but it may be helpful to note that *1 Enoch (Book of the Watchers)* and Daniel contain the earliest attested use of this word (with the possible exception of Ben Sira). Its ostensible Persian derivation—while sensible—is not based on any hard contemporary evidence, but comes from Avestan literature written down long after *1 Enoch* and Daniel were composed. While the usage (with the specific sense of “mystery” may have been more widespread than what we find in apocalyptic circles, there is no real evidence for that.

Katell Berthelot: Thank you very much for this remark. Whereas it does not allow us to conclude that one of the books influenced the other, it nevertheless gives more weight to the idea that both texts may have come from a similar background or share similar worldviews.

Moshe Bernstein: Your title misled me, at least at the beginning. Perhaps when you write you might use the term “text” in a more limited fashion. To me text means citation and I would have asked perhaps a different form of the question that Professor Stone asked “are we talking about biblical texts or biblical stories?” In other words, they know biblical stories and that’s one kind of allusion, what we might call the cultural baggage that everybody had, but did they know the particular text of Bible, Scripture or whatever which might be employed in some of the retellings? I’d take as an example your discussion of the sacrificial material in the *Genesis Apocryphon*. When the author of the *Genesis Apocryphon* writes that Noah places salt on all of his sacrifices, there is no doubt in my mind that he is echoing Leviticus “On all your sacrifices shall you place salt.” That word “all” is a textual giveaway. But when he gets his rules confused and he has a *hattat*-offering where the Genesis text has an *olah*-offering, then if we look in *Jubilees* (perhaps the source for the *Genesis Apocryphon* here), there is not only an *olah*-offering, but multiple offerings. So in looking at the retellings in more than a text-critical fashion, perhaps we have to do what Armin is calling “widening the text base.” Here we are lucky because we have two texts, Genesis and *Jubilees*, which might have influenced the *Genesis Apocryphon*—and we can see how the simultaneous influences differ, one textual and the other in content.

Katell Berthelot: I agree with you. But in this case, precisely, I have mentioned the possible connection with *Jubilees* as well!

Jonathan Ben-Dov: Two loci in the Enochic corpus may be a type of midrash on scriptural verses: parts of the *Astronomical Book* (see VanderKam in FS Stone), and the *Parables of Enoch* (based on Isa 24–27, see the book by David Suter).

Thierry Legrand: Comment expliquer l’absence, dans les textes araméens de Qumrân, de références aux Psaumes ou à des sections hymniques bibliques?

Katell Berthelot: Cette absence n’est pas totale, mais il est vrai que les références explicites à ces textes sont rares, alors que dans les *pesharim*, par exemple, les Psaumes sont cités et commentés. Cela peut tenir au contenu des textes araméens eux-mêmes, aux sujets qu’ils abordent, qui n’étaient pas perçus comme liés aux Psaumes.

Loren Stuckenbruck: The discussion of what is “Bible” or not is perhaps not the most helpful way of approaching these ancient texts. Therefore, I prefer to use the expression “sacred tradition.” An example of how the traditions that come to us as “biblical” are used without differentiation as other “sacred tradition” can be seen in the *Epistle of Enoch* which draws on the Pentateuch, major and minor prophets, Psalms, Qoheleth, and *Book of the Watchers* using the same interpretive techniques. Perhaps a further example of this might be seen in *Jubilees*. While Katell Berthelot’s (necessary) limitation of the topic is reasonable and understandable, the reception of “Bible” will ultimately need to take the wider issue of reception of sacred tradition into account.

“THE FALSE PROPHETS
WHO AROSE AGAINST OUR GOD” (4Q339 1)

Armin Lange, University of Vienna

In 1992, Magen Broshi and Ada Yardeni published a seemingly unimpressive scrap of leather from Cave 4 of the Qumran settlement.¹ They designated the text as 4QList of False Prophets ar. It bears the manuscript number 4Q339. The manuscript was written in a Herodian formal hand.² Compared to other manuscripts it enjoyed little attention in scholarly literature.³ Of the little fragment, 9 damaged lines are extant.

¹ After its initial publication, M. Broshi and A. Yardeni republished the fragment repeatedly: “על נתינים ונביאי שקר,” *Tarbiz* 62 (1992–93): 45–54; “On *netinim* and False Prophets,” in *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield* (ed. Z. Zevit, S. Gitin, and M. Sokoloff; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 29–37; “339. 4QList of False Prophets ar,” *DJD XIX*, 77–79.

² See Broshi and Yardeni, “339. 4QList of False Prophets ar,” 77, and “On *netinim* and False Prophets,” 33. Originally Broshi and Yardeni opted for a paleographic date in the first half of the first cent. BCE (“על נתינים ונביאי שקר,” 54). K. 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; aramaisische Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung, Deutung, Grammatik, Wörterbuch, deutsch-aramäische Wortliste, Register* (2 vols.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004) (= *ATTM* 2), 2:128, narrows this paleographic date down to “around the birth of Christ” (translation A. L.).

³ A. Rofé, “The ‘List of False Prophets’ from Qumran: Two Riddles and Their Solution,” *Ha’Aretz* 13.4.1994; E. Qimron, “לפשרה של רשימת נביאי השקר,” *Tarbiz* 63 (1993–94): 273–75; idem, “עוד הערה לפשרה של רשימת נביאי השקר,” *Tarbiz* 63 (1993–94): 508; A. Lange, “The Essene Position on Magic and Divination,” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Cambridge 1995: Published in Honor of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (ed. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 377–435, esp. 430, note 176; S. J. D. Cohen, “False Prophets (4Q339), *Netinim* (4Q340), and Hellenism at Qumran,” *Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism* 1 (2000): 55–66; idem, “Hellenism in Unexpected Places,” in *Hellenism in the Land of Israel* (ed. J. J. Collins and G. E. Sterling; Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), 216–223; A. Shemesh, “A Note on 4Q339 ‘List of False Prophets,’” *RQ* 20 (2001–2002): 319–320; Beyer, *ATTM II*, 128; H. Eshel, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State* (Grand Rapids, Mich.–Jerusalem: Eerdmans–Yad Ben-Zvi, 2008), 88–89; K. Berthelot, “4QTestimonia as a Polemic against the Prophetic Claims of John Hyrcanus,” in *Prophecy after the Prophets? The Contribution of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Understanding of Biblical and Extra-Biblical Prophecy* (ed. K. De Troyer and A. Lange; CBET 52; Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 99–116.

Line 1 preserves a heading while lines 2–8(9) attest to a list of false prophets compiled out of various Jewish scriptures.

The reconstruction of line 9 caused some debate. E. Qimron and A. Rofé suggested to read this line as referring to the prophetic claims of John Hyrcanus I⁴ (135/34–104 BCE) and reconstructed it **בן יוהנן שמעון** (“and John son of Sim[on]”).⁵ Later on, Qimron revoked this reconstruction and opted to read **עון גב** (“the prophet from Gibe[on]”).⁶ Both reconstructions fit into the large text gap of line 9. As all other false prophets, which are mentioned in 4Q339, occur in Jewish scriptures, both Qimron and Broshi/Yardeni prefer the latter reconstruction. To read **עון גב** is problematic though because none of the list’s other false prophets is described in two lines. With two exceptions, all false prophets are listed by name and patronym. Line 3 describes the nameless prophet of 1 Kings 13:11–31 as “[the] old one from Bethel” and line 7 speaks of “[Shemaiah the Ne]hlemite” from Jeremiah 29:24–32. Different from the other prophets of the list, for neither prophet patronyms are mentioned in the books of 1 Kings and Jeremiah. None of the false prophets is listed in 4Q339 with both a patronym and a description. It is hence most likely that line 9 contained either the name or the description of another false prophet. This opts for the original reconstruction of Rofé and Qimron. 4Q339 is thus to be transcribed and reconstructed as follows.

1 נביאי [ש]קרא די קמו באֵלֵה[נ]ה⁷
 2 בלעם ב[ן] בעור
 3 [ה]זקן שִׁמְבִיתֵאל⁸
 4 [צד]קיה בן כ[נ]עֵנָה
 5 [אחא]ב בן ק[ול]יָה

⁴ For the prophetic claims of Hyrcanus I, see Josephus, *Ant.* 13.299–300.

⁵ Qimron, “לפשרה של רשימת נביאי השקר,” 275, and Rofé, “The ‘List of False Prophets’ from Qumran.” See Broshi and Yardeni, “On *netinim* and False Prophets,” 34–35 and 36–37.

⁶ Qimron, “עוד הערה לפשרה של רשימת נביאי השקר,” 508. See Broshi and Yardeni, “339. 4QList of False Prophets ar,” 78–79.

⁷ This transcription of the last characters of line 1 was recommended by É. Puech during the discussion of my paper. The visible character remnants clearly disagree with the reconstruction **ב[ישראל]** proposed by all existing editions.

⁸ The transcription **שמביתאל** was suggested by É. Puech during the discussion of my paper. All existing editions read **מביתאל**. But the indented space between **הזקן** and **מביתאל** requires one more character. Remnants of the **ש** are still visible in an electronic enlargement of the photograph PAM 43.248.

6 [צד]קיה בן מ[ע]שיה
 7 [שמעיה הנ]חלמי
 8 [חנניה בן עז]ור
 9 [ירחנן בן שמ]עון

1	The [fa]lse prophets who arose against ⁹ our God	
2	Balaam s[on] of Beor	Num 22:1–25:9; 31:16
3	[the] old one who is from Bethel	1 Kgs 13:11–31
4	[Zede]kiah son of Cha[n]anah	1 Kgs 22:1–28 par 2 Chron 18:1–27
5	[Aha]b son of K[ol]jiah	Jer 29:21–24
6	[Zede]kiah son of Ma[a]seiah	Jer 29:21–24
7	[Shemaiah the Ne]hlemite	Jer 29:24–32
8	[Hananaiah son of Az]ur	Jer 28
9	[John son of Sim]on	

Although 4Q339 provides a list of names, it cannot be compared with the random lists of names of scribal exercises such as 4QExercitium Calami B (4Q360); 4QExercitium Calami C (4Q341; *olim* 4QTherapeia), Mur ostrAbecedary and List of Personal Names (Mur 73), and Mur ostrList of Personal Names (Mur 74). Different from these writing exercises and as indicated by its heading, 4Q339 is a thematic list of false prophets. That 4Q339 is not a scribal exercise is also evident in the more careful handwriting of the fragment.

Lines 2–8 contain names of various false prophets, which are mentioned in ancient Jewish scriptures. But lines 5–8 disagree both with Jeremiah MT and Jeremiah LXX in the sequence in which the false prophets of the book of Jeremiah are listed:¹⁰

4Q339 5–6	Ahab son of Koliah and Zedekiah son of Maaseiah	Jeremiah 29(36):21–23
4Q339 7	Shemaiah the Nehlemite	Jeremiah 29(36):24–32
4Q339 8	Hananaiah son of Azur	Jeremiah 28(35)

This observation suggests, that the list of 4Q339 was compiled from memory and not by way of reading various Jewish scriptures to search for false prophets in them.

⁹ For this translation of the preposition כ, see Shemesh, “A Note on 4Q339 ‘List of False Prophets,’” 320. See Ps 27:10 and Mic 7:6.

¹⁰ In the below table, the chapter count of the Jeremiah Septuagint is given in parenthesis.

Although the fragment is small and contains only little text it is unique. That it is a scrap of leather with a few notes by a scribe shows that it is an autograph. As an autograph 4Q339 is part of a very small and select group of manuscripts among the Dead Sea Scrolls. Other autographs from Qumran include 4QList of Netinim (4Q340), 4QRebukes Reported by the Overseer (4Q477), and 4QTestimonia (4Q175).¹¹

Next to being an autograph, the small list of 4Q339 is important for other reasons as well.

- 4Q339 provides insights into the bilingual reality of ancient Jews.
- 4Q339 sheds new light on how texts were interpreted in ancient Judaism.
- 4Q339 provides new insights into how a Hasmonean ruler was remembered in the cultural memory of ancient Judaism.
- 4Q339 helps to reconstruct the canonical history of the Hebrew Bible.

In the following I will discuss each of these perspectives.

1. *Linguistic Importance*

The language of 4Q339 represents a strange combination of Aramaic and Hebrew. It begins in line 1 with an Aramaic heading, as indicated by the use of the Aramaic article in שקרא as well as the Aramaic relative particle די. Starting with line 2, the text continues in Hebrew though. In line 3, the Hebrew relative pronoun ש is used. The reconstructions of line 3 (הזקן) and line 7 (הנזלמי) suggest the use of the Hebrew article.¹² Lines 4–6 introduce the respective patronyms of the false prophets not the with the Aramaic word בר but with the Hebrew word בן. Furthermore line 3 describes the old prophet from 1 Kings 13:11–31 as זקן. In Aramaic, the root זקן is attested only in Old Aramaic texts¹³ and does not occur in Jewish Aramaic texts from the

¹¹ Scribal exercises such as 4QExercitium Calami A (4Q234), 4QExercitium Calami C (4Q341), 4QExercitium Calami B (4Q360), and Kh. Q. Ostracon 3 are not recognized in this list. If Jonathan Ben-Dov is correct in his assessment of 4QMishmarot H (4Q329a) as a *pinax* (see his comment in the discussion of my presentation and note 25 below), it would be another autograph.

¹² Both text flow and available space do not allow for any other reconstruction.

¹³ See J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of North-West Semitic Inscriptions* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 1:339.

Second Temple period.¹⁴ Hence, lines 2–9 of 4Q339 should be classified as Hebrew and not Aramaic.¹⁵ Against the editors, 4Q339 is therefore not an Aramaic manuscript¹⁶ but a bilingual Aramaic/Hebrew text. 4Q339 gives us an idea how the bilingual mind of a scribe worked in Herodian times. In his note on false prophets the scribe wrote an Aramaic heading. This seems to be the language he was more familiar with in day to days use. But when the scribe started to direct his mind to Jewish scriptures it switched automatically to the Hebrew language of these texts. 4Q339 illustrates thus how someone who is more fluent in Aramaic changes back to Hebrew once he directs his mind to the realm of holy Hebrew scriptures.

2. Origin

It has been variously claimed that the Aramaic language of 4Q339 argues against an Essene origin of this list.¹⁷ This argument was made based on the observation that all texts from the Qumran library, which can be identified as Essene by other criteria, are written in Hebrew.¹⁸ Two observations question this hypothesis of a non-Essene origin of

¹⁴ See the glossaries of K. 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; aramaistische Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung, Deutung, Grammatik, Wörterbuch, deutsch-aramäische Wortliste, Register* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984) (= *ATTM*), and idem, *ATTM II* (2004).

¹⁵ See also Beyer, *ATTM II*, 128.

¹⁶ Thus Broshi and Yardeni, “על נתינים ונביאי שקר,” 50; “On *netinim* and False Prophets,” 29; “339. 4QList of False Prophets ar,” 77; Lange, “The Essene Position on Magic and Divination,” 430, note 176; Berthelot, “4QTestimonia as a Polemic against the Prophetic Claims of John Hyrcanus,” 112.

¹⁷ See Broshi and Yardeni, “על נתינים ונביאי שקר,” 50; “On *netinim* and False Prophets,” 29; “339. 4QList of False Prophets ar,” 77; Lange, “The Essene Position on Magic and Divination,” 430, note 176; Berthelot, “4QTestimonia as a Polemic against the Prophetic Claims of John Hyrcanus,” 112.

¹⁸ See S. Segert, “Die Sprachenfrage in der Qumrängemeinschaft,” in *Qumran-Probleme: Vorträge des Leipziger Symposiums über Qumran-Probleme vom 9. bis 14. Oktober 1961* (ed. H. Bardtke; Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft 42; Berlin: Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1963), 315–339, esp. 322; D. Dimant, “The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance,” in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem 1989–1990* (ed. D. Dimant and L. H. Schiffman; STDJ 16; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 33–58, 34–35; A. Lange, “Kriterien essenischer Texte,” in *Qumran kontrovers: Beiträge zu den Textfunden vom Toten Meer* (ed. J. Frey and H. Stegemann; Einblicke 6; Paderborn: Bonifatius, 2003), 59–71, 78.

4Q339. It seems more likely that a brief list of nine lines was composed in Qumran than that it was brought to Qumran from elsewhere, although the latter cannot be excluded. An Essene origin becomes more probable when the bilingual character of 4Q339 is considered. 4Q339 was written mostly in Hebrew. Furthermore, 4Q339 is not a literary text but a small note, which might have been written in preparation for composing a literary text such as a pesher. Most of the Essene texts from Qumran are literary texts. It is not impossible that a member of the Essene movement prepared notes for the composition of a Hebrew literary text in form of an Aramaic-Hebrew bilingual text. This speculation could be supported by the fact that the documentary texts and letters from Qumran are written not only in Hebrew but in Aramaic, Nabatean, and Greek as well.¹⁹ While all this could argue for an Essene origin of 4Q339 this idea is put into question by a document from Qumran, which was used in the religious administration of the community. That 4QRebukes Reported by the Overseer (4Q477) is written in Hebrew and not in Aramaic shows that the Qumran scribes used Hebrew not only in literary texts but also in day to days use. All things considered, there is not enough evidence to make a decision about the origin of 4Q339. The list might have been produced in Qumran or a new member of the community might have brought the fragment to Qumran as part of his personal property (cf. 1QS I 11–12).

3. Exegetical Importance

The majority of the interpretative texts from the Qumran library is characterized by some form of actualization. The thematic and continuous pesharim re-contextualize a given lemma of an authoritative book into the history of the Qumran community. The same hermeneutics can be observed in the exegesis of scriptural quotations in other texts such as the *Damascus Document* or the *Community Rule*.²⁰ The second major

¹⁹ See A. Lange and U. Mittmann-Richert, “Annotated List of the Texts from the Judaean Desert Classified by Content and Genre,” *The Texts from the Judaean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series* (ed. E. Tov; DJD 39; Oxford: Clarendon, 2002), 115–164, 143–145.

²⁰ For the hermeneutics of the exegetical literature from the Qumran library, see A. Lange, “Interpretation als Offenbarung: Zum Verhältnis von Schriftauslegung und Offenbarung,” in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (ed. F. García Martínez; Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 168; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 17–33, and the literature quoted there.

category of interpretative literature in the Qumran library is the paratextual literature which actualizes Jewish scriptures by rewriting and/or expanding them.²¹ Only a very small group of exegetical texts from the Qumran library does not fall into the categories of commentary or paratextual rewritings and expansions.²² These are 4QTestimonia (4Q175), 4QpapcryptA or *Midrash Sefer Moshe* (4Q249), 4QList of False Prophets ar (4Q339), and 4QpapBibChronology ar (4Q559).²³

Shaye Cohen²⁴ has shown that 4Q339 resembles lists, which were compiled by Greek scholars in Hellenistic times. In the case of Greek scholarship, several of these lists were collected on one papyrus. Although the Greek lists covered a broad variety of topics, some were concerned with the Homeric epics and Greek mythography. E.g., Papyrus Oxyrynchus LIII 3702 contains a list of the Greek leaders in the Trojan war, a list of the suitors of Penelope, a list of the daughters of Danaus, and a list of the Argonauts. Papyrus Oxyrynchus LXI 4098 includes a list of the persons, which were killed by Herakles. The individual lists of Hellenistic scholars were originally noted on small index cards, which were called *pinax* or in the plural *pinakes*. None of these *pinakes* is preserved from the Greek world. But Cohen views 4Q339 as the earliest Jewish example of Hellenistic list making and the only preserved *pinax* from antiquity.²⁵

²¹ For the paratextual literature from the Qumran library and elsewhere, see the contributions to the volume *In the Second Degree: Paratextual Literature in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures and Its Reflections in Medieval Literature* (ed. A. Lange and R. Pillingner; Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

²² For a comparison of these two interpretative approaches see A. Lange, "From Paratext to Commentary," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture: Celebrating 60 Years of Discovery* (ed. A. Roitman and L. H. Schiffman; STDJ; Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

²³ Cohen, "False Prophets (4Q339), Netinim (4Q340), and Hellenism at Qumran," 60–62, wants to understand 4QNetinim (4Q340) as another text listing biblical figures. But none of the names preserved in 4Q340 can be identified with the Netinim mentioned in Ezra/Nehemiah. Hence, Cohen needs to speculate about a wider canon of the 4Q340 scribe or a different version of Ezra/Nehemiah used by him.

²⁴ "False Prophets," 62–66.

²⁵ "False Prophets," 65–66. Another ancient Jewish *pinax* might be preserved in 4QMishmarot H (4Q329a). On a small piece of leather, this brief text lists the mishmarot, which were on duty during the Pesach celebrations and rituals in the Jerusalem temple (see Jonathan Ben-Dov's suggestion in the discussion of my contribution). At the preserved left hand margin of the fragment no traces of stitching can be seen. This means that no more text followed this list. Which is corroborated by the fact that the last line of this list is written vertically on the left hand margin of the fragment. With all probability,

What distinguishes 4Q339 from the Hellenistic lists mentioned by Cohen is line 9. *יִרְחֵן בֶּן שִׁמְעוֹן* is the Hebrew name of John Hyrcanus I (134–104 BCE). 4Q339 is able to list him as a false prophet because John Hyrcanus I was not only the ruler and high priest of the Jewish people but also claimed the gift of prophecy (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.299–300). 4Q339 disagrees with this Hasmonean claim (see below). By naming John Hyrcanus I at the end of a list of false prophets, the text argues that the Hasmonean ruler is of the same quality as the false prophets listed before.

This interpretation seems to conflict with the mention of Balaam in line 2 because according to Numbers 22–24 Balaam spoke the word of God like a true prophet. But Aharon Shemesh²⁶ has shown that the mention of Balaam in 4Q339 refers to an interpretation of Numbers 25:1–9 which can be found in Numbers 31:16.

These women here, on Balaam's advice, made the Israelites act treacherously against the LORD in the affair of Peor, so that the plague came among the congregation of the Lord.²⁷

According to Numbers 31:16, it was Balaam who convinced Israel to venerate Baal of Peor. Numbers 31:16 was very influential in the mostly negative perception of Balaam in ancient Judaism.²⁸ 4Q339 stands in this interpretative tradition. For 4Q339, Balaam is a false prophet because he lures Israel into venerating other gods. Such an understanding of false prophecy is also attested in *Damascus Document* V 18–VI 2 where Jannes and Jambres are accused of leading Israel astray and turning it away from its God by prophesying falsely.

The example of Balaam shows, that for the author of 4Q339, false prophecy is not only a false claim to speak in the name of God. False prophecy includes also active offenses against God and his commands. This agrees well with how the book of Jeremiah describes the false prophets mentioned in 4Q339 5–8. Jeremiah 29:23 claims of Ahab son of Koliah and Zedekiah son of Maaseiah: “They have perpetrated outrage in Israel and have committed adultery with their neighbours’ wives.” And Jeremiah 28:16 and 29:32 accuse Hananiah, son of Azur,

4Q329a was a small piece of leather which can be compared to modern filing cards and which contained only a list of six lines.

²⁶ Shemesh, “A Note on 4Q339 ‘List of False Prophets’,” 319–320.

²⁷ Translation according to NRSV.

²⁸ See Philo of Alexandria, *Cherubim* 31; *Worse* 71; *Unchangeable* 181; *Confusion* 159; *Migration* 113–115; *Names* 202–203; *Moses* 1.263–304; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.126–130.

and Shemaiah the Nehlemite of having “spoken rebellion against the Lord.” Only 1 Kings restricts its accusations against the old prophet from Bethel (1 Kgs 13:11–31) and Zedekiah son of Chananah (1 Kgs 22:11, 24) to a claim that they prophesied lies in the name of God.

Different from the Hellenistic lists mentioned by Cohen, the exegesis of 4Q339 is not exclusively concerned with exegetical questions but with the perception of a historical figure as well. A significant time after his rule, 4Q339 compares John Hyrcanus I with the false prophets of ancient Jewish scriptures. In this way, 4Q339 accuses John Hyrcanus I not only of wrongly claiming prophetic authority but also of leading Israel away from its God. Like the false prophets of ancient Jewish scriptures, Hyrcanus I is not only lying but also inciting rebellion against God in Israel. It seems not unlikely, that the Qumran *pinax* on false prophets was compiled in preparation for writing a pesher. In this case it provides a list of figures from Jewish scriptures, which could signify John Hyrcanus I in a pesher.

4. *John Hyrcanus I in the Cultural Memory of Ancient Judaism*

How does the criticism of John Hyrcanus I as a false prophet who arose against God agree with his behavior and with how he was perceived in ancient Judaism? In his religious and cultural affiliations, John Hyrcanus I was an ambivalent ruler. After his conquest of Idumea, Hyrcanus I had many of its inhabitants forcibly circumcised (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.257–258). This hints to a Jewish self-conception of Hyrcanus I. That Hyrcanus I did not only perceive himself as an observant Jew but also practiced Jewish law is attested repeatedly. Josephus reports that Hyrcanus observed festival and Sabbath laws during the siege of Jerusalem by Antiochus VII Sidites (*Ant.* 13.242–244) and while campaigning against the Parthians with Antiochus VII Sidites (*Ant.* 13.249–252). That Hyrcanus I followed Jewish law is also attested by the *miqva’ot* in his Jericho palace.²⁹ But Josephus’ report about Hyrcanus I is not only positive. He describes how Hyrcanus I plundered the grave of David (*Ant.* 13.249) and hired foreign mercenaries (*Ant.* 13.249).

This ambivalent image of John Hyrcanus I is confirmed by the inscriptions and the iconography of his coins. His coins bear inscriptions

²⁹ For these *miqva’ot*, see e.g. E. Netzer, *Die Paläste der Hasmonäer und Herodes’ des Großen* (Mainz: Philip von Zabern, 1999), 9, 11.

in paleo-Hebrew characters, which read יהוחנן הכהן הגדל וחבר היהודים (“Yehohanan, the High Priest and the council of the Jews”) or some variation of it.³⁰ The paleo-Hebrew characters as well as the text of the inscription present John Hyrcanus I as a ruler obliged to and beholden by Jewish tradition. But the iconography of his coins is more inconsistent. On Hyrcanus’ coins lilies (Hendin #451, 458, 461; figure 6, 8), cornucopiae (Hendin #452–57, 459–60, 462–64; figure 8), wreaths (Hendin #452–60, 463–64; figure 8), pomegranates (Hendin #452–57, 459–60, 463–64; figure 8), and palm branches (Hendin # 458, 461; figure 6) can be found.³¹ At least some of these motifs are related to Judaism. Y. Meshorer remarks e.g., “the depiction of the lily on coinage is based on the ornamental use of this symbol in the Temple of Jerusalem.”³² Furthermore, the lily was already used on Jewish coins minted during the Persian period.³³ But the Hellenistic background of the lily becomes evident when it is seen that the first coin, which was minted under John Hyrcanus I, was struck under the authority of the Seleucid king Antiochus VII Sidetes. On the verso of this coin the image of a lily in a wreath is imprinted (Hendin # 451). This means, the lilies do not only link Hyrcanus’ coinage to Jewish tradition but go back to Hellenistic iconography as well. The latter is confirmed by the use of lilies on various Seleucid coins (see e.g. figure 1). John Hyrcanus I put lilies on his coins because Jews could identify with the symbol and because it agreed with the non-Jewish populations of his realm and the surrounding kingdoms as well. Similarly wreaths are extremely popular on Hellenistic coins but Meshorer points out that on Hyrcanus’ coins they symbolize the authority of the high priest and relate to the Jerusalem temple as well.³⁴ The pomegranate is also connected with the Jerusalem temple (see 1 Kgs 7:18 and Jer 52:22). To my knowledge no Seleucid coins exist who use the pomegranate. But it is prominent and typical for the coinage of Pamphylia. Some Pamphylian pomegranate coins were found with a Seleucid anchor countermark struck on them (see figure 5). The cornucopiae are very prominent on the coins minted under the authority of Hyrcanus I. They are a popular symbol, which was used on

³⁰ For a survey of the inscriptions on the coins of John Hyrcanus I, see D. Hendin, *Guide to Biblical Coins* (4th ed.; New York, N.Y.: Amphora, 2001), 129–133.

³¹ The coins are quoted according to Hendin, *Guide to Biblical Coins*, 4th ed.

³² Y. Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage. Vol. I. Persian Period through Hasmoneans* (Dix Hill, N.Y.: Amphora Books, 1982), 62.

³³ See e.g. Hendin, #427.

³⁴ Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage*, 64; see b. *Yoma* 72b.

coins all over the Hellenistic world³⁵ and which is found on various Seleucid coins, too (see e.g. figure 2). Although not as prominent as the cornucopia or the wreath, palm branches can be found on various local coins (cf. e.g. figure 3) and occur on Seleucid coins minted in Tyrus as well (cf. figure 4). All things considered, the iconography of the coins minted during the reign of John Hyrcanus I is heavily influenced by the iconography of other Hellenistic and especially Seleucid coins, but connected to Jewish tradition as well. Different from the coins which were minted in other Hellenistic cultures, John Hyrcanus I avoids the depiction of both humans and animals on his coins which hints to his observance of the second commandment (Exod 20:4 and Deut 5:8). The avoidance of human and animal motifs on Hyrcanus' coins and the use of imagery from Seleucid and other Hellenistic coins on the coins of John Hyrcanus I show that in the iconography of his coins he tried to find a balance between the needs of Jewish tradition and the numismatic standards of the surrounding cultures. The iconography of his coins characterize John Hyrcanus I hence as someone who was influenced by both Jewish tradition and Hellenistic culture.

The characterization of John Hyrcanus I in the writings of Josephus reflects the same ambivalence. It might have been this Hellenistic tendency, which led to significant opposition against John Hyrcanus I. Josephus reports severe conflict between John Hyrcanus I and the Pharisees (*Ant.* 13.288–92). The latter went so far as asking him to resign from his office as high priest. The Pharisees regarded John Hyrcanus I as disqualified because his mother was a captive of Antiochus IV Epiphanes for some time. John's parentage would hence be unclear. Although the Pharisaic claim of an illegitimate parentage is construed it hints to a perception of Hyrcanus I as a ruler who is influenced by Hellenism in general and the Seleucids in particular.

A critical perception of John Hyrcanus I shortly after his death is attested in a florilegium from the Qumran library called 4QTestimonia (4Q175).³⁶ 4QTestimonia is a collection of three quotations taken from the Torah (Exod 20:21b SP [= MT Deut 5:28b–29; 18:18–19]; Num 24:15–17; Deut 33:8–11) and one from the *Apocryphon of Joshua*

³⁵ See Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage*, 67.

³⁶ For a detailed discussion of 4QTestimonia and its polemics against John Hyrcanus I, see Berthelot, "4QTestimonia as a Polemic against the Prophetic Claims of John Hyrcanus," *passim* and the literature quoted there. See also my own discussion of this text in A. Lange, "The Essene Position on Magic and Divination," 427–430.

(4QapocrJosh^b [4Q379] 22 7–15). 4QTestimonia rejects John Hyrcanus I in three paragraphs. The first two paragraphs demonstrate that no one can claim prophetic abilities as well as religious and political power before the messianic age. Not John Hyrcanus I but only the Prophet like Moses who will come during the eschaton is allowed and will be able to predict the future. The third paragraph of 4QTestimonia (lines 21–29) is an interpretation of Joshua’s curse on the one who rebuilds Jericho (Josh 6:26) which is quoted from the text attested in 4QapocrJosh^b (4Q379) 22 7–15. The way in which 4QTestimonia rephrases its quote of the *Apocryphon of Joshua* shows that it applies Joshua’s curse to the building activities of John Hyrcanus I near Jericho.³⁷ 4QTestimonia regarded the death of Antigonus and Aristobulus I (in 103 BCE) as proof that Joshua’s curse was fulfilled in John Hyrcanus I and his sons.

4Q339 shows that Pharisaic criticism of John Hyrcanus I as well as Essene polemics against him as expressed in 4QTestimonia had a lasting impact on the perception of this king in the cultural memory of ancient Judaism. When the scribe of 4Q339 compiled his list of Israel’s false prophets from memory, he thought of John Hyrcanus I as the end and hence pinnacle of this line of false prophets. Even after the Hasmoneans fall from power, the scribe of 4Q339 remembered John Hyrcanus I as the pinnacle of false prophecy.

5. 4Q339 and the Canonical History of the Hebrew Bible

4Q339 provides also key evidence for the canonical history of the Hebrew Bible. I have shown elsewhere that until the first century BCE the idea of a closed canon or closed parts of the later TaNaKH did not exist. On the contrary, designations like Moses or the prophets are categorizations of Jewish texts but do not refer to closed collections of Mosaic or prophetic writings.³⁸ But in Herodian times, 4Q339 seems to have a

³⁷ See H. Eshel, “The Historical Background of the Peshar Interpreting Joshua’s Curse on the Rebuilder of Jericho,” *RQ* 15 (1991–1992): 409–420, 413–417.

³⁸ See A. Lange, “From Literature to Scripture: The Unity and Plurality of the Hebrew Scriptures in Light of the Qumran Library,” in *One Scripture or Many? Canon from Biblical, Theological, and Philosophical Perspectives* (ed. Chr. Helmer and Chr. Landmesser; Oxford et al.: Oxford University Press, 2004), 51–107; idem, “The Law, the Prophets, and the Other Books of the Fathers’ (Sir, Prologue): Canonical Lists in Ben Sira and Elsewhere?” in *Studies in the Book of Ben Sira. Papers of the Third International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Shime’on Centre, Pápa, Hungary, 18–20*

selective approach in which false prophets it mentions and which not. 4Q339 lists false prophets which are mentioned in the Pentateuch (Balaam), 1 Samuel–2 Kings (the old prophet from 1 Kgs 13:11–31), and the book of Jeremiah (Hananiah son of Azur, Zedekiah son of Chanaiah, Ahab son of Koliah, Zedekiah son of Maaseiah and Shemaiah the Nehlemite). But 4Q339 does not mention the false prophets mentioned in Nehemiah 6:10–14. These verses relate how a certain Shemaiah, son of Delaiah, son of Mehetabel pronounced a false prophecy to lure Nehemiah into the area of the Jerusalem temple which was forbidden to him. Nehemiah 6:14 adds the prophetess Noadiah and the rest of the prophets to the group of prophets working against Nehemiah. That 4Q339 lists false prophets out of the Books of Numbers, 1 Kings, and Jeremiah but not out of the book of Ezra/Nehemiah demonstrates a selective approach to the authoritative scriptures of Judaism, i.e. to the idea of a canon. For the scribe of 4Q339, the book of Ezra/Nehemiah was not authoritative enough to include the false prophets mentioned by it into his list. This means 4Q339 provides evidence that by Herodian times, at least some version of a Jewish canon existed.

Corroboration for a canon of Jewish scriptures in Herodian times could be found in the history of the protomasoretic standardtext of the Hebrew Bible, which was compiled in the second half of the first century BCE.³⁹ Further corroboration might be found in the bilinguality of 4Q339 (see above). The scribe of 4Q339 wrote the first line of his list in Aramaic. Which indicates that he started to think about his list of false prophets in Aramaic. When he directed his mind to the Hebrew scriptures, by default the scribe's mind changed to Hebrew as the language of his holy writ. This change from Aramaic to Hebrew is somewhat comparable to contemporary Americans who when quoting the Bible often use the Old English of the King James Version. The change in language between lines 1 and lines 2–9 of 4Q339 indicates hence a special holy standing of the scriptures in question. Their authority was such that it caused the scribe of 4Q339 to change from Aramaic to Hebrew while writing his list.

May, 2006 (ed. G. G. Xeravits and J. Zsengellér; JSJSup 127; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 55–80.

³⁹ See A. Lange, “‘They Confirmed the Reading’ (y. *Ta’an.* 4.68a): The Textual Standardization of Jewish Scriptures in the Second Temple Period,” in *From Qumran to Aleppo: A Discussion with Emanuel Tov about the Textual History of Jewish Scriptures in Honor of his 65th Birthday* (ed. A. Lange, M. Weigold, and J. Zsengellér; FRLANT 230; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 29–80.

Although the scribe of 4Q339 seems to adhere to the idea of a selective group of Jewish scriptures, i.e. a canon, it remains impossible to say which books were canonical for him and which were not. The common denominator of 4Q339 is, that Numbers, 1Kings, and Jeremiah mention false prophets. This does not mean that the scribe of 4Q339 regarded other scriptures, which do not mention false prophets, as non-canonical. We know only that for 4Q339 the book of Ezra/Nehemiah was not part of its canon.

Conclusions

Although a seemingly unimportant scrap of leather, the list of false prophets in 4Q339 is of great significance.

- As a bilingual Aramaic-Hebrew text, 4Q339 shows how a predominantly Aramaic speaker changed from Aramaic to Hebrew when he started to think about his holy scriptures.
- 4Q339 documents how ancient Judaism employed Hellenistic list making to denounce John Hyrcanus I long after his death. In the perception of 4Q339, this Hasmonean leader was someone who prophesied what God did not tell him, who broke God's law, and who incited God's people to rebel against him.
- 4Q339 documents how in the cultural memory of ancient Judaism John Hyrcanus I was a negative character. This negative image of John Hyrcanus I is as much due to his own claims of prophetic authority as it reflects his openness towards Hellenism. The rejection of John Hyrcanus I by Pharisees and Essenes had a lasting impact on the cultural memory of ancient Judaism.
- That 4Q339 does not include the false prophets of Nehemiah 6:10–14 in its lists points towards the idea of a limited collection of authoritative scriptures. Hence, 4Q339 is one of the earliest witnesses to the idea of canon in ancient Judaism.

RESPONSE: HANAN ESHEL

Two alternative reconstructions of line 9 of 4Q339 have been proposed:

1. [Yohanan the son of Sim]eon [יוחנן בן שמ]עון
2. [the prophet who is from Gib]eon [נביאה די מן גב]עון

Armin Lange prefers the former restoration since this would be consistent with the tendency in this scroll to devote just a single line to each

“false prophet” mentioned, listing the name alone, with no additional information. He would thus like to have only one line for Hananiah b. Azur as well. Lange therefore supposes that the list ends with the additional figure of John Hyrcanus I, rather than a description of the previously named figure of Hananiah in line 8. In this context, it ought to be noted that in the Gezer calendar, there is just one line devoted to most of the months, but there are two months that begin on one line and finish on the following line.

Lange follows the view of Shaye Cohen that the list of false prophets attests to Greek influence, and accepts his claim concerning the similarity to the list that is found among the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, which records heroes that appear in the works of Homer.

Lange counts the list of false prophets as one of four texts from Qumran Cave 4 that are autographs, along with 4Q340 *List of Netanim*, 4Q477 *Rebuke of the Overseer*, and 4Q175 *Testimonia*.

Lange evaluates the status of John Hyrcanus I in Jewish historical memory and reaches the surprising conclusion that there was a negative attitude to Hyrcanus, generated by his announcement that he had achieved prophecy. It is difficult to accept this conclusion, since Josephus maintained that Hyrcanus had been endowed with the three most precious gifts of all—rule over the nation, priesthood, and prophecy. The tradition that John Hyrcanus (Yohanan) received prophecy is also attested in rabbinic literature (t. Sota). The title “John the High Priest” (‘יהונן כהן גדול’) was in frequent use, even to the point of having been attached in error to the name of the father of Mattathias in the *‘al Hanissim*-Hanukka prayer. It is stated in rabbinic literature that John Hyrcanus was mostly innocent, in contrast to his son Alexander Jannaeus.

Lange maintains that the coins of John Hyrcanus provide evidence of Hellenistic influence. Since it is likely that Hyrcanus I was the first Hasmonean ruler to mint coins, this is not surprising. Hellenistic influence is inherent in the activity itself, and the cultural significance of similarities in design should not be exaggerated.

DISCUSSION ARMIN LANGE

Armin Lange: Thank you for this summary of my paper and its criticism. As for the Gezer calendar, it is much older than 4Q339 and it is most certainly not a *pinax*. Lines 1-2 of the Gezer calendar cover six months and lines 3-7 cover one month each. It does not seem as if the scribe of this inscription followed a line-by-line scheme like the scribe of 4Q339. How much the scribe of 4Q339 intended a line-by-line scheme can be seen in line one. It is significantly longer than the other lines. Still the scribe preferred to write this line longer instead of using two lines for it.

My hypothesis about a negative role John Hyrcanus I in the cultural memory of ancient Judaism is not exclusively based on his prophetic claims but refers also to Josephus' ambivalent report about him. As you stated in your own publications though, 4QTestimonia does attest to a negative perception of Hyrcanus' prophetic claims. That it was preserved in the Qumran library shows that in the Herodian period 4QTestimonia could have easily influenced a Qumran scribe in his perception of John Hyrcanus I. If later rabbinic texts reflect a more positive reception of John Hyrcanus I, this does not mean that he was received in the same way in Herodian time. Depending on when you date *t. Sotah*, it was written hundreds of years later.

In how far Hellenistic influence is inherent in coinage itself is debatable. Coins minted in the Persian empire, like the famous gold darics, show that coins did not need to use Greek iconography. That Hyrcanus assembled the motifs of his coins from various Greek coins in use at his time but avoided depictions of both humans and animals shows that he tried to merge Greek and Jewish culture. The Pharisaic rejection of Hyrcanus demonstrates that this synthesis was not well received in all Jewish circles.

Steven Fassberg: I am not surprised by the existence of both Hebrew and Aramaic in the same text since the writers are bilingual and move easily from one language into the other. There is not always a clear separation between the two. See, e.g., Bar Kochba (Kosiba), who calls himself both *bar* (Aramaic) and *ben* (Hebrew), or the Aramaic looking forms in 4Q175, as pointed out by Strugnell in his review of the DJD volume containing that text.

Armin Lange: Thank you for this comment. As compared to the examples you mentioned the two languages seem to be more separate though in 4Q339.

Jonathan Ben-Dov: Two notes from the calendrical corpus: a) 4Q329a is the fifth example of a *pinax*, i.e. a small piece of parchment collecting details from longer scrolls; b) it is often found that a list which generally assigns one line per item uses occasionally also ten lines per item.

Armin Lange: I agree that 4Q329a could be a *pinax*. While in the case of 4Q339 both upper and lower margin of the fragment are preserved, for 4Q329a only the lower margin is preserved. This makes the decision whether 4Q329a is a *pinax* more difficult. It all depends on if there are any stitching remnants on the left hand margin of the fragment. Before making a decision, I would like to see the original. As for your second question, there is no space for additional lines in 4Q339 and I see no indication that the list of 4Q339 changed its scheme in the last line of the fragment. Lines 2-8 follow the scheme of one line per prophet undisputedly. There is no indication why 4Q339 should identify Hananiah by both patronym and description when otherwise the patronym was enough.

Moshe Bernstein: Just one small point—doesn't your argument about Nehemiah work regardless of the restoration of the last line?

Armin Lange: Yes—and not only my argument about Nehemiah but also the one about bilinguality.

Moshe Bernstein: I think that that's very important because it doesn't live or die depending on the restoration of the last line. But I'm still a little bit concerned—after all someone made a list—you are saying that one hundred years later they are still thinking about it.

So this list is made by the person who is thinking about this one hundred years later. There's nothing in it which says why anybody would be thinking about it, unless you think that he's taking notes for an article that he's writing, or an attack that he's going to make. There's too much that is reconstruction—and I don't mean textual reconstruction—in terms of the background; I'd like something more concrete and I don't think that you have it, in order to locate the intention of this list. It's an unprovable hypothesis.

Jan Joosten: It is problematic to present the choice as being between two readings. There is always the possibility that the text read something different. The text may have read one of the two readings proposed by scholars or it may have had something entirely different. We don't know.

Armin Lange: Preparation for a literary text is exactly what I suggested in my article. I think this list might have been compiled in preparation for writing a pesher. As far as I know שבעון and שבעון are the only names ending with עון-. Which means, we end up with the two constructions described above. This makes my argument a lot less speculative. Furthermore, that Josephus reports even later than 4Q339 about the critical attitude of the Pharisees to John Hyrcanus I shows that ca. 200 years after his reign Hyrcanus was remembered as an ambiguous figure at best.

John Collins: Since Nehemiah is not attested at Qumran, can we be sure that the author of 4Q339 even knew about it?

Armin Lange: Jim Charlesworth has just announced the publication of a fragment from a private collection containing Nehemia. It is probably from Qumran.

John Collins: Are there ever any criticisms of Hellenizing as such in the DSS?

Armin Lange: What about the criticism of the fallen watchers in the Henochic book of watchers? I think G.W.E. Nickelsburg ("Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6-11," *JBL* 96 [1977], 383-405) shows convincingly how this text interacts with Greek myth to criticize the influence of Hellenistic culture on ancient Judaism.

Daniel Stöckl: Isn't קז as Hebraism an *argumentum e silentio* and therefore not very strong? In the current case, the corpus of Qumran (Aramaic) and other contemporary Aramaic dialects may perhaps not be big enough for this argument. After all, the article ק is reconstructed.

Armin Lange: I do not think that my *argumentum e silentio* regarding קז is so weak. If you check Beyer's glossaries in *ATM* 1 and 2, they include rather long lists of lexemes and their various meanings. As for the use of the Hebrew article, yes, the article is reconstructed but is a fairly certain reconstruction because text logic and space do not allow for any other reconstruction which would yield a meaningful text.

Ursula Schattner-Rieser: Just a word concerning the language of the fragment and an observation to the word *zqn* in line 2: if it is Aramaic, the word would be part of the forgotten archaisms I am speaking about in my paper, that is: the protosemitic interdental **ḏ* written with *zayin*. We have some examples in the Qumran Aramaic texts with this archaic spelling. One could also suggest the restitution [n]*zqn* "damages" in defective spelling.

Armin Lange: A reconstruction of [n]*zqn* does not agree with the text flow and creates a senseless text. As for the first suggestion, I do not see why in a text that runs otherwise in Hebrew the assumption of an Aramaic archaism is necessary – especially as this archaism would be attested nowhere else in the preserved Aramaic literature from the period.

Figure 1

Recto: Tetradrachm of Antiochus VI Dionysos minted 144–43 BCE
 Verso: Lilies in wreath



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Figure 2

Recto: Tetradrachm of Demetrius I Soter (154/53 BCE)
 Verso: Tyche with a cornucopia



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Figure 3

Recto: Tyrian (Tetradrachm) with bust of Melkart/Heracles on recto (89/88 BCE)
 Verso: Eagle with palm branch over left shoulder.



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*Figure 4**Recto: Tyrian Tetradrachm minted 135–134 BCE which depicts Antiochus VII Sidetes**Verso: Eagle with palm branch over its right shoulder*

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*Figure 5**Recto: Pamphylian Tetradrachm, Athena with crested Corinthian helmet (190–36 BCE)**Verso: Nike with pomegranate and Seleucid anchor countermark*

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*Figure 6**Bronze lepton of John Hyrcanus I with palm branch and lily*

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Figure 7
Bronze lepton of John Hyrcanus I with lily and palmbranch



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Figure 8
Bronze prutah of John Hyrcanus I with wreath, double cornucopiae and pomegranate



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EXÉGÈSES TARGUMIQUES ET TECHNIQUES DE RÉÉCRITURE DANS
L'APOCRYPHE DE LA GENÈSE (1QAPGEN AR)

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Connus et étudiés depuis longtemps par les spécialistes de la littérature rabbinique (A. Sperber, E. Levine, R. Le Déaut), les procédés exégétiques utilisés dans les targums sont nombreux et multiformes : amplification, explicitation, exégèse atomistique, harmonisation, anticipation, actualisation, etc. Ces procédés et méthodes utilisés par les rabbis des premiers siècles, transmis dans des manuscrits tardifs et relevant d'une histoire rédactionnelle complexe, n'ont pas surgi du néant. Ils ont été forgés et véhiculés tout au long de la période du Second Temple, par des générations d'interprètes des écrits juifs anciens. Dans la lignée des recherches de Joseph Fitzmyer et Moshe Bernstein¹, notre recherche porte sur les textes araméens de Qumrân qui commentent ou développent des passages des écrits bibliques. Le plus étendu des écrits araméens de Qumrân, l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse*², est aussi le manuscrit qui présente le plus de matériaux intéressants pour cette étude ; il nous servira de base textuelle³. En effet, cet écrit transmet une assez grande variété de procédés exégétiques et de développements originaux qui permettent la comparaison avec d'autres écrits plus tardifs comme les targums. L'objectif de l'enquête consistera à relever et à étudier les procédés exégétiques mis en œuvre dans cet écrit important.

1. *Parentés targumiques de l'Apocryphe de la Genèse*

a) *Les acteurs et leur comportement*

Une lecture attentive de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* permet de mettre en évidence quelques aspects du travail exégétique et rédactionnel de l'auteur de cet écrit. Les « héros » de la Genèse, mais aussi les « seconds

¹ M. J. Bernstein, "Re-arrangement, Anticipation and Harmonization as Exegetical Features in the Genesis Apocryphon", *DSD* 3 (1996): 37–57.

² Abréviations utilisées : 1QapGen (*Apocryphe de la Genèse* / 1Q20) ; *Tg. Onq.* (*Targum Onqelos*) ; *Tg. Neof.* (*Targum Neofiti*) ; *Tg. Ps.-J.* (*Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*).

³ Nous suivons l'édition de J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20): A Commentary* (Roma : Ed. Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2004). Voir aussi *La Bibliothèque de Qumrân : Genèse, vol. 1* (dir. par K. Berthelot, T. Legrand et A. Paul ; Paris : Cerf, 2008), 319–387.

rôles » font l'objet d'une attention toute particulière. On relèvera ici plusieurs cas précis de relectures du texte biblique qui cherchent, d'une part, à identifier les « anonymes » de la Genèse⁴, et d'autre part, à mettre en valeur les qualités, le comportement ou les relations des personnages mis en scène dans le récit.

a. Identification des personnages

En *Apocryphe de la Genèse* II 3–18 l'épisode de la rencontre entre Lamek et Bat-Enosh⁵ et l'échange animé qui s'ensuit ne s'appuient sur aucun passage précis de la Genèse. On relèvera ici que Bat-Enosh n'est pas mentionnée dans les textes bibliques et que la discussion entre Bat-Enosh et Lamek sur les origines de l'enfant Noé ne trouve aucun parallèle dans les écrits qumrâniens. Ici, la comparaison de ce passage avec le discours de justification de Lamek (descendant de Caïn et fils de Methoushaël) en Genèse 4:23–24 (cf. *Tg. Neof., Ps.-J.* Gn 4:23–24) est intéressante. Il est possible que le discours du « Lamek caïnite » ait suggéré au rédacteur de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* l'idée d'un dialogue entre Lamek et Bat-Enosh.

Les chapitres 6 à 8 de la Genèse laissent peu de place à la femme de Noé. L'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* (VI 7) nous en fournit le nom (Emzara⁶) et précise son rôle de génitrice. Elle est aussi la fille de Baraqiel (ou Baqiel), l'oncle de Noé, selon une restitution suggérée par E. Qimron⁷.

Le récit biblique de Genèse 12:15 ne précise pas le nom des officiers qui viennent chanter les louanges de Sara auprès de Pharaon. En *Apocryphe de la Genèse* XX 2–8, les officiers sont au nombre de trois et le nom de l'un d'entre eux, Hyrqanos, probablement leur chef, est précisé en *Apocryphe de la Genèse* XX 8.21.24. Inconnu des textes bibliques⁸, ce personnage semble jouer le rôle de médiateur ou de conseiller de

⁴ Dans les targums, les acteurs non nommés sont souvent identifiés à des personnages connus de l'histoire biblique : *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gn 22:3 (Éliézer et Ismaël) ; *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gn 42:7 (Lévi) ; *Tg. Ps.-J.* Ex 2:13 (Dathan et Abiram) ; *Tg. Jos* 6:9 (la tribu de la maison de Dan).

⁵ En *Jub.* 4:28, « Betenos fille de Barakiel » est présentée comme l'épouse de Lamek.

⁶ À comprendre comme « la mère de la descendance ». En *Jub.* 4:33, Emzara, l'épouse de Noé, est considérée comme la fille de Rakeel.

⁷ Voir E. Qimron, « Toward a New Edition of 1QGenesis Apocryphon », dans *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (dir. par. D. W. Parry et E. Ulrich ; Leiden : Brill, 1999), 106–109 (107).

⁸ Voir la mention d'un certain « Hyrcan, fils de Tobie » en 2 M 3:11. Sur les différentes identifications de ce personnage, consulter Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 197–199.

Pharaon (cf. XX 21–26). La présence de tels intermédiaires est connue de la littérature midrashique et targumique. Ce qui frappe ici, c'est la place et l'importance accordée à Hyrḳanos : là où les targums se contentent souvent de préciser le nom d'un personnage biblique anonyme, l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* en fait un personnage clé du récit.

En Genèse 14:13, la mention d'un « fuyard » venu informer Abraham de la capture de Lot reste imprécise pour le lecteur du récit biblique. Qui est-il ? D'où vient-il ? Le narrateur de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* (XXII 1–2) va chercher ici à relier ce personnage anonyme au récit qu'il développe. Ainsi, le « fuyard » de Genèse 14:13 est identifié à l'un des bergers de Lot, et son histoire se rattache alors aux épisodes qui précèdent (Gn 13:7–8). L'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* précise qu'il « s'est échappé de captivité », expression plus valorisante que la simple qualification de « fuyard » ou « rescapé » (פּלִיט) en Genèse 14:13⁹.

b. Mise en valeur des personnages

La mise en valeur des émotions des Patriarches (Noé, Abraham et Lot), des matriarches (Bat-Enosh, Sara) et d'autres personnages est un des traits caractéristiques de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse*. De fait, les personnages importants font part de leurs émotions et racontent eux-mêmes les épisodes de leur vie : Lamek (II 3ss) ; Hénoch (V) ; Noé (VI 1ss) ; Abraham (XIX 14ss).

À la manière de certains passages targumiques, l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* souligne ainsi les attitudes humaines des personnages bibliques en précisant leurs sentiments et leurs émotions. Cette prise en compte de « l'humanité » des protagonistes entraîne une certaine dramatisation du récit. Voici quelques exemples de ce phénomène :

Contrairement à Genèse 12:10–20 qui n'évoque jamais le chagrin ou l'inquiétude de Sara lorsqu'elle est emmenée chez Pharaon, l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* XIX 21.23 mentionne ses pleurs et sa crainte¹⁰. La matriarche semble plus présente et plus active dans l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* (XIX) que dans le récit de Genèse 12 où celle-ci n'intervient jamais directement¹¹.

⁹ Tg. Ps.-J. Gn 14:13 identifie le « fuyard » au Géant Og qui cherche à faire chuter Abraham.

¹⁰ Une partie de la ligne 23 est restaurée par les éditeurs.

¹¹ Consulter G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "Patriarchs Who Worry about Their Wives. A Haggadic Tendency in the Genesis Apocryphon", dans *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and*

En Genèse 12:16, le récit biblique ne précise pas les sentiments d'Abraham lors de l'enlèvement de Sara (même constat en Gn 20:2). L'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* (XX 10–12.16) s'attache au contraire à montrer la tristesse et l'abattement du patriarche lorsque ces événements se sont produits¹². Les expressions araméennes sont fortes : « ... j'ai pleuré, moi, Abram, de pleurs vigoureux/forts » (XX 11) ; « mes larmes coulaient » (XX 12)¹³. Ces émotions ajoutent à l'aspect dramatique du récit de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* ; elles permettent aussi d'introduire la suite du récit et la prière d'Abraham. Le patriarche est décrit comme un être sensible qui cherche naturellement secours auprès de son dieu¹⁴. On note, par ailleurs, que la présence de Lot et son « association » au chagrin d'Abraham (XX 11)¹⁵ ajoutent encore à l'intensité dramatique du récit. D'une manière générale, le rédacteur de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* souligne les liens et les sentiments qui unissent Abraham et Lot¹⁶.

L'attitude « silencieuse¹⁷ » d'Abraham en *Apocryphe de la Genèse* XX 16 est remarquable à plus d'un titre. D'une part, elle correspond à l'attitude du croyant dans l'obéissance ou dans l'attente de l'intervention divine¹⁸. D'autre part, le silence d'Abraham permet au narrateur de

Associated Literature, 12–14 May, 1996 (dir. par. M. E. Stone et E. G. Chazon ; Leiden : Brill, 1998), 137–158.

¹² Philon insiste sur la faiblesse d'Abraham face à la toute-puissance du pouvoir politique égyptien (*Abr.* 95).

¹³ Comparer avec les pleurs et le chagrin de Jacob en *Tg. Neof.* Gn 35:9.

¹⁴ Abraham n'est pas pour autant présenté comme un faible : il maîtrise la situation en 1QapGen XX 21–34 et il « reprend courage » rapidement après l'annonce de la capture de Lot en 1QapGen XXII 5. Sur l'attitude de respect à l'égard des Patriarches et l'image positive que les targums cherchent à en donner, voir par exemple *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gn 31:20.21.27 ; *Tg. Neof., Ps.-J.* Gn 34:13 (voir R. Le Déaut, « Targum », dans *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* [dir. par J. Briand et M. Quesnel ; Paris : Letouzey & Ané, 2002], 253–255).

¹⁵ Selon *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gn 13:5, Lot était mené par le « mérite d'Abraham ».

¹⁶ Voir 1QapGen XX 11.22.34. On relèvera qu'en *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gn 18:22, juste avant la destruction de Sodome, Abraham est en prière et invoque la miséricorde de Dieu pour Lot (voir aussi *Pirqe R. El.* 25, dans *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer* [éd. G. Friedlander ; New York : Hermon Press, 1965], 180).

¹⁷ Il faut lire ici la racine *שתי* « être silencieux ». Comparer avec l'attitude silencieuse de Lévi en 4Q213a 2 10 (texte reconstruit) ; voir *La Bibliothèque de Qumrân I*, 457. Le silence fait partie des vertus recommandées aux esséniens (*B.J.* 2.132–133). Voir aussi l'importance du silence dans la littérature sapientielle et les pseudépigraphes : *T. Naph.* 3:1 ; *2 Bar.* 48:33 ; *2 En.* 43:5. En *Tg. Neof., Ps.-J.* Gn 15:6 et *Tg. Neof., Ps.-J.* Lv 10:3, l'attitude silencieuse d'Abraham et d'Aaron manifeste leur obéissance inconditionnelle à Dieu.

¹⁸ Voir Dt 27:9 ; Lm 3:26 ; Ha 2:20 ; So 1:7.

construire la suite de l'histoire en faisant « jouer » les autres acteurs du récit : Hyrqaños, Lot et Pharaon.

Le narrateur de l' *Apocryphe de la Genèse* ne se contente pas de mettre en évidence les sentiments et les émotions de ses personnages, il prend aussi en considération leurs vertus et qualités. Ainsi, l' *Apocryphe de la Genèse* VI 1–6 évoque plusieurs éléments autobiographiques concernant Noé. Ce discours du patriarche reprend et développe les informations brèves données en Genèse 6:9¹⁹. Sans entrer dans le commentaire précis du texte de l' *Apocryphe de la Genèse*, notons que l'insistance porte sur la notion de « vérité/justice » (קשוט/אמת) : « plan-té » pour la vérité²⁰, la vie et le comportement de Noé sont entièrement marqués par la vérité, et ses voies sont celles de « l'éternelle vérité »²¹. Le rédacteur cherche à faire de Noé un exemple pour les générations futures²². Au passage, il énonce le cadre dans lequel se fera la mission de Noé et peut-être celle de ceux qui liront l' *Apocryphe de la Genèse* : le mensonge (VI 3), les ténèbres et la violence ; trois éléments que l'on retrouve ailleurs dans les écrits qumrâniens²³. Noé est ainsi présenté comme le « type » de l'homme juste/de vérité, fidèle à la halakhah (VI 8), respectant en tout point les instructions de Yahvé²⁴. Le « classement » des personnages bibliques en une typologie élémentaire (« bons » et « méchants », « fidèle » et « impie », etc.) est un procédé bien connu de la littérature targumique et midrashique²⁵.

En *Apocryphe de la Genèse* XIX 25, malgré l'état lacunaire du manuscrit, on relève que les émissaires égyptiens viennent chercher la « connaissance, la sagesse et la vérité » auprès d'Abraham. Contraire-

¹⁹ Noé y est qualifié de צדיק et de תם ; il marche (הלך) avec Dieu.

²⁰ Comparer avec le discours de Noé en *Jub.* 7:34 ; 16:26 ; 21:24. Voir aussi 4Q204 1 v 4 (= *I En.* 10:16) et le discours de Lévi en 4Q213 1 i 6–7 (*//* *Cairo Lévi* Cambridge e 10–13).

²¹ Pour l'expression, voir 1QS IX 3–4.

²² Sur les vertus de Noé, voir *Tg. Neof., Ps.-J. Gn* 6:8 (justice) ; 6:9 (vérité/crainte). En *Tg.* 1 Sam 2:26, Samuel est présenté comme le type de l'homme juste dont les voies et les œuvres sont droites devant les fils des hommes (idées similaire concernant Booz en *Tg. Ruth* 1:1.6).

²³ Voir 4Q212 1 iii 25 ; 4Q541 9 i 4–7.

²⁴ Les qualités et les capacités de Noé sont ici comparables à celles d'Hénoch dans le *Livre d'Hénoch*.

²⁵ Bon exemple de typologie targumique en *Tg. Ps* 18:26–27 : le « fidèle » est identifié à Abraham ; le « pur » à Jacob ; le « pervers » à Pharaon.

ment au texte biblique qui ne mentionne aucune de ces qualités, Abraham est perçu comme un sage dans l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse*²⁶.

En *Apocryphe de la Genèse* XX 2–8, le narrateur insiste sur la belle apparence de la matriarche, mais il mentionne aussi l'importance de sa « sagesse » (XX 7). Cette vertu, absente de Genèse 12, ne sera plus rappelée dans la suite de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse*²⁷.

Contrairement à l'épisode de Genèse 12:18–13:1 où Pharaon semble avoir l'initiative de tout, *Apocryphe de la Genèse* XX 21–34 nous révèle que le patriarche reste maître de la situation : c'est de lui et de sa prière que tout dépend²⁸ ; il n'intercedera pas pour le roi tant que Sara n'aura pas été libérée (XX 22–23). Abraham apparaît ainsi comme le type du fidèle²⁹ qui révèle, par son attitude et sa fermeté, l'autorité divine.

Finalement, dans l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse*, Abraham apparaît comme un personnage paré de nombreuses vertus. Le narrateur insiste sur la générosité d'Abraham vis-à-vis de Lot (*Apocryphe de la Genèse* XXI 6 ; XXII 2) ; il précise aussi son sens de l'accueil : il invite les trois frères amorrhéens pour un festin (XXI 21)³⁰. De plus, *Apocryphe de la Genèse* XXII 10–12 met en évidence les actes libérateurs d'Abraham (verbe נצא, נצל)³¹, là où le texte biblique (Gn 14:16), moins précis, parle seulement du « retour » des biens, des captifs et de Lot.

c. Importance de la piété

L'insistance sur la piété et la scrupuleuse observance religieuse des Patriarches est un trait connu de la littérature targumique³². Cependant,

²⁶ À notre connaissance, la qualité de « sage » n'est pas appliquée à Abraham dans la littérature targumique. Cette qualité est d'ailleurs peu attribuée à des individus isolés dans cette littérature (voir Joseph, le « fils sage » en *Tg. Onq.* Gn 37:3).

²⁷ Voir l'appréciation des qualités de Sara chez Philon, *Abr.* 93. Le *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gn 24:67 évoque les œuvres justes de Sara mais ne parle pas de sa sagesse.

²⁸ Il n'y a pas d'intervention explicite de Dieu dans ce passage de 1QapGen ; comparer avec Genèse 20:17. Sur l'importance de la prière d'Abraham dans les targums, voir *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gn 18:22.23, 19:27 et plus particulièrement *Tg. Neof., Ps.-J.* Gn 22:14.

²⁹ Sur la fidélité d'Abraham et ses dispositions parfaite lors de l'Aqéda, voir *Tg. Neof., Ps.-J.* Gn 22:14. Par son accueil et sa piété, Abraham va jusqu'à convertir les voyageurs qui séjournent chez lui (*Tg. Neof.* Gn 21:33).

³⁰ Notons cependant que le festin préparé pour les Amorrhéens se fait en vue de la mise en place d'une coalition.

³¹ L'ajout conclusif de 1QapGen XXII 24–26 va dans le même sens ; il permet d'explicitier la démarche d'Abraham : il restitue les biens du roi de Sodome et libère les captifs.

³² Voir par exemple *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gn 8:20 ; 14:13 ; 18:19 ; 19:18 ; 27:9 ; 33:20. Sur la piété des personnages bibliques, consulter E. Levine, *The Aramaic Version of the Bible* (Berlin–New York : Walter de Gruyter, 1988), 124–130 et 131–134.

là où le Targum se contente de relever, de manière générale et brève, la piété des Patriarches ou des héros bibliques, l' *Apocryphe de la Genèse* fournit davantage de précisions en développant un récit vivant et cohérent dans lequel la place accordée aux actes cultuels et à la glorification divine est considérable³³.

Ainsi, *Apocryphe de la Genèse* X 12–17 transmet le récit, à la première personne³⁴, des pratiques sacrificielles postdiluviennes de Noé. L'auteur semble s'appuyer sur la notice peu détaillée de Genèse 8:20–21³⁵ pour en développer plusieurs éléments : liste des animaux sacrifiés et des substances offertes (farine, huile, encens), type de sacrifice, pratiques associées, etc.³⁶. Par la mention de l'accomplissement d'une expiation (כפר, X 13) pour toute la terre, le rédacteur ne se contente pas d'une simple amplification du texte biblique, mais il réoriente le récit dans le sens d'une purification générale. En ce sens, il relie ce passage aux épisodes précédant le déluge, dans lesquels l'auteur de l' *Apocryphe de la Genèse* semble décrire un état de perversion avancé³⁷. Ainsi, les préoccupations sacerdotales de l'auteur de l' *Apocryphe de la Genèse* sont manifestes ; il se situe dans un courant de pensée comparable à celui du *Document araméen de Lévi*.

Les difficultés de déchiffrement du début et de la fin de la col. XI ne permettent pas d'en saisir toute la cohérence et le contenu. Cependant, il semble que le narrateur ne suive pas le déroulement du texte biblique en évoquant notamment l'épisode de la sortie de l'arche³⁸ : Noé raconte ce

³³ On notera par contre l'absence, dans 1QapGen, de l'insistance sur la fidélité à la Torah ou à son étude, trait caractéristique de nombreux passages targumiques ; voir Th. Legrand, "Les targums du Pentateuque : leur rapport aux documents inscrits, aux livres, et à la Torah", *RevScRel* 79 (2005): 127–146.

³⁴ Le *L.A.B.* affectionne aussi les discours des Patriarches ou des héros bibliques (VI 11 ; IX 3–6 ; XIX 2–5, etc.). Les targums présentent peu de cas de développements formulés à la première personne. Voir cependant la déclaration de Juda en *Tg. Neof.* Gn 44:18 ; le discours de l'ânesse de Balaam en *Tg. Neof., Ps.-J.* Nb 22:30 ; le discours de Moïse en *Tg. Neof., Ps.-J.* Dt 1:1 ; la déclaration de Babylone en *Tg. Ha* 3:16.

³⁵ Le texte de 1QapGen est fragmentaire, mais le verset biblique ne semble pas avoir été cité. Genèse 8:20 mentionne un holocauste tandis que 1QapGen X 13ss évoque d'abord une expiation puis un holocauste et une offrande végétale. *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gn 8:20 précise que Noé offrit quatre holocaustes sur l'autel reconstruit.

³⁶ Certains aspects de ces pratiques rejoignent celles du *Document araméen de Lévi* (4Q214 2 1–9 // *Cairo Lévi* Bodléienne d 1–14).

³⁷ Voir le sang versé par les Nephilim en 1QapGen VI 19. *Jub.* 5:2 est encore plus précis sur l'état de perversion de l'humanité avant le déluge.

³⁸ Celui-ci précède (voir Gn 8:18–19) la construction de l'autel et les pratiques sacrificielles décrites en Genèse 8:20 et 1QapGen X 13–17.

qu'il voit et comment il rend grâce au Seigneur (XI 1–14). Ce réarrangement se fait au travers d'une belle mise en scène dans laquelle le narrateur manifeste, par la bouche de Noé, la grandeur du Dieu créateur, sa miséricorde et sa puissance (XI 12–14). Cette louange permet alors d'introduire les engagements de Dieu et les termes de l'alliance noachique (cf. Gn 8:21–9:1ss). On relèvera ici deux aspects essentiels : 1) le narrateur a cherché à compléter les données du texte biblique, jugées, semble-t-il, trop laconiques sur la question de la louange divine ; 2) la mise en scène de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* (louange et vision de Noé, XI 12–15) permet d'explicitier l'apparition de Dieu et donne un cadre à son discours. Ce procédé qui vise à compléter le texte biblique et à aménager des transitions dans le récit est à rapprocher de plus d'un passage targumique.

En *Apocryphe de la Genèse* XII 13–18, l'épisode de la vigne de Noé (cf. Gn 9:20–21) donne l'occasion au narrateur de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* de nous présenter le patriarche célébrant une fête³⁹. Comme dans le passage parallèle du livre des *Jubilés*⁴⁰, le narrateur montre comment les épisodes de la vie des Patriarches sont liés à la louange de Yahvé et à la célébration des fêtes liturgiques⁴¹.

En *Apocryphe de la Genèse* XX 11ss, lorsque Sara est emmenée de force chez Pharaon, Abraham, effondré, s'adresse à Dieu dans une longue supplique qui met en avant la souveraineté de Dieu, sa supériorité sur les rois de la terre et sa justice. En introduisant cette prière dans le cours du récit, l'objectif du narrateur est à la fois catéchétique et herméneutique. D'une part, il invite son lecteur à se tourner vers Dieu dans les situations de détresse, et le rôle de la prière d'intercession est ainsi développé et enseigné⁴². D'autre part, il explique l'intervention un peu inattendue de Dieu à l'encontre de Pharaon en Genèse 12:17. On notera aussi que l'insistance sur le fait que Pharaon n'a pas pu s'approcher (קרב)⁴³ de Sara (XX 17) et qu'il n'a pas pu la « connaître » (ידע), au sens

³⁹ Il s'agit peut-être de la fête des Semaines, mais la fin de la col. XII est illisible et ne permet pas de préciser davantage.

⁴⁰ Comparer avec *Jub.* 7:3–6 et la célébration de la fête des Semaines en *Jub.* 6:17–38.

⁴¹ Cf. *Tg. Neof., Ps.-J.* Gn 35:14 qui rattache un épisode culturel (Jacob à Sichem) à la fête des Tentés.

⁴² Comme dans les targums, la fonction essentielle de la prière dans 1QapGen est de rappeler la puissance divine et ses bienfaits. Sur l'importance de la prière, voir *Tg. I Est* 1:10.14.

⁴³ Le *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gn 12:19 précise qu'une plaie soudaine a empêché Pharaon d'approcher Sara (cf. *Pirqe R. El.* 26 190 ; *Josèphe, Ant.* 1.164 ; *GenR* 41:2).

sexuel du terme, marque les préoccupations de l'auteur de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* pour les questions de pureté et le respect des règles du mariage (voir aussi VI 8–9).

En *Apocryphe de la Genèse* XX 28–29 la prière d'Abraham est accompagnée d'un geste d'imposition des mains qui entraîne l'expulsion de l'esprit mauvais et la fin de l'affliction de Pharaon. En dehors de l'intérêt considérable de ce passage pour la connaissance des pratiques de guérison et d'exorcisme, il faut relever la fonction explicative de ces lignes par rapport au récit de Genèse 12. De fait, Genèse 12:17–20 laisse le lecteur dans l'imprécision la plus totale en ce qui concerne le sort de Pharaon après la libération de Sara (Gn 12:19–20). Le narrateur de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* comble cette lacune en évoquant la confiance d'Abraham, et en réaffirmant la grandeur et la force du Dieu qui a pouvoir sur la vie même des puissants⁴⁴.

En *Apocryphe de la Genèse* XXI 1, la mention de la reconstruction de l'autel à Bethel souligne la piété d'Abraham⁴⁵. Celui-ci ne se contente pas d'utiliser l'autel qu'il avait précédemment bâti (selon Gn 13:4), mais il le reconstruit à nouveau (ובניתה תניאני)⁴⁶.

Apocryphe de la Genèse XXI 2–3 présente un épisode liturgique et culturel assez dense qui précise les indications brèves de Genèse 13:4⁴⁷ : « Abraham invoqua là le nom de YHWH ». Le narrateur de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* cherche à détailler les activités culturelles et liturgiques du patriarche en évoquant deux types de sacrifice (holocauste et offrande⁴⁸) et quatre formes de prière (invocation, louange, bénédiction et action de grâce). La succession des termes liturgiques montre la gratitude d'Abraham à l'égard de Dieu, mais elle pourrait bien révéler également l'intention catéchétique et théologique de l'auteur. La prière d'Abraham (en particulier XXI 3) permet ainsi de réaffirmer que Dieu était bien à l'arrière plan des événements qui s'étaient déroulés en Égypte (enlèvement et libération de Sara, sortie du pays).

⁴⁴ Noter ici le lien entre la prière et la vie : 1QapGen XX 22.23.29. En *Tg. Neof., Ps.-J.* Gn 25:21, Isaac prie pour éviter la stérilité de Rébecca.

⁴⁵ Sur la piété d'Abraham, voir G. Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism. Haggadic Studies* (Leiden : Brill, 1961), 67–95.

⁴⁶ Plusieurs traditions targumiques insistent sur la localisation des autels construits ou utilisés par les Patriarches : en *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gn 8:20, l'autel reconstruit par Noé avait été bâti par Adam et utilisé par Caïn et Abel, puis détruit par les eaux du déluge (cf. *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gn 22:9).

⁴⁷ Comparer avec le récit parallèle de *Jub.* 13:8–9.

⁴⁸ Même type de sacrifice (מנחה / עולה) en 1QapGen XXI 20.

b) *Le cadre spatio-temporel*

Autant que l'on puisse en juger, le récit de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* transmet à plusieurs reprises des données chronologiques et géographiques différentes de celles de la Genèse. Ces modifications ou actualisations nous paraissent assez proches de celles que l'on trouve dans la littérature targumique.

a. Précisions chronologiques

Les codes temporels du texte massorétique restent souvent assez vagues (tel jour, après ces événements, etc.). L'auteur de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse*, comme les targumistes⁴⁹, est attentif à préciser la chronologie des événements bibliques, même si ses indications ne sont pas comparables à celles développées dans le livre des *Jubilés*. Ici, le mauvais état de conservation des premières colonnes de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* laisse entrevoir l'intérêt de l'auteur pour ce type de modifications, mais il ne permet pas de préciser l'ampleur du phénomène.

L'épisode de la plantation de la vigne de Noé (XII 13ss) révèle quelques-uns des procédés exégétiques utilisés par le rédacteur ainsi que ses orientations théologiques. De fait, les précisions chronologiques (vendange, vinification, fête⁵⁰, etc.) en *Apocryphe de la Genèse* XII 13–16, qui sont absentes de Genèse 9:20–21, manifestent l'intérêt de l'auteur pour les questions halakhiques et calendaires. Elles permettent à la fois de mettre en avant la considération des Patriarches pour ces questions et d'insister sur la nécessité de continuer à les respecter.

« C'est en ce [t]emps-là que fut bâ[t]ie Hébron... » (*Apocryphe de la Genèse* XIX 9–10 ; cf. XIX 22–23). Cette précision s'appuie sur Nombres 13:22 qui stipule que « Hébron avait été bâtie sept ans avant Tanis ». L'auteur de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* cherche probablement à souligner l'antiquité de la ville d'Hébron⁵¹.

Apocryphe de la Genèse XX 18 donne quelques détails chronologiques sur la captivité de Sara dans la maison de Pharaon ; ce passage précise du même coup la longue durée du châtement divin à l'encontre

⁴⁹ Signalons, par exemple, l'intérêt du *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* pour les précisions chronologiques : *Tg. Ps.-J. Gn* 7:11 (date du déluge) ; *Tg. Ps.-J. Ex* 12:2 (calendrier des fêtes) ; *Tg. Ps.-J. Ex* 19:1.3.9.16 ; *Tg. Ps.-J. Nb* 1:1.18 ; 7:1, etc.

⁵⁰ 1QapGen XII 13–16 semble suivre le délai des prescriptions lévitiques (Lv 19:23–25).

⁵¹ Comparer avec *Jub.* 13:12.

de Pharaon⁵². Ces détail ne figurent ni en Genèse 12:17, ni dans les récits parallèle de l'enlèvement de Sara en Genèse 20 et de Rébecca en Genèse 26.

En XXII 27–28, l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* énonce quelques éléments chronologiques sur le séjour d'Abraham en Canaan⁵³ : ces précisions qui donnent un cadre explicatif à la déclaration divine de Genèse 15:1 n'appartiennent pas au récit biblique de Genèse 15, mais sont comparables à celles de *Jubilés* 13–14.

b. Précisions géographiques

À de multiples reprises, le narrateur de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* manifeste son intérêt pour les précisions géographiques et son souci de donner un compte rendu détaillé du périple des Patriarches ; il témoigne aussi d'une réelle connaissance géographique de la Palestine. Ces précisions éclairent plus d'un point du texte biblique, tout en actualisant les données géographiques du récit biblique. De plus, comme dans les targums, certaines indications géographiques permettent de tisser des liens entre les épisodes bibliques, ajoutant ainsi à la cohérence du récit.

En *Apocryphe de la Genèse* XII 13, l'indication du lieu de plantation de la vigne (le « mont Loubar »)⁵⁴, absente de la Genèse, est conforme à celle que l'on trouve en *Jubilés* 5:28 et 7:1. Ce procédé d'identification fait partie des grandes caractéristiques targumiques, mais cette localisation précise (le « mont Loubar ») est différente de celle proposée dans certains targums du Pentateuque : en *Targum Neofiti*, *Pseudo-Jonathan* Gn 8:4, l'arche se pose sur les montagnes de Qardun.

En *Apocryphe de la Genèse* XIX 10–13, l'auteur donne plusieurs précisions sur le trajet d'Abraham jusqu'en Égypte. Le *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* de Genèse 12:11 précise simplement qu'Abraham et Sara étaient parvenus jusqu'au fleuve, mais cette indication lui permet d'évoquer la beauté de Sara.

En Genèse 13:14–18, lorsque Dieu révèle l'étendue du pays offert à Abraham et à sa descendance, les indications géographiques données

⁵² Cette durée de deux années est connue du récit parallèle de *Jub.* 13:11.16.

⁵³ Ces indications correspondent en partie à celles données en 1QapGen XIX 23 et XX 18.

⁵⁴ Selon *Jub.* 5:28, l'arche s'est posée sur ce mont (voir 4Q244 8 3 et 6Q8 26 1) et Noé sera enterré « sur le mont Loubar, au pays d'Ararat » (*Jub.* 10:15). Comparer avec l'identification de « Moriyya/Moriah » (Gn 22:2) comme lieu de l'emplacement du Temple (*Tg. Ps.-J.* Gn 25:21 et 2 Chr 3:2) et lieu d'une alliance (*Tg. Neof., Ps.-J.* Lv 26:42), etc.

restent imprécises. À la manière des targums, le récit de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* (XXI 8–20) reprend ce passage biblique, mais en précisant notamment le point d'observation d'Abraham (Ramat-Haçor) et en donnant le nom des zones géographiques (fleuve, mer, désert) et des territoires observés (Liban, Senir, Hauran, etc.). Ces indications révèlent les connaissances topographiques du narrateur, et donnent un cadre réaliste à l'observation d'Abraham : il peut contempler le pays promis à partir du point le plus élevé de la région⁵⁵.

La description de *Apocryphe de la Genèse* XXI 15–20 est un développement explicatif et géographique de Genèse 13:17, semblable à ceux que l'on rencontre dans les targums. Le texte biblique évoque, en effet, un ordre divin non suivi d'effets : Abraham est invité par Dieu à parcourir le pays « en long et en large » (Gn 13:17), mais aucune description, aucun voyage ne sont rapportés. Le narrateur de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* (XXI 15–20) complète alors le récit biblique en décrivant le long voyage d'Abraham aux limites du pays promis. On est ici frappé par la précision des repères géographiques et la cohérence du parcours. Les targums présentent souvent des additions ou actualisations géographiques⁵⁶ mais rarement des développements aussi construits que celui de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* (XXI 15–20).

c) *Un art du récit*

Comme dans les targums paraphrastiques ou les midrashim, le narrateur de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* tente de répondre aux questions que se pose le lecteur ou l'auditoire ; il transmet ainsi un récit biblique explicite et développé, mais qui garde toute sa vigueur et son suspens. On ne peut pas en dire autant de certains passages targumiques qui surchargent le texte biblique au point de le rendre peu lisible d'un point de vue littéraire et stylistique.

⁵⁵ Situation comparable en Dt 34:1–4, lorsque Moïse contemple la terre promise depuis le sommet du Pisga. L'auteur de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* (XXI 8–14) a pu s'inspirer d'un tel modèle littéraire pour composer sa description.

⁵⁶ Voir, par exemple, *Tg. Neof., Ps.-J.* Gn 10:1–7 qui ajoute le nom des territoires des fils de Noé ; *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gn 24:10 qui précise que la localité « Aram » est « sur l'Euphrate », et de nombreuses précisions géographiques dans le *Targum Jonathan* des Prophètes Antérieurs (*Tg. Judg* 1:16 ; *Tg. 1 Sam* 4:1, etc.).

a. Développements explicatifs et embellissements du récit

Plusieurs petits développements explicatifs de l' *Apocryphe de la Genèse* donnent une certaine « fluidité » ou clarté aux passages de la Genèse qui manquent de précisions ou qui semblent incomplets. Voici quelques exemples relevés dans les colonnes de l' *Apocryphe de la Genèse* :

En *Apocryphe de la Genèse* VI 7–8, la mention de l'existence du frère de Noé et de la naissance des « trois » filles de Noé n'appartient pas au récit de la Genèse. Il s'agit peut-être là d'un simple embellissement du texte, mais on peut aussi l'interpréter comme une insistance sur l'importance de la descendance de Noé ou une accentuation de sa vraisemblance⁵⁷. De fait, comment expliquer le développement de l'humanité après le déluge à partir d'une famille aussi restreinte que celle de Noé (cf. Gn 6:10.18 ; 8:16) ? L' *Apocryphe de la Genèse* (VI) apporte des précisions qui confèrent une certaine vraisemblance à l'épisode biblique⁵⁸.

En *Apocryphe de la Genèse* XIX 24, il y a « trois hommes » parmi les princes d'Égypte⁵⁹ alors que le récit de Genèse 12:15 mentionne seulement les « officiers/princes de Pharaon » (שרי פרעה). S'agit-il d'un simple embellissement du texte ou d'une harmonisation littéraire par rapport à l'épisode de l'arrivée des trois anges en Genèse 18:2⁶⁰ ?

En XX 11, Sara est enlevée par Pharaon « de nuit » et « par la force » (באונס)⁶¹, tandis que le récit de Genèse 12:15 ne donne aucune précision sur cet enlèvement. Le narrateur de l' *Apocryphe de la Genèse* cherche ici à donner du relief à son récit en complétant les brèves informations de Genèse 12:15 qui mentionnent simplement que Sara a été « prise » (ותקח) dans la maison de Pharaon. Ces détails « apocryphes » mettent en avant l'irrégularité et la violence de l'intervention de Pharaon⁶² ; ceux-ci

⁵⁷ Comparer avec *Jub.* 4:1.7–9 qui présente la naissance des sœurs de Caïn et Abel. Le texte de *Tb* 4:12–13 précise les possibilités de mariage entre cousins.

⁵⁸ Voir aussi *1QapGen* XII 8–9 et la mention des petits-enfants de Noé, précision absente de Gn 8:18.

⁵⁹ Les targums utilisent des chiffres et des nombres pour tisser des liens entre les passages de la Torah (voir les trois servitudes d'Israël en *Tg. Neof., Ps.-J.* Gn 40:12.18). Sur ce point, voir A. Jaubert, « La symbolique des Douze », dans *Hommage à Dupont Sommer* (dir. par A. Caquot ; Paris : Maisonneuve, 1971), 453–460.

⁶⁰ Exemple de liens entre deux épisodes : l'histoire de Caïn/Abel est reliée à la rivalité Jacob/Ésaü en *Tg. Neof., Ps.-J.* Gn 27:41.

⁶¹ Précision du même ordre en *1QapGen* XX 14 et *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gn 20:3.

⁶² Dans les targums, le personnage de Pharaon constitue le type de l'« impie » ou de l'« arrogant » : voir *Tg. Neof.* Gn 44:18 ; *Tg. Neof., Ps.-J.* Ex 15:9 ; *Tg. Ps* 18:9.

préparent et annoncent en même temps la dureté du châtement qui s'abattra sur la maison de Pharaon.

Apocryphe de la Genèse XX 16–18 amplifie la portée du châtement divin en insistant sur le fait que « l'esprit de châtement » qui s'abat sur Pharaon touche aussi « tous les hommes de sa maison » (XX 17.18)⁶³. D'autre part, les formes verbales utilisées et les indications chronologiques (« durant deux années », XX 18, etc.) renforcent la gravité de la sanction ainsi que sa durée. Les « grandes plaies » de Genèse 12:17 se transforment, dans l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* (XX 17–18), en un châtement général qui s'alourdit au fil du temps.

Selon *Apocryphe de la Genèse* XX 29–34, la liste des richesses offertes par Pharaon (or, argent, vêtements, troupeaux) est plus importante et plus variée que celle évoquée en Genèse 12:16 ; 13:2 ou 20:14, 16. De plus, c'est toute la famille d'Abraham (Sara, Agar et Lot) qui se voit comblée de richesses.

Apocryphe de la Genèse XX 34 précise que la femme de Lot est d'origine égyptienne. Ce détail éclaire peut-être, par anticipation, l'épisode de la femme de Lot transformée en colonne de sel (Gn 19:26).

On notera en *Apocryphe de la Genèse* XXI 8–14, lors de la description géographique du pays qu'Abraham contemple, l'insistance sur la portée de la promesse divine. À trois reprises⁶⁴, le narrateur précise que le pays sera accordé à Abraham et à sa postérité pour l'éternité (XXI 10.12.14). L'insistance sur la notion d'héritage est ici tout à fait remarquable⁶⁵.

L'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* (XXI 8) précise les modalités de la rencontre d'Abraham avec Dieu. Celui-ci apparaît à Abraham dans une vision nocturne, là où le texte biblique (Gn 13:14) évoque simplement que Dieu s'adresse directement à Abraham. La précision renforce le caractère théophanique de la scène et introduit une certaine distance entre les protagonistes⁶⁶.

⁶³ Consulter *Jub.* 10:11–13 sur le rôle néfaste des esprits mauvais et les afflictions qu'ils sont capables de provoquer (voir aussi le rôle des esprits mauvais en *Tg. Neof., Onq.* Dt 32:24).

⁶⁴ Le texte de Gn 13:14–18 ne le mentionne qu'une seule fois au v. 15.

⁶⁵ Les traditions targumiques ne semblent pas porter un intérêt particulier à cette notion.

⁶⁶ Comparer avec les visions nocturnes d'Abraham en *Tg. Neof.* Gn 15:12 (les quatre royaumes) et *Tg. Neof., Ps.-J.* Gn 15:17 (la géhenne réservée pour les méchants).

Apocryphe de la Genèse XXI 26–27 explicite le motif de la révolte des quatre rois (Gn 14:4–5) : ils ont été soumis par la force et contraints à payer un tribut à Kedorlaomer.

Lorsqu'on informe Abraham de la capture de Lot (cf. Gn 14:13 // *Apocryphe de la Genèse* XXII 2–3), l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* précise que Lot « n'a pas été tué » (XXII 3), détail supplémentaire qui permet peut-être d'expliquer l'empressement d'Abraham à partir en campagne contre les rois ennemis (XXII 5–6).

En *Apocryphe de la Genèse* XXII 4, le narrateur insiste lourdement sur la violence du roi d'Élam et de sa coalition⁶⁷. De la même manière, l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* (XXII 7–11) amplifie et détaille le récit des victoires d'Abraham.

On notera, par ailleurs, que plusieurs développements de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* (XXII 12ss) semblent répondre aux interrogations du lecteur face à un texte biblique souvent laconique. Par exemple, Genèse 14:20 annonce sans autres précisions qu'Abraham apporte la « dîme de tout » (מעשר מכל) à Melchisédech. L'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* (XXII 17) précise qu'il s'agit de la « dîme de tous les biens du roi d'Élam et de ses alliés ». On trouvera un contenu similaire dans le *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* de Genèse 14:20⁶⁸.

b. Un récit merveilleux

L'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* transmet quelques exemples de récits de prodiges accomplis par Dieu ou ses intermédiaires ; il développe et renforce le caractère spectaculaire de certains épisodes, en insistant sur deux aspects : la mise en valeur des vertus des personnages bibliques (voir plus haut) et le caractère inattendu et prodigieux de l'action divine. Ce type de développements séduisants et accrocheurs rapproche l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* de la littérature targumique⁶⁹.

Les épisodes qui entourent la naissance de Noé présentent plusieurs développements étonnants qui donnent un caractère spectaculaire ou

⁶⁷ On se reportera à la série de participes : « pillant, frappant, tuant et s'avancant... » (1QapGen XXII 4). On trouvera plusieurs expressions qui renforcent la violence des combats dans Le *Targum Jonathan* des Prophètes Antérieurs.

⁶⁸ Dans un autre contexte, *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gn 33:20 précise la dîme de Jacob.

⁶⁹ On trouve par exemple plusieurs traits miraculeux en *Tg. Ps.-J.* Ex 2 : la mère de Moïse rajeunit (v. 1), Moïse naquit après six mois de gestation (v. 2), la fille de Pharaon fut guérie miraculeusement (v. 5), Moïse puise en une seule fois de l'eau pour tout le bétail (v. 19). La succession de traits miraculeux donne un côté vivant aux traditions targumiques.

fabuleux au récit de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* (II et V). Sans entrer dans les détails du texte, on relèvera l'aspect extraordinaire et même terrifiant de Noé⁷⁰ (V 7.12) et la « course folle » des protagonistes (Lamek, Methoushélah) pour découvrir le secret des origines de Noé, le juste (II 19–23)⁷¹. On pourra comparer ici les déplacements merveilleux ou miraculeux de plusieurs figures bibliques dans les targums : *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* Gn 22:19 (Isaac transporté par les anges) et Gn 24:31 (la route raccourcie pour le serviteur d'Abraham) ; *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* Ex 17:8 (Amaleq fait un bond de 1600 milles), etc.

Le récit de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* (XII 13) insiste sur l'ampleur de la vigne de Noé et de sa production. On comparera ce passage avec *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* Gn 9:20 qui mentionne que la vigne de Noé, sitôt plantée, produisit des raisins que Noé pressa. L'amplification targumique n'a pas le même contenu⁷² mais elle est du même ordre que celle de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse*.

L'intervention de Dieu contre Pharaon et sa maison se produit dans la nuit même de l'enlèvement de Sara (XX 16). Tout se passe comme si le narrateur de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* avait voulu montrer la rapidité de l'intervention divine et son aspect spectaculaire. De même, en *Apocryphe de la Genèse* XX 29 la rapidité de la guérison de Pharaon est remarquable. Ce type d'aménagement du texte est connu de la littérature targumique. On relèvera encore l'importance, dans l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse*, du thème de la vision (cf. VI 11–14 ; XIII ; XXI 8–14) et du songe (VII ? ; XIV–XV ; XIX 14ss)⁷³.

c. Le procédé de l'anticipation

À la manière des targums, l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* utilise le procédé de l'anticipation : un événement ou un épisode futur de l'histoire biblique est annoncé à l'avance dans le cadre d'un autre épisode biblique⁷⁴ (voir par exemple *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gn 29:35 ; 37:14 ; 45:14–15 ; Dt 34:1).

⁷⁰ Sur l'apparence de Noé à sa naissance, comparer 1QapGen V à *1 En.* 106.

⁷¹ En 1QapGen II 23, Methoushélah semble parcourir le pays de Parwaïn en un éclair ; comparer avec la rapidité de Nephtali qui court vers l'Égypte (*Tg. Ps.-J.* Gn 50:13 et 49:21). En 1QapGen V 11, Lamek (ou un autre personnage) est « propulsé » sur la terre.

⁷² *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gn 9:20 s'intéresse par exemple à la provenance du cep de vigne (voir 3 Bar. 4:10).

⁷³ L'insertion d'un songe donne de l'intérêt au récit et permet d'expliquer comment un personnage biblique a eu connaissance d'un événement (voir par exemple *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gn 9:24).

⁷⁴ Ce phénomène est déjà présent dans les récits bibliques : en Gn 13:10, la destruction de Sodome et de Gomorrhe est annoncée avant Gn 19. Même phénomène en *Jub.* 13:19 :

En *Apocryphe de la Genèse* XX 8, la première mention d'Hyrqanos, le conseiller de Pharaon inconnu du récit de Genèse 12, permet d'annoncer l'intervention de ce personnage dans la suite du récit (XX 21–26).

En *Apocryphe de la Genèse* XX 32, la mention d'Agar et des richesses qui lui sont accordées par Pharaon ne repose sur aucunes données bibliques⁷⁵. Cette mention d'Agar annonce peut-être la suite de l'histoire d'Abraham et l'épisode de la stérilité de Sara⁷⁶. Malheureusement, il est impossible d'affirmer que cet épisode était repris dans l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* puisque le rouleau s'arrête sur une relecture de Genèse 15:4.

Apocryphe de la Genèse XXI 6–7 précise que Lot, parvenu à Sodome, s'y achète une maison. Absente du récit de Genèse 13, cette indication pourrait bien annoncer l'épisode des anges accueillis par Lot dans sa maison de Sodome (cf. Gn 19:1–12). En effet, cette maison joue un rôle important dans le récit de Genèse 19. Le rouleau de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* n'étant pas conservé en entier, il est impossible de savoir s'il contenait l'épisode de Genèse 19. On notera cependant que l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* (XXI 6–7) ne mentionne pas, comme en Genèse 13:10, la future destruction de Sodome et le péché de ses habitants (Gn 13:13).

2. L' *Apocryphe de la Genèse* : une œuvre littéraire originale

Le second volet de notre recherche mettra en évidence comment le narrateur compose et structure son récit⁷⁷ en utilisant et en réaménageant plusieurs passages de la Genèse ou d'autres sources anciennes⁷⁸. Ce faisant, il offre un récit qui présente à la fois quelques contradictions par rapport au texte biblique, mais qui propose des développements agga-diques inédits, et d'autres, inspirés des sources bibliques ou proches d'ouvrages anciens comme *I Hénoch* et les *Jubilés*.

la capture de Lot est annoncée avant même que la guerre ne soit déclenchée (voir *Jub.* 13:22ss).

⁷⁵ Selon *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gn 16:1.5 (voir *GenR* 45:1), Agar est la propre fille de Pharaon. Voir Bernstein, "Re-arrangement, Anticipation and Harmonization", 44.

⁷⁶ Sara enverra Agar, sa servante égyptienne, auprès d'Abraham en Gn 16:1–2.

⁷⁷ Détail intéressant, la présence d'espaces vides (*vacat*), dans les colonnes de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse*, offre, d'un point de vue formel, une certaine structuration du récit (voir par exemple II 2.18 ; V 28 ; XI 10.14 ; XII 11.12 ; XVI 13).

⁷⁸ Contrairement aux *midrashim* rabbiniques qui font souvent appel à des citations de l'Écriture, l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* ne semble faire référence qu'au livre de la Genèse.

a) *Réutilisation et réarrangement des données*

Le contenu de la déclaration divine en *Apocryphe de la Genèse* XI 15–16 (« Ne crains pas, ô Noé, je suis avec toi... ») ne correspond ni aux paroles de Dieu en Genèse 8:21–9:1ss, ni à aucun autre passage du récit biblique du déluge. Par contre, des rapprochements sont possibles avec le discours de Dieu en *Apocryphe de la Genèse* XXII 30–31, qui s'appuie sur Genèse 15:1. Le narrateur utilise ainsi, dans le cours de son récit, plusieurs formules similaires et n'hésite pas à reprendre certaines expressions ou thèmes bibliques tirés d'épisodes bibliques différents⁷⁹.

En *Apocryphe de la Genèse* VI 23, la reprise de Genèse 6:8 (« Noé trouva grâce aux yeux de Yahvé ») montre que le rédacteur ne suit pas l'ordre des versets du texte biblique et ne cherche pas à transmettre leur contenu précis. Nous ne sommes pas ici dans le cadre d'un targum, mais d'un réaménagement du texte biblique au service d'une nouvelle narration qui vise à mettre en avant des éléments choisis par l'auteur. La même remarque vaut pour *Apocryphe de la Genèse* VII qui semble faire référence à des thèmes postdiluviens alors que le déluge n'a pas encore eu lieu.

Comme le souligne J. A. Fitzmyer⁸⁰, la col. XII emprunte des éléments bibliques aux chap. 8, 9, 10 et 11 de la Genèse. Le récit est recomposé et certains détails sont ajoutés⁸¹. On relèvera seulement deux éléments intéressants parmi d'autres :

En XII 10–12⁸², les fils de Noé (Sem, Cham, Japhet) sont présentés dans un ordre inverse de celui donné en Genèse 10 (Japhet, Cham, Sem)⁸³. Le narrateur de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* a peut-être voulu placer le premier fils de Noé en tête de liste⁸⁴ parce qu'il était l'ancêtre béni d'Israël⁸⁵. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* Gn 9:26 souligne, par

⁷⁹ Par exemple, les formules parallèles de 1QapGen (XV 21 et XIX 17). Voir ici le tissage de liens entre certains épisodes targumiques : *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gn 28:22 et *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gn 32:25. Par ailleurs, une même aggadah peut se trouver dans plusieurs passages targumiques, voir *Tg. Ps.-J.* Ex 32:19 et *Tg. Ps.-J.* Dt 9:17 ; *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gn 27:1 et *Tg. Neof.* Ex 12:42.

⁸⁰ Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 158–163.

⁸¹ Par exemple la mention des « petits-fils » de Noé, précision absente de Gn 8:18.

⁸² Voir les commentaires de Bernstein, "Re-arrangement, Anticipation and Harmonization", 41–44.

⁸³ Voir le réarrangement des généalogies dans les targums.

⁸⁴ De même en Gn 5:32 ; 6:10 ; 7:13 ; 9:18 ; 1 Chr 1:4.

⁸⁵ Voir la formule de Gn 9:26a et la bénédiction de Sem par Noé en *Jub.* 7:11.

exemple, le comportement juste de Sem, et d'autres traditions targumiques manifestent son importance (cf. *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gn 10:21 ; 14:18).

En XII 13–17, l'épisode de la vigne de Noé intègre la célébration d'une fête et la manifestation de la louange de Noé. Il n'est pas certain ici que l'épisode de la nudité de Noé (cf. Gn 9:20–23) ait été relaté dans l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse*, et l'auteur a peut-être voulu éviter un épisode biblique difficile⁸⁶.

Dans le cadre d'une reprise de Genèse 12, l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* (XIX 10–11) utilise la formulation suivante : « ... et j'entendis (dire) qu'il y [avait] du gr[ai]n en Égypte »⁸⁷. Cette phrase correspond assez peu à Genèse 12:10 ; par contre elle trouve un excellent parallèle dans la déclaration de Genèse 42:2 (et le *Tg. Onq.* du même passage), lorsque Jacob cherche à envoyer ses fils en Égypte.

À propos d'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* XX 17 (« ... et il ne put s'approcher d'elle. En outre, il ne la connut pas... »), le texte de Genèse 12:15–20 n'indique pas que Pharaon n'a pas pu s'approcher de Sara. Par contre, le récit de Genèse 20:4, 6 (Abraham chez Abimélek) fournit cette indication (voir aussi Philon, *De Abrahamo* 98). Le rédacteur de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* a pu ainsi s'inspirer du récit parallèle de Genèse 20 pour dérouler son récit.

De même, en *Apocryphe de la Genèse* XX 21–34 le narrateur ne suit plus seulement les données de Genèse 12:18–13:1, mais il utilise au moins trois éléments du récit parallèle de l'enlèvement de Sara par Abimélek en Gn 20 : 1) Abimélek est menacé de mort parce qu'il a enlevé Sara (Gn 20:3, 7) / Pharaon, accablé par les afflictions, risque de perdre la vie parce qu'il retient Sara (XX 22–23.29) ; 2) Abraham intercède auprès de Dieu qui guérit Abimélek (Gn 20:7, 17) / Abraham guérit Pharaon par la prière et le geste d'imposition des mains (XX 28–29) ; 3) Abimélek offre du petit et du gros bétail à Abraham (Gn 20:14), et une somme d'argent sert à la réhabilitation de Sara (Gn 20:16) / Abraham, Sara, Agar et Lot reçoivent de nombreuses richesses (XX 30–34). La narration de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* ne suit pourtant pas servilement le récit de Genèse 20 puisque dans ce dernier, le rédacteur biblique ne mentionne aucun geste de guérison de la part d'Abraham. De plus, en Genèse 20:17, c'est Dieu lui-même qui guérit (רפא) Abimélek alors que

⁸⁶ Ici, la prudence doit rester de mise étant donné que la fin de la col. XII est totalement indéchiffrable.

⁸⁷ Sur ce passage, consulter Bernstein, "Re-arrangement, Anticipation and Harmonization", 48.

l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* (XX 28–29) semble attribuer la guérison à Abraham lui-même.

On notera qu'en *Apocryphe de la Genèse* XX 27–34, le récit du départ d'Abraham et de Sara du pays d'Égypte tient compte des données bibliques des deux épisodes de Genèse 12:18–13:1 et de Genèse 20:14–16. Le narrateur compose ainsi son récit en entrelaçant les deux sources bibliques mais en ajoutant sa propre vision des choses. On notera, par exemple, qu'en *Apocryphe de la Genèse* XX 29–30, l'attitude de Pharaon change après la prière d'Abraham et son geste de guérison ; ce n'est pas le cas dans le récit de Genèse 20:14–18 où l'on voit Abimélek restituer Sara et offrir des richesses, avant que n'ait lieu l'intercession d'Abraham à son égard. Le narrateur de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* souhaitait peut-être mettre l'accent sur l'importance de la prière et la puissance du geste guérisseur d'Abraham. On relèvera encore l'insistance du récit de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* (XX 30) sur le fait que Pharaon « jure par un serment » qu'il n'a pas souillé Sara. Ces détails importants sont absents des récits de Genèse 12 et de Genèse 20.

Absente de Genèse 13:18, l'invitation des trois frères amorrhéens (Mambré, Arnam et Eshkol) au festin d'Abraham (XXI 21–22) crée un lien subtil entre l'installation d'Abraham à Mambré (Gn 13:18) et l'indication de Genèse 14:13. L'auteur de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* révèle ici son talent de rédacteur, tant il est attentif à la cohérence du récit qu'il développe. Il permet ainsi de résoudre une difficulté du texte biblique⁸⁸ et annonce la suite des événements : les frères amorrhéens, qualifiés d'« amis » d'Abraham, formeront avec le patriarche une coalition victorieuse contre les rois ennemis (Gn 14:13 et *ApGen* XXII 6–7).

En Genèse 14:1, Amraphel apparaît en premier sur la liste des quatre rois étrangers qui partent en guerre. L'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* (XXI 23–24) accorde cette liste à la suite du récit en plaçant Kedorlaomer, roi dominant de la coalition (cf. Gn 14:4–5, 9), en tête de la liste des rois⁸⁹.

On notera finalement l'attention portée par le rédacteur de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* à la mise en scène des acteurs du récit. Un exemple suffira à démontrer son habileté dans ce domaine : en Genèse 12:18, la convocation d'Abraham chez Pharaon se passe d'intermédiaire

⁸⁸ « Mambré/Mamré » comme indication de lieu et comme nom de personnage.

⁸⁹ *Jub.* 13:22 suit le même ordre que l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse*.

et témoigne de l'autorité de Pharaon⁹⁰. La reprise de cet épisode dans l' *Apocryphe de la Genèse* (XX 21–26) prend une tournure bien différente en faisant intervenir deux personnages intermédiaires : Hyrqanos, le conseiller du roi, et Lot, le neveu d'Abraham, personnage totalement passif en Genèse 12. On perçoit ici à quel point le récit de l' *Apocryphe de la Genèse* est construit et l'intrigue travaillée. Ce type de mise en scène, peu présent dans les targums du Pentateuque⁹¹, se rencontre dans plusieurs passages du Targum des Écrits⁹².

b) *Infléchissements et contradictions par rapport aux données bibliques*

En Genèse 12:16, lorsque Sara est « prise » pour la maison de Pharaon, Abraham est traité comme un hôte de marque et se voit comblé de richesses. Dans l' *Apocryphe de la Genèse* (XX 9–10), le Pharaon cherche au contraire à tuer Abraham, mais celui-ci est sauvé par l'intervention de Sara⁹³. L'exégèse du narrateur de l' *Apocryphe de la Genèse* semble s'appuyer sur la mention de בעבורה (« à cause d'elle » on traita bien Abraham) en Genèse 12:16, une indication biblique au contenu imprécis. Le narrateur de l' *Apocryphe de la Genèse* relance l'intrigue en insistant sur les dangers encourus par le patriarche et sur le rôle joué par son épouse Sara⁹⁴. Ainsi, en XX 10, l'intervention de Sara auprès de Pharaon est parfaitement logique par rapport au contenu du songe d'Abraham (XIX 14–17) et de son interprétation (XIX 18–21) : le cèdre (Abraham) fut laissé en vie grâce à l'intervention du palmier (Sara). Le récit de l' *Apocryphe de la Genèse* est construit et homogène, il tient compte de la source biblique, mais il sait s'en détacher pour développer sa propre cohérence.

⁹⁰ Situation similaire en Gn 26:9, lorsqu'Abimélek convoque Isaac pour les mêmes raisons. Par contre, en Gn 20:8 (Abraham, Sara et Abimélek), Abimélek convoque tous ses serviteurs pour les informer de la situation.

⁹¹ Ces targums restent avant tout des traductions qui suivent la trame du récit biblique. Voir, cependant, le récit de l'Aqéda (*Tg. Neof., Ps.-J.* Gn 22) qui présente un bel exemple de mise en scène et de dialogues.

⁹² Plusieurs passages du *Tg. I* d'Esther présentent une mise en scène sophistiquée.

⁹³ Certains développements targumiques transmettent un texte en contradiction par rapport au texte biblique ; voir *Tg. Neof., Ps.-J.* Gn 4:14 ; *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gn 37:33 et l'article de M. L. Klein, "Converse Translation: A Targumic Technique", *Biblica* 57 (1976): 525–537.

⁹⁴ Sara ne prononce aucune déclaration en Gn 12, mais le récit parallèle de Gn 20:5 (Abimélek et Sara) fait état d'une déclaration de Sara conforme à celle de 1QapGen (XX 10) ; voir *Tg. Neof.* Gn 16:5.

En *Apocryphe de la Genèse* XXI 7, Abraham ressent mal (רַב־אֵשׁ עָלָיו) la séparation d'avec Lot. Cette information contraste avec celle de Genèse 13:9: « Sépare-toi donc de moi... ». Pourquoi le narrateur a-t-il choisi de nous livrer ce sentiment? Deux hypothèses peuvent être envisagées : 1) le narrateur souligne le fait qu'Abraham n'a pas encore de fils (cf. *Jub.* 13:18) et que Lot vivait auprès de lui comme son propre fils ; 2) le narrateur évoque un pressentiment ou une inquiétude d'Abraham face au départ de Lot vers Sodome.

En Genèse 14:10, lors de la campagne de la coalition du roi d'Élam contre les rois cananéens, les rois de Sodome et de Gomorrhe prennent la fuite et tombent tous les deux dans les puits de bitume. L'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* (XXI 32–33) précise : « Mais le roi de Sodome fut écrasé et s'enfuit, alors que le roi de Gomorrhe tomba dans des puits [de bitume...] ». Cette interprétation judicieuse permet d'expliquer la réapparition du roi de Sodome en Genèse 14:17 (cf. *ApGen* XXII 12.18) ; ce-lui-ci avait pu s'enfuir après la bataille⁹⁵.

c) *Développements aggadiques*

La présence de plusieurs développements aggadiques importants dans l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* en fait un écrit bien différent des targums. On trouve, en effet, plusieurs développements aggadiques dans les targums paraphrastiques du Pentateuque et des écrits, mais ceux-ci constituent généralement des éléments indépendants, insérés dans la trame du récit biblique⁹⁶. L'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* présente, au contraire, un récit où les développements aggadiques semblent parfaitement intégrés⁹⁷ au récit. En voici quelques exemples :

En *Apocryphe de la Genèse* II 19–26 et V, l'enquête menée par Lamék auprès de ses ancêtres ne fait référence à aucun verset biblique de la Genèse⁹⁸. On remarquera ici que cet épisode propose une « remontée » originale dans la généalogie de Noé : Lamék/Bat-Enosh, Methoushélah, jusqu'à Hénoch⁹⁹. Ce développement et cette mise en scène permettent de mettre en évidence le personnage d'Hénoch, figure du

⁹⁵ Comparer avec *Jub.* 13:22.

⁹⁶ Par exemple *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gn 39:1 explique pourquoi Potiphar était eunuque ; *Tg. Ps.-J.* Dt 9:19 évoque les cinq anges exterminateurs.

⁹⁷ La superbe construction littéraire de la col. XX en témoigne.

⁹⁸ Cet épisode est par contre tout à fait comparable au récit de *1 En.* 106:4–18 (voir aussi *1 En.* 107).

⁹⁹ On notera aussi la mention de Yéred, père d'Hénoch, en *1 QapGen* III 3.

juste détenteur de la connaissance et des secrets célestes, vivant dans la proximité des anges (II 20–21)¹⁰⁰. Seul, Hénoch pourra donner quelques explications sur les circonstances de la naissance de Noé et sur son apparence extraordinaire. On notera que la mise en relief d'un personnage célèbre (ici, Hénoch) est connue des targums paraphrastiques, mais le personnage d'Hénoch lui-même est peu cité dans cette littérature.

L' *Apocryphe de la Genèse* (XX 2–8) nous présente un développement aggadique original sur la beauté de Sara¹⁰¹, placé dans la bouche d'Hyrqanos et de ses deux associés (XX 8). Cette description s'appuie sur la mention brève, en Genèse 12:11 et 14, de la beauté (יפה) de la matriarche. L' *Apocryphe de la Genèse* offre ici la plus ancienne description connue de l'apparence et des qualités de Sara, mais la tradition juive postérieure a aussi véhiculé ces idées. Ainsi, les midrashim et d'autres témoins de la littérature rabbinique reprendront ce motif populaire (cf. *GenR* 40:4–5 ; *Tg. Ps.-J. Gn* 12:11). On pourra comparer ce type de développements avec ceux transmis dans les targums d'Esther I et II.

Le développement aggadique de l' *Apocryphe de la Genèse* (XX 18–21), présentant l'échec des « experts » de Pharaon face à la puissance du châtiment divin¹⁰², ne repose sur aucun passage de Genèse 12. Non seulement les sages, les guérisseurs et les magiciens échouent dans leur tentative de guérir le roi et sa maison, mais ils sont eux-mêmes touchés par le fléau divin. Ainsi, le narrateur de l' *Apocryphe de la Genèse* dramatise à souhait la situation critique de Pharaon et renforce, par voie de conséquence, la suprématie du dieu d'Abraham.

3. Remarques conclusives :

Au fil des colonnes de l' *Apocryphe de la Genèse*, l'analyse a relevé la richesse des différents procédés exégétiques mis en œuvre par le rédacteur. Les résultats peuvent se résumer en quelques lignes.

¹⁰⁰ Voir *I En.* 12:2 ; 106:7.19 ; *Jub.* 4:21. En *Tg. Ps.-J. Gn* 5:24, Hénoch est appelé du nom de « Metatron ».

¹⁰¹ Il y a plusieurs occurrences des termes araméens שפר/שפיר (plaisant, beau/être plaisant) en *1QapGen* XX 2.4(bis).6.7.9.

¹⁰² Ce thème est connu des écrits bibliques : *Gn* 41:8 ; *Ex* 7:11–12 ; *Dn* 2:2–10 ; voir aussi *Jub.* 48:9–11.

On constate une certaine parenté entre les targums et l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse*, mais cet écrit n'est pas à classer parmi les targums, pour plusieurs raisons :

Il ne suit pas vraiment le texte biblique ; il n'en transmet que certains passages. Quelques versets de la Genèse sont transmis de manière assez littérale (XXI 23–XXII 24), mais, dans l'ensemble, on est en présence d'une libre réécriture de la Genèse (Gn 5:28 à 15:4)¹⁰³. L'objectif de l'auteur n'est donc pas de transmettre le texte biblique ; il opère des choix exégétiques un peu à la manière de certains midrashim, mais sans avoir recours aux citations d'autres écrits bibliques ; il ne contient pas, semble-t-il, de références à des interprétations bibliques concurrentes.

L'auteur introduit aussi plusieurs développements aggadiques qui s'apparentent à ceux des midrashim ou de certains targums, mais il reconstruit toujours une trame narrative originale qui tient compte de plusieurs passages bibliques de la Genèse. L'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* est une œuvre littéraire, pas une traduction interprétative.

Le narrateur a aussi sa manière très personnelle de présenter les personnages, leurs sentiments et leur piété. L'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* offre ainsi un texte vivant et cohérent qui fait une bonne place à la sensibilité des acteurs du récit. Ces caractéristiques sont beaucoup moins présentes dans la littérature targumique. De fait, les targums offrent souvent un texte composite dont on a du mal à cerner la cohérence globale et le suivi narratif¹⁰⁴.

On ajoutera que plusieurs caractéristiques des targums du Pentateuque ou des Prophètes ne figurent pas dans l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* : l'utilisation des termes Memra, Ye'qar, Shekhinah ou d'autres substituts divins ; le phénomène de suppression ou de limitation des anthropomorphismes bibliques, etc. Par ailleurs, plusieurs thèmes théologiques fréquents dans les targums sont absents ou très peu présents dans l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* : la conversion, la crainte de Yahvé, le mérite, le thème des deux mondes, le messianisme, la Torah et son étude, le thème des œuvres et d'autres encore. Bien entendu, ces remarques se fondent sur un texte incomplet¹⁰⁵ et il ne faut pas attendre de chaque

¹⁰³ Ce qui reste de la section consacrée à Noé (II–XV) suit d'assez loin le texte biblique. Même lorsque l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* suit d'assez près le texte biblique (XXI–XXII), il précise ou réorganise les données de la Genèse.

¹⁰⁴ À l'exception de certains passages des targums des Écrits.

¹⁰⁵ Plusieurs colonnes de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* sont très fragmentaires, voire illisibles et nous ne disposons que d'une petite section d'un ouvrage probablement beaucoup plus vaste.

écrit qumrânien qu'il transmette la totalité de l'univers théologique de son auteur ou de son milieu producteur.

L'auteur de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* a probablement rédigé son ouvrage à partir de plusieurs sources anciennes¹⁰⁶, mais cet écrit n'est pas pour autant un assemblage de documents juxtaposés. L'auteur est un maître de la composition littéraire. Il connaît les procédés exégétiques en usage au tournant de notre ère ; il en use avec habileté et ingéniosité, mais il sait faire preuve d'une grande liberté dans l'interprétation du récit biblique qu'il transmet. En ce sens, l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* est proche à bien des égards du livre des *Jubilés*, de la littérature hénoclique et dans une moindre mesure, du *Livre des Antiquités bibliques*. Il appartient au genre des écrits qualifiés de réécriture biblique ou « Rewritten Bible » qui transmettent un récit biblique explicité et développé dans le sens d'un récit enrichi et captivant.

RESPONSE: MOSHE BERNSTEIN :

Thank you for your paper Dr. Legrand. I'm not as good as Michael Stone at couching my response in language quite as neutral as he is. But I shall say the following: the parts of the paper with which I found myself in the most agreement and from which I learned the most were the parts where you were not attempting to link the *Genesis Apocryphon* with the Targumim, but rather in the places where you were making very insightful comments about the nature of the narrative in the *Genesis Apocryphon* and in the nature of the exegesis in the *Genesis Apocryphon*.

I think that there is a fundamental problem that we have when we start using these terms "targum" and "midrash" and saying "between targum and midrash." I don't think that the justification exists for either one, but we are really talking about a discussion or a dispute regarding generic categories. I think if you didn't try so hard to link it with Targum or with midrash, you would have a much stronger argument in depicting and delineating the nature of the exegetical technique that you find here. I think that what we have in the *Genesis Apocryphon* as opposed to the Targumim, is a reading and retelling of the scriptural narrative with the interpretation built in. I personally still like Vermes's choice of termi-

¹⁰⁶ Sur ce point, nous renvoyons aux contributions de M. J. Bernstein et de M. Weigold dans cet ouvrage.

nology so I'll call it "rewritten Scripture," and I think that you described it very well "L'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* présente un récit où les développements haggadiques semblent parfaitement intégrés au récit." That is virtually a paraphrase of Vermes on page 95 of *Scripture and Tradition*, where he says this is what "rewritten Bible" is—you integrate the exegesis in the telling of the story to obviate the questions which are going to come to the mind of the reader. And I think that you've done that in a number of places, but I don't find anywhere that the methodology that you describe as targumic—first of all it isn't targumic, but, if anything, broadly the methodology of rabbinic exegesis taken more largely, and I'm not sure that it's limited to rabbinic exegesis; I think that it is that which we shall find in early Jewish biblical interpretation in the Second Temple period in the various sources, whether it be *Jubilees* or whether it be the *Genesis Apocryphon*, or a variety of other texts both at Qumran and not at Qumran, and then in the rabbis in both targum and midrash, to create a way of reading and expanding and building up their story.

I don't know of a single targum paraphrastique, to use your terminology, which does what you say. The only really paraphrastic Targum that I can think of is the Targum to Song of Songs, which is really a midrash written in Aramaic rather than a Targum anyway. But I don't know of any targumic text, and I have to say that recently, in preparation for the congress in Vienna, I've given a lot of thought to some of these issues, that behaves the way that the *Genesis Apocryphon* does. Now the fact that I may find verses translated into Aramaic in an Aramaic work which tells the biblical story shouldn't surprise me, because as part of his retelling the author finds it convenient to use the biblical language turned into Aramaic. But that doesn't make the text a Targum in any way. Nor does the way that the exegesis is presented. I think that the stimuli for the kind of interpretation that we've occasionally differentiated between, let's say the identification of the "fuyard," the one who escaped, who is one of the shepherds in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, and is Og in the midrash and probably pseudo-Jonathan—that's because the biblical text reads הפליט with a definite article. The definite article for the midrashic reading has to be someone about whom we already know, and therefore it gets retrojected.

So I think that methodologically there is a great deal of accurate and very fine explication of what is going on in the *Genesis Apocryphon* in the paper, but the fact that you've constrained yourself by creating some kind of linkage with the targumic text, in particular with pseudo-Jonathan which is a considerably later text, really undermines the validi-

ty and the value of a great deal of what you've done where the targumic footnotes drag it down. If you had simply presented it as this is the method of reading which is employed by the *Genesis Apocryphon*, the paper would have been a much stronger paper and a paper with which I would find myself to be much more in agreement.

DISCUSSION

Thierry Legrand: Je m'attendais à une réponse un peu ferme ! Je crois, cependant, qu'il est tout à fait possible d'un point de vue "comparatiste" de procéder comme je l'ai fait, même s'il faut préciser quelques points de mon exposé. En lisant et traduisant l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse*, me sont venues spontanément des comparaisons entre ce que j'avais étudié dans les targums depuis des années et ce que je découvrais dans l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse*. D'où l'idée de vérifier les résultats de cette comparaison. Je voudrais souligner aussi le fait que ma contribution s'organise en deux parties : une première partie qui énumère de manière assez systématique les rapprochements possibles avec le matériel targumique et une seconde partie essayant de montrer l'originalité de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* et comment, justement, il n'est pas un Targum. L'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* est un témoin de l'usage de procédés exégétiques comparables à ceux que l'on retrouve dans les targums et dans les midrashim, mais ce n'est pas un Targum, loin de là, et j'ai essayé d'expliquer en quoi. En ce sens, je réagis à ce que vous venez de dire, mais je vous remercie pour ces remarques utiles.

Florentino García Martínez: I have the impression that we have here more than a difference of substance: a difference about the methodological approach of two schools of targumic study. Your way of presenting the matter reminds me of the way of viewing the "targoumisme" of the "French" school (of Le Déaut, Grélot and Diez Macho, for example, clearly inspired by Renée Bloch), while Moshe represent the "American-Israeli" view of targumism (of Klein, for example).

Ursula Schattner-Rieser: L'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* est un texte particulier aux niveaux textuel et linguistique : la première partie jusqu'à la colonne XVII concerne l'histoire antédiluvienne et est consacré à l'histoire de Noé et aménage une place importante à Hénoch et Lamech, donc proche de *1 Hénoch* 106 (4Q204 5 ii et 4Q534 1 i), alors que la seconde partie concerne l'histoire d'Abraham—ce genre de juxtaposition textuelle n'est pas caractéristique du système targoumique. Au niveau de la langue il convient de dire que c'est le texte qui contient le plus d'innovations linguistiques, ce qui le rapproche du judéo-araméen tardif des Targoums, d'autre part le texte est riche en archaïsmes linguistiques, que l'on trouve plus massivement dans la première partie, ce qui trahit un noyau ancien (fin de l'époque perse ?). A mon avis c'est une œuvre composite, qui se compose d'une partie ancienne (histoire de Noé-Hénoch) et d'une couche plus récente. Il n'y a pas de lien entre les deux parties. (Bien qu'il y ait une harmonisation au niveau linguistique par le rédacteur final, qui procure au texte une certaine unité à travers une homogénéité linguistique.)

Thierry Legrand: Comme vous le soulignez, l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* est probablement un ouvrage composite. L'auteur y a rassemblé plusieurs traditions anciennes, mais

ceci n'exclut pas un travail de rédaction et de réécriture de l'ensemble faisant appel à des techniques exégétiques anciennes.

Jan Joosten: In a recent book, David Shepherd (*Targum and Translation* [Studia Semitica Neerlandica; Van Gorcum: Assen, 2004]) has shown that what typifies the rabbinic *Targum of Job* in contradistinction to the Aramaic translation from Qumran and to the Peshitta is that the Targum is much more attuned to reflecting all the small details of the source text. Even where it is paraphrastic, it is usually possible to indicate exactly which elements in the Targum correspond to the words and parts of words of the Hebrew text.

Daniel Stökl: Where do you see the Sitz im Leben of the *Genesis Apocryphon*? Who read it, why, when and where?

Thierry Legrand: Je n'ai pas de réponse très précise à cette question. Cependant, mon étude de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* relève un certain intérêt pour les questions sacerdotales ; il y a certainement à creuser de ce côté-là. On peut signaler encore, avec Joseph A. Fitzmyer et d'autres, le peu de liens qui existent entre l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* et les grands écrits de la communauté de Qumrân. Si cet ouvrage araméen se trouve parmi les manuscrits de Qumrân, c'est probablement parce qu'il a été considéré comme "acceptable" et utile pour les membres de cette communauté, mais il est difficile de préciser davantage.

THE LAMECH NARRATIVE IN THE *GENESIS APOCRYPHON* (1QAPGEN)
AND *BIRTH OF NOAH* (4QENOC^C AR):
A TRADITION-HISTORICAL STUDY

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The parallels between the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1Q20) at columns II 1–V 26 and *1 Enoch* 106–107 (*Birth of Noah*, later abbreviated BN) have been noted since the early days when the Qumran Cave 1 materials were being published.¹ The purpose of the present discussion will be to inquire into how these two sources are related to one another. I have recently argued that “in terms of overall length, it is more difficult to explain *Birth of Noah* as derived from the longer *Genesis Apocryphon* account since the omission of so many details in *1 Enoch* becomes hard to explain.”² From this it would be misleading to assume, however, that *Birth of Noah* as a whole and on account of its relative brevity occupies a tradition-historically prior position in relation to its counterpart in the *Genesis Apocryphon*. Thus, inspired chiefly by Esther Eshel’s recent claim for the latter work’s antiquity in relation to *Jubilees*,³ I would like

¹ See e.g. J. T. Milik, “‘Livres de Noé’ (Pl. XVI)” and “‘Apocalypse de Lamech’ (Pl. XVII),” in *Qumran Cave I* (ed. D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik; DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 84–86 and 86–87 (hereafter *DJD I*), respectively, and N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1956), 16–19.

² L. T. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108* (CEJL; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 613.

³ E. Eshel “The Aramaic Levi Document, the Genesis Apocryphon, and Jubilees: A Study of Shared Traditions,” in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah. The Evidence of Jubilees* (ed. G. Boccaccini and G. Ibba; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2009), 82–98. A similar position to that of Eshel has been recently argued by Daniel Machiela, with an excellent discussion, in “The Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20): A Reevaluation of Its Text, Interpretive Character, and Relationship to the Book of Jubilees” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Univ. of Notre Dame, 2007); a revised version has just been published as Daniel Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20): A New Text Edition and Translation, with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17* (STDJ 79; Leiden: Brill, 2009); see G. Vermes, “2. The Genesis Apocryphon from Qumran,” in E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (rev. G. Vermes, F. Millar and M. Goodman; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1986), 318–325. For a very different position, which argues strongly in favour of the dependence of *Genesis Apocryphon* on *Jubilees*, see J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1: A Commentary* (Biblica et Orientalia 18; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1966, 1st ed.), 14 (a view retained in the 1971 and 2004 editions); K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 165; G. Nickelsburg, “Patriarchs Who Worry about Their Wives,” in

to examine the problem in more detail and consider how much my claim may stand in need of qualification.

1. *1Q19, 4Q534–536, and Genesis Apocryphon VI 1–5*

It is well known that *Genesis Apocryphon* and *1 Enoch* 106–107 are concerned with the birth of Noah and its immediate aftermath and that, as such, they link thematically with at least two other documents (subsections 1a and 1b, below) from the Dead Sea Scrolls which need to be taken into account. In addition, it is appropriate to mention a further passage from *Genesis Apocryphon* (subsection 1c, below) which in the work is formally assigned to a different source and offers a précis of Noah's childhood.

a) *1Q19*

The first is 1Q19 and 1Q19bis, a constellation of Hebrew fragments the former of which Joseph T. Milik was early on justified in designating as “*Livre de Noé*.”⁴ Although not one of this manuscript's 21 fragments mentions Noah by name, several of them preserve details that are unmistakably associated with Noah, including his birth. These are as follows: (A) Fragment 1—the text on lines 2–4 shows verbal echoes of the *Book of the Watchers* at *1 Enoch* 8–9:

- | | |
|---|--|
| (2)]m did greatly upon the earth, and[| cf. <i>1 En.</i> 8:2 or 9:1 |
| (3)]t his way upon the earth[| cf. <i>1 En.</i> 8:2 or 9:1; Gen. 6:12 |
| (4)]their(?) [cry] before God and[| cf. <i>1 En.</i> 8:4 or 9:2–3 |

(B) 1Q19bis (= 1Q19 fragment 2⁵), which similarly overlaps with parts of *1 Enoch* 9:3–4:

George Nickelsburg in Perspective: An Ongoing Dialogue of Learning (ed. J. Neusner and A. J. Avery-Peck; 2 vols.; JSJS 80; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 200–212 (esp. 199 n. 45); D. K. Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts: Strategies for Extending the Scriptures among the Dead Sea Scrolls* (CQS 8 and LSTS 63; London: T & T Clark International, 2007), 26–106 (esp. 97–100) and J. Kugel, “Which is Older, Jubilees or the Genesis Apocryphon? Some Exegetical Considerations,” presented in Jerusalem at the symposium “The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture: Celebrating 60 Years of Discovery,” July 2008.

⁴ Milik, “*Livre de Noé* (Pl. XVI),” *DJD I*, 84. Given the significant developments in research on early Enochic and Noahic traditions over the last fifty years, 1Q19 and 1Q19bis are in need of fresh study and re-editing.

⁵ No photograph is printed in *DJD I*. The nomenclature is presumably to be explained on the (perhaps misleading) assumption that this fragment, along with 1Q19 1, relates to *1 En.* 9:1–4 and therefore should not be assigned to the same document.

- (1)]y he[aven cf. *1 En.* 9:3a
- (2)]our [ju]dgment bef[ore cf. *1 En.* 9:3b
- (3)]and not under you [
- (4) Rapha]el and Gabriel [cf. *1 En.* 9:4a, but cf. *Eth.* 9:1
- (5) Lord of] lords and Migh[ty One of mighty ones cf. *1 En.* 9:4b
- (6)] ages[cf. *1 En.* 9:4c

(C) Fragment 3 lines 3–5 refer to Noah’s father, Lamech, and are reminiscent of *Birth of Noah*:

- (3) fir]stborn was born like the glorious ones [cf. *1 En.* 106:5–6, 10, 12, 18
- (4)]his father, and when Lamech saw the[cf. *1 En.* 106:4
- (5)] the rooms of the house like beams of the sun [cf. *1 En.* 106:2b (Lat.), 5b, 10

(D) Fragment 8 line 2 mentions “Methusela[h,” Noah’s grandfather (cf. *1 En.* 106:4, 8). (E) The text in fragments 13+14 lines 1–3 is consistent with the story of Noah’s birth, though its meaning is harder to determine⁶: it may be either the words which Noah spoke when he praised God at the moment of his birth (cf. *1 En.* 106:3, 11) or it describes the extraordinary qualities which his birth bespeak (cf. *1 En.* 106:2–5, 10–11).⁷

The parallels adduced above to 1Q19 reinforce the links between *1 Enoch* 6–11 and Noahic tradition. These affinities accord with the suggestion of Robert Henry Charles that *1 Enoch* 6–11, which does not mention Enoch but which instead refers to the figure of Noah (10:1–3), derives from a now lost “Apocalypse” or “Book of Noah.”⁸

b) 4Q534–536

The second document is a group of texts represented by the overlapping manuscripts 4Q534–536.⁹ Jean Starcky had originally thought that the

⁶ 1Q19 13+14.1–3:

]. because radiant(?) glory [. . . .] to glory God in[1
he] will be lifted up in glorious splendour, and honour[2
]. he will be glorified among [3

⁷ If the text is concerned with the latter alternative, then unlike *1 En.* 106–107, 1Q19 takes Noahic tradition in the direction of representing him as a divine agent; see Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch*, 608.

⁸ R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), 13–14.

⁹ Edited by É. Puech, “4QNaissance de Noé^{a-c},” in *Qumrân Grotte 4 XXII. Textes araméens, Première Partie: 4Q529–549* (ed. É. Puech; DJD 31; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 118–70.

special figure described in 4Q534 was the Messiah.¹⁰ This assessment, however, has been overtaken by the view, initially argued by Joseph Fitzmyer,¹¹ that the text is actually concerned with the birth of Noah (4Q534 1 i 1–5, 10–11; 4Q535 3 1–6) and with Noah’s extraordinary knowledge and wisdom (4Q534 1 i 4–8; 4Q535 2 3; 4Q536 2 i + 3 2–9, 12–13).¹² The lines which purportedly relate to Noah’s birth and youth are as follows (4Q534 1 i 1–5):¹³

- (1) of the hand[and] both his kn[e]s. [And on his head are strip]es of a mark. Red is
- (2) [his] hair [and] (there are) moles on [his face(?)] *vacat*
- (3) And (there are) small marks on his thighs, and [hair]s are different from one another, and knowledge will b[e] in his heart.
- (4) In his boyhood he will be keen [and as] a [m]an who does not know anything until the the time when
- (5) [he] knows the three books. *vacat*

4Q534 1 i 10 (par. 4Q535 1 ii + 2 7)

- (10) [...]his [th]oughts because he is the chosen one of God. His birth and the spirit of his breath
- (11) [...]his [th]oughts will be eternal. *vacat*

4Q535 3 1–6 (par. 4Q536 1 1–3)

- (1) [...] (he). is born, and from evening they will be together [
- (2) [...] fi]fth [hour] in the night (he) is born and comes forth comp[lete
- (3) [...]weight (in) shekels of three hundred and fif[ty-(one)
- (4) [...]the [da]ys he sleeps until half (4Q536: his) days are co[m]plete
- (5) [...] by day until the completion of [eight] y[ears
- (6) [...] shall move from him [and] af[ter] eight years

Especially important for the possible identity of Noah behind the text may be the phrase “and comes forth comp[lete” (וּנִפְקֵ שְׁלֵם); cf. *Birth of Noah* at *1 En.* 106:2–12). The absence in 4Q534–536 of any precise

¹⁰ See J. Starcky, “Un texte messianique araméen de la grotte 4 de Qumrân,” in *École des langues orientales anciennes de l’Institut Catholique de Paris. Mémorial du cinquantenaire 1914–1964* (Travaux de l’Institut Catholique de Paris 10; Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1964), 51–66.

¹¹ So J. A. Fitzmyer, “The Aramaic ‘Elect of God’ Text from Qumran Cave 4,” in idem, *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (SBS 5; Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1979, repr. from 1965), 127–160 (esp. 158–159). For further bibliography and an excellent review of research, see Puech, “4QNaissance de Noé^{a-c},” 118–27.

¹² Significant in the identification is the possible allusions to the Great Flood in 4Q534 1 i 10 + 2 (“waters will put to an end[“] to avoidance of death “in the days of evil” in 4Q536 2 ii 11.

¹³ The translation and restorations below are based on Puech’s edition.

parallels to either *Birth of Noah* or the *Genesis Apocryphon*, given the shared interest in birth features, reflects the diversity Noahic traditions could take.¹⁴ Though, beyond the problem of identifying 4Q534–536, it is difficult to assume that there existed a single “Book of Noah” into which many or most Noahic texts could be reconciled,¹⁵ the details held in common by *Birth of Noah* and *Genesis Apocryphon* I–V 26 are sufficient to allow us to infer a source-critical relationship between at least these two sources (and, perhaps more distantly, with 1Q19). Before assessing what this relationship signifies in the conclusions, I shall in the present discussion provide an overview of the texts along with a detailed comparison (section 2, below).

c) Genesis Apocryphon VI 1–5

The first person Lamech narrative about Noah’s birth in the *Genesis Apocryphon* is followed by a new section entitled “the book of the words of Noah” (1Q20 V 29). Hereafter, until the end of column XVII of 1Q20, is a mostly first person account attributed to Noah. While no text is extant below this heading in column V, column VI opens in the middle of a sentence in which Noah mentions his own birth. 1Q20 VI 2–5 pertain to the period of Noah’s youth, emphasizing Noah’s wisdom and righteous character (l. 2–4) and referring to help he received “to warn me to keep away from the part of deception which lead to darkness” (l. 3). With respect to Noah’s birth, it is line 1 that comes into view:

from iniquity, and within the crucible of the one who was pregnant
with me, I grew in righteousness. And when I came out from
the womb of my mother, I was planted for righteousness.

¹⁴ This, of course, depends on the correctness of the Noahic character of this material. For this reason, Devorah Dimant’s caution against any foregone conclusion that 4Q534–536 refers to Noah’s birth should not be neglected; see her review of Émile Puech’s discussion of these manuscripts in *DJD XXXI* in *DSD* 10 (2003): 292–304 (esp. 197–198).

¹⁵ For an overview of the issues of the debate and bibliography, see Stuckenbruck, *I Enoch*, 608–611 (and esp. n.s 1027–1028). In addition to *I En.* 6–11, 106–107 and *Genesis Apocryphon* 1Q20 I–V 26, the texts most frequently discussed in relation to the problem of a “Book of Noah” include: 1Q19 1, 3 and 8, *Book of Giants* (6Q8 2); *Animal Apocalypse* at *I En.* 89:1–9; *Book of Dreams* at *I En.* 83:1–84:6; *Similitudes* at *I En.* 54:7–55:2, 60:1–10 and 24–25, 65:1–67:3, 67:4–68:5, 69:1–26; 1Q20 = *Genesis Apocryphon* V 29–XVII; *Jub.* 21:5–11; and *Aramaic Levi Document* (Grk. Athos Koutloumous 39, f. 206v ii 17–19).

By focusing on Noah's righteousness from conception, the text reinforces the divine purpose behind his origin. This concern with Noah's conception contrasts with Lamech's suspicion that his wife had been inseminated by a rebellious angel (1Q20 II 1; see below).¹⁶ In addition, the claim that Noah himself is a righteous planting—here it is expressed verbally—cannot be derived from the *Book of the Watchers* at *1 Enoch* 10:3 in which the “righteous plant” refers to Noah's righteous descendants (cf. 10:15–16). A closer analogy might be provided in the *Book of Giants* at 6Q8 2, which probably refers to Noah's sons as “three shoots” and implies that Noah himself is a tree. If anything, the writer is pressing an already existing association between Noah and the plant metaphor back to the very moment of his beginning.

The subsequent emphasis on Noah's wisdom (I. 3) as a feature of his character is elaborated in the remaining columns of the Noah story in *Genesis Apocryphon*. In addition, it corresponds to the even more elaborate tradition of Noah as a sapient found in 4Q534–536.¹⁷

We see, then, that the plant metaphor for Noah is developed in the larger narrative of *Genesis Apocryphon*. In addition to 1Q20 VI 1, it is already expressed in the account of Noah's birth in 1Q20 II, where Noah is referred to as “the planting of [this] fruit” (II 15, נִצְבַת פְּרִיאַן דָן) and as “seed” (II 1, 15). This language is, however, entirely absent from the Enochic *Birth of Noah*.

2. *Genesis Apocryphon I–V 26 and Birth of Noah* (1 Enoch 106): *Overview and Comparison*

As we have seen under section 1c above, the Noahic material in the *Genesis Apocryphon* extends well beyond the first five columns (i.e. into 1Q20 VI–XVII); significantly, it is the material following the story of Noah's birth that carries the heading, at column V 29, “the book of the words of Noah” (כְּתָב מְלֵי נֹחַ).¹⁸ The text, therefore, formally dis-

¹⁶ I.e. Noah was not a giant; for a discussion and bibliography, see Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch*, 633–35.

¹⁷ See 4Q534 I i 4 (referring to his youth), 6 (“then he will be prudent [יִעֲרֹם] and know the pat[hs of sa]ges (with) seers to come to him on their knees”), 7–8 (“with him will be counsel and pruden[ce, and] he will know the secrets of humanity and his wisdom will go to all the peoples, and he will know the secrets of all life”).

¹⁸ Thus “the book” is related to Noah by virtue of its being (pseudepigraphic) words attributed to Noah, not material about Noah *per se*. On this criterion, 1Q20 I–V 27 would be a “book of Lamech,” who acts as first person narrator.

tinguishes between the so-called “book of Noah” and its account of Noah’s birth. With the exception of 1Q20 VI 1–5, the fragmentary text of columns VI through XVII, which relates primarily to the story of the deluge, does not exhibit any connections with *I Enoch* 106–107.¹⁹

The account of Noah’s birth in *Genesis Apocryphon* in II 1–V 27 is summarised below, noting the parallels with *Birth of Noah* (hereafter BN) in both the Greek (G) and Ethiopic (E) versions.²⁰ This account is presented from the perspective of Lamech, who speaks in the first person (so e.g. 1Q20 II 3) while, on the other hand, *I Enoch* 106–107 is told as the words of Enoch (106:1, 8–9, 12–13).

a) *Lamech’s Initial Reaction to His Child*

The small amount of surviving text from column I does not provide much of a narrative. The opening lines of column II, however, recount Lamech’s worry about his son:

Behold, then I thought in my heart that the conception was from the Watchers or (that) the seed was from the Holy Ones or Nephil[im...]/ I was confused on account of this child. Then I, Lamech, was frightened and went to Bitenosh [my] wi[fe] (1Q20 II 1–2)

This initial reaction of Lamech is followed by a lengthy quarrel between him and his wife regarding the identity of the boy’s father (II 3–18), with Bitenosh denying Lamech’s suspicions and insisting instead that her husband was responsible for the pregnancy. In the end, Lamech consults his father Methuselah:

Then I, Lamech, ran to Methuselah my father, and [I] tol[d] him everything[... (ii 19)

The parallel in *I Enoch* 106:4–6 reads as follows:

(E)

⁴ And Lamech his father was afraid of him and fled and came to his father Methuselah. ⁵ And he said to him, “I have fathered a strange son; he is not like a human being, and is like the children of the angels of heaven. And

(G)

⁴ And Lamech was afraid of him and fled and came to Methu[s]elah his father. ⁵ And he said [to] him, “A strange child of mine has been born, not li[k]e human beings, but (like) the children of the angels of heaven.

¹⁹ Instead, the details are shared more with various parts of *I Enoch* and esp. *Book of Giants*.

²⁰ The translations are based on Stuckenbruck, *I Enoch*, 606–689, where the underlying text-critical work (esp. Eth.) is provided.

his form (is) different, and he is not like us; and his eyes are as the rays of the sun; the face (is) glorious.

⁶ And it seems to me that he is not from me, but rather from the angels. And I fear, lest a marvel happen during his days on earth.”

And the form is diffe[r]ent, not like us. The eyes [are] as beams of the sun, and [his fa]ce is glori[ous].

⁶ And I perceive that [he is] not from me, but from angels, and I am concerned about [hi]m, lest something happen during [h]is da[ys] on earth.

A basic storyline is shared by both *Genesis Apocryphon* and *Birth of Noah*: Lamech is afraid and thinks that Noah is not his own child, but rather is of non-human origin. A number of differences in detail emerge; they include: (a) Whereas in BN Lamech responds by consulting his father directly, *Genesis Apocryphon* narrates his reaction in two stages: firstly, he confronts his wife (1Q20 II 3–18) and, secondly, then goes to Methuselah. The inclusion of the quarrel between husband and wife is without parallel in any other texts. One could infer from Lamech’s suspicions in BN, namely, that he might not be the father of the unusual child (106:6; cf. 106:12), that he would have been upset with his wife, and so a subsequent expansion along these lines is certainly plausible.²¹

(b) Closely related to this expansion is the fact that the anonymous wife of Lamech in BN (*I En.* 106:1) is given a proper name in *Genesis Apocryphon* (1Q20 II 3, 8, 12). The significance of this shall be discussed further below.

(c) Lamech’s fear is justified by an elaborate description of the child in BN. In 1Q20, however, only very little such description is extant, and that is found at a later, fragmentary part of the narrative (1Q20 V 12–13: “his face he lifted to me, and his eyes were shining as [the] su[n ...] / this boy fire, and he l[...];” cf. 1Q19 3 5 and *I En.* 106:2b [Lat.], 5b, 10). There are two possible ways of explaining this: either such a description originally occurred in the unpreserved parts of column I (though none of the very fragmentary text points in this direction) or there was no such description to begin with. Given that Lamech’s report to Methuselah in BN is already preceded by a narrative description of the event (cf. *I En.* 106:2–3), it would not be surprising if it is the child’s special features which in *Genesis Apocryphon* give Lamech reason to worry. On the other hand, one is not to suppose that a purported portrayal of the child in 1Q20 column I would have been along the lines we encounter in BN. The threefold repetition in BN of the description of the boy’s ap-

²¹ The alternative possibility, i.e. that *BN* has omitted previously existing (and received) material about Lamech’s altercation with Bitenosh, is harder to account for.

pearance (*I En.* 106:2–3, 4–5, 10–11), of which there is no trace in what remains from 1Q20 columns I–V, suggests that the narrative in *I Enoch* 106–107, though shorter on the whole, has been subject to editorial shaping at this point. The argument of omission in (a) may be applied, though with much less certainty, the other way around: since it is unlikely that *Genesis Apocryphon* would have done away with the elaborate features of Noah given in BN, the absence of these raises the possibility of whether such a depiction was in the tradition received by *Genesis Apocryphon* to begin with. At the very least, it may be questioned whether *Genesis Apocryphon* originally contained a three-fold description of Lamech's son.

(d) The nomenclature for the beings suspected of fathering Noah differs between the texts. The terminology in BN, for which no Aramaic text is extant, is more developed than in its counterpart: the fallen angels are referred to as “the angels of heaven” (vv. 5,12—Eth. *malā'ekta samāy*; Grk. οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ—possibly from Aram./Heb. מלאכי שמיא(ה) and “angels” (vv. 6, 12—Eth. *malā'ekt*; Grk οἱ ἄγγελοι). This nomenclature, in its precise form, does not occur anywhere in the Hebrew Bible, Greek translations and the Dead Sea documents.²² Something similar, however, occurs in some secondary manuscripts (A, D, E, F) to Genesis 6:2 (οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ) and, perhaps, in hybrid form in Codex Panopolitanus to *I Enoch* 6:2 (οἱ ἄγγελοι υἱοὶ οὐρανοῦ; Eth. *malā'ekt weluda samāyāt*). In any case, the term “angels” became a neutral way of referring to heavenly beings which could be either bad or good (the aspect of which would be apparent from the context). By contrast, the fallen angels in the corresponding passage in *Genesis Apocryphon* are designated in three other ways: (1) “holy ones” (קדישין, 1Q20 II 1), a term that describes them again in 1Q20 VI 20;²³ (2) “watchers”

²² In the New Testament, see only Mt 24:36 οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ par. Mk 13:32 οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐν οὐρανῶ) where, however, the designation refers to obedient angelic beings aligned with “the Son” and “the Father.”

²³ See also 11Q11 v 6 if the reconstruction of the text as an address to a threatening spirit from a giant is correct: “Who are you, [oh offspring of] man and of the seed of the ho[ly] ones?” (מי אתה [הילוד מ]אדם ומזרע הקד[ושים]); see F. García Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition. Volume Two: 4Q274–11Q31* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1202–1203. For other reconstructions, see É. Puech, “Les deux derniers psaumes davidiques du rituel d'exorcisme 11QPsAp^a IV,4–V,14,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 64–89 (here 68) and F. García Martínez, “11Q11,” in *Qumran Cave 11.II: 11Q2–18, 11Q20–30* (ed. F. García Martínez, E. Tigchelaar, and A. S. van der Woude; DJD 33; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 198–201 (here 200).

(עיריך, 1Q20 II 1, 15); and (3) “sons of heaven” (בני שמיא, 1Q20 II 15; cf. LXX Gen 6:2).²⁴

The presence of a marital row in *Genesis Apocryphon* leaves the impression that we have to do with a secondary expansion of an originally shorter story. The additional material would have functioned to reinforce the vividness of the world within which Lamech’s distress takes shape. To be sure, BN in itself “historicizes” the setting for Noah’s birth, so that the implied reader is transported back into a key moment in ante-diluvian time and made to imagine—with the protagonists Lamech and Methuselah—that rebellious angels were (potentially) continuing to mate with women. If we compare this with the storyline in the *Book of the Watchers*, the narrative reflects a development: whereas in *1 Enoch* 6–11 (and 12–16) the “women” through whom the giant offspring are sired are simply referred to as “the daughters of men” whom the angels took “as wives” for themselves (*1 En.* 6:1–2, 7:1; cf. also *Jub.* 5:1, 7:21),²⁵ in BN the woman in question is already a wife, Lamech’s wife (*1 En.* 106:1).²⁶ In the *Genesis Apocryphon* the marital status of Noah’s mother is highlighted, and the uncertainty of the times is stressed even more. In 1Q20 II, the dramatic effect of the story is strengthened in at least two ways. First, Lamech’s wife is given a proper name: Bitenosh (1Q20 II 3, 8, 12—בתאנש). This naming of woman reflects what also happens in *Jubilees* (cf. e.g. 4:1–33; 12:9; 19:10–12)²⁷ in which, inci-

²⁴ A further designation for the fallen angels might be “Nephilim” (1Q20 ii 1; see the pairing of “watchers” with “sons of heav[en]” in ii 16), a designation normally used for their offspring, the giants; see further Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch*, 639 n. 1076. On the growing conflation between the originally separate identities of Titans and *gigantes* in Greek mythology during the Hellenistic period, see T. Gantz, *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 4–56 and 45–54. However, even in 1Q20 ii 1 the term probably refers to the giants who could have been responsible for impregnating women as the fallen angels had initially done.

²⁵ The text here can be explained on the basis of its correspondence to Gen. 6:2.

²⁶ This interpretation of the women as wives is taken up even more vividly in the later *T. Reu.* 5:1–6, the concern of which focuses on a claim that women are more susceptible to sexual impropriety (sic!). The fallen angels story is therefore paradigmatic: because wives were responsible for tempting the angels to lust after them (by adorning themselves), husbands should ensure that they are kept in check.

²⁷ See B. Halpern-Amaru, “The First Woman, Wives, and Mothers in Jubilees,” *JBL* 113 (1994): 609–626, and idem, *The Empowerment of Women in the Book of Jubilees* (SJSJ 60; Leiden: Brill, 1999), esp. 155 and 159 (for an explanation). In this respect, it is possible that *Jubilees* was influenced by traditions of the sort we find in *Genesis Apocryphon*. As we do not know where the latter work began or concluded, it is difficult to

dentally, Lamech's wife is given the same name (*Jub.* 4:28, Eth. *betenos*) and is further described as the daughter of Baraki'il, Methuselah's brother. As has been observed,²⁸ hers is not just any name: it means "daughter of humankind" (a deliberate allusion to Genesis 6:2 and, no doubt, to *I En.* 6:2). The precarious vulnerability of Lamech's wife, then, is represented as typical of any such woman during that time.²⁹ In relation to BN, for all its propensity to play with the etymologies of proper names (Lamech [Grk.], Jared, Noah),³⁰ it is remarkable that the name of Lamech's wife is not given. It is therefore difficult to imagine that BN was aware of *Genesis Apocryphon* (as Bitenosh would have served its etymologies well), while it is equally difficult to establish that *Genesis Apocryphon* has taken the name from a now lost version of BN. Here it is best to infer that both accounts have fashioned a common tradition in different ways, with the addition of Bitenosh's name (not in the underlying tradition) stemming from another tradition (such as one underlying *Jub.* 4:28?) to which the writer had access.³¹

Second, as seen in the text cited above from *Genesis Apocryphon* (II 1), Lamech's suspicion may include the "Nephilim" as possible progeni-

know whether *Jubilees* would have been attempting to carry out such naming in a more complete way.

²⁸ See esp. K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 167 and n. 2; J. C. VanderKam, "The Birth of Noah," in *Inter-testamental Essays in honour of Józef Tadeusz Milik* (ed. Z. J. Kapera; Qumranica Mogilaniensis 6; Cracow: The Enigma Press, 1992), 213–231 (here 217).

²⁹ The potential for confusion attributed to the period before the deluge may be further exemplified through the analogy between the name given to Betenos's father in *Jub.* 4:28 (Baraki'il) and that of one of the fallen angels mentioned several times in the early Enochic traditions (Baraqi'el; see *I En.* 6:7 at 4QEn^a 1 iii 8 and Cod. Pan.; *Book of Giants* 1Q24 1 7; 4Q203 1 2; 4Q531 7 2; 6Q8 1 4 par. 1Q23 29 1). If É. Puech is correct in assigning 4Q203 1 2 to the Noachic 4Q534–536 ("4Q530–533, 203 1. 4QLivre de Géants^{b-c} ar," in *Qumrân Grotte 4 XXII. Textes araméens, Première Partie: 4Q529–549* [DJD 31; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001], 17–18), then it is possible—though there is no immediate evidence to support it—that the latter may also have shown a similar interest in the names.

³⁰ For an excellent discussion, see VanderKam, "The Birth of Noah," 217–22 (bibl. in n. 22 above); see also Stuckenbruck, *I Enoch*, 620–21, 674–76, and 688.

³¹ An onomatological connection between *Genesis Apocryphon* and *Jubilees* is further suggested by the name assigned in both documents to Noah's wife: 'Emzara (1Q20 VI 7 – אַמְזָרָה; *Jub.* 4:33), which may be interpreted as "mother of the seed" (i.e. legitimate or righteous seed, in contrast to that of the watchers). More than in *Jubilees*, the writer of *Genesis Apocryphon* integrates dynamically the meanings behind the names of the wives of Lamech and Noah—these would have been clear to ancient readers of the text—into the storyline.

tors.³² The term, of course, refers to the giant offspring of the rebellious watchers;³³ interestingly, nothing is ever said in the early Enoch traditions (including the *Book of Giants* or anywhere else) that the giants were specifically mating with women as well. However, such may be implied by the references to what is possibly several classes of giants in *Jubilees* 7:22 (“naphidim,” “naphil,” “Elyo”), and in the later Syncellus Greek version to *1 Enoch* 7:1–2 the “great giants” (γίγαντας μεγάλους) are said to have begotten “the Naphilim” (Ναφηλείμ) to whom, in turn, were born “the Elioud” (Ἐλιοῦδ).³⁴ Whether or not there was any precedent in received tradition, *Genesis Apocryphon* may have made it possible for readers to envisage that the gargantuan offspring of the watchers could, among all their oppressive activities, have been engaging in the procreation of further offspring.

The proper name for Lamech’s wife and the nomenclature applied to the fallen watchers could be expansive features of the *Genesis Apocryphon* text. However, is there any reason why the Enochic writer of BN would have omitted the name Bitenosh from a received tradition, or is there any explanation for why this writer would not have found such a detail important? The absence of such an answer suggests one should be cautious in assuming that BN, for all its brevity, lies behind the lengthier account in *Genesis Apocryphon*. This caution is consistent with the argument *ex silentio* advanced above.³⁵ Finally, the designations which

³² The text in 1Q20 II 1 reads: [מן עירין הריאתא ומן קדישין זרעא ולנפילין]; so, possibly also J. A. Fitzmyer, *A Genesis Apocryphon from Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20): A Commentary* (3rd rev. ed.; Biblica et Orientalia 18; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2004), 51. The text can also be read and restored so that the holy ones and nephilim are not synonymous: “from watchers is the pregnancy and from the holy ones is the seed, and [this boy belongs] to the nephil[im];” so Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer*, 167 and G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 544.

³³ See also 1Q20 VI 19; *1 En. Sync.* to 7:1–2; and the Aram. texts extant in *Book of Giants* at 4Q530 2 ii 6–12 6; 7 ii 8; 4Q531 1 2, 8; 7 2; 4Q532 2 3. See further the Heb. texts in 11Q12 7 1 (to *Jub.* 7:22) and 1Q36 16 3.

³⁴ *Jub.* 7:22 reads: “They (sc. the rebellious angels) fathered (as their) sons the Nephilim. They were all dissimilar (from one another) and would devour one another: the giant killed the Naphil; the Naphil killed the Elyo; the Elyo mankind; and the people their fellows;” I follow the translation of James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (CSCO 511 and *Scriptores Aethiopicici* 88; Leuven: E. Peeters, 1989), here 47. The progression in the text does not make clear that each of these classes was directly sired by the watchers and may assume the possibility that giants carried on with their fathers’ sexual activities by fathering further generations of (increasingly humanlike) creatures.

³⁵ See paragraph (c) pp. 260–261, above.

denote the rebellious angels are less conventional in BN than the vocabulary used in *Genesis Apocryphon*. If this is so, we may have further evidence that the latter reflects an early tradition which was either ignored by or not directly picked up in BN.

b) *Lamech's Consultation with Methuselah*

The altercation between Lamech and Bitenosh in *Genesis Apocryphon* concludes with the latter's categorical declaration of Lamech's fatherhood. This brings Lamech to his second port of call: his father Methuselah. The text reads as follows:

Then I, Lamech, ran to Methuselah my father, and [I] tol[d] him everything [... Enoch] / his father, that he might learn with certainty the entire matter from him since he is beloved and a friend of [God, and among the holy ones (is)] / his lot divided; and they tell him everything. *vacat* (1Q20 II 19–21)

The opening of 1Q20 II 19 is reminiscent of *1 Enoch* 106:4 cited above. In addition, both texts have Lamech petition Methuselah to inquire of Enoch for a true interpretation of the matter. As 106:4–7 shows, in BN the conversation between Lamech and Methuselah is more developed since the description of Noah's appearance is reiterated. As this repetition is part of the strategy of the author of BN, and the absence of it in 1Q20 is hard to explain as an omission of such material, it is likely that this part of the *Genesis Apocryphon* account is more traditional. More elaborate in the latter, however, are the credentials ascribed to Enoch. *1 Enoch* 106:7 has Lamech petition and declare to his father:

“And now I beg of you, my father, that you go to Enoch our father and hear the truth from him, for his dwelling is with the angels.”

The text says nothing more about Enoch than that his abode is with the angels, leaving readers to infer that for this reason he would be ideally positioned to know something (from them) about the significance of the child. This inference is spelt out more fully in 1Q20 which has Lamech declare, in indirect speech, that the angels act as Enoch's informants (cf. *Jub.* 4:21; *Apocalypse of Weeks* at *1 En.* 93:2).³⁶

³⁶ See S. Beyerle, *Die Gottesvorstellungen in der antik-jüdischen Apokalyptik* (SJSJ 103; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 101–13 and Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch*, 81–82.

c) *Methuselah's Journey and Report to Enoch*

In *Genesis Apocryphon* the fragmentary text breaks off before the end of the column, so that several lines are lost. The preserved text reads:

And when Methusela[h] heard[...] / he ran to Enoch his father in order to learn from him the entire matter in truth ...[...] / his will, and he went to the higher level, to Parvain, and there he found Enoch [his father ...] / [And] he said to Enoch his father, "O, my father, and O, my lord, I have com[e] to you[...] / [wh]at I say to you. Do not be angry with me since I have come here to ...k[...]." / Frightening for you [...] (1Q20 II 21–26)

If the last words on 1Q20 II 26 are Enoch's and not Methuselah's, then Methuselah's initial speech to Enoch breaks off on line 25 and is therefore shorter than the corresponding text in BN (*I En.* 106:8–12):

(E)

⁸ And when Methuselah heard the words of his son, he came to me at the ends of the earth, for he had heard that I would be there. And he cried out, and I heard his voice, and I came to him and said to him, "Behold, I am here, my son, for you have come to me."
⁹ And he answered me and said, "Because of a great desire I have come to you, and it is because of a troubling vision that I have come near.
¹⁰ And now, my father, listen to me, for to my son Lamech there has been born a son, and neither his form nor his nature is like the nature of a human being.
 And his colour is whiter than snow and is redder than a rose blossom; and the hair of his head is whiter than white wool, and his eyes are as the rays of the sun; and he opened his eyes and they illumined the entire house.
¹¹ And he was taken from the hands of the midwife and opened his mouth and praised the Lord of heaven.
¹² And his father Lamech was afraid

(G)

⁸ ... he cam]e to me at the ends of the earth, where he [knew] I was then. And he said to me, "[My] father, hear my voice and come [to] me." And I heard his voice and I [ca]me to him and said, "Behold, I am here, child. Why have you come to me, child?"
⁹ And he answered, saying, "Because of great worry I have come here, O father
¹⁰ And now, there has been born a child to Lamech my son, and his form and his image are ...
 whiter than snow and redder than a rose; and the hair of his head is whiter than white wool, and his eyes are like the beams of the sun.
¹¹ And he arose from the hands of the midwife and opening his mouth he blessed the Lord of eternity.
¹² And my son Lamech was afraid and

and fled to me and did not believe
that he came from him, but his
image (is) from the angels of heaven
And behold, I have come to
you, so that you may make known
to me the truth.”

fled to me and does not believe that he
is his son, but that (he is) from angels
[...] the accuracy and the truth.”

Again, the description of the child by Methuselah to Enoch (*I En.* 106:10–11) is the third such telling of the birth in BN. This description is surely secondary, and modelled on the first or second on in the story (vv. 2–3 or 5–6). Therefore, the form of Methuselah’s speech in 1Q20 may be regarded as the more traditional of the two accounts.

The account of an intermediary travelling to Enoch in order to secure and an interpretation also occurs in the *Book of Giants* at 4Q530 7 ii 3–11. Instead of a patriarch making the journey, however, here we find the giant Mahaway acting as a go-between in order to secure Enoch’s interpretation for two dreams that the giants Hahyah and ’Ohyah have had (4Q530 2 ii+6–12 4–11, 15–20). If this account is read together with the counterparts in *Genesis Apocryphon* and BN, then Enoch is being consulted by both the righteous and ante-diluvian perpetrators of wickedness in relation to the same event in which God is to destroy the latter and save the former. I regard it as possible that Mahaway’s visit to Enoch in the *Book of Giants* derives some of its narratological effect by presuming an awareness among readers that the patriarch was also being consulted by Noah’s family. Significantly, the *Book of Giants* displays an interest in Noah’s escape from the destruction of the Great Flood (cf. 6Q8 2). It seems that the location of Enoch in *Genesis Apocryphon* is more like that in the *Book of Giants* than BN. Whereas BN is more austere in locating Enoch “at the ends of the earth” (*ʾaṣnāfa medr*, τὰ τέρματα τῆς γῆς),³⁷ both the accounts in *Genesis Apocryphon* and *Book of Giants* are more precise: Methuselah goes “to the higher level, to Parvain” (לפרוין, לארקבת, 1Q20 II 23), and Mahaway travels across “the inhabited world, and passed over desolation, the great desert” (חלד, והלף לשהוין מדברא רבא, 4Q530 7 ii 5). This comparison speaks for the relative antiquity of details in the *Genesis Apocryphon* over against BN, and it is even possible that the visit to Enoch in 1Q20 picks up a tradition that is assumed in the *Book of Giants*.

³⁷ This location may be influenced by Job 28:20–28 (esp. v. 24, the location of divine wisdom responsible for the created order).

d) *Enoch's Explanation to Methuselah*

Enoch's interpretation of Noah's unusual birth occupies most, if not all, the remainder of the story. In 1Q20 Enoch's words may span all the way from II 27 through V 23, while they are given at *1 Enoch* 106:13–107:2 in BN.³⁸ The account in 1Q20 is very fragmentary and therefore provides only a minimum of clues about the content of Enoch's message. Nevertheless, there is enough text to establish that some of the details and basic themes in the more expansive version of *Genesis Apocryphon* overlap with those of BN: (a) Enoch rehearses events which, from Methuselah's point of view, will lead up to the Great Flood (1Q20 III–IV; *1 En.* 106:13–17). These include the angelic rebellion “in the days of Jared” (4Q204 5 ii 17 frgt. d³⁹ to *1 En.* 106:13 par. 1Q20 III 3); in all likelihood, the divine response through a deluge which will destroy the whole earth (*1 En.* 106:15–17; 1Q20 III 11–12?); and the insistence “in truth” and “not falsely” that Lamech is Noah's father (*1 En.* 107:2—see 4Q204 5 ii 30 בְּכַדְבִּין וְלֹא בְּקִשׁוּט הוּאָה הוּאָה בְּקִשׁוּט וְלֹא בְּכַדְבִּין, a formula that compares with 1Q20 III 13 לֹא בְּכַדְבִּין דִּי (הוּאָה בְּקִשׁוּט דִּי לֹא בְּכַדְבִּין)). The expansiveness of *Genesis Apocryphon* may be due to a possible repetition of Enoch's instruction that Methuselah “go” (אֲזַל אֲמַר, III 12?; וּכְעַן אֲזַל, III 12?), and to the lengthier final instructions to Methuselah in V 2–23 (cf. *1 En.* 106:18–107:2). The counterpart to the commission of Methuselah by Enoch in BN (107:2) is much shorter and incorporates the last two motifs:

(E)
And now go, my son, make
known to your son Lamech that
this son who has been born is
truly his son and is not a lie.

(G)
And now run, O chil[d] and make
known to Lamech your son that this
boy⁴⁰ who has been born is truly, and
not falsely, his child.”

In one respect, it is doubtful that some material from Enoch's words in BN was included in *Genesis Apocryphon*. In BN Enoch's prediction of the Flood (*1 En.* 106:13–17) and explanation of Noah's significance (106:18) to Methuselah is followed by a further prediction of destruction

³⁸ For this passage, the text is not only preserved in Ethiopic and Greek (with a shorter version in Latin), but also in fragmentary form through 4Q204 5 iii 17–22.

³⁹ Following the reading of J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments from Qumrān Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 209–211, though no photograph to frgt. d is published on Plate XV.

⁴⁰ Text: τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο, which adheres more precisely to the Aramaic דִּן עֲלִימָא (4Q204 5 ii 30) than the Ethiopic *ze-wald*.

of the wicked and salvation for the righteous in the eschatological future (106:19–107:1). This second prediction, preserved in 4Q204 5 ii 25–28, forges an analogy between the ante-diluvian events that led up to the deluge and eschatological events leading up to the final judgement. This Flood typology seems to be a secondary intrusion into BN and reflects the effort of an early editor to anchor BN in the early Enochic traditions to which it was attached (esp. *1 En.* 91:5–7; cf. 10:1–23).⁴¹ By contrast, nothing preserved from 1Q20 in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (whether in columns I–V or anywhere else in the work) signals any overt or sustained eschatological interest. If an overt Flood typology was indeed absent in this document, we would then have further reason to support the antiquity of its account about Noah’s birth in comparison to BN. While expansionist activity on the part of the writer of 1Q20 columns III–V is likely and at least cannot be ruled out, *Genesis Apocryphon* is here to be regarded as at least as important a source for reconstructing the tradition as BN.

e) *The Conclusion: Methuselah Brings Enoch’s Message back to Lamech*

The parallel passages in the texts are of similar length. The very fragmentary lines in 1Q20 V 24–27 read:

And when Methuselah heard I[...] / and with Lamech his son he spoke in secret [...] / And when I, Lamech, ..[. [...] / see that he has brought forth from me m.. [...]

The counterpart in BN (*1 En.* 107:3) overlaps in a few details with the above text:

(E)	(G)
And when Methuselah heard the word of his father Enoch—for in secret he had shown to him the whole matter—he returned and showed (it) to him and called the name of that son “Noah,”	And when Methuselah heard the words of Enoch his father—for secretly he had shown (them) to him— <i><omitted text through homoioteleuton></i> ⁴² And his name was called “Noah,”

⁴¹ Significantly, in the manuscript 4Q204 5 i, the text of BN opens (5 i 24) immediately after the conclusion of the *Epistle of Enoch* (5 i 23, text relating to 105:2), with only a small amount of additional space between the lines to mark the shift between sections. If the *Epistle* was preceded by the *Exhortation* of *1 En.* 91:1–10, 18–19 (as it is in 4Q212), then the addition of 106:19–107:1 as an accommodation of BN to its newly acquired literary context is strengthened.

⁴² See Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch*, 686.

for he will make the earth glad
from all its destruction.

consoling the earth
from the destruction.

A particular textual problem is opened up by 4Q204, in which no text for this verse survives. The end of 107:2 appears on middle of line 30 (before a *vacat* broken off by a lacunae) at the bottom of column ii in 4Q204 5. On the manuscript, the text of 107:3 would have had to be copied on the next column, whether it began on line 30 or, following a *vacat*, appeared entirely on column iii.⁴³ Given the very small folds on the largest fragment on column ii, folds which show that the text is very near the end of the inside of the scroll, it is not entirely certain that there would have been sufficient space for text on the putative column iii to have been copied within a space as wide as column ii. The question, therefore, must remain open regarding whether or not 4Q204 originally had anything at all for *I Enoch* 107:3.⁴⁴

Keeping the textual problem in mind, we may note two corresponding details between 1Q20 V 24-27 and BN: (1) the phrase “and when Methuselah heard” and (2) the secretive communication (though in BN this qualifies Enoch’s words to Methuselah, while in 1Q20 it refers to Methuselah’s message from Enoch to Lamech). A noticeable difference, of course, is that in 1Q20 V 26 the form of a first person account by Lamech reasserts itself, while BN simply draws to a close in the form of a third person narrative which altogether leaves behind the Enochic pseudepigraphical idiom. If, however, BN originally concluded at *I Enoch* 107:2, then its conclusion is reconcilable with the pseudepigraphal form of the work.

Conclusion

The discussion above makes it possible to formulate a summary of how the birth of Noah traditions in *Genesis Apocryphon* and *Birth of Noah* (*I Enoch* 106) might be related. We have observed that there are sufficient overlaps in narrative structure and linguistic detail to conclude that some genetic relationship exists between these texts. Determining what kind of literary or tradition-historical relationship this might be, howev-

⁴³ Milik’s view was that the rest of line 30 was “probably left blank” so that the entire verse was copied on the last column of the scroll (*The Books of Enoch*, 217).

⁴⁴ See the discussion in Stuckenbruck, *I Enoch*, 687.

er, is not so easy, and any solution or hypothesis should attempt to take the complexity of the problem into account. This complexity is illustrated by the likelihood that sometimes one text, sometimes the other preserves details, motifs or a form that more plausibly underlies the other.

First, *Genesis Apocryphon* exhibits expansionist tendencies that are secondary to the tradition it shares with BN. These include:

- the marital row between Lamech and Bitenosh (1Q20 II 3–18)
- Enoch’s longer commissioning of Methuselah to “go” (1Q20 III 12, V 10; cf. *I En.* 107:2).

Unless BN has omitted the row and simplified the double commissioning into one, it is difficult to infer its dependence on *Genesis Apocryphon* at these points.

This observation could conceivably be supplemented by further instances of detail in 1Q20 which suggest secondary developments of tradition in *Genesis Apocryphon* if compared with BN: (a) the naming of Lamech’s wife (1Q20 II 3, 8, 12) which, together with the naming of Noah’s wife later in the work (1Q20 VI 7), carries with it an implicit etymology; (b) related to this point, the vividization of ante-diluvian conditions through the reference to the “Nephilim” (1Q20 II 1, III 20). The first of these points (a), however, does not imply that BN is unidirectionally prior to *Genesis Apocryphon*. Though it is hard to account for why BN would have left such details out had they been available, it remains possible that *Genesis Apocryphon* has found them, not from its basic source about Noah’s birth, but from another tradition (cf. *Jub.* 4:28, 33).

Second, one cannot overlook that BN has expansionist tendencies of its own. These are reflected in:

- the three-fold repetition of Noah’s appearance (*I En.* 106:2–3, 5–6, 10–11);
- the material in 106:18–107:1, probably editorial, which draws on a typology between the Great Flood and eschatological events that integrates BN into existing Enochic tradition; and
- an apparently greater interest in the etymologizing of names of the male characters in the story.

Third, and following from the above observations, we have noted that in a number of places the Noahic birth account in *Genesis Apocryphon* is more traditional: (a) the designations used to describe the fallen angels (“watchers,” “holy ones”); (b) the absence of interest in eschatology;

and (c) the description of Enoch's location ("to a higher level, to Parvaim").

These comparisons lead to the conclusion that, rather than assigning a tradition-historical priority to either *Genesis Apocryphon* or BN as a whole, both works seem to draw on a shared skeletal storyline which the writers of each have embellished in very different ways. While the similarities between the documents suggest a genetic link between them, the differences between them suggest that either (a) this link had not taken written form (was circulating orally) or that, in any case, (b) the tradition was not fixed. Finally, additional links—for example, to *Jubilees* and *Book of Giants*—indicate that from the early stages of its development, the story of Noah's birth was penetrated by traditions which were also concerned with the ante-diluvian period.

RESPONSE: HANAN ESHEL

This article provides a detailed comparison between the description of the birth of Noah in the *Genesis Apocryphon* and the birth narrative in *I Enoch* 106. Stuckenbruck's conclusion is that the description in *I Enoch* 106 is earlier than the one that appears in *Genesis Apocryphon*. He determines that *I Enoch* 106 also contains late elements, and that these attest to the independent development of these two accounts. Stuckenbruck claims that if the author of the description in *I Enoch* 106 had known the version that appears in *Genesis Apocryphon*, then he would have included two points that appear in the *Genesis Apocryphon*: (1) the description of the confrontation between Lamech and Bitenosh and (2) the detailed description in which Lamech asks Methuselah to turn to Enoch his father.

According to Stuckenbruck, the details found in *I Enoch* 106 which are late are:

- the threefold description of the unnatural appearance of Noah
- the association between the account of the Flood and apocalyptic descriptions of the End of Days
- the "name-midrashim" for the males mentioned in the narrative.

Stuckenbruck finds the following details in the *Genesis Apocryphon* to be evidence of an early date:

- the use of the term עירין קדישין "Holy Watchers" for angels, rather than "angels of heaven" מלאכי שמיא
- the author's lack of interest in eschatology

- the fact that Enoch is described as being “in heaven” and not in a specific location.

The late details in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, in Stuckenbruck’s view, are:

- the “name-midrashim” of the females mentioned in the narrative
- the use of the term *nephilim*, which hints at events that occurred after the flood.

This article demonstrates that the relationship between *1 Enoch* 106 and the *Genesis Apocryphon* is complex. We cannot point to definite dependence either of *Genesis Apocryphon* upon *1 Enoch* 106 or of *1 Enoch* 106 upon *Genesis Apocryphon*. It is necessary to adopt the approach of Stuckenbruck and presume that the traditions about the wondrous birth of Noah were transmitted orally over a long period; they developed an independent history, which is attested both in *1 Enoch* 106 and *Genesis Apocryphon*.

DISCUSSION

Émile Puech: Devorah, j’ai lu et relu votre compte-rendu dans les *Dead Sea Discoveries*, et je vous en remercie, cela ne veut pas dire que vous m’avez convaincu en tout, en particulier sur 4Q534–536, pour en faire un manuscrit messianique araméen à la suite de Jean Starcky. La connaissance des trois livres, la sagesse du personnage et la connaissance des secrets de tous les vivants, les présages le concernant, son horoscope, parce qu’il est l’ élu de Dieu, tout cela convient mieux, me semble-t-il, à la naissance miraculeuse de Noé qui a hérité des livres d’Hénoch, d’autant que la colonne ii des frgs. 1 + 2 a conservé les mentions des vierges, les dévastations, les eaux qui cesseront, les veilleurs, tout ce qui renvoie encore au cycle de Noé : Géants, déluge, veilleurs. En conséquence, je garde le titre *Naissance de Noé*.

Quant à 4Q538, votre attribution à un *Testament de Benjamin* à la suite de J. Starcky n’est pas prouvée. Sans doute Benjamin est-il dans ces lignes le locuteur à la première personne, comme je l’ai écrit, mais l’épisode me semble devoir être intégré dans un plus vaste ensemble de l’histoire de Joseph en Égypte, et Juda n’est-il pas le personnage central qui s’est porté garant, devant Jacob, de son frère Benjamin dans l’histoire de la rencontre et de la reconnaissance réciproque des deux fils de Rachel, tout comme il avait déjà voulu sauver Joseph ? C’est Juda qui est responsable de la deuxième expédition en Égypte et qui craignait que Benjamin ne meure et que son père ne puisse revoir son visage après la disparition de son fils Joseph. J’avais donc suivi l’hypothèse de Milik comme la plus vraisemblable. Comme rien dans le Testament grec ne correspond à cet épisode (voir peut-être *Testament XII Patriarches*, *Benjamin* 2, 1) et que le *Testament de Joseph* n’a pas davantage de point d’ancrage (voir 4Q539), une attribution à Juda ne me paraît toujours pas impensable.

Loren Stuckenbruck: There is not much in 4Q534–536 which indicates that Noah is in view. The closest detail is the phrase “he came out whole,” which may allude to the unusually mature form taken by a newborn child (cf. *1 En.* 106:2ff.). Beyond this, it is hard to find anything specifically related to Noah.

Moshe Bernstein: It might be interesting to take into consideration certain literary features of the *Genesis Apocryphon* that I don't think have been sufficiently stressed. Take, for example, your remarks about the nomenclature for the beings as being different—I make this as an observation for all of us to think about: The *Genesis Apocryphon* has certain tendencies to what I used to want to call poetic technique or style, and it's certainly elevated prose—but it's very interesting that in that very column II I have [די מן עירין הריאתא ומן קדישין זרעא ולנפילין] (and I think we should have די מן עירין at the end of line 1) and then later in the same column (line 15) we have [די מנך זרעא דן ומנך הרינוא דן ומנך נצבת פריאן דן] and the next line [ולא מן כול זר ולא מן כול עירין ולא מן כול בני שבין] so that the fact that he's using “triples” all the way through there is very much part of his compositional technique. I used to think of it as oral poetry, like Homer, that this is how he was thinking of things. I haven't convinced myself of it, but it's one more feature of the *Genesis Apocryphon* that we should take into consideration when we compare the *Genesis Apocryphon's* treatment which is a literary treatment composed by this particular composer with the other earlier versions of a tradition, as simply having to do with the way that this one wants to present his story from a standpoint of elegance.

Loren Stuckenbruck: Yes, a comparison between *1 Enoch* 106–107 and 1Q20 II–V would have to attend to features—literary, stylistic—which distinguish the editors/authors from the tradition upon which they are drawing. I have attempted to do some of this in my paper, and recognize that further considerations of this sort would strengthen my case for the independent development of the two accounts, despite the material they share.

Matthias Weigold: In the discussion about an ancient *Book of Noah*, one should clearly distinguish between the scholarly attempts to reconstruct such a work from various sources on the one hand and the manuscript *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen ar, 1Q20) which claims to contain a work entitled “the Book of the Words of Noah” (col. V 29) on the other hand. It also remains uncertain whether the story of Noah's birth in 1Q20 included a Flood typology or not. George Nickelsburg finds traces of such a typology in col. V 18.

Loren Stuckenbruck: Even though “the Book of the Words of Noah” is expressly mentioned in 1Q20, it is not clear to me that this title has to be understood as a reference to a real book per say. On the Flood Typology: if it exists at all in 1Q20, it is not as overt or obvious as it is in *1 Enoch* 106:13–17 which, in turn, is a reflection of already existing Enochic tradition (10:17–22; 91:1–10; cf. 83–84).

Dan Machiela: I have two questions. First, you mention at one point in your paper that nothing in the *Genesis Apocryphon* signals any eschatological interest. I wonder if you have fully considered the material in Noah's dream from columns XIII–XV, in which we find a warrior from the south coming with a fire and a sickle, alongside other eschatological sounding language? Second, you seem to accept the transcription in column II, line 23, of Milik and others of ^ʿarkevet, which you translate as “higher level.” I wonder if you have had a close look at the photos here? I think you may find this reading inferior to that of Fitzmyer, VanderKam and others who read ^ʿerekh met, “length of the land,” in which *met* may well be a play on Methuselah's name (so VanderKam).

Loren Stuckenbruck: Your point on eschatological interest is well taken, and I'm sure further study of 1Q20 columns XIII–XV does reveal some eschatological overtones.

However, the text as I know it is not as overtly so as in *I Enoch* 106:13–17 (though, admittedly, some of this text is text-critically difficult and may reflect some editorial addition).

Ursula Schattner-Rieser: Similar to Matthias Weigold I also believe in the existence of the *Book of Noah* and we should consider the often mentioned *Book of Noah* in the Samaritan Tradition, although they don't have or know about the pseudepigraphical work of Enoch or Noah. In at least three of the Samaritan chronicles, not only in the *Kitab al-Asatir*, written in Aramaic and mentioned by Émile Puech but also in the “Chronique Neubauer” and in the “Chronique Adler,” which are written in Hebrew. These books notice that Noah studied mathematics with Adam with three books: le *Livre des signes / lettres*, le *Livre de l'astronomie* et le *Livre de la guerre*. The book and science of Noah, which transited from Adam through Enoch, is often mentioned in these chronicles and the tradition seems to be based on ancient material.

Loren Stuckenbruck: Such a work may or may not have existed. I can't help but think we should not dismiss the possibility of the notion of “fictional literature” out of hand.

Thierry Legrand: Le travail de comparaison des textes effectué par Loren Stuckenbruck est très utile pour la recherche ; il mériterait d'être prolongé. Une comparaison systématique, sous forme de synopsis, des traditions des *Jubilés* avec celles de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* devrait conduire à des résultats intéressants.

Loren Stuckenbruck: I agree very much with this point. Of course there is a growing discussion on the relation between *Genesis Apocryphon* and *Jubilees*, with some arguing for the tradition-historical priority of the former (taking nuance into account) and some arguing for the tradition-historical priority of the latter (so e.g. James Kugel and Daniel Falk). We will not be able to solve the problem here, as my paper is more concerned with 1Q20 and *I Enoch* 106–107, though this is a question not entirely unrelated to the place of Jubilees—which, by the way, does not make anything spectacular about Noah's birth—in relation to all of this.

Daniel Stökl: Why is Noah so much more present in Aramaic texts than in Hebrew texts?

Loren Stuckenbruck: Noah occurs in the pseudepigraphic literature (i.e. where a 1st person “I” acts as the main character) which is characteristically in Aramaic, with only a few exceptions in the Dead Sea materials. *Jubilees* constitutes one of the exceptions among the Hebrew texts, though it seems to transform the form into a pseudepigraphon in which the 1st person singular and plural refers not to a human seer or sage, but to the Angel or angels of the Presence.

Michael Stone: We need to distinguish between ancient attributions of material to a Book or Writing of Noah and scholarly attribution of material to a book of Noah. To disprove the scholarly reconstruction is to do just that and says nothing about an ancient work's existence or not.

Loren Stuckenbruck: I can accept this argument, though still do not wish to dismiss the possibly “fictive” references to a book of Noah. The reference in 1Q20 V 29 mentions the “words” of Noah; this seems to be a narrower understanding of what such a book contained than what scholars have frequently attributed to a book of Noah (i.e. a work that tells about his birth, youth, and life events). As it is, 1Q20 V 29 does not, if we judge by what follows, include the story of his birth.

THE *GENESIS APOCRYPHON* AND OTHER RELATED ARAMAIC TEXTS
FROM QUMRAN: THE BIRTH OF NOAH

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The *Genesis Apocryphon* is an Aramaic parabiblical work that retells the narratives in Genesis 5:18–15:5, that is, from Enoch to Abraham’s vision of the stars, with additions, omissions, and expansions.¹ The work is generally attributed to the second or first century BCE, but an earlier date in the third century BCE should not be ruled out.² Like the other Aramaic texts found at Qumran, the *Genesis Apocryphon* is not considered sectarian.³ In what follows, I will focus on the story of Noah’s birth as found in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, comparing it to related texts, such as *I Enoch* 106–107, 1Q19, and the so-called 4QBirth of Noah (4Q534–536), and analyzing the textual relationships between these sources.

The surviving text of the *Genesis Apocryphon* can be divided into three cycles: the Enoch cycle, the Noah cycle and the Abraham cycle.

¹ See M. J. Bernstein, “From the Watchers to the Flood: Story and Exegesis in the Early Columns of the *Genesis Apocryphon*,” in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran* (ed. E. G. Chazon, D. Dimant and R. A. Clements; STDJ 58; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 39–63.

² For the latest edition of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, see J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20): A Commentary* (3rd ed.; Biblica et Orientalia 18/B; Rome: Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 2004). The readings and translation of the *Genesis Apocryphon* are based on this edition. However, certain readings were arrived at by the author in conjunction with M. J. Bernstein; others were formulated in the course of working on this article, together with the readings and translations made by D. A. Machiela, “The Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20): A Reevaluation of its Text, Interpretive Character, and Relationship to the Book of Jubilees” (PhD Dissertation submitted to Notre Dame University, Notre Dame, Indiana, 2007), to whom I would like to express my gratitude for sharing his work with me prior to its official publication. A revised version has just been published as Daniel A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text Edition and Translation, with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17* (STDJ 79; Leiden: Brill, 2009).

³ Note that Noah waited until the fifth year to drink the fourth-year wine (1QapGen XII 13–15; see also *Jub.* 7:1–2), as in sectarian law, rather than drinking it in the fourth year, as in rabbinic law. See M. Kister, “Some Aspects of Qumranic Halakha,” *The Madrid Qumran Congress* (ed. J. Treballe Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; STDJ XI,2; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 2:581–586. On the other hand, a reference to Noah’s endogamy in choosing his children’s spouses (Col. VI) may point to general, non-sectarian, Second Temple practice.

The Noah cycle starts with the heading: כְּתָב מְלִי נֹחַ [פר]ש[ג]ן [co]p[y] of the book of the words of Noah” (1QapGen V 29). Although the other two headings have not survived, Abraham’s reference to סֵפֶר מְלִי חֵנוֹךְ “the book of the words of Enoch” (1QapGen XIX 25) would support a reconstruction of such a title at the beginning of the Enoch cycle. The physical marker of blank lines left between the cycles supports this division in col. V line 28, at the end of the Enoch cycle, and in col. XVIII line 23, at the end of the Noah cycle. Since the beginning and end of the scroll have not been preserved, it might have originally included additional cycles, which are lost. From the extant text, we can see a well-written story, with smoothly connected individual components, which employ shared themes and terminology. It is therefore unlikely that the author of the *Genesis Apocryphon* simply included three old compositions. Thus, the Noah cycle should not be viewed as a wholesale quotation from a “Book of Noah.” This, in turn, does not exclude the possibility that the author of the *Genesis Apocryphon* used earlier sources, as is probably the case in the Enoch Cycle, where a clear connection with *I Enoch* is found. The significant parallels between the main characters point to a unifying compositional technique, which I have termed elsewhere a “Chain of Traditions.”⁴ The story is told of how Enoch, like Noah, struggles with a sinful generation, here that of the fallen angels and their sinful offspring. He also seems to be singled out as the only righteous person, just as Abraham will later be singled out with respect to Sodom, serving as the mediator between the sinners and God, bringing their appeal to heaven. Like Abraham, he too has immediate communication with God, being vouchsafed various visions regarding the future of humanity that can be compared with Genesis 15. By the same token, Noah is described in terms close to those applied to Abraham, being the ultimate righteous individual who has visions regarding the future of humanity.

Furthermore, the author not only uses parallels between the main three characters, but I would like to suggest that within these cycles one also finds secondary characters with transitional functions. Each of these is used as a “link” connecting the earlier and later main figures, thus creating an even closer connection between the cycles. Thus one might characterize the figure of Lamech as a “secondary figure,” who serves

⁴ E. Eshel, “Noah Cycle in the Genesis Apocryphon,” in *After the Deluge: The Apocryphal Noah Books and Traditions* (ed. M. E. Stone, A. Amihay and V. Hillel; SBL Early Judaism and Its Literature Series 28; Atlanta, Ga., 2010), 77–95.

as the connection between Enoch and Noah, by appealing to Enoch in regard to Noah's miraculous birth. The end of the Noah cycle and the beginning of the Abraham cycle have not survived, but I would like to suggest, on the basis of the Noah story, that we might tentatively expect parts of cols. XVII–XVIII to be devoted to the figure of Shem as the “secondary character.”

The Enoch cycle, of which the beginning is missing, and parts of six columns have survived (1QapGen cols. 0–V), is followed by the Noah cycle, which has survived in its original length of over 13 columns, but in a poorly preserved state. Some of the detailed descriptions included in this part expand upon a very short biblical base, such as Noah's righteousness mentioned in Genesis 6:9. Other elements, such as Noah's dream visions have no apparent parallel at all, either in Genesis, or in other accounts such as *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*.

The figure of Noah was the subject of a number of ancient stories pertaining to various aspects of his life and deeds. The most ancient of these is probably the *Book of the Watchers* 10:1–3, where the angel Sariel is commissioned to instruct Noah how to be saved in the Flood, promising him that his seed “will endure for all the generations of eternity” (*1 Enoch* 10:3). The possible existence of a Book or Books of Noah—as suggested by Robert Henry Charles—was accepted by some scholars and rejected by others.⁵ This idea might be further supported by some references to traditions related to Noah, such as the phrase “of the book of Noah concerning the Blood” in the *Aramaic Levi Document* 10:10,⁶ or *Jubilees* 10:13, “Noah wrote down in a book everything (just) as we have taught him regarding all the kinds of medicine” referring to Noah's healing from a demonic illness. Nevertheless, these ancient references to Noah's book or books do not include an immediate reference to the birth tradition of Noah, which is the subject of the present study. The heading: “A copy of the words of Noah,” found in the *Genesis Apocryphon* V 29, is of a different character. While the above mentioned

⁵ For a discussion of the possible existence of a lost book (or books) of Noah, see M. E. Stone, “The Book(s) Attributed to Noah,” 5–9, where he also refers to earlier studies. See W. Baxter, “Noachic Traditions and the *Book of Noah*,” *JSP* 15 (2006): 179–194; D. K. Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts: The Strategies for Extending the Scriptures among the Dead Sea Scrolls* (LSTS 63; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2007), 100; for the bibliographical survey of the various opinions see L. T. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108* (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2007), 610, note 1028.

⁶ J. C. Greenfield, M. E. Stone and E. Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document* (SVTP 19; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 91, 180.

heading in the *Aramaic Levi Document* refers to a specific topic supposedly dealt with in the Book of Noah, in the *Genesis Apocryphon* it is at the head of a long section including a variety of topics, among them Noah's biography and dream visions, covering no less than thirteen columns.

The detailed story of the miraculous birth of Noah can be found in *1 Enoch* 106:1–107:3, identified as one of two appendixes to the *Epistle of Enoch*. Another, relatively short, description survived in a Hebrew composition, 1Q19, frag. 3. In col. II of the *Genesis Apocryphon* Lamech worries that “the conception (of Noah) was from Watchers or that the seed was from the Holy Ones, or (belonged) to Nephil[im]” (1QapGen II 1). Nevertheless, the surviving columns of the *Genesis Apocryphon* do not feature any description of the miraculous birth of Noah. In addition to the texts just mentioned, one might add another miraculous birth description of the “Elect of God” in the so-called “4QBirth of Noah,” 4Q534–536, although no clear identification of the newborn is actually given in these fragments. Finally, it has been argued that some of the elements found in the miraculous birth of Noah have been incorporated into the description of the birth of Melchizedek in the later text of *2 Enoch* 71.

The birth story of Noah in *1 Enoch* has been the subject of many studies; in what follows I will focus upon the place of Noah's birth in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, and its relation to the Enochic traditions, and other related texts.

1. *Noah's birth in 1 Enoch 106:1–107:3*

In *1 Enoch*, the birth of Noah is told in chapters 106–107. It was preserved in four versions: in the *Ethiopic Enoch*; parts of it are preserved in the conclusion of the Greek Chester Beatty Papyrus, now in Michigan University, in which it is formally a part of the *Epistle of Enoch*; and in a Latin fragment which covers *1 Enoch* 106:1–18. It can also be found in the Aramaic fragment of Enoch discovered in Cave 4, in 4QEnoch^c frag. 5 i a.⁷ On the basis of the physical appearance of all four versions,

⁷ It has been suggested that two additional Greek Papyri found in Qumran should be identified as part of the *Epistle of Enoch*, that is, 7Q4 was identified as Enoch 103:3–4, and 7Q8 as Enoch 103:7–8. Cf. G.-W. Nebe, “7Q4—Möglichkeit und Grenze einer Identifikation,” *RQ* 13 (1988): 629–633; E. Puech, “Notes sur les fragments grecs du manuscrit 7Q4 = 1 Hénoch 103 et 105,” *RB* 103 (1996): 592–600; M. V. Spottorno, “Can

it was suggested that the story of the birth of Noah was considered an independent work. Thus, “Most of the Ethiopic manuscripts indicate at this point the beginning of a new work, for example, through the use of extra spacing or special marks.”⁸ The same is true of the Aramaic fragments found in Qumran, where in 4QEnoch^c frag. 5 i a, the text is separated from the foregoing *Epistle* by a blank space of at least one and a half lines. Furthermore, the birth of Noah, or parts of it, is not found in some of the Ethiopic manuscripts.⁹

Stuckenbruck’s comparison of the different versions of Noah’s birth brought him to conclude, that “Methuselah’s redescription in the Latin text expands ... on the preceding narrative of verses 2–3. By contrast, the other versions have the character of a summary These summaries center on the boy’s body, hair and eyes, while retaining all the elements that relate to his activity of praising God at birth.”¹⁰ The new material is found later, when “in coming to Enoch, Methuselah is made to convey Lamech’s anguish as his own (v. 9). Though Noah’s birth is narrated as an astonishing event that was experienced within the setting of the house (vv. 2–3), it is here described as ‘a troubling vision’ (v. 9) as if it had been a visionary experience requiring interpretation.”¹¹

Here I would like to add some comments prompted by my comparison of these four versions:

It should be borne in mind that although the Aramaic version is the earliest, it was badly preserved. Milik’s reconstructions of the text are based on the Greek, but in most cases these are highly tentative. On the other side stands the Latin version, which is relatively late. Its fragment is dated to the ninth century, and is the first of four short texts collected under the title “Great sins of great sinners and their great punishments.” Thus, as it is, it was already integrated into a different composition than *Enoch*. Some of the verses of the birth story are not included in this text, while others are written in an abbreviated form, but there is some additional information not included in the other parallel accounts.

Methodological Limits be Set in the Debate on the Identification of 7Q5?,” *DSD* 6 (1999): 66–77, with references to earlier bibliography.

⁸ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch*, 614.

⁹ “None of the birth of Noah is preserved in four Ethiopic manuscripts, which belong to Ethiopic II Recension. In addition, 107:1–3 is also absent in one of the Ethiopic Manuscript, BM Add 24185, in which the text for *1 Enoch* concludes at 106:19;” see Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch*, 614.

¹⁰ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch*, 61.

¹¹ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch*, 651.

With regard to the two other full versions, i.e. the Ethiopic and Greek, one can find the following major differences: According to the Ethiopic version the story is told from Methuselah's perspective, while in the Greek text Enoch is the speaker. The baby, according to the Ethiopic, was taken from the midwife, and is thus described as passive, while according to the Greek text he was active, rising up from her hand. Other small details also point in the same direction, i.e. towards the development of each text. Such is the case with the Ethiopic version, which shows more concern about Lamech's truly being Noah's father. Another major difference pertains to the details of the troubles that came before the Flood (*1 Enoch* 106:13–17).

Furthermore, the Aramaic fragments and the Greek text share some important elements not included in the Ethiopic. Thus, the gloss of verse 17a was included after verse 14, in its proper place, while the Ethiopic text includes it before verse 17b. To that one may add the name-midrash of Lamech from מִוֶּךְ as "righteousness had been brought low" (*1 Enoch* 106:1), preserved only in the Greek text, which might plausibly be reconstructed in the Aramaic fragments, but is clearly not found in the Ethiopic text; as well as Noah's name-midrash from נוּחַ "rest" (*1 Enoch* 106:18), found only in the Greek text.

Thus I tend to agree with Stuckenbruck that the Aramaic fragments found in Qumran as well as the Chester-Beatty papyrus dated to the fourth century CE probably circulated in various forms, some of them independently. Nevertheless, all four versions are clearly based on one original story, with minor changes having been introduced during the process of transmission. We may conclude that there seems to be a shared original version underlying all of these witnesses, but that the basic story has undergone further independent development in each of these sources. As a whole, the Ethiopic seems to preserve the shorter version (with minor additions, such as the baby's locks). This version seems to be close to the original story, while the Greek as preserved in the Chester Beatty papyrus has lost some parts of the text due to omissions by the copyist. Nevertheless, it still preserves some original readings, some of which are shared with the Aramaic version.

2. Noah's birth in 1Q19

In 1955 Josef T. Milik published 21 small Hebrew fragments from 1Q19.¹² Frag. 1 of 1Q19 reads “they became great on the earth” (line 2) and “[had corrupted] its way upon the earth” (line 3). It thus deals with the Watchers' sin and appeal, and is to be compared with *1 Enoch* 106:18. Frag. 3 mentions Lamech, as well as “the room of the house like the sun rays,” both of which resemble *1 Enoch* 106:10 and 12, though in reverse order. Another fragment (frag. 8) mentions Methuselah. In his study, Milik considered the possibility of identifying 1Q19 as a Hebrew translation of *1 Enoch* 6–11,¹³ and on the basis of its possible correspondence with Noah's birth story as recorded in *1 Enoch* 106, he identified this composition as “Livre de Noé,” that is, remnants of a Hebrew work about Noah. In his edition of the text he suggested that this text was used in the later birth of Noah in *1 Enoch* 106–107.¹⁴ Klaus Beyer, who reconstructed the fragments differently, suggested it is a Hebrew version of *1 Enoch*,¹⁵ while Michael Knibb has suggested that 1Q19 is an earlier tradition used later by the Aramaic 4QEnoch,¹⁶ and George Nickelsburg was of the opinion that it is a later text influenced by *1 Enoch*.¹⁷

Recently, Claire Pfann has argued, on the basis of a detailed paleographical study, that “1Q19 as published by Milik is, in fact, at least two separate manuscripts.”¹⁸ Thus, 1Q19a includes frags. 1–12, which deal with the birth of Noah, while 1Q19b includes frags. 13–21 with hymnic material, and thus belongs to a separate, not related text. Since the surviving 12 fragments of 1Q19a refer only to the Watchers appeal and to

¹² J. T. Milik, “19. ‘Livre de Noé,’” *Qumran Cave I* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 84–87, 152.

¹³ J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 59–60; see Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch*, 612.

¹⁴ J. T. Milik, “Écrits préesséniens de Qumrân: d'Hénoch à Amram,” in *Qumran, sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (ed. M. Delcor; BETL 46; Paris: Duculot, 1978), 91–106, a view followed by F. Garcia Martínez, “4QMess Ar and the Book of Noah,” in *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic texts from Qumran* (STDJ 9; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 1–44.

¹⁵ K. Beyer, *Die Aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 153.

¹⁶ M. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), 2:7, note 2.

¹⁷ G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36, 81–108* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 77.

¹⁸ In her article “A Note on 1Q19: The ‘Book of Noah,’” in *Noah and His Book(s)*, 71–76. I would like to thank Claire for sharing her article with me before publication.

Noah's birth, it might also have been an independent Hebrew composition related to Noah's birth, or else part of either Enoch or Noah book(s). Since these fragments were poorly preserved, it is difficult to know the exact relationship between this composition and that of *I Enoch* or the *Genesis Apocryphon*, but for our purposes it is enough to note that it refers to the house being lit up, probably as a result of Noah's miraculous birth, which parallels other such accounts discussed here.

3. *Noah's birth in the Genesis Apocryphon*

a) *Noah's birth in the Enoch Cycle in the Genesis Apocryphon.*

The reference to Noah's birth, according to the *Genesis Apocryphon*, is found in his father's discussion with his mother Bitenosh concerning his origin. Lamech's concern is that his wife was impregnated by an angel—as hinted in her name בתאנוש (“daughter of Man,” see Genesis 6:4)—as it is detailed in col. II. Nevertheless, this dispute does not mention the actual birth, but hints at the special character of the baby, which led to Lamech's suspicions.

Noah's birth is first mentioned in the surviving fragments of the *Genesis Apocryphon* in col. V. As part of Enoch's answer to his worried son Methuselah, Enoch refers to Noah and the evil deeds of his generation (1QapGen V 9–23). In this passage he also refers to Noah's birth, first of all when the text says (V 12–14):

לאנפוהי נסבא בי ודנחא עינוהי כשמש[א...]
 עולימא דן נור יהוה למעבד כול [...]

 זרעא מן זרע למך ברך (?) [...]

[...] he lifted his face to me and his eyes shone like the su[n...]
 this child will be a light, to do every [...]
 the seed is from the see[d of your son Lamech (?)...]

Since in line 12, when presumably referring to Noah the text reads “[...] he lifted his face to me,” this is probably a quotation of Lamech's speech in the first person. Thus, we may reconstruct something like: “[... and as Lamech said ‘He (namely, Noah) lifted his face to me and his eyes shone like the su[n...].’” Enoch then interprets this description: “[...] עולימא דן נור יהוה למעבד כול [...], ‘this child will be a light, to do all [...].’” If this interpretation is correct, it can help us interpret 1Q19a frag. 3 line 4: “[...] אביהו וכאשר ראה למך את [...], ‘[...] his father, and when Lamech saw that [...].’” We would reconstruct in 1Q19a some-

thing like: “[... and Noah was lifting his glorious face to] his father. And when (Lamech saw [his glorious appearance(?) ... and his eyes which illumined] the rooms of the house like shafts of sunlight [...].” This description can be compared with the description of Noah’s birth, according to *1 Enoch* 106:2, and 5 “and his eyes are as the rays of the sun” (Ethiopic; Greek: “as beams of the sun”). Later in the same passage of *Genesis Apocryphon* V, at the end of the words of Enoch to his son, we read: [...] מברך למרה כולא [...], “[...] blesses to the Lord of all [...].” (line 23). One wonders, if it might also refer to Noah, of whom it is stated in the Greek text of *1 Enoch* 106:2: “and he arose from the hands of the midwife and opened his mouth and blessed the Lord;” (Ethiopic: “and he spoke with the Lord of righteousness”). An even closer parallel might be found later, where according to the Greek version of *1 Enoch* 106:11, in Methuselah’s report to Enoch we read: “and he arose from the hands of the midwife and opening his mouth he blessed the Lord of eternity.”¹⁹

b) *Noah’s birth in the Noah Cycle in the Genesis Apocryphon*

Another short but still significant reference to Noah’s birth is found in a less discussed passage in the *Genesis Apocryphon*. As mentioned above, the title א[פ]ר[ו]ש[ו]ן כתב מלי נח “A [co]p[y] of the words of Noah” (1QapGen V 29), marks the beginning of the Noah cycle.²⁰ After it, there remain very few decipherable letters, providing no indication of the content of the almost eight complete lines (1QapGen V 29a–36). When the text is readable again, at the beginning of col. 6 we are already in Noah’s autobiography:

[...] And in the furnace of my gestation I flourished to truth; and when I left my mother’s womb, I was rooted in truth and I conducted myself in truth all my days, and I walked in the paths of eternal truth, and with me the Holy [One(s), to instruct me (?)] in the path of the way of truth, and to warn me away from the path of falsehood which leads to everlasting darkness [...] I girded my loins in a vision of truth and wisdom [...] all the paths of violence” (1QapGen VI 1–5).

¹⁹ To be compared with: למהך כול עלמא לעלם ולעד עד כול עלמים “To the king of all ages, forever and ever, until all eternity” (1QapGen X 10).

²⁰ Some argue that this part of the *Genesis Apocryphon* originated as an independent composition, probably from the Book of Noah. See R. 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. The title of the *Genesis Apocryphon* follows and does not precede the story of Noah’s birth, as told by his father Lamech.

This description is unique in many ways: the poetic structure here is written like biblical stichoi, using parallels and antitheses, and can be compared with the Wisdom Poem of *Aramaic Levi Document* 13 which is also written in a similar structure.²¹ Within these lines of the *Genesis Apocryphon* we find the following “ways” terminology: מסלה, שביל, אורח, נתיב. We also find adjectives describing the right way, using קושט/אמת meaning “truth.” This, in turn, is contrasted with the adjectives describing the wrong way as שקר “falsehood,” חשוך “darkness,” or חמס “violence.”

Here we find ourselves at the end of Noah’s speech in regard to his birth. Not only that, but he refers to his pre-birth status, when it was in the furnace of his gestation (ובכור הורתי) where he “flourished to truth” (יעית לקושט). Immediately after this, he mentions the moment of birth, when he left his mother’s womb, וכרי נפקת מן מעי אמי, “when I left my mother’s womb,” again, mention being נציבת לקושט “rooted in truth.”

This description, in addition to using the tree imagery for Noah’s righteousness, as flourishing and rooted, also makes intensive usage of the word “truth” (5 times). This usage find its parallel in Bitenosh’s words to Lamech, mentioned above (5 times). After that introduction of his early years, Noah moves to describing his biography, ואחדת בקושטא, “and I clung to uprightness and strengthened myself in wisdom,” where in addition to truth, we hear of wisdom.

It seems probable that the use of the catchword of קושט in Noah’s life is meant to show the shift made during the days of Noah. While during Lamech’s time, as explained by his name-midrash, “righteousness had been brought low,” by Noah’s influence קושט, “truth,” or “righteousness” became dominant. Finally, the word קושט is also used in Enoch’s assurance that Noah is indeed Lamech’s son: *1 Enoch* 107:2, according to 4Q204 5 ii 30, reads: די עלימא דן ברה הואה בקשוט ולא בכרבין [...], “[...] that this child is his son truly, and not falsely” (the same is found in the Ethiopic and the Greek versions), using the same terminology of Bitenosh, as recorded in the *Genesis Apocryphon* col. II.

Going back to the beginning of Noah’s words in *Genesis Apocryphon* II 1, we find the term: כור הורתי, translated as: “in the furnace of my gestation.” I would like to suggest that this unusual terminology finds its parallel in 1Q19a frag. 3, in the expression כור הולד. Milik reconstructed this text to read ב[כור הולד] which he translated as “le pre]mier-

²¹ See J. C. Greenfield, “Early Aramaic Poetry,” *JANESCU* 11 (1979): 49–51; Greenfield, Stone and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi Document*, 102–109, 201–206.

né était né,” that is “the first-born was born.” On the basis of 1QapGen II 1, I find it preferable to understand the expression in 1Q19 frag. 3 as a reference to the same stage of pregnancy, reading כּוֹר הַיֶּלֶד (maybe הֵי(ל)וֹד, referring to לִידָה); that is, being in the furnace of conception, where יֶלֶד parallels הָרָה of the *Genesis Apocryphon*. Here it also brings to mind *I Enoch* 106:2, where the Ethiopic versions reads: “And he was taken from the hands of the midwife,” i.e. a passive act, while the Greek and Latin versions read it as an active verb: “And he arose from the hands of (his) the midwife,” and the Latin version adds: “that very hour in which he proceeded from his mother’s womb.”

Next, the following words in 1Q19 are: כִּי נִכְבָּדִים translated as “mais (comme) les Glorieux.”²² One might consider the interpretation of “glorious” as referring to the appearance of Noah’s face, as described in *I Enoch* 106:5, according to both Ethiopic and Greek versions: “the [Greek: his] face (is) glorious.”²³

To sum up what we have seen until now: The remains of the *Genesis Apocryphon* do not include the actual birth description. Rather, we have an allusion to it in the Lamech–Bitenosh exchange in col. II, and in col. V, in Enoch’s response to Lamech’s concern about the conception of Noah. There is then another allusion to the birth at the beginning of Noah’s self-introduction in col. VI, at the beginning of the Noah cycle. Nevertheless, one might wonder what was the content of the missing passages before cols. II and VI, i.e. before the Lamech–Bitenosh dispute, and before Noah’s self-introduction.

Daniel Falk has plausibly suggested that “Presumably Noah’s birth was narrated toward the bottom of col. I, with a description of unusual phenomena which accompanied his birth such as in *I Enoch* 106.3.”²⁴ That proposal might have further support in 1Q19 frag. 3, which follows the same narrative of both the Watchers appeal and Noah’s birth.

Another possible description of this birth, in addition to that of Enoch in his response to Methuselah, as mentioned above, might have been found at the beginning of the Noah cycle in *Genesis Apocryphon*, at the end of col. V, lines 29–36. I would like to suggest that it included some version of the tradition of the birth of Noah, probably somewhat parallel

²² See the description of baby Melchizedek in 2 *Enoch* 91.

²³ As for the reconstruction of the end of line 2 as: הַשְׁתַּמְנִי, the last letter might better be read as a *nun*, thus one might also consider: הַשְׁתַּנְנִי, “have changed.”

²⁴ D. Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts*, 350.

to *1 Enoch* 106–107, of which only its end has survived, referring to Noah’s righteousness, as “flourishing to truth,” and as he left his mother’s womb, when he was planted for truth. Such a reconstruction is based on the use of the catchword קושט “truth” used in all the references to Noah’s birth, both in *1 Enoch* 107:3, in Bitenosh’s words in the *Genesis Apocryphon* col. II, as well as in Noah’s self-introduction in col. VI—all of which is meant to show the impact of Noah on his generation, in contrast with his father Lamech, whose name-midrash “righteousness had been brought low” describes his own generation.

4. Noah’s birth according to 4Q534–536

This composition was preserved in three copies (4Q534–536).²⁵ The first two copies include fragmentary descriptions of certain features of a human body which include different sorts of marks and moles, as well as the weight of the newborn, to which predictive value can be attributed, but it is equally possible that they are being used as identity markers. The subject of this text is a figure entitled “the elect of God,” whose name did not survive in the Qumran fragments. Various identifications of this figure have been suggested, including the Messiah, Noah, Melchizedek, or the eschatological high priest.²⁶ I tend to agree with the identification of this figure as Noah, describing his birth, as suggested by Joseph Fitzmyer.²⁷

In this composition one finds a few mentions of the figure’s מולדה “birth” (4Q534 frag. Iii+2 1.2.6), which probably refers to his horoscope; and more specifically, we read in a broken context זמן מולדה “his time of birth” (4Q535 frag. 2 2).²⁸ This might further be specified, if we accept the reconstruction in another fragment of this text: “[... he at the

²⁵ E. Puech, “4Q534–536. 4QNaissance de Noé^{a-c},” *Qumrân Grotte 4:XXII* (DJD 31; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 117–170.

²⁶ For a summary of the various suggested identifications, pointing to the possibility of his being a prototype of the Merkavah mystic, see J. R. Davila, “4QMess ar (4Q534) and Merkavah Mysticism,” *DSD* 5 (1998): 367–381. For the bibliography of those who adopted Starcky’s opinion see L. T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 214, note 2.

²⁷ J. A. Fitzmyer, “The Aramaic ‘Elect of God’ Text from Qumran Cave IV,” *CBQ* 27 (1965): 348–372.

²⁸ Puech, “4Q534–536,” 156; see F. Schmidt, “Ancient Jewish Astrology. An Attempt to Interpret 4QCryptique (4Q186),” in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. M. E. Stone and E. G. Chazon; STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 196, n. 26.

fif]th [hour] is born at night” (4Q535 frag. 3 = 4Q536 frag. 1) which might also be relevant to his horoscope. It also mentions his weight, “three hundred and fifty (one) shekels.” Later, it refers to something that “[...] shall be moved from him” (line 6). This terminology can be found in 4Q211 (4QEnastr^d) frag. 1 ii, reading: *וּכּוּכְ[בִין] נִזְחָו בְּ[תַרְעָ] שְׁמִיָּא*, “And the sta[rs] move through the fi[rst gate] of the heavens.” Another occurrence of this verb is found in an Aramaic ostrakon discovered at Maresha, dated to the second century BCE, which uses the same verb twice, *נִזְחָה נִזְחָהּ*, which means: “it moves its movement.”²⁹ On the basis of these parallels I have suggested connecting *נִזְחָה* found in 4Q535 (= 4Q536) with the movement of the stars, thus tentatively reconstructing in 4Q535 something like: “[and a star] shall [not] move from him.” This would connect this phrase to some astrological prediction related to the figures’ future, based on his horoscope.

5. 4Q534–536 and other traditions of Noah’s birth: Shared Terminology

4Q534–536 does not have any direct parallels to the above-discussed traditions about Noah’s birth. There is only one possible link to these birth traditions discussed above—it is found after the time of birth, where 4Q535 says: *וּנִפְקָ שֶׁלְ[ם]*, “and came out who[le]” (4Q535 3 2), which brings to mind Noah’s miraculous birth. Nevertheless the extraordinary knowledge of the figure, as described in 4Q534–536 has some similarities, both in terminology and content, to Noah’s descriptions according to the other traditions discussed above. Accordingly, it might further support the identification of “the Elect of God” with Noah.

a) *The usage of the 77 terminology:*

The reference to 77 is found in both cycles of Enoch and Noah, in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, and seems to be used as one of the catchwords: 77 is first mentioned in the Watchers’ appeal *רִז רִשְׁעָא* “the mystery of wickedness” (I 2; and only *רִזָּא* in lines 3,7). Later, when Enoch speaks to his son Methuselah, he says *בְּרַךְ אַחֵוּי בְּרִזָּא דְנָא* “[...]your son make known by this mystery” (V 21). Methuselah then tells it to his son Lamech: *וְעַם לְמַךְ בְּרָה בְּרִז מְלִל* “and he spoke with Lamech his son about a mystery” (V 25). When we move to the Noah cycle we hear

²⁹ E. Eshel, “Aramaic texts from Qumran in Light of New Epigraphical Finds,” in press.

again *בלבבי דן* “I hid this mystery within my heart” (VI 12); to be compared with the *Aramaic Levi Document* *בלבבי דן* “And I hid this too in my heart and I revealed it to nobody” (4:13). Finally, Noah says: *חזית[ה] לרזא* “you have seen the mystery” (XIV 19, see line 20).

4Q534 frag. 1 I 8 reads, when referring to the main figure: *וידע רזי* “[and] he will know the secrets of men, and his wisdom shall come to all people, and he will know the secrets of living things.” This brings to mind *I Enoch* (106:19), according to the Ethiopic version: “For I know the mysteries of the holy ones, for the Lord himself has shown them to me, and made them known to me, and I read them in the tablets of heavens.” It is interesting to compare the attribution of the source of knowledge to God, while according to the Aramaic fragments it seems to be attributed to the teaching of mysteries by the angels.³⁰

בדי ידע אנא ברזי [מריא] די קדישין אחויני ואחויני [ודי בלוח]ת שמיא קריה

“For I know the mysteries [of the Lord] which the Holy Ones have told me and showed me, [and which in the tablets] of heaven I have read” (4Q204 5 ii 26).

4Q536 frag. 2 i+3 reads: *יגלא רזין כעליונין* “he will reveal secrets like the Most High’s ones” (line 8), *ובטעם רזי* “and with the perception of the mysteries of [...]” (line 9) and *ס[ל]ק רזא* “he re]moved the secret” (line 12), and finally: *רז[א/מנדע]א די מסר לי במנין שארא* “the secret/knowled]ge which he transmitted to me among the number of remnant [...]” (line 13).

Thus, *רז* in this context probably has a neutral meaning, and it gets its value weighting from its context. While in the context of the Watchers, according to the *Genesis Apocryphon*, the mystery has a negative sense, to be compared with the Watchers’ story according to the *Book of the Watchers*, 4Q201 1 iv 4–5: *רזין לנשיהן* “And they all began to reveal] secrets to their wives” (*I En.* 8:3),³¹ in our context, with respect to both Enoch and Noah, as well as in the “4QElect of God,” *רז* is given a positive sense, where the figures are said to know the secrets of both human beings and angels. *רז* seems to refer both to the visions these figure had, and to the way of communication between the human figures from Enoch no Noah.

³⁰ Or else, it is a misunderstanding of the translator.

³¹ Cf. *רזי פשע* in 1QH^a XIII 38; XXIV 9; 1Q27 1 i 2; see Bernstein, “From the Watchers to the Flood”, 45, n. 15, which also refers to 2 Thess 2:7.

b) *Wisdom and its teaching:*

References to extraordinary wisdom can be found in all the above-mentioned texts, some of which are explicitly related to the newborn Noah. Thus, according to the *Genesis Apocryphon*, Noah says that he was guided by the angels to walk in the path of truth: והצי אסרת בחזון: קושטא והכמתא ו[בא]ד[י]ן הויה אנה נוח גבר ואחדת בקושטא “I girded my loins in an appearance of uprightness and wisdom” (VI 4), and ואתקפת בהכמתא “then I, Noah, became a man, and I clung to uprightness and strengthened myself in wisdom” (line 6). That can be compared with 4Q534 1 i 3–5, which says “Knowledge will be in his heart ... he will be intelligent,... until he will know the three books ... then he will be wise and will know the paths of the sages...” Wisdom is mentioned again in 4Q536 frag. 2 i+3 ח[כמתא אנש וכול חכימ]ין “...wisdom of humanity and every wise ma[n...]” (line 5), which is probably said to be the subject of teaching: אלפונה כולה, “all of his teaching” (line 4), and probably at the back of the Wisdom Poem (4Q536 2 10ff = 4Q534 frag. 7), starting with [טובוהי לכול אנשא די] מו[סר חוכמה מאלף לבנוהי “Blessed be every man who teaches wi[se discipline to his sons];” to be compared with the Wisdom Poem of the *Aramaic Levi Document* 13.

It is interesting to note the way that the author of the *Genesis Apocryphon* integrated the traditions about Noah into his larger composition including Enoch and Abraham. The combination of “scribal knowledge, wisdom and truth” is later hinted in the Abraham cycle. Three Egyptian nobles, who heard of Abraham’s “words” (XIX 24) came asking to learn from Abraham וקושטא והכמתא ספרא “scribal knowledge, wisdom and truth” (XIX 25). In response, Abraham says: וקרית קודמיהון לספר מלי “So I read before them the book of the words of Enoch” (line 26). The combination of the “words” of Abraham, and “the book of the words of Enoch” together with “scribal knowledge, wisdom and truth” are the essential content of this composition and its catchwords, as “earth” is the catchword in the birth story in *1 Enoch* 106–107,³² with one change. While Abraham can share his knowledge with the three nobles, with regard to Enoch and Noah their knowledge—defined as רז (mystery)—is either hidden in ones heart or transmitted from father to son. Finally, these three patriarchs, Enoch, Noah and Abraham, are men-

³² See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 540.

tioned at the beginning of the line, in Ben Sira's "Praise of the Fathers" (44:16–21), as well as in 5Q13.³³

c) חשבון

Another element is referred to in the term חשבון, which is used in this Hebrew phrase, to which חושבן is the Aramaic parallel (and its verbal form חשב), and which basically means "calculation." Its connection with wisdom is already known from Qoheleth וחשבון וחכמה "and seeking wisdom and the reason of things" (7:25); as well as כי אין מעשה "for there is no action, no reasoning, no learning, no wisdom in Sheol" (9:10). In the *Genesis Apocryphon* this term is used by Noah when he says וביומי כדי שלמו לי לחשבון די "During my days, when they were completed for me, by the calculation by which I reckoned [...] ten Jubilees" (VI 9–10), which are mentioned in the context of his marriage. This element is said to be known by the Elect of God, where according to 4Q534 1 i 9–10 this knowledge includes כל חשבוניהון כל.

Finally, all these three elements that are חושבן and חכמה, רז, are mentioned together in 4Q534 1 i 6–11:

[ב]אדין יערם וידע שב[ילי חכ]מין חזין למאתה לה על ארכובתה
 ובאבוהי וב[א]בהתוהי ח[ז]ן [אחין יזקונה עמה להוון מלכה וערמומ[תה]
 וידע רזי אנשא וחכמתה לכל עממיא תהך וידע רזי כל חייא
 [וכ]ול חשבוניהון עלוהי יסופו ומסרת כול חייא שגיא תהוא
 [(ו)יסופו(ז)? ח]שבונוהי כדי בחירי אלהא הוא מולדה ורוח נשמוהי
 [להוון תמימין/יחרון ארעא? וח]שבונוהי להוון לעלמין vacat

Then he will be wise and will know the pa[ths of the sa]ges-seers to come to him on his knees and because of his father and his forefathers the se[cr]ets of his brethren will sadden. Prudence and wisdom will be with him, [and] he will know the secrets of men, and his wisdom shall come to all peoples, and he will know the secrets of living things [A] their designs against him will end, and they array (?) of all living things will be great [...] his purposes, because he is the chosen one of God. His birth and the spirit of his breath [will make the earth happy (?) and] his [pu]rposes will last forever vacat

³³ M. J. Bernstein, "From the Watchers to the Flood: Story and Exegesis in the Early Columns of the *Genesis Apocryphon*," *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran* (ed. E. G. Chazon, D. Dimant and R. A. Clements; STDJ 58; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 39–63; M. Kister, "5Q13 and the 'Avodah: a Historical Survey and Its Significance," *DSD* 8 (2001): 136–148.

These parallels in terminology might support the assumption that although 4Q534–536 seems to focus on other perspectives of Noah’s birth, such as his horoscope and weight in birth, it still shares with 1QapGen some special characteristics of Noah, such as his extraordinary knowledge. The reference to his birth as “came out who[le]” might further support the assumption, that this text might have originally included the miraculous birth description.

Conclusion

As we have seen, the traditions about Noah’s miraculous birth have survived in detail only in *1 Enoch*, and in short references in the *Genesis Apocryphon* and in 4Q534–536, if indeed it is to be identified with the figure of Noah. There seem to be some general parallels between these sources, as well as the shared terminology (רַג, חַכְמָה and חֲשׁוֹבֵן) but each of them seems to have its own interest and thus focuses on different elements. It should always be borne in mind that what I have pointed out with regard to the Aramaic fragments of *Enoch* found in Qumran is true with regard to the other Qumran texts: the *Genesis Apocryphon* is badly preserved, and so are 1Q19a and 4Q534–536, so that conclusions about their exact contents are necessarily tentative. Nevertheless, it is possible to draw some general conclusions with regard to the traditions concerning the birth of Noah.

The shared elements in the *Genesis Apocryphon* and *1 Enoch* 106–107 are limited to the basic communication between Lamech, Methuselah and Enoch in regard to Noah’s miraculous birth. Another shared element is the connection with the sin of the Watchers and the coming of the Flood. Another element is the shining of Noah’s eyes after his birth. This element is shared by *1 Enoch* 106:2–7, 9–10; as well as by the *Genesis Apocryphon* (V 12) and 1Q19 frag. 3. I would like to suggest, that these shared elements go back to an earlier tradition, probably found in the book(s) of Noah. Here, I tend to agree with Milik’s overall interpretation of the various traditions, as having all originated in the book(s) of Noah, rather than with Nickelsburg, who sees the *Genesis Apocryphon* as using *Enoch* as its source. On this point, each tradition seems to have developed its own story, based on its overall worldview. The author of the birth story in *1 Enoch* is more interested in integrating the story into the Enochic corpus. Accordingly, the Enoch part is elaborated, as is the eschatological prophecy of Enoch, including the sup-

posed editorial work of *I Enoch* 106:19–107:1, which, as has been shown, goes back to other Enochic sources. The author of the *Genesis Apocryphon* integrated the birth story twice. First, according to my reconstruction, the birth story was integrated with the Watchers' sin and the appeal to Enoch, as part of the Enoch cycle. This description might have been included at the end of column 1, now lost. Immediately after this comes the debate between Lamech and Bitenosh, which refers to the birth of Noah. This description has no parallels in other compositions. It is an expanded description that was probably composed by the author of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, who wanted to prove that Noah was not the offspring of an angel. As for the Noah cycle in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, here we might have lost the birth description, but we have the text that focuses on Noah as the central figure, who is truthful and righteous, already in his mother's womb and at the moment of his birth.

In regard to other related texts, such as 4Q534–536, I have tried to show that while 4Q534–536, if it is indeed related to Noah's birth, seems to focus on different issues, such as the horoscope and moles that might predict the baby's future, it nevertheless has some connection with the *Genesis Apocryphon* as far as Noah's future abilities regarding his knowledge and wisdom are concerned.

RESPONSE: ANDRÉ LEMAIRE

Comme dans la communication de Loren Stuckenbruck, Esther Eshel nous a présenté un essai de critique littéraire sur l'histoire des traditions littéraires de l'enfance de Noé attestées dans l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse*, *I Hénoch* 106–107 et 4Q534–536. Elle a essayé de montrer qu'il y avait probablement, à la base, une tradition littéraire vraisemblablement consignée dans un livre de Noé, mais que cette tradition primitive aurait été reprise et développée de manière plus ou moins importante dans les trois traditions littéraires de Qumrân. Cette position semble assez proche de celle de Loren Stuckenbruck que je laisserai volontiers engager la discussion sur des points de détail, parmi lesquels, l'alternance *ktb / spr* pour les lectures/restitutions. En fait, la synthèse provisoire d'Esther Eshel est présentée avec beaucoup de prudence étant donné que les textes de Qumrân concernés restent très fragmentaires tandis que le texte complet de *I Hénoch* 106–107 n'est connu qu'à travers des traductions ou des traductions de traductions. La prudence des conclusions de cette communication semble donc tout à fait justifiée.

Je voudrais seulement faire quelques suggestions pour améliorer encore, s'il était possible, cette recherche comme d'ailleurs celle de Stuckenbruck, à la fois pour la simplifier et la clarifier mais aussi pour en souligner la complexité :

1) La première suggestion concerne la présentation pour essayer de clarifier le problème. Nous sommes en face de traditions littéraires parallèles qu'il faut comparer dans le détail. Pour faciliter cette comparaison, il serait utile d'avoir une présentation « synoptique » qui permette de confronter plus facilement et plus clairement toutes ces traditions littéraires. C'est d'ailleurs déjà ce qu'a fait très partiellement Stuckenbruck avec ses textes éthiopiens (E) et Grecs (G) mis en parallèle. Bien que cela soit difficile techniquement, une présentation synoptique systématique, dans l'original et en traduction—et en incluant éventuellement *Jubilés*—, permettrait une comparaison plus précise et plus claire. On peut évoquer ici le parallèle bien connu de la comparaison des traditions littéraires des évangiles, grandement facilitée par les « synopses ».

2) Cependant cette « synopse » devrait aussi comporter d'autres textes, et d'abord la tradition littéraire biblique concernant le personnage de Noé, ce qui clarifierait éventuellement le problème de dépendance littéraire—ou non—par rapport au texte biblique, suivant une problématique déjà évoquée au début de ce colloque.

3) Pour cette comparaison littéraire, il serait très utile d'élargir la présentation synoptique aux passages parallèles concernant le personnage Hénoch. En effet, comme semble l'avoir montré Dorothy M. Peters ("The Tension between Enoch and Noah in the Aramaic Enoch Texts at Qumran," *Henoch* 29 [2007]: 11–29), on a parfois l'impression qu'Hénoch et Noé jouent des rôles similaires et éventuellement concurrents.

4) Ma dernière suggestion concerne un élargissement éventuel de la comparaison à la tradition littéraire mésopotamienne et iranienne en incluant éventuellement, dans cette synopse, des parallèles mésopotamiens (Utnapishtim ?) et zoroastriens (naissance de Zarathustra).

Voilà quelques suggestions pour, à la fois, clarifier ce problème de critique littéraire et en saisir toute la complexité.

DISCUSSION

Esther Eshel: Indeed, André is right, and his comments are correct. There is a need for a comparison of all the parallel sources, especially a detailed study of *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and other related sources. Such studies were made by various scholars in the past, and I myself have dealt with these issues in other articles (e.g. E. Eshel, "The Imago Mundi

of the *Genesis Apocryphon*,” in *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism* (ed. L. LiDonnici and A. Lieber; SJSJ 119; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 111–131; id., “Noah Cycle in the *Genesis Apocryphon*,” in *After the Deluge: The Apocryphal Noah Books and Traditions* (ed. A. Amihay and M. E. Stone; forthcoming). I hope to continue doing this as part of my edition of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, as well as other future studies. With regard to a comparison with other literary traditions found in Iran and Mesopotamia, I leave it to the experts in these subjects.

John Collins: Was the interest in Noah in Aramaic literature exceptional? If so, why?

Esther Eshel: I think the surviving sources may be a little misleading as we have 13 columns devoted to Noah as opposed to the Enoch cycle—of which the beginning did not survive and is poorly preserved—and to the Abraham cycle—which was cut in antiquity after four columns in the middle of a sentence.

Loren Stuckenbruck: It is not inconspicuous that our arguably earliest tradition in the *Book of Watchers* (1 Enoch 6–11) really has nothing to say about Enoch himself but refers to Noah who is placed in an Enochic context. It is hard to know which initially gives impetus to the other, which, the Enochic or the Noachic tradition, but certainly at a very early stage they are feeding one another. The Enochic people are unsatisfied simply receiving Noah tradition in its pristine form whatever that was and I would certainly say vice versa at a very early stage.

Mattias Weigold: Keeping in mind what Michael Stone said earlier with regard to the coincidental nature of the surviving manuscripts, there seems nevertheless to be a striking interest in Noah. Stone also suggested a reason for this interest, i.e. Noah’s function as a sort of “bridge” over the flood and transmitter of prediluvian knowledge. Devorah Dimant has pointed out another possible explanation, i.e. the prototypical role of Noah. Both features occur particularly in the Aramaic texts.

Moshe Bernstein: Since the *Genesis Apocryphon* does love repetition and we can sometimes fill in lacunae based on the repetitions, I wonder whether column V line 12 could have been part of the birth description at the bottom of column I. “He lifted up his eyes, and his face shone” that could very well have been part of the birth narrative back in that part that’s missing, could it not?

Esther Eshel: No doubt that this might have been the case.

Thierry Legrand: Dans le récit de la vie de Noé et la description de ses qualités (col. VI de l’*Apocryphe de la Genèse*), l’insistance sur la “vérité” ne fait-elle pas de Noé un parfait essénien ?

Esther Eshel: The usage of *קְרוֹשׁ*, meaning “truth” (especially “the way of truth”) or “righteousness” is a major issue in Noah’s life as Armin Lange demonstrated in his SBL lecture (2008). It is part of the description of the *Genesis Apocryphon* of the two ways, also found in other sources: In addition to the Biblical references (e.g. Gen 24:4; Deut 30:15–30; Prov 1–8; Jer 21:8), it can also be found in the *Aramaic Levi Document* 3:4–9 and Tobit 1:3, 4:5–6,19). In the *Genesis Apocryphon* this description is more detailed, and it also introduces a significant new element: the eternal nature of both good and evil. The phrase “I walked in the paths of eternal truth” is contrasted with the “path of everlasting darkness.” Accordingly, the *Genesis Apocryphon* bestows an eschatological dimension on the two-ways motif (to be compared with Levi’s Prayer in *Aramaic Levi Document* 3:17, asking God “... And make (me) participant in your words, to do true judgment for all times”). Nevertheless, I do not find this element sectarian, and I agree with other scholars who believe, that like the other Aramaic texts

found at Qumran, the *Genesis Apocryphon* should not be considered sectarian. It is true, that Noah waited until the fifth year to drink the fourth-year wine (1QapGen XII 13–15; see also *Jubilees* 7:1–2), as in sectarian law, rather than in the fourth year, as in rabbinic law (See M. Kister, “Some Aspects of Qumranic Halakha,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress*, 2:581–586). But, on the other hand, a reference to Noah’s endogamy in choosing his children’s spouses (col. VI) may point to general, non-sectarian, Second Temple practice.

Émile Puech: Je renvoie à la remarque faite précédemment au sujet de 4Q534–536 comme *Naissance de Noé*, les allusions au Déluge, le poids de l’enfant à la naissance (miraculeuse), etc., et à l’*editio princeps*.

Esther Eshel: I tend to agree with you that the subject is Noah. If it is not clear enough maybe this is so because it meant to be both. It tends to look at Noah but it picked up terminology that fits later on messianic figures, so it wasn’t a mere coincidence.

Daniel Stökl: John Collins so nicely rephrased my question and succeeded in eliciting answers. Did I understand Loren Stuckenbruck rightly that there are different sociological groups behind Enochic and Noachic traditions? Would Esther Eshel agree on this?

Loren Stuckenbruck: Yes, very much so. I certainly think that the traditions we have in *1 Enoch* 106–107 on the one hand and in *Genesis Apocryphon* on the other hand had at least different people (perhaps circles) behind them. And your question on the significance of Noah: The irony, I think, of *1 Enoch* 106–107 is that we have this *Wunderkind* at the beginning of the story and I as a reader am led to expect that this child will become or function as a divine agent. However, he doesn’t. The only thing that is important about him in *1 Enoch* 106–107 is his name. He doesn’t receive revelation, and nothing is said about his wisdom or any other extraordinary trait. In *Genesis Apocryphon*, however, Noah becomes precisely some of these things. So, I think we are dealing with very different texts in terms of how they view Noah’s significance.

Esther Eshel: My answer is no. I am much afraid of the distinction between Judaism (that started with the proposal of Jacob Neusner) and I tend to disagree. There are differences between traditions related to Noah and Enoch that developed in different ways. To deduce from that the existence of different groups is very difficult to say now. I think the traditions developed in different ways, flourished in different times; maybe it was first Enoch, who was then replaced by Noah, but getting to different groups is a little too much from which we have.

Florentino García Martínez: We were talking about texts, and we are moving to a very dangerous field talking about sociological groups, with the danger of ending in the same sort of empty discussions of the Enoch Seminar. Let’s go back to the texts, the only thing we know.

ARAMAIC *WUNDERKIND*
THE BIRTH OF NOAH IN THE ARAMAIC TEXTS FROM QUMRAN

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Noah figures prominently in the Dead Sea Scrolls in general and in the Aramaic texts from Qumran in particular.¹ No less than 26 texts attested among the Dead Sea Scrolls explicitly or implicitly refer to Noah and his story, 15 of which were composed in Hebrew (4QAdmonFlood [4Q370], Ben Sira [44:17–18], *Prières des Fêtes* [4Q508 3 2], *Jubilees* [esp. 4:28, 33; 5:1–10:17; cf. 14:20; 19:24–27; 21:10; 22:13], 4QParaphrase of Genesis and Exodus [4Q422 ii], 1QNoah [1Q19, 1Q19bis], 4QText Mentioning the Flood [4Q577], 4QExposition on the Patriarchs [4Q464 5 ii], 4QCommentary on Genesis A–D [4Q252–254, 4Q254a], 4QTanḥumim [4Q176], 4QAgēsCreat A [4Q180 2–4 i 7], *Damascus Document* [CD II 16–III 1 par. 4Q266 2 ii 16–21 par. 4Q270 1 i; CD V 1], 5QRule [5Q13 1 7]) and 11 in Aramaic (*Book of the Watchers* [*I En.* 10:1–3], *Book of the Words of Noah* [1QapGen ar V 29–XVIII 23], *Aramaic Levi Document* [10:10],² *Book of Giants* [2Q26; 4Q530 2 ii+6–12 7–12; 4Q533 4; 6Q8 2 1 and 26 1], *Visions of Amram* [4Q547 5 3], *Tobit* [4:12], *Book of Dreams* [*I En.* 83:3–84:6; 89:1–9; 91:5], *Epistle of Enoch* [*I En.* 93:4; 106–107], *Birth of Noah* [1QapGen ar ?–V 27], 4QBirth of Noah^{a–c} ar [4Q534–536], *Pseudo-Daniel* [4Q244 8]).³

¹ For a general survey, see D. Dimant, “Noah in Early Jewish Literature,” in *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible* (ed. M. E. Stone and T. A. Bergren; Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1998), 123–50; M. J. Bernstein, “Noah and the Flood at Qumran,” in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. D. W. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 199–231; F. García Martínez, “Interpretations of the Flood in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Interpretations of the Flood* (ed. idem and G. P. Luttikhuisen; Themes in Biblical Narrative: Jewish and Christian Traditions 1; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 86–108.

² Counting according to J. C. Greenfield, M. E. Stone and E. Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary* (SVTP 19; Leiden: Brill, 2004).

³ Other possible references to Noah and the flood cannot be established with certainty. This is the case, e.g., with 4QDibHam^a (4Q504) 8 recto 14 (cf. E. G. Chazon, “The Creation and Fall of Adam in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation: A Collection of Essays* [ed. J. Frishman and L. van Rompay; Traditio Exegetica Graeca 5; Leuven: Peeters, 1997], 13–24, 14–16; Bernstein, “Noah,” 221–222; García Martínez, “Interpretations of the Flood,” 93). Likewise, it is debated whether the figure described in 4QpapVision^b ar (4Q558) 51 i 3 (תמיניא לכוּר) is

In this paper, I will deal with one of the most outstanding Noah traditions as attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls: the marvellous birth of Noah. As is well known, this tradition is preserved in three Aramaic versions and one Hebrew version, i.e. in the parallel accounts in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen ar ?–V 27) and in *1 Enoch* 106–107 (4QEn^c ar [4Q204] 5 i 26–ii 30) as well as in 4QBirth of Noah^{a-c} ar (4Q534–436) and 1QNoah (1Q19, 1Q19bis).⁴ In the following, I will largely ignore the latter two texts and focus on three issues which have not been adequately explored so far: 1) the beginning of the *Genesis Apocryphon*'s account of Noah's birth, 2) the relation of Noah's birth stories to their base text in Genesis 5:28–29, and 3) possible explanations for the astonishing popularity of Noah and the tradition of his marvellous birth in the Qumran library.

“the eighth as an elected one”) is Noah (as suggested by J. A. Fitzmyer, “The Aramaic ‘Elect of God’ Text from Qumran Cave 4,” *CBQ* 27 [1965]: 348–372, 371 n. 28, and followed by G. G. Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet: Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library* [STDJ 47; Leiden: Brill, 2003], 187–188) or whether “the eighth” rather refers to David, thus, e.g., J. Starcky, “Les quatre étapes du messianisme à Qumran,” *RB* 70 (1963): 481–505; É. Puech, *La croyance des esséniens en la vie future: Immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle? Histoire d'une croyance dans le judaïsme ancien* (2 vols.; EBib NS 21–22; Paris: Gabalda, 1993), 2:676–678; J. Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran: Königliche, priesterliche und prophetische Messiasvorstellungen in den Schriftfunden von Qumran* (WUNT 2.104; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 413–415). Furthermore, S. White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2008), 111, lists 4Q186, 4Q435–436, and 4Q515 as “Noah literature,” but since neither 4QBarkhi Nafshi^{b-c} (4Q435–436) nor 4QpapUnclassified frags. (4Q515) feature any significant reference to Noah or the flood the former may be a misspelling of 4Q534–536 and the latter of 4Q561. Both 4QHoroscope (4Q186) and 4QPhysiognomy/Horoscope ar (4Q561) have been associated with the birth of Noah by J. T. Milik (see, e.g., *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976], 56), yet without any tenable evidence; cf. the recent analysis by M. Popović, *Reading the Human Body: Physiognomics and Astrology in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Hellenistic-Early Roman Period Judaism* (STDJ 67; Leiden: Brill, 2007).

⁴ The identification of the figure described in the overlapping manuscripts 4Q534–536 is debated controversially but the most plausible interpretation seems to be that the text is concerned with the birth of Noah as was first suggested by Fitzmyer, “‘Elect of God’,” 371, and adopted in the official edition by É. Puech, “Naissance de Noé,” *DJD XXXI*, 117–170.

1. *The Beginning of Lamech's Account of Noah's Birth*
(1QapGen ar ?–V 27)

Before turning to the beginning of Noah's birth story in the so-called *Genesis Apocryphon*, some explanations regarding the manuscript are advisable. Following Richard Steiner, the heading כּתב מלִי נוח "Book of the Words of Noah" in *Genesis Apocryphon* V 29 suggests that the scroll is "not a book but a collection of books."⁵ Three further observations support this view: 1) The text entitled "Book of the Words of Noah" is separated from the preceding story about Noah's birth by a *vacat* of at least one full line in col. V 28, just as another *vacat* of one-and-a-half lines in col. XVIII 23–24 probably marks the beginning of the subsequent Abram story.⁶ 2) In the respective stories of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, Lamech (col. II 3, 19; V 26), Noah (col. VI 6, 23; XI 1, 11; XV 21), and Abram are consecutively identified as first-person narrator, notwithstanding the fact that all three of these stories also include third-person narration.⁷ 3) The birth of Noah is mentioned twice: it is not only

⁵ R. 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, 69. Transcriptions and translations of 1QapGen ar (1Q20) are based on J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20): A Commentary* (3d ed.; BibOr 18/B; Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2004), with consideration of D. A. Machiela, "The Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20): A Reevaluation of its Text, Interpretative Character, and Relationship to the Book of Jubilees" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Notre Dame, 2007, available online: http://etd.nd.edu/etd_data/theses/available/etd-07022007-205251/unrestricted/MachielaD072007.pdf). A revised version has just been published as *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17* (STDJ 79; Leiden: Brill, 2009).

⁶ See already N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press and Heikhal Ha-Sefer, 1956), 19, טז–טז, as well as photo no. 2. It must be admitted, however, that the scroll might preserve another *vacat* of more than one full line in col. XVI 12–13. This *vacat* separates the portions of the earth allotted to Japhet and Shem respectively and thus indicates a division between *sections*, rather than *books*. Whether or not col. VII 6 is left completely blank, too, cannot be ascertained. On the other hand, the use of full-line *vacats* between both sections and books in one and the same manuscript is not unheard-of (see, e.g., 4QRP^c [4Q365] 26a–b 3 [before Num 1:1] and 28 4 [between Num 4:49 and 7:1]). Note also that 4QEn^c ar (4Q204) 5 i 24–25 has a *vacat* of one-and-a-half lines between 1 *Enoch* 105 and Noah's birth story in 1 *Enoch* 106–107 which is generally regarded as an originally independent addition; see further below.

⁷ See esp. M. J. Bernstein, "Pseudepigraphy in the Qumran Scrolls: Categories and Functions," in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12–14 January*

the subject of Lamech's account, but also recurs briefly in Noah's own account entitled "Book of the Words of Noah" (col. VI 1). Therefore, indeed, it stands to reason that the scroll 1Q20 attests to at least three originally independent compositions presented in the sequence of the Genesis narrative: (1) the story of Noah's birth (up to col. V 27), (2) the "Book of the Words of Noah" (col. V 29–XVIII 23), and (3) the story of Abram (col. XVIII 25–?).⁸

As noted above, the story of Noah's birth preceding the "Book of the Words of Noah" is framed as an autobiographical account by his father Lamech. In the extant text, this narrative framework is evident from the top of col. II, although Lamech is only mentioned by name at the beginning of the following sections in lines 3 and 19, and Lamech is finally reasserted as the first-person narrator in col. V 26–27. While the latter passage brings Lamech's account to a close, the beginning of the narrative remains uncertain. Though col. II opens with a new sentence, it has been noted early on that the narrative is already in progress at that point and must have begun before.⁹ This is not only indicated by the succinct mention of Lamech afterwards, but also by the transitional formula "behold, then" (הא באדין) as well as by the determinate and, respectively,

1997 (ed. E. G. Chazon and M. E. Stone; STDJ 31; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 1–26, 15–17; cf. idem, "Pentateuchal Interpretation at Qumran," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999), 1:128–159, 145; with regard to the Abram story, see also J. E. Miller, "The Redaction of Tobit and the Genesis Apocryphon," *JSP* 8 (1991): 53–61, esp. 56–57.

⁸ Cf. A. Lange, "The Parabiblical Literature of the Qumran Library and the Canonical History of the Hebrew Bible," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. S. M. Paul et al.; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 305–321, 312. See also G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "Patriarchs Who Worry about Their Wives: A Haggadic Tendency in the Genesis Apocryphon," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. M. E. Stone and E. G. Chazon; STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 137–158, 156; and already Avigad and Yadin, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 38, לא. This view does not exclude the possibility that the different compositions underwent editorial revision along with their combination in the scroll.

⁹ See, e.g., Avigad and Yadin, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 16, ג. Thus also Nickelsburg, "Patriarchs," 138, who claims: "Thanks to parallels between cols. 2–5 and 1 Enoch 106–107 [...] we can reconstruct the overall content of the story in the Genesis Apocryphon." However, despite the undisputed parallels between these two texts, from a methodological point of view such a reconstruction stands on shaky grounds, particularly unless there is internal indication in the preserved text. Thus, e.g., the assumption that the story in 1QapGen ar opened with Lamech's marriage to Bitenosh (*ibid.*, 138; Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 120–121) is mere speculation.

demonstrative references to “the conception” (הריאתא), “the seed” (זרעא), and, most notably, “this child” (עולימא דנא) in col. II 1–2. Thus, under the assumption of narrative coherence, Lamech’s suspicion that “this child” had been fathered by one of the fallen angels¹⁰ presupposes at least that the child in question has already been introduced and that the cause for Lamech’s suspicion has been reported. Further indication of this is found later on in Enoch’s answer to Methuselah who acts as Lamech’s intermediary in order to inquire the truth about the paternity of the child. Having assured Methuselah that the child is indeed Lamech’s son (col. V 2–4), Enoch twice refers to the boy’s appearance: “his appearance Lamech, your son, feared” (col. V 7), and “his face he lifted¹¹ to me, and his eyes shone like [the] su[n ...] | this child fire ...” (col. V 12–13).¹² Taken together, it seems to be the striking appearance and especially the radiant eyes of his son that provoked Lamech’s fear as described in col. II 1–2.

This perception is, on the one hand, unsurprising given the obvious parallels to Enoch’s account in *I Enoch* 106–107 which pertain to both the radiant appearance of Noah at his birth (*I En.* 106:2, 5, 10; cf. 1QNoah [1Q19] 3 5) and the causal connection with Lamech’s worry

¹⁰ On the “Nephilin” as possible fathers, see the contribution of L. T. Stuckenbruck “The Lamech Narrative in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen) and *Birth of Noah* (4QEnoch^aar): A Tradition-Historical Study,” in the present volume, pp. 253–272.

¹¹ The first words of the line, בִּי לֵאנְפֹרְהִי נִסְבָּא בִּי, are difficult to understand. While M. Morgenstern, E. Qimron and D. Sivan, “The Hitherto Unpublished Columns of the *Genesis Apocryphon*: With an Appendix by G. Bearman and S. Spiro,” *AbrN* 33 (1995): 30–54, 38–39, translate לֵאנְפֹרְהִי as the subject of the verb נִסְבָּא (“his face has lifted to me”), Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 143, takes it as the direct object and considers נִסְבָּא as a misspelling of the third person masculine singular perfect (נִסְבָּא, “he lifted up”). According to U. Schattner-Rieser, *L’araméen des manuscrits de la mer Morte: I. Grammaire* (Instruments pour l’étude des langues de l’Orient ancien 5; Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 2004), 70, the following עִינֵיהִי is the subject of both נִסְבָּא and וּרְנָחָא וּנְסָבָא.

¹² Cf. J. L. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible As It Was at the Start of the Common Era* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998), 218–219; M. J. Bernstein, “From the Watchers to the Flood: Story and Exegesis in the Early Columns of the *Genesis Apocryphon*,” in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran* (ed. E. G. Chazon, D. Dimant and R. A. Clements; STDJ 58; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 39–63, 50. Both Kugel and Bernstein assume that col. V 5 also refers to the appearance of baby Noah who “was not like” (וּמְדַמָּא לֹא הוּוּא) human beings but rather like heavenly ones. However, the reading וּמְדַמָּא has recently been questioned by Machiela, “*Genesis Apocryphon*,” 81, 140, who prefers a ܘ instead of the first ܘ (following K. 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: Aramaisische Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung, Deutung, Grammatik* [2 vols.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984–2004], 2:90).

(*I En.* 106:2–4, 5–6, 10–12). On the other hand, however, the *Genesis Apocryphon* does not preserve anything of the purported description of the newborn at its expected location before col. II. What is extant in col. 0–I rather focuses on the fallen angels:¹³ In col. 0 they presumably address God, lamenting his anger (col. 0 lines 5, 6, 10, 11) and their own binding (col. 0 lines 8, 13), while col. I probably refers to the two basic transgressions of the angels known from the *Book of the Watchers*, i.e. the illicit marriages with human women (col. I 1 וַעֲמִיתוּ נְקִיבוֹתָא “and with the women”)¹⁴ and the teaching of forbidden knowledge (col. I 9 סְמִינִין זְהָרְשִׁין “medicines, magicians and sooth[sayers]”).¹⁵ However, col. I is not sufficiently preserved to determine who is speaking and, as the case may be, to whom. Nevertheless, two observations are noteworthy: First, at least the end of line 20 is blank which indicates the beginning of a new section in col. I 21.¹⁶ Moreover, in the following text (including the Trever fragment) the words וּבְמַשְׁלַחַן לְכוֹן שְׁלַח הוּא “and by messengers he sent to you” (col. I 25) are addressed to a group.¹⁷

¹³ According to the generally accepted reconstruction by M. O. Wise and B. Zuckerman, col. 0–I include the fragments originally published as “Apocalypse de Lamech” (1Q20) by J. T. Milik (*DJD I*, 86–87, pl. XVII) and the so-called Trever fragment (in the lower part of col. I). A photo of the arrangement of these fragments can be found in B. Zuckerman and M. Lundberg, “Ancient Texts and Modern Technology: The West Semitic Research Project of the University of Southern California,” *Association for Jewish Studies Perspectives* (Fall/Winter 2002): 14, which was unavailable to me (but see Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 117 n. 2). For further fragments that may belong to the early columns of the *Genesis Apocryphon* see M. Lundberg and B. Zuckerman, “New Aramaic Fragments from Qumran Cave One,” *The Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon Newsletter* 12 (1996): 1–5 (online at: <http://call.cn.huc.edu/newsletter/lundberg.html>).

¹⁴ There might be another reference to marriages in col. I 17, but the reading וּמַתְהַנִּין (Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 64, following Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer*, 1:166) is disputable (see Machiela, “Genesis Apocryphon,” 135–136).

¹⁵ The two references to וַר in lines 2 (וַר רִשְׁעָא דִּי “the mystery of evil which”) and 3 (וַר דִּי “the mystery which”) might also pertain to the teaching of forbidden knowledge. This connection is well attested in *I En.* 8:3 (4QEn^a ar [4Q201] 1 iv 4–5 par. 4QEn^b ar [4Q202] 1 iii 5); 9:6; 10:7. Cf. Bernstein, “From the Watchers,” 45 with n. 15.

¹⁶ Thus already Avigad and Yadin, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 16, 2; cf. J. C. VanderKam, “The Righteousness of Noah,” in *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms* (ed. J. J. Collins and G. W. E. Nickelsburg; SBLSCS 12; Ann Arbor, Mich.: Scholars Press, 1980), 13–32, 28 n. 14. In Fitzmyer’s edition (*Genesis Apocryphon*, 66), the *vacat* occurs in col. I 21 since he erroneously has one line too many after line 6 (following Morgenstern, Qimron and Sivan, “Unpublished Columns,” 36); cf. Machiela, “Genesis Apocryphon,” 136. This accounts for the different line numbering in the remainder of col. I.

¹⁷ If the reading is correct, the subject of the verb may be God (cf. the commissioning of the archangels in *I Enoch* 10–11). But note the different reading by Morgenstern,

Whoever the addressees may be, Joseph Fitzmyer considers this section as the beginning of the story of Noah's birth since "most of the following fragmentary lines of this column seem to refer to the setting of that event."¹⁸ This general note has been specified by Bernstein who points out that the conjoint occurrence of the repeated terms כול בשרא (col. I 24, 28) and ארעא (col. I 26-27) is reminiscent of the description of antediluvian depravity in Genesis 6.¹⁹ On closer examination, however, a slightly different focus can be recognised. Most significantly, the phrase כול בשרא ולקלל "and to curse all flesh" (col. I 24)²⁰ seems to echo God's promise in response to Noah's offering after the flood:

I will never again curse (לקלל) the ground because of humankind, for the inclination of the human heart is evil from youth; nor will I ever again destroy every living creature (כל-חי) as I have done (Gen 8:21 NRSV).

It is worth noting that in addition to כל-חי in MT, LXX has "all living flesh" (πᾶσαν σάρκα ζῶσαν) and thus contains all equivalents of the Aramaic phrase כול בשרא ולקלל in two discrete, but parallel phrases. The passage in col. I is too damaged for conclusions about its textual *Vorlage*.²¹ Yet in any case, the "cursing" in Genesis 8:21 retrospectively refers to the destructive flood that God had brought about in punishment

Qimron and Sivan, "Unpublished Columns," 37: ובמשלהן לכון שלה הוא "and when they are calm, you will be safe."

¹⁸ Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 120–121. By contrast, Nickelsburg, "Patriarchs," 139 with n. 5, apparently doesn't reckon this section as part of Noah's birth story; cf. E. Schuller, "Response to 'Patriarchs Who Worry About Their Wives: A Haggadic Tendency in the Genesis Apocryphon,'" in *George W. E. Nickelsburg in Perspective: An Ongoing Dialogue of Learning* (ed. J. Neusner and A. J. Avery-Peck; 2 vols.; JSJSup 80; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 1:200–212, 204.

¹⁹ See Bernstein, "From the Watchers," 45. In fact, the Hebrew equivalents of both terms, כל-בשר and ארץ, occur throughout the entire flood story in Genesis 6–9, not only in the context of antediluvian depravity.

²⁰ Following Morgenstern, Qimron and Sivan, "Unpublished Columns," 37, and Bernstein, "From the Watchers," 45–46 with n. 18, לקלל is considered as a Hebraism in both root and form. By contrast, Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 67, 121, 309, takes it as a noun "shame," arguing that the form cannot be an infinitive in Aramaic. But there is at least one more Hebrew infinitive preserved in the manuscript, i.e. לכת (col. VI 16).

²¹ On the basis of the then available textual material, J. C. VanderKam, "The Textual Affinities of the Biblical Citations in the Genesis Apocryphon," *JBL* 97 (1978): 45–55, generally argues that the quotations and allusions in the scroll attest to a pre-Samaritan text form; cf. White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture*, 107. However, given the additional textual material available since the 1990s it is an open question in how far VanderKam's view proves true.

of all his creatures.²² This suggests that the phrase *ולקלל לכול בשרא* in col. I 24 also refers to the flood that is imposed on all fleshly beings. The concern with the divine judgment at this point is corroborated by the mention of “a strong bond” or “prisoner” (*אסור/תקיף*) in col. I 21.²³ Whatever reading is correct, the recurring root *אסר* probably refers to the binding of the fallen angels already mentioned twice in col. 0 lines 8, 13. Taken together, these observations allow for the conclusion that the section starting in I 21 is not just concerned with the description of the antediluvian evil as resulting from the fall of the angels. The narrative has rather arrived at a point where God’s judgement is already under way: The fallen angels are subdued and the decision to destroy all mortals is made.²⁴

As a result, it turns out that the context of judgment in col. I 21–28 doesn’t fit the setting of Noah’s birth as presupposed by col. II 1–V 27. Hence, that story can hardly have begun with col. I 21, but only afterwards in line 29 at the earliest and thus comprises 9 lines maximum at the bottom of col. I.²⁵ Furthermore, it is doubtful whether Noah’s birth narrative and the preceding text in col. 0–I can belong to one and the same composition at all. As the fallen angels already appear as subdued in col. 0–I, Lamech’s suspicion about an angelic paternity of baby Noah actually becomes obsolete. This suspicion of course presupposes that different from Genesis the *fall* of the angels happened *before* the birth of Noah. Indeed, this seems to be indicated by Enoch in his answer to Me-

²² Irrespective of the discussion in how far Genesis 8:21 refers back beyond the flood narrative to Genesis 3:17; see, e.g., N. C. Baumgart, *Die Umkehr des Schöpfergottes: Zu Komposition und religionsgeschichtlichem Hintergrund von Gen 5–9* [Herder’s Biblical Studies 22; Freiburg: Herder, 1999], 152–162.

²³ The reading is difficult to determine: Morgenstern, Qimron and Sivan, “Unpublished Columns,” 37, suggest *אסור תקוף* without translating it, Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, 2:89, has *אסור תקיף* “eine starke Fessel,” and Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 66–67, prefers *אסיר תקיף* “a strong prisoner.” Note that the same phrase might occur in 4QEnGiants^d ar (4Q532) 2 14.

²⁴ Although the word *למחח* in col. I 26 is readily understood as the peal infinitive of *נחה* “to descend” (thus, e.g., Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 67, 121), the possibility should not be ruled out that it is another Hebrew infinitive form deriving from the root *נחח* “to strike” (thus the translations of Morgenstern, Qimron and Sivan, “Unpublished Columns,” 37; F. García Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar [eds.], *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* [2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1997], 1:29). If the former is the case, the reference is not necessarily to the descent of the angels, but could also be to the rainfall or, perhaps most probably, to the descent of the messengers just mentioned in the previous line.

²⁵ According to Avigad and Yadin, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 14, *יב*, there are 37 lines in each column on the first sheet.

thuselah when speaking about “in the days of Jared” (col. III 3). The same words are also used in *I Enoch* 106:13 (4QEn^c ar 5 ii 17) as well as in the *Book of the Watchers* (*I En.* 6:6 according to 4QEn^a ar [4Q201] 1 iii 4) to date the descent of the angels.²⁶ Yet that the angels appear to have already been *imprisoned* inextricably conflicts with the setting of Lamech’s account. Therefore, despite the lack of a blank line as in col. V 28 and XVIII 23–24, to my mind it is reasonable to assume that col. 0–I (at least up to line 28) attest to a fourth originally independent composition collected in the manuscript.²⁷

2. Noah’s Birth Stories in Relation to the Birth Notice in Genesis 5:28–29

Having established the earliest possible beginning of Noah’s birth story in *Genesis Apocryphon* I 29, I will secondly provide a fresh look on the relationship of Noah’s birth stories to their base text in Genesis 5:28–29. Because of its far better state of preservation, the version in *I Enoch* 106–107 will serve as basis for my analysis. The account of Noah’s birth in *I Enoch* 106–107 is usually considered an originally independent work. It was appended to the *Epistle of Enoch* or to the collection of *I Enoch* by the last third of the first century BCE at the latest. This is demonstrated by the palaeographic date of 4QEn^c ar (4Q204) in which *I Enoch* 106–107 follows after *I Enoch* 105, separated by a *vacat* of one-and-a-half lines (4QEn^c ar 5 i 24–25).²⁸ In accordance with the Enochic context, the story in *I Enoch* 106–107 basically takes the form

²⁶ As is well known, the same notion occurs in *Jubilees* 4:15 as a pun on the name Jared. Admittedly, the dating “in the days of Jared” is ambiguous, because Jared’s lifetime overlapped with that of Noah (according to MT, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and LXX). On the chronological problems, see D.K. Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts: Strategies for Extending the Scriptures among the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 8; Library of Second Temple Studies 63; London: T&T Clark, 2007), 45–51.

²⁷ Prompted by the reference to “the book of the Words of Enoch” (לְסֵפֶר מְלִי חֲנוּךְ) in the Abram story (XIX 25), Nickelsburg speculates: “The material preceding Lamech’s account may have been presented as a book of Enoch” (“Patriarchs,” 156), although this suggestion is meant in terms of sections rather than compositions.

²⁸ See, e.g., Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 55–57; J. C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS 16; Washington, D.C.: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), 174.

of a first-person account by Enoch who dwells with the angels at the ends of the earth (*1 En.* 106:7–8).²⁹

At first glance, there doesn't seem to be a lot to say about the relationship of Noah's birth stories to the brief notice of his birth in Genesis 5:28–29. Commentators mostly agree that apart from the common subject, i.e. the very fact of Noah's birth, the extensive stories in *1 Enoch* 106–107 and *Genesis Apocryphon* I 29–V 27 are virtually unrelated to the text of Genesis.³⁰ This assessment is certainly correct for most of the material, yet on closer examination it needs some qualification.

In an article published already in 1959, Gad Ben-Ami Sarfatti has argued that the tradition of Noah's marvellous birth was prompted by an interpretative difficulty in the text of Genesis 5:28–29:³¹

When Lamech had lived for one hundred and eighty-two years, he became the father of a son; he named him Noah, saying, "Out of the ground that the Lord has cursed this one shall bring us relief from our work and from the toil of our hands" (NRSV).

The question arising from this passage is: how did Lamech know about the special destiny of his son? That this problem indeed troubled ancient commentators is shown by Philo of Alexandria who asks: "How is it that at the very birth of Noah his father says, 'This one will give us rest from our labours and from our sorrows and from the earth which the Lord God has cursed'?" (*QG* 1.87 [Marcus, LCL]). Sarfatti did not substantiate his claim that the stories of Noah's remarkable birth developed out of this question, but this can be supported by several observations: To begin with, in *1 Enoch* 106:1 the story opens with a genealogical account which leads to a setting more or less corresponding to Genesis 5:28: Lamech becomes a father.

And after a time, I took for Methuselah my son a wife and she gave birth to a son and called his name Lamech. Righteousness was brought low until that day. And

²⁹ With the exception of the conclusion in *1 En.* 107:3 which is told in the third person rather than the first. For the textual problems involved, see below.

³⁰ See, e.g., Avigad and Yadin, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 19, 10; Bernstein, "Noah," 207 with n. 20; idem, "From the Watchers," 40; Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts*, 95; White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture*, 108.

³¹ G. Sarfatti, "Notes on the Genesis Apocryphon," *Tarbiz* 28 (1958–1959): 254–259, 254–255 (Hebrew). The same point is made by Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible*, 218 (without mentioning Sarfatti).

when he came of age, he took for him a wife, and she gave birth to a child for him (*I En.* 106:1 Greek).³²

In the very end, the story draws to a close with the naming of Noah followed by an etymological explanation corresponding to Genesis 5:29:

And when Methuselah heard the word of his father Enoch—for in secret he had shown to him the whole matter—he returned and showed (it) to him and called the name of that son “Noah,” for he will make the earth glad from all its destruction (*I En.* 107:3 Ethiopic).³³

It must be admitted that this verse is missing in the Aramaic manuscript 4QEn^c ar (4Q204) and might therefore not have belonged to the original story.³⁴ Be that as it may, it is noteworthy that Enoch’s disclosure of Noah’s real father and his future significance also focuses on the name Noah and its various etymologies.³⁵

And now, make known to your son Lamech that the one who has been born is truly his son. And call his name “Noah,” for he will be a remnant for you; and he and his children will be saved from the corruption that is coming upon the earth because of all the sin and all the iniquity which will be committed on the earth in his days (*I En.* 106:18 Ethiopic).³⁶

Thus it appears that the account in *I Enoch* 106–107 not only takes Noah’s birth notice in Genesis 5:28 as its starting point, but also returns to Genesis 5:29 insofar as it aims at the name “Noah” and its etymological explanation. In other words: Genesis 5:28–29 provide the basic frame of reference for the long story developed in-between. This storyline indicates the perception of a sort of gap between Genesis 5:28, on the one hand, and Genesis 5:29, on the other hand, which needed to be filled. This is, of course, not to say that the actual story within the gap is itself related to Genesis nor does it exclude the use of other sources. Moreover, it seems impossible to establish a similar claim for the fragmentary version of Noah’s birth story in *Genesis Apocryphon* I 29–

³² Translation by L. T. Stuckenbruck, *I Enoch 91–108* (CEJL; Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2007), 617.

³³ Translation by Stuckenbruck, *I Enoch*, 685.

³⁴ See Stuckenbruck, *I Enoch*, 687.

³⁵ The key role of the etymologies of proper names in general and of the name “Noah” in particular has been pointed out by J. C. VanderKam, “The Birth of Noah,” in *Studies Offered to Józef Tadeusz Milik, Part I: Intertestamental Essays in honour of Józef Tadeusz Milik* (ed. Z. J. Kapera; Qumranica Mogilanensia 6; Cracow: The Enigma Press, 1992), 213–231, 217–224.

³⁶ Translation by Stuckenbruck, *I Enoch*, 671.

V 27. But at least as far as the Enochic version is concerned, the view that it merely shares the subject with Noah's birth notice in Genesis V 28–29 does not seem to be exactly to the point. Noah's birth notice in Genesis V 28–29 is rather taken as base text for a new story which was provoked by an exegetical difficulty and integrated to fill the (so perceived) gap.

3. The Popularity of Noah and His Marvellous Birth in the Qumran Library

Coming back to the opening observation of this paper, the enormous popularity of the figure of Noah in general and the tradition of his marvellous birth in particular in the Qumran library requires explanation. As far as I can see, there are mainly two approaches to explain the popularity of Noah: First, Devorah Dimant has emphasised the prototypical appeal of Noah who, as “the righteous survivor, becomes the prototype of the small group of righteous that is active amidst wickedness at the dawn of the eschatological era, a group that will survive and build the new and just world to come.”³⁷ Second, Michael Stone has drawn attention to what he calls “The Axis of History” in which Noah plays a key role as a sort of “bridge” over the flood and transmitter of antediluvian knowledge.³⁸

That these two approaches should not be understood as exclusive but rather complement one another is clearly shown by the texts concerned with Noah's birth. In fact, at least in Enoch's account in *1 Enoch* 106–107 both notions are discernible. On the one hand, the transmission of secret knowledge plays a pivotal role: Enoch receives “the mysteries” from the angels and the heavenly tablets (*1 En.* 106:19) and he transmits them to Methuselah who passes them on to Lamech. While in this case baby Noah is not involved himself, this seems to be different in 4QBirth of Noah^{a-c} ar (4Q534–536): In this text, Noah himself is praised for his outstanding wisdom and knowledge (4Q534 1 i 3–8; 4Q536 2 i + 3 2–9, 12–13) which he is supposed to acquire from “the three books” (4Q534 1 i 5) that are probably to be identified with Enochic works.³⁹

³⁷ Dimant, “Noah,” 135.

³⁸ M. E. Stone, “The Axis of History at Qumran,” in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives*, 133–149.

³⁹ Thus first P. Grelot, “Hénoch et ses écritures,” *RB* 82 (1975): 481–500, especially 492; cf. Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 137–138.

On the other hand, the account of Noah's birth in *I Enoch* 106–107 highlights Noah's prototypic role. Enoch's answer to Methuselah contains a twofold prediction of history which is divided into two analogous periods. The first epoch ranges from the sin of the angels up to the deluge from which only Noah and his sons are to be saved (*I En.* 106:13–18). In the second epoch, "iniquity will become even stronger" until the rise of "righteous generations" (דְּרִי קוֹשְׁטָא; *I En.* 107:1 according to 4QEn^c ar 5 ii 28) and the final destruction of evil in the eschatological future (*I En.* 106:19–107:1). The analogy between both epochs shows that the flood is perceived as the prototype of the final judgment and Noah as the prototype of the righteous "remnant" (*I En.* 106:16, 18).⁴⁰ It remains doubtful whether or not a similar typology was also included in Lamech's account of Noah's birth in *Genesis Apocryphon* I 29–V 27.⁴¹ Nickelsburg argues in favour of an *Urzeit–Endzeit* typology, contrary to his earlier doubts regarding an interest in eschatology.⁴² In particular, Nickelsburg relates the words עֲבֹדִין חֲמַס שְׂגִיָא יַעֲבֹדוּן עַד דִּין "doing much violence; they will do (it) until[" (V 18) to the eschatological prediction in *I Enoch* 106:19–107:1.⁴³ However, all these words are so common and well attested with regard to the flood that an eschatological context is far from certain.

Nevertheless, it seems that the tradition of Noah's marvellous birth combines key aspects of the general fascination with Noah and his story. This may well help to explain the outstanding popularity of this tradition in the Aramaic texts from Qumran.

Conclusion

(1) Examination of the first extant columns of the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1Q20) has shown that Lamech's account of Noah's birth must have begun somewhere in the last nine lines of col. I. Though nothing of these lines is preserved they must have contained a description of the

⁴⁰ On this pattern, see especially Nickelsburg, "Patriarchs," 142–143; idem, *I Enoch I: A Commentary on the Book of I Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 545–549.

⁴¹ Stuckenbruck "The Lamech Narrative in the *Genesis Apocryphon*."

⁴² See G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction* (2d ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 174, by contrast to the first edition (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), 264.

⁴³ See Nickelsburg, "Patriarchs," 140–141; cf. Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 143.

baby's radiant appearance which provoked Lamech's suspicion of angelic paternity expressed at the beginning of col. II.

(2) This suspicion conflicts with the preceding material in *Genesis Apocryphon* 0–I 28 where the fallen angels are described as already imprisoned. For this reason, *Genesis Apocryphon* 0–I 28 probably attests to an originally independent composition, in addition to Lamech's account of Noah's birth (col. I 29–V 27), the "Book of the Words of Noah" (col. V 29–XVIII 23), and the story of Abram (col. XVIII 25 following).

(3) The tradition of Noah's marvellous birth was most likely prompted by an exegetical difficulty in Noah's birth notice in Genesis V 28–29. To explain how Lamech knew about the special fate of his son, a long story was developed which ultimately aims at the name of the *Wunderkind* and its meaning.

RESPONSE: THIERRY LEGRAND

Après un bref rappel de l'importance de la place de Noé et du récit du déluge dans les écrits qumrâniens hébreux et araméens, M. Weigold s'intéresse aux traditions sur la naissance merveilleuse de Noé telles qu'elles se présentent dans l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* (1QapGen) et le *Livre d'Hénoch* (1 En. 106–107 et fragments araméens). L'auteur développe trois points distincts :

Dans une première partie importante et dense de sa communication, Weigold s'interroge sur la localisation précise du récit de la naissance de Noé dans les premières colonnes de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse*. Cet épisode est en effet suggéré par les paroles de Lamech et d'Hénoch en 1QapGen II–V et par les soupçons des protagonistes sur les origines de l'enfant Noé. Mais aucun récit détaillé ne figure parmi les fragments de textes préservés. Après une analyse précise des éléments thématiques et linguistiques repérés dans ces colonnes très fragmentaires, Weigold en arrive à la conclusion que le récit de la naissance de Noé devait être situé tout à la fin de la première colonne, non pas comme le suggère J. A. Fitzmyer dès la ligne 21, mais sans doute à partir de la ligne 29, juste avant le discours de Lamech (col. II). Sur ce point, l'hypothèse de Weigold paraît cohérente et convaincante même si elle reste fragile. En effet, en raison de l'état particulièrement dégradé de la première colonne, rien n'a été préservé de cet épisode supposé de la naissance de Noé (environ 8 ou 9 lignes).

Poursuivant son analyse des deux premières colonnes de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse*, Weigold y relève l'importance du thème des « anges emprisonnés/liés » ainsi que la mention de la « malédiction de toute chair » (I 24) qui fait probablement allusion à Genèse 8:21, un épisode postdiluvien. Associant ces éléments à d'autres remarques sur le texte, Weigold en déduit que ce qui a été préservé des deux premières colonnes de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* (col. 0–I) contenait probablement une section particulière de cet écrit. En conséquence, selon l'analyse de Weigold, l'écrit araméen aurait été formé à l'origine d'au moins quatre compositions distinctes : une section mentionnant l'épisode des anges déchus et le jugement divin (0–I 28) ; le récit de la naissance de Noé (I 29–V 27) ; le « Livre des Paroles de Noé » (V 29–XVIII 23) enfin l'histoire d'Abraham (à partir de XVIII 25).

L'hypothèse de Weigold permet ainsi de comprendre la difficulté des spécialistes de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* à concilier le contenu des bribes de textes des cols. 0–I avec le discours de Lamech (col. II) et la suite du récit. Par ailleurs, cette hypothèse va dans le sens de plusieurs chercheurs (R. C. Steiner, M. Bernstein) qui tentent de montrer que l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* a été rédigé sur la base d'une collection de compositions indépendantes.

Le second volet de la communication s'intéresse aux relations qui existent entre les récits de la naissance de Noé (spécialement *I Hénoch* 106–107) et le texte biblique de Genèse 5:28–29. Une lecture attentive des traditions hénociques relatives à la naissance de Noé permet à Weigold de montrer qu'elles s'inspirent bien de Genèse 5:28–29. De plus, il met l'accent sur le fait que Genèse 5:29 (l'explication étymologique du nom de Noé) a probablement suscité le développement des traditions relatives à la naissance de Noé.

Dans le dernier élément de son exposé, Weigold s'interroge sur la popularité de la figure de Noé dans les écrits qumrâniens : comment expliquer l'importance de ce patriarche au sein de cette littérature ? Comment interpréter la présence de plusieurs récits au sujet de sa naissance ? Sur la base des études antérieures (D. Dimant et M. Stone), Weigold relève l'intérêt de deux thématiques repérables dans les traditions concernant la naissance de Noé : la fonction prototypique de Noé comme seul juste rescapé du Déluge, et son rôle de « transmetteur » de la science et de la sagesse pour les générations futures (cf. 4Q534–536). Selon Weigold, que nous rejoignons sur ce point, ces deux éléments expliquent en partie l'attention portée à Noé et à l'épisode du déluge dans les écrits qumrâniens.

Comme on le perçoit, plusieurs avancées significatives se dégagent de l'étude minutieuse de M. Weigold ; elles méritent l'attention des spécialistes. Certaines d'entre elles reposent sur des bases textuelles fragiles. Mais comment peut-il en être autrement face à des colonnes aussi fragmentaires et dégradées que celle de l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* ?

DISCUSSION

Moshe Bernstein: I do agree with you that the *Genesis Apocryphon* is composed of sources. I've come to that conclusion on the basis of later work; we'll debate certain specifics. And I think that you are absolutely correct for the reason for the expansion about the birth. I had always assumed that that was the case; when Lamech says **וְיָנַח לָמֶכֶךְ**—Why? I think that your analysis there is correct and I don't think that we should have to debate it.

Let me suggest an alternative, however, for what you just said about columns 0 and I so as not to proliferate sources. The fact that the Watchers come down early in the *Genesis Apocryphon* and in *1 Enoch* and in *Jubilees* means that this is a version of the story that is out there. And perhaps the reason for the re-arrangement of the narrative was in order to have the threat in existence before the salvation from the threat is presented. Now in response to your saying, "Oh, but the angels have been bound already," that doesn't say that they were bound nine months before. I think that you could adopt the same analysis that you have, but you don't have to postulate another source. What has happened is (and I like what you said about Genesis 8:21 being retrojected; I think that that is very insightful also): the angels were running around and then they were stopped. Meanwhile Lamech's wife becomes pregnant during this interim and the fact that the angels are all in jail does not make Lamech any happier as to what might have happened some time back. So that there doesn't have to be a juxtaposition of the angels' still being on the loose when Bitenosh gives birth. And I think that you can argue as you have and put the birth story at the bottom of column I as it ought to be, but perhaps you might be willing to consider the possibility of not having to create a new source for 0–I.

Matthias Weigold: My principal concern with columns 0 and I is that the few preserved remains go beyond the presupposed setting of the story of Noah's birth and should therefore be considered as a distinct unit. The suggestion of an originally independent composition must necessarily remain tentative, and the nine months of pregnancy could indeed be a possible synchronic explanation for Lamech's worry despite the imprisonment of the angels. Nevertheless, taking into account the apparent reference to the deluge before the very birth of Noah a diachronic explanation seems more likely to me.

Dan Machiela: You mentioned that some of the material in columns 0 and I does not appear to be part of the Noah story. Based on use of the first person plural in this section, and the great likelihood (in my opinion) that here we have the Watchers speaking, I wonder if this could be part of the address by this group to the Lord (via Enoch) only mentioned by the narrator in *1 Enoch* 13. Do you have any opinions or thoughts on that?

Matthias Weigold: This was exactly my initial suspicion with regard to column 0. However, the following references to the transgressions of the fallen angels in column 1 point to a narrative progress which differs from the *Book of the Watchers* and thus cautions against drawing too close parallels.

Florentino García Martínez: You seem to have a clear idea of the chronology, but ancient authors have often other ideas. For example, when the author of *Jubilees* wants to tell us that some angels were created already circumcised, he does not report us this element at the moment of their creation, but in the middle of the story of Abraham, certainly a place where we would not have expected it.

Matthias Weigold: A similar “flashback” to an event that happened earlier might be observed in the story of Noah’s birth, when Enoch refers to the descent of the angels “in the days of Jared” (1QapGen ar III 3; *1 Enoch* 106:13). However, this only applies to the narrative account of events while my argument with regard to the binding of the angels and the birth of Noah pertains to the sequence of the reported events themselves.

THE GENRE(S) OF THE *GENESIS APOCRYPHON*¹

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Genre analysis of ancient Jewish literature has become increasingly important over the last half century and more. The most significant stimuli for such study have been the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls with their thousands of fragments of works hitherto unknown and concomitantly difficult to reconstruct, analyze and classify; and the rediscovery of the Pseudepigrapha and other literary remains of Second Temple Judaism as well as their integration into the intellectual portrait of that period. One of the ways in which a coherent picture of the literary landscape of that era can be drawn is through the generic categorization of the complete and fragmentary works which have survived to our day. The notion of genre, of course, belongs largely to the students of ancient literature rather than to its authors, and we must always, therefore, be exceptionally wary of two hazards: that of attaching modern concepts to ancient works, and that of adopting an attitude of certainty toward our taxonomies. We classify for our scholarly benefit, but we do so at our own risk.

My work on the *Genesis Apocryphon* over the last several years has led me on several occasions to reflect on the question of its genre, and, in fact, I delivered an earlier, less comprehensive paper with the same title as this one at the Association for Jewish Studies Annual Conference in Los Angeles in December 2002. The proximate impetus for this paper, however, is a piece of research with the title “Divine Titles and Epithets and the Sources of the *Genesis Apocryphon*,” which I completed last year (*JBL* 128 [2009]: 291–310). In the course of surveying the ways in which God is referred to in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, I collected the various epithets which are employed in the text and plotted

¹ One of the outstanding features of this conference was a format that allowed for an unusual amount of informed discussion among the participants. I am very appreciative of the questions and comments on this paper raised by the formal respondent, Professor Hanan Eshel, as well as other members of the audience: Dr. Jonathan Ben-Dov, Professors John J. Collins and Devorah Dimant, Dr. Esti Eshel, and Professors Florentino García Martínez, Armin Lange, Dr. Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, and Professor Michael E. Stone. I have attempted to integrate the responses to as many of the queries as I could into the body and notes of the paper, while leaving the remainder for the discussion section following it.

them on a chart. To my surprise, there was a virtually total dichotomy between the terms which were employed in the Lamech-Noah section of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, columns 0–XVII, which I shall designate from now on as Part I, and those employed in the Abram section, columns XIX–XXII, to be referred to as Part II.²

Furthermore, not only were the divine epithets of the two parts of the *Genesis Apocryphon* divergent, but each set appeared to be linked to a different Second Temple work. The epithets of Part I bore a very striking similarity to those employed in *I Enoch*, while those found in Part II bore a similarity, albeit less striking, to those found in *Jubilees*. My conclusion was that these two sections of the *Genesis Apocryphon* derived from different sources.³ Part I itself, of course, appears to be composite in some sense, with the dividing line marked at column V with *כתב מלי נוח* [פרשגן], but the Lamech-Noah material exhibits (based on the very fragmentary textual material which survives) a unity which does not extend into the Abram section.⁴ On the other hand, despite the fact that the best known division within the *Genesis Apocryphon* is between the first and third person narratives in the Abram material at XXI 23, there is no divergence between the divine epithets which are employed in the two subsections of the Abram material.⁵

² The rather unusual designation column 0 is employed for the fragments of the *Genesis Apocryphon* which extend to the right of what had been referred to as column I since the initial publication, based on the arrangement of the pieces of 1Q20. The term, which has been adopted by all current students of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, was suggested by Michael Wise and Bruce Zuckerman when they presented this data at the 1991 SBL meeting.

³ The divergent natures of the two sections have been observed before, of course, but I do not know whether any hard evidence has been brought to bear on the question. (Between presenting this paper and preparing it for publication, I saw that Daniel Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts: Strategies for Extending the Scriptures among the Dead Sea Scrolls* [LSTS 63; CQS 8; London: T&T Clark International, 2007], 97, has noticed the relationship between some of the epithets in Part I and those in *Enoch*.) I believe that there is evidence beyond the divine epithets that points in the same direction: in a paper presented at the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting in Atlanta, GA in November 2003, “קשט in the Genesis Apocryphon and the Remainder of the Qumran Aramaic Corpus,” I showed that *קשט/קושט*, a term that occurs frequently in *Enoch* and related works, appears almost twenty times in Part I of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, and only once in Part II.

⁴ There is some very tenuous evidence, based on divine epithets, for a further division between the Lamech and Noah material, but there is not sufficient textual data to be confident of it. Note that Avigad and Yadin (cited below p. 322 and n. 9) saw the *Genesis Apocryphon* as being composed of several “books of X.”

⁵ I shall return later to the possible generic implications of the bifurcation of Part II.

If my source-critical analysis is correct, the questions which it raises are crucial for the determination of the genre of the *Genesis Apocryphon*. Generic taxonomy is applied, as a rule, to complete works. How then are we to classify a work which is clearly composed of earlier materials that have been fused together? Should we speak of the genres of its component parts? Is it at all meaningful to speak of the genre of the final product as a whole? This paper will attempt to answer these questions, or, at least, to confront them even without suggesting fully determinative answers.

It might seem strange, at first glance, to discuss the history of the generic classification of an ancient composition as opposed simply to discussing its genre, but, as we have often seen in analysis of the works of Second Temple Judaism, especially in the last six decades spent on the Dead Sea Scrolls, definitions and boundaries are often shifting and fluid, and tracing the history of those malleable boundaries is sometimes a necessary component of our modern scholarship. The categories which were available for generic cataloguing a century, or even a half-century, ago have proven insufficient for appropriate classification of the multitude of works and fragments of works which have enriched our studies during that period. The adventures in generic classification, even when they followed paths which led to dead-ends, can be instructive to us as we reflect on issues of genre at the beginning of the 21st century. A substantial portion, therefore, of my discussion of “The Genre(s) of the *Genesis Apocryphon*” will entail some discussion of the directions that consideration of this issue have taken, before turning to the current state of the question.

Fundamentally there have been two approaches to the discussion of the genre of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, although they were not chronologically discrete, and the generic terms which they employ are drawn from different literary strata of Judaism in late antiquity from the Second Temple through the rabbinic periods. The first approach sought to classify the *Genesis Apocryphon* against the background of literary forms which were known before its discovery, whereas the second, acknowledging that none of the pre-existent categories were appropriate for the *Genesis Apocryphon*, searched more broadly for ways to describe its genre more accurately. (We shall note as well that these approaches operate with two somewhat different notions of genre—one formal and one which might be characterized as functional.)

Before tackling the question of genre, however, we must first present a brief outline of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, one which claims far less certainty for the first 17 columns than for the last four:

Columns 0–I: Watchers/“fallen angels” speaking about their imprisonment; pleading with God (?); it is difficult to identify the narrator in most of very fragmentary column I.

Column II: Lamech is the narrator; Lamech and Bitenosh in dialogue about unusual child; Lamech goes to Methuselah; Methuselah to Enoch

Columns III–V: Enoch speaks to Methuselah about future and legitimacy of child; Methuselah reports to Lamech; Lamech rejoices (brief third person narration); “Book of Noah” begins

Columns VI–VIII: Noah introduces himself; tells some of his own story; divine emissary appears to him in vision about corruption on earth; prediction of Noah’s domination of earth; presumably the building of the ark and the entry of humans and animals into it was described

Column IX: virtually nothing survives; probably contained the narrative of the flood

Columns X–XII: Noah speaking (from the ark); calls on family to praise God; ark rests on mountain; Noah performs sacrifices of atonement; leaves ark, walks through the earth; praises God; God/emissary encourages him from heaven; permits him to eat everything but blood; (God speaking) rainbow placed in cloud; Noah speaking—he and family descend and build city; descendants begin to be born; vineyard planted; wine drunk in fifth year. Noah sleeps and has revelation

Columns XIII–XV: Noah’s dream; he wakes up

Columns XVI–XVII: Noah divides land among sons; narration is third person.

Column XVIII: Nothing readable survives; must have contained the transition from the Noah to the Abram narratives.⁶

Columns XIX–XXI 22 Opens in the first part of Genesis 12; Abram is the narrator; tells the story of Genesis 12:9–13:18 with interpretive and expansive additions

Columns XXI 23–XXII 34 Third person narrative beginning with Genesis 14:1 through 15:4 where the surviving text breaks off, mid-sentence

We can readily observe that the way in which the *Genesis Apocryphon* tells its story does not make it easy to establish its genre, with one of the

⁶ Armin Lange has pointed out (“1QGenAp XIX 10–XX 32 as Paradigm of the Wisdom Didactic Narrative,” in *Qumranstudien: Vorträge und Beiträge der Teilnehmer des Qumranseminars auf dem internationalen Treffen der Society of Biblical Literature, Münster, 25.–26. Juli 1993* [ed. H.-J. Fabry et al.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996]) 192, n. 10, that there is a one and a half line *vacat* before XVIII 25 which very likely marks the beginning of the Abram material. Unfortunately we do not have any idea whether or not the section began with a heading such as “Book of the words of Abram.”

most obvious obstacles to a clear definition being the variation in narrator. The first 17 fragmentary columns consist on the whole of a series of first person narratives, with Lamech being the apparent narrator of II–V except when he is “off-camera,” and Methuselah and Enoch during that interval. Noah clearly becomes the narrator toward the end of column V, where the words כהב מלי נוח [פרשגן] are found, and he continues to narrate, as far as we can tell, through column XV. The division of the earth among Noah’s descendants, however, is narrated in the third-person, a point which has not been noticed by most scholars studying the *Genesis Apocryphon*, who, as a rule, appear to be aware of third-person narration only at the end of the Abram section.⁷ There are indications of a non-first-person narrative in XVI 12, 21; XVII 15 and 22. We lack the transition between the Noah and Abram sections, although when the reader first encounters Abram, he is the narrator of the text from XIX through XXI 22. At that point, parallel to the beginning of Genesis 14, a third-person narrative resumes and continues through the end of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, parallel to the beginning of Genesis 15. This inconsistency in mode of narration has had an impact on the way in which scholars have evaluated other generic indicators.

The fundamental question regarding the genre of the *Genesis Apocryphon* arose virtually from the moment of its initial publication in 1956, almost a decade after its discovery in Cave 1 at Qumran.⁸ At that time, the surviving corpus of biblical, Second Temple, early Christian and rabbinic literatures did not furnish any sufficiently similar analogue which could be employed in describing or defining the genre of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, and questions regarding genre were then formulated on a very basic level, in a way that would be deemed fairly unso-

⁷ H. Lignée, tr. and comm., “L’Apocryphe de la Genèse,” in *Les Textes de Qumran traduits et annotés* (ed. J. Carmignac et al.; Paris: Éditions Létouzey et Ané, 1963), 2:212, although very early in the history of *Apocryphon* scholarship, is one of the exceptions.

⁸ Extended discussions of the genre of the *Genesis Apocryphon* can be found in J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20): A Commentary* (3rd edition; Biblica et Orientalia 18/B; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2004), 16–25; C. A. Evans, “The Genesis Apocryphon and the Rewritten Bible,” *RevQ* 13 (1988): 153–165; Falk, 41–42; D. A. Machiela, “The Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20): A Reevaluation of Its Text, Interpretive Character, and Relationship to the Book of Jubilees” (Ph.D. thesis; The University of Notre Dame; June, 2007), 5–13. A revised version has just been published as Daniel Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20): A New Text Edition and Translation, with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17* (STDJ 79; Leiden: Brill, 2009).

pohisticated today. Nahman Avigad and Yigael Yadin spend all of two paragraphs at the very end of their introduction on “the nature of the scroll,” leading “to the definite conclusion that it is a sort of apocryphal version of stories from Genesis, faithful, for the most part, to the order of the chapters in Scripture.... The work is evidently a literary unit in style and structure, though ... it may be perhaps be divisible into books—a Book of Lamech, a Book of Enoch, a Book of Noah, a Book of Abraham.”⁹ This description can barely be considered an analysis of its genre.

Since those original editors quite correctly saw that the appropriate context for the work was that of Second Temple literature, primarily *Jubilees*, they were not drawn to the sort of misleading questions which affected the discussion of the *Genesis Apocryphon* after their publication. But other scholars, perhaps forgivably, could not resist. Second Temple literature was not prominent then on the radar screens of biblical scholars or scholars of New Testament or of rabbinic literature, so that other models needed to be found for the classification of the *Genesis Apocryphon*. And it was not difficult, at first glance, to find them. Since four of the first five columns to be published were columns XIX–XXII, which maintain a much closer stance to the biblical text than column II (the other published column), and since the *Genesis Apocryphon* is written in Aramaic, one of the first questions to be posed was, “Is the *Genesis Apocryphon* a targum?” It seemed to be a reasonable operating presumption that a work which contains some translation of the Pentateuch into Aramaic must belong to the category of the Aramaic translations of Scripture, the targumim.¹⁰ Simultaneously, scholars focusing on the non-translation aspects of the *Genesis Apocryphon* which expanded the biblical narrative in a variety of ways saw in it an antecedent or a colla-

⁹ N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press and Heikhal Ha-Sefer, 1956), 38.

¹⁰ At the February 2008 Dead Sea Scrolls conference in Vienna, sponsored by the University of Vienna and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, I presented a paper focusing on the “targumic” aspects of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, “The Genesis Apocryphon and the Aramaic *Targumim* Revisited: A View from Both Perspectives,” to be published in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context: Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages and Cultures* (ed. A. Lange, E. Tov, and M. Weigold). Some of my discussion here of the attempts to label the *Genesis Apocryphon* generically as a targum bears a close resemblance to my remarks on that occasion. Cf. also the remarks of Thierry Legrand, “Exégèses targumiques et techniques de réécriture dans l’*Apocryphe de Genèse* (1QapGen ar),” in this volume, pp.225–252.

teral ancestor of rabbinic midrash.¹¹ There is no doubt that there are elements of the *Genesis Apocryphon* which could lead to its being classified as midrash, just as the presence of literal renderings of the biblical text in it point to its relationship with targum, but should these have really been the only two options?

Interestingly, in one of the first published articles which touches upon this issue, Manfred Lehmann, writing in the first volume of *Revue de Qumran*, notes that all through the *Genesis Apocryphon*, “we find shorter or longer passages of literal translations of the Biblical text interwoven in the midrashic portions.”¹² In a way, Lehmann’s comment could have pointed the way to classifying the *Genesis Apocryphon* as neither targum nor midrash, but he himself moves from this assertion about literal translations in the *Genesis Apocryphon* to a claim that the *Genesis Apocryphon* was somehow an ancestor of the later targumim, particularly the Palestinian ones. Those Aramaic versions are not as strictly limited to precise rendering of the biblical text as is Onqelos and interperse their translations of the text with non-biblical material of a midrashic nature.

Shortly after Lehmann’s article appeared, Matthew Black explicitly questioned Avigad and Yadin’s characterization, wondering “whether, in fact, this is an adequate or even correct description of the character of this old Aramaic text,” and suggesting that “too much stress on the apocryphal character of the scroll may have the effect of obscuring or even misrepresenting its essential nature.”¹³ Citing Paul Kahle as the originator of the idea, Black suggests that this Aramaic document might be “an early specimen of a written Aramaic Pentateuch Targum from Palestine, perhaps a prototype and forerunner of the old Palestinian Targum . . . and of the so-called Fragment Targum.” But within a few pages, the tentative hypothesis becomes an assertion that “like any other Targum text, the Aramaic translation is simply following the sections of Scripture in their canonical order.”¹⁴ Black’s surprising (to us) conclusion is “The

¹¹ Such an approach could be stimulated by any of the non-translation sections of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, both in column II and in columns XIX–XXII.

¹² M. R. Lehmann, “1QGenesis Apocryphon in the Light of the Targumim and Midrashim,” *RevQ* 1 (1958–59): 249–263 (252).

¹³ M. Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins: Studies in the Jewish Background of the New Testament* (New York: Charles Scribner’s and Sons, 1961), 193.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 195. We should note that the evidence for the targumic nature of the scroll derives almost entirely from the Abram material, especially column XXII, which is much

new scroll is almost certainly our oldest written Palestinian Pentateuch Targum.”¹⁵

Black himself, some years later, changed his mind about the generic identification, writing of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, “The new Aramaic document is a kind of *midrash* on Gen. xii and xiv.”¹⁶ But others stepped forward to support the targumic classification of the document. Building on the early suggestion by Black, Gerald Kuiper set out to test his hypothesis.¹⁷ He proceeds to assert

In GA, as in the tgg, the Aram. paraphrase follows the Hebr. verse by verse, though this is most marked in columns XXI and XXII, and contains verses-proper and free midrashic additions.... In the verses-proper there is agreement in GA with all the Pal. tgg as well as with the Hebrew text. The agreement with one tg is particularly marked with N[eofiti], but is also found with P[seudo-]J[onathan].¹⁸

He fails, of course, to demonstrate any compelling connection between the translations of the biblical text in the *Genesis Apocryphon* and those found in the later Aramaic targumim.

The non-translation passages in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, furthermore, are also claimed to belong to the targumic genre:

In GA, as in the Pal. tgg, we find midrashic additions. Among the shorter additions some agree with the tgg, and others have affinities to Palestinian traditions as has been noted in the discussion of the unique renderings. GA also includes unique, longer additions, another characteristic of the Pal. tgg. In the presentation of midrashic additions, some of which coincide with those in the Pal. tgg, while others are unique and often reflect likeness to Palestinian traditions, the nature of GA is revealed as the same as that of the Pal. Pent. Tg tradition.¹⁹

There is no difference, in this generic analysis, between the brief narrative material interspersed occasionally in expansions of verses in the Palestinian pentateuchal targumim and the long narratives of the *Genesis Apocryphon* which diverge *completely* from the biblical text. There is

closer to the biblical text than the material in column II, the only other one published at that time.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 198.

¹⁶ *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (3rd edition; Oxford: Clarendon, 1966), 40.

¹⁷ G. J. Kuiper, “A study of the relationship between ‘A Genesis Apocryphon’ and the Pentateuchal Targumim in Genesis 14₁₋₁₂,” in *In memoriam Paul Kahle* (ed. M. Black and G. Fohrer; BZAW 103; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1968), 149–161.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 155.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 158.

no attempt to distinguish between different sorts of pluses qualitatively, or to pay attention to whether or not the biblical text forms the frame into which the additional material is being inserted, as it must in a targum. Yet Kuiper concludes,

It is clear that GA is a targumic text. Following the Hebr. text, the Aram. translation inserts midrashic material. It parallels the free translation of the Pal. tgg and is unlike the literal translation of O.... Our conclusion is the tentative thesis that GA is a unique recension of the Pal. Pent. Tg tradition....²⁰

And Kuiper was not even the last to assert the connection of the *Genesis Apocryphon* with the targumic genre; Grelot suggested that an underlying source of the final form of the *Genesis Apocryphon* was pre-existing targumic material.²¹ This is a more subtle view than was expressed by Black or Kuiper, and may provide us with a valuable insight about the relationship of the *Genesis Apocryphon* to its component parts. Grelot's claim, nevertheless, that the literality of the equivalent of Genesis 14 in the *Genesis Apocryphon* is similar to that of the *Targum Yerushalmi*, is a considerable overstatement.²² It should be clear that the attempt to link the *Genesis Apocryphon* with the targumic genre is based on superficial similarities and fails almost immediately upon close analysis.

The other major claimant to the genre of the *Genesis Apocryphon* in the early years was midrash, a term which, even more than other generic terms for Jewish literature in the ancient period, is unfortunately employed far too loosely.²³ Its usage illustrates the Scylla and Charybdis between which classifiers must pass: if this term is taken narrowly, we cannot use it to cover a multitude of works which need classification; if taken too broadly, it becomes meaningless. Even if we concede that "midrash" can be used for non-rabbinic literature, a probably somewhat hazardous usage if not accompanied by numerous caveats, the indiscriminate use of this category for pre-rabbinic works is not productive.²⁴ It

²⁰ Ibid., 160–161.

²¹ P. Grelot, "De l' 'Apocryphe de la Genèse' aux 'Targoums': sur Genèse 14,18–20," in *Intertestamental Essays in Honour of Józef Tadeusz Milik* (ed. Z. Kapera; Cracow: Enigma, 1992), 77–90 (77).

²² Ibid., 78.

²³ Fitzmyer, 19, observes that "The majority of writers who have discussed the genre of this text have either called it a midrash, or related it to midrashic writing." See his n. 28 for the lengthy list of scholars who have characterized the *Genesis Apocryphon* in this way.

²⁴ Cf. the perceptive remark over four decades ago by A. G. Wright, "The Literary Genre Midrash," *CBQ* 28 (1966): 108: "The word as currently used in biblical studies is

is only according to a very “non-narrow” definition of midrash, such as the following by Gary G. Porton, that we may include the *Genesis Apocryphon* under its rubric: “Midrash is a type of literature, oral or written, which has its starting point in a fixed canonical text, considered the revealed word of God by the midrashist and his audience, and in which this original verse is explicitly cited or clearly alluded to.”²⁵

What is particularly interesting is to observe the modifiers, such as “Essene,” “most ancient,” and “haggadique d’un genre spécial,” attached to the term “midrash” by scholars who have employed that word to describe the *Genesis Apocryphon*. Thus André Dupont-Sommer writes, “the biblical account is enriched and embellished by rather extensive and purely imaginative developments related to the midrashic genre: the present scroll is a precious example of the Essene *midrash* and it is interesting to compare it with one or other of the rabbinic *midrashim*.”²⁶ Even Geza Vermes, who innovated the generic term “re-written Bible,” and was the first to apply it to the *Genesis Apocryphon*, wrote, “*Genesis Apocryphon* occupies a privileged position in midrashic literature in that it is the most ancient midrash of all. With its discovery the lost link between the biblical and Rabbinic midrash has been found.”²⁷

One of the most detailed, if unsuccessful, efforts to justify the appellation “midrash” is attempted by Hubert Lignée, who sees “points de contact avec d’autres ouvrages apocryphes ou pseudépigraphiques, déjà connus (en particulier le livre des Jubilés) et aussi avec des compositions plus classiques du judaïsme rabbinique: Midrashim et Targu-

approaching the point where it is no longer really meaningful and where some of the material designated as midrash resembles the later rabbinic midrash in a very superficial way. *And surprisingly very few voices have been raised in protest.*” (Italics mine, MJB)

²⁵ G. G. Porton, “Midrash,” *ABD* 4:819, cited from idem, “Defining Midrash,” in *The Study of Ancient Judaism I* (ed. J. Neusner; New York: Ktav, 1981), 62. Later on the same page, under the heading “Rewriting the Bible,” Porton includes the *Genesis Apocryphon* among works which “represent another type of postbiblical midrash: the rewriting of the biblical account. This genre of midrash retells the biblical story by adding details, explaining difficult passages, rearranging material, and the like.”

²⁶ *Les Écrits Esséniens Découverts près de la Mer Morte* (3rd ed.; Paris: Payot, 1968), 293; E.T. from A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran* (tr. G. Vermes; Oxford: Blackwell, 1961), 280. It is interesting that Dupont-Sommer, 291 n.2 (E.T.) writes of the second part of Part II, the third-person narrative beginning at XXI 23, “the additions and modifications are so relatively insignificant that it may almost be regarded as a simple paraphrase of the biblical text in the targumic manner.”

²⁷ *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies* (SPB 4; 2nd edition; Leiden: Brill, 1973), 124.

mim.”²⁸ He proceeds to classify biblical interpretation at Qumran in three groups, legal, prophetic, and “commentaires expliquant les faits du passé et se rattachant à la *haggada* du judaïsme rabbinique.”²⁹ He continues,

Si le terme de “midrash” est applicable à ces divers genres de commentaires, du fait qu’ils sont des *recherches* sur l’Écriture, on est en droit de le réserver d’une façon spéciale à cette dernière catégorie, en raison de son apparentement avec les oeuvres du judaïsme classique qui sont désignées sous ce nom. Or c’est dans cette catégorie que le present *Apocryphe* se range tout naturellement.³⁰

After an interesting discussion of the contents of the *Genesis Apocryphon* and their literary connections, Lignée raises the “other” possibility, only to deny that the *Genesis Apocryphon* might be considered a “targum.” “En définitive, si notre apocryphe suit la trame de la *Genèse* biblique, il s’en écarte assez considérablement pour qu’on n’y voie pas un Targum, du moins au sens qu’on donnera à ce nom dans le judaïsme postérieur à l’ère chrétienne.”³¹ Finally, he asserts “C’est pourquoi il faut lui réserver le qualificatif de *midrash*. C’est un midrash haggadique d’un genre special, qui n’est pas absolument semblable au midrash rabbinique, mais qui porte l’empreinte du milieu qui l’a produit, de sa mentalité et de ses préoccupations.”³² Note how there is a constant tension in the remarks of scholars who employ the term “midrash” for the *Genesis Apocryphon* between their desire to use the generic marker and their need to distinguish it constantly from later rabbinic material which has first claim to it.³³

Wright, noting that the *Genesis Apocryphon* has been designated as both targum and midrash, suggests that

for a discussion of literary genre we are at a distinct disadvantage in not possessing the beginning and end of G[enesis] A[pocryphon]. From what we do know of

²⁸ Lignée, “L’Apocryphe de la Genèse,” 209.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 209–210.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*, 214.

³² *Ibid.*, 215.

³³ I note here a recent suggestion by Esti Eshel, presented most recently in her lecture, “The Genesis Apocryphon: A Chain of Traditions,” at “The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture Celebrating 60 Years of Discovery,” Jerusalem, July 2008, to employ the term “narrative midrash” for the *Genesis Apocryphon*’s genre. The employment of the term “narrative” for this category may be indeed be a step forward and worthy of further consideration, but I remain strongly opposed to the use of the term “midrash” for pre-rabbinic material.

the work it very much resembles a targum in that it sets out to give the full biblical text, rather literally for Gn 14, and elsewhere in much the same free and paraphrastic way that characterizes many sections of the Pentateuchal Palestinian targums.³⁴

Somewhat surprisingly, it is the “autobiographical feature,” by which Wright means the first-person narration, that indicates to him that the work is not targumic. He therefore locates it “somewhere between a targum and L[iber] A[ntiquitatum] B[iblicarum],” and concludes, “At present, it can be said that the expansions on Gn in GA are certainly midrash and that there is some degree of probability to the view that the whole work is.”³⁵

The fundamental flaw in the attempts to characterize the *Genesis Apocryphon* as targum or midrash is most clearly stated by Harrington, discussing the literary character of works that he terms “adaptations of biblical narratives,” including the *Genesis Apocryphon*,

Too frequently in the past (and unfortunately even in the present) these books have been treated according to the categories of later Jewish literature.... Because they paraphrase the biblical text, they have been called targumic. Because these books interpret biblical texts, they have been seen as midrashic. But careful literary analysis has demonstrated that they are neither targums nor midrashim.³⁶

This judgment has been shared by many others; Joseph Fitzmyer, for example, writes,

It is not simply a midrash, just as it is not simply a targum. As there are passages where the word-for-word translation of the Hebrew text of Genesis suggests targum, so too there are passages where the embellishment of the text is reminiscent of haggadic midrash. Though there are elements in it which may justify its being regarded as the *prototype of midrash* [italics in the original], as this genre is known from considerably later rabbinic literature....³⁷

In my view, the problem with the categorization of the *Genesis Apocryphon* (and similar works) as midrash is a more profound one, namely an employment of the term “midrash” which has several meanings, many of which diverge too far from its fundamental one(s) as a classification

³⁴ Wright, “The Literary Genre Midrash (Part Two),” *CBQ* 28 (1966): 425–426.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 426.

³⁶ D. J. Harrington, “The Bible Rewritten (Narratives),” in *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters* (ed. R. A. Kraft and G. W. E. Nickelsburg; Atlanta: Scholars, 1986), 242.

³⁷ Fitzmyer, 19. Evans, 154, concurs, “The *Genesis Apocryphon* is certainly not a targum, nor is it a midrash in the sense of text and commentary.”

of a type of, and a method of, rabbinic literature. This is a good example of the failure of scholars in our field to come to an agreement on generic terminology which can be employed by scholars without worrying about how a term might be [mis]understood. Allowing such terminology to expand until terms become virtually meaningless is not conducive to good scholarly technique. Surely we have reached the point in our study of Second Temple and rabbinic literature that we can devote some attention to this crucial matter and resolve it to a large degree. There is no doubt that we shall have to revisit and revise the language which we have been employing, and perhaps develop new habits to replace our old ones, but it will be worth the effort.³⁸

As it became progressively clearer to those who studied the *Genesis Apocryphon* that it could not be made to conform to the terminology of targum or midrash, borrowed from later forms found in rabbinic literature, without strenuous contortions, the search for some other appropriate generic classification proceeded. Probably the term which has been employed most frequently in generic discussions of the *Genesis Apocryphon* is “rewritten Bible,” introduced by Vermes in 1961 to describe the following aggregation: “the Palestinian Targum and Jewish Antiquities, Pseudo-Philo and *Jubilees*, and the recently discovered ‘Genesis Apocryphon’,” and characterized as “a substantial narrative where the midrashist inserts haggadic development into the biblical narrative—an exegetical process which is probably as ancient as scriptural interpretation itself.”³⁹ Note the similarity of this language to the description by

³⁸ Machiela, “Genesis Apocryphon,” 8–11, discusses briefly the confusion in the “interchangeable and conflicting use of adjectives like ‘rewritten,’ ‘parabiblical,’ ‘midrashic,’ ‘apocryphal,’ ‘retold,’ and ‘reworked’ to describe ancient Jewish texts that interpret Scripture.”

³⁹ Vermes, 95. I have discussed (and decried) the growing tendency to employ this term, if it is employed at all, much too broadly in “‘Rewritten Bible’: A Generic Category Which Has Outlived Its Usefulness?,” *Textus* 22 (2005): 169–196. I am not going to enter, in this article, into the debate over the appropriateness of employing the term “Bible” in discussing works of the Second Temple period which are obviously (to me) based on portions of what we now refer to as “the Bible.” The pendulum has swung much too far in the direction of refusal to acknowledge that certain works were “authoritative” (and perhaps even “canonical”) in this era and of favoring what I should describe as a rather anarchical portrait of the literature of the period (cf., e.g., J. G. Campbell, “‘Rewritten Bible’ and ‘Parabiblical Texts’: A Terminological and Ideological Critique,” in *New Directions in Qumran Studies: Proceedings of the Bristol Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls, 8–10 September 2003* [ed. J. G. Campbell et al.; London: T&T Clark International, 2005], 43–68). Scholarly caution has given way to scholarly skepticism which, in turn, has given way to scholarly cynicism, with results that, in my view, are simply un-

Avigad and Yadin cited toward the beginning of this essay, “a sort of apocryphal version of stories from *Genesis*.”

Almost all scholars who employ the term “rewritten Bible” in their discussion of Second Temple literature include the *Genesis Apocryphon* under that rubric, and I would still count myself among them.⁴⁰ And even scholars who choose not to employ the specific term “rewritten Bible” often use language which indicates their approval of it. Thus Fitzmyer, who appears to prefer Ginsberg’s term “parabiblical” for the *Genesis Apocryphon*, writes, “It is a good example of the so-called rewritten Bible.”⁴¹

I have argued that one of the reasons for the lack of satisfaction with the term “rewritten Bible” (other than the refusal to acknowledge that “Bible” is a meaningful term) is the way it has been increasingly applied loosely to a broad variety of Second Temple works, without paying attention to Vermes’ original criteria.⁴² Daniel Falk suggests an objection of a very different nature, claiming that the designation of the literary genre of the *Genesis Apocryphon* is

misleading, even apart from the implicit anachronism of the term. Rewritten Bible (or better, Scripture) describes a formal feature that has to do with the process of producing the work, and hence can also refer to the phenomenon of such

productive. Whether we prefer the term scripture (or Scripture) or Bible to refer to them, there existed literary works which were the springboard for a variety of Second Temple works, whether rewritings, commentaries or less clearly defined genres. Cf. my comments in “What Has Happened to the Laws? The Treatment of Legal Material in 4QReworked Pentateuch,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 15/1 (2008): 24–49 (26 n.4).

⁴⁰ The exception appears to be Michael Segal, “Between Bible and Rewritten Bible,” in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. M. Henze; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2005), 17, who would limit the term to works composed in Hebrew, thus excluding the *Genesis Apocryphon* and other works written in Aramaic or Greek. The most recent attempt to grapple with the term “rewritten Bible” systematically is that of Sidnie White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2008), 9–15. White Crawford prefers the term “rewritten Scripture” to “rewritten Bible,” and would include a few works under this rubric which I would not, but her categorization, on the whole, is similar to my own. (I thank Professor White Crawford for furnishing me with a pre-publication copy of her book and for productive dialogue over the years on this topic.)

⁴¹ Fitzmyer, 20. I shall discuss my reasons for not preferring “parabiblical” below.

⁴² In the article from *Textus*, cited above n. 39, in arguing for a narrow and rigorous employment of “rewritten Bible” as a valid taxonomic term, I present lists of works which have been classified under this rubric by a variety of scholars who use the term much more loosely than I prefer.

works, but it does not meaningfully describe what the new work is or how it functions.⁴³

Actually, I do not agree that “rewritten Bible” describes something formally in the way that “targum” does. “Targum” is a strictly definable formal category, recognizable in almost all cases by the representation of the words of the Hebrew text in Aramaic; “rewritten Bible” is a looser sort of term, describing what the work *does*, namely retelling and representing the Bible, and in that way it might be said to be a functional sort of description.

I am furthermore not sure that Falk does not demand too much from a generic description by asking that it define function as well as literary form. And although Falk prefers the term “parabiblical,” he concedes that

This term is even less suitable as the name of a literary genre ... [and] is best used as an umbrella for a wide range of texts of various genres generated centrifugally from Scripture.... The *Genesis Apocryphon* is a significant example of this phenomenon, of the more specific type that can be described as rewriting or retelling Scripture. But it seems best not to regard either of these as specific literary genres.⁴⁴

Perhaps Falk’s caution in refraining “from attempting to determine a specific literary genre for the *Genesis Apocryphon*,” especially in light of the fact that we possess neither beginning nor end, is to be admired, but I believe that further discussion of this issue is warranted, even if any conclusions that we draw will be subject to some of the strictures which he suggests.

That term “parabiblical” with which Falk feels some discomfort has indeed also been employed for the classification of the *Genesis Apocryphon*. Originally suggested by H. L. Ginsberg in his review of the first edition of Fitzmyer’s commentary as a rubric “to cover works, like G[enesis] A[pocryphon], Pseudo-Philo, and the *Book of Jubilees*, which paraphrase and/or supplement the canonical Scriptures,”⁴⁵ it lacks the descriptive precision of Vermes’s term, in my opinion, but might have been adopted as a useful alternative if it had not been abused even more than Vermes’s was. Machiela, for example, points out correctly that the “official” usage of “parabiblical” in DJD is as a supercategory, encom-

⁴³ Falk, 41.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁴⁵ H. L. Ginsberg, “Review of Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I: A Commentary*,” *TS* 28 (1967): 574.

passing “compositions which have in common that they are closely related to texts or themes of the Hebrew Bible,” and under which “reworking, rewriting, or paraphrase of biblical books” is grouped.⁴⁶

At the conclusion of my article on rewritten Bible in *Textus*, I accepted the suggestion of Sidnie White Crawford that “parabiblical” be employed to describe works whose connection to the Hebrew Bible was looser than those that we call rewritten Bible.⁴⁷ In her most recent treatment, White Crawford formulates very nicely the view which we come very close to sharing. After defining the spectrum of works which she classifies as “rewritten Scripture,” she excludes from that group “parabiblical” texts which “use a passage, event, or character from a scriptural work as a “jumping off” point to create a new narrative or work.” Her examples include such texts as *I Enoch*, *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, and *Joseph and Aseneth*.⁴⁸ The “parabiblical” genre will yet be of interest in our further discussion of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, but perhaps not from the vantage point expected.

We have seen thus far that the *Genesis Apocryphon* has been called “targum” and “midrash,” “rewritten Bible” and “parabiblical.” Other than “targum,” a term which is really difficult to justify for the lion’s share of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, there are elements in the *Genesis Apocryphon* which might justify partially each of these characterizations. But is there a genre to which the whole *Apocryphon* might be said to belong, or are we reduced to determining the genre of pieces of the text, conceding our inability to find an appropriate descriptive term for the whole?

And here I return to the proximate cause of this article, the source-critical conclusions of my research on the distribution of divine epithets in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, and ask: just how do the results of that study bear on its generic categorization? Or, to put the question differently, what does the question of sources have to do with the matter of genre, recalling that our focus in this discussion is on genre and not on “uni-

⁴⁶ Machiela, “Genesis Apocryphon,” 9, citing H. Attridge, et al., eds., in consultation with J. VanderKam, *Qumran Cave 4. VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part I* (DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), ix. Falk, 4–6, likewise notes the broadening of “parabiblical literature as a broad category that includes rewritten Bible along with other genres;” cf. his remarks cited above.

⁴⁷ Bernstein, “Rewritten Bible,” 196.

⁴⁸ White Crawford, 14.

ty”?⁴⁹ The answer, I believe, lies in the nature of the sources which have been sketched out by my analysis.

What is needed is merely to examine the ways in which the two parts of the *Genesis Apocryphon* relate to the biblical text. The limited remains of Part I of the *Genesis Apocryphon* are connected only very loosely to the biblical text. In columns 0–V there is virtually nothing substantial which can be linked to the words of the Bible. The fragmentary remarks which appear to be spoken by the “fallen angels” belong to the kind of expansion of Genesis 6:1–4 which became so fashionable in the Second Temple era, and most of the other reported speech that survives does not derive directly from the Bible.⁵⁰ The outline of the biblical story is followed, more or less, in Part I, but the biblical text is of little import, and even the details of the biblical narrative do not play a significant role in the retelling. If one looks for points of direct contact between Part I of the *Genesis Apocryphon* and the Bible, one discovers very few.⁵¹

If we look at Part II of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, on the other hand, we see material which, taken together, can easily be classified under the narrow rubric of “rewritten Bible” as I have understood it, following Vermes. It stays close to the story-line of Genesis 12–15, but introduces into it various sorts of information which supplement the biblical text,

⁴⁹ I shall be presenting a paper on “Is the *Genesis Apocryphon* a Unity? It Depends What You Mean by Unity” at the 2008 Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in Boston. It is worth noting, however, that my claim that the *Genesis Apocryphon* derives from two distinct sources merely sharpens, on a certain level, our perception of the ways in which the two component parts relate to the Bible. Even in the unlikely event that the two generically diverse parts derive from a single hand, we could still argue for disunity on the generic level.

⁵⁰ G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* (2nd edition; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 174, suggests that the opening section of the *Genesis Apocryphon* (until “the book of the words of Noah”) “represents a rewriting of the story in 1 Enoch 106–107.” Note his further comment (176) “with respect to its genre and its motifs and emphases, the *Genesis Apocryphon* is a remarkably complex document;” but he makes no attempt to delineate or define the genre at all!

⁵¹ For a preliminary treatment of this issue, see my “From the Watchers to the Flood: Story and Exegesis in the Early Columns of the *Genesis Apocryphon*,” 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. E. G. Chazon, D. Dimant and R. A. Clements; STDJ 58; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 39–63. There are very few instances in Part I of more than a couple of words which the biblical text underlies clearly, e.g., X 12 (Gen 8:4), XI 17 (Gen 9:2–4), XII 1 (Gen 9:13), XII 10–12 (Gen 10:22, 6, 2).

fleshing out details in the story and resolving certain exegetical difficulties in it.⁵² If we examine the texts of Genesis and the *Genesis Apocryphon* side-by-side, we can often see how the author of Part II of the *Genesis Apocryphon* is reading the biblical text. Even what appear to be the lengthier digressions in this segment, such as the delineation of the boundaries of the Land of Israel and the near-erotic poetic description of Sarai's beauty, can be said to have stimuli in the biblical text. One could write a fairly close and detailed summary of the story in Genesis 12–14 on the basis of Part II of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, something which could not be accomplished for Genesis 5–10 on the basis of Part I.⁵³ Or, to put it a bit differently, all the details of the Genesis 12–15 narrative are significant for the retelling in Part II of the *Genesis Apocryphon*.

In light of several comments made in the discussion following the presentation of this paper regarding the presence of multigeneric works in Second Temple Judaism, I find it necessary to clarify here the order of magnitude of the genre that I am discussing. My concern in this paper is on the possibility of generic classification of the *Genesis Apocryphon* as a whole, and our ability and willingness to classify individual units of a larger composition by genre does not detract from or interfere with the fact that the work as a whole belongs to a genre. Thus the existence of a poem (often described as *wasf*) describing Sarai's beauty in Part II does not affect the overall characterization of that section as rewritten Bible. That poem functions as an expansion of the biblical "the nobles of Pharaoh saw her and praised her to Pharaoh" (Gen 12:15). Likewise, Lange's characterization of XIX 10–XX 32 as "wisdom didactic narrative" does not change my classification of the whole of Part II. *Jubilees* is rewritten Bible despite the fact that its chapter 23 is an apocalypse.⁵⁴ The fact that Deuteronomy, Daniel and the *Aramaic Levi Document* each have several genres included within their boundaries does not vitiate my analysis; I am not claiming that the *Genesis Apocryphon* is unique in this fashion, only that we have to look for accurate ways to describe works, especially of the Second Temple era, which are multi-

⁵² See, for example, my "Re-Arrangement, Anticipation and Harmonization as Exegetical Features in the Genesis Apocryphon," *DSD* 3 (1996): 37–57.

⁵³ This point, of course, must acknowledge the very fragmentary nature of columns 0–XVII.

⁵⁴ In the discussion after the paper, Michael Stone drew my attention to E. P. Sanders' discussion of apocalyptic units embedded in other works in "The Genre of Palestinian Jewish Apocalypses," in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East* (ed. D. Hellholm; Tübingen: Mohr, 1989), 447–60.

generic or generically eclectic. It is not enough to say that writers in this era composed works whose smaller units are generically disparate and to justify this by employing the word “eclectic”; we need to continue to struggle to characterize the larger structures in which those smaller literary forms are embedded.

Now, as we have just noted, the *Genesis Apocryphon* is certainly not the only work of Second Temple Judaism that is overtly composite—the book of *I Enoch* is probably the best complete example of that phenomenon—but the *Genesis Apocryphon* is manifestly of a different nature from *I Enoch* in this regard. *I Enoch*’s five divisions stand out fairly clearly from one another, and the book does not give the impression of ever having been intended to be an integral whole, while the *Genesis Apocryphon* (granted its fragmentary *diseiecta membra*) seems to be a coherent sequential narrative.⁵⁵ As a result, *I Enoch*, in its totality, has not been at all easy to categorize generically, beyond such broad terminology as “parabiblical,” while the *Genesis Apocryphon*, as we have seen, has often been treated as a paradigmatic example of “rewritten Bible.”

What, however, are we to say now that the *Genesis Apocryphon*’s component parts are more clearly distinguishable and that the joins in that flowing narrative stand out more sharply? It has become clearer to us that this is probably not a work composed by a single author sequentially *ab initio*, but is the product of the stringing together by an editor or redactor of originally separate compositions, or of the editor/redactor’s adding of his own material to a pre-existing work. How are we to characterize generically that composite whole? Can we indeed continue to speak of the *Genesis Apocryphon* as a whole, and can we demand of it whatever ideological consistency we might have expected in the past? Should we continue to refer to it as “rewritten Bible” because that term is certainly descriptive of its overall outlines, while acknowledging that its separate components need to be scrutinized individually to ascertain their different literary genres and possibly divergent *Weltanschauungen*?

A variety of comments by earlier scholars could, and perhaps should, have led us to raise these questions without my investigation into the distribution of divine epithets in the *Genesis Apocryphon* and the conclusions I drew from it. Some of the characterizations or classifications of the *Genesis Apocryphon* found themselves uncomfortably “hopping

⁵⁵ In my view, neither the textual reference to the “Book of Noah” nor the shift(s) in narrator undermines that perception of the work.

back and forth between branches,” and could have precipitated this discussion. To note only two of them: Vermes’ description of the *Genesis Apocryphon* in the introduction to it in his English translation, “It is a mixture of Targum, midrash, rewritten Bible and autobiography,” underlines the problem with its unspecific and diverse classification compared to the clearer generic assertion which he made in *Scripture and Tradition* where he makes it one of the paradigmatic examples of the newly described genre “rewritten Bible.”⁵⁶ Knibb’s remark, “The literary genre of the Genesis Apocryphon is closest to the book of Jubilees, itself a reworking of Gen 1:1–Exod 15:22 and to the narrative portions of 1 Enoch and of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs”⁵⁷ should have sounded a warning to anyone who realized that *Jubilees* and *1 Enoch* belong to fundamentally different literary genres. Machiela makes this point very clearly:

Of course, it is worth reminding ourselves that the Genesis Apocryphon’s status as rewritten Bible is valid only when viewing the scroll in its entirety. Were we to possess only the first few columns, we would probably not consider this text rewritten Bible, but an Enochic writing. If, on the other hand, we had only column 22, it could legitimately be considered a targum.⁵⁸

One way to resolve the generic dilemma might be a further revision or modification of the way that we employ the term “rewritten Bible.” Perhaps we should distinguish, on some level, between two types of works belonging to this genre. *Jubilees* and Pseudo-Philo, for example, each appears to have been composed as units by an author whose controlling hand we can see throughout the work; those two works therefore merit the heading “rewritten Bible” *in toto*. The *Genesis Apocryphon* and the *Temple Scroll* (if we are willing to accept it as a uniquely legal exemplar of “rewritten Bible”), on the other hand, exhibit clear marks of their composite natures. The “rewritten Bible” of the *Genesis Apocryphon* is composed of a series of mini-rewritings of limited scope, which we could call the “books” of Lamech, Noah and Abram, just as the original editors did (and just as the scroll itself does in the case of Noah).

⁵⁶ The remark appears for the first time in the third edition of *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987), 252.

⁵⁷ M. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (Cambridge Commentaries on the Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 200 2; Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987), 184.

⁵⁸ Machiela, “Genesis Apocryphon,” 12–13. The fact that I do not agree with almost every one of Machiela’s specific formulations does not vitiate the cogency of his overall point.

Those components, when juxtaposed, form a continuous narrative and hence what we might call a secondary form of “rewritten Bible.”⁵⁹ But the final product, in the case of both the *Temple Scroll* and the *Genesis Apocryphon*, is not generically uniform; in the case of the *Genesis Apocryphon* we have virtually no choice but to refer to Part I as “parabiblical” and to Part II as “rewritten Bible.” But the utilization of a term like “rewritten Bible” with dual meaning is just the sort of imprecision to which we have objected in the past, and it should therefore be rejected. If, on the other hand, we are to limit the term “rewritten Bible” to texts like *Jubilees* or Part II of the *Genesis Apocryphon* for which it is particularly appropriate, and employ “parabiblical” for works which use the Bible as a starting point but do not follow it or comment on it closely, then how are we to classify generically the whole of such composite works as *I Enoch* or the *Genesis Apocryphon*?⁶⁰

There is perhaps another taxonomic option to resolve our dilemma; it is not terribly attractive, but it is also not without precedent. Borrowing from the jargon of the form critics of the Hebrew Bible, we could acknowledge the *Genesis Apocryphon* to be a *Mischgattung* in a somewhat unusual sense: an integral whole which is composed of parts which, formally speaking, belong to two different literary genres, those that I prefer labeling “parabiblical” and “rewritten Bible.” Such a classification is not sleight of hand or taxonomic trickery since we are making the significant concession that there is no formal super-generic category which defines the whole.⁶¹ At the same time, the explicit recognition that it is not all cut from the same generic cloth is significant. Fortunately, we can continue to study and analyze the works of antiquity even if

⁵⁹ The same can be said of the several hypothetical sources out of which the *Temple Scroll* is said to be composed.

⁶⁰ The composite nature of *Enoch* is less complex in this regard; since none of its components stays close enough to the biblical text to warrant the designation “rewritten Bible,” the term “parabiblical” can be more easily applied to the parts as well as to the whole.

⁶¹ I would strongly disagree with Wright, 426, when, just before concluding that the *Genesis Apocryphon* is probably to be classified as midrash, he remarks: “The autobiographical feature is one held in common with testaments and other literature and may indicate that G[enesis] A[pocryphon] is a collection... of assorted material to elucidate the biblical text and expand on it in the spirit of L[iber] A[n]tiquitatum B[iblicarum].” The *Genesis Apocryphon* is a coherent whole, even if we cannot classify it easily generically; it is not merely “a collection of assorted material,” terminology which implies a certain haphazardness in the composition of the work. This is why I could not accept Armin Lange’s suggestion for the use of the term “collection” in the discussion following this paper.

we cannot be sure of the correct generic pigeonholes in which to place them.

The plural noun in the title of this paper, “The Genre(s) of the *Genesis Apocryphon*,” was thus intentionally polyvalent. On the one hand, I knew that I would discuss the various genres (or at least the major ones)—targum, midrash, rewritten Bible, parabiblical—to which the *Genesis Apocryphon* has been assigned since its discovery. And on the other, I knew that I would present the argument that the *Genesis Apocryphon* is composed of segments which do not belong to the same genre. From the perspective of the 21st century scholar, then, we can, and indeed must, speak of the *Genesis Apocryphon* as multigeneric.

But there is another perspective on the genre of literature produced in late antiquity that I think we overlook regularly, and that is the perspective of the ancient “author.” To reiterate a point that I made in the first paragraph of this essay and that Michael Stone reinforced in his comment during the discussion, genre is a modern notion, created for our greater ease in classifying and discussing works of antiquity. Our last-resort classification of the *Genesis Apocryphon* as a *Mischgattung* can only be justified from the point of view of a 21st century scholar. The *Genesis Apocryphon* did not come together out of its component parts without a parent. We should assume that the final author / composer / compiler / editor of this work, whether or not he is responsible for the creation of one or more of those components, produced something that was intended to be read sequentially as an integrated whole, moving from the Lamech material (and anything which may have preceded it) to the Noah material to the Abram material (and whatever may have followed it). There is no reason to think that he was uncomfortable with the shift in “genre” within this work from a “parabiblical” to a “rewritten Bible” format. The same may be said of the shifts from first- to third-person narration which we noted, but which have not been a focus of our discussion. The sense of generic integrity or “wholeness” which modern readers sense is violated by both the shift from “parabiblical” to “rewritten Bible” and from first- to third-person narrator was apparently not a concern to the ancient composer who made no attempt to avoid them or conceal them. On the contrary, he marks the movement from one “source” or section to another with “book of the words of Noah.” We may conclude quite reasonably that the ancients’ conception of genre, if indeed they had one at all, was not as precise, refined, or narrow as our own. This observation, which is quite clearly correct in the case

of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, may prove useful in the discussion of the genre(s) of other documents which survive from late antiquity.

RESPONSE: HANAN ESHEL

According to Moshe Bernstein, the traditions about Noah and Enoch in cols. 0–XVII of the *Genesis Apocryphon* are less dependent upon Scripture than those in the section on Abraham, cols. XIX–XXII. Bernstein further maintains that there is a difference between the use of divine names in the section on Abraham (where God is usually referred to אל עליון and מרי as compared to the section on Noah (where the epithets רבא קדישא and מלך כל עלמיא usually appear). Bernstein therefore believes that these two sections derive from different sources. In his opinion, this conclusion is strengthened by the fact that the word “qeshot” appears 20 times in the Noah section, but only once in the Abraham section. In light of these data, there is no doubt that Bernstein is correct in distinguishing between the Noah traditions in cols. II–XIX and the Abraham traditions.

Bernstein then proceeds to a long survey of the history of scholarship, especially about the use of the terms “targumic” and “midrashic.” Although he does not like the term “rewritten Bible,” he suggests nonetheless that the section dealing with the Noah material in *Genesis Apocryphon* should be defined as “parabiblical,” and that the section on Abraham be termed “rewritten Bible.” In light of his evaluation of the relationship between each of these two sections of the *Genesis Apocryphon* to the biblical text of Genesis, he argues that we should no longer speak of the “author” of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, but rather of the “editor” or “redactor.” He labels the composition as a whole as “multigeneric.”

In general, Bernstein’s article argues in favor of taking the *Genesis Apocryphon* as a composite work, and approaching each of the three sections separately- the section on Enoch (cols. 0 and I); the section on Noah (cols. II–XVII); and the section on Abraham (cols. XIX–XXII). There is evidence, however, that the redactor intentionally connected the different sections. Thus, for example, visions of trees appear in both the Noah and the Abraham sections. If we accept the suggestion that Shem and Lamech function as literary links in the composition, serving to connect the disparate sections, then it follows that the editor of the *Genesis Apocryphon* must be viewed as having played a very active role, and not simply as having combined multiple traditions about the figures

appearing in the scroll. In light of these observations, it is clear that further research is necessary into both the differences and similarities among the three parts of the *Genesis Apocryphon*.

DISCUSSION

Esther Eshel: I have four questions. First, with regard to the usage of different epithets to God in the two parts of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, there is a need in an overall study of these epithets, compared with biblical and non-biblical sources, looking if the usage of the particular epithets in the Abram part is not influenced by it, and the same is true with the first part, where probably *I Enoch* was used as a source. Second, do you really want to speak about an editor and not an author? I prefer to use “author” in the case of the *Genesis Apocryphon*. Third, one should take into consideration the possibility of using oral traditions, and not only written ones, which make our study more complicated. Fourth, one should allow the *Genesis Apocryphon* to include a variety of genres, as we have in the Bible and in other Second Temple literature, see for example the *Aramaic Levi Document*, which includes narrative, law, wisdom poem etc.

Armin Lange: Moshe, you know that I think about the *Genesis Apocryphon* more in terms of a collective manuscript. What you did today made me think though. If you want to compare the *Genesis Apocryphon* with various genre categories and/or other texts—you mentioned the Enochic corpus—I think we should have a look at the *Rule of the Community*. It is a collective manuscript. It integrates texts of different genres such as the *Rule of the Congregation* (1QSa) and the *Rule of the Blessings* (1QSB). It uses headings for these texts. What you did today directs my attention more towards the reason why a scribe would put together various texts and maybe streamline them. Why would a scribe put together various texts in the scroll we call *Genesis Apocryphon*? I do not think that the *Genesis Apocryphon* belongs to a *Mischgattung*. Maybe the more appropriate genre description for a scroll like this is collection. You could use the same term to describe the *Rule of the Community*, the *Genesis Apocryphon*, and various Enochic manuscripts.

Moshe Bernstein: The important point that Hanan and Esti have compelled me to re-state more forcefully is that there is more than one way to analyze the *Genesis Apocryphon*, and that various approaches will have divergent emphases. Whereas I agree that on a certain level the work was unified by the hand of its final “author/editor,” on a very different plane it is composite. I am not willing to give up the term “author” for the final composer of the *Genesis Apocryphon*. And even its compositeness may be treated in a variety of ways. I have suggested that Part I and Part II should be dichotomized as belonging to different literary forms and as deriving from divergent source material. (Incidentally, in the *JBL* article I respond to the question that Esti raised about the possible effect of the biblical text on the choice of epithets in Part II.) The literary analysis and the linguistic analysis are mutually supportive, but do not depend on one another. At the same time, however, there is a bifurcation in the surviving material of Part I between that which precedes “the book of the words of Noah” and that which follows it, despite the fact that both are, in my analysis, “parabiblical.” Remember that Part II, which I classify broadly as “rewritten Bible,” can be divided on the basis of

narrative style in column XXI where it moves from first-person narration to third-person.

As it happens, I think that at least some of the sources which are being employed by the composer of the *Genesis Apocryphon* are written and not oral; the linguistic connections which have been pointed out with *I Enoch*, for example, make this very likely. It is possible, if not likely, that he also employed oral traditions which he integrated into his final composition. I do not think that we are dealing with someone who is merely juxtaposing early written documents, but reworking them, so there are many possible options from which to choose in describing the methodology of the author.

In this vein, I also think that it is important to distinguish between *Jubilees*' use of its sources, whatever they were and the *Genesis Apocryphon*'s. In the case of *Jubilees*, the sources have been integrated, even if not always smoothly, into a work which is a unity when we look at it, a point that Jonathan Ben-Dov made in his comment on this paper. The *Genesis Apocryphon* quite clearly has left some of the joins between its sources very visible, and has not attempted to conceal them; on the surface, it looks like *I Enoch* more than *Jubilees* in this fashion. On the other hand, like *Jubilees*, and unlike *I Enoch*, it tells a coherent consecutive story.

This multiple perspective on the unity/diversity of the text both allows and forces me to speak of the final hand through which it passed as that of an "author/editor," because I sense that he filled both roles, adding authorially to the *Genesis Apocryphon* that sense of unity which we perceive, and at the same time, integrating the divergent source material which he manipulated into the whole. But my sense of the narrative and its unity is different from that of Hanan and Esti. Some of the features that they see as unifying I do as well, but I do not agree with the characterization of the first segment of the *Genesis Apocryphon* as belonging to Enoch, or with their suggestion that Shem and Lamech are unifying minor characters. To be sure, I'm not certain that the first portion should be assigned completely to Lamech either. Their underlying position, which Esti has expressed in a number of papers recently, that the work focuses on a triad consisting of Enoch, Noah and Abram who are linked by the author in a variety of ways, is asserted too confidently in my view. We cannot be certain of the scope of the work; there is no guarantee that it began with Enoch or ended with Abraham. In light of that, we can only judge from the text which survives, and that text does not allow us, in my view, to speak about the role of either Enoch or Shem in very much detail. On the other hand, I agree that we should continue to think about those elements which make the *Genesis Apocryphon* more than a series of three narratives which have been juxtaposed and which create the sense of unity which we agree exists in the text.

At the same time, Armin Lange's suggestion on how to characterize this manuscript goes too far in moving away from trying to find a genre for the *Genesis Apocryphon*. I am admittedly not happy with my characterization of the *Genesis Apocryphon* as a *Mischgattung*, and the classification was suggested partly to demonstrate my frustration with the careless use of terminology which we encounter regularly in the field, and partly with tongue in cheek. But describing the manuscript as a "collection," such as the manuscript which contained the *Rule of the Community*, the *Rule of the Congregation* and the *Rule of the Blessings* (1QS, 1QSa and 1QSB), ignores what I see as the very clear intention of the author to present the narratives of Genesis (as far as the manuscript survives) in sequence. He is not a scribe, especially if he edits or "streamlines" (to use Armin's term) the material. There is too much self-consciousness and too much

unity in the *Genesis Apocryphon* for it to be a mere “collection.” If I had to choose between Esti’s “author” (even without quotation marks) and Armin’s scribe, there is little doubt in my mind that I would agree with Esti.

John Collins: A possible analogy that occurred to me is the book of Daniel, where you have different sources and different genres, and at the same time, continuity from one half to the other. There may be other analogies.

Jonathan Ben-Dov: A literary reading suggests the following distinction. While the author of *Jubilees* took pains to enforce a unifying framework on his source material, producing a highly coherent book, this aspect is rather weak in the *Genesis Apocryphon*. The latter author, in contrast, is especially discerned in the small-scale literary design of the narrative, producing such full-fledged stylized prose sections as the dialogue between Lamech and Bitenosh, and the erotic description of Sarai by the Pharaoh’s messengers.

Michael Stone: I remark on the analogy of apocalypse as a genre, studied by SBL in the 70’s and issuing in *Semeia* 14, compared with the article by Ed P. Sanders in the Uppsala volume on apocalyptic units embedded in other works (“The Genre of Palestinian Jewish Apocalypses,” in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East* [ed. D. Hellholm; Tübingen: Mohr, 1989], 447–460).

Florentino García Martínez: My question is very simple, but I am surprised by the fact that until now nobody has asked why the *Genesis Apocryphon* was written in Aramaic and not in Hebrew. What difference does it make that the *Genesis Apocryphon* was written in Aramaic?

Moshe Bernstein: I admit that this is a very important observation to which I have not given much thought in the past. If what I call Part I is modeled on Enoch, then the author finds himself composing in Aramaic and doesn’t move away from it even when he gets to Part II. I am not happy with this as an answer.

Florentino García Martínez: But about Abraham we do have other haggadic compositions written in Hebrew. Why has Aramaic been used in the more targumic part of *Genesis Apocryphon*?

Moshe Bernstein: Do we have any extended narrative about Abraham written in Hebrew other than *Jubilees*? If I am correct that the Part II is somehow related to *Jubilees*, the question still demands an answer and I do not have one that satisfies me. This is something that I have to think further about. In light of this question, perhaps the issue of Hebraisms in the Aramaic of the *Genesis Apocryphon* needs further thought as well; do they tell us anything more than the fact that the author of this text operated in a bilingual society. The author of Part II employs אֵל עֲלִיּוֹן, not אֱלֹהֵי עֲלִיּוֹן or the like, and there is only one other occurrence of that idiom in the Aramaic of Qumran. So the base text, whether *Genesis* or *Jubilees*, has had an impact on the way in which he composes.

Another possible point to be considered is that the author does not want what he is writing to be possibly confused with an “authoritative” or “canonical” biblical text, and he therefore chooses to write in Aramaic, a language which is (for the Pentateuch) indubitably non-biblical. We do not necessarily have to postulate the existence of an earlier Aramaic model for Part II which would be an answer *obscurum per obscurius*. It might be worth looking closely at the nature of the Aramaic which is employed in the two parts to see whether there may be any hints regarding the method of composition. I would, however, still be very hesitant to speak of Part II as the “targumic” part of *Genesis Apocryphon*. I understand that it is a tempting description, but I think that it does

a disservice to the study of the *Genesis Apocryphon* by adopting terminology which is superficially apt, but not fully appropriate.

Daniel Stöckl: I would like to add a somewhat heretical question that I asked Moshe in private when the general discussion already had to close: I am hesitant with regard to the possibility to use “Rewritten Bible” as a genre. Doesn’t this mean that we define A exclusively by its *relation to B* instead of looking closely at *A in its own right*? After all much of Genesis is rewritten Mesopotamian mythology, or Chronicles is rewritten Kings. Of course, there is “Rewritten Bible” but it cannot be the only definition of the genre of a certain text. It is a definition of a relation between texts rather than an absolute genre. “Rewritten Psalms” would have to be different from “rewritten Genesis.” So doesn’t the question of the genre of the *Genesis Apocryphon* burn down to the question what is the genre of a composite and diverse writing as the book of Genesis? Would its genre be much different from the genre of the *Genesis Apocryphon*?

Moshe Bernstein: I think that this question is also a very fundamental one, and is related, in a sense, to the ones that Hanan and Esti posed. There are many ways to approach a text, and one of the ways to approach a text such as the *Genesis Apocryphon*, which is unquestionably based on the Bible (or Scripture or scripture), is to study its relationship with that earlier document. To take one of your examples where we do have the “base” text, one of the proper ways to study Chronicles is as a rewriting of Kings, paying attention to omissions and additions, changes in order and emphasis and slight textual deviations. I am not interested in this essay in the diverse “genres” which might make up either the book of Genesis or the *Genesis Apocryphon*, but rather in the generic description of the later work based on how it deals with the earlier one as a totality. On the other hand, I think that there are important ways to study the *Genesis Apocryphon* as a narrative, independent of Genesis. I only note, however, how difficult it is to detach the analysis of the *Genesis Apocryphon* completely away from Genesis, because the author of the *Genesis Apocryphon* was not a free agent; he had to follow Genesis while writing his story, because that was the framework for the story he wanted to tell. In short, then, my answer to your question is that the genre of the *Genesis Apocryphon* is very different from the genre of the book of Genesis from my perspective.

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*

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In biblical scholarship, numerous passages or even books are viewed as examples of a particular genre, the so-called “literary testament.”¹ In this genre, a corpus of admonitions, instructions or prophecies is presented as the literary heritage of an important figure of the past, who, according to the literary fiction, is about to die. By means of such a literary design, the last speech or the final letter of that person is given particular weight.

In the present paper, I will give a brief overview on some of the most important examples of this genre and sketch the characteristic features that served to define the genre in some foundational studies. Then I will turn to the documents from the Qumran library that have been linked with the genre “testament” and discuss for which works and to what degree such a classification may be justified. Finally, I will draw some conclusions with regard to the history and development of the genre and, more precisely, the background of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

* I am grateful to my friend Prof. Dr. James Kelhoffer (St. Louis) for reading and correcting a draft of this paper, to Dr. Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra for an engaging discussion, and to Dr. Ursula Schattner-Rieser (Paris) for valuable hints, furthermore to Alison Deborah Sauer and Ann-Sophie Wich for their help in the correction process.

¹ Cf. J. Becker, “Die Gattung des literarischen Testaments,” in idem, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes. Kapitel 11–21* (Ökumenischer Taschenbuchkommentar 4,2; 3rd ed.; Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn and Würzburg: Echter, 1991), 523–529; s. already E. Fascher, “Testament,” *PRE* 2/5.856–1010 (especially 858–861); E. Stauffer, “Abschiedsreden,” *RAC* 1 :29–35; E. Cortès, *Los discursos de adiós de Gn 49 a Jn 13–17. Pistas para la historia de un género literario en la antigua literatura judía* (CSPac 23; Barcelona: Herder, 1976); J. Bergman, “Discours d’Adieu – Testament – Discours Posthume,” in *Sagesse et Religion. Colloque de Strasbourg* (Paris: Presses Univ. de France, 1979), 21–50; M. Küchler, *Frühjüdische Weisheitstraditionen* (OBO 26; Freiburg Schweiz: Universitätsverlag und Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 415–547; E. von Nordheim, *Die Lehre der Alten* (2 vols.; ALGHJ 13; Leiden: Brill, 1985); J. Neusner, “Death-Scenes and farewell Stories,” *HTR* 79 (1986): 186–197; and M. Winter, *Das Vermächtnis Jesu und die Abschiedsworte der Väter* (FRLANT 161; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994).

1. *Literary Testaments and Farewell Discourses in Biblical Scholarship*

Broadly speaking, examples of such a literary design can already be found in teachings from Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia². There are also numerous loose parallels in the Hellenistic Roman world, especially in the genre of the τελευταί or *exitus illustrium virorum*³, although most of these texts only present brief “final words,” not extensive discourses.⁴

In the Hebrew Bible, the most prominent and influential example is Deuteronomy, which is as a whole designed as an extensive farewell discourse of Moses before his death. Thus, the book claims to represent the final summary of his teaching and commandments for the Israelites in the land they are about to enter.⁵ Other examples from the Hebrew Bible can be added, such as the blessings of the patriarchs (Genesis 27:1–40; 47:29–31 and 49–50) and the farewells of Joshua (Joshua 23–24), Samuel (1 Samuel 12), and David (1 Kings 2:1–10; 1 Chronicles 28–29).⁶

From the so-called Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha numerous other texts deserve to be mentioned, but the most prominent collection of testamentary texts and thus the clearest pattern of the genre is the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.⁷ In these texts, the testamentary cha-

² Cf. the examples discussed by von Nordheim, *Lehre*, 2:94–142, who states that there is no real parallel in Mesopotamian texts, whereas biographical inscriptions and teachings from Egypt provide parallels by being situated in the context of imminent death. There are, however, Mesopotamian examples. Cf., e.g., most recently V. Avigdor Hurowitz, “The Wisdom of Šupe-ameli—A Deathbed Debate between a Father and Son,” in *Wisdom Literature in Mesopotamia and Israel* (ed. R. J. Clifford; SBL Symposium Series 36; Atlanta: SBL, 2007). I am grateful to Jonathan Ben-Dov for mentioning to me this article.

³ Cf. the description by K. Berger, “Hellenistische Gattungen im Neuen Testament,” *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* (II 25,2; Berlin–New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1984), 1031–1432.1831–1885; see 1257–1259. In these texts, the death of a ruler or a philosopher is described, including some last words. A title “*exitus virorum illustrium*” is mentioned in Pliny, *Ep.* 8.12.4–5; cf. also Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.60.4. An earlier and influential example of a testamentary scene is Plato’s *Phaedo* where Socrates leaves his disciples as orphans (61B) and dies with a last word (115–118). On “last words,” see W. Schmidt, *De ultimis morientium verbis* (Marpurgi: Schaaf, 1914); A. Ronconi, “*Exitus illustrium virorum*,” *RAC* 6:1258–1268.

⁴ Cf. Winter, *Vermächtnis*, 39.

⁵ Cf. Winter, *Vermächtnis*, 65–67, pointing out that not only the last chapters (Deut 31–34) serve as literary testament. The literary fiction of Moses speaking starts in the beginning (Deut 1:1–4:43) and is present also in the main part.

⁶ Cf. Winter, *Vermächtnis*, 45–111.

⁷ Cf. von Nordheim, *Lehre* 1:12–107; A. Hultgård, *L’eschatologie des Testaments des Douze Patriarchs* (2 vols.; Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1977/82), 2:53–91; J. Becker,

racter is made explicit by the keyword διαθήκη as used in the titles and the beginnings of the texts as a technical term for the genre of a literary farewell discourse.⁸

Apart from the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, there are numerous other testamentary texts among the so-called Pseudepigrapha,⁹ such as the *Testament of Abraham* (sometimes taken together with a *Testament of Isaac* and a *Testament of Jacob* as a collection of the *Testaments of the Three Patriarchs*), the *Testament of Job*, the *Testament of Solomon*, and the *Testament of Moses* (or *Assumptio Mosis*) and the *Ascension of Isaiah*.¹⁰ Although there is some uncertainty to what degree those texts are still Jewish, particularly since some of them are preserved only in translations in Christian oriental languages¹¹, the sheer number of “testaments” suggests that the genre became rather popular in the later Second Temple Period. This is also confirmed by the fact that some other testamentary texts occur within larger collections such as *1 Enoch* (*1 En.* 81–82; 91–105; 106–108) and *2 Enoch* (*2 En.* 55–67) or the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (*L.A.B.* 19:1–16 etc.).¹² Thus, the most important material for defining the genre is normally taken from the Second Temple literature, especially the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and other Pseudepigrapha.

In emerging Christianity, not only the literary testaments of biblical patriarchs and heroes were adopted, expanded and transmitted, but there was also a production of new testamentary passages and texts, now attributed to important figures of emerging Christianity, to Jesus and to the predominant apostles. The most prominent example is the Farewell Discourse of Jesus in the Gospel of John (John 13:31–17:26), which is

Untersuchungen zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen (AGAJU 8, Leiden: Brill, 1969); see also the discussion in J. J. Collins, “Testaments,” in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period. Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (ed. M. E. Stone; CRINT II,2; Assen and Philadelphia: Van Gorcum and Fortress Press, 1984) 325–355.

⁸ Cf. *T.Reu.* 1:1: Ἀντίγραφον διαθήκης Ῥουβήμ, and similarly in numerous other texts of the *TestXII*. Only in the Christian passage *T.Benj.* 3:8, διαθήκη is used with the notion “covenant.” Cf. J. Becker, *Die Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen* (JSHRZ 3,1; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1974), 32.

⁹ Cf. also J. H. Charlesworth, “Introduction,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha 1: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1983), 773, and Collins, “Testaments.”

¹⁰ On these texts, cf. von Nordheim, *Lehre*, 1:119–220.

¹¹ Thus, e.g. *Testament of Isaac*, *Testament of Jacob*, *Testament of Adam* and *Ascension of Isaiah*.

¹² Cf. von Nordheim, *Lehre* 1:220–229, and Winter, *Vermächtnis*, 125–149.

almost unparalleled in the Synoptic Gospels.¹³ Other examples are Jesus' commission to the disciples in Matthew 28:16–20; Paul's farewell address to the Ephesian elders in Acts 20:17–38¹⁴ and, among the later epistles, 2 Timothy and 2 Peter, which both present a literary testament of respectively Paul or Peter in post-apostolic times. Later examples include last part of the *Vita Antonii* of Athanasios¹⁵ and other hagiographic texts, the ecclesiastical rule book *Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi*,¹⁶ or the Arabian *Instruction of David to Solomon*¹⁷ which demonstrate that the literary pattern stayed alive in different cultural areas.¹⁸

2. Criteria of the genre "testament"

In their description of the genre "testament," Enric Cortès and Eckhard von Nordheim as well as Jürgen Becker and Anders Hultgård¹⁹ basically draw on the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Martin Winter includes a much broader scale of texts starting with Deuteronomy, but does not deny the formative role of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.²⁰ But due to his focus on John 13–17 and in view of the fact that both terms, "testament" and "farewell discourse" seem not totally appropriate for his purpose, he introduces a new label "testamentary

¹³ On the general problems of the interpretation of this passage, see J. Frey, *Die johanneische Eschatologie 3: Die eschatologische Verkündigung in den johanneischen Texten* (WUNT 117; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 104–239 (esp. 104–118). On the problems of the genre of this text, see especially Becker, "Die Gattung des literarischen Testaments," and Winter, *Vermächtnis*; but see also the most recent study by G. L. Parsenios, *Departure and Consolation. The Johannine Farewell Discourses in light of Greco-Roman Literature* (NTSup 117; Leiden: Brill, 2005), with a slightly differing view.

¹⁴ Cf. H.-J. Michel, *Die Abschiedsrede des Paulus an die Kirche Apg 20,17–38* (StANT 35; München: Kösel, 1973).

¹⁵ PG 26:837–976 (969–973).

¹⁶ I. E. Rahmani, *Testamentum domini nostri Jesu Christi. Nunc primum edidit, latine reddidit et illustravit* (Moguntiae: Kirchheim, 1899); S. Grébaud, "Le Testament en Galilée de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ," (PO 9,3; Paris: 1913), 143–236.

¹⁷ L. Leroy, "Instruction de David à Salomon. Fragment traduit de l'arabe," *Revue de l'orient chrétien* 20 (1915–17): 329–331.

¹⁸ On these examples see the brief survey by von Nordheim, *Lehre*, 2:146–148; see also Stauffer, "Abschiedsreden," 33–34.

¹⁹ J. Becker, "Die Gattung des literarischen Testaments," cf. idem, *Untersuchungen zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen* (AGSU 8; Leiden: Brill, 1970); Hultgård, *L'eschatologie*, 2:53–91.

²⁰ Remarkably enough, he only discusses one of the twelve testaments of the collection.

discourse” (“Vermächtnisrede”).²¹ This is conceivable, since John 13–17 is a testamentary “farewell discourse” but not a literary work that could be called a “literary testament.” For our purposes, however, these distinctions are not so important, and the label “(literary) testament” seems not to be inappropriate.²² For description of the genre, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* provide a relatively coherent point of departure, although one should avoid a too narrow description, since there is some variety within the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and even more when other works are compared.²³ Therefore von Nordheim and other scholars do not define a fixed pattern but only give a list of generic elements with a wider variability in detail.

The most detailed description of the genre (literary) “testament” is still the one given by von Nordheim.²⁴ According to this, the external or stylistic criteria²⁵ of the genre are as follows:

In the beginning (framework):

- title of the work and the name of its fictive author
- mention of the addressees
- hints to the imminent death of the speaker
- the age of the speaker (often with a date given for comparison)
- description of the situation of the speech
- introduction formula;

in the main part:

- address of the person who is about to die to the children, friends, or representatives of the people who are gathered
- containing a retrospect to the past, instructions for further behaviour, and predictions for the future;²⁶

²¹ Winter, *Vermächtnis*, 37–38. According to Winter, this is a particular form of the wider genre “farewell discourse.”

²² Winter (*Vermächtnis*, 37) infers that the title “testament” (διαθήκη) is not mandatory for the genre, that some “testaments” do not have the title “testament,” and that not all writings that belong to the “Testamentenliteratur” are really “testaments.” Whereas the first two observations are quite important, the third point only indicates that the label “Testamentenliteratur” is too unprecise.

²³ Cf. also Charlesworth, “Introduction,” 773: “No binding genre was employed by the authors of the testaments, but one can discern among them a loose format.”

²⁴ See von Nordheim, *Lehre*, 1:229–239; cf. also Winter, *Vermächtnis*, 212; Becker, “Die Gattung des literarischen Testaments.”

²⁵ Von Nordheim, *Lehre*, 1:229–230.

in the closure:

- closing formula
- (possibly) instructions for burial
- a note on the death of the speaker (and his burial).

Becker, with special consideration of John 13–17, mentions some other possible features, especially a last meal as situation of the speech, and the commissioning of an office or function from the dying patriarch to his successor, his progeny or others.²⁷

Both von Nordheim and Becker stress that not every writing necessarily contains all of these features. Some of them can be expanded or stressed, whereas others may be absent. But according to von Nordheim, some of the criteria mentioned are strictly necessary to make a writing a testament, namely:²⁸

- the (announcement of the) death of the speaker
- a speech (or writing) related to the imminent death
- instructions for the addressees who stay behind.

From the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and its early Jewish parallels, von Nordheim points out that these three essentials are not yet sufficient to define the genre “testament.” Additionally, one should take into consideration the intention of the speech which is, as a whole, paraenetic (also in its retrospective and predictive parts), its argument which is predominantly rational (with arguments drawn from the history or the life of the patriarch) or sapiential, and finally the motivation of the speech: In transmitting experiences from the past, it wants to help to cope with challenges which are in the future of the protagonist, but may actually be in the present of the addressees. It is not the death of the patriarch which makes up the problem resulting in the composition of such a literary testament but only the present situation of the progeny that gives reason to sum up past experiences and ethical instructions as a “testament” of their forefather.²⁹

²⁶ Here, there is particular variability. The stress can be laid on the retrospective or on the prediction or even apocalyptic view of the future. However, a hortatory purpose, an interest on instructing the progeny or disciples, is characteristic for the testamentary genre (cf. von Nordheim, *Lehre*, 1:232–237).

²⁷ Becker, “Die Gattung des literarischen Testaments,” 526–529.

²⁸ Von Nordheim, *Lehre*, 1:230.

²⁹ Von Nordheim, *Lehre*, 1:232–239.

Of course, definitions and descriptions of genres are always arbitrary in some respect. Texts can be grouped in a manner that helps us to understand them, to distinguish them from other texts, and to pose scholarly questions of function, meaning, and historical development. Thus, it seems appropriate for our purpose of investigating the alleged "testaments" from the Qumran library to adopt von Nordheim's description, which is strongly shaped by the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, in order to ask for texts of similar form, intention, and motivation in the Qumran library, or even for possible historical developments.

Both Becker and von Nordheim already mention the existence of Qumran texts, which might be considered as belonging to the same genre. Based on an article by Jozef Tadeusz Milik,³⁰ von Nordheim discusses the "Testament" of Amram and observes the close resemblance with the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.³¹ In the beginning section which is preserved, five elements do exactly correspond to the framework of that collection,³² the only difference is that the contents of the writing is called "vision." But also in other parts of the text, as preliminarily given by Milik in his essay, von Nordheim observed similarities: The "Testament" of Amram seems to contain also ethical admonitions and predictions for the future. According to von Nordheim, the similarity can only be due to literary knowledge, i.e., the genre of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* has its predecessor in texts such as *Visions of Amram*. The age of this document is, therefore, an argument for the possible age of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*,³³ or at least of the literary pattern adopted in them. Unlike von Nordheim, Becker is more cautious regarding the Qumran parallels and states that it is far from certain that the documents mentioned as being related to the *Tes-*

³⁰ J. T. Milik, "4Q Visions de 'Amram et une citation d'Origène," *RB* 79 (1972): 77–97.

³¹ Von Nordheim *Lehre*, 1:115–118. Apart from this text, von Nordheim discusses the Hebrew *Testament of Nephthali* from the chronicle of Jerachmeel, which is classified as a "testament" in modified form, but was composed in a considerably later period (*Lehre*, 1:114). A brief note on some fragments related to the "Testament" of Levi (*Lehre*, 1:108) as collected by R. H. Charles in his edition (see R. H. Charles, *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1908], 245–256).

³² Von Nordheim, *Lehre*, 1:116, mentions: "textinterne Überschrift," "Benennung der Adressaten..., seine Söhne," "*Hinweis auf den bevorstehenden Tod* des Patriarchen," "*Lebensalter 'Amrams'*" and "*eine Vergleichsdatierung des Todesjahres zu den Jahren des Aufenthaltes Israels in Ägypten.*"

³³ Von Nordheim, *Lehre*, 1:117.

taments of the Twelve Patriarchs can aptly be called testaments.³⁴ Remarkably, Winter's Habilitationsschrift from 1992 totally ignores the Qumran evidence for reconstructing the genre of the "testamentary discourse."

3. *The evidence from the Qumran library*

Evidence from Qumran was still scarcely used in the works of von Nordheim and Hultgård.³⁵ But before the early 1990s, authors were almost completely dependent on the information given by Milik in his preliminary publications on *Visions of Amram*, the *Aramaic Levi Document* and other related texts.³⁶ Now, since the preliminary and—in most cases also—the official³⁷ publication of all the relevant texts and fragments have been published, it is possible to have a second look at the alleged testamentary character of some of the texts from the Qumran library and on their possible impact on the genre "literary testament."

Among the Qumran discoveries, several texts have been classified as "testamentary." According to the list compiled by Armin Lange and Ulrike Mittmann-Richert,³⁸ there is an Aramaic *Testament of Jacob* (4Q537), two Hebrew manuscripts named *Testament of Judah* (3Q7; 4Q484) and an Aramaic text also called *Testament of Judah*, but possibly related to Benjamin (4Q538), the Aramaic *Visions of Amram* (4Q543–549) and another Aramaic text often linked with the *Aramaic Levi Document* (4QapocrLevi^{a-b}), now separated here as "Unidentified Testament" (4Q540–541). Some other texts, classified as "texts of

³⁴ Becker, *Gattung*, 526.

³⁵ Thus von Nordheim, *Lehre*, 1:107–108, 115–119; Hultgård, *L'eschatologie*, 2:92–107, who cautiously speaks of an "Apocryphe de Lévi," not of a "Testament de Lévi."

³⁶ Cf. J. T. Milik, "4Q Visions de 'Amram," in idem, "Le Testament de Lévi en araméen: Fragment de la Grotte 4 de Qumrân," *RB* 62 (1955): 398–406; idem, "1Q21. Testament de Lévi," *Qumran Cave I* (ed. D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik; DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955): 87–91; idem, "Écrits préesséniens de Qumrân: d'Hénoch à 'Amram," *Qumrân. Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (ed. M. Delcor; BETL 46; Paris: Gembloux, 1978), 91–106.

³⁷ Regrettably, Émile Puech's volume *DJD XXXVII* with the official edition of the Aramaic texts 4Q550–575 and 4Q580–582 was not yet available when the article was written.

³⁸ A. Lange and U. Mittmann-Richert, "Annotated List of the Texts from the Judaean Desert Classified by Content and Genre," *The Texts from the Judaean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series* (ed. E. Tov; DJD 39; Oxford: Clarendon, 2002), 115–164.

mixed genre” might be included in the discussion, because they were sometimes called a “testament,” especially Hebrew texts of Naphtali (4Q215) and a “*Testament of Joseph*” (4Q539), the Aramaic *Testament of Qahat* (4Q542) and also the *Aramaic Levi Document*, which was often discussed under the title “*Testament of Levi*” (1Q21; 4Q213, 213a, 213b, 214, 214a, 214b).³⁹ Most of those texts, however, are very fragmentary, so that an analysis of the genre provides major difficulties. On the other hand, the sheer number of texts which might all predate the composition of the Greek *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* can provide a bulk of further information on the history of the genre.

So we will have to discuss how these texts increase our knowledge of the history of the genre. How do the “new” texts from Qumran alter our view of the development of the genre “testament”? To answer this we will have to analyze which elements and criteria of the genre are visible in the preserved portions of the respective texts. What reasons are there for classifying them as a “testament”?

a) *The so-called “Testament of Jacob” 4Q537*⁴⁰

In the DJD edition, Émile Puech states it is “raisonnable de voir dans ces restes un genre ‘Testament,’”⁴¹ and according to Klaus Beyer, the text “sounds like a farewell discourse.”⁴² However, the work is hard to classify due to the fragmentary state of preservation of the only surviving manuscript. Although fragments 1–3 seem to present the opening of a vision, the beginning of the text and also its end are lost. In spite of this, Émile Puech and also Florentino García Martínez and Eibert Tigchelaar (in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*) and Don Parry and Emanuel Tov (in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*) call it a *Testament of Jacob* (with

³⁹ Cf. the first edition of 1Q21 by Milik in *DJD I*, 87–91.

⁴⁰ Cf. É. Puech, “4QTestament de Jacob? ar (4QTJa? ar),” in *Qumrân Grotte 4 XXII: Textes Araméens, première partie, 4Q529–549* (ed. É. Puech; DJD 31, Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 171–201; see previously idem, “Fragments d’un apocryphe de Lévi et le personnage eschatologique, 4QTestLévi^{c-d} (?) et 4QAJa,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress* (ed. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; STDJ 11,2; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 2:449–501 (488–96). See also K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer 2* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 102–103: “4Q537: Jakob in Bethel,” *Parabiblical Texts* (DSSR 3; ed. D. W. Parry & E. Tov; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 402–407: “Testament of Jacob.”

⁴¹ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 172.

⁴² Beyer, *Texte*, 2:102: “klingt wie eine Abschiedsrede.”

[so Puech and García Martínez/Tigchelaar] or without [so Parry/Tov] a question mark).

The name Jacob, however, is not preserved; instead, there is only “Bethel” and other local names in that region (Beer-Zeit, Rimmon and Ramat Hazor⁴³), so that a link with Jacob is quite probable. In the first person singular, the patriarch narrates a vision of an angel descending from heaven, in which he was given seven heavenly tablets from which he had to read. In this vision he is also addressed concerning his “seed” (4Q537 1–3 1). The tablets apparently contain different revelations. One of them probably refers to what should happen to Jacob during his life,⁴⁴ but other fragments also seem to contain revelations on the fate of his progeny.⁴⁵ There is mention of future periods of welfare in the land, of going “in the ways of error” (4Q537 5), furthermore of the construction of a sanctuary and of priestly sacrifices and a “city” with waters from underneath its walls (4Q537 12 2–3). Possibly this is a criticism of the sanctuary built by Jeroboam and a reference to the city of Jerusalem with the source of Gihon.

Due to the lack of the literary framework in the surviving sources, things remain quite uncertain, but the contents of the revelation seem to be rather an overview of future events than an ethical exhortation. From the fragments preserved, it is also unclear whether the patriarch directly addresses his progeny or whether he only reads or summarizes the address from the tablets he was given. The vision reported in fragments 1–3 is probably located at Bethel (cf. Genesis 28). Therefore one of the tablets seems to predict all that should happen to Jacob during the rest of his life. The fragment 12 where it is told how the sanctuary should be built and how the priests should serve might also report a vision,⁴⁶ but it remains unclear whether it belongs to the same visionary framework or whether this is a second vision reported within the work. Of course, this does not preclude that the address or the narration of the vision(s) might be situated at the time of Jacob’s death, but such a situation is not suggested by any of the preserved fragments.

⁴³ 4Q537 14 2–3 and 4Q537 24 2. On the location of these places see Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 184 and *DJD XXXI*, 189.

⁴⁴ 4Q537 1–3 4: “everything that would happen to [me during the hundred and forty-seven] years of my life.”

⁴⁵ 4Q537 5 1–3.

⁴⁶ Cf. the suggestion: “I saw” by the translator Michael Wise, in *Parabiblical Texts*, 405.

Generally, the literary design of the work seems to differ more widely from the TestXII and the genre "testament" as outlined above. Puech, therefore, points rather to parallels in the *Visions of Amram* or the *Aramaic Levi Document*,⁴⁷ however, it is an open question whether those works might be appropriately called "testament." The mention of heavenly tablets links the work with the book of *Jubilees*, where the true history of humankind is read from the heavenly tablets given to Moses, but the most significant feature, the detailed chronology, is missing. Thus, the work seems to narrate a revelation of the future of Israel, including cultic instructions. It is a pseudepigraphic work, designed as a narration of Jacob, but the strictly testamentary character is questionable due to the lack of any kind of exhortation and to the absence of any reference to the death of the protagonist in the extant fragments. So the text should rather cautiously be called *Apocryphon of Jacob*, not *Testament of Jacob*.

b) *The so-called Testaments of Judah (3Q7 and 4Q484)*⁴⁸

The two Hebrew documents classified as *Testament of Judah* are so badly preserved that only a few words are readable, among them the names "Levi" (3Q7 6); "Issachar" (4Q484 1 1), possibly "Eden" (4Q484 7) and, notably, the "Angel of the Presence" (3Q7 5 3). This is certainly not enough to determine a literary genre. The designation *Testament of Judah* is mere speculation and should be abandoned. The only thing to be said is that the text mentions some of the patriarchs. But not every text mentioning the patriarchs is a "testament." The context, the mode of communication and the literary design cannot be determined any more.

⁴⁷ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 172–173.

⁴⁸ Cf. the cautious edition by M. Baillet, "Un apocryphe mentionnant l'Ange de la Présence," in *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumrân* (ed. M. Baillet, J. T. Milik and R. de Vaux; *DJD* 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 99; but see also J. T. Milik, "Écrits préesséniens de Qumrân: d'Hénoch à 'Amram," 98. On 4Q484 see M. Baillet, "Testament de Juda (?)," *Qumrân Grotte 4 III (4Q482–4Q520)* (ed. M. Baillet; *DJD* 7; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 3.

c) *The so-called “Testament of Benjamin” (4Q538)*⁴⁹

The situation is better for the work which was officially edited by Puech as an Aramaic *Testament of Judah*, but is now classified as a text related to Benjamin, or even as a *Testament of Benjamin*.⁵⁰ Obviously the text retells the scene of Joseph in Egypt when he meets his brothers (Genesis 42–46). The name “Joseph” is preserved at least twice,⁵¹ we can also find “his brothers”⁵² and the local name Goshen.⁵³ But from the biblical story (Gen 44:14), the person who tells in the first person singular that he (Joseph) “fell upon my neck and he kissed me,” can only be Benjamin.⁵⁴ Thus, the fragments apparently provide a narration of the biblical story from the perspective of Benjamin.

Therefore, the title *Testament of Judah* is most probably erroneous. Moreover, to classify the work as a “testament” is also unsubstantiated. All the features of a literary testament, most prominently the mention of the death of the patriarch, but also the element of an exhortative speech, are missing. Of course, the re-narration of the story of Joseph and his brothers may be part of a more extensive work, but we must leave the questions open whether the whole work might have been ascribed to Benjamin or even designed as a testament. For the extant fragments, esp. fragments 1–2, a classification within the wide range of examples of “rewritten Bible” and a designation such as “Apocryphon of Benjamin”⁵⁵ might be more appropriate.

⁴⁹ É. Puech, “4QTestament de Juda ar,” *Qumrân Grotte 4 XXII: Textes Araméens, première partie, 4Q529–549* (ed. É. Puech; DJD 31, Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 191–199; cf. *Parabiblical Texts*, 410–413.

⁵⁰ See *Parabiblical Texts*, 410: “Testament of Benjamin.” Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 191, mentions that already Jean Starcky had named the work “Testament de Benjamin.” Cf. also D. Dimant, “4Q538 ליד כתב היד: לטיבו של כתב בנימין: אלא דברי בנימין: לטיבו של כתב היד [Not the ‘Testament of Judah’ but ‘The Words of Benjamin.’]” On the Nature of 4Q538,” in: *שערי לשון: מחקרים בלשון העברית, בארמית ובלשונות היהודים מוגשים למשה בר-אשר* [*Sh'arei Lashon: Studies in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Jewish Languages Presented to Moshe Bar-Asher*] (ed. A. Maman, S. E. Fassberg and Y. Breuer; 3 vols.; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2007), 1:10–26.

⁵¹ 4Q538 1–2 3 and 1–2 7.

⁵² 4Q538 1–2 5 and possibly also in line 1 and 7.

⁵³ 4Q538 1–2 8.

⁵⁴ Cf. Lange/Mittmann-Richert, “Annotated List,” 125, n. 7: “As 4Q538 1 6 reports that Joseph fell upon the neck of the narrator and because this is reported in Gen 44:14 only of Benjamin, the narrator of the text attested by 4Q538 should be identified as Benjamin and not Judah.” This is adopted in *Parabiblical Texts*, 410.

⁵⁵ Cf. the article by Dimant, “לטיבו של כתב בנימין: אלא דברי בנימין: לטיבו של כתב היד” who suggests “The Words of Benjamin.”

d) *The So-called “Testament of Joseph” (4Q539)*⁵⁶

The Aramaic work was first identified by Milik and then edited by Puech as “*Testament de Joseph*,” whereas García Martínez and Tigchelaar cautiously named it “4QApocryphon of Joseph B”⁵⁷ and Lange and Mittmann-Richert list it among the “texts of mixed genre.”⁵⁸ However, in the surviving portions, this document seems to contain more elements of a literary testament than all the other texts discussed so far. Although the beginning and end of the text are not preserved either, we have the address to “my children,” most probably to be reconstructed as “listen, my children” (שׁמעו בני), and the address “my beloved” (חביבי).⁵⁹ In the same part (fragments 2–3), there is mention of “Jacob” (l. 1), “my father” (l. 2), “my brothers” (l. 2), and also of “the sons of my great-uncle, [Ish]ma[el]” (בני דדי ישמעא[ל]),⁶⁰ i.e. the Ismaelites who sold Joseph to Egypt according to the biblical story (Gen 37:25, 27). We can conclude from this that the speaker is Joseph, who addresses his beloved children in an unknown situation and retells the story how his brothers had sold him to Egypt. Some of the details invite for comparison with the Greek *Testament of Joseph* (ch. 15–16) from the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. The other fragments cannot clearly be linked with this story, so that we do not really know whether the narration led to an exhortatory speech or not, although fragment 5 might point to some kind of admonition.⁶¹

So, with all due caution, this work might be labelled as a testamentary address of Joseph, although the situation of death is not mentioned in the extant portion of the text. But the patriarch addresses his children, and the speech contains a retrospective tale of events of his life and most probably also pieces of admonition. Additionally, the use of a sapiential formula of teaching (“Lehreröffnungsformel”) points more strongly into

⁵⁶ É. Puech, “4QTestament de Joseph ar,” *Qumrân Grotte 4 XXII: Textes Araméens, première partie, 4Q529–549* (ed. É. Puech; DJD 31; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 201–211; cf. the preliminary report by Milik, “Écrits présséniens de Qumrân,” 101–102.

⁵⁷ Cf. the Hebrew work 4QApocryphon of Joseph^{a-c} (4Q371–373). There is, however, no relation between these two works; cf. Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 201, n. 1.

⁵⁸ Lange/Mittmann-Richert, “Annotated List,” 125.

⁵⁹ Both in 4Q539 2–3 2.

⁶⁰ Line 3; cf. the reconstruction by Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 207.

⁶¹ If the reconstruction by M. Wise in *Parabiblical Texts*, 565 was correct, the טובהא in fragment 5 line 3 would introduce a new phrase with a makarism. This could point to a sapiential milieu. But the text is too fragmentary to decide on the syntax here. Cf. the different reconstruction by Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 210.

the direction of the the genre “testament.” But things remain quite uncertain due to the very fragmentary state of preservation, and it would be unwise to fill the gaps simply by conjecturing from other testamentary texts.

e) *The So-called “Testament of Naphtali” (4Q215)*⁶²

The Hebrew text previously called “*Testament of Naphtali*” (4Q215), but now just named “Naphtali,”⁶³ seems to retell the story of the birth of the sons of Jacob from the narrative perspective of Naphtali. This inference is substantiated by a passage in which the speaker mentions Bilhah as his mother and Dan as his brother (4Q215 1–3 10). In the extant fragment(s), the work briefly enumerates the marriage and birthgiving of Jacob’s wives including their ancestry, e.g. Hannah, who is said to be the mother of both Zilpah and Bilhah. Thus the text expands the biblical narrative and the genealogy given there, with the tendency to unite all the wives of Jacob in one ancestral line in order to make the children of Jacob all “descendants of the same ancestral stock.”⁶⁴ The reason for such a reworking of the biblical genealogy is obviously the strife for ethnic homogeneity at a time when Israel’s identity was thought to be endangered.

The work is a biographical or family-related narrative from the perspective of Naphtali, but in the extant portion, there is no hint that it is meant to be a testamentary address. Nor is there any ethical instruction. The only argument for calling the work a “testament” were the parallels in the narrative material with the later Greek *Testament of Naphthali* from the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.⁶⁵ Michael Stone even points to possible influences on the eleventh century R. Moses of Narbonne and Midrash *Bereshit Rabbati*,⁶⁶ although the way of transmission remains unclear. But if we have to restrict ourselves to the portion preserved in the Qumran library, regardless of possible later expansions, translations or receptions, the genre of the present work cannot be said

⁶² Thus M. E. Stone, “The Hebrew Testament of Naphtali”, *JJS* 47 (1996): 311–321; idem, “4QTestament of Naphtali,” in *Qumran Cave 4 XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (ed. G. Brooke et al.; DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 73–82. Cf. *Parabiblical Texts*, 562f.: “Naphtali” (without “testament!”).

⁶³ *Parabiblical Texts*, 562.

⁶⁴ Stone, *DJD XXII*, 75.

⁶⁵ Cf., e. g., G.-W. Nebe, “Qumranica I: Zu veröffentlichten Handschriften aus Höhle 4 von Qumran,” *ZAW* 106 (1994): 307–322 (315–322).

⁶⁶ See the references by Stone, *DJD XXII*, 74–75.

to be a “testament.” 4Q215 should be classified as an example of “re-written Bible.”⁶

f) *The Visions of Amram (4Q543–549)*⁶⁷

A much better manuscript situation is given for the work which was previously also called “Testament”⁶⁸ but is now usually named *Visions of Amram*.⁶⁹ Six or seven⁷⁰ manuscripts of this work survive. Moreover, the beginning of the text seems to be extant in three manuscripts whose contents overlap (4Q543, 545 and 546), so it can be reconstructed quite well. In the section thereby reconstructed, we have the beginning of the text, including the title “Words of the Vision of Amram, son of Qahat, son of Levi.”⁷¹ The wording is:

(1) A Copy of the writing of “The Words of the Vision of Amram, son of Qahat, son of Levi.” All that (2) he told his sons and all that he commanded them on the day of his death, in the year one hundred (3) and thirty-six, the year of his death: in the year one hundred (4) and fifty-two of the exile of Israel in Egypt. When the time came (5) upon him, he sent and called to Uzzi’el his youngest brother and gave (6) him Miriam his daughter in marriage when she was thirty years old. And he gave (7) a feast for seven days and ate and drank during the feast and rejoiced. Then (8) when the day so the feast were over, he sent for Aaron (9) his son, who was about twenty years old and he said to him: “Summon me, my son, (10) the messengers, your brothers, from the house...”

Here we can find a large number of features which are characteristic for the beginnings of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*:

- There is the name of the fictive author or speaker and the title of the work—with the only difference that it is not explicitly called “testament” but “vision,” but even the term “copy” (פִּרְשָׁן) is used, which corresponds to the characteristic technical term ἀπογραφή in the Greek *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

⁶⁷ See E. Puech, “4Q543–4Q549 4QVisions de ‘Amram^{ar} ar: Introduction,” in *Qumrân Grotte 4 XXXI: Textes Araméens, première partie, 4Q529–549* (ed. É. Puech; DJD 31; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 283–288 and the edition of the manuscripts *ibid.*, 289–405.

⁶⁸ Cf. von Nordheim, *Lehre*, 1:115. See also Beyer, *Texte*, 2:117: “Die Abschiedsrede Amrams.”

⁶⁹ Thus Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 282, although he states that it is “incontestablement un testament comparé à ceux de Lévi et de Qahat” (*ibid.*); cf. also *Parabiblical Texts*, 412–443.

⁷⁰ For 4Q549 it is uncertain, whether it belongs to the same work, see Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 399; see also *Parabiblical Texts*, 442–443.

⁷¹ 4Q543 1a-c 1 (cf. *DJD XXXI*, 292).

- There is mention of the addressees, the son Aaron and his brothers, the sons of Amram.
- The imminent death of Amram is mentioned.
- The age of Amram is given, together with a comparative date, related to the sojourn of Israel in Egypt.
- The situation is given: the gathering happens after Amram had given his daughter in marriage, and after the wedding feast.
- The contents of the book are also given in the framework: “all that he told his sons and all that he commanded (פיקד) them.” Thus, the whole of the work is characterized as an instruction, a collection of commandments to his sons, i.e. as a “testamentary” text.

There is no need to go into detail on the characteristic type of dualism in this document,⁷² but it should be noted that the vision of two heavenly figures, the one called Malkiresha and the other one—perhaps— Malkizedeq or Michael is narrated.⁷³ It was possibly this vision that caused the whole work to be entitled “words of the vision of Amram....” But there are also other passages in which the patriarch tells stories of his father Qahat.⁷⁴ Apart from this, we also find predictive passages on the coming priesthood of his son Aaron.⁷⁵ There is an opening formula “and now, my sons, hear what...,”⁷⁶ there is mention of “all the generations of Israel,”⁷⁷ and some passages seem to imply an eschatological outlook. Thus, also the main part of the writing, which is only preserved in numerous small fragments, appears largely in accordance with the form of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, with the most remarkable difference of the visionary introduction. The end of the work seems not to survive. If 4Q549 is a manuscript of the same work, we might also have a mention of the death of the patriarch.⁷⁸ However, the name Amram is not preserved in 4Q549, although the genealogy could point to this figure.⁷⁹

⁷² Cf. J. Frey, “Different Patterns of Dualism in the Qumran Library,” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues. Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization of Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995* (FS J. M. Baumgarten; eds. M. J. Bernstein, F. García Martínez and J. Kampen; STDJ 25; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 275–335 (316–322).

⁷³ Cf. J. T. Milik, “Milkî-sedeq et Milkî-reša’ dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens,” *JJS* 23 (1972): 95–144.

⁷⁴ Cf. 4Q544 1; 4Q545 1a–b ii 11–19.

⁷⁵ 4Q545 4; 4Q546 12.

⁷⁶ 4Q546 14 4.

⁷⁷ 4Q548 1ii–2 6.

⁷⁸ 4Q549 2 6: “departed to his eternal home.”

⁷⁹ Cf. the commentaries by Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 404–405.

Thus, with regard to formal criteria, the *Visions of Amram* might be the work from the Qumran library for which the genre “testament” is most appropriate, although in its title the work is called “words of the vision of Amram . . .,” not “(words of the) testament . . .”

g) *The So-called Testament of Qahat (4Q542)*⁸⁰

Another work, ascribed to Qahat, Amram’s father, has always been viewed in close connection with the *Visions of Amram* and the so-called “*Testament of Levi*”⁸¹ or *Aramaic Levi Document*.⁸² But in contrast with the *Visions of Amram*, the beginning of this work and its title are not preserved, nor is the name of the speaker explicitly mentioned. But the patriarch is obviously Qahat, the son of Levi, whose ancestors are enumerated repeatedly (1 i 8, 11), and who addresses not only his “sons,” but also directly Amram as his “son” (1 ii 9). After an initial blessing (4Q542 1 i 1–4), there is an opening formula “and now, my sons . . .” (1 i 4), with an exhortation to keep the inheritance of Abraham, Jacob, Levi and the speaker (1 i 8), an inheritance which particularly implies priesthood (1 i 13). Apart from these instructions, the text contains the promise of blessings for all generations together with the announcement of judgment and especially of the passing away of the wicked (1 ii 5, 8).

This work, as far as we can see, seems to be more strongly oriented towards exhortation. There is no hint to any vision or heavenly tablets, but a stronger stress on the conduct of the progeny and on the future or eschatological fate of the just and the wicked. Although the death of Qahat is not explicitly mentioned, the testamentary character of the address is relatively clear. Since a testament can easily include blessings, words of praise or eschatological predictions, the classification of the work among the “texts of mixed genre” is in my view questionable, the work could equally be considered among the “testaments.”⁸³

⁸⁰ See E. Puech, “4QTestament de Qahat ar,” in *Qumrân Grotte 4 XXII: Textes Araméens, première partie, 4Q529–549* (ed. É. Puech; DJD 31, Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 257–282; idem, “Le testament de Qahat en araméen de la grotte 4 (4QTQah),” *RevQ* 15 (1991): 23–54.

⁸¹ Thus the early naming of that work, see below note 85.

⁸² Cf. also the mention of these three patriarchs in the title of the *Visions of Amram*.

⁸³ Thus Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 258–260.

h) *The So-called "Unidentified Testament" or "Apocryphon of Levi"*
(4Q540–541)

It is not possible to resume the extensive debate on the manuscripts and history of the Aramaic Levi texts (1Q21; 4Q213–214 and 4Q540–541).⁸⁴ For the present discussion I assume the decision of the DJD editors to separate the work represented by the two manuscripts 4Q540–541 from the *Aramaic Levi Document* represented by 1Q21 and 4Q213–214.⁸⁵

The work which is attested by the two manuscripts 4Q540 and 4Q541 was provisionally named 4QA_hA (i.e. an "Aharonic" work) and is now edited by Émile Puech under the title "4QApocryphe de Lévi^{a-b?} ar." The editors of the *Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* cautiously call it "unidentified testament," but consider it to be a "testament," following the list by Lange and Mittmann-Richert in *DJD XXXIX*.⁸⁶ But, due to the fragmentary state of preservation, things remain rather uncertain.

In most of the fragments, the text appears to be a speech of a patriarchal figure. No title is preserved, nor is there the name of Levi or another one of the fathers, although one might conclude from 4Q541 24 ii 5 that the "father" who is speaking, could probably be Levi.⁸⁷ The patriarch seems to narrate some events, possibly a vision in which he receives a writing,⁸⁸ and is in dialogue with some other (heavenly?) figure.⁸⁹ Other fragments seem to predict future events. Some fragments deal with a particular salvific figure, an eschatological priest who is a

⁸⁴ Cf., most recently, the edition and commentary: *The Aramaic Levi Document: edition, translation, commentary* (ed. J. C. Greenfield, M. Stone and E. Eshel; SVTP 19; Leiden: Brill, 2004), and the monograph by H. Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran. A New Interpretation of the Levi Document* (JSJSup 86; Leiden: Brill, 2004).

⁸⁵ Cf. J. T. Milik, "1Q21. Testament de Lévi," in *Qumran Cave I* (ed. D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik; DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon 1955), 87–91; the edition of 4Q213, 213a, 213b, 214, 214a and 214b: M. E. Stone and J. C. Greenfield, "Aramaic Levi Document," in *Qumran Cave 4 XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (ed. G. Brooke et al.; DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 1–72, and of 4Q540 and 541 by É. Puech, "Apocryphe de Lévi," *Qumrân Grotte 4 XXII: Textes Araméens, première partie, 4Q529–549* (ed. É. Puech; DJD 31, Oxford: Clarendon, 2001). Beyer, in his edition, names both texts "Das Testament Levis I" and "Das Testament Levis II" (*Texte*, 2:104–114).

⁸⁶ Cf. *Parabiblical Texts*, 444–453; Lange / Mittmann-Richert, "Annotated List," 129, name it "4QapocrLevi^{a-b?} ar" (as does Puech in *DJD XXXI*) and list it under the genre "testaments."

⁸⁷ Cf. Beyer, *Texte*, 2:111.

⁸⁸ 4Q541 2 i 6.

⁸⁹ 4Q541 2 i 9.

mediator of wisdom,⁹⁰ “shall make atonement for all those of his generation”⁹¹ and bring about an eschatological state of everlasting light.⁹² If we take these data together, we have the narration of a patriarch who tells a vision (in which he probably receives a writing), predicts future events, which are at least partly related to priesthood and cult, and contains the announcement of an eschatological figure of sapiential and, especially, priestly character. Thus, a certain testamentary character of the speech can hardly be denied, although there is neither mention of the death of Levi nor of the situation of his speaking his final words. Moreover, the hortatory character of the speech is less clear than, e.g., in the *Testament of Qahat*. Therefore, the classification of the text as a “testament” is still uncertain and was largely suggested on the mere basis of some parallels in contents between the eschatological priest and *Testament of Levi* 18 from the Greek *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. But since a later adoption of the text does not tell anything certain about the genre of the “Vorlage,” we should continue to call the work represented by 4Q540–541 “*Apocryphon of Levi*,” rather than “*Testament of Levi*.”

i) *The Aramaic Levi Document*

The last work to be discussed here is the work represented by the manuscripts 1Q21 and 4Q213–214 (now divided up into 4Q213, 213a, 213b, 214, 214a and 214b).⁹³ For this work the debate goes back to the beginning of the 20th century,⁹⁴ when the first Aramaic fragments of a work were published that appeared to be close to the Greek *Testament of Levi* from the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.⁹⁵ Due to those parallels and the alleged influence of the Aramaic work on the Greek composition, the work was often simply called “(Fragments of a) *Testament of Levi*,”⁹⁶ and the term continued to be used even after the discovery of the Qumran fragments, e.g. by Milik in his edition of the manuscript

⁹⁰ 4Q541 9 i 2; cf. 4Q541 7 4: “Then the books of wis[dom] shall be opened[...].”

⁹¹ 4Q541 9 i 2.

⁹² 4Q541 9 i 3–4.

⁹³ Cf. Stone and Greenfield, *DJD XXII*, 1–72.

⁹⁴ On the history of research see Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 4–14.

⁹⁵ H. L. Pass and J. Arendzen, “Fragments of an Aramaic Text of the Testament of Levi,” *JQR* 12 (1900): 651–661.

⁹⁶ Cf. also M. de Jonge, “The Fragments of a Jewish Testament of Levi,” in *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Study of their Text, Composition and Origin* (Van Gorcum’s Theologische Bibliotheek 25; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1975), 129–131.

from Cave 1, but also in his announcements of the Cave 4 manuscripts.⁹⁷ The name was later changed by Greenfield and Stone during their editorial work on the Cave 4 fragments,⁹⁸ presumably due to the improved view of the differences between the Aramaic composition as a whole and the Greek *Testament of Levi*. Since about 1990 the neutral name *Aramaic Levi Document* has become the standard designation.⁹⁹

The change in the name reflects an advanced view of the literary genre. In earlier research, and strongly supported by Milik, the work was regarded to be a testament, closely connected with the *Visions of Amram* and the *Testament of Qahat*. Some doubts were already expressed by Christoph Burchard in 1965.¹⁰⁰ In the meantime, there is a “growing scholarly consensus that the Aramaic work is not a testament, although it contains testamentary features that later appear in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.”¹⁰¹ Thus, in the classified list by Lange and Mittmann-Richert the *Aramaic Levi Document* is now listed under the very broad label: “Stories Based on Biblical Items.”¹⁰²

I cannot engage here the issues concerning the reconstruction and arrangement of the Qumran fragments, which is largely dependent on the reconstruction of much later manuscripts.¹⁰³ But if the reconstruction as given by Henryk Drawnel can be taken as a plausible starting point,¹⁰⁴

⁹⁷ Cf. Milik, *DJD I*, 87; idem, “Le Testament de Lévi en araméen. Fragment de la grotte 4 de Qumrân,” *RB* 62 (1955): 398–399. Cf. still the first article by J. C. Greenfield and M. E. Stone, “Remarks on the Aramaic Testament of Levi from the Geniza,” *RB* 86 (1979): 216–230.

⁹⁸ Cf. J. C. Greenfield and M. E. Stone, “The Aramaic and Greek Fragments of a Levi Document: Appendix III,” in *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Commentary* (ed. H. W. Hollander and M. de Jonge; SVTP 8; Leiden: Brill, 1985), 457–469; idem, “Two Notes on the Aramaic Levi Document,” in *Of Scribes and Scrolls. Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins presented to John Strugnell* (ed. Harold W. Attridge et al.; College Theology Society Resources in Religion 5; Lanham, Md: University Press of America, 1990), 153–161.

⁹⁹ It was first used in Greenfield / Stone, “Two Notes on the Aramaic Levi Document.”

¹⁰⁰ C. Burchard, “Review of Marinus de Jonge, *Testamenta XII Patriarcharum: Edited according to Cambridge University Library MS Ff. 1.24 fol. 1.24 203a–262b*,” *RevQ* 5 (1965): 281–284 (283 n. 2); cf. the reference in Drawnel, *Wisdom Text*, 86. See also von Nordheim, *Lehre*, 1:108: “Die Verse 81–83 im Mittelteil ähneln zwar Formelementen des Anfangsrahmens der bisher untersuchten Testamente, doch läßt sich nicht mit Sicherheit feststellen, ob sie tatsächlich die vorliegende Rede als die Rede eines Sterbenden qualifizieren wollen.”

¹⁰¹ Drawnel, *Wisdom Text*, 87.

¹⁰² Lange / Mittmann-Richert, “Annotated List,” 122.

¹⁰³ See the discussion in Drawnel, *Wisdom Text*, 32–55.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. the table in Drawnel, *Wisdom Text*, 97–98, and the text *ibid.*, 98–204.

the document may be seen to include a large number of genres, including a prayer, a vision, the narration of different events of his life, an extensive sapiential instruction on various topics, and a genealogical and autobiographical tale. One of those elements may be a kind of farewell discourse,¹⁰⁵ put at the end of an autobiographical tale and introduced by a narrative quite similar to the formal introduction of the texts from the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.¹⁰⁶ Levi speaks in the first person singular, mentioning his age of 137 years (according to Exod 6:16) and even his death (*ALD* 81), which seems to have happened before he starts to instruct his children. His address can be classified as a Wisdom Poem,¹⁰⁷ and leads to some perspectives for the future. If we can assume the same textual sequence for the Qumran texts (which do not cover all the parts extant in the medieval manuscripts), the formal introduction of the sapiential "poem" or instruction is remarkable. In contrast to what we can find in the Greek *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the age of the patriarch is not mentioned in a narrative introduction, but by the speaker himself, and, even more remarkably, he also narrates his own death: "And I saw my sons of the third generation before I died."¹⁰⁸ Thus, the pseudepigraphy is made clearly visible, and the patriarch does not speak from the perspective of imminent death but rather from a perspective or state after his death: This "is an important indication for the literary genre of the whole Levi composition. He does not address his children lying on his deathbed, a characteristic of the testamentary literary form. He speaks from another perspective, of one who is already dead"¹⁰⁹ or, one might add, of one who is already glorified.

The observation that in the Greek composition of the *Testament of Levi* (19:4) the mention of Levi's death is put at the end and transferred to the third person singular shows that the composers of this work had to change an important feature of the older tradition to adjust it to their literary purpose and the genre they wanted to create.¹¹⁰ Moreover, the following instruction (*ALD* 82ff) is not placed in the year of Levi's death but in another situation, when he was 118 years old and his brother Joseph died. This does not preclude that the speech has a "testamenta-

¹⁰⁵ Drawnell calls it a "Wisdom Poem."

¹⁰⁶ This was already mentioned by von Nordheim, *Lehre*, 1:108.

¹⁰⁷ Drawnel, *Wisdom Text*, 318.

¹⁰⁸ *Aramaic Levi Document* 81, according to Drawnel, *Wisdom Text*, 157.

¹⁰⁹ Drawnel, *Wisdom Text*, 318.

¹¹⁰ Thus Drawnel, *Wisdom Text*, 318.

ry” character, it is, however, not a farewell discourse or an address of the dying patriarch.

So we can conclude that the *Aramaic Levi Document* provides elements that are quite close to the later form of the “testamentary discourse” without exactly matching that literary design. As a whole, the work is not a literary testament but a composite work with a complicated communication structure and authorial fiction which deserves detailed analysis and reflection and differs considerably from the genre as customary in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

Conclusions and further perspectives

a) This brief analysis of the numerous alleged “testaments” from the Qumran library has shown that at least some of the documents discussed were called “testament” or included among the range of “Testamentenliteratur” without sufficient textual reason.

Not every text that mentions one of the sons of Jacob is, for that reason, a testament. This is quite clear in the case of the two Hebrew manuscripts which were unduly said to represent a *Testament of Judah* (3Q7 and 4Q484), although there are only very few words readable, and among them—quite accidentally—the names Levi and Issachar. We simply cannot know any more what those works were like and which literary genre they belonged to.

The designation “testament” should also be abandoned (as several scholars already have suggested) for the Hebrew document represented by 4Q215, where the story of the birth of Jacob’s sons is retold from the perspective of Naphtali, but the genre “testament” is not suggested by any of the textual elements.

The same is true for the Aramaic document that was edited as a *Testament of Judah*, but most clearly a work pseudonymously attributed to Benjamin who retells the story of Joseph and his brothers, without the characteristic elements of a literary testament. It is unclear, of course, whether the preserved parts are only a small portion of a larger work, however, we can only draw conclusions from the extant parts of the text, and for them a testamentary character cannot be substantiated.

Quite questionable is also the classification as a “testament” for the so-called “*Testament of Jacob*” (4Q537) which is—in its preserved portions—the narrative of a vision Jacob had at Bethel. Although the address—or the reading from the tablets given to him—provides a pro-

phetic perspective on the future life of Jacob and his progeny, including "eschatological" elements, it remains unclear how the autobiographical narrative or the narrative of the vision is situated. A setting on the deathbed is not suggested by any textual element. So the work might rather be called "Jacob at Bethel," "Vision of Jacob" or "Apocryphon of Jacob."

Finally, following a growing consensus in scholarship, the *Aramaic Levi Document* should not be called a "testament," although parts of it—especially the last section—show some elements of a testamentary address, which is, however, not situated in the situation of the death of the patriarch.

b) On the other hand, the clearest example of the genre "literary testament" in the Qumran library is the document called *Visions of Amram*. Here we can find not only the closest parallels to the openings of the testamentary works collected in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, but also a hortatory intention of the address and an eschatological outlook. The lack of the title "testament" and the use of a slightly different title is no reason to deny the testamentary character of this work. But it is only the fact that the beginning of the text is preserved, which gives us the opportunity to get a rather firm view on the intention of the whole work.

Due to the fragmentary character of most of the manuscripts, the certainty of classification is lower with regard to other works, and we always must consider the possibility that some important features of a text, especially in its opening part, are simply lost. Therefore we should not be too rigid in excluding the testamentary character for all texts where, e.g., the situation of the address or the impending death of the patriarch is not (anymore) extant. A testamentary character is also rather clear for the *Testament of Qahat* (4Q542), and it is plausible for the "Unidentified Testament" or *Apocryphon of Levi* (4Q540–541), although in both works, the situation of the address is not preserved, nor is there any hint to the closeness of the death of the patriarch. And, although the situation of death is not indicated, the hortatory character of the address to the "sons," together with retrospective parts might justify a cautious attribution of the text represented by 4Q539, the so-called *Testament of Joseph* (or *Apocryphon of Joseph ar*), to the genre "testament."

c) The case of the *Aramaic Levi Document* shows that testamentary elements (at least in a wider sense) can be included into a macro-genre that differs from the genre of the "testament." On the other hand, "tes-

taments” might encompass other genres, such as visions, prayers, poems, hymns, etc. The latter seems to be most obvious for the *Visions of Amram*, which are designed quite clearly as a “testament,” situated in the time of the death of the patriarch, addressing his progeny, yet even shaped in a manner which is very close to the openings of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. But this “testament” contains the narrative of an impressive vision which could cause the whole work being called “words of the visions of Amram”

d) The present paper intends to provide only a generic comparison, not an analysis of literary dependence. Therefore, the numerous parallels between some of the Qumran texts discussed and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* regarding narrative details and sequences or even particular wordings could not be discussed here. Such parallels may point to sources or earlier stages of the material of the later *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, but they cannot make a case for the correspondence of genre. Earlier research has often concluded from the genre of the later texts (i.e., the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*) to the genre of the earlier documents. But even if some kind of reception or adoption of the earlier materials could be demonstrated, there is no reason to conclude that the earlier text represented the same genre. The replacement of the death of Levi in *Testament of Levi* 19:4 over against *Aramaic Levi Document* 81 (according to the medieval manuscripts) points to the problems most clearly.

e) The *Visions of Amram* shows that the form of the literary testament, as an address to the sons, in the situation of the death, with the name of the patriarch and his age given in the opening, including narrative of events of the patriarch’s life and glimpses to the (eschatological) future, but focused on a hortatory intention, was already present in the early Aramaic texts preserved in the Qumran library. The *Visions of Amram* and the other “testaments,” at least the *Testament of Qahat* and possibly also some others, show that the genre was developed in Jewish circles long before the composition of the Greek *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* or its different parts.

f) The age of some of the manuscripts, especially of the *Visions of Amram*, and the non-sectarian character of all the works discussed points to the insight that the development of the genre “testament” predates the constitution of the “Qumran community” or the *yahad*.¹¹¹ The

¹¹¹ None of the texts discussed shows any sign of Qumran “sectarian” provenance.

form of the *Visions of Amram* (and possibly also of the related texts ascribed to Qahat and Levi) was developed in circles with priestly interests probably in the third century BCE. There is no reason to assume that the literary form of the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* should be developed only late in Christian circles. Of course, the problem of the origin of the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* cannot be discussed here. However, against the suggestion that the literary framework or even the composition as a whole is merely late and Christian,¹¹² one cannot only infer that Christian interpolations are not very numerous and rather clearly identifiable but, moreover, that the links with other Second Temple texts are so tight that not only parts of the material but also the literary design is strongly preformed within Jewish circles of this period.

g) The early "testaments" (and with them the characteristic type of dualism as represented by the *Visions of Amram* and the *Testament of Qahat*) have influenced the thought of the Qumran group, but it is also quite probable that such a type of thought came to be known and was, then, transmitted by wider circles in Early Judaism. There is no reason to assume that the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are shaped by Essene or Qumran sectarian thought. Rather, they adopt elements from documents which were created in a pre-sectarian milieu, transmitted not only by the Qumran group, but also in wider circles, although they happen to be preserved only within the Qumran library.¹¹³

h) The origin of the particular genre of the literary testament as developed in Second Temple Judaism and adopted in the early Christian tradition is, therefore, not the tradition of the patriarchal blessings in Genesis, nor the book of Deuteronomy, but a type of priestly wisdom which was shaped in a particular literary form as testaments of the heroes of the priestly line, Levi, Qahat, and Amram. Apart from the interest in purity and priestly matters, it is characterized by a specific kind of cosmic dualism and by elements of an apocalyptic eschatology. The later adoption of the genre has reduced the priestly elements and strengthened

¹¹² This is the view influentially suggested by Marinus de Jonge, cf. e.g.: M. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. A Study of their Text, Composition and Origins* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1953); idem, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. A Critical Edition of the Greek text* (PVTG 1, Leiden: Brill, 1978); idem, *Studies on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. Text and Interpretation* (ed. H. J. de Jonge; SVTP 3; Leiden: Brill, 1975).

¹¹³ On this, cf. Frey, "Different patterns of dualism," 334–335.

the ethical aspects, as can be seen in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

Thus the documents from the Qumran library with more or less “testamentary” character ascribed to Amram, Qahat, Levi, eventually Joseph or even other figures provide insights not only into the prehistory of some of the traditions later found in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, but also an enlarged basis for reconstructing the history and background of this genre within early Judaism.

RESPONSE: DANIEL STÖKL BEN EZRA

Jörg Frey’s lucid paper raises many fundamental and highly important issues with regard to the classification of Hebrew and Aramaic texts from Qumran as testaments. Crucial seems to me Frey’s statement that parallel traditions appearing in two texts do not require that these texts share the same genre. This quite self evident dictum has many ramifications that will undoubtedly be subject of discussion. Let me mention some points that attracted my attention:

First point, “perspective:” genre as ancient and modern categories: Following a modified application of criteria by von Nordheim that focuses on exhortatory speech linked to the death of somebody (one could add: reported in an independent text), Frey accepts only three works found in Qumran as testaments: 4Q534–539 *Visions of Amram*, 4Q539 *Testament of Joseph*, 4Q542 *Testament of Qahat*. What does it mean that the *Visions of Amram*, perhaps the oldest extant “testament,” does not refer to itself as “testament” but as “visions”? What is the purpose of genre classification? And, using anthropological terminology: how important is it to distinguish between emic (in this case ancient) and etic (here modern) perspectives on the genre of a text?

I understand genre classification, after all, as closely linked to the aims of the author to convey a message to his addressees. A title and a genre raise certain expectations in the (ancient) reader. It is the author who chooses to tell a fairy tale or write a news report, a novel or a limerick. What do we make of a midrash that says “I am a Targum”? What do we make of a testament that claims “I am a collection of visions”? Of course we know texts claim to be e.g. a gospel but wrongly so, at least according to our definitions. In this case what does this mean for this text that it does not term itself the “Testament of Amram”? If it is so clearly close to what other testaments look like, maybe the title could be used as an argument for the position that the genre testament did not yet

exist for the author. Otherwise the author would have called it accordingly.

Frey does not accept the following works as “Testament” named so in DJD or in the list of Lange & Mittmann-Richert in *DJD XXXIX*: 4Q537 *Testament of Jacob* [?]; 3Q7 & 4Q484 *Testament of Judah*; 4Q538 *Testament of Judah/Benjamin*; 4Q215 *Testament of Naphtali*.¹¹⁴ Émile Puech himself has disqualified 4Q484 as testament ascribing it instead to *Jubilees*. But it would be interesting to know whether he would agree with Frey’s hesitations with regard to 4Q538 *Testament of Judah/Benjamin*. Has Michael Stone changed his opinion with regard to the classification of 4Q215 as “*Testament*” (of *Naphtali*)? Especially in view of the recent dissertation by his student Vered Hillel on the different testaments of *Naphtali*, maybe he could be so kind and give us his opinion in the discussion.

Second point, “language:” To what extent is the beginning of the genre “Testament” an Aramaic phenomenon? Only two of the potential testaments discussed are Hebrew texts—3Q7 and 4Q215—and both are discarded. Is it by chance that the earliest *extant* texts of this genre are Aramaic or can we forward an explanation? What was the *Sitz im Leben* of this kind of literature?

Third point “time:” Frey claims “that the genre [‘testament’] became rather popular in the late Second Temple Period” (page 347).¹¹⁵ Depending on how we understand “late” this remains far from certain. As Frey states, for some of these texts their Jewish authorship is often contested. But furthermore, none of these texts has been demonstrated to predate 70 CE with certainty.¹¹⁶ In fact, our only definite examples for testaments in the Second Temple period are from Qumran and their origin is in a time much before 70 CE; according to Frey, before the foundation of the *yahad*, i.e. from the second century BCE and before. So what does “late” Second Temple Period mean here?

¹¹⁴ With regard to 4Q540–541 “Unidentified Testament related to *Aramaic Levi Document*” / *Apocryphon of Levi* and 1Q21, 4Q213–4Q214 “*Aramaic Levi Document* / *Testament of Levi*,” Frey is undecided. I assume that most of us would agree with his hesitation.

¹¹⁵ Using *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, *Testament of Abraham*, *Testament of Job*, *Testament of Solomon*, *Testament of Moses* (AssMos), and the *Ascension of Isaiah* as examples.

¹¹⁶ Possibly but far from certain: the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the *Testament of Job* and the *Testament of Moses*.

Finally, an observation: Apart from the Qumran manuscripts, there are extremely few texts that have been linked to the Qumran sect by some scholars. Frequently, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are listed among them. Among the Aramaic texts, too, there are extremely few texts that have been linked to the Qumran sect by some: The *Visions of Amram*, is perhaps the best example. I find it intriguing that exactly these two texts with strong links to sectarian and non-sectarian groups are testaments.

DISCUSSION

Jörg Frey: Thank you for your engaging response. Let me briefly comment on some of your points: First, on the question of the “emic” and “etic” terms: There are numerous scholarly terms and also genre terms which in ancient texts are either absent or used quite differently, such as, e.g., “apocalypse” or “gospel.” Many texts now to be classified as an apocalypse do not use this term themselves, other terms which have an inscription ἀποκάλυψις do not belong to that genre as commonly defined (e.g. the “apocalypses” from Nag Hammadi Codex V). And in the second century CE many numerous texts are called εὐαγγέλιον although they belong to a genre which differs widely from that type of text created by Mark. In my view, we are justified, as modern scholars, to use and define modern and scholarly categories although ancient authors did not use them or used them differently. In dealing with genres, we should liberate ourselves from the ideological framework of the earlier “Formkritik” which was dependent on Johann Gottfried Herder’s views. The idea of a “pure” original form and the verdict that a “*Mischgattung*” as such must be secondary, is neither true nor helpful. Generally, our interest in using genres for interpreting texts should rather be to elaborate their particularity on the background of common and conventional features. So, if we want to highlight the particular features of a given text, we must allow for some uniqueness and individual character. Therefore we cannot put all texts in one big pool and say “all fish are the same.” For such a purpose, I think, modern terms and categories are justified or even necessary because the ancients normally did not distinguish so precisely.

Why did the author or redactor of the *Visions of Amram* call his text not simply a “testament” but “vision,” or more precisely: “words of the vision ...”? Perhaps this was the most impressive feature of his composition, prominently located at its beginning, but we can see that there are also parts of the text that seem to belong to an exhortatory speech, thus the vision is not the only and possibly not the decisive feature of the text for classification but makes up its uniqueness and particular character.

Second, the dating of the texts: I still date the origin of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in the late Second Temple period and do not subscribe to de Jonge’s view of a Christian origin of those texts and their literary framework. Of course the manuscripts are late and Christian, but the links with earlier traditions and other texts of similar character and genre from the Second Temple period are so close that, in my view, the late dating is no plausible solution.

Third, the question why the testaments are mainly Aramaic and not Hebrew. This is a very interesting question, for which I do not have a solution. It seems to have started in a milieu of priestly wisdom with heroes of priesthood, and apparently the production of texts of this type did not continue in the same way in Hebrew language.

Michael Stone: I originally received the given title of 4Q215 uncritically (*mea culpa*).

Now, having considered the matter, I am of the opinion that the surviving document shows no characteristics of a testament, and should be called 4QNaphtali.

Hanan Eshel: I am asking all the people who are dealing with the texts from Qumran not to change their names all the time. I believe that *Aramaic Levi Document* is better than the *Vision of Levi*, that the *Prayer of Joseph* is better than *Poetic and Narrative*, and *Testament of Naphtali* is better than 4QNaphtali.

Jörg Frey: Of course, you are right, we should not change names too often. But for 4QNaphtali, the name is already changed, so I just referred to what has already been done. What I mean is, that, in any case, we should not presuppose that the source or possible source of a later text belongs to the same genre as the later text which adopts it. If we are aware of this, the name may be of secondary importance.

The Greek pattern differs, of course, in one point, because it has the term διαθήκη, “testament,” remarkably used according to the general, non-religious usage, not according to the LXX usage rendering the Hebrew ברית. This is an interesting development of the generic pattern beyond what we have in the *Visions of Amram*. On the other hand, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are the most impressive collection of texts from which we can see what may be intended by such a pseudonymous, written exhortatory speech.

Devorah Dimant: ...later intended.

Jörg Frey: Of course, later intended, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are later than the *Visions of Amram*, but genre criticism works here as a phenomenology of communication. We look for the rhetorical intention of such texts. Of course, the patriarch Amram did not communicate anything, but within the literary fiction it is said that in this line something was handed down for the benefit of the readers in the third or second century BCE. So we have to come to the issue of the *Sitz im Leben*, of the social setting and the rhetorical intention of the texts: What do they communicate to their contemporaries as wisdom from the past?

Émile Puech: Dans les Constitutions apostoliques sont cités parmi les τὰ βιβλία ἀπόκρυφα un ouvrage intitulé le *περὶ τῶν τριῶν πατριαρχῶν*. Milik y a, correctement à mon sens, vu la trilogie des *Testaments des trois patriarches* sacerdotaux, les *Testament de Lévi*, de *Qahat* et d'*Amram*. Je continue à désigner 4Q213–214a comme *Testament de Lévi* et non *ALD* d'une part et, d'autre part, à voir dans le titre « Copie de l'écrit des paroles des visions d'Amram » le genre *Testament d'Amram* ainsi que le *Testament de Qahat* en 4Q542. Malgré votre analyse systématique, je ne changerai pas les titres donnés dans l'édition *princeps*. Si on n'avait pas retrouvé le titre en 4Q543 et 545, mais seulement les autres fragments, aurait-on rangé les fragments de 4Q543 à 547 dans un *Testament d'Amram*? J'en doute fort. Pour le *Testament de Juda*, voir mes remarques ci-dessus (see discussion of the paper of Loren Stuckenbruck). Tout cela devrait relativiser ou tempérer quelque peu nos propres analyses !

Jörg Frey: Your question is fully justified. What could we say if the first column of the *Visions of Amram* were not extant? Perhaps nothing. That's the problem we have with

many other texts, where the beginning is not preserved. But filling up the gaps is also impossible.

Émile Puech : Oui, mais il n'est pas interdit de faire appel à une littérature périphérique ancienne, quand on a des indications à ce sujet, comme Milik l'a proposé !

Jonathan Ben-Dov: In ANE literature we find dozens of examples of parental teachings.

In fact this is the standard setting for a wisdom instruction with examples from Israel, Mesopotamia, Egypt and even Greece. In these examples the deathbed setting is entirely absent, appearing as a consistent factor only in the very late Testament genre. Why then should we impose this genre on earlier cases, where the deathbed setting is dubious? Why not just call them "wisdom texts" like Proverbs?

Jörg Frey: We should distinguish between a parental or ancestral instruction as such and a particular setting where the weight of the words is increased by the imminent death of the patriarch.

Armin Lange: Your referred in your talk to the index Ulrike Mittmann-Richert and I compiled (in *DJD XXXIX* [2002], 115–164). I would like to use this opportunity to point to a more general problem which is connected with both our index and your talk. I think we are mixing two different types of genre categories in our research. On the one hand, with the benefit of hindsight, we construe scholarly genres which are identified by way of certain genre markers, the structure of a given text, and its content. I do think that the ancient Jews wrote by using the templates we describe as various genres today. They had them in mind and were guided by them. But on the other hand, I think that the ancients had their own ideas about text types and their own designations for them. The use of the word "midrash" in the texts from the Qumran library is a good example. In 4QMidrEschat^a III 14 (*olim* 4QFlor 1–2 i 14), it describes the third section of the *Midrash on Eschatology*, i.e. the continuous interpretation of selected lines from various Psalms, as a midrash. In 4QS^b (4Q256) IX 1 par 4QS^d (4Q258) I 1, it is part of the name the community rule which can also be found in *Rule of the Community* Vff (מדרש למשכיל). Similarly, in the subscription to the *Damascus Documents* (4QD^a [4Q266] 11 20 par 4QD^e [4Q270] 7 ii 15) it is part of its ancient name, מדרש התורה האחרון. In 4Qpap crypt A Midrash Sefer Moshe (4Q249) verso 1, it is part of the title of a work which might be describes as a halakhic midrash (מדרש ספר משה). The Es-senes thus designated a part of a thematic pesher, two community rules, and a halakhic commentary as midrash. What the ancient Jews understood in these cases as midrashim is mostly something very different from what we would understand today as a midrash. I think the same problem exists with what we call *Visions of Amram* today (4Q543–549). "Words of the Visions of Amram, son of Kohath, son of Levi" (מלי חזות) (4Q543 I 1 par 4Q545 I i 1) is the ancient title of this work. I.e., מלי חזות or חזות is probably how an ancient Jew would have classified this work. This does not mean that the author who wrote this *Visions of Amram* was not guided by the structures and/or conventions we identify as a testament today. If we want to do genre research, we should ask for both the ancient categories and the scholarly genres we construe today. I think this is where research should go. Ulrike and I discussed this when we compiled our index but saw no way of doing this for the whole Qumran corpus because we simply do not know enough to do it for all the texts which were found in Qumran.

John Collins: Are such biblical passages as the Blessing of Jacob important for the development of the genre?

Jörg Frey: One starting point of my work was that one of my Habilitation students is comparing the Johannine Farewell Discourses with Deuteronomy and the Moses tradition. I wanted to look at the other line of tradition. And, if we consider the generic pattern as present in the opening of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, we can see that this kind of testamentary speech clearly differs from Deuteronomy and adopts numerous elements from an earlier line of Aramaic texts partly preserved in the Qumran library. Deuteronomy is, of course, also a “testamentary” text but not a literary testament of the type and genre defined above.

PART IV: SCIENCE AND ESOTERICS

SCIENTIFIC WRITINGS IN ARAMAIC AND HEBREW AT QUMRAN:
TRANSLATION AND CONCEALMENT

Jonathan Ben-Dov, University of Haifa

The present paper surveys the scientific writings in Aramaic from Qumran, and proceeds to illuminate the cultural background for this literary genre. We shall then investigate why and how this knowledge was translated into Hebrew in the framework of the literary activity executed by the *yahad*, pointing out some prominent features of this process.¹

The Aramaic documents from Qumran were recently classified by Devorah Dimant into the following categories:²

- a) Works about the period of the flood and the watchers (*I Enoch* etc.)
- b) Works dealing with the history of the patriarchs (*Aramaic Levi Document* etc.)
- c) Visionary Compositions (*New Jerusalem* etc.)
- d) Tales from Mesopotamian courts (Tobit, *Prayer of Nabonidus*, *Proto-Esther* etc.)
- e) Astronomy and Magic (*Physiognomy*, *Horoscope* etc.)
- f) Targumim (Leviticus, Job) and Varia

This classification—helpful as it is—includes some categories that are not mutually exclusive. While some of the categories pertain to genre (c, e), others pertain to the purported historical setting of the composition (a, b, d). The Enochic compositions in particular take part in more than one group. Thus, being a product of the antediluvian patriarch Enoch (group a), they may also contain visionary material (group c)—as in the Animal Apocalypse—or astronomy (group e), as in the *Astronomical Book*. To name another example, the *Aramaic Levi Document* (group b) contains a substantial section on metrology, incorporating knowledge from the scholarly curriculum in Mesopotamia, as proven by Henryk

¹ I am indebted to Michael Stone for his formal response delivered at the Aix conference, as well as to Eibert Tigchelaar for his remarks on a draft of this paper.

² D. 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* (JSJSup 122; ed. A. Hilhorst, E. Puech and E. Tigchelaar; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 197–205, here 200–201.

Drawnel.³ This section can be designated scientific too, and thus belongs also in group e. The association of groups a-b with group e should be taken as no surprise, since the transmission of scientific knowledge by pre-historical figures tallies with conceptions of science and cosmological teaching prevalent in Antiquity.⁴

In the present article the category “science” is used in a somewhat broader way than is usually assumed. Thus, the discussion will include also the realm of magic and exorcism, which is usually considered as remote from “science” as can be. This broad view of the term “science” is based on two factors. First, I find little merit in the use of the term “Magic,” whose modern connotations are utterly anachronistic and do not reflect the intentions and the setting of the ancient authors.⁵ Second, what modern authors are willing to include under the title “science” is quite often too narrow, and based to a great extent on overtly positivistic constraints, proved to be false by recent developments in the philosophy of science.⁶ I follow here the view of Philip Alexander, who allowed for a much more flexible definition of “science.”⁷ Admittedly I go one step ahead of Alexander when including in the discussion such intellectual disciplines as terrestrial geography and even exorcism, yet for the present purposes this is absolutely justified. In the present paper, therefore, “science” means: an intellectual activity which involves cosmological speculation, divination, or the didactic tools required to obtain this kind of knowledge.⁸ The science discussed here can be descriptive (as in

³ H. Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran. A New Interpretation of the Levi Document* (JSJSup 86; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 280–293; idem, “Priestly Education in the Aramaic Levi Document (*Visions of Levi*) and the Aramaic Astronomical Book (4Q208–211),” *RQ* 22 (2006): 547–574. On the textual status of the metrological section in *Aramaic Levi Document* see below.

⁴ P. W. van der Horst, “Antediluvian Knowledge: Graeco-Roman and Jewish Speculations about Wisdom from Before the Flood,” in *Japheth in the Tents of Shem: Studies on Jewish Hellenism in Antiquity* (CBET 32; Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 139–158.

⁵ See H. S. Versnel, “Some Reflections on the Relationship Magic-Religion,” *Numen* 38 (1991): 177–197.

⁶ See mainly F. Rochberg, *The Heavenly Writing. Divination, Horoscopy, and Astronomy in Mesopotamian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 29–43, 237–286.

⁷ P. S. Alexander, “Enoch and the Beginnings of Jewish Interest in Natural Science,” in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought* (BETL 149; ed. C. Hempel et al.; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), 223–243, here 224.

⁸ The sense of “science” used here is similar to that used by D. Pardee, “Ugaritic Science,” in *The World of the Aramaeans III: Studies in Language and Literature in Honour of Paul-Eugène Dion* (ed. M. P. M. Daviau et al.; JSOTSup 324–326; Sheffield:

the geographical lists of *Jubilees*) or prescriptive (as in the exorcistic text 4Q560).

The type of science discussed here displays a conspicuous characteristic which sets it apart from western science, as first defined by the ancient Greeks. While the Greek idea of knowledge promoted a wide circulation of the scientific material, the science of the Dead Sea Scrolls adheres to a different model, by which the speculative wisdom is an esoteric venture, to be concealed from laymen and revealed to the initiated only. This esoteric science was the norm in ancient Mesopotamian literature, which—as we shall see—was the source for a great part of what later appears in the scrolls. The concealment of scientific material will be dealt with in the second part of the article.

1. Science in Aramaic

A detailed inventory of the texts from category e, “Aramaic Science in Qumran” is presented hereby:

Astronomy—The *Astronomical Book*: attested in preliminary form in 4Q208 and in 4Q209 frag.s. 1–22, 29–41; and in a reworked version in 4Q209 frag.s. 23–28; 4Q210 and 4Q211.⁹ The *Astronomical Book* is not explicitly associated with Enoch in the extant scrolls, but the association is clear from slightly later sources, notably *Jubilees* 4:17–19 and *1 Enoch* chapter 81.¹⁰

Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 223–254. In previous literature it is sometimes classified as “mantic wisdom,” as in J. C. VanderKam, “Mantic Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 4 (1997): 336–353.

⁹ On the earliest version of the *Astronomical Book* see H. Drawnel, “Moon Computation in the Aramaic *Astronomical Book*,” *RQ* 23 (2007): 3–41. On the reworking of the *Astronomical Book* in later versions see in detail J. Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years. Astronomy and Calendars at Qumran in their Ancient Context* (STDJ 78; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 69–118.

¹⁰ On the relation between the *Astronomical Book* and *Jubilees* 4:17–19 see J. C. VanderKam, *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature* (JSJSup 62; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 310–318; M. A. Knibb, “Which Parts of 1 Enoch Were Known to Jubilees? A Note on the Interpretation of Jubilees 4.16–25,” in *Reaching from Right to Left: Essays on the Hebrew Bible in Honour of David J.A. Clines* (ed. J. Cheryl Exum and H. G. M. Williamson; JSOTSup 373; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003), 254–262. On the role of *1 Enoch* 81 as the editorial framework for a group of Enochic booklets see R. Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach: A Comparative Literary and Conceptual Analysis of the Themes of Revelation, Creation and Judgment* (SBLEJL 8; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 257–265; G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 334–337.

Geography—The *Book of the Watchers*: attested in 4Q201, 4Q202, 4Q203–206. The second part of this booklet (1 En. 17–36) recounts a series of travels taken by Enoch under the guidance of the angel Uriel. In these voyages Enoch reaches the ends of the earth and transmits to humanity the basic notions of the Geography of Heaven.¹¹ Aspects of terrestrial geography, in contrast, are treated in the table of nations of the *Genesis Apocryphon* columns XVI–XVII.¹²

Metrology—The *Aramaic Levi Document*. This text, which deals primarily with priestly instructions and admonitions, is preserved in several copies from Qumran (1Q21, 4Q213, 4Q213a, 4Q213b, 4Q214, 4Q214a, 4Q214b). A later copy was found in the Cairo Genizah, and what seems like a partial Greek version of it remained in a medieval copy from Mt. Athos.¹³ Sections 32a–47 of the *Aramaic Levi Document* present a roster of weights and measures with regard to various offerings.¹⁴ The roster is based on fractions of 1/6, a common trait in the Mesopotamian scribal curriculum.

¹¹ J. C. VanderKam, “Putting them in their Place: Geography as an Evaluative Tool”, in idem, *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature*, 476–499; K. Coblenz-Bautch, *A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17–19: “No One Has Seen What I Have Seen”* (JSJSup 81; Leiden: Brill, 2003).

¹² Why should these lists be called science more than, say, the town lists of Joshua 15? Because the geographical lists of the type “table of nations” are based on foreign cosmological schemes rather than on local cartography (see for example W. Horowitz, “The Isles of the Nations: Genesis X and Babylonian Geography”, in *Studies in the Pentateuch* [ed. J. A. Emerton; VTSup 41; Leiden: Brill, 1990], 35–43). Further, it is now almost universally accepted that the geographical lists in *Jubilees* and/or *apGen* rely on a Hellenistic source conveying the map of the world; see the articles by Eshel and Werman quoted in n. 33 below.

¹³ The textual status of *Aramaic Levi Document* is beyond the scope of the present article. For the text history of *Aramaic Levi Document* see J. C. Greenfield, M. E. Stone and E. Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary* (SVTP 19; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 1–6. Recently Kugler has claimed that the identity of the text we call *Aramaic Levi Document* was in fact much more elaborate than what scholars assume. According to him, some of the Qumran copies of *Aramaic Levi Document* reflect a local Qumranic recension, which cannot be studied synoptically with the medieval copies; see R. Kugler, “Whose Scripture? Whose Community? Reflections on the Dead Sea Scrolls Then and Now, By Way of Aramaic Levi,” *DSD* 15 (2008): 5–23. Yet, the proofs adduced by Kugler—even if they are certain beyond any doubt—are too minor to prove his far-reaching claim. The matter must wait to be settled by scholars of *Aramaic Levi Document*.

¹⁴ Drawnel (*An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran*, 280–293) developed a far-reaching argument on the basis of this section, arguing for an ostensible Mesopotamian origin for the metrology in *Aramaic Levi Document*. His contention is accepted here, despite the fact that the metrological list admittedly stands on a shaky textual foundation.

Physiognomy—A physiognomic manual is preserved in 4Q561. This document is sometimes erroneously taken to be a horoscopic composition, hence its former designation 4QHorscope. Yet, Mladen Popović has recently demonstrated that there is no astrological component in it, so that its teaching is concerned with physiognomy alone.¹⁵ The literary setting for this document is debated, since the scroll may contain several other fragments, which are of a non-scientific, narrative-like character. Whereas Holst and Høgenhaven recently claimed that the scientific section was part of a larger apocalyptic composition, Popović argued for its independency, and Puech supports this latter opinion (oral communication, July 2008).¹⁶

Astrology—Parts of two astrological lists are preserved in 4Q318. This scroll contains remnants of two astrological rosters: a *Selenodromion* (tracing the position of the moon in the zodiacal signs throughout

It is fully preserved only in the Greek version, while almost entirely missing from the Genizah copies, where the text stops after section 32a. The Qumran fragments 4Q214 5–6 ii, according to Drawnel (*ibid.*, 132–133), represent bits of letters from sections 29–31. Kugler (“Whose Scripture?,” note 13), has recently argued that since the metrological section is not represented in the DSS it could not be considered part of the original composition. Kugler also rejected Drawnel’s claim that the metrological section is represented by the tip of the letter *taw* in 4Q214b 5–6 ii 6. Still, Kugler does not suggest a reason why the metrological section could have been added by a medieval scribe. On the contrary, the interest with weights and measures arises already in sections 29–30, which are quite reasonably preserved in the Qumran fragments. Furthermore, the right measure of the flour accompanying the sacrifice appears elsewhere at Qumran, e.g. 11Q18 *New Jerusalem ar frag.* 13 (Greenfield, Stone and Eshel, 173), and in a non-sacrificial context also in 4Q159 *Ordinances*. It is thus reasonable to accept the metrological section as an original part of *Aramaic Levi Document*.

Greenfield, Stone and Eshel (*The Aramaic Levi Document*, 41–44) contested the authenticity of the metrological section on different grounds. Since they have detected some *termini technici* which they trace to the Roman period, they conclude “Clearly then, part or all of this metrological list is later than the surrounding text ... we regard the whole of 9:17–18 as a later gloss. Alternatively, it might be suggested that an earlier metrological list ... was glossed and updated in the Roman period.” Even without delving into the problematic interpretation of the monetary terms in this passage, one may still accept the second possibility suggested by Stone and Eshel, admitting that a metrological section did exist in the early *Aramaic Levi Document*.

¹⁵ M. Popović, *Reading the Human Body: Physiognomics and Astrology in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Hellenistic–Early Roman Period Judaism* (STDJ 67; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 54–55. As Émile Puech kindly notifies me, he still considers that 4Q561 contains horoscopic speculation, based on a mention of the word בֵּית, which he reconstructs as בֵּית מוֹלָדִים “house of progeniture,” an astrological term known from other Qumranic attestations. The final decision should await the publication in *DJD XXXVII*.

¹⁶ S. Holst and J. Høgenhaven, “Physiognomy and Eschatology: Some More Fragments of 4Q561,” *JJS* 57 (2006): 26–43; Popović, *Reading the Human Body*, 57.

the 360-day year) and a *Brontologion* (weather omens related with astrology).¹⁷

Exorcism: 4Q560.¹⁸

Before we delve into a closer look at the components of group e, we must engage the more general background of the material presented here in ancient Science and Divination. It is by now widely acknowledged that Jewish apocalyptic writers—and the Aramaic texts in particular—had in their disposal relics of the ancient Mesopotamian literature, and that the influence of these Mesopotamian motifs is readily seen in early apocalyptic literature.¹⁹ The Mesopotamian background of early Enochic literature is known not only in the scientific realm but also in various other cultural elements.²⁰ Thus, for example, the *Book of Giants* is one of the extremely rare cases outside Mesopotamia where the name of Gilgamesh is mentioned, together with Humbaba and possibly also Utanapishtim.²¹ As was demonstrated early in research, the very notion of an antediluvian culture hero—not only in *I Enoch* but already in Genesis 5:21—owes its origins to ancient Mesopotamian figures such as Adapa, Enmeduranki and Gilgamesh.²² The Jewish apocalyptic litera-

¹⁷ Greenfield and Sokoloff, *DJD XXXVI*, 259–274; M. Albani, “Horoscopes in the Qumran Scrolls,” 296–301, 322–323.

¹⁸ See J. Naveh, “Fragments of an Aramaic Magic Book from Qumran,” *IEJ* 48 (1998): 252–261.

¹⁹ Thus in short J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1998), 26–29.

²⁰ See J. C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS 16; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association, 1984); H. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and of the Son of Man* (WMANT 61; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1988); D. Dimant, “Old Testament Pseudepigrapha at Qumran,” in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Second Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 2006), 2:465.

²¹ See A. R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic: Introduction, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts* (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 2003), 60, 63; somewhat differently L. T. Struckenbruck, “Giant Mythology and Demonology: From the Ancient Near East to the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Die Dämonen/Demons. The Demonology of Israelite-Jewish and Early Christian Literature in Context of their Environment* (ed. A. Lange et al.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 318–338; and the paper by A. Lemaire in the present volume.

²² See for example P. Grélot, “La légende d’Hénoch dans les apocryphes et dans la Bible,” *RSR* 46 (1958): 5–26, 180–210; U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis* (trans. I. Abrahams; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1964), 281–286; C. Westermann, *Genesis I–II* (trans. J. J. Scullion; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 348–352.

ture thus constitutes a valuable window to a stage in history in which Mesopotamian cultural patterns were the dominant paradigm. This reality occurred in the early Second Temple period, at the time of the Persian domination, and prevailed until relatively late in the subsequent Hellenistic period.²³ This cultural environment is also the reason for the existence at Qumran of significant examples from the genre of Mesopotamian court tales such as the book of Tobit, the *Prayer of Nabonidus*, and the *Proto-Esther* texts, a popular genre in Aramaic literature of the time.²⁴ These texts shed light on the channel of cultural transmission from Mesopotamia to the west.

The case for a particular stream of tradition in the scientific milieu has also been made quite strongly, mainly by Matthias Albani.²⁵ The question arises whether and how the Mesopotamian science ever existed in Aramaic. This is by no means an easy question to answer, since most of the early Aramaic literature has perished, being written on scrolls and wooden tablets rather than on clay tablets. Numerous scientific writings in Aramaic remained from Late Antiquity onwards, mainly in Syriac and Mandaic—spell charms, astrology, physiognomy, etc.—but the degree of continuity between these late sources and cuneiform culture cannot be ascertained. In many cases, the stamp of cuneiform sources is discerned in mere isolated sentences or terminology, but there are no clear signs for the translation of a continuous scientific text into Aramaic. After all, let it be remembered that Babylonian astronomy was the last branch of cuneiform culture to retain the old writing methods, so much so that astronomical almanacs and horoscopes were written in

²³ On this cultural background see Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years*, 245–250, with earlier bibliography cited there.

²⁴ For this genre in Jewish writings see L. M. Wills, *The Jewish Novel in the Ancient World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); for the wider Aramaic scribal milieu see P. A. Beaulieu, “Official and Vernacular Languages: The Shifting Sands of Imperial and Cultural Identities in First-Millennium B.C. Mesopotamia” in *Margins of Writing, Origins of Cultures* (University of Chicago Oriental Institute Seminars 2; ed. S. L. Sanders; Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2006), 187–216, esp. 190, 197. Prominent examples for the Aramaic court literature remained in copies from Egypt, some of them in Demotic script. They are *inter alia*: the Book of Ahiqar; Proverbs concerning one Bar Punesh; the Bisitun inscription; a story on the civil war between Ashurbanipal and Šamaš-šum-ukin; a court novella written on plaster in Sheikh-Fadl.

²⁵ M. Albani, *Astronomie und Schöpfungsglaube: Untersuchungen zum astronomischen Henochbuch* (WMANT 68; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1994); U. Glessmer, “Horizontal Measuring in the Babylonian Astronomical Compendium mul.apin and in the Astronomical Book of IEnoch,” *Henoah* 18 (1996): 259–282; further Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years*, 181–196.

cuneiform as late as the end of the first century CE!²⁶ In my dissertation I reached the conclusion that, while the advanced mathematical astronomy from Babylonia most probably was not translated into Aramaic until a very late stage, simpler branches of science like divination and non-mathematical astronomy may very well have been translated.²⁷

There are some preliminary signs for an early acquaintance of Aramaic-speaking authors with cuneiform science. Thus, in a Late Babylonian scholarly text, the colophon preserves the name of the scribe, She-maaya, most probably a Jewish scribe.²⁸ Another clue appears in a recently published cuneiform tablet containing omens related to the visibility of Mercury. Here the colophon indicates that it was copied from a *magallatu*, a scroll.²⁹ Since cuneiform is not easily written on scrolls, this might be taken as evidence for Aramaic writing. Some new evidence appeared quite recently, in the form of Aramaic ostraca found in Maresha of the Hellenistic period, in which some divinatory and astrological terminology was preserved. This material seems to have parallels not only in Cuneiform literature, but also in the Aramaic Enoch fragments, as notified by Esther Eshel in her yet unpublished presentation at the Vienna 2008 conference. In light of the above, the conviction emerges that a body of scientific literature existed in Aramaic already in the Persian and early Hellenistic period, and that this corpus continued some of the notions of traditional Mesopotamian science and divination. It is on this background that the Aramaic scientific writings from Qumran should be evaluated, as they in fact constitute one of the main witnesses for this lost corpus.

²⁶ See, e.g. M. J. Geller, "The Last Wedge," *ZA* 87 (1997): 43–95.

²⁷ Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years*, 259–266; cf. M. J. Geller, "New Documents from the Dead Sea: Babylonian Science in Aramaic," in *Boundaries of the Ancient Near East: A Tribute to Cyrus H. Gordon* (JSOTSup 273; ed. M. Lubetski et al.; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 224–229, here 229.

²⁸ A. Livingstone, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scribes* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986), 259–260.

²⁹ Published by E. Reiner in *Literary and Scholastic Texts of the First Millennium B.C.* (CTMMA II; ed. I. Spar and W.G. Lambert; New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005), 182–183. Scrolls are also mentioned in colophons of other divinatory texts, such as the omen series *izbu* (cf. CAD s.v. *magallatu*). As prof. Earle Leichty (University of Pennsylvania) kindly informs me, scrolls are quite often mentioned in divinatory literature. He sees it as a sign that much of this literature was translated into Aramaic (oral communication, June 2008).

Returning to the list of group e, as presented above, an interesting distinction arises from an examination of the literary framework woven around the scientific treatises. The first three disciplines (i.e., astronomy, geography, metrology) are embedded in literary frameworks (*Astronomical Book*, *Book of the Watchers*, *Aramaic Levi Document* respectively). In contrast, the other three disciplines (physiognomy, astrology, exorcism) are not associated with any kind of literary or narrative framework. The difference may be due to pure chance, owing to the fragmentary character of the extant scrolls. But a scroll like 4Q318 is long enough to contain some of the framework, if such framework ever existed. One may associate this find with yet another distinction: While *Astronomical Book*, *Book of the Watchers* and *Aramaic Levi Document* are generally considered early writings, possibly as early as the third century BCE, there is no sign for an early date of the scientific material contained in the scrolls 4Q561, 4Q318, and 4Q560. An important notion readily arises from this distinction: Whereas the three early scientific writings are embedded within literary frameworks and presented as part of a comprehensive patriarchal teaching, the three later items lack a clear extra-scientific framework.

Further finds arise from an investigation of the cultural provenance of the scientific teaching in each of the scrolls. Here too, recent studies prompt us to distinguish somewhat broadly between the early and later material: while the early material depends on ancient Mesopotamian antecedents, the later scrolls present a closer affinity to the general Hellenistic science. The strongest case for a Mesopotamian origin was made for *Astronomical Book*,³⁰ while a Mesopotamian origin of the metrology in *Aramaic Levi Document* is also reasonably founded.³¹ In these two cases, there is no sign of Hellenistic influence. In contrast, the sections on Heavenly geography in *Book of the Watchers* betray an amalgam of Mesopotamian and Greek cosmological concepts,³² and the account of terrestrial geography in the *Genesis Apocryphon* seems to reflect a simi-

³⁰ Albani, *Astronomie und Schöpfungsglaube*; Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years*, 181–196; Drawnel, “Moon Computation in the *Aramaic Astronomical Book*.”

³¹ Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran*, 280–293.

³² P. Grelot, “La géographie mythique d’Hénoch et ses sources orientales,” *RB* 65 (1958): 33–69; recently Coblenz-Bautch, *A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17–19*. J. M. Scott, in a review of Coblenz-Bautch, *RBL* 3/2005 claims for an even more distinctly Hellenistic character of sections in *Book of the Watchers*.

larly mixed background.³³ In the later scientific scrolls, the Hellenistic provenance is even more pronounced. With regard to the physiognomy in 4Q561 Popović could not reach a conclusive statement, as the scroll is *sui generis*, not identical with either the Greek or the Babylonian cognates.³⁴ The astrological features of 4Q318 have been subject to a series of discussions which cannot be covered here, but at the bottom line they generally adhere to the usual mix of Mesopotamian and Greek traditions.³⁵ Thus, after all, 4Q318 is a product of the Hellenistic cultural furnace rather than of direct Mesopotamian influence. In sum, direct Mesopotamian influence is discerned mainly in the *Astronomical Book* and the *Aramaic Levi Document*, while other scientific knowledge in Aramaic at Qumran is a product of a Hellenistic cultural background.

The traditions on a pre-historic culture hero, which began in an era of Mesopotamian cultural domination, found a fertile ground for persistence and even development in a new cultural environment, as part of the Hellenistic quest for *prōtos heurētes*.³⁶ In the Hellenistic furnace, as each ethnos strove to underscore its cultural identity, and as Greek science was beginning to spread, the existence of a Jewish scientist of hoary antiquity was found attractive in the eyes of various Jewish au-

³³ Cana Werman claimed that the table of nations in *GenAp* is entirely free of Greek influence, as against the parallel passage in *Jubilees* which is utterly Hellenistic: C. Werman, "Jubilees in the Hellenistic Context," in *Heavenly Tablets. Interpretation, Identity and Tradition on Ancient Judaism* (JSJSup 119; ed. L. LiDonnici and A. Lieber; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 133–158. But contrast E. Eshel, "The *imago mundi* of the Genesis Apocryphon," in *Heavenly Tablets*, 111–131. The relation between the two geographical lists was recently restudied by Machiela, but with less emphasis given to the question of cultural provenance: D. A. Machiela, "Each to His Own Inheritance": Geography as an Evaluative Tool in the Genesis Apocryphon," *DSD* 15 (2008): 50–66.

³⁴ Popović, *Reading the Human Body*, 111–112; Popović convincingly refutes the earlier claims by Geller, who had claimed for a Babylonian origin of 4Q561: Geller, "New Documents from the Dead Sea."

³⁵ The awkward placement of Taurus at the beginning of the zodiacal circle according to 4Q318 was taken by Geller and Albani as clear indication for an early Mesopotamian influence on the author of this scroll. This opinion is based on the fact that in Mul.Apin and related sources the "Path of the Moon" begins with the Pleiades, a part of Taurus (Geller, "New Documents from the Dead Sea," 226; M. Albani, "Der Zodiakos in 4Q318 und die Henoch-Astronomie," *Mitteilungen und Beiträge. Forschungsstelle Judentum* 7 [1993]: 3–42). I argued, however, that a Mesopotamian provenance does not fully account for the oddity of 4Q318, and that a different explanation must be sought (Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years*, 256–257).

³⁶ See A. Kleingünther, *ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΕΥΡΕΤΗΣ. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte einer Fragestellung* (Leipzig: Dietrich, 1933; reprinted New York: Arno Press, 1976).

thors.³⁷ At about 200 BCE, Jewish (and Samaritan) authors like Pseudo-Eupolemus give ample expression to this cultural claim, as in the following passage:

... Abraham was born, who surpassed all men in nobility and wisdom, who also discovered the Chaldaean [science?]. . . . By the command of God this man went to Phoenicia to dwell there and he pleased the king by teaching the Phoenicians the changes of the sun and moon and all things of that kind. . . . And Abraham lived with the Egyptian priests in Heliopolis, teaching them many things. And he introduced astrology and other sciences to them, saying that the Babylonians and he himself discovered them, but he traced the discovery to Enoch. And he (Enoch) was the first to discover astrology, not the Egyptians. . . . The Greeks say that Atlas discovered astrology, Atlas being the same as Enoch.³⁸

Long after Pseudo-Eupolemus, the claim for Jewish primacy in the teaching of sciences through figures like Enoch and Abraham appears in *Genesis Apocryphon* and in the writings of Josephus.³⁹

The claim for primordial Jewish science undoubtedly depends on the detailed astronomical treatises in the *Astronomical Book*, attributed to Enoch already at an early stage of their composition. The problem is, however, that these pieces of literature are conspicuously written in Aramaic. Thus, Jews in the early Hellenistic age based their cultural identity on writings which were written in a language other than Hebrew! It is probably the antiquity of Enoch that had originally justified the odd linguistic character of his writing.⁴⁰ However, what was earlier an innocent tradition on the origins of civilization was found somewhat problematic in Hellenistic times, when it was expected to serve as a mark of Jewish national identity.⁴¹ Having drawn attention to this problem, we are better tuned towards understanding the background for a

³⁷ For early Jewish interest in Greek science see R. Netz, "The first Jewish Scientist?," *Scripta Classica Israelica* 17 (1998): 27–33.

³⁸ Quoted from B. Z. Wacholder, *Eupolemos. A Study of Judaeo-Greek Literature* (Cincinnati: HUC, 1974), 313–314.

³⁹ See A. Y. Reed, "Abraham as Chaldean Scientist and Father of the Jews: Josephus, Ant. 1.154–168, and the Greco-Roman Discourse about Astronomy/Astrology," *JSJ* 35 (2004): 119–158. Compare the similar motif in the account of Abraham's visit to Egypt in *ApGen* XIX 24–25.

⁴⁰ J. Ben-Dov, "Authorship and Authority: Hebrew and Aramaic Writing in the Qumran Aramaic texts, Jubilees, and the Sectarian Texts," *Tarbiz* 78 (2009): 27–60 (Hebrew)

⁴¹ On the Hebrew language as a marker of national identity in Second Temple times see S. Schwartz, "Language, Power, and Identity in Ancient Palestine," *Past and Present* 148 (1995): 3–47; D. Goodblatt, *Elements of Ancient Jewish Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 49–70.

translation of the scientific literature into Hebrew, as attested at Qumran.

It is an axiom in the study of the scrolls that the Aramaic texts are non-sectarian and/or pre-sectarian.⁴² The grounds for this view arise primarily from the contents of the Aramaic texts, since within this group one does not find equivalents for the distinct terminology of the *yahad*. Nor is the organizational structure of the community represented in them. One may indeed point at precursors for *yahad* theology in the Aramaic texts, as well as some textual parallels here and there. A good example would be the 364-day year, which appears in the *Astronomical Book* and has later become a cornerstone of the life of the *yahad*. In addition, some texts mention the sons of light and the sons of darkness, thus constituting a precedent for a clearly sectarian belief. However, this and other similar elements, taken together, do not reflect the atmosphere of a full-fledged sectarian literature.

Since the body of foundation documents of the *yahad* is noticeably written in Hebrew, some scholars argued that the Hebrew language formed part of the founding ideological matrix of this community.⁴³ According to them, the decision to choose Hebrew as the main medium for the literature of the community—and a special type of Hebrew at that—was a deliberate act taken as a response to the linguistic trends of mainstream society. Since the linguistic reality in Judea in Second Temple times is quite obscure to us, however, one cannot be sure whether this statement is correct.⁴⁴ After all, books like Ben Sira and *I Maccabees* were written in Hebrew in the second century BCE outside the sectarian milieu. Thus Puech claims: “... le milieu linguistique des occupants de Qumrân n’était pas différent de celui de la Judée contemporaine.”⁴⁵ The use of Hebrew in Qumran may therefore be no more than a test case for the wider Jewish cultural phenomenon.

⁴² E. Puech, “Du bilinguisme à Qumrân?,” in *Mosaïque de langues, mosaïque culturelle. Le bilinguisme dans le Proche-Orient ancien* (Antiquités sémitiques 1; Paris: Maisonneuve, 1996), 171–189, esp. 180–186; Dimant, “The Qumran Aramaic Texts and the Qumran Community,” 198–199.

⁴³ W. M. Schniedewind, “Qumran Hebrew as an Antilanguage,” *JBL* 118 (1999): 235–252; S. Weitzman, “Why Did the Qumran Community Write in Hebrew?,” *JAOS* 119 (1999): 35–45.

⁴⁴ See, e.g., J. C. Greenfield, “The Languages of Palestine, 200 B.C.E–200 C.E.,” in idem, *‘Al Kanfei Yonah. Collected Studies of Jonas C. Greenfield on Semitic Philology* (ed. S.M. Paul et al.; Leiden–Jerusalem: Brill–Magnes, 2001), 1:376–387.

⁴⁵ Puech, “Du bilinguisme à Qumrân?,” 188–189.

Weitzman referred to the explicit mention of לשון הקודש in the Qumran document 4Q464, where the Hebrew language is mentioned as existing already in primordial times.⁴⁶ A similar idea appears already in *Jubilees* 12:25–26, which recounts the revelation of the Hebrew language to Abraham. Hebrew is called there “The language of creation” (Geez *læssāna fətrat*). Whatever the case is with Hebrew in general, the writing of scientific texts in Hebrew must be especially appreciated. If Hebrew is indeed the language of creation, one would expect that Hebrew would be the dominant language in which the secrets of creation are disclosed.⁴⁷ Again, we see that a translation of the Aramaic science books into Hebrew is expectable. Steven Weitzman concluded that: “To understand Hebrew, according to *Jubilees*, is to belong to a divinely selected group with access to esoteric knowledge inherited from the age before Babel.”⁴⁸

2. Science in Hebrew

The task of translating Aramaic science into Hebrew is by no means a simple one. The translator must first have at his disposal a sufficient cache of technical terms to convey the necessary knowledge. This vocabulary can be reached either by borrowing foreign terms (Akkadian or Aramaic), or by coining new Hebrew words.⁴⁹ In fact, three such terms are encountered in Qumran Hebrew, as follows:

⁴⁶ M. Stone and E. Eshel, “The Holy Language at the End of Days in Light of a Qumran Fragment,” *Tarbiz* 62 (1993): 169–177 (Hebrew); *DJD XIX*, 215–230.

⁴⁷ On the revelation of secrets of creation see M. E. Stone, “Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature,” in *Magnalia Dei: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright* (ed. F. M. Cross, W. E. Lemke, and P. D. Miller; NY: Doubleday, 1976), 414–452. One of the passages invoked in that article—the revelation to Enoch in 2 *Enoch* 23:1–2—indeed notes that the Hebrew language was revealed to Enoch as part of the mysteries of creation (F. I. Andersen, “2 (Slavonic) Enoch,” in *OTP* 1:141; NB, this notion appears only in one recension of 2 *En.*)

⁴⁸ Weitzman, “Why Did the Qumran Community Write in Hebrew?,” 41.

⁴⁹ An equivalent process was carried out by Jewish writers in Medieval times, translating the Greek and Arabic science into Hebrew; see G. B. A. Sarfati, *Mathematical Terms in Scientific Hebrew Literature of Medieval Times* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1968, Hebrew); S. Sela, *Abraham Ibn Ezra and the Rise of Medieval Hebrew Science* (Brill’s Series in Jewish Studies 32; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 93–143. According to Sela (142, 305–313), the coining of Hebrew scientific terms by medieval Jewish authors was their way to reclaim the pristine Jewish science, which they considered had been stolen from the Jews by the Greeks. Taking in account the words of Pseudo-Eupolemus (above), one may not rule out the possibility that such a notion existed already in Antiquity.

1. Matthew Morgenstern demonstrated how the words *molad* and *beit moladim* in the wisdom texts from Qumran correspond to the cognate terms, known from much later literature in Mandaic and Syriac. These terms carry the technical meaning of “horoscope.”⁵⁰

2. Menahem Kister noted that the word *malwaš* in a Cave 4 manuscript 4Q439 corresponds to a cognate Aramaic term, which is highly frequent in Syriac and Mandaic astrological texts.⁵¹ The term carries the meaning of “star, constellation, sign of the zodiac,” but also “fate.” In this case the semantic chain is especially revealing, since the Aramaic word *malwaš* originated most probably with the Akkadian ^{mul}*lumašu* (NB, the determinative is preserved as part of the word!). The cultural transfer Akkadian—Aramaic—Hebrew is demonstrated here quite elegantly.

3. In my study of the lunar *mishmarot* texts together with Wayne Horowitz, we suggested a solution to the enigmatic Hebrew term *dwq* from the calendrical scrolls 4Q321 and 4Q321a.⁵² After a long history of research, with various suggestions made with regard to the etymology of this term, it seems now that the term *dwq*—from the root *dqq* meaning “thin, diminish”—is strictly a parallel to the Akkadian term *maššartu*, from *našāru*. The term marks the onset of the moon’s waning in Enūma Anu Enlil Tablet 14,⁵³ the Mesopotamian proof text on lunar visibility. In this case, the borrowing seems to have occurred directly from Akkadian to Hebrew, as no cognate term is recorded in Aramaic.⁵⁴

The presence of the above three terms is important because it attests to the creativity of the authors who wrote science in Hebrew. On a wider scope it is important because the words *molad* and *malwaš* in Qumran Hebrew precede their attestations in Syriac and Mandaic by centuries, as these words are only attested in Late Antique sources. They are thus a good indication for the existence of a west-Semitic discipline of astral science and divination already in the Hellenistic period.⁵⁵ It should be

⁵⁰ M. Morgenstern, “The Meaning of *beit moladim* in the Qumran Wisdom Texts,” *JJS* 51 (2000): 141–144.

⁵¹ M. Kister, “Three Unknown Hebrew Words in Newly-Published Texts from Qumran,” *Leš* 63/1–2 (2000/2001): 35–40 (Hebrew).

⁵² Ben-Dov, *Head of all Years*, 219.

⁵³ See F. N. H. Al-Rawi and A. Geroge, “Enūma Anu Enlil XIV and Other Early Astronomical Tablets,” *AfO* 38–39 (1991–1992): 52–73, esp. 63.

⁵⁴ This situation, however, may be changed with the discovery of new writings.

⁵⁵ The evidence for the existence of this discipline is otherwise based only on oblique evidence. See for example F. Rochberg, “The Babylonian Origins of the Mandaean Book

emphasized that the material in our possession is highly limited: we have very little left of early Aramaic science, and nothing of Jewish Hellenistic science outside Qumran.

The prime example for a translation and acceptance of an Aramaic text into the Qumranic Hebrew teaching involves the reworking of the *Astronomical Book*. Here I would like to focus on its adoption into the Qumranic corpus in the Hebrew scroll 4Q317. This scroll is in fact a translation and adaptation of the oldest section from the Aramaic *Astronomical Book*, attested in 4Q208 and 4Q209 and designated by Milik “the Synchronistic Calendar.” In an earlier study I demonstrated how 4Q317 simplifies the original Enochic models and adapts them to Jewish use within the Qumranic triennial cycle.⁵⁶ Significantly, this composition is preserved on a single copy, which is encrypted using the cryptic A script.⁵⁷

The use of a cryptic script in 4Q317—as elsewhere—was interpreted by Milik and Pfann as a concealment device, meant for the exclusive use of the Maskil.⁵⁸ Note, for example, that it was used for writing the scroll 4Q298 “words of the maskil to all the sons of dawn,” as well as a copy (or copies) of *Serekh ha-Edah*. The knowledge, translated from Aramaic into Hebrew, was kept in cryptic form, probably in order to restrict its circulation in wider circles.⁵⁹ The knowledge contained in 4Q317, in turn, was later developed in the calendrical texts.⁶⁰ Within this literary

of the Zodiac,” *ARAM* 11–12 (1999/2000): 237–247; C. Müller-Kessler, “Aramäische Beschwörungen und astronomische Omina in nachbabylonischer Zeit: Das Fortleben mesopotamischer Kultur im vorderen Orient,” in *Babylon: Fokus Mesopotamischer Geschichte, Wiege früher Gelehrsamkeit, Mythos in der Moderne* (ed. J. Regner; Saarbrücken: SDV Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 1999), 427–441.

⁵⁶ J. Ben-Dov, “The Initial Stages of Lunar Theory at Qumran,” *JJS* 54 (2003): 125–138.

⁵⁷ This scroll was not formally published in the DJD series. The plates were printed in *DJD XXVIII*. The best transcription so far, accomplished by M. Abegg, is included in *DSSR* as well as in the CD of *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library*.

⁵⁸ S. J. Pfann, “The Writings in Esoteric Script from Qumran,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Conference, July 1997* (ed. L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 177–190.

⁵⁹ On the secrecy of scientific material see A. Lenzi, *Secrecy and the Gods. Secret Knowledge in Ancient Mesopotamia and Biblical Israel* (SAAS; Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2007); M. Popović, “Physiognomic Knowledge in Qumran and Babylonia: Form, Interdisciplinarity, and Secrecy,” *DSD* 13 (2006): 150–176.

⁶⁰ On the continuity from 4Q317 to the *mishmarot* texts see Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years*, 147–151.

corpus one finds a small group of encrypted documents (4Q324d-f, h-i),⁶¹ as well as a much larger group written in the standard square script. The knowledge of the calendar was thus considered in *yahad* circles as part of the *nistarot*, the hidden wisdom, worthy of concealment from the eyes of laymen. It may well be that the determination of times was considered the prerogative and duty of the Maskil, bearing in mind that the Maskil section in S (1QS IX–XI and parallels) deals extensively with calendrical matters.⁶²

Why was it that the Aramaic *Astronomical Book* had to be translated and reworked into Hebrew? The reason for this act is surely not due to the inability of comprehending the Aramaic *Astronomical Book*. As I understand the linguistic conditions at that time, Aramaic was commonly spoken and read by everyone as the standard popular language. It is Hebrew that requires further explanation, not Aramaic. 4Q317, in contrast, attests to a translation in the opposite direction—from Aramaic into Hebrew. Notwithstanding the meager amount of data we possess, I dare suggest that in this case, translation and encryption are interconnected. The writing of calendar science in Hebrew had, I would say, a ritual significance. Hence also why its perusal was restricted by using a cryptic script.

While the earlier material—*I Enoch* and 4Q317—was strictly scientific, with no discernable religious elements, in the *mishmarot* documents it is mixed with religious information on priests, festivals, and creation. This must reflect a later stage in the implementation of the scientific knowledge. It seems therefore that in this case we can draw some coarse lines for the path of the body of astronomical-calendrical knowledge. Again, this scheme must remain tentative, due to the paucity of the material available to us:

- Akkadian scientific literature
- Possibly an intermediate non-Jewish source in Aramaic
- The *Book of Astronomy* in Aramaic as represented in the Qumran scrolls
- Adapted version in Hebrew–encrypted

⁶¹ Like 4Q317, this group of scrolls is not included in *DJD* but rather in *DSSR* and in the electronic database *DSSSEL*.

⁶² C. A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space. Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 174–186. See especially 1QS IX 17 **ולסתר את עצת התורה בתוכ אנשי העול** “he should conceal his own insight into the Law when among perverse men” (trans. Wise-Abegg-Cook in *DSSSEL*).

- “softer” Hebrew adaptation, merged into sectarian discourse and not encrypted.

A second case of translation, or rather of appropriation of scientific material from Aramaic into Hebrew, occurs in the realm of Physiognomy. The physiognomic texts from Qumran are considerably later than the *Astronomical Book*, recorded on scrolls from the second half of the first century BCE. Physiognomy is referred to in two Aramaic texts, 4Q561 and 4Q534–536, but only in the former text does it seem to take central place.⁶³ In this text (4Q561), a catalogue of bodily traits appears, arranged from head to toe, as is common in manuals of physiognomy. In addition, some predictions of the fate of the person bearing the above traits seem to be included. In the so-called “Birth of Noah” or “Elect of God” text 4Q534–536, some bodily features of an undetermined person are described, as well as his description at birth and a mention of his molad—horoscope.⁶⁴

What makes the survey interesting is the presence of a third scroll about physiognomy, 4Q186, in Hebrew.⁶⁵ Earlier scholarship speculated on the relations between 4Q186 and 4Q561. Starcky opined, for example, that the Aramaic text 4Q561 was “la version (ou l’adaptation)” of the Hebrew 4Q186.⁶⁶ However, it is now clear that the connection between the Aramaic scroll 4Q561 and the Hebrew scroll 4Q186 is not one of translation. As demonstrated by Popović, the contents of the two scrolls do not in any way overlap.⁶⁷ Furthermore, while the Hebrew

⁶³ The final edition of this scroll by E. Puech is anticipated in *DJD XXXVII*. Numerous preliminary editions can be consulted, the most recent ones included in *DSSR*, as well as the edition by Popović, *Reading the Human Body*, 54–63. This latter author suggests some improvements upon the earlier editions.

⁶⁴ E. Puech, “534–536. 4QNaissance de Noé^{a-c} ar: Introduction,” *DJD XXXI*, 117–127. For earlier research see F. García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic. Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (STDJ 9; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 1–24. Cf. the review by D. Dimant of the edition in *DJD XXXI*, in *DSD* 10 (2003): 292–304. The text 4Q534–536 is also discussed in the papers by Eshel, Stuckenbruck, Frey and Stökl in the present volume.

⁶⁵ 4Q186 was first published by Allegro in *DJD V*. It was then discussed by numerous scholars, the most recent discussions being F. Schmidt, “Astrologie juive ancienne: Essai d’interprétation de 4QCryptique (4Q186),” *RQ* 18 (1997): 125–141; Albani, “Horoscopes in the Qumran Scrolls,” P. S. Alexander, “Physiognomy, Initiation, and Rank in the Qumran Community,” in *Geschichte–Tradition–Reflexion: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag, Band 1: Judentum* (ed. H. Cancik et al.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 385–394; and the Lion’s share of the book by Popović, *Reading the Human Body*.

⁶⁶ Quoted in Popović, *Reading the Human Body*, 66.

⁶⁷ Popović, *Reading the Human Body*, 66–67.

Scroll reveals a major concern for astrological teachings, this component is seemingly absent from 4Q561. The amalgam of physiognomy and astrology in 4Q186 is so unique that it is unparalleled not only at Qumran, but also in the vast realms of Babylonian and Hellenistic astrology.

It is interesting to note the difference in setting and presentation between the Aramaic scroll 4Q561 and the Hebrew 4Q186. While the former scroll—like the other Aramaic texts from Qumran—is clearly non-sectarian, the Hebrew scroll 4Q186 is probably a sectarian composition, as it displays some intriguing connections with the Two Spirits Treatise from the Serekh tradition. This notion arises from the enigmatic phrase *רוח לו בבית האור שש ושלוש בבית החשך* in 4Q186 1 ii 7–8. Many scholars—most notably Francis Schmidt and Philip Alexander—view this phrase as an indication that the spirit of the diagnosed person was characterized according to the assumed portions of light and darkness in it. Alexander even claimed that this astrological-physiognomic procedure was part of the admission process into the *yahad*.⁶⁸ While Popović contests the association of 4Q186 with the Two Spirits Treatise, he admits himself that the presence of this text at Qumran shows that, at some stage, it was used by *yahad* practitioners.⁶⁹

Furthermore, in a similar fashion to 4Q317, the contents of the Hebrew scroll 4Q186 were sealed from lay readers by means of encryption. The text was written in inverted writing—from left to right. In addition, the Hebrew characters were replaced by a variety of signs from the Greek, paleo-Hebrew and cryptic A alphabets.⁷⁰ It is significant for our case that 4Q186 is not encrypted using the more common cryptic A script, but rather by a novel and idiosyncratic system, which is used only here. Be as it may, the fact that 4Q186 is encrypted complies well with its sectarian character, as was the case also in 4Q317.

A final observation is due with regard to the astrological background of 4Q186. As the references to “the Foot of Taurus” indicate, this scroll determines the exact constellation at the time of birth using the “ascendant” (Greek *horoskopos*), i.e. the part of the zodiacal sign rising above the horizon at the time of birth.⁷¹ Reckoning the birth by the ascendant

⁶⁸ Alexander, “Physiognomy, Initiation, and Rank.”

⁶⁹ Popović, *Reading the Human Body*, 238.

⁷⁰ On the encryption of 4Q186 see Popović, *Reading the Human Body*, 25–28.

⁷¹ This idea was raised by M. Albani, “Der Zodiakos in 4Q318 und die Henoch-Astronomie”; idem, “Horoscopes in the Qumran Scrolls.” It was substantiated by

was not at all known in Babylonian astrology, but it is a very common component of the Hellenistic practice. Thus 4Q186 betrays an unequivocal indebtedness to Greek science.

3. *Secrecy*

The secrecy and encryption practiced in the Hebrew texts 4Q317 and 4Q186 in fact revive the mechanisms used for the disclosure of scientific texts in the ancient Mesopotamian scholarly milieu. While encryption is not a prominent feature of that milieu, the colophons of Mesopotamian scholarly texts recurrently warn the scribe against disclosing the information to the uninitiated. Divinatory and scientific knowledge was considered *pirišti ilānī rabūti*, “a mystery of the great gods.” Thus, to name just a few examples of such colophons:⁷²

[...] Take care! Pay [attention]. Do not Neglect your knowledge! He who does not attain(?) knowledge must not speak aloud the SA.GIG omens, nor must he pronounce out loud Alamdimmu.

Keep the secret of heaven and Earth!

A secret of the great gods. Let the initiate instruct the initiate. The uninitiated shall not see. Taboo of the great gods.

One may assume that the Akkadian scholarly texts were difficult enough to prevent their being read by anybody outside the scribal institution, or, for that matter, even within it. Since Aramaic is much easier to read, concrete acts should have been taken to protect the esoteric knowledge. Of the very few Aramaic texts that survived, there are cases—quite few I admit—where a secrecy clause is attested. Thus in 4Q542 *Testament of Qahat ar 1 i 4–6* we read:⁷³

4 וכען בני אודהרו בירותתא די מ^(א)שלמא לכון
 5 ודי יהבו לכון אבהתכון ואל תתנו ירותתכון לנכראין ואחסן {ן לכון} >נותתכון <
 6 לכילאין ותהון לשפלו{ת} ולנבלו בעיניהון

Popović, and recently accepted also by R. Leicht, *Astrologumena Judaica. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der astrologischen Literatur der Juden* (TSMEMJ 21; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 25.

⁷² The examples are quoted from Livingstone, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works*, 259–262. See Also H. Hunger, *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone* (AOAT 1; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1968).

⁷³ For the text see Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 268. English translation follows E. Cook in *DSSEL*.

And now, my sons, be careful with the inheritance that has been entrusted to you, and which your ancestors have bequeathed to you. Do not give your inheritance away to strangers, nor your inheritance to assimilationists,⁷⁴ lest you become low and degraded in their eyes, and they despise you.

In this case too we see an appropriation of the Aramaic text into Hebrew, as the phrase is paralleled in the wisdom text 4Q525 *Beatitudes* 5 7–8:

אל ת[עזובו לז]רים חל[ק]כמה וגורלכמה לבני נכר

do not a[bandon to str[angers] your [inheritan]ce or your lot to foreigners

As legitimate descendants of the Mesopotamian scientific discipline, both the Hebrew and the Aramaic sages adopt the doctrine of secrecy into their teaching. However, while Aramaic-writing scribes only warned against the illicit distribution without taking any practical measure to prevent it, the circle of Hebrew-writing authors centered around the *yahad* devised some forms of encryption in order to reinforce the limitations on illicit distribution of knowledge. In the Hebrew-writing sectarian sphere, the doctrine of secrecy and concealment seems to have joined forces with the hierarchy of knowledge, which may have been the norm in that sphere.

Conclusion

Scientific knowledge was transmitted from Mesopotamia to the west-Semitic sphere during the Persian and Hellenistic periods. This type of knowledge was readily identified with the wisdom of the great antediluvian sages, like Enoch and Noah. Apocalyptic writers like those who produced the early Enochic writings took special pains to gain hold of sundry scientific traditions from Mesopotamia, and incorporated them into the books of the patriarchs. Aramaic was the expectable medium to convey such pristine and esoteric data. Yet, it remained important for some—possibly *yahad*-related—authors to reclaim this kind of literature

⁷⁴ Cook explains the peculiar word כילאין as deriving from the Hebrew כלאים, hence “assimilationists” (similarly also Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 271). The same word appears, although not entirely complete, also in *Aramaic Levi Document* section 91 (partial parallel 4Q213 1 i 14–16): גבר די אלף [חכמה]...ולא דמ[ה] בה ל[נכרי ולא דמה בה לכילי]. Drawnel translates כילי as “half-breed;” Greenfield-Stone-Eshel: “scoundr[el].” Note that the Hebrew parallel in 4Q525 (noted immediately below) uses Hebrew בני נכר as an equivalent to Aramaic כילאין.

into the Hebrew sphere, as they felt that Hebrew was the language of creation. Thus, figures like Abraham and Enoch were expected to have written their texts in Hebrew. This tendency tallied with the slightly later mode-of-thought of early sectarian literature, according to which Aramaic was not a legitimate medium for writing the *nistarôt*, the hidden things revealed only within the community circle. Scientific literature was accordingly absorbed and adapted, being transmitted in reworked Hebrew versions. This process is attested by a series of technic-technical terms, whose appearance in Qumran Hebrew is their earliest west-Semitic attestation, centuries prior to the heyday of Aramaic divination in Late Antiquity.

The early examples (third and second centuries BCE) of scientific writings preserved at Qumran were embedded into Patriarchal compositions like the *Astronomical Book* and *Aramaic Levi Document*. In contrast, later scientific writings—as far as we can tell from the extant fragments—circulated as separate scrolls without being connected to a particular sage. Thus, for example, despite the association of Enoch with the calendar in *Jubilees* 4:17–19, Enoch is never mentioned in the calendrical texts from Qumran. Within the Aramaic corpus another change occurred: the focus of the cultural provenance gradually moved from Mesopotamia to the Hellenistic world, absorbing Qumran into the all-encompassing amalgam of Hellenistic divination.

The doctrine of secrecy and concealment, a legacy of Mesopotamian scholarly culture, persisted in its west-Semitic trajectories. It was especially augmented and developed in sectarian circles. The doctrine of concealment found appeal in the eyes of the sectaries, presumably since it complied with the hierarchy of knowledge dictated by the organizational plan.

RESPONSE: MICHAEL STONE

Jonathan Ben-Dov has raised a series of issues in his important paper, on each of which it would be worth spending at least one whole lecture, if not more. They relate to some central subjects in the intellectual and linguistic milieu of Second Temple Judaism. I shall try to enumerate and to some extent refocus certain of them:

a. The background of scientific culture in Second Temple Judaism. Here he proposes that the earlier material is basically of Mesopotamian origin, while Greek influence may be discerned in the later material.

This seems very likely to be the case, though there are certain difficulties in the over-simplified formulation as I put it. On the linguistic issue, he quotes Émile Puech that the linguistic milieu of Qumran was no different from that of the rest of contemporary Judea. I propose considering that the same is true of the “scientific” milieu. In fact, we have very little information about the greater culture in which the Jews in the land of Israel lived, either in the First or Second Temple periods. If we were dependent on the Hebrew Bible, virtually nothing, for the Hebrew Bible does not deal with scientific issues. In *Wisdom in Israel* and in his paper on Job 38, Gerhard von Rad deals with lists of biological, botanical and other information that lie behind some wisdom material, and their possible Egyptian background.⁷⁵ All considered, however, it is probable that the “larger culture” in which the Jews lived was basically Mesopotamian. The indications of this are, inter alia, the Babylonian elements that Jonathan discerns in the astronomy of *Book of the Luminaries* and the metrology of *Aramaic Levi Document* (See the paper by André Lemaire, in this volume). I might add that he rightly stresses the “sacred” or esoteric dimension of Babylonian science, with which Greek attitudes contrast quite strongly. I venture to ask whether the esotericism that he discerns in the use of cryptic scripts A and B at Qumran is part of this same distinction. If so, the chronology of these compositions is problematic and Cryptic B is found only in one quite late document.

b. A complex of issues relating to the use of Hebrew and Aramaic. If Aramaic was the natural medium in which Mesopotamian science was transmitted to the Jews in the Second Temple period, indeed the translation of scientific material into Hebrew requires consideration. This is already the case in 4Q317 in the mid-second century BCE. However, it is also the case in 4Q186, presumably written a century or so later (the only example of Cryptic B script).

Jonathan’s resolution of this conundrum is that with the “revival of Hebrew” in the second century BCE, certain people felt it important to have such constitutive texts in Hebrew due to the special status of Hebrew as “the sacred tongue” and the language of creation (cf. 4Q464).

Here, it seems to me, there hides a larger issue, which is in fact the role of Aramaic and Hebrew in the Second Temple period. This is far from clarified, though the antiquity of Aramaic works from Qumran has

⁷⁵ G. von Rad, “Hiob xxxviii und die altägyptische Weisheit,” in *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament* (Munich: Theologische Bücherei, 1958); *Wisdom in Israel* (Nashville & New York: Abingdon, 1978), 252–271.

become, as Ben-Dov puts it “axiomatic.” Indeed, our oldest extra-biblical writings are in Aramaic, such as certain of the Enoch books and *Aramaic Levi Document*. Yet we have documents of much the same age in Hebrew in the Hebrew Bible, so the assumption of Aramaic as a criterion of antiquity seems a bit hasty. Perhaps we should pay attention to genre, but that also not too rigidly: one might want to argue that court tales tend to be Aramaic and adduce Daniel 2–7 and other texts as evidence. But wisdom texts tend to be Hebrew, and we can adduce Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Ben Sira: and into which category does Ahiqar fall? *Aramaic Levi Document* has name-midrashim that use Hebrew meanings in an Aramaic text, and I could continue to enumerate instances. So, I think that the question “Why translate scientific texts into Hebrew?” is probably oversimplified. Perhaps Puech’s remarks on the linguistic context also should be qualified somewhat. How far did learned traditions and their tradents, the literary genres and subject matter, affect the linguistic preference? Moreover, there is surely, as Jonathan rightly remarks, a chronological factor: there is no reason to equate the situation in the third century BCE with that two or three hundred years later.

A further remark must touch on the fine observation that, although the Aramaic narrative texts such as parts of Enoch exhibit a knowledge, sometimes even profound, of scientific matters, it is only later that works that seem completely (as far as surviving fragments allow us to see) devoted to such matters.

While this is true, as far as the surviving literature is concerned, it may be an optical illusion, fostered by the partial nature of the surviving literature. Were we dependent on Qumran, we might be led to proclaim that the main Jewish literary language in the early part of the Second Temple period was Aramaic. When we add the biblical literature to the evidence, this constation is shown to be wrong.

The issues this paper raises are extremely important for assessing the cultural milieu of the Qumran manuscripts, the proposals that it adduces are intriguing and in many instances convincing. It remains for me to emphasize only the danger, into which we all fall, of regarding the Qumran library as exhaustive or even typical. We do not know.

DISCUSSION

Émile Puech: Je continue à appeler 4Q561 *Horoscope* et non *Physiognomie*, comme il a été suggéré récemment, car il y a des allusions aux *beit mōladin*—« horoscopes » dans ces fragments qui ont gardé des restes de présentation de 5 ou peut-être même 7

personnages. Ce manuscrit n'est pas éloigné de 4Q186 en hébreu cryptique, qui n'est pas une traduction de l'araméen mais qui lui est une composition postérieure. 4Q534 a aussi conservé des restes d'horoscopes avec les mentions de *mwldh*.

Florentino García Martínez: I think we have here three important issues: bilingualism, the use of Aramaic, and the authority conferring strategies used by the group that need to be disentangled.

Steven Fassberg: I do not deny that religious reasons may have led the writers at Qumran to compose some documents in Hebrew (Schniedewind and Weitzman) or nationalist reasons in the Bar Kokhba period (Yadin), but both Hebrew and Aramaic are used during this period in Palestine, and Hebrew is still a living language. The proof is not only the Bar Kokhba Hebrew letters, but also Tannaitic Hebrew literature, which shows clear signs of being a living (and not artificial "learned") language.

Jonathan Ben-Dov: These interesting questions demand further reflection in a separate article.

Armin Lange: How does 11QapocrPsalms (11Q11) fit into your picture? It is a Hebrew text. It deals with magic. To me it seems to be early. This would break your scheme, that you have early Aramaic scientific magical texts and then only starting with the second century BCE you have Hebrew texts in the same category.

Jonathan Ben-Dov: To begin with, I will be content to find 95% success with my argument. With regard to 11QapocrPsalms I may add that this compendium isn't a technical manual for magic like 4Q560, but rather a collection of prayers. This genre is quite expectedly cast in Hebrew garb.

ESOTERIC KNOWLEDGE IN QUMRAN ARAMAIC TEXTS*

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The aim of this essay is to synthesize some recent scholarly work on the Aramaic texts from Qumran, and to put it in conversation with developments in scholarship in religion more generally, especially recent work on secrecy and esotericism. As I will define it here, the “esotericism” framework can provide a helpful lens through which to view the collection of Aramaic texts as a whole (or what remains of it).¹ The Qumran Aramaic corpus is an olio of texts, comprising a wide range of generic categories (Targumim, “rewritten bible” compositions, brontological/astrological/physiognomic texts, apocryphal texts concerning the patriarchs, etc.). Yet there are some characteristics that bring together the various compositions in interesting ways, not least of which is their “reception of biblical protagonists” and their seeming interest in mysteries and esoteric knowledge—an interest that does not pervade scriptural texts of the Hebrew Bible but is prevalent in Qumran sectarian texts. While some Aramaic texts appear to convey some of the actual content of special knowledge (and what to do with it)—such as the *Aramaic Levi Document*, 4QPhysiognomy ar (4Q561), 4QBrontologion ar (4Q318), and so on—others present the dynamics of secrecy and esotericism within the context of stories about biblical figures of the ancient past. In both cases there is an association—whether implicit or explicit—between the possession of special knowledge and righteousness and election.

* The present version of this essay reflects revisions undertaken thanks in large part to the comments of Michael Stone, who pushed me to sharpen my definition of the categories of secrecy, esotericism, and esoteric knowledge. He also picked up on another weakness of the earlier draft, namely the dearth of explicit connections between the first half (the theory) and the second half (the application) of the paper. I am grateful also to Moshe Bernstein, John Collins, Devorah Dimant, Hanan Eshel, and Jonathan Ben-Dov, for their helpful questions and comments during the discussion of my paper.

¹ In a recent article (“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. A. Hilhorst, É. Puech, and E. Tigchelaar; JSJSup 122; Leiden: Brill, 2007], 205), Devorah Dimant concludes the following: “Why the particular themes developed by the Aramaic texts so fascinated the Qumranites is a subject for another paper. But the data already at hand demonstrates the need to consider these texts as a specific group, which requires further detailed investigations along these lines.”

1. *Secrecy and Esoteric Knowledge*

Given the fact that the category of “secret knowledge” is empirically ubiquitous in human social life, it should not come as a surprise that secret knowledge is operative also in religious discourses including biblical and biblically-related literature.² Indeed, the ubiquity of secrecy reflects perhaps an even more fundamental human reality, as “the repeated emphasis on the category of the mystery in the religious domain is an extension of the more general emphasis on concealment that is so essential to our disclosure in the realm of intersubjectivity.”³

In Second Temple Judaism there are essentially two levels at which secrecy operates: the theological, which has to do with divine revelation and concealment; and the social or political, which has to do with the way specific persons or groups characterize, organize, and withhold or reveal certain kinds of (often theological) knowledge from other persons or groups. These two levels are not mutually exclusive, and the present study is concerned with both aspects: 1) the discursive strategies of claims to special (divinely-given) knowledge, and 2) the social dimensions of secrecy and esotericism. An investigation of both of these aspects of the problem can help us to understand much about the Qumran Aramaic literature and the self-understanding of the group(s) affiliated with the Qumran Scrolls in general.⁴

Given the fact that a secret, or secrecy itself, presumes some claim to special knowledge, there is always a corollary set of epistemological issues that need sorting out. Indeed, epistemology is central to the issue insofar as knowledge—and how one comes to know—is the basis not only for belief and practice but also for self- and community-fashioning

² See for example C. Cohen, “Was the P Document Secret?” *JANESCU* 1/2 (1968/69): 39–44, in which Cohen argues that P shows clear similarities to a priestly ritual text from Babylon, which itself contains an explicit reference to the necessity of keeping the contents of the priestly knowledge secret.

³ E. R. Wolfson, “Introduction,” in *Rending the Veil: Concealment and Secrecy in the History of Religions* (ed. E. R. Wolfson; New York: Seven Bridges Press, 1999), 2.

⁴ Guy Stroumsa’s *Hidden Wisdom: Esoteric Traditions and the Roots of Christian Mysticism* (Numen 70; Leiden: Brill, 1996) is an attempt to provide a similar analysis for early Christianity in its various forms (Gnostic, Manichean, Orthodox, etc.). As a way to orient his Introduction he aptly quotes 1 Corinthians 2:6–7: “Yet among the mature we do speak wisdom, though it is not a wisdom of this age or of the rulers of this age, who are doomed to perish. But we speak God’s wisdom, secret and hidden [θεοῦ σοφίαν ἐν μυστηρίῳ τὴν ἀποκεκρυμμένην], which God decreed before the ages for our glory” (NRSV translation).

in Second Temple Judaism. Scholars of the Second Temple period have tended to counterpose the epistemologies found in various wisdom discourses, especially the more traditional empirical wisdom of observation, study, and contemplation (e.g. Proverbs, Aḥiqar, Ben Sira)⁵ and the revealed wisdom at home in texts with an apocalyptic worldview (e.g. Daniel, *1 Enoch*, 4QInstruction).⁶ While such dichotomies are increasingly called into question—or at least further problematized—and need to be taken with a grain of salt, it is the case that many of the Aramaic texts from Qumran display elements of the latter category, insofar as special knowledge is often characterized as originating in a moment of revelation, whether in the form of a vision, a heavenly tour, a ritual experience, or the reception of books that convey heavenly knowledge.

Indeed, in apocalyptic discourses “lists of revealed things”⁷ play a central role, and constitute, at least in part, “esoteric knowledge concerning man, nature, and the cosmos [that] did not remain hidden for all of mankind but was revealed to some special individuals through hea-

⁵ Even these categorizations have come under increasing scrutiny, and we may see, for example, that texts like Ben Sira are perhaps more closely aligned with portions of *1 Enoch* and other texts than has usually been assumed. See e.g. R. Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach: A Comparative Literary and Conceptual Analysis of the Themes of Revelation, Creation and Judgment* (EJL 8; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995); A. Yoshiko Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). As Reed states, “in terms of socio-historical context, the Wisdom of ben Sira ironically exhibits more continuity with the *Book of the Watchers* than the *Book of Dreams* and *Epistle of Enoch* . . .” and that “ben Sira’s attitude towards apocalyptic epistemology is best seen as part of an internal debate within a single discourse of priestly scribalism” (60). Cf. B. G. Wright III, “Putting the Puzzle Together: Some Suggestions Concerning the Social Location of the Wisdom of Ben Sira,” in *Conflicted Boundaries in Wisdom and Apocalypticism* (ed. B. G. Wright III and L. M. Wills; SBLSS 35; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 89–112, and the bibliography he cites in this article.

⁶ See recently M. Goff, *Discerning Wisdom: The Sapiential Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (VTSup 116; Leiden: Brill, 2007); Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity*, esp. chapter 1, “Angelic Descent and Apocalyptic Epistemology: The Teachings of Enoch and the Fallen Angels in the *Book of the Watchers*”; J. J. Collins, “The Mysteries of God: Creation and Eschatology in 4QInstruction and the Wisdom of Solomon,” in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (ed. Florentino García Martínez; BETL 168; Leuven: Leuven University Press / Peeters, 2003), 287–305.

⁷ See the oft-cited article by M. Stone, “Lists of Revealed Things in Apocalyptic Literature,” in *Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright* (ed. F. Moore Cross, W. E. Lemke, and P. D. Miller, Jr.; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976), 414–454.

venly mediation.”⁸ According to this broad distinction (however we may end up distributing the representative texts), empirical modes of wisdom are by nature not secret or esoteric—they are in principle available to human beings generally—whereas revealed wisdom holds the capacity for secrecy and esotericism in its very modes of apprehension and transmission.⁹ If we add to this the more specific role of “mantic wisdom” in apocalyptic strains of Judaism, including those represented in the Qumran Scrolls, the specialized divinatory skills of the mantic sage further suggest an esoteric framework.¹⁰

The social or ethical dimensions of secrecy are another crucial part of any attempt to understand the role of esoteric knowledge in the Qumran Aramaic texts. In this sense, a secret is information “intentionally hidden” to prevent those outside the in-group from “possessing it, making use of it, or revealing it.”¹¹ But a secret in the religious sense is not merely some piece of information, but is, as Georg Simmel asserted in his seminal study of secrecy, “the hiding of realities by negative or positive means” in order to constitute a new and different reality, “a second world alongside the manifest world” where “the latter is decisively influenced by the former.”¹² But surely even with this definition of a “se-

⁸ M. Popović, *Reading the Human Body: Physiognomics and Astrology in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Hellenistic-Early Roman Period Judaism* (STDJ 67; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 221–222.

⁹ Cf. I. Gruenwald, “The Jewish Esoteric Literature in the Time of the Mishnah and Talmud,” *Immanuel* 4 (1974): 37–46, which includes a discussion about the esotericism of Jewish apocalyptic literature. Some apocalyptic texts, like chapter 2 of the book of Daniel, portray revealed wisdom in a way that is ostensibly not esoteric or secretive; see A. Lenzi, “Secrecy, Textual Legitimation, and Inter-Cultural Polemics in the Book of Daniel,” *CBQ* 71 (2009): 330–348. I would like to thank Dr. Lenzi for making this article available to me before its publication.

¹⁰ On “mantic wisdom” in Second Temple Judaism see especially H.-P. Müller, “Mantische Weisheit und Apokalyptik,” in *Congress Volume: Uppsala 1971* (VTSup 22; Leiden: Brill, 1972), 268–293; idem, “Magisch-mantische Weisheit und die Gestalt Daniels,” *UF* 1 (1969): 79–94; J. C. VanderKam, “Mantic Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 4 (1997): 336–353; idem, “The Prophetic-Sapiential Origins of Apocalyptic Thought,” in *A Word in Season: Essays in Honour of William McKane* (ed. J. D. Martin and P. R. Davies; JSOTSup 42; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1986), 163–176. For a dissenting opinion see A. Bedenbender (“Jewish Apocalypticism: A Child of Mantic Wisdom?” *Henoch* 24 [2002]: 189–196).

¹¹ S. Bok, *Secrets: On the Ethics of Concealment and Revelation* (New York: Vintage, 1989), 5–6.

¹² *The Sociology of Georg Simmel* (trans. and ed. K. H. Wolff; Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950), 330. See also M. Barkun, “Religion and Secrecy After September 11,” *JAAR* 74 (2006): 277, where he discusses this same topic.

cret” we may make a further distinction between religious secrets—what a given religious group may consider part of its private domain of knowledge—and religious “mysteries,” which usually entail the conjunction of esoteric (often understood to be revealed) knowledge and ritual practice within a specific group of insiders.

Kees W. Bolle has rightly noted that there is nothing remarkable about secrecy insofar as “there are communities or persons who know some-thing that another one does not know,” and that this in itself would hardly be worth investigating. “Communicating facts of information or the refusal to do so becomes interesting only to the extent that it reflects a mystery central to human existence” or a tradition that “as a whole preserves the recollection of the central mysteries of creation, of life and death, of initiatory rites, or purpose and meaning, of ‘ultimate assumptions.’”¹³ Even after its secrets are revealed, “a religion’s mysteries remain. . . . By contrast, a mystery remains a mystery in plain sight, impervious to logic, common sense, and ordinary powers of observation.”¹⁴ And yet the very appeal to a divine or human “mystery” itself presumes a perceptible unveiling, and such an appeal is usually also a claim to knowledge that is restricted or proper to a particular group.

2. Esotericism

Scholars regularly refer to certain aspects of Qumran (and other apocalyptic) literature as “esoteric,” but often do not give a clear definition of what they take “esoteric” to mean.¹⁵ Indeed, the general usage implies a restricted or elite context in which recondite information is generated and preserved, but there are other associations with the term so that it requires a more sustained attempt at a definition. Furthermore, we must inquire whether there is a relevant distinction between the category of “esoteric knowledge” and the social phenomenon of “esotericism.”¹⁶

¹³ K. W. Bolle, “Secrecy in Religion,” in *Secrecy in Religions* (ed. K. W. Bolle; SHR 49; Leiden: Brill, 1987), 2–3.

¹⁴ Barkun, “Religion and Secrecy,” 278.

¹⁵ An example is P. Owen, “The Relationship of Eschatology to Esoteric Wisdom in the Jewish Pseudepigraphal Apocalypses,” in *Of Scribes and Sages: Early Jewish Interpretation and Transmission of Scripture. Vol. 1: Ancient Versions and Traditions* (ed. C. A. Evans; LSTS 50; London: T & T Clark, 2004), 122–133.

¹⁶ The word “esotericism” was first used in French in 1828: “l’ésotérisme” was coined by Jacques Matter in his *Histoire du gnosticisme*; see P. Riffard, *L’ésotérisme* (Paris: Payot, 1990), 63–137. To be sure, matters of *esoterica* have long been pursued in the

More than two decades ago, Michael Stone noted that in early Jewish apocalyptic literature there is a “claim to embody a tradition secretly transmitted from of old,” and that apocalyptic texts often purport to provide “the real, inner meaning of scriptural revelation.” Stone also pointed out that the Qumran sectarian literature witnesses to the esotericism of the Qumran group (e.g. 1QS VIII 11–12), insofar as these texts refer to “secret teachings of conventicles of apocalypticists revealed only to initiates,” but that with respect to apocalyptic literature in gener-

context of learning and scholarship, but it is only since the 19th century that an academic discourse regarding *esotericism* has existed. Esotericism as a social phenomenon has recently become an object of heightened scholarly inquiry, catalyzed in part by Edward Tiryakian’s essay “Toward the Sociology of Esoteric Culture,” *American Journal of Sociology* 78 (1972): 491–512. The term “esotericism,” however useful, is a scholarly construct to be used for heuristic purposes. “‘Esotericism’ does not exist as an object. ‘Esotericism’ exists only the heads of scholars, who classify objects in meaningful ways to themselves, in order to analyse processes of European [or another] cultural history. Put differently: definitions are tools of *interpretation*; they should not be used essentially.” For this reason Kocku von Stuckrad prefers to speak of “the esoteric” rather than of “esotericism,” i.e. to avoid giving the impression that it represents a “coherent doctrine or clearly defined body of tradition,” yet he continues to use the category “esotericism” (K. von Stuckrad, *Western Esotericism: A Brief History of Secret Knowledge* [trans. N. Goodrick-Clarke; London: Equinox, 2005], 10). Dr. von Stuckrad was kind enough to send to me several of his unpublished works, for which I am grateful. I am indebted to von Stuckrad for his impressive body of work, which has guided me into the field of esoteric studies. In his wide-ranging body of work, von Stuckrad has begun to elaborate what amounts to a new program for the study of esotericism using (and reformulating) a history of religions approach. The objects of von Stuckrad’s study have included the history of Jewish and Christian astrology (including some discussion of Qumran texts), Renaissance paganism, and modern Western Neoshamanism, among other esotericisms, and with its broad comparativist perspective his work can help to frame some of the issues encountered in the present study. To be sure, von Stuckrad himself is interacting with a field of scholarship that is broader than I am able to engage in the present study; I draw upon his work with the knowledge that his voice is one among many in the study of esotericism, but one that I trust to speak with a confidently articulated synthesis of this field. See for example his “Jewish and Christian Astrology in Late Antiquity—A New Approach,” *Numen* 47 (2000): 1–40, here 10–15; *Frömmigkeit und Wissenschaft. Astrologie in Tanach, Qumran und frührabbinischer Literatur* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1996); *Das Ringen um die Astrologie. Jüdische und christliche Beiträge zum antiken Zeitverständnis* (RVV 49; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2000); “Reenchanting Nature: Modern Western Shamanism and Nineteenth-Century Thought,” *JAAR* 70 (2002): 771–799; *Schamanismus und Esoterik. Kultur- und wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Betrachtungen* (GTI 4; Leuven: Peeters, 2003); *Geschichte der Astrologie. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (rev. ed.; Munich: C. H. Beck, 2007); *Was ist Esoterik? Kleine Geschichte des geheimen Wissens* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2004), translated into English as *Western Esotericism: A Brief History of Secret Knowledge* (trans. N. Goodrick-Clarke; London: Equinox, 2005).

al “it is not possible to show that the books functioned as vessels of esoteric teaching within clearly organized socio-religious groups in the Second Temple period.”¹⁷

This distinction helps to make an important point for the present essay, as it highlights a difference between apocalyptic literature on the one hand and Qumran sectarian writings on the other. Since many of the Aramaic texts participate in the more general phenomenon of early Jewish apocalypticism¹⁸ (even if they are not all “apocalypses” according to scholarly conventions), they would thus perhaps not qualify as “vessels of esoteric teaching within clearly organized socio-religious groups.” This may simply indicate how little we know about the writers of (e.g.) the early Enochic booklets, the *Aramaic Levi Document*, or the book of Daniel, but in any case, it is the reception of the text that is often the decisive factor in esoteric circles; what matters is not so much the original milieu of the text, but that the text contains potential for use and meaning which is compatible with the alternative reality that the sectarian group purports itself to reify. Or, perhaps, put more strongly, what matters is the control of a text and its potential effects on a given community such as the *yahad*.

While the earliest Enochic works, for example, may derive initially from a priestly-scribal group at home in the Jerusalem temple—and hence not from a sectarian, separatist group such as the *yahad*—such a possibility does not finally determine the social setting (and the meaning) of these works as they are transmitted and interpreted by successive apocalyptic groups.¹⁹ If, as is often claimed, the *yahad* comprised a

¹⁷ Stone, “Apocalyptic Literature,” in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (ed. M. E. Stone; CRINT 2.II; Assen–Philadelphia: Van Gorcum–Fortress Press, 1984), 431–432.

¹⁸ *Book of the Watchers, Astronomical Book, Book of Giants, Aramaic Levi, Visions of Amram, New Jerusalem*, the various testaments, etc.

¹⁹ G. Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*, 77–78; Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 69: “...the most salient features of [the *Book of the Watchers* and the *Astronomical Book*] are their self-conscious scribalism and their development of a unique type of wisdom that combined ‘scientific,’ exegetical, mythic, and ethical components. One cannot underestimate the economic and social preconditions for the cultivation of such learning, nor for the continued transmission of Mesopotamian lore alongside Israelite traditions. Together with the priestly interests of both apocalypses, these factors suggest that the production of the earliest Enochic writings fits most plausibly with scribes in the orbit of the Jerusalem Temple.” Consider also Philip Alexander’s statement: “The standard explanation of Qumranian interest in Enoch is that the Qumranians, in opposition to the Jerusalem priesthood, had adopted the Enochic solar calendar, and needed both the Enochic science and the authority of the Enochic literature to sustain its position,” a view that is itself “not

priestly group of scribal-intellectual elites, their store of esoteric knowledge went well beyond the material they themselves were composing—and yet it was to some extent crystallized into their own (ostensibly secret) complex religious and intellectual system, i.e. integrated into their particular brand of esotericism.²⁰ Hence while the Aramaic narrative texts may not all reflect esotericism among their original authors, the kind of material they convey was conducive to later “esotericizing” on the part of the *yahad*.

Two definitions of esotericism can help to sharpen our use of the category. In his seminal essay, “Toward the Sociology of Esoteric Culture,” Edward Tiryakian writes the following:

By “esoteric” I refer to those religiophilosophic belief systems which underlie techniques and practices; that is, it refers to the more comprehensive cognitive mappings of nature and the cosmos, the epistemological and ontological reflections of ultimate reality, which mappings constitute a stock of knowledge that provides the ground for occult procedures.... But a crucial aspect of esoteric knowledge is that it is a secret knowledge of the reality of things, of hidden truths, handed down, frequently orally and not all at once, to a relatively small

without its problems.” Nevertheless, “the calendar may have been retained as an ideal model of time—a kind of model not unknown to modern science. It may have come to represent how time ideally should run, and perhaps would run in the future, when the natural order was no longer disturbed by evil. It is, of course, possible that as a community of scholars, the Qumranians valued the Enochic texts for their own sake as learned, and, indeed, edifying literature, without being too deeply influenced by them. But the simplest explanation is surely that Enoch features at Qumran because the circles who founded Qumran were linked in some way to the circles that studied the Enochic tradition. Enoch was part of their intellectual baggage. The Jerusalem Temple in the Second Temple period was probably a locus not just of ritual, but of a vigorous intellectual life, and may have housed a school or schools. This should, in principle, cause no surprise: great temples had from hoary antiquity been centres of learning in the Near East. Qumran was founded by renegade Jerusalem priests. The founders of Qumran were associated with the school, or the circle, in the Jerusalem Temple which had preserved and studied the Enochic literature, and they brought copies of the texts with them from there to Qumran” (“Enoch and the Beginnings of Jewish Interest in Natural Science,” in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought* [ed. C. Hempel, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger; BETL 159; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 2002], 223–243, here 239–240).

²⁰ There are several statements in Qumran sectarian texts that convey explicit injunctions to secrecy. Perhaps the most explicit is found in IQS VIII 11–14: “And every matter hidden from Israel but which has been found out by the Interpreter, he should not keep hidden [from those holy ones in the midst of the council of the men of the community] for fear of a spirit of desertion. *vacat* When such men as these come to the *yahad* in Israel, they will separate, upholding these things, from among the dwelling of the men of iniquity, in order to go to the wilderness, there to prepare the way of truth....”

number of persons who are typically ritually initiated by those already holding this knowledge.²¹

In a similar vein, Kocku von Stuckrad provides this definition of esoteric discourse:

What makes a discourse esoteric is the rhetoric of a hidden truth, which can be unveiled in a specific way and established contrary to other interpretations of the universe and history—often that of the institutionalized majority. Mediation may be conceived as such a means: the link between hidden and revealed knowledge, between transcendence and immanence, is frequently attributed to specific authorities—for example Hermes or Zoroaster—who act as mediators and place a “perfect” knowledge at the disposal of human beings. That eternal knowledge, the *philosophia perennis*, can be achieved by some distinguished persons even without mediation, but the notion of a chain of “initiates” and sages, who determine the course of revelation, is a recurrent motif in the history of esotericism from ancient times up until the present. This claim to knowledge is often combined with an emphasis on individual experience, wherein a seeker attains higher knowledge through extraordinary states of consciousness.²²

Nearly every aspect of these definitions applies in one way or another to the Aramaic (and much of the sectarian) material from Qumran. There is concern not only for cosmology and the structural components of the universe, but also for their connection with human moral and ontological meaning; there is interest in “occult”²³—and cultic—procedures and the divine rationales that underlie them; and many of these texts most certainly display an attitude of secrecy, i.e. that there are hidden truths known only to the members of the elect group, those initiated into a defined and restricted social group. This is a “relatively small number of persons” who receive the secret knowledge by a process of transmission that goes—or is imagined by the sectarians to go—all the way back to primeval past and to the ancestral heroes of Israel’s covenant with its God.

Some may object to the use of “esotericism” as a way to describe Qumran texts and social realities. Admittedly, the term does carry some baggage that makes its use problematic in this context. The category itself is artificially constructed from areas of overlap and similarity among comparative materials, i.e. it is built up by observing texts and

²¹ Tiryakian, “Toward the Sociology,” 265.

²² Von Stuckrad, *Western Esotericism*, 10.

²³ Typical practices associated with the “occult” include magic, astrology, exorcism, physiognomy, etc., nearly all of which are attested in the Aramaic Scrolls in one form or another.

social trends that come from (sometimes vastly) different cultural, historical, and social locations. This means that the act of comparison must be accepted as a legitimate procedure that reveals something new (and true) about each of the comparanda, something that may become helpful in the interpretation of one or another of them.²⁴ Another reason why some might wish to resist the esotericism framework is that it carries perhaps too strong a suggestion that there may have been magic, mysticism, and other “occult” beliefs and practices at Qumran (or more generally among the *yahad*).²⁵ Scholars of the Dead Sea Scrolls might be rightly nervous about a direct comparison between the Qumran materials and those of neo-Platonism, Pythagoreanism, Hermeticism, Gnosticism, Renaissance paganism, and New Age theosophism—especially when lines of influence are drawn from one to another. And yet, the problem is not one of kind but of definition and of degree. Even so, it is important to keep in mind that undeniable parallels between the various exempla of esotericism do not carry any necessary implications for across-the-board comparison. In other words, and to give a specific example, the ostensible rejection of most forms of “magic” at Qumran²⁶

²⁴ Or, as Jonathan Z. Smith states the matter, “A comparison is a disciplined exaggeration in the service of knowledge. It lifts out and strongly marks certain features within difference as being of possible intellectual significance, expressed in the rhetoric of their being ‘like’ in some stipulated fashion. Comparison provides the means by which we ‘revision’ phenomena as *our* data in order to solve *our* theoretical problems” (*Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990], 52).

²⁵ In his response to this paper, Michael Stone made the trenchant observation that “sciences that are occult for modern Western people may have been everyday and non-occult activities in other times and places. For example, in some societies astrology is occult; in others, it is a part of daily life.... The words ‘esoteric,’ ‘mystery,’ ‘secret,’ ‘hidden,’ ‘occult’ each evoke different atmospheres and attitudes in us, and perhaps some further consideration might be given to the terms, what they denote and what they imply.”

²⁶ See A. Lange, “The Essene Position on Magic and Divination,” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995* (ed. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 377–435. Lange judiciously concludes that “since neither magic nor divination were completely rejected, even by Essenes, it can be concluded that the various phenomena described today as magic or divination were not understood by them as belonging to the same group of practices which they judged to be part of the dominion of Belial” (435). Cf. W. J. Lyons and A. M. Reimer, “The Demonic Virus and Qumran Studies: Some Preventative Measures,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 5 (1998): 16–32: “For the Qumran sectarians who created, preserved, and cherished these texts, nothing in them resembled magic or sorcery. These were simply texts that allowed them to deal with

does not render the Scrolls unfit for comparison with other esoteric traditions in which magic is highlighted—it merely means that esotericism is (and must be) a relatively fluid category of description, and we must resist any temptation to carry the comparison too far.

There is still the question whether esoteric knowledge necessarily implies secrecy, whether something that originates in an esoteric milieu is by nature secret (Latin *secretus* = “to separate, divide”). These are indeed two different ways of characterizing knowledge, overlapping and yet with apparently distinct social purposes. Esoteric knowledge is knowledge ostensibly derived from an esoteric setting—a setting that includes “in innermost circle of advanced or privileged students.”²⁷ In its moment of origination esoteric knowledge may be considered previously “hidden” (from human view in general), but it may or may not be considered “secret,” i.e. restricted, apart from the bare fact that it happens to be limited to those capable of grasping and dealing with the knowledge. Whatever the original purpose or scope of esoteric knowledge, however, it has the inherent capacity for secrecy, which itself is determined by the status and use of esoteric knowledge in a given social setting. For esoteric knowledge to become secret it must be self-consciously and formally restricted to a highly defined social group, such as the *yahad*, as part of an effort to construct and maintain boundaries and shape the identities of its adherents.

3. *Esoteric Knowledge in Qumran Aramaic Texts*

If we construct a composite definition derived from Tiryakian’s and von Stuckrad’s descriptions of esotericism, the following features of the Aramaic collection come into relief. In brackets [] are Qumran sectarian texts that exhibit similar features. (Other examples could be added to these lists.)

1. The rhetoric of a previously hidden truth delivered by mediation by a specific authority. Examples: *1 Enoch*, *Visions of Amram*, *Genesis Apocryphon*, *Aramaic Levi Document*, [*Pesher*

threats to their community, much as community discipline and purification rites dealt with various threats” (32).

²⁷ J. G. Westenholz, “Thoughts on Esoteric Knowledge and Secret Lore,” 451–462, here 452. Westenholz notes that the word “esoteric” comes from the Greek ἔσωτερικ -, the comparative of ἔσω “within.”

Habakkuk (1QpHab), *Hodayot*, *Damascus Document*, *Community Rule*].

2. The notion of a chain of “initiates” and sages who determine the course of revelation. Examples: *1 Enoch*, *Visions of Amram*, *Genesis Apocryphon*, *Aramaic Levi Document*, [*Damascus Document*, *Community Rule*, 4QWords of the Maskil (4Q298)], cf. 4QInstruction and *Jubilees*.
3. The claim that knowledge is combined with individual religious experience. Examples: *1 Enoch* (*Book of the Watchers*, *Epistle of Enoch*, Birth of Noah pericope), Daniel, *Genesis Apocryphon*, *Community Rule*, [*Hodayot*, *Self-Glorification Hymn* (4Q471b), *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*].
4. Comprehensive cognitive mappings of nature and the cosmos, and of the ontological reflections of ultimate reality (which includes also theories about the nature and origin of evil). Examples: *1 Enoch* (*Book of the Watchers*, *Astronomical Book*, *Book of Giants*), possibly *New Jerusalem* (1Q32[?], 2Q24, 4Q554, 4Q554a, 4Q555, 5Q15, 11Q18), [*Hodayot*, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, “Treatise on the Two Spirits”].
5. Ritual initiation of new members by those already holding esoteric knowledge. Example: *Aramaic Levi Document*, [*Community Rule*, e.g. col. 1].
6. The possession of knowledge that forms the basis for divinatory or magico-medical (i.e. “occult”) procedures. Examples: *Physiognomy* (4Q561), *Zodiology and Brontology* (4Q318), *Exorcism* (4Q560), [*Physiognomy and Astrology* (4Q186), *Songs of the Maskil*^{ab} (4Q510–11), *Apocryphal Psalm* (11Q11)]; cf. *To-bit* (4Q196–200).

The presence in much of the Aramaic literature of material—stories, teachings, traditions—that describe the processes of revelation and transmission of esoteric knowledge is one good reason why these particular Aramaic writings were of value to the Qumran group. Additionally, scientific texts such as the astronomical and physiognomic writings may actually constitute some of the content of esoteric knowledge that was passed along from one generation to the next.²⁸ But again it is im-

²⁸ Not including the various “Deeds and Documents” (4Q342–459), the only Aramaic texts that I would characterize as not necessarily having potentially esoteric dimensions are the Targums of Job and Leviticus and the so-called “Proto-Esther” texts. But see A. Caquot, “Un écrit sectaire de Qoumrân: le ‘Targum de Job’,” *RHR* 185 (1967): 9–27.

portant to stress the distinction between the origins (and “original intent” or even “original audience”) of the various Aramaic texts and their reception and use among the Qumran sectarians. It is also important to stress that not all of the knowledge would have been current, useful, or even accepted as legitimate or representative, even if it was ostensibly the kind of material that interested the *yahad*.²⁹ This material—or perhaps more important, the interpretation or understanding (or even rejection) of this material—was valued and guarded as part of a body of wisdom that could be consulted and mined within a specific group or segment of Judean society.³⁰

Before moving to the next topic it is worth considering an important observation by Moshe Halbertal on the nature of Jewish esotericism in general. He points out that there is a paradox that lies at the heart of esotericism, one that can be found in its ancient, medieval, and modern manifestations:

The justification for esotericism reflects an attempt to preserve particular knowledge in a state of purity, without fault or distortion, as a protected, well-guarded

²⁹ See the fascinating discussion by Michael Barkun in his *A Culture of Conspiracy: Apocalyptic Visions in Contemporary America* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2003), 26–29. Describing the intersections between modern apocalyptic and conspiratorial modes of thinking, Barkun asserts that there is such a thing as “stigmatized knowledge” that is embraced by apocalypticists—knowledge that includes forgotten knowledge, superseded knowledge, ignored knowledge, rejected knowledge, suppressed knowledge. I have to thank John Collins for this reference. Regarding the *Astronomical Book*, for example, several scholars have argued that it reflects an “outdated” understanding of astronomy with respect to the surrounding Hellenistic environment. See M. E. Stone, “Enoch, Aramaic Levi, and Sectarian Origins,” *JSJ* 19 (1988): 159–170; Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years*, 245–250.

³⁰ In his excellent dissertation on the *Genesis Apocryphon*, Daniel Machiela concludes about the presence of this text at Qumran: “Although the Genesis Apocryphon was not composed by the Essenes of Qumran, it was certainly read and used there. When considering the theological and ideological tenets underlying the scroll it becomes clear why this was the case. the Apocryphon’s apocalyptic perspective, emphasis on exclusive Israelite rights to the Land of Israel, concern with the esoteric divine mysteries, interest in calendrical issues (evident in the scant remnants of col. 8), exaltation of the patriarchs, and perhaps even its penchant for dreams and their interpretations, line up with interests present either in the sectarian literature or outside descriptions of the Essenes (e.g. in Josephus or Pliny the Elder). Hence, there are plenty of elements in the scroll that could have been embraced by the sect, even if all of its details may not have suited their needs or tastes.” D. Machiela “The Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20): A Reevaluation of Its Text, Interpretive Character, and Relationship to the Book of Jubilees” (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 2007), 296–297. The revised dissertation has just been published as *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20): A New Text Edition and Translation, with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17* (STDJ 79; Leiden: Brill, 2009).

realm. Because, however, the esoteric realm is a closed one, it cannot be effectively controlled. An esotericist may claim that a new body of knowledge is actually the transmission of an ur-ancient esoteric Jewish tradition. In response to those who dispute him, claiming that they had never heard of such a teaching in Jewish tradition, he will claim: “This knowledge was kept secret; consequently, it left no trace in the traditions known to you.” Thus the most guarded realm is also the least restricted.³¹

Perhaps the most salient example of this kind of Jewish esotericism in antiquity is the collection of writings known as *I Enoch*, and the way in which the book of *Jubilees* writes (hidden) Enochic lore into the sacred (public) narrative of Moses and the reception of the Torah on Mount Sinai—in part, it appears, to give credence to the Enochic tradition as a legitimate source of sacred knowledge.

What Halbertal’s observation brings to the fore is the potential implicit deceit that lurks in claims to esoteric knowledge. Ironically, the very appeal to authority, which rests finally in the claim to antiquity and hiddenness, can also undermine the legitimacy of the text when it finds itself in a context outside of its authorizing or legitimating community. In this way it is perhaps not surprising that the majority of apocalyptic (and Gnostic, magical, etc.) texts were not deemed authoritative by the mainstream religious functionaries later responsible for biblical canonization, people who on the whole apparently viewed such texts to be hostile to the emerging orthodoxies.

4. *Qumran Aramaic Literature: A Look at Some Texts*

There are quite a number of Aramaic texts that highlight the transmission of a special stream of knowledge in prediluvian and patriarchal times. Indeed, this seems to be one of the salient and uniting features of the Aramaic narrative compositions, a feature also incorporated into the book of *Jubilees*. Often such special knowledge takes the form of “books” that ostensibly contain “hidden” or “sealed” knowledge that is available to the elect. In 4Q534, which is one of the fragmentary Aramaic texts dealing with the birth of Noah, there is a clear association between eternality or immortality and the books or scrolls that are at issue in that passage. The text begins with a description of Noah, stating,

³¹ Halbertal, *Concealment and Revelation: Esotericism in Jewish Thought and Its Philosophical Implications* (trans. J. Feldman; Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 2007), 12.

“In his youth he will be adept and like a man who does not know anything until he knows the three books (ספריא תלתת). Then he will be wise ... prudence will be with him, and he will know the mysteries of men (רזי אנשא), and his wisdom shall come to all peoples, and he will know the mysteries of all living things (רזי כול חייה) ... his purposes will last forever.”³² And later, “Would that someone would write these words of mine in a book that will not wear out and keep my utterance in a scroll that will not pass away....” Though the text places Noah’s acquisition of “mysteries” in the future—after he has read the books—it also presumes that he has already done so and has duly learned such “mysteries.” He not only learns them, but according to this text “he will reveal mysteries like the Most High ones” (4Q536 2i+3 8), and will pass them along in a line of transmission among the remnant elect (4Q536 2i+3 13).

Throughout the Noah materials there is an association between special knowledge and election, which is interesting especially in light of one of the known etymologies of Noah’s name: that of “being left,” i.e. as a righteous “remnant” (נוח). As both Devorah Dimant and James VanderKam have argued, this may well underlie the fact that many of the Aramaic texts show an interest in Noah as a kind of precursor to all such remnant elect.³³ Like Levi, who retroactively becomes a symbolic representative of the priestly-scribal craft (see below), Noah (like Enoch) becomes a primeval synecdoche for those who receive and adhere to a special kind of revelation—revelation that is salvific perhaps by simple virtue of its possession.

Of course, one of the principal concerns of *Jubilees*—which I take to represent an important ideological bridge between the Aramaic literature and the Qumran sectarian texts—is the reception and transmission of tablets and books, with Enoch being the first to receive and write “a testimony” (*Jub.* 4:18) and to see “how things will happen for mankind during their history until the day of judgment” (4:19).³⁴ Though not all passages in *Jubilees* are explicit about the handing down of books (e.g.

³² Cf. *1 Enoch* 106:19.

³³ D. Dimant, “Noah in Early Jewish Literature,” in *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible* (ed. M. E. Stone and T. A. Bergren; Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998), 123–150, here 125–126; J. C. VanderKam, “The Birth of Noah,” in *Intertestamental Essays in Honor of József Tadeusz Milik* (ed. Z. J. Kapera; Qumranica Mogilanensia 6; Krakow: The Enigma Press, 1992), 213–231, here 220–221.

³⁴ Translations of *Jubilees* are from J. C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (CSCO 511; Leuven: Peeters, 1989).

7:38–39), it is clear at several stages in the story³⁵ that (new) revelation is written down and transmitted from one generation to another (4:17–19; 10:13–14; 12:25–27; 32:21–29; 45:16). At the end of this series of revelations and transmissions, Jacob “gave all his books and the books of his fathers to his son Levi so that he could preserve them and renew them for his sons until today” (45:16). Levi receives from Jacob the books that ostensibly have been transmitted from Enoch down through the patriarchal generations, a collection which has grown over time (“all his books and the books of his fathers”). It is of considerable significance that Levi receives these books from Jacob, the eponymous ancestor of all Israel and arguably the central figure of *Jubilees*, upon the latter’s death. In this way the body of sacred knowledge is passed along through the chosen line, and it transcends the deaths of its bearers. This is probably an indication that according to *Jubilees* it is through Levi—who is the last to receive the books in the storyline—that the restoration of Israel (Jacob) is ultimately to be brought about.

The *Visions of Amram* stresses the transmission of teaching from Abraham (by way of Isaac, Jacob, and Levi) to Amram, and the group of texts with which the work is associated³⁶ is concerned with the generations from Levi to Aaron, the father of the priestly line of Israel. This is especially important to the present topic because at one point this text declares that “concerning A[aron and the (high) priesthood] [I] will tell you the mystery of his work (רז עובריה): he is a holy priest [to God Most High, for] his descendents will be holy to him for all the generations of e[ternity...]” (4Q545 4 15–17).

It would appear that Amram and Aaron are associated with “mysteries” because they are descendants of Levi, who is understood to be the first priest and hence the ancestor of all priests. The incipit to the *Visions of Amram* states that what follows in the text is a “copy of the book of ‘The Words of the Vision of Amram son of Kohath son of Levi.’³⁷ It contains everything that he told his sons and everything that he commanded them on the day he died.” In this text Aaron is elevated even above Moses, who is barely mentioned. This cluster of Aramaic

³⁵ Differentiating “story” and “narrative” follows Kvanvig in “*Jubilees* – Between Enoch and Moses,” 245–246, where the “story” refers to what is recounted (creation to Sinai) within the “narrative frame” (which begins and ends with Moses on Sinai).

³⁶ *Aramaic Levi Document*, *Testament of Qahat*, and *Visions of Amram* were possibly understood to be a collection; see M. E. Stone, “Aramaic Levi,” *EDSS* 1:487.

³⁷ פרשגן כתב מלי חזות עמרם.

texts wishes to say something important about priests and the kind of knowledge they possess and the authority in which such knowledge is grounded. Levi takes a special place as the recipient of special teaching that goes back to Enoch, and presumably goes forward all the way to the readers and interpreters of the priestly-scribal tradition.³⁸

To return to the figure of Noah, it may be a peripheral connection, but in a fragmentary portion of 4QInstruction there is a passage that refers to “the mystery that is to be and he made it known to Noah.”³⁹ Is the author of the *Instruction* familiar with these traditions about Noah’s esoteric knowledge? While I do not wish to dwell here on the meaning and shape of the phrase *רז נהיה* in its various extant uses,⁴⁰ it is significant that an important Hebrew text displays the association between Noah and the “mystery that is to be.” Even if 4QInstruction is not a strictly sectarian composition, it is written in Hebrew and was clearly an important text “at Qumran.” I take the references to *רז נהיה* in 4QInstruction (and elsewhere) to indicate a special body of teaching, a compendium that itself was perhaps (but need not have been) written.

5. “Mysteries” of Transgression and of the Righteous

It is well known that several of the Aramaic compositions from Qumran participate in a tradition about primordial “Watchers” and “giants” who transmit illicit knowledge.⁴¹ Their primary transgression appears to be conceived as a crossing of boundaries, an unauthorized mixing of heavenly and earthly forms of being and knowing. While one of the functions of the Watchers story is to provide an etiology for the presence of sin and evil in the world, another purpose is to provide a suitable anti-

³⁸ See also 4QTestament of Jacob ar (4Q537); 4QTestament of Qahat ar (4Q542); 4QBiblical Chronology ar (4Q559).

³⁹ *רז נהיה ויודיע אל נה* — 4Q418 201 1 (reconstructed by Torleif Elgvin along with 4Q416 1 3); cf. 4Q253 1 4. See T. Elgvin, “Wisdom, Revelation and Eschatology in an Early Essene Writing,” in *SBL Seminar Papers 1995* (ed. E. H. Lovering; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 459. Cf. M. Bernstein, “Noah and the Flood at Qumran,” in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. D. W. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 217–218.

⁴⁰ Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 54–61.

⁴¹ As Annette Y. Reed has recently shown, the “instructional motif” in the *Book of the Watchers* itself has a complex history that includes both the embrace and the rejection of the idea of illicit angelic conveyance of heavenly knowledge. See her *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity*, esp. chapters 1–3.

thesis to the true nature of Enoch's knowledge, and the knowledge of the groups associating itself with him.⁴² While there are several different explanations for the social setting in which such traditions took shape, what is of interest here is the representation of competing claims to knowledge and the presentation of the antagonists as bankrupt, corrupt, and damned.

In addition to the oft-cited passages in the *Book of the Watchers* (e.g. *1 Enoch* 6–11; esp. 8:1–3, 9:5–8), there are other passages that attest to an interest in both illicit and esoteric knowledge. In 1Q23—a fragment of the *Book of Giants*—there is perhaps a reference to רז / רזין, though this is a best-guess reconstruction based on the presence of וידעו [...] [...] in the context of a passage that is apparently about the proliferation of sin on the earth and the begetting of “giants.” In the first column of the *Genesis Apocryphon* the story of the Watchers is loosely recounted along with reference to the “instructional motif,” in order, it seems, to introduce the birth of Noah story. In this text it is Noah who serves as the foil to the Watchers, and in col. VI Noah himself learns (“in a vision,” בחיזיון) of the descent and transgression of the “Sons of Heaven,” knowledge that he in turn keeps hidden in his heart (ולכול אנוש לא (אחויטה וטמרת רזא דן בלבבי heart,” is interesting and it is attested also in one of the *Aramaic Levi* manuscripts from Qumran (4Q213b 3; CTL Bodl. a). The phrase “I [hid] this (vision) too in my heart and [I revealed it] to nobody” (וטמרת אף (דן בלבבי ולכל אנש לא [גלתיה just prior to Jacob's tithing and Levi's elevation to the “head of the priesthood” of the “God of eternity.”⁴³ (If indeed *Aramaic Levi* is cited in the *Damascus Document* [“words of Levi, son of Jacob,” CD IV 15 / *ALD* 6:3], as Jonas Greenfield has argued, it is interesting that the citation occurs as part of a reference to the “three nets of Belial” and in the broader context of the Admonition which underscores the special revelation of “hidden matters” (נסתרות) that are limited to those who inhabit the “safe home in Israel” [CD III 13–19]).⁴⁴

⁴² Cf. S. I. Thomas, “‘Riddled with Guilt’: The Mysteries of Transgression, the Sealed Vision, and the Art of Interpretation in 4Q300 and Related Texts,” *DSD* 15 (2008): 155–171.

⁴³ See J. C. Greenfield, M. E. Stone and E. Eshel, *Aramaic Levi Document: Text, Translation and Commentary* (SVTP 19; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 66–69.

⁴⁴ Greenfield, “The Words of Levi Son of Jacob in Damascus Document IV.15–19,” *RevQ* 13 (1988): 319–322.

These texts do not state why it is important to hide such knowledge in the heart, but this same impulse is present in the *Hodayot*. In one of the hymns the speaker refers to the “mysteries of [God’s] wonder” (רזי (פלאַך) by which he has come to understand the “depth of [God’s] insight” and the “paths [of truth] and the works of evil” (דרכי [אמת] מעשי) (רע).⁴⁵ Such knowledge is apparently proper to the “men of truth” (אנשי אמת) or the “men of Your vision” (אנשי חזוֹנָה),⁴⁶ men who are part of the *yahad* and thus the “council” of the speaker (וכן הוגשתי ביהד כול) (אנשי סודי).⁴⁷ Yet the special knowledge, the “mystery,” was apparently also a vehicle of betrayal by some members of the community:

Even those who share my bread have lifted up their heel against me, and all those who have committed themselves to my counsel speak perversely against me with unjust lips. The men of my council rebel and grumble about. And concerning the mystery which You hid in me, they go about as slanderers to the children of destruction. Because You have exalted Yourself in me, and for the sake of their guilt, You have hidden in me the spring of understanding and the counsel of truth. But they devise the ruination of their heart and with the words of Belial they have exhibited a lying tongue; as the poison of serpents it bursts forth continuously (1QH^a XIII 26–29; my emphasis).

A similar sentiment is encountered in an Aramaic fragment (PAM 41.590) that has been (erroneously) associated with 4QPhysiognomy (4Q561).⁴⁸ Indeed, there is considerable terminological overlap between this fragment and other key Qumran Aramaic texts such as the *Book of Giants*, *Genesis Apocryphon*, the testaments of Judah, Jacob, and Qahat, *Aramaic Levi*, the “Birth of Noah,” and the *Astronomical Book* (though not with fragments 1–6 of 4Q561). The fragment represents an apparently apocalyptic (or more properly, eschatological) section of the text in

⁴⁵ 1QH^a V 19–20.

⁴⁶ 1QH^a VI 13; VI 18.

⁴⁷ 1QH^a VI 29.

⁴⁸ S. Holst and J. Høgenhaven “Physiognomy and Eschatology: Some More Fragments of 4Q561,” *JJS* 57 (2006): 26–43. The authors conclude that the fragments in question (9–11) are probably not part of the Aramaic Physiognomy, even if they come from a text written by the same scribe on the same manuscript. “Whilst an ultimate verdict should, of course, await the final publication of 4Q561 by É. Puech, the evidence at the present state of research points to the original editors being right in considering 4Q561 frag. 9–11 as an independent text distinct from ‘Aramaic Horoscope’ or ‘Aramaic Physiognomy’” (43). Popović does not treat this passage in his *Reading the Human Body*, presumably because he does not take it to be part of 4Q561. Puech has confirmed in a private conversation that he does not take fragments 9–11 to be part of 4Q561; they were merely photographed together. See his *DJD XXXVII*, forthcoming.

which the phrase “and you shall walk... you shall hide in [your] heart” (וּתְהִיךָ וְתִסְתַּחֵף בְּלִבְךָ) occurs in proximity to “teaching” (אִלְמָה) and “writing” (רִשְׁמָה) and a reference to “eternal” or “eternity” (עֲלְמָה).

Finally, in this exploration one could include the presence of an exorcism, or “Incantation Formula” among the Aramaic texts from Qumran (4Q560). As Philip S. Alexander notes, the “magical” character of this text “has been demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt,” and it reflects a complex demonology that “fits in well with the ethos of 4Q510–11 and 11Q11.”⁴⁹ While 11QApocryphal Psalms^a (11Q11) is not definitively sectarian, 4QSongs of the Maskil^{a-b} (4Q510–11) represent a Qumran sectarian application of the idea of efficacious, apotropaic incantation/adjudication in the form of prayer. (Curiously, the word ܩܪ is likely extant in both 4Q511 and 11Q11.) And one should not overlook the fact that several other Qumran Aramaic texts display concern with spiritual healing that involves the expulsion of demons, evil spirits, etc., texts that include Tobit (Tob. 6:16–17; 8:3; cf. 4Q196–197), *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen XX 16–22), and the *Prayer of Nabonidus* (4Q242).⁵⁰

6. Science, Esoteric Knowledge, and the “Priestly-Scribal” Tradition

Scholars have increasingly focused on the ways in which comparative Babylonian and Greco-Roman materials can help to illuminate the Aramaic scientific writings at Qumran, and to explain their presence among the other works represented in the caves.⁵¹ For example, as Mladen

⁴⁹ P. S. Alexander, “‘Wrestling against Wickedness in High Places’: Magic in the Worldview of the Qumran Community,” in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After* (ed. S. E. Porter and C. A. Evans; JSPSup 26; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 329–330; cf. D. L. Penney and M. O. Wise, “By the Power of Beelzebub: An Aramaic Incantation Formula from Qumran (4Q560),” *JBL* 113 (1994): 627–650.

⁵⁰ Alexander, “‘Wrestling,’” 328–329. To these I might add *Jubilees* 10:12–14, which makes reference to Noah writing in a book “all kinds of medicine” that apparently preclude “evil spirits;” and *Aramaic Levi Document’s* “book of Noah concerning the blood” (10:10). For the latter see Greenfield, Stone and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi Document*, 90–91, 180; this portion is extant only in the Greek: ἐν τῇ γραφῇ τῆς βίβλου τοῦ Νῶε περὶ τοῦ αἵματος.

⁵¹ It is not possible to discuss in detail all of the Aramaic scientific texts. It must suffice to say that there is a diverse set of texts and areas of knowledge represented here. In his contribution to this colloquium, Jonathan Ben-Dov puts the scientific texts into six categories: Astronomy; Geography; Metrology; Physiognomy; Astrology; Exorcism. The scientific material is packaged in free-standing presentations (as in 4Q318, 4Q561, etc.) and is also embedded in narrative texts (as in *AB*, *Genesis Apocryphon*, *Aramaic Levi*, etc.). Cf. Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years: Astronomy and Calendars at Qumran in their*

Popović has demonstrated in his recent book, *Reading the Human Body*, several Qumran Aramaic (and Hebrew) texts display an interest in physiognomic knowledge, or reflect more generally the “physiognomic consciousness” of mid-late Second Temple Judaism.⁵² While he is not the first to discuss the phenomenon,⁵³ Popović situates the physiognomic and astrological (zodiacal) texts from Qumran within the broader Babylonian and Greco-Roman cultural trends, and more particularly, demonstrates the ways in which Babylonian and Hellenistic scientific knowledge has been appropriated and modified in the relevant texts from the Dead Sea. As he states it, the physiognomic and astrological texts “perhaps objectified the speculative, scientific interests of some of elite members of Hellenistic-Early Roman period Jewish society or of the Qumran community. The pursuit and possession of that knowledge may have confirmed that elite status.”⁵⁴ Such a scenario would likely mirror the sociological reality of physiognomic (and astrological) learning in ancient Mesopotamian scholarly / scribal circles, in which

the interdiction against persons outside the circle of “knowers” reflects the efforts of a particular scribal body to maintain control over its tradition and to protect a particular body of knowledge. The special status of the tradition in the

Ancient Context (STDJ 78; Leiden: Brill, 2008); idem, “Babylonian Astral Sciences in West Semitic Sources: The Case of Qumran,” paper presented in Berlin, 2007; Popović, *Reading the Human Body*; H. Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document* (JSJSup 86; Leiden: Brill, 2004).

⁵² *Reading the Human Body*. The texts he discusses include 4QZodiacal Physiognomy (4Q186), 4QPhysiognomy ar (4Q561), 4QBirth of Noah ar (4Q534–35), the description of the newborn Noah in *I Enoch* 106, and the description of Sarai in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen ar XX).

⁵³ Cf. for example M. Brayer, “Psychosomatics, Hermetic Medicine, and Dream Interpretation in the Qumran Literature (Psychological and Exegetical Considerations),” *JQR* 60 (1969): 112–127; F. García Martínez, “4QMes. Aram. y el libro de Noé,” *Salmanticensis* 28 (1981): 195–232; J. C. Greenfield and M. Sokoloff, “Astrological and Related Omen Texts in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic,” *JNES* 48 (1989): 201–214; M. J. Geller, “New Documents from the Dead Sea: Babylonian Science in Aramaic,” in *Boundaries in the Ancient Near Eastern World: A Tribute to Cyrus H. Gordon* (ed. M. Lubetski, C. Gottlieb and S. Keller; JSOTSup 273; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 224–229; B. Böck, “An Esoteric Babylonian Commentary Revisited,” *JAOS* 120 (2000): 615–620; P. S. Alexander, “Physiognomy, Rank and Initiation in the Qumran Community,” in *Geschichte-Tradition-Reflexion: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1996), 385–394. See now also J. Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years*; see also his paper for the present conference.

⁵⁴ *Reading the Human Body*, 231.

view of the scribes, however, is expressed in the claim that the knowledge contained in the tablets was transmitted from a divine source.⁵⁵

In various discussions about the *Aramaic Levi Document*⁵⁶ (1Q21; 4Q213, 213a, 213b, 214, 214a, 214b) and related Aramaic compositions such as the *Visions of Amram* and the Aramaic “testaments,” Henryk Drawnel has described some of these texts as “priestly didactic literature” that is concerned with what he calls the practice and transmission of the “scribal craft.”⁵⁷ This craft involves much more than simply learning how to read and write, but also includes the acquisition of knowledge regarding metrological,⁵⁸ astrological, and astronomical matters, as well as sacrificial and marital purity, etc. In these texts, the special, esoteric knowledge of a highly defined group of priestly (levitical) tradents informs the presentation of how the patriarchs receive and transmit sacred knowledge. Indeed, their acquisition of special knowledge represents a set of ideals that has been retrojected upon the earlier figures in ways that are echoed in many of the Qumran sectarian texts.

The phenomenon of a “scribal craft” is found also in ancient Babylonian scribal circles, as described in detail by Alan Lenzi in his book, *Secrecy and the Gods*.⁵⁹ As Lenzi demonstrates, this scribal craft in Mesopotamian traditions developed an association with secrecy, whereby “the attachment of secrecy to the scribal craft was an ideologically motivated move—it was part of their divine secret knowledge mythmak-

⁵⁵ F. Rochberg, *The Heavenly Writing: Divination, Horoscopy, and Astronomy in Mesopotamian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 217.

⁵⁶ Drawnel also refers to this composition as *Visions of Levi*.

⁵⁷ See especially his *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document* (JSJSup 86; Leiden: Brill, 2004); “Priestly Education in the *Aramaic Levi Document* (*Visions of Levi*) and *Aramaic Astronomical Book* (4Q208–211),” *RevQ* 22 (2006): 547–574; cf. “Moon Computation in the *Aramaic Astronomical Book* (1),” *RevQ* 23 (2007): 3–41; “Some Notes on Scribal Craft and the Origins of the Enochic Literature,” paper presented at the Fourth Enoch Seminar, Camaldoli, Italy, July 8–12, 2007.

⁵⁸ Kugler critiques Drawnel’s reconstruction of the metrological section of the Qumran copies of Aramaic Levi. As Kugler notes, “no fragments of the metrological details reported in the G [Greek] and C [Cairo Geniza] (§§31–47) survive.” Drawnel, however, claims that such details can be found in 4Q214b 5–6 ii 6, which attests a τ , the first letter of what Drawnel reconstructs to be $\tau\omega\tau\eta\tau$, which is part of the first verse of the metrological section in Bodl. d 18; here Puech agrees. See Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran*, 189; cf. É. Puech, “Le Testament de Lévi en araméen de la Geniza du Caire,” *RevQ* 20 (2002): 532.

⁵⁹ *Secrecy and the Gods: Secret Knowledge in Ancient Mesopotamia and Biblical Israel* (SAAS 19; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2008), esp. 1–220.

ing strategy—intended to buttress the social position of a very select group of individuals and the authority of their knowledge.” Lenzi cites such texts as “In Praise of the Scribal Art,”⁶⁰ which states,

The scribal art is a “house of richness,” the secret of Amanki (i.e. Enki/Ea),
Work ceaselessly with the scribal art and it will reveal its secret to you.

The word for “secret” here is *niširtu*, which can also be found in other texts such as VAB VII 254:13, in which Ashurbanipal claims that “I have learned the hidden secret (*niširtu*), the entire scribal craft (*tupšarrūtu*),” or in Nabonidus’ Verse Account 8’–10’ in which the king proclaims (foolishly, according to Lenzi),

I stood in the assembly; I praised myself, (saying):
“I am wise. I am learned. I have seen (read?) secret things.
(Though) I am illiterate, I have seen (read?) secret knowledge.”⁶¹

⁶⁰ See A. W. Sjöberg, “In Praise of the Scribal Art,” *JCS* 24 (1972): 126–127, lines 7–8. Scott Noegel has also treated this text in his *Nocturnal Ciphers* (36–37). Noegel’s overall thesis is that punning is a ubiquitous and important feature of ancient Near Eastern scribal/divinatory culture, and the use of puns as a device witnesses to “the existence of a scribal perception in which the written word or ‘sign’ has the potential to be a great deal more than what it signifies. Like the diviner who embodies his profession, it is a container of divine secrets. The exegetes who deciphered omens and texts via punning extrapolations clearly viewed their interpretive strategies as more than mere academic embellishment, for as many of the colophons to the commentaries explicitly state, the interpretive system in which we find this punning constituted *amāt niširti* ‘hidden word’ and *pirištu ša ilī* ‘secret(s) of the gods.’ Since the punning hermeneutic aims to reveal divine secrets hidden in texts, to some degree we must consider wordplays as containers of divine secrets and/or tools for revealing them” (37–38). Noegel proposes the possibility that the Sumerian signs KI.URĪ, translated into Akkadian as *niširtu*, can also make a reverse ligature (without the DINGIR sign) of NANNA(R), god of the new moon. As he asks, “Is this the secret to which the scribe draws attention?” (36). It strikes me that an investigation of the use of such punning in Qumran texts—especially the ones that display aspects of oneiromancy such as the *Genesis Apocryphon*, *Aramaic Levi*, etc.—might be a fruitful path of study.

⁶¹ See Lenzi, *Secrets of the Gods*, 144. Nabonidus text is from H. Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids von Babylon und Kyros’ des Großen samt den in ihrem Umfeld entstandenen Tendenzschriften: Textausgabe und Grammatik* (AOAT 256; Münster: Ugarit, 2001), 569. From the mouth of Nabonidus this would seem a patently absurd claim to the minds of the priestly-scribal elite of the Neo-Babylonian empire (see P.-A. Beaulieu, *The Reign of Nabonidus King of Babylon, 556–539 B.C.* [YNER 10; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989]), and one can imagine that the reception of traditions about Nabonidus in early Judaism would have been accompanied by a similar evaluation. In the surviving Jewish references to Nabonidus the Babylonian king is confused with Nebuchadnezzar (e.g. Daniel 4–5) and is subordinated to the God of Israel and his representative sage, for whom no “mystery” is too difficult (cf. 4QPrayer of Nabonidus

Many of these passages constitute “Geheimwissen colophons” that “designate a text as *niširtu* “restricted,” or as *pirištu* “secret,” and that pertain to the realm of sages, diviners, scholars, and even kings,⁶² or as Simo Parpola has described it, to the five scholarly crafts of the Neo-Assyrian court (exorcism, divination, lamentation-appeasement, astrology, and medical practices).⁶³ In first millennium texts such colophons often take the following form: “The initiate may show the initiate. The uninitiated may not see.”⁶⁴ In a Late Babylonian colophon we find the statement, “reading what has to do with the great gods is the secret lore concerning heaven and earth, reading commentary is the secret of the scholar.”⁶⁵ These colophons underscore three salient facts about the functions of secrecy among scribal circles in the ancient Near East: 1) special knowledge was controlled and limited to defined groups; 2) such knowledge was transmitted from one member (or generation?) to another; 3) the contents of secret knowledge included arcane matters of therapeutic magic (exorcism, lamentation-appeasement, medical practices), astrological interpretations, and other forms of divination.⁶⁶

[4Q242]). Nabonidus certainly is not given to know mysteries or secrets, which in mid-late Second Temple Jewish literature is the prerogative of religious-intellectual elites.

⁶² P.-A. Beaulieu, “New Light on Secret Knowledge in Late Babylonian Culture,” *ZAVA* 82 (1992): 98–99.

⁶³ Parpola, “The Assyrian Tree of Life: Tracing the Origins of Jewish Monotheism and Greek Philosophy,” *JNES* 52 (1993): 169; cf. idem, “Mesopotamian Astrology and Astronomy as Domains of the Mesopotamian ‘Wisdom,’” in *Die Rolle der Astronomie in den Kulturen Mesopotamiens: Beiträge zum 3. Grazer Morgenländischen Symposium (23–27 September 1991)* (ed. H. D. Galter; GMS 3; Graz, 1993), 47–49, and “Monotheism in Ancient Assyria,” in *One God or Many? Concepts of Divinity in the Ancient World* (ed. B. N. Porter; TCBAI 1; Chebeague, ME: Casco Bay Assyriological Institute, 2000), 165–209. Parpola’s views have been challenged within the Assyriological community, though Lenzi concurs with modifications; see discussion in Lenzi, *Secrecy and the Gods*, 19–21. See also H. Limet, “Le Secret et les Écrits: aspects de l’ésotérisme en Mésopotamie ancienne,” in *Les Rites d’Initiation: Actes du Colloque de Liege et de Louvain-la-Neuve, 20–21 Novembre 1984* (ed. H. Limet and J. Ries; HR 13; Louvain-la-Neuve: Centre d’Histoire des Religions, 1986), 243–254; J. G. Westenholz, “Thoughts on Esoteric Knowledge and Secret Lore;” and B. Pongratz-Leisten, *Herrschaftswissen in Mesopotamien: Formen der Kommunikation zwischen Gott und König im 2. und 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (SAAS 10; Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1999); A. Livingstone, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

⁶⁴ Beaulieu, “New Light on Secret Knowledge,” 98.

⁶⁵ H. Hunger, *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1968), No. 519 r. 26; cf. Noegel, *Nocturnal Ciphers*, 37 n. 128.

⁶⁶ Pongratz-Leisten argues in *Herrschaftswissen* that these areas of knowledge were kept secret largely to vouchsafe the power of the king (304–309). Cf. 4QProto-Esther ar

7. *Why These Aramaic Texts?*

There are several basic questions that provide the underlying rationale for this study. These questions are the following. If we may assume that the people behind the production and preservation of the Qumran texts wrote only in Hebrew—and presumably valued and reclaimed Hebrew as the primordial language of God⁶⁷—why were so many Aramaic works also preserved and/or copied?⁶⁸ And why were some of them apparently authoritative in some way? And is it significant that the book of *Jubilees* is written in Hebrew when it has such close affinity with, say, the *Genesis Apocryphon*, the Enochic literature, and other Aramaic compositions, several of which could very well precede the composition of *Jubilees*? If we are to think of Aramaic-speaking adherents bringing their own Aramaic texts to Qumran (which is one possibility for explaining their presence there), how then should we think about the rather high level of correspondence in themes, styles, and motifs among the various Aramaic compositions? Is this mere coincidence? Is this merely a random sample of literary and documentary texts available in general to Aramaic-speaking (reading) Jewish scribes? Or do these manuscripts represent something more? And finally, why would the Qumran scribes (or those of related communities) continue to copy these Aramaic texts if they were not considered “sectarian” in some way?

In short, in addition to any other reasons these texts were valued, it appears that many of the Aramaic compositions contain a number of important features of what we might call the “esoteric knowledge” that was constitutive of the *yahad*’s own social and religious self-

(4Q550) in which a “sealed scroll” of Darius is addressed to kings who will come after him. It contains some kind of warning against “oppressors” and “liars.”

⁶⁷ For discussions about the use of Hebrew at Qumran, see esp. S. Segert, “Die Sprachenfragen in der Qumran Gemeinschaft,” in *Qumran-Probleme: Vorträge des Leipziger Symposiums über Qumran-Probleme vom 9. bis 14. Oktober 1961* (ed. H. Bardtke; DAWBSSA 42; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963), 315–319; W. Schniedewind, “Qumran Hebrew As an Antilanguage,” *JBL* 118 (1999): 235–252; idem, “Linguistic Ideology in Qumran Hebrew,” in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* (ed. T. Muraoka and J. F. Elwolde; STDJ 36; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 245–255; S. Weitzman, “Why Did the Qumran Community Write in Hebrew?,” *JAOS* 119 (1999): 35–45. Cf. S. Schwartz, “Language, Power and Identity,” *Past and Present* 148 (1995): 21–31. M. E. Stone and E. Eshel, “The Holy Language at the End of Days in Light of a Qumran Fragment,” *Tarbiz* 62 (1993): 169–177 (Hebrew). This “fragment” is 4Q464; cf. *Jub.* 12:25–26.

⁶⁸ There are approximately 129 Aramaic manuscripts from Qumran, and about 87 of them are well enough preserved for modern study.

understanding. In many of the Aramaic compositions we find the kind of material that corresponds with what the Qumran group/s apparently understood to be within its own special epistemological domain. This includes the transmission of special “books” and interpretations, scientific knowledge about astronomy, astrology, physiognomy, etc., as well as the possibility for personal, revelatory religious experience made possible for those whose righteousness merited it. The brand of apocalyptic thought at Qumran was a kind of priestly scribalism that integrated aspects of previously existing wisdom and apocalypticism with a Torah-centered covenantal theology. The corresponding body of knowledge represented by the Qumran Scrolls was part of an effort to acquire total knowledge of the cosmos and of history. That such knowledge—or at least the *yahad*’s way of integrating and using such knowledge—was guarded as secret seems confirmed by the Qumran sectarian texts (which includes those written in various cryptic scripts), though this aspect of the problem must await further study.

RESPONSE: MICHAEL STONE

I am personally in considerable debt to Dr. Thomas. The first part of his very well documented paper provides an entry for me into recent “history of religions” and “theoretical” discussions of secrets, esoteric knowledge, special knowledge, and “to the social, political and religious dimensions in which secrecy and secret knowledge are operative.” I must also confess that I have not had time over the last month to read in the theoretical literature that he cites in the first part of his paper though, and I do not say this lightly, I do intend to do so in the future. So, to some extent I may do him injustice in these remarks for which I beg forgiveness in advance.

Perhaps because of its limited compass, I found that the epistemological, sociological, and functional categories proposed were not quite clear and that the distinctions and overlaps between them were not sharply mapped. Are we talking about secrecy, i.e., the claim (or is it the actuality) that certain works or certain types of learning or specific sorts of activity were not made public but taught, transmitted, or created in, by, for limited, select, elect, initiated persons or categories of persons? This secrecy, Dr. Thomas rightly observes (p. 4), involves a claim to special knowledge—of course, for if there is no special knowledge, there is nothing to be kept secret. Therefore, as he also justly remarks, secrecy brings with it issues of epistemology—how were the secrets initially

gained, to whom were they revealed or taught? He could have gone on to look at statements in Second Temple literature about who was worthy of receipt of such secrets, though such a concern is perhaps implicit in his words about “revealed wisdom.” I think it completely appropriate to raise this issue, and to do so on a comparative level, with careful consideration of the sociological and consequent attitudinal implications of such claims. I congratulate Dr. Thomas on highlighting this aspect of the study of the Scrolls, and I would add, of Second Temple Judaism in general.

Next we have “esotericism.” I did not find the category of “esotericism” to be clearly distinguished from “secrecy.” Perhaps it is not, though I got the clear impression that Dr. Thomas (following others—and he quotes Georg Simmel’s apposite remark) regards esotericism as a set of social attitudes or approaches arising from or related to secrecy. Knowledge of secrets leads to a different perception of the world. Reality that has one exoteric meaning, has a different esoteric meaning that is revealed, transmitted by or expressed in the secrets or as the secrets. Then, he introduces the category of religious “mysteries.” *Niglot* and *nistarot* are the objects of some current researches, the results of which will doubtless intersect in interesting ways with Dr. Thomas’ categories.

However, Dr. Thomas also discusses esotericism as if it denotes predominantly what we today would call the occult—and the study of this category on a theoretical plane, we are told, “can help to frame some of the issues encountered in the present essay.” More clarity is needed here. “Sciences” that are occult for modern Western people may have been everyday and non-occult activities in other times and places. For example, in some societies astrology is occult; in others, it is a part of daily life. Words about the transmission of the occult do not differ greatly from statements about the transmission of secrets or about the transmission of the esoteric.

My supposition is that all these categories overlap and certain of them may denote the same phenomena. The words “esoteric,” “mystery,” “secret,” “hidden,” “occult” each evoke different atmospheres and attitudes in us, and perhaps some further consideration might be given to the terms, what they denote and what they imply.

Then Dr. Thomas goes on to discuss various Aramaic texts from Qumran. He has presented a number of aspects of certain texts that relate particularly to the transmission of revealed knowledge or to what Ben-Dov calls “science.” Here he has some interesting things to say and

he manages to focus a number of issues. I cannot see in this section of his paper however, how the categories he explored in the first part of the paper are applied to or illuminate the Qumran texts that he discusses. This may be due, of course, to my own lack of discernment. I imagine that the further clarification of the theoretical categories will help in understanding the actual texts, but this particular task remains for the future.

A final remark on this provocative paper. The use of Aramaic rather than Hebrew is discussed. Why Aramaic? If the texts in Aramaic are on the whole “secret” material, Thomas justly asks, then why? Recent studies of late Hebrew and Aramaic show that the dichotomy between Aramaic and Hebrew speakers is rather artificial. Jonathan Ben-Dov suggests motives for the use of Hebrew; in my remarks on his paper I added some thoughts on this topic. In my view, the matter is still not adequately resolved (and it may never be so). Moreover, I would like to know whether the categories of “secrecy” or “esotericism” relate differently to Aramaic texts from Qumran and to Hebrew texts. I would also like to know whether and how the use of these categories in the Qumran writings differs from its use in other contemporary documents, from the Land of Israel and the Diaspora, and even from Christian and pagan circles. In other words, is esotericism / secrecy in the Qumran Aramaic texts a distinct phenomenon? If not, is there a distortion in discussing it as if it is? Dr. Thomas touches on some aspects of this issue and makes some proposals, but it requires more attention.

This paper raises issues which I myself (and I suppose some others at least) have not considered adequately particularly from a theoretical and comparative viewpoint. This is a substantial contribution to the ongoing struggle to understand the religious world of ancient Judaism.

DISCUSSION

Samuel Thomas: Thank you Professor Stone for your careful and generous reading of my paper, and for the helpful constructive criticism. You have pointed out many things that deserve clarification, though I will respond to just a few of them. First, I did not intend to suggest a strict dichotomy between Hebrew speakers and Aramaic speakers in mid-late Second Temple Palestine—and I concur more or less with the consensus here that multilingualism was probably common, especially among scribal circles. I was trying to ask the question whether for a given text the choice itself (between Aramaic and Hebrew) was significant, whether it could tell us anything about the nature or status of the text. I do not think that we should discuss the “esotericism” of the Aramaic corpus apart from the Hebrew texts, as if the former represents a distinct phenomenon, in part because I take the Aramaic collection to have been assembled by people

who were composing texts in Hebrew yet apparently also continuing to copy Aramaic texts. So my question was really just about whether we can find a way to characterize the Aramaic texts that helps explain both their diversity and their coherence.

Second, everything you said about the slipperiness of my categories is exactly right, and this is something I will work to clarify, especially the difference between “esotericism” as a scholarly, heuristic construct, and the use of secrecy as a socio-political, religious practice. Beyond that, there is an important distinction between these two categories and that of “mystery,” i.e. the claim to receive special knowledge that inherently involves revelation (which itself is bound up in a dynamic of concealment/disclosure, etc.).

Finally, I was worried about how the first half of the paper related to the second half, and while I was writing the paper I had the distinct feeling that I was working on two different projects and struggling to find a way to bring them together. I wanted to set the stage with the theoretical discussion in order to illuminate my reading of the texts, but I agree that the connection between them could have been stronger. [The final revision of the paper reflects my attempt to remedy this situation within the limits of length.]

Moshe Bernstein: Could you say something about the relationship of esotericism at Qumran to the notion of esotericism within the Qumran texts? What do I mean by this? Take a text that we’ve talked about, the *Genesis Apocryphon*, where we know that the word 𐤒 appears very heavily there as well as in the 4Q five hundred texts that have been related to Noah. Can you talk about the relationship of 𐤒 within those texts, the narratives of those texts, the figures of those texts and the notion of esotericism within the community within which those texts were dealt with? Because I think that they are two different issues.

Samuel Thomas: I agree that these are two different issues. Given the available space I was not able to give sufficient attention to this difference, i.e. that esoteric matters portrayed in the Aramaic texts are not identical to or coextensive with esoteric knowledge among the *yahad*. I take the references to “mystery” to indicate a shared interest in esoteric knowledge—which might function for the author(s) of the *Genesis Apocryphon* in ways that are different from what we find in explicitly sectarian texts. Such an interest itself helps to explain why the *yahad* would value these particular texts even if we cannot reconstruct exactly what contribution they made to their store of knowledge. I tried to distinguish between texts that describe the acquisition of special knowledge (e.g. the *Genesis Apocryphon*) and those that may represent the kinds of esoteric knowledge the *yahad* may have put to use (e.g. astronomical, physiognomic, calendrical texts). Of course, there are also texts that combine these functions, like the *Aramaic Levi Document*. In the case of the former, the presentation of special knowledge given to members of an elect line may have been enough to make these texts appealing; the very “discourse” of mystery revelation was clearly an important part of the Qumran library as a whole. The *yahad* may have been able (as we are no longer able) to make a clear distinction between, for example, the Noah and Enoch materials, and “mystery language” likely had different valences in each body of texts—but such language is one of the things that quite a few of the Aramaic narrative texts have in common.

John Collins: I would like to suggest another factor that may have contributed to esotericism. Michael Barkun, who writes about modern apocalyptic groups, talks about “spurned knowledge.” The astronomy of the *Astronomical Book* of Enoch was not cut-

ting edge science in the Hellenistic period, but the fact that it was not widely accepted may have made it all the more important for the authors. Also, the appeal to revelation took matters out of the sphere of debate, where they might not be defensible by scientific standards.

Jonathan Ben-Dov: I don't see any correlation between Sam's categories of "esoteric" and the documents actually concealed using a cryptic script. Most of these documents are not patently "secret." Further research should therefore be taken with regard to the nature of the encrypted texts.

Samuel Thomas: This is a good point, and I agree that we do not sufficiently understand the nature and the use of the cryptic texts. The information they contain is not, as you say, "patently secret" unless we place it in a context of secrecy, i.e. unless we take cues from elsewhere in the Qumran texts that indicate practices of secrecy were in place. More research is needed in this area, though it does seem that Pfann and Kister are correct to state in *DJD XX* that the script of 4Q298 is an Essene esoteric script used for the internal purposes of the community. Even though the content of that text may not appear at first glance to be especially worthy of guarding, the opening lines do insist on the fact that the addressees know something special that sets them apart.

PART V: APOCALYPTICA ET ESCHATOLOGICA

ARAMAICA QUMRANICA APOCALYPTICA?

Florentino García Martínez, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

In her contribution to *Flores Florentino*, Devorah Dimant has published a groundbreaking article entitled “The Qumran Aramaic Texts and the Qumran Community.”¹ In the same *Flores Florentino*, Eibert Tigchelaar has likewise published another groundbreaking article entitled “The Imaginal Context and the Visionary of the *Aramaic New Jerusalem*.”² It seems to me that the best way to express my thanks to these two colleagues and friends for the “flowers” they offered me in San Diego would be to continue their reflections on the topic and develop the thoughts their most stimulating contributions have set in motion.

Dimant’s is the first essay ever to attempt a thematic classification of the corpus of Aramaic writings found at Qumran. She starts from two premises: that the Aramaic texts should be considered a distinct group within the Qumran collection because they have “a particular language, style, and content,” and that “the Aramaic texts contain nothing of the specifically sectarian terminology or ideology, and therefore do not belong with the sectarian literature.”³ I think we all agree with the first of these two premises, but I am not sure that all of us would be willing to put our signature to the second. Even if its first part proves to be true (no sectarian terminology or ideology in the Aramaic texts), the conclusion (“therefore”) does not necessarily follow. Whatever the case, from a thematic perspective Devorah Dimant classifies the corpus in six categories: 1) Works about the Period of the Flood, 2) Works dealing with the History of the Patriarchs, 3) Visionary Compositions, 4) Legendary Narratives and Court-Tales, 5) Astronomy and Magic, and 6) the inevitable *Varia*.⁴

Dimant’s classification is evidently a “thematic” classification, and, as such, it is not without problems. She is forced, for example, to split a

¹ D. 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. A. Hilhorst, E. Puech and E. Tigchelaar; JSJSup 122; Leiden Brill, 2007), 197–205.

² E. Tigchelaar, “The Imaginal Context and the Visionary of the *Aramaic New Jerusalem*,” in *Flores Florentino*, 257–270.

³ Dimant, “The Qumran Aramaic,” 198–199.

⁴ Dimant, *ibid.*, 200–201.

composition (the *Genesis Apocryphon*) in two, because it deals both with the Period of the Flood and with the History of the Patriarchs. Furthermore, although she recognizes that some compositions (*Pseudo-Daniel*, *Four Kingdoms*, and *Apocryphon of Daniel*) are Court-tales like the book of Daniel upon which they are dependent, she places them in the category of “Visionary Compositions.” At the same time, however, she does not place clearly “visionary” compositions like *I Enoch*, Aramaic Levi, or *Visions of Amram* in this category. I am also inclined to think that Émile Puech (DJD editor of both the *Birth of Noah* and the *Apocryphon of Levi*?) would place these compositions in the category of the “Period of the Flood” and the “History of the Patriarchs” respectively because of the identification of the protagonists with Noah and Levi, which Dimant nevertheless rejects as unproved. These problems are less accentuated in the thematic classification proposed in the article by Eibert Tigchelaar.

Tigchelaar’s contribution represents an initial endeavour to specify the “imaginal world” (cf. Henri Corbin) of one Dimant’s “Visionary compositions,” namely the *New Jerusalem*. Tigchelaar does not pretend to give us a taxonomy of the Aramaic texts, as Dimant does, but tries to “assess all the textual and contextual clues that might shed light on the identity of the seer” of *New Jerusalem* (who may be Jacob), and (more importantly) to determine “whether the identity of the seer in a visionary or apocalyptic text is tangential or essential to the imaginal world of the author(s) of the text.”⁵ In an aside, however, Tigchelaar notes that “the Aramaic texts from Qumran only comprise special categories” and that “[t]he vast majority of the Aramaic narrative texts found among the Dead Sea Scrolls belong to two main categories,” namely (1) texts related or ascribed to pre-Mosaic figures, and (2) texts that have an Eastern Diaspora setting, since, with the exception of Daniel, who belongs to a Diaspora setting, “it is remarkable that none of the biblical figures from Moses onwards, through David, and up to the prophets, is connected with Aramaic literature.”⁶ Tigchelaar recognizes that a few Aramaic narrative texts do not fit neatly in either of those two categories, but he thinks that this “dual” division may be useful for dealing with the Aramaic corpus and uses it to identify—with a little more confidence (“as probable”)—the seer of *New Jerusalem*, not with Ezekiel, as proposed by some scholars, but with Jacob, a pre-mosaic Patriarch.

⁵ Tigchelaar, “The Imaginal Context,” 258.

⁶ Tigchelaar, *ibid.*, 261.

Beyond the differences, it is important for the present author that both Tigchelaar and Dimant agree fundamentally on their basic approach, since the latter also recognizes the “pre-mosaic” character of the Aramaic literature as well as the Diaspora context: “[N]o Aramaic work deals systematically and in detail with Moses and Joshua, the period of the Judges, or the kingdoms of Judah and Israel. For that matter, nothing in Aramaic is related to the biblical Prophets. Obviously, in the understanding of the authors of these texts, Hebrew belonged to the sphere of Israelite history proper, whereas Aramaic is relegated to earlier generations.”⁷ Likewise for Dimant “some of the works are set in a Diaspora context,” and “Aramaic was apparently selected as the language of composition precisely because of such a setting, as it was for Dan 2.”⁸

This agreement allows us to give a tentative answer, even at this early stage, to the first of the questions posed to all of us by Katell Berthelot and Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra in their convocation of this meeting: the question of the specificity of the Aramaic texts compared with other Aramaic compositions and with the Hebrew literature found at Qumran.⁹ Although some Hebrew compositions at Qumran deal with “pre-mosaic” protagonists (4QCommentary on Genesis, for example), and we also have some Aramaic works with a Diaspora setting (Aḥiqar) outside Qumran, we can assert that the Aramaic literature found at Qumran is characterized by a predominant interest in “pre-mosaic” protagonists or by a setting in the Diaspora. Dimant’s conclusion: “[b]ut the data already at hand demonstrates the need to consider these texts as a specific group, which requires further detailed investigation along these lines”¹⁰ can be subscribed to without reservation.

In the present author’s opinion, a careful look at the compositions classified by Dimant allows for the discovery of another element of the specificity of the Aramaic texts: namely the apocalyptic character of a disproportionately large number of these compositions when compared both with the rest of the known compositions in Aramaic and with the Hebrew compositions found at Qumran (sectarian or not). Dimant describes her “Visionary Compositions” as “a complex of Aramaic visionary apocalyptic tales” (my emphasis) and notes that “[t]hese texts de-

⁷ Dimant, “The Qumran Aramaic,” 203.

⁸ Dimant, *ibid.*, 204.

⁹ The other two basic questions, which I will try to answer later, are the origin of the Aramaic texts and their function within the collection.

¹⁰ Dimant, “The Qumran Aramaic,” 205.

scribe visionary scenes, often dealing with figures and events of the eschaton.”¹¹ If we take the adjective that Dimant uses in her description (“apocalyptic”) seriously, and draw up a list of the Aramaic compositions from the perspective of their apocalypticism, we can judiciously increase the number of compositions that could be ranked in this category in addition to those placed by Dimant in her third category (the *New Jerusalem*, the *Four Kingdoms*, the so-called *Apocryphon of Daniel*, the *Words of Michael*, the so-called *Birth of Noah*, the so-called *Apocryphon of Levi* (?), and *Pseudo-Daniel*). *1 Enoch*, of course, will have pride of place, but also the *Visions of Amram* and other testamentary compositions, such as *Testament of Jacob* (?) for example, and many other fragmentarily preserved compositions.

I am not claiming for any of those Aramaic compositions from Qumran that they are Apocalypses according to the definition of *Semeia* 14, although several of them definitely are.¹² But the apocalyptic outlook of all these compositions seems to me to be clear. At the same time, I am not pretending that apocalypticism is absent from the Hebrew compositions (sectarian or not) found at Qumran (it is enough to think of the *War Scroll* for the first category or of the *Pseudo-Ezekiel* for the second). The only thing I am claiming is that a disproportionately large number of Aramaic compositions of the collection demonstrate an apocalyptic outlook, and that this (if we are not afraid of apocalypticism) allows us to conclude that a predominant interest in apocalypticism is also a specific characteristic of the Aramaic texts found at Qumran (although we cannot find it, of course, in all Aramaic compositions). In my opinion, this characteristic may help us to provide an answer to the third question.¹³

¹¹ Dimant, *ibid.*, 203.

¹² J. J. Collins, “Apocalypticism and Literary Genre in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (2 vols.; ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 2:403–430.

¹³ In his contribution to the Groningen meeting of last April, Eibert Tigchelaar insisted that the Aramaic texts from Qumran were not only apocalyptic in outlook, but they also could be characterized as different from the Hebrew texts because the Aramaic compositions were mainly narrative in character, and because they explicitly state the way in which revelation is imparted (be it by dreams, visions, otherworldly traveling or angelic intermediaries). This clearly opens a whole series of questions on the literary conventions used by the texts in question and their concrete origins, see E. Tigchelaar, “Aramaic Texts from Qumran and the Authoritativeness of Hebrew Scriptures: Preliminary Observations,” in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism* (ed. M. Popović; JSJSup 141; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 155–171. These questions should also be dealt with in a comprehen-

The answer to the second question put forth by Katell Berthelot and Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, the question of origins (Qumranic or not Qumranic), is more complex and requires a more thorough treatment than is possible here. Albert Baumgarten, when reflecting on the Groningen Hypothesis,¹⁴ has expressed a firm caveat—in the footsteps of Marc Bloch—against the worship of the “idol of origins,” and I think it would be wise to apply his caveat also to the question of the origins of the Aramaic compositions. Nonetheless, I will try in summary form, to express my thoughts on the matter; although, in the last analysis, I think the question is irrelevant and not particularly useful, since for the biggest part of the Aramaic compositions the only context we know is the Qumranic context, the collection in which they were preserved, read and transmitted to us. For this reason, I am tempted to paraphrase the Arab proverb, quoted by Baumgarten: “Men resemble their times more than they do their fathers,” as “Writings resemble their contexts more than they do their origins.” And since the work of Michael Stone, Robert Kraft and Marinus de Jonge (among others) we are well aware of the importance of the context in which a composition has been preserved and transmitted for our understanding of this composition.¹⁵

I think we cannot deal with the question of the origins of the Aramaic compositions in isolation from the more general question of the origins of all the compositions found at Qumran, since (in spite of the illustrious defenders of this position, S. Segert, B. Z. Wacholder, D. Dimant, and many others) I refuse to accept that the simple fact that a composition is written in Aramaic excludes the possibility of it having been written by the people who collected the works that now form the collection of Qumran. There are too many indications of linguistic plurality in the collection that would have to be disregarded in order to sustain such a position. Among them, one should carefully consider the presence of

sive study of the characteristic of the Aramaic texts from Qumran. But for my purpose here, the apocalypticism of most of these compositions is the key characteristic which will allow us to answer the question of their function within the whole collection of manuscripts.

¹⁴ A. I. Baumgarten, “Reflections on the Groningen Hypothesis,” in *Enoch and Qumran Origins. New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2005), 256–262.

¹⁵ See the articles by R. Kraft, M. A. Knibb, D. C. Harlow and C. Böttrich, collected and edited by J. W. van Henten and B. Schaller in the monographic issue of the *Journal for the Study of Judaism*, JSJ 32 (2001): 369–470.

Aramaic in the documentary texts and the influence of Aramaic on the Hebrew of documentary texts (which points to the bilingualism of the writers¹⁶), the influence of Aramaic on the original literary compositions written in Hebrew¹⁷ and the influence of Hebrew on many of the Aramaic compositions,¹⁸ the fact that we have found a Hebrew copy of an Aramaic composition like Tobit together with the Aramaic manuscripts, and that Aramaic translations have been found of books like Job or Leviticus, and even Milik's reference to 4Q232 as an assumed Hebrew copy of the *New Jerusalem* (although I was not able to identify the remains of 4Q232 in the fragments reproduced on PAM 43.368,¹⁹ I cannot exclude that this tiny fragment will show up, as it has done in the Catalogue of Spirits²⁰ discovered by Tigchelaar).²¹ For all these reasons, and though recognizing that all the most characteristic "sectarian" compositions have been written in Hebrew (which implies that Hebrew was the preferred language of the group when penning their own compositions),²² I think that the answer to the question of the sectarian or not sectarian origin of the Aramaic compositions should be put with the same rigor as it is put for each Hebrew composition found at Qumran.

¹⁶ See G. Wilhelm Nebe, "Die hebräische Sprache der Naḥal Ḥever Dokumente 5/6 Ḥev 44–46," in *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* (ed. T. Muraoka and J.F. Elwolde; STDJ 26; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 150–157.

¹⁷ A fact recognized from the beginning and definitively proved by E. Y. Kutscher in *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1959), 19–22 (Hebrew).

¹⁸ See, most recently, C. Stadel, *Hebraïsmen in den aramäischen Texten vom Toten Meer* (Schriften der Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg 11; Heidelberg: Winter, 2008).

¹⁹ See note 27 of F. García Martínez, "The Temple Scroll and the New Jerusalem," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 2:431–460, on pages 445–446.

²⁰ E. J. C. Tigchelaar, "'These Are the Names of the Spirits of...': A Preliminary Edition of 4QCatalogue of Spirits (4Q230) and New Manuscript Evidence for the Two Spirits Treatise (4Q257 and 1Q29a)," *RevQ* 21/84 (2004): 529–547.

²¹ For these and other reasons, Puech prefers to speak of the group's "multilinguisme" rather than "bilinguisme." See E. Puech, "Du bilinguisme à Qumrân?" in *Mosaïque de langues, mosaïque culturelle: le bilinguisme dans le Proche-Orient ancien* (ed. F. Briquel-Chatonnet; Antiquités Sémitiques 1; Paris: J. Maisonneuve, 1996), 171–189.

²² I think this can be accepted without difficulty, and without entering into the problems posed by the hypothesis of Schniedewind, who argues that Qumran Hebrew is an "antilinguage." See W. M. Schniedewind, "Qumran Hebrew as an antilinguage," *JBL* 118 (1997): 235–252, and "Linguistic Ideology in Qumran Hebrew," in *Diggers at the Well* (ed. T. Muraoka and J. F. Elwolde; STDJ 36; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 245–255.

In an article recently published in the *RevQ*, originated as a response to two recent articles (by Dimant and Kugler) that propose to change generally accepted labels of “non-sectarian” to “sectarian” or “in between,”²³ I have dealt with the taxonomic problem we have encountered when classifying a composition (be it Aramaic or Hebrew) as sectarian or non-sectarian.²⁴ Since this article is written in Spanish (and Spanica, like Semitica, non legitur), I summarize its main points here in English.

Devorah Dimant, who greatly contributed to the establishment of the criteria generally used to classify a composition as “sectarian” or “non-sectarian” in a celebrated article of 1995,²⁵ (in the footsteps of another even more famous article by Carol Newsom²⁶), now recognizes the necessity of refining this classification and proposes a new category of writings between the “sectarian and non-sectarian,” particularly regarding the compositions that rework the Bible:

Until now the sectarian character of a given text was recognized by the presence of typical sectarian terminology and ideas. Yet these criteria have proved inapt for accommodating certain works, which lack sectarian characteristic nomenclature and style but embrace notions shared with the sectarian ideology. Since compositions of this type may not be simply defined as either sectarian or non-sectarian, I propose to assign them to a third, intermediate category, between the sectarian literature proper and writings devoid of any connection to the community.²⁷

A careful reading of the case on which Dimant bases her introduction of the new category (the *Apocryphon of Joshua*) and of the other texts she would place on this category (primarily *Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll*, but also other texts like the *Apocryphon of Jeremiah*, the *Words of the*

²³ D. Dimant, “Between Sectarian and Non-Sectarian: The Case of the *Apocryphon of Joshua*,” in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran* (ed. E. G. Chazon, D. Dimant and R. A. Clements; STDJ 58; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 105–134 and R. A. Kugler, “Whose Scripture? Whose Community? Reflections on the Dead Sea Scrolls Then and Now, By Way of Aramaic Levi,” *DSD* 15 (2008): 5–23.

²⁴ F. García Martínez, “¿Sectario, no-sectario, o qué? Problemas de una taxonomía correcta de los textos qumránicos,” *RevQ* 91/23 (2008): 383–394.

²⁵ D. Dimant, “The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance,” in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness* (ed. D. Dimant and L. H. Schiffman; STDJ 16; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 25–58. See now her more detailed article in Hebrew: בין כתבים כתיים במגילות קומראן ומבואות ומחקרים; משאנים כיתיים במגילות קומראן (ed. M. Kister; Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 2009), 1:49–86.

²⁶ C. A. Newsom, “‘Sectually Explicit’ Literature from Qumran,” in *The Hebrew Bible and its Interpreters* (ed. W. H. Propp, B. Halpern and D. N. Freedman; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 167–187.

²⁷ Dimant, “Between Sectarian and Non-Sectarian,” 106.

Luminaries and the like) shows that she is focused on compositions that, in one way or another, rework the biblical text.²⁸

Her example of the *Apocryphon of Joshua* is well chosen. The composition, which does not contain any sectarian expressions, shares a series of ideas with sectarian texts or with texts associated with the Qumran community: a jubilee chronology, the precedence of a priestly officer over a political one, and the pesher technique, and her conclusion can be accepted: “This fact favors the view that the *Apocryphon* [of *Joshua*] belongs to a group of works that share a number of notions with the community, but also evidence perhaps an even wider frame of thought. The *Apocryphon* should therefore be assigned to a different category.”²⁹

That this category should be considered as “in between” is more problematic, since it maintains the basic dichotomy that she considers as insufficient and it uses two reference terms that are not properly defined. But this is not important here. What counts is that all the examples she quotes belong to the “re-written bible” or “parabiblical” type of composition. Equally important, it seems to me, is a detail that Dimant does not mention, namely that the *Apocryphon of Joshua* is recognized as authoritative scripture in a writing that is clearly “sectarian” according to the usual definitions (4Q175 or 4QTestimonia). The same could also be argued with respect to *Jubilees*, a “parabiblical” composition whose authority at Qumran is undisputed and, perhaps, of the *Temple Scroll*. In my opinion, this indicates that the taxonomic problem is not at the level of “sectarian/non-sectarian” but at the more basic level of the categories we use to classify the books that form the collection (“biblical/non-biblical”) and comprises all of them.

Something similar happens with the article of Robert Kugler, which proposes to change the label of an Aramaic composition, the *Aramaic Levi Document*. Kugler is working at a different level from that of Dimant, at the level of the transmission of a composition that is also known in two other contexts, the Cairo Geniza and the Greek transla-

²⁸ “Candidates for such a category are, for instance, the *Temple Scroll* and the *Book of Jubilees*. Both share various elements with the sectarian literature. Indeed, some scholars include both works in the sectarian literature. However, neither *Jubilees* nor the *Temple Scroll* contains any of the features distinctive of the output of the Qumran community; consequently, they cannot be considered equivalent to explicitly sectarian products. Both writings rework the Bible, a fact that may have to do with their specific position between sectarian and non-sectarian texts” (ibid., 106–107).

²⁹ Dimant, “Between Sectarian and Non-Sectarian,” 134.

tion. In this case, we are dealing with a composition written before the floruit of Qumran,³⁰ and generally recognized as “non-sectarian.” Kugler argues, nevertheless, that the Qumranic version has introduced tangible modifications in order to adapt the work to the characteristic thought of the group, that these modifications are typical of the Qumranic version and that, as a consequence, this particular version of *Aramaic Levi* should be considered as substantially distinct from the Aramaic version of the Geniza and from the Greek translation. Above all, Kugler argues that these modifications represent the interest and the redactional practice of the community and allow us to classify the composition in its Qumranic form as a “sectarian” composition:

And as it turns out, these differences not only mark Q Aramaic Levi as different, they also encourage us to consider Q Aramaic Levi among the category of Qumran Scrolls our homogenizing tendencies have led us to overlook. This fresh category, as we will see, might be characterized as works imported into the community and *adapted* (emphasis in the original) for use among the covenants, or ones composed *de novo* within the community from existing texts, traditions and motifs. In either case, such texts, though made from material of non-Qumranic origin, were perhaps nonetheless unique to Qumran. As such they are hitherto unrecognized “sectarian” compositions.³¹

Also in this case, the example chosen seems to me convincing, although the differences that Kugler studies in detail are very minor, not to say minimal. Nonetheless, they indicate the peculiar character of the text attested at Qumran, reinforce the major differences already noted by the editors,³² and make impossible a synoptic reading of the three known versions.

Similarly interesting are the other two examples that Kugler introduces to prove that the change of classification is not an isolated phenomenon, but applies also to other “non-sectarian” compositions (4Q225 and 2Q22, 4Q371–373 the so-called 4QNarrative and Poetic composition). In like fashion to the examples used by Dimant, those adduced by Kugler are also clear examples of “re-written Bible” or “parabiblical” texts, and, as is the case with the *Apocryphon of Joshua*, we can also argue that *Aramaic Levi* was recognized as authoritative scripture in the Qumran context. This brings us back to the question: “biblical/non-biblical”?

³⁰ See the article of M. E. Stone, “Enoch, Aramaic Levi and Sectarian Origins,” *JSJ* 19 (1988): 159–170.

³¹ Kugler, “Whose Scripture? Whose Community?,” 10–11.

³² Summarized by Kugler, *ibid.*, 8–10.

Faced with the proposed changes of labels of these two compositions, one in Hebrew and the other Aramaic, previously considered as “non-sectarian” and now brought into the sphere of the “sectarian” compositions or “in between,” in the article of the *RevQ* I present, as a possible way out of the taxonomic problem, the example of the scholars of the “biblical” texts who recognize that the “Bible” at Qumran is in a process of evolution and formation, a very advanced but not yet completed process, and where the writings recognized as authoritative do not necessarily coincide with posterior confessional canons. As a way out of the problem of defining what is “biblical” and what is “not biblical” or “not yet biblical” posed by the publication of “re-written bible” and “parabiblical” texts,³³ and in order to avoid anachronisms, these scholars refer to the study of the different authority-conferring strategies used in the various writings (“biblical” and “non-biblical”).³⁴

A very recent book by Sidnie White Crawford³⁵ gives us a good summary of the problem and of the most important conclusions achieved so far. In her book, White Crawford focuses on the “rewritten scripture” texts and leaves “parabiblical texts” out of consideration because:

These parabiblical texts seem to have had a variety of purposes, some with a definite theological agenda. While in some cases they may have made a claim to

³³ The bibliography on the topic is very large, starting with my “Las fronteras de lo bíblico” originally published in *Scripta Theologica* 23 (1991): 759–784. For a lucid analysis of the problem see A. Klostergaard Pedersen, “Rewritten Bible as a Borderline Phenomenon—Genre, Textual Strategy, or Canonical Anachronism?,” in *Flores Florentino* (ed. A. Hilhorst, É. Puech and E. Tigchelaar; JSJSup 122; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 285–306. For the latest thoughts of Moshe J. Bernstein on the topic, see his article “What Has Happened to the Laws? The Treatment of Legal Material in 4QReworked Pentateuch,” *DSD* 15 (2008): 24–49 where he underlines the different way of dealing with the legal material of 4Q365+4Q365a as compared with the other manuscripts of 4QRP. For Bernstein, only 4Q364 might eventually be considered as “biblical.”

³⁴ See G. J. Brooke, “Between Authority and Canon: The Significance of Reworking the Bible for Understanding the Canonical Process,” in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran* (ed. E. G. Chazon, D. Dimant and R. A. Clements; STDJ 58; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 85–104. In a recent synthesis, I have attempted to delineate some of the different authority-conferring strategies used in “rewritten scripture” texts, in “non-sectarian” and in “sectarian” compositions. See F. García Martínez, “Rethinking the Bible: Sixty Years of Dead Sea Scrolls Research and Beyond,” in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism* (ed. M. Popović; JSJSup 141; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 19–36.

³⁵ S. White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2008).

authority, their collective status in late Second Temple Judaism is extremely murky.³⁶

But the distinction between these two categories (“rewritten” and “parabiblical”) seems to me more a question of degree than of fundamental difference (and the variations on the classification in one or another category of certain works by the different authors prove my point). I consider the distinction artificial and the result of our incapacity to make abstraction of our own categories when looking at the historical reality that the collection of manuscripts offers us, and consequently consider the distinction also irrelevant. The fact is that the whole collection of manuscripts found at Qumran (with the exception of a few documentary texts) is formed by religious texts (in Hebrew or in Aramaic) whose formation has been influenced by other precedent religious texts considered as more or less authoritative. And this applies to the whole “spectrum of texts” of Sidnie White Crawford³⁷ or the larger sliding scale of George Brooke.³⁸

The two examples from Dimant and from Kugler form part of the “murky” category of “parabiblical” writings (whatever this may mean in the Qumran context), but of both we can reasonably argue that they were considered authoritative by the group of Qumran (were part of their “Bible” in the usual sense). And in both we find the particular line of interpretation that White Crawford discovers in the “rewritten scripture” examples she analyzes (an interpretative written tradition with particular priestly interests, different from that of the proto-pharisaic group), which she qualifies as “priestly-levitical/Essene exegetical tradition.”³⁹ This interpretative line is evident in the *Apocryphon of Joshua* and in the *Aramaic Levi*, and is characteristic of the writings generally accepted as “sectarian”:

³⁶ White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture*, 15.

³⁷ White Crawford, *ibid.*, 13.

³⁸ G. J. Brooke, “The Rewritten Law, Prophets and Psalms: Issues for Understanding the Text of the Bible,” in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (ed. E. D. Herbert and E. Tov; London–New Castle: British Library–Oak Knoll, 2002), 31–40, at 36: “This sliding scale approach prevents us from applying the anachronistic labels of scriptural or non scriptural too quickly to manuscript evidence which is so obviously replete with variety, pluralism, multiple editions of books and a range of secondary compositions.”

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 15 and 146.

The group at Qumran developed from this priestly-levitical/Essene interpretative line a more stringent set of theological emphases, including a more pronounced dualism, end-time eschatology, and a distinct set of sectarian terms.⁴⁰

Curiously enough, the elements White Crawford underlines here are precisely the elements generally used to determine the “sectarian” or “non-sectarian” character of a composition, be it Aramaic or Hebrew. And if the group at Qumran has developed these characteristics under the influence of already extant Hebrew and Aramaic writings (both “Biblical” and “non-biblical”), this means that these writings had been appropriated by the group, and the question of their origin is no longer relevant. Consequently, in the *RevQ* article, I suggest that we abandon the effort to classify the manuscripts as “biblical/non-biblical” and “sectarian/non-sectarian” and look at the whole as a collection of religious writings more or less authoritative for the group that collected them, preserved them, and in certain cases, wrote them. Since the evidence preserved is essentially circumstantial and fragmentary, we may not be able to determine the level of authority of a certain composition in each instance, but we will certainly avoid unnecessary problems that arise from looking at the evidence from a perspective that is certainly different from that in which the writings in question were created, copied and read.

In the last analysis, my answer to the second question is that it is irrelevant and not particularly useful, since the only context we have for most of the Aramaic compositions is the context provided by the collection in which they have been found.⁴¹

I think I can be short (and more assertive) in my answer to the third question, that of the function of the Aramaic compositions (particularly those of the third category described by Dimant, or the enlarged category I suggest of “apocalyptic writings”) within the manuscript collection

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 147.

⁴¹ In a sharp and lucid (as usual) comment to this draft, Eibert Tigchelaar has noted that what I intend to do, more “than finding a way out of the taxonomic problem,” is to find “a way around the taxonomic problem,” and has suggested that it might be more fruitful to try to order clusters of related texts. I think this suggestion is worth pursuing (and the six categories of Devorah Dimant form a starting point), provided that we also include a composition such Daniel (partially written in Aramaic) under the category of “apocalyptic” compositions.

from Qumran, since the question of origins is independent of the question of the function and use. The Aramaic “apocalyptic” compositions, both those known outside the collection and those only known because they have been found there, have so profoundly shaped the group of Qumran that we can define it as an “apocalyptic community.”

In his beautiful contribution to the Groningen symposium of last April,⁴² George Brooke analyzed the influence of Rewriting Scripture on the formation of the community, concluding that what is needed is a “matrix of mantic wisdom and interpretative role of the priest, with the prophetic, needs to be juxtaposed with ‘parabiblical’ and scribal activity.” This neatly ties in with the two examples by Dimant and Kugler I have been discussing without regard to their labelling, because, if anything, the Qumran community is a scriptural community.

Nobody really bothers about the origins (for example) of Deuteronomy, or of Isaiah, or of the Psalms (assuming that such origins could be determined), when dealing with the influence of the said books on the clearly sectarian writings from Qumran. What counts is the way these books inspired and modelled the thinking of the people who collected the many manuscripts of Deuteronomy, Isaiah or Psalms found at Qumran, how these books were rewritten and interpreted by them, how the ideas of these books informed and inspired their own writings, and how they helped them to live their lives. And I think the same can be said of the Aramaic compositions, some of them present in many copies in the collection, because the group to which we owe the collection appropriated the contents of these Aramaic compositions in a fashion similar to the way they appropriated the contents of all the other religious literature they preserved. And since apocalypticism is one of the characteristic elements of many of the Aramaic compositions (not to say of the Aramaic compositions as a whole), I think we can assert that the apocalyptic outlook and the apocalyptic world view of the Qumran group was informed by these writings.

These Aramaic compositions were part and parcel of the religious literature of the time. Their presence in the collection from Qumran shows us that this religious literature deeply influenced the thinking of the group (as they deeply influenced the thinking of another group, Christianity, to which we owe the preservation in translation of several

⁴² G. J. Brooke, “The Apocalyptic Community, the Matrix of the Teacher and Rewriting Scripture,” in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism* (ed. M. Popović; JSJSup 141; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 37–53.

of them). The fact that this Aramaic literature was left out of later rabbinic Judaism—and not because it was written in Aramaic—needs to be explained. But that is another story.

RESPONSE: KATELL BERTHELOT

First, I wish to thank Florentino García Martínez for making a special effort to address the three main questions that were asked in the call for papers, namely: 1) the question of the specificity of the Aramaic texts compared both with other Aramaic compositions outside Qumran and with the Hebrew literature found at Qumran; 2) the question of the origin of these texts; 3) the question of their role or function within the Qumran library.

As far as the first question is concerned, García Martínez adds a new characteristic to those already underlined by Devorah Dimant and Eibert Tigchelaar. He correctly notices “the apocalyptic character of a disproportionately large number of these compositions when compared both with the rest of the known compositions in Aramaic and with the Hebrew compositions found at Qumran (sectarian or not).” He is also correct, in my view, to include into the group of “apocalyptic compositions” texts which may not belong to this group in terms of literary genres, but which “show an apocalyptic outlook.”

Concerning the second question, García Martínez understands it as being equivalent to that of “sectarian” versus “non-sectarian” origin. He basically considers the question irrelevant, since the context in which these books were transmitted—in this case, the Qumran library—is ultimately more important than the context in which they were elaborated and produced. However, the question of origins may have more to do with the cultural and literary connections with Mesopotamia or Babylon than with the issue of sectarian literature. And the paper of André Lemaire shows that this is a relevant question to ask.

Moreover, in the following pages of his paper, García Martínez himself tends to consider the Aramaic texts as having come from outside. This is particularly clear when he compares the influence of the Aramaic texts upon the “sectarian” writings from Qumran with that of biblical books such as Deuteronomy, Isaiah and Psalms (p. 12), whose non-sectarian origin nobody doubts.

Now, concerning this issue of sectarian versus non-sectarian and biblical versus non-biblical literature, I am not sure that I can follow García Martínez in his attempt to shift the focus and to replace this question

with that of the degree of authority hold by the texts, no matter whether they are considered Bible, “rewritten Bible” or “parabiblical literature.”

According to García Martínez, the way Deuteronomy, Isaiah or Psalms were rewritten and interpreted in the sectarian writings from Qumran and the way the Aramaic compositions were appropriated by the people behind the Qumran collection, are similar. But apart from a few exceptions, no Aramaic text is quoted in a sectarian text from Qumran, even less commented upon in a *peshet*-like commentary. Since the texts are everything we have, these discrepancies must be acknowledged. It seems to me that we are back to the differences between 2 groups: most of the biblical texts (plus a few others), on the one hand; non-biblical texts, to which a few biblical texts may indeed be added, on the other hand.

It is also difficult to focus exclusively on the question of the use of a text in a given context, and to disregard the question of the original redactional milieu; especially when one does not know how the Aramaic texts were used within the communities linked to the Qumran collection: Were these texts studied alongside biblical texts, for instance? Or studied as a kind of esoteric knowledge reserved to some initiates? Or, on the contrary, were some of them read as simply entertaining? Were they used in the context of specific feasts? etc.

In the end, my impression is that we lack fundamental elements to draw any firm conclusions about the use that was made of these texts within the community/ies linked to the scrolls, apart from a very general statement that they were read and valued. I also suppose that the importance and the authority granted to them varied to some significant extent, depending on the very nature of the text. *I Enoch* may have been very authoritative, whereas the Aramaic Proverbs were perhaps considered a good reading, but with much less authority.

This being said, the questions raised by García Martínez in this highly stimulating paper need further research. He is also fundamentally right in concluding that the presence of the Aramaic texts highlights the deep interest in apocalyptic revelations and eschatological speculations within the Qumran group(s), and that these texts probably influenced the apocalyptic worldview of the people belonging to these circles.

DISCUSSION

Florentino García Martínez: But if we agree that the apocalyptic outlook of the group that collected the manuscripts has been formed by Aramaic compositions preserved in the collection, in a similar way as to its Torah centrism has been formed say by Deute-

ronomy, I see no reason to privilege one characteristic over the other. And if we agree that the composition quoted as authoritative in 4QTestimonia is not the “biblical” book of Joshua but the *Apocryphon of Joshua*, its rewriting, I see no reason to privilege the one over the other.

It is totally true that we lack fundamental elements to draw any firm conclusions about the use and authority of many of the compositions found in the collection; but the same happens when we try to draw firm conclusion about the origin both of the so-called “biblical” and of the so-called “non biblical” compositions. And many of the compositions of both categories, in Hebrew and in Aramaic, were probably no more than “a good reading.” And that is precisely my main point: the only thing we are certain is the context on which all these manuscripts have been found, this tells us that they were read and valued and were influential in forming new compositions by the group who read and valued all of them. This is perhaps not much, but it is something, and it may help us to start asking the right historical questions to the collection as a whole.

Jörg Frey: If you want to reconstruct only the function of the texts within the entire library, this might be an interesting perspective. I do not really know whether you also read all the books of the Leuven library together at the same time. What I want to say is: Such a synchronic reading is also a mere construction, which, admittedly, avoids some of the impasses of the historical or diachronic approaches. On the other hand, we can simply not abandon such an approach and limit ourselves to a merely synchronic perspective, if we are interested in the history of the myth of the fall of the watchers or in the history of belief in resurrection and other issues of historical development. So we must locate the texts in space and time, even before the collection of the writings within the whole of the library.

Florentino García Martínez: It is precisely because I am interested in understanding the collection historically, trying to see it with the eyes of the people who collected all the manuscripts we have recovered and who composed some of them, that I propose a synchronic perspective. Because I am convinced that the formulation of the so-called “sectarian” texts has been deeply influenced not only by the so-called “biblical” texts but by all later developments attested in the so-called “non biblical non sectarian” texts. Of course, in the same way that some of the so-called “biblical” texts have been much more influential than others of the same category in the forming of the developments attested by the so-called “sectarian” texts, some of the so-called “non biblical non sectarian” texts have been much more influential than others of the same category in shaping the thoughts of the group that collected the manuscripts and wrote some of them.

Michael Stone: Note the recent article by Rob Kugler in *DSD* you cited. Kugler is right that manuscripts may be influenced by the context in which they are copied, however, his examples that attempt to show Essene influence on certain copies of *Aramaic Levi Document* from Qumran do not hold water.

Florentino García Martínez: Yes, I agree that the examples Kugler deals with are not particularly convincing (I qualified them as “minimal,”), but these examples reinforce the major differences that you noticed in the edition of the Qumran fragments and the peculiarity of the Qumran version of the *Aramaic Levi Document*.

APOCALYPTICISM AND THE ARAMAIC TEXTS FROM QUMRAN

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The year 1979 was a milestone in the study of ancient apocalypticism, beginning with the Uppsala conference on apocalypticism in the Mediterranean world and the Near East.¹ The massive scope of its published proceedings, which appeared four years later, demonstrated the extent to which apocalypticism had been a widespread phenomenon in antiquity.² Thereafter, no serious biblical scholar could argue that apocalypticism had been a socially marginal worldview whose only noteworthy literary exemplars are the biblical books of Daniel and Revelation.³ The Uppsala conference additionally established that apocalypticism and apocalyptic literature, along with their social settings and functions, were more heterogeneous than previously imagined. Among other things, these disclosures dispelled the optimistic “pan-Qumranism” that had characterised scholarship in the three decades after the discovery of the Dead Sea caves, whereby it was hoped that the Scrolls might offer “the expected master key to unlock the secrets of apocalypticism.”⁴

¹ Research for this paper has been funded by 2005–2008 and 2008–2011 Research Grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. It is based on earlier studies, including “4QPseudo-Daniel^{a-b} (4Q243–4Q244) and the Book of Daniel,” *DSD* 12 (2005): 101–133, and “History and Apocalyptic Eschatology: A Reply to J. Y. Jindo,” *VT* 56 (2006): 413–418, and reflects ideas that appear in “Apocalypses and Apocalypticism. III. Judaism. a. Second Temple and Hellenistic Judaism. b. Rabbinic and Medieval Judaism,” *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception* 2 (ed. H.-J. Klauck, B. McGinn, et al.; Berlin–New York: Walter De Gruyter), cols. 325–327, and *The Architecture of Apocalypticism*, forthcoming from Oxford University Press. My thanks to Katell Berthelot and Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra for their gracious invitation to Aix-en-Provence to participate in the colloquium.

² *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12–17, 1979* (2nd ed.; ed. D. Hellholm; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989).

³ Although surprising now, this position is representative of much post-1914 scholarship, and still predominates even among the most insightful authorities of modern apocalypticism who discuss its ancient antecedents (e.g., J. Gray, *Black Mass: Apocalyptic Religion and the Death of Utopia* [New York: Farrar Straus and Giroux, 2007]). For scholars of biblical and related literature, however, the year 1979 represents the culmination of an academic re-evaluation of apocalypses and apocalypticism that began in the late 1960s.

⁴ F. García Martínez, “Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism, Volume 1: The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity* (ed. J. J. Collins; London–New York: Continuum, 1998), 162–192; reprinted in *Qumra-*

1979 also witnessed the publication of the findings of the SBL Genres Project in *Semeia* 14.⁵ If the Uppsala conference expanded the conceptual universe of ancient apocalypticism, the SBL group brought rigour to its investigation, which had been retarded by a terminology that was unable to reflect the complexity of the evidence or serve as a basis for its scientific study. Under the direction of John J. Collins, the SBL group recommended the abolition of the category “apocalyptic” in its nominal forms, and, building on a template employed by Paul D. Hanson,⁶ proposed a tripartite taxonomy which distinguished the worldview from the eschatology and the literary genre. It also identified the two basic types of apocalypses, otherworldly and historical.

It is difficult to overestimate the impact of the SBL taxonomy. Since its appearance, it has anchored nearly all the advanced research on ancient apocalypses and apocalypticism. Moreover, as with any effective taxonomy, the relationships it proposes have governed our conceptions of the subject. Yet it is unrealistic to assume that *Semeia* 14 or the Uppsala volume addressed every issue satisfactorily, or that in the three decades since 1979 further reflection and fresh evidence have not prompted a reconsideration of major aspects of our understanding of apocalypticism. For example, the Uppsala conference dissolved without firm consensus on the principal definitions. As a result, although the volume’s contributions exponentially multiplied the avenues by which apocalypses and related phenomena might be approached, and remain the point of departure for virtually every topic within the compass of the investigation, they lack a central orientation and are to no small extent mutually irreconcilable.

As for the SBL taxonomy, it has not been universally accepted, despite its proven heuristic utility and the inability of the protean category

nica minora I: Qumran Origins and Apocalypticism (ed. E. J. C. Tigchelaar; STDJ 63; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 195–226.

⁵ *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre* (ed. J. J. Collins; *Semeia* 14; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1979). Cf. idem, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids, Mich.: W. B. Eerdmans, 1998), esp. 1–42.

⁶ P. D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology* (2nd ed.; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979); idem, “Apocalypse, Genre,” and “Apocalypticism,” in *Interpreters Dictionary of the Bible, Supplementary Volume* (ed. K. Crim; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1976), 27–34. Cf. also the influential essay by M. E. Stone, “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. F. M. Cross, et al.; New York: Doubleday, 1976), 414–452.

“apocalyptic” to describe the ancient evidence (a handicap which has not prevented its continued use, particularly in New Testament scholarship). Some authorities have argued that apocalypse is better understood as a sub-genus of prophecy or, broader still, divinitory or revelatory literature.⁷ However, as we shall see, such arguments overlook the genre’s unique qualities and the worldview’s distinctive axioms. Another, more substantial objection was that the taxonomy neglected to account for the elements of function and social setting. Although two definitions of the genre’s function were later included in *Semeia* 36, neither is altogether satisfactory,⁸ and any review of the recent research will indicate that the issue remains unresolved.

Most significantly, by establishing the genre as the locus of research, the SBL group made it the touchstone by which the other phenomena were defined, and thus created an implicit division between apocalypses and other forms of apocalyptic literature. While reasonable in light of the taxonomical morass in which the discipline was mired at the time, this decision has had unforeseen consequences. For instance, the automatic assumption of the paramount importance of generic identity has not always benefited the examination of mixed-genre works such as the Revelation of John.⁹ The primacy accorded to the genre also precipitated minimalist definitions of apocalypticism as, e.g., the worldview of movements that share the conceptual framework of the apocalypses.

⁷ Among the recent of several arguments to this effect is L. L. Grabbe, “Introduction and Overview,” in *Knowing the End from the Beginning: The Prophetic, the Apocalyptic and Their Relationships* (ed. L. L. Grabbe and R. D. Haak; JSPSup 46; London–New York: T. & T. Clark, 2003), 1–42.

⁸ D. Hellholm argues that apocalypses were “intended for a group in crisis with the purpose of exhortation and/or consolation by means of divine authority” (“The Problem of Apocalyptic Genre and the Apocalypse of John,” *Early Christian Apocalypticism. Genre and Social Setting* [ed. A. Yarbro Collins; *Semeia* 36; Decatur, GA, 1986], 13–64 at 27), but see Collins’s criticism (*Apocalyptic Imagination*, 41). A. Yarbro Collins’s proposal is better: an apocalypse “is intended to interpret present, earthly circumstances in light of the supernatural world and of the future, and to influence both the understanding and the behavior of the audience by means of divine authority (“Introduction: Early Christian Apocalypticism,” 1–12 at 7). Ultimately, though, this definition may be applied equally to much prophetic literature, ancient, mediaeval, or modern.

⁹ Exceptions abound, however; cf. A. Yarbro Collins, *Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1984); D. A. Aune, “The Apocalypse of John and the Problem of Genre,” *Semeia* 36 (1986): 65–96; and D. L. Barr, “Beyond Genre: The Expectations of Apocalypse,” in *The Reality of Apocalypse: Rhetoric and Politics in the Book of Revelation* (ed. D. L. Barr; SBLSS 39; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2006), 71–89.

This is a tautology, which, while appropriate as a categorical description, is not a testable scientific explanation. As a result, the study of apocalypticism has been largely unable to progress past the cartographic stage; i.e., the identification and mapping of its characteristic features.¹⁰ Paradoxically, the study of apocalyptic literature and movements conducted over the same period has benefited from an interdisciplinary examination extending across the ancient, mediaeval, and modern periods, and incorporating sociological, philosophical, and literary-critical research. Its results indicate that the focus of future investigation (but not its starting-point) should shift to the worldview, since both apocalyptic literature and eschatology devolve from apocalypticism, a hierarchy which any modification of the taxonomy must reflect.

These and other considerations suggest that the time has come for a new general theory of apocalypticism.¹¹ I have formulated this theory with three objectives in mind.

The first objective is to clarify the worldview's affiliations with the other major phenomena (genre, eschatology, social settings, functions, and language) in a manner that builds upon the clear heuristic advantages of the SBL taxonomy yet is sensitive to the advances of the past three decades.

The second objective is to illuminate apocalypticism integrally, as a philosophy of human existence. This will permit us to appreciate the worldview at a more profound level than as a constellation of typical themes, emblematic motifs, or shared milieux. In epistemological terms, what does apocalypticism purport to do, and why does it do it? These questions cannot be wholly answered by outlining the key components

¹⁰ Not so the important paper by J. J. Collins, "Wisdom, Apocalypticism, and Generic Compatibility," *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John C. Gammie* (ed. L. G. Perdue, et al.; Louisville: Westminster–John Knox Press, 1993), 165–185.

¹¹ See further, DiTommaso, *Architecture of Apocalypticism*.

of ancient apocalyptic literature,¹² any more than one can entirely grasp the meaning and purpose of fascism by discussing its major motifs.¹³

The third objective is to explain apocalypticism in all its manifestations. Biblical scholars might be surprised to discover that the notions of apocalypses and apocalypticism with which they basically agree become markedly less relevant the farther one moves away from the study of early Judaism and Christianity. The simplest (but the not only) explanation is that apocalyptic phenomena have evolved since antiquity,¹⁴ to the point that contemporary “apocalyptic,”¹⁵ as it is presently articulated, freights a set of assumptions only partially correspondent to that which biblical scholars hold to be true.¹⁶ To some degree, this objective is achieved by the realisation of the other two objectives; describing the worldview in the manner specified allows it to be utilised as the baseline referent in all cases. But the fulfillment of the objective also demands that we envision the worldview as a historically dynamic process. It is not enough merely to gather data on two millennia of apocalypticism. We require plausible mechanisms which will account for its ancient origins as well as its major evolutionary trends, including the temporary disappearance of historical apocalypses in late antiquity, the rise of mediaeval millenarianism, the emergence of modern secular apocalypti

¹² The cartographic approach can also result in misleading diagnoses: “Although the secrets which are revealed in the Apocalypse [of John] are largely concerned with future hope, its outlook is at one with the mystical literature of Judaism. Its angelology, heavenly voices and preoccupation with the hidden are precisely what we find in the mystical literature” (C. Rowland, “Apocalypse, Prophecy and the New Testament,” in *Knowing the End from the Beginning*, 149–166, at 149). Although the relationship between apocalypticism and mysticism in ancient and mediaeval Judaism remains to be described satisfactorily, a taxonomy that is unable to distinguish between them is likely to be of limited utility.

¹³ R. O. Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism* (New York: Knopf, 2004).

¹⁴ On genres generally, see A. Fowler, “The Life and Death of Literary Forms,” *New Literary History* 2 (1971): 199–216, and, recently, W. C. Dimock, “Introduction: Genres as Fields of Knowledge,” and S. Owen, “Genres in Motion,” *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 122 (2007): 1377–1388 and 1389–1393.

¹⁵ The use of this designation remains common among scholars of modern and contemporary apocalypticism, who also rarely distinguish between the ideology and its forms (literary or otherwise).

¹⁶ Cf., among others, *Postmodern Apocalypse: Theory and Cultural Practice at the End* (ed. R. Dellamora; Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), *Millennium, Messiahs, and Mayhem: Contemporary Apocalyptic Movements* (ed. T. Robbins and S. J. Palmer; New York–London: Routledge, 1997), and *War in Heaven/Heaven on Earth: Theories of the Apocalyptic* (ed. S. D. O’Leary and G. S. McGhee; London–Oakville, CT: Equinox, 2005).

cism, and, over the past decades, the global renaissance of traditional apocalypticism.

That being said, I am convinced that any general theory of apocalypticism must initiate from the study of its genesis and development in antiquity, for reasons which, in part, will be made clear below. It is by revealing the need for such a theory, and also in fulfilling certain of its main objectives, that the Aramaic apocalyptic texts from Qumran have made a signal contribution.¹⁷

Of the ninety-odd Aramaic manuscripts recovered from the Dead Sea caves that contain literary compositions sufficiently preserved to warrant identification, approximately two-thirds contain portions of either formal apocalypses or texts that are otherwise constitutionally informed by the fundamental axioms of apocalypticism. Particularly well-represented among the corpus are texts attributed to or associated with Enoch, Daniel, Abraham, Levi, and Noah. In total, twenty-three apocalyphtica (sixteen previously unknown) are preserved among sixty-two Aramaic manuscripts.¹⁸ It goes without saying that these texts have added appreciably to the corpus of early Jewish apocalyptic literature, and in their number and diversity underscore the extent to which apocalyptic literature, and particularly the literature composed in Aramaic, was a feature in Judaism of the Hellenistic and Roman centuries. “The study of the Qumran manuscripts,” F. García Martínez once observed, “has completely transformed the way in which we nowadays understand the most ancient apocalypses, those composed within the Enochic tradition, has had a profound effect on the study of the origin and the development of the apocalypse of Daniel and has indicated a number of new factors demonstrating the variety and ideological richness of the apocalypses written within, or transmitted by, the Qumran community itself.”¹⁹

Yet, to the best of our knowledge, six centuries of Second Temple Judaism produced fewer than twenty apocalypses. Collins records fifteen examples,²⁰ a tally that the Aramaic Scrolls have barely augmented with

¹⁷ In what follows, it is not always appropriate to segregate the Aramaic apocalyphtica from those composed in Hebrew.

¹⁸ This figure records the Enochic booklets separately. See the Appendix to this paper.

¹⁹ *Qumran and Apocalyptic* (STDJ 9; Leiden: Brill, 1992), xi. Cf. idem, “Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 164.

²⁰ Historical apocalypses: Daniel, *Jubilees* (a “borderline case” [83]), the *Animal Apocalypse*, the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, 4 *Ezra*, and 2 *Baruch*; otherworldly apocalypses:

the *New Jerusalem* text (1Q32, 2Q24, 4Q554, 4Q554a, 4Q555, 5Q15, and 11Q18) and possibly 4QPseudo-Daniel^{a-b} (4Q243–244). Lists that depend on other definitions of “apocalypse” will differ slightly, and thereby might embrace Aramaic writings like 4Q246.

One of the more salient features about the Aramaic apocalypica from Qumran, then, is that most are not apocalypses at all. Of course, it is generally held that all Aramaic texts are non-sectarian in origin, but none of the newly discovered Hebrew apocalypica from Qumran is an apocalypse, either. Instead, considering both corpora together, the overwhelming majority consist of apocalyptic texts of different genres. If we extend our survey of Jewish and Christian apocalypica beyond Bar Kokhba, we would find that the ratio of apocalypses to other forms of apocalyptic literature decreases the deeper we move into the early mediaeval centuries and the High Middle Ages. This is a consequence of the historical evolution of the genre, which in itself is tied to the evolution of the worldview (and the subject for another debate). The point is that at no historical period of any *longue durée* did the majority of apocalypica—Jewish, Christian, or Islamic—consist of the formal examples of the genre.

The issue of genre, however, is more complicated than might first appear. As with everything related to apocalypticism, it manifests itself on two levels: the evidence and its interpretation. On the one hand, the lack of apocalypses among the Scrolls—besides texts like Daniel and the early Enoch booklets—has not escaped the attention of scholars. Many still assume that this fact is intrinsically important. More balanced is Collins’s observation that while none of the major sectarian compositions is in the form of an apocalypse, Qumran was, with qualifications, an apocalyptic movement.²¹ In other words, the dearth of examples of the genre is unimportant, given that there are other criteria by which we

the *Astronomical Book*, the *Book of the Watchers*, the *Similitudes of Enoch*, the *Testament of Levi* 2–5, 2 *Enoch*, the *Testament of Abraham*, 3 *Baruch*, and the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*; with the *Apocalypse of Abraham* forming a mixed type (*Apocalyptic Imagination*, 7).

²¹ Cf. J. J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London–New York: Routledge, 1997), 10, following from his earlier essay, “Was the Dead Sea Sect an Apocalyptic Movement?,” in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L. H. Schiffman; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 25–51. I use the singular “Qumran movement” or “group” in light of a distinctive Qumran apocalypticism (see below), and not to insist on the unlikely hypothesis that there was a single, monolithic community that endured for two centuries.

judge a movement “apocalyptic” or not. Similarly, in her essay on apocalyptic texts at Qumran, D. Dimant correctly perceives that “even if not every Aramaic text constitutes a real apocalypse, all are relevant to the discussion of the apocalyptic literature.”²² It also is worth mentioning that if apocalypses become rarer the farther one moves into late antique and mediaeval centuries, then we risk overlooking the majority of the relevant literary evidence if we restrict our investigation to apocalypses alone.

Yet we cannot discard the genre. Derivative sub-types exist in medieval and modern literature, the identification of which is contingent upon a concrete and defensible definition of the parent form. More importantly, although the distinction between apocalypses and apocalypticica detracts from the proper appreciation of the worldview in post-biblical periods, the study of ancient apocalypticism must initiate with the isolation of the literary genre as an organic phenomenon. Its formal elements represent the fullest literary manifestations of the worldview’s idiosyncratic theological axioms, and thus distinguish it from the intellectual contexts from which it evolved, and against which it was occasionally in tension (cf. Qoh 3:10–22;²³ Sir 16:17–23, 34:1–8).

The Aramaic Daniel apocalypticica from Qumran have shed new light on the early development of the genre and the worldview.²⁴ Fragments from eight manuscript copies of the book of Daniel were discovered among the Scrolls, five of which contain text from its Aramaic sections.²⁵ Remarkably, the earliest copy, 4QDan^c (4Q114), is perhaps no

²² D. Dimant, “Apocalyptic Texts at Qumran,” in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. Ulrich and J. C. VanderKam; CJAS 10; Notre Dame: University of Notre-Dame Press, 1994), 175–191 at 180.

²³ L. Perdue, “Wisdom and Apocalyptic: The Case of Qoheleth,” in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (ed. F. Garcia Martínez; BETL 168; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003), 231–258, esp. 252–257.

²⁴ Another example is the *Aramaic Levi Document*, which contains elements that appear, in more developed form, either in apocalyptic literature on which it likely had a direct influence, such as the *Testament of Levi* in the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*, or in later apocalypticica in general. If the *Aramaic Levi Document* dates from the third century or very early second century BCE (so J. C. Greenfield, M. E. Stone, and E. Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary* [SVTP 19; Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2004], 19), then the blending of cosmological (Levi’s Vision) and ethical (Levi’s Teaching) branches of the sapiential apocalypticism occurred relatively early in the history of the worldview.

²⁵ D. Barthélemy, “71. Daniel (premier exemplaire)” et “72. Daniel (second exemplaire),” in *Qumran Cave I* (ed. D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik; DJD 1; Oxford: Claren-

more than a generation or two removed from the final redaction of the book in 164 BCE. The eight manuscript copies corroborate the antiquity of the Massoretic form of Daniel in its sequence of languages, order of material, and basic consonantal framework.²⁶

The relative textual stability of MT Daniel draws attention to the convoluted history of its formation, which, while still incompletely understood, has been illuminated in some measure by the discovery of several fragmentary Aramaic “Pseudo-Daniel” writings from Cave 4.²⁷ The Aramaic *Prayer of Nabonidus* (4Q242), for instance, has enhanced our knowledge of the old tradition standing behind the variant stories of Nebuchadnezzar’s madness that are preserved in MT, OG, and ʔ Daniel 4.

However, the central issue regarding the formation of MT Daniel is the process by which four, first-person, and apparently *sui generis* apocalyptic visions ascribed to Daniel were written and subsequently grafted onto a pre-existing compilation of third-person court tales about Daniel and his world. Here again the Pseudo-Daniel fragments are informative, in particular 4QPseudo-Daniel^{a-b} (4Q243–244), an Aramaic text that displays both surface similarities as well as profound dissimilarities with the book of Daniel.²⁸ On the one hand, 4Q243–244 shares with its biblical analogue a setting in the Babylonian court and elements consistent with the genres of court tale and revelatory vision. On the other hand, the revelation of 4Q243–244 is recounted in the third person rather than in the first person, and its data are not disclosed in cryptic or allusive language. These distinctions are not merely cosmetic but point

don Press, 1955), 150–152 (sans planches); M. Baillet, “7. Daniel,” in *Les ‘petites grottes’ de Qumrân. Exploration de la falaise. Les grottes 2Q, 3Q, 5Q, 6Q, 7Q, à 10Q. Le rouleau de cuivre* (ed. M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux; DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 1:114–116 + 2, planche xxiii; and E. Ulrich, “112–116. 4QDan^{a-c},” in *Qumran Cave 4.XI: Psalms to Chronicles* (ed. E. Ulrich; DJD 16; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 239–289 + plates xxix–xxxviii.

²⁶ Nothing has been recovered from Qumran or other sites in the Judaean desert of any of the “Additions to Daniel” which, in translation, are part of the ancient Greek witnesses to the biblical book. 4QDanSuz? ar (4Q551) involves an unnamed judicial figure amid a court setting. It is possibly an Aramaic tale related to the story of Susanna that in a later incarnation found its way into one stream of the biblical Daniel tradition.

²⁷ J. J. Collins, “242. 4QPrayer of Nabonidus ar,” in *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (consulting ed. J. C. VanderKam; DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 83–93 + plate vi; J. J. Collins and P. W. Flint, “243–245. 4Qpseudo-Daniel^{a-c} ar,” 95–164 + plates vii–x; and É. Puech, “246. 4QApocryphe de Daniel ar,” 165–184 + planche xi.

²⁸ See Collins and Flint, DJD 22.

instead to an axiomatic divergence in worldview. Indeed, the Deuteronomic theology of history of 4Q243–244 is wholly unlike the theology of history of MT Daniel. Encompassing the pre-exilic period, its selection of past events seems designed to highlight the covenantal relationship between God and Israel and its historical consequences. In contrast, the historical reviews of Daniel 7–12 focus exclusively on post-exilic events and are consistently universal in their scope. Moreover, each review in Daniel is structured by a historiography which, while affirming God’s ultimate control of events, downplays divine reciprocity within the bounds of history.

In conjunction with other evidence, these features suggest that 4Q243–244 antedates the final form of MT Daniel, and that its worldview represents an earlier stage in the development of early Jewish apocalypticism. Despite the late date of its redaction, the book of Daniel was promptly accepted as authoritative, and thereafter in its constitution and concerns set the basic pattern for historical apocalypses that was reproduced in all subsequent examples. It is difficult to imagine a situation where an apocalyptic text such as 4Q243–244, attributed to Daniel but dissimilar to it in so many critical details, would have been composed in light of an authoritative book of Daniel. It is less difficult, though, to envision the opposite scenario, and in fact the evidence already exists. To summarise an argument presented elsewhere,²⁹ the historiography of MT Daniel was likely formulated as an alternative to the Deuteronomic worldview, and possibly as a response to 4Q243–244.³⁰ As Collins first recognised,³¹ the Deuteronomic theology of the prayer of Daniel 9:4b–19 differs strikingly from the historiography that concludes the chapter and informs the rest of the book.³² The interpretation of the prayer (9:24–27) is the key to its new meaning in the context of MT Daniel, deliberately rejecting, as it does, the Deuteronomic theol-

²⁹ DiTommaso, “4QPseudo-Daniel^{a-b} (4Q243–4Q244).”

³⁰ The rejection of the Deuteronomic theology of history in Daniel 9 may be deduced from the internal evidence of the book of Daniel alone, without resort to external evidence. In addition to the arguments presented in “4QPseudo-Daniel^{a-b} (4Q243–4Q244),” the possibility that any of the “Pseudo-Daniel” texts could predate the final redaction of MT Daniel is confirmed by the existence of 4Q242.

³¹ J. J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 359–360.

³² Including the court tales, redacted as they were in light of the apocalyptic reviews of history of Daniel 7–12. 4QDan^e (4Q116) might preserve a copy of the Prayer only. If so, this would further support the argument that the Prayer was not composed for its present context; see Collins, *Daniel*, 347–348.

ogy of history in favour of an alternate view of God's historical relationship with Israel and the world.³³ It is this view—or rather the worldview from which it ultimately derives constancy and meaning—to which we now turn.

Apocalypticism has temporal, spatial, and existential dimensions. These in part confer the worldview's remarkable power and persistence, and provide intellectual coherence and purposeful direction to movements ranging from Qumran to Aum Shinrikyō. Its wellspring is the post-exilic intensification of the notion of the transcendence of God, and the corresponding sense of God's disassociation from the quotidian processes of the world. The notion, which was (and is) largely motivated by issues of theodicy, is axiomatic to the worldview, and represents a drastic break with the ideas of divine reciprocity within historical time and space that underwrite the Deuteronomic theology. Apocalypticism is expressed temporally in the view that the singularity of creation, which had been disrupted at one point in the *primaeval* history, will be restored at the end of time. Spatially, it holds that the period of disruption, which corresponds to the era of human history, is marked by a pervasive ontological dualism that is manifested in the terrestrial and otherworldly realms, and across the microscopic, mundane, and macroscopic planes. Existentially, it contends that humanity's task during the historical age is to fathom the temporal and spatial dimensions of reality, which escape the casual observer but which in their hidden patterns and deep purposes disclose the divine plan (cf. 1QS III 15–17). Only when the veil has been removed and the true nature of reality revealed can humans apprehend their correct relationship with God. Naturally, ideas of what constitutes truth, the signs and portents by which it is glimpsed, the symbols through which it is revealed, the vehicles by which it is apprehended, the path along which it is attained (the “way of truth”), and the group(s) which are entitled to it very much depend on the text consulted, as well as its social setting and the purposes for which it was written.

In its most complete expressions, apocalypticism offers a comprehensive and comprehensible worldview. The two types of apocalypses,

³³ The point is rejected by G. Boccaccini, “The Covenantal Theology of the Apocalyptic Book of Daniel,” in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids—Cambridge: W. B. Eerdmans, 2005), 39–44. But see the reply by J. J. Collins, “Response: The Apocalyptic Worldview of Daniel,” 59–66 at 60–61.

historical and otherworldly, represent texts whose principal functions relate to its temporal and spatial dimensions.³⁴ (The existential dimension is universal.) For instance, the chief function of a historical apocalypse such as Daniel is to propose an elegant and coherent historiography that explains past history, present events, and future expectations. Every other purpose of Daniel *qua* Daniel is contingent on this function.

Accordingly, we may envision historiologic and sapiential streams of apocalypticism, albeit with four stipulations.

First, these streams follow distinct channels but rise from a common source. They merely represent, as it were, the two domains of knowledge in which the worldview expresses itself most distinctly. From another standpoint, we might speak of the apocalyptic appropriation of both history and wisdom.³⁵

Second, the confluence of the streams, whether by initial design or through later redaction, is commonplace. *1 Enoch*, for instance, discloses ample amounts of historical and cosmological information. Each type of enquiry was purposeful, systematic, and empirical, although in their apocalyptic contexts these qualities were subordinate to the axioms of the worldview. The function of an apocalypse dictated the type of material required.

Third, the affiliation of a stream with a specific type of apocalypse is, *mutatis mutandis*, applicable to the larger category of apocalypica. Despite their generic differences, the post-biblical apocalyptic oracles attributed to Daniel are conceptually and functionally equivalent to the biblical apocalypse of Daniel.

Fourth, the spatial dimension of apocalypticism embraces more than the concern with otherworldly realms.³⁶ Cosmologic or otherworldly

³⁴ These dimensions are reflected in the SBL definition of apocalypse as “a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisions eschatological salvation, and spatial as it involves another, supernatural world.”

³⁵ “The forms of wisdom speech are adaptable and may be used in the service of more than one worldview” (Collins, “Wisdom, Apocalypticism, and Generic Compatibility,” 181).

³⁶ M. Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction* (STDJ 50; Leiden: Brill, 2003); *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls; Conflicted Boundaries in Wisdom and Apocalypticism* (ed. B. G. Wright III and L. M. Wills; SBLSS 35; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2005), and S. L. Adams, *Wisdom in Transition: Act and Consequence in Second Temple Instructions* (JSJSup 125; Leiden: Brill, 2008). See also n. 55, below, and the text to which it refers.

apocalypticism is only one of its branches. Its most familiar literary form is the ascent apocalypse of early Judaism and Christianity. The other branch is ethical or worldly apocalypticism. Often supplementary, it appears in texts such as 1Q/4QInstruction and, in a later epoch, in the moral apocalypses of Byzantine Christianity and mediaeval Islam. Both branches of sapiential apocalypticism elucidate knowledge of an essentially timeless character, be it the nature and courses of the celestial luminaries, the geographies of heavenly palaces or distant places, or the precepts by which life ought to be led (a life, e.g., oriented to קוּשְׁטָא).³⁷ In this, both branches differ from the temporal quality of the subject of historiologic apocalypticism, which, of course, is history.

The concept of separate streams of apocalypticism, and the view that the worldview and genre are irreducible to a single function or social setting derive, in no small part, from the Aramaic apocalypsa. Specifically, the Dead Sea manuscript copies of the Enoch texts occasioned a thorough re-evaluation of our understanding of the roots of apocalypticism. Prior to their discovery, scholars tended to perceive apocalypses as literature written to console small, oppressed groups. The reassuring message for such groups was that God remained in control of history and would swiftly resolve the present situation. “Apocalyptic” was thus considered chiefly historiologic in focus and consolatory-paraenetic in purpose. This view, which was supported by the most familiar examples of the genre, Daniel and Revelation, found an obvious antecedent in the prophetic literature of Israel. Spawned in the intramural socio-religious conflicts of the early post-exilic era, nascent Jewish apocalypticism (so it was thought) transformed the old prophetic hope for national salvation within history.³⁸ Texts such as Zechariah 9–14 and Isaiah 24–27 revived the myths of the Chaoskampf and the Divine Warrior in the service of a new theology of history that introduced a cosmological dimension to human existence and re-located salvation at the end of time. A few centuries later, triggered by the polarising policies of Antiochus IV, MT Daniel emerged as the first full-blown example of the genre apocalypse. Speaking to an aggregate of pious co-religionists who were living under

³⁷ See the brilliant essay by K. Koch, “History as a Battlefield of Two Antagonistic Powers in the Apocalypse of Weeks and in the Rule of the Community,” in *Enoch and Qumran Origins*, 185–199.

³⁸ Key early studies include P. D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (2nd ed.; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979) and W. R. Millar, *Isaiah 24–27 and the Origin of Apocalyptic* (HSM 11; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976).

the twin threats of cultural dissolution and mortal peril, the book explained current events through the lens of a universal historiography that was itself set within a teleological framework of God's master plan for the elect.

The confirmation of the great antiquity of the Aramaic Enoch manuscripts, however, underscored the focus of the earliest Enochic material on issues of theodicy and cosmology rather than the meaning of history (although this is not absent). Accordingly, if portions or versions of the *Astronomical Book* and the *Book of the Watchers* antedated the apocalyptic chapters of MT Daniel by a century or more, then apocalypticism could not be understood exclusively in historiologic terms, nor could it have evolved directly from autochthonous prophetic literature by means of a transitional "proto-apocalypticism." Instead, it had to derive at least in part from another source, which was soon identified as wisdom,³⁹ if not necessarily in its classic biblical profile, then as the broader sapiential traditions of the Ancient Near East, which circumscribed both manticism⁴⁰ and scientific enquiry.⁴¹ Such traditions were not indentured to contexts of social marginalisation, economic dislocation, or political oppression,⁴² nor were they necessarily incompatible with "official" attitudes or "priestly" concerns.

The recognition that apocalyptic literature could precipitate from various *Sitze-im-Leben* implied that while apocalypticism might correlate to typical societal contexts, it could not be restricted to a single social movement or milieu.⁴³ In other words, the element of social setting cannot define either the genre or the worldview. (The strongest confirma-

³⁹ G. von Rad, *Weisheit in Israel* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1970).

⁴⁰ H.-P. Müller, "Mantische Weisheit und Apokalyptik," in *Congress Volume, Uppsala 1971* (VTSup 22; Leiden: Brill, 1972), 268–293, and J. C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS 16; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984).

⁴¹ Stone, "Lists of Revealed Things."

⁴² Cf. "the wise ones" of Dan 11:33, 12:3; *1 En.* 98.9, 99.10; Enoch as "scribe" (*1 En.* 12.3–4, 92.1), etc. Key early studies include P. R. Davies, "The Social World of Apocalyptic Writings," *The World of Ancient Israel* (ed. R. E. Clements; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 251–271, L. L. Grabbe, "The Social Setting of Early Jewish Apocalypticism," *JSP* 4 (1989): 27–47, and S. L. Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism: the Postexilic Social Setting* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995).

⁴³ While apocalyptic literature is normally a product of learned rather than popular activity (Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 39, et al.), the ready recycling and mercantile mass-production of much mediaeval apocalyptic demonstrate that exceptions to the rule exist, and all the more so in the modern world (cf. the *Left Behind* series of novels and its analogues).

tion of this position involves the case of modern secular apocalypticism.) Theories that consider apocalypticism to have originated in a longstanding tension between relatively stable and well-defined groups such as “Enochic” and “Zadokite” Judaism tend to oversimplify the evidence, or rely on criteria (e.g., attitudes to Torah or degree of covenantal observance) extrinsic to the worldview, even in its ancient exemplars. Likewise, while most historical apocalypses of antiquity were conceivably written to console and exhort communities under oppression, real or perceived, the worldview is hardly limited to these functions. Indeed, research on the apocalyptic literature of later eras indicates that whereas apocalypticism often spoke for those who felt politically, economically, or socially marginalised, it also served to fit various institutional roles.

The existential demand of apocalypticism serves as *cynosure* to a consequential axiom, which is a corollary of the conception of God’s transcendence. It is crystallised in the epistemological proposition that, from the standpoint of human awareness, the divine will is essentially a mystery. As a result, its rationale and purposes—whether they are manifested temporally or spatially, exercised intentionally or custodially, or expressed conceptually or phenomenologically—are incomprehensible without mediation. In Daniel, the operative word, as is well-known, is *רז* (2:18, 27, etc.). In 4QInstruction, a cognate term is *רז נהיה* (cf. 1QS XI 3–4, etc.), or “the eternal/immutable mystery,” assuming that it represents the divine constant, which is unlimited by time or space.⁴⁴

Mediated revelation, therefore, is a critical component of the SBL definition of the genre and, accordingly, ancient apocalypticism.⁴⁵ In Second Temple apocalypses, the mysteries of God are normally filtered to humans through an otherworldly interlocutory figure, normally an angel. Heavenly books or tablets also serve as vectors (cf. *1 En.* 93:1–2,

⁴⁴ This is not to deny that, depending on the text, *רז* might refer to specific aspects of the divine mystery. The phrase here, “the eternal/immutable mystery”—less a translation than a refraction—is meant to convey the temporally and spatially unlimited aspect of *רז נהיה* from the standpoint of the divine, albeit imperfectly, since human language is also a function of the historical age and thus subject to its limitations. From the standpoint of humanity, however, whose existence is demarcated by the temporal and spatial restrictions of the historical age, the term *רז נהיה* is well translated as “the mystery that is to come” or “the mystery that is coming into being.” See also below, on the logic of apocalypticism.

⁴⁵ The predominance of apocalyptic oracles and like texts in the late antique and mediaeval literature suggests that the conceptions of mediated revelation had altered by post-biblical times.

etc.);⁴⁶ here the interlocution is less direct. Allowance was made for the individual factor as well. The mysteries that remained occluded to casual or imperceptive observers could be apprehended by those with extraordinary personal qualities or special training.⁴⁷ In this way, apocalypses came to be ascribed to past figures whose traditional attributes made them suitable candidates to receive, assimilate, and transmit the contents of revelation. Enoch, it is said, “walked with God” (Gen 5:22–24), and was linked to the calendar and heavenly observation through his Ancient Near Eastern analogues. Daniel’s ability to reveal dreams and interpret cryptic messages, which is part of the earliest tales associated with him (Daniel 2, 4, and 5), was a crucial factor in the later composition of apocalyptic visions under his name. Even so, Daniel and other seers like Ezra and Baruch undergo periods of fasting before they can enter the state wherein they will receive the mystery (cf. Dan 10:2–3; *4 Ezra* 9.23–27; *2 Bar* 20.5–6, etc.). Dreams and visions are not apocalyptic elements *per se*, but in an apocalyptic context they function as a bridge whereby humans may transcend, however imperfectly, the limitations imposed by existence in the historical age.

Certain Qumran apocalypica circumvented interlocutory mediation altogether. The depiction of the *רַב נְהִיָּה* suggests that its secrets are unlocked through intense personal contemplation. Similarly, the *pesharim* intimate that the Teacher of Righteousness could interpret scripture’s deeper meaning by dint of special revelation or inspiration. The view that God could also hide the mystery in one’s heart (1QH XIII [*olim* V] 26–29; not to be confused with the intentional secreting of the revealed mystery [*ALD* 4.13, *4 Ezra* 14.45–47]) presupposes a de-emphasis of overt mediation and an emphasis on other vectors of understanding. Although the Holy Spirit is not in itself an apocalyptic concept (cf. Dan 4:5–6, 15; n.b. OG and *θ'* Sus 45), its role as a medium of wisdom (WisSol 7:7, 9:17, etc.) and comprehension (PsSol 17.37; *4 Ezra* 14.22, etc.) could enable it to assume this role.

⁴⁶ Cf. A. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran* (STDJ 18; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 69–97, and, in the context of *1 En.* 93:1–2, L. T. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108* (CEJL; Berlin–New York: Walter De Gruyter, 2007), 83–86.

⁴⁷ This may be partially grounded on the view that, in the historical age, the existence of evil contributes to human incomprehension and resistance to change; see C. Rowland, “Apocalypticism,” in *The Biblical World, Volume 1* (ed. J. Barton; London–New York: Routledge, 2002), 129–148 at 141.

Regardless of the vector, apocalyptic revelation is always eschatologically oriented. In its synthetic form, apocalyptic eschatology contends that the present age has reached the end of its prescribed lifespan, anticipates its swift passing through God's decisive action, and typically expects the retribution or recompense of individuals beyond the bounds of human history and corporeal death. The content of the revelations, to be sure, varies widely among the apocalyptic texts and their purposes and audience. However, despite such diversity, however, nearly all the images and motifs featured in the literature are linked to a few, interrelated ideas, which are central to the apocalyptic worldview's spatial, temporal, and existential dimensions.

The radical dualism that is the dominant spatial feature of the historical age is understood to pervade the microscopic, mundane, and macroscopic planes. Some texts highlight the heart's inclination towards good or evil, or divulge how the struggle between spirits of light and darkness have shaped the world (1QS III 23–IV 26). Other texts divide the kingdoms and individual persons of this world into two camps, the latter potentially known through the application of physiognomic science (cf. 4Q186, in Hebrew, and 4Q561, in Aramaic). Still other texts reveal the binary nature of the otherworldly realm, where angelic champions of Israel such as Michael and Gabriel battle with the heavenly princes of Persia and Greece (cf. Dan 10:13, 20–21). In all cases, the two sides—good and evil, light and dark, angelic and demonic—are understood to be locked in an ancient, terrible conflict where quarter is neither asked nor given.

The temporal aspect of this conflict is at once dynamic and teleological: despite recurrent historical cycles and the rise and fall of human kingdoms,⁴⁸ the arrow of time in ancient apocalypticism is always linear.⁴⁹ It considers the present, historical age to be imperfect, and anticipates the time of its eschatological replacement (often identified with the advent of the kingdom of heaven; cf. Dan 2:44). Accounts of the

⁴⁸ The periodisation of history, a regular feature of historical apocalypica, is well-rooted in the Aramaic apocalyptic tradition; cf. Daniel 2 and 7, and the Enochic *Animal Apocalypse* and *Apocalypse of Weeks*. The contribution of the Aramaic Scrolls in this area is not insignificant. 4QFour Kingdoms^{a-b} (4Q552, 4Q553) describes a four-kingdom schema wherein the *translatio imperii* is represented by a series of trees. The *Aramaic New Jerusalem* text also describes a sequence of historical empires (4Q554 2 iii + 7).

⁴⁹ See DiTommaso, "History and Apocalyptic Eschatology," and the sources cited therein.

origins and agency of the imperfection vary. One tradition holds that evil entered the world through the actions of rebel angels, known as the Watchers (*1 En.* 6–16); another points to Adam's sin (*4 Ezra* 3:21–22). Both are patently motivated by concerns of theodicy. But while the exact location of the origin of evil was of paramount importance to the texts, and thus their audiences, it is no more significant to the worldview than the various predictions as to the precise time of the end.⁵⁰ The issue is secondary, and indeed is inconsequential in a text like MT Daniel, for which, as noted, history effectively begins with the Babylonian Exile.⁵¹ The striking originality of this assertion should not be disregarded (cf. CD I). Nor should we overlook the equally profound claim that past, present, and future are fundamentally unified, and that memory and revelation enjoy an equal historiologic value. The full effect of this claim on the history of western civilisation has yet to be described.

The principal function of apocalyptic eschatology, which must be considered within the larger framework of the existential demand of the worldview, is to depict (and affirm) the resolution of the historical conflict between the forces of good and evil. This is typically articulated through a handful of motifs, which were mainly inherited from the prophetic tradition, and which in turn underwent an eschatologisation that is partially recorded in the ancient literature.

The expectation of a decisive eschatological war resolved the problem of overt foreign domination and oppression which, through the lens of apocalypticism, was considered wholly or partially a result of this larger conflict. Its historical stages are described in the apocalyptic reviews of history as past and contemporary struggles between Israel and the nations, or between the true Israel and its enemies. The Dead Sea *War Scroll* contains the most extensive description of this war in Second Temple literature. The motif of the New Jerusalem similarly addressed the historical weakness of Israel. In the late prophetic and apocalyptic texts the motif evolved along two arcs: one followed a trajectory that led to monumentally sized cities with massive walls and other defensive

⁵⁰ The same holds true for the spatial coordinates of the new age; G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "Where Is the Place of Eschatological Blessing?," in *Things Revealed: Studies in Early Jewish and Christian Literature in Honor of Michael E. Stone* (ed. E. G. Chazon et al.; JSJSup 89; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 53–71.

⁵¹ This is not to deny that Daniel is unconcerned with theodicy. It is, and fundamentally so, but not on the level posited by P. Sacchi, *L'Apocalittica giudaica e la sua storia* (Brescia: Paideia Editrice, 1990); trans. *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History* (JSPSup 20; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997).

features; the other culminated in the pre-existent heavenly city. A royal messianic-figure, too, especially if enrobed in kingly-warrior imagery, could address martial and nationalistic aspects of the conflict between good and evil. There were other types of messianic figures, however, including priestly and prophetic types, who played different (and occasionally overlapping) roles and assuaged different needs. Like the motif of the New Jerusalem, the concept was complex and changed over the centuries.⁵²

Messianic figures could also be accorded judicial functions, one of which was to preside over the Day of Judgment (cf. *4 Ezra* 12.32–33, 13.37–38, etc.). But in different traditions the apocalyptic judge could be God himself (*1 En.* 91:7, etc.). As with the other motifs, the precise details—in this case, the identities of the judge and the judged, the sequence of events, and the nature of the rewards and punishments—fluctuate from text to text. The key idea, however, is that the dead will be judged, whereupon the righteous and unrighteous receive their due. The expectation for individual post-mortem judgment is a critical feature of the worldview; the fact that authorities normally identify only one clear reference to personal resurrection in the Hebrew Bible (*Dan* 12:2; but cf. *Isa* 26:14–19) has perhaps obscured this point. Apocalypticism is a response to a sense of cognitive dissonance between present and ideal states of existence, conceptualised in terms of ordinary and revealed realities. The motifs of the eschatological war, the New Jerusalem, and the messianic-figure(s) attempt to address this dissonance at the level of corporate Israel, however this was defined. The notion of personal resurrection and a final judgment for one's past actions, good or evil, represents the parallel endeavour to resolve the dissonance at the level of the individual, where the account-ledgers of earthly behaviour and eschatological recompense must balance to the last soul. This resolution maintained the temporal, spatial, and existential logic of the apocalyptic worldview, even though the ancient apocalypticists never did devise a lasting way to reconcile the inherent tension between the competing concepts of divine determinism (which underpins the apoca-

⁵² In the earlier Jewish apocalypica the figure does not play an especially prominent role. But by the close of the first century CE, apocalypses such as *4 Ezra* (and of course Christianity) had come to place a greater emphasis on the figure; cf. J. C. VanderKam, "Messianism and Apocalypticism," in *Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, 1:193–228. This trend continued into late antiquity, and involved the parallel amplification of the messiah's counterpart, the Antichrist/Armilos.

lyptic historiography) and human free will (which is an additional response to the concerns of theodicy).⁵³

The logic of apocalypticism additionally implies that distinctions between space and time, or heaven and earth, or past, present, and future ensue merely from human perception or operate only in the historical age. Actually, the last two statements are functionally equivalent. The former is an epistemological proposition that turns on the omniscience of God and the essential mystery of the divine will, whose historical manifestations are necessarily filtered through limited human capabilities. The latter statement concerns the nature of apocalyptic eschatology, and assumes that such distinctions fade as the singularity of creation is reconstituted in the new age. The boundary between life and death, for example, is abrogated by resurrection, while in the eschatological age both angels and men muster under the banners of the armies of good and evil, prior to the final battle (1QM I 10). In this light, the Qumran community's ideas regarding human fellowship with the angelic congregation during the historical age (1QS XI 7–8, 1QH XI [*olim* III] 21–22, etc.), indicate their belief that, in some fashion, they had already made the transition to eternal life. In other words, they recognized the eschaton as having been partially realised in the present. Again, though, these statements are functionally equivalent: their distinctions (earthly vs. eternal life, present vs. future time) are consequences of the limited human vantage from which they are offered.⁵⁴ From the divine perspective—which is what the worldview purports to disclose, despite the intermediation—these distinctions do not exist. Such logic also settles any disagreement between the positions of Matthew Goff and Florentino García Martínez on the nature of sapiential apocalypticism. Where Goff posits that it is both worldly and heavenly, García Martínez responds that “Qumran wisdom is not worldly and heavenly wisdom, it is revealed wisdom, and thus thoroughly heavenly.”⁵⁵ Each view is correct,

⁵³ Because of its composite nature, Daniel never resolves the tension, which it formulates mainly in terms of corporate predestination and individual choice. *4 Ezra* offers the sober conclusion that some things are simply beyond human comprehension.

⁵⁴ If I read his argument correctly, S. Beyerle makes a similar point regarding the function of angelic mediators: “Angelic Revelation in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature,” in *Angels: The Concept of Celestial Beings – Origins, Development and Reception* (ed. F. V. Reiterer, et al.; DCLY 2007; Berlin–New York: Walter De Gruyter, 2007), 205–223, esp. 218–219.

⁵⁵ García Martínez, “Introduction,” in idem (ed.), *Wisdom and Apocalypticism*, xiii–xxxiv at xvi (italics original). See the sources in n. 36, above, and Goff's essay, “Wis-

depending on the perspective it intends to represent. The logic of apocalypticism further permits “the wise” of Daniel to transcend human boundaries of past, present, and future through the partial revelation of the divine, panoramic view of history in apocalyptic historiographies. Such a procedure was technically facilitated by the device of pseudonymous attribution, which, among other things, allowed historical apocalypica to maintain the internal temporal consistency required to present past events in the guise of future revelation.

A distinctive apocalyptic language mortars the worldview, eschatology, and literature, and gives voice to the elements of function and social setting. Apocalypticism is not the invention of deranged minds, nor is it the product of some Dionysian pole of irrationality. It contends that human lives are measured in relation to a transcendent reality and high destiny. If it succeeds as a philosophy, it is because its axioms and propositions are comprehensive, internally consistent, and, within limitations, verifiable. Every apocalyptic historiography and cosmology, being supported in its structure by the selection and sequence of the data, substantiates the worldview’s eschatological expectations and existential claims. This rationalism is a hallmark of the apocalyptic literature, particularly as it underwrites the formal elements of the genre. Its more sophisticated exemplars—the *Book of the Watchers*, the final form of MT Daniel, and *4 Ezra*, among others—require readers to engage their intellects as well as their emotions and sentiments.

Yet, as noted above, the power and persistence of the apocalyptic worldview is only partly a result of the range of dimensions over which it claims jurisdiction. The other part of the equation is its emotive qualities, which cannot be explained through intellection alone. Apocalypticism reveals itself in the literature through primal urges and seemingly bizarre images, with which the other half of the human psyche resonates. These urges and images sculpt so much of the literary terrain that they frequently overshadow the inherent rationality of the worldview. This is a special problem for those who approach apocalyptic literature solely through literary-critical avenues or categories such as “apocalyptic discourse,”⁵⁶ and it plagues the study of modern apocalypticism,

dom, Apocalypticism, and the Pedagogical Ethos of 4QInstruction,” in *Conflicted Boundaries*, 57–67.

⁵⁶C. Carey, *Ultimate Things: An Introduction to Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic Literature* (St. Louis: Chalice Press, 2005), and M. Wolter, “Apokalyptik und Redeform im Neuen Testament,” *NTS* 51 (2005): 171–191.

where the worldview's axioms are often masked by its secular manifestations, which extend across diverse media.⁵⁷

Old, mythic symbols—dragons, crowns, horns, and fantastic animal hybrids—appeal to the imagination as much as the rationale. Many such symbols stem from the great myth-kitty of the archaic Near East, having accumulated additional layers of meaning before appearing in the apocalyptic literature.⁵⁸ Similarly, the portrayal of a final eschatological war between the armies of good and evil stimulates the innate human capacity for epic, while the prospect of an ultimate judgment appeals to a universal sense of order and fairness. The full effect of these elements can be gauged only by recourse to the barometer of human emotions.

Apocalypticism also appeals to the parts of the persona that lurk in shade and shadow. Ancient apocalypses are not conspiracy literature,⁵⁹ but the view that everyday reality conceals veiled plans and hidden patterns accommodates a conspiracy mentality which easily degenerates into frightened paranoia. Apocalyptic historiographies are myopic and self-absorbed, the products of an adolescent understanding of history. In their desperate streamlining of events and inability to accept historical causality based on the complex intercourse of exigency and human decision, they reflect the eternal reactionary response to the forces of pluralism. Most significantly, the apocalyptic perception of the world in radically dualistic terms contributes to a highly polarised view of friend and foe. This view can foster intolerance and hatred, especially when it is set within a deterministic framework, since it permits group members to demonise their perceived enemies, an action that can absolve them of personal responsibility for any consequent actions.

⁵⁷ One effect of this tendency is discussed in L. DiTommaso, "At the Edge of Tomorrow: Apocalypticism and Science Fiction," *End of Days: Popular Conceptions of the Apocalypse* (ed. K. Kinane and M. Ryan; Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2009), 221-241.

⁵⁸ A. Lange examines the dispersion of apocalyptic imagery in Daniel and other literature ("Dream Visions and Apocalyptic Milieus," in *Enoch and Qumran Origins*, 27-34). His approach has applications beyond ancient apocalypsa inasmuch as it defines points of contact between specific texts, and thus perhaps their social settings, on the basis of shared images and symbols. But one could not use it to advance claims about multiple apocalyptic worldviews without misconstruing the relationship among worldview, literature, and social settings.

⁵⁹ On apocalypticism and conspiracy literature, see M. Barkun, *A Culture of Conspiracy: Apocalyptic Visions in Contemporary America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

The restrictions of this paper have permitted only a skeleton exposition of the general theory of apocalypticism. More attention is required, particularly to the fine details, and also with respect to the mechanisms that describe the worldview as a historically persistent, dynamic process.⁶⁰ It is possible, however, to offer a few supplemental observations on Qumran apocalypticism. The new theory asks that we shift our literary focus from apocalypse to apocalypica, and our conceptual focus from apocalypse to apocalypticism. In addition, apocalypticism must be considered principally as a global, historically persistent worldview. In this light, the oft-repeated truth that the Dead Sea Scrolls have not enlarged our corpus of apocalypses is unimportant. However, the Scrolls greatly add to our corpus of ancient apocalypica, and thus to our understanding of the nature and development of the apocalyptic worldview. And while there is no evidence that apocalypses were actually written within the Qumran community, the fact is that its members composed, copied, and edited all sorts of apocalyptic texts.

In his incisive survey of apocalypticism at Qumran, García Martínez opines that “the *status quaestionis* boils down to the following: Is apocalypticism simply a worldview (an umbrella term for different apocalyptic traditions), or is it something more? Can the cluster of ideas we find in the Qumran writings be attributed to an apocalyptic tradition?”⁶¹ His enquiry centers on four motifs typical to ancient apocalypica: i) the origin of evil and dualistic thought; ii) the periods of history and anticipation of the end; iii) the communion with the heavenly world; and iv) the eschatological war. He concludes that apocalypticism is indeed more than an “umbrella term,” and that within its pale existed a special Qumran apocalyptic tradition, inasmuch that it developed traditions inherited from Daniel and the Enoch material “in its own distinctive ways.”⁶² The general theory of apocalypticism outlined in this paper amplifies García Martínez’s conclusion, with which I am in basic agreement. If the theory is correct, in the sense that it offers a useful and empirically grounded explanation of the worldview that works along the lines specified, then it provides a coherent philosophical basis by which to understand the

⁶⁰ I have also bypassed the distant origins of apocalypticism, although my view that it precipitated from a mixed solution of pre-exilic Israelite traditions, external influences, internal religious developments, and historical events is unremarkable. On the origin of the fundamental axioms of the worldview, see *Architecture of Apocalypticism*.

⁶¹ García Martínez, “Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 199.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 226.

substrative functions of these motifs. In addition, it outlines precisely why apocalypticism, as García Martínez phrases it, is “something more”—much more—than simply a convenient, catch-all designation.

Yet the general theory also demands that we consider García Martínez’s queries from an additional perspective. Perhaps the next question we might pose on the subject is whether there is enough in the way of literary evidence to permit us to gauge the extent to which the development of apocalypticism at Qumran, however distinctive in its details, was part of a more widespread evolution of the worldview in the ancient world.⁶³ It is possible that, in its broad patterns, the information we glean from the study of this evolution, and of the forces responsible for it, might shed light on the nature and manifestations of apocalypticism in the modern world as well.

*Appendix: Aramaic Apocalypica at Qumran*⁶⁴

a) *The Enoch Cycle*

**Book of the Watchers* (4QEn ar^a [4Q201], 4QEn ar^b [4Q202], 4QEn ar^c [4Q204] 1, 4QEn ar^d [4Q205] 1, 4QEn ar^e [4Q206] 1, XQpapEn)

**Astronomical Book* (4QEnastr^a ar [4Q208], 4QEnastr^b ar [4Q209], 4QEnastr^c ar [4Q210], 4QEnastr^d ar [4Q211])⁶⁵

**Book of Dream Visions* (4QEn ar^c [4Q204] 4, 4QEn ar^d [4Q205] 2, 4QEn ar^e [4Q206] 4, 4QEn ar^f [4Q207], 4QEn ar^g [4Q212] 1 i 1–ii 21)

**Letter of Enoch* (4QEn ar^c [4Q204] 5, 4QEn ar^g [4Q212] 1 ii 22–v)⁶⁶

⁶³ It goes without saying that the clarification of the relationship between apocalypticism and both gnosticism and mysticism is a desideratum.

⁶⁴ An asterisk indicates that the text was known before 1947, although not necessarily in the form or language in which it is preserved in its Dead Sea copy. In her roster of “Qumran Texts Related to the Apocalyptic Literature,” which also includes texts in Hebrew, D. Dimant includes the manuscript copies of Aramaic Tobit, plus the Aramaic texts 4Q242, 4Q550, and 4Q551 (“Apocalyptic Texts at Qumran,” 191). See now her six-part thematic classification in “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. A. Hilhorst et al.; JSJSup122; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 197–205.

⁶⁵ On the possibility that 4Q317 is a Hebrew translation and adaptation of an early form of the *Astronomical Book*, see J. Ben-Dov, “The Initial Stages of Lunar Theory at Qumran,” *JJS* 54 (2003): 125–138.

⁶⁶ 4Q247 might contain a Hebrew *pesher* on the *Apocalypse of Weeks*.

**Book of Giants* (1QEnGiants^a ar [1Q23], 1QEnGiants^{b7} ar [1Q24], 2QEnGiants ar [2Q26], 4QEnGiants^a ar [4Q203], 4QEnGiants^b ar [4Q530], 4QEnGiants^c ar [4Q531], 4QEnGiants^d ar [4Q532], 4QEnGiants^e ar [4Q533], 4QEnGiants^f ar [4Q206] 2–3, 6QpapGiants ar [6Q8])

b) *The Daniel Cycle*

*MT Daniel [Dan] (1QDan^a [1Q71], 1QDan^b [1Q72], 4QDan^a [4Q112], 4QDan^b [4Q113], 4QDan^d [4Q115])

4QPseudo-Daniel^{a-b} ar (4Q243–244)⁶⁷

4QPseudo-Daniel^c ar (4Q245)

4QApocryphon of Daniel (4Q246)

c) *Other Writings*

**Book of Noah*⁶⁸ (1QapGen ar [1Q20] ii–v, 4QBirth of Noah^a ar [4Q534], 4QBirth of Noah^b ar [4Q535], 4QBirth of Noah^c ar [4Q536])

**Aramaic Levi Document*⁶⁹ (1QTLevi [1Q21], 4QLevi^a ar [4Q213], 4QLevi^b ar [4Q213a], 4QLevi^c ar [4Q213b], 4QLevi^d ar [4Q214], 4QLevi^e ar [4Q214a], 4QLevi^f ar [4Q214b])

New Jerusalem (1QNJ ar [1Q32], 2QNJ ar [2Q24], 4QNJ^a ar [4Q554], 4QNJ^b ar [4Q554a], 4QNJ^c ar [4Q555], 5QNJ [5Q15], 11QNJ [11Q18])⁷⁰

4QpapApocalypse ar (4Q489)

4QWords of Michael ar (4Q529)

4QVision^d ar [= 4QTJacob ar?] (4Q537)⁷¹

4QapocrLevi^{a?} ar (4Q540)

⁶⁷ Not an apocalyptic text, the Aramaic *Prayer of Nabonidus* (4Q242) is nonetheless important to the history of the composition of Daniel.

⁶⁸ This text is perhaps preserved in Hebrew in 1Q19 and 1Q19 *bis*. *N.b.* the “Birth of Noah” in *1 En.* 106:1–107:3.

⁶⁹ The Aramaic text of the *Aramaic Levi Document* is also extant in a few folia from a mediaeval manuscript copy, which were recovered from the Genizah of the Ben-Ezra Synagogue in Old Cairo, and which are presently held in two locations and bear the classmarks Cambridge, MS T.-S. 16.94, and Oxford, Bodleian MS Heb c 27. The *Aramaic Levi Document* is preserved in witnesses in other languages, notably the interpolation in the Greek MS 39 at Athos, Koutloumous Monastery, and in parallel and possibly dependant compositions, including the *Greek Testament of Levi*. See further, Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document*.

⁷⁰ It is unlikely that 4Q232 is a Hebrew copy of the *NJ* (L. DiTommaso, *The Dead Sea New Jerusalem Text* [TSAJ 110; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005], 3 n. 7).

⁷¹ This text appears to be more a vision than a testament.

4QapocrLevi^{b?} ar (4Q541)⁷²

4QTQohath ar (4Q542)

4QVisions of Amram^{a-g(?)} ar (4Q543, 4Q544, 4Q545, 4Q546, 4Q547, 4Q548, 4Q549[?])

4QFour Kingdoms^{a-b} ar (4Q552, 4Q553)

4QVision^a ar (4Q556)

4QVision^c ar (4Q557)

4QpapVision^b ar (4Q558)

6QApocal. ar (6Q14)

RESPONSE: SAMUEL THOMAS

I would like to start out by saying that Lorenzo DiTommaso's essay was a pleasure to read, and I am happy to have the opportunity to respond to its stimulating and well-written proposals. This essay is clearly part of a larger project in which the author attempts both to synthesize and summarize the recent history of scholarship on apocalypticism and to provide a new framework by which to interpret the relevant texts from antiquity (and beyond). This is all part of what DiTommaso calls "a new general theory of apocalypticism" (3), an ambitious project that promises to be an important contribution to the broader field of apocalyptic studies.

DiTommaso's paper begins by outlining the three primary objectives of his larger project: 1) "to clarify the ideology's affiliations with the other major phenomena"; 2) "to illuminate apocalypticism integrally, as a philosophy of human existence"; and 3) "to explain the ideology in all its manifestations." All this is directed toward the aim of identifying "plausible mechanisms which will account not only for the ancient origins of the ideology but also its major evolutionary trends." The Aramaic "apocalyptic" from Qumran contribute to grounding his "general theory of apocalypticism" in its ancient moments of origin and development.

One of the key points in DiTommaso's paper—and again, his larger project—is his use (coining?) of the term "apocalyptic" to denote the full range of apocalyptic literature beyond those texts formally labeled "apocalypses." It accompanies DiTommaso's call now for a shift from

⁷² 4Q540 and 4Q541 do not contain overlapping text.

the focus on genre and taxonomy to a deeper and more sustained effort to describe the ideology of apocalypticism. Thus this new taxon—apocalyp-tica—contains in itself the overarching telos of the project. It seems to me that one point for discussion is whether the term “apocalyp-tica” is a suitable umbrella term for the literary deposits of apocalyptic ideology.

One of the many interesting points of DiTommaso’s paper is the way he presents the 4QPseudo-Daniel fragments as an example of the evolution of apocalyptic ideology in the Danielic tradition away from a Deuteronomic theology of history. Thus he understands the Aramaic fragments to represent an earlier stage of Danielic thought, and to provide a kind of foil to the theology of history found in the Visions of MT Daniel. He couples this with observations about how the discovery of the Enochic fragments at Qumran has also reoriented scholarly assessments about the relative development of the historiologic and sapiential streams of apocalypticism. One question that remains intriguing—though it is not the object of DiTommaso’s paper to answer it—is whether the choice of Hebrew or Aramaic has any significance for our understanding of this evolution. Does the fact that the latter chapters of MT Daniel were composed in Hebrew (against pre-existing Aramaic traditions) bear any analogy to the “Qumranic” or “Jubilean” reworking of Aramaic material into Hebrew?

I find DiTommaso’s conclusions on this issue to be in all probability correct, and I would only add that the book of Job (which some have lately taken to calling a “proto-apocalyptic” text) betrays a similar devaluation of the Deuteronomic theology of history. According to this way of thinking, history is not clearly the theater for God’s redeeming of humanity, traditional wisdom is a fallacious guarantor of true knowledge and material blessings, and creation itself reflects the near-imponderable reality of God. Such a reality is knowable only by people whose experience leads to the proper orientation to the divine reality, which is ultimately disclosed as revealed wisdom that transcends the mere observation of the laws of nature and human behavior.

Related to the question of language is a persistent tendency to speak about a “Qumran apocalypticism” which envelops both Aramaic and Hebrew compositions. (For the record, I agree that there is such a thing, as Florentino García Martínez has also argued.) Does this represent the specific apocalyptic ideology of a particular group (say, the *yahad*)? If so, what becomes of the distinctions among various layers of evolution DiTommaso wishes to posit in, say the Daniel cycle? Which texts

represent “Qumran apocalypticism” and which do not? DiTommaso notes that of the 23 Aramaic apocalyptic texts, most of them are not apocalypses; yet of both the Aramaic and Hebrew Qumran corpora altogether, the majority consists of “apocalyptic texts of different genres.” It would be difficult to disagree with this statement, but it leaves one wondering about the use of the category.

DiTommaso’s rehearsal of the debates about “apocalyptic” and “apocalypticism” in the course of the last 30 years reminds me in some ways about the controversies about Qumran sectarianism. Both harbor a fundamental, perhaps intrinsic, problem of circularity that sometimes goes unacknowledged, and each is predicated on the scholarly desire to create a heuristic model that can help us sort, rank, categorize, map, link, etc. The effort to circumscribe both apocalypticism and sectarianism begins with establishing the baseline of representative texts that then together serve to provide the definitional device for interpreting other, seemingly related texts. Both are also concerned with drawing historical and sociological conclusions from these fixed points that, alas, continue to shift and remain somewhat elusive.

I agree with DiTommaso that “the study of ancient apocalypticism must initiate with the isolation of the literary genre as an organic phenomenon,” and I would add that the study of Qumran sectarianism must begin with the isolation of representative sectarian texts, as it already has for some years. But just as in discussions about the boundaries of apocalypticism, scholarly treatments of Qumran sectarian literature have tended to remain too limited by definitions of what a sectarian text might include. Alongside DiTommaso’s appeal for an expanding approach to ancient Jewish (and Christian) apocalypticism, I would add that the issue of Qumran sectarianism would also benefit from a new and more expansive model, one that incorporates other ways in which texts can be (or become) sectarian.

With respect to DiTommaso’s paper, I would have liked to see more extensive treatment of individual Aramaic texts from Qumran. While the Aramaic apocalyptic texts would certainly fit well within his general theory of apocalypticism, it seems that the paper—or perhaps the larger project—would benefit from more detailed attention to particular texts. Additionally, the qualification of certain Aramaic texts as “apocalyptic” reifies a distinction between these texts and other Qumran Aramaic documents. Thus the relationship between, say, 4QBirth of Noah (an “apocalypticum”) and 4QPhysiognomy ar (not one) would need explication beyond the simple conclusion that the former participated in the

apocalyptic ideology and the latter did not. But these are more suggestions for discussion than they are criticisms of this stimulating paper.

DISCUSSION

Lorenzo DiTommaso: Thank you, Dr. Thomas, for your stimulating observations. The hobgoblin of circularity is an intrinsic problem, but not an insurmountable one: useful taxonomies reflect and direct the evidence rather than impose on it. Similarly, the standard definition of the genre describes both Daniel and *2 Enoch* but depends on neither.

Yet we must be able to appreciate apocalypses and apocalypticism historically. This, too, is a problem of taxonomy. Scholars of modern apocalypticism, for example, are consumed with identifying surface phenomena such as motifs, settings, and vocabulary. But the notion of “apocalyptic” that compels their *idée fixe* is an aggregate of themes and images largely drawn from the Revelation of John. It is as if, by way of analogy, we classified *Reptilia*, a higher-order taxon, by means of the characteristics of *Serpentes*, a lower-order taxon: long body, no legs, skin that sheds. The resulting collection of “reptiles” would be very different from what we truly know to be the case. Reptiles are identified by other criteria, for example their cold-bloodedness; this feature is appropriate to the class and its subordinate taxa. The same problem afflicts the category of genre. The genre is the starting-point for all serious research on ancient apocalypticism. But apocalypses are rare in the early mediaeval period and almost non-existent beyond that. To focus on them is to again improperly accord historical stability to a lower-order taxon. To return to our analogy, it would be as if we used the definition of dinosaurs to classify (and thus comprehend) modern reptiles. There might be some overlap with crocodiles, but what about the toads and turtles?

Any meaningful taxonomy therefore must accommodate historical change. The trick is recognising where taxonomical stability should be allocated. My general theory assigns stability to the worldview. This permits its utility regardless of era (ancient to modern) or environment (such as at Qumran), by allowing room for change at lower levels in the hierarchy while explaining the literary and social evidence with reference to an intrinsically coherent upper-level category.

The earliest apocalypses are in Aramaic. But the fact that Daniel 8–12 are in Hebrew speaks more to the nationalistic renaissance of the language than to anything specific to the development of the form, esp. in light of the Aramaic Daniel 7 and 4Q243–244.

4QBirth of Noah is significant. It presents clear evidence that detailed physiognomies of this sort were embedded in ancient apocalyptic. Hitherto we knew only mediaeval examples (which, while focusing on the Antichrist, might be worth revisiting in light of new data from these Dead Sea texts). Also, with its apocalyptic elements, 4QBirth of Noah is a more sophisticated type of physiognomy. But the MS evidence does not permit any more precision than this. Some physiognomies are apocalyptic, others are not, and both types were composed throughout the ancient and mediaeval periods. The dynamic likewise applies to astrological texts, oneirocritica, and *computi*: some are apocalyptic; many are not.

Moshe Bernstein: I was struck by your lengthy trajectory down to modernity. I wonder whether we are not tying the hands of later students of something they call apocalyptic by insisting that they conform to our generic categorization. I’ll give you an example

of what I'm thinking about. I think that in many circles "apocalyptic" has come to mean "violent eschatology." I wasn't thinking about contemporary movies, but rather about the so-called *midreshei geulah* of approximately the seventh century CE which are written in Hebrew, around the time of the weakening of the Roman rule just before the Islamic invasion; Persia is fighting Rome, the end of days may be coming; the rule of the nations is weakening and redemption is going to come. And you get all of these pseudepigraphic *Book of Zerubavel*, *Book of Elijah*—you are familiar with all of this material, it's stuff that's worth looking at for those of you who haven't seen it—it's in Hebrew, but I don't know whether we would be able to define it as "apocalyptic" by the terms we insist on at Qumran. Because it, too, has moved from the broad apocalyptic worldview to the very specific eschatological apocalyptic worldview. So I wonder whether we have to allow for the genre to re-invent itself along the way. Do you have any thoughts on that?

Lorenzo DiTommaso: "Violent eschatology" is part of a punishment paradigm typical to historical apocalypica of every era, including ancient examples like Daniel 7–12 and 4 Ezra, the mediaeval texts you mention, and modern Jewish apocalypica. As such, it exhibits a historical continuity which permits its scientific investigation without our stumbling into the methodological trap that you have rightly highlighted.

As for its relationship with "broad apocalyptic worldview" we find at Qumran, two options present themselves. We could posit that the "violent" worldview of such texts represents something different. But it is impossible to isolate Daniel from the Qumran apocalyptic tradition. Not only do its specific elements play a significant role in the special development of this tradition, but its general worldview underwrites key sectarian texts such as the *War Scroll*. The postulate also fails taxonomically, unless one argues that the worldview of either Daniel or the *Book of the Watchers*, but not both, is apocalyptic. Alternately, we can imagine a single, coherent worldview with two major expressions, or, as I prefer, "streams." On one level, the two streams appear radically different, particularly in their motifs, terminology, and orientation. On a deeper level, however, they overlap profoundly. We already know that there are two main types of ancient apocalypses, historical and otherworldly. My paper extends this dichotomy to the worldview, in part because the worldview precedes the literature, not the other way round. The "violent" worldview, which as I have explained is not limited to mediaeval apocalypses, is part of what I call "historiologic apocalypticism": one stream of a single, taxonomically integral ideology.

Of course, the parameters of historical apocalypica admit enormous variation: *4 Ezra* is not *Zerubbabel*, and neither text is anything like early modern Jewish apocalypica. Variation is also a product of historical trends. Mediaeval apocalypica are far simpler in form and content than their ancient counterparts. Such differences are common to mediaeval apocalypica categorically: despite their unique details, Jewish texts like *Sefer Zerubbabel* and *Sefer Elijah* are more like their mediaeval Christian and Islamic cousins in form and content than their Second Temple ancestors. As I have argued elsewhere, these differences are so pronounced that I believe the genre evolved in late antiquity. I have since come to regard the generic evolution as symptomatic of a more profound development of the ideology—the very possibility raised by your question—but this is a subject for another discussion.

In sum, mediaeval apocalypticism, as you note, presents a relatively uniform and narrow worldview as compared with ancient apocalypticism. However, this does not

imply that one ideology was replaced or superseded by another ideology, “violent” or otherwise. Instead, what we have is the historical development of a single worldview which even in antiquity exhibited two major streams—a more complicated and still incompletely understood process that began towards the end of the fourth century.

Jan Joosten: Could you indicate briefly how your definition of “apocalypica” stands in regard to the tension between divine omniscience and human free will (a tension that was very much alive in the period when the earliest apocalypses were created)?

Lorenzo DiTommaso: Apocalypticism is one response to this tension. Paolo Sacchi even proposed that theodicy is the mother of all apocalypses, and in so doing explained key aspects of the Enochic literature. Historical apocalypses also are deeply concerned with theodicy, but in a different way. Apocalyptic historiography proposes an overarching divine plan for history, *zwischen Urzeit und Endzeit*, which removes God from direct association with inimical historical events. Free will remains effective, but its resolution is relocated to a point beyond human time and space.

Texts like Daniel preserve the evolution of this historiography. Personal piety dominates the tales of chapters 2–6, where God’s relationship with humans is reciprocal and historical. In the visions of chapters 7–12, the focus shifts to kingdoms, and the ideology becomes deterministic and eschatologically oriented. The transition, though, is already evident in the court tales. Daniel 4 reflects the earliest stage, since it infers that the fortunes of kingdoms are linked with the character of their kings. Daniel 2 in contrast presents a fixed sequence of world-empires unconnected to the actions of kings or their subjects. Daniel 5 stands in the middle: it contains the rudiments of the *translatio imperii*, but tells how Belshazzar drunkenly precipitated the loss of his kingdom. Also, Daniel 4 and 5 do not envision an end to history, but Daniel 2 does, with its stone hewn “not by human hands” (2:34, 45). Daniel 9 is a crucial chapter, with its rejection of the Deuteronomic theology of history. I see it as having been composed partly in response to 4Q243–244, but even if it were not, the Dead Sea text’s blend of apocalyptic and Deuteronomic elements proposes a historiography with which Daniel 9 disagreed. A theology of history that had been plausible for third-century Diaspora Jews could not explain Antiochus, which demanded a trans-historical resolution. Yet the resurrection and judgment of the dead in 12:2–3 presumes that free will remains operative within the deterministic horizon of the revelatory visions.

Other Aramaic apocalypica preserve elements of apocalyptic historiography but lack the formal generic framework. 4Q246 contains a sequence of kingdoms (i 6) followed by the eternal kingdom of God (ii 5). 4Q552–553 preserves the *translatio imperii*, as well as notice of an eschatological judgment. The *translatio imperii* is also part of *New Jerusalem* (4Q554 2 iii). These are only a few examples (e.g., the *Damascus Document* has a related but distinctive theology of history). I am currently writing a paper on the development of apocalyptic historiography in light of the Dead Sea apocalypica, with special reference to the evolution of the notions of divine and human agency in sectarian thought.

Florentino García Martínez: A precision: When I used “apocalypica” I did not intend to create a new label, I only used the word in Latin for convenience.

Lorenzo DiTommaso: I intended to create a new label for a new category. Research on apocalypticism must begin with the formal genre. At the same time, even though the influence of apocalypticism remains undiminished, nobody composes apocalypses anymore. So we require a category that includes apocalypses as well as the other prod-

ucts of the worldview. “Apocalyptic literature” usually works, since it embraces apocalyptic writings even if they are not formal examples of the genre. As it applies to early Judaism, it takes into account works like Daniel, *1 Enoch*, and the other apocalypses, plus apocalyptic testaments, oracles, rules, and psalms, as well as works like the *War Scroll* and other texts inspired by the apocalyptic worldview, in whole or in part (e.g., 1QS III 23–IV 26). Where “apocalyptic literature” begins to falter as a category is the mediaeval era, because it excludes MS illumination and other forms of art, which as mediaevalists know can be as relevant as the texts. The problem worsens as we move into contemporary media, with motion pictures like *The Matrix* and anime like *Serial Experiments Lain*. Hence a new category: “apocalypica,” which consists of formal apocalypses as well as any artifact, literary or otherwise, that is constitutionally informed by apocalypticism. The category’s inclusivity ensures its utility as a barometer of the ideology in a culture—one may speak in terms of Weber’s *Weltanschauung*, Auerbach’s *memesis*, or Febvre’s *civilisation*—as well of its development throughout history and within a special tradition (like Qumran), regardless of the prevailing apocalyptic media.

Daniel Stökl: One technical observation: If you state that there are many apocalypica and few apocalypses in Qumran, this could be due to the fragmentary state of the fragments. In fact most full-fledged apocalypses found in Qumran could be identified as apocalypses only because we know that part of the text that is not extant in the fragments (e.g. Daniel and the Enochic writings).

Lorenzo DiTommaso: This hypothesis cannot be falsified in light of the present state of the MS evidence. What might be said is that the same situation exists for Second Temple Jewish literature as whole: there are many apocalypica, some of which are apocalypses. So while Qumran may be a special case, the evidence from the group of texts most likely to provide corroborative evidence suggests otherwise.

Moshe Bernstein: What about the “Left Behind” series?

Lorenzo DiTommaso: The great success of the series indicated that its worldview was not limited to extremist groups or socially marginal circles. In America, it became illustrative of the resurgence in fundamentalist Christianity, particularly after 9/11. However, the fact that the first book in the series was published in 1995 indicates that its popularity is a component of a deeper, more long-term historical trend. Also, and as trite as it might sound, “Left Behind” popularised Armageddon. Perhaps because of the images of chaos and destruction typically associated with its visions of the future, the capacity of apocalypticism to speak to elements of social stability has been underappreciated. Included here are concepts of universal fairness and order, as well as our innate capacity for epic, where one participates in a transcendent cause or event perceived as being fundamentally good. “Left Behind” frames apocalyptic eschatology in terms familiar from popular motion pictures such as *The Magnificent Seven* or *Star Wars*.

John Collins: Is modern apocalypticism really the same phenomenon as what we call apocalypticism in the ancient world?

Lorenzo DiTommaso: Yes, I think so. In the first place, countless pastors, rabbis, and clerics continue to interpret present-day events apocalyptically. One might object: “ancient apocalypticism in the modern world” is not the same reptile as “modern apocalypticism.” But modern articulations—and here we must include contemporary lay expressions such as “Left Behind,” as well as popular works of fiction, etc.—are as likely to incorporate, or to be shaped by, mediaeval, early modern, and even contemporary

elements (e.g., new religions like Aum Shinri-kyo or Heaven's Gate). So I see the worldview as having developed historically, rather than being marked by precise divisions. The larger point is that it should not be defined by specific elements, literary genres, or any other taxonomically subordinate phenomena. Rather, its deep axioms and conceptual dimensions, when considered together, reveal a historically coherent yet dynamically organic worldview. This understanding, which I think to this point has eluded us, permits an appreciation of the worldview's most distinctively modern development, namely, secular apocalypticism, with its many (and often surprising) manifestations.

Moshe Bernstein: There is Jewish popular literature today which is imitating in Jewish eschatological, messianic, usually hyper-Zionist, whatever terminology you want to call it, the same kind of patterning that you are getting in Christian terms in "Left Behind"—the messiah is on his way and this is how it's going to happen—in popular Jewish fiction which may very well belong to a similar genre.

Lorenzo DiTommaso: One intriguing aspect of such patterning is its overlap with contemporary evangelical Christian speculation. It recalls the similar correspondence among Jewish, Christian, and Islamic apocalypica during the last centuries of the first millennium. For a worldview that lends itself so readily to nationalistic impulses, apocalypticism has a remarkable ability to cross cultural and religious borders with ease, the effects of which are being felt even today.

ARCHITECTURAL REPRESENTATION TECHNIQUE IN *NEW JERUSALEM*,
EZEKIEL AND THE *TEMPLE SCROLL*

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The present article contains a restricted selection of items and a limited number of accompanying examples, drawn from an in-depth study with a wider scope in the form of a dissertation¹. The starting point of the study was an observation by Florentino García Martínez concerning the architectural presentation technique of the author of *New Jerusalem*: “This would be rather surprising for an author who accumulates details when he describes the other elements of the block. In fact, I believe that he starts by simply expounding one of the elements that make up the compound, the first he comes across when going into the house (...).”² This observation prompted me to reflect on the architectural presentation technique in early Jewish architectural descriptions in order to determine to what extent they differ from each other and to what extent their authors apply the same working method. The comparative study focused on three extensive representative examples, i.e. the aforementioned Aramaic text, Ezekiel and the *Temple Scroll*.³ This particular selection consists of the following items:

1. Imperative/planning or empirical/guiding working method
2. Concern for completeness, accuracy, and the need for repetition
3. An implicit and incomplete mathematical problem: the measuring of the city perimeter or the temple complex circumference
4. Order/sequence of supplying information
5. Absolute and relative orientation
6. Embellishment: materials and colours
7. Types of construction: the gate buildings

A final eighth section concerns parallel Babylonian texts that recall aspects of early Jewish architectural descriptions.

¹ H. Antonissen, *Arames Nieuw Jeruzalem. Een Aramese architectuurbeschrijvende apocalyps* (Ph.D. diss., Katholieke universiteit Leuven, 2008).

² F. García Martínez, “The ‘New Jerusalem’ and the Future Temple of the Manuscripts from Qumran,” in *Qumran and Apocalyptic. Studies in the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (STDJ 9; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 180–213.

³ The fact that the study is limited to these three texts is a response to a suggestion made by Angelika Berlung (Theologische Fakultät, Universität Leipzig).

1. Imperative/Planning or Empirical/Guiding Working Method

The position of the author and his working method are reflected in the use of verbs.⁴ The text of *New Jerusalem*, as preserved, does not show any trace of historical or any other location in place and time which would possibly allow for an identification of the visitor and his guide. Though less numerous than in Ezekiel, verbal forms point clearly to a measuring visit: אמר לי חזא אנת, “he said to me: as you <are> looking at,” ל[מחזא לי, “to] show to me,” חזי הוית, “and <while> I was looking,” חזית, “I saw,” אֶחְזִיאֲנִי and אֶחְזִיאֲנִי, “he showed me,” מָשָׂה, “he measured,” אָמַר לִי, “he said to me” and אָעֲלֵנִי, “he brought me in.”

The text of *New Jerusalem* does not show any explicit reference to the use of measuring instruments as in Ezekiel, where the acts of the prophet and his guide, in surveying the temple complex, are worded explicitly by the deictic interjection הִנֵּה, “behold!,” and by forms of the following verbs:⁵ בוא, “qal: to enter; hiphil: to bring in,” יצא, “qal: to leave; hiphil: to lead out,” הלך, “hiphil: to lead,” סבב, “to turn to; hiphil: to take around,” עבר, “qal: to cross; hiphil: to make cross,” עלל, “to go up,” שבב, “to return; hiphil: to make return,” The act of measuring in Ezekiel is expressed by the verbs מדר, “to measure,” כלל, “to finish,” and עשה, “to make.”⁶ The supply or reception of information is expressed by forms of the verbs דבר, “to speak,” ראה, “to see,” hiphil: “to show,” and שמע, “to hear.”⁷

The author of Ezekiel announces the rudimentary draft of the city circumference (48:30–34) in an imperative way: כה אומר אֲדַבֵּר, “Thus says God” (47:13). The altar of the burnt-offering is also described separately

⁴ Fujita supports his assumption, that the author of 2Q24 seems to have followed the description of Ezekiel’s vision of the new temple by appealing to the fact that all the characteristic words from 2Q24 are often found in similar architectural contexts in Ezekiel 40–48: S. Fujita, “The Temple Theology of the Qumran Sect and the Book of Ezekiel: Their Relationship to Jewish Literature of the Last Two Centuries B. C.” (Ph.D. diss, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1970), 310–311.

⁵ בוא: 40:3, 4, 6, 17, 28, 32, 35, 48; 41:1, 3; 42:1; 43:2, 4, 5; 44:4; דבר: 40:45; 43:6; הלך: 40:24; 43:1; 47:6; הִנֵּה: 40:3, 5; 43:2, 5; 47:1, 2, 7; יצא: 42:1; 42:15; 47:3; סבב: 42:2; 47:3; כלל: 42:14; מדר: 40:5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13, 19, 20, 23, 24, 28, 35, 47, 48; 41:1, 3, 4, 5, 13, 15; 42:15 (bis), 16 (bis), 17 (bis), 18 (bis), 19 (bis), 20; 47:3, 4 (bis), 5; עבר: 47:3, 4 (bis), 5; עלל: 40:6; עשה: 40:14; ראה: 40:4 (ter); שבב: 44:1; 47:1, 6, 7; שמע: 40:4; 43:6.

⁶ מדר: 40:5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13, 19, 20, 23, 24, 28, 35, 47, 48; 41:1, 3, 4, 5, 13, 15; 42:15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20; 47:3, 4 (bis), 5; כלל: 42:15; עשה: 40:14.

⁷ דבר: 40:4, 45; 43:6; ראה (hiphil): 40:4 (bis); שמע: 40:4; 43:6.

in the form of a divine commandment (43:13–17). Both the draft and the description of the burnt-offering altar contain only nominal sentences. The description of the temple complex in the *Temple Scroll* is phrased as a building commandment from God to Moses. No measuring is performed at all. The act of building is rendered by the verbs⁸ בנה, “to build,” היה, “to be,” and עשה, “to make.” Qualities of the objects to be built are worded by nominal sentences.

2. Concern for Completeness and Accuracy, and the Need for Repetition

The authors of the three texts I have compared feel obliged to achieve completeness for two reasons: first, out of respect for the divine origin of the architecture described, and secondly, because of the didactic purpose of their texts.

Concern for completeness is clearly and explicitly expressed in Ezekiel: “When they are ashamed of all that they have done, make known to them the plan of the temple, its arrangement, its exits and its entrances, and its whole form, all its ordinances and its entire plan and all its laws; and write it down in their sight, so that they may observe and follow the entire plan and all its ordinances” (43:11).⁹ Not only the people of Israel have to be instructed but the visitor also: “The man said to me, ‘Mortal, look closely and listen attentively, and set your mind upon all that I shall show you, for you were brought here in order that I might show it to you, declare all that you see to the house of Israel’” (40:4). The concern for accuracy is expressed in two ways. On the one hand the measuring instrument is shown, and on the other hand its exact dimension is explained twice: “The length of the measuring rod in the man’s hand was six long cubits, each being a cubit and a handbreadth in length” (40:5) and “I saw also that the temple had a raised platform all around; the foundations of the side chambers measured a full reed of six long cubits” (41:8). Implicitly the whole process of the measuring of the temple complex reflects this concern.

The texts of *New Jerusalem* and of the *Temple Scroll*, as they are preserved, do not contain similar statements. The concern for completeness,

⁸ בנה: 11Q19 XXX 4; היה: 11Q19 III 12, XII 8, XXXII 10 and XLII 17; עשה: 11Q19 III 8, V 13, VII 13, VIII 6, X 9, XII 11, 13, 15, XIII 3, XXX 3, 5, 7, XXXI 6, XXXII 12, XXXIII 8, XXXIV 15, XXXV 10, XXXVII 8, XXXVIII 12, XXXVIII 12, XL 5, XII 12.

⁹ All quotations from the Hebrew Bible in the present article are taken from the *Revised Standard Version*.

especially from a didactic point of view, is demonstrated by different forms of repetition,¹⁰ although the authors of the three texts dispose of a number of idioms which could have avoided this recurrent use.¹¹ In *New Jerusalem* dimensions are often, but not consistently, reported twice, first in rods then in cubits, as listed in table 1:

Table 1: Two measuring systems in New Jerusalem

rods	cubits	Reference
nihil	4	4Q554 1 iii 17//5Q15 1 i 22; 4Q554 ^a 1 ii 1//5Q15 1 ii 5
nihil	7	4Q554 1 iii 17//5Q15 1 i 22
nihil	12	4Q554 ^a 1 ii 7//5Q15 1 ii 11
nihil	19	5Q15 1 ii 10
1	7	4Q554 1 iii 18//5Q15 1 ii 1; 4Q554a 1 ii 6; [5Q15 22 3]
2	14	4Q554a 1 ii 5//5Q15 1 ii 8 (2 x); 4Q554 1 iii 19//5Q15 1 ii 1; 5Q15 1 i 18, 19; ii 3 (2 x 2), 9
3	21	2Q24 1 2–3//4Q554 1 ii 14–15//5Q15 1 i 1–2

This working method seems to have its origin in the two aforementioned statements in Ezekiel (40:5 and 41:8), where the exact measure of the rod is explicitly clarified twice. The clearest example of repetition however is offered by the measuring of the city perimeter which is discussed below under section 3. The author of Ezekiel repeats the description of the gate buildings five times, almost literally:

Table 2: Repeated descriptions of gate buildings in Ezekiel

	outer gate North (40:20– 22)	outer gate South (40:24– 26)	inner gate South (40:28– 31)	inner gate East (40:32– 34)	inner gate North (40:35–38)
recesses	21	–	29	33	36
three on each side	21	–	–	–	–
jamb	21	24	29	33	36
vestibules	21	24	29	33	36
same size	21	24	28	33	35

¹⁰ On repetition as a biblical narrative technique see R. Alter, *Bijbelse verhaalkunst* (Baarn: Ten Have, 1997), 114–144.

¹¹ See H. Antonissen, “Some Aspects of Aramaic New Jerusalem,” in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (ed. A. Hilhorst, É. Puech and E. Tigchelaar; JSJSup 22; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 247–248.

as	21 (first gate)	–	–	–	–
50 x 25 cubits	21	25	30	33	36
windows/niches	22	25	29	33	36
all around	–	25	29	33	36
also in the vestibules	–	25	29	33	–
palm tree ornament	22	26	31	34	37
at the jambs	–	26	31	34	37
on both sides	–	26	–	34	37
same size (as East gate)	22	–	–	–	–
number of steps	7	7	8	8	8
vestibules	22	–	31	–	–
all around	–	–	29	–	–
on the outer court side	–	–	31	–	–

After having supplied sufficient information to imagine the ground plan of the outer court, the author of the *Temple Scroll* shows concern for completeness, by specifying successively subsection by subsection, as discussed below in section 3. Notwithstanding his concern for completeness and accuracy the author of the *Temple Scroll* gives an unexpected sign of a lack of precision by mentioning the size of the side of the outer court wall with the term “about:” “in length about a thousand (כאלף) and six[hundred] cubits from angle to angle.”¹²

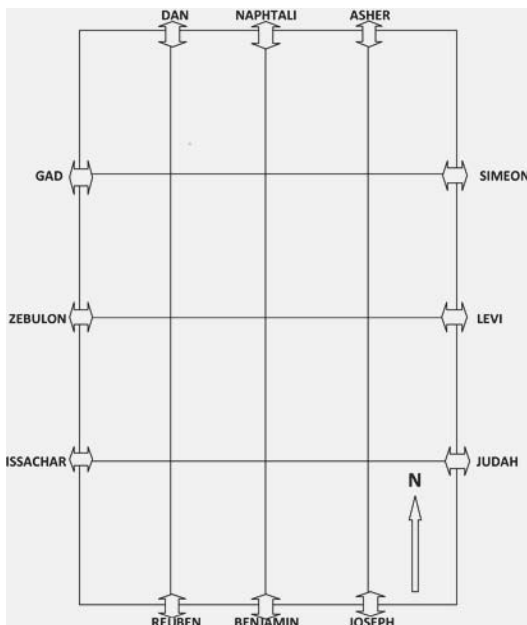
3. *An Implicit and Incomplete Mathematical Problem: the Measuring of the City Circumference or the Temple Complex Perimeter*

One of the universal characteristics of architecture consists of its three dimensions and sizes. A modern logical working method for presenting architectural forms is a mathematical problem, in which geometry and arithmetic are combined. By the successive supply of information the listener/reader is expected to draw up a mental architectural plan. The authors of the three texts compared here report dimensions and sizes, and especially the latter, explicitly and abundantly but not always sufficiently.

¹² 11Q19 XL 8.

The measuring of the city wall in *New Jerusalem* and in Ezekiel shows the most basic form of architectural description, presented in the form of a mathematical problem concerning two dimensions. In the *New Jerusalem* an unidentified guide takes the visitor, possibly Jacob,¹³ around the city's perimeter from angle to gate, from gate to gate and from gate to angle, wall section after wall section, measuring successively, time after time and clockwise the size of each subsection of the wall.¹⁴

Figure 1: Perimeter of the City in New Jerusalem



On the east and west sides the subsections measure 35 stadia, on the south and north sides 25 stadia. First, the author expects the listener/reader to calculate by himself the global size of the city perimeter by means of a long chain of mere additions: $35 + 35 + 35 + 35 + 25 + 25 + 25 + 25 + 35 + 35 + 35 + 35 + 25 + 25 + 25 + 25$ stadia = 480 stadia. Subsequently, the author of *New Jerusalem* incites the listener/reader to imagine the general base of the city plan, i.e. a rectangle with 12 gates,

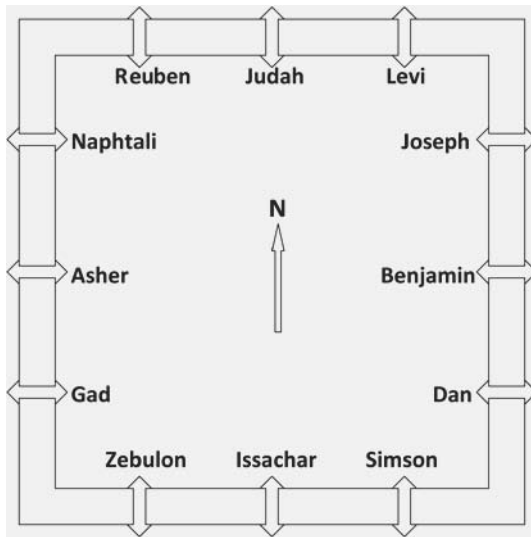
¹³ E. Tigchelaar, "The visionary of the Aramaic *New Jerusalem*," in *Flores Florentino*, 257–270.

¹⁴ 4Q554 I i 11–ii 11. See fig. 1, below.

named after the sons of Jacob. There are three gates on each side, three by three opposite to one another. He presumably also had a third, more hidden intention, as the relationship between the width and the length of the rectangular ground plan is 5:7, i.e. the relationship between the side of a square and its diagonal.¹⁵

To report the measurements of the city perimeter, the author of Ezekiel uses a similar technique but in a less analytical way.¹⁶ First of all, the respective sizes of the north, east, south and west sides are given clockwise, 4 500 cubits each. Subsequently, the global size of the city circumference is mentioned, 18 000 cubits. The separate size of the subsections between the corners and the gates, the gates and the gates and the corners is left unmentioned. It is up to the listener/reader to make the calculation by division. Here, too, the gates are 12 in number and named after the sons of Jacob.

Figure 2: Perimeter of the City in Ezekiel



The order in which the author of Ezekiel leaks information is very illogical, if one wishes to draw a basic mental plan of the temple complex.¹⁷

¹⁵ M. Chyutin, *The New Jerusalem Scroll: A Comprehensive Reconstruction* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 142.

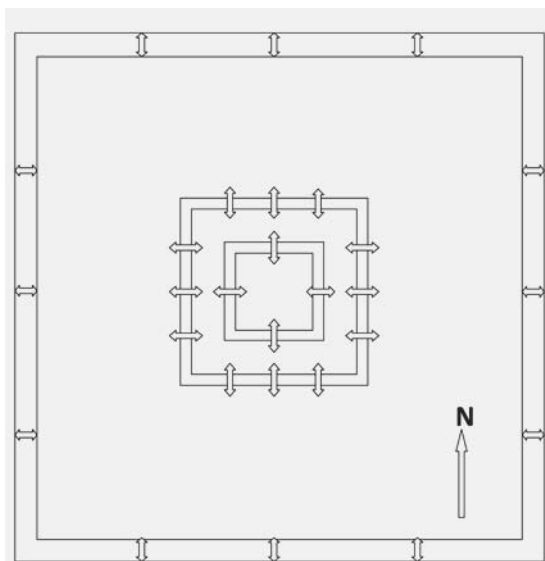
¹⁶ Ez 48:30–35. See fig. 2, below.

¹⁷ Ez 42:15–20. See fig. 4, below.

He only reports on the measuring of the outer court wall at the end of the visiting tour, although additional information is imperative to locate the data concerning the outer court. As with the city circumference in *New Jerusalem*, the temple complex perimeter is measured on the outside¹⁸ but not in a continuous way, as the sequence of the reported compass points shows: East, North, South and West. Each side of the square measures 500 cubits. The gates remain unmentioned. The purpose of the wall is emphasized, i.e. to separate the holy from the unholy.

In describing the outer court wall of the temple complex, the author of the *Temple Scroll* for his part combines both working methods described above.¹⁹

Figure 3: Ground Plan of the Temple Complex of the Temple Scroll



First the author seems to report the inner size, i.e. between two corners (פנה), of one of the four main wall sections at approximately 1 600 (כאלף) cubits. He then enumerates clockwise the distances of the subsections between the corners (פנה) and the gates, between the gates, and between the gates and the corners (פנה), i.e. 360 cubits. Here too the gates are 12 in number and named after the sons of Jacob. Other than in

¹⁸ Ez 42:15.

¹⁹ 11Q19 XL 5–XLII 17. See fig. 3 and also fig. 6, below.

the *New Jerusalem*, the mental drawing of the architectural plan by the listener/reader requires a larger number of operations. Inside, the court wall, compounded by four subsections of 360 cubits and 3 gates of 50 cubits wide, measures $360 + 50 + 360 + 50 + 360 + 50 + 360 = 1590$ cubits, which corresponds roughly to the aforementioned number 1600. As the court wall is seven cubits thick, the outer size of its sides is $7 + 1590 + 7 = 1604$ cubits which also roughly corresponds to the number 1600.²⁰

Against the inner side of the wall chambers, rooms and stoas are to be built up. These chambers and rooms are 10 cubits wide, 20 cubits long and 14 cubits high. The stoas are 10 cubits wide and 14 cubits high. Between two gates, the number of chambers and rooms has to be 18. This number can be calculated by dividing the size of a wall section of 360 cubits by 20. From the sections between gates and from the thickness of the chamber and room walls one can deduce that the real interior of each measures 18 x 8 cubits. As in *New Jerusalem*, with regard to the position of the corner modules of an insula, a problem arises in relation to the disposition of the chambers and rooms in the inner corner of the court, as at this location there is not enough room neither for a complete chamber nor for both sides/legs of the square.

The commandment to construct the middle court wall is less elaborated than the one with regard to the outer court wall.²¹ Only the size of one side is mentioned, the east one, which is 480 cubits long, a number which the author will allow the listener/reader to verify further on in the text. The wall is four cubits thick and 28 cubits high. At this location, chambers will be made in the wall. The 12 gates are named after the sons of Jacob. Subsequently, the measurements are given between corners and gates, gates and gates and gates and corners from the north-east corner (פונה) onward, 99 cubits per section and 28 cubits per gate: $99 \times 4 = 396 + 28 \times 3 = 84 = 480$. The commandment to construct the two other courts starts with the inner corner, but here it starts with the angle of the inner court wall.²² Only the size of the section between a corner and the gate is recorded: 120 cubits. As one side of the square contains only one gate, the front of which measures 40 cubits, the listener/reader

²⁰ See also Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983), vol. 1, p. 251 and 253.

²¹ 11Q19 XXXVIII 12–XXXIX 16. See fig. 7, below.

²² 11Q19 XXXVI 2–14. See fig. 3, above.

is enabled to calculate the total size of one side: 294 cubits ($7 + 120 + 40 + 120 + 7$). The wall has to be 7 cubits thick and 45 cubits high.

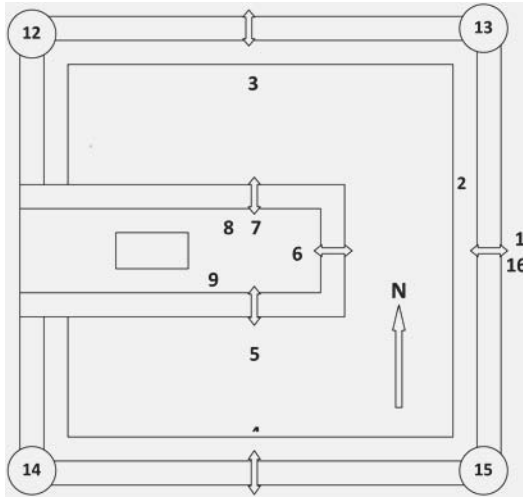
4. *Order/Sequence of Supplying Information*

If early Jewish architectural descriptions can be considered as embellished mathematical problems, then the sequence in which information is provided, is highly important. In the three texts compared here, the sequence has to be considered on different levels. The first level relates to the global sense of the visit or the commandment. The second level relates to smaller architectural elements, such as walls or separate buildings.

The author of *New Jerusalem* presents at least one continuous visiting circuit which begins at the north-east angle of the city and ends at the terrace of an insula module inside the city. The information which is gradually supplied by the author allows the listener/reader to draw a city plan in his mind. First the audience is informed meticulously regarding the sizes of the sixteen wall subsections, their orientation and the names of the twelve gates, which, as they can deduce from the sizes of the wall sections, are opposite to one another, three by three. After having entered the city, the global form of the insulae and their neighbouring streets are surveyed. Subsequently, the orientation, location, quality and length of the boulevards are reported: three from east to west and three from south to north. The largest of each runs in the middle of the others. The largest east-west boulevard runs north or left to the temple.²³ The audience has to combine by themselves the information they gathered during the tour around the city walls and the information regarding the boulevards, by imagining a street plan. The order of information regarding the gate building will be discussed below under section 7.

²³ See fig. 1, above. On the different opinions about the location of the temple, see Antonissen, "Some Aspects," 248–252.

Figure 4: Ground Plan and Visiting Circuit Temple Complex in Ezekiel



In Ezekiel, the bronze guide starts his tour outside the temple complex by measuring the height of the wall.²⁴ Then the outer east gate is thoroughly surveyed, followed by the outer north and south gates, and the inner south, east and north gates. Subsequently, the inner court is measured and then the temple building itself, of which only the entrance hall and the holy are visited. The inner court is left through the north gate to visit respectively the priestly sacristies from their north side and the cooking installations for the people in the four corners of the outer court. The architectural tour of the temple complex is concluded by the measuring of its outer walls. The altar of the burnt-offering is described separately further on as a divine commandment. The size of the city circumference is also given by commandment at the end of the book, after the purifying living waters and the division and assignment of the land have been determined.

The general sense of the building commandment in the *Temple Scroll* leads from the centre of the temple complex to the fosse, surrounding it. The commandment appears to start with the material and utensils for the

²⁴ Description of the temple complex: Ez 40:3–42:20. See fig. 4, above. The numbers in the drawing refer to the sequence of the visit as described in the following verses in Ezekiel: item 1: 40:1–16; item 2: 40:17–18; item 3: 40:20–23; item 4: 40:24–27; item 5: 40:28–31; item 6: 40:32–34; item 7: 40:35–37; item 8: 40:44–46; item 9: 40:48–49; item 10: 41:1–4; item 11: 42: 1–14; items 12–15: 46:19–24; item 16: 42:15–20.

temple building. Then the temple building itself and the altar of the burnt-offering are described. Next, the constructions around the temple building in the inner court are discussed: the stairwell, the stoa west of the temple building, the house of the laver and the house of utensils, the slaughterhouse, the cooking spaces, the stoa and the spaces for stoves. Subsequently, the middle court and outer court are discussed. The last elements described by commandment are the scarecrow, the terrace and the fosse surrounding the whole complex. While the author of *New Jerusalem* apparently applies the same method as his Babylonian counterpart in recording the number of towers of the eastern defense of Babylon, the author of the *Temple Scroll* seems to apply a describing working method which brings to mind the schematic description of both the Esagila and Ezida complex,²⁵ though in a more one-dimensional way. The Babylonian author uses two cross sections, one south-north, the other east-west, which pass through nine walls and which divide and enclose eight distinct areas. The Jewish author does not need two cross sections, since the main principle of his describing circuit is in a conceptual way one-dimensional, i.e. from the interior to the exterior or from the most holy to the profane, though in a spatial sense it extends in every direction.

5. Absolute and relative orientation

It is not only important for the audience to be enabled to calculate distances, surfaces and volumes. Architectural elements have to be orientated in space in the absolute sense by compass points and in the relative sense in relationship to one another. Absolute orientation in the three texts compared here is performed by points of the compass in relation to both angles and gates. The three texts use the main wind directions. Three sides of the city wall in *New Jerusalem* and the location of the temple, the four sides of the outer walls of the temple complex and the four sides of the city in Ezekiel and the four sides of the middle and the outer court in the *Temple Scroll*, are located by referring to the main directions.²⁶

²⁵ VAT (=Vorderasiatische Abteilung Tontafeln, Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin). 9961 + 10335; A. R. George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts* (Leuven: Peeters, 1992), 120–129 and fig. 14.

²⁶ East: *New Jerusalem*: 4Q554 1 ii 9, 10, 17; 5Q15 1 i 3; Ez 40:6, 23, 32, 44; 42:10, 12, 16; 43, 4; 46:19; 47:2, 3; 48:16, 17, 32; *Temple Scroll*: 11Q19 XXXI 10, 12; XXXIII

Two of them, *New Jerusalem* and the *Temple Scroll* also use combined directions. In the first, the starting angle is located in the north-east: “from] the east [corner] which is in the north.”²⁷ In the latter the stairwell of the temple building is located to the northeast of it.²⁸ Both *New Jerusalem* and the *Temple Scroll* use corners or angles as points of reference. Ezekiel mentions neither corners nor angles. When describing the perimeter of the temple complex its author uses the term “road,” דֶּרֶךְ, and the term “side,” צֶדֶד, when describing the city circumference. *New Jerusalem* on the one hand has only one term for corner, זָוִי, while the *Temple Scroll* on the other has two Hebrew terms, respectively פִּנְיָה, designating mostly exterior corners but also interior corners, and מִקְצוּעַ, designating only interior corners. Without specifying this property however, all three texts assume that the buildings have right angles/corners. In *New Jerusalem* and the *Temple Scroll* combined with the four angles/corners, the gates function as points of reference. In both texts the corners/angles do not act exclusively as starting points but also as turning points and points of arrival. Each gate can be seen as a stop on the circuit around the associated walls.

This working method is similar to the one applied on an almost complete Neo- or Late Babylonian tablet of unrecorded provenance.²⁹ The text does not describe a closed circuit, but begins at the Euphrates north of the Summer Palace and ends at the “Gate of the Seashore” in the south. The wall in question consists of the outer eastern defenses of Babylon. It is furnished with five gates and 120 towers. In an empirical way, the author mentions explicitly the bank of the Euphrates as the starting point, and the Gate of the Seashore is the end of the survey, which is performed clockwise. Only the number of towers of each section is given and not the global number. In Ezekiel, neither the gates of

8; XXXIX 12, 14; XL 9, 11; XLI 11, XLIV 2; XLVI 17; South: *New Jerusalem*: 4Q554 1 i 9, 15; ii 20; 5Q15 1 i 4; 11Q18 6 3; Ez 40:24, 27, 28; 41:11; 42:12, 13, 18; 48:16, 17, 33; *Temple Scroll*: 11Q19 XXXIII 10; XXXIX 13; XL 9, 11; West: *New Jerusalem*: 2Q24 4 10; 4Q554 1 i 17; ii 17; 11Q18 12 i 5; 20 2; Ez 41:12; 42:19; 46:19; 48:16, 17, 34; *Temple Scroll*: 11Q19 XXX 7; XXXI 13; XXXV 10; XXXVIII 6; XLI 1; XLIV 15; XLVI 14; North: *New Jerusalem*: 4Q554 1 ii 18; iii 20; 5Q15 1 i 4; ii 2; 5Q15 22 6; Ez 40:20, 23, 35, 44 (*bis*), 46; 41:11; 42:1, 2, 4, 11, 13, 17; 47:3; 48:16, 17, 31; *Temple Scroll*: 11Q19 XXX 5, XXXI 12; XXXIII 10; XXXVII 14; XXXIX 13, 14; XL 9, 12, XLVI 14; 11Q20 X 6.

²⁷ 4Q554 1 i 11.

²⁸ 11Q19 XXX 7.

²⁹ BM (=British Museum) 55441. George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts*, 137–141 and fig. 17.

the temple complex nor those of the city plan are considered as points of reference. The gates of the complex have no names at all, while those of the city have the names of the sons of Jacob.

6. *Embellishments: Materials and Colours*

Architecture does not consist only of distances, surfaces and volumes but also of material and colour. Ordinary materials such as baked tiles and bitumen are often mentioned by the Assyrian and Babylonian kings in the reconstruction of Babylon. These materials are mentioned in the Hebrew Bible in relation to the tower of Babylon.³⁰ More extensive is the report about all sorts of precious materials in relation to the sanctuary and the city. The author of Ezekiel mentions only wood, without specifying its species when describing the table for the show breads.³¹ He does not mention any precious materials. Though the text of the *Temple Scroll* is better preserved than that of the Aramaic one, the diversity of the precious materials is more limited. The *Temple Scroll* mentions wooden planks/tables³² and twice speaks of framework in cedar wood. The carpentry of the house of utensils and the jambs of the gates of the middle court are of cedar wood.³³ Gold³⁴ as a raw material is mentioned most frequently: unidentified objects, the cover of atonement, and cups are of pure gold. The veil is of gold. The stairwell is also covered in gold, as are the frameworks of the gates of the inner court and doors. The doors of the gates of the inner court are covered in fine gold. Silver and gold are mentioned as raw materials in a disturbed context³⁵ as well as blue- and red purple wool.³⁶ Bronze and iron are mentioned as raw materials.³⁷ An unidentified plate and the altar of the burnt-offer and its grille are of bronze.³⁸ Of the three texts compared here, only the *Temple Scroll* mentions silver, once together with gold as a raw material in relation to the temple building³⁹ and once in the report

³⁰ Gen 11:3.

³¹ Ez 41:21–22.

³² 11Q19 VII 3.

³³ 11Q19 XXXVI 11; XL 16//4Q365a 2 II 9.

³⁴ 11Q19 III 8, 9, 12; VII 13; XXXI 8; XXXVI 11 (*bis*); XXXIX 3; XLI 16–17.

³⁵ 11Q19 III 5.

³⁶ 11Q19 III 2.

³⁷ 11Q19 III 7.

³⁸ 11Q19 III 14; XXXIV 1.

³⁹ 11Q19 III 5.

about vessels in the house of the utensils.⁴⁰ On the one hand, gold is also incorporated into the architecture of the temple in *New Jerusalem*. On the other hand its author drew his inspiration from the same tradition as the authors of Jeremiah and Tobit, where the city is described in terms of precious materials. This tradition will culminate in the description of the New Jerusalem in the Apocalypse of John. *New Jerusalem* mentions דָּהָב, “gold,”⁴¹ הוֹבֵן, “ebony,”⁴² or a kind of precious stone, חֶשְׁמֶל, “electrum,”⁴³ יְהֵלֶם, “onyx,”⁴⁴ פְּדִכּוֹר, “ruby,”⁴⁵ סַפִּיר, “sapphire,”⁴⁶ and not least of all חוֹר, “white stone.”⁴⁷ The study of all these materials points to the divine presence of God.

A parallel use of the materials in question is found in a Neo- or Late Babylonian school tablet containing an eulogy of the city of Babylon, inserted in a Hymn of Marduk:⁴⁸ obverse (4’–14’):

Eternal city of privilege [...], spacious treasure house [...], bolt of carnelian... [...], obsidian, lapis lazuli, white-stone, [...], precious jasper... [...], like the sea it is lifted [...], like an orchard of fruit its sumptuousness [is inexhaustible (?)] like a flood-wave its might is [exalted], Delightful star of Marduk... [...], wherever the sun <is>, its gate, Imgurenlil [...].

The parallel use of precious materials in the Aramaic and the Babylonian texts, including the use of white stone, supports the possible existence of the divine presence in the city, described in *New Jerusalem*, more specifically in the temple.⁴⁹ Unlike the description of the tabernacle in Exodus, none of the three texts pays much attention to colours. The *Temple Scroll* mentions the same colours which play an important part in the description of the desert sanctuary: “blue,”⁵⁰ תְּכֵלֶת, “red purple,”⁵¹ אֲרָגְמָן, and “crimson,”⁵² תּוֹלַע. Ezekiel pays no attention to colours at all, and *New Jerusalem* only once, in relation to the white stone which covers the whole city and its streets.

⁴⁰ 11Q19 XXXIII 14.

⁴¹ 4Q554 2 ii 15; 11Q18 10 i 2, 6; 11 4.

⁴² 11Q18 10 i 5; 12 i 7; 16 i 1.

⁴³ 4Q554 2 ii 15.

⁴⁴ 5Q15 22 1.

⁴⁵ 4Q554 2 ii 15.

⁴⁶ 2Q24 3 2; 4Q554 2 ii 15.

⁴⁷ 2Q24 8 3; 5Q15 1 i 6.

⁴⁸ BM 36646; George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts*, 230–231 and fig. 46.

⁴⁹ See above under section 4.

⁵⁰ 11Q19 III 2.

⁵¹ 11Q19 III 2 and X 12.

⁵² 11Q19 X 10 and 14.

7. *A specific Type of Construction: Gate Buildings*

In this section, the description of a specific type of construction is discussed in order to establish to what extent the working method of the authors is either similar or dissimilar. The types common to the three texts are larger complexes like that of a city and that of the temple with their walls and gates. Though the three texts describe gates, none of the type of gates described and none of the revealed presentation techniques is identical.

In *New Jerusalem* one of the four gates of an insula is described. Thanks to Licht we have at our disposal a plausible and comprehensive plan of this kind of gate.⁵³ The guide seems to survey the building by considering its different parts separately and in sequence, inciting the listener/reader to register the information carefully in order to be able to fit it in his mind into a complete plan. If one casts a glance at the ground plan, one can observe the gate interior in the form of a cross with a wide transverse beam. The guide uses the four entrances counterclockwise as reference points when surveying the interior. The stairwell is discussed separately after it is entered. The survey of a gate building of an insula as performed in *New Jerusalem* (4Q554, 4Q554^a and 5Q15) can be presented as in figure 5 and table 3:

⁵³ J. Licht, "An Ideal Town Plan from Qumran: The Description of the New Jerusalem," *Israel Exploration Journal* 29 (1979): 45–59.

Figure 5: Ground Plan of Gate Building in New Jerusalem

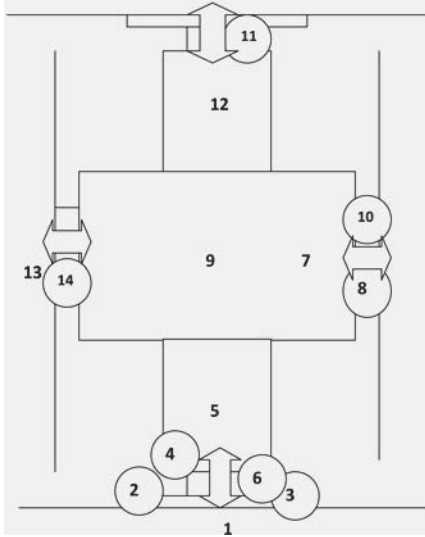


Table 3: Description of the tour of a gate building in New Jerusalem

statement	dimensions	comments	
1	width gate front on the street side	4 cubits	= result addition 7 + 8 modules + width 1 module and total length on one side of an insula: 51–47 cubits
2↓	width gate entrance on the street side (4Q554 2 iii 14//5Q15 1 i 18–19)	2 rods, 14 cubits	
3	depth portico on the street side (4Q554 2 iii 14)	1 cubit	
4↓	gate entrance on the street side (5Q15 1 i 20)	<4 cubits wide>	
5↓	entrance hall on the street side	13 (?) x 10 cubits	
6↑	width (and height) gate entrance on the street side	4 cubits wide 7 cubits high	deduced from the width of the gate entrance on the right (5Q15 1 i//4Q554 2 iii 16–17)
7↓	central entrance hall on the right	no dimensions	

8→	(4Q554 2 iii 16//5Q15 1 i 21) entrance on the right side of the central hall	4 cubits wide, 7 cubits high	
9←	(4Q554 2 iii 16–17//5Q15 1 i 21–22) dimensions of the central entrance hall (4Q554 2 iii 17–19//5Q15 1 i 22–ii 2)	1 rod = 7 cubits wide, 2 rods = 14 cubits long	
10	indirect information: complete dimensions of the central hall, the wall thickness included		total width hall = length part measured before: 2 rods or 14 cubits; total length = sum width parts: 7 cubits (L) + 10 cubits (width K) + 7 cubits = 24 cubits; wall thickness at the exterior: as the front of the gate is 28 cubits, this produces a difference of 4 cubits, which can be ascribed to the wall thickness on both sides of the central hall; calculation confirmed by another one: partial dimensions of the central entrance hall (L) and the width of one massive tower: 9 cubits – 7 cubits = 2 cubits.
11↓	gate entrance on the inside of the insula (4Q554 1 iii 19–20; 5Q15 1 ii 1–2)	gate entrance: same dimensions as the one on the street side: 4 cubits; lintel: 1 cubit dimensions hall: 13 (?) x 10 cubits>	
12↑	implicit information: presence entrance hall on the court side		because of architectural symmetry one can accept, that the rear part of the building has structures, which are identical with H and I (recessed portico 1 cubit deep and 2 rods or 14 cubits wide), X ₂ (entrance of 1 cubit wide) and K (entrance hall of 13 x 10 cubits); this entrance hall on the court side is referred to in Oa
13←	stairwell left in	no dimensions	

14→	the building (4Q554 1 iii 20; 5Q15 1 ii 2-3) entrance stairwell opposite the entrance to the right of the central entrance hall (4Q554 1 iii 21- 22; 5Q15 1 ii 3-4)	same size as the other en- trances: <4 cubits>	
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The author of Ezekiel describes only one type of gate which is identical for the three entrances of the outer court and the three entrances of the inner court. He applies a different method than the author of the Aramaic text. The interior of the gate building can be described as a long passage with three small rooms on each side and a hall at the end. These parts of the basic ground plan are not visited in a subsequent circuit. The 21 stages of the survey show that the direction of the visit moves constantly back and forth and back again as shown in figure 6 and table 4:

Figure 6: Ground Plan Gate Building in Ezekiel

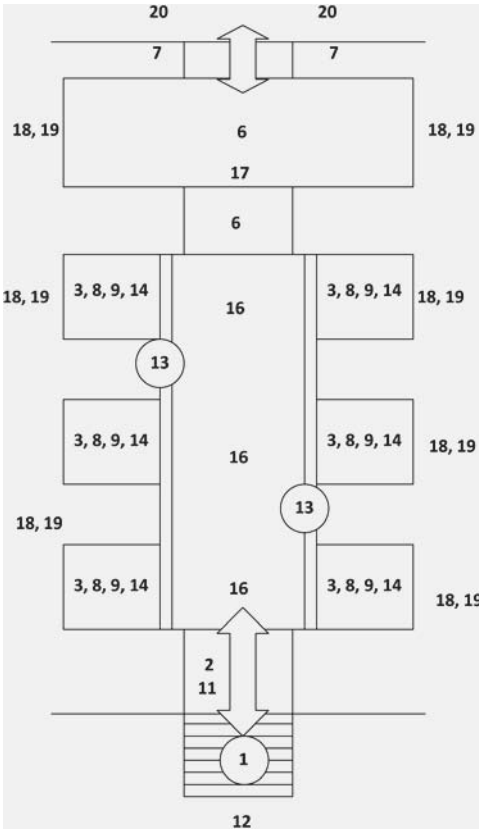


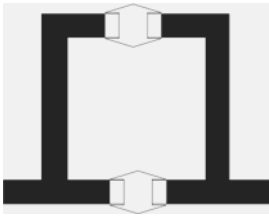
Table 4: Description of the tour of a gate building in Ezekiel

stage visit	Ez 40		cubits	rods
1↓	6	steps (number, seven, to be deduced from 40:22 and 26)		
2↓	6	width threshold		1
3↓	7	surface of the recesses		1 x 1
4↓	7	walls between the recesses	5	
5↓	7	threshold between the part of the recesses and the vestibule		1
6↓	8–9	vestibule on the court side	8	
7↓	9	jamb on the court side	2	
8↑	10	number of recesses (3 on either side)		

9⊂	10	identical dimensions of all the recesses	
10	10	walls between the recesses have the same dimensions	
11↑	11	width frontal entrance	10
12↑	11	width gate front	13
13↓	12	boundary in front of the recesses	1
14↓	12	depth recesses	6
15↔		width ceiling (= width interior)	25
16↔	13	the entrances of the recesses are opposite one another	
17↓	15	length interior	50
18⊂	16	closed windows or niches all around the recesses	
19⊂	16	closed windows or niches all around the building	
20	16	palm tree ornament on the jambs at the court side	

On the *Temple Scroll*, the description of the gates of the inner and the outer court have been preserved (as shown in fig. 7 and in table 5):

Figure 7: Ground Plan Gate Building Inner Court and Outer Court of the Temple Scroll



The form of mathematical problem in which the gate of the inner court is presented goes as follows: first the square form of its ground plan with sides of 40 cubits. Its wall is seven cubits thick and the building itself is 45 cubits high. Its rooms are 26 cubits wide. In combination with the width of the wall, the building should have a side of at least 59 cubits. The entrance is 14 cubits wide. The height of the building is insufficiently specified: 28 cubits up to the lintel and 14 cubits higher up, which does not add up the aforementioned 45 cubits. It has beam work in cedar wood and is covered in pure gold. The doors are of pure gold. The only information about the gates of the middle court relates to their width: 28 cubits. The width of the gates of the outer court is 50 cubits and their height 70 cubits. The author invites the listener/reader to

verify the square character of the ground plan by inciting him to perform an additional exercise. The gates extend seven cubits outwards from the courtyard and extend 36 cubits inwards from the wall of the courtyard. To the sum thus obtained one has to add the thickness of the outer court wall: seven cubits; $36 + 7 + 7$ cubits = 50 cubits. The entrance is 14 cubits wide and 28 cubits high. They have jambs of cedar wood, overlaid with gold, as are their doors.

Table 5

11Q19	gates	cubits
inner court		
XXXVI	width and ground plan gate	40 x 40
4		
5	wall thickness	7
6	height	45
6–7	width chambers	26
7	both entrances	14 wide and 28 high
outer court		
XLI 12	the gates protrude from the wall	7
13	the gates extend inwards out of the wall	36
nihil	surface ground plan to be calculated by the listener/reader	$7 + 36 + 7 =$ 50
14	width entrance	14
14–15	height up to the lintel	28
15–16	furnished with jambs of cedar wood and overlaid with pure gold	

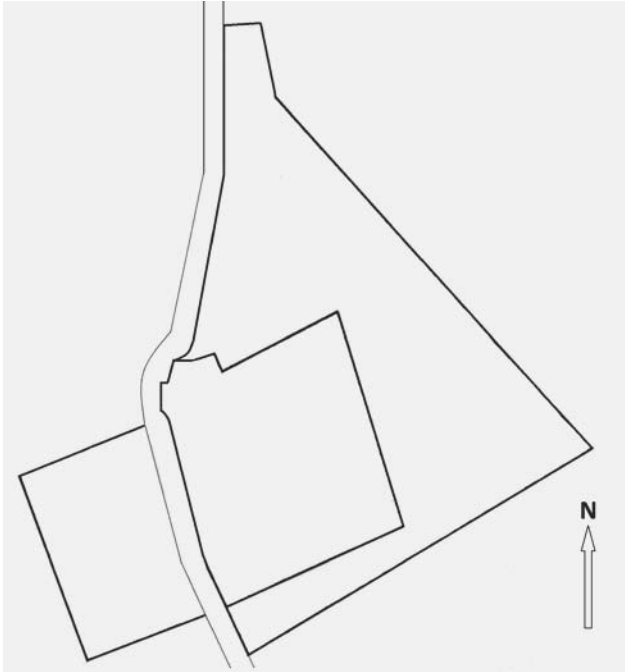
8. Babylonian Parallel Texts

The survey which will now follow was inspired by the hypothesis that the architectural description, not only in the three texts compared here but also in other early Jewish descriptions, draws on a Mesopotamian tradition. The Esagila tablet contains the example of an architectural description in the form of a school exercise.⁵⁴ The intrinsic value of the text is not topographical but mathematical. Lengths and breadths are multiplied to give areas of courtyards in linear-based surface units which are converted in turn into capacity units which are in turn recon-

⁵⁴ AO (=Antiquités orientales, Musée du Louvre) 6555 and BM 40813; George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts*, 109–119.

verted into linear measurements. The measurements of the zikkurat are calculated by means of two different metric systems. The two systems are explicitly compared.

Figure 8: Inner and Outer Defenses of Babylon



Other texts have an empirical descriptive nature. The working method applied by the author of *New Jerusalem* in measuring the city perimeter brings to mind the one applied on an almost complete Neo- or Late Babylonian tablet of unrecorded provenance.⁵⁵ The text does not describe a closed circuit, but describes the eastern defense of Babylon, starting at the Euphrates north of the Summer Palace and ending at the “Gate of the Seashore” in the south.⁵⁶ The wall is furnished with five gates and 120 towers. In an empirical and inductive way the author mentions explicitly the bank of the Euphrates as the starting point and the Gate of the Seashore as the end of a survey which is performed clockwise. Only the number of towers of each section is given and not the global number.

⁵⁵ BM 55441; George, *ibid.*, 137–141 and fig. 17.

⁵⁶ See fig. 8 above.

The global perimeter of the inner wall of Babylon is the subject of another Neo- or Late-Babylonian text⁵⁷ which contains a section-wise description of the Imgurenlil wall in its actual condition, i.e. partly intact and partly in decay. Some parts of it are “built” (DÜRUR LA EPUŠ), others are “not built” (DÜRUR EPUŠ). Many wall sections are defined by topographical reference points.

On the one hand, the expression “from ... up to” brings to mind the measuring of the city perimeter in the Aramaic text, and that on the *Temple Scroll*. On the other hand, two aspects remind us of the threefold description of the walls of Jerusalem in Nehemiah:⁵⁸ First, the nature of the reference points which in the latter not only consist of gates and secondly, the partly decayed nature of the city wall. In the Babylonian text, not only the Zababa- and the Uraš Gate are mentioned but also the temple of Beletnina in the west and the temple of Zāriqu, the banks of the Euphrates, a bronze tower, steles and an artery.⁵⁹ Unlike in Nehemiah and in the Babylonian text, the architecture described in *New Jerusalem*, Ezekiel and on the *Temple Scroll* can be regarded as modernistic, which means that tabula rasa is or has been made of an existing situation. The architectural forms are not defined in historical terms but geometrically. The dimensions of the city or temple complex wall are reported only in terms of four straight walls and the angles/corners of a square or rectangle. Gates play an important part in other Mesopotamian texts. Four texts enumerate the names of the gates of the Esagila complex counterclockwise,⁶⁰ one text clockwise.⁶¹

Conclusion

The following preliminary and partial conclusions can be drawn from the preceding discussion:

⁵⁷ BM 54634; George, *ibid.*, 130–133.

⁵⁸ Nehemiah: survey: 2:12–15, reconstruction 3:1–32, and inauguration: 12:27–43.

⁵⁹ Zababa Gate: rs. 1', Uraš Gate: rs. 5'–6', banks of the Euphrates: rs. 9'–12', temple of Zāriqu: rs. 5', temple of Beletnina: vs. 10', bronze tower: vs. 6', steles: vs. 2'–3', and an artery: vs. 11'.

⁶⁰ Inscription of Neriglissar (I R 67 i 23 and 29), Esagilatablet (AO 6555 and BM 40 813), (BM 35046 and BM 38602/VAT 13817).

⁶¹ One tablet of *LU DLUL BĒL NEMĒQI* (George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts*, 90; VAT 9442, VAT 10538, VAT 9303 and SU 1952, 212 + 291 together with 302).

1. *New Jerusalem* and Ezekiel share the empirical working method in measuring up architecture which is presented as existing actually.
2. The concern for completeness and accuracy is explicitly present in Ezekiel and is confirmed *inter alia* by the measuring of each of the six gates, albeit not in an exactly identical way. The same concern is not formulated explicitly either in *New Jerusalem* as preserved or in the *Temple Scroll*. The author of *New Jerusalem* shows his concern by often giving the dimensions, admittedly not always consistently, both in rods and in cubits. His concern manifests itself clearly in the measuring of the city circumference.
3. All three texts use the form of the mathematical problem to present architecture in a more or less extensive way. The *Temple Scroll* relies on a minimum effort of one's imagination and self-activation/motivation on the part of the listener/reader.
4. The author of the *Temple Scroll* observes a strict order/sequence regarding the visiting circuit: from the interior to the exterior. At least in the continuous story line, starting with the measurement of the city perimeter and ending apparently with the description of a module of an insula, the author of *New Jerusalem* observes a successive series of measuring from the exterior to the interior—at least in the continuous story line as preserved—and from the extensive to the restricted. The author of Ezekiel proceeds from the exterior but first measures the six gates before entering the temple building, where the holy of holies is not discussed. The inner court is left to describe the sacristies in the western part of the complex as well as the cooking spaces in the north-western corner. He concludes by giving the size of the perimeter of the complex.
5. All three texts use compass points to orientate constructions. Only *New Jerusalem* and the *Temple Scroll* have secondary compass points. They both make frequent use of corners in orientating or locating structures, while Ezekiel uses the term "side." The *Temple Scroll* distinguishes angles from corners.
6. Both *New Jerusalem* and the *Temple Scroll* specify the building and the applied embellishing materials. Ezekiel only once refers to the wooden table of the show breads. *New Jerusalem* mentions very precious materials which confirm the position of the temple inside the city.

7. A specific kind of construction, i.e. gate buildings are described in a different way in the three texts. The author of the *Temple Scroll* applies the most modern working method. The author of *New Jerusalem* carries on the method he applied in describing and measuring the city wall, a continuous description, but now counterclockwise. The author of Ezekiel uses a back and forth method, and reports recurrently on the same parts of the building.
8. At least three elements in Babylonian texts describing architecture authorize the study of the connections between the Mesopotamian tradition and the early Jewish one: the form of the mathematical problem, the sectionwise description of a city wall and the gates as reference points.

RESPONSE: LORENZO DITOMMASO

Hugo Antonissen's paper presents an array of observations concerning the description of cities in Ezekiel, the *Temple Scroll*, and the *New Jerusalem* text. These texts correspond not only in the massive size and uniform features of the structures they depict, but also in their attention to measurements and design features. Historically, scholars have looked to the origins of this correspondence through their details. For example, the regular urban structures and gridiron street pattern of the *New Jerusalem* text has been linked to design canons from archaic Egypt, Hellenistic (Hippodamian) urban planning, the Roman *castrum*, and a native Jewish tradition of ideal cities.

Antonissen's approach is quite innovative. He proposes that the way in which the architectural details are described is also important. Specifically, he points out that the use of sub-sectional measurements and of gates as reference-points is reflected in Babylonian sources. From this, he posits that depictions of monumental structures in the Jewish texts drew, as he says, "from a Mesopotamian tradition." Although the Babylonian sources do not describe ideal structures that illustrate regular, replicated features (Figure 8), it seems to me that the basic idea would have been inherently adaptable.

At the same time, one cannot discount the possibility of parallel conception and design. Much has been made of the presence of spiral staircases in both *New Jerusalem* (4Q554 2 iii 20–21) and the *Temple Scroll* (11Q19 XXX 3–XXXI 9, XLII 6–7). Yet the idea of spiral staircases as a vertical transportation device within a limited space (like a tower) is so

brilliantly logical that it was bound to be proposed time and again. Solomon's temple is reported to have had a similar structure (1 Kgs 6:8), while Leonardo da Vinci's design of a defensive tower went one step farther by including a double-helix staircase, so that ascending and descending troops would be permitted their own dedicated right of way. My point is that if design features are proposed independently, so too might architectural representation techniques. After all, if one intends to describe any grand structure in precise detail, a certain amount of blueprint-like accuracy is necessary. This in turn intimates a reliance on common methods of expression, such as sub-sectional measurements. One also might expect the repetition of certain technical words or phrases in like circumstances.

The problem is unlikely to be solved conclusively. We should not, however, neglect another option, namely, that Ezekiel might have drawn from this old Mesopotamian tradition, and that the *Temple Scroll*, the *New Jerusalem*, and other texts drew from Ezekiel.

This leads us to some questions about literary relationships. Do Antonissen's views on architectural representation technique tell us anything about the development of the motif of the New Jerusalem or New Temple in early Judaism? If so, can such a history provide the basis for establishing a relative chronology among the texts in which the motif appears? Antonissen asserts that the *Temple Scroll* employs the "most modern working method" in describing the gate buildings. Does this, then, tell us that the *Temple Scroll* is later than the *New Jerusalem*? Are we able to apply his methodology in other cases, and thereby assign absolute dates with reference to architectural designs elsewhere? And what of language: Is it historically significant that the *New Jerusalem* is composed in Aramaic? His methodology might have real applications in this regard, and I am curious to discover whether he has addressed the issue of relative and absolute dating in the dissertation from which he has extracted his conference paper.

Antonissen also offers the intriguing notion that any depiction of a large-scale structure that exhibits regular, repeated design elements should be understood, in his words, as an "embellished mathematical problem." If I read his argument correctly, the reader or listener is invited to visualize "a mental architectural plan," wherein gaps in the described design are partially filled by the imagination.

But would this notion necessarily have been a Babylonian innovation? Descriptions of actual cities—whether they are "built" or "not built," to use Antonissen's terminology—are not the same as imaginary cities.

Despite their blueprint-like nature, depictions of ideal cities and temples are meant not so much as architect's drawings than theological constructs. Despite what to an architect's eyes may seem to be lacunae, all the relevant information is included, as it is in Ezekiel 40–48 or with the New Jerusalem in the Revelation of John. And what of the fact that the *New Jerusalem* text describes all four walls of its giant city with careful regularity and attention to detail? If other aspects of the city's design were left to the audience's imagination, one wonders why its author would describe the wall and its gates in such a meticulous fashion. The answer is that the massive walls and the sturdy yet open gates have a symbolic value, whose roots reside in the old prophetic tradition of a restored Jerusalem. If this is correct, then perhaps we cannot draw a straight line between Babylonian architectural representation and Jewish eschatological expectation.

Again, though, there is much room for debate. It is with this sentiment in mind that I offer these brief comments on Hugo Antonissen's most interesting paper.

DISCUSSION

Hugo Antonissen: Lorenzo, I appreciate the qualification “innovative” concerning my research. At present I would like to respond to two issues. First of all that of the mathematical problem. This kind of problem is present in the Jewish architectural descriptions of the Hebrew Bible and in the texts from Qumran, albeit in an implicit form. The Babylonian texts are more or completely explicit. But the mathematical problems offered to the audience in the Jewish texts are also incomplete. The information offered to the listener/reader is in a greater or lesser degree insufficient to solve the given problem. This means that the mathematical problem is worded in an incomplete way, as I stated clearly in my article. In my opinion it was the intention of the authors to create in the mind of their audience the impression that the architecture described really exists or can really be built. I did not avoid the study of chronology and dependency but I focused on the way the architecture is described. The second issue relates to the verbal techniques applied by the authors. Is there only one technique or are there many different ones? I mentioned my conclusions previously. The technique of the *Temple Scroll* seems to be the most rational from our modern point of view. It is in this perspective that I used the expression “the most modern,” without any reference to its chronological position. New Jerusalem seems the most naïve but in its own way it is very rational too. The sequence in which information is given is very important and respected meticulously by the author. Ezekiel—I am sorry for the wording, which might be understood as disrespectful—is the most disordered. The dimensions of the perimeter of the temple complex, for example, sorely needed from the beginning in order to determine the position of the architectural elements described, are only mentioned at the end of the tour of the prophet and his bronze guide.

Émile Puech: Vous écrivez que la Jérusalem Nouvelle ne présente aucune référence claire de l'usage d'un instrument de mesure. Mais la composition montre clairement l'utilisation de la canne et de ses correspondances en coudées. Le périmètre de la ville est identique à celui de Babylone et de Ninive, 480 stades, une ville au plan hippodamique, avec des escaliers en colimaçon, etc., cela devrait signifier quelque chose de la date de sa composition. Cette belle ville fortifiée attirera les grandes puissances qui feront son siège, mais Dieu l'en délivrera à l'eschaton.

Hugo Antonissen: Though I agree about a lot of things you said, I disagree about the explicit mentioning of measuring instruments in New Jerusalem. In Ezekiel these instruments are mentioned explicitly (40:3 and 5; 42:16, 17, 18 and 19), but in the fragments of *New Jerusalem* which are available to us, no explicit reference is made to such instruments.

Hanan Eshel: In some texts in Qumran we can find Hellenistic influence even by authors who resist the Hellenistic culture. A nice example is the *War Scroll*. Among the Aramaic texts, the best example is *New Jerusalem*, which describes Jerusalem as a square city in a Hippodamic plan. Even if this plan is from the Persian period, it still represents a very strong Hellenistic influence.

Hugo Antonissen: No doubt the concept of the architecture as described in *New Jerusalem* can be of Hellenistic origin but the subject of my study was the verbal presentation of the architecture described, and the comparison with verbal techniques in two other related texts and Babylonian parallel texts, such as mathematical problems.

André Lemaire: We have to be very careful about the use of the adjective "Hippodamic." As is well known, especially after the excavations of Dor, the Hippodamic plan existed before Hippodamus. In this case, does an Hippodamic plan mean Hellenistic influence? If something exists outside and before Hellenistic influence, why connect it with—and call it—"Hellenistic influence"? "Hellenocentrism" (because "Hellenism" is well known) is another trap in our studies.

Hugo Antonissen: I agree that we have to be careful with the use of the term "Hippodamic," as it seems to point directly to Hellenistic influence. Though we do not have Assyrian and Babylonian texts which describe such an extremely regular pattern, in my opinion, one should take into serious consideration the influence of the practical architectural descriptions and theoretical calculations as found on Mesopotamian clay tablets. This influence must not be viewed in a simple and rectilinear way. A creative effort by the Jewish authors cannot be denied.

MESSIANIC FIGURES IN THE ARAMAIC TEXTS FROM QUMRAN

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The messianic conceptions of the sectarian Qumran scrolls have been intensively researched from the beginnings of Qumran studies. They were an important addition to the scarce textual witnesses for non-Christian messianic conceptions in pre-Rabbinic Judaism.¹ For our comprehension of messianic conceptions in the Hellenistic and Roman era, however, the non-sectarian texts might be even more important than the sectarian texts, On the one hand their conceptions were regarded as acceptable by those Qumranites who added these texts to the Qumran book collection(s).² On the other hand, they might attest to conceptions hold in wider segments of the Jewish society outside Qumran if we accept the assumption that the Qumranites did not compose Aramaic texts.

If this assumption is true, we have at least four non-sectarian texts that possibly refer to messianic figures: 4Q246 (*Aramaic Apocalypse, Apocryphon of Daniel* ar or “Son of God” text), 4Q534 (*Birth of Noah, Noah^a ar, olim Elect of God ar*), 4Q541 (*apocrLevi^b? ar*), 4Q558 (*pap-Vision^b ar*).³ These texts have been analyzed many times since their first fragmentary publication by Jean Starcky in 1963 and Jozef Milik in 1972.⁴ They have attracted considerable attention, because they mention

¹ The non-Qumranic sources are *Psalms of Solomon* 17, the *Similitudes* (*1 Enoch* 37–71), *2 Baruch* and *4 Ezra*.

² The possibility that the scrolls of the Qumran caves come from more than one book collection (probably of the same group) should be taken more strongly into account, see D. Stökl Ben Ezra, “Old Caves and Young Caves: A Statistical Reevaluation of a Qumran Consensus,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 14/3 (2007): 313–333. Cf. on quite different terms also S. Pfann, “Reassessing the Judean Desert Caves: Libraries, Archives, Genizas and Hiding Places,” *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society* 25 (2007): 139–162. In D. Stökl Ben Ezra, “Further Reflections on Caves 1 and 11: A Response to Florentino García Martínez,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Texts and Context* (ed. C. Hempel; STDJ; Leiden: Brill, forthcoming) I have responded to caveats voiced by F. García Martínez in “Reconsidering the Cave 1 Texts Sixty Years After Their Discovery: An Overview,” in *[Proceedings of the IOQS Meeting in Ljubljana]* (ed. D. Falk, S. Metso, E. Tigchelaar; STDJ; Leiden: Brill, forthcoming) and idem, “Cave 11 in Context,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Texts and Context*.

³ 4Q580 could be another candidate for a possibly messianic figure. However, I became aware of its text only after having finished this article.

⁴ For the editions see below. The literature on the topic of Qumranic Messianism is legion. Let me just mention some of the most recent comprehensive studies that were available to me: H.-J. Fabry, “Die Messiaserwartung in den Handschriften von Qumran,”

several elements that some scholars regard as potentially messianic, elements that are remarkable, especially for ears used to hearing the New Testament: figures bearing titles such as “son of God,” “son of the most high,” “chosen one of God;” figures that are Davidic or priestly, with particular circumstances at birth, involved in judgment, effecting atonement, teaching divine wisdom, restoring peace, liberating or gathering the good, annihilating evil; Elijah as precursor; the use of Daniel 7 or the so called “Servant Songs” from Isaiah.

Yet, this list may also be deceptive. It is in fact a matter of dispute whether all texts indeed refer to messianic figures. We can state right away that none actually mentions *משיח*, *משיח* or *משיחא*,⁵ from which some methodological purists deduce that these texts do not attest to messianic conceptions. Especially with regard to 4Q246 and 4Q534 the opinions are rather diverse.⁶ Methodologically, it is important to remember at each step, whether we use a Jewish concept in order to understand ancient Jewish messianism or whether we have turned the tables by casting Christian concepts back on early Judaism. Does the figure analyzed called by this or that title fit a “job description” for a messiah or is a mere title that happens to be applied to Jesus the only element “turning” this figure into a messiah?

in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (ed. F. García Martínez; BETL 168; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003), 357-384; G. Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet. Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library* (STDJ 37; Leiden: Brill, 2002); J. Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran. Königliche, priesterliche und prophetische Messiasvorstellungen in den Schriftfunden von Qumran* (WUNT 2/104; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1998); J. J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star* (AB Reference; New York: Doubleday, 1995); F. García-Martínez, “Messianische Erwartungen in den Qumranschriften,” *Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie* 8. *Der Messias* (1993): 171–208; cf. also É. Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future* (2 vols.; EB 21–22; Paris: Gabalda, 1993), esp. vol 2 *Les données qumrâniennes et classiques*.

⁵ The only Aramaic Qumran text with *משיחא* is 4Q547 9 7 where this word has been restored. If the restoration is indeed correct it refers to the “historical” ointment of the Aaronic priests, not the expectation of a messianic figure (see Puech, *DJD* XXXI, 389–390). As far as I can see it, there are at most four texts referring to the word messiah in Aramaic before the Targumim and Rabbinic literature: *1 En.* 48:10 and 52:4; *4 Ezra* (7:28f and 12:32), the Greek transcription of the Aramaic *משיחא* (or Hebrew *משיח*?) in John 1:41 and 4:25 and a Greek transcription of an Aramaic phrase in Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1.21.3.

⁶ *Aramaic Levi Document* applies the messianic passages Gen 49:10 to Kohath and Isa 11 to Levi. However, Collins, *Scepter*, 88 rightly points out they are used as predictions of future protagonists.

We have to admit that theological issues often interfere within the scientific discussions of ancient Jewish messianism. Diminishing the uniqueness of nascent Christology by contextualizing it in Second Temple Judaism makes the emergence of Christianity from Judaism more plausible, more legitimate or less miraculous (or all three simultaneously). Vice versa, emphasizing the differences leaves the birth of Christianity in the realm of the implausible—or illegitimate—but more miraculous or unique. All scholars, Jewish, Christian and agnostic, have to submit to these metahistorical ramifications—willingly or subconsciously.

In the wake of scholars such as John Collins and Florentino García Martínez, I shall use a rather open definition and apply the definition suggested by Géza Xeravits: Messianic figures are human—or superhuman⁷—positive eschatological protagonists.⁸ The employment of the title messiah is indeed dispensable to understand the wider religious phenomenon of Second Temple Messianism.⁹

1. *A Quick Tour of Four Scrolls (4Q541, 4Q558, 4Q246, 4Q534)*

a) *4Q541 (Apocryphon of Levi^{b?} ar)*

Let me begin with the paleographically oldest document, 4Q541 (*Apocryphon of Levi^{b?} ar*).¹⁰ The two larger fragments 9 and 24 are basically the only ones to permit a rudimentary appreciation of the text. They mention a future figure that shall transmit wisdom ([יִמְסֹרֵן לְהוֹרָא]), make atonement for “his generation” (ויכפר על כול בני דרה), and speak with heavenly words a teaching like the will of God (מאמרה)

⁷ Since non-Qumranic texts employ this title for preexistent transcendent figures of heavenly origin (*1 En.* 48:20, 52:4, *4 Ezra* 7:28, 12:32), Florentino García Martínez, “Messianische Erwartungen,” is completely justified in allowing the inclusion of superhuman eschatological protagonists under the category messiah.

⁸ See the subtitle of Xeravits *King, Priest, Prophet. Positive Eschatological Protagonists*.

⁹ Pace Fitzmyer’s frequently reiterated argument, e.g. J. Fitzmyer, “4Q246. The ‘Son of God’ Document from Qumran,” *Biblica* 74 (1993): 153–174, here 170.

¹⁰ Ex 4QAaron A, 4QAh A. First noted by Starcky, “Les quatre étapes.” First full publication, É. Puech, “Fragments d’un apocryphe de Lévi et le personnage eschatologique. 4QTestLévi^{a-d}(?) et 4QAJ,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress* (ed. J. Treballe-Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 449–501, plates 16–20. Official publication, É. Puech, *DJD XXXI* (2001), 213–256; paleographical dating around 100 BCE (*ibid.*, 226–227); date of the composition: before the Teacher of Righteousness (*ibid.*, 216).

לְכַמְאֲרָ שְׂמִין וְאַלְפֹנָה כְרַעוֹת אַל¹¹ (כמאמר שְׂמִין וְאַלְפֹנָה כְרַעוֹת אַל וּשְׂגָה [כְּרַבִּין וְכַרְיָאן עֲלוּהִי יְבִדוֹן וְכַל גְּנוּאִין 9 5; שְׂגִיאָן מְלִין עֲלוּהִי יֵאֲמָרוּן) וְעֲלוּהִי יִמְלִלוֹן 9 5–6) and according to other fragments perhaps also physical violence (חַמְסָ, cf. מְכַאֲבִין in 6 1 and מְכַאֲוִיכָה in 6 3, דְּמַכָּה in 4 ii 4) though it is not clear whether the protagonist is the victim. He seems to appear prior to a problematic era, since the fact that his people will go astray is mentioned only at the end of fragment 9 (i 7). The eschatological color of the text becomes clear through the mentioning of an eternal sun of the protagonist whose warmth will make the darkness disappear universally (9 i 4–5).¹² All scholars agree that the protagonist of this text is priestly. While none of the arguments forwarded is conclusive on its own,¹³ the cumulative weight makes this point very probable. Most important is an impressive list of similar expressions and traditions contained in both 4Q541 and 4Q542 *Testament of Qahat* and *Testament of Levi* 18, assembled by Émile Puech.¹⁴

The atonement in 4Q541 differs from that in the other Aramaic Qumran texts, in that it concerns directly the people, not the altar or the land.¹⁵ Yet, how exactly is the atonement effected? Many deduce from the priestly character of the protagonist that the atonement is effected by sacrifice.¹⁶ However, we should remember that ancient Judaism knows many more means of atonement than sacrifice and that even priests can atone also by other means, e.g. prayer (as the high priest Onias for Apol-

¹¹ The expression שְׂמִין כְּמֵאֲרָה is very close to *Pss. Sol.* 17:43.

¹² Cf. *1 En.* 58.

¹³ Atonement is most often achieved by priests (but biblical, Second Temple and rabbinic Judaism know a wide array of means to atone [fasting, prayer, alms, etc] which are not restricted to priests [see below]). In view of the usually defective orthography of this text, Puech doubts the interpretation of צָצָא (24 ii 5) as high priestly diadem (צִיצִי) and prefers “nail” (214). The prohibition of mourning (24 ii 1–2) concerns a person who may be a priest or a nazir and not necessarily a high priest (cf. *Lev* 21, *Num* 6:6–8, *T. Levi* 18:9) and he does not have to be the protagonist. Regrettably, we only have the two first letters for the parent in 4Q541 4 ii 2, which might be יוֹכְבָד or יוֹצְדָק or יוֹשֻׁעַ or יוֹשֻׁפֹּט.

¹⁴ É. Puech, *DJD* XXXI (2001), 214–215. a) name and joy: חֲדָוָה שֶׁם חֲדָוָה 4Q541 24 ii 5—וְחֲדָוָה לְלוֹי טַב 4Q542 1 i 10–11; b) Future priest: 4Q541 9 i 3—*T. Levi* 18:2; c) revelation of divine words: 4Q541 9 i 3–5—*T. Levi* 18:3–4; d) identification with light and sun for Israel or the world: 4Q541 9 i 2 and 3+4i+5 *T. Levi* 4:3; atonement 4Q541 9 i 2—*T. Levi* 5:2 (but here the angels are atoning); prophetic benediction by Isaac of his grandson Levi 4Q541 24 ii – *Jub.* 31:13–17, *T. Levi* 9:2–14; wisdom books 4Q542, 4Q537, *Jub.* 30:19–20, 32:21, 45:16, etc.

¹⁵ The other uses of כִּפֹּר in Aramaic texts concern the land, the altar and the Temple, see Puech, *DJD* XXXI, 243.

¹⁶ E.g. J. J. Collins, “The Suffering Servant at Qumran?,” *Bible Review* 9/6 (1993): 25–27.63, here 26; Collins, *Scepter*, 125.

lonius).¹⁷ Only two other Qumran scrolls, 11Q13 *Melchizedek* and the *Damascus Document*, mention eschatological atonement effectuated by a messianic figure.¹⁸ How atonement is achieved in both cases remains ambiguous. Joseph Baumgarten has proposed an interesting reading for the *Damascus Document* that would imply a use of non-sacrificial means.¹⁹

Might an answer to the question how the author of 4Q541 conceived of the means of atonement lie in the strange expression **וישתלח לכול בני [עמֻמָה]** (he will be sent out to all his people) that immediately follows **ויכפר** (he will atone)? The verb **שלח** hitp. is very rare in biblical and Second Temple parlance. It does not appear in the Bible or in Qumran Aramaic texts elsewhere. In Qumran Hebrew it appears only once for the one expelled from the community for sinful behavior.²⁰ Readers of Rabbinic Hebrew will immediately think of its prevalent use in tannaitic literature: the technical term for the scapegoat **שעיר המשתלח**.²¹ I suggest that the author of 4Q541 uses this rare verb **שלח** hitp. as an allusion to the scapegoat. In other words, the protagonist achieves atonement by being sent out like the scapegoat.

The notion of a (positive) human being functioning as scapegoat is known from other ancient Jewish texts.²² This is explicitly attested in

¹⁷ 4 Macc 4:11–14. Obviously, priests can use all the other means of atonement just like non-priests, e.g. alms (Sir 3:30). For a list of the variety of means of atonement in ancient Judaism, see D. Stökl Ben Ezra “Atonement. Judaism I. Second Temple Period. Judaism II. Rabbinic Period,” *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception* 3 (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, in press).

¹⁸ 11Q13 II 7–8 (*Melchizedek*), CD XIV 19=4Q266 10 i 12–13 (משיח אהרון וישראל).

¹⁹ J. M. Baumgarten (reading **והטאת** ו**המנחה**) has argued that the atonement might have been achieved by ways *superior* to sacrifice: “Messianic Forgiveness of Sin in CD 14:19 (4Q266 10 i 12–13),” in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. D. W. Parry and E. C. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 537–544. Atonement is mentioned also in 11Q13, with Melchizedek, an angelic figure, as protagonist, but the verb is in the infinitive and it is unclear who actually performs the atonement. It may even be the day itself as in rabbinic literature: see 11Q13 II (1, 2i, 3i, 4) 7–8: **בשבוע היובל הראשון אחר תשעה: [אור] [אור] [אנשי] [יובלים] ויום הכפורים [הוא] [סוף] [היום] בל העשירי | לכפר בו על כול בני [אור] [אנשי] [גורל] [מל] [כי] [צדק]**.

²⁰ 4Q266 (4QD^a) 11 8. 14.

²¹ The scapegoat is called **לעזואל** שעיר in the Bible. Of course, **שלח** hitp. can refer to all kinds of other people sent out, but the prevalent use is for the scapegoat (or for the bird sent out in the sacrifice of Lev 14 (**ציפור המשתלח**)) which is strongly parallel to the scapegoat).

²² Other ancient Jewish texts apply the imagery of the scapegoat to negative figures, especially the Asael layer in *1. En* 10 and the *Apoc. Ab.* 13: see D. Stökl Ben Ezra, *The*

the Babylonian Talmud, and possibly also in Josephus.²³ In addition, the very early and very “Jewish” traditions in *Barnabas* 7 (explicitly) bear witness to the application of scapegoat imagery to messianic atonement ideology in Jewish Christianity as well as Galatians 3–4 (implicitly, and cf. Matthew 27:15–26).²⁴ Trying to explain the strange idea of Galatians 3–4 how a curse of someone may be salvific for others, Daniel Schwartz builds his interpretation on the peculiar use of ἐξ-αποστέλλω in the phrase ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ (Gal 4:4, cf. 4:6). Paul uses this unusual composite verb only here. Elsewhere he always employs ἀποστέλλω or πέμπω. Interestingly, in the LXX this rare verb is used only once in a context similar to that in Galatians: the sending out of the scapegoat in Leviticus 16:21–22.²⁵ Like the use of the rare ἐξαποστέλλω in this context by Paul, so too the exceptional שְׁלַח hitp. in juxtaposition to atonement alludes to the scapegoat.²⁶

In addition to the use of the uncommon verb in 4Q541, the sequence atonement–sending agrees with Leviticus 16. Here, too, the general

Impact of Yom Kippur. The Day of Atonement from Second Temple to the Fifth Century (WUNT 163; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2003), 85–90 and 92–94 and the earlier literature quoted there.

²³ רביא [בר] קידי מכפר כשעיר המשתלח bYoma 42a. For Josephus, see *B.J.* 4:153.164–165, and the commentary by O. Michel and O. Bauernfeind (eds.), *Josephus Flavius. De bello Judaico* (3 vols.; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1962–1969) on this passage. Cf. Stökl Ben Ezra, *The Impact of Yom Kippur*, 117 and 130.

²⁴ On *Barnabas* see Stökl Ben Ezra, *The Impact of Yom Kippur*, 148–161. On Galatians see D. Schwartz, “Two Pauline Allusions to the Redemptive Mechanism of the Crucifixion,” *JBL* 102 (1983): 259–283 and Stökl Ben Ezra, *The Impact of Yom Kippur*, 173–176. On Matthew see Stökl Ben Ezra, *The Impact of Yom Kippur*, 165–171 and now J. Berenson MacLean, “Barrabas, the Scapegoat Ritual, and the Development of the Passion Narrative,” *HTR* 100 (2007): 309–334, who extends the scapegoat interpretation to Mark. This is overstating the case, in my opinion.

²⁵ Schwartz’ suggestion has been corroborated by two further philological observations: See Stökl Ben Ezra, *The Impact of Yom Kippur*, 175.

²⁶ Let me respond here to a challenge raised by John Collins in the discussion, viz. that whereas in Leviticus 16, the scapegoat is sent into the desert, in 4Q541 the protagonist is sent out “to all his people.” It is rare for allusions or metaphors to take over the whole imagery. After all, the scapegoat had to make his way through the people (who mistreated him) when he was sent into the desert. In Galatians 4 the son is sent out without specifying the destination (but implying the world or the people) and the Spirit is sent out explicitly into the hearts of the people. In Matthew 27, Barabbas is released (meaning sent to rejoin the people). The crucial point is the use of the unusual term for “sending” which is very common in the context of atonement and then always applies to the scapegoat, one of the best-known rituals of the Second Temple—in antiquity and in modern times, comparable, in the age of globalization, to the lighting of the Olympic fire.

statement about the atonement (16:20a) precedes the sending out of the scapegoat (16:20b–22). Thus, both the exceptional diction and the order of the text converge in suggesting that the author is alluding to the scapegoat, one of the most central means of atonement in Second Temple Judaism.²⁷ Rather than explaining the atonement by a regular priestly temple sacrifice which is absent from the extant text of fragment 9, or by the sufferings of the protagonist, which are not explicitly mentioned as having an atoning effect, I would therefore suggest that we see in the explicit and juxtaposed sending out the action achieving this aim.²⁸ By directly juxtaposing *ויכפר* with *וישתלח*, the author alludes to the scapegoat, one of the means of atonement in Second Temple Judaism.

b) 4Q558 (4QpapVision^b ar)

The second oldest Aramaic text from Qumran with a potentially messianic figure is 4Q558 with the “telling” title *4QpapVision^b ar*.²⁹ Fragment 51 ii mentions Elijah as one whom the speaker (God?) will send in

²⁷ An additional connection between 4Q541 and the scapegoat imagery might be the possible suffering of the protagonist in 4Q541 which might relate to the abuse of the scapegoat by the people as described in *m. Yoma* 6:4 and *Barn.* 7:6–9. This is, however, completely hypothetical.

²⁸ Also in the passage from the *Damascus Covenant* mentioned above, the sending out of the culpable person may have an atoning effect on the community.

²⁹ Ex 4QarP. First quotations: Starcky, “Les quatre étapes,” 498; J. Fitzmyer, “The Aramaic ‘Elect of God’ Text from Qumran Cave IV,” *CBQ* 27 (1965): 348–372, here 353; Puech, *Croyance*, 2:676–681; Collins, *Scepter*, 116; Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte*, 413–415; Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet*, 120–121; M. Öhler, *Elia im Neuen Testament. Untersuchungen zur Bedeutung des alttestamentlichen Propheten im frühen Christentum* (BZNW 88; Berlin–New York: Walter De Gruyter, 1997), 16–18 (*non vidi*). Editio princeps: Cook in *DSSSEL* (including ET). Official edition: É. Puech, *Qumrân grotte 4 XXVII Textes araméens deuxième partie* (DJD 37; Oxford: Clarendon, 2009) 179–257 (numeration of fragments differs from Cook). Semicursive writing. As a paleographical date, I would suggest the mid-first century BCE—*kaf* is sometimes long [e.g. frag. 30], *samekh* is closed, *yod* and *waw* are of different size. Puech (181) suggests the mid-first century BCE or a little earlier. K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer. Ergänzungsband* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 93 dates it to the end of the first century BCE; Starcky, “Les quatre étapes,” 497, between 50 and 25 BCE (Cross fig. 4 line 4). Apart from Puech, the most recent treatments of its content are J. C. Poirier, “The endtime return of Elijah and Moses at Qumran,” *DSD* 10 (2003): 221–242 (with ample bibliography); H. Witczyk, “La missione di Elia nella tradizione dell’AT, nella letteratura intertestamentaria e negli scritti di Qumran,” *Collectanea Theologica* 69, special issue (1999): 25–36 (*non vidi*).

the future (לכך אשלה לאליה קש'יטא).³⁰ The previous line refers to “the eighth to/for the chosen one” (רמיניא לבהיר), 1. 3). Due to the fragmentary character, it is unclear whether the last reference is connected to Elijah or somebody else.³¹ It is equally uncertain whether the “chosen one” belongs to the eschatological protagonists. The cryptic reference to the eighth has been identified with David, the eighth son of Jesse³² and with Noah, the preacher of uprightness, the eighth according to 2 Peter 2:5.³³ I may add another hypothesis: ל-רמיניא can be translated as “the eighth to (=after).” Then the “chosen one” is followed by seven subsequent generations until the appearance of a newly significant figure. *Testament of Levi* 17 mentions seven different priesthoods for each jubilee followed by an eighth *eschatological* priest (*T. Levi* 18:1ff) who rectifies this situation.³⁴ In this case, we would have another argument for understanding 4Q558 against a messianic background. But since we lack the context of 4Q558 51 3, this remains hypothetical.

The next line (5) mentions lightning (ברקא) and meteors/comets (וויקיאי),³⁵ elements typical of theophanies.³⁶ Other fragments mention

³⁰ As restored in Cook's edition, where this fragment bears the number 54. Previous studies frequently read the last letter as ד, but a close examination of PAM 43.583 makes a ש (as suggested by Cook) at least as probable as ד (read by Puech).

³¹ In view of 2 Pet 2:5, where Noah is the eighth to have been preserved (καὶ ἀρχαῖοι κόσμου οὐκ ἐφείσατο, ἀλλὰ ὄγδοον Νῶε δικαιοσύνης κήρυκα ἐφύλαξεν, κατακλυσμὸν κόσμου ἀσεβῶν ἐπάξας), Fitzmyer, “The Aramaic ‘Elect of God’ Text,” 371 (footnote) suggested Noah as in 4Q534. He is followed by e.g. Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet*, 121; Puech, *Croyance*, 677; and Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte*, 414, prefer to endorse Starcky's suggestion (“Les quatre étapes,” 498): David is a chosen one according to Ps 89:4 and has seven older brothers who are not chosen (1 Sam 16:10–13).

³² Starcky, “Les quatre étapes.”

³³ Fitzmyer “The Aramaic ‘Elect of God’ Text,” 371.

³⁴ The first priest is presumably Levi or Aaron who speaks with God like his father. The seventh and last priest is the most corrupt. Cf. also *T. Reu.* 6:10–11 where God has chosen someone to rule all peoples. The Greek ἐκλέγω ἐν points to an underlying Hebraism בחר בר: A. van der Woude, *Die messianischen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumrân*, (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1957), 196. The ambiguous phrase could refer to either Levi or Judah, but it is usually understood as referring to Judah. Is it possible that Judah is a gloss in the passage 7–12, which deals almost exclusively with Levi?

³⁵ Reading וויקיאי is more plausible than וויקיאי. The roof differs considerably from the other ה, e.g. in בחר two rows higher or in אשלה one line higher.

³⁶ Puech, *Croyance*, 677 and Collins, *Scepter*, 116. See Matt 24:27, Luke 17:24 (both with the Son of Man). For lightning(s) in general see also Exod 19:16, 20:18, 2 Sam 22:15, Job 36–37, Ps 18:14, 77:18, 97:4, 105:32, 144:6, Ezek 1:13–14, Dan 10:6, Nah 2:4, Zech 9:14; Wis 5:21, 4 Macc 4:10; Matt 28:3, Rev 4:5, 8:5, 11:19, 16:18.

without any given context: the time of the end (frag. 26: *בערן קץ*),³⁷ atonement effected by a collective (angels?, priests?, people?) (frag. 27: *יכפרון*),³⁸ the cutting off of branches (frag. 33 ii: *שיחיה מתקצצין*),³⁹ but also the kingdom of Uzziah (frag. 29; Cook: frag. 33), Adam and someone sent to Egypt (frag. 62; Cook frag. 65).

Besides the valuable Second Temple reference to the sending of Elijah in this clearly eschatological text,⁴⁰ and the hypothetical combination of a prophetic and a priestly eschatological protagonist, regrettably little can be said about his actual actions or the concomitant circumstances or consequences of his mission.

c) 4Q246 (*Apocryphon of Daniel ar*)

The third Aramaic Qumran text potentially mentioning a messianic figure is 4Q246 (*Apocryphon of Daniel ar*), the sole remaining fragment of a once much longer text.⁴¹ The text speaks of a possibly royal⁴² figure

³⁷ Cook, fragment 28. This makes Beyer's view that this text is a collection of *Prophe-
tengeschichten* due to the references to Uzziah, Horev, Egypt, Elijah etc., rather unlikely (*Die aramäischen Texte*, 93).

³⁸ Reading according to Cook where the fragment bears number 30. The fragment number on the *DSSEL* photo is wrong. This fragment is the unnumbered one to the left of frag. 28. Puech reads *יכפה*.

³⁹ Cook: fragment 37.

⁴⁰ Mal 3:23–24 MT, 3:22–24 LXX, Sir 48:10. Most of the pre-Rabbinic passages are Christian: Matt 11:14, 16:14, 17:10–12, 27:47.49 and synoptic parallels plus John 1:21.25, but also *m. Eduyyot* 8:7, *t. Eduyyot* 3:4. For further attestations see M. Aberbach, "Elijah. In the Aggadah," *Encyclopedia Judaica. Second Edition* 6 (2007), 333–334.

⁴¹ Ex psDan^d ex psDan A^a ex "Son of God." First excerpts were made public by Milik in a lecture at Harvard in 1972; when he did not proceed with the publication, Fitzmyer did in "The Contribution of Qumran Aramaic to the Study of the New Testament," *NTS* 20 (1973): 382–407 (repr. in *ibid.*, *A Wandering Aramean. Collected Aramaic Essays* [SBL Monograph Series 25; Chico: Scholars Press, 1979]), 85–107; first full publication É. Puech, "Une apocalypse messianique (4Q521)," *RB* 99 (1992): 98–131; the official publication is Puech, *DJD XXII* (1996), 475–522 (with a text slightly corrected); a new reading and an English translation can be found in *DSSEL* by E. Cook. According to É. Puech, "Some Remarks on 4Q246 and 4Q521 and Qumran Messianism," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls* [ed. D. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999], 545–565, here 546), the text was composed before 150; *Scriptio plena* (Puech, *DJD XXII*, 166). Paleographical date of copy: around 25 BCE (*ibidem*)—not the first half of the first century CE as noted in F. García Martínez and J. Trebolle Barrera, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Their Writings, Beliefs, and Practices* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 174 which is probably a (modern) scribal error. When he published his 1963 article, Starcky must have known this fragment bought by Milik in 1958, but he does not refer to it. It would be interesting to know why!

who appears in times of tribulations⁴³ in which the kings of Assyria and Egypt are somehow involved and who “is called” (יתאמר) “son of God” (ברה די אל) and “son of the Most High” or “most high son” (בר עליון).⁴⁴ In view of the fragmentary state of the text, especially of its first column, it is impossible to reach a clear-cut decision about whether the text envisages a historical or an eschatological situation and in the latter case whether the bearer of the titles “son of God” and “son of the Most High” is regarded as a positive or a negative figure, a Messiah or a pretender. The positive messianic reading seems to me the more persuasive option.⁴⁵ After the mentioning of the titles, again tribulations and war follow until the arrival of a turning event.⁴⁶ The identity of the subject of the following sentences is open since the late-Herodian hand makes it difficult to distinguish between yod and waw, between hif’il יקים and pe’al יקום. In the first case, it may be the one called “Son of the Most High” or God. In the second case it may be the people of God. In the first case, which I regard as the more probable, the eschatological protagonist will establish (יקים) the people of God, his reign will be eternal, and—his ways being truthful—he shall judge the earth. Then there shall be peace and he will be venerated by all nations (מדניתא). If God (אל) is the subject these actions are divine. According to the third possibility, the people of God will rise (יקום) as a kind of collective eschatological protagonist—not unlike the collective interpretations of the figure resembling a son of man in Daniel 7.⁴⁷ One of the most interesting subjects with regard to this text is its relation to Daniel 7 to which we shall come back below.

⁴² If i 7 על ארעא רב להוה על ארעא 7 refers to this figure.

⁴³ נחשירין/ון, i 4, עקה.

⁴⁴ In addition, he will be called something ending perhaps in great, but it is unclear how to fill the lacuna. Of the suggestions great [King] or holy one of God and [son of the] Great (God), the former two are too long and the latter doubles the next line: Puech, *DJD XXII*, 173, who suggests בר מריא רבא and he is called by “his” name, possibly God’s name.

⁴⁵ So also e.g. J. Collins, F. García Martínez and now É. Puech. Among the supporters of the historical interpretation are e.g. Milik and Cook.

⁴⁶ Introduced by עד (ii 4).

⁴⁷ Supported by e.g. Fabry, “Die Messiaserwartung.”

d) 4Q534 (4QMessianic ar)

The protagonist of the very fragmentary 4Q534 text, first called 4QMess ar by Starcky and then *Birth of Noah^a ar*⁴⁸, treats the birth⁴⁹ of a future figure called “Chosen One of God” (בַּחִיר אֱלֹהִים).⁵⁰ This figure has unsurpassed wisdom of the secrets of all living.⁵¹ His wisdom shall come to all peoples (4Q534 1 i 6–8). The following phrase may possibly mention conspiracies by his adversaries against him (הַשְׁבֻּוּיָהוּן), which he will eventually survive (9). Other lines and fragments mention a war including the destruction of altars (1+2 ii 12–13), waters (14), Watchers (15), sin, iniquity, curse (16–17), a holy one (17), suffering (17), joy (18) and death (19). In a seminal article, Fitzmyer has convinced most scholars that this scroll belongs to the same text as 4Q535 and 4Q536⁵² and that the protagonist is Noah.⁵³ Even today, however, some⁵⁴ still

⁴⁸ First preliminary publication by J. Starcky, “Un texte messianique araméen de la Grotte 4 de Qumrân,” *Mémorial du cinquantenaire de l'École des langues orientales de l'Institut Catholique de Paris* (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1964), 51–66; official publication by É. Puech in *DJD XXXI* (2001) with a brief excellent overview of the history of research with its different opinions (117–120). It has been dated paleographically to the last third of the first century BCE (Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 131); *scriptio plena*.

⁴⁹ His birth and the spirit of his breath have some unknown eternal effect, whose specification is hidden by a lacuna (10–11).

⁵⁰ 4Q534 1 ii 10. הַ בַּחִיר appears in 2 Sam 21:6; בַּחִירִי for the Servant Isa 42:1, Israel in Isa 43:20 and 45:4, David in Ps 89:4, Moses in Ps 106:23; אֱלֹהִים בַּחִירִי for the community members in 1QpHab X 13 (cf. Rom 8:33, Col 3:12, Tit 1:1); בַּחִיר appears several times in 4Q580 an eschatological figure of unidentified function (4Q580 1 i 10; בַּחִיר לְקִשְׁט, cf. *1 En.* 39:6; 4Q580 2 1–2); בַּחִירִי לְבַחִירִי in 4Q558 (messianic figure, see below); the elect (sg.)—throned Messiah? (*1 En.* 45:3–4); Enoch (*1 En.* 92:1), Abraham (*1 En.* 93:5, cf. *Apoc. Ab.* 20:5); ὁ ἐκλεκτός τοῦ θεοῦ in Luke 23:35, John 1:34 mss; *T. Ben.* 11:4; Ezra in *Gr. Apoc. Ezra* 1:8 [Tischendorf 24:17].

⁵¹ Cf. *1 En.* 38:3, Matt 13:11.

⁵² Due to a possible (!) overlapping of 4Q534 7 1–6 with 4Q536 2 ii 11–13; and 4Q536 1 1–3 with 4Q535 3 4–6.

⁵³ Fitzmyer “The Aramaic ‘Elect of God’ Text;” P. Grelot, “Hénoch et ses écritures,” *RB* 82 (1975): 481–500, J. Starcky, “Le Maître de Justice et Jésus,” *Le Monde de la Bible* 4 (1978): 53–55, F. García Martínez, “4QMess ar and the Book of Noah,” in *Qumran and Apocalyptic. Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (STDJ 9; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 1–44; J. Davila, “4QMess ar (4Q534) and Merkavah mysticism,” *DSD* 5 (1998): 367–381, compares the author to a Hekhalot mystic.

⁵⁴ C. Evans, “Are the ‘Sons’ texts at Qumran Messianic? Reflections on 4Q369 and Related Scrolls,” in *Qumran-Messianism* (ed. J. Charlesworth, H. Lichtenberger, G. Oegema; Tübingen: Mohr 1998), 144–145; C. Evans, *Jesus and His Contemporaries* (Leiden: Brill 1995), 111–113; M. O. Wise, M. Abegg and E. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. A New Translation* (San Francisco & London: Harper, 1996), 427–429; T. Blanton, “4Q534: Not Noah, but the Ideal Levitic” (unpublished seminar paper from 1997, independent from previous item [*non vidi*, mentioned in Davila (1998)]); Zimmermann,

concur with Starcky's original opinion that this text speaks of a future savior figure or Messiah.

In fact, these opinions do not have to exclude each other entirely. Maybe both, Starcky *and* Fitzmyer are right. Already André Caquot suggested that the text describes an Enoch redivivus, a mythological figure from the past projected into the future.⁵⁵ But more than Enoch it is Noah who in the biblical narrative fulfills the functions of a universal savior figure. Noah saves a remnant of humanity and animals from the deluge, the first cataclysm (supposedly also the last total destruction before the eschaton). The step from being a mythological savior figure in the past to becoming the prototype of an eschatological figure is small. In mythological schemes, *Urzeit* and *Endzeit* are closely related. For example, the *Similitudes* relate the deluge in the future (54:7) and God's subsequent repentance in the past (55:1). In 2 Peter 2:4–5, the author mentions the punishment of the fallen angels, and calls Noah "herald of righteousness" (δικαιοσύνης κήρυκα) and in 3:1–7 he contrasts two worlds, of which the first of which was destroyed by water in Noah's time while the second will be destroyed by fire. Yet, while 4Q534 uses intriguing imagery and terminology to describe its protagonist and may have influenced messianic conceptions as expressed in the *Similitudes*, there is nothing undisputably eschatological in the text

"Messianische Texte," 170–204; A. Dupont-Sommer, "Deux documents horoscopiques esséniens découverts à Qoumrân, près de la mer Morte," *CRAI* (1965): 239–253 thinks of the Son of Man of the *Similitudes*, 248–253; more hesitating A. Chester, *Messiah and Exaltation* (WUNT 207; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2007), 255–256. J. Greenfield, "Prolegomenon," in *3Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch* (ed. H. Odeberg; New York: KTAV, 1973), xi–xlvii has suggested Melchizedek. This is qualified by A. Caquot, "4QMess ar 1 i 8–11" *RevQ* 15 (1991): 145–155, here 155 as "sans argument."

⁵⁵ Caquot, "4QMess ar," tries to unite the arguments by Fitzmyer, Grelot and Dupont-Sommer: "Si l'on se rappelle qu'aux termes mêmes de cette partie de 1 Hénoch le personnage appelé 'Élu', 'Fils d'homme' ou 'Messie' n'est autre qu'Hénoch lui-même, on pourrait penser, en effet, que le héros dont parle 4QMess Ar, au moins en son début, n'est autre qu'Hénoch, que les 'Paraboles' présentent comme un détenteur et un révélateur de mystères divins (46, 3 ; 51, 3). Mais est-il sûr que l'Élu de Dieu' dont on parle au futur soit un personnage du passé ? Avons-nous affaire à un midrash aggadique sur l'histoire sainte ou à une prophétie concernant l'avenir ? Le texte annonce plutôt la venue d'un personnage qui sera peut-être un *Henoch redivivus* mais qu'il s'agit de reconnaître à des signes (que le début de 4QMess Ar devait énumérer) et dont on prévoyait la carrière de devin". See Puech's comment on this proposal, *DJD XXXI*, 119.

itself⁵⁶ which accordingly does not seem to attest a messianic conception in the proper sense.

In brief, I understand 4Q246 as probably referring to a royal ruling and judging figure who reestablishes an eschatological people of God and introduces a peaceful eternal era. 4Q541 describes a priestly eschatological protagonist suffering some verbal and possibly physical abuse. He transmits divine wisdom and effects atonement by having been sent out like a scapegoat. 4Q558 attests the expectation of the eschatological coming of Elijah and perhaps also an eschatological priest. 4Q534 is probably not messianic.

What can we deduce from these texts to help us understand the wider phenomenon of eschatological protagonists in Second Temple Judaism, Qumran and early Christianity? In the following preliminary thoughts, special attention shall be paid to other texts that were known before the discovery of Qumran as part of different Bible canons, Hebrew, Latin or Ethiopic, which might have been written in Aramaic and are sometimes understood to refer to messianic figures: Daniel 7,⁵⁷ the book of the *Similitudes* (*1 Enoch* 37–71) though extant only in Ethiopic was probably composed in Aramaic; and *4 Ezra*, whose language of composition might have been Aramaic (though most scholars opt for Hebrew), and especially *4 Ezra* 13:1–13, which many regard as an earlier source.⁵⁸

2. Comparative Observations

a) Chronological Development

The dating of the Qumran texts should be regarded as an open question since we only have their paleographical dates as *terminus ante quem*: Only 4Q541 has to be older than 75 BCE.⁵⁹ The other three manuscripts have been dated to ca. mid-first century BCE (4Q558), ca. 25 BCE (4Q246), and the last third of the first century BCE (4Q534). All these

⁵⁶ However, see the expressions “days of the wickedness” יומי רשעא (4Q536 2 ii 11 cf. 4Q534 7 1) and “the era of the wicked will be snuffed out forever” ערן רשיעין ידעך (4Q536 2 ii 13 cf. 4Q534 7 6).

⁵⁷ Daniel 7 has been frequently mentioned as messianic, though many scholars would still doubt whether we can actually speak of a messianic figure in this chapter.

⁵⁸ M. Stone, *Fourth Ezra. A Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990).

⁵⁹ Taking a rather narrow error margin of ± 25 years around 100 BCE into account.

scrolls were written in the first century BCE. I am not convinced that all four texts were indeed composed in the second century BCE as is sometimes suggested by scholars who argue for a non-sectarian authorship.⁶⁰ Even if these scrolls are of non-Qumranic authorship I see no reason why non-sectarian texts could not have been brought to Qumran after the foundation of the site. In any case, the later copies were written during the existence of the Qumran settlement. If we can trust the keen eyes of Ada Yardeni, we find Hebrew and Aramaic texts among the copies of one of the most prolific Qumran scribes working towards the end of the first century BCE.⁶¹ Starcky placed 4Q541 in the Hasmonean era, 4Q558 in the Roman pre-Herodian period and 4Q534 in the Herodian period.⁶² Collins regards 4Q246 as having been composed in the first century BCE before Pompey's arrival.⁶³ García Martínez suggests an even later date for 4Q246. In the light of this divergence, I do not think that we are yet ready to develop a chronological estimation of how messianology developed. The only thing we can say is that they are most probably later than Daniel and older than their paleographical date, which predates the *Similitudes* and *4 Ezra* in all cases, though this aspect is further complicated by the possible or probable use of sources, especially in the case of *4 Ezra* 13.

A diachronic approach being impossible, a synchronic analysis, a typology, seems the only solution. In what follows, I shall work with three trajectories: terms applied to the protagonists, actions performed by them and the use of biblical inspiration/prooftexts. Regretfully, I cannot use numbers, the criterion of García Martínez' lucid messianological typology.⁶⁴ The Aramaic texts attest only one figure at a time. Still, they are too fragmentary to be used as proof against the existence of diarchic or triarchic messianism in Aramaic writing Judaism.⁶⁵ (The Elijah expectations attested in 4Q558 might point to a diarchic messianism or a messiah with a precursor if our hypothesis with regard to the eighth to the chosen one proves true).

⁶⁰ See footnotes 10, 29, 40, 47 above.

⁶¹ Among them 1Q32, 1Q65, 4Q203, 4Q531 and 11Q18. A. Yardeni, "A Note on a Qumran Scribe," in *New Seals and Inscriptions, Hebrew, Idumean, and Cuneiform* (ed. M. Lubetski; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2007), 287–298.

⁶² Starcky, "Les quatres étapes."

⁶³ Collins, *Scepter*, 167.

⁶⁴ García Martínez, "Messianische Erwartungen."

⁶⁵ Similarly Collins, *Scepter*, 94 with regard to 4Q541 not excluding a royal messiah.

b) *Terminology*

Because of the fragmentary character of the Aramaic texts, we usually cannot assess with certainty whether a word used in the Aramaic texts (בַּחִיר אֱלֹהָא, בַּר עֲלִיּוֹן, בְּרַה דִּי אַל) is actually a specifically messianic title or just an appellation for a protagonist who happens to be eschatological. The messianic terminology in the Aramaic texts differs greatly from the “sectarian” parlance. Hebrew equivalents to the Aramaic appellations do not appear in sectarian messianic speculations and vice versa.⁶⁶ Non-Qumranic sources have closer parallels. In *4 Ezra* 13:32.37.52, 14:9 and perhaps 7:28f the messiah is called “my son.”⁶⁷ The closest parallel to “son of God” and “son of the Most High” with a verb of appellation in the passive and the reference to the eternal reign appear in Luke 1:32–35.⁶⁸ Already before the discovery of the Qumran scrolls, scholars assumed that Luke was using older sources here. I would be hesitant, however, to argue that Luke 1 used 4Q246 as a source or that both relied on the same source. The differences in the immediate context are too important. In Luke 1, Jesus is not told to raise a people, to be the future judge or to cause peace. And there is nothing explicitly Davidic in 4Q246 apart from the fact that the protagonist is potentially a king.⁶⁹

I would not call the “Elect One (of God)” (בַּחִיר אֱלֹהָא, ὁ ἐκλεκτός τοῦ θεοῦ) a messianic title, neither in 4Q534, nor in Qumran elsewhere,⁷⁰

⁶⁶ If we take e.g. the investigation by Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet* as our starting point, there is no mention of מְשִׁיחַ, נְשִׂיא הַעֵדָה, כְּהֵן, דּוֹרֵשׁ הַתּוֹרָה, כְּהֵן הָרֵאשׁ, שְׂבֵט, כּוֹכַב or their Aramaic equivalents in the Aramaic texts.

⁶⁷ Cf. the comments in Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, on this passage and L. Stuckenbruck, “Messianic Ideas in the Apocalyptic and Related Literature of Early Judaism,” in *The Messiah in the Old and New Testaments* (ed. S. Porter; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2007), 90–112.

⁶⁸ Luke 1:32–35: οὗτος ἔσται μέγας καὶ υἱὸς ὑψίστου κληθήσεται, καὶ δώσει αὐτῷ κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸν θρόνον Δαυὶδ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ βασιλεύσει ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰακώβ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔσται τέλος. εἶπεν δὲ Μαριὰμ πρὸς τὸν ἄγγελον, Πῶς ἔσται τοῦτο, ἐπεὶ ἄνδρα οὐ γινώσκω; καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ ἄγγελος εἶπεν αὐτῇ, Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ σέ, καὶ δύναμις ὑψίστου ἐπισκιάσει σοι: διὸ καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ἅγιον κληθήσεται, υἱὸς θεοῦ. In addition, the words of the possessed Gerasene in Mk 5:7 (Ἰησοῦ υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου) similarly mention both “high” messianic terms from 4Q246 in close juxtaposition. Cf. also the antichrist as son of God in *Did.* 16:4.

⁶⁹ Puech, “Some Remarks on 4Q246 and 4Q521,” 548.

⁷⁰ In the Aramaic scrolls בַּחִיר appears in *1 Enoch*, in 4Q534 1 i 10 and in 4Q558 and (restored) in the *Visions of Amram*. It recalls 2 Sam 21:6 הַבַּחִיר (which is perhaps a spelling mistake for הַבְּחִיר); Ps 89:4 בַּחִירֵי...דְּרֵי עַבְדֵי ה' (but LXX reads the plural),

nor in nascent Christianity.⁷¹ Instead, it seems to be used in titular form for a (not necessarily eschatological) savior figure (probably Noah) in 4Q534 and for an unknown, most probably not eschatological figure in 4Q558. The most frequent usage of “Elect” is in the *Similitudes* where it appears sixteen times for a protagonist who is indeed eschatological and messianic⁷²—however, never as **בַּחִיר אֱלֹהִים**.⁷³

Finally, we should note here the absence of one title, which is usually discussed against an Aramaic background: the “Son of Man.” While the earliest individual interpretations of Daniel 7:9–10.13–14 and the earliest uses of “Son of Man”⁷⁴ as a messianic title are the *Similitudes*, the early strata of the New Testament and 4 Ezra 13,⁷⁵ the Aramaic Qumran

Ps 106:23 **בַּחִיר** מִשָּׁה and Isa 42:1 **עַבְדִּי...בַּחִירִי** (LXX reads Israel is ...). In Qumran cf. 1QpHab V 4 (**בַּחִירִי** to be read in the plural), IX 12 (probably ditto), X 13 (**בַּחִירִי אֱלֹהִים**); 4Q174 1–2 i 19: **בַּחִירִי יִשְׂרָאֵל**, etc.

⁷¹ In the Christian tradition Jesus is called the chosen one, but rarely so: John 1:34 (the first hand of the Sinaiticus, the Cureton and Sinai Old Syriac Gospels, Ambrose and apparently Pap. 5, but other old papyri and the Vaticanus read differently). Luke 23:35: οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἐκλεκτός; cf. 1 Pet 2:4 (πρὸς ὃν προσερχόμενοι, λίθον ζῶντα, ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων μὲν ἀποδοκιμασμένον παρὰ δὲ θεῶν ἐκλεκτὸν ἔντιμον), Luke 9:35 (οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς μου ὁ ἐκλελεγμένος). Its minor importance can also be discerned from the fact that it does not appear as one of the christological titles in the classic work by F. Hahn, *Christologische Hoheitstitel* (2nd ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964).

⁷² *I En.* 39:6, 40:5, 45:3.4, 48:6, 49:2, 51:3, 52:6.9, 53:6, 54:4, 61:5.8.10, 62:1.

⁷³ Both 4Q534 (including 4Q535–536) and 4Q558 should be explored further to possibly shed light on the background of the *Similitudes*. Not being acquainted with Polish, I have no access to M. Baraniak, “Wybrany spośród wybranych według 4Q534–536 [The elect from among the chosen according to 4Q534–536],” *Studia Judaica* 10/2 (2007): 201–214.

⁷⁴ D. Burkett, *The Son of Man Debate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); G. Boccaccini (ed.), *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man. Revisiting the Book of Parables* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2007), in particular part three with the papers by S. Chialà, “The Son of man. The Evolution of an Expression” (153–178), H. Kvanvig, “The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch” (179–215), C. Gieschen, “The Name of the Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch” (238–249), G. Oegema, “‘The Coming of the Righteous One’ in Acts and 1 Enoch” (250–262), J. J. Collins, “Enoch and the Son of Man. A Response to Sabino Chialà and Helge Kvanvig,” (216–227), K. Koch, “Questions Regarding the So-Called Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch: A Response to Sabino Chialà and Helge Kvanvig” (228–237) and L. Walck, “The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch and the Gospels” (299–337).

⁷⁵ While a tradition describing Jesus as “Son of Man” belongs to the earliest strata of Christian texts and has been attributed to Jesus himself, i.e. in the early 30’s, nascent Christianity does *not* necessarily show an awareness of a titular use of this idiom. (No one asks Jesus whether he is the “Son of Man” or identifies him as such), cf. e.g. J. D. G. Dunn, “‘Son of God’ as ‘Son of Man’ in the Dead Sea Scroll? A Response to John Col-

texts do *not* apply this title to a protagonist—at least in their extant fragments. Most interestingly, 4Q246, which plays on much of Daniel 7 does *not* allude to the Son of Man or the Ancient of Days. This is indeed remarkable and demands an explanation. Either the Son of God is a parody of the Son of Man⁷⁶ or the author of 4Q246 knew a source similar to Daniel 7 without the verses on the Son of Man (see below).

In sum, I have to admit that I do not find the research into titles very rewarding on this specific topic. They often leave the impression of being empty clichés, rather than succinctly defined terms that would enable us to distinguish between different types of messianisms.

c) *Actions*

The actions performed by the Messiahs are perhaps more rewarding. Usually, investigations distinguish between prophetic, priestly and royal messianic traditions,⁷⁷ and the Aramaic texts mention these three different “classic” types. Roughly speaking, we have a royal figure (4Q246), a priestly figure (4Q541) and a prophetic figure (4Q558).⁷⁸ Yet, we should bear in mind that the distinction between these types may be more difficult than it seems. Among the regular tasks of eschatological protagonists are for example: teaching, exhorting to repentance, fighting, atonement, purification, judgment, rule, establishing peace, liberation, arrest, and punishment. While some of the actions performed by eschatological protagonists can be categorized quite easily within this tripartite typology, others are more ambiguous. Kings often rule, fight, or liberate and priests perform atonement or purification, yet, judgment can be done by both and both priests and prophets teach. In Hebrews 2:15–18 and in 11Q13 it is a “priestly” figure who atones and

lins on 4Q246,” in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures* (ed. S. Porter; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 198–210, here 199–201.

⁷⁶ John Collins has suggested that the “son of God” in 4Q246 plays on the “Son of Man” (*Scepter*, 158–160) without, however, convincing many. See, e.g., against Collin’s suggestion Dunn, “‘Son of Man’,” 206–207.

⁷⁷ Note however the addition of a fourth “heavenly” type by García Martínez, “Messianische Erwartungen” and Collins, *Scepter*. While the distinction into three types only corresponds conspicuously to the traditional Christian theologumenon of the *triplex munus*, the use of this tripartite distinction in some Qumran texts justifies its use as emic parlance.

⁷⁸ Caquot (“4QMess ar,” 155: “Ce ne peut guère être un des personnages auxquels les écrits de Qumrân confèrent le titre de « messie », car il n’est pas question ici de royauté ou de sacerdoce”) clearly employs too narrow a definition.

liberates. If therefore a text mentions an eschatological protagonist performing atonement, we should not automatically jump to the conclusion that this figure is a priest. Elijah is not only a prophet.⁷⁹ And a priest—or a king like David—can be described as being also a prophet.⁸⁰ *Psalms of Solomon* 17 describe a Davidic messiah whose words of wisdom (17:37) judgment and leadership are purer than gold; and “his words are like words of the holy ones” (17:43), which recalls the prophetic interpretation of Torah and which is also relatively close to 4Q541 9 שמין כמאמר שמיין (“his speech is like the speech of heaven.”) In addition, he will bless the people (17:35). These are functions usually attributed to priests.

If we start with the most fragmentary text, 4Q558, we do not know what actions Elijah should perform apart from, presumably, prophecy. In Sirach 48, for example, Elijah’s actions encompass a range much wider than prophecy. The *Similitudes*, Daniel, and *4 Ezra* do not attest to a prophetic precursor Elijah. Many sectarian texts speak of the expectation of a future prophet, yet we do not have any clearly sectarian text mentioning a future Elijah.⁸¹ Émile Puech has convincingly established that the author of 4Q521 expected a future Elijah,⁸² but the sectarian origin of 4Q521 remains unproven.⁸³ Therefore, early Christian and rabbinic traditions are closer to this tradition mentioned in 4Q558. All other actions mentioned in 4Q558, notably blessing (5) and possibly destruction (57:5; Cook: 58:5), are incomprehensible without context and cannot be attributed to a specific actor.⁸⁴

The atonement mentioned in 4Q541 and the parallels to *Testament of Levi* evoke a priestly nature of the protagonist, perhaps Levi.⁸⁵ Eschatological atoning priests appear in the *Damascus Document*, 11QMelchizedek and the Epistle to the Hebrews (Jesus as non-Aaronic angelic

⁷⁹ Poirier “The endtime return of Elijah.”

⁸⁰ Cf. Collins, *Scepter*, 115.

⁸¹ 4Q382 refers to the “historical” Elijah.

⁸² Puech, “Some Remarks on 4Q246 and 4Q521,” 559.

⁸³ E.g. Collins, *Scepter*, 121. Pace É. Puech “Une apocalypse messianique (4Q521)” *RevQ* 15 (1992): 475–522; Puech, “Some Remarks on 4Q246 and 4Q521,” 552, 559.

⁸⁴ Atonement stands in the pl. (frag. 30) and is therefore not performed by the protagonist.

⁸⁵ This should, however, not be taken for granted. If 4Q541 represents one of the sources or traditions used by the author(s) of TestLevi, it may have been the latter(s) who made the identification with Levi.

figure).⁸⁶ In *Testament of Levi* 18, the text most closely related to 4Q541, the eschatological priest does not seem to have an atoning function.⁸⁷ The only atonement mentioned in this text is performed by angels.⁸⁸ The only atoning priestly protagonist who endured suffering is Jesus in Hebrews, yet Hebrews clearly differs widely from 4Q541. Collins has suggested that 4Q541 plays on the afflictions experienced by the Teacher of Righteousness.⁸⁹ And above, I have briefly discussed the possibility that the atonement in 4Q541 alludes to the scapegoat with parallels in Galatians 3–4.

Another action typical of the Qumranic priestly messiah is teaching and interpreting the Torah.⁹⁰ The basic theme of priestly instruction is shared by 4Q541, *Testament of Levi* and sectarian priestly messianic conceptions. 4Q541 mentions parables (3 2, 9 i 1), a book (2 i 6), books of wisdom (7 4), teaching (7 6, 9 i 3), speaking in riddles (2 i 7, 4 i 4) and transmitting wisdom (9 i 2). Yet, without a proper context we cannot be sure who is teaching, how, what and why and whether the biblical interpretations of the protagonist of 4Q541 would have borne the same color as those of Qumran's דורש התורה. Teaching and wisdom are very prominent characteristics of the eschatological protagonist in the *Similitudes*.⁹¹ Another pivotal function of Qumran's priestly messiahs is blessing, which is absent from the extant fragments of 4Q541.⁹² Finally, we are not told that the protagonist of 4Q541 will be involved in fighting or subduing or punishing others as propagated by the *War Scroll*.⁹³

Among the four texts in the center of our contribution, the only text to mention eschatological war and judgment (tasks often attributed to a Davidic messiah) is 4Q246. The subject of the phrases in 4Q246 ii 4ff

⁸⁶ CD XIV 19 (Aaronic messiah), 11Q13 II 4–5 (the angelic figure Melchizedek). See also above, the discussion of 4Q541, above. Eschatological priests are absent from either the *Similitudes* or 4 *Ezra*.

⁸⁷ There is no more sin (18:9).

⁸⁸ *T. Levi* 3:5.

⁸⁹ Collins, *Scepter*, 114–115.

⁹⁰ Neither 4Q246 nor 4Q558 allude to this realm. 4Q534 does, but it is probably not eschatological.

⁹¹ E.g. 1 *En.* 46:3 (cf. 50:3), the Son of Man reveals all secret treasures; in ch. 49 he is wisdom incarnate.

⁹² Both teaching and blessing seem to be implied in the Davidic *Pss. Sol.* 17:35.37.43. Blessing is extraordinarily important in the eschatological battle of 1QM, see van der Woude, *Die messianischen Vorstellungen*, 185–186.

⁹³ Cf. the high priest's ordering of the army before the battle 1QM XV 5–6. In 4Q541, the protagonist's supposed suffering of slander and possibly physical violence implies confrontation, but we do not know what part the protagonist played in it.

acts as a unifier of the people,⁹⁴ eternal ruler, just judge,⁹⁵ and establisher of peace, yet he does so in the manner of modern pacifists: by laying down swords (or causing swords to be laid down)⁹⁶—he is *not* a warrior.⁹⁷ Fighting is carried out only by God himself (ii 8). What makes him potentially “special” is the possibility that he is called by God’s name (i 9) and that he is worshipped (ii 7).⁹⁸ Yet, even if the divine names of i 9 and ii 1 are indeed attributed to the protagonist, the author distinguishes rather carefully between him and the divine level, since he is described as being *called* a Son of God and a Son of the Most High (not as *being* one). Conceptually this is like the comparative Kaf in כַּבֵּר אֱנוֹשׁ of Daniel 7. There the figure is not a human but only similar to one. Here, the author does not necessarily conceive of this figure as a son of God by the author. I would hesitate to understand him as an antecedent or parallel to heavenly eschatological protagonists such as Melchizedek in 11Q13 or Enoch in the *Similitudes*. 4Q534 is closer to such a super-human description of its protagonist, who is not necessarily messianic.

d) *Biblical inspiration*

Space does not permit me to investigate this question in detail. I will therefore focus very briefly on three preliminary impressions. Firstly, the most prominent messianic prooftexts for the Qumranites include Genesis 49:10, Numbers 24:17, 2 Samuel 7, Isaiah 11 and 61 as well as Psalms 2 and 110. Most of them figure prominently also in the *Similitudes*, *4 Ezra*, *Psalms of Solomon* and early Christian texts. Yet, it seems to me that the only one that explicitly lent its language to the formulation of the messianic conceptions in the Aramaic Qumran texts investi-

⁹⁴ Cf. *4 Ezra* 13:39–48.

⁹⁵ In *1 En.* 45:3–5, the Chosen One sits on the throne of glory (rules) and chooses among the works of the sinners (judges) before establishing a blissful place for his people (the chosen ones).

⁹⁶ Cf. *4 Ezra* 13:9–12.27–28, where the messianic figure does *not* use the sword. There, however, he annihilates his opponents—with fiery breath, before assembling a peaceful crowd.

⁹⁷ There is an almost verbatim parallel with regard to the universal conflict between city and city, nation and nation between 4Q246 ii 3 and *4 Ezra* 13:31. However, this motif is quite common (Collins).

⁹⁸ Cf. *1 En.* 48:5; 63.

gated here is Isaiah 11, which stands clearly behind 4Q246.⁹⁹ For the others, there are at most implicit allusions.¹⁰⁰

Similarly, biblical verses which inspired the sectarians less frequently or not at all are indeed found in the background of the Aramaic texts: Malachi 3:23 appears in 4Q558 but apart from 4Q521 whose sectarian authorship is debated, it is not found in any sectarian text. It appears in the New Testament (Mark 9:11, Matthew 17:10–11) but not in the *Similitudes* nor in 4 *Ezra*.

Were the Aramaic texts from Qumran the first to use the Servant Songs as proof-text for an eschatological protagonist?¹⁰¹ If we read the *hif'il* in 4Q246 ii 4 (יקים עם אל), this may have been written under the influence of Isaiah 49:6 (להקים את שבטי יעקב).¹⁰² With regard to 4Q541, I would not speak of “light of the nations” (cf. Isa 42:6) as precisely describing the protagonist of 4Q541 nor do his verbal afflictions remind me of Isaiah 50 or 53. Yet, 4Q541 6 3 uses the rare מנאוביכה and might after all evoke Isaiah 53:3 (together with a group of other texts).¹⁰³ Still, as Collins has stated time and again, the idea that the

⁹⁹ E.g. judging in justice (Isa 11:4, 4Q246 ii 4–5); in Isaiah, the protagonist is fighting without weapons, but only with the mouth (Isa 11:5) before a paradisiacal time of peace for the whole creation, and in 4Q246 swords are put down; the people is assembled in Isa 11:11–16 or raised in 4Q246 ii 4. Even the mention of Assyria and Egypt in 4Q246 i may be an echo of their special mention in Isa 11:15 and 16. The opening verses of Isa 11 are frequently used as a messianic proof-text or have inspired messianic concepts in Qumran sectarian and related texts (1QS^b V, 4Q285, 4QpIs^a, *T. Levi* 3:2; 18:2–7), in Christian texts, in *Pss. Sol.* 17, 4 *Ezra* and the *Similitudes*.

¹⁰⁰ Puech, *DJD XXII*, 173 suggests that 4Q246 i 8 (לעבדון וכלא ישמשון) might allude to Gen 49:10b (ולו יקחה עמים) interpreted וליה ישתמעון עממיה in the Targum, cf. Dan 7:27 וישתמעון ויפלוהו (לה). Frequently, Ps 2:7, 2 Sam 7:14 and Ps 89:26–27 are seen as standing in the background to the messianic divine sonship in 4Q246 i 9 / ii 1. Yet, the scene is very different and none of the central themes of these texts is used in juxtaposition in 4Q246.

¹⁰¹ The “Servant Songs” are used in the *Similitudes*, yet without alluding to suffering: 1 *Enoch*. 48:4 takes up Isa 42:6; 49:6.

¹⁰² Puech, *DJD XXII*, 175. Cf. CD II 11, III 13, cf. VI 2–3, 1QpHab X 10.

¹⁰³ Starcky, “Les quatre étapes,” followed by Puech “Une apocalypse messianique;” and García Martínez and Trebolle Barrera, *People of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 170–173; G. Brooke, “4QTestament of Levi^d (?) and the Messianic Servant High Priest,” in idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 140–157. Possible biblical echos include especially Jer 30:15; 45:3; Ps 69:27; Lam 1:12.18, cf. Exod 3:7; Qoh 1:18; 3:23. After initial objections, the use of Isa 53:3 has been acknowledged also by J. J. Collins, “Teacher and Servant,” *RHPR* 80 (2000): 37–50, here 47. Cf. his earlier statement in Collins, “The Suffering Servant at Qumran?,” 25: “[Puech] has exaggerated the theological overtones of what is, as is so often true at Qumran, a rather obscure text.... There is no evidence, however (at least before the publication of this

Servant Songs constitute a distinct unit dates after all from the nineteenth century and we do not have to assume that by using a word from one Servant Song the author of 4Q541 alluded to another Servant Song and understood the protagonist as an incarnation of the Suffering Servant.

Thirdly, Daniel 7 is very close to 4Q246 is very prominent in early Christology, the *Similitudes* and *4 Ezra* but is strikingly low scale in sectarian messianic speculations.¹⁰⁴ Loren Stuckenbruck has argued convincingly that the relation of Daniel 7 and 4Q246 is close but free.¹⁰⁵ Let us have a quick look:

Daniel		4Q246	
4:31	שלטנה שלטן עלם	ii 9	שלטנה שלטן עלם
7:14			עלם
7:14	וכל עממיא אמיא ולשניא לה יפלחון	ii 7	וכל מדינתא
7:27	וכל שלטניא לה יפלחון וישתעמוון		לה יסגדון
7:22	עד די אתה עתיק יומיא ודניא ייב	ii	עד ... ידין
cf.	ותדושנה	4-5	ארעה בקשט
7:23	ושארא ברגליה רפסה	ii 3	ידשון, ידוש
cf. 7:7			
cf.	ומלכותא החסנו קדישין	ii 8	עממין ינתן
7:22	ומלכותה ושלטנא ורבותא די מלכות תחות כל שמיא		בידה

Dead Sea Scroll), that Jews at the time of Jesus regarded Isaiah 53 as a prophecy of the Messiah.”)

¹⁰⁴ L. Stuckenbruck, “The Book of Daniel and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Hebrew Bible and Qumran* (ed. J. Charlesworth; The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls 1; Richland Hills, Texas: BIBAL, 2000), 135–172, here 167–171, has surveyed the use of Daniel in Qumran texts. Daniel 7 rates rather low if at all. The most important influences of Daniel on Qumranic literature are found in the War Scroll. Yet, ch. 7 does not seem to have made any significant impact of its own. The use of the horn as a symbol for the forces of evil (IQM I 4–5) could have been adopted from Daniel 7 or Daniel 8 (!). Mertens suggests that Dan 7:24 (Antiochus Epiphanes) stands behind IQM I 13–14 and XVI 11. The expression קדישי עלינון (Dan 7:18.22.25.27) is found in its Hebrew form in Qumran, only once, at CD XX 8 (the holy ones of the Most High (= the priests or angels?) curse the excommunicated). The use of קדישין / קדושים for a special group of people is not specific enough in my eyes. See A. Mertens, *Das Buch Daniel im Lichte der Texte vom Toten Meer* (SBM 12; Stuttgart: Echter, 1971), esp. 53–57. Cf. J. Carmignac “Les citations de l’Ancien Testament dans ‘La Guerre des Fils de Lumière contre les Fils de Ténèbres’,” *RB* 63 (1956): 234–260 and 375–390 and G. K. Beale, *The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of John* (NY: University Press of America, 1984), 42–66.

¹⁰⁵ The parallels in language and topic are so impressive that Puech suggests the unknown visionary might have been Daniel.

cf.	יהיבת לעם קדישי עליונים		
7:27			
7:27	מלכותה מלכות עלם	ii 5	מלכותה מלכות עלם
cf.	עם קדישי עליונים	ii 4	עם אל
7:27			

Verbal equations and echoes to 4Q246 are numerous, yet not evenly distributed. While Daniel 7:22 and especially 7:27 appear several times, 7:13 and the Son of Man and the Ancient of Days are notably absent (as in all Qumran literature)—at least from the extant parts of 4Q246. It strikes me that both links to Daniel 7:14 can be explained by referring to Daniel 7:27, which is quoted or paraphrased in its entirety, and Daniel 4:31. Is it possible that the author of 4Q246 knew the scene of Daniel 7 without verses 9–10 and 13–14? After all, some have argued that they are a distinct source inserted later into Daniel 7.¹⁰⁶ On the other hand, these verses are one of the most important backgrounds in the *Similitudes*, *4 Ezra* 13, *2 Baruch* and Revelation.¹⁰⁷ It is particularly the Son of Man and the Ancient of Days (“Head of Days” in the *Similitudes*) and Daniel 7:9–10.13–14 that have been used in these sources,¹⁰⁸ and they may have used these verses independently of the rest of Daniel 7.

4Q246 is the only Qumran text with extensive parallels to Daniel 7 and probably in a messianic context. Among non-Christian pre-Rabbinic texts, Daniel 7 is used only in texts that might have been composed in Aramaic: the *Similitudes*, *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*. However, the apparent proximity of 4Q246 to these non-Qumranic Aramaic texts is deceptive. There is no direct line between 4Q246 and the other texts, since they play on those Danielic elements absent from 4Q246, viz. the Son of Man and the ancient of days.

¹⁰⁶ E.g. Martin Noth, see the discussion in J. J. Collins, *Daniel. A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress), 278–279. On the other hand, the theme of peace which is so explicit in 4Q246 is absent or only implicit in Dan 7.

¹⁰⁷ E.g. Beale, *The Use of Daniel*, 96–305, who also points out that these texts frequently combine Dan 2, Dan 7, Gen 49:9–10 and Isa 11 (here 325).

¹⁰⁸ *1 En.* 46:1, 47:3, 71:14, cf. 48:3.10; *4 Ezra* 13:1–13a.25–52.

Conclusions and Implications

This article has proposed some new hypotheses or attempted to nuance existing interpretations. All of them are still in a preliminary state. The atonement of the protagonist of 4Q541 was explained against the background of the scapegoat ritual. Tentatively, the enigmatic expression תמיניא לבהיר in 4Q558 was linked to eight generations of priests in *Testament of Levi* 17–18. The absence of the Son of Man from 4Q246 might perhaps be explained by the author's reliance on Daniel 7 without verses 9–10 and 13–14. And with regard to the interpretation of the protagonist of 4Q534, both Starcky and Fitzmyer could be right, so that we have here a text with Noah figuring as an (eschatological?) redeemer.

The four Qumran texts investigated here¹⁰⁹ attest to divergent types of eschatological protagonists that happen to match the three classical types prophetic (4Q558), priestly (4Q541), royal (4Q246) (and perhaps heavenly: 4Q534). The elements in the extant fragments do not allow us to draw a close connection between these different texts. They may or may not come from different backgrounds and may or may not reflect related or varying messianologies.

While many further lines should be investigated more deeply, the brief and preliminary attempt to contextualize the concepts shows more differences than similarities between the typical sectarian messianic conceptions and those expressed in the Aramaic Qumran texts. This is especially true of 4Q558 with Elijah playing on Malachi 3, a passage that is unconnected to the prophet in the extant sectarian texts. Affinities in vocabulary have been mentioned between 4Q246 and the *War Scroll*, yet Daniel 7, the main inspiration of the former, is practically absent in the latter.¹¹⁰ 4Q541 with the abused priest differs from the descriptions of the sectarian concept of a Messiah of Aaron. Yet, the use of Isaiah 53 in self-descriptive hymns of the Teacher of Righteousness, whose image is closely related to the eschatological priest, might point to more convergence in this direction than would have been admitted fifteen years ago. The messianic conceptions expressed in the four Aramaic Qumran texts are *grosso modo* compatible with those of the sectarian texts. There are no contradictions in terms that clearly suggest that one of the

¹⁰⁹ Another fragmentary text with an eschatological figure of possibly messianic connotations is 4Q580.

¹¹⁰ See Mertens in footnote 104, above.

four texts investigated could not under any circumstances have been authored by a member of the Qumran group.

It is still too early to come to a conclusion with regard to the relation of the Aramaic Qumran texts and the non-Qumranic texts. There is some contact, especially for 4Q246, less so for 4Q541 and 4Q558,¹¹¹ yet, many differences and contrasts exist: For example, the non-Qumranic Aramaic texts exploit exactly those elements from Daniel 7 which are not used in 4Q246 (the Son of Man). *4 Ezra* shows parallel elements to 4Q246,¹¹² yet, also important differences.¹¹³ The same is true of the *Similitudes*. Further study is needed in this direction.

Early Christian messianic conceptions are often very close to the Aramaic Qumran texts. 4Q246 and Luke 1 point to some conceptual if not literary relationship. In the case of 4Q541 we note the use of Isaiah 53 and, independently of that, the use of scapegoat imagery related to Leviticus 16 for the description of a messianic figure who is suffering and also atoning. Both, Christians and the authors of 4Q541 could have arrived independently at these connections. The expectation of Elijah (4Q558) seems to point to shared traditions.

Had the texts been discovered in another place than Qumran, would anyone have suggested sectarian authorship? This is rather unlikely. I would argue that the messianic conceptions present in the Aramaic texts and their varying relationship to Qumran, Pseudepigrapha and early Christian texts suggests that they belonged to the larger world of Second Temple Judaism of which Qumran (and nascent Christianity) were parts.

Finally, what is the place of the “messianic” Aramaic Qumran texts in the library in general and in their Aramaic collection specifically? Does the majority of Aramaic texts found in Qumran focus on Urzeit (up to the Exodus) and Endzeit because these were the major topics Jewish

¹¹¹ For 4Q534–536, please see the other papers of this volume.

¹¹² The Messiah as Son, non-use of swords, assembling the people. The messiah participates only in a minor judgment, punishes the peoples by annihilation and liberates the remnant of his people before another, final judgment (12:32–34). Also in 4Q246 (after an announcement of his eternal kingdom ii 5), the judgment (ii 5–6) is *followed* by peace-making (6), *another battle* (8), transfer of dominion of peoples to the messiah (8) and again eternal rule (9)—does the order of sentences in 4Q246 ii indeed evoke the chronology of an eschatological scenario?

¹¹³ Most strikingly, in *4 Ezra* the messiah does not rule as M. Stone has pointed out. The protagonist of *4 Ezra* is explicitly Davidic (11:37; 12:31–32), in 4Q246 only implicitly so. In 4Q246, the people of God is raised / rises before the judgment (ii 4), in *4 Ezra* 12:32–34 the order is inverse.

authors writing in Aramaic were interested in? I do not think so. Our perspective on Aramaic Judaism goes only through the lens and selection of the Qumran book collection. Aramaic texts on Urzeit and Endzeit are particularly frequent at Qumran, because the Qumranites were more interested in opinions on these topics than they were interested in Aramaic thought on Samuel, the kings, halakha etc.¹¹⁴ Neither Isaiah nor the Minor Prophets are totally absent from the Aramaic texts.¹¹⁵ The Qumranites decided to incorporate those texts in their collection that deal with their own favorite themes and are more or less compatible with their own thought and compositions.

RESPONSE: FLORENTINO GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ

Daniel Stökl opens his contribution with a lucid formulation of possible theological agendas behind our discussions of ancient Jewish messianism: are we looking at the texts in its historical context or are we projecting later (Christian) ideas into them? I think the question is completely legitimate, as long as we do not forget that the “Christian” concepts were formulated by Jews, and this before any “parting of the ways” whatever. And I do not think that any of us will apply “post-Nicaean” concepts to early Christianity.

Stökl has offered us a thorough analysis of four Aramaic texts (4Q541, 4Q558, 4Q426 and 4Q534) that possibly refer to messianic figures, according to the definition of Geza Xeravits, and he makes innovative suggestions about each one of them:

- that the atonement of the protagonist of 4Q541 can be explained on the background of the scapegoat ritual (which seems to me a very plausible interpretation),
- that the expression “the eighth to the elect” of 4Q558 may be an allusion to the eighth eschatological priest of *Testament of Levi* 18:1ff (which seems to me possible);

¹¹⁴ According to list C in DJD 39 by A. Lange and U. Mittman-Richert, the number of Hebrew books from Qumran dealing with the prophets (35) is *not* very big either (*neviim rishonim* [8], Jeremiah [9], Isaiah [9] Minor Prophets [8]). From a statistical point of view, where only about 12% of Qumran texts are Aramaic, we should expect only 3–4 texts dealing with prophets. And many Aramaic texts are too fragmentary to understand their genre, topic or biblical background.

¹¹⁵ 4Q558 attests the use of Malachi and 4Q541 the use of Isaiah.

- that the absence of reference to the Son of Man of Daniel 7 in 4Q246 may be due to the use of a copy of Daniel from which Daniel 7:9–10 and 13–14 are missing (which seems to me a way out of the problem without any serious foundation);
- and that the **בְּחִיר אֱלֹהִים** of 4Q534 (though probably not messianic) may refer at the same time to Noah and to an eschatological savior figure (a Noah redivivus) (which combines both of the current interpretations of the text, but leaves unsatisfied the defendants of both interpretations).

But beyond these interesting suggestions about the four texts he deals with, Stökl has posed some fundamental questions in the light of other Aramaic messianic texts (Daniel 7, the *Similitudes of Enoch* and *4 Ezra*) and the “sectarian messianic texts in Hebrew” concerning the dating, the terminology used, the actions performed by the protagonists, and the biblical texts used as background. He has also put forward some conclusions and implications of his study. And I think our discussion would profit more by focusing on these questions than by discussing his concrete suggestions for interpretation of the four Aramaic texts. But you may think otherwise, of course, and the discussion is totally open. As a way to start the discussion, I put here some of the questions raised by the reading of the paper:

Dating: Stökl asserts that “The Aramaic texts attest only one figure at a time, yet they are too fragmentary to be used as proof against the existence of diarchic or triarchic messianism in Aramaic writing Judaism.” It is true that the argument *a silentio* is always delicate and dangerous, but we need to work with the data we have. And the reality is that in the preserved sections of the Aramaic messianic texts no diarchic or triarchic messianism is shown. Would not this element confirm the conclusion of Geza Xeravits (based on the fact that the only two manuscripts in which the triarchic messianism appears are from the hand of the same copyist) that this triarchism is a peculiarity of this scribe?

Terminology: What is the real difference between a messianic “title” and a messianic “appellation” for a protagonist who happens to be eschatological? In other words, when does an appellation become a title? Does this not depend heavily on the literary genre of the composition in which the designation is used? (Poetry transforms easily “appellations” to “titles,” it seems to me).

Actions: Although for Stökl this aspect is apparently the “most rewarding,” I think the fragmentary character of the evidence preserved

does not allow any firm conclusion, and the same applies to the use of “biblical inspiration.”

Stökl concludes that the Aramaic texts “show more differences than similarities between the typical messianic sectarian conceptions and those expressed in the Aramaic Qumran texts,” (although he recognizes that they are *grosso modo* compatible) and that they are “often very close” to early Christian messianic conceptions. And this opens up, in my view, a most fruitful field for discussion in the light of my own previous presentation of the Aramaic Qumranica *Apocalypica*. It is up to you to decide.

DISCUSSION

Daniel Stökl: Thank you so much for your perspicacious and kind response! With regard to the possible relation between 4Q246 and Daniel 7, I have been driven by three observations: 4Q246 shows many parallels with Daniel 7 with the exception of the most pertinent verses. Exactly these verses are those taken up in other early Jewish messianic texts without referring to the imagery taken up by 4Q246. And finally, for more than eighty years some exegetes of Daniel 7 have already been suggesting that the Son of Man verses come from a different source and/or were added later.

Xeravits’ observation about triarchic messianism as the idiosyncratic opinion of one scribe is interesting, yet, I think we should distinguish logically between “does not contradict” and “confirms.” The former would be more correct here. Concerning the transition from title to appellation, I completely agree on the issue of poetry. The status of an appellation as title depends on its context. I would also add a sociological aspect: When texts are transmitted from one textual community to another, the words therein may change their status and in any case, their intertextuality changes. This can have far reaching consequences. For example, the possibility to distinguish between an anointed and the Messiah can decrease when a text transits from a group acquainted with anointed priests to one without.

Émile Puech: Quelques remarques. Comme je l’ai rappelé plusieurs fois en ces jours, 4Q534 n’est pas messianique, mais il devrait faire allusion à la naissance mystérieuse de Noé, me semble-t-il. En publiant 4Q246, j’avais hésité entre une interprétation messianique, ma première intuition, et une figure négative pour suivre le point de vue de Hartmut Stegemann qui était fermement attaché à cette interprétation. Mais à présent, je reprends ma première intuition, une interprétation messianique du type Fils de l’homme de Daniel 7, comme je l’ai écrit dans les *Mélanges offerts à Raymond Kuntzmann* en 2004. En 4Q558 51 ii, la lecture אַבְרָם־עֶבְרָאִי est impossible. Il semble qu’il y ait une allusion à un roi messianique, une figure davidique comme il en était avec le huitième fils de Jessé, et il ne peut s’agir que d’un roi eschatologique du peuple de Dieu, qui doit être davidique, et que précède la venue d’Elie *redivivus*, citant Malachie 3. En 4Q541, il est clairement fait allusion à un prêtre (est-ce une figure eschatologique ou un personnage futur ?), mais je ne peux y voir une figure correspondant au bouc émissaire, comme vous l’écrivez. Toutes ces compositions araméennes sont cer-

tainement antérieures au courant essénien qui les a recopiées comme un héritage reçu dont il doit prendre soin.

Daniel Stöckl: With regard to 4Q558, after rechecking the photos, not the originals, I reckon reading *shin* as at least as probable as *dalet*. The upper hook of the fragmentary letter would have a strange angle for the downstroke of a *dalet* and matches better the bent at the end of the right arm of a *shin*. Another possibility could be *sadek* like in fragment 37 ii 3 of Cook's edition. Then, I am not sure Malachi 3 *necessarily* alludes to a *Davidic* Messiah following the coming of Elijah. Malachi 3:3 speaks of a messenger who purifies the *priesthood*. We should not be led astray by retrojecting early Christian conceptions. So in my opinion the possibility that the eighth one refers to priesthood as in *Testament of Levi* 18 is at least as probable as the solution referring to the sons of Jesse. With regard to 4Q541, I agree that the protagonist is probably priestly, but this would not prevent him from also being depicted as being a scapegoat. Even without pointing to Christology, typology is very frequently multivalent and the very rare occurrence of *השתלה* demands an explanation.

As I pointed out in the paper, I do not think that we should assume that all Aramaic compositions found in Qumran are pre-sectarian. As you would agree, many copies if not most are clearly late Hasmonean and early Herodian. If people copied these texts in the time of the *yahad*, some Aramaic texts could have been brought to Qumran by people joining the group in the first century BCE or CE. These texts could therefore have been composed later than the origin of the *yahad* without breaking with the assumption that the *yahad* authored only in Hebrew.

John Collins: In the case of 4Q246, the "Son of God" corresponds functionally to the "one like a son of man" in Daniel 7. If those verses were missing from the form of Daniel 7 known to the author, there would be no counterpart to the "Son of God." In the case of 4Q541, there is no other case in pre-Christian Judaism where an eschatological figure corresponds to the scapegoat.

Daniel Stöckl: Regarding 4Q246, let me confess that I found your suggestion that the Son of God is a parody on the Son of Man in Daniel 7 very suggestive. Yet few scholars seem to have accepted it. I thought therefore that there is room for another hypothesis. The fact that on the one hand so much of Daniel 7 is present in 4Q246 but on the other hand, the Son of Man, quite a central aspect of the scene, is absent needs indeed an explanation. At this point I would say that it is either your suggestion (that 4Q246 is turning the Son of Man into a Son of God) or mine (that he did not yet know it) to explain this puzzling absence, *tertium non (iam) datur*.

Concerning 4Q541, if we do not want to subscribe to those who see scapegoat imagery and language used in the Isaianic Servant Songs, you are completely right that 4Q541 would be the only pre-Christian case of a positive eschatological figure described with scapegoat imagery. *I Enoch* 10 uses scapegoat imagery for the leader of the fallen angels playing a negative protological and eschatological role, and the above-mentioned passage in Josephus is post 70 and speaks of an historical rather than an eschatological figure. This does not alter the fact that the verb *השתלה* is highly unusual and that the proximity to the title of the scapegoat is very forceful for ears used to rabbinic terminology.

Moshe Bernstein: A quick remark; you have this cutting down of trees and it actually reminds me of that scene in Noah's dream in the *Genesis Apocryphon* where there is cutting down of trees going on; I wonder whether it might be worth looking at. It oc-

curs in a number of other places. And here a question—you emphasize the prophetic aspect of Elijah, when does Elijah also become a priest? By the time you get to rabbinic literature, he is; the targumic epithet for Elijah is רבא אליה כהנא רבא, “Elijah the high priest,” very often. I wonder whether it’s worth looking to see what the earliest attestation of it might be and whether there might be some sort of Qumran “dotted-line” for it or not.

Daniel Stökl: With regard to the first remark, I did not think of this passage. The completely fragmentary state of 4Q558 does not allow a precise interpretation. The language of cutting seems different in both instances, though: 4Q558 37 ii: שיחיהי מותקצצין vs. *Genesis Apocryphon* XIII 10 קצין כולהון קצין. In 4Q558 something fills the whole land, a detail not extant in the *Genesis Apocryphon*. Concerning the second remark, I would refer you to the paper by Poirier who says all there is to say.

Dan Machiela: I suppose that what one includes in this sort of investigation depends upon one’s opinion of what constitutes a messianic figure, but I am wondering whether you considered the warrior figure in Noah’s dream in *Genesis Apocryphon* XIII–XV during your research? I am not sure that this would fall into any definition of a messiah, but perhaps it is worth a look?

Daniel Stökl: Again, I did not think of this passage, thank you. Fitzmyer has noted few verbal links with Daniel 7. It seems unclear whether we talk of an angelic or a human figure.

Samuel Thomas: On the first page of your paper you state that “the non-sectarian texts might be even more important than the sectarian texts as they attest to conceptions held in wider segments of the Jewish society outside Qumran,” and on the last page you remark that the focus on Urzeit and Endzeit was not a general topic of Jewish Aramaic writing but was of particular interest at Qumran. These are not necessarily mutually-exclusive statements, but I wonder if you could clarify your opinion about whether these texts reflect wider conceptions or particular interests.

Daniel Stökl: I do not want to be understood in the sense that Urzeit und Endzeit was not a principal topic of Jewish Aramaic writing in general, also outside of the texts attested in Qumran. It could very well have been the central focus. Yet, we simply do not yet have the means to know this. Our main information on Second Temple texts comes from Qumran or Christian libraries. Moshe David Herr once wrote an interesting article on the misleading perspective on Second Temple Judaism caused by the fact that until Qumran practically all texts were transmitted by Christian scribes. These Christian scribes were interested in copying a Christian selection of Second Temple Jewish texts as they gave this or that support for Christian ideas. The same selective perspective is true for Qumran. Qumran scribes were interested in copying that selection of Second Temple Jewish writings that support or align with ideas found in other Qumran texts. Of non-sectarian Jewish literature they preserved mainly (not exclusively) what seemed of more interest to the members of the *yahad*. The sectarian texts speak for a group whose size we do not know, but not necessarily for the rest of Judaism. While we should not commit the mistake to regard the selection of non-sectarian texts from Qumran as representative for non-*yahad* Second Temple Judaism, especially not statistically, the non-sectarian texts, to which the Aramaic texts from Qumran seem to belong, speak for Judaism also outside of Qumran.

PART VI: CONCLUSION

THE ARAMAIC TEXTS FROM QUMRAN:
CONCLUSIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

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At the conclusion of this volume, I would like to return to some of the more general considerations with which we started out and to which we have returned at various points: can we find an explanation why certain texts were composed and copied in Aramaic, while the main sectarian scrolls were written in Hebrew? How do these texts relate to the corpus we know as the Hebrew Bible? What kind of authority, if any, did they enjoy in the sectarian movement known from the Scrolls? Can we characterize the Aramaic corpus? Is it, for example, predominantly apocalyptic? Does it reflect a Mesopotamian background?

I shall pass over briefly the issues raised by the papers with a linguistic focus, not because they are not important but because they do not lend themselves as easily to a general concluding discussion. A full and nuanced history of the Aramaic language, taking account of all the texts from Qumran, is clearly a desideratum. Joseph Fitzmyer, writing some thirty years ago, classified the Aramaic of Daniel with Official or Imperial Aramaic (700–200 BCE) and the Aramaic of Qumran with Middle Aramaic (200 BCE–200 CE).¹ It seems clear, especially from the essay of Ursula Schattner-Rieser that this division is not especially helpful. The Aramaic corpus from Qumran seems to represent a transitional phase of the language, and calls for a more nuanced approach to the history of the Aramaic language. To reach conclusions on these matters, however, would require much more detailed analysis of the entire corpus than was possible in a workshop such as this.

I shall focus my remarks around four topics:

1. The relation of this corpus of texts to what we know as the Hebrew Bible,
2. The question of sectarian or non-sectarian provenance, and
3. The character of the corpus, and specifically its relevance to the development of apocalypticism in the Jewish tradition.
4. The question of Messianism.

¹ J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Phases of the Aramaic Language," in idem, *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays* (SBLMS 25; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979), 57–84.

1. *The relation of the corpus to the Hebrew Bible*

Devorah Dimant has highlighted the fact that many of the Aramaic works found at Qumran deal with the primeval history and the patriarchs, while another cluster deals with tales set in the Diaspora. They typically do not deal with Moses, the early history of Israel, or the Prophets (other than Enoch and Daniel, should they be so regarded). This observation is certainly significant, and I agree with Devorah Dimant and Florentino García Martínez that the corpus has a distinctive profile.

Related to this is the fact that several Aramaic scrolls are dated early. Some of the Enochic manuscripts are a case in point, also *Visions of Amram*, which Milik dated to the mid-second century BCE. I take it that the presence of archaic features in Qumran Aramaic also supports the view that at least some of these texts had an early origin. Armin Lange lists 38 works from Qumran which he believes originated before the Maccabean revolt. These include several Aramaic works—*Book of the Watchers*, *Book of Giants*, sections of *Genesis Apocryphon* which he regards as source documents for the extant Apocryphon, *Aramaic Levi*, *Testament of Qahat*, the *Visions of Amram*, Tobit, *Prayer of Nabonidus*, the *Tales from the Persian Court* or so-called *Proto-Esther* (4Q550), the *New Jerusalem* text.² The proportion of pre-Maccabean literature that is in Aramaic is probably greater than Lange's list would suggest, as several of the Hebrew works on the list are quite probably later, in my view (*Temple Scroll*, 4QInstruction, the wisdom texts 4Q184 and 185, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*).

Not all Aramaic texts are so early. 4Q245 provides a list of High Priests that extends into the Hasmonean era, at least as far as Simon, possibly as far as Aristobulus I.³ The extended *ex eventu* prophecy of Israelite history in the other pseudo-Daniel text, 4Q243–244, finds its earliest parallel in the *Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch*, which dates to the time around the revolt. I agree with Lorenzo DiTommaso that the theology of this work contrasts pointedly with that of the biblical book of Daniel, and that there is little evidence to suggest dependence. I doubt, however, that it is older, or that Daniel 9 is reacting to it. The so-called

² A. Lange, "Pre-Maccabean Literature from the Qumran Library and the Hebrew Bible," *DSD* 13 (2006): 286.

³ So M. O. Wise, "4Q245 and the High Priesthood of Judas Maccabaeus," *DSD* 12 (2005): 313–362 (344).

Son of God text (4Q246) must also, in my view, be assigned to the post-Maccabean period, probably to the first century BCE. I agree with Katell Berthelot that this text most probably depends on the biblical book of Daniel. If the restoration of “John, son of Simon” in 4Q339 is correct, it too must date to the Hasmonean era, but this text is so fragmentary that the conclusion must remain tentative. But it is still true that a significant proportion of the Aramaic literature found at Qumran is likely to date from pre-Maccabean times.

Most accounts of ancient Judaism presuppose the centrality of the Mosaic Torah. This is certainly justified in the case of the sectarian scrolls from Qumran, but it is not necessarily true of all strands of Second Temple Judaism. There has been some debate recently as to the status of the Torah in the early Enoch literature, as reflected in the *Astronomical Book* and the *Book of the Watchers*. As George Nickelsburg has written:

The heart of the religion of *1 Enoch* juxtaposes election, revealed wisdom, the right and wrong ways to respond to this wisdom, and God’s rewards and punishments for this conduct. Although all the components of “covenantal nomism” are present in this scheme, the word covenant rarely appears and Enoch takes the place of Moses as the mediator of revelation. In addition, the presentation of this religion is dominated by a notion of revelation—the claim that the books of Enoch are the embodiment of God’s wisdom, which was received in primordial times and is being revealed in the eschaton to God’s chosen ones⁴

The interest in figures other than Moses is typical of the Aramaic literature. It is not that the authors were not familiar with what we call the books of Moses. The story of the Watchers is most plausibly seen as an expansion of Genesis 6, and the story of the Flood was probably known to these authors from Genesis rather than from oral tradition. As Katell Berthelot has shown, the *Genesis Apocryphon* describes sacrifices according to the laws mentioned in other books of the Torah, especially Leviticus. More generally, several of the works relating to primeval and patriarchal history are para-biblical, in the sense that they paraphrase and elaborate stories known to us from the Bible. The *Genesis Apocryphon* is at least in part an instance of “rewritten Bible” which follows the biblical story quite closely. But as Moshe Bernstein has shown, this is not true even for all of the *Genesis Apocryphon*: “The outline of the

⁴ G. W. Nickelsburg, “Enochic Wisdom: An Alternative to the Mosaic Torah?,” in *Hesed Ve-Emet. Studies in Honor of Ernest S. Frerichs* (ed. J. Magness and S. Gitin; BJS 320; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 123–132 (129).

biblical story is followed, more or less, in Part I, but the biblical text is of little import, and even the details of the biblical narrative do not play a significant role in the retelling.”⁵ The earlier part of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, according to Bernstein, belongs to “the kind of expansion of Genesis... which became so fashionable in the Second Temple era.” Most of the reported speech does not derive directly from the Bible. The use of the biblical text in the *Aramaic Levi*, or in the *Book of the Watchers* is also very free. The *Book of Giants* is only related tangentially to the book of Genesis.

I would suggest that the important question here is not whether a particular text makes use of a book later included in the Bible, but the kind of use it makes of it. In many cases it is only a jumping off point for a new composition. In the case of the book of Daniel, canonical status is no guarantee of priority. The *Prayer of Nabonidus* and quite probably the *Book of Giants* are more likely to be sources for the “biblical” book than the reverse. Yet no one would claim that the *Prayer of Nabonidus* was “canonical” in the circles in which Daniel was written.

All scholars know, or should know, that to speak of a canon of scriptures in the pre-Christian period is anachronistic. The idea of a canon was introduced much later, in a fourth-century CE Christian context, where it was used to refer to books which provided the “rule of faith.” The word means “measuring stick.” But Jews obviously had a collection of authoritative writings, and it has become conventional to refer to this corpus as a canon. There are at least some cases where Jewish writers refer to some writings as normative. In 4QMMT, when the author challenges the recipient to consult the books of Moses and the Prophets, the assumption is evidently that these books provide the norms for right observance. The halachic disputes illustrated in 4QMMT assume the normative status of the Torah of Moses (regardless of whether it is assumed to be identical with our Pentateuch, or whether it might be expanded to include books like *Jubilees*). The *pescharim* assume a different kind of normativity for the books of the prophets: they are thought to contain decisive revelations about the future. The idea of a canon also requires that the number of normative books be limited. But not all use of older scripture implies normativity in this way. The mere fact that a book is cited or alluded to does not necessarily show that it is “canonical” in the sense of normative. I would be hesitant to base any conclu-

⁵ M. Bernstein, “The Genre(s) of the *Genesis Apocryphon*,” in this volume, pp. 317–343.

sions about canonicity on the failure to refer to Nehemiah 6:10–13 in the *List of False Prophets* in 4Q339. Nehemiah is only attested in one fragment from Qumran, and until recently it was not attested at all. We can safely conclude that the book of Nehemiah was not “canonical” for the sect, but we cannot draw any conclusions about the status of the other books from the omission. The scribe may simply have listed the false prophets he could find in the books available to him. Again, the fact that he switches to Hebrew may only show that he was perusing these books in Hebrew. Eventually, some Aramaic passages in Ezra and Daniel became just as canonical as the Hebrew chapters of those books. Hebrew was not the exclusive language of holy writ.

I see very little evidence of an appeal to older literature as normative in the Aramaic texts from Qumran. Even the book of Tobit, which refers respectfully to “the law of Moses,” uses this phrase broadly to refer to traditional custom rather than to specific laws or a specific book.⁶ All the Aramaic texts presuppose traditions about figures who are mentioned in what became the Hebrew Bible (although the Daniel mentioned in the book of Ezekiel bears little resemblance to the hero of the Aramaic writings). Moses has only a peripheral role among those figures. In part, the preference for pre-Mosaic revealer figures may be attributed to the desire to show that divine guidance was available from the beginning. In part, it relates to a common Hellenistic motif that traces the origins of cultural phenomena as far back as possible. But this literature also testifies to a form of religion that is less centralized, less exclusively focused on Moses, than what emerged in later centuries. Many of the texts that refer to primeval or patriarchal mediators of revelation are pre-Maccabean. Without making absolute claims, it is possible to say that this segment of the Aramaic literature reflects an aspect of traditional Judaism from the third or early second century BCE, which did not have its central focus on the Mosaic Law.

⁶ See my essay, “The Judaism of the Book of Tobit,” in *The Book of Tobit. Text, Tradition, Theology* (ed. G. G. Xeravits and J. Zsengellér; JSJSup 98; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 23–40.

2. *Non-sectarian provenance?*

If much of this literature was composed in pre-Maccabean times, then it evidently was not produced by the *yahad*, or the community of the new covenant. Is it nonetheless in some sense a sectarian collection?

At the outset here, I would like to reaffirm a statement of Florentino García Martínez: “we cannot deal with the question of the origins of the Aramaic compositions in isolation from the more general question of the origins of all the compositions found at Qumran.” For much of the history of scholarship, scholars have tended to assume that the scrolls found in the caves were the library of a sectarian community that lived at Qumran. Consequently, anything composed before the establishment of that community was “pre-sectarian” or “pre-Qumran.” Anything that did not exemplify the ideology of the community, as described in the Rule books, was also thought to be non-sectarian, and supposed to have been brought to Qumran from elsewhere. Hence the frequent insistence that the Aramaic literature was not only non-sectarian, but pre-sectarian, as if no outside literature could have been brought into the community after it had been established.

I for one no longer find that model of explaining the origin of the collection of scrolls satisfactory. I still accept that Qumran was a sectarian settlement at the time (or times) when the scrolls were deposited in the caves, and that the sect in question should be identified as the Essenes. But according to Philo and Josephus the Essenes were spread throughout Judea, and numbered more than 4,000. (This estimate was probably made about the turn of the era). The highest estimate for the population of Qumran at any given time was about 200. The tendency to identify the sect with the Qumran settlement, then, is clearly unjustified, and even the assumption that it was the “motherhouse” or main settlement is gratuitous. Moreover, it is clear that not all scrolls found at the site were copied there. Scholars have always recognized that many of the scrolls were copied before the Qumran settlement was established, but even after that many scrolls must have been brought there from elsewhere. It is difficult to see why members of the community at Qumran should have continued to copy different editions of the Damascus Rule, or even different and somewhat contradictory copies of the Serek. This phenomenon should not be explained by the rather fanciful idea that the Rule books were not really Rule books. Rather, I would suggest that many of the scrolls that ended up in the caves were brought there from elsewhere, and represent the libraries not just of the community at Qumran

but also of other Essene communities. On this hypothesis, the caves, even Cave 4, were not library stacks, but hiding places. The most obvious occasion for hiding the scrolls in caves was the war against Rome, during which the site was destroyed. Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra has argued that this was not the first occasion on which scrolls were hidden.⁷ The greater part of the collection in Cave 4 dates to the time before the turn of the era, and may have been hidden in advance of the earlier destruction of the site, at the end of Period I. It is also possible that sectarians moved to Qumran from other sectarian sites at various times, and brought scrolls with them.

I am still of the opinion that the collection as a whole is a sectarian collection rather than a cross-section of Jewish literature of the time. Not only is there a high proportion of clearly sectarian scrolls, but the absence of works like 1 Maccabees, or of anything that could be considered Pharisaic, argues that there was a principle of exclusion. But I would want to qualify Florentino García Martínez' statement that for any of these texts "the only context we know is the Qumranic context, the collection where they were preserved, read and transmitted to us." Even if we substitute "sectarian context" for Qumranic, I think that we should not necessarily assume that everything in the collection was filtered through sectarian lenses. George Bernard Shaw once had a character in one of his plays say that "no one can be a Christian all the time; every now and then one forgets, and something comes out quite naturally." I don't think anyone could be a sectarian all the time either. There are surely texts that had nothing sectarian about them but were not objectionable to sectarians. The *Prayer of Nabonidus* comes to mind; perhaps also the *Genesis Apocryphon*. Is it not possible that scribes may have copied the *Genesis Apocryphon* because they enjoyed the description of Sarah's beauty (rendered acceptable by the fact that she was the wife of a patriarch)?

Consequently, I think the distinction between works that are distinctively sectarian and those that may be taken to reflect "common Judaism" is still useful and important, granted that there may also be a third category in between of "proto-sectarian" texts, which have sectarian tendencies, even if they do not reflect an organized sectarian community. One may well argue that all the texts preserved by the sect contribute to the profile of the sectarian mindset. But many of the texts

⁷ D. Stökl Ben Ezra, "Old Caves and Young Caves. A Statistical Reevaluation of a Qumran Consensus," *DSD* 14/3 (2007): 313–333.

found at Qumran may be taken as representative of common Judaism, in a way that the distinctively sectarian texts may not, and they have a special importance for that reason.

It has been suggested that some works, such as *Aramaic Levi Document*, that were originally non-sectarian underwent sectarian redaction, to adapt them to the needs of the sect.⁸ This is certainly possible, but it has not been demonstrated in many cases. I do not think it was necessarily always the case.

I agree with Florentino García Martínez that there is no reason in principle why we should not find sectarian compositions in Aramaic. But in practice, examples are hard to identify. Both the *Pseudo-Daniel* texts refer to the emergence of some elect group. 4Q243 refers to the gathering of the elect, and 4Q245 to some people who will arise in an eschatological context. The latter could be a reference to the emergence of the sect, analogous to *Damascus Document*, column I. But several pre-Essene texts, in the Enoch corpus and in Daniel 11 (the *maskilim*), refer to the emergence of a special group in the eschatological period, and they cannot all refer to the same group.⁹ Both *Pseudo-Daniel* texts are too fragmentary to permit confident conclusions. The *List of False Prophets* (4Q339) discussed by Armin Lange may be sectarian, if it does indeed refer to John Hyrcanus, but criticism of Hyrcanus's claims to prophecy was not necessarily exclusive to the sect. I have in the past suggested a sectarian provenance for 4Q541, a text that bears some relation to the *Testament of Levi*, and which speaks of an eschatological priest who will atone for the sons of his people. I have suggested that the verbal abuse this figure endures might be modeled on the opposition encountered by the Teacher of Righteousness, who was, of course, also a priest.¹⁰ If this were so, this would be a rare instance of a sectarian text written in Aramaic. But if Émile Puech is right in dating the manuscript as early as 100 BCE, this suggestion becomes less likely, although not entirely impossible if we allow the standard margin of error of 25 years, plus or minus. (Puech states emphatically that the original composition

⁸ R. A. Kugler, "Whose Scripture? Whose Community? Reflections on the Dead Sea Scrolls Then and Now, By Way of Aramaic Levi," *DSD* 15 (2008): 5–23.

⁹ J. J. Collins, "Pseudepigraphy and Group Formation in Second Temple Judaism," in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. Chazon and M. E. Stone; STDJ 31; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 43–58.

¹⁰ J. J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star. The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 125.

must have pre-dated the Teacher).¹¹ The text does not attest the typical sectarian expectation of two messiahs. The emphasis in this text on the opposition encountered by an eschatological priest is highly unusual, and I am still inclined to think that there must have been some historical precedent, of a priest who encountered opposition and abuse, to give rise to it. I would think that the expectation of an eschatological priest at least presupposes the disruption of the High Priesthood in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. But I cannot claim 4Q541 as a clear case of a sectarian text written in Aramaic. An exception may yet come to light, but the claim that the Aramaic texts are of non-sectarian origin seems to hold true at least as a generalization.

I see little indication that much of this Aramaic literature was normative for the authors of the sectarian scrolls. Daniel is cited like other prophetic books in 11QMelchizedek. The *Damascus Document* alludes to the Watchers, but as Jörg Frey has pointed out, the account of the origin of evil that we find in the Scrolls is quite different from what we find in *1 Enoch*.¹² No doubt these texts were read with interest in the *yahad*, but there is little evidence that they were endowed with the kind of authority that would warrant use of the word “canonical.”

3. *Aramaica apocalyptica*

The interest in mediators of revelation other than Moses is one of the features of this literature that has impressed some scholars as “apocalyptic.” On this topic, the problem of terminology is like a seven-headed monster, whose heads have no sooner been cut off than they are propped up again by somebody else. Here, I can only re-state my own position on the matter. As Klaus Koch argued almost forty years ago, the literary genre apocalypse provides the only control on the use of such terms as apocalyptic or apocalypticism.¹³ Literature is apocalyptic insofar as it resembles what we typically find in apocalypses. Apocalypticism, or German *Apokalyptik*, is the worldview of movements that share the

¹¹ E. Puech, “Apocryphe de Levi,” in idem, *Qumrân Grotte 4. XXII. Textes Araméens Première Partie. 4Q529–549* (DJD 31; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 216.

¹² J. Frey, “Die Bedeutung der Qumrantexte für das Verständnis der Apokalyptik im Frühjudentum und im Urchristentum,” in *Apokalyptik und Qumran* (ed. J. Frey and M. Becker; Einblicke 19; Paderborn: Bonifatius, 2007), 44.

¹³ K. Koch, *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic* (SBT 2/22; Chicago: Allenson, 1972), 18–35 (originally published as *Ratlos vor der Apokalyptik* [Gütersloh: Mohn, 1970]).

conceptual framework of the apocalypses.¹⁴ This may seem tautologous, but to use the word without reference to apocalypses is only to breed confusion. To put the matter another way, if a movement, or a group of texts does *not* share the conceptual framework of the apocalypses, it is better to call it something else, other than “apocalyptic.” Lorenzo DiTommaso recognizes this when he grants that the study of ancient apocalypticism must begin with the genre, and that the genre provides the fullest literary articulation of the ideology.

On my definition, an apocalypse must be first of all a revelation, typically relayed by an angel or superhuman being to a famous ancient figure (at least in the Jewish apocalypses; there are exceptions to this in the Christian adaptation of the genre).¹⁵ The content may deal either with the course of history or with the heavenly realms (or both), but in either case there is an eschatological horizon for the judgment of the dead, followed by their reward or punishment. It is sometimes argued that eschatology is not part of the *Gemeingut* of the apocalypses, and that in its origin *Apokalyphtik* had little to do with eschatology.¹⁶ The basis for that argument is the *Astronomical Book* of Enoch, arguably the oldest apocalypse and primarily a scientific, or pseudo-scientific, treatise. In *Semeia* 14, we classified the *Astronomical Book* as an apocalypse, on the grounds that it has an eschatological conclusion in chapters 80–81. If these chapters are regarded as secondary additions, which they well may be, then I would not classify the original work as an apocalypse, although it is obviously relevant to the study of the origin of the genre. Eschatological concerns are of central importance in the *Book of the Watchers*, and in all the other works usually regarded as apocalypses. There is, nonetheless, a question as to how a work like the *Astronomical Book* of Enoch relates to the development of apocalypticism, and I shall return to that.

By this definition, how many apocalypses do we find among the Aramaic texts from Qumran? Obviously, the paradigmatic apocalypses of *I Enoch* and Daniel (at least Daniel 7; chapters 8–12 are in Hebrew) guarantee the prominence of the genre. It is more difficult to speak with

¹⁴ See my essay, “Genre, Ideology and Social Movements in Jewish Apocalypticism,” in my book *Seers, Sibyls, and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism* (JSJSup 54; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 25–38.

¹⁵ J. J. Collins (ed.), *Apocalypse. The Morphology of a Genre, Semeia* 14 (1979); *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (revised ed.; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1998), 2–9.

¹⁶ Frey, “Die Bedeutung der Qumrantexte,” 46.

confidence of fragmentary works, where the beginning and/or end is missing. The *New Jerusalem* text is generally accepted. While the model is obviously provided by Ezekiel 40–48, Lorenzo DiTommaso is probably right that the eschatology (primarily the succession of kingdoms in 4Q554 2 iii) is more akin to the apocalypses than to the prophets.¹⁷ 4QWords of Michael (4Q529) has at least a promising title: Words of the book which Michael spoke to the angels of God. The “Four Trees” text (4Q552–553) evidently recounts a vision in which various kingdoms are symbolized by trees. The *Son of God* text, 4Q246, is presented as the interpretation of a vision about eschatological upheaval. Admittedly, the vision seems to be interpreted by a human figure, as in Daniel 2, rather than by an angel, as in Daniel 7 and most apocalypses. Similarly, in *Pseudo-Daniel* 4Q243–244 the revelation of the course of Israelite history seems to be spoken by Daniel at a royal court. Nonetheless, the similarity to apocalyptic revelations is considerable in both cases. It may be that if this literature had survived in more complete form we should have to adjust our definition of an apocalypse to allow more variation in the manner of revelation. One of the most interesting texts in this regard is the *Visions of Amram*, which is explicitly labeled a vision or “visions,” but seems to have the form of a testament. The authors of these texts were not generic purists. The Enoch literature also makes use of something like testaments to show how Enoch transmitted his revelation to his children.

These are, I think, the texts that most closely resemble apocalypses in form, granted various uncertainties. They are not the only ones that have apocalyptic features. The *Apocryphon of Levi* is no apocalypse, but it includes the typically apocalyptic motif of heavenly ascent. The *Book of Giants* is evidently related to *1 Enoch* 6–16, and the *Birth of Noah* (4Q534–536) is paralleled in *1 Enoch* 106–7. Not every motif that appears in an apocalypse, however, necessarily qualifies other texts in which it appears as apocalyptic. The question here is whether the fragmentary Aramaic works share the same conceptual structure as the apocalypses. The *Prayer of Nabonidus* is important for the tradition history of Daniel 4, but it is not “apocalyptic” in itself. It is certainly possible that texts dealing with Noah might have eschatological implications, but this is not apparent from the extant fragments. There was evidently a good deal of speculation about Noah and other primeval figures in the

¹⁷ L. Di Tommaso, *The Dead Sea New Jerusalem text: contents and contexts* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 111, also 62.

Aramaic literature of the late third/early second century BCE. Some of that speculation was incorporated in the Enochic literature, which entailed a good deal of bricolage, or cobbling together of various traditions. But I would not characterize the Aramaic corpus as a whole as “apocalyptic.” Speculation about the birth of Noah is a good example of material that could be incorporated into an apocalypse, and adapted for apocalyptic ends, without being inherently apocalyptic itself.

In my view, the apocalyptic worldview that crystallizes in the books of *1 Enoch* and in Daniel was a new development in Judaism in the late third or early second century BCE. Some of the Aramaic material from Qumran may be older than that, or at least preserve older traditions. Its relevance to the study of apocalypticism is that it is broadly illustrative of the kind of milieu in which the earliest apocalyptic writings developed. Three features of this milieu, as highlighted in this conference seem to me to merit further exploration:

1. Jonathan Ben-Dov has drawn attention to the prominence of quasi-scientific writings. Interest in astronomy and in geography play important roles in the Enoch tradition. This interest contributes eventually to the apocalyptic worldview, insofar as it tries to locate human existence in a cosmic perspective. The association of this interest with Enoch can be plausibly related to the interest in “first discoverers” in the Hellenistic period.

2. Sam Thomas highlighted the importance of secrecy and esotericism. In some part, secrecy enhances the prestige of the scribe. I would like to suggest another factor that may have contributed to esotericism. Michael Barkun has written on how modern apocalyptic groups often cherish what he calls “stigmatized knowledge,” that is, knowledge that is not widely respected in their societies.¹⁸ The *Astronomical Book* of Enoch was not cutting-edge science in the Hellenistic age. But the very fact that it was not respected by scientific astronomers may have enhanced its value for the Jews who preserved it. By conceiving of it as revelation, they obviated the need to enter into scientific debate. The same is true of the geography of the *Book of the Watchers*.

3. Many scholars have observed the prominence of Mesopotamian motifs and traditions in this literature. This is true not only of the references to Gilgamesh and Humbaba in the *Book of Giants*, but also to the

¹⁸ M. Barkun, “Politics and Apocalypticism,” in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism, Volume 3. Apocalypticism in the Modern Period and the Contemporary Age* (ed. S. Stein; New York: Continuum, 1998), 449–450.

quasi-scientific traditions in the *Astronomical Book* and the physiognomic literature. Devorah Dimant has also noted that Persian traditions figure prominently in some texts. In the latter category I would include the dualism of light and darkness that first appears in the *Visions of Amram*. While I agree with Jörg Frey that it is possible to reconstruct a trajectory in early wisdom literature that culminates in the Instruction of the Two Spirits,¹⁹ neither the conception of the Spirits nor the dualism of light and darkness is derived from the wisdom tradition. The Zoroastrian parallels are too striking to ignore.²⁰

André Lemaire has reopened the question whether the early apocalyptic literature, and also the Essene movement, may have originated in the eastern Diaspora, as suggested at one time by Albright and later by Murphy-O'Connor. This might explain not only the Mesopotamian (and Persian) motifs and traditions, but also the interest in eastern court-tales. The case for a Mesopotamian background is much stronger in the case of the early apocalyptic literature, and some other early Aramaic literature, than in the case of the Essenes. (Murphy-O'Connor's argument was based on a rather fanciful equation of Damascus in the *Damascus Document* with Babylon). Just what a "Mesopotamian background" might mean in this context, however, is not entirely clear. It is conceivable that the *Astronomical Book* of Enoch was composed in the eastern Diaspora. This could hardly be claimed for the later apocalypses of Enoch. Again, it is conceivable that the court tales in Daniel 1–6, or the *Tales from the Persian Court* originated in the east, although at least in the case of the Danielic tales they were surely redacted in Palestine. Many, if not most, of the Jews who were responsible for this literature would have traced their ancestry to the Babylonian exile. There was some travel between Mesopotamia and Judea throughout the Second Temple period. Mesopotamian traditions could have been brought to Judea at various times during this period, not only in the initial "return" under Zerubbabel or Ezra. Equally, Jews could have picked up Zoroastrian ideas at any time during this period. But the Mesopotamian/Iranian background of this material is certainly significant.

¹⁹ Frey, "Die Bedeutung der Qumrantexte," 40–44.

²⁰ See further Collins, "The Origin of Evil in Apocalyptic Literature and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Seers, Sibyls, and Sages*, 287–299; *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Routledge, 1997), 30–51.

4. *Messianism*

The subject of messianism is distinct from that of apocalypticism. Most early apocalypses, including Daniel, do not have messiahs, in the sense of divinely designated human agents who play a decisive role in the eschatological drama. (I understand Daniel 7 to refer to an individual deliverer, most probably the archangel Michael, as in Daniel 12:1, but it does not refer to a messiah, in the sense of human king or priest).²¹ I hold what is probably still the majority view²² that *Son of God* in the Aramaic text 4Q246 is a messianic title.²³ There is very little evidence for messianic expectation in second century BCE. Many of the pre-Christian messianic texts presuppose the (illegitimate) kingship of the Hasmoneans. (The *Psalms of Solomon* provides the most explicit example, but I also take the sectarian expectation of two messiahs to be a reaction against the Hasmonean combination of the offices). 4Q246, however, makes no mention of a priestly messiah, and does not, as far as I can see, allude to the Hasmonean kingship. The reference to a king or kings of Assyria and Egypt in col. 1, and the lack of any reference to the Kittim, suggests a date before Pompey's conquest, even if the kings of Assyria and Egypt are eschatological figures. The title "Son of God" is derived, of course, from Psalm 2, and there is no reason in principle why such a text could not have been written in the second century, but neither is there anything that requires so early a date. In any case, there is nothing distinctively sectarian about this text.

Apart from 4Q246, Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra's search for messianic expectation in the Aramaic texts has yielded little fruit. 4Q534 is probably not messianic. 4Q558 is too fragmentary. 4Q541 does not, on any interpretation, refer to a royal or Davidic messiah. It does, however, refer to an eschatological priest, or, as Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra puts it "a priestly eschatological protagonist." I am reluctant, however, to accept the suggestion that this figure achieves atonement by being sent out like a scapegoat. The suggestion hangs on a technical use of the verb "to send,"

²¹ J. J. Collins, *Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 304–310.

²² Pace H.-J. Fabry, "Die frühjüdische Apokalypitik: Herkunft–Eigenart–Absicht," in *Apokalypitik und Qumran*, 81. I am pleased to note that Émile Puech now accepts the messianic interpretation of this text. See Puech, "Le volume XXXVII des *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* et les manuscrits araméens du lot Starcky," in this volume, pp. 47–61, here pp. 48–49.

²³ For my most recent treatment of this text see A. Yarbro Collins and J. J. Collins, *King and Messiah as Son of God* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2008), chapter 3.

which is not attested before the first century CE, at the earliest, and perhaps much later. Moreover, the scapegoat is not sent “to all the sons of his people,” but rather in the opposite direction. I am not aware of any pre-Christian parallel for this analogical use of scapegoat imagery, and affliction endured by this eschatological priest is exceptional in any case. This motif is not picked up in any of the sectarian references to the messiah of Aaron. In any case, 4Q541 remains both intriguing and exceptional among the Aramaic texts from Qumran. I should add that I agree with Jörg Frey that the designation of this text as a testament is uncertain, since the crucial beginning of the text, where we might expect to find an indication of context, is missing, although as Frey also remarks its testamentary features (including the points of contact with the *Testament of Levi*) are not to be denied.

The relative scarcity of messianic expectations in the Aramaic corpus, and the absence of any reference to the distinctively sectarian expectation of two messiahs lend support to the view that most, if not all, of this literature was not sectarian in origin, and that much of it is older than the distinctively sectarian literature associated with the new covenant or with the *yahad*.

Conclusion

The Aramaic literature found at Qumran was most probably a segment of popular Jewish literature in the Hellenistic period. Much of it appears to be pre-Maccabean. Only a few texts can be dated with confidence to the Hasmonean period. None of it is clearly sectarian, although some of it was surely preserved because it was congenial to sectarian interests. (*Visions of Amram* is an obvious case in point, but also the Enoch literature). There is no evidence that it was considered normative by the Essenes. Much of it reflects themes and traditions derived ultimately from Mesopotamia, although the actual place of composition is quite uncertain. The Aramaic corpus includes a significant proportion of the earliest known apocalyptic writings, but the corpus as a whole is not apocalyptic. It is, however, broadly representative of the milieu in which apocalyptic literature developed. Lines of tradition can be traced from this literature to the sectarian literature of the first century BCE. It is important to remember, however, that these are not the only lines of tradition that can be traced. There was also significant Hebrew literature in the Hellenistic period, relating especially to wisdom and religious law. That

literature was at least as influential in the new covenant as was the Aramaic. The sectarian ideology cannot be traced to a single source.

DISCUSSION

Moshe Bernstein: A very brief observation and a slightly longer point. The first observation, which I don't think that we've noted—it's the dog that's not barking—is that there is also no law written in Aramaic. I don't think that we are surprised by it, but I think that it's worth noting. Longer point: When we make the observation, confirming Devorah, in terms of the interest of our Aramaic material in Genesis through the patriarchal period, and not in Moses and so on, if one looks through the Pseudepigrapha (and I once did this), you'll see that that is a typical pattern for Second Temple treatments of the Bible. In general, they aren't treating very much after the patriarchal period. Other than *Jubilees*, perhaps, you don't find a lot of stuff on the post-patriarchal period if you look at the very broad corpus. So what we are seeing in the Aramaic corpus may not be quite as unique as the way that we set it out.

John Collins: Martin Hengel argued that there was a change after the Maccabean revolt, and Judaism became much more Torah-centered. The Torah has a central place in some later Pseudepigrapha, such as *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*. You still find literature about Abraham in texts like Pseudo-Eupolemus, and later in the *Testament of Abraham*.

Moshe Bernstein: But it's interesting that that is probably not Eretz Yisrael/Palestinian literature, it's diaspora literature and that may be the difference.

Daniel Stökl: Two points: I think it is important to hypothesize about concrete numbers in the case of the Qumran “library” to understand the central or marginal position in Second Temple Judaism in Judaea. How many copies of the book of let's say Deuteronomy actually existed at one given time? 10000 scrolls? Probably not. 1000? Unlikely. So the percentage of total Jewish book possession represented by the Qumran scrolls in this time maybe very substantial, perhaps rather around 10% (at least) than around 1%. Second, isn't “popular literature” a slip of tongue? If I think of the texts, Jonathan Ben-Dov has been working on (such as the *Astronomical Book* in the Enochic corpus) this is not reading I would regard as popular.

John Collins: I really don't think we have any way of knowing how many scrolls existed at any given time, or what percentage of Jewish literature was found at Qumran. Before the Scrolls were found, we would probably have imagined that Jewish literature in this period was much less extensive than we now think.

Your point on “popular” literature is well-taken. What I had in mind was that much of this literature, though not necessarily all, was not sectarian, but was literature that could be accepted and appreciated across a spectrum of Judaism.

Émile Puech: Vous classez les manuscrits araméens comme pré-maccabéens, à l'exception de 4Q245 que vous avez publié à cause de la lecture *yhwn/tn*, mais cette lecture qui est loin d'être assurée, ne peut appuyer une telle conclusion. La seule composition araméenne qui me paraît essénienne est 11QtgJob. Certains manuscrits font allusion à des prophètes, tels 4Q529 et 4Q571 à Aggée 2,8, 4Q558 51 ii à Malachie 3. 4Q556 pourrait être une prophétie *ex eventu* de l'époque maccabéenne faisant allusion à Antiochus IV Epiphane, mais les autres manuscrits échappent à une datation plus précise.

John Collins: Thank you for those references. In the case of 4Q245, we are dealing with a list of high priests, so the options for restoring the names are very limited. I cannot think of a plausible alternative for the name of a high priest, at that point in the list. If the restoration *yhwn]tn* is correct, the text must be Maccabean or later. That does not, of course, require that it be Essene.

Hanan Eshel: I believe that Daniel Stökl's paper on the nature of the caves in Qumran really explains how the texts were taken for deposit in the different caves. I believe that the Qumranites learnt the hard way that it is better to keep the scrolls in caves rather than in the site itself, since the site was burnt 3 times (31 BCE, 4 BCE and 68 CE). Therefore, they started to keep their scrolls in Caves 4a and 4b. When this cave was full, they brought new scrolls to Cave 5. That is why the scrolls in Cave 4 are older than the scrolls from Cave 5. Just before 68 CE they started to take their scrolls for safe-keeping to the limestone caves. Scrolls from Cave 4 were taken to Cave 1, and scrolls from Cave 5 were taken to Cave 11. This is why the scrolls from Cave 11 are younger than the scrolls from Cave 1.

Émile Puech: Je m'inscris en faux contre cette dernière explication de Hanan Eshel qui va clairement à l'encontre des données des découvertes du fouilleur. De Vaux rapporte sans ambiguïté aucune que les grottes 4a et 4b furent habitées aux périodes Ib et II et qu'elles n'ont aucunement servi de dépôts de livre ou de bibliothèque, mais qu'elles sont le résultat de dépôts en vrac de centaines de manuscrits à la veille de l'attaque et de la destruction du site en 68 ap. J.-C.

Lorenzo DiTommaso: Mediaeval MS books provide ample evidence that prognostica, horoscopes, and cognate texts were among the most popular texts of all. As important as the evidence of 4Q318 and 4Q561 is, I dare say (following Stone and others) that such texts were just as important in early Judaism, especially when we consider what was motivating writers such as Artapanus and Pseudo-Eupolemus. We simply don't have enough in the way of material evidence. Also, while such texts aren't necessarily apocalyptic, they could be set within an apocalyptic framework (as they explicitly were in late works like the *Apocalypse of Zerubbabel*).

Jonathan Ben-Dov: I think *Jubilees* played a crucial role in the transition from antediluvian traditions and seers to the Mosaic discourse, later discerned also at Qumran. Add to that the fact that *Jubilees* domesticates the antediluvian traditions by transforming them into Hebrew. It is thus a key stage in our discussion. The ever-recurring question of dating *Jubilees* therefore gains renewed importance.

John Collins: I think this observation accords with the point I made earlier about the increased emphasis on the Mosaic Torah after the Maccabean revolt.

Dan Machiela: Thinking in terms of the theme of this gathering, I wonder if you consider there to be any correlation whatsoever between the fact that a text is written in the Aramaic language and its authoritative status in antiquity versus a Hebrew text?

John Collins: The great majority of the texts that are cited as authoritative are in Hebrew. There may be a few exceptions (*Aramaic Levi Document*, parts of *1 Enoch*). This may be partly a matter of genre. It is easy to see when legal texts and prophetic texts are being used authoritatively. I don't think there was any absolute rule on this. After all, there are Aramaic sections in the Hebrew Bible as we know it. But in fact the majority of the authoritative books seem to be in Hebrew.

Florentino García Martínez: A note on the popularity of *1 Enoch*. If I am not mistaken, one copy of *1 Enoch* from Cave 4 was reused to write in the back an account of cereals

or something, and this may tell us something on the status of the composition. My question concerns a possible circularity in reasoning: From which compositions you do extract the concept of “common Judaism?” Practically, all our knowledge of the Hebrew and Aramaic literature of the time comes from the Qumran collection, and this is the only context we have to understand all these compositions, whether they are biblical, sectarian or other.

John Collins: Qumran is where the scrolls were hidden. It is probably a place where many of them were read, but not necessarily all. Many scrolls must have been brought to Qumran from elsewhere. Most of the Aramaic scrolls date from a time before the settlement at Qumran was established. So we cannot think of Qumran as the only or primary setting for the use of these texts.

Daniel Stöckl: We have around 12% Aramaic texts among the Qumran scrolls. Yet, among the texts dated to the fourth or third century BCE, their ratio is higher, even if we take those Hebrew books from this period into account that became biblical (Chronicles, Proverbs etc). Does it reflect the historical decline in the use of Aramaic? Is this due to scholarly hesitation to date Hebrew texts early and a predilection to regard Aramaic as ancient? Would we have dated Proverbs or Chronicles so early had we found them only at Qumran without having known these texts already from the Bible? Or, why did the early Hebrew books end up in the canon, and the early Aramaic texts did not?

John Collins: I don't think the dating of these texts is a matter of predilection. At least some scholars date texts like the *Temple Scroll* and 4QInstruction relatively early. Ben Sira is indisputably pre-Maccabean and yet it did not end up in the canon. It may be that the framers of what became the canon had a predilection for Hebrew texts. It may also be a factor that many of the Aramaic texts have a “parabiblical” character, in the sense that they are related to Hebrew books that became, and perhaps already were, authoritative. This consideration would also apply to a Hebrew book like *Jubilees*, which was too close to Genesis to warrant inclusion in the collection that became the canon. But these considerations only get us so far. There is much that we do not understand about the process by which some books became canonical and others did not.

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